

Bucolic Architecture: Hellenistic Pastoral Temples in the Peloponnese

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Abstract

The historical setting of the Hellenistic period in the Peloponnese has been covered in great detail in scholarly literature, as well as the scope of Hellenistic religion and the role of monumental temples during this period. However, the role of small extra-urban temples has been somewhat overlooked in favor of larger and more easily accessible temples within the city or predominant sanctuary. The Peloponnese is rich in such modest rural temples, all exhibiting architectural similarities which I will show point to not only a specific architectural style in this region but a multi-functional role of these small temples for the city and surrounding landscape.

The overarching goal of the dissertation is to examine how the role of the pastoral temple contributed to the agenda of the city and community. This is the first comprehensive description, examination, and collection of these modest yet pivotal temples from the Hellenistic period in the Peloponnese. I posit that the built environments of the city and countryside functioned together, rather than in opposition to each other as is often suggested: the temples do not merely reflect the socio-political ideals and identity of the city, but actively participate in and shape these agendas.

Some of these small temples were administered by the city state, but located outside the urban space and functioned as markers of expansion and territorial influence of the city and as regional centers for cults uniting the rustic population. Additionally, some sites, although being under administration of nearby city states, served to hold a stance of neutrality between extra-urban populations in instances of trade or for those seeking temporary asylum.

In turn, what made these temples so critical to the rising poleis is that they bolstered civic identity, social cohesion and territorial integrity among a diverse constituency. In doing this, the rural sanctuaries engaged networks of community through already established ties of cult which was especially vital to the formation of major cities seeking to establish and legitimize their political position. The impressive result of these efforts was a common sense of history and community, strengthening the ethnos in these areas.

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Introduction

“In the end, the character of a civilization is encased in its structures.” – Frank Gehry

With this project, I bring recognition to the magnitude and quality of Peloponnesian architecture in the Hellenistic period (323-146 B.C.). The scope of Hellenistic religion and the role of sanctuaries with monumental temples have been widely studied. However, the role of small extra-urban temples in relation to the city has been overlooked in favor of larger, better-preserved, and more easily accessible temples within the city (*polis*, pl. *poleis*) or a predominant sanctuary. Today, many exemplary sites, once famous and important in antiquity, are remote, largely forgotten, and in a poor state of preservation. The relationship of the polis and the development, placement, and function of small pastoral sanctuaries deserves further consideration.

My involvement for many years with the excavation and reconstruction of the *heroon* at the Hellenistic site of Ancient Messene in the Peloponnese was the impetus for the work I put forth in this thesis. The heroon is a relatively small structure in size that exhibits peculiarities in design (e.g. unusually tall proportions, decrease in wall width as height increases), as well as details of refinement and ornamentation (e.g. carved floral motifs under mouldings, decorative masonry work), that are unprecedented according to published surveys of Hellenistic sites to date. Interested in these characteristics, I began searching around the Peloponnese at any site reported to have at least one Hellenistic building to find architectural parallels. I did not necessarily find many instances, but what I did find while driving thousands of kilometers were many small, rural, non-

peripteral temples with commanding views between cities. I began to notice several of these structures had rusticated interior walls, drafting margins on the corners, or roughly worked exterior surfaces, large statue bases in the cella, cuttings in the floor for the legs for offering tables, and the remains of altars outside. Although they looked like they were quite modest, some also exhibited carefully worked ornamentation and detail including fragments of fine floral carvings and neatly fitted together floor paving. Upon closer study of the sites, it became evident that the combinations of these structural and decorative features were not aberrant occurrences, but conventional techniques and placement for pastoral Hellenistic temples. I began to research the temples to see what information I could find, but in most cases there were only random snippets of information to cobble together. The scant information on these temples and the reoccurring presence of these features in the Peloponnese accentuated the Hellenistic architectural program in the Peloponnese as a topic appropriate for considerably deeper investigation and publication.

The manner in which Hellenistic temples have been viewed and studied provides an opening for the study of small, pastoral temples. In traditional studies, the focus has most often centered on an evolutionary idea of architecture, paying most attention to larger sanctuaries and more impressive or better-preserved buildings.¹ The idea that architecture was evolving, achieving greater feats, and developing perfect proportions in the Classical period is a common theme in Greek architecture. The following Hellenistic period has often been previously viewed as one of decline or decadence.

It is of paramount importance that we address the idea of decline and evaluate the problematic nature of this term. While the perception that the Hellenistic period was one

¹ Dinsmoor 1973; Lawrence 1973; Fyfe 1974; Tomlinson 1989.

of downturn has eased in more recent and current scholarship, the stigma of the term has lingered and been difficult to shake. The text in which this term was rooted, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* by William Bell Dinsmoor, is one of the most prevalently cited and authoritative sources on the history of Greek architecture. This work was a revision taken on by Dinsmoor in 1927 of the William J. Anderson and R. Phéne Spiers publication, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece and Rome*, which was based on a series of lectures given by Anderson in the 1890s in Glasgow.² Dinsmoor's third edition of 1950 is still cited often today because of his reputation for comprehensive research, a wide scope of architectural discussion from the Greek Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, and the book's information regarding measurements and dates.³ It is indeed a great source for art historians and archaeologists, but it is not without bias.

Margaret Miles succinctly points out the major structural problems which affect us today when relying upon this source including his focus on the biological model of architectural development, evaluation based on 19th century colonial ideas, often questionable dating, and a tendency to focus mainly on buildings mentioned by ancient authors.⁴ The publication is evident of its time, and we need to be aware of the false impression it may give in light of the decades of research since the first half of the 20th century.

The 4th century B.C. was perceived by Dinsmoor as one in which general tendencies were common; it marked the abatement of aesthetic perfection, the religious aspect and inspiration for architecture had reached its pinnacle in the previous Periclean temples, and architecture became less focused on temples and turned toward secular

² Dinsmoor 1950, p. v.

³ Miles 2001, p. 2.

⁴ Miles 2001, p. 2.

elements of the city. Dinsmoor wrote, “.....we have passed the crest of the evolution...The great temple-building epoch on the Greek mainland had passed with the end of the 5th century B.C.”⁵ Fifth-century B.C. Athens was seen as the Golden Age or the Age of Pericles, a period when culture, economic growth, military power, and architecture were at their peak following the Persian Wars.⁶ Indeed, the architectural program on the acropolis in Athens is one of the most elaborate examples of refinement and proportion of Classical form, the Parthenon as the centerpiece.⁷ Once these architectural achievements had been reached, what was to be done next?

At this point, if architecture had ‘evolved’ to perfect proportions and elements of optical refinements such as curvature, how could anything but this type of architecture be seen as the worthy of the term innovation? By using these parameters as the definition of the epitome of Greek architecture, we lock ourselves in a box and fail to recognize the originality of architects beginning to experiment with temple plans and architecture.⁸ As a result, there is a notion that this experimentation and/or an increase in ornamentation was a result of the lack in diversity and innovation. In fact, Dinsmoor entitled his chapter on the 4th century B.C. “The Beginning of the Decadence.” He clearly implies that new architectural endeavors were seen as inferior, pretentious, and decadent, and that ornamentation of temples compromised the ideals of strength and dignity of the structure.⁹ More recent studies have addressed this issue and bring together a collection

⁵ Dinsmoor 1950, p. 217.

⁶ Jenkins 2006, p. 129.

⁷ Rhodes 1995, p.1.

⁸ Lawrence 1996, p. 151-166. He opens the discussion of Hellenistic architecture explaining how the expansion of the Greek world into Egypt and Western Asia affected temple design. Greek design spread to these areas, but the traditional conventions began to change with the mixed populations of new cities.

⁹ Dinsmoor 1950, p. 217; Winter 2006, p. 5. While Winter does go on to thoroughly discuss the variety of architecture in the Hellenistic period, explaining the reasons for the change in taste of architecture, he does use the word “pretentious” to describe motivations for some of the Hellenistic buildings.

of examples, addressing the significance and variation of Hellenistic architecture, thereby showing the pervasive experimentation and attempt at new architectural ideas that were explored during the time.¹⁰ These studies bring light to the economic aspects of the time, along with the change in religious outlook, civic pride, and the manipulation of interior space for emotional effect.

The idea of decline cannot only be attributed to Dinsmoor's views on architecture. The term has been applied to this period because some perceive it to signify the end, thus the decline, of the polis (pl. *poleis*), or city. As I will discuss in Chapter One, this depends on what the definition of a polis is in relation to the definition of independence. If one subscribes to the idea that the polis flourished in the Archaic and Classical periods but was destroyed in one fell swoop when Philip II of Macedon defeated Athens and Thebes at the Battle of Chaironeia in 33 B.C., then this would be seen as the end of the city-state.¹¹ The biggest glitch in this definition is that a large majority of Greek poleis were already under the control of various powers by the 5th century B.C.¹² The implication is that the independent polis was not the most common type of state by the time Macedonia took over. The poleis were autonomous in that they were self-governing, but they were not necessarily independent. Under Philip, what disappeared were the powers of the hegemonial states of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, not the city-state autonomy, and poleis continued to function in virtually the same way.¹³

¹⁰ Pollitt 1986; Hellmann 2002; Winter 2006.

¹¹ Herman 2006, p. 48.

¹² Kindt 2012, p. 29; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009, p. 20; Herman 2006, p. 48. Hansen 2006 elaborates that hundreds of city-states changed status from being independent to being a part of a federal state from 450-350 B.C., and that our idea of independence should equate more with self-governance than full independence.

¹³ Hansen 2006, p. 132.

One thing that is glaringly obvious is that a consideration of minor poleis and modest, rural temples has traditionally been left out of the discussion in scholarly literature. With the focus being placed on the larger sanctuaries in Greece and new constructions in prominent sanctuaries in the East, there is little room or effort to place these smaller edifices within any context of the Hellenistic architecture, let alone their importance to the community.¹⁴ In fact, it is likely their seemingly discreet nature and form are the exact qualities which have lent them to be interpreted as insignificant. Fortunately, this has begun to change with studies that have taken into consideration (although mainly from Archaic and Classical periods) the impact of rural populations and their sanctuary architecture in the Peloponnese. Madeleine Jost, Mary Voyatzis, Susan Alcock, Morgens Herman Hansen have contributed greatly to this end.¹⁵

Still today, many of these temples have been only excavated in a partial or cursory manner, if at all, such as Kleoai, Petrovouni, and Kionia. While some have received more thorough excavation, they have been neither published to any relevant extent beyond archaeological reports nor have they been analyzed on their own terms and synthesized by any means into the overall picture of extra-urban architectural activity in the Hellenistic Peloponnese. If there was such a decline during the Hellenistic period, why are we left with these remains? What is the explanation for so many rural edifices of this style? It is true these temples do not measure up in size or sleek proportions to those of the Classical period; they tend to be small, rusticated, outside the city proper, and off the beaten path of modern routes of travel and tourism. Rather than looking at these structures in comparison to the Classical period, we ought to think of them as

¹⁴ Hansen 2006, p. 132; Winter, pp. 5-33.

¹⁵ Jost 1985; Jost 1994, pp. 217-230; Jost 1999, pp. 192-247; Voyatzis 1999, pp. 130-168; Alcock 1994, pp. 247-61; Hansen 1996, 2006.

representative of a change in taste and focus which, more likely, is indicative of a shift in the attitudes, concerns, and circumstances of the Hellenistic period.

Anthony Snodgrass and François de Polignac both argue that the polis from the 8th century B.C. on constituted a formal expression of religious following and the cults served to integrate the diverse constituency of rural populations.¹⁶ De Polignac also notes that the sacred place of the city was often located at the frontier of the city (i.e. extra-urban), focusing on the idea that these structures played a major role as boundary markers.¹⁷ The role of boundaries is valid, as they were an integral element of the polis and territory; but it is equally significant to focus on how activities of community were carried out across the landscape and how these temples helped shape the identity of the polis, rather than on their being a product of the expanding polis or insignificant entities swallowed up by the polis. Many sanctuaries were actually situated at the frontiers of two regions, and later, when the communities were consolidated into cities, the sanctuaries are thought to have been ascribed to one city or another.¹⁸ Difficulties arise in trying to prove this in many cases because of the lack of epigraphic evidence available for these smaller temples, and many have no direct indication of who funded, built, or maintained them.

Despite this lack of epigraphic evidence, we are able to take the information we have from recent research on aspects such as polis formation, the relationship of city and countryside, Hellenistic religion, and rural sanctuaries from the Archaic and Classical

¹⁶ de Polignac 1984; de Polignac 1995, p. viii.; Snodgrass 1991, p. 20.

¹⁷ de Polignac 1995, pp. 23, 37.

¹⁸ de Polignac 1995, p. xiv. In this book, de Polignac revamps his original thesis in which he proposed a model where the cults present in the center of the city were not able to maintain control over the territory, so rural sanctuaries were implemented to balance this. In the newer version he admits this may be too rigid a model and allows for a more flexible one wherein cult places could also develop from neutral locations that were contact points between different communities into more revered rural sanctuaries where the sovereignty of the city was eventually manifested.

periods and use it to try to determine how these temples were functioning in a network of poleis and sanctuaries to serve the needs of the communities who frequented them.

One very important aspect of this is figuring out how we define polis and polis religion. Julia Kindt draws attention to both of these terms, and brings to focus that concept of the polis as defined by independence in traditional scholarship may need some reworking.¹⁹ Along with Kindt, several scholars working with the Copenhagen Polis Center have also brought to light a great deal of information about the inventory of cities from the Archaic through Roman periods, their level of self-government, and how we understand the term independence.²⁰ Ultimately, while the polis was the political center, it was not necessarily the religious center.²¹

The notions of city versus countryside and the dichotomy that has developed between the two is another theme we need to consider. Natural features of the landscape are inherent parts of religious locations, and these are often in places removed from the city.²² One of the major sources we look to in describing and identify architecture within the landscape is the 2nd century A.D. Greek author, Pausanias. His only known work, *Periegesis Hellados* (*Description of Greece*), is a ten-volume, topographically organized account of mainland Greece, covering Attica, the Peloponnese, and Central Greece. It is comprised of descriptions of sites and monuments, local and religious histories, mythical traditions, and accounts of customs and rituals. It is based on his own travels and provides an eyewitness account of the state of Greece in the author's own time.

Pausanias tells the reader that his account is a bit selective, focusing on the most

¹⁹ Kindt 2012.

²⁰ Hansen 1997, 2006; Hansen and Nielsen 2004; Nielsen 1995, 1996, 2002, Nielsen and Roy 1999; Roy, 1996, 1999, 2005.

²¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 1990.

²² Buxton 1994; Jost 1994, 2007.

noteworthy cities, shrines, and histories. Although his accounts do not cover every site, and his descriptions are sometimes questionable as to whether he actually visited all the sites he expounds upon, his work has been a valuable source for a wide variety of scholars in art history, archaeology, history, and other disciplines. Without his topographical descriptions, some of the sites included in this thesis would have been much more difficult to locate while completing my research.

As more research is carried out and new information is revealed in excavations, our perception of the roles between the urban and extra-urban is shifting, as can be seen in a collection of essays edited by Rosen and Sluiter.²³ This work carries over into the topic of religion and the ways in which deities within the city and outside of it have been traditionally viewed, which is often in opposition to each other.²⁴ Rural religion itself has been addressed by many authors, but the focus tends to be on the Archaic and Classical periods.²⁵ Peloponnesian rural architecture and religion in particular have received attention from a few authors including the many works of Madeleine Jost.²⁶ The only shortcoming of these works is that, again, they tend to concern the area of Athens or Archaic, Classical, and Roman examples, while those from the Hellenistic period are only briefly mentioned. One of the main problems is that there is no good source yet on Hellenistic religion. It is a bit of a question mark that has not been answered. New cults were forming and new religious movements were introduced such as Orphism. We do not know much about some of these, and they tend to get marginalized in the discourse.

²³ Rosen and Sluiter 2006.

²⁴ Polinskaya 2006.

²⁵ Dillon 1997; Polinskaya 2006; Larson 2007; Dignas 2007.

²⁶ Alcock, 1993, 1994; Alcock and Osborne, 1994; Jost 1985, 1986, 1994, 1999, 2003, 2007; Voyatzis, 1999.

There has also been a surge in the past decade concerning network theory and trying to understand the connections between and among ‘entities’ through analysis of the pattern they form. This is not entirely new, as scholars such as Edlund and Sanders began to tackle this concept over 20 years ago.²⁷ But with the rise of Geographic Information Systems in the field over the past ten years, network analysis has seen an increase in interest and publication.²⁸

One of the main sources we have for understanding how sanctuaries functioned in the Peloponnese comes from an inscription of the Andanian mystery cult which was analyzed in detail by Laura Gawlinski. The translation and careful reading of the document provides valuable information concerning rules and regulations of the sanctuary in relation to personal conduct, trade, markets, and refuge.²⁹ This, pieced together with information from the Copenhagen Polis Center and various parallel instances around the Greek world help decipher how these rural temples functioned within the network of the Peloponnese.

In Chapter One, I address the definitions of polis and polis religion, the origins of how and why we perceive them the way we do, and the need to re-evaluate the current models. These are important concepts that affect how we view what was unfolding politically, socially, economically, and religiously in the Hellenistic period. I then move onto a synopsis of the events leading up to the political and social structure of the Hellenistic period in the Peloponnese in order to situate the region in its historical context so that we may understand the implications of these events. How the area was affected politically, socially, and economically by Macedonian and Spartan aggression was

²⁷ Edlund, 1987; Sanders and Whitbred, 1990.

²⁸ Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009; Brughmans 2013;Knappett 2013

²⁹ Gawlinski, 2012.

instrumental in realizing how the new poleis developed and identified themselves, drawing upon the network of rural temples in order to establish legitimacy.

Chapter Two is the presentation of the sites and temples represented by specific region or prefecture. The emergent pattern of a central focus on a higher concentration of temple location in the region of Arkadia offers a good place to begin. From there I explore the regions surrounding Arkadia. Each region begins with a brief description of its topographical and geographical location within the Peloponnese. The physical remains of the sites are explained in detail to provide the first collection of comprehensive description and examination of these modest, yet pivotal temples in the Peloponnese.

The network of these temples is addressed in Chapter Three. By exploring the concept of the relationship between and among rural Hellenistic temples in the Peloponnese I show pathways and connections of these temples with regard to poleis and Pan-hellenic sanctuaries in the region. Despite their modest nature, which has often led to assumptions they were not significant to the broader religious network of the Peloponnese, these temples are an integral part of the travel and pilgrimage routes to surrounding areas. I then explore the problematic nature of the current model of thinking which generally categorizes deities as urban or rural. There are so many exceptions to this rule that it is impractical to rely on this type of paradigm. Rather, looking at the topography, mythology, and sanctity of the place is more productive in determining why the temples were constructed in the places they are situated.

In Chapter Four, I explore the function of these pastoral temples beyond their religious function. This includes their contribution to the identity of major poleis

following *synoecism* (the amalgamation of many villages and towns into a larger polis or city-state) and their role in relation to boundaries, economy, neutrality and locations of refuge. Necessarily so, sanctuaries outside the city walls performed a combination of religious, political, and social functions, creating identity and subtle unity among the scattered populations in the city's territory as well as a link between the rural population and the urban center.

In the Conclusions, I evaluate the implications of the information presented in each chapter. Beginning with the effects of Spartan and Macedonian hegemony, and a revised concept of polis religion, we can begin to formulate a clearer picture of the Peloponnese during the Hellenistic period. Drawing upon the similarities in architecture and the connections among communities and their religious identities, I bring attention to the way in which sanctuaries and small temples became landmarks and symbols of a perceived cohesive and integrated political unit, reinforcing its legitimacy to territories in the surrounding area.

Chapter One: Historical Context

Syntheses of the Hellenistic period are rich in historical detail, often addressing various aspects of economic, social, political, and religious factors. These accounts tend to place an emphasis on Athens, Macedonia, or the other kingdoms of Alexander's successors, while the Peloponnese is neglected as a seemingly marginal region. The Peloponnese as a whole has rarely been presented as a region of study, although this has begun to change in the past twenty years.³⁰ The peninsula forms the southern portion of the mainland of Greece and is bounded on all sides by water except for the northeastern corner where a sliver of land connects it to the Megarian peninsula and, through that, Attica. As a naturally delimited area that contained over 130 city-states located in seven ethnically and culturally distinct regions in antiquity, the Peloponnese offers rich potential for addressing questions about historical process and how such processes are contained in a particular geographical setting.³¹ The major cities of Argos, Corinth, Megalopolis, and Sparta vied for authority within and outside the Peloponnese and their struggles are well-documented by ancient authors.

Significantly, the Peloponnese also hosted three of the four major pan-Hellenic festivals in Greece at Isthmia, Nemea, and Olympia. Control over those wealthy sanctuaries was at times a primary cause of military and political clashing, and the prominence of the great sanctuaries in the literary, epigraphical, and historical accounts attests to the central role sanctuaries and religious customs played in ancient politics.

³⁰ Nigel Kennell's and Graham Shipley's works offer a great contribution to the discussion regarding the ancient historical landscape of the Peloponnese. Kennell, 2010; Shipley 2005, pp. 315-330; Shipley 2009; Cavanagh, Crowell, Caitling, and Shipley 2001; Shipley 2000; Shipley 2006, p. 30.

³¹ Hansen and Nielsen 2004; Nielsen 2004; Nielsen and Roy 1999.

The history of this region, in the sense of the interactions between Peloponnesian states and their contests with others outside the area, forms the context for the present examination of the role of pastoral temples built in the mountain landscape. The ongoing push and pull of alliances, counter-alliances, and the incessant warfare conducted by the Peloponnesians provides critical information about the social, economic, and religious climate during the Hellenistic period, which, ultimately, is intricately woven into aspects of the landscape and multi-functional role of small, extra-urban temples. Despite their modest nature, these temples were a significant indicator of the pulse of socio-political relations and instrumental to the identity and well-being of local populations in the Peloponnese.

Recognition of established sanctuaries as centers created the image of stability and established the kind of authority Greek cities needed. They reflected a symbolic organization of the landscape that reinforced ideas of geographic centrality and cultural hierarchy. The structure of ritual was an important part of life and identity. The polis became a level of organization at which many communities chose to represent themselves politically, religiously, and symbolically to the outside world. This was partially brought on by the necessity to formally create a unified and common interest of protection against sources of threat such as Macedonia and Sparta. This model has led us to follow a structure which traditionally focuses on the center of the city as the defining element of a territory. And while it created an impression of an important symbol of central authority, we should not overlook that the most important sanctuaries of the Greek world were, in fact, not within the city, including Delphi, Dodona, Olympia, Epidauros, and Aphia on Aegina to name a few. Such places were protected by sacred obligation and agreements

that encouraged peaceful interaction among communities.³² Those sanctuaries whose divinities transcended local borders and whose rituals mediated competition and neutralized aggression, influenced the process of exchange, interaction, and negotiation that helped shape the common institutions of the polis, rather than the other way around.³³

A very thought-provoking discussion of Greek religion in relation to the polis is addressed by Julia Kindt in her 2010 book, *Rethinking Greek Religion*. With the notion of religion so embedded in the polis, how we have conceptualized the relationship between the two is of concern. The major obstacle to overcome is defining what exactly polis religion is and how the widely-used model that has developed from this term has been used to interpret the study of Greek religion. I introduce it here because it is pertinent to consider whether religion and the polis were congruent, and how personal and individual ritual fit into this model. This becomes especially apparent in the following synopsis of Peloponnesian history when the emergence of major poleis occurred as a reaction to the political events and pressures of invasion taking place. Because the traditional framework suggests the idea that the polis was the institutional authority which provided structure to the divine world through a religious system, expressed devotion to a particular gods, and established the cults, ritual, and sanctuaries, the polis has been placed in a problematic position of being the primary source of power in the discourse of Greek religion.³⁴ This creates a misguided tension between city and countryside, placing them in binary opposition: the city finds itself equated with the symbolic center and the establishment of order, hence temples inside of it represent the

³² Cole 2004, p. 66.

³³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, pp. 259-273; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, pp. 295-322.

³⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 9.

religious centrality of the area, while temples outside the city are symbols of disorder, eccentricity, or deviance, therefore of less value to the identity of the city.³⁵

Kindt rightfully points out that most studies of polis religion focus only on the religious systems of the Archaic and Classical periods as being of relevance and coherence.³⁶ This is concerning because the model of polis religion has become so prevalent that works covering Hellenistic and Roman periods have also come to rely upon it with skewed results. There is either an overemphasis of continuity in religious practices or an acknowledgement of differences that must be explained away without any attempt to integrate these differences into a more comprehensive picture of Greek religion in later periods.³⁷ This is compounded by the fact that we still lack a comprehensive account of religion in the Hellenistic period, which was a time of continuity mixed with changes in religion that varied according to geographical location and social status. These periods saw an increase in personal religion, magic, Orphism and Bacchic cults, worship of hypostatized ideas like Tyche (Fate) and the introduction of exotic cults such as that of Isis and Serapis.³⁸ Because this model is so often used, and our evidence and study of the ancient world is growing and changing, it calls for us to rethink the model and begin to change it, allowing for once perceived nuances and ‘oddities’ of religion to be considered as part of the common discourse of Greek religion.

A second looming question fundamental to the discussion of the relationship between Greek religion and the polis is that of how we define the polis. One of the reasons the Archaic and Classical periods have become the focus of polis religion is

³⁵ Rosen and Sluiter 2006, present a collection of essays that argue for the re-evaluation of city versus countryside paradigm with the goal of alleviating the gap that separates discourse from historical reality.

³⁶ Kindt 2012, 27.

³⁷ Kindt 2012, 28.

³⁸ Herman 2006, p. 133.

because classical scholarship has operated under the conception of the polis as an independent representation of social and political organization that generally came to an end in the second half of the 4th century B.C. This is the point at which Philip II of Macedon was victorious at the Battle of Chaironeia (338 B.C.), defeating Thebes and Athens, overtaking rule of Greece, and therefore putting an end to the Greek city-state independence.³⁹ Because the polis religion model inherently relies on this definition of independence, later periods have been marginalized and consequently not included as valid epochs for the model. However, during the Archaic and Classical periods, Greece was essentially a conglomerate of autonomous city-states with no overall political or administrative structure. The notion of the polis coming to a more or less sudden end in the 4th century B.C. has recently been challenged. Scholars of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, for example, have argued a strong case for implementing a broader definition of the polis and its presence after the Classical period.⁴⁰ Morgens Herman Hansen of the Copenhagen Polis Centre has pointed out that *autonomia* (or full independence) was never “an irreducible characteristic” of the polis.⁴¹

Even before Philip II won the Battle of Chaironeia, some poleis were dependent upon others; for example, many poleis were inhabited by the Lakedaimonian *perioikoi*, making them dependent upon Sparta.⁴² Furthermore, by this time, several cities had already joined the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues and could no longer be defined as

³⁹ Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009, p. 20

⁴⁰ Hansen 2006. Scholars of the Copenhagen Polis Centre have suggested a more developed definition of polis, one which considers the need to more firmly bring religion of Hellenistic and Roman periods into the picture of Greek religion. The only shortcoming of their study is that it tends to focus on major polis religion, rather than including religious institutions above and below the polis level. This calls for the necessity to allow for deviations from the narrow focus on aspects of Greek religion that have been rooted in a strict framework focusing on the polis as the primary vehicle of legitimizing religion.

⁴¹ Hansen 2006, 48.

⁴² Kennell 2010, p. 80.

truly independent. In response to this, scholars such as Hansen have reinforced that a more representative definition of the *autonomia* is one which centers on the concept of self-governance rather than complete independence.⁴³ If we take this to be the case, then the notion of the polis continued to exist into the Hellenistic and Roman periods and we can now begin to incorporate the context of religion of these periods within the polis model. This allows us to evaluate changes in religion and cult that would have been previously explained away or perceived to be outside the parameters of the religious system classical scholarship has so dominantly given over to the power of the polis.

Religious locations in a territory were essential to the existence and durability of the polis. Greek cities created themselves by claiming a landscape. François de Polignac has explained this phenomenon in terms of the early history of the polis, arguing that local claims to territory were originally made by maintaining control of major border or rural sanctuaries.⁴⁴ This was a formative element and major structural support of the polis itself. While this model is not uniformly applicable, it is apparent that the underlying idea of ritual unity between a central location and its hinterland including external sanctuaries was fundamental to the polis and necessary for its survival. Entitlement to territory was claimed through various tactics: settlement, natural and constructed boundaries, shared ritual, and foundation myths. Details of these methods varied with local conditions and the process was dynamic and flexible, and the emerging poleis were responsive to the demands of local history relying on the incorporation of myth and veneration of local deities. These poleis were essentially constructed by using the surrounding territory to establish autonomy and religion. Rural temples were a vital

⁴³ Hansen 2006, 49.

⁴⁴ dePolignac 1995.

element in establishing the city, and the city was literally and figuratively defined by them. This becomes a major factor when turmoil during the Hellenistic period instigated a more formal foundation of several cities.

We first need to understand how we got here – how and why these major poleis formed in order to answer questions about the functions and significance of rural temples within their vicinity, some of which were already quite significant in their own right. These temples are not just small edifices created for a larger city that funded them. They were not insignificant country locations with seemingly undeveloped architecture. The temples were not simply amassed by the poleis because they were within the desired territory. They were the desired territory. They were constructed and specifically selected when major poleis began to emerge because of the importance they represented in the area. They were critical to the new-found incentive to act against years of turbulence with the powers of Macedonia and Sparta. In essence, we are re-constructing the history of these temples, bringing to light in modern scholarship their long-forgotten significance within the context of strife during the Hellenistic period of the Peloponnese.

By the time of the Hellenistic period, traditionally situated between the years of Alexander the Great's death in 323 B.C. and the battle at Actium in 31 B.C., the Peloponnese had become part of an empire that stretched as far east as the Punjab in modern day Pakistan, a result of conquests under Alexander the Great and Macedonian rule. There is no doubt the Hellenistic Peloponnese was beleaguered by warfare erupting both as a result of Macedonian rule and the eager attempts of Sparta to re-establish its autonomy and even hegemony, but it would be perfunctory to think of this period only as one of decline. Nor should we blame all problems in the region on Macedonian rule,

overlook improvements which occurred in many cities, or to rule out trends and long term changes as the impetus for shifts (such as elite domination) which may have already begun in the Classical period. In the narrative that follows, I clarify and condense the complex entanglements of the Hellenistic Peloponnese through brief histories and an account of the intermittent turmoil of both Macedonia and Sparta, followed by discussion of the impacts these two forces had on the region.

Macedonian Interventions

Macedonian power first entered the Peloponnese following the decisive Battle of Chaironea which resulted in Philip II of Macedon defeating the Theban and Athenian forces and gaining complete control over central Greece in 338 B.C.⁴⁵ Phillip established the League of Corinth, an assemblage of city-states meant to maintain peace in Greece and provide military assistance for his campaigns in Persia.⁴⁶ After his assassination in 336 B.C., his son Alexander continued the ambition of extending Macedonian rule to Asia. The beginning of the end for the Persian Empire came with the Battles of Issus in 333 B.C. and Gaugamela in 331 B.C. where Alexander defeated Darius III.⁴⁷ Subsequently, Alexander took over Babylon and eventually Persepolis in 330 B.C. where he burned down the palace of Xerxes as a symbol that the pan-Hellenic War was over; this is the defining moment we use in modern-day study to mark the fall of the Persian

⁴⁵ Müller 2010, p. 177.

⁴⁶ Carol 2007, p. 86; *IGII²* 236, surviving inscription, documenting the oath sworn by members. Sparta refused this agreement.

⁴⁷ Gilley and Worthington 2010, p.193.

Empire.⁴⁸ Following this, Alexander turned his campaigns toward the Indian subcontinent.

After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., his empire fractured and his successors (the Diadochi) engaged in warfare for forty years before four powers emerged: the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt, the Seleucid Kingdom in the east, the Pergamene Kingdom in Asia Minor, and the Macedonian Kingdom in Greece. Demetrius Poliorcetes freed Athens from the Macedonian King Cassander, turned his campaign toward the Peloponnese, and ultimately became King of Macedon in 294 B.C.(Plut. *Demetr.* 23.2, 25.1, 37.2). Macedonia remained unstable until 276 B.C. when Antigonus II took control.⁴⁹

The following decades resulted in ongoing altercations in the Peloponnese. Pyrrhus of Epirus briefly overtook the Macedonian throne and unsuccessfully invaded Sparta in the 270s.⁵⁰ The southern Greeks formed a coalition in the 260s against Macedonia.⁵¹ They were somewhat successful in minor confrontations, but were crushed outside Corinth during the Chremonidean War when the Spartan King Areus I fell at the hands of the Macedonians.⁵² In the 240s, the federal union of city-states of the northern Peloponnese, known as the Achaean League, began a continuous offensive against the Macedonians.⁵³ Within twenty years of this, a new mini-empire began to emerge led by Sparta, which the Achaean league tried to demolish with assistance from none other than their former enemies, the Macedonians.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Olbtycht 2010, p. 354.

⁴⁹ Graniger 2010, p. 320; Greenwalt 2010, p. 299.

⁵⁰ Greenwalt 2010, p. 299.

⁵¹ Shipley 2006, p. 30.

⁵² Kennell 2010, p. 164.

⁵³ Shipley 2005, p. 316.

⁵⁴ Kennell 2010, p. 177.

To complicate things further, the Romans were also in the beginning stages of a conquest of Greece. In their second victory in 197 B.C., the Romans were able to make headway and the political map of Greece showed change, including in areas that the Macedonians had not conquered. By 168 B.C., they had defeated the Macedonians three times, and by 146 B.C., they became the leading power in Greece following the defeat of the Achaean League and the destruction of Corinth.⁵⁵

Spartan Aggression

In order to decipher what was unfolding with Sparta and its ancient region known as Lakedaemoia (Lakonia) in the Hellenistic period, it is necessary to recall its social composition, the earlier Persian Wars, and succession of events which set the stage for the position of the Spartans in the late 4th-2nd centuries B.C. The circumstances created by these events are part of the history of the landscape which consequently affected the role of urban and rural communities, their architecture, and their identity.

As in any other Greek state, Spartan citizens had a spectrum of income and status, and ranged from rich to poor, but with additional levels of subject and dependent peoples beneath them. Within the state, the three main categories were the Spartiates or *homoioi*, the *perioikoi* and the *helots*. The *homoioi* were full Spartan citizens, whereas the *perioikoi* were fellow Lakeadaemonians that functioned as partners of Sparta.⁵⁶ They were free men of conquered territories who lacked full citizenship and made up the population of many poleis. Their city-states or poleis were dependent upon Sparta, but they were not considered subjects. The *helots*, on the other hand, were exploited

⁵⁵ Kallet-Marx 1995, pp. 11-87.

⁵⁶ Dillon 1994, glossary.

residents of a class that has been defined anywhere from slaves to a serf-like group, to those who provided intercommunal servitude.⁵⁷ They worked the land of Messinia and Laconia to support the Spartans and were sometimes used as troops in military battles (Hdt. 6.80, 8.25.1, 9.10.1, 9.29.2, 9.30).⁵⁸ Helots were not freedmen, but essentially indebted to Sparta. The strict criteria for Spartan citizenship, and the large extent of territory in Messinia and Laconia under Spartan control meant that helots came to far outnumber actual Spartans. The perioikoi were involved in industry, crafts, and trade, while the helots carried out the farming. This freed up the Spartiates to devote themselves to the state and military which they often did. But they also had to maintain internal control over their subjects and dependents.

During the time of the Persian Wars in the early fifth century B.C., Athens and Sparta were the two main powerhouse city-states taking charge of the Hellenic alliance to confront Xerxes and the Persian invasions (Hdt. 7.145). With Sparta as the dominant force of this duo, because of their superior military skills, tensions had begun to arise between the two cities. Athenians alleged that Sparta was lax in sending their army to protect Athens, whose fleet was crucial for protecting the Peloponnese, as demonstrated in the battle at Salamis.⁵⁹ Eventually the allied forces came to an agreement and were able to defeat the Persians at the Battles of Platea and Mycale in 479 B.C., ending the Persian invasion (Hdt. 9.10, 9.62, 10.6).⁶⁰ Following this, Greek protagonists continued to secure positions, moving on to capture both Sestos and Byzantium (modern day

⁵⁷ For general discussion of slaves, see Finley 1987; Luraghi and Alcock 2003; for classifications of helots see the following: state serfs see de Ste. Croix 1987, p. 172; undeveloped slavery see Lotze 1959; Oliva 1971; intercommunal servitude see Garland 1988, pp. 93-98.

⁵⁸ N. Kennell 2011, p. 81.

⁵⁹ Holland 2005, pp. 320-326, pp. 333-335.

⁶⁰ Holland 2005, pp. 350-355, pp. 357-358.

Istanbul) (Hdt. 9.114, 9.118; Thuc. 1.94). This was a significant moment for Athens and her allies, as besieging Sestos offered control of the Hellespont, and gaining Byzantium cleared access to the Black Sea; these were the two straits which connected Europe to Asia and over which the Persians had crossed to infiltrate Greece.⁶¹

At this point, the power struggle between Athens and Sparta began to intensify. Because the Spartan general, Pausanias, collaborated with the Persian enemy, the Athenian allies became agitated (Thuc. 1.95.1-1.95.5).⁶² They were no longer willing to accept Spartan leadership, and Athens was asked to take over (Thuc. 1.95.6-1.95.7).⁶³ Feeling they had accomplished their mission of liberating Greece, Sparta wanted to end participation in the campaign against Persia (Thuc. 1.95.7). Sparta stepped down as leader.

Within two decades after the Persians were defeated, the enmity between the powers of Athens and Sparta could be contained no longer; this erupted in a series of wars that lasted from 460 B.C until 404 B.C., ending in the second Peloponnesian War. The result was a complete crushing of the Athenian empire and the establishment of Spartan hegemony in Greece (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.10-2.2.24). Sparta was led by King Agesilaos II until 360. During Spartan hegemony, he instituted oligarchies in several cities and assisted the Persians in their peace treaty with the Greeks in hope of using Persian power to strengthen their own.⁶⁴ Spartan actions only intensified defiance from many leading Greek states including Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, and the result was a battle fought at Leuktra in 371 B.C. The Greek world was astonished that Sparta

⁶¹ Fine 1983, p. 331.

⁶² Fine 1983, p. 331.

⁶³ Kennell 2010, p. 71.

⁶⁴ Shipley 2009, p. 55.

was utterly defeated by the Thebans and their Boeotian allies.⁶⁵ In the 360s, Spartan dominance in the Peloponnese was again squelched by Boeotian forces led by the savvy general Epanimondas. This resulted in fortresses at Messene, Megalopolis, and Mantinea which essentially surrounded the bounds of Sparta in an attempt to hinder Spartan access to strategic routes.⁶⁶ Although they maintained their local and regional influence in the Peloponnese, Sparta would never fully recover from this to regain the authority they once wielded in Greece.

After the Battle at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. which brought Philip II of Macedon to power, Sparta refused to become part of the Corinthian League.⁶⁷ Although they were no longer as powerful in all of Greece, there is no mistake Sparta was still a force to be reckoned with in the Peloponnese. Thus, in 331 B.C, under leadership of Agis III, they unsuccessfully attempted to siege Megalopolis,⁶⁸ the capital of Arkadia founded by Epanimondas as part of a strategy of political containment and opposition to Sparta just following the Battle of Leuktra. At this point, Sparta was forced to join Alexander's League of Corinth.⁶⁹ Perhaps because of this blow, the Spartans apparently entered a period of disengagement. Aside from the Chremonidean War in the 260s when a Greek coalition of city-states banded together against Macedon and another attack against Megalopolis a few years after that, Sparta's warring was generally defensive; between the years 317 B.C. and 192 B.C. when control of the city was taken over by the Achaean military general Philopoimen,⁷⁰ Sparta was invaded at least nine times.⁷¹ These defeats

⁶⁵ Kennell 2010, pp. 143-44

⁶⁶ Roy 2005, p. 262.

⁶⁷ Müller 2010, p. 177.

⁶⁸ Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, p. 22.

⁶⁹ Shipley 2009, p. 56.

⁷⁰ Pritchett 1974, p. 216.

in turn meant the perception of Sparta was changing and their fear tactics were no longer as effective. Eventually, Rome forced Sparta into the Achaean league, which was later defeated along with Corinth, and finally all of Greece was conquered by Rome in 146 B.C.⁷²

Effects of Macedonian Aggression

The accounts of two major ancient historians, Polybius and Livy, provide the primary basis for our modern historical syntheses of this period which was clearly punctuated with constant turmoil.⁷³ Generally, this results in modern thought that retaliation against the Macedonians was built upon strategies and intentions of the various states.⁷⁴ The Peloponnese was comprised of not only major cities such as Sparta, Corinth, and Argos, but also a network of smaller satellite communities about which we do not hear much in the discourse of warfare and complexities of social and political interactions during the Hellenistic Period.⁷⁵ Do we assume they continued to function in the same ways as they had in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. or that under Macedonian power they fell into decline? Because of the lack of discussion about the smaller Greek communities, we are left with a muddled idea of their fate. With a focus on political and

⁷¹ Pritchett 1974, for discussion of these invasions with primary sources He makes the point that Sparta's resources and reputation were likely marred, creating a situation whereby they were no longer as skillful at deterring attackers. Shipley 2009 sums up these numerous attacks along with their primary sources including the following invasions: 1) Cassander of Macedon in 317; 2) Demetrius Poliorcetes of Macedon in 290s; 3) Pyrrhus of Epirus in 272; 4) the Aitolians in the 240s; 5) an attack in the late 220s after Spartan defeat at Sellasia; 6) Philip V of Macedon in 219; 7) the Achaeans under Philopoimen in 200; 8) Romans under Flaminius in 195; 9) Philopoimen in 193.

⁷² Kallett-Marx 1995, pp. 11-87.

⁷³ Gruen 1984, pp. 5-8.

⁷⁴ Shipley 2005, p. 316.

⁷⁵ Nielsen 2002 is the main source to discuss these settlements, minor poleis, and networks, but he does only with respect to Arkadia and with little relationship to Macedonia.

military entanglements, the larger poleis tend to be more prominent in the Peloponnese while the role of extra urban populations is rarely addressed.⁷⁶

We are also faced with the challenge of piecemeal ancient and modern documentation and evidence for many of these sites, making it difficult to establish a clear picture of their roles and relationship to both the urban and rural landscape. This leads to assumptions that the *chora* (space between) communities were insignificant and, in turn, compounds the problematic perception of ‘decline’ in this period. This view has shifted a bit in recent times to one that acknowledges Greek cities were able to remain innovative and prosper, including the rural network of communities. Graham Shipley is one of few scholars to expound on many of these perplexing ideas, highlighting the most relevant and provocative questions that plague smaller Greek cities under Macedonian rule during the Hellenistic third century:

Should we infer their nature from what they looked like in the better-documented fifth and fourth centuries? Had Macedonian rule in the third century been a dead hand, causing inactivity or even decline, or had it affected them profoundly in a different way, for example by promoting economic growth? What kind of changes can we detect in third-century Greece?⁷⁷

Prominent cities such as Corinth were selected by Alexander’s successor as locations for the establishment of garrisons. Furthermore, a fee was imposed upon these cities for the gratuity of this occupation.⁷⁸ The Macedonians also set up their own tyrants in particular locations or inserted local politicians as puppet rulers to take sole power. In this position, a politician could leverage Macedonian support against his internal

⁷⁶ Shipley 2005, pp. 315-30. Shipley provides the main analysis on the effects of Macedonian rule, shedding light on the available evidence and possibility the Macedonian rulers may have been relatively passive while concerned with larger issues at this time.

⁷⁷ Shipley 2005, p. 317.

⁷⁸ Shipley 2005, p. 319.

enemies. This was also a strategy used for local rivalries: Megalopolis chose this route in an effort to procure Macedonian reinforcement in keeping its troublesome neighbor, Sparta, at bay.⁷⁹

Based on the fragmentary evidence available, it appears that the majority of poleis in the Peloponnese (aside from the area of Lakonia and part of Messenia) had a Macedonian backed tyrant, were garrisoned, or close enough to a garrisoned polis to prevent them from rising against the Macedonians.⁸⁰ In 280 B.C., shortly after Sparta attempted an attack on the Aitolians when various poleis banded together to form the Achaean league, Gonatas implemented a network of figureheads or puppet rulers, but this lasted only a few years (Polyb. 2.41.10, 2.41.12-14). By 272 B.C., however, tyrannies began to be imposed at Elis, Megalopolis, and possibly Argos.⁸¹ It was at this point that Macedonian rule became more strict, but while some tyrants were aligned with Macedonia, it is not certain that all were.⁸² An alliance of Sparta, Elis, the Achaeans, and the larger poleis of Arkadia (excluding Megalopolis) began the very unsuccessful Chremonidean war against Macedonia in the early 260s after which the Macedonians achieved the furthest extent of their power in the Peloponnese.⁸³

During this time of Macedonian control in the Peloponnese, there are few signs of harsh oppression. Macedonians did not manipulate land ownership, there were no blatant attempts to break up hegemonies, and there are very few honorific inscriptions or statues of the Macedonian kings.⁸⁴ They did not necessarily rule with an iron fist, and life was

⁷⁹ Shipley 2005, p. 319.

⁸⁰ Errington 1990, p. 169.

⁸¹ Shipley 2005, p. 319.

⁸² Hammond, 1972, p. 273.

⁸³ Errington 1990, pp 170-71.

⁸⁴ Shipley 2005, pp. 320-21.

not much different than it was before Macedonian rule. Several poleis were abandoned and there were some changes with the status of other poleis, re-founding of cities, and annexation of smaller poleis by larger poleis.⁸⁵ Yet, many of these changes can also be linked to synoecism, especially in the years following the founding of cities such as Megalopolis and Messene when cities joined together; this point will be discussed further in Chapter Four.⁸⁶ As part of a reaction to threatened Spartan dominance, Megalopolis annexed towns and territory so that they could act as a political counterweight to Sparta. The main difference is that the domination of land and politics by the elite and better-off population inherently present in the oligarchic tradition intensified.⁸⁷ Essentially, while the normal routines of civic life remained, inequalities were more pronounced, although Shipley acknowledges this is perhaps characteristic of most Greek communities, rather than a product of Macedonian dominance.⁸⁸

Effects of Spartan Hegemony

The actions of Sparta in the course of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. created a mixed impression. The Battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.) was the turning point at which Sparta began to lose power, especially because Theban general Epanimondas subsequently liberated Messinian helots from Spartan oppression and founded the polis of Messene.⁸⁹ In conjunction with the defeat of the Southern Greeks at Chaironeia, Philip II of Macedon also kept Sparta out of parts of Messinia and took away their perioikoi in

⁸⁵ Hansen 1997, pp. 29-38.

⁸⁶ Nielsen 2002. This publication methodically lists the Peloponnesian cities and explores their connection to major poleis and synoecism.

⁸⁷ Shipley 2005, pp. 325-26.

⁸⁸ Shipley 2005, p. 330.

⁸⁹ Luraghi 2008 pp. 209-218. Luraghi provides a more in-depth account of the Epaminondas' campaign and birth of Messene. He discusses the implications of the foundation of the city on a larger scale, as well as in a regional context, explaining the rejection of Spartan domination and the significance of the site location.

northern Lakedaemonia giving them to Tegea, Mantinea, and Messene (Polyb. 9.28.7, 18.14.7).⁹⁰ It seems fitting to refer to the state as ‘weakened’ after this point, but this was a relative situation; compared to the status, power, and control Sparta previously held throughout Greece, it was undeniably in a reduced position. It no longer held control over a major party with which it had a coalition. The number of Spartans had decreased, and the city could no longer rustle up a mass of helot forces as it had when Messenia was under their control.⁹¹

Despite these circumstances, Sparta refused to acknowledge the new city of Messene and still claimed it as part of its ancestral history, continued to be in control of a vast and fertile area in the Eurotas Valley, and retained the majority of Lakedaemonian periokoi.⁹² Sparta neither acquiesced control nor agreed to be confined at this time, and Sparta’s actual downfall took almost another two centuries. Throughout this time, Sparta, in conjunction with the other Lakedaemonians, still exhibited military confidence. Although it was not always secure or victorious, Sparta did manage to carry on as a major force in Greek political and military endeavors. It maintained influence through its reputation of manpower, crafty diplomatic influence, ability to negotiate foreign aid, and means to pay mercenaries.⁹³ Both the Chremonidean War in 260 B.C. and the subsequent attack on Megalopolis illustrate the military confidence of Sparta. During this time and the following decades into the 230s and 220s, Sparta received funding from the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt.⁹⁴ Just because the city depended on subsidies, does

⁹⁰ Cartledge 2002, p. 273

⁹¹ Kennell 2010, p. 161.

⁹² Kennell 2010, p. 146.

⁹³ Shipley, 2009, p. 56.

⁹⁴ Wace 1907/8, pp. 149-158. The number of Ptolemaic coins found at Sparta was most prominent during the reign of King Areus I who was in charge during the Chremonidean War. The Ptolemaic coins did not outnumber other coins found at Sparta from this time; this indicates Sparta was not totally dependent upon

this mean we should assume they were ineffective or lacking power? Instead, we could use this as an important point to illustrate Spartan finesse in securing foreign aid and cultivating political and military alliances.

Recent excavation sheds more light on the question of whether or not increased urbanization in Sparta indicated there was economic change.⁹⁵ Archaeological evidence from the 3rd century B.C. shows new residential areas in the spaces among the four integral villages of Sparta at that time, as well as expansion of possible suburbs.⁹⁶ It may be that an influx of people in the city was connected to economic growth. After losing the land of Messinia, on which they depended for agrarian resources and helot labor to cultivate that land, it is possible Spartans were forced to shift some of their focus to territory closer to the city for agricultural purposes, resulting in a rise in domestic architecture for those needing to live near their land and oversee those who were maintaining it.

There were several rules in retaining Spartan citizenship, one of which was a traditional ban on taking part directly in agriculture. This means that, while citizens often owned the best land that was used for cultivation, they did not actually participate in the labor of farming.⁹⁷ The labor was mainly carried out by rural populations.⁹⁸ This was not unusual in the Peloponnese, but is an important factor in considering the social, economic, political, and religious role of extra urban populations with respect to the city. The situation of Sparta illuminates the exceptionally curious question as to how these

the subsidies, but it does imply the funds were an important contribution to the Spartan military effort to take on Antigonos Gonatas and the Macedonians.

⁹⁵ Shipley 2009, p. 58.

⁹⁶ Kourinou 2000, pp. 89-95, pp. 279-80; MacVeagh Thorne and Prent 2009, p. 239.

⁹⁷ Kennell 2010, p. 81.

⁹⁸ Oliver 2006, p. 288.

smaller populations and scattered helots were creating a community and identifying themselves locally. This includes the type of architecture, namely modest temples that were constructed in their rural vicinity, which are described and discussed extensively in Chapters Two and Four.

The economic sphere also includes the type of trade and contact in which Sparta was involved beyond its borders. At Geraki where the residential buildings were discovered, excavations have also brought to light mold-made bowls that clearly indicate external contact and vases that suggest either trade with Taranto, Alexandria, and Crete, or local workshops that produced similar items.⁹⁹ Evidence of imports was also found in Hellenistic tombs within the city of Sparta. These finds suggest contact with Asia Minor, Crete, Athens, Mytilene, Boiotia, and Macedonia.¹⁰⁰ This may indicate that Sparta and its surrounding rural communities had a growing concern with culture outside its territory, were influenced by foreign production in its own work, and were economically engaged in trade.

Geographical location was also an important factor for Sparta; located in the southeast portion of the Peloponnese, it was somewhat remote from the Macedonians. The Peloponnese was only of cursory interest to the Macedonians, and they were not often involved in matters directly. As long as Sparta did not draw major attention to itself or threaten the stability of the Aegean, the state and the extra-urban populations were able to act mostly independent from Macedonian rule without recourse.

⁹⁹ Langridge-Noti 2009, p. 230.

¹⁰⁰ Raftopoulou 1998, p. 133-40.

Chapter Two: Pastoral Sites

This following collection of temples is representative of the network of sites that are instrumental and integral to the formation and function of the larger poleis of the Peloponnese during the Hellenistic Period. This, of course, is not meant to be a comprehensive list of such temples but a combination of the best preserved examples, places where we have the most extant architectural remains, and examples from which we have epigraphical evidence and artifacts. It is meant to be a tool in identifying such sites so that we can continue to study them and the role they played within the community of the city and its surrounding area, dispelling the notions that importance or significance is determined by whether or not the temple is within the city or outside of it. The position and architecture of the temples I examined is often quite similar, which unifies the sites visually and indicates an emergent pattern of an identifiable typology within the rural architectural program of the Peloponnese. I located the temples through extensive reading and research of archaeological reports and published material if available, combined with a variety of maps including those of the Hellenic Army General Staff (HAGS), ancient author descriptions of the land, and by speaking with local residents.

The information presented on the temples below was gathered from archaeological reports in cases where the temples have been excavated, publications if they exist, descriptions by Pausanias, and personal observation and on-site research detailed to the degree permitted by the regional Ephorates. I have been to each of these locations and provide my own detailed description of the area and visible architectural

elements combined with information available from published work in cases when the architecture is inaccessible. During the course of research, I have encountered few scholars who were familiar with the majority of the sites, let alone having been to them. They were enthusiastic nonetheless and reiterated the value of providing explicit detail concerning the location and how to reach the locations. Admittedly, most are not easily or quickly accessible from main roads and require a bit of a white-knuckled drive through areas of very high, twisty, dirt roads, with the possibility of a generous hike to finally reach them. To address this issue, I have included landmarks, names of villages, and terrain descriptions to make the location clear for future visitors. I have synthesized the very often piecemeal sources and publications to provide each temple with as thorough a consideration as possible. The availability of information for the temples ranges from sufficient evidence allowing a complete description of a large number of architectural features and markings to cases where remains have either been unexcavated or excavated so many years ago, that they are now mostly obscured or devoid of any ancient visual material. Fortunately, there are no cases where the conditions of scant archaeological sources and lack of visual remains coincide. In all cases, because their rural position still exists unspoiled today, the physical location and topography of the area are not impeded by modern local construction.

The Peloponnese was divided into seven regions (prefectures) which are still in use as regional units of Modern Greece (fig.1). These regions are directly named in the “Catalogue of Ships” in the *Iliad*, attesting to their ancient roots (Hom. *Il.* 459-779). I have mapped the rural Hellenistic temples along with major sanctuaries and ancient

major roads (fig. 2).¹⁰¹ As many of the temples are situated within and near the borders of Arkadia, highlighting this as a central focus of the study, I begin the descriptions there.

Arkadia

Arkadia was the central regional unit of highlands (prefecture) in the Peloponnese. It bordered the region of Achaea to the north along Mount Kyllini and Mount Erymanthos. To the east, it bordered the Argolid and Corinthia regions from Mount Kyllini to Mount Oligyrtus and south to Mount Parthenion which is just east of Tripolis. To the south, it bordered the regions of Laconia and Messenia, containing the foothills of the Taygetos mountain range at the southeast and the source of the Alpheios River in the southwest corner of the region. To the west, Arkadia bordered the region of Elis from Mount Erymanthos in the north to Mount Elaeum to the south. Aside from the plains of Tegea and Megalopolis, Arkadia was a rugged, mountainous region.

Alipheira

The site of Alipheira lies northwest of the city of Andritsaina on a steep, narrow ridge extending 800 m in length from northwest to southeast and about 300 m in width with a commanding view of the surrounding hills (figs. 3 and 4). To access the site, one takes the road traveling north from Bassae to Andritsaina. On this main road between Andritsaina and Kato Amigdalies, there is a turn off roughly eight km past Andritsaina, and a dirt road heads north about four km to the site of Alipheira. The last part of the road

¹⁰¹ Sanders and Whitbred 1994, p. 340. The routes used are taken from the analysis carried out by Sanders and Whitbred who used the Peutinger table as the basis of their study. The Peutinger table is an early 13th century parchment copy from an Augustan prototype that shows the roads and network of cities used by the imperial post.

up to the site becomes narrower and steep with ruts created in spots where water has washed away the dirt. From this point, one must make a five to ten minute hike up a moderate but steady incline to reach the site.

The city was built on an easily-defended position which is made up of several hills near a stream called Tritonis (Paus. 8.26.6). The site was enclosed by impressive fortification walls of polygonal construction, still well-preserved in several areas. In antiquity, it was part of Arkadia near the border of Trypahlia but is now part of modern day Elis. It was first inhabited in the 6th century B.C. and joined up with the Arkadian league in the 4th century B.C.¹⁰² Alipheira ceded to the Eleians in the mid-3rd century B.C. and continued to dwindle in prosperity, although managing to fight off the advance of Philip V in 219 B.C. By the early 2nd century B.C., it was listed among the cities of the Achaean League.

Pausanias referred to sanctuaries of Athena and Asklepius (Paus. 8.26.5), and excavations from 1932-1935 by A. Orlandos revealed Temples of Artemis and Asklepius.¹⁰³ While the Temple of Artemis lies near the southern extremity of the site, the Sanctuary of Asklepius is on a lower area at the northwestern-most edge of the site. The temple is situated immediately outside the city walls of Alipheira. The *peribolos* of the Asklepius sanctuary is trapezoidal in shape and also functioned as part of the fortification wall of the city. The sanctuary also contained a building (4 m x 4 m) to the southeast of the altar that was surrounded by unfluted columns and remains of what may be benches; this was possibly the healing area or house of priests of the Asklepieion.¹⁰⁴ The entrance to the city is uncertain, but was most likely through a gate at a gap in the

¹⁰² Hansen 2006, pp. 140-41, 149.

¹⁰³ Orlandos 1968, pp. 43-202.

¹⁰⁴ Alevridis and Melfi 2005, p. 278.

walls near this position, opposed to the extremely sloping remaining sides surrounding the city.¹⁰⁵

The rectangular temple of Asklepius lies in the sanctuary, and measures 5.75 m x 9.30 m with a *pronaos in antis* (fig. a.1). There are no remaining decorative architectural members of the temple, but based on extant remains Orlandos found in the 1930s, he proposed a *distyle in antis* facade.¹⁰⁶ The exterior walls are constructed of hammer-dressed ashlar blocks, a technique also used on the Temple of Athena at Phigaleia. Smooth vertical edges at all four corners of the building are the result of drafting margins. The face of the blocks has a pillowing and broaching effect whereby the surface is rough and puffed out with long vertical tool marks spaced across the surface (fig. 5). The combination of drafting margins and treatment of the surface as described is most-often seen on fortification walls. This is a common feature of small rural temples in ancient southwestern Arkadia and also evident on the temple at Phigaleia. The interior walls are of a less formal style, with rough-hewn blocks that are not particularly uniform in size or arrangement, comparable to the interiors at the pastoral temples of Phigaleia and Lykosoura.

Measuring 2.18 m x 5.36 m, the altar of the temple lies to the east and parallel to the front of building (fig. 6). The *euthynteria* blocks of the altar are preserved, but the *orthostate* blocks resting on it and the supporting blocks on the ends, which were painted with a rosette on one side, are mentioned by excavation reports but not evident at the site today.¹⁰⁷ The altar was dated to the end of the 4th century B.C. by Orlandos, and the

¹⁰⁵ Alevridis and Melfi 2005, p. 274.

¹⁰⁶ Orlandos 1968, pp. 171-82.

¹⁰⁷ Orlandos 1968, pp. 182-99.

temple securely dates to 300 B.C. based on architecture, style of the altar and coin finds.¹⁰⁸

On the axis of the sanctuary there is the cubical base for an acrolithic statue where fragments of ivory and carbonized wood were discovered. The base is a bit a bit far from the back wall of the temple (1.00 m), but this may not be unusual for this type of temple in southwestern Arkadia. The base at the Temple of Athena and Zeus Soter is 1.80 m from the back wall, and the base at Perivolia is located directly in the center of the temple providing a wide space between the walls and base. In front of the statue there was an offering table, pieces of which are visible lying about the temple. It was supported by two lion-footed slabs similar to tables of the same time period found at the Hellenistic Arkadian sites of Phigaleia, Perivolia, and Pheneos.¹⁰⁹ The tables at both sites are of nearly the same dimensions (0.82 m x 0.94 m at Phigaleia and 0.86 m x 0.95 m at Alipheira). The legs may have been inserted into two stone slabs and sealed with lead as was the case at Phigaleia.¹¹⁰ Also on the interior of the temple at Alipheira, fragments of red-painted plaster were found during original cleaning of the temple, and the floor is covered with large stone paving slabs, many of which are still neatly fitted together in a relatively smooth surface.

Lousoi

Located in the hinterland of the northern Arkadian region during ancient times, the small rural Sanctuary of Lousoi extends over two terraces on the high valley south of Kalavryta and Kato Lousoi (figs 7 and 8). Passing through the Sudena plain, four km

¹⁰⁸ Orlandos 1968, pp. 182-99; Alevridis and Melfi 2005, p. 274.

¹⁰⁹ Arapogianni 1996, pp. 132-33.

¹¹⁰ Arapogianni 1996, pp. 132-33.

southwest past Kato Lousoi is the road to the temple. The road turns east and leads up a steep hill roughly three km to the sanctuary which lies on the western ridge of Mount Chelmos. Remains were found in 1897 by W. Dorpfield and A. Wilhelm, and the first excavations occurred between 1898 and 1899.¹¹¹ Identification of the Temple of Artemis Hemerasia is conclusive based on epigraphical evidence of official decrees inscribed on bronze sheets found in the sanctuary.¹¹² Pausanias also mentions the site location and links it with the epithet Hemerasia (Paus. 8.18.7-8).

Based on the votives and other finds of the sanctuary, it was a place of cult worship since Geometric times, but the temple was not constructed until the Hellenistic period.¹¹³ The Austrian Institute resumed excavations as of 1981 under V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, and the settlement survey under F. Glaser. Several buildings were exposed including the Temple of Artemis Hemerasia, oriented east-west on the higher southern terrace.¹¹⁴ The temple was once partly covered by the ruins of a medieval church, but these remains have now been removed. From the position of the temple, looking north, one sees out upon the surrounding plain below, while the hills continue to climb to the south.

The temple is divided into three parts: a pronaos, cella, and *adyton* and measures 32 m x 20 m (fig. a.2). On the exterior of the building, the north and south are flanked by rectangular foundations adjacent to the central structure. However, these appear to be later additions.¹¹⁵ Blocks of stone with hook clamp cuttings are visible at the

¹¹¹ Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, pp. 64-84

¹¹² *IG VII* 387-396; Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, fig. 144-49, 151, 153, and 156-58.

¹¹³ Reichel and Wilhelm 1901; Voyatzis 1990, pp. 277-81.

¹¹⁴ Glaser 1982, p. 24; Mitsopoulos-Leon and Glaser 1986-87, p. 18-22, 1988, pp. 14-18; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990a, pp. 32-36, 1991-92, pp. 25-29, 1992, pp. 97-108.

¹¹⁵ Voyatzis 1990, figs. 14-16, and 18-19; Mitsopoulos-Leon and Glaser 1986-87, p. 20.

euthynteria level of the temple proper all along the north, south, and east sides. Originally, the area of the adyton was interpreted as an *opisthodomos*, which compelled Reichel and Wilhelm to reconstruct the temple as *amphiprostyle*. However, the excavation conducted in 1990 by Mitsopoulos-Leon showed that the back (west) end of the temple was an adyton, possibly serving a location for important visitors, priests, and mysters to rest.¹¹⁶ The location of an altar is unknown if one existed. A rectangular layer of stones laying eight m east of the temple may be the only remains.¹¹⁷

Five bases were found against the exterior north and south cella walls. A base was also found on each side of the north and south exterior walls of the pronaos. Along the south cella wall, a door was incorporated between the third and fourth half-column from the east, leading to what has been interpreted as a “gallery” between the south cella wall and the aforementioned foundations on the south side.¹¹⁸ Although uncommon, the lateral doorway feature is known from other Arkadian temples including Despoina at Lykousoura, Athena Alea at Tegea, and Apollo Epikourios at Bassai. A doorway piercing the north wall has also been suggested but no evidence has been found to verify this feature.¹¹⁹

Although the east end of the temple exhibits the classical two *metopes* over each intercolumniation, the north and south seem to have three, a common Hellenistic feature. Along the south cella wall foundations, the discovery of a Doric capital led to the hypothesis that a colonnade ran along the south side of the temple, much like a *stoa*.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990a, pp. 33-35; Mitsopoulos-Leon 199, p. 100; Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, pp. 24-33, fig. 14.

¹¹⁷ Mitsopoulos-Leon and Glaser 1988, p. 16.

¹¹⁸ Mitsopoulos-Leon and Glaser 1988, p. 14; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991-92, p. 25.

¹¹⁹ Jost 1985, p. 48; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990a, p. 32; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1992, p. 99.

¹²⁰ Mitsopoulos-Leon and Glaser 1986-87, p. 24.

Stoas were often found in sanctuaries; however, in this case, it was attached to the temple, serving as a *portico*.

Replicating the exterior colonnade of the temple, five half-columns, the bases for which can still be seen, were on the interior of the cella along the north and south walls, a layout also seen in the Temple of Apollo at Bassai.¹²¹ A rectangle of several larger, roughly worked stones is situated in the center of the cella, serving as part of the base for the cult statue. Based on the building foundation and architectural finds of the excavations, the reconstruction and dating of this structure is focused on the end of 4th century- beginning of 3rd century B.C.¹²² Although there is conjecture regarding a predecessor to this temple based on few exiguous architectural fragments, no foundations have been uncovered to substantiate this.¹²³ The lower terrace includes remains of a *propylon*, *bouleuterion*, and a fountain house, also dated to the Hellenistic period.

Lykosoura

The Sanctuary at Lykosoura lies 7 km (13 km by road) west of Megalopolis and just southeast of Mt. Lykaio (figs. 9 and 10). Passing through Megalopolis beyond the industrial area and toward Mt. Lykaion, there is a sign after the village of Kato Karies indicating a left turn to Lykosoura. The narrow, windy road leads 5 km to another road which forks off to the left leading to the entrance of the site. The temple lies in a small level clearing surrounded by trees on the northeast slope of a hill south of the Plataniston River.

¹²¹ Brulotte 1994, p. 51.

¹²² Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, p. 32; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990b, p. 137.

¹²³ For antefixes and akroteria see Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, pp. 61-62, fig. 128-36, for column fragments and half columns see pp. 32-33.

Pausanias is the only ancient author to mention the sanctuary which contained a temple, stoa, and three altars of Demeter, Despoina, and the Great Mother (Paus. 8.37.1-10).¹²⁴ Pausanias conjectured this site was the central location for cult activity for Arkadians in antiquity based on the presence of cult statues, uncommon method of sacrifice, and enactment of the mysteries of the goddess (Paus. 8.37.8). The Doric *hexastyle* prostyle temple was excavated by Leonardos and Kavvadias in 1889, 1890, and 1895, and Kourouniotis in 1902.¹²⁵ The temple was dedicated to Despoina, an important Arkadian chthonic goddess identified with Persephone-Kore.

The temple has an east-west orientation and includes a pronaos and cella (fig. a.3). There are three steps at the east end and the temple measures approximately 12 m x 21 m.¹²⁶ The standing exterior wall courses are comprised of the orthostates and slightly projecting orthostate crowns from local limestone. The south wall has a doorway leading out to stepped rows of seating, which probably pertained to the rituals of the temple (figs. 11 and 12). On the north side, *toichobate* blocks are also visible, and the foundations consist of small unhewn stones that were bonded with clay.¹²⁷ The upper walls have been reconstructed as baked mud brick since there is an absence of surviving limestone blocks for wall courses above the orthostate crown. However, there is a surviving *epikranitis* block with a cutting on the bottom that tells otherwise. This cutting shows that the block was doveled to the block below it, for which mud brick would not be sufficient. Since the width of the architrave block is half the width of the temple walls, it

¹²⁴ On the temple see Tomlinson 1963; on the cult see Jost 1985, pp. 172-78; Jost 2003, pp. 326-27; Stiglitz 1967, pp. 30-50; sculpture see Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906-07; Stewart 1990, pp. 94-96; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 279-81.

¹²⁵ Kavvadias 1893; Dickins 1906, Kourouniotis 1912, pp. 142-61.

¹²⁶ Frazer 1965, p. 368.

¹²⁷ Frazer 1965, p. 368.

is likely that the upper courses of the temple consisted of a double-curtain wall. The columns, entablature, and sima were constructed of a coarse-grained white marble, visible on site.

The interior cella walls consist of roughhewn blocks arranged in uneven, unparallel courses and smaller stone masonry than the exterior, similar to the interior of the Athena Temple at Phigalea (fig. 13). In reference to the previously mentioned issue of the construction material of the upper wall courses, if there was a double-curtain wall, the interior of this wall may have been constructed in this rustic style, as well. A sunken chamber north of the west end of the temple shows walls with this type of stone. The chamber is a later construction that may have reused this material from the interior curtain wall of the temple cella, which would help explain the problem regarding the absence of temple wall blocks found during excavations.

To the southeast of the temple is a space called the Megaron, which Pausanias noted as the area where Arkadians offered major sacrifices to Despoina by hacking a limb from the sacrificial animal opposed to slitting the throat. Dinsmoor listed this altar in comparison with monumental altars of Pergamon and Syracuse, but today there is very little to be seen.¹²⁸

The back portion of the cella housed a large marble group statue with the cult figures of Demeter and her daughter, Despoina, in the center flanked by Artemis (known locally as Demeter's daughter), and Anytos (Despoina's guardian during childhood) (Paus 8.37.3-4).¹²⁹ The base for the group remains in the temple, and the sculptures rose

¹²⁸ Dinsmoor 1950, p. 287.

¹²⁹ Dickins 1910-11, pp. 80-87; Platt 2011, p. 125. The reconstruction can be ascertained from Pausanias, as well as the depiction of the group on a coin from Megalopolis.

as high as 5.70 m within the modest-sized temple.¹³⁰ The coarse-grained marble of the statue is the same as that used in the entablature, sima, and columns, while the base is constructed from the same local limestone seen in the lower portion of the walls. The works were sculpted by Damophon of Messene from the middle of the 2nd century B.C.¹³¹ The heads of the Demeter, Artemis, and Anytos figures reside in the National Museum at Athens, while other fragments remain in the museum at Lykosoura.

The mosaic floor of the cella abuts the massive statue base which was gated or roped off in some fashion from the rest of the cella, a feature also evident in the temples discussed in this thesis at Epidauros, Pheneos, and Kleonai. Frazer noted that he saw remains of a “barrier, consisting of narrow quadrangular stones with sockets for the attachment of a railing or balustrade.”¹³²

The temple also possesses elements of decoration including floral reliefs on the *anta epikranitis* blocks, palmettes in the soffits of corner raking *geison* blocks, and relief floral figures on two *akroterion* from the temple which are displayed in the lower level of the Tripolis Museum (figs. 14 and 15). Interestingly, these features seem to be exceedingly similar to and contemporary with the architectural members of the heroon at Ancient Messene, suggesting they are both from the Hellenistic period.¹³³ Frieze blocks, column fragments, a sima with a lion head spout (fig. 16), and additional *geison* fragments are also present on the ground near the temple.

¹³⁰ Stewart 1990, p.94. Stewart expands on the dark polychrome drapery of the statues.

¹³¹ Stewart 1990, p.94; Themelis 1996, pp.170-2; Dickins 1910-11, pp. 85 who all place their dates in the early 2nd century; Luraghi 2008, pp. 278-85 who places the date in the second quarter of the 2nd century.

¹³² Frazer 1965, p.viii. 24.5-7.

¹³³ Frederick Cooper (pers. comm. July 2008).

Methydrion/Petrovouni

The site of the temple at Petrovouni is in central Arkadia near Methydrion at the foothills of Mount Menalo (figs 17 and 18). Driving east on the main road from Olympia toward Tripolis, the site is 17 km east of Langadia. The small temple is situated about 100 m off the main road. The turn off is a very discreet path to the left which angles back to the northwest. There is a church that is visible right next to the small field which contains the temple foundations. After parking, you will cross through a barbed wired fence, and head toward a large olive tree situated on the north side of the field. This is where the foundations lie, but it is unlikely you will notice the blocks until you are very close. Dirt has piled up a bit on the edges of where the excavations took place in the early 19th century. The site has obviously been maintained to some extent over the past 100 years, or the blocks would be completely overgrown.

The temple was excavated in 1910 by F. F. Hiller von Gaertringen and H. Lattermann.¹³⁴ The deity identification of the temple is not entirely clear, but it is generally accepted that the temple was dedicated to Horse Poseidon with an earlier version of the temple prior to the Hellenistic temple.¹³⁵ Although vague in his location of the temple, Pausanias mentions Horse Poseidon in relation to Methydrion, which was the town 2 km away, and is clearly within the vicinity of the temple (Paus. 8.36.2). Part of this identification has come from Arkadian myth regarding the birth of Zeus. The myth tells of Rhea giving birth in this area; rather than giving her son to Kronos, she told him she had given birth to a horse and gave him a foal to eat instead of his child.¹³⁶ The legend is modeled on the birth of Zeus, but the inclusion of the foal creates associations with Poseidon's connection to the horse. To corroborate this, a bronze votive figure found on the

¹³⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, pp. 31-37.

¹³⁵ Jost, 2007, pp. 273-4; Voyatzis 1990, p. 218.

¹³⁶ Jost 2007, p. 273.

west side of the temple shows a group of four dancing figures that appear to be wearing horse-like masks, which Mary Voyatzis connects to rituals of Horse Poseidon.¹³⁷ By creating this type of myth, the Arkadians claimed a relationship to divine birth, asserted a major role in the life of the gods, and simultaneously created a link to Poseidon.

The foundations of the east facing Petovouni temple are twice as long as they are wide at 15 m x 30 m. At the time of their excavation, a portion of the cella wall was still standing, but has since disappeared.¹³⁸ Foundations for a transverse wall are visible at the eastern end of the temple, indicating a distyle in-antis plan with a pronaos and cella (fig. a.4). There is also the foundation of a small base in the southwest corner. In the west end of the temple, exactly under the north corner, there is an adjacent wall made of small stones, which are probably the remains of an ancient terrace wall. The outer temple foundation on the north and east sides has broken away in pieces. The northeast corner rises over 0.50 m above the southeast corner, obviously the result of distortion over time. The width of the foundation averages 1.20 m -1.30 m. The foundation material is a colorful mix of gray and dark blue limestone and the stones are worked roughly on the sides (fig. 19). On the south side, a seemingly regular pattern emerges: a header block is placed next to a stretcher block, and smaller stones are packed in behind. The top height of the foundations for the traverse wall is a bit taller than the top of the enclosure walls.

A piece of euthynteria has been well preserved on the southwest corner at 0.36 m high. It is clear this is the euthynteria course as the blocks facing out have a surface that has only been worked a portion of the way down. Below this worked area, the blocks have a very rough and jagged surface which would have been concealed by the ground. The corner stone is connected with the adjacent stone of the west side through a narrow Π clamp (0.26 m

¹³⁷ Voyatzis 1990, p. 118.

¹³⁸ Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, p. 32.

long), that still rests in its original lead grouting.¹³⁹ On the other side, the neighboring stone has holes for the same Π clamp, but the rest has broken off (fig. 20). The blocks each have a dowel hole with lead along with their pouring channels. The joints of this layer were carefully worked to smoothly fit together. The third block east of the southeast corner shows pry marks and a lip on the top side indicating the block placed above it would have been indented from the edge of the euthynteria block. The indentation is not large enough to be used as a step. This, coupled with the pry, dowel, and clamp marks, tells us the placing of the stones above this course was done so very carefully. This indicates that the course likely served as the *stylobate* of the building upon which the wall blocks of the cella were placed.

Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann's excavation showed that the stone from an older building is present, which is not visible today. This earlier edifice was detected by a block connected to the northeast corner foundation stone which showed a dowel hole next to an H clamp. Because of the difference in style of construction evident on the block, coupled with the finding of two very different akroteria and the bronze votive of masked dancing figures, they concluded that there was a previous building at the site constructed in the late sixth or early 5th century B.C. Based on the style of the palmette on later akroteria (of which the present location is unknown) and the type of construction of the current foundations, the excavators identified it as a Hellenistic temple of the 3rd century B.C.

The excavators note the presence of an orthostate block, which is nowhere to be seen at the site today. It is probable that blocks reported in the early 19th century which are now absent were taken and used for local construction. The nearby church is a good candidate. Upon closer inspection, one can see portions of the church where the stucco has chipped off

¹³⁹ This matches the findings and plan drawing of the excavators Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, p. 34-35 fig. 7.

and fallen away revealing traces of ancient blocks.¹⁴⁰ There is no trace of an altar or statue base present.

Perivolia

During the period 1969 to 1972, Frederick Cooper explored the region to the west of the temple of Apollo at Bassae, concentrating in the area of Phigaleia and the Neda River gorge and he came across the architectural remains of the temple at Perivolia (figs. 21 and 22).¹⁴¹ The temple is only a few kilometers from the Artemis Temple at Phigaleia discussed just following this entry. Heading east from Nea Phigaleia to Bassae, the road forks left at modern Perivolia to continue onto Bassae. Roughly 1 km past this fork, lies the small temple at Perivolia situated on the north side of a bend in the road. Pausanias does not mention any such temple in the area, and later travelers also overlooked its presence. To date, the deity of the temple has not been identified. Cooper received permission to clear (not excavate) the site in 1977. In 2005, 33 years after Cooper first discovered the temple, the Ephoreia at Olympia, Mrs. Gia Chatzi, commenced excavations at Perivolia that continued to the Fall of 2011.¹⁴²

The rectangular Doric temple is 10.10 m x 5.75 m (fig. a.5). It is unclear from excavation whether or not this was a simple single room temple, or whether there was a pronaos. There is one spot at the east end of the walls where it looks as though there may have been blocks or rough stones notched partly into the foundation blocks of the walls. If these blocks were indeed present, they would have stuck out into the cella forming a modest partition or cross wall between a pronaos and the cella. If there were no blocks

¹⁴⁰ Also reported by the excavators, Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, pp. 34.

¹⁴¹ Fred Cooper (pers. comm. 2008).

¹⁴² Morgan 2009-10, p. 200; Archibald 2011, p. 59.

present to distinguish separate spaces, then one would have entered directly into the cella of the temple from the outside. It is also uncertain what the façade of the temple looked like. Five doric column fragments were apparent at the site in the 1970s when Frederick Cooper first discovered the site and are visible in his photographs. They were no longer found at the site when excavation began in 2005. This indicates the temple was either prostyle or distyle in antis. I have restored it as distyle in antis with possibility of pronaos (dotted line). Based on the combined thickness of the standing interior and exterior orthostate blocks, the wall width is 0.75 m. The front wall is also calculated to be this width, which means this is also my dimension for the columns, which I then spaced evenly across the front of the temple.

When Cooper first found the temple, the north orthostates were largely in situ, but two to three meter accumulation of field stones and a thicket of Kermes oak obscured the central portion of the temple. Despite this, discernable components of the temple were lying about the rubble; six blocks of Doric frieze including two from the corners, worked geison blocks, and pieces of stylobate with a decorative sunken rebate. Two corner *triglyph* blocks remain at the site, one of which still retains a broken edge with a tiny portion of a triglyph. This indicates that at least the front of the temple would have displayed triglyphs continuing across the span on the east end. A number of pieces belonging to what appeared to be a geison course were noticed in 1977 when the site was cleared. In the recent excavations additional pieces have also been recovered. The profile is quite unusual as a series of shallow-carved moldings rising along a near vertical plane: a base hawksbeak surmounted by two cavettos, and a crown fillet. The profile

suggests it belongs to a horizontal geison, not to a raking geison, but future study will clarify this.

The altar has all but disappeared except for several dislodged blocks, due to alteration of the road in the 1990s (fig. 23). In 1977, the altar was quite distinctive. Blocks from the altar base and a block from the front course with a raised stippled panel stuck out from the overlying heap of field stones. An *anthemion* of palmettes, carved in a fine-grained limestone block was lying in the vicinity of the altar, but was no longer found on the site by in 2005 (fig. 24). The fragment was broken on all sides but had a finished back and front. I associate the piece as a decorated end to the altar, having details and size comparable to the altar of Aesklepios at Alipheira, which belongs to a similar style rural temple with like features and dimensions to Perivolia.

The walls of the cella are comprised of interior and exterior orthostates. The exterior blocks are large, of varying lengths, and have a shallow lip on the vertical edges used in order to line up the joints during construction (fig. 25). Additionally, the exterior orthostates are unusually tall at 1.22 m, similar to the Heroon at Messene which are 1.17 m versus the Parthenon at 1.12 m. The interior orthostates are more damaged, but they are thinner and possibly narrower than the exterior blocks. These orthostates rest on the euthynteria course, as the exposed sides (other than the surface the orthostates rest on) are not smoothed out by chiseling. Therefore, there is not a stylobate made up of nicely dressed ashlar masonry on this temple, which is quite apparent when inside the temple as the floor of the temple rests at a level below the euthynteria, therefore exposing the uneven surface below the orthostate course. Just beneath the orthostate course, the blocks are joined with dovetail clamps (fig. 26).

This level is designated as the floor of the temple because it is even with the bottom of the statue base, and the level where finds including many oil lamp fragments, metal pieces, and other ceramic finds were uncovered. Based on conversation with the excavators, they believe this was a dirt floor, as no systematic arrangement or quantity of terracotta or stone were found to indicate any paving.¹⁴³ This means the floor level falls below the stylobate, exposing the uneven surface of the euthynteria course on the interior of the temple. Therefore, those who entered would have stepped down into the temple. This feature is not necessarily unusual, as it was also the case at the nearby rural temple of Athena and Zeus at Phigaleia, which shares many similarities with this temple.

Centered directly in the cella of the temple floor rests the statue base for an unknown deity. The slab for the base of the statue remained in situ when the base was removed and taken to the Olympia Museum for repair. The base was set back into place within the temple in October 2011. Unfortunately, as of yet, no sculpture or inscriptions on the base have been found to indicate the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. A lion-footed offering table was found directly in front of the east side of this statue base. The offering table is strikingly similar to those found in other small rural Hellenistic temples nearby, including the Asklepius Temple at Alipheira and the Temple to Athena and Zeus Soter at Phigaleia.

Pheneos

The site is on a low hill just outside of Archaia Pheneos on the road leading to Stymphalos, on the outskirts of modern northeastern Arkadia (figs 27 and 28). To the

¹⁴³ M. Petrakis, excavator and G. Chatzi. 7th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (pers.comm. Sept. 2011).

west is Lousoi and to the east is Stymphalos. The Pheneos Valley faces the high rugged mountains of Kyllini and Chelmos on the west. Traveling one km east out of Archaia Pheneos, a small dirt road to the right leads to the sanctuary of Asklepius, which was excavation by Protonotariou-Dheilaki in the 1960's. The deity has been verified from the inscription on the cult statue base and coins discovered during excavation.¹⁴⁴ Information from ancient sources regarding this temple and the buildings present at the site is sparse, which has been speculated to have something to do with massive floods at various points in history. Pausanias discusses the proximity to water and ritual cleansing before going to the *abaton* to sleep where the god would appear in a dream. Pausanias does not refer to the temple, but he and Pliny refer to cycles of floods and drying up of the lake, which may have covered the temple, therefore making it invisible to any of these visitors (Paus. 8.14.1; Plin. *HN* 31.30.54).

The east facing temple at Pheneos is peculiar in that it is divided into two rooms from left to right as you stand at the entrance, opposed to entering the temple and passing forward through the porch and cella toward the back wall (fig. a.6). The temple is 14.40 m x 11.50 m with each of the rooms measuring approximately 6.00 m x 10.50 m on the interior. The walls are roughly 0.75 m thick and constructed from stones (schist and limestone) fitted together. The upper walls were probably made of mud brick. The rooms each have an entrance on the east side with threshold blocks made of limestone. There has been no evidence of an altar uncovered to date.

The room to the north has a high pedestal at the back with sockets to receive a pair of statues. In this rear part of the cella, there is an elevated floor level. The transition point between this level and the lower level of the cella is marked by a socle for

¹⁴⁴ SEG XIX 328; Ridgway 1990, p. 235; Vanderpool, 1959, pp. 280-81, fig. 13, pl. 76.

a low balustrade to separate the area of the cella from the rear of the temple which housed the base. In front of this socle stood a marble lion-footed offering table on the axis of the entrance. Therefore, the movement of worshippers was restricted. They could enter the temple and leave an offering, but they were not permitted past the offering table to the area of the statue. Aside from the variance in levels of the floor in this room, the material is also different. The rear consists of a reddish soil with bits of plaster, while the front was most likely a wood floor based on a row of nails found in their original position during excavation.¹⁴⁵

The south cult room of the double temple has a massive statue base with an inscription indicating the temple was dedicated to Asklepius (fig. 29). The base is roughly 4.50 m x 1.90 m and approximately 1.0 m high. The center of cella floor is covered with a mosaic in front of the statue base. Deilaki's excavation revealed the colossal sculpture fragments and the mosaic, in which strips of lead were used for outlines.¹⁴⁶ Ridgway describes the arrangement and layout of the sculpture and temple:

The complex at Pheneos epitomizes all the points made about Hellenistic practices related to cult images. Pedestal and statues filled the entire back of the main room of a small temple, and were fronted by a mosaic floor. The statues were colossal (three times lifesize), acrolithic, Classicizing in style, with inserted eyes that either derive from the chryselephantine technique or imitate works of the Severe period. Even their base – in dark stone crowned by a now missing molding probably in white marble – recalls Classical formulas; it was signed by the sculptor, in keeping with Hellenistic customs.¹⁴⁷

On and around the base, fragments of acrolithic statues were found, including a finger, a female head, and several feet indicating there was not only one but two colossal statues.

¹⁴⁵ Hood 1962, p. 9.

¹⁴⁶ Daux 1959, p. 625; Daux 1961, p. 682; Jost 1985, p.32; Vanderpool 1959, pp. 280-81; Hood 1960, p. 10; Megaw 1963, p. 17, 1966, p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ Ridgeway 1990, p. 235.

The base itself had an inscription attributing a statue of Asklepius and Hygeia to Attalos of Athens.¹⁴⁸

The 0.80 m high colossal female head of Hygeia is in excellent condition with inserted eyes and bronze eyelashes still intact and can be seen at the museum in Archaia Pheneos upon appointment or sheer luck that someone in the village is nearby with a key. The statue fragments are dated to the 2nd century B.C.¹⁴⁹ The statue base was in a dark stone and signed by an Athenian artist also credited with making the cult image for the temple of Apollo Lykeios at Argos.¹⁵⁰

During excavation, many offering bases were also found at the façade of the temple and just inside the entrance.¹⁵¹ A similar layout and collection of bases for statue offerings is also evident in the Temple of Artemis at Messene, although the Messene temple is tripartite in plan. Additional finds of bronze medical instruments typical for the healing cult of Asklepius were also discovered, confirming the identity of the temple.¹⁵²

Phigaleia

Situated on a hill north of the modern town of Phigaleia, is the acropolis of the ancient city (figs. 30 and 31). Heading east from Nea Figalia to Bassae, the road veers right at modern Perivolia and leads to the modern town of Pavlitsa. The site is bound by

¹⁴⁸ Ridgway 1990, p. 235; Vanderpool, 1959, pp. 280-81, fig. 13, pl. 76. In addition to the base, many coins of Pheneos found in excavation confirm the identification of the building as that of Asklepeius.

¹⁴⁹ Stewart 2012, p.302, p. 306 fig. 36. A special thanks to A. Stewart for a conversation regarding the head at Pheneos in Spring 2013. He dates this head to the 2nd century B.C. based on a smaller head he found in the storerooms of the Athenian agora of the same date based on style. He strongly supports the idea that there were schools of artists learning the same techniques, and that the face of the head from the agora and that of the head at Pheneos are almost the same. He suggests the artists who made them were from the same school

¹⁵⁰ Ridgway 1990, 235.

¹⁵¹ Jost 1985, p. 32.

¹⁵² Jost 1985, p. 32.

a ravine on the west and built on rock which dramatically slopes down to the Neda River. Pausanias discusses a sanctuary of Artemis Soteira, but its location has never been secured (Paus. 8.39.5). The Sanctuary of Artemis Soteira most likely lies on the crown above Pavlitsa, now occupied by a church to Hagios Elias. The church is accessible from the road to Phigaleia, where there is a wooden painted sign pointing to a winding dirt road that leads up the steep hill. At the summit, one can look to the south and clearly see the important pastoral temple of Athena and Zeus Soter at a lower elevation only a half kilometer beyond. From this vantage point, one can also see where the temple lies in relation to the well-preserved fortification walls and surrounding territory.

The Athena temple lies beyond modern Phigaleia along the road from the modern town of Perivolia to Pavlitsa. As one approaches the village of Pavlitsa, the road curves 90 degrees to the left and continues through the village. At this curve, there is an archaeological sign that directs you straight ahead to the nearby temple rather than taking the left toward the village. Unmentioned by Pausanias, the temple lies to the southwest on a low hill overlooking the agora. It was excavated by Arapogianni between 1996 and 1998.¹⁵³ The east-facing temple is dedicated to Athena and Zeus Soter based on an inscription from a bronze statue whose base indicates it is a statue of Kallikrates dedicated to Athena and Zeus Soter.¹⁵⁴ The Doric edifice measures 15.70 m x 7.70 m and is divided into a pronaos and cella (fig. a.7), as well as a monumental and monolithic threshold which has cuttings for the parastades of the door (fig. 33). No altar has been found.

¹⁵³ Arapogianni 1996, pp. 129-137; Arapogianni 1997, pp. 115-120; Arapogianni 1998, pp. 127-28.

¹⁵⁴ *SEG* XLVI 448; Arapogianni 1996, p. 134.

At least three courses of the wall blocks stand constructed in irregular isodomic style masonry. Pry marks on the highest remaining course of wall blocks indicate that at least the next course was also constructed in limestone blocks. The wall blocks are notable in that they display fairly even, smooth, straight courses with rectangular, ashlar blocks on the exterior, notably in the south wall, while the interior is markedly different. Within the cella, the walls reveal a rustic, uneven surface with the masonry appearing much more polygonal, quite similar to the interiors of the temples of Despoina at Lykosoura and Asklepius at Alipheira (fig. 34). The northeast and southeast corners of the temple clearly show smooth drafting margins and a rough tooling of the exterior surface, characteristic also apparent in the Asklepius Temple at Alipheira.

Upon entering the pronaos, there is a short ramp which leads to the monumental doorway into the cella. The threshold block shows cuttings where the door would have been attached to swing open, as well as cuttings to receive the dowel for locking. From this threshold one would have stepped down into the cella, as indicated by the terracotta tile paved floor that lies below the level of the threshold. At the back of the temple is a large, nearly square (1.7 m x 1.64 m) statue base *in situ*. On the upper surface is a squared tennon for placement of the cult statue. A lion-footed offering table was found in front of the large base, which is evident based on two limestone slabs with cuttings to receive the legs of the table.¹⁵⁵

Stymphalos

Stymphalos, part of Arkadia in antiquity but now in modern Corinthia, is known as the site of one of the twelve labors of Herakles: the Stymphalian birds. Living near the

¹⁵⁵ Aropogianni 1996, pp. 132-133.

Stymphalos Lake, man-eating birds were rustled out by Herakles shaking a brass bell. Once they took flight, Herakles shot them with stones flung by his slingshot, eradicating the city of the nasty creatures. The birds are often said to have symbolized the putrid stench coming from the lake.

The area of Stymphalos is a plain circumscribed by mountains, with Mantinea to the south, Pheneos to the west, Achaea to the north, and Nemea to the east (figs. 35 and 36). The name Stymphalos is also given to a mountain, a river, and a town in the area. Mount Kyllini is to the north, from which Mount Stymphalos juts out forming the acropolis of the site. Traveling southeast from Pheneos through the villages of Kastania and Karteri, the road veers slightly northeast around the north side of Lake Stymphalos. About 5 km past Karteri, the road inclines and there is a small area to pull off and park. At this point, one can hike to the site and meander from the acropolis down to the lower levels.

In modern day, the lower portion of the site often disappears under the waters of the lake during the rainy months. The dry summer months are the best time to see remains lying further to the south when the waters have receded. A. Orlandos excavated part of the site between 1924 and 1930;¹⁵⁶ Hector Williams has been director of excavations on the north side of the lake since 1982, working closely with G. Schaus.¹⁵⁷ Orlandos also found a fragmentary boundary stone with ΠΟΛΙΔΑΣ (Polidas) inscribed on it, originally leading to the suggestion this was a temple to Artemis Polias, although I

¹⁵⁶ Orlandos 1924, pp. 117-23, 1926, pp. 51-55 and 131-39, 1927, pp. 53-56, 1928, pp. 120-23, 1929, p. 92, 1930, pp. 88-91.

¹⁵⁷ Williams 1993, pp. 194-205, 1984, pp. 169-86, 1985, pp. 215-24; Williams and Cronkite 1995, pp. 1-22; Williams, Schaus and Conkrite 1996, pp. 75-98; Williams et al. 1998, pp. 261-319, 2002, pp. 135-87.

will further address this on p.60 .¹⁵⁸ Williams and Schaus have uncovered many finds such as earrings, rings, and votive figurines supporting the identification as a female deity.

The acropolis is on a hill extending ca. 500 m to the east, along the edge of the lake. At the highest point, the remains of a tower or bastion from the circuit walls is preserved to a height of 3 m. From this point it is possible to see the wall extending down through the plain to the north as well as the open plain of fields around the site. Descending the acropolis to the east, the remains of a small Hellenistic temple with a quadrangular structure abutting it on the northeast are visible.

The sanctuary on the small open area includes the temple, a stone-built altar, a large rectangular service building with annexes on the northern and western sides, and several smaller structures on the southern side of the site. Orlandos cleared the temple measuring 11.60 m x 6.00 m which contains a pronaos and cella (fig a.8). There are no remnants of columns or indications where they would have been placed, but travelers in the 19th century intimate that it was an in antis temple.¹⁵⁹ It was built against the outcroppings of bedrock visible on the western side of the sanctuary. The temple opens up to the east, with an altar a few meters from the façade. A small flight of five stairs in the center of the east side led up to the entrance.¹⁶⁰ The temple foundations and orthostates were built of the surrounding local limestone, and likely had mudbrick walls. On the north side of the building, a few foundation courses in orthogonal masonry are visible, as well as the euthynteria, which is also visible on the west and south. Above this, the roughly chiseled orthostate course of the cella walls is still standing, which have

¹⁵⁸ Woodward 1927, p. 258

¹⁵⁹ Williams and Schaus 2000, p. 79.

¹⁶⁰ Williams and Schaus 2000, p. 79

traces of white plaster painted dark red over the interior surface. Based on patterns of burning on the floor suggesting burning fallen roof beams, iron nails found around the temple during excavation, and large roof tile fragments, we assume the temple had a wooden roof covered in large tiles.¹⁶¹

Roughly five meters east of the temple is the altar which measures about 2.0 m x 1.5 m. The altar consists presently of three large rough limestone blocks south of a massive orthostate that formed the northern end of the altar: in antiquity the three blocks were one large block over two meters in length, but has now broken. It is probable that the altar was covered over with plaster in its original form but this no longer survives.

Just to the south of the three blocks are the remains of a partial orthostate that is probably a surviving portion of the southern edge of the monument.

Just outside of the temple steps to the north side is a rectangular block with a circular cutting. This was most likely for the placement of a *perirhanterion* from which visitors could ritually be cleansed by the water before entering. The interior of the temple has a rough floor with patches of chiseled bedrock. According to excavators, the cella may never have had a proper floor since votive finds and destruction evidence were found all the way down to sterile soil, even in the crevices between outcroppings.¹⁶² Also on the interior, there is a limestone block in the bedrock of the floor near the back of the cella. It is not on axis with the doorway and at a bit of an angle, but it may be part of the base for the cult statue as there is no indication of any other base.

¹⁶¹ Williams and Schaus 2000, p. 79.

¹⁶² Williams and Schaus 2000, p. 79.

Excavations revealed two fragmentary marble statues in the temple, including a late archaic kore and part of a late classical or early Hellenistic "temple child."¹⁶³ Over 200 pieces of mostly bronze jewelry, nearly 200 terracotta figurines, and about 100 terracotta loom weights were also found.¹⁶⁴ Over 150 iron catapult projectile points appeared across the sanctuary, most from the destruction abandonment level of mid-2nd century B.C. following a siege, possibly by the Romans.¹⁶⁵

Based on finds of more recent excavations by Williams and Schaus, including dedications of a coin, a drinking cup, and a bronze rim, excavators now believe the main deity of the temple may be Eileithyia.¹⁶⁶ Partial inscriptions on these objects, along with sculptural fragments of a baby or "temple child" make this a likely identification. The Nursing Goddess, a chthonic deity, could be invoked as Ge, Athena, Eileithyia, Demeter, or Iphigenia depending upon location.¹⁶⁷ Associated with childbirth, childcare and upbringing, Eileithyia was considered more ancient than Kronos in Arkadia (Paus. 8.21.3). Establishing a cult of this nature at Stymphalos would have created a very ancient link for the religious identity of the city. Her cult is not common in the Peloponnese, but traces of her worship have been found at Sparta, Messene, Argos, Megalopolis, Olympia, Elis, and Corinth.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ Williams and Schaus 2000, pp. 85-86.

¹⁶⁴ Williams et al. 2002, pp. 151-2.

¹⁶⁵ Williams et al. 2002, p. 152.

¹⁶⁶ Williams et al. 2002, p. 154.

¹⁶⁷ Price 1978, p. 139.

¹⁶⁸ Price 1978, pp. 138-47.

Achaea

Achaea is the mountainous northernmost region of the Peloponnese stretching across the coastal strip north of Arkadia. To the east it bordered the Korinthia near the polis of Sicyon. Arkadia bordered Acaea on the south from Mount Kyllini to Mount Erymanthos. On the west, the border of Elis coincided roughly with the western ridge of Mount Erymanthos and the Larissos River.

Aigeira

Ancient Aigeira is situated on the northern Peloponnesian coast in the hills just south of the Patras-Corinth highway (figs. 37 and 38). It rests above the modern town of Mavra Litharia and roughly opposite Mount Parnassus which is visible across the Corinthian Gulf. The exit near Mavra Litharia along the Patras-Corinth road winds around under the highway, heading south up the hills to the northern edge of Mount Eurostine. There is a small unpaved clearing surrounded by trees on the left side of a bend in the road and an archaeological site sign for Aigeira. From here a small dirt path leads around the back of the theater and alongside two temples. Also known as the site of Homeric Hysperesia, Polybius described the city as near a river and located between the cities of Aigion and Sikyon (Polyb. 4.57). To the west is the Krius River, which is the most likely candidate fitting his description. According to Pausanias, along with the city of Pellene, it formed the easternmost limit of the ancient region of Achaea before reaching Corinthia and the Argolid (Paus. 7.26.12).

The modern road passes through two hills; the smaller west terrace is identified as the acropolis at about 415 m above sea level, and the lower plateau to the northeast

contains the theater and adjacent temples at an elevation of 350 m. Standing at the lower plateau looking north, the landscape gradually slopes down, showing a wide vista of the gulf. Initial excavation began in 1916 and continued in 1925 by the Austrian, Otto Walter. Excavations did not resume until 1972 and were led by W. Alzinger, also under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute until 1988. In 1998, G. Ladstätter became the director of the site.

Aigeira revealed human activity dating back to the Late Neolithic period, and remains on the acropolis hill show that the site experienced settlement in the Late Mycenaean Period around 1300 B.C. The sanctuary was continually rebuilt in subsequent periods and in use until the 4th century B.C. In the 4th century B.C., Aigeira experienced a resurgence and the central area of activity shifted to the lower terrace the northeast where the theatre and several cult buildings were built, The two main factors contributing to the 3rd century heyday of Aigeira were most likely the shift of population from Aigai in 350 B.C. and the foundation of the Achaean league in 281/280 B.C.

The Temple of Artemis was identified early on in field work at Aigeira, despite the fact that there are no inscriptions to securely remove any doubt. Pausanias mentioned the location of the Temple of Artemis in a sanctuary on the left of the road. He described the route leading up from the harbor of Aigeira by the Corinthian Gulf up to the city in the ascending hills (Paus. 7.26.4). Pausanias also mentions two statues inside the temple: a statue of Artemis and an older statue of Iphigeneia (Paus. 7.26.5). From this evidence, Pausanias believed the Temple of Artemis was built over an earlier Temple to Iphageneia, and the remaining cult statue was kept and housed in the later Artemis temple. The

Artemis temple was identified by the Austrian excavators as the east-west oriented “Temple E” next to the theater.¹⁶⁹

The temple was restored as Ionic *tetrastyle* prostyle, and has foundations on bedrock. The rectangular building measures 12.40 m x 7.80 m and is comprised of a pronaos (3.10 m x 7.80 m) and cella (9.30 m x 7.80 m) (fig a.9).¹⁷⁰ The leveling course sits on bedrock with an orthostate course above. On top of the orthostate course, rests a belt course of orthostate crown blocks (0.16 m high).¹⁷¹ These flat ashlar blocks project slightly over the exterior of the orthostate course below, a characteristic evident in the Hellenistic period. The remaining extant walls are comprised of conglomerate blocks that were coarsely worked and joined by mortar mixed with roof tiles and small stones. The material bound by the mortar in these walls was reused from the Roman addition to the Hellenistic theater a few meters away.¹⁷² The Hellenistic theater was constructed in the third century B.C., but there was a Roman addition of the *scaenae frons* and *pulpitum* to the Hellenistic *proskenion* in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁷³ Therefore, due to the material found in the mortar between the uppermost extant block of Temple E, the difference in style of construction between the lower and upper courses in the temple, and the difference between the ashlar limestone blocks and conglomerate blocks, two building phases for the temple are clearly evident.

The mortar evident between these blocks can be dated to the Roman period, which provides a *terminus post quem* of this second construction period as 2nd century A.D. The floor of this phase is at a higher level than the previous Hellenistic phase,

¹⁶⁹ Alzinger 1985, pp. 10-12.

¹⁷⁰ Alzinger 1985, pp. 10-12 and based on my own on-site measurements.

¹⁷¹ Gogos 1986, p. 42.

¹⁷² Catling 1984-85, p. 29.

¹⁷³ Catling 1984-85, p. 29.

which may be indicated by the threshold block at the opening of the cella.¹⁷⁴ The block is lighter in color than the blocks of the first phase and appears to be fitted into the door opening. It rests on fill comprised of tile, earth, and stone. This block sits level with the floor which contained finds also from the Roman period. Below this level, the original floor of the first phase was uncovered; the floor contained pottery fragments, coins, and oil lamps dating the initial construction to the 3rd century B.C. during the Hellenistic period.¹⁷⁵

A sandstone base also rests on the floor of the first construction phase. Two blocks held together by clamps make up the base, which sits against the north wall of the cella. The base shows no cuttings on its top surface to indicate a statue was situated there. Another rectangular stone base on the west wall of the cella sits on axis with the entrance. There are two cuttings on top of the base for a statue, possibly that of Artemis, as mentioned by Pausanias. This base was tentatively dated to the 1st century B.C.¹⁷⁶ The bottom of the base was found at an elevation between the Hellenistic and Roman levels, and the top was roughly at the same level as the Roman floor. The reasoning for this tentative date by excavators remains unclear, but one could assume this was derived from the find location of the block and the best general date determined by the excavators. Other than the fact that this block does, indeed, sit between the Hellenistic and Roman period, there are no discernable marks or cuttings evident that could be confidently used to date the block, and a vague date of the 1st century B.C. seems agreeable. This however, means that there was an adjustment in the floor between the 3rd century B.C and the

¹⁷⁴ Gogos 1986, p. 42.

¹⁷⁵ Alzinger 1985, p. 11.

¹⁷⁶ Alzinger 1985, p. 11.

reconstruction of the upper portion of the temple, as established above, after the 2nd century A.D.

An additional rectangular base currently sits in the northwest corner of the cella where it was found. It is made of two blocks held together by clamps and has a raised edge around the perimeter. Found directly on the Roman floor this base was dated to the period of Roman reconstruction and may have supported one statue on each block: one side Artemis and the other Iphigenia.¹⁷⁷

Based on the existence of an ancient statue of Iphigenia in the Temple of Artemis recorded by Pausanias discussed earlier, the cults of two divinities became associated at some point, possibly as early as the Classical period, proposing an earlier temple or sanctuary predating the Hellenistic temple.¹⁷⁸ Since no Hellenistic statue base has been found, either the dating for the remaining statue bases is blurred due to the varying floor levels and lack of markings on the blocks, or the statue base was replaced throughout the centuries and the statue was resituated to the new base.

Argolid

The Argolid was the area of the Peloponnese to the south and southeast of Corinth. This included the eastern peninsula and the coastal region which lies east of Arkadia and north of Lakonia. The border with Arkadia falls along Mount Parthenius.

¹⁷⁷ Gogos, 1986, p. 42; Catling 1984-85, p. 29.

¹⁷⁸ Gogos 1986-87, pp. 120-28.

Epidaurus

The sanctuary is located in a small plain in Argolid, near the Saronic Gulf. Signs clearly mark the direction to the site, down a road that forks off the main thoroughfare between Nafplio and Archaea Epidauros, which is about eight km to the east. The site is enclosed on three sides by steep hills, with the west side opening up to the plain (fig. 39). The mountain to the north is Bolonidia and to the east and south is Mount Kynourtion, where the Temple of Apollo Maleatas rests.

Due to a great deal of political, social, and economic change occurring internally and externally in Greece during the Hellenistic period, this intense change initiated a marked veneration of Asklepius, viewed as a healing doctor and redeemer. Adoration of the god resulted in a transformation of the sanctuary area at Epidauros. Generally unadorned up to the 5th century B.C., it became filled with offerings and monuments, many of them remarkable examples of 4th century B.C. art. Inside the sacred grove of Asklepius at Epidauros, are the remains of a temple to Artemis, as mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 2.27.5). Artemis was goddess of the hunt, wild animals, wilderness, childbirth, and was protector of young girls. She also had the power to bring on or relieve disease, which explains her presence in the Asklepeion at Epidauros. She was regarded as a deity of healing and good health, like her brother, Apollo, who was the father of Asklepius. Original excavation and study of the building was completed under A. Kavvadias from 1879-1926.¹⁷⁹ A building record dated from 330-320 B.C. verifies

¹⁷⁹ P. Kavvadias 1884, pp. 61-63, pls. I and III (no.1); Kavvadias 1891, pp. 18-19, pl. II (no.1); Kavvadias 1900, pp.132-34; Kavvadias 1906, pp. 53, 91-104, pls. I (no.1) and III-IV; Stais 1887, pp. 67-68, p. IV.

the construction of the temple and records the Artemision location about 30 m southeast of the Temple of Asklepios.¹⁸⁰

The east-facing Doric temple measures 13.38 m x 9.42 m with a pronaos and cella (fig. a. 10). The foundations were of porous limestone which supported limestone ashlar blocks of the pronaos and cella. The building rested on three steps, but was accessed through a ramp on the east end which led to the altar. There were six columns lining the front (east) exterior of the building, while a row of columns on each of the remaining three sides was evident only on the interior.¹⁸¹ Kavvadias originally restored it as a Doric hexastyle prostyle temple with returning columns on the long sides, and an Ionic interior colonnade. Roux later found Corinthian capital fragments which he attributed to the interior colonnade of the cella and two anta blocks from the pronaos, restoring the temple as prostyle hexastyle with no returning columns.¹⁸²

Just to the east of the temple entrance and ramp, there are remains of porous blocks for the foundation for a monumental altar (fig. 40). This was built on top of the previous altar which predated construction of the temple, and is evident by the difference in texture of trace edges of stone protruding from the soil. Only two step courses and six orthostate blocks are present at the site. The altar was closed off by a fence on the north, south, and east sides with a return on each end of the west side, as this was the side that faced the temple. Blocks with dowels still survive indicating that they may have been used as the stone pillars of the fence which would have been spaced out and joined horizontally by metal or wood sections.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ *IG IV*² 1.106, *SEG XXV* 389; Burford 1966, pp. 285-90.

¹⁸¹ Roux 1961, pp. 201-2, figs. 43-50.

¹⁸² Roux 1961, pls. 28, 125, fig. 28.

¹⁸³ Brulotte 1994, p. 112.

The temple cella itself is 7.50 m x 6.96 m with and had an interior Corinthian colonnade of four columns along the west end and five along the north and south walls. There are also two floor cuttings at the back of the cella which suggest placement of an offering table close to the back wall of the temple, which was also mentioned by Roux.¹⁸⁴ Roux did find fragments of feet from a Hellenistic marble table which would be adequate to fit into the cuttings. This arrangement is much like those of Phigaleia and Alipheira where the offering statue bases and offering tables were close to the back wall.

There is a distinct difference between the paving stones of the east and west sides (front and back) of the cella. Roux attests that this difference was due to some type of barrier between the two sides, such as a wooden fence or rope running across the space in front of the statue and fixed to the interior columns.¹⁸⁵ This essentially would have divided the cella into two sections, a layout not unlike that in the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura which also has marks to indicate a barrier in front of the statue.

On the exterior of the building, the sima of the roof had dog-head spouts which allowed the water to drain when it rained. The dog head spouts helped identify the temple as that of Artemis, as the dog is one of her symbols. The corners and apex of the roof displayed Nike figures as akroteria (fig. 41). Both of these elements were found by Kavvadias who began to install them in the museum in 1906 for display. They still remain on display in the on-site museum today.

¹⁸⁴ Roux 1961, p. 202.

¹⁸⁵ Roux 1961, p. 201.

Epidaurus Maleatas

Outside the Sanctuary of Asklepius on the slope of Mt. Kynortion above the theater to the northwest, is the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas (figs. 42 and 43). About 800 m down the road that turns off the main thoroughfare leading to the theater, a gravel road forks off to the right. If one follows this road for just over 2 km it will lead to the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary on the left side of the road. The site was excavated in 1948 by Papadimitriou, and has been under the direction of Lambrinouidakis since 1974.¹⁸⁶

Long before Asklepius or his father Apollo were established as cult figures at Epidaurus, the god/hero Malo or Maleatas was worshiped. This site is much older than the Sanctuary of Asklepius, based on votive finds dating as far back as the Bronze Age.¹⁸⁷ The votives show continuous habitation from the Early Helladic period although the deity worshiped in the earliest times seems to be unknown.¹⁸⁸ It is also uncertain when Apollo entered as the prominent deity venerated, but, at some point, the two were eventually conflated, resulting in Apollo Maleatas. During the 4th century B.C., Apollo's son, Asklepius, also became a revered figure, and his own prominent healing sanctuary further down the hill was developed. Pausanias tells of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros (Paus. 2.27.7), but no certain date is ascribed to the initial worship of this cult. Several Apollo Maleatas inscriptions were recovered from the site, the earliest dating to 300 B.C.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Papadimitriou 1945-48, pp. 90-111, 1949a, pp. 91-99, 1949b, pp. 361-83, 1950, pp. 194-202, 1951, pp. 204-12; Lambrinouidakis 1974, pp. 93-101, 1975, pp. 162-75, 1976, pp. 202-09, 1977, pp. 187-94, 1978, pp. 111-21, 1979, pp. 127-29, 1981a, pp. 157-181.

¹⁸⁷ Lambrinouidakis 1981, pp. 60-63.

¹⁸⁸ Lambrinouidakis 1980, pp. 44-45, 52; Lambrinouidakis 1981, pp. 60-63.

¹⁸⁹ *IG* 4².1.128 – mentions the altar of Apollo Maleatas

Two meters of a rubble wall, possibly belonging to a 6th century B.C. temple, have been found below the cella floor of a currently visible 4th century B.C. temple.¹⁹⁰ The wall is parallel to the lateral south wall of the later temple, which may indicate a structure with the same east-west orientation of the Hellenistic edifice. The small Doric temple to Apollo visible today is next to the south west corner of the stoa on the north side of the site at an approximate elevation of 428 m with a large altar to the east. It measures about 13.50 m x 7.50 m and has been reconstructed as nonperipteral with a pronaos, cella, and adyton (fig. a.11); the reconstruction plan shows six columns in front and four in antis.¹⁹¹ There are no discernable markings today, and the levels of blocks are at the foundation level (fig. 44). At the front of the temple, a sloped area leading to the entrance is still visible, and much of the euthynteria is preserved. The sloping area suggests there was a ramp leading to the temple which is also evident at the lower temple of Artemis may have been for ritual purposes.

A monumental altar east of the temple ramp and entrance was probably present since the Classical period (fig. 43). Today, the altar has been reconstructed from new marble mixed with the ancient blocks.

Corinthia

Corinthia is associated with the city of the same name, and extends on both sides of the isthmus of Corinth. To the north, its borders extend to Mount Geraneia, and to the south it shared a border with Argolid. To the west, it bordered Achaea near the city of Sikyon.

¹⁹⁰ Lambrinoudakis 1977, p. 189.

¹⁹¹ Lambrinoudakis 1978, p. 115.

Kleonai

Heading east from Ancient Corinth, one comes to a stoplight. A right turn will lead to a road that splits into an onramp toward the large highway to the left or the Old National Highway straight ahead. This road veers to the right slightly as you proceed toward the south. There is a right turn to Ancient Kleonai about seven km past the town of Hiliomodi. About 2 km down this road, which crosses over the new highway, a dirt road turns to the right. There is painted sign with an arrow pointing to the direction of the Temple of Herakles, which is obscured among the dense vineyards (figs. 45 and 46).

The area is rich in a mythological history and associations of Herakles, who is reported to have slain two traitors at Kleonai, as well as completed the first of his twelve labors – the slaying of the Nemean lion. Pausanias (2.15.1) describes Kleonai, but only refers to the Sanctuary of Athena and a memorial of Eurytos and Kteatos, not a temple to Herakles. Eurytos and Kteatos were killed by Herakles at the site of Kleonai (Pindar *Ol.* 10.27) and two curved blocks of an exedra belonging to the tomb were identified in the late 19th century near Kleonai.¹⁹² Diodorus Siculus reported that the killing took place near the sanctuary of Herakles, and since this is the only sanctuary in close proximity, it has been identified as that of Herakles (DioSic. 4.33).¹⁹³ A. Frickenhaus and G. Oikonomos of the Austrian School began excavation of this temple in 1911, but a

¹⁹² Schmidt 1881, pp. 355.

¹⁹³ Salowey 1995, pp. 48-49 has doubts about the identification of the tomb and the small temple, pointing out several issues, the most problematic of which is the circular reasoning in which the identification of the tomb relies on the identification of nearby temple remains at Kleonai, and vice versa; Marchand 2002, p. 110 feels that Salowey is well-founded in some of her arguments, yet overly-cautious as the temple has been identified as that of Herakles since the time of the early travelers. Furthermore, the auspiciousness of Herakles as a hero in the area of Kleonai supports the idea that it was a likely place for such a temple.

thorough study was never pursued due to the Balkan Wars.¹⁹⁴ He identified the temple according to the evidence of the Tomb of Eurytos and Kteatos and according to a piece of the cult statue that he associated with Herakles – a muscular pair of buttocks - which has now been largely accepted as a portion of the torso.¹⁹⁵ The temple was cleared again in the 1990s by T. Mattern of Marburg University, and Jeannette Marchand describes the temple only briefly in her dissertation on Kleonai, focusing on the polis area, topography, and local mythology, but there is a general agreement that the temple is of Hellenistic date of ca. 200 B.C. based on the clamps, architectural style, and sculpture.¹⁹⁶

The northeast-southwest oriented Doric poros limestone temple is prostyle tetrastyle and measures approximately 15.50 m x 9 m at stylobate level of the *krepidoma* with an altar structure to the northeast (fig. a.12). Rather than the *krepidoma* being constructed in three separate courses as typically seen, a single block was carved with all three steps and placed next to another block that has three steps carved into each piece of stone, and so on all the way around the temple (fig. 47). Therefore, rather than individual courses, the *krepidoma* is essentially one course made up of a number of blocks which each have three steps carved into them. The first course of the temple walls is comprised of large smoothly worked orthostate blocks which are mostly still intact and standing. The blocks are approximately 1.25 m in height, 2.00 m in length, and 0.62 m in width. Looking at the floor where the orthostates are set, one can notice a slight depression around the interior perimeter of the cella walls (fig. 48). This space is approximately 0.23 m from the interior face of the orthostate to a small ridge where the floor of the temple

¹⁹⁴ Frickenhaus and Oikonomos 1913, pp. 114-116; Marchand 2002, pp. 110-111.

¹⁹⁵ Palagia 1988, pp. 738; Damaskos 1999, pp. 19-22; Salowey 1995, p. 50; Marchand 2002, p. 112

¹⁹⁶ Frickenhaus and Oikonomos 1913, pp. 114; Roux 1958, p. 172; Lauter 1986, p. 103; Palagia 1988, pp. 738; ; Salowey 1995, p. 50; Marchand 2002, p. 112, Mattern 2002, p. 4; Whitely 2003, pp. 20-21.

begins. This space would have either held the interior orthostate blocks or an internal wall of smaller blocks fitted together similar to that proposed for the temple of Despoia at Lykosoura.

The toichobate shows examples of dovetail clamps (also seen used in the foundations of the temple at Perivolia) between the blocks, and the joins at the top of the standing orthostates indicate use of Π or hook clamps generally associated with the Hellenistic period. There are no wall blocks on site which means they were either removed and re-used by locals over the past century, or the walls above the orthostate course were constructed of mudbrick up to the epikranitis course. A number of architectural members of the building including those belonging to the epikranitis, architrave, frieze, and geison (two corner geisons visible) courses lie on the northwestern side of the temple, some partially embedded in the ground. Additional fragments of columns and *cyma recta* mouldings are present around the temple.

Directly in front of the temple is a rectangular set of blocks and rubble 1.50 m x 4.00 m which could be the remains of an altar (fig. 49). However, rather than the long side facing the temple, the short side faces the temple and the blocks extend longitudinally away from the temple. Just beyond this structure to the northeast Frickenhaus uncovered foundations of structure with the same length and width as the temple.¹⁹⁷ The foundations of two columns are visible on either side of the entrance to the complex, and the structure contains two bases or altars – one on each side of the enclosure. Only the front of this structure is exposed, with the majority extending into and covered by a vineyard. This enclosure has never been completely cleared, and no

¹⁹⁷ Frickenhaus and Oikonomos 1913, pp. 114-15.

date has been assigned.¹⁹⁸ The presence of two altars within this separate structure has not been adequately confirmed or dated due to the need for further excavation, but Roux contemplated the presence of a double Herakles cult – one for the temple god and one for the *temenos* hero, in which case two altars could seem appropriate.¹⁹⁹ According to Marchand’s personal communication with Mattern, who cleared the site in the 1990’s, Mattern argues that the two so-called altar bases are basins for mixing lime.²⁰⁰

Inside the temple, a very large statue base (3.50 m x 3.0 m) remains at the back of the cella nearly abutting the rear wall. A large fragment of sculpted marble still sits in the temple, and it was originally clearly misidentified anatomically (fig. 50). It is largely accepted that the piece is Hellenistic in date and, rather than being a buttocks, may be part of the chest, stomach or arm.²⁰¹ Rectangular floor cuttings in the stone slabs of the paving 1.0 m in front of the statue base indicate the legs of an offering table were secured here. Between the offering table and statue base, there may have been a partition to prevent worshippers from approaching the cult statue. This is indicated by sockets in the orthostates to which a screen could have been attached, serving as a barrier to the statue.²⁰² Between the porch and cella there is a recessed rectangular space for the threshold into the cella where the doors would have been placed.

¹⁹⁸ Frickenhaus and Oikonomos 1913, pp. 114-15 only dates the structure insofar as positing it is contemporary with the temple, which he says is of a ‘late period.’ Roux 1958, pp.172 and Papachatzis 1976, p. 123 both describe the structure as ‘more ancient than the temple.’

¹⁹⁹ Roux 1958, pp. 110-11. Roux also mentions the possibility that it was the tomb for Eurytos and Kteatos, killed by Herakles. However, he concludes that there are too many questions and too little evidence to assign any reliable identification.

²⁰⁰ Marchand 2002, p. 111.

²⁰¹ Palagia 1988, pp. 738; Damaskos 1999; Salowey 1995, p. 50; Marchand 2002, p. 112.

²⁰² Mylonopoulos 2011, p. 278.

Lakonia

Lakonia, in the southeastern part of the Peloponnese, bordered Messenia to its west along the Taygetos. To its north, the foothills of the Taygetos formed the border with Arkadia over to the foothills of Parnon. The Eurotas river was a major river for the Peloponnese, and its headwaters were within the borders of Lakonia.

Kionia/Kourno/Aigila

Two-thirds down the eastern coast of the Mani Peninsula is an ancient site with two small temples (fig. 51). Kourno is the modern name used today. Pausanias himself makes no mention of the site, but it is referred to by the name Kionia in Frazer's comments on Pausanias.²⁰³ Boblaye, who first discovered the site in the mid-19th century, also called it Kionia. Further confusing the identification, the site is typically named Aigila or Egila on Greek road maps. Due to the remote location and ruggedness of the eastern side of the peninsula, many early travelers never bothered to thoroughly investigate the terrain, or even visit it first-hand. Neither the site nor a description of architecture in the vicinity matching its remains is mentioned by any ancient author, its name in antiquity remains a mystery, and, furthermore, the site has never been excavated.

At the town of Nymphi, a right hand turn takes you up steep, sharply turning streets, eventually veering to the left and reaching a dead end by a house and a foot path. From this point there is a sign that indicates the direction of a one hour and forty minute hike to the site of Ancient Aigila in the mountains of Kakovouni. Near the end of the hike, there is an abandoned monastery. The name Kourno, sometimes used for the location, is actually the name of the monastery near the site. At the monastery, there is a

²⁰³ Frazer 1965, p. 395. Frazer lists this as the modern name, stating that the ancient name is unknown.

spring with gushing water, located here perhaps since antiquity. About 500 m from this location, passing over a ridge and slightly descending again, is a rocky plateau where foundations and walls of two small Doric temples rest. From the mountainous center of the Mani peninsula a steep ridge juts out just south and southeast of where the temples are situated. Remains of several other settlement buildings lie about, as well as cisterns and a cemetery with rock-cut reliefs.

After Boblaye's brief description of the temples,²⁰⁴ Le Bas carried out a more extensive study and excavation during an eight-day stay at the site during his travels in Greece from 1842-44.²⁰⁵ There was such a delay in publishing that the notebooks were lost, and only a small portion of his material was ever published. However, there were numerous plans and drawing from his architect, and three chapters of Le Bas' work were published in 1888 by S. Reinach. Bursian also visited the site, but only briefly and his descriptions seem quite inaccurate in places.²⁰⁶ In 1907, Woodward traveled throughout the Mani, eventually publishing his material which was based on the notes of E.S. Forster three years earlier.²⁰⁷ This was the last detailed study until two separate studies by J.E and F.E Winter and T. Moschos and L. Moschou.²⁰⁸

A completely accurate assessment of the blocks and plans of the temples will remain elusive until excavation occurs at the site. The temples are currently a pile of jumbled blocks lying about with yet more blocks lying on the eastern sloping side of the mountain leading down to the Laconian Gulf. Walking around the area one can clearly see architectural fragments built into a nearby stone shepherd structure, and it is plausible

²⁰⁴ Boblaye 1836, p. 89.

²⁰⁵ Le Bas 1888, pp. 138-39.

²⁰⁶ Bursian 1855, pp. 792-795.

²⁰⁷ Forster and Woodward 1906-07, pp. 253-256.

²⁰⁸ Moschou and Moschos 1978-79, pp. 72-114; Joan and Winter 1983, pp. 3-10.

that other members are built into the extensive arrangement of terraces and pasture walls. Depending on the season, vegetation near and on the temples can be relatively dense, obscuring the remains. No inscription or sculpture has been found to indicate to which deities the edifices were dedicated. It is not difficult to imagine why most visitors have had varying conclusions regarding the architecture of the temples.

The greyish marble temples, partially masked by the heaps of architectural blocks on and around them, are close beside each other at only eight meters apart. The temples are not precisely oriented in the same direction, however they do both have a general east-west orientation, opening up toward the sea. The larger peripteral temple to the north measures ca. 9.50 m x 8.50 m and the smaller temple to the south is 7 m x 5m with two columns in antis (fig. a.13).²⁰⁹ The peripteral temple, likely Roman, appears to have been built after the smaller temple based on many Italic parallels and examination of the blocks present.²¹⁰

The smaller temple is the one that pertains to this study. The small edifice is divided into a pronaos and cella, as the cross wall is clearly visible. While Le Bas conveys there were two steps above the euthynteria course,²¹¹ today only the stylobate and the course below it are visible. The stylobate, which has a molding, and toichobate are well-preserved except for the northeast corner, and the orthostate blocks are present along the north side, at the northwestern corner, a portion of the south side and at the southern end of the cross-wall where it abuts the south wall of the temple. Several blocks of the entablature are laying about the ruins including a corner architrave block and frieze

²⁰⁹ Le Bas 1888 and Forster and Woodward 1906-07 describe the plan as *in antis*, which is also the conclusion of Joan and Winter 1983, p. 5; *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, eds. Richard Stillwell, William L. MacDonald, Marian Holland McAllister, (Princeton, 1976), p. 469.

²¹⁰ Joan and Winter 1983, pp. 7-9.

²¹¹ Le Bas 1888, pl. II 2.

blocks with complete triglyphs. A raking sima block and broken Ionic cornice block with the remains of a hook clamp are also visible, as well as broken column capitals and column fragments. There is no discernable altar visible, but it may be obscured by the collection of fallen blocks.

Based on measurements taken by Joan and Winter, the height of the architrave is noticeably lower than that of the frieze course.²¹² This smaller temple also bears a particular characteristic which came into fashion in the Hellenistic period: three metopes over each intercolumniation versus the usual two on the frieze.²¹³ The form and proportions, namely that of the columns and the relationship of the triglyphs and metopes of the frieze, are generally in the Greek tradition, and the *taenia*, *regulae* and *guttae* are more in the mainland Greek tradition rather than the Western Greek or Italic tradition.²¹⁴ Joan and Winter note that the sloping on the *taenia* in front of the triglyphs is downward and the soffits of the *taenia*, *regulae* and *guttae* slope upward, which they propose shows influence from the Adriatic.²¹⁵ This feature has distinct parallels at Cori, Akragas, and Selinus, suggesting an Italo-Hellenistic characteristic.²¹⁶ The geison soffits are closest to those in the Aegean in the 2nd century B.C. according to Lucy Shoe's categories, and the geison drips or hawkbeaks fit with Shoe's 2nd century mouldings as well.²¹⁷ The raking sima has a particular cyma recta that Shoe remarks as being of the Western and Roman form and in use in the 1st century B.C.²¹⁸

²¹² Joan and Winter 1983, p. 8. This is not unusual to Doric architecture beginning from the 4th century.

²¹³ Dinsmoor 1950, p. 270; based on the calculations of Joan and Winter 1983.

²¹⁴ Joan and Winter 1976, p. 8.

²¹⁵ Joan and Winter 1976, p. 8.

²¹⁶ Joan and Winter 1976, p. 8; Delbrück 1907, p. 138, fig. 70, pl. XX; Delbrück 1912, pl. XVIII.

²¹⁷ Shoe 1936, p.I 160, II pl. LXXIV 37-36.

²¹⁸ Shoe 1952, pp. 171-73, pl. XXV 14,1.

A round akroterion from one of the temples is housed at the Gytheion Museum, but has not yet been published. In the cella of the temple, there is a block with a large cutting in the shape of a cross which may be the base for the cult statue (fig. 52). The bottom of the cutting is rounded which prompted Joan and Winter to propose that a wooden object for the curved socket would have been more suitable than that of heavy stone.²¹⁹ Frazer describes the architectural style of the temples as “late Greek.”²²⁰ I would agree that at least the small temple fits a date in the late 2nd century B.C. based on the architectural features of the site, but excavation of this site is the only way to reveal a more specific date.

Sparta

Excavated by the British School between 1906 and 1910, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was discovered in a natural hollow on the right bank of the Eurotas River (fig. 53 and 54).²²¹ The site can be reached leaving Sparta via the Tripolis road where there is a small yellow sign directing one to the temple, which is surrounded by a gate that is most often locked.

The name Artemis Orthia cannot be confirmed by epigraphical evidence from the excavations until the Roman period where it appears on a number of finds including marble stele inscriptions. According to Woodward, there were seven phases of building in the sanctuary. The original temple is attributed to phase three and dated by the excavators as in use from as far back as the 10th century B.C. through the 7th century

²¹⁹ Joan and Winter 1976, p. 5.

²²⁰ Frazer 1965, p. 395

²²¹ Dawkins 1929, excavation reports from 1905-06 and 1909-10 are in the BSA.

B.C.²²² However, Boardman's dates reflect a chronology from no earlier than the 8th century B.C. and no later than 570 B.C.²²³ Following this, a later temple was built in the fourth phase. By the time of the sixth phase in the Hellenistic period, an apparent rebuilding of the later temple occurred based on evidence of two clearly evident masonry styles in the foundations of the phase four temple, which consist of medium to large stones. Therefore, the phase six temple was rebuilt on the same location, using the foundations of the previous temple and was approximately 16.50 m x 7.50 m (fig. a.14).²²⁴ Inscribed fragments of stamped roof tiles and antefixes dated to the 2nd century B.C. were found in the sanctuary, also supporting a Hellenistic re-building of the temple.²²⁵

The temple was rebuilt many times in ancient history, with the modern day visible remains belonging to the Roman period. As mentioned, there are two distinguishable styles of masonry visible in the foundations, which incorporate the fourth phase archaic temple foundations. The altar lies in the eastern portion of the sanctuary, which included a theater in the Roman period. The altar was the site of the customary flogging of youths, well attested by ancient authors where young boys tried to confiscate cheese without being caught and whipped.²²⁶

Messenia

Messenia forms the southwestern portion of the Peloponnese. It borders Elis to the north, Arkadia to the northeast, and Laconia to the southeast. The Tayegetos

²²² Dawkins 1929, pp. 12-14.

²²³ Boardman 1963, pp. 2-4.

²²⁴ Dawkins 1929, p. 32, figs. 9, 17.

²²⁵ Dawkins 1929, p.32; Woodward 1929, pp.132, 143, fig. 18a-c, pp.102-103, pl. XXV.

²²⁶ Wide 1893, pp. 98-100; *RE* (1929), p. 1453, 1465-71, s.v. Sparta

Mountains are in the east and the Kyparissia Mountains in the northwest. The Ionian Sea is on the western side and the Gulf of Messenia is to the south. The Neda River in the north and the Pamisos River in the south are the main rivers of the area.

Hagios Phloros

In the lower Messinian plain about eight kilometers east of Messene and one kilometer north of the modern village of Hagios Phloros, lie the ancient remains of a Hellenistic Doric 7.42 x 6.88 m²²⁷ temple dedicated to Pamisos (fig. a.15), the deification of the nearby river of the same name. The marshy area near the temple is a result of the numerous springs which form the Pamisos River that fed the Messenian plain (Strabo 8.4.6).

I determined the location of the ENE-WSW oriented temple by using Valmin's field plan showing its siting in relation to the springs, river, road and markings for sloping ground. I asked several locals in the village of Hagios Phloros if they had any information on the location of the temple, as Valmin only mentions it being a half mile north of the village. After finding an individual who was vaguely familiar with the temple and where it had been based on stories he heard growing up, I was able to find the general vicinity. From the main road, there is a route leading down to the springs and passing on the west side of the ruins, but the road is separated from the site by a marshy area. There is another inconspicuous road just south of the first road which passes on the northeast side of the temple. At the large curve in this road, there is a walking path leading down to the area of the temple. Unfortunately, there is no trace of the temple as of the current date, except for a small pile of rocks that may belong to the altar and some

²²⁷ Valmin 1938, p. 425 .

stones, which are clearly ancient, built into a well only a couple of meters from where the temple was found. After exploring the site and marking GPS points for salient features, I opened Valmin's plan in AutoCad in order to verify that the plan lined up with the points acquired on site and to determine if my estimation of the temple location is correct.

Exactly where the temple should be, the spot is now entirely obscured by re-deposited earth and bamboo growing in the lush marshy area of the Pamisos River between active springs. The temple was purposefully covered over after excavation,²²⁸ and over the years, the steep earth wall behind the altar has eroded and washed down over the location, along with deposition from flooding in the winter and spring months. A large outcrop of rock is visible to the north of the temple at one of the springs, which aided in identifying the position of the temple (fig. 57).

Pausanias mentions the temple in association with annual sacrifices to the river and springs where little children found cures (Paus. 4.3.10; 4.31.4). The identification of the temple is known from a base and a stele bearing the name of the god, both found in the cella of the temple.²²⁹ The temple is also associated with Herakles based on two votives of the god found at the temple, one dated to the archaic period. Valmin suggested the god represented "the hostile nature of the river subjugated by Herakles," or that he taught the management of marshy fields or remedy against fever.²³⁰ Although the architecture of the site is from the 4th to 3rd centuries B.C., the early date of some of the votives indicates there had been cult activity since the seventh century.²³¹

²²⁸ Valmin 1938, p. 425.

²²⁹ Valmin 1938, pp. 423, 438.

²³⁰ Valmin 1938, p. 464; for foundations myths of Herakles associated with healing and swamp draining see Salowey 2002, pp. 171-77.

²³¹ Kennell and Luraghi 2009, p. 251.

Under the Swedish Messinia Expeditions of Mattias Natan Valmin, excavation at the temple began in 1929 and resumed in 1933 and 1934.²³² Unfortunately, by that time, a number of blocks belonging to the temple were reused by a local farmer and built into his house.²³³ The substructure, parts of temple walls, frieze blocks, and horizontal and raking geison blocks were found during excavation according to Valmin's report. Local reddish brown poros stone was used in the substructure and walls and light grey limestone for the socle course.²³⁴ The substructure consisted of poros blocks of varying dimension; it was one course on all sides except for the west, which was comprised of two courses.²³⁵ Varying size blocks, some trapezoidal in shape, 0.32 m in height were used for the first limestone course above the poros substructure. Of these blocks, only the exterior surfaces and joints were dressed, except for the two blocks framing the east corners which were well dressed.²³⁶ Lifting bosses were also present on this course which may mean this course served as the euthyteria and the blocks were sunk into the ground with only the top surface exposed.²³⁷ Double rows of iron II clamps with lead casing on the tops of the blocks were placed unevenly from the edges.²³⁸ The blocks had a bedding (0.72m wide) to receive the blocks of the above course and a projecting frame along the interior edge to keep the next course in place.²³⁹ There were also small pry marks on the tops of the blocks for adjustment of the upper course when placed.

²³² Valmin 1938, pp. 419- 421.

²³³ Valmin 1938, pp. 419- 421.

²³⁴ Valmin 1938, p.426.

²³⁵ Valmin 1938, p.426.

²³⁶ Valmin 1938, p.426.

²³⁷ Valmin 1938, p.426.

²³⁸ Valmin 1938, p. 426.

²³⁹ Valmin 1938, p. 426.

Of the second course, only seven blocks remained along the front (east end) of the temple by the time Valmin excavated.²⁴⁰ They were more uniformly cut in length than the blocks below and showed anathyrosis on the joining sides, but the interior faces were not dressed.²⁴¹ Pry marks were evident near the centers of the blocks, which had regularly placed iron clamps.²⁴² The top of the blocks were dressed in the same manner as the course below, leaving a bedding (0.48m wide) and projecting frame for the next course.²⁴³ The indentation of these courses created two steps up to the temple, possibly three depending on whether or not the course with the lifting bosses was exposed.

The inner transverse wall that indicated the division between pronoas and cella, was preserved at the euthynteria level (which Valmin also refers to as the first socle course) with the same height (0.32 m) and a bedding (0.60 m) for the following course.²⁴⁴ The blocks were limestone resting on irregular porous blocks, but there were no lifting bosses present.²⁴⁵

An unusual feature that Valmin calls an offering pit projected from the west wall of the cella.²⁴⁶ The porous blocks of the substructure were immediately west of the pit, while the euthynteria blocks rested on and projected over the pit, covering approximately one third of the western pit wall.²⁴⁷ The pit was off center in the western cella wall and irregular in shape with the exterior or mouth of the pit having dimensions as follows: western side 2.95m, the eastern side 3.50 m, the southern side 1.80m, and northern side

²⁴⁰ Valmin 1938, p. 426.

²⁴¹ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴² Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴³ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴⁴ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴⁵ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴⁶ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴⁷ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

1.87m.²⁴⁸ The interior of the pit tapered so that the dimensions inside its walls measured 1.25m in length and 0.80-0.90 m in width.²⁴⁹ It is unclear when the pit feature was constructed, but Valmin suggests that it was already present from previous cult activity and incorporated into the later architecture.²⁵⁰

A height of 2.29 m was established for the temple walls based on poros blocks from five courses of the wall that had fallen around the temple, namely at the west end of the temple where they had fallen outward in such a way they laid in order.²⁵¹ Based on measurements taken by Valmin, we know the blocks decreased in width as the courses were added. Since the blocks were poros stone, which deteriorates more quickly than other limestone added to the presence of water over the centuries, there is no way to discern how finely the surfaces were worked. There were scant remains of other architectural blocks: one triglyph/metope block, two horizontal geison fragments, one raking geison block, two different shapes and sizes of antefixes, one fragment possibly from an akroterion, and roof tiles of Corinthian and Laconian type.²⁵²

Valmin suggests that the two differing antefixes provides evidence for an earlier and a later roof, the second of which was implemented before 380 B.C. However, based on study of the style and representation of the palmette leaves, scrolls and acanthus, I contend that, while there may have been two roofs, neither was constructed until at least the mid-4th century, with the second antefix dating possibly as late as the 1st century A.D.²⁵³ There are strong parallels at nearby Messene to support this, which was a city

²⁴⁸ Valmin 1938, p. 427.

²⁴⁹ Valmin 1938, p. 429.

²⁵⁰ Valmin 1938, p. 424.

²⁵¹ Valmin 1938, p. 422.

²⁵² Valmin 1938, pp. 428-33.

²⁵³ For comparanda of the earlier antefix with S- scroll see Corinth storeroom FA390 and A32; for double set of palmette leaves see Roebuck 1994, p. 361, pl. 19d (Hellenistic raking sima, FA 50); see Themelis

that did not develop an artistic tradition until 369 B.C.²⁵⁴ Based on the remains of the socle blocks, wall blocks, roof tiles, antefixes, measurements of triglyphs and parts of the gession blocks including the mutules and projection of the cornice, Valmin was able to draw a possible reconstruction of the temple.²⁵⁵

A ramp 5.88 m x 1.75 m with a height of 1.50 m extended from the temple to the altar.²⁵⁶ It was made of heavy dark grey limestone blocks that were worked on the upper and external sides, but undressed on the remaining surfaces.²⁵⁷ The intervals of large blocks were filled in with chips. The west end, which abutted the temple, was not bound to the temple which may indicate the ramp was added later. However, the euthynteria block that it sat against had no bosses, which perhaps means the plan did originally allow for the ramp. The altar was probably constructed at the same time as the ramp based on similar construction style techniques in dressing the blocks.²⁵⁸ The lower slabs were 0.50m thick with the altar blocks resting on top, two of which were in situ and 0.52 meters high at the time of Valmin's excavation. The altar was 2.12 m along each of the short sides, 4.75m on the west side and 5.05 m on the east side.²⁵⁹

The interior of the cella contained a broken limestone stele and a limestone base, as previously mentioned, each identifying the river god, Pamisos.²⁶⁰ The stele was

1994, p. 151 for figs. 9 -10, pls. 50b, 51a; see also fig. 27A dated to 2nd century B.C. in Dietz, Kolonas, Moschos, and Stravropoulou-Gatsi 2007, pp. 35-6, F02-1056; For comparanda for the later antefix at Pamisos, see Themelis 1994, p. 165 figs. 24, 25, pls. 52c, 56c.

²⁵⁴ Papachatzis 1979, p. 112, fig. 38; p. Themelis 1994, pp. 141-69.

²⁵⁵ Valmin 1938, pp. 434-5. For details on his calculations and measurements, see his section "The Reconstruction." Valmin drew this as a di-style in antis temple, but admitted that the addition of columns was pure conjecture. He had been told of columns in a neighboring village, Arphara, that were used to support a balcony on an old house. Valmin could find no trace of these when he visited the village, but hypothesized they could be from the nearby Pamisos temple, p. 421.

²⁵⁶ Valmin 1938, p. 434.

²⁵⁷ Valmin 1938, p. 434.

²⁵⁸ Valmin 1938, p. 434.

²⁵⁹ Valmin 1938, p. 434.

²⁶⁰ Valmin 1938, p. 423.

attached to a square base, and the upper portion of the stele has relief carving of a bull and a dedication of Asklapiodoros to Pamisos.²⁶¹ The low, semicircular, dark limestone base was found near the southwest corner of the cella.²⁶² There was a shallow cavity on the upper side to support a statue, and the front of the base was more carefully worked to bear the inscription:

Δέξιππος ευχήν
επήκοω παμείσω²⁶³

“Dexippus to Pamisos
who hears his prayer”

The inscription is dated to the 2nd century A.D. based on the cursive letter forms, namely the “ξ.”²⁶⁴ A broken stele with a square base was found inside the pronaos and a two other bases outside the temple; one just outside the wall, and another in a different part of the field than the temple.²⁶⁵ A broken stele was also found at the northwestern corner of the altar platform.²⁶⁶

Aside from the Herakles statues above, finds include bronze statuettes of human and animal figures, pottery, terracotta figurines, glass, and coins.²⁶⁷ Many of the finds were discovered during excavation of the votive pit that connected to one of the springs. The date of the objects ranges from Late Archaic to Roman Imperial times.²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ Valmin 1938, p. 423. For parallel to the relief of the bull, Valmin offers an example at Delphi of a stele dedicated by a man from Kleitor in Arkadia in front of the tripods of the Deinomenides, and for a similar type of stele and base, he references Locri Epizephyrii in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1909), pp. 324-5, fig. 4

²⁶² Valmin 1938, p. 423.

²⁶³ Valmin 1938, p. 423.

²⁶⁴ Valmin 1938, p. 438. Valmin notes there are no apices on the letter, and also cites an similar form of the letter used at Amyklai, *IG V* 311

²⁶⁵ Valmin 1938, p. 428.

²⁶⁶ Valmin 1938, p. 425.

²⁶⁷ For a complete list and description of finds, see Valmin 1938, p. 439-462.

²⁶⁸ Valmin 1938, p. 424.

Stratigraphically, the top 0.40 m contained Hellenistic and Roman finds while the lower 0.40m of the pit revealed the archaic remains including the Bronzes from the site are at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, and all other finds were originally taken to the museum of Vasiliko but now reside in the Archaeological Museum of Messenia at Kalamata. At Kalamata, the inscriptions identifying Pamisos, votive cups and vases, a bathtub, and an antefix are on display, and are dated 2nd-1st century B.C.

Messene

The impressive ancient site is strategically located on Mount Ithome, a rugged mountain rising over 800 m with a commanding view of the two Messinian plains. The road from Meligalas winds sharply up the mountain until you pass through the impressive circular Arkadian Gate, turning left toward the village of Mavromati. The mountain divides into two summits: Ithome to the north and Eva to the south. Messinia became a newly independent region in 369 B.C. Messene is known for its remarkable fortification walls, the strongest and best preserved in Greece. The site sits in a hollow just below the modern town of Mavromati and to the west of the ridge connecting Ithome and Eva and contains several exemplary small, Hellenistic non-peripteral temples of the style discussed in this catalog.

Systematic excavations began in 1895 under direction of Themistocles Sophoulis. G. Oikonomou resumed excavation in 1890 and 1925, and Anastasios Orlandos took over in 1957-1974. Current excavations are under the direction of Petros Themelis, who was appointed in 1986.

a) Temple of Artemis Limnatis

The remains of a 3rd century B.C. Ionic temple to Artemis Limnatis sit on the slopes of Ithome just northeast of Mavromati (fig. 58). Although Pausanias did not mention Limnatis at Messene, the inscriptions confirm the presence of the cult. The paved road through Mavromati leads to Kalamata, but there is a small fork to the left, just past the taverna, that winds through the village and up the mountain. About one km after this, there is a dirt road on the left side of the road, sharply turning up the mountain, which leads to a small plateau on the eastern side of Mount Ithome. The site was first identified in 1843 by Le Bas as the location of the Temple of Artemis Limnatis based on inscriptions and sculpture fragments (*IG 5¹.1442 and 1458*).²⁶⁹ Excavations were resumed in 1988 and 2006 by Petros Themelis.²⁷⁰ From its location, one can see the archaeological site below, as well as the Tayegatos Mountains and the Messenian Gulf on to the south a clear day. Although the temple is technically within the city walls, the sanctuary is situated in a location functionally similar to those of extra-urban temples.²⁷¹

Artemis Limnatis is sometimes identified with Laphria, an ancient goddess of nature and life and death, initiation rites, as well as mistress of the animals.²⁷² Limnatis also denotes a marginal environment and has connotations with swampy areas, especially on Laconian borders.²⁷³ The condition of a marshy area does not exist on the slopes of Ithome (although there is a nearby spring since antiquity), or in fact, at most of the locations associated with Limnatis in the southern Peloponnese, which may suggest that

²⁶⁹ LeBas, 1888, p. 138.

²⁷⁰ Themelis 1988a, p. 44-46; Themelis 1988b, p. 72; Caitling 1988-89, pp. 37-40; Whitley 2007, pp. 28-29.

²⁷¹ Zunino 1997, p. 61.

²⁷² Themelis 2003, p. 115; Themelis 2004, p. 154.

²⁷³ Luraghi 2008, p.23.

the epithet is more accurately interpreted as taking its name from the famous sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta that was built in a swampy area called Limnai (Paus. 3.16.7).²⁷⁴

This is supported by the use of two epithets at the temple of Artemis Limnatis/Orthia at Volimos near the borders of Lakonia and Messenia in the Tayegatos Mountains, whereby it has been posited that the epithets are equivalent.²⁷⁵ In the city of Messene, both epithets are doublets of these cults seen at Sparta and Volimos, and were likely used to establish identity and history of the city following independence from Spartan hegemony. Luraghi proposes that it was built as a replacement for the older, much better known sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos at a time when the Taygetos sanctuary was in Spartan hands.²⁷⁶ The site of Limnatis at Volimos was crucial in the history of Messene and had long been a source of contention between Sparta and Messenia. Because of its position on the border of the two regions, both areas laid claim to the sanctuary, and it became an ethnic boundary with which they both identified.²⁷⁷ After gaining independence from Sparta, the city of Messene would have naturally laid claim to this deity as belonging to their history, incorporating a temple nearby where they could venerate the goddess.

The sanctuary at Messene includes the di-style in antis temple (16.70 m x 10.60 m) (fig. a.16), an altar, annexes to the south and southeast (possibly stoas), and a precinct wall.²⁷⁸ The east-facing temple is comprised of a pronaos and cella. The limestone foundations of the building are visible, including a well-preserved base moulding course

²⁷⁴ Luraghi, 2008, p. 23.

²⁷⁵ Zunino 1997, p. 47-55.

²⁷⁶ Luraghi 2008, p. 275.

²⁷⁷ Luraghi, 2008, p. 23-25, namely an incident between Spartan maidens and Messinians which instigated the First Messinian War.

²⁷⁸ Themelis 2003, p. 115.

that is almost complete on the flanks and west end of the temple. Below this course, euthynteria blocks are visible, as well as what appears to be a smooth podium underneath the temple itself, with alternating courses of poros and limestone blocks protruding from its exterior. The superstructure was made of stuccoed oolitic or poros limestone, except for the terracotta antefixes and lion-head spouts. About 10 m to the east of the temple, the stone slab foundations and several orthostates of the altar are present (fig. 59). These blocks are smoothly tooled and currently standing upright following the reconstruction efforts of Themelis.

The temple consisted of a pronaos with two stuccoed Ionic or Corinthian columns in antis, the bases of which are set in place, and a cella (8 m x 9 m) (fig. 60).²⁷⁹ A considerable number of limestone paving slabs of the pronaos floor are intact. At the back of the pronaos, there is one step leading up into the cella. The threshold into the cella is made of one block 3.20m wide. The cult statue base (1.3 m x 1.13 m) found in situ sits near the center of the cella floor, similar to the location of the statue base at Perivolia. The base is large enough to support a life-size marble cult statue of Artemis, portions of which were found by Le Bas including a sandaled foot fragment attached to a plinth which fits the base, part of a leg with the laces of a sandal, and a wrist fragment.²⁸⁰ The floor of the cella shows a mosaic of spirals and meanders comprised of black and white pebbles. A square stone treasury box was also found in the cella of the temple.²⁸¹ This fits well with epigraphical evidence which tells of manumissions at the sanctuary,

²⁷⁹ Themelis 2004, p. 153.

²⁸⁰ LeBas 1888, p. 134-38.

²⁸¹ LeBas 1888, p. 136 suggested the box was used as a lustral basin or to hold blood from a sacrificial animal. However, since there is an altar outside the temple, it is unlikely sacrifices were made within the cella; Brolotte 1994, p. 313 posits the stone square is a treasury box, supported by the manumissions found.

whereby attempt to re-enslave a freed person was subject to a fine.²⁸² Any money collected for these transactions would have conveniently been placed in the treasury box. Since those being liberated were neither slaves nor citizens, the location of the temple reflects their marginal status, and can be associated with rituals of transition such as at Volimos.

Themelis dates the temple to the 3rd century B.C. based on workmanship and profiles.²⁸³ Along with epigraphical evidence from the 4th century B.C., fragments of antefixes, cornices, and the sima found by LeBas have with parallels in the second half of the 4th century B.C. support a date for the temple between 350-300 B.C.²⁸⁴ I posit that the epigraphical evidence attests to the cult presence in the 4th century, which does not necessarily mean there was yet a temple, and the edifice may have been built in the early third century to emulate the older, better known temple of Artemis Limnatis at Limai/Volimos.

b) Temple of Artemis Orthia

At the archaeological site below the modern town of Mavromati, an east facing Doric Temple to Artemis Orthia lies in the northwest area of the Asklepieion, excavated in the 1990's by Themelis (fig. 61).²⁸⁵ Near the façade (east end), statue bases for dedications and inscribed stelai to Orthia were found, securely identifying the deity venerated.²⁸⁶ Terracotta figurines of Artemis in the guise of Phosphoros (torchbearer) and Huntress wearing a short chiton and boots, holding a torch with a dog at her side were

²⁸² *IG* 5¹. 1470-72; Themelis 2004, p. 154.

²⁸³ Themelis 2004, p. 153; Müth 2007, pp. 211-16.

²⁸⁴ Luraghi 2008, p. 275.

²⁸⁵ Themelis 1990, pp. 31-32 and 35, 1991, p. 30.

²⁸⁶ Themelis 1990, pp. 31-32 and 35, 1991, pp. 28 and 30-31, 1994, pp. 105.

also uncovered on the north side.²⁸⁷ Marble fragments of a 4th century B.C. Orthia statue representing Artemis as Huntress and Phosphoros are probably from the cult statue.²⁸⁸

The meaning of the epithet is the same as that at Sparta, which is one of a nature goddess, huntress, kourotrophic figure, and restorer of order.

The small tetrastyle prostyle temple measures 8.42 m x 5.62 m with a pronaos and cella (fig. a.17). There is no altar evident, and it may have been ruined by the construction of the Asklepieion complex. The pronaos of the temple is slightly wider than the rest of the temple with a return on the north and south sides. A ramp leading to the center of the wide but shallow pronaos provided access into the building. The ramp would have met the top of the krepidoma at the stylobate course upon which the four columns of the façade sat. Very few blocks of the stylobate remain, but a II clamp and dowel are preserved on the northeast corner indicating where the stylobate block would have been positioned over them (fig. 62). The second step of the krepidoma and the course below are still visible and the ashlar blocks would have been exposed in antiquity. The second step of the krepidoma shows lifting bosses all the way around the temple which were never removed. The stylobate level is only present at the pronaos of the temple, stopping at the return. The walls of the cella rest on the course which has lifting bosses present. Therefore, the bottom of the cella walls sits lower than the top level of the pronaos. The remaining walls resting on this level on the north and west sides have an interior and an exterior orthostate course, each about 0.20 m wide and rising to the level of the stylobate of the pronaos. On the interior, the orthostates have lifting bosses as well,

²⁸⁷ Themelis 2003, p. 115.

²⁸⁸ Themelis 1994a, pp. 105-6, fig. 8, 2003, p. 86, fig. 74. Themelis dates the fragments to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

but they sit below the floor level of the temple (discernable by the position and height of the cult statue base in the center) and would have been concealed (fig. 63).

Paving slabs are visible in the proanos and lead to the threshold of the cella. The threshold blocks have cuttings on each side to receive the doors of the cella (fig. 64). In the center of the nearly square sekos, is a socle where the cult statue once stood. Marble fragments belonging to the cult statue were found just north of the temple. The fragments depict Artemis wearing a short chiton with an animal skin over shoulder, leaving one breast bared.²⁸⁹ The altar is no longer present and may have been destroyed in construction of the Asklepieion complex. Based on the date of the cult statue fragments and dates of dedications, Themelis suggests that the temple of Artemis Orthia was built in the second half of the 4th century B.C. and used until sometime in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.²⁹⁰ After the Asklepieion complex was constructed, this temple ceased to function and the cult was transferred to the Artemesion, one of the new rooms on the west end of the Asklepieion complex.

c) Temple of Artemis Oupisias/Orthia/Phosphoros

The Artemesion, or new Temple of Artemis Orthia was transferred only a few meters southeast of the first Orthia precinct and excavated by Orlandos in the 1960s (fig. 65).²⁹¹ There is no question regarding the identity of this temple, as several inscribed bases and Artemis statues dedicated by servants of the goddess were discovered on the temple floor during the 1960s excavations. Pausanias described the cult statue of Artemis

²⁸⁹ Themelis 1994a, pp. 105-6, fig. 8, 2003, p. 86, fig. 74; Muth 2007, pp. 166-7, fig. 95.

²⁹⁰ Themelis, 1994, pp. 101-6, 2003, pp. 85-7.

²⁹¹ Orlandos 1962a, pp. 123-31, 1962b, pp. 102-12, 1965, pp. 116-21, 1972a, pp. 74-79, 1972b, pp. 129 and 131, 1976, pp. 32-35.

Phosphoros by Damophon, fragments of which were also discovered in the temple (Paus. 4.31.10).²⁹² The distyle in antis temple is not a free-standing building; it was, in fact, located in the west portico of the grand enclosure of the Asklepius sanctuary that surrounded Temple of Asklepius.

The Artemis temple measures 10.30 m x 5.80 m and was unusual in that it was divided into three areas or aisles separated by rows of two colonnades running east-west, which ended on the east and west walls with engaged pillars (fig a.18).²⁹³ Therefore, the entrance to the sanctuary was on the east side and led into the wider central aisle (6.35 m x 5.80 m), with an aisle on the north and south sides of this central chamber, each measuring 5.80 m x 2.90 m on the interior. The entrance to the tripartite temple had a central doorway (1.77 m) with two doors and a side opening to the right (1.65 m) and to the left (1.65 m) of this central doorway. Each side of the main entrance had two poros Ionic half-columns – one facing the interior and one facing the exterior, the bases of which still survive. The openings to the sides of the central door and half-columns were closed off by a low poros parapet wall above which a screen or grill was probably inserted to close off the upper section. The foundations, orthostate and orthostate crown courses, and parts of the interior colonnades of the building still remain. The orthostate course was comprised of an inner and outer course with fill in between the layers, and then capped by an orthostate crown block (fig. 66).

The altar is situated about 14 meters to the east of the temple and was excavated by Orlandos in 1972.²⁹⁴ The north-south oriented altar is slightly south from the axis of the temple doorway and central statue base. The rectangular socle (1.35 m x 2.64 m) was

²⁹² Themelis 1994a, p. 111.

²⁹³ Themelis 2003, p. 74.

²⁹⁴ Orlandos 1972a, pp. 74-77, 1972b, pp. 129 and 131.

lined with orthostates which held a rubble core. The socle and mostly complete blocks of three orthostates on the south end of the construction are still visible.

The inside of the temple contained a large cult statue base for the sculpture by Damophon, the socle for an offering table, treasury box, and numerous dedicatory bases (fig. 67). At the back of the central aisle was the larger than life size statue by Damophon showing Artemis Orthia as Phosphoros. Fragments of the sculpture show Artemis depicted as the huntress, holding a torch and wearing a short chiton with a fawnskin.²⁹⁵ The thick, wavy tresses of her hair are pulled back showing holes for piercings in her ears. The base itself remains in the temple, and is quite large at L 3.14 m x W 0.95 m x H 1.27 m comprised of limestone orthostates supported by a limestone socle. Roughly 0.50 m to the east of the statue base, there is a rectangular block (ca. 1.30 m x 0.80 m) with cuttings on each corner to insert the feet of an offering table, two of which show traces of lead. There is also a cutting running the nearly the length of the block in the center for the fitting of an upright slab to support the table top. About 0.50m to the north of the socle of the offering table is a block L 0.80 m x W 0.80 m x H 0.50 m which was part of the treasury box that was set up to collect the fees for initiations rights. Today, the block has been fitted with a modern receptacle into which visitors can insert money as a dedication to Artemis upon entry into the temple.

Eleven bases for statues of priestesses were arranged in a semicircle around the high base of the cult statue. The statues for these bases were dedicated by parents for daughters who had taken part in initiation rituals associated with rites of passage from

²⁹⁵ For a catalogue of the fragments and detailed description, see Themelis, 1994b, pp. 21-22.

adolescence into adulthood. These statues range in date from the 2nd century B.C to 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., attesting to the longevity of the cult.²⁹⁶

Analysis

Of these Hellenistic bucolic temples, eight were within Arkadia, which we may have expected as it shares borders with all the other prefectures in the Peloponnese. Of those within Arkadia, only one, Methydrion, was not in the vicinity of the borders, but in the center of the prefecture. There is one temple in Achaëa, two in the Argolid, one in Corinthia, two in Lakonia, and four within Messenia. The temple at Hagios Phloros was situated in Messenia, but just outside Arkadia on the border of Arkadia, Messenia, and Lakonia. The temple of Herakles at Kleonai functioned on the border of the Argolid and the Corinthia. The examples at Messene and Sparta were located within the city walls, which may be a resulting effect of synoecism discussed in Chapter Three. The remaining several temples were positioned near the coasts – Aigeira on the northern coast of the Peloponnese, Epidauros on the eastern edge of the Argolid Peninsula, and Kourno toward the southeast side of the Mani Peninsula, where they had expansive views of the surrounding area.

Several notable architectural characteristics are evident among the temples. There tends to be a mixing of styles such as the combination of Ionic and Corinthian orders (Epidauros) and the use of two styles of clamps (Perivolia and Kleonai). The extant walls are often ‘double-curtain,’ comprised of an inner and an outer course (Artemision at Messene, Lykosoura, Kleonai, Perivolia, Phigaleia, Alipheira, Aigeira), sometimes of polygonal masonry on the interior wall (Phigaleia, Alipheira, Lykosoura), use much

²⁹⁶ For synthesis and description of the statues, fragments, inscriptions, see Loube 2013, pp. 105-6.

thinner or smaller blocks in construction of the interior walls (Kleonai, Perivolia, Lykosoura) or the entire thickness of the wall is constructed of large stones fitted together (Pheneos). The effect of this construction method is rusticated or archaized walls reminiscent of Archaic temple construction. In two cases in southwest Arkadia (Phigaleia, Alipheira), the exterior corners show drafting margins and the blocks were tooled with a pillowing and broaching technique, which are both features seen frequently on Hellenistic fortification walls. In fact, because the temples at Phigaleia and Alipheira are constructed with so many of the same features, are geographically in close proximity, and dated to the same time, they may have been constructed by the same labor force and craftsmen.

Statue bases which are quite large in comparison to the size of the temple are discernable in almost all cases where there is remaining evidence of the base (excluding the comparatively large temple at Lousoi). The statue bases tend to be either centered in the cella (Artemis Limnatis and Orthia at Messene, Perivolia) or nearly abutting the back wall of the cella (Pheneos, Kleonai, Artemision at Messene, Artemis at Epidauros, and Lykosoura). Several examples also show evidence of a balustrade, parapet, or screen separating the front portion of the cella from the statue base, which would have restricted the movement of worshippers (Lykosoura, Pheneos, and Artemis at Epidauros). It is important to note that two of these statues (Lykosoura and Pheneos) were the largest of which we have remains. These two temples also had mosaics covering the cella up to the area of the statue base.

There is evidence of offering tables fitted into the temple floors in at least six of the temples (Kleonai, Phigaleia, Perivolia, Alipheira, Epiaduros, Pheneos) and physical

remains of lions' feet supports at three (Phigaleia, Perivolia, Alipheira). In her 1999 article, Mary Hollinshead stated that only four secure examples of offering tables in temples are known – the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, the Temple of Apollo at Cape Zoster, the Temple of Artemis at Aulis, and the Temple of Amphiaraos at Oropos.²⁹⁷ It is evident no one explored small rural temples in the Peloponnese. Finally, decorative floral and vegetal elements were carved on akroteria, antefixes, geison soffits, altars, or antae blocks at many of the sites (Lykosoura, Methydriion, Hagios Phloros, Perivolia, Alipheira, Epidauros, Messene).

It is clear from the collection of sites presented that these Peloponnesian rural temples offer a rich contribution to the study of Hellenistic architecture. The small size and removed location of the temples have excluded them, for the most part, from serious consideration of their significance and receiving little attention up to now. The number of temples and similarities among them show a widespread style of temple in the Peloponnese indicative of an architectural program which was an essential and instrumental component of the polis and rural community functions.

²⁹⁷ Hollinshead 1999, p. 204.

Chapter Three: Network and Deities

Greek religion in and of itself is a massive topic with a dizzying number of aspects to consider. There was a pervasive need and desire for symbolic contact and communication with the gods in all aspects of Greek life, which was made manifest through the built environment of sanctuaries and temples. Narrowing down the discussion is desirable in order to grasp the implications of this religious architecture within the rural context in the Peloponnese. For purposes set out in this study, it is necessary to take into account the location and distribution of the sanctuaries and temples, the relationships among and between them, as well as the groups of people within the network in the Peloponnese and the deities worshipped.

Network

An emerging buzz term in archaeology has been that of network theory, also known as social network analysis. This provides the tools to explore the idea of complex networks with the goal of understanding social relationships in the past as well through relationships which emerge in the data when analysis is applied. There are two parts to this: the concept itself and the application of methods through technology. The application portion cannot be done without first thinking about what kind of relationship factors are possible and acquiring data to move forward.

First, what is a network? Networks are conceptualized as a collection of points (nodes) connected by lines (ties).²⁹⁸ For the purposes of this study, it concerns rural temples, poleis (major and minor), and the connections or relationships among them.

²⁹⁸ Knappett 2013, p.3; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009, p. 4.

Networks help make sense of what can seem like a hopelessly intricate collection of dots and lines. It allows us to understand how networks produce behavior that one would not be able to predict from looking only at individual parts. Nodes are the individual actors within the networks, and the ties are the relationships or paths between the actors. Social network theory differs from traditional sociological studies that assume the attributes of the individual are the important element.²⁹⁹ Conversely, in social network theory, the attributes of individual actors are less important than their relationships and connections with other actors within the network.³⁰⁰ The success of the actors, for example, the polis, is dependent upon the structure of the network which would be the ties to outlying temples. The ties include relationships such as road networks for trade, processional ways, and religious identity. Once the concept of network is applied and the actors and ties are mapped out, we can begin to analyze emergent patterns.

Network theory emphasizes the connections between socio-spatial entities and is based on the idea that people interact through a series of social relations and organization which affects beliefs and behaviors.³⁰¹ The relations can be human-to-human or human-to-environment associations and take place within specific socio-historical settings.³⁰² These social relations can be investigated at several scales including local, regional, or cross-cultural. The types of networks can be formal such as strategic alliances, informal where they cross boundaries as in the case of herders, shared memberships that suggest connections such as cult practice, or route-based such as trade or road networks.

²⁹⁹ Knappett 2013, p.182.

³⁰⁰ Brughmans 2013, p. 625; Knappett 2013, p.182.

³⁰¹ Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009, p. 4.

³⁰² Orser 2003, p. 263.

Archaeologists' concern is evaluating how material culture factored into fostering and maintaining these connections.

The concept of networks functions to guide the focus away from the notion of assumed hierarchies of center and periphery. In doing so, we can look at geography and human space from a different perspective in which the network takes precedent over individual components. The implications of this when looking at the collection of small, pastoral temples in the Peloponnese during the Hellenistic period, is that focusing on the connections/relationships among the temples and political centers may be more telling than placing the power of constructing religion and identity within in the hands of poleis. In order to do this, we must first look at the paths among these locations, their topography, and their deities to evaluate the network through a described 'tour' below (fig. 68). The paths taken were determined by previous, published road studies including a network analysis study of connectivity in the Peloponnese, and personal reconnaissance.³⁰³ Since many of the temples in this thesis have not been investigated or written about extensively, they have never been assessed collectively in this manner.³⁰⁴ I will first discuss those temples within the central Peloponnesian prefecture of Arkadia, followed by the remaining temples surrounding Arkadia.

A polis consisted of its urban center and its surrounding territory or *chora*, and its boundaries were often indicated by natural barriers such as sea, mountains, and rivers. Small sanctuaries outside the city walls were generally situated on promontories, in plains surrounded by mountains, or on a flat space or a saddle part high up a shallow

³⁰³ Loring 1895; Prichett 1980, pp. 97-288; Sanders and Whitbred 1990; Marchand 2009.

³⁰⁴ The closest we come to coherent evaluation of extra-urban temples in the landscape is Jost 1994, pp. 217-30, which focuses only on Arkadia but the majority of examples are Archaic and Classical, not Hellenistic.

mountain, and were sometimes marked by a headland, a cave, spring, or grove.

Attempts have been made by scholars to categorize sanctuaries according to topographic siting and distance from the city center.³⁰⁵ Such categories defined by scholars include sanctuaries in nature, interurban, suburban, extra-urban, and rural, and the definitions are a bit elastic in their wording.³⁰⁶ For the purposes here, it is not necessary to discern the temple locations to this degree of classification; rather, my overarching point is to show the how religious locations outside the city walls manifested a specific architectural program and visual similarity as well as contributed to sacred and sociopolitical functions for the community and territory.

While the city stood in topographic contrast from the countryside, the countryside itself was, and still is, extremely varied, and the sanctuaries within it reflected this variety. Therefore, I have examined these temples both individually and as part of a network among cities and larger sanctuaries; it is impossible to fully understand their impact if either of these aspects is neglected.³⁰⁷ Certain places seemed destined to be considered sacred based on their natural environment, and specific types of landscape resonated with particular divinities over others. Among the features of the land associated with the placing of these sites is: 1) presence of a spring or water source, such as the Pamosos Temple at Hagios Phloros, 2) the existence of a sacred grove of trees such as at Lykosoura, or 3) a plain surrounded by mountains such as that of Petrovouni near Methydrion. In general, mountains were popular locations for sanctuaries and temples. Due to the windy nature of mountain peaks, the temples were generally established lower

³⁰⁵ Edlund 1987, pp. 41-42; Pedley 2005, pp. 40-48; de Polignac 1995, pp. 21-25.

³⁰⁶ Edlund 1987, pp. 41-42; Pedley 2005, pp. 40-48; de Polignac 1995, pp. 21-25.

³⁰⁷ Jost 1994, pp. 217-230 for a discussion of divinities, topography, and networks. Pedley and Edlund, both address the varying definitions of rural, extra-urban, extra-mural, inter-urban, and suburban sites and their topographical locations as noted above.

down on a saddle or a natural terrace such as at Lousoi. The variation in siting of temples and sanctuaries was dictated by natural and specific features of the terrain, but all reveal one common trait: the commanding vista of the surrounding area. For anyone who has ever visited any of the myriad of Greek temples sites in such locations, the effect is nothing short of stunning to the viewer. At that instant, one begins to understand the symbolism of the place and the connection between the aesthetic and apprehension of the sacred for the Ancient Greeks.³⁰⁸

Arkadia

Different environments and locations are evident depending on whether we are looking at the high plains of eastern Arkadia or the mountainous, rugged region of western Arkadia. The terrain lends itself to only a few passable routes among the network of cities and temples. The temple of Athena and Zeus at Phigaleia in the southwestern portion of Arkadia offers a striking place to start (fig. 30). It rests on the steep-sided valley of the Neda River which masks several waterfalls and faces Mount Lykaion in the distance. In this region, agrarian economy was minimal due to a lack of cultivable land dictated by the topography. It would have been possible only in areas where man-made terraces were developed on sloping mountains or in flat areas at the bottom of the valleys created by this rough terrain. Pausanias alluded to these minimal provisions when he mentioned the Delphic oracular threat given to the people of Phigaleia following a famine that resulted from neglect of honoring Demeter (Paus. 8.42.5-6). In this passage, Pausanias also indicated the Phigaleians were called acorn-eaters, implying they lacked crops and resorted to eating acorns (Paus. 8.42.5-6). Based

³⁰⁸ Larson 2007b, p.58.

on his description, offerings to Demeter included honey, wool, and the limited produce of cultivated trees and vines, particularly grapes, seemingly because these were the main commodities produced in the region. The scattered population of the territory lived mostly on hunting and pasturing goats and sheep for milk and wool.³⁰⁹ Madeleine Jost describes the people as similar to the god Pan (who lived in a hut near Bassae), implying they lived as shepherds and hunted from one mountain to another (Paus. 8.42.3).³¹⁰ The area of the walled city included only enough space and land to provide a place of refuge where the nearby rural population could find protection with their flocks.

From this location, the physical and human geography can also be seen as a religious one, as the land is generously peppered with rural temples and sanctuaries which far outnumber those within a town.³¹¹ Processions gathered and set out from the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira and the Hellenistic Temple of Athena and Zeus Soter in the region of Phigaleia to areas where the large temple destinations and sanctuaries lay, such as Bassae, Messene, and Olympia.³¹² From this location, continuing on a course from Phigaleia to Bassae, citizens would have had to stop at the nearby rural sanctuary and Hellenistic temple at Perivolia, dedicated to an unidentified deity (fig. 21).

The temple at Perivolia consists of a cella and large statue base, along with an altar, now partially dismantled due to adjustment and repaving of the modern road. Although this unpublished site has only just been excavated in 2011, the finds revealed the temple had a lion-footed offering table, ceramic, and metal finds, as well as votive

³⁰⁹ Jost 1994, p. 221.

³¹⁰ Jost 1994, p. 221.

³¹¹ For more discussion of sanctuaries from Archaic through Classical times, see Jost 1985.

³¹² Cooper 1996, pp. 44-45; Lukermann 1972, p. 152. Lukermann provides a comprehensive description of the routes and connections between and among settlements in southwestern Arkadia and western Messinia (pp. 148-170), and specifically discusses Phigaleia on p. 152. Cooper summarizes these routes in their relationship to Bassae, as well as their relationship to modern road routes.

offerings of terracotta oil lamps.³¹³ Although the temple is small, the sanctuary is somewhat extensive with a water channel extending from a slight hill just above down to the flat area where the temple lies. Following along the road passing Perivolia, one ended up at the grand temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae on Mount Kotion. Two modest, non-peripteral archaic temples just near the summit could also be visited.³¹⁴ Based on the numerous votive offerings and temple deities, it is apparent that, for the Phigaleans, the sanctuaries of the region, whose gods and goddesses protected the plant and animal life and the safety of the inhabitants, were an important element from Archaic times and continued to prompt the building of new temples through the Hellenistic period. In this area, the religious topography is somewhat defined by the structure of the rural communities and how they used and occupied the area. Peasants, shepherds and hunters venerated them in the environment in which they lived, which is that of the often precipitous and harsh countryside.

On the other side of Bassae, traveling north about 25 km leads to the temple of the healing god Asclepius at Aliphera (fig. 3), as identified through Orlandos' excavations and by Pausanias (Paus. 8.26.4-6).³¹⁵ This temple lies just outside the city walls and is striking in its architectural similarity to the temples of Phigaleia and Perivolia. It sits at the end of a series of very steeply sloping hills. Again, this area was more suited to goat and sheep herding than to agricultural endeavors due to the mountainous terrain, where

³¹³ M. Petrakis, excavator and G. Chatzi., 7th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (pers. comm.)

³¹⁴ Cooper 1996, p. 63; Voyatzis 1999, p. 13. The larger of these temples is dedicated to Artemis, and the smaller to Aphrodite. Cooper dates them to the 7th century B.C, and Voyatzis to the 6th century B.C. Either way, they are instrumental in supporting the idea of an Arkadian network of rural sanctuaries, a tradition from Archaic through Hellenistic periods.

³¹⁵ Orlandos 1968, pp. 169-202.

there were hunters and herders throughout the countryside.³¹⁶ Those in the rural region seeking to maintain wellness, in need of healing, or travelers who became ill may have sought the temple and nearby Asklepeion. Once inside the city, devotees could make offerings at the large main temple to Athena. Continuing along this route past Alipheira to the northwest, travelers would end up just outside of Arkadia in the prefecture of Elis at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Olympia.

Rather than heading north to Alipheira, if travelers took the southeastern route from Bassae, the path eventually led to the high eastern slopes of Mount Lykaion which held great significance for its Altar of Zeus and athletic festivals. Processions also gathered at the Hellenistic temple of Desponia at Lykosoura (fig. 9) which Pausanias describes as the oldest site in the world (Paus. 8.38.1). The site is revered for the study of ancient mystery religions and curious rituals whereby one had to be initiated into the cult in order to learn its secrets. At Lykosoura, the cult supposedly dates from considerable antiquity and concerned the chthonic deity.³¹⁷ Aside from the temple, the site also had a long stoa in which artworks were displayed and treasuries kept, as well as the Megaron (Paus. 8.37.1-2), a large altar comparable to that of the Great Altar at Pergamon.³¹⁸ The cult statues included Artemis, Demeter, Desponia, and Anytos, conveying the element of nature, the wild, and animals in connection with this pan-Arkadian site (Paus. 8.37.3-4). During Hellenistic times, the sanctuary was attested as being part of the territory of Megalopolis,³¹⁹ and provides some insight into how the polis

³¹⁶ Jost 1994, p. 221 ; Morgan 1990, p. 161; Voyatzis 1999, p. 151.

³¹⁷ Leonardos 1896, pp. 116-119 ; Jost 2003, p. 146-48.

³¹⁸ Dinsmoor 1950, p. 287.

³¹⁹ Nielsen 1995, pp. 140, 143.

dealt with outside communities and cults, which is addressed in further detail in Chapter Four under the section regarding synoecism.

The high plains of eastern Arkadia present a somewhat divergent situation. The organization of the territory was different, as was the way of life. In these areas enclosed by mountains, the cities were usually situated on an acropolis in the center of the territory and surrounded by land suitable for agriculture.³²⁰ Agrarian practices were much more prevalent to the economy in this part of Arkadia. The distance to fields from towns was not that expansive, and owners were able to live in town while sending their workmen to maintain the fields.³²¹ There was a shorter distance between towns and major sanctuaries and temples, so it was not problematic for landowners and their workmen to live within the city and access their land, thus creating less rural population requiring a common place of worship. This is coupled with the fact that rural sanctuaries were already present from the Archaic period and still being used during the time of the Hellenistic period. New versions of temples were not necessary. In fact, in eastern Arkadia, the majority of sanctuaries and the most important sanctuaries happen to be from the Archaic period and in urban locations, even in cases where they were associated with protecting rural agrarian life, such as Tegea which had over fifty cults within the city walls.³²² There was a high concentration of large temples still in use dating back to the Archaic period in this area including Pallantion, Asea, Psili Korphi, and Vigla, but none known as of yet from the Hellenistic period.³²³ A reason for this distribution may be explained by the concern for defensive response to the powerful and aggressive neighbor Sparta in

³²⁰ Jost 1994, p. 223; Voyatzis 1999, p. 142.

³²¹ Jost 1994, p. 223; Voyatzis 1999, p. 142.

³²² Jost 1994, p. 224.

³²³ For discussions of these temples please see Østby 2005, pp. 498-501; Østby 1991, pp. 40-45; Winter 2005, pp. 485-486; Voyatzis 1999, pp. 130-168.

Lakonia which had been a threat since the Classical period,³²⁴ as discussed earlier in Chapter One. Because this network was already in existence and spaced so closely together by the time of the Hellenistic period, there simply may not have been a need for additional extra-urban temples, and helps explain why no Hellenistic remains have been uncovered in this basin.

Traveling north from Tegea, one could have taken the road from Tripolis toward Corinth. This route provides the easiest terrain to the north, and travelers would have crossed borders into the Argolid and then headed west back into Arkadia just after Kleonai (discussed below in the section “Beyond Arkadia”) to reach the three northernmost Arkadian temples. The first of these sites is Stymphos (fig. 35), famous in antiquity as the location for the sixth labor of Herakles. The site also held a festival to celebrate Artemis Stymphalia (Paus 8.22.7). Visitors would have encountered the temple of Athena Polidas/Eileithyia on a high rocky outcropping where mothers could offer dedications to the goddess of childbirth and child rearing before descending to the main part of the city in the plain below.

Continuing northwest 30 km leads to the site of Pheneos (fig. 27). This polis was one in which rural sanctuaries were predominant, including the Hellenistic Temple of Asklepius. The acropolis is situated at a higher elevation, while the Asklepius temple is located down the hill in the basin near the site of an ancient lake, making this area conducive to agriculture. Travelers or members of the rural community tending fields between the Tegea region and here would have an available resting place to honor the healing god, or seek assistance if fallen ill during journey.

³²⁴ Voyatzis 1999, p. 152.

Directly west of Pheneos is the temple at Lousoi (fig. 7). However, to reach the site the easiest route topographically leads south, west, then north a total of nearly 60 km to skirt around the southern side of Mount Kyllini. Currently in Achaia, the site was on the northern edge of Arkadia in ancient times. It lies at the foothills of the Khlemos Mountains and yields evidence of cult activity since the 8th century with flourishing in the Hellenistic period. The temple of Artemis Hemerasia is an elaboration of a 6th century temple, rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. As with many extra-urban temple sites dedicated to Artemis, it has been viewed as a place where civilized space meets nature and wild.³²⁵ We know very little about the surrounding communities of this area and it is not entirely evident why the sanctuary was established there, but based on the abundance of terracotta and bronze votives, it clearly held significance as a place of cult activity. In the case of Lousoi, it may have been an intermediate location between the remote cities of the area including Kleitor and Pheneos.³²⁶ While Lousoi is also remote in its mountain location and situated at a steep elevation, it is hardly inaccessible as it sits on a low hill just above a plain containing a major road. Near the temple, there are several structures, including a bouleterion for civic functions, intimating that this site was indeed an integral element of uniting the rustic communities of the area. Its size and inclusion of civic elements suggests it may have held special clout in political matters, serving as a point of neutrality where communities could come to deal with questions or conflicts within the area.

South of Lousoi led to the center of Arkadia and the Temple of Horese Poseidon at Methydrion (fig.17). Methydrion, like Lousoi, may have served to function for

³²⁵ de Polignac 1995, p. 36; Calame 2011, p. 134; Larson 2007a, pp. 101-2.

³²⁶ de Polignac 1995, p. 37.

populations in the remote heart of Arkadia where it is quite mountainous and rugged. The fact that such a location enjoyed Hellenistic rebuilding from an earlier temple at a time when other minor poleia were being amalgamated by large poleis may indicate there was significant religious connection to the place that was instrumental to the identity of Arkadians.

Beyond Arkadia

The rural temples outside Arkadia include the Temple of Herakles at Kleonai, the Temples of Artemis and Apollo Maletas at Epidaurus, the Temple of Pamisos at Hagios Phloros, three Artemis temples at Messene, and a temple at Kourno to a yet unspecified deity. We will begin just south of Corinth at Kleonai.

The temple of Herakles at Kleonai lies in the Corinthian plain obscured by dense vineyards (fig. 45). Herakles' connection to this location was narrated in Pindar's *Olympian 10* where he told of Herakles slaying Kteatos and Eurytos by ambush on their way to the Isthmian games (Pind. *OL* 10.30-34). This act was in retaliation for the duo attacking his army after a truce had been established (Pind. *OL* 10.30-34). For those traveling between the sanctuaries of Nemea, Corinth, Sikyon, and Isthmia, or on the way to Argos, this temple was located along the rural route, outside the city walls of Kleonai and situated at the frontier between the Corinthia and the Argolid (Paus. 2.15.1; Strabo 8.6.19).³²⁷ The pan-Hellenic Nemean Games would have been a mere three kilometers from the road passing by Kleonai, making Kleonai a convenient place to not only stop

³²⁷ Both report the city of Kleonai was a main stop on the Corinth-Argos road; Marchand 2009, pp. 107-163 aims to prove this was indeed the main, direct route between Corinth and Argos, documents physical evidence of the road, and stresses the importance of the relationship between Kleonai's *polis*, territory and borders with that of the Corinth-Argos road.

and worship, but also trade.³²⁸ The city and its territory would have been a source of supplies for the thousands of visitors traveling to the Games, creating an ideal opportunity for profit.³²⁹ The placement of the temple of Herakeles at Kleonai near the Corinth-Argos road is important for more than just marking access to these two cities; if one continued west from Kleonai to Nemea and Phlious, the route accessed the areas of Arkadia and Elis via Stymphalos and Orchomenos.³³⁰ If one took the route south, there was direct access to Asea and the areas of Arkadia and Lakonia.³³¹ It is also important to note that if travelers chose to take the road to Argos, they could stop at the most important cult of the Argolid, the Argive Heraion, and continue on to the predominant healing cult center of Asklepius at Epidauros.

The site of Epidauros is itself an extra-urban sanctuary, rather than a city, and within it are many smaller temples. The ensemble of the edifices including the propylaea, theater, and Asklepeion attest to the sanctuary as flourishing as a major cult center in the 4th century B.C.³³² Among these structures are two temples representative of the modest, yet important, rural Hellenistic temples I have been discussing. The first is the small temple of Artemis (fig. 39) within the large sanctuary and the second is the temple of Apollo Maleatas just to the south on Mt. Kynortion in a smaller sanctuary (fig.42). Both have large altars and prominent placement within the sanctuaries that showcase their integral importance to the pilgrimages and cult practices that occurred at Epidauros. The placement of the site and these temples mark the eastern boundary of the

³²⁸ Miller 1982, p. 107.

³²⁹ Miller 1982, p. 107.

³³⁰ Marchand 2009, p. 160.

³³¹ Marchand 2009, p. 160.

³³² For detailed discussion of the architecture, building records, and practices, see Burford 1969; Dinsmoor 1950; Lawrence 1996; Wickkiser 2008.

Argolid near the coast. From this location, travelers could proceed northwest to the cities and sanctuaries of Isthmia and Corinth.

Moving back to the southern Peloponnese to discuss the final three locations of rural temples in this study, we stop just north of Kalamata. The Temple of the river god Pamisos at Hagios Phloros is at a notable and important crossroad, as it lies near the edges of Messenia, Arkadia, and Lakonia (fig. 55). It was very modest in size, and is located near the Pamisos River next to a rock outcropping with springs. Pausanias reported that children went to be cured at the springs of Pamisos (Paus. 4.31.4). Based on votives found at the site, Herakles held significance here, as well, as he is often linked with healing aspects and water drainage (Paus. 8.14.2-3; Diod. Sic. 4.18.6).³³³ This would have been a concern for local communities who often dealt with flooding of the river.

Traveling eight kilometers west of the Pamisos temple leads directly to the city of Messene. The impressively fortified city is dominated by Mt. Ithome which provides a dramatic backdrop on the north side and Mt. Eva to the southeast with an impressive view of the surrounding Messenian territory. The city, however, lies nestled in the natural bowl of the lower valley abutting fertile land. The city was fed by water from a natural spring called the Klepsydra (Paus. 4.31.6), and water can still be seen streaming out of the rocks today in the modern village of Mavromati. The combination of mountains and fields would have allowed inhabitants to rely on both agrarian and pastoral economies. The city has three visible temples to Artemis, all with different epithets (figs. 58, 61, and 65). These epithets (Artemis Limnatis, Artemisorthia, and Artemis Oupisias/Orthia/Phosphoros), which I discussed in in Chapter Two, indicate

³³³ Valmin 1938, p. 440.

relationships to distant places or time. The main idea for Messene is the possibility that, as a relatively new city founded only in 369 B.C., the epithets may have been used as a means of post-liberation Messene to differentiate itself from Sparta, or as an attempt at creative reconstruction, or to perhaps invent a heroic past on personal and civil levels as a way to establish itself in the Hellenistic period following Spartan dominance.³³⁴

However we consider these options, the city was certainly rich in cult activity and would have attracted many visitors as the predominant city of the region. From Messene, travelers could head northwest to the pan-Hellenic site of Olympia, or north passing the Phigaleia and Perivolia temples on the way to the prominent sanctuary and Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae.

Finally, deep in the Mani, south of Gythio in Lakonia, there is a plateau high up from the coast on east side of the peninsula with a view over the Lakonian Gulf. No ancient author writes of it, and its name in antiquity is unknown. It varies currently among the names Kourno, Kionia or Ancient Aegila (fig. 51). There is no road to the site, and no trace of an ancient route that has been distinguished. There are two small temples located about six meters apart on this plateau, but neither has been excavated. Based on the architectural members lying around the temples, one temple is Hellenistic, the other Roman.³³⁵ The siting of the temples allows for a view of the area, including anyone approaching from the coast. A pastoral economy would have been the predominant one in this area due to the precipitous terrain, and the site would surely have been visited by herders and inhabitants of the remote area. Even today, there are goats

³³⁴ Luraghi 2008, pp. 269-285.

³³⁵ Moschos and Moschou 1978-79, pp. 72-114; Winter and Winter 1983, pp. 3-10.

grazing all around, while oil, matches, and a lantern lay hidden in the separated blocks of the temple awaiting the return of the local shepherd.

Deities

The distribution of sanctuaries is often perceived as a division between city and countryside and between orderly and disorderly deities respectively. However, this misrepresents the actual dispersion of cults across the polis and chora, resulting in a failure to recognize rural sanctuaries' connections with peace and stability, as well as the deities' significance to the identities of the nearby poleis. This places an incorrect emphasis on city walls as dividers of space. In modern classical scholarship, countryside is most often viewed as the locus of anti-civic activities where the deities are seen as less central or in opposition to deities of the polis.³³⁶ The countryside is considered a place for wild or disorderly figures including the Bacchantes, Pan, and Artemis, and hence appears as the symbol of harsh nature and unruly behavior. But this is an oversimplification and does not speak to the true nature of extra-urban temples; the fact is that these deities existed in both the city and the countryside, and "no particular god or goddess was worshipped solely in a town or solely in a country environment."³³⁷ It is commonplace to see gods such as Artemis, Pan, Demeter, Apollo, and Asklepius referred to as rural deities, and while indeed there are many sanctuaries dedicated to them in

³³⁶ Graf 1982, p. 166 lays out a perceived connection between social order and sanctuary placement; Bremmer 1994, p. 29 says that if a sanctuary is not in the city we may expect those cults to be in opposition to those in the center and that extra-mural cults may indicate "eccentric" divinities; Jost 1994, p. 227 discusses Pausanias' mention of sacrifice on Mt. Lykaion and describes it as "making wild of a place where violence and primitive cruelty flourish in a way which would not be acceptable in the town,"; Polinskaya 2006, pp. 61-92 provides a new perspective exploring how making distinctions between deities as a means to classify space and social order is neither accurate nor as simple as modern scholarship has suggested.

³³⁷ Osborne 1987, p. 166.

pastoral locations, they also occur within the city.³³⁸ Because each individual god can be associated with a multitude of traits, the epithet is important to consider at each location.³³⁹ There is a rich diversity in Greek religion due to the existence of multiple local religious cults, which continuously thwarts modern attempts to categorize pan-Hellenic rules and regularities in Greek religion. If we try to establish categories of urban and rural deities, we inevitably end up in a never-ending game of explaining away exceptions to the rules. This is especially apparent in the Hellenistic period when foreign cults were introduced, such as that of the Egyptian deity Isis, as well as cults dedicated to ideas like *Homonoia* (Unity) and *Tyche* (Fate). Thus it is more productive and relevant to evaluate the deities in relation to their intellectual history, geographical location, topography, and contexts of social and political life beyond the polis.

The deities of the temples I address in this thesis are considered in light of their epithets, topography, local identities, and integration within the network of the territory of the city. Some examples are straightforward, while others are a bit more complicated in their function and symbolism. Straightforward examples include the god Asklepius seen at Epidauros, Pheneos and Alipheira, while more complex deity associations such as Artemis Hemerasia and Artemis Limnatis, occur at sites like Lousoi and Messene.

Asklepius was viewed as a healing doctor and the god of well-being. Due to a great deal of political, social, and economic change occurring internally and externally in the Greek world during the Hellenistic period, these intense changes initiated a marked

³³⁸ For temples within the city see Artemis in Travlos 1971, pp. 112-226 which includes discussion of Artemis Agrotera, Artemis Aristoboule, and Artemis Brauronia; Loubé 2013, pp. 88-117 for discussion of Artemis Enodia, Artemis Laphraia, Artemis Limnatis, Artemis Orthia, Artemis Phosphorus/Ortheia/Oupesia; See Pan in Travlos 1971, pp. 417-421; Borgeaud 1988, pp. 151-62; Demeter in Cole 1994, p. 215; Apollo in Graf 2009, p. 78.

³³⁹ Graf 2009, pp.28-140. For example, Apollo is associated with sun, music, prophecy, healing, the young, the city, and poetry, depending on the particulars of the setting and location.

eneration of Asclepius and a focus on the individual as opposed to communal worship.³⁴⁰ The need to ensure well-being during this time was prevalent.

In the mountains, Artemis, mistress of the animals, took on the common pastoral meaning, as well as that of goddess of borders and hunting at sites such as at Lousoi. However, this is an example of when the identification becomes more layered and complex. We need to look beyond the generalization of Artemis and consider local identity, Artemis Hemeraisa, and integration within the network of other communities. Here, she takes on a civilized, peacefully tame character as well, which became important in Lousoi being recognized as one of neutrality for surrounding areas (Paus. 8.18.8).³⁴¹

At Messene, Artemis appears again in several sanctuaries under the guise of varying epithets including Laphraia, Ortheia, and Phosphorus. First, we may note that these are examples *within* the city. However, in looking at the epithets used, there is a common theme of these names linking Messene to much older myths and locations. This is pertinent because Messene was not founded as a city until 369 B.C. making it a relatively new polis.³⁴² The previously repressed inhabitants of the area who had been under control of Lakonian Sparta, were faced with establishing and developing the city and bringing their connection and familiarity of rural cults along with them to assert their own identity. In some cases the evidence is unclear in deciphering the impetus of the cults within the new city, but there are a few possibilities; 1) the Messenians continued to follow the cults of Lakonian Artemis, 2) Messenian revival of pre-oppression Artemis cult traditions, 3) invention of new customs to consciously separate themselves from

³⁴⁰ Larson 2007a, p. 195.

³⁴¹ *IG VII* 403; Bremmer and Erskine 2010, pp. 220-227 provides greater detail about the evolution of Hemerasia's connection to a tame character.

³⁴² Kennell and Luraghi 2009, p. 251.

Spartan dominance, 4) a combination of these in response to the needs of a newly independent group trying to express their emerging post-liberation identity while simultaneously retaining part of their history. These are only a handful of examples to illustrate the identification of deities in the Peloponnese. The prevailing point is the necessity to keep in mind that deities were generally polyvalent and similar functions can be performed by different divinities who, with a different toponymic epithet, covered various aspects of the same region.

Chapter Four: Rural Temple Function

The Peloponnese is rich in modest rural temples, all exhibiting architectural similarities which point to not only a specific architectural program in this region but also to the multi-functional role of these small temples for the city and surrounding landscape and poleis. Sanctuaries served to provide a place of religious ritual as well as private devotion, but on what other levels did these small temples function? Whether inside or outside the city walls, sanctuaries and temples inherently performed a combination of political, social, and economic functions, which assisted in creating identity and subtle unity among the scattered populations in a given territory. The following discussion unpacks these interconnected functions, allowing us to decipher the importance of rural sanctuaries within the landscape, mainly that of consolidating communities.

Synoecism and Polis Identity

Synoecisms, the unifications of villages and small cities under major or capital cities in specific areas, were formed in order to unite a larger area under the control of a single polis, making it easier to protect political unity, territory, and strategic control of major routes. While this occurred for each of the prefectures (Achaëa, Elis, Arkadia, Argolida, Korinthia, Lakonia, and Messinia), I will illustrate this through the example of Arkadia and the city of Megalopolis which has provided the most abundant information from ancient authors and inscriptions that we have for the Peloponnese. The important Arkadian connection, which only came to light in my mapping out of the temples and considering ancient extents of the region, provides a complex and fascinating insight into

the tumultuous economic, social, and political climate during the Hellenistic period.

Despite their rural nature and original ties to minor cities, most of the temples transferred ownership to major cities after synoecism.

The synoecism in Megalopolis occurred in order to protect the political unity and its territory as a city and was essentially completed by the mid 4th century.³⁴³ A particular concern was to curb the Spartan army from marching from the Eurotas valley into the southern Megalopolis basin and from there southwest to Messenia, west to Elis and Triphylia, north to central Arkadia, or east, to Asea and Tegea.³⁴⁴ As a result, the Arkadian Confederacy set about determining which cities would become part of Megalopolis, combined with the political agenda of curbing the influence of Orchomenos.³⁴⁵ The two sources we have for determining which places became part of which polis are Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias. Even though Orchomenos was part of Arkadia, it had been opposed to the formation of the Arkadian Confederacy, and remained loyal to Sparta as long as it could. When it came time to divide up the cities, rather than give Orchomenos several minor cities that would it would normally receive based on its location and proximity, the Confederacy chose to weaken Orchomenos by designating those areas to Megalopolis, including the city of Tripolis and expanding the polis even further.³⁴⁶ After the synoecism, minor poleis may still have been considered poleis in some cases, but they were dependent on or subordinate to Megalopolis (Diod. SiC. 15.72.4; Paus. 8.27.1-7).³⁴⁷

³⁴³ Nielsen 2002, p 416. Nielsen interprets this date from the record of Diodorus Siculus.

³⁴⁴ Roy 2005, p. 262.

³⁴⁵ Roy 2005, p. 262

³⁴⁶ Roy 2005, p. 266.

³⁴⁷ Nielsen 2002, pp. 428-433. It is debatable whether all communities absorbed by Megalopolis lost their polis status and were demoted to settlements, or whether they remained poleis dependent upon Megalopolis. The assumption based on the existing evidence is that it was a combination of both

Synoecism was the impetus behind the depopulation or abandonment of some villages whose residents relocated to major cities.³⁴⁸ Undoubtedly, the process of synoecism included absorbing areas where there were some very ancient religious traditions already in place. This process was alleviated by the major cities maintaining sanctuaries of the absorbed minor cities of the territory, as well as providing new cult centers within the city for the transplanted population.³⁴⁹ Additionally, some villages were left alone and not required to move (Paus. 8.28.6),³⁵⁰ and a number of sanctuaries were maintained, even flourishing during this period through funds allotted by the major polis for rebuilding.³⁵¹ This includes the pan-Arkadian site Lykosoura, which experienced its greatest amount of building in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. following synoecism.³⁵² This was also the case with Methydrion and the extra-urban temple of Petrovouni, which lies in a plain surrounded by mountains and was along a major road in antiquity. The religious vitality of this sanctuary is archaeologically attested to after synoecism through a rebuilding of the earlier 6th century temple to Horse Poseidon.³⁵³ Supporting and parallel evidence from this region includes testimonies of agreements from the fourth century B.C. between Orchomenos and Euaimon as well as between

depending on the polis. Nielsen also suggests some cities may have lost their status but regained it in later years.

³⁴⁸ Nielsen 1996, p. 65.

³⁴⁹ Jost 1994, p. 226.

³⁵⁰ Jost 1994, p. 226. Because of its status as a pan-Hellenic sanctuary, residents of the city were allowed to remain. Jost 1986, pp. 146-58; Nielsen 1996, p. 65; Nielsen 2002, pp. 449-50. Roy 1996, p. 108. Roy posits that some cities, such as Methydrion, were part of Megalopolis after *synoecism*, then broke away and re-emerged as *poleis*.

³⁵¹ Jost 1999, p. 229.

³⁵² Voyatzis 1999, p. 139.

³⁵³ Voyatzis 1999, p. 150; Nielsen 2002, pp. 449-450. Methydrion never lost its status as a city based on civic coinage Nielsen argues is from the city (no coins were minted for locations ranked less than a *polis*) and Achaian federal bronze coinage showing Methydrion as a federal member after *synoecism*.

Mantineia and Helisson which indicate that it was standard to honor local cults after synoecism.³⁵⁴

The resulting conclusion is that three aspects underlay the process of synoecism: 1) there was a clear desire to expand and incorporate territory, which inevitably included pastoral temples; 2) there was an implicit understanding that an existing rural sanctuary had a prominence of its own that was bound to the place and community where it was located; and 3) rather than assume the rural temple's prestige or gain control over the sanctuary, the desire was to create a reminder of the rural sanctuary within the city (by building a new structure) to acknowledge its importance to the new community and help shape polis identity.

Boundaries

As previously touched on in the discussion of deities in Chapter Three, the paradigm of city-countryside and urban versus rural in relation to deities and classification of sanctuaries is a distinction which has been pervasive in the study of ancient religion. It has been considered in political, social, and economic debates ranging from the rise of the polis to agrarian and pastoral economies to social order. More often than not, distinctions are made between city and countryside which reflect the idea of an opposition between the two. This is the impetus for two common characteristics present in scholarly perception regarding this paradigm: first, that central and peripheral placement of sanctuaries is associated with social value and hierarchy, and second, that there is a parallel between sanctuary placement and the character of the deity

³⁵⁴ Hansen 1997, p. 35.

venerated at that location.³⁵⁵ This implies that the city is associated with the physical and symbolic center of the community and state, representing order and centrality of cult, while sanctuaries outside the city are associated with ideas of the wild, disorderly, peripheral cults.³⁵⁶

The correlation between the city center and sanctuary placement versus that of rural locations has proved to be somewhat simplistic. Rural sanctuaries are, in fact, an essential element of the social and political definition of the Greek state and, hence, no less symbolic of or central to civic and social cohesion than their city counterparts.³⁵⁷ Reevaluation of the paradigm that equates center with order along with consideration of the civic importance of rural sanctuaries has gradually evolved despite the long history of scholarship that has subscribed to the model of city-countryside distinction as referenced above.³⁵⁸ Part of the difficulty in moving away from this model is that the connection between the idea of “city” and the idea of “social order” is a construct of 19th century sociological treatises and theories of urbanism.³⁵⁹ These ideas, which we must realize are contemporary ideas, have become so deeply engrained in our minds that we discount the possibility that this may not have been the parallel in ancient Greece. The use of city-countryside distinctions without considering the way these sanctuaries functioned *with*

³⁵⁵ Polinskaya 2006, p. 64.

³⁵⁶ Jost 1994, pp. 217-230; Bremmer 1994. Jost whose work in general reflects depth and breadth concerning often overlooked chora temples and their importance in the Peloponnese does subscribe to the idea that the countryside temples are associated with wilderness, hunting, eccentricity and where civilized meets nature, and a primitiveness that “would not be acceptable in the town,” p. 227; Graf 1982 and Price 1999 also have general themes throughout their publications which intimate particular deities were outsiders and less important in the social identity of the city which the authors state as justification for their placement outside the polis.

³⁵⁷ Osborne 1987; Morgan 2003. These publications helped redefine the importance of rural sanctuaries, recognizing the social, political, economic, and religious role these sites played for the establishment and legitimacy of the city.

³⁵⁸ See the collection of articles in Rosen and Sluiter 2006. Osborne 1987; Alcock and Osborne 1994; de Polignac 1995. Osborne and de Polignac both argued throughout that rural and extra-urban sanctuaries were no less important socially or politically than those within the city.

³⁵⁹ Faustel de Coulange 1924 ; Finley 1981.

the city rather than *in opposition to* the city, limits our understanding of ancient political and city development, as well as implies divisions where they did not exist.

In 1984, Francois de Polignac published *La Naissance de la cité grecque: Cultes, espace et société VIII-VII siècles avant J.-C.*, with a revised English version published in 1995. The publication of the book invigorated discussions of sanctuary placement by setting aside the traditional Athenian model of the emergence of the Greek city-state with an ancient citadel and central religious cult in favor of his theory which says the city developed from both the heart of the inhabited areas and the edges of its territory; each was instrumental in identifying the polis and its sphere of influence. In de Polignac's model, sanctuaries in rural areas identified the city as much as its central religious cult in the urban areas.³⁶⁰ As a result, they were often the target of disputes between emerging communities, as well as facilitators in relations between the already existing rural populations and the settlers of the newly founded cities. He describes this as being "bipolar" where cults within the city and on the edges of territory were used to delineate and organize social space as well as articulate social relationships. He argues these territorial units made the city-state distinct from its neighbors.³⁶¹

De Polignac focuses on extra-urban sanctuaries in his book, pointing out that these were crucial elements in defining what comprised a polis. It is worth noting that he uses the terms extra-urban and rural interchangeably throughout his book and uses both terms to describe small chora temples as well as monumental sanctuaries at the edges of territories, such as the Hera at Samos. He focuses on the Archaic period and the establishment of territorial boundaries as a means to define a city's space. While it is

³⁶⁰ de Polignac 1995, pp. 81-88.

³⁶¹ de Polignac 1995, pp. 81-88.

expected and necessary that a city would keep tabs on the area it occupied, establishing its presence in the areas further from the populated city through boundaries strategically placed near edifices, de Polignac must be careful of focusing on the idea of temples as boundary markers in favor of other salient functions of rural temples and their role in social, political, and economic cohesion. They were also essential in establishing connections among a diverse constituency of rural populations outside the city walls and among neighboring cities.³⁶²

During the emergence of the city-state, it is possible these rural temples were constructed as part of a program. But we must remember this was also true for temples *within* the city. The Archaic period in general was one that experienced an increase in temple building, whether it be extra-urban or within the urban area.³⁶³ There was also a population increase at this time in which both urban and rural populations grew, and presence of local populations in the country necessitated common religious spaces at which to congregate.³⁶⁴ What we can say from this is that temple building certainly flourished during the Archaic period, and construction in rural sanctuaries seems to have been just as much of a priority as that within the city. Whether these temples were constructed as boundary markers and territorial proclamations is not entirely clear. I suggest it is more productive to conceptualize these temples as structures built on the periphery of territories and satisfied the religious needs of scattered rural populations in the territory of the city, also providing a system of social unity and identity, and religious

³⁶² de Polignac 1995, p. 105. “Admits this same idea... may reflect a form of colonization oriented not so much toward large-scale territorial conquest as toward establishing fruitful connections with the populations of the countryside around the colony.”

³⁶³ Snodgrass 1980, pp. 13-23. Increase in population, material goods, and building during this time resulted in expansion of settlement centers as new towns.

³⁶⁴ Snodgrass 1980, p. 24.

protection. Therefore when boundaries were distinctly assessed or delineated (although boundaries could be quite fluid at this time) the easiest and most sensible guidelines to use were the temples dotting neighboring communities of the countryside.

In the Hellenistic period, there was a continuation of rural temple construction. The cases used in this research are limited to those with the best preserved extant remains to give an overall interpretation of what was occurring in territories of the poleis. Sites which experienced building where no structure had previously existed include Lykosoura (Desponia), Perivolia (unknown), Alipheira (Asklepeius), Stymphalos (Eileithya and Athena Polias), Epidauros (Artemis), Pheneos (Asklepeius), Hagios Phloros (Pamisos), Kleoi (Herakles), Kionia (unknown), Messene (Temple of Artemis Limnatis, Temple of Artemis Orthia, and the Artemision). Sites that show rebuilding of temples over previous Archaic or Classical temples appear at Methydriion (Horse Poseidon), Sparta (Artemis Orthia), Aigeira (Artemis), Lousoi (Artemis Hemerasia), Epidauros (Apollo Maleatas), Phigaleia (Athena and Zeus Soter).

As already established, what became evident when I mapped out these temples is that Arkadia seemed to be a focal point when considering the architecture and placement of these temples. Arkadia was surrounded by six other prefectures (Achaia, Lakonia, Argolida, Korinthia, and Messinia). So it is not surprising that when these extra-urban temples are defined on a map, most of them fall either within Arkadia or on the frontier between the boundaries of other areas and Arkadia. During the Hellenistic period when there was a heightened concern and consciousness regarding an implied threat from forces such as Macedonia and Sparta, larger cities were assimilating surrounding territory as a means of unified protection. They were expanding, borders were changing, and

cities likely used temples which were already extant to establish general points of delineation or markers of nearby borders, as well as to assert a commanding presence and identity.³⁶⁵

However, I by no means imply that these borders were somehow enforced in a way such that people were not free to come and go when needed. Nor did it necessarily hinder relations or communication between various areas. There is evidence that suggests there were indeed interactions between cities spanning different regions. The poet Bacchylides relays the foundation myth of the cult of Artmeis Lousoi, which was later brought by Achaean founders to Metapontion.³⁶⁶ The fact that the Achaeans were familiar with this myth and then established the cult in the west, illustrates that communities did interact across borders, and the delineation of areas did not necessarily restrict movement among and between rural populations who depended on the land. In fact, these areas may have worked to formalize cross-border relations. The Achaean establishment of the cult in Metopontion is entirely plausible if the Achaeans were interacting with the Arkadians at Lousoi, especially during a time when Lousoi was experiencing monumentalization in the Hellenistic period.³⁶⁷

As I discussed at greater length in a previous section, synoecisms formed under federal league direction in order to unite a larger area under the control of a single polis, making it easier to protect political unity, territory, and strategic control of major routes. Despite their rural nature and original ties to minor cities, most of the temples transferred ownership to major cities after synoecism, but were possibly incorporated into a system

³⁶⁵ See previous section regarding *synoecism* in this chapter.

³⁶⁶ Bremmer 2010, p. 220.

³⁶⁷ Morgan 2003, p. 184.

of marking the polis territory. It is important, however, to remember that this was only one of many roles the temples played in the landscape.

Even though the locations vary in distance from the city and scholars have attempted to distinguish among the degrees of suburban, extra-urban, rural, and chora, the overall point is that temple building was just as prevalent in the countryside as it was in the city.³⁶⁸ Within those spaces, the notions of territory and boundaries may not have been the same for agrarian economies as they were for pastoral economies. In pastoral economies such as that of Phigaleia, land had to be accessible for watering, grazing, and paths to travel with the flock. Freedom of movement would have been understood as an inherent part of this economy and agreements between cities were established to ensure compromise. In essence, the protection served the flock as it roamed, not the land over which it passed. In agrarian economies like Petrovouni or Kleone, marking of space would have been more important because it clarified where groups could plant and harvest crops. In this situation it was desirable to have control over access routes and to be able to defend the land.³⁶⁹

Economic Function

Rural and border sanctuaries reflect where pastoral and agrarian economies intersected, as well as where traders passed by providing provisions for worshippers and pilgrims. Land designated for the sanctuary was subject to sacred law, but surrounding

³⁶⁸ Edlund, 1987, pp. 41-42, 83-85, 130-34; Pedley 2005, pp. 40-51. Both authors discuss these classifications, trying to discern the nuances of what each distance means for the polis-temple relationship. Breaking down the temples into categories based on distance from the city does not fit my goal here, which is to establish that all temples in areas outside the city were fundamentally important to the social, political, and economic goals and helped establish the urban area under *synoecism*. However, Edlund does take time to establish that there was a planned network of rural shrines in the area of Metaponto, showing there was a system which depended on these temples in order to function.

³⁶⁹ de Polignac 1995, p. 38.

land could be parsed and rented for cultivation. These locations were sometimes the site of festivals, which fostered markets where variety could be available to those in the countryside and where traders could find more customers for their goods.³⁷⁰ This is often discussed in regard to Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of the Greek world including Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, but even modest sanctuaries resembled this to some extent; they were often located along the routes of pilgrimages and served as the main local sanctuary for chora populations. Pilgrims traveling long distances and the gathering of people for religious circumstance created economic opportunities for the sanctuaries along the route.

In terms of the economic value of land for agrarian purposes, it was not unheard of for a sanctuary to lease out land, but the land was often in the vicinity of the sanctuary rather than directly in it. For example, at Delos, there are a number of inscriptions that indicate detailed leasing of the *hierachôra* (sacred country/land), which may include land for raising sheep or cattle and cultivating crops based on signs of terracing.³⁷¹ The sanctuary land functioned as a place where agriculture and husbandry were integrated.

As stated earlier, the sanctuary provided a neutral place for flocks to graze when passing through border areas, although no money was collected. This was also evident in eastern Phocis at the sanctuary of Artemis at Hyampolis, which encompassed rich agricultural land. Rather than use the land for grazing of sacred herds, the sanctuary used the land for production by leasing it out as cultivable land. The locals dedicated animals to the goddess in return for having access to the land, and, in turn, the sanctuary

³⁷⁰ de Ligt and de Neeve 1988 discuss periodic festival markets; Dillon 1997, pp. 214-217, and Dignas 2002, pp. 157-158 addresses the economy of sanctuaries in Asia Minor, mentioning markets briefly, pp. 157-158.

³⁷¹ Brunet 1990, pp. 676-682.

contributed to the fair distribution of land.³⁷² The animals dedicated were kept by the sanctuary where they were believed to grow up fatter and free from disease (Paus. 10.35.7). Ultimately, the payment of animals to the sanctuary was given back to the community by way of sacrificial meat during the Phocian festival, Elaphebolia. Land leasing in regard to sanctuaries is again evident in Epizephyrian Locris where “sacred monies” referred to rent for smallholdings and were collected in *medimnoi* of grain.³⁷³ This suggests the land was indeed used for cultivation and once the crop matured, a portion was given to the sanctuary as reimbursement for use of the land. Areas lacking in fertile land could appeal to another territory in order to utilize neighboring soil to sustain their cultivation, which was the case when the Epidaureans were granted use of land of Apollo near Asine (Thuc. 5.5).³⁷⁴

In other modes of economic function, the sanctuary often served as a meeting place for traders and a venue for exchange and selling of goods. This was especially true during times of pilgrimage or procession for festivals when traffic increased and congregation of people around the sanctuary offered traders a chance to appeal to a larger number of customers. Non-ritual activities such as choral, dramatic, and athletic contests at festivals often do not receive as much scholarly discussion as ritual events, but were nonetheless an integral part of the experience.³⁷⁵ Certainly included in these non-ritual activities were the markets occasionally mentioned by the ancient sources, though none describes any market in great detail. These sources combined with uncovered

³⁷² *IG IX 87*; *SEG LIII 493* pertain to a document of Hyampolis concerning the leasing of sacred land belonging to Apollo and Artemis from the late Hellenistic period.

³⁷³ Ampolo 1992, p. 26.

³⁷⁴ McInerney 2006, p. 54.

³⁷⁵ *LSCG 67*, lines 26-27 (Tegea, fourth century BCE); *LSCG 92*, lines 32-35 (Eretria, fourth century BCE); *LSS 45*, lines 31-34 (Action, third century BCE); *NGSL 18* (Samos, ca. 245/4 BCE), *LSCG 65*, lines 99-103 (Andania)

inscriptions reveal a clearer organization of markets through details regarding regulations, the calculation of taxes, official weights and measures agreed to by the people, and rules prohibiting customers or sellers from being cheated.³⁷⁶ Demosthenes stated that "...noting the abundance and cheapness of goods for sale in your markets...for a market or fair might be judged on such evidence to be well or ill stocked," (Dem. 10.50). Pausanias described such a situation in the countryside of Tithorea, on the north side of Parnassus where commercial activity took place on the third day of the festival:

...and on the next day the small traders make themselves booths of reeds or other improvised material. On the last of the three days they hold a fair, selling slaves, cattle of all kinds, clothes, silver and gold (Paus. 10.32.15).

Sanctuary workshops and metal-work were also present based on finds of manufacturing. There is a history of such production throughout Archaic and Classical times, and was still evident in the Hellenistic period at sites such as Lousoi where jewelry and tools were found.³⁷⁷ We know that the Hemerasia, the games sponsored by Lousoi in honor of Artemis, took place in the Hellenistic period based on honorary decrees inscribed on thin sheets of bronze discovered near the site.³⁷⁸ This occasion provided such an opportunity for festival and trading activities discussed above. The traders and craftsmen who joined the festivals likely provided metal votive offerings for lower income pilgrims who could not afford such elaborate dedications like tripods, as did the wealthier class.³⁷⁹ We know this from examples such as Olympia where no permanent foundry exists, but evidence of bronze casting and many misshapen metal castings have

³⁷⁶ Dillon 1997, p. 215

³⁷⁷Forstenpointner 1990, p. 41.

³⁷⁸Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, pp. 36-38; IG V.2, 387; 388-394; 396; Perlman 2000, p. 158.

³⁷⁹ Risberg 1992, p. 39.

been found;³⁸⁰ this strongly indicates there was some sort of temporary foundry present during festival time.³⁸¹ In addition to the miscast pieces, the large number of small, simple votives of low quality suggests they were produced quickly.³⁸² Large quantities of dedications would have been needed by festival attendees, and the uniform appearance of the votives found indicate they were made at the site and purchased by worshippers.

Due to a lack of archaeological evidence of permanent foundries at sites coupled with the fact that, aside from festival time, the influx of people purchasing votives was minimal, it is possible that the craftsmen were itinerant workers who established temporary metal-working facilities, traveling from site to site.³⁸³ Due to a resemblance of 5th century votive items and evidence of casting debris from the four major Pan-Hellenic festival sites of Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia, and Delphi, it is entirely possible that craftsmen moved with the cycle of festivals producing simple, inexpensive, standard votives for purchase.³⁸⁴

A provision for some type of trade in the vicinity of many sanctuaries was necessary in light of cult regulations of sanctuaries. Worshippers or pilgrims who did not have votives or proper clothing could have purchased items near the sacred space rather than having traveled with them. Cult regulations did not require advance knowledge regarding exact sacrificial procedures in all cases, making it inevitable that people needed access to a place selling requisite articles such as garments, garlands, grain, and firewood.³⁸⁵ Even in cases where it is probable that regulations were better

³⁸⁰ Morgan 1990, p. 38.

³⁸¹ Treister 1996, p. 396.

³⁸² Young, 1999, p. 88; Tyrrell 2004, p.33.

³⁸³ Morgan 2003, pp. 72, 119-20, 148-49, 152-55, 184.

³⁸⁴ Morgan 1990, p. 39 and Miller 1990, p.31.

³⁸⁵ *LSCG* 22 (Epidauros) says that priests must make available, for a cost, requisite items needed for offering and sacrifice; *IG* xii.6 is an inscription from Samos that refers to terms of contract with

known, some pilgrims would have arrived unaware of all regulations and needed assistance. For example, at the mystery cult of Desponia at Lykosoura in Arkadia, special hair, clothing, and make-up requirements were enforced.³⁸⁶ Our best parallel evidence regarding market economy at sanctuaries comes from a surviving inscription from the festival for the Andanian Mystery cult in Messenia.³⁸⁷ Also a Hellenistic extra-urban site, the sanctuary and its buildings have yet to be discovered, and therefore, the architecture, including a Temple to the Great Gods, cannot be included in my study. However, the inscription offers clues that can be used to inform this study of similar cults and sanctuaries. The inscription gives a detailed list of laws pertaining to cult festival aspects, dating to the year 92/1 B.C. through reference to dates in the text.³⁸⁸

The information revealed gives us an idea of what kind of regulations and activities took place at this type of event. The Andanian inscription tells of provisions for a market, indicating that entrepreneurs were available to those who arrived and needed basic amenities, as well as items such as proper clothing for the religious activities. The same environment was likely evident at Lykosoura around the temple of Desponia and at the Temple of Artemis at Messene where initiation of daughters into womanhood took place. Since many in these areas had initiates who had gone through this process, word of mouth regarding details of dress would have spread and any pilgrim setting out could have asked for advice on what to expect, although any further detail of

shopkeepers, indicating there were four shops leased in the sanctuary at the Heraeon. It also states that soldiers, unemployed persons, suppliants, and slaves are not allowed to sell at the shops; Dignas 2007, p. 173 explains the provisions needed by visitor to the site and how these items could be acquired from priests or markets available at sanctuaries.

³⁸⁶ Gawlinski 2012, pp. 126-128, lines 15-26.

³⁸⁷ *LSCG* 65. For comprehensive study of this text, see Gawlinski 2012 which explores the cult in detail, giving a picture of the festival at the time in which the original inscription was written and providing an outline with which to study Greek festivals and sanctuaries in general.

³⁸⁸ Gawlinski 2012, p. 4.

the religious experience and what activities took place was forbidden in mystery cults. However, those coming from a greater distance or those who did not have contact with individuals to seek advice, may have arrived unprepared. The presence of markets allowed them to obtain necessary items and participate in the activities according to cult regulations.

Money or profit generated by festivals or from agrarian purposes was used to pay the priest or maintain the sanctuary including construction or repair.³⁸⁹ Any remaining money went to the city in charge of providing any assistance to hosting the festival,³⁹⁰ for example Megalopolis in the case of Lykosoura. Generally, this was not enough to be of any great economic assistance to the city. Money from the treasuries also belonged to the sanctuary, as did dedications.³⁹¹ Money collected as fees for sacrifice, initiation fees, and fees for healing rituals were deposited in a treasury and helped pay for sacrifices and dedications.³⁹² Dedications made from treasury funds indicate the treasuries were not purely for financial collection, and that the coin itself was an actual dedication, having been deposited during a ritual action.³⁹³ Other common sanctuary dedications to the gods included statues, plaques, and figurines in terracotta or metal. These items may not have held much monetary value, but they could be reused later or melted down for value of the metal.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁹ Gawlinski 2012, pp. 153-164 for the portion of the law on funds, lines 45-64.

³⁹⁰ Gawlinski 2012, pp. 153-164, lines 45-64.

³⁹¹ An example of a treasury from the pastoral temples discussed in this thesis remains at the Temple of Artemis at the Asklepieion at Messene. The bottom portion of the offering box remains with a modern covering as for the top half in which modern visitors can insert money.

³⁹² Gawlinski 2012, p. 199.

³⁹³ Pafford 2006, pp. 95-103.

³⁹⁴ Morgan 2003, p. 154.

Neutrality

Some sites that are classified as extra-urban or rural were a bit larger and situated further away from the more powerful polis. In these cases, these sanctuaries also may have provided neutral venues for meeting, exchanging, arguing, and resolving issues.³⁹⁵ Representatives could meet to talk, settle differences, negotiate, and trade. By offering their gifts to the sanctuary, they could also glorify themselves and their polis. An excellent example supporting the neutral role of the sanctuary occurs at Lousoi in ancient Arkadia. The goddess associated with this location is Artemis Hemerasia, the soothing Artemis (Paus. 8.18.8), in contrast to the mistress of wild beasts or huntress. The Artemis Hemera sanctuary was established by the end of the 6th century B.C. based on statue fragments discovered and identified as the cult statue. The cult epithet Hemera is evidenced by a bronze votive statuette with an inscription naming Hemera as the specific variation of Artemis.³⁹⁶ Artemis had often been associated with hunting, initiation, childbirth, and mistress of wild animals, but in the Hellenistic period, an important change in perception took place; Artemis became an important city goddess, especially in Asia Minor as the influence of the Greek world shifted to the east in cities profiting from Alexander's conquests. Artemis, still associated with wild animals and nature, was also now seen as having a strong relationship with the citizens, thereby making her protector of the city where she, essentially, herded or tended to its citizens.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ Pedley 2005, p. 40.

³⁹⁶ *IG VII* 403.

³⁹⁷ Bremmer and Erskine 2010, pp. 220-227 for a discussion of how the literary persona of Artemis created by previous Homeric Hymns was adapted by Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus in order to fit her contemporary cult. Through the strategy of updating the literary representation of Artemis by rewriting the earlier texts, Artemis was essentially given a literary makeover to justify her depiction in Hellenistic times.

In fact, the epithet helps dispel the notion of areas outside the city walls as being wild or untamed in reference to the landscape and its people. Rather, it underscores the civilized, peaceful role these types of temples may have played in a time when boundaries were often fluid, catering to the needs of rural populations, travelers, and herders. Creating a venue of neutrality, the site would have been instrumental in alleviating any conflicts among communities, providing neutral grazing territory, or offering an amicable location to travelers outside of their communities.

Neutrality was a necessary consideration regarding herding. While boundaries of poleis and territories can be fixed, this does not work well with moving flocks. Arrangements were made as practical responses to these situations. Sacred land and rural sanctuaries allowed herdsmen to be within the realm of a neutral institution, and pasturage rights were agreed upon in several areas, even in Archaic times. Generally, the land of the sanctuary was dedicated to the god/goddess worshipped there and was in the realm of his or her domain. Additionally, as long as all sides involved in any sort of dispute could agree on how to use the land, there was no dispute about who actually owned it. In one example from the 2nd century in central Greece, the Locrian towns of Myania and Hypnia settled a border uncertainty by creating an agreement in which no one could stay on the land long enough to claim it.³⁹⁸ At Arcesine on Amorgos, regulations were set so that herds and flocks could pass through the temenos, but were

³⁹⁸*FD IV 352 Cil. 3 ll. 2-7*; McInerney 2006, p. 48 lists the inscription: “If any of the shepherds who have pastured their sheep in the area in the past brings his sheep before they are clipped, let him take them away once he has clipped them. But all the shepherds who have not previously used the land as pasture, while they are clipping their sheep and putting them to pasture here, may remain and fold their sheep for ten days;”.

not allowed to stay for long periods of time.³⁹⁹ Such regulations were developed to adhere to the practice of keeping herds off lands sanctioned by the gods.

Places of Refuge

Sanctuaries provided refuge for travelers, herders, traders, as well as outlaws of varying sorts. Anyone traveling distances between cities or communities, or those who lived in remote areas had the right to seek protection at any time in the temenos of one of the small temples represented in this study. The word *asylon* means ‘unplunderable’ and relates to a place from which one is not allowed to take anything and where no person can be subjected to violation of any kind.⁴⁰⁰ Once a person crossed the boundary into the sacred space of the temple, they were deemed safe and could engage in supplication. However, the rules of asylum were not always adhered to, and some suppliants found themselves unprotected to face reprisal.

Refugees and outlaws could include defeated soldiers, slaves, social outcasts, criminals, debtors, and exiled politicians.⁴⁰¹ Reports of those seeking asylum are available through the accounts of ancient historians who often focus on the lives of predominant figures and relay mostly special or exceptional cases. Other types of

³⁹⁹ *IG XII 7 62 ll*, lines 36-38.

⁴⁰⁰ Pedley 2005, p. 97.

⁴⁰¹ Balogh 1943. Balogh gives an overview of city law, banishment, exile, and repatriation of political refugees. Sinn 1993, p. 88. Figures who were in the political life of a city and were stripped of office or had fallen into disfavor with the people and victims of war and civil war are written about in the ancient sources. Sinn lists, for example, the Athenian statesman Kylon (C. 630 B.C., Herodotus 5.71; Thucydides 1.126 10-11) Demosthenes (after 322 B.C., Arrian (*FGrHist*156 F9.13); Strabo 8.6.14; Pausanias 1.82f, 2.33.2). Members of royal Greek families also sought the protection of sanctuaries: Queen Deïdameia of Epirus (Polyain. *Strat.* 8.52). King Perseus of Macedonia (Livy 44.45.5-45.6.10) and Cleopatra IV (Justin 39.3.10-11). Many Spartan kings also chose rural sanctuaries for assistance: Leotyichides II in Tegea (Herodotus 6.72; Pausanias 3.7.9), Pausanias II in Tegea (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.5.25; Strabo 8.5; Diodorus 14.89.1; Pausanias 3.7), Kleombrotos II at Cape Tainaron (Plutarch, *Agis* 16-21.2), and Pleistoanax at Mt. Lykaion (Herodotus 6.90). Inhabitant fleeing their towns also sought refuge in sanctuaries, such as when the Spartans overtook Plataia (427 B.C., Thucydides 3.58.3) and when Alexander the Great captured Thebes (335 B.C., Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.8.8, 1.9.6-10; Diodorus 17.8-15).

literary evidence including ancient drama, philosophical treatises and texts of orators suggest the protective nature of sanctuaries more frequently than the ancient historians, although it is often implied rather than directly stated that they sought respite in a sanctuary.⁴⁰² Taking these sources into account, we also find examples of protection in private or daily life including girls escaping a forced marriage (Paus. 8.5.11),⁴⁰³ a woman wanting to leave her husband and join her lover (Parth. *Amat. narr.*XVIII),⁴⁰⁴ orphans being placed with a guardian after consultation in the sanctuary,⁴⁰⁵ and shunned family members attempting reconciliation with their relatives.⁴⁰⁶ In these cases, we can see that the term “asylum” functions with a meaning indicating general protection when used in conjunction with sanctuaries.

Since ancient Greece was divided into many independent towns and city-states, there was no common set of laws applied to the whole of Greece. This is where the institution of *asylia* could be applied in the temenos of the temple.⁴⁰⁷ Through a network of contracts and agreements that established safe conduct for anyone who crossed borders of a city-state, this limited the situations that could inevitably arise from lack of a central law code. It guaranteed that envoys, pilgrims, and those whose professions required them to travel such as merchants, artists, and athletes would have protection while

⁴⁰² Sinn 1993, p. 89.

⁴⁰³ This topic is also the plot of Aeschylus' play, *The Suppliant Maidens*

⁴⁰⁴ Plutarch, *Moralia* 254 B.C. de mulvir.

⁴⁰⁵ Schol. Eur. *Med.* 264 is a note by Euripides concerning Medea's children seeking asylum at the temple of Hera Akraia.

⁴⁰⁶ Sophocles tells of a case in Oedipus at Colonus (ll.1158); Polyneikes' father has cursed him, so in order to force his father to speak to him, Polyneikes becomes a suppliant at the altar of Poseidon in Athens.

⁴⁰⁷ Rigsby 1996, Explains interpretation of *asylia* and the places declared “sacred and inviolable” through the Greek world through documentation of inscriptions and coins. He argues that it began as an intent for military neutrality but resulted in a civic and religious honor for which cities aspired to during the Hellenistic period.

outside the jurisdiction of their local justice.⁴⁰⁸ This kind of protection, or *asylia*, was effective insofar as the agreements had been previously made or when it had been granted as an honor to certain individuals. With respect to sanctuaries and temples, these agreements may have been publicly displayed in these sacred places because the authority possessed by the sanctuary enhanced the effectiveness of the agreements. However, sanctuaries themselves were already protected by *asylia* in the sense that they were owned by the god and inherently guaranteed security and safety to those who entered the space as they were deemed inviolable areas. Despite this, it should be said that sacred places could only protect suppliants to a certain extent.

Because of their extra-urban nature, the small Hellenistic temples would have been ideal locations for individuals in transit or living in the rural landscape to seek protection and would have functioned under the guidance of these same rules of *asylia*. If an individual sought refuge, he or she was protected for the time being, but the situation was not solved by simply remaining in the sanctuary and hiding. Based on regulations of sanctuary conduct, we are aware that one had to abide by sanctuary rules and make themselves known in the *temenos*. Anonymous stay was not allowed and anyone wishing to benefit from the protective institution of the sanctuary had to appear openly and explain his or her reasons for seeking assistance. The sanctuary then took on the role of the go-between in which the priests helped the suppliant find a solution to the problem after the suppliant completed a ritual in which the rite of *hiketeia* (a form of communication with the divine) was established. This involved the fugitive approaching the altar, sitting down or possibly touching the knees of the supplicanda, identifying

⁴⁰⁸ Sinn 1993, p. 90; Schumacher 1993, p.70.

himself as the suppliant to the priest of the sanctuary.⁴⁰⁹ The priest could accept the plea or reject the request, violating the sanctity of protection which was considered sacrilege.⁴¹⁰ If accepted, the priest then became a legal adviser of sorts for the suppliant and was obligated to intervene in the situation.

The majority of accounts address only cases with unfavorable endings and ghastly accounts of a system leaning toward corruption. This has led scholars to an overall conclusion that the protection promised by sanctuaries was only effective in the early periods and was a nearly useless institution by the 5th century.⁴¹¹ Since there were rules established concerning suppliants living with pilgrims in sanctuaries in the centuries following,⁴¹² I am not resigned to the idea that this was indeed true, and agree with Sinn in reading the sources in a different way. Perhaps the grim accounts served to represent moralistic stories; these stories bred legends describing measures the gods took against the sacrilege in order to distribute punishment for failing to uphold one of the tenets of Greek religion: the laws of sanctity inherently associated with the sanctuary.

In this interpretation, the legends are evidence of how highly regarded the institution of sacred protection was in the eyes of the people and their determination and belief in affirming it as their right. Additionally, in centuries following the 5th, there were rules established regarding suppliants living in sanctuaries, which would lead one to the conclusion that protection was indeed still offered, upheld, and effective in the

⁴⁰⁹ For in depth discussion of *hiketeia* see Gould 1973; Gould 2001; Naiden 2006.

⁴¹⁰ Sinn 1993, p. 91. Many of the cases reported by historical writers convey only examples where the sacred immunity law was disregarded and suppliants were forcibly driven out of the sanctuary, burned, or starved to death. It was often a problem in politically charged situations, as granting entry into the sanctuary could result in retaliation, exposing the sanctuary or town to which it belonged dangerous consequences.

⁴¹¹ Gould 1973, p.101; Schaefer 1932, p. 46. These sources list accounts of dramatic episodes attributed to the consequences of disregard for supplicants' protection.

⁴¹² Gawlinski 2012, p. 190.

sanctuary setting. One such example occurred at the sanctuary of Demeter and Apollo at Andania in Messinia. An inscription from 92 B.C., in which great detail is given about the regulations of cult ceremonies, clearly states that participants in the cult and suppliants are to be separated for the length of the cult festival.⁴¹³ This would imply that, aside from this specified duration, the institution of sacred protection was still effective and suppliants were living with pilgrims in the sanctuary. As explained in Chapter One, intermittent political strife and warfare under Macedonian and Spartan forces were not uncommon between poleis, and it is not surprising there were fugitives and exiles at sanctuaries. Given this circumstance, it is also not surprising that the sanctuaries from which they sought asylum were at the frontiers of the city or the confederacy.

⁴¹³ Gawlinski 2012, p. 190.

Conclusions

In the Introduction, I addressed the perception of architecture in the Hellenistic period. There is sparse acknowledgement of the stylistic characteristics occurring in the Peloponnese of Greece during this time. Modern architectural history tends to include only evolutionary assumptions, focusing on a succession of architectural achievements over time reaching their pinnacle in the Classical period, followed by a decline. This limits and downplays consideration of the complexity and innovation of Hellenistic architecture, as well as of the Hellenistic period as a whole, rich in political, economic, and cultural circumstances that resulted in a change in taste.

I evaluated the problematic nature of the traditional frameworks defining polis religion and the polis in Chapter One. I am not outright arguing against these models, but there should be a re-evaluation to change their paradigms. I am, however, arguing against the assumption that there is only one symbolic discourse in Greek religion - that of polis religion - and that it is capable of evaluating all areas of Greek ritual and experience. Trying to explain religion in such a way excludes religious divergence and does not give a truly coherent account of Greek religion or the temples which represent it. To this end, the corpus of scholarly literature leaned toward creating a tension and opposition between the concepts of inside and outside the polis which is misleading for our understanding of rural temples and their function within the network of the Peloponnese.

The history described shows there was clearly a dense and tangled web of often changing alliances and motivations in the Peloponnese leading up to the Hellenistic

period. Combined with the process of synoecism beginning in the Classical period, whereby smaller poleis, towns, and settlements were absorbed into larger poleis, deciphering the political arrangement and religious identity quickly becomes a complex issue. Politically, synoecism was likely more of a response to Spartan oppression than that of Macedonian. Socially, this created unity among the network of populations who were collectively trying to rebuff Spartan hegemony. This also forced the shifting and displacement of some populations to new locations and founding of new cities such as Megalopolis and Messene which had to either create foundation myths or adopt local ones. There is also no solid evidence that Macedonia tried to change the political arrangement of the Peloponnese in terms of independence as defined by self-governance. Most cities in this region continued to function autonomously with little intervention. In terms of economic effect, as the oligarchies which had been present when Macedonia took control became more intensified, there was increased economic dependency of the lower classes on the elite who owned much of the land, namely Sparta. However, the fees poleis were required to pay to the Macedonians to have garrisons did put a strain on finances and may have affected the degree to which some poleis were able to expend on architecture.

Religiously, aside from new polis trying to establish religious identity, traditional practices seem to have continued under Macedonian and Spartan dominance, and temples in the countryside functioned on some level to indicate territorial delineations and unite communities. Temples continued to be built in extra-urban areas as a by-product of independence from Sparta for populations such as the helot class. Through organization

of territory and boundaries in the form of foundation myths tied to specific locations, a sort of geographic genealogy transpired.

In Chapter Two, I set forth the analysis of physical remains of these temples. The temples described share common features throughout their locations in the Peloponnese. They are non-peripteral, roughly 13 x 9 meters, comprised of a pronaos and cella, and either tetrastyle prostyle, hexastyle prostyle, or distyle in antis. They often have large statue bases, offering tables with lion's feet, drafting margins on temple corners, altars, and are situated with a far-reaching view of the territory. Some include roughhewn, fieldstone, or pseudo-polygonal interior walls, wall blocks of varying length, thick walls, and similar use and style of decorative flower blossoms or palmettes. It is evident that these temples share structural and decorative features which seem to be conventional techniques of Hellenistic pastoral temples in the Peloponnese. The similarity connects them aesthetically in the network of the Peloponnese, signifying a common architectural program and a typology recognizable to the community.

In Chapter Three, I discussed the advantages of network theory in understanding the relationships of these temples with each other, the polis, and religious centers such as Olympia. By approaching rural temples from this perspective, the focus is shifted from the polis as the apex of community to the individual importance of the temples (nodes) in defining the community. I also addressed the significance of how we interpret deities. The deities were connected to particular places geographically, and therefore, necessarily needed to be considered by newly-founded cities. The relationship between nature and Greek religion has to do with the location and the environment of worship, essentially the context in which people encountered their god. The gods were present in the landscape

even before the temple or altar was built. In fact, the construction of a sanctuary was conceived as a response to the holiness of a place and the pre-existing religious value already imbued within it. Mountain peaks, groves, springs, caves, and other features were regarded as inherently sacred. The place is the home of the god. Any comprehensive model of sanctuary development must take into account an irreducible and subjective element which is the apprehension of the sacred. Because of the sanctity of foundation myths associated with deities at already existing rural sanctuaries within the territory, it was to the advantage of poleia to respect these deities, as the gods had inhabited the place first. The cities were attempting to project a political, religious, and symbolic image. Establishing themselves as connected to these deities and foundation myths acted to legitimize the poleia as centers of authority. When synoecism took place, it was in the best interest of the city to find a way to incorporate the divinities. This help explains why we end up with small, rural-style temples within the city walls at locations such as Messene. Divine support justified claims to territory, and divine approval was a requirement for polis identity. The larger issue of this debate for continued study of Greek religion, again, resides in the re-evaluation of the role of the polis in relation to other units of collective identity. The polis did not so much replace older forms of identity than create an alternative framework. The formation of the polis, which is in no way a chronologically identifiable event, is only one part of a lengthy history of religious development.

Function beyond the role of religion is evaluated in Chapter Four. The pastoral sanctuaries laid claim to the land between countryside and civic center and suggested the unity of urban and rural. They marked the frontiers between adjacent *poleis* or between

one territory and another such as Arkadia and Elis or between Arkadia and Achaea. They also functioned as gathering places where merchants could engage in commerce, farmers could exchange stock, and artisans could engage in trade. They served the needs of the people who lived on the land, utilizing it for agrarian and herding or pasturing purposes. Many of these sites began as places that existed independently of the urban centers of worship, gradually being assimilated into the territory of a city as urban development and planning grew and with the advent of the synoecism. They catered more to the interests of farmers, hunters, herdsman, foresters, and their families, which is evident when comparing them to urban sanctuaries and shrines, the people who used them, and their functions. Most of these rural sanctuaries were modest in size and construction, as well as in architectural adornment, often with only a small temple and altar outside to receive sacrifices and gifts. Due to their modest stature and the lack of scholarly discourse on them, it is tempting to assume that these rural sanctuaries were less significant than monumental architecture within the city. But the fact that these edifices were articulated throughout the entire Greek countryside should lead us to think alternatively: the sheer number of them implies they were a predominant vehicle of identity and religious practice. It cannot be emphasized enough that they played an instrumental role in the larger scope of religious, political, and social life of poleia in the Hellenistic period.

Signifying more than just the extent of land, its borders and its resources, the territory of the ancient polis was composed of the communities who lived in the wider regions, away from the urban center. Drawing these people into the sphere of the city, whether they actually resided within the chora of the city or in a neighboring region,

reinforced its social network and thus ensured the position of the polis in the surrounding environment. The key to this relationship lay in the sanctuaries that were central to these communities; common ground was created when these sanctuaries were incorporated into the mainstream of civic life, their gods recognized as tutelary deities, and their festivals turned into a celebration of the polis. The roles they played in terms of economy, facilitating exchange, neutrality, and as places of refuge indicate they were a necessary and valued component of a wider network. Sanctuaries in outlying areas were vital in extending the role of the polis as they were located miles away from the city proper and assisted in maintaining organization of the polis. These religious centers were generally at the heart of the communities that surrounded them, either locally or more regionally; they cannot thus simply be typified as “extra-urban” or “frontier” sanctuaries. They held a power and authority of their own. Integrating these sanctuaries into the social and political makeup of the city naturally led to the integration of their communities into the polis as well. Promoting the sanctuaries to civic cult centers, however, took this even further, anchoring the very identity of the polis to the power and place of the deity and thus transforming both sacred and political space. In this way sanctuaries were turning points in the territorial formation of the polis, depending on how their networks were engaged and how their relationship with the polis was etched onto the mental maps of the community. Therefore, the sanctuaries and small temples became landmarks and symbols of a perceived cohesive and integrated political unit, reinforcing its legitimacy to territories in the surrounding area.

Using this collection of temples I have provided, future work in carrying out computational network analysis and predictive modeling by means of Geographic

Information Systems is a future goal. For archaeological purposes, predictive modeling is predominantly used to determine settlement location, travel, and interaction based on theoretical concepts about human systems of activity, social constructs, and factors of the environment and topography combined with archaeological evidence and variables. The variables can be known or unknown values (preferably known if ample archaeological evidence is available), but the advantage is that the models can be run with the option of changing the variables to evaluate their effect on the outcome, thereby allowing us to, at the very least, provide possibilities and hypotheses about the processes and interactions which took place in antiquity.⁴¹⁴

The first step in this is accumulating a set of data from which to work. Until present, there has been no collection of such data regarding Hellenistic rural temples. Now that I have identified, established, and examined this set of temples, their architecture, and surrounding territories, the possibility to analyze and verify in greater detail the networks among them using GIS presents itself. One of the things this will require is research in the field to visually identify ancient wheel ruts and traces of roads beyond the major road network which has already been recognized in scholarly excavation and survey. Routes for minor or smaller roads between the rural sites and temples in the Peloponnese will aid in determining the structure of the relationships and the magnitude of interaction. Based on archaeological evidence we do have (inscriptions, architecture, votive finds, coins, sculpture) my future aim is to show that complex social and group behaviors emerged from relatively simple local interaction that spread far and wide like a web, countering against reductionist perspectives.

⁴¹⁴ Franck, 2010. In my GIS Master's thesis on predictive modeling, I review and evaluate the current methods and applications for predictive modeling, inductive versus deductive models, as well as the challenges regarding data and idiosyncratic nature of human activity.

In order to accomplish this, base layers of digital elevation models and remotely sensed imagery will be used in ArcGIS. Computational investigation through site catchment, viewshed, and cost-distance may help reveal additional information about how rural Hellenistic sites functioned. Site catchment analysis will explore the relationship between the sites and their proximity to natural resources. This method is used to correlate site function with site location (i.e., where inhabitants were exploiting their resources). Viewshed analysis explores the inter- and intra-site visibility. This is ascertained from a point along a line or sector to another area in the terrain in order to indicate whether points at the end of the segment are visible from the original location. This will aid in understanding site characteristics such as defense constructs, signaling systems in time of threat, territorial dominance, and visibility among (or within) sites, providing information on site function and choice of location. Cost-distance investigation can be carried out once viewsheds are established to evaluate the difference between real and perceived space – the cost to travel through a given cell/pixel on a satellite image. Cost is a function of variables that can restrict movement in some way such as slope, elevation, natural and man-made barriers such as lakes or walls. Importantly, these factors can be weighed based on varying levels of concern to reflect their impact on the outcome. To this end, we open up a new avenue to better understand and visualize the complex relationships of past landscapes, settlements, resources, and distribution patterns of the Hellenistic Peloponnese.

Figures



Fig. 1 Peloponnesian Regions (after © OpenStreetMap contributors, Open Database License)

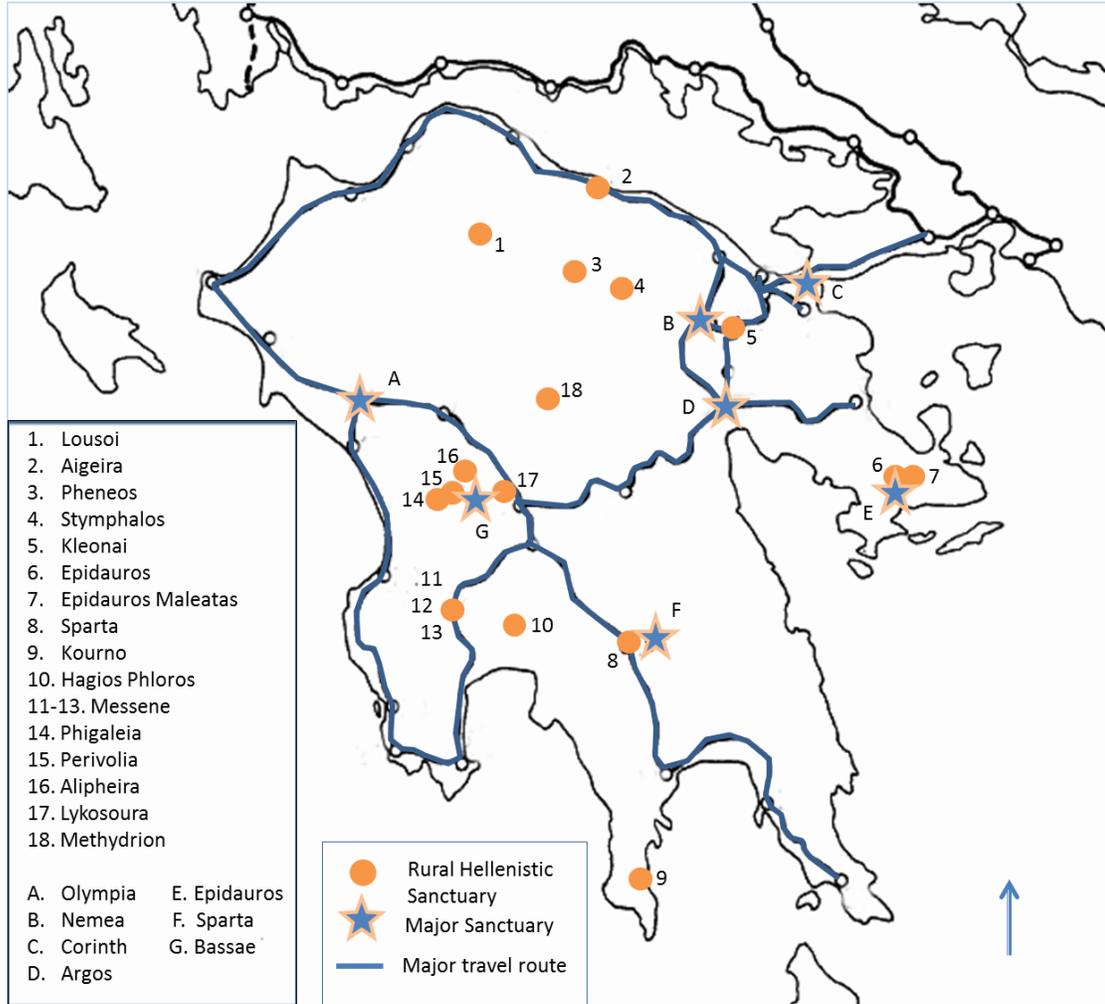


Fig. 2 Major Peloponnesian sanctuaries, major trade routes, and rural Hellenistic temples



Fig. 3 Alipheira - Temple of Asklepios looking NE



Fig. 4 Vista looking North from Alipheira



Fig. 5 Alipheira - Drafting margins and tool work on exterior of temple



Fig. 6 Alipheira - Altar of Temple of Asklepius



Fig. 7 Lousoi – Temple of Artemis Hemerasia



Fig. 8 Lousoi - vista looking NW



Fig. 9 Lykosoura- Temple of Despoina



Fig. 10 Lykosoura – vista looking NE



Fig. 11 Lykosoura – Orthostate crown course and S side doorway



Fig. 12 Lykosoura – stepped seating on the S side of the temple



Fig. 13 Lykosoura – interior cella wall



Fig. 14 Lykosoura – carved rosettes on antae block



Fig. 15 Lykosoura – palmette in corner of geison soffit



Fig. 16 Lion's head spout on sima



Fig. 17 Methydrion/Petrovouni – Temple of Horse Poseidon



Fig. 18 Methydrion/Petrovouni – vista looking E



Fig. 19 Methydrion/Petrovouni – blocks on southwest corner



Fig. 20 Methydrion/Petrovouni – block with clamp and dowel mark



Fig. 21 Perivolia – Temple



Fig. 22 Perivolia – vista looking SE



Fig. 23 Perivolia - altar



Fig. 24 – Perivolia - anthemion from end of altar (?) (photo courtesy F. Cooper)



Fig. 25 – Perivolía - vertical lip on orthostates



Fig. 26 Perivolía –dovetail clamp in toichobate



Fig. 27 Pheneos – Temple of Asklepios with double cella



Fig. 28 Pheneos – vista looking N



Fig. 29 Pheneos – inscription naming Asklepius (top) and Attalos (bottom)



Fig. 30 Phigaleia – Temple of Athena and Zeus Soter



Fig. 31 Phigaleia – vista looking SW

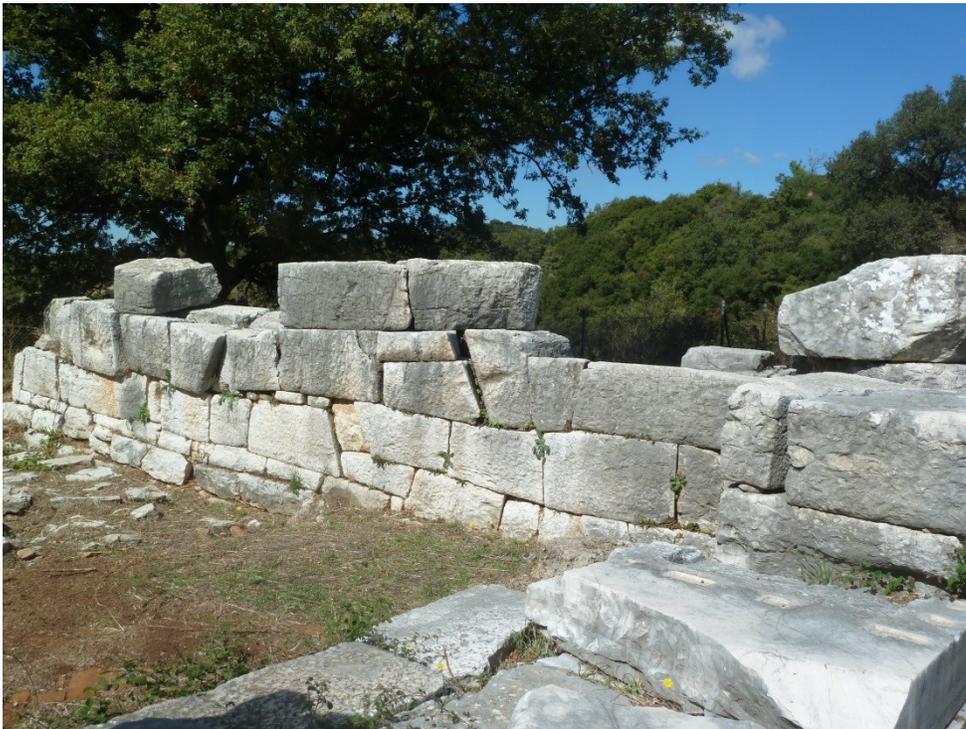


Fig. 32 Phigaleia – interior cella wall blocks



Fig. 33 Phigaleia – doorway between pronaos and cella



Fig. 34 Phigaleia – drafting margins and surface tooling



Fig. 35 Stymphalos – Temple of Athena/ Eileithyia and vista looking E



Fig. 36 Stymphalos – exterior of west wall



Fig. 37 Aigeira – Temple of Artemis



Fig. 38 Aigeira – vista looking E



Fig. 39 Epidauros – Temple of Artemis



Fig. 40. Epidauros – altar foundations



Fig. 41 Epidauros – akroteria from Artemis temple roof



Fig. 42 Epidauros – Temple of Apollo Maleatas



Fig. 43 Epidauros – vista looking NW, altar



Fig. 44 Epidauros – interior of Apollo Maleatas temple



Fig. 45 Kleonai – Temple of Herakles



Fig. 46 Kleonai – vista looking S



Fig. 47 Kleonai – krepidoma blocks with three steps carved into single blocks



Fig. 48 Kleonai – shallow cutting next to orthostates



Fig. 49 Kleonai – Herakles cult statue fragment



Fig. 50 Kleonai – altar (?) facing east to double altar room



Fig. 51 Kourno - temple



Fig. 52 Kourno – block with socket



Fig. 53 Sparta – Temple of Artemis Orthia



Fig. 54 Sparta – N side of temple



Fig. 55 Hagios Phloros – location of Temple of Pamisos



Fig. 56 Hagios Phloros – vista looking N



Fig. 57 Hagios Phloros – rock outcropping



Fig. 58 Messene – Temple of Artemis Limnatis and vista looking S



Fig. 59 Messene - altar



Fig. 60 Messene - pronaos



Fig. 61 Messene – Temple of Artemis Orthia



Fig. 62 Messene – clamp and dowel still in place



Fig. 63 Messene – interior orthostates with lifting bosses



Fig. 64 Messene – threshold with cuttings for door



Fig. 65 Messene – Temple of Artemis Oupisias/Orthia/Phosphoros



Fig. 66 Messene – double curtain orthostate wall with orthostate crown



Fig. 67 Messene – interior of cella with statue base, offering table socle, and treasury box

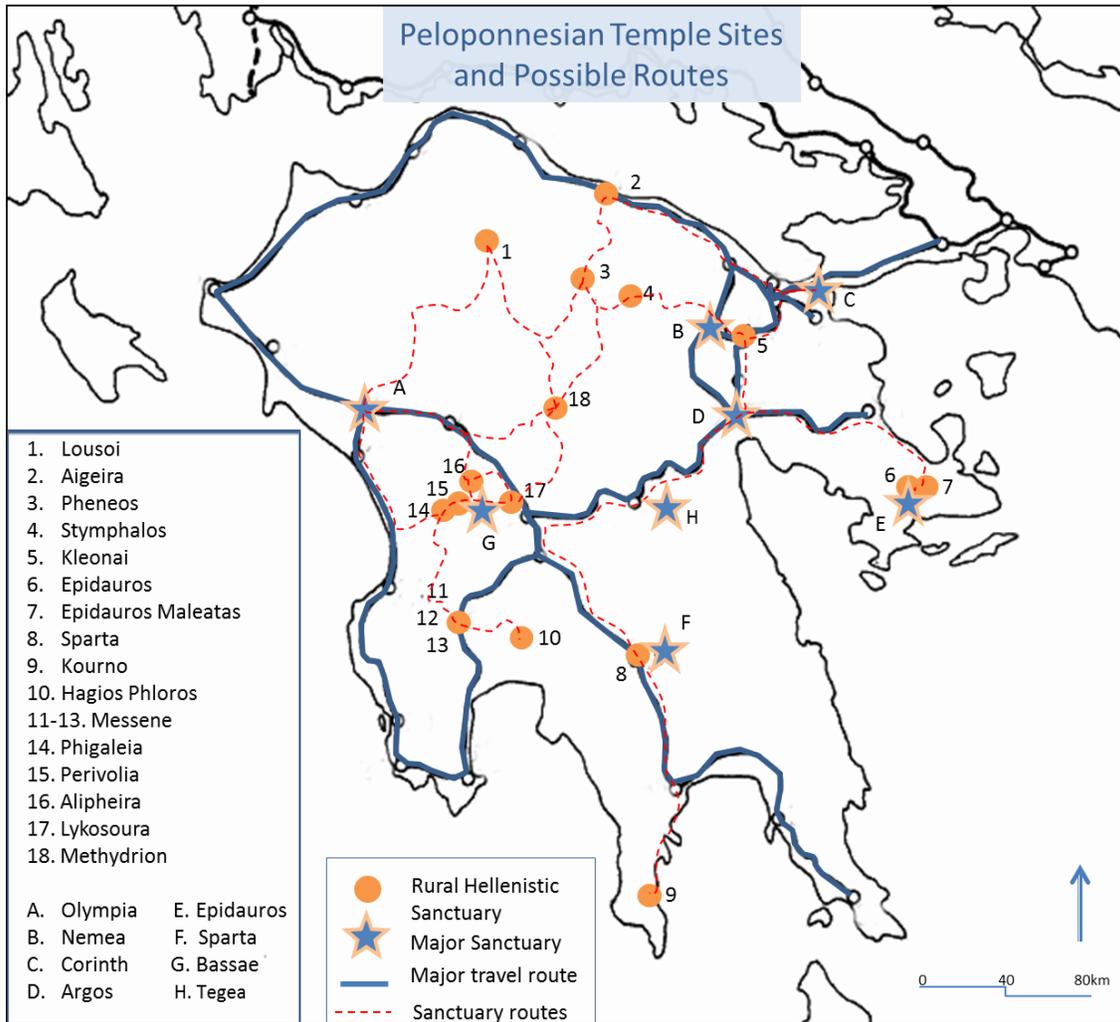


Fig. 68 – Possible travel routes among rural Hellenistic temples and major sanctuaries

Architectural Glossary

Abaton – building or room in which an individual with a malady sleeps to receive dream cures

Adyton – restricted rear inner shrine of a temple

Anthemion – design consisting of radiating petals (palmette)

Akroterion - ornament mounted at the apex of the pediment of a building

Architrave – part of the entablature; the architrave is the lintel or beam that rests on the capitals of the columns. It is the lowest part of the entablature which is comprised of the architrave, frieze and cornice.

Amphiprostyle - denotes a temple with a portico both at the front and the rear. This never exceeded the use of four columns in the front, and four in the rear.

Antefix - a vertical block made of stone or terracotta which terminates the covering tiles of the roof of a tiled roof. The face of is generally carved, often with the anthemion ornament.

Bouleuterion – building to house the council of citizens

Cyma recta – a moulding with a double curvature where the upper curve is concave and the lower curve is convex

Distyle in-antis – two columns at the front of a temple; one on each side of the doorway

Entablature - the superstructure of moldings and bands which lie horizontally above columns, resting on their capitals. They are commonly divided into the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice (the projecting member below the pediment).

Epikranitis – a moulding marking the top of a wall, often the top wall course of a structure

Euthynteria - the uppermost course of a building's foundations, partly emerging from groundline. The superstructure of the building rests on this.

Frieze - the wide central section part of an entablature and may be plain or decorated with reliefs. The frieze rests on the architrave course.

Guttae - small water-repelling, cylindrical projections used in the architrave. At the top of the architrave blocks, there was a taenia and series regulae from which the guttae hung. Guttae also hung from the underside of the projecting geison above the frieze. Three rows of six guttae hung from a mutule on the geison.

Hexastyle prostyle – six columns across the front of a temple

Krepidoma - the platform of, usually, three levels upon which the superstructure of the building is erected. The levels typically decrease in size incrementally, forming a series of steps along all or some sides of the building. The krepidoma rests on the euthynteria (foundation), which is normally constructed of locally available stone for the sake of economy.

Mutule - rectangular protrusions on the underside of the geison from which guttae hung. They are aligned above each triglyph and each metope.

Opisthodomos – rear porch of a temple

Peribolos – a court enclosed by a wall, namely a wall surrounding a sacred space

Peripteral – columns on all sides of a temple forming a porch around the entire structure

Portico – a roofed porch attached to a building

Pronaos – porch of a Greek temple

Prostyle – columns placed only across the front of the temple forming a portico

Regula – short narrow band under the taenia; guttae hung from each regula

Sima – upturned edge of a roof that acts as a gutter, usually decorated

Stoa - covered walkways, commonly for public usage and often not attached to a building

Stylobate - the top step of the krepidoma; the stepped platform on which colonnades of temple columns are placed

Triglyph - the vertically channeled tablets of the Doric frieze

Taenia – a narrow protruding fillet at the top of the architrave

Temenos- land dedicated to a god and marked off from common use

Tetrastyle prostyle – four columns across the front of a temple

Toichobate– the base or plinth on which the temple walls rest

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APPENDIX: TEMPLE DATA

1) Site: Alipheira

Temple Deity: Asklepius

UTM Coordinate: E586285 N4154231

Elevation: 635 m

Ancient prefecture: Arkadia

Modern prefecture: Elis

Dimensions: 9.30 m x 5.75 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 8.26.5-7 (location and city, Asklepius sanctuary), 8.27.4 (synoecism)

Epigraphic Evidence:

None

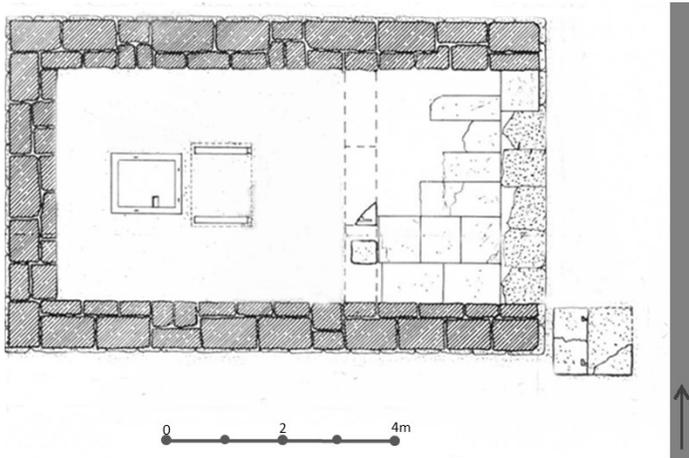


fig. a.1 - Temple of Asklepius (after Orlandos 1968, p. 171, fig. 111)

2) Site: Lousoi

Temple Deity: Artemis Hemerasia
UTM Coordinate: E576285 N4154231
Elevation: 1200 m
Ancient prefecture: Arkadia
Modern prefecture: Achaia
Dimensions: 32.0 m x 20.0 m

Ancient Authors:

Callim. *Hymn 3* 233-36 (temple)
Paus. 8.18.7-8 (location and epithet)
Polyb. 4.18.10, 4.25.4, 9.34.9-10 (temple)

Epigraphic Evidence:

IG V 2.397, IG V 2.398, IG V 2.399, IG V 2.401, IG V 2.402, IG V 2.403 (bronze finds)

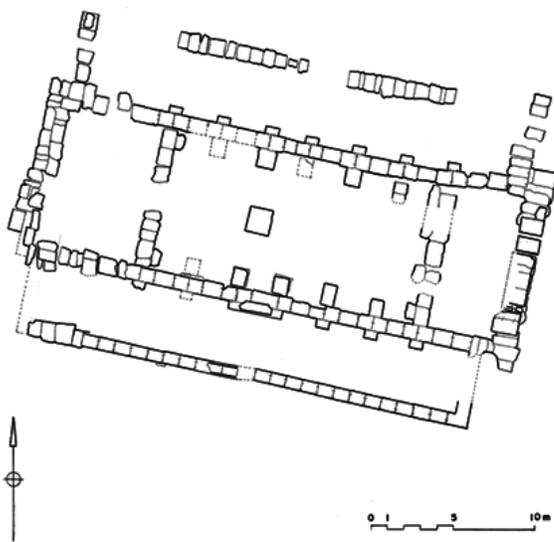


fig. a.2 – Temple of Artemes Hemerasia at Lousoi (by F. Cooper)

3) Site: Lykosoura

Temple Deity: Despoina

UTM Coordinate: E591275 N4138597

Elevation: 557 m

Ancient prefecture: Arkadia

Modern prefecture: Arkadia

Dimensions: 21.0 m x 12.0 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 8.26.6, 8.27.4, 8.27.7 (synoecism); Paus. 8.37.1-10 (sanctuary)

Epigraphic Evidence:

IG V 2.514 (sacred law); *SEG XLIX 446*; *SEG LVII 2176*

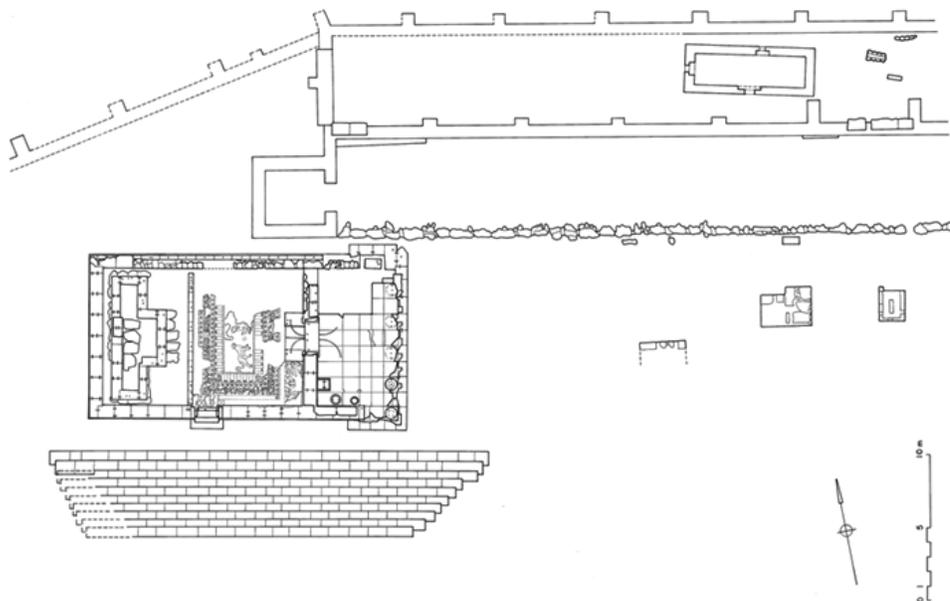


fig. a.3 – Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura (by F. Cooper)

4) Site: Methydrion/Petrovouni

Temple Deity: Horse Poseidon

UTM Coordinate: E601334 N4168346

Elevation: 1000 m

Ancient prefecture: Arkadia

Modern prefecture: Arkadia

Dimensions: 25.0 m x 15.0 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus 8.27.4, 8.27.7, 8.12.2 (city and road), 8.35.5 (location), 8.36.1-3 (name and location), 8.36.2 (temple)

Epigraphic Evidence:

None

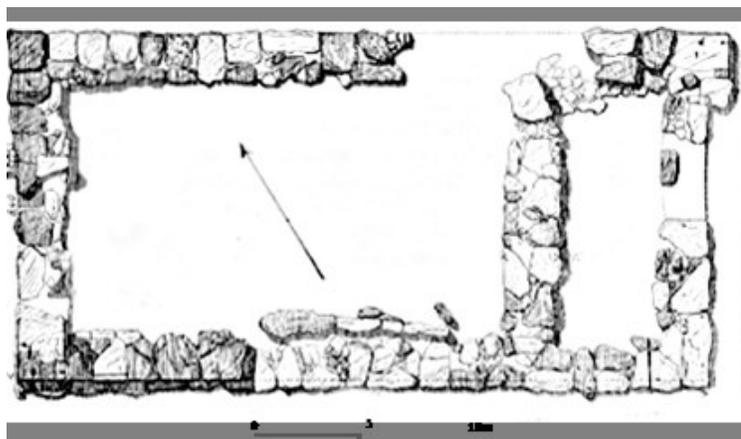


fig. a.4 – Temple of Horse Poseidon at Petrovouni (after Hiller von Gaertringen , p. 33, fig. 7)

5) Site: Perivolia

Temple Deity: unknown

UTM Coordinate: E576561 N4140928

Elevation: 450 m

Ancient prefecture: Arkadia

Modern prefecture: Elis

Dimensions: 10.10 m x 7.05 m

Ancient Authors:

None

Epigraphic Evidence:

SEG LIV 480-483, *SEG* XLVII 443-445; *SEG* LII 457(stamped tiles, Hellenistic); *SEG* LIV 484 (bronze plate)

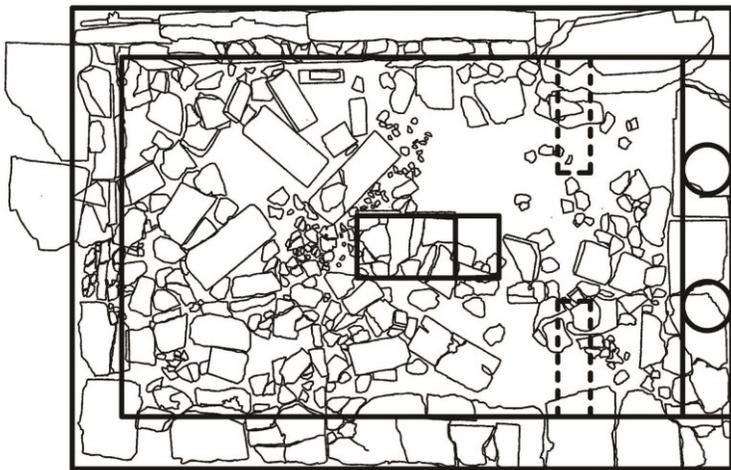


fig. a.5 – Temple at Perivolia (by David Scahill, 2014)

6) Site: Pheneos

Temple Deity: Asklepius

UTM Coordinate: E614948 N4196530

Elevation: 753 m

Ancient prefecture: Korinthia, Achaia, Arkadia

Modern prefecture: Korinthia

Dimensions: 14.40 m x 11.50 m

Ancient Authors:

DioSic. 15.49.5 (flowing water)

Hdt. 6.74 (near the water of the Styx)

Paus. 8.14.1 (plains of Pheneos), 8.13.6, 8.15.8, 8.16.1, 8.17.5 (boundaries)

Strabo 8.8.4 (sacred water of the Styx)

Epigraphic Evidence:

SEG XIX 328 (statue base)

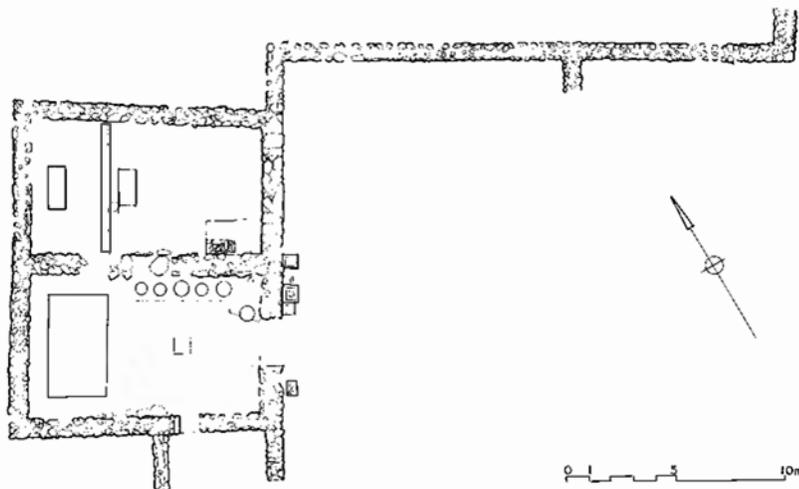


fig. a.6 – Temple of Asklepius at Pheneos (by F. Cooper)

7) Site: Phigaleia

Temple Deity: Athena and Zeus Soter
UTM Coordinate: E574260 N4139158
Elevation: 515 m
Ancient prefecture: Arkadia
Modern prefecture: Elis
Dimensions: 14.0 m x 8.0 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 3.17.9 (wizards)
Paus. 4.24.1 (city of Arkadia),
Paus. 8.3.2, Paus. 8.5.7 (name, Phialia)
Paus. 8.39.1- 8.41.6 (location and city)

Epigraphic Evidence:

SEG LVI 492 (statue base and stelae);
SEG XXIII 237 (dedication to Athena, 4th C. B.C.); *SEG* XLVI 448 (dedication to Athena and Zeus Soter, 4th C. B.C.); *SEG* XLVII 439 (bronze pin dedication to Athena, late 6th C. B.C.); *SEG* XLVII 443-45 (stamped roof tiles); *SEG* LI 512 (proxeny decrees)

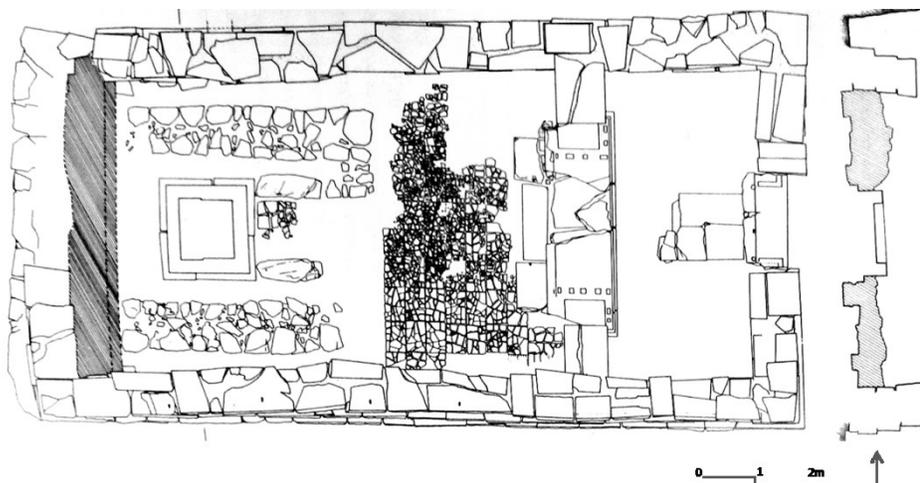


fig. a.7 – Temple of Athena and Zeus Soter at Phigaleia (after Arapoiganni 1996, p. 130, fig 1-2)

8) Site: Stymphalos

Temple Deity: Eileithyia and Athena Polias

UTM Coordinate: E628199 N4191114

Elevation: 640 m

Ancient prefecture: Arkadia

Modern prefecture: Arkadia

Dimensions: 11.60 m x 6.0 m

Ancient Authors:

DioSic. 15.49.5 (flowing water)

Paus. 8.22.1 (boundaries)

Epigraphic Evidence:

none

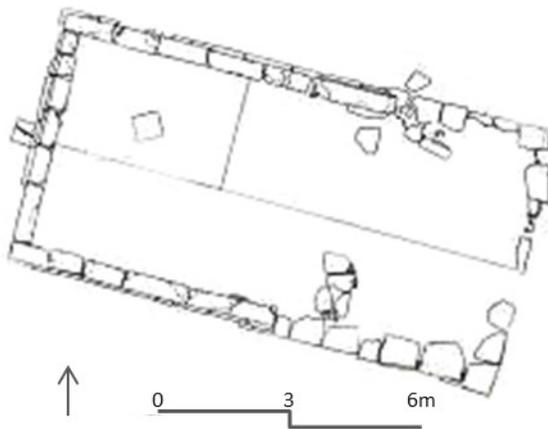


fig. a.8 – Temple of Athena at Stymphalos (after Williams and Schaus 2001, p. 78, fig. 1)

9) Site: Aigeira

Temple Deity: Artemis

UTM Coordinate: E620742 N4221011

Elevation: 351 m

Ancient prefecture: Achaea

Modern prefecture: Achaea

Dimensions: 12.40 m x 7.80 m

Ancient Authors:

Herodotus: 1.145 (location)

Pausanias: 7.26.1 (location), 7.26.2-3 (name, Hyperesia), 7.26.4-9 (buildings), 7.26.5 (Artemis Temple)

Pliny: 4.6 (location)

Polybius 2.41; 4.5 (location)

Strabo: 8, p. 386 (location)

Epigraphic Evidence:

None

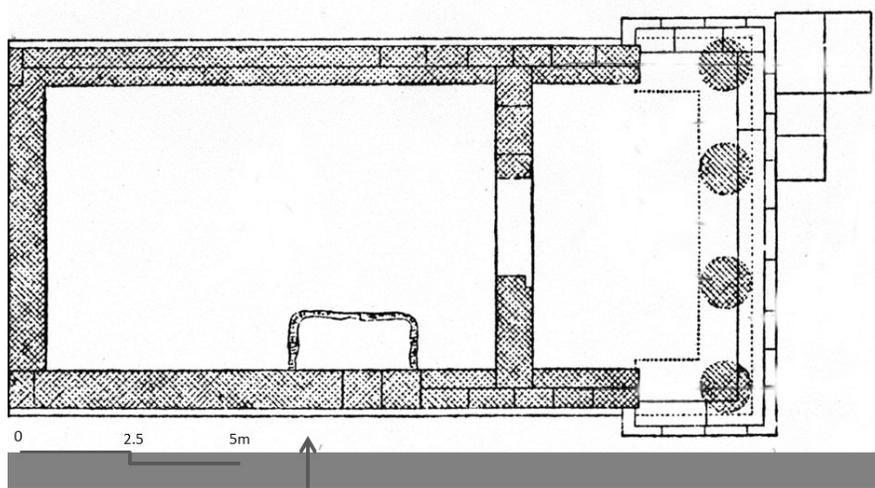


fig. a.9 – Temple of Artemis at Aigeira (by F. Cooper)

10) Site: Epidauros

Temple Deity: Artemis

UTM Coordinate: E683179 N4163272

Elevation: 330 m

Ancient prefecture: Argolid

Modern prefecture: Argolid

Dimensions: 13.38 m x 9.42 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 2.27.5

Epigraphic Evidence:

IG IV² 1.106 (building record); *IG IV² 1.493* (limestone base); *IG IV² 1.272* (unfluted column); *IG IV² 1.497* (base); *IG IV² 1.710*

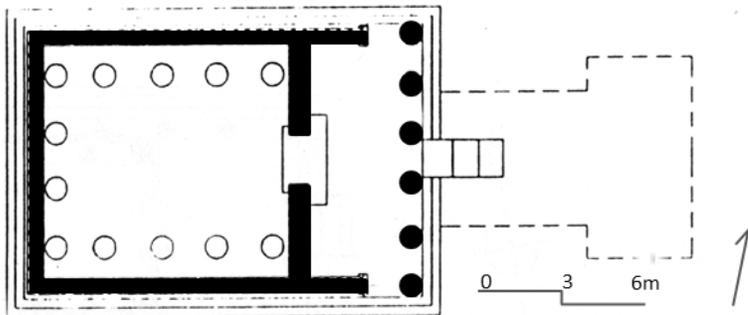


fig. a.10 – Temple of Artemis at Epidauros (by F. Cooper)

11) Site: EpidaurosMaleatas

Temple Deity: Apollo Maleatas
UTM Coordinate: E684087 N4163421
Elevation: 425 m
Ancient prefecture: Argolid
Modern prefecture: Argolid
Dimensions: 13.50 m x 7.50 m

Ancient Authors:

Isyllos, *Hymn to Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios*
Paus. 2.27.7

Epigraphic Evidence:

IG IV² 1.128 (hymn by Isyllos)
SEG XXXIX 358; XLI 301 (dedication altar)

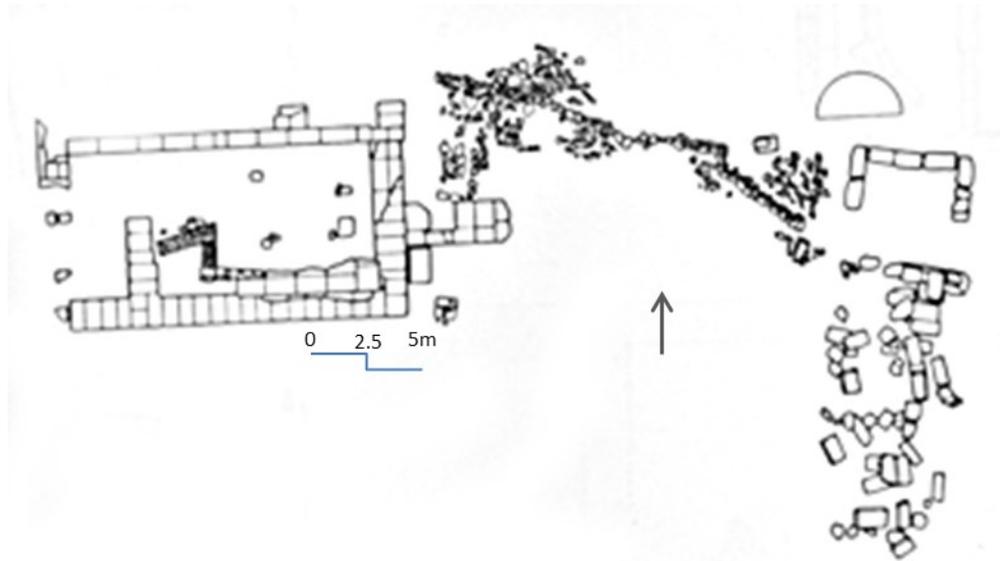


Fig. a.11 – Temple of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros (by F. Cooper)

12) Site: Kleonai

Temple Deity: Herakles

UTM Coordinate: E655912 N4187036

Elevation: 215 m

Ancient prefecture: Korinthia, Argolid

Modern prefecture: Korinthia

Dimensions: 15.50 m x 9.0 m

Ancient Authors:

DioSic. 4.33

Epigraphic Evidence:

None

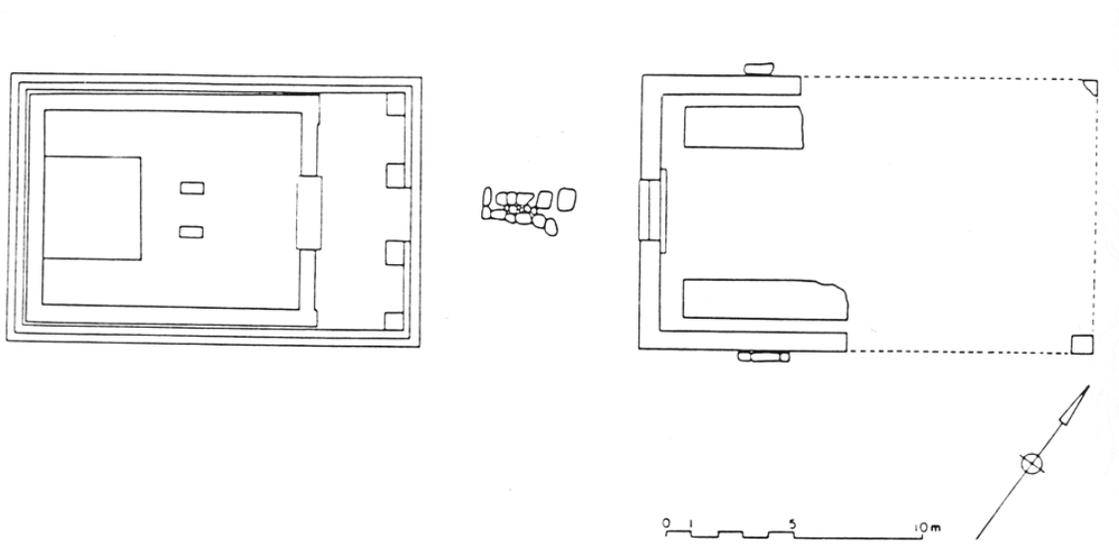


fig. a.12 – Temple of Herakles at Kleonai (by F. Cooper)

13) Site: Kionia/Kourno/Aigila

Temple Deity: unknown
UTM Coordinate: E630907 N4044902
Elevation: 475 m
Ancient prefecture: Lakonia
Modern prefecture: Lakonia
Dimensions: 7.0 m x 5.0 m

Ancient Authors:
None

Epigraphic Evidence:
None

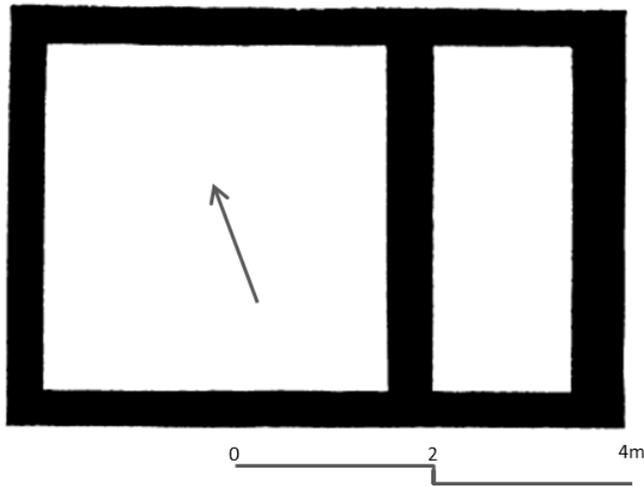


fig. a.13 – Temple at Kourno (after Forster and Woodward 1906/07, p. 254, fig. 3b)

14) Site: Sparta

Temple Deity: Artemis Orthia
UTM Coordinate: E627924 N4114628
Elevation: 186 m
Ancient prefecture: Lakonia
Modern prefecture: Lakonia
Dimensions: 16.75 m x 7.50 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 3.16.7-11 (location and legend)

Epigraphic Evidence:

IG V 1.252 (limestone relief) ; *IG V 1.252a* (bronze die) ; *IG V 1.252b* (bone relief) ; *IG V 1.254* (marble bench) ; (all of the following are fragments of marble stele for iron sickles) *IG V 1.255* ; *IG V 1.257-58* ; *IG V 1.260-63* ; *IG V 1.267* ; *IG V 1.269* ; *IG V 1.271-78* ; *IG V 1.280-83* ; *IG V 1.287-90* ; *IG V 1.292-94* ; *IG V 1.296-98* ; *IG V 1.301* ; *IG V 1.302* ; *IG V 1.305-09* ; *IG V 1.312-14* ; *IG V 1.317-20* ; *IG V 1.330* ; *IG V 1.337* ; *IG V 1.339* ; *IG V 1.341-47* ; *IG V 1.349-53* ; *IG V 1.3*

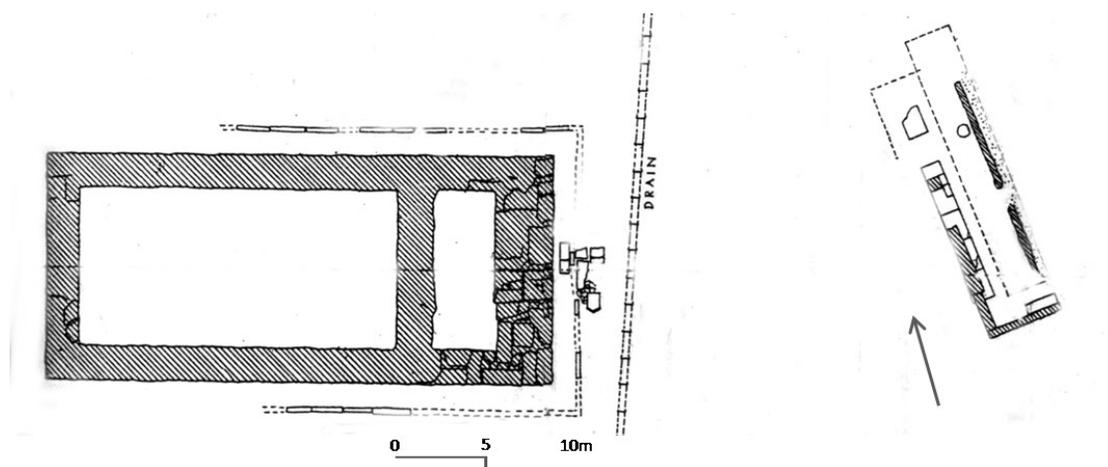


fig. a.14 – Temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (after Dawkins 1929, pl. 1)

15) Site: Hagios Phloros

Temple Deity: Pamisos

UTM Coordinate: E590739 N4114447

Elevation: 15 m

Ancient prefecture: Messenia

Modern prefecture: Messenia

Dimensions: 7.40 m x 6.80 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 4.3.10, 4.31.4

Epigraphic Evidence:

SEG XI 981; SEG XXXIV 322 (dedications)

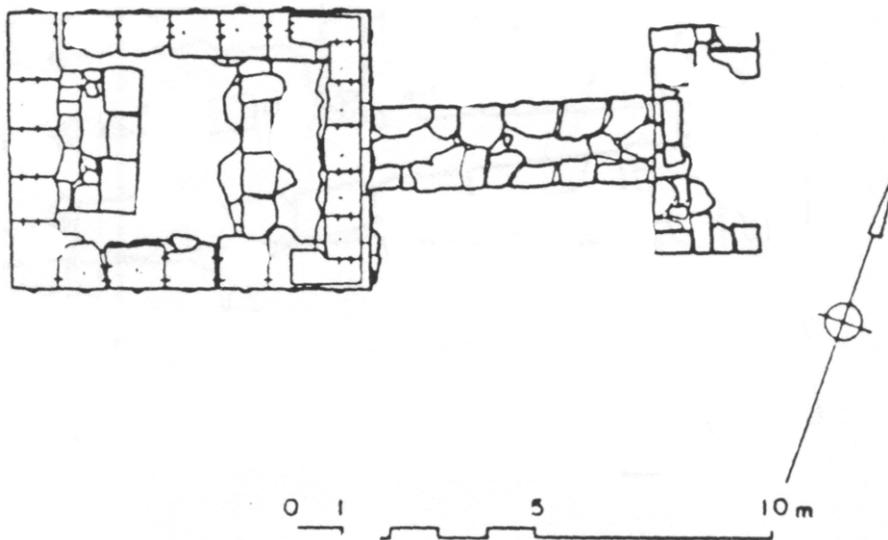


Fig. a.15 – Temple of Pamisos at Hagios Phloros (by F. Cooper)

16) Site: Messene

Temple Deity: Artemis Limnatis

UTM Coordinate: E582589 N4115126

Elevation: 525 m

Ancient prefecture: Messenia

Modern prefecture: Messenia

Dimensions: 16.70 m x 10.60 m

Ancient Authors:

None

Epigraphic Evidence:

IG V 1.1442 and 1458, 1470-72; *SEG XXXIX*.384 and 388

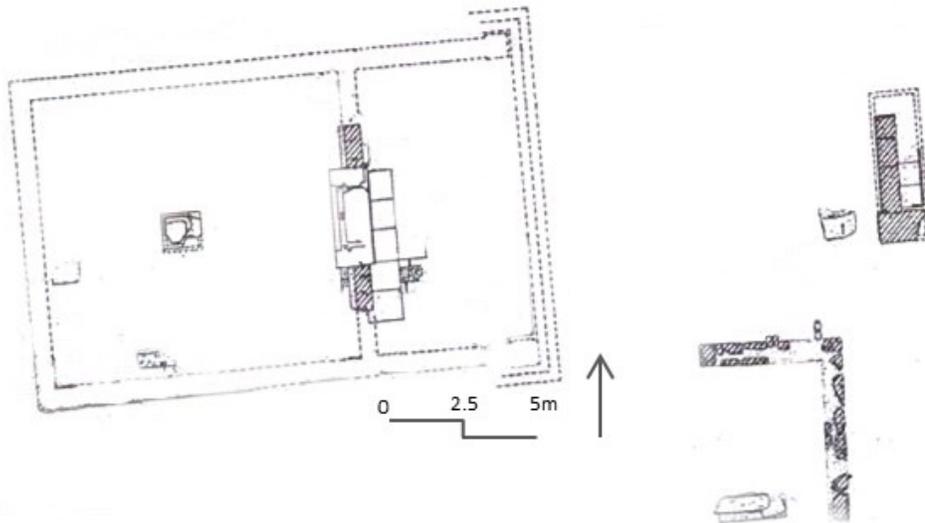


Fig. a.16 – Temple of Artemis Limnatis at Messene (after Themelis 2003, p. 115)

17) Site: Messene

Temple Deity: Artemis Orthia
UTM Coordinate: E581637 N4114891
Elevation: 319 m
Ancient prefecture: Messenia
Modern prefecture: Messenia
Dimensions: 8.42 m x 5.62 m

Ancient Authors:
None

Epigraphic Evidence:
SEG XXXIX 217 and 220

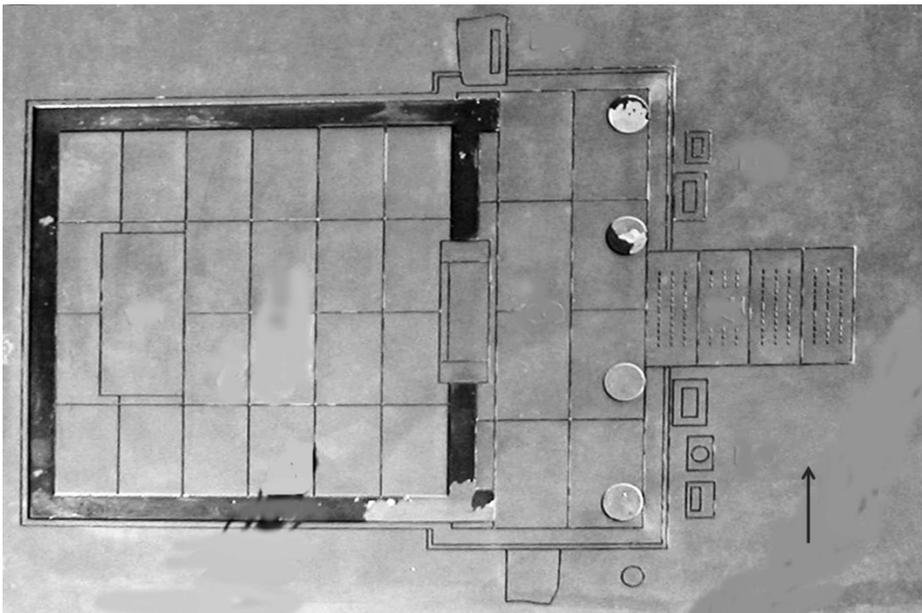


Fig. a.17 – Temple of Artemis Orthia at Messene (after on-site plan)

18) Site: Messene

Temple Deity: Orthia/Oupisias/Phosphorous

UTM Coordinate: E581636 N4114890

Elevation: 318 m

Ancient prefecture: Messenia

Modern prefecture: Messenia

Dimensions: 5.80 m x 10.30 m

Ancient Authors:

Paus. 4.31.10 (statue)

Epigraphic Evidence:

Artemis - *SEG* 23.221-23 (statue bases)

Artemis Orthia - *SEG* 23.217; *SEG* 23.220 (statue bases)

Artemis Oupisias - *SEG* 23.208; *SEG* 23.215; *SEG* 23.216

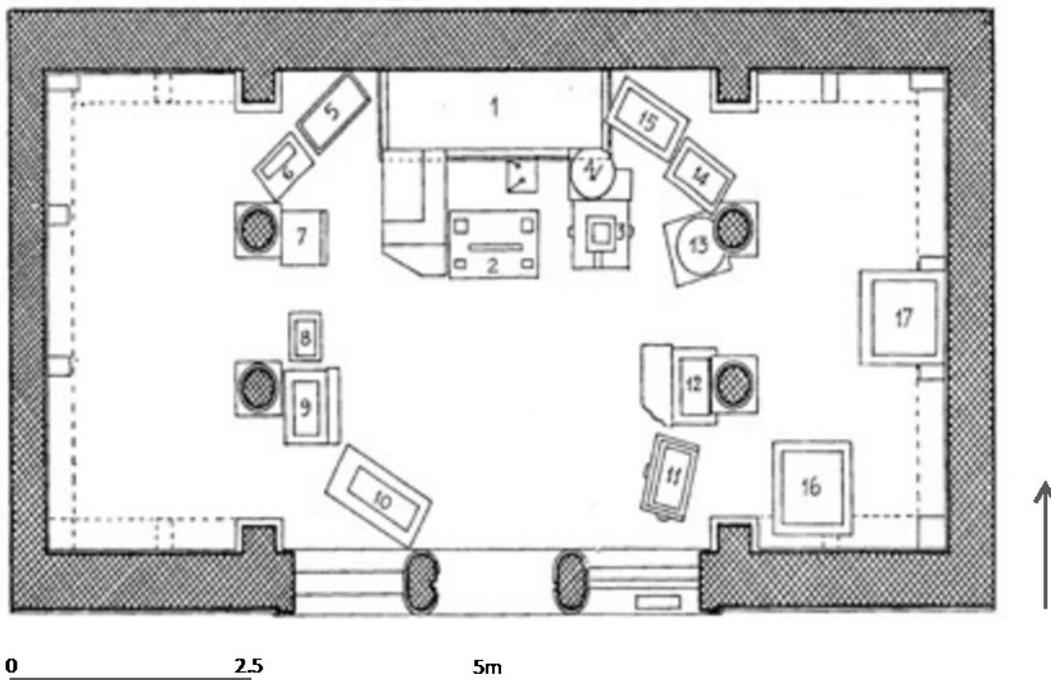


Fig. a.18 – Temple of Artemis in Asklepieion at Messene (after Themelis 1994a p. 110, fig. 12)