

ALLIES AND ANOMOLIES: THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO EPIKOURIOS AT
BASSAI

by

Elizabeth Keyser

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This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

David Gilman Romano

May 5, 2017

Nicholas and Athena Karabots Professor of Greek Archaeology

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Abstract

The sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai has many unusual aspects, including the north-south orientation and the inclusion of a side door in both the Archaic and Classical temples, as well as the lack of evidence for the presence of an altar at the site. The anomalies of the Classical temple have been investigated by many scholars, but few have taken into account its Archaic predecessor. Because it is clear that the architect of the Classical temple intentionally replicated the plan of the Archaic temple, any attempt at understanding these anomalies must begin with an investigation of the earlier temple. These anomalies must also be examined within the context of the ongoing Messenian Wars in which the Arkadians, and the Phigaleians specifically, acted as allies to the Messenians in the face of Spartan aggression. Because the city of Phigaleia maintained the sanctuary at Bassai, this participation in the Messenian Wars as mercenaries impacted the development of the sanctuary. The Messenian Wars encouraged the development of a mercenary identity for the Phigaleians and for all Arkadians. This mercenary Arkadian identity is highlighted at the sanctuary and seems to have prompted the architects of the Archaic temple at Bassai to create a connection between Bassai, located at the extreme border of ancient Arkadia, and the religious heart of Arkadia, the sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion to the east. This connection with the east provides a clear explanation for the architectural anomalies at the site, as these anomalies allow for the best view to the east. Additionally, the close connection between Bassai and Mt. Lykaion may provide an explanation for the lack of an altar at Bassai, as the ash altar to Zeus can easily be seen from the sanctuary of Apollo. Therefore, the importance of Arkadian identity that was developed during the Messenian Wars influenced the architects of the Archaic and Classical temples to place emphasis on the view to the east, explaining the many anomalies at the sanctuary.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai is a site that has garnered much attention over the past two centuries, mostly due to the impressive remains of the Classical temple to Apollo that can still be seen today on the slopes of Mt. Kotilion in southwest Arkadia. The Classical temple itself has received the greatest amount of attention in the scholarship, as the foundations of the Archaic temple were not properly identified until the 1970s. This thesis will incorporate evidence from all periods of the sanctuary in order to build a greater understanding of the development of the sanctuary and the city of Phigaleia, which maintained the sanctuary. The impact of the Messenian Wars and Spartan aggression on the formation of polis and sanctuary will be explored and will further be considered when examining the many architectural anomalies that are present at Bassai.

The sanctuary at Bassai has been the focus of many scholars. Pausanias provides a great deal of information about the sanctuary in his *Description of Greece*. The information that Pausanias provides about the location of the sanctuary and his description of the temple was a jumping-off point for the earliest excavators at the site and is still relied upon by scholars today. Konstantinos Kourouniotis began the first systematic excavations at the site in 1902 and published the results of his excavations in 1903 and 1910, which included discussion of the Classical temple, building foundations, pottery, and votives that were uncovered at the site.¹ Yalouris resumed excavations at Bassai in 1959, continuing the work begun by Kourouniotis. Yalouris focused much of his attention on the Classical temple, investigating some of the unusual aspects of the temple such as its north-south orientation.² Additionally, Yalouris worked

¹ Kourouniotis 1903, Kourouniotis 1910

² Yalouris 1979: 89-104

to identify the foundations of an earlier Archaic temple at the site.³ In the 1970s Yalouris was joined by Frederick Cooper, who worked to establish four temple building phases at the site, beginning with the then newly identified Archaic temple foundations, proceeding to the Classical temple whose remains can still be seen today.⁴ Furthermore, Cooper focused much of his work on the architectural elements of the Classical temple, which he explored at length in his 1996 work, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*.

Following the identification of the foundations of the Archaic temple, Nancy Kelly has extensively studied the roof tiles associated with this earlier temple in order to provide an accurate reconstruction of the Archaic structure. Additionally, Kelly has established that the plan of the Classical temple closely replicated the plan of the Archaic temple.⁵

Anthony Snodgrass has also focused a great deal of attention on the sanctuary at Bassai. In particular, Snodgrass has studied the miniature armor dedications that were clearly popular votive offerings at the site.⁶ Additionally, Mary Voyatzis has studied votives that have been uncovered from the site, with an emphasis on votives that date to the Archaic period. Voyatzis utilized evidence from Bassai to determine the role that temple played in the consolidation of ancient Arkadian communities.⁷

Thomas Heine Nielsen has produced a great deal of scholarship on the subject of the emergence of the polis in Arkadia during the Archaic period. Nielsen has utilized evidence of temple construction at Bassai to argue that the city of Phigaleia, which maintained the sanctuary of Apollo, must have at least been in the process of unifying this territory in the Archaic period.⁸

³ Yalouris 1979: 89-104

⁴ Cooper 1978: 71-75

⁵ Kelly 1995: 227-277

⁶ Snodgrass 1974: 196-201

⁷ Voyatzis 1999: 140-153

⁸ Nielsen 2002: 183

In this thesis I focus on questions concerning the anomalies at the sanctuary at Bassai, including the unusual north-south orientation of the temple, the east door of the temple, and the lack of evidence for the presence of an altar. These are questions that have been examined before by scholars such as Cooper and Yalouris, however, I am looking at these questions with the new perspective set out by Kelly, namely that the anomalies of the Classical temple replicate the anomalies of the Archaic temple. Cooper and Yalouris only consider the Classical temple when attempting to understand these anomalies, but because they first appeared in the Archaic temple, a full understanding of the anomalies must come from an examination of the Archaic temple. I also investigate the presence of these anomalies within the context of Messenian Wars, providing a context of Spartan aggression that can provide some explanation for these anomalies.

Pausanias tells us that the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios was maintained by the principle polis of southwest Arkadia, Phigaleia (Paus. 8.41.9). The site of Phigaleia has not yet been systematically excavated, therefore the detailed history of the polis remains unclear. Conversely, the sanctuary of Apollo that was within the territory of Phigaleia has undergone several excavations and has a large body of associated material evidence. As can be seen with many Greek sanctuaries, clear connections exist between a polis and a sanctuary that it constructed, therefore, by examining the body of evidence at Bassai, as will be covered in chapter 3, much can be inferred about the city of Phigaleia. In particular, a better understanding of the early years of the sanctuary in the Archaic period can in turn provide information about the founding and early years of the polis.

Phigaleia was one Arkadian city that was heavily involved in the Messenians Wars, a longstanding conflict between Sparta and the Messenian helots. Phigaleian mercenaries aided the Messenians in this conflict and refuge in Arkadia was often offered to the Messenians throughout

the conflict (Paus. 4.14.1). Evidence from the sanctuary, such as miniature armor votives and the epithet “Epikourios”, suggests that the sanctuary had military associations dating back to the seventh century BCE. When comparing the timeline of the conflicts of the Messenian Wars and transformative events at the sanctuary, it becomes clear that many of these dates align, providing further evidence that the aggression of the Spartans had a direct impact on the sanctuary from its foundation through the Classical period.

Architectural anomalies of the Classical temple at Bassai have been noted by many scholars, and will be examined here in chapter 4. The temple is unusually oriented north to south rather than east to west and has a second door along its east flank. Kelly has recently drawn a comparison between the Classical and Archaic temple, noting that the anomalies of the Classical temple were carried over from the plan of the Archaic temple.⁹ This connection provides a new platform for understanding the purpose of these architectural anomalies, for it means that in order to understand why these anomalies are present in the Classical temple, one must also identify why they were included in the first temple built at the site.

While various reasons for the unusual north-south orientation of the temple have been presented, such as the isolation of the region or an association with Hyperborean Apollo, it seems that the topography of the site had the greatest impact on the temple alignment. The Archaic temple was placed on the highest knoll on the site that had the greatest view to the east. Although the knoll was narrow and only allowed for a north-south orientation, I will argue that the view to the east was important enough that the temple was still placed in this location.

⁹ Kelly 1995: 227

Both the Archaic and Classical temples at Bassai had a second door along the east flank that opened off of the adyton. Based on the remains of the east door of the Classical temple and a comparison to the side door on the Classical temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, I suggest that the east door of the Classical temple was not meant to be used as an additional entrance, but was likely reserved for ritual purposes. It again appears that the ritual surrounding the east door was intrinsically linked to the view to the east of the sanctuary. While this conclusion can be drawn about the Classical east door, the function of the east entrance of the Archaic temple is less clear. Since the architect of the Classical temple, Iktinos, chose to replicate the east door of the Archaic temple, it is reasonable to assume that some ritual function linked to the two doors, however, that does not necessarily explain the original purpose of the east door. When considering the original function of the east door, I propose that a new building sequence of the Archaic temple should be considered, in which the adyton was originally a stand-alone structure making the east door leading into the adyton the original main entrance into the temple.

Another anomalous aspect of the sanctuary at Bassai is the lack of definitive evidence for an altar at the site. Evidence of burning and votives have been uncovered, yet there is a notable absence of burnt animal bones and drinking vessels that would have been used for feasting. In light of this, it is interesting to note that the ash altar of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion can easily be seen through the east door of the Classical temple. Although it is likely that an altar was present at the sanctuary at Bassai, it is plausible that the ash altar to Zeus served as a supplementary altar in ritual practice at the site. Because Mt. Lykaion was the premiere religious center of Arkadia it is possible that it was important for Bassai, as a sanctuary on the border of Arkadia, to have visual contact with the religious heart of the region. The emphasis on this link to the east makes sense within the context of the Messenian Wars in which the identity of the

sanctuary at Bassai is intrinsically connected to the Arkadian identity as a place of refuge from the Spartans. This connection could then serve to explain the importance of emphasizing the view to the east by placing the Archaic temple on the highest point at the site and incorporating an east door.

Chapter 2: History of the Cult of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai

The sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai is located on a slope of Mt. Kotilion in the southwest region of ancient Arkadia. The site is situated just within ancient Arkadia along the border with Messenia.¹⁰ The view from the site is impressive as it sits at an elevation of 1,131 m¹¹ overlooking Messenia to the south and includes a vista of various mountain peaks, coastal plains, and the sea.¹² Directly south on axis with the Classical temple is Mt. Ithome, which is the location of a sanctuary sacred to the Messenians.¹³ Mt. Kotilion created important sightlines itself as it dominated the view from southwest Arkadia, Messenia, and south Triphylia.¹⁴ According to Pausanias, the sanctuary at Bassai was within the territory of and maintained by the Arkadian city of Phigaleia (Paus. 8.41.9), which is at a distance of about 13 km from the mountain sanctuary.

A. Excavation History

The sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai was first excavated in 1812 by Charles Cockerell and Karl Haller, who uncovered the remains of the Classical temple.¹⁵ The discovery of the Classical temple at Bassai was aided by a detailed description written by Pausanias:

ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ τε ἐστὶ καλούμενον Βᾶσσαι καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου, λίθου καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ὄροφος. ναῶν δὲ ὅσοι Πελοποννησίους εἰσὶ, μετὰ γε τὸν ἐν Τεγέα προτιμῶτο οὗτος ἂν τοῦ λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἔνεκα. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμῶδει, καθότι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Ἀλεξίκακος ἀποτρέψας καὶ τούτοις τὴν νόσον.

¹⁰ Cooper 1996: 42

¹¹ Liritzis and Vassiliou 2006: 1.14

¹² Cooper 1996: 42

¹³ Cooper 1996: 42

¹⁴ Cooper 1996: 59

¹⁵ Kelly 1995: 227

On the mountain is a place called Bassai and the temple of Apollo Epikourios, which itself and its roof are made of stone. Of the temples in the Peloponnesus, after that of Tegea, this might be praised first both for the beauty of its stone and for its symmetry. Apollo was given his name from having bestowed help on the pestilential plague, in the same manner as the Athenians gave him the name Alexikakos for having turned the plague away from them (Paus. 8.41.8).

In 1902 a more systematic excavation was undertaken by the Greek Archaeological service under the direction of Konstantinos Kourouniotis and Panagiotis Kavvadias.¹⁶ Yalouris resumed excavations in 1959 and continued work and study at the site into the 1970s when Frederick Cooper joined him.¹⁷ This series of excavations has revealed a site that appears to have been the location of ritual activity dating back to at least the mid-seventh century BCE with some earlier evidence dating to the late-eighth century BCE.¹⁸

The earliest evidence from the sanctuary are votives that were found by Yalouris in a layer of burning under the north and northwest sections of the Classical temple. These votives can be dated to the Late Geometric period and include a bronze horse, a bronze bird, and a bronze double protome pendant.¹⁹ From the first half of the seventh century several male figurines made of iron have been found, likely representing warriors.²⁰ Additionally, male and female figurines made of terracotta, as well as a horse-and-rider terracotta figurine date to this same early seventh to sixth century period.²¹ The amount of offerings, however, dramatically increased in the mid-seventh century. An abundance of Corinthian and Laconian pottery, as well as a collection of miniature bronze armor was found at the site and can be dated to this period.²²

¹⁶ Voyatzis 1990: 38, Kelly 1995: 227

¹⁷ Kelly 1995: 230

¹⁸ Voyatzis 1999: 137

¹⁹ Voyatzis 1990: 39, Voyatzis 1999: 137

²⁰ Cooper 1996: 67

²¹ Cooper 1996: 67

²² Voyatzis 1999: 137-8

Based on this evidence, Voyatzis suggests that the cult of Apollo was established at Bassai as an open-air sanctuary around 700 BCE.²³

It appears that the first monumental construction at the site took place beginning around 620 BCE. During the excavations of the early twentieth century conducted by Kourouniotis, the first evidence of the earlier Archaic temple came to light. This excavation uncovered architectural terracottas that consisted of fragments of two sets of Laconian roof tiles.²⁴ These tile sets also included disk akroteria and antefixes decorated with painted sphinxes, which aided in determining the Archaic date for the tile sets.²⁵ While these terracottas proved the presence of an earlier temple, the excavators were still uncertain as to where the Archaic temple would have been located at the site. The foundations of the Archaic temple had always been visible and portions of these foundations were excavated by Kourouniotis and Yalouris, yet they did not recognize that these were the foundations of the Archaic temple.

Yalouris similarly uncovered more terracotta roof tiles belonging to the same two sets that Kourouniotis previously identified.²⁶ It was not until Frederick Cooper began work at the site in the 1970s that the foundations of the Archaic temple were identified.²⁷ Kourouniotis and Yalouris both excavated portions of the foundations of the Archaic temple, but never identified it as such. Kourouniotis mistakenly identified an east-west oriented building to the north of the Classical temple as the Archaic predecessor.²⁸

B. Building Phases

²³ Voyatzis 1990: 43

²⁴ Kelly 1995: 228

²⁵ Kelly 1995: 228

²⁶ Kelly 1995: 228

²⁷ Kelly 1995: 229

²⁸ Kelly 1995: 229-30

Cooper identifies four building phases for the Temple of Apollo at Bassai beginning with the first Archaic temple that he calls Apollo I. Cooper suggests that Apollo I was constructed in the late seventh century BCE.²⁹ The terracotta roof tiles suggest a date for this building between 625 and 600 BCE.³⁰ Cooper indicates that Apollo I was a non-peripteral temple with approximate dimensions of 15.5 x 6.5 m.³¹

The second building phase proposed by Cooper, which he refers to as Apollo II, occurred twenty-five to fifty years later around 575 BCE. Cooper suggests that during this phase the temple was rebuilt and an opisthodomos was added to the original plan of Apollo I, extending the footprint to 25 x 7.5 m.³² According to Cooper, during phase two of construction the original terracotta tiles and revetments were replaced by a new set that were identical in form and decoration.³³

Cooper proposes that a third building phase which produced his Apollo III temple occurred ca. 500-475 BCE.³⁴ He suggests that this third temple was situated in the same location as the later Classical temple.³⁵ Cooper presents limestone blocks that were used in the foundations of the Classical temple as evidence for the existence of the third temple. He argues that the limestone blocks were salvaged from the previous monumental temple and reused in the foundations of the Classical temple, as this salvaging technique was one commonly employed at other sanctuary sites.³⁶ Cooper asserts that these limestone blocks in the stereobate show signs of

²⁹ Cooper 1996: 73

³⁰ Voyatzis 1990: 40

³¹ Cooper 1996: 73-4

³² Cooper 1996: 74, Voyatzis 1990: 40

³³ Cooper 1996: 74

³⁴ Cooper 1996: 74

³⁵ Voyatzis 1990: 40

³⁶ Cooper 1996: 74

recutting from their original rectangular form into trapezoids or parallelograms.³⁷ Due to the large size of these limestone blocks, Cooper argues that they could not have come from the smaller Apollo I or II temples, thus a third intermediary temple must have existed in the same location of the Classical temple.³⁸ Additionally, Cooper restores a Corinthian roof on the Apollo III temple based on fragments of large Corinthian pan and cover tiles that had been found at the site beginning with the excavations of Kourouniotes.³⁹

Cooper's proposed phase four of construction resulted in his Apollo IV temple which is the temple that Pausanias describes and whose remains can still be seen today. This temple was constructed in 429 BCE and according to Pausanias was designed by the famous architect of the Parthenon, Iktinos (Paus. 8.41.9). This Classical temple is a peripteral Doric temple with a 6 x 15 colonnade measuring 14.5 x 38m.⁴⁰ Similar to its Archaic predecessor, the temple is aligned north-south, rather than the traditional east-west orientation and has a second entrance along the east flank of the temple. While this fifth century temple has a traditional Doric façade, the interior displays some peculiarities with a mix of both archaizing and innovative elements. Within the cella is an engaged colonnade⁴¹, reminiscent of the interior of the Heraion at Olympia. This engaged colonnade, as well as the elongated 6 x 15 exterior peristyle, are both archaizing elements that were no longer popular in the fifth century. Conversely, the columns of the engaged interior colonnade were of the Ionic order. This mixing of the orders was an innovation of the second half of the fifth century that was also seen in the Parthenon in Athens. Additionally, an Ionic frieze was included in the interior of the temple, running across the

³⁷ Cooper 1996: 74

³⁸ Cooper 1996: 74

³⁹ Cooper 1996: 74

⁴⁰ Voyatzis 1990: 38

⁴¹ Kelly 1995: 228

interior of the cella. Again, this displays a mixing of the orders that was not traditional in the fifth century, yet, after the fifth century this mixing became quite common. Furthermore, this was the first time that a frieze was situated on the interior of a building. This can be contrasted with the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon that was located on the exterior of the cella, but inside the colonnade. By placing the frieze within the cella, rather than on the exterior of the cella, as is seen on the Parthenon, this eliminated the problem of the peristyle blocking the view of the continuous frieze. Standing in the cella, the onlooker could now view the continuous Ionic frieze without visual interruption. A final innovation that was included in the Classical temple is the placement of a Corinthian capital on the central column at the back of the cella, creating a pseudo-adyton behind it. This is the first time that the Corinthian capital was used in a building. The combination of these archaizing and innovative elements make the Iktinian temple unique.

Kelly has presented an alternative argument for the building phases of the temples at Bassai, disagreeing with Cooper's four-temple scheme which he first presented in his 1978 dissertation.⁴² Kelly first refutes the existence of Cooper's Apollo III temple. She states that "there is no evidence for the plan of III and no indication of the status of III when IV was begun."⁴³ Kelly suggests that Cooper is assuming that temple III was completely hidden by temple IV without any evidence. She suggests that the evidence that he is using, the limestone blocks, could have come from the foundation of the Archaic temple, particularly from the north end that was removed to make room for the new temple to the north.⁴⁴ While Cooper presumes that the new northern location of the temple started with Apollo III, Kelly argues that it was the need for a wider terrace that necessitated the change. The addition of an exterior colonnade

⁴² Cooper 1978: 70-75

⁴³ Kelly 1995: 231

⁴⁴ Kelly 1995: 231

would have prompted the need for a wider terrace, which, as Kelly points out, “was much more easily constructed by moving the location of the temple to the north and building a retaining wall only on the east, rather than trying to build terracing on the three steeply sloping sides of the promontory on which I/II stood.”⁴⁵ Based on Kelly’s logic, the presence of a third temple is not needed to explain the change in location of the temple to the north of the original Archaic temple. Yalouris, however, argues for the presence an Archaic pre-Iktinian temple directly below the Classical temple. During excavations beneath the cella Yalouris found a light layer of yellow-red clayey soil, which he determined to be the floor of a pre-Iktinian structure.⁴⁶ Small finds found in association with this clay layer, such as tiles and a small votive greave, date to the Archaic period.⁴⁷ Additionally, a wall which runs parallel to the foundation of the cella of the Classical temple was uncovered. The outer surface of this wall is well-finished, whereas the interior of the wall was left rough. Yalouris notes that “the surviving uppermost level of the wall corresponds in depth with the level of the floor uncovered by the trench in the cell.”⁴⁸ The evidence presented by Yalouris suggests that a pre-Iktinian temple was constructed in the same location of the later Classical temple, thus setting the precedent of the temple being located in this more northern location.

Kelly refutes Yalouris’ claim that a pre-Iktinian temple existed below the Classical temple by noting that the wall that Yalouris uses as evidence “was built in the same manner as other retaining walls for the terrace, runs parallel to them, and probably served as such.”⁴⁹ Kelly also argues that the clay surface that Yalouris identified as the floor of the earlier temple was at

⁴⁵ Kelly 1995: 231

⁴⁶ Yalouris 1979: 95

⁴⁷ Yalouris 1979: 95

⁴⁸ Yalouris 1979: 95

⁴⁹ Kelly 1995: 231

too low of a level to have been the floor of the temple.⁵⁰ Based on these arguments, Kelly does not believe that this pre-Iktinian temple existed.

Kelly also addresses Cooper's claim that a set of Corinthian roof tiles provide additional evidence for the existence of his Apollo III temple. Kelly notes that no decorated sima or antefix fragments that would indicate that this set of tiles roofed a temple were uncovered.⁵¹ Kelly, rather, proposes that this set of Corinthian roof tiles belonged to a more utilitarian building elsewhere on the site.⁵²

Kelly's final and most straightforward argument against the existence of Cooper's Apollo III temple is that there simply was not enough material evidence recovered from the site that can be associated with temple III. If a monumental temple did exist in this northern location before the Iktinian temple, one would expect to see more debris from it.⁵³ It should perhaps be considered, however, that the lower amounts of debris could be the result of a temple that was begun, but never finished, as was the case for the Older Parthenon on the acropolis. In this case it would make sense that evidence of the foundation was present, with little other debris.

Kelly further challenges Cooper's distinction between Apollo I and II. Cooper sees these as two distinct building phases, however, Kelly suggests that what Cooper sees as Apollo II was simply a refurbishing phase of Apollo I.⁵⁴ Kelly believes that both phases of the temple used the same foundations and walls, and therefore considers them to be one temple, which she refers to as the "Archaic Temple."⁵⁵ Kelly also refutes Cooper's hypothesis that the opisthodomos was

⁵⁰ Kelly 1995: 231

⁵¹ Kelly 1995: 231

⁵² Kelly 1995: 231

⁵³ Kelly 1995: 231

⁵⁴ Kelly 1995: 232

⁵⁵ Kelly 1995: 232

added in the second phase of construction, as she postulates that “it is more likely that the foundations were built in only one phase.”⁵⁶ Moreover, she sees the second set of roof tiles associated with the Archaic temple as being representative of a refurbishment only, thus Kelly concludes that there was only one Archaic temple.

The foundations of the Archaic temple indicate that this first temple was an elongated rectilinear building with a preserved length of 25 m and a width of 7.5 m.⁵⁷ The temple had a north-south orientation, an element that was imitated in the later Classical temple. The temple was apteral in plan with a traditional entrance in the pronaos at the north end of the temple.⁵⁸ The building consisted of a pronaos, a cella or sekos, an adyton, and an opisthodomos.⁵⁹ Because the temple was built on sloping ground, the floor levels in at least the adyton and the cella were likely not the same level, with the floor of the adyton being lower than that of the cella.⁶⁰ The adyton, just as was noted in the Classical temple, had a second entrance along its east wall. The foundations of the Archaic temple were made of the bedrock itself wherever possible, with blocks of local limestone filling the gaps wherever necessary.⁶¹ The walls would have been constructed of mudbrick,⁶² none of which has been preserved.⁶³ The structure was roofed with Laconian tiles.⁶⁴ The pronaos and opisthodomos would likely have had columns in antis, but the number and placement remain unclear.⁶⁵ Based on four limestone column bases that were excavated at the site, an engaged interior colonnade has been reconstructed in the Archaic cella.⁶⁶

⁵⁶ Kelly 1995: 237

⁵⁷ Kelly 1995: 232

⁵⁸ Kelly 1995: 232

⁵⁹ Kelly 1995: 232

⁶⁰ Kelly 1995: 238

⁶¹ Kelly 1995: 232

⁶² Kelly 1995: 232

⁶³ Kelly 1995: 237

⁶⁴ Kelly 1995: 249

⁶⁵ Kelly 1995: 237

⁶⁶ Kelly 1995: 244

As Kelly suggests, if this engaged interior colonnade did exist in the Archaic temple, it would explain the inclusion of an engaged colonnade in the Classical temple, as the architects would have been “recreating the effect of the interior design of the Archaic Temple.”⁶⁷

C. Votives and Pottery

The earliest offerings from the sanctuary site have been dated to the Late Geometric period. These late eighth century items were few, but consisted of a Lakonian style bronze horse and bird.⁶⁸ The number of offerings, and thus likely the amount of activity at the site, drastically increased in the mid-seventh century.⁶⁹ The earliest ceramic evidence that has been uncovered at Bassai is Late Proto-Corinthian in date. During Kourouniotes’ excavations a LPC alabastron decorated with a painted sphinx was unearthed.⁷⁰ Terracotta figurines in the forms of nude males and horse-and-rider appear at the site and are also dated to the first half of the seventh century BCE.⁷¹ This is the same period in which the dedication of miniature armor begins at Bassai.⁷²

In addition to the construction of the first temple, activity at the site in the second half of the seventh century is represented by items such as two bronze aryballoi that are Early Corinthian in date, ca. 625-600 BCE. In the first half of the sixth century BCE Lakonian III style pottery was introduced to the site, some of which may have been imitations.⁷³ Ribbed Aryballoi represent the Lakonian IV style and date to the late sixth century BCE.⁷⁴ In the first half of the fifth century activity at the site continued as is evidenced by bronze figurines, such as a small

⁶⁷ Kelly 1995: 248

⁶⁸ Voyatzis 1999:137

⁶⁹ Cooper 1996: 66

⁷⁰ Voyatzis 1990: 90

⁷¹ Cooper 1996: 67

⁷² Cooper 1996: 67

⁷³ Cooper 1996: 67

⁷⁴ Cooper 1996: 67

kouros, as well as the continued dedication of miniature armor.⁷⁵ Additionally, a small number of red-figured and black-glazed sherds were found among the foundations of the Classical temple.⁷⁶ Moldmade bowls that date to the late-fourth century BCE indicate that activity at the site continued into Hellenistic times, however the finds dating to this period are significantly fewer than those from the Archaic and Classical periods suggesting that the popularity of the site began to dwindle in the fourth century.⁷⁷

Among the variety of votive types that were dedicated at the sanctuary at Bassai, the most notable and the most consistent dedication from the Archaic period onwards was the miniature armor. This miniature armor came most often in the form of corselets, helmets, spears, and shields.⁷⁸ While many Archaic sanctuaries had dedications of armor and weapons, the military dedications at Bassai are unique with respect to their miniature nature.⁷⁹ There are few other sites at which metal miniature armor was found in substantial numbers such as the Diktaian Cave and Gortyn on Crete as well as the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina.⁸⁰ Furthermore, it appears that there is some connection with Crete because of the similarities between the finds at Bassai and the miniature armor found at Gortyn. Snodgrass explains that the similarities are best seen in the cuirasses as “a distinctive form of cuirass seems to have been developed in early seventh century Crete, with a long, plain tubular shape and sharply offset lower rim.”⁸¹ This is the same cuirass shape that is found at Bassai, which interestingly is distinctly different from the more common bell-shaped cuirass found at other sites on the Greek mainland.⁸² Full-sized armor dedications

⁷⁵ Cooper 1996: 67

⁷⁶ Cooper 1996: 67

⁷⁷ Cooper 1996: 68

⁷⁸ Cooper 1996: 70

⁷⁹ Cooper 1996: 71

⁸⁰ Cooper 1996: 71

⁸¹ Snodgrass 1974: 196-197

⁸² Snodgrass 1974: 197

were popular at sites such as Olympia and Delphi, but these were often offerings “made by individuals or states in commemorations of specific battles.”⁸³ The intention of these full-sized dedications are clear because they are often inscribed either with the name of the dedicator or the conquered party.⁸⁴ Conversely, none of the military dedications that have been uncovered at Bassai have been inscribed.⁸⁵ The large number and small size of the military offerings at Bassai, as well as the lack of inscriptions on them, indicates that these dedications were a common votive type at the sanctuary of Apollo rather than one that would have only been offered in commemoration of a specific battle. It has even been suggested, based on slag and burning uncovered by Yalouris to the north of the Classical temple, that a miniature armor producing workshop was located on site.⁸⁶

In addition to the miniature armor, miniature pottery was also found in abundance at the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios. The miniature pottery is of local workmanship, but imitates Corinthian, Lakonian, and Elean shapes.⁸⁷ These miniature vessels are difficult to date, but are particularly common at sanctuaries throughout the Peloponnese, however, Cooper asserts that Bassai is unusual in terms of its lack of regular sized vessels, although this seems to be an unfounded claim, as full sized shapes such as alabastrons have been found at the site.⁸⁸ There does, however, seem to be a notable lack of drinking vessels at the site.

Aside from the Classical temple itself, the most impressive dedication at the sanctuary at Bassai was the twelve-foot bronze statue of Apollo Epikourios, which was dedicated in the late

⁸³ Cooper 1996: 72

⁸⁴ Cooper 1996: 72

⁸⁵ Cooper 1996: 72

⁸⁶ Cooper 1996: 72, note 257

⁸⁷ Cooper 1996: 69

⁸⁸ Cooper 1996: 69

fifth century BCE.⁸⁹ The existence of this bronze statue is known from the writings of Pausanias, as he mentions it three times in his description of Arkadia.⁹⁰ Pausanias tells us that the statue of Apollo Epikourios dates to the same period as the Iktinian temple (Paus. 8.41.9). The Phigaleians later moved the statue in 370/69 BCE as an offering to the new Arkadian city of Megalopolis.⁹¹ The synoecism and formation of Megalopolis was a result of the formation of the Arkadian League. It was in the agora of Megalopolis that Pausanias saw the statue of Apollo Epikourios (Paus. 8.30.3). Pausanias relates that the bronze statue was located in front of the enclosure of Lykaion Zeus, which was also set up in the agora at the time of synoecism. The close spatial relationship between the Lykaion enclosure and the statue of Apollo Epikourios in the agora at Megalopolis could be suggestive of a previous relationship that existed between the two original sanctuaries. This is an idea that will be explored further in chapters 3 and 4. Ultimately, it was this synoecism and the shift in ritual focus to Megalopolis that led to the decline in popularity of the sanctuary at Bassai in the fourth century BCE.⁹²

Some debate has surrounded the original purpose of the bronze statue of Apollo Epikourios. Cooper explains that “most scholars have presumed this bronze Apollo to have been the former cult image, even though Pausanias does not explicitly say so.”⁹³ Cooper, however, disagrees with this common conception, suggesting that the statue was only an ex-voto, not a cult image.⁹⁴ Cooper reconstructs the bronze statue outside the temple, rather than in the adyton where the cult image would have been.⁹⁵ Cooper believes that there are a set of foundations that

⁸⁹ Cooper 1996: 70

⁹⁰ Cooper 1996: 70

⁹¹ Cooper 1996: 80

⁹² Cooper 1996: 80

⁹³ Cooper 1996: 70

⁹⁴ Cooper 1996: 70

⁹⁵ Cooper 1996: 70

would have been suitable for supporting the twelve-foot statue at the southwest corner of the temple “at the culmination of the sacred way to the temple.”⁹⁶ A twelve foot bronze statue, however, seems to be of a much grander scale than the traditional ex-voto and it seems unlikely that item as expensive as this would have been commissioned for such a common purpose.

D. UNESCO World Heritage Site

Today the Sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai is protected by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization as a World Heritage site. It was the first monument to be so protected in Greece in 1986. The temple was chosen as a World Heritage because it “represents a unique artistic achievement, remarkable for its archaic features...and for its daring innovations: use of Ionic and Corinthian orders for a Doric edifice, the variety of materials used, and the originality of the layout of the cella and the adyton.”⁹⁷ The most recent restoration project for the temple was begun in 2001 and are still ongoing today under the direction of Konstantinos Papadopoulous. Much work has been done to restore the foundation of the temple, which had become unstable due to a layer of clay below the euthynteria.⁹⁸ Papadopoulous has been careful not to significantly alter the original structural character of the temple.⁹⁹

E. Overview

Based on material evidence that has been uncovered at the site, it is clear that the Sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai came into use in the late-eighth/early-seventh centuries BCE. An increase in votive offerings in the mid-seventh century, including items such as

⁹⁶ Cooper 1996: 70

⁹⁷ whc.unesco.org/en/list/392

⁹⁸ Papadopoulous 2010: 246-269

⁹⁹ Papadopoulous 2010: 246

miniature armor, suggests that the site began to grow in popularity at this time. By the end of the seventh century the sanctuary was well established and the Archaic temple to Apollo was constructed. In the early-sixth century BCE the Archaic temple was either renovated or rebuilt and votive offerings continued to be numerous and militaristic in nature. Cooper argues that a new temple, Apollo III, was constructed in the early-fifth century. Kelly claims that the lack of evidence from this temple phase makes this claim unlikely, however evidence from the excavations of Yalouris, such as a clay floor level and a wall, seem to support the presence of Cooper's Apollo III. The votives and pottery that can be dated to this period, however, indicate that activity at the sanctuary was still high during this period. In 429 BCE construction of the Classical temple to Apollo began and shortly after the twelve-foot bronze statue of Apollo was dedicated. This phase represents the height of popularity of the sanctuary at Bassai, yet it seems to have been short lived. After the formation of the Arkadian League, the foundation of Megalopolis, and the transfer of the bronze Apollo statue to the new city, activity at Bassai began to wane, although the site continued to be used through the Hellenistic and into the Roman period.

Chapter 3: The Impact of Spartan Aggression on Phigaleia and the Sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios

Throughout its history, the region of Arkadia, and the city of Phigaleia specifically, were constantly affected by the warlike nature of their neighbors to the southeast, the Laconians. The wars that the Spartans waged and their aftermath greatly impacted the entire region of Arkadia including its city and sanctuary formation. By examining the minimal evidence at the site of Phigaleia, along with the more plentiful evidence from Phigaleia's associated sanctuary, the Sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, it can be seen that Phigaleian involvement in the Second Messenian War against Sparta greatly shaped and perhaps even initiated the formation of the city of Phigaleia and the sanctuary itself.

Phigaleia was the principle polis of Southwest Arkadia, which sits on plateau about 300m above the Neda Gorge (Fig. 1). As Voyatzis points out, the southwest of Arkadia is very mountainous region with no plains and little cultivable soil, therefore the residents were dependent on pastoralism rather than agriculture for sustenance.¹⁰⁰

The city of Phigaleia has not yet been systematically excavated so it is difficult to determine exactly when the city was first established, but minimal material evidence does exist that gives some clue as to the date. Some excavation has been carried out in the agora of Phigaleia where an Archaic votive inscription and remains of an Archaic temple have come to light, attesting to the likelihood of the presence of an Archaic city. Nielsen also points out that "fragments of roof tiles, dating from the Classical to the Roman periods, overlie most of the site. Thus, habitation and building activity must have existed from the Classical period onwards."¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Voyatzis 1999: 148-9

¹⁰¹ Nielsen 2002: 166

The Archaic material that has been found at Phigaleia, however, suggests at least an Archaic date for the founding of the city. An Archaic *kouros* was also found in the area of the agora dated ca. 590-570 BCE (Fig. 2). When excavated, the *kouros* was also found in association with several Archaic bronzes. It has been suggested that the Archaic *kouros* is a representation of Arrachion of Phigaleia, the Olympic victor in the *pankration* in 572, 568, and 564 BCE.¹⁰² If this is the Arrachion *kouros*, Pausanias saw it in the agora at Phigaleia and recorded it (Paus. 8.40.1). This *kouros* serves as another important piece of evidence linking the *polis* of Phigaleia to the Archaic period.

According to Pausanias, Phigaleia frequently aided the Messenians in wars against Sparta throughout its history and this Spartan aggression may have impacted the foundation and evolution of the city. The city of Phigaleia is situated immediately on the border of southwest Arkadia neighboring Messenia to the south and Elis to the west (Fig. 3). As Voyatzis points out, “its proximity to Messenia may have played a key role in its political development, particularly during the periods of Sparta’s aggression towards Messenia.”¹⁰³ Because of the aid that the Phigaleians offered the Messenians, Phigaleia was occupied by Sparta several times in 7th, 6th, and late 5th centuries BCE.¹⁰⁴ This indicates that Spartan aggression directly impacted the city of Phigaleia and was a continuous threat throughout the city’s history.

Moreover, during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE the region of Arkadia as a whole was greatly shaped by the neighboring Laconians. In 490 BCE the king of Sparta, Cleomenes, was exiled in Arkadia. Based on material evidence such as Arkadian coins dating to the 5th century, it has been suggested that perhaps an earlier Arkadian League was formed under the influence of

¹⁰² Nielsen 2002: 167

¹⁰³ Voyatzis 1999: 149

¹⁰⁴ Sitwell 1976

Cleomenes during his exile as an anti-Spartan confederacy.¹⁰⁵ Pleistoanax, a later Spartan king, was also exiled to Arkadia between 447-428 BCE where he took up residence on Mt. Lykaion (Thuc. 5.16.3).

The Spartans continued to impact the history of Arkadia during the Peloponnesian War. In 418 BCE the city of Mantinea allied themselves with the Argives and the Athenians in opposition against Sparta. In the same year, as Thucydides describes, the Spartans defeated Mantinea and their allies in the Battle of Mantinea (Thuc. 4.66-74). Mantinea was again sacked by the Spartans in 385 BCE, at which point the city was dissolved.¹⁰⁶ In 382 BCE the Spartans, under the general Phoebidas, took the city of Thebes under Lacedamonian control (Xen. Hell. 5.2.25-31). The Thebans finally regained the city in 379-378 BCE under the leadership of Pelopidas (Plut. Pelopidas 8–13). This coup began the shift of power to Thebes and Epaminondas that eventually led to the defeat of the Spartans at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BCE (Xen. Hell. 6.4). This defeat of the Spartans under the leadership of Epaminondas led to the formation of the Arkadian League and the synoecism of Megalopolis in 370/69 BCE. As can be seen by a brief review of the major historical events in Arkadia in the 5th and 4th centuries, the aggression of the Spartans greatly impacted Arkadia, the formation of its federations, and its cities.

Because the site of Phigaleia has not yet been excavated, Nielsen points out that it is difficult to ascertain what the level of activity was during the Archaic period at Phigaleia, but that there does appear to be an emergence of a distinct local community ca. 600 BCE.¹⁰⁷ To gain a better understanding of the status of Phigaleia during the Archaic period it would be useful to

¹⁰⁵ Larsen 1968: 181

¹⁰⁶ Fine 1983: 558

¹⁰⁷ Nielsen 2002: 167

examine evidence that has been found at the more well excavated sanctuaries associated with the city. In general, temples in Arkadia can be of enormous value for the history of local communities in Archaic Arkadia because of the surprisingly large number of temples built throughout the region (Fig. 4). As Voyatzis suggests, “once it was decided to build a temple, then a degree of cohesion within the community was necessary.”¹⁰⁸ Nielsen echoes the same sentiment explaining that generally the addition of temples to sanctuaries presupposes the existence of poleis or is at the least indicative of the emergence of poleis. Nielsen also asserts that “the building of a temple also presupposes community of cult as well as a wish to assert the identity of the community erecting the temple.”¹⁰⁹ Because of these important associations between *polis* and sanctuary and the connection between the existence of a *polis* and the construction of temples, it will be fruitful to examine the evidence from the Sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios in order to gain a better understanding of the city that built and maintained it: Phigaleia.

By comparing the dates of major shifts at the Sanctuary of Apollo with the proposed timeline of the Spartan driven Messenian Wars, a strong correlation can be observed. It is important to note, however, that there is some debate concerning the dating of the Messenian Wars, as the main source for the history of the wars is Pausanias, who is writing in the second century CE, about 800 years after the earliest period that he is discussing. As Parker emphatically notes, “it has long been recognized that that Pausanias’ history of the First Messenian War is hardly any history at all.”¹¹⁰ Luraghi further states that only legitimate materials referring to the Messenian Wars are “some scanty allusions to the Messenian Wars in

¹⁰⁸ Voyatzis 1999: 150-1

¹⁰⁹ Nielsen 2002: 176

¹¹⁰ Parker 1991: 25

Tyrtaios' poems."¹¹¹ Based on this lack of early sources, Luraghi argues that Pausanias' account in his Book 4 cannot be viewed as a serious history of Archaic Messenia.¹¹² Knowing that the history presented by Pausanias is tenuous, scholars such as Parker have worked to determine whether or not the Messenian Wars occurred as Pausanias presented them and have attempted to provide more accurate dates for these events by utilizing comparative evidence such as Olympic victors lists.¹¹³

Keeping in mind that the dates of the Messenian Wars have been under debate, it is still useful to compare major shifts at the sanctuary at Bassai with the approximate dates of the wars. As has been previously noted in Chapter 1, some of the earliest dedications unearthed at the site are a small amount of Late Geometric bronzes that date to around 700 BCE, which suggests that the earliest activities at the site took place just after the First Messenian War which likely lasted from ca. 735-715 BCE. Around 659 BCE Phigaleia was occupied by the Spartans just after the proposed Second Messenian Wars. A rise in cult activity is observed at the sanctuary during this same period in the mid-7th century which is represented by large amounts of pottery and metal votives, and the beginning of the offering of votive armor.¹¹⁴ Between 620 and 600 BCE the first temple to Apollo was constructed at the site. Cooper argues that during this same time period two temples dedicated to Artemis and Aphrodite were also constructed by Phigaleia on Mt. Kotilion just above the Apollo sanctuary (Fig. 5).¹¹⁵ It is interesting to note that while the temple of Aphrodite has a traditional east-west orientation, the temple of Artemis has an unusual south-north orientation. Voyatzis offers a different timeline, suggesting that the temples at Kotilion

¹¹¹ Luraghi 2002: 47

¹¹² Luraghi 2002: 47

¹¹³ Parker 1991: 25-47, For further discussion of the dating of the Messenian Wars see Cartledge 1979 and Parker 1991.

¹¹⁴ Voyatzis 1999: 149

¹¹⁵ Cooper 1978: 93

were not constructed until the late sixth century BCE.¹¹⁶ In either case, the first temple at Bassai is repaired ca. 575 BCE.¹¹⁷ Between 464 and 460 BCE the Phigaleians partake in the Third Messenian War. Just as with the first temple, within a generation after the conclusion of the war construction of a new temple to Apollo began ca. 429 BCE. Construction of this temple was interrupted in 421 BCE when Sparta again besieges and occupies Phigaleia. Construction on the temple was resumed in 414 BCE and the temple was completed in 400 BCE.¹¹⁸

The name Epikourios is a distinctive epithet in the Greek world meaning “helper.”¹¹⁹ There was originally some debate over the meaning of the Epikourios, as it was initially thought to have been linked with Apollo’s healing associations. Based on this presumption and a mention of this explanation by Pausanias (8.41.8), it was assumed that this epithet originated during the time of the plague that broke out during the Peloponnesian war in 430 BCE. This idea, however, conflicts with an account of Thucydides which states that the plague never affected the Peloponnese (Thuc. 2.54.5).¹²⁰ It is also noteworthy that not a single object normally found at healing sanctuaries, such as votive limbs and inscriptions, has been found at Bassai.¹²¹

The epithet “Epikourios” is more likely derived from the common usage of epikouros meaning an ally, or more specifically, mercenary.¹²² It has been suggested by Cooper that this epithet could have been associated with the earliest usage of the sanctuary having been shaped by events during the Messenian Wars.¹²³ The Spartans captured Phigaleia out of revenge for the aid they had given to the Messenians, so in this sense “Epikourios” could be referring to the

¹¹⁶ Voyatzis 1990: 43

¹¹⁷ Voyatzis 1999: 149

¹¹⁸ Cooper 1978: 93-4

¹¹⁹ Jost 2010: 269

¹²⁰ Cooper 1978: 14-15

¹²¹ Cooper 1978: 17

¹²² Cooper 1978: 21

¹²³ Cooper 1978: 76-80

“help” that the Phigaleians gave to the Messenians.¹²⁴ We also know that Arkadians were often referred to as “Epikouroi” by Thucydides when speaking of them as mercenaries in service to the Persians in the early stages of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 3.34.2). The greatest source of information concerning Arkadian mercenaries come from Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, in which it is explained that Arkadian mercenaries fought in Cyrus’ campaign (Xen.*An.*1.2.1). Roy argues that the representation of Arkadian mercenaries in the *Anabasis* shows that the Arkadian mercenary service had “already developed institutional features” by the 5th century.¹²⁵ Based on this evidence of high numbers of Arkadian mercenaries, Roy suggests that Arkadians adopted reproductive strategies to guard against one or more sons dying in childhood. If more sons grew to adulthood than could be maintained in the pastoral Arkadian economy, they could emigrate and make a living as mercenaries elsewhere.¹²⁶ This indicates that by the 5th century mercenaries were an intrinsic part of Arkadian society. It seems possible to suggest that this close association with mercenary employment began during the Messenian Wars as a reaction to Spartan aggression. This mercenary identity seems to have been celebrated at the sanctuary at Bassai through the epithet “Epikourios.”

Furthermore, Voyatzis suggests that the prominence of the sanctuary may have been a result of Phigaleian involvement in the Second Messenian War, as Spartan aggression may have united the Phigaleians.¹²⁷ Mass dedications of mini-armor and construction of first temple were possibly evidence of this unification in face of Spartan aggression (Fig. 6). While full-scale armor dedications are common at several sites, Bassai is the only site where the miniature armor

¹²⁴ Cooper 1978: 22

¹²⁵ Roy 1999: 347

¹²⁶ Roy 1999: 349

¹²⁷ Voyatzis 1999: 149

votive is standard.¹²⁸ Cooper indicates that these miniature dedications “must have been designed especially as token offerings made to the Apollo of this site...The votive armament and number of bronze and iron figurines in battle garb point to a vigorous military cult at the temple.”

Judging from the dating of these votives and the construction of the first temple, the worship at this site went back to the late 8th century.¹²⁹ Voyatzis suggests that when considering the military nature of the dedications and the possible impact of the Second Messenian War, it may be significant that the earliest bronze votives from Bassai, a bird and a horse, are Lakonian in style “suggesting relatively early Lakonian presence at the site.”¹³⁰

If it is assumed that the construction of a temple presupposes the existence of a polis, the construction of the first temple at Bassai along with the temples of Artemis and Aphrodite above it on Mt. Kotilion suggests that Phigaleia was already unified and attempting to assert its dominance by the late-7th/early-6th century BCE. Due to the nature of the dedications and the epithet “Epikourios”, it seems reasonable to suggest that Phigaleian involvement in the Messenian Wars and its location right on the border with Messenia greatly impacted the evolution of the sanctuary and perhaps the city itself.

Our understanding of the Classical city of Phigaleia is limited, again due to the lack of systematic excavations. The fortification walls of Phigaleia have proved difficult to date, but based on the masonry style of the wall it seems to date to the 5th century, as walls dating to this period provide the best parallels.¹³¹ If the city wall was constructed during the 5th century, this would indicate that Phigaleia continued to engage in warfare and needed protection against the

¹²⁸ Cooper 1978:18

¹²⁹ Cooper 1978: 20-1

¹³⁰ Voyatzis 1999: 149

¹³¹ Winter 1971: 111, footnote 23

Spartans.¹³² Nevertheless, the greatest wealth of information about the city during the 5th century again comes from the Sanctuary of Apollo itself. The 5th century temple at of Apollo suggests that the Phigaleia was a city with extensive wealth. The temple of Apollo, whose construction began in 429 BCE was, according to Pausanias, designed by the famous architect Iktinos, who had constructed the Parthenon in Athens starting in 447 BCE. To hire such a prestigious architect, the Phigaleians must have had a large amount of wealth that was disposable. Iktinos constructed an innovative temple that touts the first use of the Corinthian column. This temple mixes all three Classical orders, displaying a Doric façade with two rows of engaged Ionic columns in the cella. The Corinthian column stands in a central position at the back of the cella, creating a pseudo-adyton behind it.

This temple also contained a continuous Ionic frieze running around the interior of the cella (Fig. 7). This was the first time that a frieze was placed inside a Greek temple, solving many of the visibility issues that were encountered with the Ionic frieze on the Parthenon.¹³³ This magnificent frieze depicted mythical battle scenes of Amazonomachies and the Centauromachy. These themes were appropriately chosen for a sanctuary with such strong military connections as are seen at Bassai. This frieze too would have been a great expense to the city of Phigaleia.

The Classical temple at Bassai also has a traditional Doric frieze on the exterior. Only fragments of the metopes survive, but it is clear that they were sculpted. The metopes would have been the main decorative feature of the exterior of the temple, as the pediments of the temple were left empty. Although not much of the metopes remain, work has been done to

¹³² Nielsen 2002: 166

¹³³ For further discussion of the Bassai frieze see Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz 1975, Palagia and Pike 2009, Dinsmoor 1956, and Vol. II of Cooper 1996; For further discussion of the Parthenon frieze see Jenkins 1994 and Marconi 2009.

reconstruct the sculpted scenes. It has been suggested that the metopes of the south porch represented the rape of the daughters of Leukippos.¹³⁴ Because this myth supposedly took place in Messenia where the Spartan Castor and Pollux raped the daughters of the Messenian king, Jenkins suggests that “to the Arcadians the rape may have been seen as an allegory of Spartan violence against the Messenian struggle for political independence.”¹³⁵ This identification again clearly fits into the mercenary theme of the sanctuary and the temple, highlighting Spartan aggression. Based on the identification of a kithara-player on one of the north metopes, it has been suggested that this figure either represents Apollo himself or Orpheus.¹³⁶ In either case it seems that this metope is a reference to Apollo as the god of music.

While the Iktinian temple makes clear the apparent wealth of Phigaleia in the late 5th century BCE, this begs the question of where the wealth was coming from. As can be seen by the consideration of the topography of Phigaleia and its surrounding region, the city did not have any access to fertile plains that would have allowed for prolific agricultural production, so agriculture could not have been the source of Phigaleian prosperity. Similarly, Phigaleia’s inland location prevented the city from having direct access to ports. The city would have only had secondary access to coastal ports through the Neda river, therefore it is unlikely that Phigaleians partook in large-scale trade that would have created the type of wealth that was necessary to construct the extravagant 5th century temple at Bassai.

It seems likely that Spartan aggression against the Messenians and Phigaleia played a role in the Phigaleian acquisition of wealth. The Phigaleian involvement in the Messenian Wars as mercenaries coming to the aid of the Messenians seems to have impacted the cultural identity of

¹³⁴ Jenkins 2006: 139-141

¹³⁵ Jenkins 2006: 141

¹³⁶ Jenkins 2006: 141-142

the Phigaleians. Throughout their history the Phigaleians, and Arkadians in general, continued to employ themselves as mercenaries or sell-swords. As was discussed previously, Thucydides mentions Arkadian involvement in the Peloponnesian Wars in the late 5th century as mercenaries (Thuc. 3.34.2). It seems that the Phigaleian identity that was so closely associated with aiding in wars and being mercenaries was the very thing that brought wealth to the city and allowed for the construction of the Iktinian temple.

From the Archaic to the Classical period, the origins, formation, and wealth of the city of Phigaleia seem to have been molded by the neighboring militaristic region of Laconia. Although there has not yet been great deal of evidence unearthed in the city itself, the Sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai provides a plethora of evidence that reflects the development of the city that maintained the sanctuary. The emergence of a temple at the sanctuary in the late-7th/early-6th century BCE suggests that Phigaleia already existed as a *polis* by this time. The militaristic nature of the offerings found at the sanctuary and the unique epithet of “Epikourios” given to Apollo further suggests that the sanctuary, and likely the city, were both shaped by the pressures of the Second Messenian War and the constant threat of Sparta. The mercenary identity that the Phigaleians developed as a result of these conflicts with Sparta continued into the Classical period and was likely the source of the city’s great prosperity. Thus, it can be inferred that Phigaleian involvement in the Messenian Wars was the driving factor in the development of the city and sanctuary of Phigaleia and that this Spartan aggression shaped the lasting identity of the Phigaleians themselves. This understanding of the mercenary identity of the Phigaleians and the Arkadians as a whole can perhaps shed light on the reasoning behind some of the anomalies that have been observed at the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai.

Chapter 4: Architectural Anomalies of the Archaic and Classical Temples at Bassai

The archaeological evidence of the Archaic temple of Apollo at Bassai indicates two major anomalies, namely that the temple was oriented north to south and that the temple had an second entranceway in the east wall of the adyton. As Kelly has argued, the plan of the Classical temple at Bassai is remarkably similar to that of its Archaic predecessor because it was Iktinos' intention to preserve the architectural features of the Archaic temple.¹³⁷ This replication in plan means that the anomalies found in the Archaic temple are also present in the Classical temple, of which more archaeological evidence remains. By examining the manifestation of these anomalies in both the Archaic and Classical temples to Apollo, I explore the reasoning behind and the possible functions of the north-south orientation and the east door. An additional anomaly that will be explored is the possibility that the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai did not have an altar. Past excavations at the site have provided scanty evidence for the presence of an altar, so this evidence will be reviewed and possible reasoning for the lack of an altar will be examined.

A. North-South Orientation

By the Archaic period when the first temple of Apollo at Bassai was constructed ca. 620-600 BCE, sacred architecture in Greece had begun to take on a canonized form. An east-west orientation for temples was an intrinsic part of this newly canonized form, yet the Archaic temple of Apollo at Bassai did not conform to this standard.¹³⁸ The temple was rather aligned north to south on a ridge of Mt. Kotilion in southwestern Arkadia. In the past, scholarship concerning the

¹³⁷ Kelly 1995: 227

¹³⁸ There are a few other exceptions to the rule of east-west orientation in the Archaic period including the temple of Apollo at Thermon (N-S) and the temple of Apollo at Halieis (S-N).

region of Arkadia has often suggested that this central region of the Peloponnese was isolated from its neighbors, resulting in a more primitive culture that did not progress at the same rate as the rest of the Greek world.¹³⁹ This rationale can thus easily be used as an explanation for the temple orientation at Bassai. Voyatzis even presents a distinction between eastern Arkadia and the mountainous west, suggesting that the agriculturally based economy of the high plains of eastern Arkadia allowed these communities to conform more closely with the *polis* model than those in the west. Voyatzis suggests that these eastern Arkadian communities built temples earlier and had a greater awareness of non-Arkadian temple models. Conversely, the looser communities of western Arkadia were slower to build temples, perhaps because they were isolated from the rest of Greece leaving them without knowledge of the canonical temple models.¹⁴⁰ This proposed lack of contact with areas outside of western Arkadia could explain the unusual orientation of the temple of Apollo, since according to this argument, the people of southwestern Arkadia may not have had knowledge of the canonical temple model that was being utilized throughout the rest of Greece in the Archaic period.

The notion of Arkadia as an isolated region has, however, recently been challenged based on findings by Pikoulas, who has identified an extensive network of roads within Arkadia which appear to be linked to the road networks of its neighboring regions. He dates the emergence and development of this network to the 7th-4th centuries BCE.¹⁴¹ As Nielsen points out, if a road network existed as early as the 7th century BCE this seriously questions the traditional image of Arkadia as an isolated region.¹⁴² The existence of this road network suggests that the isolation of the region may not be a valid explanation for the unusual orientation of the Archaic temple at

¹³⁹ Yalouris 1979: 99-100

¹⁴⁰ Voyatzis 1999: 151

¹⁴¹ Pikoulas 1999: 308

¹⁴² Nielsen 2002: 18

Bassai. Further, it appears that in many other aspects the plan of the temple of Apollo did adhere to the canonical model. Like many other contemporary Archaic temples, the Archaic temple of Bassai was a rectilinear building that had a pronaos, cella, and adyton, with an opisthodomos that was possibly added at a later date.¹⁴³ These canonical elements that are present in the temple suggest that the builders were aware of the canonical model, yet chose not to adhere to the usual orientation.

While the isolation of Arkadia may not be a valid explanation for the anomalies of the Archaic temple of Apollo at Bassai, Voyatzis does suggest that this region was unique in its preservation of unusual cult practices.¹⁴⁴ It seems that in this way, this western region of Arkadia was less influenced by Panhellenic models than the rest of Greece during the Archaic period. It is evident that the Arcado-Cyprian dialect is the oldest known form of Greek, indicating that Arkadia was a region in which old traditions were preserved.¹⁴⁵

Yalouris utilizes this concept of the Arkadian preservation of unusual cult practices in his argument for the north-south orientation of the Archaic and Classical temples of Apollo. Yalouris suggests that this seemingly unusual orientation was purposefully used in accordance with the performance of the cult of Apollo.¹⁴⁶ Yalouris points out the strong connection between Apollo and Boreas and the Hyperborean lands to the north. Yalouris explains that “Apollo, under the name Hyperborean, has a residence in those lands. From there he comes every spring to Greece, where the Greeks celebrate his arrival with hymns and *paian*s in two of the most important religious centers: Delphi and Delos.”¹⁴⁷ Yalouris uses this concept of a close

¹⁴³ Kelly 1995: 237

¹⁴⁴ Voyatzis 1999: 151

¹⁴⁵ Buck 1955: 144

¹⁴⁶ Yalouris 1979: 96

¹⁴⁷ Yalouris 1979: 96

association between Apollo and the North to explain the north-south orientation of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai.¹⁴⁸ This argument seems problematic, however, in light of the other evidence found in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, there is a great deal of archaeological and textual evidence which suggests that the central focus of the sanctuary at Bassai was Apollo's connection to mercenaries. While there is abundant evidence relating to the mercenary aspect of the cult, such as votive miniature armor, I know of no evidence found at the sanctuary that would suggest a focus on Hyperborean Apollo. It would be reasonable to assume that if the reasoning behind orienting the temple to the north was the sanctuary's connection with Boreas, this connection would be seen elsewhere in the sanctuary as well, yet it is not.

Liritzis and Vassiliou present an argument supporting Yalouris' explanation for the temple orientation to the north. They argue that both the Classical Temple of Apollo Epikourios and the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Thermon are oriented to the north because they are facing the aurora borealis.¹⁴⁹ Liritzis and Vassiliou argue that an aurora borealis event coincided with the end of the plague in 430 BCE, which the worshipers took as a sign associated with Apollo's help in the plague.¹⁵⁰ For this reason, they argue, the architect of the Classical temple constructed it with a northern orientation. There are again a couple of problems with this argument. First, as has been noted in chapter 3, Thucydides suggests that the great plague of 430 BCE did not affect the Peloponnese (Thuc. 2.54.5), therefore the coincidence of these two events does not make sense as the reasoning behind the orientation of a temple in the southwest of ancient Arkadia. Furthermore, this argument ignores and does not explain the northern orientation of the Archaic

¹⁴⁸ Yalouris 1979: 99

¹⁴⁹ Liritzis and Vassiliou 2006: 1.14-1.17

¹⁵⁰ Liritzis and Vassiliou 2006: 1.14

temple that was constructed almost 200 years prior to the event in questions. Because it has been made clear that the design and orientation of the Classical temple at Bassai was based on its Archaic predecessor, the argument that a celestial event in 430 BCE determined the orientation of the temple does not hold weight. While it is possible that Thermon did experience the aurora borealis in conjunction with the end of the plague, since Thermon is not located in the Peloponnese, this again would ignore the fact that the earlier structures at the site were also oriented north-south.

In order to gain a full understanding of why the Archaic temple of Apollo was given this unusual north-south alignment, it is important to discuss the actual topography of the sanctuary and the temple location. This first temple to Apollo at Bassai was situated on what Cooper calls the Archaic Knoll, which was the highest point in the area. Cooper explains that “the promontory on which it is sited, while restricting the Archaic temple to a narrow (hence, noncolumnar) plan, afforded a vista of far greater scope to the east and northeast than that available to its successor.”¹⁵¹ The fact that the temple was constructed on this rather limiting location that did not allow for a peristyle nor a more traditional east-west alignment suggests both that this specific location was important or perhaps sacred in some way to the builders and that it was more important to the original temple builders to have this view than to have a canonical east-west oriented temple. The importance of this view to the east is further emphasized by the placement of the east door in the adyton of both the Archaic and Classical temples. Cooper also points out that in the construction of the Archaic temple “wherever possible protrusions of bedrock were incorporated” into the temple walls.¹⁵² Additionally, a five-ton boulder was placed

¹⁵¹ Cooper 1996: 82

¹⁵² Cooper 1996: 84

in the center wall of the temple between the adyton and the cella and its top surface was dressed. Even though this boulder was placed here it is “sufficiently massive to give the appearance of a natural outcrop.”¹⁵³ Because the floor level of the adyton was lower than that of the cella chamber to the north, this massive stone would have risen 0.60 m. above the floor of the adyton, making it very visible to anyone in the adyton.¹⁵⁴ This visible incorporation of bedrock into the construction of the of the temple could give the impression that the temple itself is part of the earth.

B. East Door

Both the Archaic and the Classical temples of Apollo at Bassai have an additional door on the east of the temple opening into the adyton. Just as the Iktinian temple replicated the orientation of the Archaic temple, it also derived this east door by imitating the original Archaic plan. Therefore, it is important to examine the east door of the Archaic temple in order to understand the original purpose of the door that was then replicated by the later temple. The east door of the Classical temple, however, is critical to this discussion because much more of it remains, providing more tangible evidence for its possible use.

The foundational remains of the Archaic temple display a 2.5 m gap in the eastern wall, which represents the east door of the adyton. The doorway, however, may have been narrower than the present 2.5 m opening, since only the northern door jamb is well preserved. In either case, the doorway is off-center in the nearly square adyton.¹⁵⁵ By overlapping the plans of the two temples, Kelly makes it clear that the Classical temple replicates the doorway of the Archaic

¹⁵³ Cooper 1996: 84

¹⁵⁴ Cooper 1996: 85

¹⁵⁵ Kelly 1995: 241

temple (Figs. 8 & 10). This methodology shows that the placement of the east doors on both temples is nearly identical.¹⁵⁶ The purpose of this additional side door to the east on both of the temples is unclear.

The temple Athena Alea at Tegea in southeast Arkadia has a similar anomaly. The Classical temple of Athena Alea follows the traditional orientation of an east-west alignment, but it also has what Ostby refers to as a “lateral entrance” on the north side of the temple (Fig. 9).¹⁵⁷ Ostby further proposes that it is possible that the adyton of the Archaic temple at Tegea also had a lateral entrance. If this is the case, then a similar phenomenon of preserving the anomalies of the Archaic temple is occurring both at Bassai and at Tegea. The lateral entrance at Tegea was first recognized by the remains of a large access ramp on the north side of the peristyle. Norman posited that because the ramp was similar in size to that on the eastern side, the lateral north door would have been “substantial and a major entrance into the cella.”¹⁵⁸ Dugas, the original excavator of Tegea, however, considered the north door to only be a subsidiary entrance, but attributes its presence to a cult function allowing for access between the cella to the ritual fountain located to the north of the temple.¹⁵⁹ Norman additionally points out that Pausanias indicates that there is a stadium located to the north of the Tegea temple, so it is possible that the north door was meant to provide access between the cella and the stadium.¹⁶⁰

Ostby, however, has recently suggested that the north door of the Classical temple at Tegea was not intended to be a secondary access point to the temple.¹⁶¹ Based on an analysis of

¹⁵⁶ Kelly 1995: 239-242

¹⁵⁷ Ostby 2014b: 341

¹⁵⁸ Norman 1984: 188

¹⁵⁹ Dugas 1911: 52-71

¹⁶⁰ Norman 1984: 189

¹⁶¹ Ostby 2014b: 341

the dimensions of the north ramp, Ostby was able to conclude that “a ramp in that position could not join the surface, in spite of the porch.”¹⁶² Further, based on the most recent excavations at Tegea, it appears that the area to the north of the temple seems to have been an abaton, therefore there is little reason to provide access to the temple from this area.¹⁶³ Ostby suggests that the projecting foundation to the north rather carried a platform that was intended for ritual use “perhaps connected with that unbroken view which could be enjoyed from the platform towards the hills north of the town...towards Mount Lyrkeion, or more generally the northern sky” (Fig. 11).¹⁶⁴ Based on the suggestions of all three of these scholars, it is clear that the lateral north door of the Classical temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was constructed for a specific ritual purpose, not simply as an additional entryway into the cella. Additionally, as Ostby strongly argues, it seems that the placement of the door was intrinsically related to the unobstructed view to the north.

The temple of Despoina and Demeter at Lykosoura constructed by the end of the third century BCE¹⁶⁵ similarly had a side door along its southern flank (Fig. 20). This side door opens directly out onto a set of steps that Hollinshead suggests had a theatral purpose, since the steps offered “ample space for sitting.”¹⁶⁶ Although these steps seem to have been used for sitting and viewing, because there was only a narrow 1.6 m gap between the base of the steps and the side door of the temple (Fig. 21), there clearly was not enough space to hold performances or processions.¹⁶⁷ Hollinshead uses this narrow gap as evidence that the side door of the temple was used for “some sort of display or revelation by a religious official to a crowd of seated

¹⁶² Ostby 2014b: 341

¹⁶³ Ostby 2014b: 341

¹⁶⁴ Ostby 2014b: 341 “The lack of buildings and other structures in the 10-15 m wide trench which was opened through the northern sector in 1990-94, continuing the direction of the presumed ramp, may perhaps be explained by an intention not to obstruct the open view northwards.”

¹⁶⁵ Hollinshead 2015: 56

¹⁶⁶ Hollinshead 2015: 55

¹⁶⁷ Hollinshead 2015: 55

observers—but we should not rule out hymns, prayers, recitations, or pronouncements as well.”¹⁶⁸ The side door at Lykosoura then provides another example of side doors being utilized in Arkadian temples for ritual purposes.

It seems plausible that the ritual and visual reasoning behind the lateral entrances of the Classical temple at Tegea and the temple of Despoina and Demeter at Lykosoura could also be applied to the east door of the Classical temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai. Based on two cuttings in the slabs in front of the east entranceway as well as an iron rod in the outer lintel beam above the door, Cooper has restored an iron grille in front of the east door (Fig. 12).¹⁶⁹ The cuttings indicate the presence of two vertical bars that were permanently fixed in place, which would have supported the grille.¹⁷⁰ This suggests that, as has been argued for the north door at Tegea, this door was not meant to be an entrance into the adyton and likely was meant purely for a ritual function. This is further supported by the height of the sill of the east door, which is 0.648 m above the pteroma pavement.¹⁷¹ Even if the grille were not present, the height of this sill would not have allowed access to the adyton through this east door. Cooper notes that “the sill height is matched only by the elephantine proportions of stylobates in a few Sicilian temples; and as a towering sill in Greek temples, it is surpassed, perhaps, by the one across the monumental doorway at Didyma, which is 1.46 m high.”¹⁷²

The monumental doorway of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo at Didyma therefore provides another interesting comparison to the east door at Bassai (Fig. 13). The sill height makes it clear that the monumental doorway at Didyma was not meant to be used as an entryway

¹⁶⁸ Hollinshead 2015: 55

¹⁶⁹ Cooper 1996: 223

¹⁷⁰ Cooper 1996: 223

¹⁷¹ Cooper 1996: 221

¹⁷² Cooper 1996: 221

into the temple and was therefore constructed in this way for the purpose of ritual use. The monumental doorway at Didyma was in the position of the normal east temple doorway leading from the *pronaos* into the *cella* of the temple, yet the 1.495 m high sill prevented entry through this massive 5.63 m wide opening.¹⁷³ The *cella* was rather entered through two long sloping passages to the left and right of the monumental doorway, which were only wide enough to allow one person to pass through at a time.¹⁷⁴ Because the temple of Apollo at Didyma was an oracular temple, it has been proposed that the design of this monumental doorway with its high sill was meant to limit access to the *prophetis*. Parke has also argued that the sill could have served as a platform from which the *prophetes* could have announced the responses of the oracle.¹⁷⁵ Another explanation that Parke argues is that the monumental doorway served as an audience-window, borrowing the concept from Ptolemaic Egypt. In this case the sill would have served as a threshold over which a written question was passed to be given to the *prophetis*. The response of the oracle would then have been written down and passed back over the threshold to the enquirer in the *pronaos*.¹⁷⁶ Because this proposed function of an audience-window comes from the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic traditions, it is difficult to suggest that this was the intended function of the east door at Bassai, however, the concept of the high sill functioning as a barrier creating a ritual separation between interior and exterior could be applicable.

Based on Cooper's reconstruction of the east door of the Iktinian temple at Bassai and the comparative evidence from Tegea and Didyma, it can be concluded that the purpose of the side

¹⁷³ Parke 1986: 121

¹⁷⁴ Parke 1986: 121

¹⁷⁵ Parke 1986: 127

¹⁷⁶ Parke 1986: 128-9, An audience-window was an opening in the wall through which documents could be submitted to the king and then returned with the royal seal of approval. Rameses III built a combined temple and residence at Medinet Habu in which there was a window with a sill about 2 m high from which the Pharaoh could show himself. It seems that the Ptolemies adapted this form and Wilcken suggests that the Serapeum contained a royal residence with an audience-window.

door of the Classical temple was strictly ritual in nature and it was not meant to function as a passageway into or out of the temple. It is probable that, as at Tegea, the view from the door was a critical component of this ritual use. Similar to the north view at Tegea, the view to the east from the temple at Bassai would have been unobstructed because it sat high on a terrace. The most notable aspect of this view would have been the southern peak of Mt. Lykaion where the ash altar to Zeus is located (Fig. 14). The ash altar is located almost due east of the lateral door of the Classical temple of Apollo. The importance of the sight line from Bassai to Mt. Lykaion will be explored further in the discussion of the altar at Bassai.

Cooper explores an additional possibility for the function of the east door of the Classical temple that is unique to the side door at Bassai due to its orientation to the east. Cooper asserts that the door was placed in this position on the east in order to illuminate the cult statue in the adyton on the feast day of Apollo Epikourios.¹⁷⁷ Cooper explains the phenomenon that he experienced at the site on a summer day: “The moment the sun appears above the distant foothills of Mt. Lycaeus, a single beam of light enters the temple through the opening between the peripteral column and the north jamb...as the sun gets higher the light centers in the corner and a streak of light falls diagonally across the adyton floor.”¹⁷⁸

It can be assumed that the function of the east door of the Archaic temple of Apollo was related to the corresponding door in the Classical temple, yet this does not presuppose the fact that the Archaic door’s original purpose was the same. As has been mentioned, Ostby has suggested that the Archaic temple of Athena Alea at Tegea may have also had a northern lateral entrance, creating a precise parallel to the Archaic temple at Bassai.¹⁷⁹ There is, however, a

¹⁷⁷ Cooper 1978: 108

¹⁷⁸ Cooper 1978: 108

¹⁷⁹ Ostby 2014a: 41

major difference between the replication of a side door at Tegea as Ostby is proposing and the replication of the east door that occurred at Bassai. While the positioning of the east door at Bassai is almost identical in both the Archaic and the Classical temples of Apollo at Bassai, Ostby is reconstructing the lateral entrance in the Archaic temple in the adyton rather than in the cella as it is in the Classical temple.¹⁸⁰ This difference in placement indicates that the function of the Archaic lateral door was likely different from that of its Classical counterpart at Tegea. Ostby further extrapolates that the adyton of the Archaic temple may have even been physically separated from the cella and was only accessible from the pteron through this north door.¹⁸¹ If this were the case, it is possible that the adyton acted as a treasury with limited and controlled access only through the north door. The physical remains of the Archaic temple, however, do not provide enough information to determine definitively that the adyton was physically separated from the cella. In either case, the placement of the north door in the adyton rather than the cella indicates that the function of the original Archaic lateral door was different from the Classical north door in the cella. This possibility of a difference in function between the Archaic and Classical lateral doors needs to also be taken into consideration when examining the east doors at Bassai.

The Archaic temple of Apollo has not received as much attention as the Classical temple since the foundations of the Archaic temple were not recognized as such until 1970 during the excavations under the direction of Yalouris.¹⁸² Although the Archaic temple has been focused on in works by scholars such as Voyatzis and Kelly, I have not yet come across a full publication of the Archaic temple. Because of the limited resources available concerning the Archaic temple,

¹⁸⁰ Ostby 2014a: 41

¹⁸¹ Ostby 2014a: 41

¹⁸² Kelly 1995:232

it is much more difficult to draw conclusions about the earlier temple than the later Iktinian iteration.

The foundations of the Archaic temple and its other extant remains indicate that the temple consisted of a pronaos, a sekos or cella, and adyton, and an opisthodomos (Figs. 15 & 16).¹⁸³ The east door, as has been noted, was located slightly off center in the east wall of the adyton and was at most 2.5 m wide, but likely narrower.¹⁸⁴ The side walls of the adyton are not bonded to the walls of the cella to the north or the opisthodomos to the south, which Cooper takes as an indication that the opisthodomos was added at the later date.¹⁸⁵ Kelly describes this method of construction as “‘additive’: pronaos and sekos built as one unit, adyton added on as another unit, and opisthodomos added to adyton.”¹⁸⁶ Kelly, however, disagrees with Cooper’s assessment, suggesting that “it is more likely that the foundations were built in only one phase.”¹⁸⁷ It is argued by Kelly that this was simply a technique utilized to construct retaining walls for the various floor levels, since the temple was built on a downward slope to the west.¹⁸⁸

Based on the observation of the “additive” construction method, it could be suggested that the adyton was the original unit of the temple with the pronaos and sekos unit and the opisthodomos unit being added later in order to create a temple that adhered to the canonical temple model. This breakdown of construction phases with the adyton being constructed first would then provide an explanation for the original purpose of the east door, acting as a main entrance into to the temple structure facing to the east. It is clear that there were two building

¹⁸³ Kelly 1995: 233

¹⁸⁴ Kelly 1995: 241

¹⁸⁵ Kelly 1995: 237, Cooper 1996: 74

¹⁸⁶ Kelly 1995: 234

¹⁸⁷ Kelly 1995: 237

¹⁸⁸ Kelly 1995: 237

phases of the Archaic temple based on two sets of roof tiles designated types A and B, which were found in association with the earlier temple.¹⁸⁹ The two sets of tiles are distinguished by the quality of the clay from which they were made. Tiles from type A appear to be made of clay of much higher quality than that of type B.¹⁹⁰ Both sets of tiles were of the Laconian style and the two sets were almost identical apart from their material.¹⁹¹ Three joining tiles allow a pan width of 0.435 m to be measured, while the length of the tiles is not known (Fig. 17).¹⁹² Additionally, because the overlapping edge of one cover tile was preserved, the width of the edge can be measured as 0.21 m.¹⁹³ Boardman's dating of the Laconian II style, with which the painting on these tiles can be connected, places the date range of these tile sets between 620 and 580 BCE.¹⁹⁴ Additionally, two disk akroteria that would have ornamented the ridge of the roof of the Archaic temple have been uncovered. The disks, which are also given the designations of A and B, appear to be made of the same two types of clay as the two sets of tiles (Fig. 18).¹⁹⁵ It is based on these two akroteria that much of the dating of the roof tile sets has been based. Rhomaios first examined and reconstructed the disk akroteria. From this reconstruction Rhomaios determined that the two disks belonged to the same building, but were used at different times, with disk B dating later than disk A.¹⁹⁶ This original sequence has since been challenged by Cooper and Kelly, who suggest that the A type tiles date later than the B type. The dating of these disks is heavily based on comparisons with the disk akroteria of the Heraion at Olympia. Kelly states that Rhomaios "really only dated the A roof, saying that the B roof came later. Rhomaios rightly

¹⁸⁹ Kelly 1995: 250-252

¹⁹⁰ Kelly 1995: 252

¹⁹¹ Cooper 1990: 84

¹⁹² Cooper 1990: 86

¹⁹³ Cooper 1990: 86

¹⁹⁴ Kelly 1995: 260, Boardman 1963: 2-4

¹⁹⁵ Kelly 1995: 255-6

¹⁹⁶ Kelly 1995: 255-6, Rhomaios 1933: 9, 17

dated disk A to the same time as the Heraion disk, but wrongly dated disk B after.”¹⁹⁷ Kelly suggests that Rhomaios’ sequencing is wrong, yet later concludes that “both disks A and B from Bassai date to the same time as the Heraion disk.”¹⁹⁸ Based on this claim that both disks date to the same time period, it would seem difficult to determine which set came first. Furthermore, Kelly indicates that many questions still remain concerning the disk akroteria, which only further excavation can clarify. She asks, “Why are there only fragments of two disks at the site? Did the Laconian roof have only one, or were there disks at both ends?”¹⁹⁹ These questions suggest that further excavation needs to be undertaken in order to gain enough evidence to fully assess the design and chronology of the roofs.

Kelly concludes that the correct sequence of the akroterion disks, and thus the two tile sets, has the B disk and tile set preceding the A disk and type A set. Kelly explains that this conclusion was based on evidence provided by the excavated foundations of the Archaic temple, which was not available to Rhomaios.²⁰⁰ The evidence to which she is referring is simply the size of the Archaic temple. It is critical to note that the number of A tiles found in association with the Archaic temple are much fewer than the number of B tiles.²⁰¹ Based on the size of the Archaic temple, Kelly notes that there are not enough tiles to construct two full roofs, therefore she concludes that the B tiles must have roofed the temple first and the A tiles were used only to replace a small number of the original B tiles.²⁰² This determination also explains why the B tiles are in much poorer condition than the A tiles, as they would have been on the roof of the temple for a longer duration and endured more weathering. While this is a valid argument, Kelly seems

¹⁹⁷ Kelly 1995: 258

¹⁹⁸ Kelly 1995: 258

¹⁹⁹ Kelly 1995: 256

²⁰⁰ Kelly 1995: 260

²⁰¹ Cooper 1990: 84

²⁰² Kelly 1995: 260

to be overturning Rhomaios' sequence only based on the size of the Archaic foundations, not based on a stylistic analysis of the tiles or akroterion disks.

Because there is disagreement in the dating of the tile sets, and it seems that the most recent sequence suggestion is based on the size of the temple foundations rather than stylistic dating, I believe it can be argued that the reason so many fewer A tiles have been uncovered is that they covered an earlier smaller structure: the single room temple that was later converted into the adyton. In this case, the A tiles, as Rhomaios originally suggested, would be the earlier set. Once the pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos built with the "additive" construction method, the roof would have had to have been completely reconstructed, as the tile direction would have been reoriented to the new north-south alignment. The set of A tiles would only have been in use for the limited time that the adyton stood alone, which accounts for the lack of weathering on the smaller A set, while the B set roofed the full Archaic temple for a longer period causing its poorer preservation.²⁰³

The position of the adyton being the location of the original section of the temple is further supported by the natural topography of the site. As has been mentioned above (p. 31), the Archaic temple sits on the highest point of the site with the greatest view to the east and northeast, making the location appealing.²⁰⁴ Additionally, before the Archaic temple foundations were recognized as such, the modern footpath that tourists took to get up to the Classical temple followed the natural topography of the site, which led them straight through the east door and across the Archaic adyton (Fig. 19).²⁰⁵ It would therefore be logical to place the original entrance

²⁰³ It would certainly be necessary to obtain further evidence from the foundation trenches of the Archaic temple and perhaps a more up-to-date (petrographic) analysis of the tile sets in order to make more of a case for this theory.

²⁰⁴ Cooper 1996: 82

²⁰⁵ Kelly: 1995: 237

to the temple structure at the location which was the intersection of the best view and the easiest access in accordance with the natural topography.

If this proposal of a stand-alone structure that then became the adyton of the Archaic temple is correct, the original builders had a sense of the importance of constructing a temple oriented to the east. When the cella and opisthodomos were added they had to have a north-south orientation and the architects chose to keep the east door, rather than simply replacing it with the north entrance. This again suggests that the architects were aware of the importance of an eastward orientation and found it important to maintain visual contact with the eastern landscape.

Cooper and Kelly both present more traditional notions of the construction of the Archaic temple, suggesting that most of or all of the Archaic temple foundations were built in one phase.²⁰⁶ If the inclusion of the east door is considered in this more traditional context, we again need to assess why the architects would have chosen to include a second entrance along the east wall. The location of the temple on the Archaic Knoll again seems pertinent here. Because the architects chose to place the temple on this narrow plateau with the best view to the east, it can be argued that this view is an important aspect of the temple itself, and thus could explain why the door to the east was included. There could, of course, be more practical reasons for the inclusion of the east door as well. When considering the possibility of more practical reasons it is important to recognize that, as far as can be told from the excavations of the Archaic foundations, the threshold of the east door was level with the flagging stones of the floor of the adyton.²⁰⁷ Unlike the east door of the Classical temple, the Archaic east door did not have a high sill that would have prevented entry and thus was not necessarily reserved for ritual purposes.

²⁰⁶ Kelly 1995: 237

²⁰⁷ Kelly 1995: 241

Based on the topography of the site that was discussed previously (p. 42), it is possible that this was simply the location of the easiest access to the Archaic Knoll, so the architects may have chosen to place a doorway in this location in order to create the easiest route of access into the temple. Furthermore, because the cella had a higher floor level than the adyton, it is possible that the easiest solution to create access to both levels was to include a separate door providing access to the lower level of the adyton. Even if the east door of the Archaic temple was originally constructed for practical purposes, it is clear that by the time it was reconstructed in the Classical temple this lateral entrance had taken on ritual importance.

C. Altar?

The most important ritual aspect of Greek religion was sacrifice and ritual feasting. Because this ritual took place at a sacrificial altar, the most important aspect of a sanctuary was therefore the altar itself, which defined the sacred space.²⁰⁸ This fact is slightly problematic when considering the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, since it is unclear if there was an altar at the site.²⁰⁹ At most sanctuaries, altars are located to the east of the temple, but because of the unusual north-south orientation of the temples at Bassai it is less clear where the altar would have been located. During his excavations, Kourouniotis did find evidence of burning in the northwest corner of the Classical temple. Kourouniotis further noted that most of the pottery and metal objects that were uncovered in his excavations came from this northern part of the Classical temple in black earth.²¹⁰ Based on this evidence, it appears that this northern section of the later temple was at one point an area where dedications occurred, as indicated by the ashy soil and the votives found in conjunction with that soil. Yalouris' later excavations at the site

²⁰⁸ Marinatos 1993: 228

²⁰⁹ Cooper 1996: 69

²¹⁰ Voyatzis 1990: 38

added support to this conclusion, since he uncovered a large number of miniature armor votives in bronze and iron in the same northern area.²¹¹ This miniature armor can be dated to the mid-seventh century BCE, which indicates that this concentration of burning and its associated artifacts date to the early use of the sanctuary.²¹² This suggests that this northern area was the location of ritual activity at the site in the seventh century BCE, yet because the Classical temple appears to have been constructed on top of this concentration of burning and votives, even if it had been the location of an altar in the seventh century, this was not the placement of the altar in Classical times.

Yalouris also encountered even earlier evidence of burning to the north and northwest of the Classical temple of Apollo Epikourios in which he uncovered a bronze Late Geometric horse, a bronze double protome pendant, and several miniature weapons.²¹³ These votives were found in the lowest levels of excavation and represent the earliest use of the sanctuary in the late eighth or early seventh century BCE. This again suggests that ritual activity at the site in the earliest occupation of the sanctuary was focused in the northern area of the Classical temple and to the north and northwest of the structure. Because of the presence of a layer of burning and associated votives, this northern area then seems to be the most likely location of the earliest altar at the site, however, no burnt animal bones have been noted in the ashy soil. This lack of evidence for animal sacrifice indicates that this area of burning was likely not an altar. Additionally, Kourouniotis uncovered a collection of miniature vessels which are clearly votive in function. Cooper points out, however, that “it is the limited amount of regular-sized pottery which differentiates the Bassai material from the pottery found at other Peloponnesian sanctuaries.”²¹⁴

²¹¹ Voyatzis 1990: 38-39

²¹² Voyatzis 1999: 137-138

²¹³ Voyatzis 1990: 39

²¹⁴ Cooper 1996: 69

While this claim is not exactly correct due to the fact that there is known regular sized pottery at the site, there does, however, seem to be an absence of regular-sized eating and drinking vessels. This absence of eating and drinking vessels is consistent with the absence of burnt animal bones, suggesting that perhaps traditional sacrifice and feasting did not take place at Bassai. If this were the case, then there was no need for an altar at the site.

This conclusion that an altar did not exist at the site is problematic since, as was previously stated, the sacrificial altar was the most essential element of a Greek sanctuary. This problem of a lack of an altar presents another possible explanation for the emphasis that the unusual construction of both the Archaic and Classical temples place on the view to the east from the sanctuary. As has been mentioned before, Mt. Lykaion and its ash altar to Zeus are prominent fixtures of the landscape to the east, which would have easily been seen from the east doors of both the Archaic and Classical temples. Perhaps the reason that a clear view to the east was such a critical aspect to the placement of the temples as well as the inclusion of the east doors in both the Archaic and Classical temples was that the sanctuary was constructed with the intention of incorporating the ash altar of Zeus into its ritual program rather than having an altar of its own.

It should be noted, however, that the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion is at a distance of about 7 miles from Bassai. Today, using trails and modern roads, it takes about 2.5 to 3 hours to walk from one sanctuary to the other. For people who were accustomed to walking everywhere, this was certainly a reasonable distance to cover in a day, yet the ash altar of Zeus was far enough away that it would not have served as a convenient replacement for an altar at Bassai, however smoke rising from the ash altar would have been sufficiently visible to worshippers at Bassai. Based on this distance between the two sanctuaries, it seems more likely that an altar did exist somewhere in the Bassai precinct that has yet to be discovered. It is difficult to speculate as

to where the undiscovered altar might be, for directly to the east of the Classical temple the ground level drops off drastically. The area to the north of the temple in front of the pronaos is relatively flat and level with the temple, making this location a good candidate for the placement of an altar. The area to the west of the temple can also be considered as a possible location for the altar. While the ground level drops off to the west of the temple, the change in elevation is not nearly as drastic as on the east side, therefore it is perhaps more likely that an altar was located on the west side of the temple, although this is the area in which many of the quarries used for the construction of the temples were located. While these locations to the north and west seem like plausible locations for the altar, trenches have already been excavated to the north, northwest, and west of the temple for the purpose of locating the altar, yet they have not been successful.²¹⁵ Because the altar has been searched for extensively without result, it seems necessary to at least consider the possibility that no altar was present. In this case it could be suggested that the ash altar of Zeus served the purpose of a main altar for the sanctuary at Bassai. When considering this possibility it is interesting to note that at present the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion has an altar without a temple, while the sanctuary at Bassai has a temple without an altar. If an altar was present at Bassai, however, the visual link between the east door and the ash altar at Mt. Lykaion perhaps existed so that the ash altar as could be utilized as a supplementary altar.

The sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion became the religious center for the Arkadian federation after the formation of the Arkadian League and the foundation of Megalopolis in 370/69 BCE.²¹⁶ Even prior to this, however, it is clear that the sanctuary of Zeus was the premier

²¹⁵ Cooper 1996: Plate 5

²¹⁶ Jost 1985: 184

Arkadian sanctuary. Jost notes that even in the Archaic period all of the Parrhasians came to worship Zeus Lykaios.²¹⁷ Furthermore, in the fifth century BCE a series of coins were minted which bore the inscription “APKAAΔIKON” or an abbreviation of the toponym. These Arkadian coins also depicted a seated Zeus, which Jost claims is certainly a representation of Zeus Lykaios.²¹⁸ These connections between the sanctuary at Mt. Lykaion and Arkadia as a whole suggest that the cult of Zeus Lykaios was closely connected with the identity of all Arkadians.

When the impact of Spartan aggression on the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai is considered, the link between the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios and Arkadian identity can perhaps be important to the understanding of the east view from Bassai. Because the sanctuary at Bassai sat at the southwestern border of Arkadia, it served as a marker of the outermost extent of the region, providing a clear symbol both to the Spartans and the Messenians of a place of strength and refuge from the war. Because the effort to aid the Messenians not only came from Phigaleian mercenaries, but from mercenaries throughout Arkadia, this sanctuary that was dedicated to Apollo Epikourios, or “mercenary,” also needed to be linked to Arkadia as a whole. In this sense, it may have been important that the sanctuary at Bassai was linked to and looked towards the religious heart of Arkadia, Mt. Lykaion. This connection to the cult center of Arkadia emphasized the importance of the Arkadian identity at Bassai. The visual link from religious center to the religious and political border may have strengthened the sense of Arkadian unity at the border in the face of Spartan aggression. In this case, it was critical that the architects provided a visual emphasis on the ash altar of Lykaion Zeus through the east door of the temple.

²¹⁷ Jost 1985: 183

²¹⁸ Jost 1985: 183

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai is a site that has received considerable attention in the scholarship, yet many questions surrounding the site remained unanswered. The driving forces behind the earliest formation of the sanctuary and the city that maintained it, Phigaleia, as well as the many anomalies of the sanctuary itself are topics that have been examined here.

Due to the fact that very little of the city of Phigaleia has been systematically excavated, something may be learned about the city by examining evidence from its sanctuary at Bassai. Through a critical examination of the history of the sanctuary and an understanding of connections that generally existed between polis and sanctuary, an approximate date for the foundation of Phigaleia can be supposed. Because temple building generally requires cohesion within a community, it can be presumed that by the time the Archaic temple at Bassai was constructed ca. 620-600 BCE the polis of Phigaleia was already in existence.

Additionally, an examination of the evidence from the sanctuary also indicated that the Phigaleian participation in the Messenian Wars greatly impacted the development of both the city and the sanctuary. It appears that the Second Messenian War may have encouraged the unification and foundation of Phigaleia as a show of force against the Spartans. By continuing to compare dates of major shifts at the sanctuary with events of the Messenian Wars, it becomes obvious that a strong correlation exists between sanctuary development and Spartan presence.

Furthermore, in the Classical period when the sanctuary, and therefore Phigaleia itself, must have had a great deal of wealth, this situation allowed for the construction of the impressive Classical temple at the site. It again appears that it is Spartan aggression that allowed for this

acquisition of wealth by the Phigaleians and Arkadians in general, as the continuous conflict kept them steadily employed as mercenaries.

The centuries of constant pressure from Laconia played a large role in shaping the identity of the Phigaleians and Arkadians in general, as they were constantly taking on the role of mercenary, ally, and providers of refuge. This understanding of Phigaleian and Arkadian identity can perhaps aid in the understanding of some of the anomalies that are seen at the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios.

Two major architectural anomalies at the sanctuary have been considered here: the north-south orientation of the temples and the east door. Both the Archaic and the Classical temple are unusually aligned north-south. While various reasons have been presented to explain this anomaly, I suggest that the topography of the site dictated this orientation. The builders of the Archaic temple compromised the traditional temple orientation for the best temple location on the site. It was more important to place the temple on the highest point on the site that had the greatest view to the east than to construct an east-west oriented temple.

The secondary east door in both the Archaic and Classical temples at Bassai is another unusual element of the sanctuary. By comparing the east door of the Classical temple at Bassai to the side door in the cella of the Classical temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, some conclusions can be drawn. Based on the archaeological remains of each door, such as sill height, ramp length, and a possible grille covering, it appears that neither of these lateral doors from the Classical period were intended to be used as secondary entrances, but rather were reserved for ritual purposes that were likely intrinsically connected with the view that the lateral entrance allowed.

It is more difficult to draw conclusions about the function of the Archaic east door because so little of the temple still remains, but by examining the available evidence some

conclusions can be drawn. Based on the “additive” construction of the Archaic temple and the topography of the site, I have proposed that an alternative building history of the temple can be considered in which the original structure was an east facing structure simply composed of what later became the adyton of the temple.

Even if a more the more traditional view of the Archaic temple being built all at one time is considered, in this case the architects still had an understanding that it was important to provide a view to the east by locating the temple on the high Archaic Knoll and by including the east door in the adyton. It does appear, however, that the east door of the Archaic temple did have a more functional purpose than its Classical counterpart. Unlike the Classical east door, the threshold of the door was even with the floor level of the adyton, therefore it did not limit access like the Classical door. Nevertheless, it is clear that by the time the east door was intentionally copied in the Classical temple, it had taken on ritual importance.

The final anomalous topic that has been treated here is the lack of evidence for an altar at the sanctuary at Bassai. While areas of burning and concentrations of burning were noted by both Kourouniotes and Yalouris, no burnt animal bone was reported. Furthermore, the limited amount of regular-sized pottery found at the site indicates that feasting may not have been a common activity at the sanctuary. Additionally, much of the area of burning was covered over by the Classical, thus even if this was the location of the original altar, it was not the active altar in Classical times at the height of the sanctuary.

Since it is unclear if there was an altar at Bassai, it is interesting to note that the ash altar of Mt. Lykaion would have been visually apparent from the sanctuary. The possibility of close relationship between these two sanctuaries is further suggested by the close spatial relationship between the Lykaion enclosure and the statue of Apollo Epikourios in the agora at Megalopolis,

as described by Pausanias (8.30.3). The ash altar, in fact, would have been visible to someone standing in the adyton of the Apollo temple looking through the east door. Since Mt. Lykaion was the preeminent Arkadian sanctuary, it seems plausible that the inter-visibility between Bassai and Lykaion was intentional on the part of the architects at Bassai. Because Bassai, in many ways, marked the southwestern extent of Arkadia and stood as a symbol of its militaristic strength and the Arkadian mercenary identity, it may have been important for this sanctuary to look inwards into Arkadia and have a direct link to the region's religious center. The importance of Arkadian identity to the Phigaleians and other worshippers at the sanctuary then may be the reason that the temple architects placed such great emphasis on the view to the east. The eastern view was highlighted not simply because it was the temple canon, but rather because it was critical to create a connection with the Arkadian sanctuary of Mt. Lykaion in order to celebrate the Arkadian identity that was so strongly shaped during the Messenian Wars.

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Figure 1: Google Earth Image of location of Phigaleia over the Neda Gorge and Bassai on Mt. Kotilon

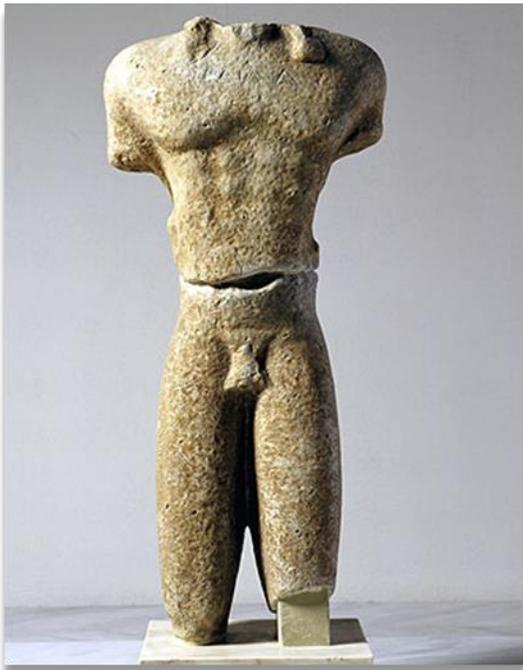


Figure 2: Archaic kouros from agora at Phigaleia (Museum of the History of the Olympic Games of antiquity)



Figure 3: Map showing Phigaleia's proximity to the borders of Messenia and Elis (Roy & Nielsen 1999: Map 4)

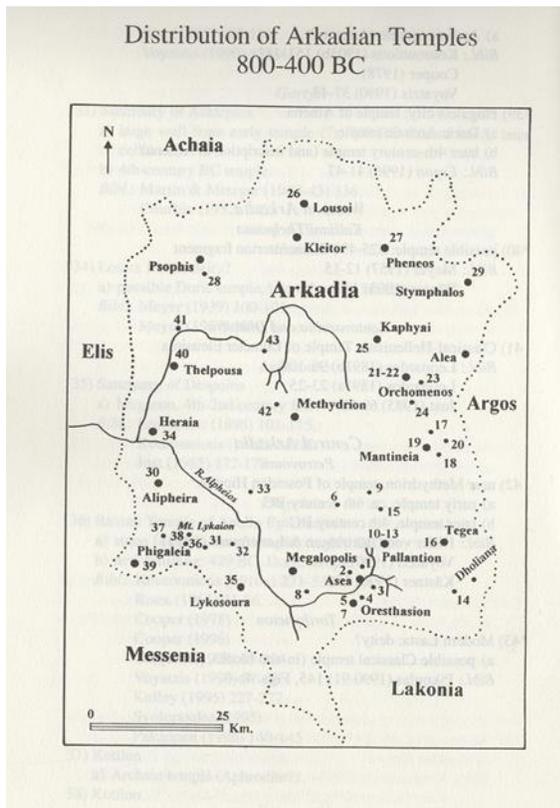


Figure 4: Distribution of temples in Arkadia (Voyatzis 1999: 160)

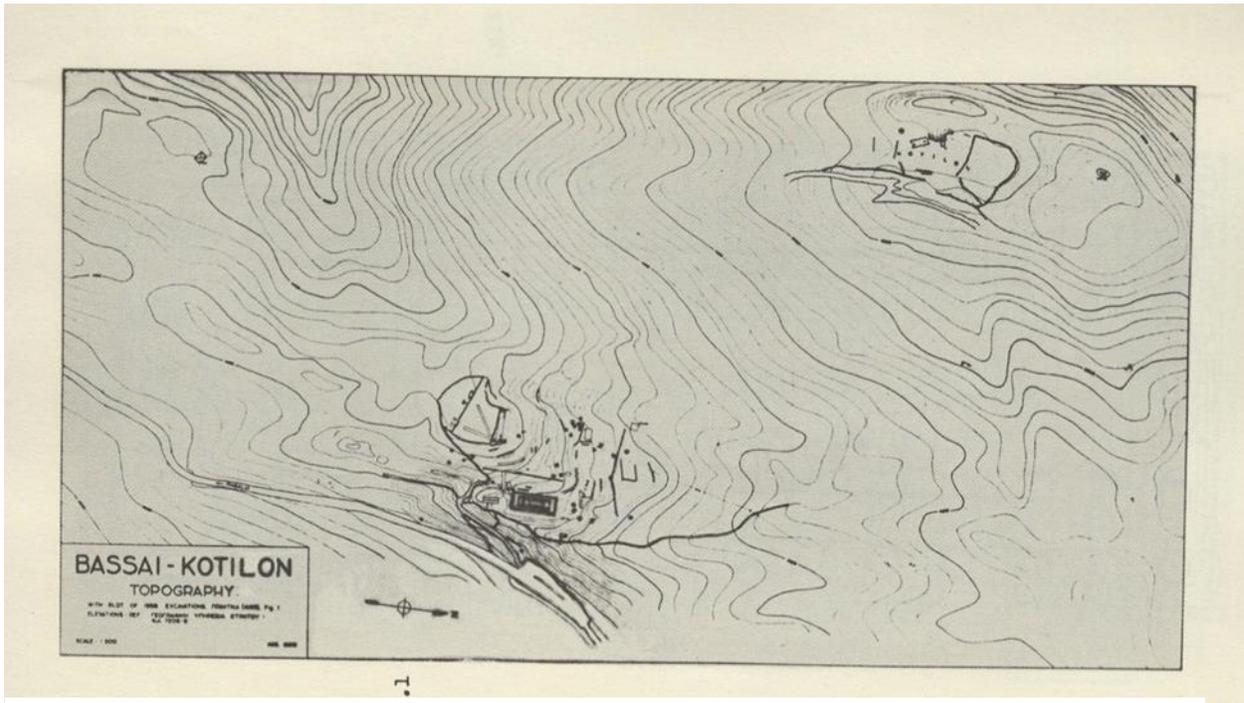


Figure 5: Topography map of the location of the Sanctuary at Bassai and the temples of Artemis and Aphrodite on Mt. Kotilon (Cooper 1978: Fig.1)

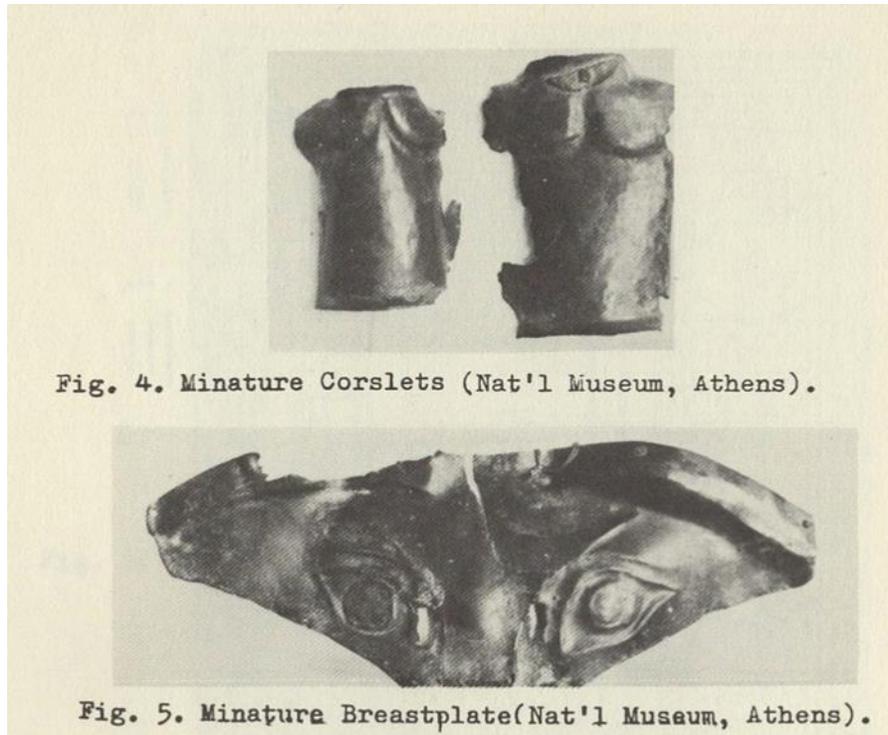


Figure 6: Miniature armor dedications from Bassai (Cooper 1978: Fig. 4 & 5)

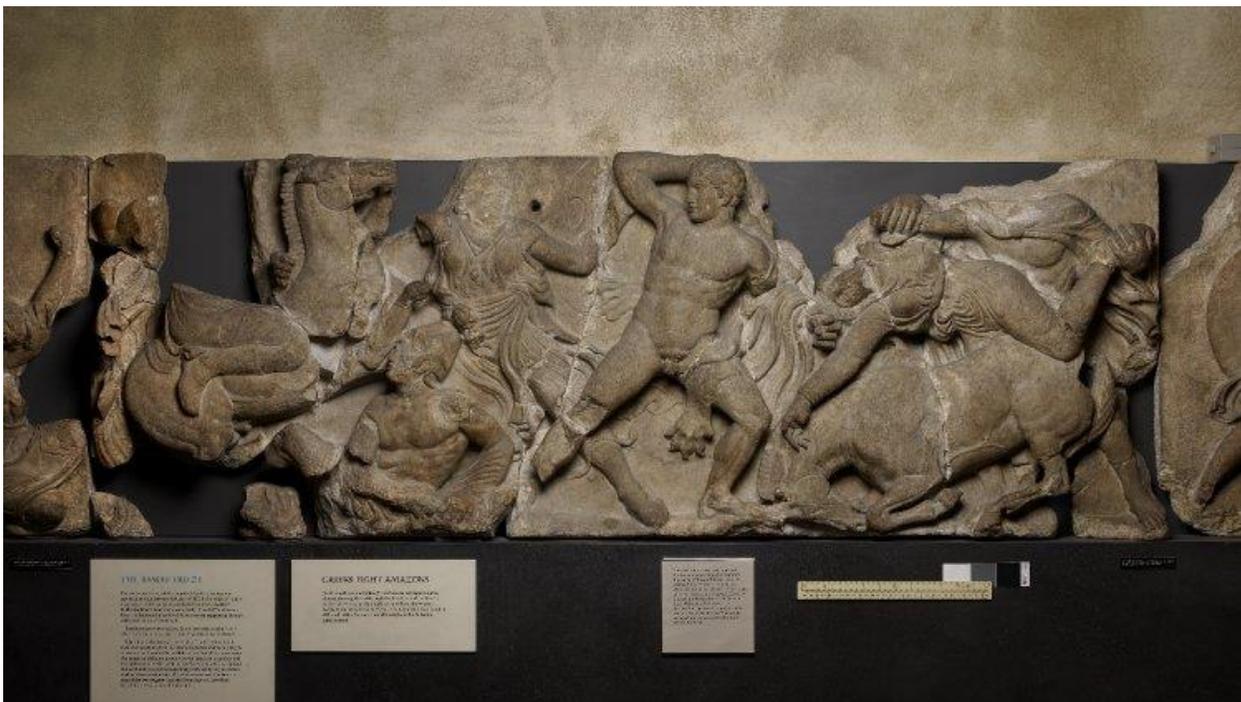


Figure 7: Portion of the Ionic frieze from the temple of Apollo at Bassai showing the Amazonomachy (www.britishmuseum.org)

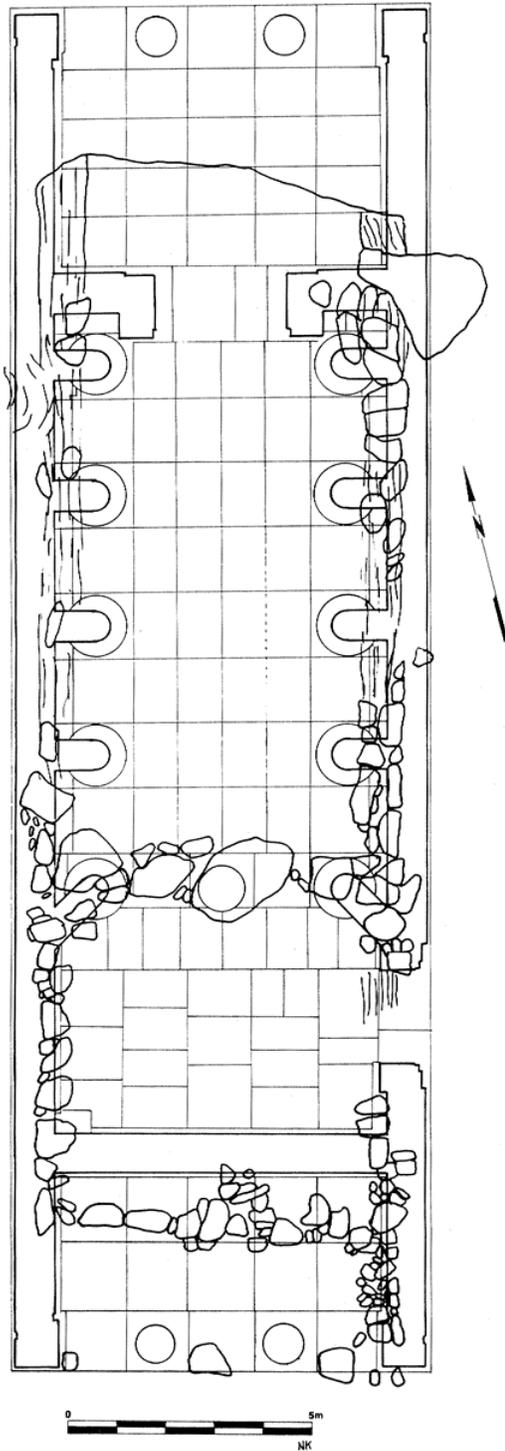


Figure 8: Plan of Classical temple at Bassai after F. Cooper 1968, p. 104, oill. 1, superimposed on the actual ground plan of the Archaic temple (Kelly 1995: 239)

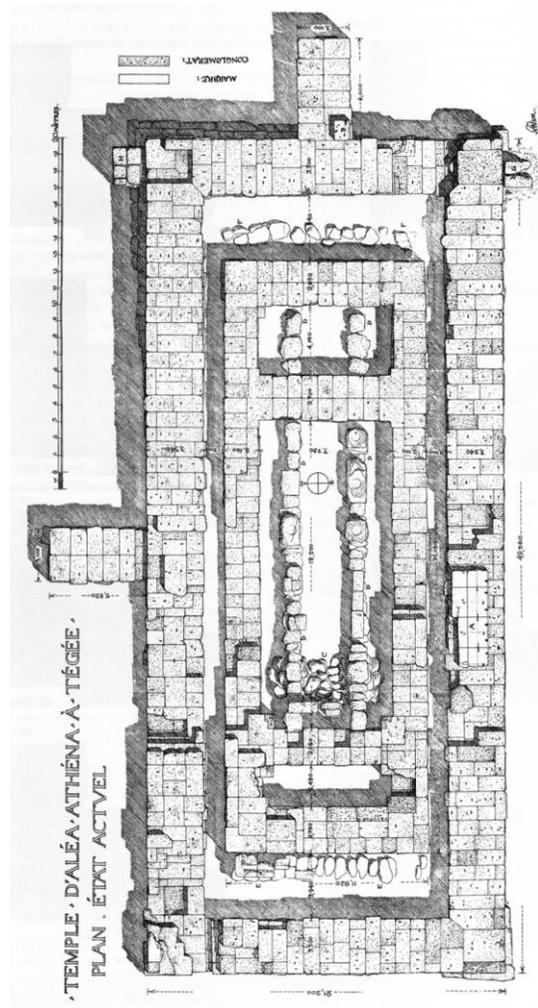


Figure 9: State plan of the foundations of the Tegea temple, as presented in the French publication. Scale 1:250 (Ostby 2014b: 319)

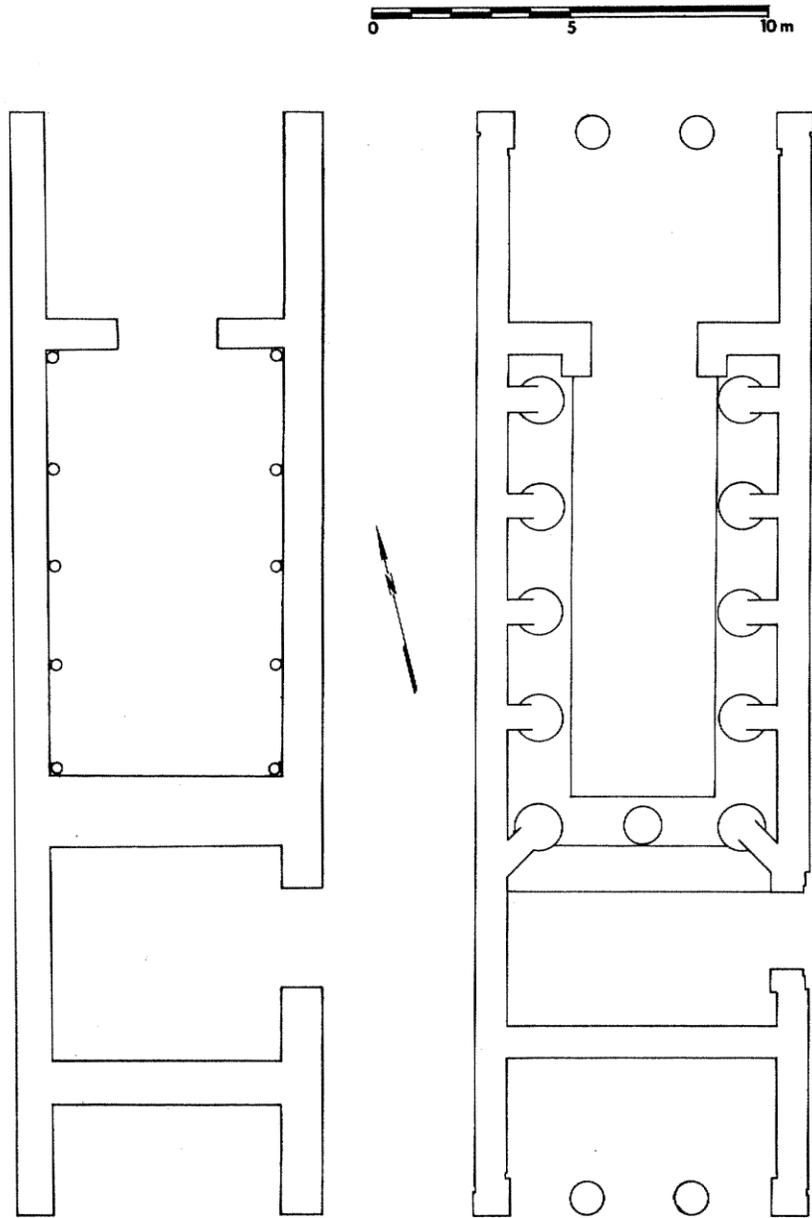


Figure 10: Left: Reconstruction of the Archaic temple. Right: Interior of the Classical temple (Kelly 1995: 228)



Figure 11: View from across the central axis of the Classical temple at Tegea, from south towards the Lyrkeion mountain in the north. (Ostby 2014a: 18)

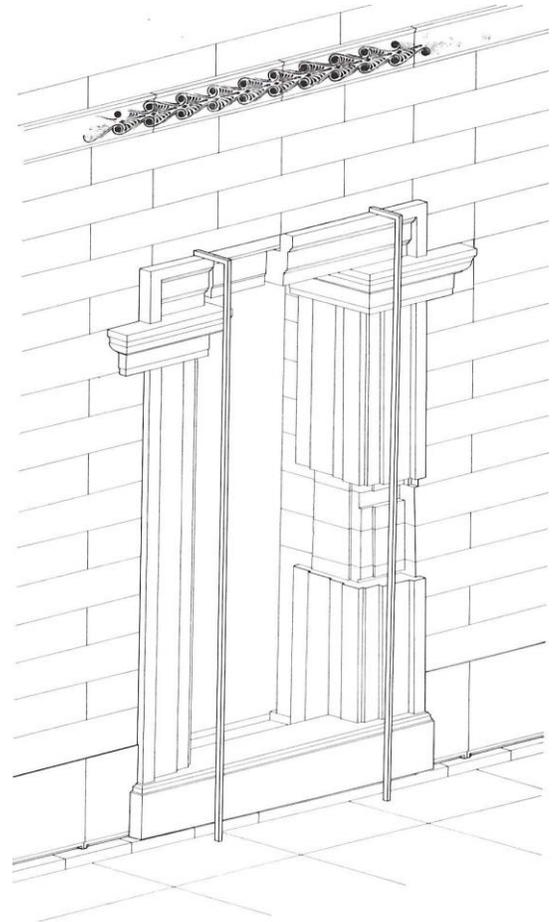


Figure 12: Reconstruction of east door at Bassai with rods for grille (Cooper 1996: 222)



Figure 13: Monumental doorway of the temple of Apollo at Didyma showing high sill (Parke 1986: Plate VII)



Figure 14: View from interior of adyton of temple of Apollo at Bassai looking out through east door with ash altar of Mt. Lykaion in view (Cooper 1996: Plate 26, my arrow)

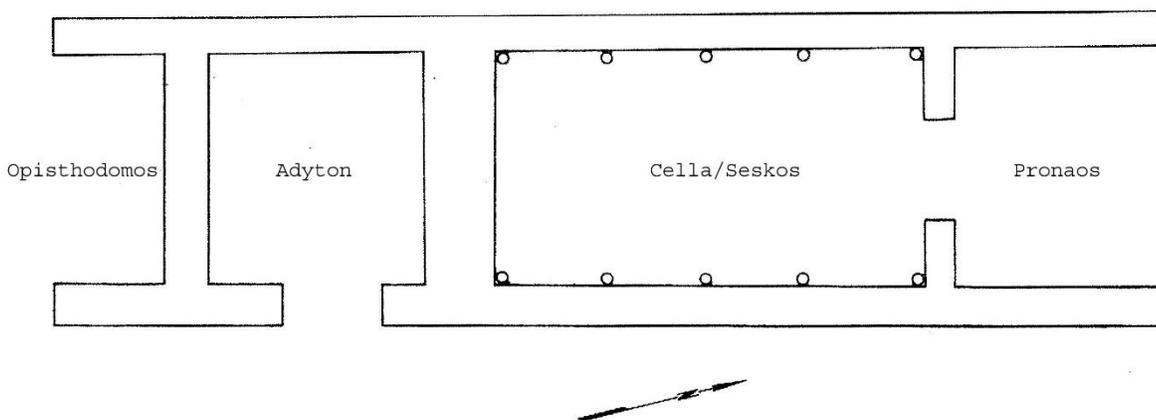


Figure 15: Plan of the Archaic temple of Apollo at Bassai (Kelly 1995: 228, my text)

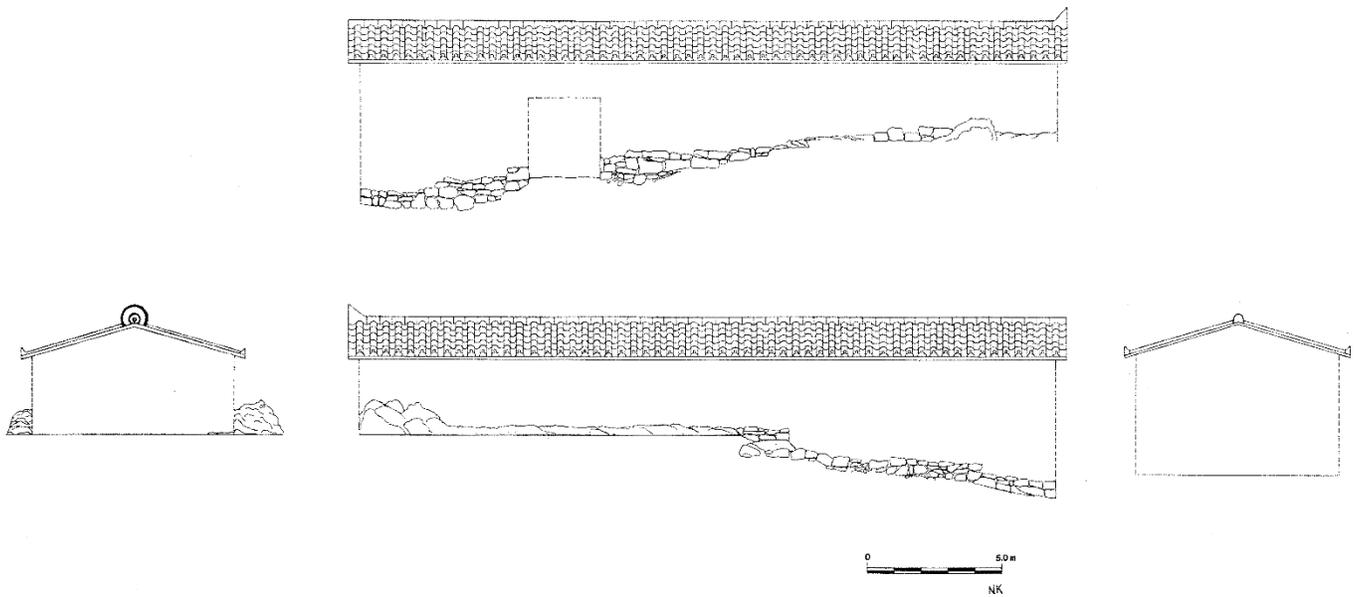
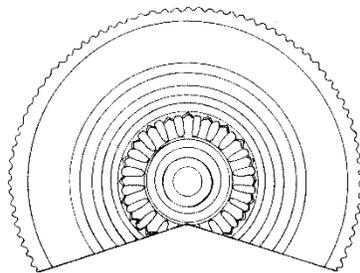
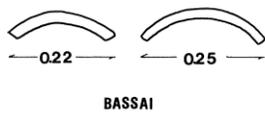
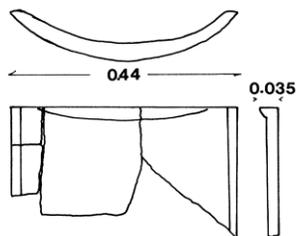
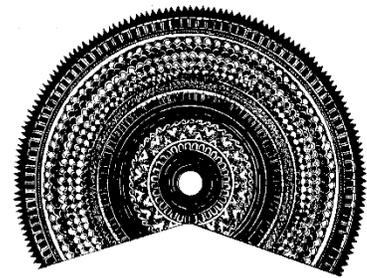


Figure 16: Reconstruction of exterior of Archaic temple of Apollo at Bassai (Kelly 1995: 236)



Disk A



Disk B

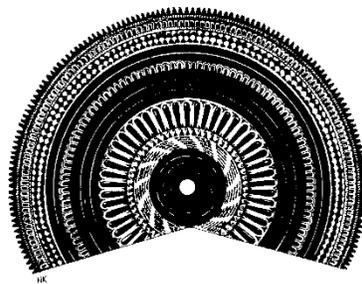


Figure 18: Disk acroteria from Archaic temple at Bassai (Kelly 1995: 257)

Figure 17: Laconian tiles from Archaic temple at Bassai (Cooper 1990: 86)

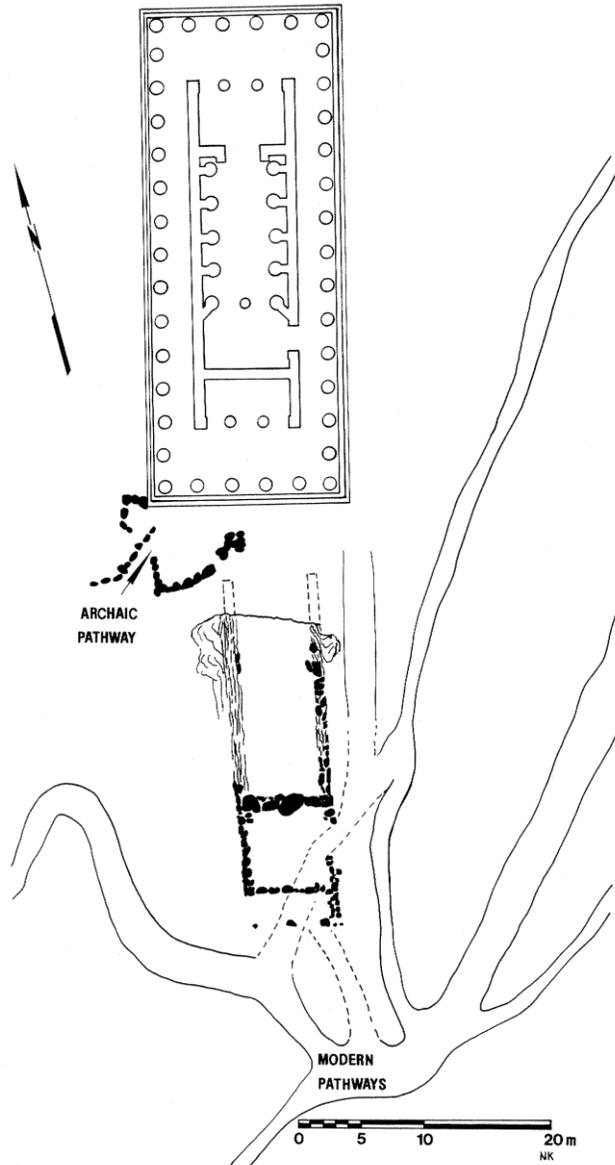


Figure 19: Modern and ancient pathways at Bassai, showing modern pathway leading straight through the east door of the Archaic adyton (Kelly 1995: 233)

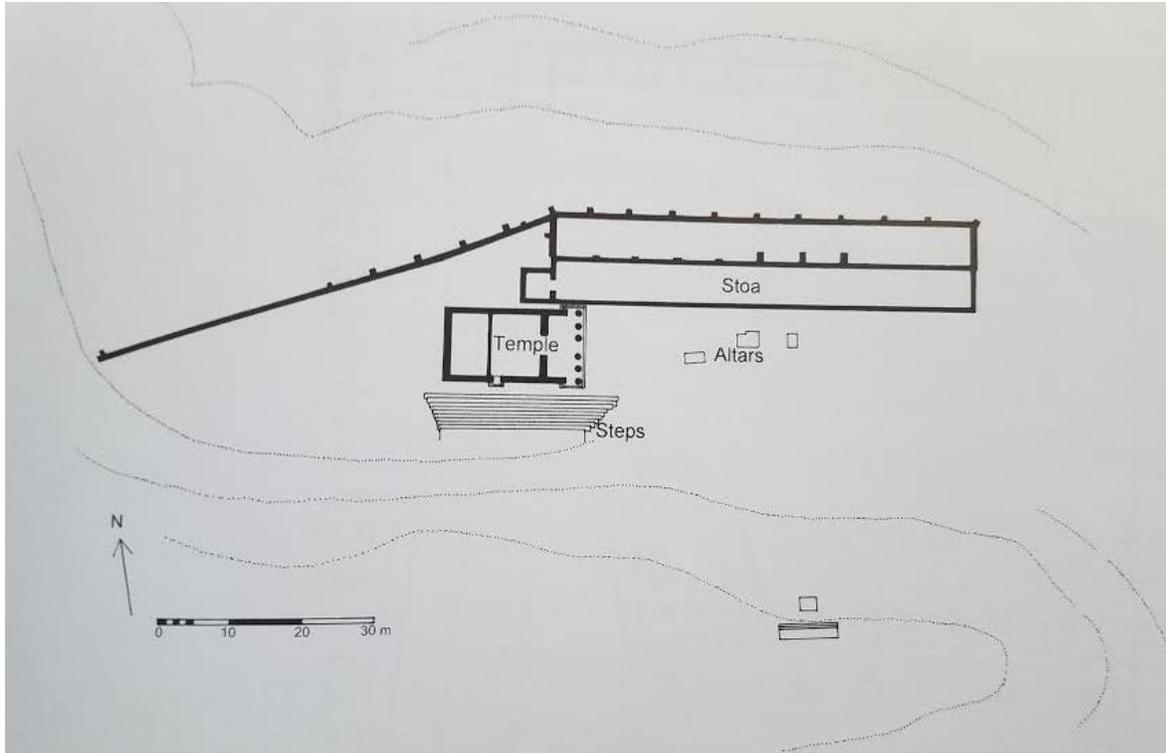


Figure 20: Plan of sanctuary at Lykosoura (Hollinshead 2015: Plate 28a)

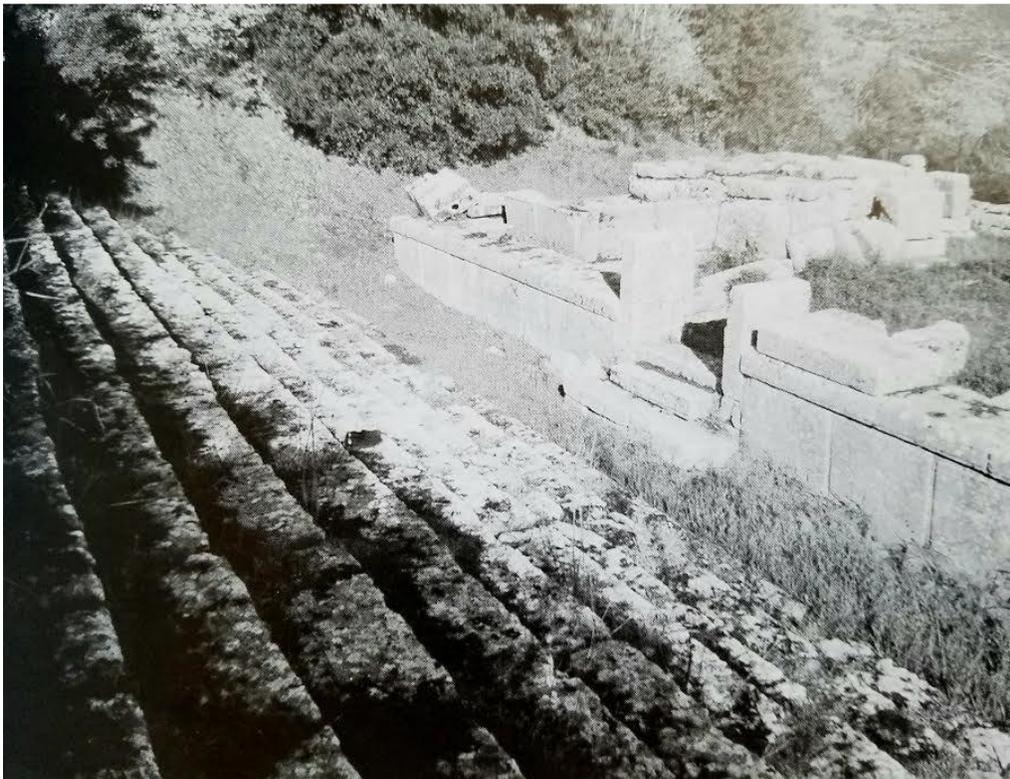


Figure 21: Steps and south side of the temple at Lykosoura (Hollinshead 2015: Plate 28b)

Dates BCE	Cult Activity at Bassai	Events of Messenian Wars	Evidence
735-15		First Messenian War	
Late 8 th /Early 7 th C.	Earliest Dedications		LG Lakonian horse and bird
ca.685-668		Second Messenian War	
659		Sparta captures Phigalia	
ca. 650	Rise in cult activity		Corinthian and Lakonian pottery
620-600	Archaic temple constructed (Cooper's Apollo I, Kelly's first temple)		Antefixes, acroteria, and roof tile fragments
ca. 600		"Methone-Pylos" War	
ca. 575	Cooper's Apollo II, Kelly's Archaic temple repairs		New set of architectural terracottas
ca. 500/490		"Aristomenes" War	
ca. 500	Cooper's Apollo III, Yalouris' Archaic pre-Iktinian temple		Recut limestone blocks from stereobate of Iktinian temple
ca. 464-460		Third Messenian War	
429	Construction of Iktinian temple begins, Cooper's Apollo IV, Kelly's Classical temple		Remains still visible today
421	Work on temple stops	Sparta captures Phigalia	
420-418		Spartan invasions	
418-415		Sparta governs Phigallean territory	
ca. 414	Work on temple recommences		
ca. 400	Temple completed		
370/69		Formation of Arkadian League and foundation of Megalopolis	

Table 1: Chronology of cult activity at the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai and events of the Messenian Wars (Cooper 1978: 93, Voyatzis 1990: 40, Voyatzis 1999: 137-8)