

MYTH, LANDSCAPE AND BOUNDARIES: THE IMPACT OF THE NOTION
OF SACREDNESS OF NATURE ON GREEK URBANISM AND
ARCHITECTURE

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EKİN PİNAR

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science/Arts / Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Suna Güven
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. Suna Güven
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Asst. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel (METU, AH) _____

Prof. Dr. Suna Güven (METU, AH) _____

Asst. Prof. Dr. Ömür Harmanşah (BROWN, AE) _____

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Ekin Pinar

ABSTRACT

MYTH, LANDSCAPE AND BOUNDARIES: THE IMPACT OF THE NOTION OF SACREDNESS OF NATURE ON GREEK URBANISM AND ARCHITECTURE

Pinar, Ekin

M.A., Department of History of Architecture

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

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This thesis focuses on the impact of the notion of holiness of nature in ancient Greek thought and its reflection on urbanism and architecture with respect to the transformations that took place during the archaic period. The archaic period represented most fundamentally a shift from an era where everything was on the move to an era of territorialism which culminated in the establishment of the *polis* and the Greek temple. This shift was prominent in the sense that it pointed not only to a basic modification in the lifestyle of Greeks; but also to the formation of Greek identity as opposed to that of foreigners. In this respect, the thesis first concentrates on the foundation of the *polis*, followed by the emergence of the temple and lastly the orders of the columns. Doing so, it is aimed to analyze the transformation concerning the understanding of nature which was engendered by the Greek territorialist expansion and its effect on Greek urbanism and architecture.

Keywords: Nature, Myth, Ritual, Identity, Boundaries

ÖZ

MİT, PEYZAJ VE SINIRLAR: DOĞANIN KUTSALLIĞI ANLAYIŞININ YUNAN ŞEHİRCİLİĞİ VE MİMARİSİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ

Pinar, Ekin

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

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Bu tez, doğanın kutsallığı anlayışının antik Yunan düşüncesi üzerindeki etkisi ve bunun şehircilik ve mimarlık üzerindeki yansımalarını, arkaik dönemde yaşanan değişimleri göz önünde bulundurarak ele almaktadır. Arkaik dönem, en temelde, her şeyin hareket halinde olduğu bir dönemden kent-devletin kuruluşu ve Yunan tapınağının ortaya çıkışıyla sonuçlanan bir yurtlaştırma sürecine geçişi temsil etmektedir. Bu geçiş, sadece antik Yunan yaşam biçiminde temel bir değişime değil, aynı zamanda antik Yunan kimliğinin oluşmasına işaret ettiği için de kayda değerdir. Bu bağlamda, tez sırasıyla antik Yunan kent-devletin kuruluşu, tapınağın ortaya çıkışı ve sütun biçemlerine odaklanmaktadır. Böylelikle, antik Yunan yurtlaştırma sürecinin başlattığı doğa anlayışındaki değişim ve bunun şehircilik ve mimari üzerindeki etkisi incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Doğa, Mit, Ritüel, Kimlik, Sınırlar

To My Dear Mom

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If we transport ourselves back to the ages in which the religious life flourished most vigorously we discover a fundamental conviction which we no longer share and on account of which we see the door to the religious life once and for all closed to us: it concerns nature and our traffic with nature. In those ages one as yet knows nothing of natural laws; neither earth nor sky are constrained by any compulsion; a season, sunshine, rain can come or they can fail to come. Any conception of *natural* causality is altogether lacking. When one rows it is not the rowing which moves the ship: rowing is only a magical ceremony by means of which one compels a demon to move the ship (...) How can one exercise an influence over these terrible unknown powers, how can one fetter the domain of freedom? (...) are there then no means of regulating these powers through a tradition and law in just the way you are regulated by them? (...) It is (...) possible to exercise a constraint on the powers of nature through prayers and pleadings, through submission, through engaging regularly to give presents and offerings, through flattering glorifications, inasmuch as by doing so one obtains their affection: love binds and its bound. (...) (But) even at the very low stages of culture man does not stand towards nature as its impotent slave, he is *not* necessarily its will-less servant: at the stage of religion attained by the Greeks, especially in relation to the gods of Olympus, it is even as though two castes live side by side, a nobler and mightier and one less noble; but both somehow belong together in their origins and are of *one* species, they have no need to be ashamed of one another. That is the element of nobility in Greek religiosity.

Friedrich Nietzsche
Human, All-too-Human

Classical architecture and the classical orders have been revitalized by the Western civilization over and over through millennia, becoming detached from their original content and meaning. This tendency emanates from the prevailing perspective into classical architecture whereby the sculptural image and mathematical refinement of the Greek temple are associated with the merits of the Hellenic civilization. Accordingly, the columns and temple fronts of classical architecture have been continuously re-erected in completely secular contexts to celebrate a far removed era of “rationality” and “humanity”. However, the sublime atmosphere of purist aesthetics looming over the ancient Greek city and architecture appears to be a rather pseudo one. This is especially true when the origins of the *polis* and the Greek temple are considered. While applying the mere image of classical architecture to his buildings, “modern” man tends to deny the fact that “in antiquity the idea that everything means itself and something else as well, was general and ingrained: it was taken for granted” (Rykwert 1988, 27). The ancient Greek city and architecture comprised strata of multiple undertones which pertain to the various transformational processes the archaic period witnessed. However, these undertones were fundamentally different from the ones that have been ascribed to Greek architecture by the following generations. Although such implicit meanings, which once constituted the very essence of Greek architecture, seem to be elusive to us at first glance, they were, nevertheless, revealed again and again in the Greek myths and rituals.

In search of such a lost meaning, Hersey analyzes the names of the architectural elements of the Greek temple, mainly based on Vitruvius’ treatise¹. He claims that the ancient Greeks at a certain point regarded their temples as assemblages of the materials used in sacrifice since recollection and recording of the sacrifices were always of substantial importance to them. Therefore, according to Hersey, the Greek temple as a whole - which is composed of tropes of sacrificial materials - was itself a sacrifice to the deities (Hersey 1989, 2). As argued by Waterhouse, these ‘savage meanings’ and ‘murderous symbols’ which were once so basic to Greek architecture have been effaced through the course of time. Ironically,

¹ George Hersey refers to Vitruvius for the etymology of the names of the architectural elements to prove their sacrificial origins. For preventing a misinterpretation, however, he clearly indicates that his argument constitutes a Hellenistic explanation for the origins of those elements; although he does not overlook the fact that the interpretation may have existed earlier.

what really appealed to the Western civilization while “imitating” the forms of classical architecture later was the so called “rationality” of the Hellenistic civilization. However, there is no doubt that “the *idea* of the Greek temple was fully developed long before Socrates and Plato came along. This idea was too fluid and restless to be termed classical, and does not sit well with our present understanding of reason” (Waterhouse 1994, 97).

The abstruse themes which dominated this ‘restless’ concept of the Greek *polis* and the temple need to be illuminated before drawing any conclusions concerning ancient Greek architecture. Such an elucidation process certainly requires an inspection of the Archaic Age, as the Greek *polis* and temple were introduced during this very period – an era when profound transformations in Greek culture and socio-economic life took place. Indeed,

...the archaic period was a revolutionary age that witnessed the emergence of the city-state, the reintroduction of writing and the slow spread of literacy, the codification of the Homeric poems and the trend toward Panhellenism, the rise to prominence of the Delphic oracle, the surge of the Greek colonial movement, the establishment of the Panhellenic games, the age of the tyrants, and the beginnings of democracy. (Dougherty and Kurke 1993, 1)

The archaic period represented most fundamentally a shift from the so-called Dark Ages and the subsequent colonial expeditions where everything was “on the move” to an era of territorialism that culminated in the establishment of the *polis* and the Greek temple. This shift was prominent in the sense that it pointed not only to a basic modification in the lifestyle of Greeks but also to the formation of Greek identity as opposed to that of the foreigners which relied upon a territorialist outlook into the outside world. In this respect, as asserted by Dougherty, everything that defined the Greeks of the classical period as peculiarly Greek had its roots in the archaic period (Dougherty and Kurke 1993, 3). Accordingly, this significant stage, when the itinerant activities of Greeks throughout the Mediterranean basin became *fixed*² by the establishment of the *polis*, fostered the formation of both their identity

² This term is specifically used to imply that the itinerant activities have not terminated yet they were integrated into the domain of the city-state. For further discussion see Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix. A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, Minneapolis:

and their idiosyncratic way of discerning the outside world and its inhabitants. Hence, the transformation of the Greek mind, concerning the idea of space in particular, originated from their colonial expeditions especially between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. and the emergence and the subsequent evolution of the *polis* and the Greek temple. The archaic period, in this respect, was an experimental era when the holistic perception of the outside world was transformed into a remarkably managerial approach to nature. Such a transformation concerning the cognizance of nature was basically engendered by the Greek territorialist expansion and the foundation of new cities and thus it pertains profoundly to the very essence of the Greek *polis* and temple.

Therefore, it becomes inevitable to analyze the meaning that sacred natural landscape conveyed to the ancient Greek mind, in order to make the lost meaning of classical architecture more tangible. In this respect, the chapters of the thesis are structured around the main theme of the holiness of nature in Greek thought and its impact on their conception of the ‘man-made’ world. They concentrate first on the foundation of the *polis*, then followed by the emergence of the temple and lastly the orders of the columns. Doing so, it is aimed to deal with not only the undertones of Greek architecture but also the larger picture of the very formation of the Greek identity during the archaic period due to the territorialization of a wide geography. In this respect, the thesis is not based upon a specific case study, although at particular points names of certain cities and temples are mentioned.

The first chapter entitled ‘From nature to artifact: Myth and Ritual in a Sacred *Topos*’ evolves around the notion of sacredness of the natural landscape in Greek thought, the transformation of this notion with the beginning of the archaic period and the way it affected the newly established Greek *polis*. Greeks perceived nature as a sacred yet heterogeneous entity which embraced and at the same time surpassed all. In this respect, it is natural to expect the impact of nature on all levels of Greek daily life. Inasmuch as nature, to Greeks, was the scene of both myths and rituals, nature-

University of Minnesota press, 1987, pp. 211-212 and 432-433. As Deleuze and Guattari argue, the town is the correlate of the road and thus defined by entries and exits. In this respect, it exists only as a function of circulation and circuits. Hence, each town constitutes a central power but it is a power of polarization or of forced coordination. The emergence of the Greek city-state, therefore, corresponds to the appearance of a homogeneous and isotopic space. This emergence also points to the fact that the distinct focal points of each *poleis* began to resonate in a center – that is the *hearth* of the city, acting as their common denominator.

sensibility was a prevailing concern in the act of building, as well. Accordingly, any survey of ancient Greek architecture as a whole necessitates a thorough understanding of the immanent position of nature in all sorts of Greek activities. As a matter of fact, the impact of this very idea on Greek artistic creativity and building is apparent in the effort to legitimize the “rude” act of construction by articulating and dissolving the boundaries between the ‘natural’ and the ‘man-made’.³ In this regard, by focusing on the notion of compromise between nature and man and the role of this in the formulation of Greek space, the first chapter basically treats the colonizing expeditions and the subsequent establishment of the *polis*.

In the second chapter entitled ‘Establishment of the sacred precinct: The temple’ the focus is on the emergence of the Greek sanctuary and the temple. Such analysis comprises not only the implicit meanings which pertain to the rituals in the core of the establishment and the ensuing development of the *polis* and the sanctuary, but also the corporeality of the sanctuary within the context of nature. Hence, the chapter first tries to illuminate how the previous itinerant activities within a mythical topocosm pertain to the reciprocal affinity of the Greek *polis* and the sanctuary. Inasmuch as the rituals partook in the shift from an “uncertain” state of mobility to a more “stabilized” establishment, the sanctuary became a vital constituent of “making the *polis*” process. Thereby, the sanctuary both engendered and dissolved the boundaries between the nature and the city. In this respect, the location and the organization of the sanctuary and its elements within the natural landscape are discussed in order to make such a process more tangible. Following this, the chapter delves into the position and the eminence of the temple in the sacred precinct as the “house of the god” through a survey of some of the rituals performed in a Greek sanctuary. Accordingly, the role of collective memory in the emergence and development of Greek architecture is taken into account and paralleled with changes in social life. Doing so, it is aimed to address the rather obscure and multiple meanings which dominated the establishment of the sacred precinct and the architecture of the Greek temple.

The third chapter entitled ‘Embodiment of undertones: Orders of Greek architecture’ concentrates on the Doric and Ionic orders in general. Dwelling upon

³ For further discussion see Waterhouse, Alan. Boundaries of the City: The Architecture of Western Urbanism, University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp. 100-104.

the very fact that the standardized Greek temple was widespread throughout the Greek world, the chapter tries to illuminate both the motives of such standardization and its inevitable effects on collective memory and perception of Greek society. As such the standardized Greek temple contributed to the generation of both Greek identity and culture. In this respect, certain undertones of the classical orders with regards to the role of visual codification in the structuring of a culture are the main issue of the third chapter. Accordingly, development of the two orders, their correlation with both trees and human bodies are emphasized throughout the chapter.

As already mentioned, the discussion throughout the thesis evolves around the main theme of the holiness of nature in Greek thought and the impact of it on Greek architecture. It is, however, crucial to bear in mind that Greek architecture did not seek to embody a single and unique meaning. Accordingly, as indicated by Scully, we must enlarge, not diminish, our conception of the meanings which Greek architecture was able to express⁴ (Scully 1969, 6). As a matter of fact, the network of the multiple meanings that the Greek polis and architecture incarnated did not constitute a hierarchical order; yet they related to each other rather in the form of a “rhizome”⁵. In this respect, the thesis aims to show that the theme of nature constitutes only one of the strata of multiple meanings associated with the Greek *polis* and temple, the illumination of which is crucial to assist in contemplating the larger picture.

⁴ For further discussion see Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, pp. 5-8.

⁵ For further discussion see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, pp. 3-27. Deleuze and Guattari use the term rhizome to describe acentered, non-hierarchical, non-signifying networks of all kinds, as opposed to a tree- structure which plots a point and fixes an order. The significant characteristic of a rhizomatic network is that any point of it can be connected to any other. Accordingly, the rhizome is definitely not a structural or a generative model.

CHAPTER II

FROM NATURE TO ARTIFACT: MYTH AND RITUAL IN A SACRED

TOPOS

well-founded Earth,
mother of all,
eldest of all beings.

Homeric hymn XXX, "To Earth the Mother of All"

...long before there were temples, the Greeks
worshiped their gods in sacred groves or fields. Trees, rocks,
mountains and other natural objects contained divinities
and were the objects or vessels of religious sacrifice...

George Hersey
*The Lost Meaning in Classical Architecture:
Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to
Venturi*

Both as an embodiment of the chthonic deities and as an entity embracing daily routine and ritual activity, the natural landscape played a significant role in the formation of the Greek conception of the ‘man-made’ world. Therefore, a cogent analysis of the ancient Greek cognition of landscape is essential in order to elucidate the strata of ambiguous meanings of classical architecture. However, such an analysis has inherent difficulties. As argued by Richard Buxton, first of all, the Greek landscape is not homogeneous and therefore we cannot expect, for instance, Rhodians to perceive the landscape in the exact same way that Thessalians did. More fundamentally, the perception of landscape by an individual does not merely dwell upon that individual’s own contemplation of what simply exists there, but in a more profound sense, it depends upon the cultural factors which shape both the interactions of human beings with their environment and the way they create an image of this environment in their minds (Buxton 1994, 80-81). Hence, rather than scrutinizing certain patterns of landscape forms one by one in order to draw conclusions based upon impressionistic criteria, this chapter aims to illuminate the reciprocal relationship between certain shared features of the perception and experience of nature by Greeks and the formation of Greek identity and culture. Accordingly, the intention is to highlight the interactions of Greeks with nature in particular, which was shaped most basically by the way they existed –*dwelled on earth*, which, in turn, shaped the way they built upon it.

Greek space was characterized first and foremost by its heterogeneity. Thus the different environmental “pockets” created were dependent on a multiplicity of modes of organization which, according to Norberg-Schulz, “interact in different ways according to the particular situation, producing totalities which have a pronounced individual value within a general system of related existential meanings”.⁶ The fundamental meaning which underlay this heterogeneity, or in other words “Greek spatial pluralism” corresponded to the notion of the reconciliation of nature and man (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 43-80). In Greek thought the landscape had a narrative of its own which was connected to chthonian powers. Thus, all construction

⁶ Norberg-Schulz establishes this framework within which he analyzes Greek architecture, specifically for pre-Hellenistic architecture. According to him, it was during the Hellenistic period that a tendency toward an abstract axial order became dominant which superseded the Classical Greek reconciliation of nature and man.

activity had as much to do with “reason” as with the instinct “to rejoin the human drama to its sacred crucible nature” (Waterhouse 1994, 100). The impact of this Greek instinct on artistic creativity and building activities is further formulated by Vincent Scully as follows:

...all Greek art, with its usual sculptural concentration upon active life and geometry, may be properly understood and adequately valued only when the Greek’s counter-experience of his earth is kept in mind. (...) The landscape should therefore be regarded as the complement for all Greek life and art and the special component of the art of Greek temples, where the shape of human conception could be made at the landscape’s scale. (Scully 1969, 2)

Hence, the natural landscape should be taken as a perpetual context for Greeks, consistently conveying messages about the meaning of life and death, the powers attributed to their deities and the relation of the human beings with these powers (Figures 1, 2). Inasmuch as nature was capable of imparting those certain themes to the Greek mind, an accurate apprehension of the messages conveyed becomes essential for a fair analysis of Greek architecture. In this respect, the particular place in the nature, upon which the sanctuary was eventually built, embodied the character of a god or a group of gods regardless of the subsequent development of the Greek temple (Figures 2, 3). Even before the sanctuary was built upon it, this specific place was itself sacred and entirely encompassed the whole of the deity as a “recognized natural force” (Figure 4). The act of building a temple upon a known sacred spot in the natural landscape, therefore, made the already existing meaning of the location not only apparent but double (Scully 1969, 2) (Figure 5).

At this particular point, it becomes crucial to deal with the possible factors which prompted Greeks to distinguish certain spots in the natural landscape as holier than others, designate them as scenes of rituals, and eventually build sanctuaries upon them. According to Rhodes, what attracts man to a specific spot in nature is the particular arrangement of the natural markers, namely the mountains, the sky and the sea, at that particular location (Rhodes 1995, 17-18). As a matter of fact, the capability of the Greek natural landscape to instigate human beings to worship

manifests itself in its peculiar features. The landscape of Greece is a unique one⁷ in the sense that “the human being is neither engulfed nor adrift in Greece”.

...the landscape of Greece is defined by clearly formed mountains of moderate size, which bound definite areas of valley and plain. Though sometimes cut by deep gorges and concealing savage places in their depths, the mountains themselves are not horrendous in actual size. Nor are the plains, south of Tessaly, ever so wide that the mountain barriers failed to define them decisively. (...) In those harmonies of mass and hollow a sea full of islands almost always plays a role. The glittering shield of its surface contrasts with the tawny land but is itself contained within the plain through the continuation of the mountain boundary by the island chain. The forms of the earth are precise in Greece, but they vary in the Greek light. (Scully 1969, 9)

In certain spots, however, the triangulation of the mountains, the sea and the sky “inspire human beings to acknowledge permanence, to dread it, to wonder at it, to placate it, to embrace it, to worship it and to build temples to it” (Rhodes 1995, 17-18) (Figure 6). Scully claims that the ancient Greeks partly inherited and partly developed a peculiar perspective which deems certain specific combinations of landscape features as expressive of particular holiness. Such sensitivity emanates from the religious tradition of Greeks in which the land was not perceived as a picture – a mere background for the artworks, but as an actual force which substantiated and surpassed the ingrained powers that dominated the world. In this respect, the archaic and classical Greeks experienced landscape only as it was, at full scale (Scully 1969, 3).

According to Norberg-Schulz, these definite archetypal characters of the sacred spots⁸ incited the Greeks to personify their locations as gods. Dwelling upon this argument he states that places ‘where nature is dominant’ were dedicated to old chthonic deities such as Demeter and Hera, the places “where man’s intellect and discipline oppose the chthonic forces” were dedicated to Apollo, the places “where life is experienced as a harmonious whole” to Zeus and places “where men had come together to form a community, a *polis*” were associated with Athena. Norberg-Schulz’ rather impressionistic point of view is apparent in the way he describes the

⁷ For further discussion see Scully, 1969, p.9. Scully compares the land of Greece with the empty steppes of Asia, the engulfed valleys of the Alps and Italy, where the peninsula is split by the mountains in a central chain.

⁸ For further discussion see Scully, 1969.

holy spots in the natural landscape: “In some places the surroundings appear to offer protection, in others they menace. Some sites offer a dominant position for human settlement and others make us feel at the center of a well-defined cosmos. In some places there are natural elements of a very particular shape of function, such as horned rocks, caves or wells.” (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 46-47) However, Bradley indicates that there is enough evidence to claim that specific deities were associated with certain kinds of places as in Arcadia:

Particular divinities demand one sort of terrain rather than another. This is especially clearly marked in the case of plains liable to flooding (...) In these areas Artemis, the goddess associated with dampness, and Poseidon, the master of underground waters, are particularly often found (...) Other parts of the plains and valleys are home to the cult of Demeter, the goddess associated with the fertility of the soil and vegetation (...) In the mountains, the deities to whom pastoralists address themselves are Artemis, goddess of border areas and of hunting, Hermes, honoured on Mount Kyllene as the rustic god of shepherds, and Pan, the divine goatherd and hunter.⁹ (Jost 1994, 220)

The choice for the specific natural sites can be simply explained by denoting such spots as more inspirational to the human being than the others.¹⁰ However, the very fact that these particular spots in the sacred landscape constitute certain archetypes reveals that more complicated reasons determined this choice. Through an analysis of the sacred places described in Pausanias’ *Guide to Greece*, Bradley reveals that the significant consistent patterns that were ascribed a sacred character were the springs, mountains, caves and groves. Gorges, rocks, rivers, lakes and waterfalls were also among the mentioned sacred places in the natural landscape.¹¹ What is so noteworthy about all these sacred locations is that they provided the possibility for archaic man to come into contact with the other worlds, inasmuch as mountains and trees were believed to reach up to the heaven, whereas caves and springs connected to the underworld (Bradley 2000, 22-23). Thus, in Greek

⁹ Also quoted in Bradley, R. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*, New York: Routledge, 2000, p. 26.

¹⁰ For further discussion see Robin Francis Rhodes, ‘Introduction: A Sense of Place and The Seeds of Monumentality’ in *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 17-18.

¹¹ Although some of the places mentioned in Pausanias were associated with monuments built upon them, Bradley indicates that in each case the natural features of these specific places seemed to be their most important characteristic.

mythology the mountains, seas, caves and springs acted as spaces for “reversals” because it was on these spots that the normally separate, divine and human, were congregated (Buxton 1994, 80-113). Indeed, prominent landscape features were the ones incorporated into myths in order to make the sense of space alive (Sack 1986, 58). Hence, these locations provided space to Greeks for both myth and ritual; and in this respect, they were also addressed as points where imaginary and real life became welded into each other.¹²

Buxton defines a Greek myth as “a narrative about the deeds of gods and heroes and their interrelations with ordinary mortals, handled on as a tradition within the ancient Greek world, and of collective significance to a particular social group or groups”.¹³ This collective significance was due to the very fact that Greek mental life was considerably shaped by myths. As a matter of fact, myths did not only reflect but they also refracted the daily life by “transforming the world by a process of selective emphasis and clarification and exaggeration” (Buxton 1994, 15-88). Such reflections and refractions, in turn, affected Greek mentality and hence modified their daily life. In this respect, myths implied an auxiliary role in not only explaining but also transforming human activities inasmuch as they constituted a model for them.

On the other hand, rituals translate the unfamiliar, erratic and unreasonable matters into more tangible and less intimidating terms through ‘patterned incantation’. Accordingly, they mollify the unexplainable and ambiguous phenomena by indirectly encountering them through accustomed and conventional, and hence relatively coherent actions. Therefore, the spaces that rituals inhabited were points of transition between people, places and spiritual conditions.¹⁴ In fact, rituals which corresponded to a collective art of drama assisted the society to acquire fresh power

¹² For further discussion on the relation of Greek myths with the actual life within the spheres of landscape, family and religion, see Buxton, Richard. Imaginary Greece: The Contexts of Mythology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 69-155.

¹³ Buxton, however, clarifies three points in this definition. First, although Greek mythology was taken as a set of narratives, comprising both verbal and visual forms of expression; it also constituted a body of material whose effects spread far beyond this narrative context. Second, Greek mythical tradition was so dynamic that it would be unwise to limit the concept of ‘traditional’ stories to the ones that were told repeatedly. Third, a myth is taken as a social phenomenon, not an idiosyncratic, individual one. Nevertheless, the boundaries between the two are blurred because of the pluralistic nature of Greek mythology.

¹⁴ For further discussion see Rhodes, 1995, pp. 6-8.

and enthusiasm and constitute for a moment a single great body.¹⁵ As indicated by Michel Foucault, antiquity had been a civilization of spectacle (Foucault 1995, 216). However, rituals accomplished a meaning and reality only to the extent that they repeated the acts posited by gods, heroes or ancestors. Accordingly, they unfolded not only in a sacred place but also in a “sacred time” when the act was performed for the first time by a god, an ancestor or a hero (Eliade 1954, 3-27). In consequence of the need for such justification, rituals - collective forms of drama, were eventually reflected and paralleled in mythology - collective forms of narrative.¹⁶ Accordingly, the spots which housed rituals acquired a mythical-magical value; thereby becoming a point of transition between the mythical and actual on one hand and the spiritual and material on the other. In this respect, the Greek temple which was ultimately built upon such points of transition constituted a link between the Greeks and their gods. Hence, its emergence and subsequent development were determined by the transition that occurred at certain spots in the sacred landscape (Rhodes 1995, 6-8). Therefore, pertaining to the location’s mythical quality, the very position of the Greek temple in the sacred nature transcended the temple’s spatio-temporality.

Through a survey of the metaphysical aspects of the archaic world, Eliade asserts that to the archaic man neither the objects of the external world nor human acts had any autonomous value but they became real only because they participated in a reality that surpassed them. As in the case of rituals which acquire a value only when they repeated primordial acts of gods, heroes and ancestors – by imitating the mythical models - the objects and places became sacred only within the sacred aura which both embraced and transcended them. Accordingly, the reason for one specific stone to become sacred to archaic man among countless other stones is that “the object appears as the receptacle of an exterior force that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value”. Eliade defines such objects and spaces as hierophanies, or in other words, locations through which the sacred world shows itself.¹⁷ These certain spots in the sacred landscape are the nodal points where different cosmic levels, namely, the earth, the sky and the underworld, are connected through the *axis mundi* (Eliade 1954, 3-17). However, it is important to bear in mind

¹⁵ For further discussion see Foucault, Michel. ‘Panopticism’ in Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison, New York: Vintage Books, 1995, pp. 195-228.

¹⁶ For further discussion see Burkert, 1979, pp. 14-18.

¹⁷ Also see Bradley, 2000, p. 29.

that early man did not appraise these sacred spots in the landscape as detached places from the whole world. As indicated by Levy-Bruhl:

To these natives, a sacred spot never presents itself to the mind in isolation. It is always part of a complexus of things which includes the plant or animal species which flourishes there at various seasons, as well as the mythical heroes who lived, roamed and created something there and who are often embodied in the very soil, the ceremonies that take place there from time to time, and all the emotions aroused by the whole.¹⁸ (Levy-Bruhl 1938, 183)

As indicated by Eliade, the first realization of the religious significance of the earth was ‘indistinct’ in such a way that it did not *localize*¹⁹ sacredness in the earth but it envisaged this sacredness as merging together as a whole in all the hierophanies in nature (Eliade 1983, 242). Hence, the world vision of the early man was “unitary” and “holistic”. Yet this did not mean that he was unconscious of the earth being heterogeneous (Fitter 1995, 25-27). In this respect, early man perceived the earth as a ‘nomadic topocosm’²⁰, in which certain hierophanies acted as sacred transition points between different levels of spirituality. However, these hierophanies neither limited nor localized the holiness spread in nature. On the contrary, their very existence could only be understood within the context of the sacred landscape as a whole, since to the early man, the nomadic topocosm was a sacred yet heterogeneous entity which embraced and at the same time surpassed all.

The world vision of the early man is not reducible to purely spatial terms. As indicated by Sack, in early societies places were defined by the occurrences of activities rather than by a set of locations in an abstract space. In this respect, to the early man, the sense of place is most basically associated with events. Inasmuch as these events re-occur - such as the movement of the sun, moon, and stars, the return of the migrating animals or the ripening of plants every season; they became an organic part of man’s encounter with place (Sack 1986, 63-64).

¹⁸ Quoted and translated to English by Eliade in Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, New American Library Trade, 1983, p. 367. Also quoted in Chris Fitter, Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 25.

¹⁹ The italics are mine.

²⁰ For further discussion on the term ‘nomadic topocosm’ see Fitter, Chris. Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 25-27.

As in the case of the perception of space being susceptible to the events thereof, the movement in such space was bound to the experiences, as well. The contingent nature of such experiences was due to the lack of technology to ease the challenging travel through a rather intimidating nature, whereby movement from one place to another became an adventure. Indeed,

...in primitive societies, distances too are experienced as sequences of encounters with events as one moves from place to place rather than as lengths of separation between points. Even when a metrical distance is available, either in units of length, say feet or miles, or in units of time, say hours or days, primitive society would find difficulty in assigning a unit to a particular distance. Such a unit has little meaning in the experiences of overcoming separation. A distance of 50 miles may contain an enormous bundle of varied and unpredicted experiences, some pleasant, some not. These moreover may change each time the journey is made. A 50-mile trip in another direction will certainly contain different bundles of experiences. Or a journey of five days may apply to a particular journey in one season, but not in another. Abstract measurement of distance, then would not coincide sufficiently with the variety of time, energy, or experience of travel to be of overwhelming value (Sack 1986, 64).

As already argued, myths were highly associated with places.²¹ According to Sack, the mythical-magical perception of nature was an augmented form of the ordinary link between the space and the event. Such connection between the two took into account both the intensity of the association between space and time and the unique experiences at hand. Accordingly, the intensity of the interconnections was likely to merge space and time thereby making them a part of the mythical-magical experience (Sack 1986, 65). In fact, before the archaic period, during the so-called Dark Ages, Greeks were experiencing such a mythical and nomadic topocosm defined by activities of travel, commerce and piracy in the Mediterranean basin. Fitter uses the term ‘nomadic topocosm’ to define the nature-sensibility of the early man, which was transformed into the “managerial space” produced by agricultural settlement (Fitter 1995, 25-27). However, this does not necessarily mean that after the Neolithic revolution, the possibility of the sense of nature as a nomadic topocosm

²¹ For further discussion see Sack, Robert David. Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 65. Sack indicates that due to the lack of a frame of reference in which to place long past events, primitive people had a tendency to mythologize not only the distant past but also their environment which housed those far-removed events.

completely vanished. Regardless of a chronological order of time, such perceptions of nature and their transformations into each other endured, although they were subject to some inevitable modifications due to changing aspects of social life. In this respect, throughout the so-called Dark Ages, Greeks experienced a more or less similar “nomadic topocosm” which was eventually transformed into a “managerial” conception of space due to the colonial expeditions and the foundation of the *polis* in the archaic age.

This nomadic topocosm is revealed in Greek culture through wandering myths in which their deities or heroes make journeys in a mythical geography.²² In fact, in most of the early Greek tales, the gods and heroes were associated with mobility; they “moved rapidly through space and time, alert to distant events and, above all, wily in their ways. Odysseus prevailed by craftiness, while the *Iliad* (Book XVIII) speaks of Apollo’s nimble feet and the silver feet of Thetis. ‘Wind-swift’ Iris had ‘whirlwind feet’ and Achilles was the Great Runner.” (Waterhouse 1994, 96-97) As indicated by Indra Kagis McEwen, long before Socrates and Plato came along, in the culture of pre-philosophical Greece, the divinity lay in animation which is attested by the Daedalus myth. The Daedalean statues, *xoana* were bound so that the divine life in them would become visible. *Xoana* were bound not because the fixed object was divine in its fixity. On the contrary, the emphasis was on the unbound, the animated state which could only be revealed, brought into the human experience through binding (McEwen 1993, 5-6).

On the other hand, as mentioned above, the perception of the landscape in the ancient world was not a persistent one but changed through the course of time due to some major revolutions in economic and productive life. Through an analysis of the basic socio-historical determinants of the aesthetic taste for “landskip”²³ in the ancient world, Fitter demonstrates how the “nature-sensibility” of ancient man may be traced “from the topocosmic sense of the hunter-gathering man, through the defensive territorialism produced by agricultural settlement, to the stage of

²² For further discussion see Davison, M. ‘Myth and the Periphery’ in *Myth and the Polis*, ed. by Dora C. Pozzi and John M. Wickersham, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991, pp. 49-63.

²³ For further discussion see Fitter, Chris. *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 9-10. Fitter distinguishes between the terms ‘landscape’ and ‘landskip’ by stating that the ‘landskip’ signifies “the concern in painting or poetry specifically for the technique of pictorial naturalism, with its careful commitment to the empiric authenticities of perspectival recession, chiaroscuro and localizing detail”.

‘commercial geography’, culminating in the great commercial civilizations of Greece and Rome” (Fitter 1995, 25).

It is, however, crucial to bear in mind that although the manner in which ancient man perceived nature took on new forms through the course of time, the sacredness of natural landscape in the Greek mind perpetuated. Such consistency can be attested by the way the gods were formulated in Greek religion. The early people who dwelled in the Greek peninsula mainly worshipped Mother Earth as the very source of life and death. The emergence of the gods as representative of certain types of power was a later development. The Linear B texts reveal that certainly after 1600 B.C. and probably earlier, many of the special Greek gods already existed. Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Athena, Artemis, Hermes and Dionysos were certainly among these. Therefore, although the roots of the Indo-European pantheon of gods can be traced in the beliefs of Middle and Late Bronze Age; the goddess of the earth and of peace was, nevertheless still worshipped as the dominant power (Scully 1969, 25-26). The evidence for the actual beliefs of the eleventh to ninth centuries – the so-called Dark Ages, are still hazy, yet it is obvious that by the time that they were formulated in the *Iliad* many old Hellenic gods had accomplished personalities of their own. The female Olympian deities seem to have represented the several aspects of the power of the Mother Earth and were coupled with male divinities of various kinds. They were immortal and mighty, yet they did not create the earth; rather they were depicted as her powerful children – “the quintessential products of its nature”. In this respect, the old tradition of reconciliation with earth was never out of the picture, but was revised with respect to the transformations Greek religion went through (Scully 1969, 41-43).

The permanence of the sacredness of nature to Greeks was not verified by Greek religion alone. Such cognition of the outside world was also apparent in idiosyncratic ways of building upon the sacred nature. As shown by Waterhouse, the earthy aspect of Greek architecture and city planning was apparent in their effort to legitimize the “rude” act of construction by articulating and dissolving the boundaries between what is ‘natural’ and what is ‘man-made’. This constant effort is thus defined as “paying homage to the landscape by *mimesis*, camouflage, or shrinking from sight” (Waterhouse 1994, 100-104). In fact, as indicated by Martin Heidegger, in its symbolic sense, the activity of building has something to do with

the way that human beings exist on earth, in the way that they neither master the earth nor subjugate it. Through an analysis of the etymology of the words ‘*bauen*’ (German word for both ‘building’ and ‘cultivating’), ‘*buan*’ (old English, High German word for ‘to dwell’), ‘*wunian*’ (Gothic word for ‘to remain in peace’) and ‘*bin*’ (German word for ‘am’), Heidegger defines dwelling as “the manner in which we humans *are* on the earth”. Hence, the essential nature of dwelling on earth becomes sparing and preserving. In this respect, the core of dwelling comprises a sense of remaining at peace within “the free sphere that safeguards each thing in its nature”. According to Heidegger, this takes place in a fourfold manner since for human beings remaining ‘on the earth’, ‘under the sky’, ‘before the divinities’ and ‘belonging to men’s being with one another’ cannot be separated from each other. In other words, human beings exist in this fourfold by means of dwelling, the basic character of which is to spare, to preserve:

Mortals dwell in the way that they preserve the fourfold in its essential being, its presencing (...) Dwelling preserves the fourfold by bringing the presencing of the fourfold into things. (Heidegger 1951, 150-151)

Therefore, ‘a thing’, be it either something natural or an artifact, a building; allows a site for the fourfold to gather, and in this manner only ‘a thing’ allows for spaces (Heidegger 1951, 145-161). In this respect, it can be said that although the way that human beings exist on earth, in other words, the way that they dwell on earth is altered, thereby affecting the way they perceived the outside world; their instinct to reconcile with nature, to come to terms with gods remained intact.

Before dealing with such a shift in both the way Greeks dwelled upon earth and their perception of sacred landscape, it is necessary to probe into the Greek conception of *kosmos*. As indicated by McEwen, the Homeric usage of the word *kosmos* suggests “an unnamed standard by which things were well (*eu*) according to, or not (*ou*) according to, order (...) it is through making that *kosmos* appears, or does not”. For instance, it was also through *kosmos*, which can be read as adornment as well, that the Greek women made themselves visible. When a woman adorned – *kosmese* herself, she wrapped her skin in a second skin or body, in order to bring the living surface-body so clothed to light, to make it appear. *Kosmos* also corresponded

to the political or moral order in Homer but especially so afterwards (McEwen 1993, 42-47).

The world in which the presence and the work of man are felt, the mountains that he climbs, populated and cultivated regions, navigable rivers, cities, sanctuaries, all these have an extraterrestrial archetype, be it conceived as a plan, as a form, or purely and simply as a 'double' existing on a higher cosmic level. But everything in the world that surrounds us does not have prototype of this kind. For example, desert regions inhabited by monsters, uncultivated lands, unknown seas on which no navigator has dared to venture, do not share with the city of Babylon, or the Egyptian Nome, the privilege of a differentiated prototype. They correspond to a mythical model, but of another nature: all these wild, uncultivated regions and the like are assimilated to chaos; they still participate in the undifferentiated, formless modality of pre-creation. (Eliade 1954, 9)

In this respect, a new perspective of "world dualism", which sets the civilized space against "profane, anarchic space", was in hand as opposed to the sense which conceives the whole world as a heterogeneous entity. Such an alteration in the ancient man's perspective was due to the emergence of a territorialist outlook to the outside world. Accordingly, the early man's holistic "nature sensibility" changed into the idea of "ownership of nature" and the "outlands beyond their boundaries took on the character not merely of foreign territory but of diabolic terror" (Fitter 1995, 27-31). Eventually, such a "managerial" perception of space was accompanied by a "comparative" one within the voyaging, coastal culture of archaic Greece (Fitter 1995, 31-35). The colonial expansion of Greeks especially between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. and the emergence and the subsequent evolution of the *polis*, therefore, reflects a change in the Greek mind concerning the idea of space. The "nomadic topocosm" perception was transformed into a new form as a result of their territorialist expansion and the foundation of their new cities. However, taken as either managerial or comparative space, the natural landscape was still sacred to Greeks. The kosmos-chaos dualism, whether concerning the cultivated vs. uncultivated land or the civilized vs. barbarian man, acted as a tool to legitimize the rude act of constructing, cultivating and colonizing upon the sacred nature.

Most Greek colonies were founded to be self-sufficient Greek *poleis*, without enough land to feed their population and therefore the nature of their relations with

their mother cities was not normally determined by commercial considerations (Graham 1964, 5). In fact, as indicated by Dougherty, we may never be able to fully grasp the original nature of the archaic colonizing movement, given the scarcity and the problems concerning of the ancient sources on the subject. Some basic themes of their accounts, however; make the Greek conception of colonization somewhat more tangible. In many colonial accounts, the expedition begins by the exile of “an individual or a group of individuals who threatens the stability and the health of the city as a whole”. Hence, according to Dougherty, these stories imply a connection between the purification that murder necessitates and colonization. This connection is further attested by the fact that in Greek literature, Apollo who purifies humankind and cleanses houses and cities of pollution was also invoked as “the founder of cities”. Pollution, hereby, represents chaos and therefore Apollo’s role as a purifier is to “maintain a sense of cosmic and civic order” by re-establishing the disrupted harmony. Accordingly, the colonization activity represents a purification both at home and abroad, as the ones that disrupted the order of the city were exiled to make a fresh start. This new experiment implies an act of creation which goes hand in hand with the transformation of chaos into order. Founding a colony, therefore, restores order both at the mother city and the colonial one simultaneously (Dougherty 1993, 178-194). In this respect, the act of colonization implied both an urge for atonement and at the same time a profound sense of identity to Greeks, regardless of whether the driving forces behind it were trade or overpopulation and desire for land.²⁴ One of the major impulses which underlay the activity was the idea that, by colonization, Greeks were bringing order into an already existing situation of chaos. This idea existed from the very outset of the colonization activity and had its roots in Greek mythology, especially in the wandering myths which revealed the “nomadic topocosm” of the prehistoric ages.

As indicated by Davison, Greeks delineated the periphery of their identity through a number of their myths.²⁵ In these, wandering figures traverse the ‘savage’ spaces inhabited by the others in journeys that culminate in the foundation of a

²⁴ For further discussion concerning the driving forces which cause colonization, see Graham, A. J. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester University Press, 1964, pp. 4-8.

²⁵ For further discussion on the subjects of identity and borderlines also see Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press, 1987, pp. 244-252.

civilized center. This sort of narration helped them to formulate their own identity since identity does not exist in a vacuum.²⁶ In other words, in the wandering myths, through the comprehension of what was not Greek, they tried to clarify by contrast and comparison what *was* Greek, in order to constitute a framework for Greek identity and reinforce it. (Davison 1991, 117-131) In fact, as indicated by Cartledge, Greek mentality and culture were shaped by an ideological habit of polarization. Accordingly, Greeks constructed their identities negatively through a series of polarized oppositions of themselves to what they were not.²⁷ In this respect, the concept of Greeks vs. barbarians constituted the highest level of generality in terms of dividing the entire mankind into “two mutually exclusive and antithetical categories” (Cartledge 1993, 11-13). Thus myths not only served as an affirmation and reinforcement of Greek identity, but they also aroused in Greeks a Hellenocentric view of the world. Using evidence from a number of wandering myths, Davison reveals that Greeks, like Romans, saw themselves at the center of the universe. Greek land, according to these myths, was at the center of the north and the south horizontally. Vertically too, it was at the center, with Olympos above where the gods lived and Hades, the underworld below. Such myths also reinforced the claims of a *polis* to territorial dominion and power. Given this accumulation of the traditional Hellenocentric world view affirming and augmenting Greek identity, it was not hard for Greeks to see the development of the *polis* as a clear antithesis to barbarism (Davison 1991, 117-131). In this respect, colonization activities urged the conceptualization of the Greek identity, which, in turn, supplemented the notion of the *polis*. The territorial expansion of a *polis* which was justified by the Hellenocentric worldview, on the other hand, accelerated the colonization movement. Hence, there existed a reciprocal relationship between the development of *polis* and the act of colonization, pertaining to the establishment of Greek identity.²⁸

²⁶ For further discussion on the subject of identity and difference also see Deleuze, Gilles. Difference and Repetition, trans. by Paul Patton, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. According to Deleuze, difference ontologically comes before the identity and thus all identities exist with respect to difference.

²⁷ According to Cartledge, these dichotomies included Greeks vs. barbarians, men vs. women, citizen vs. alien, free vs. slave, gods vs. mortals. For further discussion on these polarizations see Cartledge, Paul. The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

²⁸ For further discussion see Malkin, Irad. Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece, Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 1987, p. 263. Irad Malkin claim that “colonialization contributed just as much

As indicated before, although the nature-sensibility of the Greeks was transformed into a territorialist and a managerial one, the idea of the sacred landscape still underlay various Greek activities, which is well-attested by the foundation rites. All construction activity -including the act of building a city - was conceived by Greeks as more of a ‘rude’ interference in nature and therefore required ritual acts of atonement, purification and divination. The concept of purification in the Greek mind was related to “establishing categories and making divisions”. In this respect it regulated the boundaries between “what it considers sacred and profane, clean and polluted, beneficial and harmful”. More fundamentally, the purification process implied the transformation of a chaotic situation into a state of order (Dougherty 1993, 182-183). Accordingly, these kinds of rituals symbolically repeated the divine act of creation (Eliade 1954, 9-10). When the possession of a territory was achieved, whether uncultivated or occupied by ‘barbarian’ dwellers before, the place was first consecrated and then inhabited. It is, therefore, obvious that according to Greek thought, the activity of establishing a colony - comprising the planning and architecture of the new city - had to be practiced with regards to some rules in order to come to terms with gods. Thus certain rituals were required and conducted simultaneously.²⁹ In this respect, the foundation of a city, although divinely sanctioned, corresponded to the desecration of a pre-existing harmony thereby requiring ceremonial apology and a showing of mortal acquiescence (Waterhouse 1994, 103-104).

At first glance, the idea of establishing order upon a chaotic situation by means of colonization seems to contradict the conception of building activity as an intervention to the sacred landscape. However, the two seemingly opposing concepts constitute the two sides of the same coin, since a state of chaos does not necessarily correspond to something profane. As indicated by Dougherty and Kurke, the concepts of “purity” and “impurity” were not mutually exclusive for Greeks, since etymologically both words refer to “the forbidden aspect of the sacred”³⁰ (Dougherty

towards the rise of the *polis* as it was dependent on this rise for its own existence”. Also quoted in McEwen, 1993, p. 80.

²⁹ As explained by Burkert, purification was required for every new beginning in a wide range of social practices in ancient Greece.

³⁰ For further discussion see Dougherty, Carol and Kurke, Leslie (eds.). Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 186.

and Kurke 1993, 186). In a similar vein, Hersey asserts that the Greek word for “purity” means expiation and at the same time pollution, also the holy and the damned; and thus corresponds to taboo - “a paradoxical word that means both holy and unholy” (Hersey 1989, 43). In this respect, defilement is conceptualized by Greeks as “the inversion of a positive religious value”. As such it still represents sacred power (Dougherty and Kurke 1993, 186).

Graham claims that the traditional practice of founding a colonial city was not merely a political activity but implied more of a religious character. This is supported by the fact that the ideas and practices regarding the procedure of establishing a colony were fixed and well-known (Graham 1964, 25). In fact, as asserted by Dougherty, the religious ideology of the archaic period was embedded in a historical and political context which makes it meaningless to draw distinctions between the sacred and the secular (Dougherty 1993, 184).

One of the traditions concerning the foundation of a city is the rite whereby the city had to be founded by a hero. As indicated by Rykwert, a polarity is implied in the Pindaric scholiast’s assertion that the hero-founder had to be buried at the heart of the city which would guarantee that the city lived. This once again implies the religious character of establishing a colony. In this sense, “...the Greek *agora* continued to have connections with funerary cults as long as the *polis* remained a religious as well as a political force” (Rykwert 1988, 34-35).

Another traditional practice performed by Greeks while founding a new colonial city was to carry with them fire from the mother city’s *hestia*, the sacred hearth, in order to kindle the newly established *hestia* of the colonial city. Graham claims that the obvious intention of this ritual act was to make the new community continuous with the old in the deepest possible sense (Graham 1964, 25). This ritual was performed by the *oecist* (*oikistes*)³¹ and the root of the word *oikistes* is *oikos*. Hence, the symbolism of bringing sacred fire to a public hearth in the *agora* of a new city indicates the intention of the *oecist* to give their foundations the stability of the home or dwelling place (McEwen 1993, 110). The ritual is, therefore, significant in

According to Dougherty, the association of pollution with the sacred also explains the situation of the *oecist* as a source of both defilement and sacred power.

³¹ The Greek word *oikistes* means colonizer, city founder. For further information see McEwen, 1993, p. 110.

implying that the act of colonization comprises more profound ties between the mother and the colonial city than a mere commercial one.

Another ritual practice was to consult the oracle at Delphi before undertaking a colonial expedition. According to Graham, the act, especially in the early periods of colonization, was most probably a matter of obtaining the god's sanction rather than an application for practical advice, since "the foundation of a city was a sacred act, sacred enough to be performed by a god" (Graham 1964, 25-26). It is indicated by Rykwert that even at a late date the advantages of a particular site, forecasted by the oracle, were not seen as a calculated gain obtained by the *oecist* for his colony, but rather as a direct and arbitrary gift of the gods (Rykwert 1988, 33).

Up to this particular point, it has been argued that the act of constructing cities was conceived by Greeks as an interference into the sacred landscape which required rituals for atonement. This was a predominant aspect in the significantly religious character of founding colonies, involving purification as a primary impetus. Religious motives also revealed themselves in the affirmation of Greek identity through Greek mythology where the natural order of the foreign land was destroyed by barbarians dwelling there and which needed to be restored. Therefore, before anything was built upon the land, certain rituals needed to be performed in order to come to terms with gods. The construction activity itself was thus shaped according to the belief in the sacredness of the nature. The planning of the colonial cities clearly reveals this fact.

As argued above, the appearance of both the *polis* and the temple took place over the two-hundred-year period that preceded it, thereby depending upon the early Greek experience of a "nomadic topocosm". In fact, as indicated by McEwen, all colonists were sailors first and between the mother and the colonial city, throughout the colonial expedition, the city existed as a ship (McEwen 1993, 98). Hence, such a movement activity was definitely manifested in the rise of the *polis* and became operative in the way the city was built. In this respect, the notion of the boundaries of the city became a significant issue, concerning the establishment of the *polis*, for "wherever the king casts his net, or hews his *polis* out of stone, the boundaries of the city encounter human restlessness" (Waterhouse 1994, 98).

Martin Heidegger defines space as "...something that has been made for, something that is cleared and free, namely within a boundary, Greek *peras*." On the

other hand, he also clearly emphasizes the fact that Greeks defined a boundary not as ‘that at which something stops’ but as ‘that from which something begins its presencing’ (Heidegger 1951, 154). McEwen follows this by asserting that the *polis* did not grow up around the temple,³² but that it appeared “as a surface woven by the activity of its inhabitants: the sequential building of sanctuaries over a period of time, which at times stretched over decades, and the subsequent ritual processions from center to urban limit to territorial limit and back again”. Her argument dwells upon François de Polignac’s claim that Athens with its centralized structure focused on the *acropolis*, was not the paradigm but rather the exception, whereas the other cities, which only emerged in the eighth and seventh centuries, constituted the more typical cases. According to Polignac, the eighth and seventh century B.C. sanctuaries can be classified into three categories: “urban sanctuaries”, located within the inhabited territory of the *polis*; “suburban sanctuaries”, placed at the boundary of the inhabited urban area; and “extraurban sanctuaries” which existed at the very limit of the city’s territory often some six to twelve kilometers from the town. Looking at the Greek *poleis*, it may be seen that many of the sanctuaries were extraurban ones, which attests that the Greek city was not a structure centralized around the temple (McEwen 1993, 80).

Contrary to most scholars, McEwen claims that Greek cities with grid iron plans were not planned simply according to functional or rational criteria, yet their plans have much more to do with “the notion of allowing *kosmos* to appear through their rhythm” (McEwen 1993, 79-81). In a similar vein, Waterhouse indicates that the subdivision of territory by orthogonal geometry and function should not necessarily be a rational conception, devoid of spiritual motivation or significance. He supports his argument by the case of Priene³³, which must have presented all kinds of practical difficulties while applying a grid-iron plan on such an inclined site (Waterhouse 1994, 101-103) (Figure 7). Thus some other motive appears to have underlain the way Priene was planned (Figures 8):

³² McEwen once again refers to Polignac who maps the archaeological traces of the eighth and the seventh century sanctuaries, many of which were located on non-urban sites.

³³ For further discussion see Waterhouse 1994, pp. 102-103. As indicated by Waterhouse the Prienean grid was oriented to the cardinal points and aligned towards the divine features of the mountain and river plain.

...the dark goddesses of earth and the deities of the open sky were alike invoked by the city, as the eyes of its citizens were carried beyond the urban area which lay in such dramatic terraces between them... (Scully 1969, 198-199) (Figures 9, 10)

The invention of orthogonal grid-planning has traditionally been associated with Hippodamus of Miletus. In fact, Hippodamus was not merely a planner but also a political theorist and a student of celestial urban phenomena. Hence, the Hippodamian city was not significant just because of its grid-iron plan but also because it was zoned according to the class of the inhabitants - warriors, farmers, artisans and the form of the land tenure - sacred, public, private (Rykwert 1988, 86-87). However, as indicated by Waterhouse, centuries before Hippodamus whose name has been identified with the so-called 'rational' grid planning of the Greek cities, the grid-like planning and the spatial adjacency of agora, market and temple were a part of the archaic practice.³⁴ Besides, Hippodamus, himself cannot be considered as a man of 'rationality', detached from all subjectivity and ritual, since his dandified and eccentric ways are apparent in Aristotle³⁵ (Waterhouse 1994, 101-103). In a similar vein, Rykwert indicates that many modern writers have failed to give Hippodamus his full due in terms of ignoring the cosmological content of his speculations; since the Hippodamian city was fundamentally dependent on the view of the world order explained by Anaximander.³⁶ While the grid-iron plan may not have been an invention of Hippodamus, it should still be contemplated within the context of his cosmological speculation (Rykwert 1988, 86-87).

Concerning the idea of *kosmos* in Greek thought, contrary to most scholars,

³⁴ For further discussion see Waterhouse 1994, pp. 101-102. Waterhouse refers to Roland Martin's evidence of early signs of regularity to be found even in certain primitive and archaic towns such as pre-classical Miletus, Emporion and Smyrna. However Martin uses this evidence to show that it is a "hard-nosed practicality" that builders brought to bear in colonizing the Mediterranean.

³⁵ For further discussion see Aristotle, 'Politics' in Politics with an English Translation by H. Rackham, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1998, pp. 121-125. According to Aristotle, Hippodamus became somewhat eccentric in his general mode of life owing to a desire for distinction: "...some people thought that he lived too fussily, with a quantity of hair and expensive ornaments, and also a quantity of cheap yet warm clothes not only in winter but also in the summer periods..."

³⁶ For further discussion see Rykwert, Joseph. The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1988, pp. 86-87. Rykwert's argument dwells upon the citation from Vernant: "As a philosopher whose aim is to explain nature, Hippodamus nevertheless does not neglect civic life. He is evidently integrated within the universe of the city. His thought does not separate out physical space, political space, urban space; but unifies them in one speculative exertion."

McEwen does not agree with the proposition that the political or moral order of the *polis* was made spatial and geometric by the Ionians beginning with Anaximander and then projected onto the universe. According to her, the recognition of *kosmos* by Greeks assumed a standard of rightness external to itself. Accordingly, the city was made, and continually remade, in a process that was itself a discovery of *kosmos*, since the city itself was an artifact, the making of which implicitly assumed a transcendent order from the very outset. Thus the political or moral order was a part of a more general order of making or making appear the order of the *kosmos* (McEwen 1993, 45-46). In fact, the root of the Greek word *techne* - technique, is *tec*. From the very same root, the word *tikto* – to bring forth or to produce, sprang as well. Heidegger, in this respect, argues that *techne* meant neither art nor handicraft to Greeks but rather, it implied a notion of making something appear within what is present. Hence, Greeks conceived of *techne* – producing - in terms of letting appear (Heidegger 1951, 159). Accordingly, through their crafts such as weaving, carpentry, dancing, navigation and ship making Greeks constituted a framework of localization for the order of *kosmos*. They made it tangible just as in the case of the chaos becoming measurable with the creation of earth and sky, which became its measure. This ‘making appear’ or revelation activity of the order of *kosmos*, which was accepted by the Greeks from the very beginning, was the underlying idea of Greeks’ craftsmanship. In the course of time, this became applicable to Greek architecture, since for Greeks the *polis* and the temple were both salient artifacts (McEwen 1993).

Hence, the grid-iron planning of the Greek colonial cities implied a religious significance associated with the idea of *kosmos* which was a signifying notion in shaping all Greek activities from the very outset. Accordingly, this kind of a planning, for Greeks, restored the order of nature disrupted by the construction activity itself. This approach to planning, at the same time, articulated the boundaries between the sacred landscape and the constructed one in order to reach a certain level of porosity and therefore made it possible to keep in touch with the sacred, since as indicated by Waterhouse:

...everywhere the grid boundaries confirmed the sense of being embraced by the landscape, carrying the eye beyond the confines of the street to the revered forests, outcrops,

and hills shaped in the image of the deities. The landscape preceded the *polis*, and was still holier than the temple, which was often oriented towards the sunrise on the feast day of the god receiving the dedication. (Waterhouse 1994, 103)

Greek sacrificial rituals involved the practice of arranging the bones and the skull on the altar and draping the animal's skin over them immediately after the body of the animal was cut into parts. Thus, the ritual implied both the deconstruction and the reconstruction of the victim's body.³⁷ The reason underlying the practice of reconstructing the dismembered victims, according to George Hersey, might have been the obvious instinct among the worshippers that blood sacrifice was a crime of some sort, since the victim or the offering had once been full of the god. Therefore the reconstitution of the victim on the altar would imply a "denial that it had ever been killed, or better still could suggest that, thus reconstituted and set in a holy space, it was reborn as an immortal" (Hersey 1989, 14-20). Dwelling upon the notion of the denial of the sacrifice Waterhouse states that the act of bringing back to life, "a returning back to some previous whole state" was a significant tendency in the ancient world to shape ritual activity (Waterhouse 1994, 95-96).

Hence, it appears that in the Greek mind the temple as a whole - which was composed of tropes of sacrificial materials - was itself a sacrifice to the deities (Hersey 1989). Furthermore, this close tie between the sacrificial rites and the sacred Greek architecture also exists in the urban level. As discussed before, both the sacred landscape and the victim of the sacrifice were thought to be containing divinities. Hence, for Greeks it was some sort of a crime to disrupt this state of holiness. Accordingly, a denial of the aggression created by physical interference, through the revitalization of the victim - either the sacrificial animal or the holy landscape - was required. This notion of revitalizing the victim of sacrifice, claims Waterhouse, expresses itself in the urban level, in the case of Pergamum (Waterhouse 1994, 106-110) (Figure 11).

Accordingly, the urban organization of the *acropolis* of Pergamum³⁸ was based upon giant terraces which knitted half the mountain side. These terraces were

³⁷ For further discussion on Greek sacrificial rituals see Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*, trans. by John Raffan, Harvard University Press, 1987.

³⁸ Apart from the specific design of the *acropolis* of Pergamum, the rest of the city plan was based upon a grid iron plan.

connected to each other by ramps and staircases and were distinguished from each other by means of their scale and function (Figure 12). The elevation, orientation, size, and shape of the terraces had most probably been determined by “factors having to do with the spiritual content of the terrain”, rather than merely functional considerations (Waterhouse 1994, 106-110) (Figures 13, 14). Thus, the restructuring of the sacred landscape constituted the basic urge of the construction of the city Pergamum, with regards to dissolving the boundaries between the cityscape and the landscape through both visual interconnections and the urban forms created³⁹ (Figure 15). As indicated by Waterhouse:

...the Pergamum builders seemed less intent on conquering their own landscape than on returning their mountain to itself in a spirit not unlike that which caused them and their ancestors to bring sacrificial victims back to life. True the mountain had to be sacrificed to build Pergamum, but the process also involved acts of contrition embodied in the forms and symbols of construction... (Waterhouse 1994, 110)

Hence, this approach to the act of constructing a city implied a notion of some sort of a camouflage: The man-made forms imitated the forms of the holy nature in order to deny the crime committed by disrupting the order present in the landscape. As in the case of grid-iron planned cities, the urban construction activity took into account the sacredness of nature in order to legitimize the physical interference to the sacred landscape. In this manner, the boundaries between the man-made and the natural were, once again, articulated to reach a certain extent of porosity in order to perpetuate the touch with the sacred.

The notion of the reconciliation of man and nature was a part of the Greeks' essential being - the way they dwelled on earth. And this, in turn, affected the way they built upon earth. The Greeks experienced the landscape as a whole entity, which comprised some certain holy spots. These specific spots – *hierophanies*, witnessed the welding of myth and ritual into each other, thereby acting as transition points, upon which the Greek temple was ultimately built. Through the course of time, although the perception of the landscape took on new forms due to the changes in

³⁹ For further discussion on Pergamum see Harmanşah, Ömür. Drama, Marginality, Space, Architecture of Ritual Action in Archaic Greece, a Hellenistic Paradigm : Pergamum, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ankara: METU, 1996, pp. 151-188.

social life, to Greeks the sacredness of nature remained. In this respect, the colonial expansion of Greeks especially between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. and the emergence and the subsequent evolution of the *polis* reflects a change in the Greek mind concerning the idea of space. The “nomadic topocosm” perception of a mythical topography through the so-called Dark Ages was transformed into a new form following the territorialist expansion of Greeks and the foundation of their new cities. This territorialist outlook of the world was affirmed and legitimized through Greek mythology in which the natural orders of the foreign lands were disrupted by barbarian dwellers. Indeed, the two interdependent events – colonial expeditions and the foundation of the *polis* - had something to do with the impulse for purification, thereby implying a religious character. The uncivilized space - either natural or occupied by barbarians - was chaotic and needed to be consecrated, at the same time it constituted a taboo – “the forbidden aspect of the sacred”. Accordingly, before anything was built upon the land, certain rituals had to be conducted in order to come to terms with gods.

The construction activity itself was also shaped with regards to the belief in the sacredness of nature. Therefore, a denial of the aggression created by the disruption of the sacred was required. This is attested by the planning of the colonial cities, built either by applying a grid plan or camouflaging the city within nature. After the so-called Dark Ages, Greeks embarked upon the activity of ‘making space’ through the foundation of the *polis*. However, the colonial expansion and the subsequent development of the *polis* were dependent on the previous two hundred years which witnessed a nomadic culture manifested by activities of commerce, travel and piracy in the Mediterranean basin. Hence, whenever the newly *poleis* were founded, the boundaries of the cities encountered human restlessness. The boundaries were, in this respect, permeable, thereby keeping in touch with the holy nature. To Greeks, on the other hand, the boundaries were points at which something began its presencing. Accordingly, the *polis* did not grow around the temple but it was weaved by its participants like a cloth, which was fixed at certain holy points by the sequential building of sanctuaries over a period of time and also by the ritual processions from center to urban limit to territorial limit and back again.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ For further information see McEwen 1993, pp. 81.

CHAPTER III

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SACRED PRECINCT: THE TEMPLE

In general we no longer understand architecture, at least by far not in the way we understand music. (...) Originally everything about a Greek or Christian building meant something, and in reference to a higher order of things. This atmosphere of inexhaustible meaningfulness hung about the building like a magic veil. Beauty entered the system only secondarily, impairing the basic feeling of uncanny sublimity, of sanctification by magic or the gods' nearness. At the most, beauty tempered the dread—but this dread was the prerequisite everywhere.

What does the beauty of a building mean to us now? The same as the beautiful face of a mindless woman: something masklike.

Friedrich Nietzsche
Human, All-too-Human

As already argued in the first chapter, the very roots of the concept and the identity of the *polis* can be traced in the earlier Greek experience of a “nomadic topocosm” manifested by activities of commerce, piracy and travel in the Mediterranean basin. Such a topocosmic sense of nature was transformed into a territorialist outlook of the world within the archaic period, starting with the colonial expeditions:

...everything in the Hellas of those early centuries was on the move; not only in the divine world of gods and deathless *physis*, but also in the human world (at the time, not yet wholly separate from the divine), with the new cities and their emerging political order, and the swift ships that set out on colonizing expeditions, carrying in their hollow hulls the hearth fires of mother cities to far-flung destinations all over the known world... (McEwen 1993, 101)

In this respect, the *polis* constituted a managerial framework to Greeks, through which the order of the *kosmos* was continually made visible and tangible. The emergence and the subsequent evolution of the *polis* following the colonial expansion of Greeks especially between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. demonstrates a change in the Greek mind concerning the idea of space. As such, the *polis* represented the location where the itinerant activities of Greeks did not come to an end, but got fixed.⁴¹ In fact, the very boundaries of the newly-founded cities were to be delineated by the traces of the rituals performed in the cult centers. In other words, the itinerancy remained in the form of rituals enacted within the half-porous boundaries of the city. Such boundaries were denoted by the cult centers, upon which the sanctuaries were to appear soon after the foundation of the colonial city. Indeed, as indicated by McEwen, what was so significant about the new *polis* was the presence of sanctuaries, which did not exist in the old Mycenaean cities. Hence, “...the archaic *polis* was an uncertain place that needed to be *anchored*⁴² at the strategic points of center, middle ground and outer limit by the new sanctuaries” (McEwen 1993, 80-83).

Birgitta Bergquist defines the Greek sanctuary, the *temenos*, as “the enclosed or otherwise marked off, sacred area permanently assigned to the iterated worship of

⁴¹ For further discussion see McEwen, 1993.

⁴² The italics are mine.

one or more divinities and the structures of this area”. According to her, the essential elements of a typical Greek sanctuary were the temple and the altar (Bergquist 1967, 5). On the other hand, Polignac includes, besides the altar and the temple, the precinct wall among the primary constituents of the sanctuary (Polignac 1995, 15-16). The use of the word ‘*temenos*’ dates back to the Linear B documents, in which it refers to a royal estate, not the enclosure of a sanctuary. In fact, in the Mycenaean civilization, the boundary between the god and the king was not so clear since a king often received hero worship and even sacrifices. Rykwert asserts that the central area with a hearth in the Mycenaean king’s palace acted as some sort of a temple, since many of these worshipping activities were carried out there (Rykwert 1996, 146) (Figure 16). In this regard, before the so-called Dark Ages, the main spaces with hearths of the quasi-divine king-father within the Mycenaean palaces were among the sacred places built by human hands. In addition to the sacred hearths, there were tombs at Mycenae and Knossos, which were also regarded as holy (McEwen 1993, 80). We know from Homer that heroes were offered sacrifices to their gods or to the spirits of the dead. However, these activities were enacted in caves and hilltops or in flat fenced-off ground. There were shrines, yet these were often in the form of open-air enclosures rather than regular buildings. Therefore, before the emergence of the *polis*, there existed no temples “in the sense in which the Greeks were to understand the term *naos*: a god-house, a chamber sheltering some statue, memento, or fetish of the god as a mark of his or her presence, surrounded on all sides by rows of columns” (Rykwert 1996, 143-146).

As already argued before, the shift in the conceptualization of Greek space gained impetus by the emergence of the Greek *polis*, which was indissociable from the building of sanctuaries. The salient and remarkable aspect of these sanctuaries was usually, although not always, the temple. Accordingly, the peripteral temple was both an essential constituent and an emblem of making the *polis*. However, it is crucial to bear in mind that the appearance of both the *polis* and the temple took place over the two-hundred-year period that preceded them (McEwen 1993, 83). It was, therefore, the previous Greek experience of a holy topocosm through movement which was ultimately localized and fixed at certain spots by building sanctuaries. Hence, it becomes necessary at this particular point to probe into the relation of the Greek sanctuaries with the holy nature. Such a relation was manifested not only in

the establishment and design of the sanctuary with regards to the landscape but also through the symbolic meanings this affinity substantiated.

Through a study concerning the tradition of typological forms of Greek architecture, Robert Scranton claims that there existed no variation in design that could be related to natural setting.⁴³ Rather he believes that both the ‘organic settlement’ of the sanctuaries and the ‘strict geometry’ of the temple were the legacy of the Greeks’ distant past. In a typical Mycenaean palace, a *megaron* with a formally ‘strict’ pattern constituted the main space around which all the other rooms were organically placed (Figure 17). A typical Greek sanctuary, in this respect, resembles a Mycenaean palace since the temple was usually designed with a strictly regular pattern while the subsidiary buildings of the sanctuary seem to be ‘organically’ located. Accordingly, Scranton argues that such a design principle of Mycenaeans continued to dominate Greek architecture by means of collective memory and played an important role on the design of the Greek sanctuary. Hence, he traces the architectural foundation of the ‘temple in a sanctuary’ in the Mycenaean ‘*megaron* in a palace’ arrangement in terms of both their regular design and being the focus of attention in a seemingly ‘organically formed environment’.⁴⁴ In a similar vein, Rykwert claims that the *megaron* form with its central hearth, in which the quasi divine king received offerings and sacrifices, constituted a model for the later archaic temple.⁴⁵ However, unlike Scranton’s work which leaves out the role of the sacred nature in establishing sanctuaries, Rykwert emphatically articulates the symbiotic affinity of the landscape and the sanctuary. In this regard, he indicates that the majority of the classical temple precincts comprised a tree, a water source, and an outcrop of rock, or else a boulder: tree and stone. Besides, the fire altar, which was usually the boulder or a structure connected to it, was viewed by Greeks as the bones

⁴³ For further discussion see Scranton, Robert. ‘Group Design in Greek Architecture’ in Art Bulletin, 31, 1949, p. 251. Scranton also argues that although Hellenic lands abound in effective natural locations for the display of buildings; many of these were ignored while less appropriate places were chosen.

⁴⁴ For further discussion see Scranton, Robert. Greek Architecture, New York: George Braziller, 1977. In his book, Scranton basically draws attention to the significant concepts of Greek architecture which endured throughout centuries by means of collective memory. Although, he does not literally state a one-to-one correspondence between the Mycenaean palaces and Greek sanctuaries, such a relation can obviously be concluded from the way he delineates the similarities concerning the design of the ‘*megaron* in a palace’ and ‘temple in a sanctuary’.

⁴⁵ Rykwert points out that the Greek words *aduton* - the inaccessible, forbidden, sacred part of the temple; and *megaron* were used interchangeably in one context: to describe the ritual pits, clefts or caves down which piglets were thrown at the Thesmophoria.

of the Mother Earth. Therefore, in a sense, the holy nature offered her bones, the rocks which formed the *temenos*, as a foundation to the builders. The bones of Mother Earth were thus perpetually enlivened by the blood and fat of the sacrifices or simply by pouring liquids such as milk, oil or wine (Rykwert 1996, 146-151).

Tracing the roots of Greek sanctuaries in earlier Mycenaean palaces does not necessarily eliminate the fact that these sanctuaries were built in relation to the holy nature in terms of both form and meaning. In other words, the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive ones. As claimed by Scully, the siting, orientation and design of the Minoan palace architecture represent an entire incarnation of the Greek belief in the holiness of nature (Scully 1969, 11) (Figure 18). The Minoan palaces were more or less on low ground and unfortified while the sacred earthly formations stood higher than these settlements whereby they were camouflaged by the natural forms (Figure 19). The Middle and Late Bronze Age settlements on mainland Greece, in turn, show a pattern of placement and orientation in relation to the landscape formations. These settlements adopted some of the features of Minoan palaces in terms of taking into account certain earth formations. Yet they no longer seem to be on low ground and unfortified (Figure 20). Furthermore, the Mycenaean megaron was oriented towards the hearth of the quasi-divine king instead of the natural formations, thereby celebrating the more personal ritual of kingship under the Mother-Earth. However, the Mycenaean kings still held onto the old Minoan tradition of oneness with the earth, its shapes and its continuing rhythms, although they sought to make them more personally their own (Scully 1969, 25-40) (Figure 21). In this respect:

...as the most awesome of horned bull's heads rising in menace out of the earth and the most challenging of thrones assumed by a king, Mycenae already seems to suggest in its own dark way that double theme which was to become central and luminous in Greek sacred architecture: the theme of what rightfully belong to the natural order and what to man, of what the human act may dare to be in the face of nature's law. (Scully 1969, 40)

In sum, the Greek belief in the sacredness of the earth partook an important role in all Greek activities from the Stone Age onwards. This long-lasting effect is manifested in the ways Greeks dwelled and, in turn, built on earth. As already

argued, all Greek sacred architecture fundamentally aimed to seek and concretize the character of a god or a group of gods in a specific place in the landscape. Regardless of the sanctuary which was to be eventually built upon it, this particular place was itself sacred, inasmuch as it entirely rendered the deity as a “recognized natural force”. The act of building a temple upon a known sacred spot in the natural landscape, therefore, proliferated the implications pertaining to the location. As such, the spot housed both the deity in nature and the god as imagined by men which was architecturally substantiated in the form of the temple. Hence, the formal elements of any Greek sanctuary comprised both the specifically sacred landscape in which it was situated *and* the actual buildings thereof (Scully 1969, 2). The Greek temple, in this respect, ultimately “embodied the oldest traditions of belief which had been handed down since the Stone Age” (Scully 1969, 7).

The hunter-gatherers of the Stone Age in Greece seem to have believed in the earth as a mother - especially as the mother of the herbivorous animals. The Stone Age man focused his major attention upon the objects outside himself. Therefore, his own acts were of no consequence and meaning resided in the life of the animals which were the objects of those acts. He viewed himself as merely one of the many creatures to whom Mother Earth gave life and death. Accordingly, the animals were the gods, which were one with the earth and immortal (Scully 1969, 10). Although, as argued before, such a perspective into the outside world ultimately took on new forms, it nevertheless continued to play a role in the Greek conception of the reconciliation of human beings with deities. The earlier holistic perception of the outside world was to be distorted due to the territorialization, in accordance with which the land was divided and no longer, a whole entity.

In the previous chapter, it was explained that the act of bringing back to life, “a returning back to some previous whole state” was a significant component of ritual activity. Dwelling upon the notion that to Greeks, both the sacred landscape and the victim of the sacrifice were thought to contain divinities, Rykwert asserts that both the act of sacrifice and the separating out of a *temenos* were “multiple trespasses”, in the sense that the former violates the vitality of the sacrificial animal, while the latter intervenes with the integrity of the soil - the Mother Earth. However, both were necessary acts for the human beings, since “without killing man cannot eat his meat, nor can he cultivate the land without making some separation between

virgin, untamed nature and the order of his ploughing” (Rykwert 1996, 148). Thus, the act of sacrificing animals justified the murder committed through killing animals, thereby becoming an instrument for coming to terms with the gods. On the other hand, the act of separating out the sacred *temenos* through the dedication to gods legitimized the territorialization and cultivation upon the sacred land. In a similar vein, Burkert indicates that as in the case of the sacrifices in which the gods got their share first, in land division too, which was a significant constituent of the *polis* system, the gods had priority. *Temenos*, with its boundaries clearly marked, was separated from the *polis* and “assigned as inalienable property to their spiritual owners” (Burkert 1988, 41). In this respect, the entire sanctuary was indeed a sacrifice to the deities. In addition, a denial of the aggression, created by physical interference, through the revitalization of the victim - either the sacrificial animal or the holy landscape - was required. It was, in this respect, inevitable that the sanctuaries, as the anchorage points of the *polis*, were oriented and designed with regards to the forms that the holy nature manifested.

Certain landscapes were regarded as holy by Greeks and as expressive of specific gods in terms of being earthly manifestations of their presence. In addition, as indicated by Vincent Scully, the temples and the subsidiary buildings of their sanctuaries were so formed in themselves and so placed in relation to the landscape and to each other that they enhanced, developed, complemented and sometimes even contradicted the basic meaning that was bestowed in the land.⁴⁶ As such, there existed a reciprocal action in both meaning and form between the temple and the specific sacred landscape in which it was set. Contrary to Scranton, Scully argues that the regular shapes of buildings were separated by irregular asymmetrical voids in a “mass-positive and space-negative method of grouping buildings” to emphasize the sculptural plasticity of the buildings and prevent them from being more closely linked to the sanctuary than to the sacred landscape⁴⁷ (Scully 1969, 53). In this respect, Scully indicates that:

⁴⁶ With respect to this argument, Scully also claims that the specific formal variations of each individual temple derive both from its adjustment to its particular site and from the intention to personify the character of the particular deity which it aims to embody there.

⁴⁷ For further discussion see Berquist, Birgitta. The Archaic Greek Temenos: A Study of Structure and Function, Sweden: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1967, p. 5-6.

...the buildings in Greek *temene* should be regarded as phrases in a developing language. Each makes a statement which is joined by others as new buildings are added, sometimes over many generations. The landscape is normally a constant, but its meaning too is developed as the buildings are placed within it. Each temenos is complete at any stage of its growth, but what it is attempting to say about the place, the god, and human life will constantly become fuller and more precise as the phrases are made clearer and joined to each other and the great sentences take form... (Scully 1969, 5)

In sum, the criteria, according to which the Greek sanctuaries were considered to be unplanned and irregular, were certainly foreign to the Greek conception of space. Indeed, such criteria were based upon *a priori* conceptions of “order” and can be destructive to our perception of the depth of Greek intentions (Scully 1969, 4).

The siting of a typical Greek sanctuary and its elements was definitely determined by the particular forms of the natural environment. Hence, the positioning of the sanctuary in nature and the organization of its elements were not arbitrary. On the contrary, they need to be analyzed in relation to the surrounding landscape. It has already been discussed in the first chapter that early man sensed nature as a sacred yet heterogeneous entity which embraced and at the same time surpassed all. Hence, the very existence of the holy spots, the “hierophanies” in the landscape, upon which sanctuaries were eventually built, can only be contemplated within the context of the sacred nature as a whole. However, these hierophanies neither limited nor localized the holiness spread in nature. As a matter of fact, before any temple was built upon the specific spot in the nature, open-air altars were erected “in the ideal position from which the whole sacred landscape could be grasped” (Scully 1969, 45).

Regardless of the accuracy of hypotheses which state that ‘the temple in a sanctuary’ was a remote but conscious reflection of ‘the *megaron* in a palace’ and that the sanctuary was built in relation to the sacred landscape in terms of both meaning and form; a typical Greek sanctuary *had* to have a temple. Burkert indicates that the altar, temple and image were the three prominent features of a sacred precinct and hence of religious practice (Burkert 1988, 29). Accordingly, the sort of activities which took place within the sanctuary and how the temple was involved in

these religious practices give clues about the significance of the Greek temple. Such significance pertains not merely to the context of the Greek sanctuary and the ritual practices thereof but most fundamentally to Greek culture and collective identity.

According to Rykwert, the classical *temenos* of the temple seems to have had an almost exclusive religious purpose separate from pasture or arable land. As indicated before, the sacred portion of the land that was cut out of the city or of arable land had to be constantly enlivened by sacrifices (Rykwert 1996, 147). The access to the sacred precinct was regulated through steps and boundaries because of the exclusive religious use of the space. The boundaries of the *temenos* were marked by stones (*horoi*), or by a wall surrounding the whole precinct. There was a gate for access at which the water basins were placed so that the ones who wished to enter could purify themselves. Inside the sacred precinct one could not make love, give birth nor let one die (Burkert 1988, 35).

The main cultic acts within a sanctuary may be divided into three categories: prayer – *euchai*, sacrifice –*thysiai*, and the setting up of votives – *anathemata*. The temple was regularly visited for prayer in view of the cult statue. Besides, sacrifice and other offerings were accompanied by prayer. The practice of setting up of votives in a sanctuary proliferated at the end of the so-called Dark Ages. Some of the *anathemata* would be placed within the temple itself, while bigger votives remained in the open air. Special halls – treasuries, were constructed to protect these offerings. However, the most sacred action for the Greeks was animal sacrifice along with the subsequent feast.⁴⁸

The act of animal sacrifice began with a procession in which the participants bathed and dressed themselves in special clothes and ornaments. The procession was accompanied by an animal victim (Burkert 1988, 30-33) (Figure 22). During the ritual the focal point was the altar, as “the blood on the altar had to be renewed constantly as a fertilizing, repairing, resurrecting action” (Rykwert 1996, 147) (Figure 23). The participants drew a circle around themselves so that the area enclosed became a sacred precinct. After the slaughtering of the animal by the priest, the animal was carved up in accordance with powerful taboos (Burkert 1988, 30-33). Certain parts were roasted and consumed by the participants while other parts were

⁴⁸ For further discussion see Burkert, 1988, p. 36.

preserved and placed on the altar in a certain way to reconstitute the body of the victim. Hence, the Greek sacrifice involved both the deconstruction and the reconstruction of the victim's body. Hersey asserts that the theme of dismemberment and the subsequent reconstruction of the bodies of the victims can be traced in many Greek myths, which eventually provided foundation for religious rituals. In this respect, the animal sacrifices, might have reenacted human ones - the primal ritual murders in which a god-king was killed and consumed. Whether this is true or not, the victim was believed to be the vessel of the divinity and thus the ensuing consumption of certain parts of the victim's body was not just feasting, but an act of communion (Hersey 1989, 14-16) (Figure 24). Accordingly, the sacrificial ritual not only divided the spheres of the gods and mankind as ones who make the sacrifice and ones to whom the sacrifice was made; it also acted as a bridge between the two and "united them as partakers in one sacrificed body"⁴⁹ (Rykwert 1996, 145). As already shown, such an inclination was also dominant in the delineation of the boundaries between the land which belonged to gods and the land which belongs to people, as the sacred precinct was reserved exclusively to religious activities. On the other hand, by bordering the line of the sanctuary in which the rituals were enacted, a bond between the deities and humans was constructed simultaneously.

What is so intriguing about the sacrificial ritual is that although it was the most important kind of worship that took place in a sanctuary, it did not necessarily involve the use of the temple. The early temples of the eighth and seventh centuries had a central hearth⁵⁰ and thus it is very possible that the preparation of the meals and the common feasting went on inside these temples.⁵¹ It is also supposed that the sacrificial victim was led to the inside of the temple, to the image of the god before it was slaughtered. However, during the actual sacrificial ceremony, the participants turned their faces to the altar and thus had the temple at their back. In this respect, "...the temple, built as a façade, provides a magnificent background for the ritual,

⁴⁹ For further discussion see Rykwert, 1996, pp. 145-147. As indicated by Rykwert, not all sacrifice was bloody. Liquids, flour, bread, fruit and flowers were often offered to the deities. Some sacrifices involved alienating an object from its secular use by vowing it to the god and others comprised the destruction of an object by drowning or burning it.

⁵⁰ In fact, as indicated by Rykwert, what distinguished the "proto-Doric" shrines from both later and earlier buildings were the nature and the use of the central hearth.

⁵¹ For further discussion see Rykwert, Joseph. *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996. It is attested by the analysis of the ashes which the hearths contained that organic material was burned in them.

but no more". Indeed, the temple was the house of the god which literally means that it housed the cult image of the particular divinity to which the temple was dedicated (Burkert 1988, 30-31). In this respect, the significance of the temple in the sacred precinct was more or less connected to how the cult image was incorporated to the religious practice.

A cult image in post Bronze-Age Greece was a sculptural image of a deity which served as the major representation of that deity for a particular cult in a shrine or sanctuary. Cult images in the early Iron Age were often anthropomorphic in form. They served as the earthly substitutes or symbolic manifestations of the presence of a god or a goddess and were thus considered the most sacred of cult objects⁵² (Romano 1988, 127). Normally, the temple had one cult image located in the inner chamber - *naos*, frontally facing the entrance. In this regard, the single cult image demonstrated a difference from the Minoan and Mycenaean religious practices, in which there existed multiple statuettes. Most of the sacred cult images from the eighth and seventh centuries were carved out of wood (Burkert 1988, 29-34). According to Romano, the only reason for the use of wood was the impact of Eastern culture on Greek ritual⁵³ (Romano 1988, 133). Hersey, on the other hand, claims that the first cult images were carved out from the specific sacred trees of the gods and goddesses (Hersey 1989, 11-14).

Romano claims that cult images played a primary and very direct role in the religious activities associated with many cults, since these anthropomorphic cult images were the focal point at cult functions, especially for prayer, sacrifice and processions:

...Most typically, a cult image was set up in a temple on a raised base or podium on axis with the front door of the building toward the rear of the cella. In this canonical sanctuary setting where the temple faced east toward the exterior altar, the cult statue was placed looking eastward toward the front door of the temple and toward the altar. Thus the cult image as a substitute for the deity was

⁵² For further discussion see Irene Bald Romano, 'Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices' in Early Greek Cult Practice, Robin Hagg and Nanno Marinatos eds., Göllog Nordquist, Stockholm, 1988, pp. 127-133. According to Romano, the cult objects were imbued with still greater sanctity if their origins in the distant heroic past of Greek prehistory could be claimed.

⁵³ Romano refers to Mesopotamian cuneiform texts to point out that as in early Greece, Mesopotamian cult images were anthropomorphic and made of wood.

directed toward the sacrificial act designed to honor that deity. (Romano 1988, 127-128)

Prayer directed toward the cult image and thus toward the deity, as well as the offering of votive gifts before the cult image inside the temple are well attested. In addition, there existed other rituals of processions, bathing, feeding and clothing which more directly or more physically involved the cult image (Romano 1988, 128).

According to McEwen, Greek sculptures or statues of gods were not merely representations. It was through the statue's presence that the unseen divine presence was revealed. Hence, the act of binding the *xoana* with cords or chains was a way of making the divine life in these statues manifest. To Greeks, motion was life and the animated life or the very divinity of these images was best revealed by tying them down. In other words, the chaining of the cult statues brought the divine into the realm of the human experience (McEwen 1993, 55-56).

Thus it appears reasonable that the Greek temple was built upon certain points of transition in the holy landscape. The uncanny nature of such places prompted the emergence of rituals specific to those spots.⁵⁴ Eventually the monumental temple was born since monumentality is the "agent of commemoration, of sacred human memory, of approach to the gods; myth, spiritual metaphor in stone; ritual in three dimensions" (Rhodes 1995, 6-8). Not only did the Greek temple substantiate the sacred implications which were bestowed in the land, but also it housed the statue of the god through which the divinity was brought into the realm of human experience. The Greek temple, in this regard, became the place where the presence of the gods was revealed; thereby acting as a bridge between the mortals sacrificing to their gods and the gods themselves.

As indicated by Holloway, the first idea that prompted Greeks, when they began to construct their very first temples, was to build for their gods. Piety, therefore, provided a "fortunate situation" for the early Greek architect. His duty was to design a temple for a kind of worship that had been unknown, and thus, architecturally unembellished in the Mycenaean past (Holloway 1973, 45).

⁵⁴ For further discussion see Bradley, 2000, pp. 23-25. By referring mainly to Pausanias, Bradley explains how the rituals practiced at certain sacred places in the landscape varied.

Accordingly, what these early architects created was a unique prototype with some distinctive features which resembled neither the buildings of Greece's past nor the architecture of the other civilizations. Such an unprecedented design makes one realize that apart from the religious need for housing the statue of the god - which was possible with the existence of a simple rectangular box alone, there must have been a more profound idea which prevailed the creation process of their temples (Figure 25).

The Greek temple was, in its simplest form, a rectangularly shaped box, that is the *cella* surrounded by columns on all four sides, the *peristyle*. The original idea inspiring its creation has been a hotly debated subject among scholars; particularly because the continuous preference for such a configuration of the *cella* and the *peristyle* and the desire for monumentality do not appear to have been due to an evolutionary process of architectural experimentation. On the contrary, they were rapidly established in their full form from the very outset of the emergence of the Greek temple. As explained by J. J. Coulton, between about 1100 and 700 B.C. there was no truly monumental architecture in Greece. However building activity seems to have increased both in scale and intensity from the middle of the eighth century onwards. This rapid development of a monumental architecture⁵⁵ where previously there had been only a folk architecture raises problems for archeologists and art historians (Coulton 1972, 30-31). Important to emphasize here is the concept that underlay the sudden emergence of such a uniform design of the Greek temple with its distinctive features.

Hence, it is crucial to scrutinize these distinctive features of the Greek temple, which distinguished the building in terms of both monumentality and uniqueness. As indicated by John Onians, elsewhere in the ancient world columns rarely appear on the exterior of the temples, except on a single façade and they were frequently of different design and placed at varied intervals. What makes the distinctively Greek temple-type virtually unique in architectural history is its consisting of a long rectangle entirely surrounded with columns as well as its precise geometry and its use of a single standardized column throughout (Onians 1999, 27-28) (Figure 26). In

⁵⁵ For further discussion see Coulton, 'The Problem of Beginning' in Ancient Greek Architects at Work, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1972, pp. 30-31. Coulton explains the monumental architecture as "buildings intended to impress and endure, not just to perform a function".

a similar vein, Holloway explains that such a building surrounded by free-standing columns on all four sides had no prototype in Greece, Egypt or the Orient. In this respect, the Greek temple - which would otherwise be a simple rectangular box to house the statue of the god, was transformed into an architecture of a definite style merely by the addition of the *peristyle*. However, the very simplicity of this transformation obscures its importance and brilliance (Holloway 1973, 46-47).

The peristyle, therefore, is prominent in terms of the implications that resided in the unique design of the Greek temple. In fact, the peripteral design was never intended to be functional. The columns of the porches were not infrequently closed by grilles despite the fact that the inner chamber of the Greek temple, the *cella* was frequently a repository of treasures. Moreover, the single peristyle was too shallow to afford protection or to accommodate religious processions.⁵⁶ Rather, the aesthetic taste of the early Greek architect shaped the peristyle to provide the temple with an articulated and monumental appearance. In this respect, the peristyle embellished the surface of the temple, “giving depth and the changing, enlivening accents of light and shade to a structure that in growing large would have grown ugly, despite attempts at wall decoration” (Holloway 1973, 48). In a similar vein, Vincent Scully emphasizes the aesthetical qualities that the temple acquired through the addition of the peristyle. He claims that the peristyle was intended “to articulate, penetrate and extend the exterior envelope of the building so that it became a true mid-space element, at once bounded and boundless, masking its enclosing surfaces, opening to surface and receiving it, setting up with its columns, most of all a regular standard of measure whereby distant horizons could be grasped” (Scully 1969, 50).

However, the significance of the peristyle cannot be explained merely by aesthetic considerations. More fundamentally, the peristyle itself was holy and partook the sanctity of the gods whom it protected and imaged (Scully 1969, 50). Such a notion may be grasped better, if it is taken into account that “...long before there were temples, the Greeks worshiped their gods in sacred groves or fields.

⁵⁶ For further discussion also see Coulton, 1972, pp. 30-31. Giving the example of the first temple of Hera at Samos, Coulton argues that the portico does not appear to have had any structural value, and with a depth of only 1.30 m. it could not provide much useful shelter for the visiting pilgrims, either. For him, the peristyle would not have had much religious significance to any eighth-century Greek and it might have been inspired by the frequent mention of porticoes in epic descriptions.

Trees, rocks, mountains and other natural objects contained divinities and were the objects or vessels of religious sacrifice” (Hersey 1989, 11).

George Hersey, by referring to Carl Boetticher, who in turn takes the claim from Pliny the Elder, indicates that “trees were the first temples”. Accordingly, all deities had their own sacred tree, which also represented the image of the god or goddess on earth. Hersey supports his argument by the fact that Greek art is full of sacred trees that depict “sacrifices made before them, temples built around and within them, and gods and goddesses appearing in their branches” (Figure 27). Combining Vitruvius’ assertion that the first columns were trees together with the archaeological evidence that the first Greek temples were built of solid wooden columns, Hersey claims that those wooden temple columns might have been made out of the sacred tree specific to the god or goddess for whom the temple was dedicated (Hersey 1989, 11-14) (Figure 28). On the other hand, according to Rutkowski, “...columns like trees, had from prehistory been worshiped as abodes or images of gods” (Rutkowski 1986, 14) (Figure 29). Therefore, the act of legitimization or what Waterhouse explains as “paying homage to the landscape by *mimesis*, camouflage, or shrinking from sight” may be traced in the significant characteristic of the Greek temples: the peristyle - one of the primary purposes of which is to represent the sacred groves “where the deities dwelt” (Waterhouse 1994, 104-105). As a matter of fact, the multiple implications, substantiated by the peristyle and the temple, extended beyond the symbolism of trees. The temple was a necessary constituent and an emblem in making the *polis*. Through their craftsmanship Greeks revealed the order of the *kosmos*, which was ultimately reflected in the planning of the Greek cities and the architecture of the temple. Collective memory, in this regard, played a role in the development of both the city and the temple. As such, the significance of Greek temple pertained to Greek culture and collective identity. Hence, the fundamental aspects of the Greek community manifested the unique ways they colonized, cultivated and built upon the land. In this respect, the elements which helped to constitute the peculiar Greek culture and identity can be traced in these multiple layers of meanings associated with the Greek temple.

As already indicated, through their crafts such as weaving, carpentry, dancing, navigation and ship making Greeks made the order of the *kosmos* visible and tangible in their artifacts. Accordingly, the emergence of the *polis* and the temple

is based upon the early talents of Greeks in craftsmanship (McEwen 1993). Considering the fact that the previous movement activity of Greeks ultimately propelled the rise of the *polis*; it became inevitable that the boundaries of the city encountered human restlessness in the newly founded *poleis*. Therefore, the boundaries of the colonial cities were blurred within nature so as to keep in touch with the sacred. Such an attitude was dominant upon the architecture of the Greek temple as well. The temple was the house of the god – the animated, restless divinity, around which the *peristyle* acted as a porous boundary between the cult image of the deity and Mother Earth – “the eldest of all the beings”. Hence, the peristyle was both the embodiment of the deities making them visible and tangible and *at the same time* an effacement, camouflage, i.e. an act of *mimesis* which served to conceal the human intervention to the sacred landscape. As in the case of the *polis*, the boundaries of which confronted human activities, the boundaries of the temple - the *peristyle* encountered the divinity in the animated state. Accordingly, all boundaries were conceived to be porous in order to keep touch with the sacred.

In this respect, the concept of mobility, which had its very roots in the Greek experience of a “nomadic topocosm” through piracy, travel and trade in the Mediterranean basin, was a significant notion in the foundation of both the *polis* and the temple. As already argued, between the mother and the colonial city, throughout the colonial expedition, the city existed as a ship. Dwelling upon this idea, McEwen asserts that the roots of the idea of the peripteral temple can be traced in the navigational activities of Greeks. Basing her argument on etymological evidence, she claims that the Greek temple represented a ship, while the *peristyle* corresponded to the oars of a ship⁵⁷ (McEwen 1993, 98-104) (Figure 30):

...and so, in the very image of the *polis* as it was being newly made, and of whose making it was such an essential feature, the shrine (*naos*) of the goddess became a ship (*naus*) with ‘well-fitted oars (...) that are as wings unto ships’. The cult statue was tied down because it was, essentially, mobile. The temple was given mobility because it had been, essentially, fixed... (McEwen 1993, 101)

⁵⁷ For further discussion see McEwen, 1993, pp. 101-104. McEwen claims that the word ‘*naus*’ (the ship) was related to the word ‘*naos*’ (the cella). Besides, ‘*pteron*’ (the peristyle) meant wings which, in Greek culture, also corresponded to the oars.

One of the other fundamental aspects of the Greek community, which in turn, affected the concept of the design of the Greek temple, was connected to the traditional Greek household. The essential constituents of every Greek household (*oikos*) were its hearth (*hestia*) and its loom (*histon*) since the age of the heroes, which is well attested by Greek mythology. Ancient Greek looms were upright ones and consisted of two posts planted in the ground or on a floor (Figure 31). According to McEwen, the post and lintel system of the temple was an influence from the loom, because the collective memory played an important role in the emergence of the Greek temple (Figure 32). In fact, the Greek words *hestia* and *histon* were bound not only etymologically by the notion of setting up, or making fixed, but also they shared a constitutive role in the Greek household. Therefore, McEwen claims that it would not be unreasonable to expect the *oecists*, when establishing the new *poleis* abroad, to furnish them not only with hearths but also with looms. The Greek temple, in this regard, acted as a loom which perpetually wove the *polis* (McEwen 1993, 107-113) (Figure 33). Thereby, the temple's essential bond with the establishment and development of the *polis* was embodied in its architecture.

When such close ties of the evolution of the *polis* and the installation of temples are kept in mind, it is not surprising to see that politics played an important role in the emergence and development of the Greek temple.⁵⁸ According to Burkert, two factors that were operative in the colonization process had their impact on the establishment of the temples: the division of the land and the prominence of military organization (Burkert 1988, 41). On the other hand, Onians asserts that Greek culture was a culture of conflict and thus the military order was definitely instrumental in shaping Greek architecture. War was a necessity for Greeks due to the unique geographical and historical situation of Greece. Each independent city-state needed a high level of military preparedness and this profoundly affected the way of life. The Greek city states had to content themselves with maximizing the efficiency of their human resources and to this end all men of fighting age in the community had to be healthy, disciplined and heavily armed. Most fundamentally, they had to be trained to fight in a highly efficient formation - the *phalanx*, which is the key feature of Greek

⁵⁸ In fact, etymologically *political* means 'everything that pertains to a *polis*'. Dwelling upon such a definition, Ridgway indicates that it is inevitable for public buildings of a *polis* to represent its most permanent and official statements. Such statements, in turn, may be influenced by the specific form of government prevalent at the time of construction.

warfare (Figure 34). Onians claims that the necessity that led to the development of citizen armies made up of heavily armed and well trained soldiers was a force that became a principal factor in shaping Greek culture. In fact, etymologically, *polis* meant ‘fortress’ and in this respect, *polites* - the citizen of the *polis*, was first and foremost a warrior (Onians 1999, 59). In a similar vein, Burkert indicates that the defense of the city was the highest obligation of the citizen of the *polis*, for a city was bound to its territory and people were bound to their city. Accordingly, the *polis* organization went hand in hand with the military organization, and especially hoplite warfare (Burkert 1988, 39).

The necessity that led to the development of the *phalanx* was also effective in the formation of new institutions; special forms of music; literature and art; training and education; and democracy. Therefore, war had a profound impact on the basic structures of Greek life, including the *polis* itself. In this regard, there existed a strong link between the worlds of war and art and architecture. According to Onians, an overriding desire for military security influenced “the principal public artistic expression in Greece” -the temple. As shown before, the distinctively Greek temple-type consisting of a long rectangle entirely surrounded with columns is virtually unique in architectural history and the reason for the rapid establishment of a constant preference for such a configuration is still obscure to us. However, Onians claims that the emergence of the Greek temple and the appeal of its distinctive features can only be contemplated within the overriding interest of Greek society in objects that reflected the properties of the *phalanx*. In particular, the firm and resilient establishment of a standard stone building type in the sixth century makes the analogy between the *phalanx* and the temple very suggestive. Such an arrangement recalls the aligned ranks of the community’s living defense system, for the placement of columns on all sides, the insistent regularity of their spacing and the accuracy of their alignment were reminiscent of the attributes of the well-drilled *phalanx* (Onians 1999, 26-30). In a similar vein, George Hersey indicates that:

...in Vitruvius’ myth, one can imagine columns as the military arrays of abstract figures bearing wreaths or other gifts as sacrifices to the dead, their arms raised as if to support the forms above them, which among the meanders, zigzags, and other decorations of vases that are so often architectural, seems like fascias of an entablature... (Hersey 1989, 58) (Figures 36, 37)

Moreover, the temple was frequently sited within the city's main fortress, hence it was highly appropriate for the divine image of the city's patron to be surrounded by a colonnade. Indeed, the entire organization of the Greek temple and especially its unique attributes of geometrical and mathematical accuracy, regularity and precision all have close parallels in aspects of contemporary military formations (Onians 1999, 26-30). Indeed, as indicated by Burkert, the gods were expected to help the mortals in war, sometimes even with direct epiphany. In this regard, the temple as the house of the god may be said to assume a role nearly akin to that of a flag in a battle, a background that gave confidence and feeling of security in case of an attack to the *polis*. Interpreting the Greek temple as "an emblem of collective identity in the political and military system of the archaic epoch", Burkert claims that the temple was a votive gift, a sacrifice from the entire *polis* to the deities for the sake and security of the city (Burkert 1988, 41-42). It has been stated earlier that the ancient Greeks who had always considered it important that sacrifices be remembered and recorded, at a certain point saw their temples as assemblages of the materials used in sacrifice (Hersey 1989, 2). In fact, as in the case of the sacrificial victim through which the divinity and the partakers of the sacrifice were connected, the Greek temple, itself built upon transition points where rituals took place, acted as a bridge between the gods and human beings. During the archaic period the presence of the temple thus became highly associated with the sacrifices which had affirmed the community and propitiated the gods before the time of temples. Hence the close ties of the memory of craft and community was embodied in the peripteral temple, which was itself a reaffirmation of the meaning of sacrifice (McEwen 1993, 119).

...in the building of the temple was concentrated both the making and the discovery of kosmos, which, at least from Hesiod onward, was explicitly understood as the province of the divine. Thus, the temple not only became the location for the embodiment of the indissociability of craft and community, but also replaced the caves and sacred groves of earlier divine epiphanies, to become the place where the presence of the god or goddess was revealed... (McEwen 1993, 119-120)

It must be kept in mind that regardless of all the symbolic meanings attributed to it, Greek temple was also the actual space in which the cult image was kept. Thereby it fundamentally served as the house of the specific deity it was dedicated to. In fact, to Greeks, these cult images were not merely representations, but it was through the statue's corporeality that the unseen divine was brought into the realm of human experience. Hence, the Greek temple was the place where the presence of the god was revealed. In other words, the temple was one of the places where the god resided. Greek mythology reveals that in the Greek culture, gods and heroes were associated with mobility; whereby divinity was animated. In this respect, as in the case of the boundaries of the *polis* which encountered the mobility of the inhabitants of the city, the boundary of the Greek temple – the *peristyle*, confronted the animated state of the divinity and had to be porous. At the same time, the peristyle was itself holy as being an embodiment of the deities, since it represented the sacred groves in which the deities used to dwell.

CHAPTER IV

EMBODIMENT OF UNDERTONES: ORDERS OF GREEK

ARCHITECTURE

I saw the cornice
of the house collapsing, then the whole lofty roof
thrown to earth from its high posts.
One column alone was left...
of my ancestral home, and from its capital golden hair
streamed, and it took on a human voice...
Now
thus I read my dream.
Dead is Orestes...
since the columns of a house are sons.

Euripides
Iphigeneia in Tauris

The analogy of body and architecture, or body and cosmos, would be incomprehensible without a mediating link or structure between such ontologically different realities. It is all too easy to say that cosmic order is reflected in the human body, or that the proportions and configuration of architectural elements can be derived from the body. How it is possible, therefore, and what are the conditions under which such claims can be turned into a meaningful and convincing understanding? These questions are usually left unanswered. The role of the human body in the process of embodiment in which architecture and cosmic order become apparent is comprehensible only in the context of primary reality. This is a reality of our natural world where all relationships and references are constituted in the spontaneity of our continuous encounter with the conditions of our existence.

Dalibor Vesely
Body and Building

As already argued in the previous chapter, while creating the first Greek temple, the early Greek architect had to face the problem of designing a temple for a kind of worship that had been unknown in the Mycenaean past.⁵⁹ The emergence of anthropomorphic gods as representative of certain types of power was a later development in Greek religion. This new form of religion was first formulated in the *Iliad* where many old Hellenic gods acquired personalities. Yet, there was no corresponding ideal architectural form to house the anthropomorphic statue of the god or goddess at that time. When the “temple” of these early architects emerged, it was a unique prototype with some distinctive features which resembled neither the buildings of Greece’s past nor the architecture of other civilizations:

...The temple of “classical” Greece was one of those radical innovations mentioned by Thucydides. It was quite different from any earlier Mediterranean building. In Minoan and Mycenaean sites before the first millennium, there are virtually no buildings that could be called temples in the sense in which the Greeks were to understand the term *naos*: a god-house, a chamber sheltering some statue, memento, or fetish of the god as a mark of his or her presence, surrounded on all sides by rows of columns. The god-house was a type of building known throughout the ancient Mediterranean, but the shrine standing in the open, its columns raising the sculptured gable above all the buildings of the city – or over the countryside – was a Greek device (Rykwert 1996, 143).

Apart from architectural uniqueness, the Greek temple was also significant in terms of being exceptionally standardized. Indeed, other cultures in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor repeated certain architectural forms and to a certain extent their plan and column types demonstrated some resemblances. Yet in general with respect to the character of the deity, the nature of the site, and the taste of the patron, alternative bases, capitals, and shafts as well as ground plans were introduced. In some cases, different columnar forms were used even within a single structure. On the other hand, such variations were extremely limited in the Greek world. Most fundamentally, for four hundred years – from 600 to 200 B.C. - the

⁵⁹ In the Mycenaean civilization, the boundary between the god and the king was not so clear since a king often received hero worship and even sacrifices. In this respect, Mycenaean did not build an actual “temple”, yet the central area with a hearth in the Mycenaean king’s palace acted as some sort of a temple, since many of the worshipping activities took place there.

temples were nearly identical in terms of the consistency of a certain plan type whereby a rectangular room was surrounded by a row of tapered columns. Variations in the temples were small, although there was a general tendency to get progressively larger. There were only minor refinements concerning the proportions, adjustments in the spacing or size of corner columns, modifications to the profile and situation of mouldings and to the placing of relief sculpture in pediments and metopes, which eventually contributed to “the glory of Greek architects”. In fact, had it not been for such refinements, individuality and inventiveness could be said to be conspicuously lacking (Onians 1990, 8-11). Because of the persistence of the type, the architect would be largely concerned with merely “refining and elaborating the apparatus of column and beam to match it to the variant of the temple that he was asked to design, any demands of site organization and practice apart” (Rykwert 1996, 215).

This situation becomes even more puzzling when it is considered that “...the buildings were constructed over a very wide area in a wide variety of religious, social, political, and economic contexts, in old cities in Greece and new colonies in the west, for tyrannies and oligarchies, in old cult centers and on new sites” (Onians 1990, 8-11). According to Rykwert, such repetition of certain plan forms and procedures⁶⁰ can be explained by the existence of a trade organization of specialist builders – *demiourgoi*. In addition, the wide diffusion of building types and structural techniques in the first century of the Olympic era could even indicate that these builders were wanderers like smiths. In this respect, the existence of craft organizations contributed to the stereotyping of column types long before any of the classical discourse about orders could be set down in writing (Rykwert 1996, 147-148). Although this theory illuminates the question of *how* it was possible for the certain archetype of Greek temple to spread over such a wide geography, it nevertheless is inadequate to explain the urge for such standardization.

As in the case of lost meanings which the Greek temple and the *peristyle* once conveyed, the motives of limiting the conception of the Greek temple to a certain archetype are still obscure to us. However, Pollitt argues that the exceptional Greek

⁶⁰ Rykwert suggests that the very existence of the *demiourgoi* reveals not merely the diffusion of certain types and construction techniques over a wide geography but also the transmission of these types and techniques through generations.

“quest for order” is crucial in comprehending why the range of building-types in Greek architecture and the range of subjects in Greek sculpture and painting were both deliberately limited (Pollitt 1972, 6). As already argued in the first chapter, through their crafts such as weaving, carpentry, dancing, navigation and ship-making, Greeks constituted a framework of localization for the order of *kosmos*. They made it tangible just as in the case of chaos becoming measurable with the creation of earth and sky, which became its measure. In fact, all Greek artistic and philosophical expression was manifested by a profound need “to discover an order in, or superimpose an order on the flux of physical and psychological experience” (Pollitt 1972, 3). The ‘making appear’ or revelation process of the order of *kosmos*⁶¹ was the underlying idea of Greek craftsmanship. And, through the course of time, of the Greek architecture, since for Greeks the *polis* and the temple were also artifacts. In this respect, the basic notion which haunted the Greek mind through the Archaic Period, the “revolutionary age”,⁶² was a dualistic worldview which opposed *kosmos* against chaos:

...the Greeks felt that to live with the changing, undefined, unmeasured, seemingly random impressions – to live, in short, with what was expressed by the Greek word *chaos* – was to live in a state of constant anxiety. (...) if the apparent mutability of the physical world and of the human condition was a source of pain and bewilderment to the Greeks, the discovery of a permanent pattern or an unchanging substratum by which apparently chaotic experience could be measured and explained was a source of satisfaction, even joy, which had something of a religious nature (Pollitt 1972, 3-4).

Pollitt claims that such an anxiety may have been due to some mysterious tendency in the Greek psyche or their spontaneous reaction to the “turbulent” historical experience following the break-up of the Mycenaean world (Pollitt 1972, 5-6). I would, however, suggest that this anxiety was a reflection of their newly emerged dualistic worldview which resulted from the transformations of the archaic age and most fundamentally the establishment of the *polis*. Indeed, as a consequence of their territorialist expansion, the previous holistic worldview was replaced by a

⁶¹ It is, however, essential to keep in mind that the recognition of *kosmos* by Greeks assumed a standard of rightness external to itself. For further elaboration of this idea see McEwen 1993, p. 46.

⁶² For further discussion see Dougherty and Kurke 1993, p. 1.

new one whereby the land was divided and categorized. The world, in this respect, was discerned with respect to such categories: civilized vs. barbaric, cultivated vs. uncultivated, order vs. chaos, etc.

Accordingly, Greek art and architecture were profoundly affected by these two basic forces in Greek thought and expression – “anxiety prompted by the apparent irrationality of experience and the drive to allay this anxiety by finding an order which explains this experience”. According to Pollitt, Greek artists tended to seek typical and essential forms which expressed “the essential classes of phenomena” in the same way that Platonic ‘forms’ or ‘ideas’ expressed “essential realities underlying the multiplicity of sense perception”. For instance, a geometric statuette of a horse was an attempt to reach the ‘horseness’ which lies behind all particular horses. In this respect, when a Greek artist was trying to define essence within multiplicity; “whimsical innovations, fantasies, and vagrant moods” had no place. Hence, in the Greek mind, consistency and limit were the characteristics of order; whereas diversity was a characteristic of chaos (Pollitt 1972, 5-6).

Although it does not provide us with a full picture of the situation, the exceptional Greek “quest for order” reveals to a certain extent what was in the back of their minds while standardizing certain features of their temple. On the other hand, as indicated by Onians, one aspect of such standardization - the association of the Greek temple with the one hundred-foot measure, is indubitable (Onians 1990, 9). Many of the temples of the eighth and seventh centuries were “paced” or measured out at a hundred feet in length, such as the ones at Samos, Isthmia, Eretria, Olympia and Thermon (Rykwert 1996, 213). Even in the following centuries when the scale of the buildings increased noticeably, the one hundred-foot measure survived in the ever smaller parts of the temples (Onians 1990, 10). In fact, the number one hundred, which implied a great but calculable size, had particular sacredness. In this respect, great temples were *hekatompeda* - hundred-foot buildings, great sacrifices were *hekatombe* – of a hundred oxen. *Hekatompedon* – a hundred footer, was an adjective used by Homer concerning ships and it was presumably used of temples that had that measurement.⁶³ Besides, the term survived into the classical times as the name of the

⁶³ For further discussion see Rykwert, Joseph. *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996, p. 168. Rykwert asserts that although the relation between the two terms *hekatompeda* and *hekatombe* is obvious, the gifts which were deposited in the

specific type of *naos* with a hundred-foot length - *hekatompedon* (Rykwert 1996, 213). Indeed,

...If one hundred was the perfect number for a sacrifice, it could also be seen as the perfect number for a temple, which was also an offering to the deity. It is certainly the number rather than the measure which is important, since other temples incorporate the measure not of a hundred Dorian feet but of a hundred Ionian ells (Onians 1990, 10).

According to Onians, in order to comprehend better both the repetitiveness of the basic design of the temples and the steadfast consistency with which it was improved; one should turn to two features of mainland Greece and its Western colonies which stand out in providing parallel cases. One is the concentration on trade in high-quality standardized products, each of which resembled all others in its class. Such a stereotyping must have been fostered by the pressures of international trade, “which simply meant that a buyer in Italy, for example, not being able to visit the workshop of the Corinth, would ask for ‘more of those pots which went so well last year’ ”. The progressive modifications of the archetype, on the other hand, must have resulted from the competition between suppliers as each tried to make his version of the object more attractive either in embellishment or price without destroying its essential character. Onians claims that the popularity aspect of the temple type corresponds to that of trade whereby the wealthy tyrants or oligarchs seem to have ordered ‘one of those temples’ as they might have done with a pot. In this respect, the architects and the builders did their best to satisfy their clients, keeping to the basic type while improving the details (Onians 1990, 11).

As revealed by Onians, the second area in which repetition and improvement were crucial was that of athletic competitions. These were the main forms of communal activity among the Dorian people who formed the dominant class in most of mainland Greece and the Western colonies (Onians 1990, 11). Indeed, the first Olympic games, or at least the first reformed games, were held in 776 B.C. and the Greeks counted their history from this foundation. In this respect, “...about the time the Olympic games were first held, the arrangement of the column and beam that

apses of these earlier temples could not have been the oxen of the *hekatombe* as in the case of the earlier shrines of the preceding so-called Dark Age, but were either the incorruptible parts of the animals or some quite different objects of offering.

came to be called Doric must have been constituted in wood and earthen ware, then translated into stone not much later” (Rykwert 1996, 143). The earliest games lasted only two days, from sunset to sunset. In the first evening a ceremony was held in honor of Pelops, the hero-founder of Olympia. This ceremony was followed by the hecatomb sacrifice to Zeus the next morning, after which the foot race took place. Other events such as the chariot race were later introduced.⁶⁴ The Olympic games, according to Onians, were instrumental for Dorians to reaffirm their superiority in the athletic aspects of military training, “which had initially enabled them to overrun the peninsula when they invaded from the North”. In the games they displayed their excellence by competing in the execution of identical feats and by performing such an identical feat faster and better than his rivals a young man could acquire greater fame (Onians 1990, 11-12). As a matter of fact, competition was a dominant tendency not only in the areas of trade or athletic games but also in art and architecture. As indicated by Nietzsche, the Greek artists, the tragedians, for instance, wrote in order to triumph; their whole art cannot be imagined without competition. Indeed, it was ambition that “gave wings to their genius” (Nietzsche 1996, 90).

Accordingly, one might expect that the notion of ‘competition in excellence’ was operative in the standardization of the Greek temple as well; since, to the Dorian community, excellence was associated with the repetition of identical acts (Onians 1990, 11-12). In this respect,

...The establishment of the Doric temple type seems to depend on the influence of the temple of Hera at Olympia itself and the people who commissioned the works were often the same as those who attended the Olympic games: it is thus not surprising if they too sought excellence in the execution of an identical feat, treating the construction of a slightly longer hundred-foot temple as an equivalent to running the six-hundred-foot race a little faster (Onians 1990, 12).

On the other hand, in another main region of the Greek world, the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor, where Ionians were the dominant group or race, neither feature – stereotyping in trade or athletic games – was so pronounced. Indeed, markets were more sophisticated which meant that there was less trade in

⁶⁴ For further discussion see Rykwert, 1996, p.143.

stereotypes and athletic contests were a less popular focus of communal activity. However, both features were still present. In fact, Onians explains the simultaneous dominance of stereotyping in the Ionian world with the possibility that the first Ionic temples were based upon the model of the temple of Hera at Samos as a response to the rising influence of the same divinity's shrine at Olympia (Onians 1990, 12).

Greeks were not ruled under a kingdom having a central authority but instead they had independent city-states - *poleis*. The Greek culture, nevertheless, was a unified one. In this respect, although the competition between the various Greek city-states played an important role in its standardization, in the final analysis, such standardization of the certain features of the Greek temple supplemented the structuring of both Greek identity and culture. In fact, as indicated by Onians, the principal mental community of the people who built these temples was not merely linguistics. Besides language, they shared physical activities, rituals, other social activities, such as drinking, and most fundamentally they shared the experience of a similar geography. Indeed, "Greeks shared a language, but they also shared an experience of the natural and social environment, of the body and of society, of activities and of materials". These shared experiences could be natural; a landscape of fertile river valleys flanked by rocky mountains; an environment that was partly life sustaining when it allowed fishing or trade and partly life threatening when the river brought an enemy fleet or storms; a climate that brought a series of alternating weather conditions that could be either beneficial or destructive. Such experiences could be man-made too which included essential elements of the food supply as cornfields, vineyards, and olive groves; of the craft system as potters' wheels and pots, forges and metalwork; of the trade system as the equipments of shipping, ropes, sails, and planks; of the defense system as soldiers and ships, especially when arranged in formations as armies and fleets; and of city life as walls, streets, agoras and temples. All these elements together built up the visual memory of Greeks, thereby engaging them visually⁶⁵ (Onians 2002, 48). Indeed, such visual codes along

⁶⁵ For further discussion see Onians, John. 'Greek Temple and Greek Brain' in Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture, ed. by George Dodds and Robert Tavernor, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002, pp. 44-63. Onians, however, does not overlook the fact that depending on habitat or activity, each Greek would have had his or her own preoccupations. For instance, a farmer, potter, smith or sailor would each have a greater concern with the forms and materials on which their livelihood depended. In this respect, communities that consisted more of potters or sailors would each share diverse preoccupations. The same would be true

with the linguistic ones decisively formed the very structure of Greek culture. In this respect, the Greek temple was both a product of the Greek identity and culture and at the same time it contributed to their sustainability; in the sense that all self-sufficient *poleis* had the standardized temple which bore the stamp of Greekness.

It is, however, crucial to bear in mind that emphasizing the role of visual codification in the structuring of culture does not deny the profound role played by linguistics. Yet, the original and principal function of language was “precisely to facilitate the sharing of mental experiences that were preexistent” (Onians 2002, 49). Indeed, the role of the visual codes in the constitution of culture can be attested by the very existence of the myths which helped to shape communal culture through the use of language. As already argued in the first chapter, Greek myths were instrumental in their claims of elevating the *polis* to a state of territorial dominion and power. The mythology, in this respect, provided the cultural unification of Greeks by means of establishing and augmenting the Greek identity. As a matter of fact, the very myths concerning the racial origins of Greeks depicted the common visual codes. As indicated by Onians:

...the myth about the Greeks descending from a race born from the stones thrown over their shoulders by Deucalion and Pyrrha was invented and accepted only because of the prominence of stone in Greek landscape, which is such that those who lived there acquired a natural empathy with it. Other myths result from the correspondence between critical experiences in different fields. Thus, the myth that the Thebans descended from men who grew from sown dragons’ teeth was possible only because the Greeks were used to giving particular attention to (...) similar phenomena that were particularly life saving or life threatening... (Onians 2002, 49)

In this respect, it is inevitable to expect that these visual codes, which were shared by the entire Greek community, would manifest themselves in the specific architectural language as well. According to Onians, such visual codes can best be contemplated through a study of the underlying mechanisms governing responses to the visual environment. Most fundamentally, these mental operations concerning vision should be ones that enable “man and his ancestors better to survive, both in

of communities living in different natural environments – in the mountains, on a plain, on the coast, or on an island.

relation to the world as a hunter gatherer and in relation to his own species as a social being”. Such survival in both would have been founded on an ability to process visual stimuli in such a way that significant variations in the environment would be immediately noted. Accordingly, the people, whose eyes were best adapted to “survival in these two critical contexts”, would have been most likely to transmit their genes. The emergence of new important elements in the developing society, therefore, dwelled upon their tendency to trigger such response mechanisms. For instance, ornaments and clothing became important elements in the formulation of social relationships precisely because the mechanisms of visual experiences tended to predispose people to see variations in such features as possibly critical for their welfare or survival. Likewise, the power of architecture and other visual arts depended on their ability to evoke and process such visual stimuli⁶⁶ (Onians 1990, 4).

As argued by Jonathan Crary, vision and its effects are always inseparable from the possibilities of an observing subject, who is both the historical product and the site of certain practices, techniques, institutions and procedures of subjectification (Crary 90, 5). Accordingly, new visual codes which were embodied in the man-made environment contributed to a process of “remaking of the observer”. Inasmuch as the ancient architect was aware of such phenomena, the man-made environment comprised some elements which were reminiscent of the earlier forms which were able to evoke visual stimuli. In this respect, the adjustment of the observing subject to the new built environment, which demonstrates certain similarities with the former visual codes, made this very environment a part of the shared visual experience. As argued above, Greek temple, as a standardized building type all over the Greek land, was both a product and stamp of the Greek culture. This is simply because the unique architectural language of the Greek temple was founded on the common visual codes familiar to the entire Greek community and thereby it eventually constituted an essential element of Greek culture in terms of becoming a salient element of the visual environment.

⁶⁶ For further discussion see also Onians, 2002, p. 51. Onians indicates that it is in the nature of vision that anything which generates signals that are sufficiently similar to those that would be generated by something genuinely dangerous or attractive is likely to generate a cognitive response in the cortex and chemical reaction in the base of the brain as the real thing. In this respect, something that has sufficient visual properties in common with something desired or feared may elicit a similar response.

Other than the basic distinction between them which was brought about by Doric and Ionic orders, these temples were more or less similar. Indeed, such standardization in architecture was operative in the invention and the subsequent development of the Greek orders (Figure 37). In fact, "...the column and the beam that it carries, when they are combined so as to be recognized (however approximately) as belonging to a *definite type*⁶⁷, are called an order" (Rykwert 1996, 3). According to Onians, the fact that the Doric and Ionic orders became paradigmatic was highly associated with the recognition of the almost talismanic property of the column (Onians 1990, 8) (Figure 38). As already argued in the previous chapter, the Greek temple - which would otherwise have been a simple rectangular box to house the statue of the divinity, was transformed into an architecture of a definite style merely by the addition of the *peristyle*. In this respect, it was the very existence of the *peristyle* – free-standing columns which surrounded the temple from all four sides, from which the Greek temple acquired its monumentality (Figure 39). In fact, besides their function as structural supports, the columns of the Greek temple substantiated three important phenomena of Greek culture, which are namely strength, durability and monumentality (Figures 26, 40). Such connotations which pertain to the column *per se* in the Greek conceptualization of the outside world can be attested in Pindar's ode for the victory of Agesias of Syracuse in 468 B.C.:⁶⁸

As if one of the handsome porch of a hall we raised
golden
columns like a towering megaron,
we shall construct (this ode)

(Pindar, *Olympian
Odes*)

In a similar vein, Rykwert reveals that the temple building proper was the dominant Greek building type, not only because it dominated the fabric of the city as its tallest - or highest – building, but also because its most prominent feature - the column and beam and the exact relation between them, was developed in and for the

⁶⁷ The italics are mine.

⁶⁸ Also quoted in Holloway, 1973, p. 45.

temple building as the core of Greek architectural thinking and practice (Rykwert 1996, 171). As indicated in the previous chapter, the elements which helped to constitute the peculiar Greek culture and identity can be traced in these multiple layers of meanings associated with the Greek temple. Inasmuch as the column became the most eminent element of the architectural language of Greek temple, its connotations corresponded to the salient features of Greek culture and thus to the shared visual codes of the Greek community.

With respect to this, it is clearly shown that columns were closely associated with trees. As indicated by Onians, because of the similarity of the built spaces to those found in woods and forests, architecture would tend to evoke a response from the mechanisms most associated with movement through such environments. Accordingly, buildings may have preserved an assimilation to arboreal space precisely because the brain would react most readily to significant variations if that were so. Indeed,

Trees and woods have always had a special importance as at once the best source of food and the favorite haunt of enemies. The existence of an innate alertness to that natural context would help to explain the persistence of features such as tree-like columns and columnar shafts and the tendency to concentrate significant variation of ornament on areas such as capitals which occupied a position similar to that of the most significant features at the tops of tree trunks (Onians 1990, 4).

The remarkable role of trees in the formation of Greek visual mentality is apparent in the fact that to Greeks “trees were the first temples”. As already indicated in the previous chapter, a specific tree was attributed to all deities, which also revealed the very existence of the god or goddess on earth. Indeed, the depiction of sacred trees, closely associated with sacrifices, temples and deities appearing in their branches, was a common tendency in Greek art (Figure 27). In this respect, one of the primary purposes of the peristyle was to represent the sacred groves (Figures 28, 29). This aspect of the columns is especially evident in the interior spaces of the Ionic temples which brought to mind the memory of sacred groves (Norberg-Schulz 1978, 76).

Trees were not the only visual stimuli that the columns were associated with, yet they were also related with the human body. According to Onians,

The fact that a column was also man-like would have encouraged a similar persistence of the form and a similar concentration of significant variation in the head-like capital, where the eye would tend to be most alert to changes of expression. Since all people would inherit the same mechanisms, the same tendency to react to such variation in tree-like or man-like forms, the visual experience of all would be similar (Onians 1990, 4).

Indeed, the significance of the human body metaphor has something to do with the way that human beings relate themselves to the outside world, comprising the natural and built environment and other beings as well. It is only through one's body that one can discern the world outside oneself and communicate. In fact, as indicated by Rykwert, language, which is the condition and cage of one's thinking issues out of the body which is the cage and condition of one's being. On the other hand, the human sound and gesture is always intended for some interpretation and thus the very possibility of language is an extension of some primal metaphor.⁶⁹ According to Rykwert, the interpretative compact is the primary social bond of humanity. The human body, in this respect, acquires a metaphoric value as such interpretative compact is achieved in signs, marks and hints for which the body is the only source and the movements the only medium. This metaphoric value had to be won through the separation of the human body from the undifferentiated flux of nature. This is exactly why early people marked their bodies out by means of scarring, knocking out of teeth, severing of a finger joint, circumcision or tattooing: in order to be able to sign their bodies as being different from their context. The crucial condition of the recognition of the outside world was such a separation from the context – “the primary estrangement”. Rykwert claims that “the only possible answer to the primal estrangement is re-presentation, the constantly renewed ordering of the metaphoric experience and its reenactment in the maturation process of the individual”. Accordingly, the analogy between the human body and the artifacts it produces becomes more tangible, for reflection is the most elemental way of representation (Rykwert 1996, 117-119).

⁶⁹ For further discussion also see Hersey. 1988, p. 5, where he quotes Rousseau's assertion: “As emotions were the first motives that induced man to speak, his first utterances were tropes. Figurative language was the first to be born. At the beginning, only poetry was spoken”.

The contemplation of one's own body can only be in terms of metaphor and in terms of bodily movement, groans and screams, gesture and grimaces which are the most elementary artifacts. In this respect, the idea of an upright post as an analogue of the human body might not seem far-fetched, if it is taken into account that "what is true of speech and gesture and of the decorated body is projected out into the surrounding world and must also be true of all other artifacts". As indicated by Rykwert, such analogy between the human body and the column has something to do with the primary mode of animal perception, which is *orientation in space*⁷⁰ (Rykwert 1996, 121):

The planting of a post is a primal gesture – the ability to orientate ourselves, to know the orthogonality of our body to the ground, is a condition of our being. *Homo* is only *sapiens* because, or even after, he is *erectus*. Before they set up and appropriated the first posts by carving, men may have learned that skill on rooted and growing trees. However many millennia it took, the passage from the coupling of perishable body with growing tree or friable post to a rather different coupling of the body with permanent column seems almost inevitable. Whether such a post does or does not carry a beam is at this point immaterial (Rykwert 1996, 122).

As indicated by McEwen, every architectural theoretician from Vitruvius until the eighteenth century has stressed the connection between columns and people (McEwen 1993, 119). As a matter of fact, the analogy between a column and human body is as well a reflection of the deep-seated Western tradition in which the human body is seen as representative of the whole universe, as a microcosm. The roots of such tradition can be traced in Greek philosophy and in particular in Empedocles' work. About the middle of the fifth century B.C., Empedocles stated that 'being' can only be attributed to four elements, of which the whole world was made up, namely earth, water, air and fire. These elements were separated by conflict – *neikos*, and attracted to each other by love – *philotes*. His teaching was followed by Aristotle and Stoic philosophers and was elaborated into the scheme in which "the alternation between affection and repulsion, between *eros* and *polemos*, sustains the order, the

⁷⁰ The italics are mine.

logos, of the world fabric and is the cause of the cyclic, recurrent flux of the universe” (Rykwert 1996, 69).

However, what is crucial to this argument is the fact that in ancient Greek thought the human body could never be conceived without its soul. As indicated by Vesely, in Aristotle’s work, the notion of corporeality had much to do with “the particularity of the essential structure of things or bodies and their substances”. In addition, Aristotle argues that there can be no action without contact - a theory from which the significance of not only contact but also of position, *existence in place*⁷¹, lightness, and weight can be derived. Yet, Aristotle never doubted the existence of the immaterial substances. However, his argument was taken one step further by the Stoics, who claimed that everything that either acts or is acted upon is a body. In other words, the only things that truly exist are material bodies. This led to the conclusion that even the soul and the divine are corporeal, since the notion of the material body extended not only to the human body but also to the human soul. According to Vesely, such an understanding of the body and soul belonged to the “secondary tradition” upon which Vitruvianism dwelled.⁷² On the other hand, in the “primary tradition”, which goes back to Plato and Aristotle, the body was always seen as linked with the soul, which in turn was related to the animated structure of the reality as a whole (Vesely 2002, 30-31). In this respect,

In this, the primary tradition, the problem of human existence is seen as a drama played out on a cosmic stage, and the vision of human existence is, more often than not, identified with the human body, where there is a close affinity between human, corporeal and sensible realities. Under these conditions the human body becomes a manifestation or exemplum of reality as a whole, encapsulated in the Middle Ages in the formula *mundus minor exemplum est – maiores mundi ordine* (Vesely 2002, 31).

⁷¹ The italics are mine.

⁷² Vesely asserts that in spite of all the elaborate commentaries on Vitruvius after he was rediscovered in the fifteenth century and the attempts to understand the implied or potential meanings it conveyed, the treatise remained enigmatic. This was partly because Vitruvianism overlooked the fact that creative architectural thinking is possible only in collaboration with other disciplines. In this respect, it has a tendency towards dogmatism which obscures the “primary tradition”. However, it is crucial to bear in mind that this was later interpretation of Vitruvius which did not take into account his writing technique. As indicated by Onians, Vitruvius’ basic aim was to make architecture a field of knowledge and science. Accordingly, he intensively studied the treatises of his time, written in other fields such as rhetoric, ethics and music. Indeed, taking the methods of the other treatises as a model, Vitruvius deals with architecture in terms of certain characteristics and categories. For further discussion also see Onians, 1990, pp. 33-40.

According to Rykwert, a number of things are explicit in the scheme of such cosmic stage: “that air is a substance; that the world necessarily moves through a series of cycles of varying durations, and our bodies along with it; and further, that the way in which the elements are tempered and distempered in the individual human body can be known – and remedied – by reference to its place and time beneath the constellations”. These constellations were animated as powerful creatures and their heavenly movements not only reflected but also appeared to guide earthly inhabitants. In such a scheme, the human body among all things and creatures in the world, was almost universally recognized as the most imposing case of elemental harmony (Rykwert 1996, 69-72). Indeed, as indicated by Vesely, in the Aristotelian tradition, the body was always seen as engaged with its place and ultimately with the hierarchy of places (topology) within a unified cosmic framework. Therefore, in order to appreciate the real meaning of the microcosm, one should look more closely at the deep reciprocity that exists between the human body and the world and, by implication, between the human body and architecture (Vesely 2002, 32).

According to Vesely, we can comprehend “the role of the human body in the process of embodiment in which architectural and cosmic order become apparent” only in the context of the primary reality. The primary reality constitutes the context of our natural world where all relationships and references are formed due to “the spontaneity of our continuous encounter with the conditions of our existence” (Vesely 2002, 35). It has already been indicated in the first chapter that Heidegger, through the help of etymology, argues that *dwelling* and *being* are actually the same thing. Accordingly, when we talk about the way mortals *are*, in other words how they *dwell* on earth; we are actually referring to how “they persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locations”. Indeed, spaces themselves are always provided for already within the stay of mortals, thereby only opening up by the fact that they are let into the dwelling of man. In this respect, buildings are locations that allow spaces and the very nature of building is letting dwell. The building is a thing which allows a site *to dwell - to be* (Heidegger 1951, 157-158). Hence, the building itself is a body – a microcosm.

Vesely indicates that the relationship between the human body and the rest of reality was first formulated consistently by Aristotle in the following passage (Vesely 2002, 31):

If a living body or thing is ever absolutely at rest, we shall have a motionless thing in which motion is originated by the thing itself and not from without. If this can happen to a living thing, why not to the universe? And if in a smaller cosmos (*microcosmos*), why not with the larger cosmos (*megalocosmos*) (Aristotle, *Physics*).

The polarity between microcosm and macrocosm was as well projected upon the relation of body and building, which was itself seen as a microcosm. In fact, the importance of the relation of the building and body, body and world in other civilizations of the Mediterranean culture is well attested by not only the foundation rituals of Hittites including a rope-climbing activity performed by the architect himself⁷³ but also various Indo-European texts in Persia and in India. For instance, the ninetieth hymn of the Rig-Veda, suggests the creation of the cosmos and of society through a sacrificial dismembering of Purusa, the first man. In Indian culture too, the making of a building was, typically elevating the “body” of the building on the foundation or the plan of the world diagram (Rykwert 1996, 72-73). Indeed, through an analysis of the names of the architectural elements of the Greek temple, mainly based on Vitruvius, Hersey claims that the very idea of the Greek temple was founded upon such analogy between the body and building. According to him, inasmuch as ancient Greeks believed that sacrifices should be remembered and recorded, they regarded their temples as assemblages composed of certain body parts of their sacrifices. In this respect, the Greek temple as a whole - which is composed of tropes of sacrificial materials - was seen as a sacrificial body itself (Hersey 1989, 1-45).

Vitruvius, in his treatise, echoed such relation between the human body and the temple, as he stated that the principles of design should be based upon the “canon of human body” as an arithmetical and geometrical model (Rykwert 1996, 97):

⁷³ For further discussion on the ritual see Ünal, Ahmet. “Hittite Architect and A Rope-Climbing Ritual”, in *Belleleten*, LII, 205, 1988, pp. 1469-1503.

It is not possible for any building to be properly designed without symmetry and proportion, that is, if its parts are not precisely related, as are those in the figure of a well-made man. Since nature composed the body so that the face, from the point of the chin to the top of the forehead should be a tenth part of it, which is also the length of a spread hand from the wrist to the end of the middle finger; the head from the chin to its very top an eighth; the distance from the top of the breast bone, where it joins the neck, to the bottom of hair is a sixth; to the crown of the head is a fourth. As for the face, a third is from the point of the chin to the underside of the nostrils, and the same to the line of the brows; from that line to the hair of the forehead takes up another third. The foot goes six times into the height of the body, the cubit four times, the breast is also a quarter. The other members have their appropriate measurements: by making use of them famous painters and sculptors of antiquity gathered glorious and lasting praise (...) Therefore if nature has planned the human body so that the members correspond in their proportions to its complete configuration, the ancients seem to have had reasons in determining that in the execution of their works they should observe an exact adjustment of the several members to the general pattern of the plan. Therefore, since in all their works they handed down *orders*⁷⁴, they did so especially in building temples, the excellences and the faults of which usually endure for ages (Vitruvius, III, 1-4) (Figure 41).

As already indicated, to Greeks, the discovery of a permanent pattern or an unchanging substratum by which apparently chaotic experience could be measured and explained was a source of satisfaction, even joy, which had something of a religious nature (Pollitt 1972, 4). Indeed, the Homeric usage of the word *kosmos* suggested “an unnamed standard by which things were well (*eu*) according to, or not (*ou*) according to, order” (McEwen 1993, 42). Accordingly, in order to have order the temple was to be shaped with respect to a standard of rightness which was embodied in the human body, the *microcosm*. Therefore, as indicated by Rykwert, the very notion of a canonic order in building - an order based on regulating the proportion between beam and column in particular, was based upon the analogy between building and body, body and world (Rykwert 1996, 69). Indeed, the significance of the human body metaphor was closely associated with the certain instinct whereby human beings need to attach themselves to the outside world - concerning both the natural and built environment and other beings as well. The peculiar Greek approach of seeking and revealing an order in all sorts of activities

⁷⁴ The italics are mine.

was due to such an instinct. In this respect, the basic idea that underlay the emergence of Greek orders dwelled upon an idiosyncratic quest for order to better comprehend and deal with the outside world.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

...with our movements we sketch out a pattern just like the ones flies make when they fly around a room...a right angle, an ascending line, from here to there, from back to front, up, down, spasmodically, slamming on the brakes and starting right up in another direction, and all of this is drawing a picture, a pattern...

Julio Cortazar
Hopscotch

...a multiplicity is defined not by the elements that compose it in extension, not by the characteristics that compose it in comprehension, but by the lines and dimensions it compasses in "intension". If you change dimensions, if you add or subtract one, you change multiplicity. Thus, there is a borderline for each multiplicity; it is in no way a center but rather the enveloping line or farthest dimension, as a function of which it is possible to count the others, all those lines or dimensions constitute the pack at a given moment (beyond the borderline, the multiplicity changes nature). (...) the characteristics of the pack are only symbolic entities; all that counts is the borderline – the anomalous.

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari
A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia

The ancient Greek city and its architecture incorporated strata of manifold meanings, which do not necessarily coincide with the ones that have been eventually attributed to them. Such intricate meanings which accompanied the inauguration of the restless concept of the Greek *polis* and the temple may definitely be traced during the transition from the so-called Dark Ages to the Archaic Age. This is certainly because profound transformations in Greek culture and socio-economic life took place during this period, culminating in the establishment of the Greek *polis* and temple. The archaic period, in this regard, corresponded most fundamentally to a shift whereby not only a thorough modification in the lifestyle of Greeks but also the formation of the Greek identity was in hand. The new identity emerged in parallel with the delineation of the boundaries differentiating foreigners. In fact, such delineation involved basically a territorialist outlook concerning the outside world and hence transformation in the Greek conceptualization of space. As such it originated from colonial expeditions especially between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. and the emergence and the subsequent evolution of the *polis* and the Greek temple. Before the archaic period, starting with the Greek colonial expeditions, both the concept and the identity of the *polis* were eventually established which attested to the Greek experience of a “nomadic topocosm” of trade, journey and piracy. In this respect, the merits attributed to the Greeks of the classical period were rooted in the transformations witnessed during the Archaic Age. Accordingly, this significant stage, when the itinerant Greeks were stilled as a consequence of the establishment of the *polis*, paved the formation of both their identity and their idiosyncratic way of perceiving the outside world.

With respect to such formations and transformations that took place during the archaic period, the thesis has shown how their new perspective into the outside world affected Greek urbanism and architecture on multiple levels. Tracing these multiple levels in three chapters designed from a larger to a smaller scale that included the planning of the new city-states, the establishment of the sanctuaries and the architecture of the temple, and then the classical orders, has convincingly revealed how coming to terms with sacred nature was an inherent feature of the Greeks’ essential being - the way they dwelled on earth which was eventually manifested in the way they built upon earth.

Stemming from this, a strong theme that has consistently emerged in the thesis is the peculiar conceptualization of *kosmos* in relation of Greek thought and activities. In this respect, making the order of *kosmos* manifest appears to have been one of the most fundamental motives of all Greek creative activities – comprising their crafts as well as urbanism and architecture. Such a motive affected the ways in which Greeks both discerned and interpreted the outside world and how they dwelled, acted, created and constructed upon it. As such, it dominated creative acts such as craftsmanship, art and architecture as well as the philosophical, scientific, social and political ones. Inasmuch as the notion of revealing the order of *kosmos* was operative in the cognitive processes of perceiving their environment, it helped to justify and affirm the reciprocal events of colonization and the establishment of the *polis* during the archaic period. In fact, the basic notion which haunted the Greek mind through the archaic period was a dualistic worldview which juxtaposed *kosmos* against chaos. As a consequence of their territorialist expansion, a relatively holistic outlook which relied upon their itinerant activities within the Mediterranean basin was transformed into a managerial one whereby the land was divided and categorized. Accordingly, during the archaic period, mutually exclusive categories - such as civilized vs. barbaric, cultivated vs. uncultivated, order vs. chaos, were established in order to re-conceptualize the notions of space and nature. Pursuing such mutually exclusive categories, the thesis has revealed how the transformation concerning both the perception and conceptualization of nature stemmed from the Greek territorialist expansion and the ensuing establishment of new city-states. Accordingly, it is revealed that the peculiarly Greek way of comprehending nature and the subsequent transformations it went through shaped the very essence of the Greek *polis* and the temple, in turn.

The perception of a mythical topography as a “nomadic topocosm” through the so-called Dark Ages was transformed into a new form after the territorialist expansion of Greeks and the foundation of their new cities. However, as the thesis has demonstrated, the belief in the sacredness of nature appears to have continued despite this transformation. Hence, the thesis probed the ways in which the permanence of such a phenomenon affected the colonization process, the establishment of the city-states and the architecture of the sanctuary and the temple. It emerged that, the two indissociable events – the colonization movement and the

subsequent foundation of the *polis*, implied a religious significance in the sense that they had something to do with the urge for atonement. Foreign lands which were either untamed or occupied by “barbarians” were deemed uncivilized and chaotic. Therefore, the territorialization of such places necessitated consecration to the extent that colonization deranged the integrity of a taboo – the forbidden aspect of the sacred, either of a chaotic or orderly situation. As such, before anything was built upon the land, certain rituals had to be conducted in order to come to terms with gods. The construction activity itself was also shaped in accordance with the recognition of the sacredness of nature. With respect to this notion, the thesis has illustrated the peculiar methods and concepts to which the plans of the colonial cities were subject. Accordingly, it is pointed out that either a grid-iron plan was applied through which the order of the *kosmos* was continually manifested, or else, the city was camouflaged within nature. In fact, both approaches implied a denial of the aggression created by the disruption of sacred nature.

Concerning the impact of such a phenomenon on the architecture of the sanctuary and the temple, on the other hand, the thesis also probed into the affinity of the sacrifices with the temple and demonstrated that in Greek thought, not only the sacred landscape but also the victim of a sacrifice were believed to contain divinities. Accordingly, the murder committed by killing animals was legitimized by offering gods sacrifices which became an agent to reconcile with gods. Through the sacrificial victim the partakers of the sacrifice who consumed the sacrificial animal affiliated themselves with the divinity. By extension of this idea, territorialization and cultivation upon the sacred nature became justified when some portion of the land was detached as a *temenos* and dedicated to gods. In a similar vein, the Greek temple, itself built upon transition points where rituals took place, constituted a veritable link for human beings to connect with their deities. In fact, it may be said that the temple as a whole was a votive gift from the entire *polis* to the deities to ensure the security of the city. Hence, the entire sanctuary was a sacrifice to the deities. Given the fact that both the sacrificial ritual and delineating the boundaries of a *temenos* were multiple trespasses, the act of bringing back to life, “a returning back to some previous whole state” became a prevailing notion of not only the ritual activity but also Greek sacred architecture. This notion necessitated a symbolic revitalization of the victim - either the sacrificial animal or the sacred earth – so that

the violation emerging from the physical interference could be justified and even denied. Deriving from this notion, the thesis has argued that the forms that the holy nature manifested were profoundly taken into account during the orientation and design processes of sanctuaries. The elements of the Greek sanctuary pursued an intentional and conscious form of organization although they might seem to be located haphazardly at first glance. As a matter of fact, in addition to its actual buildings, the sacred natural landscape constituted one of the primary formal elements of any Greek sanctuary. Hence, it may be said that the implicit meanings which pertained to a particular location in nature were not only manifested but also augmented through the act of building a temple upon that spot. As such, all these chosen spots housed both the deity in nature and the god as imagined by men which may be said to be architecturally substantiated in the form of the temple.

With this in mind, another point emphasized throughout the thesis was the unique and standardized architecture of the Greek temple. Such uniqueness in the design of the temple was acquired by the existence of the *peristyle* – free-standing columns which surrounded the temple on all four sides. Other than the principal distinction between these Greek temples which was between the two sets of forms: Doric and Ionic orders, these temples were more or less similar. Indeed, such standardization in architecture was operative in the invention and the subsequent development of the Greek orders themselves. Furthering this idea, the thesis reached the conclusion that the Greek temple played a profound role in the formation of Greek identity and culture, whereby all self-sufficient *poleis* had the standardized temple which bore the stamp of Greekness. Accordingly, the Greek temple may be regarded both a product of Greek identity and culture and at the same time it contributed to their sustainability. This is simply because the generic visual codes familiar to the entire Greek community were manifested in the Greek temple, which disseminated all over the Greek land. Thus, the Greek temple, in turn, became an essential constituent of Greek culture inasmuch as it triggered certain visual stimuli and turned into an element of the visual environment itself. Collective memory, in this regard, played a role in the development of both the city and the temple. With respect to such a phenomenon, the thesis has revealed that the elements which helped to constitute the peculiar Greek culture and identity may be pursued in the multiple layers of implications residing in the Greek temple. Accordingly, it appears that the

columns, as the most eminent feature of the Greek temple, embodied the symbolic meanings that corresponded to the shared visual codes of the Greek community.

As the symbolic meanings that the Greek temple and the *peristyle* expressed are underlined in the thesis, the human body metaphor in particular is particularly emphasized. This was certainly because, the very notion of a canonic order in the temple dwelled upon the analogy between building and body, body and world. It is only through one's body that one can recognize the world outside oneself and communicate and furthermore, the building itself is a body – a microcosm. Accordingly, it has been shown that in order to have order the temple had to be shaped with respect to a standard of rightness which was embodied in the human body. Indeed, the significance of the human body metaphor has a lot to do with the way that human beings relate themselves to the outside world, comprising the natural and built environment and other beings as well. As such, the thesis has pointed out that a quest for order in all sorts of activities comprising the urban and architectural ones was a peculiar Greek approach to better comprehend the outside world and attach themselves to their environment.

As the thesis dwells upon the peculiarly Greek ways of approaching the outside world, the significance of the notion of boundaries in Greek thought and activities has been illuminated. Greeks associated themselves (the human, the microcosmos) to the outside world (the macrocosm) through establishing certain categories. Indeed, it was through such categories that they structured their idiosyncratic identity. With respect to this, it has been revealed in the thesis that such a relation between the human and the outside world was based upon the existence of the boundaries set between the city and the nature, the sacred and the profane, the civilized and the barbarian, etc... Such an inclination was also dominant in the delineation of the boundaries between the land which belonged to gods and the land which belonged to the people, since the sacred precinct was reserved exclusively to religious activities. On the other hand, by bordering the line of the sanctuary in which the rituals were enacted, a bond between the deities and humans was constructed simultaneously. Therefore, the thesis has argued that such boundaries both formed the border between different categories and at the same time they made the connection between them possible by being half-porous.

Having terminated their itinerant activities at the end of the so-called Dark Ages, the Greeks embarked upon activities of ‘making space’ through the foundation of the *polis*. Accordingly, another main point emphasized throughout the thesis is that the colonial expansion and the subsequent development of the *polis* relied upon the previous experiences of the so-called Dark Ages. As a nomadic culture and its activities of commerce, travel and piracy in the Mediterranean basin prevailed during the former two hundred years, the boundaries of the new *poleis* encountered human restlessness. With respect to this phenomenon, the thesis has revealed that the boundaries of the cities were articulated to be semi-porous so that they could still keep in touch with the holy nature. On a conceptual level, to Greeks, the boundaries were points at which something began its presencing. Accordingly, it appears that the boundaries of the *polis* were determined by the interminable patterns of the rituals conducted in, around and between the cult centers. The *polis*, therefore, represented the location where the itinerant activities of Greeks did not come to an end, but got fixed through the establishment of the sanctuaries upon the cult centers. Thus, the thesis has shown that the inauguration of the sanctuaries in the newly founded city-states most profoundly affirms the consistence in the notion of the sacredness of nature from the Stone Age onwards.

Accordingly, it is highlighted in the thesis that the Greek temple was built upon certain points of transition in the holy landscape. The uncanny nature of such places evoked the emergence of rituals specific to those spots. However, as the thesis has indicated, regardless of all the symbolic meanings attributed to it, the Greek temple most fundamentally served as the house of the specific deity it was dedicated to. In fact, to Greeks, the cult images of the deities that were kept in the temples were not merely representations. Indeed, the normally unseen divine was revealed through the very corporeality of the statues. In this regard, it has been demonstrated that the Greek temple became the actual place where the presence of the gods was brought into the realm of human experience. Hence, the temple constituted a bridge between the mortals sacrificing to their gods and the gods themselves, in terms of both the specific spot it was situated in and the cult image it housed. On the other hand, Greek mythology attests that in Greek culture, gods and heroes were associated with mobility, through which divinity was animated. In this respect, the thesis has argued that as in the case of the boundaries of the *polis* which confronted the mobility of the

inhabitants of the city, the boundary of the Greek temple – the *peristyle*, encountered the animated state of the divinity. Accordingly, it is revealed that like the boundaries of the *polis*, the *peristyle* had to be porous as well.

To conclude, the idiosyncratic Greek perception and conceptualization of the outside world and the nature, in particular most basically emanated from their inherent “quest for order”. Eventually, such conceptualization became operative on the ways Greeks dwelled and built upon earth. Therefore, holiness of nature in Greek thought constituted one of the multiple meanings which underlay Greek city planning and architecture on various levels, such as the establishment of the *polis*, the concept of the exceptionally standardized Greek temple and the orders of the columns. However, Greek architecture definitely did not aim to substantiate a single and unique meaning. In this respect, the theme of nature constitutes only one of the strata of multiple meanings associated with the Greek *polis* and temple, the illumination of which would complement the deliberation process of the larger picture.

FIGURES



Figure 1: General view, Sparta

(Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, fig. 45)



Figure 2: General view, Corinth

(Corinth, www.abrock.com. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 3: View of acropolis, Corinth

(ABU, www.abu.nb.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 4: General view, Corinth

(Hellenic Ministry of Culture, <http://www.culture.gr>. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 5: Temple of Apollo at Corinth

(ABU, www.abu.nb.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 6: The sacred formation in Perachora

(Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, fig. 73)

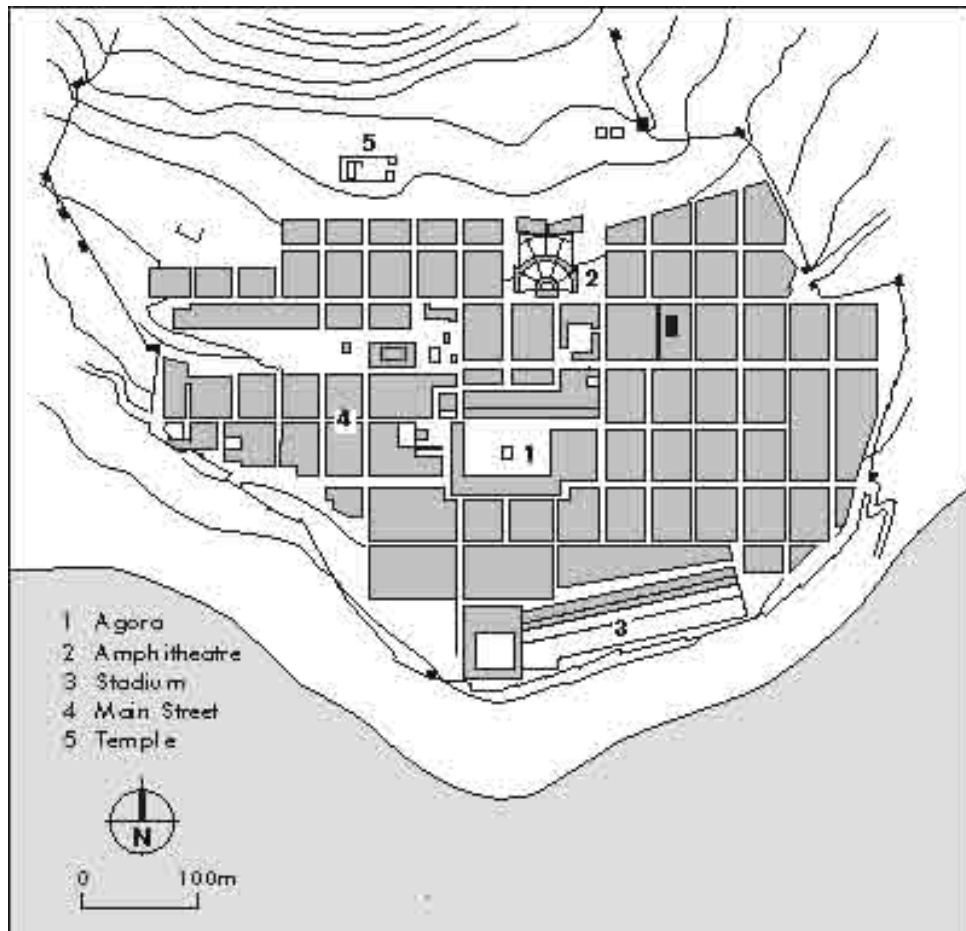


Figure 7: Plan of Priene

(University of Florida, web.clas.ufl.edu. Last accessed in June 2006)

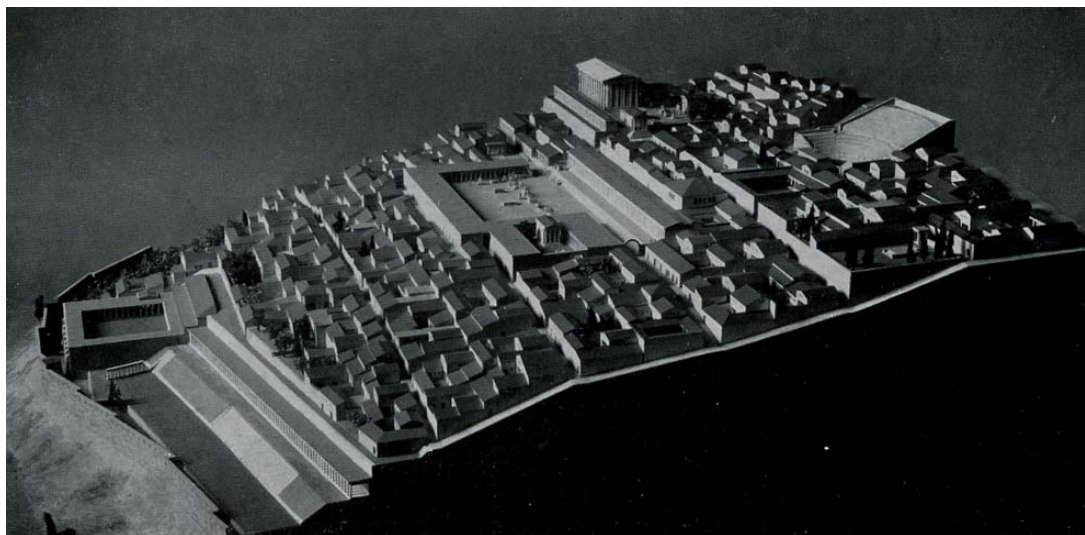


Figure 8: Reconstruction model of Priene

(Schede, Martin. *Die Ruinen von Priene: Kurze Beschreibung*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964, p. 13)



Figure 9: West end of stoa, Priene

(The Perseus Digital Library, www.perseus.tufts.edu. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 10: Temple of Athena, Priene

(The Perseus Digital Library, www.perseus.tufts.edu. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 11: View of acropolis from southern tumulus, Pergamum

(Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, fig. 373)

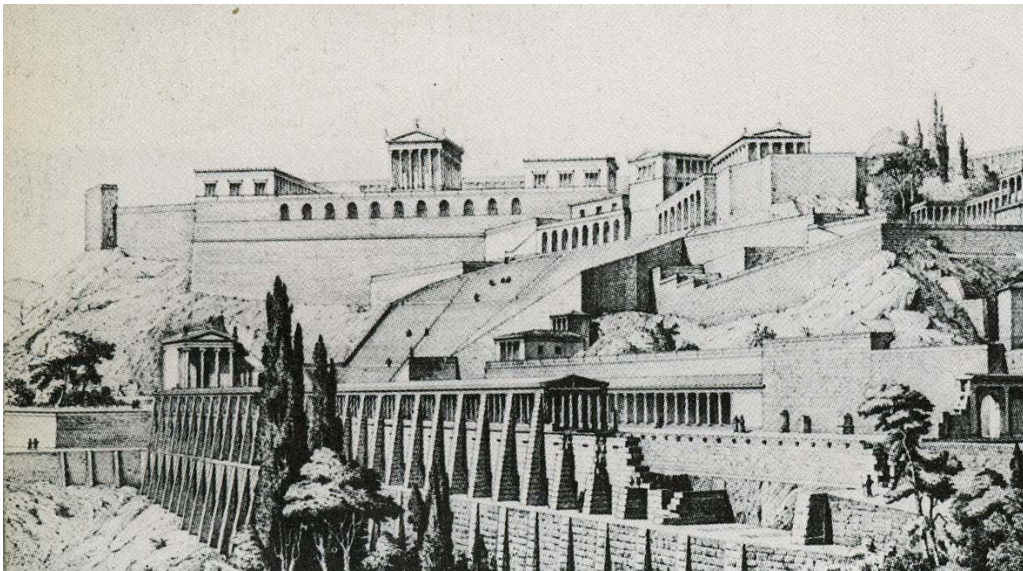


Figure 12: Reconstruction drawing of Pergamum

(Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, fig. 372)



Figure 13: Plan of Pergamum

(Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, fig. 371)

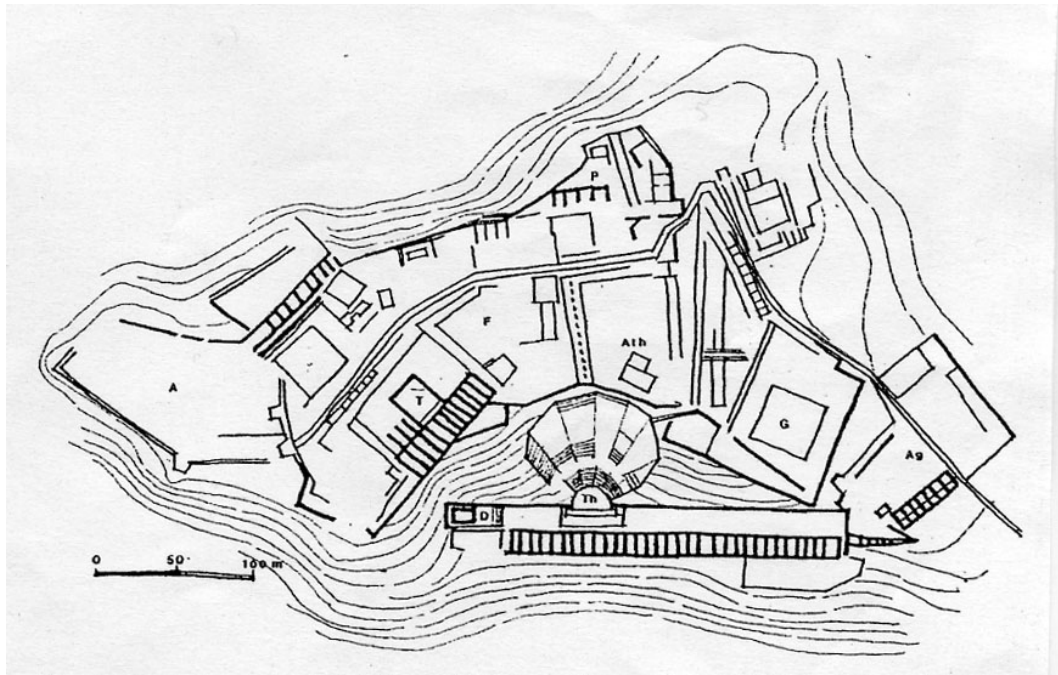


Figure 14: Plan of Pergamum, upper terraces

(Waterhouse, Alan. Boundaries of the City: The Architecture of Western Urbanism, University of Toronto Press, 1994, p. 109)

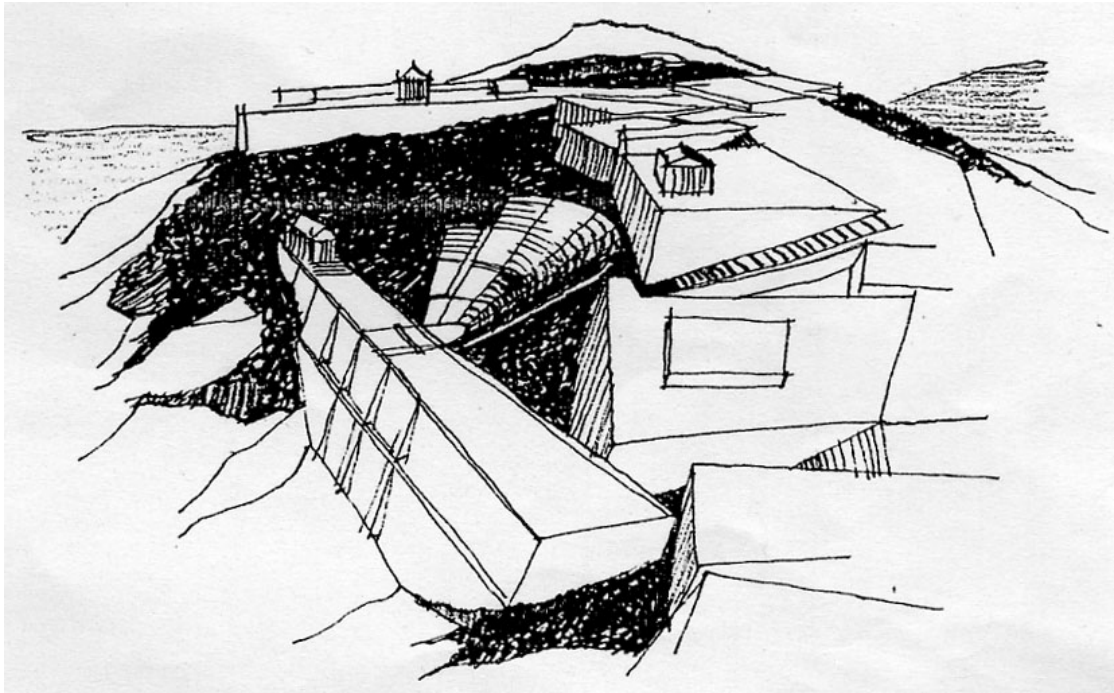


Figure 15: Reconstruction drawing of Pergamum, upper terraces

(Waterhouse, Alan. Boundaries of the City: The Architecture of Western Urbanism, University of Toronto Press, 1994, p. 109)



Figure 16: Megaron with a hearth from the palace, Mycenae

(Odyssey, www.odysseyadventures.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 17: Plan of palace at Mycenae

(Odyssey, www.odysseyadventures.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 18: Plan of Knossos

(Scully, Vincent. The Earth, The Temple and The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc. Publishers, 1969, fig. 2)



Figure 19: General view, Knossos

(Hellenic Ministry of Culture, <http://www.culture.gr>. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 20: Lion gate, Mycenae

(Hellenic Ministry of Culture, <http://www.culture.gr>. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 21: Aerial view, Mycenae

(Hellenic Ministry of Culture, <http://www.culture.gr>. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 22: 6th century B.C. wall painting from Pitsa depicting a sacrificial ritual

(Odyssey, www.odysseyadventures.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 23: An Athenian red-figure crater depicting a sacrifice scene

(Osborne, Robin. Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and Its Countryside. London and New York: Sheridan House, 1987, p. 175)

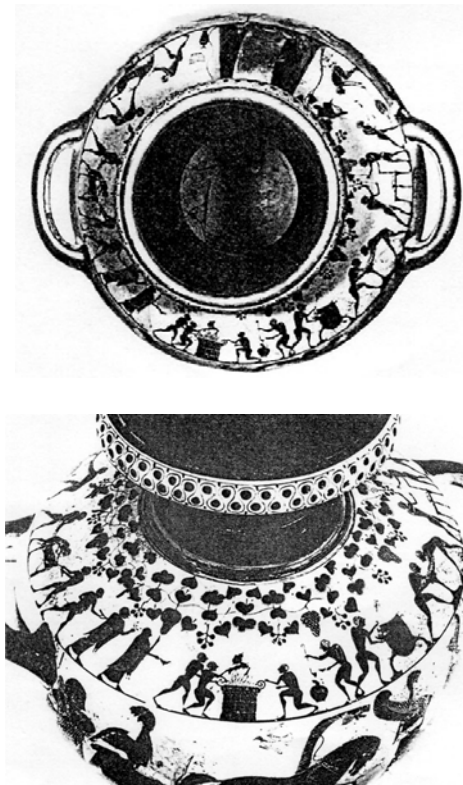


Figure 24 a, b: Hydria from Caere depicting all the stages of a ritual, from the jointing of the carcass to the roasting of the entrails, the boiling of the meat and ritual ablutions

(Osborne, Robin. Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and Its Countryside, London and New York: Sheridan House, 1987, p. 177)

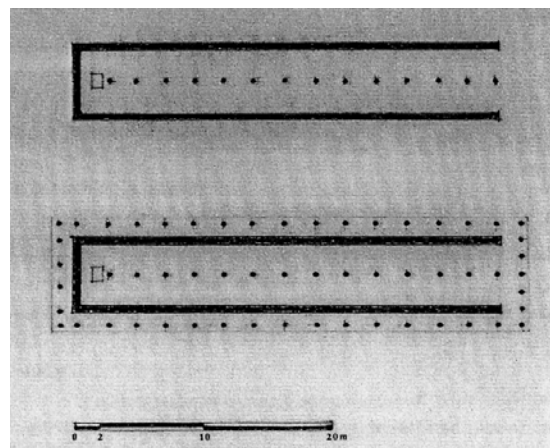


Figure 25: Plan of the first temple of Hera at Samos

(McEwen, Indra Kagis. Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993, p. 100)



Figure 26: Temple of Hera at Paestum, 6th century B.C.

(Odyssey, www.odysseyadventures.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)

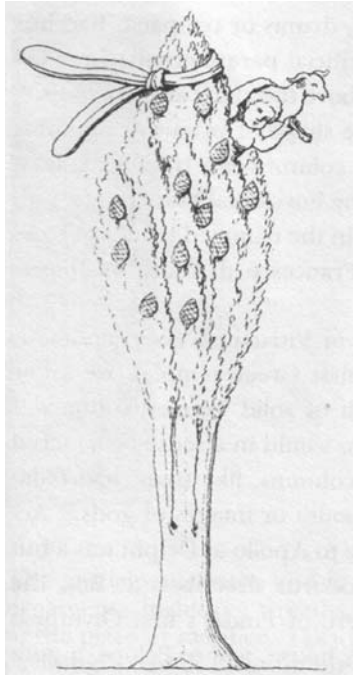


Figure 27: A god appearing between the branches of a sacred tree

(Hersey, George. The Lost Meaning in Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989, p. 13)

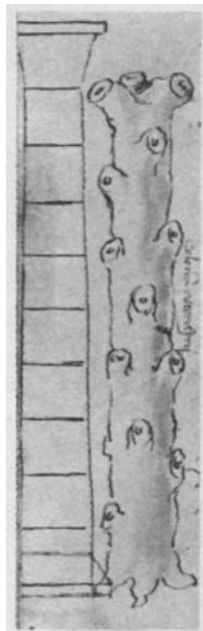


Figure 28: Columns as trees

(Hersey, George. The Lost Meaning in Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989, p. 15)



Figure 29: Lenaia vase, c.a. 450 B.C. depicting two worshippers in front of a Dionysos image. The likeness of the image to both a tree and a column is striking.

(Hersey, George. The Lost Meaning in Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989, p. 17)

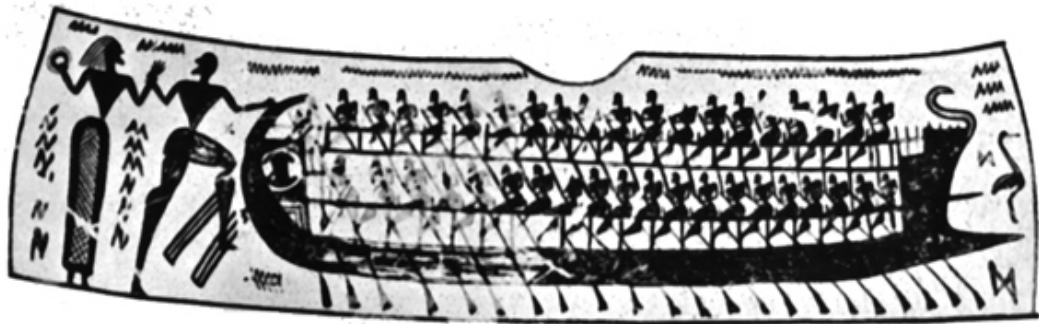


Figure 30 a, b: Attic Late Geometric crater, c.a. 730-720 B.C. depicting a ship scene

(G. Kenneth Sams and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, www.classics.unc.edu. Last accessed in June 2006)

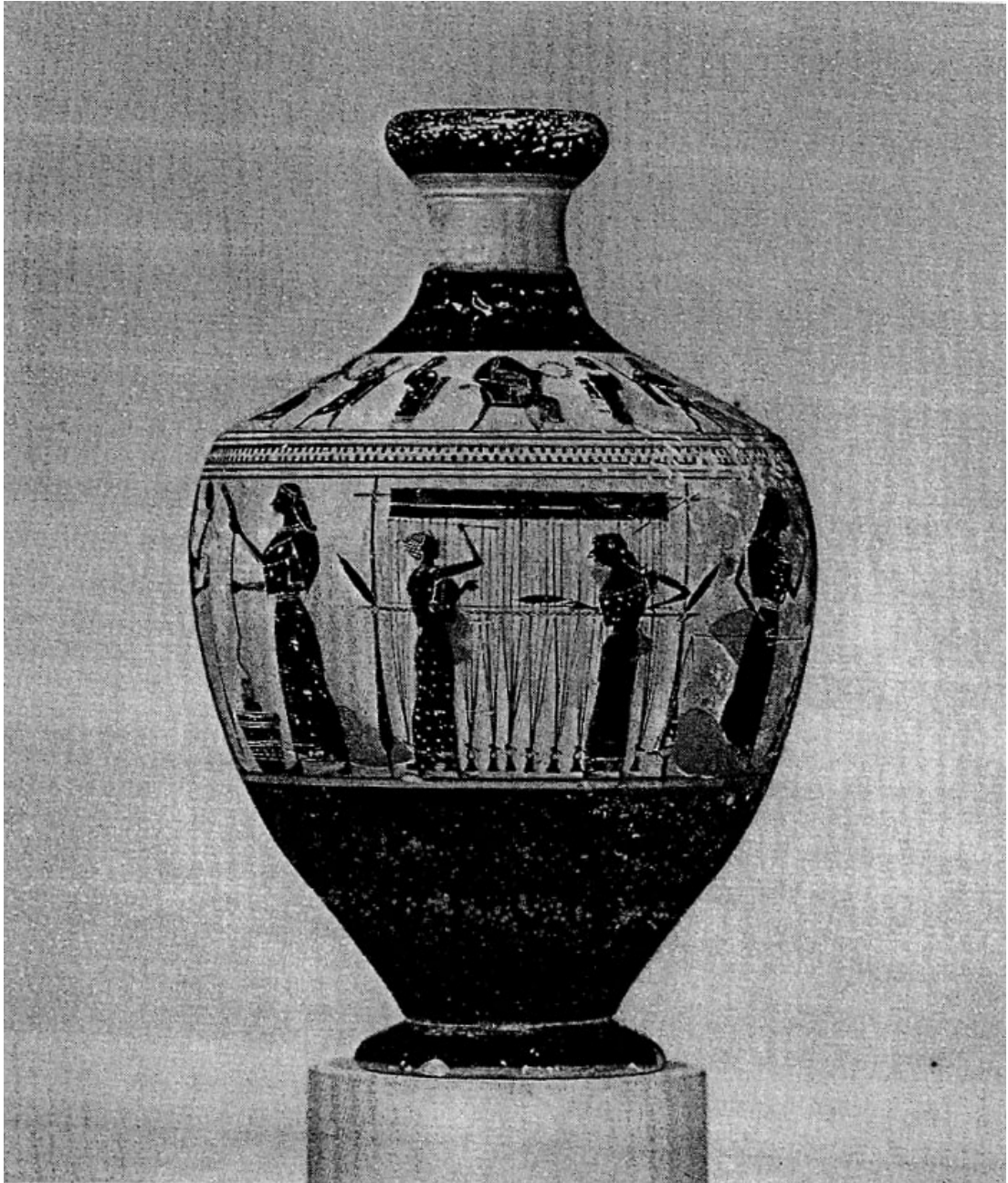


Figure 31: Greek lekythos, c.a. 560 B.C. depicting women weaving on an upright, warp-weighted loom

(McEwen, Indra Kagis. Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993, p. 108)

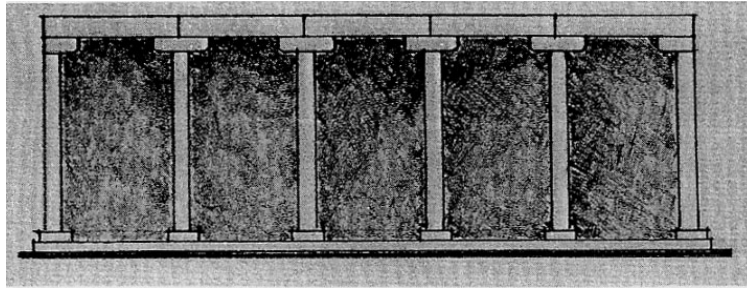


Figure 32: Post and lintel system of the peristyle

(McEwen, Indra Kagis. Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993, p. 112)

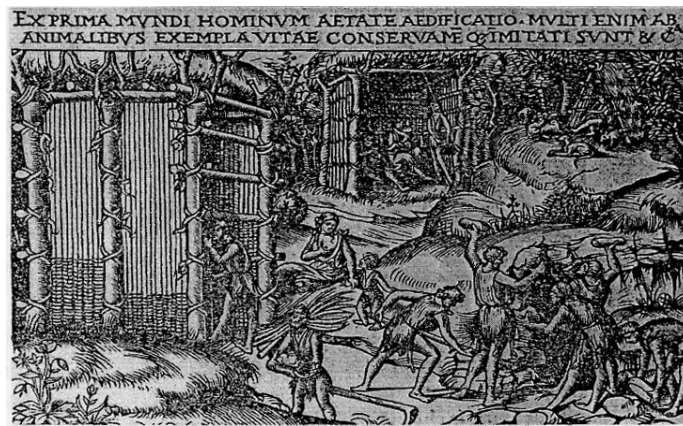


Figure 33: Engraving depicting first builders weaving their walls

(McEwen, Indra Kagis. Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993, p. 113)

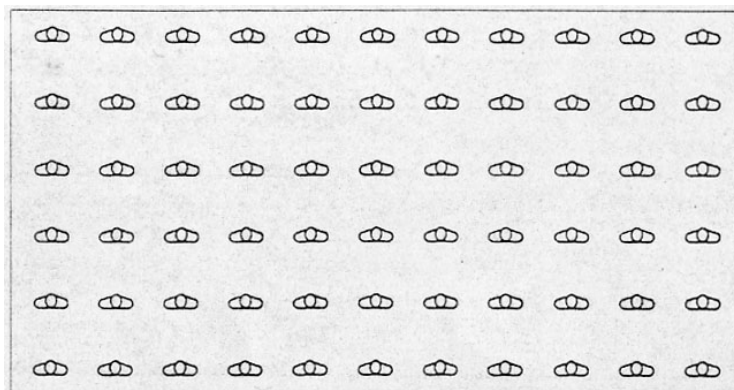


Figure 34: Scheme of the phalanx

(Dodds, George and Robert Tavernor (eds.) Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002, p. 50)



Figure 35 a, b: Late Geometric amphora, c.a. 850-750 B.C.

(Geometric Pottery, lib.haifa.ac.il. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 36: Late Geometric amphora, c.a. 850-750 B.C.

(Geometric Pottery, lib.haifa.ac.il. Last accessed in June 2006)

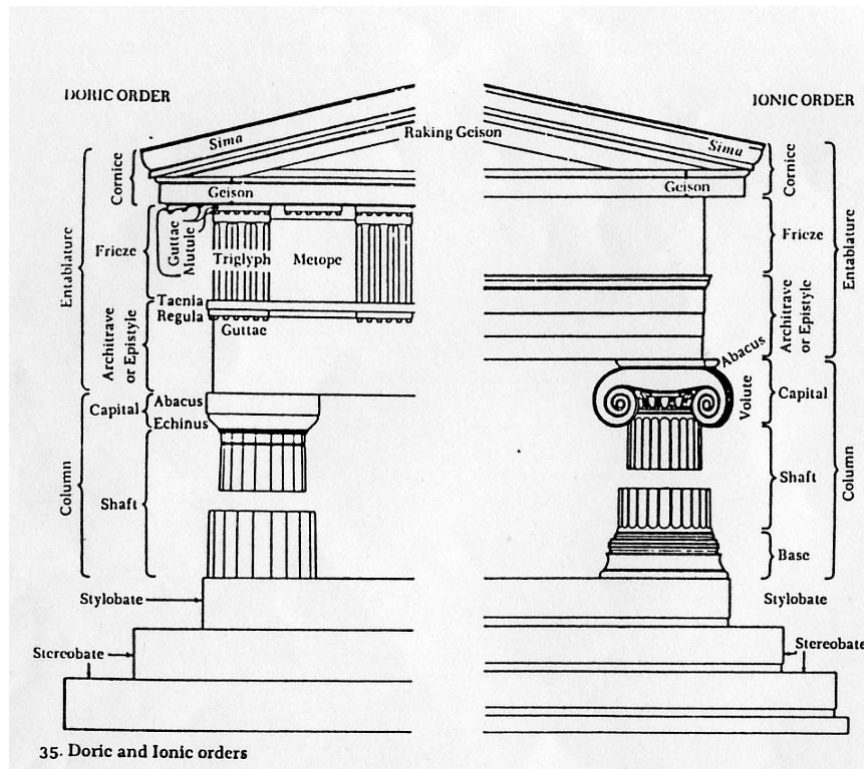


Figure 37: Doric and Ionic orders

(Holloway, R., *A View of Greek Art*, Providence: Brown University Press, 1973, p. 54)



Figure 38: Relief above the Lion gate at Mycenae

(Maicar Förlag, www.homepage.mac.com. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 39: Temple of Hera at Olympia today

(Odyssey, www.odysseyadventures.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)



Figure 40: Temple of Apollo at Corinth today

(Odyssey, www.odysseyadventures.ca. Last accessed in June 2006)

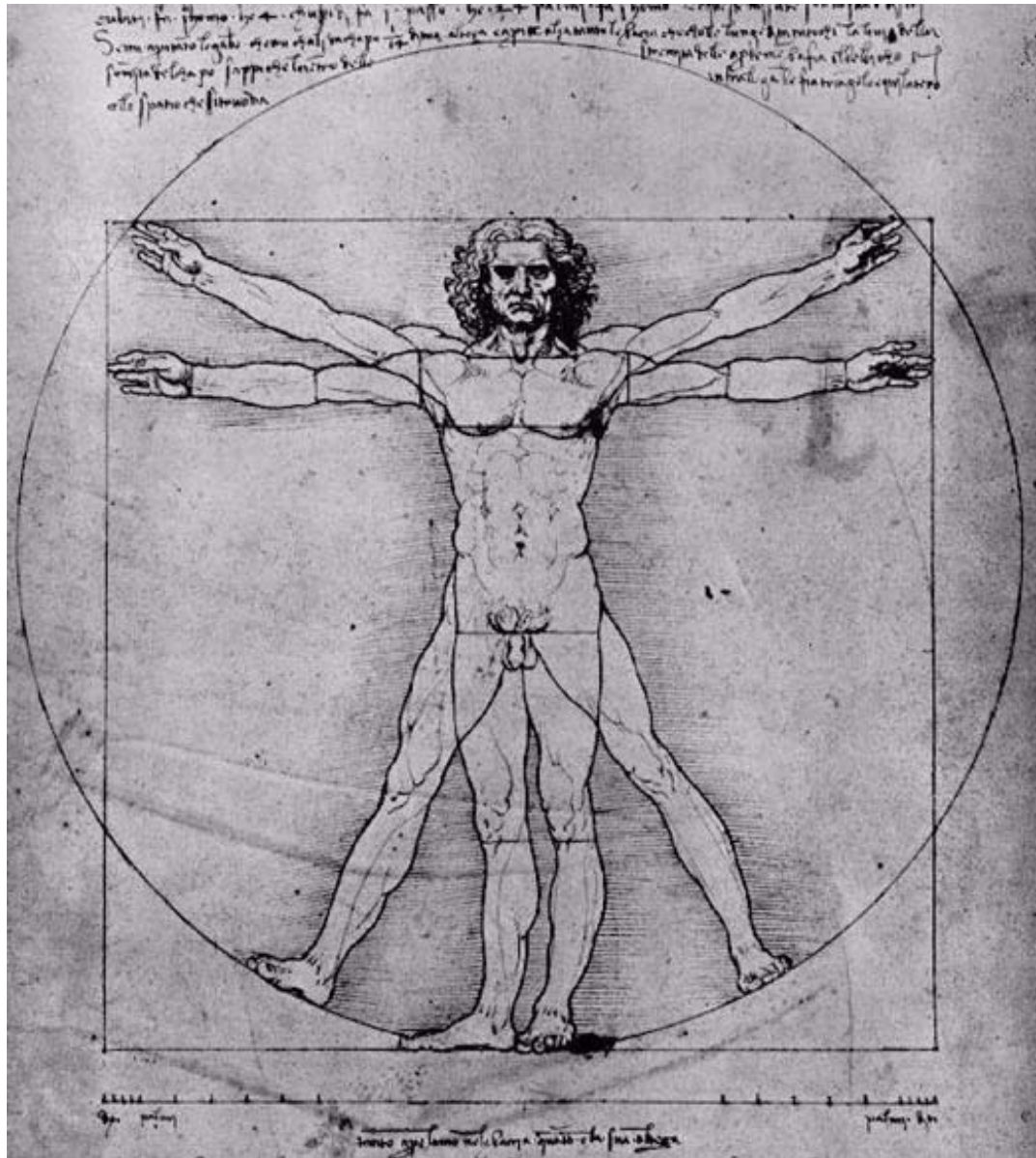


Figure 41: Vitruvian man by da Vinci

(The drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, <http://www.visi.com/~reuteler/vinci/vitruvian.jpg>. Last accessed in June 2006)

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