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**DRAMA MARGINALITY SPACE  
ARCHITECTURE OF RITUAL ACTION IN ARCHAIC GREECE  
A HELLENISTIC PARADIGM: PERGAMUM**

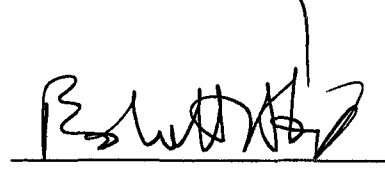
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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences



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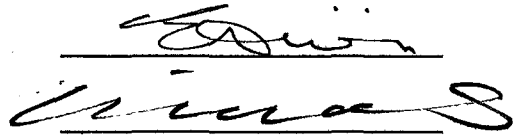
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## ABSTRACT

DRAMA, MARGINALITY, SPACE  
ARCHITECTURE OF RITUAL ACTION IN ARCHAIC GREECE  
A HELLENISTIC PARADIGM: PERGAMUM

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This thesis tries to contribute to the history of architecture of the ancient Mediterranean by investigating the influences of the socio-economical and cultural transformations in the structure of the ancient Greek society throughout the Archaic age on the origins and the formation of ancient art and architecture and in the same way the formation of a self-definition of the classical Greek society that followed. By collaborating various data from different disciplines, this study aims to interpret the architecture of the era in relation to a general picture of its society under transformation as well as discussing the textual character of historical architecture. The study primarily focuses on the production of religious social space out of the ritual practices which were the basic social practices of the specified society. Myths and rituals, which formed the collective memory and the basic ideology of the society, are traced within the hermeneutic structure of the architecture of the era. The discussions throughout the thesis are exemplified in the interpretation of the urban architecture of the Hellenistic city of Pergamum on the north-west coast of Asia Minor.

**Keywords:** Poetics, Myth, Ritual, Social Space, Drama, Temple, Sanctuary, Urban Design, Pergamum.

## ÖZ

DRAMA, SINIRSALLIK, MEKAN  
ARKAİK YUNAN'DA TÖRENSEL HAREKETİN MİMARLIĞI  
HELENİSTİK BİR ÖRNEKLEME: BERGAMA

Harmanşah, Ömür

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

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Bu tez, eski Yunan toplum yapısında Arkaik çağ boyunca gözlenen toplumsal-ekonomik ve kültürel dönüşümlerin, antik dönem sanat ve mimarlığının kökenleri ve oluşum süreci üzerindeki etkisi, ve bunu takip eden klasik çağ Yunan toplumunun kimlik tanımının yine bu yolla oluşumu üzerinde durarak, eski çağ Akdenizi mimarlık tarihine katkıda bulunmayı hedef almaktadır. Bu çalışma, farklı disiplinlerden çeşitli verileri biraraya getirerek, bir dönemin mimarlığını, dönüşüm içinde olan o dönem toplumuyla ilişkilendirerek yorumlamayı amaçlarken, tarihsel mimarlığın metinsel karakteri üzerinde durmaktadır. Çalışma, özellikle, yukarıda tanımlanan toplumun temel toplumsal pratiğini oluşturan dinsel törenler sonucunda ortaya çıkan dinsel toplumsal mekanın üretimi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Toplumun toplayıcı belleğini ve temel ideolojisini oluşturan söylenlerin ve dinsel törenlerin izleri, dönem mimarlığının anlambilimsel yapısında araştırılmaktadır. Tez boyunca ele alınan tartışmalar, kuzey batı Anadolu'da yer alan Bergama'nın, Helenistik dönemde kentsel mimarlık bağlamında yorumlanması ile örneklenmektedir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Şiir, Söylen, Dinsel Tören, Toplumsal Mekan, Drama, Tapınak, Tapınak Alanı, Kentsel Tasarım, Bergama.

To Mehmet Altay  
and  
other modern odyssea

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## CHAPTER I

### PROLOGOS



If one wants to learn the truth about ancient peoples, it is well to study them without thinking of ourselves. We must consider them as if they were wholly strange, and we should do so with a mind as free and with as much objectivity as we would employ, say, in studying the ancient Indians or Arabians. Thus considered, Greece and Rome come before us in a wholly inimitable way. Nothing in modern times is like them; nothing in the future can ever be like them again.

Numa Fustel de Coulanges  
*The Ancient City*

Writing the history of art and architecture today demands a more complicated grasp of the social phenomena of the alleged historical cultures under concern, than any time before. The definition of architectural history as "an explanation of societal and cultural developments through the medium of buildings" or a so-called concern in a "study of architectural history as the history of cultural expression"<sup>1</sup> are accused to be outmoded when such interpretations fall into the trap of historicism and are unable to avoid the imprinted "stamp of the historians' personality on their reconstructions of the past" (Van Pelt & Westfall, 10). However problematic is also the positivist point of view about the colossal project of a totally objective reconstruction to be possible with a view from the right spectacles of the alleged age; and thus within the context of a truly reconstructed *Zeitgeist*.

Recent literature on the ancient Greek society does not seem to dare to put forward such a pretentious assertion and thereby suggest a sense of completeness. It rather remains in the form of isolated interpretations, interpretive as much as scientific, collaborating various data provided by multifarious disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, economics and politics and the like. This interdisciplinary approach encourages intertextuality between various historical narratives, be they literary or in other spheres of creative production. It opens up relevant and additional clues for the debates of the historian and new perspectives for historical reconstruction and interpretation.

The widespread concern in myth and the primitive in art circles and philosophical genre of the Twentieth century societies as a result of this has also been echoed in the recapitulation of the ancient Greek society. Transhistoricity of the Greek myth, like that of their art, had been the predominant subject of the discourse. Unlike the pseudo-myths of modern society, Greek myths, in their original form, stand as

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<sup>1</sup> Van Pelt & Westfall, 384, n.3 cited from Neil Jackson, *Report on Architectural History Education in Undergraduate Departments of Architecture*; Report Prepared for the Society of Architectural Historians, Philadelphia, 1989.

<sup>2</sup> German word for the general intellectual, moral and cultural climate of an era.

true manifestations of the *eternal child*, "encoding of the society's concept of truth" (Pozzi & Wickersham, vii). While today myth survives in the modern society as the antithesis of truth; for ancient Greeks, myth and ritual were true expressions of existence and the dark side of existence. By this definition myth and ritual preserved the creative impulse for the aesthetic basis of living and art.

As a number of scholars agree today, "without understanding the central role of myth in the ideology of the *polis* and the mental stock of the Greek society, a relevant interpretation of Greek society could not be made"... [They] believed in myths and regarded them as their national history"<sup>3</sup>. The Greeks, who were considered to be propagators of rational thought in the roots of Western civilization, now seem to initiate a counter discourse. The recent interpretations of this prolific culture present an inspirational basis for the new proposal for a possible overcoming of the crises besetting humanity and the arts, namely the postmodern aesthetics. Especially Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's writings and especially his tragic world view were taken as the protasis for the discourse<sup>4</sup>.

The structuralist discourse and the contralateral preponderance of linguistics provided a new view of the ancient Greek culture. Scholars like Segal and Burkert focused "not so much upon the dominant, ideal values at the surface of the culture, but on the subsurface tensions within the system, that the culture had to allow, resist and contain in order to exist" (Segal, 22-23). The main concern was the darker side of the Greek civilization, predominantly expressed in the Greek tragic works. In this line of thought, Greek tragedy has been widely reinterpreted as an art-historical phenomenon, revealing the preserved but hidden patterns of the urban society, inherent from the preclassical tribal

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<sup>3</sup> Pozzi & Wickersham, 2. See also Fornara (1983), especially "History and Related Genres" where he concentrates on genealogy, as the record of the heroic tradition.

<sup>4</sup> See especially "The Birth of Tragedy" in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche* (1968), 3-144. Also Pfeffer (1972) for his tragic world view.

customs and encoded in the structure of their myth and ritual. Greek tragedy acted as a social self-questioning mechanism of the *polis* to endure the hysterical tensions underneath the surface of their professed so-called rationalized culture.

This particular study, which tries to found its basis on this area of discussions, has the specific aim to investigate the crucial moment in Greek history when the rural life of the ancient tribal man was transformed into the settled civilized urban life. An already illustrated picture of this phenomenon as a sudden and painless transformation is apparently a falsified one. The idea that the irrationality of the tribal customs, that widely connoted a bestial nature, is "safely" and "completely" transformed into a "more human" communal life, now appears to be unconvincing and awkward. A comparative view of the nature of social phenomena in the early archaic age and the *polis* society will provide sufficient testimony to claim this.

The archaic age was primarily a time of extreme instability and insecurity. The non-urbanized individual was encircled with the savagery of a chaotic environment in the cradle of *phûsis apeirōs* (the boundless nature), where spatially one could have had less to take refuge<sup>5</sup>. A social hysteria has therefore ensued and the archaic man searched for his self purification in the cathartic rituals. "In the culture of prephilosophical Greece, divinity lay in animation and... the emphasis was on the unbound, the animated state"<sup>6</sup>. As in other societies under transformation, the ancient man felt the sorrow of existence more than any other time. Rollo May defines the archaic age as an age of anxiety and therefore of creativity that at the same time, a time of pregnancy to the rise of the *polis* (May, 106-107).

After sufficient amount of literary evidence, one can safely assume that the man in constructing his second urban revolution was so strictly

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of *phûsis apeirōs*, see below (p. 42 and n. 25 in chapter III).

<sup>6</sup> McEwen, 2-3. See also Dodds (1957), "From Shame Culture to Guilt Culture" in *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 28-63.



anchored to the religious world of divinities<sup>7</sup>. This led to a consciousness of myth, ritual and sacrificial customs of preurban life that these savage motives could not have been devoured in the so-called rationality of the urban life but were absorbed in the institutions that made up the *polis* itself. The mundane motives of life preserving sacred connotations survived in the structure of the city either as a mere continuation of communal ceremonies and customs or within the urban institutions in a transformed and absorbed way. Ritual activities never ceased to exist on the scene of the *polis*, while the tragedy, perhaps the most challenging creation of Greek society, flowered in the urban culture and rested on the deconstructive aspects of myth and ritual which were the sole tool of tragic poets<sup>8</sup>. If it is possible to reflect in a wider context, one would also dare to claim that the conceptual metastructure or the backbone of urban society and the ideology of the *polis*, like democracy, civic consciousness, collective memory, collaborative act, division of labor<sup>9</sup> were not mere discoveries of the *polis* society, but mental institutions built on what was inherited from the archaic culture.

Unlike what certain scholars think, the cathartic nature of the archaic rituals resulted not in a purification of collective hysteria by means of domestication or taming of feelings but in a such manner that the transgressive force of the ritual was transformed into a creative impulse, resulting in the dramatization of the suffering and the ecstatic possession by poetry, music and dance. Greek *mousiké* denoted not just

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<sup>7</sup> First urban revolution was asserted by Gordon Childe as the onset of the Neolithic cultures and is widely accepted. See Mumford, 31. See also Gordon Childe, "Origins and Evolution of Urban Communities and Urbanization" in *Neighborhood, City and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*. Robert Gutman and David Popenoe (eds.), New York, 1970, pp. 111-119.

<sup>8</sup> The seasonal Dionysian rituals were arrested within the confines of the *polis* from 6th. C. BC onwards. For a survey of city festivals in honor of Dionysus, see Adrados (1975).

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion on division of labor in the Greek *polis* as inherent from the communal act in the preurban society, see Mumford, 105. Collective memory originated in the continuous preservation of the memoranda of a surprisingly complicated world of divinities and divine customs in the mind of the archaic man.

music but poetry and music performed together (Silk & Stern, 137). In the very essence of art, as widely put forward within the context of the Nietzschean tragic point of view, there exists a rebellious, revolting nature as an expression of ecstatic moods, which inspires the creation of the work of art (Pfeffer, 32-64). The archaic view of life as aesthetic experience was canalized to creative act and led the works of art/architecture -namely *technai*- to flourish in the "bound" nature of the *polis*.

Plato talks about the political *techné*, the art of living and managing a city<sup>10</sup>. He also points out that the achievements of the civilization of the *polis* were due to the rise of the *technai*. The view of the Greek city throughout the present study will be an attempt to envision it as an artifact itself, which is "woven by human action, activity of its inhabitants" and "as a revelation of *kosmos*", the world order. The spiritual building of this artifact was by ceaseless sequential rites which "caused the city to appear and reappear not only in terms of a divine performance but also as a public action" (McEwen, 98-113).

The society of the Greek *polis* rested on an illusion of freedom and constructed its life upon its urban institutions. Each work of art in order to come into existence needed to destroy this illusion and gain its freedom by an anomalous nature, deconstructing the *order* of the city and questioning its societal norms<sup>11</sup>. The dialectic between the normative order of the Greek society and the rebellious-anomalous nature of art, became most apparent in the tragic works of the Greeks and for that reason form the basis for this study.

An architectural interpretation of Hellenistic Pergamum and some of its specific monuments will illustrate how such dichotomy was echoed in other spheres of creation. In the mind of the ancient Greek man, any act of creation was not conceived independently of his overall cosmic view of life and the universe which was supposed to guide

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<sup>10</sup> Plato, *Protagoras*, 319A. Cited in Pollitt, 1974, 32-38.

<sup>11</sup> See Ergüven (1992), "Resmin Başkalaşan Güzelliği", in *Yoruma Doğru*, pp. 86-97.

every single action, be they mundane or sacred. The ancient Greeks not only formed a theatrical society in which they exercised a dramatic communal life endowed with a mythical consciousness of the universe but also created an architecture of the city which spoke the same sort of a dramatic language. "It is men that make a *polis*" said Nicias to his soldiers on the beach at Syracuse "not walls or ships devoid of men"<sup>12</sup>.



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<sup>12</sup> Thucydides 7.77.7.; cited in McEwen, 120.



Figure 1. Tree trinity of Min.

## CHAPTER II

### ARCHAIC AGE AND METAMORPHOSES OF GREEK CULTURE I XOANON AND THE GODDESS BEHIND

*Haec fuere numinum templa,*  
Once upon a time trees were temples of the deities,  
*priscoque ritu simplicia rura etiam*  
and in conformity with primitive ritual simple country places  
*nunc deo praecellentem arborem dicant;*  
even now dedicate a tree of exceptional height to a god;  
*nec magis aura fulgentia atque ebore simulacra*  
nor do we pay greater worship to images shining with gold and ivory  
*quam lucos et in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.*  
than to the forests and to the very silences that they contain.

Pliny  
*Naturalis Historia, XII.2*

La Nature est un temple où de vivants piliers  
Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;  
L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles  
Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers

Charles Baudelaire  
*Les Fleurs du Mal*

## II.1 ARCHAIC AGE: TRANSFORMATIONS IN ART AND CULTURE

The *darkness* of the dark ages in the Aegean<sup>1</sup> is under question among recent works on the origins of Greek culture. Sarah Morris, in her extensive work, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*, focuses on Greece and its oriental culture and reinterprets the so-called gap "between the Homeric times and Classical Athens" (Morris, 1995, 148). According to her view, the Phoenicians who circulated in the Aegean and were mainly occupied with industry and commerce during those Aegean dark ages until the Persian wars, could provide sufficient material to prove the existence of an unobstructed Aegean culture. Recent archaeological work in the Aegean sites lends support to the suggestion.

Likewise, Polignac insists on the idea that sites of Bronze Age sanctuaries were continued to be used in the Geometric Period. The new discoveries in the cult places of the Aegean, chronologically left little gap "between the abandonment of Mycenaean sites and the appearance of the first traces of cult in the Dark Ages"<sup>2</sup>. The memory of the sanctity of a cultic place was kept, even if sometimes archaeological evidence reveals gaps in occupation. The *topos* of the later temple or *temenos* was no ordinary place and generally dated back to the Bronze Age<sup>3</sup>.

The discussions on continuity and discontinuity for the cultic places of the Aegean Bronze and Archaic Ages have always been formulated on a generalizing basis and therefore pose serious problems

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<sup>1</sup> By dark ages, it is widely meant the archaeologically obscure period from the destruction of Mycenaean palaces in the 12th century BC to the awakening of Greek culture in the 8th century BC. Like all periodizations, this period is always subject to controversy.

<sup>2</sup> Polignac, 1994, 8; see also note 15. At Isthmia, the establishment of the cult dates go back to the 11th century. See Gebhard and Hemans, "Excavations at Isthmia, 1989", *Hesperia* 61 (1992), pp.1-23. On continuity of cult places see also Albert Schachter (1992), "Policy, Cult and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries" in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, pp.1-57.

<sup>3</sup> Françoise Polignac, "Memoire et Tradition" in *Aux Origines de l'Hellenism: le Crete et la Grece*, Paris 1984, pp. 163-72; and also *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Hagg & Marinatos; eds. (Stockholm 1981); as well as, Rutkowski (1986).

for the concerned scholarship. The current dominating poststructuralist inclination toward "fragmenting the subject of analysis and denying the possibility of a single dominant interpretation" questions the totalitarian approaches (Morris, 1995, 27). Polignac suggests a site-by-site study of breaks and continuities in the history of sanctuaries to investigate their implications on the history of the related society (Polignac, 1994, 29).

Like many aspects of the so-called dark ages, the disappearance of the syllabic Linear B scripture has not been elucidated yet and is still a matter of controversy. Scanty evidence of a Semitic alphabet from the Aegean sites of Phoenician trade does not fill the gap. It does not provide any distinct connection with the linear B alphabet<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the Greek alphabet which appeared on the Geometric pottery as graffiti around 750 BC and attributed to the innovative atmosphere of the early Archaic age, was apparently readopted from the early Phoenician scripture<sup>5</sup>. The complete appearance of the new Greek alphabet was thus "not a sudden innovation but grew from long periods of experimentation" (Morris, 1995, 148). Through the archaic period, Greeks seem to have recovered their literacy with the help of these unsettled strangers and their commerce-oriented activity in the Aegean. Even at the very beginning, each city adopted its own local alphabet to fulfill local needs and thus differed from each other considerably. The variations were mainly due to the degree of contact with the Phoenician tradesmen (Coldstream, 295).

The Archaic Period, as widely agreed, was really an experimental age and led to an awakening of Greek culture: not only stimulating "the decisive achievements of Classical Greece" but perhaps being "the most important period in Greek history" itself<sup>6</sup>. The dominating view

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<sup>4</sup> Although literacy exchange between the Levant and the Aegean was well proved by the unread tablet found in Ulu Burun shipwreck in Kas on the Lycian coast. The artifacts are dated to late 14th and early 13th century BC. Sarah Morris calls the alphabet "the most oriental of Greek imports", see esp. pp.106-107 and 103, note 13, for a bibliography on Ulu Burun wreck.

<sup>5</sup> Coldstream, 295-302, for a comparison of early Greek graffiti of 8th c. BC and Phoenician alphabet from various inscriptions through 925-730 BC.

<sup>6</sup> Snodgrass, 1980, 13 and Austin & V.Naquet, 49 respectively. See also *The Greek Renaissance*, for special issues in the 8th c. BC.

strongly supported by material evidence is a complete intellectual revolution, a gradual metamorphosis of Greek culture in every sphere of human action: religion, arts, and all other forms of thought.

Unquestionably "the major novelty was the development of the *polis* which was to become the essential framework [of]...the Greek civilization"<sup>7</sup>. The Greek self-definition in the Classical period and the mental institutions that shaped up the *polis* society were constructed through the Archaic period. The *colonizing movement* which began in the first half of the 8th century BC resulted in the establishment of several cities around the Aegean, Asia Minor, Sicily, North Africa and the Levant, as a consequence of expanding sea trade, an agricultural revolution, and transformation of the nomadic culture into a sedentary one<sup>8</sup>.

At the substratum to this metamorphosis lies the changing mental faculties of the Greek tribal man and the subsurface tensions that such transformations create in the underlying levels of collective consciousness in the Greek society. The former is evident in the changing forms of expression in all spheres of creation<sup>9</sup>, while the latter is concealed within the narratives of the artifacts. The social hysteria, created within the hub of such archaic deviant culture, the ritual action as its *katharsis*, and its role in the societal creative power will be the focal point in the interpretation of sanctuaries and their settings in the following discussions.

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<sup>7</sup> Austin & V.Naquet, 49. The discussion on the rise of the Greek polis and its institutions within a theatrical society is reserved for Chapter 4.

<sup>8</sup> Snodgrass, 1980, 15-48. See also Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke (1993), "Introduction" in *Cultural Poetics*, Dougherty & Kurke; eds., pp.1-12. Also Dougherty (1993); and Graham (1964).

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that, throughout the thesis, *creation* is not considered as a genuine activity, as the modern connotations of the word would imply. The ancient craftsmen were no genius artists, but rather anonymous personifications with certain skills, who worked under the overwhelming limitations of traditional techniques. He "followed his trade as a bee gathered honey or a spider span its web, and that was that". (Burford, 1974, 185). His trade was a mimetic production/creation, dominated by the nature's mode of production and the memory of the mythical past. For contradictory magical skills of the *demiourgoi*, see below in this chapter. For itinerant Levantine craftsmen as the predecessors of the urban Greek artisan, see below chapter IV.



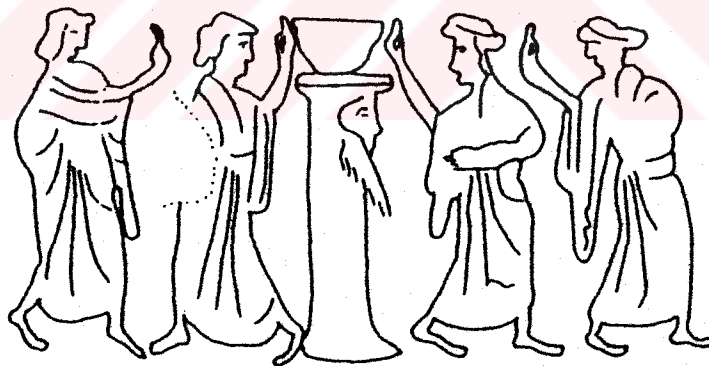


Figure 2. An aulos player, boy leaping before a chorus  
Figure 3. Four woman dancing around pillar affixed with mask of Dionysus.

Whether in literature, on narrative scenes of geometric pottery, architectural settings of the sanctuaries, architecture of the temple itself, sculpture and other artifacts, one witnesses a conspicuous sophistication of the craftsman's technical and mental capacities and institutions. Myth and magic-oriented craftsmanship of the heroic age was transformed into the *technai* of the settled Greek society.

The oral tradition of the heroic age comprised a diverse and enormously rich *mythistory*. The myths were concealed in the epic tradition, surviving from mouth to mouth in the form of poetry. Rituals were enacted as a revelation of the mythical poetical consciousness. The collective memory was thus composed of the mental stock of the heroic age and everyday ritual enactments of the society. In the archaic innovative atmosphere, the introduction of scripture and the respective (albeit slow) spread of literacy led to the codification of Homeric poetry. The epic is thus taken out of the monopoly of rituals and became a more substantial and indestructible memorandum of its heroic culture.

Codification of urban laws and affairs that accompanied it provided the formation of new mental institutions that sustained the society of the *polis*. Civic consciousness, the collaborative act and division of labor were (perhaps not necessarily introduced for the first time) settled and institutionalized within the social context of the city. A 6th century inscription from Alkades mentions a Phoenician, who was established as ποιητικαστας of the city. His duty was "to record for the city and remember the city's decisions...both sacred and secular"<sup>10</sup>. The γραμματευς at Athens performed the same function (Coldstream, 302).

The development of narrative techniques on pottery contributed a lot to these memoranda. "The early development of figural arts...followed a trajectory parallel to that of heroic saga... Rediscovery of the figural style on monumental figural vases in the middle of the 8th century BC"

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<sup>10</sup> Morris, 1995, 160; see also note 53 for the source of the specified inscription.

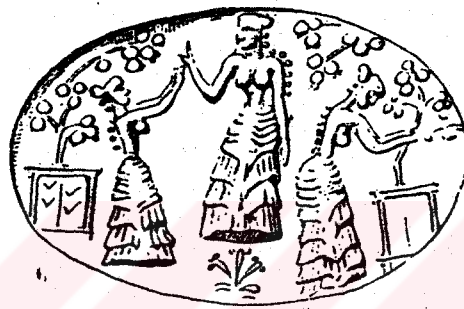


Figure 4. Portal shrine on gold signet ring, Mycenae  
Figure 5. Gold ring in the Museum of Candia  
Figure 6. Gold ring in the National Museum of Athens.  
Figure 7. Gold ring from Vaphio.

sequentially developed into narrative techniques<sup>11</sup>. The depictions have not only concentrated on mythical subjects: daily ritual, funeral, sacrificial scenes formed a common involvement within the content of the narratives. Choice of the subjects gradually gained specificity while a language of gestures and facial expression was created. The alphabet made labeling possible by which the depicted figures and the author of the artifact could be identified. Architectural sculpture as a medium of a more complex narrative was introduced later in the mid 6th century BC (Shapiro, 6).

## II.2 MAGIC POETRY CRAFTSMAN

The importance of the archaic age lay in the outburst of these poetic expressions in all spheres of creation, namely τεχναι. Pollitt translates τεχνη as "organized knowledge and procedure applied for the purpose of producing a specific preconceived result or simply *rational production*" (Pollitt, 1974, 32). The product could either be an artifact, a performance of singing, dancing or the training of an animal. Plato defined the making of a *polis* as a "political *techné*" (Protagoras 319A). This dominant view of rationalized complex *techné* in the mind of classical scholars of 5th century BC was correlated to the progress from "brute savagery to civilization"<sup>12</sup>.

However, before the fullest formulation of this very conception, the nature of the archaic act of creation (which was in a transient stage) was fairly different and more akin to preurban motives of expression. Against the rationality of *techné* proper, it preserved an irrational aspect, and was articulated with magic and poetry. The early use of the word *techné* in Homer and Hesiod, as Pollitt again indicates, meant "cunning of hand" or "skill" (Pollitt, 1974, 34).

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<sup>11</sup> Shapiro, 4. See also Snodgrass, *Narration and Illusion in Archaic Greek Art*, London, 1982. Also Holloway (1973), esp. "Narration in Archaic Art" in *A View of Greek Art*, Providence, 1973, pp.69-87.

<sup>12</sup> Pollitt, 1974, 34. He mentions the influence of sophistic thought, mainly that of Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus of Ceos. The last remark belongs to the Hesiodic view.

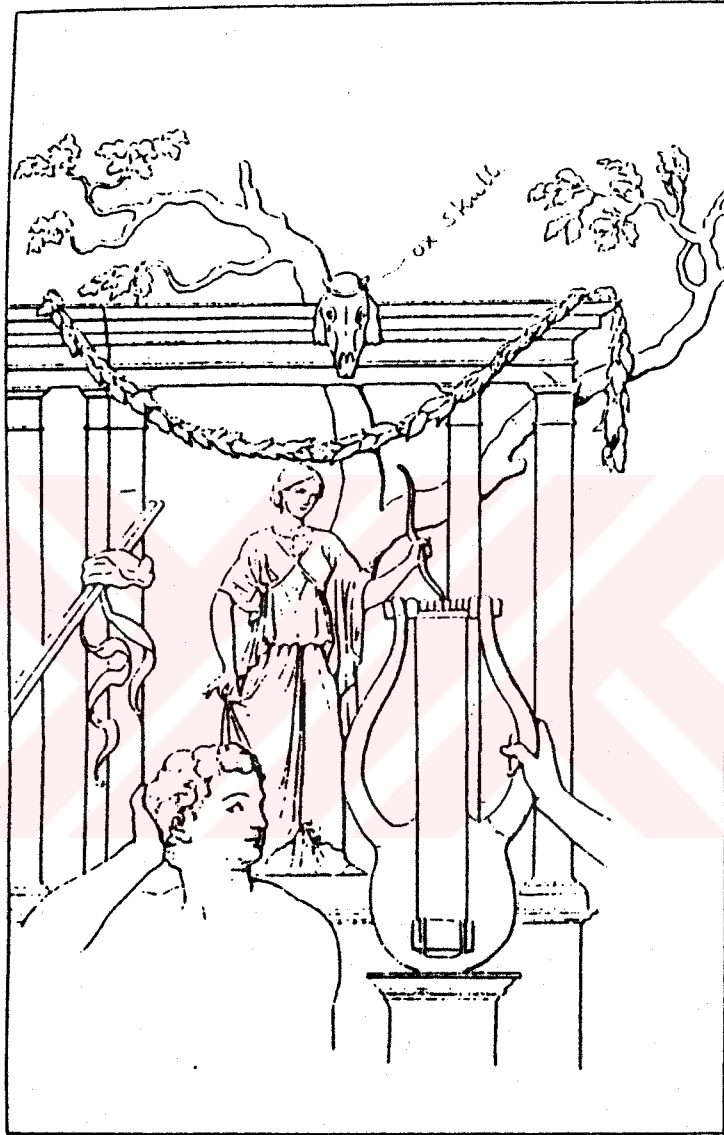


Figure 8. Tree Aedicule of Artemis.

It was such an extraordinary experience that the persona of the authors to these creations were frequently raised to the level of magicians or even cultic images like Hephaistos and Daidalos, even Athena herself. These mythical craftsmen, *demiourgoi* were armed with "magic and unpredictable powers" and associated with *daidallein* "the act of supreme craftsmanship more essential to poetic narrative than to archaeology"<sup>13</sup>.

The focus of everyday activity in Archaic Greece was still the enactment of ritual, an eloquent text where the nature of civic life found expression, as did the other arts. Most of the archaeological material that were recognized to have an art-historical significance for the period came from the sanctuaries, as votive objects and offerings, or the cult images and altars. According to Sarah Morris, after the Bronze Age, the sanctuaries served as the specific medium of innovations, religious and mythological; "...its manifestations...are linked in a diachronic tradition of *Kunstsprache* as *Kultsprache* that is maintained with affection, as an archaism, until the demise of pagan sanctuaries.." (Morris, 1995, 52). Moreover building on top of a prehistoric ancestry, "what was aesthetic and poetic fed the growing complexity of a religious imagination and its new creations: architecture and sculpture.." (Morris, 1995, 58).

The rise of the sanctuary actually conceals two major developments in the archaic religious life of the Greeks: the invention of cult images and the monumental peripteral temple. At the very beginning, the development of the two appears to be in intimate terms with each other. Both flowered from complex necessities of the same scene of activity: the sacrificial ritual. They came to existence as two poetical expressive products of the phenomenon of ritual. The former (the cult image) as early manifestations of divinities was the focal object, and sometimes even the subject of the cult practices<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand,

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<sup>13</sup> Morris, 1995, 30. See especially "Craft and Craftsmen in Epic Poetry" in *Daidalos* (1995), pp.3-35; where she does not mention *techné* at all.

<sup>14</sup> 'Walking', 'feeding', 'bathing' and 'clothing' of the *xoanon* will be discussed later.

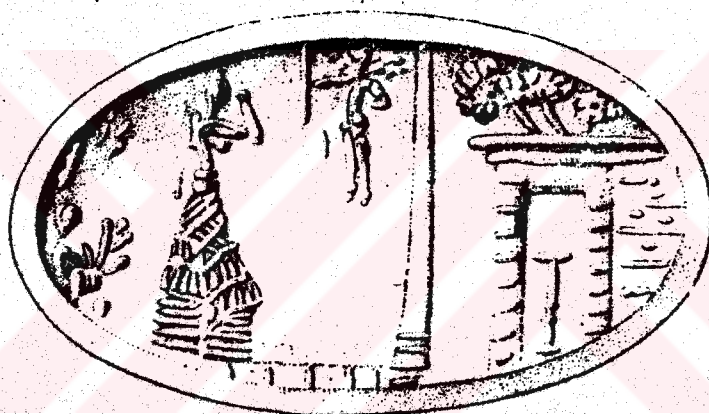


Figure 9. Dual Pillar Worship on gold signet ring, Knossos.

the latter, the peripteral temple, not only housed the deity in its heart [h], but acted as the major element of the theatrical stage-space of the rituals. With these associations, it housed the divinity and *sacral* landscape in its very forms; it was the "goddess behind".

### II.3 SACRED TREE SACRED PILLAR IN EARLY SANCTUARIES: XOANON AND PERIPTEROS IN PROGRESS

Until the appearance of archaic Greek *temena*, the spatial settings for religious activities in the Aegean Bronze Age were mainly scattered open areas, sacred caves, around "a simple altar or sacred grove surrounded by a *peribolos*"<sup>15</sup>. Throughout the Dark Ages the worship was confined to open-air sacred places only<sup>16</sup>. It is very rare to find archaeological evidence that show traces of worship of any iconic idolatry before the Archaic age<sup>17</sup>. That is why the invention of anthropomorphic cult images and building of the *temenos* as a "temple-altar architectural ensemble" (Bergquist, 5) coincide in the 8th century BC.

If we leave aside the small number of Minoan house sanctuaries and shrines in Crete which had a fairly different nature and function with respect to the archaic temple<sup>18</sup>, the pre-archaic cult practice was in close relation with *sacral landscape*<sup>19</sup>. The *topos* of the mountain summits was itself sacred and "embodied the whole of the deity as a

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<sup>15</sup> Polignac, 1994, 3. For prehistory and the Minoan-Mycenaean Age Burkert lists cult places as caves, peak sanctuaries, tree sanctuaries, house sanctuaries and some sort of temples; Burkert, 1985, 24-32; Rutkowski (1986) documents the subject in a more detailed way in his *Cult Places of the Aegean*.

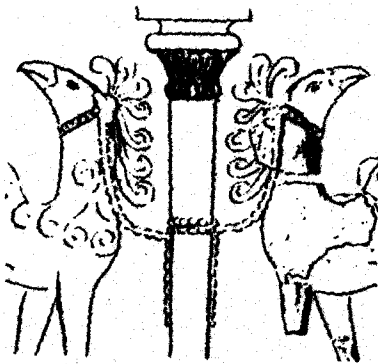
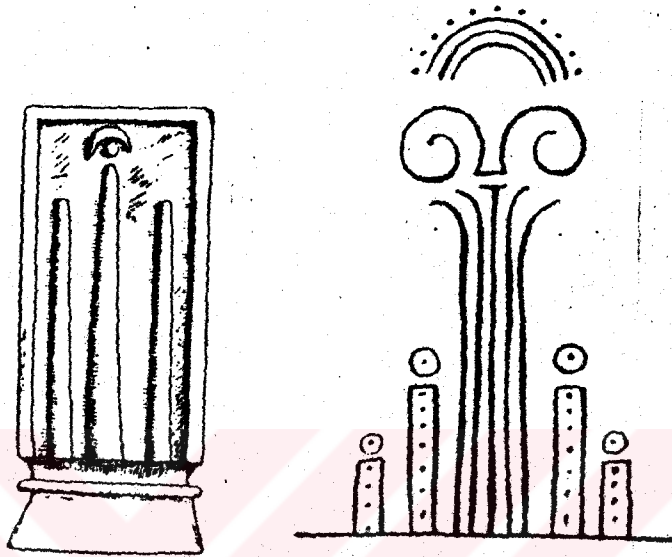
<sup>16</sup> Coldstream, 317; there was usually a raised altar around which the sacrifice took place.

<sup>17</sup> See Romano, 127, esp. note 1. Although there were anthropomorphic sculptural images in the Bronze and Iron Age, they were generally representations of mortals, in a rather different context of sanctity than early Greek cult practice.

<sup>18</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 29-33, where he talks about "small cult chambers in the palaces and houses", identified by votive gifts, cult implements, etc.

<sup>19</sup> See Morgan (1994), "The Evolution of a Sacral Landscape: Isthmia, Perachora, and the early Corinthian State" in *Placing the Gods*, Alcock & Osborne; eds., pp.105-142. Also Vincent Scully (1969), "Landscape and Sanctuary" in *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*, pp. 1-8.





- Figure 10. (*top left*) Carthaginian pillar shrine on stele, Nora, Sardinia  
 Figure 11. (*top right*) Group of sacred pillars on Mycenaean vase from Haliki  
 Figure 12. (*bottom*) Wall Relief from Knossos- Neopalatial. Two griffins tethered to a sacred pillar.

recognized natural force"<sup>20</sup>. The exciting and agonizing landscape that surrounded the cult place placed the worshipper in the midst of *kosmos* during the rituals. The tree and the sacred grove as a center of attention in these religious settings should not therefore be surprising.

The cultic significance and iconographic history of the sacred tree can be traced back to prehistory. On Mesopotamian cylinder seals, the motif had always been a central feature of a definite ritual and was associated with altars, tables of offering, sacred horns and double axes<sup>21</sup>. Certain species of trees were perpetually correlated with certain divinities, like *bay* to Apollo, *plane* to Helen, *oak* to Zeus<sup>22</sup>, etc. The wooden image of Athena in Athens was definitely of olive wood, and Hera in Tiryns, definitely of wild pear (Burkert, 1985, 86). In the iconography of seals and rings of the Bronze Age, sacred trees flower on the altars, agonize animals, and provide shelter for goddesses, who sometimes climb to their branches (see figures).

In numerous cases, the sacred tree is depicted in the content of architectural settings (always in the countryside) Rutkowski interprets them as sacred enclosures, surrounded by a rustic wall and even including a shrine, altar and sometimes a sacred grove in front of which worshippers (or the goddess herself) appear in ecstatic moods, dance or playacting<sup>23</sup>. Burkert identifies them as *tree sanctuaries*. The distinctive feature of the scenes of sacred enclosures was a sacred imposing tree or a sacred grove. In certain cases a sanctuary could well possess a grove: *alsos* (a common Homeric expression of sacred wood), either

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<sup>20</sup> Scully, 1969, 1. Later sanctuaries were built generally on the same sites, the siting of Greek temples owes a lot to such cult practices.

<sup>21</sup> Crowley, 64-69: for a documentation of the sacred tree motif from the Mittanian Incursions in Mesopotamia all the way to Late Bronze Age in the Aegean. Arthur Evans' spectacular work on the subject mainly focuses on Mycenaean tree and pillar cult in the context of a widened Mediterranean culture. For Semitic sources on the subject: see Evans, 130ff. and for Egyptian tree and pillar cult: Evans, 146ff. Nilsson's chapter on the tree cult is generally a critique of Evans' view (Nilsson, 262-288). Rutkowski discusses the tree cult in the context of Bronze Age sanctuaries; see esp. Rutkowski 99-103. For a discussion of sacred tree in *temenae*, see Burkert, 1985, 84-87.

<sup>22</sup> Evans, 127. Also Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, Book XII, II.

<sup>23</sup> Rutkowski 99-101; Nilsson 270-272.



Figure 13. (*top left*) Lions gate type on lentoid gem, Zero, Crete.  
Figure 14. (*top right*) Male divinity between lions on lentoid gem,  
Kydonia, Crete.  
Figure 15. (*bottom*) Lion Gate, Mycenae, 13th c. BC.

within the boundaries of the *temenos* or adjacent to it<sup>24</sup>. In the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (that occupies a predominant place in the context of our discussion) *lygos*, the willow tree was the prominent feature of the *temenos* before the first *hekatepedon* was built. It remained in the same location for centuries and "was even incorporated into the great altar"<sup>25</sup>.

Rutkowski, in discussing the sacred enclosures in the Bronze Age Aegean, concludes that the worshipped deity was the Mother Goddess, the fecund mother, and sacred trees had become very important because they were predominant in their economy and living (Rutkowski, 113-4). I would rather insist on an interpretation of the sacred tree and the grove as a revelation of the *sacral* landscape in a fetishistic image, a token of savage nature<sup>26</sup>. The sacred dance was an inseparable part of these depictions. The movement in the form of enrapture and enchantment dominated the scenes. The agonizing effect of the savagery was illustrated on these seals<sup>27</sup>.

The enigmatic development of the tree cult into the sacred pillar is rather controversial since there are cases where they coexist. However, Evans' identification of the sacred tree and pillar as *dual cults* is almost indisputable, for their forms of sanctity were identical. Evans inserts that "the possession of the material object by the *numen* of the divinity [was] common to both"<sup>28</sup>. The pillar is either depicted as a free-standing fetish, or as a constructive architectonic element. The former, depicted to be a plank / a *sanis* appears as a transient form between the sacred tree and the architectural pillar. Some scholars

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<sup>24</sup> Burkert, 1985, 28 and 86; in Olympia, the sacred grove was called *altis*.

<sup>25</sup> Burkert, 1985, 85; see first plan of Samos on the facing page. See also Bergquist, 44; where he cites Homann-Wedeking; "Ausgrabungen im Heraion von Samos 1963". *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 1964, pp. 222-5.

<sup>26</sup> Nilsson indicates Hellenistic-Roman mural paintings where a landscape with sacral architecture is depicted and where sacred trees were very predominant. Nilsson, 270.

<sup>27</sup> See also Burkert (1983); "Itinerant Diviners and Magicians: A Neglected Element in Cultural Contacts" in *Greek Renaissance*, pp.115-122.

<sup>28</sup> Nilsson adds two other levels of sanctity; an object might be specifically holy "because it was a cult implement, e.g. altar," or "simply because it belongs to a god; e.g. votive offerings", or the buildings in her precinct with all their columns. See Nilsson, 243.



Figure 16. Sacrificial scene in front of cult statue of Apollo raised on a column. *Krater* in Frankfurt Museum.

even assert that these constitute the origins of aniconic worship in Bronze Age and early Greek religion, along with the *baetyls*<sup>29</sup>.

The sacred pillar as an architectonic member, however, was generally believed to signify the existence of a shrine or another sort of sacred building<sup>30</sup>. These pillars appear actually like columns, with ornamented bases and capitals where forms of orders, i.e. volutes, floral capitals, cushion-like capitals can be easily signified. There are depictions where so-called spirals of the shafts turn into flutings (see figures; Evans, 141). Nevertheless it is rather peculiar that the two forms of depiction are sometimes blurred, as both of them are depicted in the content of cult practices. An architectural column with base and capitals could well be depicted as a venerated object.

Considering these points, it appears to be almost impossible to think of the architectural pillars of the first peripteral temples independent of the conceptions of the rich iconography of sacred tree and pillar. The imagery of *peripteros* built of (either worked or unworked) wooden columns could not be envisioned without this mythological *leitmotiv*. The *peripteros* was possibly conceived as a *mimisma* of a sacred grove<sup>31</sup>. Here it may be helpful to quote Aristotle on *μιμῆσις*:

If a house were one of the things produced by nature, it would be the same as it is now when produced by art. And if natural phenomena were produced not only by nature but also by art, they would in this case come into being through art in the same way as they do in nature. One step in their development exists for the sake of the next one. In short, art either completes the processes which

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<sup>29</sup> For the definition of *Baetyl* see Donohue, 222; it is a wrongly applied term in general use for stones of veneration. She indicates that it was a special term used in the late antiquity, esp. Hadrianic times, for a kind of powerful animated stone. On the contrary Evans asserts *Baitulos* was used among Greeks. See esp.112-3.

<sup>30</sup> Sacred pillar rooms of the palace of Knossos, preserved stone pillars with sacred signs on it like double ax, see Nilsson, 236-243; Evans, 110-111; or 'House Sanctuaries' as Burkert calls them; see Burkert, 1985, 29.

<sup>31</sup> which were their early temples, see quotation from Pliny as the epigraph to this chapter. We learn from Pindar that an *oikist*, "Battos... founded greater groves for the gods" in founding his new city. Malkin points out that the sacred grove, *alsos*, is used as a synonym to sacred precinct, as it was so often. See Malkin, 1987, 154; where he cites Pindar, *Ol.* VII.49.



Figure 17. Worship of group of pillars on cylinder, Mycenae.  
Figure 18. Small votive pillar, Heraion at Samos, 2nd half of 6th c. BC.

nature is unable to work out fully, or it imitates them.<sup>32</sup>

The twin columns in front of Solomon's temple were called "the Stabliſher" and "in Him is Strength" and ſtood as ſymbolic forms of Semites' Jehovah. They were ſtructural as well (Evans, 144-5). Evans aſſerts the argument that the ſacred pillar, carved out of a tree (or of ſtone or the unworked *baetyl*) was worſhipped as an aniconic image of the god<sup>33</sup>. Ancient literary testimony ſuſtains the argument; Callimachus, Plutarch and Pausanias mention that "worſhip [in the paſt] was carried on not with *agalmata* but inſtead unworked monuments"<sup>34</sup>. Rutkowski mentions a number of ſhrines in the peak *temena* of Crete where either columns or aniconic representations of the goſſdeſs were found. "The ceremonies...took place near the aniconic image of the divinity, which could take the form of a tree, or a pillar, or a *baetyl* in ſome peak ſanctuaries, eſpecially the richeſt of them"<sup>35</sup>.

Wood however, appears to be the moſt eſſential material in the early Archaic Age in the courſe that eſtabliſhed a proper initiative background for reſpective/coexiſtensive invention of anthropomorphic cult images, i.e. *xoanon* and *peripteros* of the early Greek temple. Apart from its abundance in the countryside -on which the tribal life depended- and the eaſe of its being worked out, wood was ſpecifically the deſired material by means of its ſacredneſs and animated nature. Develoed out of the divine imagery of the ſacred tree and pillar, it was the moſt animated material that nature could offer man. It was either unworked or roughly worked and in certain inſtances the rough-

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<sup>32</sup> *Physics*, 199a 15-19. Diſcuſſion of *mimesis* will not be the taſk of the preſent chapter. See Pollitt, 1974, 41, for a general diſcuſſion of the concept and its uſe in ancient literature.

<sup>33</sup> Evans 99ff.; Nilſſon and ſcholarſ of the ſame opinion reject this idea. See Nilſſon 245ff. and note 31 for the range of diſcuſſion. According to him the real cult image and architectural pillars were ſeperate entities; "the *mazzebas* and wooden *asherahs* did not ſerve any constructive purpoſe but ſtood free".

<sup>34</sup> Callimachus, ap. Eus. PE 3.8.1. Plutarch (QG 13, Mor. 294c) exemplifies a *baetylic* image; Pausanias (9.27.1) mentions *baetyls* as well. For ancient ſources more on the ſubject ſee Donohue, 220-2.

<sup>35</sup> Rutkowski, 82. He illuſtrates a goſſdeſs in the ſhape of a pillar on the façade of a ſhrine, ſee his fig. 94.



ness or crudeness was on purpose in the earlier idea of *mimesis*. This on-purpose-crudeness would find its expression in the anomalous, dwarfish, or let's say *daemonic* nature of early *xoana* both sculpturally<sup>36</sup> and literally<sup>37</sup>.

In addition to ancient testimony, we are on almost safe archaeological grounds that the Archaic stone sculpture of Greece was preceded by wooden idolatry. Invention of anthropomorphic cult images falls in this early phase<sup>38</sup>. At the first hand, a major common argument is that traces of the earliest stone statues in Greece show techniques and characteristics of not an inherent stone-carver's technique but that of a wood-carver: an *architekton*<sup>39</sup>. "Works of carpentry were...also *daidala*"<sup>40</sup>. We have sufficient evidence that the pregeometric sculpture before stone was integrated into the crafts; the skills of the *demiourgos* in wood and ivory carving were quite sophisticated, while early *korai* recalled "rounded tree-trunks" and were columnar in outline.

The first *xoana*<sup>41</sup> were always stated to be very archaic by ancient writers, but defined to be *daidala*, often associated with a mythical *demiourgos*. Daidalus had magical skills in architecture, making of *agalmata* and other crafts. His name provides roots for a number of expressions in epic poetry. Sarah Morris identifies them as *daidalic words* which were used to define the nature of a work of art, "well-crafted" or "skillfully, intricately worked". The *daidala* were seen as having magical characteristics like *αυτοματοι* "self-moved as if with in-

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<sup>36</sup> Donohue, 217; mentions 'Daemon' from Samos; wooden Hera awkward and crude although it had a sophisticated workmanship and was finely carved.

<sup>37</sup> See esp. Morris, 1995, 32; the *daidalic* sculptures, as bringer of evils to man.

<sup>38</sup> Donohue, 206-231 for modern theories about primitive wooden images and the origins of Greek sculpture.

<sup>39</sup> *Arkitekton* originally signified a master carpenter. It was attributed not only to ship-builders who were responsible for the construction of the Greek triremes, or to the later 'master craftsman' of a temple; but all sorts of craftsmen working with wood.

<sup>40</sup> McEwen, 48. See Donohue, 208 for the proposed argument.

<sup>41</sup> *xoanon* meant 'something scraped'. The term is used in archaic age for "a wooden statue or wooden part of a statue made of several parts, almost invariably of a god. Donohue, 1.

visible life"<sup>42</sup>. They also praised unexpected dangers and bringing evil for men, sometimes savage and ferocious. *Daidalon* were καλον κακον: the beautiful evil (Morris, 1995, 29).

For Boeotians a *daidalon* was "a roughly carved image out of a tree. The cities of Boeotia each provide[d] their own *daidalon* from a sacred grove"<sup>43</sup>. Pausanias equates *xoanon* with *daidalon* in a discussion of a sacred ritual of selection of trees to carve out an image of a goddess (Paus.9.3.2): "...wherever [the birds] may alight, cutting down that tree they make the *daidalon* from it and they call by *daidalon* the statue [*xoanon*] itself"<sup>44</sup>. The wooden *agalmata* of Daidalus were like living beings who could see and walk<sup>45</sup>. Socrates mention images of Daidalus that were "fastened in order to keep them, and if they were not fastened they will play truant and run away..."<sup>46</sup>.

This poetical imagery finds its reflections in the early Greek cult practice in which the *xoana* were the focus of attention. Interpreting the nature of early cult practices out of archaic inscriptions, Romano states that the rituals included "processions, bathing, feeding and clothing" of wooden *xoana*<sup>47</sup>. The wooden cult image could move (albeit with the help of the worshippers who denied their self in the ecstatic mood of the ritual) and take part in the sacrificial ritual in an animated behavior.

The most intriguing of those ritual processes is perhaps the act of *kosmesis* of the cult image and gives us hints about (still-unelucidated) origins of idolatry and the architecture of the temple. The early *xoana* were in fact called "simple", "plain" or "crudely worked"

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<sup>42</sup> Morris, 1995, 10. The tripods of Hephaistos, which came and go before the gods were of such nature. *Odyssey* 18.372-379.

<sup>43</sup> See Burkert. (1988), "Katagogia-Anagogia and the Goddess of Knossos" in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Hagg, Marinatos, Nordquist: eds., pp.81-87.

<sup>44</sup> quoted in Morris, 1995, 56.

<sup>45</sup> Diodorus, 4.76.1-3, cited in Donohue, 180.

<sup>46</sup> Plato, *Meno*, 97d-98a. Cited in McEwen, 5. For more ancient testimony on the subject see Donohue 180-182.

(Romano, 130). The *kosmein* of the image included dressing up of the statue with gifts of clothing, garments and other paraphernalia. During the feasts, the goddess would not move out of her temple unless she wore her new sacred *peplos*<sup>48</sup>. The crude images were thus anthropomorphized in the real sense of the word by a sacred act of *kosmein*. The ritual was quite widespread in Archaic Greece and specific only for wooden images. Romano indicates that the priest[esse]s of the cults were responsible for "cleaning of the cult image and tidying up of the temple". Both acts connoted the same sort of sacred meaning. The temple was also dressed up in an anthropomorphic way; it had not been left without *kosmos*.

The early crude, plank wooden idolatry, on the other hand, still cannot be called non-anthropomorphic (if not aniconic) in the literary sense, since they were built out of purely animated material and were inherently mobile by nature. The invention of their iconic imagery coincides with the 8th Century realization of archaic man of his own vision. Otherwise, for the tribal man, nothing could be more anthropomorphic than tree trunks.

The imagery of the tree trunk, however, did not fade away from the scene of religion after losing its vision in the shape of wooden idolatry, but found its expression on the "faces" of the temples. If the anthropomorphic cult image was the consolidation of the divinity in the form of a mortal, the architecture of the temple was the envisioning of that divinity in a different (more archaic) visual language. The temple survived all those forms of aniconic primitiveness with a degree of abstraction in the context of a metaphorical architectonic linguistics. The connection is well illustrated by the beloved case of architectural historians: Hera and her *temenos* at Samos.

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<sup>47</sup> See Romano (1988), "Early Greek Cult Practices and Cult Images". It might also be exciting to see her Ph.D. dissertation in University of Pennsylvania; *Early Greek Cult Images*, Philadelphia, 1980.

<sup>48</sup> The weaving *hyphainein* of a *peplos* would also have to be a *daidalon*. See McEwen 89-93. The act of weaving is interpreted as the weaving of the *polis* by communal action.



Figure 19. Wooden cult image of Hera, 7th c. BC.

## II.4 IMAGES OF SAMIAN HERA: IDOL AND TEMPLE

The *agalma* of Samian Hera<sup>49</sup> was a *sanis*, a felled tree-trunk at the beginning. It was developed into human form afterwards<sup>50</sup>. We already know that aniconic images were not given homes (Romano, 127). For Heraion at Samos that must have corresponded to the time when the *temenos* was an open air sanctuary and included an imposing sacred willow tree (*lygos*), which was to survive for centuries on the same spot<sup>51</sup>. The first two altars preceded the first *hekatepedon* and date back to tenth century, thus were almost the oldest of all Greek altars so far known (Rupp, 102). The site appears to have a specific sanctity in the Aegean religion; no other place could well offer such a striking innovation: the first peripteral temple.

We have sufficient literary evidence about the sacred rituals concerning the *xoanon* of Samian Hera. The rituals of processions, feeding and purifying of the cult image were conglomerated in a sacred act: bathing of the *xoanon*. The Tonian festival of Hera included the purification of the cult by being bathed in the sea and fed by barley cakes<sup>52</sup>. "The image was discovered with her meal by a Samian search party who, thinking that the image had run away, tied it with branches to a *lygos* bush. The priests untied the image, purified it and returned it to its pedestal in the temple" (Romano, 129). The *xoanon* was moved out of her temple during festival days to a "stepped *monopteros* to the east of the temple of Hera"<sup>53</sup>. The *mo-*

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<sup>49</sup> Hera, who "loves...the slaying of wild beasts in the mountains and dancing and thrilling cries and shady woods and cities of upright men". Cited in Polignac, 1994, 27; from *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, line 15f.

<sup>50</sup> Donohue, 5 note 22; quotes from Clement of Alexandria, *Protepticus* 4.40 p.-41 p.

<sup>51</sup> Burkert, 1985, 85. He mentions that the tree was even incorporated into the great altar. See also Rupp (1983), "Reflections on the Development of Altars in the 8th Century BC" in *Greek Renaissance*, pp.101-107. The site has Mycenaean origins; see Coldstream, 321. The willow tree determined the site of the spectacular sanctuary.

<sup>52</sup> Romano, 129. Cites the account of Menodotus of Samos of the 3rd century BC, in Athenaios, *Deiposophistai*, XV, 672.

<sup>53</sup> Romano, 128. Cites D. Ohly 'Die Göttin und ihre Basis', *AM* 68, 1953, 30; Beilage 1:plan.



Figure 20. Eretria, sanctuary of Apollo. Building A: Banquet hall *Daphnephoreion*; Building D: temple of Apollo, *hekatompedon*.

*nopteros* stood in-between the altar and the temple (Bergquist, 47) and was built as a temporary shrine for ritual occasions.

The enigmatic procedure of a ritual in the sanctuary which included prayer (*euchai*), sacrifice (*thusiai*) and the setting up of votives (*anathemata*) required a celestial spatial setting that reinforced and encompassed the ecstatic divine action and its theatricality. The focus of attention was the anthropomorphic cult image. It was either placed on a raised base in front of her temple and faced the act of sacrifice which took place around the altar (Romano, 127) or simply sat on the altar while the worshippers stood around in a semicircle with the temple at their back (Burkert, 1988, 37). But the temple had a more significant meaning for Greek worshippers.

Romano mentions that there were multiple cult images at Samos, which received garments for their *kosmos*. Some of those gifts were "stored in the temple" and others "worn by cult images" (Romano, 132). An inscription from Samos dated to 346-5 BC indicates that "more than one cult image of Hera existed by the 4th century". One of those statues is recorded as the "goddess behind" (ἡ ὀπίσθεν θεοῦς) while the other is simply called the "goddess" (ἡ θεοῦς)<sup>54</sup>. Romano interprets this weird expression as the two idols of Hera of different dates (probably one being the older, 8th Century *xoanon*, while the other being 6th Century statue). This assumption may well hold true though not unproblematic. However, the expression, "the goddess behind" is revealing for the function of the monumental temple.

It has been already noted that the *peripteros* was probably a *mimisma* of a sacred grove. In addition to that, the column was actually envisioned as a stylized anthropomorphic image with an emphasis of the iconography of the pillar cult as a venerated object. With the piecemeal reconstruction of sacrificial rituals on the face of the temple, the columns of the temple appeared as cult images themselves. They guarded the temple as the building which housed the deity and during

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<sup>54</sup> Romano, 132. See C.Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*. Brussels 1900-1927, no 832, lines 46-49.

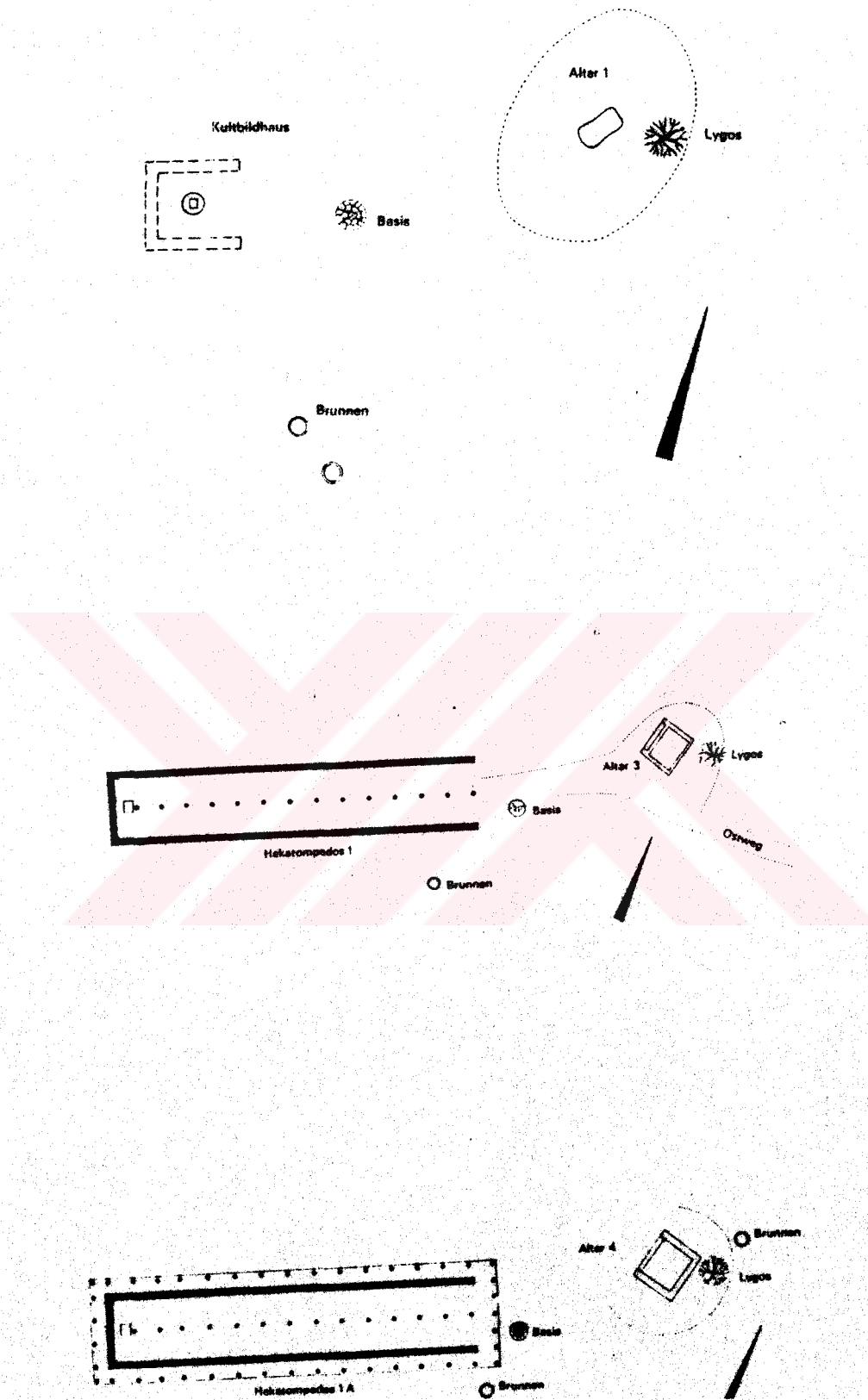


Figure 21. Hera sanctuary, Samos; 10th c. BC/ 8th c. BC/ 700 BC.



the rituals converted the temple to the "goddess behind". The *monopteros* of Samos as a temporary shrine, performed the second function only. It was the sacred grove of the goddess in front of which the archaic ritual was enacted as the antiquity of the cult would deserve.

## II.5 XOANA MOVE OUT: ARCHAIC TEMPLE AS THE HUB OF MOVEMENT AND THE IDEA OF THE MONUMENTAL

The word, monument, comes from *monumentum* in Latin, which literally meant a *memorial*, related to the verb *monére*: to remind. The word placed outstanding works of architecture in the genealogy of collective memory through history in the world of *logos*<sup>55</sup>. The problem of the beginning for the monumental temple which *reminded* the Greeks of their divinities not only with the imagery of memorial forms but with a visual stroke of monumentality, is widely discussed but still remains obscure<sup>56</sup>.

However they had sacrificial banquet-halls which are nowadays suggested to be the architectural ancestors of the *pre-peripteral* temple. Banquet-halls were generally dwellings of the rulers/chieftains in the pre-archaic society, buildings where *symposia* were held. *Symposion* denoted an indoors cult practice in which a sacrificial meal, eating and drinking were enacted. It has been recently interpreted as a real communal activity<sup>57</sup>. Mazarakis-Ainian studies the Protogeometric and

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<sup>55</sup> See special issue of *Oppositions* (25; 1982) for a modern discussion of the concept; esp. K.W.Foster; "Monument: Memory and Morality of Architecture" and A.Riegl; "Modern Cult of Monuments, Its Character and Its Origins", *Oppositions* (25; 1982), pp.2-51. See also Boyer (1994).

<sup>56</sup> See Coulton (1977), "The Problem of Beginning" in *Greek Architects at Work*, pp.30-50. Also Polignac, 1994, 16-21; Holloway (1973), "Archaic Architectural Form" in *A View of Greek Art*, pp.45-68; Snodgrass, 1980, 54-63; Coldstream (1977), "Sanctuaries, Gods and Votives" in *Geometric Greece*, pp.317-339.

<sup>57</sup> See Pauline Schmitt-Pantel (1994), "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?" in *Symptica*. Oswyn Murray, ed., pp.14-33; where she distinguishes sacrificial meal and *symposion*. She identifies *symposion* as the communal drinking after the meal. See also Polignac, 1994, 18 for architectural connection of banquet-halls and early temples. See Mazarakis-Ainian (1988), "Early Greek Temples" where she documents archaeological data for the concept in relation to the origins of the temple.

Geometric buildings of this kind in consistency with the development of the first temple<sup>58</sup>.

The buildings were generally apsidal, in megaron form with a central hearth and wooden benches alongside the walls. They were almost all in close connection with altars. Votive material, cult objects, sometimes even cult images and remnants of sacrifices like animal bones were uncovered within the buildings. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of these is that they had pillars (either a single one or a row of them) inside. The elongated examples<sup>59</sup> supplied with a row of columns inside turn into temples in certain cases, like the one at Eretria. The first mythical temple of Apollo in Eretria, which was an apsidal *hekatepedon* dated to 725 BC, appears to be a reproduction of the so-called Daphnephoreion which served for sympotic cult practices next to it<sup>60</sup>. The first *hekatepedon* of Samian Hera had benches inside leaning on either side walls<sup>61</sup>.

Nevertheless, the idea of a temple where a deity was housed was a creation of the 8th century BC. The banquet hall, both in terms of acquaintance of cultic activity and architectural similarities, deserves attention in the search of its roots. The major departures from this form, parallel to the radical changes in the structure of the cult practices in the Geometric Period, was twofold. The idea of monumentality which rendered all forms of thought throughout the archaic age, found expression on the face/façade of the temple, speaking both in terms of the appearance of the *peripteros* and considerable change in the size of the building. Secondly, the newly invented anthropomorphic cult image on her pedestal replaced the hearth, i.e. the fire. The fire

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<sup>58</sup> See her *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: A Study of the Origins of Greek Religious Architecture in the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods*, Ph.D. Dissertation, London, 1987; which I have not seen.

<sup>59</sup> Like that of Mycenae, Paros/Oikonomos, Solygaea-Galataki in Corinth; see Polignac, 1994, 18.

<sup>60</sup> See Mazarakis-Ainian, 110-7 and note 45; cites A.Kalpaxis, *Fruhgriechische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Athen, 1976. Megarons of Thermon and buildings at Toumba at Lefkandi are also good examples to the evolution.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, 117. The benches are also interpreted as continuous column bases.

moved out to be placed on the altar. The two aspects are actually intertwined.

In the widest sense of the term, almost all objects of Geometric sanctuaries illustrate the idea of monumentality and were not confined to the image of the temple. Elaborately decorated funerary vases up to 1.5 m. high and significantly depicting heroic scenes appear in the course of 8th century (Coulton, 30). Both Polignac and Snodgrass inform us that everyday objects, especially cauldrons and garments, when integrated into the content of cult practices as votive offerings, reached "outsize proportions"<sup>62</sup>. The everyday object previously uncovered from houses and graves, rose to be offerings to the deities in the sanctuaries almost with a touch of wand, and were monumentalized to fit the size, glory and grandeur of the cult images. They would probably be offered to the gods for *kosmein* of the images, both idol and temple. The architecture of the temple could not escape this enrichment since the temple itself was another sort of offering to the divinities.

As already mentioned, throughout the archaic age, heroic saga, the Homeric poetry was recreated in various media as lasting memorials: on scenes of funerary vases, in literature, *daidalic* images, etc. As a possible inspiration for the peristyle, Coulton mentions epic descriptions of palaces where porticoes were frequently mentioned (Coulton, 31). Among architectural terms, Sarah Morris illustrates the word εκατομπεδον which appears in Homeric poetry as "a poetic expression for the monumental" and which "eventually became a technical concept in early Greek temple design"<sup>63</sup>.

The second conception that occupied the thought in the restless culture of Archaic Greece was "movement, not fixity; ...the emphasis was on the unbound, the animated state" (McEwen, 5-6). The anthropomorphic cult image, though monumentalized and fixed, was still wooden (an animated state) and (was) moved on certain occasions, ei-

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<sup>62</sup> Polignac, 1994, 15. Like 0.8 m. pins found in the sanctuary of Hera in Argolis or tripods which stood even 2 m. high. See also Snodgrass, 1980, 62 and Coldstream, 1977, 338.

<sup>63</sup> Morris, 1995, 32. For example *Illiad*, 23.164.

ther with the help of her associates or simply herself running away!... Likewise, the fire/hearth would go outside to have its place on the altar, as the cult image started to dominate the space<sup>64</sup>. In the same manner as the *xoana* moved out, the row of columns inside the first *hekatepedon* (which still carried the imagery of the pillar cult) would move out and exhibit the aniconic imagery of the goddess to the savage nature<sup>65</sup>. The appearance of the *peripteros* coincides with the abandoning of cult practices inside banquet halls and rituals in sacred groves. The *temena* now would gather all practices into its content in which the temple fulfilled the function of a sacral setting. Thus movement captured the imagery of the architectonics of the temple. The peripteral columns of the temple were *rhythmoi*, rhythms<sup>66</sup>.

## II.6 ARCHITECTURE AND SACRIFICE OR THE BINDING OF RITUAL

All prevailing suggestions for the beginning of the Greek temple design in the field of architectural history have tried to formulate a *rational* approach, as a presupposition for the sake of orthodoxy. For the sudden appearance of *peripteros*, the concerned scholars searched purely functional/technical explanations in matters of practicality which never provided satisfactory answers. That the peristyle functioned for protecting mud-brick walls of the cella or providing shelter for pilgrims<sup>67</sup> was denied; its depth of 1.30 m. was too short for the requirements

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<sup>64</sup> Fire had also a long prehistoric sacral significance. Afterwards it would survive in the Greek city as an emblem of citizenship. In founding a city, *prytaneion* was built where the sacred fire brought from the mother city, was kept alive as long as the city survived.

<sup>65</sup> Note pillar rooms of Minoan palaces where the cultic significance of the pillars were certain and remnants of sacrificial rituals were found. See Evans, 110-1.

<sup>66</sup> Hersey, 1984, 69. See also Pollitt; 1972, pp.55-60 and Pollitt; 1985, p.106, for a discussion of *rhythmos*. Pollitt asserts that Archaic Greek art "had conveyed motion through essentially symbolic matters". Eventually the *peripteros* was one of those expressions. McEwen's suggestion for the metaphorical meaning of *peripteros* as *ptera*, wings is also interesting in these terms. See McEwen, 98-104, where he illustrates the Heraion of Samos. His association of architectonic carpentry with building of ships seems more convincing, especially well working for the Samian case. Hera of Samos was the goddess of Aegean naval world.

<sup>67</sup> Coldstream, 1977, 327. See also Dinsmoor, p.62.

of those assumptions. It was proved to have no structural value either (Coulton, 31).

Nevertheless, preclassical Greece was often haunted by an atmosphere of social terror and at such times the archaic society has proved to be overwhelmed by resurgences of irrationality. Works of art were also under the influence of this social restlessness; poetry prevailed over knowledge until the full establishment of the *civilized polis* and its *rational* institutions. Rationalized interpretations of the new features of the peripteral temple, thus fall into the trap of being anachronistic as they denied the *Zeitgeist*. So spectacular was the *peripteros* as an invention to be intended just to fulfill practical needs. Its appearance must have been an outcome of a religious necessity in the form of a poetic expression. The answer lies in the structure and language of rituals.

Why and how did architecture actively function in the genealogy of collective memory finds a revealing exemplification in George Hersey's interpretation of the Greek temple "as a trope of sacrifice", an "assemblage" of sacrificial objects. In search of the "lost meaning of classical architecture" Hersey tries to "deconstruct and reconstruct" an architecture shaped by ritual, in a piecemeal way. His methodology, that is the juxtaposition of archaeological data with the etymological background for architectural forms, as well as literary testimony is convincing, since Greeks based their societal existence to the word, i.e. *logos*<sup>68</sup>. Rousseau claimed that "...as emotions were 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"<sup>69</sup>.

The wooden prototype theory of Vitruvius has been much discussed. According to Vitruvius, the *architekton* of the temple worked out the faces of the wooden beams into triglyphs and rafters into slab

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<sup>68</sup> See Bilgin & Baker; "Bir Azınlık Duyguları Sözlüğü" *Birikim* 78 (Ekim 1995), 58-75; esp. p.62.

<sup>69</sup> J.J.Rousseau, *Essai sur l'Origine des Langues*, 1783, III.

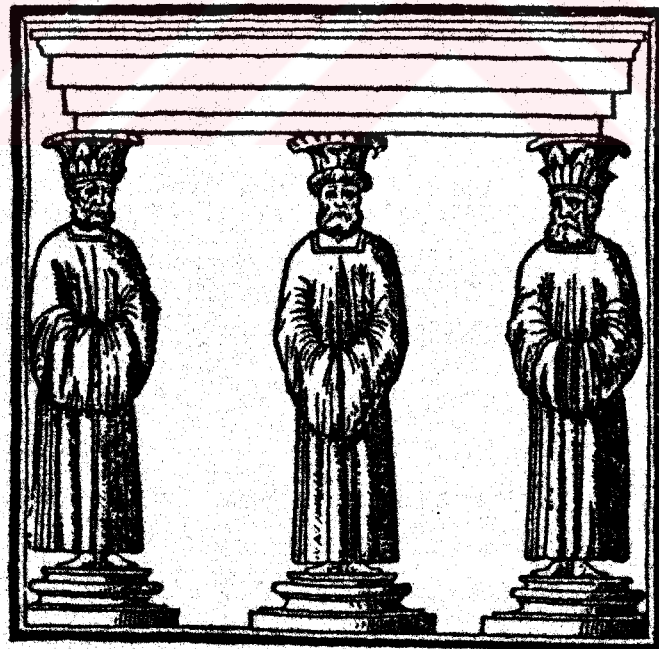
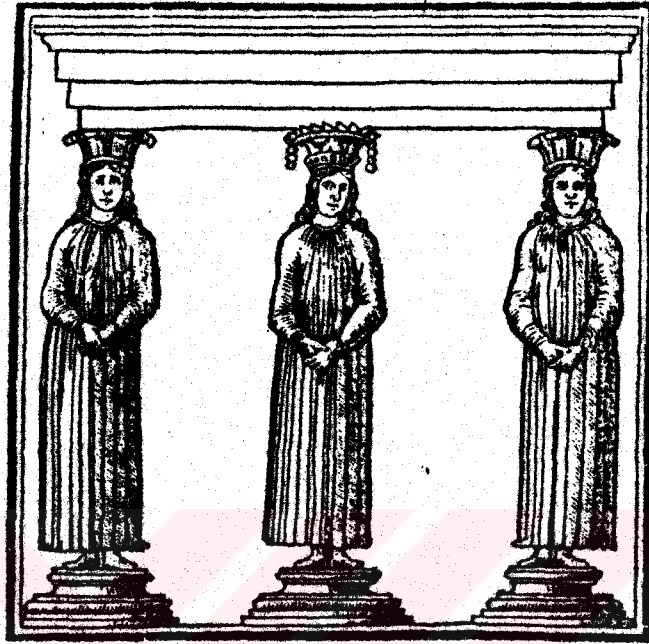


Figure 22. Caryatids and Persians

like *mutules*<sup>70</sup>. The components of the later temple in stone was the *simulacrum* of its wooden predecessor.

More important than this minor argument however, Vitruvius' major contribution to the discussion is his analogy of human form to the architectural forms, disregarded in many orthodox treatises on Greek temple design, but elaborated with much enthusiasm by George Hersey. Like Vitruvius, he focuses on the anthropomorphism in the essence of architectural forms.

Vitruvius, throughout his *Ten Books*, clarifies his analogy between human form and architectural form. According to him, "original orders of architecture were representations of different human types..."<sup>71</sup>, when he talks about ancestral human columns as totems that carry taboos, long before they became caryatids. Vitruvius also delineates how early temples were built in direct analogy to the proportions of a human body (Vitr. 4.1.5-7). Talking about the *symmetria* in temples and the human body, he advises the young architect to study the human body for a realization of its *mimesis* on the face of the architectural works (Vitruvius 3.1.1-3). It has already been noted that even in classical times, architecture and sculpture could not be distinguished in the ancient Greek culture. They had identical methods of enactment; the temple was a sculptural entity carved in[to] space rather than the modern term of erection<sup>72</sup>.

The anthropomorphism of the columns of early temples was preserved and even reinforced in the later stone phase by the introduction of *entasis*. *Entasis* was a sort of optical refinement displayed on the architectonics of the temple. As Hersey notes, the word actually "...means tension, straining, exertion,...and refers to the human body"<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> Vitruvius, 4.2.2-3; Coulton, 37-38 rejects the idea; Donohue, 209-210 discusses the argument in relation to wooden predecessor of archaic sculpture.

<sup>71</sup> Hersey, 1984, 215; Vitruvius 1.1.5-6.

<sup>72</sup> An ancient sculptor would work on the blocks of stone into the final form by removing the entire coat layer by layer, turning roundabouts. The technique for the stonemasons of the buildings was entirely the same. After being erected in a rough state; parts of the temple, flutings of the columns, profiles for moldings were carved later by craftsmen. See Carpenter, 121.

<sup>73</sup> Hersey, 1988, 58; also Vitruvius 3.3.13.

Later on, in a momentary bursting of the ancestral memory, the column would [re]appear as caryatids in the Acropolis of Athens in obvious human form.

The sacrificial terminology for the parts of the column, brought by Hersey, are remarkably revealing. First of all, *toruses* and *cavetti* of a column were claimed to be "a set of tattered ropes" around a *basis*, which originally meant feet (Hersey, 1988, 21). Although Hersey attributes the bound feet to be the bound feet of a victim in sacrificial ritual, connoting Vitruvian myth, interestingly enough the image reminds the binding of *xoana* in archaic rituals. Astonishing evidence for this, come from σχοτια (i.e. the moulding on the column base that achieve horizontal shadows), which was "the name of the goddess of darkness and underworld things"<sup>74</sup>.

The other parts of the column had a human content as well. "The vertical fillets created by carving flutes...are called ξαβδοι, rods, staves or wands...suggest[ing] not only the trophies of hunt and war, but the bunched shafts used in constructing Dionysus images" (Hersey, 1988, 23). Herms of Dionysus were κολοσσοζ, a column like image<sup>75</sup> which featured a mask. In addition to that, "the column head (i.e. the capital) consists of headdresses, head ornaments" (Hersey, 1988, 23). The volutes of Ionic and Corinthian capitals are likened to horns. The horn as a headdress is generally associated with the cult image of certain divinities. For instance, Artemis was called παυροπολοζ, bull-crowned<sup>76</sup>. It is not uncommon in the stone seals of Mycenae that the deities appear with palmettes or acanthus leaves or such flowerish dressing on top of their heads. We know *xoana* were well-ornamented in certain festivities, that were known as κοσμοσ τηζ θεου: the adornment of the goddess.

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<sup>74</sup> Hersey, 1988, 21, cites W.H.Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1984-86, 7-48.

<sup>75</sup> This would later be attributed to archaic *korai*. The word originally meant colossal, which actually has connotations of monumentality too.

<sup>76</sup> Euripides, *Iphigenia in Taurica*, 1.156, cited in Hersey, 1988, 30.



In Ancient Greek, *theá* meant goddess while *théa* denoted seeing or spectacle. Since accents were not introduced in Greek until 3rd century BC<sup>77</sup> and since "similar sounding names... must imply the existence of some deep-lying point of agreement between them"<sup>78</sup>; *theá* and *théa* must have denoted the same thing. The demarcation between the *kosmos* of the goddess and its receptacle (the temple which acted as a stage, a place of spectacle in front of which rituals were dramatized) was blurred. The Athenian Kallynteria, "the feast of making beautiful" included και γαρ το κοσμειν λαμπρυνειν, "the dressing and making brilliant" of the image, which meant both tidying of the temple and clothing and adorning of the cult image<sup>79</sup>.

The plank form of early cult images was developed into anthropomorphic *xoana*, while the pillar preserved its aniconism in the overall architectonic language. Still, the column connoted the anthropomorphic aspects of iconic wooden cult images in transition, with their likened *kosmein* and *rhythmoi*, dressing and movement. Burkert, at one point confesses that "the temple...[was] an *agalma*, a piece of pride and delight, an incarnation of beauty" (Burkert, 1988, 44).

Against the modern unfolding of a disanthropomorphized architecture, especially imposed by the early 20th Century avant-garde where ornament is considered as crime, the architecture of the Greek temple was totally anthropomorphic. Every element on it disclosed a symbolism of humane form and formed a metaphorical narrative with its developing sculpturality. With the interpretation of architectural forms as objects and expressive forms of cult practices, the view of archaic ritual as a work of art is enhanced. Apart from its momentous aesthetic creations as dance and music, and its heroic content in poetry; architecture of

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<sup>77</sup> McEwen, 21 and note 40 in p.140.

<sup>78</sup> Hersey, 1988, 5; quotes from Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, (New York, 1913) 1950, p.5.

<sup>79</sup> Romano, 131. The words used for the *chitons* of *xoana* were astonishingly parallel to the terminology featuring the aspects of the temple. διπτερυγον denoted a *peplos*.



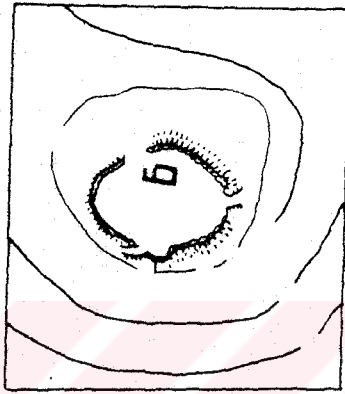


Figure 23. Prophitis Elias. Plan of sanctuary.

### CHAPTER III

## ARCHAIC AGE AND METAMORPHOSES OF GREEK CULTURE II SACRIFICIAL RITUAL AND THE MAKING OF SOCIAL SPACE: THE SANCTUARY

As we rebuild the world, we rebuild ourselves.

Eugene Victor Walter  
*Placeways*

Intentionality is a late development, accompanying that of brain and hands, but traces and marks play a part in animal life from a very early date. Places were already being marked [and remarked]. *In the beginning was the Topos*. Before —long before— the advent of the *Logos*, in the chiaroscuro realm of primitive life, lived experience already possessed its internal rationality; this experience was producing long before *thought* space, and spatial thought, began reproducing the projection, explosion, image and orientation of the body. Long before space, as perceived by and for the “I”, began to appear as split and divided, as a realm of merely virtual or deferred tensions and contacts. Long before space emerged as a medium of far-off possibilities, as the locus of potentiality. For, long before the analyzing, separating intellect, long before formal knowledge, there was an intelligence of the body.

Henri Lefebvre  
*The Production of Space*

### III.1 TRACES IN THE PLACES AND GOD-FILLED BODIES

When Ilhan Berk complained about the great narrative of history for it despised, disavowed and obliterated the *human body*, he was probably not considering the ancient cultures. Nevertheless, he does not fail to mention that it was generally regarded as an object not only of desire but dread: either sanctified or worshipped and thus somehow tabooed (Berk, 1994, 9-15). Being the dwelling of subjective memory, the body is the hub of beauty and defilement, heroic exaltation and erotic seduction. Through his body, man experiences life and its *eidolon* (double): death. For the Greeks, the body was *enagês*: both *defiled* and *sacred*, as the body gets into contact with any form of death<sup>1</sup>. With these aspects, the body is ephemeral upon which the dialectics of *phûsis* and *chronos* (nature and time) is demarcated.

As Vernant clearly posits, the human body was never conceived in opposition to its soul in the archaic Greek culture (Vernant, 1991, 28-29). The human "corporeity" was not reduced to a material anatomical object, but embraced all "vital forces, psychic activities, divine inspirations or influxes". As in Homer, defilement and purification of the body (with lustral water) acted both in the spiritual and physical manner. The aim in bodily purification was to make men "resemble the god as much as possible"<sup>2</sup>.

The terms attributed to the human body in ancient Greece were *soma* and *demias*. *Soma*, in its archaic meaning, denoted a corpse, i.e. what remains of the living after the physical vitality abandons him<sup>3</sup>. However *demias* denoted "the individual's stature, his size, his build made up of assembled pieces". While *demos* is *people* in the later

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<sup>1</sup> Vernant (1990), "The Pure and the Impure", in *Myth and Society*, 136. This could be the death of a close relative or a physical contact with a corpse or a murderer, or take part in sacrificial ritual.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 122-23. See also Burkert, 1985, 75ff; for purification rituals.

<sup>3</sup> Vernant, 1991, 29-30. In another article Vernant identifies it as *psûche* [or *psyche* in some other scholars' use], for that which leaves the person at the moment of death. But "the *psûche* is not a soul but a phantom" See Vernant (1991), "Psûche: Simulacrum of the Body or Image of the Divine?" in *Mortals and Immortals*, pp. 186-92. Dodds indicates that *psûche* happened to be mentioned only at the moment of leaving the body. See Dodds, 16; also Vermeule, 122.

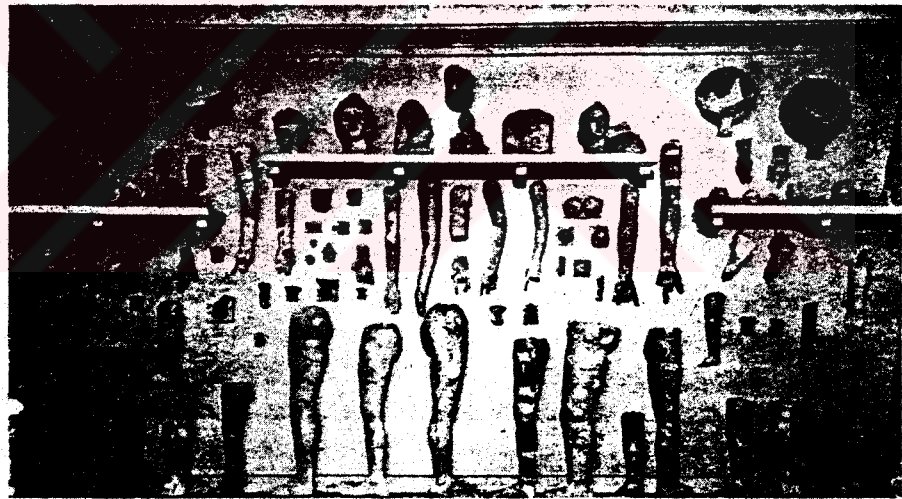


Figure 24. Terracotta votive offerings. Corinth.

*polis*, the term has also a certain architectural significance. The verb *demo* signifies the construction of a wall "through superimposed rows" (Vernant, 1991, 30).

The consciousness or rather the intelligence of human body in archaic societies is definitely marked within the context of ritual action, especially in sacrificial rituals. Dramatization of erotic pursuits, deconstruction and reconstruction of a sacrificial victim's body, orgiastic ritual dances and sexualization of ritual dances denote that these rituals were the supreme ground for demonstrations of bodily expression.

Martin Heidegger identifies (social) space as "the locus of the body"<sup>4</sup>. More emphatically Lefebvre relates it to social space, that the body "...produces itself in space and also produces that space" by an act of demarcating and orienting it (Lefebvre, 170). The general character of the production of space is thus a communal act of the bodies, leaving *gestures, traces, marks* on the natural place. The bodies find their existential manifestation in this environment and so there established a direct "immediate relationship between the body and its space". Modern formulation of the alienation between the subject and its space is eliminated. According to Lefebvre, the space is not a simple empty container to be filled but it is a deployment of the body "with the energies at its disposal". The laws that form and activate space are thus produced, but conversely "govern the living body and the deployment of its energies" (Lefebvre, 170).

The body that occupies space is demarcating it with traces, signs and marks, thus actually *writing* or *coding* it. The occupation becomes a (space) narrative and the multiple networks, pathways and roads, passages and thoroughfares *inscribe* the body and its gestures. The social space is an assemblage, a collection of bodily acts, the residue or deposit of communal action. The archaic Greek sanctuary was *anathemata*: a collection of votive offerings, the *agalma* of sacred self-[re]presentation of people as gifts to the gods. Routes, pathways and passages preserve

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<sup>4</sup> Villela-Petit, 1992, 128; cites his *Die Frage nach dem Ding: What is a Thing?* (trans. W.B. Garton and Vera Deutsch, Chicago, 1967) pp. 84-6.

the non-perishing markings of the initiates on land all along the rites of passage and give form to the maps of human occupation.

A spider produces its own space: the web. The creation is an instinctive one, but is certainly a bodily act. The body knits the space. Its function is to elongate the animal's body in order to multiply the body's capability to catch flies and insects; therefore it is an existential one. Thus, in order to exist, the spider builds its dwelling. Moreover its supreme existence exactly depends on the way it dwells. Analogically the social space, produced by a communal body, is an extension / a multiplication of that very social being. The act of constructing space recalls for the body how to dwell on earth and the idea of the making of his own space lies in the essence of its being<sup>5</sup>. The myth of *arachné* tells about a Lydian woman who rivaled Athena in weaving and compelled her anger by depicting the goddess' evil deeds on her web. The furious goddess destroys the woman's web and changes her into a spider, but the metaphor survives in the body of the animal. The woman scribed her own image (in the name of her goddess), and so did the spider. A *peplos* was the most valuable gift to Athena Polias at her festivals. The communally knitted sacred dress gave form to her delicate body<sup>6</sup>.

The space is a social product. The production of space is therefore, a collective creation, a disposal of communal act and the result of repetitive acts and gestures. "Rhythmically repeated movement," writes Burkert "directed to no end and performed together as a group is...ritual crystallized in its purest form" (Burkert, 1985, 102). Dramatization and repetition were generally the two prominent aspects of archaic rituals. They were generally a dramatization of an ancestral myth. Burkert mentions a special dance in the sanctuary on Delos where young peo-

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<sup>5</sup> For comments on spider's web as a space, see Lefebvre, 173-174. For the existential meaning of dwelling on earth, see Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" in *Poetry, Language Thought* (1951), pp. 145-161. He supports the idea in etymological terms. See also Villela-Petit, 130-138. I should confess that I could not reach Heidegger's "Die Kunst und der Raum" (1969).

<sup>6</sup> See especially McEwen, 98ff. for *peplos* of Athena as a metaphor of weaving the city of Athens. For the Great Panathenaia, in which Athena Polias was presented with



ple performed *geranos* (the Crane Dance) "with tortuous, labyrinthine movements" (Burkert, 1985, 102). The dance is actually said to be a mythical dramatization of Theseus' escaping from the Labyrinth.

"Myths are the plots of sacrificial rituals" says Hersey (1986, 74). A particular myth occurs and reoccurs in the structure of the community. By this repetition, the community develops a symbolic action, a metaphorical drama, that recurrently calls the ancestral ages to the everyday scene of religious activity and enhances the formation and survival of a collective memory. Architecture of the Greeks was likewise: the building up of a new column for a temple was the ritual repetition of the first mythical carving of the column (Hersey, 1986, 74).

In the general philosophical genre, discourses over labor, product and production claim that nature does not labor but create, thus does "not operate according to the same teleology as human beings" (Lefebvre, 70). Its *modus operandi* is to "lead out, bring forth from the depths". In the previous chapter while discussing *techne* and the *mimetic* activity in the early magical craftsmanship of *demiourgoi*, it has been already noted that the act of creation worked as a *mimesis* of the nature's mode of creation: a letting appear<sup>7</sup>. Moreover the complexity of space prohibits us to reduce the production to the status of a bare human labor with a conscious *telos*, as directed towards the production of a simple object. At the first hand, it is a process: the space is the outcome of a sequential set of operations of demarcating. Among those activities that result in the production of space, there are not only laborious production but equally consumption as well.

The *mimetic* action in the ritual dance, blended with strokes of eroticism and violence develops a language of gestures rather than words: it is the body that speaks. Along with the dramatic behavior, the performer reaches a threshold where his being confronts the *other*

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a new *peplos*, see Romano, 131. For the myth of *arachné*, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, [N.G.L.Hammond & H.H.Scullard, eds.], 2nd Edition. Oxford, 1970; p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> See McEwen, 51: especially on the carving of *daidala*. See also Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" (1951), 159; where he compares the erection of buildings to 'original Greek *techne* as solely a letting appear'

which he imitates/dramatizes. The word *mimos* often connoted bestial actions, i.e. dramatic imitation of certain animals (Pollitt, 1974, 38). The mythical χορος (*choros*), built by Daidalus for Ariadne (Iliad, 18.590), still remains a mysterious and ambiguous term for concerned scholars. It either signified the choral dance or the magical space where the dance was performed: namely the dancing floor<sup>8</sup>. The ancient scholars interpreted *choros* as a place (*topos*), "complete with columns and statues arranged in a circle". Recently discovered circular structures at Knossos were somehow related to *Daidalic choros* (Morris, 1995, 14). In earlier texts, *choros* denoted *dance* without the indication of a dancing floor. The dance existed in itself and stayed as a temporal phenomenon. The meaning of the word is still on enigmatic grounds and its importance lies in this ambiguity. The dance and idea of space that crystallized the rhythm of the dance brought to its circularity are in confusion on a common ground. In the heroic ages, architecture and dance spoke the same language. The communal act preconditioned its mytho-poetical space.

The sacral geography of antiquity is shaped by rituals that gave social space its form by demarcation and the myths that enfolded that space. The physical body of a building is thus knitted twice; with the successive gathering of traces, marks and signs of social practice and with the myths that surrounded and verified these markings<sup>9</sup>. The two wings—the physical body and its mythical content—flap together and constantly sustain each other with immediate references. A double narrative of space is formulated: one visual, other poetic. The intertextuality between them leads to the formation of an intermingled map-narrative (or a map-scripture) that traced the spatial dimension of the genealogy of collective memory<sup>10</sup>. In effect, it is this mythopoetic content of the

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<sup>8</sup> Morris, 1995, 14 and note 29; see also McEwen 62-63. Lonsdale, 86-87.

<sup>9</sup> See McEwen, 98ff. for *peplos* of Athena as a similar metaphor of knitting social space.

<sup>10</sup> The early maps before the development of scientific cartography were generally like manuscripts of a journey through those lands that were to be described. The focus was not on the totality of the land forms but the routes were emphasized. Moreover, stories and verbal descriptions of the places took their place on the parchment. For

social space, which is a trace of social action in the very structure of language, scribes it in the memorandum of the society.

As the social subject transforms *the place* into a domain of lived experience, the social space, in the very process of its production, becomes a means of socialization “by means of its multiplicity of networks”. As a social practice, the act of building up of space contributes to the socialization of the society such that it is a coding of the cultural narrative and embodiment of the collective memory. It restores consequentially the communality of people. “Social space *per se* is at once work and product —a materialization of social being” (Lefebvre, 101-2). Ritual action in archaic Greece provided the establishment of solidarity, especially to overcome real situations of crises that threatened the society. Man in response to this menace, collectively built up of his asylum, his refuge; his sanctuary.

“Antiquity had been a civilization of spectacle” writes Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*<sup>11</sup> and continued quoting N.H.Julius<sup>12</sup> “to render accessible to a multitude of men the inspection of a small number of objects”: this was the problem to which the architecture of the temples [and] theaters...responded. With spectacle, there was a predominance of public life, intensity of the festivals, sensual proximity. In these rituals in which blood flowed, society found a new vigor and formed for a moment a single great body.”

The enthusiasm that got the possession of the bodies during the religious act was *enthousiasmos*, which literally means to be inspired or filled with god. Here, *entheos* is generally interpreted as *god-filled*. It has already been mentioned in the previous chapter that the word *thea*, both meant *goddess* and *spectacle* and later became differentiated with the use of accents on the vowels. In addition to these, *theoroi* were representatives of a city in a sacred festival in some other city or

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instance, a piece of writing about the floods of a river often accompanied its visual representation on the map. See Calvino (1993), “Haritada Bir Yolcu” in *Üç Deneme*, 11-18. Also Boyer (1994) “Spectacular and Descriptive Modes of Mapping” in *The City of Collective Memory*, 204-228.

<sup>11</sup> Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon, 1977, pp. 216-17.

<sup>12</sup> who wrote the Panopticon in 1831.

sanctuary. *Theaomai* in Homer meant "to gaze upon with wonder" where *thea* is interpreted as spectacle (McEwen, 21). Thus the *enthousiasmos* that filled the bodies in the ritual was not only inspired by the god but also by means of a spectacularity. Clearly a spectacle (of a holy place or a *mimisma* of it) suggested "an unseen presence" in it (Walter, 21). Although in the differentiation of natural place and social space, Lefebvre indicated that the natural space was not staged in opposition to social space which bears the stamp of the drama of daily life; the natural place for the Greeks was the territory of the divine and thus was spectacular.

The coexistent polarities within the society formulated the language of Greek culture<sup>13</sup>. The opposition between nature and culture, male and female, city and country, sacred and profane, death and life<sup>14</sup> and the like had their reflections on the social space. The space along with the process of its form[ul]ation, engenders the arising internal contradictions, tensions and dichotomies within the society, which led to the materialization of the center and periphery. With the establishment and crystallization of *civilized human* environment, and preponderance of politics, liminal activities were pushed out towards the periphery, where the marginalities produced their own peculiar space to persist. However the stability of the Greek society depended very much upon this duality. The central power and the marginal were intermingled in the communal act and restored their own image with the image of their double (*eidolon*).

In the world of humanity reason constructs around itself a shield called *the taboo*, an uneasy territory that excludes the world of violence. With the activation of rituals in the community, these limits are transgressed in the context of a violent, irrational act and the hygiene

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<sup>13</sup> Antonaccio, 81; indicates the structuralist approaches. The concept is well illustrated with the *double-entendre* phenomenon in Greek language. For the Greeks, a word could denote itself and something else as well, in many cases even its opposite. Many such instances are illustrated in the present chapter. See also Waterhouse, 95; Meyer, 39; Vernant (1990), "The Pure and the Impure" in *Myth and Society*, 121-141.

<sup>14</sup> On conflicts and ambiguities in idea of death among the Greeks, see Vermeule (1981), "Immortals are Mortal, Mortals Immortal" in *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, 118-144.

of civilized domain is questioned as well as enhanced. The subsistence of the community depended on this phenomenon. The sacrifice, that was principally a liminal activity, has been enacted at the threshold of the social space: the sanctuary<sup>15</sup>. The general intention of the discussion within the confines of this chapter is to try to identify the relation of the ritual action (as a social practice) in archaic Greece with the socio-religious space it created, the sanctuary. The sanctuary as the map-narrative of eloquent rituals lay on the boundaries, both metaphorically and physically. "If sacrifices served to *mark boundaries*, they were also used to *cross* them. Thus we find offerings made at the major points of transition in human life" (Bowie, 472).

### III.2 LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS: CONSTRUCTION VIA DESTRUCTION

For the Greeks, not only the bodies in submissive moods were *entheos* (filled with god) but also the natural place: the spectacularity of the sacral landscape was borne in its god-filled content. Conversely, what or where was *sanctum* on earth was necessarily spectacular. The *phûsis* was essentially the territory of divine powers. Divinities resided in caves, sacred groves, towering heights, mountain peaks, rocky cliffs. Among the sacred places, the highlands connoted a celestial territory, while the caves were believed to open to the underground world. Deities manifest themselves best in sacred groves. Aniconic worship focused on unworked natural stones, i.e. *baetyls* not only at early dates but surviving down to the Romans. The black stone of Kybele at Pessinus was venerated as the cult image of the goddess<sup>16</sup>. Zeus, the sky father, was the cloud gatherer and bringer of thunders (Burkert, 1985, 126). Demeter was the Earth-Mother. Poseidon, the sea god, was re-

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<sup>15</sup> For taboo and transgression, see especially "Taboo and transgression" in Bataille (1986), pp.29-148; Hersey, "Sacrifice and Taboo" (1986); Frazer, 1940, pp.194-261.

<sup>16</sup> Donohue, 221; Vermaseren, 1977, 26. The transfer of the *baetyl* to Rome by the Attalids of Pergamum was conceived as one of the very enthusiastic cult transfers of antiquity. On the divine content of Greek landscape, see Cosgrove (1993); Rutkowski (1986); Edlund (1987); Scully, "Landscape and Sanctuary" in *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* (1969), pp. 1-8; Malkin, "Sanctuaries for the Gods" in *Religion and Colonization* (1987), 135ff.

sponsible for the earthquakes. Artemis, the mistress of animals, loved to reside in the mountains and meadows.

The *topos* thus had an expressive energy that moved the mind and activated inspiration. But like the human body, the non-inhabited land, as the crucible of violent savagery was both sacred and evil; *agos* that agonized man and *hagios*, sacred. The nature at large was certainly a *miasmatic* territory, and *agos* denoted the worst kind of *miasma* (Dodds, 37). Every place had its own *keres*, an evil spirit, that threatened not only its inhabitants but also plants, "some coming from the ground, some from the air, some from both"<sup>17</sup>. A sacred place could well be haunted by "good spirits" or/and by "dreadful *keres*". The narrative of the sacral landscape among the Greeks was developed upon the *unheimlich* (unhomely) character of the countryside.

According to Eliade, every territory occupied for the purpose of inhabitation and utilized as *Lebensraum*, is first of all transferred from chaos to *kosmos* through the effect of necessary rituals; the land is given a *form* which made it real. His proposition includes the view of the uninhabited land as "formless" or "ill-shaped", chaotic and slippery grounds (Eliade, 11).

The focus of attention in the discussions on early Greek architecture is the correlation and distinction between natural place and social space. Polignac claims that the early Archaic period marked an abrupt change in the idea of space in Greek society. The sanctuary, which he placed at the center of social practice and building activity in the early Archaic age, was a preconditioning element for the development of the *polis*, and was "clearly marked" and "securely established" both conceptually and architecturally (Polignac, 1995, 33). He asserts that the pre-archaic *temena* without a monumental temple did not have a determinate space and the cultic activity in the dark ages were performed in discrete areas (Polignac, 1995, 27-31). Likewise Ian Morris claimed that

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<sup>17</sup> Harrison, 171. See also Walter, 1988, 68-69. The *ker* was actually 'the soul of a disease' leading to an emotional experience. "Ghost, bacillus, disease, death-angel, death-fate, fate, bogey, magician have all gone to making of it" It was often depicted as an ugly winged ghost figure or sprite.

"few instances of defined sanctuaries (of the dark ages) are rustic and isolated from settlements" (Morris, 1987, 189-92). Sourvinou-Inwood in opposition to both scholars, refuses the indefinite character of dark age sanctuaries. She claims that in the early cult places such as sacred groves, caves, peak sanctuaries, sacred space "was set apart and very clearly defined" and that the alleged indeterminacy was illusionary (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1993, 4-5).

It should be noted, at first, that the discussion has two aspects in it and the distinction of the two will probably be helpful in illuminating the subject. First is the problem caused by the modern preconceptions of the luminosity and clarity of positive space which is, in fact, an illusion and engenders deficient interpretations of archaic space. As a response, it might be more appropriate to call attention to the mytho-poetical ambiguity of the magic oriented sacred space while questioning such devaluation of its discrete character as negative and unfavorable. Second is that the Greeks have formulated the peculiar idea of the boundary with utmost care and even with a schizophrenic anxiety down to the heroic ages. The boundary was considered as an uneasy liminal territory where two domains of varying content were separated and came to terms with each other.

Polignac states that "the three constituent elements of the Greek sanctuary [were] the altar, the temple and the precinct wall" (1995, 16-17). This identification is generally accepted for a developed *ideal* sanctuary<sup>18</sup>. Along the dark ages and even throughout the Archaic age, however, the sanctuary was not an architectural corpus but rather a sacred place where images of the divine nature predominated and man-made incorporations were barely *mimetic* in character. Only the boundaries were marked and the sole (albeit essential) architectonic in-

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<sup>18</sup> Bergquist (1967) focuses on the temple-altar ensemble. S-Inwood in "Early Sanctuaries" (1993) denies the importance of the temple. However, impressive emphasis is taken upon the temple in an awkward isolation from its setting and the related social practices by architectural historians and archaeologists who write architectural history. For instance, see Coldstream, "Greek Temples: Why and Where?"(1985); Coulton, 1977; Holloway, 1973. A wider perspective of the sanctuary as a social space is brought by Burkert, "Ritual and Sanctuary" in *Greek Religion* (1985), 54-118, also "Meaning and Function of the Temple" (1988). Polignac (1994 and 1995) is also supporting this view.

tervention was an altar, often simply a natural rock or set up in wood (Burkert, 1985, 87-88). Not all of the *temena* received temples all through their primal history<sup>19</sup>. The sacred places that were gifted with monumental dwellings for the deities were exceptional in the Archaic age until the spreading epidemic of architectural articulation of religious space as demonstrations of civic pride and rivalry.

The general character of the mytho-poetical / magical space of the sacred territory constituted a non-luminous obscurity, as opposed to our modern understanding of the clear and perceptible space which is preconditioned by the mathematical and geometrical absolute space of the modern philosophers, mathematicians and architects<sup>20</sup>. Waterhouse (1993, 17) points out that the evidence from *mythopoeia* "displayed an entirely different universe [with respect to ours], one saturated with paradox, ambiguity and negation". In Homeric narratives, a clear definition of a sacred space was hardly encountered exactly as Polignac complains. It is very seldom that ancient writers describe the interior of a temple or temenos. The metaphoric obscurity of the narratives which is often denied by archaeological evidence points out the secrecy of the tabooed sacred domain. No one exactly knew what happened in the sacrificial ritual in the Telesterion at Eleusis during the Demetrian Mysteries<sup>21</sup>. Pausanias tells a dream of his own that prevented him from describing the Sanctuary of Eleusis<sup>22</sup>.

Among the figural representations of sacrificial rituals on vase paintings and votive reliefs, the moment of killing was almost never depicted<sup>23</sup>. Likewise, the explicitly marked off area of the sacred pre-

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<sup>19</sup> S.-Inwood, 10-11. Bergquist (1967, 119-120) indicates a significant number of sanctuaries without any temple but as altar-temenos. Antonaccio (1994, 93) for example indicates the sanctuaries at Deiras in the Argolid, where no preserved architecture was noted before 6th c. BC, while the traces of cultic activity date back to Iron ages.

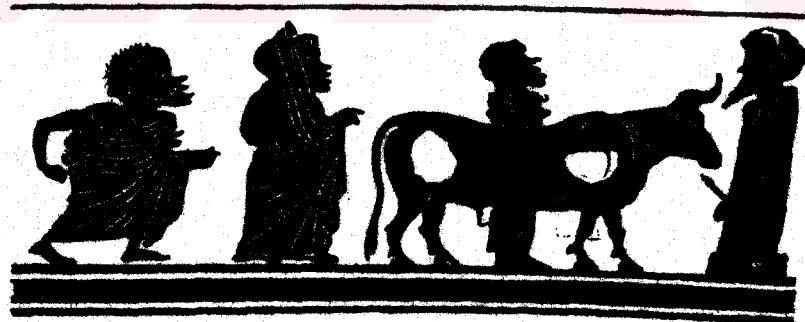
<sup>20</sup> The obscurity of cult places in the antiquity are probably better illustrated in the [though literary] works of J.L.Borges and Ursula K.Leguain. See Borges, *Ficciones* (1944) and Leguin, *Tombs of Atuan; The EarthSea Trilogy II* (1977).

<sup>21</sup> See Burkert, "Documentation and Secret" in *Homo Necans* (1983), 248-256.

<sup>22</sup> Pausanias, 1.38.7, cited in Burkert, 1983, 252 and note 21.

<sup>23</sup> See Van Straten (1995) for a proper documentation from pre-kill to post-kill including statistical analysis.





- Figure 25. Sacrificial ritual and sacred ploughing. Attic black figure cup.  
 Figure 26. Sacrifice on the boundary. Herm, pig, dwarf carrying *kanoun*, woman and man.  
 Figure 27. Sacrifice on the boundary. Herm, man leading bull. Boiotian Cabiran black figure *strophos*. 450-400 BC.

cinct was a taboo. For prayer (*hiketeia, prostropē*), access to the divine space was regulated through architectural and ritual steps and boundaries. At the sole gate for access, water basins (*perinhanteria*) were placed for bodily purification with lustral water. Only the pure were admitted inside the boundaries. "To make love, to give birth, to die" were prohibited within the sacred territory (Burkert, 1988, 35). To enter the inner space of the temple and to see the cult image were severely restricted in several places<sup>24</sup>.

Under the authority of this sacral content of nature, laying the foundations of a building as a dwelling either for the humans themselves or in the name of the cults was arduous, and required ritual compensation for the disturbed forces embedded in the womb of the place. In ancient Etruria, the land was never ploughed without rites of apology, since it was a wounding of the earth (Fig. 25). The use of the plough "violated a hallowed world, so did construction" (Waterhouse, 23). Nature suffered from any sort of occupation since the divine equilibrium of the god-made landscape was disconcerted by the act of building, which is ritually instituted by laying out its boundaries. The ceremonial apology for this inhabitation generally required sacrifice, either human or animal. Mantineans, Burkert indicates, purified their land "by leading blood victims (*sphagia*) all around the boundaries before slaughtering them". In Methana, vineyards were sanctified by encircling the land with bleeding pieces of the sacrificial victims (Burkert, 1985, 82). A pig is sacrificed and carried around the assembly area by the Peritiarhoi, before the meetings of Athenian Assembly (Bowie, 473).

The uninhabited nature was *phūsis apeirōs* in Anaximander, which is literally translated as the "boundless nature". However the word *apeiron* is said to be also close to "uncrossable" at its roots as well as

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<sup>24</sup> Corbett, 1970. Although such restrictions were determined by local peculiarities. Pausanias' accounts are revealing on the subject. Some restrictions were on an ethnic basis, some *temena* were opened seasonally or only once a year. Some stayed open on certain days of the week but were restricted to the initiates who made preliminary sacrifice.

“boundless”<sup>25</sup>. So the nature is the uncrossable territory because of its terrific content and could not be occupied without rites of apology. The essential act of distinguishing a piece of land to be occupied in human activity out of the savage territory of *phûsis*, was laying out its boundaries. The primordially of the act of establishing boundaries is proved by its importance in the general program of the sacrificial ritual. After the sacred procession which preceded the sacrifice, as the initiates arrive at the sacred place, they mark off a circle; “the sacrificial basket and water jug are carried around the assembly, thus marking off the sacred realm from the profane”<sup>26</sup>. In establishing their colonial cities in Etruria, Romans marked the *pomerium* (boundary) of the city with a plough driving it all around the city territory. Greek authors mentioned the same rite on certain occasions<sup>27</sup>. The need to define sacred sites with boundaries for the Greeks was actually marking them, leaving a trace of human occupation proclaiming human existence with the territory. For early natural sanctuaries a simple marking with a central rock and/or tree was sufficient<sup>28</sup>.

The natural stones which were used as boundary markers had inscriptions on them about prohibitions related to the sacred area<sup>29</sup>. Burkert writes “the immovable boundary stone [was] surrounded with tales about the transgression of boundaries and breaking of taboos” (Burkert, 1985, 156). The *herma*, which became the principal boundary

<sup>25</sup> In linguistic terms *apeirôn* is “a space which lacks *peirata* or ‘boundaries’”. See Romm, 10 and n. 3. For a discussion of the term *phûsis apeirôs* in Anaximander, see McEwen, 30-51, where he interprets Anaximander, Frag. 131. Also Charles E. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (Columbia, 1960) which I have not seen.

<sup>26</sup> Burkert, 1983, 4. He cites Aristophanes, *Pax*. 956-58, Euripides, *Iph.Aul.* 1568.

<sup>27</sup> Rykwert, 29. See also Scully (1990) where he designates a revealing detail for the practice, where he writes “the city founder lifted the plow marking the sacred boundary of the city at the points where future city gates would be placed because corpses must necessarily be removed from the city” (18-19). See below (Chapter 4) for further discussions of the sanctity of the *polis*, especially in Homer.

<sup>28</sup> Burkert, 1985, 85. Both *baetyls* and sacred trees were conceived as representations of divinities. See previous chapter. Malkin adds ropes and woolen threads to the list of materials used for marking boundaries. Malkin, 1987, 139 and note 14.

<sup>29</sup> like “do not descend...borders of the temenos” written on the stele in Corinth Museum, from 500-450 BC.

sign exemplified a primordial creation of an architectural monument. It was "a heap of stones, a monument set up as an elementary form of demarcation. Everyone who passes by adds a stone to the pile and so announces his presence" (Burkert, 1985, 156). Later, herms became wooden quasi-anthropo-morphic monuments frequently associated with Dionysus (Figs. 26-27), whence *xoana* took their seat at the temple<sup>30</sup>. However through the Archaic period some *temena* received high-standing stone walls approximately in the height of a man<sup>31</sup>.

The verb *ἰδρυσεν*, another word with a double meaning, denoted not only "to found", "to set up" but also "to consecrate". The occupation of a territory was essentially connected with its sanctification by the ritual laying of its boundaries and/or foundations (Malkin, 139). Early Greek building sacrifices and foundation deposits are subject to recent archaeological investigations, but were already known in earlier cultures<sup>32</sup>. Foundation deposits were common and widespread in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Hittites in Asia Minor and especially Minoans and Mycenaeans. Naumann indicates that the literary evidence from tablets was confirmed by archaeological evidence in Hattusha where ritual vessels were found in the foundations of buildings, unquestionably placed before construction began (Naumann, 65-67). Frazer mentions building taboos for certain though non-Greek tribes, where sacrifice was made to avert evil (but sacred) natural spirits out of the raw material of architecture. "Even when a tree has been felled, sawn into planks, and used to build a house, it is possible that the woodland spirit may still be lurking in the timber, and accordingly some people seek to propitiate him before or after they occupy the new house. Hence, when a

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<sup>30</sup> Donohue, 193 and 220, note 111.

<sup>31</sup> Burkert, 1985, 86; also Rutkowski, 75-76. The idea to build a massive wall for the *temena* was already existing in the Aegean Bronze age, especially Minoan Crete. It is not uncommon that a natural formation like cliffs, the sea, a river could act as a boundary for the sacred place.

<sup>32</sup> See Wells, "Early Greek Building Sacrifices" (1988); Burkert, 1983, 39 and note 17; Frazer, 1940, 191; Mauss & Hubert, 1967, 65ff. Mauss & Hubert additionally cites H. Gaidoz, *Les Rites de la Construction* (Paris, 1882) which I have not seen (note 376). For a list of archaeological reports of foundation deposits, see Wells, all footnotes.

new dwelling is ready the Toradjas of Celebes kill a goat, a pig or a buffalo, and smears all the woodwork with its blood" (Frazer, 117).

The myth of the Bridge of Arta as conveyed by Wells is illuminating. The building stood "for the perilous journey from the world of the living to the world of the dead" and thus was a metaphorical threshold (Wells, 259, n.1). The master craftsman of the edifice imprisoned his wife in the building so as to "appease the genius of the place". The woman took the role of a guardian spirit. A human sacrifice clearly stood at the very foundation of the building, while the victim is transcended into the world of divinities and guarded the bridge. A new hierarchical order has been established with the introduction of a social spatial element into the natural place. The continuity of both the physical entity and the spiritual presence of the natural place is destroyed.

For a foundation ritual, the sacrificial victim was often chosen to be a domesticated one, occupying some place in the agrarian realm. After it is slaughtered in a pit, it was burned together with other agricultural products like fruits, grain, honey and wine, plus incense. The remnants were laid on the ground upon which the foundation stones were erected. Deposits in ceremonial votive vessels are incorporated to the foundations<sup>33</sup>. The ritual was constantly repeated with definite intervals and in certain occasions like repair. The blood of the victim or some other libation usually watered the foundation soils (Mauss & Hubert, n.377).

In all cases reported, ceremonial vessels have been unearthed. The vessels were archaeologically proved to be used in a ritual and associated with the walls. In the very foundation of urban monuments that delimited the social space lies the traces of a communal act of the society. Most of the recorded building sacrifices were reported to be associated with a fortification wall, boundaries of a sanctuary or a city, or any other sort of liminal space<sup>34</sup>. Scholars often stress that in many sanctuaries the altar stood close to the temenos walls<sup>35</sup>. That

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<sup>33</sup> Burkert, 1983, 39; Wells, 261.

<sup>34</sup> Wells, 262 for detailed examples.

<sup>35</sup> Burkert, 1985; Bergquist, 1967, 112

must have been an early custom due to the recurrent sacrifices that ought to be made for the purification of the sacred territory.

Perhaps the most revealing evidence that the sacrifice was always associated with the boundaries of a territory again comes from the etymological genre. The altar was βωμος (*bomos*) when set up high as a regular structure<sup>36</sup>. However in its primitive form, it was not even an architectural construction, not far more than a deposit of ash, burnt animal fragments and broken votive offerings “around an outcropping of bedrock or a crude pile of stones” (Rupp, 101). While with its later monumentalization, the altar is built up as *bomos*, the rustic form never disappeared from the cultic scene and was conceived as a lower structure directly set on the ground or simply a sacrificial pit. This kind of altar was named as έσχάρα (*eschara*) and generally used in the rituals for chthonic deities and heroes, i.e. the immortal personalities of the underworld<sup>37</sup>. The crucial point is that the expression for the boundary of a land in ancient Greek was έσχάτια. In Homer, έσχάτάω always meant “furthest, uttermost, extreme”<sup>38</sup>. In Attica, it signified a boundary estate, either at the seaside or at the foot of a mountain and the like<sup>39</sup>. The correspondence is strengthened by *escharotikos* and *eschatos*. The former denoted “to form a scrap after a burn” and the latter “farthest”. The chthonic cults were always marginal among the Olympian divinities as in the case of Demeter. Blood sacrifices, gifted to them, were performed not on a *set up* βωμος but on έσχάρα, a hearth on earth or a pit that fed the underworld, i.e. the womb of the (mother) earth.

The altar was the focus of worship and the sacrificial act and thus the central feature of the sanctuary that organized the social

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<sup>36</sup> Van Straten, 165-166. See also Burkert, 1985, 87; where he indicates that a normal *bomos* is “constructed of bricks and white-washed with lime or else fitted together from carefully hewn stone blocks”. Later altars were extravagantly monumentalized. For a detailed account of the development of altars, see Rupp, 1983.

<sup>37</sup> Van Straten, 1995, 166; Bowie, 466.

<sup>38</sup> Oxford Classical Greek-English Lexicon cites *Odyssey*, 21.9.

<sup>39</sup> Oxford Classical Greek-English Lexicon cites *Aeschin.* 1.97.

space around it. In the early open air sanctuaries, the only constructed feature was the altar and nothing else. As opposed to the natural place, the idea of centrality is ascribed to the man-made environment where it connoted a symbolism of power<sup>40</sup>. The altar in the sanctuary, in this respect, was preceded by the central hearth of the prehistoric megaron and the Aegean banquet halls, while in the *polis*, it took the form of *prytaneion*, heart[h] of the city, the supreme symbol of political power<sup>41</sup>.

“Whenever a new step is taken consciously and irrevocably” writes Burkert, “it is inevitably connected with sacrifice” (1983, 39). Eliade echoes the idea, indicating that “all sacrifices are performed at the same mythical instant of beginning” (1954, 35). He indicates that the construction rituals were repetitions of “the primordial act of the cosmogonic construction”; an imitation of “the sacrifice performed in *illo tempore* to give birth to the world” (Eliade, 1954, 30).

Not only laying out foundations, but any sort of crossing boundaries (rivers, frontiers), passing into a new age group or society, opening an assembly, marriage, slaying of a slave, setting up for war and the like required sacrificial ritual. However the function of the building sacrifice is essential for our purpose. Straightforward, it has been defined as to create a guardian spirit for the building or “to propitiate the spirit of the soil which the building operations are about to harm” (Mauss & Hubert, 65). A sanctuary, “a house, a bridge or a dam will stay strong only if something lies slaughtered beneath it” (Burkert, 1983, 39). The emphasis of the destructive character of the act of construction and its compensation with another sort of violence (a killing) is critical in figuring out the general nature of sacrifice.

It is the destruction that activates a construction. The sacrificial killing “opens and reseals the abyss of annihilation”. The crisis which means “a turning point for better or worse in an acute distress” —

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<sup>40</sup> See Gernet (1981), “Political Symbolism: The Public Hearth” in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*, pp. 322-339.

<sup>41</sup> For early altars, see Rupp (1983); for the correspondence between the hearth of the banquet halls and the altar, see Mazarakis-Ainian (1988) and Schmitt-Pantel (1994).

*krisis* in Greek, denoting “decision”— and which can even be interpreted as “the edge of annihilation” was caused. The shock however finds response in the human consciousness “later by consolidation; guilt is followed by reparation, destruction by reconstruction” (Burkert, 1983, 38). So any object of creation, brought anew to life, should confront this severe pain of annihilation. The evolution of the concept of hysteria is illuminating in this sense. Greek *hysterikos* denoted “a suffering in the womb”. The womb should be taken as the sacred symbol of fertility, of supreme creation and also the guaranty of permanence for the community<sup>42</sup>. “The Greek word ἀρουρά (*aroura*) meant both “ploughed land” and “child-bearing woman” (Rykwert, 132). Moreover, it was where the women bled from within, and thus always caused an anxiety associated with impurity and violence<sup>43</sup>. Today hysteria denotes an unmanageable fear or emotional excess. For the Greeks who did not differentiate the physical body and the soul; the word *hysterikos* clearly signified a strong anxiety at the very moment of birth-creation. Likewise the content of the sacrifices comprised the same sort of paradox: destruction and construction, consequentially positing and affirming each other. Hölderlin summarizes their anomalous dialectic in his “Patmos”:

But where danger threatens  
That which saves from it also grows<sup>44</sup>.

Foundations of the colonial city are also associated with a murderous act by Carol Dougherty<sup>45</sup>. As she concentrates upon the metaphorical language of foundation myths of colonial cities, it becomes evident that the *oikists* (city founders) were often exiled from their

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<sup>42</sup> See Duerr (1985), “The Vagina of Mother-Earth and Venus Mountain” in *Dreamtime*, 16-31.

<sup>43</sup> That was probably the cause for which the women were not admitted to certain sacrificial rituals. See Detienne (1989) “The Violence of Well-born Ladies: Women in Thesmophoria” in *Cuisine of Sacrifice* (Vernant & Detienne, eds.) p.147. For blood as defilement see Vernant (1990), “The Pure and the Impure”, in *Myth and Society*, 125ff., also Burkert (1985), p.81.

<sup>44</sup> Frederick Hölderlin; *Poems and Fragments*. Trans. Michael Hamburger (Cambridge University Press, 1980) p.463. Cited in Wright (1980), 247.

<sup>45</sup> Dougherty (1993), “Murderous Founders”, in *Poetics of Colonization*, 31-44.



mother cities because of a defilement they caused. They were generally associated with a murder of some sort. The exile works as a purification both for the community and the murderer. Greek myths correlate murderous act, purification and colonial foundation, and place the concept of destruction at its origins. Purification for an archaic society was a means to [re]establish the boundaries between sacred and profane, pure and defiled (Dougherty, 1993, 36).

Setting up the boundaries/foundations of a construction like every act of creation was not a plausible phenomenon (as a primordial beginning!..); it was a kind of transgression of a taboo. A divinely bloody exercise over land is thus required in order that the encircled territory is affirmed and taken into the domain of the "homely" (*heimlich*). The sacrifice itself and the metaphorical narrative it created are essentially ascribed to a guardianship of the societal norms, the limits of which were to be guarded. To secure its communal structure, the society constructs a set of prohibitions, like a *daidalic shield*, in the mundane life: the taboo. In this way it formulates the cultural boundaries of its "civilized humanity". Transgressions annihilate these taboos as the boundaries are violated. Restoration of these societal boundaries, are only possible by a *katharsis*; sacrifice reconstructs the disturbed taboo. The essential character of the sacrificial act dictates a deconstructive, violent act. Sacrifice works by means of violence: a total suspension of all taboos through murder, sexuality, and the like. In the ambiguous atmosphere of the sacrificial ritual, all boundaries become transparent, and the world of reason confronts its *eidolon*: the world of the irrational. "The transgression does not deny the taboo, but transcends it and completes it" (Bataille, 1986, 63). The humanity not only questions and renews its image as opposed to the image of its violent *other*, but reaffirms its disturbed boundaries as well.

### III.3 SACRIFICE ON DISPLAY: THE SANCTUARY IS ANATHEMATA

In ancient Greece, a gift to the divinities was a sacrifice by any means whether bloody or not<sup>46</sup>. At the very center of the act of sacrifice, Mauss places the idea of consecration (Mauss & Hubert, 9). Through the proper ritual, the object which is offered to the god is transferred from the common/mundane into the sacred domain, and an enigmatic communication is established between man and divinity through the act of giving. Bataille indicates that it actually is the sacrificer who desires "to separate himself from the world of things" through the transformation of the victim. In any case this transformation is realized through the act of destruction (Bataille, 1989, 43). *To consecrate*, turns out this time to denote *to destruct*.

Sacrifice is an "abandoning of a desired object of possession", upon which human existence depends. In a situation of threat and anxiety, it generally acts as a renunciation, a self-sacrifice. It seems difficult to appreciate the idea of sacrifice under the aegis of our modern schizophrenic formulation of having property —the exclusive right to possess lands, animals or even other human beings. The elegant economic models formulate *giving away* as nothing but a kind of investment and establish "very real ties of power and dependence" (Burkert, 1987, 43-44). The idea of sacrifice however, in response to the constant assault of wars, natural catastrophes, agrarian crisis, plague, etc., was an essential practice for the society as a means to surrender. Occasions of supreme anxiety elevate the level of self-sacrifice. Burkert mentions finger sacrifices, known throughout the world (1987, 44-45). The self castration of Phrygian priests of Kybele in Pessinus on entering the service of the

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<sup>46</sup> Although in almost all studies on sacrifice, it is solely viewed as animal or human slaughter by ritual means, except Mauss & Hubert (1967) who mentions 'gift-sacrifice, food-sacrifice' (p.1). Burkert (1985) brings 'first fruit offerings' and 'votive offerings' as well as 'libation' (pp. 66-73). His "Offerings in Perspective: Surrender, Distribution, Exchange" in *Gifts to the Gods* (1987), pp. 43-50, is revealing. For a general account of the gifts: see Linders & Nordquist (1985). I did not see Marcel Mauss' *The Gift*, (Norton, 1967). As certain scholars confine offerings to nonperishable objects, utensils and products of handicrafts. See Polignac (1995), 11-31; Snodgrass (1980), 49-84; Coldstream (1977), 317-339.



- Figure 28. Human sacrifice. Altar, *macharia* and *kanoun*, *auletes*, *Idhera*. Attic red figure *kylix*. 520-490 BC.
- Figure 29. Bull sacrifice. Heraclides sacrificing to Chryse. Archaic statue of Chryse on sacred pillar; rustic altar with small fire. Attic red figure *bell-krater*. 425-400 BC.

goddess is another extreme example<sup>47</sup>. Human sacrifice, which has often been ascribed to an "oriental barbarity" versus "Greek humanity", is recently proved by archaeological evidence to have existed in ancient Greece. The practice is taken as indicative of social disaster and extreme distress (Fig. 28)<sup>48</sup>.

The unearthly instances of agrarian crisis included slaughtering of a real companion of men in the agricultural field: the domesticated animal (Fig. 29). "The murder of plough ox" was the most famous one and had a special place among other sacrifices, since the plough ox was the animal closest to man<sup>49</sup>. Perhaps the most ancient form of the food sacrifices were what Burkert calls "first fruit offerings" (1985, 66-68). Occasionally or seasonally, from harvest to harvest, the agricultural products, gatherings and hunting booties, including "ears of corn or bread, figs and olives, grapes, wine and milk" were piously taken to the sanctuary and burnt on the altar. As votive offerings; utensils and everyday objects, arms and armor were presented to the gods at liminal periods. Considerable labor and creativity was *sacrificed* with those *daidalic* handicrafts, garments, figurines for the divine powers to be kept for display in the sacred space.

The destructive character of sacrifice never resulted in absolute annihilation. It is only the *thingness* of the victim/offering that the sacrifice means to destroy. The victim is actually upheaved and restored to a celestial existence. It transgresses the boundary between mortals and immortals, mortality and immortality. The moment of slaughter formed an emotional climax, and was marked with a yodel like cry (*ololugé*) of the participating women. The little by little transformation of the victim from the profane into the sacred domain is completed with a last stroke of enthusiasm and exertion of destructive violence. "The shock

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<sup>47</sup> Frazer, 347-348; Vermaseren, 1977, 96.

<sup>48</sup> See Steel, 1995; Hughes, 1991. Burkert indicates boys and girls dedicating their hair to their goddesses on entering their puberty (1985, 70).

<sup>49</sup> Vernant, 1991, 299ff; Bowie, 466-7. These rituals comprised various symbolisms of agricultural production. The act of killing was performed not with an axe or a knife, but a sickle, which is normally used to cut corn (Bowie, 467). In ordinary sacrifices, the

felt in the act of killing is answered later by consolidation, guilt is followed by reparation, destruction by construction” (Bataille, 1989, 43). Through the victim, the relations between men and divinities were [re]established. As a crucible of destruction and reconstruction, the sacrifice becomes a vivid tide of killing and [re]creating on various levels of meaning.

Basically the dismembered victim is frequently reassembled and displayed by several means as a memorial of the sacrifice. In *Bouphonia*, after the ox has been killed, its body —internal organs, flesh and bones— were properly treated and served at a *symposion* where men and divinities shared the parts. The animal’s skin was stuffed with straw and hay, “hauled back on all fours, as if it were alive and harnessed to a cart” for public display<sup>50</sup>. Another form of the reconstruction of the victim was conceived through its communal consumption by the participants. The consecrated animal which became *entheos* (filled with god) by the affect of ritual, was reactivated in the bellies of the worshippers. The act not only made it possible for the god to enter the bodies of the initiates, but united them in a communality<sup>51</sup>.

A recurrent theme in the completion of the sacrificial rituals is the reassemblage of the bones, which were laid on the altar after the removal of the flesh. The “*thigh-bones* and the *pelvis* with the tail” were organized on the altar “in the proper order” so that the form of the animal is figured out again and consecrated by being burnt here<sup>52</sup>. A permanent sign for the sacrifice, however, is left in the sanctuary by the preservation of skulls of bulls and rams and goat horns, nailing

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knife lies in a sacrificial basket hidden beneath the grains before slaughter (Burkert, 1983, 4-5).

<sup>50</sup> Vernant, 1991, 298-302. *Bouphonia* is the previously mentioned ritual of the murder of yoked ox. The sharing of the animal’s body was precisely defined. For the detailed account of dismemberment, see Burkert 1983, 5-7. Also Hersey, 1988, 14-20.

<sup>51</sup> Hersey, 1988, 19. This must be the idea at the basis of cannibalism. In certain ancient cults, even the animal itself is conceived as the god and sacrificed to himself. See Frazer, 391-92. Also Burkert, 1985, 64-66. Gebhard indicates that the sacrifice was always associated with ritual dining at Isthmia, Sanctuary of Poseidon where very early traces of *symposion* were identified. The spaces for the *symposion* included two sacred caves and a mimetic grove [of a canopy and table].

<sup>52</sup> Burkert, 1983, 6. See note 24 for citations to ancient authors.



Figure 30. Architecture of social practice. Terracotta *pinax*

them to the wall of the sanctuary<sup>53</sup>. Hersey indicates that this practice was essential for a first sacrifice at the foundation of buildings<sup>54</sup>.

The practice is traced back down to the prehistory suggesting that hunting was an early form of sacrifice. In Neanderthal Siberian caves, household shrines of Neolithic Çatalhöyük and Mycenaean gold-ring depictions, a similar skull/bone display of the hunted animals is identified<sup>55</sup>. In prehistoric times figural depictions of the animals in mural paintings or display of the victim's skulls probably signified a similar idea of reconstruction of the animal by the hunter-gatherer, as a consequence of the fear that his primal source of food would totally disappear. The reconstruction implied the animals' rebirth as an immortal.

Early Greek sanctuaries, likewise, were archaeologically identified not as architectural entities or clearly marked off space, but as an accumulation of votive offerings, set up in the sacred realm: *anathemata*<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 30). "The sacred spot arises spontaneously as the sacred act leaves behind lasting traces: here sites of fire, there stains of blood and oil on the stone" says Burkert (1985, 92). Gebhard reports layers of ash and burnt fragments of bones and broken cups as the earliest traces of cultic activity in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. She claims that the vessels were deliberately broken at the end of the sacrifices and left there<sup>57</sup>. The sacred character of the altar came from the amount of ash, of blood, of charcoal, that are accumulated on it. The Horn Altar of Artemis on Delos was consecrated with goat horns and was famous in antiquity (Burkert, 1985, 65). The paraphernalia — remnants from a series of sacrificial destructions plus the reconstructed entities for display— were laid on the altar or kept in the sacred

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid.* 6. Also Van Straten, 1995, 159. In the case of domestic sacrifices the skulls are displayed on the wall of the house.

<sup>54</sup> Hersey, 1988, 16; Burkert confirms the idea referring to Homer (*Iliad*, 1.461, 2.424; *Odyssey*, 3.458, 12.361, 14.427). Burkert, 1983, 6 and note 25.

<sup>55</sup> Burkert, 1983, 12-15 gives enormous evidence.

<sup>56</sup> Rutkowski, 26; Burkert, 1985, 69 and 92-95.

<sup>57</sup> Gebhard, 1993, 156. See also Rutkowski, 203; where he indicates same sort of dedications to Apollo [*Mleatas*] at his sanctuary at Epidauros.

space in some other way. Later, in certain sanctuaries, an additional offering table, *hierai trapezai*, was set up for the purpose<sup>58</sup>.

The spatial character of the archaic sanctuary under transformation, from rustic natural sacred places into a coherent architectural ensemble was demarcated and organized by the proliferation and monumentalization of votive offerings. From the second half of the eighth century onwards, Greek sanctuaries became the scene of public ostentation. The modest dedications of dark ages were exaggerated and monumentalized. The idea of monumentality that captured all sorts of creative activity in this period caused archaic man to emphasize to unperishable gifts, like large-scale everyday objects and utensils, war trophies, permanent cult statues and dwellings for these cult images. The temple was an *agalma*, a gift to the god<sup>59</sup>. Being generally erected at a time of severe crisis, the temple —if not the whole *temenos*— was a symbol of safeguard for the community. “The permanence of the *anathema* in the sacred precinct corresponded to the idea of permanence and local stability” of the society.

The accumulation of votive gifts was often considered as a stimulus for building activity in the sanctuary, especially by means of the erection of subsidiary buildings, like *stoai* where the bunches of offerings were stored. From the sixth century BC onwards, certain communities started to dedicate treasure houses (*thesauroi*) at Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi. These buildings were usually in the form of small temples (Fig. 30).

The destructive sacrificial ritual and gift offering, the most frequently appreciated social practices in archaic Greece, always acted as stimulus for creative activity within the magical territory of the sacred space. We do not know much about the dance and music performed in, since they were ephemeral by nature. But along with the poetry and dramatization of myth depicted in visual and literary narratives, the amount of products in the form of handicrafts, sculpture and architec-

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<sup>58</sup> Van Straten, 1995, 164-5; Burkert, 1985, 95.

<sup>59</sup> Burkert, 1988, 43; cites Demosth. 22.76; Plutarch, Per.12.14



tural works uncovered in these sanctuaries is prolific. The idea to reconstruct and display or to leave traces of all paraphernalia of sacrificial rituals gave way to the formulation of the archaic sacred space. Surfaces of these sanctuaries were covered with marks, stains, images, symbols and messages of social practice and provide a unity of expression within the elements that constituted the social space (Walter, 1988, 152).

The idea of constructing out of a deconstruction and marking space with memorials, *mnema*, was in order to reconcile the ephemeral character of human existence and human practice. That was a problem of a creation of images in the form of mimetic spectacles, a way to attach oneself to the chaotic slippery ground of the world: that is *to dwell*. "The temple" says Heidegger "was at first a dwelling"<sup>60</sup>; a trace of human occupation and demarcation of the mortal body for the honor of the immortal.

#### III.4 HIERON ASYLON: A PLACE TO TAKE REFUGE

A careful inspection of early cult places discloses the fact that they were primeval dwellings for human beings. Burkert mentions caves, man's earliest habitation that were "finally conceived of as the house of the gods"<sup>61</sup>. Minoan Crete and early Greece had a prominent number of cave sanctuaries, decorated with "rude animal shapes" connoting the distant Upper Paleolithic caves of habitation, with hunting scenes on the walls. House sanctuaries were not uncommon. Cult rooms were identified in the Minoan palace at Knossos with sacred pillars and votive gifts (Burkert, 1985, 29). The multiplicity of shrines in Neolithic Çatalhöyük, not spatially differentiated from the network of houses, lead one to think of a domestic worship. The Trojan *megaron* houses with a central hearth

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<sup>60</sup> Heidegger (1951), "Building, Dwelling, Thinking", in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, 147.

<sup>61</sup> Burkert, 1985, 24. See also Edlund, 49-51; Rutkowski 200-201.

survived in the spatial form of the Greek temple. Not all *temena* had monumental temples in the Greek *polis*, many of them remained in domestic scales, unless they belonged to patron god[desse]s.

Heidegger's point is relevant at this practical level that the earliest dwellings of man were later dedicated to gods. Apart from Heidegger's metaphorical ascriptions to the idea of dwelling (that the essence of being lay in the way one dwells on earth), the building of a sanctuary was actually a means to dwell. The sacred place, in this line of thought, acted as a place of refuge where human beings took shelter against the *miasmatic* terror. This can either be understood as an escape from the general chaos of the *unbound* nature or in occasional situations of danger in search of a homely ground. Rutkowski claims that the "mighty ring of walls" of the sanctuaries on Cretan summits (some of which reached a height of 3-5 m. and a width of 3 m.) indicate the use of these sacred places as places of refuge (Rutkowski, 76). The bare physical need of taking refuge was later accompanied (and then dominated) by a spiritual one: taking shelter under the aegis of the god[desse] in the form of initiation. Sacred groves acted as places of refuge, since they were always conceived as where divinities manifested themselves and since all such sacred places were inviolable (Edlund, 53).

The sanctuary in ancient Greece was such an "inviolable precinct": *hieron asylon*. The archaic meaning of the word *asylum* (Greek *asylon*, neutral of *asylos*) is threatened by oblivion in our modern consciousness for its other connotations, but still the dictionary gives a relevant definition: "An inviolable place of refuge and protection giving shelter to criminals and debtors; SANCTUARY (given as synonym): A place of retreat and security; SHELTER" (Webster's, 1988). At its origins the sanctuary's function was directly associated with the idea of asylum, a place to take refuge. As previously discussed, the sacred space and its content —displayed votive offerings and monuments— were taboos, for the reason that all were under the possession of a divinity. One who delivered himself to

the god, *coming* into sacred realm for initiation or supplication was also essentially *possessed* by the god and thus was inviolable (Sinn, 90). The idea is best illustrated with the word *hagneia* or *hagnos* which denoted the inviolable aspect of a consecrated being or a holy place, as a “barrier that must not be crossed, the mystery that must be respected” (Vernant, 1990, 137-139). So it was the *hagneia* of the sacred territory that granted asylum to the consecrated suppliants. At the beginning of the tragedy *Suppliants* by Euripides, “the Danaids having sought the sanctuary (of Zeus) on a holy hill in front of the communal altar of Argos, consecrate themselves as suppliants to the gods of the city. Seated here, εν ἀγνώῳ, they are separated and protected from the world more effectively than if they were surrounded by a wall” (Vernant, 1990, 139). The tragedy starts with the chorus singing in “a sacred grove outside the city of Argos with an altar and images of several gods”:

Zeus,  
suppliant lord,  
turn your eyes  
kindly toward us, travelers who raised sail  
where the Nile slides through rippling sands  
to the sea. We fled your land, the sun-stunned  
pastures that stretch to Syria, not  
because our townsmen banished us  
for the stain of bloodshed; no, we flee  
by choice, escaping men and chains we detest  
unholy marriage to Aigyptos' sons,  
our kinsmen

Danaos, our father and the leader  
of our rebellion, chose to play this pawn  
as best among sorrows: so we skimmed  
the salt rolling sea and reached harbor  
here in Argos. We are Argive. We boast  
birth from the fly-maddened heifer whose womb  
to touch and breath of Zeus filled—lo.  
What land would receive us more gently, armed  
as we are only with suppliants' weapons  
these olive branches tufted with wool?

City, earth, trembling waters,  
receive us!  
Gods of sky and soil dwelling spirits  
whose home and honor lie deep,  
receive us!



considerations. According to her this was the underlying cause for the location on some territorial boundary. She mentions the mouth of a river as an example, but the cases are multiplied in Polignac's extensive study in his discussion about "the suburban or periurban sanctuaries located on the margins of the inhabited area" or occupying a liminal position within the landscape, like the foot of a mountain, the seashore, etc. Sinn mentions mountain top sanctuaries geographically placed in protected spots on highlands<sup>66</sup>.

The suppliants in the sanctuary must have been long-term dwellers within the boundaries in many cases, since it is frequent that certain buildings and separate areas were provided for these people, as well as for cult participants, who lived side by side in the *temenos*. It is remarkable that the space reserved for the purpose was a *hieron alsos*, the sacred grove within the sanctuary. The most notable example was Olympia, where the famous *Altis* was used for the purpose. Later, guest houses, baths and even shops were built in this area<sup>67</sup>. At the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, additional structures were built specifically to serve people who were granted asylum. Sinn mentions "subterranean cisterns, wells" to provide water, and houses to act as lodgings for these long-term guests (Sinn, 103). Herodotus mentions that the suppliants were to be naturally found in the sanctuaries just as the birds make their nests there<sup>68</sup>.

Taking refuge in a sanctuary was only possible through a fixed ritual. At first hand, the person who wished to be admitted to the safeguard of the sacred precinct was obliged to present himself and set forth the

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<sup>66</sup> Edlund, 128-129; Polignac, 1995, 11-128; Sinn, 102-103. Polignac does not mention this primordial function of sanctuaries.

<sup>67</sup> Sinn, 95; Edlund, 53; gives sanctuaries Capua, Civita Castenalla and S. Biagio, in Etruria and Magna Graecia where the idea survived down to the Romans.

<sup>68</sup> Herodotus, 1.159.3; cited in Sinn, 106.



Figure 31. Delphi. Treasury of the Athenians. 590-585 BC. Walls reconstructed by the help of continuous inscription on side surfaces.

reasons for his desire for help. If permitted to enter into the boundaries by the priest[s] who served the cult, the person

set down on the altar or at the image of the god holding a certain symbol identifying him as a suppliant, either freshly broken off twig or strand of wool<sup>69</sup>. From this moment on he was no longer an ordinary visitor to the sanctuary. He had acquired the status of suppliant (male: *hikétes*, female: *hikétis*) (Sinn, 91).

The ritual itself was called *hikéteia*, which meant “to come to the gods” and connoted a certain form of worship<sup>70</sup>. This semiotic interconnection between praying to the gods and taking refuge in the sanctuary denotes the primeval meaning of the religious activity. Metaphorically, to worship was actually asking for refuge under the safeguarding of the goddess. Considering the mundane dread and anxiety which was caused by ceaseless catastrophes in the terroric realm of the *phûsis*, man searched shelter from the protector goddesses. All figural depictions of the *hikéteia* illustrate the suppliant on the altar, as the center of the ritual, as in the other occasions of initiation (Figs. 32-33-34).

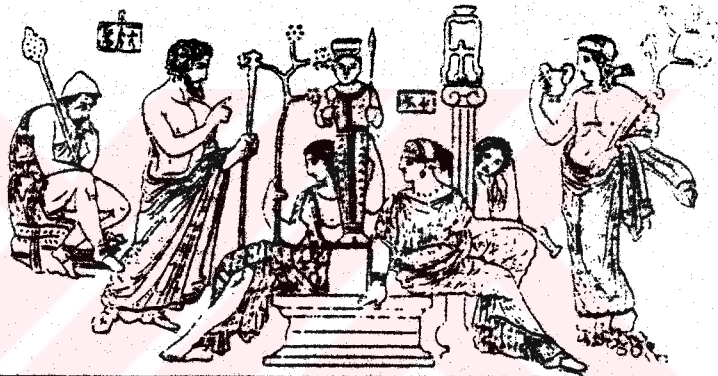
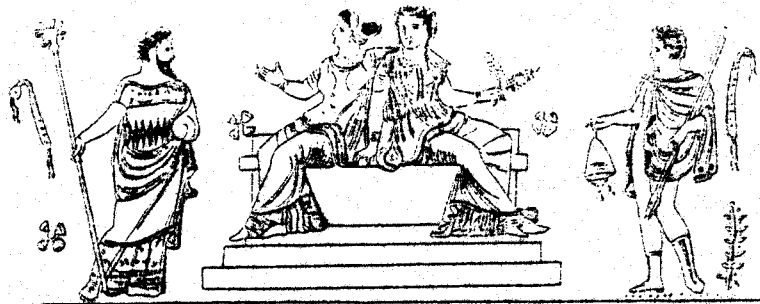
The archaic sanctuary worked as an asylum at multiple levels of meaning. The nowadays popular denotation of the word *asylum*, as “an institution for the relief or care of the destitute, of afflicted and especially the insane” (Webster's, 1988), is drawn from our modern set of conceptions and was actually introduced with “the birth of the clinic”. Nevertheless, the idea was not totally absent from the scene of archaic Greek religious practices.

Mental illness or madness in the archaic society was always associated with some supernatural presence in the afflicted. Any abnormal psychic state was *entheos*, the state of being filled with god. Though conceived as sacred, mental illness or any other disease were forms of defilement. The coexistential relation of *agos* and *hagios*, evil and sacred, is already mentioned above. Epilepsy, for instance, was “sacred disease par

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<sup>69</sup> The non-acceptance was viewed as a sacrilege. Sinn, 93

<sup>70</sup> Burkert, 1988, 35. The other word for worship was *prostropé*, ‘to turn’ to the gods.



- Figure 32. Suppliants on the altar. The daughters of Danaos in the Argive sanctuary. Main scene on a volute *krater* in Ruvo.
- Figure 33. Suppliants at the image of the god. The daughters of Proitos in the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lusoi. Main scene on a volute *krater* in Naples.
- Figure 34. Warriors threatening two suppliants at the altar. Main scene on an amphora in St. Petersburg.



excellence" and was seen as an intervention of *daimon*. A *daimon* is "an occult power, a veiled countenance of divine activity"<sup>71</sup>.

However, the release from the mental disease was only possible by the initiation to the same gods who brought the specific evil. A cathartic ritual is required for the purification of the defilement. The ritual for curing *mania*, often mentioned by Plato, was the Korybantic rite, an Anatolian song-dance proto-drama, which was associated with the Phrygian cult of the Great Mother, Kybele<sup>72</sup>. The rite comprised a musical diagnosis, at the sound of a Phrygian musical tune with flute and kettledrum; "a sacrifice by each patient to the god to whose music he responded and an observation of omens"; and finally a delirious dance in which the divinities were believed to have participated (Dodds, 98, n.102). Initiates would lose consciousness and be driven to an orgiastic dance within a bodily self expression of gestures under the power of the Phrygian music (Fig. 35). "When the dancer is finally overcome with exhaustion, he feels release not only from his madness, from everything which had previously oppressed him" (Burkert, 1985, 80).

Apparently this is a *katharsis* of madness through madness. Dodds points out that it is a general principle in magical medicine that a disease was cured by the help of its cause. The madness brought by the Korybantic divinities was cured by the Korybantic madness (Dodds, 98). It is already noted that a defilement caused by the breaking of a taboo (killing of an animal for instance), is restored by the ritual violation of the same taboo (sacrificial slaughter). Herakleitos crystallized the concept by wondering that "they purify themselves by defiling themselves with other

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<sup>71</sup> Burkert, 1985, 180. See especially Rosen (1969), "Greece and Rome" in *Madness in Society*, 71-136; Dodds (1957), "The Blessings of Madness" in *Greeks and the Irrational*, 64-101; Silk & Stern (1983), "Nietzsche's Account of Greece" in *Nietzsche on Tragedy*, 132-187. I have not seen Ivan M. Linforth, "The Korybantic Rites in Plato", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, Vol.13 (1946), No.5.

<sup>72</sup> Burkert, 1985, 80; Dodds, 98, notes 100-102; Silk & Stern, 145.



Figure 35. Ritual mourning gestures. Painted terracotta plaque attributed to Exekias. 540-530 BC.

blood, as if someone who stepped in mud should try to wash himself with mud"<sup>73</sup>.

The Korybantic rites contribute a lot to the endless discussions on the cathartic nature and the origins of Greek tragedy. The parallels between the orgiastic character of rites of Phrygian Kybele and those of Dionysus is significant. Dionysus was a marginal cult among the Olympian god[desse]s like Kybele, since they were both foreign to the Greek mainland. Ecstatic states, including prophetic rapture and insensibility to pain, were characteristic in the worship for both cults. Priests of Kybele, as previously mentioned, castrated themselves in entering the service of the goddess at a moment of complete self-abnegation and possession. The dithyrambic worshippers of Dionysus (or Bacchus, as named in Asia Minor, his likely homeland) performed a similar sort of drama in their frenzied rituals and transformed in an "unconscious actor" (Silk & Stern, 145).

The foundation myth for the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma is associated with an epidemic plague. "When Branchos came there to drive out the plague, which he did by swinging bay branches and sprinkling the people with them" he chanted a mysterious incomprehensible hymn (Burkert, 1985, 80). The plague, not treated differently from mental disorders, was banished by Apollonian priests. The establishment of the temple of Apollo at Bassae was said to coincide with a great merciless plague in the country. A significant crisis in the very structure of the society generally acted as an impetus for building activity in a sanctuary<sup>74</sup>.

Antonin Artaud discussed this complex relation of a societal malady and such disastrous situations with the anxiety that is disclosed in people, resulting in the supreme theatrical behavior in the form of frenzy released at times of crisis, when the world order and the social structure are threatened. In the article, in which he examined plague as the *double*

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<sup>73</sup> Herakleitos, B5, cited in Burkert, 1985, 80-81.

<sup>74</sup> See also Parker, 274; for plague or other sort of civic defilement as a stimulus for the foundation of a cult or building of a temple.

(*eidolon*?) of theater, he stressed the source of anxiety as the discontinuity of nature which falls on slippery grounds between death and birth<sup>75</sup>. Under the sway of an unbearable threat of bare destruction, the man reaches a super-consciousness of his body and an orgiastic mood. The social space becomes a stage where participants respond to this destruction with an existential expression of bodily gestures which Artaud compares to theatrical act. A social destruction, an organic disorder gives way to an aesthetic creation, for which suffering becomes an impetus. Lonsdale mentions "the Dance of Death" that is performed as an marginal activity in the Middle ages under "the devastating effects of the plague on the population" (Lonsdale, 82-83). "Our greatest blessings" said Socrates in *Phaedrus*, "come to us by way of madness"<sup>76</sup>.

### III.5 ON THE THRESHOLD: DEMETER, MARGINALITY, DRAMA

*Pharmakos* was an exceptional Greek purification ritual for a community in the form of a human sacrifice. A member of the society was expelled beyond the boundaries of the city on account of a deficiency in his body. The act was a communal one and generally resulted in the killing of the *pharmakoi*<sup>77</sup>. In unusual situations of anxiety, the community was always ready to expel a defiled human being out of the *astû*, the central habitation. The only liminal space for these marginalities to take shelter was the sanctuary, which stood just on the immediate threshold of the territory.

Trying to outline a general theory of sacrifice, Detienne writes that the sacrificial act "depends on shared knowledge, the various terms of

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<sup>75</sup> Artaud (1993), "Tiyatro ve Veba" in *Tiyatro ve İkizi*, 17-30.

<sup>76</sup> cited in Dodds, 64.

<sup>77</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 82-84; Hughes (1991), "the Pharmakos and the Related Rites" in *Human Sacrifice*, 139-165. Also Steel (1995), "Challenging Preconceptions.." in *Time, Tradition and Society*, Spencer (ed.), 18-27.

which the Greeks felt the need to formulate only in *marginal milieus* [my emphasis] where voices of protest were raised and heard. The denials and distortions found there enable us to trace, as if in a broken mirror, the outlines of a secret implicit system" (Detienne, 1989, 5). He delineates the marginality of the sacrificial ritual and its possible space. As already discussed, sacrifices marked the boundaries by the paradoxical act of blurring and/or violation in the liminal periods of social distress. While questioning, delimiting or redefining the societal norms, the practice establishes a hierarchical order between mortals and immortals by means of an activated communication. It acts as a threshold, or rather a bridge between the divine and the profane realms<sup>78</sup>. The social space formulated by this social practice and for this social practice, was thus necessarily situated on liminal sites.

The territory of a sanctuary belonged both to the human and the divine worlds. It was the most essential realm of religious practice, but inherently in the possession of the divinities. Heidegger defines the boundary "not at which something stops, but as Greeks recognized, ...that from which something begins presencing"<sup>79</sup>. According to him, the Greek temple (as a primordial dwelling) gathered —what he called— the fourfold; the mortals and the immortals, the earth and the sky. Each of the four presented themselves on the common ground of this *spectacular* stage.

A critical inspection of the locations of archaic sanctuaries, excluding the central urban sanctuaries of patron deities, reveals their widespread boundary positions in relation to the territory. Some were placed at *eschatia*, i.e. geographical boundary estates, like those at the foot of mountains or on the seacoasts. The second group stood *πρό τῆς πόλιος* (in front of the city). Polignac identifies these sanctuaries as *periurban*. Thirdly, greater sanctuaries were set on the meeting points of the

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<sup>78</sup> See Vernant (1991), "A General Theory of Sacrifice" in *Mortals and Immortals*, 290-302. Also Bowie, 470-472.

<sup>79</sup> Heidegger (1951), "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, 154.

territories of the neighboring cities. In all cases, these liminal spaces of social practice stood at place where two geographical spheres merge. They not only delimited the city and the territory, but acted as a mediatory space through which the dialectic relationship between the urban and the non-urban were set up. Boundaries "define... the manner in which the individual and the collective come to terms with the world around" (Waterhouse, 5).

The natural site of the sanctuary was, at first, a mid-ground in-between the two realms of immortality: the celestial world of the Olympian gods and the underworld of the chthonic gods and heroes. Peak sanctuaries on the highland "evoked the sense of proximity to the gods and skies"<sup>80</sup>. Caves were formless or ill-shaped spaces of ambiguity, where the gods of the world of shadows found expression. The landscape was never passive in the ancient world and its imagery was very powerful in the creation of the social landscapes<sup>81</sup>.

The rise of the Greek *polis* and the proliferation of non-urban sanctuaries coincided with an agrarian crisis throughout the Mediterranean. Rapid change in the structure of tribal economies, consequent overpopulation with newcomers, colonization and the rising trade, which caused the breaking down of the old ties of loyalty and opened up new resources connected with land, led to the creation of a considerable "strain over land and labor"<sup>82</sup>. The *polis*, as a political body and central power, intended to exert a sovereignty over the agricultural terrain and its people, which was consequently defined as the periphery. The spatial

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<sup>80</sup> Edlund, 44. For peak sanctuaries, see Rutkowski 73-98; Scully, 1969, 1-8; Burkert, 1985, 26-28.

<sup>81</sup> Vermeule (1981, 119) calls it "a daemonic mouth or *ker* that swallowed the mortal into the earth. In winter, cave openings were blocked with snow, as the gods receded down to the underworld. See also Edlund, 49-50; Rutkowski, 200-201; Burkert, 1985, 24-26. For gods and the landscape, see Scully (1969); Cosgrove (1993), "Landscapes and Myths, Gods and Humans" in *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, Bender (ed.) 281-306; Waterhouse (1993), "Cities in a God-Filled Landscape" in *Boundaries of the City*, 95-123.

<sup>82</sup> Meyer, 40-41. For agrarian aspects of crises see Austin & Vidal-Naquet, 58-72; Polignac, 1995, 33ff.; Snodgrass, 1980, 14-48.

definition of lands under human occupation was thus reform[ulat]ed on the basis of the subsequent polarization of the center and the periphery. The new frontiers of human implantation was marked with the nonurban sanctuary. The city not only defined its outer limits with the extraurban sanctuaries, but also organized its active relation with its hinterland (by means of a political dominance and exploitation of resources and products) through these sacred institutions. "The delimitation of agricultural space with the landmark of a sanctuary divided it from the uncivilized, wild world of nature and from the arable land of other communities" (Antonaccio, 84). As a social gathering place in the midst of the territory, the religious space and its social practice united different groups of people and was later transformed into "an ideal place of demonstrative ritual competition" between them<sup>83</sup>.

"The urbanism" says Waterhouse "is the working out of boundaries"(1993, 6). The *modus operandi* of social production of space through social practice is delimiting spaces which validate liminal acts and invite them to the multi-layered scene of communal life. The sacrificial ritual is defined as a *marginal milieu*, where the *humanity* of human beings confronted savagery in the exact reversal of civilized values. As opposed to the homely grounds of the human settlements, the extraurban sanctuary was spatially formulated as a common ground of human order and violent disorder of the *ephemeris* realm of the boundless nature. The act was mimetic with the human interventions of an anthropomorphic architecture, not alien to the *physiognomia* of the natural uncanny<sup>84</sup>. The traces survived but the meaning is often lost. Protesting voices of the alleged *barbarities* that questioned the civilization at its heart[h], were banished to

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<sup>83</sup> Polignac, 1995, 37. See also Wrinkler (1990), "Representing the Body Politic: The Theater of Manhood in Classical Athens", *Perspecta* 26, 215-228.

<sup>84</sup> physiognomy from Greek *physiognomia*: *phûsis* nature + *gnomon* interpreter. Webster's (1988).

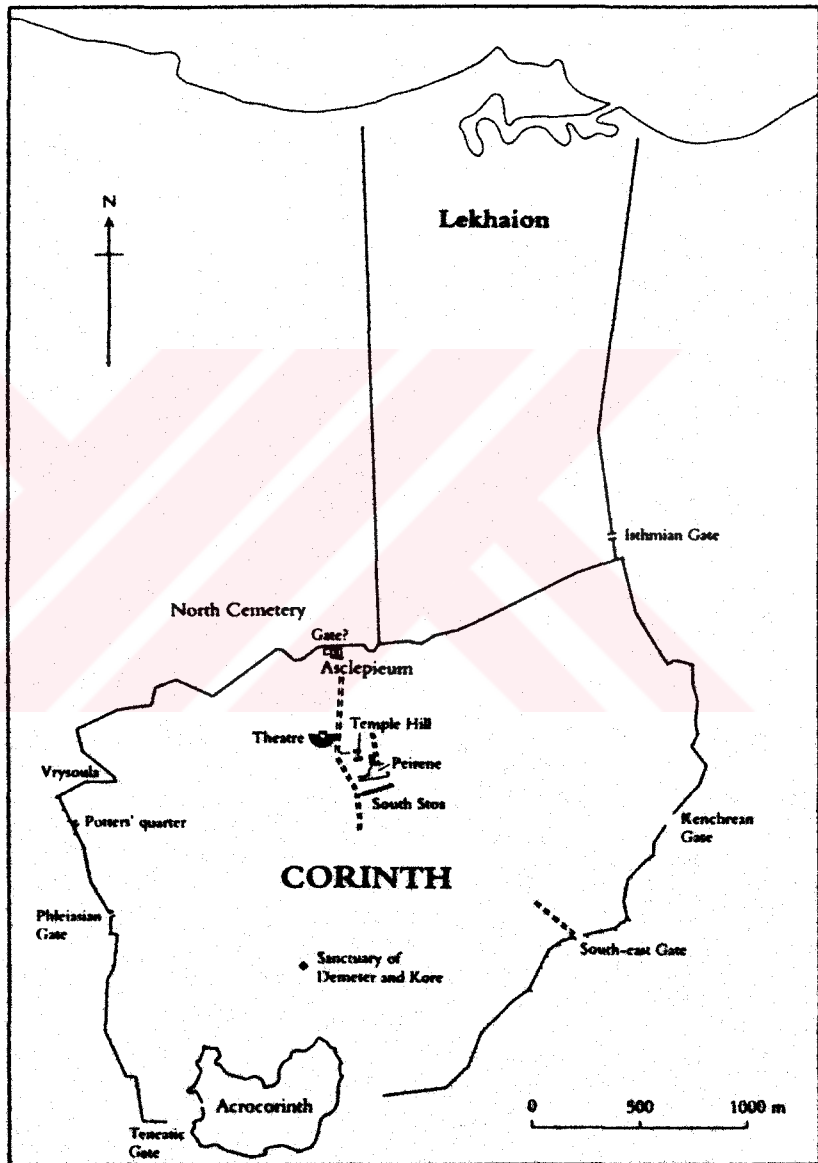


Figure 36. Central Korinthos.



the peripheries, yet survived there on the fringe where stood the sanctuary.

Demeter was a marginal figure among the Olympian divinities. Protesting and lamenting for the rape of her "fair-faced" daughter Persephone by Hades, the god of the underworld, she exiled herself among the mortals:

Never, she said, would she set foot on fragrant Olympus  
Or send forth the fruits of the earth in their season  
Until she had seen with her own eyes her fair-faced young daughter.  
(*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Lines 330-333)

Persephone returns to the mortal world, though still bound to the world of shadows by a kind of sacrament and consecutively obliged to descend to the depths of earth for a third of each year taking all vitality of vegetation with her. Mournings and fumbling wanderings of Demeter are dramatized by her female initiates in the Mysteries of her cult at Eleusis and elsewhere in various festivals in ritual details like carrying flaming torches with hairs untied<sup>85</sup>.

As a chthonic goddess, Demeter's cult comprised the ultimate paradox (or double existence) of death and life. She was not only the "bringer of food" but also "taking away" as the cause of deprivation. In Phokis, her epithet was *Steiritis*, which meant *barren* and *Azesia*, which was associated with the verb *parch*<sup>86</sup>. Nevertheless, her divine assistance to the agricultural production was unquestionable. As the grain was the primary staple food upon which the Mediterranean agricultural economy depended along with the olive and the grape, the worship of Demeter as

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<sup>85</sup> Her festivals were *Thesmophoria*, *Haloa*, *Skira*, *Stenia* and the *Great Mysteries*. See Brumfield (1984); Simon (1983), "Festivals of Demeter" in *Festivals of Attica*, 17-37; Burkert (1982), "From Telepinus to Thelpusa: In Search of Demeter" in *Structure and History*, 123-142; Burkert (1983), "Eleusis" in *Homo Necans*, 248-294; Burkert, 1985, 159-161; Cole (1994) "Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside" in *Placing the Gods*, Alcock & Osborne (eds.), 199-216; Clinton (1988), "Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries" in *Early Greek Cult Practice*. Hagg, Marinatos, Nordquist (eds.), 69-80; Detienne (1989); "The Violence of Wellborn Ladies: Women in Thesmophoria" in *The Cuisine of Sacrifice*, 129-147.

<sup>86</sup> Cole, 202; cites Pausanias 10.35.10 and Hesychius.

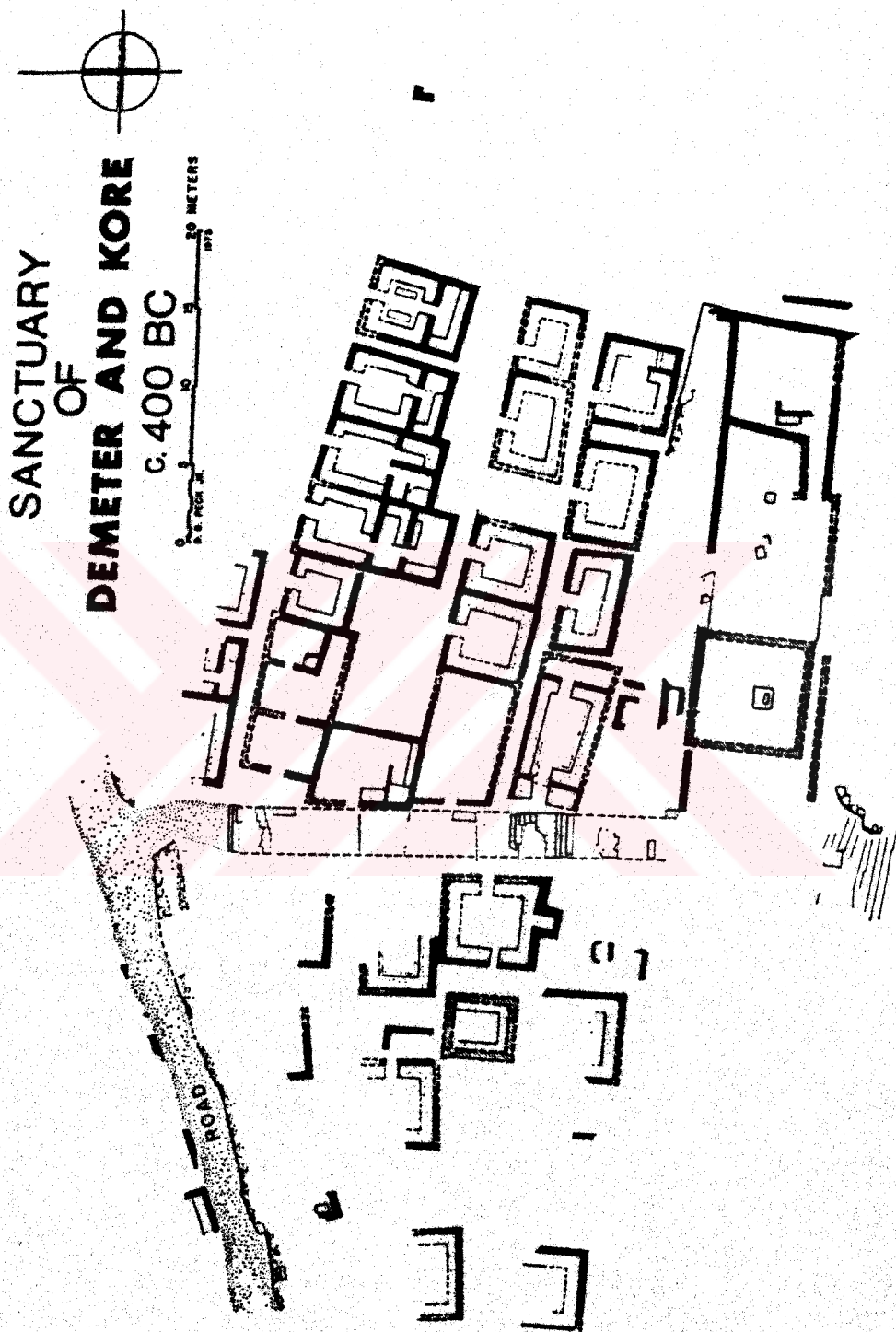


Figure 37. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Korinthos. Plan. End of Fifth Century BC.

the Corn-Mother was exceedingly widespread. Her festivals marked the critical moments of the agricultural year. The name of the *Haloo*, one of her prominent festivals, came from ἄλωϋ: the threshing floor which was the ideal place for dancing and performance in the celebration of a good harvest<sup>87</sup>. Demeter's association with the Mother-Earth Kybele of Asia Minor, thus becomes evident in the symbolisms of fertility and significant similarities in their myths and rituals that involved suffering, death and resurrection at their essence<sup>88</sup>.

The participants in Demeter's rituals were strictly defined by gender. Except the Great Mysteries at Eleusis, her festivals were celebrated exclusively by women. In Thesmophoria the male were strictly prohibited to participate. The myths and tragedies are full of merciless punishment of men who violated the secrecy of the rites and "what was forbidden to hear and what it was better not to see"<sup>89</sup>. The women was generally banished to the periphery of the political system of the *polis*. They could never take an active role in the political arena; in many cities they could not even vote. In the normal sacrificial practices, they were either entirely excluded or not admitted to the occasions of slaughtering and

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<sup>87</sup> Simon, 35. The circular assembly areas in Delphi, Eleusis and other Greek sanctuaries were also ἄλωϋ. See Brumfield (1984) for the timing, content and agricultural associations of the festivals.

<sup>88</sup> For the crystallization of the myth and cult of the Great Goddess from Neolithic times down to Romans and the place of Demeter in this transhistorical imagery, see Vermaseren (1977); Neumann (1974); Burkert, 1982, 99-142; Burkert, 1983, 290-291. Ancient myth does not err. Note, for example the castration of Battus who saw the secret rites that he was forbidden to participate, by the initiates. They used the instrument of fleshly sacrifice for the act. Detienne, 1989, 130. The event recalls the self-mutilation of Attis, the young shepherd beloved by Kybele. His bleeding fertility organ watered the earth out of which natural life flourished. Frazer, 347-353. Ritual frenzy of the priests of Kybele and the initiates of Demeter in Thesmophoria, like those of Dionysus were identical.

<sup>89</sup> Detienne, 1989, 130. He illustrates Battus' case [supra no. 86]. Herodotus tells about a man who was put to death when he tried to take refuge in the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros on Aigina. Herodotus 6.91, cited in Cole, 209.

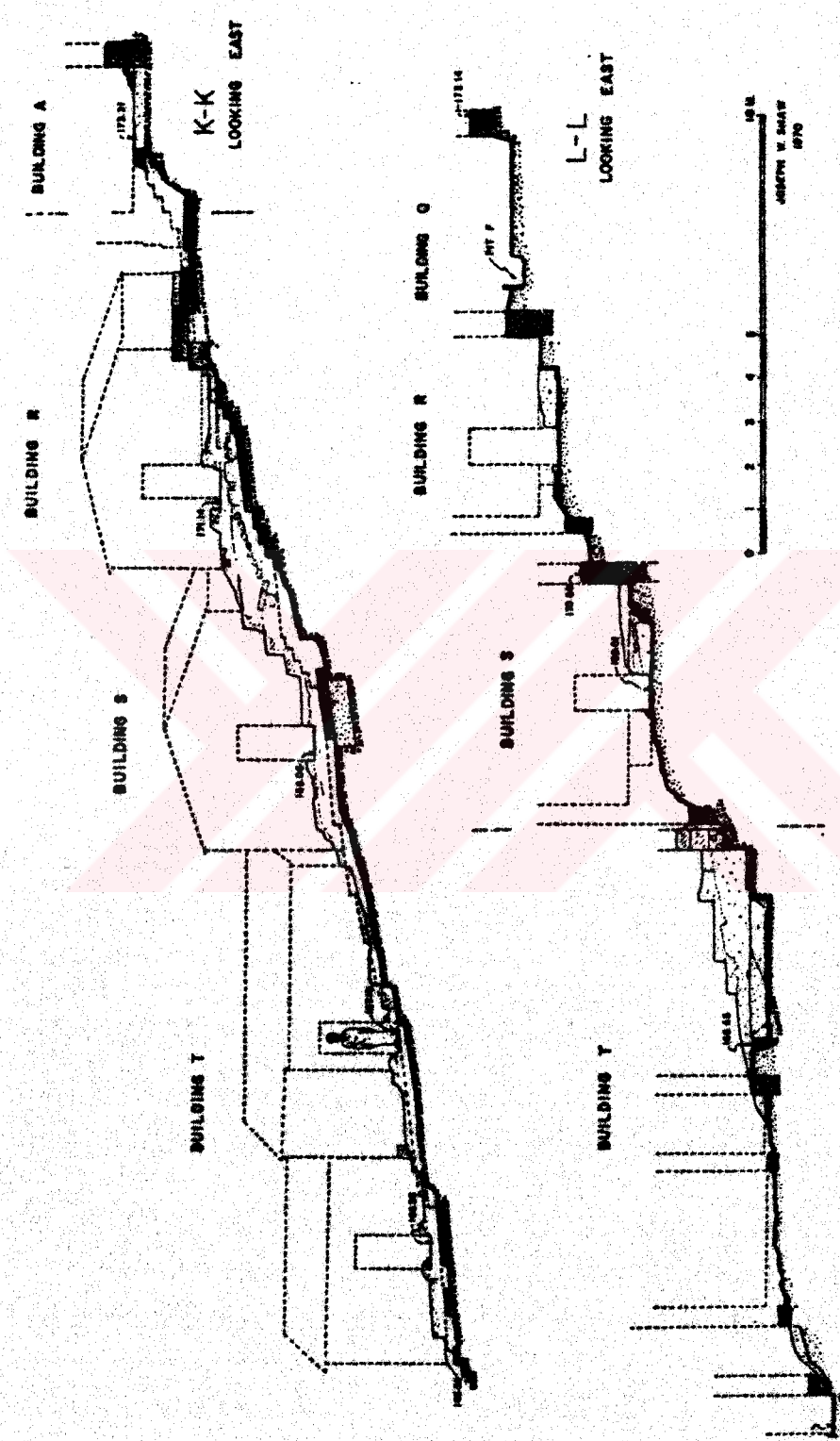


Figure 38. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Korinthos. Sections through the buildings east of the Stairway and through Buildings R and S.

dismemberment of the animal<sup>90</sup>. The status of the female sex was, therefore, identified as that of a *minority* in the *polis* society. Women, who were marginalized in the politically formulated world of community, were positioned at the center of a sacred world: that of Demetrian *Thesmaphoria*, which were performed in the sanctuaries of the threshold<sup>91</sup>. The complex rites of Thesmaphoria acted as an active type of integration and therefore as a complement to this marginalization.

The striking modesty and simplicity of votive offerings which concentrated generally on agricultural implements, indicates that the cult was never the primary concern for elites. On the contrary, it was open to the women instead of "small groups selected from prominent families to represent the whole"<sup>92</sup>. Sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore were situated on the edge of the city, i.e. peri-urban, either just outside the city walls or near them, but usually overlooking the agricultural terrain. The other possibility was its location at the foot of a hill, in a transitory situation between the sacred mountains and the agrarian plateau. Both instances point out that they were in close association with local villages and the populations on the cultural and the political periphery rather than the central habitation<sup>93</sup>. Agricultural concerns played a dominant role in the choice of their location. At Cyrene, the proliferation of offerings at the sanctuary of Demeter coincided with the expansion of the agricultural territory of the city at the sixth century BC. The sanctuary was προ της πολιος and overlooked the terrain from its terraces. The archaic Thesmaphorion at Eretria, dating from sixth century BC, was located on the slopes of the Acropolis. The famous sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos was

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<sup>90</sup> See Osborne (1993), "Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece" *Classical Quarterly* 43, 392-402.

<sup>91</sup> See Cole, 201 and Polignac, 1995, 74.

<sup>92</sup> Cole, 200-204; Polignac, 1995, 113.

<sup>93</sup> Cole, 206; Polignac classifies her temples under the non-monumental periurban sanctuaries; Polignac, 1995, 92.

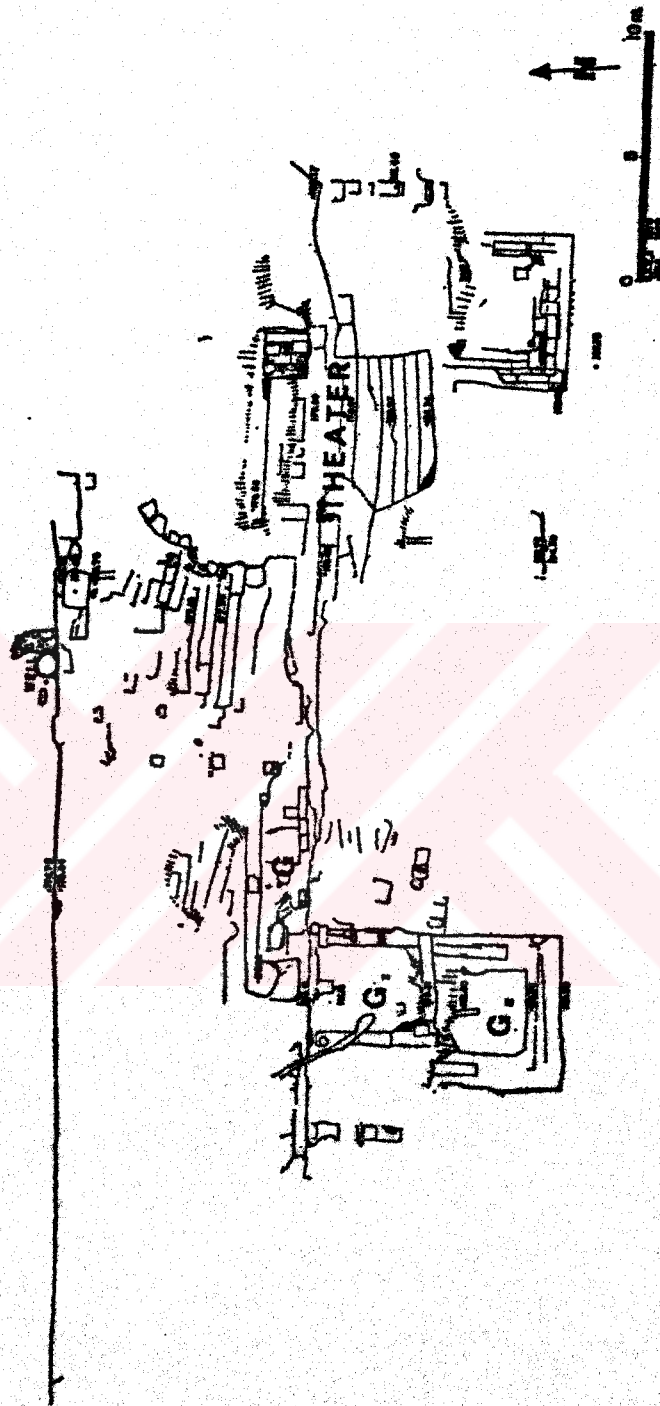


Figure 39. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Korinthos. Plan of the Theatral Area.

located between the urban center and the agricultural territory. This extramural sanctuary was not more than an open air *temenos* before second century BC (Cole, 208).

The architecture in Demetrian sanctuaries pertained the modesty of the other gifts to the divinity and totally contradicted the urban sanctuaries of ostentatious sovereignty and monumental building shining with glory on acropoleis. They were generally composed of several dining rooms duplicating the *megaron*. Polignac illustrates the sanctuary of Demeter Malaphoros at Selinus at the foot of a plateau, built with agrarian and funerary purposes (1995, 111).

The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Korinthos may be illuminating to sort out the common peculiar character of the sacred spaces dedicated to the goddess[es]. Korinthos was a powerful city in the archaic age with an important geographical location on the Isthmus and rivaled Athens till the classical times (Fig. 36). The Korinthian state built up a significant network of extramural sanctuaries leading to the creation of a sacral landscape and an effective control over the rural areas in the periphery. The Isthmian shrine was even expanded into a Pan-Hellenic sanctuary where great festivals and games were performed in honor of Poseidon. The sanctuary of Hera at Perachora was one of the richest *temena* around in the archaic age, reflecting various interests with celebrations of the household, trade and control of land for Korinthia. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which rose in the lands of this prolific local culture as another marginal cult place, but its modesty always shadowed its importance.

The sanctuary was established on four terraces on the lower slopes of the Akrokorinthos and in some distance from the central lower city on the plateau (Fig. 37-38). The view of the agricultural plateau all the way to the Lekhaion and the Aegean is overwhelming. The earliest buildings of a series of dining rooms date from sixth century BC, but the scale and

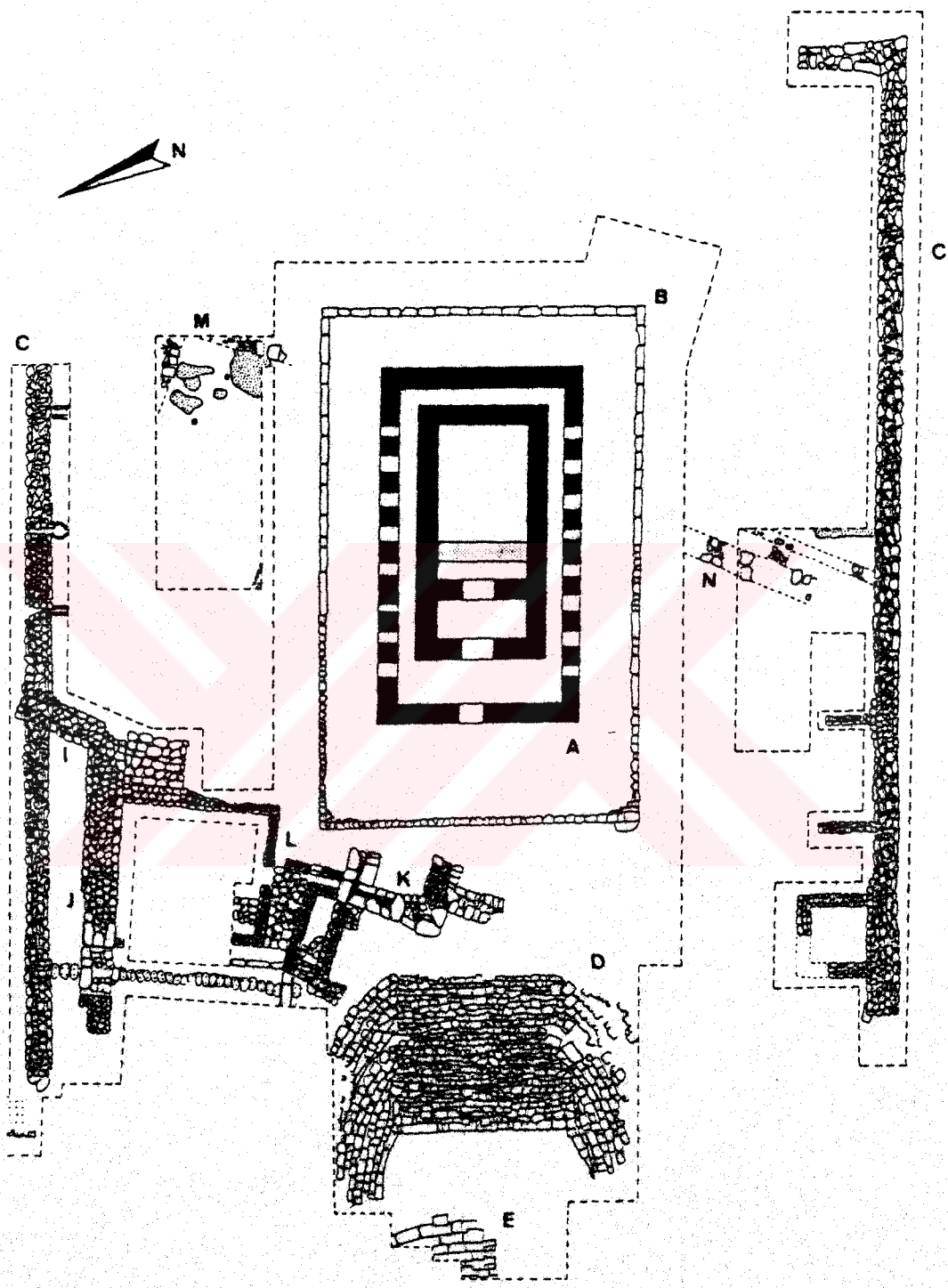


Figure 40. Sanctuary of Kybele at Pessinus, Galatia. General plan of the area of the imperial sanctuary with only pre-Roman and Roman structures.



the style of the buildings never changed down to the Roman period<sup>94</sup>. All terraces include buildings of dining rooms and kitchens, and some of them baths. The terraces are connected with a central monumental stairway for the ritual descent of the worshippers down the hillside to the cult buildings. The stairway is concluded with perhaps the most significant structure of the sanctuary, the rock-cut theatrical area of the classical times (Fig. 39). Stone lined votive pits have been identified in this theatrical area and in the building to its immediate west. Demeter's sacrificial rituals used pits instead of raised altars. The blood of the slaughtered piglets were channeled into those pits to commemorate Persephone's descent to Hades. The anomalous quality of space considerations is illustrated in the cow sacrifice in the rites of Demeter Khthonia at Hermione in the Argolid. The wild and frisky cow is led into the temple where four old women killed the animal with strokes of (not an axe or knife but) a sickle (which is normally used to cut corn) (Bowie, 466-467).

A similar theater-temple arrangement is found in the sanctuary associated with Kybele at Pessinus in Galatia<sup>95</sup> (Fig. 40). The antiquity of the cult goes back to the eighth century BC, to the rise of the Phrygians<sup>96</sup>. The *temenos* is reconstructed by the Attalids of Pergamum at the end of the third century BC. Although all architectural monuments in the impressive ensemble are attributed to this Hellenistic intervention and Roman renewals, the recent excavations revealed several strata before the Hellenistic phase<sup>97</sup>. The sanctuary in the light of the existing remains phase comprised a monumental Roman temple and a theater shaped stairway that

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<sup>94</sup> See Cole, 206-207; Bookidis & Fischer (1972), "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth", *Hesperia* 41, 283-331; Morgan (1994), "The Evolution of a Sacral Landscape" in *Placing the Gods*. (Alcock & Osborne: eds.), pp.105-142.

<sup>95</sup> See Devreker & Vermeulen (1995), "Archaeological Work at Pessinus in 1993", *Anatolia Antiqua III*, 113-124; Devreker, Thoen, Vermeulen (1995), "The Imperial Sanctuary at Pessinus and Its Predecessors: A Revision", *Anatolia Antiqua III*, 125-144; Vermaseren, 1987, 23-27.

<sup>96</sup> Devreker, Thoen, Vermeulen, 125.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.* 134ff. although the excavators do not report any indication of the famous Phrygian Kybele sanctuary.

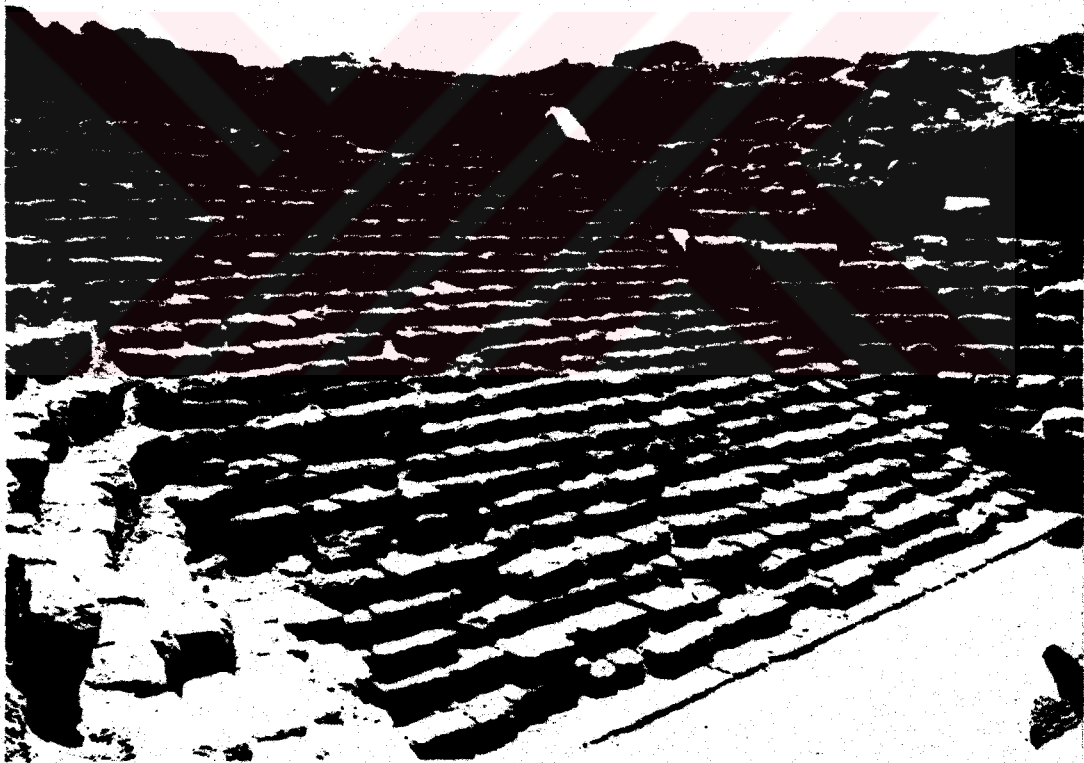


Figure 41. Sanctuary of Kybele at Pessinus, Galatia. The theater-stairway in front of the temple.

led down to a ritual ground defined by colonnades (Fig. 41). The theatricality of the rituals of Kybele and Demeter appears to have preconditioned the architectural space in the sanctuaries<sup>98</sup>.

Celebrations of the Mysteries of the cult at Eleusis were structured upon a series of dramatizations of the myth of Demeter and Persephone, of death and resurrection, with a tidal recurrence of ritual mourning and blessing, destruction and reconstruction, sorrow and orgy. The imitation and sacrifice in the Mysteries acted as interchanging metaphors of "encountering death, overcoming death" (Burkert, 1983, 294). Preparatory rites of purification and preliminary consecration is followed by the great *pompé*, the ritual procession that connected Athens and Eleusis. All through the sacred procession on the Sacred Way, the initiate is accompanied by the enthusiasm of *lakhos* (the epithet/image of Bacchus or Dionysus in the Mysteries) in song and dance. The procession started at the sanctuary of *lakhos* at Athens and the participants with bundles of leaves on their heads were called *bakchoi*<sup>99</sup>. The repeated screams of "Ἰακχ ὦ Ἰακχε united the crowd of young, old, slave and free, Athenian and foreigner" (Burkert, 1983, 279).

The theatrical space of the labyrinthine Telesterion at Eleusis witnessed the culminating rites for the festival (Fig. 42). A night-full of anxious gestural dance and mimicry of the abduction of Persephone by Hades and consecutive lamenting of Demeter, were dramatized by fumbling in ecstasy in the dim light of the torches. The performance included a horrifying atmosphere with bloodcurdling screams:

But the peaks of the mountains rang with her immortal cries,  
And deeps of the sea; and her queenly mother heard her.  
Sharp pain stabbed at the hearth of Demeter,

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<sup>98</sup> Another sacred building with a theatrical arrangement was an inter-state Panionion on the slopes of Mount Mykale (Güzel Çamlı is the modern name) in Asia Minor. It has been unearthed in 1957-58 by G. Kleiner. The building is a rock-cut theater-altar, dedicated to Poseidon Helikonios and dated to the 6th century BC. See Akurgal, 362; Snodgrass, 1980, 56.

<sup>99</sup> Simon, 32. Also Clinton (1988), "Sacrifice at Eleusinian Mysteries" in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, 69-80; Burkert, 1983, 265ff.

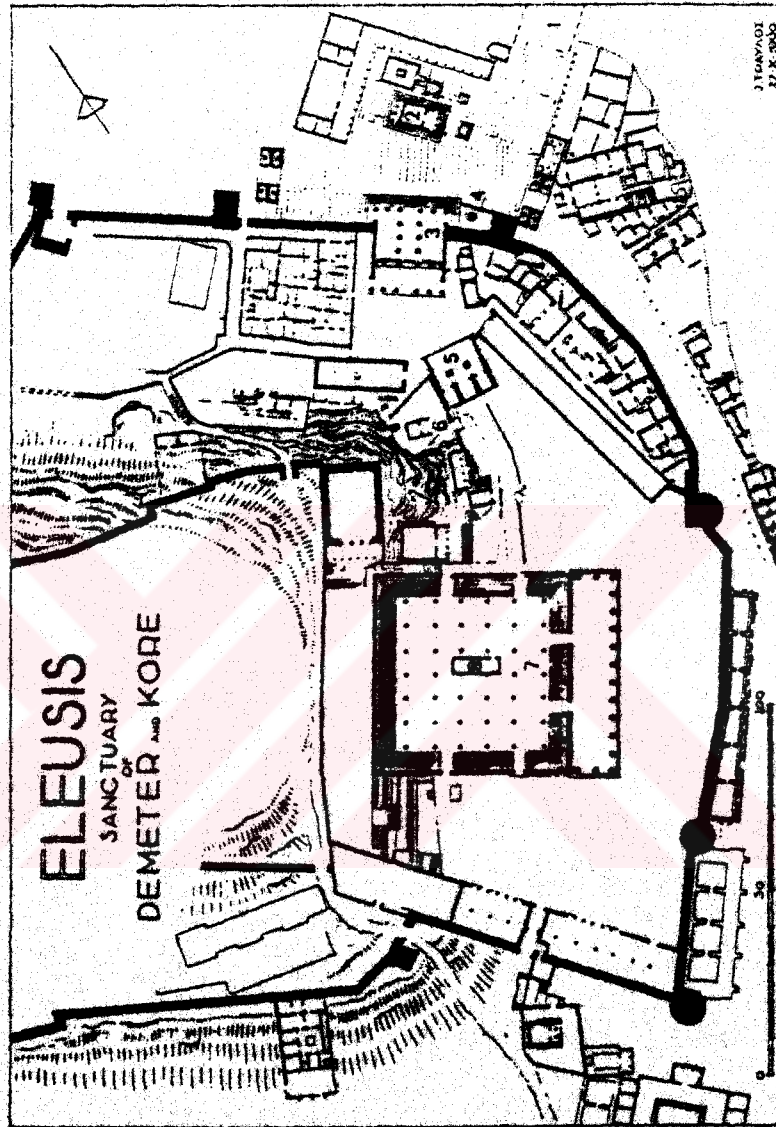


Figure 42. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. Second Century AD. 1. Sacred Way 2. Temple of Artemis 3. Greater Propylaea 4. Callichoron Well 5. Lesser Propylaea 6. Mirthless Rock 7. Periklean Anaktoron 8. Interior Structure.

And her hands tore at the veiling over her ambrosial hair;  
Then, tossing around her shoulders her dusky blue shawl,  
She sped like an eagle in flight over dry land and water  
Frenzied, in search of her child...  
...her hands holding blazing pine torches.  
(Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Lines 2.39-52)

The climax of the orgiastic action was marked with the opening of the Anaktaron and the sacrifice performed in the great fire<sup>100</sup>. The later entry to "clearings, blessed fields" outside the sanctuary was completed with the reaping of a spray of wheat with a stone axe and in profound silence<sup>101</sup>.

Great awe of the gods make mute the voice.  
(Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 2.480)

The architecture of the most important building for the final dramatizations, the climax of the Mysteries was also anomalous to the normal practices of Olympian divinities (Fig. 43). Unlike the widespread idea of extroverted architecture of the temple, the interior spatial quality of which was never elaborated, the Telesterion was an introverted temple which functioned not as an *agalma*, an object of display but as an enclosed piece of nature that comprised the social practice not beyond but within. It is the culminating architectural creation of the symbolism of the sacred grove including the long history of sacred tree, sacred pillar architectonic semiosis. The architecture of the religious space changes its role from a mass-positive entity, a gift to the god, to a space-positive enclosure. It not only granted shelter to the enactment of mimicry, the gestural/emotional drama of ritual, but it was a *mimisma* itself: the *mimesis* of the sacral landscape in early open air sanctuaries. It is no more a monumental cult image of the divinity giving confidence to the anxious bodies with its supreme spectacularity, but a real shelter protecting and engendering the human being in the disordered / ephemeral environment. The darkness and ambiguity of its inner space that annoyed many

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<sup>100</sup> Burkert, 1983, 274-293; Clinton, 1988, 71.

<sup>101</sup> Scully, 1969, 77; Berve & Gruben, 401.

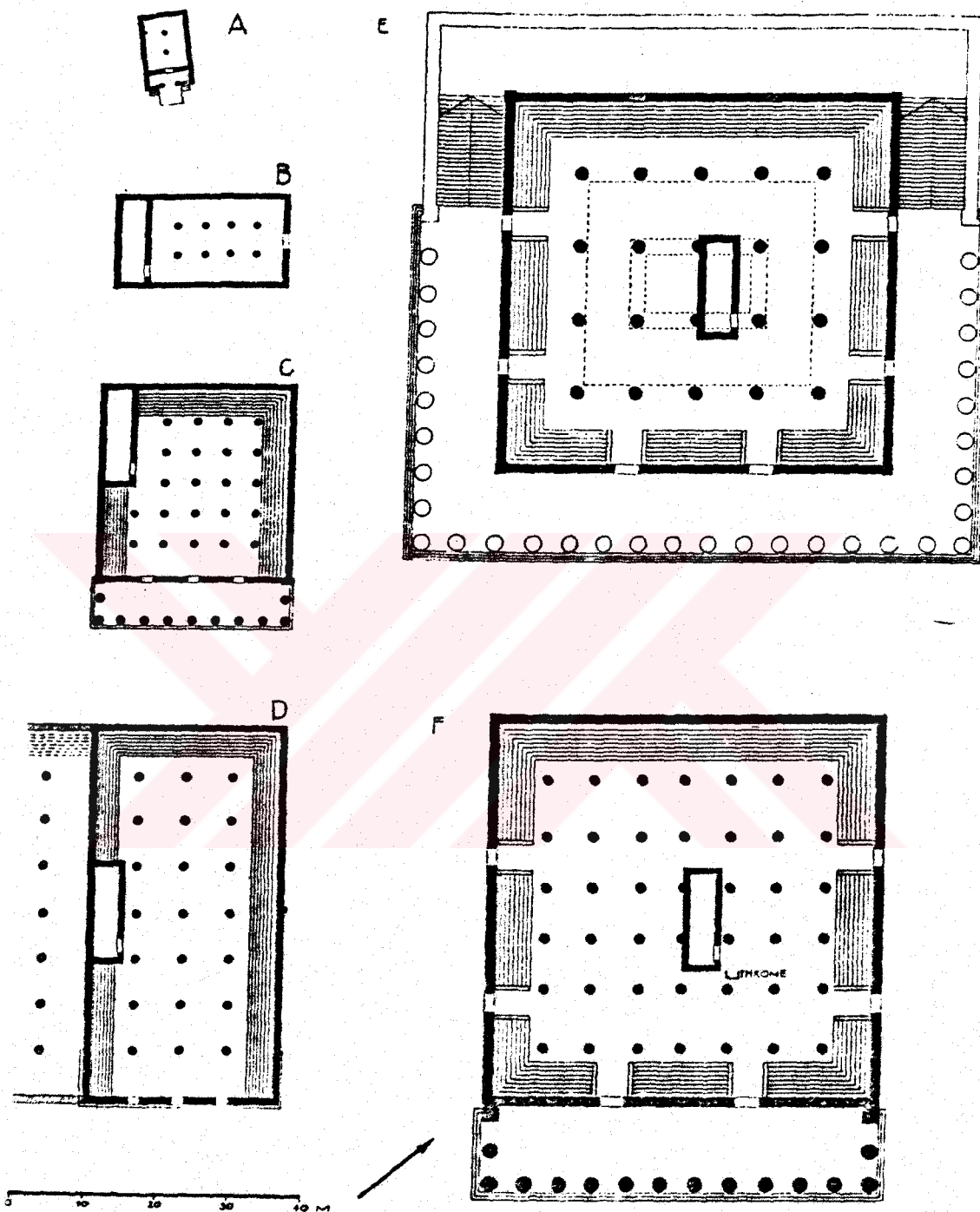


Figure 43. Eleusis. Plans showing development of the Telesterion.  
 A. Mycenaean Temple, before 1200 BC. B. Megaron of Solon's time, before 560 BC. C. Pisistratid Telesterion, c. 525 BC. D. Telesterion of Kimon's time, c. 470. (half-executed)  
 E. Iktinus' design (never executed, hypothetical) F. Executed Telesterion, Fifth Century BC. (portico second half of Fourth Century BC; renewed in Second Century BC)

architectural historians was the essence of the secrecy and mystery of the cult that revealed the *unheimlich* character of existence on the slippery grounds of life and its double.

The evolution of the design of the building as a social space illustrates an amusing experience of the failure of architecture as an architect's superimposing design versus the architecture of social production. At the destruction of the original building<sup>102</sup> by the Persians, the Telesterion was planned to be rebuilt at the time of Perikles with a new scheme of architectural grandeur, improving its *ill-natured* spatial qualities (!). In around 440 BC, The famous Perikleian architect Iktinos redesigned the temple by reducing the number of (sacred) pillars and thus diminishing the sacred quality of the space, adding a spectacular outer colonnade to this introverted language of architecture and bringing direct continuous daylight through extensive roof openings while the secret rites required a gloomy, non-luminous atmosphere. Instead of the uniform and ritually repetitious columns inside, he offered a formalized double circuit colonnades. To the surprise of the architectural historian, this "elaborate" design of "grandeur and pellucid maturity" was never built, let alone be used<sup>103</sup>. The labyrinthine nature of the building is restored in the actually executed Telesterion of the fifth century BC<sup>104</sup>. The building survived with strict resistance to any further rationalizing architectural interventions throughout its history down to the Romans, who were always generous and ready to

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<sup>102</sup> By this, I mean temple C, namely Pisistratid Telesterion, c. 525 BC. The earliest Telesterion was a Mycenaean temple before 1200 BC. See Berve & Gruben, 400. The sacred chamber on the western corner was the Anaktoron, where the great fire was set during the rites. Burkert, 1983, 276-277. Clinton reports a significant number of pit-structures associated with the foundations of the porch. They stand as clear indication of the performances of sacrificial rituals at the foundation of the building, establishing it strictly on earth at all corners. Clinton (1993), "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis", 113.

<sup>103</sup> Berve & Gruben, 402; Carpenter calls the failure as one of the great tragedies of ancient architecture. Carpenter, 139. Its plan was deduced exclusively from marks on the rock, prepared foundations. Berve & Gruben, 402. Also Scully, 1969, 76.

<sup>104</sup> The Portico belongs to the second half of the Fourth Century BC. The building is partially renewed in the Second Century AD.

pour money into the sanctuary for hundreds of years. The outer colonnades were left unfluted till late times.



The sophistication of communal living in various forms of the division of labor, formation of a collective memory and its related consciousness and the invention of democracy have always been attributed to the profound achievements of the classical *polis*. The alleged enlightenment of man after centuries of *ignorance* and *barbarity* has construed the rational man who consciously formulated his *reasonable* urban environment. However in the light of the recent discussions on Greek culture which concentrated on the subsurface tensions and the marginal values of the Greek society, this complete scenario appears to be considerably erroneous. The discussions bring not only the criticism of the blindness of such interpretations under the veil of modern preconceptions, but also that of our corrupted humanity that disregards the fringes of existence and thought.

The non-institutionalized theater of manhood in Archaic Greece has produced its social space, long before the crystallization of the *polis*. The archaic mode of production of space leaned on the creative impetus of the uncanny, but not the rationality of an architectural superimposition. The amazing richness of sacrificial rituals and other religious practices never abandoned the scene of political life in the classical city, though banished to marginal status by the political power mechanisms of the *polis*. However, they formed the unavoidable double of the civilization in occasional resurgence of the irrational, not very much in a polemical opposition but as a complementary paradox, that stimulated the Dionysian creativity and productivity of the society. The Greek tragedy is one of those prolific sources, where the dark side of existence can be traced. Sophokles taunts us with the fact in his celebrated words in *Oedipus at Colonus*

Oh wretched ephemeral race, children of chance and misery,  
Why do you compel me to tell you



What it would be most expedient for you not to hear?  
What is best of all is utterly beyond your reach:  
Not to be born, not to be, to be nothing.  
But the second best for you is to die soon.<sup>105</sup>



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<sup>105</sup> Sophokles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, lines 1224ff.; quoted in Nietzsche, 42.

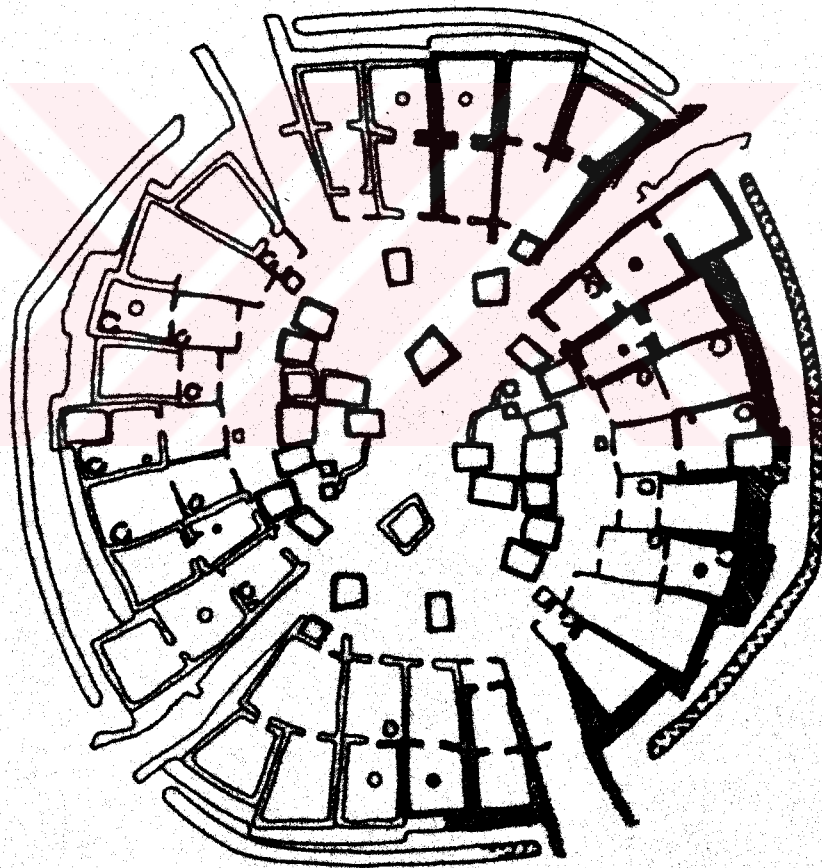


Figure 44. Demircihöyük. Reconstruction of a Bronze age settlement.

## CHAPTER IV

### ARCHAIC AGE AND METAMORPHOSES OF GREEK CULTURE III ARCHAIC POLIS AND ITS IDENTITY

Thence we sailed on, grieved at heart, and we came to the land of the Cyclopes, an overweening and lawless folk, who, trusting in the immortal gods, plant nothing with their hands nor plough; but all these things spring up for them without sowing or ploughing, wheat and barley, and wines, which bear the rich clusters of wine, and the rain of Zeus gives them increase. Neither assemblies for council have they, nor appointed laws, but they dwell on the peaks of lofty mountains in hollow caves, and each one is lawgiver to his children and his wives, and they reckon nothing one of another.

Now there is a level [λάχεια-meaning obscure] isle that stretches aslant outside the harbour, neither close to the shore of the land of the Cyclopes, not yet far off, a wooded isle. Therein live wild goats innumerable, for the tread of men scares them not away, nor are hunters wont to come thither, men who endure toils in the woodland as they course over the peaks of the mountains. Neither with flocks is it held, nor with ploughed lands, but unsown and untilled all the days it knows naught of men, but feeds the bleating goats. For the Cyclopes have at hand no ships with vermilion cheeks [bows painted red], nor are there ship-wrights [νήων ἐνι τέκτονας] in their land who might build them well-benched ships, which should perform all their wants, passing to the cities of other folk, as men often cross the sea in ships to visit one another –craftsmen, who would have made this isle also a fair settlement.

Homer, *Odyssey* IX.105-131.

#### IV.1 MAKING OF THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN: TRAVELLING *TOPOI*

Greek colonisation in the Mediterranean basin and the Black Sea, especially through the eighth and seventh centuries BC marks a significant turning point both in the overall history of the Mediterranean world and the general picture of the metamorphoses of Greek culture, to which three chapters of this thesis are devoted. By this time, a rich nexus of maritime connections had already shaped the Mediterranean cultural geography, mainly starting with the second millennium BC. Elaboration of this human geography, however, was only possible when the properly institutionalized settlements, namely the colonial *poleis*, demarcated the Mediterranean coastlands. These settlements provided a mediation between the agrarian inland territories and the maritime space. The early Greeks, on the other hand, witnessed a radical transformation of their identity with a rising consciousness of the existence of a larger *other* world through their sequential confrontations with the 'other' peoples and places.

Before elucidating further on the aspects of Greek colonisation, which had a decisive role in the rise and the making of identity of the *polis*, it may be illuminating to display a wider view of the Mediterranean maritime space before the so-called Greek expansion. In the light of recent archaeological evidence, many historians of early Greece now tend to reject the generally supported *small Greece* argument, which assumed the Greeks of the dark age as "an introverted and isolated ethnic community, operating ...in a kind of vacuum in which horizons were narrow, and everything small, limited, primitive" (Purcell, 31). It has already been demonstrated by Fernand Braudel, that the Mediterranean has been an economically unified space of cultural interactions, above and dominant upon the considerations of ethnic discriminations throughout its history<sup>1</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion is especially elaborated in his *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. (English translation, London, 1972). For his comments on the ancient Mediterranean, see "L'Aube", in *La Méditerranée: L'Espace et L'Histoire* (Paris, 1989); 83-123.

L'époque où, sur les fresques des tombes égyptiennes, on voit surgir, dans leur costume original, minutieusement reproduits, tous les peuples de Proche-Orient et de l'Égée, Crétois, Mycéniens, Palestiniens, Nubiens, Cananéens; où les magnifiques céramiques crétoises envahissent tout le Levant (il n'est pas de fouille, pratiquement, qui ne livre de cette époque quelque vase ou quelque tessons crétois); où les faïences bleues d'Égypte, partout exportées, copiées sans scrupule à Ougarit, accompagnent les morts dans les tombes mycéniennes; où les cultes des divinités cananéennes, sans doute introduit par les marchands, se répand dans le delta, tandis que les sphinx ailés ou les dieux d'Égypte fleurissent en Syrie ou en pays hittite; où sur les murs des tombes de Thèbes la fantaisie de la peinture crétoise bouscule l'austère tradition égyptienne tandis que leur fleurs de lotus et les oiseaux aquatiques du Nil lointain inspirent des céramistes crétois ou mycéniens qui reprennent à leur compte, mais avec quelle force dans la disposition et dans le traitement des formes, leur univers ambigu et marin, refusant, de plus, au contraire de l'Égypte, les références spatiales, les horizons figurés; où la mode égyptienne, vouée jusque-là au lin blanc, s'entiche des broderies syriennes et des tissus bariolés des Crétois.<sup>2</sup>

The mapping of such a cosmopolitan cultural geography is perhaps the most conveniently possible for Bronze age Mediterranean, which witnessed the astounding spread of Levantine seapeople in the Aegean and further West, providing ancestral forms of coastal settlements in the whole basin. The Levant and the Aegean witnessed commercial circulations even down to Mesolithic times, when obsidian was known to have been transported as a raw material (Morris, 1995, 101). In the third millennium, Egyptians followed a coastal navigation with their flat riverbed boats along the Nile delta and the coasts of Syria and the Lebanon. The invention of the large scale keeled vessels ridden with sails and oars in the second millennium however, was a crucial development for the Mediterranean maritime history. This "...true seagoing ship, both galley and sailing craft, built with some system of internal bracing" were the ancestors of Phoenician and Greek triremes and has allowed the Levantine seamen to travel off-shore safely and in exuberance into the depths and riches of the wine-dark sea<sup>3</sup>. That not

<sup>2</sup> Braudel, 1989, 92-93. For a Turkish translation, see *Akdeniz: Mekan ve Tarih*, Çev. Necati Erkurt. Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995; 60.

<sup>3</sup> Casson, 12. See also Braudel, 59. The wine-dark sea (*oinops pontos*) is a formulaic expression for the Aegean sea in Homer. See for example, *Odyssey* 5.133; 5.221 and 7.250; cited in Lissarrague "Wine and the Wine-Dark Sea" in *The Aesthetics of Greek Banquet*, 107-122; note 1.

only resulted in the acceleration of the Mediterranean history (Braudel, 59), but also gave way to the Eastern primeval discovery of the West.

The traffic of exchange of natural resources was dense in the Eastern Mediterranean throughout the Bronze age. The previously landlocked societies of the Fertile Crescent and their well-established but introverted land and river transport systems were now getting in touch with the Levantine coasts to make the agricultural surplus available for the whole Mediterranean sea-trade (Purcell, 39). Developments in metallurgical technology for the production of the everyday artifacts caused a thriving concern in the copper ores overseas. "[A] variable consortium of merchants and entrepreneurs", among which Keftiu, Canaanite and Phoenicians played the primary role, circulated natural resources, materials and techniques in the Aegean (Morris, 1995, 102-103). From archaeological and literary evidence a counterclockwise trade route is reconstructed linking Egypt, the Levant and the Aegean for centuries<sup>4</sup>.

Among these mobile seapeoples, the most conspicuous members must have been the itinerant craftsmen, named as *δημιουργοί* in Homer's *Odyssey* (17.382-5). He lists four categories of the wandering *demiourgoi*: the carpenter (*τεχτών*), the seer (*μάντις*), the doctor (*ἰητήρ*), and the singer (*ᾠοῖδος*) (Burkert, 1983b, 115). The singer must have been responsible for the interweaving of an ancestral memory in the form of heroic saga common to the overall cosmopolitan culture of the Mediterranean (Morris, 1995, 115-116). Smiths, who were specialized in metalworking and wandered from city to city, provided the circulation of the techniques of craftsmanship all around the Aegean (Morris, 1995, 105). Their personifications had always been associated with the dominant imagery of the Near Eastern craftsman-god, and believed to be armed with magical skills. Likewise, Sarah Morris undermines the Near Eastern origin of the two mythical Greek craftsmen, Daidalos and

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<sup>4</sup> Morris, 1995, 103; cites G. Bass, "A Bronze Age Ship-wreck at Uluburun (Kaş): 1984 Campaign" *AJA* 90 (1986) 269-96.

Hephaistos<sup>5</sup>. Burkert suggests exciting correspondences between the practices of the Levantine itinerant diviners and magicians with the later Greek purification priests<sup>6</sup>. Vivid interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean led to a rendering of intertwined religious symbolisms, myths and rituals, art and architecture, and the alphabet, on a shared human geography in the last and most definitive unification of East and West (Braudel, 60).

The end of the Bronze age is marked with the gradual decline of major imperial powers around the Mediterranean from the scene of thalassocracy that overruled the maritime geography. "Major urban and archival centers in the Mycenaean, Hittite and Canaanite world [were abandoned] in the decades before and after 1200 BC". The maritime space was captured by an archaic vision of "piracy, kidnapping, thieves and mercenaries" (Morris, 1995, 119-120). The substitute for this disintegration of the Eastern Mediterranean would come with the extensive *Phoenician diaspora* in the Iron age, which "assisted the re-formation of urban cultures in several locales" in the first millennium (Morris, 1995, 120).

I call myself Mentos, son of bold Anchialos  
and I rule over the Taphians, lovers of oars.  
Now I come here with my ship and my companions  
Sailing over the wine-dark sea toward men of foreign speech  
bound for Temesos after bronze, while I carry shining iron.<sup>7</sup>

Thus makes Homer the notice of the appearance of iron in the trade markets at the end of the Bronze age and the consecutive extension of Phoenician maritime territory (*koine*) beyond the Aegean and towards the West to Italy, Sardinia and Spain (Morris, 1995, 117). How these seapeople lived may appear to be alien to our modern landlocked mentalities. But the essence of their living must have been

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<sup>5</sup> See Morris (1995) "Da-da-re-jo and Kothar-wa-Hasis: From Ugarit to the Aegean" in *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*, 73-100.

<sup>6</sup> Burkert (1983), "Itinerant Diviners and Magicians: A Neglected Element in Cultural Contacts" in *Greek Renaissance*, Robin Hägg (ed.), 115-119.

<sup>7</sup> *Odyssey*, 1.180-84., as quoted in Morris, 1995, 117.

*mobility* and they conceived the sea as their native territory. They weaved the surface and borders of the Mediterranean with long established sea routes connecting a whole network of coastland settlements. Their ships were travelling *topoi*. In the Egyptian accounts one finds them as named to be “the people coming from the Middle of the Sea”<sup>8</sup>.

Eventually, the Phoenician expeditions, directed to the iron ores of foreign lands, produced specialized trading centers “at strategic nodes where the production or flow of raw materials and goods [could] be controlled and where local exchange systems overlap[ped] with interregional systems” (Morris, 1995, 125-126). These *gateway communities* chose ports that connected inland communities to the vast trade network of the Mediterranean, like the mouth of a river or a fertile valley where it opened to the sea. The local populations were considered as collaborators in these commercial activities, and thus appeared a prominent class of local elites, who got hold of a flourishing urban culture. In many colonial sites, therefore, Phoenician settlements predated the coming of the Greeks (Morris, 1995, 127). The fully developed Greek colonial cities of the eighth and seventh centuries, like their art, architecture, mythology and religion, should then be contemplated in their Mediterranean context. As it was in the case of the transmission of the alphabet, the Greeks appear to have acted as apprentices to the Phoenicians in laying out colonial settlements.

The Greek colonial settlements are identified in two distinguished types: *apoikia* and *emporion*. The former was used for the *poleis* which claimed territorial sovereignty over the agricultural terrain and mainly lived on the agricultural surplus of this hinterland, the territory at the periphery (discussed below IV.4). However the *emporía*, which were considerably widespread in the Archaic period, were Phoenician-type trading posts, and were founded at the crossroads of commercial

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<sup>8</sup> Morris, 1995, 102. The traces of these routes are traced by a shipwreck archaeology, which has recently produced exciting information about the ancient Mediterranean cultural interactions. Supra IV.1 note 4.



exchange patterns<sup>9</sup>. Unlike *apoikia*, it was very seldom that they had a single *metropolis*, i.e. the mother-city, from where the colonial expedition had set out. They were cosmopolitan centers of cultural interaction. Naukratis, founded at the mouth of the Nile delta in the seventh century, was a typical *emporion*. The city "owed its existence to the private initiative of a number of traders who had for the most part come from Asia Minor and neighbouring islands and also from Aegina" (Austin & Vidal-Naquet, 66). It was a port of trade where Greek and the non-Greek came together for the purpose of exchange, the content of which has gone beyond the limits of pure commerce.

Colonisation in the Mediterranean led to the proliferation of cult sites on capes and coasts and many of these sites antedated the rise of an urban center in the immediate vicinity<sup>10</sup>. The Ephesian Artemision which was not far from the port, is known to have been frequented by Phoenicians and other seapeoples<sup>11</sup>. The site is on a clearly delineated natural threshold, well-fitting to the liminal character of the goddess. Artemis, "the Lady of the Beasts", was the goddess of the wild, uncultivated and not-yet-civilized and also a goddess of fertility. Her cult as well as her *temena* were considered as *limnatis*, where earth and sea, mountain and territory, savage and civilized came together. She was the initiator of the *rites of passage*, transitional rites for people who were subjected to an important change in identity or status, like marriage, becoming an adult or liberation for a slave<sup>12</sup>.

The coastal sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia has produced a similar spectrum of archaeological evidence. Situated inbetween the Saronic and the Corinthian Gulfs, it was a central point of contact for centuries not only in the Corinthian geography, but the entire Aegean

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<sup>9</sup> Austin & Vidal-Naquet, 61-68 and 233-236; Graham, 5ff.

<sup>10</sup> Polignac, 1994, 6-7. See also Antonaccio (1994). "Placing the Past: the Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece" in *Placing the Gods*. Eds. Alcock & Osborne, 79-104. Morgan (1994) "The Evolution of a Sacral Landscape: Isthmia, Perachora and the Corinthian State" in *Placing the Gods*. Eds. Alcock & Osborne, 105-142.

<sup>11</sup> Polignac, 1994, 6. See note 9 for a bibliography of archaeological reports and other accounts concerning the sanctuary.

<sup>12</sup> See Vernant (1991) "Figure and Functions of Artemis in Myth and Cult" and "Artemis and Rites of Sacrifice, Initiation and Marriage" in *Mortals and Immortals*, 195-219.

as well. Burkert indicates that "all ships making for Athens were greeted from afar by the shining white temple on Cape Sunium"<sup>13</sup>. Gebhard reports early Iron age traces of extensive *symposia* (religious banquets) held in honour of Poseidon. The diversity of cult objects from various origins indicate that such cult places on the coastlands acted as pan-Hellenic sanctuaries for the early Mediterranean seapeople. It has been claimed that the religious content of the cult activities in these places hide "sacred bonds of commerce" behind<sup>14</sup>; the sanctuaries acted like treasuries where the most intricate works of art were accumulated in the form of gifts to the gods.

Moreover, as the sacred places in secure positions on the highlands of antiquity served as places of refuge, the cult places at the coasts must have been considered as *asylia* too, such that the seafaring traders or colonists would finally take shelter escaping from devastating storms of the sea. The intricate geography of the Aegean was marked with numerous *temena*.

#### IV.2 ELABORATION OF A MYTHICAL GEOGRAPHY: GREEKS AND THE BARBARIANS

Like many historical societies under the distress of a transformation of their self<sup>15</sup>, the Greeks of the Archaic age were seized by a kind of mobilisation, by the help of which they transgressed the limits of their native habitat. The multilevelled crises of the Archaic age forced them to spread out in the Mediterranean basin and the resulting confrontations with the foreign places and their

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<sup>13</sup> Burkert, 1985, 137. See also Gebhard (1993) "The Evolution of A Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary: From Archaeology Towards History at Isthmia". In *Greek Sanctuaries*. Eds. Marinatos & Hagg, 154-177.

<sup>14</sup> See Nicholas K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy and Trade at Hellenistic Roman Delos*. Amsterdam, 1993.

<sup>15</sup> Most typical is the European society of the late 18th and the early 19th Centuries, heyday of the Orientalist discourse. The voyage to the East turned out to be a search of the self-identity of the European, which was under serious threat with the rising fragmentation in the value systems of their society. See Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myth of the Orient: Devise and Rule*, London, 1986. Also Edward Said, *Orientalism: Sömürgeciligin Kesif Kolu*. Çev. Nezih Uzel. Istanbul, 1982.



Figure 45. Reconstruction of Anaximander's map of the world.

inhabitants shifted their identity to a radical transformation. This challenging situation along with a sentiment of superiority over *the other* gave birth to the idea of the *polis*, as an *alter* barbarian world. Ancient myths are full of stories of wandering figures “who traverse the savage spaces—inhabited by the others—” (Davison, 49). *Geōgraphia* occupied a prominent place in the literary narratives, rather than being conceived as a physical science (Romm, 3). These narratives pinpoint a number of significant issues about the making up of the identity of the *polis*, and thus that of the Greek *ethnos* in the archaic age.

Physical realisation of a geography is generally preceded by a mythical elaboration of it. Early Greek understanding of the universe was limited with the knowledge of *oikoumenê*, the inhabited world, which was surrounded by the mythical river *potamos Ôkeanoio* (Romm, 15). *Oikoumenê* denoted the territory of human occupation, “a region made coherent by the intercommunication of its inhabitants” (Romm, 37). McEwen points our attention to the lack of the notion of “map” in ancient Greek in the modern sense (McEwen, 25). They used *pinax* for “a tablet, chart or simply plank” as well as such a cartographic material. However it was often preferred to define the world with the formulaic expression *periodos gês*, “the round-the-earth journey”, a route, a path or travel around the world<sup>16</sup>. *Periodos gês* is often translated as *the map of the earth*, for it denoted either cartographic portraits of the earth or merely literary accounts of its *walked-upon surface* (Romm, 27). Anaximander of Miletus reconstructed map of the earth (Fig. 45) and it is perhaps the first attempt for the cartographic type, while *Periodos Gês* of Hecataeus of Miletus and Hesiod’s *Catalogue of Women* can be regarded as examples to the latter genre. “[In] the heyday of New-World Exploration... cosmographic treatises written in imitation of Plutarchan dialogues, maps showing terrestrial landmasses in the shape of mythological figures” demonstrated a theatrical view of the world, *Theatrum Orbis*, through the journeys of exploration (Romm, 6). Boyer

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<sup>16</sup> Romm, 26. See also McEwen, 25-27; where [s]he notes that in Homer *pinakoi* meant ‘planks of ships’ as well.

reports a thirteenth Century geographical treatise, which illustrated an *imago mundi* (world image) manuscript describing a journey by three Mesopotamian monks who have devoted themselves to find the edge of the earth<sup>17</sup>. The spectacular description of the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* (18.478-608) is also viewed as an *imago mundi*, exhibiting a vivid account of an anthropomorphized geography in a precisely defined cosmological universe. A cartography of the human *oikoumenê* is said to be depicted on the circular surface of a work of art, as ***thauma idesthai***, a wonder to behold<sup>18</sup>.

Long before the *agrarian territorialism* of the polis ruled over the Mediterranean coastlands, therefore, the whole basin was considered as a *nomadic topocosm*, a mythical geography of trade and travel, upon the rich memory of the preestablished commercial routes of the Bronze and Iron ages (Fitter, 25-27). Io's wanderings through a ***plêthôra*** of ancient landscapes, rewarded her with the position of being "the original progenitrix of the Mediterranean cultures"<sup>19</sup>, as illustrated in *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus:

*(Prometheus speaks)*

Next, where a narrow creek gives entrance to a lake,  
 You will come to the Cimmerian Isthmus. Boldly then  
 Leave land, and cross the Maeotic Strait. Ages to come  
 Shall tell the story of your passage, and the place  
 Shall be called Bosphorus<sup>20</sup> to commemorate you. Thus  
 From Europe you will reach the Asian continent. (728-734)  
 [...]

And that bay of the sea shall for all future time—  
 Mark this— be called Ionian, to perpetuate  
 For all mankind the story of Io's wanderings. (841-843)

Giving her name to the Ionian sea and region, as well as to Bosphorus, she walked from Argos to Egypt passing through Asia Minor, the Near East, until she founded a colonial city called Kanobos in Egypt (Davison, 52-54). Wanderings of Kadmos the Phoenician, who was

<sup>17</sup> Boyer, 207. Also supra III.1, note 10.

<sup>18</sup> McEwen, 32. See P.R. Hardie, "Imago Mundi: Cosmological and Ideological Aspects of the Shield of Achilles" *JHS* 105 (1985) 11-31.

<sup>19</sup> Davison, 61.

<sup>20</sup> which meant 'Cow's crossing'. She travelled in the form of a cow. Davison, 52

himself a *demiourgos*, in search of his sister Europa, also resulted in the foundation of a city<sup>21</sup>. Homer's Odysseus "who saw the cities of many peoples and learned their ways" is an equally important figure that gave form to the mythical geography of the Mediterranean world. *Odyssey* reports many figures on the move, *the displaced people*, such as "murderers, piratical adventurers, soldiers in search of employment" by the help and alterity of which Odysseus constructs his own identity<sup>22</sup>.

The institutions and the ideological framework of the *polis* and its society has been structured upon the contrariness and adversity of the barbarian, the non-Greek item. In the literary genre, the barbarian community acts as a metaphor of the far extremes with respect to the social organisation of the *polis*. In *Prometheus Bound* (708-719), Scythians are despised due to their nomadism. Likewise, the Khalybes, as ironworkers, could not be a part of the economic structure of the *polis*, since they did not even fit in the Homeric picture of the *demiourgoi* (Davison, 56-57). The isolated community of the Cyclops in the *Odyssey* neither plant nor plough. They did not have naval artisans who could furnish their harbour with oary sailing ships in order to communicate and trade with other cities. Their habitat was equally disdained: they lived in deep caverns in the wilderness of an isolated island, "remote, woody and rude"<sup>23</sup>. All foreign lands appear to be savage spaces with monstrous inhabitants, as the absolute opposite to the native and civilized land of the self. An alternative to this image might be a paradise with an ultimately cheerful society which leads a pleasant and non-troubled life. This utopian view of a blessed world is "equally antithetical to civilization" as barbarism (Davison, 60). In Greek

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<sup>21</sup> This is the Boiotian foundation myth for Thebes. Herodotus, 2.49; 5.57-58-59. He is also believed to be the bringer of scripture to Greece. Herodotus 5.59. See also Davison 54-55; Morris, 1995, 104 n.15; Thery Hentsch *L'Orient Imaginaire: La Vision Politique Occidentale de l'Est Méditerranéen*, Paris 1988, 1.2.

<sup>22</sup> *Odyssey* 13.256-273; 14.199-228; 17.419-444; 24.304-308, cited in Robin Osborne, "Pots, Trade and the Archaic Greek Economy" *Antiquity* 70 (1996); 31-44; p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> *Odyssey* 9.105-135. See above, the epigraph to this chapter.

literature, "Isle of the Blessed" with a "wheat-rich land" is not uncommon<sup>24</sup>.

Until the political elaboration of the Greek *polis*, it must have been hard to define what it really meant to be a *Hellene* in the multicultural human geography of the Mediterranean world. The ethnic definitions were unclear and distinctions blurred. None of the communities could stay totally isolated in this "fantastic cauldron", where mobility and cultural interweaving were dominating issues. Therefore the common overemphasis over the Greek/non-Greek divide in the archaic age has recently been subjected to controversy<sup>25</sup>. Sarah Morris, on the other hand, places the clarification of the Greek ethnic self-definition in relation to the Persian wars, the fiercest confrontation of the Greeks with a *forceful, external* enemy. She indicates that "the term contemplating τὸ Ἑλληνικόν [the Hellene] appears later in classical literature, where τὸ βαρβαρικόν [the barbarian] only becomes pejorative in the works of Euripides" (Morris, 1995, 363). By then, the Greek and the barbarian were distinguished by means of political institutions, like the so-called "freedom" of Greeks and "slavery" of Persians<sup>26</sup>. The consciousness of ethnic identity among Greeks rose as a political as well as a territorial sovereignty over *the other*.

The Greek expansion in the form of colonisation issued not only in the establishment of civilized centers on foreign terrain, but also in the centralisation of Greece and Greek culture in the Mediterranean geography. The first traces of Orientalism are perhaps to be found in this Hellenocentric view of the ancient Mediterranean in classical antiquity, while Asia Minor, the Near East and the western colonial lands were conceived as peripheral. Nevertheless, these peripheral lands were invaded by means of colonial foundations. Ancestral ties between

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<sup>24</sup> Davison (59-60) makes note of Herodotus's description of Sardinia (1.170), Homer's (*Od.* 4.563-569) and Hesiod's (*Works and Days*, 167-173) paradise located at the edge of the earth.

<sup>25</sup> See Purcell, 33. Also Morris, 1995, 362-365.

<sup>26</sup> Morris, 1995, 364-365. For the idea of freedom in ancient Greek philosophy see Italo Lana, "Antik Dünyada Özgürlük", (Trans. Filiz Öktem); *Cogito* 3 (1995), 127-141.

the mother city and the colony were always kept alive on the basis of commercial and religious activities<sup>27</sup>. In Anaximander's map (Fig. 45) Greece is seen at the center of the universe. At the center of Greece, Delphi was believed to stand with its *omphalos*, the convex navel stone that marked the center of *oikoumene*<sup>28</sup>.

#### IV.3 FOUNDING THE CITY

The colonial expedition starts with a civic crisis. After exhaustive archaeological evidence from the early Archaic age, it has been stated that overpopulation troubled many settlements in Greece, resulting in the shortage of agricultural land<sup>29</sup>. Civil discord, even famine and plague along with occasional droughts must have struck the early Greek city. A colonial expedition was thus considered as a resolution to the collective hysteria created in the times of such extreme distress<sup>30</sup>. Theans were known to have founded Cyrene, in order to decrease the population of their city, at the time of a severe drought (Parker, 272). Austin & Vidal-Naquet indicate that the first settlers of many colonial *poleis* "were called the *gamoroi*, that is to say *those who shared the land*" (61).

However, literary evidence reveals more than any other testimony on the subject. At the beginning of the colonial narrative, the foundation saga of a colonial city, one always finds a complex disaster (*liomos*) which afflicts the city. The catastrophic picture is usually connected with a divine anger as a consequence of a collective defilement of the city (Parker, 255). Note the beginning of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (22-30), where drought, barrenness and plague besieged Thebes. At this point rises the need to consult the Apollonian oracle

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<sup>27</sup> See A.J.Graham (1964), *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*. Manchester.

<sup>28</sup> McEwen, 28; Davison, 58.

<sup>29</sup> See Snodgrass (1980) "Structural Revolution: the Material Evidence" in *Archaic Greece*, 49-84.

<sup>30</sup> Snodgrass (1980, 40) and Austin & Vidal-Naquet (61-62), both indicate on the basis of archaeological evidence that land shortage and search for new land was a primary cause for colonization.



at Delphi. The response is often an advice to found a new city overseas so as to purify the city. The civic representative at Delphi, principally the source of the defilement in his hometown, is assigned to be the leader of the colonial campaign and possibly the *oikist* (founder) of the to-be-born city. In the form of such a civic undertaking, a portion of *demos* is sacrificed and forced to leave the city. A close connection between colonisation and purification has been implied, while Apollo is involved in the act of founding of the cities, as a guide to the expedition and purifier of houses and cities<sup>31</sup>.

In the mythical tale, a personal trauma associated with the founder, replaced the civic crises in the early Archaic city. The persona of the coloniser is often stamped with a metaphorical formulaic identity of "a murderer in exile" in the colonial narratives. The purification for such a contagious religious danger in the city would normally be a *pharmakos* ritual, mentioned earlier<sup>32</sup>. *Pharmakos* rituals were performed either in periodic festivals of renewal or in case of a special crisis, in the form of the expulsion of a member of the community (Parker, 258). The colonial expedition may well be contemplated with its close resemblance to the tradition. Burkert mentions that "the foundation sagas of a number of colonies... the first settlers had been dedicated as tithes to the god at Delphi and so had been sent abroad; the driving out, [as] a kind of *ver sacrum*... [I]n other foundation sagas it is again outsiders, bastards and slaves, who are driven out and find a new beginning in the foreign land"<sup>33</sup>. In a wide range of social practices in ancient Greece, it is evident that purification is required for every new beginning (Burkert, 1985, 83). With colonisation, not only the disrupted natural order is restored in the *polis*, but the purification for a defilement acted as an impetus for a positive, creative act. Once more,

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<sup>31</sup> See especially Dougherty (1993), "Murderous Founders" in *Poetics of Colonization*, 31-44. Also Malkin (1987) "The Founders of Colonies and Apollo's Oracle" in *Religion and Colonization*, 17-31.

<sup>32</sup> *Supra* III.5, note 75.

<sup>33</sup> Burkert, 1985, 84, and note 88 for an extensive bibliography for ancient sources on the issue. Such was the case at the foundation of Rhegion. See Malkin, 1987, 8 and 31ff.; Graham, 17-19; Parker, 277.

one witnesses the existence of a destructive agent at the basis of a creation, which is itself, by nature, a violent act.

The oracular consultation of the potential colonist reveals a geographical destination, the right place to settle, in the form of an enigmatic riddle (Dougherty, 45). According to Plutarch, the Delphic oracle "designated many things such as signs for [recognising] places, the appropriate times for activities, the shrines of gods across the sea and unspeakable tombs of heroes, hard to find for men setting forth on a distant voyage from Greece"<sup>34</sup>. The geographical expertise of the oracle was unrivalled; when Myscellus was told to found Croton, the oracle had also provided a sacred route, rich with metaphors and signs:

The far-darter himself points this out to you: pay attention! Here is unploughed Taphiassus, and there Chalcis; the land of the Curetes... the sacred land, and these are the Echinades. Great is the Ocean to the left. But even so I would not expect you to miss the Lacinian Cape, nor sacred Crimisa, nor the river Aesarus<sup>35</sup>.

Along with such a mytho-poetical landscape constructed beforehand, the oracle presents a puzzling riddle, and designates, what Dougherty calls "impossible sites" for colonial foundations. Ozolian Locrians have been told to settle "where [they] should happen to be bitten by a wooden dog"<sup>36</sup>. The site of Byzantium is described as a place "where two whelps lap at the hoary sea and where fish and deer graze at the very same pasture"<sup>37</sup>. Deciphering the oracle and solving the riddle was the *oikist's* responsibility, and that would make the foundation possible. The enigmatic nature of these foreign lands, where barbarians dwell, appear to be signs of an "overturned natural order" and "emphasise the foreignness of the land prior to Greek settlement" (Dougherty, 51). Solution to the riddle and foundation of the city restore *kosmos* and "introduce[...] a Greek presence" to the place. An impossible landscape is transformed into a habitable

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<sup>34</sup> *Moralia* 407f. as quoted in Dougherty, 19-20.

<sup>35</sup> Diodorus 8.17.1 as quoted in Malkin, 45 and Dougherty, 19.

<sup>36</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia* 294 e-f. Hesychius FGrH. 390 Fl.3: quoted in Dougherty, 49.

<sup>37</sup> Hesychius FGrH. 390 Fl.3: quoted in Dougherty, 51



Figure 46. Dionysus at sea. Painting on *Kylix*, attributed to Exekias.

environment and the new territory is woven with a Greek mytho-poetical content.

Colonists of antiquity were all navigators and their primordial overseas travel ended up with the founding of a civilized center in the midst of an unknown geography. This navigation and the sea-shaped character of the founders of the city permeated the civic myths and rituals, which constituted the identity of the archaic *polis*<sup>38</sup>.

It has been noted earlier that the ships of the ancient Mediterranean seapeople were *travelling topoi* (supra IV.1). One finds a similar allegory of the ship and the city in preclassical Greek literature, reminiscent of the modern expression "ship of the state"<sup>39</sup>. Discussions on the famous poem of Alcaeus<sup>40</sup> about a ship in storm revealed a lot in the subject. The storm that attacked the ship is interpreted as a civil discord that ruined Mitylene<sup>41</sup>. When the Athenians were driven out of their city to sail over the sea against the Persian threat, they even took their cult images with them. Upon leaving their city, Themistocles answered a desperate man:

It is true thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses and our city walls, not deeming it meet for the sake of such lifeless things to be in subjection; but we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two hundred triremes.<sup>42</sup>

This reminds Nicias' fascinating statement, quoted here previously (at the end of *Prologos*): "It is men that make a polis, not walls or ships devoid of men"<sup>43</sup>. The physical body of the *polis* was considered both as architectural monuments and naval structures.

Likewise, *architektōn* was a common name for wood-working craftsmen who built temples and those who constructed Greek triremes

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<sup>38</sup> McEwen 93-98; Polignac, 1995, 89-92.

<sup>39</sup> McEwen, 96. See Gentili (1988), "Ship of the State: Allegory and Its Workings" in *Poetry and Public*, 197-215.

<sup>40</sup> Fr. 208a V. cited in Gentili, 198, note 6.

<sup>41</sup> Gentili, 199; for instance, the common use of the word *kyma* both for sea waves and flood of soldiers in ancient Greek supports the argument on a linguistic level.

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch, *Themistocles* 11.4, quoted in McEwen, 96-97.

<sup>43</sup> Thucydides 7.77.7. Supra I, note 11.

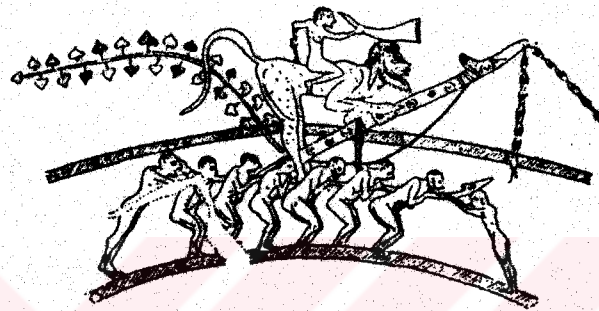


Figure 47. Phallic Procession of Dionysus. Attic cup in Florence.  
Figure 48. Egyptian boat procession. Relief from Luxor.

(supra II.3, note 39). Architecture of the temple itself preserves the memory of a pre-foundation navigation. In ancient Greek, ναύς (*naús*) meant ship, while ναός (*naos*) denoted the inner chamber of the temple where the cult image was kept. In Homer, *neōs* or *naos* meant "temple" or "shrine" itself, while Herodotus used the latter also for a portable shrine carried in ritual processions (2.63). The colonists used to sail with the *archaion agalma* of their principal deity as they transferred the cult from the mother city to the newly settled land<sup>44</sup>. The seat of the cult image at the new foundation must have kept the memory of its *mobile precinct*, that is the ship itself. Moreover, on the decorations of the temple, one finds wave mouldings called κύμα (*kûma*), which normally signified "waves of the sea". Ἐχίνοσ (*echinos*), the name for the rounded shape forming the column capital, actually meant "sea urchin"<sup>45</sup>. Examples can be multiplied that the metaphoric structure of architectural language of the Greek temple has thus been the keeper of the ancestral memory of the community, in a visual and linguistic encoding of the overseas travels of the colonists.

Nevertheless the most fascinating evidence comes from the figural and literary documentation of the Greek *pompê*, the sacred procession. This enormous civic undertaking will be further elaborated later, but one aspect of it is particularly important for the present discussion. In *pompê*, the cult image of the principal divinity of the city or the festival was escorted by a *plêthōra* of citizens of the city and initiates from the country, with musical performances, in a giant civic promenade which connected the urban settlement to the suburban sanctuary, the site for the rest of the festival<sup>46</sup>. The cult image was generally carried on a wheeled chariot, and in some cities, this chariot is built in the

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<sup>44</sup> Graham, 14; McEwen, 96; Malkin, 1987, 135ff.

<sup>45</sup> Hersey, 1988, 5-6. For further correspondences see McEwen, 98-104; where she interprets peripteral columns of the temple as *ptera* (wings), and resembled them to the oars of a ship with a common sort of a vivid *rhythmos*.

<sup>46</sup> See Burkert (1985) "Pompê" in *Greek Religion*, 99-101; Burkert (1988), "Katagogia-Anagogia and the Goddess of Knossos" in *Early Greek Cult Practice*. Ed. Hagg, Marinatos, Nordquist, 9-19; For its civic role Polignac, 1995, 40-41 and 63-64.

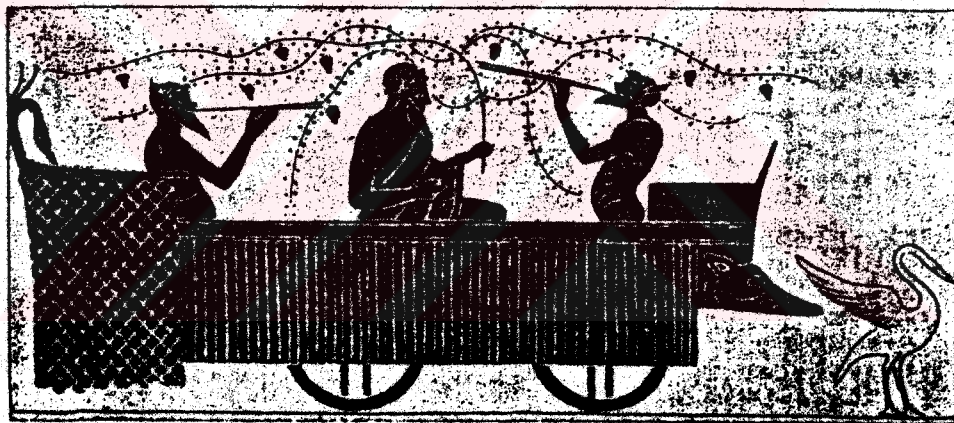


Figure 49. Sacred procession: Dionysus and flute-playing satyrs on the ship-car.

form of a ship<sup>47</sup> (Figs. 47-49). The bizarre element of the ship-car, on which the *xoanon* was ridden, is identified in the Panathenaia, which “celebrated the birth of the *polis* Athens”<sup>48</sup>. It was Athena’s arrival at the city on a ship which was dramatized in this festival, where she was also gifted with her newly finished *peplos*.

The ship-car motive, however, is more emphatically associated with Dionysus. In Smyrna, according to Philostratus, “in the month Anthesterion [February-early spring], a trireme in full sail is brought in procession to the agora, and the priest of Dionysus, like a pilot, steers it as it comes from the sea, loosing its cables”<sup>49</sup>. Boardman pronounces Priene, Miletus, Ephesus where Ionian rites, called *καταγωγία*, were recorded to include the same sort of boat processions (Boardman, 7). Similarly Aristotle mentions the tale of a carriage of the holy trireme<sup>50</sup>. A sixth century Attic vase depicts the scene where figures of Dionysus and flute playing satyrs ride a boat on wheels (Fig. 49). Boardman indicates Egyptian boat festivals on the Nile delta (principally those at Karnak and Luxor) as predecessors to the Greek practice (Fig. 48). On the other hand, multiple analogies were drawn among “wine, the sea, navigation and the *symposion*” under the cultic imagery of Dionysus (Lissarrague, 107).

Nonetheless this ritual practice must have been a dramatisation of the primeval navigation as colonial expeditions bringing their native cults with them and bringing new life from within the wine-dark sea. A Lemnian festival handled in *Homo Necans* by Walter Burkert reveals a complicated symbolism of the phenomenon in myth and ritual (Burkert, 1983a, 190-196). The myth starts with a complete disaster in the city, stemming from the discontent between Aphrodite and the women of the city, who slaughtered the whole male population of the island in a

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<sup>47</sup> Burkert, 1985, 99; Burkert, 1983a, 154-155; Boardman (1978) “A Greek Vase from Egypt”. *JHS* 78, 4-12.

<sup>48</sup> Burkert (1983), “Panathenaia” in *Homo Necans*, 154-158.

<sup>49</sup> Lives of the Sophists 1.25.1; also quoted in Burkert, 1983a, 200-201.

<sup>50</sup> *Rhetoric*, 15.373; mentioned in Boardman, 7.



single night. The crisis that strikes the city afterwards, is depicted in the words, “no fire” in the metalworking workshops. Famine and the ceased religious practices come along with the breaking apart of the *oikos* (family). The overturned natural order of the city is restored by the coming of the Argonauts on their primordial ship, which brought the sacred fire and gave life to the civic crafts. Thereafter, the entire story is dramatized in an occasional ritual, in which “a sacred ship brings fire from Delos”, which is then distributed “for all necessities of life and especially for the crafts that need fire” so that “a new life begins for them” all (Burkert, 1983a, 192). The order of the city was re-established by the aid of an artisan society, who came from *the Middle of the Sea*.

The quintessential ritual for the foundation of the city was the establishment of its *hestia*, the Sacred Hearth. It is commonly accepted that the Greek colonist, in the personality of the *oikist*, would bring the sacred fire from his *metropolis* in order to found the new city<sup>51</sup>. The perpetual fire at the Sacred Hearth of the *polis* was perhaps the most dominant civic symbol that secured the continuity of the city and the solidarity of its community. It was kept in the *prytaneion*, generally incorporated in the agora. The architectural form of the *prytaneion* is rather controversial, but the exceptional ones in the form of *tholos*<sup>52</sup>, like the one at Delphi, are significant. The hearth and the sacred fire have already been interpreted in the symbolism of the center<sup>53</sup>. The central hearth of the *megaron* had survived in the banquet hall where it acquired a religious function in the context of the so-called *symposia*. With the temple, the fire moved out to the altar, which was the focal point in the ritual practices at the very center of the *temenos*. As the city gradually secularized, the sanctuary fell from favour

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<sup>51</sup> Malkin (1987), “The Sacred Fire and the Public Hearth” in *Religion and Colonization*, 114-134. Gernet (1981), “Political Symbolism: The Public Hearth” in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*, 322-339.

<sup>52</sup> Circular and peripteral building, associated with a chthonian cult or burial; its predecessors were Mycenaean monumental subterranean burial chambers.

<sup>53</sup> *Supra* III.2, note 41.

in the urban structure, and political activity took the place of religious practice as the dominating social practice; the sacred hearth found its place at the heart of the most vivid place of activity in the *polis*: the agora.

Surrounded by mythical narratives about the birth of the *polis*, the Sacred Hearth played a dominant role in the political elaboration of the city and thus the formulation of its very identity. It became the immediate and dominant expression of “economic solidarity”, “civic harmony”, autochthony and urban vitality for the citizens of the city (Gernet, 336-337). Occasionally the festive “renewal” of the city, i.e. the restoration of its identity, was performed through a procession that brought new fire from Delphi. Like the Roman practice of “sacred ploughing” and the establishment of its center *mundus*, the foundation of the Sacred Hearth anchored the city to the territory, and made it possible to exist on a habitable land. Neither the boundary, nor the center of the social space could be arbitrary. As McEwen (110) argued that the setting up of *hestia* (hearth) and *histon* (loom) together gave the *oikos* its stability; the city and its territory was woven with such a mytho-poetical content and the sacred hearth pointed out the political elaboration of the civilized center (*astū*) in the midst of its territory (*chora*).

#### IV.4 CULT, TERRITORY AND THE CITY

The role of agricultural production in the metaphorical language of myths and rituals has been discussed in the context of cults and festivals of Kybele and Demeter (supra. III.5) and performances like sacred ploughing (Fig. 26). It seems clear for many scholars that agriculture was the first serious step on the way to the formulation of a civilized society<sup>54</sup>. Leaving aside the “hunter-gatherer” form of life as

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<sup>54</sup> Burford, 1993, 1-14; Mumford, 29-35; Childe (1970) “Origins and Evolution of Urban Communities and Urbanization” in *Neighborhood, City and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*. Robert Gutman and David Popenoe, eds. New York, pp.

well as nomadism, the settled society developed a new way of life upon the cultivation of the territory, inaugurating landownership and laboring on land. An enormous amount of work has then been concentrated on land and the new condition exerted an anxiety in man resulting from the hardness of fieldwork, fear of drought and famine and the violation of a sacred territory through its ploughing<sup>55</sup>.

Such a societal metamorphosis gave way to a radical shift in the meaning of the territory and modes of organization of social space. The sacred evil space of nature was now reconsidered as an arable land of value and resource of life. Artemis, the mistress of wild mountains, was coming to terms with Kybele of Phrygia and Demeter, and borrowing the symbolism of fertility. The degradation of the environment from homely grounds (*oikos*) to the unhomely (*apeirōn*) has been redefined and actually refined with the help of the mediatory space of agricultural production. Agrarian / landed interests had a dominant role in the economic and political life of the *polis* and the formation of its institutions. One of the responsibilities of the founder of a colonial city was to allocate the cultivable land among the colonist families<sup>56</sup>. The essential quality for a full citizenship in the Greek *polis* was possessing land and making money out of it (Burford, 1993, 4). According to Aristides, the *prytaneion*, the building of utmost civic importance, had a double meaning: "either the treasury of fire (*pyr*) or of grain (*sitos*)"<sup>57</sup>.

The Greeks defined the *polis* as a combination of the urban center, *astū*, and the rural territory, *chora*. Aspects of the reciprocal relation of town and country appear to be a very complicated issue which is remarked upon by various scholars in seemingly opposing suggestions. Through literary evidence, we are well-informed that the city

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111-119; Fitter (1995), "The Values of Landskip: An Historical Outline in the Ancient World" in *Poetry, Space, Landscape*, 25-52.

<sup>55</sup> Burford, 1993, 6. Ploughing was conceived as a violation of a place and its *keres*. See supra III.2, on *ker* of place and the practice of sacred ploughing in the Roman city.

<sup>56</sup> portions of land were called *kleroi*. See Malkin "Land Ownership, Territorial Possession, Hero Cults, and Scholarly Theory" In *Nomodeiktēs*. Rosen & Farrell; eds.; 225-234.

<sup>57</sup> Schol. D. A. Aristides 103.16; quoted in Malkin, 1987, 116.

in antiquity was never considered in isolation from its hinterland; they together formed an economical totality. Both Plato and Aristotle saw town and country as a single unit and "not in competition or conflict, actual or potential"<sup>58</sup>. Alexander the Great remarked that "just as a child needs milk... so a city without fields (*agroí*) and abundant produce from them, cannot grow, or maintain a large population"<sup>59</sup>. Even the dwellers of the urban centers and rural inhabitants did not have very marked differences in life standards: peasants were an integral part of the town (Finley, 1985, 17-19).

Nevertheless, certain scholars draw attention to the polarity of the two domains; the political center and the rural periphery. The birth of the *polis* is marked with a managerial claim and sovereignty over the terrain. While the urban habitation lived mainly on the surplus extraction of the agricultural production in the country, the agrarian space has been considered as a peripheral realm. Rural men as field laborers, "enduring chronic undernourishment, low life expectancy and constant threat of famine" were banished to the periphery of civilization (Fitter, 27). In the colonial cities, ethnic diversity caused a tension in the bipolar structure of *demos*, which comprised a variety of marginalizations<sup>60</sup>. The indigenous peoples of the newly inhabited lands were never accommodated in the town but survived their local culture in the country<sup>61</sup>.

The two views may be seen as contradictory, but my inclination is to believe that they acted as the two sides of a coin. One should not deny the fact that, unlike us, Greeks never disfavoured contradictions; coexistence of opposites were believed to secure the survival of both sides. But if there was an identifiable segregation of the urban elite and the rural man, how could the two halves of the

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<sup>58</sup> Finley (1985) "The Ancient City from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond" in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, 3-23, quotation from p. 5. Originally published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* XIX (1977), 305-327.

<sup>59</sup> Ste. Croix, 12-13; quotes a conversation between Alexander and Deinocrates of Rhodes, the architect who planned Alexandria.

<sup>60</sup> Such as women, slaves, non-citizens, indigenous people. See Polignac, 1995, 60ff.

<sup>61</sup> Greeks called them *kōmai*. Ste. Croix, 10.

community of the city-state come to terms with each other, so as to provide an economic and social unification of the town and the country? How did the urban center communicate with its territory on the periphery, which was so essential for its economical survival? An acceptable answer has been proposed by François de Polignac in terms of the structuring of civic religious practices and the consecutive formulation of urban/non-urban space, which had a significant place in the ideological structure of the *polis*<sup>62</sup>.

The territorial self-definition of the Greek city was constituted with its cultic anchorage in the political center and especially out in the peripheral terrain. As Polignac indicates, the *polis* developed in terms of such a bipolarity, rather than being monocentric<sup>63</sup>. The sanctuary in the country was already acting as a place of communication among the scattered villages before the crystallization of the city. Archaeological evidence demonstrated an overwhelming richness of the traces of social activity, incomparable with other sorts of social realms. The central habitation grew up as an *alter-pole* to the suburban sanctuary and reorganized the exploitation of agricultural territory as a political mechanism. The nexus of multileveled relations in the entire city-state has rendered the contrasting yet complementary topographies of the urban realm and the suburban cult centers.

The suburban sanctuary, as previously discussed, was generally on the threshold, which marked "the limit of human implantation and the limit of the city's control over the terrain; ...the outer limit of the advance of agrarian civilization" (Polignac, 1995, 34). The surface of the entire *chōra* was thus knitted and delimited with these religious centers of human contact. The network of solemn pathways that connected them to *astû*. In this way, the *polis*, which "anchored, legitimated and mediated all religious activity", communicated with its rural periphery

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<sup>62</sup> Polignac (1995). Supra III.5, for the earlier discussion of Demeter's *Thesmaphoria*, and the siting of her non-urban sanctuaries.

<sup>63</sup> Polignac, 1995, 81-88. He rejects the idea that the city developed around the acropolis, and suggests that Athens was an exception, on which a generalizing argument can not be based.

(Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990, 297). The most tangible evidence of such interconnection is *pompê*, the sacred procession: the most ostentatious part of a civic festival<sup>64</sup>.

Burkert identifies *pompê* as “the fundamental medium of group formation”, since the participants were not only composed of citizens from different social strata, but also the non-citizens and inhabitants of the countryside (Burkert, 1995, 99):

Every member of the community could have his place here, from the youthful horsemen to the elders “bearing branches”, from the young girls, who were carrying the sacrificial tools, to the matrons. Above all, [for instance] even in the Lesser Panathenaia, the procession included over a hundred sheep and cows bound for slaughter at the “great altar. Thus, there was enough meat to give the entire populace a portion, its festival meal, at the marketplace. (Burkert, 1983a, 155).

The *kosmesis* of each participant was symbolic of their status in the community. The hoplites attended the procession in full armor; virgins and women, workers of the loom, escorted the chariot which carried the *xoanon* and the new *peplos* of the goddess; the chariot was drawn by ox and oxen, animals of great sacrificial value as companions to ploughing.

This enormous movement of the social body started with purificatory sacrifices in some sacred place in the city, passed through the marketplace and left the domain of civilization. “In a slow, dignified progress” with the rhythmic voice of *aulos*, kettledrum and accompanying dance and poetry, people pass through the fields, implanting human traces over the terrain. The processional way was cleansed and purified before the festivity had begun. The destination was the suburban sanctuary, where major sacrificial rituals and dramatic rites, different for each festival, were finally performed. The Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis was perhaps the most renowned example to a strictly defined and sacralized processional axis (Burkert, 1983a, 249ff). The Panathenaia of Athens is depicted on one of the friezes of Parthenon, as a solid memorandum of a civic practice. Festivals of Artemis at Brauron and Ephesus, Apollo at Sparta, Hera at Argos, and the Mother Goddess at

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<sup>64</sup> Supra. IV.3 note 46

Minoan Knossos were known to have such sacred processions<sup>65</sup>. However, various *pompē* were associated with the cult of Dionysus and epigraphic evidence put an emphasis of the dramatic content of his festivals<sup>66</sup>.

On establishing the colonial settlements, the appropriation of the territory, often the land of indigenous peoples, was made possible by the consecration of the land, that is, by setting up Greek cults, which the colonists transferred from their mother-city<sup>67</sup>. This cult finds expression in the urban space, as the patron god[dess] of the city and takes the *polis* under her protection. At this position, one often sees Athena, as the protectress of the *polis* and Apollo as the civic founder and purifier. Their very presence at the hearth of the city overlooking the city and the territory, not only demonstrates the symbolism of political sovereignty over the conquered lands but also provides an active link with the *metropolis* and tie the city to the universal commonwealth of Greek civilization. On the other hand, the inherently sacred places of the indigenous peoples are respected to some extent. Even their suburban sanctuaries were either renovated or totally rebuilt in an effort to establish a mediation with the native population in the country. Taking possession of the *chōra*, such cults were also often substituted with that of a Greek divinity, which carried a similar cultic significance and symbolism<sup>68</sup>. Polignac notes that:

A civic society could only be established on the basis of some form of integration of all the social components in the territory, however remote they may have been from the decision-taking system. To that extent, organizing a cult was a way of founding a city. (1995, 75)

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<sup>65</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990, 310. Burkert (1988) "Katagogia-Anagogia and the Goddess of Knossos", in *Early Greek Cult Practice*. Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos, Göllog Nordquist: eds. Stockholm, pp. 9-19.

<sup>66</sup> Cole (1996). "Procession and Celebration at the Dionysia" In *Theater and Society in the Classical World*. Ruth Scodel: ed. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor; pp. 25-38.

<sup>67</sup> Malkin (1987) "Sanctuaries for the Gods" in *Religion and Colonization*, 135-161; Polignac (1995) "Cults and Colonial Foundations" in *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, 89-127.

<sup>68</sup> In many Ionian colonial settlements, Demeter replaced the Anatolian Mother Goddess, in the initiation of the peoples of the agrarian space. The situation in Pergamon is specifically revealing. See below V.2.

The site of the Artemision at Ephesus was already sacred and unorganized religious activity is proved to have taken place in fragmentary and scattered spatial terms by Leleges, Lydians and Amazons, who dwelt nearby, as well as by the frequenting Phoenicians<sup>69</sup>. The coming of the Greeks did not result in the expulsion of the non-Greek items from the scene, but multicultural artifacts continue to exist until Croesus' total rearrangement of the sanctuary. Artemision of Ephesus is significant such that it shows how "a city could define itself by the degree of participation in the cult, that allowed to non-citizens, integrating them into its society in some cases more, in others less" (Polignac, 1995, 77).

The Greek *polis* provided an institutional framework, an organizational basis for the inherent religious practices in the well-defined calendars of civic festivals and occasional or repetitious dramatizations of rituals. The religious activity was hardly restricted to any portion of the community. The participants formed an ever-widening circle in the *polis*, ending up with the entire *demos*. The collective consciousness, that secured social solidarity, was established through the reciprocal relationship of citizenship and initiation of a god[dess]. The goddess of the city united the whole body of citizens under her initiation. Sourvinou-Inwood writes: "Religion became the *polis*' central ideology, structuring, and giving meaning to, all the elements that made up the identity of the *polis*, its past, its physical landscape, the relationship between its constituent parts"<sup>70</sup>. The religion of pre-urban society was so absorbed in the institutions of the *polis* that the political manipulation in the city utilized myth and religion for propagandistic purposes. Vernant points out the role of divination in the political life of the Greeks and that every civic office had a sacred

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<sup>69</sup> Polignac, 1995, 75-76; see his notes 108-109-110, for a bibliography of archaeological reports on the Ephesian Artemision.

<sup>70</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990, 304-305. See also Vernant (1994) "The Spiritual Universe of the *Polis*" in *The Origins of Greek Thought*, 49-68.



character<sup>71</sup>. Leaving aside the urban sanctuaries, every single urban microcosm in the physical structure and the social life of the mundane city comprised a cult and temple of its own, be they an agora, a gymnasium or a theater, guaranteeing the religious security of the very communal realm. In Plato's *Laws* (778c) we find him saying "the temples we must build all around the agora and around the whole city in a circle for the purpose of fencing them well and of cleanliness"<sup>72</sup>. The sacred spaces define the limits of the urban space, as the religious identity preponderates the identity of the *polis*.

The urban life that the political sphere of the *polis* offered to the city-dwellers had always been formulated on the dichotomy of sacralization and secularization. The tidal relationship of the sacred (*hieros*) and secular (*hosios*) had been predominant in the making of the civic ideology in the Archaic age. Taking roots from a mythical and religious domain of pre-urban life, the city gradually moved towards the secular. The appraisal of the Olympian gods and the holiness of *kosmos* have been brought to the appraisal of the individual (Vernant, 1994, 56). The dramatic performances in the mytho-poetical realm of the rituals were transformed into a drama of urban life, which resulted in the construction of scenographic cityscapes of antiquity. The theater was the most evident achievement in the progressive line of these metamorphoses and gradually substituted the dominant role of religious practices, although it used the very same inherent treasury as the content and context of its workings. The occasional outbursts of the ancestral memory, the very safeguarded institutions of the *polis* were called to inquiry on stage in the irrational theater of Dionysus.

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<sup>71</sup> Vernant, 1994, 56-56, note 4. See also Connor (1987) "Tribes, Festivals, Processions: Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece" *JHS* 57; 40-50.

<sup>72</sup> quoted in Malkin, 1987, 144. I suspect the reliability of the translation. "The cleanliness" must have been a religious one rather than being physical.

#### IV.5 THEATER OF THE *POLIS*

The idea of theater existed both as a reality and a metaphor in the Greek city.

Greek tragedy is, inarguably, prominent among the most important innovations of antiquity. So far, earlier studies on the subject interpreted tragedy to be a solely literary genre, while recent scholarship has successfully pointed out its societal and civic role with the help of the decoding of its complicated patterns of symbolic expression<sup>73</sup>. The discussions of the origins of tragedy is manifold and in certain cases even polemical, and a detailed handling of its specific aspects with first-hand evidence is beyond the limits of our present discussion. Burkert notes that Greek tragedy was so complex a phenomenon that its roots could not be reduced to a single formula, since "we are dealing with an evolution, with *πολλαι μεταβολαι*"<sup>74</sup>. The discussions throughout the thesis have lead to the idea that no single innovation in ancient cultures could be studied within the confines of its own domain of expression, no matter how esoteric it is. Architecture of the temple, for instance, was rendered with a poetic visual language of myths and rituals, that made up the basic ideology of the Greek society. It is, therefore, hard to discuss architecture, without concurrence with poetry and other forms of expression, and out of the society's mental framework. Likewise it may be more revealing to see tragedy in the wider context of the multi-leveled metamorphosis of Greek culture. Secularization of the *polis*, which institutionalized and gave an [urbanistic] order to earlier forms of living, the changing status of the itinerant *demiourgoi* into the accommodated artisan of the city, who

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<sup>73</sup> See especially Vernant (1990a) "Tensions and Ambiguities in Greek Tragedy" in *Myth and Tragedy*, 29-48; Segal (1986) "Greek Tragedy and Society: A Structuralist Perspective" in *Interpreting Greek Tragedy*, 24-47; Pozzi (1991) "The Polis in Crisis" in *Myth and the Polis*, Dora C. Pozzi and John M. Wickersham: eds. 127-163. Longo (1990) "The Theater of the Polis" in *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?*, John Winkler & Froma I. Zeitlin: eds., 12-19; Goldhill (1990) "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology" *ibid.* 97-129; Padel (1990) "Making Space Speak" *ibid.* 336-365; Van Pelt & Westfall, 210-223.

<sup>74</sup> Burkert, 1966, 87; quotes Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a14.

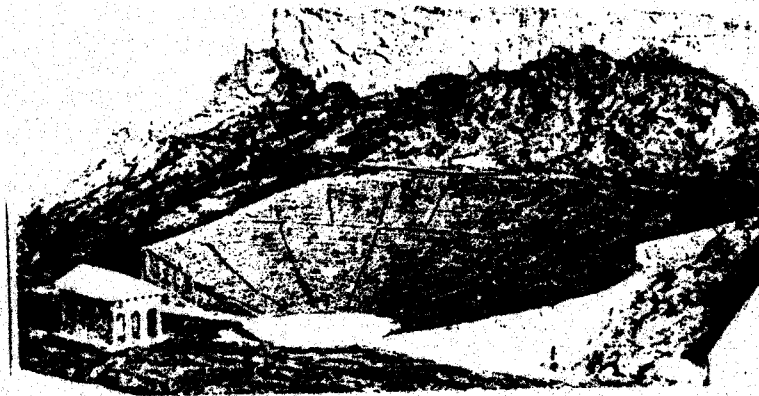
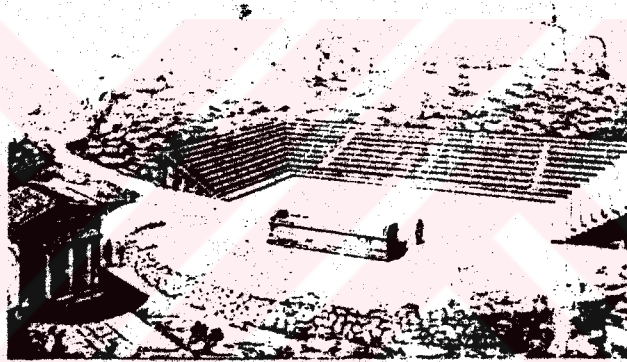
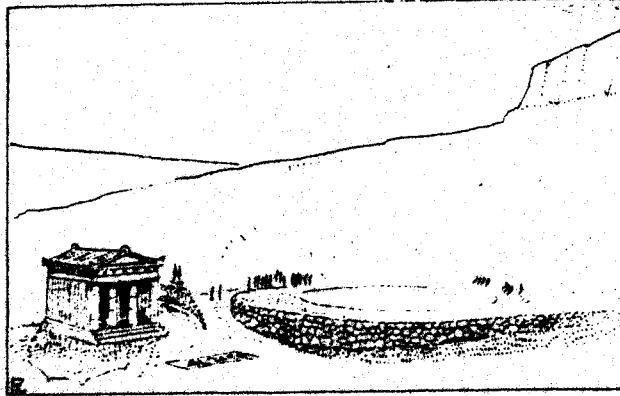


Figure 50. Reconstructions of the archaic precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus in Athens.

founded guilds among themselves, and the consecutive elaboration of the concepts like *technê* and *mimesis* must have all been influential in this achievement.

"[B]ehind the revolutionary façade of various reforms" of the *polis* Robert Jan van Pelt finds "an impregnable and shady world of ancient custom, an imperishable world in which the officially rendered ties of blood and soil, which embodied in kinship and tribal affiliation... as impenetrable but powerful motivations" (van Pelt & Westfall, 213). According to Vernant, Greek tragedy worked within "the mental context" of a fully established religious universe. While the regime of the *polis* substituted the old forms of power and social action with civic and political institutions, tragedy acquired its autonomy, elaborating its peculiar forms / agents of expression (Vernant & Vidal-Naquet, 1990a, 30). The widely celebrated last stroke of the so-called innovation, that is the appearance of tragedy as a literary genre, coincides with the establishment of a civic festival of Athens, the City Dionysia, at the end of sixth century BC. Dithyrambic competitions, ritual processions, blood sacrifices and ritual banquets were then accompanied with these first Attic tragedies. The sacred procession at the Dionysia was terminated at the precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus, principally a temple-theater ensemble (Fig. 50) with specific celebrations, which comprised blood sacrifice, public announcements of prominent citizenship and dramatizations<sup>75</sup>. The purification of the processional way before the *pompê*<sup>76</sup>, included the purification of the *skene* of the theater. Basically, at least in the late Archaic period, the theater was not a solitary architectural corpus, but rather a temple-theater architectural ensemble, which reminds such arrangements in a number of sanctuaries of especially the Mother Goddess, Demeter and Dionysus, exemplified above (III.5) and below (V.2). In the cultic topography of the Greek city,

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<sup>75</sup> Cole, 1996, 28-29. See also Burkert, 1966, 101-102; where he indicates the altar or the sacred table at the very center of Dionysiac *orchestra*, as depicted in vase paintings of Dionysiac scenes. See also Vernant (1990a) "The God of Tragic Fiction" in *Myth and Tragedy*, 181-188. The stone altar here was called *thûmelê*, akin to *thûsia*, sacrificial ritual.

<sup>76</sup> This was a *phallogoria*, a *phallos* procession. Cole, 1996, 28. See also fig. 47.

Dionysus acted as the initiator of "otherness", embodying "divine madness and ecstatic possession" in his cult practices; like Demeter, who initiated another marginal group: the women of the city. "In the forum of the *polis* at large... the theater of Dionysus came to be the scene of another, less visible but continuous and important form of *agōn*: the confrontation of different clusters of allegiances, values, and traditions" (Pozzi, 1991, 127).

As a totally civic undertaking, the tragic performance played a dominant role in the formation of the mental realm of the collective memory and civic consciousness. The theater of the *polis* acted as the supreme domain, where the constitutive myths of the city were performed and thus where the collective memory is both outspoken and enfolded. The chorus as an "official college of citizens" in the tragic play, signified the voice of the citizens. A tension is created between the chorus and the tragic protagonist. While the chorus outspoken celebrations to the heroes of the mythical past, the tragic hero is closely associated with the "presence of the city at stage". The relationship turns out to be pointing out the confrontations of "past and present, the world of myth and the world of the city" (Vernant, 1990a, 34).

In the tragedies, on the other hand, denotations of the fallibility of human fate, violence and destruction at the very basis of existence, resulted in the making of a tragic world view and tragic consciousness in the civic community. The tragedy is a lot more than a mere reflection of the urban reality for the citizen, for it also calls the world of the city into question. In many ways, the mythical drama, which was the basis of the tragic plot, pointed to a violence over the human agent, and the dissolution of societal, familial norms were presented on stage. Whatever put on stage was put on stake, and the terror of existence and the abyss of annihilation became the central ideology of the tragic works.

Thus the survival of theatricality of Greek society in the Greek city was enhanced by the help of tragedy, as a "socially conglomerating enterprise" (Longo, 1990, 19). Vernant writes:

Tragedy is not only an art form; it is also a social institution, set up alongside its political and legal institutions. The city established under the authority of the *eponymous archon*, in the same urban space and in accordance with the same institutional norms as the popular assemblies or courts, a spectacle open to all citizens, directed, acted and judged by the qualified representatives of the various tribes. In this way it turned itself into a theater. Its subject, in a sense, was itself and it acted itself out before its public. (Vernant, 1990a, 32-33).

The earlier stage-space, the dancing floor, stood at the heart of the Greek social space; threshing floor in the rural village and the agora in the city. The body of citizens participated in the political-commercial affairs of the city with the conducting royal family. In Athens earliest performances were held at the circular orchestra in the midst of the agora before the Dionysian theater was built. The architectural space of the agora of Lato in Crete was framed with steps for spectators, who gathered for purposes of civic assemblies as well as dramatic performances<sup>77</sup>. Herodotus defined the agora as "a place set apart in the middle of the city, in which men get together and tell another lies"<sup>78</sup>. This successful diagnosis of political enrollment in the city pinpoint queer implications of the double life of the *polis*, which presented the *illusory* versus the *real* on stage of both of its *tragic* and *urban* theater.

The spatial syntax of the theater, at first instance, sets apart the performer and the spectator; the community is defined in two distinct halves of participation. *Theatron* was the space for the *spectator*, one who came for *theasthai*, to watch or see. Chorus entered the *orkhêstra*, for *orkheistai*, to dance (Padel, 341). At this point rises the ultimate diversity between the ritual performance and the tragic one; between a *real* experience and an *imaginary* one. In the former, the dramatization of myth was so close to a repeated reality that the

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<sup>77</sup> See Wycherty, IV.

<sup>78</sup> Herodotus, 1.153; quoted in Padel, 337.

shamanist participant actually experienced a transgression of emotional limits and the communal act as an ongoing-reality adhered to his/her present existence. In the tragic theater, the active participant of the ritual became the spectator on the stairs, with a respectively passive and secondary role. That was exactly what happened on the urban grounds; the political mechanism of the *polis* defined a hierarchical social structure and marginalized the participant of archaic religious world behind the mask of an illusory *démokratia*. The architecture of the city has thus been formulated on such a basis. The socially produced space of the archaic age has left its place to a politically manipulated urban exuberance, which resulted in a total *kosmesis* of man-made landscape, an illusionary stage-space of human action.

Tragedy, itself as a fictive phenomenon, presented a shadow of the mythical and the mundane reality for the Greeks. The stage, for instance, acts as a threshold, a liminal territory between the seen and the unseen. "Behind the *skênê* is an imagined space which the theater conceals but continually refers to. The important tragic act [often the moment of exertion of violence] will happen unseen and mostly within" (Padel, 345). This concealed ambiguous space has been worked out and constructed in the spectator's imagination. So the empty public space remains to be a ground of illusion, as the city dweller realizes the illusory side of the mundane ordinary life, while the unseen space acquires a tragic content. The space of the theater, thus defined itself by the existence of an *other* space, which was not opened to vision since it comprised violence. The ambiguous *other* space of the non-urban was represented in the world of the theater as a stage behind. Likewise the urban space defined itself as an alter-ground to this dark side of existence, represented in the marginal, dark, violent and barbarian space of savagery.

Such dualities of the real and the illusionary space, and hierarchies of secrecy play a dominant role in the structuring of the urban space itself, which was defined with transitions from sacred to secular, public to private, and the like. The urban role of an

architectural element was thus not confined to *presenting* but also associated with *hiding*. The temple was open to everybody's view, while its inside was terribly restricted as a tabooed-space. Long colonnades encircle the public buildings all over the city, as shadowy screens and mediatory spaces. The public quarters comprised interconnected architectural complexes and urban enclosures, like the agora and the gymnasium. The thoroughfares that connected them presented an interplay of sequential vistas and architectural visions, that dramatize the urban layout of the city. From this point on, rises the idea of *skênographia*. The implications of the word have undergone an evolution in history. Originally, it was the name for "the painting on the *skênê*" and later, turned out to denote "drawing the façade of a building using linear perspective" (Padel, 347). In the Hellenistic city, one finds *scenographic* planning, in the manner that the face of the whole city was knit with a pictorial architecture of elaborate façades and flamboyant public buildings.

It was in the Hellenistic period that the theater was most efficiently used as an apparatus of the imperial power to secure the solidarity among the public. The theater and theatrical life spread everywhere under the patronage of the Hellenistic kings. While the tragedies of the Classical period were extensively revived, "theatrical artists" (*tekhnitai*) were accommodated in Dionysiac guilds by the Ptolemies of Egypt and Attalids of Pergamum (Burkert, 1993, 261). The idea of the theater was therefore absorbed in the urban content of their cities and impressively shaped their urban structures. Dramatic effects of landscape was used "to create a series of stage settings which slowly led one to a dramatic climax", stylistically very similar to the ways tragedies were written (Pollitt, 1990b, 230).

As Antonin Artaud indicates, the dramatist uses the symbolic language of theatrical space and thus "makes space speak" to bring clarity and fluency to the tragic narrative. Therefore "expression in space



interacts with linguistic expression"<sup>79</sup>. Once more, architecture and poetry worked in coordination. The architecture of the city was fed by this prolific source of poetry, history and myth, which was the ultimate encoding of the collective memory of the society. The tragic consciousness remained the underlining element in the context of the entire *techné* of the *polis*.



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<sup>79</sup> Padel, 359. He quotes Artaud from "Theater of Cruelty" in *Le Theatre et Son Double*. I used the Turkish translation: *Tiyatro ve Ikizi*. Çev. Bahadır Gülmez. Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul, 1993.



Figure 51. Pergamum. Theater terrace. View from north.

## CHAPTER V

### EKSTASIS AND DRAMA ON THE PERGAMENE STAGE

... I had a dream vision, which showed me the city as it were twice its normal size, through the accession of certain territory, which had been procured adjacent to it, and of public monuments, which had been added, somehow rather similar to those at the Temple of Zeus Philius. Therefore I rejoiced in the dream; and when I got up, I took it as a good omen both for the city and myself. Two days later, a message came from a man who is a friend of mine, which reported... [the eruption of the water and the great adornment added to the city]... For the water is the most abundant and fairest of all that any city ever received. I not only regarded it as a spring day, but as it is likely to regard the day of Zeus of Good Tidings and Asclepius the Savior, who bestows his honors in every way. And I congratulated the city for its acquisition and myself since I was thought worthy to hear of it in advance, clearly because my ties with the city are less than no man's...

From the beginning, as it seems, the fairest gifts were given to the city by both gods and men. On the one hand, the oldest of the divinities, the Cabiri, are said to have originated here as well as their rites and mysteries which are believed to possess so much power that during unseasonable storms.....

*Aristides, from A Panegyric on the Water of Pergamum*

## V.1 A HELLENISTIC EPILOGUE<sup>1</sup>

Pergamum is one of the very few Hellenistic cities that has been subjected to thorough archaeological exploration; thanks to German archaeologists, who have worked at the site for more than a hundred years<sup>2</sup>. If one would leave aside the difficulties of archaeological research on Hellenistic sites, scholars often complain that the Hellenistic cities and thus the Hellenistic period have not usually received the historiographical interest that they deserve and the reason for the discouragement of Hellenistic studies is claimed to result from the widespread prejudice that the period was “a time of decline and deterioration” as much as having “witnessed the failure of the *polis*” (Gruen, 339). The general agreement is that most of the civic institutions, such as autonomy or the so-called democracy, have corroded during the Hellenistic era. Especially, the civic spirit that built up the collective memory of the Greek *poleis* is believed to have been destined to vanish, as the idea of the *polis* has been transformed into a “cosmopolis” under the rule of the Hellenistic monarchs.

The whole assertion has considerable truth. On the other hand, it usually appears to be deficient of ingenious insight to elucidate specific phenomena and significant historical details on the subject. Gruen refuses all such attacks to the Hellenistic *polis* and, after working on epigraphic evidence, goes as far as to say:

[We should] rethink some of the clichés and stereotypes that fill the handbooks of Greek history. Civic spirit had not evaporated in the Hellenistic age. The polis held its place as a center of allegiance and a source of pride. Hellenistic individuals were not all driven to seek inner solace or to reach out longingly to the cosmos. They could still find support and stimulus in the familiar institutions of the polis” (Gruen, 354).

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<sup>1</sup> I borrow this title from Ross Holloway: the name for the last chapter in his *A View of Greek Art* (Providence, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> The architectural documentation of Pergamum has been published within a series called *Altertümer von Pergamon* by the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. For a complete bibliography of all volumes, see Radt, 1988, 362.

However, nobody can deny that the Hellenistic movement was considerably an Eastern affair and that things were changing drastically especially in terms of the arts in the newly flowering cities of the Hellenistic kingdoms like Pergamum, Antioch or Alexandria. What we are confronted with is perhaps the last phase in the metamorphoses of Greek culture or an epilogue to it. The warrior Hellenistic kings traveled East, even all the way down to Egypt, in search for a consistent and durable framework of self-identity; and in the cities that they founded, they chose the revival of the immediate glorious Greek past as the imperial ideology of their kingdoms. Ideologically no other self-image could be more suitable for the embellishment of the *face* and the spirit of their cities in order to avert the abyss of debilitated Greek self-definition after the decline of Classical Greece. The voices of accusation, however, rise just at this point: this Greekness of the Hellenistic *poleis* has been consciously formulated on such a political basis that the underlying societal meaning of the institutions of the *polis* has been hollowed underneath.

Having a careful insight into the structure of the Hellenistic *poleis*, one catches glimpses of the flowering idea of "enlightenment", with all positive and negative implications of the modern meaning of the word. The serious concern in the institutionalization of education and the elaboration of the idea of gymnasium, focusing more and more on intellectual training as much as physical training, reminds one the eighteenth century revival of the idea of *academia* in Europe. The introduction of a *book cult* into the cultural domain of the *polis* would take steps to replace, or rather weaken the traditions of oral memory. It is not accidental that the word *parchment* comes from *pergamene*: the material is well known to have been first used in the time of Eumenes II to write upon. If the printing press has demarked an important turning point in the world history, and especially the history of architecture as Victor Hugo claims<sup>3</sup>, the invention of the

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<sup>3</sup> Hugo's theory was that architecture has relinquished its expressive power, textual character to the printed word after Gutenberg and his printing press. According to him, with this invention, people had abandoned the great and durable book of

parchment in Pergamum must hold a prominent place in the history of writing. Libraries of Pergamum and Alexandria have reached an unending fame with their rich collection of parchment scrolls. Architecture has consecutively yielded to an understanding of "controlled space" and "controlled effect" (Holloway, 186). This politically manipulated and professionally built up environment has surpassed the architecture of social production of the archaic age, and reduced its meaning to an imperially utilized ideological device.

However, one specific civic institution has been outrageously spoiling our well-reconstructed picture of the Hellenistic age: the theater. Although it started in a very revivalist manner, the theater and its societal components stayed always at the hearth of urban life and were always ready to threaten the civic order comprising occasional recalls of ancestral memory. The aim of this chapter is to look at the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic Pergamum in comparison so as to pinpoint the changing meaning of the specified phenomenon in the Hellenistic city. The line of transformation of the idea of urban drama from archaic ritual practices to the revival of Attic tragedy in the Hellenistic period, has apparently been influential in the formulation and articulation of urban space in Pergamum.

## V.2 PRE-ATTALID PERGAMUM: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The western region of Asia Minor is watered by four main rivers: the *Caicus* (or *Kaikos*), the *Hermus*, the *Caýster*, and the *Mæander*<sup>4</sup>. The fertile valleys, through which they run, especially the *Hermus* and the *Mæander*, have long connected the Aegean coastlands to the inlands of Anatolia since antiquity, thus linking the Mediterranean trade

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humanity that they ever used since antiquity: the buildings. See *Notre Dame de Paris*. (Paris, 1892). See also Neil Levine, "The Book and the Building: Hugo's Theory of Architecture and Labrouste's *Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève*" in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth Century French Architecture*. Robin Middleton: ed. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1984.

<sup>4</sup> as named from north to south. The modern Turkish names for them today are: *Bakırçay*, *Gediz*, *Küçük Menderes* and *Büyük Menderes*, respectively. For the topography of the north-west Asia Minor around Pergamum, see Hansen, 3-6.

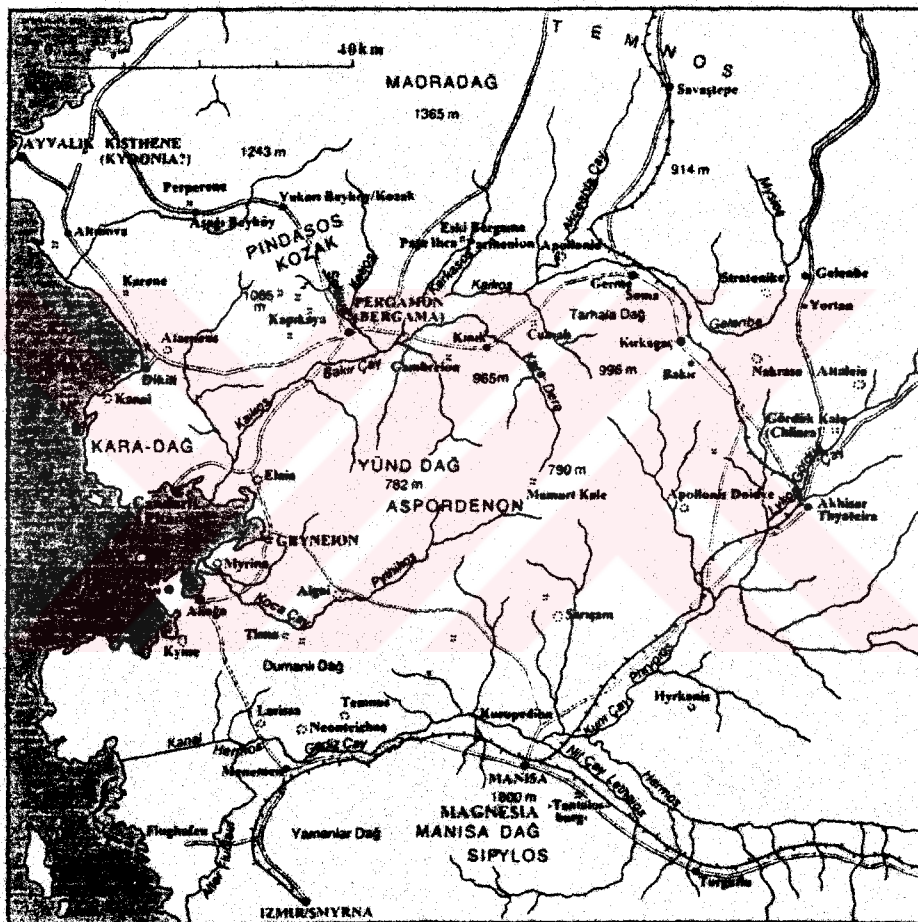


Figure 59. Pergamum and environs.

routes to the routes coming all the way from the Middle Asia. The northern-most valley, that is *Caïcus* (Bakırçay) valley, is also the shortest of all<sup>5</sup> and cannot reach as far as the central plateau of Asia Minor. It is mainly enclosed by two important mountains, *Pindasus* (Madra Dağı) on the northern edge and *Aspordenum* (Yund Dağı) on the southern, separating it from the *Hermus* valley. Therefore the whole valley has been relatively more secure, since it was less traveled by; however for the same reason, it never became an important commercial route (Hansen, 3).

Pergamum is situated on the highest eminence in the whole valley (three hundred meters above sea level) such that it commands the entire region (Fig. 52). It is encircled with mountains on the north, and two streams on the other sides: the *Selinus* (Bergama Çayı) and *Ketius* (Kastel Çayı), which provide all possible natural elements of defense. Pergamum stands just where the base of the valley narrows down and the *Caïcus* makes a decided bend. Strategically it appears to be the most convenient site for an imperial settlement to control the widening agricultural terrain on the east towards inland Anatolia and on the west all the way to the Aegean coast. In the early years of the Principate, this region strictly defined by mountains and watered by the *Caïcus*, must have acted as the hinterland, that is the *chora* of the Hellenistic *polis*. The ancient geography of settlements of the region does confirm the idea: no other prominent city rivaled Pergamum in this respect, except for the coastal settlements like Pitane or Elaia at the mouth of the valley.

Pergamum has popularly been denied a strong image of a distant archaic age and has long been appreciated with its Hellenistic and Roman achievements. Although literary sources and archaeological evidence are relatively niggard about pre-Attalid Pergamum, prudent

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<sup>5</sup> extends about 80 km.



scholars have always reserved an open door to the unknown prehellenistic mystery of the city<sup>6</sup>.

Before the Greek colonization, the Aeolian land used to nourish a mixture of native Anatolian peoples, which were frequented by the flood of Thraco-Phrygian peoples from Europe in the third millennium BC. The geographical names and inherent motives and forms of indigenous worship keep traces from these earliest inhabitants of the region. The name *Pergamum*, itself, is a pre-Hellenic word which either meant "people or the city of a highland" or "a burg or a citadel"<sup>7</sup>. Other topographical names like Pindassus, Ketios, Caicus or Nacrasa in the region were also proved to be *kleinasiatisch*.

Both Pausanias and Aristides wrote that the land of the Pergamenes was sacred to the Cabiri, a very ancient Phrygian cult<sup>8</sup>. Hansen indicates that the Cabiric cult has always been considered in connection with "the Corybants, the followers of the Asiatic mountain goddess Kybele [and those of Rhea in Crete], whom they worshipped with orgiastic rites" (Hansen, 396). At any rate, the Pergamenes kept the memory of these early cults and their worship down to the end of the Attalid kingdom: by dedicating altars to them, depicting them on coins or representing them on the great narrative of their divinities on

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<sup>6</sup> I believe that this problem owes its appearance a lot to the excavation and restoration policies of the German archaeological team at Pergamum, who apparently have always been reluctant to explore and study pre-Attalid Pergamum. A spectacular and enormously expensive restoration of the temple of Trajan on the acropolis has just been completed, while our knowledge of the archaic phase of the city was limited to obligatory or accidental documentation and some recently but partially published studies by Wolfgang Radt. See Hansen, 6-10; cites E. Thrämer, *Pergamos: Untersuchungen über die Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens und Greichland* (Leipzig, 1888); P. W. Kretschmer, *Einleitungen in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896); E. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1898), which I have never seen.

<sup>7</sup> Hansen, 7-8; Radt, 1988, 20; Umar, 653-654. Umar indicates a Luwi origin for the word. *Parga* meant a highland, mountain, citadel or burg, while *-uma* stands for the expression "the people of" in Luwi / Pelasgus and Hittite languages (Umar, 811). Likewise, *parkus* meant "high" for the Hittites. Without any doubt, the name appears to have an Anatolian origin, as well as the words *Burg* in German, *Bourg* in French, *Borç* in Persian, *Pyrgos* in Greek, which all meant "a fortified city".

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias, I.4.6; Aristides, *A Panegyric on the Water of Pergamum*, cited in Hansen, 395, note 1-2. See epigraph to this chapter.

the friezes of public monuments<sup>9</sup>. Archaeological evidence demonstrates the possibility of the existence of a shrine, which predated the Philatiric wall, on the terrace of the Great Altar on the Acropolis, (Hansen, 224-225). However, the predominating divinity in the cultic topography of the preellenistic Pergamum must have been the Mother Goddess. The hill of Pergamum was sacred to this Anatolian Goddess, as the whole region was demarcated with her mountain-top sanctuaries<sup>10</sup>.

Greek colonization in the region is dated to twelfth century, when a great ethnic movement from northern and central Greece to Aeolia resulted in the founding of the twelve cities in the region.<sup>11</sup> Foundation myths of the city report the existence of a less famous city to the west, Teuthrania, where Telephus, the mythical founder of Pergamum, arrived with his mother Auge and ruled the region from here<sup>12</sup>. A war between the Teuthranians and the Achaeans has been told as a prelude to the Trojan war and "reflected the resistance of the natives to the coming of the colonists and the gradual assimilation of the two elements" (Hansen, 8).

The ethnic diversity in the region later at the beginning of fifth century BC has been confirmed by Xenophon, who stopped at Pergamum in 399 BC with the "Ten Thousands" on their way back from Persia to Greece<sup>13</sup>. At that time the Persian power in the region

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<sup>9</sup> Hansen, 396. See above III.4 for the Corybantic rites in Greece for curing *mania*. The same forms of worship were identified in Bronze age Crete associated with the cult Rhea. The Cabiric divinities were depicted on the south side of the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamum, "forming a group with Kybele and the Trojan-Phrygian mountain goddess Adrasteia...". Hansen, 396.

<sup>10</sup> See below V.3.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus report Cyme, Larisa, Neonteichos, Temnus, Cilla, Notium, Aigiroessa, Pitane, Aegea, Myrina, Gryneum and Smyrna. Herodotus, I.149; cited in Hansen, 6-7, note 12. See also Radt (1988) "Sage und Frühzeit" in *Pergamon*, pp. 20-23.

<sup>12</sup> Auge was a priestess of Athena in Greece and she was believed to be the one who brought the cult of Athena Polias Nikephoros, the patron goddess of Hellenistic Pergamum. The Telephos myth has been picturesquely depicted on the small frieze of the Great Altar. See Pollitt, 1988, 97-110; Deniz Kutay (1993) *Assessment of Values and Objectives of Presentation of Classical Period Archaeological Sites. Case Study: Zeus Altar, Pergamon*. Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, Middle East Technical University.

<sup>13</sup> Radt, 1988, 21; Hansen, 10.

"chose to settle as rich landlords in farms"<sup>14</sup>, while Pergamum was ruled by a Greek princess, free from Persian central authority. The population was reported to be extremely diverse, but principally belonging to Anatolian Hittite-Phrygian-Lydia origin (Radt, 1988, 22).

Pergamum appears to have acted as a place of refuge for the Macedonian Greeks, as the Anatolian land was under the constant threat of Persian terror, rather than being an extensive settlement. During his eastern campaigns, Alexander the Great had sent his Persian wife Barsine and his son Heracles to Pergamum. The stronghold acted as an *asylum* for the mother and the child for twenty years. Later, Lysimachus, the king of Thrace in the fourth century BC chose Pergamum as a treasure-hold where he deposited his great *spolia* of nine thousand *talents*. The archaeologists as well as Strabo report that, by that time, only the summit was occupied<sup>15</sup>. Hansen indicates a very early fortification that encircled two uppermost terraces, including arsenal buildings and an early sanctuary of Athena Polias<sup>16</sup>. It is unreasonable to think that this pre-Attalid settlement worked as a *hieron asylum*, an inviolable precinct, where everyone could take refuge, and was sacred to native cults<sup>17</sup>.

### V.3 ATTALID KINGS AND URBAN TOPOGRAPHY OF PERGAMUM

After long years under the suzerainty of Lysimachus and Seleucus, the Paphlagonian dynast of Pergamum, Philetaerus, revolted against the Macedonian rulers and became the founder of the Attalid kingdom, which would not be rivaled in political and economical preponderance over Western Asia Minor and the surrounding provinces for a

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<sup>14</sup> Radt, 1988, 22. Trans. Nilüfer Baturayoglu.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo, XIII.4, 1-2; see Hansen, 220, note 2.

<sup>16</sup> Recent research suggests that the temple was commissioned by Barsine, the wife of Alexander. Radt, 1988, 23.

<sup>17</sup> See above III.4 for the discussion of the sanctuary as *hieron asylum*. Wolfgang Radt, the director of archaeological excavations at Pergamum today, has kindly indicated that no archaeological evidence has been identified to support this argument so far.



Figure 53. Mamurt Kale. The sanctuary of the Mother Goddess.  
Site plan.

considerable period of time in antiquity<sup>18</sup>. However the Attalid kings particularly owe their fame to their enormous building activity not only in the city of Pergamum and its surrounding territory but also in the form of generous architectural and sculptural donations to other cities like Aegae or Athens and sanctuaries all over the Greek world, like Delphi or Pessinus. As a very effective political device, architectural intervention not only established the political links of the Attalids to the rest of the Greek world, but also signified an economical preponderance over other *poleis*. As the Attalid kings acted as benevolent sponsors of the arts with their enormous wealth which they mainly accumulated as *spolia* from the frequent wars against the "barbarians", the city of Pergamum witnessed a full-flowering of all *techné*, specifically drama, sculpture and architecture, which were intermingled on the basis of a meta-narrative of myth and poetry.

The reigns of two Attalid dynasts appear to be crucial for the present discussion: those of Philetærus (281 BC - 263 BC) and Eumenes II (197 BC - 158 BC), since the major building activity in Attalid Pergamum took place during their reign. The former was the founder of the dynasty and had necessarily canalized Lysimachus' treasury to the first organized building program on the Pergamene acropolis. The latter inherited a small kingdom from his father Attalus I; and subsequently raised Pergamum "to the level of the largest dynasties of his day"<sup>19</sup>, not only in terms of territorial expansion but also sponsoring admirable building activity on the acropolis and in other cities as well. A comparison of the two separate mentalities underlying the policies that guided the two building programs reveal the changing ideology (if not modes) of the production of urban space or let us say stimulants

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<sup>18</sup> For the political history of the Attalid kingdom, see Strabo, XIII.4.1; Hansen, 15-18 and 159-166; Radt, 1988, 24-41; See also Allen (1983); *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History*. Oxford; Rostovtzeff (1923) "Notes on the Economic Policy of the Pergamene Kings" *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*. W. H. Buckler & W. M. Calder: eds. pp. 359-390; McShane (1964) *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana. I have not seen G. Cardinali (1906), *Il Regno di Pergamo*, Rome. For historical documentation on the subject, Austin, 1981, pp. 192ff.; Welles, 1974, 219ff.; Bagnall and Derow (1981) *Greek Historical Documents*, New York.

<sup>19</sup> Polybius XXIII.11.7; Livy XL.8.14; cited in Hansen, 70.



Figure 54. Mamurt Kale. The sanctuary of the Mother Goddess.  
Elevation of the temple.

of architectural activity. Philetaerian times witnessed earlier modes of shaping of a sacral geography into places of human occupation and secured the archaic mental atmosphere that gave way to the production of social space, the details of which have already been discussed. However the Eumenian building program, the ostentation and grandeur of which has long received the enthusiastic appreciation of architectural historians, has employed architecture as an imperial device of policy and image making<sup>20</sup>.

The time of Philetaerus was marked with a deep concern in the articulation of the city territory which was confined to the central Caicus valley. On the west, the territory under the dynast's jurisdiction was limited with the coastal district at the mouth of Caicus, where Pitane was in control. On the east, it extended up to Nacrasa, the Seleucid fortress (Hansen, 20). This politically defined hinterland of the *polis* was demarcated with several suburban sanctuaries in the time of Philetaerus, following a complicated network of sacred routes into the territory. The sites of most of the embellished cult places were already sacred to the indigenous cults, mainly to the Mother Goddess; and the Philetaerian contribution to these pre-Attalid cult places can be seen as a result of the Attalid respect to the local cultic topography, in a policy to negotiate with the extensive population of the local people in the countryside. The latter were however, banished to the periphery of the civic society with the coming of the Greeks and especially the foundation of a centralized monarchic power.

The building of the most outstanding Pergamene extraurban sanctuary, dedicated to the Mother Goddess, has been ascribed to Philetaerus: the sanctuary of Mater Aspodene at a "wild and inhospitable mountain land on the Yund Dagı" (*Aspodenum*). The site is known as "Mamurt Kale" today and "commands an even wider

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<sup>20</sup> See Hansen (1971) "The Building Activity of the Attalids" in *The Attalids of Pergamon*, pp. 219-274; Pollitt, 1988, 79-110 and 230-247; Allen, 159-177.

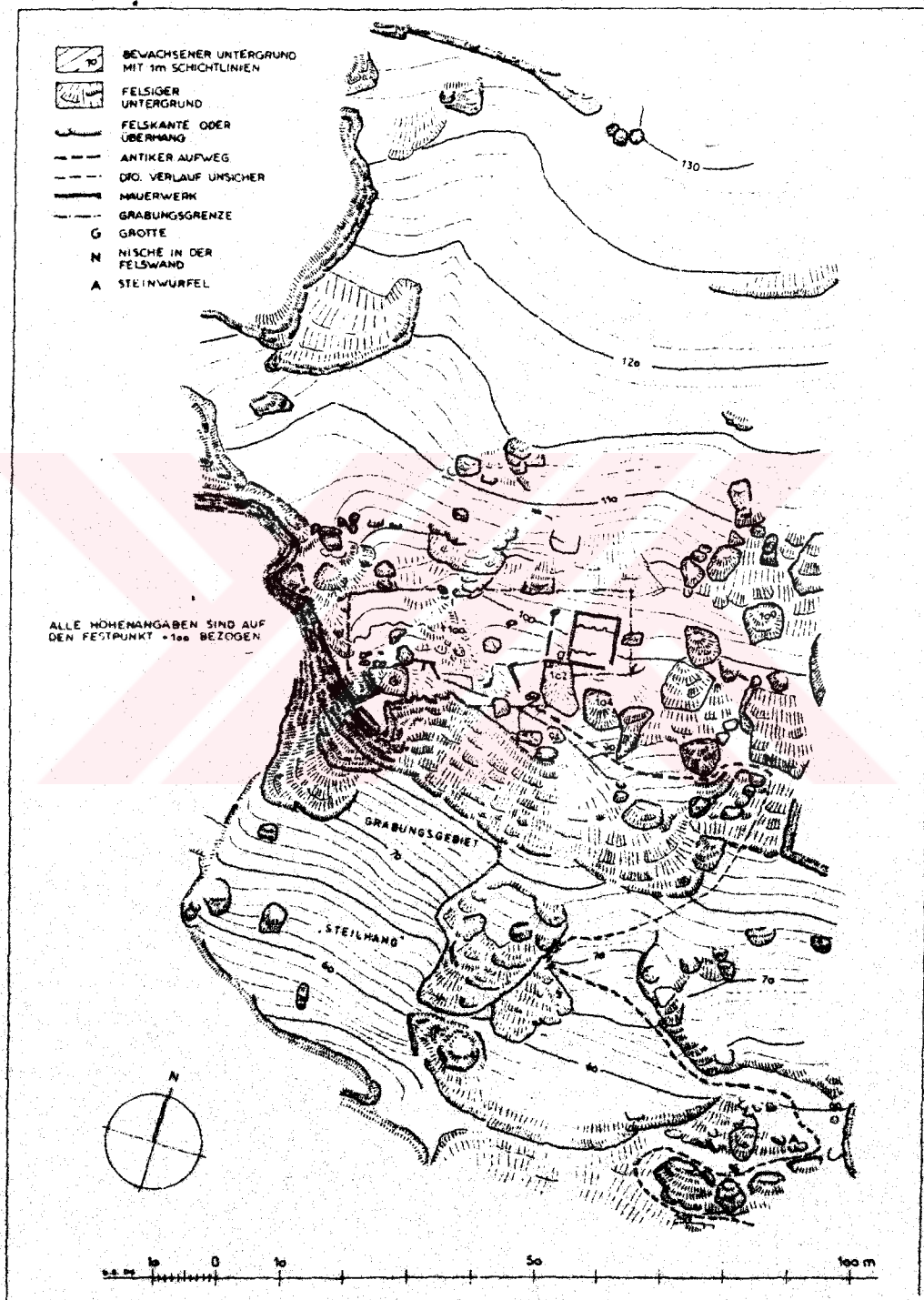


Figure 55. Kapıkaya. Rock-cut sanctuary of Kybele near Pergamum. Site plan.



panorama than the capital itself"<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 53). Archaeologists suggest that there must have been a sacred oak grove adjacent to it. The temple was built of andesite, as an unornamented *temple in antis* with unfluted columns and no sculptural ornamentation on the pediment and the metopes on the frieze (Fig. 54). The stylobate is purposely rusticated. The architectonics of the temple demonstrates an archaizing style of metaphorical allusion to a prelusive architecture on the edge, relevantly *unfinished* for the *unbound* and *savage* character of the goddess. Hansen finds it "not surprising that this temple resembles in some of its details to that of Athena Polias in Pergamon, since both were erected by the founder of the dynasty" (Hansen, 263). A small altar, earlier than the temple prove the pre-Attalid use of the cult place, as much as the multiple prehellenistic terracotta figurines of the goddess found at the site do. Stoa, which were probably built for the pilgrimages of the festival, defined the ritual space around the main altar and the temple.

Another sanctuary dedicated to Kybele was found at the district called *Kapıkaya*, on a high eminence a few kilometers to the north of the acropolis, and looking over the bed of Selinus<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 55). It appears as a rock-cut sanctuary, although very few architectural features were identified. A sacred way probably existed (though archaeologically not yet proven) from the Acropolis to the sanctuary through the Selinus valley. The sanctuary called the *Megalesium* was also a suburban sanctuary of Kybele incorporated into the city walls. Nevertheless archaeological evidence about this cult place is very scarce (Hansen, 226). From the literary evidence, the founding of the sanctuary of Asclepius date back to fourth century BC, even before the foundation of the dynasty. The Sacred Way that connected the sanctuary to the acropolis carried great significance as a paved processional ritual way in

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<sup>21</sup> Hansen, 263; See Conze & Schazmann (1911). *Mamurt-Kaleh: Ein Tempel der Göttermutter unweit Pergamon (Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft IX)*. Berlin.

<sup>22</sup> See K. Nohlen & W. Radt (1977) *Altertümer von Pergamon XII: Kapıkaya. Ein Felsheiligtum bei Pergamon*. Berlin.

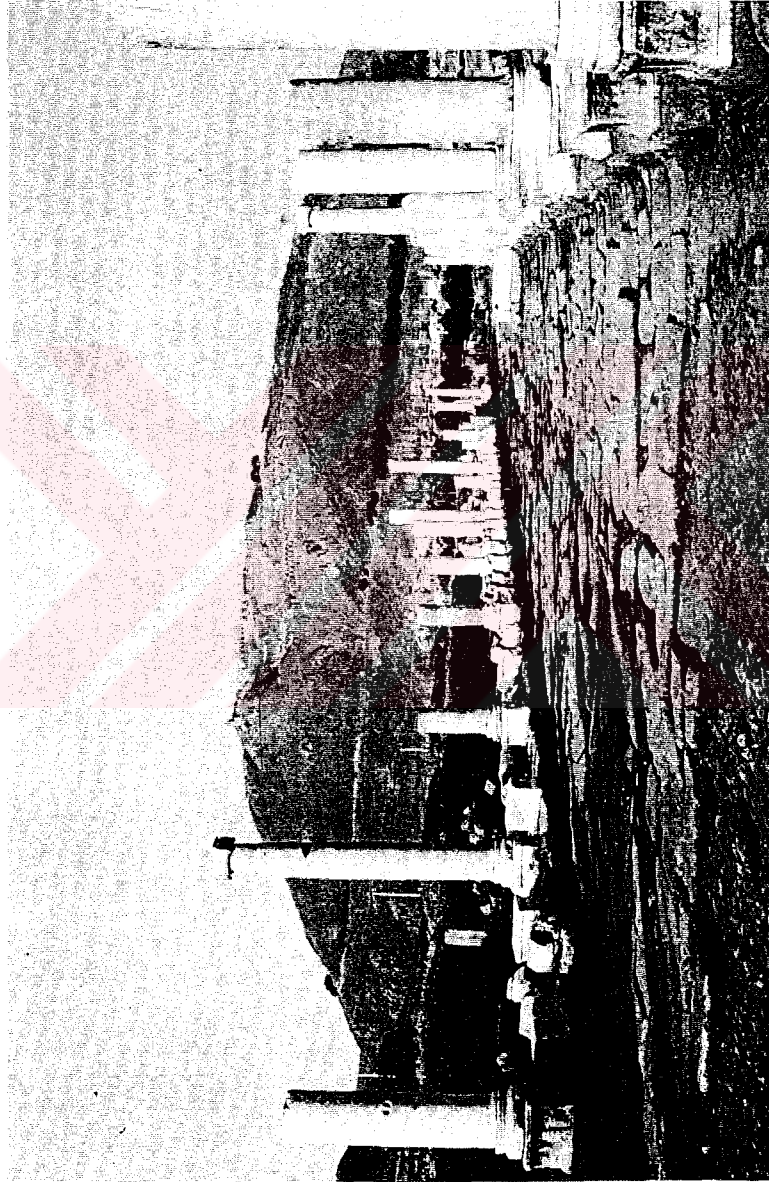


Figure 56. Pergamum. Sacred way from the sanctuary of Asclepius viewing the acropolis.

the third century BC, along which statues were lined<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 56). The oracular sanctuary for the region must have been the one at Yund Dagı, which was dedicated to Apollo Chresterus, very close to the ancient town Aegae. The first architectural building activity here was also ascribed to Philetaerus (Hansen, 263-264).

The urban layout and architecture of the town of Aegae, itself, are found strikingly similar to those of Pergamum, too (Fig. 57). Being built on a similarly impressive dramatic landscape, the urbanistic relation of the major sanctuary to the theater and its terrace repeats the Pergamene scheme. The impressive sustaining walls with buttressing and the stone workmanship on the fortification walls led scholars to think that architects from Pergamum must have planned these buildings (Hansen, 263-266). In the third century BC, the city is claimed to have been under the total economic and political influence of the Attalids and many public buildings here were donated by the Pergamene dynasts. The city was geographically on a very significant position for the Attalids, since it used to control the connection between the Caicus and Hermus valleys.

Therefore, Philetaerus can be regarded as fairly successful in delimiting the Pergamene territory with extraurban sanctuaries and donations to some of the towns in the vicinity. Much effort must have also been spent for the building of the acropolis, since most of the terrace structures, upon which the public buildings were built, are known to have been laid out either before or during his time. Ulrike Wulf indicates that this elementary structure and urban shaping follows an even earlier street system, which could be dated all the way back to the seventh century BC<sup>24</sup>. The urban layout of the whole acropolis has been formulated in the form of interconnected terraces of different level, size and function. Topographical considerations were more

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<sup>23</sup> Wulf (1994) "Der Stadtplan von Pergamon". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44, 135-175. See p. 148 for the Sacred Way.

<sup>24</sup> Wulf, 139. She indicates that a full reconstruction of the Philetaerian city structure is impossible with the present scanty evidence. She also mentions the difficulty to correlate this tissue with the later physical structure for the same reason.

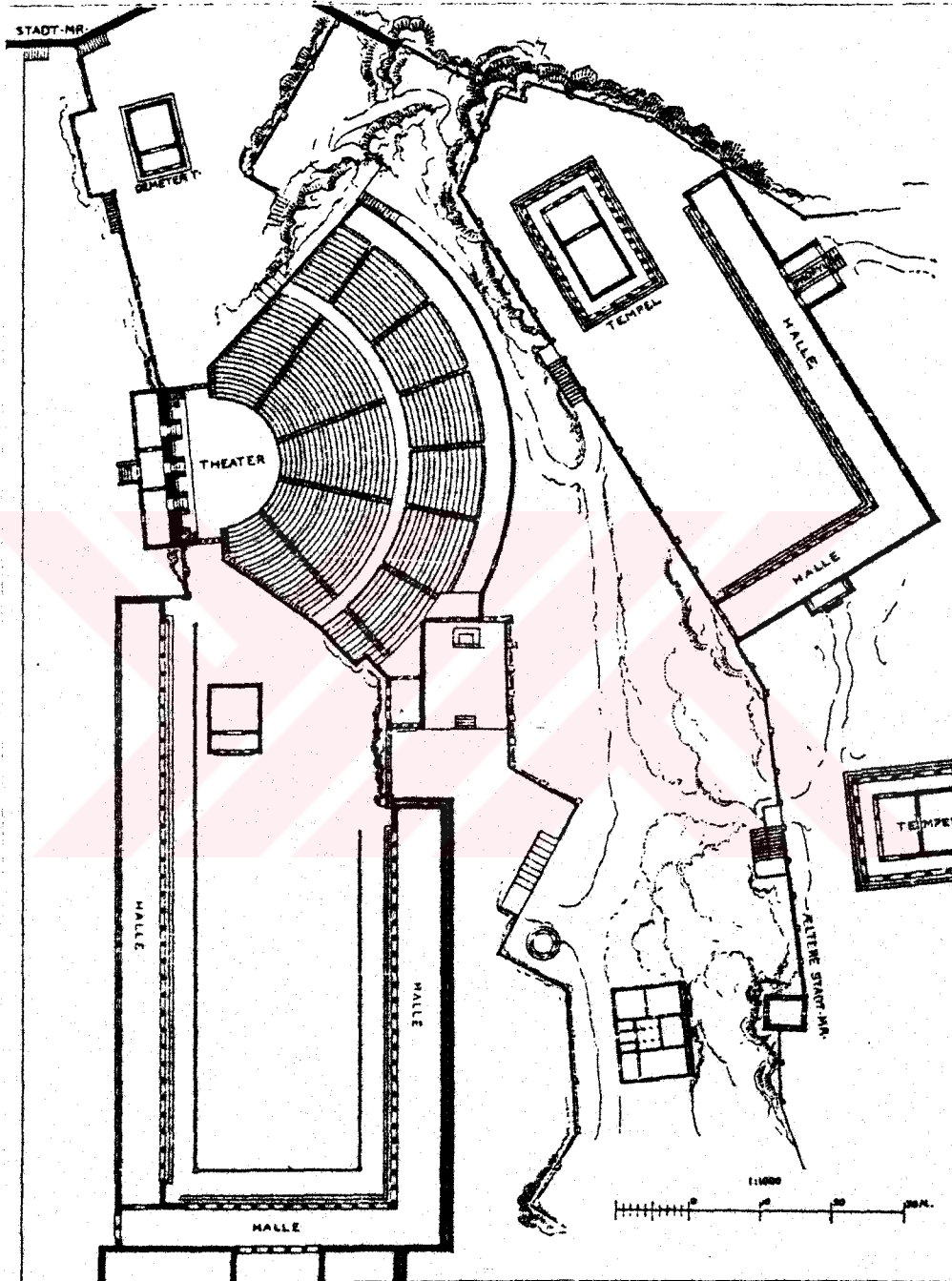


Figure 57. Aegae. Plan of the upper city.

influential on the structuring of the city-scapes than purely functional criteria, unlike the so-called Hippodamian rectangular planning of other Hellenistic cities like Miletus or Priene, which often disregarded topographical constraints (Figs. 58-60). Waterhouse writes:

An inspection of the Pergamum remains with a contour map shows that the elevation, orientation, size and shape of the terraces have been determined perhaps less by functional considerations than by external factors having to do with the spiritual content of the terrain. (Waterhouse, 107).

The sanctuary at the southwest corner of the acropolis was dedicated to the patron deity of Pergamum: Athena Polias Nikephoros and was built by Philetaerus (Figs. 61-64). The implantation of this Athenian cult must be correlated to the political engagement of the Attalids. It was a general policy of the Attalid dynasts to wrap themselves in an active Phil-hellenic identity, "presenting themselves in Greece proper as a worshipper of Greek gods and a benefactor of the great Pan-hellenic festivals"<sup>25</sup>. The famous festival of the Nikephoria at Pergamum, in honor of Athena Polias, is considered to have been instituted by Attalus I, Philetaerus' successor and father of Eumenes II. However its transformation into a great Pan-hellenic festival coincides with the time of Eumenes II<sup>26</sup>. Politics dominated the religious scene of Pergamum after Philetaerus so extensively that "from the reign of Attalus I onwards, Attalid kings [themselves] became the objects of wide and varied cult practice" (Allen, 145). After 188 BC, and with Eumenes II, the kings were actually designated as gods in name.

However the cult of Athena was apparently under the dominant imagery of the long established cult of the Mother Goddess. It has already been indicated that the temple of Athena on the acropolis had striking similarities with the temple of the Mother Goddess at Mamurt Kale. The hexastyle Doric temple of Athena is remarkably unornamented and was also built out of andesite (Fig. 63). The slender and tall proportioned columns of the temple were left unfluted down to Roman

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<sup>25</sup> Rostovtzeff, 1964, 554; See also McShane, 29-42.

<sup>26</sup> See Jones (1974) "Diodoros Paspáros and the Nikephoria of Pergamum", *Chiron* 4; 183-205. Hansen, 407-408.



times and were not even affected by the showy architectural contributions of Eumenes II to the sanctuary<sup>27</sup>. The metopes of the frieze were also unornamented, as no pedimental sculpture has been found.

The sanctuary of Demeter on the southern slopes of the acropolis was constructed by Philetaerus and his brother Eumenes I on behalf of their mother Boa in the second half of the third century BC<sup>28</sup> (Figs. 65-68). It has been inferred that Boa was "a devotee of the Great Mother of Asia Minor" and this sanctuary has been interpreted as "an attempt to introduce into Pergamon an Anatolian mystic cult in Eleusinian disguise"<sup>29</sup>. The site was already sacred to the Mother Goddess and it was replaced with the cult of Demeter. The parallel in their worship has already been dealt with (Supra. III.5). The sanctuary stood immediately outside the city walls before the time of Eumenes II, and could be identified as a peri-urban sanctuary, as Polignac would call it<sup>30</sup>. It was built on the margin of the inhabited area as its ritual content (*Thesmaphoria*) and the community of the initiates (women of the city) would deserve. To the west of the sanctuary a small Ionic temple of andesite has been built in *prostyle in antis* in the usual modesty of a Demeter temple (Fig. 67).

The archaeological and art-historical students of Pergamum have always been excited with the monumental building activity that took place in the time of Eumenes II, while the Philetaerian urban structure, which lacked architectural flamboyance has been disappointing. The reign of Eumenes had brought Pergamum the most extensive territorial expansion, extending from Mysia to Phrygia in the East and Macedonia

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<sup>27</sup> Akurgal, 69; Radt, 1988, 179-190; Bohn (1885), *Altertümer von Pergamon II: Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros*. Berlin; Berve & Gruben, 483-486. Berve & Gruben must have been very surprised at the situation that they wrote: "[I]s it not significant that Eumenes II, who surrounded the city's principal temple... with expensive and showy buildings, did not consider it worth the trouble to have this temple's still unfinished columns fluted?". Berve and Gruben, 484.

<sup>28</sup> Hansen 222-223; Radt, 1988, 206-214; Bohtz (1981), *Altertümer von Pergamon XIII: Das Demeter-Heiligtum*. Berlin.

<sup>29</sup> Hansen, 394; Rostovtzeff, 1964, 611.

<sup>30</sup> Supra III.4; Polignac, 1995, 11-128.

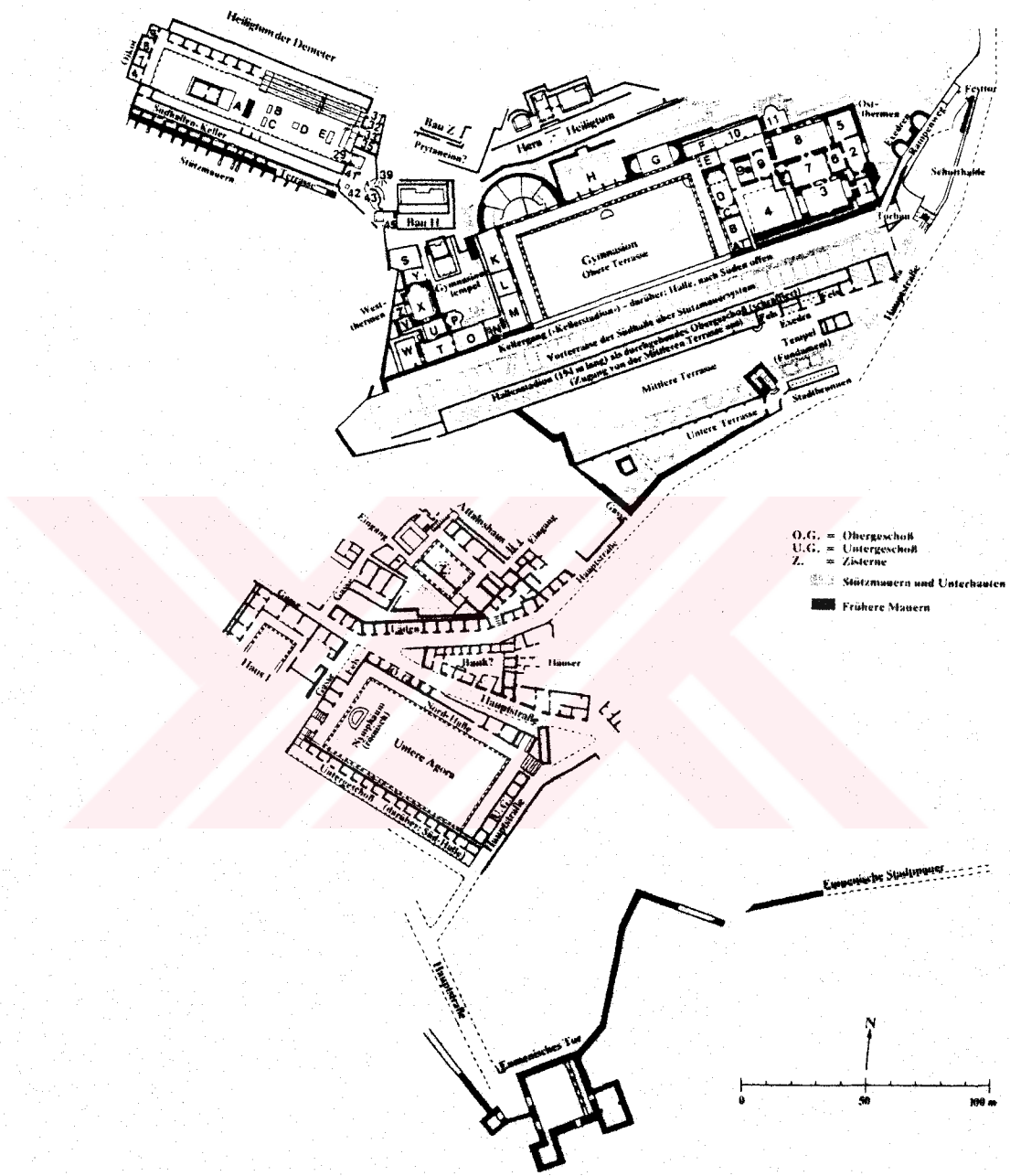


Figure 59. Pergamum. Plan of the lower city. Eumenian urban expansion.



in the West, as well as the islands of Aegina and Andros (Hansen, 159-166). It was no more a *polis* in the Greek sense, that controlled a limited territory and involved in agriculture and cattle-breeding. Pergamum thus became the center of a kingdom, with a growing industry of mining, parchment and textile that provided considerable wealth to the Attalids. The civic festivals in honor of Athena Polias Nikephoros and Dionysus Kathegemon and the multiple *gymnasia* added to the city's fame and wealth, making it a religious and educational center. The architecture of the city received its share from this "enlightening" atmosphere.

The two outstanding interventions of Eumenes II to the urban structure of the city were the extension of the fortifications, which enlarged the *astu* three times and the impressive water supply system, even later admired by the Roman engineers. However, the present discussion will focus on the articulation of the terraces on the acropolis that comprised the urban activities. All terraces were microcosms in themselves, concentrating upon one particular urbane function and accompanied with minor civic affairs. Almost each terrace had its own temple that secured and guided the activity there. For instance, the temple of Hera commanded the lower agora; the temple of Dionysus protected the affairs at the theater terrace; that of Hermes and Heracles guided the middle *gymnasium* and so on (Figs. 59-60). Because of the harsh and steep landscape of the acropolis,

...[A]ll terraces occupy positions at the top edge of a steep incline, just where the terrain abruptly moderates... The tortuous character of the topography therefore creates a broken arc pattern whereby each platform is constructed as an entity, disengaged from the others and leaving the interstices to be taken up with a *poché* of ramps, staircases, embankments, and ancillary buildings (Waterhouse, 108).

None of the terraces could visually communicate with the activity on other terraces, but the only vista that the citizen could have, was the spectacular view of the fertile Selinus and Caicus valleys and the mountains that encircled them. The sacral geography formed the scenographic back-stage of these urban activities. The Eumenian intervention to this setting had been the introduction of extensive



enclosures to these terraces in the form of multistory stoas that cut this visual communication with the cosmic view. These stoas were supported by impressive buttressing walls that enlarged and enhanced the use of the spaces over the terraces. The theater terrace, the terrace of the sanctuary of Demeter and the middle *gymnasium* were supported with such extensive retaining walls. This constructive treatment of city terraces show an interest in increasing the microcosmic quality of the terraces and making the social activity turn inside. It celebrated the individual and his social activity in the theatrical life of the *polis*.

The violent topography of the acropolis was *bound* in this way with a real architectural construction. "The mountain had to be sacrificed to build Pergamum" (Waterhouse, 110). The sacrificial act of the building of the city, as Waterhouse called it, ended up with a considerable violation of the sacral geography. However, through the human interventions, it was brought back to life, just as the victims were reconstructed at the end of the sacrificial rituals. One should remember that George Hersey claimed that the reconstructed victim embellished the face of the buildings as memorials of this important event in the archaic human life (Supra. II.6 and III.3).

#### V.4 THE URBAN DRAMA

The two successors of Philetaerus before Eumenes II, were Eumenes I and Attalus I, who had to deal with the hostile Seleucids and Gauls during their reign. "When Attalus I defeated the Celtic tribe of the Tolistobogii at the springs of the Caicus river", he was not simply overcoming hostilities of the usual sort but acting as the savior and protector of Greek presence in Asia Minor against an "incarnation of barbarian evil seeking to destroy Hellenic civilization" (Hannestad, 19-21). Such hostile confrontations with the "barbarians" provided the Pergamenes a strong sense of identity as a real kingdom and power in

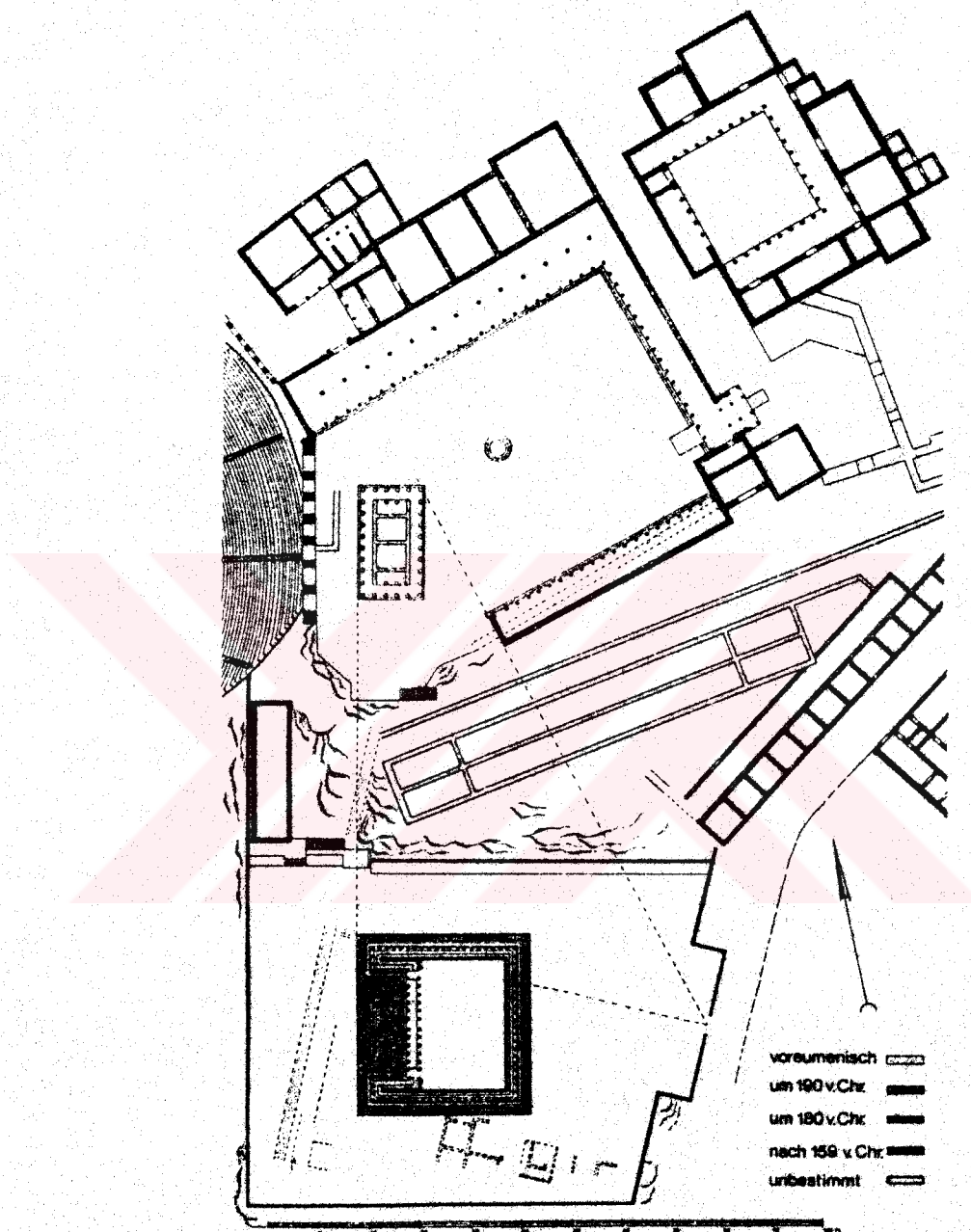


Figure 61. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros and the Great Altar of Zeus. Site plan.

Asia Minor<sup>31</sup>. This is reminiscent of the restoration of the Greek identity for the Athenians after the Persian war, which acted as stimulus for extensive creative activity in architecture, sculpture and drama as well as other arts. Likewise, the Pergamene victories were fully exploited in the fields of art and architecture by erecting impressive memorial monuments on the Pergamene acropolis and in other cities and sanctuaries as donations.

"The most immediate consequence of this outlook was the dedication on the Pergamene acropolis of several large victory monuments with bronze sculptural groups commemorating the defeat of the Gauls" writes Pollitt (1988, 81). The famous sculptures of the "Dying Gaul" and the "Gaul and wife" were ascribed to the reign of Attalus I, and were generally restored as having stood at the sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros<sup>32</sup>. Attalid kings erected similar victory monuments "advertising themselves as victors over Celts", on the Athenian acropolis and the panhellenic sanctuaries at Delos and Delphi (Hannestad, 26). Pollitt indicates that the principal stimuli for the building and the iconography of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum were the Eumenian (II) victories in Bithynia and Pontus (Pollitt, 81).

The stylistic features in these Pergamene sculptural works are revealing to understand the dramatic character of the city's urban architecture. Speaking of primarily the two famous pieces mentioned above (the "Dying Gaul" and the "Gaul and wife"), Pollitt identifies *pathos* and *drama* as the most striking features of both works. The facial expressions exhibit "a kind of animal ferocity" which was "infused

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<sup>31</sup> See Hannestad (1993), "Greeks and Celts: The Creation of a Myth" in *Center and Periphery*. Bilde et al.: eds. Aarhus University Press; 15-38.

<sup>32</sup> The former sculpture is in the Capitoline Museum of Rome while the latter is in the National Museum of Terme in Rome. To carry out this artistic project, Attalus is said to have hired famous sculptors from all over Greece to work under the supervision of Epigonos, a native Pergamene sculptor. Pollitt, 1988, 83-84. See also Hansen (1971) "The Art of Pergamon" in *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 275ff. Where these statues stood is controversial: Schober reconstructs them all to have been exhibited on the round base in the midst of the Athena sanctuary. Hannestad, 22-23 and figures 1-4; Pollitt, 1988, 89. Other scholars place them to the long base at the same court. See Hannestad, fig. 7.

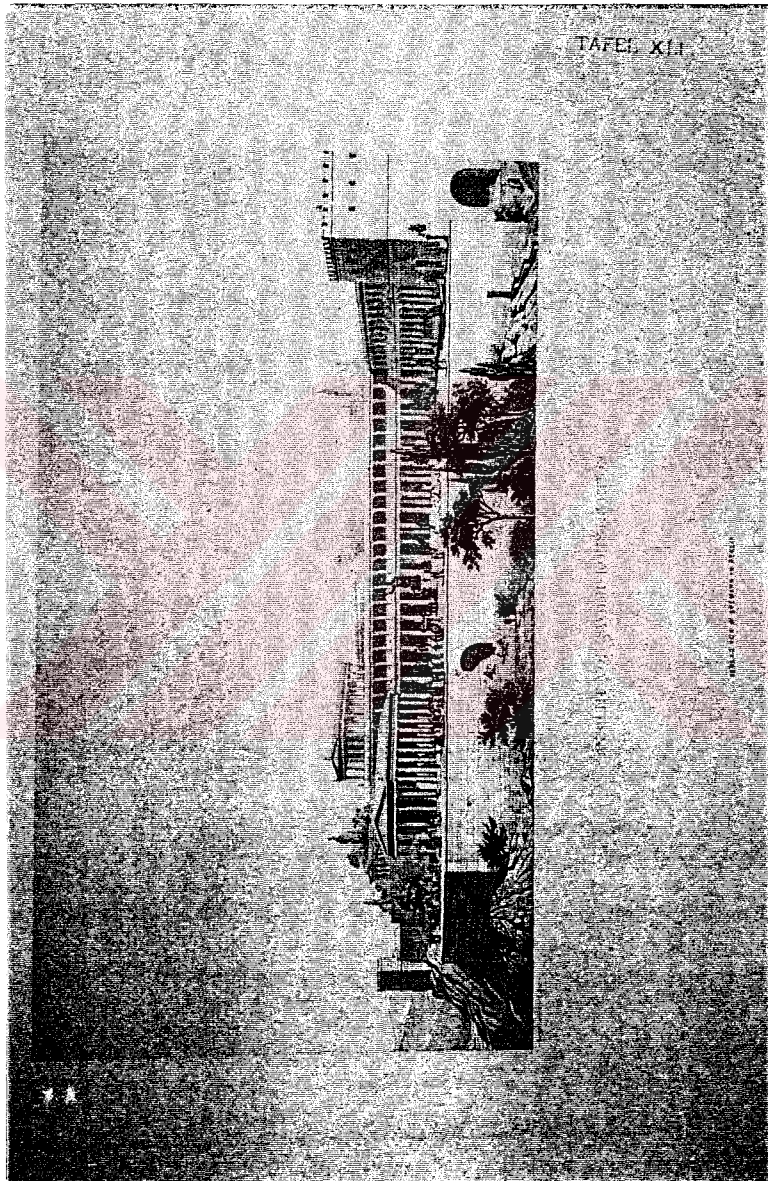


Figure 62. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros. Reconstructed south view.

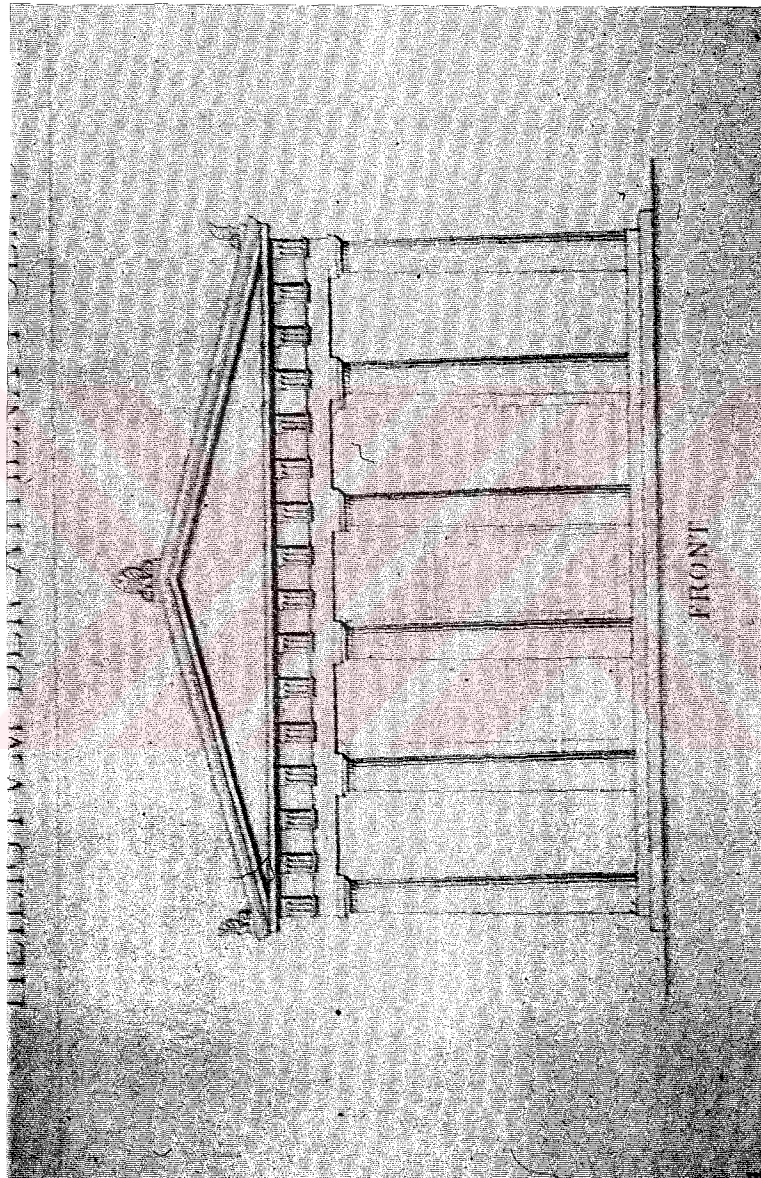


Figure 63. Pergamum. The temple of Athena Polias Nikephoros.  
Reconstructed front elevation.



Figure 64. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros. Relief from the stoa.



with an unusual sort of dignity” of both fear and respect<sup>33</sup>. He deduces an “unrestrainedly pathetic and theatrical quality” in the “magnification and intensification of anatomical features” (Pollitt, 1988, 89). In the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamum, the exaggeration of bodily features and intensification of expressed feelings were “carried to an unparalleled extreme in order to convey the tension of a cosmic crisis” (Pollitt, 1988, 102). Multiple levels of consciousness were depicted in the gestural expressions from proud consciousness to self abandoning in the theatrical depiction of the battlefield. Such excessive depictions of “anguish, tension and crises” as a stylistic device, were to become increasingly peculiar to the Pergamene art (Pollitt, 1988, 86).

The urban architecture on the Pergamene acropolis exhibited a parallel theatricality in the terrace by terrace ascending topography of ingenious collaboration of man-made environment and natural landscape. “Architectural planning was thus used to create a series of stage settings which slowly led one to a dramatic climax”<sup>34</sup>. The ascension in the Pergamene stage-space was performed “almost in a ritual fashion, to successively more elevated (literally and metaphorically) levels of spiritual intensity” (Pollitt, 1988, 231). A series of terraces lead one up, departing with the lower agora —that is associated with the most mundane affairs—, passing through the *gymnasia* of the middle terraces —where physical as well as spiritual training took place—, ending up at the summit —which mainly housed divine powers—. The repertoire of ramps, colonnades, gates, thoroughfares and stairways provide a rhythmic sequence of seeing, losing and refinding vistas.

The terraces of the upper acropolis, each with a divine content, fan around the theater, and magnify the form of the theater on a

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<sup>33</sup> Pollitt, 1988, 86; see also Holloway, 193.

<sup>34</sup> Pollitt (1988), “Hellenistic Architecture: Theatrical and Scholarly Forms” in *Art in the Hellenistic Age*; 230ff.; see also Berve and Gruen (1963), “Pergamum: An Example of Hellenistic Architecture” in *Greek Temples Theaters Shrines*; 481-494; Martin, Roland (1973), “Urban Architecture and Development of Monumental Complexes” in *Hellenistic Art*, Charbonneaux, Martin, Villard, 69-94; Holloway (1972), “The Hellenistic Epilogue” in *A View of Greek Art*, 184-194.

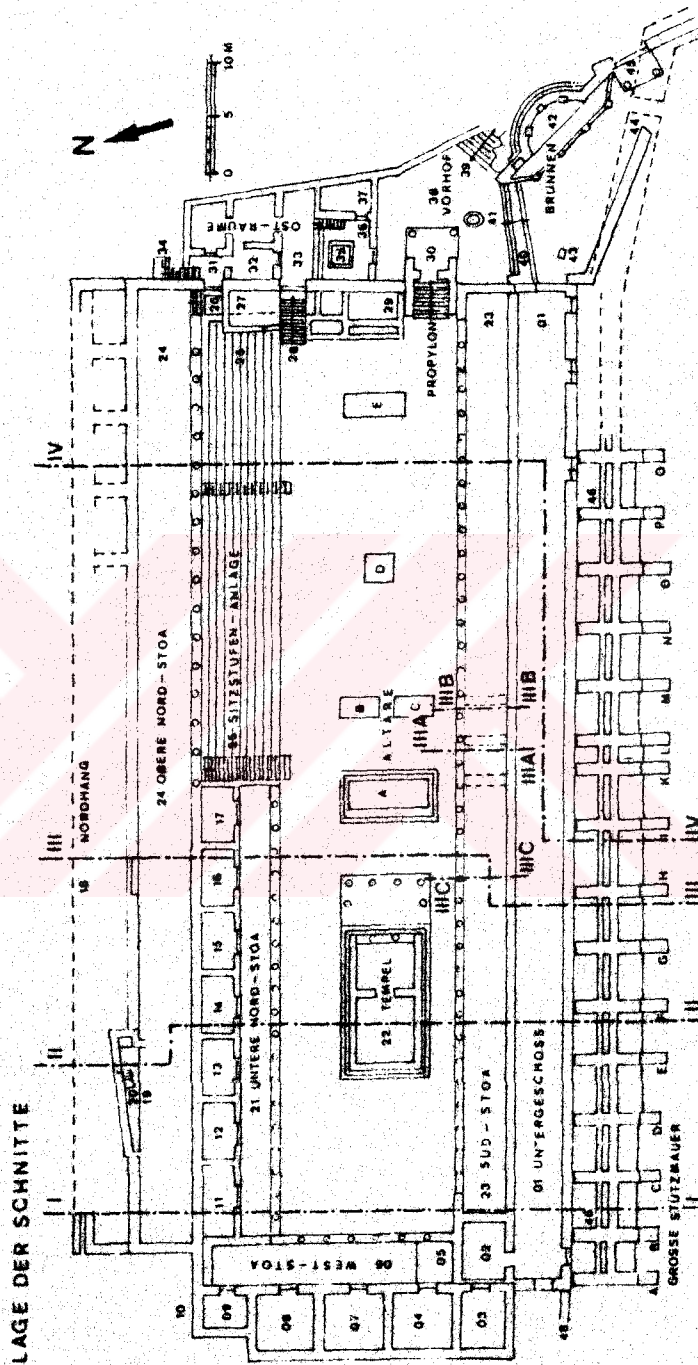


Figure 65. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Demeter. Plan.

giant scale (Fig. 69). This metaphorical allusion of urban theatricality in Pergamum which ended up with such an urban shape in the form of a real theater by incorporating the "spectacularity" of sacral geography, indicate the survival of the idea of theater as social reality, underlying all civic affairs of its society<sup>35</sup>. The cultural identity of the Pergamenes was under the dominant imagery of the Dionysian theater and its allusions in the formulation of the tragic point of view. The revival of Attic tragedy worked for the unfolding of the collective memory perhaps more than any other city in the Hellenistic world. The civic identity that has thus been formulated, however, was certainly different from what went on in the classical (mainland) Greece, but it was based on the *Eastern* character of its native land and culture. The cultic topography of Asia Minor was apparently very influential in the making of this dramatic social identity.

The cult of Dionysus in Pergamum had been connected with the cult of the royal family and the Attalids regarded the divinity as their divine ancestor. Dionysus bore the epithet *Kathegemon* which meant "the Leader and the Guide" (Hansen, 409). Hansen claimed that the cult must have been very ancient on the Pergamene land, indicating its connections with the cultic traditions of the Phrygians. The close relation of the cults of Dionysus (or Bacchus, as named in Asia Minor), Demeter (the Earth-Mother of mainland Greece) and Kybele (the Great Mother of the Phrygians) has already been discussed on the basis of the striking similarities in their cult practices (Supra III.4). The common motives of symbolic associations that the worship of the three divinities comprise, are best illustrated in the dramatic and ecstatic character of their rituals. A relief, which was recently uncovered at Cos, another important center of Dionysiac worship, is revealing in this sense. The unusual scene depicts "to the left... a female with a torch, extending her right hand toward the snake [which crawled out of a *kisté*]; in the middle, a woman, arms outstretched to either side...; to the right, a bearded man stepping on an altar... within a rocky landscape" (Burkert, 1993,

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<sup>35</sup> See above III.3 for a discussion of the idea of *spectacularity* and of *divine*.

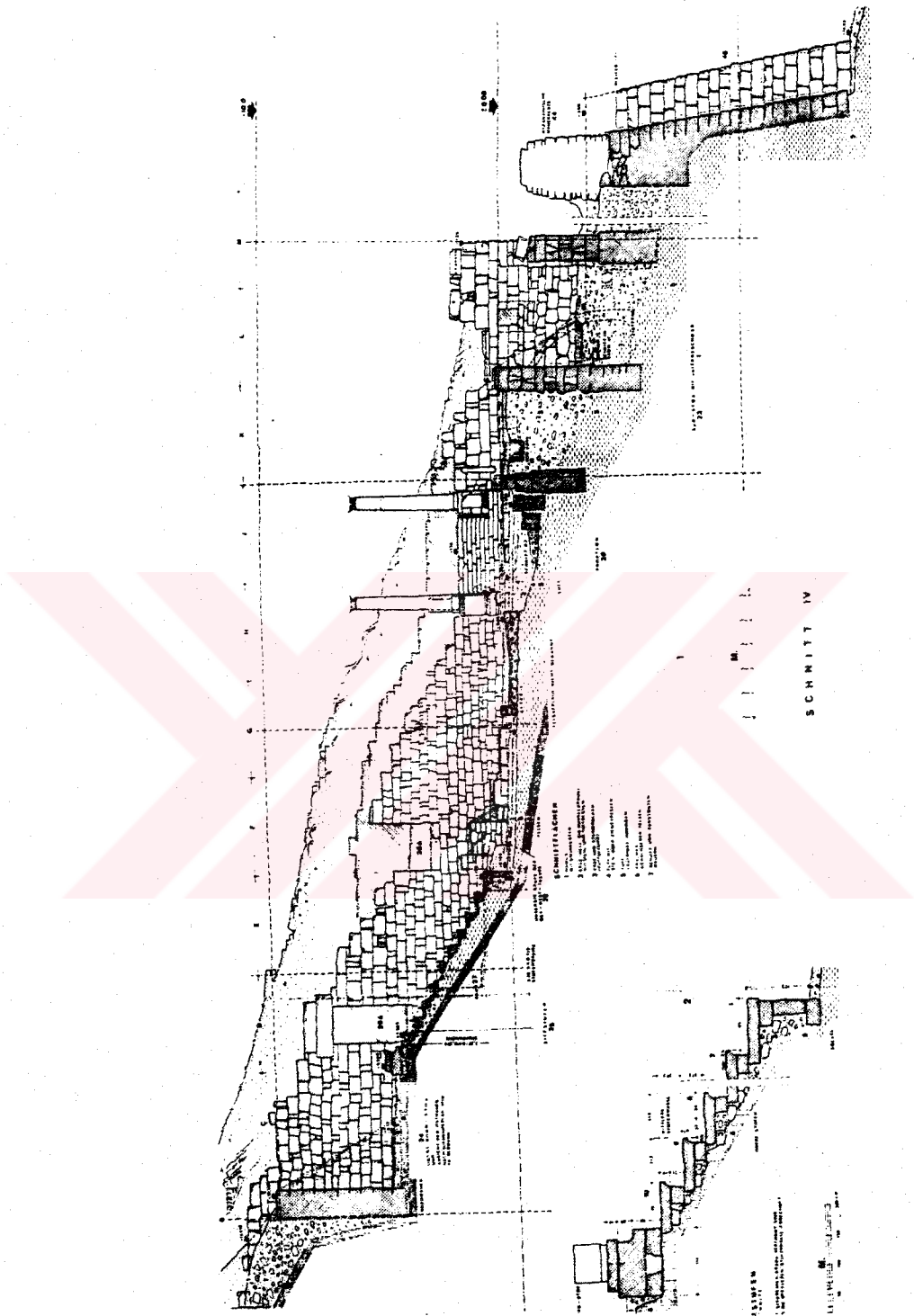


Figure 66. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Demeter.  
 North-south section elevation cutting through the ritual ground  
 and looking east (Section IV on the plan).

272). The scene is interpreted as "Dionysus is purified by Meter in the *Cybelia* mountains and receives his mysteries"<sup>36</sup>.

Walter Burkert cites recent epigraphic evidence that discloses the predecessors of Dionysiac mysteries of the Hellenistic age, the existence of which were controversial before fourth century BC<sup>37</sup>. The itinerant charismatics, who performed special rituals called *teletai*, for curing "various afflictions good for this life and for the Beyond", have wandered all over Greece from sixth century BC to fourth century BC. Burkert claims that these healers used to gather in organized private clubs called *thiasoi* and the primary characteristic of their performances were "the experience of ecstasy" for curing *mania*. His argument rests on the idea that there must have been a transformative correspondence between these early charismatics and the Dionysiac mysteries of the Hellenistic age (Burkert, 1993, 260-261).

The role of the theater in the Hellenistic *polis* became very prominent with the establishment of the civic guilds of Dionysiac theatrical artists, namely *tekhnitai* under the patronage of Hellenistic kings. Burkert writes that "the theater and theatrical life spread everywhere [as] royal parades of the Hellenistic kings" (Burkert, 1993, 261). Pergamum had been one of the most important centers of Dionysiac activities with the long established cult of Dionysus Kathegemon. The guild of Dionysian artists at Pergamum was instituted in the time of Attalus I, and later unified with the guild of the *tekhnitai* at Teos, the tributary city of Pergamum after 188 BC<sup>38</sup>. "The Dionysiac artists modeled their organization on the institutions of the democratic *polis*: they had magistrates and assemblies which passed resolutions,

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<sup>36</sup> Burkert, 1993, 272; quotes O. Benndorf (1884).

<sup>37</sup> Burkert (1993), "Bacchic *Teletai* in the Hellenistic Age" in *Masks of Dionysus*. T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone: eds., London; 259-275.

<sup>38</sup> The full name of the guild at Pergamum was τό κοινόν τῶν περὶ Διόνυσον τεχνικῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσου: translated as "the association of Dionysiac artists of Ionia and the Hellespont and of those under the patronage of Dionysus Kathegemon". Allen, 148-149; Austin, 1981, 215.

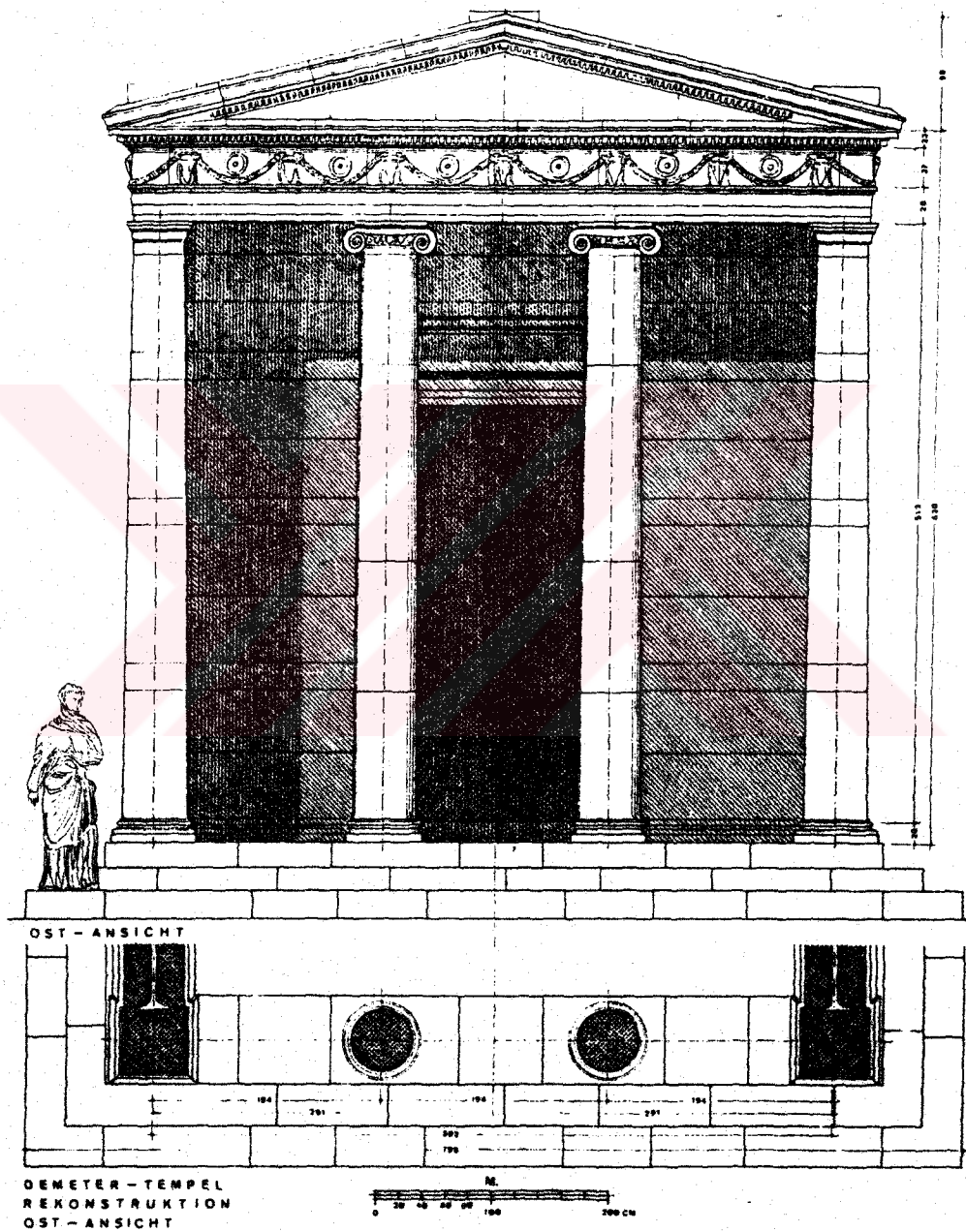


Figure 67. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Demeter.  
East elevation of the temple.

dispatched or received envoys, and dealt with states and rulers as independent sovereign bodies”<sup>39</sup>.

The Dionysia, the civic festival in honor of Dionysus was celebrated in Pergamum biennially with sacrifices, processions (*pompê*) and mysteries. The Dionysiac guild was naturally responsible for the organization of the festivals. Although it may be inferred that the religious content of the festivities was in gradual decline in the Hellenistic period from the professionalized image of the guilds of the theatrical artists; it is proved that the *telestaic* performances survived down to late antiquity. A late document from Amastris, Pontus, dated to 155 AD, requires attention at this point. The document reports an athlete who won victories “with satyr dance (*saturōi*) at Cyzicus and Pergamum” (Burkert, 1993, 266). Burkert infers that “theatrical dance, an official festival of Dionysus and mystic professionalism” went together (Burkert, 1993, 267).

Not only the tragic plays recalled the ancestral memory of the society in these well-organized festivals, but the surviving archaic ritual customs were occasionally emancipated in the context of the religious worlds of cultic marginalities in Pergamum. Therefore such bursts of collective memory disclose the back-stage of the Hellenistic civilization from time to time in civic festivals and imperil the well-formulated institutions of the *polis*. That is why, despite all “the grandeur and hubris”, the architecture of the citadel of Pergamum “reveals other qualities echoing back to the spirit of reconciliation that so affected archaic and classical building practices” (Waterhouse, 107).

The urban layout of the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamum is illustrative in this sense as a perfect stage-space for the rites of Demeter during the *Thesmaphoria* (Figs. 65-66). The entrance to the sanctuary was through a propylon, outside of which there was a small plaza where the initiates should have stopped for purification at the sacred fountain and preliminary sacrifices at the sacrificial pit (*eschara*),

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<sup>39</sup> Austin, 1981, 215. See also Welles, no 53, pp. 219-237, for the “Letter of Eumenes II to the Guild of Dionysiac Artists Concerning their Relations with the City of Teos”.



Figure 68. Pergamum. The sanctuary of Demeter. Buttrressing walls.



just like what happened at the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. The entire setting was centralized at the altar (*bomos*); and a modest Ionic *temple in antis* accompanied it to the west<sup>40</sup>. Along its northeast side overlooking the sacrificial ground in front of the temple, stepped seats were provided for eight hundred initiates who would watch the dramatic performances at the court. The stepped seats that lean over the citadel hill give us the perfect idea of the primordial function of the *cavea* of theaters in antiquity, as we have earlier seen its parallels at the sanctuary of Kybele at Pessinus and the sanctuary of Demeter at Korinthos.

The impressive buttressing structure at the south edge of the sanctuary which supported the entire terrace, made it possible to build a two-story stoa that defined the south line of the *temenos* in the early years of the reign of Eumenes II. The basement that runs the entire length of the stoa, which is lower than the ritual ground level of the *temenos* because of the steep fall in the terrain, came out to be a long and dark corridor and had doors opening to south. The function for the space is still controversial. However, it may be probable to assign a religious function to it, which would perfectly fit the mysterious rites of Demeter that required dark and unearthly spaces symbolizing the underworld.

The most sophisticated urban complex of the entire city scape unquestionably appears to be the theater terrace. The orientation of the four upper terraces of the acropolis spectacularly point out the impressively steep theater building as the focal point for the layout of the whole city, as an architectural allusion to the centrality of the idea of theater in the civic life and collective identity of the *polis*. The great system of supporting walls which the *cavea* of the theater overlook, seem to retain this spectacular bow, the entire upper acropolis.

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<sup>40</sup> On the temple, "a marble frieze extend[ed] above the wall architrave and decorated with bulls' skulls between which hung festoons" (Berve & Gruben, 490). The temple apparently commemorates the sacrificial rituals performed in honor of Demeter. *Supra* II.6.

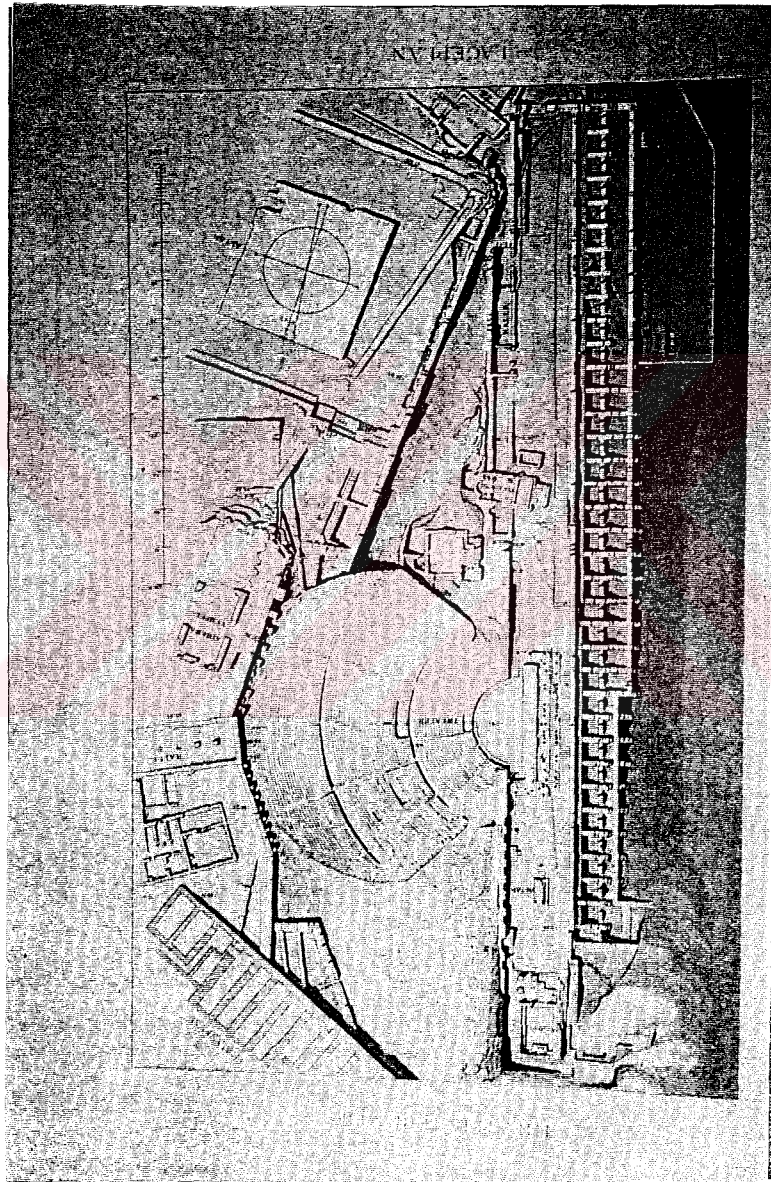


Figure 69. Pergamum. Theater terrace. Plan.

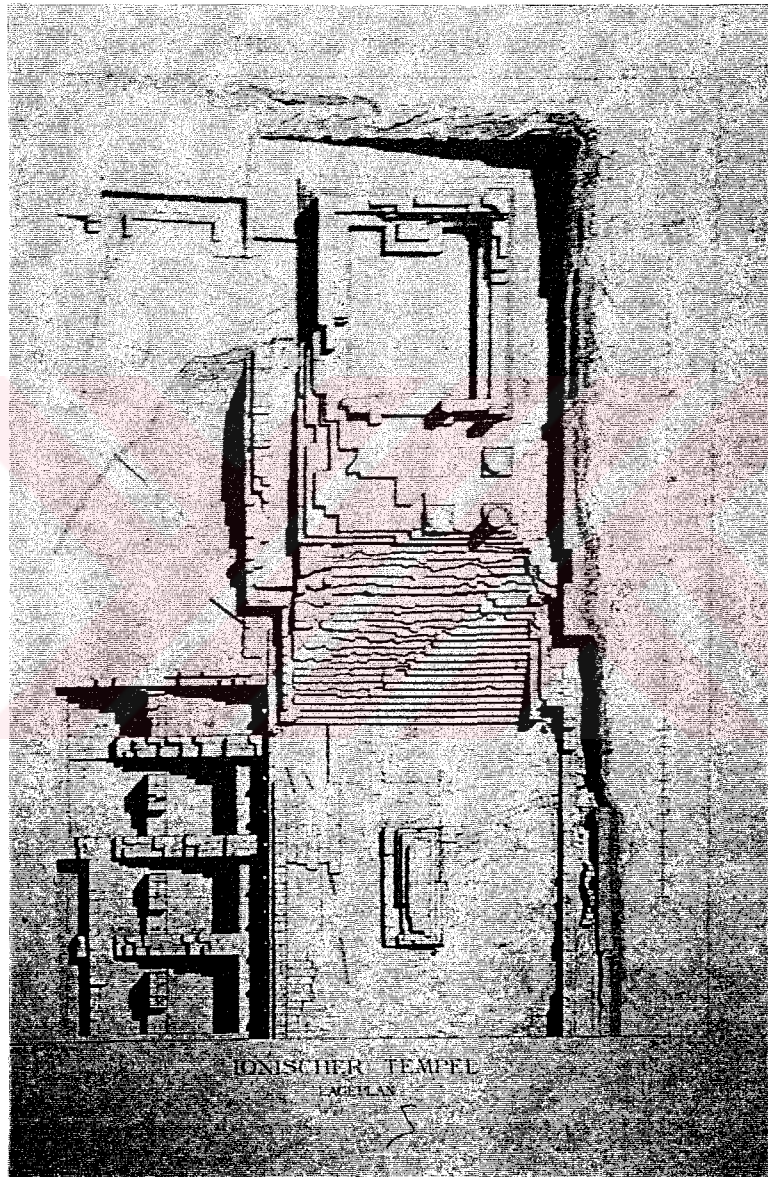


Figure 70. Pergamum. Theater terrace. Ionic temple. Plan.

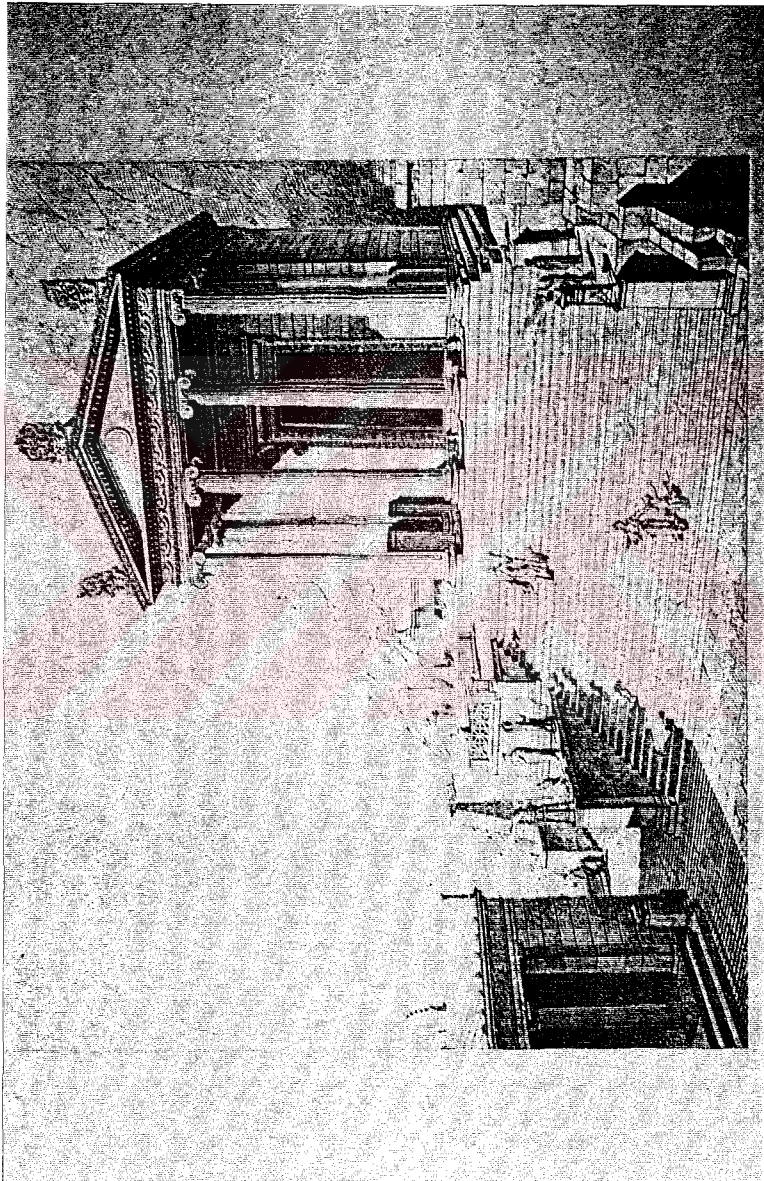


Figure 71. Pergamum. Theater terrace. Ionic temple. Reconstruction.

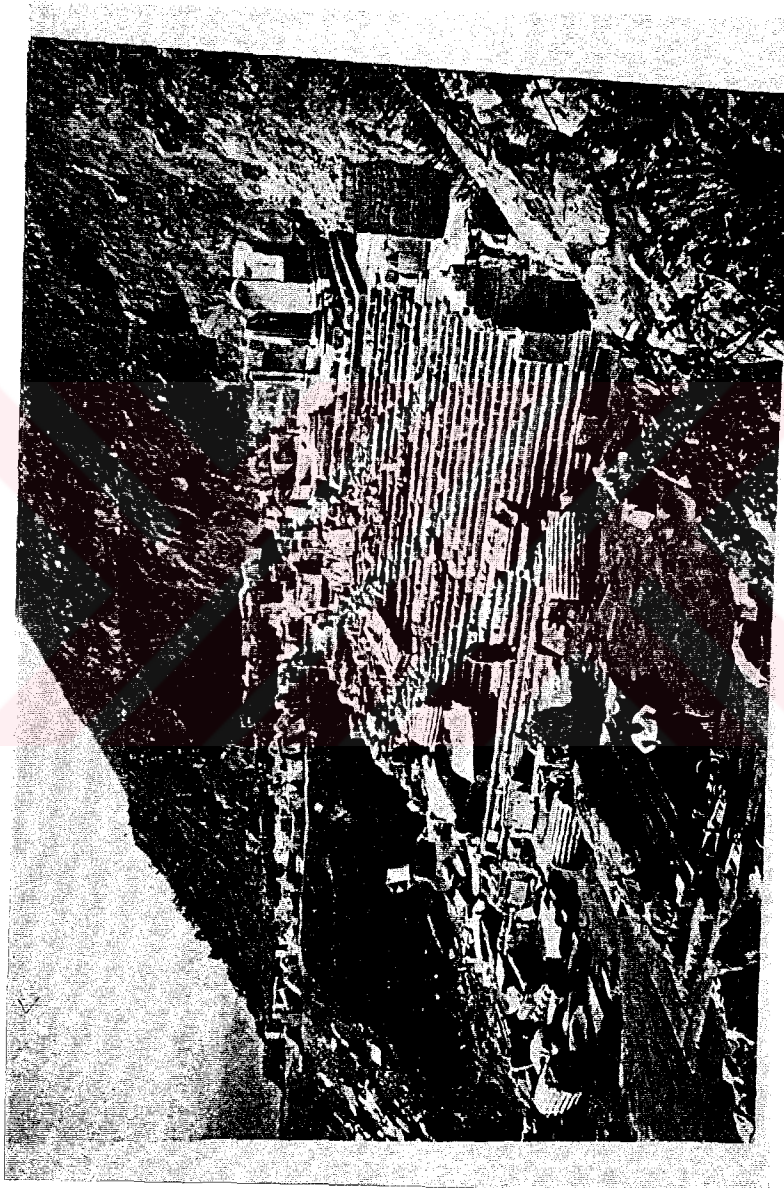


Figure 72. Pergamum. Theater terrace. Ionic temple. View of the remains from south.

Long before the actual construction of the theater building, the Pergamenes had a natural, steep auditorium, with a dancing ground (*orchestra*) at the bottom. Hansen reports that wooden seats were used to articulate the natural slope before Eumenes II and the replacement of these wooden seats with stone blocks "embedded in the ground" was included in the Eumenian building program (Hansen, 225). Contemporary with this wooden auditorium is the wooden stage building. On the foundations of the stage building, are three rows of holes, in which the wooden posts of the *skene* was inserted. Archaeologists are now sure that this *skene* building was removed after the performances, based on several evidences concerning the construction details<sup>41</sup>. Because of the unrivaled steepness of the theater, no stage building could block the view of the spectator, not even the unfortunate ostentatious marble stage building, erected after 133 BC, the traces of which are not visible today.

The narrow platform that line up parallel with the natural slope, forms the base of the abrupt fall of the terrain from the level of the sanctuary of Athena. The platform was supported by the western buttressing and had actually served as a processional way in the festivals of Nikephoria an Dionysia. At its southeast end, there stood perhaps one of the earliest structures of the acropolis: a small *propylon* which welcomed the initiates of Dionysus, who took the frequently used paved street, connecting the terrace to the southwest face of the sanctuary of Demeter, *from outside the Philetaeric wall*. The sacred procession which would end up with the sacrifices at the orchestra of the theater and the altar of Dionysus, chose the way *from outside* the domain of civilization. The magnificent view of the entire Selinus valley and the mountains across must have accompanied the initiates on the platform, at least before Eumenes II had built the stoa along the western edge of the alley.

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<sup>41</sup> For the detailed explanation, see Hansen, 225-226; Radt, 1988, 286ff.; Berve and Gruben, 489-490; Bohn (1896). *Altertümer von Pergamon IV: Die Theater-Terrasse*. Berlin.

The processional alley on the terrace *conclude* (rather than ending up) with the altar and impressive temple of Dionysus at the northern end of the terrace platform (Fig. 70-72). The temple is a tetrastyle Ionic temple on "an imposing flight of twenty five steps" and leaning to impressive and steep bedrock (Hansen, 257). Although the present remains belong to the Roman period, much of its details indicate that it is a reconstruction of the Attalid original. The unusually exaggerated details of the temple with its giant architectural corpus with a simple plan can easily be associated with the anomalous ill-tempered character of Dionysus.

Considering the longitudinal platform as a sacred processional way which was directed to the Dionysian cult place, passing through a mind-moving sacral landscape, perfectly explains the ingenious but enthusiastic concern of the Attalids in designing a removable stage building for the theater. When it was erected in its place, the stage building would normally block the processional way. During the festivals of the city Dionysia or in other minor occasions of sacrificial rituals to be performed at the altar of Dionysus in front of the temple, the stage building of the theater would be removed. Thus, the *cavea* and the *orchestra* of the theater instantly returned to its archaic function: the former to be the seats for the spectators of the dramatic rites and sacrifices to be performed in the cult place; and the latter to be the dancing place for ritual performances. In this way, therefore, the theater terrace actually repeats the architectural scheme in the sanctuary of Demeter.

The point of utmost importance here is the reciprocal relation of the two instances: *the theater of the civilized polis* versus *the unearthly sacrificial ritual*, where savagery and violence dominated the urban scene and all entrusted values of civilized life were suspended. The *bound* nature of the *polis* is suddenly emancipated to the primordial state of the *unbound*. The exciting peculiarity of Pergamum becomes explicit here: the very existence of a self-conscious society owed a lot to the dialectic and tidal relationship of the *civilized* and the *savage*, presence

of the entire citizens and the collective past of the city. The tension between these two poles defined the identity of the *polis* society as well as the architecture of the city.





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## APPENDIX

### GLOSSARY OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS

*agalma* [pl. *agalmata*]: cult image.

*agōn*: contest, debate.

*agros*: field.

*ἄλωγ*, [*alos*]: threshing floor.

*alsos*: sacred grove

*altis*: sacred grove.

*anathema* [pl. *anathemata*]: votive offerings set up in a sanctuary.

*arachné*: spider.

*archaion agalma*: the archaic and most sacred wooden image of a divinity.

*architekton*: master carpenter.

*apeirōn*: boundless; uncrossable.

*apoikai*: Greek colonial settlement with an agricultural hinterland.

*astū*: central habitation in the city-state.

*asylia*: Pan-hellenic or inter-state institution that secured the inviolability of representatives.

*asylon* [neutral of *asylos*]: inviolable.

*aulos*: a flute like musical instrument of Phrygian origin, which was used at rituals.

*backhoi*: participant in the orgies of Bacchus.

*baetyl*: aniconic stone of veneration.

*basis*: feet; column base.

*βωμος*; see *bomos*.

*bomos*: altar.

*cavetto* [Latin]: concave moulding.

*chora*: city territory.

*choros*: dancing floor.

*chronos*: time.

*daidalon* [pl. *daidala*]: roughly carved cult image made out of a tree.

*daidallein*: the act of supreme craftsmanship, likened to that of Daidalos.

*demiorgos* [pl. *demiourgoi*]: itinerant craftsman

*daimon*: divinity, evil spirit.

*demos*: people of the *polis*.

*eidolon*: double.

*emporion*: trading post.

*entasis*: tension, straining exertion; optical refinement in architecture.

*entheos*: filled with god.

*enthousiasmos*: inspired or filled with god.

*ephemeris*: ephemeral.

*eschara*: sacrificial pit or hearth on earth.

*eschatia*: boundary estate.

*έσχάρα*: see *eschara*.

*έσχάτια*: see *eschatia*.

*ethnos*: nation, people.

*euchai*: prayer.

*geōgraphia*: to describe the earth's surface.

*hagios*: sacred.

*hekatompodon*: hundred foot; expression used for early temples of hundred foot at length.

*herma* [pl.]: herm, boundary marker.

*hestia*: sacred hearth.

*hieron asylon*: inviolable precinct.  
*histon*: loom.  
*hysterikos*: suffer in the womb.

*katharsis*: purification.  
*keres*: ghostly, dreadful, ill-shaped spirit or sprite.  
*kolossos*: column like image.  
*κολοσσοσ*: see *kolossos*.  
*kosmos*: arrangement, law and order, social or universal order; an orderly harmonious universe.  
*kosmein*: making beautiful  
*kosmesis*: adornment.  
*krisis*: decision.

*logos*: speech, argument, reason, language, cunning.  
*lygos*: willow tree.

*mania*: madness.  
*metropolis*: mother city.  
*miasma*: defilement.  
*μιμεσις*: see *mimesis*.  
*mimesis*: imitation.  
*mimisma*: mimetic copy.  
*mimos*: dramatic imitation of animals.  
*monopteros*: building with a single peripteral colonnade.  
*mousiké*: music and poetry performed together; any art presided over by the Muses.

*numen* [Latin]: divine will.

*oikos*: family.  
*oikoumenê*: inhabited world.  
*oikist*: city founder.  
*Ōkeanos*: a river thought of as encircling the earth.  
*ololugé*: a yodel-like cry of women at the moment of slaughter in a sacrificial ritual  
*omphalos*: the convex navel stone at Delphi that marked the center of the inhabited world.

*plêthōra*: fullness.  
*peribolos*: wall that encircled a *temenos*.  
*periodos gês*: round-the-earth journey; map of the earth.  
*periteros*: colonnade all around a building.  
*peplos*: robe.  
*pharmakon*: civic purificatory ritual.

*pharmakos* [pl. *pharmakoi*]: victim of the ritual *pharmakon*.

*phûsis*: nature  
*phûsis apeirōs*: the boundless nature  
*physiognōmonia*: judging character by the features.  
*plêthōra*: fullness.  
*poiêsis*: creation.  
*polis* [pl. *poleis*]: city state.  
*pomerium* [Latin]: boundary.  
*pompé*: sacred procession.  
*prytaneion*: building which preserved the Sacred Hearth and Sacred Fire in ancient Greek city.

*rhythmos* [pl. *rhythmoi*]: rhythm

*sanctum* [Latin]: sacred.  
*sanis*: plank.

*σχοτια* [schotia]: moulding on the column base that achieve horizontal shadows.  
*simulacrum* [Latin]: imitation.  
*stoa*: portico with rooms or simply walled at the back, and generally used for sheltered promenade, shopping or storage.  
*symmetria* [Latin; from Greek *symmetros*, symmetrical]: symmetry.  
*symposion* [pl. *symposia*]: sacred banquet, sacrificial meal.

*τεχναι* [technai]: see *techné*  
*τεχνη* see *techné*  
*techné* [pl. *technai*]: art, craft.  
*telos*: end  
*temenos* [pl. *temena*]: sanctuary  
*theá*: goddess.  
*théa*: spectacle.  
*thesmaphoria*: a festival of Demeter.  
*theoroi*: seer; civic representative in a foreign sacred festival.  
*theos*: god.  
*θεος*: see *theos*.  
*thusia*: sacrifice.  
*topos* [pl. *topoi*]: place  
*torus* [Latin]: convex profile as the lowest moulding at the base of a column.  
*ξαβδοι* [pl.]: rods, staves, wands; flutes of a column.

*xoanon* [pl. *xoana*]: something  
scraped; wooden cult statue

