TEMPLES OF APOLLO AT DIDYMA AND KLAROS IN IONIA AS THE CENTERS FOR THE ORACULAR AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

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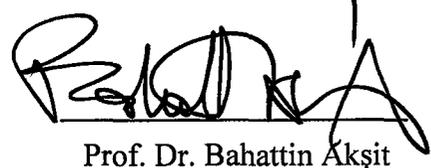
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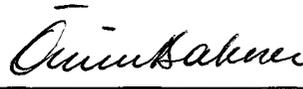
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ABSTRACT

THE TEMPLES OF DIDYMA AND KLAROS IN INONIA AS CENTERS OF ORACULAR AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

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The oracle was inevitably related with politics in the ancient Greece. This study, in this respect, first of all analyses the oracle social and political dimensions of oracular centers and their architectural reflections. Architecture has always been related with the politics, as was Greek architecture. The Greek temple architecture was also interpreted as a 'show case' for the *polis* and its governors. However, this relationship between politics and architecture in ancient Greece would have become most apparent in the oracular sanctuaries. In this study, the special significance of oracular sanctuaries was highlighted in this sense.

Two unique examples from Asia Minor, the Temples of Apollo at Didyma and Klaros were examined to illustrate how such an influence was materialized in temple architecture of Ionia where a significantly different kind of social and political conditions at work compared with mainland Greece.

Keywords: Oracle, Oracle and Politics, Architecture and Politics

ÖZ

KÜÇÜK ASYA KEHANET VE POLİTİKA AKTİVİTESİ MERKEZLERİ: DIDYMA VE KLAROS TAPINAKLARI

Soyöz, Ufuk

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

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Eski Yunan'da kehanet ve politika doğrudan ilişkili idi. Bu açıdan, bu çalışma, öncelikle kehanetin sosyal ve politik boyutlarını ve bunların mimari yansımalarını incelemektedir. Mimarlık her zaman politika ile ilişkili olmuştur; ve Eski Yunan mimarisi de politika ile yakından ilişkilidir. Örneğin, Eski Yunan tapınak mimarisi *polis* ve yöneticileri için bir tür güç gösterisi olarak yorumlanabilir. Fakat, Eski Yunan'daki mimarlık ve politika ilişkisi kehanet merkezlerinde daha da belirgin bir hale gelir. Bu çalışmada kehanet merkezlerinin özel önemi bu bakış açısından aydınlatılmaktadır.

Küçük Asya'dan iki özel örnek, Didyma ve Klaros'taki Apollo tapınakları, bu tür bir ilişkinin, Yunan Anakarası ile karşılaştırıldığında farklı sosyal ve politik koşulların etkili olduğu Küçük Asya'da, tapınak mimarisinde nasıl ifade bulduğunu göstermek için incelendi.

Keywords: Kehanet, Kehanet ve Politika, Mimarlık ve Politika.

To my mother

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Themis, a mythical forerunner of the Pythia, seated on a tripod and holding a spray of laurel, prophesying to Aegeus, king of Athens. Aegeus, who was inquiring about his lack of children, later fathered Theseus. Athenian vase, about 440 B. C.

1

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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 and 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.[1]

Today, writing the history of art and architecture necessitates a different way of looking at the supposed cultural phenomenon under concern than any time before. The positivist definition of architectural history, as a colossal project of totally objective reconstruction, has for a long time accused of being outmoded because of its reductionism.

The contemporary literature on architectural history, therefore, does not seem to attempt to claim such a tremendous assertion and so suggesting such a sense of completeness. Rather, it remains in the form of isolated interpretations, interpretive as much as scientific. This new approach distinguishes by its interdisciplinary approach, utilizes various categories of information provided by various disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, economics, politics and the like. It also encourages intertextuality between various historical narratives, which are literary or in other fields of creative production. In these ways, the other relevant and additional clues open up for the perusal of the

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[1] Numa Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws and Institutions of Greece and Rome*, 1991, cited in Harmanşah, p.1.

architectural historian and thus new viewpoints emerge for historical reconstruction and interpretation.

The widespread concern in myth as a result of these discussions has also been consequential in the recapitulation of ancient Greek society. One of the significant subjects of this review had been transhistoricity of the Greek myth, like that of their art. Greek myths, unlike the pseudo-myths of modern society, were true expressions of society's striving for existence, an "encoding of the society's concept of truth".[2] In the modern society myth exists as the opposite of truth. However, for the ancient Greeks, myth and ritual were the true expressions of their existence; in other words, myth and ritual represented efforts to anchor themselves to the world. Thus, in ancient Greek society, myth and ritual embodied the creative impulse for the aesthetic basis of living and art.

For the ancient Greeks, myth and ritual were the ultimate bridge between them and their gods. They were the means of transition between the temporal and the eternal, the mortal and the immortal, and the tension between life and death, human and god, permanence and flight. The oracle was one of these rituals, in which ancient Greek society's striving to anchor itself to the religious world of divinities had been most powerfully felt. It was the only means of direct access to the divine world for the Greeks to learn the will and advice of the gods.

This particular study, which tries to establish its basis on this area of discussions, has the specific aim to investigate the social and political dimensions of oracular centers and its architectural reflections. An already illustrated picture of oracle, by the positivist point of view, as a magical exception to the normal and rational conduct of community affairs is obviously a falsified one. Nowadays, recent studies have concentrated upon the fact that, it was–at least on some occasions- a regularly used tool for decision making within the state institution.

Indeed, the same type of intelligibility was at work both in human words in assembly, and the god's words at in the oracle. Decision-making in the assembly was based on the procedures of verbal discussion that derived from a kind of rhetorical and dialectical rationality. It was based on a logic of persuasive

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[2] D. Pozzi & J. M. Wickersham (eds.), *Myth and the Polis*, 1991, vii; quoted in Harmanşah, 3.

3

argument, which seems wholly alien in its principles and spirit to the divinatory mentality. However, one of the significant roles of the oracle, which was quite similar to the situation in the debates of the assembly, was to fix an order of preference between possible choices, or to sanction already formulated solutions for critical problems of community in order to enable leaders to establish a consensus of opinion.

This new kind of definition of the function of oracle inevitably opens up the debate of interrelationships between the oracle and politics in ancient Greece. The oracle was eventually interrelated with politics because of the similarity of the type of rationality employed in the oracle and assembly.

The aim of the present study is to find out how the architecture of these oracular centers might have been influenced by the political activity inherent in the phenomenon of the oracle. Architecture has always been related with politics, as was Greek architecture. There are scholarly interpretations of the Greek temple as a public "show case" for the *polis* and its governors. However, one would expect that this interrelationship of politics and architecture is most apparent in the oracular sanctuaries of Greeks. This study intends to highlight the special significance of oracular sanctuaries in this sense.

An architectural interpretation of temples of Apollo and Klaros will be examined to illustrate how such an influence was expressed in temple architecture of Ionia where a significantly different kind of political situations were at work compared with mainland Greece.
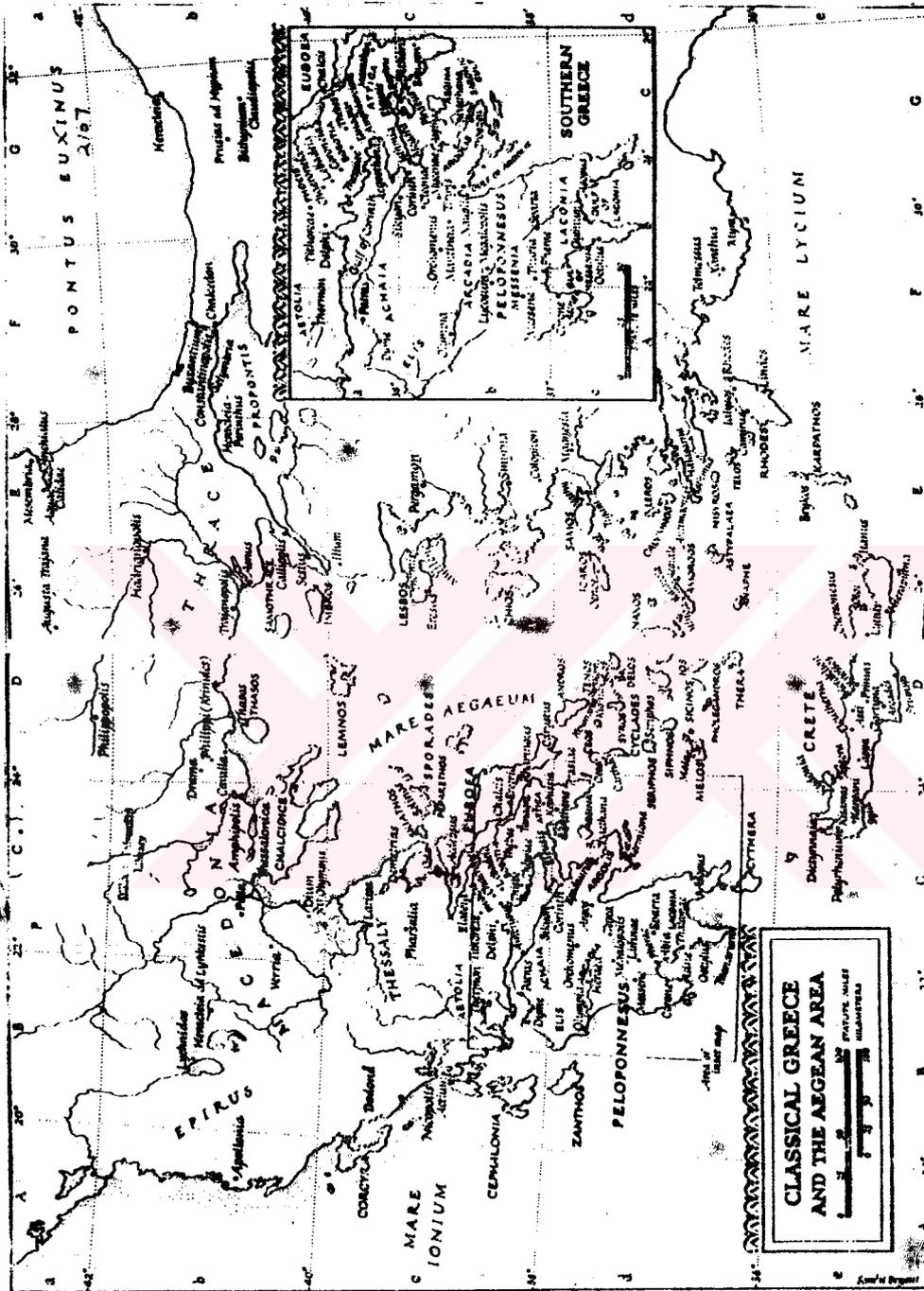
Figure 2. The map of Greece

CHAPTER 2: ORACULAR APOLLO: ORIGINS & RITUALS

2.1. ORIGINS OF THE APOLLINE CULT

2.1.1. Mythical Beginnings

Apollo was one of the most important gods of the Greeks, the son of Zeus and Leto and the brother of Artemis. Because of his significance in Greek religion, his sanctuaries are quite noticeable by their number and variety in the whole Greek world. Important and early temples and cults belonging to the god also had names such as Apelles, Apollonios and Apollodorus.

The most well known two centers of the Apollo cult are Delos and Delphi, although the sanctuaries of Apollo were widespread in the whole Greek world. This is because the two places played an important role in the formation myth of Apollo. The key document which consists of two etiological parts, a Delian part which tells the story of Apollo's birth and a perhaps an earlier part about the foundation of the oracular shrine at Delphi, is the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. According to legend, the jealous anger of Hera had prevented Leto from giving birth to Apollo and Artemis, and she had fled across the world seeking a place to do so. She then accomplished the birth at Delos. From there, desiring to find a suitable place for his oracle, Apollo passed from Euboea[3] through Boeotia and finally to Telphousa. Here, although the god is contented, the place motivated him to continue on to Krisa and Parnassos. At Krisa Apollo killed Python, the monstrous female snake, (*drakania*) who guarded the area. He established his oracle by taking on the guise of a dolphin, leaping aboard a Cretan ship, and

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[3] The Lelantine Plain is renounced.

6

forcing the crew to serve him. Then the Python took the name Delphi after the dolphin (*delphis*).

Apollo is a god of manifold functions and meaning, some of which are healing, purification and care for young citizens, and prophecy. These diverse functions can only be explained by the various origins of Apollo worship. The origins of Apollo worship according to Walter Burkert, (1985, 150-154) have at least three components which can be differentiated with some clarity: a Dorian-northwest Greek component, a Cretan-Minoan component, and a Syro-Hittite component.

According to the first component, the earlier pre-Homeric name, Apellon, can scarcely be separated from the institution of *apellai,* which involves annual gatherings of tribal or phratry organizations, in the entire Dorian-northwest Greek area. An important act on such occasions is the admission of new members, youths - who have reached the turning point of being a man - to the society of men. Thus Apollo is an epitome of this turning point in the flower of youth. Because of this, in iconography, he is always young, beardless, and of harmonious beauty, the ideal *ephebe* and young athlete; his weapon is the bow and his plant the laurel.

Another origin of Apollo is the Cretan-Minoan Paiwan hymn. Paiwan is an independent god in Greek-ruled Knossos, and Paean is still distinguishable from Apollo in the *Iliad*, although at the same time *paieon* is the healing hymn which appeases Apollo's wrath.

The third origin of Apollo worship is the Syro-Hittite component. And, it is only this third one which helps us understand why he was made to appear with a bow and arrow and specifically associated with the stag or roe and even with a lion in his wake. In the first book of the *Iliad*, the arrows of Apollo symbolize pestilence; the god of healing is also the god of plague. This points to the Semitic god Resep who as the plague god shot firebrands; in Ugarit and Cyprus he is called Resep of the Arrow and was accompanied by a lion; there he was equated with Apollo. The special role of the number seven in the Apollo cult also derives

from the Semitic tradition. In addition, the Hittite Guardian God who is associated with the stag is also portrayed with a bow and arrow. Thus, youthfully pure renewal at the annual gathering, the banishment of diseases in song and dance, and the image of the arrow-bearing Guardian God are brought together in one vision, in the unified figure of Apollo.

2.1.2. Attributes and Characteristics of Apollo

Apollo's healing function remains a central trait in his worship from the mythical foundation of Didyma, to the building of the well-preserved temple in the mountains of Bassae in Arcadia which was erected following the plague in 430 BC and dedicated to Apollo the Helper, *Epikourios*. But the healing hymn of Apollo differs from the one of the magician god: he is a god of purification and cryptic oracles. According to Greek belief, disease is the consequence of impurity, healing is purification - in myth, this theme later crystallized around Orestes whom Apollo cleansed of the murder of his mother, and the following madness. With disease and bane, *nosos*, in the widest sense being interpreted as pollution, personal responsibility comes into play: the person must discover the source of pollution and must eliminate it through renewed action. This of course requires super-human knowledge: the god of purifications must also be an oracle god. But, of course, purification is only a small part of the much wider oracular function of Apollo.

We cannot pinpoint exactly why Apollo was an oracular deity. Consequently his relation with chthonic powers is also not very clear. For Greeks, usually women were related with chthonic powers, which were thought to be dangerous. Before Apollo, most of his sanctuaries and also the gift of prophecy belonged to the earth goddess Gaia. Thus, the conquering of the sanctuaries of the Earth Goddess by Apollo - which was represented in mythology by Apollo's

slaying of the Python who is the prophetess of Gaia - is very significant in pointing to a change in Greek culture.[4]

For the Greeks art and ritual were the ultimate bridge between the Greeks and their gods. This bridege was the transition between the temporal and the eternal, the mortal and immortal, and the tension between life and death, human and god, permanence and flight. Thus, the Greeks constructed their temples - indeed all of their monumental art - neither for the expression of an aesthetic theory nor for the glorification of individual people or gods. The temple was the three dimensional expression of mythology: a home for the cult image, a home for gods, a place where mortal and immortal communicated. It is the expression of these "dualities"[5] of life that makes the temples of Greeks so fascinating for us.

The oracle was one of these rituals, which bridged the gap between the mortals and immortals. The oracle was the only way of direct means of access to the divine world for the Greeks, to ensure the optimum behavior towards the gods.[6] Thus, in archaic times the oracles contributed to Apollo's fame more than anything else, although oracles do not always belong to his cult.

2.2.   ORACLE

2.2.1. Forms of Oracle in Ancient Greece

Divination has many different forms in the world. Throughout the course of human history, there is no society that in its own way has not known or practiced it. The prophesying of the future still continues today; it also has a wide

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[4] This transfer of power from female to male according to most of the ancient sources was not a voluntary act. In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo there is no mention about the anger of Gaia or the purification of Apollo. It is first hinted by the first century poet Aristonoos (god "cleansed at Tempe" by the will of Zeus and persuaded Gaia and Themis to abandon Delphi: 1.17-24 Pow). And made explicit by Plutarch (*Moralia* 293c, 421c) and later by Pindar (fr 55 SM). Only in *Eumenides* Aischylos mentions a "peaceful transfer of power from female to male" (Eumenides 1-8) (Gantz, 88).

[5] Of course these "dualities" were conflicting concepts according to our "modern" perception of the world. For the Greeks these might have been complementary concepts.

range of methods, as was the case in the ancient world. Methods differ from ordinary astrology books to the Ifa divination of the Yoruba in Nigeria and the Oracle of the Azande of the Nile-Congo divide. But it was a significantly different phenomenon in the ancient world. It was the only device for ancient people to communicate with their gods in times of crisis.

The methods for this were varied. Plato distinguishes two basic kinds of method: inductive or artificial divination, *entechnos, technike*, and intuitive or natural divination, *atechnos, adidaktos*. The first consists of cledomancy - interpreting 'everything that is said'; hieromancy -divination by examining the entrails of animals; hydromancy -divination by using inanimate objects like water, mirrors and trees- and cleromancy -divination by lot. The second, that is intuitive divination, consists of oneiromancy -interpretation of dreams- and direct inquiry of the inspired person.[7] The commonest methods for this were incubation, that is receiving the answer while sleeping in a sacred precinct; cleromancy, and the most characteristic Apolline method: direct inquiry of an inspired person who answered orally.

(In the Homeric world, the seer is a professional, a *demiourgos*, who is called to the house when needed, just as one calls a carpenter, doctor or bard. And, like them, the seer puts his technical competence at the disposition of the public. In some sense he was a stranger and thus marginal in the sphere of domestic life in the archaic period. Similarly, seers also did not form an organized body of institutional structures and norms. Even if they were *gene*, lineage of seers, like those of the singers, their competence like that of all other *demiurges*, was limited.

Although these uninstitutionalized facets of divination were evident in the classical period too, from now on, all important communal decisions were obtained by a specific mechanism of inspired divination, which was institutionalized in temples.)

Among the many forms of divination known to the Greeks, "Oracle is a shrine of a god or a hero at which inquiries may be made of him; the word also

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[6] However, this access was also imperfect, because according to Greek ideas the human fallibility intervenes with divination so the message of god was often misinterpreted.

stands for the answer given at such a shrine" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1971, 1015). Such shrines were numerous in antiquity and were honored as an official institution in the temples. Among the most famous were the temple of Zeus in Dodona, the hero Amphiaraus in Boeotia, Trophonius at Lebedia, and above all, Apollo's at Delphi in Greece and Didyma and Klaros in Asia Minor, although Apollo has many other famous oracles.

Techniques by which responses were given changed from sanctuary to sanctuary. The prophetic dream was characteristic of healing oracles such as those of Asclepius and Amphiaraus. The inquirer slept for a night or several nights in the temple (incubation) during which the method of a cure (or according to legend a direct cure) appeared in dream. At Olympia, Iamids observed the entrails and the hides of the victim that was sacrificed at the great Zeus altar. At Lebedea, in the hero Trophonius' oracle, the consultant made a small journey to the underworld in a cave. At Zeus' oracle at Dodona, the priestess drew lots and perhaps interpreted the signs. However, the most prestigious was the direct consultation of a priest or more commonly a priestess under a state of trance. This was the method of several oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor and Greece. Therefore, Apolline oracles became the most widespread and famous oracles with this specific method.

2. 2.1.1. RITUAL OF ORACLE IN APOLLO TEMPLES

2.2.1.1.1. The Procedure of Consultation

Indeed, it is very difficult to define a clear and exact ceremony for the oracles in Apolline temples because of lack of evidence. There are many questions that Hellenists still cannot answer today with any degree of assurance. What we have is a multiplicity of suggestions.

The details of the procedure for consultation were not significantly different from place to place but there were some slight differences. First of all, there were preliminary rituals, that had to be followed both by the *promantis* and

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[7] For more detailed explanation about the inductive and intuitive methods of divination see:

Figure 3. Preparations for the sacrifice and dedication of tripods.
Detail of Amphora

inquirers, before the consultation of oracle. These preliminary procedures were controlled by priests who were different both from the prophets who wrote down the utterances of the Pythia and also from other cult officials. Like the *promantis*, the inquirers had to purify themselves before the consultation. They then had to pay the consultation fee and make a preliminary sacrifice of a goat to ascertain whether Apollo was ready for consultation. Plutarch explains this (Figure 3):

> For when the priests and the holy men say that they are offering sacrifice and pouring the libation over the victim and observing its movements and its trembling, of what else do they take this to be a sign save that the god is in his holy temple? (Moralia, 437A).

If the animal's shaking gave sufficient indication that meant that the god was ready, the animal was sacrificed on the great altar outside the temple. Then the inquirer after paying the additional taxes entered the temple - guided by one of the god's ministers - where he made a final sacrifice. There are also different views between scholars concerning whether the consultants were taken into the innermost sanctuary.[8] Interestingly, those who consulted the oracles were men rather than women who did not have a voice in official affairs.

Before the inquirer had entered, the *promantis* would already be under the influence of the god after completing such preliminary rites explained below. In all oracular centers the *promantis* was purified before the mantic session but the ways of purification differed according to different sanctuaries. For example, in Delphi, the Pythia was purified by bathing in the sacred waters of River Castalia and by fumigating herself with laurel leaves and barley meal at the sacred hearth at the dawn of the consultation day. In Didyma, the *promantis* also bathed before each session but she also had to fast three days before and probably had to stay in the sanctuary.

"Divination by Signs" in Flaceliére, R. (trans. Derek Garman), *Greek Oracles*, 1976, pp. 1-19.

[8] According to Parke they were taken to the sanctuary in Delphi with the prophet (*Greek Oracles*, 1967, p.83). Fontenrose, discusses the different ideas of Günther and Haussoullier, about the temple of Didyma and he comments that the worshippers must be admitted to the *cella*, as the Kanachas Apollo should have been made to be seen. *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle ,Cult and Companions*, 1988, p.80

During the consultation, either the inquirer asked the question or the prophet put it to the *promantis*. Then the *promantis* answered the question; whether the inquirer could hear it or the prophet brought the response to him is never stated. But for ancient authorities there was no distinction between the answer spoken by her and that conveyed by the priest. Then the consultant and prophet went to the *chresmographeion*, where the god's message was put in writing. The answer might also be given to him sealed, if the inquirer was only an envoy. The sanctuary did not care further, and the oracle did not provide any interpretation. For that purpose the inquirer might go to a prophetic expert in his town or elsewhere, to get a proper interpretation.

There is no definite knowledge about how frequently the consultation was realized. The ceremony of consultation at Delphi was recorded by Plutarch once a year, only on the seventh of the Delphic month Bysios, which fell in the early spring and was supposed to be the birthday of Apollo (Parke, 1967, 80). But, later again, in another dialogue of Plutarch it is indicated that the ceremony was carried out on the seventh of every month except the three winter months when Apollo was absent.[9] Thus, the consultations occur at most nine days in a year in Delphi. Consequently, the oracle was always busy, and the applicants were allowed to consult the oracle in turn. There is no evidence about other sanctuaries, but as most of them take Delphi as a model, we may guess that the consultation days were severely restricted in all of them. Because of this restriction, the precedence in consultations was a great honor conferred by Delphians on states or individuals.

The oracles were given in both verse and prose forms, but they were usually formed in hexameters. Especially in the early periods they were in verse form and consequently their meaning was not very clear. They contained tropes that were the indication of being divine for ancient people. The oracular tales were always involved in human divine interaction, the gap between human and divine intelligence, and the tragedy of the human condition that strove to hear and comprehend the divine on earth which often failed.
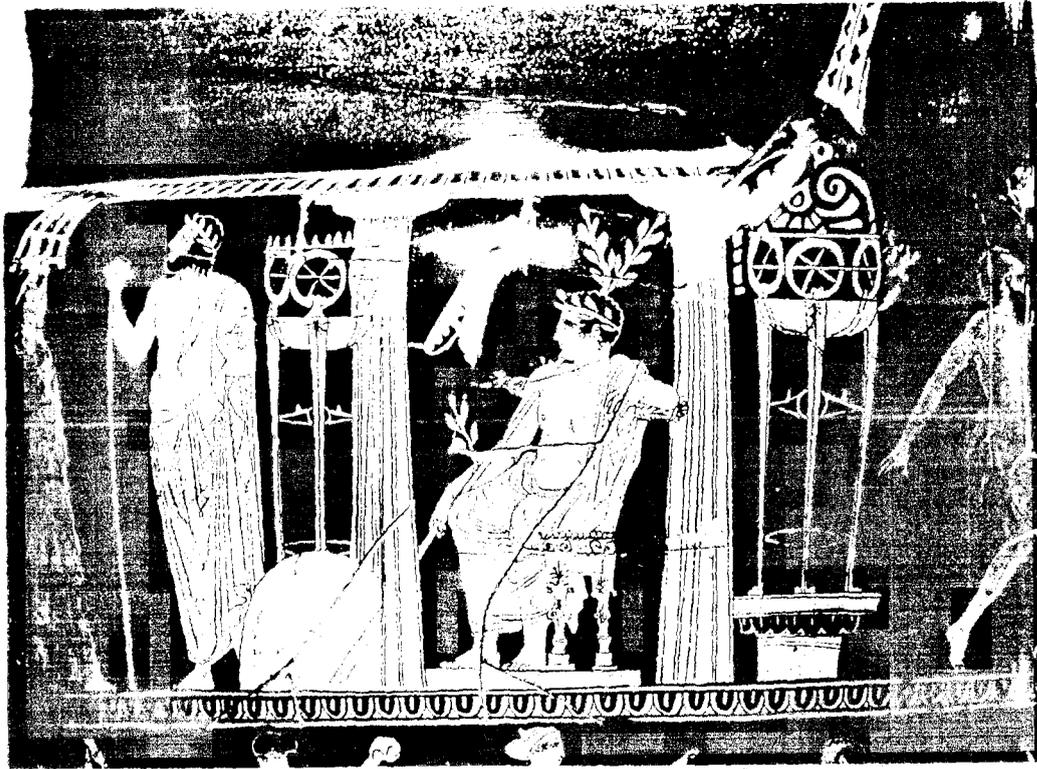
Figure 4. Apollo enthroned at Delphi, 440-430 B. C. Athenian Volute krater. Found at Spina, Italy.

2. 2.1.1.2. Methods of Inducing Inspiration:
Tripod, Laurel, Chasms and Vapors

Although there were some variations in the procedures for the preparation of the *promantis* in the different oracular centers of Apollo, in inducing inspiration, there can be said to be as a more or less common procedure. In Delphi an early emphasis was on the tripod. The tripod was originally a cooking utensil, but in Delphi it was thought of as the throne of the god. In literature and art the god was represented as seated on the bowl and also the Pythia was shown prophesying in the same position (Figures 1, 4).

It might be a psychological preparation for the Pythia to sit on the god's throne to display her personality in association with him. Other elements of preliminary ritual such as the use of laurel leaves[10] and sacred water also assisted this. Fontenrose makes a quotation from Iamblichos who describes the prophetess' preparation at Didyma before the mantic session:

The woman oracle-speaker at Branchidai, whether she is filled with the divine light while holding a wand first conveyed to her by some god, or foretells the future while sitting on a axle, or receives the god by wetting her feet or a hem in water or by inhaling vapor from the water, makes herself ready in all these ways (or in any of these ways) for the reception and partakes of him from without.

The number of sacrifices and the law of the whole consecration and all the other things done reverently before the oracle - singing - the prophetess' baths and her fast of three whole days and her stay in the *adyton* already near the light and delighting in it for much time - have a clear meaning: for all this practices show a summoning of the god to be present and his wondrous presence even before she reaches the customary place; and in the very spirit that rises from the spring they reveal another god separate from the spring they reveal another god separate from the place, the author of the place and of the spring itself and the whole mantic art.[11]

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[9] According to Parke , This dialogue belonged to a later period when Delphi had a basis for a wider business. Parke, *Greek Oracles*, 1967, p.80

[10] According to Fontenrose, like other possible inspiration methods e.g. chasms and vapors, are not real but created by modern historians who see the oracle as fantasy.

According to Fontenrose, these were not the preliminaries of the session but the session itself, with the exception of 'being vaporized from the water'. Because it seems unlikely that spring water was heated. It was, according to him, perhaps an imaginary vapor of divine power that the *promantis* breathed in. Almost none of the ancient sources mention anything like gas or vapor exhilarating from the earth. However Plutarch mentions *pneumata*, *dynamies*, *anathymiaseis*, and *atmoi* which affected the Pythia, inducing the *enthusiasmos* under which she spoke oracles. According to Fontenrose these currents and exhalations were not visible and perceptible things, but theoretical constructions (Fontenrose, 1981, 197).

However some scholars comment the other way round, concerning the physical existence gas or vapor exhilarating from the earth. For example, Farnell explains the inspiration of Pythia as such:

...the Pythoness ascended into the tripod, and filled with the divine afflatus which at least the later ages believed to ascend in vapor from a fissure in the ground, burst forth into wild utterance, which was probably some kind of an articulate speech and which the (*Hosoi*), the "holy ones" who with the prophet sat around the tripod, knew well how to interpret... (1981, 189)

Also the archeological and historical evidence do not constitute a consistent picture of inspiration methods. For example, there is no chasm or source for a vapor or fumes or air currents found in the excavations at Delphi. However Plutarch clearly mentions some sort of "fragrance":

...with .... a current of air, which bears it towards the worshippers; as if its source were in the holy of holies and it, is like odour, which the most exquisite and costly perfumes send forth. It is likely that this efflorescence is produced by warmth or some force engendered there (*Moralia* 437C).

Even the foundation myth of Delphi, which was told by a historian of the first century BC, mentions the vapor issuing from the ground. According to this

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[11] Iamblichos, *Mysteries*, 3. I I ; quoted in Fontenrose *Didyma: Apollo's oracle ,cult and companions*, 1988, p.81-82

17

story, some goats grazing on the mountainside one day leaned into a hole in the ground and then started to leap and shriek in a bizarre fashion. Hearing this, the goatherd came to see what was happening and at the same time he started to prophesy the future.

...but later, since many were leaping down into the chasm under the influence of their frenzy and all disappeared, it seemed best to the dwellers, in order to eliminate the risk, to station one woman there as a single prophetess for all and to have the oracles told through her (Diodorus Siculus 16.26. 2-5).

Moreover, at Delphi, the landscape in which the temple is placed is full of clefts. According to Scully, in Delphi, the conflict between the orders of nature and human being is fully developed, that is, both powerfully manifest their existence. There is also a sacred Corycian cave above the cleft where the Castalian spring gushes. This is "the Corycian rock / ... hollowed inward, haunt of birds and paced by gods."[12]

Interestingly, there exists a chasm called *plutonion* or *charonion* in the Apollo temple at Hierapolis in Asia Minor. It was the chief claim of fame for Hierapolis in antiquity. It was described by Strabo:

The Plutonium is an orifice under a slight ridge of the hill which rises above, large enough to admit a man, and very deep...so long as no wind is blowing, and a man approach safely; but for any living creature which enters inside death is instantaneous...The eunuchs of Cybele, however, are immune to the extent that they can approach the orifice and look in, and even penetrate for some distance, though not normally without holding their breath (Bean, 203).

It is interesting that during his visit to Hierapolis in 1939, Bean felt the "very strong sharp smell, which catches the throat and brings tears to the eyes" (Bean, 204). And, he also saw a dead sparrow lying in the courtyard in front of the chasm!

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[12] Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, pp. 22-24, quoted in Scully, V. *The Earth, the Temple and the gods*, 1969, p. 109

Clearly though, the water from the sacred spring played an important role in all oracular sanctuaries of Apollo, in the mantic session. In Delphi and Klaros, the *promantis* probably drank from the waters of the sacred spring before each session. In Didyma, as we learn from Iamblichos, she inhaled vapor from the spring, and apparently drank it too, as at Klaros and Delphi. For the Greeks, the water arising from the earth in springs has chthonic powers, so that drinking this water from a sacred spring would infuse one with mantic and magical powers.

Nevertheless, these opposing views of scholars do not provide a plausible explanation, which helps to understand the place of the oracle in Greek society. Because it is difficult to disallow prejudgements – the norms of our own culture - when assessing Greek phenomena. Thus, oracle is a difficult phenomenon to understand, because we do not have anything in our culture, which fully corresponds to it. For example, some scholars, - in order to rationalize the phenomenon of oracle according to their own precepts- understanding well the principle of tossing a coin, propose that the utterances of the Pythia are less important then the so-called lot-oracle. Other scholars have attempted to solve the problem by rejecting the authenticity of oracles, which goes beyond the simple "yes-no" answers. In most extreme cases this argument dismisses all oracles including those in Herodotus, which were allegedly delivered before mid-fifth century BC.[13]

On the other hand, the opposing view tried to explain the utterances of the Pythia as the consequence of a simple physical stimulus like laurel leaves, sacred water, or chasms and vapors. It is certain that the chewing of laurel leaves does not help to reach the state of ecstasy[14] But for chasms it can not be clarified whether they were the source of inspiration or not. In any case, it is not worth seeking some other explanation of the mental state for the *promantis* and only a physical explanation is too simple to propose and may even misrepresent the mentality of Greek society. Moreover, the different oracular centers, where the *promantis* could be inspired by a combination of different kinds of sources, could

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[13] Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1981.
[14] One German professor made an experiment with laurel: He chewed a pile of laurel leaves and said that he did not feel at all ecstatic! (T.K. Oesterreich, *Possession, demonical and other*).

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be all existent and important for the Greeks. Thus which of these physical stimuli was at work might not be the case for them. For Greeks, the natural place was *entheos* (filled with god)[15] that to get in touch with any part of it -whether the water, gas, or leaf- would be enough to communicate with the divine. Thus, for most Greeks, the issue was only to account in detail, if one chose, for how the power of Apollo worked.

2. 2. 1.1.3. A Review of the *Promantis'* Role

As we have seen above, the *promantis* who received the inspiration from the god and spoke his message, was the key figure in the whole procedure of oracle. In Delphi, the *promantis* was a woman named Pythia. There also existed women prophetesses at Patara and Argos. But at Klaros and Ptoon men spoke the god's words. It is uncertain for Didyma whether a man or woman spoke for Apollo. But according to the foundation myth of Didyma, he was Branchos who both founded the temple and spoke for the god the first time. After 494 BC Didyma was founded again and the Delphic procedure was taken as a model. Thus after 494 BC the *promantis* was possibly a woman as at Delphi.[16]

Diodorus Siculus stated that originally Pythia was a young woman, but that Echecrates the Thesselian fell in love with the Pythia and at a consultation carried her off and raped her. Then, Delphians made a law that the Pythia had to be over fifty but that she wear a maiden dress in memory of the previous priestess (Diodorus Siculus 16.26.6).[17] The reason for this might be the associations with virgin purity. Thus, she had to be an old woman over fifty, who had to have a life without blemish. The candidate was not disqualified if she had already been a wife and a mother but after her appointment to the oracle, she was required to give up living with her husband and observe some other restrictive taboos as well.

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[15] For a detailed discussion see: Chapter 3. Fontenrose *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle ,Cult and Companions*, 1988, pp.77-81 and Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1981, p. 228

[16] Fontenrose *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle ,Cult and Companions*, 1988, pp.77-81 and Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1981, p. 228

How she was chosen is never explained but she was neither selected from a particular family, nor given a particular training. She was normally a very ordinary peasant woman without any particular gifts. According to Parke, however, she was chosen from among the holy women who had to keep alight the eternal fire inside the temple. It was fed with pine and laurel by women "who had ceased from marital relations" (Parke, 1967, 74).

Parke asserts that "There seems to be no reason to associate them (i.e. the ritual requirements of Pythia) with any belief that the Pythia was the bride of Apollo" (1967, 73). However it is clear that the ritual requirements of the Pythia, at least in origin, were related with the idea of virginity, and thus she was seen as the bride of the god in Greek culture.[18] This is evident also in the Greek mythology. Although we can not take the mythology as history[19], it neverthless reflects the way of understanding of its age. And in mythology Apollo's affairs with women are remarkably abundant.[20] In addition, Apollo's unfortunate infatuation with Kassandra definitely exemplifies how the Pythia was conceived by Greeks. In Aischylos' *Agamemnon*, Kassandra promised herself to Apollo, and received the gift of prophecy but did not keep her promise. Thus, Apollo punished her so that nobody believed her prophecies. And, several other points in this play stress that "Kassandra is inspired and that Apollo is the source". (Gantz, 1996, 93) So, the Pythia is a typical example of spirit possession in Greek culture.[21]

Another controversial issue about the Pythia is her mental state during her "possession". There are contrasting views between the scholars about the Pythia's

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[17] According to Parke this story may be an aetological legend which was formed to explain why Pythia wore a maiden dress. Parke, *Greek Oracles*, 1967, p.73.

[18] There is also a modern interpretation-fiction of Pythia as the bride of Apollo. Par Lagerkvist (trans. Melih Cevdet Anday) *Tanrı Gelini Sibyl*, 1996.

[19] Indeed it does not matter much whether we take the Greek mythology as their history of not because they already "believed in myths and regarded them as their national history" Pozzi & Wickersham, 1991, 2; cited in Harmanşah, 3.

[20] There is scarcely any record of liaisons with other divinities. For a full account of Apollo's affairs with women, see: Gantz T., *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary & Artistic Sources* (2 vols.), 1996, pp. 87-99

[21] On the place of spirit possession in Greek culture and the Pythia's role see: Maurizio, L., *Anthropology and Spirit Possession: A Reconsideration of the Pythia's Role at Delphi*, 1995, pp.69-86.

possession in the oracular consultations. Although many of Rohde's[22] views have been refuted, his view about possession as an uncontrolled and uncontrollable rapture is still a widely accepted assumption. For example, Parke and Wormell suggest that Pythia's utterances were simply unintelligible remarks of a hypnotized woman and that her speech was 'gabble' and 'irrational babble'. Consequently, according to their view, the prophetess and other rational male attendants of ceremony provided the answers for the inquirers.

However, today anthropologists define spirit possession as "any altered state of consciousness indigenously interpreted in terms of the influence of an alien spirit"[23]. This definition indicates just "an altered state of consciousness" - without implying any judgment about the normality of this state -as a state of consciousness which is perceptibly different from a usual one. Thus, according to this definition, "spirit possession" is a culturally determined concept, which acquires different kinds of meaning and validity in different cultures.

Thus speculation about the mental state of the Pythia should better be avoided. For example, Fontenrose accepted that Pyhia's ecstasy did not reach a state of frenzy. Rather, trying to rationalize the Pythia's mental state according to modern perception, he suggested that the Pythia would show herself inspired, enthusiastic; her emotion would affect her utterance, just as an actress in the role of Medea or Clytemnestra or Lady Macbeth does not speak her normal voice, but suits her utterance to the role she plays" (Fontenrose, 1981, 211). Apart from the inappropriateness of the comparison with these 'monster' female characters, mentioned by Price, the Pythia can not be compared with an actress. She was not an actress, in contrast, she lived in the sanctuary in permanent chastity and served Apollo for life. This kind of applying our modern standards and way of seeing to ancient people is what we should avoid.

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[22] Erwin Rohde, *Psyche: The Cult of the Souls and Belief in Immortality Among the Greeks*, Trans. W.B.Hillis (New York, 1925) mentioned in Maurizio, 1995, 69.
[23] V. Crapanzano and V.Garrison, *Case Studies in Spirit Possesssion*, 8 (New York, 1977), quoted in Maurizio 74.

However Fontenrose is right to mention that there is no sound evidence that Pythia's ecstasy[24] reached a stage of frenzy, so that she broke into wild unintelligible speech, that could only be interpreted by the prophet and his attendants. The picture of her frenzy is an exaggeration, created mostly by pagan and Christian writers hostile to Delphi. Misunderstanding also arises from translating mania as "madness" or "insanity" since these words point to a pathological condition. But *mania*, in Plato's use of the word, means "a high state of emotion and comprehends all kinds of transport, enthusiasm, and inspiration" (Maurizio, 1985, 78). Furthermore, Plato relates seers, poets and oracle chanters in the way that all are inspired by god. He says " they do not make their poems by means of wisdom (*sophia*), but rather by means of nature (*phusis*) and in communion with the gods (*enthousiazontes*), just like seers and oracle chanters."[25] Thus, frenzy babbling and possession of Apollo's priestess are no more than fantasies arising from misunderstanding.

Plutarch gives an interesting account of a contemporary consultation that was realized despite the fact that the preliminary sacrifice had scarcely worked:

(The Pythia) went down into the oracle unwillingly, they say, and halfheartedly; and at her first responses it was at once plain from the harshness of her voice that she was not responding properly; she was like a laboring ship, and was filled a mighty and baleful spirit. Finally she became hysterical and with a frightful shriek rushed towards the exit and threw herself down, with the result that not only the members of the deputation fled, but also the oracle-interpreter Nicander and those holy men that were present (*Moralia*, 438B).

According to the story, the Pythia died a few days later. From this disaster we can understand the expectations of priests and inquirers as to how the Pythia was expected to respond. Her voice was expected to change, but not in a bizarre manner.

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[24] Anthropologists usually prefer to use the word 'trance' instead of ecstasy. 'Trance' has been defined by anthropologists alike as "a sleep-like state marked by reduced sensitivity to stimuli, loss or alteration of knowledge of what is happening, substitution of automatic for voluntary activity" H.B. English and A.C. English, *A Comprehensive Dictionary of psychological and psychoanalytic terms* (New York 1958), quoted in Maurizio, 73.
[25] Pl. Apology 22c., Quoted in Maurizio L., *Anthropology and Spirit Possession: A Reconsideration of Pythia's Role at Delphi*, 1985, p.77.

Consequently, there is also no sound evidence that the prophets interpreted the Pythia's utterances. In contrast, almost all of the ancient sources point to the Pythia as the source of oracle. Although it is clear that the priests and *hosoi* attended the Pythia when she sat on the tripod, their duty was not to interpret the words of the Pythia. The Pythia was not seized with frenzy; she spoke coherently and it was she, not the prophets who gave the final form to the answer.

The evidence for this comes from the ancient sources. For example, when the Delphic oracle is accused of corruption, it was the Pythia rather than the prophets who were accused of corruptly issuing oracle. Moreover, the ancient critics of Delphi never attacked the oracle on the grounds that it was controlled by scheming prophets. It was always the Pythia who was held responsible (Price, 142).

Moreover, recently, the Pythia's role in Greek society as an agent of possession - women have often been agents of possession in many other cultures - was not seen by scholars merely as the expression of social tensions but as a way for women to gain access to areas from which they are otherwise excluded (Maurizio, 1985, 75). Previously figured as passive recipients of divine commands or knowledge, women, in this view, can "address matters of religious propriety, dispense medical cures, solve marital disputes, and participate in political issues" (Maurizio, 1985, 75). In short, women can exercise considerable power in social and political issues as long as they were believed to be possessed and to speak with the authority of gods who possessed them.

CHAPTER 3. ORACULAR SETTING:
ORIGINS & TRANSFORMATIONS

3.1. PRE-ARCHAIC RITUAL SETTING

3.1.1. The Values of Landscape in the Ancient World

The world for primitive peoples was, above all unitary. In Eliade's words, "The first religious significance of the earth was not 'indistinct': in other words, it did not localize sacredness in the earth as such, but jumbled together as a whole all the hierophanies in nature as it lay around - earth, stones, trees, water, shadows, everything."[26] In this way, the whole landscape was made alive and its smallest details were full of meaning. This was because, in the ancient world, nature was not seen as just an object, but it was conceived as a being like human beings. Colin Turnbull, who has lived among the hunter-gatherers of our age, the Pygmies of the Congo, explains with an example how the primitive man construes the reality of the nature.

...the sophisticated Kenge...He was all alone, dancing around and singing softly to himself as he gazed up at the treetops.

Now Kenge was the biggest flirt for miles, so, after watching a while, I came into the clearing and asked joggingly, why he was dancing alone. He stopped, turned slowly around and looked at me as though I was the biggest fool he had ever seen; and he was plainly surprised by my stupidity.

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[26] Mircea Elidae, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 1979, London, p.242; quoted by Fitter, C. , *Poetry, Space, Landscape*, 1995, p.26

"But I'm *not* dancing alone", he said. "I'm dancing with the forest, dancing with the moon." Then with the utmost unconcern, he ignored me and continued his dance of love and life.[27]

In other words, the landscape consciousness of the primitive man was totally different from that of the modern man. Unlike the modern man, the primitive man construes nature in a vocative case. In other words, "For modern, scientific man the phenomenal world is primarily an 'it'; for ancient -and also for primitive- man it is a 'Thou'" (Frankfort, 1967, 4).

As nature was a 'being' for the ancients, the experience of it was also different from that of modern man. Nature has the "unprecedented, unparalleled, and unpredictable character of an individual" (Frankfort, 5), which can only be known as far as it reveals itself. Moreover, it was not just contemplated or understood as in the modern world but was experienced passionately in a dynamic reciprocal relationship. Scully exemplifies this in the following manner: "the very absence of landscape background in most ...vase paintings and reliefs may be better taken as indicative of the fact that archaic and classic Greeks experienced the landscape only as it was, at a full scale..." (Scully, 2).

This is because, a specific way of representation is not simply related with knowing that skill, but it is a reflection of a specific way of perceiving the world. For example, the technique of perspective first appeared in the Renaissance, because in that age men started to put himself to the very center of the world, thus, he also put his gaze to the center of painting. Similarly, in the Muslim world, man never put himself in the center of the world, thus, the way of looking in Muslim miniatures was always from the top, that is believed to be the way of looking of the Muslim God. Thus intellectual 'comprehension' entails a comprehensive whole: to comprehend representational form, we must try to grasp the assumed whole which assigns a determinate meaning to the figurative part.

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[27]Colin Turnbull, *The Forest People*, p.272, 1962, New York. quoted by Fitter, C. , *Poetry, Space, Landscape*, p.26

3.1.2. The Spatial Features of Pre-Archaic Ritual Setting

Consequently, the natural setting, or places were holy for ancients. For Greeks, the natural place was *entheos* (filled with god) so that its sacred character came from this feature. Divinities resided in caves, sacred groves, towering heights, mountain peaks, rocky cliffs. Among the sacred places, the highlands belonged to celestial powers, and caves opened to the underground were those of chthonic powers. Thus the *phusis* (nature) was essentially the territory of divine powers.

Moreover, the sacred content of *phusis aperios*[28] (the uninhabited nature) was so important for Greeks that it was "uncrossable" that is, it could not be occupied without rites of apology. For example, in ancient Etruria, the land was never ploughed without rites of apology, since it was seen as a wounding of earth. The use of the plough "violated a hallowed world" (Waterhouse, 23).

If we leave aside the small number of Minoan house sanctuaries and shrines in Crete, the pre-archaic cult practice was in close relation with the sacral landscape.[29] The landscape itself was holy before the temple was built upon it and it "embodied the whole deity as a recognized natural force." [30] For example, the landscape which is characteristic to Apollo was defined by Homer as: "wooded groves and all peaks and towering bluffs of lofty mountains and rivers flowing to the sea..."[31] and "all mountain peaks and high headlands of lofty hills and rivers flowing out to the deep and beaches sloping seawards and heavens of the sea are your delight". [32]

As a result, in the Aegean Bronze Age the most impressive formations of earth were used as settings for religious activities until the appearance of the

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[28] *Phusis apeiros* is literally translated as the "boundless nature". Harmanşah, 62.
[29] 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.
[30] Scully, 1969, 1. Temples usually built on previously holy sites.
[31] *Homeric Hymn III*, "*To Delian Apollo*," 143-45, Loeb, p.335, quoted by Scully, 1969, p.101
[32] *Homeric Hymn III*, "*To Delian Apollo*," 22-24, Loeb, p.327, quoted by Scully, 1969, p.101

archaic Greek temple. These were mainly scattered open areas that were identified by combinations of features like mountains, sacred groves, springs and caves. Throughout the Dark Ages worship was confined to open-air sacred places only until the building of the *temenos* as a "temple-altar architectural ensemble" that was started in the 8th century BC. [33]

Before the development of "temple-altar architectural ensemble", landscape was a bridge for "the terrible gap between the transience of mortal existence and the permanent, never ending, immortal realm of the dead. It was ritual in three dimensions" (Rhodes, 1995, 7). Specific places where landscape became most impressive -like caves, groves, peaks that are mentioned above- marked as the points where the divinity was present, where the divine might be approached by mortals. These were the points where humans were convinced that their prayers might be heard and their sacrifices received. The exciting and agonizing landscape that surrounded the cult place placed the worshipper in the midst of *kosmos* during the rituals. And before the temple, landscape "was the ultimate bridge between Greeks and their gods".

3.1.2.1. Sacred Tree

One of the well-known settings in these religious rituals is the sacred tree or grove. Generally it is the fig and olive trees which were depicted on the Greek vases. The cultic significance and iconographic history of the sacred tree goes back to prehistoric times. On Mesopotomian cylinder seals, the motif has always been a central figure and it was associated with altars, the table of offerings, sacred horns and double axes (Harmanşah, 22). Moreover, Pliny tells us that trees were the first temples.[34]

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[33] Berquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos: A Study of Structure and Function*, 1967, p.5, Quoted in Harmanşah, *Drama, Space and Marginality*, 1991, p.20. One of the first monumental altars was - nearly contemporary with the Temple of Hera at Samos, which was designed by Rhoecus at about 575 B.C. - the altar of Poseidon on Cape Monedendri at Miletus. (Dinsmoor, 140)

[34] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 12.1, 12.2; quoted in Hersey, 1992, 11.

Figure 5. Tree aedicule of Artemis

Figure 6. Column and tree. Francesco di Giorgio

Greek art was thus full of representations of the sacred trees. In these depictions, the sacrifices were being realized before them and temples built around them. Moreover, the leaves of trees, like the columns of the temple, were usually bound with garlands -which were possibly used in the sacrifice- and decorated with the other remnants of the sacrifice (Figure 6, 7).

Trees were often cut into the shape of primitive columns (Figure 8). Vitruvius even claims that the first columns were trees (2.1.3). Vitruvius might possibly be right in his assertion of columns deriving from trees because the first Greek temples were built from solid wooden columns.[35] And certain species of trees which were correlated with certain divinities -like the laurel to Apollo, oak to Zeus, plane to Helen, etc.-, like columns, were worshipped as images of their respective gods.

In iconography, especially on gold rings, there sometimes appears a large and imposing tree, which is depicted with an architectural setting and thus set apart as sacred. Rutkowski interprets these as sacred enclosures, surrounded by a wall and even including a shrine, altar and sometimes a sacred grove in front of which worshippers appear in ecstatic moods, dance or play acting. (Rutkowski, 99-101) Burkert identifies these as *tree sanctuaries*.

Harmanşah interprets the sacred tree and sacred grove as "a revelation of the sacred landscape in a fetishistic image, a token of savage nature" (Harmanşah, 24). The sacred dance was an inseperable part of these depictions. The ritual of dance was an important phenomenon in the ancient Greek world. Like landscape and later the temple, dance was also a ritual that bridge the gap between mortals and immortals. As the sacred tree –"as a token of savage nature"- found expression in architecture as sacred column, the sacred dance –which is another "imitation" (*mimesis*) of savage nature- was also materialized in architecture.

The mythical *choros*, built by Daidalus for Ariadne, is still an ambiguous term for scholars. It either signified the choral dance or the magical space where

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[35]For example, according to Pausanias, the first temple of Apollo at Delphi was a wooden temple made up of laurel trees. Pausanias 10. 5. 9.

dance was performed, that is the dancing floor.[36] Ancient scholars interpreted *choros* as a place (*topos*), "complete with columns and statues arranged in a circle". [37] The meaning of the word is still ambigious and its ambiguity is the reason for its importance. The dance and the idea of its space that crystallized from the rhythm of the dance, brought to its circularity, cannot be verified yet.[38] Thus, in the heroic ages, architecture and dance spoke the same language. The communal act preconditioned its mytho-poetical space.

3.1.2.2. Sacred Caves

Another important setting for pre-archaic sanctuaries was the cave. The most important reasons, which made the caves a setting for religious activities may be mentioned as the following: First, they are one of the most impressive formations of earth with the fantastic shapes of stalagmites and stalactites. In addition, they sometimes contain pure water that springs from the earth and are thus thought to have miraculous properties. Finally, the complete darkness, which prevails in many caves, must have had a mysterious influence on peoples.

In ancient times, there were stalactites and stalagmites which nature herself had formed into the shape of humans and animals; these were seen as miraculous and were worshipped like idols (Rutkowski, 50-52). Likewise, the pools of water found in most of the sacred caves played a very important role in religious cults.

3.1.2.3. Peak Sanctuaries

They lie on mountain summits, set apart from human settlements, but generally at a distance of no more than about one hour journey. They are marked

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[36] See McEwen *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings*, 1993, 62-63., Harmanşah 54.

[37] Sarah P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*, 1995, 14. Quoted in Harmanşah, 1991,54.

by offerings of many kinds, often very plain, small and not expensive (Burkert, 26). The most impressive feature of the celebrations at mountaintops, which are inferred from remains, was a great fire, possibly lighted at night. Remains of animal bones have also been found.

Which deity demanded such a worship is a matter of conjecture. No figure which might represent a god has been found. The mountaintop suggests a weather god but; the later Greek fire festivals were in honor of a goddess. A seal, which was found in Knossos represents a goddess standing between two lions on a mountain summit. The seal, however, belongs to the iconographic tradition of the Near East where Mistress of Mountain and the Summerian Ninhursag cults were worshipped. This fact points to the Near Eastern origin of the peak cult as a whole (Burkert, 1985, 27).

3.2. THE SPATIAL FEATURES OF ORACULAR SETTING

3.2.1. Oracular Caves

In the pre-archaic period, since the sacred groves and caves were used to make offerings to the gods, it would have been natural to use them for oracular purposes. But, possibly the caves were more commonly used than other settings for oracular purposes. At least we have some evidence that they were used as such. The best attested example was the sanctuary of Ge, the earth goddess, near Aegira in Achaia. There the priestess (after being chosen as a priestess) had to abandon sexual intercourse and must previously have had only one husband. Her purity was tested by drinking bull's blood, which was believed to be fatal to the defiled. After being properly tested the priestess entered the cave and emerged inspired.[39]

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[38] There are recently discovered circular structures at Knossos which were related to a Daidalic *choros*. Morris, 1995, 14; Harmanşah, 54.

[39] Parke, 26. The evidence for this ritual comes from late sources such as Pliny the Elder and Pausanias. Pausanias believed that the cult statue of Ge at Aegiera was among the oldest wooden

The worship of the earth-goddess in caves was preceded by the many sanctuaries, which were associated with prophecy. The temple of Zeus in Olympia was also preceded by a cult of Ge which was still symbolized by a place called the Stomion- the cavern mouth, with an altar to Themis who in the Delphic theology was the prophetic daughter of Ge.

Trophonius' oracle at Lebedia, had a very peculiar and special use of the cavern. There the twin fountains of "forgetfullness" and "memory" spring from the earth. The worshipper, first pulled his feet through a hole in the ground and was in turn visited by a sacred snake in the dark cavern. There are openings near the spring which can still be seen. Whether these were connected with the rite is not known, but they certainly symbolize the journey to the underground world (Scully, 110).

3.3.2. *Adyton*

Although the caves still continued, these sacred settings found symbolic expression in later monumental sanctuaries. The sacred tree evolves into the sacred pillar although there are cases where both coexist.[40] Consequently, it is almost impossible to think of the *peripteros* as independent of the conceptions of the sacred tree and pillar. The *peripteros* was possibly conceived as a *mimisma* of the sacred grove[41].

Coming to caves, they found expression in the *adytons* of temples which were dedicated to chthonic deities; and especially to Apollo. The *adyton* of a temple is the rear part of the *cella,* which was believed to be the most sacred. It was possibly below the floor level of the main part of the temple. It is the place where the priestess was seated upon the tripod to be inspired by the god. Probably beside her grew a laurel tree which is sacred to Apollo. There may have been

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figures. Thus it would not be surprising to find that a very primitive custom had survived in this out of the way region.

[40] See, Harmanşah, 1991, p.24-32 For a more detailed discussion of the subject.

windows on the roof to give light. There was also a cult statue of Apollo and the *omphalos,* which was believed to mark the center of the world. According to Price, there may have also been a representation of the mouth of a chasm which was a symbol of pre- archaic caves (Price, 140).

We also see different symbolic expressions of caves in different sanctuaries. For example, in the Temple of Apollo at Didyma the entrance to the *cella* is not by a usual door; but by two dark and narrow vaulted corridors. Entering these corridors resembled the experience of entering a cave. And, the experience is transformed and developed more powerfully when coming to the light of the open-air cella with the laurel trees and a small prostyle shrine, which stands near the far end of the court.

Moreover, in temple of Apollo in Klaros, the part of the *adyton* was itself arranged as a underground vaulted structure which can be reached by a labyrinth of seven turns. After this tortuous way one could reach the sacred spring and finally the cavern.

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[41] Malkin points out that the sacred grove, *alsos,* is used as a synonym to the sacred precinct. See Irad Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece,* 1987, 154; where he cites Pindar, Ol. VII.49. (Harmanşah, 26)

CHAPTER 4: THE POLITICS OF ORACLE

4.1.THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE TEMPLE IN ARCHAIC GREECE

4.1.1. Religion as a Means for Political Power

Religion has always been an important phenomenon throughout human history. It has been an inseparable part of human activity from archaic times until the present. It so influenced human activities that most of the wars in human history originated from the religious differences.

Furthermore, human history can be read as a history of religious conflicts. Religion plays an important role in the definition of the identity of individuals and thus societies. Moreover, there also exist societies that define themselves mostly according to one parameter that is religion.[42] Consequently, from the beginning of history, religion has not only concerned the spiritual field of human behavior, but it has also always had material consequences.

As a result, religion has taken its place in politics as an effective means of political propaganda. Even today when religion might be expected to be less powerful than before in politics, because of the separation of the institutions of state and religion in most countries, it is still an important means of propaganda and there are still political parties which define themselves and thus their policy with reference to religion. [43] Thus, it should come as no surprise that, in Archaic Greece - that is closer to a tribal society than a modern society in terms of state

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[42] Sometimes religion is almost the only means of identity for societies, as the Muslim society in the Middle Ages.

[43] Of course, the separation of the institutions of state and religion is the result of a more important development in humanity, that is the process of enlightenment that is defined in Kant's article "What is Enlightenment" in E. Behler (ed.), *Philosophical Writings*, 1986, pp. 263-269

relationship with religion - religion had been a more powerful phenomenon than today.

4.1.2. Archaic Age: The Temple and the *Polis* in Progress

4.1.2.1. Interrelationship of Religion & the *Polis*

The Archaic Period is generally accepted by scholars as an experimental age that led to an awakening of Greek culture: not only implying "the decisive achievements of Classical Greece" but perhaps being "the most important period in Greek history" itself. [44] This view is strongly supported by the material evidence that a complete intellectual revolution had evolved during the eighth century B.C., in every sphere of human action: religion, arts, and all other forms of thought.

In this evolution, "the major novelty was the development of the *polis*, which was to become the essential framework (of)...the Greek civilization". [45] Naturally, the *polis* also provided the basic framework in which Greek religion operated. Each *polis* was a religious system, which was intimately tied with a religious cult-organization of corresponding size. And each *polis* formed a part of the more complex world-of-*polis* system, interacting with the religious systems of other *poleis* in a Panhellenic religious dimension.

The *polis* was the essential framework for all the religious activity. Previously, the *polis* had determined the religious group and so the identity of its citizens. One belonged to the religious community of one's own *polis*, even in Panhellenic sanctuaries. This domination of the *polis* was reflected in the articulation of cult activities in Panhellenic sanctuaries where only the citizens of the Panhellenic city - those who made up the community which articulated the religion -; could directly and fully participate in rituals. The citizens of the other *poleis* could only participate as a *xenos*. On some occasions the *xenos* could take

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[44] Snodgrass, 1980, 13. See also *The Greek Renaissance*, for special issues in the 8th cent. BC.

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part in some cult activities by the help of a 'intermediary', the citizen of Panhellenic city who acted as *proxenos* (Sourvinou - Inwood, 296-7).

Greek religion is above all a way of rendering the chaos of the world intelligible, articulating a cosmic order sanctioned by a divine order, which also establishes the human order in complex ways. In a religion such as Greek religion, that is without any institution - in the sense we used to, without any scriptural texts, without a professional clergy acting as the source of divine knowledge -, there must be an ordered community to order the human relations with the divine. And it was the *polis*, the institutional framework that ordered the physical and the divine world into a religious system. The *polis* assumed the responsibility and authority to shape a religious system to mediate human relationships with the divine. And the *polis* religion embraces, contains and mediates all the religious discourse. Even festivals common to different *poleis*; such as the Thesmophoria, the most widespread Greek festival, were rendered differently by each *polis*. Thus the same festival could take different forms in different, even neighboring *poleis*. For example, the festival of the same name, the Thesmophoria, in the Agrionia at Orchomenos; at Chaironeia; and at Eretria; was articulated differently so that each had certain unique features.[46]

Religion had also formed the *polis* as much as the *polis'* institutional influence on religion. In the Greek *polis* the religion becomes the *polis'* central ideology that all citizens should regard most and a sign of betrayal towards religion was considered as a sign of disrespect towards the *polis*. The most significant evidence for this close relationship between religion and its institutional framework, the *polis*, was the central place of religion in civic life. For example, in Athens, homicide trials were directed in the sanctuary; there existed sacred structures in political buildings, e.g. the altar in the Bouleuterion; political and social life was performed with the help of rituals, prayers, oaths and curses; the election for office was made by lot. [47]

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[45] Austin and V.Naquet, 49; quoted in Harmanşah, 1991, p. 12.
[46] Sourvinou - Inwood, 302-3; As the source for the festival at Orchomenos she mentions: A. Schachter, *The Cults of Boiotia*, 1981, 179-81; for Chaironeia: *ibid*, 173-4; and for Eretria Plutarch, *Moralia* 298 B-C.
[47] Xen., Hell., 2.3.52, 53, 55); cited in Sourvinou – Inwood, 305.

The perception that the religion was central to the *polis* is indeed related to the fact that it is the relationship of the *polis* with its gods. This relationship guarantees the existence of the *polis* so that in the origins of the *polis* there is often located a form of 'guarantee' by gods.[48]

Each significant grouping within the *polis* was articulated and given identity through cult. In Greece, all relationships, including social and political ones were expressed and so determined, through cult. This is why the creation of a new *polis* necessitated cultic changes. Each *polis* created a particular organization of religion, and naturally, this changed when the *polis* organization changed. Moreover, this change was sanctioned by oracle.

This subdivision of the *polis* had: first, cults in which only their members could participate, which helped to define these groups through the exclusion of non-members; second, some at least had cults to which outsiders could be admitted and finally, they had cults in which they interacted with other *polis* groups: for example, the *demes* participated in the 'central *polis* cults'[49] either by celebrating them also in the *deme* or participating as a *deme*. And the celebration of the central *polis* festivals with the *deme* helped to articulate the solidarity of the *polis*.

The religious identity of the *polis* was cultically expressed and reinforced through the ritual activities of Panhellenic sanctuaries in which the participating group was all Greek, and from which the foreigners were expelled. But even in the Panhellenic festivals each person was a member of this Panhellenic community by virtue of being a member of a *polis*. The *polis* mediated the participation even in a Panhellenic sanctuary.

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[48] E.g. the oracular sanction for the foundation of colonies and the myth for the cities whose origin was believed to lie in the mythical past. For example, for Athens, the earth-born king Erichthonios; and above all the contest between Athena and Poseidon for Attica, and the gift of Athena for Athens, the olive tree, which was the sign of the relationship between Athena and Athens were the forms of divine 'guarantee' of protection. (Sourvinou - Inwood, 306)

[49] Sourvinou - Inwood categorizes the *polis* cults in the basis of their worshipping group in the example of -because there exists enough evidence about- Athens to handle the *polis* religion as a whole. And she defines the 'central *polis* cults' as: "...in which the worshipping group encompasses the whole *polis*, cults administered on the behalf and for the welfare, of the whole *polis*..." (307).

In conclusion, not only did the *polis* articulate the Greek religion, but also the religion articulated the *polis* in complex ways. The role of the *polis* in the articulation of Greek religion was complemented by the role of the religion in the articulation of *polis*: religion provided the framework and the symbolic focus of the *polis*. "Religion was the very center of Greek *polis*" (Sourvinou-Inwood, 322).

4.1.2.2. The Emergence of Monumental Temples

Another evidence for the central place of religion in the *polis* is the archaeological one that has led to a belief among scholars that the Greek temple is intimately connected with the Greek *polis* structure. Snodgrass, in his article "Archeology and the Rise of Greek States" discusses whether the emergence of fortification walls could be decisive in the attainment of independent *polis* status in the examples of early Greek settlements of Smyrna, Zagora on Andros, Emporio on Chios (Snodgrass, 1977, pp.21-25). However, he concludes that "...the building of a monumental temple, to a recognized patron deity, ... may be our clearest physical indication, that the emergent *polis* has arrived, or is at hand" (Snodgrass, 1977, 24).

Moreover, both the *polis* and the temple were mutually interdependent and took shape together. "The Greek *polis* articulated religion and was itself articulated by it; religion became the *polis'* central ideology, structuring and giving meaning to all the elements that made up the *polis*, its past, its physical landscape, the relationship between its constituent parts" (Sourvinou - Inwood, 304).

First of all, physically the temple is the focus of the *polis*. And this was the strongest evidence for the close link between the temple and *polis* structures. The temple is the distinctive and most prestigious building of the city and took its place both symbolically and physically over the other structures of a city like the palace of the tyrant, the castle, the town hall, and the monumental tomb. These are the structures which in other civilizations played similar roles of distinction – such

as Egyptian pyramids and Mycenaean *tholoi*, Minoan or Baroque palaces, Renaissance town halls etc. Although the *polis* - unlike the other civilizations mentioned - was founded on the rejection of monarchy; on the common responsibility of independent equals who met in open air, now "God had become the monarch". [50]

Consequently, the political implications of the temple will become clear after the analysis of its central place in civic life. Although in theory the god is the owner of his "house", in reality it is the *polis* that possessed the sanctuary and controlled the real estate, the buildings and the treasures. There were various "precinct governors" for the finances of the temple, who were elected every year like the other officials of state. Even the priestesses were assigned by the state and could be sold for the benefit of fiscus. The temples also held the state treasure, as they were the most secure structure in the city. Of course, they belonged to the deity but it was possible to make loans and, *anathemata* could be used when necessary.

It can also be understood that the ownership of sanctuaries was seen as belonging to the human realm, not to the divine, from the fact that the transgression of rules except *xenoi* did not annoy gods. The restriction about these rules was understood to belong to the human articulation of the divine world. [51] These contrast with the transgression of different types of prohibitions, which did offend the gods and brought divine punishment.[52] Transgression of these rules did constitute impiety that endangered the efficacy of all the religious practices of the *polis*.

Temples were usually built by decree and under the supervision of the city-state. If the governors were the supervisors of the temple, this was to identify themselves with the city-state (Burkert, 1988, 42). Consequently, this also became a part of the identity of Greekness. The Greeks saw themselves as part of one

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[50] V. Ehrenberg, *Der Staat der Griechen*, 1965, Zurich, 19; quoted in Burkert, 1988, 43.

[51] It is for the same reason that the sanctuaries could also change hands without feeling that any disrespect towards gods had been committed.

[52] Of course, the violation of rules, which was deemed sacrilegious in nature, was likely to attract divine punishment. One such offence, the sacrilegious nature of which was confirmed by the Pythia and which brought divine punishment was Miltiades' attempt to enter the *megaron* of the Thesmophorion of Paros, from which men were excluded (Sourvinou - Inwood, 297).

religious group; the fact that they had common sanctuaries and sacrifices - besides the same language and the same blood, a perceived common ancestry, and the same way of life - was one of the defining characteristic of Greekness (Herodotus 8. 144. 2). This identity was cultically expressed and reinforced through the Panhellenic festivals in which the participating group was 'all the Greeks' (Herodotus, 2.160; 5.22).

As Nicias said to his soldiers on the beach at Syracuse, "it is men that make a *polis*, not walls or ships devoid of men ".[53] Thus people are bound to the city and a city is bound to its territory. Then the defense of the land becomes the highest obligation of the citizen.[54] Moreover, the "gods and heroes" were themselves bound to their territory. In times of war, gods were invoked to "break the spear" (Iliad 6.306) of the enemy and were expected to help in battle, even directly. Thus, the temples of the gods almost took the place of a flag in the battle, and gave the feeling of security to the citizens, in times of danger (Burkert, 1988, 42).

Then we come to the basic question: why did Greeks build temples, without any functional necessity [55] and constructed vast monuments to their gods? A possible answer is the social and economic developments that might reflect upon the tradition of "setting up" gifts for the gods (Burkert, 1988, 43). However the interpretations which explain the emergence of temples with the developments in techniques and economics and an increase in the quantity and the quality of the votive offerings is not enough. To give something to a god means disavowal of the given thing; but as the gift was "set up" in the sanctuary, the renunciation became the demonstration of what was to stay. In a way, temples were primarily public places designed for the maintenance and the demonstration of *anathemata*.

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[53] Thucydides 7.77.7.; cited in McEwen, 120.
[54] Even the war was, according to Snodgrass, "the embodiment of the *polis* idea translated into action". The emergence of Archaic hoplite warfare, with the changes in equipment tactics, social stratification and political obligation stands close to the idea of the *polis*. It was a clear illustration of power of *polis* rivalry and emulation. And even war became "a channel for communication". Snodgrass, 1986, 51-52.
[55] Greeks did not use temples for any public purpose. The political meetings were always outdoors and the meeting in "houses" of any kind is viewed with suspicion (Burkert, 1988, 43).

Anathemata were a form of public show-off which in contrast to other forms did not raise rivalry or jealousy because the objects were no longer a private property. Then, the temples were the most prestigious *anathemata* in the *polis,* which transformed the private property of society into a monument of common identity. And the stability of *anathemata,* yielding to the divine, indicated the stability of *polis* in contrast to the finiteness of human life.

In sum, the Greek temple was built for pride and delight and it was a symbol of beauty but also the demonstration of wealth and power that had political connotations. The temple was developed together with the *polis* structure and there is also evidence that the importance of the Greek temple lessened with the decline of *polis.*

4.1.3. Racial Politics

4.1.3.1. The Doric and Ionic Orders

However, even between the Greeks themselves, there existed struggles and competition. In the fifth and fourth centuries, the situation - the wars between Greece and Persia and then between Sparta and Athens - made these conflicts more apparent. This new situation gave to architecture a particular importance and the regional architectural conventions became linked with political realities (Onians, 1988, 15).

For example, for Athens it became necessary to emphasize the ancestral bonds with Eastern Ionians. Aegean Greeks' contributions for the sustenance of the Athenian Empire's fleet, which was conceived to protect them against the Persians, was indeed the reason for this emphasis. On the other hand, the Ionians also had strong reasons for wishing to associate themselves with mainland Greeks, because of their victory over Persians in contrast to Ionians' defeat. They were now overlooking their Eastern neighbors, who in the sixth century had been their superiors in wealth and intellectual vitality. Thus, Pericles' building program for

the acropolis of Athens, which focused on the Parthenon and the Propylaea made the most assertive combination of Eastern and Western forms.

The combination of Doric and Ionic features, of course, represented the expression of Panhellenic aims, which were political as well as cultural. These ambitions in 430 BC were expressed by Pericles: "Athens", he says, is a "school for the whole Greece" and one of the main reasons for that, while the Spartans "pursue a manly character through their education by laborious training...we {the Athenians} pass our life in a relaxed way and yet are no less ready to face equal dangers".[56] In other words, the oppositions between the cultures of Dorians and the Ionians that were two aspects of the Greek personality, the physical and the intellectual, were tried to be equalized carefully by Pericles' architectural program who wished that Athens might unite the Greeks rather than divide them.

But, after the death of Pericles, Athenians found themselves increasingly dependent on their eastern neighbors because of the intensification of the Peloponnesian war. This led to a public acknowledgment of their ancestral links with those peoples. Consequently, Erectheus, the king of Attica, was claimed to have been the grandfather of Ion, the ancestor of Ionians. And Euripides wrote a play on this fact, Ion, and the construction of a new Ionic temple, the Erechtheum, (Figure 7) was begun on the Acropolis (after 421-406 BC). The temple served to symbolize Attic-Ionian unity (Onians, 1988, 18).

The temple of Apollo at Bassae, (Figure 8) according to Onians was a last homage to Pericles' hopes of Panhellenic unity. Its Doric exterior and rich Ionic interior was balanced carefully to appeal for unity. In this temple however "the hope that the Doric and the Ionic could be intermingled has been replaced by an awareness that all that can be hoped for is peaceful co-existence" (Onians, 1988, 18).
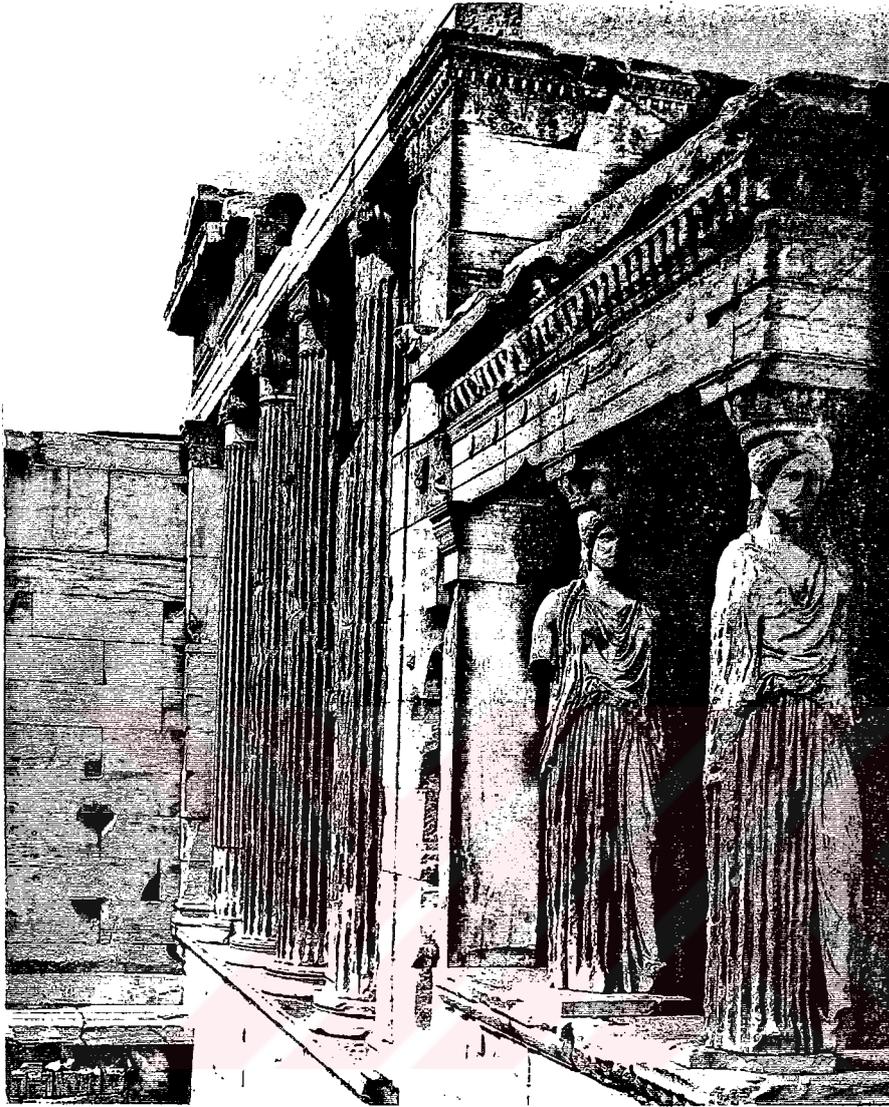
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[56] Quoted in Onians, 1988,16
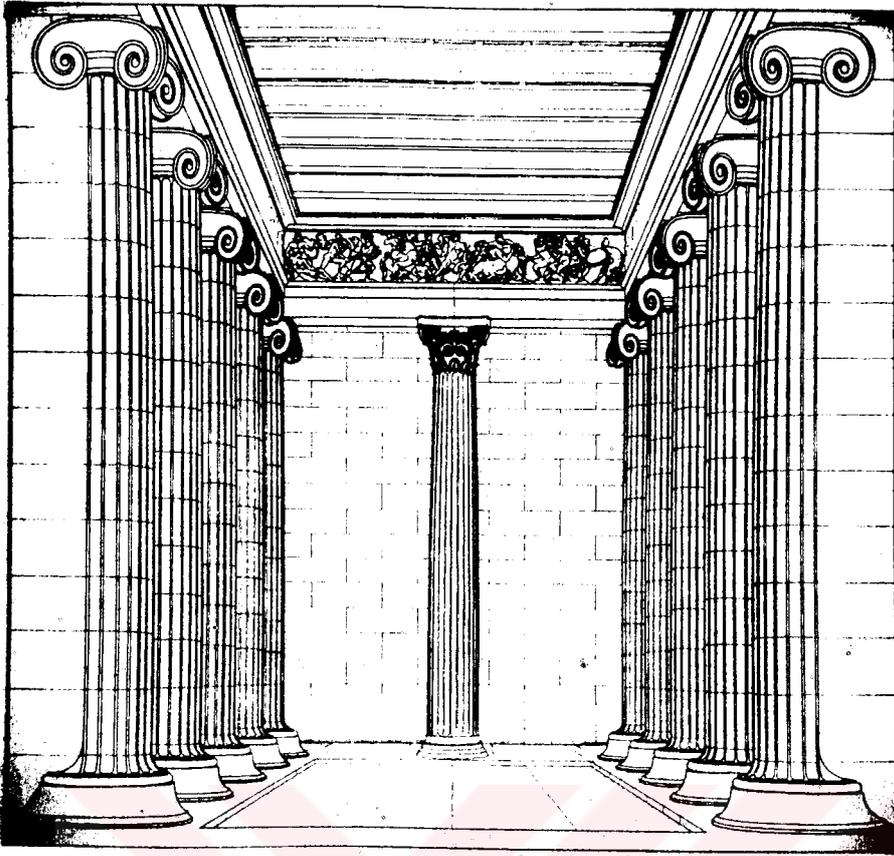
Figure 7. Erechtheum, Athens, 421-405 B. C.

Figure 8. Temple of Apollo Epikourios, Bassae, later fifth century B.C.

4.1.3.2. Corinthian Order

With the invention of the Corinthian capital, the articulation of political means in architecture acquired a new dimension. One of the main features of the early use of the capital was its use for interiors like the Ionic capital. It was especially used in the interiors of Doric buildings perhaps because it originated as a form of interior decoration. But its use in interiors can be understood in a more positive way. For Greeks before the invention of Corinthian capital the architectural convention was to apply Doric to exteriors because of its austere and manly character and to use Ionic for interiors because of its refinement and its associations with the effeminate Ionians.[57] Similarly, the Corinthian column was used for interiors because of its feminine associations (Onians, 1988, 20). But it became a more suited form than the Ionic capital for Dorians who wished to make the interior and exterior difference without furnishing the alien Ionian element. In place of it, they adopted the new acanthus capital, free of racial overtones.

In the temple of Apollo at Bassae, a Corinthian column appeared for the first time. Although the origins of this column type are confused, from the mythical explanations and archeological evidence some clues can be derived. (Figure 9) First, its open form suggests an origin in metalwork and also its mythical inventor Callimachus made a bronze chimney in the form of a palm tree. Furthermore, as it seems like a metal offering table, it implies a link with the decorative arts. As can be understood from the name "Corinthian", (*Korinthiourges*, "of Corintian workmanship") it suggests a link with the city of Corinth, which was famous for its metalwork. It can be seen symbolically to be connected with life/death and healing as it was always seen on tombs (Onians, 1988, 19).

The first building in which the Corinthian order was used with Ionic alone is the Philippeion, (Figure 10-11) a round structure housing the statues of the Macedonian royal family who were the ancestors of Philip of Macedon. The

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[57] In ancient Greece male was generally connected with outdoors and female with indoors.
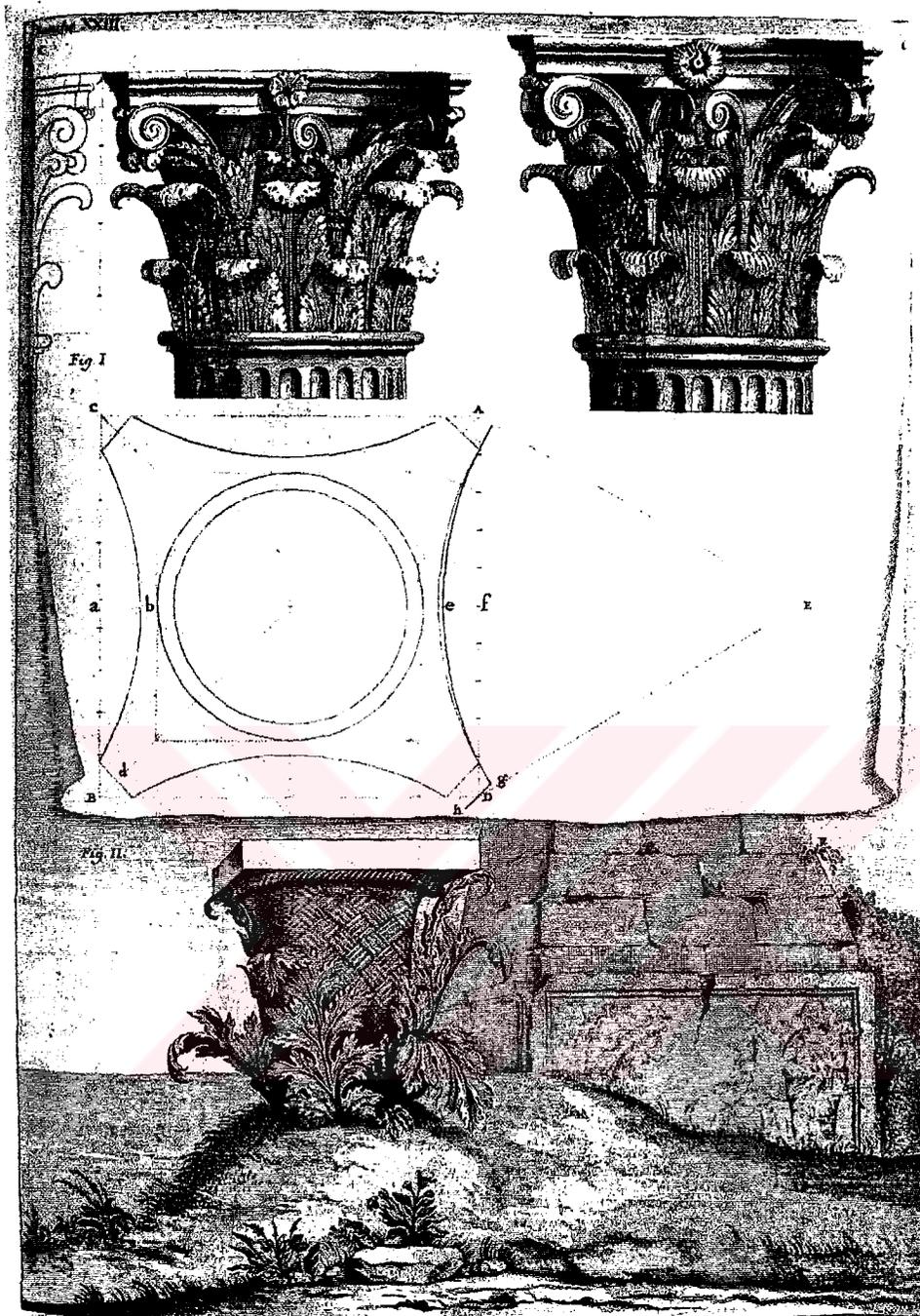
Figure 9. The origin of the Corinthian order and setting up of its capital.
From C. Perrault's Vitruvius (1684)
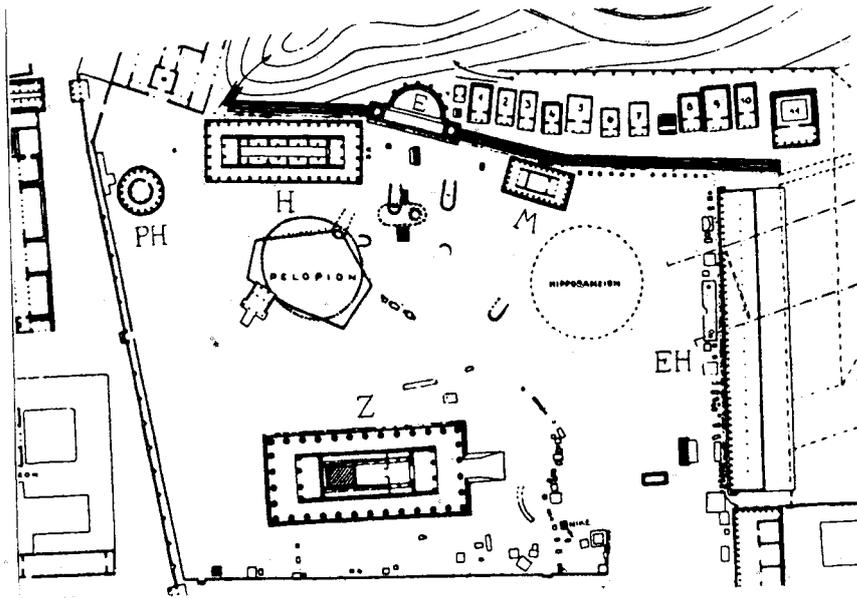
Figure 10. Sanctuary of Olympia, plan: H, temple of Hera, Z, temple of Zeus, PH, *Philippeion,* ST, Stadium, 1-11, Treasuries
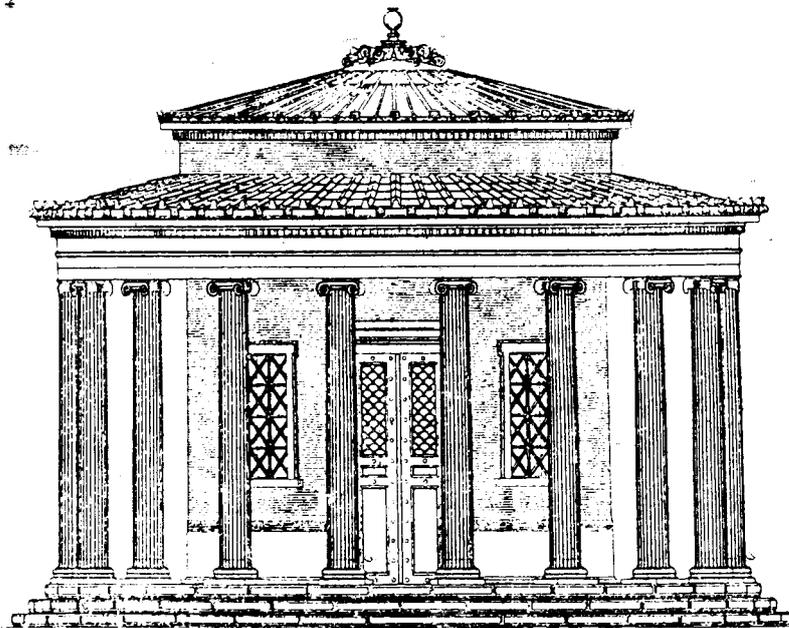
Figure 11. Philippeion, Olympia, c. 330 B.C.

combination of the two most refined orders presented Philip as someone who identified himself with the least barbaric elements of Greek tradition, and someone who was genuinely more Panhellenic than any of the true Greeks. By the help of Philippeion he effectively designed his image as a civilized and intellectual ruler opposed to the generally accepted Greek view of him as a crude savage (Onians, 1988, 21). The placement of the building opposite the Pelopion - the shrine of the ancient ruler of Peloponnessos - affirmed Philip's claim to the beginning of a new period.

The identity definitions - which are constituted to a great extent by religion - of Greeks become more evident when analyzed in the context of inter-state relationships. And architecture becomes a good 'text' to analyze these complex identity problems. It has been shown that the temple was already a show-case for the state without pre-planned political positions as in the case of the program of Pericles or Athens. But in such critical times - such as the war in the example of Pericles and the tyrants' legitimization of self-identity in the case of Philip of Macedon - the regional differences in architecture could be used for more assertive political claims.

4.2. ORACLE AS A MEANS FOR POLITICS

4.2.1. Panhellenic Sanctuaries

Greek religion consists of a network of religious systems interacting with each other and with the Panhellenic religious dimension. However, the role of the Panhellenic sanctuaries in Greek religion was quite different from that of the city sanctuaries. Aside from being contradictory systems, they rather complemented each other. The Panhellenic religious dimension - like warfare - was indeed

necessary for the manifestation of *polis* rivalry, which was essential for the existence of the *polis* structure.[58]

First of all, the function of Panhellenic sanctuaries in the Greek society was necessary for the stability of the *polis* structure as they served as neutral places for both meetings, disputes and rivalries of different states. Thus they are often characterized as centers of interaction and competition, in a common framework of ritual activity. Besides the inter-state gatherings and institutions which had been regarded as important in the reinforcement of ideas central to *polis* organization, these sanctuaries acted as focal points at which formal relations between the communities were established and perpetuated by treatises and federal meetings.

A society so politically fragmented -with a great number of independent *polis* organizations- as Greece, was very much in need of such a common arena, in which the innovations, advances and achievements of each *polis* could be made known simply or demonstrated to others. These sanctuaries offered a forum, superior to that of normal diplomacy, for communication and rivalry with the citizens of other *poleis*.

However, the issue of *polis* identity was still at work in Panhellenic sanctuaries that the *polis* affixed; it authorized and mediated all the religious activity even in the Panhellenic sanctuaries. The *polis* mediated the participation of its citizens in a variety of ways. For example, at Delphi, which is a Panhellenic sanctuary, the *polis* articulated the operation of the oracle. The Delphians were the religious personnel of the sanctuary and they also acted as *proxenos* in consultations with non-Delphians. Similarly, in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia *proxenoi* again played a role; the judges of the games were Eleans (Herodotus 2.160; Pausanias 5.9.5.) and also they decided as to who were allowed to take place in games and worship at the sanctuary (Thucydides 5. 50).

Another evidence for the fact that the *polis* mediated the individual's participation in the Panhellenic cult can be seen in the order of consultation of the

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[58] We know that the *polis* sanctuaries were also a case for *polis* rivalry, but their forms of manifestation in Panhellenic sanctuaries were more powerful and various, such as the games, treasuries, etc.
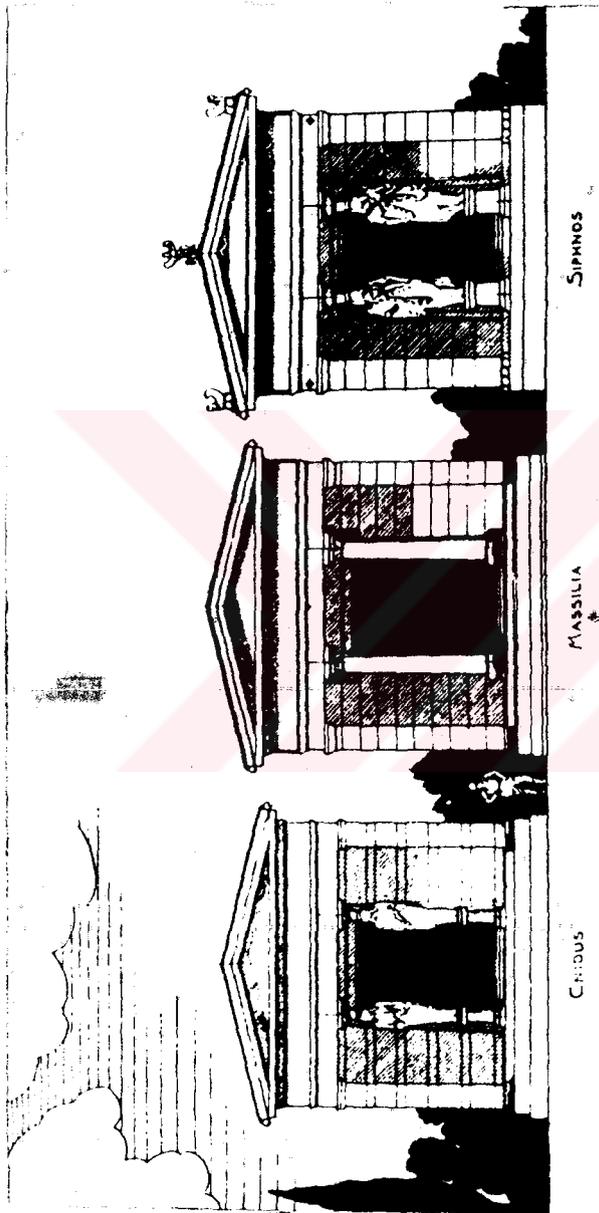
Figure 12. Treasuries at Delphi, all sixth century B.C. From left to right: Treasury of Cnidos, Tresury of Massafia, and Tresury of Siphnos

Delphic oracle.[59] In the order of consultations, Greeks came before barbarians[60]; the Delphians before all other Greeks; after the Delphians and before the other Greeks came the other ethnic groups and *poleis* who were the members of the Delphic Amphictiony. Moreover, the *promenteia*, a privilege in order of consultations which the Delphic *polis* is conferred to individuals or city-states, also at work within this articulation. Indeed, the *promenteia* again points to the force of *polis* organization in the treatment of oracle. The oracle was seen as sanctuary of the Delphic *polis*, which could offer privileges to its benefactors. However, the *promentia* did not transcend the categories; it only provided priority in the same category which meant a privileged barbarian could only consult the oracle before other barbarians, not before Greeks; a Greek could consult before other Greeks but not before the Delphians.

Another example of the mediation of the *polis* in Panhellenic sanctuaries was the *theoriai* sent by individual *poleis* to the Panhellenic sanctuaries and also to other *poleis*.[61] The *theoriai* of the *polis* conducted the ritual acts in the Panhellenic city in the name of that *polis*. The treasuries erected by the individual *poleis* in the great Panhellenic sanctuaries were the symbolic expressions of the religious system of each *polis* in Panhellenic sanctuaries (Figure 12). They housed the offering of their citizens and the ritual fixtures for the various cult activities, and basically, they were the visual remainders of cities, which built them.

However, the existence of this *polis* identity was almost the basic reason for the existence of the Panhellenic sanctuaries as they were characterized as places of competition between different *poleis*. This competition existed in many forms but it almost always had political connotations as the winner had some form of honor. The first and most evident form of it was the artistic and athletic competitions in which rivalries between the different states could be exercised in a controlled fashion. The second form of materialization of these rivalries was dedications of the city-states: treasuries or military trophies. These monumental

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[59] Sourvinou -Inwood, 298, she mentions as her source: G. Roux, 1976, *Delphes: Son oracle et ses dieux*, Paris, pp.76-9.

[60] Consultations between Greeks were probably arranged according to some geographical order.

buildings were reflections of wealth and the achievements of individual states or leagues, to impress the visitors of other city-states. To erect a treasury at a pan-Hellenic center was to exalt one's *polis* as belonging to an elite among the other *poleis*. In other words, these treasuries or military trophies were the 'show case' of *polis* for recognition outside one's own *polis*.

Consequently, the identity of dedicators changed according to changing political circumstances. For example, many of the earliest states to build treasuries at Olympia and Delphi -largely during the sixth century- were colonies which were founded in the rapid spatial and political definition of their new communities and thus experiencing fewer problems of definition and solidification evident in Greek mainland (Morgan, 20).

Moreover, the issue of colonial identity was also at work here. Dedication at a Panhellenic mainland sanctuary like Olympia or Delphi, would have the advantage of emphasizing general links with the source of the colony's Greek identity while avoiding the kind of close connection with the mother city, which might compromise its independence (Morgan, 20). Because the colonies owed their existence to the actions of their mother cities yet their independence to separation from them.

Another function of Panhellenic sanctuaries was to offer space for marginal groups, which were dangerous for the stability of the *polis* structure. For the individual as a citizen of state, going 'beyond the bounds' was a dangerous move, since the community rules defined the limit of the security and status assumed by the *polis*. Thus, most of the Panhellenic sanctuaries occupied remote or peripheral locations, beyond the border of majority of the participant states, and usually, under the control of a weak, servile state or institution and therefore they offered a neutral place of meeting and competing.

Although the elite ambitions, as expression of civic values, focused on the centers of mainland *poleis*, marginal and dangerous activities, or the purely personal concerns of aristocrats, were expelled from the center to rural sanctuaries.

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[61] Sourvinou - Inwood, 298, she mentioned as source: M.P.Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 1967, pp. 549-52, 826-7, M. F. Baslez, 1984, *L'etranger dans la Grece Antique*, Paris, p.59

Consequently, Ephebic rituals, marking the adoption of adult male status, and female rites of passage, including Arkteia and childbirth, were celebrated largely in the countryside and at rural sanctuaries. Thus, the institutionalization of activity at Panhellenic sanctuaries may be seen as an extension of increasingly complex political perceptions of the role of the religious space in *polis* territory (Morgan, 32).

4.2.1.1. The Colonization

The only way of assuring the optimum behavior towards the gods for the *polis* was prophecy, which offered the only direct means of access to the gods in the Greek world. Thus the prophecy was the most important activity in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. It was a tool, which was employed in times of civic crisis, which may have been caused by any number of internal and external factors. It was consulted in a number of subjects including mainly the colonization, the adoption of a lawcode, or the attempt of a war of conquest, all of which indicate a crisis of passage in communal life. In this way, the oracle added a further dimension of political significance to Panhellenic sanctuaries.

Colonization was one of the main subjects of oracular consultation, especially at Delphi. During the Archaic Period the Greeks began a far-reaching movement to colonize foreign lands, in which Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi played a significant role. Even the fame of Delphi resulted from the success of the colonizing movement.[62]

As mentioned before, all the consultations of the oracle indicate a crisis in civic life. Similarly, consultation for the colonization was often triggered by a natural or political disaster. Drought or internal stasis forced a city to exile part of

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[62] For a general history of the archaic colonization movement, see J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 1980. For discussions of the nature and scope of Delphic Apollo's role in the Archaic colonization movement, see W. G. Forrest, "Colonization and the Rise of Delphi" *Historia* 6; 1957, I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, 1987. For a collection of colonization oracle and discussion about their authencity, see H.W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1956; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*; L. Maurizio, "Delphic Oracles as Oral Performances: Authencity and Historical Evidence", *Clant* 16.2, 1997.

its population. By expelling a part of the population the *polis* reorganized its civic and cosmic environment, besides creating a new city out of which had to be discarded. "A city's need to colonize appears to be very much like its need to be purified".[63]

There are many Delphic colonization stories, which have survived in literary and historical inscriptions.[64] Most of the tales of colonization, particularly those in Herodotus, Plutarch, and Pausanias, where we find the majority of them, were indeed same in plot structure: crisis, consultation of the oracle, interpretation, action, and the confirmation or refutation of oracle. For example, Thucydides explains the founding of Acarnania as such:

> There is a story about Alemaeon son of Amphiaraus. During his wanderings after the murder of his mother, the oracle of Apollo is said to have told him there would be no release from his toils until he found a place that, at the time his mother died, had not been seen by the sun and was not then land; the rest of the earth was polluted for him. At first he was at a loss, as they say, until he thought of the deposit of the Achelous river, which was not piled enoug that the time of his mother's death to be called land- for he had been wandering a long time. He settled the land around Oeneadae, ruled there, and named the place after his son, Acarnan (2.102.5-6).

The same plot structure is observed also in this story. However, different from the majority of other kinds, the colonization tales always ended with an affirmation of the oracle, that is the foundation of the colony and the restoration of the proper sense of order in the *polis*. However, the oracle did not simply give the solution for the foundation of the colony; rather its language was ambiguous and puzzling and thus needed interpretation. The story presented a paradox or mental puzzle, by describing the colonization site as an impossible landscape. According

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[63] Dougherty, in her article "It's a Murder to Found a Colony" relates "the Apollo who purifies" with the "Apollo who colonizes". A 'polluted' city was purified by colonizing; in this way it discarded the polluted element - e.g. the murderer or a political dissident. Then the 'polluted' element, -such as murderer- was purified by founding a new city. The seemingly contradictory concepts -according to our perception - such as pollution and purification, polluted and divine were not contradictory in Greek perception; they were rather complementary.

[64] Some historians in order to distinguish the genuine or authentic oracles from forgeries developed some tactics relying on the notions of positivism (Parke & Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1956; Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, 1978). However, Maurizio discusses the oral character of oracular tales, and promotes that all the oracles that survived in Greek memory were

to Dougherty, the metaphor – puzzle - inside the colonization story signifies how puzzling - difficult and violent - the colonization activity itself indeed was. [65] Similarly, the reward for the correct interpretation of the puzzle was also signified in the story; the founder gave the city its name; he marked out civic boundaries and established the precinct of the gods. The founder received immortal honors from his city and he was always celebrated with the cult of the founder (Dougherty, *It's a Murder to Found a Colony*, 191).

Levi-Strauss promotes the metaphor as preceding the practical communication in the development of the civilization. He quotes Rousseau: "As emotions were the first motives that induced man to speak, his first utterances were tropes. Figurative language was the first to be born. At the beginning the poetry was spoken". [66] The words of Rousseau, perfectly clarify - besides all early civilizations - the Greek perception of language, and thus the world. The metaphor is so fundamental to Greeks that the names of gods, goddess, and heroes were tropes of social economic and religious changes in ancient societies.[67]

Apollo favored symbolic language for his messages about the future, the language which required reflection and interpretation, because it perfectly troped the colonization activity beforehand (Dougherty, 1992, 44). He did not deliberately conceal the truth, but simply tropes the activity in accordance with the Greek perception of language. The correct interpretation of the oracle and the solution of the puzzle made the Greeks similar to the gods: "it presents the Greek colonists as speakers of the Delphic language; they are masters of the interpretation, and as a result, masters of a new city" (Dougherty, 1992, 44).

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indeed authentic. "Delphic Oracles as Oral performances: Authenticity and Historical Evidence", *Classical Antiquity*, 1997.

[65] Often the physical risk involved in colonization was as much as war, as the colonist generally had to fight for local population to conquer the land.

[66] J. J. Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine des Langues*, 1783, III., quoted in G. Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, 1992, 5.

[67] Indeed, the Reneisaance philosopher Giambattista Vico founded his "New Science" on this idea -that the tropes were so powerful in ancient societies because they did not have yet philosophy to conceptualize.

4.2.2. Oracle as an Institution

4.2.2.1. Speech and Poetry

Two fundamental questions were raised by the divination that were its dual dimensions as a mental attitude and as a social institution. The part of the questions pertaining to the former -in short, what type of rationality was expressed in the divinatory procedure, the apparatus of oracular techniques and symbolisms- have been discussed in the preceding chapters. On the other hand, what will be discussed in this chapter is the more important question of the place of the oracle in society. In other words, what position and function did Greek society assign to oracular knowledge?

The oracle is generally understood by scholars as an irrational or magical exception to the normal rational administration of the community affairs. It seems so, because, the rationality at work in an oracular consultation seems totally different from the normal conduct of communal decisions which relies on verbal procedures of discussion that derive from a rationality that could be called rhetorical or dialectical. The latter kind of decision making was employed in assemblies where each individual citizen could vote for the antithetical proposals. "It is based on the logic of the persuasive argument, wholly alien in its principles and spirit to the divinatory mentality" (Vernant, 1991, 306).

However, recent studies have concentrated upon the function of divination as a regularly-used tool for decision making within the *polis*. Similar to the assembly disscussions, the community judgment interfered with the interpretation of the oracles. Indeed, in some cases, the god's words in the oracle and the human word in the assembly derived from the same type of intelligibility. This fact is expressed particularly in the correspondence between the formulas used for posing the questions to the oracle and those for formulating the decisions ordained by the people in the assembly (Vernant, 1991, 323). Indeed, on some occasions, the oracle was not asked to predict the future, to reveal what was to come; rather it

was questioned before embarking on the policy that seemed best, in order to know whether it was sanctioned or forbidden, or in the cases where it was forbidden to find an appropriate choice for obtaining it. What was expected, therefore, was not an earlier prediction of the event, but a warranty, the sanctioning of already formulated solutions of community conduct. What was required from the oracle was to fix an order of preference between possible choices, because of the factors that human intelligence could not evaluate. Thus, the situation at the debates of the assembly was similar in that the dilemma of a situation, after the consultation of the oracle, in the face of opposite views, was reasonably judged according to their advantages and disadvantages. Thus the decrees did not say "the city orders that..." but " it has pleased the council and the people..." or "it seem preferable to them to..."

These responses, which were formed on the ground of "preferable", were usual in the area of practical counsels and of prescriptions that were most often a religious kind - those were the ordinary competence of the oracle. In these responses, which took the form of direct answers to simple and alternative propositions, there is no trace of ambiguity.

However there exists another "model" of divination, asserted throughout written literature, from Herodotus to the philosophers, that should not be considered an imaginary creation.[68] In this form of oracular response, the words of the seer not only have value as advice or encouragement but also they imply a direct contact with the invisible and the beyond. In this way, the oracle is really directed towards a future event, unknown to the human being. It is, in the proper sense, a prediction of the future.

It is the belief in a secret destiny that was thought to be revealed by the word of the oracle in the course of the life itself. This kind of a divination was indeed a yielding to the divine immortality (Vernant, 1991, 315) because by revealing the future it also eradicated - even for a moment - the distinction between human condition and the gods. Thus, the language of the message itself

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[68] This form of divinatory activity seems to have been made very early. For example, the colonial oracles were mostly ambiguous. Of all the oracles included in Parke-Wormell collection 42% of

necessitated reflection, wisdom and intellectual skill in order to be interpreted correctly.[69] Heraclitus perhaps captures this fact best: "The lord whose oracle is at Delphi neither speaks, nor hides, but signifies (*semainei*)".[70] It allows to be seen it by signifying it, an obscure sign, as difficult for the human intelligence to decipher as the events themselves about which they consulted. The sign, which was conceived for the prediction of the future, was a sign that was as enigmatic and impenetrable as the future itself. Thus, the ambiguity was not "a last resort to protect the oracle against charges of inaccuracy" (Morgan, 1993, 28), rather, it was itself a "sign" of the uncrossable boundaries between the mortals and immortals. It might be true that the ambiguity of the oracle protects it against charges of inaccuracy, but I think it could not be a conscious act, as the metaphor, which constitutes overall view of life for the Greeks, was a true expression of existence and sorrows of existence.

Vico's great discovery about the essence of poetry [71] was its 'necessity' (Caponigri, 1953, 165). According to him, "...men seek first the necessary, then the commodious, thirdly the useful, and only finally that which delights" (Caponigri, 1953, 165). As the origin of languages is poetry, that was first asserted by Vico and then Rousseau, the poetry was the basic 'necessity' of the Greeks in the archaic period which was characterized by subsurface tensions in the underlying level of collective consciousness. The function of poetry was only to be expressive of the pre-reflective or spontaneous consciousness of man, which was almost the only kind of expression in Greek society. (317) Thus the mytho-poetical consciousness in Greek society was expressed in all media of expression in everyday ritual enactments of society.

Thus, the logic of divination was only a continuity of this mytho-poetical consciousness. Like all other forms of expression in Greek society, the poetical

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the colonial oracles were ambiguous whereas only 22% of non-colonial oracles are enigmatic (Dougherty, 1992, 29). Dougherty also offers an explanation for this fact.

[69] This need of correct interpretation is evident in the stories of colonization oracles, which tried to be explained above.

[70] D-K 22 B 53; cited in Dougherty, 1992, 42.

[71] Vico, used the word 'poetry' as a general concept which include all forms of metaphor, not as a specific kind of literature which we are used to name it today. I also employed the word in its Vichian meaning.

responses of the oracle were a "necessity" for the expression of pre-reflective consciousness of Greeks. It was the true expressions of the existence and sorrows of existence just through the medium of divinatory ritual. Divinatory rationality in Greek society, thus, does not form a separate domain, an isolated mentality, contrasted with modes of reasoning that regulate other parts of social life, rather it is coherently included in the entire body of social thought.

4.2.2.2. Divination and Politics

As there was a close relation between religion and politics in ancient Greece, it is inevitable that both were interconnected also in the activity of divination. However, the politics might have influenced only the kind of oracles that was formulated as an advice, encouragement or guarantee, rather than the prediction. Because, as explained above, their kind of rationality were indeed very similar to the rationality of political activity that took place in assemblies and law courts.

There are many evidences for politics interfering with the oracular responses. For example, during the time when Peisistratus and his son were in control of Athens, the noble and wealthy family of the Alcmaeonidae was exiled and escaped to Delphi. They offered many gifts to the temple; for example, they contributed to the building of the temple of Apollo, to win the good graces of Delphic priesthood. Then the Pythia issued a number of oracles urging the Spartans to make war with Athens and to exile the tyrants, since this would enable the Alcmaeonidae to return to their homeland. The Spartans, with the oracle's encouragement, made two expeditions to Athens and became successful. And in 510 the Alcmaeonidae family were able to return to Athens (Flaceliere, 62-63). This story shows how significant the authority of the oracle was at that period, besides the manipulation of the oracle by personal pressure, political intrigue and financial generosity. However, this story is an extreme case and usually the

political interference to the oracle was not by influencing the Pythia and prophets; but by methods of rhetorical and democratic decision-making.

For example, the 'wooden wall' oracle, told by Herodotus, is a very specific example of how the oracle acted in decision-making within the state-government (7.140-3). Before the invasion of Xerxes' Persian armies, Athenians sent a delegation of *theoroi* (envoys) to consult the oracle at Delphi. Before they had even made inquiries, the Pythia foretold the catastrophes to come. However, insisting to get a more favorable response they got the answer that "Zeus grants to Tritogeneia (Athena) that only a rampart of wood will be invincible, and it will help you and your children". After the envoys returned to the city, they reported the oracle to the assembly of people. Some older men proposed that the Acropolis would escape the disaster, for in earlier times the Acropolis of Athens was fortified with a kind of wooden wall, the "thorn-hedge". Others, on the contrary, said that it was the ships, the god meant by saying wooden wall. They basically opposed the last two verses that the Pythia uttered: "O divine Salamis, you will bring death to women's sons / When the corn is scattered, or the harvest gathered in". The soothsayers commented that if they were to prepare a naval battle, they would be defeated in the waters of Salamis. However Themistocles opposed their interpretation. He suggested that if the god were really referred to the Athenians he would say "Unfortunate Salamis..." not "divine Salamis". Then the Athenians judged the interpretation of Themistocles preferable to that of soothsayers.

Herodotus also notes that already in the past, on another community dispute, Themistocles had succeeded in having his view -on a political issue and an oracular response- prevail in the assembly. Both are the result of the same kind of political intelligence deployed by the man of state to decode the ambiguity of the oracle and think up a suitable strategy for circumstances, and find appropriate arguments to convince the assembly to decide in his favor.

Through these examples it may be seen that, although it become clear that the oracle was a significant means for politics, in general, it did not bestow divine authority upon rulers, but rather it sanctioned their decisions to act upon particular issues.
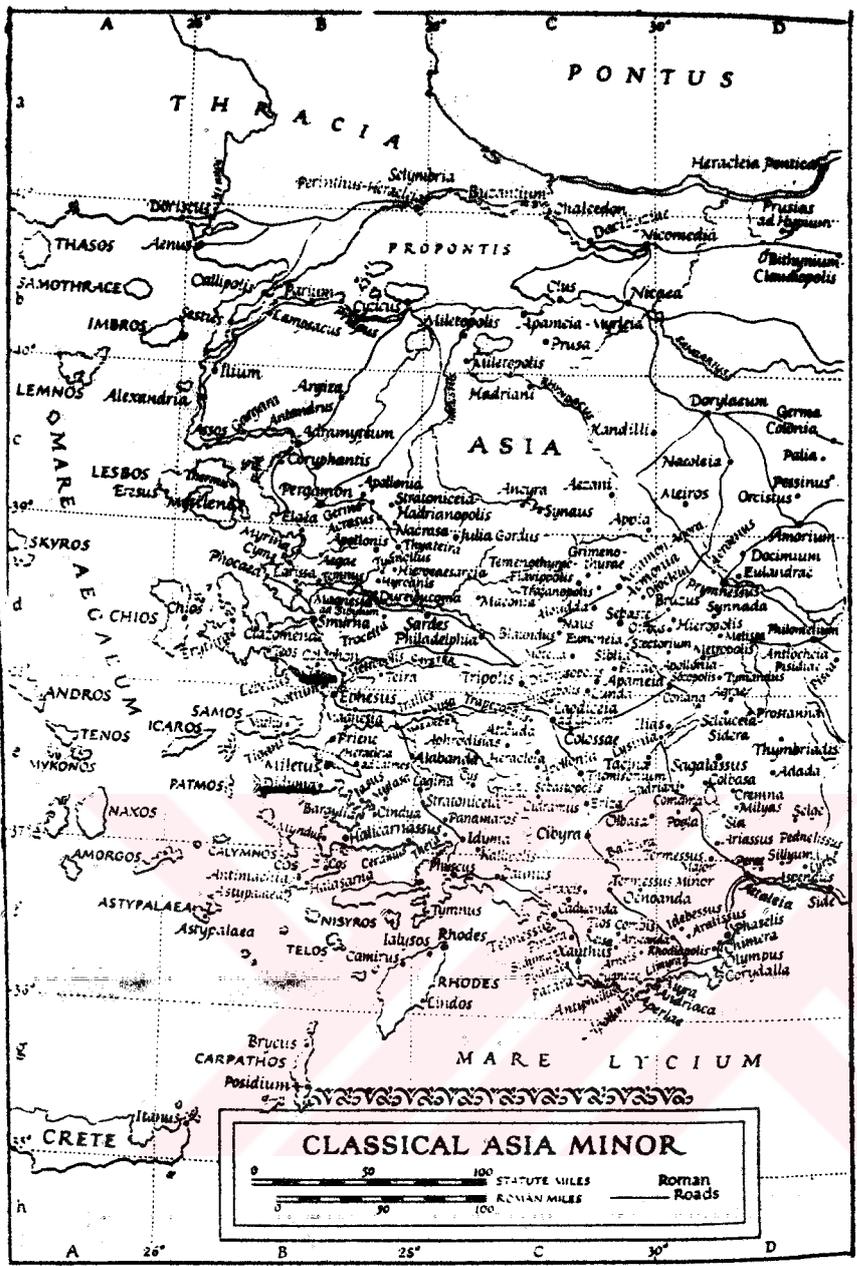
Figure 13. The map of Classical Asia Minor

CHAPTER 5: ORACULAR POLITICS IN THE IONIAN SCENE: DIDYMA AND KLAROS

## 5.1. AN ARCHITECTURE FOR MONUMENTALITY: TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DIDYMA AND KLAROS

5.1.1. Temple of Apollo at Didyma

5.1.1.1. Site and History

Beyond Miletus, in the southernmost point of Ionia, stands one of the most impressive monuments of the ancient world, the temple of Apollo at Didyma, which was one of the most important oracular centers of Apollo in the whole Greek world. It is still impressive with its huge size, unique plan and fine state of preservation (Plate 1). In size it is one of the largest in Asia Minor after the temples at Samos and Ephesos. (Figure 14).

Like Klaros, Didyma never became a city and the temple belonged to the territory of Miletos. Thus, the priest was an important official of that city. The temple connected with the city both by sea from the harbor of Panormos and by the monumental sacred way[72] (Figure 15). Beginning at the sacred gate of Miletos, the sacred road continues southwards and came to an end at the northeast of the Didymaion, in front of the terrace associated with votive offerings. The final stretch of the Sacred Way was lined on the left and right with statues, generally dating from the sixth century B.C. These statues mostly represent priests and priestess of the Branchidae family, seated in the stiff archaic posture, some with inscriptions. They also include lions and a sphinx.

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[72] On the sacred way see Fontenrose 1988, 28-29; Tuchelt 1970, 194.
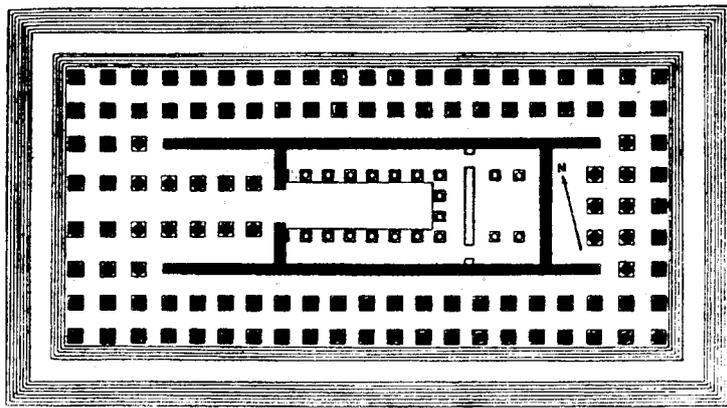
a. Artemis, Ephesus
ca. 356-236
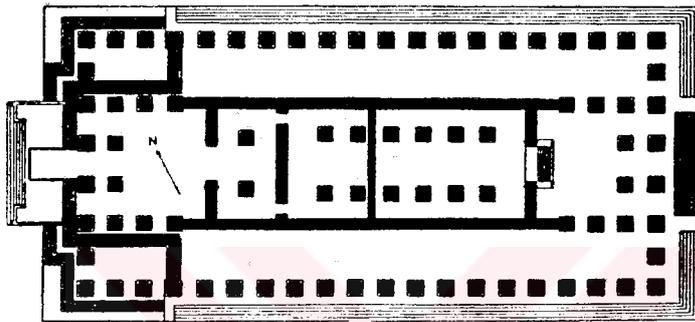
b. Artemis, Sardis
ca. 350-300

c. Apollo, Didyma
ca. 313 B.C.- 41 A.D.

d. Hera, Samos
ca. 570-540

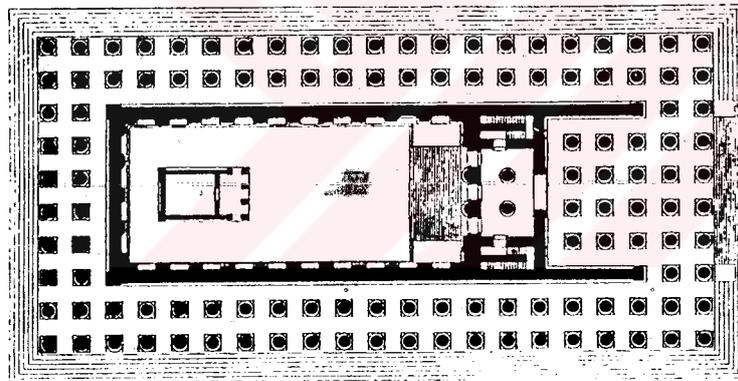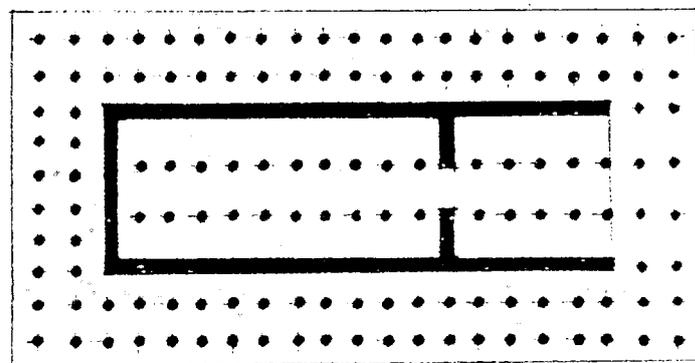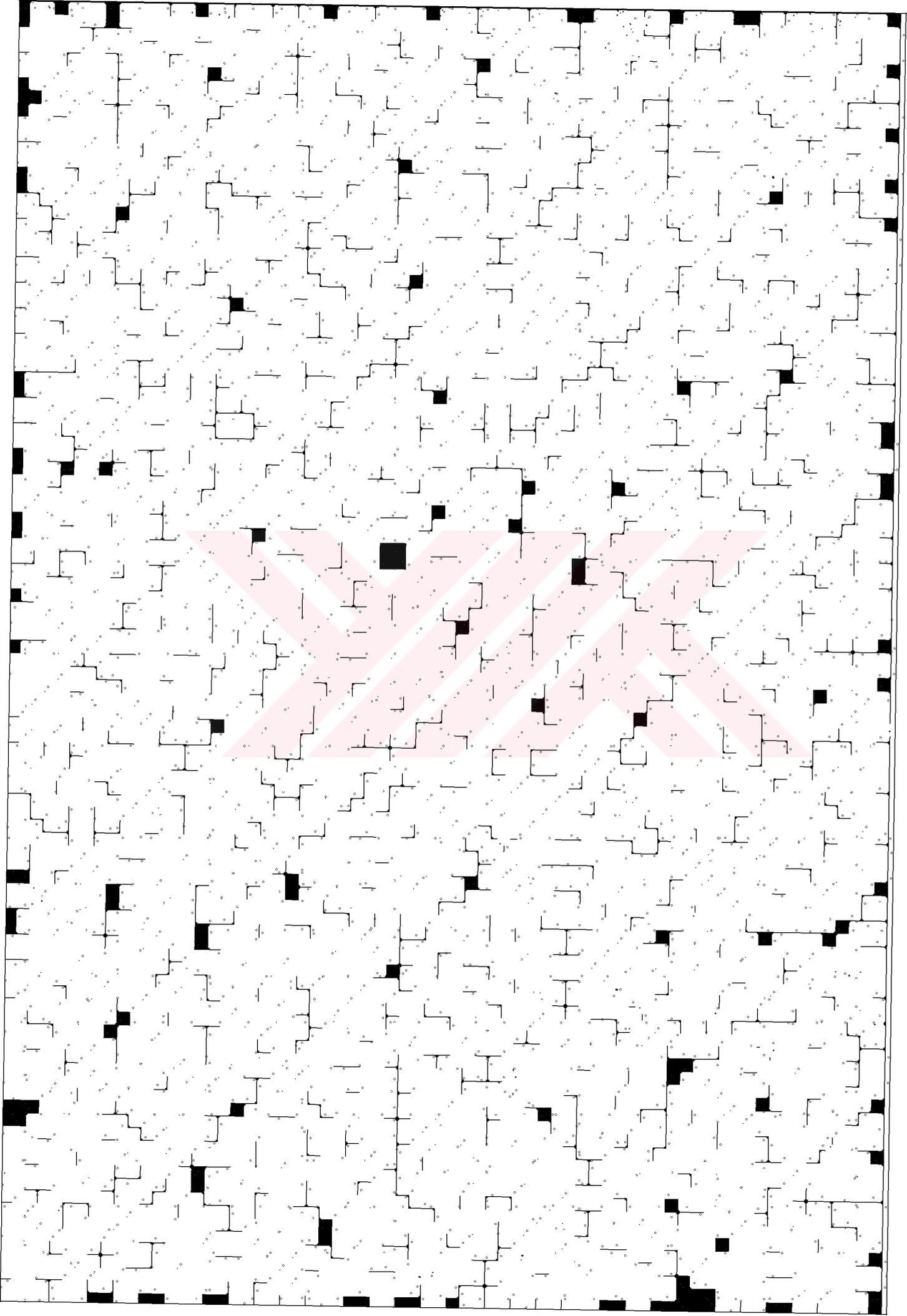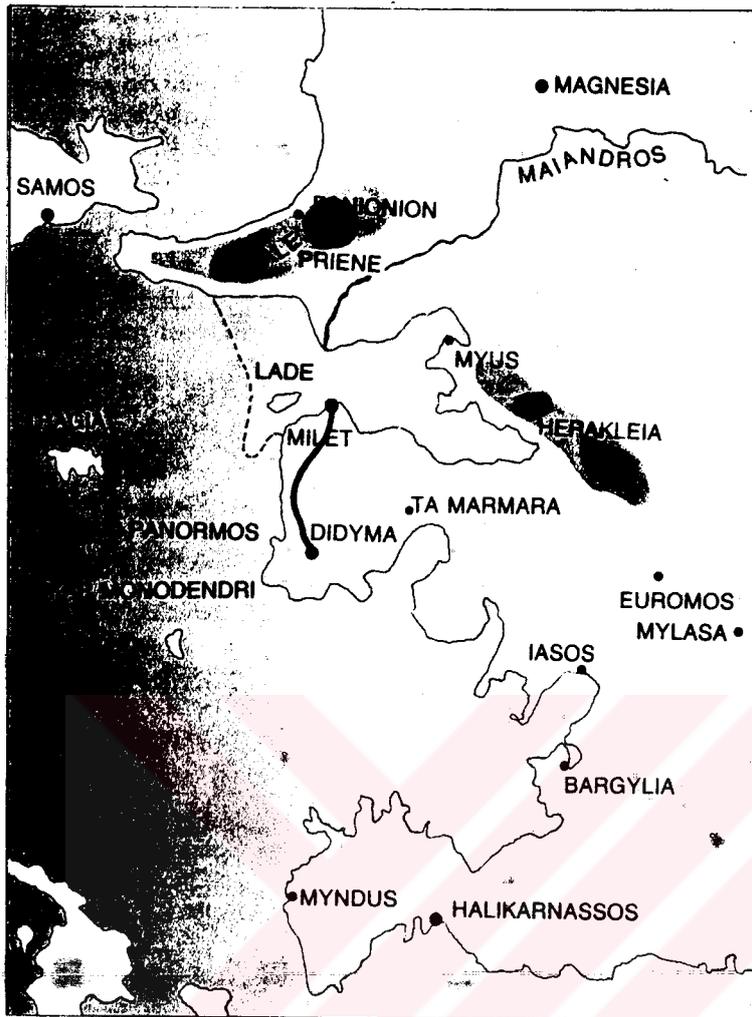**Figure 14.** Colossal Hellenistic temples. Plans (scale approximately 1: 1000)

Figure 15. Sacred way

According to Pausanias, "the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, and his oracle are earlier than the immigration of Ionians" (7.2.6.). And the spring probably belonged before Apollo to a goddess comparable to the Greek Leto. The earliest references about the site are found in Herodotus and go back to about 600 BC (1.157; 2.159; 1.92). However, the Temple of Apollo at Didyma became very famous during the archaic period - namely the 6th century-, which was the most glorious period of the Ionian world. In these days the temple was directed by the Branchidae, a noble family descending from Carian Branchos. And this family was so important that "Branchidae" was sometimes used as an alternative name to Didyma. The dedications of Necho II (Herodotus 2.159) and Croesus (Herodotus, 1.92) indicate the significance of the oracle in the archaic period. Herodotus (1.92) also mentions that the gifts sent by Croesus were "equal in weight and alike to those at Delphi", since they were made of gold and were of the same weight and design.

The cult statue at the Didyma temple dated from 500 B. C. and represented the Apollo Philesios[73] seizing a deer (Akurgal, 1970, 222). The iconographic type of this statue is indeed closely related to the Hitite-Anatolian tradition (Akurgal, 222).

The sanctuary was further enlarged during Hellenistic and Roman times. In addition to Apollo temple, other shrines and a grove were added. The oracle seems to have been used extensively in Roman times as the temple of Apollo at Klaros, to give theological answers.

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[73] The cult name Philesios was related with the story of origin of the first prophet Branchus. The father of Branchus was brought from Delphi and married with a prominent Milesian. His mother while pregnant saw a vision in her dream that the sun entered from her mouth and emerged from her womb. However, strangely the gift of prophecy, was not from his birth but bestowed upon him as a youth. He was of exceptional beauty, and when Apollo saw him herding in the country, he had fallen in love and kissed him. The god's act was said to be commemorated in his traditional cult title at Didyma, Apollo Philesisos which means "loving" or "kissing" in Greek. The god further demonstrated his love by bestowing on Branchus the power of prophecy. - However, according to Parke, the story was clearly primitive and eastern in origin, which was adopted into
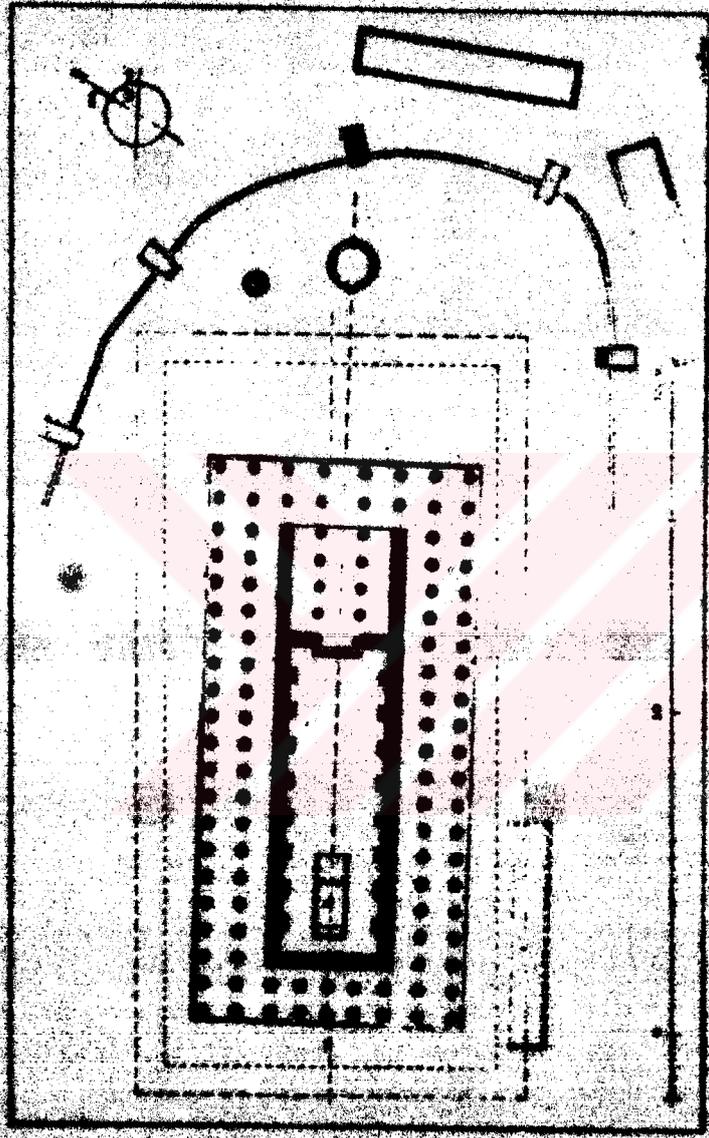
Figure 16. Archaic Temple of Apollo. Representation of the plan

From G. Gruben

5.1.1.2. The Archaic Didymaion

The construction of the Archaic temple (Temple II), (Figure 16) which was "a large structure about as long as the Parthenon and somewhat wider" (Fontenrose, 1988, 9), was begun about the end of the seventh century or beginning of the sixth century. According to Akurgal, a great part of the temple completed by 550-560 B. C. at the latest; as King Croesus would only have sent his valuable gifts of gold to a temple of great size (Akurgal, 223).

The earliest sanctuary of Apollo (Temple I) probably consisted of an enclosure about an altar and a spring. It was probably preceded by wooden buildings. The wooden temple was presumably first replaced by a stone *naiskos*, a little temple or chapel.[74] The first stone structures - side walls of Temple I - date from the 7th or 8th century B.C. and lie within the *adyton* foundation of the second Temple. However, the first temple was an unpretentious structure of no great size, unlike the second and third temples.

Our knowledge about the archaic temple (Temple II) is based on scant evidence.[75] The important remains of it are the foundations of the north, south and west walls of the *adyton*, marble tiles, fragments of column drums, capitals and architrave blocks (Fontenrose, 1988, 31). These finds reveal a dipteral colonnade of the Ionic order on a two-step platform and enclosing a *naos* that consisted entirely or mostly of an *adyton* (Fontenrose, 1988, 31-34).

Fontenrose discusses two contrasting views about the hypothetical plan of the archaic temple of Apollo. According to Gruben and Tuchelt the Archaic Didymaion was constructed similar to the model of archaic Ionic temples such as

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the pattern of the Greek legend in the period after the Hellenistic restoration of the temple. (Parke, 1985, 2-5)

[74] On the earliest temple and *naiskos* see Akurgal, 1970, 223-226;Parke, 1985, 123-126; Tuchelt, 1970, 194-203; There are different views about the *naiskos*. According to Fehr ("Zur Geschichte des Apollonheiligtums von Didyma." *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* (1971/72), 14-59) , the late geometric temple had no *naiskos* but a *Herdhaus*, a roofed structure containing a hearth, in which worshipers gathered and made sacrifices, there was also a spring chamber (Fontenrose, 1988, 9).

[75] On the archaic temple see Günther, 1971, 16-18; Parke, 1985, 123-126; Fontenrose, 1988, 31-34.

the Artemision of Ephesos and the two temples of Hera at Samos. They propose a direct access from the *pronaos* to the *adyton*. In contrast, Fehr reconstructs a chamber between the *pronaos* and the *adyton* as in the Hellenistic Didymaion, deriving from the assumption that because of the cultic continuity in the ritual of oracle, the later structure might have built on a plan very similar to that of the sixth century temple but on a much larger scale. Although Fontenrose accepted that Fehr's reconstruction is too conjectural, he concludes in favor of his assumption without proposing any reason.

However, Parke definitely rejects Fehr's reconstruction, proposing that there is a complete break in the cultic traditions at Didyma because of the silence of the oracle in the fourth and fifth centuries after the Persian sack (Parke, 1985, 123). He further develops his argument by speculating about the function of the two-columned room in the Hellenistic Didymaion. According to Parke, this peculiarity of the plan is likely to have been related with the changes that occurred in oracular ceremony at that time. He proposes that as there is no such room in any other oracular center, this specific feature was employed in Didyma by the influence of Egyptian models when Miletus was within the dominion of Ptolemy I between the years 280 BC and 258 BC (Parke, 1985, 123-129). He also mentions Hölbe's argument that the other aspects of the temple were also influenced by Egyptian models.[76] And, he found an analogous model from the Egyptian royal court ceremony, that is the *thyris*. In the Ptolemaic documents there are many references to the *thyris* in connection with the written appeals to the king. It was supposed that *thyris* was a 'window', through which the document passed and that it was a communication opening in his (king's) cell or cloister (Parke, 1986, 128). Thus to propose a Hellenistic function -in the sense of not being 'pure' Greek- for an archaic building would be too conjectural to accept.

However, even if the archaic temple did not have such a peculiarity in its plan, it must have been already an extraordinary temple in the archaic period. With its exceptional scale and monumentality, in correspondence with importance

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[76] Holbe, Günther, 1984, *Agyptischer Einfluss in der griechischen Arcitectur*, mentioned in Parke, 1985,125.

of its function - that is oracle - in Greek society, it must have already been one of the most impressive Ionic temples in the archaic period.

5.1.1.3. The Hellenistic Didymaion

The monumentality of the Didymaion reached a climax with the Hellenistic temple of Apollo (Temple III), which was a *dipteros* temple measuring (109.34 × 51.13) m. The construction of this monumental structure (Temple III), (Figure 17) which is still standing today, (Plate 1) was began in 331 B.C. with the coming of Seleucus I. During the rest of the fifth century and most of the fourth, the temple and the oracle had remained silent. The construction continued off and on during the next six centuries. Ancient authors mention its unfinished state (Strabo, 14.1.5; Pausanias, 7.5.4). Seleucids returned the statue of Apollo Kanachos and Seleucid I contributed to the construction of temple which was designed by the architects Paionios and Daphnis.

Although, the temple resembles the typical large Ionic temples of Asia Minor from the exterior a dipteral temple with no *opisthodomus*, and a *pronaos*, the interior design was quite unusual. Aside from hugeness of its scale, the monumentality of the temple further emphasized with the several unique features in its plan.[77]

First there is an unusual *cella*, (53.65 × 21.71) m. in area, was extraordinarily open to the sky. In harmony with the general monumentality of the temple it was surrounded by enormously high side walls – higher than 25 m. (Plate 2). Thus the elaborate architectural and ornamental details of *cella* was necessary to transform it into an architectural interior. The lower portion of the walls of the *cella* were plain while the upper part articulated with pilasters with capitals and a frieze depicting griffins and at the top was the cornice. These parts of the building date from the beginning or the first half of 2nd century B. C. and

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[77] On the plan, architecture and the construction details of the Hellenistic temple see Akurgal 1970, 222-231; Bean, 1966, 234-243; Dinsmoor, 1973, 229-233; Voigtlander 1975; Stillwell, 1976, 72-73; Fontenrose, 1985, 34-41.
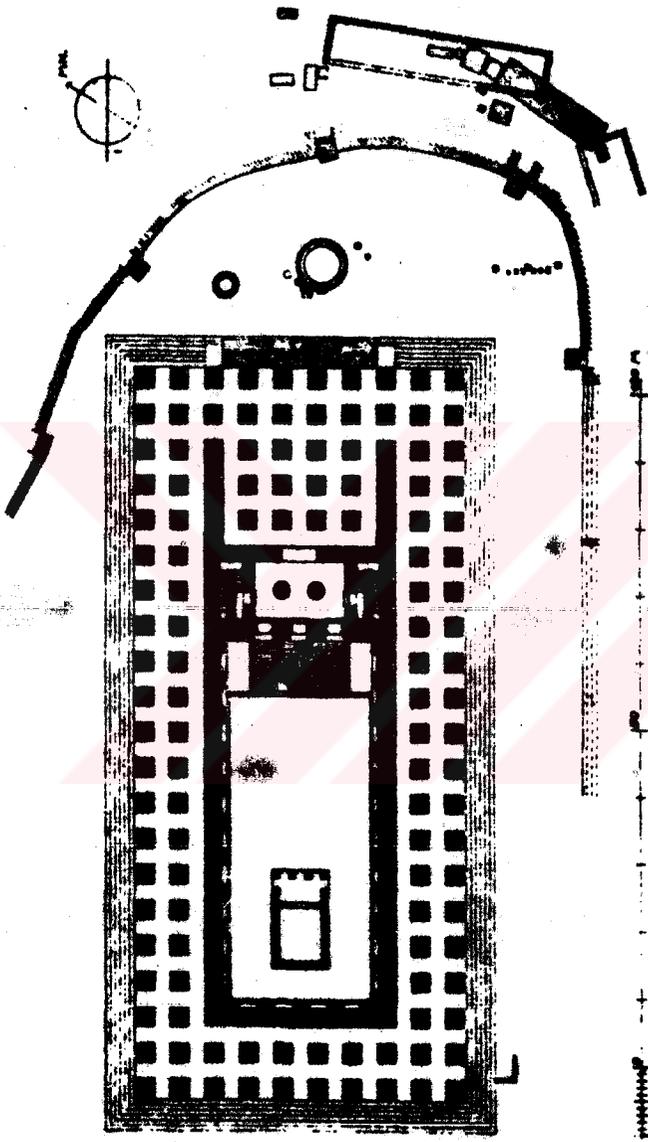
Figure 17. Plan of the Hellenistic Temple

thus bear the characteristics of Hellenistic art forms. In addition, there exist various altars, laurel trees and a *naiskos* with the cult statue, in the courtyard.

The *naiskos* (14.23 x 8.24) m. was a *prostyle* with four Ionic columns in front of the *antae*, an architectural form widely employed in the Hellenistic era (Plate 3, 4). One of the earliest examples of this kind of temple was the Zeus Olympios at Priene. However, if the Didymaion *naiskos* is compared with other examples of the same type, it is found to be the forerunner of this type (Akurgal, 227). What is significant about the *naiskos* at Didyma besides being a forerunner, is indeed its monumentality. The architecture of the *naiskos* was, in fact, a response to the question of how such a small temple could be designed so monumental.

Another unique feature of the building, which is related with the Egyptian *thyris,* is the opening between the *cella* with the *pronaos,* which is not a usual doorway. This opening, is a window 1.60m. from the ground and belongs to an antechamber between the *cella* and *pronaos,* which is another unique feature of the temple (Plate 5). This antechamber is the *chresmographeion* in which the oracles were written and delivered. The chamber measured (14.04 x 8.74) m. and was 20m. high with a marble roof. This two-columned antechamber was so dimly lit that its interior was hardly visible. It could not be entered from the front of the *pronaos* but only from the back by a monumental stairway of twenty-two steps (Plate 6). The two Corinthian half-columns stood at the three-doored entrance.

There is not a usual door between the *cella* and the *pronaos*. Instead direct entrance to the *cella* is by two vaulted corridors on two sides of the antechamber (Plate 7). The inside of antechamber was also elaborately designed. There existed the staircases, which stood on each side of the antechamber (Plate 8). A staircase, consisting of a double flight of steps, led to an upper terrace overlooking the *cella.* The staircase was constructed with special care, which rejects the assumption that they were just for the maintenance of the roof of the antechamber.[78] Furthermore the ceilings of the stairwell were adorned with meander patterns and the staircases were named as 'labyrinth' in inscriptions several times (Plate 9).

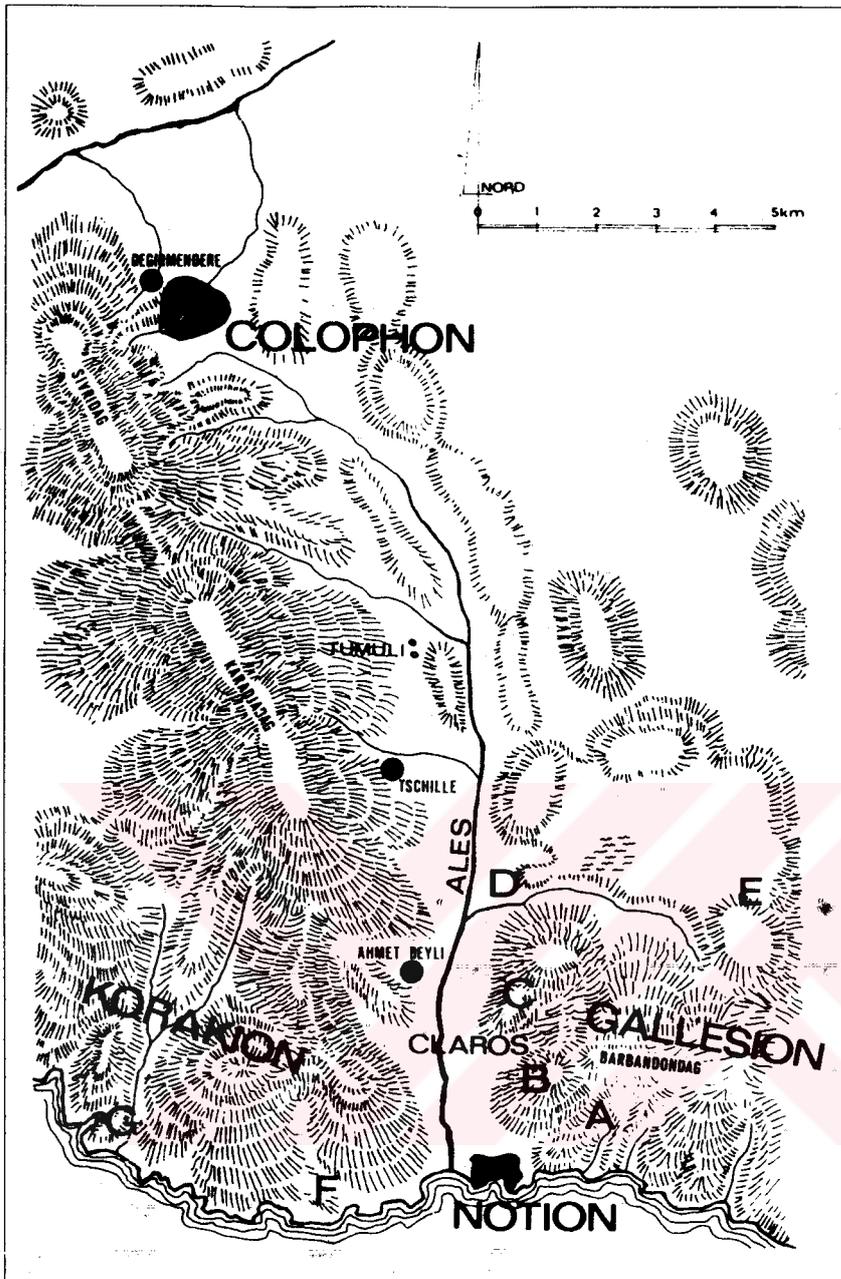[78] Durm, *Handbuch der Architectur*, 431; mentioned in Montegu, 1976, 304.

Figure 18. The map of Klaros and the region

Map of Schuchhart according to Kiepert

The complicated design of the east side of chamber with vaulted corridors and the elaborated design of the *chresmographion,* which was described above, seems to have been planned to distance the inquirer from the *promantis* and her prophesying (Parke, 1985, 129). This was in correspondence with the general architectural effect of the temple, which was designed as a monumental one, to increase the solemnity and dignity of the oracular ceremony.

5.1.2.Temple of Apollo at Klaros

5.1.2.1. Site and History

The oracle and the sanctuary of Apollo situated inside the borders of Colophon, 2 km. from the town Notion (Figure 18). Klaros, like the oracular temple at Didyma, never became a city and it was fated to be controlled by the government of these cities. Thus, the political and religious personnel of the oracle were Colophonians; there were no Klarians.[79] However, Klaros was originally independent of them and probably dated from before the coming of Greeks.

Although Klaros had two sacred ways, which connected the sanctuary to Colophon and Notion, we do not have much information about the earlier sacred way, which connected the sanctuary to Colophon. However, this sacred way, like the sacred way of Notion, possibly also had statues at left and right, as Macridy found two very big lions during his excavations at the Daima region in 1904. It may have belonged to the sacred way as former buildings and statues were used as blocks from construction materials.

Klaros was famed for its oracle in that it is mentioned in many ancient texts. The earliest mention of the temple is in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, which may perhaps be dated to the seventh century B.C. The only reference to Klaros in classical times is in a hymn to Apollo by a little-known poet, Ananius. Otherwise

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[79] Stillwell, 1976, 222. However, according to Parke (1985, 112-124), the temple and oracle were under the control of Notion in the archaic period and Colophon in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

nothing is heard of Klaros in classical times, although the temple definitely existed. We can only assume that it went through the same political history as the rest of Ionia. Moreover, it did not exist in Herodotus' list of the oracles to which the Lydian king Croesus applied his famous test.[80] Although Parke believes that the story was a Delphic myth, it definitely indicates that at that time -sixth century, when the story was invented for the glory of the Delphic oracle- Klaros was not regarded a serious rival as an oracular center.

But, the oracle flourished brilliantly under the Roman Empire, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The temple was rededicated by Hadrian towards the end of his reign. During this period delegations came from many parts of the world -Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia, Pontus, Thrace, Crete and even Corinth- to consult the oracle. The records of these visits and the names of the boys and girls who sang hymns for Apollo were carved on the steps of the temple, on the *propylea*, on the bases, and even in the flutes of the columns and elsewhere. The contents of these oracles that were preserved mainly by Christian writers suggests that in this period the sanctuary officials were influenced by some philosophical views and gave forth theoleogical oracles of syncretist doctrine (Stillwell, 1976, 226).

The *propylea* was built at the 2nd century BC. It stood at the beginning of the sacred wood and it functioned as an entrance for the visitor who came by way of the sea. It was also Doric in style, like temple itself. Its walls and columns were largely covered with inscriptions from the 2nd century AD. From there to the temple existed a series of bases honoring Roman governors of the 1st century BC.

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[80] According to legend, the Lydian king Croesus sent envoys to famous oracular centers, to test their accuracy. The question was "what he was doing at that time". And only the Pythian Apollo gave the correct answer. However, I think, Parke is right about suspecting the originality of the myth. Because there is also Didymaion in the list of Herodotus which could not give the correct answer. And, it seems unprobable, as the king Croesus made rich dedications -valuable as much as he made to Delphi- to Didymaion in a manner that can scarcely be explained if he regarded the oracle as untruthful.

5.1.2.2. The Plan of the Temple of Apollo at Klaros

The temple of Apollo at Klaros is distinguished with its uniqueness from the classical Greek temples. Although it is not a temple of a great size, like the temple of Apollo at Didyma, it was conceived almost as monumental as the Didymaion. The architecture of the temple was quite complicated and elaborate with various unique features.

The present sanctuary was probably built towards the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Plate 10-11). Although there are remains of an earlier temple at the site, there is no information about this as it lay under the present sanctuary. Around the beginning of the Imperial Period changes were made to accommodate the group of colossal statues - in which Apollo was represented as seated between his mother Leto and his sister Artemis - in the *cella* (Plate 12-13). According to the inscription on the *architrave*, the *peripteros* - and thus the temple- were completed by Emperor Hadrian.

The important remains of the colossal statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto were found in the *cella* during the archaeological surveys. It is possible to complete the figures by the help of Colophonian coins. Apollo was represented as seated and his left hand was on a guitar. On the left of Apollo his mother Leto was represented with a bunch of laurel leaves; at the left of Apollo was his sister Artemis with her arrows. The remains of statues confirm the representation on coins described above.

Even the remains of the statues were impressive with their size; they show that originally Apollo might have been about 7-8 m. high; for example his leg is 3.50 m. in length. This monumental statue group hints how impressive, in fact, the temple itself might have been. The preserved part of the temple, that is the underground oracular section, is also quite inspiring about the whole of the temple with its complexity and uniqueness (Plate 14).

This section has two narrow staircases and passageways with seven changes of direction (Plate 15). The entrance to this section was by two parallel

corridors of blue marble, from the *pronaos*, in the entrance part of the sanctuary (Plate 16). These corridors are quite narrow, 0.7 m. in width and 1.80 m. in height. Both corridors were united at the further parts and then separated again becoming symmetrical in form. Both corridors open to the *adyton*, the most sacred place of the whole sanctuary (Plate 17, 18). The *adyton* consisted of two vaulted rooms, under the *cella* with the statues. The first room contained the benches and also the sacred stone of Apollo, which was made up of blue marble, that is *omphalos* - similar to the Delphic *omphalos*. Probably, this first room was a waiting room for inquirers, the prophet, *thespiodes* and writers. The second room was separated from the first one by a thick wall of 2.70 m. and a low postern gate of 1.70m. in height leads to the second room where probably only the *promantis* could enter. There is no other entrance to this room, which is 4m. in depth. In this room, at the left of the door, there was a rectangular well of (0.96 × 1.41) m. in which the sacred water gushed.

This very unique design of the oracular section, similar to the case of the temple of Apollo at Didyma, possibly served to increase the importance and dignity of the oracular activity in the society. Because of the oracular activity and its significant place in the Greek society, the design of the temples of Apollo at Didyma and Klaros became much more complex and elaborate than the other Greek temples. In other words, housing a very special activity such as oracle led to a highly monumental and unrivaled architecture in these two Asian sanctuaries.

5.2. AN INQUIRY INTO THE TEMPLES OF APOLLO AT KLAROS AND DIDYMA: ARCHITECTURE AND THE POLITICS

5.2.1. An Architectural Inquiry

5.2.1.1. Labyrinth

The "labyrinths" of the Didymaion have always been the subject of many disputes because of its unknown function and unique character. For example, Montegu relates the 'labyrinths' of the Didymaion with the underground oracular chamber of the temple of Klaros, although there is no evidence which mentions the underground structure of the Klarian temple as a 'labyrinth'.

According to Montegu, the word 'labyrinth' conveys the idea of a subterranean, intricate system of corridors, originally connected with the cults of chthonic deities. He further speculates that as divination was known to be chthonic in origin,[81] the 'labyrinths' of these two Asian sanctuaries could be a survival of ancient, pre-Greek oracular rituals.

Unfortunately, Montegu could only propose a hypothetical use of 'labyrinths' in both temples since there is no firm evidence about it.[82] Although both Parke and Fontenrose reject the theory of Montegu, his explanations are at least challenging both about the function of the staircases in the Didymaion and in proposing a connection between the Temple of Apollo at Klaros and Didyma in the sense of their being different from the other oracular centers of Apollo. It is very likely that the "labyrinths" of Didyma and the underground chamber of Klaros were made to symbolize the same metaphor and thus their use in the cult were related.

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[81] For example, at Delphi (as mentioned before), the cult of Earth-Goddess Ge, in Klaros the cult of Cybele, and in Delphi a local goddess comparable to Greek Leto preceded the cults of Apollo.

However, Montegu is wrong -at least insufficient- in connecting the idea of labyrinth only with something subterranean, and thus relating it with the chthonic deities because, it is essential to realize that the labyrinth appears under two seemingly contradictory guises. Ancient sources mention its complexity and confusion. For example, Diodorus Siculus uses the adjective, *apeiros*, to describe the tortuous dead-end passages of Daedalus' Labyrinth,[83] for *apeiros* means not only boundless but also like *aporia*,[84] without escape, which is also to say unmeasured, or immeasurable. Like the *desmoi apeirones* that Hephaestus, the patron of craftsmen, designed to trap his wife Aphrodite and her lover, Ares, the narrative Labyrinth is the "terrifying embodiment of anarchic *apoira*" (McEwen, 60).

However, the image of the Labyrinth, on the stairwell of the temple of Apollo at Didyma, on the Cretan coins, in Roman mosaics, in Gothic floor designs and Renaissance gardens was not confused at all. (Figure 19, 20) Whether circular or square, it has a very clear and orderly configuration. "The image of the labyrinth, its *eidos* -the thing seen and therefore known for certain - is the *choros*".[85]

The misinterpretation of Montegu -indeed, the Western tradition- derives from the interpretation of the skillful embrace of *aporia* revealed through the construction of *choros* and Labyrinth, as a question of imposing order on chaos. The roots of this misrepresentation may lie with the Romans in that Ovid interprets Hesiod's coming-to -be of earth and sky as the imposition of order on chaos. Ovid calls chaos a crude, confused and shapeless mass, which is to be subdued and shaped.[86]

However, Hesiod never actually says what chaos really is. He simply says, "*Chaos* came to be", before "broad-bosomed earth" (*Theogony*, 116). Later in the *Theogony*, he definitely says that *Chaos* is the space between heaven and earth

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[82] "As the prophets of Apollo Klarios stepped down into the subterranean gallery to reach the oracular well and drink of its water, the prophetess of Apollo Didymeus may have climbed the stairs of Labyrinths to emerge into the light on the floor above..." (Montegu, 1976, 304-304).

[83] Diodorus Siculus 4.77., Mentioned in McEwen, p.59

[84] *a-poros*: without passage.

[85] For the myth of the creation of the Labyrinth and *choros* see McEwen pp.57-64.

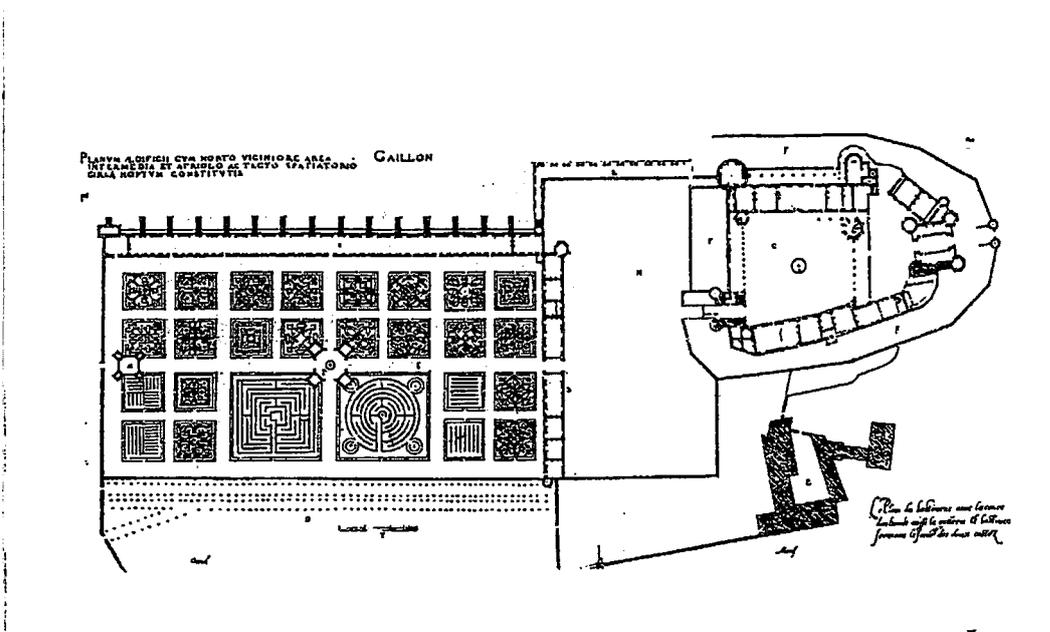[86] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.5-9.; cited in McEwen, 61.

Figure 19. Plan for the Garden of Gaillon with two labyrinths,

one square, the other circular

Figure 20. Meander pattern. Column base at Temple of Apollo, Didyma

(*Theogony*, 700). These and other passages in the *Theogony*, led scholars to identify *chaos* with the primordial gap or chasm. There are other passages in the *Theogony*, which seem to identify chaos with the murky underworld regions of Tartarus (*Theogony*, 736 ff.-831 ff.).

The misinterpretation of Montegu was -indeed most of the scholars-caused by attempting to enter to the Greek perception of things. The mistake, which should be avoided, is either/or assessments: The Labyrinth is either an inextricable net or a clear and regular configuration. Labyrinth is both and neither. For "...the *aporia* is a precondition for the coming-to-be of both Labyrinth and *choros*, which together are its embodiment and measure" (McEven, 62).

This interpretation also fits Apollo's nature, rather than a pre-Greek god or goddess. Because Apollo's nature, in accord with the Greek perception of things, displays a dual character, unified in the image of Apollo. For Apollo is both the god of chthonic oracles and the rational god of the light and intellect.

5.3.1.3. Corinthian Column

Both the temple of Apollo at Didyma and the temple of Apollo at Klaros have a few Corinthian columns. At Didyma, the two Corinthian columns stand inside and three half columns are on the *naos* wall of the antechamber, from which possibly the oracles were delivered. And, in Klaros, the Corinthian columns were situated in front of the *pronaos*, defining the entrance to temple (Figure 21).

As mentioned earlier, the first Corinthian capital was found at Bassae in the temple of Apollo. Later, it reappeared in slightly variant forms on the interior columns of the Great Tholos at Delphi (400 BC), the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (360 BC), the Tholos of Epidarus (350 BC) and the temple of Zeus at Nemea about twenty years later.

The story of its invention is told in Vitruvius. According to the story, Callimachus was inspired to invent it after having seen an acanthus plant growing up through an offering basket on a girl's tomb. Similarly, Rykwert points out that
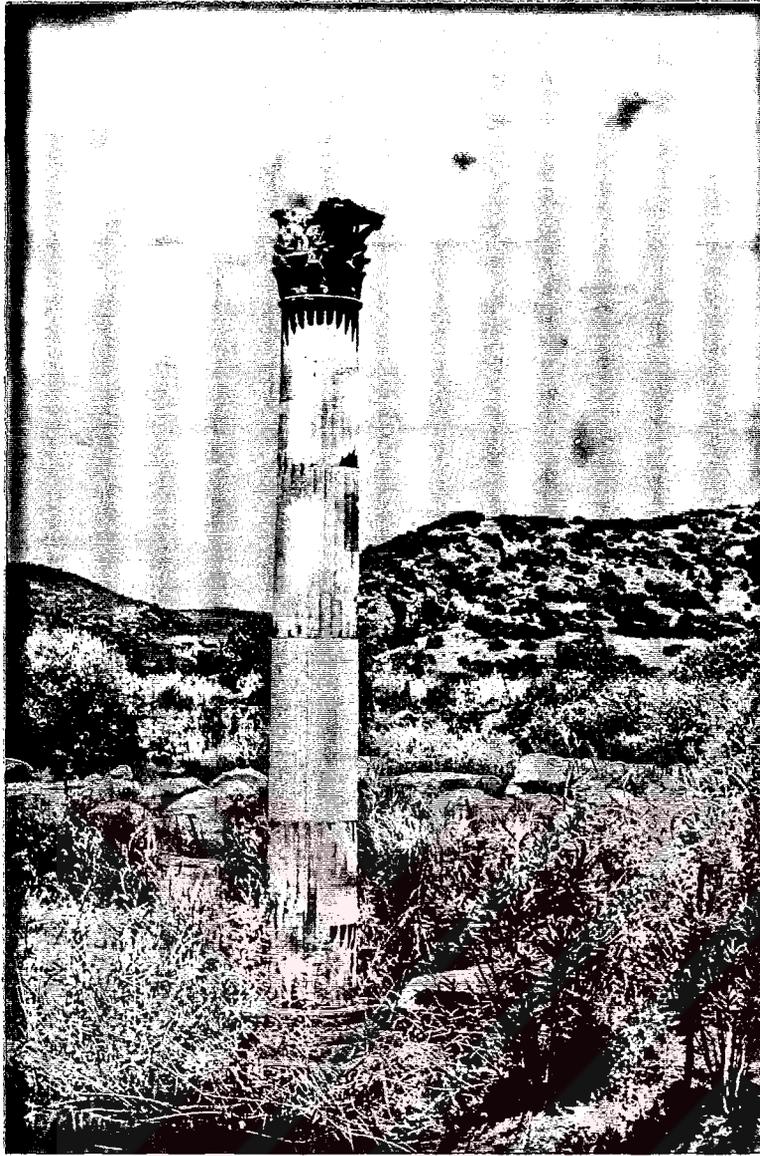
Figure 21. The Corinthian column. Temple of Apollo at Klaros

82

the acanthus is a plant associated with tombs in contemporary vase paintings.[87] The use of acanthus decorations on a fourth century Attic war memorial and on the funeral car of Alexander confirms the observation of Rykwert. Furthermore, many of the buildings in which it was used, especially the shrine of Asclepius at Epidarus and the temple at Bassae, -which was dedicated to Apollo the Healer- can be seen to be connected with life and death. Indeed, as Plato shows, "the name acanthus may have been understood not so much as 'point flower' but as 'healing flower'.

Onians mentions also a political use for the Corinthian order. According to him, in place of the alien Ionian element, the Corinthian, without racial associations, was a better choice for the interior orders of the buildings of Mainland Greece (Onians, 20). As Corinth was the Dorian city which was associated with urban values, trade, craftsmanship, sensual luxury and femininity,[88] The Corinthian order was accepted as a rich interior order in which the Ionic base fluted shaft and entablature -which are less identified with racial qualities- were retained.

However, to propose such a political reason for the use of Corinthian columns at temples at Didyma and Klaros would be irrelevant as the Ionic may well have served as a more plausible choice for interiors in Ionia. Therefore, the reason for the existence of the Corinthian column in both sanctuaries[89] may be explained by Apollo's attributes, which may only be symbolized by a form associated with death, immortality and healing. And it is certain that one of the attributes of Apollo was the Healer, Epikourios. In Klaros it is known that many inquiries were made concerning health problems. For example, when Aelius Aristides inquired, Apollo declared to him that "he will be cured by Asclepius at Pergamon" (Şahin, 1998, 23). There are also evidences that both oracular centers at Didyma and Klaros were consulted about the plague during the reign of Marcus Aurelius when the great epidemic took place (Parke, 1985, 150).[90]

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[87] See; the chapter "Corinthian virgin" in *The Dancing Column*.
[88] "Corinthian girl" was an accepted term for prostitute.
[89] In most of the sanctuaries of Apollo at least one Corinthian column exists. See Appendix I.
[90] At least for five of these consultations, the answers were preserved wholly or partly in Klaros.

The dualities of life that were reconciled in Greek perception may be seen again in the characteristics of Apollo: Although Apollo was a god of healing, in the first book of the Iliad his arrows also signify pestilence. Both the source and the cure of the plague was Apollo, as expressed by Hönderlin:

> But where the danger threatens
>
> That which saves from it also grows[91]

5.2.2. The Political Significance

5.2.2.1. The *Promantis*

Usually the *promantis* was a woman in the Apollo temples. However, both at Didyma[92] and Klaros the *promantis* was a man like the priests of Kybele. It is known that the cult of Apollo in Klaros was preceded by a cult of Kybele, the Anatolian mother goddess. At the northeast of the Apollo sanctuary the cave was found, -which was named as "Demirli Mağara"-, belonging to the cult of Kybele.[93] Similarly, in Didyma the cult of Apollo was also preceded by a local goddess comparable to the Greek Leto. Thus this peculiarity of the *promantis* being a man in the cult of Apollo at Didyma and Klaros points to the continuity of the Anatolian mother goddess cult.

The temple of Apollo at Didyma has another significant peculiarity, that in the archaic period it was directed by a family of priestesses, the Branchidae. This is a very unusual arrangement. The Apolline oracles of the Mainland Greek and Ionia were not under the control of particular families. Moreover, the Branchidae were not only the hereditary controllers of a most important oracle; their position

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[91] Hönderlin, Frederich, *Poems and Fragments* (trans. Michael Hamburger), 1980, 463; cited in Harmanşah, 1991, 49.

[92] At Didyma, the *promantis* was a man only in the archaic period of the Branchidae. Later the oracle was remodeled according to Delphi and so the *promantis* was an insignificant woman. As *promantis* was a man in the Hellenistic period, he was definitely man in the Archaic period at Klaros.

[93] There is also found a relief of Kybele, which dates to the Hellenistic period, outside of the cave. Şahin, 22

was so dominant that they even gave their name to the place. It is also significant that they both served as a *promantis* and priest in contrast to the other Apolline oracles, in which the *promantis* was so less important that in inscriptions she/he hardly took place. However, the priests of the Branchidae family were so significant that they were honored by having their statues erected, like the future Roman governors.

It is known that the oracle at Didyma and the Branchidae were non-Greek in origin. Thus, possibly the tradition of governing a sanctuary by a family of priestesses was a pre-Hellenic custom surviving in a Greek sanctuary. Thus the priests -as being both prophet and *promantis*- of Didyma were possibly more powerful than any other priests in the Greek world. So, the sanctuary must have been an important institution for decision making which had been independent from the Milesian government. Although there is no evidence for the serious conflicts between the Milesian rulers and the priests of the Branchidae, there is evidence for different policies in times of crisis. For example, Demon, an early Hellenistic writer, tells a story that at the time of the Ionian revolt, the oracle at Didyma discouraged the Carians from allying with Miletus against Persians. And this had led to a charge that the oracle was bribed by the pro-Persian party (Parke, 1985, 18-19).

All these peculiarities about the *promantis* in the temples of Apollo and Klaros point to the non-Greek elements within the Greek cities of Asia Minor. As the style of votive offerings, the architectural and ceremonial designation of the oracle also reflected a fusion of Greek and foreign traits. And this fusion which was reflected in arts and cult, was indeed a reminder of "the unbalanced political relations between the Greeks and their neighbors" (Morgan, 34), that will be further demonstrated in the following parts.

5.2.1.2. The Maneuver of Architecture: Doric Order at Klaros

As mentioned before, the order of the Didymaion is Ionic while the order of the temple of Apollo at Klaros is Doric. For the Didymaion, it should come as no surprise that it is Ionic, as it was conceived in Ionia. However, it is very unusual for the temple of Apollo at Klaros to be Doric -for the same reason that it is situated in Ionia. Furthermore, the temple of Apollo at Klaros is one of the few exceptions, which are still designed, in this over-severe style in the Hellenistic period. Even in its place of origin in the Peloponnessos and central Greece, the Doric order lost its former popularity after a final explosion of construction at the end of fourth century (Charbonneaux, 1973, 23). The superiority of the Ionic order -because the Ionic proportions and rhythms were better suited than the constrictive rules of the Doric entablature- were accepted by both the third century architects Pytheus and by Hermogenes (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 4.3.1-2).

Therefore a possible reason for the choice of the Doric order in Klaros would appear to be political. The theory of Onians according to which that the orders are given racial associations was mentioned previously. With the two great conflicts which dominated the fifth century Greece i.e. the wars, first between Greece and Persia and then between Sparta and Athens, most of the Greeks had to take sides as they had never done before. Thus in this new situation of conflict and insecurity, the choice was also made in architecture whereby regional architectural realities became linked with political realities.

Onians mentioned the architectural attitude of the Athenians in the fifth century. When Eastern Greeks, the builders of the huge Ionic temples, surrendered to Persia the mainland Greeks' victory over them had greatly reinforced their self-confidence and hence their superiority over the Ionian Greeks. Now the Athenians were feeling themselves superior to their Eastern neighbors whom had in the sixth century, being excellent in wealth and culture. However, as it was still the Aegean Greeks who financed the Athenian Empire by their payments, for the Athenians, it

became necessary to emphasize the ancestral bonds with their Eastern Ionian kin. So, when the treasury of the Attica-Delos confederacy was moved from Delos to Athens, it was a political choice that the Ionian's tradition should be acknowledged.

Thus, the Athenians employed the Ionic order extensively in the interiors of the buildings -the most important ones being the Parthenon and Propylaea - as a direct expression of the Panhellenic ambitions of Pericles, which were cultural as well as political. This was also an expression of the assertion that the Athenians had an interest in luxury and philosophy –just like the Ionians- yet they could still have the physical and moral attributes, which Dorians were famed for. Then they used Doric order, which symbolizes manly attributes, for exteriors, and 'effeminate' Ionic order for interiors as an appropriate expression of the life styles of the two races (Onians, 15-16).

It is proposed here that a similar political use of the orders appeared also in Greek cities other than Athens. And, it is further conjectured here that the archaic temple at Klaros was Doric and that this temple was one of the few examples of the political use of the orders other than Athens. There is no evidence that the archaic temple was also Doric like the Hellenistic one, but one might expect it to be so because of the continuity of tradition. Otherwise, it would be meaningless to construct a Doric temple -indeed to change the order from Ionic to Doric - in Asia Minor especially in the Hellenistic era, when the Doric order have already lost its popularity even in its place of origin.

According to archeological finds, the construction of the temple might have corresponded with the period when the Athenians had acknowledged the tradition of the Ionians after the founding of Attica-Delos confederacy. Thus, the choice of the Doric order for the archaic temple may well be a response to the mainland Greeks gesture of friendship. It might have been a kind of response to the Pericles' policy of collaboration between the Dorian and Ionian Greeks.

In the archaeological surveys, under the *adyton* wall of the Hellenistic temple, an archaic *naos* wall, which dates around the middle of the 6th century B.C., was found (Şahin, 37). This date was also the starting date of the Persian

attacks in Asia Minor which were to continue for the following two centuries. Although Colophon and Notion -the governing cities of the temple at Klaros- did not revolt much against Persians, especially Colophon, is an important city in the Attica-Delos confederacy, which was founded around the 478-477 BC against the Persian attacks. Moreover, unlike Miletus Colophon and Notion, never came to terms with Persia. For Miletus, it is significant to notice that the position of the Milesians in relation to Persia was different from the other Greek city-states. As soon as Cyrus surrendered Lydia, he agreed with Miletus that they could remain on the same friendly terms with him as previously with Croesus (Parke, 1985, 18). Thus, it is proposed here that because of this period of instability, the construction of the temple might have taken a much longer time than originally planned. And this long period of construction might have corresponded with the foundation of the Attica-Delos confederacy and hence with the period when Dorians acknowledged their eastern Ionian kin.

Moreover, if the temple of Apollo at Klaros was under the dominion of the city of Notion during the archaic and classical periods, as Parke suggests[94], the choice for the Doric for the temple order would be inevitable because of Notion's evident policy in favor of Athens and democracy.[95] There is much evidence for this policy of Notion. First after the Colophonian revolt against Athens and later during the Athenian war with Sparta, Notion became a center where all the protagonists of democracy were organized in Asia Minor.

But even if Klaros was under the control of Colophon, the city of Colophon also had strong reasons to respond to the Mainland Greeks' gesture of friendship. For example Colophon was one of the important cities of the Attica-Delos confederacy and paid one of the biggest taxes after Ephesos and Miletos until 450 BC when it revolted against Athens, and called of for help the Persians. Moreover, besides a gesture of friendship, the choice of Doric for the Colophonians might well be served to associate themselves with mainland Greeks

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[94] Although this seems improbable, as Colophon seems to be a more powerful city until Lysimakhos forced Colophonians to leave Colophon in 294 BC. The date of the new *propylon* - 2nd cent. BC-, which connects the temple with the city of Notion also, confirms the fact. It seems that the temple was under the control of the city of Notion after this date.

[95] The new *propylon*, which connects the temple to the city of Notion, was also Doric in style.

because of their victorious position over the Persians. To protect themselves from the danger of Persians, the Eastern Greeks had chosen to collaborate with Dorians who were definitely their subordinate in the sixth century. Thus the choice for the Doric order for an Ionian sanctuary might possibly be an acknowledgment of this collaboration between Ionian and Dorian Greeks, which is at the same time a reminder of unbalanced political relations between the Greeks and their neighbors in Asia Minor.

5.2.1.4. Sacred Way: Dignity and Grandeur

The sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros and at Didyma, like the sanctuaries of Apollo at Delphi and Delos, are situated outside the city centers. But the expenses of the temples at Delphi and Delos were provided by the whole Greek world. However, the expenses of the temples of Didyma and Klaros were provided by the city-states by whom they were controlled. Thus, there were sacred ways, which connected the sanctuaries with the city centers. At Didyma, the sacred way started at the sacred door of Miletus, it arrived at the harbor Panormos and ended at the southeast terrace, which was associated with votive offerings. Similarly, there were two sacred ways at Klaros, which connected the sanctuary with the city-states of Colophon and Notion.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the time for the oracular consultation was strictly limited.[96] There are different explanations by Plutarch[97] about the time of oracular consultation but for certain the consultations occurred at most nine days in a year in Delphi. Thus it must have been a significant and prestigious act to consult the oracle because of the limited time. Moreover it is known that the oracle was always busy, and that the inquirers were allowed to consult the oracle

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[96] I mean the ecstasic prophecy, as there is no evidence for the frequency of the lot oracle.

[97] See (chap. 1), p.7 about the explanations of Plutarch. There is no evidence about Didyma and Klaros, but as most of them take Delphi as a model, we may guess that the consultation days were severely restricted in all of them.

in turn. The precedence in consultations was a great honor granted by Delphians on states or individuals because of this limited time.[98]

Therefore, there must have been an ostentatious ceremony in these special consultation days, as it was such an important activity that took place in such a limited time. The ceremony might have started at the sacred gate of the city - Miletos and Colophon-Notion- continuing through the sacred way and ending at the sanctuary. During this ceremony, the sacred way was almost as important as the sanctuary itself, as it must have staged the first and very long part of the oracular ceremony.

Thus the sacred way was also a part of the architecture of the temple with respect to increasing its solemnity and dignity. It was designed to calculate the effect of the sanctuary as an offering to the gods. Thus, it also fostered the "show" of the political power of the rulers as they identified themselves with the institutions of the city.

Like the sanctuary itself, the sacred road might have been an architectural setting to which rulers identified with their powers. For example, the Sacred Way at Didyma was such a case, as the statues of the priests of the Branchidae might have been situated as a means for propaganda. They were not the rulers but they belonged to an exceptional family of priestesses in the whole Greek world. Hence, they appear to have been powerful enough to place their sculptures in public, instead of the rulers of Miletus.

Similarly, in Notion, there were also sculptures on the left and right sides of this second Sacred Way –the one which connected the sanctuary to the city -, belonging to the *proconsul* and *consuls* of the Roman empire. It is known from the inscriptions and writers of that period that after the making of West Anatolia a Roman province, *Provincia* Asia, the Roman governors were honored by erecting their statues. The Romans, "those expert pavers of straight roads which for centuries sustained the march of the bearers of *pax Romana*" (McEwen, 60), were also experts in manipulating architecture for political propaganda.

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[98] For the detailed explanations about the *promenteia*, a privilege in the order of consultations, and the general order of consultations see "Panhellenic Sanctuaries", p.35.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

Morgan, defines Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi as an important pan-Hellenic center in "The origins of pan-Hellenism" (Morgan, 27-33). One of the most important activities in such a sanctuary was the oracle. Indeed the consultation of the oracle often implied a civic crisis, which might have been caused by any number of internal (e.g. population increase or political struggles) and external (e.g. war) factors, in the *polis*. On such a situation, the basic role of Delphi was "to sanction already formulated solutions to difficult, often unprecedented, and potentially divisive problems of past or present community conduct, in order to enable leaders to establish a consensus of opinion for their acceptance" (Morgan, 28). Therefore, the oracle solved the crisis by legitimizing the decisions of rulers, rather than bestowing upon them the divine authority.

So, these sanctuaries were generally situated far from the city-states, serving as neutral places for interaction and rivalry, usually under the political control of a weak or subordinate state or institution. These sanctuaries also acted as places for the expression of elite ambitions, marginal or dangerous activities, or the purely personal concerns of aristocrats, which might be dangerous in city sanctuaries for the stability of the *polis*.

Although the major Ionian sanctuaries may also be categorized as pan-Hellenic, they were centers for a significantly different category of interests than the mainland sanctuaries. This category of interests was understood by analyzing the place and the mode of production for each category of votive offerings as well as the character such as the social position and race, of the dedicators. And, in Ionia there is a rich and exotic deposit of votives in the period between the Persian attacks. Significantly, this increase in dedications parallels also with the architectural elaboration within the large *temene*. Much of the property for these

rich dedications at Ionian sanctuaries was probably won by the sea trade for which the region was renowned.

However, this high level of investment made on prestigious civic institutions of the city implies the political and social instability evident in the region before the Persian conquest. There were frequent changes of the city government besides the constant threats from the powerful non-Greek neighbors. The rulers, whose positions were under risk, often chose to identify themselves with the institutions of the city in order to assert their status.

Besides their powerful non-Greek neighbors, the Greek cities of Asia Minor had alien elements in their populations, which also led to social and political instability. Thus two different kinds of foreign participation took place in the city sanctuary. For the foreign groups this need for expressing their cultural identity in the city, without threatening the stability of the *polis,* would have been expected to take place in the major city sanctuary.[99]

The first indication of the international recognition of the temple of Apollo at Didyma by such a dedication, is the one of the Pharoah Necho. He sent as a dedication to Apollo his own royal battle dress in which he was victorious at the battle at Mediggo c. 609 BC (Herodotus 2.159). Similarly, the numerous dedications to Didyma of Croesus the ruler of Lydia, included the property seized from a Lydian rival, the output of an internal political dispute, which otherwise would possibly have been consecrated at home.

Similar dedications were also made elsewhere in the Greek world, notably at Delphi, but in Asia Minor they were a reminder of the unbalanced political relations between the Greek cities and their neighbors and may also have served as places for maintaining and smoothing the diplomatic relations which were essential for the survival of the vulnerable Greek communities. Such specific social and political conditions in Asia Minor, which were significantly different from that of the Mainland, resulted in the creation of a local and unique architecture. However, the role of Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries in such a political

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[99] The votives reflects the ethnic origins of its dedicators. The styles of votives often represent a fusion of Greek and foreign traits. As mentioned before, even the cult statue of the temple of Apollo at Didyma, the Kanachos Apollo was in Hittite- style.

92

situation would have been expected to be more important than the other city sanctuaries, as they embodied a significant political tool, that is the oracle.

The temples of Apollo at Didyma and Klaros were the examples of such Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. Both of them were unique architectural masterpieces, which were significantly different from the classical Greek temples, as a result of the unique social and political situation of Asia Minor in which they were conceived. The architectural elaboration and monumentality – which was analyzed in detail in the beginning of this chapter - evident in the temples of Apollo at Didyma and Klaros, must have been caused by social and political distress evident in the region and the oracle's authority in the solution of social and political disputes.

The need to accommodate different political and social interests may explain the marginal locations of these sanctuaries from the city centers and approached by ceremonial roads, which were richly adorned with sculpture. The mainland Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, such as Delphi, were also far away from the city-states because they were international sanctuaries, which were sponsored by the whole Greek world. However, both the Didymaion and temple of Apollo at Klaros were indeed city-sanctuaries, which were unusually located some kilometers away from their cities. Thus, the marginal, far-flung location of the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries in Asia Minor, unlike the Mainland ones, indicates the political and social distress evident in the region before Persian conquest.

This risky balance in the social and political issues in Asia Minor, between Greeks and their neighbors and even between the Greeks and the foreign population within the city, was reflected in the architecture of the temples at Didyma and Klaros also as a subtle balance between the Greek and foreign traits. It is this fine balance that makes this architecture so fascinating for us.
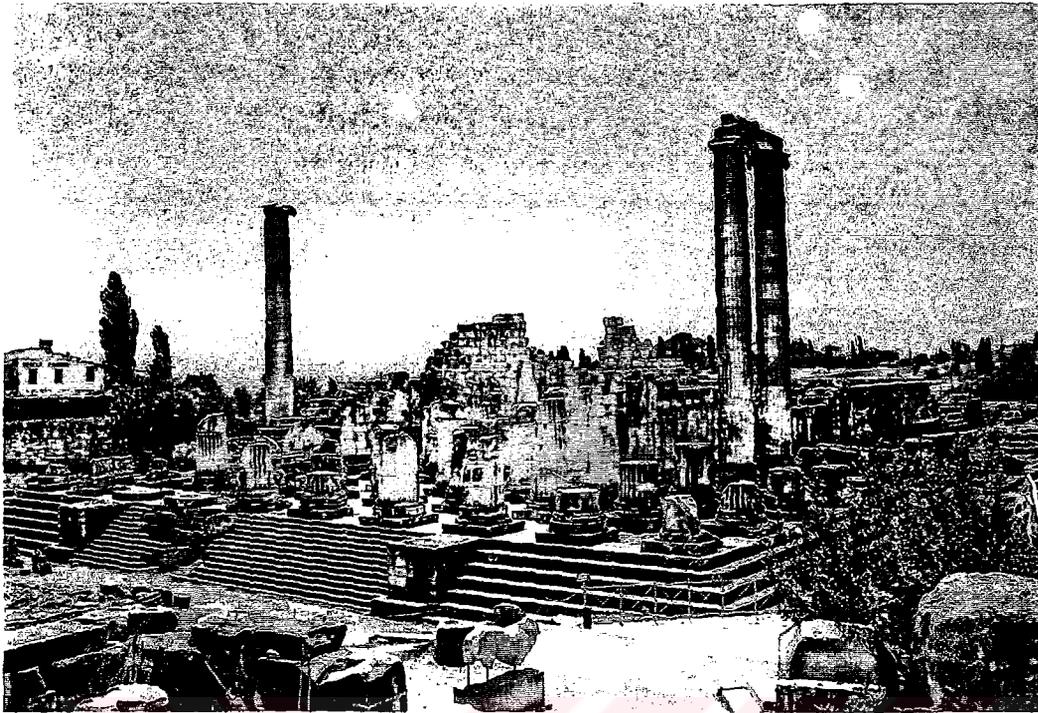
Plate 1. General view of the Temple from the north
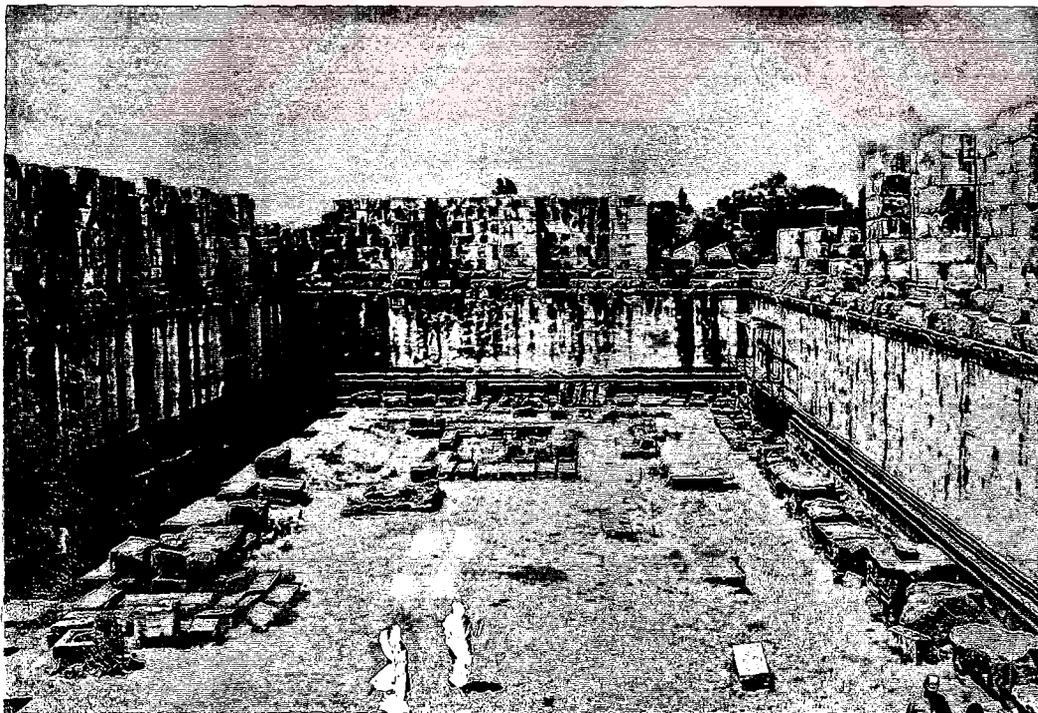

Plate 2. *Adyton*
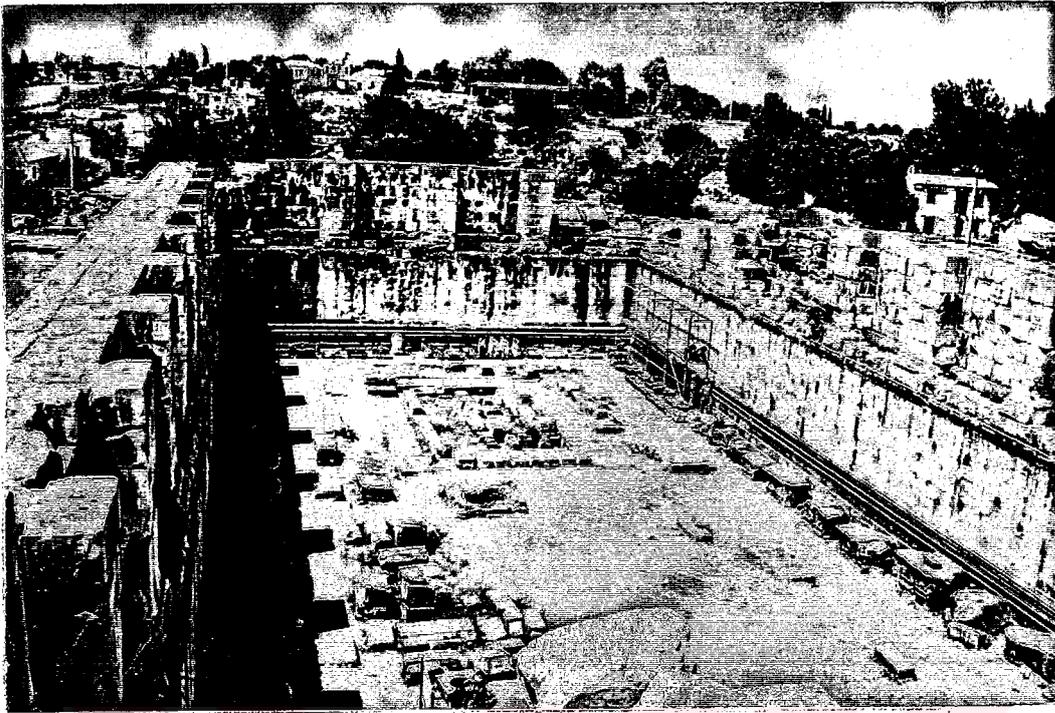
Plate 3. Foundations of the *naiskos* in the *adyton*

Plate 4. Reconstruction of the *naiskos* in the *adyton*

Plate 5. The 'window' between the *chresmographeion* and the *pronaos*

Plate 6. The monumental staircases of the *chresmographeion*

Plate 7. The vaulted corridors between the *pronaos* and the *cella*

98

Plate 8. The staircase inside the *chresmographeion*

Plate 9. The meander pattern on the ceiling

100

Plate 10. General view of the Temple of Apollo from the north-west

Plate 11. General view of the Temple of Apollo from the south-west
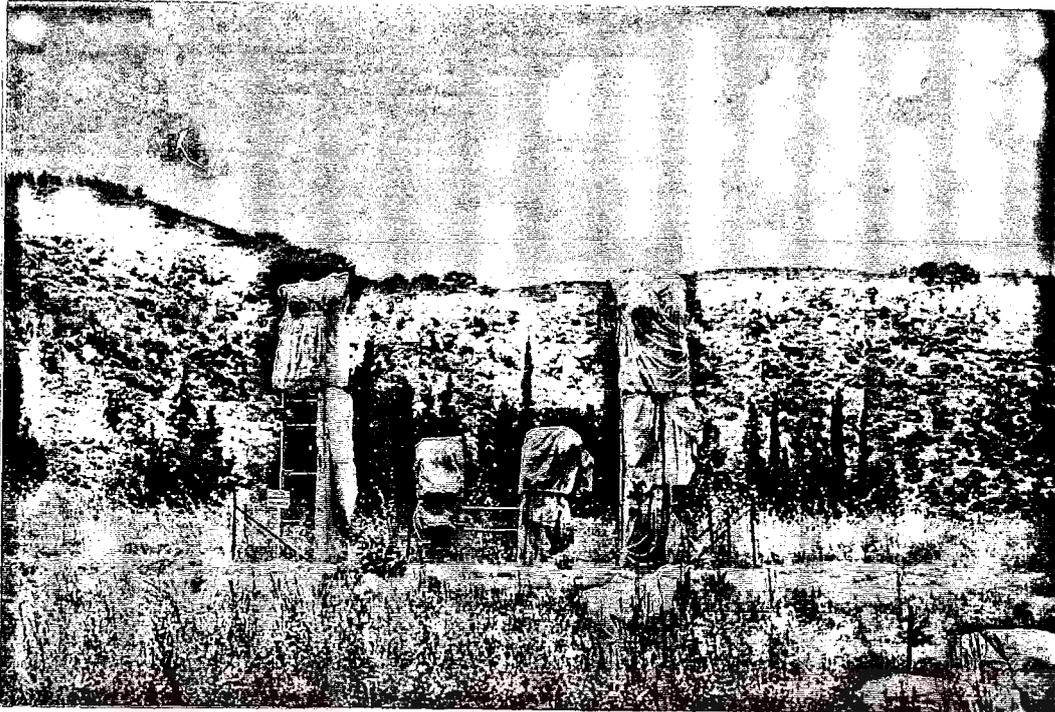
Plate 12. Colossal cult statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto

Plate 13. A piece from the statue group. The foot of Apollo.

SANCTUAIRE d' APOLLON à CLAROS

Plate 14. Sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros, plan: A, *Propylaea*; U, temple of Artemis; X, altar of Artemis; N1-N2, temple of Apollo; O1-O2, altar of Apollo; Z, sacred source

103

Plate 15. The staircase, going down to the underground corridor

Plate 16. Underground corridors

Plate 17. *Adyton*

Plate 18. *Adyton* in the winter and spring months

105

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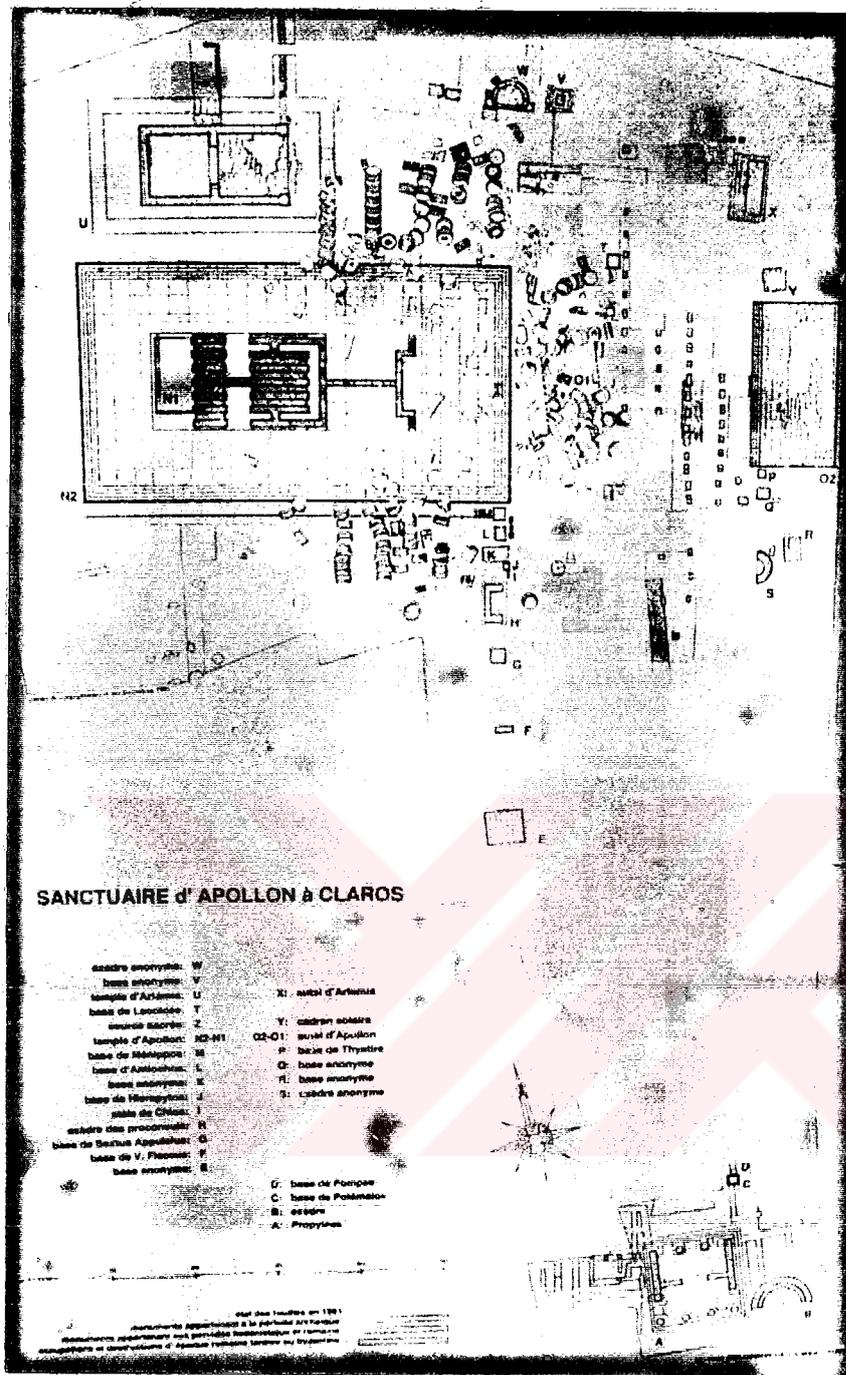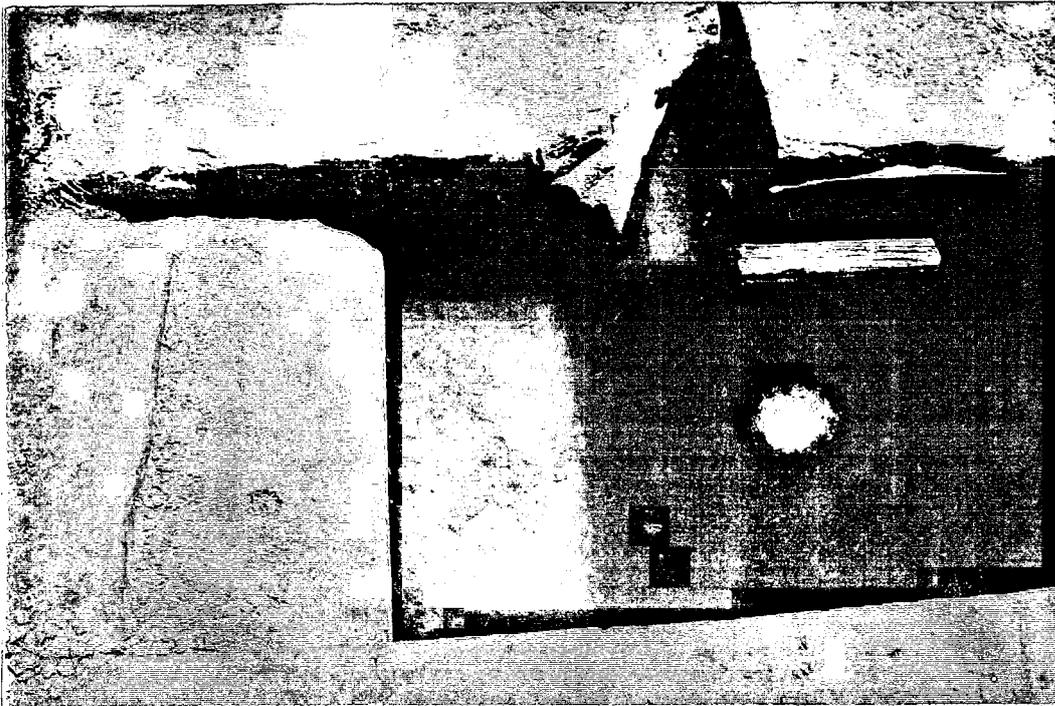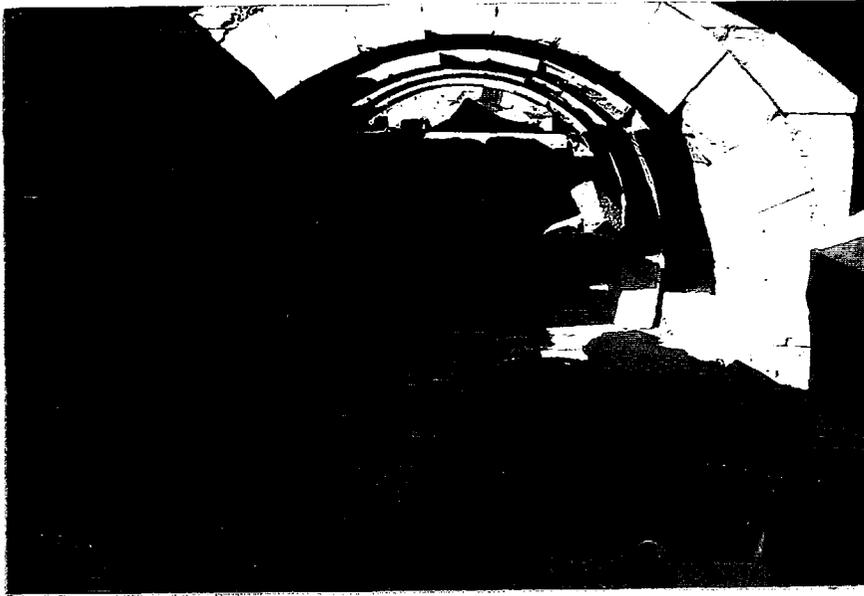
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APPENDIX A: CHARACHTERISTICS OF APOLLO TEMPLES

Date	Place	Name or Dedication	Style	Corinthian Column	Adyton or Oracular Shrine	Sacred Spring
8th century	Dreros	Apollo-Leto Artemis	?	–	A sacrificial heart	–
7th century	Gortyn	Apollo Pythios	?	–	–	–
7th century	Nape	Apollo Napaios	Aeolic	–	–	–
c. 600	Cyrene	Apollo (oldest)	Doric	–	–	–
Late 6th century	Chios (Phanai)	Apollo Phanaios	Ionic	–	–	–
c.650	Myus	Apollo Termintheus	Ionic	–	–	–
c. 640	Thermum	Apollo	Doric	–	–	–
c. 575	Syracuse (Ortygia)	Apollo or Artemis (?)	Doric	–	Adyton	–
c.565 (?)	Naucratis (Egypt)	Apollo	Ionic	–	–	–

Date	Place	Name or Dedication	Style	Corinthian Column	Adyton or Oracular Shrine	Sacred spring
c.550 (?)	Eretria	Apollo Daphne-phoros	?	–	–	–
c. 540	Corinth	Apollo	Doric	–	Unusual double cella	yes
c. 530	Selinus	Apollo (G or T)	Doric	–	A small temple	–
c. 420 (?)	Bassae	Apollo Epicurius	Doric	yes	A kind of adyton	–
c.370	Thebes	Apollo Ismenius	Doric	–	Oracular cavern	–
c.360-330	Delphi	Apollo Delphinios	Doric	A votive column	Adyton and oracular cavern	yes
ca.340-320	Miletos	Apollo Delphinios	?	–	–	–
c.334	Didyma	Apollo Didymaios	Ionic	yes	A small temple	yes
c. 325-300	Delos	Apollo	Doric	A bronze column	–	Near the lake
c.4th century	Klaros	Apollo-Leto Artemis	Doric	yes	Oracular 'cavern'	yes
c.250	Sminthe	Apollo Smintheus	Ionic	–	–	–

114

Date	Place	Name or Dedication	Style	Corinthian column	Adyton or Oracular Shrine	Sacred Spring
c.200	Alabanda	Apollo Isotimos	Ionic	–	–	–
AD 60	Hierapolis	Apollo Archegetes and Pythius	?	–	Pluteneion	–
AD 250	Side	Apollo	Corinthian	–	–	–
Hellenistic	Pergamon	Apollo Kalliteknos	?	–	–	–
?	Knidos	Apollo Karneios	Doric	–	–	–

115