

# **The Adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae:**

Multiple Cult Worship in the Adyton.



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*To my sister Lauren,  
Thank you.*

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## The Adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae

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## Abstract

Situated on Mount Kotilion in the Peloponnese, the Temple of Apollo at Bassae sits high in the middle of a mountain range. Upon rediscovery, it became evident that most of the offerings had long since disappeared, and this was in turn paired with a lack of primary literature. Though the temple is mentioned in Pausanias' work, discussion about the cultic aspects of the temple is severely lacking. This leads to a large gap in the knowledge of the temple's religious function. It is for this reason that the architecture of Bassae is explored to help understand the cultic aspects of this temple. This thesis shows that multiple cults were celebrated at the temple of Bassae, and that there is a high probability that multiple cult worship occurred in the adyton of the building.

The cult at Bassae has been celebrated since geometric times, and worship to Apollo was fairly consistent until the sanctuary's demise in the third century BCE. Three *epikleseis* are often associated with this temple: Apollo Epikourios, Apollo Bassitas and Hyperborean Apollo. The epithet of Epikourios comes from Pausanias' passage, and nowhere else. The original reason for this epithet may be either medicinal or martial, and both are explored within this thesis. Bassitas is another epithet provided. However, this is in the form of a singular archaeological find, a small bronze tablet found in the wider Kotilion sanctuary. The third epithet, Hyperborean, is a tenuous but commonly made connection. This epithet relies heavily on the localised subject matter of the sculptural programme at Bassae.

The architecture of the building is also in need of discussion. The temple at Bassae is famed for its odd, and in some cases, unparalleled architectural design. The temple is on a north-south axis, and features not only a northern entranceway, but also an opening in the eastern wall, leading into the adyton. This eastern doorway allows light to enter twice a year, which hits the southern wall. The decorative features of the temple are unparalleled, with the first known Corinthian column and extended engaged Ionic columns. These unusual design features create a focus within the adyton.

Within the adyton, four positions can be considered possible sites for housing offerings or cult statues. These include the southwest corner, the centre of the southern wall, the centre of the northern limits of the adyton directly south of the Corinthian column, and finally, the Corinthian column itself. The evidence for these positions being a focus for cult comes from architectural features, such as the paving of the adyton floor, the light phenomenon and a small plinth.

These four positions are by no means definite, and this thesis discusses the probability of each of these positions in terms of the likelihood of them being the focus of a cult. While the southwest corner is the most likely position for a cult statue, the Corinthian column seems the least likely.

The architecture at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae strongly suggests worship occurring in the adyton of the temple, and it seems likely it was at least one of these three epithets that was celebrated in one of the four positions in the adyton.

## The Adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae

## **1. Introduction**

To religion belongs the placing of the shrines and sacred temples to the immortal gods.  
Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (1.3.1.)

The Temple of Apollo at Bassae is found on Mount Kotilion in the southwest of Arkadia in the Peloponnese. High in the mountains, the temple is often shrouded in cloud, and experiences some of the greatest extremes in weather (fig 1).<sup>1</sup> The temple was built by the people in the city of Phigaleia and dedicated to Apollo (fig 2).<sup>2</sup> It is made from local materials, such as the blue-grey limestone that gives Bassae its famous colouring.<sup>3</sup> The temple itself is proportionally longer than most other contemporary temples, being 14.48 by 38.24 metres.<sup>4</sup> This unusual elongation is most obvious in the extra columns along the side; the temple has the conventional six columns along the front, but fifteen columns down the sides.<sup>5</sup>

The layout of the temple is its most enigmatic feature (fig 3). The temple at Bassae is orientated on a north-south axis, and features a pronaos and opisthodomos, a naos and an adyton. This temple is most famed for having the first Corinthian column, and a doorway interrupting the eastern wall, leading into the adyton.

Despite the romantic idea that this temple was alone on a mountaintop, this is not the case, since it was part of a sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> The sanctuary itself was isolated due to the elevation and topography. The closest town to Bassae was Eira, which was approximately 6km away, which was situated at the source point of the Neda River.<sup>7</sup> The patron city of Phigaleia was further up the Neda River, and was the second closest city to Bassae, being an estimated 13km. The temple to Apollo was part of a wider Kotilion sanctuary that featured two other temples, one of which shares the north-south

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<sup>1</sup> Cooper (1996) 42.

<sup>2</sup> Pedley (2002) 290.

<sup>3</sup> Spawforth (2006) 156.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence (1996) 134.

<sup>5</sup> Pedley (2002) 291.

<sup>6</sup> Jenkins (2006) 131.

<sup>7</sup> Distances are worked out and rounded from the Barrington Classical Atlas. All distances are from the direct route.

orientation of the temple to Apollo (fig 4).<sup>8</sup> Additionally, to the north of the temple to Apollo, remnants of other buildings of various uses were found.<sup>9</sup> Bassae was a working sanctuary, and would have been accessible to visitors. There are a number of ancient pathways that wind around the area.<sup>10</sup> During the sanctuary's use, the temple would have been accessible from the sea via the Neda River.<sup>11</sup>

There were four building phases at Bassae that created the two sets of foundations seen on the site (fig 14). The archaic temple constitutes the first two phases, which occurred between c.625-600BCE and c.575BCE. This temple was cared for and looked after, with improvements later added to the original temple plan in 575BCE.<sup>12</sup> This temple was demolished to make room for the construction of the classical temple, built in the third and fourth building stages, which spanned 500-490 BCE and 429-400BCE, and is still standing today.<sup>13</sup>

The Peloponnese was an area rife with conflict. The Bassae area found itself in the middle of three Messenian Wars involving Sparta. Their connection with the site is evident in the Lakonian pottery discovered there.<sup>14</sup> Whereas Bassae was situated in Arkadia, the patron city Phigaleia was situated on the Messenian border (Ath. 10.442b) and was just north of the last area to succumb to Lakonian forces in the Messenian Wars (fig 2).<sup>15</sup> The area also suffered from a large number of revolts, including the Aristomenes revolt in 500-490BCE and the earthquake revolt of 467-457BCE.<sup>16</sup> The violent history of the area had a direct effect on the building programme at Bassae. In 421BCE, the city of Phigaleia was captured by Sparta, and work on the classical temple stopped, despite the fact the temple was only partially built.<sup>17</sup> The building of the current temple began once again in 414BCE and was completed in c.400BCE.

Situating the temple within a mountainous region turned out to be a saving grace in terms of its survival for over 2,400 years. It faced the same threat as most temples

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<sup>8</sup> Cooper (1996) 61-63.

<sup>9</sup> Kelly (1995) 229-230.

<sup>10</sup> Cooper (1996) 44.

<sup>11</sup> Cooper (1996) 44.

<sup>12</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.

<sup>13</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.

<sup>14</sup> Cooper (1996) 45.

<sup>15</sup> Cooper (1996) 46; Pritchett (1985) 4; Cartledge (1979) 126.

<sup>16</sup> Cooper (1996) 49-51. For discussion on the likelihood of the Aristomenes revolt, see Jones (1967) 173 and Boer (1956) 168-174.

<sup>17</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.

during the medieval period in Greece: all of the interior walls were pulled down in the search for the metal clamps used in dry stone masonry construction.<sup>18</sup> However, due to the lack of metal empolion in the columns, all but two of the exterior Doric columns were standing when Joachim Bocher rediscovered the temple in 1765.<sup>19</sup> The building is one of the best preserved in Greece, and underwent two significant excavations by Carl Haller von Hallerstein and Charles Cockerell between 1808-1814, who were looking for sculpture and decoration.<sup>20</sup> This led to the removal of the Corinthian capital and the 23 stone slabs which made up the interior Ionic frieze.<sup>21</sup> Since this time, the Greek Archaeological Society, under the archaeologists Panagiotis Kavvadias, Konstantinos Kourouniotos, and Konstantinos Romeos from 1902, has excavated the site.<sup>22</sup> This was the first attempt to restore the temple and the anastylosis was reasonably successful.<sup>23</sup> The building was left alone for nearly 60 years after this initial reconstruction. Work began again in 1959, during the excavation led by Nikolaos Yalouris.<sup>24</sup> In 1986, the temple of Apollo at Bassae was included on the UNESCO World Heritage site list, and in 1999, a large tent was erected over the structure to protect it from the weather.<sup>25</sup>

The literature on the Temple of Apollo at Bassae is scanty. Pausanias, writing in Roman period, specifically 180CE, made mention of the Temple at Bassae. Although Pausanias is writing 600 years after the building of this temple, he is the best, indeed the only, literary source available to us for discussion of the temple. Pausanias discusses the material of the roof at Bassae and a large bronze statue that was moved from Bassae to Megalopolis (Paus. 8.41.7, 8.30.4). He does provide some further information such as

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<sup>18</sup> Spawforth (2006) 158.

<sup>19</sup> WHC Nomination Documentation: Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, UNESCO (1986) Annex II part 2. One column collapsed in 1830. For the rest of the temple, the entablature was also not disturbed, and was still sitting above the Doric columns.

<sup>20</sup> Cooper (1996) 15. Cockerell (1861) published an account of the excavations and finds at Bassae using the notes in Haller von Hallerstein's field notebook. Unfortunately, Haller von Hallerstein's complete notes were lost at sea, so Cockerell provides very little information concerning this expedition. Though Haller von Hallerstein's surviving field notebook has not been published, Cooper provides images of the field notebook, see Cooper (1996) plates 81-113. This search for sculptural decoration became a popular form of excavation, riding on the success of Lord Elgin in Athens. Haller von Hallerstein and Cockerell's expedition was paid for by the British Museum with the understanding the British Museum would buy all elements of interest.

<sup>21</sup> WHC Nomination Documentation: Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, UNESCO (1986) Annex II part 2. The Corinthian capital does not survive.

<sup>22</sup> WHC Nomination Documentation: Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, UNESCO (1986) Annex II part 2. See Kourouniotes (1910) for published article of the excavation.

<sup>23</sup> Cooper (1996) 125.

<sup>24</sup> Cooper (1996) 125; Kelly (1995) 230.

<sup>25</sup> Spawforth (2006) 158; WHC Nomination Documentation: Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, UNESCO (1986) Annex II part 2.

the reason for building the temple (8.41.7) and the festival at Megalopolis (8.30.4). Most importantly, Pausanias mentions an epithet, Epikourios, by name and comments on its similarity to the Athenian epithet Alexikakos.<sup>26</sup> Overall, Pausanias is a reliable source.<sup>27</sup>

Due to this lack of primary literary evidence, modern scholars have spent much time working out how the religious and architectural elements of this temple functioned in this setting. Cult is notoriously problematic; information about the cults at Bassae relies heavily on the short excerpt from Pausanias and an inscription on a single manumission tablet.<sup>28</sup> Frederick Cooper's monograph about Bassae and Yalouris' discussion prominently discuss the cult of the temple and present evidence from both history and archaeology at the site. The second approach concerns the secondary literature about the site. An article by Nancy Kelly in 1995 and the monograph by Cooper give a detailed analysis of the architecture of the site.<sup>29</sup> William Dinsmoor's discussion, while comprehensive, was written during the early reconstruction of the site and is not as detailed as later architectural discussions.<sup>30</sup> In 1902, the Greek Archaeological Society was put in charge of Bassae, and since then, excavation reports and articles provide a catalogue of their findings.<sup>31</sup> However, in the case of most of the finds in the reports and articles, the archaeologists do not attempt to relate the finds to the building, since they were mostly found outside of the temple itself. Analysis of both the architecture and the religious aspects of this temple is crucial to understanding this temple overall. It is impossible to truly understand this temple without first examining the evidence left by the surviving architecture. It is likely that the nature of the cult in the adyton could explain the odd architectural choices.

Much of the literature focuses on particular elements of the temple, rather than the temple as a whole. Many articles and books that discuss the temple focus on the unusual features of the building, especially the Corinthian column. Very few scholars have attempted to place the cults in the context of the architecture, though those that do, namely Cooper, Dinsmoor, Kelly, and Yalouris, are invaluable in this discussion.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> This is discussed later in the thesis in Chapter One.

<sup>27</sup> Habicht (1985) 28-29; Pretzler (2007) 44-46.

<sup>28</sup> These are discussed at length below.

<sup>29</sup> Cooper & Madigan (1992); Cooper (1996); Kelly (1995).

<sup>30</sup> Dinsmoor (1933).

<sup>31</sup> Kourouniotos (1910)

<sup>32</sup> Cooper (1996); Cooper and Madigan (1992); Dinsmoor (1933); Kelly (1995); Yalouris (1979).



The purpose of this thesis is to show that multiple cult worship was a very real possibility in the adyton in the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. To do this, this thesis will be divided into three chapters.

The first chapter focuses on the cult of the temple. Following a short discussion concerning Apollo as the honoured deity at this site, three epithets (*epikleseis*) will then be explored. The first of these epithets is that of Apollo Epikourios. There are two possible origins to this epithet, each of which is considered in chapter one. Pausanias suggests a medicinal beginning, while the evidence for a military origin comes from the martial meaning of the word *epikouros*, and the history of mercenaries in the area of Arkadia. The second epithet discussed is Apollo Bassitas. The evidence for this epithet comes from the archaeological evidence discovered in the Kotilion sanctuary. The name '*Basitas*' appears on a bronze tablet.<sup>33</sup> This epithet is especially appropriate to the area, as the saddle on which the temple sits is called Bassae. This would be a very localised cult, and the area of Bassae was most likely known to the Greek world, as fragments discuss the area of Bassae in relation to Pan.<sup>34</sup> The third and final epithet considered in this thesis is Hyperborean Apollo. Though this cult was Panhellenic, and celebrated in both Olympia and Delphi, little is known about it. Evidence for this epithet being celebrated at Bassae is reliant on the sculpture on the northern porch of the temple. The purpose of this chapter is to show that there were probably multiple epithets of Apollo celebrated at the temple of Apollo at Bassae.<sup>35</sup>

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the architectural evidence in order to show that the adyton was a place of cultic importance. Due to the abnormal design of the temple, such as the Corinthian column and eastern doorway, the evidence points to a strong focus on the adyton. Within this chapter, a short history of the building programme will be given, discussing the phases of building during the archaic and the classical period. Following this, certain features of architecture will be discussed and evaluated, such as: the eastern doorway, a plinth, the Corinthian column, the paving in the room, and the entry of sunlight through the eastern doorway. The discussion of architectural features is mostly limited to the adyton; however, the foundations of the

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<sup>33</sup> This is how it appears on the tablet, though all scholars spell it as Bassitas.

<sup>34</sup> Cooper (1996) 61-62. Pan is another deity seemingly worshipped in the wider Kotilion sanctuary, and is also mentioned on the bronze tablet.

<sup>35</sup> On the controversial question of divine epithets and cults, see Parker (2003) and, more specific to Bassae, Cooper (1996) 68-79.

archaic temples will also be considered as well as its classical layout. Also under discussion are some issues surrounding the possibility of a cult statue and the movement of the building due to the anthropic foundations.

The third chapter places the architectural evidence in the context of the worship of the epithets discussed in the first chapter in order to show the possibility of multiple cults present in the adyton of the temple. Four areas of the adyton are analysed: the south-west corner, the central southern wall, the central northern section of the adyton which is directly south of the Corinthian column, and, finally, the Corinthian column itself. While each position offers reasons as to why it could be the position for cultic worship, it is necessary to evaluate how likely these positions were in comparison to the others. This chapter aims to weigh up the likelihood of multiple cult worship within the confines of the adyton, which is in turn, the overall aim of this thesis. The attempt to address the question of the possible placement of multiple cults is the factor that distinguishes this paper from other discussions of this enigmatic temple.

## **2. Cults of Bassae**

Let me call to mind and not neglect Apollo the far-shooter, at whose coming the gods tremble in Zeus' house.

*Hom. Hymn Apollo 1-2.*

The temple situated at Bassae is something of a mystery. Information regarding the religious aspects of the temple is difficult to come by due to the temple's near-complete absence in ancient literature, and the less than descriptive archaeological evidence. The temple is dedicated to the god Apollo. This much is clear due to literary, sculptural, and archaeological evidence. Apollo is confirmed as the deity of the site from the earlier archaic temple and then, through literature, the classical temple as well. But the only literature in which the temple at Bassae appears is Pausanias' writing.

Pausanias provides the only mention of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae in ancient texts. In his writing about the temple, Pausanias attributes the temple to Apollo Epikourios. Given the importance of Pausanias' evidence to the interpretation of the site, it is worth quoting in full:

έν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίον τέ ἐστι καλούμενον Βᾶσσαι καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου. ναῶν δὲ ὅσοι Πελοποννησίους εἰσί, μετὰ γε τὸν ἐν Τεγέᾳ προτιμῶτο οὗτος ἂν τοῦ λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἔνεκα. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμῳδει, καθότι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Ἀλεξίκακος ἀποτρέψας καὶ τούτοις τὴν νόσον. ἔπαυσε δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς Φιγαλέας καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ: μαρτύρια δὲ αἱ τε ἐπικλήσεις ἀμφοτέραι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰκός τι ὑποσημαίνουσαι καὶ Ἰκτῖνος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλῖα ναοῦ γεγονὼς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ Περικλέα καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Παρθενῶνα καλούμενον κατασκευάσας. ἐδίδαξε δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

On the mountain is a place called Bassae, and the Temple of Apollo Epikourios. Of the temples in the Peloponnesus, this might be placed first after the one at Tegea for the beauty of its stone and for its symmetry. Apollo

received his name from the help he gave in time of plague, just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil for turning the plague away from them. It was at the time of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians that he also saved the Phigalians, and at no other time; the evidence is that of the two surnames of Apollo, which have practically the same meaning, and also the fact that Ictinus, the architect of the temple at Phigaleia was a contemporary of Pericles, and built for the Athenians what is called the Parthenon. My narrative has already said that the title image of Apollo is in the market place of Megalopolis.<sup>36</sup>

And, in an earlier section:

ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τεμένους τούτου χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος θεᾶς ἄξιον, μέγεθος μὲν ἐς πόδας δώδεκα, ἐκομίσθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων συντέλεια ἐς κόσμον τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρυτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιγαλέων, ὀνομάζεται Βᾶσσαι: τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἡ ἐπικλησις ἠκολούθηκε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων, ἐφ' ᾧ τῷ δὲ ὄνομα ἔσχεν Ἐπικούριος, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φιγαλέας τοῦ λόγου.

There is before this enclosure a bronze image of Apollo worth seeing, in height twelve feet, brought from Phigaleia as a contribution to the adornment of Megalopolis. The place where the Phigalians originally set up the image is named Bassae. The surname of the god has followed him from Phigaleia, but why he received the name of Helper will be set forth in my account of Phigalia.<sup>37</sup>

Despite his discussion on the temple, his writing tells us nothing of its cultic aspects; indeed, he only informs us that the temple is dedicated to Apollo Epikourios, nothing more.

Three different epithets of Apollo are possible at the temple. These are: Apollo Epikourios, Apollo Bassitas, and Hyperborean Apollo. The archaeological evidence at the site supports the idea that there was cult celebrated at the site: many pieces of pottery and metal have been excavated in exploratory trenches, dating from

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<sup>36</sup> Paus. 8.41.7-9; all translations of Pausanias are from Jones and Ormerod (1965).

<sup>37</sup> Paus 8.30.3-4.

various times from the geometric to the classical periods. While this confirms cult, the archaeology does not hint at what epithets or cults were celebrated, with the exception of one tablet that reads 'Basitas'.<sup>38</sup>

Apollo Epikourios is the deity most frequently associated by modern scholars with the temple's cult, as it is this epithet that is mentioned in Pausanias' work. While there is no archaeological evidence that proves that Epikourios was celebrated at Bassae, a number of offerings present a possible martial character of the cult. However, there is another possible origin of the instantiation 'Epikourios' which instead suggests a medicinal beginning. Apollo Bassitas is the easiest to prove, as there is irrefutable archaeological evidence found in a neighbouring site within the sanctuary. While Bassitas is the only attested epithet from contemporary evidence, it is the one about which the least is known, as it appears to be a localised cult, gaining its name from the topographical area. Hyperborean Apollo is a Panhellenic cult. And yet, little is known about the cult overall. This cult is the most difficult to link to the site, and connections can appear tenuous at times; but the sculptural programme of the area could support the inclusion of Hyperborean Apollo into the list of epithets celebrated at the Temple at Bassae.

## Apollo

The temple of Apollo at Bassae is indisputably dedicated to Apollo, as he is attested in literature, sculpture, and archaeology. In his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias attributes this temple to Apollo.<sup>39</sup> Despite the fact that he travelled to Greece nearly six centuries after the height of use in the sanctuary, the building had been maintained until this point in time. Pausanias makes the comment that the roof was made of marble, yet when he discussed the temples at the Kotilion sanctuary, he explains that the temples' roofs had long since fallen down due to disuse.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Cooper (1978) 29. See fig 10.

<sup>39</sup> Paus. 8.41.7.

<sup>40</sup> Paus. 8.41.10. Pausanias about one other temple on the Kotilion site. Foundations indicate that there were two temples at this site, with their construction dating to the archaic period. From this dating, it can be assumed that both buildings were standing during the height of the sanctuary. Additionally, Pausanias attributes this temple to Aphrodite; however, there is no evidence for worship of Aphrodite at this site,

The temple sculpture also gives fairly conclusive representations of Apollo, indicating a strong correspondence between the sculpture and the deity of the site. There were two depictions of Apollo displayed at the temple. The Ionic frieze, which was placed inside the main cella of the temple, depicts Apollo and his twin sister Artemis driving forward on a chariot towards the battle against the Centaurs (fig 5).<sup>41</sup> The chariot is pulled by stags, which are an attribute of Artemis. Additionally, Apollo is depicted as about to fire an arrow from his bow. Apollo and Artemis are the only deities depicted on this frieze.<sup>42</sup> The second depiction of Apollo is found on the northern metopes of the exterior Doric frieze. Apollo is depicted on Metope P4, which shows Apollo holding his lyre in his hands (fig 6).<sup>43</sup> Though Apollo is not the only god depicted on the Doric frieze, this metope would have been the central one along the entrance of the temple.<sup>44</sup> The placement of Apollo in the centre is indicative of the temple's function in celebrating the deity.

The archaeology of the site reinforces the identification of Apollo as the patron deity of this temple. During excavations in the early 1900s, terracotta tiles from earlier temples built on the site were discovered.<sup>45</sup> These tiles do not all date to the same period; and yet, not one of them is from the classical temple, but earlier.<sup>46</sup> Apollo's name has been inscribed on many of the roof tiles (fig 7).<sup>47</sup> While none of the excavated tiles is complete, there are enough inscribed tiles to see that it was the god's name that had been inscribed. This is the only archaeological evidence from within the confines of the temple itself which shows Apollo's name.<sup>48</sup> Though this evidence comes from the archaic temple built prior to the classical building, it is unlikely that the deity of a

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only of generic female deities. Cooper's discussion does not disprove Aphrodite as the goddess of the temple, but presents an argument that it would make more sense for Artemis to be the goddess of the temple. This thesis does not delve too far into this discussion, as it has no effect on the discussion of the adyton of the Temple of Apollo. For further discussion, see Cooper (1996) 64.

<sup>41</sup> Cooper (1992) 82.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper (1992) 82. I discount Herakles, who is also depicted on this frieze, as being a full deity, since he is depicted in one of his mortal exploits. Apollo and Artemis are therefore the only deities depicted on the frieze.

<sup>43</sup> Madigan (1982) 55.

<sup>44</sup> Madigan (1982) 55. This placement is according to Madigan's arrangement of the metopes, including the topics of the north and south porches. I tend to follow Madigan's arrangement, as most archaeologists and scholars when discussing the temple sculpture have accepted it.

<sup>45</sup> Cooper (1992) 88.

<sup>46</sup> Cooper (1992) 88. This becomes apparent due to the changes to the style and colour. For full discussion, see Cooper (1990).

<sup>47</sup> Cooper (1992) 89.

<sup>48</sup> Kourinioutos (1910) 288. A small base from a skyphos features the letters ΑΦΑΙ, which shows a possible connection with the temple of Aphaia at Aegina.

temple would change completely while it is still in continuous use. It is safe to assert that the god of the temple had not changed between the original buildings in 625BCE to the Classical temple begun in 429BCE.<sup>49</sup> The deity of the temple is Apollo.

### Apollo Epikourios

Pausanias provides the only mention of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae in ancient texts. In his writing about the temple, Pausanias attributes the temple to Apollo Epikourios. Given the importance of Pausanias' evidence to the interpretation of the site, it is worth quoting in full:

τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμῳδει, καθότι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Ἀλεξίκακος ἀποτρέψας καὶ τούτοις τήννοσον. ἔπαυσε δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς Φιγαλέας καὶ οὐκ ἐνέτέρῳ καιρῷ: μαρτύρια δὲ αἱ τε ἐπικλήσεις ἀμφοτέραι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰκός τι ὑποσημαίνουσαι καὶ Ἰκτῖνος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλίας ναοῦ γεγονὼς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ Περικλέα καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Παρθενῶνα καλούμενον κατασκευάσας. ἐδίδαξε δὲ ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

On the mountain is a place called Bassae, and the Temple of Apollo Epikourios. Of the temples in the Peloponnesus, this might be placed first after the one at Tegea for the beauty of its stone and for its symmetry. Apollo received his name from the help he gave in time of plague, just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil for turning the plague away from them. <sup>50</sup>

τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐνθα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρυτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιγαλέων, ὀνομάζεται Βᾶσσα: τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἡ ἐπικλήσις ἠκολούθηκε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ ὄνομα ἔσχεν Ἐπικούριος, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φιγαλέας τοῦ λόγου.

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<sup>49</sup> Cooper (1992) 5.

<sup>50</sup> Paus. 8.41.7-9; All translations of Pausanias are from Jones and Ormerod (1965).

The surname of the god has followed him from Phigalia, but why he received the name of Helper will be set forth in my account of Phigalia.<sup>51</sup>

The use of the word 'Επικοῦριος signifies 'helper', but scholars differ as to the form of help that the god offered.<sup>52</sup> It is only from the ancient literature that we receive this epithet. Unusually, none of the archaeological finds discovered within the sanctuary feature the epithet 'Επικοῦριος. It is unusual for archaeological finds not to mention the deity to which they were being dedicated to.<sup>53</sup>

There are two main theories as to why the temple was dedicated to Apollo the Helper. The first theory centres on Apollo acting as a helper in healing, while the second focuses on Apollo as providing aid in times of war.<sup>54</sup>

Many scholars discuss the dedication of the classical temple to Apollo for his healing qualities. The main reason for this is because Pausanias himself wrote that this was the purpose for the building of the temple. He writes:

τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐπὶ νόσῳ λοιμῳδεῖ, καθότι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Ἀλεξίκακος ἀποτρέψας καὶ τούτοις τὴν νόσον.

Apollo received his name from the help he gave in time of plague, just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil [Alexikakos] for turning the plague away from them.<sup>55</sup>

Apollo was associated with healing frequently enough elsewhere. Prior to the beginning of the classical period, Apollo had been well known for his medicinal capabilities. There are multiple epithets or instantiations that correlate to his healing abilities, such as Apollo Maleatas, Oulis, and Iatros.<sup>56</sup> Apollo Maleatas was often invoked alongside Asklepios, the son of Apollo and the god most associated with the practice of medicine and healing. During the archaic period, the importance of healing appears to

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<sup>51</sup> Paus 8.30.3-4.

<sup>52</sup> Liddell et al (1968) 643: 'succourer'. – In the translation consulted – Jones and Ormerod (1965) – the word has been translated as 'helper'. For this reason, I will use 'helper' rather than 'succourer'.

<sup>53</sup> Cooper (1996) 72.

<sup>54</sup> Tzortzi (2000) 41.

<sup>55</sup> Paus. 8.41.8.

<sup>56</sup> Graf (2009) 84.



pass on from father to son. This means that, at the time the Temple at Bassae was built, using the date provided by Pausanias, Asklepios would have been the more popular healing deity, and would have been the most likely choice for a healing deity coming into the fourth century.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, Asklepios was celebrated in Messene at this time, with a temple dedicated to him situated in a central square of the city.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, Pausanias himself writes that it was dedicated in gratitude for Apollo's help against the plague, the dating of which is fairly clear as he writes that it occurred at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

ἔπαυσε δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς  
Φιγαλέας καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ καιρῷ

It was at the time of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians that he also saved the Phigalians, and at no other time.<sup>59</sup>

Other primary sources discuss this particular plague, and Thucydides states that the Peloponnese had barely been affected, if at all.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γινόμενα ἦκαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι:  
ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἦρξατο εὐθύς, καὶ ἐς μὲν  
Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν  
μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. ταῦτα μὲν  
τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

Now so far as the oracle is concerned, they surmised that what was happening was its fulfilment, for the plague broke out immediately after the Peloponnesians had invaded Attica; and though it did not enter the Peloponnesos to any extent, it devastated Athens most of all, and next to Athens the places which had the densest population. So much for the history of the plague.<sup>60</sup>

This statement supports Pausanias inasmuch as the Peloponnese was not affected by the plague as Athens was. However, Thucydides does not attribute the

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<sup>57</sup> That is, shortly after 430 BCE, since according to Pausanias the construction of the temple dated to straight after the plague.

<sup>58</sup> Graf (2009) 95.

<sup>59</sup> Paus 8.41.9.

<sup>60</sup> Thuc 2.54.5. All translations of Thucydides are from Smith (1969).

aversion of the plague to Apollo at any point as Pausanias does. Apollo is commonly associated with causing plague and, by extension, with healing it.<sup>61</sup> There is a precedent for an epithet of Apollo to invoke a healing purpose. During the plague in 429BCE, the cult of Apollo Alexikakos became popular in Athens, the city most affected by the plague.<sup>62</sup> Alexikakos, as Pausanias discusses, can be seen as a parallel to Epikourios, both celebrated for protection from the plague.<sup>63</sup> However, the cult of Alexikakos was celebrated prior to 440BCE, before the plague of 429BCE had become an issue.<sup>64</sup> Apollo Maleatas was also popular in Greece in the archaic period as a healing deity, before Asklepios became the popular healing god in the classical period.<sup>65</sup>

The dating of both the plague and the construction of the temple create issues with this theory. Pausanias makes it very clear that the plague he is referring to is the one that broke out during the Peloponnesian War. However, this war and plague occurred in the fifth century, and the archaic temple on this site was completed in c.600BCE.<sup>66</sup> Due to the inconsistencies of the dating, it is difficult to believe the plague was the sole reason for the completion of this classical temple. It becomes even clearer that the plague cannot be the initial reason for the building of this temple on this site during the archaic period. However, it is possible that an earlier epithet was attached to the archaic building. This epithet may have even changed over time, or been added to due to the aversion of the plague.

Despite the connections between the epithet Epikourios and healing, another theory as to why the temple is named as such is centred on a much older war. During the First Messenian war, from 735-715 BCE, the Arkadians gave assistance in the form of mercenaries to the Messenians during a battle against the Spartans, and these were called ἐπικούροι, which soon became the name for hired aid in times of war.<sup>67</sup> The Messenians and the Arkadians were strong allies against the dominance of the Spartan

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<sup>61</sup> Parker (2011) 77.

<sup>62</sup> Farnell (1907) 239; "just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil [Alexikakos] for turning the plague away from them", Paus. 8.41.8.

<sup>63</sup> Pausanias 8.41.8.

<sup>64</sup> Jost (1985) 486.

<sup>65</sup> Jost (1985) 486; Graf (2009) 16, 96.

<sup>66</sup> Cooper (1992) 5.

<sup>67</sup> Cooper (1996) 4.

state, and this is seen in many wars, such as the Tyrtaios War and the Methone-Pylos War.<sup>68</sup>

Ancient literature uses the word *ἐπίκουροι* in many ways. The first occurrence of this word is in the *Iliad*, where *ἐπίκουροι* may be translated as ‘allies’.<sup>69</sup> There are often sentences that discuss Arkadians as mercenaries. Thucydides, when writing about Kolophon, uses the words *ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδους* in reference to Arkadian mercenaries.<sup>70</sup> This translation is also seen in Xenophon’s *Hellenika*, as he uses the term to mean mercenaries also.

καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια παρεχόμενος ὡς ἐπικούρων ὅποτε δεηθεῖέν τινες, οὐδένας ἤροῦντο ἀντ’ Ἀρκάδων.

He [Lykomedes of Mantinea] also declared that they were the bravest, offering as evidence the fact that whenever men needed mercenaries, there were none whom they chose in preference to Arkadians.<sup>71</sup>

This shows the prestige of the Arkadian mercenaries in Xenophon’s time. The use of the word *ἐπικούρων* to describe the mercenaries supports the theory that the epithet *Epikourios* has a martial origin.

The *Epikourios* epithet may have derived from a martial beginning, which was appropriate for the area around the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. This changes the function of the epithet, from a healing god to a martial one, perhaps indicative of the patrons who gave the votive offerings. The depiction of Apollo in this sphere is not an original one, and indeed, many archaeological finds from differing parts of Greece depict Apollo as a militant deity. Pausanias describes an ‘old and uncouth’ statue of Apollo in Amyklai wearing a helmet with spear in hand.<sup>72</sup> This depiction is identical to another statue described by both Pausanias and Thucydides from Thornax.<sup>73</sup> The possibility of

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<sup>68</sup> Pausanias 4.17.2; Pausanias 4.15.7; Cooper (1996) 78.

<sup>69</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.815; 3. 456; 6.111. *ἐπίκουροι* is translated as ‘allies’ in Murray (1999), Rieu (1966) and Lombardo (1997). In Lattimore (2011), *ἐπίκουροι* is translated as ‘companions’. The general theme for these translations leans toward assistance given by other armies.

<sup>70</sup> Thucydides 3.34.2.

<sup>71</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23; all translations of Xenophon are from Brownson (2004). This quote comes from a speech by Lykomedes of Mantinea as written by Xenophon. The context of this speech is to encourage the Arkadians to fight, and may therefore describe the Arkadians as being more influential than they possibly were. Additionally, the translation of *ἐπίκουροι* is translated as ‘mercenaries’ in Warner (1979) 361.

<sup>72</sup> Pausanias 3.19.2.

<sup>73</sup> Herodotus 1.69; Pausanias 3.10.8.

Apollo Epikourios being a martial deity cannot therefore be discounted. The area of Phigaleia was a place of constant military unrest, often being forced to change their alliances. The celebration of a military epithet and god would be appropriate to the area.<sup>74</sup>

The archaeological finds at the Bassae sanctuary show a military theme. This in itself is not unusual, as Apollo received martial offerings at other shrines; however, it is the style of the offerings that is important.<sup>75</sup> During excavations at the site, a number of miniature armaments were discovered.<sup>76</sup> The finds at Bassae include bronze shields, helmets, breastplates and greaves, all of which are miniatures (fig 8).<sup>77</sup> The majority of these finds were discovered during the 1910 excavations headed by Kourouniotos, which focused heavily on the area to the north of the Iktinian temple.<sup>78</sup> Miniature armament is not uncommon in Ancient Greece as votives, and indeed, miniature armament is found at many sites and sanctuaries throughout Greece, including Aegina and Crete.<sup>79</sup> The strongest parallel for this type of offering can be seen in Cretan sanctuaries.<sup>80</sup> Miniature helmets in particular are a more common votive offering than the other miniature armaments mentioned (fig 9).<sup>81</sup> Small helmets have been found in other sanctuaries in Ionia, Crete and on Aegina.<sup>82</sup> These effigy helmets are stylized to make production easier, due to the flattened shape.<sup>83</sup> This flattening indicates that they were made only as votives, as it makes it impossible for a warrior to wear them into battle.<sup>84</sup> The style of the helmets tends to be Corinthian, identifiable by the style of the cheek pieces and the nasal covering.<sup>85</sup> During Kourouniotos' excavations, fifteen helmets were found, and all featured two small holes on the edge of the metal.<sup>86</sup> The

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<sup>74</sup> Cooper (1996) 78.

<sup>75</sup> Simon (1986) 253.

<sup>76</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 311-317.

<sup>77</sup> Simon (1986) 236-352; Kourouniotos (1910) 311-317.

<sup>78</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 311-317; Yalouris (1959) 158.

<sup>79</sup> Simon (1986) 236-252. Simon provides an index of sorts detailing the types of votive armament found at different sanctuaries. It is important to note that he acknowledges the sanctuary of Bassae in each of the miniature armament categories, but Bassai rarely features in the categories dealing with full size armour.

<sup>80</sup> Simon (1986) 253.

<sup>81</sup> Simon (1986) 256.

<sup>82</sup> Simon (1986) 256.

<sup>83</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 314.

<sup>84</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 315.

<sup>85</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 314.

<sup>86</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 315.

small holes imply that the helmets would have been hung up somewhere for display.<sup>87</sup> It is not only the helmets that feature them. The two greaves found also feature the small holes, as do the breastplate and many of the miniature shields.<sup>88</sup> These votive offerings were clearly for display purposes. The miniature armament offerings were all made of bronze, including the shields. Miniature terracotta shields are a more common find in Greek sanctuaries; however, none has been found at Bassae to date.<sup>89</sup> The miniature armaments all date to the archaic period, and therefore predate the classical temple at Bassae.<sup>90</sup> While miniature armament is not uncommon in sanctuaries, the high concentration of these found at Bassae is unusual. The high numbers of small martial offerings are only seen at a few sanctuaries: Bassae, Olympia and Samos.<sup>91</sup> Other sanctuaries do not have the same concentration.<sup>92</sup> The deliberate placing of miniature martial offerings strongly suggests a martial origin of one of the cults at Bassae.

Despite Pausanias' use of the epithet of Epikourios only in reference to the plague, the use of the name derived from the Arkadian mercenaries seems the more likely. This is for a number of reasons. The dates of the votive offerings for the cults do not align with the date of the plague.<sup>93</sup> Votive offerings begin in the geometric period and early archaic period, whereas the plague for which Epikourios was celebrated did not occur until the classical period in 429BCE.<sup>94</sup> However, none of the offerings, especially the miniature armament, features an inscription indicating which deity the offering was intended for.<sup>95</sup> During the classical period, a large sanctuary for Asklepios was already well established, as Asklepios was celebrated as the most important healing deity at the time of the Great Plague.<sup>96</sup> The confusion over the role the plague played in forming this epithet may be explained as a simple misunderstanding of the cult and how

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<sup>87</sup> Cooper (1978) 19. During his excavations, Yalouris discovered small nails within the temple. Cooper attributes these to being used to hang votive offerings, especially the miniature armaments.

<sup>88</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 313-317. For discussion about the frequency of the individual pieces of miniature armament throughout Greek sanctuaries, see Simon (1986) 253-256; for a basic index, see 236-252.

<sup>89</sup> Simon (1986) 257. It is also important to mention that phalara were also not found at this site. This could indicate a lack of wooden miniature shields, as these shield bosses often fronted wooden shields.

<sup>90</sup> Simon (1986) 253.

<sup>91</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 288; ThesCRA 2.d 'Dedications' II.F.4 (vol. I p. 299)

<sup>92</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 288.

<sup>93</sup> Jost (1994) 222.

<sup>94</sup> Cooper (1996) 66.

<sup>95</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 288.

<sup>96</sup> Graf (2009) 84, 95; Parker (2011) 72.

it evolved. It is probable that the original cult was for the martial aspect of Apollo. Thucydides wrote that many appealed to the gods to cure the plague during this time.<sup>97</sup> The archaeological record shows many shrines in Athens previously abandoned to have been refurbished.<sup>98</sup> At a time when funds would have been scarce and many of the resources would have been tied up in wartime, appeasing the gods for protection from the plague is a possible explanation for the building of an expensive temple. It is especially likely when considering the possible alliance between Athens and Phigaleia at this time.<sup>99</sup>

A shift in function after the Peloponnesian War is also likely. After the Peloponnesian War, the area of Phigaleia experienced an extended period of peace with only small pockets of war.<sup>100</sup> During this time of relative peace, the epithet of Epikourios may have changed meaning from a martial deity to a healing deity, encouraged by the absence of plague in the Peloponnese during the Peloponnesian War, as asserted by Thucydides. This shift in the original function of an Olympic deity is not uncommon. In myth, Olympian gods changed from a warring figure to a more mundane occupation during times of peace.<sup>101</sup> The change in meaning for the epithet may explain the confusion created to this day by the words of Pausanias. This theory also explains the discrepancies in the dates of the temples and the votive offerings.

Ancient literature may also reflect the change in function over time. At the end of the fifth century BCE, the use of the word *epikouroi* seems to subside in use.<sup>102</sup> Prior to this, the word had a military function: more specifically, military help given for a price.<sup>103</sup> In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which was written in the early fourth century BCE, there appears to be a change in meaning.<sup>104</sup> The word *epikouroi* never appears in the text in this form, but in variations.<sup>105</sup> When using the word ἐπικούρημα (Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.13), the word is used as a way to describe the help given to soldiers in a medicinal sense.<sup>106</sup> Another word related to *epikourios*, seen at 5.8.21, is ἐπικουρεῖν which is used to

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<sup>97</sup> Thucydides 2.47.4

<sup>98</sup> Thompson (1981) 347.

<sup>99</sup> Casanova (2012) 53.

<sup>100</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.

<sup>101</sup> Yalouris (1979) 94.

<sup>102</sup> Trundle (2004) 13.

<sup>103</sup> Trundle (2004) 13. For a full discussion on the term 'epikourios', see Trundle (2004) 13-21.

<sup>104</sup> Trundle (2004) 13.

<sup>105</sup> Trundle (2004) 14.

<sup>106</sup> Trundle (2004) 14.

describe people who were aiding those in need of protection.<sup>107</sup> The change in the meaning of the word certainly supports the possibility that the role of Apollo Epikourios had changed over the time of the use of the sanctuary, or that the epithet meant both medicinal and martial protection. The use of ἐπικούρημα to mean medicinal aid in a martial setting is particularly telling.

Pausanias also discusses a twelve-foot statue that is placed in the centre of the agora at Megalopolis, which had previously been situated at Bassae.<sup>108</sup> This statue was moved in 370/69BCE to celebrate the founding of Megalopolis, as a tribute.<sup>109</sup> The epithet of Epikourios followed the statue, and later became part of the sacrifice given to Apollo Epikourios.<sup>110</sup> Pausanias wrote of the journey made by the people of Megalopolis to the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios after sacrificing a boar in front of the statue of Apollo Epikourios in the agora of Megalopolis.<sup>111</sup>

ἄγοντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἑορτὴν θύουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κάπρον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἐπικουρίῳ, θύσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτίκα τὸ ἱερεῖον κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρρασίου σὺν αὐλῷ τε καὶ πομπῇ, καὶ τὰ τε μηρία ἐκτεμόντες καίουσι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναλίσκουσιν αὐτόθι τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ κρέα.

They hold every year a festival in honour of the god and sacrifice in the market-place a boar to Apollo Helper, and after the sacrifice here they at once carry the victim to the sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo in procession to the music of the flute; cutting out the thigh-bones they burn them, and also consume the meat of the victim on the spot.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Trundle (2004) 14.

<sup>108</sup> Pausanias 8.30.4.

<sup>109</sup> Cooper (1996) 70.

<sup>110</sup> Cooper (1996) 70.

<sup>111</sup> Pausanias 8.38.8. It appears that both the sanctuary at Bassae and the sanctuary at Parrhasios shared the epithet Epikourios.

<sup>112</sup> Jones (1965) 95.

Megalopolis was established as a city in 370/69BCE.<sup>113</sup> The worship of this epithet of Apollo had to maintain importance after the Peloponnesian War, and also after the plague, for this procession to be observed by Pausanias writing in the Roman period.

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<sup>113</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.



### Apollo Bassitas

The second epithet associated with the temple is Apollo Bassitas. While there is no evidence from literary sources for this name, the archaeological evidence in nearby Kotilion shows unquestionably that Bassitas is an epithet of Apollo at this temple.<sup>114</sup> The epithet is not widely discussed in either primary or secondary sources, but it is the easiest to prove due to archaeological evidence.

The appellation of Bassitas appears only in reference to the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, and appears to have its origins as a toponym, which was integrated into the cult of Apollo in this area.<sup>115</sup> The temple of Apollo at Bassae sits in a depression on the mountain; this valley had been named Bassae, from Βῆσσα (Doric Βάσσα) most likely meaning ‘wooded glen’.<sup>116</sup> The area in which the temple is situated is placed on a mountain, near the peak, which would have included trees and shrubs.<sup>117</sup> Additionally, in an epigram by Krinagoras, Kephala wrote that the home of Pan at Bassae was situated amongst juniper trees (*Anth. Pal* 6.253), further enhancing the image of this particular area as a ‘wooded’ area.<sup>118</sup> Archaeological evidence supports the cult of Apollo and the cult of Pan being celebrated within the larger sanctuary, with both deities cited on a bronze tablet.<sup>119</sup> Treating Bassitas as an epithet that has emerged from the surrounding topography emphasises the god’s connection to the local area.

The bronze manumission tablet is the only record of an epithet inscribed on an archaeological find at Bassae (fig 10).<sup>120</sup> The manumission tablet was found in an excavation trench on the west side of the north-south facing temple in the Kotilion

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<sup>114</sup> Cooper (1996) 68. This is in the form of a bronze manumission tablet, which I will discuss further in chapter 2. The evidence is strong enough for Cooper to name his book on the site after this epithet.

<sup>115</sup> Cooper (1996) 61.

<sup>116</sup> Smith (2006) 596. For further discussion on the other possible meanings of the word Βῆσσα, see Cooper (1996) 61.

<sup>117</sup> Cooper (1996) 61.

<sup>118</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.253. The landscape currently is quite sparse, and does not support many trees.

<sup>119</sup> Cooper (1996) 385. Appendix 2.

<sup>120</sup> Cooper (1996) 62. An epithet Aphaia was also found at the site, but this epithet is connected with Athena, and her on Aegina. There is an underlying similarity between Bassae and Aegina due to the concentrations of miniature armament.

sanctuary, and is considered a curse tablet.<sup>121</sup> The curse tablet invokes four gods, Apollo Basitas, Pan Sinoeis, Artemis of Kotilion and Forthasia.<sup>122</sup> The tablet reads:

God: Good Fortune  
Klenis has released and  
Set free Komaithos,  
Ombrias and Choirothyon.  
If any one lays a hand on  
These, either Fistias or anyone  
Else, then all his property shall  
Be consecrated  
To Apollo Basitas  
And to Pan  
Sinoeis  
And to Artemis of Kotilion  
And to Forthasia.

The connection to the Apollonian temple is fairly concrete here.

The existence of this tablet makes it unlikely that Bassitas was the original epithet, and later changed into Epikourios at the onset of the plague in 428 BCE. The dating of this tablet places it in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>123</sup> The date given for the end of the sanctuary is 369 BCE, so this tablet was dedicated after the sanctuary's period of use.<sup>124</sup> Earlier archaeologists, such as Kourouniotos and Romeos, had erroneously dated the tablet to before 421BCE.<sup>125</sup> The lack of mention of Epikourios on the tablet is one reason for this earlier dating, as the earlier attempts at dates were based on dating the epithet of Epikourios to the beginning of the plague during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>126</sup> Kourouniotos, in his initial report, stated that the tablet must date to a time before the

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<sup>121</sup> Cooper (1996) 62. The Kotilion sanctuary is considered part of the wider sanctuary to Apollo at Bassae, and should not be seen as being separate to the temple to Apollo.

<sup>122</sup> Cooper (1996) 62.

<sup>123</sup> Cooper (1976) 29.

<sup>124</sup> Cooper (1976) 30. Cooper gives a full explanation for the epigraphical reasons for this date.

<sup>125</sup> Cooper (1976) 30. Early archaeologists had thought that the epithet Bassitas was later disregarded in favour of Epikourios.

<sup>126</sup> Cooper (1976) 30.

establishment of the healing cult of Epikourios.<sup>127</sup> However, it is generally dated as no earlier than the fourth century, based on the letterforms.<sup>128</sup>

The manumission tablet provides more information than just an epithet to apply to the cult; it also sheds light on the life of the sanctuary as a whole. Firstly, the tablet dates to a time where dedications at the sanctuary had experienced a sharp decline.<sup>129</sup> The presence of the epithet Bassitas on the tablet shows that the identity of the sanctuary had not been lost, even if it was no longer in full use. Additionally, the manumission tablet being found at the Kotilion site further proves that the Kotilion site and the Apollonian temple were part of one religious centre.

The conclusion that the cult of Apollo Bassitas was distinct from that of Apollo Epikourios stems from the procession mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>130</sup> The statue dedicated to Epikourios was moved to Megalopolis, and the god under the epithet Epikourios continued to be celebrated at Megalopolis, where sacrifices were made to him. Throughout the archaeological survey of Bassae, no definitive altar has been found, making a connection between the two difficult. The Parrhasian sanctuary also has the epithet Epikourios attached to it, apparently due to the connection with the Epikourian statue in Megalopolis. It seems highly unlikely that a prominent cult would be removed from the sanctuary due to the removal of the statue; for this reason, the cult of Bassitas is likely to be separate from the cult of Epikourios. However, this does not rule out the possibility the cult was copied or even transferred from the original Bassae setting to Megalopolis.

### Hyperborean Apollo

The third cult associated with this temple is that of Hyperborean Apollo. There is no literary or archaeological evidence that gives definitive proof of the presence of this cult. However, it has been argued that the temple sculpture of the building shows a festival

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<sup>127</sup> Kourouniotes (1903) 181-183; Cooper (1976) 30. In 1903, the excavators only had the theory of Epikourios being the savior from the plague, and therefore used this as a dating system. It was not till much later that the martial theory came into existence.

<sup>128</sup> Cooper (1976) 30 n. 6.

<sup>129</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.

<sup>130</sup> Pausanias 8.38.8.

for Hyperborean Apollo.<sup>131</sup> Hyperborean Apollo is a Panhellenic cult, celebrated at Apollo's most famous sites, such as Delphi and Delos. There is not a lot written about this cult, and not a lot is known about this cult.<sup>132</sup> The popular theory surrounding Hyperborean Apollo is that Apollo goes to the Hyperborean lands, which are found to the far north. At the beginning of spring, Apollo leaves the Hyperborean lands and heads south, bringing spring to Greece.<sup>133</sup>

Notwithstanding the lack of written evidence on this cult, the sculptural programme of the temple provides some possibility of a third cult. In particular, the six metopes that are found above the pronaos show Apollo. The pronaos is facing to the north, which is fitting when the discussion of Apollo coming from the north is considered.<sup>134</sup>

The subject of the six metopes appears to be a gathering of some description, with many deities included, such as Zeus, Artemis, and Hermes (fig 11).<sup>135</sup> The women on P2 are dancing in celebration, and it is thought that the women on P1 and P3 are goddesses, also celebrating Apollo's return.<sup>136</sup> Hera and Zeus appear to welcome him on P5.<sup>137</sup> Apollo is situated in the middle metope, P4, alongside Hermes.<sup>138</sup> Apollo himself is identifiable by his attributes, as he is shown holding a lyre. How Apollo is dressed is often used as proof that this is the scene of Apollo returning to the Greek lands after wintering in the Hyperborean lands.<sup>139</sup> Firstly, Apollo is dressed in clothing very different in style to the other gods. Apollo is wearing a fox-skin cap on his head, and his garments all seem appropriate to someone from a cooler climate, such as that of the Scythians and Thracians.<sup>140</sup> To show he had travelled from the north, he was depicted wearing clothing of the people who came from the north of Greece.<sup>141</sup> The second aspect

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<sup>131</sup> Madigan (1982) 55.

<sup>132</sup> Madigan (1982) 59.

<sup>133</sup> Madigan (1982) 59.

<sup>134</sup> Cooper & Madigan (1992) 16. The placement of these metopes has often been used to argue that the orientation of the temple was due to its cultic function. I do agree the cultic function was used to enhance the orientation of this temple though I disagree that this was the primary motivation for the temple to be oriented as it is.

<sup>135</sup> Madigan (1982) 55-56.

<sup>136</sup> Cooper & Madigan (1992) 16; Madigan (1982) 55-56.

<sup>137</sup> Madigan (1982) 55-56.

<sup>138</sup> Madigan (1982) 55.

<sup>139</sup> Cooper & Madigan (1992) 18-21.

<sup>140</sup> Cooper (1996) 19. Cooper discusses that Greek artists often used the Scythian and Thracian styles of dress quite flexibly.

<sup>141</sup> Cooper (1996) 19.

of this depiction that supports Apollo returning from the north is the inclusion of the gorgoneion found on his chest (fig 5 & 11). The gorgoneion is placed in the centre of his chest, and supported by two cross straps.<sup>142</sup> The gorgon is often considered a creature that came from the north.<sup>143</sup> In his *Pythian Odes*, Pindar puts the location of the Gorgons near the Hyperborean people, in describing Perseus nearing the region of Medusa:

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὖροις ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

And traveling neither by ships nor on foot could you find the marvellous way  
to the assembly of the Hyperboreans.<sup>144</sup>

Pindar also provides evidence of Apollo being in this region, stating he has a particular link with the Hyperboreans:

ῶν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον εὐφαιμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων χαίρει...

In their [the Hyperboreans'] banquets and praises Apollo ever finds greatest  
delight...<sup>145</sup>

Within the nineteen lines provided by Pindar, the connection of the north with the Gorgon, and the connection between the north and Apollo become clear. What is also made apparent is that the way to travel to this area is difficult, and cannot be reached by normal means of transport, such as boat or road.<sup>146</sup> It is important to note that placing the Gorgon to the North is not unanimous among either primary or secondary sources.<sup>147</sup> Within Pseudo-Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, the location of the Gorgon changes from the north to the south in Africa, near Ethiopia, but also to the Far East (Aesch. *PB*. 790-809).<sup>148</sup> As such, her presence on the chest of Apollo on the northern metopes shows that the subject of the metope from the north is tenuous, but should not be ruled out.

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<sup>142</sup> Cooper (1996) 19. This format of having a gorgoneion central to the chest is to decorate a warrior's cuirass.

<sup>143</sup> Ogden (2008) 48.

<sup>144</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 10.29-30.

<sup>145</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 10.34-35.

<sup>146</sup> Ogden (2008) 48.

<sup>147</sup> Hornblower et al (2012) 622. Ogden (2008) 47. Medusa coming from the North is a prominent version, but by no means the only one.

<sup>148</sup> Ogden (2008) 48.

Apollo's appearance on the metope can also be compared to another representation of Hyperborean Apollo, found on vases. BM 1917.7-25.2, a bell krater attributed to the Meleager Painter, dating to 400-380BCE (fig 12), and BM 1845,1128.1, a trefoil-mouth oinochoe attributed to the London Painter E543 dating to 420-400BCE (fig 13), depict scenes of Hyperborean Apollo returning from the north on the back of a swan and griffin respectively.<sup>149</sup> Both vases clearly show Apollo wearing Thracian boots, as Thrace was synonymous with the north, and on the oinochoe, Apollo is depicted as wearing heavy clothing up to his neck.<sup>150</sup> The heavy clothing motif seems to be in line with depictions of Hyperborean Apollo. More importantly, the gods and goddesses are similar in most depictions. Hermes, Leto and Artemis are present on the metopes.<sup>151</sup>

The temple at Bassae has another example of using the location of a local myth to dictate the position of sculpture. The southern metopes show the rape of the Leukippidai, with the positioning of this subject above the opisthodomos pointing to the area in which this act was said to have occurred, in the Neda Valley, directly south of the temple; the metopes would be looking straight at the scene.<sup>152</sup> The scene is even more applicable, as Apollo fathered the Leukippidai, making it both mythically appropriate and geographically relevant to the temple.<sup>153</sup> Therefore, it is fitting that the myth that decorates the northern porch is centred on a northern theme.

This chapter has presented three possible epithets at the site of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. While evidence for Apollo Epikourios and Apollo Bassitas is stronger than evidence for Hyperborean Apollo, all three could have been considered important to this site, and celebrated here. While evidence for these cults is not abundant, looking closely at what evidence is available allows a closer examination of the function these cults may have had in ancient Greece. The literature states that Epikourios was for

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<sup>149</sup> Madigan (1982) 55. Accessed: Online British Museum Catalogue: [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details) (26/2/2016).

<sup>150</sup> Madigan (1982) 55.

<sup>151</sup> Cooper (1996) 19; Madigan (1982) 52.

<sup>152</sup> Madigan (1982) 52.

<sup>153</sup> Madigan (1982) 51.

medicinal purposes, yet archaeological evidence points to a martial theme. Bassitas is invoked by a tablet for protection, and is therefore definitely an epithet celebrated at this site. Hyperborean Apollo's possible position on the northern porch may perhaps suggest a local importance, as the southern metopes are centred on a local myth. All three epithets should be considered as possible cults at the site. But, for a deeper understanding of how the cults may have functioned within the temple, a close examination of the architecture is necessary.

### **3. The Architecture of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae**

Nothing requires the architect's care more than the due proportions of buildings.  
Vitruvius *On Architecture* (6.2.1)

The architecture of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae is full of quirks and oddities. These unusual features in the layout are not accidental, but were a design decision to enhance the temple and its use. The architecture of the temple was fairly consistent throughout four phases of building. The foundations that remain from the archaic building are easily comparable to the classical building that still stands. For example, both temples were oriented north to south and both included an adyton at the southern end of the naos. This becomes even more remarkable as the adyton also features an eastern doorway, which allows the sunlight to enter into the adyton twice a year.

The naos and the adyton, despite appearing to be a single room to anyone entering the temple from the north, are instead two distinct rooms: the naos and the adyton. The separation of these rooms is important to any overall conclusions about the use of the adyton, and the purpose of the famed Corinthian column and the differing patterns of the paving must also be taken into consideration.

### **Building Programme**

The Temple of Apollo at Bassae that sits on Mount Kotilion today is not the original temple to be built on the site. The number of temples built on this site tends to vary in older sources, such as Cockerell and Yalouris.<sup>154</sup> Most scholars today agree with Cooper, and put the number at four different phases of construction.<sup>155</sup> There are two sets of foundations found on the site, one belonging to the Archaic period, the second

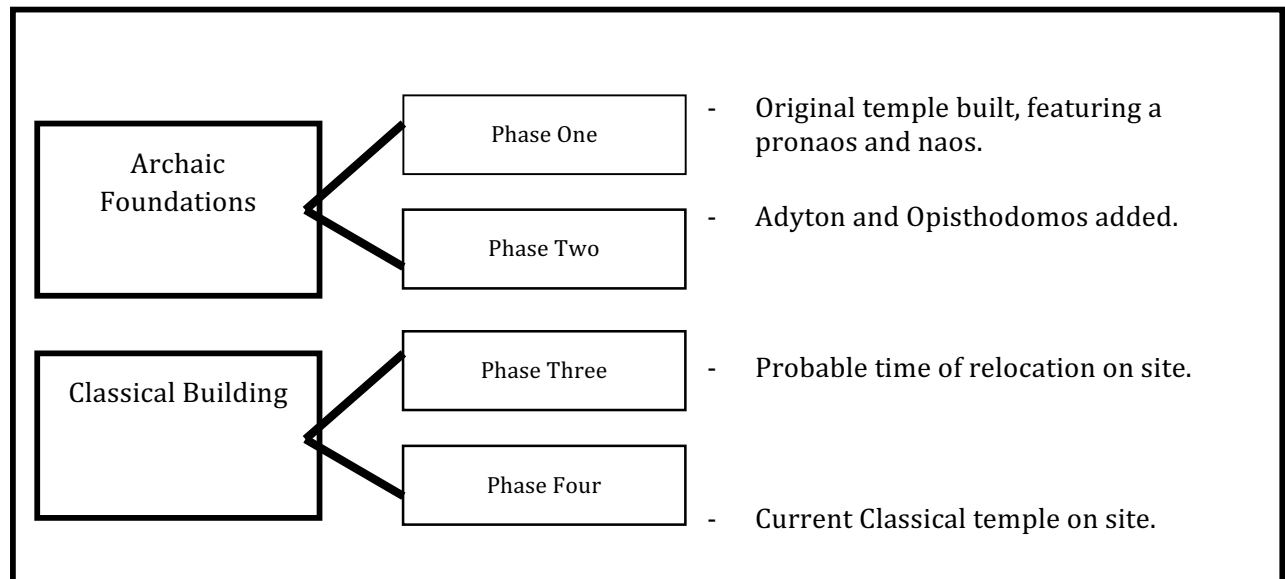
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<sup>154</sup> Kelly (1995) 228-30. Cockerell discusses only one temple, while Yalouris discusses only two, and states that the classical temple sits directly on top of the archaic. Cockerell (1861) 302-312; Yalouris (1959) 155-159.

<sup>155</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.



being where the temple which stands currently (fig 14). The current temple follows the foundations that were built in the early Classical period.



The first phase of construction appears to have occurred between 625 and 600 BCE. This temple was then repaired in c.575 BCE.<sup>156</sup> These two original buildings were constructed just south of the current site of the classical temple.<sup>157</sup> The foundations measure 15.5 by 6.5 metres; this is crucial, as these dimensions mirror the size of the larger temple in the Kotilion sanctuary, belonging to Artemis.<sup>158</sup> There does not appear to be any evidence of violence affecting the first temples, and the additions to the first temple's layout indicate that improvement was the main reason for the second building phase.<sup>159</sup> This temple was likely dismantled and levelled, along with the rest of the area immediately surrounding the temple, in order for the classical temple to be built.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, though there are two phases of building, these result in only one temple. These two phases are evidenced by the foundations, which are found just in front of the

<sup>156</sup> Cooper (1996) 73.

<sup>157</sup> Kelly (1995) 230.

<sup>158</sup> Cooper (1996) 73. The building was attributed to Aphrodite when first discovered due to Pausanias' account of a temple to Aphrodite being in the area. However, modern scholars and excavators, including head excavator Yalouris, agree that the temple is dedicated to Apollo's twin Artemis.

<sup>159</sup> Cooper (1996) 74.

<sup>160</sup> Kelly (1995) 241.

southern wall of the classical temple (fig 15). Yalouris discovered these temple foundations only in the recent excavations.<sup>161</sup>

The third building phase is more difficult to prove through foundations. Instead, it is evident in the large masonry blocks used in the building of the subsequent classical temple.<sup>162</sup> The blocks are made from limestone and are built into the foundations.<sup>163</sup> The use of old foundations to help build new temples was quite common in Greece at this time.<sup>164</sup> Throughout the stereobate, reused blocks make up a large amount of the stone used below the new temple.<sup>165</sup> In many cases, the anathyrosis on the reused blocks was cut in order to be used again.<sup>166</sup> The repurposing of the blocks of limestone is used as evidence for the third phase of building. They cannot be attributed to the first temple from the first two building phases due to their large sizes, as they measure 1.20 x 0.80 x 0.30 metres.<sup>167</sup> This is too large for the dimensions of the earlier temple. It is difficult to date the third building phase as there are no foundations or datable features left. However, the date of approximately 500 BCE has been ascribed to this building owing to the layout of the existing Iktinian building.<sup>168</sup>

The fourth building phase, or the classical temple, is known as the Iktinian temple, as Pausanias ascribed the temple to Iktinos who also designed the Parthenon.<sup>169</sup> This last temple was built intermittently. Initial building started in 429 BCE, but because of the volatile nature of the surrounding states, work on the building stopped in 421BCE, resuming again in 414BCE until completion in c.400BCE.<sup>170</sup> The fourth building

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<sup>161</sup> Kelly (1995) 242.

<sup>162</sup> Cooper (1996) 74.

<sup>163</sup> Cooper (1996) 74.

<sup>164</sup> Jost (1985) 94.

<sup>165</sup> Cooper (1996) 74.

<sup>166</sup> Cooper (1996) 74. The anathyrosis is the process of dressing the end of a block, which is left rough in order to create more friction between large masonry blocks.

<sup>167</sup> Cooper (1996) 74; Jost (1985) 94.

<sup>168</sup> Cooper (1996) 75.

<sup>169</sup> Paus. 8.42.9.

<sup>170</sup> Cooper (1996) 5.

is a large peristyle building, and much larger than the earlier temples, measuring in at 38.3 x 14.5 meters, twice the size of the original temple.<sup>171</sup>

### The layout of the Iktinian Temple to Apollo at Bassae

The existing temple, from the fourth building phase, which is the one seen on site today, has a unique layout that separates it from other temples of similar time periods.<sup>172</sup> The biggest abnormality of the building is the north-south orientation in which it sits (fig 3). In most temples, the orientation is east west, allowing the morning light to enter into the main naos of the room.<sup>173</sup> However, the Temple at Bassae has the entrance facing north, and this does not coincide with the morning sun theory. This orientation is not found solely in the fourth building programme at Bassae, as all four versions of the temple featured the north-south orientation.<sup>174</sup> The use of a north-south axis is not unheard of in Greek temples, and the nearby temples of the Kotilion Sanctuary feature the same orientation.<sup>175</sup> While some scholars attribute this to topography, this now seems less likely.<sup>176</sup> The earliest and most prevalent theory was that the orientation is caused by the limitations of the site, as the temple sits on a rocky outcrop, close to a small drop-off.<sup>177</sup> However, the temple at Bassae is known for having manmade foundations, which included cutting into the natural rock and filling in the foundations with soil.<sup>178</sup> While this may not have been an option for the original architects, the placement of the temple on such an outcrop seems to be deliberate, as other topography in the area would have been far more suitable for a large building.

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<sup>171</sup> Lawrence (1996) 134.

<sup>172</sup> While some temples present certain similarities, there is no other temple known that shares the same temple layout and design as the Temple at Bassae. Alipheira is perhaps the closest in layout, featuring the north-south orientation and the additional adyton. Cf. Dengate (1988) 92-95 and Jost (1985) 94-98.

<sup>173</sup> Stillwell (1954) 4. This theory remains prevalent, though there are a large number of buildings that do go against this trend, rather than the few specific examples suggested by Dinsmoor.

<sup>174</sup> Kelly (1995) 241. Assuming the foundations of the third temple followed the classical and archaic temples orientation. Only the foundations of three of the four temples built on the site can be reconstructed.

<sup>175</sup> Jost (1985) 95; Sinn (2002) 195.

<sup>176</sup> Spawforth (2006) 51; Dengate (1988) 96.

<sup>177</sup> Spawforth (2006) 51.

<sup>178</sup> Cooper (1996) 139-142 & 166-167.

With the large number of temples straying away from the typical east-west orientation, one theory is that this is a local custom and architectural feature.<sup>179</sup>

There are many theories, such as alignment with stars, or the aurora that was visible for a few years in archaic Greece.<sup>180</sup> However, attributing the orientation to cultic reasons is supported by more evidence.<sup>181</sup> Firstly, the sculptural evidence of the north and south metopes is particularly illustrative. The northern metopes, which may feature the return of Hyperborean Apollo, from the north, face in that direction.<sup>182</sup> The southern metopes equally show a myth that took place in the direction in which the metopes face.<sup>183</sup> Additionally, the temple lines up with a local mountain, called Mount Ithome, which is directly south of the temple.<sup>184</sup> This alignment with Mount Ithome is thought to be significant, since Mount Ithome was considered a stronghold for the Messenians during the Messenian Wars.<sup>185</sup> Unfortunately, this was also the position of multiple Messenian defeats by Sparta.<sup>186</sup>

The orientation of the building must have been important, as it was deliberately maintained from the archaic building to the classical temple. The architects preserved this angle in spite of the difficulties in doing so, keeping the angle of the temple identical to the original temple.<sup>187</sup> While it is not uncommon for temples to do this, it tends to be because the new temple sits on top of the old foundations, and therefore had to follow the previous orientation. The fourth and third temples at Bassae, however, were situated slightly north of the original temple, and new foundations were made ten metres from the archaic foundations (fig 14 and 15).<sup>188</sup> The importance of this angle is made apparent by the phenomenon that occurs twice a year, when the sun shines through a small eastern doorway in the back room.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Dengate (1988) 96.

<sup>180</sup> Liritzis and Vassiliou (2006) 17.

<sup>181</sup> Liritzis and Vassiliou (2006) 14-18.

<sup>182</sup> Madigan (1982) 55.

<sup>183</sup> Madigan (1982) 51.

<sup>184</sup> Cooper (1968) 103.

<sup>185</sup> Lawrence (1996) 131.

<sup>186</sup> Rusch (2011) 3-4.

<sup>187</sup> Kelly (1995) 238.

<sup>188</sup> Dengate (1988) 90; Kelly (1995) 232.

<sup>189</sup> Cooper (1968) 111.

The classical temple also features a layout which is distinctly archaic in style.<sup>190</sup> This is evidenced by the elongated design of the temple, manifesting itself in the proportions of columns along the sides: fifteen columns, compared with the six along the front and back of the temple. This makes it considerably narrower than the conventional ratio for temples, which tends to result in six columns on the ends and thirteen down the sides.

### Adyton

The adyton is the most important architectural feature of this temple in terms of cult. The adyton is a small room at the southern end of the temple, which is divided from the main naos by means of columns. Adytions themselves are not unusual in classical temples, and appear in many, including the Temple to Apollo at Delphi, which has the most well known adyton, as it was said to house the Delphic Oracle.<sup>191</sup> The adyton, due to its place at the back of the temple, is sometimes considered to be a sort of 'throwback' to porches, though many of the temples with them still have an opisthodomos.<sup>192</sup> An adyton is a small extra room in a temple, though there does not appear to be any mainstream use for an adyton in ancient Greece.<sup>193</sup> Adytions, it would seem, were quite common in temples of Apollo, especially in the Peloponnese. Of the eleven temples that have foundations surviving in good enough condition for study, seven of them featured an adyton or a separate room.<sup>194</sup> In Epidauros, the adyton in the Temple to Asklepios was used for healing.<sup>195</sup> In other temples, the little room was used as a repository, as was the case in the temples of Brauron and Halai.<sup>196</sup> It is likely that this was the general use of adytions throughout the Peloponnese as well.<sup>197</sup> Unlike the other temples,

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<sup>190</sup> WHC Nomination Documentation: Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, UNESCO (1986) Annex VI.

<sup>191</sup> Dengate (1988) 97

<sup>192</sup> Stillwell (1954) 4.

<sup>193</sup> Dengate (1988) 96.

<sup>194</sup> Dengate (1988) 96. This study also rejects the idea of adytions being associated with a certain period, as these temples varied over a large time frame. For a closer read of this study, see Dengate (1988) 92-95.

<sup>195</sup> Dengate (1988) 98.

<sup>196</sup> Dengate (1988) 98. The evidence for this comes from the archaeology. The adyton at Halai contained a large number of miniature skyphoi, all inside each other. It seems highly likely that these rooms provided an area to put the poorer offerings out of the way, without taking the offerings out of their religious settings. No such finds were made at Bassae, as the adyton appears to have been stripped prior to its rediscovery.

<sup>197</sup> Dengate (1988) 98.

however, the Temple at Bassae presents enough irregularities to support the theory that the adyton in this temple was for special use, and in this case, the room served a cultic function.<sup>198</sup> This is not unparalleled. In Greek temples in Magna Graecia, the adytions in the temples served a purely cultic function, often being so sacred that access was limited to the priest or priestesses of the temple.<sup>199</sup>

The adyton in the temple at Bassae, much like the temple itself, features many architectural oddities. Firstly, it features a doorway in the eastern wall. This is not found in other temples, though it is evident also in the archaic foundations of the second building period.<sup>200</sup> It is also 'walled' on one side by three columns, one of which is thought to be the first Corinthian column ever used.<sup>201</sup> Thirdly, the flooring of the adyton does not match the patterns existing in the rest of the temple design. Lastly, a significant astronomical event occurs within the adyton, and nowhere else in the temple, twice a year, when the rising sun's light enters through the doorway.<sup>202</sup> It is these strange architectural features that support the existence of cultic worship within the adyton itself.

### The Archaic Adyton

The classical temple was not the first of the building programmes to feature an adyton. The recently discovered foundations of the archaic temple show an adyton on the south end of the temple (fig 16).<sup>203</sup> There is some variation in the plans between the archaic adyton and the classical adyton; the adyton in the archaic temple was a separate room, as evidenced by the wall that goes between the naos and the adyton.<sup>204</sup> The separation between the adyton and the naos was further enhanced by the floor heights of the two rooms. The naos appeared to be higher than the adyton and opisthodomos by 1.4 metres, though these were built at a separate time to the rest of the archaic

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<sup>198</sup> Dengate (1988) 98.

<sup>199</sup> Dengate (1988) 97.

<sup>200</sup> Kelly (1995) 234.

<sup>201</sup> Lawrence (1996) 135.

<sup>202</sup> Cooper (1968) 104.

<sup>203</sup> Kelly (1995) 234.

<sup>204</sup> Kelly (1995) 228. Dengate (1988) 88.

temple.<sup>205</sup> This deliberate separation means the only entrance into the adyton in the archaic period was through the eastern opening. The archaic adyton was more square in shape, shown to be larger than the rectangular classical adyton, seen clearly in the superimposed plans (fig 17). There are further strong similarities, such as the inclusion and placement of the eastern doorways, and the use of an uncharacteristic addition to the middle of the adyton's north wall.<sup>206</sup> In the classical adyton, a Corinthian column is used, acting as a divider and possibly serving a cultic function in and of itself.<sup>207</sup> In the archaic adyton, a large flat-topped boulder, far larger than the rest of the blocks of stone used in the rest of the building, is used in the exact same position (fig 17).<sup>208</sup> However, an early Doric column, argued as votive by Cooper, was found in this area, in a similar position in the archaic adyton as the Corinthian column was in the classical adyton.<sup>209</sup>

When looking at the measurements of the two south ends of the archaic and classical temples, the similarities continue: the sizes are more or less the same.<sup>210</sup> Though the archaic adyton is larger than the classical adyton, the opisthodomos of the archaic temple is shallower than that of the classical temple, being only three metres deep.<sup>211</sup>

### The Eastern Doorway

The eastern doorway is unique to the temple of Bassae, measuring just fewer than two metres across (fig 18).<sup>212</sup> The doorway is not placed centrally in the eastern wall in the adyton, but placed slightly off centre (fig 3).<sup>213</sup> Despite there being a northern main entrance, the eastern entrance creates the most interest. This eastern doorway is not an innovation of the fourth temple, but is present in the remains of the second archaic temple.<sup>214</sup> The original temple did not have the eastern doorway. Indeed,

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<sup>205</sup> Kelly (1998) 238.

<sup>206</sup> Kelly (1995) 239.

<sup>207</sup> Cooper (1996) 305.

<sup>208</sup> Kelly (1995) 238-239.

<sup>209</sup> Cooper (1996) 86.

<sup>210</sup> Kelly (1995) 240. The south end in this discussion is the combination of the adyton and the opisthodomos.

<sup>211</sup> Kelly (1995) 240.

<sup>212</sup> Kelly (1995) 243.

<sup>213</sup> Kelly (1995) 243.

<sup>214</sup> Kelly (1995) 228.

it was added to the original layout a mere 25 years after the original was finished.<sup>215</sup> Either a door or a grate, as evidenced by sockets and an iron bar found on the blocks, would have covered this doorway.<sup>216</sup> The classical eastern doorway was decorated, with horizontal incisions into the stone around the doorframe, becoming vertical on the lintel above the doorframe.<sup>217</sup> This would make the doorway quite ornate, suggesting the doorway was, in and of itself, significant.<sup>218</sup> In the modern reconstruction, there is a small step over the threshold, which featured holes in both sides of the doorway, just in front of the step, suggesting a grate (fig 19).<sup>219</sup> Due to the placement of these holes, the grate would have been on the outside, and fixed, preventing entrance into the adyton from the east.<sup>220</sup> Though closed off from entry, it is extremely likely that the grate did not obstruct the view into the adyton. Moreover, a staircase to the south of the building channels visitors along the south wall and around the corner to the eastern wall, right past the eastern doorway.<sup>221</sup> This calls the function of the doorway into question, as it does not serve the purpose of an actual doorway, prohibiting entry due to the grate, so the opening serves more like a window into the adyton.<sup>222</sup> With this in mind, the northern entrance becomes the only way to enter into the temple itself, and entrance into the adyton comes via the naos; there is no immediate entrance into the adyton.<sup>223</sup>

As previously mentioned, the second building phase also featured an adyton, which itself featured an opening on the eastern wall (fig 16). This archaic adyton aperture is very similar to the classical eastern doorway. The width measures up to 2.5

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<sup>215</sup> Kelly (1995) 234; Cooper (1996) 73. An opisthodomos was added to the back of the adyton, negating any argument that the adyton in the second building phase was meant to be a porch.

<sup>216</sup> Cooper (1996) 219.

<sup>217</sup> Cooper (1996) 218.

<sup>218</sup> Cooper (1996) 219. This reconstruction is modern and described in detail by Cooper, although Cooper discusses Dinsmoor's reconstruction of this door, which included an extra step and suggestions the eastern doorway was decorated similarly to the northern doorway. Modern scholarship tends to agree the eastern doorway was decorated differently, and had a different purpose. See Cooper (1996) 218 for early reconstruction ideas.

<sup>219</sup> Cooper (1996) 223.

<sup>220</sup> Cooper (1996) 223.

<sup>221</sup> Cooper (1996) 223; Kelly (1995) 233. This is the way in which tourists enter the conservation tent at Bassae today, following the ancient pathway.

<sup>222</sup> Cooper (1996) 223. The eastern opening is described as a doorway or entranceway in all modern scholarship, so for this thesis, I will continue to describe the opening as such. In Cooper's 1968 article, he argues in favour of a doorway, which would open outwards; however, in his most recent articles and discussions about the doorway, he argues for a fixed grate. For his argument on the opening doorway cf. Cooper (1968) 107-108.

<sup>223</sup> Cooper (1996) 223.



meters, and preserves the placement of the doorway in an off-centre position.<sup>224</sup> In both the archaic and classical temples, one may attribute this to allowing the event of the sunshine coming through the opening and hitting the south-west corner of the adytos, which are at the same angle in both floor plans (fig 17).<sup>225</sup>

### **The Sunlight Phenomenon and Astronomical Factors**

Twice a year, on 18 May and 10 August, light from the morning sun shines through the eastern doorway and strikes the southwest corner of the adyton.<sup>226</sup> This would have been a stunning effect prior to the erection of the conservation tent, which now blocks the sun.

The sunlight came through the gap made between column six on the eastern side of the temple, and the eastern doorway (fig 20). This thin gap allowed for a concentrated line of sunlight, hitting the full height of the southwest corner (fig 21).<sup>227</sup> The light coming in through the door and hitting the southwest corner would have occurred in the archaic temple, meaning that this effect had been happening at the site since the addition of the adyton and opisthodomos in c.600BCE.<sup>228</sup>

This effect seems to have been orchestrated. When looking at the measurements between the columns on the eastern side of the temple, there is a discrepancy between the fifth and sixth column from the south, which are located outside the eastern doorway. The sixth column was positioned further to the south than the norm by 0.028m.<sup>229</sup> It is thought that this adjustment to the positioning of the sixth column would have made the stream of sunlight the width of a Doric foot.<sup>230</sup> Additionally, the width of the sunlight shining through corresponds in width to the paving in the

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<sup>224</sup> Kelly (1995) 241. Kelly discusses that the exact width of the opening can not be accurately measured, as there were no stones found in the doorway, both prior and after excavation. In all firsthand drawn site plans, the doorway is drawn as being empty. Without these stones in the doorway, it is difficult to accurately say what the size of the doorway would have been.

<sup>225</sup> Kelly (1995) 241-244.

<sup>226</sup> Cooper (1968) 104.

<sup>227</sup> Cooper (1968) 106. The height becomes clear in the images provided in Cooper's article.

<sup>228</sup> Kelly (1995) 243.

<sup>229</sup> Cooper (1968) 72

<sup>230</sup> Cooper (1968) 72.

southwest corner.<sup>231</sup> This emphasizes the probability that this astronomical effect was deliberate.

It is difficult to ascertain what religious importance was attached to the dates of these events. The two dates do not line up with other known festival dates, though Cooper suggests a possible connection to Apollo Carneus.<sup>232</sup> He comes to this hypothesis by outlining the similarities between the dates of sacrificing a boar to Apollo Carneus, and by highlighting his warlike function. In this tradition, it was said that the war hero Aristomenes often sacrificed a boar to Carneus after his victory.<sup>233</sup> The time of year for the festival for Apollo Carneus and for the light entering the adyton do indeed line up for the months of August and September. This, though, is the only connection to a relevant festival found by Cooper in his research. Even if we do not know of a specific cult, however, the striking effect of the bright light in the dark temple on these two specific days is highly likely to indicate an associated ritual.

The phenomenon of the sunlight entering the adyton through the door was documented multiple times by archaeologists prior to the protective tent being erected. There is no denying that the light played an important part in the life of the temple, and it is not questioned that this effect happened in the adyton twice a year.<sup>234</sup> The dates in which this phenomenon occurred were 18 May and 10 August.<sup>235</sup> This phenomenon now occurs one day later due to the changing obliquity over the more than 2,000 intervening years.<sup>236</sup> Whereas it may have been accidental in the original adyton, it is unlikely this effect was accidentally replicated and not taken into account in the building of the classical building. While there were changes to the layout of the adyton in the classical building, the angle in relation to the sun remained the same.<sup>237</sup> The azimuth of the archaic temples sits at 246 degrees and 18 inches.<sup>238</sup> Despite the fact that

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<sup>231</sup> Cooper (1968) 107.

<sup>232</sup> Cooper (1968) 111 n71.

<sup>233</sup> Cooper (1968) 111 n71; Paus. 4.15.8.

<sup>234</sup> Cooper (1996) 137. Cooper perfectly describes the difficulty of knowing if this effect was intentional, saying, "whether or not the performance was the result of human intent or merely accidental persists as a ticklish question".

<sup>235</sup> Cooper (1968) 111. This phenomenon occurs one day later today due to the changing obliquity of the ecliptic. This changes 0.03 degrees every 500 years (though this varies), though the angle always stays between 21°55' and 24°18', as this accounts for the earth's movement on the axis around the sun. See Moore (2002) 289 for further explanation.

<sup>236</sup> Cooper (1968) 111.

<sup>237</sup> Cooper (1996) 137.

<sup>238</sup> Cooper (1996) 137. An azimuth is defined as "the direction of a celestial object from the observer, expressed as an angular distance from the north of the horizon to the point at which a vertical circle

the overall orientation angle of the subsequent classical building changed by a mere three degrees, the angle to the sun remained the same.<sup>239</sup> This subtle change in the overall orientation kept the phenomenon of the sun entering through the doors, countering the effect of an ever-changing azimuth of the sun due to the changing obliquity of the ecliptic.<sup>240</sup> The precision of the building's refinements and orientation show that the sunlight coming through the eastern doorway was intentional and the effect was replicated from the original archaic buildings.

### Paving:

The paving in the adyton are not in a uniform pattern, an effect that cannot be attributed to the shifting of the underlying foundations. They, too, were placed deliberately. In the naos, the pavings are set up in regular intervals: four pavers by seven pavers surrounded by a border of pavers (fig 22 – this image folds out so that it can be consulted during the following discussion). In the adyton, the paving are not uniform, and few of the pavers can be paired with another.

The most uniform patterning can be seen behind the Corinthian column, where an uninterrupted row of pavers appears; but even then, they are not the same as each other. The differences in the sizes and layout of the pavers are made apparent when the eastern and western wall pavers are compared. The pavers by the western wall are all square in shape, and there are three. The pavers on the eastern wall are a mixture of rectangular and square pavers, and do not align with the edging of the pavers which make the threshold of the eastern doorway. There is a slight pattern in the way in which the pavings in the adyton follow a symmetrical axis down the middle of the room behind the Corinthian column. This, in a way, balances the room. One theory for this odd layout of pavings is that it is dependent on the sunlight phenomenon. Given the angle on which the sun would come into the adyton, it would intercept with many of the pavers at a diagonal.<sup>241</sup>

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passing through the object intersects the horizon" (Oxford English Dictionary). In this case, the angle from the north at which the sunlight enters the doorway.

<sup>239</sup> Cooper (1996) 137.

<sup>240</sup> Cooper (1996) 137; Bhattacharji (1977) 89.

<sup>241</sup> Cooper (1968) 108. I am reliant on Cooper's observation of this occurring.

### Separation of Adyton and Naos

The separation of the adyton from the naos, an obvious division, is important, and is necessary in order to showcase the importance of the back room. This separation is often taken for granted by scholars even though there is no wall between the rooms, only two engaged columns which extend from the walls, and a single Corinthian column in between the extended columns (fig 3).

Definitively separating the two areas is, nevertheless, tricky. The temple, with the exception of the Corinthian column, presents itself as one elongated room. The inclusion of the eastern doorway, however, suggests a need for the adyton to be viewed as a separate room.<sup>242</sup> There are three main ways in which this separation is marked: the first being the pavings, the second being the columns acting as a divider, and lastly, the decoration of the naos compared to the adyton.

The pavings are in a different layout in the adyton than the layout in the naos, but this is not the only evidence that the pavings provide some degree of separation between the naos and adyton. The pavings in the adyton are placed higher than in the naos.<sup>243</sup> This change in floor height is not unique to the classical temple, and is evident (though inverted) in the archaic temple, as the main naos in the archaic temple would have stood around 1.4 metres above the level of the adyton.<sup>244</sup> In addition to this, the pavings themselves have been altered to slope, so as to be on an equal height with the sill stones.<sup>245</sup> This slight rebate is by only 0.064 of a metre, but it allows the pavings in the adyton to align with the surrounding blocks, with the pavings being higher on the

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<sup>242</sup> Dengate (1988) 90. This can be opposed in light of Cooper's eastern doorway reconstruction showing a fixed grill over the doorway restricting access. Cf Cooper (1996) 220.

<sup>243</sup> Cooper (1996) 220. Though the flooring of the temple is subject to movement and sinking of the artificial foundations, according to Cooper, there is a minor step up between the two rooms. However, Kelly goes against this, claiming that the classical temple was all the same level throughout; cf. Kelly (1995) 241.

<sup>244</sup> Kelly (1995) 241.

<sup>245</sup> Cooper (1996) 220.

eastern side than the western side.<sup>246</sup> This effect is seen uniquely in the adyton, and not at all in the naos of the temple.<sup>247</sup>

The pavings also indicate a separation in the way that they form two lines across the separation point (fig 22).<sup>248</sup> These lines include the line of pavings on which the Corinthian column sits and the line directly south of the column, within the adyton, which features nearly uniform paving sizes. While the stylobate needed for the Corinthian column is only 1.1 metres wide, the 45° spur walls use the additional line as there is a need for a wider stylobate for the spur walls.<sup>249</sup> These create a division between the two rooms. This becomes even more apparent when compared with the archaic temple foundations. The two lines of paving are 2.4 metres wide, creating a large area of division between the naos and the adyton. This is comparable to the archaic temple, where the walled division between the rooms was thicker than the rest of the walls. The rest of the archaic walls averaged between 0.9 and 1 metre in thickness. The secondary line, which is behind the Corinthian column, is quite similar to a pattern evident in the naos. The pavers in the second row are laid so that the long edge of the paver parallels the long side of the temple. However, the rest of the pavers in the adyton, with the exception of the two smallest pavers, go against this rule, having their long edge of the paver parallel to the short end of the temple.

The columns that create a barrier between the rooms constitute a second reason for separating these two rooms. The Corinthian column, thought to be the first Corinthian column created, was situated in the centre of the southern end of the naos.<sup>250</sup> It is balanced on either side by two extended engaged interior Ionic columns which protrude from the wall at a 45° angle. These two angled columns differ from the rest of the columns in the naos, which are all extended engaged columns, but come out at 90° from the wall. These two angled columns come out to be in line with the single Corinthian column. These three columns line up so as to create a symbolic wall; in a way, separating the adyton. The Corinthian column also blocks the view to the centre of the adyton, which would be important had the adyton been incorporated into the naos,

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<sup>246</sup> Cooper (1996) 220.

<sup>247</sup> Cooper (1996) 220.

<sup>248</sup> Where the adyton ends and where the naos starts is tricky to decipher, but for the purposes of this discussion I am putting the point of separation from the middle of the Corinthian column.

<sup>249</sup> For the following discussion see Kelly (1995) 242.

<sup>250</sup> Cooper (1992) Plate 11a.

as this is where a cult statue might be expected to go.<sup>251</sup> This line of columns is positioned where the wall was situated in the archaic temple.<sup>252</sup> This is one of the most convincing reasons for separating the two rooms.

The third reason concerns the decoration in the adyton; or, more specifically, the lack of decoration when compared to the heavily decorated naos. The naos features a frieze that surrounds the whole room, coming up above and along the section that hangs above the Corinthian column (fig 24).<sup>253</sup> The frieze does not extend into the adyton, and serves to cut the room off from the adyton. Additionally, the walls are lined with engaged Ionic columns featuring flared bases, adding more decoration to the room. These spur walls are unprecedented in any other temple.<sup>254</sup> Despite being engaged columns and attached to the main walls of the naos, the columns themselves provide no support or stability to the wall.<sup>255</sup> They therefore must serve a decorative purpose. Indeed, their inclusion into the temple actually creates two architectural abnormalities. Firstly, the north end of the naos features two small niches due to the small space between the column and the walls for the doorway.<sup>256</sup> At the opposite end, the columns come in at a 45° angle, another unique feature of this temple alone.<sup>257</sup> The adyton, on the other hand, has no decoration whatsoever, though marks in the stone around the eastern entrance show evidence of external decoration.<sup>258</sup> It is not unusual for a room to be undecorated; indeed, Bassae is something of an exception in the Peloponnese because it is decorated.<sup>259</sup> The elaborate sculptural programme at Bassae is of interest as it is uncommon.<sup>260</sup> Of the temples of Apollo in the Peloponnese, only two temples, Bassae and Maleatas, show sculptured decoration within the temples.<sup>261</sup> In addition to this, it is only Bassae of these two temples that is comparable with the three well decorated temples of the Peloponnese: the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Temple to Athena at Tegea and the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. While the Temple of Zeus at

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<sup>251</sup> Neer (2012) 383.

<sup>252</sup> Kelly (1995) 238.

<sup>253</sup> Neer (2012) 310.

<sup>254</sup> Cooper (1996) 105; WHC Nomination Documentation: Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, UNESCO (1986).

<sup>255</sup> Cooper (1996) 105.

<sup>256</sup> Kelly (1995) 248.

<sup>257</sup> Kelly (1995) 248. Kelly describes the likelihood of these columns being used to signal where the archaic columns were placed. Cf. Kelly (1995) 247.

<sup>258</sup> Cooper (1996) 220.

<sup>259</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

<sup>260</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

<sup>261</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

Olympia had a highly decorative exterior, the interior is undecorated.<sup>262</sup> It was not until around the fourth century BCE that interest in decorating the interior space becomes widespread.<sup>263</sup> Therefore, the adyton is not unusual for being undecorated, but it does make for a difference between the two rooms.

The question of where the naos ends and the adyton begins is quite difficult to discuss with any kind of confidence. Unlike other temples, the adyton is not walled off, so the exact measurement is hard to say for certain. There are five options as to where the adyton ends. An obvious place for demarcating the adyton is at the point of the change in pavings, which would have the adyton ending just prior to the double paving stylobate of the Corinthian column. The second obvious suggestion is at the centre of the Corinthian column itself. The three other options are from the northern edge of the eastern doorway, the northern edge of the stylobate and, lastly, the point at which the 45° spur walls protrude from the wall. If the measurement was taken from the northern edge of the stylobate, this makes the proportions of the naos more or less the same as other classical temples that are of conventional proportions (that is, temples that are six by thirteen columns).<sup>264</sup> However, there is no definitive way to measure where the adyton ended.

This distinction between the two rooms supports the theory that the adyton was a place of multiple cult worship, and not the temple as a whole.

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<sup>262</sup> Lawrence (1996) 99.

<sup>263</sup> Lawrence (1996) 151.

<sup>264</sup> Kelly (1995) 242. The measurement of the adyton from the beginning of the spur walls should be discounted, as these line up with no other architectural feature, and the pavings certainly do not support this placement. For the same reason the measurement of the room should not be taken from the northern edge of the eastern doorway. If the stylobate is reminiscent of the archaic wall in the earlier temple, it is possible the adyton starts from the oddly patterned pavings, and the stylobate is merely an acting wall, and therefore part of neither room. This is the most likely way to measure the room, and gives the measurements that I will be using for my discussion. I do count the stylobate as part of the adyton, in the same way as what is hanging on the wall should be considered as within the room. This discussion provided by Kelly (1995) is dependent on the people building the temple assuming that this space with the Corinthian column was seen as a replacement for the wall. However, it is just as likely that this area was not thought of as a pseudo wall.

### Cult in the Adyton

The classical adyton presents a wealth of architectural evidence that highlights the importance of the area. There were focal points within the adyton. While the space remained undecorated, clues of its use come from looking at the irregularities in the architecture. The main evidence of the importance of the room comes from the layout of the floor pavings and the Corinthian column that are in the adyton.

### Paving Patterns

The paving stones, though not in any type of regular pattern, present some evidence for multiple areas of importance that raises the possibility of the presence of cult in these areas. The pavings suggest three areas of interest. The first area of interest is the area in the centre of the south wall, and the second is directly behind the Corinthian column, within the adyton. The last area of interest is the small plinth on the southwest corner.

The area on the south wall is of interest for multiple reasons. Firstly, the paving stone in this position is larger than those that surround it (fig 22). Two smaller pavers on the east and west flank this paver (fig 23). This creates the illusion that the pavings work around this one paving, almost as though it was the central object. Additionally, it is in the centre of the south wall, which acts as the back wall, a place that is preferred for cult statues.

The pavers do seem to vaguely mirror each other down the middle. Indeed, a sense of symmetry is equally the reason for locating a second place of interest behind the Corinthian column. This symmetry is also in the apparent mirror line of the pavers, perhaps balancing the room with the place of interest on the southern wall.

The second reason for this being a site of importance comes from the placement of other important architectural features around the room. The pavings, which are behind the Corinthian column, are fairly regular, and seem to extend from the pavings that hold the column. In a way, the spur walls projecting forward at 45° serve not only



to create a metaphorical wall, but also a type of nave. The creation of a space bordered by the walls seems to show an area of focus.

The third, and most prominent position is situated in the southwest corner, where a small plinth protrudes from the wall (fig 25 & 22). This small plinth is higher than the surrounding paving stones.<sup>265</sup> This is also the corner into which the sunlight shines.

The plinth is a very important factor in discussing the importance of the adyton. Moreover, the plinth's construction is crucial to understanding its use. The plinth, unlike the rest of the pavers in the adyton, is built into the large masonry walls.<sup>266</sup> This makes this plinth stronger than the surrounding surfaces. It is the only paving which could have held the weight of a large statue.<sup>267</sup> It is not unheard of for a small plinth to aid and support the weight of a statue.<sup>268</sup> It could well be that this plinth is a smaller plinth built to support the larger plinth of the statue.<sup>269</sup> Without knowing what type of statue may have been housed here, this idea is entirely possible.

This position is important because it is visible when entering the temple from the northern entrance, and is unobstructed by the Corinthian column. With the light entering through the eastern doorway, this southwest corner and the plinth would have been illuminated quite brightly while the rest of the building was dark.<sup>270</sup> This effect would have been quite striking for visitors to the temple.

### The Corinthian Column

The Corinthian column could possibly play an important part in placing cult activity in the adyton. The Corinthian column is situated in between the adyton and the naos. Despite no longer surviving after mishaps in transport, the column was mercifully

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<sup>265</sup> Cooper (1992) Plate 11a.

<sup>266</sup> Cooper (1992) Plate 11a.

<sup>267</sup> Cooper (1968) 108; Madigan (1993) 116.

<sup>268</sup> Cooper (1968) 108.

<sup>269</sup> Cooper (1968) 108.

<sup>270</sup> In making this comment, I ignore earlier reconstructions by Lethaby, which place an opening in the roof in the middle of the naos roof. With the famed marble roof, the hole would not allow for the appropriate support for such a heavy roof. For more, see Lethaby (1908) 172.

sketched by the original archaeologists (fig 26 & 27).<sup>271</sup> Only one capital in this style was drawn, not three, as is the case in one early reconstruction.<sup>272</sup> The one Corinthian column is more in line with the presentation of the classical temple and its archaic predecessor. The positioning of the Corinthian column must have meaning, as this position in the archaic temple also housed a distinctive architectural feature, with a large boulder acting as a paver.<sup>273</sup> During the excavations of the archaic temple, two archaic Doric capitals were found, and one of the capitals may be from a votive column.<sup>274</sup> Another archaic Doric capital was discovered during Yalouris' excavation of the archaic temple; however, its original position within the temple was undocumented (fig 28).<sup>275</sup> Some of the features found on one of the surviving Doric capitals are reminiscent of early votive capitals and share similarities with the classical Corinthian column. An example of these similarities is the lack of fluting on the column shaft, which is seen on the bottom of the Corinthian column in the classical temple.<sup>276</sup> This is reminiscent of early votive columns, and is also seen in the archaic column.<sup>277</sup> In addition to the shaft, the archaic capital itself gives clues as to its original purpose; it has a circular abacus and, on the top of the capital, a large square, which would hold an insert (fig 28). Additionally, there is a line of decoration at the base of the capital.<sup>278</sup> This appears to be a column capital with a purpose other than solely architectural stability. It appears that there had already been a votive column in the archaic temple, so it becomes a real possibility that the Corinthian column is also for votive purposes.<sup>279</sup>

In the archaic temple, there does appear to be the possibility of a single centred column in the opisthodomos. During excavations of the archaic temple, there was found a line of three dressed stones which go east to west, seeming to represent the edge of

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<sup>271</sup> Cooper (1996) 305.

<sup>272</sup> Cooper (1996) 10. Yalouris (1979) 102. Yalouris completely discards this idea due to the work Cooper has done on placing architectural fragments where they belong.

<sup>273</sup> Kelly (1995) 239. This boulder was discussed above.

<sup>274</sup> On this column see Cooper (1996) 86.

<sup>275</sup> Cooper (1996) 86.

<sup>276</sup> Cooper (1996) 86, 294.

<sup>277</sup> Cooper (1996) 86.

<sup>278</sup> Cooper (1996) 87. A decorative strip on Doric columns is very rare, as the Doric order is very plain in column design.

<sup>279</sup> My discussion of the origins of the Corinthian column will not, by any means, be to the full extent the capital deserves. The full study of this capital deserves more attention than the space of this thesis can allow, and I will therefore only be discussing the capital in terms of votive properties it possesses and how this fits in with my argument concerning the use of the adyton.

the wall in the opisthodomos and a single column in antis (fig 29).<sup>280</sup> The middle stone appears to be just off-centre, but its placement in the middle of the two outside stones shows that there is very little possibility of a distyle in antis formation here.<sup>281</sup> This line is 2.5-3 metres south of the southern wall of the adyton, and therefore matches the size of the opisthodomos.<sup>282</sup> It appears that single columns centred in temples at Bassae were not uncommon.

Additionally, the Corinthian column sits in a very odd way on the paving stones in the classical temple, and is not centred as it should be at all. While the column is placed on one paving, and does not extend onto the other flanking pavings of the stylobate, it is not equidistant from all sides of the paving stone (fig 22).<sup>283</sup> The base is closest to the southern edge of the paving stone and overhangs the pavings in the adyton. The 45° spur walls also overlap the pavings in the adyton. This encroachment onto the pavers of the adyton could indicate their importance as a prominent space in the adyton. The drums of the column present another oddity as they are made from the same material as the base of the column.<sup>284</sup> The stone used for the entire column shaft is the same limestone used for the capitals on the Ionic engaged columns.<sup>285</sup> This column, as well as the Ionic capitals, would have stood out from the rest of the temple, as they were built from a different type of limestone to the rest of the temple, which varies in colour.<sup>286</sup>

As noted above, the Corinthian column has votive features, but it could also have acted as an aniconic representation. Aniconic columns were not unheard of in ancient Greece, and can be found in many media.<sup>287</sup> Aniconic statues of deities were extremely popular in very old traditions, often represented by a pyramid, a pillar, a column, a cube or a cone.<sup>288</sup> Aniconic statues in the form of a column are mentioned multiple times in Pausanias' work. For example, he wrote about Artemis being represented as a column in

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<sup>280</sup> Kelly (1996) 240.

<sup>281</sup> Kelly (1995) 240. See the plan here, where the spaces between the central stone and the outer stones are too similar in distance. If the middle stone represents the placement of one column, the distance between the middle stone and the outer stones should vary, with one having a much larger distance than the other.

<sup>282</sup> Kelly (1995) 240.

<sup>283</sup> Cooper (1996) 86.

<sup>284</sup> Cooper (1996) 294.

<sup>285</sup> Cooper (1996) 295.

<sup>286</sup> Cooper (1996) 294.

<sup>287</sup> Yalouris (1979) 101.

<sup>288</sup> Yalouris (1979) 100.

Corinth (Paus. 2.9.6). Aniconic statues of Apollo too are fairly widespread. For instance, Eumelos of Corinth described the statue of Apollo at Delphi as being in the form of a column.<sup>289</sup> Additionally, the custom of placing a column or pole outside the house with a cone on top was quite common as a representation of a particular deity, Apollo Agyieus.<sup>290</sup> The best evidence for the popularity of the aniconic statue comes from Pausanias. He writes that the Arcadians seem exceedingly fond of the deities represented in square images (Paus. 8.48.6), referring to aniconic images.<sup>291</sup> It is entirely possible that the Corinthian column acted as both a votive column, in line with the archaic temple, and as an aniconic representation of the deity of the site.

### Issues

When discussing the architectural details of the temple, there are a few issues that do arise and must be addressed. Firstly, the lack of any cult statue dating to the construction of the temple makes discussion about the use of the adyton difficult. The movement experienced by the temple over time also causes complications as the precision that was implemented building the temple has been undermined by constant ground movement and weathering processes.

### The Cult Statue

There are some issues surrounding the cult statue that must be addressed. The first issue concerns the placement of the cult statue, and also, what happened to it since it was erected.

There is some doubt as to whether there was a cult statue at all in the temple. One theory is that the bronze statue should be excluded from reconstructions as

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<sup>289</sup> Yalouris (1979) 100. Yalouris notes that aniconic representation is far more common for the gods Hermes and Dionysus, as they are often displayed in the form of a herm. I disagree with Casanova and Egea who propose that the Corinthian column is representative of a palm tree, a tree that was sacred to Apollo. Cf. Casanova & Egea (2012) 49.

<sup>290</sup> Yalouris (1979) 101; Dengate (1988) 79. Dengate mentions that representations of aniconic columns on coins date to the Hellenistic period. Cf Dengate (1988) 80.

<sup>291</sup> Yalouris (1979) 101.

Pausanias never states that it was placed within the temple itself.<sup>292</sup> Indeed, due to the method of construction of the flooring, it is difficult to imagine a large anthropomorphic cult statue as the flooring is weak.<sup>293</sup> Moreover, the argument has been made that no base found in the vicinity of the temple would be strong enough to hold an anthropomorphic cult statue.<sup>294</sup>

However, there is some evidence that there was a cult statue. During the 1812 excavations, the discovery of fragments from two marble feet and a pair of hands was made (fig 30).<sup>295</sup> These feet were found in front of the Corinthian column, on the naos side.<sup>296</sup> They are approximately twice life size.<sup>297</sup> While it would seem that this would be useful evidence for a cult statue, the style of the sandals dates them to the Roman period.<sup>298</sup> Due to this difference in time, it is likely that this was either a replacement for the original cult statue, or a votive or honorific statue.<sup>299</sup>

The positioning of the statue is up for some debate. In early reconstructions, Cockerell placed the bronze statue in the adyton, but the statue was placed directly opposite the eastern doorway (fig 31).<sup>300</sup> Currently, the southwest corner is the favoured position, due to the sunlight and the small plinth. This plinth would have been able to hold a statue if it was in the style of an archaic cult statue.<sup>301</sup> It is likely that the sculpture from the first temple would have been less than life size.<sup>302</sup> As the Dreros Apollo shows (fig 32), the style of early cult statues was often small, and would not have needed a monumental base on which to stand.<sup>303</sup> This could be the reason that there is no evidence of a monumental plinth in the adyton, or the temple as a whole.

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<sup>292</sup> Yalouris (1979) 102; Madigan (1993) 116. Paus. 8.30.4.

<sup>293</sup> Cooper (1968) 108; Madigan (1993) 116.

<sup>294</sup> Yalouris (1979) 102.

<sup>295</sup> Cooper (1996) 70. These are now housed in the British Museum. In his writing about the finds of the feet and hands, Jenkins expresses confusion over the find spot of these marble pieces, and writes that they could have been found in the naos or in the adyton. In my research, this is the only time I have seen someone state a different place for the finds. Cf. Jenkins (2006) 150.

<sup>296</sup> Cooper (1996) 70; Madigan (1993) 115. For a full description of the style and the dating, see Madigan (1993) 113.

<sup>297</sup> Cooper (1996) 70.

<sup>298</sup> Cooper (1996) 70. Jenkins (2006) 150.

<sup>299</sup> Cooper (1996) 70.

<sup>300</sup> Cooper (1968) 107. Cooper accepts the idea of the cult statue in the adyton, but puts it directly in the corner.

<sup>301</sup> Madigan (1993) 116.

<sup>302</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

<sup>303</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

The Corinthian column is often given as the answer to the lack of cult statue at Bassae. One theory is that there is no anthropomorphic statue in Bassae, and the Corinthian column fulfils the function of other cult statues.<sup>304</sup> However, this tends to ignore other factors, such as the plinth and the sunlight.

### Architectural Movement

An issue also arises from the movement that has occurred at Bassae. The discussion of architectural features and angles must be coupled with the acknowledgement that many of the angles and much of the precision of the original temple may well be lost now. The temple features anthropic foundations, made of clay and sand, creating a layer between the bedrock and the temple stones to absorb and lessen the effect of seismic waves.<sup>305</sup> These foundations have been subjected to weathering and have been washed away in some parts, causing the pavings and stones in the substructure to shift over time.<sup>306</sup> Today, the fragility of these man-made foundations becomes all too clear as the pavers now dip and shift as the soil below shifts from rainwater and the weight of the pavers themselves. Many appear cracked as well, though whether this is due to their own weight or from damage caused during the multiple stages of pillaging throughout the lifetime of the temple is not clear. The most prominent place to see these shifts is in the angle of the columns. At the time of building, these columns would have been all equal and straight. However, over time, the columns have shifted and now lean and tilt at various angles; some tilt in a southwesterly direction, others tilt the opposite way.<sup>307</sup> This, in turn, could affect the sunlight coming through into the adyton.

The column responsible for blocking the sun on one side now tilts to the southwest: 0.07° to the south and 0.80° to the west.<sup>308</sup> The degree of movement is quite small, but enough that it could have had an effect on the angle of sunlight shining through.<sup>309</sup> However, the sunlight effect was still seen in the 1960s, and was

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<sup>304</sup> Yalouris (1979) 102.

<sup>305</sup> Jenkins (2006) 134.

<sup>306</sup> Jenkins (2006) 134; Papastamatiou & Psycharis (1993) 599.

<sup>307</sup> Cooper (1996) Plate 10.

<sup>308</sup> Cooper (1996) Plate 10.

<sup>309</sup> This is of course an average over the whole column, as the blocks have slipped and moved since the decomposition of empolion within the drums.

photographed still hitting the southwest corner (fig 21).<sup>310</sup> With the marble roof no longer surviving, the line of light is long and continues up the wall; however, with the roof, the area that would have been lit up by the sun would have been reduced and more restricted to the south-west corner.<sup>311</sup> But a second shaft of light now hits a wall within the adyton, and it strikes directly behind the Corinthian column on the south wall.<sup>312</sup> This could be taken as evidence for something important was being placed in the position in front of the south wall, where there is a large paver on the floor. Cooper argues that, had the grate over the doorway been in place, and considering the column would have been straight, this additional line of sunlight would not have been present at the time the temple was constructed.<sup>313</sup> However, it is implausible to assume that the grate would have blocked out the light since there is no evidence as to the grate's original design. Whereas the beam of light hitting the southwest corner is irrefutable, the secondary trajectory of the sunlight is, regrettably, impossible to prove.

The discussion in this chapter highlights the importance of the adyton within the architectural context of the temple. The large number of unique features present in the adyton suggests a cultic function within the small back room. The eastern doorway allowing light into the southwest corner twice a year, suggests that the room was designed as more than just a plain storage room. These architectural features give clues about the religious elements of the temple.

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<sup>310</sup> Cooper (1968) 110.

<sup>311</sup> Cooper (1968) 111. Plate 40 of this article shows that the sunlight was still hitting the corner in the 1960s.

<sup>312</sup> Cooper (1968) 106

<sup>313</sup> Cooper (1968) 106.

#### **4. Cultic Spaces in the Adyton:**

Architecture is the reaching out for truth.  
*Louis Kahn.*

The classical Temple of Apollo at Bassae presents many challenges to scholars due to the lack of literary and small archaeological finds, such as pottery. The architectural evidence must be relied upon to understand the possible use of the adyton within the context of this temple. While in many temples the position of the focus of the cult is easily distinguishable, the adyton at Bassae creates more questions than answers. The adyton has many architectural features that deserve both attention and discussion. While these features were discussed individually in the chapters above, this chapter attempts to put the previous discussions together, and thereby to shed some light on the cultic use of the adyton at the Temple of Bassae.

There are four positions within the adyton that will be discussed. These four spots all stand out due to architectural abnormalities and design. The four positions to be discussed are the southwest corner, the centre of the south wall, the floor directly south of the Corinthian column, and the Corinthian column itself. Each of these positions has multiple aspects within the architecture and layout, which suggest that the adyton and the four positions within it serve a more important use than just as a repository.

#### **The Positions**

##### **The Adyton**

Throughout the different building phases of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, the south end of the temple has retained features that may be significant in terms of cult. Since the second phase of building, there has always been an adyton on the site. The special architectural features such as the eastern doorway and the angle to allow the light into the room support the theory that the adyton served a cultic purpose. The design causes the room to stand out. From all parts of the temple, especially the naos,



this light shows a deliberate attempt to direct the eye to the adyton. Additionally, this effect would have been visible to those who entered the temple from the northern entrance.

The lack of sculptural decoration in the room is not indicative of a lack of cultic significance. Many temples and sites of cultic importance are not decorated.<sup>314</sup> The outside of the adyton is decorated, the doorway featuring an elaborate border. This can be compared with the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, which also featured an elaborate sculptural programme on the exterior of the temple, but the interior was comparatively plain. This is by no means unusual for temples in this period, and it is not until the fourth century that interest in decorating the interior of temples becomes important.<sup>315</sup> The lack of decoration does not take away the cultic element of the Temple of Zeus. Indeed, the sparse interior would have made the 40-foot statue of Zeus seem more impressive. The same could definitely apply to the adyton in the Temple of Bassae. The sparseness of the adyton would mean the streak of light would have been striking for those viewing it, or that any cult statue stood out against its plain background. This could also apply to the backlit Corinthian column. Conversely, this does not discount the naos as being the focus of cult due to its decorative interior. Nonetheless, the focus of the cult of the building should be placed in the adyton; the deliberate separation of the rooms supports this idea, creating a strong difference between the elaborate and the plain.<sup>316</sup>

Placing the cult in the adyton is not without problems. Placing a statue in the adyton creates issues with either visibility or with placing the statue in a different position to other temples. As a general rule, the cult statue is placed in the centre of the western wall in the naos. If it were placed in the centre, at the southern end of the adyton, the Corinthian column would obstruct the view of the statue. Additionally, the marble feet and hands found in the original excavation were found on the naos side of the Corinthian column. This could suggest that the statue was in fact in the naos. However, as has been discussed above, the flooring could not support a large cult statue. Additionally, there is a lack of marks on the floor which are often present where a statue

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<sup>314</sup> Discussed above on pages 44-45.

<sup>315</sup> Lawrence (1996) 99, 151.

<sup>316</sup> If there had been a cult statue in the adyton, having such a plain room would help set it off and make it the focus of the room.

has been situated. There are no scratch marks or cuttings for a base, nor sockets for the feet of the statue. For these reasons, the cult statue was probably placed in the adyton.

It is the main purpose of this chapter to discuss the link between the multiple positions in the adyton and the multiple cults discussed in chapter two.

### The South West Corner

The southwest corner of the adyton is arguably the most important area of this temple, although, with the exception of the sunlight effect, it has been largely ignored in terms of its importance to the temple as a whole.

The most important feature of this corner is the purposeful introduction of the sunlight to that corner. The sunlight is concentrated and directed into that corner using other architectural aspects of the building, i.e. the column and the doorframe.<sup>317</sup> The inclusion of light into the corner may be attributed to a common ancient rule of architecture. It is believed that many of the temples faced east in an attempt to catch the morning's rays onto the large cult statue sitting in the centre of the naos.<sup>318</sup> It is probable that this is the reason for the location of the adyton, and the inclusion of the eastern doorway.<sup>319</sup> At this point, it is important to stress that the relationship between Helios and Apollo was not established at the time of either the archaic temple or the classical temple. The association of Helios and Apollo seems more likely to have begun during the fourth century BCE.<sup>320</sup> Prior to this point, the two gods are not mentioned as being one and the same in primary evidence.<sup>321</sup> Nonetheless, it is not unlikely that Apollo's affiliation with

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<sup>317</sup> The column in discussion here is number six from the south end of the temple. This is seen on fig 3.

<sup>318</sup> Stillwell (1954) 4.

<sup>319</sup> This may have been necessary due to the placement of the temple in such a mountainous area. For the effect of the sun to shine into the naos and reach the back of the room, the sun needs to be at an angle low enough to enter through the door at a relatively flat angle. However, Mount Kotilion is amongst other mountains. To the direct east of the Temple of Bassae there is another large mountain, separated from Kotilion by a large valley. This mountain is too tall to allow an angle flat enough to allow the light to make the full journey to the back of the long naos and hit the statue. However, the adyton is shallower, and therefore does not require such a shallow angle to reach the other side of the room. By having a shallower room, the angle of the sun after it has crested the mountain is still low enough to produce the sun hitting the statue.

<sup>320</sup> Kerényi (1983) 35. Parker asserts that the connection with Apollo and the sun and Artemis and the moon began in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. See Parker (2011) 77.

<sup>321</sup> Larson (2007) 89.

the sun predates his identification with Helios.<sup>322</sup> More importantly, the bright light in the dark temple evokes the essential idea of the epiphany of the god to his worshippers. This area, therefore, is an almost certain focus for cult.

The sunlight filtering through into the room would also hit the plinth that was built into the wall. The plinth would have the ability to hold the larger weight of a statue thanks to the cantilevering by the larger courses of stone of the walls. The floor is not strong enough to hold a bronze statue, especially the twelve-foot bronze statue discussed in Pausanias' work.<sup>323</sup> However, there are multiple theories as to how the plinth could have held a larger cult statue, assuming one existed. It is unlikely that the plinth itself formed the base for a large statue, as the plinth is rather small in size. Being only 0.45 x 0.30 metres in size, this would not be big enough to hold a large cult statue, but would be able to take the weight of a smaller statue. However, the plinth is a good size to be a supportive plinth to a larger plinth that could have held a larger statue. A support plinth would take some of the weight from the floor, and allow for a larger statue. The size of the statue is also under consideration. Archaic cult statues were often considerably smaller than classical ones.<sup>324</sup> Had the cult statue been smaller, then a large support would not be necessary, and the plinth would serve as a helpful support. The building is based on the design given by the earlier archaic temple, many features being incorporated into the classical temple, so it is plausible that the new temple housed the statue from the archaic temple. Another possibility to consider is that the statue housed in the adyton may have been a votive statue rather than a commissioned cult statue.<sup>325</sup>

The positioning of the statue in the southwest corner makes sense for a multitude of reasons. Firstly, the sunlight automatically draws the eye to that point in the temple. Even when the sun is not shining directly into the corner, the adyton would often be lighter than the naos, and the statue would still catch the eye. Secondly, this placement means the statue is visible from the northern entrance of the building. Had a large cult

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<sup>322</sup> Parker (2011) 77.

<sup>323</sup> Paus. 8.30.4.

<sup>324</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

<sup>325</sup> On the complex question of the differences between votives and cult statues, which lies outside of the scope of this essay, see Scheer (2000) 1-34.

statue been placed in my second or third locations (discussed below) behind the Corinthian column, the statue would not be visible. The ability to have the image lit up and visible to those entering the temple would create a very striking effect. Many scholars, both early and modern, support the placement of a large cult statue in this position. In his reconstructed drawings of the interior of the temple, Cockerell depicts a large statue against the western wall (fig 31).<sup>326</sup> However, he places the statue in the middle of the western adyton wall, not in the corner.<sup>327</sup> This would have allowed for the people who stood outside by the eastern doorway to see the statue face on.<sup>328</sup> This is much less likely, as the sun would be behind the statue, no good if the statue was being viewed from the northern doorway, and the floor could not have supported the weight of a large statue. Additionally, for those entering the temple from the north, it is likely that this position would have been blocked from view by the extending spur walls on the right side of the Corinthian column. It is possible that this statue may not have been able to be viewed from outside the eastern doorway as the grate across the doorway may have blocked the view. The grate does not survive, so it is impossible to say whether the design would have allowed for the statue to be viewed easily.

Placing the statue in the corner is not without its problems. Most importantly, this position is different to the usual position of a cult statue. This position is not in the central position at the end of the room, which would create balance in the room. Placing a statue closer to the western wall throws the balance of the room off. The naos is very symmetrical, and features in the adyton that are less symmetrical, such as the doorway and the pavings, would have been hidden from view. Additionally, the paving in the southwest corner does not feature any floor markings such as cuttings. Had a large cult statue been placed in this position, it seems likely that the flooring would show evidence of cutting or scraping for the base.

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<sup>326</sup> Bordeleau (2014) 57.

<sup>327</sup> Bordeleau (2014) 57

<sup>328</sup> This is evident by the depiction given by Cockerell in his original plate drawings (fig 30), which show very clearly people standing outside acknowledging the large statue within.

### Southern Wall

The southern wall also shows evidence that it is a place of importance. This position is behind the Corinthian column, and is hidden from the view of those entering the temple from the northern entrance. Despite being hidden from view, the pavings around this area point to it being important. The middle stone itself is larger than those around it, an effect heightened by the symmetry of the line of pavers on either side of it. Smaller pavers appear to create a border around the larger stone.

This position is also given importance due to the sunlight which also falls on this part of the wall in the adyton, although Cooper blatantly disregards the theory that a second stream of light would have been seen during the height of the sanctuary's use.<sup>329</sup> Prior to the erection of the tent, the sunlight that entered into the adyton would have hit two positions; the southwest corner, and the area directly behind the Corinthian column on the southern wall. No ancient literary evidence discusses a stream, or indeed streams, of light entering the adyton. Additionally, it is difficult to say what the grate looked like. While there is proof of it existing, there is no evidence for how it looked.<sup>330</sup> The second streak of light should not be discounted so quickly.

The second streak of light, which possibly hit the centre of the southern wall, would have had a huge effect on the appearance of the adyton from the entrance. The light on the back wall would have the effect of backlighting the Corinthian column, bringing attention to a secondary area, not just the south west corner. That the sunlight hit the middle of the southern wall, directly above a larger paving seems highly unlikely to be a coincidence. Nothing in this temple seems to allow for the concept of 'coincidence'. Everything in this temple is done for a deliberate reason, from the choice of topics of myth in the temple sculpture, to the precision of the angle to allow sunlight into the adyton. For this reason, it is likely that the pavings around the larger southern

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<sup>329</sup> Cooper (1967) 106.

<sup>330</sup> Without evidence of what the grate looked like, it is impossible to know what the grate would have blocked, in terms of both sunshine and view. This is not to say there was no grate, as metal was melted down throughout history, only that reconstruction of the grate itself is impossible.

wall paver were laid on purpose, and the secondary streak of light would have been taken into account.<sup>331</sup>

The issues associated with this position are the same as with the previous position. The lack of markings on the floor would suggest that there was no statue placed here. In addition to this, had a statue been placed in this position, the Corinthian column would block the view of the people entering through the northern doorway. The mirroring effect this paver has, being part of a line of pavers that are in line with the Corinthian column, may mean the paver is just carrying on the strong symmetry found in the rest of the temple. The sunshine phenomenon also needs to be discussed here as a potential issue with this theory. The sun hits the centre of the southern wall now, but Cooper states that the light would not have hit this position during the use of the temple. The reason for this is due to the grate that Cooper suggests was placed across the doorway.<sup>332</sup> Cooper seems to be envisioning something quite solid, in which case the grate would have blocked the view of the statue from outside, but also would have blocked the additional stream of light coming into the adyton. Movement of the column over time could also have affected where the sunlight would have hit. The movement could have adjusted the very specific positioning of the sixth column from the south.

The evidence for this being a position of interest is ambiguous as it could go either way; it may support or go against. The argument about the lack of markings on the floor is only important if this was being argued as a position for a cult statue, but it could just as easily have been a place for particular votive offerings. This is also assuming that the statue was a large one, rather than a smaller figure, which would not need a plinth. This position could have been a site of cult in the adyton.

### Central North Position

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<sup>331</sup> Whether this secondary light was taken into account by using it to enhance the cultic function of the adyton, or was blocked off completely by the column and the grate put across the eastern doorway, is unknown. Since evidence proving or disproving either of these theories is elusive, neither should be discounted.

<sup>332</sup> Cooper (1992) 223. While there are holes in the floor on the outside of the doorway threshold, no remains of a grate have been found. This makes it difficult to assert that the grate would have cut out the light when the design is unknown. To make matters more complicated, Cooper also strongly argued in his 1967 article that a door was placed in the entranceway, designed to let the light in.

This is the third and final position to be considered for cultic importance inside the adyton. This position is directly behind the Corinthian column, where the position seems to be bordered by spur walls and, once again, the pavings create a point of focus. This position may be centred on the Corinthian column or it could be that something of cultic importance was placed in front of the column within the adyton.

The 45° spur walls and the Corinthian column create a nave, and with the spur walls and the Ionic columns extending onto the secondary line of pavings, this area seems to be a deliberate attempt to create a central focus.

Multiple factors need to be considered for this position. Firstly, the pavings between the spur walls behind the Corinthian column are sitting on top of large blocks used in the foundations, not straight on the artificial foundation.<sup>333</sup> This would have allowed for heavier objects to be placed on these pavings. The patterning of the pavers is similar to that of the naos of the temple, and this in turn could support the idea that this particular area of the adyton was significant. Conversely, this could also be created in an attempt for continuity. This line of pavings may be a focus of cult. As noted above, the diameter of the Corinthian column overhangs its own stylobate and encroaches on this secondary line of pavers (fig 22). This occurs also with the 45° spur walls, which extend across this row of pavers. The second row of pavers may have been additional support for the weight of the Corinthian column. However, this does create a line of pavings which stand out from the rest of the adyton. In addition, the positions of the 45° spur wall draw attention to this additional line of pavings. Putting the spur walls on a 45° angle, therefore projecting over the two lines of pavings, was in no way necessary to the strength of the building. Indeed, the 45° spur walls depart from the design of the other engaged Ionic columns of the naos interior, which extend from the walls at a perpendicular angle. This contrast in composition of the Ionic columns may be a deliberate design choice to bring the focus of the viewer to the second line of pavers. The two 45° spur walls and the Corinthian column create a 'border' around this additional line of pavings. This layout puts focus on the southern side of the Corinthian column, within the adyton.

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<sup>333</sup> This does not mean this area was strong enough to take a lot of weight, and the blocks used in the foundations were still on top of artificial soils, and would therefore still be subjected to sinking and movement.

Another consideration is how this position would affect the room. Having a cult area in this position would have balanced the room against the position of importance in the southern wall, as the larger paver in front of the southern wall is in line with the Corinthian column. Though this is something to be considered, balance cannot be used as evidence on its own. The adyton shows a serious lack of balance, especially when the pavers are taken into account, and the off-centre positions of the eastern doorway and the southwest corner.

This theory has its issues. Placing another area of importance here creates a very busy area, especially if access was restricted from the eastern doorway. While this position is visible from the eastern doorway, the question over what covered the doorway and its effect in blocking the view for those near the door must be taken into account. Many of the issues surrounding the central southern wall position present themselves in this position also. If there were any votive offerings placed here, they would not be seen by those entering the northern doorway, due to the Corinthian column. Additionally, there are no markings on the floor. The pavings themselves are cause for a reconsideration, as the place of importance is where two pavers meet. This is in the line of symmetry which runs through the middle of the temple. It is difficult to disregard this join when the other positions discussed have full pavers in the area, not two pavers joined at the crucial point.

However, the framing effect and the probable visibility from the eastern doorway means this position should not be too hastily discounted. The framing of the spur walls, which extend from the adyton to be in line with the Corinthian column does create a nave, and while it is unlikely that a cult statue was placed here, it may have been a site for important votives.

### The Corinthian Column

Another element to be taken into account is the Corinthian column itself. Rather than the column being the edge of the room and a metaphorical wall, the column could itself be the aspect of cultic importance. As discussed above, Cooper argues that the



column has been designed with votive features on it.<sup>334</sup> The lack of fluting at the bottom and the highly elaborate carving on the capital show that the column was made for more than a structural purpose. The Corinthian column does have a predecessor at the site, in an archaic Doric capital found in the foundations of building phase 2. The use of additional decoration on the capital was also present on the archaic capital, where a decorative strip below the echinus is seen. Additionally, a single column standing in a space that would have been the opisthodomos is a strong possibility in the archaic foundations. The stones left where the opisthodomos would have been situated in the archaic temple include a single stone in the centre of the two walls which extend into the porch (fig 29). Usually, this particular place would be built as distyle in antis, but here, three stones, fairly obviously in situ, are aligned perfectly, with the middle stone slightly off centre, but not off centre enough to allow a second column in antis. With this in mind, it is possible that the Corinthian column had a predecessor in the earlier temple, albeit in a different part of the temple.

Another theory is offered by Yalouris, who suggests that this column is an aniconic representation of Apollo. Aniconic representations of deities were not uncommon at this time in ancient Greece, as was discussed earlier. By incorporating an aniconic representation as the cult statue into the area, some of the problems discussed would have been addressed.<sup>335</sup> The substructure of the whole temple would not allow a large cult statue to be placed onto the floor in the naos, and no architectural evidence indicates that any statue was placed onto the pavings in this area.<sup>336</sup> A column instead of a statue would have countered this issue, as it stands on the reinforced substructure. The positioning of this column meant the weight did not rest on one paving. This is important as many of the pavers are only supported by alluvial soils used in the anthropic foundations. The issue of visibility also disappears if the Corinthian column was an aniconic votive, since it was visible from all 'rooms' of the temple. The central location of the Corinthian column means it would be the first thing seen by those entering the temple, but additionally, if the backlighting occurred behind it, this would make the Corinthian column a striking sight on the special days in which the sun enters

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<sup>334</sup> Cooper (1996) 305.

<sup>335</sup> In many depictions of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, there is one column in the central position at the rear end of the naos, which is thought to hold the curtain rails to block the view into the oracle. See Dengate (1988) 97.

<sup>336</sup> With the exception of the south-west corner discussed above.

into the adyton.<sup>337</sup> The backlighting of this column in a dark temple would have been memorable to those who saw it.

The additional line of pavings behind the Corinthian column could serve a separate purpose than just to hold a statue, for which, as has been established, they would not have been strong enough. This position may have provided an area to display the votive offerings intended for the aniconic column, that is, for the god of the temple, in the adyton. It becomes even more unlikely that the two joining pavers directly behind the Corinthian column would have held a statue as the paving stones create a join directly in line with the southern wall position and the Corinthian column. This would have appeared odd if this join was visible below a single votive statue or cult statue.

However, this solution is also not without its problems. If the Corinthian column is to be seen as a separate possibility from the space directly south of the column, this is making the number of places of interest four. The room is not so spacious that it could support four separate focuses of cult. Many of the theories surrounding the Corinthian column being an aniconic representation or a votive column are dependent on the theory that the design and use of the column were intended for more than a purely decorative reason. Cooper's biggest argument for this being a votive column is the unfluted base drum of the column, which is reminiscent of other votive columns.<sup>338</sup>

I personally do not think the Corinthian column is likely to be a votive or an aniconic representation, as the column may have just been a decorative element of the temple, which seems more likely when discussing the temple as a whole.<sup>339</sup> While this column is ornate and highly decorated, this is not unusual in the context of the entire temple at Bassae. While this column was the first of its kind, so were the 45° engaged Ionic spur walls which flanked the Corinthian column and the interior frieze. Ignoring

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<sup>337</sup> This effect would mean the people standing outside of the northern entrance of the temple would be able to view the spectacle. On any other day of the year, the inside of the temple would be much darker than the outside of the temple, even with lamps, and therefore seeing within the temple would have been difficult. The exception would be the adyton, as the brightness of outside would still come through the eastern doorway, just not as a concentrated beam. However, standing at the northern entrance in the dark, the effect of the sun coming into the adyton and lighting up the south west corner and possibly backlighting the Corinthian column would have been visible to those standing outside, who themselves were not going to be bathed in strong sunlight.

<sup>338</sup> Cooper (1996) 294.

<sup>339</sup> When the Corinthian column is viewed as a single architectural feature, it is easy to come up with theories, like aniconic representation, because this column is different. However, architectural features that appear nowhere else are common in this temple.

the context of the rest of the architecture can only hinder our understanding of the column and the building as a whole. This temple is full of decoration and experimentation, and it is not unlikely that this column is merely a decorative experimental addition to an already ornate naos.

The use of space inside the adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae is not as simple as other adytions at other sites. The large number of irregularities in the adyton suggests that its use deviates from the common Peloponnesian use of an additional storage area. Its connection to the main naos counters the mundane existence expected for a simple storage room. The inclusion of the eastern doorway again takes away the normal and turns the room into the exceptional. The inclusion of the doorway must surely mean there is a cultic purpose to the room, and the decision to bring the sunlight in supports this assumption. Equally, four possible positions in the adyton showing features which set it apart from other spaces in the overall temple support the need to view the adyton's function in a cultic light. The southwest corner, the central southern wall and the area directly behind the Corinthian column all provide possible platforms for cultic or votive purposes. Each position seems to demand attention as to what purpose they served in the adyton space, as the pavings and the use of light and plinths create points of interest in the room. Using the pavings for evidence of importance is a necessary step to understand the use of the temple. While the rest of the pavings in and around the temple appear in regular linear lines and patterns, the adyton pavers seem to be a hodgepodge of patterns and sizes, and the reason for this must be linked to the use of the adyton. It cannot be stressed enough that nothing in this temple should be explained as a mere coincidence when so much precision went into the smallest of details.

### Other considerations

#### Cult Statue Debate

The question as to whether there was a statue in the temple is a question that cannot be answered in such a limited space, and is really a question for a different thesis. While the large twelve-foot bronze statue dedicated to Epikourios is mentioned

in Pausanias' writing, the argument surrounding this is divided into two theories. The first is that the statue was situated inside, but in the south west corner.<sup>340</sup> The second theory is that there was no internal statue, and the twelve-foot bronze was actually a statue that was placed outside the temple.<sup>341</sup>

The placement of the statue in the southwest corner has been discussed above. The additional strength provided by the plinth due to the downward pressure from the wall stones means this position could have held a large statue. Additionally, this position would have made the most of the sunlight and the visibility upon entering the temple from the north would have been an important factor. On the other hand, the 12-foot bronze statue may have been placed outside of the temple. Large statues placed outside of temples are very common throughout Greek sanctuaries.<sup>342</sup> The argument for this stems from the floor's structural stability, but also from the interpretation of Pausanias' writing. Pausanias never states explicitly that the twelve-foot statue resided inside the temple prior to its relocation to Megalopolis.

τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρυτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιγαλέων, ὀνομάζεται Βᾶσσαι.

The place where the Phigalians originally set up the image is named Bassae.<sup>343</sup>

Assuming that the second theory is closer to the truth, this does not mean a statue was not present in the interior of the temple. So little is known of this temple from the ancient sources that making use of the information given in regard to the setting of the temple is crucial to understanding the exact use of this temple. However, while Pausanias writes that there was a twelve-foot statue at Bassae, at no point does he say this was the only statue ever present at the site. Had the bronze statue been outside the temple, there still could have been statues within the temple. As discussed above, archaic cult statues were often small in size, and could have been small enough that a

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<sup>340</sup> Cooper (1996) 70.

<sup>341</sup> Yalouris (1978) 102.

<sup>342</sup> This is seen in places like the Athenian Akropolis, where a large statue of Athena was placed near the Propylaia, so it was one of the first things seen when entering onto the Akropolis. The grounds of the Sanctuary of Delphi were filled with cultic and votive statues, as well as celebratory statues from successful Greek states. See Neer (2012) 282 (Akropolis) and 184 (Delphi).

<sup>343</sup> Paus. 8.30.3.

large plinth was not needed.<sup>344</sup> This would mean evidence of plinths and large statuary would be absent from the site, evidence such as scuff and scratch marks from placing the statue, a change in floor level, or sockets built in for the statue's feet. Before the demolition of the archaic temple, it is possible that the archaic statue was moved from the soon-to-be-destroyed archaic building and placed in the newly built classical building.

The lack of surviving sculpture or statues in the adyton should not be seen as evidence of the bronze statue being placed outside the temple, or that there was no statue in the adyton at all. At the rediscovery of the temple and in the early excavations, marble feet and hands were discovered, dating to the Roman period. No other archaeological finds were found within the temple, with the pottery, figurines and miniature armament being dug up in archaeological trenches. It is safe to assume any metal offerings or cultic figurines would have been removed or melted down at an earlier time.<sup>345</sup>

Additionally, the inclusion of a Corinthian column that has the same features as votive columns suggests the idea of an aniconic representation within the temple. The meaning and purpose of the Corinthian column has been discussed and argued over since its discovery, although more in-depth study is difficult as the capital no longer exists.<sup>346</sup> If the column was an aniconic representation, this would help to alleviate the issue of the lack of a statue within the cultic spaces.

For the conclusion that multiple cults were housed in the adyton, there does not need to be evidence of large cult statues, as offerings may have been small votive objects given by the people of the area. It is most likely that one larger statue existed in the southwest corner, rather than three large statues in each of the three places which stand out due to architectural evidence. The other two areas of significance possibly housed small votives or statues, but nothing as large as the southwest corner. The

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<sup>344</sup> Dengate (1988) 100.

<sup>345</sup> At the rediscovery of the building, the walls of the temple had been pulled down in search for the lead clamps within the stone. It is therefore common sense that the easier metal finds would have already been taken away for reuse.

<sup>346</sup> Yalouris(1978) 100-102; Cooper (1996) 293-295. The argument over the multiple thoughts and theories of scholars over this Corinthian column cannot possibly be discussed in such a limited thesis. It is a project to be looked into and researched as a subject of its own, and as such, will not be discussed in full detail here.

position directly behind the Corinthian column most likely did not hold a statue, in which case small votives were likely placed there at the foot of the Corinthian column.

### The Naos

The naos at Bassae should not be ignored. The naos is the place of cultic importance in all classical temples, and often held cult statues, although this was not the case at Bassae. The reason for discussing multiple cults in the adyton and not in the naos is due to the large number of irregularities in the space of the adyton. This is not to say the naos does not have its own large number of irregularities. The highly decorative interior programme is an oddity in itself, as this is extremely uncommon in Greece at this time.<sup>347</sup> The engaged Ionic columns that extend from the walls of the naos are unprecedented in Greek architecture at the time this temple was built.<sup>348</sup> Despite this, it is more likely the cultic worship occurred in the adyton, and not the naos of the temple.<sup>349</sup> While the two rooms are connected, the differences in decoration and the arrangement of space indicate that they should be treated separately.

### Absence of an Altar

At the site of Bassae, an altar has not been found in any of the excavations.<sup>350</sup> Extensive excavations have occurred to find an altar to the North of the temple, near the main doorway.<sup>351</sup> While no altar structure was found, there was an area which featured an area that had been burnt.<sup>352</sup> This could be the altar, as an ash alter was used in other sanctuaries in the ancient world.<sup>353</sup> The sanctuary at Olympia is famed for having a large ash alter dedicated to Zeus.<sup>354</sup> However, this is by no means definitely an altar. With the site being so well excavated, in most places, down to the bedrock, it seems unlikely that

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<sup>347</sup> Dengate (1988) 100. As discussed above.

<sup>348</sup> As discussed above.

<sup>349</sup> It is my opinion that a proper discussion about the use and features of the naos and how the naos plays into the function of the temples and the sanctuary itself is needed if this building is ever to be truly understood. The naos is often neglected due to the higher number of irregularities found in the adyton.

<sup>350</sup> Cooper (1996) 6.

<sup>351</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 276.

<sup>352</sup> Kourouniotos (1910) 276.

<sup>353</sup> Valavanis (2004) 44.

<sup>354</sup> Valavanis (2004) 44.

an altar made of stone existed at the site.<sup>355</sup> Without an altar, it is difficult to say whether any worship occurred outside, and if it did, what the practices were.

### Putting It All Together

The difficulties faced in discussing this temple have always been quite prominent, as the lack of literature and archaeological finds is a recurring theme in nearly every source or discussion about the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. The temple itself is discussed in Pausanias, and nowhere else. However, even Pausanias' account provides little assistance in the matter of why this temple was designed the way it was. With the exception of the marble roof system, Pausanias gives no detail about the architectural abnormalities present in the classical temple.

As the Temple to Apollo at Bassae is a temple, religious function and use is the obvious primary reason for the building of this temple. However, the design and layout of the building, and the reasons for its design cannot be sufficiently explained by simply saying that they are due to religious reasons. Using architecture as evidence is sometimes the best way to get answers. While parts of a building can sometimes be taken away and used for rebuilding, much of the structure remains and can be studied, and stone survives better than precious metals which can be melted down and reused or materials which degrade over time, such as ivory. It is fortunate that a lot of the temple at Bassae survives intact and in situ to be studied for answers which other media cannot give us.

Cult is an area of study in which there are rarely any certainties. At Bassae, there is very little known about the cults, despite the epithet Epikourios being the main discussion point in Pausanias' account. The only concrete evidence for the epithet of Bassitas is an inscription found not beside the Temple of Apollo but by the temple to Artemis, or Aphrodite, in a separate part of the sanctuary. Hyperborean Apollo is the most difficult to prove existed at the site, as the only evidence is his possible depiction on the sculpted metopes above the northern porch.

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<sup>355</sup> Cooper (1996) 137, n16.

This thesis attempted to show that the architectural features of the building, aspects which cannot be disputed or argued over as often as cult, could assist in understanding the religious aspects of this temple. Three different epithets were presented in the first chapter, Epikourios, Bassitas and Hyperborean. In this conclusion chapter, four positions in the adyton were discussed and looked at closely to show they could have been areas where these three cults could have been celebrated. In no way does this discussion attempt to place each epithet or cult into a specific place in the adyton. There is no evidence that the cult of Apollo Epikourios was definitely celebrated in the southwest corner. There is evidence, however, that shows that this position was meant to be important. It is most probable that a cult was celebrated in that position. The archaeological evidence in the area supports worship at the site, and shows that votive offerings were given at the site, from the geometric period to the middle of the fourth century, after 369BCE.<sup>356</sup> Celebration of gods did occur at this temple, though it is difficult to say for certain how or in whose honour.

The likelihood that all the positions discussed in this thesis were focuses for cult is very low. Including the Corinthian column, this puts the number of possible positions at four. This is a lot for such a small room, which may or may not have had external excess through the eastern doorway. It is also unknown who would have been able to enter the temple, let alone the adyton itself. So many areas of possible cultic importance seem highly unlikely and cramped, and would have restricted movement in the adyton, even for only one person.

The southwest corner is the most likely position for cult to be celebrated in the adyton. With the sunlight, the plinth, and the visibility, this is the strongest position for a cultic focus. Conversely, the Corinthian column is the least likely to be of cultic importance. While Cooper asserts that it is a votive column, it is likely it was only for decorative embellishment, matching the naos. The two central positions, the southern wall and the northern side of the adyton, seem less likely to house cultic or votive objects. They do seem more likely, however, than the Corinthian column as a votive object. Additionally, though three cults have been discussed in this thesis, it is by no means definite that all three were definitely celebrated at the site, nor that they were all

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<sup>356</sup> Cooper (1996) 5; Yalouris (1959) 155-159.



celebrated within the walls of the temple. It seems just as likely that Hyperborean Apollo, if he was worshipped here, could have been celebrated outside the temple.

I believe that the adyton housed multiple cults, although I discount the Corinthian column.<sup>357</sup> The southwest plinth, according to the architectural evidence, almost certainly held a cult statue, perhaps a large statue. The sunlight phenomenon was created on purpose in the adyton to enhance the importance of this site. I suggest that at least two of the epithets discussed in this essay were celebrated at the temple: Apollo Epikourios and Apollo Bassitas. I think it is likely that there was multiple cult worship within the adyton, but most likely not all three cults discussed, and not all four areas discussed were utilised. It is not unheard of for a temple to have multiple epithets celebrated within a singular temple, the Erechtheion being a prime example.<sup>358</sup>

This thesis attempted to propose a possible use of the adyton by looking primarily at the clues left in the architecture of the building. It is a viable conclusion that multiple cults could have been celebrated in the adyton, especially in the southwest corner. It is also a viable conclusion that three different epithets were celebrated at the temple at Bassae. With the lack of literature and archaeological finds, it seems like an obvious decision to turn to the architecture to learn about the religious and cultic purposes of this unique temple.

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<sup>357</sup> While uncommon, the worship of multiple epithets, and even multiple gods, was done in other temples. The Erechtheion is a prime example of a temple housing multiple sites of worship.

<sup>358</sup> Spawforth (2006) 143-144.

### **Conclusion:**

*Architecture is a visual art, and the buildings speak for themselves.*

- Julia Morgan

Situated on Mount Kotilion in the Peloponnese, the Temple of Apollo at Bassae sits high in the middle of a mountain range. This position allowed the temple to survive in a reasonably good state until its rediscovery, although the rooms were stripped of any of the offerings and other objects prior to the first archaeologists' arrival. Unfortunately, the lack of archaeological evidence is also paired with a lack of literary sources. While the temple is mentioned in Pausanias' work, discussion about the cultic aspect of the temple is severely lacking. For this reason, the architecture of the temple is the only best option for understanding how this temple functioned as a religious centre.

The cult was celebrated since the geometric period, shown by the early pottery discovered in the archaeological trenches. The main deity celebrated here is Apollo, evidence of this coming from both Pausanias and archaic roof tiles inscribed with his name inscribed. However, which epithet (or epithets) the god carried here is harder to pin down. There are three epithets of Apollo under discussion. The epithet Epikourios is cited in the short passage provided by Pausanias about Bassae. There are two functions this epithet may have served, one medicinal, the other military. The idea for a medicinal explanation comes from Pausanias stating that the temple was built to thank Apollo for his help against the plague during the Peloponnesian War. The martial explanation comes from the influx of mercenaries in the area throughout confrontations in the area's history. This is supported by the quantity of miniature armament found at the site dating to the archaic period. The epithet of Apollo Bassitas is local, related to the name of the area the temple sits on. This is the only epithet supported by archaeological evidence in the form of a bronze manumission tablet found in the Kotilion sanctuary. While Hyperborean Apollo is the most tenuous epithet to connect to the temple, the relevance of the sculptural programme, especially the local myth depicted on the southern metopes, suggests that Hyperborean Apollo's depiction on the northern metope was important to this site.

The architecture of the building features many irregularities, which make the building stand out from other temples and sanctuaries. The Temple of Apollo at Bassae is famed for the large number of oddities present in the design of the temple. The north-south orientation of the temple is one of the most prominent architectural features. This may be due to a cultic reason or a regional preference. However, because of this orientation, other architectural designs are able to be implemented.

The adyton at the southern end of the temple is crucial to understanding its religious aspects. The leading evidence for this is the eastern doorway, which is a consistent feature in both the archaic and the classical temple. Though this may seem to be another entranceway, reconstructions by Cooper indicate that the doorway would have been covered by a decorative grate. This would have stopped entry in through this opening for people, but not for sunlight, which appears to be the main reason for the inclusion of the eastern doorway. The sunlight enters through the door on two mornings of the year, illuminating the southwest corner. This effect would have been seen in the archaic temple, and recreated in the classical temple, despite this requiring subtle mathematical changes to the orientation of the temple. The inclusion of the first known Corinthian column is also important to this temple, not only because its placement provides a metaphorical wall between the naos and the adyton, but also because it may be a votive capital, possibly even an aniconic representation. At the very least, this column provides a backdrop to one of the positions discussed in the adyton as being of cultic importance.

Four positions in the adyton present possibilities of being places for cultic worship of the three epithets perhaps worshipped at this position. The south-west corner, the central southern wall, the Corinthian column, and the central northern position directly behind the Corinthian column all show architectural features which differ from other areas in the adyton and the temple as a whole. The southwest corner features a plinth, capable of supporting a larger weight than the rest of the flooring in the whole temple. This sets this particular site up as the most likely for a large sculpture. The central southern wall stands out due to the paving pattern in the adyton. The line that seems to divide the room includes the larger paver on which votive offerings for worship may have been placed. Lastly, the central northern section of the adyton, directly behind the Corinthian column, stands out due to the paving placement,

the framing by unprecedented spur walls and the famous Corinthian column. The most likely theory regarding these positions is that not all of them were used. The southwest corner is definitely considered cultic in this thesis, and the least likely position is the Corinthian column. The centre of the south wall and the space directly at the foot of the Corinthian column may have been a focus for cult, but these two positions have less definitive evidence for being the focus of cult than the southwest corner. It is my opinion that some but not all of these positions would have been used for cultic reasons, but not all of them. The same can be said for the cults discussed. While the cult of Epikourios and Bassitas seem very likely, the cult of Hyperborean Apollo seems less likely, and may not have even been worshipped within the temple.

Using what literary, archaeological and sculptural evidence there is available about the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, there is the possibility of Apollo being worshipped at this site under three epithets: Epikourios, Bassitas and Hyperborean. Using the architectural evidence left of the building, three possible positions of worship within the adyton have been argued. The examination of architecture is not a common approach in discussions regarding the religious aspects of buildings. However, at a site where so little other evidence is available, one must turn to the architecture to answer the questions surrounding the cultic uses of the temple. The architecture at the Temple of Apollo Epikourios strongly suggests that worship took place in the adyton of the temple, and it seems likely it was at least one of these three epithets that were celebrated in one of the four positions in the adyton.

At first glance, the Temple of Apollo lives up to Pausanias' description.

ναῶν δὲ ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις εἰσί, μετὰ γε τὸν ἐν Τεγέᾳ προτιμῶτο οὗτος ἂν τοῦ λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἔνεκα.

Of the temples in the Peloponnesos, this might be placed first after the one at Tegea for the beauty of its stone and symmetry.<sup>359</sup>

However, I think the temple exceeds all other temples in its design and mystery. The precision of the angles, the placement of pavers, the ingenuity of decoration; while the external view of the temple may be beautiful, it is the design of this temple that sets it

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<sup>359</sup> Paus 8.41.8.

## The Adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae

above all others in beauty and form. It is this design and form that give clues to the life of the temple, and what it meant to the people who built it.

## The Adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae

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British Museum 1917,0725.2.

Accessed:

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=399258&partId=1&people=95752&object=24016&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399258&partId=1&people=95752&object=24016&page=1) (26/2/2016).

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Accessed:

[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=460627&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=460627&partId=1) (26/2/2016).

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Heraklion Archaeological Museum

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Accessed: [odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj\\_id=7929](http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj_id=7929) (26/2/2016).

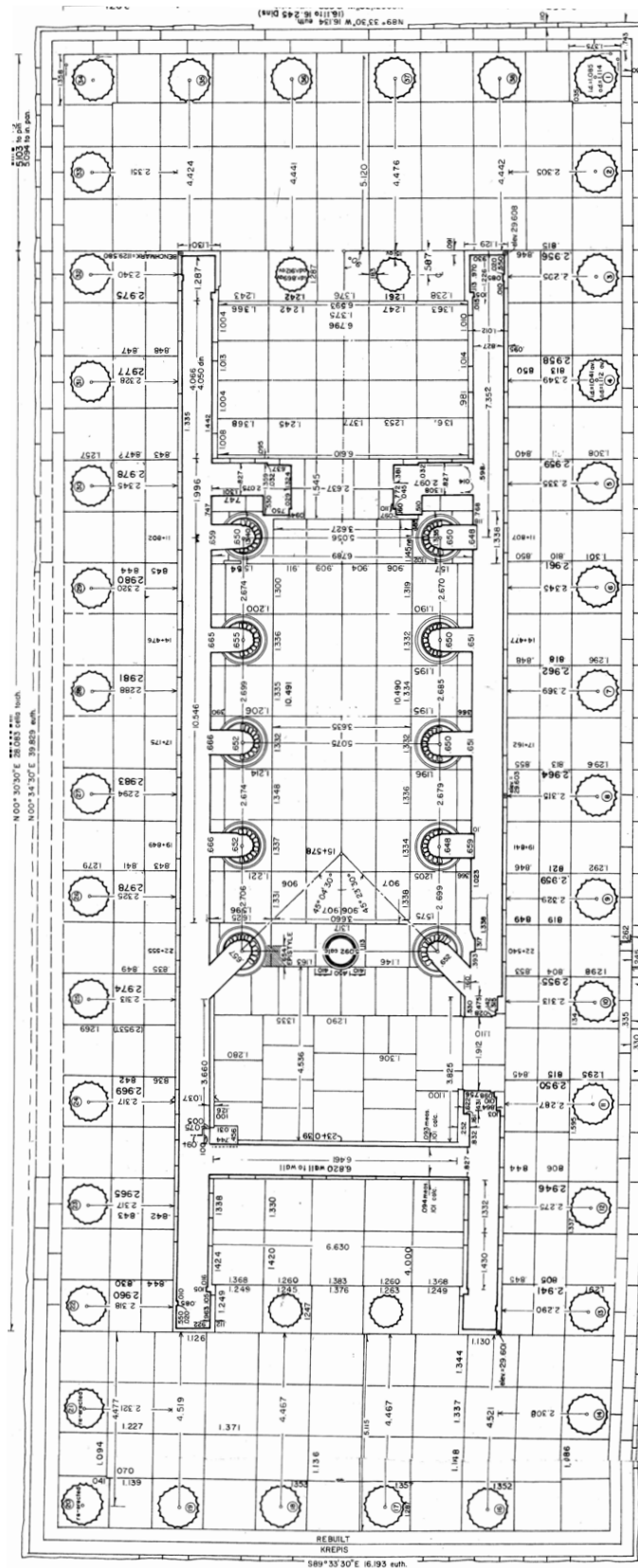


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Fig 2: Map of the Peloponnese.  
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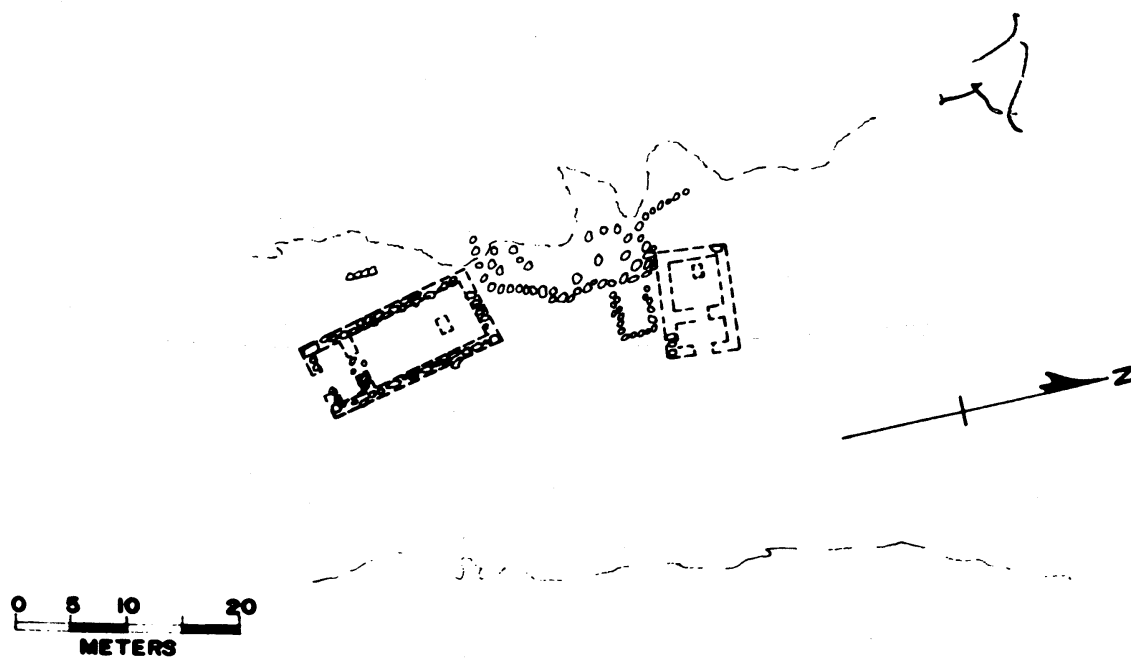


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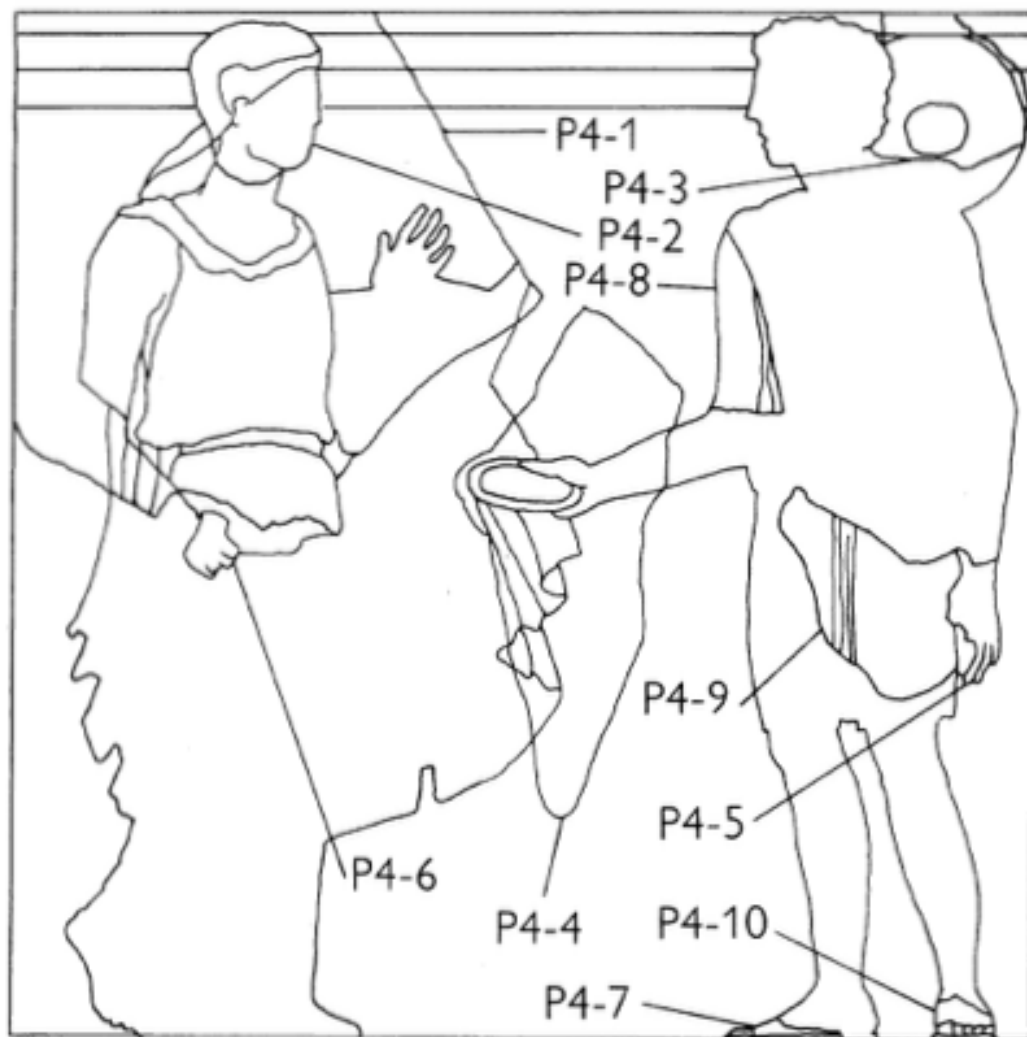


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8b



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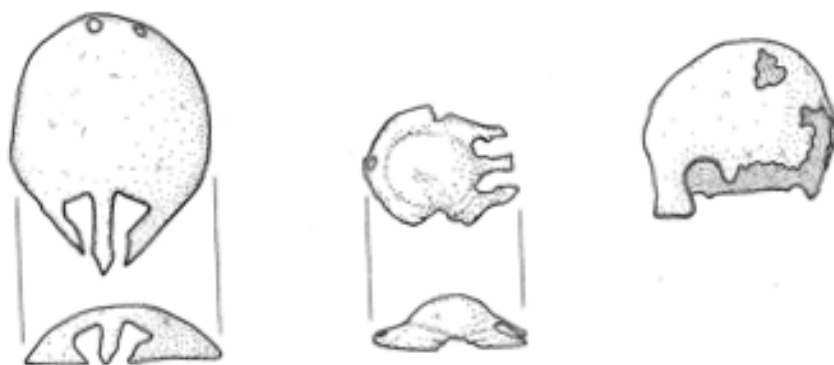
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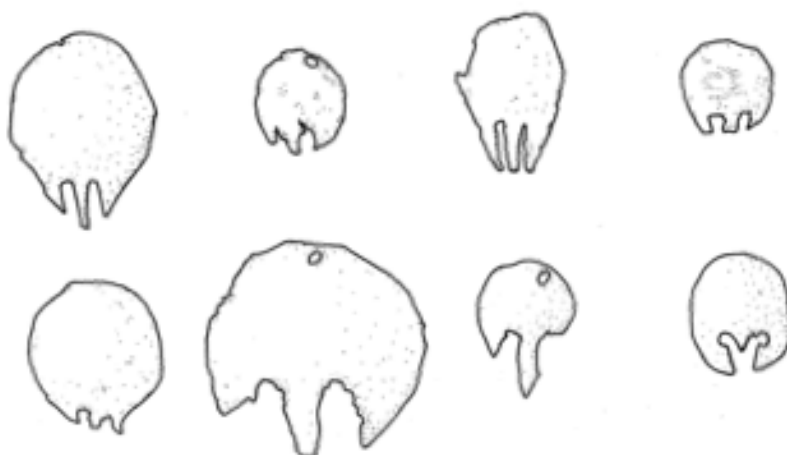
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10a

Θεός, Τύχα  
 Κλένις ἀφέκε  
 Κόμαιθον ἐλύθρον,  
 Ὀμβρίαν, Χοιροθύωνα.  
 Εἰ δέ τις ἐπι(θ)ι(γ)γάνε  
 τούτοις, ἱερὰ τὰ χρ(έ)μα-  
 [τα] ἔν(α)ι πάν[τ]α εἴτε  
 [F]ιστίας ε(ῖ)τ' ἄλ(λ)ος τ(ι)ς,  
 [τ]' Ἀπόλλωνι τοῖ Βασ(σ)ί-  
 [τ]αι καὶ τοῖ Πανί  
 [τ]ῶι Σινόεντι  
 [κ]αὶ τ' Ἀρτέμι τᾷ Κοτι-  
 λεοῖ καὶ τᾷ Φορθασίᾳ

God: Good Fortune  
 Klenis has released and  
 set free Komaithos,  
 Ombrias and Choirothyon.  
 If any one lays a hand on  
 these, either Fistias or anyone  
 else, then all his property shall  
 be consecrated  
 to Apollo Basitas  
 and to Pan  
 Sinoeis  
 and to Artemis of Kotilon  
 and to Forthasia



10b



Fig 10: Bronze Manumission Tablet, *IG V ii 429*

Fig 10a: Drawing and translation of the tablet (Cooper)

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Fig 10b: Photo of the bronze tablet.

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Fig 11a

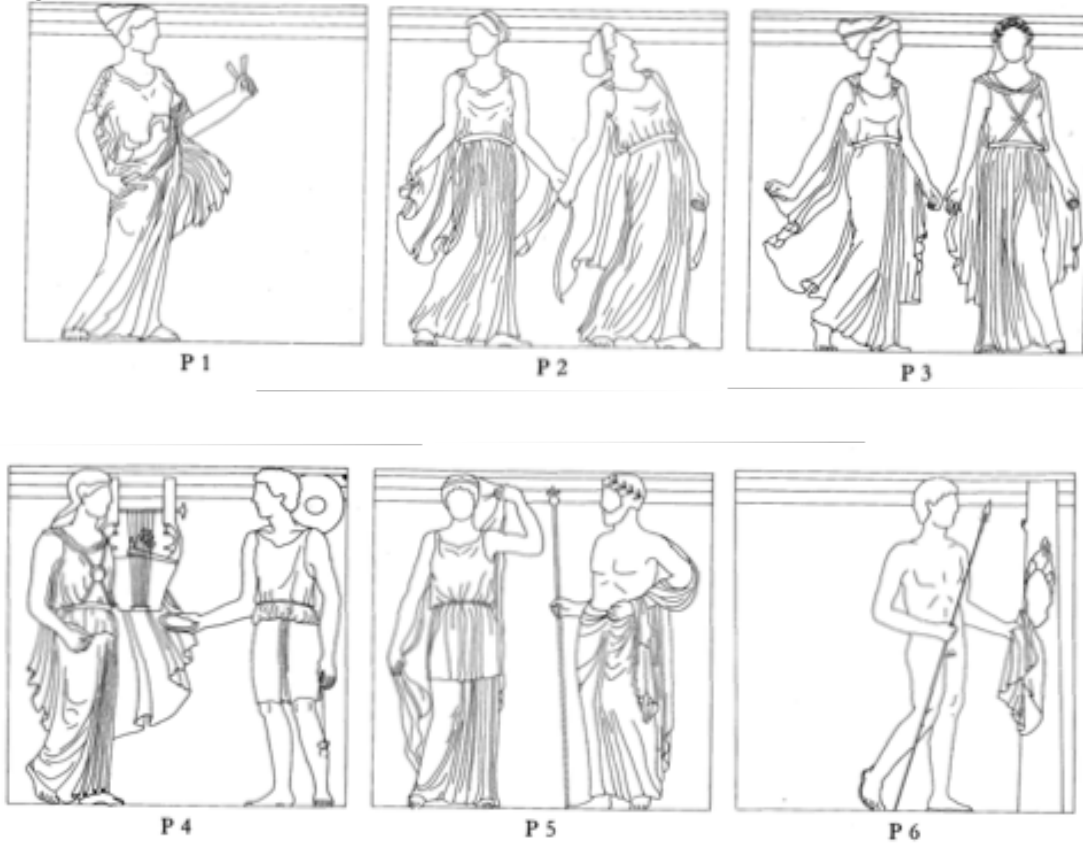


Fig 11b



Fig 11: Pronaos (northern) Metopes.

Fig 11a: Individual metopes in order.

Cooper, F. and Madigan, B. (1992) 18-19, fig 2.

Fig 11b: Reconstruction of Pronaos Metopes.

Cooper, F. and Madigan, B. (1996) 30, fig 3.

Fig 12a



Fig 12b



Fig 12: Bell Krater showing the return of Hyperborean Apollo  
Attributed to the Meleager Painter. 400-380BCE.  
London, British Museum. 1917,0725.2.  
Accessed:[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=399258&partId=1&people=95752&object=24016&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399258&partId=1&people=95752&object=24016&page=1) (26/2/2016).



Fig 13: Oinochoe showing the return of Hyperborean Apollo to Delphi.  
Attributed to the Painter of London E543. 420-400BCE.  
London, British Museum. 1845, 1128.1.  
Accessed:[www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=460627&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=460627&partId=1) (26/2/2016).

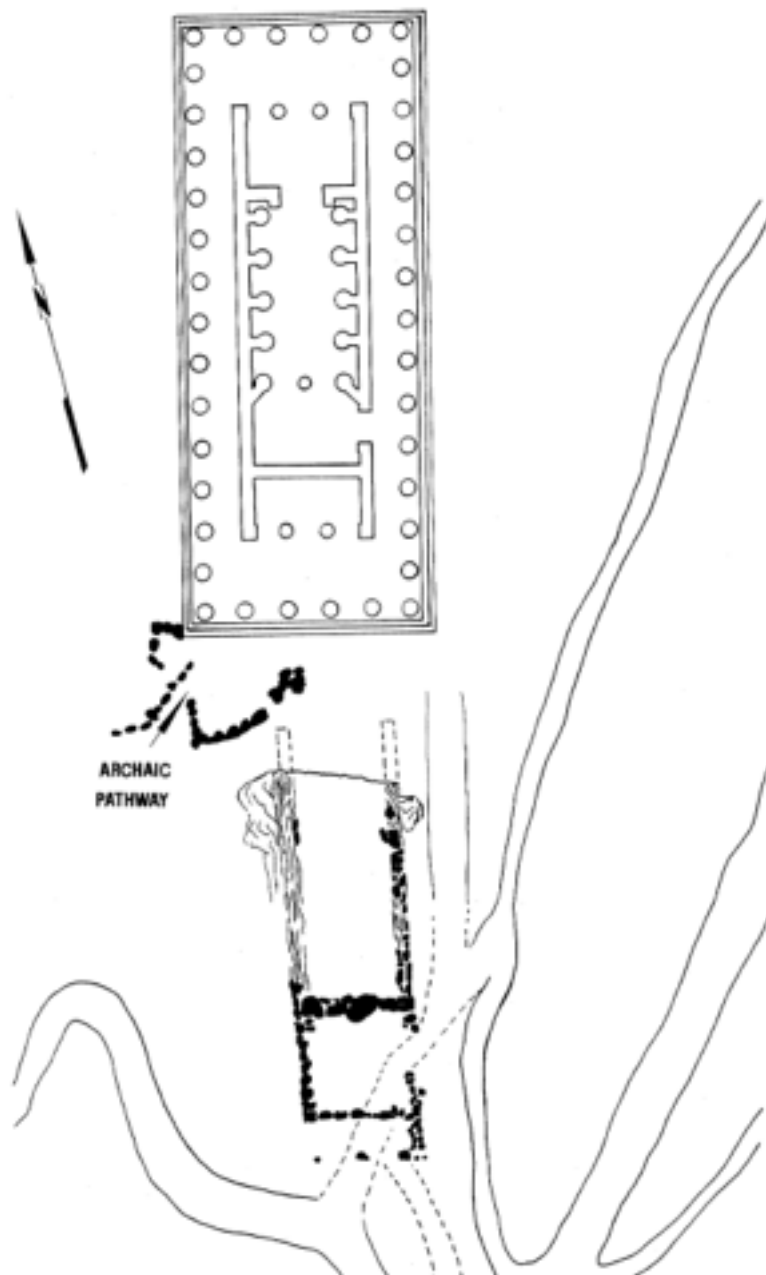


Fig 14: Site plan showing foundations of both the classical and archaic temple.  
Kelly, N. (1995) 233, fig 3.

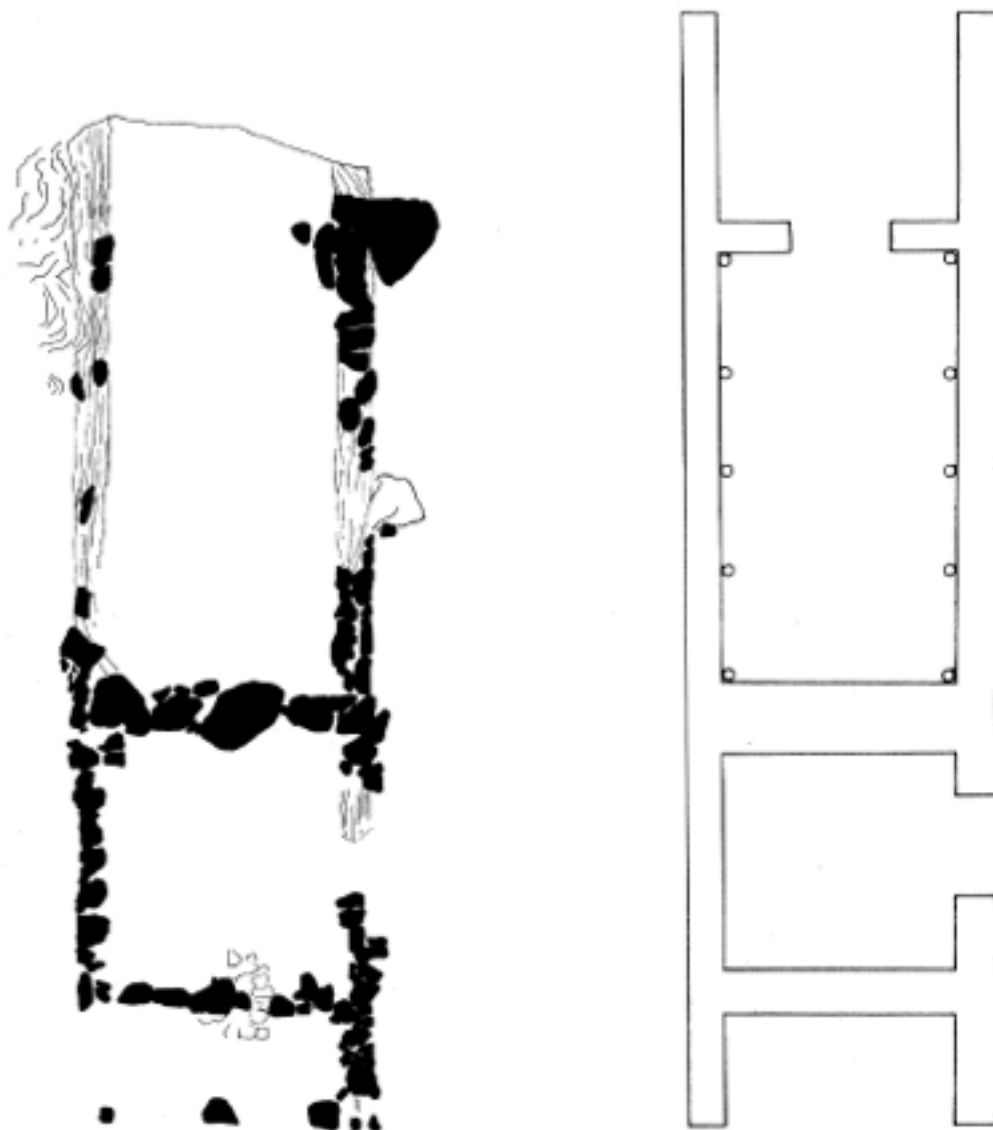


Fig 15: Plan of archaic temple featuring both in situ blocks and room layout.  
My own cropping.  
Kelly, N. (1995) 226, fig 1.

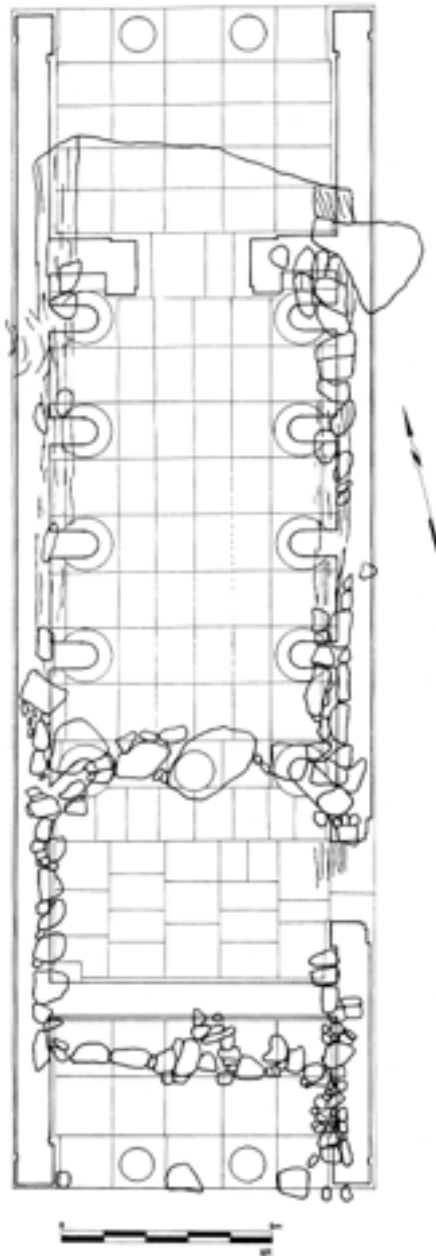


Fig 16: Superimposed plans of the classical and archaic temple.  
Kelly, N. (1995) 239, fig 6



Fig 17: Photo of eastern doorway (Rieu)  
Cooper, F. (1996) Plate 16, b.

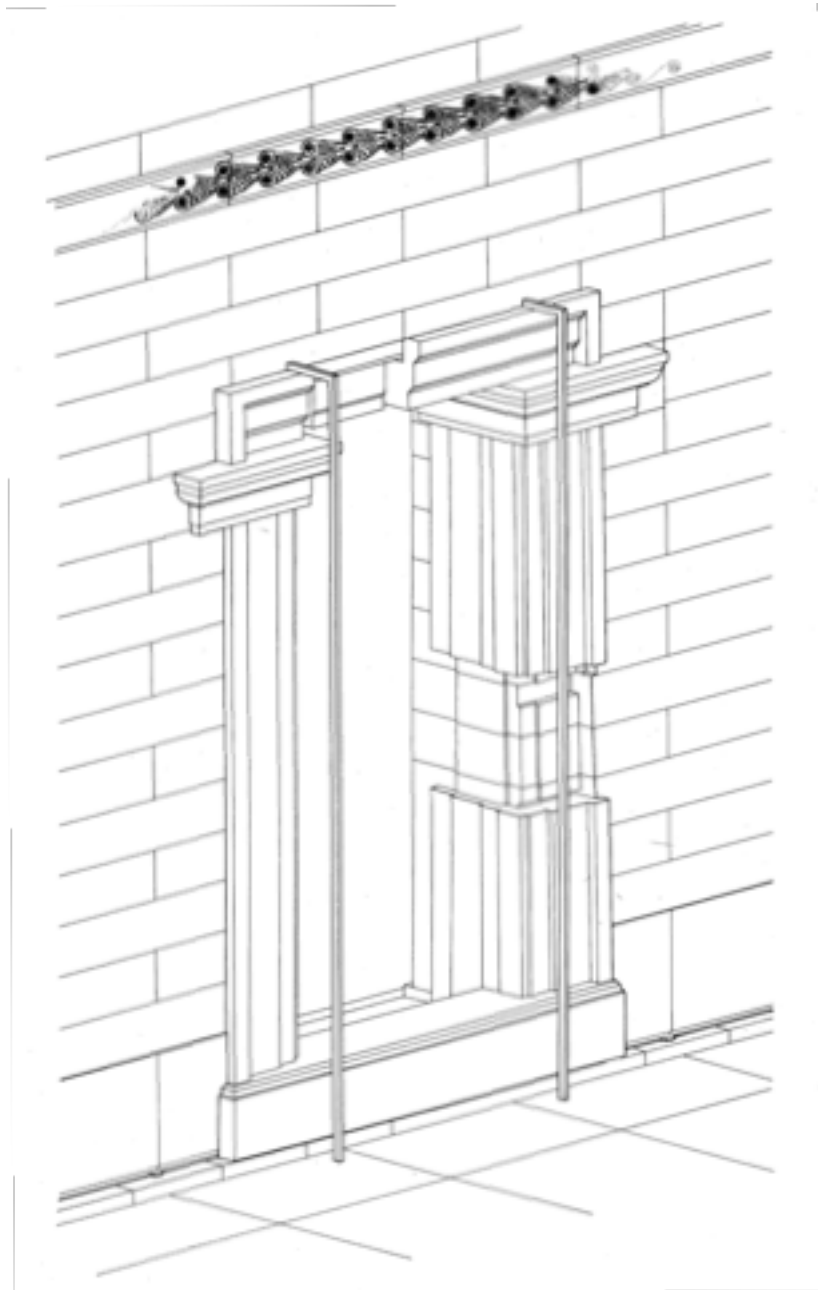


Fig 18: Eastern doorway reconstruction.  
Cooper, F. (1996) 222, fig 20.



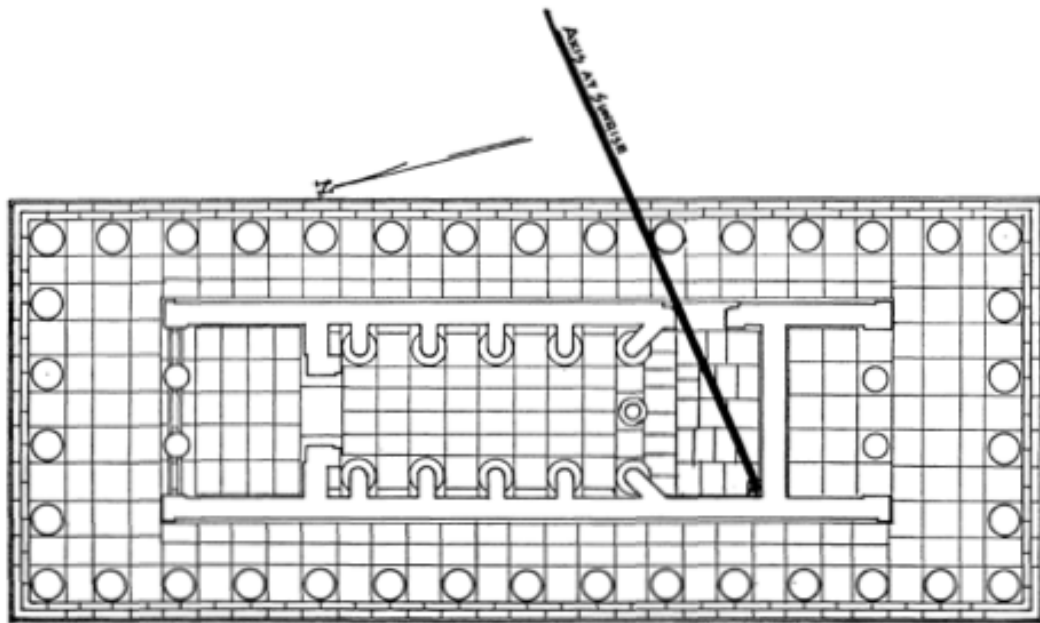


Fig 19: Plan of the sun hitting the south-west corner.  
Cooper (1968) 104, III.1.

Fig 20a



Fig 20b



Fig 20c



Fig 20: Photos of the sun hitting the south-west corner.

Fig 20a: Sunlight hitting both south-west corner and central south wall.

Cooper (1968) Plate 40, fig 3.

Fig 20b: Sunlight only hitting south-west corner.

Shading of central southern wall by Cooper.

Copper, F. (1968) Plate 40, fig 5.

Fig 20c: Streak of light just prior to phenomenon ending.

Cooper, F. (1968) Plate 40, fig 6.

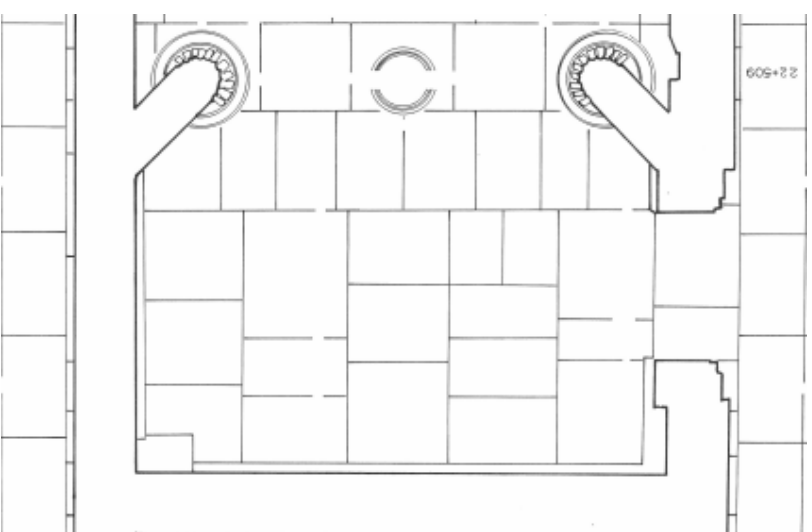
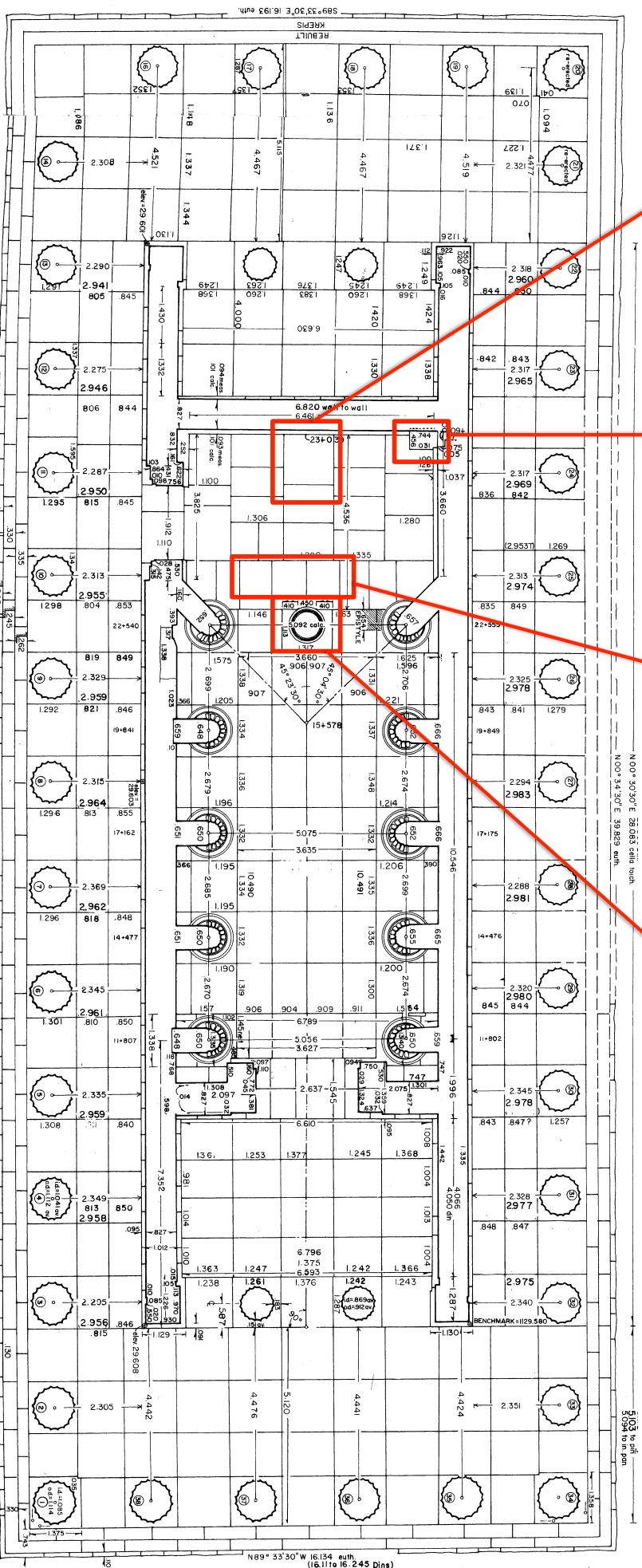


Fig 21: Pull out plan of pavings in the adyton.  
 My own cropping.  
 Cooper, F. (1992) Plate 11, b.

Fig 22: Pull out plan of the temple.  
My own annotations.  
Cooper, F. (1992) Plate 11, a.



Central south wall  
The large paver is seen here, as well as the correct angle to allow light in through the eastern doorway.

**South-west corner:**  
The plinth is seen here as part of the pavings. The angle to the eastern doorway for the light to enter is clear.

Central north position:  
The similar pattern in the pavings to the naos is clear and the nave created by the spur walls and the Corinthian column is prominent.

Corinthian column:  
The column's visibility from both entrances is evident, as well as the bordering effect of the engaged Ionic columns.

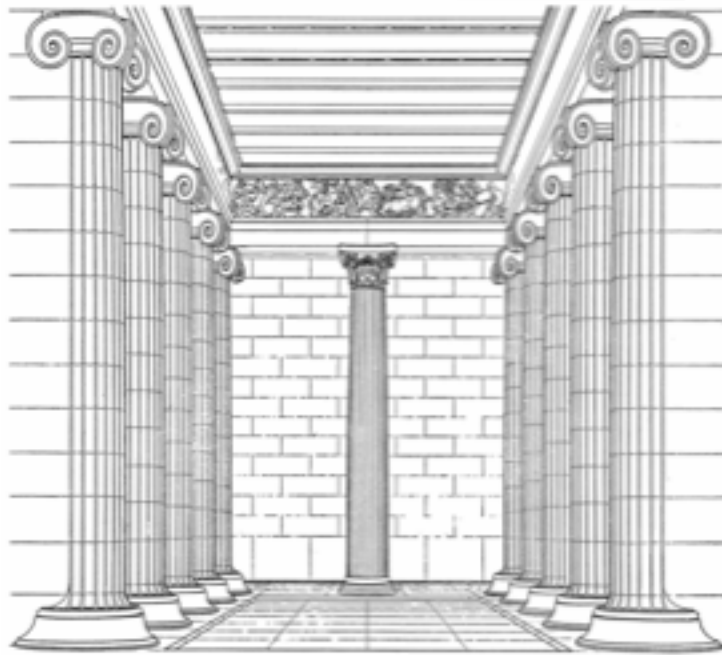
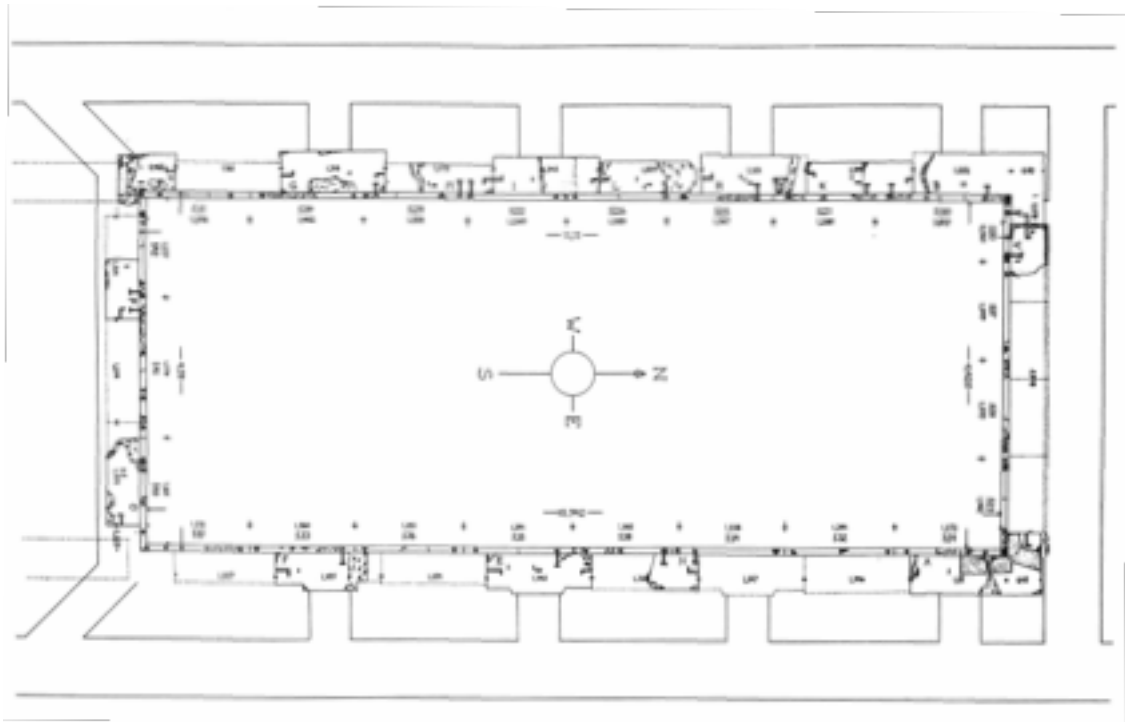


Fig 23: The extent of the frieze.

Fig 23a: Jenkins, I. and Williams, D. (1993) 61, fig 9.

Fig 23b: Neer, R. (2012) 310, fig 12,19.



Fig 24: Plinth in the south-west corner.  
Cooper, F. (1996) Plate 41, e.



Fig 25: Drawing of the Corinthian column. (Bauer)  
Cooper, F. (1996) Plate 70, a.



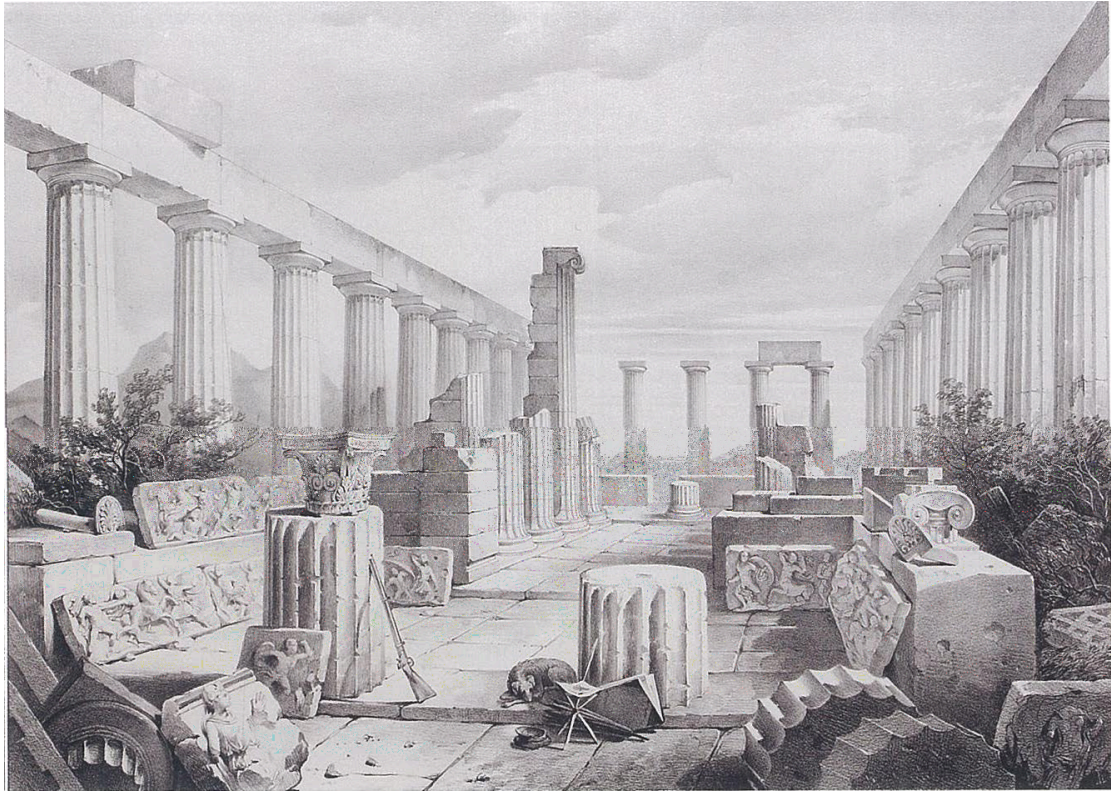


Fig 26: Drawing of first excavation (Haller von Hallerstein).  
Musagetes Library, University of Waterloo.  
Bordeleau, A. (2014) Colour Plate 2.



Fig 27a



Fig 27b

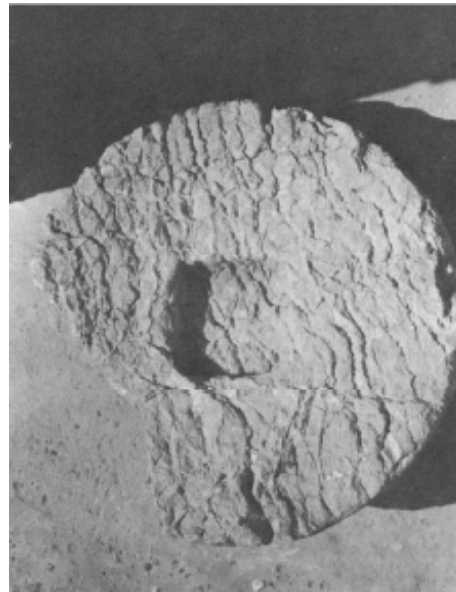


Fig 27c



Fig 27: Archaic votive capital.

Number: CAPm 1.

Fig 27a: Votive archaic capital profile view.

Cooper, F. (1996) Plate 32, a.

Fig 27b: Votive archaic capital top view.

Cooper, F. (1996) Plate 32, c.

Fig 27c: Votive archaic capital detail of decoration.

Cooper, F. (1996) Plate 32, e.



Fig 28: Three stones from archaic temple in situ.  
Kelly, N. (1995) plate 50, a.

Fig 29a



Fig 29b



Fig 29: Fragments of a statue found in the naos.

Fig 29a: Marble foot

London, British Museum 1815,1020.42.

Cooper, F. and Madigan, B. (1992) Plate 66, 318.

Fig 29b: Marble fingers

London, British Museum, 1815,1020.46.

Cooper, F. and Madigan, B. (1992) Plate 66, 321.

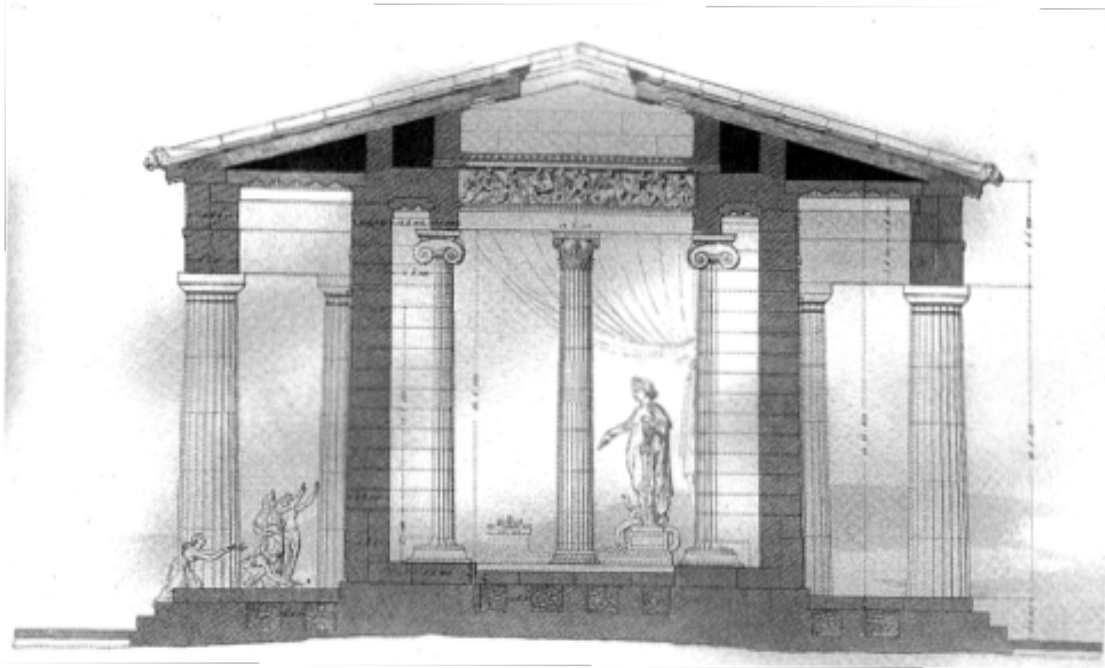


Fig 30: Interior reconstruction (Cockerell)  
Bordeleau, A. (2014) 57, fig 2.6.



Fig 31: Archaic statue of Dreros Apollo.  
Heraklion, Archaeological Museum, AHM X 2445.  
Accessed: [odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj\\_id=7929](http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj_id=7929) (26/2/2016).