

## THE MAKING OF THE DORIC TEMPLE

In this book, Gabriel Zuchtriegel revisits the idea of Doric architecture as the paradigm of architectural and artistic evolutionism. Bringing together old and new archaeological data, some for the first time, he posits that Doric architecture has little to do with a wood-to-stone evolution. Rather, he argues, it originated in tandem with a disruptive shift in urbanism, land use, and colonization in Archaic Greece. Zuchtriegel presents momentous architectural change as part of a broader transformation that involved religion, politics, economics, and philosophy. As Greek elites colonized, explored, and mapped the Mediterranean, they sought a new home for the gods in the changing landscapes of the sixth-century BC Greek world. Doric architecture provided an answer to this challenge, as becomes evident from parallel developments in architecture, art, land division, urban planning, athletics, warfare, and cosmology. Building on recent developments in geography, gender, and postcolonial studies, this book offers a radically new interpretation of architecture and society in Archaic Greece.

GABRIEL ZUCHTRIEGEL was the director of the archaeological site of Paestum from 2015 to 2021, when he was named director of the Archaeological Park of Pompeii. His publications include articles and monographs on the archaeology and history of Greek colonization, among them *Colonization and Subalternity in Classical Greece* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

# THE MAKING OF THE DORIC TEMPLE

ARCHITECTURE, RELIGION, AND  
SOCIAL CHANGE IN ARCHAIC GREECE

GABRIEL ZUCHTRIEGEL

Archaeological Park of Pompeii



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## NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

Translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

## PREFACE

To introduce the topic of this book, I would like take you on a visit to the Aphaia sanctuary on the island of Aegina, for I think it provides a striking example of the broader story I would like to tell here. The sanctuary is situated on a hilltop in the eastern part of the island, far from the ancient settlement center. The ancient Greek travel writer Pausanias, who visited the site in the second century AD, recounts the myth of the goddess worshipped there since time immemorial (II 30,3):

In Aegina, as you go towards the mountain of Zeus, God of all the Greeks, you reach a sanctuary of Aphaia, in whose honor Pindar composed an ode for the Aeginetans. The Cretans say (the story of Aphaia is Cretan) that Karmanor, who purified Apollo after he had killed Python, was the father of Euboulos, and that the daughter of Zeus and of Carme, the daughter of Euboulos, was Britomartis. She took delight, they say, in running and in the chase, and was very dear to Artemis. Fleeing from Minos, who had fallen in love with her, she threw herself into nets which had been cast for a draught of fishes. She was made a goddess by Artemis, and she is worshipped, not only by the Cretans, but also by the Aeginetans, who say that Britomartis shows herself in their island. Her surname among the Aeginetans is Aphaia; in Crete it is Diktyнна (Goddess of Nets).<sup>1</sup>

Aphaia is thought to be a pre-Greek fertility goddess who was later identified with Athena, although this cannot be proven. Evidence of cult activities on the site, including figurines of a female deity, dates back to the Late Bronze Age (Pilafidis-Williams 1998).

The story told by Pausanias centuries later problematizes female agency as embodied in Britomartis' involvement with typically male activities such as running and hunting. Female agency is also embodied in the figure of Artemis, mistress of the wild land and the animals beyond the reach of the male-dominated polis. Judging from the archaeological evidence, it seems that down to the early sixth century BC, the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina consisted of an "open grove" (Gruben 2002: 122). Anyone could access this place; yet, whoever walked between the trees that cover the hill on which the sanctuary lies to the present day had to be aware that the goddess might



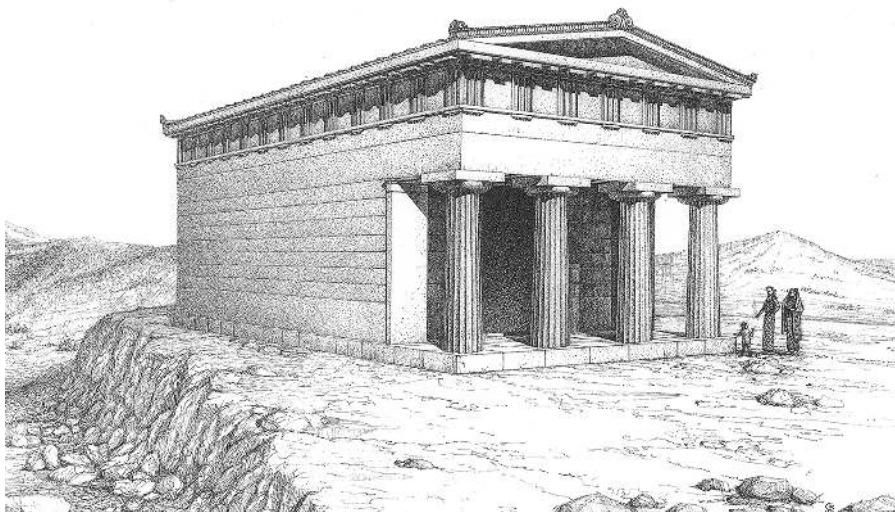


FIGURE 1. Aegina, Aphaia sanctuary: reconstruction of the old temple (Schwandner 1985: fig. 70; by permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin).

suddenly “show herself.” Accessing, and moving through, this cult place meant, in a way, re-enacting the “running and chasing” of Britomartis–Aphaia.

Things changed radically in the early sixth century BC. A temple was built – one of the earliest known Doric temples (Figure 1). In addition, the sanctuary was surrounded by a temenos wall; from now on, it could be accessed only by a propylon (gate), which also conformed to the Doric style. An inscription found on the site commemorates the reorganization of the cult place in the early sixth century BC (Furtwängler 1906: 2):

ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΙΤΑ ΙΑΡΕΟΣ ΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΦΑΙΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΣ  
 ΕΠΟΙΕΘΕ ΧΟ ΒΟΜΟΣ ΧΟΛΕΦΑΣ ΠΟΤΕΠΟΕΘΕ  
 ΧΟ ΘΡΙΓΚΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΠΟΕΘΕ

When Theoitēs was priest, the house for Aphaia  
 Was made (and) the altar, the ivory (effigy) was made,  
 The wall/fence (θριγκός) was built around it.

In this new setting, the goddess “showed herself” in the form of an ivory statue, which we can imagine being set up inside the temple. Thus, to see her, one had to pass through the temenos gate and access the temple, which is described as *oikos* (house) in the inscription. The new structure of the cult place was designed and controlled by men like Theoitēs, the priest in charge of the reorganization of the sanctuary, who in all likelihood belonged to the local elite. A girl or young woman, which Britomartis was before Artemis

transformed her into a goddess, would now have found it more difficult to enter the space of the divinity and engage with the divine presence associated with it.

The transformation of the sanctuary took place within a broader context of political and social change. In the sixth century BC, Aegina reached the height of her economic and naval power. Aegina was the first Greek polis to strike coins; soon other Greek cities adopted the Aeginetan standard for their own coinage. The city also participated in a commercial settlement involving several Greek city-states at Naukratis in Egypt. Furthermore, the island, which had limited agricultural resources, seems to have sent out colonists to Crete and to the land of the *Ombrikoï* (Umbria in Italy?), as Strabo (VIII 6,16) suggests, although the evidence is extremely scarce. At any rate, Aegina was one of the most advanced city-states in the sixth century BC. At the same time, the island was among the earliest centers to adopt the Doric order.

As I argue in this book, the two phenomena were interrelated. Doric architecture can be understood as an expression of a new economic, political, and social order emerging in the sixth century BC. It was not a traditional style that evolved out of primitive wooden structures, as argued in the past, but something radically new.

There were, of course, continuities from the seventh to the sixth centuries at the ritual and architectural level. The ground plan of the Temple of Aphaia can be traced back to earlier building types, and the ancient epithet Aphaia, just as the myth going with it, survived down to the time when Pausanias visited the site in the second century AD. However, it is clear that in spite of such continuities, the way ritual activities and sacred spaces were experienced by different social groups changed radically from the seventh to the sixth century BC. As a historical phenomenon, the Doric order bears the traces of this shift, including the obliteration of older layers of religious experience and social participation.

That Doric architecture was part of a radical shift is particularly evident in the colonies, where the construction of some of the earliest Doric temples went along with migration, urbanization, and land reclamation. In the colonies, we can observe how sacred architecture became part of a profound, often violent, reorganization of the entire landscape. Therefore, colonial sites that have yielded evidence of early Doric temples, such as Poseidonia, Metapontum, Syracuse, and Selinous, will figure prominently in this book. Still, this is not a book about Western Greek architecture. As I attempt to show, many phenomena typical of colonial sites are also attested in homeland Greece. In fact, homeland Greece was part of the colonizing culture that gave rise to the foundation of new settlements in the

West. At the same time, forms of “internal colonization” characterized many regions of homeland Greece during the sixth century BC. From this perspective, looking closely at colonial sites and their temples helps us better understand the spread of the Doric order – not only in the colonies but also in the motherland.

Admittedly, from a traditional viewpoint based on the (modern and ideologically biased) distinction between metropolis and colony, it might seem odd that a book on Doric temples focusses to such an extent on colonial sites while devoting relatively little space to sites such as Olympia and Corinth that often have been at the center of the debate on the emergence of the Doric order. Yet, what might appear to be a lack of balance is actually central to the project of this book, i.e., to explore how migration, urbanization, and land reclamation changed the experience of sacred landscapes and sanctuaries in the period in which the Doric order spread across Central and Western Greece.

Doubtlessly, homeland sites such as Kalapodi, Corinth, Olympia, Athens, and Delphi provide important insights into the development of the Doric order. However, while these sites have attracted much attention, the colonies have not featured prominently in the debate on the origins and diffusion of the Doric order. As this book argues, it is precisely the innovative, even disruptive, aspects of Doric architecture, as they emerge particularly in colonial sites, that are suited to broaden our understanding of the emergence of the Doric order as a historical phenomenon.

Given the broad historical perspective this book takes, I owe gratitude to all those who have provided feedback and criticism, especially on aspects that were less familiar to me. In particular, I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers from Cambridge University Press, who contributed enormously to improving the manuscript. I am also grateful to Luigi Vecchio and Julien Zurbach, who helped with the historical parts of the book. Paul Carter offered invaluable support during the writing process and commented on various stages of the draft. Clelia Mazza and Giuseppe Scarpati helped with obtaining permissions for the illustrations. To Raffaele Martinelli, I owe gratitude for drawing some of the maps and reconstructions.

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## PREFACE

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## NOTES

- 1 Trans. W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod, 1918 (ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρήτες – τούτοις γὰρ ἔστι τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆν ἐπιχώρια – Καρμάνορος τοῦ κατήρανος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὐβουλον εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι: χαίρειν δὲ αὐτῆν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι: Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ' ἰχθύων θήρα. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις, σέβουσι δὲ οὐ Κρήτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰγινήται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαι σφισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ οἱ παρὰ τε Αἰγινήταις ἔστιν Ἀφαία καὶ Δίκτυνα ἐν Κρήτῃ.)