Yannos Kourayos – Kornelia Daifa – Aenne Ohnesorg – Katarina Papajanni

The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades. Excavations 2001–2012

aus / from

Archäologischer Anzeiger

Ausgabe / Issue **2 • 2012**
Seite / Page **93–174**
https://publications.dainst.org/journals/aa/123/4812 • urn:nbn:de:0048-journals.aa-2012-2-p93-174-v4812.0

Verantwortliche Redaktion / Publishing editor
Redaktion der Zentrale | Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Weitere Informationen unter / For further information see **https://publications.dainst.org/journals/aa**
ISSN der Online-Ausgabe / ISSN of the online edition **2510-4713**
Verlag / Publisher **Hirmer Verlag GmbH, München**

Yannos Kourayos – Kornelia Daifa – Aenne Ohnesorg – Katarina Papajanni

The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades

Excavations 2001–2012

Introduction

At the center of the Cyclades lies a small cluster of islands that includes Paros, Antiparos, and the uninhabited islands of Despotiko, Tsimintiri and Strongylo, all forming a minor archipelago dominated by Paros and Siphnos (fig. 1)[1]. It lies in a good strategic position, right on the commercial sea routes linking mainland Greece with the eastern Mediterranean, Egypt and Sicily. As well as Paros[2] also Despotiko has recently attracted greater archaeological interest, since a sanctuary, previously unknown to modern scholars, was found there, that flourished during the Archaic and Classical periods (7th–5th cent. B.C.). The Archaeological site is located on a peninsula, at the most direct point of contact across the straits to Antiparos (fig. 2). It took its name Mandra (μάντρα) from a modern animal pen which occupied it, and was displaced in 2002 (fig. 3)[3].

The island measures 7.65 square kilometers and has a terrain dominated by rocky mountains, steep coastlines and few accessible beaches[4]. The east coast of Despotiko together with the southwest coast of Antiparos and the islet of Tsimintiri form the enclosure of a bay, which offers protection from the prevailing northerly winds. The shallow channels between Tsimintiri and Despotiko and likely Antiparos must have been above water in antiquity forming a low isthmus connecting these two or three islands. The marble inscription naming »Hestias Isthmias« on the Classical ›altar‹ of Hestia found in 2003 in the sanctuary, suggests that the ancient name of the site could have been Isthmia. Tsimintiri got its name from the presence of Early Cycladic graves on its west coast (κοιμητήρι in Greek, a graveyard or cemetery), which were mentioned in the 19th cent. by the English traveller Theodore Bent[5]. Here also foundations of walls were traced and Building A was partly excavated in 2011.

On the other uninhabited island, Strongylo, which lies to the west of Despotiko and to the east of Siphnos, the remains of a post-Byzantine structure immediately at the eastern rocky shore have been found, which is partly built from ancient architectural members. Pieces of two unfluted columns probably come from Building A of the Despotiko sanctuary, see infra.

Despotiko has been identified as ancient Prepesinthus, following the lists of Cycladic islands recorded by Strabo and Pliny[6]. Aside from these geographical lists, there is no textual description of the island or mention of any settlement or historic event in antiquity. In early modern times the island's name was Sigilo, as recorded by European travellers and maps of the 15th, 16th and 17th cent.[7]. During this period, Despotiko, like all other Cycladic islands, suffered pirate attacks. In 1675 the island's only settlement, most likely at the site of the sanctuary, was entirely destroyed by French pirates[8]. In 1756 Despotiko was sold to Tzortzis Bao of Mykonos and Petros Mavrogenis of Paros. It is

1 Bursian 1862–1872, 482.

2 For selective presentation of the Parian history and archaeology with extended bibliography see Rubensohn 1949; Philippson 1959, 118; Skilardi 1981; Zapheiropoulou 1997; Kourayos 2004c; Zapheiropoulou 2005; Ohnesorg 2005; Kourayos 2008b; Aliprantes 2010; Kourayos 2011.

3 Photos of the ›Mandra‹: Kourayos 2004a, 59 f. figs. 3. 4; Kourayos 2005b, 41 fig. 3; Kourayos 2009, 29. 39. 42–46.

4 For an outline of Despotiko's geomorphology and geology see Draganits 2009.

5 Bent 1885, 194. – The graves were eventually excavated by Kourayos, only to be found to have been looted: Kourayos – Detoratou 1999, 819 f. with fig. 72; Kourayos et al. 2003.

6 Smith 1854, »Prepesinthus«, where reference to ancient literary sources for the name of the island is given: from Strabo in Geographika (Str G 485) and Plinius in Historia Naturalis (Plin. HN IV 66).

7 Ragousi – Kontogiorgou 2000.

8 In 1675, Daniel, the notorious 17th century French pirate, knight of the Order of Malta, faced Turkish ships in a naval battle off Despotiko, which he used as a hide-out. Defeated Daniel set his ship on fire and disembarked on Despotiko, with his crew, promising the locals a lot of money if they saved him. Instead of helping him, they turned him over to the Turks. When this became known to other pirates, like Orange, Honorat and Hugo de Crevellier, they attacked the sole settlement of Despotiko, sacked it and massacred the locals.

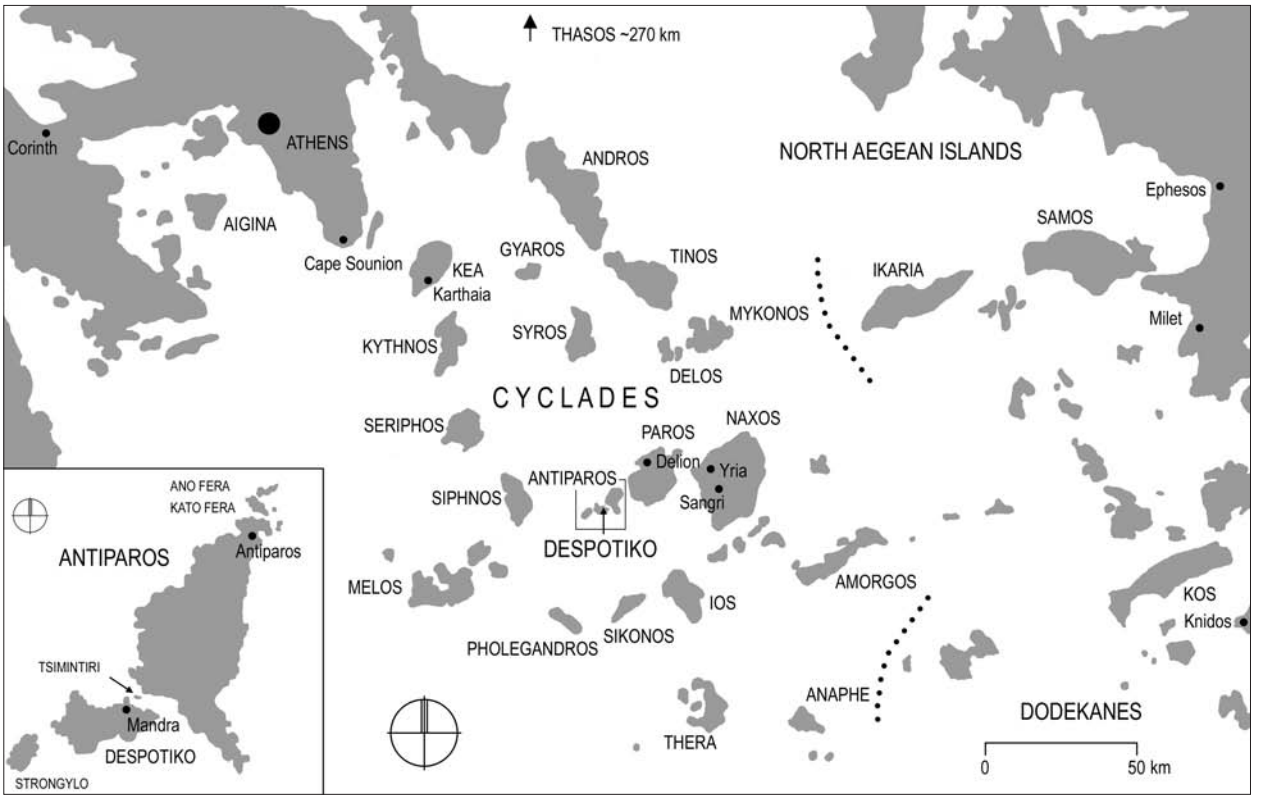


Fig. 1 Map of the Aegean Islands (scale 1 : 2 500 000)

Fig. 2 The Sanctuary of Despotiko from West (in the background Antiparos), aerial view

Fig. 3 Despotiko, the site Mandra. Building A, porches with later walls, from south

an oral tradition that the modern name of the island (Despotiko) was given the Greek title of these lords, Δέσποτες. Today the island is home only to a shepherd and his goats.

Despotiko was archaeologically first explored by the above-mentioned Theodore Bent[9]. In the late 19th cent. Christos Tsountas excavated Early Cycladic cemeteries at Zoumbaria and Livadi[10].

In order to prevent illegal activities, a rescue excavation was carried out at Zoumbaria in 1959 by Nikos Zapheiropoulos, which revealed twenty more Early Cycladic tombs[11]. That year Zapheiropoulos also conducted a brief

9 Bent 1885, 200: The English traveller claimed that he conducted a brief excavation at the northeast part of the island. He wrote: »… I excavated the foundations of a temple …«, but with no other details on the site and results of this investigation. He continued: »On Despotiko live two brothers, Andronico and Stefano; they have a mandra, or hut, where they look after their flocks. They are the sole occupants of this island and the only other building besides their hut is a little Byzantine church, the remains of a monastery which at one time was kept up by the women of Antiparos …«.

10 Tsountas 1898. For the prehistoric occupation of these islands see Renfrew 1972, 517 f.; Broodbank 2000, 222 f.

11 Zapheiropoulos 1960. – Kourayos and his team surveyed the hill of Zoumbaria some years ago and identified

excavation at the Mandra site. He uncovered various walls which he erroneously interpreted as parts of a Roman structure reusing marble blocks of the Archaic period. Inside and around the structure he found various marble architectural members, which he attributed to an Archaic Doric temple, though he was unable to identify its position. He also recovered the torso of a marble kouros now in the Paros Archaeological Museum[12].

In 1980 Gottfried Gruben, Manfred Schuller, Karl Schnieringer and Aenne Ohnesorg visited the site. The stone walls of the animal pen had been extended, using building materials recovered from the ancient structures, and the antique site had been covered by soil. They recorded several architectural pieces, which they attributed to an Archaic structure. Schuller dated the architectural members to the end of the Archaic period[13].

In 1996 Yannos Kourayos first visited the site, and in 1997 rescue excavations were initiated under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture (21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, fig. 3). Short annual campaigns of excavation continued through 2000 focusing on the area to the west of the animal pen[14]. They now completely revealed the walls of room A 2 (figs. 8. 28), and a large number of architectural members. In 2001 Kourayos initiated systematic archaeological exploration of the site that is still continuing[15], with the participation of a group of collaborators and many volunteer students[16].

Excavation has so far uncovered an extensive Archaic sanctuary that, according to pottery finds, was already established in the 8th cent. B.C.[17]. The discovery of inscribed sherds bearing graffiti with the name of Apollo in the first years of research allowed the identification of Apollo as the main divinity worshipped (fig. 39)[18]. The previously unknown sanctuary of Despotiko has thus been added to a long list of – until now – 22 Cycladic sanctuaries which were dedicated to the god of music, lyric and light[19].

The main part of the sanctuary covers an area measuring ca. 180 m (N–S) × 150 m (E–W, figs. 4. 5); it consists of a northern area of ca. 2300 m² (the so-called North Temenos, fig. 5) and a southern area of ca. 900 m² (the

traces of a settlement probably of the Early Cycladic period, with a few walls including a twenty meter long wall, see Kourayos – Burns 2005, 136; Kourayos 2009, 33.

12 Paros Archaeological Museum (marble inv. 183); another sculptural piece reportedly from Despotiko is the unfinished head of a small male figure, dated to the late 6th cent. B.C., now in the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art, see Petrocheilos 1985.

13 Schuller 1985, 340–347. 353–357; Schuller 1991, 94–99; later authors such as Kourayos, Detoratou and Aliprantis refer to these publications.

14 Kourayos – Detoratou 2000; Kourayos 2001, 104–108; Kourayos 2009, 39–41. – In 2002 the animal pen was demolished and replaced by a new one (figs. 4. 5. 68 background)

15 For the complete bibliography about the excavations of 2001–2009 see Kourayos 2009; for recent excavations see Kourayos et al. 2010; Kourayos et al. 2011a; Stavrakakis 2011; Kourayos 2012.

16 The team of the Despotiko Project includes – beside the authors – a number of scholars, whom we wish to thank for their hard work and important scientific contribution: the archaeologists Prof. Dr. Bryan Burns, Prof. Dr. Robert F. Sutton, Prof. Dr. Eleni Hasaki, Sophia Detoratou, Dr. Katerina Karakasi, Spyros Petropoulos, Thanasis Garonis, Ahina Pitta, Dr. Marina Geroulanou, Dr. Alexandra Alexandridou; the conservators George Garampalis; Giannis Staikopoulos, Vassilis Galanakos; the architects Dipl.-Ing. Miriam Knechtel (cf. n. 241), Dipl.-Ing. Martin Lambertz (cf. n. 66), cand. arch. Viola Scheumann (cf. n. 225. 257), Goulielmos Orestidis and Vassiliki Katsanou; the chemist-archaeological scientist Dr. Eleni Aloupi-Sioti; the painter Katerina Mavragani; the topographers Michalis Chalkoutsakis and Dimitris Orestidis. Special thanks to all those who have worked on the site, Greek and foreign students, citizens of Antiparos, Paros and Athens and friends of the excavation, like Eleni Aloupi and Ion Siotis, Maria Empeirikos, Panos and Santra Marinopoulos, Petros Pappas, Georgios Marianos, Pipinos Marianos, Michalis, Aliki and Magda Papageorgiou; finally thanks to Robert F. Sutton, Jim J. Coulton and Joanna Coulton who helped with the translation. Last but not least we would like to express our gratitude to the sponsors of the excavation: the National Bank of Greece, the former Ministry of Aegean, the Ioannis Latsis Foundation, the A.&P. Canellopoulos Foundation, the A.G.Leventis Foundation and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (2009–2012).

17 For a general presentation of the site see Kourayos 2009, 53–102. 123–137; Kourayos 2012, 18–39. 52–75.

18 Kourayos 2004a, 44 with fig. 51; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 172 f. with fig. 41; Kourayos 2005c, 130 f. with fig. 20; Kourayos 2009, 161–163, 166.

19 Gruben 1972a, 361–366 with n. 97 (older lit.); Gruben 2001, 376.

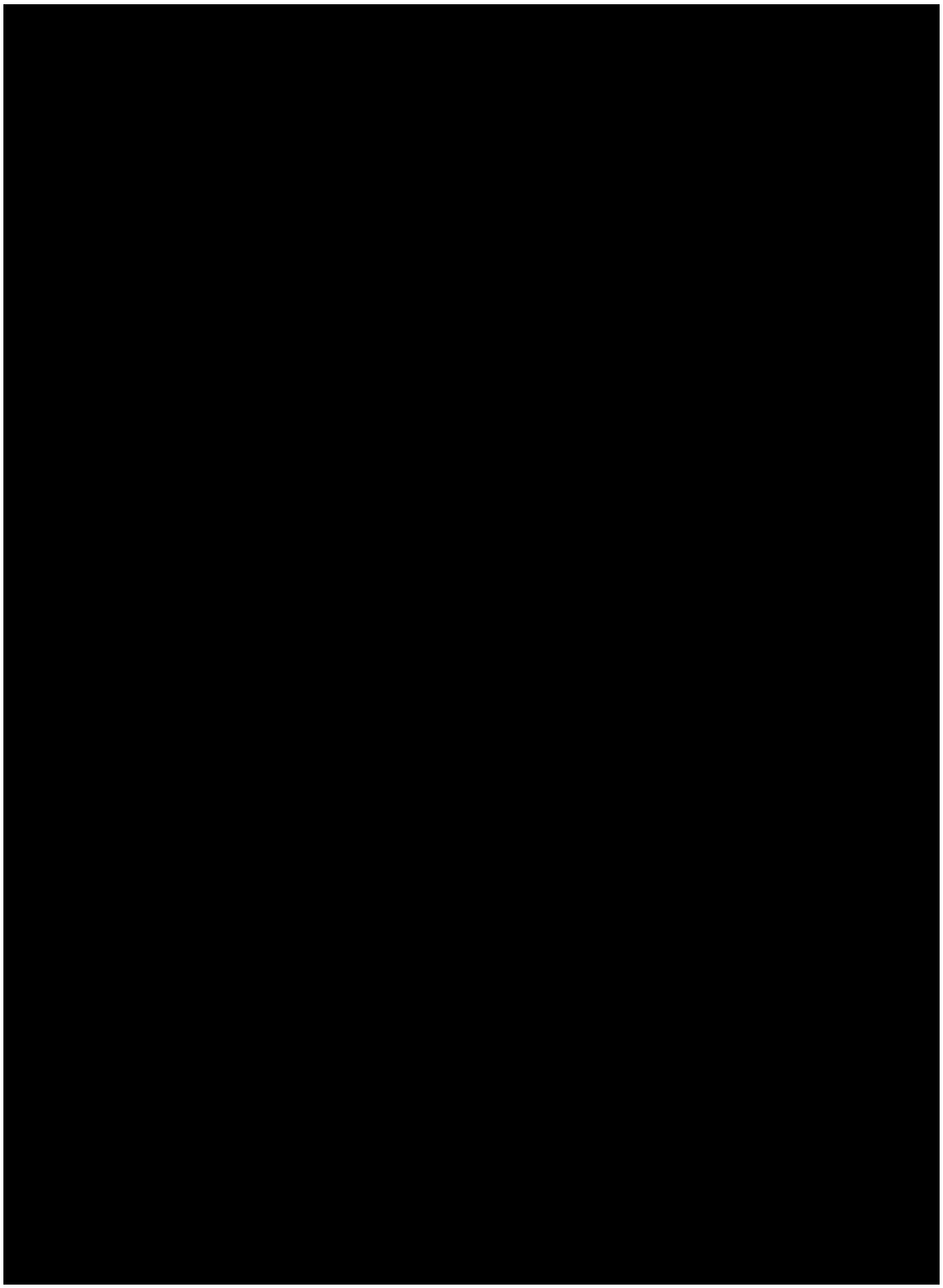
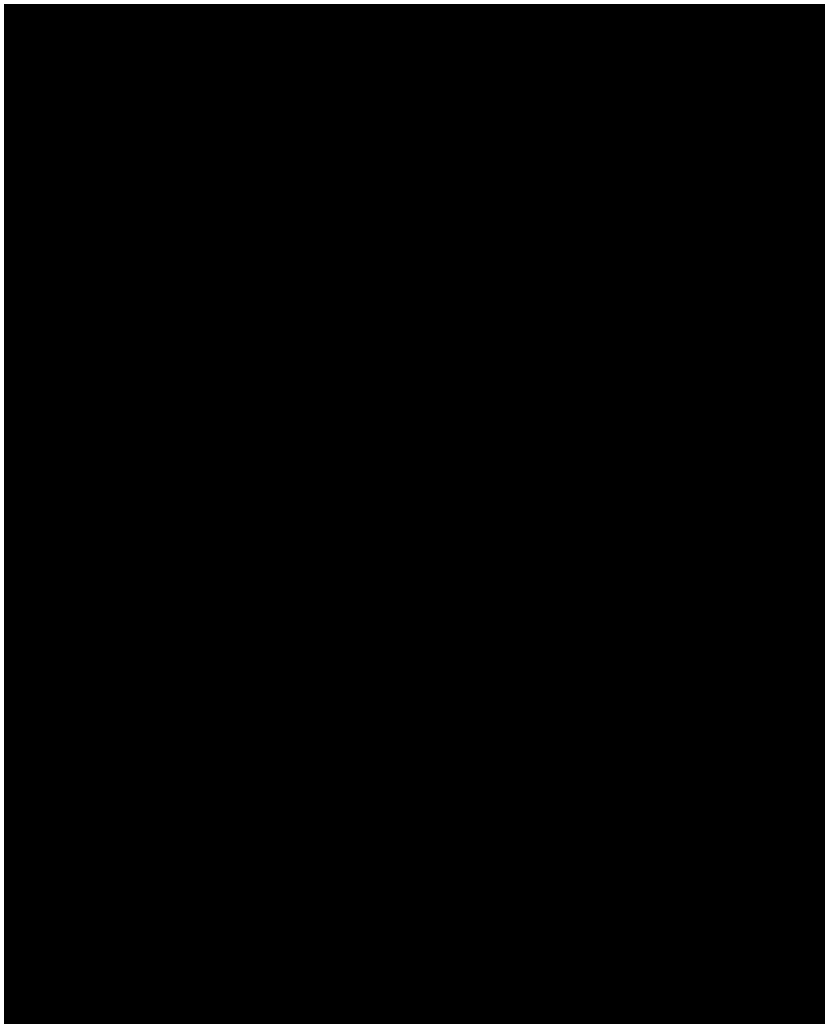


Fig. 4 Despotiko, Mandra. Site plan: North Temenos, the South Complex and the buildings outside (scale 1 : 1500)



Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 5 Schematic topographical plan of the site in the year 2004 (on the bottom, the new animal pen), scale 1 : 1000

Fig. 6 Building A from northeast

so-called South Complex, figs. 4. 62). This central part is located on a flat terrain with a commanding view towards Antiparos, Paros, Delos and Siphnos; various further buildings or auxiliary structures extend to the east coast of the peninsula. Eleven buildings so far have been identified inside and outside the central area (fig. 4).

The North Temenos, protected by a peribolos, was the center of the cult activity. It is formed by Buildings A, Δ, E and ›stoas‹, and was reached by a northern and a southern entrance (figs. 4. 5). In the very centre lies a Semicircular Structure. The North Part of Building A was named the ›temple‹ of the sanctuary[20]. The South Part of Building A may have served for banqueting, Building Δ seems to have been another temple, and Building E is an oikos of unknown purpose, perhaps cultic as well.

Only a few meters south of the North Temenos the South Complex rises, consisting of the Building units I and Θ, the last including a room tentatively identified as a cultic bath (λουτρόν)[21].

Outside the central part of the sanctuary stand Buildings Γ, Z, B, H, K, Λ, and a round ›tower‹ (fig. 4). All these buildings are situated on the path that the visitors to the sanctuary would have followed from the harbour up to the temenos.

Finds and votive offerings from across the complex indicate the vibrant complexity of religious activity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, including fragments of several Archaic kouroi[22], pottery inscribed with the name of Apollo, fine pottery of local and foreign workshops and small finds of various types[23]. Fine red-figured pottery and Attic pottery of the 5th–4th cent. B.C. as well as a Hellenistic capital (DM 121[24]) indicate the continuous use of the sanctuary through Classical and Hellenistic times.

It is not clear if worship continued at the site in Roman Imperial times or if there had already been a change in use. By Late Antiquity the site was clearly serving domestic needs. A series of structures dated to the Late Roman period were built immediately east of the South Part of the Building A, inside the peribolos of the sanctuary[25]. This building complex expanded through the centuries on top of the porch of the South Part A, room A 5 and Building unit Θ, re-using some of the Archaic walls (fig. 8)[26]. It consists of small rooms that have been built with architectural material from the Archaic Building A, and with parts of Archaic statues.

The Areas and Buildings of the Sanctuary

North Temenos, Building A

The main Building A[27] (figs. 5–8) lies at the west side of the North Temenos; it was the first that was excavated. It consists of a northern part (rooms A 1 and A 2) and a southern part (rooms A 3, A 4 and A 5), both with a porch. Careful analyses revealed at least three building phases for A, here called North Part (A) I, South Part (A) and North Part (A) II, in chronological order.

North Part A, Phase I (fig. 7 building phases: blue)

The initial phase of the construction of Building A simply consisted of the rooms A 1 and A 2 of about the same size, with a common porch to the east. It measures ca. 16.60 m (N–S) to ca. 12 m (E–W). The walls of the rooms are ca. 50 cm thick[28] and preserved to a maximum height of 1.50 m including the foundation. A continuous course of gneiss slabs (euthynteria) crowned the

20 For a preliminary discussion on the architecture of the peribolos and the cult Building A see Kourayos 2009, 69–130; Kourayos et al. 2010; Kourayos et al. 2011a and b; Kourayos et al. (forthcoming).

21 Kourayos 2006a, 150–151; Kourayos 2009, 130–135.

22 They were found during all campaigns, often built into the walls of the later structures above the sanctuary: Kourayos 2004a, 42 f.; Kourayos 2005b, 75 f.; Kourayos 2005c, 124 f.; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 161–165; Kourayos 2006a, 151–153; Kourayos 2006b, 64 f.; Kourayos 2009, 139–157; Kourayos 2012; Kourayos 2013.

23 Masouridi 2002; Kourayos et al. 2003, 37 f.; Kourayos 2004a, 31–38; Kourayos 2004d, 442–445; Kourayos 2005b, 45–62; Kourayos 2005c, 109–121; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 142–156; Kourayos 2006b, 60–63; Kourayos 2008a, 386–388; Kourayos 2009, 103–119. Kourayos (forthcoming); Kourayos et al. (in preparation).

24 The numbers in the catalogue of the architectural members bear the prefix »DM« for Despotiko Mandra.

25 Kourayos 2004a, 40. 47; Kourayos 2004d, 446; Kourayos 2005b, 64 f.; Kourayos 2005c, 127 f.; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 166 f.; Kourayos 2008a, 393; Kourayos 2009, 135–137. – ›Stoa‹ in this report will be used for a row of rooms along a common back wall.

26 Ancient building material from Despotiko was used by later inhabitants of Antiparos as well, though to date no certain (marble) blocks could be identified in the medieval castle of Antiparos. In the Paros Archaeological Museum there are a fragmentary kore, a fragmentary kouros and part of a Nike statue (cat. nos. 791, 742 and 183) that were found in Antiparos, and may have originally been from the sanctuary of Despotiko.

27 See n. 20 for a preliminary report on the architecture of Building A.

28 Rubble masonry walls with a height of ca. 3 m might seem rather unstable, but there is no evidence for mud brick walls anywhere in the whole sanctuary.

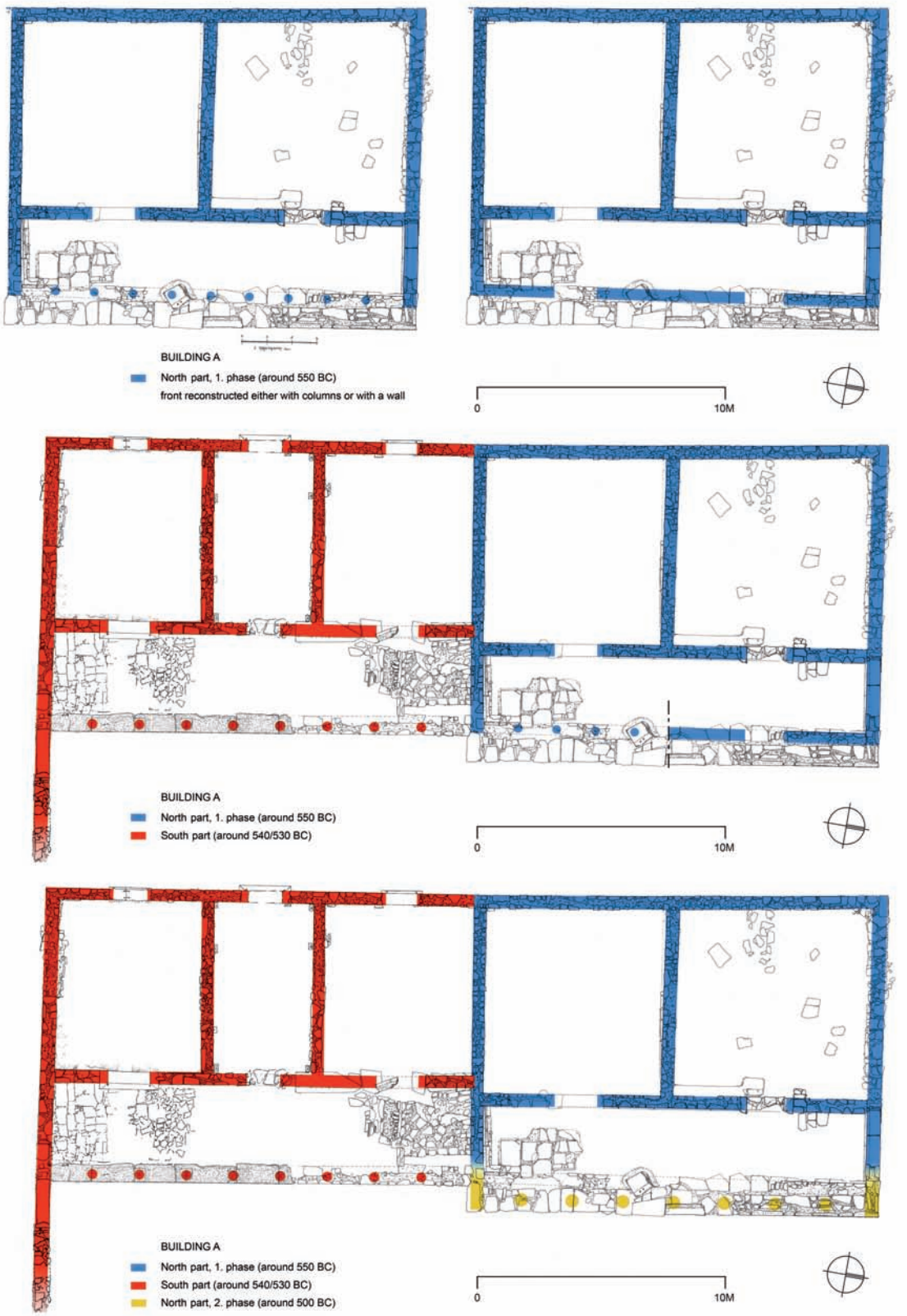


Fig. 7 Despotiko, Mandra. Building A, groundplan, with colours for phases (scale 1 : 250)
Above: two alternative reconstructions of the North Part
Middle: South and North Parts, the latter with alternative reconstructions
Below: South and North Parts, the latter with the renewed façade

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 8 Later walls on top of the South Part of Building A and southeast of it

Fig. 9 North Part A, west elevation of the southwest corner, in the background the west side of East Wall I

foundation, which is thicker[29]. The walls are constructed of gneiss slabs and rubble with a high percentage of marble[30]. The exterior face of the west wall consists exclusively of marble (fig. 9), whereas the exterior face of the south wall and the interior faces of rooms A 1 and A 2 have a high percentage of gneiss. The masonry is carefully laid, and it may have been plastered on the internal faces[31].

From the porch of the North Part, ca. 2.60 m deep, two doors provide access to rooms A 1 and A 2. Only the openings are preserved, both lying in the middle of the east walls of the rooms. There was no door from one room to the other. The inner wall faces of the porch are constructed of marble ashlar. The faces of the blocks are dressed with the pointed chisel and the drove, but not with the toothed chisel. The external faces of the side walls, also made of marble ashlar and worked using the same tools, were left with a slightly rougher finish (fig. 6).

Some slabs of the original pavement in the porch and in rooms A 1 and A 2 survived at levels identical to the levels of the preserved euthynteria[32]. The reconstruction of the missing thresholds for rooms A 1 and A 2 must respect these levels. The opening of room A 1, now ca. 2.12 m wide, was later closed

29 This set back can be observed in the porch, south of the opening for door A 1 (+14.38/14.37,5) and inside rooms A 1 (+14.38,5) and A 2 (ca. +14.40,5). – The levels for the buildings of the sanctuary were taken from a geodetic point in the northwest corner of the South Complex, at +17.135 above sea level, established by Dimitris and Goulielmos Orestidis in November 2007.

30 The building material was analysed by Erich Draganits (Draganits 2009); we follow his nomenclature.

31 We have no secure indication that the interior wall stones were plastered. But the large quantity of fragments of fine white plaster north of room A 1, lying on a heap pulled down in 2012, makes it plausible.

32 The level of the porch euthynteria is +14.83,5/14.85. The euthynteria of the east wall lies deeper, between +14.63

Fig. 10 Despotiko, Mandra. Room A 1, door opening, from east

with crude masonry to support the threshold of the second phase at a higher level (fig. 10). Two gneiss slabs in the low zone of this filling were obviously the supports for the threshold of building phase I; between them was the typical hollow under Cycladic thresholds[33]. If the threshold of the door of room A 1 is reconstructed ca. 28 cm high, it would lie 27.5 cm or less above the preserved floor of room A 1[34], and the rebate ca. 1.5 cm above the remains of the pavement of the porch[35].

In the opening of room A 2 with a maximum width of 2.50 m, the southern gneiss support of the threshold is preserved. The threshold for this door again must correspond with the pavement of the porch and with the presumed floor of the room[36]. The supposed height of the threshold was 22.5 cm or more.

The marble side walls ended at East Wall I, the western of the two parallel foundations east of the porch. A marble ›anta block‹ 47.5 cm wide, that was reused in the eastern ›kouros door‹ of the South Complex, see infra, could have belonged to the head of one course of the northern side wall (DM 135, figs. 11. 12)[37].

The three preserved courses of marble face blocks of East Wall I (fig. 27) are regularly picked and worked with the drove, but rougher than the inner wall faces of the porch; again there is no trace of the toothed chisel[38]. Their maximum height is 40 cm, their thickness 50–51 cm (fig. 11). Its toichobate consists of gneiss slabs and lies a bit deeper than the preserved floor slabs further west[39].

and +14.66,5; that means that the floor of the porch abuts its bottommost marble course. – For the floor levels of the rooms A 1 and A 2 see n. 34 and 36.

33 The level of the surfaces of the two gneiss slabs is +14.54±0,5. – The thresholds of Cycladic doors normally are supported only at their ends – to reduce the danger of breaking, especially under the weight of heavy monolithic jambs and lintels: Gruben 1997a, 403; Lambertz 2009, 1 n. 6. The monolithic marble thresholds, architraves etc. of the Despotiko sanctuary all come from the quarries of Paros, since Despotiko only provides smaller reserves of lower quality.

34 The reconstructed upper surface of the threshold then would lie at a level of ca. +14.82. Kourayos – Burns 2005, 141 give a height of »14.79« for the floor in room A 1. The levels of single gneiss slabs still lying there taken in 2010 are ≤+14.54,5; if they constitute the same floor they must have sunk considerably in the last few years.

35 The level of the rebate is ca. +14.77,5, of the pavement of the porch in this area +14.76±0,05.

36 The level of the floor of room A 2 is +14.81±0,5, of the southern gneiss slab ≥+14.59,5; the northern gneiss slab (+14.52,5) was set in place only when threshold II was reset, as photos show, cf. n. 101. The surface of the threshold thus must lie on ≥+14.82.

37 The expression »anta« in this report is used for a wall ending in a ›head‹, independent of the existence of an anta capital. – The depths of the block at the sides is only 14.5 cm and 16 cm.

38 The masonry is very similar to the masonry of the west or back wall of rooms A 1 and A 2 of the North Part I, showing that they are contemporary (fig. 19).

39 The level of these toichobate slabs is +14.67/14.63, cf. n. 32, the level of the floor slabs ca. +14.76.

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 11 North Part A, porch, from south

Fig. 12 Marble ›front block‹ (DM 135) with joining for wall faces

East Wall I could have formed the base for the stylobate of a – wooden? – colonnade for the North Part I of which nothing survived[40]. The maximum number of columns of such a colonnade is nine, whether they were Doric or Ionic. With this solution the two doors into rooms A 1 and A 2 would lie in the middle of an intercolumniation[41]. A gneiss slab with a round weathering mark (DM 127, fig. 13), which differs from the stylobate slabs of the South Part of Building A, could belong to the stylobate of this colonnade – if it is not ascribed to Building Δ, see infra. The diameter of the weathering, 38–40 cm, is too large for a wooden column of modest height, but would fit to a stone column or even better to the (stone) base of an ›Island Ionic‹ column[42]. Thus

40 This reconstruction would need two steps to span the difference between the level of the stylobate and the pavement of the porch, comparable to the solution at the prostoon of the Naxian Oikos on Delos: Vallois 1953, fig. 14; Courbin 1980, 95–102 with pl. 71; Gruben 1997a, 346 f. with figs. 3. 40.

41 The clear width between the antae of the northern part is 15.70 m. The axis for a Doric colonnade, with a lower column diameter of 40 cm, according to parallels, must have been ≥1.40 m, more probably ≥1.60 m. This value would correspond with nine columns in antis. With slimmer and taller Island Ionic columns the maximum number would be nine columns as well, but could be reduced to eight or seven. However in both of the latter solutions the two doors would no longer lie in the axes of intercolumniations, cf. n. 122.

42 With this lower diameter the height of a Doric stone column would be at least

Fig. 13 Despotiko, Mandra. Gneiss slab (DM 127) with round weathering mark

the reconstruction of an ›Island Ionic‹ colonnade at the front of the North Part I of Building A should be considered. It can be compared to the South Part, where small marble blocks formed the ›base‹ of the slightly protruding gneiss stylobate and the marble colonnade, see infra.

Alternatively, the porch might have been closed by a wall broken by either one or two doors, although no threshold supports or the hollow inbetween survived (fig. 7 above)[43].

In the eastern half of room A 3 fragments of Laconian roof tiles were found »in Late Archaic context« (DM 87. 88. 89)[44]. They might originate from the pitched – gabled or hipped? – roof of the North Part I. But it is impossible to say if the ridge of this roof lay parallel to the front or at a right angle to it, as in the second building phase (figs. 34. 79)[45].

The date of the construction of the North Part I of Building A must be linked to the archaeological finds, see infra. The artefacts found mainly in room A 1 date from Late Geometric times (8th cent. B.C.) to the early third quarter of the 6th cent. B.C. All objects were found tucked with each other, that means all placed at the same time. The deposit obviously was placed around 550 B.C., after the start of the construction of the foundation, but before the floor slabs were set in place. The only preserved floor is the one of the first building phase of room A 1. Thus the assemblage's chronology provides a terminus post quem for the building's construction.

This date fits well with the observation that the marble ashlar work was dressed only by point and drove but not by toothed chisel, since the architectural use of the toothed chisel had been introduced around the middle of the 6th cent.[46]. The finds of the North Part will be discussed in detail after the presentation of the North Part II, see infra.

2.20 m (5.5 lower diameters of 40 cm); an ›Island Ionic‹ stone column would be 2.60 m or higher, if we assume the same proportions as for the columns of the prostoon of the Naxian Oikos on Delos and of the front of the temple of Sangri on Naxos. West front of the Naxian Oikos: ca. 1 : 10, bay 2.50 m; Sangri: ca. 1 : 8,2, bay 1.98 m. – If the shafts and capitals were wooden, the columns could have been taller: For temple III of Yria on Naxos wooden columns 4 m to 4.50 m high were reconstructed, with a lower diameter of ≥60 cm for the bases (Lambrinoudakis 1996, 59 fig. 7; Gruben 1997a, 265 fig. 2 a; Gruben 2001, 377 fig. 284; Ohnesorg 2005, 136 fig. 1, with slightly varying details).

43 In this case the building would look like some of the first reconstructions of the excavators, see Kourayos 2004a, 59 fig. 3; 63 fig. 11; Kourayos 2005b, 46 fig. 6 or Kourayos 2005c, 124 fig. 15; Kourayos 2009, 85 bottom – without taking into account the South Part A.

44 In the excavation journal of 2002, R. F. Sutton gave a stratigraphic terminus ante quem of 510/480 B.C. for them.

45 A solution with a pent roof above the porch and a ridge roof above rooms A 1 and A 2 is too complicated – with a total building depth of only ca. 11.80 m.

46 The toothed chisel »doubtlessly was invented by the stonemasons of the Cyclades«: Hansen 2000, 206 with fig. 11; it was in use from the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. onwards: Wasmuth 1932, 734; Adam 1966, 19; Daux –

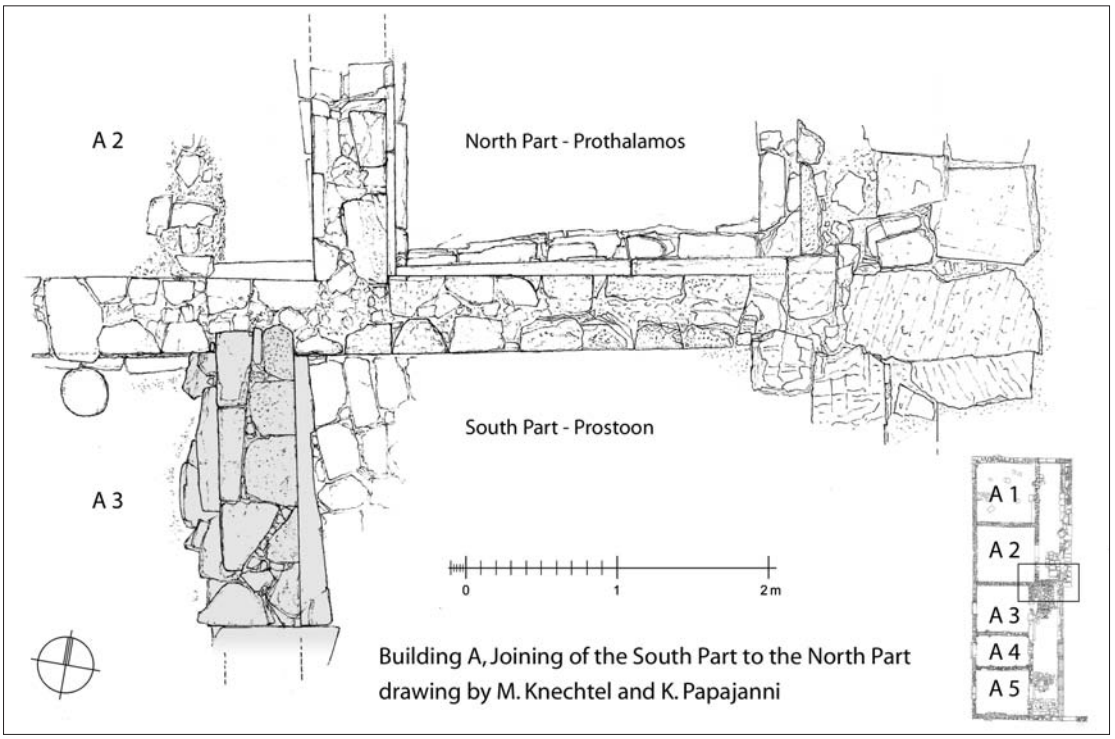


Fig. 14 Despotiko, Mandra. Joining of the South Part to the North Part A, at the door walls, groundplan (scale 1 : 50)

South Part A (fig. 7 building phases: red)

Some criteria indicate that Building A North was planned from the very beginning for an extension to the south: the use of the same material, with a high percentage of gneiss, and the modest bonding of the joints (figs. 9. 14). The walls of the South Part itself are well joined to each other, thus contemporary. The south wall of the building continues to the east as the southern temenos wall.

The South Part measures ca. 17 m (N–S) to 12 m (figs. 7. 19). The door wall of the South Part lies more to the west than the door wall of the North Part, whereas the stylobate of the South Part is approximately in the same axis as the East Wall I. The door wall is again built with two faces, an external (eastern) face of marble blocks, and an inner (western) face of usual rubble masonry; beneath them lies an euthynteria of gneiss.

The depth of the three rooms is ca. 7 m; the middle room A 4 is narrower (ca. 4 m) than the rooms A 3 and A 5 (ca. 6 m). There are doors in the east and in the west walls of each room, so that they are almost through rooms. The marble thresholds of all of the western doors are preserved, and they differ considerably from each other. Of the east doors only the threshold of room A 5 still is complete, of rooms A 4 and A 3 the supporting slabs of gneiss remained[47].

The *western threshold of room A 3* (fig. 15) has an exterior rebate with two pivot holes, which have the complete lead cast preserved[48]. The top surface is pointed and dressed by drove and shows two bolt holes. The bottom surface is rough and uneven. Gneiss ashlar covers the ends of the threshold, as at threshold A 4 W. The distance between the traces for the jambs is 1.16 m, that is the width of the opening[49]. Since there is no trace of a toothed chisel having been used, the threshold could have been manufactured around 550 B.C.[50].

From the *eastern door of room A 3* only two gneiss slabs at the two sides of the opening are preserved. They allow the calculation of the width and height

Hansen 1987, 223 n. 1 (»oldest traces ca. 560 B.C.«); Martin – Ginouvès 1985, 72; Lambrinoudakis – Gruben 1987, 606; Lambrinoudakis – Gruben 1990, 168; Ohnesorg 1993, 66 n. 674; Gruben 1997a, 338 before n. 204 and n. 206 (reference to the »probably Parian« sphinx head in Munich); Ohnesorg 2007, 128 n. 824, with further literature; Ratté 2011, 48 (introduction in sculpture exactly at the same time as in architecture, 560–550 B.C.).

47 See supra n. 33.

48 Kourayos 2005c, 122; there they are called door sockets.

49 The gneiss ashlar on the ends of and next to the threshold is the same along the entire west wall of the South Part A. Thus it is improbable that the door opening was walled up later on.

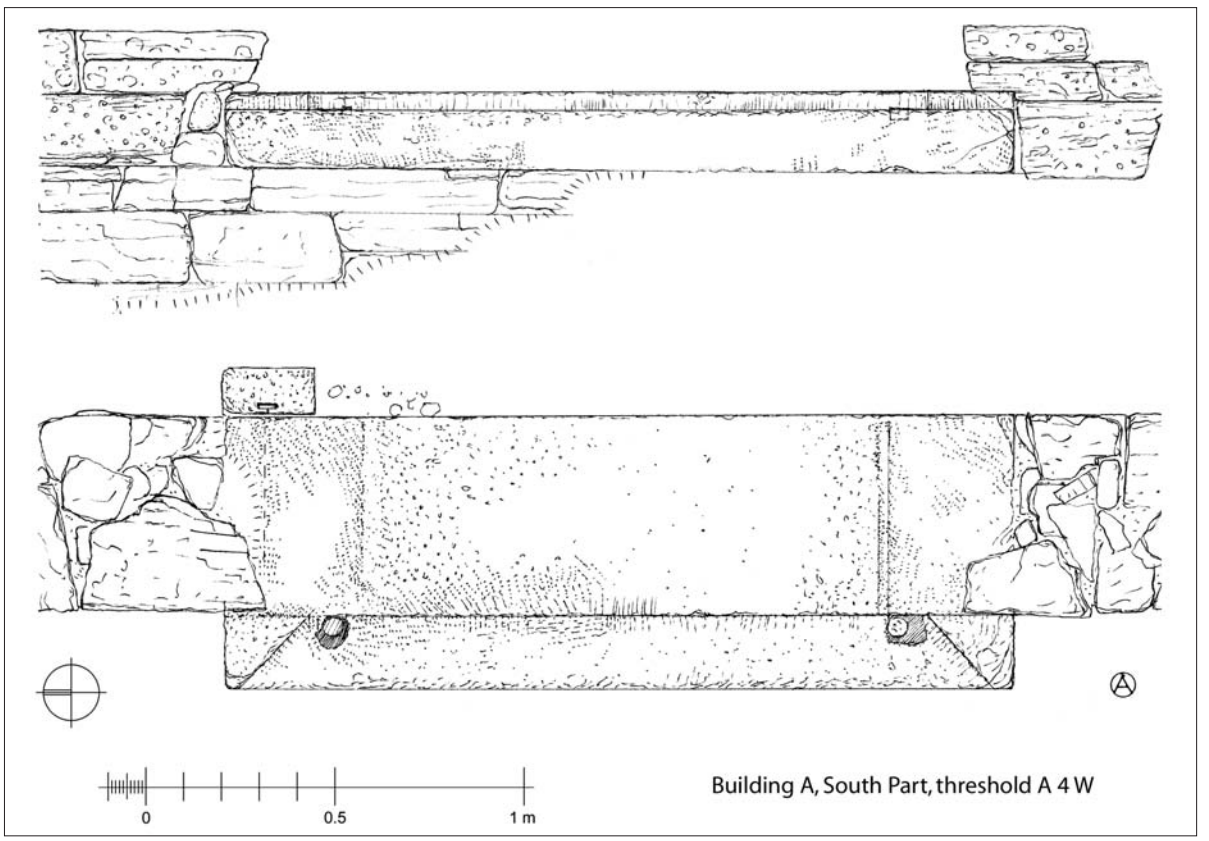
50 The threshold was perhaps made for the North Part – and re-used in the South Part of Building A. – Kourayos – Burns 2005, 160. 169 considered that the western thresholds of rooms A 3 and A 4 were altered at a later date. Perhaps the western threshold of room A 3 was originally longer.

15

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 15 Threshold A 3 W, from west

Fig. 16 Threshold A 4 W (scale 1 : 20)



16

of the lost threshold, ≤2.54 m and 29 cm. The nearby fragment of a marble threshold fits this height. Its surface has been carefully dressed, in parts using a toothed chisel[51].

The *western threshold of room A 4* is also partly dressed using a toothed chisel (fig. 16). Its rebate at the exterior ends diagonally. There are pivot holes, but no bolt holes. The distance between the traces of the door jambs gives the width of the door, 1.35 to 1.39 m.

The *eastern threshold of room A 4* is missing, but the supports of gneiss are well preserved (fig. 19) and show the maximum length of the threshold (2.54 m) and its probable height, 26 cm. The width of the door was ≤2 m.

51 The fragment shows the remains of the southern or left pivot hole in the rebate, and the border of the bedding for the door jamb. – For the toothed chisel cf. n. 46.

17

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 17 Threshold A 5 W (scale 1 : 20)

Fig. 18 Threshold A 5 E, from northeast

18

The *western threshold of room A 5* is broken, and was repaired already in antiquity with two iron clamps in dove tail beddings (fig. 17). Therefore this threshold is supported along its entire length. The rebate has diagonal endings and pivot holes at the exterior. The original width between the door jambs is 1.17 m to 1.25 m. This threshold originally was a one-face wall block, therefore the surface is rough. The entire construction is unusual.

The *eastern threshold of room A 5* is complete and carefully dressed, partly using a toothed chisel (fig. 18). The exterior rebate again has diagonal endings and pivot holes. The clear beddings for the door jambs show the width of the opening, 1.74 m. The surface lies at the same level as the top of the first wall course and therefore was erected at the same time.

It is surprising that all doors open to the exterior of the rooms, the eastern doors into the porch, the western doors to the area outside the temenos[52]. The doors show further pecularities: they are set forward of the wall line, and at least three of them only open through 135°, because of the diagonal endings of their rebates[53]. The western doors especially must have been protected against weathering, at the very least by door geisa, or by a porch in a lightweight construction that left no traces. Furthermore, all preserved thresholds show the well known phenomenon that the right part of them is more worn, since the left wings were fixed[54]. All had beddings for door jambs that also were monolithic; the lintels anyway were monolithic. This type of door was monumentalised in Archaic ›Island Ionic‹ architecture that rose contemporarily – and maybe influenced the builders of Despotiko[55].

In rooms A 3 to A 5 remains of the floors are preserved, consisting of »small stones set into a plaster matrix« (figs. 2. 15)[56]. In all three rooms small supports along the walls exist (fig. 19). The preserved three poros blocks in room A 3 can be completed to 14 or 16 supports, the 10 marble blocks with tiny dowel holes in the narrower room A 4 to 14 supports, and the 9 blocks in room A 5 to 16 supports[57]. Their axial spacings of 1.60 to 1.69 m seem to fit for klinai, but the mere 1.35 m in room A 5 is too short[58]. What is more, the two doors in each of the rooms – and their symmetric position – make fixed klinai improbable. The small blocks could have supported some regular system of panelling or shelving, obviously from wood, that respected the doors. This hypothesis is supported by small holes at the bottom of the walls inbetween the supports (ca. 10 cm × 15 cm × ≥10 cm)[59]. It cannot be excluded that wooden klinai were set in front of that wall construction in a somewhat free arrangement.

In the porch, in particular at its north and south ends, there are relics of two or even three pavements of gneiss slabs. The top one is dated to the Roman period by bronze coins[60]. Obviously the middle one is an Archaic floor and covered the bothros, see infra, whereas the older bottom pavement respected it.

52 The examples of doors opening to the exterior are rare: one is the propylon of the Athenian Olympieion (Travlos 1971, 410; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, drawing 68. 69, both without details), others some buildings on Delos (Roux 1981, 47–49 with fig. 6 [Early Hellenistic temple A in the Dioskourion] and n. 12 [other examples]; Karvonis – Malmary 2009, esp. 209–218 with figs. 14–23; information kindly provided by Manolis Korres); cf. Korres 1994b, 41–60 with fig. 20. – It is open to question whether the pivot holes were intended for trellised doors, but six or even eight such doors would be strange.

53 The same solution can be found at the threshold of the temple of Hera on Delos: Plassart 1928, 204 and pl. 4; the door opens to the interior of the temple.

54 Gruben 1997a, 323.

55 Gruben – Koenigs 1970, 144–149; Gruben 1972a, 323 f.; Gruben 1972b, 15 f.; Büsing-Kolbe 1978; cf. the foundations of the thresholds of ›Island Ionic‹ doors, supra with n. 33. – The Heraion of Delos, most relative to the Despotiko buildings with ›Island Doric‹ order, also had monolithic door jambs: the ›pillar‹ which stands upright on the western end of the temple is in fact an anta block as Gruben and Lambertz found out during a visit in 1997 (Yria diary 15./16.8.1997); the eastern ›pillar‹ is broken on top, thus most probably was monolithic. In this respect Plassart 1928, 204 and Schuller 1991, 97 have to be corrected.

56 Kourayos – Burns 2005, 160. – The floors of the rooms A 4 and A 5 were conserved and completed by G. Karampalis and his collaborators in 2005.

57 Kourayos et al. 2011b, 51 with fig. 7; the biggest of the three poros supports in room A 3 measures 41 cm × 15 cm × 17 cm; the average size of the marble blocks in room A 4 is 30 cm × 14 cm, maximum height 22 cm; the poros blocks in room A 5 measures ≤30 cm × ≤15 cm, height unknown. – Poros scientifically is »Kalksandstein« in German and calcarenite in English. The small marble blocks come from Despotiko, and are reused; this is indicated by the surface which is worked all over, resembling the small face blocks that originally were used either in the West and East Walls of Building A North or the walls of Building Δ.

58 A general overview on klinai and banqueting for example in Goldstein 1978 (356: couch dimensions); Börker 1983 (13: couch dimensions); Bergquist 1990; Bookidis 1993 (pl. 131 sizes of klinai); Sinn 2005b; Leypold 2008, 152–156.

59 Examples for panelling and shelves: Siphnian treasury (Daux – Hansen 1987, 146 with n. 11; Gruben 1997a, 401 n. 381); Delos, Hexagon building (Gruben 1997a, 319. 400 f. with n. 318 and fig. 67 – combined with wooden klinai); Delos, temple of Apollon and maybe Samos, temple of Hera (Gruben 1997a, 401 n. 318 with older lit.); Pergamon, Sanctuary of Athena: holes in the walls for shelves in the »library« (Bohn 1885, 57. 67 f. pl. 33); Hellenistic Stoa of Attalos, Delphi (Roux 1987, 72 f.).

60 Kourayos – Burns 2005, 159.

Fig. 19 Despotiko, Mandra. South Part A, rooms A 3 to A 5: preserved and reconstructed supports; plan (scale 1 : 100)

The porch is enclosed to the east by the gneiss *stylobate* for a marble colonnade that formed the front of the South Part of Building A (fig. 20). The gneiss slabs – up to 2.40 m long – lie on a low ›base‹, the east side of which is made of small marble blocks, which itself rests on a gneiss euthynteria; its west (inner) side is made of mixed and rougher material. The contrast between the white marble ›base‹, the grey stylobate and above it the white colonnade was presumely intentional[61].

In the roughly worked surface of the gneiss stylobate, quadrangular beddings and circular seatings for the columns are recessed[62]. Compass holes in their centres with an axial spacing of 1.88 m±0.2 cm make it possible to reconstruct a number of 8 columns, cf. infra. At the edges of the seatings in some places small bronze sheets exist, probably to adjust the columns[63].

61 Comparable contrasts already in the Archaic Heraion of Samos: Kienast 2004, 72 f.; for coloured stones in later periods see Shoe 1949 and Townsend 1981.

62 The beddings are ~50 cm long, the raised circular platforms have a diameter of 40 cm.

63 A good photo of those small bronze sheets in Kourayos 2009, 97.

Fig. 20 Despotiko, Mandra. South Part A, gneiss stylobate, from northeast

To date only two fragmentary *column drums* have been identified, the taper of which is not preserved (DM 53 and DM 122 with the rest of a dowel hole). But the lower and upper column diameters are known from the stylobate and the capitals, ca. 40 cm and 30 cm.

Here the two fragmentary *column shafts* that lie on the neighbouring island of *Strongylo*, see supra, can help (fig. 21)[64]. They obviously are two upper shafts, one broken into three (DM 106 and DM 105. 107. 108). Both were shortened at the top, DM 106 originally was ca. 1.10 m high; the other shaft which was shortened at the bottom as well, was ca. 1.85 m high[65]. The columns certainly bore no flutes. In spite of the heavy weathering it is possible to measure the taper, ca. 3.5 %. The preserved upper diameter of both shafts is >27 cm. Presuming that ca. 1.5 cm of the surface is lost[66], the original upper diameter could have been 30 cm, as at the capitals. The latter have no dowel holes in their bottom surfaces so the missing tops of the two Strongylo shafts should be reconstructed without dowel holes, if they are attributed. Shaft DM 106 has a dowel hole in its original bottom surface like DM 122 from the sanctuary[67]. Thus it becomes clear that all columns are composed of shaft pieces of different heights, connected by dowels; but they have no dowels at their tops and bottoms.

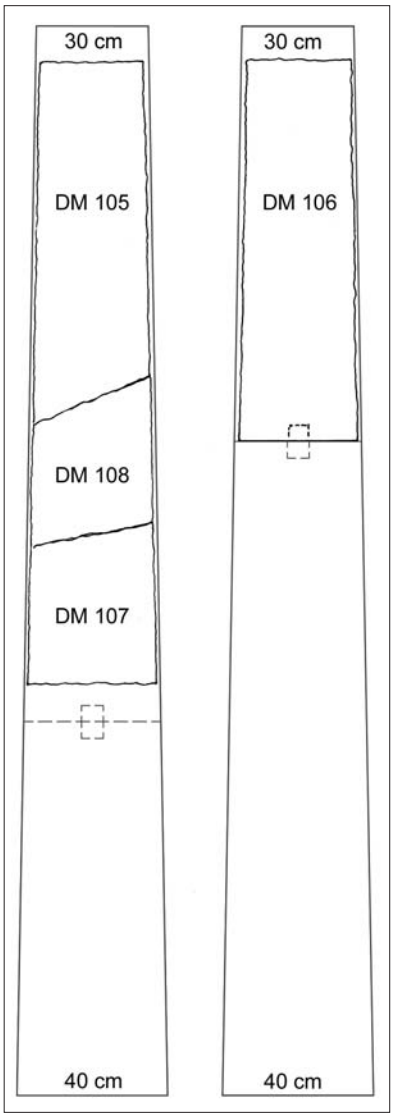
If the attribution of the Strongylo shafts is accepted, the complete height for the columns of the South Part of Building A can be calculated: with the well known lower and upper diameters and a taper of 3.5 % it would have

64 The relics were studied in 2010; for the situation see Kourayos – Detoratou 1999, 819 f. with fig. 73; Kourayos 2004c, 71 with photo; Kourayos 2009, 26 f. with photos or Kourayos et al. 2010, 54 fig. 11.

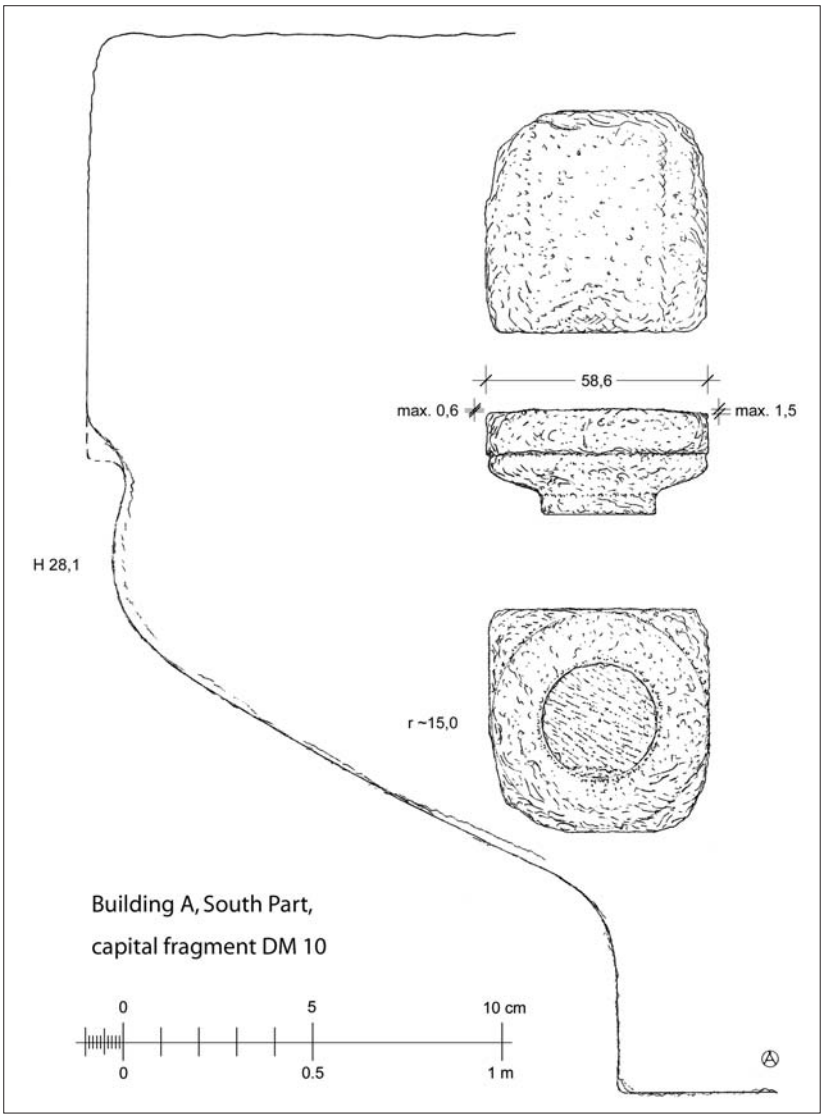
65 The columns obviously were shortened for their second use in the ruin. It is difficult to understand the plan of this building since a part of it crashed into the sea – including the columns which today lie in pieces on the rocks whereas still photos of 2008 show the taller shaft (still in one piece!) on a higher level near the ruin. This ruin could have been a church – its orientation is an evidence for this hypothesis; maybe it was the church of Ag. Georgios recorded by local tradition. The two column shafts, together with at least one further piece to bring them to the same height, might have constituted the ›frame‹ of the ikonostasis.

66 Such strong weathering is possible thanks to the aggressive salty air – and water – of the Mediterranean sea even within a rather short space of time. – For example at the monumental door of the temple of Apollon at »Palatia« of Naxos the weathering is up to 2 cm according to Martin Lambertz, who generally helped the authors with critics and useful suggestions.

67 The sizes are a bit different: diameter and depth of the dowel hole of DM 106 are 4.3 cm, the same of DM 122 are 7 cm.



21



22

Fig. 21 Strongylo, reconstructed column shafts (scale 1 : 20)

Fig. 22 Despotiko, Mandra. South Part A, capital DM 10 (scale 1 : 2 and 1 : 20)

been ca. 2.85 m. That is a height of 7.1 lower diameters, a plausible figure for this region and period[68].

Five *capitals* have been found built into later walls (DM 9 – DM 13). They differ in the state of preservation of their surfaces[69], and offer important details (fig. 22): The smooth bottom surfaces are worked with the toothed chisel and without dowel hole. The top surfaces, rather weathered, have steps (scamilli) at two sides of a middle ›stripe‹ 35 cm wide, that lie 1.5 cm deeper. Traces of the pointed chisel can be observed on all parts of the surface.

68 Schuller 1985, 395–397 with fig. 54; Schuller 1991, 41–44 with fig. 14. – The only complete column of the period of the South Part A, 540/530 B.C., see infra, belongs to the »Krene Minoia« on Delos, with a height of 6,2 lower diameters: Courby 1912, 103–119 with fig. 141; Vallois 1966, 104 (»5.58 lower diameters«, obviously without the socle of 19 cm or 29 cm height); Bruneau – Ducat 2005, 196 no. 30; cf. n. 91. – The columns of the Heraion of Delos, which have a height of ca. 8 lower diameters, are about a quarter of a century younger: Plassart 1928, 190–194; Schuller 1985, 342; Schuller 1991, 97; Bruneau – Ducat 2005, 281 note that the anastilosis of the shafts is wrong.

69 It attracts attention that always one half of the capitals is more weathered than the other, cf. fig. 22.

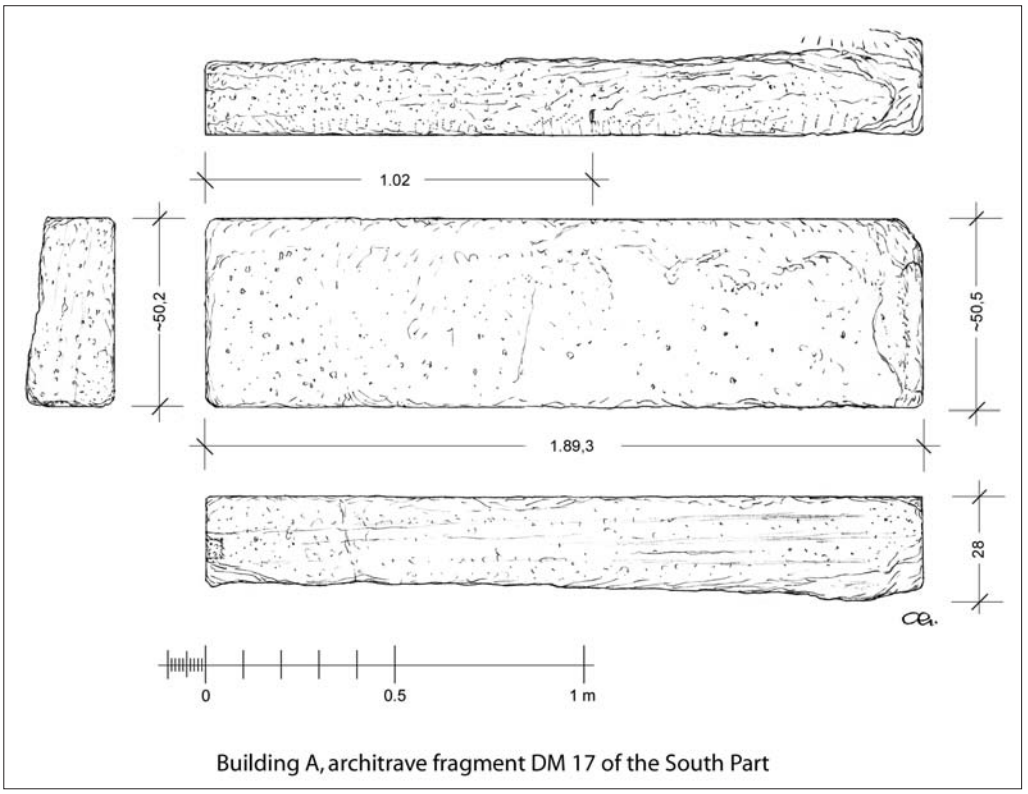


Fig. 23 Despotiko, Mandra. South Part A, architrave DM 17 (scale 1 : 20)

The abacus is as a simple quadrangular slab of 59 cm width and 12 to 12.5 cm height, the Doric echinus shows a projecting profile[70] and the slim column neck has no annuli and flutes (complete height 29 cm). The echinus and the column neck of the capitals are the best dating criteria for the colonnade – as well as for the entire building, see infra.

Research has so far revealed four complete *architraves* and one fragmentary piece that also were built into later walls[71]. They are simple long beams ca. 50.5 cm high, with even, but strongly weathered fronts, uneven rears, and smooth sides and top surfaces, the latter with pry holes (fig. 23). The bottom surfaces are smoothened between 18 and 22 cm from the ends, using a toothed chisel. Here the beams were protected by the capitals – proof of their original position. In between, the surface is corroded. The length of the beams, 1.89 and 1.90 m, corresponds with the axes of the stylobate (ca. 1.88 m) – a further argument for their interpretation as architraves.

The maximum depth, 29–30 cm at the ends[72], is less than the ›stripe‹ of 35 cm on top of the capitals.

If the architrave lay on this ›stripe‹, some centimetres of its original material must have been lost. But also if it lay in right angle to the scamilli, a considerable percentage of the original marble has ›disappeared‹[73].

70 The echinus clearly has a Doric profile which has only a convex curve, and then runs straight into the column neck, whereas the Island Ionic ›leaf capital‹ as known from the temple of Sangri has a slight reverse curve above the lower joint face, compare n. 80. Because of their similarity the Sangri capitals first were called Doric: Ohnesorg 2005, 138 n. 11.

71 DM 17. 18. 27. 28. 45 and 159 a. b.

72 The original depth of 30 cm is also proven by the pry holes at the bottom edges, for example at the left side of architrave DM 17; the axis of this pry hole lies in 15 cm distance from the front.

73 At the top of capital DM 10 a part of the surface which according to our hypothesis was not covered by the architrave is surprisingly little weathered. – Top surfaces of Doric capitals are rarely preserved or visible (or published); at two Parian capitals the architrave is smaller than the distance between the – narrow –

Similar, but not so heavy is the reduction of the marble always at one side of the capitals[74]. Has the colonnade suffered from the heat of a fire, or does that way of destruction originate from the weather[75]? This influence would explain the uneven rears of the architrave beams that otherwise must have been filled with rubble and/or small blocks to form an orthogonal cross section above the capitals (fig. 25).

The pry holes on the top surfaces of these architraves indicate a next course[76]. It is the intermediary course (»Zwischenschicht«[77]) of the ›Island Doric‹ order reconstructed for the Heraion of Delos and preserved at the North Part II of Building A, see infra. But for the South Part of Building A no fragment of this course was identified. Since the architraves have no regulae, this course must not represent the taenia and be rectangular at the front; it could also have been moulded. There are arguments for the latter, as follows.

Of the *frieze* again no remains survived. In the regular ›Island Doric‹ order it was a Doric frieze[78], and so it was at the North Part II of Building A, where complete triglyphs and metopes are preserved. As for the (earlier) South Part a small fragment of an ovolo might throw new light on the reconstruction.

This fragment of a smooth *Ionic ovolo* (DM 167)[79] is 12 cm high, has the typical ›Island Ionic‹ ovolo moulding[80], and at the bottom preserves a small piece of a vertical face worked in one piece with it (fig. 24); it therefore crowned a slab or a beam or block. It could have been part of the entablature, or of the porch's ceiling[81], or of the anta capital or tympanon if they existed, or even of an epikranitis in the interior. The first possibility is the most likely[82]: that ovolo could have crowned the frieze. Consequently, the ›taenia course‹ under the frieze should be reconstructed with an ovolo as well, and the frieze not Doric, but ›Island Ionic‹[83]. The whole entablature would then represent a new variant of the ›Island Doric‹ order (figs. 25. 33. 34. 79), which resembles even more the ›Island Ionic‹ order, best represented by the temple of Sangri on Naxos[84].

scamilli, testified by weathering lines: Schuller 1985, 334–339; at the temple of Aphaia in Aigina the architrave lay, according to an incised line and a pry hole, at a right angle to the scamillus stripes on the abacus: Bankel 1993, 10 with fig. 3.

74 Cf. n. 69.

75 Erich Draganits, the Geologist working on Despotiko for years – see n. 30 – believes that the way of destruction more likely originates from rain together with the salty air of the sea than from heat; in the first case the decay must have happened after the colonnade had fallen, since it occurs mainly at the rear.

76 Their distances differ from a minimum of 34 cm (DM 18, the only architrave beam with two pry holes) to a maximum of 1.48 m (DM 45), the greatest distance from a pry hole to the edge. – Not every piece of this next course must have been moved by a pry-bar.

77 Plassart 1928, 196 f. (with pl. 5) describes the »contre-epistyle« and states that the separate taenia is made after the model of the »Basilika« in Paestum and other tempels in Western Greece (see Mertens 2006, passim, with older lit.) – but their dimensions are much bigger; »Zwischenschicht«: Schuller 1985, 346 with n. 47. 48; 393; Schuller 1991, 97 with n. 9 and fig. 43 (compares it with the cymatium under the frieze of the ›Island Ionic‹ temple of Sangri).

78 Schuller 1985, 390–394; Schuller 1991, 97–100.

79 The fragment was found in 2011, in the porch of the North Part of Building A.

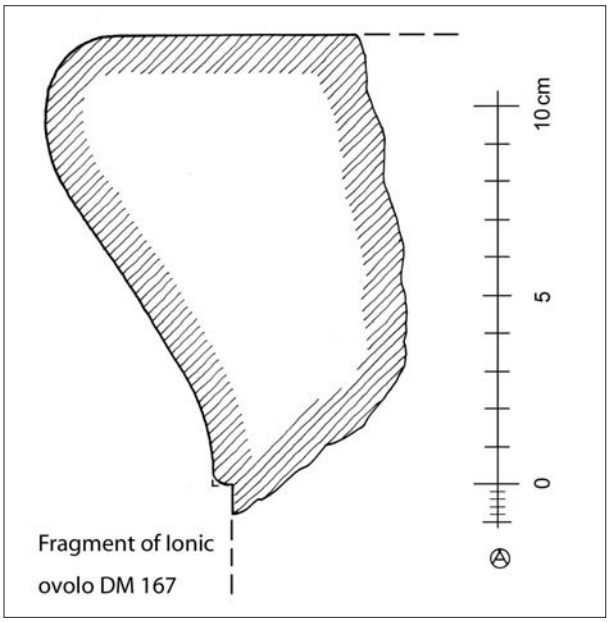
80 Ovolos with this slight reverse curve (in S-form) occur on Paros, Naxos and Delos: Gruben – Koenigs 1970, 142. 150; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002, 392 (»doppelt geschwungen«); the ones of the Naxian Oikos and especially of the ›Island Ionic‹ temple of Sangri are only painted, not worked in relief; their mouldings and dimensions are very similar to the new fragment from Despotiko.

81 Cf. the temple of Sangri with its layer of an – only – 9.3 cm high ovolo worked together with a 2.5 cm high stripe of wall on the sides of the porch; it corresponds with the marble beams of the ceiling with their top mouldings.

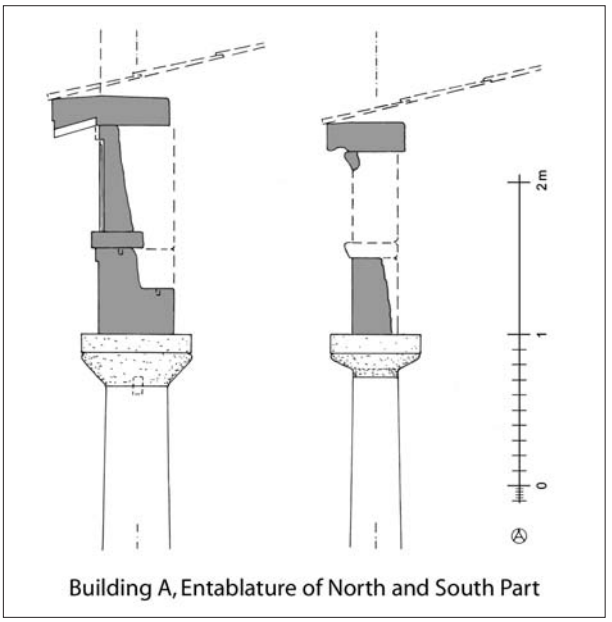
82 For the ceiling beams the ovolo is too big, cf. previous note. An anta capital is uncertain: at the north side of the colonnade there certainly was none; at the south side it depends on the height of the temenos wall, which we do not know, cf. infra (after n. 87). The tympanon mouldings are normally worked together with the raking cornice – at least in Doric architecture; the ›Island Ionic‹ temple of Sangri has rather heavy tympanon mouldings separately worked, as has, for example, the Classic Ionic temple of Athena in Priene: Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 106 f. with figs. 75–77; Koenigs 1983, 155 with pl. 33, 1. 2. – The interiors of the porch and of rooms A 3 to A 5 were probably not so richly decorated.

83 In the earlier reconstructions (fig. 33) a Doric frieze including an orthogonal taenia was sketched: Kourayos 2009, 91. 98. 170–172. Kourayos et al. 2010, 473. 477.

84 The similarity between ›Island Doric‹ and ›Island Ionic‹ architecture was already stressed by Schuller 1985, 389–398 with fig. 53 and Schuller 1991, 98–101 with fig. 44.



24



25

Above the frieze and the ovolo lay an *Ionic cornice [geison]* of which, again, some pieces remained[85]. The slight slope of the upper surface is too weak and too incidental to attribute some of the pieces with certainty to the eaves. The minimum depth of the bottom surface, 39 cm, indicates the depth of the – lost – frieze. As noted above, the rear of the entablature probably had to be filled (fig. 25).

With the known axes of the colonnade the front of the South Part of Building A can be reconstructed: it had nine spans and eight columns with, behind them, three doors, which all lie in the middle of an intercolumnar space (fig. 33)[86]. The clear width of the colonnade is ca. 16.50 m, the height (from the stylobate until the top of the horizontal cornice) ca. 4.17 m[87]. The north end of the entablature abutted against the south wall of the North Part A; the south end either abutted against the temenos wall if it was as high as that, or against an anta wall – with a capital – standing on the temenos wall. A third possibility is a temenos wall that reaches just as far as the entablature (fig. 34).

Above a wide colonnade like this eaves are more probable than a gable. This way the ridge abuts against the North Part I, which was probably higher[88].

There are only few references for the form and type of the roof: the cornices, though they are not clearly from the eaves, and two nearly complete Corinthian cover tiles that were found east of the western door of room A 3 (DM 62. 63), and attest a roof of the Corinthian type, probably double pitched. These cover tiles without a slip are obviously Hellenistic and therefore from a repair of the roof[89].

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 24 Fragment of Ionic ovolo DM 167, section (scale 1 : 2)

Fig. 25 North and the South Part A, entablatures, section (scale 1 : 50)

85 DM 19. 30. 31. 32. 33. 38. 57; heights between 17 cm and 19.5 cm, depths from 53 cm to 65 cm, including the overhang of 13.5–14 cm; the widths differ.

86 The two doors of the temple of Sangri also lay in the middle of the (2nd and the 5th) intercolumnar space: Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002.

87 Columns ca. 2.85 m high, architrave 50.5 cm, intermediary layer ≥12 cm, frieze ca. 50 cm, cornice ≤20 cm = ca. 4.17 m.

88 Consequently the gables of the South Part were at the north and south side – only the southern one well to be seen. A pent roof above the porch combined with a pitched roof above rooms A 3 to A 5 is improbable, for the same reasons as for the North Part I, see supra n. 45; cf. also n. 165.

89 Other fragments from Corinthian cover and pan tiles, found near the South Part A, seem to belong to the same roof, which replaced the original one. This could have been Laconian. This Laconian roof must be somewhat simpler – and

The dating of the South Part A, which was constructed at one stretch, is based on archaeological evidence and on the architectural forms. Finds of a sondage under the floor of room A 3 include »Archaic sherds« and other filling material that were dated as being of the 3rd quarter of the 6th cent. B.C. at the latest, see infra. The capitals are the architectural members that can be paralleled best. Their simple form without annuli and the co-worked column necks without flutes are comparable to other capitals from the Cyclades and Delos. They are known from Paros (2nd second half of 6th cent.)[90], Delos (»possibly … around 540 B.C.«)[91], Thasos (»around 525 B.C.«)[92] and Delphi (around 540–530)[93]. The capitals of Despotiko are clearly older than the entire group of capitals of Late Archaic Attic – and Cycladic – temples, all erected between 520 and 500 B.C.[94]. The Despotiko capitals should therefore be dated around 540/530 B.C. The chronology of the smooth Ionic architraves and plain cornices cannot be determined more precisely than second half of the 6th cent. B.C.; the newly discovered ovolo is roughly contemporary with the cymatia of the temple of Sangri from 530/520 B.C. At various architectural members of the South Part A work with a toothed chisel can be observed; that means an origin around or after the middle of the 6th cent.[95] which corresponds with the stylistic criteria.

The ›Bothros‹

When the north area of the pavement of the porch of the South Part of Building A was cleaned in 2011, a longitudinal marble slab was detected (DM 175, fig. 26). It stands on edge and runs east-west, 1.30 m east of the (missing) south jamb of the later eastern door of room A 3. Likewise on edge, three further marble slabs were uncovered in 2012 which formed a square. Their upper sides all are heavily abraded. This structure with a length of 85 cm is obviously in situ, and had no floor. It existed before the South Part of Building A was built, was respected by it and only later covered by a pavement. But it must be younger than phase I of the North Part A[96].

The structure resembles the marble »bothros« that was found in the temple of Yria on Naxos, which is about the same size, but monolithic[97]. Similar structures were found on Delos, Samothrace and Thasos[98]. The bothros with

younger!? – than the one attributed to North Part I, see supra with n. 44.

90 Schuller 1985, 322–324 with figs. 3. 334 and Schuller 1991, 101: Schuller dated the most similar ones (Paros S 26, with annuli, and S 27, maybe without annuli) generally into the »second half of the 6th cent. B.C.«.

91 ›Minoia-capital‹ from Delos: Vallois 1944, 109; Vallois 1966, 104 (no. 10), following him Schuller 1985, 347 f. (»second half of the 6th century«), Schuller 1991, 101 (»possibly … around 540«) and Fraisse – Llinas 1995, 77 fig. 257; 80 fig. 270 a (right). – The one preserved capital of Oikos V on Delos is obviously more old fashioned: Vallois 1944, 109 (»after 540«); Vallois 1966, 105 f. (no. 13), following him Schuller 1985, 324. 348 f. with fig. 23 (»still … 3rd quarter of the 6th cent.«) and Fraisse – Llinas 1995, 79 figs. 266. 267; 80 fig. 270 a (left). – A third capital from the Samothrakeion of Delos is not dated more exactly than the second half of the 6th cent.: Fraisse – Llinas 1995, 80 fig. 270 a (middle). – Schuller 1991, 112 summing up the older Parian capitals, the capitals of Oikos V and maybe of the »Krene Minoia« on Delos: »… possibly … around 540 …«.

92 ›Pseudo-Doric‹ votive capital in Thasos (expression taking pattern from the Naxian capital: Schuller 1985, 386–388 with fig. 50): Servais 1980, 31 f. with figs. 37–39 (»around 525 B.C.«); Grandjean – Salviat 2000, 162–164 (»530–525 av. J.-C.«).

93 La Coste-Messelière 1942/1943, esp. 40–46 capitals D and E, which are the most similar to the Despotiko capitals, the first dated either 555/540 or 515/505, the latter »540–530?«.

94 Examples see Østby 1980, 199 with older lit.; the capitals of the ›new‹ Doric temple on Paros belong to them: Ohnesorg 2005, 146 n. 35 and Skilardi 2010, 653–656.

95 See supra with n. 46.

96 For the treatment of the slabs pick and toothed chisel were used – in contrary to North Part A. – The heavily abraded hollow in the middle of the north slab (DM 175) is enigmatic.

97 Ohnesorg 1994, 54. 56 with fig. 3 (size 81 cm × 92 cm); Gruben 1997a, 321 f. with fig. 29.

98 Plassart 1928, 210 with pl. 5; Lambrinoudakis – Gruben 1990, 141 with n. 17; Roux 1991, 297; Grandjean – Salviat 2000, 92–94. In the sanctuary of Sangri on Naxos another such structure may have existed (publication in preparation) and a further one in Epidauros, east of the Abaton (inner dimensions ca. 84 cm × 59 cm, height >56 cm, thickness of the limestone slabs ca. 15 cm).

Fig. 26 Despotiko, Mandra. South Part A, bothros under the pavement of the porch, from east

the Hestia Isthmia inscription, northeast of the North Part of Building A, see infra, continues this tradition.

North Part A, Phase II (fig. 7 building phases: yellow)

Some time after the construction of the South Part of Building A the North Part was altered. That is obvious from the eastern of the two parallel walls in front of it (figs. 6. 11. 27). East Wall I more to the west bore the façade of the North Part I. Of East Wall II only the foundation is preserved, in its north part up to the top course (+15.05±0.1); it enlarged the depth of the building to 13 m. Its bottom courses consist of huge gneiss blocks up to 2.30 m length and 40 cm height[99]. In the even top course gneiss slabs alternate with triple marble blocks of a raw form. The marble blocks carry pry holes at intervals of ca. 2.09 m (figs. 6. 27). This figure corresponds rather well with the axial intercolumniation reconstructed from the entablature, see infra. The material suggests that the further stylobate slabs, which are missing, were of marble; they were reconstructed 20 cm high. The position of the pry holes proves, that the joints centered under the columns[100]. The raw marble blocks were thus restricted to the foundation of the columns, and the anta(e).

The walls of rooms A 1 and A 2, including the door-wall, were maintained from the North Part I, only the side walls of the porch had to be elongated. But at the sides of the doors, the fine marble blocks of the front face were shortened to make room for wider thresholds laid at a higher level. The difference of the levels can be observed from remains of pavement II in the porch (+15.37,5±0,5).

99 The bottom surfaces lie between +14.12,5 and ca. +14.40, the top course on +15.07/+15.03,5. – The foundations of Parian and Delian buildings are comparable in size (and material): Paros, temple A: Gruben 1982b; Paros-Delion, Artemis temple: Schuller 1991; Delos, temple of Apollon, temple of Artemis, ›treasuries‹ and ›building with the peristyle court‹: Bruneau – Ducat 2005, 182–188. 207–210 (»enormes pièces de gneiss«); Kourayos 2005c, 107.

100 There are other examples for joints under the centre of columns, for example at the Parthenon or at the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis: Travlos 1971, 154 fig. 206; Korres 1994a, 85 fig. 36; 88 fig. 38; 156 f. fig. 22; Giraud 1994, tome 1 b pl. 232; also at the stoa in the Athenian Asklepieion: Versaki 1913, 55 fig. 4 (dito 74 fig. 35: Tempel A and 75–85 with fig. 1: Nikias-Monument), or the temple of Segesta on Sicily: Mertens 1984, 16–18 with fig. 4. Beil. 1–11. 17.

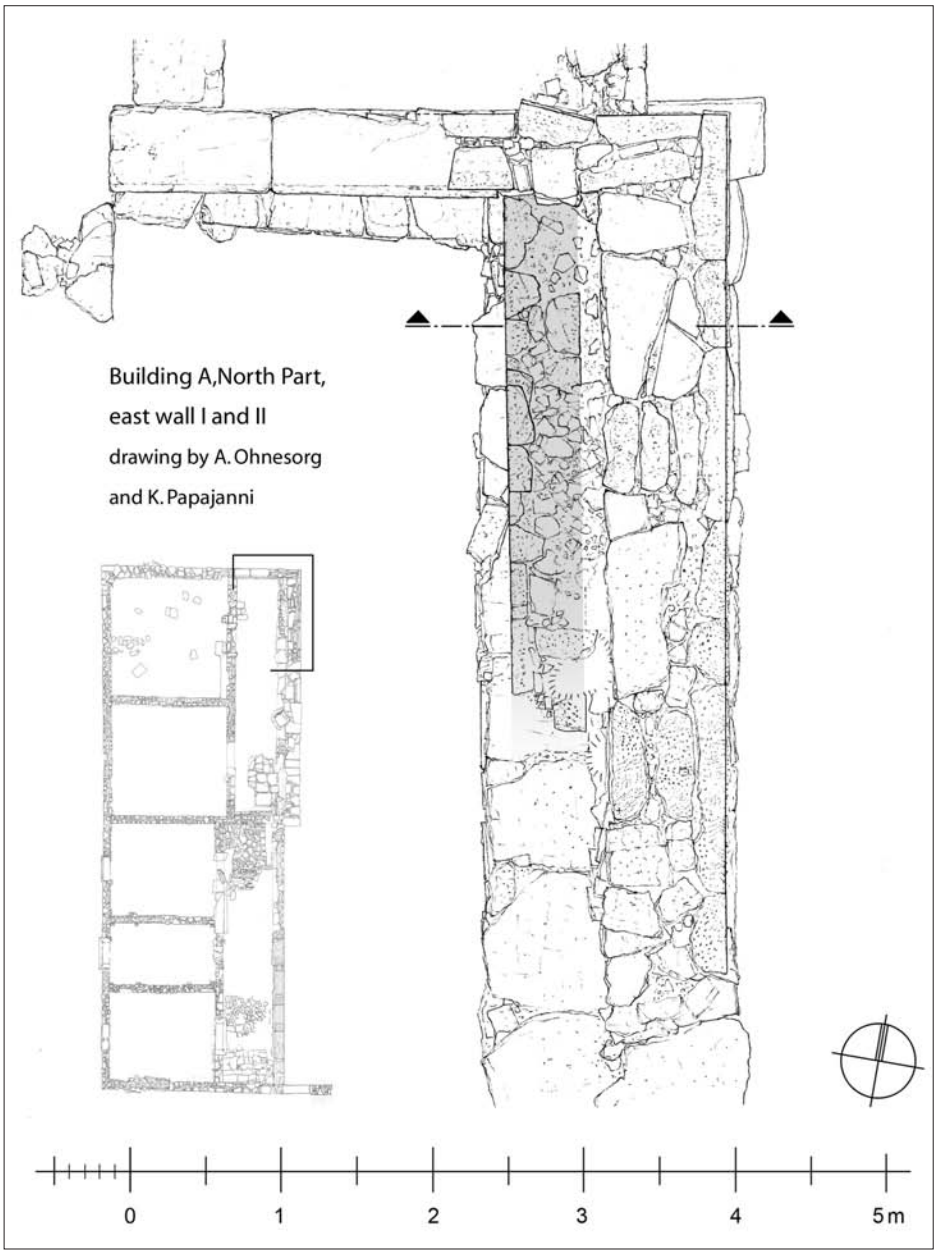


Fig. 27 Despotiko, Mandra. North Part A, northern end of East Walls I and II (scale 1 : 50)

Threshold II of room A 1 is missing, as was threshold I. Its height of ≥20 cm can be reconstructed from the southern gneiss substructure slab which is preserved (+15.23), and the mentioned level of pavement II in the porch. The tread of threshold II then lies on ≥+15.43(,5). Of pavement II in room A 1 nothing is preserved.

Threshold II of room A 2 was found, having been broken into two, west and east of the opening (fig. 28)[101]. Here again the typical hollow under

101 The complete piece is 2.34,6 m long, 59.2 cm deep and at the sides, between top and bottom surface, ca. 22.8 cm high; in the middle the bottom surface is rougher and the height greater, ≥27 cm. – The two parts of the threshold were reset in 2005. – The smaller fragment lay on East Wall I. II, east of room A 2, the bigger fragment within room A 2, not far from the opening: Kourayos 2004a, 59. 62 (bottom); Kourayos 2005b, 43 fig. 5; Kourayos 2005c, 107 fig. 1. pl. 23 B. 27 C; Kourayos 2009, 42 (bottom). 45 f. 72. 79. 80 (top). 83 (bottom); Kourayos – Burns 2005, 139 fig. 3; 157 fig. 30; 170 fig. 39.

Fig. 28 Despotiko, Mandra. Room A 2, threshold of Door II, from east, with room A 2

Cycladic thresholds is evident[102]. The rebate at the east side of the threshold is 5.2 cm high und 14.3 cm deep. Into it quadrangular beddings for pivots are inserted. The door consequently opened into the porch; it also was set forward of the wall line, both unusual facts, observed also at the doors of the South Part of Building A, see supra.

The beddings for the jambs on the top surface are 30 and 32 cm wide[103]. The remaining width for the opening is ca. 1.72,6 m; the door had two wings. The surface is carefully treated using a point and a toothed chisel, and the top surface worn off, more at the south half than at the north half[104].

The supporting gneiss slabs on which the threshold was set are no longer preserved. However in room A 2 a minimum level for Floor II is given by all in all eight substructure walls running north-south, built of small blocks and slabs of different material (maximum level +15.16,5). Since the threshold probably lay at the same level as the threshold II of room A 1 (tread +15.43,5), one or two more courses should be reconstructed above the substructure walls (floor and tread ca. +15.40).

Fragments of the marble colonnade that stood on the front stylobate had already been found in 1959 by Zapheiropoulos. Schuller published them in more detail[105]. During the recent excavations more fragments of this ›greater order‹ came to light. A complete metope and triglyph together with two fragments of a taenia slab were found as they had collapsed, in front of the North Part of Building A, as was a complete Doric cornice block and a fragmentary volute acroterion[106] – proof that this architecture belongs to North Part A (II). In a secondary context or scattered around the site further column drums and fragments of the Doric capitals, architraves, frieze slabs and cornices have been found.

102 See n. 33.

103 These figures include a 2 cm or 3 cm wide protective strip at the exterior of the threshold.

104 Thus the right leaf of the door, seen from inside, was used more heavily, cf. supra with n. 54.

105 Zapheiropoulos 1960; Schuller 1985, esp. 353–357 and Schuller 1991, esp. 95 f.

106 The four pieces of the frieze (DM 40. 41. 42 a and b) lay ca. 4 m south of the northeast corner of the stylobate foundation of East Wall I, in ca. 1 m distance. The complete cornice (DM 20) lay ca. 2 m north of the SE corner of the same foundation, in a minimum distance of 0.5 m. The fragmentary corner acroterion (DM 73) lay ca. 3 m south of the frieze members, and ca. 2.20 m far from the East Wall I.

Of the *column drums* eight complete and six fragmentary examples were identified. They have no flutes, but an average tapering of 3.5 %. Their attested heights differ slightly (maximum 59.3 cm, minimum 50.4 cm), their diameters vary. Some of the drums show round dowel holes at their upper or at their bottom surface, but not always on both surfaces[107]. The bottom and top surfaces show anathyrosis with carefully plain dressed edges and in one case a hole in the centre for a compass.

The two preserved column drums with the maximum diameter (of ca. 53.5 cm) have no dowel holes on their bottom surfaces. Therefore they most probably were bottom drums, since the joints of the (marble) stylobate must lie centered under the columns[108]. The uppermost diameter is given by the diameters of the capitals.

The *capitals* are rather fragmentary and the surfaces weathered, so their (lower) diameter can only be roughly calculated, to 40 cm. Dowel holes exist at all capitals with remains of the bottom surface[109]. The height of the columns, taken from the maximum bottom diameter and the tapering, is ca. 3.80 m, corresponding with ca. seven lower diameters[110].

Of the *architraves* eight fragments are preserved[111]. Their profile has the form of a ›Latin L‹. Clamps with dovetail beddings on the surfaces of the lower and the higher parts show how the beams were joined (figs. 25. 29). The joints show anathyrosis, partly worked with a point, partly with a toothed chisel. The bare and weathered fronts are decorated only with regulae. Their width and distance on the biggest fragment (DM 58) give the original length and the axis of the colonnade, 2.03,5 m±1 cm.

The missing *taenia* is worked separately. To date three slabs have been identified, one of them complete (fig. 29). The sides and bottom surfaces are carefully worked with point and partly toothed chisel and have smooth anathyrosis bands. On the top surface of the taenia slabs the weathering traces of the triglyphon are clear to see, which again allows the calculatation of the axis to be a little more than 2 m[112].

So far eight *triglyphs* have been found, four more or less complete and four fragmentary[113]; they are rather weathered (fig. 30). Wherever details still are visible, the front has a smooth, polished surface, obviously including a taenia[114]. The joints are carefully picked and have anathyroses, only the rears are more roughly worked and uneven.

The height of the triglyphs, 72(.2) cm, corresponds with the height of the one complete *metope,* 72.1 cm (DM 41, figs. 30. 31)[115]. The fronts are

107 The diameters of the drums vary from ≥47.5 cm or ca. 48.9 cm to ca. 53.5 cm; the dowel holes have a height and diameter of 7 cm.

108 Drum DM 54 (lower diameter ca. 53.5 cm) has no dowel hole in the bottom surface, but one in the top surface; drum DM 48 (lower diameter 53.3 cm) likewise has no dowel hole in the bottom surface; its top surface is not preserved.

109 There is no fragment better preserved than Schuller 1985, 355–357 with fig. 27 (DM 14. 109, today two fragments). The diameter of the dowel holes is 7 cm, their depth 8 cm.

110 >53.5 cm – 40 cm combined with ca. 3.5 % tapering. – Schuller 1985, 356 f. with fig. 28 and 1991, 95 f. with fig. 40 alternatively proposed 7 and 8 lower diameters; this proposal was reproduced in the earlier publications on Despotiko – until Kourayos 2009, 41.

111 DM 42 a–d. 58. 59. 60. 116. 130. 147. 148 and 149.

112 The complete taenia piece is 1.27,2 m long, 34.5 cm deep and 10.1 cm high. 1.27,2 m are more than half a bay, shown by the traces of an entire triglyph, an entire metope and two further glyphs. The width without the latter is a little more than 1 m, the axis therefore more than 2 m.

113 DM 34. 35. 36. 37. 40. 44. 46 and 47. – The width of the triglyphs, between the joints, is 32–35 cm, their maximum depth 22.5 cm.

114 Though the weathering is heavy, the existence of a taenia is sure; it protrudes >1 cm. The triglyphs of the temple of Artemis in the Delion of Paros have no upper taenia: Schuller 1991, 24 with n. 87; 96 he wrote for Despotiko »ohne Kopfband«, since he could not recognize it on the pieces he saw.

115 The depth of the metope at the bottom is 19 cm, at the top only 12 cm; its width 66 cm. If the maximum width of the triglyph, 35 cm, is added and the result multiplied by 2, an axial intercolumniation of 2.02 m is obtained, a bit less than the measure taken from the stylobate foundation and the architrave. – The only other preserved metope is fragment DM 43.

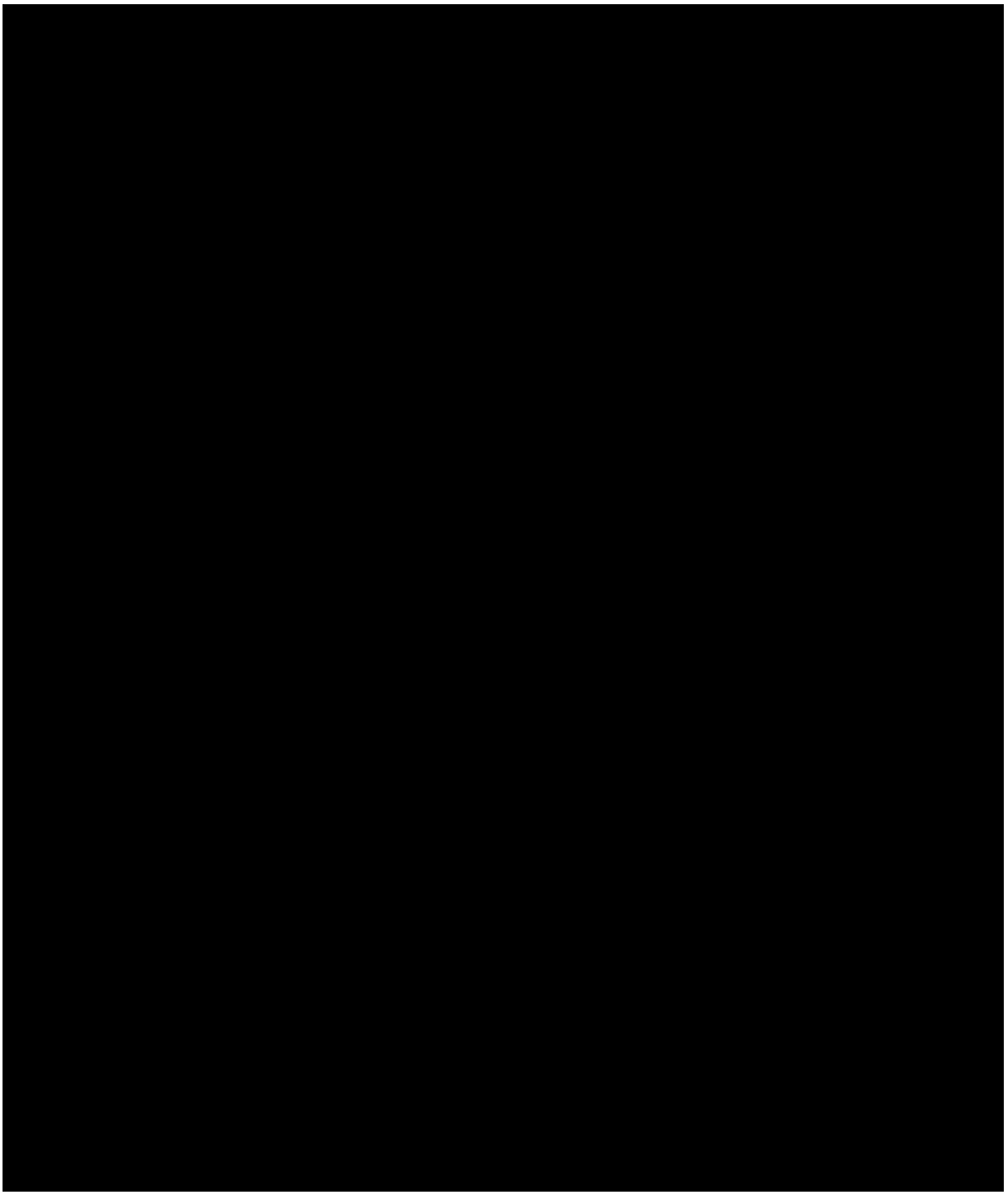


Fig. 29 Despotiko, Mandra. North Part A II, complete taenia slab DM 42 a–d and fragmentary architrave DM 58 (scale 1 : 20)

smooth, but weathered; generally the surfaces are treated in the same way as the triglyphs, but here the toothed chisel is preserved.

The position of the triglyphs and metopes on the higher part of the architraves and the taenia slabs is rather labile. There must have been masonry behind them and/or the ceiling beams, last but not least because of the deeper and heavy cornices (figs. 25. 30).

Of these *Doric cornices*, one complete example (DM 20) and smaller fragments survived[116]. At its bottom it has viae and ca. 2 ¾ mutuli, obviously

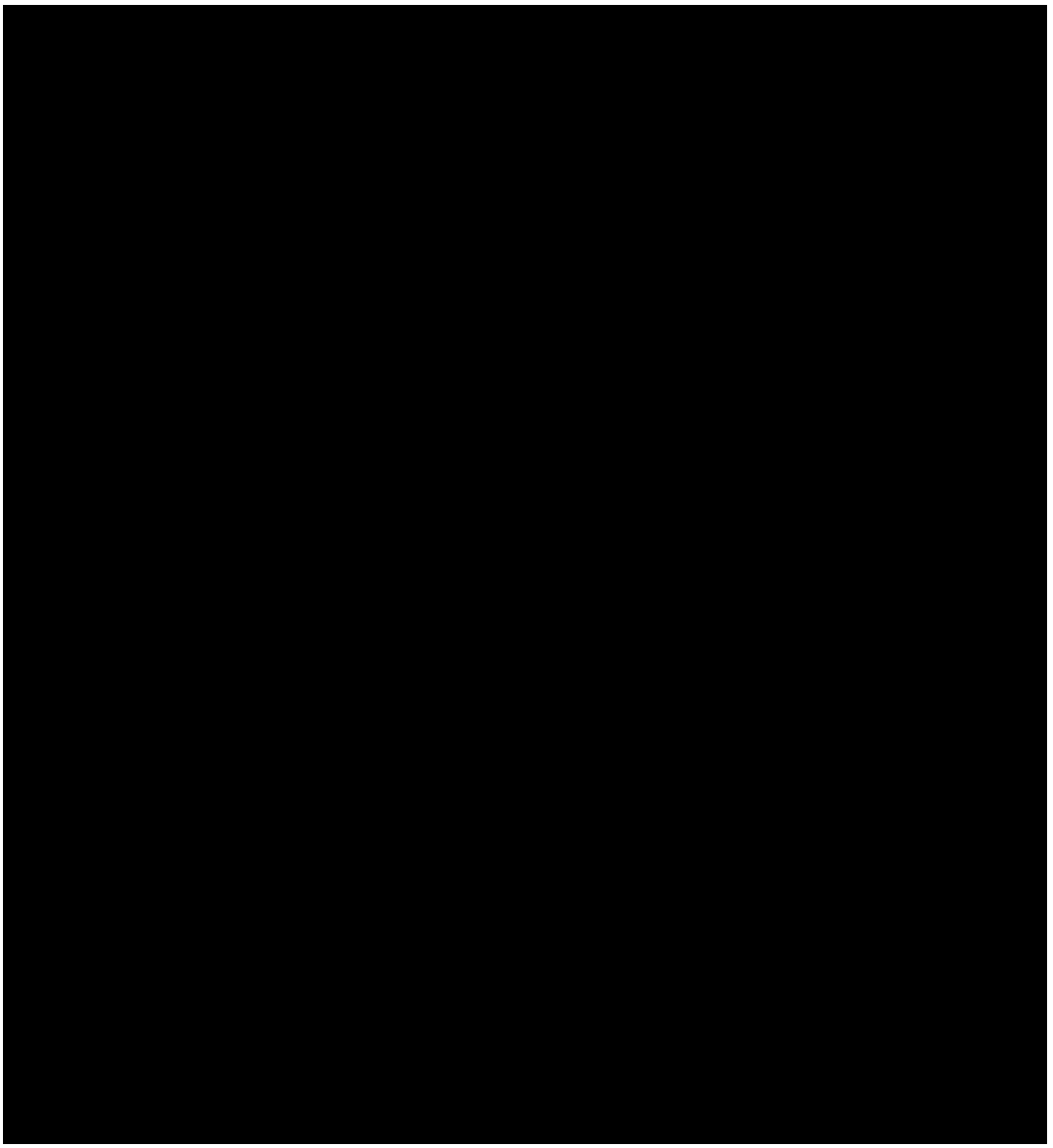
116 DM 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 29 and 129.

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 30 North Part A II, Triglyphon

Fig. 31 North Part A II, Metope DM 41 a. b and Doric cornice DM 20 (scale 1 : 20)

30



31

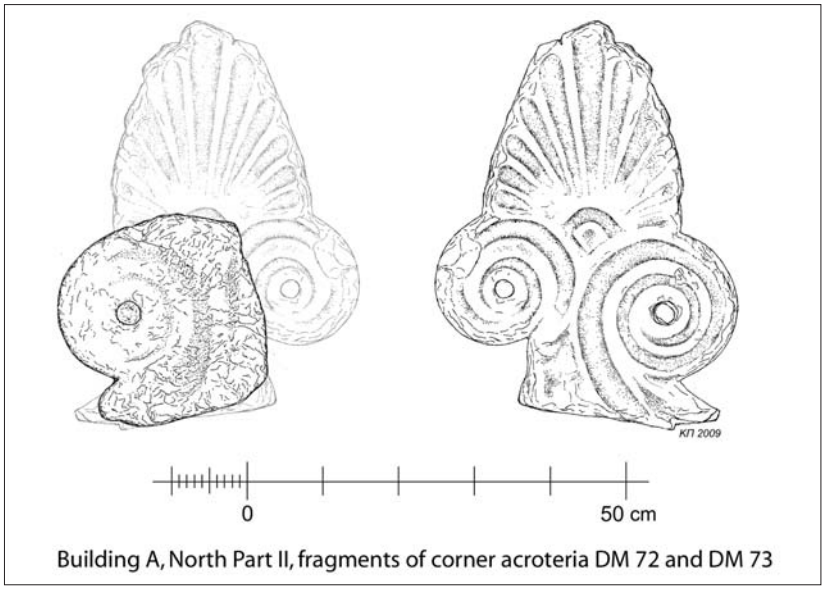


Fig. 32 Despotiko, Mandra. North Part A II, fragments of corner acroteria DM 72 and DM 73 (scale 1 : 10)

without guttae (fig. 31). From their dimensions, an axial intercolumniation of 2.05 m can be derived. The top surface though weathered shows the regular treatment with a more or less (front) rough picking[117]; at each side there is a clamp in a dovetail bedding.

Though the cornices show no clear criteria and no raking cornice is preserved, evidence for a double pitched roof is given by the marble volute fragments presumably from acroteria. DM 73 has a palmetta with 11 leaves above two volutes, each with a separately made eye (fig. 32)[118]. The smooth surface of the front and the picked rear are heavily weathered. Because of the asymmetric base the fragment was reconstructed as the right corner acroterion (figs. 34. 79). A second marble volute fragment (DM 72) corresponds with DM 73, though it is more fragmentary. It therefore could have been the left corner acroterion (fig. 32).

A further flat marble fragment with a volute on its front is a candidate for the central acroterion (DM 71)[119]. It is even more weathered. The contoures of the volute and the one hole for a bolt – to fix a broken fragment? – suggest a reconstruction of two volutes with a palmetta of maybe 11 leaves on the apex of the gable (fig. 34).

The fragments of acroteria provide no evidence for the slope of the pitched roof[120], but prove at least one gable. The west or rear gable – or hip? – of the North Part II was probably not decorated by acroteria. The ridge presumely lay east-west.

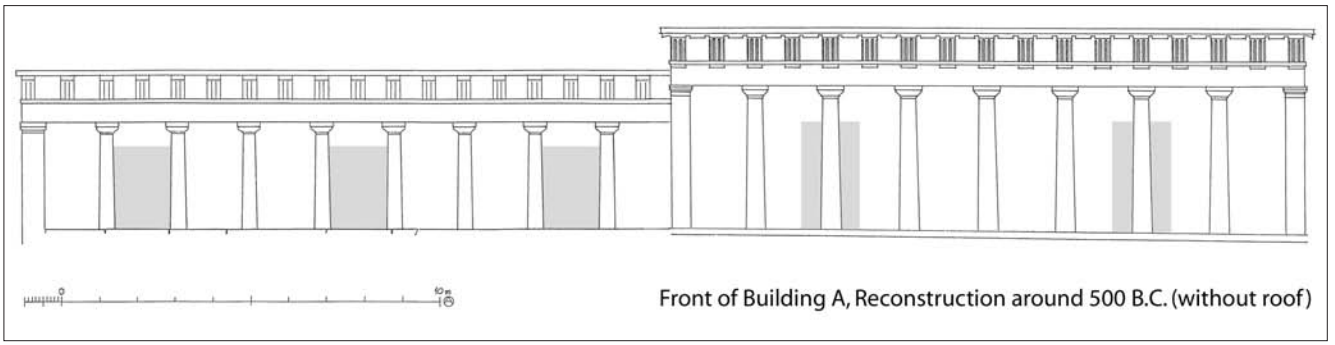
The colonnade of the North Part II can be located on the stylobate of East Wall II (figs. 11. 33. 43): The clear width between the antae (walls) of 15.70 m

117 There is no bedding or weathering line that would mark the front of the tympanon, neither there are traces of the rafters. The surface is rather plain, not pitched, as, for example, the eaves cornices at many Doric temples of the Greek mainland and the Magna Grecia: Hodge 1960, 76–91 with figs. 18. 19.

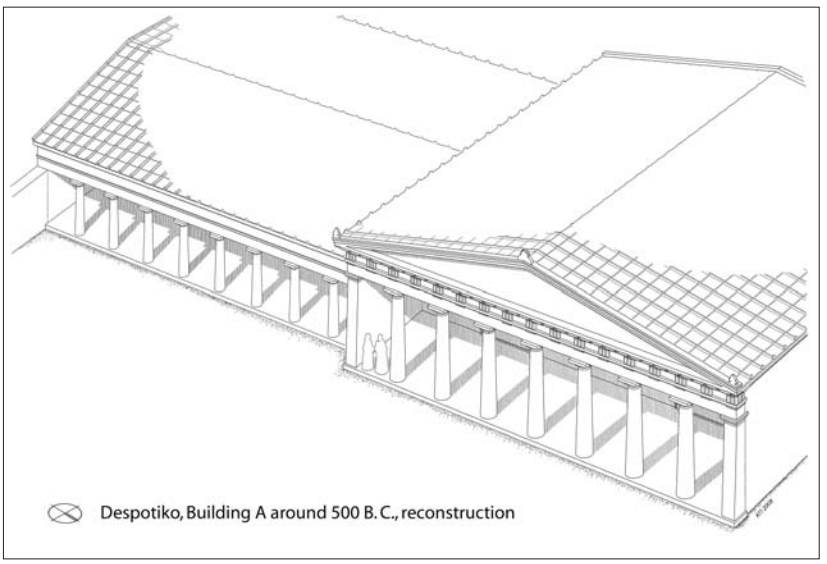
118 DM 73, found in 2004, see supra with n. 106, is now in the Archaeological Museum of Paros (marble inv. 1518). Its preserved height is 56 cm, the width of the volutes ca. 40 cm, the thickness ca. 7.5 cm. The eyes were probably made of metal, cf. other examples of separate metal volute eyes: Gruben 1982a, 174–177 with fig. 18 (door consola of Paros); Kourayos 2004a, 47. 85 fig. 58; Kourayos 2005b, 76 fig. 43; Kourayos 2009, 79. 81 (photo).

119 The fragments DM 71 and 72 both were found in 2004 and now also are in the Archaeological Museum of Paros (marble inv. 1519 and 1515); mentioned in Kourayos 2009, 79.

120 The slope therefore was reconstructed with canonical 14° or a proportion of 1 : 4.



33



34

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 33 Front of Building A with doors (2009), reconstruction (scale 1 : 200)

Fig. 34 Building A, reconstruction (2009)

corresponds with six bays of ca. 2.04,5 m and two slightly narrower external side bays of 1.98 m (fig. 7 building phases: yellow)[121]. Thus the porch of the North Part II at its front had seven columns between antae, that means one column in the central axis. The two doors behind this porch, that lead into rooms A 1 and A 2, do not lie in the intercolumnar space, but behind columns (fig. 33)[122].

The dating of the North Part II phase can only be based on the architectural forms, mainly the profile of the capitals' echinus. Schuller had already dated it »around or little after 500 B.C.«. This date remains valid, since no better examples of the capitals were found. The form of the architraves with the separate taenia and the details of the triglyphs and cornices – though difficult to judge since they are rather weathered – support this date.

The marble bases found in room A 2, but not in situ, might also be helpful for dating the North Part II construction[123]. The bottom and top profiles of

121 15.70 m, minus 6 × 2.04,5 m = 3.43 m, : 2 = 1.71,5 m, + 25 cm (half the width of an anta wall) = 1.96,5 m. – Antae are proven by the relics of anta walls and the triple marble blocks at the north end of the East Wall II foundation, see supra.

122 The doors did already exist in North Part I; they were only enlarged. If the front of North Part I is constructed with nine columns, see supra, the doors lie in column axes – an argument for this solution (fig. 7 top).

123 The dating of the order of North part II in Schuller 1985, 357: »… um oder kurz nach 500 …«; Schuller 1991, 96: »… wahrscheinlich … etwas älter als der Artemis-Tempel«. – When the excavation began, many marble blocks were found assembled in room A 2, and were partly cut into small pieces as if prepared for a lime kiln (photos Kourayos 2009,

DM 2 (many small fragments found scattered around, see fig. 35) resemble the profiles of a Late Archaic altar slab in the museum of Paros[124]. The base has a nearly quadrangular plan and on top a rectangular bedding for the plinth[125]. The similarity to the base of the cult statue of Artemis from the Parian Delion leads to the hypothesis that the Despotiko base bore a statue, maybe the cult statue. By analogy with the Parian image, it must have been ca. 2 m high[126]. It is unknown where exactly it stood[127].

Fig. 35 Despotiko, Mandra. Base with fragmentary profiles, in room A 2 (DM 2)

Finds from Building A[128]

The finds from Building A also relate to the dating of the building phases of the North Part and of the South Part.

North Part, room A 1: The oldest finds in room A 1 belong to the Late Geometric period and indicate that activity in the sanctuary of Despotiko began earlier than the construction of Building A[129]. Though the Geometric material is fragmentary, since part of it was found mixed with Archaic votive material, it could be associated with the earliest cult activity at the site[130].

In 2001, near the northeast corner of room A 1, the richest group of artefacts found so far in the sanctuary was discovered in 2001. Most of the material recovered was Archaic, in the higher and disturbed layers mixed with material of later periods, including the modern era[131]. From the floor of the room seven schist paving slabs survived at levels between +14.40,5 and +14.54,5 (figs. 7. 10). Beneath that level there was the largest concentration of artefacts (fig. 36). Some of the objects were broken and had been scattered, but the majority was strewn among an earth-and-pebble fill at the room's eastern half that also included large quantities of marble chips, either from building activity or from demolition. A few intact objects were found tucked against the foundations of the eastern wall of the room, indicative of a deliberate deposition[132]. No foundation trenches were observed.

79 f. 83), see infra with n. 150. They obviously were collected in later times – when, remains unclear; that reduces their archaeological evidence. – Besides the base DM 2 there was at least another even bigger base, made of two or more blocks (DM 3. 5 and 6), a smaller profile fragment (DM 8) and foundation or wall blocks (DM 4. 7); in particular, the 35 cm high base for a column with a lower diameter of 50.4 cm (DM 1: Kourayos 2009, 119) could not belong to this room if it carried an entire column of at least 3 m in height; it would only fit, if a low cylindrical or conical object stood on it.

124 DM 2: Kourayos 2009, 119–121; Kourayos (forthcoming). – Paros: Ohnesorg 1991, 121 with pl. 25 b. c.

125 The base is 77.1 cm × 83.9 cm big, its height is 57.5 cm; the plinth mesures ≥62 cm × ca. 47 cm. – Rectangular beddings are not very common, cf. Archaic marble bases in Athens: Kissas 2000, 44–61 (nos. 11. 20. 21. 27) with figs. 13. 28–32. 39, all Late Archaic, partly for kouroi, in one case for a sitting statue, in another for a rider.

126 Kostoglou – Despini 1979, 13–17 pls. 17–19 drawings 3. 4.; Schuller 1991, 101 f. pl. 42; recently Kourayos 2009, 120 f. with drawing (by L. Haselberger): size of the base 1.25,6 m × 1.25,6 m × 60.4 cm, of the rectangular(!) bedding 87 cm × ca. 70 cm × 12 cm; the top profile is a Doric cymatium, not an ovolo as at the Despotiko base. The relation of the Parian base to the base of Despotiko is roughly 1.5 : 1. Since the Parian statue is ca. 3.10 m tall, the Despotiko statue can be reconstructed with an, already monumental, height of 2 m.

127 At the bottom of the foundation of the west wall of room A 2 lies a huge gneiss block, by far the biggest stone in this – first! – building phase. If it has anything to do with the foundation for the base of the cult statue of phase II, it still must have been known of, when the base was erected about half a century later.

128 Kourayos 2004a, 31–39; Kourayos 2005b, 46–64; Kourayos 2005c, 109–122; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 139–156; Kourayos 2009, 103–121. A detailled discussion of the pottery found in rooms A 1–A 2 of Building A will be published by Y. Kourayos, R. F. Sutton and E. Hasaki: Kourayos et al. (in preparation). The information presented in this article is only a summary of the finds and derives partly from annual excavation reports and mainly from the forthcoming publication. We wish to express our gratitude for this contribution to Robert Sutton and Eleni Hasaki. Moreover, the small finds from the same assemblage have been studied by Yannos Kourayos and Bryan Burns. They will be published in: Kourayos (forthcoming).

129 Further pottery dated to the Geometric period was found at the foundation level of Building Δ in 2011.

130 Examples are fragments of a LG ring askos, a Parian LG bowl or krater and a handle of a SG krater with bull protome, see Kourayos et al. (in preparation).

131 A complete account of the deposit's stratigraphy will be provided with the ceramic sequence from Building A: Kourayos (forthcoming) and Kourayos et al. (in preparation).

132 This phenomenon has been encountered in room A 3 and Building Δ and must represent deliberate foundation deposits.

36

37

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 36 Terracotta protome from room A 1, 6th cent. B.C.

Fig. 37 Corinthian pottery of the 7th and first half of 6th cent. B.C. from room A 1 (vessel in form of animal, skyphos, alabastra)

Besides the small amount of Geometric pottery, the assemblage includes objects crafted mainly in the 7th and 6th cent. B.C. They cover a specific period from the early 7th cent. B.C. to the early third quarter of the 6th cent. B.C. (figs. 36–38). It is a rich and varied collection, in terms of both type and material, such as ceramic vessels, partly anthromorphic, figurines of terracotta and faience, beads of stone[133], glass and gold, bronze and ivory fibulae and large disks, fragments of silver and bronze vessels, and a variety of iron and lead weapons and agricultural instruments such as iron sickles and double-axe heads[134]. The deposit comprises both local and imported objects from mainland Greece, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, Asia Minor and from even more distant places, like the Baltic Sea, Syria, Egypt, Phoenicia, which bear a particularly exotic style (e. g. an ostrich egg). Many of these were small, personal objects such as perfume containers, beads from pendants, fibulae, seals and more[135].

Ceramic vessels vary in terms of origin, shape and style. There was a good number of small oil containers (aryballoi and alabastra) and of miniature vessels of types often found in Archaic sanctuaries, a high proportion of fine wares, a

133 The seal stones mostly are typical of the Archaic Aegean, see Stampolides 2003, with extended catalogue and bibliography about small finds from Archaic sanctuaries.

134 Kron 1993. Of the many known examples, the form of the sickle is most similar to the one from Rheneia, see Rhomaios 1929, esp. 213–217 figs. 20–23.

135 Masouridi 2002; Kourayos at al. 2003, 37 f.; Kourayos 2004a, 31–38; Kourayos 2004d, 442–445; Kourayos 2005b, 45–62; Kourayos 2005c, 109–121; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 142–156; Kourayos 2006b, 60–63; Kourayos 2008a, 386–388; Kourayos 2009, 103–119; Kourayos 2012, 42–49; Kourayos (forthcoming); Kourayos et al. (in preparation).

38

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 38 Parian plates and skyphos, 7th cent. B.C., from room A 1 (scale 1 : 3)

Fig. 39 Sherds with letters of the name Apollo (graffiti and painted letters)

39

good number of a few other special cult types like small and large plates pierced for suspension, cult equipment including a thymiaterion and a small fragment with inscription apparently of the name Apollo, similar to more complete dedications found just outside Building A (fig. 39).

The Cycladic (and Parian) wares are the most frequent, including dot band skyphoi of the middle Archaic period[136] and ring askoi of a distinctive polychrome ware of the early 6th cent. B.C., often found in Cycladic sanctuaries[137]. The Corinthian vessels, mainly aryballoi, alabastra, kotylai and amphoriskoi,

136 Perreault 1999.
137 Rubensohn 1962, 110 f.; Bikakis 1985, 84 f.

Fig. 40 Despotiko, Mandra. Daedalic statuette from room A 1, first half of 7th cent. B.C. (scale ca. 1 : 3)

represent the largest group of imports. Most of them belong to the first half of the 6th cent. B.C.[138]. Among these there are two alabastra attributed to the Ardea Painter and an aryballos with marching warriors attributed to the Agano workshop[139].

Attic imported vessels include small fragments, mostly from drinking cups[140]. The earliest date into the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. Worth mentioning is part of a hydria with the depiction of a youth carrying a stool, which is attributed to the Exekias circle (540 B.C.)[141].

Other imports include Chian and East Greek pottery[142]. Distinctive are the plastic aryballoi like the one in the form of a hare and the one in the form of a rooster, both attributed to MC–LC workshops of eastern Aegean (Rhodes and Samos)[143].

The small items of various materials belong to common types of the 7th (some even earlier) and 6th cent. B.C. found in other Aegean sanctuaries, like Lindos, Samos, Kythnos, Paros and at Perachora[144]. The terracotta figurines represent standing and seated females, the latter perhaps of Samian or Rhodian production[145]. Terracotta protomes, or masks, are also present, of a type similar to those from Delos and the Delion of Paros.

Of major importance is the notably larger terracotta figure sculpted by hand in Daedalic style (fig. 40). Only the upper half is preserved, measuring 0.25 m in height[146]. Terracottas of similar type and scale are known from Crete and Samos[147]. The Despotiko piece was most likely rendered standing, with a conical skirt, similar to the lower body fragments from Siphnos[148]. The figure can be dated to the second quarter of the 7th cent. B.C. Due to its large size, its specific characteristics and its early date, this figure could be identified as an early cult idol of the sanctuary, but there is not enough iconographic evidence to identify the deity.

As already stated, the majority of the artefacts were positioned beneath the floor, before its slabs were set in place; their deposition aimed at their protection and preservation. That deposition most probably occurred around the mid 6th cent. B.C., in order to highlight the construction, that is the new cult space of the sanctuary, as a sort of a foundation deposit.

The existence of votives dated later than the mid 6th cent. B.C.[149] can be explained by minor depositions, which could have taken place around 500 B.C., connected with the erection of the colonnade of the North Part II.

North Part, room A 2: The southern room of Building A North had been seriously disturbed in later times and has yielded very little material. Concerning the pottery, a few Archaic fragments, a saltcellar of late 5th/early 4th cent. B.C., a skyphos base of the second half of 4th cent. B.C. as well as a Roman Knidian lamp of the 2nd cent. B.C. indicate this disturbance, but also the continuous use of the room in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times.

138 For Corinthian pottery found in many Archaic sites, including the Delion on Paros, see Payne 1931; Rubensohn 1962; Boardman – Hayes 1966; Stampolides 2003, 332–335 with extended bibliography.
139 Stampolides 2003, 336. 344; Kourayos 2006b, pls. 190.II.5 and 191.III.3.
140 For Archaic and Early Classical Attic pottery see Sparkes et al. 1970; Moore et al. 1986.
141 Kourayos et al. (in preparation).
142 Stampolides 2003, 306 f.; Cook – Dupont 1998, 26–28.
143 Kourayos 2006b, pl. 194.VI.1; Kourayos 2009, 107.
144 Blinkenberg 1931; Deonna 1938; Laumonier 1956; Rubensohn 1962; Dunbabin 1962; Mazarakis – Ainian 2005.
145 Higgins 1954, 20. 51; Higgins 1967, 30–36; Higgins 1969, 68–74; Stampolides 2003, 388 f.
146 Detoratou – Kourayos 2004, 236 f.; Kourayos 2009, 116–119; Kourayos 2012, 50 f.; Kourayos (forthcoming).
147 Levi 1955/1956, figs. 78 a. b; Kreuzer 1998, 143 no. 644 pl. 61.
148 Brock – Mackworth-Young 1949, 19–21 pls. 6–8; Kourou 2000; Moustaka 2002; Croissant 2004.
149 For example Athenian mugs of the late 6th cent. B.C., cf. Kourayos et al. (in preparation).

Fig. 41 Despotiko, Mandra. Plinth with left foot, early Classical period

Inside the room several marble pieces were found accumulated in its north-east area[150]. Among these stands the base DM 2, see supra, which is dated to the end of the 6th cent. B.C., and could have been a base for the cult statue[151]. Part of the torso and the foot with the plinth of a monumental female dressed statue could have belonged to that base (fig. 41)[152] – similar to the monumental cult statue of Artemis from the Delion on Paros, in the Museum of Paros, which was dated to the decade 490–480 B.C.[153].

North Part, porch: Inside the foundation of the East Wall I of the porch, a Corinthian aryballos and two alabastra dated to the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. were found, that being a deliberate deposition for the inauguration of the building. The fragment of a marble perirranterion preserves the partial votive inscription ΜΑΡΔΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. The letter form suggests an Archaic date[154].

South Part, room A 3[155]: This room was only little disturbed. The excavation of the lower layers produced a good amount of pottery, the date of which accords with the date of the architectural features pointing to the construction of the South Part around 540–530 B.C. The local and imported pottery is dated to the 7th until the late 6th cent. B.C. and includes local wares, such as fragments of SG kraters, 7th cent. banded bowls and cups, oinochoai, Corinthian pottery, East Greek pottery like an aryballos and decorated plates of Chian or Rhodian workshops, Attic pottery like Cassel cups of the second half of the 6th cent. B.C., skyphoi, banded cups of ca. 550–525 B.C. and lamps of the late 6th cent. In the upper layers Classical and Hellenistic pottery was found, including a kantharos dated to 300–275 B.C.; it shows the continuous use of the room in the later periods.

South Part, rooms A 4 and A 5: Since the original floor of both rooms was partly preserved, excavation reached the levels of foundation only in small sections. The lowest levels produced fine Archaic pottery like large banded bowls and lekanes, dot-band skyphoi and mugs, whereas the upper levels, as in room A 3, produced Classical and Hellenistic pottery.

South Part, porch: The material uncovered from the lower undisturbed levels east of the stylobate's foundation is dated to the Late Geometric and Archaic period.

Mainly in and around *rooms A 1* and *A 2* a significant amount of Roman Imperial and later Roman pottery was found. It includes mostly fragmentary lamps, jugs and amphoras, and especially cooking pots. In the later 6th or 7th cent. A.D. the site was abandoned[156]. Excavation produced not a single fragment recognized as Middle Byzantine. Items like a graffito bowl base of

150 Kourayos et al. 2003, 37; Kourayos 2004a, 31; Kourayos 2004d, 438 f. fig. 1; Kourayos 2005b, 44; Kourayos 2005c, 122; Kourayos – Burns 2005, 157 f.; Kourayos 2008a, 388; Kourayos 2009, 93.

151 We wish to thank Prof. Georgios Despinis who advised us during a visit to the site that the marble base probably belonged to the cult statue.

152 Kourayos 2004a, 47. 85 fig. 59 (finding spot of the foot near DM 72, see supra with n. 119); Kourayos 2009, 121; Kourayos 2013.

153 Kostoglou – Despini 1979, 13–17. 49; after her Schuller 1991, 64 with pl. 77; 101 f.

154 The fragment was found in 2001: Kourayos – Burns 2005, 140; Kourayos 2005c, 107–109; Kourayos 2009, 121; it resembles other perirrhanteria: Pimpl 1997. – »Mardoi« are first attested in Aeschylus, Persae 993: Ziegler 1969. The name Mardonios appears in Thasos, the Parian colony, in the 1st cent. B.C. (IG XII 8, 309, line 6). Mardion is another similar name, of an eunuch of Queen Kleopatra (see Plut., Ant. 60). Similar male names are attested in later inscriptions. This information was provided by Angelos P. Matthaiou, who will fully publish the Despotiko inscriptions.

155 R. F. Sutton and E. Hasaki have offered valuable information on the ceramics from the South Part A, see Kourayos et al. (in preparation), with extended bibliography. For literature about similar finds from the North Part cf. n. 138–149.

156 see Kourayos et al. (in preparation).

the 16th cent. A.D. and a Turkish pipe of the 17th/18th cent. A.D. demonstrate the most recent disturbance in room A 1.

The South Part A was heavily disturbed by walls of the Late Antique structure, which rested upon the *rooms A 4, A 5* and the *porch* (figs. 3. 8). The Archaic floor of the porch had been covered by a Late Roman pavement. So, all layers above the preserved Archaic floors contained later or mixed material that represents the second use of the rooms and not their original function in the Archaic period.

Considerations for the Function of Building A

To understand the function of Building A, first the building type has to be analysed (fig. 7). In its first phase (North Part I) – from around 550 B.C. – it is made of two rooms with a porch looking east: at the front a colonnade was reconstructed, with probably nine columns. This solution is more common than a two-room building with a porch closed by a wall, for which only few examples exist[157].

Similar to the North Part I of Building A, even in size, are the North and the South buildings in Aliki on Thasos. The North building in its Late Archaic phase had an (Island) Ionic colonnade (six smooth columns in antis) and in its Early Classical phase a Doric order (four? fluted columns in antis). The South building had only one, Latest Archaic phase with five Doric columns (without flutes) in antis. In the bigger, north(-western) rooms of the North and South buildings are »foyers« (hearths)[158]. Both buildings »ne sont pas des temples: il servaient à acueillir des fidèles et abritaient les banquets accompagnants les sacrifices.«[159].

The similarity of the North Part I of Building A on Despotiko to the Late Archaic temple of Sangri on Naxos is restricted to the front colonnade with (five) columns in antis and the two doors (fig. 79); they were obviously used for nocturnal processions in and out *one* room during the festivities for a Chtonic goddess – hardly transferable to the sanctuary of Despotiko.

Other buildings with more than two columns in antis similarly have only one room, as the Archaic Oikos of the Naxians (earlier west front with three columns in antis) and the – Archaic and Early Classical – »treasuries« no. 4 and 5 in the Sanctuary of Apollon on Delos (with five and four/five columns in antis[160]), and additionally the Late Archaic temple of Apollon and the Early Hellenistic Building D in Karthaia on Keos (four and six columns in antis)[161].

157 One of the rare examples is the »hestiatorion« in the sanctuary of Hera in Perachora, »après 500«: Hellmann 2006, 222 fig. 299, after Tomlinson 1969, 165 fig. 4; 167 fig. 5; another Archaic »salle de banquet?« lies in the sanctuary of Marmaria in Delphi: Hellmann 2006, 227 with fig. 308 (interpretation of N. Bookidis and others); two examples on Crete, both dedicated to two gods, are only Classic or Hellenistic: Aptera (»turn 5./4. cent. B.C.«) and Sta Lenika near Olonte/Olous (»2nd cent. B.C.«): Hellmann 2006, 29 with n. 39, the first also in Sporn 2002, 266, the second in Mallwitz 1981, 611 with fig. 11. Most of the examples likewise in Krause 1977. – There are some one room-buildings with porches and closed fronts: the Archaic temple of Zagora on Andros (Hellmann 2006, 41, after Cambitoglou), the Early Classic ›temple of Themis‹ in Rhamnous (Petrakos 1999, 190–193 with figs. 105. 106), a treasury in Delphi (Potidaia/Chalkidike?) and »petits édifices archaïques« in the Marmaria Sanctuary of Delphi as well as the Archaic temple of Artemis at Mount Kotilion/Arcadia (Hellmann 2006, 51–53 with fig. 54); further examples are Western Greek buildings.

158 A similar hearth was found in one of the rooms of the South Complex of Despotiko which must be dated to the 5th cent. or later, see infra with n. 276.

159 Grandjean – Salviat 2000, 163. – The doors of the northern rooms of the two buildings only lie a little excentric (or not at all excentric: Leypold 2008, n. 811), cf. n. 168. Börker 1983, 24 fig. 7 obviously was the first who (graphically) depicted 15 or 11 klinai in both North rooms, after Bergquist 1973, 44 n. 102; Leypold 2008, 161–163 argues against banqueting rooms. – The Thearion in the sanctuary of Apollon of Aigina similarly was reconstructed as a two room building with klinai and a porch of five columns in antis – on a poor base: Hoffelner 1999, 133–172 with figs. 168 (other variants) and 169 (the two room variant), reproduced in Hellmann 2006, 223 fig. 300.

160 Bruneau – Ducat 2005, 188; photo of a model in Hellmann 2006, 116 fig. 147.

161 Simantoni-Bournia et al. 2009, 140–175. – A banqueting(?) room in the

The facades of all these buildings had gables. There are no safe indications for the cult practice, and we can only assume what took place in the two rooms of the same size, a sort of ›double oikos‹, where two gods might have been worshipped. The huge gneiss block in the middle of the west wall foundation maybe indicates a special installation (foundation for an altar or a statue base?[162]). In spite of the different types of finds in both rooms the building could be called a ›temple‹.

The numerous *finds* in room A 1 constitute a foundation deposit, a sort of a votive bothros[163]. Typical for the latter is that the votives were not orderly disposed, but just collected so as to be protected.

The finds of room A 2 were not indicative of its function in the first phase. The absence of a cult image from both rooms of Building A North I for this period can be attributed to destruction or disturbance in later times. A further argument for the cultic function is the orientation of the building to the east[164], to the centre of the sanctuary.

Roughly one generation after the construction of the North Part I three rooms were added at the south, again with a common porch. Looking at the reconstruction it becomes clear that the new South Part was a separate unit (figs. 34. 79)[165]: south of the double pitched (gabled or hipped) roof above the façade of the North Part I and aligned with it lie the – presumed – eaves of the South Part[166].

All three rooms have doors at their east and west sides, obviously from the very beginning, and therefore are no storerooms. Their place next to the ›temple‹, their elaborate construction and indicative Archaic pottery from non-disturbed layers suggest that the three rooms had been a banqueting house (›hestiatorion‹)[167], though the – beyond it symmetric! – doors are rather obstructive to the furnishing with klinai[168]. On the other hand, one must admit that the doors opening to the outside of the rooms favour this furnishing.

As was discussed above, the small stone blocks along the walls could not have supported klinai, but maybe a wooden panelling or shelves. Wooden klinai could have been set up in front of the wall construction, eight in rooms A 3 and A 5 and six in the narrower room A 4. Hellenistic functional wares associated with ritual feasting, like a Cycladic lekane and a fragment of a Corinthian mortar, support the use of the South Part A as an ›hestiatorion‹ even in the Hellenistic period.

The alterations of the North Part A around 500 B.C. mainly concern an embellishment and enrichment and did not change its function. The discovery

Samothrakeion of Delos of the 4th – or maybe 5th – cent. B.C. has four columns in antis: Roux 1973, 548–554.

162 Cf. n. 127.

163 Recall the bothros in the ›Hekatompedos‹ in the Heraion of Samos: Walter – Vierneisl 1959, 27–42 (ca. 600 B.C., cf. Sinn 2005a; other examples in Thermos, Isthmia and Neandria – or Hellmann 2006, 128–130. For terminology cf. Patera 2012, 207–216.

164 On the Cyclades there is no rule for the direction of cultic buildings, see Gruben 1997a, 410 with n. 396; Hellmann 2006, 186–193.

165 In this (red) building phase, the eaves of the South Part lie on a higher level; consequently the south eaves of the North Part abut against the necessarily heightened common wall of the two parts, and had to be rebuilt; in this respect it makes no difference whether the roof of the North Part was hipped or gabled.

166 This plan – especially, if North Part I had columns at its front – resembles the 5th cent. »oikoi« with a common porch in the Sanctuary of Herakles on Thasos that served for dining: Grandjean – Salviat 2000, 144 f. with figs. 94. 95. It is reconstructed with a big pitched roof. The whole building was a ›hestiatorion‹ whereas in Despotiko at the most the South Part of Building A.

167 For comparable buildings see supra with n. 157–161; for banqueting buildings, especially (Late) Archaic, generally n. 58 and Leypold 2008.

168 The ›canonic‹ klinai room has one door that lies off centre so that the klinai are arranged with no head in a corner, see, for example Bouras 1967, 94 fig. 68 (Stoa of Brauron); Travlos 1971, 491 fig. 619 (Propylaia of Athens); McK. Camp 1990, 171 fig. 115 (South Stoa of the Athenian Agora); generally Börker 1983, 12 f. (arrangement in the »Uhrzeigersinn«); cf. Hellmann 2006, 218–231. – An example for klinai rooms with two doors – dated against 400 B.C. – exists in Acrocorinthos: Hellmann 2006, 221 fig. 297 and Leypold 2008, 84–89 with pls. 64–71, both after Bookidis – Stroud 1997.

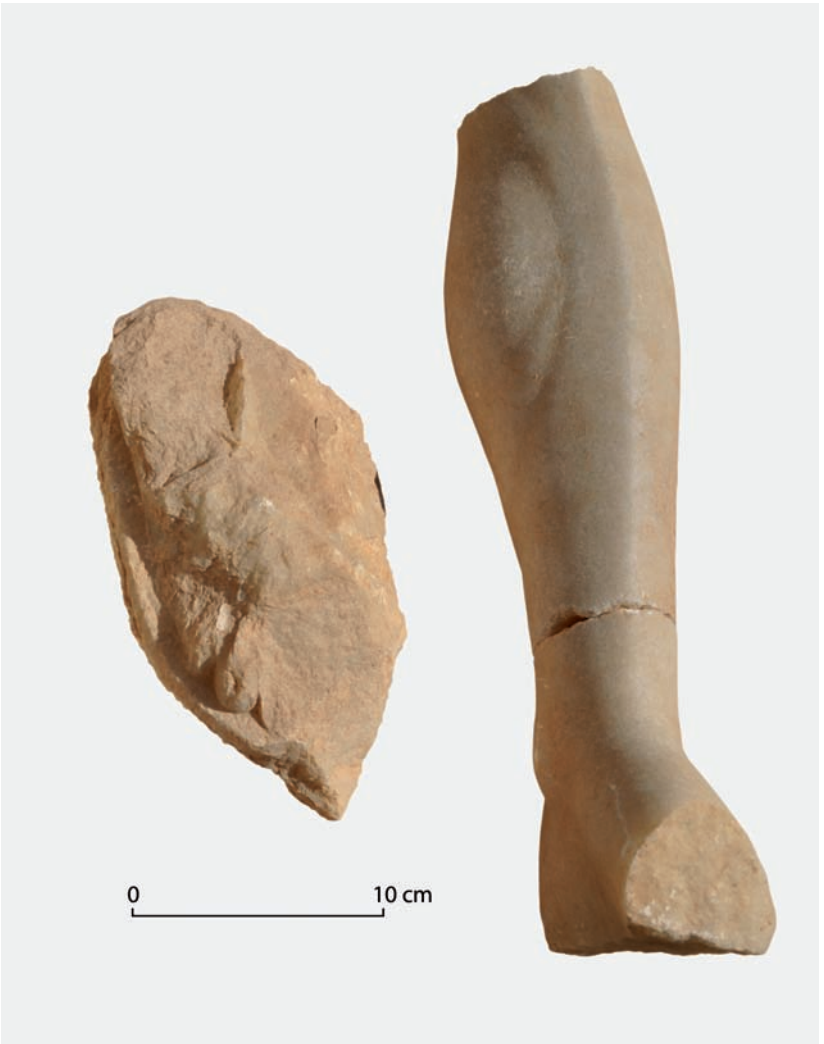


Fig. 42 Despotiko, Mandra. Finds in front of the south end of the porch of North Part A: lower leg and foot of two different Archaic kouroi (scale ca. 1 : 3)

of two fragments of the leg of a kouros and part of the plinth of another kouros in front of and at the same level as the foundation of the stylobate II of the porch (fig. 42) stress the interpretation as a temple[169]. If the marble base DM 2 or the other bases were originally set up in room A 2, they could attest the room's function as cult (statue) shrine. Maybe Apollo's sister Artemis was worshipped there as well, beside the main goddess[170].

To sum up, Building A consisted of two parts. The North Part had two rooms (A 1 and A 2) with front doors and a porch and should be identified with the

169 The fragment of a plinth with foot was found on a level of ca. +14.54, the fragments of the lower leg on ca. +14.34; the bottom level of the foundation of the East Wall II varies from +14.12 to ca. +14.40. The fragments probably came there when this foundation for the stylobate North II was laid, that is around 500 B.C. – and thus only very few decades after the kouroi had been created.

170 The only direct evidence for this goddess is a sherd with letters which could be read as APTHME, but also APXHME – this word, on the contrary, not easy to understand: Kourayos 2004a, 44. 82 fig. 53; Kourayos 2005b, 63 (finding spot Building Γ); Kourayos 2009, 57. 67 (photo and drawing). According to Jeffery 1990, 289–324 with fig. 44 the questionable sign can only be a »X«. – Other indirect indications for the cult of Artemis can be some finds from Building A I, like jewellery and small perfume containers (aryballoi, alabastra) often found in sanctuaries of female deities, the head of an Archaic kore and the fact that the Delian twins are co-worshipped on many Cycladic islands, including the ›metropolis‹ of Despotiko, Paros: Rubensohn 1949, 1849–1852.

›temple‹ of the sanctuary because of the types of finds, the axial orientation to the Semicircular Structure in the centre of the temenos and its resemblance with roughly contemporary cultic structures. The burial of the objects beneath the floor of room A 1 of the ›temple‹ in its first building phase was a conscious act of preserving the sanctuary's earlier activities, particularly the earlier ›cult image‹ as the Daedalic figure is interpreted. The place for this deposition might be called the treasury within the ›temple‹, where these cult objects of past religious activities and dedications of the worshippers were kept safe[171]. In a second building phase the porch was enlarged and embellished by a colonnade of the Doric order and gables with acroteria. Room A 2 could then have been a kind of shrine for the cult statue, as the marble base(s) suggest.

The South Part A with its three through rooms (A 3, A 4, A 5) and a common porch, decorated with a colonnade of a variant of the ›Island Doric‹ order, is interpreted as a dining installation which perhaps extended into the area west of the three rooms – creating a reason for the western doors, opening to the exterior.

Earlier Structure east of North Part A

Two pieces of a wall 50 cm wide, running parallel to the East Walls I and II, at a distance of 1.50 m, were uncovered in 2011 and 2012 (bottom level of the northern piece +14.33, fig. 43). A corner was found just south of the bothros with the Hestia Isthmia inscription, see the following. From there the wall continues ca. 2 m to the east, thus the two walls obviously constitute a building. Sections made in different places revealed a layer of marble chip debris from the working of the foundation for East Wall II stretching over these recently found walls, which were therefore erected earlier[172]. The building could be contemporary to the first building phase of the North Part, or is even older; finds made nearby suggest that it might even date back to the 7th cent. B.C.

›Altar‹ of Hestia Isthmia

East of Building A, aligned with its north wall, at a distance of only one meter, lies a structure created of 4 vertical marble slabs set up in a square 56 cm to 57 cm long[173]. They are ca. 8 cm thick and from 31 to ≥34 cm high. The top parts of all slabs are smoother, whereas the bottom parts are treated coarser, because they were stuck in the earth. The west slab on its top bears the inscription ΕΣΤΙΑΣ ΙΣΘΜΙΑΣ, in letter forms of the 5th or 4th cent. B.C.[174]; it was transported to the museum of Paros and substituted by a copy (figs. 43. 44). The front of the structure seems to have been in the south(east). In the interior a mixture of thrown stones, soil and pebbles was found, no pavement. Therefore – and because of the marble, it probably was a bothros, and not an eschara[175]. It was filled with later material.

The marble frame resembles the ›bothroi‹ found under the pavement of the porch of the South Part A and in the temple of Yria on Naxos; they both are bigger, though from marble and hollow as well[176]. One could imagine that visitors to the sanctuary after having made reverence to Apollo passed the bothros for Hestia Isthmia and paid a liquid tribute to the goddess responsible for their house and for the Isthmos across which they would have to make their way home. The epithet »Isthmia« was given due to this isthmus which

171 See Kourayos – Burns 2005, 156. – For a detailled discussion on the reformation of the sanctuary and the re-establishment of the cult see Kourayos (forthcoming).

172 The northernmost of the sections was laid 80 cm south of the northeast corner of Building A, and just south of the – later – Hestia bothros, see infra.

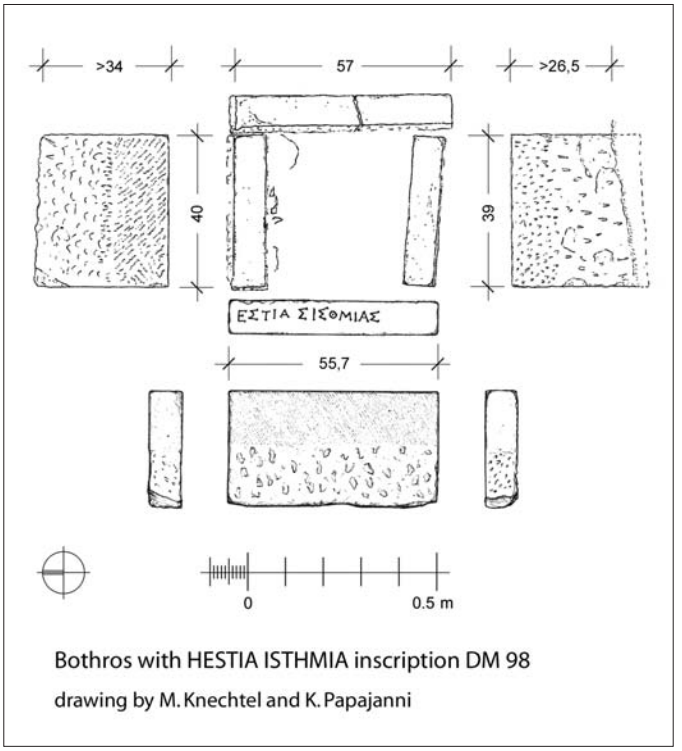
173 Photo as it was found: Kourayos 2004a, 83 fig. 55; already restored: Kourayos 2005b, 73 fig. 42; Kourayos 2009, 70 f. 76 f. 128.

174 Information kindly provided by Angelos P. Matthaiou, cf. n. 154.

175 Marble must be protected from heat, cf. Ohnesorg 1991, 126; the interesting example of an ›eschara‹ with outer marble and inner gneiss slabs on Delos: Plassart 1928, 210 with pl. 5; other examples on Thasos: Servais 1980, 14 with n. 34 (N-building of the sanctuary of Aliki, Herakleion, Passage des Théores, Dionysion). – For the forms and function of bothros and eschara see latest Hellmann 2006, 127–131 and Patera 2012, esp. 207–216.

176 See supra with n. 97. 98.

43



44

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 43 North Part A, East Wall II of the porch, from north, with earlier wall east (left) of the foundation; in the foreground the Hestia bothros

Fig. 44 Bothros with HESTIA ISTHMIA inscription (scale 1 : 20)

connected the islet Tsimintiri with Despotiko and probably also with Antiparos in antiquity and became submerged over the centuries (fig. 1)[177]. Hestia was one of the primarily worshipped deities in neighbouring Paros, where two sanctuaries dedicated to her have been found[178].

North Temenos, Building Δ

The foundation of Building Δ was thoroughly uncovered in 2004[179], together with the North peribolos wall, the North Gate and the ›North Stoa‹. Its upper structure has undergone serious damage.

This building was erected directly above the northern peribolos wall in a way that its northern part, the ›naos‹, lies north of the peribolos wall, and the southern part, the ›pronaos‹ (or porch) south of it. The dividing wall, which must have had a door, lies exactly on the peribolos wall (figs. 45. 46). The building is ca. 9.40 m wide and 12.50 m deep, the porch alone is 3.40 m deep.

The substruction of the naos walls was partly visible in antiquity. It is built of big gneiss blocks and gneiss slabs and smaller marble blocks, most of the latter at the south side. The bottom surface of the substruction was uncovered only at the West side (ca. +13.35) and the northeast (+13.53,5) and southeast corners (+13.98,5). The strong substructions were up to 1 m high (fig. 46), and remind of the foundations of East Wall II of Building A[180].

177 The buildings found on Tsimintiri could have been part of the sanctuary, since the two islands were connected.
178 Rubensohn 1949, 1847; Gruben 1982c; Berranger 1992, 76–78.

179 Kourayos 2005b, 77 f.; Kourayos 2008a, 390 f. with fig. 8; Kourayos 2009, 123–125. – The building was measured and drawn in 2011 and 2012 by Katarina Papajanni.

180 They also resemble the gneiss foundations of Parian and Delian buildings, see n. 99.

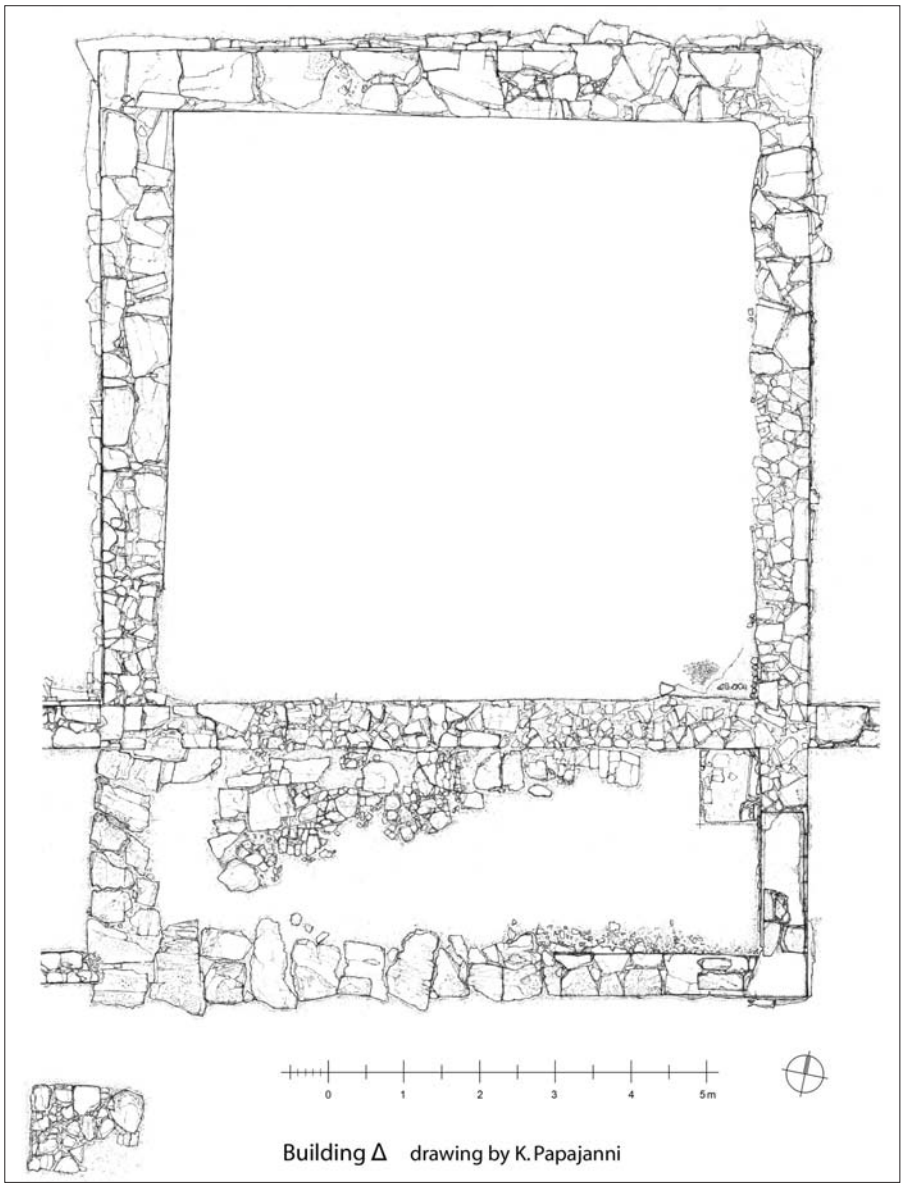


Fig. 45 Despotiko, Mandra. Building Δ, groundplan (scale 1 : 100)

The building material of the porch's foundation has a high percentage of marble[181]. On the east side of the porch the original gneiss euthynteria still survived (+14.95,5/14.94). Upon it lie three marble blocks, two from the internal wall face with fronts dressed with a toothed chisel; the front of the one block from the external wall face is picked[182]. They give the width of the wall as being 54–55 cm (fig. 46). In front of these face blocks a head or anta block must have existed[183]. The two face blocks on the gneiss slab following

181 The two visible layers of the south or front wall foundation are of marble: the bottom one (+14.70,5/14.80,5), in the western half, of roughly contoured and picked slabs of a marble rich of iron, therefore reddish; the upper one (+14.80/14.82), near the east end, of small face blocks carefully joined and picked at their fronts (fig. 46).

182 The sides are partly worked using a drove; the upper surfaces are smoothened by goats which had their pen nearby – as were other members of the sanctuary.

183 The minimum distance to the – theoretic – front of the wall is 50 cm. It could have been filled by a single anta head block – at least in this layer, thus comparable to the presumable anta block (DM 135) of North Part I of Building A, which has a maximum depth of only 16 cm, see supra with fig. 12.

Fig. 46 Despotiko, Mandra. Building Δ, southeast corner, from south

west of the corner euthynteria slab no longer lie in situ[184]. Thus the front of Building Δ can be reconstructed with a colonnade[185].

From this colonnade could originate the gneiss slab DM 127 (fig. 13), that also was considered as part of the colonnade of the North Part A I, see supra. It measures 56 cm × 80 cm × 14 cm and would fit well to the foundation. The 38–40 cm diameter weathering mark roughly corresponds with the lower diameter of the ›Island Ionic‹ base DM 70 found nearby. The clear distance between the two side walls of the porch, 8.20 m, suggest that there were four columns in antis[186].

On the foundation of the dividing wall, which is ca. 60 cm deep, a big marble-faced block was found in removed, oblique, position (DM 164)[187]. Its maximum depth of 50 cm had claimed nearly the full depth of the wall. Its front, worked with toothed chisel, and the sides, worked with pick and drove, resemble the face blocks of the east wall of the porch. Many smaller wall blocks of the same ›fine‹ kind and more roughly worked – from the inner wall faces of the naos? – were found on and east of the ruin and deposited east of the building.

In the dividing wall one would expect a door – or maybe even two –, of which no foundation or support slabs were recognized. The threshold cannot have been too thick since the highest point of the foundation of the dividing

184 The western gneiss slab is not well joined to the corner euthynteria slab, and its surface is at a lower level (+14.89). Of the two face blocks one is of marble, the front of which is picked like the exterior block of the east wall; the rear block is of gneiss, and badly faced. Since they both lie on a few millimeters of earth, they obviously were set there at a later date – maybe only in the very late phase when the North Gate was closed, see infra.

185 On the lower gneiss euthynteria slab of the front probably lay a further, thinner slab. Thus the ›base‹ of the front of Building Δ with a gneiss stylobate on a low marble substruction resembles the front of the South Part of Building A (fig. 20), and maybe the front of the North Part I as well, see supra.

186 A reconstruction with only two columns in antis is improbable with the exterior width of the building, ca. 9.30 m: naoi with two columns in antis, temples or treasuries, generally are ca. 6 m wide (see, for example, Schuller 1991, fig. 46 or Bommelaer 1991, passim), wider only when they are surrounded by a peristasis. – With the given dimensions and four columns the axis would be ca. 1.75 m. This solution can be compared with other cultic buildings, see supra with n. 159–161.

187 The front and the top and bottom surfaces of that block do not stand at right angles to each other, but in obtuse or acute angles. The phenomenon of oblique surfaces is known from wall blocks of the temple of Sangri, another group of blocks on Naxos that probably

wall lies at about the same level as the pavement of the porch, made of small gneiss slabs[188].

The floor of the naos is preserved in a very good condition. It comprises a thick sub-layer of soil and chipped stones of medium size, a layer of off-white plaster and a surface of whitish pebbles and chips, which give the impression of a mosaic, comparable to the floors of the South Part A and Building E[189]. This well preserved ›mosaic floor‹ was restored in 2005[190].

Besides the already mentioned wall blocks, two heavily damaged column drums, a torus of the ›Island Ionic‹ type (fig. 47) as well as two complete and one fragmentary Ionic cornices, that differ from the ones of the South Part A, were detected east and south of the ruin. Of the columns only a minimum diameter of ≥36.8 cm is given; the upper diameter of the torus is 40 cm[191]. In analogy to the proportions of ›Island Ionic‹ columns, they can be reconstructed ca. 3.40 m high. Such columns could have supported the ceiling of the naos[192], or – more probably – had been part of the front colonnade. Their size agrees with the reconstruction of the suggested four front columns, see supra. The front entablature could have been crowned by the above-mentioned cornices.

Though the exact form of Building Δ is uncertain, its rectangular plan and the presumable front colonnade suggest that the ridge ran north-south. In the excavation trench at the southeast corner some fragments of a Laconian terracotta pan tile were found in a context with Late Geometric pottery[193]. From parallels with tiles from Samos it could be dated into the »earlier 6th cent. B.C.«[194], but also later in the 6th cent. B.C. That raises the question of whether Building Δ really is that old, or if we have any other architectural structures of this period in the sanctuary of Despotiko. To date, the building east of Building A North or the walls southeast of the South Complex are possibilities, but this has to be made clear by further excavations.

For the dating of the temple-like Building Δ itself, we only have the following, fairly reliable indicators: the setting above the northern peribolos wall, which was erected probably already around the middle of the 6th cent., see infra; the style and technique of masonry which somewhat resemble those of Building A South[195], though the substruction or foundation is heavier; the use of the toothed chisel, which started around 560/550 B.C., on the front of the marble wall blocks; the type of torus of the marble column base if it actually belongs to the building (fig. 47)[196]. At the bases of the temple of Sangri on

Fig. 47 Despotiko, Mandra. Torus of the ›Island Ionic‹ type (DM 70), found near Building Δ

originate from the sanctuary of Yria, and from wall blocks of the so-called temple of Anios in Delos: Lambertz 2001, 393–408 with n. 35.

188 Deviding wall +14.83; pavement of the porch +14.83,5/ +14.86. – For comparison: The preserved thresholds of Building A lie a few centimetres above the pavements.

189 Cf. maybe the floor of chalk and pebbles in the sanctuary(?) of Xobourgo on Tinos: Kontoleon 1952, 535–537, or the rests of (more orderly) »pebble mosaics« in ›treasury II‹ and the temple of Hera on Delos and the »Banketthaus« in the Delion of Paros: Schuller 1991, 64 f. with fig. 26; 97 pl. 52, 1. 2. – For pebble floors generally see Salzmann 1982 and later publications by the same author.

190 This task was fulfilled by the conservator G. Karampalis and his collaborators.

191 The two have round dowel holes of 6.7 cm to 7 cm diameter and a depth of ca. 6 cm in common, which resemble the dowels of the column drums of the South Part A colonnade, see supra.

192 The average ›proportional‹ height of ›Island Ionic‹ colums is 8.5 lower diameters: prostoon of the Oikos of the Naxians on Delos 7.8 lower diameters; stoa of the Naxians, Delos: 8.9 lower diameters; Archaic temple of Yria/Naxos 9 lower diameters; temple of Sangri/ Naxos 8.2 lower diameters. – Inner columns, at least in ›Island Ionic‹ buildings, are taller than front columns, see the Oikos of the Naxians, the Archaic temple of Yria and the temple of Sangri (Gruben 1996, fig. 18).

193 The fragments attest pan tiles ca. 1.5 cm thick, slightly curved, with a blackish slip on the top, no paint on the – rougher – bottom, and small rims at the back and probably sides as well. – Similar, but not identical fragments of Archaic Laconian pan and cover tiles have been found in 2004, in and around the naos of Building Δ.

194 The fragments resemble the type Samos I.4 which was dated »at the latest earlier 6th century«: Ohnesorg 2009, 26–30 with fig. 2; 53.

195 Front and porch with gneiss euthynteria above courses of marble, small carefully dressed marble wall faces.

196 The smooth(!) profile of the torus has its tangent below the horizontal axis creating a ›hanging‹ contour, a feature that generally dates from the second

Fig. 48 Despotiko, Mandra. Dinos of Cycladic workshop from Building Δ, 7th cent. B.C.

Naxos the torus varies from a still slightly ›hanging‹ profile to an almost perfect half circle[197]. Still later the profile becomes tauter, with its tangent located above the horizontal axis. The associated finds, as follows, do not contradict this date. All this evidence suggests that Building Δ was erected in the third quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.

Finds from Building Δ

The number, wealth and variety of finds made in or near Building Δ were astonishing, as was their fragmentary condition[198]. Most of the pottery was found concentrated at the outside of the east wall of the naos, scattered in four different layers. It should be noted that the two column drums as well as a proportion of building material has been found at this side of the building indicating that it had collapsed to the east.

The pottery ranges chronologically from the Late Geometric to the Early Classical period[199]. Late and Sub-Geometric material has been found in the lowest layers at the external southeast corner of the porch and at the East side of the naos. It includes fragments of skyphoi, metope-kraters and oinochoai (fig. 48).

The greatest amount of pottery belongs to the Archaic period, mainly to the 7th and first half of the 6th cent. B.C. Local wares form the majority of the ceramics and include common Cycladic vessels of the 7th and 6th cent. B.C. as well as ›Melian‹ wares[200]. A fragmentary Parian dinos of the 7th cent. B.C.

quarter of the 6th cent. until the later 6th cent. B.C.: Ohnesorg 1996, 41 f.; Ohnesorg 2007, 42. 45 with n. 311: »hängend« (hanging); Hendrich 2007, 20. 28. 197 f. uses the expression »gedrückt« (pressed). – Here follow (only Cycladic) examples for comparable bases: inner and front columns of the Archaic temple of Yria/Naxos, »2nd quarter of the 6th cent.« (Gruben 1996, 68 with figs. 8. 18; Gruben 1997a, 265 fig. 2 b; Gruben 2001, 344 fig. 262; 377 fig. 284 middle; Ohnesorg 2005, 136 fig. 1); columns of the prostoon of the Oikos of the Naxians/Delos, »ca. 560 B.C.« (Courbin 1980, 102 f. with pls. 23. 72); base of the interior column of the Monument with Hexagones/Delos, »Late Archaic« (Vallois 1966, 127; Hellmann – Fraisse 1979, 52 f. with figs. 29. 30 besides the base of Aliki; Llinas – Fraisse 1995, 89 with fig. 307; Gruben 1997a, 392–397 with figs. 67 r; 70 c – not b, as by mistake on p. 392); bases of the North building in Aliki on Thasos, »ca. 530 – 525« (Servais 1980, 16–20 with figs. 21–23: in our opinion somewhat earlier because of the ›hanging‹ torus-profile and the – p. 16 with n. 16 even stressed – not yet existing work with the toothed chisel); Sangri see next note.

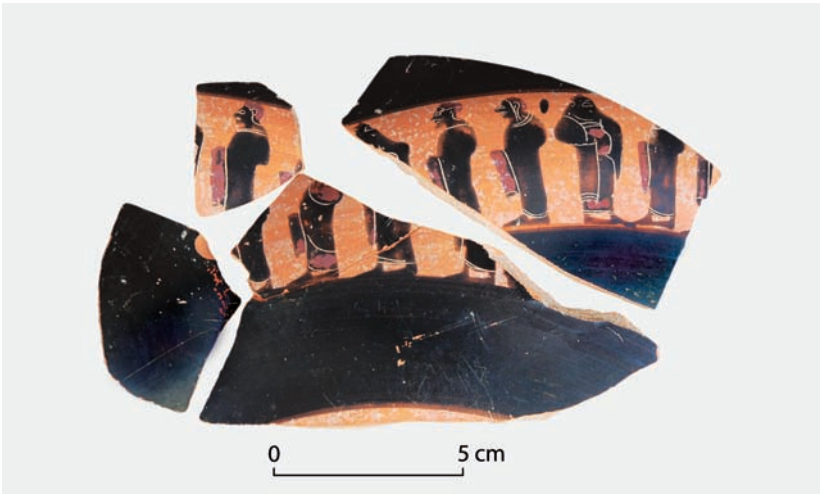
197 Wesenberg 1971, 119 fig. 251; Gruben 1996, 74 fig. 18; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002, 390 fig. 7; 395 fig. 14; Ohnesorg 2005, 140 fig. 4.

198 Only a few lamps and Corinthian vessels were found intact in contrast to hundreds of pot sherds.

199 For literature on similar finds see n. 136–145.

200 To this subject cf. Zapheiropoulou 2003.

49



50

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 49 Corinthian pottery from Building Δ, 7th and 6th cent. B.C. (aryballos and alabastra), scale ca. 1 : 2

Fig. 50 Attic black-figured kylix from Building Δ, 6th cent. B.C. (scale ca. 1 : 2)

deserves special reference. It depicts marching warriors of the Trojan War and bears the inscriptions of their names, ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ, ΣΘΕΝΕΛΟΣ[201]. This is the only known inscribed Archaic vase of that type (fig. 48).

The Archaic material also includes a large amount of intact or partly preserved Corinthian vessels (fig. 49), mostly small oil or perfume containers and drinking vessels[202].

Attic imported pottery, mostly dated to the 6th cent. B.C., was found mixed with earlier material. The finest example is a partly preserved black-figured kylix with the depiction of men wearing long chitons and cloaks (fig. 50). Attic wares also include very few fragments of red-figured vases. Furthermore, parts of black-painted drinking vessels were found, some of which show graffiti of the letters A, Π, Ο, Λ of the name of the god Απόλλων; part of the rim of a cup bears the graffito [Α]ΝΕΘΗΚΕ (fig. 39), dated to the end of the 6th cent. B.C.[203]. Other imported pottery includes few fragments of east Ionian vessels.

Four intact and several fragmentary lamps, which belong to common types of the third and fourth quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.[204], provide a quite safe date for the period of use of the building. Besides pottery, the layers extracted from the east side of the building contained bronze and iron items, beads and bones.

Though most of the vessels are of the same type and date as the ones from the assemblage in room A 1 of Building A[205], the contrast in the nature of two

201 Kourayos 2004a, 50; Kourayos 2012, 58 with drawing by K. Mavragani.
202 Bibliography about Corinthian pottery see n. 138.
203 Moore et al. 1986, 276 n. 569.
204 Howland 1958, 26 f. (type 12B); 30–33 (type 16).
205 Exception are the intact aryballoi, two of which are dated to the first half of 7th cent. B.C. and one to the first half of 6th cent. B.C.

»depositions« is obvious. The remarkably fragmentary – and mixed – material from Building Δ indicates a non-deliberate deposition and suggests the destruction of the objects already before their burial[206]. One explanation is, that the 8th to early 6th cent. B.C. pottery found around the building represents earlier cult/votive material that was used as ›filling‹, mixed with stones. Another possibility is, that the finds in the upper layers, which dated up to Early Classical times, could come from the collapse of Building Δ, see supra. In any case the building had apparently served for the safe keeping of offerings. The building's cultic function is also reinforced by the presence of the inscribed sherds of drinking vessels.

Altar Southwest of Building Δ

A foundation measuring 1.10 m × 1.50 m was found 1.20 m south of the southwest corner of the porch of Building Δ (fig. 45). Although it does not lie along the building's axis it could have borne a small block altar, which should be associated with the cult of Building Δ[207]. It lies ca. 3 m north of a further, round, structure, maybe a hearth, and ca. 8 m north of the ΕΣΤΙΑΣ ΙΣΘΜΙΑΣ bothros.

To sum up: Building Δ consists of a naos and a pronaos with probably four columns in antis and a double pitched (gabled or hipped) roof, thus resembling temple-buildings. Its front looks south[208], to the presumable altar slightly to the southwest and the Semicircular Structure to the southeast, at a distance of 11 m. Since the latter is the cultic centre of the sanctuary, Building Δ also served cultic purposes as did Building A[209]. The worshipped god of the cult is the same: Apollo, since he is the only deity certainly named on pottery fragments from the area of both buildings (fig. 39).

North Temenos: Peribolos Wall, North Gate, South Gate, ›North‹ and ›South Stoa‹

The *peribolos wall* has already been mentioned: the western back wall of Building A has been used as the west border of the temenos, and the southern side wall of the South Part A as part of its south border (fig. 4). The latter was elongated to the east; thus the whole temenos describes a rectangle of roughly 52 m (E–W) to 43 m (N–S). The peribolos wall is missing at the southeast corner and in greater parts at the east side. In the northwest corner the reconstruction is unclear (fig. 5).

The elongation of the south wall of Building A was obviously erected in one stretch with the east peribolos wall, that implies a terminus ad or post quem of ca. 540/530 B.C., the date of the erection of South Part A. This wall had perhaps already been built around the middle of the 6th cent. B.C., a dating supported by the B4-deposit at the northern peribolos wall (fig. 51), as follows. This wall is built of dark grey gneiss, preserved up to 60 cm above the uppermost foundation course (fig. 52); its bottom surface lies at ≤14.03,5[210]. At the south and east peribolos walls the masonry and the foundations are of a brighter grey gneiss[211]. The average width of the masonry above the wider foundations is 50 cm.

The forementioned *B4-deposit* lies 1 m west of the crossing of the west wall of Building Δ with the North peribolos wall (fig. 51)[212]. It contained four Corinthian aryballoi and one Attic miniature amphoriskos along with four terracotta figurines of the so-called Aphrodite Group, all dated to the first half of the 6th cent. B.C.[213]. The objects had been carefully placed right north of

206 However it is not clear if this is a coincidence or a deliberate act.

207 The size allows to reconstruct a table of ca. 1.20 m × 65 cm; the prothesis probably lay on the south side and was ≤35 cm deep, because the small distance to the temple would not allow sufficient space on the north side, cf. smaller block altars in Paros and Delos: Ohnesorg 1991; Etienne 1991.

208 On the direction of cultic buildings in the Cyclades see n. 164.

209 One might compare it to the ›quarter circle‹ that is formed by the three temples of Apollon and the five ›treasuries‹ around the ›altar of horns‹ in the sanctuary of Delos.

210 Level of the block under the Eastern pivot hole of the North Gate; at the west side of the gate the bottom was not uncovered, but presumably lay a little deeper.

211 Draganits 2009, esp. 95 f. differs between »white« and »grey« (granite) gneiss – here is used »bright grey« and »dark grey« gneiss.

212 B4 is a square of the grid that was laid over the whole site, not reproduced here. It helps locating and identifying the finds: Kourayos 2006a, 155; Kourayos 2009, 124 fig. bottom left.

213 Cf. n. 145. – In Karakassi 2006 one of the standing figurines has been published.

Fig. 51 Despotiko, Mandra. Artefacts at the foundation of the North peribolos wall, from north (›B4-Deposit‹)

the exterior wall face, at the foundation level, suggesting a deliberate act of deposition. It can be interpreted as a ›foundation deposit‹ since it probably highlighted activities in the sanctuary, like the erection of a building or the nobilitation of already existing structures. It provides a terminus ad or post quem for the construction of the North peribolos wall[214] or at least its north west branch around or little after 550 B.C.

Only 2.20 m east of Building Δ, within the northern peribolos wall, lies the *North Gate*, excavated in 2004 and 2011 (figs. 52. 53). Its first building phase is contemporary with the peribolos wall, because the two big dark gneiss blocks at the sides of the gate (top surface +14.40/+14.39,8) are part of the wall. They lie behind the inner, southern line of the peribolos wall, and bear round beddings for (bronze) pivot cups (diameter 8 cm, depth 2.5 cm) in an axial space of 2.46 m. These separately worked pivot bases allow to reconstruct a door ca. 2.40 m wide with two wings[215]. A fragmentary vertical gneiss block on the western ›pivot base‹ could be the rest of the door jamb. The threshold – if there was one at all – must have been a rather thin slab above the gneiss blocks[216]. The floor of the gate's first building phase is confirmed by paving slabs ca. 10 cm below the ›bases‹ (~+14.30); this floor also is preserved in the northeast corner of the pronaos of Building Δ – already in existence there before the building was erected (ca. +14.24).

In the next phase of the North Gate, roughly contemporary with Building Δ, the slightly oblique east wall of a niche was built. It respects the eastern pivot hole of door I. A bigger gneiss block lying on the western base, likewise oblique and respecting its pivot hole, might be the rest of the corresponding

214 It is not possible to infer the deposit as a »foundation deposit« for the construction of Building Δ, since it was too far away from its west wall.

215 2.40 m is an unusually wide door and mainly confirmed for doors of temples, see Büsing-Kolbe 1978; Gruben – Koenigs 1970, 144–149; Gruben 1982a, 193–195; Ohnesorg 2007, 19 with table 1. The wooden wings of the big ›Island Ionic‹ doors are fixed by the knuckle hinge patent. There are huge doors using the pivot patent as well, for example at the Athenian Propylaia, and last but not least at the Roman Pantheon with its wings ca. 2 m wide (Gruben 1997b).

216 A bolt hole that is to be expected with a two-winged door more probably lay on the threshold than in a separate block, though there are examples for the latter in the sanctuary of Despotiko, at the later threshold of the North Gate, see infra, and at doors in the South Complex, as well as elsewhere. – The whole door, which must have had a lintel as well, could have looked like the door reconstructed for the Propylon of the ›Western Building‹ of the sanctuary of Yria on Naxos: Ohnesorg 2005, 139 fig. 3 (drawing M. Lambertz).

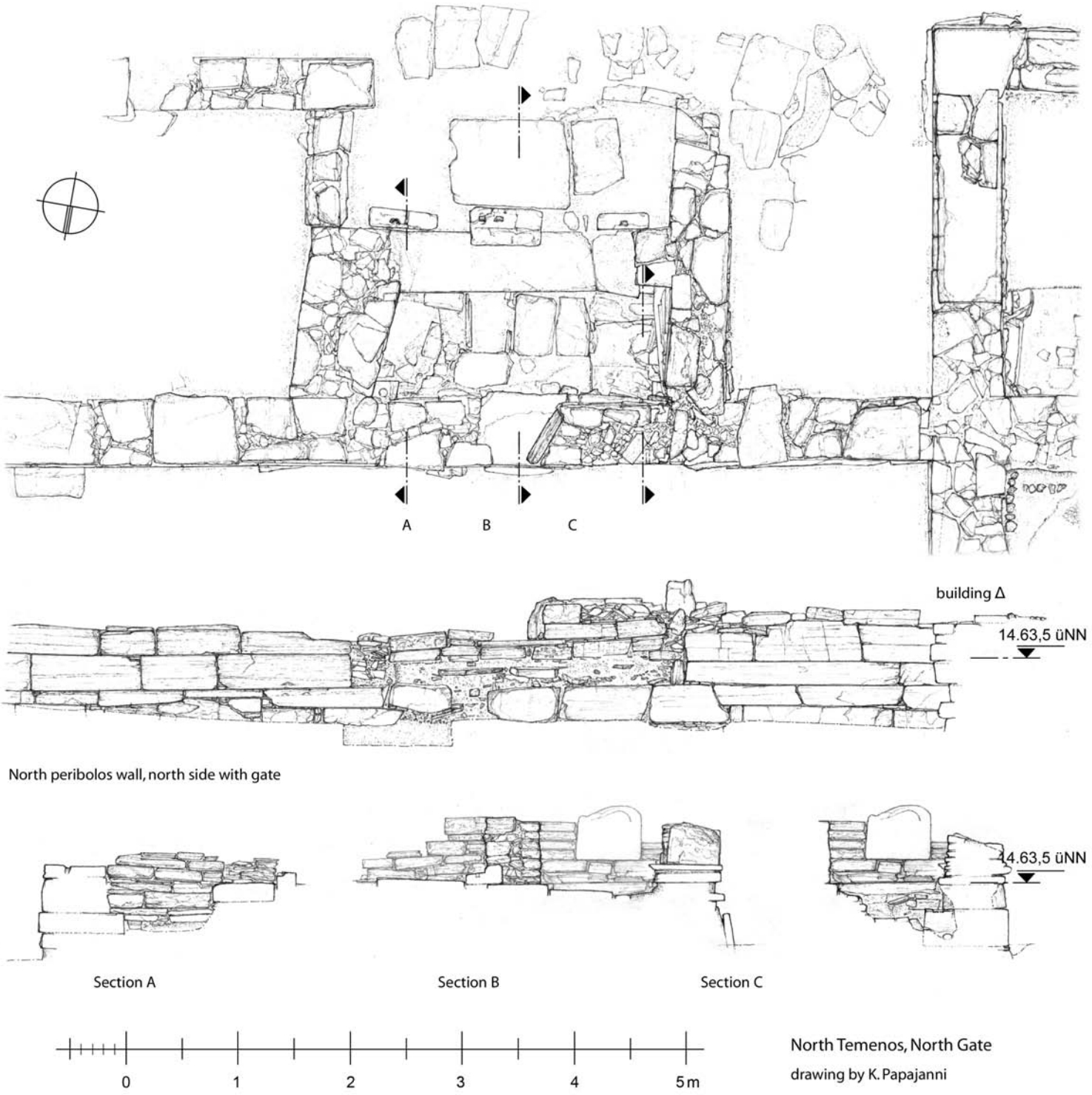


Fig. 52 Despotiko, Mandra. North Gate, groundplan and elevations (scale 1 : 50)

Fig. 53 Despotiko, Mandra. North Gate from south

west wall of the niche. A second threshold made of a smaller marble and a bigger gneiss slab, lying in situ nearly 1 m south of the peribolos wall (+14.62,5/+14.63)[217], is of the same period, since linked with the east wall of the niche. If the respected pivot holes of door I were still in use when door II was constructed, they could only have served as a trellis that was folded, since there was no more space[218].

Gneiss slabs north of the threshold that lie on other, vertical, slabs (ca. +14.54±5) created a step between the lower external and higher internal levels; at this time the presumable trellis could no longer have been in function.

In a further phase the west wall of the niche was renewed. A T-shaped projection, maybe itself the door jamb, joins it with threshold II, which still was in use. The door of this phase is confirmed by the bases for pivot and bolt holes, lying south of the two-part threshold (figs. 52. 53). The bases are separately worked and of poros (+14.73,5±1)[219], and might be re-used. The middle base for the bolt hole(s) is stepped as a door check and partly lies *on* the threshold. The axial distance of the two pivot holes leads to the reconstruction of a two-winged door 2 m wide, which opened into the temenos.

In a very late phase – maybe only in modern times – the (door) opening in the peribolos wall, that was later a part of the niche, was closed. In the fill the western jamb of a small opening is left, a sort of a loophole; its sill lies rather deep (fig. 53). Maybe it is an architectural relic of the ›kastro‹ known from old maps and oral tradition[220].

217 Two gneiss slabs south of this threshold, lying on a slightly higher level (+14.68/+14.64,2), seem to confirm the pavement belonging to this threshold, which might have sunk or was more worn down; alternatively they belonged to the next building phase in which the same threshold was used.

218 It cannot be excluded, that the wings opened to the outwards at this state of the gate. – Examples for multisectional trellised doors are to be found at the main door of the Archaic temple of Yria on Naxos or at the east door of the Oikos of the Naxians on Delos: Gruben 1997a, 331–338 with fig. 36; a well known example from the 4th cent. B.C. is the multisectional grill door at the tholos of Delphi. Two-winged doors with an additional grill are testified or reconstructed for the treasury of the Siphnians in Delphi, the Letoon in the sanctuary of Delos (side door), the temple of Hera on Delos, temples B and C on Paros and the temple of Sangri on Naxos: Daux – Hansen 1987, 137; Plassart 1928, 204; Gruben 1982a, 182 f.; Gruben 1982b, 227; Büsing-Kolbe 1978, 86 with n. 99.

219 For related material see n. 57. Pivot bases are sometimes worked separately in the sanctuary of Despotiko, already in the first building phase of the North Gate, at the door of the ›Building with Canal‹ and at the three ›Kouros doors‹, see infra; this phenomon occurs also at other buildings of this period and era. – Cf. n. 280 for the normal case.

220 Kourayos 2009, 165.

54

55

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 54 Part of a »Melian« plate from the North Gate, 7th cent. B.C. (scale 1 : 1)

Fig. 55 ›North Stoa‹ from west, in the foreground the North Gate

Despite the fact that finds from the North Gate cannot provide secure dates for each of its construction phases, pottery found north of the gate, at the level of its foundation, provides a terminus post quem at least for the first building phase. The finds from that area included two partly preserved Corinthian alabastra dated to the second half of the 7th cent. B.C., an aryballos dated to the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. as well as part of a 7th cent. ›Melian‹ plate with the depiction of a female figure (fig. 54)[221].

The three rooms following to the east, the so-called *North Stoa*, are obviously contemporary with the niche of the gate, which was dated somewhere in the second half of the 6th cent. (fig. 55). The rooms share the peribolos wall as their north side and extend as far as the north east corner of the peribolos, more than 27 m away. The common south wall is ca. 40 cm thick and built of gneiss slabs. Between this south wall and the peribolos wall unbonded cross walls 35 cm and 45 cm thick rose. In the south wall of the western and middle rooms lie gneiss thresholds with rebates, and two pivot holes for the doors on each, which opened out on the temenos.

The walls of the easternmost room and the walls of the adjacent rooms at the east side of the temenos are partly built from a much darker grey gneiss[222].

In the middle of the ›North Stoa‹ (square B 10) many fragments of rooftiles were found[223]; one more fragment comes from east of Building Δ. A catalogued fragment probably belongs to a Corinthian pan tile with a rear rim, and seems to date only from the Classical or Hellenistic period. One of the other two fragments is from an Archaic Laconian cover tile with blackish slip. If the ›stoa‹ had already been erected in the 6th cent., and the tile belonged to it, it could have come from the original roof, and the later Corinthian pan tile from a restoration.

Most of the finds of the ›North Stoa‹ originate from the western room, including three Attic lamps dated to the third/fourth quarter of 6th cent. B.C.[224] as well as pieces of fine Attic skyphoi and part of a red-figured krater.

221 Kourayos 2006a, 154 f.
222 Geologically grey granite gneiss: Draganits 2009, 96. 98; cf. n. 211.
223 Three of the fragments were catalogued (DM 92 and two without numbers).
224 They resemble the Agora 12 and 16 types, see Howland 1958.

56

57

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 56 South Gate, groundplan and sections (scale 1 : 50)

Fig. 57 South Gate and ›South Stoa‹, east part, from southwest

In the southern temenos wall, ca. 25 m east of the southwest corner of Building A, lies another opening with a niche, the *South Gate* (figs. 56. 57)[225]. The niche (2.20 m × 60 cm) is formed by three walls, made of gneiss slabs, the western one badly preserved. The bottom level of their foundations (+15.48,5/+15.46,5) is higher than the bottom level of the South temenos wall (+14.94). Additionally a row of vertical stone slabs runs south of the line of this wall. So it's the ›frame‹ for – one or two – steps that lead to the higher level of the South Complex.

225 Documentation and analysis of this structure was undertaken by V. Scheumann in 2011 and formed the basis of this description.

At the sides of the niche, on the peribolos wall, lie two bigger gneiss slabs (top surface +15.53/+15.49,5). The eastern one has a square bedding ca. 16 cm long and ≤3 cm deep. Maybe it is associated with a door jamb or with the end of a threshold for a door[226]. Presumably the South Gate of the temenos had a door as had the North Gate, but its reconstruction remains hypothetical: because of the steps the threshold cannot have been thicker than 15 cm, then of gneiss (~+15.65)[227]. Door jambs standing on the threshold would leave a maximum clear width of 2.60 m. Thus the door had two wings, like the door of the North Gate. It must have opened into the temenos.

A solution for the floor in front of the north side of the South Gate is unknown but could be similar to the North Gate where a pavement lay between the niche of the door and the temenos.

The gate seems to be contemporary with the South temenos wall (540/530 B.C.), since there are no relics of foundations or other indications that the opening was created later[228].

North of the South temenos wall, and at a distance of ca. 3 m parallel to it, runs a wall. It limits a number of rooms that were obviously added later, the *›South Stoa‹* (fig. 57). West of the South Gate only its foundations are preserved, detected in 2010. They have two faces and a maximum depth of 80 to 90 cm and lie under a ›labyrinth‹ of later walls (fig. 8). At the western end the uppermost course from gneiss has a straight north face. It abuts against the gneiss stylobate of the porch of the South Part of Building A (fig. 20, background). The reconstruction of a ›stoa‹ right in front of the colonnade of the South Part A, which would cover its southernmost part, is doubtful[229].

East of the South Gate the north wall of the ›stoa‹ is preserved until 30 cm above the foundation, 50 cm wide. The two cross walls, only 26 cm and 30 cm wide and 3.75 m apart from each other, are bonded neither with the peribolos wall nor with the north wall. A third cross wall ca. 12 m further to the east had collapsed; in between there were probably others. Like at the ›North Stoa‹, there was no colonnade, and the doors on the north sides of these rooms must have opened into the temenos.

The foundation of the South temenos wall continues to the east. If the southeast corner lay in the line of the east peribolos wall, given by the relics of its foundation[230], its distance from the southwest corner was ca. 43 m, see supra. The material of the walls was obviously robbed. In a section 22 m north of this theoretic corner neither relics of the east peribolos wall nor of an eastern gate came to light[231].

North of this section, and west of the peribolos wall, lie the relics of two or three further rooms, which were named the *›East Stoa‹*. Their walls are built partly of very dark gneiss, as are the walls of the easternmost room of the ›North Stoa‹. They are also bonded, thus contemporary (fig. 58). The northeast corner room abuts against the more western rooms of the ›North Stoa‹, which themselves belong to the second building phase of the North Gate at the earliest, see supra.

Thus the north, east and south sides of the temenos were all occupied by small rooms opening to the interior of the temenos, presenting a roughly symmetrical spatial organization. One can compare it with the – likewise rectangular – temene of the sanctuaries of Yria on Naxos and Artemis on Paros, that are probably (Late) Archaic, but of the former only a western stoa is known of with certainity, and the latter is too small for extended stoas. Also similar is the sanctuary of Apollon on Delos, but its (eastern) peribolos dates only ca. 300 B.C.; comparably late are the periboloi and optional stoas of other temene (Aigina, Corinth, Thasos)[232].

226 Cf. all preserved (marble) thresholds of Building A in the sanctuary of Despotiko, or the Oikos of the Naxians with its three doors: Gruben 1997a, 323–338 (here further examples like the door of the Archaic temple of Yria, fig. 33, with a reconstruction of the knuckle hinge that was replaced by a new one by Manolis Korres still unpublished, cf. Gruben 1982a, 193 f. with figs. 33. 34).

227 Into this threshold the pivot holes must have been inserted. – Gneiss thresholds exist in different places of the sanctuary, at the North Gate (one part, see supra), the North Stoa, and at the ›Square Building‹ and the ›Building with Canal‹ in the South Complex; their thickness varies from 10 cm to 12 cm, with lengths around ca. 1.60 m.

228 Sections made in 2010 and 2011 showed no traces of a wall or foundation in the opening.

229 Possible alternatives are only low walls for the westernmost of the ›stoa‹ rooms or a gap between the ›stoa‹ and the colonnade. A small round gneiss base (diameter 22 cm) standing on the westernmost slab of the gneiss foundation of the ›South Stoa‹ excludes a wall; it slightly cuts into the gneiss stylobate of the South Part A and probably bore a votive.

230 A 6 m long and ca. 1 m wide part of the foundation of the east peribolos wall has been uncovered ca. 4.50 m north of the theoretic corner.

231 The section, made in 2011, lies 21 m south of the northeast corner, that is rather in the middle of the east peribolos wall.

232 Summarizing: Hellmann 2006, 175–208. – Especially to Corinth: Robinson 1976, 240–247 (6th cent. peribolos wall).

Fig. 58 Despotiko, Mandra. Building E, ›Connection Building‹ and ›East‹ and ›North Stoas‹: aerial view from east

Building E and ›Connecting Building‹

To the east of the northeast corner of the peribolos, at a distance of 3 to 4 m, lies *Building E* (figs. 4. 58. 59), outside the temenos and oblique to the eastern peribolos wall (angle ca. 85/95°). The building was traced in 2003. It consists of an oikos of two rooms rather disturbed: part of the south wall is missing and only few courses of the foundation of the east wall are preserved. Between the oikos and the peribolos a smaller structure again with two rooms was set, and to the south of it a suite of two even smaller rooms divided by a sort of corridor[233]. These structures prove at least three building phases.

The oldest is the oikos with a western and an eastern room that seem to have been erected some time apart, since the masonry differs (size 14.30 m × 6 m, walls ca. 50 cm thick). There is no evidence for doors. In the two rooms floors made of split marble pebbles, laid in two layers, are preserved, similar to the floors of the South Part A and Building Δ. Inside the rooms small fragments of wall plaster were found covered with a fine layer of vivid red[234].

A sufficient number of Laconian roof-tiles with dark, blackish slip was collected nearby. But their location was not specific enough to ascribe the tiles to certain buildings[235].

At a later date the two rooms between Building E and the peribolos were set, the *›Connecting Building‹* (figs. 58. 59). They have a common west wall ca.

233 Kourayos 2008a, 391 with fig. 9; Kourayos 2009, 127.

234 Laura Thiemann, Dipl.-Restauratorin in Munich, kindly provided an analysis of a small fragment of this wall plaster: the 1 cm thick fragment has at least two layers, of a finer and a rougher consistency, but with the same binder (calcium carbonate). The red colour of the surface likewise shows at least two layers, the bottom one thicker (ca. 0.7 mm) and brighter, the top one thinner and dark red.

235 They resemble the Laconian rooftiles of the type II.1 or II.2 from the Heraion of Samos, with large cover tiles: Ohnesorg 2009, 29–42, dated into the (earlier) 6th cent. B C. – Because of their location they could have belonged either to the ›North‹ or to the ›East Stoa‹, to Building E, or to the ›Connecting Building‹.

Fig. 59 Despotiko, Mandra. Threshold of ›Connection Building‹ with re-used kouros, from southwest

35 cm thick, erected parallel to the eastern peribolos wall; three cross walls, by joints, connect the building to the west wall of oikos E[236]. In the south wall of the southern room was a door.

South of that door and even later again a paved corridor with another door was added. Two small rooms to the west and east of it seem to be contemporary, maybe with predecessors; but they clearly abut against Building E. At the west end of the southern threshold, of gneiss, a round marble base with two pivot holes was uncovered, which indicate two phases of the door[237]. This marble base turned out to be the upper part of an Archaic kouros set upright facing downwards and carefully wedged in place with unworked stones (fig. 59). To enable re-use the lower part and the head of the kouros had been cut off, as well as his right arm; and the back of the kouros has partly been removed with the pointed chisel[238].

The kouros, surviving from upper neck down to waist, has his left hand placed on his chest. The discovery of the torso is of major importance since it is the third known kouros of the type exclusively attributed to Parian workshops of the fourth quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.[239]. The discovery of the kouros gives a terminus post quem for the date of the construction of the door, around or after 500 B.C.

During the excavation of Building E, a rich amount of pottery was collected mainly from the north side of the building. It is remarkable that the excavation of this small area produced hundreds of Late geometric, Archaic and Early Classical sherds, mostly of drinking vessels. Amongst them are part of a skyphos with the inscribed letters ΠΟΛΟ. The discovery of a Hellenistic bronze coin on the floor of the western room of Building E indicates its use for a long period.

The ›Connecting Building‹ revealed pottery in even larger quantity, including further inscribed sherds with the letters A or Π (fig. 39), as well as parts of clay figurines and metal objects. The discovery of few sherds of Attic black-figured and red-figured vessels testifies the use of the building in the 5th cent. B.C.

The pottery provides us with a terminus post quem for the construction of Building E and the ›Connecting Building‹ after the mid 6th cent. B.C., the south part of the latter only after ca. 500 B.C.

236 The north wall is ca. 43 cm thick, the middle wall ≤40 cm, the south wall 45–48 cm.

237 The southern – 7.5 cm deep – hole shows remains of the orthogonal lead cast for the bronze pivot cup; it is seriously abraded. The northern pivot hole likewise is very abraded, but round and less deep (3.5 cm), therefore obviously a later substitute. – At this door the pivot hole(s) do not lie on the threshold stone as they normally do, compare the gneiss thresholds of the rooms of the ›North Stoa‹ in the sanctuary of Despotiko itself, or on Delos for example the ›Pre-Artemision‹ and temple Γ: Gruben 1997a, 208 f. with fig. 74.

238 Kourayos 2012, 85. – The upper thighs of the one fragment of the eastern ›kouros door‹ seem to belong to the same kouros, see infra with n. 286.

239 The others are the ›Kouros of Copenhagen‹ (Richter 1970, 106 no. 117 figs. 347–349) and the roughly worked, unfinished kouros in the Archaeological Museum of Paros (marble inv. 1377: Kourayos 2004c, 83; Kourayos – Detoratou 2000; Skilardi 2010, 651 f. with fig. 1).

The abundance of fine quality drinking vessels inside and outside the oikos E and the ›Connecting Building‹ may indicate drinking activities relating to cultic feasting[240]. The use of this part of the sanctuary, like in the western area of the temenos, lasted at least into the Hellenistic period.

Semicircular Structure

More or less in the centre of the North Temenos a construction with a strange plan exists, the so-called Semicircular Structure (figs. 60. 61). It was uncovered in 2004. Its straight west front lies roughly parallel to the (east) front of Building A, in a distance of 16 m; its perpendicular axis lies in the axis of the North Part of Building A. The outer diameter is ca. 9 m, the dimension east-west ca. 6.50 m. The whole construction shows several building phases.

The inner structure are parts of two concentric circles with diameters of ca. 2.50 m and 3.80 m. The innermost is built of different sorts of gneiss and marble, the outer from bright grey gneiss. The circles are bonded, thus probably contemporary, and represent the oldest building phase. Excentric to this nucleus an outer wall face was erected mainly of marble blocks, with filling (fig. 61). It does not describe an exact semicircle[241]. This contour has a straight western ›base‹ made mainly of gneiss. West of this ›base‹ the relics of a ca. 90 cm wide foundation built only of gneiss slabs were found. At the north end of this foundation gneiss slabs were piled up forming three small pillars. The external contour of the semicircle in the south east is followed by some poros blocks, obviously added later as butressing.

Last but not least, roughly in the east-west axis of the Semicircular Structure and in a distance of ca. 1.40 m from the tangent to the (semi) circle, a wall with a straight face runs east[242]. Its date and function are so far unknown.

Three courses of marble blocks of the curved eastern wall face are preserved. On them lay at least one more course. Some of the curves of the picked fronts have a smaller diameter (than 9 m)[243].

Our observations led to the following relative chronology: firstly the innermost structure with a diameter of 3.80 m was erected; its exterior might have been encased by marble blocks. In a next building phase this inner (semi?) circle was covered by a semicircular construction with a straight gneiss front to the west and a marble-faced semicircle to the east, filled by mixed material. Separately, but possibly contemporary, the western foundation and the enigmatic small pillars at its north end were erected[244]. The foundation might have served as prothesis (fig. 60).

The inner structure contained many sherds such as a fragment with concentric circles, that gives a terminus post quem for the construction in the 7th cent. B.C.[245]. Further finds were collected mainly from the filling covering

240 The 5th cent. buildings under and west of the temple of Artemis in the sanctuary of Epidauros are simultaneously called »treasuries« and »oikoi« and »hestiatoria«: Lambrinoudakis 2002, 220 with n. 30 (other examples: Delos and Ephesos).

241 Documentation and analysis of this structure was undertaken by M. Knechtel in 2010 and completed in 2012; they form the basis of this description. – The reconstructed full circle of ca. 3.80 m lies inside the later semicircle.

242 The wall can be recognized in photos in Kourayos 2009, 38. 47. 52. 54. 122. It is ca. 65 cm wide and ≥1.30 m long, and has an apparently higher bottom level.

243 The smaller diameters are ca. 3.39 m, 3.82 m, 4.07 m, 4.21 m and 6.45 m. The blocks with diameters of ca. 3.82 m and 4.07 m might come from the inner circle with 3.80 m diameter and be re-used, but the surface of all blocks is worked in the same way (roughly picked, the natural surface partially kept), thus no difference is visible.

244 The purpose of these pillars built of 3 to 4 gneiss slabs, of which one top one is round, is unclear. They apparently are no »Schnürböcke« like the comparable pillars in the second Dipteros of the Samian Heraion: Reuther 1957, 24–26 Z. 4. 6. 11. 19–22.

245 Information kindly provided by R. F. Sutton.

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 60 Semicircular Structure, groundplan (scale 1 : 100)

Fig. 61 Semicircular Structure from north-east

the area between the west wall and the semicircular part. The lower layers 3 and 4 contained sherds of Geometric and Early Archaic vessels. Many metal objects were also found.

Although the finds point to a date of use perhaps as early as the 7th, but certainly in the 6th cent. B.C., they are not specific enough to reveal the function of the structure. Semicircular plans are known from exedrae, but those generally have the form of half rings. However that building type came up only in the late 4th cent. B.C.[246] – with the exception of the Archaic exedra in the sanctuary between Miletus and Didyma in Asia Minor[247].

Another interpretation would be an altar. Three arguments support this hypothesis: the position in the axis of the North Part A[248], the probably round predecessor, and similar altars elsewhere. Round altars exist either as –

246 Thüngen 1994; see also the review by Ratté 1997.
247 Tuchelt 1996, 232–239 with pls. 17. 19 and Beil. 5: the width of the ring foundation was 1.40 m, the preserved height of the wall 50 cm, its diameter ca. 16 m; it was the base for sitting statues. But we have no criteria for such statues on Despotiko, and they generally were rare in the Cyclades.
248 Also stressed in Kourayos 2009, 128.

sometimes hollow (then bothroi) – cylinders[249], as walled rock altars[250] or as bases for ash altars[251]. The nearby altar of Apollon, the ›Keraton‹ on Delos, has the form of a ›podium‹ with an apse to the east, and is dated into the first half of the 5th cent. B.C.[252]. A circular structure in the Corinthian sanctuary of Apollon, likewise enlarged in its different phases – the first from the 5th cent. B.C. – can also be compared[253]. A Hellenistic altar for Dionysos on Delos has a semicircular plan with roughly 5 m diameter, and antae[254].

Most of these monuments are altars, and support the interpretation of the (Semi)circular Structure of Despotiko as an altar. The surface of the half circle could have been covered by a layer of gneiss slabs that protected it from the heat of fires[255] and also fixed the marble face. Burnt organic material that was traced in different spots of the excavation supports the interpretation of this unusal Archaic structure as an ash altar.

South Complex

South of the North Temenos further structures were uncovered from 2005 onwards, bordered at the north, west and south side by a sort of peribolos wall (fig. 62). The easternmost complex, consisting of the ›Square Building‹ and the ›Building with Canal‹, was named with the letter Θ, more to the west lie the ›Trapezoid Structure, the ›Rectangular Structure‹ and rooms south and east of it, which were given the letter I, all together comprising the so-called South Complex[256].

The ›Square Building‹

The oldest closed structure discovered so far is the ›Square Building‹[257] (figs. 63. 64). It is better preserved in its southern half with parts of the (gneiss) masonry carefully set; the foundations of the northern part were revealed in 2010. The inner dimensions are 8.47 m (E–W) × 8.37,5 m (N–S). The building was divided by a west-east wall, probably in its earliest phase. The north room has a door in its east wall, the south room has one in the south wall just east of the ›Building with Canal‹, see infra, that was inserted later[258]. An additional small east-west wall in the southern half might have supported the substructure for a podium; moreover two marble bases, at least one in second use (DM 137), might have carried the ceiling (fig. 63).

249 Possibly Archaic round altar or bothros in Paros, diameter ca. 2.97 m; other round altars, some of them hollow bothroi, in Thasos (Poseidonion, Monument of Theogenes), Delos (? Samothrakeion), Athens, Olympia and Agrigent.

250 Example in the Delion of Paros: Schuller 1991, 2 f. 86. pls. 2. 3.

251 Şahin 1972, 16–35 (among others altars for Apollon in Amyklai and Didyma – the latter uncertain; the most obvious example is the altar for Zeus in Olympia, another in Epidauros: Lambrinoudakis 2002, 216). – More recently two »circular structures« in Nemea were published, A with a diameter of ca. 4.42 m, B with 6 m, both from the early 5th cent. B.C.: Birge – Miller 1992.

252 Bruneau et al. 1996, fig. p. 25 (drawing Ph. Fraisse – F. Babled: »Le Keraton abritant l'Autel de cornes devant les temples d'Apollon«); Bruneau – Fraisse 2002; Bruneau – Ducat 2005, 201.

253 Dubbini 2011, 112.

254 Moretti – Fincker 2010, esp. 124 with fig. 14 (= photo); 133 f. The monument is built of gneiss, granite and little marble and covered by plaster; in front of the antae stand vertical slabs. – On Thasos a semicircular pavement exists on which stood a rectangular altar perhaps with antae: Grandjean – Salviat 2000, 129 no. 72; 217.

255 Cf. n. 175.

256 Kourayos 2006a, 150 f.; Kourayos 2012, 63–71. – We do not call it temenos because its buildings were obviously erected one after the other, and it is not yet clear, whether a real peribolos wall surrounded the complex.

257 Documentation and analysis of this structure was undertaken by V. Scheumann in 2011 and formed the basis of this description.

258 Traces of the jambs on the gneiss slab indicate an opening of ca. 1.15 m; the width of the southern jamb could only be 12/20 cm (exterior/interior), if the relics of the wall south of it are contemporary. – The level of the threshold of the northeast door is ~ +16.50, of the South door, where relics of the gneiss threshold stuck in the wall, ~ +16.83; the difference might depend on the sloping ground.

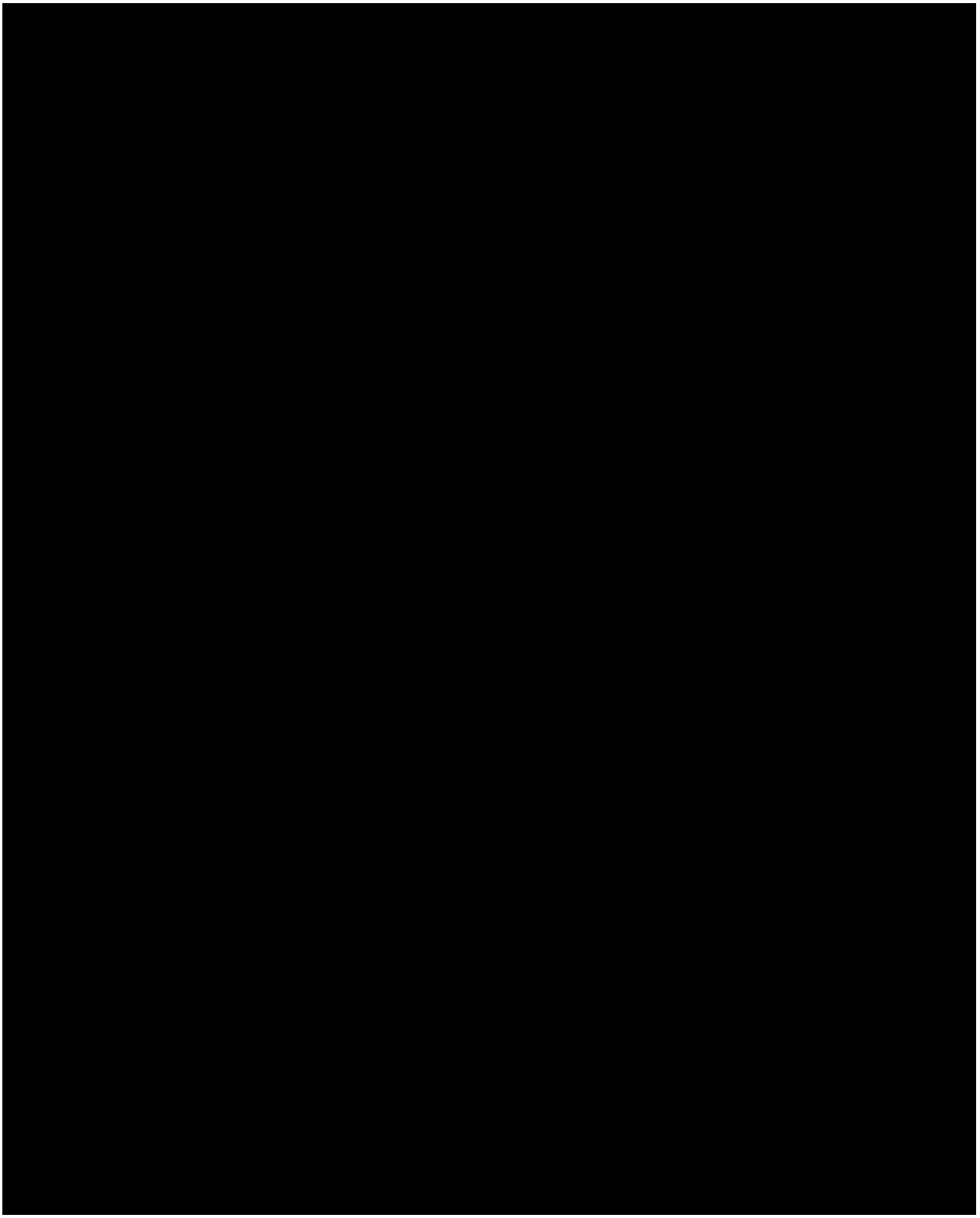


Fig. 62 Despotiko, Mandra. South Complex, plan of the whole area (scale 1 : 200)

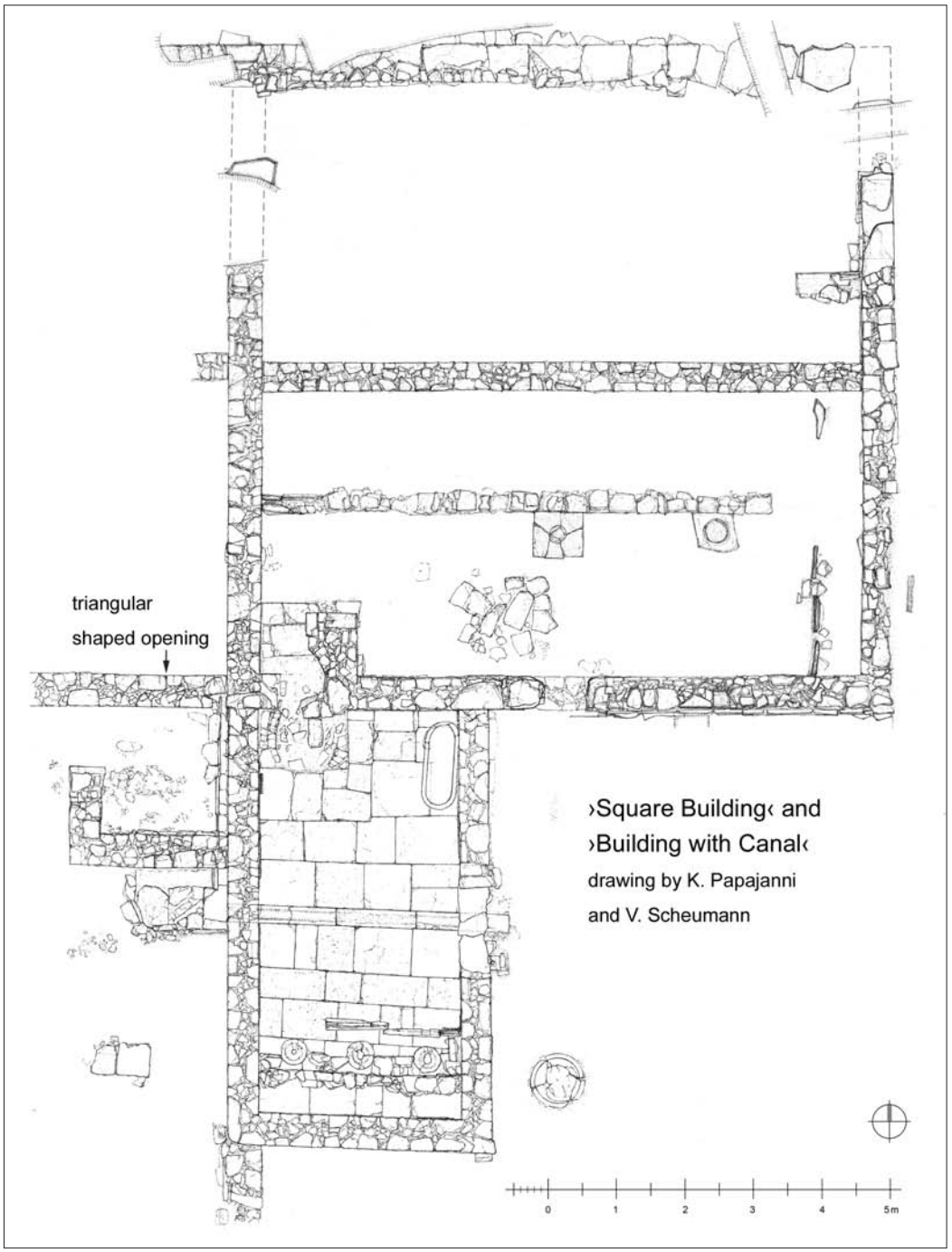


Fig. 63 Despotiko, Mandra. ›Square Building‹ and ›Building with Canal‹, ground-plan (scale 1 : 100)

The east part of the south wall of the building was excavated until the level of foundation, where sherds of Archaic vessels of the 7th to 6th cent. B.C. were discovered, mainly of Parian plates, skyphoi and relief pithoi. Though nowhere was a foundation trench observed which would deliver a terminus ad or ante quem, the neighbouring finding spots, along with the type of neat masonry of the building indicate a date for the building's construction in the 2nd half of the 6th cent. B.C.

A single fragment of a probably Archaic Laconian cover tile was found, at the west end of the (lost) southern threshold. It seems to have got there ac-

Fig. 64 Despotiko, Mandra. ›Square Building‹, south wall from south

cidentally, since it belongs to the type of combined rooftiles that were mostly found in and around Building B, see infra, and attributed to it; the fragment at least provides no evidence for dating[259].

The groundplan of this building is uncommon. So far no striking parallel has been found[260].

The southwest corner of the ›Square Building‹ was disturbed by the construction of a small curved structure within a rectangular walling (figs. 63. 65). It covered the southwest corner of the south room of the ›Square Building‹ and overlapped the northwest corner of the ›Building with Canal‹, see infra.

The ›Building with Canal‹ (›Loutron‹)

The best preserved building in the whole sanctuary lies south of the ›Square Building‹ and consists of only one room measuring ca. 3 m × 6 m in the interior (figs. 63. 65. 66). The northern ends of its west and east walls do not bond with the south wall of the ›Square Building‹, so the ›Loutron‹ was clearly added later. While the west and east wall run exactly parallel, the south wall deviates with an angle of ca. 2° to the southeast. The walls are 45 to 48 cm thick and mainly built of gneiss. The southwest corner is rounded.

The entrance lies in the middle of the east wall, confirmed by a gneiss threshold. East of the south end of the threshold a rectangular block is set with the round bedding for a pivot hole cut separately from poros. It indicates a door with one wing, ≥1.10 m wide[261], that opened to the outside.

259 Some fragments of Hellenistic or Roman Corinthian rooftiles found in 2006 near the south wall of the ›Square Building‹ may testify a later roofing.

260 The most similar of the »Edifici quadrati« in E. Grecos study (Greco 1996) is a square building, of the 4th cent. B.C., in the sanctuary of Hera at the mouth of the river Sele. It has a similar square plan (12 m × 12 m), and was interpreted as the wavery for the ritual cloths for the Goddess: Greco 1997; after her Hellmann 2006, 149 with fig. 197. The question is whether or not this building can be compared with an Archaic building in a sanctuary which was primarily dedicated to Apollon.

261 The situation at the northern end of the threshold is not clear: the wall ends vertically ca. 1.40 m to the North of the pivot hole, but there are two further blocks south of it; one of them is a carefully worked reused block from fine poros (or calcarenite, see n. 57) suggesting that the door had two phases. It bears traces of thin plaster.

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 65 ›Building with Canal‹ from north; in the foreground the small curved structure partly within the ›Square Building‹

Fig. 66 ›Building with Canal‹, south part from west

The room is paved with big gneiss slabs closely adjoining the walls. The floor is slightly declined towards a central, open canal, which subdivides the room. The pavement to the north of the canal is set less carefully, with staggered jointing within the single rows. The canal is made of poros blocks[262] and has an inclination from east to west. The easternmost block lies under the threshold of the door, upon marble latypi, and protrudes 28 cm to the east; to the east obviously no further block followed. In the west wall an opening for the canal was left. Therefore it is clear that the canal was constructed at the same time as the walls and the door. The canal ends in a ›basin‹ that is attached to the west wall and is crudely framed, without any traces of plaster (fig. 67)[263]. A further canal leads from the bottom of the northeast corner of the ›basin‹ to the north, declining from south to north. It is constructed of thin gneiss slabs and probably belongs to a next building phase. Further north it ends at a wall, aligned with and attached to the north wall of the ›Building with Canal‹. A triangular-shaped opening that is located at the bottom of this wall ca. 1 m further west seems to have served for drainage (fig. 63).

262 The poros blocks are 1.20 m to 1.60 m long, ca. 27 cm wide and 9 cm high.

263 The crude frame is made of small stone blocks. The ›basin‹'s maximum internal E–W extension is 1.35 m, the preserved maximum depth 20 cm.

Fig. 67 Despotiko, Mandra. ›Building with Canal‹, ›basin‹ at the west end of the canal, outside the west wall, from west

The ›Building with Canal‹ was provided with *further installations* (figs. 63. 65. 66). One is a low wall made of small stones of different material, that was set onto the southernmost of the five rows of pavement slabs to the south of the canal; its clearly demarcated north face is 62–63 cm away from the building's south wall, its preserved height is 27 cm. It was a sort of podium, and may have supported some other structures that are lost. At a distance of 6 to 8 cm of the northern wall face three *rings* from brownish poros were found. Their diameter is ca. 40 cm, the diameter of the central hole is 8 cm, and the height 9–10 cm. The top has a concave bedding, into which some spherical object of ca. 50 cm diameter would fit – the lower part of a vessel? At the bottom of each ring a canal leads from the central hole to the north. The rings are – obviously secondarily – connected by a low and thin wall.

To the north of the rings, at a distance of less than 20 cm, three gneiss slabs are set upright, each being ca. 40 cm high and 8 cm thick. At the bottom of the slabs – and in the axis of the rings – are holes, obviously for drainage. The gap between the west wall and the westernmost gneiss slab may have been filled by a fourth slab[264]. The walls in the compartment to the south of the upright standing gneiss slabs did not yield any traces of plaster, whereas the walls north of them are covered with at least two layers of a coarser and a finer plastering.

In a later phase the pavement slabs in the northwest corner were obviously removed in order to install a small curved structure. This ›pit‹ partly overlapped the ›Square Building‹, see supra, and measured 70 cm (E–W) to 90 cm (N–S); it was at least 20 cm deep. Its floor was covered with a thick layer of mortar. Its walls made of gneiss slabs show traces of burning; furthermore burnt earth

264 The preserved slabs are 90 cm, 85 cm and 30 cm long, the reconstructed slab would be ca. 96 cm long.

was found in the debris of the pit. This evidence suggests that the pit served as a furnace, maybe to heat water in a (metal) cauldron[265].

A long monolithic marble tub was found in the northeast corner of the ›Building with Canal‹, presumably not in its original position[266]. Its northern side is broken, therefore it was set onto the gneiss pavement by means of a big granite flint under its north end, to keep liquor in it (figs. 63. 65).

Finally, outside the southeast corner of the building, a big terracotta pithos was found that had been dug into the earth, and can be dated into the 5th or 4th cent. B.C.[267]. It may have been associated with the canal that protrudes beyond the threshold of the building; liquid could have been poured into this canal and then have flowed through the building to the ›basin‹ on its west side.

It cannot be determined, whether the building with all the described installations was realized in one or more different phases, whether it was roofed[268], and whether it was continuously used for the same purpose. The alterations in the northwest corner probably took place at a later date, as was already stated.

What was the purpose of this unusual building? To date it can only be assumed that it served cultic purposes including purification rituals, since liquid played an important role in the cult of Apollo[269]. A possible parallel is the – shallow – basin in the Oikos of the Naxians in the Delian sanctuary of Apollo. It was also connected by a – shorter – canal that drained liquid to the outside, into the street, into a drainage pit. It obviously had a double function for cultic and cleaning purposes, the latter in particular if the building served for dining[270]. At the Naxian Oikos »a strict separation of sacral and profane function … is not to be expected«[271].

The enigmatic installations in Despotiko similarly have to do with liquid. The low wall could have served as the base (›podium‹) for a (marble) water basin of a fountain and the poros rings as bases for jugs – but this would not sufficiently explain the well made double drainage to the north[272]. Furthermore, there is no evidence of water supply to the south of the building. While the pithos would not have covered the needs of water, a well could also hardly have satisfied it. The only well discovered so far (in 2008) lies 12 m to the WNW of the ›Building with Canal‹, at a deeper level (figs. 62. 68)[273]. On contrary the pithos could have been a sort of a container for offerings.

Another interpretation would be a bath that was installed for the greater comfort of selected persons, maybe priests. Monika Truemper proposed, that three (terracotta?) hip-bathtubs could have been set on the ›podium‹; in this

265 It is not clear whether the later enlargement of the pit, into the adjacent southern room of the ›Square Building‹, has something to do with this furnace or whether it served another purpose.

266 To date no exact parallel for this marble tub, which has no drainage hole(!), was found. Comparably large tubs that served for immersion baths were found in numerous public and private baths of the Hellenistic period, notably in baths of Gortys, Olympia, Olynthus and also Egyptian sites. These bathtubs were however built, of various materials, and covered with waterproof stucco. In contrast, the smaller hip-bathtubs that served for shower baths could be monolithic, made of stone or, more commonly, terracotta; the earliest examples probably date to the Archaic period, but hip-bathtubs were used all through the Hellenistic period, see Ginouvès 1962, 29–49 with pls. 2–8.

267 Information kindly provided by R. F. Sutton; the volume of the pithos is ca. 90 l.

268 A possible reconstruction as a hypaethros is excluded because of the exterior beginning and ending of the canal.

269 Diehl 1964, 197; Guettel Cole 1988, 162: »special installations for water have been found in many sanctuaries of Apollo«; see also Hellmann 2006, 261. 269–272.

270 The basin already existed in the oikos' building phase of 590/580 B.C., and was altered when the floor was paved in ca. 550 B.C.: Gruben 1997a, 308 f. with fig. 22; 319–323 with older literature; no earlier phase of the oikos than »590/580 B.C.« – A possible parallel is the early 5th cent. building E in the sanctuary of Asklepios in Epidauros, with a canal along the walls and through the south wall and a sloped pavement: Lambrinoudakis 2002, 216–218 with fig. 3; the building also served ritual meals – cf. n. 240.

271 Gruben 1997a, 322; cf. Bruneau – Ducat 2005, 171–176. 188.

272 A possible explanation could simply be that the jugs had holes with plugs at their bottom.

273 The well was presumably transformed into a cistern at a later date; Kourayas 2009, 133–135; Kourayas 2012, 65. 70.

case the poros rings might have supported their foot parts[274]. However here the gneiss slabs would have been impeding, and the necessity of drainage using the holes in these slabs and the poros rings would not have been very efficient. In contrast, the marble tub, which probably is a later addition, would support this explanation; the furnace in the northwest corner of the building could have served for heating the required water[275].

The finds from inside and around the ›Building with Canal‹ were unfortunately not indicative: many sherds, and a few fragments of lamps, mainly of the late 6th cent. B.C. The fragments of rooftiles found nearby – but never in stratigraphically informative layers – were not helpful either: only five small fragments of Archaic Laconian pan and cover tiles as found throughout the sanctuary, and a few fragments of coarse, obviously post-Archaic Corinthian pan and cover tiles(?).

The ›Peribolos Wall‹ and the Southern Structures

The north *›Peribolos Wall‹* of the South Complex was attached to the ›Square Building‹; the join at its northwest corner is clearly visible (figs. 62. 63). The ›Peribolos Wall‹ stretches ca. 20 m to the west, then after an orthogonal corner ≥25 m to the south, and shows different building phases. The presumable southwest corner at the crossing with the southernmost E-W-wall would be 33 m away, but has not yet been cleared. The oldest part in the south is the two-roomed ›Rectangular Structure‹. The room with a hearth southeast of it clearly abuts it[276]. The bigger area south of the two could be a court.

The ›Trapezoid Structure‹[277]

Within the South Complex, in 8.5 m (N) and 6.5 m (W) distance from the ›Peribolos Wall‹, lie further rooms (figs. 62. 68). The northern ones comprise a slightly trapezoid groundplan, measuring 13–14 m in E–W direction and 10–12 m N–S. The north wall of this ›Trapezoid Structure‹ abuts against the northwest corner of the ›Building with Canal‹, and its east wall against the rounded southwest corner of the same building, here immediately with a door. It was therefore erected later than the ›Building with Canal‹. At its south side it abuts against the older, ›Rectangular Structure‹, which might be as old as the ›Square Building‹.

The northwest corner of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹ springs inwards, maybe because of an earlier entrance (with steps?); north of this corner the above-mentioned well is situated (fig. 68). The inner walls are attached later – at least in terms of building sequence, and the N–S cross wall was erected before the E–W cross wall which has two doors. The masonry varies.

Few finds were made when the walls were uncovered, so it is not possible to give an absolute dating, or even to decide whether the building served cultic purposes. The only evidence is the two doors where the torsos of three Archaic kouroi were re-used.

The fore-mentioned door in the east wall, south of the ›Building with Canal‹, and a second door opposite in the west wall both obviously belong to the first building phase of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹; in this first phase it might have been hypaethral[278]. Later the cross walls were inserted, and the small inner corner rooms with doors, which must have been roofed[279].

The practice of re-using kouroi for doors deserves to be presented in detail (figs. 69–72). The location of the *eastern ›kouros door‹* is confirmed by two marble bases with pivot holes at the two sides of the opening and a third with a bolt hole in the middle. That they were not inserted into the threshold was usual[280]. The reason is the use of spoliae: the surfaces of the northern and the

274 Here again the double drainage of the poros rings and gneiss slabs is not sufficiently explained, except the footparts of the bathtubs having holes with plugs, cf. n. 272. – We want to thank Monika Truemper, Chapel Hill/North Carolina, for her advice and proposals after having studied our documentation of this unusual building.

275 A possible secondary function of the building as a bath is more plausible than an interpretation as a latrine; the necessary water supply and removale is not warranted at this spot of the site of Despotiko. Besides there is nothing comparable, for example, in the publication Jansen et al. 2011.

276 Hearth in Kourayos 2009, 130 (photo: in the room on the bottom right) and 135 (top photo: in the room on the very left), not drawn on the plan p. 133. – There are comparable hearths, for example, in two of the rooms of the dwelling of Tsikalario on Naxos or in Xobourgo on Tinos: Zapheiropoulou 1966, fig. p. 394; Lauter 1985, 170–177 with fig. 23 (no ›holy houses‹); Kontoleon 1952, 534–538 with figs. 4. 5. – Generally: Martini 1986 and Prent 2007.

277 This name is given only provisionally, since the building could have had another groundplan; the analysis of all walls and joins of the South Complex is not finished.

278 In its northeast corner lies the basin with canal that presumably forwarded the liquid which came out of the ›Building with Canal‹. It is more probable that it lay outside than within a room.

279 One probably Hellenistic fragment of a Corinthian pan tile, that was found in the northwest room of the »Trapezoid Structure«, is not enough to reconstruct the whole roof.

280 Nearly all thresholds of the buildings in the North Temenos of the sanctuary show the normal case, pivot holes inserted into the rebate of the threshold; it is also common elsewhere, for example at the thresholds of temples B (interior door) and C of nearby Paros: Gruben 1982a, 176–180 with figs. 20–23. – For exceptions see n. 219.

68

69

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 68 ›Trapezoid Structure‹, from northwest (at the left edge the well, in the background the new animal pen)

Fig. 69 Eastern ›kouros door‹, from west

Fig. 70 The southern kouros fragment (DM 80) of the eastern ›kouros door‹

70

middle bases turned out to be the waists of two Archaic kouroi (figs. 69. 70). In both cases the upper thighs were set into the earth and wedged in place using other stones. At the northern kouros (DM 79), which is larger in size, the front (belly and genitalia) and the back (buttocks and part of the thighs) were removed using a pointed chisel[281]. In the plain upper surface the lead of the round bedding for the (bronze) pivot still is preserved (diameter nearly 5 cm). The marble around it is clearly worn. The middle fragment belongs to a slightly smaller kouros (DM 80, fig. 70) and remained unharmed at its front and back[282]. Its waist was stepped (>1 cm) as door check: into the lower step the bolt hole (3.3 cm × 5.5 cm × 4.7 cm) was inserted; here the marble surface is worn as well. For the southern base a marble block was re-used (DM 135, see supra with fig. 12). The pivot hole differs from the careful lead cast of the northern kouros-base: it is slightly conical and abraded (diameter 5.5–6 cm, depth 2.5 cm).

This east door obviously had no northern and maybe also no southern jamb; if there was a threshold it must have lain between the rounded corner

281 Kourayos 2008a, 397 with fig. 16; 400; Kourayos 2009, 154 f. no. 7; Kourayos 2012, 69. 82–84.
282 Kourayos 2008a, 397 with fig. 16; 400; Kourayos 2009, 152 f. no. 6; Kourayos 2012, 69. 82–84.

Fig. 71 Despotiko, Mandra. Western ›kouros door‹, from north

of the ›Building with Canal‹ and the head of the east wall ca. 1.90 m south[283]. The lintel that covered the two-winged door was probably a simple stone beam. At a later date the opening was closed by a badly constructed wall of mixed masonry – as was the western ›kouros door‹. If that had happened contemporarily, at least one of them must have been replaced.

The *western ›kouros door‹* lies roughly in the middle of the west wall of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹ (fig. 71). The bottom of its northern jamb is made of a – re-used – marble base with a round bedding (DM 119)[284]. The good gneiss masonry north of it bonds with this bedding thus both were erected at the same time.

Ca. 90 cm south of the ›spolia jamb‹, a further divided kouros was found re-used, again as the base for the bolt hole which measures 6 cm × 3.5 cm × ca. 4.7 cm. This time it is the the larger than life-sized chest with head (DM 146, figs. 71–73), which was found upside down and again wedged in place using other stones[285]. Unusually, the step of the door check has a distance of ca. 20 cm from the line of the west wall. The north and south bases for the pivots and the southern door jamb are missing, but they must be reconstructed in analogy to the eastern door. The width of the two-winged door was ca. 1.80 m. The opening in a later phase was closed by a thin wall of masonry worse than the masonry north of the jamb. The aforementioned E–W cross wall abuts against this filling; that proves that it was a secundary feature.

According to our hypothesis the south base of the east door was an anta block of the North Part I of Building A. The head of this anta wall was removed when the front of the North Part was renovated, around 500 B.C. This date supports the observation that the ›Trapezoid Structure‹ was erected after the ›Building with canal‹. Concordant with that date is the re-use of the three kouros fragments, which were maybe broken – or supernumerary for an unknown reason; it is necessary to stress that the kouroi were completely finished, and that they most probably stood as votives in the sanctuary. The kouros of the west door is attributed to East-Ionian workshops (Miletus, Samos, Rhodes)

283 The northern ›pivot base‹ lies west of the rounded southwest corner of the ›Building with Canal‹; the corner itself must have been the jamb (fig. 69); the bottom layers of the wall south of the opening protrude ≥25 cm to the north: here either the threshold or the door jamb had rested.

284 Kourayos 2009, 147. 149 no. 4; with its round bedding (diameter 35 cm, depth ca. 6 cm) the base (50 cm × >75 cm × 17 cm) probably served for a (votive) column. Because of the tools used the base was probably created before the middle of the 6th cent. B.C., like the kouros head found nearby, see infra. But a round bedding does not fit for a kouros.

285 Kourayos 2005c, 125 with pl. 29 A. B; Kourayos 2008a, 396 f. with fig. 15; Kourayos 2009, 146–150 no. 3.

72

73

Despotiko, Mandra. Kouros bust (DM 146) after demolition of the western ›kouros door‹

Fig. 72 Front view

Fig. 73 Side view

and dated to the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. The two kouroi of the east door date to the last quarter of the 6th cent. B.C., and were sculptored in a Parian workshop[286].

To sum up: Within the ›South complex‹ the groundplans of the two buildings of the ›unit Θ‹ are obvious and their installations partly well preserved, but the functions of this ›Square Building‹ and ›Building with canal‹ remain open to question; they both probably still rose in the (late) 6th cent. B.C., the second after the first.

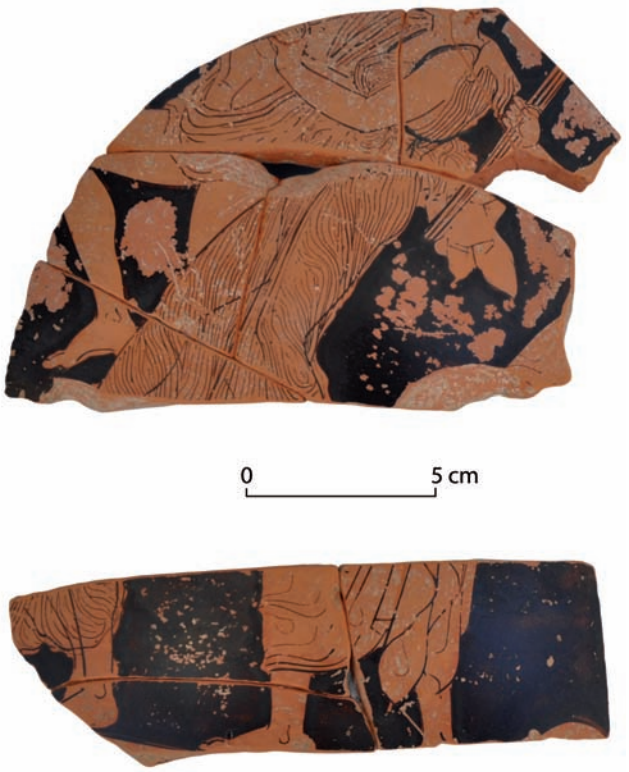
The function of the rooms and courts of the ›building unit I‹ likewise remains unclear; the hearth in the southeastern room could be either cultic or profane as comparisons show. We can only offer a relative chronology: The ›Rectangular Structure‹ is older than the ›Trapezoid Structure‹, which is younger than the ›Building with canal‹, and itself was altered several times. The re-used sculpture fragments naturally deliver no evidence for the function of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹, neither do the few finds. Occasional finds of rooftiles in the area of the South Complex are not significant enough to date the buildings[287]. Only the fine Attic red-figured pottery of the second half of the 5th cent. B.C., found near the southwestern corner of the South Complex in 2007, might be related to the ›Peribolos Wall‹, that embraced the complex, and/or to the southern room or court (fig. 62. 74)[288].

The complex has to be studied more carefully before a more exact statement to its chronology and possible function can be made. Likewise more

286 Kourayos 2009, 146–150. 152–155; Kourayos 2012, 84 f. – To the upper thighs of this most damaged kouros (DM 79) fits the upper part of the kouros, which was found reused at the door south of the ›Connecting Building‹, see supra with n. 238. 239.

287 Some Archaic Laconian rooftiles were found near the wall south of the SE corner of the ›Trapezoid structure‹; to the fragment of a probably Hellenistic Corinthian pan tile see supra n. 279.

288 Kourayos 2009, 134 bottom right; Kourayos 2012, 68 f. bottom.



74

75

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 74 Red-figured pottery from the South Complex, second half of 5th cent. B.C. (scale 1 : 2)

Fig. 75 Walls in the south Part of the South Complex, from south

careful studies are necessary for the six earlier walls under and next to the South Complex (fig. 62. 75)[289]. These walls define the relics of at least three different rooms situated under the southeast rooms of the South complex and south and east of the ›Building with canal‹. A relative chronology can be given for these walls, before the construction of the ›square building‹ and the ›Building with canal‹, since some of them lie under their walls or are cut a few centimeters before them. Pottery of the 7th and the early 6th cent. B.C. found until the level of the foundation accords to that date. At least one more earlier (west-east)wall lies in the north part of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹. The discovery of these walls proves that there was another building or building complex in the sanctuary in the earlier 6th cent. B.C. which – for reasons yet unknown – was destroyed or abandoned[290].

Buildings outside the Temenos

The discussion of the buildings outside the temenos (fig. 4), which could have been service buildings, shall be reduced to only some remarks, since they have not been fully excavated and studied; they were revealed mainly in 2003, 2004, 2007 and 2008.

Building B (fig. 76) was erected at the highest place in the area and not founded very deeply[291]. To judge from the uncovered parts, it has an irregular plan. To a common north wall several rooms of different width and depth, partly courts, are attached. The walls of the five western rooms were erected

289 These walls were uncovered in 2011 and 2012.
290 The existence of this building complex accords well with the presence of the South Gate which is dated around 540/530 B.C. It also proves to be a reason for the existence of the gate at that place.
291 Kourayos 2009, 57. 60.

Fig. 76 Despotiko, Mandra. Building B, aerial view from southwest

simultaneously. The easternmost room exceeds the north line. The preserved doors lie in the south walls, marked by vertical gneiss slabs at their sides. There are various installations, for example a hearth formed by vertical gneiss slabs in the centre of room B 2[292]. A longitudinal structure with vertical gneiss slabs in room or court B 5 turned out to be a grave of the Early Byzantine period[293].

Pottery from Building B comprises mainly non-decorated storage and drinking/eating vessels as well as cooking pots and some sherds of black-painted skyphoi and plates. The finds cannot date the building, since Archaic and Classical pottery was found mixed with later material[294]. However, the chronological range of the pottery shows that Building B was in use for a long period, and probably served to provide the pilgrims.

In and around this building, fragments of a special type of combined Laconian rooftiles came to light. The existing fragments allow a reconstruction of the type of roof[295]. Similar fragments were found in Building H, together with a gorgoneion (fig. 77)[296]. If the roof of Building B also had gorgoneion antefixes, they would date it into the same period, the second half of the 6th cent. B.C.

Building H lies northeast of Building B at a slightly lower level[297]. It comprises six rooms (H 1 to H 6) mainly in one row in an east-west direction. They were obviously erected at the same time. The walls in the northeast part of the building that continue in a semicircular form were added at a later date. The western half of the semicircle is missing.

All walls are constructed using a mixture of different stone material, preserved to a maximum height of ca. 50 cm. In the south walls of three rooms lie gneiss thresholds, and in two further rooms the gneiss slabs under the thresholds still are in situ.

In the middle of one room (H 5) some gneiss slabs were put together vertically; inside a pithos and two loom weights were found. In the same room the rim of a pithos with the Archaic inscription ΑΣΤΕΟΝΕΙΜ came to light

292 A similar hearth exists in room »I 8« southeast of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹, see supra with n. 276.
293 During the 2012 excavation at least three skeletons and a vessel of the 4th cent. A.D. were uncovered.
294 Excavation in the interior of the building has not reached deep levels, thus the finds so far are not indicative of the chronology of its construction.
295 The reconstructed width of the combination tile is 40 cm to 42 cm, the length >48 cm, the thickness around 2 cm.
296 Of all fragments of this type of rooftiles identified to date, twelve came from Building B, four from the nearby Building H, one from Building E, one from Building Δ and two from the South Complex, see supra with n. 259.
297 Kourayos 2009, 59. 63.

77

78

Despotiko, Mandra

Fig. 77 Fragmentary gorgoneion antefix (DM 84), found in Building H

Fig. 78 Pithos with inscription, found in Building H (scale 1 : 5)

(fig. 79)[298]. In two western rooms small oinochoai/prochoi were detected, datable ca. 500/490 B.C.

A few fragments of rooftiles were found in Building H, from two different types of Archaic Laconian rooftiles, one from the same combined Laconian rooftiles as in Building B. Among them was a gorgoneion, which decorated the front of cover tiles (fig. 77)[299]. In spite of their different clay, gorgoneion antefixes could belong to the combination tiles. The preserved antefix has its nearest parallel in two gorgoneia that were found in the city of Paros, obviously formed of the same matrix[300]. They can be dated to the second half of the 6th cent. B.C.[301], which would also be the date the roof. Thus the whole building, at least all parts of its first building phase, could be dated to the second half of the 6th cent. B.C.

Building Γ lies west of Building B[302]. It consists of two adjacent rooms of about the same size, not exactly rectangular, and running roughly N–S. Possibly the eastern room was erected first. The external dimensions are ca. 10.90 m (E–W) to 12.60 m (N–S). The walls are ca. 60 cm thick, not founded very deeply or carefully, and partly heavily destroyed. Their mixed material resembles the masonry of the other buildings outside the peribolos. The eastern room has a north door and probably a south door as well; the latter is constructed with vertical gneiss slabs in the middle (parallel to the wall), which might have supported a step[303]. It is not clear where the door in the western room was: maybe in the north wall, where a group of poros stones could have closed it later.

When uncovering this building many lamps of the fourth quarter of the 6th cent. B.C. were found, as well as black-figured vessels of the Late Archaic period, and only little material of later periods. So, it is suggested that the building was erected towards the end of 6th cent. B.C. One of the finds, the part of a Late Archaic Attic skyphos, bears the inscription APXHME or APTHME; its interpretation as ›Artemis‹ is uncertain[304].

Building Z lies south of Building B, only partly excavated (fig. 4), and consisting of four rooms, sharing a paved atrium. It lay under a big pile of collapsed stones, from the superstructure of the walls.

Buildings K and *Λ* in the far northeast are two rectangular constructions, only preserved to the foundation level (fig. 4). They presumably served as observation posts. At the tip of the peninsula, at a key-position for observation

298 Kourayos 2009, 59. 64

299 The two joining fragments of a gorgoneion antefix, found in rooms H 1–H 3 do not fit exactly to a cover tile, as the photo Kourayos 2009, 65 top suggests: but the diameter is the same, whereas the clay differs: the clay of the antefix is fine, the clay of the combination tiles is rather coarse, especially at the bottom sides. Above a bright slip there are relics of a brown-black(ish) varnish.

300 Zapheiropoulou 2000, 9 with fig. 3; Kourayos 2009, 65 bottom; see also Ohnesorg 2009, 119 n. 329.

301 The Gorgoneia on the antefixes of the Oikos of the Naxians in Delos of the early 6th cent. are rather similar, though still ›wilder‹; East Greek gorgoneia on antefixes partly resemble as well: Åkerström 1966, 62–73. 103 nos. 3–5; Floren 1977, 62–73.

302 Kourayos 2004a, 44; Kourayos 2005b, 63. 81 f.; Kourayos 2005c, 129; Kourayos 2006b, 65; Kourayos 2009, 57.

303 This construction technique is observed elsewhere in the sanctuary, at the North and South Gates and the northwest corner of the ›Trapezoid Structure‹.

304 See n. 170.

of ships sailing from the north, the foundations of a circular structure have been detected. The purpose of all these building will remain unknown until further research has taken place.

Resumee

All in all the newly found sanctuary of Despotiko, with its North Temenos (Buildings A, Δ, E, peribolos and gates), South Complex (building units Θ and I) and further separate buildings (B, Γ, Z, H, K, Λ) is not just unusual but also extraordinary. So far it is impossible to find an exact comparison for the complete layout in the Greek world; only for single buildings of the sanctuary can more or less similar parallels be cited. The finds can, of course, be compared with finds from other contemporary sanctuaries, many of them imports. Finds of the 8th and 7th cent. B.C. and the partly preserved walls uncovered east of the North Part A, south of the ›Loutron‹ and under the ›Trapezoid Structure‹ pinpoint to cult activities already taken place at the area in the 8th and 7th cent. B.C.

The North Temenos was the cultic centre of the sanctuary. The Semicircular Structure was most likely its heart. It might go back to the Late Geometric period.

A remarkable selection of offerings was collected as a sort of foundation deposit in room A 1 of the North Part of Building A. This ›treasury‹ was evidently erected around the middle of the 6th cent. B.C., along with room A 2 – maybe the shrine for the cult image: This North Part A I thus comprised a ›temple‹. Both rooms had a common porch, which might have had a – wooden? – colonnade at its front.

The corner of a building east of the North Part A lying on a deeper level might testify a predecessor; this has to be made clear by further excavations.

Gradually other buildings rose around this nucleus. To the south of the ›temple-treasury‹[305] a sequence of three through rooms was added, that gave the building a longitudinal form. This South Part A (rooms A 3–A 5 and a porch) was possibly used for banqueting. The front of the porch bore a colonnade, the details of which suggest a dating around 540/530 B.C.

The colonnade of the South Part A represents a new, more ›Ionic‹ variant of the ›Island Doric‹ order, with ovolo courses crowning the – smooth – architrave and frieze, if the attribution of a small ovolo fragment in this position is accepted (figs. 24. 25. 34. 79). The only Doric elements that remained are the capitals and the slim unfluted columns, since the cornices are of the Ionic form. In contrast the columns at the prototype of the ›Island Ionic‹ architecture, the temple of Sangri, have ›Island Ionic‹ bases, likewise unfluted shafts and capitals with a row of leafs (leaf capitals, »Blattkranz-Kapitelle«, fig. 79)[306].

But the character of the two fronts is different since their proportions and roof forms differ. At the South Part A of Despotiko the number of slim Doric columns was eight, fixed by the distance of the two side walls and the axis of ca. 1.88 m. Above the colonnade were probably the eaves of a double pitched roof. At the temple of Sangri there are five ›Island Ionic‹ columns with an axis of ca. 1.98 m and above the entablature, a gable with acroteria. The front of the South Part A in Despotiko is wider than the front of the temple of Sangri – also without the gable (fig. 79)[307].

Around 500 B.C., again attested by architectural forms, the front of the North Part A was provided with a – second? – colonnade. For the first time a separate string course (»Zwischenschicht«) forming the taenia is preserved in

305 This expression is not meant in the sense of Roux 1984, 159–162 (»temples-trésors«); we are conscious that treasuries primarily are votives, see Sinn 2005c.

306 Schuller 1985, 392 fig. 53; Schuller 1991, 98 fig. 44; Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002, 395 fig. 14; Ohnesorg 2005, 140 fig. 4.

307 Despotiko: height including the cornice 4.17 m, width ca. 16.50 m + 50 cm, see supra. – Sangri: The width of the temple is 12.60 m, its height until the top of the cornice 5.61 m, until the apex 7.45 m; the column height of 4.20 m alone corresponds with the height of the colonnade of Despotiko A South. – Thus the proportion of the south front A in Despotiko is ca. 4 : 1, whereas the front of Sangri – without the gable – has a proportion of ca. 2.25 : 1.

Fig. 79 Despotiko, Mandra. Building A, perspective reconstruction under the temple of Sangri (1996 and 2012)

the order of this phase II. Previously, this characteristic element of Island Doric architecture had only been postulated – and reconstructed[308].

From the mid 6th cent. B.C. onwards a surrounding wall was erected, defining the temenos area of 52 m × 43 m. On the north and south sides of the peribolos gates were installed. A little later the more temple-like Building Δ, probably also serving cultic purposes, was erected above the North peribolos wall, between Building A and the North Gate. Here many sherds were found with the incised name of Apollo, who was the main deity of the sanctuary (fig. 39). In the rooms attached to the peribolos wall on three sides and in Building E the worshippers were probably provided with shelter and food.

At that period the sanctuary already extended to the south, as the walls under the Building units I and Θ prove. Partly above, partly beside these older walls, the buildings of the South Complex were erected from the later 6th cent. onwards, as the finds around the remains suggest. The relative chronology places the ›Square Building‹ first, then the small ›Building with Canal‹, together named ›Building unit Θ‹. Of the other buildings west and southwest of them the ›Rectangular Structure‹ is obviously the oldest and the ›Trapezoid Structure‹ younger than the ›Building with Canal‹; together with the remaining rooms and courts(?) they form the ›Building unit I‹. The first two buildings (unit ›Θ‹) again seem to have served the cult, in particular the second one with its installations for water, which at least in a later phase could have been a bath.

The buildings outside the North Temenos and the South Complex (B, Γ, Z, H, K, Λ) were created for lodging and feeding the cult participants during

308 At the Heraion of Delos this »Zwischenschicht« was already reconstructed in 1928, see supra with n. 77. – Another as yet unknown example of an ›Island Doric‹ building seems to have stood on Siphnos where some obviously Late Archaic architectural members (a triglyph, a capital) were identified as spoliae: Papadopoulou 1999 (finding nos. 272 and 273; the dimensions of the triglyph similar to the Despotiko triglyphs).

the festivals that certainly took place for several days every year, and also for observation.

The golden age of the sanctuary were the 6th and 5th cent. B.C. The diversity and wealth of the finds attest the sanctuary's prosperity and popularity during that period. Some of the worshippers could have been merchants or sailors, since the variety of imported votive objects demonstrates, that their dedicators made use of the commercial network connecting the Eastern Mediterranean with the islands and mainland Greece. The central location of the sanctuary exactly on this busy sea route and the protected harbour would have attracted travellers from all over the Aegean.

In the case of Despotiko, a strange and unique custom is to be noted, so far unknown in any other Greek sanctuary, and not yet sufficiently interpreted: the re-use of fragments of Archaic kouroi as bases for pivot or bolt holes of doors. These votive sculptures (the last sculpted in the last quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.) were invaluable to the sanctuary and certainly quite expensive for their dedicators. However, the statues apparently lost their value as sacred offerings or works of art, as they were deliberately demolished. This meant that they survived for only a very short space of time, perhaps as little as 20–30 years. Their destruction comprises a terminus post quem for their re-use as resilient building material. Since no natural phenomenon such as a fire or an earthquake is attested on the site[309], human intervention is obviously responsible for the destruction. One tempting hypothesis is that a large-scale destruction of the sanctuary occurred as part of the Athenian's attack against Paros under the command of General Miltiades in 490–489 B.C.[310].

The sanctuary operated throughout Classical times, when the cult of Hestia was introduced or renewed. The sanctuary's use continued into the Hellenistic period until the early 2nd cent. B.C., though it was not apparently as prosperous as in earlier days. During the Roman period the site was used for residential purposes, as attested by finds. The settlement was inhabited till the 6th cent. A.D., then was abandoned for centuries, and was re-inhabited during the Late Byzantine and post Byzantine periods, until the 17th cent., when the small settlement of the island was completely destroyed by pirates. In modern times, the site is used by local shepherds and their animals.

It is strange that this extended sanctuary is not mentioned in any known ancient written source, and thus many questions arise, for instance, about the identity of its founder. Evidence so far suggests that it was Paros, the closest and most powerful island at that time. The establishment of the sanctuary on Despotiko could be related to an ambitious construction program of the Parian state, which included the construction or extension of other Parian cult buildings after the mid-6th cent. B.C., including the temples of Athena, Demeter and a third temple or treasury in the city of Paros[311], and the sanctuary of the Delian deities Apollo and Artemis in the vicinity[312]. The foundation of an extensive extra-urban sanctuary at a strategic position outside the polis undoubtedly demonstrated the Parians' desire to expand and redefine their geographical and political dominance in the area[313]. Although cultic activity is attested in the sanctuary of Despotiko earlier than the mid 6th cent. B.C, it is only after 550 B.C. that the sanctuary was reformed, in order to satisfy and express that specific Parian need for demarcation of territory and to state the Parian nature of the cult[314].

Likewise, the decline of the political and economic role of Paros in the Classical and Hellenistic period, as well as the Athenian dominance in the Cyclades, resulted in the subsequent decline of the Despotiko sanctuary.

309 It was proposed to associate the damages on the rear of the capitals and architraves of the colonnade of the South Part A with fire, but a destruction by weathering was considered more plausible, see supra with n. 75.

310 Paros was attacked by the Athenians under the General Miltiades, with the excuse that the island had midized (Hd. 6, 133). However Paros was one of the richest and most powerful island polities at that time and managed to defeat them.

311 Gruben 1982a, 171–183; Gruben 1982b.

312 Rubensohn 1949, 1839–1857; Rubensohn 1962, 15–29; Gruben 1972, 364 n. 96; Schuller 1982; Schuller 1985, 320 f. 389–391; Schuller 1991.

313 See Polignac 1995 for a discussion on similar models of building strategies.

314 Berranger 1992, 312–319; for the political dynamics of temple-building in this era see Morris 1997.

Abstract

Yannos Kourayos – Kornelia Daifa – Aenne Ohnesorg – Katarina Papajanni, The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades. Excavations 2001–2012

The sanctuary of Despotiko lies at the ›Mandra‹ site, on an uninhabited island situated to the southwest of Antiparos, in the centre of the Cyclades. The central part comprises the North Temenos and the South complex. Outside at least six other structures were traced. The North Temenos, protected by a peribolos, was the center of the cult activity. It is formed by Buildings A, Δ, E, ›stoas‹ and two entrances. In the centre lies a semicircular altar. The North Part of Building A was the ›temple‹ of the sanctuary, the South Part perhaps served for banqueting. Buildings Δ and E served cultic purposes as well. The South Complex consisted of the Building units I and Θ, the last including a room tentatively identified as a cultic bath. Rich archaeological finds attest the function of the sanctuary from 8th cent. B.C. to the Hellenistic period – and the main deity, Apollon. The building activity was restricted to the 6th and 5th cent. B.C.

Keywords
Despotiko • Sanctuary • Apollo • Paros • Archaic

Zusammenfassung

Yannos Kourayos – Kornelia Daifa – Aenne Ohnesorg – Katarina Papajanni, Das Heiligtum von Despotiko auf den Kykladen. Ausgrabungen 2001–2012

Auf der heute unbewohnten Insel Despotiko, südwestlich von Antiparos, im Zentrum der Kykladen, liegt an der Stätte Mandra ein Heiligtum. In dessen Zentrum befinden sich das sog. Nord-Temenos und der Südkomplex. Außerhalb davon wurden mindestens sechs weitere bauliche Anlagen nachgewiesen. Das von einem Peribolos geschützte Nord-Temenos war der Mittelpunkt der kultischen Aktivitäten. Es setzt sich zusammen aus den Gebäuden A, Δ, E, ›Stoen‹ und zwei Zugängen. Im Zentrum liegt ein halbkreisförmiger Altar. Der Nordteil des Gebäudes A war der ›Tempel‹ des Heiligtums; der Südteil diente vielleicht für Bankette. Die Gebäude Δ und E dienten ebenfalls kultischen Zwecken. Der Südkomplex besteht aus den Bauanlagen I and Θ, wobei letztere einen Raum einschließt, der versuchsweise als Kultbad bezeichnet wird. Reiche archäologische Funde bezeugen die Funktion des Heiligtums vom 8. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die hellenistische Zeit – und die Hauptgottheit Apollon. Die baulichen Aktivitäten beschränkten sich auf das 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.

Schlagworte
Despotiko • Heiligtum • Apollon • Paros • Archaik

Sources of illustrations
Figs. 1. 27. 32. 34. 45. 52: K. Papajanni • Figs. 2. 3. 6. 21. 28. 30. 36. 37. 39. 40–43. 48–51. 54. 55. 58. 65. 66. 68–74. 76. 78: Y. Kourayos – K. Daifa • Fig. 4: D. Orestidis – G. Orestidis • Figs. 5. 8. 62: M. Yeroulanou – G. Orestidis • Figs. 7. 19: S. Papagrigoriou – A. Ohnesorg – K. Papajanni • Figs. 9–13. 15. 17. 18. 20. 26. 35. 46. 47. 53. 57. 59. 61. 64. 67. 75. 77: A. Ohnesorg – K. Papajanni • Figs. 14. 44: M. Knechtel – K. Papajanni • Figs. 16. 21–25. 33: A. Ohnesorg • Figs. 17. 60: M. Knechtel • Figs. 29. 31: M. Lambertz • Fig. 38: C. Kolb • Fig. 56: V. Scheumann • Fig. 63: K. Papajanni – V. Scheumann • Fig. 79: M. Korres – K. Papajanni

Abbreviations

Adam 1966 • S. Adam, The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods (Oxford 1966)
Åkerström 1966 • Å. Åkerström, Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens (Lund 1966)
Aliprantes 2010 • N. Ch. Aliprantes, Χρονολογικό Πανόραμα της Ιστορίας της Πάρου (Athens 2010)
Bankel 1993 • H. Bankel, Der spätarchaische Tempel der Aphaia auf Aegina, DAA 19 (Berlin 1993)
Bent 1885 • J. T. Bent, The Cyclades, or Life Among the Insular Greeks (London 1885)
Bergquist 1973 • B. Bergquist, Herakles on Thasos. The Archaeological, Literary and Epigraphic Evidence for his Sanctuary, Status and Cult Reconsidered (Uppsala 1973)
Bergquist 1990 • B. Bergquist, Sympotic Space. A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining Rooms, in: O. Murray (ed.), Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposion. First Symposium on the Greek Symposion, Oxford 4–8 September 1984 (Oxford 1990) 37–65
Berranger 1992 • D. Berranger, Recherches sur l'histoire et la prosopographie de Paros à l'époque archaïque (Clermont-Ferrand 1992)
Bikakis 1985 • M. Bikakis, Archaic and Classical Imported Pottery in the Museums of Paros and Naxos (Ph.D. diss. University of Cincinnati 1985)
Birge – Miller 1992 • D. E. Birge – S. G. Miller, Excavations at Nemea. Topographical and Architectural Studies. The Sacred Square, the Xenon, and the Bath (Berkeley 1992)
Blinkenberg 1931 • Ch. S. Blinkenberg, Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1. Les petits objets, Lindos 1 (Berlin 1931)
Boardman – Hayes 1966 • J. Boardmad – J. Hayes, Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits I, BSA Suppl. 4 (London1966)
Börker 1983 • Ch. Börker, Festbankett und griechische Architektur, Xenia 4 (Konstanz 1983)
Bohn 1885 • R. Bohn, Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros, AvP 2 (Berlin 1885)
Bommelaer 1991 • J.–F. Bommelaer, Guide de Delphes. Le site (Paris 1991)
Bookidis 1993 • N. Bookidis, Ritual Dining at Corinth, in: R. Hägg (ed.), Greek Sanctuaries (London 1993)
Bookidis – Stroud 1997 • N. Bookidis – R. S. Stroud, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Topography and Architecture, Corinth 18 (Princeton 1997)
Bouras 1967 • Ch. Bouras, Η αναστήλωσις της στοάς της Βραυρώνας (Athens 1967)
Brock – Mackworth Young 1949 • J. K. Brock – G. Mackworth Young, Excavations in Siphnos, BSA 44, 1949, 1–92
Broodbank 2000 • C. Broodbank, An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades (Cambridge 2000)
Bruneau – Ducat 2005 • Ph. Bruneau – J. Ducat, Guide de Délos, Sites et Monuments 1 [4](Paris 2005)
Bruneau – Fraisse 2002 • Ph. Bruneau – Ph. Fraisse, Le Monument à abside et la question de l'Autel de cornes, (Paris 2002)
Bruneau et al. 1996 • Ph. Bruneau – M. Brunet – A. Farnoux – J.-Ch. Moretti, Délos. Ile sacrée et ville cosmopolite (Paris 1996)
Büsing-Kolbe 1978 • A. Büsing-Kolbe, Griechische Türen, JdI 93, 1978, 66–174
Bursian 1862–1872 • C. Bursian, Geographie von Griechenland I–II (Leipzig 1862–1872)
Cook – Dupont 1998 • R. M. Cook – P. Dupont, East Greek Pottery (London 1998)
Courbin 1980 • P. Courbin, L'Oikos des Naxiens, Délos 33 (Paris 1980)
Courby 1912 • F. Courby, Le portique d'Antigone ou du Nord-Est et les constructions voisines (Paris 1912)
Croissant 2004 • F. Croissant, Παρατηρήσεις για τη γένεση και την ανάπτυξη των τοπικών τεχνοτροπιών στη νησιώτικη πλαστική της πρώιμης αρχαϊκής περιόδου, Αρχαιογνωσία 12, 2003–2004, 141–165
Daux – Hansen 1987 • G. Daux – E. Hansen, Le Trésor de Siphnos, FdD 2 (Paris 1987)
Deonna 1938 • W. Deonna, Le Mobilier Délien, Délos 18 (Paris 1938)
Detoratou – Kourayos 2004 • S. Detoratou – Y. Kourayos, A Daedalic Female Figurine, in: Ancient Greece. Mortals and Immortals. Exhibition of the National Museum of China, Hellenic Republic – Ministry of Culture (Peking 2004) 236–237
Diehl 1964 • E. Diehl, Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums (Mayence 1964)
Draganits 2009 • E. Draganits, The Archaic Sanctuary on Despotiko Island (Cyclades). Geological Outline and Lithological Characterization of the Building Stones, with their Possible Provenance, Austrian Journal of Earth Science 102, 2009, 91–101

Dubbini 2011 • R. Dubbini, Dei nello spazio degli Uomini. I culti dell' agora e la costruzione di Corinto arcaica (Rom 2011)
Dunbabin 1962 • T. J. Dunbabin (ed.), Perachora II. Pottery, Ivories, Scarabs and Other Objects from the Votive Deposit of Hera Limenia (Oxford 1962)
Etienne 1991 • R. Etienne, Espace sacrificiel et autels déliens, in: R. Etienne – M.-Th. Le Dinahet (eds.), L'Espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations Méditerranéennes de l'antiquité. Actes du colloque tenu à la maison de l'Orient Lyon 4–7 juin 1988, Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 5 (Paris 1991) 121–126
Floren 1977 • J. Floren, Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion, Orbis antiquus 29 (Münster 1977)
Fraisse – Llinas 1995 • Ph. Fraisse – Ch. Llinas, Documents d' architecture hellénique et hellénistique (Paris 1995)
Ginouvès 1962 • R. Ginouvès, Balaneutikè. Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque, BEFAR 200 (Paris 1962)
Giraud 1994 • D. G. Giraud, Μελέτη αποκαταστάσεως του ναού της Αθηνάς Νίκης/ Study for the Restoration of the Temple of Athena Nike I a–b (Athens 1994)
Goldstein 1978 • M. S. Goldstein, The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries: 600–300 B.C. (Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley 1978; Ann Arbour/ Michigan 1994)
Grandjean – Salviat 2000 • Y. Grandjean – F. Salviat, Guide de Thasos [2](Paris 2000)
Greco 1996 • E. Greco, Edifici quadrati, in: L. B. Pulci Doria (ed.), L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore 2 (Naples 1996) 263–282
Greco 1997 • G. Greco, Des étoffes pour Héra, in: J. de La Genière (ed.), Héra. images, espaces, cultes. Actes du Colloque international du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III et de l'Association P.R.A.C. Lille 29–30 novembre 1993 (Naples 1997) 185–199
Gruben 1972a • G. Gruben, Naxos und Paros. Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1970 und 1971, AA 1972, 319–379
Gruben 1972b • G. Gruben, Kykladische Architektur, MüJb 23, 1972, 7–36
Gruben 1982a • G. Gruben, Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972–1980, I. Archaische Bauten, AA 1982, 159–195
Gruben 1982b • G. Gruben, Der Burgtempel A von Paros. Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht, AA 1982, 197–229
Gruben 1982c • G. Gruben, Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972–1980, II. Klassische und hellenistische Bauten. Der ionische Peristylbau – oder das ›Hestia-Heiligtum‹, AA 1982, 621–683
Gruben 1996 • G. Gruben, Griechische Unordnungen, in: E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), Säule und Gebälk. Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess griechisch-römischer Architektur. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin 16.–18. Juni 1994, DiskAB 6 (Mayence 1996) 61–77
Gruben 1997a • G. Gruben, Naxos und Delos. Studien zur archaischen Architektur der Kykladen, JdI 112, 1997, 261–416
Gruben 1997b • G. Gruben, Die Türen des Pantheon, RM 104, 1997, 3–74
Gruben 2001 • G. Gruben, Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer [5](Munich 2001)
Gruben – Koenigs 1970 • G. Gruben – W. Koenigs, Der ›Hekatompedos‹ von Naxos und der Burgtempel von Paros, AA 1970, 135–153
Guettel Cole 1988 • S. Guettel Cole, The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries, in: R. Hägg – N. Marinatos – G. C. Nordquist (eds.), Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 26–29 June 1986 (Göteborg 1988) 161–165
Hansen 2000 • E. Hansen, Delphes et le travail de la pierre, in: A. Jacquemin (ed.), Delphes. Cents ans après la Grande fouille. Essai de bilan (Paris 2000) 201–213
Hellmann 2006 • M.-Ch. Hellmann, L'architecure grecque II. Architecture religieuse et funéraire, Manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques (Paris 2006)
Hellmann – Fraisse 1979 • M.-Chr. Hellmann – Ph. Fraisse, Le Monument aux Hexagones et le Portique des Naxiens, Délos 32 (Paris 1979)
Hendrich 2007 • Ch. Hendrich, Die Säulenordnung des ersten Dipteros von Samos, Samos 25 (Bonn 2007)
Higgins 1954 • R. A. Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum I (London 1954)
Higgins 1967 • R. A. Higgins, Greek Terracottas, Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology (London 1967)
Higgins 1969 • R. A. Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum III (London 1969)
Hodge 1960 • A. T. Hodge, The Woodwork of Greek Roofs (Cambridge 1960)

Hoffelner 1999 • K. Hoffelner, Das Apollon-Heiligtum. Tempel, Altäre, Temenosmauer, Thearion, Alt-Ägina 1, 3 (Mayence 1999)
Howland 1958 • R. H. Howland, Greek Lamps and their Survivals, Agora 4 (Princeton 1958)
Jansen et al. 2011 • G. C. M. Jansen – A. O. Koloski-Ostrow – E. M. Moormann (eds.), Roman Toilets, their Archaeology and Cultural History (Leuven 2011)
Jeffery 1990 • L. H. Jeffery, The Local Script of Archaic Greece [2](Oxford 1990)
Karakassi 2006 • K. Karakassi, Eine archaische Terracotta-Statuette aus Despotiko (Antiparos), in: N. Stampolides (ed.), Γενέθλιον. Αναμνηστικός τόμος για τη συμπλήρωση είκοσι χρόνων λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης (Athens 2006) 159–164
Karvonis – Malmary 2009 • P. Karvonis – J.-J. Malmary, Étude architecturale de quatre pièces polyvalentes du quartier du theatre à Délos, BCH 133, 2009, 195–226
Kienast 2004 • H. Kienast, Die Tyrannis inszeniert sich. Großbauten auf der Insel Samos, in: E.-L. Schwandner – U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), Macht der Architektur, Architektur der Macht. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin 30. Oktober bis 2. November 2002, DiskAB 8 (Mayence 2004) 69–78
Kissas 2000 • K. Kissas, Die attischen Statuen- und Stelenbasen archaischer Zeit (Bonn 2000)
Koenigs 1983 • W. Koenigs, Der Athenatempel von Priene. Bericht über die 1977–1982 durchgeführten Untersuchungen, IstMitt 33, 1983, 134–175
Kontoleon 1952 • N. Kontoleon, Ανασκαφή εν Τήνο, Prakt 1952, 531–546
Korres 1994a • M. Korres, The Architecture of the Parthenon, and the Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century, in: P. Tournikiotis (ed.), The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times (Athens 1994) 55–97 and 137–161
Korres 1994b • M. Korres, Μελέτη Αποκαταστάσεως του Παρθενώνος/Study for the Restoration of the Parthenon 4. The West Wall of the Parthenon and other Monuments (Athens 1994)
Kostoglou-Despini 1979 • A. Kostoglou-Despini, Προβλήματα της παριανής πλαστικής του 5ου αι. π. Χ. (Thessaloniki 1979)
Kourayos 2001 • Y. Kourayos, Ανάδειξη αρχαιολογικών χώρων της Πάρου και των μικρών νησίδων Δεσποτικό, Τσιμιντήρι, Στρογγυλό, in: Η συμβολή του Υπουργείου Αιγαίου στην έρευνα και ανάδειξη του πολιτισμού του Αρχιπελάγους (Athens 2001) 104–109
Kourayos 2004a • Y. Kourayos, Δεσποτικό. Ένα νέο ιερό σε μία ακατοίκητη νησίδα των Κυκλάδων, Eulimene 5, 2004, 2–89
Kourayos 2004b • Y. Kourayos, Δεσποτικό. Ένα νέο ιερό του Απόλλωνα σε ένα από τα ακατοίκητα κυκλαδονήσια της Αντιπάρου, Πεμπτουσία 16, 2004, 70–79
Kourayos 2004c • Y. Kourayos, Πάρος-Αντίπαρος. Ιστορία, μνημεία, μουσεία. Αρχαιολογικός οδηγός (Athens 2004)
Kourayos 2004d • Y. Kourayos, Δεσποτικό. Η ανακάλυψη ενός νέου ιερού, in: N. Ch. Stampolides – A. Giannikouli (eds.), Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου: Το Αιγαίο στην πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου, Rhodos 1.–4. November 2002 (Athens 2004) 437–452
Kourayos 2005a • Y. Kourayos, Νέο ιερό του Απόλλωνα αποκαλύπτεται στο Δεσποτικό, ακατοίκητη νησίδα της Αντιπάρου, Corpus 68, 2005, 18–25
Kourayos 2005b • Y. Kourayos, Δεσποτικό. Ένα νέο ιερό του Απόλλωνα, ΑΑΑ 35–38, 2002–2005, 37–88
Kourayos 2005c • Y. Kourayos, Despotiko Mandra. A Sanctuary Dedicated to Apollo, in: M. Yeroulanou – M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades. Papers in Honour of J. J. Coulton, BARIntSer 1455 (Oxford 2005) 105–133
Kourayos 2006a • Y. Kourayos, Η ανασκαφική δραστηριότητα του 2005 στο ιερό του Απόλλωνα στη θέση Μάντρα της νησίδας του Δεσποτικού, in: N. Ch. Stampolides (ed.), Γενέθλιον. Αναμνηστικός τόμος για τη συμπλήρωση είκοσι χρόνων λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης (Athens 2006) 147–158
Kourayos 2006b • Y. Kourayos, The Archaic Sanctuary of Apollo on the Island Despotiko, in: J. de la Genière (ed.), Les clients de la céramique grecque. Actes du Colloque de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Paris 30–31 janvier 2004, Cahiers du CVA. France 1 (Paris 2006) 59–67
Kourayos 2008a • Y. Kourayos, Δεσποτικό: Το νησί του Απόλλωνα, in: D. Katsonopoulou – I. Petropoulos – S. Katsarou (eds.), Paros II. Ο Αρχίλοχος και η εποχή του/Archilochos and his Age (Athens 2008) 383–407
Kourayos 2008b • Y. Kourayos, Η ανασκαφική δραστηριότητα στην Πάρο και το χρονικό της ανακάλυψης των νέων γλυπτών, in: Y. Kourayos – F. Prost (eds.), La sculpture des Cyclades à l'époque archaïque. Histoire des ateliers, rayonnement des styles. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Ephorie des Antiquites préhistoriques et classique des Cyclades et l'École Française d'Athènes 7–9 Septembre 1998, BCH Suppl. 48 (Paris 2008) 87–129

Kourayos 2009 • Y. Kourayos, Δεσποτικό, Το Ιερό του Απόλλωνα (Athens 2009)
Kourayos 2011 • Y. Kourayos, Η Ιστορία της Πάρου μέσα από τις παλαιές και πρόσφατες ανασκαφικές έρευνες, Παριανά 120 (January – March), 2011, 5–25
Kourayos 2012 • Y. Kourayos, Τα γλυπτά από το ιερό του Απόλλωνα στη θέση Μάντρα Δεσποτικού και νέα γλυπτά από την Πάρο, in: Neue Funde Archaischer Plastik aus griechischen Heiligtümern und Nekropolen/Νέα ευρήματα αρχαϊκής γλυπτικής από ελληνικά ιερά και νεκροπόλεις, Διεθνές Συμπόσιο 2007, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen/Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (Athens 2012) 101–132
Kourayos 2012 • Y. Kourayos, Despotiko. The Sanctuary of Apollo (Athens 2012)
Kourayos 2013 • Y. Kourayos, Το αρχαϊκό ιερό του Απόλλωνα και τα παριανά εργαστήρια γλυπτικής πριν την εποχή του Σκόπα, in: Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου: Ο Σκόπας και η εποχή του, Paros 2010 (Athens 2013)
Kourayos (forthcoming) • Y. Kourayos, Small Finds from Room A1 of Building A in the Sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko
Kourayos et al. 2003 • Y. Kourayos – S. Detoratou – B. Burns, Δεσποτικό, Η ανακάλυψη ενός Ιερού με πανελλήνια ακτινοβολία στο μικρό νησί των Κυκλάδων, Corpus 47, 2003, 32–49
Kourayos et al. 2010 • Y. Kourayos – K. Daifa – A. Ohnesorg – K. Papajanni, Δεσποτικό. Σημαντικά πορίσματα για την αρχιτεκτονική του αρχαϊκού ιερού και τα αποτελέσματα των φετινών ερευνών, Παριανά 119 (October – December), 2010, 472–488
Kourayos et al. 2011a • Y. Kourayos – K. Daifa – S. Petropoulos, Δεσποτικό 2011. Τα αποτελέσματα της φετινής ανασκαφικής περιόδου, Παριανά 123 (November – December), 2011, 403–412
Kourayos et al. 2011b • Y. Kourayos – M. Lambertz – A. Ohnesorg – K. Papajanni, Apollon unterm Ziegenstall. Das neugefundene Heiligtum auf Despotiko, AW 2011, 47–56
Kourayos et al. (in preparation) • Y. Kourayos – R. F. Sutton – E. Hasaki, Ceramic Finds from Building A in the Sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko, Excavation Seasons 2001–2002
Kourayos et al. (forthcoming) • Y. Kourayos – A. Ohnesorg – K. Papajanni – M. Lambertz, Η Αρχιτεκτονική του Κτηρίου Α στο Ιερό του Δεσποτικού κοντά στην Αντίπαρο. Αποτελέσματα των πρώτων ερευνών
Kourayos – Burns 2005 • Y. Kourayos – B. Burns, Exploration of the Archaic Sanctuary at Mandra on Despotiko, BCH 128/129, 2004/2005, 133–174
Kourayos – Detoratou 1999 • Y. Kourayos – S. Detoratou, Πάρος, ADelt 54 B, 1999, 788–797. 819 f.
Kourayos – Detoratou 2000 • Y. Kourayos – S. Detoratou, Πάρος, η αρχαιολογική έρευνα των τελευταίων δεκαετιών, Περίπατος 2000, 47–49
Kourou 2000 • N. Kourou, Τα ειδώλια της Σίφνου, Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Σιφνιακού Συμποσίου 1998 (Athens 2000) 351–370
Krause 1977 • C. Krause, Grundformen des griechischen Pastashauses, AA 1977, 164–179
Kreuzer 1998 • B. Kreuzer, Die attisch schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos, Samos 13 (Bonn 1998)
Kron 1993 • U. Kron, Sickles in Greek Sanctuaries: Votives and Cultic Instruments, in: R. Hägg (ed.), Ancient Greek Cult Practices from the Archaeological Evidence (Stockholm 1993) 187–215
La Coste-Messelière 1942/1943 • P. de La Coste-Messelière, Observations sur le classement des chapiteaux doriques archaïques de Delphes, BCH 66/67, 1942/1943, 22–65
Lambertz 2001 • M. Lambertz, Eine frühchristliche Basilika auf Naxos – mit Bauteilen aus dem Heiligtum von Yria?, AA 2001, 379–408
Lambertz 2009 • M. Lambertz, Der Apollontempel von Naxos – zwei Planungsphasen im Detail, Architectura 2009, 1–12
Lambrinoudakis 1996 • V. Lambrinoudakis, Beobachtungen zur Genese der ionischen Gebälkformen, in: E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), Säule und Gebälk. Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess griechisch-römischer Architektur. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin 16.–18. Juni 1994, DiskAB 6 (Mayence 1996) 55–60
Lambrinoudakis 2002 • V. Lambrinoudakis, The Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios at Epidauros, in: M. Stamatopoulou – M. Yeroulanou (eds.), Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece (Oxford 2002) 213–224
Lambrinoudakis – Gruben 1987 • V. Lambrinoudakis – G. Gruben, Das neuentdeckte Heiligtum von Iria auf Naxos, AA 1987, 569–621

Lambrinoudakis – Gruben 1990 • V. Lambrinoudakes – G. Gruben, Ανασκαφή αρχαίου ιερού στα Ύρια της Νάξου, Archaiognosia 5, 1987/1988, 133–191
Lambrinoudakis et al. 2002 • V. Lambrinoudakis – G. Gruben – A. Ohnesorg – M. Korres – Th. Bilis – M. Magnisali – E. Simandoni-Bournia, Naxos – Das Heiligtum von Gyroula bei Sangri, AW 33, 2002, 387–406
Laumonier 1956 • A. Laumonier, Les figurines de terre cuite, Délos 23 (Paris 1956)
Lauter 1985 • H. Lauter, Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovuni. Attische Forschungen 1, AM Beih. 12 (Berlin 1985)
Levi 1955/1956 • D. Levi, Gli Scavi del 1954 sull'Acropoli di Gortina, ASAtene 33/34, 1955/1956, 207–288
Leypold 2008 • Ch. Leypold, Bankettgebäude in griechischen Heiligtümern (Wiesbaden 2008)
McK. Camp 1990 • J. McK. Camp, The Athenian Agora. Site Guide [4](Athens 1990)
Mallwitz 1981 • A. Mallwitz, Kritisches zur Architektur Griechenlands im 8. und 7. Jh., AA 1981, 599–642
Martin – Ginouvès 1985 • R. Martin – R. Ginouvès, Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine I (Paris 1985)
Martini 1986 • W. Martini, Vom Herdhaus zum Peripteros, JdI 101, 1986, 23–36
Masouridi 2002 • S. Masouridi, Δεσποτικό. Οι ανακαλύψεις συνεχίζονται, Corpus 45, 2002, 8–9
Mazarakis-Ainian 2005 • A. Mazarakis-Ainian, Inside the Adyton of a Greek Temple. Excavations on Kythnos (Cyclades), in: M. Yeroulanou – M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades. Papers in Honour of J. J. Coulton, BARIntSer 1455 (Oxford 2005) 87–103
Mertens 1984 • D. Mertens, Der Tempel von Segesta und die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in klassischer Zeit (Mayence 1984)
Mertens 2006 • D. Mertens, Städte und Bauten der Westgriechen (Munich 2006)
Moore et al. 1986 • M. B. Moore – M. Zelia – P. Philippides – D. von Bothmer, The Athenian Agora. Attic Black-Figured Pottery, Agora 23 (Princeton 1986)
Moretti – Fincker 2010 • J.-Ch. Moretti – M. Fincker, Un autel de Dionysos à Délos, BCH 132, 2008, 115–152
Morris 1997 • I. Morris, Archaeology and Archaic Greek history, in: N. Fisher – H. van Wees (eds.), Archaic Greece (London 1997) 1–91
Moustaka 2002 • A. Moustaka, Πρώιμα πήλινα πελλάδια, in: D. Damaskos (ed.), Αρχαία Ελληνική γλυπτική. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του γλύπτη Στέλιου Τριάντη, Παράρτημα 1 (Athens 2002) 17–29
Østby 1980 • E. Østby, The Athenaion of Karthaia, OpAth 13, 1980, 189–223
Ohnesorg 1991 • A. Ohnesorg, Altäre auf Paros, in: R. Etienne – M.-Th. Le Dinahet (eds.), L'Espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations Méditerranéennes de l'antiquité. Actes du colloque tenu à la Maison de l'Orient Lyon 4–7 juin 1988, Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 5 (Paris 1991) 121–126
Ohnesorg 1993 • A. Ohnesorg, Inselionische Marmordächer, DAA 18, 2 (Berlin 1993)
Ohnesorg 1994 • A. Ohnesorg, Kykladische Altäre, in: Koldewey-Gesellschaft (ed.), Bericht über die 37. Tagung für Ausgrabungswissenschaft und Bauforschung, Duderstadt 27.–31. Mai 1992 (Bonn 1994) 53–58
Ohnesorg 1996 • A. Ohnesorg, Votiv- oder Architektursäulen?, in: E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), Säule und Gebälk. Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess griechisch-römischer Architektur. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin 16.–18. Juni 1994, DiskAB 6 (Mayence 1996) 39–47
Ohnesorg 2005 • A. Ohnesorg, Naxian and Parian Architecture, in: M. Yeroulanou – M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades. Papers in Honour of J. J. Coulton, BARIntSer 1455 (Oxford 2005) 135–152
Ohnesorg 2007 • A. Ohnesorg, Der Kroisos-Tempel. Neue Forschungen zum archaischen Artemistempel von Ephesos, FiE 12, 4 (Wien 2007)
Ohnesorg 2009 • A. Ohnesorg, Die Dachterrakotten aus dem Heraion von Samos, AM 124, 2009, 19–167
Papadopoulou 1999 • Z. Papadopoulou, Σίφνος, ADelt 54 B, 1999, 787 f.
Patera 2012 • I. Patera, Offrir en Grèce ancienne. Gestes et contextes, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 41 (Stuttgart 2012)
Payne 1931 • H. G. G. Payne, Necrocorinthia. A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period (Oxford 1931)
Perreault 1999 • J. Perreault, Production et distribution a l'époque archaïque. Le cas d'un atelier de potier, in: J. P. Crieland – V. Stissi – G. J. Wijngaarden (eds.), The Complex Past of Pottery (Amsterdam 1999) 291–301
Petrakos 1999 • B. Petrakos, Ο Δήμος του Ραμνούντας, Ι. Τοπογραφία (Athens 1999)

Petrocheilos 1985 • J. Petrocheilos, Αρχαϊκό κεφάλι από το Δεσποτικό, Δωδώνη τομ. ΙΔ΄ (Ioannina 1985) 115–123
Philippson 1959 • A. Philippson, Das ägäische Meer und seine Inseln, Die griechischen Landschaften IV (Frankfurt 1959)
Pimpl 1997 • H. Pimpl, Perirrhanteria und Louteria. Entwicklung und Verwendung großer Marmor- und Kalksteinbecken auf figürlichem und säulenartigem Untersatz in Griechenland, Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe Archäologie 3 (Berlin 1997)
Plassart 1928 • A. Plassart, Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe, Délos 11 (Paris 1928)
Polignac 1995 • F. de Polignac, Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State (London 1995)
Prent 2007 • M. Prent, Cretan Early Iron Age Hearth Tempels and the Articulation of Sacred Space, in: R. Westgate – N. Fisher – J. Whitley (eds.), Building Communities. House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Cardiff University 7–22 April 2001, BSA Studies 15 (London 2007) 141–148
Ragousi-Kontogiorgou 2000 • K. Ragousi-Kontogiorgou, Πάρος – Αντίπαρος, με τα μάτια των χαρτογράφων και περιηγητών 15ος–19ος αι. (Paros 2000)
Ratté 1997 • Ch. Ratté, Rev. of S. Freifrau von Thüngen, Die frei stehende griechische Exedra (Mayence 1994), AJA 101, 1997, 191 f.
Ratté 2011 • Ch. Ratté, Lydian Architecture. Ashlar Masonry Structures at Sardis (Cambridge, MA 2011)
Renfrew 1972 • C. Renfrew, The Emergence of Civilization. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C. (London 1972)
Reuther 1957 • O. Reuther, Der Heratempel von Samos. Der Bau seit der Zeit des Polykrates (Berlin 1957)
Rhomaios 1929 • K. A. Rhomaios, Η Κάθαρσις της Δήλου και το Εύρημα του Σταυρόπουλου, ADelt 12 A, 1929, 181–224
Richter 1970 • G. M. A. Richter, Kouroi, Archaic Greek Youths. A Study of the Development of the Kouros Type in Greek Sculpture (London 1970)
Robinson 1976 • H. S. Robinson, Temple Hill, Corinth, in: U. Jantzen (ed.), Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern (Tübingen 1976) 239–260
Roux 1973 • G. Roux, Salles de banquets à Délos, in: Études Déliennes, publiées à l'occasion du centenaire anniversaire du début des fouilles de l'EFA à Délos, BCH Suppl. 1 (Paris 1973) 523–554
Roux 1981 • G. Roux, Problèmes Déliens. Le Dioscourion, BCH 105, 1981, 41–55
Roux 1984 • G. Roux, Trésors, temples, tholos, in: G. Roux (ed.), Temples et sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981–1983, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 7 (Lyon 1984) 153–171
Roux 1987 • G. Roux, La Terrasse d'Attale I, FdD 2 (Paris 1987)
Roux 1991 • G. Roux, L'autel dans le temple, in: R. Etienne – M.-Th. Le Dinahet (eds.), L'Espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations Méditerranéennes de l'antiquité. Actes du colloque tenu à la Maison de l'Orient Lyon 4–7 juin 1988, Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 5 (Paris 1991) 297–302
Rubensohn 1949 • RE XVIII 4 (1949) 1782–1872 s. v. Paros (O. Rubensohn)
Rubensohn 1962 • O. Rubensohn, Das Delion von Paros (Wiesbaden 1962)
Şahin 1972 • M. Ç. Şahin, Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltäre (Bonn 1972)
Salzmann 1982 • D. Salzmann, Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Tesseratechnik, AF 10 (Berlin 1982)
Schuller 1982 • M. Schuller, Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, AA 1982, 231–244
Schuller 1985 • M. Schuller, Dorische Architektur der Kykladen, JdI 100, 1985, 319–398
Schuller 1991 • M. Schuller, Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, DAA 18, 1 (Berlin 1991)
Servais 1980 • J. Servais, Aliki I. Les deux sanctuaires. Les carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne, Etudes Thasiennes 9 (Paris 1980)
Shoe 1949 • L. T. Shoe, Dark Stone in Greek Architecture, in: Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear, Hesperia Suppl. 8 (Baltimore 1949; Repr. Amsterdam 1975) 341–352
Simantoni-Bournia et al. 2009 • E. Simantoni-Bournia – L. G. Mendoni – T.-M. Panagou, Καρθαία/Karthaia, ελαχύνωτον στέρνον χθονός (Athens 2009)
Sinn 2005a • ThesCRA IV (2005) 21 f. s. v. bothros (U. Sinn)
Sinn 2005b • ThesCRA IV (2005) 38–46 s. v. Hestiatorion (U. Sinn)
Sinn 2005c • ThesCRA IV (2005) 121–123 s. v. Thesauros (U. Sinn)

Skilardi 1981 • D. Skilardi, Πάρος, in: Μεγάλη Σοβιετική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια 27, 1981, 133–140
Skilardi 2010 • D. Skilardi, Τα Λατομεία και το Μάρμαρο της Πάρου: Ο απολογισμός μίας δεκαετίας (2000–2010), in: D. Skilardi – D. Katsonopoulou (eds.), Παρία Λίθος/ Paria Lithos. Λατομεία, μάρμαρο και εργαστήρια γλυπτικής της Πάρου. Πρακτικά Α' διεθνούς συνεδρίου αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων 1997 [2](Athens 2010) 649–661
Smith 1854 • W. Smith (ed.), Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography (London 1854)
Sparkes et al. 1970 • B. A. Sparkes – L. Talcott – G. M. A. Richter, The Athenian Agora. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., Agora 12 (Princeton 1970)
Sporn 2002 • K. Sporn, Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit, Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 3 (Heidelberg 2002)
Stampolides 2003 • N. Ch. Stampolides (ed.), Πλόες. Από τη Σιδώνα στη Χουέλβα. Σχέσεις λαών της Μεσογείου 16ος–6ος αιώνας π.Χ./Sea routes. From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Rethymnon, Crete September 29th–October 2nd 2002 (Athens 2003)
Stavrakakis 2011 • Y. Stavrakakis, Apollo's Island, Archaeology 64, 6, 2011, 38–41
Thüngen 1994 • S. Freifrau von Thüngen, Die frei stehende griechische Exedra (Mayence 1994)
Tölle-Kastenbein 1994 • R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Das Olympieion in Athen (Cologne 1994)
Tomlinson 1969 • R. A. Tomlinson, Perachora. Remains Outside the Two Sanctuaries, BSA 64, 1969, 155–258
Townsend 1981 • R. F. Townsend, Colored Stones in 4th cent. Athenian Architecture, AJA 85, 1981, 221
Travlos 1971 • J. Travlos, Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen (Tübingen 1971)
Tsountas 1898 • Ch. Tsountas, Κυκλαδικά, AEphem 1898, 136–211
Tuchelt 1996 • K. Tuchelt (ed.), Ein Kultbezirk an der Heiligen Straße von Milet nach Didyma, Didyma 3, 1 (Mayence 1996)
Vallois 1944 • R. Vallois, L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens 166 av. J.C., 1. Les monuments, BEFAR 157, 1 (Paris 1944)
Vallois 1953 • R. Vallois, Les constructions antiques de Délos. Documents (Paris 1953)
Vallois 1966 • R. Vallois, L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens 166 av. J.C., 2. Grammaire historique de l'architecture Délienne 1–2, BEFAR 157, 2 (Paris 1966)
Versaki 1913 • Ph. Versaki, Του Αθήνησιν Ασκληπιείου οικήματα, AEphem 1913, 52–74
Walter – Vierneisl 1959 • H. Walter – K. Vierneisl, Heraion von Samos. Die Funde der Kampagnen 1958 und 1959, AM 74, 1959, 10–42
Wasmuth 1932 • G. Wasmuth (eds.), Wasmuths Lexikon der Baukunst 4 (Tübingen 1932)
Wesenberg 1971 • B. Wesenberg, Kapitelle und Basen. Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der griechischen Säulenformen (Düsseldorf 1971)
Wiegand – Schrader 1904 • Th. Wiegand – H. Schrader, Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898 (Berlin 1904)
Zapheiropoulos 1960 • N. Zapheiropoulos, Πάρος, ADelt 16 B, 1960, 245–247
Zapheiropoulou 1966 • Ph. Zapheiropoulou, Νάξος-Τσικαλαριό, ADelt 21 B, 1966, 391–396
Zapheiropoulou 1997 • Ph. Zapheiropoulou, Πάρος/Paros (Athens 1997)
Zapheiropoulou 2000 • Ph. N. Zapheiropoulou, Parische Skulpturen, AntPl 27 (Munich 2000) 7–35
Zapheiropoulou 2003 • Ph. Zapheiropoulou, La céramique »mélienne«, Délos 41 (Paris 2003)
Zapheiropoulou 2005 • Ph. Zapheiropoulou, Πάρος, in: A. Vlachopoulos (ed.), Αρχαιολογία. Νησιά του Αιγαίου (Athens 2005) 260–268
Ziegler 1969 • Der Kleine Pauly III (1969) 1017 s. v. Mardoi (K. Ziegler)

Addresses
Yannos Kourayos
21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
10, Epaminonda Street
10555 Athens
Greece
kourayos@hotmail.com

Kornelia Daifa
129 Dekeleias Street
Nea Philadelphia
14342 Athens
Greece
kodaifa@yahoo.gr

Dr.-Ing. habil. Aenne Ohnesorg
Dr. phil. Dipl. Ing. Katarina Papajanni
Lehrstuhl für Baugeschichte, Historische Bauforschung und Denkmalpflege
Technische Universität München
Arcisstr. 21
80333 München
Germany
aenne.ohnesorg@lrz.tum.de
katarinapapajanni@hotmail.com