

ISLAND-IONIC AND ISLAND-DORIC ARCHITECTURE ON THE CYCLADES. AN OVERVIEW



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Over the last decades the ancient religious architecture on the major Cycladic islands of Naxos and Paros, their cult centre Delos, as well as in the very recently discovered sanctuary on Despotiko, have been thoroughly researched. The preserved and reconstructed cult buildings display a variety of ground plans, different orders and a lot of variants and peculiarities of design, which are set out, compared and classified below. The predominant building material was the local marble.

The earliest archaeological remains of monumental marble architecture were found on Naxos. The predecessor of the Archaic Prostylos in the sanctuary of Yria already had a prostyle (South) front. From this temple III only the foundations of the outer walls and the *prostasis* and some of the original bases of the 2 rows of 5 internal columns are preserved (fig. 1a)¹. These bases are made of marble, which was brought from the quarries in Melanes, up to 10 km away². On these bases, some already profiled, (wooden) Ionic columns are to be reconstructed, analogous to those of the later Archaic temple, with a simple wooden ceiling structure for the presumably flat (earthen) roof³.

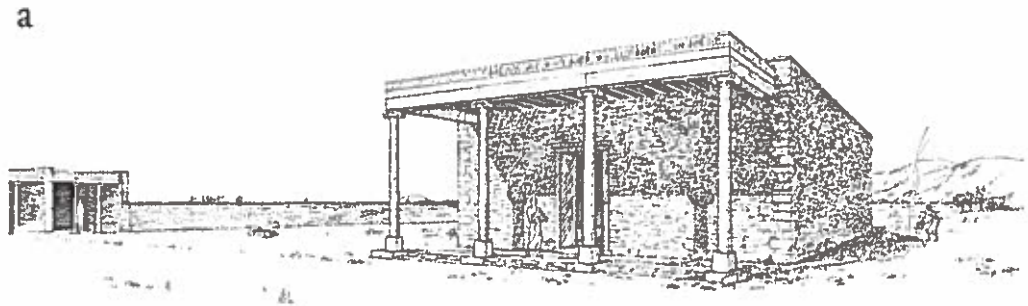
Of the probable four front columns of the *prostasis*, some cylindrical or slightly conical, relatively high marble bases are preserved. The associated slender wooden columns we imagine with primitive Ionic capitals whose shape is similar to that of the "älteste marmorne Volutenkapitell" from Sangri (fig. 1b)⁴. The entablature of the porch was also made of wood. This first *Prostylos* at Yria with three aisles was built between 700 and 675 BC by a reconstruction of the four aisled Temple II.

The Oikos of the Naxians, the "key example of Cycladic architecture"⁵, had very slim marble columns, probably influenced by the proportions of wooden supports⁶. Built in the beginning of the sixth century, it was set next to the approximately 9 m high colossus (figs. 2, 4). Whether it was the earliest temple of Apollo is controversial⁷. Inside, there was a series of eight marble columns with high cylindrical bases, slender fluted shafts and simple Ionic capitals; to the west was a porch with 3 columns in *antis* (figs. 3, 4). Of these an even higher and slightly bulging base and a fluted shaft are preserved⁸. The entablature of the porch with architrave and frieze is hypothetically reconstructed. However, a frieze on the longitudinal walls is proven. Its slabs were ordered in height and dressed the heads of the beams. These beams and, as is well known, the roof structure and roofing consisted of marble⁹. In this first phase, there was a North and a West door, both with monolithic thresholds, lintels, and doorjambes with typically Cycladic "continuous hinges" – a characteristic feature of Cycladic architecture¹⁰.

The Stoa of the Naxians, which is later by several decades, also had slender, fluted columns on cylindrical bases (fig. 4)¹¹. Of the originally 26 or more capitals, six are preserved. They present a canonical Ionic type with concave or convex *canalis*, *echinus* with a sculptured ring of leaves and fluted cushions. From the entablature just some *geisa* remain. There are also marble purlins and rafters, which all together allow a reconstruction, but with a hypothetical architrave and frieze (fig. 5)¹².



Fig. 1a-b. a. *Naxos, Yria, Temple III, perspective* (M. Lambertz) (GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 265, fig. 2b top); b. *Naxos-Sangri, Archaic Votive column* (Paros-Naxos-Archive, TU Munich, 1971/4, 34).

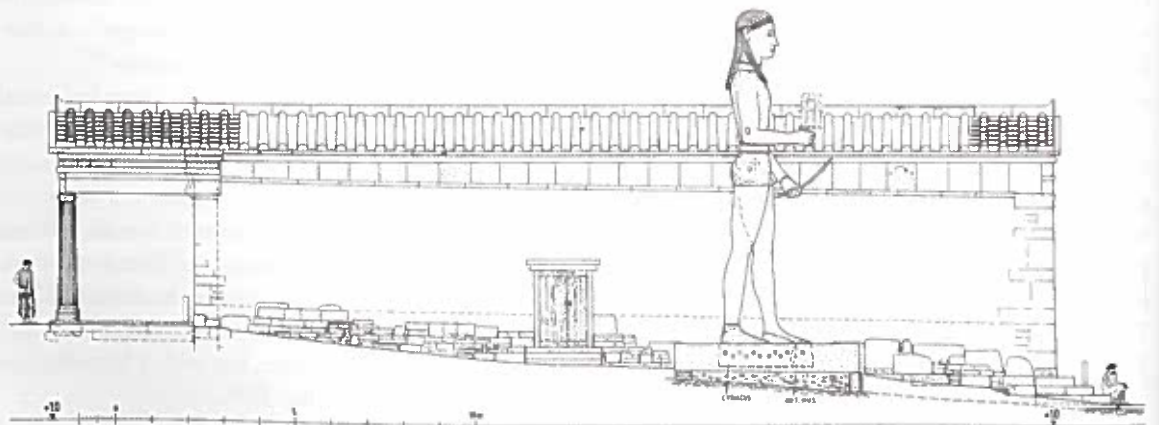


Temple IV of Yria, which was built between 580/575 and 550 BC, represents a major development over the Oikos of the Naxians (figs. 6, 7). This building now is monumental, measuring ca. 13.50 m by 28.50 m outside, including the foundation for the *prostasis* of the southern front and an *adyton* ca. 2.35 m deep. The lateral walls and the rear wall were of granite presumably for economic reasons; but the southern doorwall and the 'adyton' wall and all architectural members including the roof tiles were made from marble that came from around Melanes. The monumental main marble door had a threshold, nearly 4 m long and again a Cycladic "continuous hinge" for the - wooden - door leaves; the threshold of the 'adyton' door was only $\frac{1}{2}$ m shorter; for this door another "continuous hinge" is proven¹³.

There are currently 4 bases in situ of the original 2 x 4 interior columns, showing different stages of finishing (fig. 6). The shafts of the inner columns, with 28, 32 or 36 flutes, are also unfinished; high columns with different numbers of flutes are generally an indication of an earlier temple¹⁴. With its taper of just under 3% and matched to the exterior columns the original column height was approxima-



Fig. 2. *Delos, Oikos of the Naxians, North side* (G. Gruben - I. Ring) (GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 268, fig. 3).



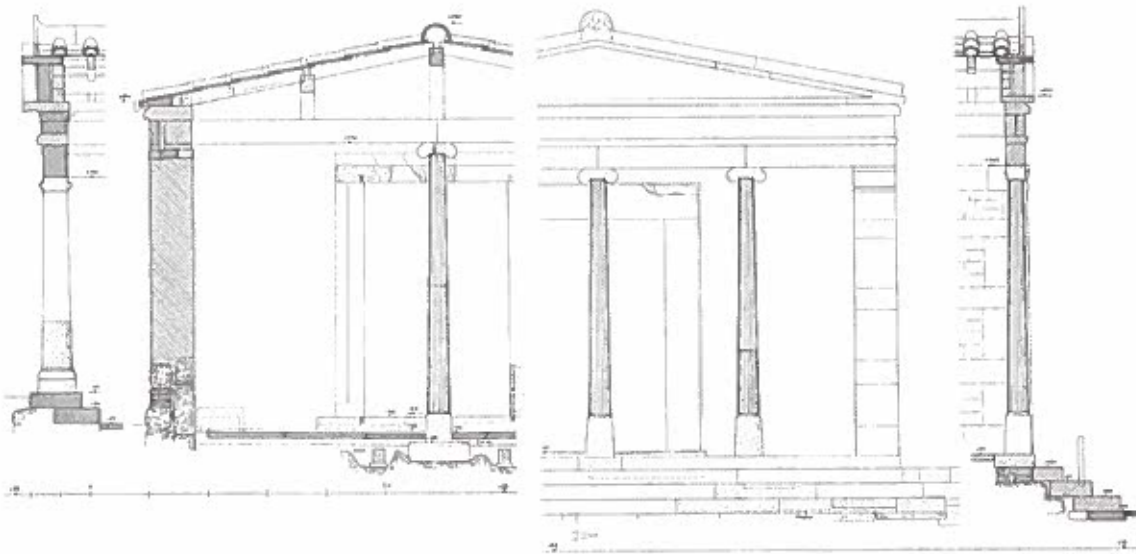


Fig. 3. Delos, Oikos of the Naxians, front view and sections. (G. Gruben - I. Ring). (GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 342, fig. 40).

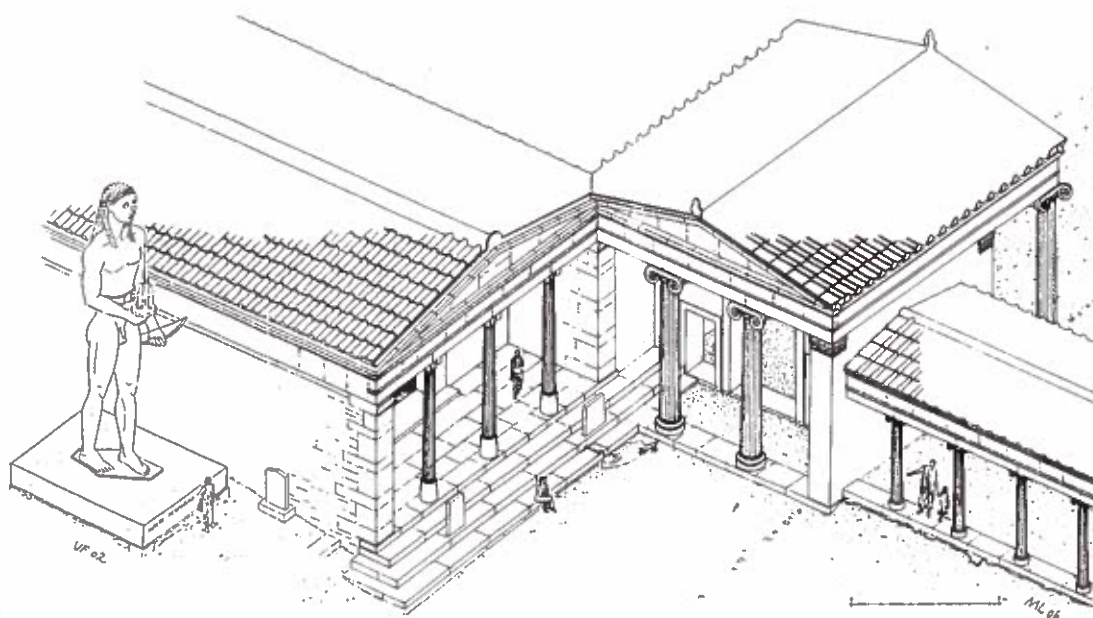


Fig. 4. Delos, the "Naxian Ensemble" (G. Gruben - M. Lambertz - Uta Fischer) (GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 366, fig. 54, variant).

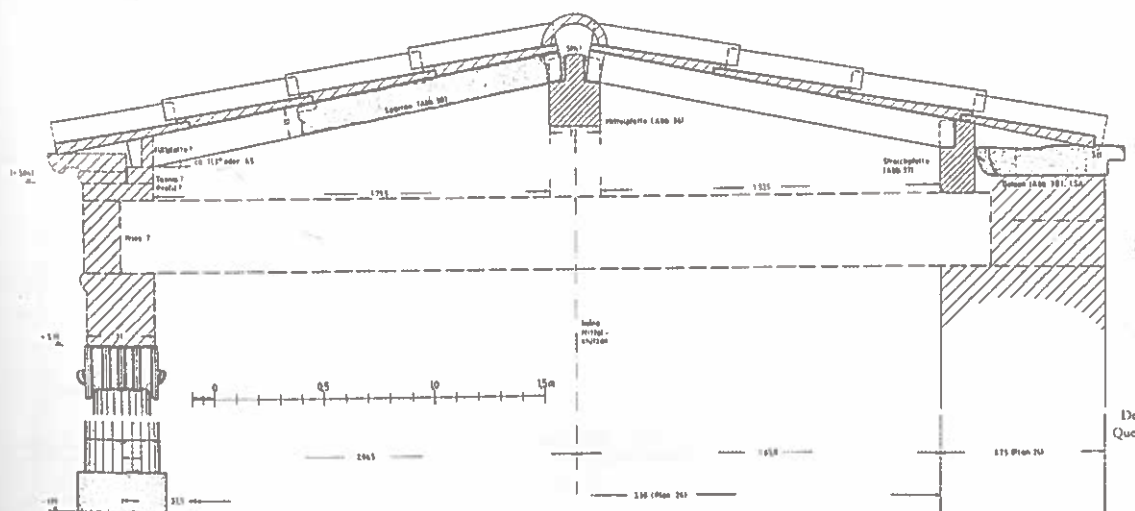


Fig. 5. Delos, Stoa of the Naxians, section (A. Ohnesorg) (OHNESORG A., Inselionische Marmordächer, op. cit., pl. 4 top).

Fig. 6. Naxos, Yria, Temple IV, interior looking north (M. Korres) (GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 264, fig. 2a bottom).

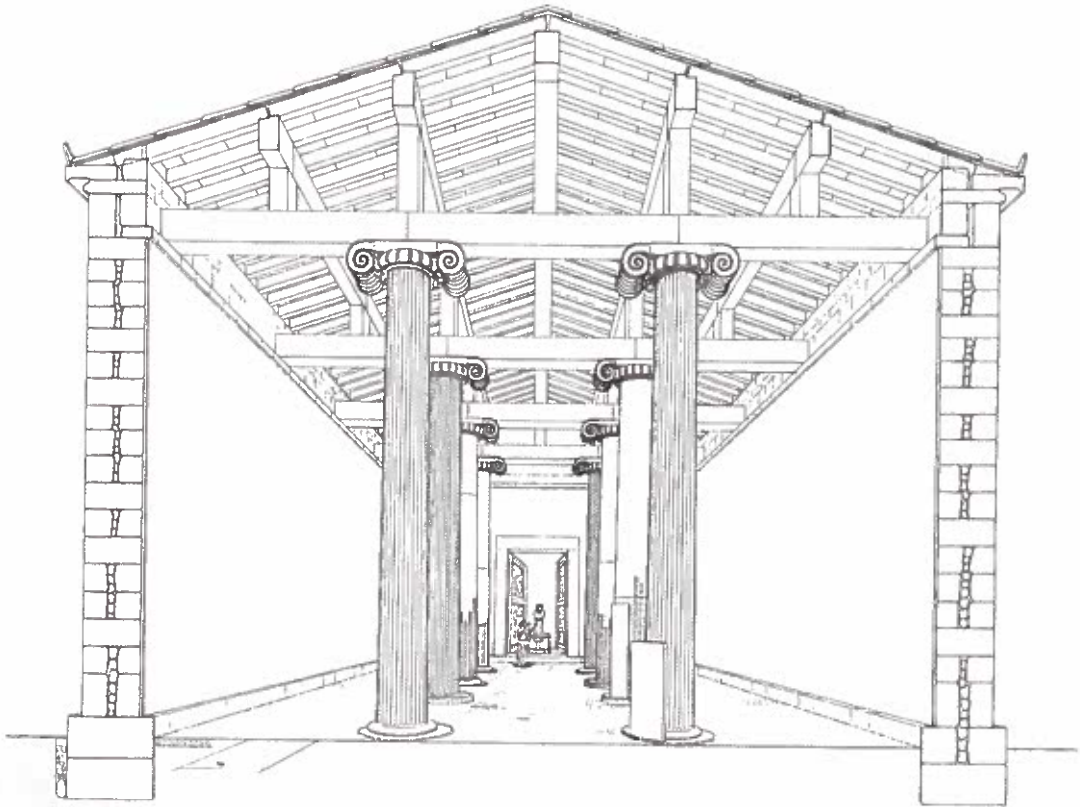
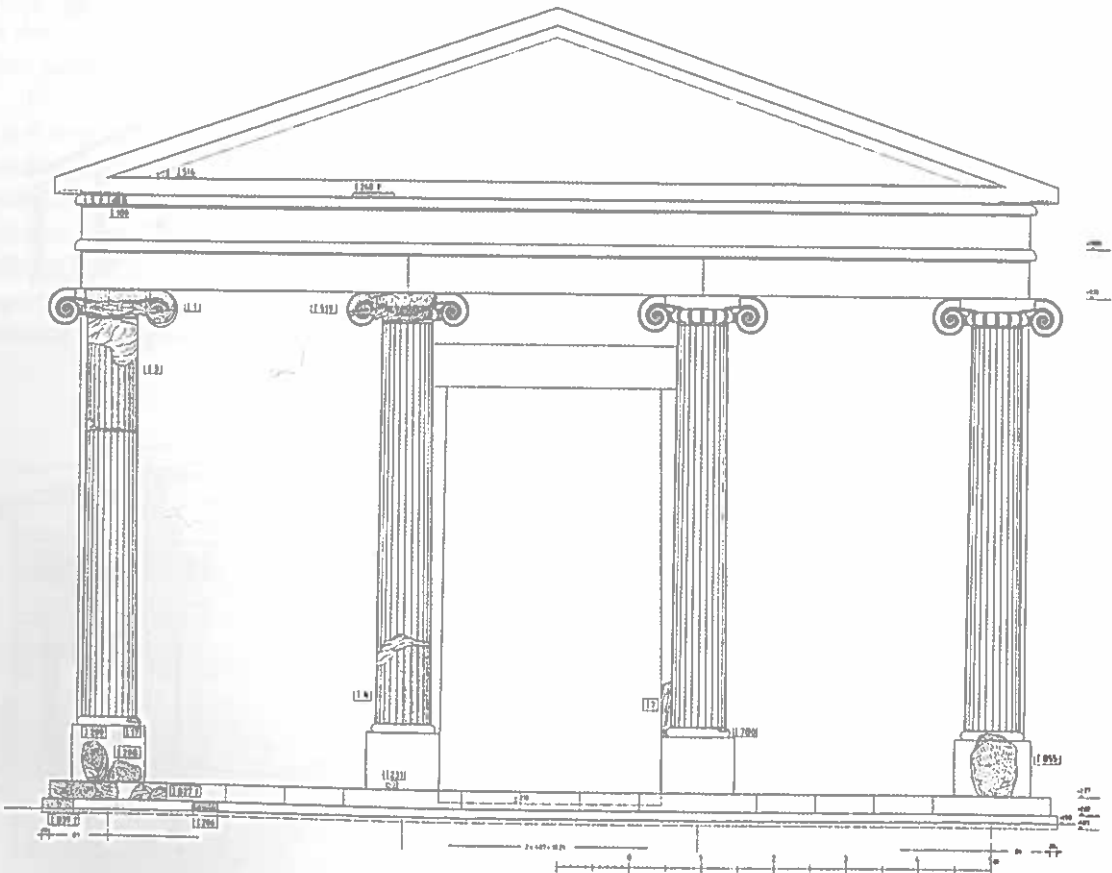


Fig. 7. Naxos, Yria, Temple IV, front (G. Gruben - I. Ring) (unpublished).



tely 8.00 m or 10 lower diameters. The Ionic capitals in the interior lay at right angles to the main axis and carried the ceiling beams – presumably of marble; the roof structure was probably open and had a slightly translucent marble cover¹⁵.

Only 4 columns could have stood on the foundation strip of the *prostasis*, because of the wide capitals (fig. 7). Fragments of the high, barrel-shaped bases¹⁶, of the column shafts with 24 flutes, and of the capitals survive. The capitals have concave *canales* and an empty eye¹⁷. These columns were less than 7.20 m. (6.86 m.) high, ie about 9 lower diameters¹⁸. Of the front entablature above nothing remained but a small fragment of an Ionic *cymatium*. It was reconstructed after the example of the entablature of the eastern porch of the Oikos of the Naxians.

The eastern porch was apparently added to the Oikos of the Naxians shortly after the construction of Yria IV (fig. 3); for that purpose a new door with a “continuous hinge” was inserted in the east wall¹⁹. The stylobate of the porch and the 4 “canonical” Island-Ionic²⁰ bases located on it are fully preserved. The columns had either smooth or fluted shafts that taper more at the bottom than higher up, like the later columns of the temple of Sangri; they are reconstructed with a height of almost 8 lower diameters²¹. That suits the capitals with plain cushions.

The entablature of the porch is documented in almost every detail: architraves with a high *taenia*, lower frieze with *cymatium* at the level of the ceiling beams, and *geisa*; only a *cymatium* layer between architrave and frieze and horizontal Ionic *geisa* needs supplementing (fig. 3)²². Here the Island-Ionic entablature, and thus the Island Ionic order, is for the first time completely preserved.

But the system of the “Island-Ionic order” was first detected at the Temple of Sangri on Naxos²³, an uncanonical construction both in its ground plan and in its architectural details (figs. 8-9). This building “gave us the key to the system of the until then enigmatic architectural remains of the Cyclades²⁴”.

The approximately square groundplan with two doors is related to the requirements for the chthonic cult of Demeter. The “show-doorways²⁵” appear again with the characteristic Cycladic “continuous hinge”. Five interior columns with different heights(!) run across the cella (fig. 8); their cylindrical bases are a simpler variant of the normal Island-Ionic base²⁶. They carry leaf capitals (“Blattkranz-Kapitelle”), painted not carved, which look the same from every side. The highest, central inner column measures 6.46 m, or approximately 13,3 lower diameters²⁷. The varying column heights were necessary because of the

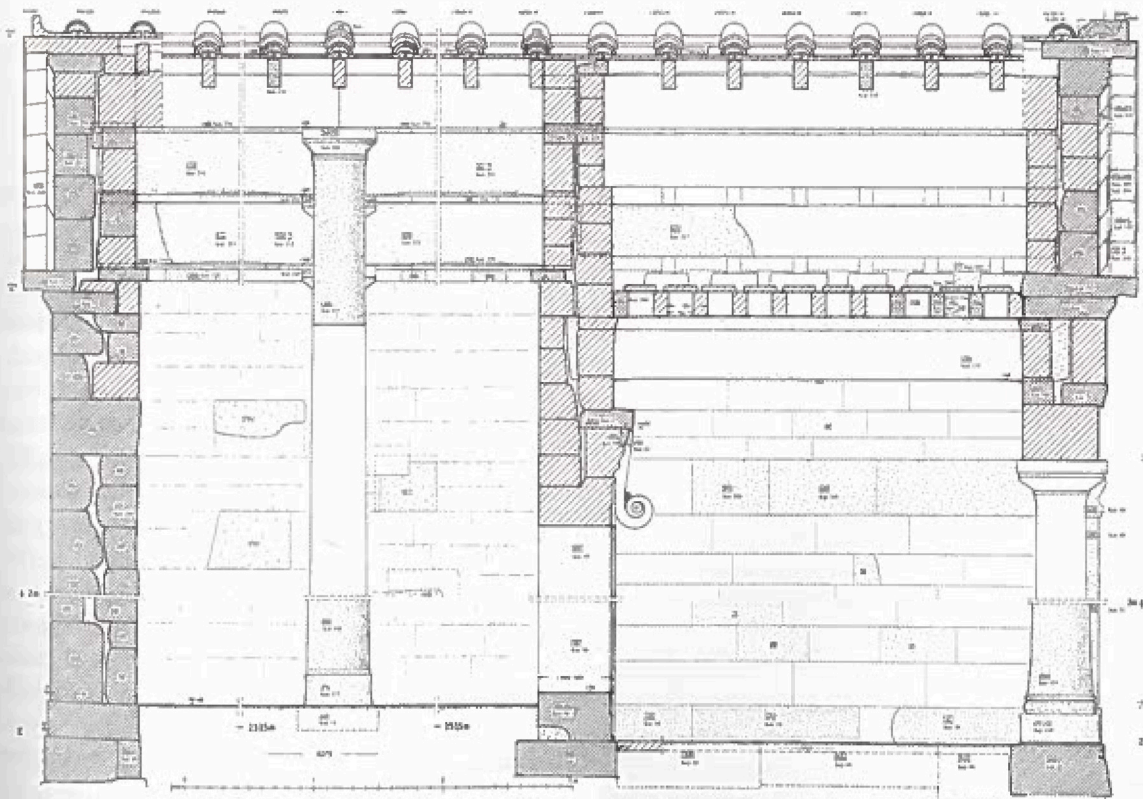
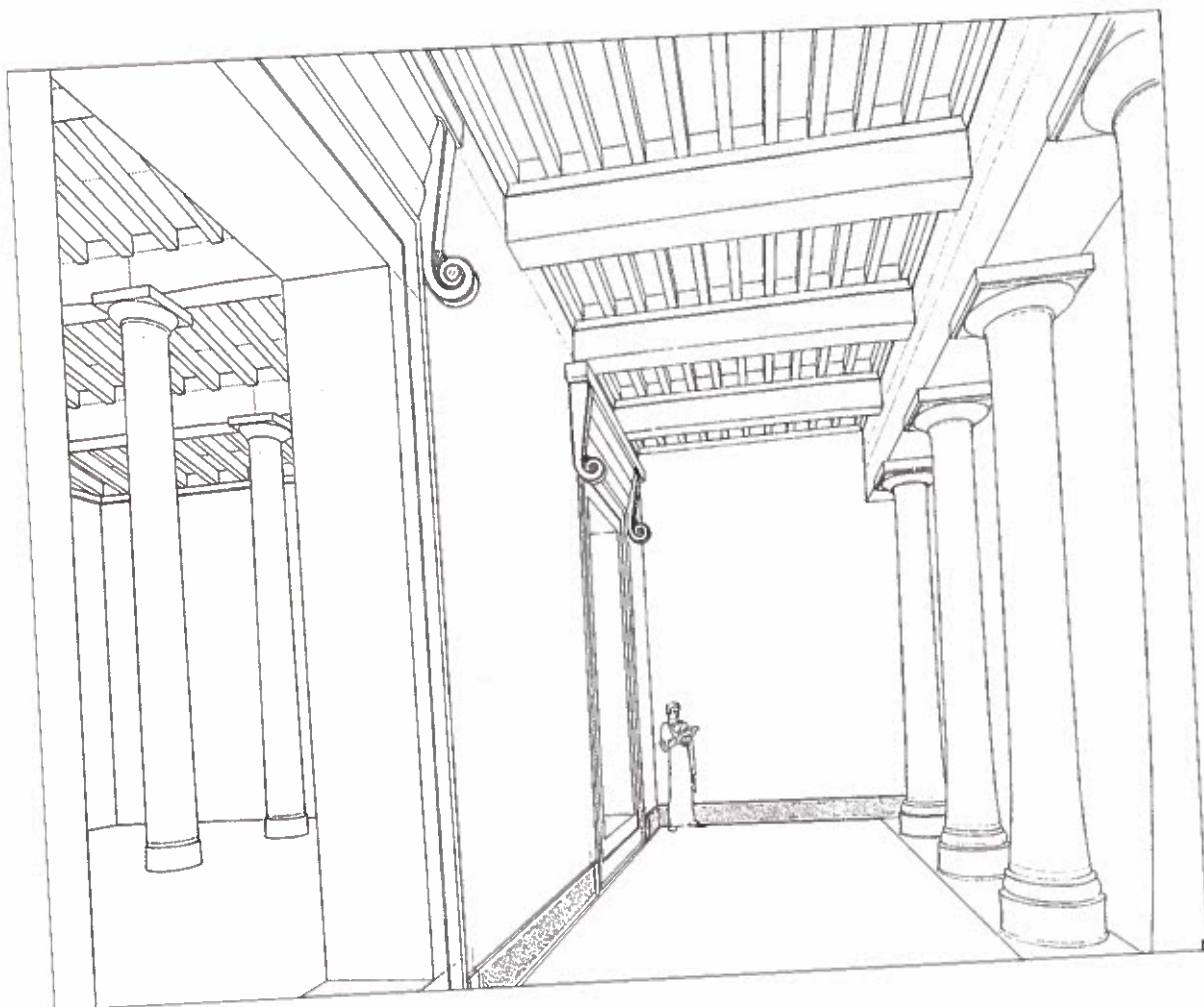


Fig. 8. Naxos, Sangri, section in North-South direction (G. Gruben – I. Ring) (unpublished).



. Naxos, Sangri, view the porch from South (vires) (OHNESORG A., xische Lichidom. Das men lichtdurchlässiger Marmordächer", p. 92, fig. 1, variant).



open roof structure with translucent "roof cover" ("Dachdecke²⁸"), all of which was made of marble.

The five front columns, which correspond to the interior columns, are also of unusual form: they have Island-Ionic bases²⁹ and slim unfluted shafts that do not taper evenly, and instead of the usual convex entasis, they have a "negative entasis"³⁰. They likewise carry leaf capitals with painted(!) cymatium and an abacus, similar to Doric capitals (fig. 10)³¹. Here,

the column height is established by a complete *anta* just under 4.20 m. high, which corresponds to 8.2 lower diameters. At this building for the first time an *anta* capital survives. Its form is peculiar, because the mouldings, consisting of a smooth Lesbian cymatium, an *abacus* and an astragal below, are not carried round onto the sides³².

The ceiling beams of the porch were inserted in the door wall and lay above the front architrave. Here they were covered by a plate-like course, which disguised the beam ends. It is not preserved, but must be inferred. This course was framed by painted profiles and was perhaps painted itself (fig. 8). It is this course, which later became a frieze decorated with colorful relief cycles, as on the treasury of the Siphnians (fig. 11) and the Nike temple on the Athenian Acropolis.

The slightly provincial details of the building are due to the fact that Sangri was a remote rural sanctuary. The temple, built in approximately 535-525 BC, and the succeeding structures³³ were preserved from major destruction, and this, together with the

Fig. 10. Naxos, Sangri, leaf capital ("Blattkranzkapitell") (G. Gruben 1977) (M. SCHULLER, Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit., p. 99, fig. 45).



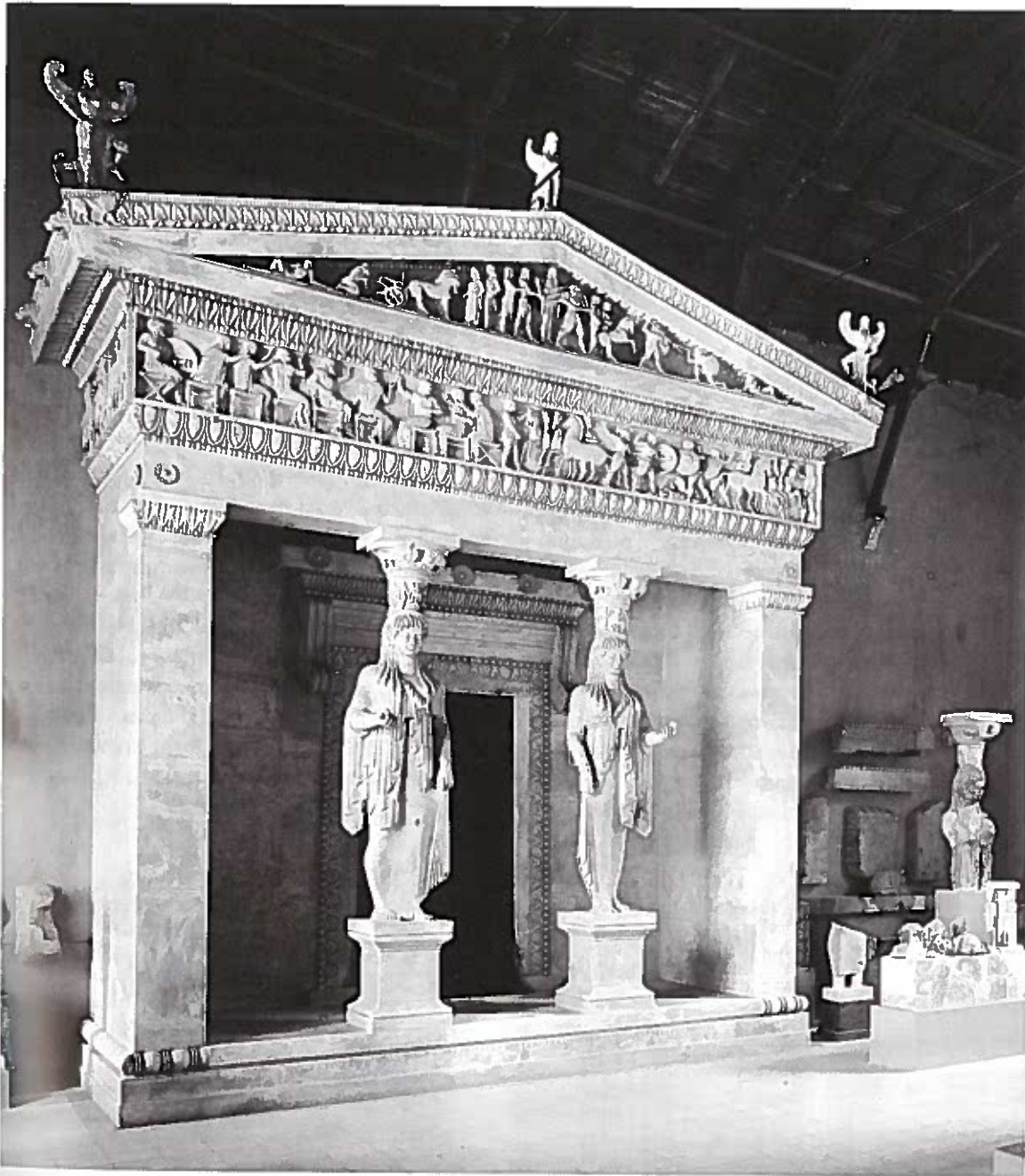


Fig. 11. Delphi, Treasury of the Siphnians, old reconstruction in the Museum of Delphi (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin, Abt. Meßbild).

fact that many of the existing marble components remained, enabled a secure reconstruction.

At the temple of Sangri, all *cymatia* were only painted on the smooth surface of the profiles. In contrast, at the treasury, which the rich island of Siphnos had donated to Delphi, all profiles were carefully sculptured (fig. 11)³⁴. In addition, there was a figured frieze framed by *cymatia*, and even the gable was filled with figure scenes. The *antae* capitals consisted of a sculptured Lesbian *cymatium* with an abacus. The Ionic *geisa* were decorated with a carved locus-palmetta frieze; and at

the eaves and pediments of the marble roof was a *sima* in relief. The doorway was particularly rich. Its frame was decorated with carved astragals and a floral frieze. Above the lintel, volute consoles carried a cornice with rosettes, below which was a triple ovolo frieze. The two columns between the *antae* are replaced by *caryatids*. Considerable remains of paint testify to the rich colour design. This magnificent building was most probably carried out by a Cycladic workshop. The evidence for this is firstly the marble material which comes from Naxos and Paros (and Siphnos)³⁵, but more



importantly, the characteristic forms and techniques of the Island-Ionic architecture. This is one of the few buildings historically dated to the 6th century, more specifically, to the years before 525 BC.

Three further Delphic treasuries, those of the cities of Knidos and Klazomenai in Asia Minor, and of the Phokaian colony Massalia, are built of Parian marble, and have characteristics of Island-Ionic architecture (fig. 12)³⁶. These are: a wall torus, Island-Ionic column bases (Cnidus), a sculptured frieze (Massalia), *anta* capitals with *cymatia* and *abaci* (Massalia) and again *caryatids* (Cnidus), Ionic *geisa* that were decorated like those of the Siphnian treasury (Massalia, fig. 13), and marble roofs. Innovations are Ephesian column bases (Massalia) and sculptured leaf capitals with *abaci* (all three treasuries)³⁷. These treasuries were built between ca. 575 BC and the middle of the 6th century, and were "probably ordered by their geographically remote donors at a Parian workshop"³⁸.

Later in the sixth century, two other major projects were undertaken on Naxos and Paros: the Temple of Apollo on Naxos was the only Ionic *peripteros* of the Cyclades, probably built to the order of the tyrant Lygdamis (approx. 550/540 – 522 BC)³⁹. Behind the planned *peristasis*, the foundations of which were only partially begun, would

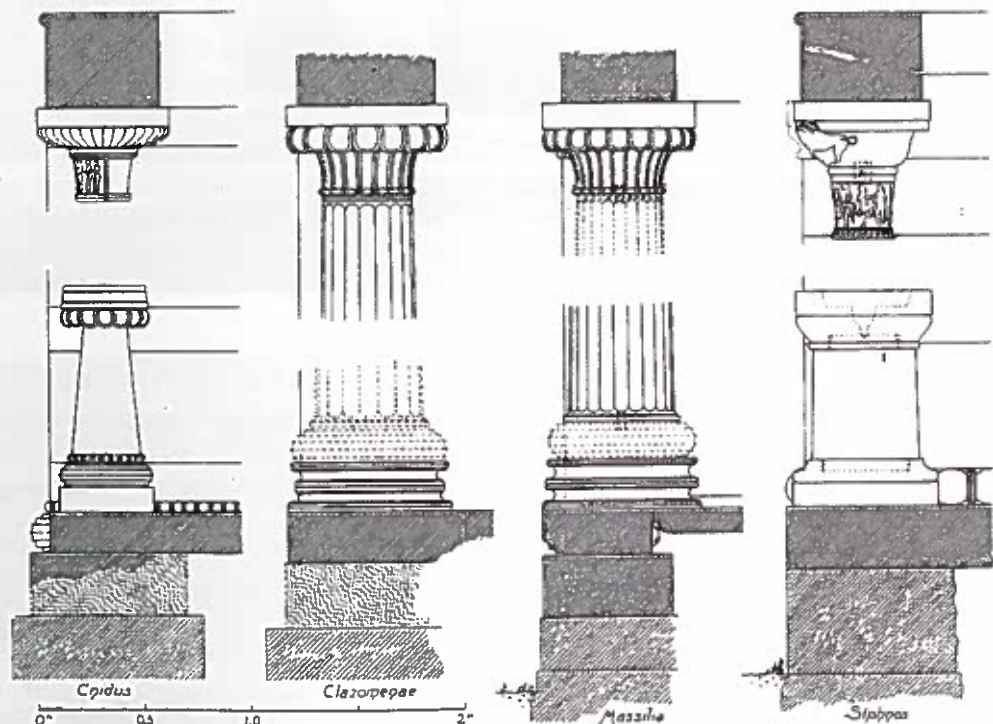
have stood (if completed) a double *anta* temple with *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*⁴⁰. The first huge door (with clear dimensions 4.40 x 6.60 m), planned for the east side, was dwarfed by the still more monumental "show-doorway"⁴¹ on the west side (clear dimensions 3.75,5/ 3.76,3 m x 5.84,0 m, but "heavier" frame), which is known to have stood upright since antiquity.

The detailed forms, as far as they are known (wall torus, astragals of the door frame, cymatia of the lintel crown, roughed-out console, fluted spirals of an inner column...) are "canonical". The capitals of the *peristasis* including the corner capitals would have been Ionic. The columns were 10 to 12 m high⁴².

About the same time, the temple of Athena was built on Paros. It was a six-column, monumental amphiprostylos (fig. 14)⁴³. Its western side has crashed into the sea, but the foundations of its eastern side are still preserved. This unusual plan is more common in the Cyclades than elsewhere⁴⁴.

Hardly anything is left of the column fronts, apart from parts of the originally 6 m long marble beams that spanned the porch⁴⁵; their heads were again concealed by a frieze. Yet the doorjambs and the lintel remain, as well as fragments of the *hyperthyron*, and, again, a marble roof.

Fig. 12. Delphi, The four
Ionian Treasuries, front
orders (W. B. Dinsmoor)
(DINSMOOR W.B., "Studies
of the Delphian Treasuries II.
The Four Ionian Treasuries",
art. cit., p. 17, fig. 3).



Two other late Archaic Island-Ionic buildings on Paros again confirm the "index form"⁴⁶ of the Cycladic doors. Firstly, Temple B shows another "show-doorway"; it has console(s) and a three-row hyperthyron, together with a simpler (interior) door, which testifies to the existence of an *adyton*. Secondly, Building C had a richly decorated door with a strangely profiled frame⁴⁷.

The characteristics of the Island-Ionic order(s), that G. Gruben largely recognized as early as 1972, can be summarized as follows⁴⁸:

- unusual ground plans with differing orientations⁴⁹, normally without a *peristasis*;
- partial interior row(s) of columns;
- *prostyle* fronts⁵⁰;
- unusual orders, with "an independent entablature structure which is derived from the conditions of the marble building material: smooth architrave, frieze between *cymatia* developed here, geisa without the obligatory dentils of the (Eastern) Ionic architecture in Asia Minor⁵¹;
- exterior columns, about 8-10 lower diameters high, compacter than the Eastern-Ionic examples, but slim interior columns of up to 13 lower diameters⁵²;
- wall socket (Sangri) or wall torus (fig. 15)⁵³;

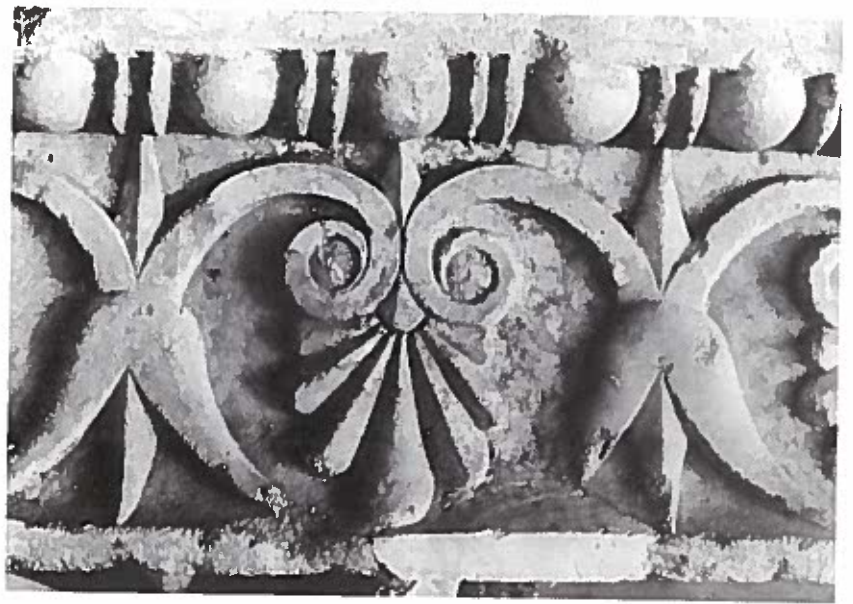


Fig. 13. Delphi, Treasury of the Massiliots, geison fragment. Photo A. Ohnesorg 1978.

- two-faced wall construction with an outer face of ashlar masonry and an inner face of small stone masonry, which was, in some cases, plastered⁵⁴;
- *anta* capitals with *cymatia*, which were often carved, under an *abacus* which differs significantly from the three-row Eastern-Ionic *anta* capitals⁵⁵,

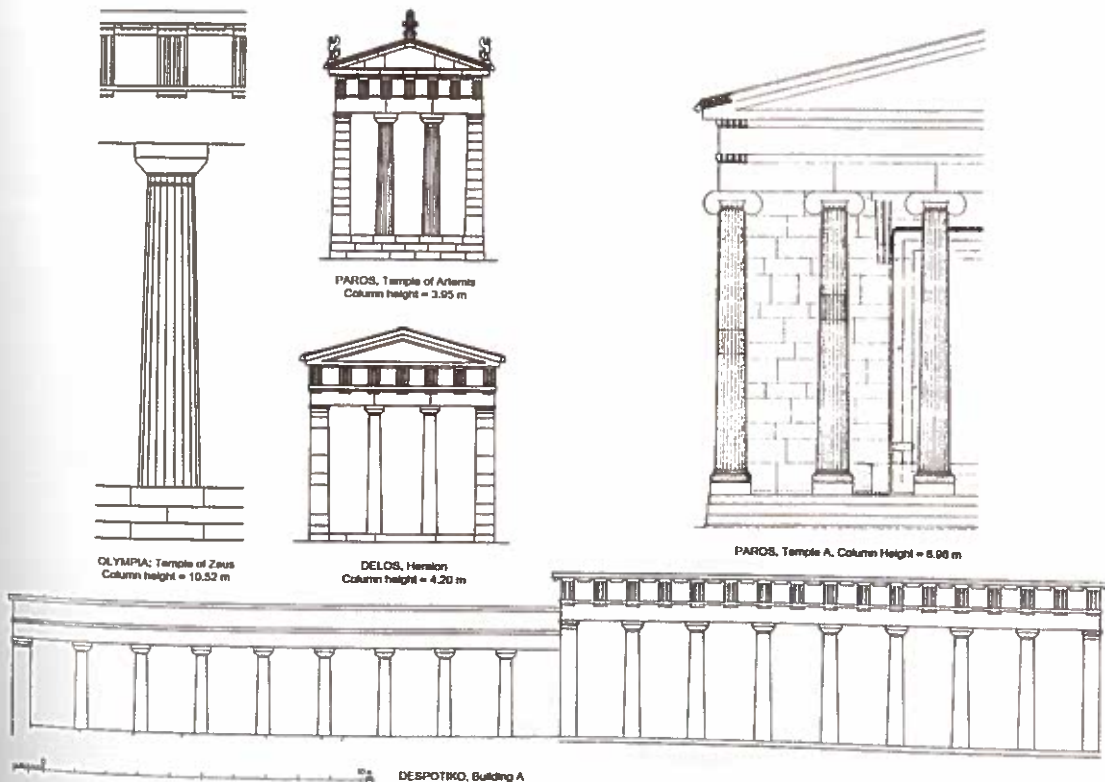


Fig. 14. Olympia, temple of Zeus, Paros, Temple A and Temple of Artemis, Delos, temple of Hera, and Sanctuary of Despotiko, Building A, front views (G. Gruben - M. Schuller) (GRUBEN G., "Der Burgtempel A von Paros. Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", AA, 1982, p. 228, fig. 16) and M. Schuller (SCHULLER M., Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op.cit., p. 105, fig. 49 - detail) and A. Ohnesorg - K. Papajanni (KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 123 fig. 33).

Fig. 15. Cycladic buildings, wall bases (M. Lambertz) (LAMBERTZ M., "Der Apollontempel von Naxos - zwei Planungsphasen im Detail", art. cit., p. 5, fig. 4).

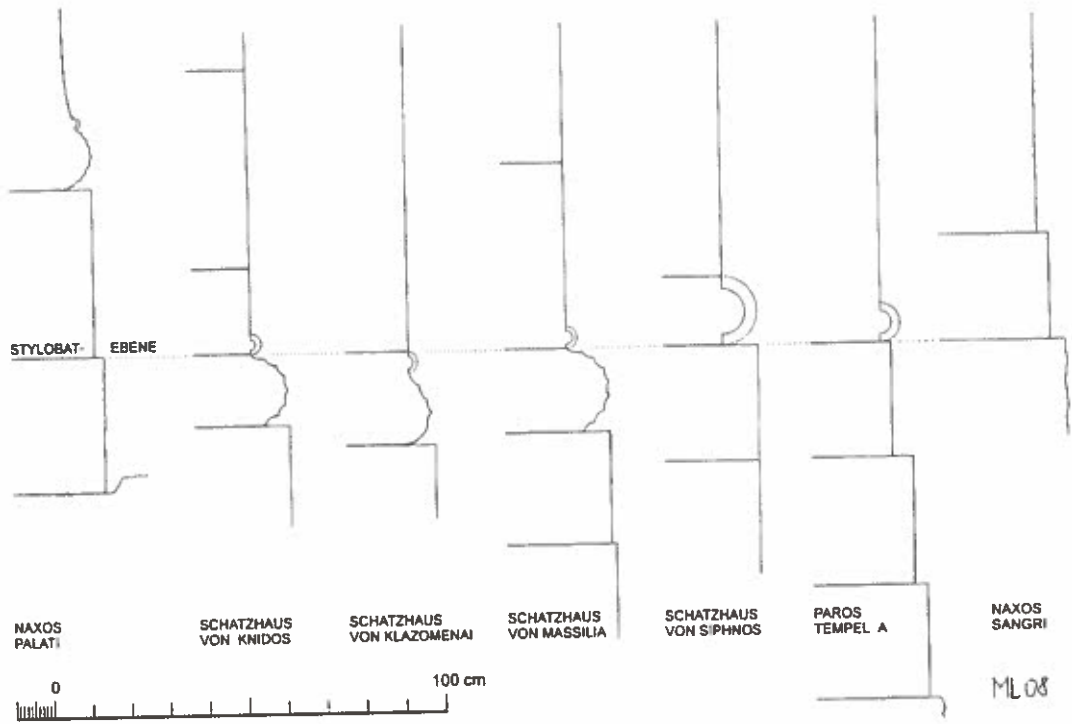
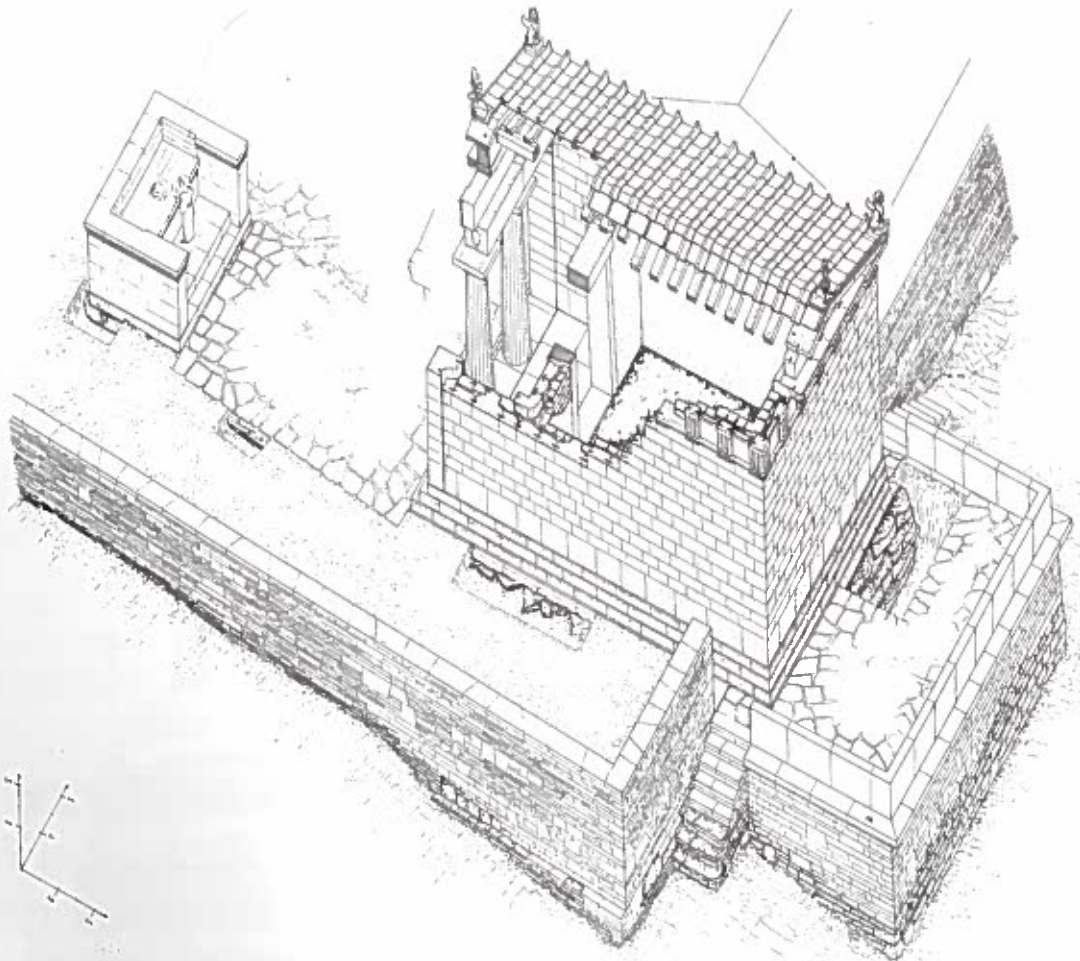


Fig. 16. Paros, Delion, Temple Artemis, reconstruction M. Schuller (SCHULLER M., "Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit., p. 77, g. 33).



and have "continued to develop in the Attic-Ionic style"⁵⁶;

– column bases similar to Samian bases but with usually smooth spirae and tori;

– multiple versions of Ionic capitals and, as a special case, leaf capitals ("Blattkranzkapitelle", fig. 10);

– monumental doorways (the wooden doors are lost), decorated with carved astragals, and with a lintel crown (*hyperthyron*) on consoles;

– a special device for supporting the door, the Cycladic "continuous hinge".

From the mid-6th century, particularly on Paros, Doric forms become increasingly visible, as has been documented and summarized by M. Schuller⁵⁷. First, only single Doric capitals are attested; and a Doric architrave implies a Late Archaic interior column order, and so a larger building containing it.

It was not until around 500 BC that two buildings were erected which can be regarded as protagonists for the advance of Doric designs: the rather small Temple of Artemis in the Delion of Paros and the delicate Temple of Hera on Delos⁵⁸. There is also a little-known slightly older, but monumental Doric monument, from around 520 BC, which has so far proved its existence only by a few high-quality architectural elements from the port of Paros⁵⁹.

The small Temple of Artemis can be considered to be a rather canonical Late Archaic Doric *antae* building (figs. 14, 16). This is more evident, when it is compared to the Treasury of the Athenians in the Apollo sanctuary or the Doric treasury in the sanctuary of Athena at Delphi. Both are made of Parian (!) marble and date to the very end of the 6th century or the early 5th c. BC. The buildings are (Island)-Ionic influenced, mainly due to their slimmer proportions⁶⁰. Gruben even supposed that "Cycladic stone masons were at work" at the Treasury of Athens⁶¹; as of the Doric treasury in the Athena sanctuary at Delphi, he claimed that it "is so similar in material, technique and style to the treasury of Athens that you may think that it had been erected by the same Cycladic workmen and of Attic founders⁶²". Another Island-Ionic element at the Parian temple of Artemis is a door with a monolithic frame⁶³. Its orientation to the east, connected with the singular west terrace towards Delos is unusual.

In comparison to these buildings, the Temple of Hera on Delos⁶⁴ has many more Island-Ionic peculiarities (figs. 14, 17): there is no krepis; the columns stand on only one layer of stylobate slabs and are extremely slim (lower diameter : column height = 1: 7,4),

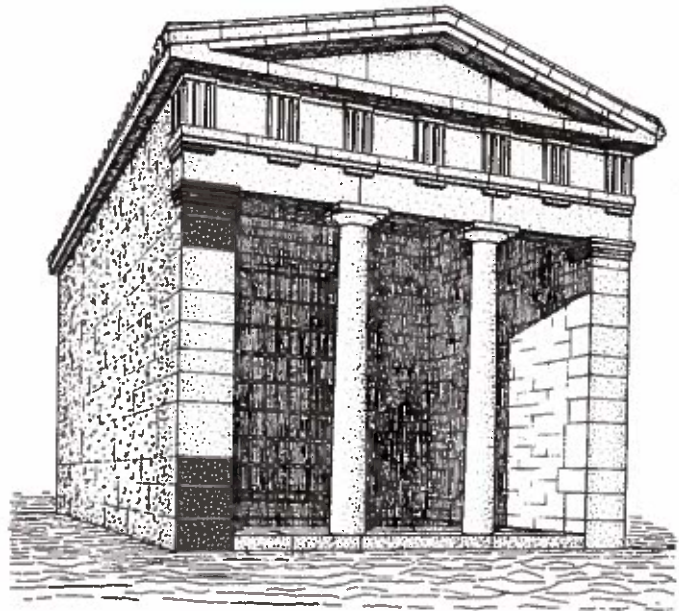
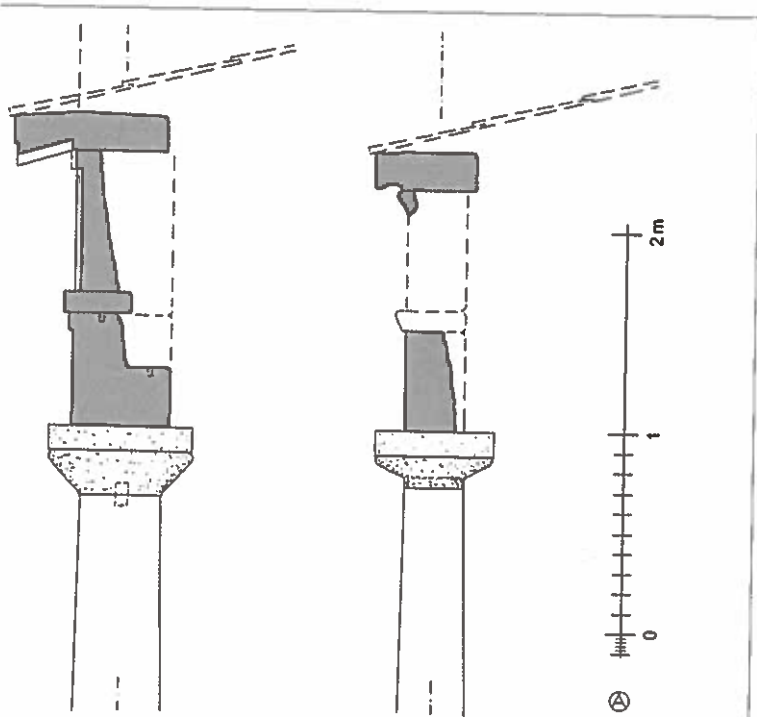


Fig. 17. Naxos, Temple of Sangri and Delos, Henaion, perspective reconstructions (M. Schuller) (SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, op. cit., p. 98, fig. 44).

and without flutes; they are widely spaced – with a surprising narrowing of the central intercolumniation; in the entablature, between the *regulae* of the architrave and the (Doric) frieze, an "intermediary layer" is reconstructed instead of a *taenia*⁶⁵; the frieze ends above the *antae*; the geisa have the Ionic form; the tympanum is crowned by a Lesbian cymatium; the roof is made of marble; the door frame consists of monoliths⁶⁶; the outer wall face is built of large marble blocks, the inner wall face of small-sized stones.

A comparison with the Temple of Sangri makes the "Ionicisms" particularly clear (fig. 17)⁶⁷. The





Building A, Entablature of North and South part

Despotiko, Sanctuary
of Apollo, Building A,
Entablatures of South and
North parts (A. Ohnesorg,
Ajanni) (KOURAYOS
UFA K., OHNESORG
PAPAJANNI K., "The
Sanctuary of Despotiko in the
Dodecanese", art. cit., p. 114,
fig. 25).

similar features are: the emphasis on the front and the neglect of the flanks (and rear) which have rougher surfaces and no entablature; the slender unfluted columns between antae, no steps below the *stylobat* to *toichobate* slabs; the entablature with strong intermediary layers, which in Sangri have *cymatia*; and the roof structure with Ionic *geisa* and a tympanum crown.

M. Schuller hypothesized that there was a third building from this period on Despotiko, because of the Island-Doric architectural members that were already known since 1960, due to the investigations of the Greek Archaeological Service⁶⁸. Through further excavations, under the direction of Y. Kourayos from 1997 onwards, it turned out that the fragments of the Late Archaic Doric order belong to another unusual construction, the northern part of the so-called "Building A" (figs. 14, 18, 19, 20)⁶⁹. This important, but not very tall cult building within the extended sanctuary had three main phases, of which phases 2 and 3 are of particular interest. In phase 2, a generation later, the 3-roomed southern part was added to the northern part that was already erected by 550 BC (with 2 rooms and a porch maybe decorated with wooden columns). Finally by 500 BC the northern part had been "improved" by the addition of a marble front colonnade.

The columns of this North part and their very weathered components⁷⁰ represent the Island-Doric order, consisting of unfluted column shafts, Doric capitals providing the dating, an entablature with architrave, on which only the *regulae* – without *guttae* – have been worked, a separately crafted "intermediary layer", a frieze with smooth metopes and triglyphs with *taenia*⁷¹, and finally Doric *geisa* without *guttae* that enable the reconstruction of the axial dimension. Thus, between the *antae* of the porch stood 7 columns of about 3.80 m in height (figs. 14, 19, 20)⁷². The porch had a wide front with a relatively high gable, which is proven by *acroteria* in their fallen position.

The three-roomed southern extension of building A, according to the profiles of the capitals, was erected 540/30 BC. It also had a porch, with (8) columns *in antis*. The corresponding order seems to have been of a previously unknown type: unfluted column shafts⁷³, simple Doric capitals with smooth column necks⁷⁴, complete architraves confirming the axial dimension of about 1.88 m, which also could be measured at the circular seatings for the columns on the (gneiss) *stylobate in situ*, and finally Ionic *geisa*. The architrave beams, with a maximum depth of 30 cm, have no *regulae* or *taenia*. From the frieze nothing remained; but the fragment of a small Ionic *cymatium* might be ascribed to one of the two *cyma* layers which perhaps lay above and below the frieze⁷⁵. Thus, the entablature would have been similar to the entablature of the Temple of Sangri, and would represent a new variant with a mixed Doric-Ionic order (figs. 18, 19, 20).

The architecture of the sanctuary on Despotiko confirms the Late Archaic development of the Island-Ionic to the Island-Doric architecture. This trend can also be observed on the Parian colony of Thasos. There, in the sanctuary of Aliko, the (Ionic) colonnade at the front of the North Building, which dates to 530-525 BC, around 470-465 BC was replaced by a Doric order, set slightly to the west⁷⁶. From the very beginning the somewhat smaller South Building of Aliko, with approximately the same layout, had a Doric colonnade, dating from ca. 500 BC.

The architecture on the island of Keos, which also belongs to the cultural landscape of the Cyclades, is – almost – entirely of the Doric order⁷⁷. That is the case of the Athena temple in Karthaia, which is more closely related to the Doric traditions of the mainland, which are also embodied in the Aphaia Temple of Aigina. These two temples are characterized by roofs made of Parian marble, which were probably created by Parian stonemasons⁷⁸.

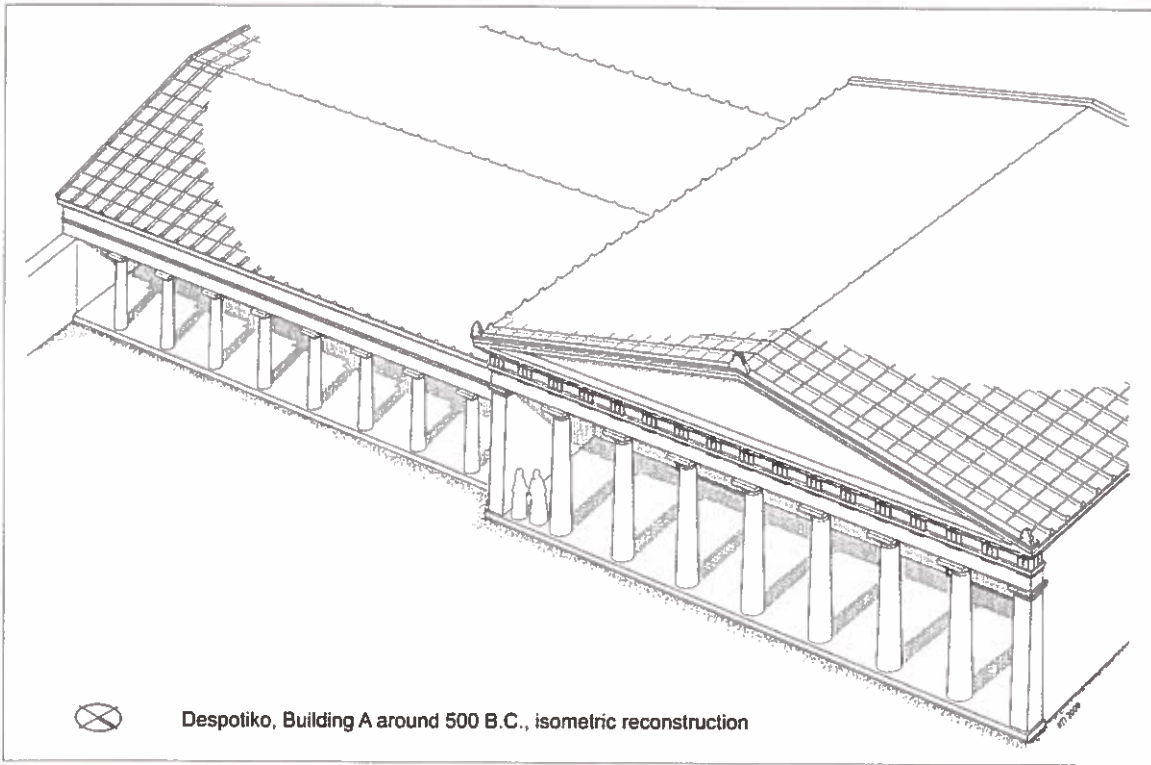


Fig. 19. Despotiko, Sanctuary of Apollo, Building A, reconstruction (K. Papajanni) (KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 123, fig. 34).

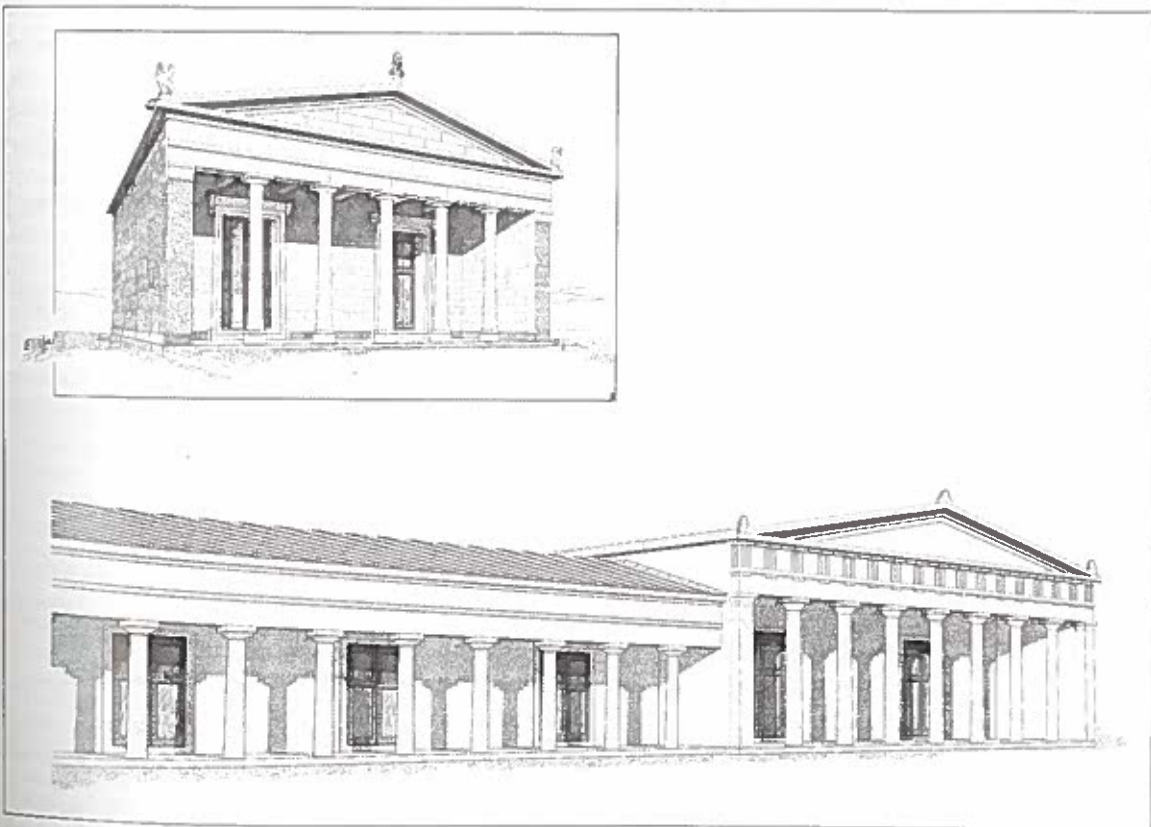


Fig. 20. Naxos, Temple of Sangri and Despotiko, Building A, reconstructions (M. Korres - K. Papajanni) (KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 165, fig. 79).

Already in the early Classical period, the two big Apollo temples on Delos are more or less canonical Doric.

Thus the characteristics of the Island-Doric architecture, first recognized by M. Schuller in 1985, can be summarized as follows:

- varying ground plans – often with (up to eight!) columns in antis – and different orientation;
- narrow steps at the flanks and rear (Artemis temple on Paros) – or only one step (temple of Hera on Delos);
- “cycladic” wall construction with rough exterior ashlar masonry (Artemis temple on Paros, temple of Hera on Delos);
- uncanonical *antae* (the same);
- doors with monolithic frames, but “normal” pivot holes, no “continuous hinges” (the same and Building A on Despotiko);
- entablature restricted to the front (temple of Hera on Delos);
- doric order with peculiarities: intermediary course (“Zwischenschicht”) between architrave and frieze (Triglyphon), narrow *metopes* and *triglyphs* without *taenia* (Artemis temple on Paros) and *geisa* without *guttae* (the same and North part of Building A on Despotiko), Ionic *geisa* (temple of Hera on Delos, South part of Building A on Despotiko);
- cymatium at the top of the tympanum (temple of Hera on Delos)
- slim proportions with relatively high or very high columns, often smooth (temple of Hera of Delos, Building A on Despotiko, fig. 14. 20).

In conclusion, in the early 7th c. BC in the Cyclades, or more exactly on Naxos, the Island-Ionic order arose, spreading to other islands in different variants. By the late 6th c., various versions had been more precisely developed. The Island-Ionic version

of Ionic architecture is a genuinely Cycladic invention, which, in turn, exerted an influence on the Attic-Ionic architectural language⁷⁹. In Paros, this “architectural blossoming” focuses on the period from 530-520 BC to about 480 BC and is associated with the blossoming of the coinage of Paros in the same period⁸⁰. Detailed reconstructions of the individual and often monumental buildings with their orders are possible because almost everything, including the beams and roof structure, consisted of marble.

In the second half of the 6th c. BC, there is an increasing number of Doric elements. The Island-Doric structure and types in the Cyclades go back to the previously examined continental architecture. However, it is affected to a greater or lesser extent by Ionic elements, and occasionally leads to a veritable jumping between forms and in some cases even a mixing of them; besides, the size of the buildings including their colonnades vary considerably, already within the Island Ionic order (fig. 14). In the Late Archaic period and from the 5th c. BC onwards, the Doric order in the Cyclades is the leading one.

Around 400 BC, there was another blossoming on Paros of both Doric (Pythion, Marmara, Archilocheion) and Ionic building types (Ionic peristyle and individual architectural elements)⁸¹; and also during the Hellenistic period, a “sacred building-wave on Paros and Naxos was recorded⁸²”, apart from the 2nd c. BC onset of construction activity on Delos⁸³. However, the highlight was the 6th c. BC.

Acknowledgements

Warmest thanks go to Joanna and Jim J. Coulton, who translated this article into English and helped with the terminology.



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NOTES

1. GRUBEN G., "Die inselionische Ordnung", in J. DES COURTILS and J. Ch. MORETTI (ed.), *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde Égeen du VI^e s. av. J.-C. Colloque Istanbul 1991*, Paris, De Boccard, 1993, p. 97-109; GRUBEN G., "Die Entwicklung der Marmorarchitektur auf Naxos und das neuentdeckte Dionysos-Heiligtum in Iria", *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie*, n° 8, 1991/2, p. 41-51; OHNESORG A., "Naxian and Parian Architecture", in M. YEROULANOU and M. STAMATOPOULOU (ed.), *Architecture and Archaeology in the Cyclades. Papers in Honour of J. J. Coulton*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2005, p. 135-152; DIRSCHEDL U., *Die griechischen Säulenbasen*, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag 2013, p. 61 (Z 21), p. 94 (Q 11) and passim: the bases are separated into cylindrical and rectangular ones by the author.
2. The same is also already true of the 3 x 5 = 15 interior column bases of the previous building (Yria II): GRUBEN G., "Die inselionische Ordnung", art. cit., p. 97-109; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", *JdI*, n° 112, 1997, p. 261-264; SIMANTONI-BOURNIA E., "The Early Phases of the Hyria Sanctuary on Naxos. An Overview of the Pottery", in M. STAMATOPOULOU and M. YEROULANOU (ed.), *Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002, p. 269-280.
3. GRUBEN G., "Griechische Un-Ordnungen", in SCHWANDNER E.-L. (ed.), *Säule und Gebälk. Kolloquium Berlin 1994. DiskAB 6*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern 1996, p. 66, Abb. 6; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 264, Abb. 2a.
4. GRUBEN G., "Das älteste marmorne Volutenkapitell", *IstMit*, n° 39, 1989 p. 161-172; GRUBEN G., "Griechische Un-Ordnungen", art. cit., p. 65 with figs. 5.4, and 5; LAMBRINOUDAKIS V. and GRUBEN G., "Das neuentdeckte Heiligtum von Iria auf Naxos", *AA*, 1987, p. 602, fig. 45; OHNESORG A., "Naxian and Parian Architecture", art. cit., p. 136, fig. 1.
5. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 302.
6. Ratio lower diameter : column height of the inner columns 1 : 13: GRUBEN G., "Griechische Un-Ordnungen", art. cit., p. 70. The "Pré-Oikos" of the 7th c. is considered null and void: GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 304f.
7. COURBIN P., *L'Oikos des Naxiens*, EAD XXX, Paris, De Boccard, 1980; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 304f. The elongated, two-aisled room was certainly also used for feasts, as the preserved marble pavement with drainage shows.
8. DIRSCHEDL U., *Die griechischen Säulenbasen*, op. cit., p. 64f. (Z 41 and Z 42) and passim. The bases of the inner columns have a more conical shape.
9. Geisa and fragments of purlins and rafters are obtained: OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer, Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 18.2, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1993, p. 53-59 with pl. 11-4. 34f.; OHNESORG A., "Der naxische Lichtdom. Das Phänomen lichtdurchlässiger inselionischer Marmordächer", in U. WULF-RHEIDT (ed.), *Lichtkonzepte. Kolloquium Berlin 2009, DiskAB 10*, Regensburg, 2011, p. 92-100.
10. GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", *Münchner Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, n° 23, 1972, p. 15; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht...", I. Archaische Bauten", *AA*, 1982, p. 193-195 ("Türen mit Scharnierband"); GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 332. The "continuous hinges" are comparable to a modern "piano hinge", but have large wooden knuckles. The clear widths of the doorways are 1,30 m. and 2,41 m; in KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", *AA*, 2012, p. 140, n. 215 we called it "knuckle hinge patent".
11. HELLMANN M. Chr. and FRAISSE Ph., *Le Monument aux Hexagones et le Portique des Naxiens*. EAD XXXII, Paris, De Boccard, 1979, p. 102f; OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer*, op. cit., pl. 4 (fig. 5): Ratio of lower diameter to column height is just under 1:9, with a lower diameter of 34.8 cm and a height of the base, shaft and capital of about 3.11 m. in total. The fragments of the column shafts have 20 to 24 flutes.
12. HELLMANN M. Chr. and Ph. FRAISSE, *Le Monument aux Hexagones et le Portique des Naxiens*, op. cit., p. 85-124f. with pl. 22f. (reconstruction without frieze); OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer*, op. cit., p. 59-62 ("dated to around the middle of the 6th century"); GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht...", I. Archaische Bauten", art. cit., p. 412 and fig. 54; GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", in V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, G. GRUBEN, A. OHNESORG, M. KORRES, Th. BILIS, M. MAGNISALI and E. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA, "Naxos – Das Heiligtum von Gyroula bei Sangri", *AW*, n° 33, 2002, p. 391 ("around 530 BC").
13. The clear dimensions of the main door were 3.05,5 m x approximately 5.50 m; the frame was 59 cm wide; the interior dimensions of the *adyton* door was still 2.76 m. x ca. 5 m; it had a 35 cm wide frame.
14. OHNESORG A., *Der Kroisos-Tempel. Neue Forschungen zum archaischen Artemistempel von Ephesos*, *Forschungen in Ephesos XIII/4*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, p. 60, n. 397.
15. The span of about 4 m, which is found here, is a "normal" length for marble bars: GRUBEN G., "Weitgespannte Marmordecken in der griechischen Architektur", *Architectura*, 1985, p. 111; GRUBEN G., *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer*, Munich, Hirmer, 2001⁵, p. 367; OHNESORG A., "Der naxische Lichtdom. Das Phänomen lichtdurchlässiger inselionischer Marmordächer", art. cit., p. 94-96. For the translucent roof: OHNESORG A., "Der naxische Lichtdom", art. cit.
16. DIRSCHEDL U., *Die griechischen Säulenbasen*, op. cit., p. 64 (Z 1: cylindrical bases IV O 2 and 3), p. 112 ("geformte Stützenbasis" 2: Bases IV O 1 and W 4), p. 129 (S 1: "Samian" bases of the exterior columns).
17. The capital of the Sphinx donated by the Naxians to Delphi shows a close relationship (AMANDRY P., *La Colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens, Fouilles de Delphes II*, Paris, 1953); it can be considered to be a successor of architectural capitals: OHNESORG A., "Vor- oder Architektursäulen?", in E.L. SCHWANDNER (ed.), *Säule und Gebälk*, Kolloquium Berlin 1994, *DiskAB 6*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1996, p. 43.
18. LAMBRINOUDAKIS V. and GRUBEN G. with the collaboration of KORRES M., BOURNIA E. and A. OHNESORG, "Ανασκαφή αρχαίου ιερού στα Ύρια της Νάξου", *Archaioignosis*, n° 5, 1987/1988, p. 159, drawing 4; the height of 6.25 m given there meanwhile was corrected to 6.86 m.
19. The clear width of the door is 2.46 m; the height can be fixed at 3.92 m from the axial spacing of the dowel holes of the hinge knuckles. The jambs were about 48 cm wide.
20. DIRSCHEDL U., *Die griechischen Säulenbasen*, op. cit., p. 136f. (S 28), 143, 149-151, 157f., 160, 163, 165-167, calls these bases "Samian".
21. OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer*, op. cit., p. 57 with note 573: column height 3.74 m, ratio lower diameter: column height = 1 : circa 7.8; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 342, fig. 40; column height 3.61 m.
22. COURBIN P., *L'Oikos des Naxiens*, op. cit., p. 105-117; OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer*, op. cit., p. 56f., pl. 3; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit., p. 344-350 and 342, p. 346, fig. 3, 40.
23. GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*, Munich, 1976², p. 341-343, fig. 284; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*, Munich, 1980³, p. 341-343, fig. 284; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*, Munich, 1986⁴, p. 341, fig. 284; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*, Munich, 2001⁵, p. 367-369, fig. 276; GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", art. cit.
24. "Der Bau gab uns den Schlüssel für das System der bislang rätselhaften Baureste der Kykladen an die Hand": GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", art. cit., p. 391.
25. "Prachtportale": GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", art. cit., p. 392, p. 388, fig. 2 and 394, fig. 13 (ground plans).
26. DIRSCHEDL U., *Die griechischen Säulenbasen*, op. cit., p. 67 (Z 54). 76. 79. 82 subsumes this type of base under cylindrical bases ("Zylinderbasen").
27. GRUBEN G., "Griechische Un-Ordnungen", art. cit., p. 70f., fig. 11f.; GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", art. cit., p. 393 (13 lower diameters are to clarify to 13,3 lower diameters, derived from +6.74 + +28 = 6.46 m column height and a lower diameter of ≤ 50 cm).
28. GRUBEN G., "Weitgespannte Marmordecken in der griechischen Architektur", art. cit., p. 108; GRUBEN G., "Die Entwicklung der Marmorarchitektur auf Naxos und das neuentdeckte Dionysos-Heiligtum in Iria", art. cit., p. 50; OHNESORG A., "Der naxische Lichtdom. Das Phänomen lichtdurchlässiger inselionischer Marmordächer", in P.I. SCHNEIDER and U. WULF-RHEIDT (ed.), *Licht-Konzepte in der vormodernen Architektur: internationales Kolloquium in Berlin vom 26. Februar-1. März 2009, veranstaltet vom Architekturreferat des DAL, DiskAB 10*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2011, p. 92-100.
29. DIRSCHEDL U., *Die griechischen Säulenbasen*, op. cit., p. 137 (S 33), 149-151 ("Samian" bases); see GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", art. cit.

- p. 361 and GRUBEN G., *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 83f. with fig. 61. p. 387. 393.
- GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", *art. cit.*, p. 392 ("slightly waisted shafts").
- GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1970 und 1971", *AA*, 1972, p. 343, fig. 10; GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", *art. cit.*, p. 21, fig. 18 (top); SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", *Jdl*, n° 100, 1985, p. 386, fig. 49; M. SCHULLER, *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 18.1, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1991, p. 99, fig. 45. For type of leaf capital and the role of the abacus, see also n. 37.
- GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", *art. cit.*, p. 395 fig. 14. The west façade of the Oikos of the Naxians was reconstructed with similar *anta* capitals, in the absence of any original fragments (fig. 4). It is worth comparing an *anta* capital on the island of Keos, which probably belongs to the Temple of Korossia; here too the moulding does not continue on one side (SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", *art. cit.*, p. 364-367).
33. Recently OHNESORG A., "Frühchristliche und byzantinische Kirchen auf Naxos. Aspekte einer vielfältigen Kirchenlandschaft in Griechenland", *Architectura*, 2012, p. 101-104.
34. DAUX G. and E. HANSEN, *Le Trésor de Siphnos, Fouilles de Delphes II*, Paris, De Boccard, 1987; BOMMELAER J.-F., *Guide de Delphes. Le site*, Paris, De Boccard, 1991, p. 122-126; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 85. 87.
35. DAUX G. and E. HANSEN, *Le Trésor de Siphnos*, *op. cit.*, p. 25-32.
36. GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", *art. cit.*, p. 16-25; PARTIDA E. C., "Architecture in Parian Marble at Delphi", in D. SCHILARDI and D. KATSONOPOULOU (ed.), *Paria Lithos. Parian Quarries, Marble and Workshops of Sculpture. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paros, 2-5 October 1997*, Athens, Archaeological Institute of Paros and the Cyclades², 2010, 355-363.
37. GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 83 sees the abacus as the precursor of the volute ["Volutenteil"] of the Ionic capital (compare GRUBEN G., "Griechische Un-Ordnungen", *art. cit.*, p. 64f., fig. 5); in general, he considered Aeolic capitals as ancestors of leaf capitals ("Blattkranzkapitelle"), and Corinthian capitals as their descendants. This developmental hypothesis remains an open question.
38. GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
39. GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 374; GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", *art. cit.*, p. 391; LAMBERTZ M., "Der Apollontempel von Naxos – zwei Planungsphasen im Detail", *Architectura* 2009, p. 9.
40. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1970 und 1971", *art. cit.*; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 371-374; LAMBERTZ M., "Der Apollontempel von Naxos – zwei Planungsphasen im Detail", *art. cit.*, p. 6-11, fig. 13f.
41. For the term "Erscheinungstüre", see GRUBEN G. and W. KOENIGS, "Der 'Hekatompedos' von Naxos. Vorläufiger Bericht über die 1968 begonnene architektonische Untersuchung", *AA*, 1968, p. 705-710; GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1970 und 1971", *art. cit.*, p. 364.
42. Information given by Martin Lambertz who prepares a monography on this temple; the column height would correspond 7.5 to 9 lower diameters.
43. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972-1980. I. Archaische Bauten", *AA*, 1982, p. 197-229.
44. Compare n. 50.
45. GRUBEN G., "Der Burgtempel A von Paros. Naxos-Paros, vierter vorläufiger Bericht", *AA*, 1982, p. 215-218; GRUBEN G., "Weitgespannte Marmordecken in der griechischen Architektur", *art. cit.*, p. 111; OHNESORG A., "Der naxische Lichtdom. Das Phänomen lichtdurchlässiger inselionischer Marmordächer", *art. cit.*, p. 98f.
46. GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", *art. cit.*, p. 15 ("Leitform").
47. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972-1980. I. Archaische Bauten", *art. cit.*, p. 174-179.
48. GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", *art. cit.*, p. 27f.; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 89; compare GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", *art. cit.*, p. 397.
49. Informative the compilation of ground plans in SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 100 (fig. 46) and GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 366 (fig. 275).
50. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", *art. cit.*, p. 362f.; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 155 (reconstruction of the temple of Artemis on Delos as *amphiprostylos*), p. 366f., fig. 275; the early Classic (Apollo-) temple of the Athenians on Delos certainly is an *amphiprostylos*; even the Late Classic Python of Paros could be reconstructed as *amphiprostylos*; SCHULLER M., "Der dorische Tempel des Apollon Pythios auf Paros", *AA*, 1982, p. 245-264; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 114f.
51. SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 89. The style may also be called Asiatic Ionic, but that would exclude Samos.
52. GRUBEN G., "Griechische Un-Ordnungen", *art. cit.*, esp. p. 70-76, fig. 17f.
53. LAMBERTZ M., "Der Apollontempel von Naxos – zwei Planungsphasen im Detail", *art. cit.*
54. SCHULLER M., "Die Wandkonstruktion dorischer Tempel auf den Kykladen", in A. HOFFMANN *et al.* (ed.), *Bautechnik der Antike, International Colloquium, 15-17 Feb. 1990, Berlin, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Mainz/Philipp von Zabern* 1991, p. 208-215.
55. DINSMOOR W. B., "Studies of the Delphian Treasuries II. The Four Ionic Treasuries", *BCH*, n° 37, 1913, p. 29; DAUX G., *Les deux trésors. Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia, Fouilles de Delphes II*, Paris, De Boccard, 1923, p. 58, fig. 62; GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", *art. cit.*, p. 18; DAUX G. and HANSEN E., *Le Trésor de Siphnos*, *op. cit.*, p. 153, pl. 69f.; GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 83-85; OHNESORG A., *Ionische Altäre. Formen und Varianten einer Architekturgattung aus Insel- und Ostionien*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann 2005, p. 199-204. The *anta* capitals of the Late Archaic *propylon* of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos were reconstructed in the Eastern-Ionic manner: GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Delos", *art. cit.*, figs. 53-54 (fig. 4).
56. "...im attisch-ionischen Stil weitergewirkt...": GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
57. SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", *art. cit.*; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 88-119.
58. SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 96-101; PLESSART A., *Les sanctuaires du Mont Cynthe. EAD XI*, Paris, De Boccard, 1928, p. 184-205.
59. OHNESORG A., "Naxian and Parian Architecture", *art. cit.*, p. 146f., n. 35; SCHILARDI D., "Παράρτημα IV", in D. SCHILARDI and D. KATSONOPOULOU (ed.), *Paria Lithos. Parian Quarries, Marble and Workshops of Sculpture. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paros, 2-5 October 1997*, Athens, Archaeological Institute of Paros and the Cyclades², 2010, 654f., fig. 6. The building must have stood on Paros and can not have been prepared for export, because the architectural members are finished and weathered, and contain traces of setting and dowelling; LAMBERTZ M. and MÜLLER K., "Eine Richtplatte auf Paros", in V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS *et al.* (ed.), *APXITEKTΩN, Honorary Volume for Manolis Korres* (forthcoming).
60. The height of the temple of Artemis is reconstructed on the basis of the wall course heights, which vary within a narrow range: SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 41-53 (column height = 5.6 lower diameters); fig. 15 (p. 47) shows the variations in comparison with other Doric *antae* buildings.
61. GRUBEN G., *Die Tempel der Griechen*⁵, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 99 (wurden "wahrscheinlich von ihren geographisch weit getrennten Stiftern bei einer parischen Bauhütte in Auftrag gegeben"), also OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer*, *op. cit.*, p. 37 f with pl. 20. 72.
63. SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
64. The marble of the smaller architectural members comes from Delos; the larger members such as columns, thresholds, door frames and roof parts are made of Parian marble: OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer*, *op. cit.*, p. 30f. On Delos, there are marble deposits: FRAISSE Ph. and T. KOZELJ, "Une carrière de marbre au sud-est du Cynthe", *BCH*, n° 115, 1991, p. 283-296; OHNESORG A., *Ionische Altäre. Formen und Varianten einer Architekturgattung aus Insel- und Ostionien*, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 265.

his "intermediary layer" was actually found in Despotiko, see below.

LASSART A., *Les Sanctuaires du Mont Cynthe, op. cit.*, p. 184-205; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel in Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 96-99; What was regarded by Schuller as a fragment of the door jamb is, in reality, a part of the *anta*, as was seen during a visit in 1997; so the door jambs were in fact monolithic and should be reconstructed with a taper.

SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 99.

APHEIROPOULOS N., "Πάρος", *ArchDelt*, n° 16, 1960, p. 245-247; SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", art. cit., p. 353-357; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 95f.

Recently KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 99-124; KOURAYOS Y., *Despotiko. The Sanctuary of Apollo*, Athens, Paul & Alexandra Canellopoulos Foundation, 2012.

KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 118-122, figs. 29-32.

The triglyphs are so badly weathered that SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 96 denied the taenia; however, it exists: KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 119, n. 114.

The column height corresponds probably to lower diameters: KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 119, n. 107; it was used in the reconstructions figs. 13-34 and 79.

The corresponding fragments were found to a large extent in walls that are or were above and in front of the South part of Building A.

The profile is somewhat unusual; comparable are some Parian, but also Delian, Thasian and Delphian capitals, which lead to a dating of 540-530 BC, see KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 115, n. 90-93.

KOURAYOS Y., DAIFA K., OHNESORG A. and PAPAJANNI K., "The Sanctuary of Despotiko in the Cyclades", art. cit., p. 113f, fig. 24f.

76. SERVAIS J. (with the collaboration of E. Hansen), *Aliki I. Les deux Sanctuaires, Études thasiennes IX*, Paris, De Boccard, 1980; SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", art. cit., p. 358-361; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 100f.; GRANDJEAN Y. and SALVIAT F., *Guide de Thasos. Sites et Monuments III²*, Paris, De Boccard, 2000, p. 161-164. The North building consists of two rooms with a porch like the North part of Building A on Despotiko.

77. SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", art. cit., p. 370f., n. 125 mentions the fragment of an unusual Ionic capital published by P. Graindor; it was found near the temple of Apollon in Karthaia, which presents some "Ionicisms" as well (strange antae wall socket, monolithic door-frame, two-faced wall construction, tall columns, a maybe misunderstood Doric frieze, Ionic Geisa, a Ionic cymatium and roof decoration from Parian marble; cf. SIMANTONI-BOURNIA E., MENDONI L. G. and PANAGOU T. M., *Karthaia*, Athens, Ministry of Culture, 2009, p. 156-175). In addition, there are two (votive) leaf capitals on Keos: OHNESORG A., "Parische Kapitele", in DES COURTILS J. and MORETTI J.-Ch. (ed.), *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde Égéen du VI^e s. av. J.-C. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23-25 mai 1991*, Paris, De Boccard, 1993, p. 112 with pl. 20.6-8.

78. SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", art. cit., p. 367-368; SCHULLER M., "Die Wandkonstruktion dorischer Tempel auf den Kykladen", art. cit., p. 101-104; OHNESORG A., *Inselionische Marmordächer, op. cit.*, p. 89-95.

79. GRUBEN G., "Kykladische Architektur", art. cit., p. 29-31; GRUBEN G., "Weitgespannte Marmordecken in der griechischen Architektur", art. cit., p. 111-116; GRUBEN G. and OHNESORG A., "Der Demeter-Tempel", art. cit., p. 397; OHNESORG A., "Naxian and Parian Architecture", art. cit., p. 152.

80. SHEEDY K. A., *The Archaic and Early Classical Coinages of the Cyclades*, London, Royal Numismatic Society, 2006, esp. p. 93-119 (Paros).

81. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972-1980. II. Klassische und hellenistische Bauten auf Paros", *AA* 1982 p. 621-683; OHNESORG A., "Der dorische Prostylas des Archilocheion auf Paros. Naxos-Paros. Vierter

vorläufiger Bericht", *AA*, 1982, p. 271-290; SCHNIERINGER K., "Der dorische Tempel bei Marmara auf Paros", *AA*, 1982, p. 265-270; SCHULLER M., "Der dorische Tempel des Apollon Pythios auf Paros", *AA*, 1982, p. 245-264; TOUCHAIS G., "Paros" (Chronique des Fouilles en 1987), *BCH*, n° 112, 1988, p. 673f., fig. 110f.; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 101, 114-119; GRUBEN G., "Wandernde Säulen", in N. Chr. STAMPOLIDIS (ed.), *Φως Κυκλαδικόν. Τιμητικός Τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου*, Athens, N. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art, 1999, p. 296-317; OHNESORG A., "The Architectural Form of the Archilocheion of Paros", in D. KATSONOPOULOU, D.N. PETROPOULOS and S. KATSAROU (ed.), *Archilocheion and his Age: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paroikia, Paros, 7-9 October 2005*, Athens, Archaeological Institute of Paros and the Cyclades, 2008, p. 303-324; OHNESORG A., "The Base for the Reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Hestia on Paros – and its Possible Links with Skopas", in D. KATSONOPOULOU and A. STEWART (ed.), *Paros III. Scopas of Paros and his World: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Paroikia, Paros, 11-14 June 2010*, Athens, Archaeological Institute of Paros and the Cyclades, 2013, p. 151-170.

82. GRUBEN G., "Naxos und Paros. Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Forschungskampagnen 1972-1980. II. Klassische und hellenistische Bauten auf Paros", art. cit., p. 621-689; SCHULLER M., *Der Artemistempel im Delion auf Paros, op. cit.*, p. 119; MÜLLER K., *Hellenistische Architektur auf Paros*, *AF* 20, Berlin, Gebr. Mann 2003. In Karthaia on Keos as well some new Doric buildings were erected in the 5th, 4th and 3rd c. BC: SCHULLER M., "Die dorische Architektur der Kykladen in spätarchaischer Zeit", art. cit., p. 380-383; SIMANTONI-BOURNIA E., MENDONI L. G. and PANAGOU T.-M., *Karthaia, op. cit.*, p. 128-155, 179-191; KANELLOPOULOS Chr., "The Classic and Hellenistic Building Phases of the Acropolis of Ancient Karthaia", *AM*, n° 118, 2003, p. 211-238.

83. BRUNEAU Ph. and DUCAT J., *Guide de Délos¹*, Paris, École française d'Athènes, 2005, p. 72-74, 213-308.

