

"ADYTON," "OPISTHODOMOS," AND THE INNER ROOM OF THE GREEK TEMPLE

For Lucy Shoe Meritt

We know very little of what took place inside a Greek temple. Sacrifice, the focal act of communal religious observance, was enacted outside, on an open-air altar usually opposite the main, east, facade of the temple, while the interior contained objects dedicated to the deity, including a cult statue. In form most Greek temples had a single main interior room, or cella; some had an additional small room behind it, accessible only from the cella. Such a subdivision of interior space suggests that the inner chamber served a special function. This study is designed to ascertain why some temples had inner rooms and how these chambers were used, questions that shed light on the nature of the temple itself. Examination of terminology used for temple interiors and of archaeological remains of temples with inner rooms, together with literary and epigraphical references to activities that occurred in temples, indicates a larger economic role for many temples and less secret ritual than has been assumed.¹

1. This article is dedicated to Lucy Shoe Meritt, with gratitude, for her generosity in sharing her expertise in and enthusiasm for Greek architecture.

In the uncommonly long development of this article, I have received exceptional assistance from Susan Kallemeyn Thalmann, who shared her work on the adyton at several stages, and from Naomi Norman, who offered substantial help with the opisthodomos. Cinder Griffin Miller has also given me access to her unpublished dissertation on cult statue bases. I am grateful for the generosity of these scholars, who nevertheless bear no responsibility for the conclusions presented here. A Faculty Development Grant from the University of Rhode Island enabled me to visit several sites in southern Italy and Sicily. All figures were drawn by Mary G. Winkes; the scale for all drawings is ca. 1:250.

2. Thalmann 1975.

Nomenclature is a central issue here, as naming incorporates a set of assumptions and a specific interpretation. Since the 19th century, the inner room has been called ἄδυτον (adyton, "not to be entered"), a term known from ancient sources. The usage of "adyton" in literary and epigraphical testimonia led scholars to consider the inner room a locus of cult ritual of a chthonian or oracular nature, mysterious rites conducted within the temple. However, the variety of places referred to as "adyton" makes it clear that the term did not denote a particular architectural structure, and so is not appropriate as a standard designation for a part of the Greek temple, a concept first demonstrated by Susan Thalmann.² In some temples, the inner room may have been described spatially, in relation to the cella, as ὀπισθόδομος (opisthodomos, "place behind"; see p. 210 below). "Opisthodomos," too, brings its own set of associations, derived from the structure of that name, widely known as a repository of valuables on the Athenian Akropolis. Although ancient sources suggest that "opisthodomos" may have been applied to an inner room on occasion, the term was also used for the back porch of a temple, also located behind the cella. Faced with the choice of "adyton" and its linkage to cult and ritual, or "opisthodomos" and its association with treasure, we are prudent to avoid any one term. In antiquity there may have been no single universal label for an inner room.

Physical remains of inner rooms have been identified in temples throughout the Greek world, dating from Archaic through Hellenistic times. These temples vary in size and proportion, and they were dedicated to many different divinities. Although the interior arrangements of temples at one site, Selinous, demonstrate consistency of form, overall there is little archaeological evidence for associating the inner room with a particular type of temple, a geographic region, or a specific deity.

Written texts and inscriptions yield a more complete understanding of human behavior than tumbled blocks of ruined temples. Since interpretation of such testimonia depends on clear understanding of what words such as “adyton” and “opisthodomos” meant in ancient usage, we will begin with a brief review of how the term “adyton” has been applied. After a survey of archaeological remains of temples with inner rooms, we will assess written evidence of what happened inside temples, and then proceed to a discussion of “opisthodomos” and its applications. Insofar as is possible, sources closest in time to a temple’s construction and primary use will be emphasized. By combining analyses of terminology, physical remains, and written sources, we come to recognize the substantial economic role of the Greek temple.

Among the prolific scholarship on Greek cult and religion, and that on Greek temples, several works have been especially useful for understanding the function of temples. In 1970 Corbett addressed questions about what occurred inside Greek temples, combining literary, epigraphical, and architectural evidence.³ Since then, Roux has raised important issues regarding both architectural terminology and the purpose of the Greek temple.⁴ In a study of three temples of Artemis, I began to question the role of the inner room as a focus of ritual.⁵ Much of our understanding of activities in and around temples has come from studies of inscribed inventories: Linders’ commentary on temple inventories has provided insight into religious activities at Brauron and Delos; Aleshire has done likewise for the Asklepieion at Athens; and Harris has recently brought together the various inventories from the Athenian Akropolis in a comprehensive study.⁶ Van Straten’s work on the personal behavior of visitors to Greek sanctuaries has helped to define both individual practice and universal attitudes regarding Greek temples and sanctuaries.⁷ New questions concerning what constitutes a cult statue promise continuing reassessment of our vision of how Greeks perceived temples and their interiors.⁸

TERMINOLOGY: “ADYTON”

In his landmark account of Sicilian temple architecture, Robert Koldewey was the first to name the inner room “adyton,” citing architectural parallels and passages from two Roman authors. He compared the organization of interior space in the temples at Selinous with that of Solomon’s temple, the ancient Egyptian temple, and the Christian basilican church. In each of these comparanda, a religious structure is experienced as a longitudinal progression from secular to sacred. The visitor moves along a linear axis to a small holy place where events and rituals of a transcendent and spiritual

3. Corbett 1970.

4. Roux 1976, 1979, 1984a, 1984b.

5. Hollinshead 1985, in response to Travlos 1976. Both John Travlos and Susan K. Thalmann generously shared their ideas with me in the early stages of my investigations.

6. Linders 1972, 1975, 1987, 1988, 1992a, 1992b; Aleshire 1991, 1992; Harris 1995. For studies of inventories from Brauron, Delos, Athens, Delphi, and other sites, see Knoepfler 1988; Delos: Vial 1984; Hamilton 1998, published as this article went to press, will also contribute to this scholarship; Delphi: Bousquet 1988; Eleusis: Cavanaugh 1996.

7. Van Straten 1974, 1981, 1992.

8. E.g., Donohue 1997. Also Miller 1996.

nature occur.⁹ This behavior is not an appropriate parallel for ancient Greek cult practice, yet the label “adyton” has encouraged subsequent scholars to consider the inner room a special place for secret rites.¹⁰ Koldewey referred to passages in Caesar and Servius as evidence for calling the inner room of south Italian and Sicilian temples an “adyton.” Caesar, in his account of strange phenomena at a Pergamene temple and elsewhere before the battle at Pharsalus, defined “adyton” in an aside: *in occultis ac reconditis templis, quo praeter sacerdotes adire fas non est, quae Graeci adyta appellant* (Civ. 3.105.5). Servius was explicating Vergil’s reference to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi: *adytum est locus templi secretior, ad quem nulli est aditus nisi sacerdoti* (commentary on Vergil’s *Aeneid* 2.115).¹¹ More recently, scholars defining architectural terminology have continued to use the term “adyton” as a label for the inner room of a temple.¹² Among ancient literary testimonia (the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* lists 380 citations), however, sources closer in time to the construction date of Greek temples are most likely to describe the original relationship, if any, between the term “adyton” and the inner room. Because most of the Greek temples with inner rooms were begun before 300 B.C., I will discuss pre-Hellenistic sources in detail. Later sources such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias deserve attention for their greater numbers and clearer content, but they also require caution, as they reflect temple use in a different era.

The earliest known references to adyta, in the *Iliad* and in the Homeric hymns to Apollo and to Hermes, reveal the three general meanings consistently associated with the term: (1) some kind of religious structure or enclosure, including temples or parts of temples, shrines, designated precincts, crevices, and caves; (2) the place in which oracular inspiration occurs, most often in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, but at other oracular sites as well; (3) a remote chamber, usually domestic in nature, removed from view or everyday experience. In this last case there is no connotation of cult, but sometimes that of a storage function.

In Book 5 of the *Iliad*, Apollo transports Aeneas from the perils of combat with Diomedes to Pergamos, to the temple (νηός) where Leto and Artemis tend the wounded warrior ἐν μεγάλῳ ἄδυτῳ (5.448). Likewise, Apollo returns Aeneas to battle πίωνος ἐξ ἄδυτοιο (5.512). In this context, “adyton” seems to be the temple interior, restricted of access, large (therefore probably not a small inner chamber), and richly appointed.

The Homeric *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* (7th century B.C.) provides the earliest explicit use of “adyton” for Apollo’s shrine at Delphi; the choice of verb in ἐς ἄδυτον κατέδυσε (line 443) suggests that the adyton is below ground. In a subsequent reference to Apollo showing the Cretans ἄδυτον ζάθειον καὶ πίωνα νηόν (line 523), the adyton and the temple could be separate structures, but the phrasing may also represent redundant metonymy. The complex relationship between (or the identity of) the adyton and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi recurs throughout the ancient literature (discussed below, pp. 192–193).

Domestic adyta are described in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (6th century B.C.), lines 246–248, in which Apollo uses a key to open three adyta containing nectar and ambrosia, gold, silver, and fine purple and silver garments. In this context, the adyta unequivocally serve as storage

9. Koldewey and Puchstein 1899. Some have found an additional model in the Eastern Orthodox (Christian) tradition, in which a priest performs ritual with mystical meaning screened from the congregation’s view by the iconostasis.

10. See Dinsmoor 1950, p. 387; Robertson 1971, p. 39; Tomlinson 1976, p. 130; and many others. Koldewey’s basilican analogy is reinforced by scholarly methodology. In studying Greek temples from two-dimensional plans, one intuitively traverses all obstacles en route to the sacred terminus of the longitudinal axis. Theoretical reconstruction of cult statues at, for example, the Heraion at Foce del Sele or the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia on Aigina would establish that the visitor’s visual focus is the cult statue. The inner room is then incidental if not irrelevant to the visitor’s experience, a highly desirable condition for a chamber storing valuables, though less fitting for a cult site. See the model in Ohly 1978, p. 16.

11. Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, p. 92.

12. Orlandos and Travlos 1986, p. 4, s.v. ἄδυτον.

chambers or closets. They hold rare and precious objects and have no religious function.

These few early testimonia establish a breadth of application for “adyton” that continues in subsequent eras. In 5th-century B.C. sources we encounter the same general categories of meaning: religious enclosure, oracular seat, and remote domestic chamber. Four passages in Herodotus and Euripides allude to adyta as temples (or parts thereof), shrines, or sanctuaries. Herodotus describes how Kleomenes entered ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ (5.72.3) on the Athenian Akropolis despite the priestess’s warning. Entrance to the adyton was restricted, first by the priestess stationed on a throne and then by doors, but no further architectural information is given.¹³ Herodotus identifies another adyton at Elaeus in the Chersonesos as the scene of the Persian satrap Artaxctes’ worst offense: ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσηγετο (9.116.4). Here “adyton” refers to the previously mentioned tomb of Protesilaos surrounded by a temenos containing many riches—gold, silver, and bronze phialai, garments, and other dedications (9.116.2). No temple *per se* is noted in this sanctuary, nor is the form of the adyton described.

In Euripides’ *Ion* (line 938) there is passing reference to altars and adyta of Pan near the cave where Apollo raped Creusa. These adyta must be the caves of the shrine of Pan on the north slope of the Athenian Akropolis, identified earlier in line 283 and especially lines 492–494, where Euripides refers to “haunts of Pan/ The rock flanking/ The caves of the Long Cliffs.”¹⁴

Throughout *Iphigeneia in Tauris* there is significant, perhaps intentional, ambiguity between the temple (ναός) housing the cult statue (the famous wooden Tauric image) and the place where Orestes and Pylades will actually be slain, usually characterized as δόμοι or δῶματα, occasionally as the ἀνάκτορον (line 41) (δόμοι is also used for ναός, but ναός is never used for the site of the human sacrifice). Iphigeneia clearly distinguishes between her role as a priestess who begins the ceremony in the ναός and the role of others who perform the act of killing in the goddess’s ἀνάκτορον (lines 34–41).¹⁵ Elsewhere (lines 623–626) she notes that others in the δόμοι do the killing, and that burial consists of “a sacred fire inside, and a great cleft in the rock.”¹⁶ Thus, when King Thoas asks if the foreigners’ bodies are burning ἀδύτοις ἐν ἀγνοίς (line 1155), he must mean a place separate from the temple proper.

“Adyton” is consistently used for the exact place where oracular inspiration and prophecy occur, or from which a deity communicates. Pindar refers to the fragrant (εὐωδέος) adyton from which Apollo speaks (*O.* 7.59), and elsewhere (*P.* 11.6) to the ἄδυτον . . . θησαυρόν, with gold tripods, of the Theban shrine of Ismenian Apollo, which he identifies as a site for mantic events. Herodotus’ more discursive approach locates an adyton within the great oracular Temple of Apollo at Didyma. When Aristodikos, dissatisfied with the oracle’s response, went around the temple removing all the birds’ nests, the voice of the angry god issued ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου (1.159.3). In this case, “adyton” must refer to some part of the interior of the temple.

The seat of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi is called “adyton” more

13. For a discussion of Hdt. 5.72.3 and its relationship to structures on the Athenian Akropolis, see Mansfield 1985, pp. 257–259.

14. Eur., *Ion* 938, 283, 492–494 (R. F. Willetts, trans., in Grene and Lattimore 1958). Travlos (1971, pp. 417–421) locates caves of Pan and Apollo (pp. 91–95) under the Long Rocks of the north slope of the Athenian Akropolis; cf. *Ion* 937.

15. Lines 38–39 have been questioned as probable interpolations (Platnauer 1938, pp. 63–64). Their presence or absence does not affect this argument.

16. Lattimore, trans., 1973.

often than any other site mentioned in ancient testimonia. Unfortunately, the architectural nature or even the topographical location of the Delphic adyton is not always clear and varies from one ancient author to the next. Herodotus’ account of the Athenian embassy to Delphi notes their entry into the megaron, where they sit down (7.140.3). The priestess delivered first one and then, at their supplication, a second prophecy. After she directed them ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο in her first dark message, they departed briefly but soon returned, vowing not to leave the adyton unless they heard better news, whereupon she pronounced the famous oracle of the wooden walls. This adyton was located within a megaron and had a seating capacity sufficient for a delegation of visitors.¹⁷

In the *Andromache* (line 111), Neoptolemos’ violent death takes place at Delphi, at the altar outside the ἀνάκτορον in which Apollo’s oracle was consulted. His final combat is doomed when a terrible hair-raising voice issues from the midst of the adyton (ἀδύτων ἐκ μέσων, line 1147). In the *Ion*, which takes place in front of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, Euripides uses the term “adyton” in reference to Delphi only twice. Xuthus consults the oracle, which lies inside a closed door (lines 510–515), and meets Ion, whom he subsequently describes as his first encounter ὁθούνεκ’ ἀδύτον ἐξιόντι μοι θεοῦ (line 662). The adyton unequivocally represents the locus of oracular pronouncement within a built structure, presumably the Temple of Apollo. Likewise, as Ion is about to kill his mother, Creusa, she occupies the altar and challenges him as to whether he wants to kill her ἐντὸς ἀδύτων τῶνδε (line 1309), clearly an act of grievous pollution. While we can speculate about the altar in question lying in front of the east facade of the temple, the text itself does not furnish information this specific.

Other Euripidean allusions confirm that the adyton was the place of consultation with the oracle at Delphi, but they provide nothing more about the adyton itself.¹⁸ Among other late-5th- and 4th-century sources, Aristophanes’ mockery of oracles in the *Knights* clearly refers to Delphi, where “Apollo shouts from the adyton amid priceless tripods” (ἴαχεν ἐξ ἀδύτοιο διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων, line 1016). A fragment from Antiphon mentions an adyton and an oracle together.¹⁹ In Plato’s *Theaetetus* (162a), Socrates jests metaphorically about oracles pronounced ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου τῆς βίβλου. From the 6th century B.C. onward, “adyton” was used for the place of special significance from which oracles were uttered, especially Apollo’s oracle at Delphi.

A less common usage for “adyton” is that of a remote inner room with no religious connotation. In Euripides’ *Andromache* the chorus tells of Orestes’ killing of his mother ἀδύτων ἐπιβάς κτεάνων (line 1034), presumably upstairs in an inner chamber of her dwelling.²⁰

Few inscriptions mention an adyton. The most revealing, from Didyma, make clear that the adyton referred to is the great hypaethral court of that oracular temple. A late-3rd-century B.C. letter to the Milesians from Seleukos II, and a 2nd-century B.C. building account (from after 172/1 B.C.), both mention ἡ ἀνάβασις ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ.²¹

To summarize, in pre-Hellenistic usage “adyton” is usually, but not always, applied to a sacred place. It is most often the term for the seat of an

17. In addition to passages discussed here, cf. Theognis, *Eleg.* 1.808; Eur., *Fr.* 25.6.12, 29.9a.2.

18. In *IT* (973) Orestes recounts his arrival πρόσθεν ἀδύτων ἐκταθείς, where Apollo addresses him from the golden tripod. Later (line 1256), the chorus states explicitly that Apollo sits on the golden tripod issuing prophecy from the adyton near the Castalian spring.

19. Lucian, *VH* 2.33.

20. Stevens (1971, p. 217) questions the accuracy of the text here.

21. Haussoullier 1920, esp. pp. 261–263; also 1905; 1919, p. 211.

oracle, especially that at Delphi. “Adyton,” “not to be entered,” prescribes behavior in relation to a place, like “abatón,” “not to be stepped on.” While the proscriptive nature of the term “adyton” implies some sort of enclosure, no specific structure can be inferred, whether man-made or natural, roofed or unroofed. Literal translation, confirmed by contextual information, indicates that the defining characteristic of any adyton is restricted access. From our earliest knowledge of the term, and continuing through later usage, “adyton” was applied to a variety of places—oracles, hero shrines, caves, subterranean structures, and only occasionally temples or parts of temples.²² Too limited an application of the term, that is, to specify inner rooms of Greek temples, leads to erroneous interpretation of what transpired in such rooms. We should not assume that oracles, incubation, or secret rites took place within all temples with inner rooms. In seeking to ascertain what did occur within such temples, we must review the extant remains of inner rooms in Greek temples, which reveal that this one architectural component appears in many different physical contexts.

PHYSICAL REMAINS

Greek temples that had inner rooms range in date from the 7th to the 2nd century B.C. They are found from Egypt and Libya to Asia Minor and the Aegean, from the Greek mainland to the Ionian islands, southern Italy, and Sicily. Table 1, arranged in broad geographical categories, includes archaeological information organized to help clarify (1) whether inner rooms reflect regional architectural traditions, (2) whether they indicate cult practice peculiar to a specific deity, and (3) whether they provide evidence of certain behaviors or rituals within the temple. In addition to location, dedication, and date, data regarding architectural form are included: whether a temple is peripteral, and whether it had three rooms (pronaos, cella, and inner room) or two (the presence of cella and inner room is assumed; see below). When possible, I have also noted if an altar can be associated, by alignment or proximity, with a given temple on its exterior, and whether features such as interior altars, offering tables, or statue bases (designated A, OT, and B) have been identified within either the cella or the inner room of a particular temple.

Any such table necessarily reduces complex issues to apparent simplicity. On the basis of extant physical remains, every structure listed can be reasonably interpreted to be a temple and to have an inner room behind the cella. Some well-known structures have been omitted, however. For instance, Bergquist has asked, with good reason, whether Prinias Temple B is a *hestiatorion*. I have also omitted the oikos in the sanctuary of Herakles on Thasos and the “Temple” of Apollo at Halieis on the basis of her challenge.²³ Tomlinson’s reassessment of Perachora’s “Temple” of Hera Limenia as a dining place rather than a temple has removed it from the list.²⁴ Questions of reconstructed form as well as function have emerged from Papapostolou’s studies of Megaron B at Thermon, in which he has dissociated the rectangular core of the structure from any sort of peristyle; he and other scholars have also raised questions about the date of Megaron B and its status as a temple.²⁵ Although the large 10th-century B.C. heroon at

22. Thalmann 1975. In later sources “adyton” continues to be used for oracular chambers in general, and that at Delphi in particular (e.g., D.S. 7.12.6, 16.26.2; Plut. 92.437c; Paus. 10.24.7; for other oracles: Paus. 4.16.7, 9.39.11–13). It also may refer to shrines, which need not be temples (e.g., D.H. 67.4; Str. 14.1.20; Paus. 2.2.1, 5.1.5, 10.32.13–18, 10.33.11), as well as temples or rooms within temples (e.g., D.H. 67.4, 69.1–2; Str. 14.6.3). Occasionally “adyton” is used like “abatón,” as a place where incubation or healing occurs (e.g., Str. 14.1.44). Some, but not all, adyta are caves, cavelike, or subterranean (e.g., Paus. 2.2.1, 4.16.7, 7.27.2, 9.39.11–13, 10.32.13–18).

23. Bergquist 1973, 1988, 1990.

24. Tomlinson 1977, 1990, 1992.

25. Papapostolou 1990, 1993, 1994, 1995; Kuhn 1993; Mazarakis-Ainian 1985, pp. 12–14, 43, 45; 1988, p. 115; Themelis 1983; Wesenberg 1982; Mallwitz 1981, pp. 621–624; Schmaltz 1980. Early reports referred to by most of these scholars are Soteriades 1900; Rhomaios 1915, pp. 231–265; 1916, pp. 184–185.

Lefkandi had a small room in its apse for storage, it was not a temple, but a funerary structure.²⁶ In the final analysis, the North Building at Samos may not be a temple, but its form is so templelike that it is included in the table, and it is also discussed below, page 214.

Several structures included here fit the broad definition of an enclosed chamber at the rear of a temple cella, but they express it in idiosyncratic ways. Neither the 5th-century Temple of Apollo at Bassai nor the 4th-century Temple of Zeus at Nemea had a crosswall at the west end of the cella. However, each reveals a clear architectural articulation of a main cella and a separate space at its rear. At Bassai, a screen of three columns separates the “inner space” from the cella, while at Nemea the space at the west end of the cella is set apart by being sunk ca. 2 meters below the adjacent paving. Such evident physical distinction between cella and space to the west of it makes these two temples eligible for inclusion in the table. The Temple of Apollo at Didyma and Temple GT at Selinous were both enormous hypaethral temples with small naiskoslike structures set symmetrically on axis within the courtyardlike enclosure of the cella. In both temples the inner chambers are within the cella, not behind it, constituting a subdivision of space similar, but not exactly comparable, to the inner room; they have been included on the basis of this similarity.²⁷ I have also included the 3rd-century B.C. Temple of Apollo at Klaros, since it had an inner room in the cella as well as a subterranean oracular chamber. Because this temple, whose remains await final publication, underwent several revisions in antiquity, its value to the more general interpretation of how temples functioned is limited.²⁸

The chronic difficulty of fragmentary remains and poorly preserved walls means that some examples are included on the basis of foundations or minimal traces of superstructure (e.g., Brauron, Halai Araphenides [Loutsas]). At the end of Table 1 I have appended a list of temples that may have had inner rooms, but for which there are insufficient physical remains to verify the reconstructed ground plan.²⁹ Bearing in mind these caveats, one may condense useful information in such a table.

REGION

The inner room is not a characteristic of only one region. There are fewer examples known from Asia Minor than elsewhere—but there are also fewer temples known from that region. Temples throughout the Greek mainland, the Aegean and Ionian islands, and in southern Italy and Sicily have inner rooms, but there is only one significant concentration of examples, at Selinous. If Selinous is considered to be a special case, then Sicily does not have an unusual number of temples with inner rooms. Possible explanations for the frequency of inner rooms among Selinuntine temples, together with that site’s idiosyncratic use of the inner chamber, are discussed below, pages 206–207.

DEITY

There is no consistent pattern that can justify linking any one god or goddess with temples that have inner rooms. Theories that associate worship

26. Popham et al. 1993, esp. pp. 58, 100–101.

27. Hellmann 1993.

28. For basic information about the 3rd-century B.C. Temple of Apollo at Klaros, see Martin 1973, pp. 9–13, 44, 45; also Akurgal 1985, pp. 136–139. For reports on recent excavations at Klaros, with notice of a 6th-century B.C. predecessor beneath the 3rd-century B.C. temple, see de la Genière 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996. On the group of three large cult statues, see Marcadé 1994. For earlier excavations, see Robert 1951, 1952, 1954a, 1954b, 1955, 1956, 1958–1960.

29. Most notable among such temples in this study of terminology and form is the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, recently reconstructed on paper by Bommelaer and LaRoche (1991, pp. 176–181, with bibliography and pl. V).

TABLE 1: GREEK TEMPLES WITH IDENTIFIED OR POSSIBLE INNER ROOMS

<i>Site</i>	<i>Dedication</i>	<i>Date B.C.</i>	<i>Peristyle</i>	<i>Pronaos</i>	<i>Altar</i>	<i>Features*</i>
MAINLAND GREECE						
Aigina II	Aphaia	late 6th	6 × 12	x	x	OT, B
Antikyra, Phokis	Athena	1st half 6th	-	?	?	A inside east end
Argos	Pythian Apollo	late 7th/early 6th	-	x	?	-
Athens	Zeus Olympios	515	8 × 20(?)	x	?	-
Aulis	Artemis	5th?	-	x	-	As, OT, B
Bassai	Apollo?	625–600	-	x	?	-
Bassai	Apollo	late 5th	6 × 15	x	?	-
Brauron	Artemis	2nd quarter 5th	-	x	?	-
Dodona	Zeus?	last quarter 3rd	-	prostyle	-	-
Halai Aixonides	Apollo	500/mid 4th	added	-	x	OT, Bs, throne in cella
Halai Araphenides	Artemis	6th–4th	6 × 11	-	?	-
Ikarion, Attica	Pythion	4th	-	x	x	A, B
Kalapodi NI	Artemis	457–426	6 × 14	x	?	-
Kalapodi NII	Artemis	426–late 4th	6 × 14	x	?	-
Kombothekra	Artemis	6th	-	x	?	finds in cella, inner room
Longa, Messenia	(Building G)	last quarter 6th	6 × 12(?)	x	?	-
Nemea	Zeus	3rd quarter 4th	6 × 12	x	x	-
Oropos	Amphiaros	4th	-	x	x	OT, B in cella
Paralimni, Boiotia	?	700	-	x	?	-
Perachora	Hera Akraia	3rd quarter 6th	-	?	x	B in inner room
Stymphalos	Artemis? Hera?	Hellenistic	-	x	?	B at back of cella
Tegea	Athena Alea	late 7th	6 × 16	x	?	-
CYCLADES						
Iria, Naxos	Dionysos	570	-	prostyle	x	-
NORTH AFRICA						
Cyrene I	Apollo	mid 6th	6 × 11 (added)	-	x	-
Cyrene	Apollo	mid 4th	6 × 11	-	x	-
Naukratis I	Aphrodite	7th	-	-	x	-
Naukratis II	Aphrodite	late 5th	-	-	-	-
ASIA MINOR						
Didyma	Apollo	550	8/9 × 17	x	x	naiskos over spring
Didyma	Apollo	331	10 × 21	x	x	naiskos over spring
Klaros	Apollo	3rd	6 × 11	x	x	-
Kyme	Aphrodite?	4th	-	x	?	-
Samos	(North Building)	mid 6th/late 6th	- / 5 × 13	x	?	peristyle added
MAGNA GRAECIA						
Crimisa (Ciro)	Apollo	2nd half 6th	7 × 15(?)	-	?	finds in inner room
Crimisa (Ciro)	Apollo	1st quarter 3rd	8 × 19	-	?	-
Foce del Sele	Hera	510–500	8 × 17	x	x	OT or B in cella

TABLE 1, CONTINUED

<i>Site</i>	<i>Dedication</i>	<i>Date B.C.</i>	<i>Peristyle</i>	<i>Pronaos</i>	<i>Altar</i>	<i>Features*</i>
Francavilla Marittima	(Building II)	2nd half 6th	-	x	-	-
Hipponion	(Belvedere Temple)	ca. 500	6 × ?	x	?	-
Locri Epizephyrii	Athena	early 5th	-	x	?	-
Metapontum	Hera (Temple B)	560/540	9 × 17/7 × 15	?	x	B in cella?
Metapontum	Hera (Tavole Palatine)	520–510	6 × 12	x	x	-
Paestum	Hera (“Basilica”)	(560) 530	9 × 18	x	x	B(?) at cella rear?
SICILY						
Agrigento	(East of Gate 5)	3rd quarter 6th	-	x	-	-
Camarina	Athena?	early 5th	-	x	?	-
Gela	(Building VI)	6th	-	-	?	-
Himera A	Athena?	625	-	-	x	B in inner room
Himera B	Herakles?	575	-	-	x	-
Monte Adranone	Demeter and Persephone	early 4th	-	-	x	round B in cella: A?
Monte Iato	Aphrodite	3rd quarter 6th	-	-	?	deposits in inner room
Morgantina	?	3rd quarter 6th	-	?	?	-
Selinous, Acropolis	(Megaron)	early 6th/5th	-	x	?	-
Selinous, Acropolis	(Temple C)	ca. 550	6 × 17	x	x	area for OT or B in cella?
Selinous, Acropolis	(Temple D)	535	6 × 13	x	x	B(?) cuttings in inner room
Selinous, Acropolis	(Temple A)	mid 5th	6 × 14	x	?	B cuttings in inner room
Selinous, Acropolis	(Temple O)	last quarter 5th	6 × 14	x	?	-
Selinous, East Hill	Hera (Temple E ³)	2nd quarter 5th	6 × 15	x	x	-
Selinous, East Hill	(Temple GT)	2nd half 6th	8 × 17	x	-	-
Selinous, Gaggara	Demeter Malophoros	580	-	x	x	-
Selinous, Triolo N	Hera	1st quarter 6th	-	-	?	As, B in cella, inner room
Syracuse	Apollo	early 6th	6 × 17	x	?	-
POSSIBLE INNER ROOMS, REMAINS INSUFFICIENT						
Aigina I	Aphaia					
Corfu	Artemis					
Corfu, Roda	?					
Delphi	Apollo					
Ephesos	Artemis					
Kephallenia, Skala	?					
Longa	?					
Plataea	Hera					
Selinous, East Hill	Hera (Temple E ¹)					
Selinous, East Hill	(Temple F)					
Sikyon	?					
Tegea	Artemis Knakeatis					

*A = altar, OT = offering table, B = base

of specific goddesses, such as Demeter and Kore or Artemis, with the presence of inner rooms in temples have been based on the assumption that the dark, inaccessible, cavelike nature of inner rooms suggests ties to the underworld and chthonian deities, a premise supported by labeling such rooms “adyta.” Presumably, private and mysterious rites took place in this *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple. Such an interpretation may be questioned on both general and specific grounds. Several scholars have challenged the strict categorization of gods as chthonian or Olympian. Van Straten cites Rudhardt’s work demonstrating that “it is not possible to single out one particular sort of sacrifice that is typical of chthonian deities.”³⁰ Scullion and Schlesier have explored the validity of these distinctions even further.³¹

Nevertheless, scholars have considered sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, or even just to Demeter, as potentially chthonian in the character of ritual.³² A statement by Cicero (*Ver.* II, 4.48.106), *vetus est haec opinio . . . insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae consecratam*, and Diodorus’ account locating Persephone’s abduction at Enna (5.3–5, 68–69) have suggested that worship of the mother-daughter pair was characteristically Sicilian. Citing Cicero and Diodorus, Langlotz, Gruben, and others have supposed that the frequent occurrence of inner rooms in Sicilian temples reflects the chthonian nature of Demeter and Persephone, and of their worship.³³ In fact, Table 1 demonstrates that worship of Demeter does not show significant association with temples with inner rooms in Sicily or elsewhere. Only three temples dedicated to Demeter have inner rooms. Sanctuaries (few of them with temples) dedicated to Demeter and Persephone have been identified in Sicily at Agrigento, Camarina (Fig. 1), Eloro, Enna, Gela, Megara Hyblaea, Morgantina, Selinous, Syracuse, and Vassallaggi.³⁴ However, only one Sicilian temple, dedicated to Malophoros

30. Van Straten 1974, p. 176, referring to Rudhardt 1992, p. 251: “Les sacrifices destinés aux dieux forment un second groupe extrêmement complexe, à l’intérieur duquel nous ne reconnaissons aucun dualisme. On a l’habitude de situer parmi les dieux eux-mêmes des puissances chthoniennes auxquelles conviendraient des sacrifices spécifiques; cela ne me paraît pas légitime. . . . Les dieux grecs sont extrêmement divers; les sacrifices qui leur conviennent, également.” See also Rudhardt 1992, p. 253: “Non seulement le Grec possède des mots nombreux pour désigner les rites sacrificiels, non seulement les êtres en l’honneur desquels ces rites semblent accomplis appartiennent à des catégories inégales, non seulement on consacre tantôt des

offrandes végétales, tantôt des victimes animales, selon des modes divers d’immolation, de crémation ou du partage, mais surtout il n’y a aucune correspondance systématique entre toutes ces variations.”

On the blurred distinctions between Olympian and chthonian, see Nock 1944, 1962. For recent work on altars, see Étienne 1992 and Le Dinahet 1991.

31. Scullion 1994, Schlesier 1991–1992.

32. On the other hand, in his fundamental study of Persephone, Zuntz (1971, pp. 399–400) points out that Demeter is a goddess of the fertile earth (χθών), while only Persephone is a deity of the netherworld. The phrase χθώνιοι θεοί applies to both deities, but their natures are distinct.

33. Langlotz 1946, pp. 129, 133; Gruben 1966, p. 229; also Romeo 1989, esp. pp. 44–49. Schwandner (1985, p. 108, note 131) takes issue with Thalmann’s (1975) implicit premise that the inner room is more common in southern Italy and Sicily than on the Greek mainland. Elsewhere, Østby (1986, p. 99) notes “an early Peloponnesian tradition for the adyton,” citing as evidence structures at Halieis (perhaps not a temple, see above, p. 194), Argos (poorly preserved), Kombothekra, Bassai, and Longa.

34. White 1984, pp. 29, 123. There are few extant temples of Demeter, and none are characterized by inner rooms. For worship of Demeter elsewhere in the Greek world, see Cole 1994; in Arkadia alone, see Jost 1985, pp. 297–355.

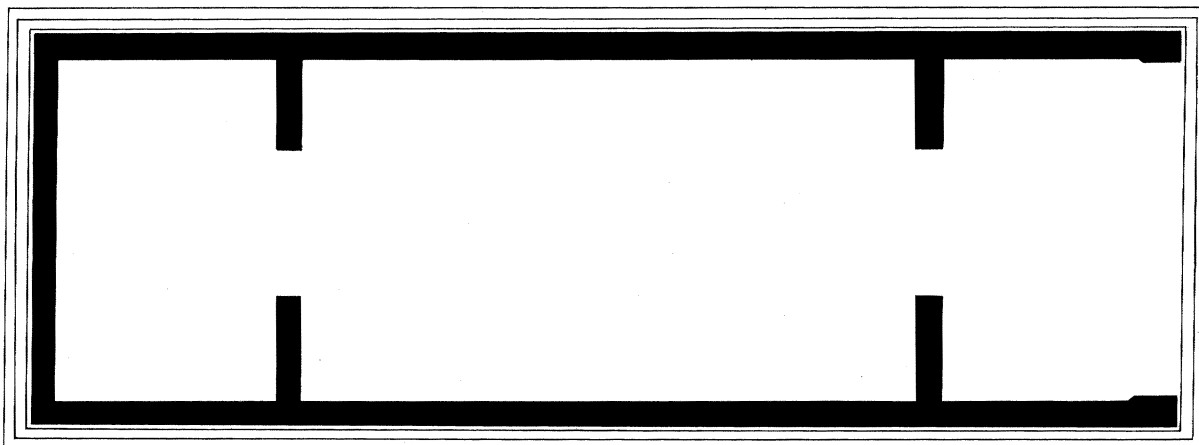


Figure 1. Camarina, Temple of Athena.

After Pelagatti 1962, p. 253, fig. 4, and Mertens 1984, pl. 25:39



35. Gabrici 1927; Parisi Presicce 1984. Most of the temples at Selinous remain designated by letter, as there is too little information to attribute them to specific deities; see below, p. 206.

36. Le Dinahet 1984; also Zuntz 1971, pp. 89–108. Thalmann (1975, pp. 172–174) expresses skepticism that worship of Demeter can be associated with the inner room.

37. Travlos (1976, esp. pp. 197–198) notes the chthonian aspects of Artemis in association with Iphigeneia.

38. Schwandner 1985, pp. 108, 111. Tegea is Schwandner’s own revision (p. 102, notes 110, 111) of Rhomaios’s reconstructed amphiprostyle temple; see Rhomaios 1952. In opposition to Schwandner, Lambrinoudakis (1991, p. 188, note 40) states that “the distinction of types of buildings for use in mystic or regular cult was not very strict in antiquity.”

39. Hollinshead 1985, esp. pp. 425–430. For bibliography on Brauron, see Østby 1993, pp. 208–209; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 1990; Hamilton 1989; Perlman 1989; Pinney 1995.

40. For Iphigeneia, see Hollinshead 1985, pp. 420–430. For Aphaia, *LIMC* I, 1988, pp. 876–877, s.v. *Aphaia* (D. Williams). For the polyvalence of Artemis in Arkadia alone, see Jost 1985, pp. 393–425.

(presumably Demeter) at Selinous, has an inner room, and a contemporary temple nearby of similar architectural form, also with an inner room, was probably dedicated to Hera.³⁵ The architectural and archaeological remains of other Sicilian sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone vary in form, without much consistency among them.³⁶ In Sicily and elsewhere, temples with inner rooms are dedicated to Hera, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis.

Travlos and Schwandner have linked worship of Artemis with inner rooms. Travlos has proposed that the chthonian aspects of Artemis associated with Iphigeneia were expressed by the presence of inner rooms in the temples at Brauron, Halai Araphenides, and Aulis.³⁷ Without specifying the nature of the cult, Schwandner adds temples of Artemis at Tegea and Kombothekra, as well as the older Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, to Travlos’s three examples. He bases his grouping on architectural form, especially the prostyle facade and the oikos form with inner room.³⁸ The temple at Halai Araphenides is peripteral, however, and the proportions of the different temples vary widely. The nature of Artemis herself varies enough to cause skepticism that she would be honored in the same way (requiring an inner room) at different sites. What we know of rites for Artemis at Brauron, for example, involving women and childbirth, and a rite of passage for young girls, the arkteia, suggests a fundamentally different behavior than that prescribed for the nearby (4 miles north) sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides, where Euripides describes a ritual in which a priest draws a knife across a man’s throat (*IT*, lines 1456–1458).³⁹ Artemis especially among Greek deities is a complex figure who was worshiped along with such ancillary figures as the nymph Aphaia or Iphigeneia.⁴⁰ Without consistency in the goddess’s own persona, it seems unlikely that Artemis was celebrated with the same rites requiring the same architectural configuration at six different temples.

PERISTYLE

Many temples with inner rooms do not have peristyles. The *oikos* type of temple design (one to three successive rooms with a simple doorway in the middle of the facade) and the *megaron* type (one to three successive rooms whose first chamber is a porch with columns in *antis*) reflect an older, simpler building tradition in which interior space was added by extending the length of the flank walls, in preference to the structurally difficult alternative of increasing the roof span.⁴¹ Increased interior length provided opportunity for subdivision into an additional back room, a construction strategy that persisted in small-scale temples even when peripteral temples had become the norm at wealthy sites. To be sure, several of the nonperipteral temples listed in Table 1 (at Aulis, Iria on Naxos, Brauron, Tegea, and Cyrene I) achieved such breadth that interior supports were included in the *cella*. Some nonperipteral 6th-century temples, such as Temple E at Selinous, the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, the Temple of Apollo at Cyrene, and possibly the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, were later succeeded by peripteral temples whose interior arrangements, with an inner room, seem to reflect those of the predecessors. Other 6th-century temples at, for example, Metapontum (Tavole Palatine and Temple B), Selinous (Temple C), and Foce del Sele, as well as several of the 5th century, were peripteral from the beginning (Figs. 2, 3). The inner room clearly evolved from practical considerations of *oikos* design (a tradition perpetuated in temples in lesser sanctuaries), but overall it does not appear to be tied predictably to the presence or absence of a peristyle.

ALTARS

The inner rooms themselves are, for the most part, very small, especially compared to the area of the *cella*. The inner chamber of the Temple of Dionysos at Iria, Naxos, for example, was only 2.24 m deep (by 10.59 m wide) behind a *cella* 18.45 m deep (Fig. 4). At Halai Araphenides the interior of the inner room was ca. 3.5 m deep while the *cella* was ca. 7.5 m deep (Fig. 5). Economy of space, rather than monumentality, seems to have been important for most inner rooms. In terms of function, such rooms could accommodate very few people at any one time. If special rituals took place here, there were not many witnesses. Whatever occurred behind the *cella* was too restricted and too private to justify fully the temple's role in religious life.

The central act of Greek religious observance was sacrifice, of animal or grain, cakes or liquids, at an open-air altar. It was a communal celebration.⁴² At many sanctuaries, altars existed before the first temples. The presence of an altar formally related to a temple (i.e., opposite the east facade) or in close proximity (see Table 1) would seem to indicate that the primary religious enactment took place outside the temple. It seems improbable that the inner room of a temple with an external altar would also house an important private ritual. At Selinous's sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros, for example, quantities of terracotta votives were found outside the temple, around the altar, furnishing strong evidence of ritual behavior centered on the altar, not the inner room. For other sites (de-

41. I consider prostyle arrangements in the *oikos* type to be a variant on the porch of the *megaron*. For the *oikos* as the original form of cult structure in the Geometric period, see Drerup 1969, pp. 91–92. See also Schwandner 1985, p. 111; Lambrinouidakis 1991, pp. 184–185; Mertens 1984, p. 162; Isler 1984, pp. 11–116.

42. Roux 1984b; Burkert 1988, esp. pp. 36–37; 1985, p. 92; Rudhardt 1992, pp. 249–300, and p. 289: “Le sacrifice est essentiellement l’acte d’une communauté.”

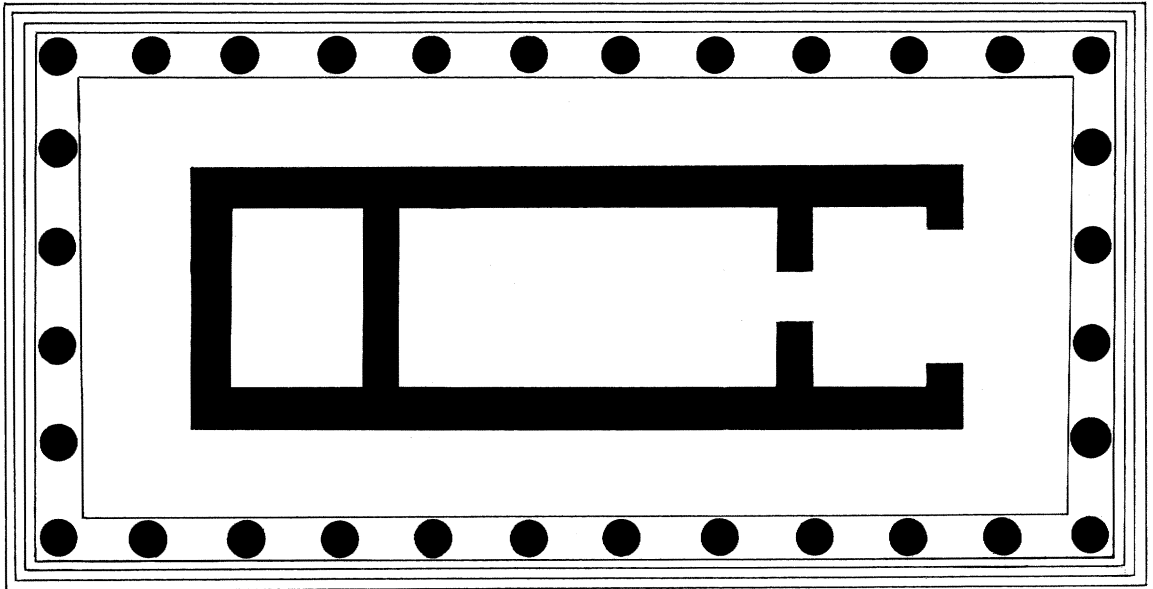


Figure 2. Metapontum, Tavole
Palatine, Temple of Hera.
After LoPorto 1981, p. 29, fig. 7, and
Mertens 1973, pl. XLVIII

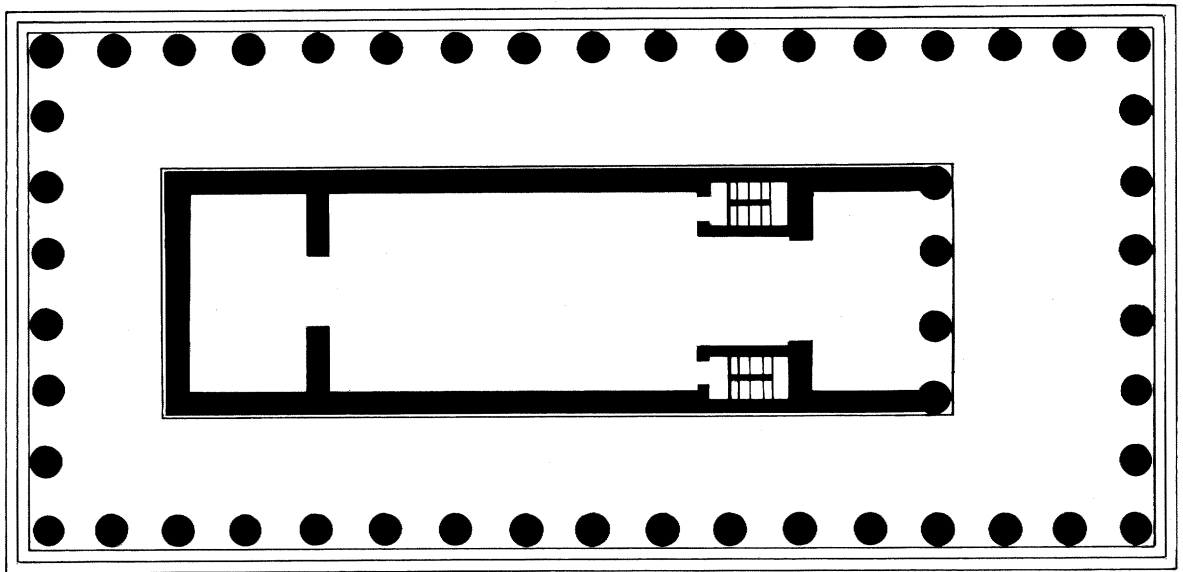


Figure 3. Foce del Sele,
Temple of Hera.
After Krauss 1951, pl. XXVI



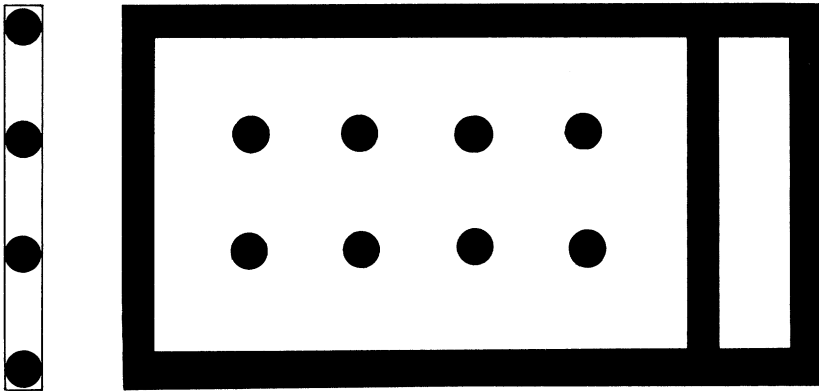


Figure 4. Iria, Naxos,
Temple of Dionysos.
After Lambrinouidakis 1991, p. 180, fig. 13

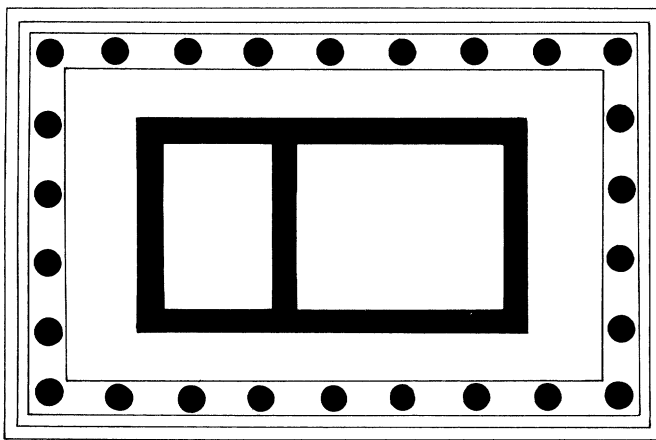


Figure 5. Loutsia (ancient Halai
Araphenides), Temple of Artemis.
After Knell 1983, p. 41, fig. 4

noted in the table with a question mark) such as Syracuse, where the Temple of Apollo is surrounded by dense modern occupation, limitations on excavation have made it impossible to determine whether an external altar existed.

PHYSICAL FORM

What information can we glean from the inner rooms themselves? When the doorway to an inner room lies off the longitudinal axis of the temple, as at Ikarion and Stymphalos, the inner room appears to be less important in the architectural scheme of the temple, and less of a focus for a visitor's attention. The doorway is displaced so far to one side as to suggest intentional de-emphasis of access to the inner room. Comparable irregularities of alignment in the temples at Naukratis (Aphrodite II), Cape Zoster (ancient Halai Aixonides), and in the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia on Aigina can be attributed to later remodeling of the respective cellas.

Temples that show signs of architectural modification to create inner chambers are more likely to demonstrate a belated recognition of a practical need for security than new kinds of cult behavior.⁴³ The late-6th-century Temple A at Himera, for example, has a crosswall whose masonry

43. On the other hand, Mertens has shown that the interior arrangement of the Temple of Hera I at Paestum was modified in the course of its construction, a change he attributes to requirements of the cult (Mertens 1993, p. 92, and pl. XVIII). Without more evidence I am reluctant to agree that the change reflects religious behavior.

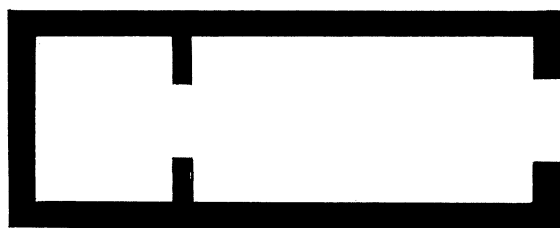


Figure 6 (*above, left*).
Himera, Temple A.
After Bonacasa 1970, pls. 3, 4

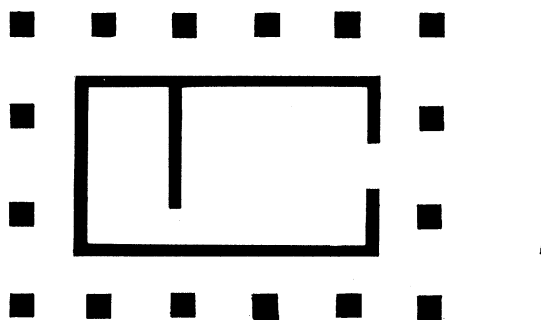


Figure 7 (*above, right*).
Cape Zoster (ancient
Halai Aixonides),
Temple of Apollo.
After Kourouniotis
1926–1927, p. 14, fig. 5,
p. 16, fig. 7

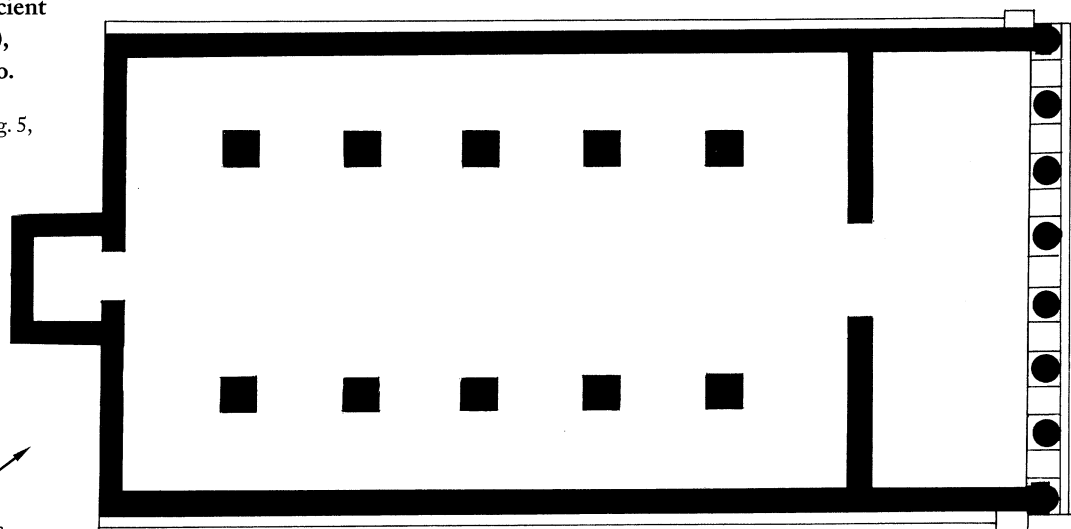


Figure 8. Oropos,
Temple of Amphiaraos.
After Petrakos 1968, p. 100, fig. 20

differs from that of the adjacent flank walls, and so may have been added (Fig. 6).⁴⁴ Discrepancies in building-stone indicate that the 6th-century megaron south of Temple C at Selinous may have been given its inner room considerably later, in the 5th century. In the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia (II) on Aigina, an off-center doorway was later opened in the back wall of the cella and the back porch was closed with grilles to form an inner chamber. Cuttings between the antae and the columns attest the adding of grilles to create a secured, fenced-off porch. (Grilles across the pronaos also made a chamber of the front porch, a common occurrence in many temples.) The modest Temple of Apollo at Cape Zoster of ca. 500 B.C. was also given an inner room after its initial construction, with the addition of a crosswall in the 4th century B.C. (Fig. 7). The tiny (2.0 × 2.5 m interior) inner room was appended to the Amphiaraion at Oropos in the later 4th century (Fig. 8).

44. Bonacasa 1970. This difference in masonry techniques, with smaller stones used in the crosswall, may simply reflect differences in the construction of interior and exterior walls.

If the inner chambers at these five temples were intended to accommodate special cult practices, we might reasonably suppose they would be incorporated into the original plan and construction of the temple. Ritual is rarely a late development in religious behavior. On the other hand, es-

tablished cult centers did grow wealthy over time, and known repositories of treasure became vulnerable to thievery. A small enclosure might be added to or created within an existing temple to ensure the safety of valuable votives or other deposits. Even the fencing of the cult statue, indicated by cuttings in the paving and walls such as are found in the Temples of Zeus at Olympia, Athena at Sounion, and Athena at Priene, might be considered a comparable change intended to protect the statue and the dedications around it.⁴⁵

FEATURES

The chance nature of archaeological preservation and discovery presents problems in interpreting temple function from features and furnishings excavated within cellas or inner rooms. Altars, offering tables, and statue bases (not always distinct classifications) can provide diagnostic information as to how a space was used, provided that they are contemporary with primary temple use.⁴⁶ Small cylindrical or rectilinear blocks, often with cuttings on their upper surfaces, have been identified as interior altars at Antikyra (at the east end), Aulis (two small cylinders in the inner room), Ikarion (in the cella), Monte Adranone (a round block in the cella, possibly a statue base), and at Selinous in the temple to Hera at Triolo North (Fig. 9), which accommodated three altars in the cella and three in the inner room. Such multiple small altars asymmetrically placed in various rooms within temples do not give the impression of major cult foci when compared with exterior altars.

Only four secure examples of offering tables are known. In the Late Archaic Temple of Aphaia (II) on Aigina, the large block in the back porch converted to an inner room is considered an offering table; a 4th-century example was found in the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Cape Zoster; there is an offering table, also mentioned in an inscription, in the cella of the 4th-century Temple of Amphiaraos at Oropos; the fourth is from the inner room of the Temple of Artemis at Aulis. Some scholars interpret the group of blocks at the rear of the cella of the Temple of Hera at Foce del Sele as an offering table, while others consider it a statue base.⁴⁷

There is much more evidence for statue bases within temples.⁴⁸ Since several temples also had more than one base in the cella (e.g., at Cape Zoster and Ikarion), we cannot assume that every base supported a cult statue. Indeed, some have recently questioned whether every temple had a cult statue.⁴⁹ Three temples (Hera Akraia at Perachora, A at Himera, and E³ at Selinous) have bases, presumably for statues, inside inner rooms. There are also cuttings in the paving of the inner room of Temple A and possibly in Temple D, both at Selinous.

Seven temples with inner rooms have possible or certain statue bases in the cella: Metapontum Temple B, the Temple of Hera at Paestum, the Heraion at Foce del Sele, those at Ikarion, Stymphalos, and Aulis, and the Temple of Apollo at Cape Zoster, which has three bases and a throne in the cella. In addition, an unpaved area (6.1 × 4.9 m) of the cella of Temple C at Selinous may indicate the former presence of a statue base, offering table, or some other furnishing. Cuttings in the paving blocks of the Late

45. Olympia: Dinsmoor 1950, p. 153; Mallwitz 1972, pp. 229–230. Sounion: Dinsmoor 1974, pp. 37–50, esp. pp. 41–43; Themelis n.d., pp. 23, 37. Priene: Carter 1983, pp. 15, 227–231. The presence of thesauroi in temples also attests a need to secure funds in temples open to the general populace. See Corbett 1970, p. 151; Kaminski 1991, esp. pp. 118–119.

46. Alroth 1988, esp. p. 196.

47. Gill 1991, pp. 39–40 (Aigina), p. 47 (Aulis), pp. 48–50 (Cape Zoster, where the table was set in the cella in front of three early-5th-century b.c. statue bases). Oropos: Petrakos 1968, p. 99, pp. 188–193, no. 45, line 10; cf. Roesch 1984, p. 177, note 11. Foce del Sele: Krauss 1951.

48. For a partial list of cult statue bases from 800–500 b.c., see Romano 1980, pp. 451–454, and Miller 1996. For an analysis of the form of specific bases, see Jacob-Felsch 1969.

49. Donohue 1997; Miller 1996.

Figure 9. Selinous, Triolo North, Temple of Hera.

After Parisi Presicce 1984, p. 25, fig. 3

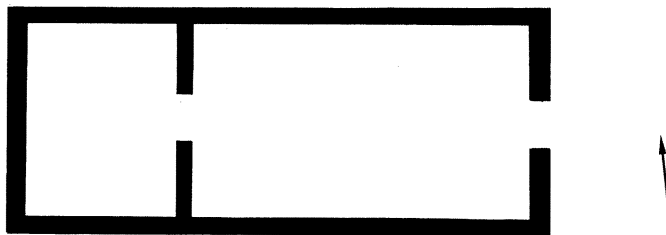


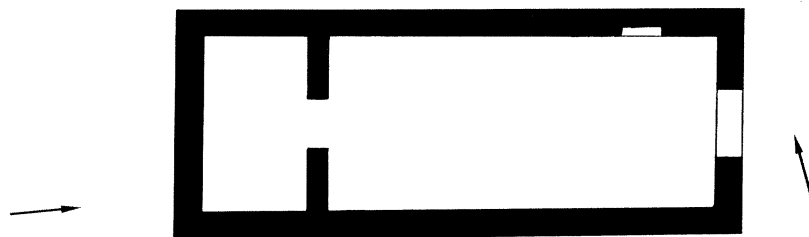
Figure 10 (above, left). Kombothekra, Temple of Artemis.

After Sinn 1981, p. 51, fig. 4

Figure 11 (above, right).

Monte Iato, Temple of Aphrodite.

After Bloesch 1977, p. 184, fig. 1



Archaic Temple of Aphaia on Aigina (II) imply that a statue base or comparable object was once placed there.

One must interpret the presence of bases with caution, however, since furnishings in situ at the time of excavation represent the latest use of a temple. At Aulis, for instance, a variety of bases were found in situ in the cella, and three statues of Hellenistic and Roman date came from the fill of the temple, which obviously had a long floruit, since it received a new prostyle porch in the 2nd century A.C. It is scarcely appropriate to reconstruct religious practice of the 5th or 4th century B.C., when the temple was built, on the basis of furnishings from the 2nd century A.C. Likewise, the three large cult statues from the inner room of the 3rd-century B.C. Temple of Apollo at Klaros have been dated to the 2nd century A.C., when the temple and its surroundings underwent a major remodeling. We do not know what constituted the interior furnishings contemporary with the temple's initial Hellenistic construction and use.⁵⁰

Equally difficult to assess as furnishings are the objects found within temples. How are we to interpret dense concentrations of small finds from inner rooms at, for example, Kombothekra (Fig. 10) or Crimisa? Does this evidence guarantee that ritual took place within, or simply that votives were placed there for storage? Two votive deposits, one Archaic, the other Hellenistic in date, were excavated in the inner room of the Temple of Aphrodite at Monte Iato (Fig. 11).⁵¹ The temple attributed to Hera at Triolo North, Selinous, had ash mixed with animal bones in the soil of its inner room. Does this sole example mean that burning took place within the confines of the inner room? Or is it a deposit of debris from a sacrifice performed elsewhere?⁵² A round, clay-filled installation in the cella of the 6th-century Temple of Apollo at Cyrene is the lone example of a hearth in situ among temples with inner rooms.⁵³ At present, we cannot formulate a secure interpretation of the inner room from the sparse number of small finds found in situ.

50. Aulis: Hollinshead 1985. Klaros: Marcadé 1994; Robert 1954b; Martin 1973, pp. 9–13; Akurgal 1985, pp. 136–139.

51. Isler 1984, p. 13.

52. Alroth (1988, p. 203) cites deposits at several sites of ash mixed with bones and figurines. See also White 1967, discussing a stratum of ash and bones (which he dates to 409–250 B.C.) in the Malophoros temple.

53. Pernier 1935, pp. 122–125.

SELINOUS

The remarkable site of Selinous, with three clusters of temples, merits special consideration in any discussion of inner rooms. Omit Selinous, and Sicily does not boast an unusual proportion of temples with inner rooms. The nine Selinuntine temples (six of them peripteral) with inner rooms demonstrate enough consistency of form to indicate a local tradition of temple design. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to attribute most of these temples to specific deities; aside from the temple to Malophoros and its nearby counterpart dedicated to Hera, only Temple E has been associated securely with a divinity (Hera).⁵⁴ None of the temples on either the acropolis or the Marinella Plateau had closable doors between the cella and the inner room. Indeed the openings between the chambers in Temples C, A, and E³ are unusually wide, negating any impression of restricted access. Control of entry to these temples undoubtedly would have been exercised at the front of the building, where Temple C had a closed pronaos with a door or grille, Temples D and E³ had cuttings for doors or grilles between columns of the pronaos, and Temple GT shows evidence for doors in the wall between pronaos and cella. These temples could be made secure, but such measures had nothing to do with the inner room.

The wide doorways in crosswalls between cella and inner room, the presence of a base for a statue on axis at the back of the innermost room in Temple E³, and the small size of the inner rooms, as well as the progressive elevation in floor levels of these Selinuntine temples—from stylobate of pronaos up to cella up to inner room—all suggest that at this site the inner room served primarily as an architectural frame for a special object, probably the cult statue.⁵⁵ The inner room would articulate and define the space around the statue so as to enhance its visual impact.

As suggested above, the logical explanation for the recurrence of one aspect of temple design at a single site is local tradition,⁵⁶ and the inner room is but one element of a Selinuntine concept of temple form. Together with the rise in floor levels along the longitudinal axis, the inner room would have given focus and emphasis to a culminating point, presumably a statue. Protection of the dedications and the statue was accomplished at the pronaos door, and so the inner room was not needed for security purposes. Such a singular localized use of the inner room could have been developed at Selinous, where quantities of temples were built in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., and should be considered a special case.

To summarize, much of the information in Table 1 negates common assumptions about inner rooms. These chambers are widely distributed, from the Aegean to western Sicily, and cannot be securely associated with worship of a particular deity. Finds and furnishings from temples with inner rooms are so sporadic and chronologically varied as to be of little value to this broad survey. Architectural form is also variable, but more informative. At Selinous we can isolate a marked consistency of temple design, with a closable prodomos one level above the stylobate, leading up another step to a long narrow cella with a still higher inner room reached through a broad doorway. Elsewhere, significant numbers of inner rooms convey

54. Tusa 1966 with bibliography; Manni 1975; Bejor 1977. For plans and discussion of the temples of Selinous, see Mertens 1984.

55. It is likely, but not certain, that Temple E¹, the 8th(?)–century B.C. predecessor to Temple E³, was similarly organized: Gullini 1977, 1978, 1981, 1985; Romeo 1989, p. 43, no. 68.

56. Mertens 1984, p. 160: "Für Selinunt ist auch die Raumaufteilung in Naos und Adyton charakteristisch." See also p. 192 on Selinous.

the opposite message, of architectural de-emphasis, as indicated by placement of the doorway off the temple's central axis, or by the appearance of the inner room as secondary construction. The inner rooms of Selinous appear to have been designed for display, while those elsewhere seem to have served a more practical need, perhaps that of secure storage.

DISCUSSION

These surveys of nomenclature and temple remains make it clear that terminology was used with great flexibility in antiquity. “Hieron” and “naos” are most commonly, but not exclusively, used for temples.⁵⁷ “Adyton” refers to a location for a mysterious religious event, such as an oracular pronouncement or a healing experience, but only in exceptional cases (e.g., at Delphi and Didyma) is the adyton described as part of a temple. The convention of calling the inner room of any temple an adyton is erroneous and misleading, in that “adyton” does not denote a specific form, and it does suggest functions for which there is often little or no supporting evidence. The presence of an inner space (labeled adyton) ca. 2 meters lower than the adjacent paving of the Temple of Zeus at Nemea has been taken by one scholar as confirmation that the temple housed an oracle.⁵⁸ At Perachora, Payne considered the inner room of the 6th-century B.C. Temple of Hera Akraia to be the seat of an oracle mentioned only by Strabo (8.380), though Tomlinson is skeptical.⁵⁹ Comparable expectations arising from the connotations of “adyton,” together with architectural form, have also led to interpretation of inner rooms as sites for secret rituals for chthonian deities.⁶⁰

Ancient literary sources and inscriptions provide the most useful information about how temple interiors were experienced. The paucity of early testimonia, however, leads us to rely on accounts that postdate the construction and primary use of most temples; all such information therefore requires circumspect interpretation. Herodas' 4th Mimiamb, of the 3rd century B.C., provides the most complete narrative of a visit to a temple.⁶¹ After sacrificing a cock, two women enter a temple of Asklepios (perhaps at the famous sanctuary on Kos), dedicate a pinax, and look around, admiring five statues and then a painting. No one sculpture is explicitly identified as a cult statue, though the first-mentioned could be. It is characterized only as resting on a base inscribed with the names of Praxiteles' sons and the donor. The subjects of the other statues (a girl looking up at an apple, an old man, a child choking a goose, and a statue of Batale, daughter of Myttos) make them improbable candidates for the cult statue. After noting these objects, one woman remarks, ἡ θύρη γὰρ ὤϊκται κἀνεῖττ' ὁ παστός (lines 55–56). In literal usage, παστός refers to a bridal chamber or its curtain; in Herodas it indicates the innermost part of the temple or a curtain partitioning off such an inner sector.⁶² Whether chamber or curtain, the bridal metaphor implies that special treasures were kept safe within, not that secret rituals were about to take place. Once the inner temple has been opened, the women exclaim over a painting by Apelles. Security for special possessions is clearly emphasized more than secrecy or mystery.

A 4th-century B.C. inventory from Samos also records a curtain hanging in front of “the goddess.” Irene B. Romano suggests that this curtain might have served to limit viewing of the cult statue.⁶³ While some temples,

57. Corbett 1970, p. 149; Casewitz 1984; Preißhofen 1984, pp. 15–18, 361–362; Zinslerling 1984, pp. 26–29, 364–366.

58. Bacchielli 1982. For a more cautious approach see Miller et al. 1990, pp. 140–141, and Hill 1966, pp. 27–29.

59. Payne et al. 1940, p. 80. Recent support for an oracle in the inner room comes from Menadier 1994. However, see Tomlinson 1992, suggesting (p. 343) that “the oracle could be situated anywhere in the sanctuary.”

60. See above, pp. 191–194, 198–199; also Hewitt 1909.

61. Cunningham 1966; 1971, pp. 38–40, 127–147; 1987, pp. 13–17; Cunningham, Rusten, and Knox 1993, pp. 254–265; also Sherwin-White 1978, pp. 349–352.

62. See LSJ, s.v. παστός; also Cunningham 1971, p. 139.

63. Romano 1980, pp. 255–257; 1988. For the text of the inscription and comments, see Ohly 1953. For a recent assessment of the location of the cult statues of Hera at Samos, see Held 1995.

like Herodas' Asklepieion, were apparently open to visitors, who might pray before the cult statue, offer gifts to the deity, or simply look around at the dedications and decorations, others were more restricted. Recognizing that such discretionary conditions are susceptible to change over time, and are not reliable as indicators of pre-Hellenistic behavior, we may note that Pausanias cites twelve examples of access to temple interiors limited according to gender, priestly status, or calendar.⁶⁴ He notes in his account (2.10.2,4) of sanctuaries of Asklepios and of Aphrodite at Sikyon that in the former, the inner room (τὸ ἐνδοτέρω), dedicated to Apollo, housed a chryselephantine statue of the god and was restricted to priests (for reasons of piety, or security?). In the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Pausanias points out that visitors had to view the chryselephantine statue ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου . . . καὶ αὐτόθεν προσεύχασθαι. Only two female attendants were permitted in this sanctuary. The two structures in question, for which Pausanias uses the general term "hieron," not "naos" (though his context strongly implies temple structures), have not been securely associated with excavated archaeological remains. Nevertheless, his description makes it clear that access to some temples or parts of temples was specifically limited and controlled. What is not clear is whether such restrictions were based on religious concerns, or if they reflect the value of the respective gold and ivory statues. Perhaps both were factors. There is no report of special rites performed for those fortunate enough to approach a statue or view it in a temple with limited access.

Written testimonia attest that there was cause to worry about the safety of some cult statues. From traditional tales and legends surrounding special images we may extract the Greeks' concern for their security. Images such as the statue of Athena Polias in the Erechtheion in Athens and the Tauric figure at Halai Araphenides were described as old, wooden, and portable venerated symbols.⁶⁵ Others, such as the statue of Apollo that Pausanias noted (10.24.5) in the inner room of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, were of gold or precious materials. Herodotus (5.82–86) recounts a tale of political plundering, the Aiginetans stealing special olive wood images of Damia and Auxesia from Epidaurus, and the Athenians subsequently trying (in vain) to dislodge the two statues for purposes of removal. Diodorus (10.28.1–3) reports how Hippocrates of Gela thwarted the sacrilegious theft of gold from the statue of Zeus in his temple at Syracuse. Another tale, of Argives bribing Tyrrhenians to steal the image of Samian Hera, reported by Menodotos of Samos, is repeated by Athenaios (15.672). Patently aetiological, this story includes an architectural detail: ἀθύρου δὲ ὄντος τότε τοῦ νεῶ ταχέως ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ βρέτας. By noting the absence of a door in the temple, the author implies that it was an unusual circumstance. For reasons political, pecuniary, and perhaps magical, it was important to secure cult images.

Statues were not the only treasures to be protected. Temples and sanctuaries were filled with votive gifts ranging from modest terracotta figurines to inlaid chests, from garments to gold crowns. In addition to their religious purpose, these dedications constituted portable wealth. Van Straten has gathered both written and archaeological evidence in analyzing why and how Greeks gave gifts to their deities. Citing Pausanias (2.11.6 and 3.20.1), he states emphatically that "[Greek temples] were sometimes so

64. Corbett 1970, pp. 150–151, 155–156, note 11; Hewitt 1909.

65. See Mansfield 1985, pp. 438–587, regarding "the clothing, adorning, cleaning and bathing of cult-statues." On the portability of ancient statues, see Romano 1980, pp. 128–129, and Miller 1996. A useful note of caution against uncritical acceptance of ancient accounts of wooden statues is sounded by Donohue (1988, pp. 23, 232).

full that the cult-image could hardly ever be seen. All the walls were decked with votive tablets, festoons, wreaths, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the believer made his way past the votive offerings standing all over the place.”⁶⁶

Extensive inscribed inventories record in detail consecrated objects stored in temples on the Athenian Akropolis, in the Asklepieion at Athens, in the Temple of Artemis at Brauron, and in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos.⁶⁷ The gifts in the Akropolis temples were especially grand, including gold and silver, bronze vessels, and elaborate inlaid furniture. Thucydides, in his account (2.15.2–4) of Perikles’ assessment of the resources available to Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, refers to gold and silver offerings, sacred vessels, and temple treasures, even the gold on the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, if it were needed. Although the Athenians, in desperation, did melt down the golden Nikai for coin in the acute crisis in 407/6 B.C., they took care to restore them under Lykourgos in the 4th century. This was certainly an exceptional use of temple treasures, for usually what was given to a deity stayed in the god’s possession.⁶⁸

Elsewhere, gold and silver were less common than objects of bronze or wood, or linen garments, described as located within the temple at, for example, Brauron or the Athenian Asklepieion. Thucydides (6.46) mentions silver vessels as offerings in the Temple of Aphrodite at Eryx in Sicily, in his account of the deception of Nicias and his colleagues by Segesta. At a much later date, the valuable contents of Greek temples in Sicily are amply enumerated by Cicero (*Ver.* 2, *passim*) as he describes their despoliation. He recounts, for example, Verres’ removal of at least twenty-eight paintings from the Temple of Minerva at Syracuse (*Ver.* 2, 4.55).

In addition to dedications kept for a god, some temples stored money. Inscribed accounts from several sites record financial transactions of temple administrators, including rental of real estate properties owned by the cult, loaning temple funds at interest, and payments for operation and maintenance of the respective sanctuaries.⁶⁹ Indeed, cult-based activities represented a substantial segment of the ancient Greek economy.⁷⁰ *IG I*³ 386–387, a 5th-century B.C. inventory from Eleusis, lists large amounts of building materials on hand (wood, roof tiles, marble in various forms), presumably for ongoing maintenance and construction in the sanctuary, as well as a large assortment of tools and hardware.⁷¹ Accounts from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. on Delos record expenditures for firewood, torches, wages for employees (e.g., braiders of garlands, a flute player), and mundane maintenance such as cleaning.⁷² At Delos there was a “sacred chest” for sanctuary funds, while public funds were kept in the “public chest.” The two funds were sometimes held in the Temple of Artemis, sometimes in the Temple of Apollo, and sometimes in both.⁷³ According to my interpretation of the Opisthodomos on the Akropolis (below, pp. 210–213), the treasures of the Athenian state were kept in the rear chamber of the Perikleian Parthenon in Athens. Most Greek temples would have housed a cult statue and votives. Operating funds for the cult also must have been kept in many temples, and sometimes public monies as well.

For most communities, the temple was the largest and most solidly built structure and probably the most secure, a logical place of deposit for the resources of both cult and state. Thievery from sanctuaries was thus a

66. Van Straten 1981, p. 78; cf. 1992. See also Aleshire 1991, p. 46: “In actuality, the temples must have closely resembled not the bare rooms of our drawings but the most jumbled and crowded antique store or museum storeroom that most of us can imagine.”

67. See note 6 above.

68. Linders 1987, pp. 116, 119–120; 1988; 1996. Linders has made clear that once consecrated, votives were special, the property of the deity and his or her cult. Modifications such as refabrication (by melting down) were to result in new, finer dedications, or sanctuary maintenance: Harris 1995, pp. 28–29, 31–38, 65, 107, 114, 218.

69. The most extensive inventories of temple-based financial activities are those from Athens and Delos, but Eleusis, the Athenian Asklepieion, and several sites in southern Italy and Sicily have also yielded information of this sort. Generally, see Bogaert 1968; Parker 1983, pp. 160–166, 173; Osborne 1985, 1988; Isager 1992. Athens: Arist., *Ath.* 47.4; *IG I*² 94; Walbank 1983, 1984, 1992. Delos: Kent 1948; Vial 1984; Reger 1994 with bibliography. Eleusis: Cavanaugh 1996. Athenian Asklepieion: Aleshire 1989, pp. 97–98. Magna Graecia: Ampolo 1992. For sanctuary maintenance and function, see Linders 1988; 1992b, esp. p. 10 and note 9; also Cavanaugh 1996, pp. 213–215.

70. Snodgrass (1980, pp. 118–119, 130–131) states (p. 118) that “religion was perhaps, apart from war, the biggest single factor in political and economic life.” Elsewhere (p. 131) he adds agriculture to war and religion as the major areas of economic activity.

71. Cavanaugh 1996, pp. 99–203, esp. pp. 156–187, 213–215.

72. Linders 1987, 1988, 1992b.

73. Linders 1992a, p. 71; 1987, p. 117. See also Vial 1984, pp. 275–277; Bogaert 1968, pp. 126–169; *ID III*, no. 316, line 231.

continuing concern. In addition to the political abduction of cult images, temples were commonly looted by enemies and conquerors.⁷⁴ Everyday larceny of consecrated gifts by *ἱεροσῦλοι* was a more immediate problem. *IG I³* 45 provides for Kallikrates' 5th-century B.C. repair of the enclosure wall of the Athenian Akropolis, for the explicit purpose of keeping out any runaway slave (who might find asylum there) and any *λωποδύτης*, thief (garment thief, but a term equivalent to "thief").⁷⁵ At the Athenian Asklepieion some votives were placed "in the keeping of the priest," indicating that special precautions were taken for their security. Aleshire observes that "certain dedications which seem to have been especially valuable were stored in special places or places which were somewhat more difficult of access than were the walls of the temple."⁷⁶ Aelian (*NA* 7.13) tells of a dog whose barking alerted Athenians to his pursuit of a robber (*θεοσύλης*) at a (the?) sanctuary of Asklepios in Athens. Inscriptions from Delphi, Stratonikaia, Lorymna, and Smyrna document attention paid to possessions within the respective sanctuaries.⁷⁷ Diodorus (5.63.3) notes with wonder the sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos: "the sacred precinct is filled with votive offerings, nor are these protected by guards or by a strong wall, but by the habitual reverence of the people."⁷⁸ The consistent theme among these testimonia, that of concern for the treasures of a sanctuary, is reinforced by evidence of doors and grilles—and perhaps inner rooms—in extant temple remains.

TERMINOLOGY: "OPISTHODOMOS"

The archaeological evidence for inner rooms and associated objects, together with literary accounts of activities in and around temples, suggests that these inner chambers served as secure storage areas. Their function may be compared to that of the *Opisthodomos* on the Athenian Akropolis. In its broadest sense, the term "opisthodomos" (*ὀπισθεν*, "behind," "in back of," and *δῶμος*, "house," "room of a house," "temple," or "room of a temple"⁷⁹) refers to a structural element located behind something, to which it is also subordinate. The earliest known use of the term "opisthodomos" occurs in the decrees of Kallias (*IG I³* 52A, B) of 434/3 B.C., which refer to treasures kept in a structure consistently identified as the *Opisthodomos* on the Akropolis, and assign responsibility for them to the Treasurers of the Other Gods.⁸⁰ In the ensuing inventory lists, the *Opisthodomos* on the Akropolis is mentioned as the present or former repository of specific inventoried valuables in more than a dozen inscriptions dating from early in the 4th century B.C. through its last decades.⁸¹ Vases of gold and silver, gilded baskets, incense burners, boxes and chests of wood and bronze, some covered with gold and silver, gems, seals, jewelry, items of ivory, fragments of precious metal, coins, tools for coining money, and boxes of arrowheads were among the objects in the *Opisthodomos* at one time or another.⁸² Decree A of the Kallias decrees specifies (lines 17–18) that the Treasurers of the Other Gods, together with the Treasurers of Athena, were to open, close, and seal the doors of the *Opisthodomos*. Decree B (lines 23–25) states that the treasures of Athena were kept on the right side of the *Opisthodomos*, while those of the Other Gods were kept on the left. Such

74. E.g., Arist., *Oec.* 2.2.41, on Dionysius helping himself to tables and bowls in temples, and even gold clothing and crowns from statues. For plunder, see Linders 1987, p. 117, and Nock 1962, p. 309, note 16.

75. LSJ, s.v. *ἱεροσυλέω*, cites usage in Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, and Menander that documents recognition of the problem in the vocabulary of common discourse in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Cf. Parker 1983, pp. 170–171; Jordan 1979, p. 27 and note 18; for Menander's use of the term, see Domingo-Forasté 1989. In LSJ, s.v. *λωποδύτης*, the meaning is generally that of a thief, robber, or footpad. For Kallikrates, see Svenson-Evers 1996, pp. 214–236 with bibliography; on *IG I³* 45, see pp. 215–217.

76. Aleshire 1991, pp. 45–46.

77. Delphi: *Syll.*³ 417.8, 1017.8. In Sokolowski 1955: for Stratonikaia, no. 68; for Lorymna, no. 74, lines 1–3; for Smyrna, no. 17, lines 3–5. Cf. Jordan 1979.

78. D.S. 5.63.3 (C. H. Oldfather trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1939, repr. 1970).

79. LSJ, s.v. *δῶμος*, s.v. *ὀπισθεν*. There are far fewer literary references to "opisthodomos" (twenty-eight in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*) than to "adyton," but many more in inscriptions.

80. For the much-discussed date of the Kallias decrees, see Meiggs and Lewis 1988, pp. 154–161, no. 58; Samons 1996; Linders 1975, pp. 55–57 and note 132; Harris 1995, p. 21 and note 90; Kallet-Marx 1989; Fornara 1970, 1983, pp. 134–136, no. 119; Wade-Gery 1931, 1933.

81. Inscriptions that mention an *Opisthodomos* on the Akropolis include *IG I³* 52, lines 15–18, 52–56; *IG I³* 207; *IG I³* 369, line 20; *IG I³* 378, line 13; *IG II²* 1388; *IG II²* 1396; *IG II²* 1400; *IG II²* 1401; *IG II²* 1403; *IG II²* 1469; and *IG II²* 1471.

82. Harris 1995, pp. 40–63.

is the only epigraphic evidence regarding the physical aspects of the Opisthodomos—it had closable, sealable doors and enough interior volume for two categories of treasures kept physically separate.

Contemporary literary sources make it clear that the Opisthodomos in the latter 5th and the 4th century B.C. was considered a repository of substantial wealth, and probably held the state bank.⁸³ Aristophanes’ *Ploutos*, performed in 388 B.C., simply mentions the return of Wealth to his abode on the Akropolis: τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ (line 1193). Demosthenes (*On Organization* 14) reports the Athenians’ distress when the Opisthodomos was found open, which implies a break-in. He also refers (*Against Timocrates* 136) to the pretrial detainment of the Tamiai of Athena and of the Other Gods, under whose tenure the Opisthodomos was set on fire. The scholia on the *Ploutos* reiterate that χρῆματα was kept in the Opisthodomos, a θησαυροφυλάκιον located by this source behind the naos of Athena Polias.⁸⁴ The scholia on Demosthenes’ allusion to indicted Tamiai offer more titillating information, that certain Treasurers burned the Opisthodomos to cover up their own financial malfeasance, whether outright theft or secretly contracted bad loans.⁸⁵ The function of the Athenian Opisthodomos, as safe storage for treasures, is thus well documented, even though we lack secure evidence for what this Opisthodomos was or where it was located.⁸⁶

Structures called the Old Temple, Proneos, Parthenon, Hekatompedon, and Opisthodomos all housed votives, according to 5th- and 4th-century inventories. The Old Temple is generally accepted as the building customarily called the Erechtheion, on the north side of the Akropolis, and the Proneos is assumed to be the front porch of the temple all now call the Parthenon. Attribution of the three other terms to structures on the Akropolis is problematical.⁸⁷ The Parthenon and the Hekatompedon are usually assigned to chambers of Perikles’ great Doric temple, while the Opisthodomos has been given a theoretical home. Dörpfeld, followed by Dinsmoor, proposed that the Opisthodomos was the last standing remnant of the Peisistratid temple on the north side of the Akropolis. The extant foundations of this 6th-century temple suggest the original presence of two rooms behind the cella reached from a westward-facing chamber.⁸⁸ In the absence of three chambers in the Periklean Doric temple (on the south) to suit the place-names in the inscriptions, Dörpfeld essentially created a hypothetical Opisthodomos that has achieved credibility through sheer longevity. But why would an old utilitarian structure be retained for so long while aesthetically sophisticated buildings were constructed all around it? If it were still standing, why was the Porch of the Maidens built so close to such an old relic of a building?

Among the physical remains on the Akropolis, the west-facing chamber of Iktinos and Kallikrates’ Doric temple had ample space for treasures and was secured by large, heavy doors.⁸⁹ To reconcile epigraphical and archaeological evidence, Roux has argued for greater flexibility in the interpretation of “Parthenon” and “Hekatompedon” in the inventories. Citing “l’imprécision du vocabulaire, dont on trouve tant d’autres exemples dans les comptes et inventaires,” he suggests that both terms may be used for the cella with the chryselephantine Athena.⁹⁰ “Opisthodomos” must therefore mean the chamber behind it, certainly a logical attribution in light of

83. Ferguson 1932, pp. 131–132, 138; Linders 1975, pp. 46–47. Harris (1995, p. 61) observes that “most of the objects inventoried in the Opisthodomos are made of gold and silver. These were valuable for their material and would have been useful in case an emergency minting was required.”

84. Dübner 1969, p. 386.

85. Dilts 1986, p. 361, on *Or.* 24.136; also Dinsmoor 1932.

86. *IG I³* 207, of the 420s B.C., mentions (lines 16–17) a column erected behind the Opisthodomos, but we remain ignorant of what the Opisthodomos itself lay behind. Some have assumed that such a topographical reference means that the Opisthodomos was a freestanding structure; in fact, it could simply have been a well-known place.

87. Harris 1995, pp. 201–202; Ridgway 1992, esp. pp. 125–127; Roux 1984a; Paton 1927. Jeppesen (1987, which includes 1979 and 1983) accepts the building with the Caryatid Porch as the Archaïos Neos, but questions its identification as the Erechtheion. For another view of where the Erechtheion should be located, see Robertson 1996, esp. pp. 31–32, 37–44. Cf. Mansfield 1985, pp. 198, 245–252.

88. Dörpfeld 1887, esp. pp. 33–39; Dinsmoor 1947 (see p. 128 and note 93 for his acceptance of Dörpfeld’s Opisthodomos theory). Also Dinsmoor 1932, pp. 307–326; Harris 1995, pp. 40–41, 204 with bibliography.

89. Stevens 1940, pp. 74–77; Roux 1984a, p. 306; Büsing-Kolbe 1978, esp. pp. 156–159 on the Parthenon doors.

90. Roux 1984a; 1984b, esp. pp. 159–160. Paton and Stevens (Paton 1927, p. 474) reached a similar conclusion by arguing for overlap in ancient usage of the terms “Parthenon” and “Opisthodomos,” citing Petersen 1907, esp. pp. 14–16. Burkert (1988, p. 40) states that “the opisthodomos [*sic*] of the Parthenon served to hold Athena’s property and the assets of Athens.” See also Ridgway 1992, p. 126.

the function described and the physical evidence of a structure well suited to being a repository of valuables and wealth. Such an attribution, to an ample closed space, also suits Plutarch's account (*Demetr.* 23.3) of Demetrius Poliorketes inhabiting the opisthodomos of the Parthenon.⁹¹ For the Athenians, then, the term "opisthodomos" meant a particular structure with special financial associations. Among testimonia from elsewhere, there are sometimes pecuniary overtones accompanying the term "opisthodomos," which probably reflects the reputation of the Athenian treasure house.⁹²

Inscriptions from the Athenian Akropolis mention what seems to be another opisthodomos, in the Chalkotheke.⁹³ Despite close scrutiny by La Follette, who questions the existence of any opisthodomos here, and Downey, who proposes an opisthodomos at the west end of an arsenal-like building facing north and east, the epigraphical and archaeological evidence is too meager to make a convincing case either for or against a built structure identifiable as an opisthodomos in the Chalkotheke.⁹⁴ A few items of ivory, gold, and silver recorded as being in this opisthodomos are overtly valuable and different in character from the military and ceremonial equipment in the rest of the Chalkotheke, so that a special storage arrangement would be appropriate. If we do not assume that an opisthodomos had only one canonical form, we can accept the possibility, presented by the inventories, of an opisthodomos in the Chalkotheke. An inscription from Delos dated just after 166 B.C. records items in the Temples of Apollo and Artemis, including τῶν ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ χαλκωμάτων, an ambiguous phrase that may indicate an opisthodomos of a chalkotheke, or of the Temple of Apollo.⁹⁵

Most often, "opisthodomos" is the term for the formal element that forms the counterpart to the pronaos or the prodomos, the porch or antechamber in front of the cella; ordinarily it refers to the back porch of a Greek temple, behind the cella.⁹⁶ In accounts of the rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, a 4th-century B.C. inscription pairs πρόδομος and ὀπισθόδομος as areas from which water is to be diverted.⁹⁷ A late-4th-century B.C. contract for adding a colonnade to the Temple of Asklepios on Lesbos includes work on (the extending of foundations to?) both [π]ρόδομον καὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον.⁹⁸ Among ancient authors, Varro (*L.* 5.33.160) explains the organization of a Greek temple as having a prodomos in front of the cella and an opisthodomos behind. Diodorus (14.41.6) notes arms manufacture as ubiquitous in Dionysius' Syracuse, ἐν τοῖς προνάοις καὶ τοῖς ὀπισθοδόμοις τῶν ἱερῶν as well as in gymnasia and stoas of the agora. Such pairing of "prodornos" (or "pronaos") and "opisthodomos" does not mean that their forms were identical, however. If in fact it simply indicates symmetrical location, at either end of the cella, then "opisthodomos" could indicate either a room or a porch. Nonetheless, etymology and parallel usage strongly suggest closely comparable parts of the temple.

More specific information is furnished by another 4th-century building inscription from Delphi, which lists two corner triglyphs of the opisthodomos porch, τὰς προστάσιος τὰς ἐν] τῷ ὀπισσοδόμῳ.⁹⁹ Polybius (12.11.2) links τὰς ὀπισθοδόμους στήλας (a rare adjectival use) with lists of proxeni on temple doorposts (ἐν ταῖς φλιαῖς τῶν νεῶν), also implying an externally visible porch.¹⁰⁰

Ancient literary testimonia, albeit from after the time of temple construction and primary use, support the convention of calling a back porch

91. Harris 1995, p. 37, offers a more complete discussion.

92. In a 4th-century B.C. inscription from Delphi, the proposed restorations of χρῆματ[ων] and . . . ὀπισσο[δόμῳ] seem to reflect an Athenian prototype. See Bourguet 1932, pp. 115–118, no. 24, line 10; Bourguet is appropriately tentative in his comments on the restoration.

93. *IG* II² 1424a; *IG* II² 1438 + 1463 + 1440; also *SEG* XIX 129, line 22.

94. La Follette 1986, pp. 77–79. I believe La Follette's use of the term "opisthodomos" is too prescriptive given the overall paucity of Classical testimonia. See Downey 1997; Tréheux 1955–1956; Stevens 1940; Rhodes 1972, pp. 91–93.

95. *ID* III, no. 1403 Bb, col. I, line 28 (166–156 B.C.).

96. Coulton 1977, p. 191; Dinsmoor 1973, p. 393.

97. Bourguet 1932, no. 25, col. IA, lines 26–28, col. IIIA, line 18.

98. *SEG* XXXVIII 801, line 12 = *IG* XII.2.11, XII Suppl., p. 5. Cf. Kondis 1937, p. 488, pl. 1, line 12.

99. Bourguet 1932, no. 27, col. III, lines 6–8. The dative case leaves some doubt as to where the triglyphs were; Bourguet assumes (p. 141) the triglyphs belonged above the porch of the opisthodomos. Roux (1979, p. 207) proposes a baldachino equipped with triglyphs to shelter an omphalos in the opisthodomos.

100. For an inscription on an anta of a pronaos, see Alexander's dedication inscribed on the Temple of Athena at Priene: Carter 1983, p. 26; Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 156. On a nonperipteral structure, see the Athenian treasury at Delphi: Bommelaer and LaRoche 1991, p. 135; Audiat 1933; Colin 1913.

behind the cella an opisthodomos. Achilles Tatius (3.6.2–3) refers to a painting in an opisthodomos seen by those who had walked around the temple (περιήειμεν τὸν νεῶν), which implies that the opisthodomos was at the back of the building. Dio Chrysostom (11.163.15) reports seeing the chest of Kypselos in the opisthodomos of the Temple of Hera at Olympia, and Pausanias notes that the opisthodomos column is of oak (5.16.1). The opisthodomos of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is well attested by ancient sources. Pausanias identifies the subjects of the six metopes on the front of the temple, and then the six ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου (5.10.9); elsewhere (5.13.1) he makes it clear that the opisthodomos is at the rear of the temple. Passages in Lucian refer to Herodotus reading his *Histories* from the opisthodomos of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (*Herod.* 62.1), to Cynics filling the opisthodomos with noise (*Fug.* 7), and to the same opisthodomos full of vocal, angry people (*Peregr.* 32).

However common, this application is not universal. Four ancient authors use “opisthodomos” to indicate a back room, not a porch, and not always in a temple. Several inscriptions also suggest that a structure other than a temple could have an opisthodomos.¹⁰¹ Appian (*BC* 1.3.20) refers to rumors of murderous strangers brought into Scipio’s house at night via the opisthodomos (δι’ ὀπισθοδόμου), and Themistius (16.191a) mentions an image dedicated near the opisthodomos of the bouleuterion (πρὸς τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου). In each of these instances the opisthodomos is a back chamber of a building, but not the back porch of a temple.

We may conclude from this survey of the use of “opisthodomos” that (1) the Opisthodomos on the Athenian Akropolis was a well-known structure that housed the Athenian state treasury; it was probably the west-facing chamber behind the cella of the great Doric Temple of Athena (later called the Parthenon); (2) 4th-century B.C. inscriptions and later literary sources confirm that “opisthodomos” often refers to a rear counterpart to the pronaos, usually the back porch of a Greek temple; (3) “opisthodomos” is occasionally used for structures that are not temples.

The various functions of an opisthodomos could include storage, public recitation, arms manufacture, and perhaps habitation. No single architectural form can be inferred from available testimonia, only location behind something of greater architectural presence. Unlike “adyton,” the nature of which is defined by human behavior, “opisthodomos” indicates physical location. I would therefore propose broadening our interpretation of “opisthodomos” to apply to any chamber behind the cella in a Greek temple. In most cases, the back porch is indeed the opisthodomos, but in those less common temples with an enclosed room behind the cella, “opisthodomos” could have been an appropriate name for that inner chamber as well.¹⁰²

101. Two late inscriptions mention the term “opisthodomos,” but without sufficient context for useful interpretation. One is an inscription of Roman date from Balbura in Lycia: *SEG* XVII 710; Bean 1956, p. 141, no. 20; I am grateful to J. J. Coulton for bringing this example to my attention. The second is a funerary inscription of A.D. 241 from Palmyra: *SEG* XXXV 1506, line 1.

102. Two modern scholars have referred to an inner room as an opisthodomos. Gardner (1888, p. 36) applied it to the inner room of the Temple of Aphrodite at Naukratis before Koldewey used “adyton” for such chambers. For more recent use, see Burkert 1988, p. 40.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, substantial value was invested in the contents of temples, whether symbolically, in a cult statue and consecrated votives, or materially, in funds kept within the building. Roux has distinguished between temples that accommodated important cult rituals and those whose pri-

mary function was more treasurylike, to protect a sanctuary's assets.¹⁰³ His "temple-sanctuaire" includes oracular temples at Delphi, Didyma, and Klaros, the Erechtheion, and temples at Delos (to Pythian Apollo), Bassai, and Nemea. He interprets the irregular form of these temples or their interiors as a shelter for a revered topographical locus.¹⁰⁴ Roux's "temple-trésor" (also called "temple coffre-fort" or "temple musée") encompasses temples of more regular plan whose main purpose was to shelter a cult statue and associated dedications; temples in this second category differ from treasuries only in scale.¹⁰⁵ The difficulty of distinguishing temple from treasury is exemplified by the North Building at Samos, a 6th-century B.C. Ionic templelike structure second only to Rhoikos's Temple of Hera in size.¹⁰⁶ Along with ten nearby buildings, it faces the altar of Hera, like a temple, yet the grouping of these lesser structures adjacent to a major temple recalls the treasuries of Olympia and Delphi. Similar ambiguity of purpose characterizes "Tempietto 1" south of the Temple of Hera at Paestum and multiple smaller structures within that sanctuary.¹⁰⁷ Because many of them have external altars, they have been considered temples, but they may have served more like treasuries.

Among temples with extant inner rooms, only that at Didyma can be corroborated by texts and inscriptions as an oracular seat. Odd spatial configurations at Bassai and Nemea may suggest unusual religious behavior, but lack supporting evidence. Ancient sources attest to oracles at Dodona, Oropos, and Perachora without specifying where mantic events occurred. Extrapolating from Roux's classification, only a "temple-sanctuaire" could have a true adyton, but a "temple-trésor" might have an inner room partitioned off as secure storage. In most Greek temples the presence of inner rooms is best explained by the need for storing and safeguarding temple treasures. Small nonperipteral temples would have protected the modest contents of small sanctuaries, just as larger temples guarded grander possessions.

Even in the case of a cult statue set up in an inner room as a focal point, as I have proposed for temples at Selinous, I believe the tradition of its placement there must have grown out of an initial practice of keeping temple holdings safe in a small remote chamber. Perhaps cult statues located in cellas were larger and less portable, or else fenced as noted above (p. 204),¹⁰⁸ but in general the statue was a secondary focal point, not the center of religious ritual.

Separated from its traditional association with the adyton, the inner room is no longer by definition the site of religious rites. In an inner room containing precious votives and funds, temple personnel would engage in repeated formulaic acts of arranging, counting, and securing gifts, treasures, and implements of the cult, as is suggested for the Athenian Opisthodomos. Such activities are reflected in inscribed inventories from a few sites.¹⁰⁹ Although the attendants were working with dedicated objects in a religious building, the import of their duties was not comparable to the cultic weight of oracular pronouncement or sacrifice on an external altar. Most often the most important enactment occurred outside the temple, at the altar. The cella housed a cult image and votive gifts, while the inner room kept safe the treasures of the deity, the cult, and sometimes even the polis.

103. Roux 1984a, 1984b.

104. The Temple of Apollo at Klaros may require a more complex interpretation, since its oracular function seems to postdate the construction of the 3rd-century B.C. temple. See de la Genière 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996.

105. Roux 1984a, p. 315; 1984b, pp. 159–162; he includes the Parthenon in this second classification. See also Preißhofen 1984; Zinserling 1984. Dyer (1905, esp. pp. 306–307) recognized the continuum of temple and treasury at an early date.

106. Kyrieleis 1993, pp. 131–133; Østby 1993, pp. 219–220 for bibliography; Furtwängler and Kienast 1989.

107. Neutsch 1956, including fig. 115; the structure is described as "Antentempel . . . Wohl Thesauros." See also van Buren 1953, p. 213; Trendall 1956, p. 54. Pedley (1990, p. 53) refers to it as "a small temple to the southwest [of the basilica], or more likely a Treasury."

108. Aleshire (1992, p. 92) concludes that "stone offerings were more expensive than many dedications of precious metal." Perhaps their permanence and immobility gave them extra value in a setting in which metal votives could be melted down and refabricated—or stolen.

109. On the difficulty of distinguishing between gifts and utensils in sanctuaries, see Tomlinson 1992, pp. 344–345.

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