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# The Oracular Temple of Claros & Reflections of Ancient Greek Religiosity



An Analysis of Changing Architecture to Embody Greek Religious Values in  
the Designing of the Ritual of Oracle Consultation  
at the Temple of Apollo in Claros

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Objective.....	4
II. The Context of Claros.....	4
i. The Historical and Geographical Context of Claros.....	4
- Regional Dynamics between Notion, Colophon and Claros.....	4
- Importance of Geographical Location in the Development of Claros.....	6
III. Excavations at the Temple of Apollo in Claros.....	9
i. The Archaic Temple of Apollo and the Remnants of the Places of Worship.....	9
ii. The First Phase of the Hellenistic Temple and the Remnants of Worship.....	9
iii. The Second Phase of the Hellenistic and Roman Temple of Apollo and the Remnants of Worship.....	11
IV. Religious Worship and Reflections on Changing Greek Religious Values at the Sanctuary of Claros.....	16
i. The Archaic Rituals of Worship at Claros.....	16
ii. The Religious Festivals and the Trans-Regional Influence of Claros.....	19
- The Remnants of Hecatomb and the Ceramics of Sacrificial Feasts.....	19
- Choes and the Celebration of the Festival of Anthestheria.....	20
- Memorial Inscriptions and the Extent of the Trans-Regional Influence of the Oracle.....	21
iii. Changes in the Second Phase Architecture and Their Symbolism.....	22
- The Naos.....	22
- The Adyton.....	23
iv. The Ritual of Oracle Consultation at Claros in Ancient Text Sources.....	25
v. Prophecies Attributed to the Oracle of Claros.....	26
V. Reconstructing the Oracle Consultation Ritual of the Hellenistic and Roman Temple of Apollo and Justification for Choices.....	27
i. The Second Phase of the Hellenistic and Roman Temple of Apollo in Claros.....	28
- Building the Crepidoma.....	29

- Erecting the Doric Columns.....	31
- Entering the Adyton and Potential Solutions for the Incomplete Information of the Pronaos.....	33
- The Construction of the Adyton.....	35
- Raising the Arches and Considering the Arch Markings.....	36
- Completing the Details of the Temple.....	38
VI. The Virtual Reconstruction of the Second Phase of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo.....	42
VII. Conclusion: The Use of Space to Reflect Greek Religious Values in Temple of Apollo in Claros.....	53
VIII. Bibliography.....	55

## I. OBJECTIVE

The architectural phases in the Temple of Apollo in Claros illustrate a transformation in the design of the ritual of oracle consultation at the site. By looking at the remnants of the Archaic temple and the transition into the remains of the Hellenistic and Roman temple, the structural changes indicate a deliberate renovation to create a new experience for the consultants who were participating in the ritual of an oracle consultation. As the values in ancient Greek religion developed, the predominantly Archaic idea that was centered around the common interest of the polis, changed into a religious culture that became increasingly individualistic and experiential. The shifting values in ancient Greek religious thought changed the places of worship and the rituals in their traditions. This study will look at how the material evidence and architecture of the second phase of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo in Claros reflect the changing Greek religious values and how they influenced the ritual of oracle consultation. Through an in-depth architectural analysis of the excavations, I will attempt to digitally reconstruct this phase of the temple as it was during its peak use in the Hellenistic and Roman times to recreate the ritual of oracle consultation.

## II. THE CONTEXT OF CLAROS

### i. THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF CLAROS

#### **Regional Dynamics between Notion, Colophon and Claros**

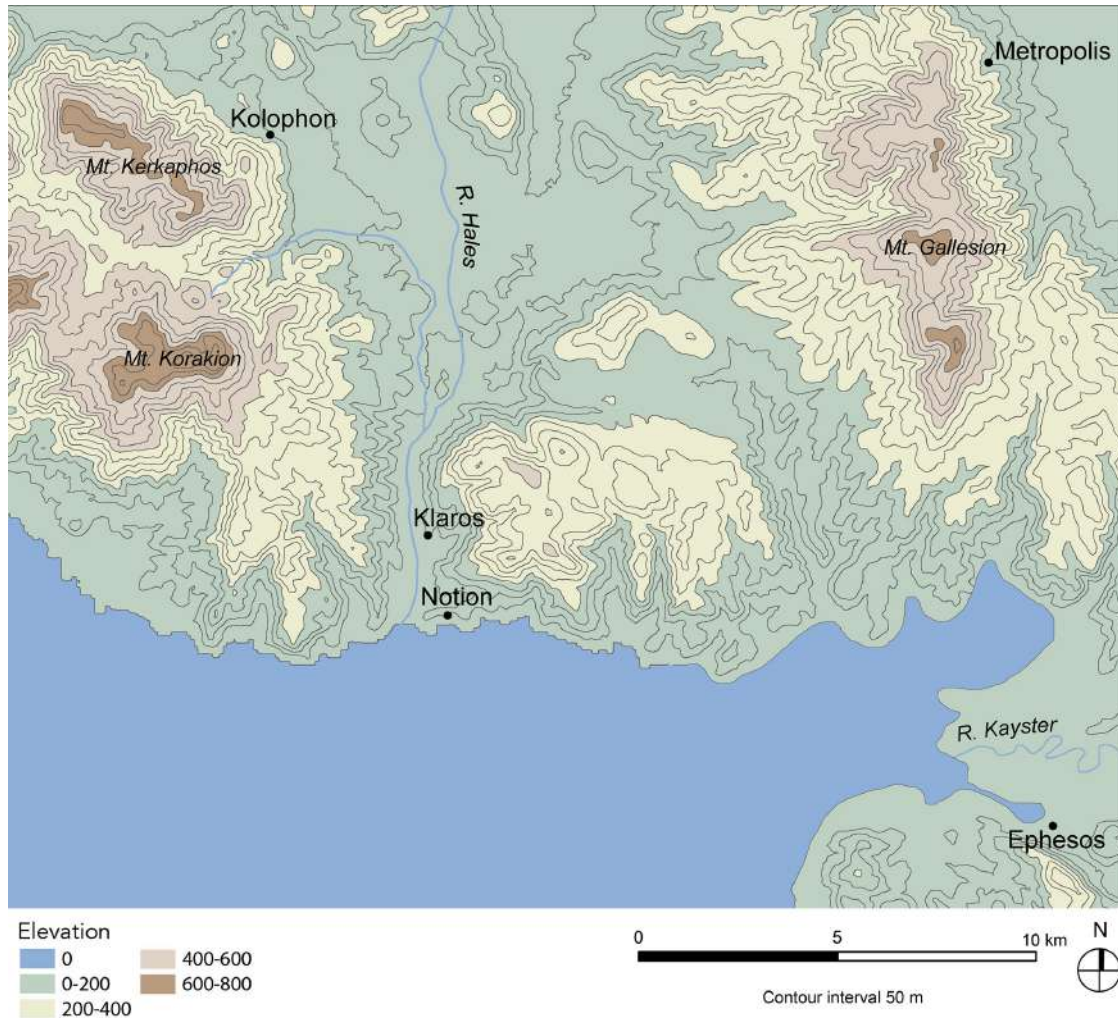
The site of the Temple of Apollo in Claros was situated in the trough of a river valley, east of the Hales River in land that was rich in alluvial soil.<sup>1</sup> The construction of the temple near to the river, provided access to a spring whose waters were believed to have special properties. This natural water in the landscape was channeled into a well that was the essential part in the inspiration of the oracle and the central, most sacred place in the ritual of consultation in the temple. The oracular sanctuary in Claros was situated close two ancient towns: the inland town of Colophon, located 12 kilometers up the river valley and the coastal town of Notion, located 2 kilometers away near the mouth of the Hales River (fig.1).<sup>2</sup> While the archaeological evidence shows that the Temple of Claros dates back to the Archaic period, its existence into the Hellenistic and Roman periods shows that the close proximity to these two towns was influential in the subsequent development of the oracle temple in Claros. The sites of Colophon, Notion, and Claros were all

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<sup>1</sup> Parke, H. W. (1985) p. 112

<sup>2</sup> Parke, H. W. (1985) p. 112

located within the river valley. Their close geographical proximity became an interrelation that extended politically and culturally.



(fig. 1) Contour map of the region around Klaros (Map: Notion Archaeology Survey)<sup>3</sup>

Ancient literary sources agree that Notion was a city of the Colophonians<sup>4</sup> and was the port city of Colophon,<sup>5</sup> providing the interconnected sites a crucial access to the sea. The two cities were politically unified but the geographical distance made them vulnerable to conflicts in the

<sup>3</sup> C. Ratté, F. Rojas, A. Commito. Contouring map from the Notion Archaeology Survey, 2014-2015, showing the location of Klaros within the ancient river valley (2017) p. 627

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. 3.34, Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, Thomas Hobbes, Ed. (1843)

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. Pol. 5.1303b, Aristotle, Politics, Harvard University Press (1944)

region.<sup>6</sup> Colophon was a powerful town in the surrounding territory with a famous calvary that was often in conflict with neighboring towns.<sup>7</sup> In 310 BC, the Colophonians initiated a construction project to renovate the temple<sup>8</sup> but when Colophon was conquered by Lysimachus in 295 BC and the Colophonian inhabitants were deported to Ephesus, the construction plan to expand the Temple of Apollo in Claros was postponed.<sup>9</sup> In the beginning of the 2nd century BC, Colophon became a free city again (now known as Old Colophon), but lost its prestige and was replaced in importance by Notion, taking on the new name of New Colophon, or Colophon-by-the-sea.<sup>10</sup> With stability back in the region, the construction of the oracular Temple of Apollo in Claros resumed once again, as they continued to modify and expand the original Archaic temple into its second phase as a Hellenistic temple<sup>11</sup> that continued construction into the Roman period under the direction of Emperor Hadrian. Within these phases of reconstruction, there is a clear shift in plan for the construction of the temple that shows deliberate changes in architecture to accommodate changing rituals that took place at the temple in Claros.

### **Importance of Geographical Location in the Development of Claros**

The development of the Temple of Apollo in Claros into an influential trans-regional oracle temple<sup>12</sup> was reliant on its geographical location. Its positioning in the Hales River Valley provided a source of water from a stream, that was used as the central source of sacred power in the construction of the oracle well. The oracle well was the single most crucial structure in the temple and the endpoint in the ritual of consultation and was the place where the oracle was believed to connect and channel the will of the gods. The architectural layout of the temple is centralized around this well in the adyton and remains one of the few original remnants from the Archaic construction temple, signifying its long-lasting importance.

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<sup>6</sup> C. Ratté, F. Rojas, A. Commito. Contouring map from the Notion Archaeology Survey, 2014-2015, showing the location of Claros within the ancient river valley (2017) p. 618

<sup>7</sup> Parke, H. W. (1985) p. 120, ancient textual history of the relations between the Ionian towns

<sup>8</sup> On the original Colophonian reconstruction plan in 310 BC, Moretti (2010) p. 3

<sup>9</sup> Gauthier (2011), p. 617-618, on the history of Claros in the early 2nd century

<sup>10</sup> C. Ratté, A. Commito and P. Knoop from the Notion Archaeology Survey (2016) p. 291

<sup>11</sup> Gauthier (2011), p. 617-618

<sup>12</sup> Map indicating the prestige of the oracular temple of Claros as a temple of trans-regional importance, Brill's New Pauly "Oracles" (2007) p. 186

The close proximity of Claros to the ancient cities of Notion and Colophon in the river valley, created overlapping interactions that kept them connected through political conflicts and shifts in power. The port city of Notion gave the river valley direct access to trade from the Mediterranean through the Hales River that was important for both Colophon<sup>13</sup> and Claros. The renovation of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo in Claros was dependent upon access to the sea, in order to transport the marble building materials from the quarries on Proconnesos Island in the Sea of Marmara.<sup>14</sup> The political and religious authority at the sanctuary of Claros was controlled by Old and New Colophon,<sup>15</sup> whose officials held office in Colophon and were Colophonians, since there were no Clarians.<sup>16</sup> Even as Colophon controlled the Temple of Apollo, the city honored its significance through their coins, which commonly depicted Apollo, seated, holding a laurel branch and a lyre - determined to be associated with the oracle temple at Claros.<sup>17</sup> Through their geographical placement along the same Hales River Valley, the intertwining roles between the two cities and the sanctuary of Claros were mutually beneficial to sustain their culture and customs.

The development of the sanctuary of Claros was dependent on its geographical landscape and the natural resources that it provided. Its location within a river valley was more than a coincidence; it provided access to a stream that was essential to construct the sacred well that was built on top of it. The water of this well was the heart of oracle activity, as it was believed to embody the divine spirits and connect the oracle to the gods. It was the central most important part of both the Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman Temples of Apollo - and access to a water source was fundamental in its initial creation. In addition to water access for the well, the Hales River Valley also linked Claros to the nearby cities of Colophon and Notion which proved to be crucial in becoming an oracle temple of trans-regional importance. In their overlapping history, the city of Colophon played the role of managing and reconstructing the sanctuary site of Claros, later supported by the rising power of Notion, a city which also provided the river valley access to the Mediterranean. The sanctuary of Claros attracted pilgrims who made the journey to visit, often stopping through Notion, with ceramics offerings that came from all over the region. The

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<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, Harvard University Press (1944)

<sup>14</sup> Excavations of the Kizilburun shipwreck carrying building materials to the Temple of Apollo in Claros, Carlson (2014) p. 53

<sup>15</sup> Both the New Colophon and the Old Colophon, "Claros, Ionia, Turkey." *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, by Richard Stillwell et al., Princeton University Press, 1976.

<sup>16</sup> "Claros, Ionia, Turkey." *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, by Richard Stillwell et al., Princeton University Press, 1976.

<sup>17</sup> On the coins found in Colophon, J.G. Milne (1941) p. 15



inscriptions on the memorial delegation monuments in Claros reinforce the trans-regional influence that the Temple of Apollo reached. Festival-specific ceramics and archaeological remains from the site reveal some of the festivals and rituals that took place in the sanctuary, giving a better understanding how visitors and pilgrims to the sanctuary of Claros worshipped and celebrated their beliefs. The evolving architecture of the Temple of Apollo in Claros, reflects the worshipping that took place around the sanctuary site. The Temple of Apollo and the nearby Altar of Apollo shows evidence of active use throughout three distinct phases of Greco-Roman society: Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman. The changing architecture of the temple and the specific types of ritual offerings found at the site, can be attributed to distinct eras of society and reflect the Greek religious values of the time that they were practiced.



*(fig. 2) The Temple of Apollo in Claros (Photo: Moretti, © N. Sahin<sup>18</sup>)*

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<sup>18</sup> Aerial photo from recent excavations at the site, Moretti (2010) p. 9



### III. EXCAVATIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN CLAROS

#### i. THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF APOLLO AND THE REMNANTS OF WORSHIP

Evidence of oracle activity at the Temple of Apollo in Claros goes back to the Archaic period, as far back as the middle of the 6th century BC. During Moretti's excavations of the Temple of Apollo, the remnants of the wall of the Archaic courtyard wall and sacred water well were uncovered.<sup>19</sup> Within these remains, it suggests that the later phases of the temple changed orientation in their reconstruction, but still maintained the use of the original water well from the Archaic phase. Little evidence exists of the Archaic temple, but the later constructions can provide a basis for hypotheses of the space that was filled in.

#### ii. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE HELLENISTIC TEMPLE OF APOLLO AND THE REMNANTS OF WORSHIP

In 310 BC, the Colophonians initiated a construction project to renovate the temple - with plans to create a Doric temple with a 5-stepped-platform, a double colonnade in front, and a colonnade of six by eleven rows around the temple.<sup>20</sup> This original plan for this temple consisted of a pronaos - containing the space for four columns would opened up into a naos<sup>21</sup> that contained the well and was situated 2.55 meters below the stylobate of the temple (fig.3).<sup>22</sup> In the case of the nearby oracle Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the remains of the earliest Archaic sanctuary indicate that it consisted of an altar and a spring well.<sup>23</sup> The central places of worship at Didyma were initially enclosed with a wooden, then stone wall in the spacious center of the naos - and during the Hellenistic phase it was later constructed into a naiskos, that enclosed the sacred space.<sup>24</sup> Inside the naos of the Temple of Apollo in Claros was the well and probably a small base for the cult

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<sup>19</sup> Temple orientation, vestiges of previous wall, and the well from the Archaic temple construction, Moretti (2014) p. 34.

<sup>20</sup> On the original Colophonian reconstruction plan in 310 BC, Moretti (2010) p. 3

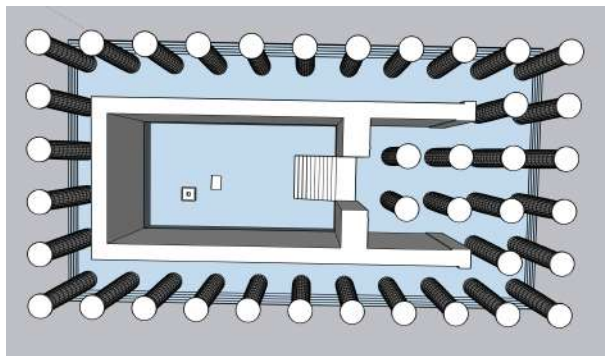
<sup>21</sup> Moretti (2014), p. 34

<sup>22</sup> Moretti (2010) p. 3

<sup>23</sup> Evidence of Didyma's use in cult ritual are recorded by Pausanias dating back to before the Ionian settlement in 11th century BC, with its first archaic inscriptions from the 6th century BC, Fontenrose (1988) p. 14

<sup>24</sup> On the enclosures around the well of the Archaic Temple of Didyma, Fontenrose (1988) p. 14

statue<sup>25</sup> - as in the Temple of Apollo in Didyma - with the statue base suggested by Moretti to have been moved into the adyton of the subsequent temple.<sup>26</sup> Evidence in the naos at Claros does not indicate the trace of any enclosure surrounding the well. The height from the top of the crepidoma down to the base level of the Archaic well - the initial space of the naos - measures at a depth of 2.55 meters. The first phase of the Hellenistic plan possibly included a staircase - estimated in my hypothetical reconstruction at a width of 4.35 meters across and extending out 4.3 meters down into the naos (fig.4). The eleven-step staircase would lead visitors down from the pronaos and into the naos where the sacred well was - and into the central place of ritual worship.



*(fig.3) Overview of my hypothetical reconstruction of the plan for the first phase of the Hellenistic Temple  
(Image: D.M. Dams)*



*(fig.4) View from the pronaos of the temple looking down at the well and at the base of a statue  
(Image: D.M. Dams)*

In this phase of the temple's construction, the oracle consulting took place in the naos in which Moretti suggests that it was possible that consultants did not have access to<sup>27</sup> - and was perhaps only a place that select people were allowed to enter.<sup>28</sup> As seen in the case of Didyma - with its deliberate enclosures that designate the spaces as sacred - the Temple of Claros could have reserved the entire naos as a sacred space separated from the public access. In this hypothetical plan, the oracle consultants would wait at the top of the stairs in the pronaos, as the cult personnel descended down the stairs into the naos to consult Apollo through the ritual of the oracle. In this way, the mystique of the divine powers attributed to the sacred well were reinforced by the

<sup>25</sup> Moretti suggests that a lot of the original plan for the construction of the 310 BC temple was inspired by the nearby Temple of Didyma, Moretti (2010) p. 4

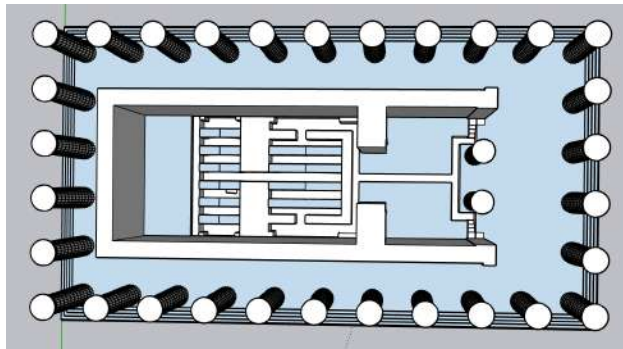
<sup>26</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 44-45

<sup>27</sup> Moretti (2010) p. 4

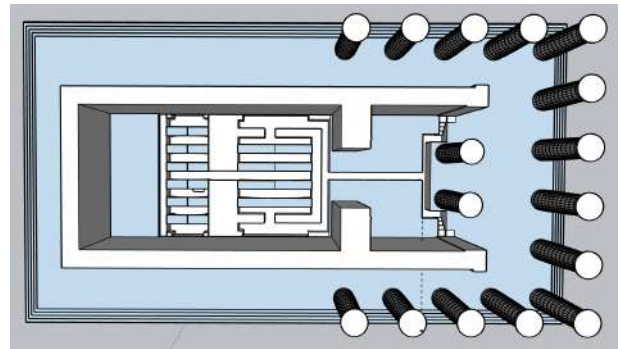
<sup>28</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 36

distinction of the space as sacred and to create a ritual invoking a sense legitimacy in the prophecies that were attributed in the temple.

However, the original plan of this first phase of the Hellenistic temple reconstruction was left uncompleted. When the city of Colophon was conquered by Lysimachus in 295 BC, the Colophonians were deported to Ephesus and the stylobate of the temple was left uncompleted,<sup>29</sup> with many columns not yet erected. By the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the city became free and the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo continued once again - but the original reconstruction plan of the Hellenistic temple was abandoned and a new plan for the temple was designed with some major modifications to its structure.<sup>30</sup>



*(fig.5) Reconstruction of the plan for the second phase of the Hellenistic Temple looking through the naos into the adyton below (Image: D.M. Dams)*



*(fig.6) Reconstruction of the incomplete temple that was never finished in its entirety (Image: D.M. Dams)*

### iii. THE SECOND PHASE OF THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TEMPLE OF APOLLO AND THE REMNANTS OF WORSHIP

The Temple of Apollo in Claros began its second phase of reconstruction at the end of the Hellenistic period and continued construction into the Roman times during the reign of Hadrian. The temple was never finished in its entirety (fig.6). The remnants found at the archaeological site today (fig.2) consist of the second Hellenistic temple plan that was in the process of being built and was actively used for cult ritual. By piecing together the remains of the architectural structure of the temple, it can be better understood how the ritual of consultation to the oracle of Claros functioned.

<sup>29</sup> <sup>29</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 36; On the history of Claros in the early 2nd century, Gauthier 2011, p.617-618;

<sup>30</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 36; Gauthier 2011, p. 617-618

The plan of second phase of the temple implemented some drastic renovations that turned the original naos into two-levels, with the bottom containing an elaborate adyton that housed the well. The reconstruction planned for the building of a peripteral temple, surrounded by a six-by-eleven Doric colonnade that was raised on a five-stepped platform (fig.5). It is unique that the Temple of Apollo in Claros was erected with a peristyle in Doric order, in a region of Asia Minor that typically had Ionic temples<sup>31</sup> and associated with the city of Colophon, which was part of the Ionian League. In the remains at the site, there is a single row of columns in the column façade with a row of space behind it.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that this space was intended to be erected into a double Doric colonnade in the second plan, but it could also indicate a change in plan that was altered in favor of maintaining a row of space behind the column façade<sup>33</sup> since this is the extent of the construction that is found in the remains at the site. The naos is based on a foundation that is 2.55 meters<sup>34</sup> beneath the stylobate and is located above the space of the adyton and was paved with black marble.<sup>35</sup>



(fig.7) *Remains of the triad statue once in the naos.*  
(Photo: D.M. Dams)



(fig.8) *Detail of the astragal in the crepidoma.*  
(© Archaeological Mission by Claros, D. Laroche)<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Gros (1993) p. 59

<sup>32</sup> On the transformation of the initial project at the end of the Hellenistic Era, Moretti (2010), p. 5

<sup>33</sup> On the transformation of the initial project at the end of the Hellenistic Era, Moretti (2010), p. 5

<sup>34</sup> On the recent excavations of the Temple of Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>35</sup> Black marble pavement of the naos, Moretti (2010) p. 5

<sup>36</sup> Detail of astragal in the crepidoma, Moretti (2010) p. 4

The entire back width of the naos wall (approximately 10.45 meters) was used as a base (remnants suggest a height of roughly 0.5 meters) for an enormous group statue depicting a triad of gods: Apollo, Artemis and Leto (fig.7) - towering at 7-8 meters high.<sup>37</sup> Apollo is seated at the center, holding a zither in his left hand - between his mother Leto and his twin sister Artemis standing alongside him.<sup>38</sup> The sculpture dates back to the first half of the 2nd century,<sup>39</sup> when the Temple of Apollo in Claros was undergoing its second phase of reconstructions.

Details adorning the crepidoma within the ruins of the Hellenistic temple indicate that it was a sacred place in itself that was believed to be the place where the gods dwelled. On the outer façade of the five-level crepidoma of the Hellenistic temple, the joints at the base of the blocks were adorned with bronze astragals (fig.8).<sup>40</sup> The use of astragals in Greek architectural decor generally symbolized oracular activity, but it may also indicate that astragalomania<sup>41</sup> was practiced in the temple.<sup>42</sup> The detailing of the crepidoma with bronze astragals was an intentional addition in the construction to signify that the space is the site of an oracle. These bronze astragals presumably reflected the sunlight and were seen glistening from a distance, creating a visual indication of the sacred rituals happening within the space of temple - as if to guide and attract the visitors on pilgrimage towards the temple for their oracle ritual.

Upon ascending the astragal-adorned crepidoma, the façade of the columnar entrance leads to the pronaos of the temple. Through the pronaos, the second phase of the Hellenistic temple leads into either the naos or the adyton, which was accessible by two staircases leading under the pronaos to a series of corridors (fig.9). In the ruins of the pronaos it is clear that there were two Doric columns in antis and within the remains of the six drums and two capitals, there was an inscription that bore a dedication to Apollo of Claros, dating to the beginning of the 2nd century BC,<sup>43</sup> when the second phase of the Hellenistic temple was underway. On opposite sides

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<sup>37</sup> On the dimensions of the triad statue (2010) p. 5

<sup>38</sup> Description of the triad statue located at the back of the naos, Moretti (2010) p. 5

<sup>39</sup> Date of the triad statue in the naos, Moretti (2010) p. 5

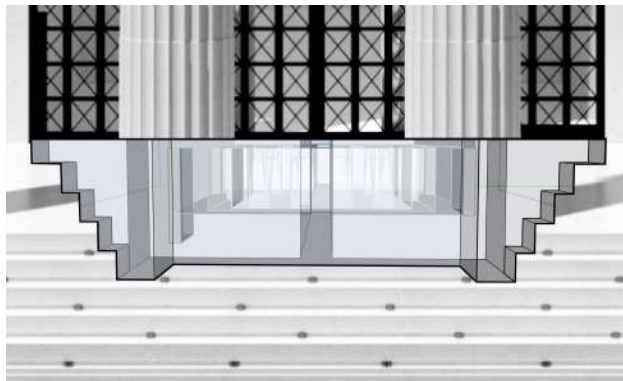
<sup>40</sup> On the astragals, Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>41</sup> Astragals were animal knuckle bones (usually sheep, goat, and pig) that were commonly used for gambling games. It is suggested that each one was assigned a point value and with a handful of knuckle bones, they were sometime thrown in front of the statues of the deities to interpret the values and predict the future, De Grossi Mazzorin (2013) p. 372

<sup>42</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>43</sup> On the remains of the pronaos and the dedication to Apollo of Claros, Moretti (2010) p. 5

of the pronaos there were four steps leading down into the adyton remain clearly preserved, it is uncertain which direction the top two missing steps were placed.<sup>44</sup> This uncertainty makes it unclear where the entrance access to the adyton was located and how the pronaos was intended to be structured - a consideration whose possibilities will be explored in more depth in the next section of this paper.



(fig.9) See-through view of the stairs and corridors of the adyton underneath the naos (Photo: D.M. Dams)



(fig.10) The arches over the oracle chamber (Photo: D.M. Dams)<sup>45</sup>

The adyton beneath the naos, consists of a series of turning corridors, two arched chamber rooms and a well - where the oracle ritual and consultations took place (fig.10). To this day, the adyton remains in very good condition. The two six-stepped staircases that lead down into the adyton are positioned on opposite sides of the temple and are conjoined by a single narrow corridor (fig.9). At the center of this connecting corridor, there is a turn that leads to another single corridor, taking consultants down another very narrow passageway that averages at a width of 0.69 meters.<sup>46</sup> The constraints of this narrow space does not allow for more than one person to move through the corridor at a time. This central passageway leads to a dead end that separates into a singular perpendicular corridor with the option to turn left or right. Regardless of the direction that you turn, there are two more sharp turns that lead the consultant deeper into the adyton and into the first vaulted chamber that functioned as the waiting area for the consultants. The first chamber is the consulting chamber and is accessible through two entrances, mirroring one another on opposite sites of the room in the north and south wall. Only the northern entrance has the evidence of a

<sup>44</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 38

<sup>45</sup> Detail of astragal in the crepidoma, Moretti (2010) p. 4

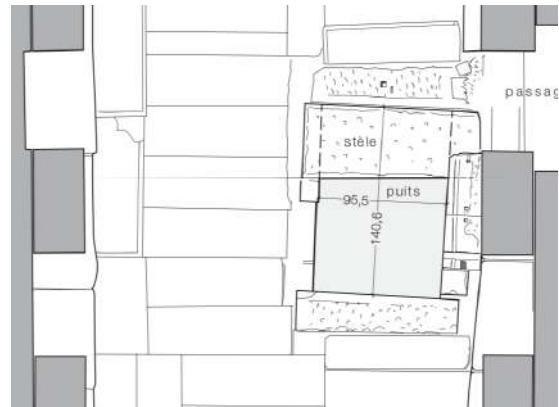
<sup>46</sup> Adyton corridor measurements, Moretti (2014) p. 36



door panel, because of the presence of holes that once would have held door pivots in place.<sup>47</sup> Above the chamber are four arches that span over the space from east-west, that provided a cave-like shape to the room, as well as supported the marble slabs that made the upper floor of the naos.<sup>48</sup> Inside the consulting chamber room, the remains of several marble seats, an omphalos and a stone base were uncovered during the excavation. All the seats were facing the direction of the narrow vaulted passage in the consulting chamber, that connected it to the oracle chamber where the ritual activity was taking place. At the center of the first chamber, a vaulted corridor connects to a second back chamber that was reserved exclusively for the oracle. In the passageway between the consulting chamber and the oracle chamber, there is a small block (33.3 cm E-W x 21 cm N-S x 32 cm h) (fig.11)<sup>49</sup> protruding from the wall. It is a seat for the prophet, who was the interpreter of the oracles and would write down the prophecies given in the oracle chamber he was guarding.<sup>50</sup> The cult personnel that worked in the oracle temple, were



(fig.11) The block seat for the prophet who interpreted the prophecies from the oracle chamber (Photo: Moretti<sup>51</sup>)



(fig.12) The dimensions of the Archaic well (Photo: Moretti/N. Bresch)<sup>52</sup>

distinguished by a hierarchy, each with their own role and place in the operations of the oracular activity. The other end of the passageway led into the oracle chamber, closed off to consultants,

<sup>47</sup> Door pivot holes, Moretti (2014) p. 39

<sup>48</sup> Both the arch technique and the vault technique were used during this time period to cover a space and pave the top of it. This temple used the arch technique. Moretti (2014) p. 39

<sup>49</sup> Measurements of the small seat for the prophet Moretti (2014) p. 42

<sup>50</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 42

<sup>51</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 42

<sup>52</sup> Dimensions of the well, Moretti (2014) p. 35

where the oracle would perform rituals and give prophecies. The prophet waited nearby to write down the inspired prophecies as the consultants awaited their fate in a separate chamber. Along the eastern wall of the chamber, slightly south, there is a 95.5 cm x 140.6 cm well (fig.12).<sup>53</sup> The well was an original part of the Archaic temple that was altered in the subsequent Hellenistic reconstruction by adding a stele<sup>54</sup> to cover the part of the well that was located in the front of the opening corridor that connected the two chambers.

The changes in the second phase of the Hellenistic temple indicate a deliberate rethinking of oracle consultation and ultimately ritual worship at the temple. The double colonnade façade is replaced in favor of maintaining a single row of space. The entrance of the pronaos was no longer a space of columns, as seen at the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo in Didyma, but rather two smaller Doric columns with a single entrance into the naos and two side entrances leading down into the adyton. The function of the naos itself was altered into a two-level construction - containing a vast open space on the upper-level with the addition of the enormous statue of the triad of gods towering over the space from the back. The construction of the adyton and the corridors that led the consultants down into the chambers for oracle consultation created a vastly different space and experience for visitors, than the original plan of a naos containing the sacred oracle well. The change in space creates a different type of ritual for consultants of the oracle both in the architectural movement through it, but also the psychological experience of it. By examining the remnants of religious worship throughout the temple area, perhaps these changes in the architecture of the temple indicate a predictable transition of ritual that aligns with the changing religious values of their time of use.

#### IV. RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AND REFLECTIONS ON CHANGING GREEK RELIGIOUS VALUES AT THE SANCTUARY OF CLAROS

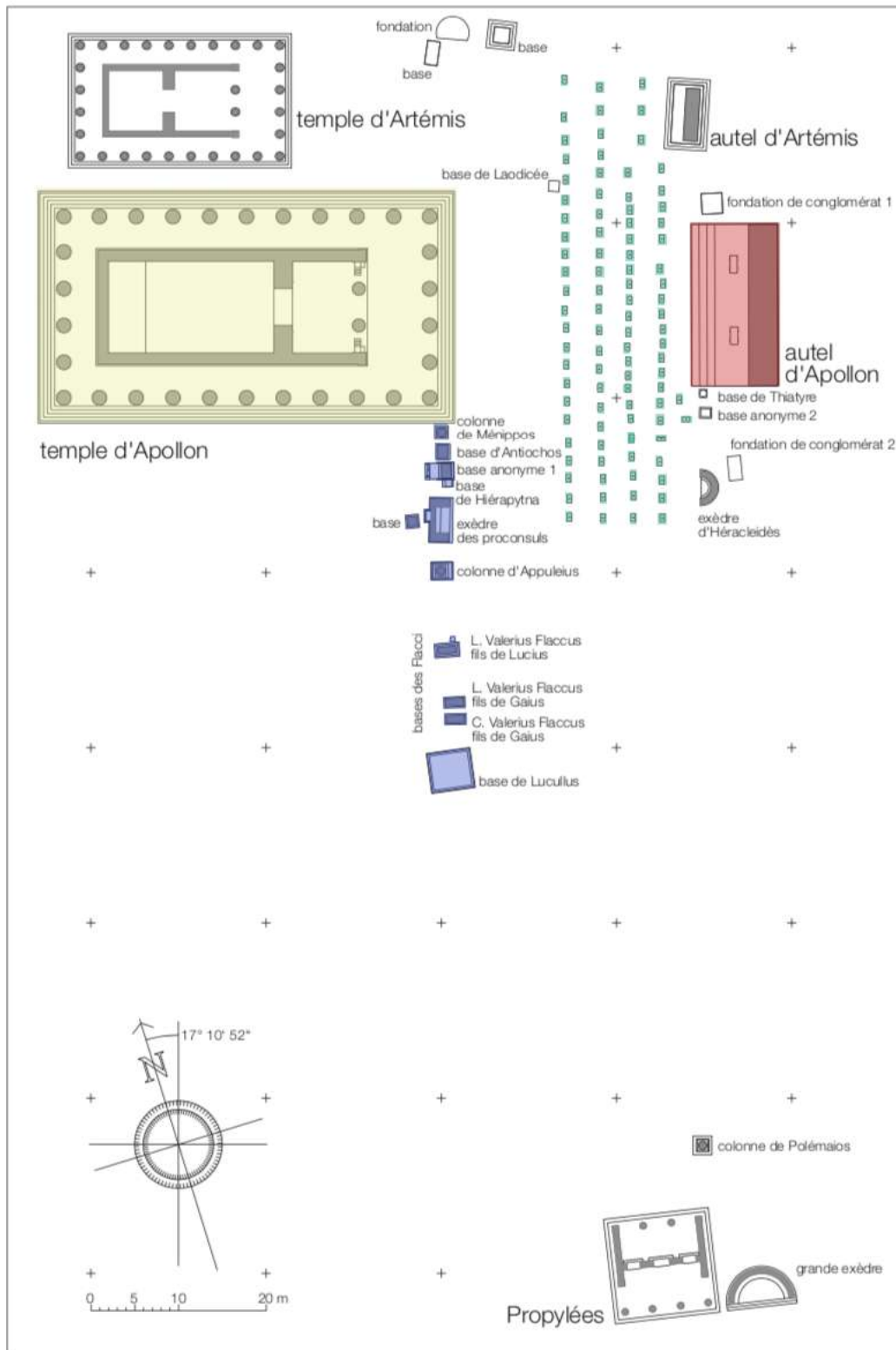
##### i. THE ARCHAIC RITUALS OF WORSHIP AT CLAROS

The excavations around the sanctuary of Claros uncovered significant evidence of cult activity, dating back to the 10th century BC, giving insight into early forms of worship practiced around the sanctuary. In the area between the Altar (fig.13, red) and the Temple of Apollo (fig.13, yellow), the excavations uncovered a variety of fragments of Protogeometric pottery vessels and the ashes of

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<sup>53</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 35

<sup>54</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 35-36



(fig. 13) Basic map of the Sanctuary of Claros, Map: Moretti<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Color was added by D.M Dams to emphasis the parts of the sanctuary that are being discussed in the research, Moretti (2014) p. 32

burnt animal bones,<sup>56</sup> confirming that the original altar was receiving offerings since pre-Archaic times.<sup>57</sup> The original altar was circular in shape with ceramic offerings found inside the altar, that were surrounded by accumulations of dense ashes and burnt animal bones, indicating that the altar was a place for sacrificial offerings.<sup>58</sup> The pottery was found in fragments which may indicate the completion of the ritual or show intentional damage that was done in order to keep others from taking them.<sup>59</sup> It is also possible that they were damaged in the later construction of the new altar.<sup>60</sup>

The oracle well dates back to the Archaic period as well as the vestiges of a posterior wall of a sekos that surrounded it.<sup>61</sup> The original opening of the oracle well was left open at the dimensions of 1.4 meters by 0.95 meters (fig.12) before it was partially covered with a stele in the subsequent Hellenistic temple.<sup>62</sup> The variety of Protogeometric pottery vessels found, suggests that Claros was a distinguished sanctuary that attracted visitors from all throughout the region<sup>63</sup> - even since pre-Archaic times. The limited evidence dating back to pre-Archaic and Archaic times, leave many details in the rituals of worship uncertain - however it is clear through the types of offerings found, that pilgrims came to offer vessels and sacrifices in rituals of worship and to consult the oracle at the well. The remains of the parts of the wall near the well, indicate a separation of space surrounding the well - likely intended to designate the space as sacred. This is the starting point of the analysis of the changing spaces in relation to Greek religious worship practiced around the Temple of Apollo in Claros.

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<sup>56</sup> As referenced by Zunal (2014) p. 113, who referenced the excavations by Jolivet Robert (2011)

<sup>57</sup> For more on the Protogeometric Ceramic offerings at the Altar of Apollo see: Zunal (2014) p. 113

<sup>58</sup> Zunal (2014) p. 113

<sup>59</sup> Zunal (2014) p. 113

<sup>60</sup> On the possible explanations for the fragmented pottery, Zunal (2014) p. 113

<sup>61</sup> Temple orientation, vestiges of previous wall, and the well from the Archaic temple construction, Moretti (2014) p. 34.

<sup>62</sup> On the dimensions of the Archaic well, Moretti (2014) p. 35

<sup>63</sup> Zunal (2014) p. 113

## ii. THE RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS, THE PILGRIMS AND THE TRANS-REGIONAL INFLUENCE OF CLAROS

Across the Greco-Roman world, oracle sanctuaries were disbursed generously throughout the region<sup>64</sup> - yet only a few rose to trans-regional importance. This recognition attracted pilgrims and visitors from all around the Mediterranean who left votive offerings, consulted the oracles and participated in festivals - benefitting the town economically and increasing the temple's regional prestige. The evidence of the religious festivals that were celebrated at Claros and the recorded visits to the sanctuary indicate its level of popularity as a place that attracted pilgrims. This level of trans-regional influence throughout the area may have inspired, in part, the architectural changes that were made in the second phase of the Hellenistic reconstruction and its effect on the ritual of oracle consultation.

### **The Remnants of Hecatomb and the Ceramics of Sacrificial Feasts**

Along the Sacred Road, there are rows of embedded blocks with attachments for rings (fig.13, green). The blocks were set-up in the 2nd century BC<sup>65</sup> and are the evidence of hecatombs that happened at this location.<sup>66</sup> The tradition of hecatomb involved the sacrifice of a hundred oxen, who were led down the Sacred Road and attached to the rings of the blocks. After praying and performing a ritual at the altar, the animals were sacrificed, burnt on the stake, and poured with libations. This was followed by a sacrificial feast in which visitors would dine on the sacrificial meat, drink the libations and appease the god with song.<sup>67</sup>

The number of blocks on the road in Claros does not reach the traditional one hundred, but their great state of conservation confirms that they were used for hecatombs in front of the altars of Apollo and Artemis at Claros.<sup>68</sup> An assortment of black glazed pottery was uncovered around the temple and altar areas, consisting primarily of tableware vessels that could have been used for serving and consuming food and drink during the hecatomb feasts.<sup>69</sup> The nature of this high-

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<sup>64</sup> At least seventeen-known oracle temples are disbursed around Asia Minor, Brill's New Pauly "Oracle" Cancik (2007) p. 187

<sup>65</sup> Dating of the hecatomb blocks, La Genière (1998) p. 388, 390

<sup>66</sup> La Genière (1998) p. 247-249

<sup>67</sup> This is a generalized description of the ritual of hecatomb as written by Homer in the Iliad, (Hom. II. 1.430-470)

<sup>68</sup> For more detail on hecatomb stones and their positioning in front of the altars, La Genière (1998) p. 247-249

<sup>69</sup> Black glazed tableware ceramics, Gunata (2014)

quality, imported black glazed pottery and its location in a religious setting, seem to indicate a level of importance in its use.<sup>70</sup> The quality of the votive offerings show that the oracle ritual consultations became more official events that hosted big delegations from cities all over the region - whereas in earlier times they were more from individuals.<sup>71</sup> The hecatombs correspond to a later date in the sanctuary activity, in accordance with massive delegations, that came to the sanctuary to take part in big events<sup>72</sup> and demonstrate a ritual of religious worship that required a large-scale communal gathering and ritual feasting.

### **Choes and the Celebration of the Festival of Anthestheria**

Along the Sacred Road, (fig.13, blue), clusters of festival wine jugs were uncovered, called *choes*, which were vessels that were used exclusively for the celebration of the Festival of Anthestheria.<sup>73</sup> This was a three-day spring festival in which the entire society, slaves and children alike, celebrated in honor of Dionysus.<sup>74</sup> The first day was called Pithoigia, when the new wines were opened and mixed with water, which was the opening ceremony to the festival.<sup>75</sup> The second day was called Choes, which was a day of drinking and festivity, where each participant had their own choes wine vessel adorned with a wreath around the neck.<sup>76</sup> The third and last day was called Chytroi, which was the day of the dead and was celebrated by a meal of grains in which the souls of the dead rose and completed the festival, ending the feast.<sup>77</sup> The remains of 1,200 miniature choes were excavated along the Sacred Road, that were used in the Festival of Anthestheria.<sup>78</sup> Evidence of this festival also testifies to the presence of Dionysos alongside Apollo in the religious map of Claros, that is seen in the same combination at Delphi. The two gods alternate at the head of the sanctuary following the pattern of the seasons, with Dionysus reigning during Apollo's absence in

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<sup>70</sup> Gunata (2014) p. 126-127

<sup>71</sup> La Genière (1998)

<sup>72</sup> Such as the quadrennial games known as the Claria, La Genière (1998) p. 247

<sup>73</sup> On the celebration of the Festival of Anthestheria and the choes, Pişkin Ayvazoğlu (2014)

<sup>74</sup> Pişkin Ayvazoğlu (2014) p. 99

<sup>75</sup> On the customs of the Pithoigia day of the festival, Pişkin Ayvazoğlu (2014) p. 99

<sup>76</sup> On the customs of the Choes day of the festival, Pişkin Ayvazoğlu (2014) p. 99

<sup>77</sup> On the customs of the Chytroi day of the festival, Pişkin Ayvazoğlu (2014) p. 99

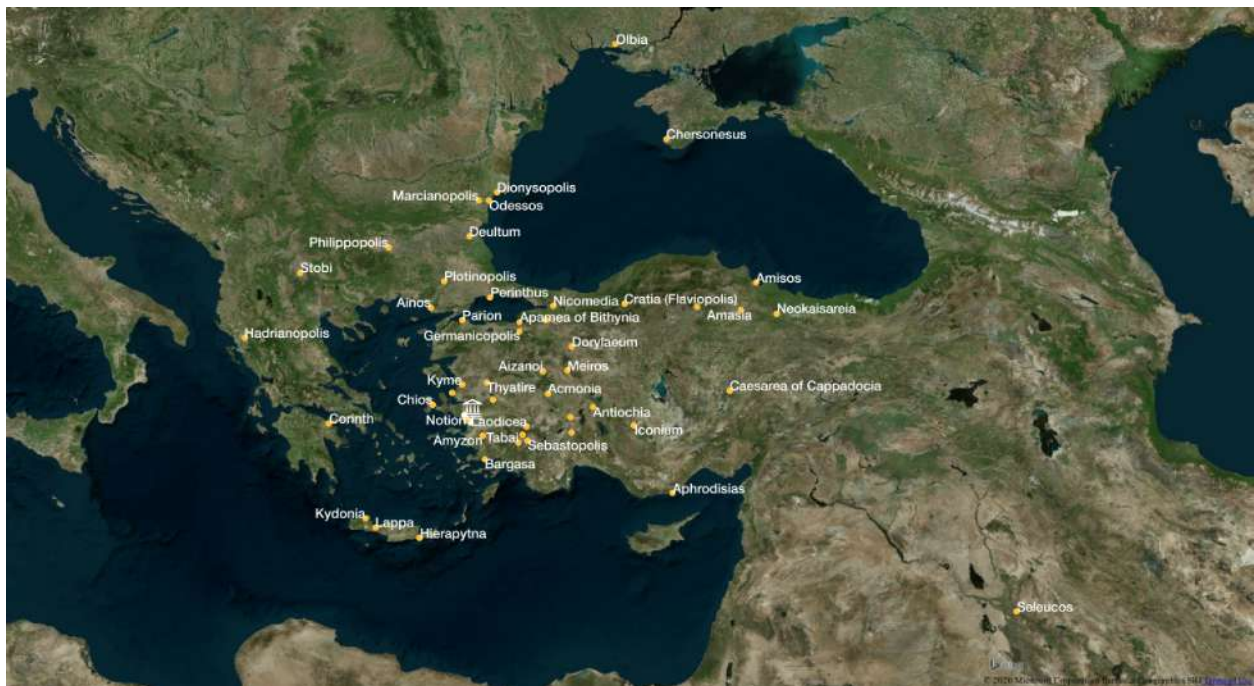
<sup>78</sup> Pişkin Ayvazoğlu (2014) p. 100



the winter months. This finding reveals an interaction with the deities and the celebrations that gathered enormous gatherings of people for a multi-day festival.

### Memorial Inscriptions and the Extent of Trans-regional Influence of the Oracle

South of the Temple of Apollo and along the Sacred Road, there is a row of memorials (fig.13, blue) with fragments of inscriptions that recorded the visits of the dignitaries who came to consult the oracle of Claros from other cities.<sup>79</sup> Erecting memorial delegations with honorary texts was a common practice at an ancient sanctuary to commemorate visitors on the bases of the monuments. It was a source of pride for the sanctuary of Claros, who could see the extent of its reach and fame - as well as for the members of the delegation whose visits were perpetuated in memory.<sup>80</sup>



(Fig. 14) Topographic distribution map of the cities listed in the delegation memorials at the Sanctuary of Claros, Map: By Diana Marie Dams, based on the research by Jean-Louis Ferrary<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> On the topographic distribution of the delegation memorials in the sanctuary of Claros, Ferrary, J.L. (2014)

<sup>80</sup> Ferrary (2014) p. 189

<sup>81</sup> This map was made to the best of my abilities, using the research from Ferrary's (2014) interpretations of the inscriptions at the delegation memorials. There are 17 locations that I could not add to the map with relative certainty. The purpose of the map is to show the extensive and outreaching influence the oracle of Claros had in the surrounding region. This map only plots the cities in the small sampling of fragments that remain and the reality of visiting cities represented was every more expansive and dense.

Through the study of text found on the memorial inscriptions at the oracular sanctuary of Apollo in Claros, it is possible to see an estimation of the number of pilgrims who came to visit the sanctuaries and to participate in festivals and consultation rituals. Pilgrims and visitors from all around the Mediterranean came to the sanctuary to leave votive offerings, consult the oracles and participate in festivals - increasing the temple's regional prestige and economy. The small sampling within the fragments of the inscriptions, reveals an impressively long and expansive range of cities that made pilgrimages to consult the oracle which reinforced the vast influence the sanctuary of Claros had in the region (fig.14). Off the site of the sanctuary in neighboring cities, there are inscriptions dedicated to the oracle of Apollo in Claros with prophecies attributed to the oracle - showing the regional importance of the sanctuary and the themes that were consulted on.<sup>82</sup> The artifacts emphasize the reach of influence that the Temple of Apollo in Claros had around Asia Minor and beyond - as well as the culture of pilgrimages that were practiced at the site. The memorial inscriptions acted as a source of pride for the sanctuary of Claros, who could visually record the extent of its reach and fame, and also as a marketing tool to legitimize its influence. The memorial inscriptions served to self-promote the sanctuary's importance. With more visitors came more recognition and prestige - establishing increasing legitimacy as a powerful, regional influence.

### iii. CHANGES IN THE SECOND PHASE ARCHITECTURE AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

As explored in greater depth before, the reworked plan of the first phase of the Hellenistic temple implemented some drastic renovations in the second phase of the temple and demonstrate an intentional change to the structural experience of moving through the temple. These adjustments in the plan specifically changed the ritual of the oracle consultation with the addition of the adyton and created a space that was increasingly more individualistic, with an emphasis on creating a mystical experience.

### The Naos

The original plan for the naos was to create a single open space at the foundation of the temple that contained the sacred well of the oracle, reaching a depth of 2.55 meters beneath the stylobate.<sup>83</sup> However, with the implementation of the second phase of the reconstructions, the original naos was split into two-levels, with the upper-level becoming the naos and transforming

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<sup>82</sup> Busine (2014) p. 204

<sup>83</sup> On the recent excavations of the Temple of Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 34

the bottom level into an elaborate adyton with corridors and chambers that housed the well. The shortened naos was no longer dominated by the vastness of space - but rather the looming presence of the triad statue of Apollo, Artemis and Leto towering across the entire back wall, over the space.<sup>84</sup> This dominating sculptural depiction of the three gods, replaced a much smaller statue that stood on a modest base in the previous naos, suggested to have been an Archaic sculpture of Apollo.<sup>85</sup> After the second phase of reconstructions, this Archaic statue<sup>86</sup> was moved down into the adyton, into the consulting chamber. The renovated space of the upper-level of the naos became a powerful visual reminder of the power of the Greek gods that were housed at the sanctuary of Claros - as the impressively large triad statue filled up the back wall.

### The Adyton

Inside the pronaos of the temple, there are two entryways leading down into the adyton. With the second phase of reconstructions, visitors no longer waited in the pronaos for the oracle consultation in the original naos. Now they now descended down into the darkness of the adyton, as active participants in the ritual. The two symmetrical entrances, create an intentional separation - that conjoin in the center of hallway and separate again - until they both reunite again inside the vaulted-arched consulting chamber. One possibility for the construction of these two paralleled pathways, could show a ritual movement of entering down into one staircase and out of the other one. Another possibility could symbolize a separate entrance for the mortals and another entrance for the immortals - as was distinguished in the entrances to the Cave of the Nymphs on Ithaca<sup>87</sup> - or perhaps the choices were no more than a ritualistic decision of chance.

As visitors descended down into the adyton for the consultation, the world begins to change from the surface down into the crypt. The surrounding marble changes from white-to-black and the spaces become narrow and confining - as visitors must move down through corridors that only allow room for a one-by-one procession. The descent into the adyton represents a different kind of ritual worship at the temple - one that is of limited access, whose participants must be pre-approved. Above the surface, the space is open and inclusive for religious worship, a gathering space that cannot be limited to the individual.

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<sup>84</sup> The Triad of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, Moretti (2014) p. 38

<sup>85</sup> On the possibility of an Archaic statue of Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 45

<sup>86</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 44-45

<sup>87</sup> Caves of the Nymphs of Ithaca, Yulia Ustinova (2009)

The two staircases going down into the adyton mirror each other on opposite sides of the temple and join together into a series of connecting and separating corridors. Navigating through the corridors seems to allude to a rite of passage that was often part of the ritual of oracle consulting, as consultants walked single-file down the turns of the passageways. The consultations would happen in the dark on certain nights,<sup>88</sup> so the corridors would flicker with light, guiding the way through the darkness. With each turn, the narrow corridors must have prompted a shift in perception and a heightened sense of awareness, as the consultant becomes increasingly more vulnerable, entering deeper into the chambers to where the oracle is. Regardless of the side that is entered, it will take seven turns until the consulting chamber is reached - a number suggested to have been deliberate, due to its significance in Greek culture. At the seventh turn, the consultant enters the first chamber that is reserved for waiting, which is the furthest the consultants are permitted to go. At the north entrance of the wall of the consulting chamber is the only side that shows evidence of where a door panel once was,<sup>89</sup> suggesting that perhaps there was a system in place of entering on one side and exiting through the other.

The vaulted ceiling of the chamber supported the marble slabs from the naos above, but also created a cave-like shape to the room.<sup>90</sup> The construction of this artificial cave-like space was meant to give it the shape of a natural underground grotto which Greeks believed was a favorable setting to initiate contact between humans and gods.<sup>91</sup> Inside the consulting chamber, there were two statues - an omphalos that likely had a bronze snake wrapped around it<sup>92</sup> and a wooden statue on a base that was suggested to have been the god Apollo.<sup>93</sup> It is likely that it was a type of xoanon, which was a highly sacred wooden statue that was believed to represent the divinity itself.<sup>94</sup> The omphalos is a power religious symbol that represents a “navel” - invoking a conceptual image of a central connecting point of giving and receiving. An omphalos was

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<sup>88</sup> Jamblichus. (Myst. III, 11) On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians.

<sup>89</sup> Door pivot holes, Moretti (2014) p. 39

<sup>90</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 39

<sup>91</sup> On the use of grottos and caves in sacred spaces, Elderkin (1941) p. 125-137; p. Moretti's team recreated closings between the arches. For more on the analysis of the cave-like settings of the chambers, Moretti (2014) p. 48

<sup>92</sup> Evidence of holes that align with the placement of an attached bronze snake often found wrapped around an omphalos, Moretti (2014) p. 43

<sup>93</sup> On the possibilities of the wooden statue and the hypothesis that it was Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 46

<sup>94</sup> Vernant, J.-P. (1991a) p. 151-63.

uncovered at the oracle temple of Delphi and it was located in the adyton as its most sacred part of the temple. On the remains of the five marble seats,<sup>95</sup> the consultants waited - albeit curiously and hesitantly - enclosed in the cave-like space, at the end of a maze of corridors, amongst a statue that embodies divinity and the omphalos, reminding them that they were in the midst of an oracle ritual.

The wall across from the consultants had a short, narrow passage that led to the oracle chamber that was guarded by the prophet, who would interpret the oracles and write down the prophecies.<sup>96</sup> The other end of the passageway led into the oracle chamber that closed off to consultants, where the oracle would perform rituals and give prophecies. The prophet obstructed the view into the oracle chamber as the consultants waited in their separate chamber, aware of the ritual that the oracle was performing across from them and patiently waiting for Apollo's message.

The architecture and ambiance of the adyton in the Temple of Apollo in Claros was intentionally designed to evoke the feeling of being a sacred space. Under the cover of darkness, consultants descended into the subterranean adyton. The maze of corridors evokes a sort of rite of passage in which the consultants enter one-by-one - turning and turning in processional line. The structure of chambers was functional as much as it was metaphorical in its cave-like allusion was believed to be best to connect humans and divinities. The new design of the second phase of the Temple of Apollo added the construction of an adyton with intentional details that took visitors on a journey that was a reflection of an increasingly individualistic and experiential shift in the ritual.

#### iv. THE RITUAL OF ORACLE CONSULTATION AT CLAROS IN ANCIENT TEXT SOURCES

Inside this chamber, the oracle would reveal its answers through the medium of water in the sacred well. On certain predetermined nights, after many previous sacred rites had been performed, the oracle drinks from the sacred water that was believed to embody and connect to the prophetic spirit and manifests the prophecy of the gods outloud.<sup>97</sup>

*It is acknowledged then by all men, that the oracle in Colophon gives its answers through the medium of water. For there is a fountain in a subterranean dwelling from which the*

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<sup>95</sup> The marble block seats were located along the eastern wall of the chamber, between the gaps of the arches, Moretti (2014) p. 39

<sup>96</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 42

<sup>97</sup> Jamblichus, *Myst.*, III, 11. This allusion to the ritual of the oracle of Claros inside the chamber is given by Jamblichus, a Neoplatonist philosopher of the 3rd century AD, in his work *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians*.

*prophetess drinks; and on certain established nights, after many sacred rites have been previously performed, and she has drank of the fountain, she delivers oracles, but is not visible to those that are present. That this water, therefore, is prophetic, is from hence manifest. But how it becomes so, this, according to the proverb, is not for every man to know. For it appears as if a certain prophetic spirit pervaded through the water.*

*Jamblichus. (Myst. III, 11)*

The female priestess, who performs the ritual of the oracle consultation, prepares herself by abstaining from food for a day before and going into isolation. By removing herself from human concerns, she is better adapted to receive divine inspiration.<sup>98</sup> It is likely that the consultants heard parts of the ritual and prophecy echoing into the chambers - yet since they were not permitted to enter and see any parts of the sacred ritual, the mystery remained under the cover of darkness. Perhaps this was to protect the power of the sacred from skeptics, since maintaining an enigma was essential in keeping the belief - and the power comes from believing in it.

#### v. PROPHECIES ATTRIBUTED TO CLAROS

The archaeological excavations, epigraphy and ancient writings indicate how exceptional the sanctuary of Claros was in terms of international influence and importance. The epigraphic inscriptions record the evidence of prophecies that have been attributed to the oracle of Claros, although not all can be authenticated for certain.<sup>99</sup> The prophecies reveal the responses that were given by Apollo through the oracle and to the consultants who came to question him on a specific problem. The main collections of oracle prophecies, that are attributed to the sanctuary of Claros, are inscriptions on memorials found in the client towns of Claros, including Troketta in Lydia and Oenoanda in Lycia.<sup>100</sup> The inscriptions of Troketta<sup>101</sup> prescribe libations and sacrifices<sup>102</sup> to

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<sup>98</sup> On the ritual preparation of the oracle, Jamblichus (Myst. III, 11)

<sup>99</sup> The challenge of authenticating many of the prophecies to Claros is due to the nature of the ancient text sources and the possible underlying motivations that texts could be written - such as the emergence of "theological oracles" once Christianity emerged. On questioning the authenticity of the theological oracles, Busine (2014) p. 203

<sup>100</sup> Busine (2014) p. 206

<sup>101</sup> Dated to the 2nd century AD, Busine (2014) p. 206

<sup>102</sup> ἡθέντες καὶ εἴμβα- μυθέντες καὶ εἴμβατεύσαντες, Busine (2014) p. 207



overcome epidemics often by erecting statues of Apollo<sup>103</sup> or Artemis.<sup>104</sup> The inscriptions found along a wall in Oenoanda consist of a series of six verses that question Apollo on the identity of god and are suggested to be attributed to the Clarian oracle.<sup>105</sup> The content of the prophecies reveal the cultural fears and questions of the time - notably remedies to epidemics and questions pertaining to the existence of god. These prophecies were publicly displayed and exemplify a sense of collectivity and a unified representation. Other prophecies were private and never shared.

The challenge of attributing the oracle prophecies to Claros with certainty, is because of instances of appropriation. With the emergence of Christianity, oracle prophecy forgeries abounded to convey the new religious doctrines by using familiar oracle traditions.<sup>106</sup> This shows a certain authority and respect that was given to the oracle prophecies of Claros and shows the power of their words to direct the erection of monuments in honor of the Clarian Apollo. At the same time, these forgeries of the oracle prophecies show the use of this same authority that became inherent in the oracle prophecies and its manipulation to shift the influence towards a new form of power as Christianity emerged.

## V. RECONSTRUCTING THE ORACLE CONSULTATION RITUAL OF THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN CLAROS AND JUSTIFICATION FOR CHOICES

As technology and 3D tools continue to develop, digitization has become an increasingly effective and democratizing method for communicating knowledge.<sup>107</sup> Through this reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo in Claros, I intend to make an educated visual representation of my hypothesis of the second phase of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo in Claros and recreate the ritual of oracle consultation. Through this space, the viewer will be able to enter and visually explore the temple from a first-person perspective.

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<sup>103</sup> Busine (2014) p. 207, 2nd century recommendation to the citizens of the city to make sacrifices by erecting a statue of the Clarian archer Apollo to remedy an epidemic, see more footnote 51

<sup>104</sup> Busine (2014) p. 207, an oracle of the 2nd century AD discovered at Ephesus resembles other oracles of Claros, recommending the raising of a statue of Artemis to remedy an epidemic, see footnote 52

<sup>105</sup> Busine (2014) p. 207

<sup>106</sup> Beatrice (1997) p. 5

<sup>107</sup> On virtual reconstructions and computer visualizations in archaeological practice, Hornak, Tasić, and Novakovic (2017)

The archaeological remains of the Temple of Apollo in Claros are located near the Aegean coast of modern-day Turkey. The nearest transportation hub is in the touristy beach town of Kusadasi, which is located at a distance of about 30 km away from Claros by car. To visit the site of Claros using public transportation, one would take a minibus from Kusadasi, ride it along the coast to the bus stop in the village of Ahmetbeyli (just near the ancient site of the town of Notion). From the Ahmetbeyli bus stop, the site of Claros can be reached by walking 2 km north along the road (that was once the ancient Hales River Valley), through the fields and into the clearing that once housed the ancient oracle sanctuary of Claros. The structure of the adyton of the Temple of Apollo in Claros is exceptionally well-preserved, although today it is often flooded and the site itself is difficult for visitors to access. Yet beneath the water, turtles and archaeological ruins - there are the remains of a fascinating ancient ritual that is immortalized in ancient texts and has influenced the story of modern-day religion. In a situation like Claros, where the archaeological area is well-preserved but is difficult to access - a 3D reconstruction can be useful to explore the reconstructed ruins of the site and close the travel distance and knowledge gap of the archaeological research. The following section will explore my process of reconstructing the Temple of Apollo in Claros, including the reasoning and justifications for all of the decisions that were made.

#### i. THE SECOND PHASE OF THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN CLAROS

As explored in a previous section, the Temple of Apollo in Claros shows archaeological evidence of use as far back as the 6th century, since the Archaic period.<sup>108</sup> The main remnants that date back to the Archaic period include the original well<sup>109</sup> and a statue base<sup>110</sup> that was relocated to the adyton for use during the second phase of the temple. In the 4th century BC, the Colophonians initiated a construction plan to renovate the temple into a Doric 5-stepped platform, with a double colonnade in front, a colonnade of six-by-eleven rows around the temple and a naos at a depth of 2.55 meters that contained the original Archaic well.<sup>111</sup> I suggested that it was possible that a

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<sup>108</sup> The Archaic temple construction, Moretti (2014) p. 34.

<sup>109</sup> The original Archaic well, Moretti (2014) p. 34.

<sup>110</sup> On the possibilities of the archaic wooden statue and the hypothesis that it was Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 46

<sup>111</sup> On the original Colophonian reconstruction plan in 310 BC, Moretti (2010) p. 3

staircase connected the pronaos down to the floor of the naos and that a naïskos may have been constructed near the well, as in the example of its contemporary temple at Didyma. When Colophon was conquered in the 3rd century BC, the construction was halted until the city became free again.<sup>112</sup> Once the second phase of the reconstruction began in the beginning of the 2nd century BC, there were considerable renovations to the first plan that were already previously explored in depth.

The second phase of the Hellenistic and Roman Temple of Apollo in Claros is built upon the structural basis of the first Hellenistic temple plan and around the original sacred Archaic well. The plan consists of a peripteral temple of six-by-eleven columns around, an altered single colonnade in front, and a naos that was divided into a two parts. The two parts include the main courtyard with a triad statue on top and a lower floor with an elaborate adyton that contained the original Archaic well.<sup>113</sup> I will reconstruct this second phase of the Hellenistic and Roman Temple and explain the process of the 3D reconstruction, the sources used to make my decision, and my considerations and solutions to parts of the reconstruction that are not entirely known. Since the temple itself was never completed in its entirety, I will reconstruct the Temple of Apollo as its most complete-incomplete version. This is the version of the temple that reached its peak in trans-regional importance<sup>114</sup> in Greek religious worship into the Hellenistic and Roman times and attracted pilgrims and transmitted oracle prophecies to visitors from all throughout the region. In this second phase of the temple, the most dramatic change in the plan was the construction of the adyton. Its unique design structure and the creation of the experience of entering the sacred pace was a crucial element to the ritual of oracle consultation.

### **Building the Crepidoma**

Beginning with the floor plan from J.C. Moretti's excavations (fig.15), I put the SketchUp software into scale and began constructing the base of the crepidoma. The measurement of the temple is

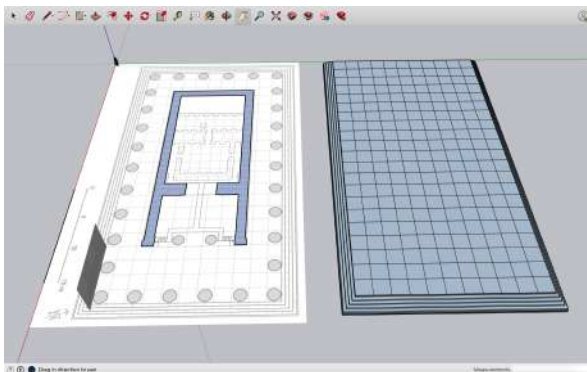
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<sup>112</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 36; Gauthier 2011, p. 617-618

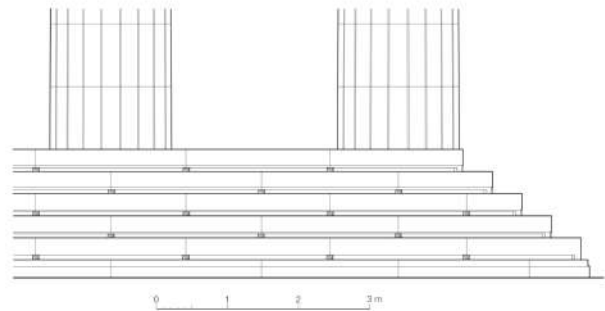
<sup>113</sup> On the original Colophonian reconstruction plan in 310 BC, Moretti (2010) p. 3

<sup>114</sup> The Temple of Apollo in Claros was distinguished as one of three oracles of trans-regional importance in Asia Minor from the research found in the "Oracles" section, Encyclopedia of the Ancient World: Brill's New Pauly, Cancik (2007), pp. 183–189.

26 meters wide by 46.5 meters long,<sup>115</sup> raised with a five-step platform. Using the crepidoma diagram as a measurement reference (fig.15), I lifted the crepidoma up into a five-step temple platform. A small indentation was included into the base of each step platform (fig.16), to leave a space for the bronze astragals that adorned the connecting joints.<sup>116</sup> The bronze astragals were an important and intentional detail, that were inserted to indicate to visitors and pilgrims that this was the site of an oracle temple.<sup>117</sup> I modeled a bronze astragal knucklebone<sup>118</sup> and added one to each connecting joint of the crepidoma using the Moretti's diagram as reference. The final reconstruction of the 5-step platform stands at approximately 1.83 meters high, with each step 34 cm deep and 31 cm high and the accents of bronze astragals glisten uniformly between each construction block. The crepidoma leads visitors and cult members up to the entrance of the temple and to the stylobate which holds the Doric columns in place.



(fig.15) *Digitally reconstructing the crepidoma.*  
(Image: D.M. Dams)



(fig.16) *Detail of the crepidoma with the astragals.*  
(Plan, N. Bresch, J. C. Moretti)<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Analysis of Hellenistic temple architecture, Winter (2006) p. 15

<sup>116</sup> On the astragals, Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>117</sup> On the culture of astragals, De Grossi Mazzorin (2013) p. 372. On the astragals in the stairs of the Temple of Apollo Claros, Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>118</sup> Moretti's research did not indicate the details of the astragal bone found at the Temple of Apollo in Claros, but I used a sheep knucklebone as reference.

<sup>119</sup> Crepidoma platforms and astraglas in Temple of Apollo in Claros, Moretti (2014) p. 14

## Erecting the Doric Columns

At the archaeological site of Claros, the Doric columns that once surrounded the temple are no longer standing and many of the drums are dispersed around the temple ruins. Using the remaining column drums and the building materials that were uncovered in the shipwreck of Kızılburun (fig.18),<sup>120</sup> it is possible to understand the height and construction of the columns. The Ancient Greeks who erected the columns at Claros used assembly marks when constructing and assembling cut stone,<sup>121</sup> a numbering technique that was found in the columns of the temple (fig. 17). Through the assembly marks found in the drums of the shipwreck of Kızılburun, the Doric column was able to be reconstructed using exact measurements of the drum sizes that gradually wane towards the top. The height of the column is measured at 11.315 meters. Using this diagram, I was able to reconstruct each Doric drum to the exact measurements found in the remains and stack them together to create a digital replica of a column from Claros as close to true scale as possible (fig.19, 20). The plan for the second phase of the Hellenistic temple was structured to have eleven by six Doric columns around the stylobate - for a total of 30 columns, not including the columns in the the pronaos.<sup>122</sup> A comparison of marble samples<sup>123</sup> from the columns at Claros and the drums from the Kızılburun shipwreck, indicate that the marble was from the marble quarries of Proconnesos Island in the Sea of Marmara. Using this information, I was able to make an educated guess of the white marble texture to make the columns. Sampling from the wooden hull of the ship, dated the shipwreck (thus the marble columns) to the late Hellenistic era - around the first century BC<sup>124</sup> - perhaps evidence of the challenges that the Temple faced in reconstruction. As mentioned previously, the Temple of Apollo in Claros was never completed and only six columns were erected in the front and five columns on each side.

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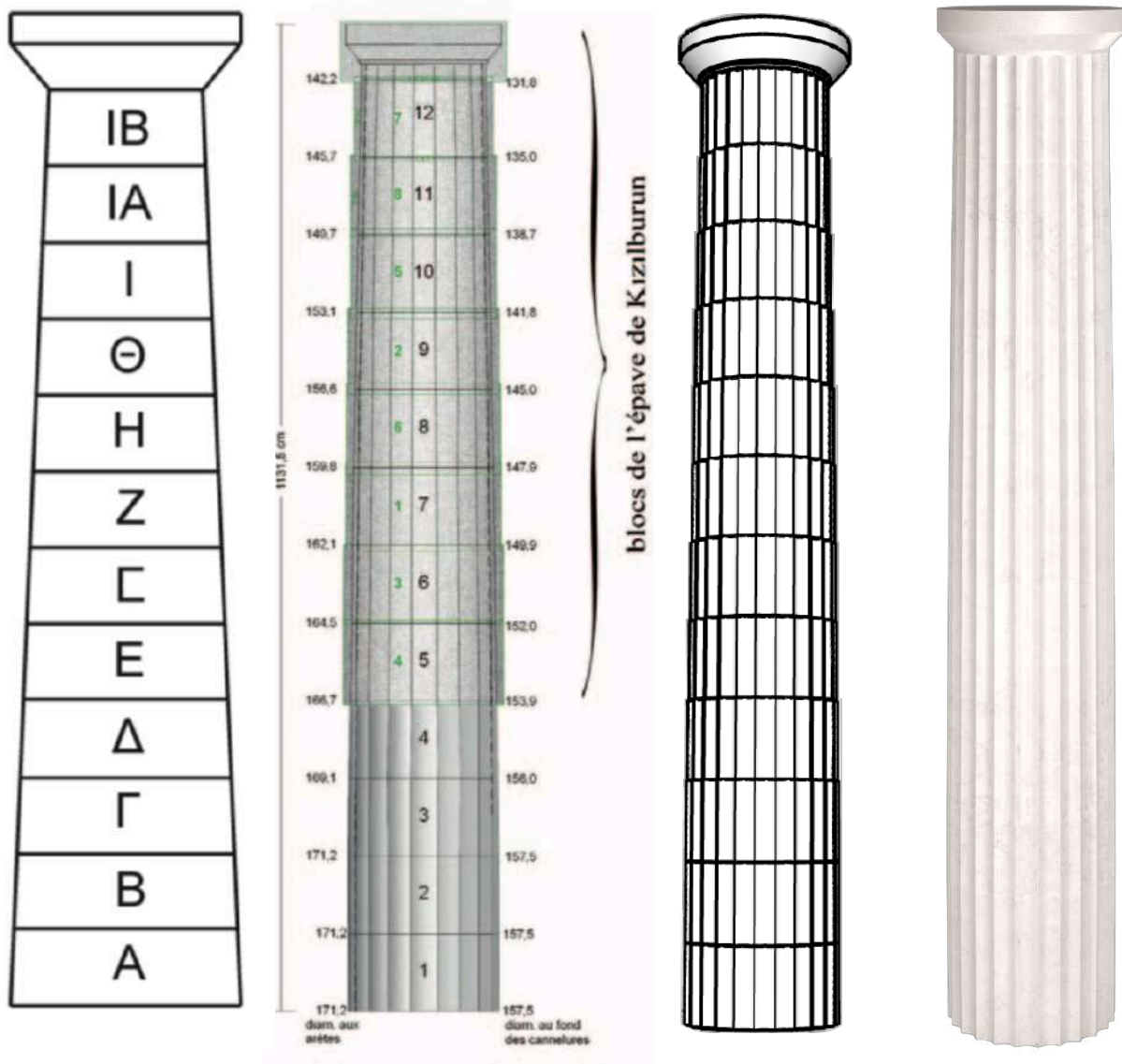
<sup>120</sup> Excavations of the Kızılburun shipwreck carrying building materials to the Temple of Apollo in Claros, Carlson (2014) p. 53

<sup>121</sup> On the assembly marks and the numbering of the columns, Weber (2014) p. 75

<sup>122</sup> It is not yet certain how the pronaos was structured, but this issue will be explored in detail in the next section.

<sup>123</sup> About the origins of the marble from the Proconnesos quarries, Carlson (2014) p. 51

<sup>124</sup> On the process results of radiocarbon dating analyses from the wooden hull of the shipwreck, Carlson (2014) p. 54



(fig.17, fig.18) The process of numbering, assembling<sup>125</sup> and measuring<sup>126</sup> a single Doric column  
(Diagram: U. Weber, Diagram: D. Laroche)

(fig.19, fig. 20) 3D reconstructions of the column in Sketch-Up and the textured rendering  
(Image: D.M. Dams)

<sup>125</sup> The Milesian numbering system on the drums, Weber (2014) p. 77

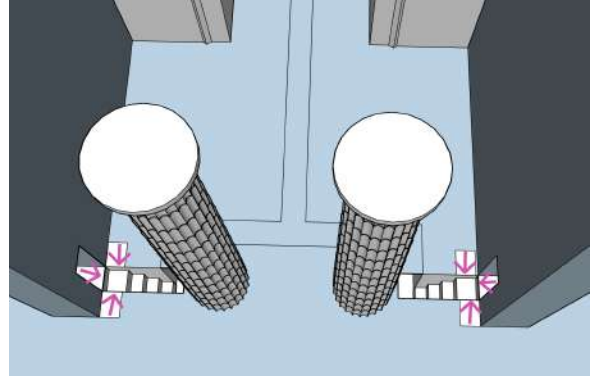
<sup>126</sup> The measurements of each drum from a column in the Temple of Apollo in Claros, © Archaeological Mission by Claros, Moretti (2010) p. 7

### Entering the Adyton and Potential Solutions for the Incomplete Information of the Pronaos

The archaeological evidence does not reveal a clear understanding of the structure of the pronaos in the second phase of the temple. Located on the north-east side of the temple, the pronaos was the main entryway to the upper-floor of the naos and to the points of access to the lower level of the adyton where the consultation ritual took place. The structure of the pronaos is essential in understanding how visitors would enter into the temple. First, it is not clear if the pronaos was structured as a double colonnade or a prostylus facade with four columns that opened up into the naos (fig.).<sup>127</sup> While the structure of the pronaos seems to allow room for an additional double colonnade, I will assume that if additional columns were intended, they were never erected. Since the peristyle columns in the back half of the temple were never raised and the second row of the double colonnade facade was left as a single row column with a space - it does not seem likely that an additional two columns in the pronaos were erected. Given the lack of archaeological evidence in the floor plan and the incompleteness of the columns around the temple, I decided to construct only a single row of two Doric columns in the front of the pronaos.



(fig. 21) Entrance to the stairway of the adyton  
(Photo: D.M. Dams)



(fig. 22) Possible ways to enter the adyton  
the adyton (Image: D.M. Dams)

Second, it is not clear in the foundation which direction that visitors would enter down into the adyton. Although the two symmetrical staircases on opposite sides of the temple remain well-preserved, the top step leading down into the adyton is missing (fig. 21). Without this last stair or clues in the remnants of the wall foundation, it cannot be determined with certainty the direction that was used to enter down into the staircase (fig. 22). There are three possible directions that one

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<sup>127</sup> Moretti (2014), p. 34

could enter down into the staircase - through the front in the same central entrance as the naos entryway and around the inside, through the front of the pronaos sides but using their own separate entrance, or through side doors constructed into the temple walls. The first hypothesis is that the adyton entrance was accessed through the pronaos, whose entry was only open when the gate between the columns was also open.<sup>128</sup> This could be from either the exterior in the front or around the column in the interior. Considering how sacred the adyton chamber was and the deliberate planning of the rituals on specific nights,<sup>129</sup> the access into the staircase should not be open anytime the door to the naos of the temple would be open. While it is not clear which direction the stairs faced to lead down into the adyton, an entrance that was separated from the pronaos would allow for a controlled access that would only authorize entry during an oracular consultation. A distinct entrance into the adyton - which is considered most likely<sup>130</sup> - would keep it secure from unapproved entries, signifying that it was protected as a sacred and important space. The second hypothesis, is that the access to the adyton was distinct from the pronaos and was entered through the front, off to the sides of the main entrance.<sup>131</sup> The third hypothesis is also a separated entrance, but one that was built into the walls of the sides of the temple. By keeping the entrance into the oracle chambers independent from the naos and pronaos, the cult personnel would maintain control in limiting the access to the oracle facilities to the specific nights of consultation.<sup>132</sup> There is no evidence in the foundation of the walls to suggest that a separate door was constructed nor a structure to access it from the front. For the reconstruction, I chose the first hypothesis - using the same central entrance as the naos, but with wooden doors covering the access down into the adyton to maintain authorized access only and keeping the space separated.

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<sup>128</sup> On L. Robert's hypothesis to access the adyton, Moretti (2014) p. 38

<sup>129</sup> Jamblichus. (Myst. III, 11) On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians.

<sup>130</sup> Second hypothesis by Moretti on access to the adyton, Moretti (2014) p. 38

<sup>131</sup> Second hypothesis by Moretti on access to the adyton, Moretti (2014) p. 38

<sup>132</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 38.





(fig. 23) *Measuring the steps of the adyton*  
(Photo: D.M. Dams)



(fig. 24) *Reconstruction of the corridors of the adyton* (Image: D.M. Dams)

### The Construction of the Adyton

The adyton of the temple is exceptionally well-preserved, so the archaeological ruins provide a solid basis for a reconstruction. Following the second hypothesis, I reconstructed the two points of access into the adyton from the front of the pronaos with their own separate symmetrical entrances, beginning with the first missing stair. Using Moretti's excavations and my own measurements from the Claros archaeological site (fig. 23), I reconstructed the two six-stepped staircases at a width of 68-cm-across and an average of 53-cm-down to reach the 2.55-meter-deep<sup>133</sup> floor base of the adyton, underneath the naos of the temple. The corridor connecting the two sides extends at a length slightly over 7-meters-across, and meets at another corridor at the center of the hallway that extends approximately 8-meters-down (fig. 24). The series of interconnecting corridors are leading the consultants further into the adyton and towards the chambers. The hallways are very narrow passageways that are at an average width of 0.69 meters,<sup>134</sup> a narrow space that does not allow for more than one person to move through the corridor at a time. This 8-meter-long central passageway leads to a dead end that separates into a singular 10-meter-long perpendicular corridor with the option to turn left or right. Regardless of the direction that you turn, the two symmetrical corridors that extend across will lead to an additional turn leading into the first vaulted chamber that functioned as the waiting area for the consultants.

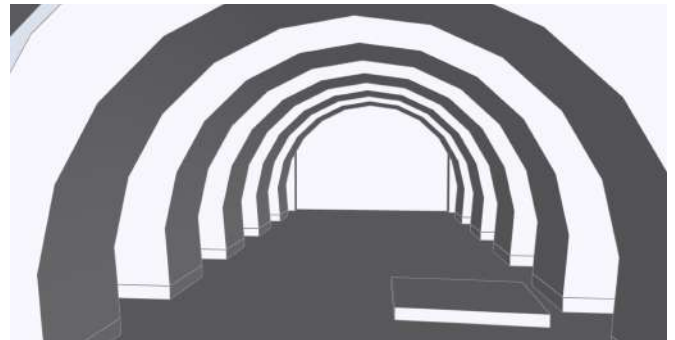
<sup>133</sup> On the recent excavations of the Temple of Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>134</sup> Adyton corridor measurements, Moretti (2014) p. 36

This chamber measures at approximately 6.5 meters from the entrance doorways and 6.3-meters-deep. In the center of the west side of the wall, there is a small 2.5-meter-long passageway that leads to the oracle chamber, where the well and the ritual activity took place. The oracle chamber is approximately 10.4 meters from north to south and 3.6 meters from east to west. The height of the adyton reaches down into a depth of 2.55-meters-below the naos<sup>135</sup> and was paved with black marble - extending down from the naos floor through the corridors of the adyton.<sup>136</sup> With this partially complete information I added a black marble textures to the naos floor and throughout the corridors and floor of the adyton.



(fig. 23) Arches over the oracle chamber  
(Photo: D.M. Dams)



(fig. 24) Reconstruction of the arches of the oracle chamber (Image: D.M. Dams)

### Raising the Arches the Considering the Arch Markings

A distinguishing feature of the consulting chamber and the oracle chamber are the arches that span over both spaces from east-west (fig. 23). These arches created a cave-like shape to the room, as well as supported the marble slabs of the upper floor of the naos.<sup>137</sup> The approximately 6.6 meter by 6.3 meter consulting chamber is supported by four arches and the two walls on the sides with the access doorways. The approximate space of the oracle chamber at 10.4 meters by 3.6 meters is supported by six-raised-arches. Since it is only accessible by a short inner corridor and does not have side entrances I lifted the extension of the two side walls into arches in this chamber. In both chambers, the arches raise to approximately 1.9 meters high at their peak,

<sup>135</sup> On the recent excavations of the Temple of Apollo, Moretti (2014) p. 34

<sup>136</sup> The black marble of the naos and the corridors of the adyton, Moretti (2010) p. 5-6

<sup>137</sup> Both the arch technique and the vault technique were used during this time period to cover a space and pave the top of it. This temple used the arch technique. Moretti (2014) p. 39

creating a ceiling with standing space in the center of it. The first chamber has longer dimensions which create the appearance of a flatter arched space, while the oracle chamber's smaller dimensions create an arched space that seems higher. From the floor of the adyton to the floor of the upper naos, it measures at 2.55 meters in both sides of the chamber. Using these measurements, I reconstructed the arches and chamber spaces in SketchUp to create the rooms that were used in the consultation and oracle rituals (fig. 24).



*(fig. 25) Arch markings on the blocks over the consulting chamber (Photo: Moretti)<sup>138</sup>*



*(fig. 26) Moretti's experiment to reconstruct the arch coverings (Photo: Moretti)<sup>139</sup>*

On these outer sides of the arches of the consulting chamber, there are distinct markings (fig. 25) on each voussoir, as well as the outer blocks of the surrounding corridor and the passage connecting the two chambers<sup>140</sup> - which seem to be the remnants of some type of holding for a metal or wooden addition. These arch markings consist of rectangular mortises of 2 cm by 1 cm and a smaller mortice of 1 cm by 1 cm.<sup>141</sup> The first hypothesis is that the arch markings were used to lift the stones into place and hold the hanging structure in place, but this seems unlikely because their location on the sides of the arches is not in a position to hold this properly. The second hypothesis is that the markings were for holders that supported arch awnings that covered the space between the arches - a hypothesis that Moretti's reconstructed onto the archaeological

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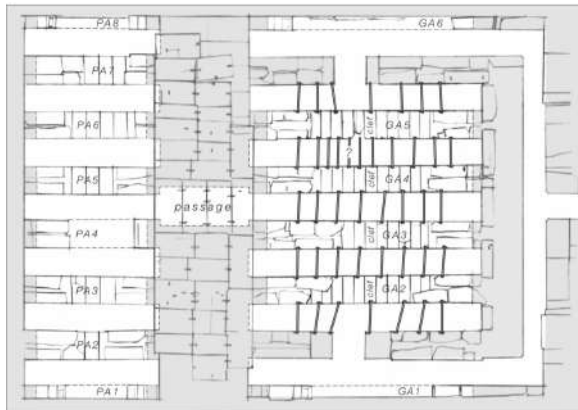
<sup>138</sup> The arch markings in the consulting chambers, Moretti (2014) p. 47

<sup>139</sup> On Moretti's experiment to reconstruct the arch coverings, Moretti (2014) p. 46-49

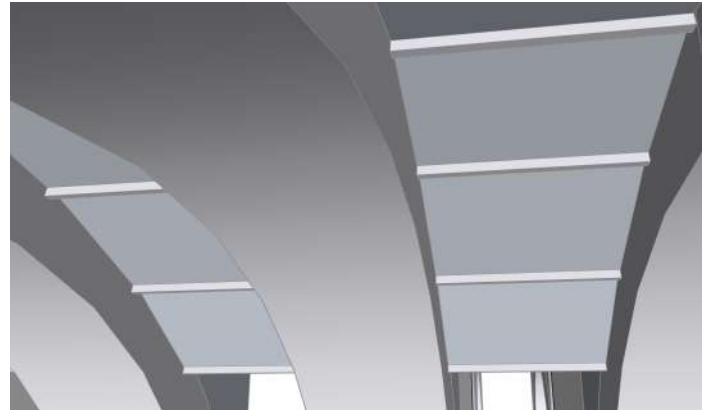
<sup>140</sup> The arch markings in the consulting chambers, Moretti (2014) p. 47

<sup>141</sup> Description of the arch markings, Moretti (2014) p. 47

ruins.<sup>142</sup> In this reconstruction, they fit pieces of wood into the arch markings that would act as the connecting frames between the arches, with possibly a fabric covering between them to create a makeshift arch and complete the shape of the chamber (fig. 26). The way the square and rectangle are shaped in an “L” and how they move from stone to stone, seem to indicate an alignment that holds the pieces in place. They follow along the curve of the arches and would allow for a piece to project out of the stone, even though they are irregular and widely separated (fig. 27). Using the information from the excavations, I added wooden pieces into my SketchUp reconstruction and connected them to the mortices. The remnants of metal holdings on the arches suggest that reinforcement was needed for support. Based on this, I considered that the supports from the mortices held a heavier material than cloth and I decided that the spaces between the arches were completed with wooden panels (fig. 28).



(fig. 27) Irregular placement of arch markings over the consulting chamber (Photo: Moretti)



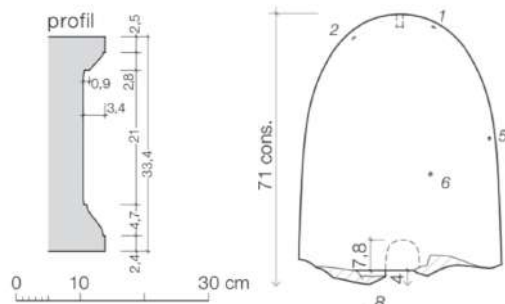
(fig. 28) Reconstruction of the panels between the arches (Photo: D.M. Dams)

### Completing the Details of the Temple

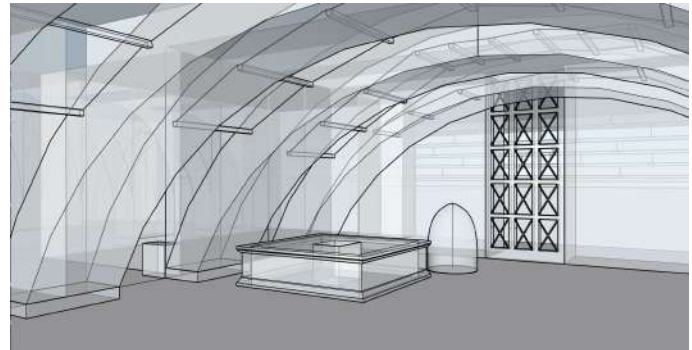
With the main structures of the Temple in place, I decided to include additional details to complete the ambiance of the space in the final setting of the adyton (fig. 30). While I did not attempt to recreate detailed depictions of the statues, I did make sure that their presence was represented in the chamber since they were symbolic parts of the experience. A four-block base from the Archaic statue and an omphalos were found in the north-west side of the consulting chamber. Using Moretti's notes (fig. 29), I recreated four 65 cm x 46 cm blocks and lifted them to a height of 33.4

<sup>142</sup> On Moretti's experiment to reconstruct the arch coverings, Moretti (2014) p. 46-49

cm to make a 110.4 cm x 116 cm base. I used Moretti's profile drawing of the base<sup>143</sup> to complete the detailing on the edges of the base. Next to the base there is an omphalos at a height of 70 cm with a diameter of 52.9 cm (fig. 29).<sup>144</sup> I recreated this oval shape by connecting two domes together on SketchUp and I filled in the texture with a gray-blue limestone.



(fig. 29) Diagrams of the statue base and the omphalos (Photo: Moretti)<sup>145</sup>



(fig. 30) Consulting chamber with the omphalos statue base (Photo: D.M. Dams)

There were five marble chairs found during the excavations that were located between the arches of the consulting room. While I did not find a thorough description of each individual chair, I used the floor plan drawing (fig. 31) and a graphic<sup>146</sup> from Moretti's research to create an approximate depiction of the marble chairs. Based on his research, it seems that there are three distinct styles of chairs and a hierarchy arrangement between them. The center chair was the largest one and it had a backrest and an elongated seat base that pushed completely back into the space. It measures at approximately 82.4 cm long x 88 cm wide x 103 cm high. The two chairs next to the center chair have no arm rests and no back rests and measure at approximately 80 cm long x 44 cm wide x 24 cm high. Both of these chairs are pulled out from the wall and have the least amount of sitting space. The two chairs on the far sides are tucked neatly in the space and have arm rests, measuring at approximately 65 cm long x 35 cm wide x 58 cm high. The addition of the seats under the arches gives a more complete visual picture of the visitors waiting in the chamber for their prophecies (fig. 32).

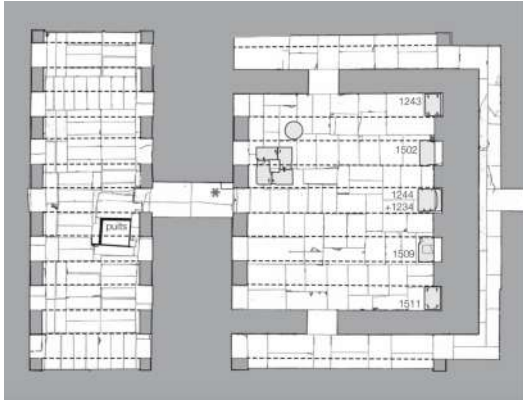
<sup>143</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 45

<sup>144</sup> About the omphalos, Moretti (2014) p. 43

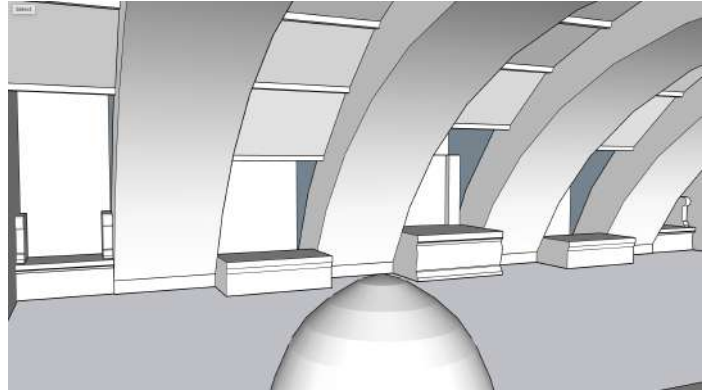
<sup>145</sup> Descriptions of the statue base and the omphalos, Moretti (2014) p. 43-45

<sup>146</sup> Graphic image of a consultant sitting in a chair under the arches, Moretti (2014) p. 42



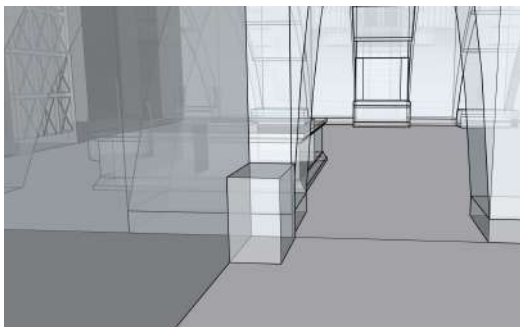


(fig. 31) The arrangement of the chairs, the base, the omphalos and the well (Photo: Moretti)<sup>147</sup>

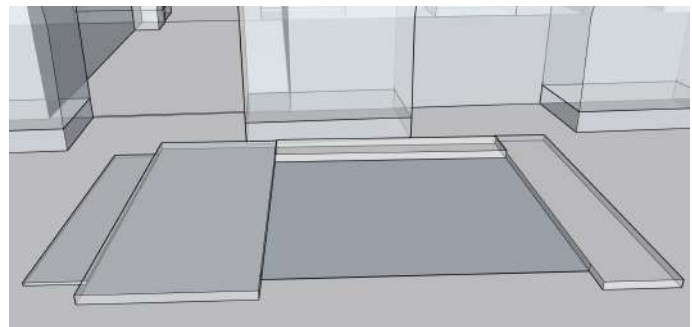


(fig. 32) The five chairs in the consulting chamber (Photo: D.M. Dams)

Inside the oracle chamber is the the most important detail of the entire temple and the central part of the oracle ritual: the sacred well (fig. 34). Using the excavation diagram (fig. 12),<sup>148</sup> I created a rectangular hole of 140.6 cm long x 95.5 cm wide. These are the original dimensions of the Archaic well before the stone slab of 100 cm x 60 cm was placed over half of it. I added this stone slab as well as two additional slabs for the side of the well, each at measurements of 100 cm x 30 cm, and I rotate the well slightly in accordance with the diagram. In the passageway between the oracle chamber and the consulting chamber, I added a small block in the wall at 33.3 cm E-W x 21 cm N-S x 32 cm h for the prophet to sit and record the prophecies (fig. 33).



(fig. 33) Reconstruction of the prophet seat (Photo: D.M. Dams)



(fig. 34) Reconstruction of the sacred oracle well (Photo: D.M. Dams)

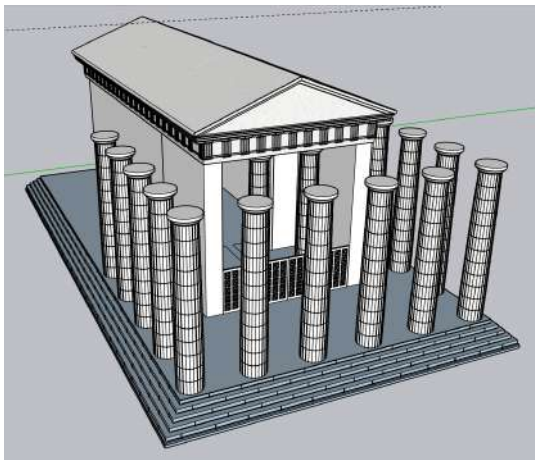
<sup>147</sup> Descriptions of the statue base and the omphalos, Moretti (2014) p. 43-45

<sup>148</sup> Moretti (2014) p. 35

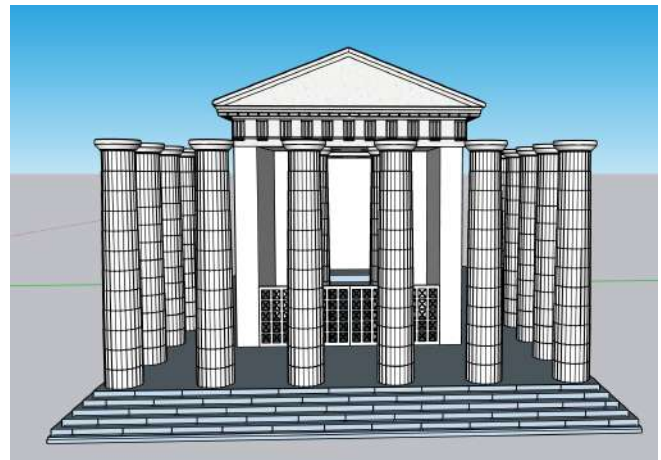
Although the temple remained unfinished, there must have been a roof over the naos and pronaos in the meantime. The only evidence that I uncovered was a photograph of a triglyph that I had taken at the site to do my research. I estimated the dimensions of the triglyph to be 66 cm wide x 1 meter high and I created an entablature in the Doric order. I added this to the top of my 3D temple and I completed the reconstruction. Once the Temple structure was complete, I added textures onto all the surfaces in accordance with the materials indicated from my research. Using V-Ray, I created renders to bring to life the architecture of the second phase of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo in Claros.



*(fig. 35) At the Archaeological site of Claros (Photo: D.M. Dams)*



*(fig. 36) East-side view of Temple Reconstruction (Photo: D.M. Dams)*

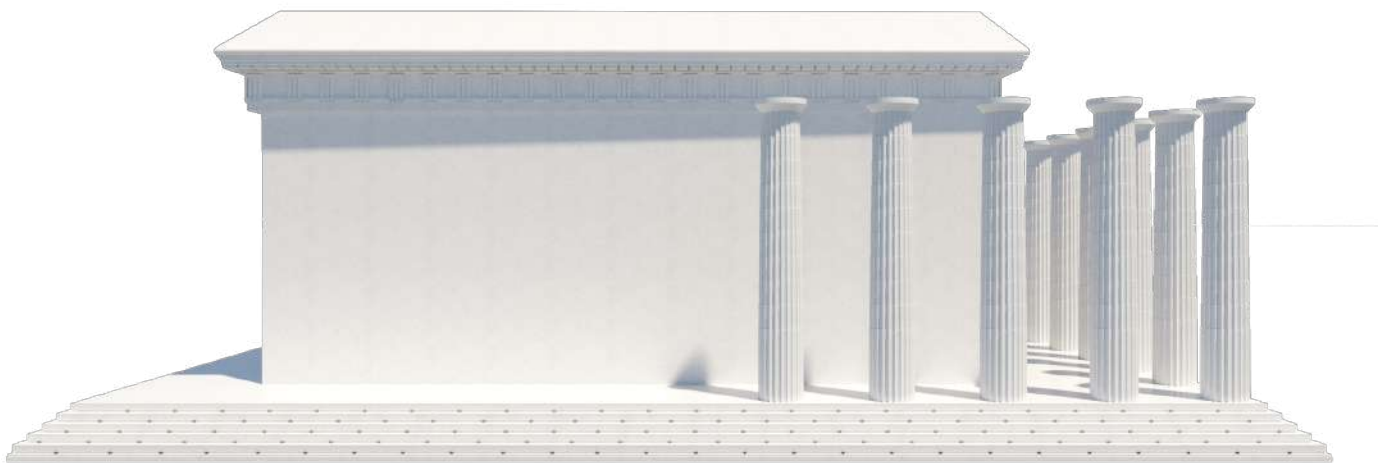


*(fig. 37) Front view of the Temple of Apollo (Photo: D.M. Dams)*

## VI. THE VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE HELLENISTIC TEMPLE OF APOLLO

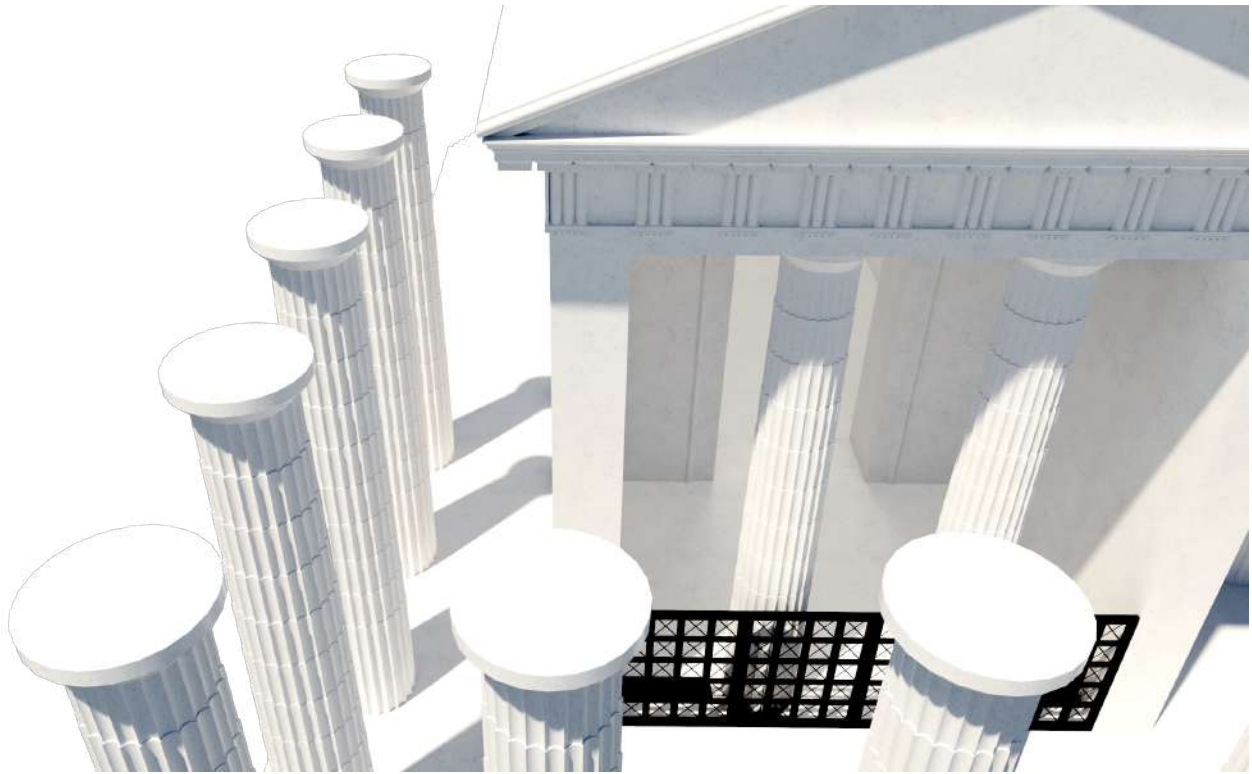


*(Fig. 1) Front view of the 3D reconstruction of The Temple of Apollo in Claros, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 2) Side view of the 3D Reconstruction of The Temple of Apollo in Claros, Image: D.M. Dams*





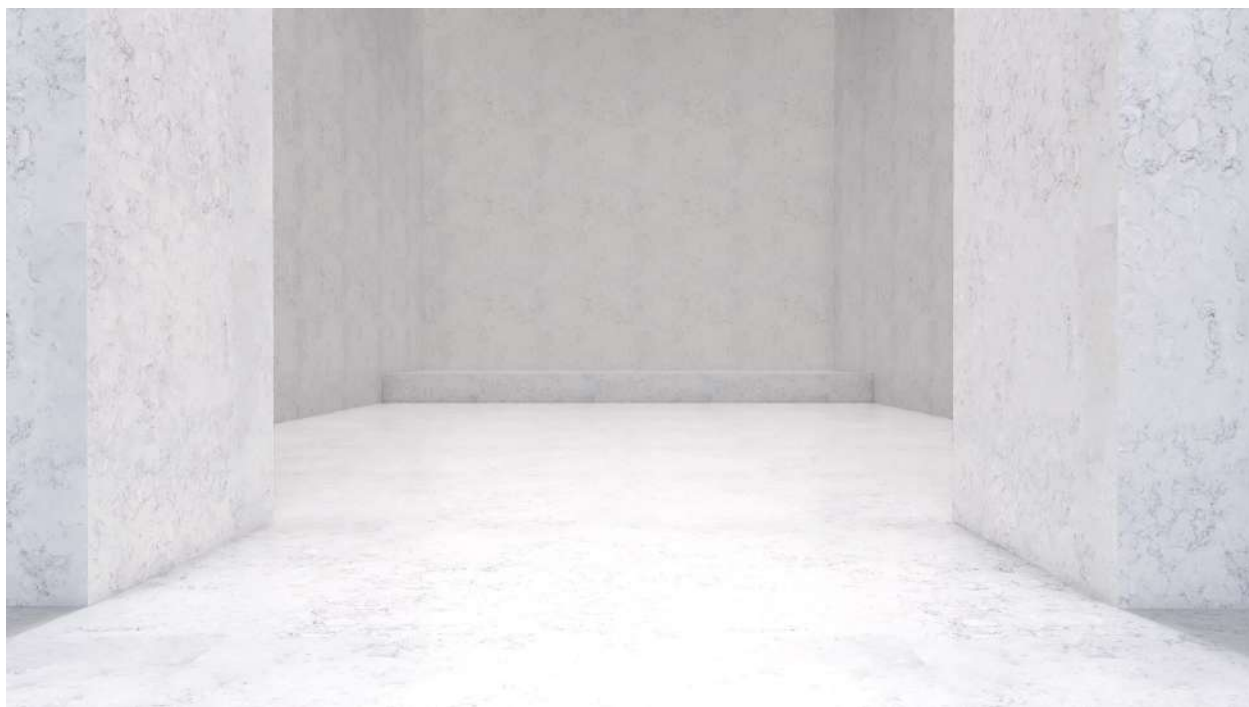
(Fig. 3) Top view of the unfinished Doric column peristyle, Image: D.M. Dams



(Fig. 4) Bronze astragals adorned around the crepidoma, Image: D.M. Dams



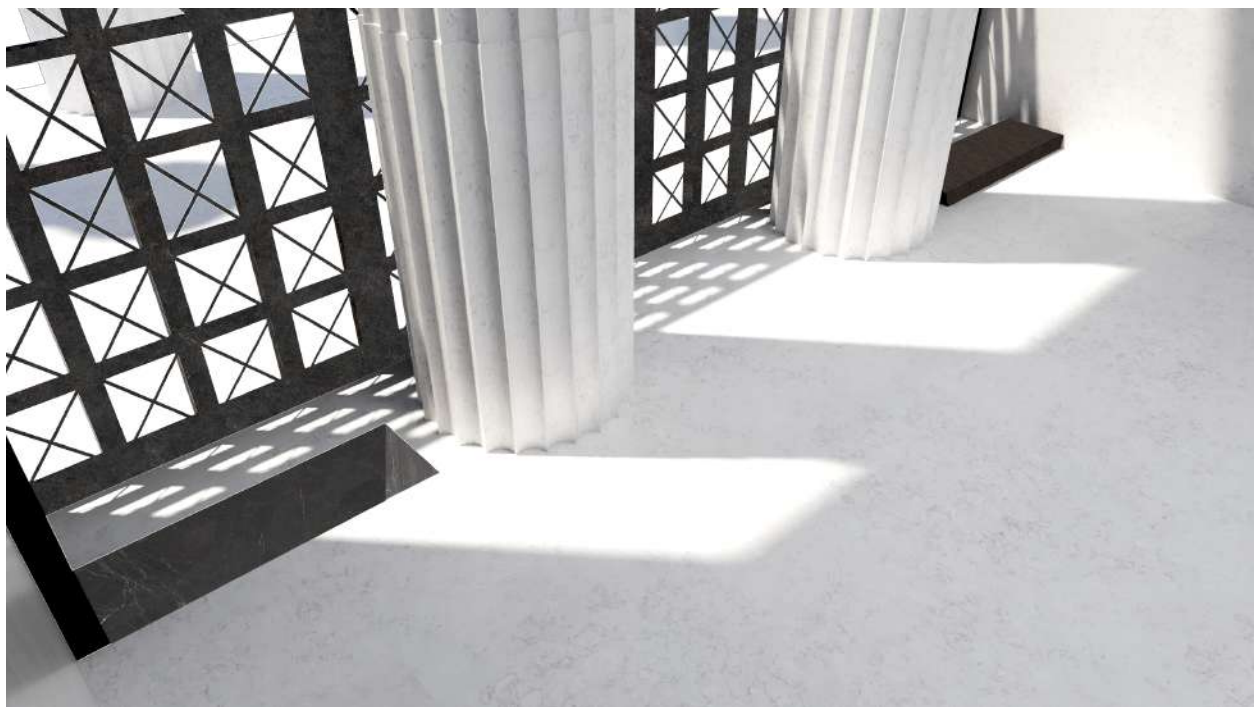
*(Fig. 5) Up the five-stepped platform and into the pronaos, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 6) View into the naos facing the wall where a 7-8 meter statue of the triad: Apollo, Artemis and Leto once towered over the space, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 7) View into the pronaos from the naos, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 8) Symmetrical entrances into the adyton from the pronaos, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 9) Down the stairs into the adyton showing the third turn into the first corridor, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 10) View of the first corridor where there is the fourth turn into the conjoined central corridor, Image: D.M. Dams*





*(Fig. 11) View down the center of the corridor with the upcoming fifth turn, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 12) View of the sixth turn to the side entrances leading to the consulting chamber, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 13) View of the door at the north entrance looking into the consultation room, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 14) View of the consulting chamber from north to south, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 15) View of the consulting chamber from south to north with the base of the Archaic statue and the omphalos, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 16) View of the consulting chamber from west to east looking at the five waiting chairs under the arches, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 17) View from east to west looking into the passageway leading to the oracle chamber,  
Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 18) View of the oracle chamber from south to north looking at the sacred oracle well,  
Image: D.M. Dams*





*(Fig. 19) View of the sacred well from west to east looking towards the connecting passageway, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 20) View into the connecting passageway with the small seat of the priest to take notes of the prophecies given by the oracle, Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 21) View from west to east looking back into the consulting chamber from the passageway,  
Image: D.M. Dams*



*(Fig. 22) View from west to east looking back into the consulting chamber from the passageway,  
Image: D.M. Dams*

## VII. CONCLUSION: THE USE OF SPACE TO REFLECT GREEK RELIGIOUS VALUES IN TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN CLAROS

The initial objective of this research intended to illustrate the transformation in the architecture of the second phase of the Hellenistic Temple and show how it restructured the ritual of the oracle consultation to reflect a change in Greek religious values. The proposal brought forward was that the evidence of worship in architecture and in ritual would show a distinct change that aligned with the Archaic Greek religious values that emphasized the common interests of the polis and the Hellenistic values through rituals that became increasingly individualistic and experiential.

The Pre-Archaic and Archaic evidence of votive offerings and the animal sacrifices at the nearby Altar of Apollo reveal evidence of communal feasts and public forms of worship, which remains in line with the expected Archaic religious practices. The Archaic oracle well is constructed in the center of a sekos and does not yet show evidence of limited access or ritualistic arrangement. The remnants of the celebrations at Claros, including the Festival of Anthestheria and the hecatombs, indicate large-scale communal gatherings and ritual feasting that occurred at the sanctuary. The hecatomb blocks date to the second half of the 2nd century BC and respond to a later period in Greek history, demonstrating that large communal feasts continued to take place at Claros well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The high-quality of the ceramics found in relation to the hecatombs, seem to indicate that the oracle ritual offerings became more official as a result of the large groups of people coming from throughout the region and distant parts of the Roman Empire, in contrast with smaller-scale individual offerings seen in earlier times. In the 2nd century AD, the prophecies inscribed on the memorial at Troketta reveal the communal interests of society in their attempt to overcome an epidemic by erecting statues at the direction of the oracle of Claros. Evidence from the rituals around the sanctuary of Claros indicate an increase communal worship as its trans-regional influence extended throughout the area. However, the architectural reconfiguration of the second phase of the Hellenistic temple proves that, in the ritual of oracle consultation, there was a greater emphasis placed on the individual experience in later Hellenistic and Roman times.

The entire restructuring of the naos and adyton shows deliberate attention to detail to create an individualized and mystical experience in the consultation of the divine. Before the descent down the stairs into the adyton, the space above is open and inclusive for religious worship. With each step down, the marble transitions from white to black and the space darkens and narrows into corridors that only allow room for a one-by-one procession. This descent down

into the adyton and the consultation of the oracle was a limited access ritual, representing a different kind of worship at the temple. After the sensory experience of turning seven times through the corridors, the consultants entered into the vaulted ceiling chamber, reminiscent of a cave-like space which was generally considered to be the most ideal setting to initiate contact between humans and the divinities. The intentional details of the statue and omphalos in the chamber reinforce the experience of the oracle consultation, as visitors waited in their chairs surrounded by visual depictions of their journey to connect with the deities. The preparation of the ritual by the priestess included an isolation and fasting period to be in a state to receive peak inspiration from the deities. At the night of the consultation, the ritual with the sacred water was performed in the oracle chamber that was only accessible to the priestess. Through darkness and the separation between the chambers, there was a physical division from the sacred, but the structure still allowed for a sensory awareness of the ritual taking place adding to the mystique.

Although communal rituals continued to take place later on in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the architectural changes in the second phase of the Hellenistic temple reflect a shift in religious values that is a well-known feature of the post-Classical stage of Greek religion, namely an increased emphasis on the personal, intimate, even mystic dimension of the individual's experience of the sacred. During these populated sacrificial feasts, a select few delegates were admitted down into the adyton to partake in the oracle consultations to receive the prophecies of their fate. They participated in the ritual through experiencing the intentional details of the renovated architecture. The virtual reconstruction is meant to supplement this work and give present-day viewers the ability to see the visual journey of the visitors who partook in the ritual of the oracle consultation in the second phase of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo. Rather than a verbal description, the 3D reconstruction becomes a tool to visualize and understand the use of space to evoke the sacred and mystical. In accordance with the the Hellenistic religious values of the time, the reconstruction is intended to emphasize the experience of the renewed religious space and provide the ability to individually participate in the virtual ritual of the oracle consultations at the Temple of Apollo in Claros.

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