

THE TERM ἄδυτον IN THE GREEK RELIGIOUS LEXICON FROM THE 8TH CENTURY BC TO THE 15TH CENTURY AD

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Abstract: PAPADOPOULOU, Panagiota. *The Term ἄδυτον in the Greek Religious Lexicon From the 8th Century BC to the 15th Century AD.* In the long history of Greek reality, religiosity underwent substantial changes in its approaches and beliefs, a fact that also involved the need for linguistic adaptations in order to express new concepts and requirements of worship. Monolectic names or periphrasis influenced by the Greek philosophical tradition as a result of its use throughout the history of the Greek letters appear until today without losing their religious concept. For instance, the monolectic name ἄδυτον which appeared in the 8th century BC is being used until now.

Keywords: *faith, religion, worship, Greece, linguistic adaptation*

Abstrakt: PAPADOPOULOU, Panagiota. *Výraz ἄδυτον v gréckom náboženskom lexikóne od 8. storočia pr. Kr. do 15. storočia.* V dlhej histórii gréckej reality religiozita prešla zásadnými zmenami vo svojich prístupoch a presvedčeniach. V skutočnosti zahŕňa potrebu jazykových adaptácií s cieľom vyjadriť nové koncepty a požiadavky uctievania. Jednoslovné mená alebo opisy ovplyvnené gréckou filozofickou tradíciou sa ako výsledok svojho používania v celej histórii gréckeho písomníctva objavujú dodnes bez straty svojho náboženského chápania. Napríklad termín ἄδυτον sa objavuje v 8. storočí pr. Kr. a používa sa až do súčasnosti.

Klíčové slová: *viera, náboženstvo, uctievanie, Grécko, jazyková adaptácia*

The rich Greek linguistic landscape that was used to set the character of the Christian religion is the same as that which used to express previous religious and cult manifestations. Set through the millennia of pagan cult, it was transformed for its adaptation into the new reality of Christianity, influenced by the Greek philosophical tradition, as shown when going through the history of Greek literature. Numerous forms of cult had to be adapted to the new demands and needs, and along were used many terms, either with a previous or evolved meaning within a new context.

In spite of the approximation to divinity being different for the pagan and Christian period, the need to beg, worship and thank the immaterial and spiritual power is common and intense (Kalligas 1946, 19-24). The temple is the man's first official and public construction, raised from the need to host the supernatural power. It is the visible image of the union of the superior being and the inferior one, the universal and evoking symbol (Papadopoulos 1992, 18-22).

The sacred place of the first centuries of paganism and its most evolved form of the temple, and the temple of Christianity, are part of the same symbolism. It is the dwelling place of the divine presence, the meeting point for the heavenly world and the human world, the symbolism of the *sacred*. In order to build up their temples, pagans chose places indicated by divine signs and Christians, after the decadence of paganism, built up churches where former temples had been and many times with the very same materials (Sotiriou 1962, 164). The ἱερόν with its ἄδυτον

of pagan reality is transformed into the temple with its *ιερόν* of Christian reality, buildings with common destiny and common names: “Μὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα ἢ Ἐκκλησία τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Ἀνατολῆς διέπλασε τὴν Χριστιανικὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν συναφὴ αὐτῆ θεϊὰν λατρείαν καὶ τὴν θεολογίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τέχνην” (Metropolita Chrisanthos 1940, 77).

In the Christian temple the most sacred and important place, where the Holy Communion – the essential sacrament of the eastern Christian rite is celebrated, is the chancel or presbytery.

It is true that religion and faith in the Greek world, both in pagan and Christian period, have played a very important role. The way of manifesting faith for many centuries underwent many changes, the fact which is also reflected upon the language and the form of expression. During the Proto-byzantine period, the terminology of paganism was modified by the Great Fathers of the 4th century AD to the needs of the Christian cult (Konidaris 1954, 153-167). Thus, the rich linguistic situation set for millennia in the pagan cult was modified so as to be adapted to the new religious reality, which already received the influence of the Greek philosophical tradition. Many of the names of the parts of a temple are common in all the periods of the history of religiosity in the Greek world, in spite of the differences shown by their religious manifestations. Consequently, from the linguistic point of view, the Christian chancel or *presbytery* is expressed, in most cases, with terms used during the pagan period, terms that are still used after having undergone a process of adaptation to the Christian cult. Therefore, it is about monoleptic (one-word) names or periphrases (many-word) (Papadopoulou 2007, 86) influenced by the philosophical Greek tradition as a consequence of their use throughout the history of the Greek literature.

Among these names, the term *ἄδυτον*, derived from the verb *δύω enter, dive, sink, penetrate*, plus the privative *α*, is found in the texts of the Greek literature as an adjective *ἄδυτος – ἄδυτος/η – ἄδυτο(ν)* and in a higher frequency, as a nominalised adjective *ἄδυτο(ν)*.

It appears for the first time in the texts of the 8th century BC, and its presence still goes on until the current days as an adjective *ἄδυτος – ἄδυτος/η – ἄδυτο(ν)* or nominalized adjective: *ἄδυτο(ν)*.

The term is found for the first time in Homer’s *Iliad* used as a nominalized adjective and with the meaning of *sanctuary*: *Iliad* E 512 “...αὐτὸς δ’ Αἰνείαν μάλα πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτοιο ἦκε, καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι μένος βάλε ποιμένι λαῶν”.

In an identical form and reason, the term is found in the Homeric Hymn devoted to Apollo. This hymn appears together with an adjective with an exaggerated meaning and intensifies the sanctity of the sanctuary *ἄδυτον ζάθειον sacred sanctuary, the most sacred one*.

With its nominalized form, it mainly represents during the archaic period one of the most sacred, important and particular places of the Greek pagan reality. Part of the main temple was set inside and separated by a wall so as to make it impenetrable and inaccessible. In the temples where there was *ἄδυτον*, this was the place where they kept the statue of the divinity to whom the temple was devoted and which was to be isolated from mortals (Burkert 2007, 122-128.). The entrance could be trespassed only by the priests and the violent access to the facilities was not only considered a sacrilege but also a cause for punishment. Very important and characteristic is the case of Delphi. In the deep and inaccessible *ἄδυτον*, the Pythia, far from the sight of the mortals, with the fumes and chewing laurel, revealed the oracles. She represented the most mystagogical part of the pagan reality and this very same concept which used to form the character of the pagan religion is also used to express *εσωτερικές, μυστηριακές...* (Papadopoulou 2007, 549) religious manifestations, including those of the later cult of Christianity.

In the archaic period Tyrtaeus, in an excerpt gathered by Diodorus in *Fragmenta* 3b, 580,F. 3b. 4 “...γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἀναξ ἑκάεργος Ἰπόλλων χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου”, presents the prophecy announced by the Pythia to Lycurgus and uses the term as a nominalized adjective with the meaning of *sanctuary*, referred to that of Delphi. In identical form and meaning, almost

a century later, the term is used by Theognis in *Elegiae* 1.808 “...ὦι τινί κεν Πυθῶνι θεοῦ χρήσασ’ ἱέρεια ὀμφήν σημήνην πίονος ἐξ ἄδυτου”.

In the lyric poetry of the same period and more specifically in Pindar, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis, Paian de Hermes* 52g. 5 “...μαντευμάτων τε θεσπεσιῶν δοτήρα καὶ τελεσσειε(πή) θεοῦ ἄδυτον”, the word is found with the same meaning (i.e. *sanctuary*) in the texts of Tyrtaeus and Theognis.

The use of the word, as an adjective and a nominalized adjective, continues being present in the classic time indicating, when nominalized, both the antique and the new evolved forms of the place of cult. The sacred places, a cave, a mountain or later a place with or without a wooden temple, were substituted by the most evolved form, that of a sacred place of Doric or Ionian order, and with all the other constructions devoted to the gods. It must be highlighted that in all occasions the term ἄδυτον defines the sacred place to which the access is forbidden.

In the *History* by Herodotus, 5.72.13 – 5.72.18 “...Ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη. Ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχέσειν, ἦμε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρήη ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι εἶπε· “Ὡ ξεῖνε Λακαδαίμονι, πάλιν χώρει μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνταῦθα”, it appears as a nominalized adjective with the meaning of *sanctuary* to which the access is forbidden. It makes reference to the attempt of Cleomenes to enter the temple of Athena and to the immediate reaction of the priestess who announced him, according to the law, the prohibition of access to foreigners (Papachatzis 2006, 17-34 and Burkert 2007, 122-128) and in this case, to the Dorians. The use as a nominalized adjective can be also found in the *Epistles* by Hippocrates, 27. 97 “...Ὁ μὲν Χρύσος δόρατι πληγείς ἔπεσε κατ’ ἄκρης ἐκ τοῦ πύργου ὑπὸ Μερμοδέω, τοῦ Λύκου δὲ ἀδελφεοῦ, ὃς ἀπέθανε ελευθεῖς, ὅτε ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον τὸν τρίποδα συλήσων. Ἡ δ’ οὖν πόλις οὕτως ἦλω· ἢ τε τοῦ Νεβροῦ ἐπικουρή σὺν Χρύσῳ ὀρθῶς ἀπήντησε καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἰατρικὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ πολεμικά, ὃ τε θεὸς ἠλήθευσε, καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο ἐποίησεν” with the meaning of *sacred place* of *sanctuary*, where it makes reference to the ἄδυτον of the oracles where prophecies were revealed.

During the Hellenistic period, the period of transmission in Greek history, the term ἄδυτον continues being used by multiple authors in its adjective and nominalized form. Isilo and Hermippus use it as a nominalized adjective, the former to mention the sanctuary of the god Asclepius, as set out in *Collectanea Alexandrina. Fragmenta* 30 “...Πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλαεᾶτα βωμὸν καὶ θυσιάαις ἠγλάισεν τέμενος. Οὐδὲ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκηι πειραθείης εἰς ἄδυτον καταβάς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄφ’ ἀγνοῦ πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλαεᾶτα”. The latter, in an excerpt gathered by Diogenes Laërtius, in *Fragmenta* 42.9, *Diógenes Laertio* V 91 “...ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησιμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὦναντο οἱ πλάσαντες αὐτόν, αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἀπόπληκτος ἐγένετο, οἱ τεθεωροὶ καταλευσθέντες διεφθάρσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Πυθία τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν κατιοῦσα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ἐπιστᾶσα ἐνὶ τῶν δρακόντων δηχθεῖσα παραχρήμα ἀπέπνευσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα”, uses it to refer to the most internal and inaccessible part of the oracle of Delphoi, the adyton, and the death of the Pythia in the adyton by the bite of one of the dragons guarding it.

Posidonius of Apamea, in an excerpt gathered by Diodorus Siculus, referred to the most internal part of the Jewish temple of forbidden access except to priests. He uses the adjective form ἄδυτος to characterize it, as set out in *Fragmenta* 131^a 17 *Diodoro* 34/35,1 “...Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ὁ προσαγορευθείς Ἐπιφανῆς καταπολεμήσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄδυτον τοῦ θεοῦ σηκόν, οὐ νόμιμον εἰσιέναι μόνον τὸν ἱερέα...”.

In the Roman period, the word is still present in multiple authors. Among them, Diodorus Siculus in his *Historical Library* presents on the one hand Posidonius of Apamea’s aforementioned text, consequently, with equal meaning, and on the other hand, copying the work by Tyrtaeus, it presents the prophecy announced by the Pythia to Lycurgus, and uses the term as a nominalized

adjective with the meaning of *sanctuary*, referring to that of Delphoi. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his work *Roman Antiquities* adds the importance of the sanctity of the ἄδυτον describing the care and guard of the it by the Trojans: *Antiquitates Romanae / Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας λόγος πρῶτος* 1.69.1.5 “...Ποιήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς νεῶν τε καὶ ἄδυτον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ φυλάττειν δι’ ἐπιμελείας ὅσης ἐδύναντο πλείστης θεόπεμπτὰ τε ἡγουμένους εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίας κύρια τῇ πόλει...”, and Strabo in his play *Geographica* makes reference to the sanctuary, the adyton, where Leto spent the period of her puerperium after the delivery of Artemis and Apollo, as set out in *Geographica* 14.1.20.16 “...εἶτα λιμάνι Πάνορμος καλούμενος ἔχων ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐφεσσίας Ἀρτέμιδος· εἴθ’ ἡ πόλις· ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ παραλίᾳ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ὀρτυγία διαπρεπὲς ἄλλος παντοδαπῆς ὕλης, κυπαρίττου δὲ τῆς πλείστης, διαρρεῖ δὲ ὁ Κέγχριος ποταμός, οὗ φασι νίψασθαι τὴν Λητώ μετὰ τὰς ὠδίννας, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μυθεύουσι τὴν λοχείαν καὶ τὴν τροφὸν τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον ἐν ᾧ ἡ λοχεία, καὶ τὴν πλησίον ἐλαίαν, ἣν πρῶτον ἐπαναπαύσασθαι φασι τὴν θεὸν ἀπολυθεῖσαν τῶν ὠδίνων”. In that same work using the adjective form of the term “Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραιάς ναὸν ἄδυτον γυναιξὶ ἀόρατον” (*Geographica* 14.6.3.17), it refers to the temple of Aphrodite placed in Mount Olympus of Cyprus and the in-force prohibition according to which the temple was inaccessible and invisible to women (Burkert 2007, 135-136).

Almost one century later, in the 1st century BC, Domitius Callistratus copied an excerpt of the work by Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* where the word appears in the same use and meaning.

In the first century AD, Isidorus in his work *Hymns to Isis*, by using the term as an adjective, makes reference to the inaccessibility of the Mount Olympus, *Himni in Isim* 4. 3 “...Ὡς αἰπὺν καὶ ἄδυτον ἐσημῶσατ’ Ὀλυμπον Διοῖ ὑψίστην Ἰσιδι”. Philo of Alexandria, in *The Life of Moses* 2.87.6, 2.95.1 “...ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ τε καταπέτασμα καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κάλυμμα κατεσκευάζετο, τὸ μὲν εἶσω κατὰ τοὺς τέσσαρας κίονας, ἴν’ ἐπικρύπτηται τὸ ἄδυτον, τὸ δ’ ἔξω κατὰ τοὺς πέντε, ὡς μηδεὶς ἐξ ἀπόπτου δύναται τῶν μὴ ἱερωμένων καταθεάσασθαι τὰ ἅγια...”, and Flavius Josephus in *Judaic Antiquities* 3.125.2 “...ᾧ καταπετάννυσαν τοὺς κίονας, οἱ διαιροῦντες τὸν νεῶν τὸ ἄδυτον ἐνδον αὐτῶν ἀπελάμβανον· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ποιοῦν αὐτὸ μηδενὶ κάτοπτον...”, in his descriptions of a Jewish temple identifies it with the *Sancta Sanctorum*, the most sacred place in the temple to which the access is forbidden and must be visible to no one.

A different and interesting dimension is offered in the same century by Achilles Tatius in his work *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.11.8.2 “...λαβὼν δὲ τινὰς λίθους περιθραύει τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον ἀνοίγει τῆς πορφύρας καὶ θησαυρὸν εὕρισκει βαφῆς...”. The term as used here indicates the interior of the purple in which the treasure of the ink in strong red colour is found.

Later, Pausanias Periegetes in his work *Description of the Attic-Hellade* 7. 27. 2. 7 “...λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄδυτον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθήκειν ἐς βάθος τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ τὸ ἄδυτον τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῷ βάθρῳ, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου νότιον τε εἶναι καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ τῷ ἐλεφάντι ἐπιτήδειον...”, when referring to the temple of Athena, gives a quite precise and close description to the totality of the meaning of the term, using it as a nominalized adjective with the meaning of *sacred and deep place, part of the temple and sanctuary*.

In the same period, Lucian in his *A True Story* uses the term as a nominalized adjective and with the already known meaning of *sanctuary*, *Verae historiae* 2.33.20 “...καὶ πλησίον ναοὶ δύο Ἀπάτης καὶ Ἀληθείας ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον.” Lucian himself in his work offers one more characteristic of the ἄδυτον, which is the depth (Burkert 1993, 17-48) and the obligation of the descend to access it, in *Alexander* 19.17 “...αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τὰ βιβλία καὶ εἰς ἄδυτον κατελθὼν...”.

Julius Pollux and Philostratus the Elder – still in the same period – use the term respectively as an adjective with the meaning of *impenetrable* referring to a place, in *Onomasticon* 1. 9. 2 “...εἰ μέντοι καὶ τι χωρίον ἄβατον εἴη τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦτο καὶ ἄδυτον εἶποις ἂν καὶ ἄψαστον καὶ ἀψαστούμενον

καὶ ἀθέατον καὶ ἀνάκτορον...” and of *unapproachable* making reference to the impossibility of going through the earth, in *Imagines* 2.16.2.6 “...προσιόντι δε αὐτῷ ῥήγνηται τι κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἄδυτον διασχούσης τῆς γῆς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος...”, but without losing the reference to a place related to the sacred thing.

Origen in the *Book X of Canticum canticorum* gives the term a different dimension making reference to the soul. The characteristic of ἄδυτον, *sacred place, sanctuary and kingdom of Jesus* in the *Libri X in Canticum canticorum* 108.29 “...Ἦγουν ἄδυτον τὴν ἀξίεραστον λέγει ψυχὴν ἢ ἐκκλησίαν ἢ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ὃ Παῦλος εἰσελθὼν ἔφη...”.

In Diogenes Laërtius, Hermippus’ biographer, are found excerpts of this and among them, the one referring to Delphoi’s ἄδυτον and to the death of the Pythia by the bite of one of the dragons. Still in the same period, the term appears nominalized in *Etiopicas* 2.11.5.4 “...οὐ γὰρ δὴ μαντικὸν με τότε τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνέδειξε καθάπερ τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς Πυθοῦς...” by Heliodorus of Emesa, and in *Enneads* 6.9.11.30 “...καὶ μὴ γενόμενος δὲ τὸ ἄδυτον τοῦτο ἀόρατόν τι χρῆμα νομίσας καὶ πηγὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν”, by Plotinus, indicating the sanctuary. In the work *Life of Constantine* 12.3.6 “...λόγος δ’ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρόεισι μονογενῆς, οἷα πατὴρ ἐξ ἀδύτου μυχῷ γεγεννημένος, ἀρρήτῳ λόγῳ καὶ δυνάμει ἀκατονομάστω...” by Eusebius we find one of the more interesting and beautiful meanings, since, in order to emphasize the virginity of the body that delivered the son of God, he uses the adjective ἄδυτος and makes reference to *the born out of virginal cavity, ἄδυτος μυχός*.

In the early Byzantine period and in the time of transition after Christianity was established as an official religion of the Byzantine Empire, the term is used by the writers to indicate the concepts of paganism and to characterize or declare the Christian reality (Konidaris 1954, 57).

Athanasius in *Life of Saint Anthony* in which through the life of the father of the monasticism Saint Anthony the author contributed to the spread of the ideal of asceticism (Agouridis 1997, 34-39), the saint is presented as if he had gone out of a sacred place, a ἄδυτον in which he accepted the Grace of God and the mystagogical element of the Christian belief, *Vita Antonii* 26.864.30 “...προῆλθεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὡσπερ ἐκ τινος ἀδύτου μεμυσταγωγημένος καὶ θεοφορούμενος...”.

About the same time, Ephrem makes reference to the light that will not expire ἄδυτον φῶς, the light that takes God towards the one who walks, those who “have lighted on” the lights of their hearts, as set out in *Sermo in eos, qui in Christo obdormierunt* 122. 94. 9 “...καὶ φῶτα ἀνάψαντες οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας φωτίσαντες καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἄδυτον ὁδοιπορήσαντες...”.

A little bit later, Gregory of Nissa presents the difference between the divine and human nature using the nominalized term, in which the metaphorical use makes reference to the “impenetrability” of the divinity and the “penetrability” of mortality, to immortal divinity and mortal humanity, in *Contra Eunomium* 3.9.13.3 “...οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἦν οἶος διασχεῖν τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ διῖδειν ἰσχύσαι τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἄδυτον...”.

One of the three hierarchs of the Orthodox Church, Saint John Chrysostom in his work *On Penance* uses again the term as an adjective and with the already known meaning of that *which will not expire*, referring to the light with which metaphorically God clothes all men, in *De paenitentia* 60.703.41 “...ἐνδύω ὑμᾶς ἄδυτον φῶς...”. Likewise, he uses the term as a nominalized adjective to characterize the interior of the Sancta Sanctorum of the temple of Solomon, to which the access was forbidden, as described in *In laudem conceptionis sancti Joannis Baptistae* 50.789.63 “...τὸ δὲ ἐνδότατον τούτοις ἄδυτόν τε καὶ ἀνεπίβατον ἦν, Ἅγιον ἀγίων λεγόμενον...”.

Socrates Scholasticus and Salminius Hermias Sozomenus in their *Historias ecclesiasticas* make reference to the discovery of ancient sanctuaries, the ἄδυτα, to their findings and the pagan mysteries and, ironically, in trying to defend Christianity they characterize the practices as ridiculous and weird: *Historiae cclesiastica* 3.2.10 “...Καὶ δὴ ἀνακαθαίρομένου ἄδυτον ἠῦρηται κατὰ βάθος πολλοῦ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέκρυπτο...” and *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.7.6.1 “...Γεωργίου

δὲ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν εὐκτηρίου οἴκου ἀνακαθαίροντος, ἄδυτον ἀνεφάνη, ἐν ᾧ ξόανα μὲν ἴσως καὶ ὄργανά τινά εὐρέθη τῶν ἐνθάδε τότε μουσικῶν ἢ τελομένων, ἃ τοῖς ὄρωσι γελοῖα τε καὶ ξένα ἐδόκει...”

The use of the word as an adjective to declare the light that will not expire is found in the work *Commentary on the Palms* by Asterius. The author makes reference to God, who is the light that will not expire; He is true, insomniac and permanent, in *Commentarii in Psalmos* 24.10.6 “...Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ φῶς ἐστὶν ἀληθινόν, ἄδυτον, ἀκοίμητον, ἄσβεστον...”

In the 6th or 7th century anonymous *Akathist Hymn* devoted to the Virgin, an extraordinary manifestation of Byzantine music, the term appears several times to characterize the Virgin Herself or Her Son, *Himno Acatisto* 9.6 “Χαῖρε, ἀστέρως ἀδύτου Μήτηρ... χαῖρε, ἄστρον ἄδυτον... χαῖρε, λαμπτήρ τοῦ ἀδύτου φέγγους...” She is the Mother of the star that does not set ἀστέρως ἀδύτου Μήτηρ, she is also the star that does not set ἄστρον ἄδυτον, and she lights the shining that does not disappear λαμπτήρ τοῦ ἀδύτου φέγγους.

In the work of Theodorus Studita, the term appears with a double meaning. On the one hand, in *Epistulas* he uses it to refer to the light that does not set referring to God and on the other hand, in *A Homily on the Nativity of the Virgin* he uses it to refer to ἡμέραν ἀδύτου σωτηρίας, the eternal day of salvation that God created for man, *Epistulae* 002 316.9 “...ἀναθεώρει τὰ οὐράνια τὰς ἡτοιμασμένας ἀναπαύσεις τῶν ἀγίων, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἄδυτον, τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἀνεκλάλητον, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἀκήρατον...” and *Homilia in nativitate Mariae* 96.692.2 “...ἡ ταῖς τῶν ἀρετῶν λαμπηδόσι κατάστερος, ἐξ ἧς ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν, ἡμέραν ἀδύτου σωτηρίας ἀνθρώποις δημιουργησάμενος”.

Photios in his *Lexicon* offers the double meaning of the word ἄδυτον as a nominalized adjective, that of *cave* and of *secret part of the sanctuary*, *Lexicon alpha* 397.1 “Ἄδυτον· σπήλαιον. ἢ τὸ ἀπόκρυφον μέρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ”. Likewise, in his work *Library* when referring to the theory of pagan oriental religions, he emphasizes the wisdom that can be described in the depth or the truth characterized by him as mythical: *Biblioteca* 242. 335a. 26 “Εἶσω δὲ ἦτοι αὕτη σοφία κρυπτομένη ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τῆς μυθολογίας ταύτης ἀληθείας, οὕτως ἡρέμα παραγυμνοῦται κατὰ βραχὺ τῷ δυναμένῳ πρὸς θεὸν ἀνακλίνει τὴν ἱερὰν ἀγύην τῆς ψυχῆς...”

One century after the dictionary of Photio, in Suda's work, such word appears in identical form and sense, i.e., as a nominalized adjective and with the meaning of *cave* and *secret part of the sanctuary*; nevertheless, it also appears with the meaning of *sanctuary*.

To the rise of the star that never sets, which is the source of novelties and progress of the Byzantine Empire, makes reference Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his work *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*. More specifically, it refers to the rebirth of men and of the Empire itself carried out after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, using the term as an adjective: *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* 1.46.14 “...Ἐσφραγισμένου γὰρ τοῦ τάφου, ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας καὶ ὄφθεις ἀποστόλοις τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγκανίζει, καὶ εἰρήνην χαρίζεται πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον κράτος ἀστέρως ἀνατολῆ τοῦ ἀδύτου νεουργεῖ καὶ μεγαλύνει, ὡς λαμπρὸς ἥλιος, προερχόμενος σήμερον εἰς δόξαν”. In the same author, but in this case in the work *On Virtues and Vices* 2.6.25 “ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε: Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾶς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κεραΐζεις;...”, the term is found as a nominalized adjective with the meaning of *deep sanctuary*.

In the late Byzantine period, the term keeps on being present in several authors. Among them Michael Psellus, who uses the word with the form of a nominalized adjective to indicate the sanctuary in his work *Orationes forenses et acta* 007 1.2030, 007 1.2034 “...ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἦτον θρηνώ ὀξύτερον δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ὄρων ζητῶ τὸ ἄδυτον, τοὺς θυῖσκους, τὰ σπονδεῖα, τὸ ἰλαστήριον, ἢ τοῦ κυρίου τράπεζα ποῦ; οἱ ἀνέχοντες κίονες; οἱ περιζωννύντες; εἶδ' ἐκεῖνα οὐδὲν

οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ συγκατέστραπται πάντα καὶ συνηφάνισται. ἀρὰ γε μετὰ ταῦτα τειχίω τινὶ τὸ ἄδυτον περιέλιφεν ἵνα καὶ αὐθις εἶη τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβατον;”

George Kedrenos in *Compendium historiarum* and Michael Attaliates in *Historia* describing the Jewish religious reality use the mentioned term as a nominalized adjective to indicate the sanctuary of the temple of Jerusalem in which the access is only allowed to the High Priest and to declare the Sancta Sanctorum of the Jewish tabernacle: *Compendium historiarum* 1.118.12 “εἰς δὲ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν οἱ ἄμωμοι ἱερεῖς, στολὰς ἱερατικὰς ἐνδεδυμένοι. εἰς δὲ τὸ ἄδυτον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μόνος, τὴν οἰκείαν στολὴν περιβεβλημένος...” and *Historia* 259.6 “...ἐντὸς εἰσέδου τῆς δευτέρας σκηνῆς τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας σοφίας, ἥτις ἅγια μὲν ἀγίων τοῖς πάλαι κατωνομάζετο, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τῆς νέας διαθήκης πρὸς τούτω καὶ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἄδυτον καὶ ἱλαστήριον· καὶ τῶν θείων ἀπριξέχόμενος τόπον ἀσουλίας τὴν θείαν ἐποιεῖτο ἀντίληψιν”.

John Skylitzes in *Synopsis historiarum* 1 41 49 “...ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ Μωκίου τοῦ μάρτυρος μέγα τέμενος, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ὑποπισὸν ρήγμασι, καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον τούτου μέρος ἄχρι τῆς γῆς καταβληθὲν ἐσχηκὸς ὡς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν κατεᾶξαι τράπεζαν...” opts for the word to assign the meaning of *deep and underground*, always related to the sacred thing, while another Byzantine author John Zonaras, in his work *Epitome historiarum*, makes reference to the Sancta Sanctorum of the Jewish tabernacle using the ἄδυτον.

Following the diachronic travel of the term, the Etimologico Gudiano dictionary of the 11th century, gathers with clarity the totality of the meanings of the ἄδυτον. In first place, it declares its meaning as an adjective *inaccessible, impenetrable, invisible, found in depth*; secondly, it continues with the form of the nominalized adjective with the meaning of *internal, deep and invisible* of the temples to which the access is forbidden and, lastly, with the nominalized term and in neuter indicates *the invisible*: Alpha. 24.14 “Ἄδυτα σπήλαια, ἄδυτὰ τε ἔχειν αὐτόματα, ὄροφαί, οἶον οἴκοι ὑπόγαιοι σκοτεινοί. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰ μύχια τῶν ἱερῶν ἄδυτα, εἰς ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰσελθεῖν· ἀπὸ τοῦ δύω, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ὑπεσέρχομαι, ὁ παθητικὸς παρακείμενος δέδυμαι, δέδυται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δυτὸς καὶ ἄδυτος, καὶ τὸ οὐδέτερον ἄδυτον. ἄδυτα οὖν τὰ ἀφανῆ...”

The Etimologico Magno dictionary of the 12th century proves the identical totality of the meanings of the term already gathered in the mentioned Etimologico Gudiano dictionary. This is, as an adjective, the meaning is *inaccessible, impenetrable, invisible, found in depth*; secondly, with the form of a nominalized adjective indicating the interior depth and invisibility of the temples where access is forbidden and, lastly, as a nominalized neuter meaning the invisible.

In this same century, Eustathius of Thessalonica in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* makes varied assessments about Homer’s *Iliad* and he uses the term to indicate the sanctuary, as set out in *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 2.138.18, 2.138.19 “Ὅτι ἐν τῷ Αἰνεῖαν μάλα πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτοιο ἦκε καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι μένος βάλε τὴν Τρωϊκὴν δαυιλῆ δηλοῖ, ἦν καὶ ὁ τοῦ μύθου Ζεὺς φθάσας ἐπήνεσε. Πῖον δὲ ἄδυτον ἄλλον τρόπον ἤπερ τὸ πῖον ζῶον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πιαίνειν ἔχει βωμὸν καὶ ἄδυτα, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πιαίνεται” and a little later, Nicetas Choniates uses the term as an adjective to name the ἱερόν, sanctuary, and to indicate the prohibition of the entrance to it, in *Historia* 272 17 “...ἀπάντων ἐφεστώτων σχεδὸν καὶ ἀκρωμένων, ὁπόσους τὸ ἱερόν συνείχεν ἄδυτον, μὴ ἕτερον τι βασιλεύσειν αἰρετίσασθαι ἢ τὸ βουλευθῆναι βοηθῆσαι τούτω καὶ τῷ τούτου κράτει...”

In the diachronic track of the word ἄδυτον, the definitions of the term made by Pseudo Zonaras in his *Lexicon* are worth a mention. He defines it as a) Ἄδυτον: τὸ ἀπόκρυφον μέρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ, where it strongly evidences one of the essential characteristics of the term, its secretism b) τῷ ἐνδοτάτῳ another characteristic of the term, the most interior and deepest, c) ἄδυτον τὸ σπήλαιον the cave for its depth and d) ὁ βάσιμος παντὶ, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἀδύτου where it is highlighted the concept of the inaccessibility that springs out of the term.

Later, Manuel Philes uses the term ἄδυτον as the light that will not expire in his *Carmina* 001 2.95.182 “Ἄλλ’, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἐμῆς γλώττης χάρις, Μᾶλλον δὲ φῶς ἄδυτον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ”

and Nicephorus Gregoras in the description that he makes of his work *Historia Romana* 2.1070.12 “...ὄνόματα γάρ εἰσι ταῦτα καὶ νοήματα τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχικῶν ὠδίνων, ὅσαι πολυπραγμονεῖν τολμῶσι θεόν, ἐν προθύροις ἀνλιζομένων τοῦ ἀδύτου, καὶ οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐκείνου ἐξαγγέλλειν ἐχουσῶν...”, makes reference to the *ἄδυτον* of God, in the doors of which are collected all the pains of the humans.

As appears after the analysis of several sources, the term *ἄδυτον* is one of the most ancient ones in the religious expression. Its use as an adjective is still applicable together with the previous literal or metaphorical meanings, as well as those that it has received by extension of its original meaning, i.e., those of *impenetrable, inaccessible, deep, prohibited* and often, that of *that it does not set*, referred to the light or the sun that is God Himself, Jesus Christ and the Virgin.

After its nominalization, since it is the most used form of the term, it equally indicates what it *impenetrable, inaccessible, found in depth, prohibited, unknown, inexorable*, and declares the *pagan sanctuary*, characterizes the *Sancta Sanctorum* of Solomon’s temple, nominates the most sacred and important place in the Christian temple, the chancel or presbytery and strongly proves one of the essential characteristics of the term, its secretism.

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SUMMARY: THE TERM ἄδυτον IN THE GREEK RELIGIOUS LEXICON FROM THE 8TH CENTURY BC TO THE 15TH CENTURY AD. As appears in several sources, the term ἄδυτον is one of the most ancient ones in the religious discourse. Its nominalized form begins in the 8th century in Homer's *Iliad* indicating the sacred place set in the depth. With the same form and more specific meaning, since it indicates the sanctuaries, it continues to be used during the Archaic period. In the Classic period it is used to indicate the most interior part of the temple to which the access was prohibited and still indicates the *adyton* of the oracles. Its nominalized form is used in the Hellenistic period indicating the *sanctuary* and the *adyton*, the most interior and inaccessible part of the oracle of Delphi. Worth to mention is the fact that in its adjective form, it is characterized as *inaccessible, deep and prohibited*, an expression of Jewish reality, the *σηκόζ* of the Jewish temple, widening the semantic field of the term.

With no interruption or exception, the nominalized term is still in use in the Roman period with the meaning of the *most interior and of prohibited access* in the pagan temple, of *sanctuary* and of *adyton* in the oracle of Delphi.

In the Byzantine period and after the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Byzantine Empire, the term is used both to indicate concepts of paganism and to characterize or declare the Christian reality with its nominalized and adjective forms and continues to be in use until the present.

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