

Temple Reuse in Late Antique Greece

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Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the variety of ways that temples were reused by Romans, both Christian and non-Christian, at the end of Antiquity in the present-day country of Greece. It discusses these means of reuse using principally archaeological evidence as a means of countering interpretations of the material culture that temples were either destroyed or reused as churches. These interpretations are based on the assumption that contemporary written sources such as Saints' 'Lives' (the literary genre known as hagiography) are an accurate portrayal of temple reuse in Late Antiquity, without taking into consideration the legendary nature of hagiography. On the other hand, they do not account for potentially contradictory evidence of temple reuse derived from archaeological excavation. It is argued in this thesis that archaeological evidence provides an alternative outcome to that described in contemporary written sources such as hagiography, one that emphasizes practical forms of temple reuse rather than religious. The evidence for this argument is presented at both a geographic level and as discreet categories of forms of reuse of both a religious and practical nature, as a first glimpse of the nuanced image of temple reuse in Greece. Specific examples of the evidence are then cited in a number of case studies to be further developed as a valid attribute in the characterisation of the Late Antique sacred landscape at the level of the Roman Empire. It is concluded that, although practical forms of temple reuse do not greatly alter the sacred landscape of Late Antique Greece, they are crucial in developing a more diverse view of Late Antique religion.

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General Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the variety of ways, both religious and practical, that temples were reused by Romans, both Christian and non-Christian, at the end of Antiquity in the present-day country of Greece. It discusses these means of reuse using principally archaeological evidence. This topic is of importance today because of the persistence, among current scholars, of obsolete assumptions about how Christians in the Roman Empire generally destroyed derelict temples during their religion's climb to power in the fourth to sixth centuries CE, the period typically known as Late Antiquity. These assumptions depend too often on the belief that contemporary written sources such as Saints' 'Lives' (the literary genre known as hagiography) provide a realistic impression of temple reuse in Late Antiquity.

The transformations in religious practices that occurred in this era are a fundamental topic to study for the proper understanding of the Later Roman Empire. An important part of this religious transformation was securing suitable physical locations for the appropriate practice of the new religion, Christianity. Non-Christian temples in the Roman Empire were one possible source of building material for the places of assembly of Christians. In order to better orient the study of temple reuse in Late Antique Greece, the present study will begin with a short summary of the scholarship on the subject of religious transformation in Late Antiquity, followed by a summary of the scholarship on the subject of temple reuse, pointing out the changing nature of the debate. A brief overview of developments in the subject in Greece will follow before this study's research question on the possible forms of temple reuse in Late Antique Greece is discussed.

Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity

The primary reason for the analysis of religion in the study of Late Antiquity is the significant position taken by Christianity in the Roman Empire, as reflected in the widespread literature of the period written by and on Christians, and its status as a state-

favoured religion from the latter half of the reign of the Emperor Constantine.¹ The so-called ‘rise of Christianity’ has been studied in tandem with the traditional religious cults and practices that had been used in the Roman Empire for centuries and historians have had the opportunity, through the study of written sources, to analyze the complicated process whereby the adherents of the old religion adopted the new. From Edward Gibbon in the late eighteenth century up until about forty years ago, historians were under the impression that Christianity was adopted widely and quickly by the inhabitants of the Roman Empire.²

However, since the 1980s scholars have begun to study more carefully transformations in religious cults and practices in the Roman Empire. This new ‘paradigm’ emphasizes the power of small-scale transformations to influence transformations observed on a wider plane, and to make the generalizing image of religious transformation on a larger scale appear multi-dimensional. This research attempts to demonstrate that the traditional religions could ‘co-exist’ alongside Christianity, contrary to Christian written sources that emphasize the exclusive nature of the Christian faith.³ Religious practices that could ‘co-exist’ with another religion are perhaps compatible with the other religion’s principal practices. In the context of religions practiced in the Roman world, these practices could be considered one form of the social ‘customs’ that would have originated in the common cultural background shared by all inhabitants of the Roman Empire. This shared cultural background is one that emphasizes the

¹ Much confusion remains around the events that took place in February 313 CE, and the meeting of the *Augusti* Licinius and Constantine in Milan around that time. Cf. T.D. Barnes, *Constantine. Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Malden, MA, 2011) 93-7 and review in D. Woods, ‘Constantine the Great: A Partial View’, *JRA* 28 (2015) 923-30.

² E.g. E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1776-1788); J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, 1920; Eng. tr. *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism* (Amsterdam, 1978); A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1924⁴; Eng. tr. *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 2 vols (New York and London, 1908²); A.D. Nock, *Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford, 1933); A. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963); E.R. Dodds, *Pagans and Christians in an Age of Anxiety. Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge, 1965).

³ P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity. From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London, 1971); R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)* (New Haven, 1984); R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (London, 1986); R. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990); R. MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven, 1997); P. Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens. La disparition du paganisme dans l'empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien* (Paris, 2011³).

power of Greco-Roman *paideia*, and contributed to the preservation of former practices by followers of the Greco-Roman religions once they ‘became’ Christians.⁴

As part of this recent effort of generally revising the interpretation of the religious transformation of Late Antiquity, there has been a reconsideration of the technical terms used by Late Antique scholars to describe the people who practiced the non-Christian religions of the Greco-Roman world. The term ‘pagan’ comes from the Latin *paganus* (‘country-dweller’) and was a pejorative term used by Christian writers to refer to any follower of non-Christian religions in the Roman Empire. The term ‘paganism’ is not an accurate reflection of Greco-Roman religions. It falsely assumes that the traditional religious cults and practices in the Roman Empire, which were highly varied in nature and practice, can be studied as a single block of religious practices because these practices all derive from a common background.⁵

The ‘adoption’ of Christianity by Roman citizens in Late Antiquity is now seen as a much more complex and variable process than previously believed. The claim by earlier historians of Late Antiquity that Christianity won a quick, inevitable ‘victory’ over the traditional religious cults and practices of the Roman Empire is an inaccurate interpretation of a highly complex process. Firstly, the ‘adoption’ of this new religion was not a ‘conversion’ because many cultural customs from the traditional religious cults and practices continued to exist among Christians. Secondly, it took over two centuries for Christianity to be adopted widely by inhabitants of the Roman Empire as a formal religion.⁶ There was no complete

⁴ G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1990); P. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1995) 29-54; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007); J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven, 2008) 18-19.

⁵ There has been a recent trend to rehabilitate the terms ‘pagan’ and ‘paganism’, see e.g. P. van Nuffelen, ‘Eusebius of Caesarea and the Concept of Paganism’, in L. Lavan, M. Mulryan (eds), *The Archaeology of Late Antique ‘Paganism’* (Leiden, 2011) 87-110; A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011) 14-32. However, given the negative connotation and simplification of the phenomenon, I will avoid the terms ‘pagan’ and ‘paganism’ here, with the exception of those cases where earlier scholarship is described or where non-Christians are referred to as pagans in the primary sources. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 16-18, with further references.

⁶ ‘Adoption’ does not have the same sense as ‘conversion’. ‘Adoption’ does not imply the outright rejection or imposition of a previous religion. ‘Acceptance’ might have more in common with ‘adoption’ than with ‘conversion’. For the purpose of transmitting the empathetic tone of the present, the terms ‘adoption’ and ‘acceptance’ will be used when describing the Christian act of appropriating cultural elements from the traditional cults and practices rather than the term ‘conversion’. Cf. Av. Cameron, ‘Christian Conversion in Late

abandonment of all previous customs once the core beliefs of the new religion were adopted by new Christians because the customs were not incompatible with the core beliefs of Christianity. The acceptance of the Christian core beliefs alongside the preservation of these customs emphasised the sense of continuity with the cultural and religious past while at the same time profound changes took place.⁷

An important act in the process of ‘becoming’ Christian was finding appropriate physical locations that could be used for proper Christian worship. Christianity requires the assembly of its followers in an enclosed space for the purpose of being edified in the right faith (orthodoxy) through sermons delivered by Christian clergy. It was different from traditional religious cults and practices in the Roman Empire in that they were centred on its followers offering sacrifice to their deities at an altar while respecting the right practices and customs (orthopraxy). The architecture of the temples that had developed around these altars of the Greco-Roman religions was principally a physical manifestation of the dwelling-place of the deity rather than a location for followers of the religion to gather at celebrations.⁸

The meaning and significance of a building, such as a temple, to the users of the building derives partly from its location in the physical landscape. The ‘sacred landscape’ of Late Antiquity experienced changes with the appearance of new churches being built for developing Christian communities while new purposes needed to be found for the increasingly abandoned temples. Archaeologists have urged other scholars to aim at a fuller image of the variable quality of religious transformation in Late Antiquity by acknowledging the presence of all *foci* of religious attention in the landscape, both in terms of reuse of previous structures and in terms of newly-built churches. This changing ‘sacred landscape’ provides for one of the most fascinating subjects of study of life in Late Antiquity.⁹

Antiquity: Some Issues’, in A. Papaconstantinou, N. McLynn, D. Schwartz (eds), *Conversion in Late Antiquity: Christianity, Islam, and Beyond* (Farnham, UK, forthcoming) 1-30 at 8-24.

⁷ Cf. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 15-18.

⁸ J.B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire* (Malden, MA, 2007) 27.

⁹ B. Caseau, ‘Sacred Landscapes’, in G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown, O. Grabar (eds), *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, MA, 1999) 21-59. A popular term among Late Antique scholars as a means of describing this changing ‘sacred landscape’ is ‘from temple to church’. It is important to keep in mind, however, the variety of possible forms of temple reuse by both Christians and non-Christians in Late Antiquity, and therefore to recognize the limited scope of the term ‘from temple to church’, see J.H.F. Dijkstra, review of J. Hahn, S. Emmel, U. Gotter (eds), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008), in *BiOr* 66 (2009) 255-62 at 256-57.

'Temple Conversion': the Old View

In the *Life of Porphyry* (Mark the Deacon, *V. Porph.* 57-84), this bishop of Gaza in the late 4th and early 5th centuries is said to have decided to 'convert' the 'pagans' of Gaza to Christianity by showing them that their temple to Zeus Marnas was only the dwelling place of demons. As Porphyry thought about his plan, a child suddenly issued a prophecy on how the temple would be destroyed, an occurrence considered by many of the onlookers as a miracle. As a result of this miracle, Porphyry led a procession of Christians to the temple where they proceeded to exorcise the demons from it and then to destroy it with pickaxes and fire. It was claimed that many 'pagans' converted to Christianity at the sight of the child prophesying. Once the temple had been destroyed, a church was built on its location with imperial consent.

This sequence of events based on polemical stories written down by Christians has been accepted by many scholars until quite recently as an accurate description of the sequence of events that led to the disappearance of temples and the appearance of churches in the Roman Empire. In a phenomenon referred to as 'temple conversion', Christians were assumed to have violently taken possession of either temples or the soil on which the temples stood because they considered the traditional cults and religions to be rivals that needed to be defeated. As depicted in stories such as that of Bishop Porphyry of Gaza, temples were considered by Christians to be the dwelling-places of demons.¹⁰ As physical manifestations of traditional religious cults and practices, temples needed to be removed from Christian sight. As stated at the outset, the simplest way to accomplish this act was for Christians to destroy them and build churches instead.¹¹

Archaeologists have used this story of Christian violence against temples in Late Antiquity as a framework for interpreting the material evidence. Archaeological evidence of burning or broken stone masonry was considered to have occurred during Christian acts of

¹⁰ H.G. Saradi, 'The Christianization of Pagan Temples in the Greek Hagiographical Texts', in Hahn, Emmel, Gotter, *From Temple to Church*, 113-34.

¹¹ For a discussion of temple destruction and reuse in Christian literature, see several of the contributions to Hahn, Emmel, Gotter, *From Temple to Church*, especially Saradi, 'Christianization'.

violence. Whenever a structure that was widely considered by archaeologists to be a temple included material evidence of destruction, the archaeologists studying the structure concluded that the temple suffered from Christian attacks in Late Antiquity. Archeologists considered this means of destroying and ‘converting’ temples by Christians to be widespread in the Roman Empire because of the abundant stories of destruction in Christian hagiography and legislation.¹²

Hagiography has been often used as a source of historical details by scholars of ‘temple conversion’, including archaeologists. This type of text is studied by some scholars as a source of literary themes (or *topoi*) that indicate the holy nature of the figure described.¹³ This practice by archaeologists is questionable to say the least considering that Saints’ Lives are derived from legend (the miraculous nature of the saint’s actions) rather than reality, a literary element that philologists have been aware of for decades.¹⁴ One literary *topos* frequently used in hagiographies that is quickly appropriated by archaeologists as fact is the act of temple destruction by the main character of the *Life*. This *topos*, therefore, tends to heighten the symbolic significance of temples as the targets of Christian disapproval of the traditional religious cults and practices without, however, accurately reflecting reality.¹⁵ A

¹² E.g. G. Fowden, ‘Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A.D. 320-435’, *JTS* 29 (1978) 53-78; R.P.C. Hanson, ‘The Transformation of Pagan Temples into Churches in the Early Christian Centuries’, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1978) 257-67; F. Deichmann, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten. Gesammelte Studien zur spätantiken Architektur, Kunst und Geschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1982) 56-94 (‘Frühchristliche Kirchen in Antiken Heiligtümern’, 1939¹); J. Vaes, ‘Christliche Wiederverwendung antiker Bauten: ein Forschungsbericht’, *Anc. Soc.* 15-17 (1984-86) 305-443, and ‘Christian Reutilization of the Buildings of Classical Antiquity. An Atlas’, *Lotus International* 65 (1990) 16-39; G. Pagoulatos, ‘The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches during Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries’, *Theologia* 65 (1994) 152-65; E. Sauer, *The Archaeology of Religious Hatred in the Roman and Early Medieval World* (Stroud, 2003).

¹³ Saradi, ‘Christianization’, 114.

¹⁴ H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1906²) 4-16, 74-7, 103-20.

¹⁵ See e.g. the contributions by D. Frankfurter, J. van der Vliet and P. van Minnen in J.H.F. Dijkstra, M. van Dijk (eds), *The Encroaching Desert. Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden, 2006) 13-37, 39-55 and 57-91; S. Emmel, U. Gotter, J. Hahn, “‘From Temple to Church’: Analyzing a Late Antique Phenomenon of Transformation”, in Hahn, Emmel, Gotter, *From Temple to Church*, 1-22 at 11; R.S. Bagnall, ‘Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt’, in Hahn, Emmel, Gotter, *From Temple to Church*, 23-41; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 138-46, 253-69, 279-99; J.H.F. Dijkstra, review of Hahn, Emmel, Gotter, *From Temple to Church*, 261; J.H.F. Dijkstra, ‘The Fate of the Temples in Late Antique Egypt’, in Lavan, Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique ‘Paganism’*, 389-436 at 394-5, 397-400; J.H.F. Dijkstra, ‘I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today: The Discourse of Idol Destruction in the Coptic *Life of Aaron*’, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 7 (2015) 61-75.

good example is the above-mentioned *Life of Porphyry*, which has been now convincingly dated to the second half of the 6th century CE.¹⁶

Roman legislation, as preserved mainly in the *Codex Theodosianus*, is another form of written source that has been used in an uncritical manner by historians and archaeologists studying the subject of ‘temple conversion’ in Late Antiquity. Explaining a historical event’s significance relying only on a written source such as legislation is an example of a so-called ‘top down’ approach: dominating themes in the content of the legislation serve as the centre of a theoretical framework by means of which an interpretation of material evidence is made. Therefore the assumptions of the author of the law code implicit in the content of the laws might not be questioned or even acknowledged by the scholar using the code as a source. In addition, legislation was by no means as anti-‘pagan’ as has been thought (see in general the laws in *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10). Some emperors even asked for the protection of temples and wholesale destructions were not requested until 423.¹⁷

In the case of legislation, imperial edicts included in the *Codex Theodosianus* dating from the fourth and fifth centuries that deal with the treatment of temples are sometimes contradictory in content. Granted, these contradictory edicts might have been issued by different emperors (for example, *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.4 issued by Constantius II in 346 CE and *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.8 issued by Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I in 382 CE) and are evidence of changes over time.¹⁸ Furthermore, the repeated nature of requests issued in imperial edicts on a given topic, for example the prevention of offering sacrifice at the location of a temple, is sometimes evidence of the inefficiency of imperial officials on a regional level of enforcing the edicts rather than of careful overall control by a repressive government.

¹⁶ T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010) 260-83.

¹⁷ T. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (Oxford, 1994²); J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1999); J. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law. A Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven, 2000); S. Crogiez-Pétrequin, P. Jaillette (eds), *Le Code théodosien: diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives* (Rome, 2009); J. Harries, I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (Bristol, 2010²); J. Hahn (ed), *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt. Imperiale und Lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer* (Berlin, 2011). Cf. D. Watson, *Black-Robed Fury: Libanius’ Oration 30 and Temple Destruction in the Antiochene Countryside in Late Antiquity* (MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2013).

¹⁸ Harries, *Law and Empire*, 82-87; D. Liebs, ‘Roman Law’, in *CAH XIV*, 238-59 at 244-6.

However, this is not an accurate portrayal of what was occurring figuratively ‘on the ground’. Firstly, there was a deliberate attempt to preserve older legislation that had been rendered obsolete by newer legislation because the law codes aimed to be exhaustive, and to assist law-experts.¹⁹ Secondly, repetition in legislation demonstrated the legislation’s efficacy because locals would be reassured in a sense by the awareness that the government was insisting on legislating particular issues.²⁰ In general, the legislation says more about the motivations of the issuer than about the everyday behavior of Romans.²¹

The historiography on the subject of religious violence in Late Antiquity is fraught with contradiction, with some scholars seeing Late Antiquity as rather peaceful and others the opposite. Earlier scholars believed that violence was integral to Christiannity as a monotheistic religion. A more recent school of thought sees rather religious violence in Late Antiquity as an act on an individual level in which an antagonistic element in Christian writing or belief is exploited in order to further the individual’s violent aims. It suggests that the sources must be used carefully while questioning their motives.²²

Until the 1980s, temple destruction and conversion were thus considered to be widespread phenomena in the 4th and 5th centuries. However, in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence an interpretative framework was used based on literary sources, such as hagiography and legal codes, that are now increasingly approached with more scepticism.

From ‘Temple Conversion’ to Temple Reuse: The New View

Late Antique archaeologists commonly use contemporary texts as the source of historical detail that is to be confirmed by material evidence, under the assumption that the text reliably reflects the historical events it describes.²³ Therefore, the use of these written sources as the centre of the theoretical framework of an archaeologist’s hypothesis is fundamental.

¹⁹ J. Matthews, ‘The Making of the Text’, in Harries, Wood, *Theodosian Code*, 19-44 at 22-3.

²⁰ Harries, *Law and Empire*, 77-87; A.D. Lee, ‘Decoding Late Roman Law’, *JRS* 92 (2002) 185-93 at 187; Watson, *Black-Robed Fury*, 29-33.

²¹ S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641* (Malden, MA, 2015²) 36-40.

²² B. Caseau, ‘Christianisation et violence religieuse: le débat historiographique’, in M.-F. Baslez (ed.), *Chrétiens persécuteurs. Destructures, persécutions et violences religieuses au IV^e siècle* (Paris, 2014) 7-32.

²³ L. Lavan, ‘Late Antique Archaeology: An Introduction’, in L. Lavan, W. Bowden (eds), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (Leiden, 2003) vii-xvi at x-xi.

However, the challenge then lies in explaining relevant material evidence that contradicts statements made in the written sources. The weakness in this approach could be the questionable value of the text as a reliable source of historical detail used by the archaeologist at the centre of his/her theory. Although widely considered a subsidiary discipline of research to history, archaeology might be able to provide an alternative and compelling interpretation of the evidence in the topic of temple reuse without recourse to written sources.

In recent archaeological research, the use of literary works is being replaced by the use of material evidence as the principal means of explaining temple reuse. The decision to no longer use literature as a framework for archaeological interpretation has been a challenge because archaeologists are now forced to use a source of evidence, the archaeological record, to generate hypotheses that could likely contradict the statements of contemporary texts pertaining to the phenomenon.²⁴

However, this does not mean the complete discarding of written sources as evidence. There is the possibility of discussing the differences identified between what is visible in the material evidence and what is stated in the written sources, and of explaining these differences. Scholars who must use texts as possible sources of historical detail, such as historians and archaeologists, have become aware that each literary genre has a unique value as a historical source. However, the biographical structure of hagiography still leads many archaeologists to mine it for details of reality, in spite of its legendary nature.²⁵ Nevertheless, the worth of each literary source is being increasingly probed and this awareness is proving to be another form of critical thinking by means of which scholars could judge the value of historical details in literary texts.

With these conditions in mind, archaeologists are concluding that, contrary to the typical descriptions in literary texts, material evidence from the Mediterranean world dating to roughly the fourth to sixth centuries CE, the period often taken as Late Antiquity, does not

²⁴ L. Lavan, 'The End of the Temples: Towards a New Narrative?', in Lavan, Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, xv-lxv at xxi-ii.

²⁵ Delehaye, *Légendes hagiographiques*. In spite of this short-sightedness in the viewpoint of some archaeologists, many are aware that the depiction of reality in the text often provides more information on the author and his audience than on the subject of the text (Bagnall, 'Models and Evidence', 25-7).

show signs of widespread destruction of the physical remains of temples nor of the widespread ‘conversion’ of temples into churches by Christians. In general, this new interpretation of the Christian treatment of temples claims that the destruction of temples or their ‘conversion’ into churches was exceptional. The interpretation of the material evidence has led to the argument that there was a gradual process of change, and temple destruction and/or reuse was rare. Temples could be transformed into administrative buildings, or apartment buildings.²⁶ Temples generally experienced a period of abandonment by followers of traditional religious cults, and might only then be reused by Christians. This new interpretation of the Christian treatment of temples, dating back to the 1990s, favours an interpretation of the so-called ‘conversion’ to Christianity as a gradual process over time that is not uniform in impact across the Roman Empire.²⁷

Considering the motivations of contemporary users and builders of buildings in the Roman Empire also can help in attempting to explain general developments in the phenomenon of religious transformation in Late Antiquity. Although it is impossible to grasp all motivations for the construction of a building, it is important for archaeologists to remain aware of these motivations, and to acknowledge that a single motivation for the creation of a building will likely never have been the case. Bryan Ward-Perkins has demonstrated that identifying motivations for building or using buildings helps to show the complementary nature of many of these motivations, which can be placed under the two main rubrics of ideology and pragmatism, in the cases not only of buildings widely claimed to have been built for a specific purpose (such as the Arch of Constantine), but also of buildings thought to have been treated in a certain manner by later users, such as the layout of later Muslim *suqs*

²⁶ Dijkstra, ‘Fate of the Temples’, 405.

²⁷ E.g. H.G. Saradi-Mendelovici, ‘Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries’, *DOP* 44 (1990) 47-61; J.-P. Caillet, ‘La transformation en églises d’édifices publics et de temples à la fin de l’antiquité’, in C. Lepelley (ed.), *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale, de la fin du IIIe siècle à l’avènement de Charlemagne* (Bari, 1996) 191-202 at 196; P.M. Milojevič, ‘Retrofit Ecclesia: A Non-Conforming Building Type’, *Byz. Forsch.* 24 (1997) 343-66; R. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion* (Oxford, 2004); Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 86-94; Hahn, Emmel, Gotter, *From Temple to Church*; Lavan, Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique ‘Paganism’*; A. Busine (ed.), *Religious Practices and Christianization of the Late Antique City* (Leiden, 2015).

in former Roman urban centres. It can be claimed that ideology and pragmatism occur in varying amounts as motivating forces for the use and reuse of different buildings.²⁸

The Parthenon was converted into a church at some point in the Middle Ages, but the pediment sculpture on the West pediment, over what was to become the principal entrance to the church, was never defaced. The ideological reasons for reusing a non-Christian temple as a church are very difficult to identify; however, it is likely that an ideological reason existed. Perhaps a form of “reverse psychology” was used in order to come to grips with the thought that a church would be created inside a taboo sacred structure. Perhaps Athenians wished to see continuity with their non-Christian city that had an impressive past.²⁹ Pragmatically, the Acropolis in the late 6th century provided protection against foreign raiders, and the Parthenon was an impressive monument from the past.³⁰

The interpretation of material evidence to indicate the occurrence of temple reuse does not, however, exhaust the possible interpretations of evidence in the discussion of the Christian treatment of temples. Ward-Perkins claims that the phenomenon of temple reuse cannot be fully described and explained by means of material evidence without the study of so-called ‘negative evidence’. ‘Negative evidence’ among archaeologists who study the topic means one of three things: evidence of a temple being left untouched, evidence of a temple being reused as something other than a church, or evidence of a church being built on virgin soil.³¹

Considering that temples numbered in the thousands in the Roman Empire, it is physically impossible that every temple in the Roman Empire was ‘converted’ into a church.³² The reuse of temples for other than religious purposes is likely to have occurred considering that there was a tradition of reuse of derelict buildings in the Roman world.

²⁸ B. Ward-Perkins, ‘Re-using the Architectural Legacy of the Past, *entre Idéologie et Pragmatisme*’, in G. Brogiolo, B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1999) 225-44 at 243.

²⁹ The claim that one of the metope relief sculptures represented the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary (see figure 1) is part of the early Christian emphasis that Greco-Roman gods had foreknowledge that their religion would be eclipsed by Christianity. Cf. A. Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge, 2009) 40-2.

³⁰ Ward-Perkins, ‘Architectural Legacy of the Past’, 235-40; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*.

³¹ B. Ward-Perkins, ‘Reconfiguring Sacred Space: From Pagan Shrines to Christian Churches’, in G. Brands, H.-G. Severin (eds), *Die Spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden, 2003) 285-90 at 285.

³² Emmel, Gotter, Hahn, “‘From Temple to Church’”, 7-8.

There is evidence that temples were reused for ‘secular’ purposes, for example as a source of spoliated masonry to be used in a fortification wall.³³ There is also the claim that many non-religious buildings were reused as churches.³⁴ There are hundreds of studied examples of churches being built on virgin soil, or on top of buildings that did not have a religious purpose. The study of negative evidence invites archaeologists to examine temple reuse in the context of the changing sacred landscape of Late Antiquity.

Although dating evidence is a fundamental form of analysis to perform when using material culture as a source of information, it is practically impossible to date all possible changes that a temple could have experienced. There are likely stages of use that a temple experienced that leave no trace in the archaeological record, for example a period of physical closure of the temple. However, the closure that a temple experienced is an important step in the transition of a temple’s use from followers of one religion to the followers of another. Although these episodes of ‘passive neglect’ are difficult to detect in the material evidence, it is important for archaeologists to record any evidence of this treatment of temples because it is a sign of change in the building’s use.³⁵ Any evidence of change of use is valuable in archaeology because many sites that experienced episodes of religious transformation no longer display physical evidence of these changes.

Ward-Perkins has emphasized that it is difficult to use the archaeological record in order to identify some events, such as the frequent transformations that a structure could experience in a relatively short period of time. As ‘a relatively short period of time’, Ward-Perkins has in mind the 4th century CE, the period most often associated by scholars with temple destruction and transformation into churches.³⁶ This reminder is offered as another condition for archaeologists to keep in mind when they are on the point of dating potential evidence of change in a temple’s reuse based on their interpretation of the material evidence. The physical abandonment of a temple would not leave any trace in the archaeological record, especially if the abandonment was brief. The invisible form of these brief phases of

³³ Dijkstra, ‘Fate of the Temples’, 414.

³⁴ Vaes, ‘Christliche Wiederverwendung’, and ‘Christian Reutilization of the Buildings of Classical Antiquity’; Caillet, ‘Transformation’, 191-94.

³⁵ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*; Emmel, Gotter, Hahn, “‘From Temple to Church’”, 10; Lavan, ‘End of the Temples’, xxxiv-xxxv.

³⁶ B. Ward-Perkins, ‘The End of the Temples: An Archaeological Problem’, in Hahn, *Spätantiker Staat*, 187-99.

temple reuse is the main weakness of the material evidence as a source of historical value that the archaeologist must be aware of, and that must be balanced against the value of written texts as sources of historical detail.

The Fate of the Temples in Late Antique Greece

Against this background we will now turn to the more general works on the fate of the temples in Greece. Because of Greece's lower level of urbanisation, neither its temples, nor the ground they sat on, were generally reused by Christians in the early centuries of Late Antiquity.³⁷ In the case of temples that were reused, they often first experienced a prior period of abandonment. The reuse of the temples took the form of spoliated masonry being used in newly-built churches. These churches were located away from temples. Christian communities likely developed in locations distinct from those occupied by non-Christians, and generally did not express violent antagonism towards non-Christians. Nevertheless, Christians in these communities were not afraid of adopting customary practices, such as personal names and processions, and through their use of former cult buildings of the Greco-Roman religions.³⁸

As elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, in many cases temples were reused by Christians for practical rather than ideological purposes, however. There are a number of explanations by archaeologists for the Christian reuse of temples. As churches, temples would have been rededicated to saints who shared common skills with the temples' traditional deities. This reuse could have been considered by the Christians as a form of continuity with past religious practice. This wish for continuity could possibly have been a motivation by Christians to reuse a temple, even if preceded by a period of abandonment. On the other hand, the reuse of an intact temple for ideological reasons by Christians was not common in Late Antique Greece. Christians would rather have avoided them outright.

³⁷ Lavan, 'End of the Temples', xxxvi.

³⁸ J.-M. Spieser, *Urban and Religious Space in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2001) Ch. VI ('La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce', 1976¹); T. Gregory, 'The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay', *AJPhil.* 107 (1986) 229-42; F.R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, C. 370-529* (Leiden, 1993-4) I.117-20.

Pragmatism would likely have led Christians to use them as quarries of worked stone.³⁹ The shape of the building, or the needs of the community, might have made it more practical to transform it into another type of building, such as a residence or a storage area.⁴⁰

The variable use of temples by Christians is visible on a regional level in Greece. In some cases, a sanctuary's area might experience only partial reuse, such as the infrequent activity of a small number of non-Christians around a solitary altar inside of a corner of the sanctuary's *temenos*.⁴¹ Christians might decide to justify their presence with the creation of fraudulent epigraphic texts that describe non-Christian deities admitting defeat in the face of an increasing number of Christians. Elsewhere, the location of a temple could see the placement of a church over top of it.⁴²

Research Question, Methodology and Plan of Thesis

Given these new developments in our understanding of the Christian treatment of buildings in Late Antiquity, it is crucial to explore developments in this occurrence at a regional level in order to develop a more nuanced description and explanation of the reuse of temples. Therefore, we would like to ask the following as my principal research question: in what ways were temples re-used in Late Antique Greece?

The basis of my work will be a catalogue that takes its inspiration from the work of Richard Bayliss (see Appendix 1).⁴³ Bayliss describes and explains his catalogue and its function as a means of assisting interpretation of all temples reused as churches in the Roman Empire. He provides examples of relational data entry terms to be used in order to create lists

³⁹ As emphasized in R. Sweetman, 'The Christianisation of the Peloponnese: The Case for Strategic Change', *BSA* 110 (2015) 285-319 at 291.

⁴⁰ L. Foschia, 'La réutilisation des sanctuaires païens par les chrétiens en Grèce continentale (IV^e-VII^e s.)', *Rev. Ét. Grec.* 113 (2000) 413-34.

⁴¹ In Sardis, a small church was erected in the fourth century CE over a corner of the much larger earlier temple of Artemis. Cf. C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, MA, 1976) 34.

⁴² R. Sweetman, 'The Christianization of the Peloponnese: The Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3 (2010) 203-61; G. Deligiannakis, 'Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands and Processes of Christianisation', in Lavan, Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'* (Leiden, 2011) 311-45; Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese'; G. Deligiannakis, *The Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands in Late Antiquity, AD 300-700* (Oxford, 2016). On the meaning of inscriptions in the late antique legitimisation of Christianity, see below pages 89-91.

⁴³ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*.

of specimens that are defined by the data entry terms. He also provides examples of these lists of specimens. He makes no claim, however, that his list of temple conversion instances is exhaustive.⁴⁴ This thesis' catalogue consists of references to all known examples of reused temples in Late Antique Greece. Again, this list does not claim either to be exhaustive. The term 'Greece' refers to the modern state of Greece, and the geographical limits of the present work are the borders of Greece. Although this region was occupied by a number of Roman provinces, the geographical ambit of this thesis is justified by a number of factors. Firstly, little work on temple reuse has been conducted on this portion of the Roman Empire. Secondly, Greece benefits from a solid tradition of archaeological conducted. Thirdly, other aspects of the material culture of the Roman Empire have been studied using modern geographical units as the framework of study, such as the French epigraphic series *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (IGLS)*, with volumes limited roughly by the frontiers of the modern state of Syria.⁴⁵ The period referred to herein as 'Late Antiquity' is roughly limited to the fourth to sixth centuries CE, using a chronological unit widespread in the historical literature.⁴⁶

We have designed a number of categories into which information would be placed depending on its nature. All of these categories are for attributes that we deem important for the present study. These categories include: the geographic location of the structure at both a local and regional level, the type of reuse that the structure experienced, the original dedication of the structure as a Greco-Roman temple, and the dedication of the structure as a church if it underwent reuse as a church. The types of reuse that the writer decided to use as categories are the following: Church, Burial, Practical, Spoliation, and Other. These categories will be developed further in chapter two. Finally, the writer must insist that these attributes do not claim to be exhaustive, and clearly the list of relevant attributes to be recorded can be increased as research on the subject deepens.

⁴⁴ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 121-9. Bayliss claims that his database using Microsoft (MS) Office's Access application was the primary contribution of his work for research on temple reuse in the Roman Empire. However, he did not make a copy of the entire database available for other researchers, but only included a portion of the database in one of his appendices.

⁴⁵ <http://www.ifporient.org/node/458> (accessed August 16, 2017).

⁴⁶ G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown, O. Grabar, 'Introduction', in Bowersock, Brown, Grabar, *Late Antiquity*, vii-xiii; Mitchell, *Later Roman Empire*, 1-14.

The writer follows Bayliss' categories of temples' reuse, which cover all fundamental manners in which physical reuse of a building could occur. However, as will be developed in chapter three, he would like to complement all known temple reuse episodes with examples of 'negative evidence': all known episodes of abandonment of a temple with no following reuse, all known cases of temple reuse for any purpose except that of a church, and all known episodes of a church being built on virgin soil.⁴⁷ The general aim is to use this information (or data) as a means of generating a possible image of the changing 'sacred landscape' in Greece that includes all major categories of relevant material evidence. It is suggested at present that this image contributes to the current discussion of one physical aspect of religious transformation in Late Antiquity, the Christian treatment of temples in Greece.

Depending on the amount of data that is collected, creating a so-called 'relational' database, in which smaller tables of values are interconnected between them depending on the category of the database, would be beneficial. The use of a relational database would facilitate the collection of attributes that would often occur together, and to keep these collections discrete from each other in order to facilitate the use of these attributes as terms that would be used in 'searches' of the database on a computer. The database to be used is again MS Access, of which the writer has a copy. Organizing attributes into groups based on common traits provides another dimension to the variable description of religious transformation in Late Antiquity.

The theoretical framework using material evidence as the principal means of explanation for transforming movements in Late Antique religion could potentially use the information collected in catalogue form in quantitative analysis, an aspect of archaeology that has proven to be a helpful means of explanation.⁴⁸ Quantitative analysis can be studied by scholars in other disciplines to produce alternative interpretations of historical events that could be compatible with general themes indicated in written sources, including literary genres like hagiography and documentary genres like legislation. Quantitative analysis, based on information principally of a numerical nature, is therefore complementary to written texts centred on information principally of a qualitative nature. However, if this information

⁴⁷ Based on the writer's research, it is patently impossible to record all episodes of 'negative evidence', even in a circumscribed space such as modern Greece. That step would need to await further research.

⁴⁸ S. Shennan, *Quantifying Archaeology* (Iowa City, IA, 1997²); Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*.

included in a catalogue is to be useful in quantitative analysis, it must be accurate.⁴⁹ Therefore, it is crucial for archaeologists to record these data carefully in order to facilitate the work of other scholars who might wish to manipulate the analysis for the purpose of further interpretation of the evidence.

There will be limitations with the database that will potentially be used in later research. As stated above, a limited number of defined categories have been included in the table based on the research goals of this thesis. Therefore, they may prove to not be mutually exclusive, and they are certainly not exhaustive. The database will also not be considered complete because of the constant discovery of new structures or other forms of material culture that are evidence of reuse based on religious motivations. Material culture might not be published by researchers, and those researchers might not consider our database complete because of their own evidence. This is normal practice in a field of research because new research is always being done on the subject of study and will contribute to the field.

Apart from this General Introduction, there will be three chapters to this thesis. The writer will begin by describing the current study of temple reuse in Greece in Late Antiquity divided into three very rough geographic zones: northern Greece, the Peloponnesus, and the Aegean Islands (Sporades and Cyclades). In the second chapter, a more detailed description of the types of temple re-use in late antique Greece will be provided, and a general analysis of these types. Finally, the significance of negative evidence in the study of temple re-use will be discussed. The discussion of negative evidence will approach the subject beginning with the most visible form at present, i.e. freestanding churches. It will then proceed to the discussion of abandoned temples that were never reused, another visible form, and will end with the discussion of temples reused for secular uses. This third chapter will draw upon the data gathered in the previous two to elaborate the contribution of ‘negative evidence’ to the study of the ‘sacred landscape’.

⁴⁹ J.H.F. Dijkstra, review of Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, in *BMCR* 2005.09.42. Although MS Access was used by Bayliss in *Provincial Cilicia* and it was claimed therein that this database of the data was the study’s primary achievement for research on temple reuse in the Roman Empire, Bayliss did not make a copy of the entire database available for other researchers, only including a portion of the database in one of his appendices.

General Introduction Figures

a. Figure 1



Chapter One

I. Introduction

This chapter will describe the forms of temple reuse in Greece by geographic region, in the form of a gazetteer of ancient and modern places. It will begin with an outline of methodological problems in the study of material culture in order to make clear to the reader the method used in selecting these specimens as clear examples of temple reuse. This outline will be a brief discussion of the following: dating sources of evidence, terminology used in the description and analysis of the sites discussed, and definitions of key terms. The following section will consist in the gazetteer of sites by regions in Greece, moving roughly north to south. The research question for this chapter already hints at this approach: “what was the geographic distribution of temple conversion in late antique Greece?”.

The principle justification for this chapter is to provide a summary of temples in Greece that witnessed reuse in their afterlife. This summary will help clarify some questions among archaeologists concerning the second life of temples in the early centuries of Christianity in the Mediterranean basin. This clarification will be of value in the developing study of religious transformation between the ancient and medieval worlds because locations of worship were not only easily identifiable peripteral temples. Many structures that potentially could have been temples are difficult to identify by archaeologists today. This makes the straightforward, uncritical use here of our primary form of evidence (i.e archaeological evidence) difficult, which in turn makes the analysis of religious behavior in Late Antiquity more challenging. Many large structures without clear diagnostic elements such as inscription for dating purposes, or statuary, or architectural pieces for function are only considered potential temples by the excavators.

There is no pattern across Greece of these reuse types; cases of each are scattered seemingly randomly across the landscape. Because of this seeming randomness, a geographical approach by region has been selected as a means of describing the reuse. Each type of reuse will be addressed in further detail in chapter two. Therefore, in this chapter the current study will follow the phenomenon of temple re-use by geographic region. Maps have

been generated to help the reader locate spatially each place discussed. The maps are numbered and the direction followed by the numbering system is generally north to south.

a. Methodology

i. Terminological issues

One difficulty in the study of temple reuse lies in the terminology used by an archaeologist or researcher to characterise the afterlife of a temple site. ‘Reuse’ often means simply ‘replacement’. Previous authors have also struggled with this distinction. For example, Ian Sanders contradicts himself when he states that the church at the *Mavropapas* site in Gortyn is a ‘converted temple’, and then later states that it only replaces a temple.⁵⁰ Hundreds of examples of a church replacing a temple exist in Greece.⁵¹ This act of replacement could be defined as physical occupation of a space occupied previously by a temple. The reoccupation of the physical space previously occupied by a temple *site* is common in Greece.⁵² Much material culture has remained unidentified as to function, mainly because of the inconsistent survival rates of material remains. It is not uncommon to see recorded in notices in archaeological reports many structures that were found lying on top of temples as “unidentified”. Therefore, citing every one of these instances of reuse in a study of this length would be very tedious.

Others could argue that some of the occurrences of temple reuse in the present study are only an episode of a church replacing a temple. It could be claimed that the act of *spoliation* does not constitute reuse.⁵³ How does the act of spoliation fit into this discussion of temple reuse? On the internet alone, there are hundreds of reports about a church in Greece being built on a temple, or using temple masonry as *spolia*.⁵⁴ Spoliation in the topic of temple reuse

⁵⁰ I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster, UK, 1982) 108, 129.

⁵¹ It would be impossible to list all of them in the present study. To give only two examples: the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona (R. Scheer, ‘Dodona, Δωδώνη (Ioannina)’, in S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Stätten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1989) 197-9), and *basilica A* at Chersonisos (in the prefecture of *Pedhiadha*) on Crete, over a temple supposedly of *Britomartis* (Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 95).

⁵² J. Koder, ‘Griechenland im Mittelalter’, in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 40-56 at 49.

⁵³ Sebastian Ristow begins to ask these questions. Cf. S. Ristow, ‘Wiederaufbau, Wandel, Wiederverwendung. Zur Nutzung antiker Bausubstanz durch christliche Kultgebäude im Frühmittelalter’, in D. Boschung, S. Wittekind (eds), *Persistenz und Rezeption: Weiterverwendung, Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 2008) 189-214.

⁵⁴ In Messenia, the village of Ano Melpeia is the location of another church, dedicated to Profitis Ilias, built on the site of a temple (URL: chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2582/ [accessed March 7, 2016]). There are

is difficult to discuss because it is so common in Byzantine Greek architecture. Secondly, it occurs not only with temples, but also with other buildings. This widespread practice of spoliation in later architecture, therefore, could qualify every temple in Greece as reused. The question of how much these churches reused *spolia* from the temple renders the topic very difficult to study clearly. It makes it difficult to clearly categorize these structures as temple reuse. These limitations to the interpretation of the evidence are being indicated here in order to show the non-exhaustive nature of this study. Problematic episodes of reuse including episodes of spoliation will be discussed at length.

Although reuse as a church is one important form of reuse in the Late Antique Greek landscape, it is not the only one. The archaeologists excavating the remains have provided a number of different labels for the functions of the buildings that replaced temples. Some had a utilitarian function, such as forts (Isthmia, Olympia), others as baths (Aulis), or as housing (Thessaloniki). There are occurrences earlier on in history than Late Antiquity of a temple being replaced by a ‘profane’ structure, such as a dwelling or some form of fortification.⁵⁵

The terms ‘temple’ and ‘sanctuary’ might get confused by a reader. It is important to distinguish the two, and learn what they define. The noun ‘temple’ is derived from the Latin noun, *templum*. However, this term was rather ambiguous in definition. It could represent either a built structure or a natural sacred area in general.⁵⁶ ‘Temple’ today is often assumed to mean a built structure.⁵⁷ ‘Sanctuary’ on the other hand could mean the larger sacred area in which the temple is located.⁵⁸ In Greek and Roman religion, this area is often cordoned off by a borderline called a *temenos*.⁵⁹ The *temenos* served an important role in Greco-Roman antiquity as a means of separating the sacred from the profane. Often the *temenos* took the

thousands of examples of this reuse of a location, but not of a building by a later church. In Macedonia, the village of Argos Orestiko has a church built on a Roman temple. (URL: chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3080/ [accessed March 7, 2016]) That is all that the entry states. It is impossible to know from this whether or not the temple structure was reused.

⁵⁵ For example, at Azoria on Crete, in the Lisithi *eparchy* or prefecture, a structure that could possibly be a temple dating to the Archaic period was replaced by towers in the Hellenistic period. It is not certain that the earlier building is a temple, but based on its size, the excavators think that it was a temple (<http://chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2856/> [Accessed 7 March, 2016]). Further on the topic of practitioners of traditional religions manipulating temples for their own ends, see below pages 120-1.

⁵⁶ J. Scheid, *La religion des Romains* (Paris, 1998) 59.

⁵⁷ R.A. Tomlinson, C. Marconi, ‘Temple: Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples’, in L. Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Detroit, 2005²) 9061-5.

⁵⁸ G.D. Alles, ‘Sanctuary’, in in L. Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Detroit, 2005²) 8100-1.

⁵⁹ J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1994) 27.

physical form of a wall or of a ditch, both of which are well-delineated structures. Because this study focuses on temple reuse, the reuse of other parts of the sanctuary inside of the *temenos* will not be used as evidence in this study. In cases where the sources use the term ‘sanctuary’ to describe the location of some reuse, the use of that term will be made explicit in this study, and the wider implications of the reuse will be considered.

Romans adopted many elements from Greek religion, deities, the temple building, and the altar.⁶⁰ Therefore, the term “Greco-Roman” is widely used in the present study. This is meant as a catch-all phrase to represent all of the generally shared elements of both Greek and Roman religion.

The reputation of periods such as those of Classical Greece or the Early Roman Empire as important stages of ancient history developed out of Renaissance antiquarianism and eighteenth century educational *curricula*.⁶¹ Therefore, these periods were focused on by early classical archaeologists. This led to the material remains of later periods, such as Late Antiquity, being treated perfunctorily, and removed as quickly as possible in order not to hinder the work on the main goal for excavations, generally evidence from earlier periods such as the Bronze Age.⁶² However, thanks to the closer scrutiny of Roman and late antique material culture by archaeologists in the last half century or so, remains from later periods such as Late Antiquity are being recorded before they are removed.

Furthermore, the use of physical space such as Greco-Roman temples implies the administration of that space by some authority figure. In Greco-Roman culture, space was organised into the territory of what could be termed in English ‘cities’. The English term ‘city’ has been used very much as a short-hand for Latin and Greek terms used by Roman authorities to help them manage the affairs of the Roman Empire. The Latin term *civitas* or the Greek *πόλις* were the principal ones used to describe these urban communities by writers in the first centuries CE. However, other settlements carried other terms in written sources, such as ones describing ‘villages’ (*κῶμαι*), and rural areas were managed using terms such as

⁶⁰ V.M. Warrior, *Roman Religion* (Cambridge, 2006) 8-10.

⁶¹ B.G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, 2006²) 52-61; J.G. Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2012⁵) 13-21.

⁶² Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology*, 32-3, 37-40.

‘estates’ (*κτῆματα*).⁶³ Although these terms for what Jones called ‘units of government’ played a role in the administration of local resources by both civil magistrates and the Christian clergy in Late Antiquity, the civil and the ecclesiastical hierarchy did not clearly overlap one another in reference to the direction of these various divisions of populated space, causing some inconsistencies in terms used.⁶⁴ Throughout this thesis the English term ‘community’ will be used to describe early Christian gatherings. However, this term could prove problematic because the concept of a community could take on administrative overtones, which would interfere with the use of terms such as ‘city’. It is important to keep these issues in mind.

ii. Sources

1. Reference Works

A number of books served as main sources in this research. These sources provide a relatively succinct summary of archaeological fieldwork and discoveries over the last century or so in Greece. The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* served as part of the foundation for this research. The study’s geographical character encourages the use of maps for the purpose of orienting the reader, and the easiest way to begin doing this is by using an atlas.⁶⁵ Steps have been taken in order to ensure that each place collected for the gazetteer of this study is known from either a historical atlas such as the *Barrington Atlas*, or from a road map of modern day Greece.

Although dwelling much longer on details from earlier periods of history, Siegfried Lauffer’s edited volume from 1989 has proven useful in locating obscure details about some of the sites discussed in this study.⁶⁶

In order to ensure to place the phenomenon of temple conversion in the wider historical timeline, and in the cultural ambit of medieval Greece, two other very important reference works were consulted for this study. Because of the material nature of the evidence being

⁶³ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964) II, 712-3.

⁶⁴ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 712-66; A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1971²) 517-20.

⁶⁵ R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000).

⁶⁶ S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Stätten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1989).

studied presently, the edited series known as *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst (RBK)* has proven relatively valuable with respect to topics that revolve around Christianity in the later Greek speaking world. Although written only in German, the series is almost indispensable with very lengthy entries on physical locations that were important in Byzantine Greece.⁶⁷ The weakness with this reference series is its incomplete nature: entries dealing with topics beginning with the last letters of the Latin alphabet have not appeared yet.

Secondly, the series *Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB)* provides information about locations in the Byzantine Empire that possibly had a predecessor in the Roman Empire. The *TIB* provides for continuity in the study of the locations discussed in this research, as the principal religion of the period studied in that series is Christianity. However, a weakness with the *TIB* series is the coverage of the volumes. The entirety of the Byzantine Empire is not covered, rather coverage is by region.⁶⁸ Volumes covering Macedonia and the Peloponnese are still unpublished.⁶⁹

Finally, a study that analyses spatial, topographic information such as physical locations requires reference to maps. *Google Earth* has proven to be a very handy tool in that respect, providing any user with access to high resolution satellite images of the world by means of a free downloadable application. These images are searchable by the user, and allow the longitude and latitude coordinates of the location to be available too. Two road maps of

⁶⁷ The entries explored so far are the following: M. Mutsopoulos, 'Ägina', in K. Wessel, M. Restle (eds), *RBK. Volume I: Abendmahl-Dura-Europos* (Stuttgart, 1966) coll. 54-61; M. Restle, 'Andros', in *RBK. Volume I*, coll. 156-8; J. Travlos, 'Athen', in *RBK. Volume I*, coll. 349-89; M. Restle, 'Athos', in *RBK. Volume I*, coll. 389-421; D.I. Pallas, 'Chios', in *RBK. Volume I*, coll. 951-66; D.I. Pallas, 'Daphni', in *RBK. Volume I*, coll. 1120-33; D.I. Pallas, 'Delos', in *RBK. Volume I*, coll. 1186-90; D.I. Pallas, 'Epiros', in K. Wessel, M. Restle (eds), *RBK. Volume II: Durchzug durch das Rote Meer-Himmelfahrt* (Stuttgart, 1971) coll. 207-334; J. Koder, 'Hellas', in *RBK. Volume II*, coll. 1099-189; K. Kreidl-Papadopoulos, 'Hosios Lukas', in K. Wessel, M. Restle (eds), *RBK. Volume III: Himmelsleiter-Kastoria* (Stuttgart, 1978) coll. 264-318; S. Pelekanides, 'Kastoria', in *RBK. Volume III*, coll. 1190-224; D. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Kerkyra und die ionischen Inseln', in K. Wessel, M. Restle (eds), *RBK. Volume IV: Kathedra-Kreta* (Stuttgart, 1990) coll. 1-64; D.I. Pallas, 'Korinth', in *RBK. Volume IV*, coll. 746-811; I. Volanakis, 'Kreta I' in *RBK. Volume IV*, coll. 811-905; P. Soustal, B Schellewald, L. Theis, 'Makedonien', in K. Wessel, M. Restle (eds), *RBK. Volume V: Kreuz-Maltechnik* (Stuttgart, 1995) coll. 982-1220; T. Steppan, 'Meteora', in K. Wessel, M. Restle (eds), *RBK. Volume VI: Mandorla-Nubien* (Stuttgart, 1997) coll. 245-345; S. Sinos, 'Mistras', in *RBK. Volume VI*, coll. 380-518.

⁶⁸ In the *TIB*, The volumes covering modern-day Greece were consulted. There are only four by now of these: J. Koder, F. Hild (eds), *TIB, Volume 1: Hellas und Thessalia* (Vienna, 1976); P. Soustal (ed.), *TIB, Volume 3: Nikopolis und Kephallēnia* (Vienna, 1981); P. Soustal (ed.), *TIB, Volume 6: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rhodopē und Haimimontos)* (Vienna, 1991); J. Koder (ed.), *TIB, Volume 10: Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägäis)* (Vienna, 1998). As an addition to *TIB* volume four, cf. A. Kaldellis, 'Notes on the Topography and History of Byzantine Lesbos', *JÖB* 51 (2001) 61-72.

⁶⁹ Based on information at URL: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/byzanz/tibpr.htm#Projekte> (accessed 20 March, 2016).

Greece at the scale of 1:300000 and 1:650000 were also consulted.⁷⁰ Two maps were consulted because the 1:300000 scale map did not include Crete in it, a significant physical body of land used in this thesis. However, these maps can be complemented by the *Barrington Atlas*, and by the volumes of the *TIB*.

2. Books-Monographs

Richard Bayliss' *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion* has served as a model for this study because of the database that is integral to his work. Three other books were used that were co-authored by Dorothy Leekley, with both Robert Noyes and Nicholas Efstratiou.⁷¹ These provide clear, brief entries in a gazetteer format of all major archaeological discoveries in Greece over the last century.

Other works that have proved useful are general introductions to the topic. Already cited repeatedly earlier in this thesis is the book by the late Ian Sanders published in 1982 that deals with Roman Crete.⁷² The significance of this work lies in the period that it covers, one that is not often dealt with in introductory works focused on the antiquities of ancient Greece. It offers much valuable information about the afterlife of several famous archaeological sites on the island of Crete, such as Knossos, Gournia, Mallia, and Kommos. Secondly, it also provides valuable floor plans of reused temples that are inaccessible elsewhere.

3. Periodicals

In order to ensure that as many examples as possible of temple reuse are used in the present study, other sources of written and pictorial information are required to complement monographs. The most prominent source are archaeology periodicals. Many periodicals are published by the major foreign archaeology schools in Greece. The journal *Archaiologikon Deltion* (*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*), abbreviated often as *AD*, is published by the Hellenic Republic's Ministry of Culture and Sports (*Υπουργεῖο Πολιτισμοῦ και Ἀθλητισμοῦ*). This

⁷⁰ The 1:300000 map was published by Mair-Dumont in Germany in 2010, under the brand name *Marco Polo*. Map entitled *Greece & the Islands. Mainland, Cyclades, Corfu, Sporades*. The 1:650000 map was published in 2003 by Rough Guides Limited in the United Kingdom, under the brand name *Rough Guides*. Map entitled *Rough Guides Map of Greece*.

⁷¹ D. Leekley, R. Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1975); D. Leekley, R. Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1976); D. Leekley, N. Efstratiou, *Archaeological Excavations in Central and Northern Greece* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1980).

⁷² I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster, UK, 1982) and above page 20 n. 50.

series is divided into a section entitled *Chronika* (*Χρονικά*) and another *Meletes* (*Μελέτες*).⁷³ This periodical provides summary reports of all official archaeological work in Greece on an annual basis. It has been supplemented principally in this thesis by the examination of other Hellenophone journals of archaeology: the *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* (abbreviated as *ΠΑΕ*), the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (abbreviated as *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*), and the *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* (abbreviated as *DChrAE*).

Most of the records in these above-cited journals are in Greek. Therefore, because of linguistic constraints, other periodicals were consulted in the present study. The French foreign archaeological school, the French School in Athens (*École Française d'Athènes*), publishes the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* annually. This journal also provides a regular section entitled “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques” that gives a summary of archaeological work for a given year. This section is now available on the internet.⁷⁴

The decision to explore the ‘Chronique’ section of each volume of the *BCH* has proven appropriate for this thesis topic. This section of this journal contains much valuable information on the discovery of minor, non-descript temples and sanctuaries, and therefore records of what material was found on the site before excavation, in both textual and sometimes photographic form. This is in contrast to reports from a century to a century and a half ago, when the major cultic sites of Greece were excavated by foreign archaeologists. All volumes from volume 114 until the present have been consulted.⁷⁵

⁷³ Cf. URL : <http://www.tap.gr/tapadb/index.php> (accessed March 14, 2016). In citations of the *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* in the present thesis, the *Meletes* section is abbreviated as the letter A after the volume number, and the *Chronika* section as the letter B.

⁷⁴ Based on the information offered to the readers of the journal in *BCH* volume 131 (2007). The URL is <http://chronique.efa.gr> (accessed 25 January, 2016).

⁷⁵ A. Pariente, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989’, *BCH* 114 (1990) 703-850; A. Pariente, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990’, *BCH* 115 (1991) 835-957; A. Pariente, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991’, *BCH* 116 (1992) 833-954; A. Pariente, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1992’, *BCH* 117 (1993) 757-913; A. Pariente, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1993’, *BCH* 118 (1994) 695-866; G. Touchais, T. Boloti, B. Detournay, S. Huber, A. Philippa-Touchais, Y. Varalis, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1995’, *BCH* 120 (1996) 1111-1373; G. Touchais, B. Detournay, A. Philippa-Touchais, Y. Varalis, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1996 et 1997’, *BCH* 122 (1998) 705-988; G. Touchais, S. Huber, A. Philippa-Touchais, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2000’, *BCH* 125 (2001) 779-1063; F. Burkhalter, A. Philippa-Touchais, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et

Unfortunately, a personal communication from one of the past editors of this section, Gilles Touchais, professor emeritus of archaeology at Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, indicates that even a full consultation of the “Chronique” section of every volume of the *BCH* would not give a complete picture of temple reuse, since material evidence of temple reuse and conversion in Greece was already identified before the first volume of the *BCH* in 1877.⁷⁶

The *Archaeological Reports* series (abbreviated often as *Arch. Rep.*) published by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in the United Kingdom also provides an annual account of archaeological excavations. This annual record, however, only dates from 1955. Nevertheless, it has been used in the present study to supplement information culled from the *Bulletin*. Other periodicals published by foreign archaeological schools, such as *Hesperia* by the American School for Classical Studies at Athens, or the *Annual of the British School at Athens* (abbreviated often as *ABSA* or *BSA*) do not provide similar sections that record general remarks about archaeological discoveries in Greece on an annual basis. Although consulted, they were not used systematically.

iii. Figures

Unless otherwise acknowledged, the author is the source for the figures used in this chapter.

iv. Dating

The date of material culture is important to acquire because it allows the evidence to be placed in a chronology that has been developed by the researcher for her research questions. In the case of reuse of masonry being used in a later building, a relative date based on stylistic analysis and on the location of the evidence in the site’s stratigraphy would be the easiest one to acquire to date the evidence.⁷⁷ However, a relative date does not have the

2002’, *BCH* 127 (2003) 683-1108; A. Philippa-Touchais, R. Bouchon, J.-C. Decourt, B. Helly, C. Prêtre, G. Touchais, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004’, *BCH* 128-129 (2004-05) 1259-1634.

⁷⁶ G. Touchais, personal communication, March 2, 2016.

⁷⁷ C. Renfrew, P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* (London, 2012⁶) 121, 132.

precision of an absolute date based on a datable inscription found at the site or a reference in a reliable written source that included a record of the particular date.⁷⁸

Unfortunately, many of these occurrences of reuse are not dated at all. Based on general rules of superposition and stylistic typology in archaeology, the archaeologist can often confidently claim that the reuse occurred later than the initial construction of the building (i.e. temple or *anaktoron*), and then some arbitrary date is given that would fit into commonly accepted turning points of history that witnessed change of the kind inferred from the reuse, partly based on the stylistic elements of the masonry.⁷⁹ In the case of temples, the rise and (inevitable) triumph of Christianity is often used as this turning point in history to which reuse might be dated for convenience, and the unit of time used in the date is the fourth and fifth centuries CE.⁸⁰ Therefore, the dating method is rather crude. Often archaeologists take no note of the date of reuse, and it is left to later researchers to discuss the lack of a date and its impact on the evidence being used.⁸¹

In the present study, few dates have been recorded in the collected occurrences of reuse. This makes the evidence problematic because it is lacking one of its principal and therefore most widely used attributes. Unfortunately for researchers studying later periods of a building's life, this is partly based on the presentation of the evidence in the sources, where the important object of the research was the characterisation of a building at the beginning of its life, which was well-dated, and not at its end. However, in the present study the date of reuse is not as important as the presence of reuse. This study aims to begin noting all occurrences of this reuse. Once the occurrences are recorded, further research into the time of reuse can occur.

It could be argued that a safe period for dating most occurrences of temple reuse can be the reign of the emperor Theodosius I (381-395 CE). Based on the legislation that was passed in late antiquity dealing with the conversion of many Romans to Christianity, and with the extinction of traditional Greco-Roman cults, it is likely that many occurrences of temple

⁷⁸ Renfrew, Bahn, *Archaeology*, 121.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 122-3.

⁸⁰ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 50-7.

⁸¹ Bryan Ward-Perkins has pointed out the difficulty of distinguishing sequences of reuse that are shorter than about a century. See Ward-Perkins, 'Archaeological Problem'.

reuse occurred after 380 CE, when Theodosius I published the edict popularly entitled *Cunctos Populos* from its opening words.⁸²

II. Geographic Division of Temple Reuse

The maps generated for this thesis were generated by stepmap.com, a free application on the internet for members of the public to use.⁸³ A small fee is to be paid for creating a large copy of the map to be available for the user. Therefore, the locations of the places mentioned in the thesis are only approximate, i.e. no effort was made to identify the longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates of the places.

b. Northwestern Greece (Map 1)



i. Epirus-Ionian Islands

⁸² *Cod. Theod.* XVI.1.2; Mitchell, *Later Roman Empire*, 265-7; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 116-20.

⁸³ www.stepmap.com.

In Epirus, the temple of Poseidon at Nikopolis was the source of *spolia* for later buildings.⁸⁴ Dodona was an important cult centre for the worship of Zeus as an oracular god. Two of its sanctuaries have had their sacred areas occupied by churches: the sanctuaries of Zeus, and Herakles.⁸⁵ The church of Haghia Deuteria at Vlyziana in Akarnania uses *spoliated* masonry from a temple.⁸⁶ Vlyziana is located to the east of the site called *Alyz(e)ia* on Map 54 of the *Barrington Atlas*.⁸⁷ *Alyzeia* is roughly southwest of Lake Ambracia. The site was known as *Kandeles* in the Middle Ages.⁸⁸ Palairos in Aetolia-Akarnania also has evidence of spoliation from a temple.⁸⁹ The church of Haghios Elias at Taxiarkhis in Aetolia was built upon the site of a temple.⁹⁰

The Ionian islands have also played an important role in ancient Greek history, with settlement dating back into prehistory, and a role in the development of the *polis* and early colonizing movements of the Greeks.⁹¹ Many churches have been studied on these islands by archaeologists such as William Bowden in his wider work on Epirus.⁹² There are episodes of spoliation on the island of Kerkyra.⁹³ Wealthy individuals reused earlier masonry in their churches in Late Antiquity, which makes it difficult to detect whether or not the masonry originated from a temple.

For example, the only occurrence of reuse of masonry from a temple on the island of Kerkyra occurs in the *Palaiopolis* basilica in the city of Kerkyra. The late antique bishop Jovianus supposedly demolished a temple for masonry in order to build a church.⁹⁴ This edifice is the church of *Nostra Signora di Paleopoli* located on Kerkyra according to

⁸⁴ F. Schober, 'Nikopolis', in *RE* XVII.1, coll. 511-18; W.M. Murray, 'Map 54 Epirus-Acarmania', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 803-17 at 809.

⁸⁵ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 42-3; Scheer, 'Dodona, Δωδώνη (Ioannina)' 197-9; Murray, 'Epirus-Acarmania', 806; W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus. The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (London, 2003) 44, 56, 192.

⁸⁶ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 13.

⁸⁷ Murray, 'Epirus-Acarmania', 805.

⁸⁸ Soustal, *TIB, Volume 3*, 170-1.

⁸⁹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2390/ (accessed March 8, 2016); Murray, 'Epirus-Acarmania', 809.

⁹⁰ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 11; W.J. Woodhouse, *Aetolia. Its Geography, Topography, and Antiquities* (Oxford, 1897) 203; J. Fossey, J. Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 818-40 at 830.

⁹¹ Hom., *Od.* I.15; cf. J.M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200-479 BCE* (Malden, MA, 2014²) 1-15, 96-125.

⁹² Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*.

⁹³ Murray, 'Epirus-Acarmania', 805 uses 'Corcyra' as the names of the island and the main city. The spelling 'Kerkyra' will be followed here.

⁹⁴ Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, 148.

Friedrich Deichmann.⁹⁵ Bayliss claims that it was destroyed in the fifth or sixth century CE.⁹⁶

i. Thessaly

An ancient city in Thessaly that is considered to be a site with evidence of reuse is *Philia*. Philia is located about 16 kilometres to the southeast of Karditsa in the interior of Thessaly.⁹⁷ The temple of Athena Itonia is the topic of discussion. There are a couple of interpretations of the evidence. Some state that the temple of Athena Itonia was turned into a church.⁹⁸ Others claim that it was only a source of *spolia* for a nearby church in the settlement of Melissochori, dedicated to Haghioi Taxiarchoi.⁹⁹ However, it is claimed that a building replaced the temple; furthermore, that it contained a mosaic floor.¹⁰⁰

This could be interpreted in a number of different ways. It is not evident that the earlier claim, by Johannes Koder and Friedrich Hild, that a church took the place of the temple is correct. The presence of a mosaic floor could be evidence of a wealthy Christian community in Philia. However, the presence of mosaics is insufficient evidence to make the claim that the building following the temple was a church. Residential or official bureaucratic buildings were also decorated with mosaics.

On the other hand, as has been repeatedly stressed in the present work, spoliation can be considered a form of reuse. Therefore, the temple providing *spolia* for a church in the nearby town of Melissochori could also be claimed as the temple being reused as a church. However, that interpretation is weak given the widespread act of spoliation in Greece, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The evidence in this case is too ambiguous to make a plausible interpretation of it. Philia will be discussed further in chapter three.

c. Northeastern Greece (Map 2)

⁹⁵ Deichmann, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten*, 85.

⁹⁶ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 125.

⁹⁷ D.R. Theocharis, 'Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θεσσαλίας', *ΑΔ* 19B (1964) 241-55; Koder, Hild, *TIB, Volume 1*, 240; H. Kramolisch, 'Philija, Φιλία (Karditsa)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 539. At Fossey, Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', 821 it is identified as 'Athena Itonia'.

⁹⁸ Koder, Hild, *TIB, Volume 1*, 240.

⁹⁹ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991', 895.

¹⁰⁰ Huber, Varalis, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1994', 929.



i. Macedonia

The most important location in Greece for early Christianity is Thessaloniki in Macedonia for a number of reasons. It is mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles* in the New Testament.¹⁰¹ The Apostle Paul visited Thessaloniki during his preaching in the second half of the first century CE in the eastern Mediterranean. Its inhabitants were the recipients of a group of letters written by him.¹⁰² Thessaloniki is the site of many early Christian monuments in Greece, and was the site of many Christian martyrdoms partly because of the presence of the Tetrarch Galerius in Thessaloniki at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries CE.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ In general, for Paul's visits to all sites on mainland Greece, cf. *Acts* XV.36-XXI.14.

¹⁰² *1 Thess.*, *2 Thess.*.

¹⁰³ Soustal, Schellewald, Theis, 'Makedonien', in *RBK. Volume V*, coll. 982-1220. Unfortunately, there is still no entry for Thessaloniki in the *RBK*. Further on Roman Thessaloniki, cf. L. Nasrallah, C. Bakirtzis, S.J. Friesen (eds), *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē. Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA, 2010). Thessaloniki as Galerius' capital, cf. Mitchell, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 65.

This emphasis on Thessaloniki as an important urban centre in the development of early Christianity makes an analysis of the phenomenon of temple reuse there very difficult. Because of the continuous nature of the inhabitation of Thessaloniki over the last two thousand years, archaeological excavation that takes place there is usually of the rescue archaeology kind, i.e. excavation occurring preceding development of the land. Therefore, the topography of the early Christian city is quite patchy, and it is difficult to estimate the number of Greco-Roman temples in the city.

Secondly, the very large amount of early Christian sites in Thessaloniki obscures definite identifications of temple reuse by Christians. There are many well-known Byzantine churches in the city, and it would be difficult to distinguish churches that reuse only spoliated masonry from earlier Greco-Roman temples, churches that only reuse the physical location of a Greco-Roman temple, and churches that reuse the foundations, *krepis*, or *podium*, of temples.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, the potentially large amount of early Christian buildings would make any attempt at listing all instances of early Christian reuse of temples in Thessaloniki next to impossible. The present study can aim only to identify the most important occurrence of temple reuse in Thessaloniki.

The most important Early Christian churches in Thessaloniki, such as the church of saint Demetrius, Haghia Sophia, the anonymous Early Christian octagonal church, and the *Acheiropoietos* church are built on virgin soil.¹⁰⁵ Saint Demetrius is built over the bath in which Saint Demetrius was claimed to have been martyred during the reign of the Tetrarch Galerius.¹⁰⁶ Although a *martyrium* was soon built over the room in which he was killed, the Christian monumentalization of the location was aimed at memorializing the bath and *not* a temple. The first building of the cathedral church of Haghia Sophia, in the form of a basilica,

¹⁰⁴ T.E. Gregory, 'Thessalonike', in *ODB* III, 2071-2. Recent research on spoliation in Thessaloniki would include L.V. Geymonat, 'The Syntax of *Spolia* in Byzantine Thessalonike', in M.J. Johnson, R.G. Ousterhout, A. Papalexandrou (eds), *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration. Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić* (Farnham, UK, 2012) 47-65. The *krepis* of the temple is considered the foundation courses up to the top of the *stylobate*. Cf. C. Höcker, 'Krepis', in *BNP* VI, col. 826.

¹⁰⁵ K.M. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and the Eleventh Centuries AD, with Special Reference to the Towns of Byzantine Macedonia* (Thessaloniki, 1996) 141-69.

¹⁰⁶ J. Skedros, 'Civic and Ecclesiastical Identity in Christian Thessalonikē', in Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*, 245-61; S. Ćurčić, 'Christianization of Thessalonikē: The Making of Christian 'Urban Iconography'', in Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*, 213-44; C.S. Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', in J. Roisman, I. Worthington (eds), *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (Malden, MA, 2010) 545-71 at 561-2.

was also erected over a street and miscellaneous unidentified Roman buildings.¹⁰⁷ The present church of Hagia Sophia was built over top of this earlier church in the eighth century CE. To the west of the city centre, the octagonal church was built near the city wall.¹⁰⁸ Finally, to the east of the central agora, the *Acheiropoietos* church was also built over a bath between the fourth and sixth centuries CE.¹⁰⁹

Because of the difficulty in estimating the number of Greco-Roman temples in Thessaloniki, the present study only includes three instances of temple reuse based on material culture. None is of much significant historical value. One anonymous temple was reused as a building foundation, and the other merely provided *spolia* for a later building.¹¹⁰ A more notable instance was at a site known as the ‘Chortiatī stoa’. Excavations in the 1980s and 1990s uncovered a *villa urbana*, and further below, based on the recovery of a statue of Cybele, a temple of Cybele. The Archaeologists claim that the temple was replaced by the villa in the second half of the fourth century CE.¹¹¹ The villa included wall paintings, and was later reused as a monastery in the ninth century CE. There have been claims that this is either the monastery of Leontios or of Saint John the Baptist.¹¹²

Information about other occurrences of temple reuse in Macedonia is variable.¹¹³ The city of Philippi has received much attention in the discussion of urbanism in Late Antiquity. Philippi is the centre of another collection of Paul’s letters to a Christian community, *The Letters to the Philippians*.¹¹⁴ Based on Paul’s letters, it could be inferred that an important Christian community existed in Philippi already in the first century CE. It is claimed that a

¹⁰⁷ K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki. From its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford, 1988).

¹⁰⁸ Ćurčić, ‘Christianization of Thessalonikē’, 213-44.

¹⁰⁹ Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 145-8.

¹¹⁰ Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002’, 956; Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004’, 1493.

¹¹¹ E. Marki, ‘Ανασκαφή στοάς Χορτιάτη’, *AEMΘ* 6 (1992) 327-37.

¹¹² Huber, Varalis, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1994’, 956.

¹¹³ It can also get confusing. The present writer was confused by Bayliss’ reference on page 125 of *Provincial Cilicia* of a temple conversion of a temple of Asklepios that occurred in the fourth century CE in ‘Beroia’. The present writer thought that this conversion had occurred in the city of Beroia (or Veria) in Macedonia. However, considering the precise identification of the temple dedication and Bayliss’ own specialization in Roman Anatolia, he is probably referring to the ancient city now occupied by Aleppo in Syria. Cf. P.-L. Gatier, T. Sinclair, M. Ballance, ‘Map 67 Antiochia’, in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 1027-41 at 1030. Secondly, the present writer visited Beroia in Greece in August 2014, and saw no evidence of a temple of Asklepios.

¹¹⁴ *Phil.*.

herōon was turned into a church in Philippi.¹¹⁵ The church, an octagonal one, took over not only the space of the herōon, but also residential blocks. The occurrence of a church over top of a herōon in Philippi is considered one of the clearer examples of a Christian community in Greece appropriating the space belonging to an earlier non-Christian sacred structure.

The city of Kalithea on the east coast of the westernmost peninsula of Chalkidikē has a temple dedicated to Zeus Ammon that was used for burials.¹¹⁶ This temple was abandoned in the fourth century CE.¹¹⁷ This date of abandonment provides more information in which to develop the context in which temple reuse occurred. The context for this temple will be discussed further in chapter two. Further east, to the south of *Pangaion Mons*, lies the site of Kipia-Akrovouni. It could be considered that this is the site of the ancient sanctuary at *Kepia*.¹¹⁸ Other details exist about the afterlife of this building. It is claimed that the sanctuary was systematically destroyed by Christians in Late Antiquity, sometime in the fourth century CE, and was soon replaced by an unidentified building.¹¹⁹ Gilles Touchais claims that it is the site of a herōon dedicated to the hero *Aulonites*.¹²⁰ At Dion, in Pieria near the foot of Mount Olympos, a cult statue of Hera from a temple was reused as masonry in a later wall from Late Antiquity. There is no means of dating the reuse.¹²¹

i. Thasos

In the northern Aegean, Thasos is home to a number of sites that included traditional Greco-Roman temples, some of which were used for a number of purposes at the end of

¹¹⁵ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 34.

¹¹⁶ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1504. This settlement is not located in the *Barrington Atlas*, making further discussion about it difficult. It was located by means of the 1:300000 scale map. It is south of the place known as 'Aphytis' on Map 51 of the *Barrington Atlas*. Cf. E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 772-84 at 773.

¹¹⁷ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2298/ (Accessed March 7, 2016).

¹¹⁸ Borza, 'Thracia', 775.

¹¹⁹ Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1985', 725; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 915; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991', 916-7.

¹²⁰ Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1985', 725.

¹²¹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/492/ (accessed March 7, 2016); J. Whitley, S. Germanidou, D. Urem-Kotsou, A. Dimoula, I. Nikolakopoulou, A. Karvara, D. Evely, 'Archaeology in Greece 2006-2007', *Arch. Rep.* 53 (2006-2007) 1-121 at 67.

antiquity. First of all, the site of Aliko has a temple that provided *spolia* for two churches.¹²² Although the churches do not reuse the site of the temple, the spoliation that occurred at the site, based on the discussion earlier in this chapter, could be argued to represent evidence of temple reuse.

Thasos city has been heavily studied by French archaeologists, and they have pointed out the high number of sites that are associated with the island in the early Byzantine period, which begins roughly around the sixth century CE (near the end of Late Antiquity).¹²³ The use of temples as quarries and as other practical building means by Late Antique Romans is visible at the site of the temple of Soteira in the city of Thasos.¹²⁴ The *krepis* of the temple was heavily reused. Not only did it serve as a foundation for a later structure, but conduits for water or sewage were also dug out of it.

Two more temples were used as a quarry for masonry to be used in a fortification wall nearby. Both of these temples were located on the acropolis of Thasos; one was dedicated to Athena, and the other to Apollo.¹²⁵ The cult of the oracular aspect of Apollo was not restricted to the acropolis in the Greek city, and so its significance at this location is unknown. Although Salviat makes no direct reference to the temples being reused, he does mention that masonry was reused in the church and the fort. This spoliation is evidence enough of temple reuse. The location of these temples in an elevated location made their practical reuse in a later fortification wall sensible by the later builders. A fortified height could prove useful for any community living with the risk of piratical bands of pillagers, and so the temples on the acropolis provided masonry for the strengthening of the fortifications. Finally, at the site of *Evraiokastro* on the northern edge of the city of Thasos, a church was

¹²² F. Salviat, *Guide de Thasos* (Paris, 1968) 88; Aliko is spelled 'Alyke' in Borza, 'Thracia', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 773.

¹²³ J.-P. Sodini, 'La ville de Thasos à l'époque protobyzantine: les lacunes de la topographie', in *Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία, 324-1430 μ. Χ.* (Thessaloniki, 1995) 279-95; Borza, 'Thracia', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 778.

¹²⁴ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1522.

¹²⁵ Salviat, *Guide de Thasos*, 55-7, figure 20.

built over top of a sanctuary of *Athena Mykesia*.¹²⁶ The dedication of the temple is known from an inscription located by excavation nearby.¹²⁷

There is also a sanctuary of Herakles in the city of Thasos that was turned into a church (figure 1).¹²⁸ The church as a matter of fact used worked stone from different areas of the sanctuary, such as a cobbled path and the building surrounded by a peripteral colonnade (considered by the archaeologists to be the temple itself), and reused it in a new building built on top of the temple-structure.¹²⁹ This temple-structure was inside of the sanctuary *temenos*.¹³⁰ In line with the general aim of having the church apse facing east, the church built over top of the *peripteral* structure had an apse facing east.¹³¹ Moreover, a cemetery was created in the area to the east of the temple, in the earth accumulated on top of the *lesche* of the sanctuary.¹³² Based on the stylistic elements of the Byzantine capitals and column bases used in the church, the church was built sometime in the fifth century CE.¹³³

d. Central Greece: Phokis, Boeotia, Euboea, Western Cyclades (Map 3)

¹²⁶ Salviat, *Guide de Thasos*, 49-50; Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', 566 n. 89.

¹²⁷ G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1962', *BCH* 87 (1963) 689-878 at 858-61; Sodini, 'Ville de Thasos à l'époque protobyzantine', 285-6.

¹²⁸ M. Launey, *Études Thasiennes I. Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès à Thasos* (Paris, 1944) 15; Sodini, 'Ville de Thasos à l'époque protobyzantine', 283-5.

¹²⁹ Launey, *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès*, 28-9, 229.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, figure 88.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 231.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 231; cf. also Plate XVIII.



This area represents one of the richest parts of Greece culturally because of the presence of places with long histories, such as the cities of Delphi, Eretria, Athens, and Aigina, and the region of Boeotia in general.¹³⁴ The region witnessed the encounter between different Greek dialects early in its history.¹³⁵ However, because of the way that the map was generated, two Cycladic islands, often grouped alongside their neighbors like Paros, Naxos and Delos, will be included here: Keos, and Andros.

A temple at Kalapodi, located in the prefecture of Phthiotidis, claimed to be the site of the ancient city of *Hyampolis*, was reused as a storage area for *spolia*.¹³⁶ However, there are problems with this identification. According to the gazetteer in the *Barrington Atlas*,

¹³⁴ S.B. Pomeroy, S.M. Burstein, W. Donlan, J. Tolbert Roberts, D.W. Handy, *A Brief History of Ancient Greece. Politics, Society, and Culture* (Oxford, 2014³) 44-7, 67-98, 121-36.

¹³⁵ Hall, *History of the Archaic Greek World*, 44-8.

¹³⁶ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004’, 1425-6. Although it is the present day prefecture that is used to locate Kalapodi, it is located in what would have been ancient Lokris Opuntia. Cf. *Barrington Atlas*, Map 55.

Hyampolis is in fact located at a site known as *Exarkhos*, and not at Kalapodi.¹³⁷ This error in identification, however, has potential consequences for the practice of spoliation as will be discussed later in the chapter.

i. Phokis

The most important site to record in Phokis is Delphi. Although it was a pilgrimage site of the highest importance already in the archaic Greek world because of the oracle, it experienced a significant Christianisation in Late Antiquity.¹³⁸ The temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi was also used as a quarry for *spolia*.¹³⁹ Further west, there is another town called Malandrino in Phokis, the site of the ancient city of *Physkeis*, where a temple of Zeus Meilikhios was reused as a church.¹⁴⁰ At Asprovryssi Malandrinou, in Phokis, a temple of Athena was used for burial in the Roman period.¹⁴¹

ii. Boiotia

There are some odd instances of temple reuse in Boeotia, the next stop after Phokis. There is one in Aulis that is especially odd, which makes its absence from Bayliss' catalogue all the more striking. A temple at Aulis, the famous site of the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia in order to pacify Poseidon, was turned into a bath.¹⁴² A temple of Cybele at Kallithea Tanagras, a town southwest of the ancient city of Tanagra, was turned into a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ J. Fossey, J. Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 818-40 at 824.

¹³⁸ Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World*, 85-90; E. Dyggve, 'Les traditions culturelles de Delphes et l'église chrétienne. Quelques notes sur Δελφοί χριστιανικοί', *CA* 3 (1947) 9-28; V. Déroche, 'Delphes: la christianisation d'un sanctuaire païen', in *Actes du XI^e congrès internationale d'archéologie chrétienne; Lyons, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aoste (21-28 Septembre, 1986)* (Rome, 1989) 2713-26; P. Pétridis, 'Delphes dans l'antiquité tardive: première approche topographique et céramologique', *BCH* 121 (1997) 681-95.

¹³⁹ R. Demangel, *Fascicule 1: Les Temples de Tuf in FD. Volume 2: Topographie et Architecture. Le Sanctuaire d'Athèna Pronaia* (Paris, 1923) 131; J.-F. Bommelaer, M. Albouy, J.-F. Bernard, D. Bur, B. Courtois, M. Lapiere, D. Laroche, P. Martinez, G. Thibault, *Marmaria. Le sanctuaire d'Athèna à Delphes* (Paris, 1997) 32.

¹⁴⁰ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 116; Fossey, Morin, 'Thessalia-Boeotia', 828. The entry in Leekley and Efstratiou is confusing because the temple is also stated to be dedicated to the *Agathoi Theoi*.

¹⁴¹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3778/ (accessed March 7, 2016). Based on the online version of the 'Chronique', Asprovryssi Malandrinou happens to be located in the near vicinity of the town of Malandrino, to the southwest.

¹⁴² Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 16-7; K. Braun, 'Aulīs, Αὐλίς (Boiotia)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 155-6; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 904-18 at 906. The meaning of this episode of reuse will be the subject of further discussion in chapters two and three.

¹⁴³ Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', 871.

On the island of Euboea, off the coast of Boeotia, the temple of Apollo *Daphnephoros* at Eretria was used as a quarry.¹⁴⁴ At Pefki Histiaias, near the city of Histiaia in northern Euboea, a church dedicated to Saint George occupies the site of a temple of Artemis *Proseoia*.¹⁴⁵ The site of Karystos at the southern end of the island has a medieval tower that includes *spolia* from an Ionic temple in it.¹⁴⁶

iii. Attica

Attica appears to have provided the most instances of temple reuse because of its popularity as a location for archaeological fieldwork, and because of its prominence in Greco-Roman history. The interest in Athens in particular as a Classical Greek power in the Mediterranean Basin fuelled early archaeological work to uncover material culture of this past. This emphasis has made temple reuse much easier to see in Athens than in other Greek cities such as Thessaloniki. However, this concentration of archaeological work can badly skew the impression of the phenomenon of temple reuse in Late Antique Greece.

Most of the instances of temple reuse in Athens are located in the core of the ancient city, around the “Classical” agora, and the Acropolis. There are the Hephaisteion, the Erechtheion, the Parthenon (Figure 2), the temple of Asklepios alone in the centre of Athens, which all were reused as churches.¹⁴⁷ Otherwise, there are lesser known temples that were preserved as churches into the Middle Ages and beyond, such as the temple of Artemis Agrotera, located beside the stream known as Ilissos to the southeast of the Acropolis. Although quite small compared to temples such as the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon, this temple was converted

¹⁴⁴ P. Auberson, ‘Temple d’Apollon Daphnéphoros. Architecture’, *Eretria. Fouilles et Recherches* 1 (1968) 9-24 at 10.

¹⁴⁵ Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989’, 807. Cf. G. Radke, ‘Προσηφά’, *RE* XXIII.1, col. 846.5-62.

Map 55 edited by Fossey and Morin in the *Barrington Atlas* contain an entry for an ‘Artemision’ located at ‘Ag. Georgios’ (Fossey, Morin, ‘Thessalia-Boeotia’, 821). It is possible that this is the site discussed in the *BCH*.

¹⁴⁶ D.R. Keller, *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece: A Reconstruction of Human Activity from Neolithic Times through the Byzantine Period* (PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1985) 149-50; J.McK. Camp, G. Reger. ‘Map 58 Peloponnesus’, in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 875-903 at 882.

¹⁴⁷ Hephaisteion: A. Frantz, ‘From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens’, *DOP* 19 (1965) 185-205; Erechtheion: J.M. Paton (ed.), *The Erechtheum* (Cambridge, MA, 1927) 492-523; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, Figure 17; Parthenon: Frantz, ‘From Paganism to Christianity’; B. Ward-Perkins, ‘Re-using the Architectural Legacy’, 230-40; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 27, 36, figure 20; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*; Temple of Asklepeios: A. Karivieri, ‘The Christianization of an Ancient Pilgrimage Site: A Case Study of the Athenian Asklepieion’, in E. Dassmann, J. Engemann (eds), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991* (Münster, 1995) 898-905.

into a church in the middle of the fifth century CE.¹⁴⁸ It is indeed the subject of a famous painting from the eighteenth century, reprinted as figure 159 in John Travlos' *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. The painting is a copy of an engraving in the famous work of two Englishmen who visited Athens in the mid-eighteenth century, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (figure 3).¹⁴⁹ A column of the temple of Olympian Zeus, built over the span of several centuries up till the second century CE, was selected to support the cell of a stylyte monk.¹⁵⁰ The temple of Kronos and Rhea, in the area south of the terrace on which stands the temple of Olympian Zeus, was also turned into a church (figure 4).¹⁵¹ Although it was originally considered to have been reused as a church, the Metrōon in the Classical Agora was reused as both a synagogue and for a wine press (figure 5).¹⁵² Outside of Athens, there is a sanctuary of Pan on the slopes of Mount Pentelikon that was converted into a church dedicated to Saint Spyridon.¹⁵³

The island of Aigina is located inside the Saronic gulf, not far off from the coast of Attica. It was an early trading partner with Athens, and also an opponent in Archaic warfare against Athens.¹⁵⁴ However, by Late Antiquity it was simply another location inside the Roman province of Achaëa that played a role in the Roman economy, and incidentally provided information for Pausanias during his *periegesis* around Greece in the mid-2nd century CE. The temple of Apollo on Aigina was turned into a fort once it was no longer frequented as a cultic site.¹⁵⁵

The ancient city of Andros on the island of Andros just southeast of Euboea is the site of evidence of a temple being covered by a more recent unidentified structure. The problem

¹⁴⁸ J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971) 112-20.

¹⁴⁹ J. Stuart, N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens. Measured and Delineated by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects* (London, 1762-1794, reprinted Princeton, 2008) 7-8, Plate 1.

¹⁵⁰ C. Bouras, 'The So-called Cell of the Athenian Stylyte', in C. Striker (ed.), *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz, 1996) 23-6; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 171-2.

¹⁵¹ Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 335-9; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 126.

¹⁵² Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 352; A. Frantz, H.A. Thompson, J. Travlos, 'Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700', *The Athenian Agora* 24 (1988) 1-156 at 58-9, 121-2.

¹⁵³ E. Freund, H.-J. Gehrke, G. Grimm, 'Pentelikōn, Πεντελικόν (Attika)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 526-7.

¹⁵⁴ Hdt. V.83-89, VI.87-93; Hall, *History of the Archaic Greek World*, 183.

¹⁵⁵ R. Scheer, 'Aigina, Αἴγινα (Peiraiëus)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 83-6 at 85.

with this claim is that the original statement in the *BCH* only states that the structure is a ‘construction moderne’ without further datable details.¹⁵⁶

Like Andros, the island of Keos is also near the western end of the Cycladic islands in the Aegean Sea.¹⁵⁷ An early excavation by the Frenchman Paul Graindor uncovered a temple that was reused at the site of Karthaia.¹⁵⁸ It is this temple that is the subject of discussion here (figure 6). Graindor dwelt on a description of the temple for a while in his report, which is fortunate for archaeologists of the present day studying temple conversion. Graindor published a rough ground-plan of the temple, indicating the walls that were added to it by the Christians. The Christians of the island made the temple into a church. It is difficult to determine if this was initially a temple because of the collection of different column types (i.e. presence of both Doric and Ionic orders in column styles), and a collection of inscribed dedications to different deities, including Demeter and Hygieia.¹⁵⁹ However, based on an inscription, Graindor considers a dedication to Artemis to be likely.¹⁶⁰

e. Central Cyclades and Crete (Map 4)

¹⁵⁶ Huber, Varalis, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1994’, 996-7. The location of the city of Andros is occupied by the settlement of Palaiopolis. The entry in the *BCH* confuses the location of Palaiopolis, stating that it is on Euboea, but then stating that it is the location of ancient Andros. According to Map 60 in the *Barrington Atlas*, confirmed by consultation of the 1:300000 scale map, Palaiopolis is on Andros, and not on Euboea. Cf. J. Bennet, G. Reger, ‘Map 60 Creta’, in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 919-36 at 921.

¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately, Richard Bayliss has committed an error by confusing Keos with Chios (page 40, and at figure 53). J. McK. Camp, G. Reger, ‘Map 58 Peloponnesus’, in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 875-903 at 882.

¹⁵⁸ P. Graindor, ‘Fouilles de Karthaia (Ile de Kéos)’, *BCH* 29 (1905) 329-61; Vaes, ‘Christliche Wiederverwendung’, 329.

¹⁵⁹ Graindor, ‘Fouilles de Karthaia’, 335, figure 4.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 335-6.



The next section will deal with the island of Crete, and the Cycladic islands of Despotiko, Thera and Sikinos.

i. Crete

Although, as stated earlier, the best-known period on Crete is the Bronze Age well before the Common Era, Christians are already visible on the island in the first century CE.¹⁶¹ There are references to Crete in the New Testament, most importantly with the proselytizing acts of the Apostle Paul.¹⁶² The island has many remains of churches.¹⁶³ The principal centre on the island in the Roman period was Gortyn.¹⁶⁴ Heraklion developed into an important port in the

¹⁶¹ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 43-5.

¹⁶² *Acts* II.7; XXVII.8.

¹⁶³ Cf. the catalogue of sites in Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 89-131.

¹⁶⁴ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, figure 64; I. Baldini Lippolis, G. Vallarino, 'Gortyn: From City of the Gods to Christian City', in T. Kaizer, A. Leone, E. Thomas, R. Witcher (eds), *Cities and Gods. Religious Space in Transition* (Leuven, 2013) 103-19. Economic and social aspects of Late Antique Gortyn are also being studied; cf. E. Giorgi, 'Water Technology at Gortyn in the 4th-7th c. A.D.: Transport, Storage and Distribution', in L. Lavan, E. Zanini, A. Sarantis (eds), *Technology in Transition. A.D. 300-650* (Leiden, 2007) 287-320.

Roman period, and began to replace its neighbor Knossos as another important city on the island.¹⁶⁵

However, there was also continuity in the worship of older deities. For example, many of the earlier sacred areas, such as Bronze Age mountaintop shrines, were still used by the Romans. The deities originally worshipped at these sites were still worshipped in the Roman period. Sites such as Juktas cave, Mount Ida, and the sanctuary of Dictaeon Zeus (probably at the site of modern day *Psykhro*), all associated with aspects of Zeus, were still used in the Roman period.¹⁶⁶

Gortyn was the seat of a bishop already in the Apostolic period of Christianity (first century CE), based on the story of its first bishop, Titus.¹⁶⁷ Later bishops are also known, such as the third century CE Cyrillus, who was martyred in 304 CE.¹⁶⁸ However, it is claimed that the temples continued to perform their original function until the fourth century CE.¹⁶⁹

The city of Gortyn has a case of temple reuse. The temple of Pythian Apollo was turned into a church. The shape of the temple could be considered somewhat suitable to its use as a church, because one of its walls, the western one, was originally built with an apse in its centre (Figure 7).¹⁷⁰ However, this initial orientation of the apse portion of the building was not ideal for Christian use of the building, because the normative direction of prayer in a church is toward the east.¹⁷¹ It is impossible to learn how this original layout hindered or benefited the Christian community in Gortyn. An interesting detail about this church is its

¹⁶⁵ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 19; cf. also R. Sweetman, 'The Changing Nature of Knossos: Roman to Late Antique-Some Problems', in G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki, A. Vasilakis (eds), *Knossos: Palace, City, State* (London, 2004) 481-8.

¹⁶⁶ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 17, 19 (Dictaeon Zeus), 154 (Juktas Cave), 163 (Mount Ida). On the prehistory of cave and mountaintop shrines in Greece, cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical* (Oxford, 1985) 24-8.

¹⁶⁷ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 43.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁶⁹ Baldini Lippolis, Vallarino, 'Gortyn', 104.

¹⁷⁰ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 108, figure 33.

¹⁷¹ On questions concerning building orientation as a significant attribute for proper religious practice, see below pages 90-3.

dedication. It was dedicated to Saint Titus, its first bishop.¹⁷² It was eventually replaced by a new church in about 600 CE.¹⁷³

However, there are other cases of temple reuse in Gortyn. These multiple occurrences in Gortyn speak to both the importance of religion in the city, and the importance of the city as a centre of social interaction in the Roman Empire. An anonymous temple dating to sometime in the Hellenistic period was reused in Late Antiquity for some unidentified public function, until the seventh century CE. After that, it was used for manufacturing purposes until the eighth century CE.¹⁷⁴

Other than Gortyn, the discussion of sites on Crete with evidence of temple reuse will follow a roughly east to west sequence. Itanos has a church known as *basilica A* built upon, or perhaps even converted from a temple. Sanders claims that the temple was perhaps dedicated to Athena Polias (Figure 8).¹⁷⁵ A temple or cave sanctuary at Patsos was reused as a church in Late Antiquity. The sanctuary's dedication is uncertain. Some have claimed that it was to Pan, but there is also evidence of votive offerings dedicated to Hermes Kranaios accompanied by burnt deposits perhaps from a sacrificial feast.¹⁷⁶ Rudolf Scheer states that the church was dedicated to Saint Antony.¹⁷⁷ In the prefecture or eparchy of Sfakia, in west central Crete, the gorge known as *Samaria* contains a temple, whose dedication is uncertain, being either to Artemis Britomantis or to Apollo. In the vicinity of the temple is a church of Saint Nicholas. Archaeologists claim that the temple was used until the third century CE. However, it is not stated whether or not the temple was the source of *spolia* for the church.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 79.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 110-12, figure 36. For further information about the temple of Apollo as a church, cf. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 36 n. 41, 37 n. 49, 112, figure 22.

¹⁷⁴ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/267/ (accessed March 8, 2016).

¹⁷⁵ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 89, figure 21.

¹⁷⁶ R. Scheer, 'Pazos, Παζός (Rethymna)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 522; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1993', 828. Scheer makes the claim that the sanctuary was dedicated to Pan. However Sanders, says dedications to Hermes Kranaios were found in it, to which Scheer agrees. Cf. Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 161. For photos of the site, cf. chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/1846/ (Accessed March 8, 2016).

¹⁷⁷ Scheer, 'Pazos', 522.

¹⁷⁸ On Samaria in general in later antiquity, cf. Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 165. Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 946; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991', 944; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1993', 843.

A temple of Asklepios was supposedly converted into a church at Lissos (Figure 9).¹⁷⁹ However, the brevity of the reference in Bayliss leaves out much of the history of this sanctuary, making it difficult to decide whether the church only reoccupied the space of the temple, or reused the building itself. Sanders stated only that the church took the place of the temple.¹⁸⁰ Christians desecrated the temple by means of etching graffiti on the walls, digging a hole through the mosaic floor, and dumping votive statuary into the hole.¹⁸¹ This is clear archaeological evidence of a practice mentioned in hagiography: the Christians exorcism of a temple before its replacement with a church.¹⁸² The Diktynnaion, a temple dedicated to Artemis Diktynna, has been claimed to have been a source of masonry for later buildings.¹⁸³

There is evidence of *spolia* from temples to Apollo and Artemis Isthmia at a site called Mandra, on the island of Despotiko, to the west of Antiparos.¹⁸⁴ This island is named Prepesinthos in Map 60 of the *Barrington Atlas*.¹⁸⁵ There are no sites indicated on the island of Prepesinthos in the *Barrington Atlas*, therefore Mandra can be added at a future time. Again, as has been noted repeatedly herein, this spoliation at Mandra is a widespread form of reuse. This use of *spolia* occurred over a long period of time. *Spolia* were already used from the temple in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and more recently in the form of a shepherd's hut along the rear wall of the temple.¹⁸⁶ In Late Antiquity a settlement grew up on the site.¹⁸⁷ At Sellada on Thera, a temple of Aphrodite was quarried for its masonry in the seventh and eighth centuries CE.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 17.

¹⁸⁰ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 128.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 84, figure 20.

¹⁸² On similar events in Egypt in the 6th century CE, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 85-122.

¹⁸³ D. Leekley, R. Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1975) 111; Bennet, Reger, 'Creta', 922.

¹⁸⁴ Touchais, Huber, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2000', 988; Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', 1043-5; Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1559-62.

¹⁸⁵ Bennet, Reger, 'Creta', 927.

¹⁸⁶ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/550/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

¹⁸⁷ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/655/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

¹⁸⁸ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1565.

We finally come to a site that has received a great deal of attention from American archaeologists.¹⁸⁹ The island of Sikinos is one of the smallest among the Cyclades, located in the southwestern corner of the archipelago, and is rather isolated. Therefore, the general isolation of Sikinos may have favored the excellent preservation of the herōon as a temple conversion.

The herōon was turned into a church. This would be the same as what occurred in Philippi and at Kipia-Akrovouni in Macedonia. The important thing that makes the herōon on Sikinos so significant is the surviving material culture; the entire building is intact (Figure 10).¹⁹⁰ It was closely examined by a number of American and Greek archaeologists working through the American school of Classical Studies at Athens in the 1960s, and their report on it is widely cited in the literature about temple conversion. Frantz and colleagues refers to the herōon as a temple of Apollo Pythios.

Because the herōon contained only a cella without any aisles around a central naos, this conversion would fit most readily into Bayliss' 'cella church' form of conversion.¹⁹¹ The building has a single vessel as an interior, which restricts the number of alternative forms of conversion that could have been adopted by Christians.

f. Eastern Aegean Sea (Map 5)

Islands in the eastern Aegean Sea will be looked at next. The principal ones are Rhodes, the Sporades in general and Lesbos.

¹⁸⁹ A. Frantz, H.A. Thompson, J. Travlos, 'The 'Temple of Apollo Pythios' on Sikinos', *AJArch.* 73 (1969) 397-422; Bennet, Reger, 'Creta', 928; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 34, 36, figures 25 and 26.

¹⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the present writer was unable to visit the island in the summer of 2014, and to take an update photo of the church.

¹⁹¹ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 36.



i. Rhodes

Like neighboring areas, the island of Rhodes has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic period of prehistory, but also includes several later urban sites. The three oldest were Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros. The main urban centre of Rhodes dates back to only the end of the fifth century BCE, as the result of a union of smaller settlements.¹⁹² The island, however, played an important role even later in Late Antiquity. Early Christians had a community on the island by the third century CE, led by bishop Photinos. Bishop Euphrosynos represented the

¹⁹² H. Sonnabend, 'Rhodos (Ῥόδος)', in *BNP* X, col. 997.

city at the Council of Nicaea in 325 CE.¹⁹³ There is also evidence of bishops in the fifth and sixth centuries CE.¹⁹⁴

Here again, as in other regions, reuse was not confined to either an urban or a rural context. It occurred across both of those spheres. For example, an important rural sanctuary located at modern day Theologos, dedicated to Apollo Erethimios, was the site of reuse of part of the sanctuary area. Excavation at the site dates back into the early twentieth century, but only in a sporadic form.¹⁹⁵ The site was revisited again in 1978 and then in the 1990s.¹⁹⁶ It was in the earlier excavations that the church was identified, and then removed. The excavations in the 1990s are the only point at which the layout of the temple became clear.¹⁹⁷

The important urban site of Lindos on Rhodes has a very famous acropolis sanctuary, dedicated to Athena, which has been explored for a long time by archaeologists, most recently by Italian archaeologists. The temple was used as a source of masonry for a number of unidentified buildings that were built in the fourth century CE and later, and the cult statue was removed to Constantinople by the emperor Constantine.¹⁹⁸ Because of the research goals of the archaeological expedition that uncovered these buildings, only a general site plan of the remains was drafted.¹⁹⁹ None of the buildings or structures was labelled with a specific type. However, it is commendable that the researchers took the time to record the standing remains rather than disassemble them quickly with no record in order to move onto older layers.

ii. Sporades

¹⁹³ E. Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master* (Athens, 2005³) 43-4.

¹⁹⁴ Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 11-3, figure 3.

¹⁹⁵ Touchais, Boloti, Detournay, Huber, Philippa-Touchais, Varalis, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1995', 1317. It is under the entry 'Apollo Erethimios, T.' in Bennet, Reger, 'Creta', 921.

¹⁹⁶ Touchais, Boloti, Detournay, Huber, Philippa-Touchais, Varalis, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1995', 1316-7; Touchais, Detournay, Philippa-Touchais, Varalis, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1996 et 1997', 944-5.

¹⁹⁷ Touchais, Boloti, Detournay, Huber, Philippa-Touchais, Varalis, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1995', figure 275.

¹⁹⁸ E. Lippolis, 'Il Santuario di Athana a Lindo', *ASAA* 66-67 (1993) 97-157 at 153; Deligiannakis, 'Late Paganism', 313-6; Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 19-20; Bennet, Reger, 'Creta', 925.

¹⁹⁹ Lippolis, 'Il Santuario di Athana', figure 22.

On the island of Ikaria, we have a temple being quarried for masonry.²⁰⁰ This was a temple dedicated to Artemis Tauropolos. It is also claimed to have been reused as a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God (*Θεοτόκος*).²⁰¹

iii. Lesbos

The island of Lesbos off of the Ionian coast of Turkey is another important location in Greco-Roman history, partly because of the presence of the Greek city of Mytilene.²⁰² However, Mytilene also benefited from a continuing presence into the Middle Ages.²⁰³ Nevertheless, despite its long history, there is no clearly identified evidence of temple conversion at Mytilene. However, at the location called Messa, there is an episode of a church taking the place of a temple.²⁰⁴ The temple's *krepis* was uncovered by excavation. The church, along with some burials, was found on top of these courses. It is claimed that the burials are associated with the church, and therefore are Christian.²⁰⁵ A later church on the temple location was dedicated to Saint Michael, and it is claimed that this dedication would have also been the one for the early Christian church.²⁰⁶

g. Peloponnese (Map 6)

²⁰⁰ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989', 812. It is under the entry 'Artemis Tauropolos, T.' in C. Foss, G. Reger, 'Map 61 Ephesus', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 937-56 at 939. The island in the *Barrington Atlas* is referred to both as 'Ikaros' and as 'Ikaria'. Cf. Foss, Reger, 'Ephesus', 942.

²⁰¹ Deligiannakis, 'Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands', 325-6; Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 28. This will be discussed further below page 96-7.

²⁰² C. Foss, S. Mitchell, G. Reger, 'Map 56 Pergamum', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 841-61 at 850.

²⁰³ Koder, *TIB, Volume 3*, 230-4; Kaldellis, 'Notes on the Topography', 69.

²⁰⁴ It is under the entry 'Messon' in Foss, Mitchell, Reger, 'Pergamum', 849.

²⁰⁵ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1531.

²⁰⁶ A. Kaldellis, 'Lesbos in Late Antiquity: Live Evidence and New Models for Religious Change', in W.R. Caraher, L. Jones Hall, R. Scott Moore (eds), *Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. Studies on Method and Meaning in Honor of Timothy E. Gregory* (Aldershot, UK, 2008) 155-67 at 160-1.



The regions in the Peloponnese will be surveyed in a counterclockwise route, beginning with Arcadia, Achaea, Elis, and then moving into Messenia, Lakonia, and ending in the Argolid.

i. Isthmus-Corinthia

The Isthmus is the site of many temples. This is because of the presence of the Greek city of Corinth, with a history dating back into the Bronze Age. Therefore, because of Corinth's role in the development of overseas trade in the so-called "Geometric" period of Greek history, it developed into an important city-state in the Archaic and Classical periods.²⁰⁷ The appearance of churches in the first few centuries of the Common Era is not surprising, as Corinth was also the recipient of some of the Pauline Epistles in the first century CE.²⁰⁸ Corinth is home to many Greco-Roman temples, and some of these were reused at the end of Antiquity.

²⁰⁷ Hall, *History of the Archaic Greek World*, 68-116.

²⁰⁸ 1 Cor., 2 Cor..

There is a debate about the later life of Corinth before the obscure period of the later seventh and eighth centuries CE. Some researchers argue that there was continuity in the permanent settlement of Corinth into the middle Byzantine period of history, based on archaeological evidence.²⁰⁹ However, it is generally agreed that the settlement shrank in general in Late Antiquity, leaving many areas abandoned. These included the main agora, which was used for burials.²¹⁰

Nevertheless, the importance of Corinth in the developing religion of Christianity is apparent in the number of churches that were built there.²¹¹ Therefore, the budding community needed worked stone for these new structures. The convenient proximity of old abandoned temples helped. These temples were looted for their masonry. Two temples that housed important healing gods of antiquity were targets of Christian looting. It is striking that two of the best placed temples in Corinth, the temples of Apollo overlooking the main agora, and the temple of Asklepios to the north at the cult centre known as *Lerna*, were used only as quarry sites in Late Antiquity.²¹²

The port of Kenchreai on the Saronic gulf, which was Corinth's principal port on the eastern shore of the Isthmus, saw temples being reused by Christians in Late Antiquity. A small temple of Isis was turned into a church there.²¹³ Alongside the port of Kenchreai, the Roman emperors of the first half of the sixth century CE, from Anastasios I to Justinian I,

²⁰⁹ D.K. Pettegrew, 'The End of Ancient Corinth? Views from the Landscape', in Caraher, Jones Hall, Scott Moore, *Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*, 249-66; C. Vanderheyde, 'Les sculptures découvertes lors des fouilles de trois églises byzantines à Corinthe: un témoignage en faveur d'une occupation continue de la ville du VII^e au XII^e siècle?', in C. Pennas, C. Vanderheyde (eds), *La sculpture byzantine. VII^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 2008) 341-57. In general, see now S.J. Friesen, D.N. Schowalter, J.C. Walters (eds), *Corinth in Context. Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (Leiden, 2010); S.J. Friesen, S.A. James, D.N. Schowalter (eds), *Corinth in Contrast. Studies in Inequality* (Leiden, 2014).

²¹⁰ E.A. Ivison, 'Burial and Urbanism at Late Antique and Early Byzantine Corinth (c. AD 400-700)', in N. Christie, S.T. Loseby (eds), *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, UK, 1996) 99-125; K. Warner Slane, G.D.R. Sanders, 'Corinth: Late Roman Horizons', *Hesp.* 74 (2005) 243-97.

²¹¹ Pallas, 'Korinith'; R.M. Rothaus, *Corinth: The First City of Greece. An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion* (Leiden, 2000).

²¹² H.N. Fowler, R. Stillwell, 'Introduction, Topography, Architecture', *Corinth* 1 (1932) 1-239 at 115-35; C. Roebuck, 'The Asklepieion and Lerna', *Corinth* 14 (1951) 1-182 at 160-1; A. Robertson Brown, 'Medieval Pilgrimage to Corinth and Southern Greece', *HEROM. Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture* 1 (2012) 197-224 at 221. A similar lot befell the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Cf. C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979) 86-7.

²¹³ R. Scranton, J. Shaw, L. Ibrahim, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth. Volume I: Topography and Architecture* (Leiden, 1978) 75-8; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 125; J.McK. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 875-903 at 882.

had an important fortification wall called the *Hexamilion* built across the Isthmus of Corinth to deter itinerant barbarian groups from raiding the Peloponnese.²¹⁴ Part of this fortification wall reused masonry from an important temple of Poseidon at a site called Isthmia.²¹⁵ This site was the centre of one of the Panhellenic games of Greek Antiquity, the Isthmian games, but was still an important settlement into the Middle Ages.²¹⁶ The temple of Poseidon's masonry was reused in a part of the *Hexamilion* wall near the temple.²¹⁷

Outside of Corinth, the area known as Corinthia includes a number of other sites that were city-states in the Classical period. One well known as the birthplace of Lysippos, the fourth century BCE Greek sculptor, was Sikyon, on the southern shore of the Corinthian gulf.²¹⁸ This city was the site of an instance of temple reuse as a church. A temple of Apollo became a church there.²¹⁹ The ancient city of Kleonai has a church built upon the *krepis* of a temple.²²⁰ Finally, Nemea has a church that reuses *spolia* from a temple of Zeus.²²¹

ii. Arcadia

In Arcadia, the site of Stymphalos has a temple of Athena on an Acropolis.²²² This temple was the location of a number of burials at the end of Antiquity or later.²²³ A second site at Stymphalos was claimed by the principal excavator there, E. Hector Williams, to be a temple location because of the presence of marble roof tiles.²²⁴ The site had been spoliated, and there were also burials at this location. Edward Dodwell in the early nineteenth century

²¹⁴ T.E. Gregory, *Isthmia. Volume 5: The Hexamilion and the Fortress* (Princeton, 1993).

²¹⁵ Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 882.

²¹⁶ T.E. Gregory, 'An Early Byzantine (Dark-Age) Settlement at Isthmia: Preliminary Report', in T.E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1994) 149-60.

²¹⁷ O. Broneer, *Isthmia. Volume I: Temple of Poseidon* (Princeton, 1971) 2; J.-M. Spieser, *Urban and Religious Space*, VI.5-6; Gregory, *Isthmia. Volume 5*, 142-6; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 62 n. 50, 125.

²¹⁸ R. Neudecker, 'Lysippos (Λύσιππος) [2]', in *BNP VII*, coll. 610-1; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 889.

²¹⁹ J. Hopp, 'Sikyon, Συκίων (Korinthia)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 615-8 at 617.

²²⁰ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1312; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 883.

²²¹ D.I. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1973* (Vatican City, 1977) 176-7; M. Landon, 'The Basilica and the Early Christian Community', in S.G. Miller (ed.), *Nemea. A Guide to the Site and Museum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990) 78-96 at 79.

²²² Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 889.

²²³ E.H. Williams, G.P. Schaus, S.-M. Cronkite Price, B. Gourley, C. Hagerman, 'Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1997', *EMC* 42 (1998) 261-319 at 287-8; G.P. Schaus, 'The Sanctuary: Site Description', in G.P. Schaus (ed.), *Stymphalos: The Acropolis Sanctuary, Volume I* (Toronto, 2014) 12-35 at 24-5.

²²⁴ E.H. Williams, personal communication, 30 March 2016.

stated that Doric *spolia* were incorporated into a nearby church.²²⁵ Although Williams' colleague, Gerald Schaus, is reluctant to claim that this was the site of a temple, it has been included in the present catalogue. Williams claimed that a temple of Artemis could have been here.²²⁶

Northwest of Orchomenos is the ancient city of *Kaphyai*, known today as the town of Chotoussa.²²⁷ Here a temple was reused as a church.²²⁸ Orchomenos has a temple that was reused as a quarry.²²⁹ Two anonymous temples at Mantinea were used as quarries.²³⁰ The site of Tegea is also a city-state from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was converted into a church at an undetermined date.²³¹ The sanctuary of Athena Alea has experienced a fair amount of archaeological exploration. Other parts of the sanctuary have been reused for other purposes. Burials from the later Byzantine period have been found in the north part of the sanctuary area.²³²

iii. Achaia-Elis

Further to the west in Achaia is the site of Lousoi. A temple of Artemis at that site had its masonry reused in a chapel of the Panaghia.²³³ The important site of Olympia was the site of a number of temples thanks to its role as a Panhellenic games site.²³⁴ Olympia has been the

²²⁵ E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece, during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806* (London, 1819) II, 434.

²²⁶ E.H. Williams, G.P. Schaus, S.-M. Cronkite Price, B. Gourley, H. Lutomsky, 'Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1996', *EMC* 41 (1997) 23-73 at 66-7; Williams, Schaus, Cronkite Price, Gourley, Hagerman, 'Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1997', 297-300; E.H. Williams, G.P. Schaus, B. Gourley, S.-M. Cronkite Smith, K. Donahue Sherwood, Y. Lolos, 'Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1999-2002', *Mouseion* 2 (2002) 135-87 at 154-5; G.P. Schaus, 'Stymphalos: Ancient Sources and Early Travellers', in Schaus, *Stymphalos*, 6-11 at 9-10.

²²⁷ Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 882.

²²⁸ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', 739. In the *BCH* entry, Chotoussa also goes by the name of Kaphyes Mantineias.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 739; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 886.

²³⁰ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', 739; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 884.

²³¹ Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, 180; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989', 737-9; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 889. Against the idea that the temple of Athena Alea was converted into a church cf. E. Østby, 'The Archaic Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea', *AAA* 17 (1984) 118-24 at 120; A. Avraméa, *Le Péloponnèse du IV^e au VIII^e siècle. Changements et persistances* (Paris, 1997) 114.

²³² Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991', 860.

²³³ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 872; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 884.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 886.

site of a long period of occupation by several peoples of different linguistic backgrounds.²³⁵ The site was a place of refuge in the third century CE when the ethnic group known as Heruls raided deep into the Roman province of Achaëa, sacking parts of Athens along the way.²³⁶ A large metrōon at Olympia, located near the temple of Olympian Zeus (*Zeus Olympios*), was turned into a fort during the raids of the Heruls.²³⁷ The temple of Hera was a source of *spolia* and the temple of Zeus Olympios too was a quarry.²³⁸

iv. Messenia-Lakonia

Messenia has three temples that were reused, all in the city of Messene, a fourth century BCE foundation as a home for liberated helots from Spartan tyranny.²³⁹ The site has benefited from long-term archaeological excavation. Three temples were reused. One was used as a quarry, for *spolia*. The temple of Asklepios might have been used also for *spolia*, as a quarry. Finally, the temple of Serapis and Isis was turned into a church.²⁴⁰ On the flank of Mount Ithome, immediately to the northeast of ancient Messene, a shepherd's hut was built against a temple of Eileithyia in the fourth century CE (figure 11; shepherd's hut dark area on the left).²⁴¹

Two temples at Sparta constitute instances of temple reuse.²⁴² Both were the location of later burials. These temples are the temple of Artemis Orthia, and the temple of Zeus Messapeus.²⁴³ Other locations in Lakonia have experienced reuse, but mostly as sources for

²³⁵ An important cemetery has been excavated there, that indicates the importance of Olympia as a location well into the Early Middle Ages. Cf. T. Vida, T. Völling, *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia* (Rahden, D, 2000).

²³⁶ H.A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight: AD 267-600', *JRS* 49 (1959) 61-72; Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, 'Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700', 1-5. For a map of the Roman provinces in the southern Balkan peninsula in the Early Roman empire, see S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge, 1993) Figure 3. These borders varied over time. See map 100, 101 in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*.

²³⁷ A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich, 1972) 160.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 146-8, 233-4.

²³⁹ Cf. Pomeroy, Burstein, Donlan, Tolbert Roberts, Handy, *Brief History of Ancient Greece*, 257; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 885.

²⁴⁰ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989', 742; Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', 803-4, figure 90; Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1344.

²⁴¹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2086/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

²⁴² Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 889.

²⁴³ S. Grunauer von Hoerschelmann, 'Sparta, Σπάρτη (Lakonia)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 628-34; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989', 734-6.

spolia. For example, a hilltop temple at the site of the ancient city of *Akriai*, the present-day town of Kokkinia, was a local quarry for the nearby church of Saint Nicholas.²⁴⁴

v. Argolid

Four sites in the Argolid offer instances of temple reuse. A temple of Aphrodite at Argos was converted into a church, as was one at Troizen.²⁴⁵ At Epidauros, an unidentified temple using the Doric order had its column drums built into an early Byzantine wall.²⁴⁶ At a site called Profitis Ilias Kiverion in the town of Kiveri on the west coast of the Argolic gulf southwest of Argos, *spolia* from a temple have been found in nearby walls.²⁴⁷ The entry does not provide details on what type of structure the walls represent.

²⁴⁴ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 862; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 876.

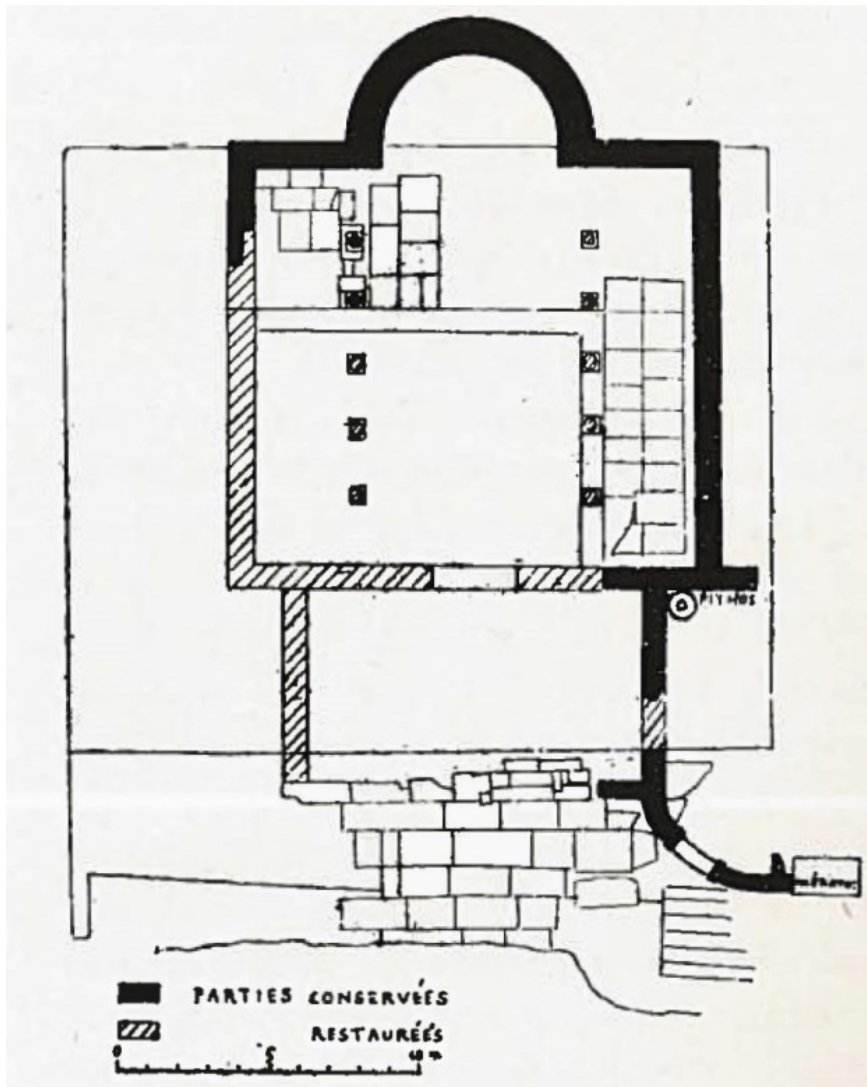
²⁴⁵ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 22, 125, 129; Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 877 (Argos), 880 (Epidauros), 890 (Troizen). Anastasia Oikonomou-Laniado states that the temple of Aphrodite at Argos was only used as a quarry. Cf. A. Oikonomou-Laniado, *Argos paléochrétienne. Contribution à l'étude du Péloponnèse byzantin* (Oxford, 2003) 9.

²⁴⁶ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/4417/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

²⁴⁷ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/291/ (accessed March 8, 2016). The *Barrington Atlas* does refer to the town of Kiveri, but for a site identified as 'Genesion/Apobathmoi'. Cf. Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus', 880. It is not clear whether or not this site is also the location of the *spolia* located in a wall.

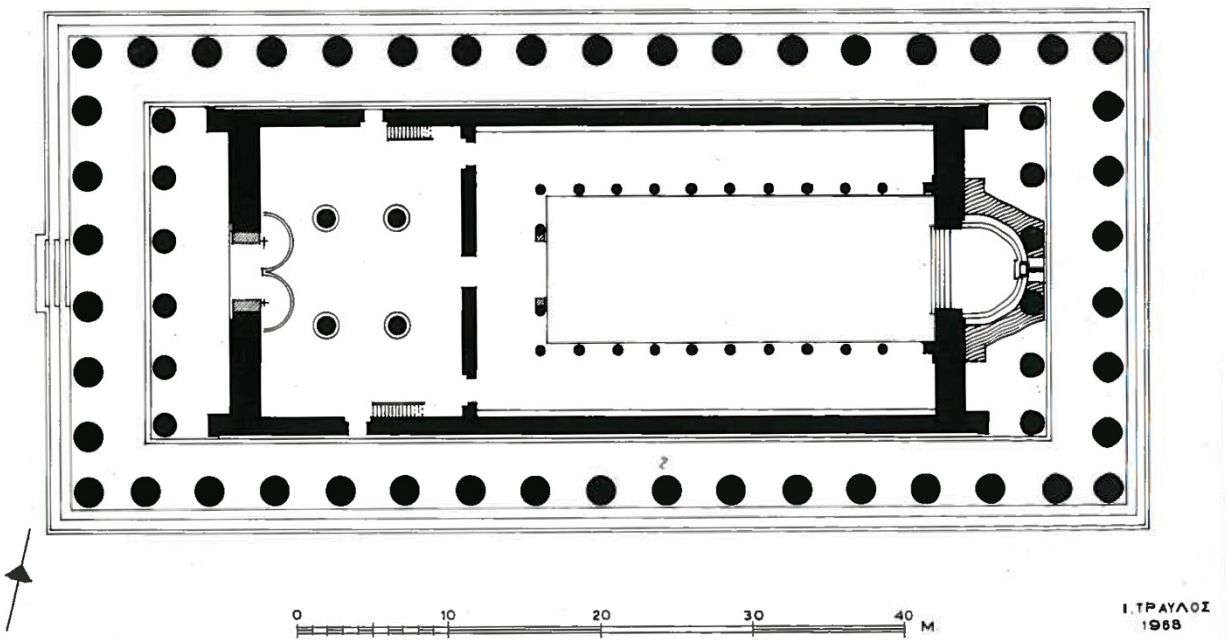
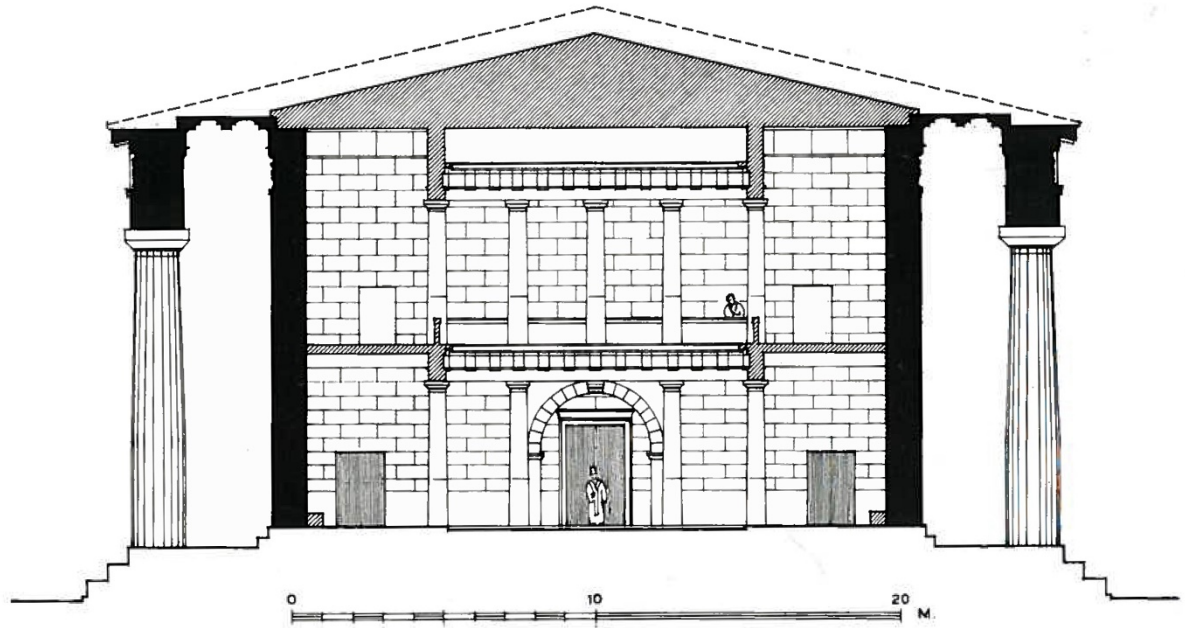
III. Chapter One Figures

a. Figure 1



Source: Launey, 1944, figure 88.

b. Figure 2



Source: Travlos 1971, Figure 576.

c. Figure 3



Source: Stuart and Revett 2008 (1762-94), Plate 1.

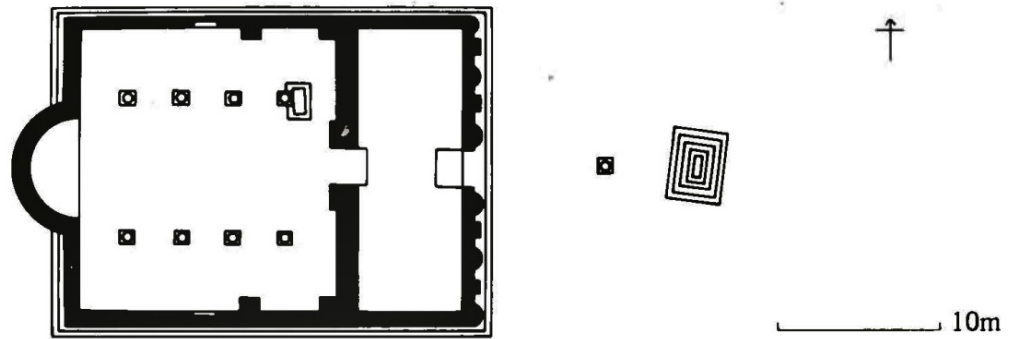
d. Figure 4



Source: Graindor 1905, Figure 4.

g. Figure 7

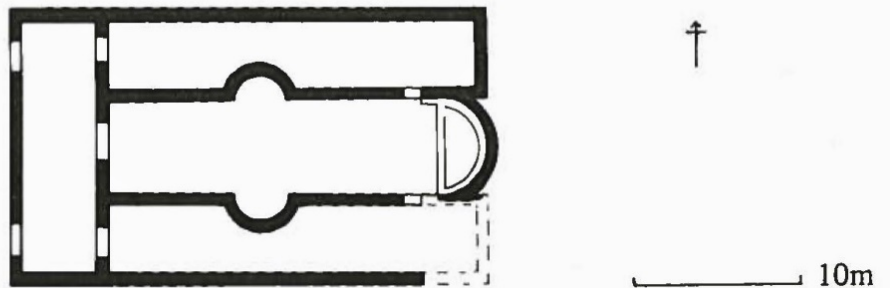
Fig.33. Gortyna: Pythian Apollo.



Source: Sanders 1982, Figure 33.

h. Figure 8

Fig.21. Itanos: Basilica A.



Source: Sanders 1982, Figure 21.

i. Figure 9

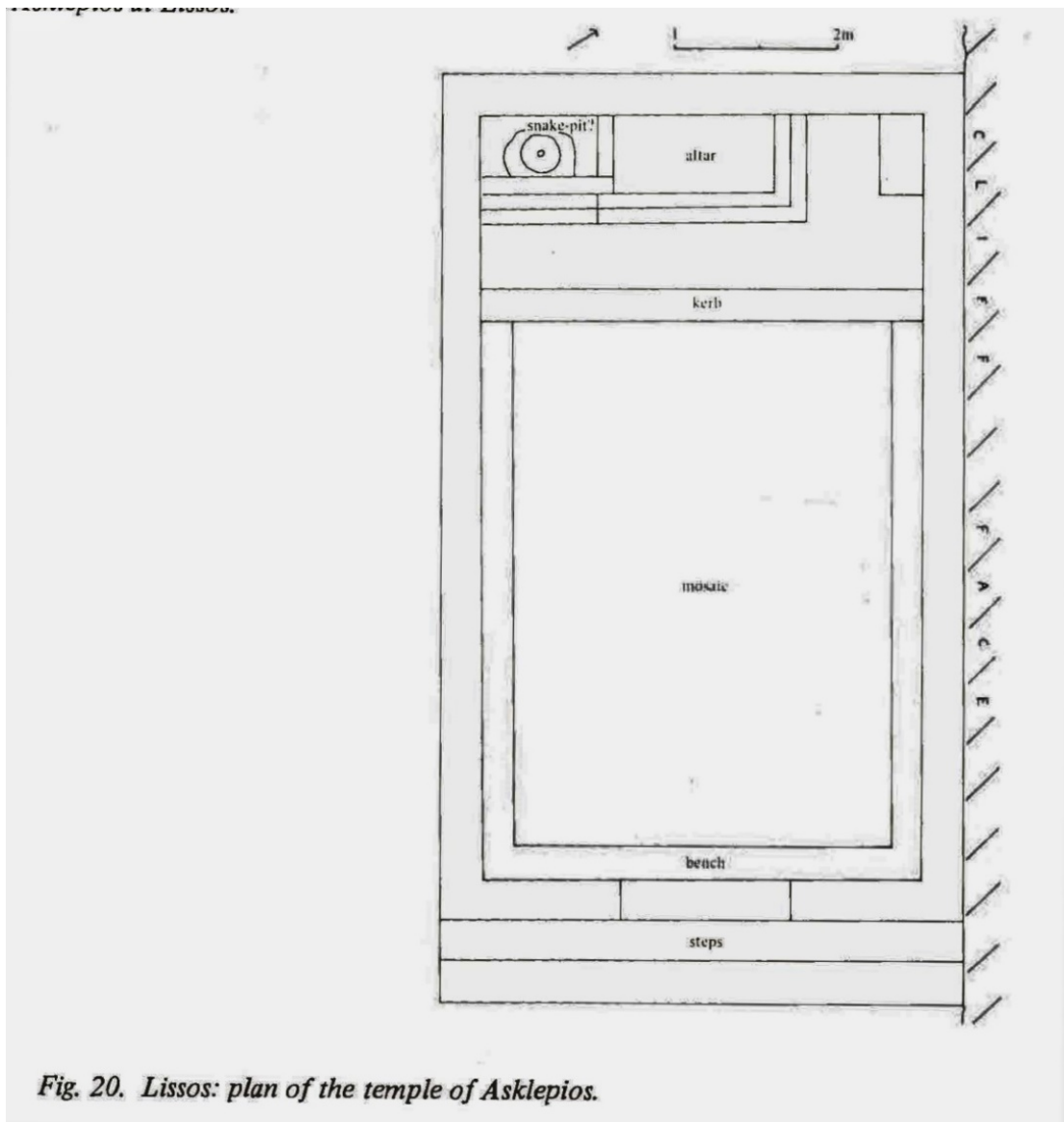


Fig. 20. Lissos: plan of the temple of Asklepios.

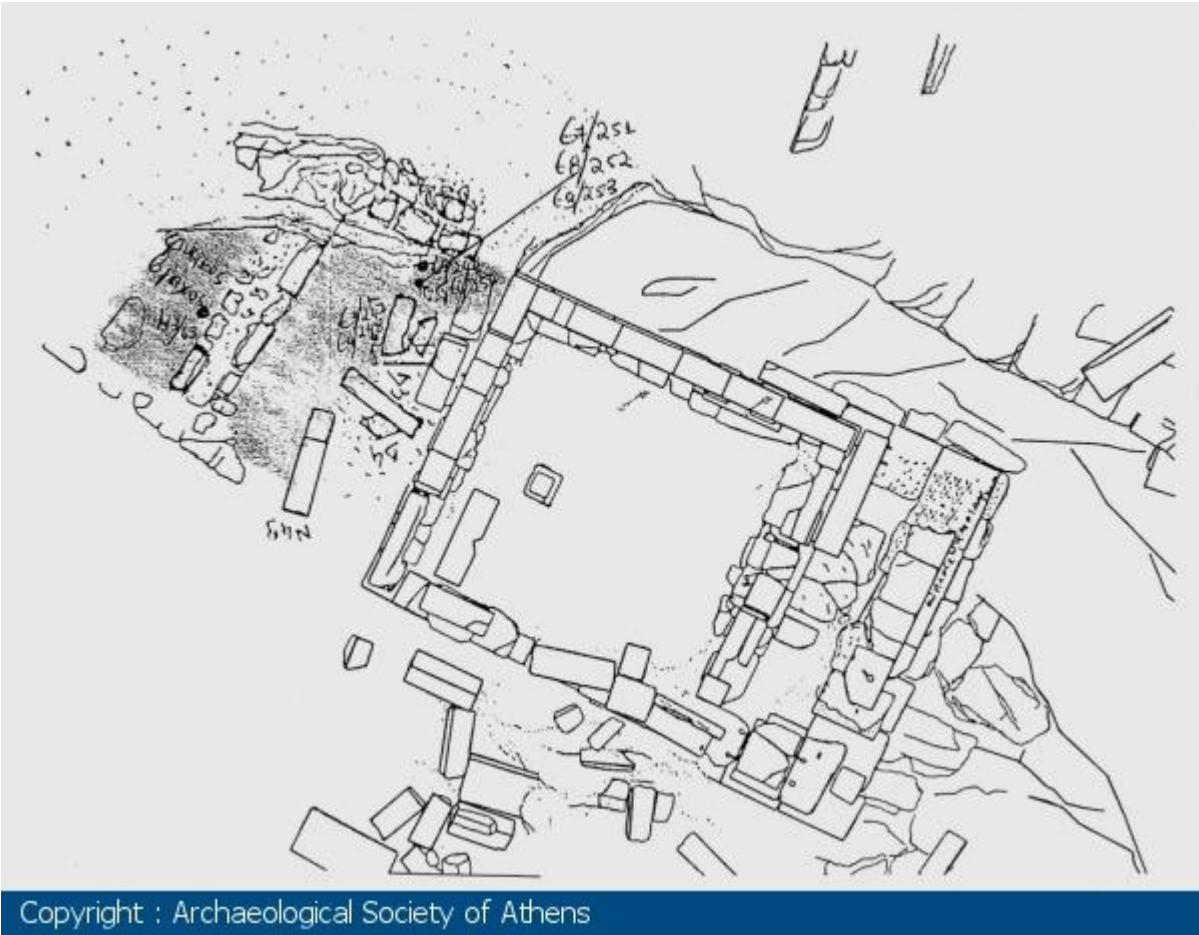
Source: Sanders 1982, Figure 20.

j. Figure 10



Source: Frantz *et Al.* 1969, Figure 6.

k. Figure 11



Source : chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2086/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

Chapter Two

I. Introduction

A list of the locations of temple reuse in Greece was drawn up in the previous chapter because material culture is best located spatially in order to appreciate its value as physical manifestations of a phenomenon. This chapter will discuss the forms that this reuse took. This analysis will take the form of a listing of reuse types by category. The geographic distribution of these categories throughout Greece will be displayed by maps. The details gathered in the act of categorizing the forms of reuse along with the geographic location of each reuse episode will enrich the following analysis of the motivations for these forms of reuse.

The main question we aim to answer in this chapter is “what were the forms of temple reuse in Late Antique Greece?”. This in turn raises a number of other questions: What were the principal motivations behind building use in Late Antiquity? Did Christians reuse other abandoned buildings for other purposes? Did they use buildings in the same manner as practitioners of traditional religions? Did they use buildings for practical reasons?

A preoccupation with the Christianisation of the Roman Empire over the last fifty years or so in the research on Late Antiquity has obscured alternative developments in building use in Late Antiquity. Temples were sometimes reused as building types other than churches for practical reasons. The reuse of temples for practical reasons is widespread and sometimes predates Christianity. The spoliation of temples occurred in order to build all forms of structure, not only for churches. Did Christians practice a reuse of temples as practical buildings? Was there a link between temple reuse as churches and temple reuse as other structures? It is very difficult to fathom the motivations for different ways of reusing previously sacred locations because beliefs stemming from religious codes of conduct could affect many behaviors which are behind decisions for different forms of reuse. Determining these beliefs or behaviors from material evidence is very difficult, if not impossible.²⁴⁸ Physical manifestations of the act of planning for the future are also studied by

²⁴⁸ C. Hawkes, ‘Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World’, *American Anthropologist* 56 (1954) 155-68 at 161-3.

archaeologists. Planning falls under what is termed cognitive archaeology, along with the study of material evidence for religious beliefs.²⁴⁹ In spite of these challenges, studying belief and cognition through material culture is a worthy pursuit.²⁵⁰ The following section includes more detailed discussions of questions that were raised during the cataloguing of the previous sites.

The problem that the writer faces in this chapter is the risk of creating a dry list of building types that temples in Greece could have become. A description of this sort will likely be very difficult for the reader to process because it would be rather dull to read. In order to liven up the description of building types, it would be helpful to account for each type because an explanation of the different kinds of reuse would provide more depth to the list of types so that the reader might better understand the motivations behind each form of reuse.

Experience is often invoked in discussion about the material world. It could be stated that Christian ‘experience’ could play a role in explaining motivations for building reuse in Late Antiquity because building users in that period were often, but not always, Christian, and experience serves as a catch-all term to describe an individual’s existence. However, experience is a very vague term with many definitions, which is used to cover many aspects of life.²⁵¹ A thesis chapter could not provide enough discussion about a religion’s experience in a built environment nor about motivations or reuse. Nevertheless, a chapter may offer further points of departure for exploring the motivations behind early Christian use of buildings in Late Antiquity.

a. Background information

²⁴⁹ Renfrew, Bahn, *Archaeology*, 397-9.

²⁵⁰ T. Insoll, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion* (London, 2004) 1-5.

²⁵¹ The term ‘experience’ comes from the work of Laura Nasrallah, who has studied the ‘experience’ of Christians in the second century CE. See L. Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture. The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge, 2010). However, she relies heavily on Christian apologetic writing as a source of Christian claims to experience. A similar source is not present for which is discussed in this thesis.

A discussion of reuse types in a circumscribed area such as Greece could provide potential avenues of study in the future. Georgios Deligiannakis and Rebecca Sweetman have already begun this discussion on the Aegean islands and the Peloponnese.²⁵² Traditional religions carried on into the fifth century CE, and temples were often repaired or reopened. Laurence Foschia has carried on the study of this topic recently, as has Georgios Deligiannakis.²⁵³

i. Bayliss' Typology of temple reuse

The physical shape that a reused temple took as a church could provide further detail on motivations for the reuse as a church. Details such as this for a church might provide further information on the motivations for reuse as another building type. It is possible that buildings that fulfilled functions other than churches used similar layouts, such as baths, thus suggesting that buildings with other functions may have followed roughly this typology of reuse.

Bayliss has distinguished between what he terms 'direct transformation' and 'indirect transformation'.²⁵⁴ 'Direct conversion' is when walls or colonnades belonging to the temple are reused *in situ*, whereas 'indirect conversion' is when the church occupies a part of the sanctuary area within the *temenos*, or is built using *spolia* from the temple.²⁵⁵ Bayliss does not make a distinction between churches built within the temple area or built elsewhere. These forms of conversion could result from different reasons for reuse. This distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' transformation was taken into account generally in the thesis catalogue by distinguishing reuse as *spolia* and other reuse.

²⁵² Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*; Sweetman, 'Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches'. However, Sweetman focuses on Christian architectural remains in the Peloponnese, ignoring traditional religions. She points out (220) that several of the churches that she studies are located on 'pre-Christian sanctuaries', but provides no discussion on reasons for reuse.

²⁵³ L. Foschia, 'The Preservation, Restoration and (Re)Construction of Pagan Cult Places in Late Antiquity, with Particular Attention to Mainland Greece (Fourth-Fifth Centuries)', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2 (2009) 209-23; Sweetman, 'Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches', 206-8; Deligiannakis, 'Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands'; Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 18-40. Foschia wrote her article to temper her conclusions in an earlier article on temple reuse from 2000. Nevertheless, Sweetman's aim is to explain the ultimate triumph of Christianity, and not discuss potential alternative religious outcomes to the transformations in Late Antiquity.

²⁵⁴ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 36-46. These could also be referred to as 'direct' and 'indirect' conversion.

²⁵⁵ On the ambiguous nature of the sanctuary *temenos* as constituting evidence of temple reuse, see above pages 20-2.

Within ‘direct transformation’, Bayliss distinguishes between ‘cella church’, ‘internalised cella’, and ‘inverted transformation’ (see figures 1, 2, 3 respectively). The ‘cella church’ is when the cella becomes the church *naos*. ‘Internalised cella’ only occurs with a peripteral colonnaded temple. The conversion involves the cella becoming the church *naos*, and the area between the cella and peripteral colonnade becoming the church side aisle. Finally, ‘inverted transformation’ involves the *naos* taking up the entire area of the temple, including both cella and colonnades, and then an outer wall defining the exterior of the church.²⁵⁶

Furthermore, to develop a claim made in the ‘Dating’ section of chapter one, Bayliss distinguishes chronologically ‘direct transformations’ from ‘indirect transformations’. ‘Direct transformations’ occurred only from about the mid-fifth century CE onward, whereas ‘indirect transformations’ began to occur earlier, in the fourth century CE.²⁵⁷ ‘Indirect transformations’ occurred only after a period of neglect of the temple. Bayliss does not give a time span for this abandonment.²⁵⁸

Bayliss’ rough typology of temple conversion forms is applicable in a discussion of the reasons for the reuse types in the present catalogue of temples because the shape that the physical transformation took could shed light on regional differences within Greece. The use of this typology for the evidence facilitates further contextualisation of these temple reuse occurrences by providing archaeologists with a vocabulary of relevant terms to apply to future episodes of temple reuse. Providing rough chronological markers between ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ transformation further develops the interpretation of the evidence because rough chronological periods play a role in the interpretation of archaeological evidence in the topic of the Christianisation of Greece.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ An unusual example of a ‘cella church’ is the temple of Apollo at Didyma. The church was built entirely inside of the central cult space which Bayliss identifies as the cella. Cf. K. Tuchelt, ‘Didyma’, in *BNP* III, coll. 544-9; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 38, figures 41-3.

An excellent example of an ‘internalised cella’ church would be the cathedral in Syracuse that reuses a temple of Athena. Cf. L. Wickert, ‘Syrakusai’, in *RE* IV A.2, coll. 1478.19-1547.19 at 1538.57-9; Vaes, ‘Christliche Wiederverwendung’, 329 and figure 49; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 39 and figure 44; R.J. Evans, *Syracuse in Antiquity. History and Topography* (Pretoria, South Africa, 2009) 52.

²⁵⁷ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 53-6.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 55-6.

²⁵⁹ Sweetman, ‘Christianisation of the Peloponnese’, 296-312.

The chronological distinction between ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ transformation provides further detail that could elaborate the definition of ‘negative evidence’ because temple reuse also plays a role in ‘negative evidence’. As was stated briefly in the general introduction, it is extremely difficult to date different periods of use of a temple, including a period of abandonment, within the space of one or perhaps even two centuries. Nevertheless, identifying and recording clear episodes of use in various periods could be combined with recording chronologically distinct episodes of ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’ transformation to further elaborate the ‘sacred landscape’ of Late Antique Greece. This will be the subject of chapter three.

ii. Terminology: the distinction between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’

The study of temple reuse inevitably brings up the definition of terms used in the study of religion, in this case Greco-Roman religion. The use of the term ‘secular’ or ‘practical’ as a means of distinguishing all forms of temple reuse that did not result in a church is an anachronism because religion pervaded all parts of life in the Roman Empire. Secondly, ‘practical’ is a misnomer because temples were reused by religions other than Christianity for cultic purposes. The study of temples for cult purposes other than traditional Greco-Roman religions is much too large a subject to study here and deserves a study of its own. The term ‘practical’ as a category title for reuse other than as churches will be followed here for convenience.

II. Forms of Reuse

a. Churches (Map 1)



The following list of reuse types will follow a north to south path, roughly along the same one followed in chapter one.

The temples of Herakles and of Zeus at Dodona were both reused as churches.²⁶⁰ In Aetolia, the church of Haghios Elias at Taxiarkhis is located on the site of a temple.²⁶¹ According to Dimitri Theocharis, a church is located on the site of the temple of Athena Itonia at Philia in Thessaly.²⁶² In Macedonia, the herōon at Philippi was turned into a basilica-shaped church and then later into the present octagonal church. On the island of Thasos, the temple of Herakles in Thasos city was reused as a church.²⁶³ Another sanctuary at Evraiokastros on the northern edge of the city was also used as a church, dated to the fifth or sixth century CE.²⁶⁴ Further east, at Messa on the island of Lesbos, a temple was converted into a church.²⁶⁵ At Malandrino in Phokis, the temple of Zeus Meilikhios was reused as a church.²⁶⁶ A church was built on the location of the temple of Artemis Proseioia at Pefki Histiaias on the island of Euboea.²⁶⁷ Further south in Boeotia, a temple of Cybele was reused as a church in Kallithea Tanagras.²⁶⁸

Many temples in Athens were turned into churches. These are the Hephaisteion, Parthenon, Metrōon, Erechtheion, Asklepieion, the temple of Artemis Agrotera and of Kronos and Rhea.²⁶⁹ The most notable examples of reuse are in the Hephaisteion, Asklepieion, temple of Artemis Agrotera, Erechtheion and Parthenon because of the later addition of an apse to all five (figures 4, 5, 6, 7; see figure 1 in chapter one for the Parthenon. Figure 6 is a state plan of the temple of Artemis Agrotera: north is oriented to the bottom of the figure, the *krepis* of the temple is indicated by the letter A, and the apse of the early Christian church is indicated by the letter D). Material traces of these apses survived into the twentieth century. According to Friedrich Deichmann, the reused Erechtheion also included an apse roughly over top of the eastern porch of the complex (figure 7).²⁷⁰ It is possible that

²⁶⁰ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 42-3; Scheer, 'Dodona, Δωδώνη (Ioannina)', 197-9; Murray, 'Epirus-Acarmania', 806; Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, 44, 56, 192.

²⁶¹ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 11; Woodhouse, *Aetolia*, 203; Fossey, Morin, 'Thessalia-Boeotia', 830.

²⁶² Theocharis, 'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Θεσσαλίας', 241-55.

²⁶³ Launey, *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès*, 15.

²⁶⁴ Daux, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1962', 858-61; Salviat, *Guide de Thasos*, 49-50.

²⁶⁵ Kaldellis, 'Lesbos in Late Antiquity', 160-1.

²⁶⁶ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 116.

²⁶⁷ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989', 807.

²⁶⁸ Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', 871.

²⁶⁹ Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 112-20 (temple of Artemis Agrotera), 127-37 (Asklepieion), 219-27 (Erechtheion), 261-73 (temple of Hephaistos), 335-9 (temple of Kronos and Rhea), 444-57 (Parthenon).

²⁷⁰ Deichmann, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten*, 83 figure 14; Travlos, *Ancient Athens*, figure 279.

there is still a material trace in that location, but visitors cannot approach the temple close enough in order to confirm this statement by autopsy. A column of the temple of Olympian Zeus, built over the span of several centuries up to the second century CE, was selected to support the cell of a stylite monk (figure 8).²⁷¹ The cave of Pan on Mount Pentelikon was turned into a church.²⁷²

At Karthaia on Keos, a temple of Artemis was converted into a church (see figure 5 in chapter one).²⁷³

Further south in the Corinthia, a temple of Isis was converted into a church in Kenchreai.²⁷⁴ A church has also been built on the foundations of a temple at Kleonai.²⁷⁵ At Nemea, the location of the *xenon* of the temple of Zeus was later occupied by a church which also used *spolia* from the temple.²⁷⁶ Further to the south in the Argolid, a temple of Aphrodite at Argos and an unidentified temple at Troizen were converted into churches.²⁷⁷ To the northwest of Corinth, a temple of Apollo in Sikyon was reused as a church.²⁷⁸ A temple was reused as a church at Chotoussa.²⁷⁹ The temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was reused as a church, as was the temple of Serapis and Isis at Messene.²⁸⁰

Further to the east in the Cyclades, the herōon on the island of Sikinos was turned into a church (see figure 9 in chapter one).²⁸¹ Again to the east, there was a temple of Apollo Erethimios at Theologos on Rhodes that was converted into a church.²⁸²

²⁷¹ Bouras, 'The So-called Cell of the Athenian Stylite'.

²⁷² Freund, Gehrke, Grimm, 'Pentelikon, Πεντελικόν (Attika)', 526-7.

²⁷³ Graindor, 'Fouilles de Karthaia'.

²⁷⁴ Scranton, Shaw, Ibrahim, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth. Volume I: Topography and Architecture*, 75-8.

²⁷⁵ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1312.

²⁷⁶ Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, 176-7.

²⁷⁷ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 22, 125, 129.

²⁷⁸ Hopp, 'Sikyon, Σικυών (Corinthia)', 617.

²⁷⁹ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', 739.

²⁸⁰ Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, 180; Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', 803-4, figure 90. Against the identification of the temple of Athena Alea becoming a church, see above page 54 n. 231.

²⁸¹ Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, "'Temple of Apollo Pythios'"; Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces*, VI.3.

²⁸² Touchais, Boloti, Detournay, Huber, Philippa-Touchais, Varalis, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1995'.

On Crete, a temple at Itanos was reused as a church (see figure 7 in chapter one).²⁸³ The temple of Pythian Apollo at Gortyn was converted into a church (see figure 6 in chapter one).²⁸⁴ Another cave was reused as a church, this one at Patsos on Crete.²⁸⁵ A temple of Asklepios was converted into a church at Lissos (see figure 8 in chapter one).²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 89, figure 21.

²⁸⁴ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 108, figure 33

²⁸⁵ Scheer, 'Ραζος, Παζός (Rethymna)', 522.

²⁸⁶ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 128; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 17.

b. Stone quarries for other building projects (Map 2)



The very common act of masonry spoliation in the construction of later buildings is evidence of the use of abandoned temples as quarries. Spoliation has been the topic of a developing field of research centred on the masonry or *spolia*.²⁸⁷ Spoliation of temple

²⁸⁷ Apart from Ward-Perkins, 'Architectural Legacy of the Past', see F. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur* (Munich, 1975); D. Kinney, 'Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*', in S.C. Scott (ed.), *The Art of Interpreting* (University Park, PA, 1995) 53-62; B. Kiilerich, 'Antiquus et Modernus: *Spolia* in Medieval Art-Western, Byzantine and Islamic', in A.C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: Il*

masonry in later buildings in Greece will be included in this reuse category of ‘stone quarry’. Again, for convenience, all occurrences of spoliation in the collected data will be recorded under the present category.

In Epirus, the temple at Kerkyra was used as a quarry for a church.²⁸⁸ In Epirus, the temple of Poseidon at Nikopolis was the source of *spolia* for later buildings.²⁸⁹ An unidentified temple provided *spolia* for the church of Haghia Deuteria in Vlyziana.²⁹⁰ Walls in a church in Palairos use *spolia* from an unidentified temple too.²⁹¹ In a potentially unique episode, the reused temple of Athena Itonia at Philia also provided *spolia* for a second building, a church in the neighboring settlement of Melissochori.²⁹² At Dion, a cult statue of Hera was reused as masonry in the wall of an unidentified building.²⁹³

On the island of Thasos, a temple at Aliko was a source of masonry for two churches built nearby.²⁹⁴ In Thasos city, the temples of Athena and of Apollo on the city’s acropolis were both looted for their masonry.²⁹⁵ On the island of Euboea, temples at Eretria and at Karystos served as quarries for later buildings.²⁹⁶ The temple of Apollo on Aigina provided a later fort with masonry.²⁹⁷ The temple of Poseidon at Isthmia was used as a source of *spolia* for the building of Justinian’s *hexamilion*.²⁹⁸

In Corinth, the temples of Apollo and of Asklepios were used as quarries.²⁹⁹ In the eastern Argolid, an unidentified temple at Epidauros had its column drums reused in a later wall.³⁰⁰ A temple was a source of stone at Orchomenos.³⁰¹ Further south, two temples at

Tempo degli Antichi (Milan, 2006) 135-45; R. Brilliant, D. Kinney (eds), *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine* (Farnham, UK, 2011).

²⁸⁸ Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, 148.

²⁸⁹ Schober, ‘Nikopolis’, coll. 511-18; Murray, ‘Epirus-Acarmania’, 809.

²⁹⁰ Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 13.

²⁹¹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2390/ (accessed March 8, 2016); Murray, ‘Epirus-Acarmania’, 809.

²⁹² Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991’, 895.

²⁹³ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches.voir/492/ (accessed March 7, 2016); Whitley, Germanidou, Urem-Kotsou, Dimoula, Nikolakopoulou, Karvara, Evely, ‘Archaeology in Greece 2006-2007’, 67.

²⁹⁴ Salviat, *Guide de Thasos*, 88.

²⁹⁵ Salviat, *Guide de Thasos*, 55-7, figure 20.

²⁹⁶ Auberson, ‘Temple d’Apollon Daphnéphoros’, 10; Keller, *Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea, Greece*, 149-50.

²⁹⁷ Scheer, ‘Aigina, Αἴγινα (Peiraius)’, 85.

²⁹⁸ Broneer, *Isthmia. Volume I: Temple of Poseidon*, 2; Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces*, VI.5-6.

²⁹⁹ Fowler, Stillwell, ‘Introduction, Topography, Architecture’, 115-35; Roebuck, ‘The Asklepieion and Lerna’, 160-1.

³⁰⁰ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/4417/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

Mantineia were used as quarries.³⁰² In Achaia, the temple of Artemis at Lousoi was a source of masonry for a chapel of the Panaghia.³⁰³ The temples of Zeus Olympios and of Hera at Olympia were reused as quarries.³⁰⁴ At Messene, two temples, one dedicated to Asklepios, were sources of worked stone for later buildings.³⁰⁵ At Kokkinia, ancient *Akriai*, further east in Lakonia, a temple was the source of masonry for a nearby church of Saint Nicholas.³⁰⁶ Almost directly north of Kokkinia, on the west shore of the Argolic gulf, masonry from an unidentified temple in Kiveri was reused in a later wall.³⁰⁷

Further east in the Cyclades, two temples at Mandra on the island of Despotiko, one dedicated to Apollo and the other to Artemis Isthmia, were a source of *spolia*.³⁰⁸ The masonry was reused in a recent shepherd's hut.³⁰⁹ At Sellada on the island of Thera, a temple of Aphrodite was used as a quarry.³¹⁰ In the Sporades, the temple of Artemis Tauropolos on Ikaria was also a source of worked stone.³¹¹ On the island of Rhodes, the temple of Athena at Lindos was a source of *spolia* for later unidentified buildings.³¹² In the Samaria gorge on Crete, a temple might have been a source of *spolia* for a neighboring church of Saint Nicholas.³¹³ The Diktynnaion, a sanctuary to Artemis Diktynnaia at the westernmost end of Crete, was used as a quarry.³¹⁴

³⁰¹ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', 739.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 739.

³⁰³ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 872.

³⁰⁴ Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, 146-8, 233-4.

³⁰⁵ Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', 742; Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1344.

³⁰⁶ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 862.

³⁰⁷ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/291/ (accessed March 8, 2016).

³⁰⁸ Touchais, Huber, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2000', 988; Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', 1043-5; Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1559-62.

³⁰⁹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/550/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

³¹⁰ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1565.

³¹¹ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989', 812

³¹² Lippolis, 'Il Santuario di *Athana*', 153.

³¹³ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 946; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991', 944; Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1993', 843.

³¹⁴ Leekley, Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands*, 111.

c. Burial Locations (Map 3)



Many temples were reused as burial places. This occurred at Kalithea in Macedonia.³¹⁵ The next occurrence of this phenomenon, moving south through the cited temples, is at the temples of Athena and Artemis at Stymphalos.³¹⁶ The temple of Athena Alea in Tegea also

³¹⁵ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', 1504.

³¹⁶ Williams, Schaus, Cronkite Price, Gourley, Lutomsky, 'Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1996', 66-7; Williams, Schaus, Cronkite Price, Gourley, Hagerman, 'Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1997', 287-8.

served later as a place of burials.³¹⁷ The temples of Artemis Orthia and of Zeus Messapeus at Sparta were both reused for burials, that of a woman at the temple of Zeus Messapeus.³¹⁸ The burials in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia are identified as ‘Slavic’.³¹⁹ Based on the literary evidence concerning the *Sclavenes* and *Antae* in the Balkan peninsula, these burials would therefore date to the mid to late sixth century CE.³²⁰ Cult activity at the temple of Zeus Messapeus still occurred in the fourth century CE. Therefore the burial (the final occupation of the location according to the archaeologists) likely postdates the fourth century CE.

The meaning of these burials in abandoned temples is, however, unclear. It is impossible to identify the religion of these buried individuals. This anonymity of the buried makes the present interpretation of these burials very difficult. It could be argued that Christians did not bury their dead inside of abandoned temples as part of their initial avoidance of temples. The evidence from the temple of Asklepios in Corinth could be cited as proof.³²¹ However, the neighboring area became an important cemetery. This partly supports Foschia’s claim that Christians generally did not build churches immediately upon the locations of closed temples.³²²

On the other hand, it is impossible to identify how long this initial avoidance occurred among Christians. Along with the extreme difficulty in dating to a particular century the burials recorded in this thesis, the argument that Christians clearly avoided burying their dead in temples or within sanctuary *temenoi* loses much of its weight. Again, this is evidence of the inability to date particular use episodes of a temple inside of the span of one or two

³¹⁷ Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991’, 860.

³¹⁸ Grunauer von Hoerschelmann, ‘Sparta, Σπάρτη (Lakonia)’, 628-34; Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1989’, 734-6.

³¹⁹ Grunauer von Hoerschelmann has only identified the burials as ‘slawische’. Cf. Grunauer von Hoerschelmann, ‘Sparta, Σπάρτη (Lakonia)’, 633.

³²⁰ Florin Curta has used widespread anthropological theory in a critical analysis of early Slavic identity in *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500-700* (Cambridge, 2001) and discusses the impact of the earliest recorded migrations on southeast Europe in general at 74-189. Cf. also W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567-822 n. Chr.* (Munich, 2002²) 107-12, 121-7; F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500-1250* (Cambridge, 2006) 39-69; F. Curta, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, c. 500 to 1050. The Early Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 2011) 68-96; F. Curta, ‘Coins and Burials in Dark-Age Greece. Archaeological Remarks on the Byzantine “Reconquista”’, in R. Kostova (ed.), *Srednovekovniiat chovek i negoviiat sviat. Sbornik v chest na 70-ta godishnina na prof. d. i. n. Kazimir Popkonstantinov* (Veliko Tărnovo, BG, 2014) 55-101.

³²¹ Roebuck, ‘The Asklepieion and Lerna’, 161.

³²² Foschia, ‘Réutilisation des sanctuaires’, 424-31.

centuries, and in turn this inability to date these episodes detracts from the development of a more nuanced ‘sacred landscape’.

d. Practical type (Map 4)



A few temples were reused for what could be termed ‘practical’ purposes. However, for the sake of ease of use with the accompanying maps, several forms of type have been included under this heading of practical, some of which might not appear such. For example,

this category will include the use of a part of the Metrōon in the Athenian agora as a synagogue.

The *villa urbana* named the ‘Chortiati stoa’ in Thessalonike was built on the location of a Hellenistic and Roman temple.³²³ This occurrence will serve as a case study later in this chapter when discussing reasons for reuse types. A temple at Kalapodi, near the site of *Hyampolis* in Lokris Opountia, was used as a storage place for *spolia*.³²⁴ At nearby Aulis in Boeotia, a temple was later used as a bath. The description claims that ‘additions’ were made to the temple.³²⁵ It is not clear what this term ‘additions’ means. We will discuss this occurrence further in the second section of this chapter.

The reuse of the Metrōon in the Athenian Agora poses problems because of a recent reinterpretation of the evidence. Although the Metrōon in the Classical Agora of Athens was interpreted earlier in the twentieth century as having been converted into a church in Late Antiquity, the northernmost room was in fact converted into a synagogue. This interpretation is based on the reuse of the peristyle colonnade to form a roughly basilical shape extending toward the west, and on the menorah inscribed on a marble revetment found in the room.³²⁶ It is argued that the northernmost room was a synagogue because the extension of the peristyle colonnade toward the west would argue for the western wall acting as the Torah niche (figure 9). If this building had been reused as a church, the eastern wall with the entrance would have been turned into the apse. The next room to the south was used for an olive press.³²⁷ The olive press in the second room from the north is very obvious because of the material remains found there (see figure 4 in chapter one). The reuse of a temple for more than one purpose will be discussed later in this chapter.

The metrōon at Olympia was reused as a fort.³²⁸ On the flank of Mount Ithome outside of Messene in the Peloponnese, a shepherd’s hut was built against the wall of a temple (see

³²³ Marki, ‘Ανασκαφή στοάς Χορτιάτη’, 327-37.

³²⁴ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004’, 1425-6.

³²⁵ Anonymous, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1955’, *BCH* 80 (1956) 219-432 at 295-6.

³²⁶ Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, ‘Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700’, 58-9; A.T. Kraabel, ‘The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik’, *ANRW* II 19.1 (1979) 477-510 at 506.

³²⁷ Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, ‘Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700’, 121-2.

³²⁸ Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, 160.

figure 10 in chapter one).³²⁹ At Gortyn on Crete, an unidentified temple was reused twice, once for an unknown purpose, and then as a manufacturing area.³³⁰

e. Unknown reuse type (Map 5)



³²⁹ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2086/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

³³⁰ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/267/ (accessed March 8, 2016).

Finally, there are what could be called ‘unknown’ reuse types because the function of the subsequent building is unknown. In Thessaloniki, one unidentified temple was reused as a retaining wall for some later unidentified building.³³¹ The same happened at Kipia-Akrovouni.³³² On Thasos, the *krepis* of the temple of Soteira in the city of Thasos was heavily reused, providing a foundation for a later unidentified building, and a bed for conduits of some kind.³³³ At Palaiopolis on the island of Andros, a temple was the foundation for an unidentified structure.³³⁴ The temple at Kiveri provided masonry for a later wall built over it. However, it is impossible to know the purpose of this later wall.

II. Reasons: why these forms of reuse?

a. Preliminary comments on reuse as churches

Now that the types of reuse have been listed, a discussion about why these types occurred may be undertaken. Several people have already discussed motivations for Christians not locating churches directly upon temple locations. Timothy Gregory and Laurence Foschia have both made the claim that Christians sometimes did not use the site of a temple for building a church, but built the church nearby. It is generally agreed among researchers that this decision was made for practical reasons of publicising Christianity to the widest possible population.³³⁵ However, it is also made clear that this Christian avoidance of temples was not a common practice among Christians, and even that the deliberate appropriation of a temple was practiced by Christians either contemporaneously with their avoidance, or later.³³⁶ Sweetman points out that the Christian appropriation of sanctuaries while avoiding temple

³³¹ Burkhalter, Philippa-Touchais, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002’, 956.

³³² Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990’, 915; Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991’, 916-7.

³³³ Philippa-Touchais, Bouchon, Decourt, Helly, Prêtre, Touchais, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004’, 1522.

³³⁴ Huber, Varalis, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1994’, 996-7.

³³⁵ Sweetman, ‘Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches’, 241 n. 139.

³³⁶ Gregory, ‘Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece’ 236-7; Foschia, ‘Réutilisation des sanctuaires’, 424-31. More recently Sweetman adopts the same theory concerning Christian occupation of areas associated with traditional religions in R. Sweetman, ‘Memory and Loss in the Late Antique Cities of Knossos and Sparta’, in N. Christie, A. Augenti (eds), *Vrbes Extinctae. Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns* (Farnham, UK, 2012) 243-73 at 243-7.

buildings was to allow non-Christians to carry on their cult.³³⁷ Bayliss has come to a similar conclusion, claiming what he terms as ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ conversion occurred roughly simultaneously.³³⁸

Again, it must be insisted that it is difficult to identify how long each form of conversion occurred. The topographic distribution of these conversion types further confirms the image of the Christianisation of Greece as a fluid phenomenon.³³⁹ This data may be combined with information gathered on the topographic distribution of free-standing churches to demonstrate the fluidity of this religious transformation.³⁴⁰ This present study contributes further to this topic because there has been no attempt at exhaustively mapping these patterns of reuse, spoliation and appropriation over the entirety of Greece. Furthermore, geographic information on a spatial level, as collected in geographical information systems (GIS) provides new avenues of research in order to better understand the material evidence.³⁴¹ It is suggested here that reuse for purposes other than churches occurred as often as for churches, as can be seen in the maps in this chapter.

Sweetman has fully discussed the role that topography played in the motivation to build churches in particular locations, and how the decision to erect churches in those locations helps to further understand the way that the Peloponnese was Christianised. By applying theory about strategic thinking, she points out that the location of churches indicates that the Peloponnese was Christianised in a series of three waves over time.³⁴² The first wave was a deliberate act by the developing institution of the Church during the fourth and early fifth centuries CE.³⁴³ The effect of traditional Greco-Roman religions was to dilute the later waves of Christianisation, what Sweetman refers to as ‘emergent’ traits of this multi-layered strategy, in which local cultural norms shaped the location and purpose of churches.³⁴⁴ Urban centres were used generally as ‘hubs’ from which Christianisation spread into the

³³⁷ Sweetman, ‘Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches’, 241. It is difficult to substantiate this claim.

³³⁸ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 50-7.

³³⁹ Sweetman, ‘Christianisation of the Peloponnese’, 287-95.

³⁴⁰ Sweetman, ‘Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches’.

³⁴¹ Renfrew, Bahn, *Archaeology*, 72-93.

³⁴² Sweetman, ‘Christianisation of the Peloponnese’, 287-95.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 298, 305.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 307-8.

countryside.³⁴⁵ The distinction Sweetman makes between urban and rural and between the three waves of Christianisation demonstrates that the process was not linear.³⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, it could be called irregular.

Sweetman has discussed only a part of the region covered in this thesis; similar forces were at work in neighboring areas because of general ecological similarities between the provinces that made up Greece in the fourth to sixth centuries CE. Does this very long and non-linear process help to explain why some temples witnessed other forms of reuse? Yes, it does. Although the motivations are very difficult to detect because of the lack of material evidence, the fact that many examples of temples were reused for buildings other than churches is proof enough of this multi-layered Christianisation of a geographic area.

Nevertheless, there is some difficulty with Sweetman's thesis. First of all, she insists that specific dates accurate to the year or even to the decade are not necessary for her model to function. The theory about complex strategy is taken from the work of sociologists, urban planners, and business people, and the present writer has difficulty understanding how it applies to the material evidence. Sweetman focuses especially on topographic attributes for the churches that she uses as her points in space on which to anchor her model of waves of transformation.

A general assumption made in the literature on the topic of temple reuse is that the people reusing the material were Christian. It is practically impossible to verify the identity of these individuals from material culture alone. It seems likely that this identification as Christian is based on epigraphic evidence located at the sites studied. It is another guess of this writer that this epigraphic evidence is supported by the assumption that most of the population of the Roman Empire by the beginning of the fifth century CE was Christian. This assumption corresponds to Sweetman's 'creeping determinism'. It is impossible to measure the ratio of Christians to non-Christians in a given community in Late Antiquity based on epigraphic

³⁴⁵ Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese', 308. Béatrice Caseau has already pointed out the multiple ways that Christianisation moved through the countryside, using Roman concepts of the division of rural space between the *vicus*, *ager*, and *saltus*, and demonstrating that the process was complex. See B. Caseau, 'The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity and the Christianisation of the Countryside', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan, C. Machado (eds), *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden, 2004) 105-44.

³⁴⁶ Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese', 311.

evidence alone. Attempts have been made to measure this number or ratio, but further work is necessary to make it more secure.³⁴⁷

Finally, her model of Christianisation is generally an optimistic one emphasizing the tolerant nature of the new religion. As pointed out above, her model is based on notions of fluidity and gradualness. This permits Christianity to be viewed as accepting of earlier customs, welcoming of additions from alien cultures to its ritual practice and generally open to other cultures. This generally positive characterisation of Christianity clashes with other recent visualisations of Late Antiquity as a period of rising intolerance.³⁴⁸ This modern confrontation between opposite points of view makes the clear study of motivations of building reuse by both non-Christians and Christians challenging.

Further elaboration of the significance of the built environment allows Ward-Perkins' notion of 'negative evidence' to take on more meaning in developing the human experience of the 'sacred landscape'.³⁴⁹ Landscape is created partially through the interpretation of space in the immediate vicinity of an individual.³⁵⁰ Time can have an influence in this interpretation of space, because time serves as an integral part of phenomenological study of a given space.³⁵¹ A discussion of the sacred landscape is implicit in Sweetman's analysis. The way that negative evidence makes the geography more diverse will be discussed in chapter three.

Before turning to the archaeological evidence, it might prove helpful just to point out the principal motivations for temple reuse as recorded in written sources.

³⁴⁷ T.D. Barnes, 'Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy', *JRS* 85 (1995) 135-47; K. Hopkins, 'Christian Numbers and its Implications', *JECS* 6 (1998) 185-226. Cf. also chapters in W.V. Harris (ed.), *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries: Essays in Explanation* (Leiden, 2005). However, cf. Cameron, 'Christian Conversion', 13-15.

³⁴⁸ P. Athanassiadi, *Vers la pensée unique. La montée de l'intolérance dans l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris, 2010).

See above page 8.

³⁴⁹ See above page 4.

³⁵⁰ Y.F. Tuan, *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977) 8-18.

³⁵¹ A. Gutteridge, 'Some Aspects of Social and Cultural Time in Late Antiquity', in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, C. Machado (eds), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2006) 569-601; Deligiannakis, 'Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands'. On spatial analysis of temple architecture as an attribute for the study of phenomenology in religion in ancient Greece, cf. J. Kindt, 'Ancient Greece', in T. Insoll (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* (Oxford, 2011) 696-709 at 702-3.

b. What are the reasons for forms of re-use given in written sources?

i. Possession by demons

Hagiography, the principal contemporary written source referring to temple conversion, generally emphasised that temples were inhabited by demons.³⁵² As Foschia pointed out in her article, temples were initially avoided because of the fear of inhabiting demons.³⁵³ The building was claimed to be the home of demons. However, it could also be claimed that the very stones that were used to build the building were also possessed by demons, a commonplace in hagiography.³⁵⁴ Statuary already was considered to be inhabited by demons, or by some divine force, as described in Eunapius of Sardis' story about the neoplatonic sophist-cum-philosopher Maximus of Ephesus performing theurgic rites on a statue of Hekate in order to manipulate these forces, a feat reported to the emperor Julian.³⁵⁵

However, as was briefly stated in the General Introduction, the legendary nature of every miraculous act in the *Life* of a saint makes any interpretation of actions recorded therein that concern material culture highly questionable.³⁵⁶ Ultimately these discussions about the image of temple reuse types in literature are futile because they do not serve any purpose for archaeology, even though the thought of measuring the time span of these recorded events is tempting. Periods of time associated with building abandonment will need to remain unknown in future research questions about temple conversion because insufficient material evidence remains today for dating those intervals of time; otherwise the assumption that there was a period of abandonment should not be made.³⁵⁷

ii. Practical types in law codes

³⁵² Saradi-Mendelovici, 'Christian Attitudes'; Saradi, 'Christianization of Pagan Temples'.

³⁵³ Foschia, 'Réutilisation des sanctuaires', 424-6.

³⁵⁴ Emmel, Gotter, Hahn, "'From Temple to Church'", 1-4; Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, I, 98-186.

³⁵⁵ Eunap., *VS* 475. For a contextualisation of this episode in theurgy, cf. G. Fowden, 'The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society', *JHS* 102 (1982) 33-59. Cf. also I. Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Theurgy in Late Antiquity. The Invention of a Ritual Tradition* (Göttingen, 2013). On statuary containing a 'divine' force, cf. J.N. Bremmer, 'The Agency of Greek and Roman Statues. From Homer to Constantine', *Opuscula* 6 (2013) 7-21. For later traditions in Byzantine culture, cf. Av. Cameron, J. Herrin (eds), *Constantinople in the Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984).

³⁵⁶ See above pages 6-7, 9. Cf. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 59-61.

³⁵⁷ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 55-6; Ward-Perkins, 'Archaeological Problem'.

Law codes do not provide much further information about reasons for particular types of building reuse. The question of ownership plays a role in acts of temple reuse. Temple buildings were property as much as the land on which they stood.³⁵⁸ Imperial ownership (or the *res privata*) facilitated the preservation of temples from private acts of demolition or reuse.³⁵⁹ The Imperial family owned temple property in both urban and rural areas.³⁶⁰

Temples are described as receptacles for art in one of the edicts.³⁶¹ One edict states that temple demolition occurred, and that the masonry from these acts of demolition was to be reused in the restoration of roads, bridges, and aqueducts.³⁶² However, the declaration that systematic demolition or destruction of temples was allowed does not appear until an edict from 435 CE.³⁶³

Further details from the *Codex Theodosianus* which might play a role in the discussion of reuse types are as follows. An edict of July 10, 399 CE states that rural temples are to be demolished (or destroyed) carefully and without tumult.³⁶⁴ Another edict of August 20, 399 CE states that no man or private individual would be allowed to demolish temples which had already been emptied of cult paraphernalia.³⁶⁵ These details could indicate that by the early fifth century CE the widespread reuse of temples through spoliation or as practical structures occurred widely enough that officials needed to prevent it from happening further.³⁶⁶

This discussion of law codes ties back in with the subject of dating that has been brought up repeatedly in this thesis. The evidence in law codes does not integrate well with material evidence as listed in this thesis because much of the reuse that is recorded here took place later than Late Antiquity. Therefore, it could be argued that this material evidence of reuse

³⁵⁸ *Cod. Iust.* X.1.8 (364 CE).

³⁵⁹ *Cod. Iust.* VII.38.2 (387 CE).

³⁶⁰ *Cod. Iust.* XI.70.4 (397 or 403 CE). The date is uncertain because Otto Seeck, the editor of the *Codex Justinianus*, claimed that this edict is associated with the edict preserved in *Cod. Theod.* VIII.15.8 which happens not to be religious in content (Rougé, Delmaire, *Code théodosien I-XV*, 424).

³⁶¹ *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.8 (382 CE).

³⁶² *Cod. Theod.* XV.1.36 (397 CE).

³⁶³ *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.25. As mentioned above on pages 7-8, contradictions existing in the legislation arise from a number of factors and are best not considered evidence of the supposed ineffectiveness in the legislation.

³⁶⁴ *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.16.

³⁶⁵ *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.18.

³⁶⁶ Bayliss has already discussed this at length (*Provincial Cilicia*, 116-20). However, the evidence could be interpreted in the opposite sense, that imperial officials prevented widespread random reuse by private individuals of closed temples for other purposes than cult practice and sacrifice.

does not qualify for inclusion here. This further increases the difficulty for archaeologists to date examples of reuse. Furthermore, this is exacerbated by the difficulty of dating the material evidence because of its state of preservation. This makes the objective of archaeologists to measure the span of periods of abandonment in temple use extremely difficult, if not impossible. These topics deserve further discussion.

c. The purpose of *spolia*

Already one pattern that should be noted concerns spoliation. The use of temples as quarries occurred almost as often as reuse as churches. It is suggested here that spoliation is a form of temple reuse.³⁶⁷ As mentioned briefly earlier in this chapter, spoliation is a practice that spans the millennia because of the common nature of the act of reuse by human beings.³⁶⁸ Often *spolia* were used as a convenient source of worked stone.³⁶⁹ The presence in a general area of abandoned masonry facilitates all future construction projects. In the eastern Aegean Sea, rural temples became the centre of new settlements in the Aegean islands.³⁷⁰ The convenience of temples as quarries would be helpful in the construction of free standing churches.

However, using *spolia* was also a form of holding onto the past by acknowledging the heritage value of the reused masonry. There was an effort to imitate antiquity because builders in Late Antiquity were aware of the distance in time separating them from earlier time periods.³⁷¹ Some of the *spolia* (or episodes of spoliation) that are discussed here are what Bente Kiilerich terms ‘accentual’ *spolia*; i.e. *spolia* used solely for decorative purposes. She argues that based on the origin of many *spolia* and the small percentage of the masonry that they represent in a church, a pragmatic model based on the assumption that the *spolia* were solely used out of convenience is inaccurate.³⁷²

³⁶⁷ As in the category of ‘temple-*spolia*-church’ described in Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 43.

³⁶⁸ Deichmann, *Spolien*, 3-4.

³⁶⁹ Kiilerich, ‘*Antiquus et Modernus*’, 136-8. Bente Kiilerich terms this the ‘discount’ model.

³⁷⁰ Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 52. Deligiannakis argues that this occurred already in the Roman imperial period, basing himself on the work of Susan Alcock, and implies that temples already at that point were abandoned while the population of traditional religionists still existed. Did the same pattern occur elsewhere in Greece? Cf. Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 33-92.

³⁷¹ Kiilerich, ‘*Antiquus et Modernus*’, 135.

³⁷² Kiilerich, ‘*Antiquus et Modernus*’, 136-9. Cf. M. Greenhalgh, *Constantinople to Córdoba. Dismantling Ancient Architecture in the East, North Africa and Islamic Spain* (Leiden, 2012) 217-36.

Some temples were reused in more than one way, such as was briefly pointed out in chapter one concerning the temple of Athena Itonia at Philia in Thessaly. Alongside being replaced by a church, this temple also provided *spolia* for a church in the town of Melissochori. This is a more developed form of spoliation. Why was this temple reused in two places? Bayliss only discusses spoliation as temple reuse when the church is built either directly upon the temple or in close proximity.³⁷³ Can spoliation still qualify as temple reuse if the masonry is used further away from the temple, as in the episode at Melissochori?

The study of *spolia* has developed very much over the last fifty years or so. It has been necessary to develop the study because the practice was both widespread and extremely complex. Entire structures were built out of reused masonry and sculpture.³⁷⁴ It is impossible

Inscriptions as *spolia* have received more attention from scholars. Part of the atrium of the church of the Virgin Mary (or the Mother of God, *Θεοτόκος*) at Ephesos was paved with reused inscriptions (Foss, *Ephesus*, 52). Inscriptions were reused as fill for the wall built around part of Athens in the wake of the Herul invasion in 267 CE. Cf. R. Coates-Stephens, 'Epigraphy as Spolia. The Reuse of Inscriptions in Early Medieval Buildings', *PBSR* 70 (2002) 275-96 at 278 and figure 1.

Beyond the convenient nature of a supply of worked stone which quarries sometimes offer, all of these multiple forms of spoliation raise many questions about the meaning of the practice and of the material used for the reusers. For past populations, it could be argued that written records served a purpose in the later interpretations of local history, and that the new buildings with the *spolia* acted as a sort of archive for local history. However, although some claim that inscriptions were reused in order to legitimate Christian appropriation of pagan sites (Kiilerich, '*Antiquus et Modernus*', 139-45.), it is much more likely that local people reusing inscriptions were simply attracted by the quality of the stone used. Cf. also R. Coates-Stephens, 'Attitudes to *Spolia* in some Late Antique Texts', in Lavan, Bowden, *Theory and Practice*, 341-58.

However, the significance of written records for the legitimization of future events or figures occurs in Late Antiquity in the legitimization of the Christian appropriation of temples by means of fraudulent inscriptions, as part of an *interpretatio christiana* of a location. In the cases of the Parthenon and a temple of Cybele at Cyzicus, the inscription claims to be an oracle from Apollo that a church will occupy the site of the temple near which the inscription was found. These inscriptions were not authentic ones from the past, but were fabricated by Christians to legitimise their religion, and are part of the corpus of documents that go under the name of *Theosophia* by philologists. Cf. A. Busine, 'The Discovery of Inscriptions and the Legitimation of New Cults', in B. Dignas, R.R.R. Smith (eds), *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2012) 241-56.

Meaning of inscriptions as *spolia* for archaeologists today is easy to identify: Deligiannakis, for example, states (*Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 27-31) that inscriptions left behind as *spolia* aid present-day archaeologists in identifying temples. Otherwise, they prove to be fortuitous specimens of primary documents that can be studied by philologists and historians. Cf. a recent video with Simon Corcoran about a portion of Diocletian's Price Edict preserved in a church doorway in Geraki, Greece (URL: www.youtube.com/watch?v=gy57pni5-FU [accessed October 21, 2016]).

³⁷³ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 32-5. 'Close proximity' here is defined as generally a distance within a few hundred metres of the temple, which generally characterises churches that are built inside of a settlement where a temple happens to be located.

³⁷⁴ For example, see E. Ögüş, 'A Late-Antique Fountain at Aphrodisias and its Implications for Spoliation Practices', *JRA* 28 (2015) 302-24. Kiilerich claims ('*Antiquus et Modernus*', 140) that a 'total investment in second-hand material' was made in building the cathedral of Pisa. It is difficult to understand what she means by 'total investment'. Cf. A. Peroni, 'Spolia' e architettura nel Duomo di Pisa', in J. Poeschke (ed.), *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich, 1996) 205-23. Deichmann (*Spolien*,

to elucidate the meaning of a single kind of worked stone, inscribed or not. Therefore, the fact that entire structures were created out of old masonry and sculpture hints at the complexity of the practice and the need to continue its study. Therefore no effort to resolve the issue is attempted here.

d. Orientation of temple

Although the orientation of a reused temple was not taken into account in the present catalogue as a meaningful attribute for the interpretation of the evidence, others, such as Bayliss, have discussed temple orientation as a reason for temple reuse.³⁷⁵ He quantified the various building orientations in order to better elucidate motivations for temple reuse as churches.³⁷⁶ He bases his argument on the assumption that Christians would generally wish to have the apse of their church facing Jerusalem, or generally the east. He points out that many temples were not oriented east-west, which caused problems for Christians wishing to place the apse of their churches toward the east.³⁷⁷ Nevertheless, temples with an orientation other than east-west were also used as churches. The Christians simply disassembled the temple and rebuilt their church on top of it with a more appropriate orientation. In the case of an east-west orientation in the reused temple, an entrance was made through the back wall of the cella or of the *opisthodomos*.³⁷⁸

Several temples in the present catalogue had an east-west orientation, which facilitated their reuse as churches because the only modification necessary in their structure was the opening of an entrance in the back wall of the temple cella, and the closing of the temple entrance with an apse. The principle ones are the Parthenon, Hephaisteion, Erechtheion, and temple of Artemis Agrotera in Athens. The orientation of the temple of Kronos and Rhea in

49 and figure 20) claims that the church of Saint Theodore at Gerasa was 'gänzlich aus Spolien'. However, Deichmann can never have claimed to have seen the *entire* church.

³⁷⁵ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 41-3.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, chart 2.

³⁷⁷ The typical orientation for a Greek temple was east-west with the entrance on the east. Cf. A. Spawforth, *The Complete Greek Temples* (London, 2006) 21. It was considered oriented toward the path of the sun across the sky. Cf. V. Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods. Greek Sacred Architecture* (New Haven, CT, 1962) 44. However, clearly with the passage of time and the decreasing amount of space available for building in urban centres, this orientation was ignored often when building temples in the Early Roman Empire and later. There is no source that explicitly states that Christian churches were designed to have the clergy taking up the east end of the church and to have the congregation facing them when practicing cult. This is implied in R. Volp, 'Church Architecture', in *Encyclopedia of Christianity Online* (http://dx.doi.org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1163/2211-2685_eco_C689, accessed August 18, 2016).

³⁷⁸ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 41.

Athens is also roughly east-west, although Travlos does not include a ground plan of the temple as a church in his *Pictorial Dictionary*. The east-west orientation of many of the temples in Athens perhaps made their Christian reuse as churches more attractive because the modifications required were less burdensome than completely disassembling and reassembling a building.

It must be borne in mind that the altar in traditional Greco-Roman religions was considered the centre of cult activity, rather than the temple.³⁷⁹ Therefore, traditional Greco-Roman religions used a different part of cult material as the centre of their cult from Christianity.³⁸⁰ If the local topography prevented the temple being oriented east-west, then adjustments to its orientation could be made without affecting proper practice. For example, the temple of Herakles at Thasos had a roughly north-south orientation (figure 10, temple on left of plan). However, in this sanctuary, the altar was oriented appropriately for orthopraxy. It is visible in figure 10 to the right of the temple, facing east. The archaeologists who recorded the temple of Herakles at Thasos left no discussion about the change of orientation between the temple and the later church. In the case of the church, it was oriented with its apse facing east (see figure 1 in chapter one). In fact, they assume that an east-west orientation for the church was typical and therefore to be expected.³⁸¹

However, many temple orientations in the present catalogue are not known. The principal one that comes to mind is the temple of Athena Itonia at Philia in Thessaly.³⁸² Very little of the earlier building is visible in the state plan of the excavation.³⁸³ The identification of the temple as that of Athena Itonia comes from an inscription found in the excavation.³⁸⁴ Therefore, it is impossible to know if the orientation of the temple motivated the Christians to build their church on it as a ‘temple-*spolia*-church’.

³⁷⁹ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 87-8; Scheid, *Religion des Romains*, 59-60.

³⁸⁰ The altar was also the centre of cult in Christianity, but the altar was located inside of a church and as Rainer Volp has written, Christian architecture was structured around interior space, and not exterior layout such as Greco-Roman sanctuaries.

³⁸¹ Launey, *Le sanctuaire et le culte d’Héraklès*, 229-31; Sodini, ‘Ville de Thasos à l’époque protobyzantine’, 283.

³⁸² Theocharis, ‘Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θεσσαλίας’.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, figure 2.

³⁸⁴ Theocharis, ‘Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θεσσαλίας’, 247-9.

Did issues of orientation preoccupy Christians when they were reusing temples? Proper belief in orthodox Christianity is centred on abstract concepts rather than physical objects in its ritual. Consequently, not all churches were oriented with their apse facing east. This is because the concept of Jerusalem had become one of a celestial Jerusalem and not the physical earthly one located in Palestine.³⁸⁵ Therefore, Christian practitioners could believe they faced Jerusalem when they faced the altar in a church, regardless of building orientation. Practical reasons, such as the layout of the temple in its immediate surroundings, could also play a role in the decision on how to reuse.

e. Size of temple

The size of the temple did not come into consideration when the decision was taken to reuse it. However, the size of the temple could play a role in influencing the decision by the reusers as to which form of temple church they would select. Based on Bayliss' rough typology of temple church forms, a smaller temple would be reused in an 'inverted conversion' format', in which the outermost colonnade or walls would serve as the colonnade dividing the central aisle or *naos* from the side aisles as displayed in figure 3.

However, this form of reuse did not always happen. The temple of Artemis Agrotera is very small, and yet the only reuse that occurred was the addition of an apse across the former eastern entrance to the cella (Figure 11 with east oriented to the left of image; see also figure 3 in chapter one). The physical size of the Christian community would also influence how the temple was modified into a church. In the case of Late Antique Athens between roughly the fourth and sixth centuries CE, two churches were built to accommodate the Christian community. The first is the *tetraconch* church in the former library of Hadrian north of the Roman Agora, and the second is the basilica built beside the Ilissos creek (Figure 12), not far to the north of the temple of Artemis Agrotera.³⁸⁶

That there was a link between the size of the Christian community and churches is evident from Corinth. Corinth had one of the largest Christian communities in Roman Greece and had a number of churches designed for specific purposes. These included baptism and

³⁸⁵ The clearest statement about the heavenly Jerusalem is Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.

³⁸⁶ G.A. Soteriou, 'Παλαιὰ Χριστιανικὴ Βασιλικὴ Ἰλισσοῦ', *Αρχ. Ἐφ.* (1919) 1-31; Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, 'Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700', 72-3.

martyria as pilgrimage destinations.³⁸⁷ Christians built churches in all parts of the settled areas of the Peloponnese because they wished to service all parts of the community.³⁸⁸

Again, as in the orientation of the temple, these decisions, like those centred on building orientation, ultimately were based on questions of practicality rather than cult practice. As Volp stated in his article on Christian architecture in the *Encyclopedia of Christianity Online*, proper cult practice for Christians was centred on the interior of the cult building, and not on the exterior. Therefore, the cardinal point in which the church apse was facing was ultimately irrelevant because as long as practitioners in the congregation inside of the church were facing the clergy in front of the apse, then all practitioners were oriented correctly for their rituals.³⁸⁹

f. Dedication of temple

It is not certain whether or not the dedication of a temple played a role in the Christian dedication for a church that reused the temple. We may suggest that although temple dedication might have played a role in Christians choosing to reuse the temple as a church, there are exceptions to this practice.

Gregory states that temples dedicated to Asklepios were reused as churches because attributes of the traditional god such as the power to heal were easily applicable to the Christian god.³⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the dedication of the reused temple has not developed into a larger topic of debate among scholars of temple reuse in Late Antiquity. Sweetman doubts whether temple dedication played a role in the temple's reuse. Foschia does not enter into it much in her first article on temple reuse, and the topic finds no place in her more recent review of her first piece because she is primarily interested in the survival of traditional

³⁸⁷ Sweetman, 'Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches', 222-3; Pallas, 'Korinth'; Robertson Brown, 'Medieval Pilgrimage'.

³⁸⁸ Sweetman, 'Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches', 210-30; Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese'.

³⁸⁹ Volp, 'Church Architecture'. Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić barely discuss issues of physical orientation in the design of churches at length in their book *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (New Haven, CT, 1986²) at 23-46. However, based on figures 9 and 15 in Krautheimer's and Ćurčić's book, the floor plans of some early churches indicate an orientation of the apse toward the east. Based on figure 27b, the orientation of the apse in the basilica adjoining the *Anastasis* rotunda at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is toward the west, toward the tomb of Christ.

³⁹⁰ Gregory, 'Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece', 237-8.

religions and not in the topic of material reuse.³⁹¹ Sweetman is primarily interested in the meaning of topography in decisions made by Christians to build a church on a piece of ground.³⁹² She has focused her attention on Christianisation rather than on material reuse. More recently, she has concentrated on the significance of church location in the interpretation of material evidence of Christianisation in the Peloponnese.³⁹³

However, Gregory refers to another instance of temple reuse where the dedication of the temple might have played some role in the reuse of the location by Christians for a cult building. This is the construction of an octagonal church in Philippi over top of a herōon.³⁹⁴ Further work has been done on this church in the Anglophone literature on the archaeology of Late Antique Macedonia, and this research might prove helpful in teasing out further motivations for the reuse of the location by both Christians and non-Christians. This herōon is a Macedonian tomb that predates the common era.³⁹⁵ The octagonal church is the second on the spot, replacing an earlier church. This earlier church was a single-aisled basilica in shape, with an apse as wide as the *naos*, about 11.9 metres wide by 27.5 metres long, and decorated with floor mosaics. One of the mosaics was dedicated by a bishop named Porphyry (*Πορφύριος*), and it also claims that the basilica was dedicated to Saint Paul.³⁹⁶ It is significant that a place centred on the cult of Saint Paul is built over top of a pagan cult site centred on a hero.³⁹⁷ This basilica was destroyed in the late fourth or early fifth century CE. It was perhaps at this point that the current octagonal church was built on the site.³⁹⁸

The present writer believes that the attributes of the anonymous individual buried in the herōon played a role for the Christians in their decision to reuse the herōon as a church. Christians appreciated the sacred character of sanctuary locations used in traditional Greco-Roman religions. Locations could become holy simply through association with a mythic figure, and the location was commemorated also by churches as the location of Christian

³⁹¹ Foschia, 'Réutilisation des sanctuaires'; Foschia, 'Preservation, Restoration and (Re)Construction'.

³⁹² Sweetman, 'Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches'.

³⁹³ Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese'.

³⁹⁴ Gregory, 'Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece', 237.

³⁹⁵ Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 72.

³⁹⁶ Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 73, 73 n. 163.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

triumph over traditional religions.³⁹⁹ The herōon was a memorial for the interred who had acquired status as a hero, a status of divinity in traditional religions because hero worship occurred in traditional religions.⁴⁰⁰ It is tempting to claim that the apostle Paul acquired the attributes of a hero in his proselytizing work in Philippi, and that continuity with the traditional past was achieved when the Christian community eventually acquires ownership of the land that the old herōon sits on to transform it into a church. However, it is well known that the cult of the saints did not have any basis in the cult of the hero in traditional religions, and therefore considering continuity of some element of the cult in Late Antique Christian practice is perilous.⁴⁰¹ It is impossible to ascertain solely from the material evidence how the herōon was first treated once legislation had been passed in the fourth century CE calling for the closure of temples. However, a basilica was later built on top of its location, which argues for an eventual Christian appropriation of the area.

There is fortunately another occurrence in the present catalogue of sites that could serve as a *comparandum* in the discussion of temple dedication as appropriate for church dedication or use. At the herōon of *Aulonites* at Kipia-Akrovouni, the site was not taken over by a Christian cult, as happened with the herōon in Philippi.⁴⁰² The only detail concerning its life in Late Antiquity is its destruction at the hands of Christians in the fourth century CE. This destruction was followed by an unidentified structure being built on the location of the destroyed temple.

Was this unidentified building a church? That question might be premature. Archaeologists have not been able to identify the purpose of the structure built atop the herōon in Kipia-Akrovouni. It is possible that not enough evidence remains for archaeologists to identify the structure as a church, chapel or other Christian cult building. Insufficient clear evidence of Christian occupation of the location is the main reason for refraining from giving the structure a known function. It is possible that a Greek

³⁹⁹ L. Peloschek, 'Tradition und Neuinterpretation. Konträre Verfahrensweisen mit antiker Bausubstanz in der griechischen Antike und im frühen Christentum in Attika und auf der Peloponnes', *MiChA* 16 (2010) 9-28 at 12.

⁴⁰⁰ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 203-8.

⁴⁰¹ Delehayé, *Légendes hagiographiques*, 181-90. Cf. Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, "'Temple of Apollo Pythios'".

⁴⁰² See above pages 34-5.

archaeologist has written a report on this transformation of this herōon, but if so, it remains elusive.

This, however, does not diminish the meaning of this building as a *comparandum* for the herōon in Philippi. For instance, the dedication of this herōon to a figure named *Aulonites* raises the following questions: did this dedication have any influence on the later reuse of the herōon? If yes, then what influence did it play in the later use of this location?

Another instance of temple reuse in the present catalogue occurs on the island of Sikinos. This building which was turned into a church was mistaken for a temple, hence the quotation marks around the name of Apollo Pythios. In fact, the building is a herōon, more particularly the tomb of an anonymous Roman. Frantz, Thompson and Travlos state that the mis-designation was made in the nineteenth century based on a Greek inscription found on the island, but do not discuss the reasons for the change in interpretation to a herōon.⁴⁰³

Bayliss points out that the reuse of tombs as churches is not associated with a Christian desire to perform some form of ‘hero cult’ that could be associated with the cult of the saints. Christians who reused tombs as churches were not concerned generally with the identity of the buried person, or with the fact that the building was a grave. Tombs reused as churches occur elsewhere in the Roman Empire, such as Italy and Cilicia.⁴⁰⁴ Sellada on the island of Thera is the location of a cemetery according to the *Barrington Atlas*.⁴⁰⁵ It is also the site where a temple of Aphrodite was used as a quarry. Did the location of this temple near burials motivate the people who reused the temple? Did the presence of burials motivate the users to use the temple only as a quarry?

The clearest interpretation of a temple dedication having an influence on reuse type is the Parthenon as a church to the Virgin Mary.⁴⁰⁶ Deligiannakis discusses a number of inscriptions located on Ikaros, one of which is a supposed oracle of Apollo similar to the *Tübingen Theosophy*.⁴⁰⁷ It is argued that these oracular messages were frauds created by

⁴⁰³ IG XII.5.24; Frantz, Thompson, Travlos, “‘Temple of Apollo Pythios’”, 399-400.

⁴⁰⁴ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 34.

⁴⁰⁵ Foss, Reger, ‘Ephesus’, 946.

⁴⁰⁶ Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*.

⁴⁰⁷ IG XII.6.2.1265; *Theosophia* I, 54-5. P. F. Beatrice has provided a new edition of these texts in *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia. An Attempt at Reconstruction* (Leiden, 2001). Further on the *Tübingen Theosophy*,

Christians in order to legitimize their appropriation of a temple location for their own cult activities.⁴⁰⁸ The temple of Artemis Tauropolos was turned into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God (*Θεοτόκος*).⁴⁰⁹ The attribute of both Artemis and Athena as virgins influenced the decision to dedicate churches built atop their temples to the virgin mother of God.

g. Other reasons

Given the geographic distribution of each form of reuse in the evidence collected in this thesis, it is suggested here that ‘non-religious’ forms of reuse, i.e. reuse that resulted in buildings with functions other than churches, was as common in Greece as ‘religious’ forms of reuse. This ties in with the convenient or ‘discount’ reuse of *spolia*, and further shows that temple reuse as churches was not a principal form of reuse. A number of cases of reuse are unidentifiable given the state of the evidence. Reuses as churches are generally very clear because the foundations of the church are present. Furthermore, churches were rarely spoliated in later periods in Greece.⁴¹⁰

Some temples were reused as foundations for unidentified later buildings. Why? These episodes of using a formerly sacred space as a foundation for a later building are significant in the topic of temple conversion because they confirm Foschia’s claim that temples were reused only after a period of neglect, generally a century or two in length. After the passage of a few centuries, the site of the temple of Asklepios at the *Lerna* place in Corinth was used for a Christian cemetery because the significance of the site as a pagan sacred space had disappeared by that time. Another example of this is the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. Byzantine burials were found beneath a deposit interpreted as evidence for abandonment of the site.⁴¹¹

Under the pragmatic reuse which Ward-Perkins discusses in his article could fall temple reuse for other purposes such as a residence or bath building. Among this thesis’ catalogue of sites, there happens to be one form of reuse that clearly falls under this heading: the temple of

cf. C. Mango, ‘The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church: the Tübingen Theosophy’, *DChRAE* 18 (1995) 201-3; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 47-53.

⁴⁰⁸ Busine, ‘Discovery of Inscriptions’.

⁴⁰⁹ See above page 50.

⁴¹⁰ Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 31-2.

⁴¹¹ Pariente, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990’, 863.

Artemis at Aulis (figure 13. Red rectangle indicates location of bath overtop of temple). The summary report in the *BCH* does not provide much detail about how the temple was reused. Fortunately, the layout of the bath house was recorded before it was obliterated by further excavation (figure 14).⁴¹² This reconstruction provides a foundation, upon which the few details offered by the brief report can be used to interpret how the original building was reused. This elaboration helps in understanding how the reuse affected the original building.⁴¹³

As confirmed by the floor plan in figure 14, the temple was modified in its rebirth as a bath in the area of its *prostōon* and *prodomos*. The Greek *prostōon* (προστώον) is the entrance to a building.⁴¹⁴ The entrance to the temple *cella* is on the eastern end of the building, as is often the case with Greco-Roman temples.⁴¹⁵ This entrance to the temple *cella* became the entrance to one of the rooms of the bathhouse. This rough orientation is clear from the north arrows in the two figures. The *prodomos* could be considered near the front of the building. Water channels are located on the backside of the bath, along the westernmost wall, visible in figure 14.

The report provides a further detail: the *prodomos* was specifically a part of the bath since a hypocaust was supposedly built beneath it.⁴¹⁶ The building of this hypocaust is clearly a pragmatic reuse of the eastern end of the temple of Artemis at Aulis. The factors determining the reuse of this temple as a bath will be discussed in chapter three.

The ‘Chortiati stoa’ in Thessaloniki offers another case study relevant to the practical ‘non-cultic’ reuse of a temple location. In this case, a residential building, a *villa urbana*, was built on the probable location of an earlier temple. The English summary of the article does not state that walls of a temple were reused in the construction of the villa, only that

⁴¹² I. Threpsiadis, ‘Ανασκαφαὶ ἐν Αὐλίδι’, *ΠΑΕ* (1958) 45-54 at figure 2.

⁴¹³ Anonymous, ‘Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1956’, *BCH* 81 (1957) 496-713 at 585-8.

⁴¹⁴ E. Fiechter, ‘Haus’, in *RE* VII.2, coll. 2523.5-2546.53 at 2541-23-46.

⁴¹⁵ On orientation of temples, see Spawforth, *Complete Greek Temples*, 21, and above pages 90-2.

⁴¹⁶ Anonymous, ‘Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1956’, 588.

‘movable finds’ suggest the presence of a Hellenistic and Roman temple.⁴¹⁷ The article states that these finds include a statue of Cybele.⁴¹⁸ This area is located at the top of figure 15.

As can be seen on figure 15, the site of this *villa urbana* includes a multiplicity of walls that can be very hard to distinguish in a chronological sequence and to then interpret. However, the later residence of the villa did reuse a temple because the grounds of the villa (if not one of its walls) occupied the area once covered by a building associated with the cult statue of Cybele.⁴¹⁹ The remains of the earlier temple walls would have served very well as foundations for the later villa.

The reuse of some locations in this study might point to a practical reason for reusing the site. For example, the fact that drainage conduits were dug out of the *podium* or *krepis* of the temple of Soteira at Thasos is evidence of a widespread need for space by later users on a site of Thasos. The drainage conduits would have been associated with a building, and the *krepis* of this temple provided an excellent foundation for a new building. Excavating drainage conduits out of the ground was a time-consuming and labour-intensive task in the creation of a Roman city. However, a well-developed sewage drainage system for urban areas was an important trait for thriving urban life in the Roman Empire. The presence of these conduits in this temple foundation indicates that the building erected on the temple placement was important. However, it is possible that this system was part of the cultic site’s original role, and that it is not a sign of abandonment of the site’s cultic character. Irrespective of the reason for the work, it is evidence that this foundation was significant in the eyes of the local community.

Another case where the foundation of the temple plays a role in the erection of a later building is at Itanos on Crete. *Basilica A* there reuses the *podium* or *krepis* of the temple, and perhaps also its outer walls.⁴²⁰ These details are valuable because of their rarity in written reports about potential temple conversion by early excavators. Although this occurrence of the reuse of the *podium* is not accurately dated, the detail contributes to a diversified image

⁴¹⁷ Marki, ‘Ανασκαφή στοάς Χορτιάτη’, 334.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁴¹⁹ Unfortunately, the writer’s poor grasp of Greek prevented him from studying further Marki’s work, and being able to distinguish the sequence of walls in the plates based on Marki’s interpretation of the evidence.

⁴²⁰ Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 129. See above page 45.

of temple conversion. If this episode of temple conversion used the outer walls of the temple, then it could be claimed that this temple conversion fits into any one of Bayliss' three categories of transformation: of 'cella-church', 'internalised cella' or 'inverted transformation'. This is because all three allow the naos of the temple to be used as the central aisle of the church.

There are some limitations with this description of the church at Itanos. Sanders refers merely to 'outer walls'. It is impossible to decide whether he means the walls of the cella, or a potential outer peripteral colonnade. However, if there was a peripteral colonnade, then this could be an 'internalised cella' in which the outer walls would be the walled up colonnade.⁴²¹ Bayliss does not refer to this temple in his database-catalogue. It is therefore a new contribution to research in the topic.

If the podium of the temple at Itanos was reused, then this is a 'direct transformation' according to Bayliss.⁴²² Many Roman temples were built on podia, and if one of these was converted into a church, the podium was sometimes enlarged to accommodate changes.⁴²³

There is an example of another conversion type discussed by Bayliss, the so called 'cella-conversion', at the site of Kartaia on Keos. The reuse of the temple of Artemis at Kartaia on Keos as a church would fit into Bayliss' 'Cella-Church' conversion type.⁴²⁴ This claim is made based on figure 3 in Graindor's article. The only standing remains in the image are the colonnades, and these show up in figure 4 in Graindor's article (copied as figure 6 in chapter one) as ending with an apse between two short walls at the same distance apart as the colonnades. The trouble with this claim, however, is that most temple cellae were made of walls and not colonnades. If these two colonnades represent the *peripteral* colonnade of the temple, it would have been a very narrow temple, and the conversion of only the cella into the *naos* of the church would have left little space for a Christian congregation. Nevertheless, it is a striking reuse of a temple as a church.

⁴²¹ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 38-40.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 35-6.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35-8.

The reuse of the temple of Herakles at Thasos does not fit into any of Bayliss' categories, because none of the original walls is reused, based on the floor plan. Bayliss in fact does not even refer to this temple conversion. It is thus another contribution to the topic. The most notable element of the reuse is the change in building orientation once it became a church.⁴²⁵ Lisa Peloschek briefly discusses the change in orientation in these churches as a part of her argument that temples had a sacred aura to them because of their heritage as sacred locations. This sacred tradition attracted Early Christians to build their churches on the temple locations.⁴²⁶ However, she does not clarify the meaning of this reorientation. It might have been for a practical rather than an ideological reason.⁴²⁷

The temple of Athena Alea at Tegea is a controversial case because many authors claim it was not reused as a church. Other churches were built in the vicinity of the temple as part of the second and third major waves of Christianisation.⁴²⁸ This case is an example of the fluid nature of terms used in the definition of temple conversion, as was briefly outlined at the beginning of chapter one. It is claimed that there is no evidence of building foundations on top of the temple *krepis* or stylobate.⁴²⁹ The long-held claim that the temple was reused as a church is evidence of the old theory that temples were widely reused as churches in the Christian Roman Empire.

The temple of Athena Alea raises another point about the nature of criteria used in interpreting archaeological evidence as proof of temple reuse. Burials were found in the northern part of the sanctuary, under a thick deposit interpreted as evidence of abandonment at the sanctuary.⁴³⁰ Do these burials qualify as temple reuse? It is claimed here that they are valid forms of temple reuse.

As discussed earlier in the methodology section at the beginning of chapter one, defining a sanctuary as the area inside of the *temenos* wall and declaring all reuse of this enclosed area

⁴²⁵ As pointed out above on pages 91-2, the orientation of the church east-west was not the source of comments by the excavators.

⁴²⁶ Peloschek, 'Tradition und Neuinterpretation', 13.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 14.

⁴²⁸ What Sweetman refers to as 'social movement' and 'tipping point' in the definition of her strategic thinking paradigm. Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese', 305-12. It could be argued that these free-standing churches are proof of the dispensable nature of temples for Christians.

⁴²⁹ Østby, 'Temple of Athena Alea', 120.

⁴³⁰ Pariente, 'Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', 863.

as evidence of temple reuse might allow the topic to become more nuanced.⁴³¹ Since the work of Friedrich Deichmann in the earlier twentieth century, authors studying temple conversion have gradually started to include reuse in parts of a sanctuary other than the temple building proper as evidence of temple reuse. It could be claimed that this increasingly greater inclusion of reuse outside of temple buildings themselves dilutes the clear identification of episodes of temple reuse. However, if this wider inclusion of forms of reuse is allowed, then a temple or sanctuary could see a number of different contemporary or near-contemporary reuses that further develop the meaning of defunct sacred space for later occupants. The burials at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea are a case in point.

III. Conclusion

As was stated earlier in this chapter, based solely on the frequency of occurrences of different reuse types recorded in this thesis and displayed on the maps in the chapter, reuse for reasons other than Christian cult practice occurred as frequently as Christian cult reuse. This is a telling result of the thesis research and is plain evidence that temple reuse as churches was not widespread in Late Antique Greece.

The assumption that once temples were closed in the fifth century CE they were left abandoned for the following centuries and were only used as quarries for stone has been dismantled by the data collected in the present chapter. The marshalling of disparate information in this chapter has proven useful for the study of Late Antique Christianisation because it offers scholars a ready supply of information about discrete episodes of alternative forms of temple reuse, in the form of a catalogue of listed attributes organised by geographic location (See Appendix). However, no single reason existed for different practical forms of temple reuse.

The practice of spoliation offers further research potential with respect to temple reuse. The study of *spolia* confidently linked to a given temple provides the possibility of further contextualising the afterlife of that temple. The study of a building's afterlife is developing into a research topic of its own and will go some way to diversifying the image

⁴³¹ See above pages 20-2 and 68-9.

archaeologists and historians have of the end of traditional religions in Late Antiquity. Inscriptions in particular are a form of *spolia* loaded with meaning for the reusers, often associated with their initial purpose. They could benefit from further sourcing exercises as a means of relating them with particular earlier structures or buildings in order again to produce a more nuanced idea of their origins and their subsequent meaning as *spolia*.

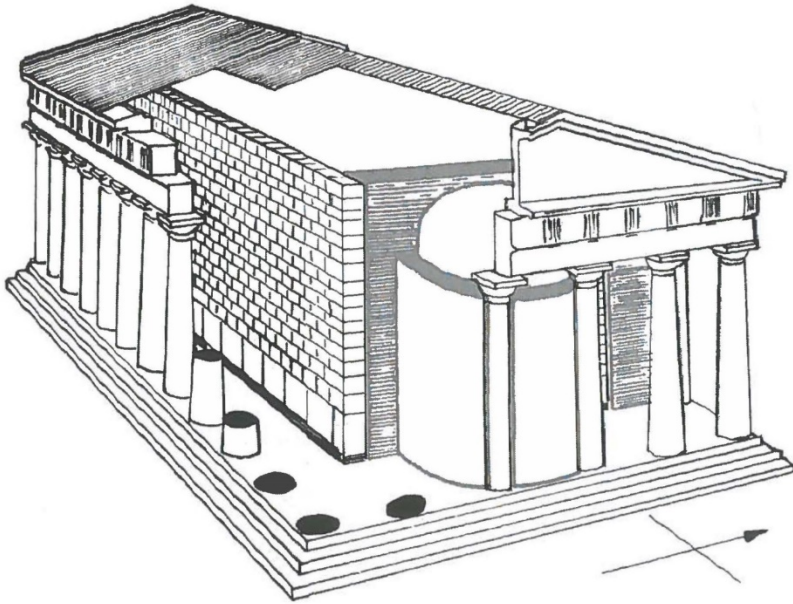
The absence of secure, specific dates continues to be a source of uncertainty for archaeologists studying the phenomenon of temple conversion in Late Antiquity given the importance of secure dates in the accurate interpretation of material evidence. However, Sweetman has argued that this absence of multiple secure dates for the erection of churches can be used in her argument for the gradual Christianisation of the Peloponnese. She has demonstrated that specific dates accurate to the year are not necessary for valid interpretation of the archaeological evidence because her model is not specific to the year, but rather spans several centuries.

As stated earlier, general dates concerning free-standing churches or temple reuse events range across the fourth to sixth centuries CE, a period of intense Christianisation. Because of the absence of specific dates for particular locations, it is difficult to do further work at a regional scale on a smaller geographic area. This makes the work more difficult because it does not allow much further nuancing of the image of religious transformation. Secondly, faulty interpretations might play a role in what Sweetman terms ‘creeping determinism’; whereby hypotheses that might not all be verified are generally accepted as facts later on. This is aggravated by the common attempt to argue that the absence of evidence is ‘evidence of absence’. It is difficult to gauge the future potential for research in this topic.

The format of a catalogue of sites may be dry in appearance, but the information presented in the form of a list of attributes facilitates the comparison of the data with comparable data found in other scholarship, such as that of Sweetman and Bayliss. It is this comparative work that offers much of the new knowledge about religious transformation at the end of Antiquity that is fuelling much of the research today.

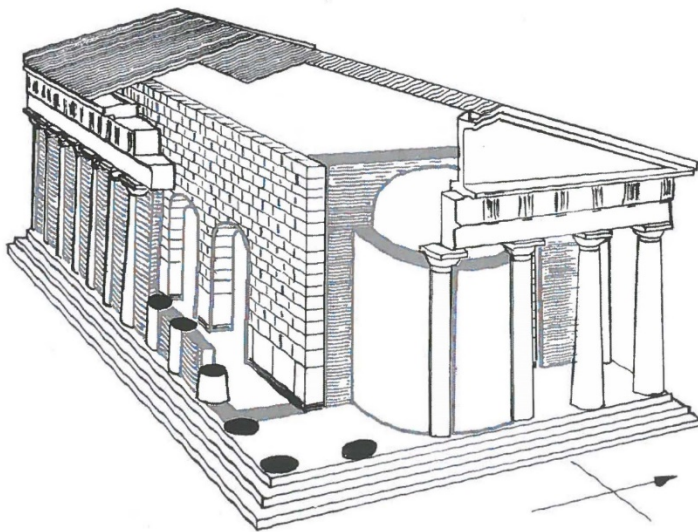
IV. Chapter Two Figures

a. Figure 1



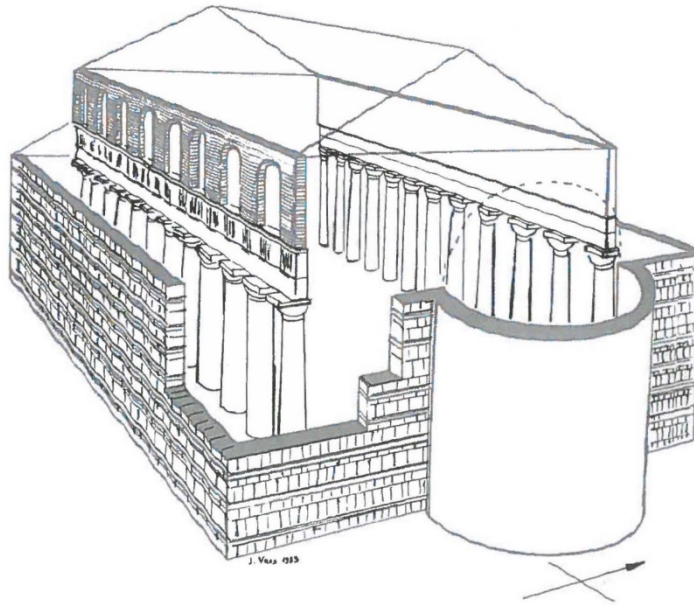
Source : Bayliss 2004, figure 11.

b. Figure 2



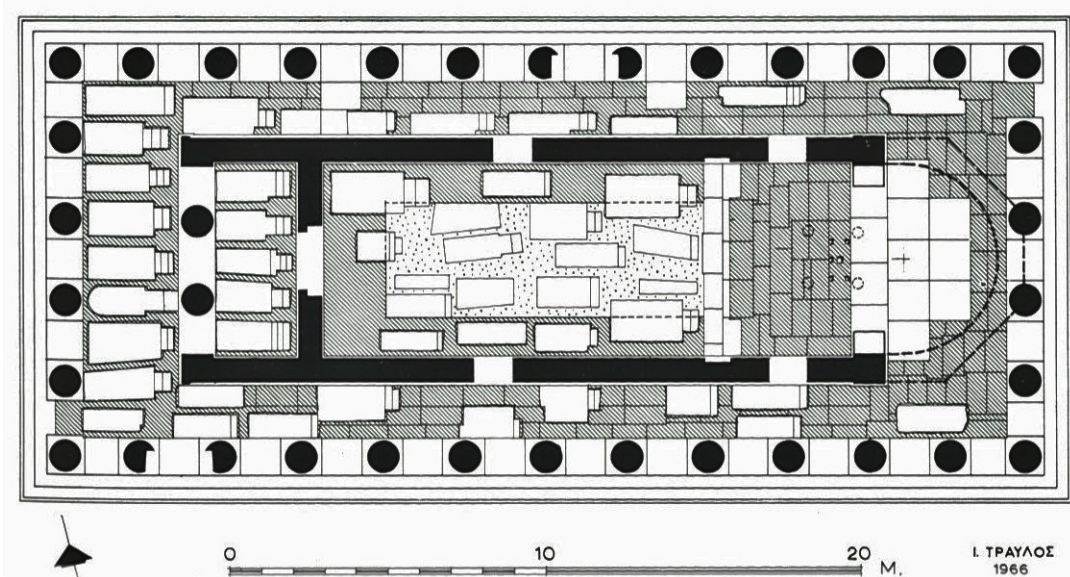
Source : Bayliss 2004, figure 12.

c. Figure 3



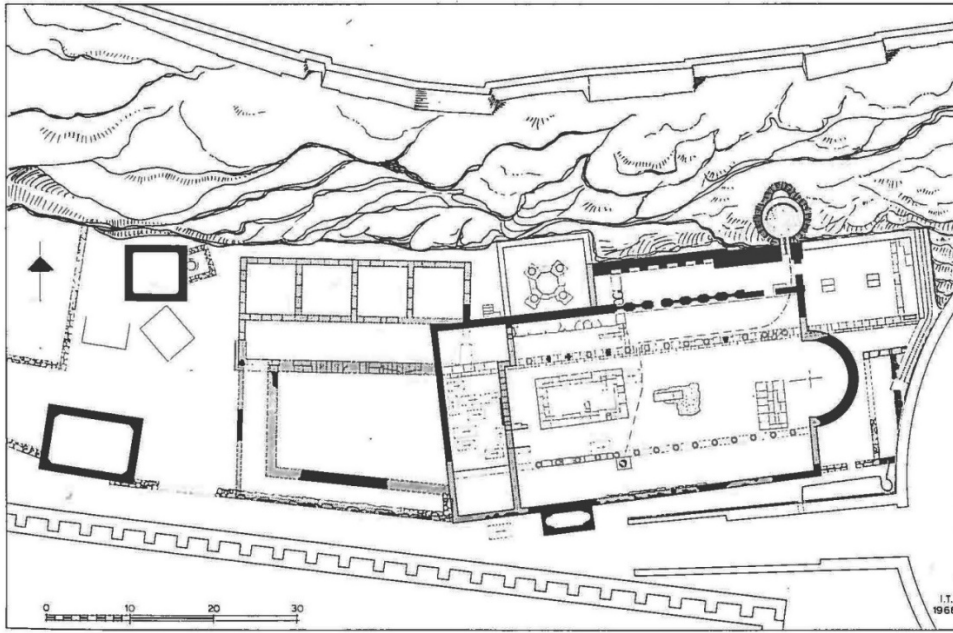
Source : Bayliss 2004, figure 13.

d. Figure 4



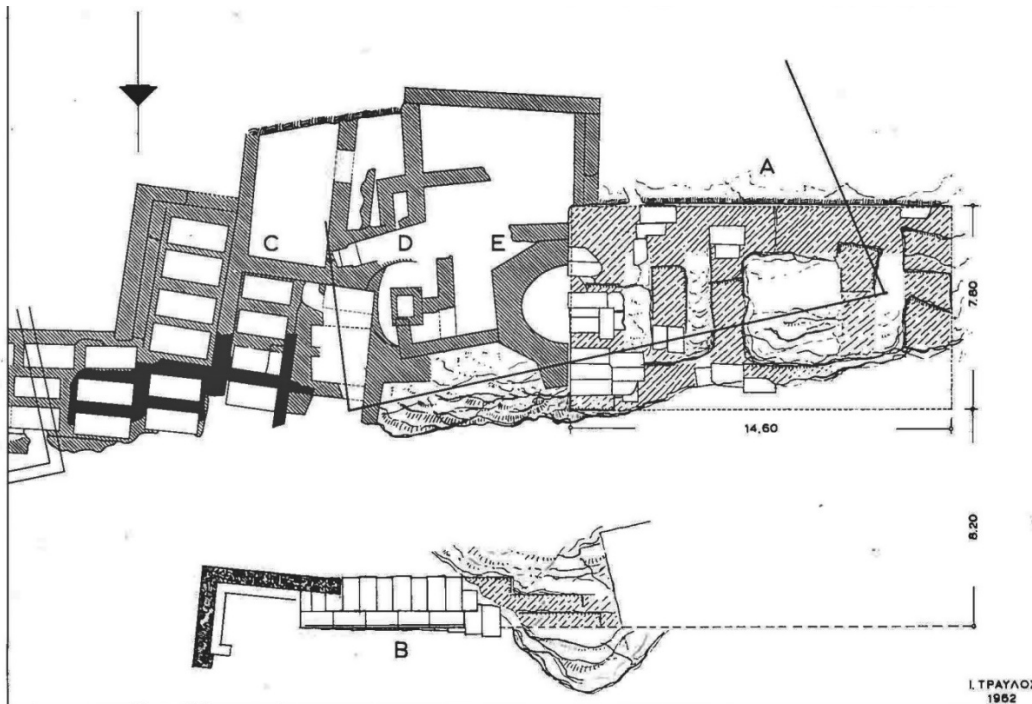
Source: Travlos, 1971, figure 335.

e. Figure 5



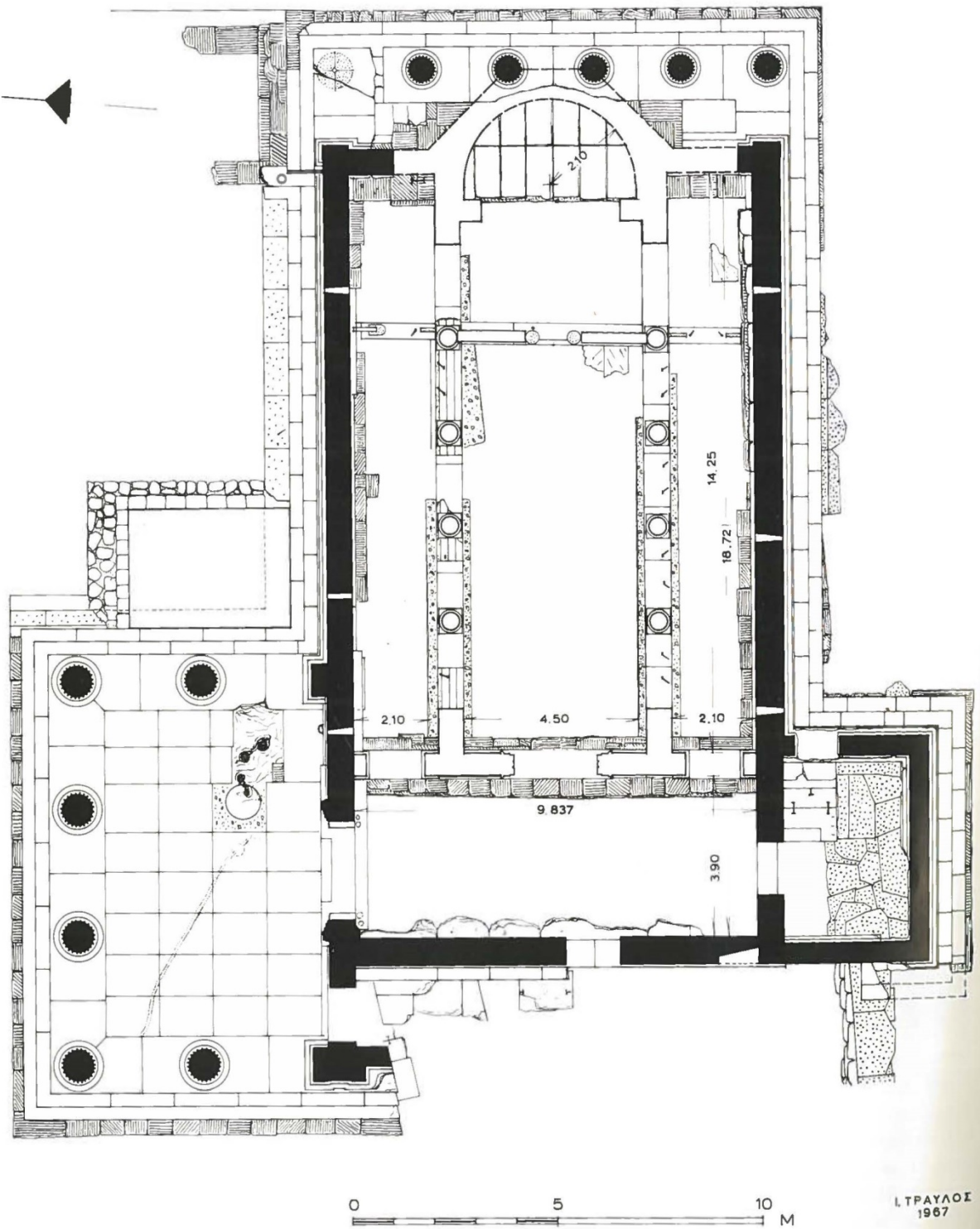
Source: Travlos, 1971, figure 178.

f. Figure 6



Source: Travlos, 1971, lower half of figure 156

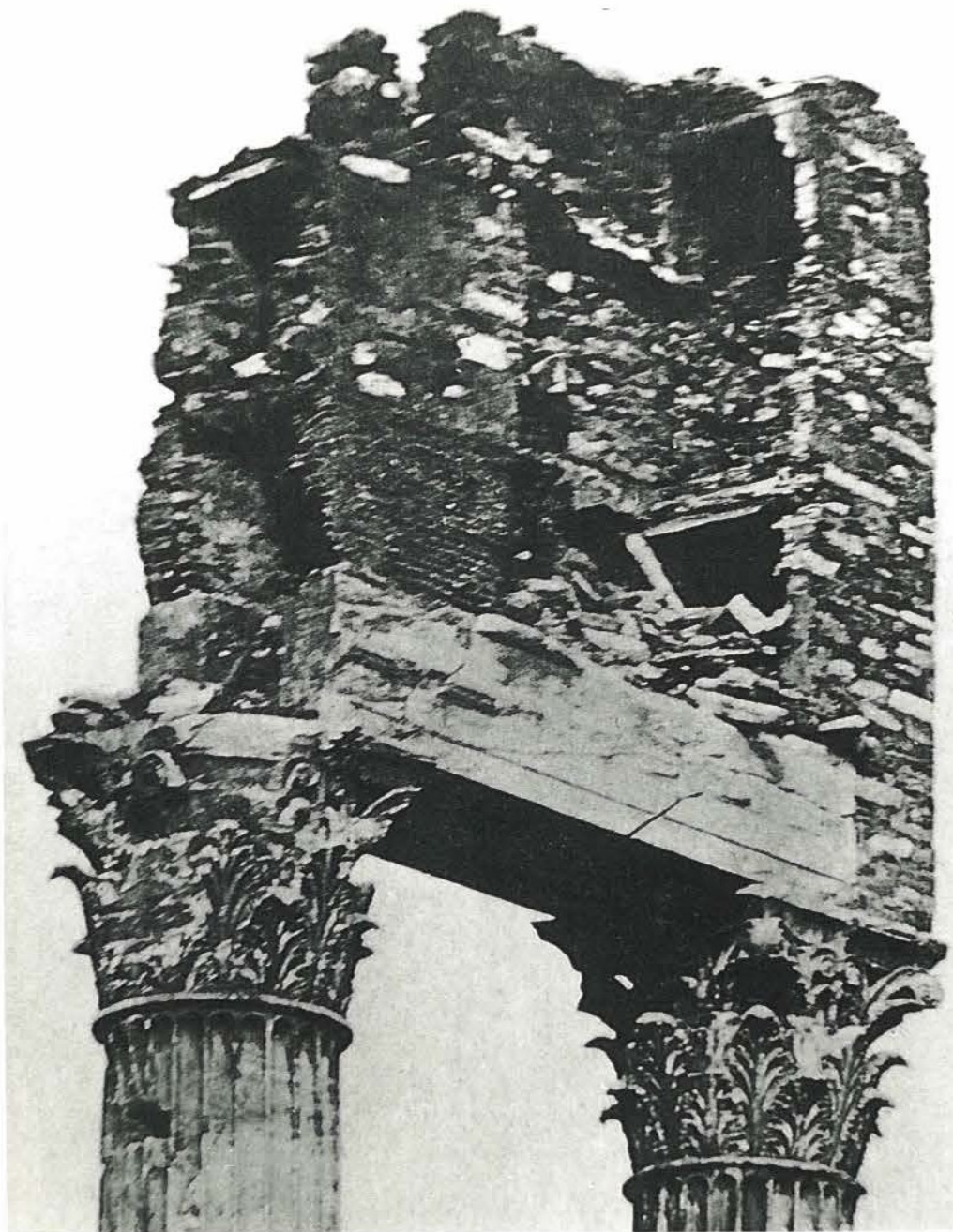
g. Figure 7



Source : Travlos, 1971, figure 279

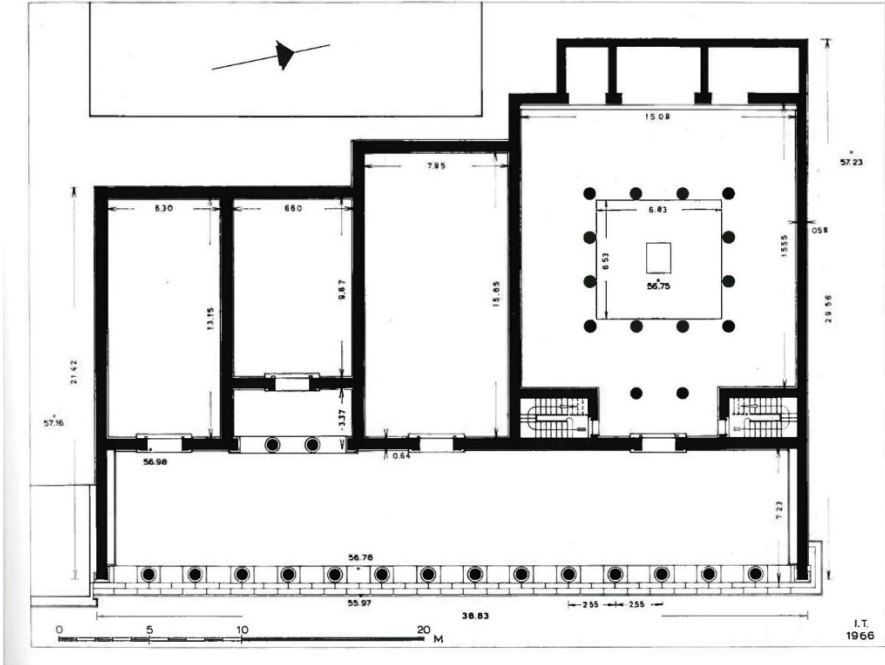
h. Figure 8

J. ROBERTSON, 1930-33



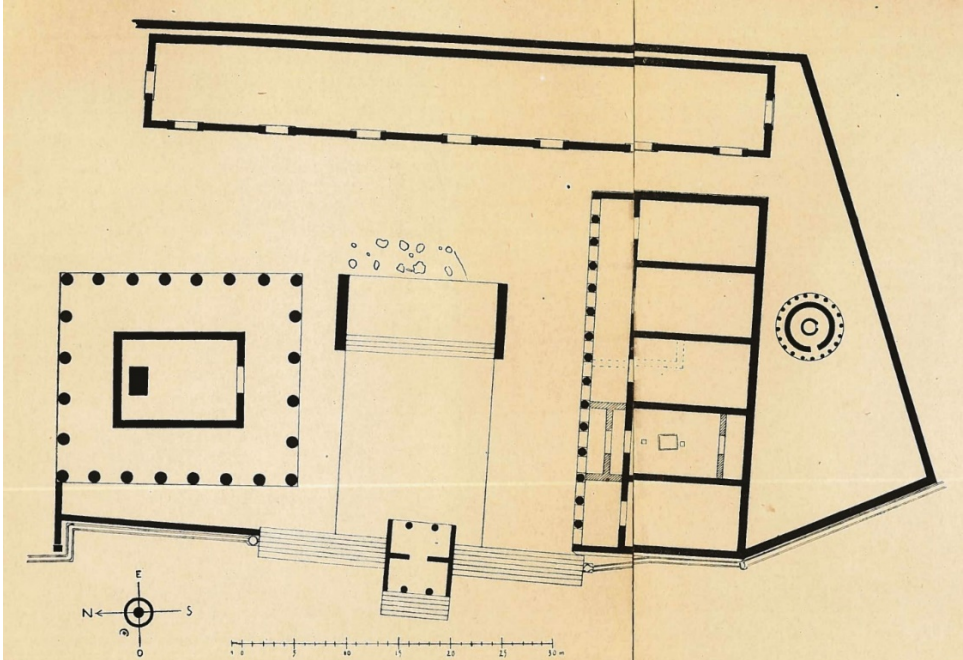
Source : Bouras 1996, Plate 10.3.

i. Figure 9



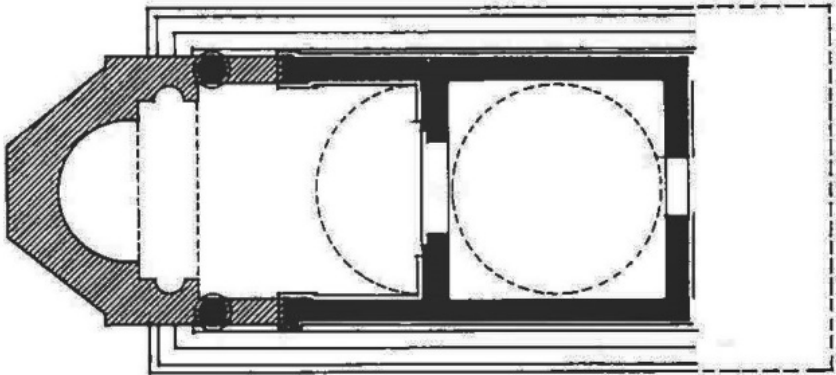
Source: Travlos, 1971, figure 456.

j. Figure 10



Source : Launey 1944, fold out plan.

k. Figure 11

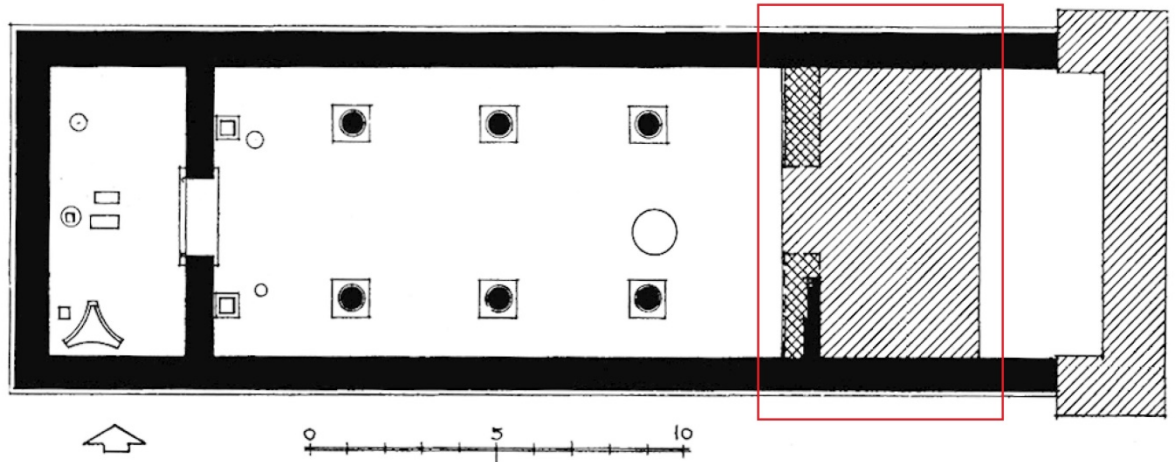


Source : Travlos 1971, figure 156.

l. Figure 12

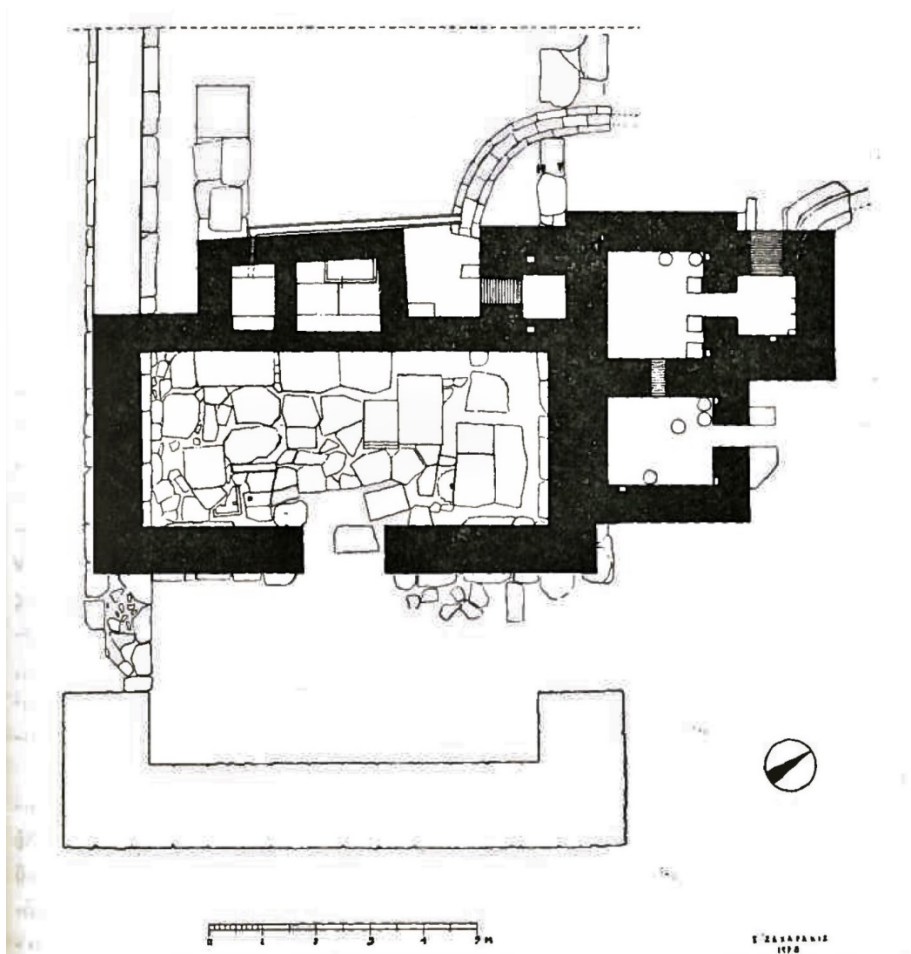


m. Figure 13



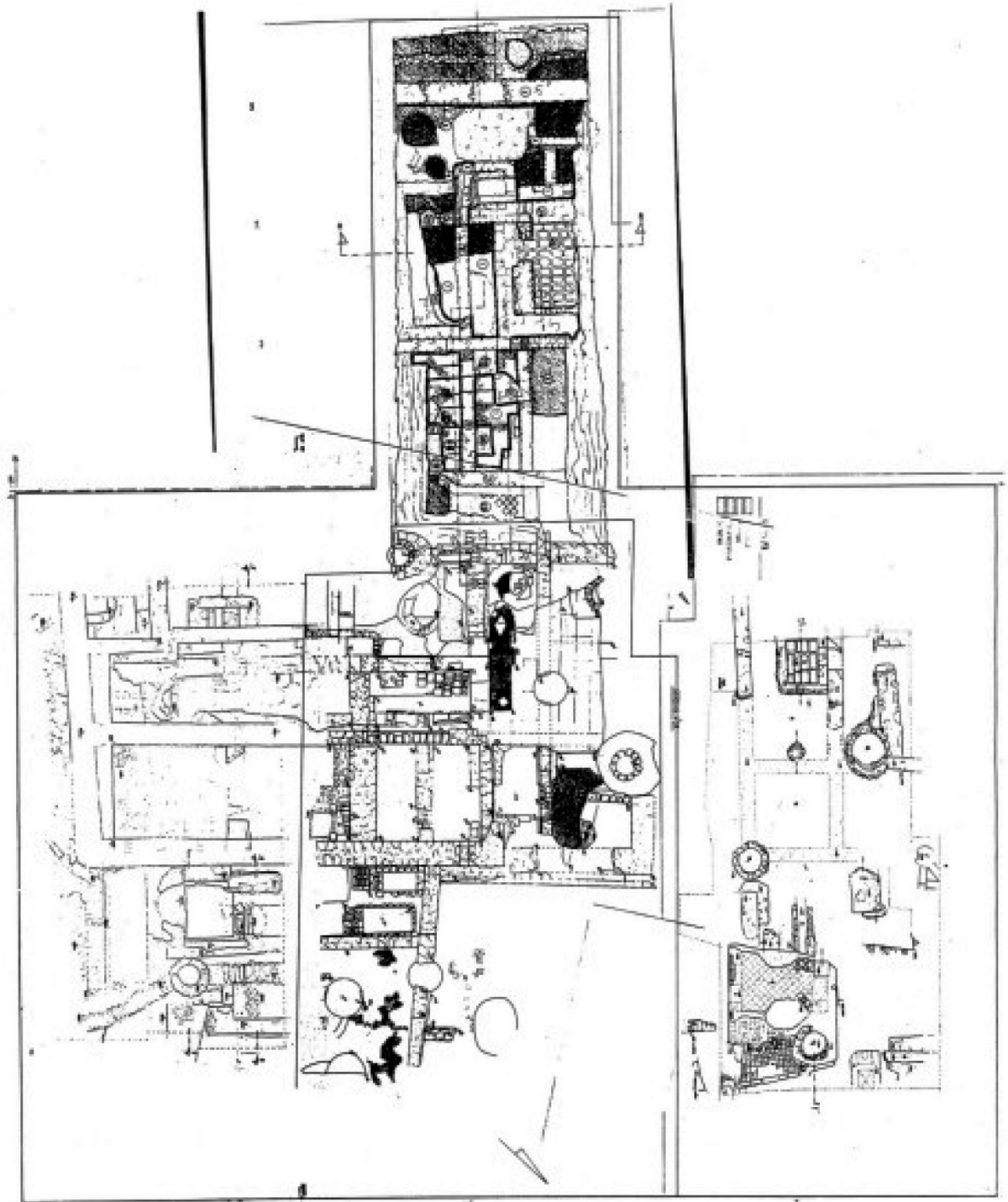
Source: *BCH* 81 (1957), page 586, figure 1.

n. Figure 14



Source : Threpsiadis, 1958, figure 2.

o. Figure 15



Source : Marki, 1992, figure 1.

Chapter Three

I. Introduction

Some years ago, Bryan Ward-Perkins stated that there was a need to further elaborate the ‘sacred landscape’ of Late Antiquity, using a term popularized by Béatrice Caseau.⁴³² Ward-Perkins stated that ‘negative evidence’ in the study of temple conversion further nuanced the depiction of fluid forces shaping culture around the Mediterranean between the fourth and the seventh centuries CE. ‘Negative evidence’ comprises all forms of temple reuse aside from conversion into churches, and has generally been overlooked by researchers concentrating on temple conversion into churches. This evidence consists of three categories of material feature: abandoned temples, temples converted into buildings other than churches, and free-standing churches. His ideas form part of a wider project to display Late Antiquity as a period of cultural and religious transformation rather than a period of uniform decline in morals and political control. A building’s history should therefore include all forms of use that it experienced.⁴³³

As Ward-Perkins implies, scholars may have over-estimated the power of religion in Late Antiquity. Churches went out of use by Christians throughout Byzantine history, even if the population remained pious. Physical buildings have, after all, played a role in meeting human needs for millennia. There was no doubt a wide range of motivations for temple reuse, some practical, others religious. A number of elements were listed in chapter two of this thesis as categories around which to develop a discussion of practical reasons for reuse. That exercise was undertaken in order to develop a more nuanced discussion of the meaning of the built ‘sacred landscape’. Motivations for reuse need to be studied to better understand the development of this ‘sacred landscape’. This chapter will discuss practical and religious motivations for temple reuse.

⁴³² Caseau, ‘Sacred Landscapes’; B. Ward-Perkins, ‘Reconfiguring Sacred Space’. Puzzlingly, Ward-Perkins does not cite N. Christie, R. Kipling, ‘Structures of Power or Structures of Convenience? Exploiting the Material Past in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages’, in S. Pearce (ed.), *Researching Material Culture* (Leicester, UK, 2000) 21-35.

⁴³³ A.J. Wharton, *Architectural Agents. The Delusional, Abusive, Addictive Lives of Buildings* (Minneapolis, MI, 2015) xxi-ii.

a. Open Questions Concerning Motivations for Temple Reuse

It is important to consider what determined the type of reuse that occurred in each location. Certain factors in man's environment determine how each building is used. As was briefly stated in chapter two, geographic location played a role in how temples were re-used. Most of the forms of temple reuse listed in chapter two play a role in Ward-Perkins' concept of 'negative evidence'. As has been briefly stated earlier, the role of time must be analysed alongside physical space in the definition of determinants of reuse. Therefore, the principal question for this chapter will be: What factors determined the type of reuse that occurred in each of the identified locations? Furthermore, how do Ward-Perkins' categories of 'negative evidence' fit into this discussion of determining factors?

However, as has also been repeatedly asserted in this thesis, the religious aspect of temple reuse has been exaggerated. Historians have assumed that Christianity was a determining factor in how temples were reused because of its omnipresence in Late Antique culture. Assuming that a temple was treated a certain way chiefly because of its sacred aura could be a mistake. Furthermore, as was pointed out briefly in chapter two, hagiography is not an adequate source of evidence for determining how Christians and non-Christians reused temples.⁴³⁴ Temples or other sacred structures were reused for practical purposes throughout Antiquity. Thucydides narrates that, in 424-3 BCE during the Peloponnesian War, Athenian soldiers occupied the temple of Apollo at Delion in Boiotia during a campaign against Boiotian forces allied to the Spartans.⁴³⁵ Cicero refers repeatedly to Clodius' use of a temple

⁴³⁴ Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 59-61 and above pages 5-6.

⁴³⁵ Thuc. IV.76.4-5, 90.1-2. Sonya Nevin has discussed this episode among others in her recent publication *Military Leaders and Sacred Space in Classical Greek Warfare. Temples, Sanctuaries and Conflict in Antiquity* (London, 2016). The writer is grateful to her for this reference.

Otherwise, priests could take on duties of a military nature. The priest Attis in 163-58 BCE in Asia Minor was asked by a sequence of Attalid kings to take on military responsibilities including occupying a sanctuary for military reasons. See C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (Rome, 1966) nos. 55-61. Further on the study of fortification in ancient Greece, see R. Frederiksen, *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900-480 BC* (Oxford, 2011); S. Fachard, 'A Decade of Research on Greek Fortifications', *Arch. Rep.* 62 (2015/16) 77-88; S. Müth, P.I. Schneider, M. Schnelle, P.D. De Staebler (eds), *Ancient Fortifications: A Compendium of Theory and Practice* (Oxford, 2016). The writer is grateful to John Davies for these references.

of Castor in Rome as a private fort during the Late Republic.⁴³⁶ Can Ward-Perkins' categories of 'negative evidence' be developed in order to emphasize practical motivations for reuse? It is useful to ask these questions about the meaning of reuse in order to keep an open mind about the topic.⁴³⁷

It may be necessary to reconsider the term 'sacred landscape' because of the widespread presence of practical forms of temple reuse based on physical geographic factors. Early Christians had their own hierarchy of church types in order that their spiritual needs be met, and this hierarchy is evidence that, in the long run, physical locations were meaningful for Christians as is clear from written sources.⁴³⁸ This hierarchy manifested itself in the distribution of cult places across the landscape. Some churches were located at pilgrimage sites centred on Christ's passion in Jerusalem or at a saint's *martyrium* and were intended to promote the cult of a particular saint.⁴³⁹ Cathedral churches reflected the ecclesiastical

⁴³⁶ Cic. *Dom.* 54, 110; *Har. resp.* 28, 49; *Ses.* 34, 79, 83, 85; *Mil.* 91; *Pis.* 11, 23. The writer is grateful to Jack Lennon for these references.

⁴³⁷ Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese', 291.

⁴³⁸ M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949) 315-31; S. Turner, 'Christianity', in Insoll, *Oxford Handbook*, 948-66. Claudia Rapp discusses the impact of Christian theology on the Christian definition of *paideia* and therefore on Christian conceptions of physical space. See C. Rapp, 'City and Citizenship as Christian Concepts of Community in Late Antiquity', in C. Rapp, H.A. Drake (eds), *The City in the Classical and the Post-Classical World. Changing Contexts of Power and Identity* (Cambridge, 2014) 153-66.

⁴³⁹ S. MacCormack, 'Loca Sancta: The Organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity', in R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana, IL, 1990) 7-40. Cf. also P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460* (Oxford, 1982); G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes. From Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000); M. Dietz, 'Itinerant Spirituality and the Late Antique Origins of Christian Pilgrimage', in L. Ellis, F. Kidner (eds), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, UK, 2004), 125-134; M. Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims. Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A. D. 300-800* (University Park, PA, 2005); B. Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred. The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005); A.M. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean. Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge, 2009).

However, practitioners of traditional religions also practiced pilgrimage in Late Antiquity, continuing a practice that Greeks performed already in the 5th century BCE. See I. Rutherford, 'Island of the Extremity: Space, Language, and Power in the Pilgrimage Traditions of Philae', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 229-56; E. Soler, 'D'Apollonios de Tyane à l'empereur Julien: l'importance d'Antioche comme lieu de pèlerinage et centre philosophique grecs', *TOIIOI. Orient-Occident*, Suppl. 5 (2004) 381-99; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 85-122, 202-14, 241-52, 264-9, 315-24. On earlier Greek and Roman visits to sacred sites, see W. Burkert, 'Athenian Cults and Festivals', in *CAH V*, 245-67; A. Petsalis-Diomidis, 'The Body in Space: Visual Dynamics in Graeco-Roman Healing Pilgrimage', in J. Elsner, I. Rutherford (eds), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods* (Oxford, 2005) 183-218; A. Petsalis-Diomidis, 'Truly Beyond Wonders'. *Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asklepios* (Oxford, 2010); G. Woolf, 'Religious Innovation in the Ancient Mediterranean', in *Oxford Research Encyclopedias: Religion* (Oxford, 2013) 1-13.

authority of a bishop and his power to provide catechumens with the sacrament of baptism.⁴⁴⁰ Finally, larger settlements had secondary churches subject to a cathedral to accommodate particular communities or neighborhoods.⁴⁴¹ The memories associated with a location also played a role in making those locations spiritually meaningful.⁴⁴² It seems likely that this hierarchy of churches was a determining factor in the reuse of temples.⁴⁴³

Traditional religionists also manipulated sacred buildings for their own ends. The treatment of temples by practitioners of Greco-Roman religions was variable, and the sacred nature of temples did not prevent them from being treated in some ways that were considered improper. Written sources exist for a number of different ways that temples were treated by practitioners of traditional cults. Often temples were desecrated by looting in wars. King Pyrrhus of Epirus looted a temple of Proserpina in 276 BCE during his wars against Rome.⁴⁴⁴ Antiochus II (*Epiphanes*) looted the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in 168 BCE.⁴⁴⁵ Plutarch refers to pirates looting temples during the first triumvirate.⁴⁴⁶ Caligula placed a statue of Zeus dedicated to himself in the Jewish Temple.⁴⁴⁷ The same emperor reused a temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome as a vestibule.⁴⁴⁸

Outside of the risk of looting during periods of war, temples were used in a number of ways by Greeks and Romans. Inscriptions were set up recording temple maintenance, such as

⁴⁴⁰ P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, WI, 1992) 35-70, 89-91, 119-22, 146-52; P. Rousseau, *The Early Christian Centuries* (London, 2002) 90; P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover, NH, 2002) 45-73; P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Malden, MA, 2003²) 106-22, 166-72. See also J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001) 137-68; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005).

⁴⁴¹ J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford, 1987) 19-89; Rousseau, *Early Christian Centuries*, 88-92; Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 41-55, 172-207; W.A. Meeks, 'Social and Ecclesial Life of the Earliest Christians', in M.M. Mitchell, F.M. Young (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 1. Origins to Constantine* (Cambridge, 2006) 145-73; R. Van Dam, 'Bishops and Society', in A. Casiday, F.W. Norris (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 2. Constantine to c. 600* (Cambridge, 2007) 343-66.

⁴⁴² Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, 10-30; Peloschek, 'Tradition und Neuinterpretation'.

⁴⁴³ It must be stressed at present that this physical distribution of churches did not follow the dissemination of temples in earlier antiquity because Christianity played a different role in the lives of its practitioners than Greco-Roman traditional religions played in the lives of their followers.

⁴⁴⁴ App. *Sam.* XII.1-2.

⁴⁴⁵ Joseph. *AJ* XII.249-51, 253; 1 *Macc.* 1.21-4.

⁴⁴⁶ Plut. *Pomp.* XXIV.5-6.

⁴⁴⁷ Philo *Leg.* 184-9.

⁴⁴⁸ Suet. *Calig.* XXII. Suetonius' validity as an accurate source of historical information, however, has been questioned repeatedly by historians.

one from the third century BCE for the temple of Apollo Pythios in Argos.⁴⁴⁹ The consul Marcellus wished to use a temple dedicated to Honour (*Honos*) as a new one dedicated to Honour and Valour (*Honos* and *Virtus*) in completion of a vow taken during combat.⁴⁵⁰ However, this was not considered proper religious practice by the Senate, and ultimately it was dedicated only to Valour.⁴⁵¹ Livy briefly discusses the removal of a roof from a temple of Juno Lacinia frequented in Bruttium by the *ensor* Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in 173 BCE for the purpose of reusing the roof in a new temple he was building in Rome.⁴⁵² Although the consul was reprimanded for his act by the Senate, Bruno Poulle claims that Flaccus was only borrowing the roof.⁴⁵³ The point of these examples of behavior is to point out that Greeks and Romans viewed temples with a view as much to expediency as to veneration of the divine.⁴⁵⁴

As was pointed out in chapter one, Sebastian Ristow has started to explore reasons for reuse, including a study of practical forms of reuse.⁴⁵⁵ Thus, thanks to his study, the determining factors for reuse can be separated into religious and practical categories, each of which will be discussed in this chapter.

b. Determining Factors

i. Practical

Geography played a less than determinant role in the type of reuse that occurred. It is important however, to better define what is meant by geography. Three layers are outlined here to begin with: physical environment, physical ecology and topography. All of these are linked to humans' fundamental impressions of the space that surrounds them. These

⁴⁴⁹ C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects. Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary* (Chicago, 1955) no. 87.

⁴⁵⁰ Livy XXV.40.2-3; XXVII.25.6-8. See also S.B. Platner, T Ashby (eds), *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929) 258-9.

⁴⁵¹ Livy XXVII.25.9-10, XXIX.11.13. Cf. also Plut. *Marcell.* 28 on the episode. On the episode as an example of improper religious practice, see Val. Max. I.1.8.

⁴⁵² Livy XLII.3.

⁴⁵³ B. Poulle, 'D'Héra Lacinia à Fortuna Equestris (Tite-Live, 42, 3): « emprunt » ou sacrilège?', *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 82 (2004) 76-88. John Briscoe disagrees with Poulle's argument. See J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 41-45* (Oxford, 2012) 158-63.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Thuc. II.13.5 on Athenians' use of gold plating from cult statuary and votive offerings to fund the war effort in Peloponnesian War.

⁴⁵⁵ Ristow, 'Wiederaufbau, Wandel, Wiederverwendung'.

impressions develop the meaning that humans give to those spaces; those spaces' meaning informs their use.⁴⁵⁶

The physical environment played a role in reuse only in restricting access to or furnishing physical materials used in building construction. Mineral and plant resources were determining factors in the type of reuse that occurred because these are and have always been the main forms of building materials for human beings. These materials are based in what are commonly known as the plant and mineral kingdoms. More specifically, they are wood and stone. However, beyond that, the physical environment did not determine the type of reuse.

The topography of a given location helped to determine the type of reuse because it is a principal defining attribute of a physical location with which human beings must interact on a daily basis. Finally, a region's ecology, based on interactions between animals (including humans) and plants, did not play a determining role in how humans reused buildings because use of space is a facet of cultural behavior.⁴⁵⁷

However physical natural terrain (which is a concept closely tied in with the concept of physical topography) may not always determine the type of reuse that occurred. For example, similar types of reuse occurred in both the Peloponnese and in Thessaly, regions that do not share general forms of physical terrain. The Peloponnese is proverbial for its mountainous and compartmentalized layout, whereas Thessaly is well-known for its open valleys that encouraged stock raising or horse breeding. The similarity in outcome of temple reuse practices in such contrasting regions shows that physical terrain is not the sole determining factor for reuse. Explaining this similarity in outcome (or the opposite) could be a profitable line of future research in learning more about Roman practices.

The physical location of a temple had an impact on the type of reuse that occurred. This is tied in with the physical topography of a location. François de Polignac studied the development of the Greek city state as a physical entity in the eighth to seventh centuries

⁴⁵⁶ Y.F. Tuan, *Space and Place*, 1-14. Cf. also Vaes, 'Christliche Wiederverwendung'; Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*; Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art*.

⁴⁵⁷ T. Ingold, 'Culture and the Perception of the Environment', in E. Croll, D. Parkin (eds), *Bush Base: Forest Farm. Culture, Environment and Development* (London, 1992) 39-56.

BCE.⁴⁵⁸ Archaic Greeks dedicated temples located in the centre of Greek cities to Athena, whereas temples on the outskirts of cities and in the rural hinterland of the cities, its *chora*, were dedicated sometimes to Hera.⁴⁵⁹ De Polignac distinguished between urban, ‘sub-urban’ and ‘extra-urban’ space, which corresponds roughly to the *astu* (ἄστυ) and the *chora* (χώρα) of a Greek city.⁴⁶⁰ Thus, the physical location and its terrain played a part in the meaning given to the location. There was a conscious division in the Roman mind of their rural world, at both an administrative and legal level. What they termed *vicus*, *ager*, or *saltus* further distinguishes their use of space.⁴⁶¹ These divisions of physical space at different levels played a role in how the space, and therefore also terrain, was used.

Sweetman has already demonstrated that similar questions of terrain influenced how Christians established new churches. The first churches built were located clearly inside seaport settlements, whereas one of the last zones occupied by churches were thoroughfares between settlements further inland. These tendencies illustrate the paths that Christianity took to spread to all parts of the Roman Empire, following a roughly ‘top-down’ approach that saw important settlements, often located in important ports on the Mediterranean Sea, receiving churches earlier than areas inland because of the widespread use of shipborne traffic as the principal means of communication in the Roman Empire. Physical geography played a role in this dissemination of Christianity because of the generally mountainous nature of Greece. Therefore, physical terrain was an important attribute to take into consideration when reusing buildings belonging to a group of defunct religions.

ii. Religious

Religion did play a role in human motivations for temple reuse. This religious aspect of temple reuse was partly manifested in the Christian ecclesiastical hierarchy of churches

⁴⁵⁸ F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espaces et société, VIII^e-VII^e siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1984). Kindt, ‘Ancient Greece’, 702-3. See also M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen, 1997); M.H. Hansen, *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State* (Oxford, 2006). In general on the administration of physical space in the Roman world, see above pages 22-3.

⁴⁵⁹ De Polignac, *Naissance de la cité grecque*, 39-42.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-33. ‘Sub-urban’ represents the outskirts of urban zones. On the polis in general, see H. Lohmann, ‘Asty’, in *BNP* II, col. 139; P.J. Rhodes, ‘Polis, II. Als politischer Begriff’, in *BNP* X, coll. 23-6.

⁴⁶¹ Caseau, ‘The Fate of Rural Temples’.

which in turn was developed with the help of the *paideia* exhibited by bishops and elite co-religionists.

Christianity partly exploited the physical infrastructure of the Greco-Roman religions as a means to become a legitimate religion. In cities and other settlements, bishops and their cathedral churches sometimes occupied the position of earlier urban sanctuaries and took over their role as religious centres and gathering points of influential civic figures. Ascetic Christians, who have been termed saints and ‘holy men’, occupied much space outside of urbanised areas and appropriated for their own use the ancestral meaning given to these areas by the local populations.⁴⁶² Secondly, residential buildings acted as churches and as episcopal courts. These could be both inside and outside of cities.⁴⁶³ Finally, monastic life that developed over time left behind its own landscape, both urban and rural.⁴⁶⁴ These developments in the Christian employment of space also played a role in how temples were reused.

These various networks of religious authority can be studied partly on the basis of the hierarchy of space described by De Polignac and Caseau. References to *astu* will be compared to the references in rural areas of *vicus*, *ager*, and *saltus*. These rural areas represent the *chora* of a *polis*. Therefore, the Greco-Roman concepts of a *polis* centred on its

⁴⁶² P. Brown, ‘The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity’, *JRS* 61 (1971) 80-101; Brown, *Authority and the Sacred*, 57-78; P. Brown, ‘The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971-1997’, *J ECS* 6 (1998) 353-76; Av. Cameron, ‘On Defining the Holy Man’, in J. Howard-Johnston, P.A. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999) 27-43; P. Rousseau, ‘Ascetics as Mediators and as Teachers’, in Howard-Johnston, Hayward, *Cult of Saints*, 45-59; C. Rapp, ‘“For Next to God, You are my Salvation”: Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity’, in Howard-Johnston, Hayward, *Cult of Saints*, 63-81; Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, 172-6; D. Frankfurter, ‘Syncretism and the Holy Man in Late Antique Egypt’, *J ECS* 11 (2003) 339-85.

⁴⁶³ K. Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008); K. Bowes, *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire* (London, 2010) 77-83; K. Bowes, ‘Inventing Ascetic Space: Houses, Monasteries and the “Archaeology of Monasticism”’, in H. Dey, E. Fentress (eds), *Western Monasticism Ante Litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011) 315-51; P. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550* (Princeton, NJ, 2012) 185-207.

⁴⁶⁴ D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966); G. Fowden, ‘Religious Communities’, in Bowersock, Brown, Grabar, *Late Antiquity*, 82-106; M. Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Malden, MA, 2000) 8-32; J. Patrich, ‘Monastic Landscapes’, in Bowden, Lavan, Machado, *Recent Research*, 413-445; C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 2015⁴) 1-9.

astu with its surrounding *chora* will be used as the framing structure on which to hang the exploration of the religious determining factors of temple reuse in Late Antique Greece.

Millions of Christians lived in urban centres or ‘cities’ and their urban lifestyle influenced how they used buildings.⁴⁶⁵ The culture of the Christian elite included *paideia* like that of their fellow practitioners of traditional religions. This shared system of education and way of thinking partly determined how temples were reused. *Paideia* was invoked long ago by Peter Brown as a significant aspect of how bishops behaved and made every-day decisions.⁴⁶⁶ However, the role played by *paideia* in Christian practice is still a bone of contention among more recent scholars. Kaldellis argues that upper class Christians had *paideia*, a knowledge base that included the concept of the *polis*, but it did not have an influence on how they used buildings.⁴⁶⁷ On the other hand, Rapp claims that *paideia* did affect Christian use of buildings because Christians had a sense of community based on Greek civic traditions.⁴⁶⁸ These disputes as to the importance scholars place on *paideia* make its study more difficult. It could be argued that by approximately the seventh century CE, the notions of *astu* and *chora* had grown less important because of the slow demise over the fourth to sixth centuries CE of the city and its civic councils.⁴⁶⁹ Nevertheless, this change in educational background did not greatly affect human inclinations in their use of their material environment to meet their needs on a practical level.

c. Case Studies to illustrate practical reuse in ‘negative evidence’

⁴⁶⁵ See (e.g.) Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*; L. Lavan, ‘Late Antique Urban Topography: From Architecture to Human Space’, in Lavan, Bowden, *Theory and Practice*, 171-95; G. Cantino Wataghin, ‘Christian Topography in the Late Antique City: Recent Results and Open Questions’, in Lavan, Bowden, *Theory and Practice*, 224-56; L. Lavan, ‘The Political Topography of the Late Antique City: Activity Spaces in Practice’, in Lavan, Bowden, *Theory and Practice*, 314-37.

⁴⁶⁶ Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 35-70; Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 9. Annabel Jane Wharton, however, cautions against the notion that bishops were free to use the space of their city as they saw fit. Cf. A.J. Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City. Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995) 148-53.

⁴⁶⁷ Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 131-43.

⁴⁶⁸ Rapp, ‘City and Citizenship’. Cf. also K.G. Brandis, ‘ἐκκλησία’, in *RE* V.2, coll. 2163.31-2200.4; E. Ziebarth, ‘πολίτευμα’, in *RE* XXI.2, coll. 1401.61-1402.48. Furthermore, the administrative purpose of the ‘city’ within a Mediterranean polity had changed in nature since the beginning of Roman occupation and administration (Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 712-66). See above pages 22-3.

⁴⁶⁹ J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1990) 92-124; J. Haldon, *The Empire that would not Die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016) 120-58, 193-214. Cf. also H.G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century. Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006) 102-17, 440-70; L. Zavagno, *Cities in Transition. Urbanism in Byzantium between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (500-900 A.D.)* (Oxford, 2009) 1-32; Curta, *Edinburgh History*, 97-134; M.J. Decker, *The Byzantine Dark Ages* (London, 2016) 81-122.

Three case studies will be undertaken of each form of negative evidence: a church at Dion as a free-standing church, a bath at Aulis, and an abandoned temple at Philia in Thessaly. All three are outside the Peloponnese since that area has been well studied by others. The analysis of these latest locations will provide further detail on the topic of the initial Christianisation of the Balkan Peninsula.

The free-standing church at Dion in Macedonia dates to the fourth century CE, a period when Christianity was still establishing itself outside urban centres. It is evidence of the early establishment of Christianity in the Greek countryside outside the principal urban centre in the region, Thessalonike. It was built near a temple of Zeus. It became the seat of a bishop already in the fourth century CE.⁴⁷⁰ Its early status as an episcopal church and its physical separation from earlier temples allows this case to throw further light on motivations for temple reuse. Practical determinants also played a role in the erection of free-standing churches. It has been argued that free-standing churches such as that at Dion allowed non-Christians who were ambivalent about adopting the new religion to carry on practicing at their temples until they felt ready to convert to Christianity.⁴⁷¹ However, this argument is very difficult to substantiate.

The temple of Artemis at Aulis was converted into a bath house. It is impossible to identify the religion of the people who salvaged this building for reuse; however it is not unreasonable to assume that they were Christian. This leads to the following consideration: although bathing was discouraged among Christians for its association with paganism, early Christians still bathed, and were even willing to reuse formerly sacred space for a practical use.⁴⁷² Finally, the temple at Philia was neglected by early Christians because it was difficult of access, located on undulating terrain in *Thessaliotis*, the western part of Thessaly. Thessaly's terrain is more varied than that of the Peloponnese, with mountainous regions encircling a basin centred on Trikala, Karditsa and Larissa.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ A. Mentzos, 'A Sketch of the History of Late Roman Dion', in *The Roman and Late Roman City. The International Conference (Veliki Turnovo 26-30 July 2000)* (Sofia, BG, 2002) 333-41 at 334.

⁴⁷¹ Sweetman, 'Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches', 241 n. 139 and above pages 82-3.

⁴⁷² F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1992) 315-20.

⁴⁷³ F. Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien. Landeskundliche und geschichtliche Beschreibung Thessaliens in der hellenischen und römischen Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1924).

The conclusions on reasons for reuse generated from the results of the study of these three locations will then be compared with the region of Greece in Late Antiquity through the use of contemporary written sources of an administrative nature. These sources are lists of representatives attending church councils in the fifth and sixth centuries CE, and of settlements considered important by Roman magistrates such as governors. These lists provide a primitive means of placing the interpretation of the evidence in the wider context of general trends in temple reuse elsewhere in the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire is a physical entity that serves as a representation of the ‘sacred landscape’ at the largest possible scale.⁴⁷⁴

II. Case Studies

Before a discussion of the subject of determining factors in building reuse can occur, the case studies will provide the general data and information upon which the discussion will dwell at length. We shall attempt to place the knowledge gained from the case studies in the wider context of building use in the Roman Empire, at a provincial level, at a diocesan level, and then at an imperial level. It is suggested here that stone quarry access played a great role in how temples were reused.

a. Dion: The Practicalities of Free-standing Church Architecture

Dion is in Pieria, at the foot of Mount Olympos (figure 1).⁴⁷⁵ The city walls enclose an area of 43 hectares. The city shrank to 16 hectares in Late Antiquity, with a wall enclosing only the southwestern corner of the city.⁴⁷⁶ There are two churches in Dion that date back to Late Antiquity. One is the basilica that became the cathedral church, located near the agora in the southern half of the city inside of the walls (number 3 in figure 1), and a second one south of the walls (number 4 in figure 1).⁴⁷⁷ The episcopal basilica was first excavated in 1928 by Georgios Sotiriadis while he was exploring an area said to include streets of the ancient city.

⁴⁷⁴ M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome. Volume 1, A History* (Cambridge, 1998) 313-63; P. Horden, N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000) 124-32, 403-60.

⁴⁷⁵ E.N. Borza, ‘Map 50 Macedonia’, in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 761-771 at 763.

⁴⁷⁶ The northern wall of the new circuit ran along a street just to the north of the cathedral, and the eastern wall ran along the city’s old *cardo maximus*. The outline of this circuit is not very clear on figure 1, and so has been highlighted in red.

⁴⁷⁷ D. Müller, ‘Dion, Δῖον (Pieria)’, in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 196; Mentzos, ‘Late Roman Dion’, 334-5. Georgios Sotiriadis claimed that the Christian community was centred in the southeastern part of the city. Cf. G. Sotiriadis, ‘Ἀνασκαφή Δίου Μακεδονίας’, *ΠΑΕ* (1928) 59-95 at 81-92.

There are two layers associated with the church building. The earlier one is considered to date to about 375 CE based on coins dating to the reign of Valens, with inscriptions from the third to fifth centuries CE, and was said to derive from a house church.⁴⁷⁸ There was also an associated layer of un-datable ash, considered to be evidence of a fire in the building. Based on this evidence, the church was stated to have been built initially in the fourth century CE. The ash layer was posited by the excavators to have formed as a result of a fire during a sack of the city. The movement of Alaric the Goth in 395 CE into southeastern Europe was claimed as the source of this destruction.⁴⁷⁹ The second layer is considered to be a second building re-erected on the location of the earlier one. It was dated to approximately 400 CE by the excavators (Figure 2).⁴⁸⁰

Alongside the several churches, the city of Dion was provided with the typical amenities of a Greco-Roman city. It had an agora and other civic buildings including an odeion and a theatre.⁴⁸¹ Architectural material associated with a fifth century BCE temple of Zeus Olympios was found by Georgios Bakalakis between 1963 and 1971 south of the city.⁴⁸² The major temples are all located outside of the earlier city wall: contrary to early expectations in 1928, none are located near the episcopal church. The sanctuaries of Isis and Demeter are located just south of the city (numbers 5 and 6 respectively in figure 1). There are two sanctuaries of Zeus at Dion, both south of the city outside of the earlier circuit: Zeus Hypsistos between the sanctuaries of Demeter and Isis, and Olympios further south beside the theatre.⁴⁸³ Many burials were also found.⁴⁸⁴ Based on the above description, Dion was a

⁴⁷⁸ Anonymous, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'orient hellénique (1928)', *BCH* 52 (1928) 466-510 at 490; Y. Béquignon, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'orient hellénique (1930)', *BCH* 54 (1930) 452-528 at 499.

⁴⁷⁹ Y. Béquignon, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'orient hellénique (1929)', *BCH* 53 (1929) 452-528 at 510-11.

⁴⁸⁰ Anonymous, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'orient hellénique (1928)', 490.

⁴⁸¹ Y. Béquignon, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'orient hellénique (1931)', *BCH* 55 (1931) 450-522 at 495; G. Bakalakis, 'Ἀνασκαφή Δίου', *ΑΔ* 21B (1966) 346-9; G. Bakalakis, 'Ἀνασκαφή Δίου', *ΑΔ* 23B (1968) 341-4.

⁴⁸² Leekley, Efstratiou, *Central and Northern Greece*, 82. See also Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, 77-80; F. Graf, 'Zeus Olympios and his Cult in Greece', in D. Pandermalis (ed.), *Gods and Mortals at Olympus. Ancient Dion, City of Zeus* (New York, 2016) 66-73, along with the catalogue entries on the sanctuary at Pandermalis, *Gods and Mortals*, 90-3.

⁴⁸³ On Zeus Hypsistos at Dion, cf. the catalogue at Pandermalis, *Gods and Mortals*, 94-8. These two sanctuaries of Zeus are not visible on figure 1. However, they are visible on pages 12 to 15 of Pandermalis, *Gods and Mortals*.

⁴⁸⁴ G. Bakalakis, 'Ἀνασκαφή Δίου', *ΑΔ* 24B (1969) 340-4; D. Pandermalis, 'Ἀνασκαφή Δίου', *ΑΔ* 26B (1971) 400-2.

relatively typical Roman city of (a rather) average size. These details will be brought up in the discussion below.

b. Aulis: reuse as a bath

The archaeological work at Aulis began after discovery of the site in 1941 during the construction of a road near a cement factory.⁴⁸⁵ The temple of Artemis was discovered at that time, along with the bath on top of it, other buildings to the southwest, and a spring to the east (figure 2). The temple of Artemis at Aulis was reused as a bath. It is a very interesting form of temple reuse because bathing was generally discouraged by early Christians. They disapproved of bathing because of its associations with traditional Greco-Roman religions and *paideia* that emphasized the celebration of the naked human body as a form of beauty. Many Christians instead followed ascetic ideals of the triumph of the soul over the body that included not caring for the body through cleaning, which is known as *alousia*.⁴⁸⁶ Christian figures of authority such as bishops discouraged the practice, although it was never actually banned through legislation. Thus, although many baths likely went out of use by the sixth century CE in the eastern Mediterranean, many others were being built in locations such as Serjilla in Syria. Bathing carried on into the seventh century CE, even in such Christian centres as Corinth.⁴⁸⁷

By Late Antiquity, most baths in the empire were smaller *balnea* and not larger *thermae* such as the baths of Caracalla at Rome.⁴⁸⁸ Generally, these smaller baths were owned by private individuals or organisations, not the state or a city.⁴⁸⁹ Therefore, it could be argued that baths built in Late Antiquity could have been the product of episcopal euergetism. There is evidence that some episcopal residences had baths in them, and the erection of buildings for the public in Late Antiquity, a public partly Christian in character, was one of the

⁴⁸⁵ M.S.F. Hood, 'Archaeology in Greece, 1956', *Arch. Rep.* 3 (1957) 3-23 at 16.

⁴⁸⁶ Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 315-20.

⁴⁸⁷ I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (Aarhus, DK, 1990) II.32-5; A. Farrington, 'The Introduction and Spread of Roman Bathing in Greece', in J. DeLaine, D.E. Johnston (eds), *Roman Baths and Bathing. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths held at Bath, England, 30 March-4 April 1992* (Portsmouth, RI, 1999) 57-66 at 60. Cf. also A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich, 1982); P. Arthur, 'The 'Byzantine' Baths at Santa Chiara, Naples', in DeLaine, Johnston, *Roman Baths and Bathing*, 135-46; G. Mazon, 'Public Baths in Roman and Byzantine Nysa-Scythopolis (Bet She'an)', in DeLaine, Johnston, *Roman Baths and Bathing*, 292-302.

⁴⁸⁸ Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, I.67-75; Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 321.

⁴⁸⁹ Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 43.

responsibilities of a bishop.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, the presence of a bath building over the top of an older temple, such as the one dedicated to Artemis at Aulis, is not so surprising in the context of a Christianised Roman empire.

The ground plan of the bath at Aulis, as was briefly stated in chapter two, has been preserved luckily by the principal excavator, Ioannis Threpsiadis, as is clear in figure 14 of chapter two. No specific date was attributed to the bathhouse. The temple of Artemis included limestone masonry, and this stone was reused in the bath house.⁴⁹¹ A discussion of motivations for reuse will occur below.

c. Philia: abandoned temple

The temple of Athena Itonia at Philia was mentioned by Strabo.⁴⁹² It was an important sanctuary in western Thessaly, and was used by all Thessalians. It represented the territory of the league (or *κοινόν*) of the Thessalians, based on an inscription found there.⁴⁹³ The temple was claimed to be in the territory of the first capital of the Thessalians, called Kierion.⁴⁹⁴ Based on evidence presented in chapter one, it is suggested that the temple was eventually used both as a source of *spolia* for a building in the village of Melissochori, and was built over with a church. Regardless of this later reuse of the location, the temple experienced a long period of abandonment in the meantime.⁴⁹⁵

Although many of the votive deposits date to the Bronze and early Iron Age, Theocharis claims that the earliest buildings were Hellenistic.⁴⁹⁶ Based on the schematic drawing provided with one of Dimitri Theocharis' articles in *Archaiologikon Deltion*, there are very few standing remains of the temple or evidence of the *temenos* encircling the precinct (figure 8). Those walls that do exist are overlain by the walls of the later church. This makes the

⁴⁹⁰ Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 209-10, 219-22.

⁴⁹¹ I. Threpsiadis, 'Ανασκαφαὶ Αὐλίδος', *ΠΑΕ* (1959) 26-33 at 26. The writer thanks Nickolas Roubekas for translating this passage.

⁴⁹² Strabo IX.5.17.

⁴⁹³ D.R. Theocharis, 'Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θεσσαλίας', *ΑΔ* 22B (1967) 295-8 at 296; Kramolisch, 'Philia, Φιλία (Karditsa)'.

⁴⁹⁴ Kramolisch, 'Philia, Φιλία (Karditsa)'. Kierion is claimed to be located at the present site of Pyrgos Kieriou, east of Karditsa. Cf. E. Hanschmann, H. Kramolisch, 'Pyrgos Kieriou, Πύργος Κιερίου (Karditsa)', in Lauffer, *Griechenland*, 581; Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, 130-4.

⁴⁹⁵ Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce*, 58-9.

⁴⁹⁶ A.H.S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Greece, 1963-64', *Arch. Rep.* 10 (1964) 3-30 at 15-6; Theocharis, 'Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Θεσσαλίας', 246. See also Kramolisch, 'Philia, Φιλία (Karditsa)'.

discussion of this reuse type more difficult. However, a rough spatial study of the region between the temple and neighbouring Kierion will be conducted in the following discussion section and could potentially provide further detail for the interpretation of the temple site.

III. Putting the evidence from Greece in the context of the Roman Empire

The evidence will now be placed in the context of the Roman Empire because the empire was partly a physical entity. Ward-Perkins' aim of diversifying the sacred landscape begins on a regional scale but ultimately has meaning also on the scale of an entire polity. The geography of the Roman Empire was diverse, as is the built landscape that partly shapes human experience.

To begin with, building techniques are fundamental to the study of practical reasons for temple reuse, and fundamental to the act of building is quarrying stone. It is suggested here that the study of quarrying activity in relation to episodes of temple reuse has a spatial dimension that could fit within an archaeological survey framework. The process of Christianisation has been studied on a spatial level by Sweetman, and it will be studied further below as a religious reason for temple reuse.

a. Archaeological Survey

Archaeological survey is touted as helpful in getting a better sense of the use of a part of land in a given time in the past.⁴⁹⁷ It is used by archaeologists and historians to get a better sense of how past people used a piece of land, and thereby of their motivations for using it. This is the foundation of cultural activity of the kind being studied in the present thesis.

Nevertheless, the buildings being studied at present in order to get a better impression of determinants behind human use of buildings are generally located in settlements that could safely be termed towns, thereby qualifying them as centres that benefited from the infrastructure that characterized urban centres in the Roman Empire. Urbanised or urban centres have also been studied in archaeological surveys, but generally only those that are no

⁴⁹⁷ To begin with, cf. D.R. Keller, D.W. Rupp (eds), *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (Oxford, 1983).

longer inhabited.⁴⁹⁸ Secondly, this survey work has focussed on earlier Classical Greece. The potential for the study of later periods exists; however, it is hard to put into practice right now.

The importance of survey work lies in the wealth of data provided that supplements the work completed at excavations at particular sites. The data collected from outside archaeological sites allows these sites to be studied in a given context and not just as disconnected occurrences in some void. The identification of such features as ‘non-sites’ through survey work is evidence of this attempt to look at data outside the traditional site. All forms of sites can provide evidence of motivations for use.⁴⁹⁹

The southernmost parts of Greece have been the most heavily surveyed by archaeologists. Consequently, some forms of data are available for these parts of the country in English or French unlike more northern regions.⁵⁰⁰ John Bintliff has studied Boiotia in depth over the last thirty years or so; Cynthia Kosso has studied Greece in Late Antiquity from the administrative point of view of the imperial government; and Anna Avraméa provides a brief summary of work.⁵⁰¹ Nevertheless, although the attributes collected from

⁴⁹⁸ To begin with, cf. J. Bintliff, A. Snodgrass, ‘Mediterranean Survey and the City’, *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 57-71. This builds upon an earlier article summarising their earliest work in Boiotia: J. Bintliff, A. Snodgrass, ‘The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years’, *JFA* 12 (1985) 123-61. Cf. P. Johnson, ‘Conceptualising Townscapes: Perceptions of Urbanism and their Influence on Archaeological Survey Strategies’, in P. Johnson, M. Millett (eds), *Archaeological Survey and the City* (Oxford, 2013) 8-23.

⁴⁹⁹ R. Foley, ‘Off-Site Archaeology: An Alternative Approach for the Short-Sited’, in I. Hodder, G. Isaac, N. Hammond (eds), *Pattern of the Past. Studies in Honour of David Clarke* (Cambridge, 1981) 157-81; J. Bintliff, A. Snodgrass, ‘Off-Site Pottery Distributions: A Regional and Interregional Perspective’, *Current Anthropology* 29 (1988) 506-13. However, survey effectiveness has been criticised. Cf. G.D.R. Sanders, ‘Problems in Interpreting Rural and Urban Settlement in Southern Greece, AD 365-700’, in N. Christie (ed.), *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, UK, 2004) 163-93.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 33-49, for a review of surface survey work carried out in southern Greece (South of Thessaly and Akarnania) in the second half of the twentieth century CE. Cf. furthermore M.H. Jameson, C.N. Runnels, T.H. van Andel, *A Greek Countryside. The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford, CA, 1994). Nevertheless, Friedrich Stählin’s *Das hellenische Thessalien* (published originally in 1924) could still today provide valuable information about Thessaly’s geology and other natural resources.

⁵⁰¹ J. Bintliff, ‘The Two Transitions: Current Research on the Origins of the Traditional Village in Central Greece’, in J. Bintliff, H. Hamerow (eds), *Europe between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Recent Archaeological and Historical Research in Western and Southern Europe* (Oxford, 1995) 111-30; J. Bintliff, ‘Reconstructing the Byzantine Countryside: New Approaches from Landscape Archaeology’, in K. Belke (ed.), *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraums* (Vienna, 2000) 37-63; C. Kosso, *The Archaeology of Public Policy in Late Roman Greece* (Oxford, 2003); A. Avraméa, ‘Les villages de Thessalie, de Grèce centrale et du Péloponnèse (V^e-XIV^e siècle)’, in J. Lefort, C. Morisson, J.-P. Sodini (eds), *Les villages dans l’empire byzantin (IV^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris, 2005) 213-23. Although Avraméa mentions Thessaly in the title of her work, she only discusses it from the seventh century CE approximately.

each region are different, based partly on the research questions and goals of the archaeologists conducting the surveys, general trends are observed, such as an increase in rural settlements in Late Antiquity before a downturn in the sixth and seventh centuries CE.⁵⁰² The team studying the southern Argolid around the ancient cities of Hermion and Halieis pointed out that no archaeological evidence datable to between the eighth and eleventh centuries CE was found.⁵⁰³

The point of the above is to suggest that survey work assists in the study of spatial patterns, which plays a role in how examining naturally-occurring resources, such as stone, are exploited by local inhabitants for building purposes. In terms of the spatial study of Dion, it is of note that a late antique walled episcopal ‘complex’, including residence for the bishop and cathedral church, was located at Louloudies not far to the north of Dion along the coast of the Aegean Sea.⁵⁰⁴ It is thought that Louloudies replaced Pydna as the seat of the bishop.⁵⁰⁵

It is noteworthy that two bishops had their seats in quite close physical proximity in this part of Pieria. Although Dietram Müller has claimed that Dion was abandoned after the arrival of Alaric in 395 CE, Aristotle Mentzos asserts that the cathedral in Dion was used up until roughly the eighth-ninth centuries CE.⁵⁰⁶ These differences in opinion raise the question of the following development of the ecclesiastical organisation of this part of the Roman Empire. Did another settlement replace Dion as an episcopal seat? Did the complex at Louloudies play a role in this ecclesiastical development?

It is suggested here that these developments also played a determining role in the use of the free-standing cathedral in Dion. Although Dion was a small city, it was considered important enough to be made the seat of a bishop in Late Antiquity. The second early church that was built outside the city walls to the south took on the role of a parish church in the

⁵⁰² Jameson, Runnels, van Andel, *The Southern Argolid*, figure 4.27; Kosso, *Archaeology of Public Policy*, 31-52; Avraméa, ‘Villages’, 213-8.

⁵⁰³ Jameson, Runnels, van Andel, *The Southern Argolid*, 113.

⁵⁰⁴ E. Marki, ‘Λουλουδιές 1997’, *AEMΘ* 11 (1997) 289-96.

⁵⁰⁵ Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 388-90.

⁵⁰⁶ Müller, ‘Dion, Δῖον (Pieria)”; Mentzos, ‘Late Roman Dion’, 335. Mentzos dates this event from the building date of neighbouring churches that reuse masonry from the cathedral.

seventh century CE.⁵⁰⁷ At about the same time, Pydna, not far north up the coast from Dion, was also elevated to the status of episcopal seat. Both of these cities are not far to the west of a very important centre in early Christianity in southeastern Europe, Thessaloniki.

Although the presence of many churches in this region of Macedonia might explain why temples in Dion were not reused as churches, this is a circular argument because it does not explain why the free-standing cathedral at Dion would have been erected in the first place. Further work on early Christianity in this region of the Roman Empire is required to understand why both Pydna and Dion, in close proximity to each other and to Thessaloniki, were both elevated to the level of a bishopric at some point in Late Antiquity. The existence of three bishops in this region of Macedonia could be explained by the presence of a very large population of Christian catechumens requiring the sacrament of baptism at the hands of a bishop. The numbers present would have been beyond the power of a single bishop to manage, therefore requiring the elevation of more bishops to assist in baptism. Secondly, the erection of the free-standing cathedral at Dion could suggest sufficient ecclesiastical wealth and organisation in this region of Macedonia to afford to build a free-standing church because nearby buildings were not systematically robbed of their masonry for the building projects.⁵⁰⁸

With respect to the bathhouse at Aulis, as was stated in chapter two, the entrance to the temple *cella* was conveniently reused as the entrance to the largest room of the bathhouse, and a hypocaust was located beneath the floor of the temple in the region of the *prostōon* and

⁵⁰⁷ Mentzos, 'Late Roman Dion', 334-5.

⁵⁰⁸ An analogy could be found in North Africa. North Africa, in contrast to Greece, was a highly populated and wealthy region in the Roman Empire that became heavily urbanised. It could afford a large network of episcopal sees, and its cities became invariably the seats of bishops. This large number of bishoprics is visible in maps 2B, 2C, and 3 in Brent Shaw's *Sacred Violence. African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge, 2011). On urbanism in Late Antique Africa, cf. C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au bas-empire, volume 1. La permanence d'une civilisation municipale* (Paris, 1979), volume 2. *Notices d'histoire municipale* (Paris, 1981); S. Lancel, 'Évêchés et cités dans les provinces africaines (III^e-V^e siècles)' in *L'Afrique dans l'occident romain (I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.-IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Rome, 1990) 273-90.

North Africa had a tradition of municipal government out of which cities developed. Cf. B. Shaw, *Rulers, Nomads, and Christians in Roman North Africa* (Aldershot, UK, 1995) Ch. 10 ('The Elders of Christian Africa', 1982¹) and Ch. 11 ('African Christianity: Disputes, Definitions, and "Donatists"', 1992¹). Liebeschuetz (*Decline and Fall*, 159-64) briefly discusses North African bishops and their role in the transition from classical to medieval urbanism.

prodomos, which an examination of figures 13 and 14 in chapter two will reveal is the general location of this large room in the bathhouse.

As stated earlier, baths are attested as attached to churches, e.g. at two churches at Nea Anchialos, Basilica A (dedicated to Saint Demetrios) and Basilica C (see figures 4, 5, 6 and 7 for baths attached to Basilica A).⁵⁰⁹ Considering the small size of the baths at Aulis, they are confidently identified as *balnea* of a ‘row-type’, in which the facilities (*frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium*) are placed side by side with no attempt at symmetry.⁵¹⁰ A comparison of the ground plans of the bath at Aulis with those described at Nea Anchialos will illustrate the similarity in their ground plans. Like the bath at Aulis, the ones in Nea Anchialos are smaller ‘row type’ *balnea*.⁵¹¹

The bath at Aulis could have been built in association with a neighbouring church, like the complexes at Nea Anchialos. However, based on the excavation completed, this seems not to be the case. There is no church near the temple, making it difficult to identify the users of the bath. However, religious affiliation might be irrelevant in this episode of temple reuse because some anonymous inhabitants of Late Antique Aulis turned it into a bath. This feeds into the category of ‘negative evidence’. Furthermore, the presence of a natural spring to the east of the temple would have facilitated the reuse of the temple as a bath. This is an excellent example of geography playing a determining role in how an old temple was reused.

The decision to build the largest room of the bath over the top of the temple entrance is also practical in nature. It was stated earlier that a hypocaust was installed beneath the floor in this general area. The presence of a hypocaust likely indicates the presence of a room that needed to be heated for the benefit of the bathers. The large room in figure 14 could be a *tepidarium* or *caldarium* considering the presence of hypocausts under the floor in that general area.

⁵⁰⁹ Basilica A: G. Soteriou, ‘Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας κατὰ τὰς ἀνασκαφὰς τῆς Νέας Ἀγχιάλου’, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* (1929) 1-158 at figure 17; Basilica C: P. Lazaridis, ‘Ἀνασκαφή Νέας Ἀγχιάλου’, *IIAE* (1982) 95-104 at Plate C.

⁵¹⁰ Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 66-7.

⁵¹¹ Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, C.357, C.358, C. 359 in the catalogue. Elementary axiality of rooms is attempted in some ‘row type’ baths (Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, I.69), and is claimed to be an intermediary step between typical ‘row type’ baths and ‘imperial type’ baths (Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 80-1).

However, the removal of the paving stones in order to excavate the earth beneath for the purpose of installing a hypocaust poses a problem. The paving stones of the temple would have had to be removed and the earth beneath them excavated in order to install the brick columns that are a fundamental part of a hypocaust system.⁵¹² The removal of paving stones in order to make space for hypocaust columns appears to be a rather inconvenient task considering that the temple could have been reused as a quarry. However, the presence of the spring nearby played a larger role in the decision making process of the users of the bath. The removal of earth from beneath the paving in the *prostōon* was minor when compared to the benefit accruing from a spring of water. These factors, of both a spatial and a physical nature, played an important role in the type of reuse that occurred at the temple of Artemis at Aulis.

With respect to the temple at Philia in western Thessaly, spatial analysis using survey methods could help elucidate the temple's afterlife. The site would have been located in a rural setting, given the description provided by Strabo. Therefore, it would have been located in the *chora* of Kierion, the principal city of the Thessalians. Little is known about the city. It did have a border dispute with neighboring Metropolis during the reign of Tiberius.⁵¹³ There is no further reference to it.

The few references to one of the principal cities of Thessaly in the imperial period of Roman history makes its use as a source of data for studying the motivations behind the reuse of one of its principal temples more difficult. It is possible that Kierion went slowly out of use over the following two centuries or so. The temple of Athena Itonia would have slowly been less and less frequented over that period. This is a rather crude, monolithic and possibly teleological approach to an explication of the temple's reuse, but it provides a stepping stone on which to build more robust explanations. Secondly, the historical existence of a border dispute provides evidence that Kierion shared a border with Metropolis. Philia is located between Kierion and Metropolis, south of the former and east of the latter.⁵¹⁴ Its location might have made it a useful centre for Christianisation. Otherwise the neighboring nature of Metropolis and Kierion does not provide further help in this discussion about temple reuse.

⁵¹² H.-O. Lamprecht, 'Heizung', *BNP* V, coll. 258-61.

⁵¹³ E. Hanschmann, H. Kramolisch, 'Pyrgos Kieriu, Πύργος Κιερίου (Karditsa)'.

⁵¹⁴ Koder, Hild, *TIB, Volume 1*, 240; Fossey, Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', 821.

Questions concerning the reuse of stone from the temple for later construction will be raised in the next section concerning quarrying activity in late antique Greece.

b. Quarrying stone

Quarrying stone is an act that is closely tied to physical space, and the act was influenced by Roman building practices. There were two economies of building in the Roman world, one centred on worked stone, and one centred on concrete construction.⁵¹⁵ Concrete construction involved sheathing a concrete core with facing stones, a technique that required less skilled labour than stonework that included the quarrying and erection of monolithic columns of harder stones such as granite.⁵¹⁶ These were general practices used across the empire, and so the study of quarrying practices and the mineral resources of Greece would facilitate further the study of temple reuse inside of a wider context such as the Roman Empire.

Although marble is the best known building stone from Greece, other stone was also quarried in Greece. Marble is abundant in Greece, and has been studied in depth, and for different periods of antiquity.⁵¹⁷ The quarries best known to archaeologists are those on mounts Hymettos and Pentelikon outside Athens because of their association with the building projects of fifth century BCE Classical Athens.⁵¹⁸ However, marble of different colours is found in a number of other locations throughout Greece, in the Peloponnese, at Karystos on Euboea, Aliko on Thasos, and in Thessaly.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ R. Taylor, *Roman Builders. A Study in Architectural Process* (Cambridge, 2003) 19.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-25.

⁵¹⁷ H. Dodge, B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *Marble in Antiquity. Collected Papers of J.B. Ward-Perkins* (London, 1992) at 19 refers to it as 'ordinary, local stone' in Greece. P. Pensabene (ed.), *Marmi Antichi, II. Cave e tecnica di lavorazione, provenienze e distribuzione* (Rome, 1998). For a rather large-scaled, though convenient, map of the best-known locations for marble quarries in Greece, cf. Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, figure 36.

⁵¹⁸ E.M. Korres, 'The Ancient Quarries on Mount Pentelikon', in Y. Maniatis, N. Herz, Y. Basiakos (eds), *The Study of Marble and Other Stones used in Antiquity* (London, 1995) 1-5; C. Höcker, 'Bautechnik, II. Griechenland und Rom', in *BNP* II, coll. 514-22 at 514-6.

⁵¹⁹ J. Servais, J.-P. Sodini, A. Lambraki, T. Koželj, *Études thasiennes IX. Aliko, I. Les deux sanctuaires-les carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne* (Paris, 1980); J. Sutherland, A. Sutherland, 'Roman Marble Quarrying near Karystos Southern Euboea', *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 3 (2002) 251-9. Although located outside of modern Greece, Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara became an important source of coloured marble in Late Antiquity. Cf. N. Asgari, 'Roman and Early Byzantine Marble Quarries of Proconnesus', in E. Akurgal (ed.), *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (Ankara, 1978) 467-80.

However, stone other than marble was also quarried by the ancient Greeks, such as limestone.⁵²⁰ Limestone was considered an important natural resource for building purposes in the southern Argolid, on the Akte peninsula.⁵²¹ Many buildings at Delphi were built with local limestone.⁵²² Black limestone was also available in some parts of Greece, e.g. on Mount Parnonas in the Peloponnese and on the island of Chios.⁵²³ That from Mount Parnonas was used widely in Antiquity and was exported as far as Rome.

There were numerous imperial stone quarries in the Roman Empire, some of which were located in Greece. These are at Thasos, Chios, Paros, and Krokeai in Lakonia.⁵²⁴ In later periods Romans tended to use mortar-based building techniques for their buildings as a means of increasing the surfaces that could be used, both in area and in shape.⁵²⁵ In these cases, stonework served as facing for mortar-filled walls, or to accentuate particular features.⁵²⁶ For example, colored stone served an ideological rather than structural function, with stone such as porphyry having a symbolic meaning for imperial power.⁵²⁷ Other stone such as granite was exploited in the Roman period because technology existed by that point to be able to exploit it on a large scale.⁵²⁸

Lime kilns were also present in Roman Greece. They represent a continuation of a tradition stretching back into the past because of the presence in Greece of large quantities of

⁵²⁰ Höcker, 'Bautechnik', 515. It must be pointed out, furthermore, that the later Latin term *marmor* could also refer to granite and limestone. See Dodge, Ward-Perkins, *Marble in Antiquity*, 13-5.

⁵²¹ Jameson, Runnels, van Andel, *The Southern Argolid*, 303-6. Hermion was apparently a source of worked stone as recently as the nineteenth century CE.

⁵²² J. Papageorgakis, E. Kolaiti, 'The Ancient Limestone Quarries of Profitis Elias near Delfi (Greece)', in M. Waelkens, N. Herz, L. Moens (eds), *Ancient Stones: Quarrying, Trade and Provenance. Interdisciplinary Studies on Stones and Stone Technology in Europe and Near East from the Prehistoric to the Early Christian Period* (Leuven, 1992) 37-41. The quarry is located on the southwestern side of Mount Parnassos, and was used from before the fourth century BCE until the second century CE.

⁵²³ M. Fornaseri, L. Lazzarini, P. Pensabene, M. Preite Martinez, B. Turi, "'Lapis Niger" and other Black Limestones used in Antiquity', in Y. Maniatis, N. Herz, Y. Basiakos (eds), *The Study of Marble and other Stones used in Antiquity* (London, 1995) 235-40. Mount Parnonas is known as *Parnon Mons* in Camp, Reger, 'Peloponnesus' at 886 and as 'Parnon' on the 1:300000 road map.

⁵²⁴ A.M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC-AD 235* (Oxford, 2010) figure 1 and 28-9.

⁵²⁵ These mortar based techniques would use stones or fired brick as a facing material. Cf. A.W. van Buren, 'Opus 7', in *RE XVIII.1*, coll. 819.5-24.3; Höcker, 'Bautechnik', 520-22; Taylor, *Roman Builders*, 100-10.

⁵²⁶ R. Taylor, *Roman Builders*, 100-10.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15-25.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 20. Granite was quarried predominantly in both Pharaonic and Roman Egypt. See G. Galetti, L. Lazzarini, M. Magetti, 'A First Characterization of the Most Important Granites used in Antiquity', in Waelkens, Herz, Moens, *Ancient Stones*, 167-77.

marble. This marble was reduced using furnaces for the purpose of creating quick-lime, a very useful material for construction purposes.⁵²⁹

This short description of quarrying practice in ancient Greece is to provide some general context in which to look more closely at the three case studies of temple reuse. For example, based on the literature just cited on stone quarrying in antiquity, quarrying activity in Thessaly in antiquity has not been studied to as great an extent as in Attica or on the island of Proconnesus. It is necessary to learn more on this subject in order to better understand the reasons for the abandonment of the temple of Athena Itonia at Philia. The reason for this ignorance concerning Thessaly is partly because Thessaly's marble was not sought after as much in Classical Antiquity as was the marble of Attica, near which large building projects were taking place. Thessaly's marginal nature in Classical Greek history made it a less likely candidate to be the source of popular and widely used building stone.

Fortunately we know from the work of Friedrich Stählin something about the general geology of the region. The geology of Thessaly is varied, with igneous, metamorphic and sedimentary rock all existing in the mountainous parts near its centre.⁵³⁰ Marble and limestone are both sedimentary types of stone, and granite is a metamorphic one. Therefore, based on the information gleaned from Stählin, all three stones could have been quarried in Thessaly during the Roman period. Therefore, this would help explain the quarrying of coloured marble in Thessaly. However, it also raises the possibility that limestone was also quarried in Thessaly. Access to this range of building stones would allow local inhabitants of the area some choice in building materials, and would allow them to diversify their building repertoire. Locally-available stone would be used by local inhabitants in building their everyday dwellings and other structures.

Why, therefore, was the temple of Athena at Philia left derelict before being the site of later building activity? It is suggested that its location in the foothills of *Thessalotis* would have made its use difficult for local inhabitants, either Christian or non-Christian, at the end of Antiquity. Hellenistic building techniques include the use of squared masonry. It could be speculated that stone could be quarried nearby, obviating the need to rob the ancient temple

⁵²⁹ B. Demierre, 'Les fours à chaux en Grèce', *JRA* 15 (2002) 282-96.

⁵³⁰ Stählin, *Hellenische Thessalien*, 80.

of its masonry. This is a practical explanation for the temple's abandonment and period of neglect.

Furthermore, based on the model provided by Sweetman, it is possible that *Thessaliotis* was Christianised at a later date because of its location far inland away from the Aegean coast to the east. This could help explain the period of abandonment that the temple experienced. It is impossible to know the duration of its abandonment because Theocharis does not provide a date for the early Christian church built on top of the temple. Simply by lying empty and ignored, the temple of Athena Itonia gives more figurative colour to the sacred landscape of central Greece by clearly indicating in space a location ignored for an indefinite period by practitioners of the new religion.

As was discussed earlier with respect to the bath at Aulis, stone and brick of different kinds would be used together in the same building partly out of convenience and partly out of *habitus*-induced ideological reasons. It is suggested that techniques also determined how local sources of stone were used.

With respect to Aulis, Nielsen asserts that generally the foundations of baths were worked stone masonry, whereas upper courses were often of sun-dried mud brick construction.⁵³¹ A similar form of construction occurred with residential buildings in the southern Argolid.⁵³² The technique emphasized convenience over physical appearance. Therefore, limestone masonry from the temple would only be reused in the foundation of the bathhouse. Nevertheless, it is possible that upper courses of the bathhouse walls were also of stone masonry. In any case, the expediency of bathhouse construction and design would have facilitated the reuse of older masonry. The size of the individual masonry blocks would not have been an impediment for the builders of the bathhouse, a building that likely was not projected as a work of visual art by the builders.

c. Bishops and the processes of Christianisation

Christianisation was undoubtedly the principal force at work in Late Antiquity in the transformation of the Roman world. Therefore, it is fundamental to discuss the role played by

⁵³¹ Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, II.50-75.

⁵³² Jameson, Runnels, van Andel, *The Southern Argolid*, 305.

alternative forms of temple reuse in this process. As was stated earlier, administration of the land as physical space influenced how local resources were exploited or used. However, administration is tied in with questions of the law and local authority, and in Late Antiquity there were both civil magistrates and members of the clergy serving as these authority figures at a local level for Romans, in what have been termed here so far as ‘cities’. All of these aspects played a part in how temples were reused.

The nature of settlements in the Roman Empire changed over time with changes in legal status of the inhabitants because of the redefinition of the concept of Roman citizenship. The Roman Empire was an urban one, centred on what were termed *civitates* or *πόλεις*, and what are commonly termed ‘cities’ in English.⁵³³ In 212 CE, the emperor Caracalla delivered the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, a measure that gave all inhabitants of the Roman Empire Roman citizenship.⁵³⁴ This modified one aspect of the Roman administrative unit of the *civitas* because it nullified the detailed legal hierarchy of settlements in the Roman Empire that earlier assisted the correct running of the imperial fiscal system.⁵³⁵ However, on an administrative level, these ‘units of government’ still played a role in Late Antiquity. A *civitas* still consisted of both an urban and a rural portion of land within its territory, and had supervising magistrates and a council (*curia*, *βουλή*) of leading citizens to undertake costly services (*λειτουργία*) for the inhabitants of the settlement.⁵³⁶

With the mounting costs of hosting these services, the members of the councils (councillors or ‘decurions’) attempted to bypass the duty of providing these services by finding posts in the Roman army or in the Church, facilitated by Constantine allowing Christian clergy to be immune of curial duties.⁵³⁷ However, throughout the fourth and into the fifth century CE, legislation was passed that prohibited councillors to be ordained priests, evidence of the rising influence of the Church over that period of time.⁵³⁸ The bishop as

⁵³³ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 712.

⁵³⁴ C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000) 19-70, 395; Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 47-9; O. Hekster, N. Zair, *Rome and its Empire, AD 193-284* (Edinburgh, 2008) 45-55.

⁵³⁵ N. Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities. Imperial Authority and Civic Politics* (Philadelphia, 2016) 89-92.

⁵³⁶ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 712, 724-32. Furthermore, as was noted above on page 38, other units of government continued to be used into Late Antiquity, such as ‘villages’ (*κῶμαι*) or ‘estates’ (*κτῆματα, χωρία, κληροί*).

⁵³⁷ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 737-45.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 746-47.

‘overseer’ of a local Christian community began to gain influence in these settlements. Nevertheless, there is evidence of the survival of councils and civil magistrates into the early seventh century CE.⁵³⁹

However, some *civitates* did not benefit from the presence of a bishop, such as the *Municipum Tullienne* in North Africa.⁵⁴⁰ This is evidence of the nebulous quality of the terminology used in legislation and other documents of an administrative nature used throughout Late Antiquity that was referred to earlier in passing. For example, although a law dating to the reign of the emperor Zeno in the third quarter of the fifth century CE claims that a bishop gives a settlement the status of a ‘city’ (πόλις), this law does not forbid the existence of a bishop in a ‘town’, a distinct unit of government from a ‘city’.⁵⁴¹ This could be evidence of a *χωρεπίσκοπος*, or ‘rural’ bishop.⁵⁴²

‘Rural’ bishops assisted bishops by taking responsibility for the management of Christian communities living in the rural hinterland of a *civitas*, what has been termed above a *chora* (χώρα), and that could include villages.⁵⁴³ They could be of modest background.⁵⁴⁴ The division of labour was still present in the fifth century CE.⁵⁴⁵ The administrative rank of the communities that these rural bishops oversaw is not clear, and based on the above discussion of Roman legislation concerning bishops, such as the law of Zeno, it could be argued that these communities lived elsewhere than in *civitates*, such as *κῶμαι*, *salti* or *κτήματα*. It has

⁵³⁹ Ibid., II, 748-66.

⁵⁴⁰ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 716. For other statements about the urban nature of bishops, cf. Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 3-34, 78-89, 103-17; C. Lepelley, ‘Le patronat épiscopal aux IV^e et V^e siècles: continuités et ruptures avec le patronat classique’, in É. Rebillard, C. Sotinel (eds), *L’Évêque dans la cité du IV^e au V^e siècle. Image et autorité* (Rome, 1998) 17-33; Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 23-41; Meeks, ‘Social and Ecclesial Life’, 153-4; Van Dam, ‘Bishops and Society’, 344-50. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, 137-68 does not use evidence from Greece about the significance of the bishop in the transition from classical to medieval urban character. Cf. also G.D. Dunn, *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity* (Farnham, UK, 2015).

⁵⁴¹ *Cod. Iust.* I.3.35; Jones, *Eastern Roman Provinces*, 519. Jones does not make clear what Latin or Greek term would be used to refer to this unit he calls a ‘town’, he merely states something to the effect of ‘...not infrequently a small city, and quite frequently a *saltus*, independent village, or other similar unit of government, was ecclesiastically dependent on another city.’

⁵⁴² E. Kirsten, ‘Chorbischof’, in *RAC* II, coll. 1105-14. Cf. Lampe s.v. ‘χωρεπίσκοπος, ὁ’. ‘Rural bishop’ is the writer’s translation of the German ‘Chorbischof’.

⁵⁴³ H.W. Beyer, H. Karpp, ‘Bischof’, in *RAC* II, coll. 394-407; Kirsten, ‘Chorbischof’. Rapp (*Holy Bishops*, 173) states that they were ‘assigned to smaller rural settlements in remote areas’. Van Dam (‘Bishops and Society’, 352) states that ‘rural bishops’ under Basil of Caesarea’s supervision ‘presumably ministered to the labourers on the vast imperial estates and ranches in Cappadocia’.

⁵⁴⁴ Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 178.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 172.

been suggested that once these villages were elevated to the juridical rank of a city, the rural bishop was elevated to the rank of a bishop.⁵⁴⁶

With this background knowledge in mind, written sources will now be examined to develop the discussion of the role of the Christian ecclesiastical hierarchy on temple reuse. The first document to be studied is Hierokles' *Synekdemos*. Dating to the early sixth century CE, this 'travel companion' probably provided Roman governors in provinces with a helpful list of principal settlements in the eastern provinces after the Germanic occupation of the western ones.⁵⁴⁷ It could be argued that these settlements were handy 'units' by means of which Roman magistrates could administer their provinces.⁵⁴⁸ The work is divided by tetrarchic diocese and province.⁵⁴⁹ Although it would be tempting to claim these settlements as episcopal and metropolitan seats, the *Synekdemos* is not a register of episcopal sees.⁵⁵⁰ The editor of the text merely refers to them as 'villes'.⁵⁵¹

What is important at present is the number of cities indicated in the *Synekdemos* that occur in the present catalogue of sites. Thessaloniki, Corinth, Gortyn and Rhodes are the seats of metropolitan bishops, and a number of other sites are included.⁵⁵² The following table summarizes references to cities in Greece in the *Synekdemos*, along with the acts of the ecumenical councils of Chalcedon (451 CE) and of 2 Constantinople (553 CE), and a passage from the late sixth century 'Miscellaneous History' of Pseudo-Zachariah.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁶ Kirsten, 'Chorbischof', 1108-11.

⁵⁴⁷ E. Honigmann, *Le synekdomos d'Hiérokles et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels, 1939) 1-3; T.E. Gregory, 'Hierokles', in *ODB* II, 930. See list of cities identified from the eastern Aegean Sea in the *Synekdemos* at Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 41. (A perusal of the *Descriptio orbis Romani* by the writer showed that George of Cyprus' work did not include information about the Balkan Peninsula).

⁵⁴⁸ Jones, *Eastern Roman Provinces*, 514-20.

⁵⁴⁹ A handy map to help guide the reader is available in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, map 102.

⁵⁵⁰ Jones, *Eastern Roman Provinces*, 514. Jones goes on (*Eastern Roman Provinces*, 520) to state: 'Hierokles records very many units of government which to the best of our knowledge never were bishoprics'.

⁵⁵¹ Honigmann, *Synekdemos d'Hiérokles*, 11. V. Manimanis, E. Theodosiou, M.S. Dimitrijevic, 'The Geographers of the Early Byzantine Period', *European Journal of Science and Theology* 8 (2012) 23-40 at 29 assert that the document is an accurate reflection of official ecclesiastical structures in the mid-sixth century CE; however they only identify the locations listed as 'cities'. Nor do they cite Jones, *Eastern Roman Provinces*.

⁵⁵² Hierokles *Synekdemos* 638.2 (Thessaloniki), 646.7 (Corinth), 649.4 (Gortyn), 686.1 (Rhodes).

⁵⁵³ *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and War in Late Antiquity*, trans. R.R. Phenix, C.B. Horn, comm. G. Greatrex (Liverpool, 2011). All references to the bishops from the conciliar acts are taken from the volumes of *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO)*, edited by Eduard Schwartz beginning in 1914. English translations of the acts have also been consulted: *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. R. Price, M. Gaddis (Liverpool, 2005) 3 volumes; *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553 with Related Texts on*

the Three Chapters Controversy, trans. R. Price (Liverpool, 2009) 2 volumes. Only the first reference to the bishop from the acts is given in the table.

Nemea and Sikyon are grouped together in section 646.8 of the *Synekdemos* under the name of New Sikyon (*Νέα Σικύων*). This will be discussed below. Otherwise in the *Synekdemos*, there are some missing locations, but other locations nearby are mentioned, and their presence gives a clue to the purpose of the unmentioned sites. For example, Messa on Lesbos is not mentioned, but Mytilene (*Synekdemos* 686.5) and Methymna (*Synekdemos* 686.6) both are. Rhodes and the island of Euboea are mentioned but not neighboring sites such as Karystos, Pefki Histiaias and Eretria, or Lindos and Theologos.

Some of the references in the table do not follow the numbering used by Price and Gaddis; for editorial reasons in changing numbering of acts, see Price, Gaddis, *Council of Chalcedon*, I.x-xiv; Price, *Council of Constantinople*, I.x-xi. Price, *Council of Constantinople*, II, 287-94 and map 2 are a helpful list and map of the bishops present at the council.

<i>Synekdemos</i>	<i>Acts of Chalcedon</i>	<i>Acts of 2 Constantinople</i>	<i>Pseudo-Zachariah</i>
Province of Macedonia I	Thessalonike (638.2)	Anastasius of Thessalonike (<i>Ἀναστασίου ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης</i>) (I.3.8)	Helias of Thessalonike (<i>Heliae beatissimi episcopi Thessalonicensis</i>) (I.1.7)
	Dion (638.5)		
Province of Hellas	Philippi (640.1)	Sozon of Philippi (<i>Σώζοντος Φιλίππων</i>) (I.3.322)	XII.7c.xxiv
	Thasos island (640.9)	Honoratus of Thasos (<i>Ὁνωράτου Θάσου</i>) (I.3.328)	
	Delphi (643.13)		
	Euboea island (644.11)		
	Tanagra (645.5)		
	Athens (645.11)		XII.7c.xxvi
	Aigina (645.15)		
	Corinth (646.7)	Peter of Corinth (<i>Πέτρου Κορίνθου</i>) (I.3.14)	XII.7c.xxvii
	Nemea (646.8a)		
	Sikyon (646.8b)		
Troizen (647.1)			
Epidauros (647.2)			
Province of Epirus Vetus (<i>Παλαιά Ηπειρος</i>)	Tegea (647.5)	Ophelinus of Tegea (<i>Ὤφελίμου Τεγέας</i>) (I.3.315)	
	Mantineia (647.7)		
	Sparta (647.8)		
	Akriai (647.12)		
	Dodona (651.5)		
Province of Crete	Kerkyra (652.6)	Soterichus of Kerkyra (<i>Σωτηρίχου Κερκύρας</i>) (I.3.252)	
	Gortyn (649.4)	Martyrius of Gortyn (<i>Μαρτυρίου Γορτύνης</i>) (I.3.48)	Theodore of Gortyn (<i>Theodoro religiosissimo episcopo Gortynae</i>) (I.1.32)
	Itanos (649.5)		
	Lissos (649.16)		
Province of Islands (<i>Νήσοι</i>)	Rhodes (686.1)	John of Rhodes (<i>Ἰωάννου Ρόδου</i>) (II.2.31)	Theodosius of Rhodes (<i>Theodosio religiosissimo episcopo Rhodi</i>) (I.1.34)
	Thera (687.4)		
References to Other Settlements		Atticus of Nikopolis (<i>Ἀττικοῦ Νικοπόλεως Ἡπείρου</i>) (I.3.47)	
		Vigilantius of Larissa (<i>Βιγιλαντίου Λαρίσης Θεσσαλίας</i>) (I.3.50)	
		Sebastian of Beroia (<i>Σεβαστιανοῦ Βεροίας</i>) (I.3.52)	
		Onesimus of Argos (<i>Ὀνησίμου Ἀργους</i>) (I.3.247)	
		John of Messene (<i>Ἰωάννου Μεσσηνίας</i>) (I.3.314)	

Several bishops present at Chalcedon do not have the names of their episcopal seats mentioned by Hierokles.⁵⁵⁴ For example, John, bishop of Messene (Ἰωάννου Μεσσηνῆς) was present at the first session at Chalcedon in 451 CE.⁵⁵⁵ Messene was therefore an episcopal seat at some point in the fifth century CE. Atticus, bishop of Nikopolis in Epirus (Ἀττικοῦ Νικοπόλεως Ἠπείρου), was also present at the first session.⁵⁵⁶ A third candidate would be Onesimus, bishop of Argos (Ὀνησίμου Ἄργους).⁵⁵⁷ Finally, both Beroia in Macedonia and Larissa in Thessaly were episcopal seats, based on the presence of Sebastian, bishop of Beroia (Σεβαστιανοῦ Βερούας), and of a representative of Vigilantius, bishop of Larissa (Βιγιλαντίου Λαρίσσης Θεσσαλίας).⁵⁵⁸

Based on a study of the *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* edited by Giorgio Fedalto, the writer has concluded that all of the locations that this thesis has proven to have experienced temple reuse and that were mentioned by Hierokles (apart from Sikyon, Nemea, Sparta, Akriai and Itanos), were bishoprics at some point in the past.⁵⁵⁹ This is further confirmation that the locations in Hierokles are episcopal seats. Dion is present in the *Synekdemos*, and was an episcopal seat at least from the fourth century CE.⁵⁶⁰ Tegea in the Peloponnese is mentioned in both the *Synekdemos* and in the acts of Chalcedon; therefore it also suggests that the locations in the *Synekdemos* were the seats of bishops. On the other

⁵⁵⁴ They are listed in the section ‘References to Other Settlements’ in the above table, in order as they are recorded in the conciliar acts.

⁵⁵⁵ *Acts of Chalcedon*, I.3.314 (ACO ii.1.1, 64).

⁵⁵⁶ *Acts of Chalcedon*, I.3.47 (ACO ii.1.1, 57).

⁵⁵⁷ *Acts of Chalcedon*, I.3.247 (ACO ii.1.1, 62).

⁵⁵⁸ Sebastian of Beroia, *Acts of Chalcedon*, I.3.52; Vigilantius of Larissa, *Acts of Chalcedon*, I.3.50. Price, Gaddis, *Acts of Chalcedon*, I, 124 n. 40 and 125 identify Sebastian as from ‘Beroe’ in Thrace, not from Macedonia. However, this is confusing because at *Acts of Chalcedon*, III.1.44 he is referred to as Σεβαστιανοῦ Βερούας Μακεδονίας. Price, Gaddis, *Acts of Chalcedon*, II, 6 n. 12 insist that this was Beroe in Thrace.

⁵⁵⁹ It is written ‘at some point in the past’ because, at Delphi, a bishop is only known from the 15th century CE (Fedalto I.502). All of the locations in the above table are listed in G. Fedalto (ed.), *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis, Series Episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium. Volume 1, Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus* (Padua, 1988).

A deep study of the *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas-empire* was not possible because the volume on the Balkan peninsula is still a work in progress (S. Destephen and D. Moreau, personal communication, 18 and 19 April 2017). However, the bishop of Rhodes was part of the Diocese of Asia in Late Antiquity. For both John and Theodosios of Rhodes mentioned in the above table, see S. Destephen, *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas-empire. Volume 3, Prosopographie du diocèse d’Asie (325-641)* (Paris, 2008) 480-2 (‘Ἰωάννης 15’) and 907-8 (‘Θεόδосιος 6’).

⁵⁶⁰ Müller, ‘Dion, Δῖον (Pieria)’.

hand, although Messene, Nikopolis and Argos are not in the *Synekdemos*, it would be dangerous to argue from this evidence *ex silentio* that they were not the seats of bishops.⁵⁶¹

Regardless of the ecclesiastical status of these locations identified by Honigmann as ‘villes’, their inclusion in a list of locations destined for Roman magistrates is telling. Irrespective of their size, cities in the Roman Empire invariably included temples among their civic amenities, and, more importantly, these cities were the first where imperial edicts would come into effect. Therefore newly built churches in these places for the growing Christian community would exploit ready-made stone masonry from buildings whose status had been made defunct by edict, such as temples. These steps would take on even more weight in the case of a city where a bishop resided because of the ecclesiastical and religious importance of the city.

A third source that has been used is the ‘Miscellaneous History’ of a number of authors that go under the name of ‘Pseudo-Zachariah’ because their writings were considered for a long time to be the work of a sixth century bishop from Mytilene on Lesbos, Zachariah.⁵⁶² The compiler of the work included a part of Claudius Ptolemy’s *Geography* in book XII that contains a description of Greece. This description takes the form of a numerical inventory of supposedly urban settlements entitled ‘cities’.⁵⁶³ However, three ‘cities’ are mentioned by name: Philippi, Athens and Corinth.⁵⁶⁴ All major regions of Greece are mentioned, except for the Aegean islands: Epirus, Macedonia, Central Greece including Attica, the Peloponnese, and Crete. Although Ptolemy wrote in the second century CE, the number of ‘cities’

⁵⁶¹ The other locations in the above table, identified by Hierokles but absent from Fedalto’s work, could be explained by their association with Classical Antiquity. Sikyon, Nemea and Sparta were important city states in the classical period, which suggests that they were included in the list for imperial officials to give them a sense of the historically significant places in the neighborhood of the official’s new post. Akriai and Itanos were also known locations in Classical Antiquity.

As was stated earlier in note 112, Sikyon and Nemea are gathered together in the *Synekdemos* as New Sikyon. This could potentially be an example of one city being absorbed into another when it lost civic status. Cf. Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities*, 95-103; Jones, *Eastern Roman Provinces*, 514-21. This practice could be an event where two cities come under the jurisdiction of a single bishop. A bishop potentially changed cities, although it was not endorsed in conciliar or synodal canons. Cf. G. Baroni-Adesi, ‘L’urbanizzazione episcopale nella legislazione tardoimperiale’, in Rebillard, Sotinel, *L’Évêque dans la cité*, 49-58 at 51-6. This adds to the cloudy picture of ecclesiastical administration that partly defines urban life in Late Antiquity.

⁵⁶² *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, 32-3.

⁵⁶³ Ps.-Zach. XII.7c.xxiv-xxviii.

⁵⁶⁴ However, the commentator (*Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah*, 435 n. 54) claims that the reference to ‘Philippi’ should be to Philippopolis in Thrace. It is possible that he made a mistake (G. Greatrex, personal communication, 1 March 2017).

indicated in this list probably reflected how many settlements were surviving in the sixth century based on a comparison with Hierokles' *Synekdemos*.⁵⁶⁵ This confirms that the numbers of cities stated by both authors are roughly a reflection of reality.

Based on a consultation of Pseudo-Zachariah, it is argued here that Philippi, Athens, Corinth, along with settlements in Epirus, the Peloponnese and on Crete were still important to members of the ecclesiastical establishment in the second half of the sixth century CE. Based on the outline of locations in chapter one, all three cities were associated with the Apostle Paul, and the memory of their Christian associations in the sixth century CE is significant.⁵⁶⁶ Furthermore, all were the seats of bishops in Late Antiquity.

From the above discussion, it has been concluded that the ecclesiastical hierarchy with bishops generally replaced earlier networks of curial activity. Episcopal responsibilities influenced how temples were reused. It is proposed at present, based on the collected written evidence, that the presence of episcopal seats would have made the reuse of nearby temples as quarries quite popular. There were bishops centred in all major regions of Greece in Late Antiquity. Their presence in those regions would have equally justified the reuse of nearby temples for practical purposes. Legal assignments of temple property to bishops will be discussed shortly. Although it is not generally possible to further distinguish motivations for different practical forms of reuse, practical reuse such as baths at Aulis was clearly possible.

However, as was stated briefly above, the appropriation of a temple as a quarry by a bishop could also fall under the category of 'religious' motivations for reuse. The afterlife of the temple at Philia might contribute to this discussion. Although Philia is in the countryside of Thessaly, there was a bishop known at the least from the fifth century CE in two relatively nearby settlements: Trikka (modern Trikkala) and Pharsalus, and both are mentioned in the *Synekdemos*.⁵⁶⁷ However, other aspects of the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Thessaly in Late Antiquity are unclear. For example, the city of Metropolis that shared a border with Kierion, and upon which Philia was located, also remained inhabited into the

⁵⁶⁵ *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah*, 432 n. 31. Cf. K. Ziegler, B.L. van der Waerden, E. Boer, F. Lammert, 'Klaudios Ptolemaios', *RE* XXIII.2, coll. 1788.6-1859.13.

⁵⁶⁶ *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah*, 435 n. 58.

⁵⁶⁷ Hierokles *Synekdemos* 642.9 (Trikkala, *Τρίκκη*), 642.13 (Pharsalus, *Φάρσαλος*). Cf. Koder, Hild, *TIB*, Volume 1, 238-9, 277-8; Fedalto I.468, 472; Fossey, Morin, 'Thessalia-Boeotia', 828, 830; T.E. Gregory, 'Thessaly', in *ODB* III, 2073-4.

Early Byzantine period.⁵⁶⁸ It is mentioned in the *Synekdemos*.⁵⁶⁹ However, it was never the seat of a bishop.⁵⁷⁰ This could be evidence of a small settlement remaining within the ambit of a larger one, perhaps within the *chora* of the larger one. It highlights the inconsistent way that ecclesiastical authority overlapped with civil authority in the changing nature of cities between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The means at the disposal of a bishop for appropriating property could also play a role in temple reuse, both inside and outside of cities. For the administration of their dioceses, bishops in the western Empire had the assistance of a number of clerks, both servile and free. Some of the positions, such as that of *notarius*, could be filled by either a cleric or a lay person. The management of episcopal property, including land, was overseen by these individuals.⁵⁷¹ It could be argued that a similar infrastructure was in place further east, such as in southeastern Europe. However, the limits of this episcopal bureaucracy are uncertain. Episcopal personnel were likely in charge of overseeing construction projects in the name of the bishop. These projects would have included sourcing building materials such as stone. Claire Sotinel, however, does not discuss these duties in the context of temple reuse, nor does she develop what was considered part of the property of the bishop and what was considered part of the property of the emperor.⁵⁷²

The law codes could also contribute to the discussion.⁵⁷³ Bishops could potentially be assigned property belonging to temples. Legislation in the *Codex Theodosianus* identified abandoned temples as the property of the state.⁵⁷⁴ One edict in the *Codex Theodosianus* explicitly encouraged masonry from demolished temples to be reused in building projects such as roads and aqueducts.⁵⁷⁵ Another edict states that closed temples inside cities or towns could be converted to public use.⁵⁷⁶ The emperor sometimes placed resources from his

⁵⁶⁸ F. Stählin, 'Metropolis (*Μητρόπολις* 1)', in *RE* XV.2, coll. 1491.48-1494.32 at col. 1493.4-7.

⁵⁶⁹ Hierokles *Synekdemos* 642.8 (*Μητρόπολις*).

⁵⁷⁰ Koder, Hild, *TIB, Volume 1*, 220.

⁵⁷¹ C. Sotinel, 'Le personnel épiscopal. Enquête sur la puissance de l'évêque dans la cité', in Rebillard, Sotinel, *L'Évêque dans la cité*, 105-26 at 107-17.

⁵⁷² Bishops were clearly able to supervise large building projects, such as the bishop Thomas drawing up plans for the construction of the fortified village of Dara on the frontier with Persia in the sixth century CE. Cf. Ps.-Zach. VII.6b; *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah*, 248 n. 101.

⁵⁷³ See above pages 87-9.

⁵⁷⁴ *Cod. Theod.* V.13.3 (364), X.1.8 (364), XVI.10.4 (346).

⁵⁷⁵ *Cod. Theod.* XV.1.36 (397).

⁵⁷⁶ *Cod. Theod.* XVI.10.19 (407-8).

property at the disposal of a bishop.⁵⁷⁷ It is possible that disused or derelict temples fell under this category. It would make sense to do so if a bishop was hoping to increase his congregation by providing further physical space for worship. As has been repeatedly stated here, disused temples were ready sources of worked masonry, and therefore were potentially available for episcopal construction projects. It is much more likely that a bishop would loot an abandoned temple for masonry than would a private individual attempting to renovate his *villa urbana*, the latter likely being penalized for trespassing on imperial property. Thus do legislation and ecclesiastical hierarchy fit into the practical reuse of temples.

It remains to place this evidence within a geographical context such as the one of Philia in Thessaly. Although bishops had some authority over material evidence on the ground inside of their see based on legislation, civil magistrates remained present. In the case of the temple of Athena Itonia at Philia, it is possible that abandonment followed by later reuse of the location occurred because of the changing status of settlement such as Metropolis, and Pharsalus. Without a bishop in nearby Metropolis, the temple of Athena Itonia would have been initially abandoned and ignored by Christians. However, with growing communities in further settlements such as Pharsalus and Trikkala, the location of the temple would have been included in their sees, and the location used for a church. The ambivalent status of various settlements in the region, and the incomplete nature of surviving records such as the *Synekdemos* makes the interpretation of the evidence challenging. Nevertheless, temple reuse was influenced by how local authority manifested itself.

The fragmented nature of this region of the empire slowed its Christianisation. The islands in the eastern Aegean Sea, such as Rhodes and Ikaros, adopted Christianity by way of Asia Minor, earlier than the Cyclades, which adopted it by way of the Peloponnese, Euboea and Attica.⁵⁷⁸ Nevertheless, communications were widespread in the Roman Empire, including across the Mediterranean Sea. Although the Aegean islands might not have been along main “trunk” routes connecting imperial capitals with grain-producing provinces such as Egypt and North Africa, they still were located on a moderately important route, based on

⁵⁷⁷ Sotinel, ‘Personnel épiscopal’, 122-3.

⁵⁷⁸ Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 38-9. On Asia Minor, see also Trombley, *Hellenic Religion*, II, 52-133.

material evidence of amphorae between the fourth and sixth centuries CE.⁵⁷⁹ Furthermore, regional traffic across the Aegean Sea and elsewhere in southeast Europe carried on into the Middle Ages, even if with decreased intensity.⁵⁸⁰ This tempers the claim that southeast Europe was generally isolated from larger cultural processes.

Religious motivations for temple reuse based on the case studies in this thesis have so far been hard to detect. The presence of cults that emphasize a henotheistic or monotheistic deity could be a religious reason for the free-standing cathedral in Dion. As was stated earlier, one of the cults present at Dion was that of Zeus Hypsistos, with a sanctuary located between the temples of Isis and Demeter. The cult was still in existence in the mid-third century CE, considering the presence of a list of names of those selected to organise feasts in honour of Zeus Hypsistos, dated to 251-2 CE.⁵⁸¹ It is possible that the cult might still have had some followers in the following century, around the same time that the cathedral church was first built.⁵⁸² Adherents of Zeus Hypsistos might have found a Christian god not too different from the god that they had worshipped until then. However, the presence of a free-standing church is not in itself evidence of a new religion attempting to introduce itself into the lives of the supporters of another religion. It is also possible that adherents of the cults of Zeus were simply still in the ascendant in the third and fourth centuries CE.

d. Questions about chronology

As a follow up to the brief discussion of dating in chapter one, it could be suggested that dates given to episodes of temple destruction assist in placing temple reuse in the context of the Roman Empire. Temple destruction is interpreted from evidence of fire in stratigraphy at archaeological sites based on the presence of ash in the layer. The destruction of the temple of Cybele in Thessalonike in the fourth century CE is not an isolated episode. At Elateia in

⁵⁷⁹ C. Abadie-Reynal, 'Céramique et commerce dans le bassin égéen du IV^e au VII^e siècle', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin. Volume I: IV^e-VII^e siècle* (Paris, 1989) 143-59. See also Horden, Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 123-72.

⁵⁸⁰ M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001) 174-210; Decker, *Byzantine Dark Ages*, 155-8.

⁵⁸¹ Pandermalis, *Gods and Mortals*, 98.

⁵⁸² Unfortunately, no effort is made in the recent edited volume from the museum exhibition on Dion to discuss the transition from traditional religions at Dion to Christianity. According to D. Pandermalis, 'Ancient Dion: A Chronicle of the Excavations', in Pandermalis, *Gods and Mortals*, 19-29 at 26-8, the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was only uncovered by excavation after widespread flooding of the archaeological site in 2002. Therefore, it was not available for Mentzos to use in his discussion of Late Antique Dion.

Phthiotidis state (ancient Phokis), a temple of Athena Kranaia has a destruction layer dating to the fourth century CE.⁵⁸³ The herōon at Kipia-Akrovouni was also supposedly destroyed at some point in the fourth century CE. The cult of Artemis Tauropolos is considered to have survived until the fourth century CE.⁵⁸⁴ The sanctuary of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes had its statuary removed to Constantinople by the early fifth century CE.⁵⁸⁵ It could be proposed that the fourth century CE functions as a *terminus post quem* for the general reuse of the temple for *spolia*, near to the time of Theodosius I delivering the edict *Cunctos Populos*.

However we should emphasize that discussions of chronology provide little information in determining how temples were reused. The listed episodes can suggest only that Christianity took hold slowly in general throughout the Roman Empire over the course of the fourth century CE. In the discussion on practical reasons for temple reuse, all they do is suggest that temples could have been available for quarrying already in the fourth century CE at a time when Christianity was gaining power. As has already been discussed at length, the cathedral at Dion dates to roughly that period; the project would have benefited greatly from any available masonry. On the other hand, the temple of Athena Itonia at Philia was likely experiencing a period of abandonment at the same time. These locational and chronological details are only scratching the surface of the figurative iceberg. No issues are resolved.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸³ chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/933/ (accessed March 7, 2016).

⁵⁸⁴ Deligiannakis, 'Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands', 327; see also *IG XII.6.2.1281*.

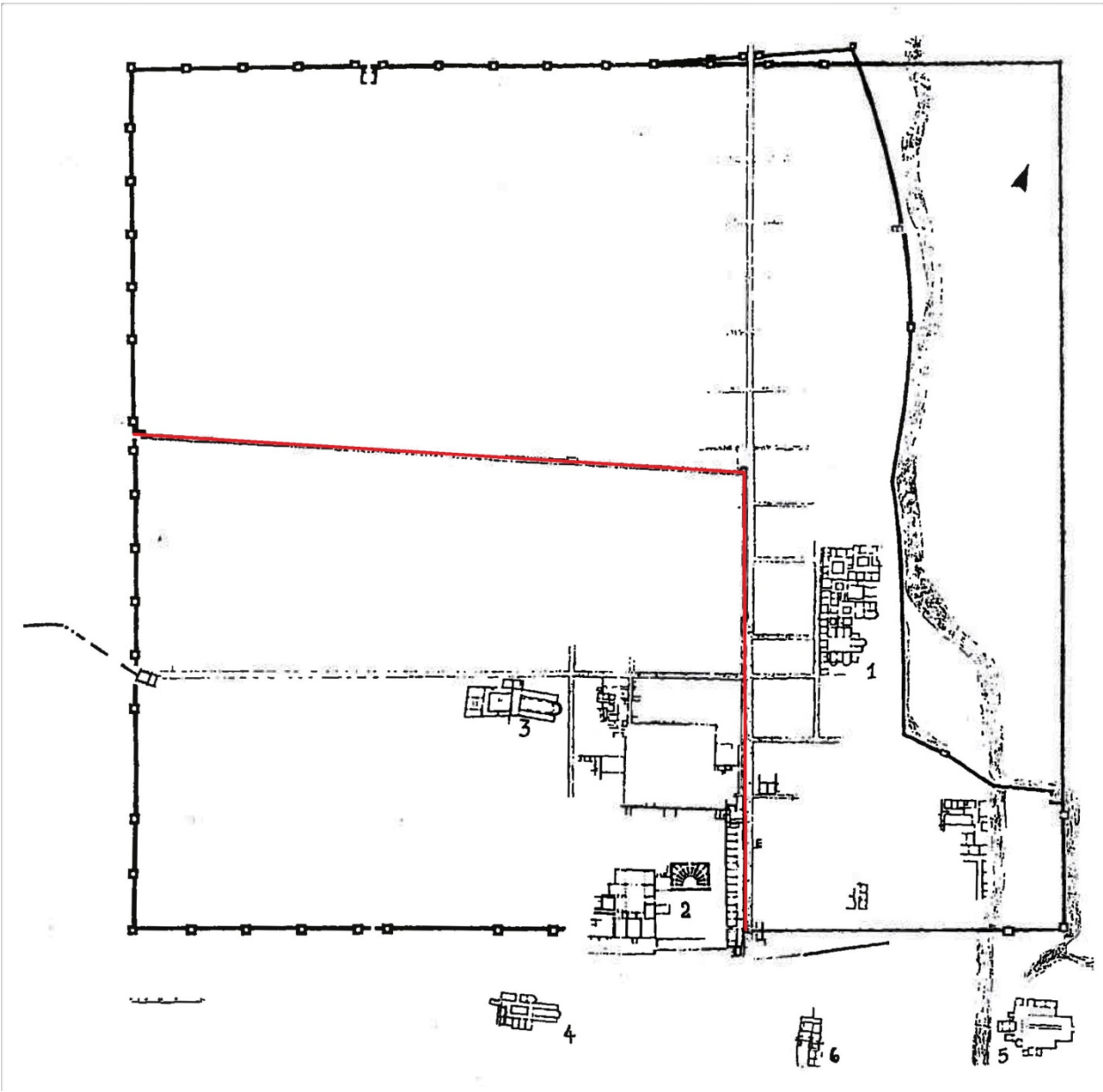
⁵⁸⁵ Deligiannakis, *Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands*, 19-20.

⁵⁸⁶ Practical reuse occurred everywhere, even into the seventh century CE. The tunnel of Eupalinos on Samos was reused as a shelter, in the early seventh century CE. Cf. H.J. Kienast, *Die Wasserleitung des Eupalinos auf Samos* (Bonn, 1995) 183-6. The tunnel is dated to the sixth century BCE when Eupalinos was claimed to be an engineer to the tyrant Polykrates of Samos. Cf. *Hdt.* III.60.

The Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world according to some ancient author, was supposedly broken up and sold to merchants in the mid-seventh century CE, in order for the bronze to be reused by being melted down and recast. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6145, AD 652/3; J. Niehoff, 'Rhodos (Ρόδος), IV. Spätantike und byzantinische Zeit', in *BNP X*, coll. 998-9 at 998; D. Woods, 'On the Alleged Arab Destruction of the Colossus of Rhodes C. 653', *Byz* 86 (2016) 441-51. This just goes to show how widespread recycling was at the end of antiquity. Beth Munro has talked about recycling in western Europe in Late Antiquity. Cf. B. Munro, 'Recycling, Demand for Materials, and Landownership at Villas in Italy and the Western Provinces in Late Antiquity', *JRA* 25 (2012) 351-70.

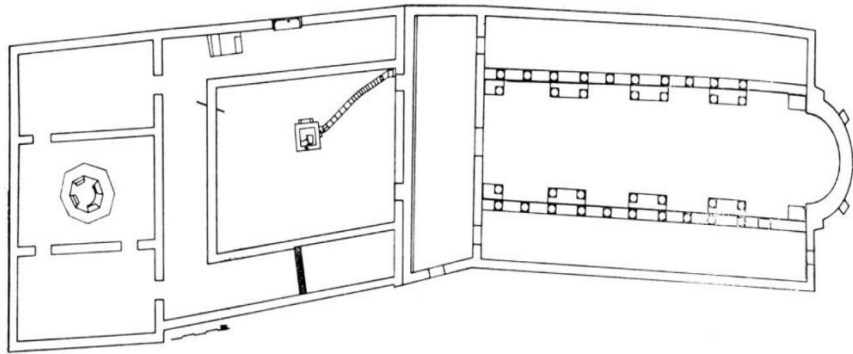
IV. Chapter Three Figures

a. Figure 1



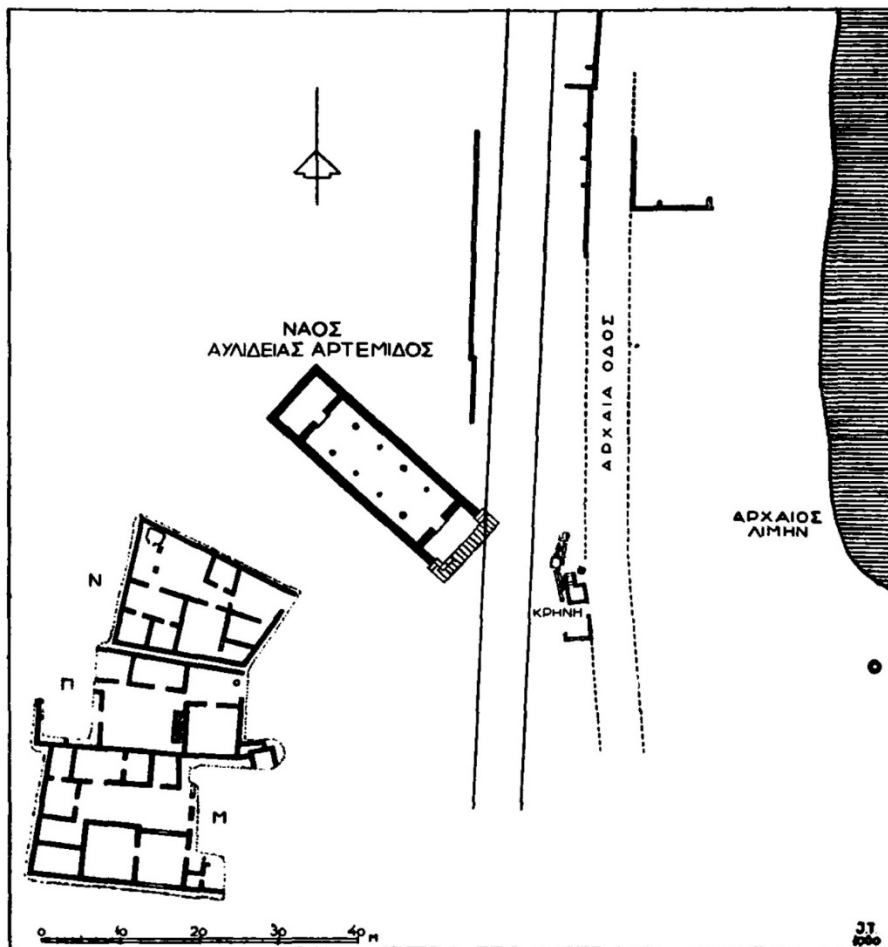
Source: Mentzos, 2002, figure 1.

b. Figure 2



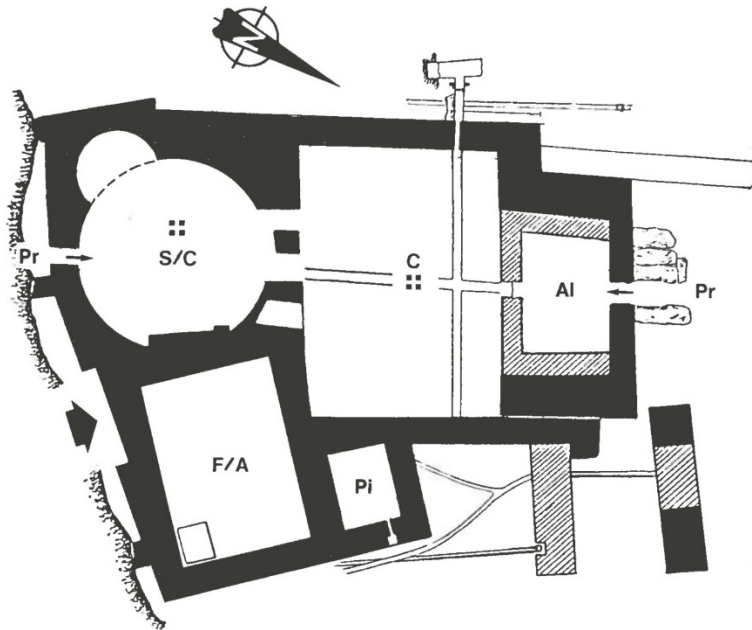
Source: Michaud, 1970, figure 368.

c. Figure 3



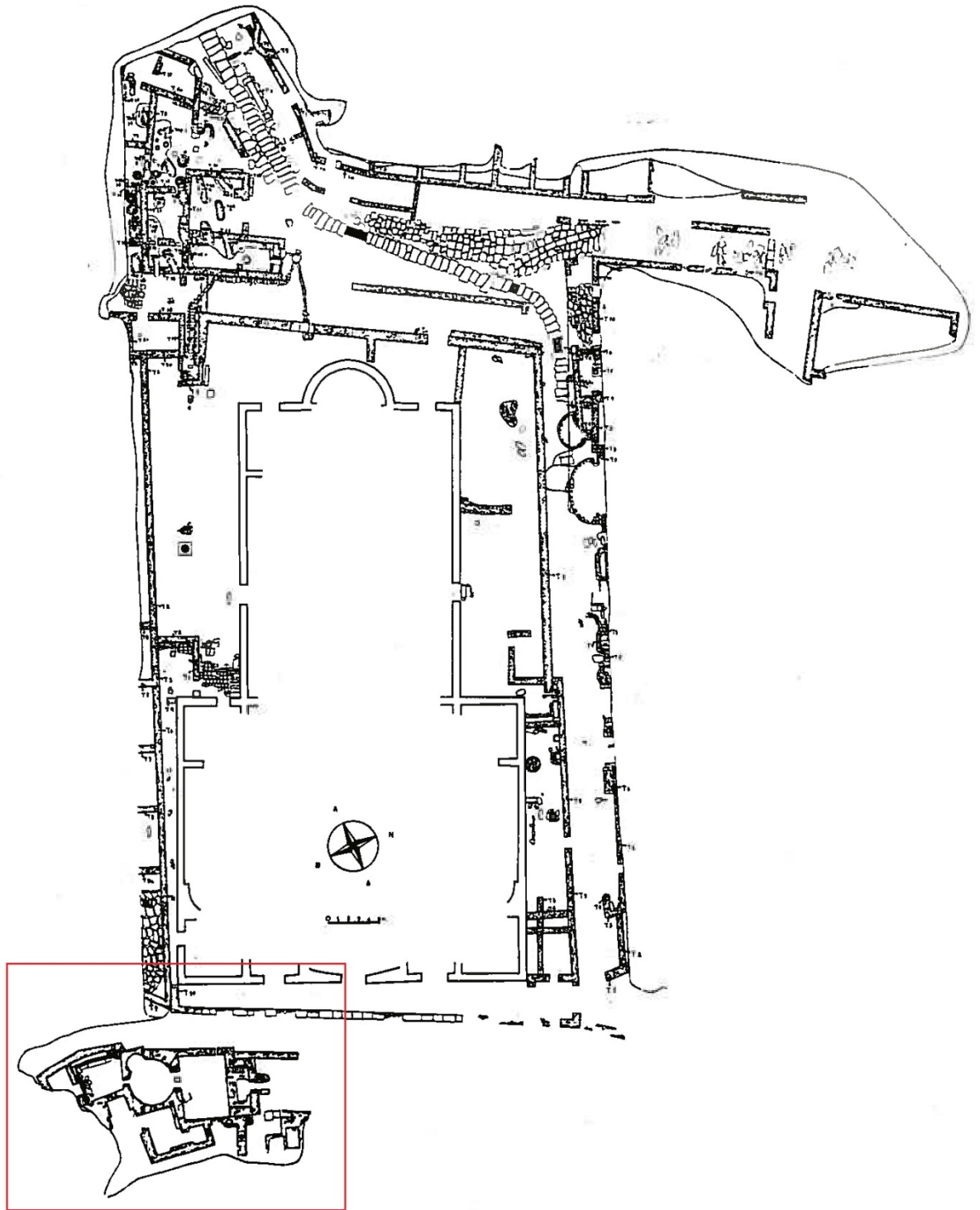
Source: Hood, 1961, figure 12.

d. Figure 4



Source: Nielsen, 1990, Figure 240.

e. Figure 5



Source: Pallas, 1977, Figure 23.

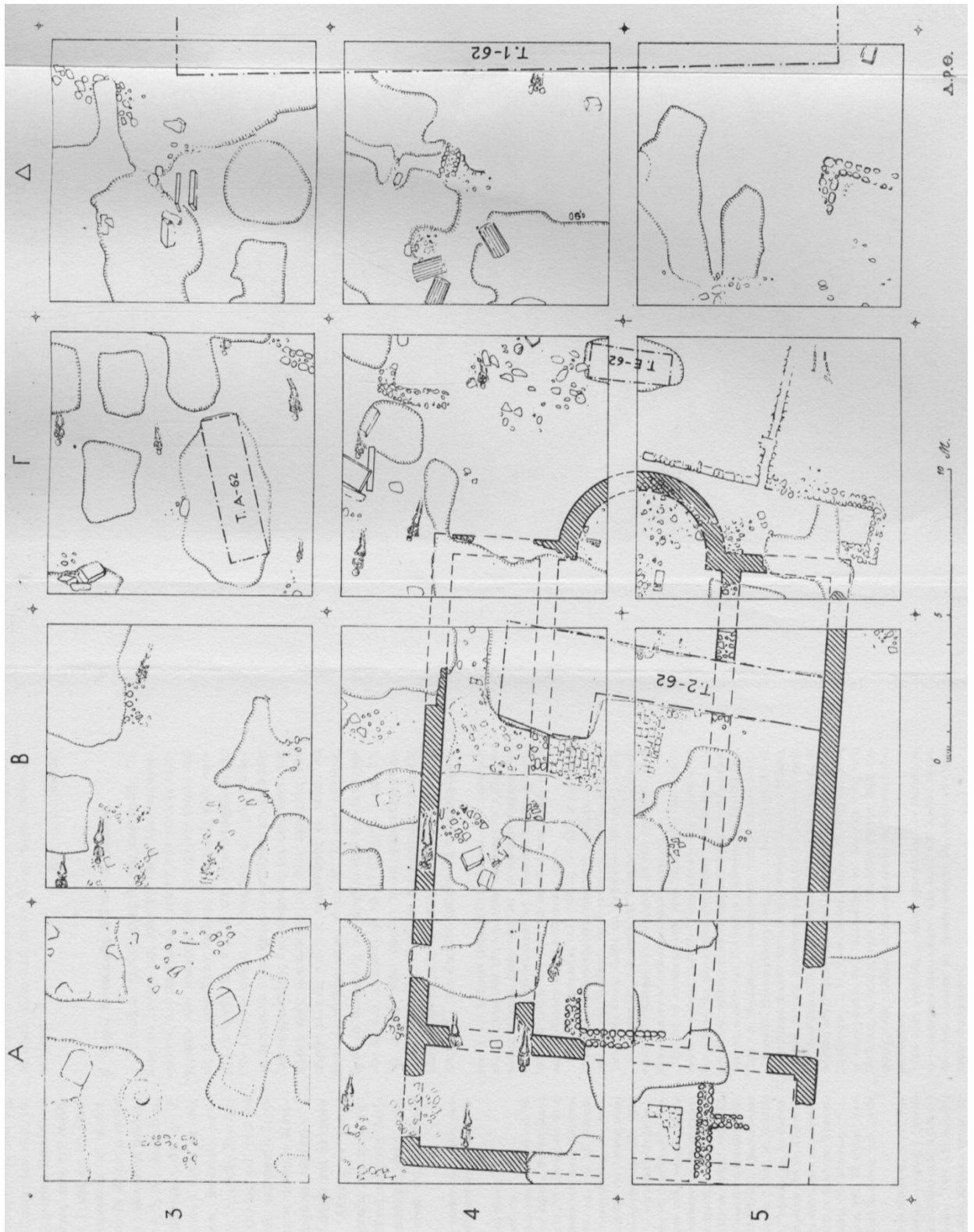
f. Figure 6



g. Figure 7



h. Figure 8



Source : Theocharis, 1964, figure 2

General Conclusion

The principal argument of this thesis ultimately developed from questions raised in the writer's mind by Sweetman's statement that most temples were reused for practical purposes: what forms did this reuse for practical purposes take? How wide a variety of practical forms existed? Does this variety shed light on the mentalities of either Christians or practitioners of traditional religions?⁵⁸⁷ In general conclusion to this thesis, temple reuse was a much more complex phenomenon than archaeologists and historians wish to admit. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate this by means of a wide selection of examples of temple reuse that fall under several categories. The uses to which temples were put as receptacles once their lives as sacred spaces had ended were numerous, and demonstrate that their previous status as sacred sites did not exclude them from use as functional buildings or as quarries.

This thesis has mustered material culture alone to further prove the statement made in the General Introduction that hagiography is not accurate source to use in its general claim that temples were converted into churches. As this thesis has repeatedly stated, hagiography is an unsuitable source for the interpretation of material culture in temples. On the other hand, there are numerous examples among temples in Greece that offer surprising outcomes to temple reuse that are not mentioned in written sources. This thesis has demonstrated that the practical forms of reuse are many, and they are the most important ones to highlight in this General Conclusion.

This variety in contemporary temple reuse further nuances the picture that scholars currently have of the sacred landscape of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity. Characterisations of this landscape have relied often on contemporary written sources and have used archaeological evidence solely as a means of confirming the descriptions of the written sources. Archaeological material in this thesis, principally by means of Ward-Perkins' so-called 'negative evidence', was used as the primary form of testimony and case-studies developed from this data have provided more colour to the sacred landscape as

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. Sweetman, 'Christianisation of the Peloponnese', 291 and above pages 120-2.

sketched out by Caseau, Ward-Perkins, and others. As either stone quarries or practical buildings in their afterlives, these reused temples in Greece figuratively urge archaeologists to review their notions of how Late Antique Romans defined their rural and urban landscapes in Greece in the fourth to sixth centuries CE.

However, based on the collected data, it could be deduced that these episodes of practical reuse of temples are not widespread enough to counter more familiar claims (supposedly based on the thousands of temples that could be claimed from archaeological evidence to have existed throughout the Roman Empire) that temples in general were simply destroyed or used as churches by zealous Christians in Late Antiquity. That deduction does not limit this thesis' use in further research on architecture, history or archaeology. Temples experienced a number of different uses in their afterlives, and a discussion of every obscure episode of these alternate reuses can ultimately shed sufficient light on mentalities, among both Christians and practitioners of traditional religions, to re-phrase scholarly claims about religious transformation in Late Antiquity. Building use can illuminate the study of attitudes toward material culture because the use of edifices partly reflects human behavior, and this point of the study of architectural evidence is its most important. Early Christians might have been intolerant in general as has been recently argued by Polymnia Athanassiadi, but intolerance does not limit imagination in some respects.⁵⁸⁸ Early Christians were still able to benefit from a wide variety of concepts of physical space to use in their everyday life as a means of making their lives easier and more practicable.

To add to Ward-Perkins' and Bayliss' hypotheses concerning temple reuse and the interpretation of the archaeological record, let it be stated here that there is no clear link between the reuse of a temple as a church and the reuse of a temple for another purpose. Both Early Christians and practitioners of traditional religions had basic human needs such as nourishment and shelter. They used their environment in order to have those needs met. The fundamental nature of these needs makes the study of functional temple reuse rather banal because the reuse of temples as practical buildings is informed by the same need as the needs of a prehistoric human for shelter from the elements. The further study of how temples were reused as baths, residences, quarries, administrative buildings or fortifications cannot hope to

⁵⁸⁸ Athanassiadi, *Vers la pensée unique*.

provide much further additional detail as to how people in the late Roman Empire met their essential everyday needs.

However, it could be argued that the study of practical temple reuse is restricted by the nature of the material culture, and by the lack of Late Antique eye-witness accounts about the everyday needs and tasks of Christians and non-Christians.⁵⁸⁹ It would therefore be a case of rephrasing the questions listed above to be able to take into account the limitations that a lack of written sources places on the interpretation of the material evidence. To begin with, a more probing question to ask might be: how did religion affect the daily needs of its practitioners in their use of physical space? The Christian population of the Roman Empire is an enduring problem among scholars today studying the processes of Christianisation.⁵⁹⁰ Therefore, departing from questions about population numbers and its influence on religious conversion, quantitative analysis of any form could be of potential assistance in further elucidating the question of how religion shaped everyday routines for Late Antique Romans. Taking into consideration the limitations of the material evidence for distinguishing fine differences between human reasons for reuse, it is possible that spatial analysis using geographic information systems could provide data for the further interpretation of motivations for temple reuse.

The question of how religion shaped everyday practice interacts most explicitly with the concept of experience that Nasrallah discussed at length because the concept of experience lies at the heart of so many theoretical structures used today to explain past behavior, even though it is rarely made explicit. Religious beliefs likely played a role in how everyday needs were prioritised among both Christians and non-Christians.⁵⁹¹ Once notions of experience are made explicit in research on Christianisation inside (and outside) of the Roman Empire, it could become easier to identify how practical needs overlap with religious belief.

It could be argued that religious belief did affect practical needs because human experience partly informs human behavior, and Christian belief forced early Christians to

⁵⁸⁹ As stated above on page 67 n. 251, the writer of this thesis did not benefit from written sources (in either epigraphic or manuscript form) that could provide direct evidence of the thoughts of contemporary users about their needs for buildings.

⁵⁹⁰ See above page 86 n. 347.

⁵⁹¹ See above pages 121-3.

choose which needs they claimed were most important. In the case study from Aulis, although it is not possible based on the evidence to identify the religion of the builders, the growing Christian concept of *alousia* did not prevent a temple from becoming a bath house. It could be argued that these slight variations in everyday behavior among Christian contribute to the subject of religious ‘conversion’.

However, practical human needs do not evolve very much over the relatively short span of two millennia. It is this relative immobility of the practical side of human experience over the short span of two millennia that limits the research potential for this topic. These practical needs are not greatly affected by religious belief or change. Therefore, the transformation of the Roman Empire into a Christian one did not affect the material needs of its citizens in the empire. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to detect the motivations for human behavior in the archaeological record.⁵⁹² This topic proves to be fascinating, and, as stated above, many case studies of particular, though little-known, episodes drawn from archaeological site reports together could contribute further to the study of how early Christians experienced their world. Nevertheless, the questions are extremely hard to answer.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹² See above pages 66-7.

⁵⁹³ Churches are being reused as residences in parts of Ottawa at present. This could be a sign that Christianity is less popular at the beginning of the twenty first century CE than it was a century earlier. However, given the present social climate in North America, that is too simplistic an explanation.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Journal and reference work abbreviations are those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (fourth ed., 2012). Otherwise, they are the following:

Byz: *Byzantion*

CA: *Cahiers archéologiques*

DChrAE: *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*

EMC: *Échos du monde classique*

JECS: *Journal of Early Christian Studies*

JFA: *Journal of Field Archaeology*

MiChA: *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie*

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Fedalto: *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis. Series Episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium*, ed. G. Fedalto (Padua, 1988) 2 vol.

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*

Lampe: *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961) 5 vol.

BNP: *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. H. Cancik, H. Schneider (Stuttgart, 1996-2003) First Series, 12 vol., Second Series, 4 vol.

ODB: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991) 3 vol.

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RAC: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. F.-J. Dölger, T. Klauser, H. Kruse, H. Lietzmann, J.H. Waszink (Stuttgart, 1950-2017) 21 vol. and ‘Lieferungen’

RBK: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel, M. Restle (Stuttgart, 1966-2013) 7 vol.

RE: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1893-1978) First Series, 24 vol., Second Series, 10 vol., 15 suppl.

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Appendix

Location	Region	Temple Dedication	Church Dedication	Reuse Type	References
Aigina	Saronic Gulf	Apollo		spolia	R. Scheer, 'Aigina, Αἴγινα (Peiraieus)', in S. Lauffer (ed.), <i>Griechenland</i> (Munich, 1989) 85; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 905
Akriai	Lakonia			Spolia	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', <i>BCH</i> 115 (1991) 862
Aliki	Thasos			Spolia	F. Salviat, <i>Guide de Thasos</i> (Paris, 1968) 88; cf. C.S. Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', 566 n. 89; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 773
Aliki	Thasos			Spolia	F. Salviat, <i>Guide de Thasos</i> (Paris, 1968) 88; cf. C.S. Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', 566 n. 89; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 773
Andros	Cyclades			Unidentified	S. Huber, Y. Varalis, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1994', <i>BCH</i> 119 (1995) 996-7
Argos	Argolid	Aphrodite		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 22, 125; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 877
Asprovryssi Malandrinou	Phokis			Burial	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3778/ (accessed March 7, 2016)
Athens	Attica	Artemis Agrotera		Church	J. Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> (London, 1971) 112-20; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Erechtheios (heroon?)		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 36, Figure 17; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Hephaistos		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 36, Figure 16; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Athena Parthenos	Virgin	Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 27, 36 and Figure 20; A. Frantz, 'From Paganism to Christianity', <i>DOP</i> 19 (1965); A. Kaldellis, <i>The Christian Parthenon</i> (Cambridge, 2009); J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Asklepios		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 126; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Kronos and Rhea		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 126; J. Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> (London, 1971) 335-9; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Metroon in Classical Agora		Synagogue	A. Frantz, H. Thompson, J. Travlos, 'Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700', <i>The Athenian Agora</i> 24 (1988) 58-9; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Athens	Attica	Metroon in Classical Agora		Olive press	A. Frantz, H. Thompson, J. Travlos, 'Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700', <i>The Athenian Agora</i> 24 (1988) 121-2
Athens	Attica	Olympian Zeus		Cell	A. Kaldellis, <i>The Christian Parthenon</i> (Cambridge, 2009) 171-72; C. Bouras, 'The So-called Cell of the Athenian Stylite', 23-6; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Aulis	Boiotia	Artemis		Bath	D. Leekley, N. Efstratiou, <i>Central and Northern Greece</i> (Park Ridge, NJ, 1980) 16-7; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 906
Chotoussa	Arcadia			Church	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 739; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 882
Corinth	Corinthia	Apollo		Quarry	H.N. Fowler, R. Stillwell, 'Introduction', <i>Corinth</i> 1 (1932) 115-35; A. Robertson Brown, 'Medieval Pilgrimage to Corinth', <i>HEROM</i> 1 (2012) 211; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 879
Corinth	Corinthia	Asklepios		Quarry	C. Roebuck, 'The Asklepieion', <i>Corinth</i> 14 (1951) 160-1; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 879
Corinth-Kenchreai	Isthmus	Isis		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 125; R. Scranton, J. Shaw, L. Ibrahim, <i>Kenchreai. Volume 1</i> (Leiden, 1978) 75-78; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 882
Delphi	Phokis	Athena Pronaia		Quarry	R. Demangel, <i>Fouilles de Delphes. Volume 2. Fascicule 3: Topographie du sanctuaire</i> (Paris, 1926) 131; J.-F. Bommelaer et al., <i>Marmaria</i> (Paris, 1997) 32; J. Fossey, J. Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 822
Despotiko	Naxos	Apollo, Artemis Isthmia		Spolia	G. Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2000', <i>BCH</i> 125 (2001) 988; F. Burkhalter, A. Philippa-Touchais, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', <i>BCH</i> 127 (2003) 1043-5; A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1559-62; chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/550/ (accessed March 7, 2016)
Diktyнна	Crete	Artemis Diktyнна		Quarry	D. Leekley, R. Noyes, <i>The Greek Islands</i> (Park Ridge, NJ, 1975) 111; J. Bennet, G. Reger, 'Map 60 Creta', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 922
Dion	Macedonia	Hera		Spolia	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/492/ (accessed March 7 2016); J. Whitley, S. Germanidou, D. Urem-Kotsou, A. Dimoula, I. Nikolakopoulou, A. Karvara, D. Evely, 'Archaeology in Greece 2006-2007', <i>AR</i> 53 (2006-2007) 67
Dodona	Epirus	Herakles		Church	D. Leekley, N. Efstratiou, <i>Central and Northern Greece</i> (Park Ridge, NJ, 1980) 42-3
Dodona	Epirus	Zeus		Church	R. Scheer, 'Dodona, Δοδώνη (Ioannina)', in S. Lauffer (ed.), <i>Griechenland</i> (Munich, 1989) 197-9
Epidauros	Argolid			Spolia	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/4417/ (accessed March 7, 2016)
Eretria	Euboea	Apollo Daphnephoros		Quarry	P. Auberson, 'Temple d'Apollon Daphnéphoros', <i>Eretria</i> 1 (1968) 10; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 907
Gortyn	Crete	Pythian Apollo	Saint Titus	Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 36 n.41, 37 n. 49, 112, figure 22; I.F. Sanders, <i>Roman Crete</i> (Warminster, 1982); J. Bennet, G. Reger, 'Map 60 Creta', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 923
Gortyn	Crete			Unidentified	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/267/ (accessed March 8, 2016)
Hyampolis	Phthiotidis			Storage Area	A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1425-6; J. Fossey, J. Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 824
Ikaros	Cyclades	Artemis Tauropolos	Theotokos	Quarry	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 812; C. Foss, G. Reger, 'Map 61 Ephesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 939
Isthmia	Isthmus	Poseidon		Fortress	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 62 n. 50, 125; O. Broneer, <i>Isthmia. Volume 1</i> (Princeton, 1971) 2; T.E. Gregory, <i>Isthmia. Volume 5</i> (Princeton, 1993) 142-46; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 882
Itanos	Crete	Athena Polias?		Church	I.F. Sanders, <i>Roman Crete</i> (Warminster, UK, 1982) 89
Kallithea	Chalcidike	Zeus Ammon		Burial	A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1504; chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2298/ (accessed 7 March, 2016)
Kallithea Tanagras	Boiotia	Cybele	Haghia triadha	Church	F. Burkhalter, A. Philippa-Touchais, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', <i>BCH</i> 127 (2003) 871
Karthaia	Keos	Demeter?		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 40 n. 74, figure 53; P. Graindor, 'Fouilles de Karthaia', <i>BCH</i> 29 (1905) 333-7; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 882
Karystos	Euboea			Fortress	D.R. Keller, <i>Archaeological Survey in Southern Euboea</i> (PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1985) 149-50;
Kepia	Macedonia	Aulonites		Unidentified	G. Touchais, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1985', <i>BCH</i> 110 (1986) 725; A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', <i>BCH</i> 115 (1991) 915; A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1991', <i>BCH</i> 116 (1992) 916-7; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 775
Kerkyra	Korfou		Nostra Signora di Paleopoli	Spolia	W. Bowden, <i>Epirus Vetus</i> (London, 2003) 148.
Kiveri	Argolid			Spolia	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/291/ (accessed March 8, 2016)
Kleonai	Corinthia			Church	A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1312; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 883
Lindos	Rhodes	Athena		Unidentified	E. Lippolis, 'Il Santuario di Athana a Lindo', <i>ASAA</i> 66-67 (1993) 153, Figure 22
Lissos	Crete	Asklepios		Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 17; J. Bennet, G. Reger, 'Map 60 Creta', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 925
Lousoi	Achaia	Artemis	Panaghia	Spolia	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', <i>BCH</i> 115 (1991) 872
Mantineia	Arcadia			Quarry	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 739; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 884
Mantineia	Arcadia			Quarry	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 739; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 884

Messa	Lesbos		Saint Michael	Burial, Church	A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1531; A. Kaldellis, 'Lesbos in Late Antiquity', in W.R. Caraher, L. Jones Hall, R. Scott Moore (eds), <i>Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece</i> (Aldershot, 2008) 160-1; C. Foss, S. Mitchell, G. Reger, 'Map 56 Pergamum', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 849
Messene	Messenia			Spolia	A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1344; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 885
Messene	Messenia	Serapis and Isis		Church	F. Burkhalter, A. Philippa-Touchais, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', <i>BCH</i> 127 (2003) 803-4, figure 90; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 885
Messene	Messenia	Asklepeios		Quarry?	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 742; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 885
Messene	Messenia	Eileithyia		Shepherd's hut	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2086/ (accessed March 7, 2016)
Nemea	Corinthia	Zeus		church	D.I. Pallas, <i>Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce</i> (Vatican City, 1977) 176-7; M. Landon 'The Early Christian Community', in S.G. Miller (ed.), <i>Nemea. A Guide to the Site and Museum</i> (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990) 79
Nikopolis	Epirus	Neptune		Spolia	F. Schöber, 'Nikopolis', in <i>RE</i> XVII.1 (Stuttgart, 1936) 514.64-515.24; W.M. Murray, 'Map 54 Epirus-Acarnania', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 809
Olympia	Elis	Metroon		Fortress	A. Mallwitz, <i>Olympia und seine Bauten</i> (Munich, 1972) 160; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 886
Olympia	Elis	Zeus Olympios		Quarry	A. Mallwitz, <i>Olympia und seine Bauten</i> (Munich, 1972) 233-34; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 886
Olympia	Elis	Hera		Spolia	A. Mallwitz, <i>Olympia und seine Bauten</i> (Munich, 1972) 146-48; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 886
Orchomenos	Arcadia			Quarry	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 737-9; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 886
Palairos	Akarnania			Spolia	chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/2390/ (accessed March 8, 2016)
Patos	Crete	Pan	Hagios Antonios	Church	R. Scheer, 'Pazos, Παζός (Rethymna)', in S. Lauffer (ed.), <i>Griechenland</i> (Munich, 1989) 522
Pefki Histiaias	Euboea	Artemis Proseioia	Haghios Georghios	Church	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 807
					E. Freund, H.-J. Gehrke, G. Grimm, 'Pentelikon, Πεντελικόν (Attika)', in S. Lauffer (ed.), <i>Griechenland</i> (Munich, 1989) 526-7; J.S. Traill, 'Map 59 Attica', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 910
Pentelikon	Attica	Pan	Hagios Spyridon	Church	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1991', <i>BCH</i> 116 (1992) 895; J. Koder, F. Hild (eds), <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Volume 1</i> (Vienna, 1976) 240
Philia	Thessaly	Athena Itonia	Haghioi Taxiarchoi	Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 34; cf. K.M. Hattersley-Smith, <i>Byzantine Public Architecture</i> (Thessalonike, 1996) 72-3; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 777
Philippi	Macedonia	herōon		Church	D. Leekley, N. Efstratiou, <i>Central and Northern Greece</i> (Park Ridge, NJ, 1980) 116; J. Fossey, J. Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 828
Physkeis	Phokis	Zeus Meilikhios or Agathoi Theoi		Church	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1990', <i>BCH</i> 115 (1991) 946; A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1991', <i>BCH</i> 116 (1992) 944
Samaria	Crete	Artemis Britomantis or Apollo	Haghios nikolaos	proximity	
					A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1565; C. Foss, G. Reger, 'Map 61 Ephesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 946
Sellada	Thera	Aphrodite		Quarry	
Sikinos	Cyclades	herōon	Virgin Mary	Church	R. Bayliss, <i>The Archaeology of Temple Conversion</i> (Oxford, 2004) 34, 36 and figures 25-26; J. Bennet, G. Reger, 'Map 60 Creta', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 928
Sikyon	Corinthia	Apollo		Church	J. Hopp, 'Sikyon, Συκούων (Corinthia)', in S. Lauffer (ed.), <i>Griechenland</i> (Munich, 1989) 617; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
					S. Grunauer von Hoerschelmann, 'Sparta, Σπάρτη (Lakonia)', in S. Lauffer (ed.), <i>Griechenland</i> (Munich, 1989) 628-34; cf. R.M. Dawkins (ed.), <i>Artemis Orthia</i> (London, 1929) 49; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
Sparta	Lakonia	Artemis Orthia		Burial	
Sparta	Lakonia	Zeus Messapeus		Burial	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1989', <i>BCH</i> 114 (1990) 734-6; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
Stymphalos	Arcadia	Athena Polias		Burial	H. Williams et al., 'Stymphalos, 1997', <i>EMC</i> 42 (1998) 287-88; G.P. Schaus (ed.), <i>Stymphalos</i> (Toronto, 2014) 24-5; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
					H. Williams et al., 'Stymphalos, 1996', <i>EMC</i> 41 (1997) 66-7; H. Williams et al., 'Stymphalos, 1997', <i>EMC</i> 42 (1998) 297-300; H. Williams et al., 'Stymphalos, 1999-2002', <i>Museion</i> 2 (2002) 154-55; cf. G.P. Schaus (ed.), <i>Stymphalos</i> (Toronto, 2014) 9 n. 43; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
Stymphalos	Arcadia	Artemis?		Burial, Spolia	
					D. Leekley, N. Efstratiou, <i>Central and Northern Greece</i> (Park Ridge, NJ, 1980) 11; W.J. Woodhouse, <i>Aetolia</i> (Oxford, 1897) 203; J. Fossey, J. Morin, 'Map 55 Thessalia-Boeotia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 830
Taxiarkhis	Aitolia		Ayios Elias	Church	
Tegea	Arkadia	Athena Alea		Church	D.I. Pallas, <i>Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce</i> (Vatican City, 1977) 180; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
Tegea	Arkadia	Athena Alea		Burial	A. Pariente, 'Découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1991', <i>BCH</i> 116 (1992) 860; J. Camp, G. Reger, 'Map 58 Peloponnesus', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 889
Thasos	Thasos	Athena Poliouchos		Fortress	F. Salviat, <i>Guide de Thasos</i> (Paris, 1968) 56-57; cf. C.S. Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', 566 n. 89; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 778
					F. Salviat, <i>Guide de Thasos</i> (Paris, 1968) 54-6, Figure 20; cf. C.S. Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', 566 n. 89; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 778
Thasos	Thasos	Apollo Python		Fortress	
					M. Launey, <i>Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès</i> (Paris, 1944); J.-P. Sodin, 'La ville de Thasos', in <i>Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία, 324-1430 μ. Χ.</i> (Thessaloniki, 1995) 282-5; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 778
Thasos	Thasos	Herakles		Church	
					G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles', <i>BCH</i> 87 (1963) 858-861; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 778
Thasos	Thasos	Athena Mykesia		Church	
					A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1522; E.N. Borza, 'Map 51 Thracia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 778
Thasos	Thasos	Soteira		Building Foundation	
					G. Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1995', <i>BCH</i> 120 (1996) 1316-7; G. Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1996 et 1997', <i>BCH</i> 122 (1998) 944-5; J. Bennet, G. Reger, 'Map 60 Creta', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 921
Theologos	Rhodes	Apollo Erethimios		Church	
					A. Philippa-Touchais et al., 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2003 et 2004', <i>BCH</i> 128/9 (2004/5) 1493; E.N. Borza, 'Map 50 Macedonia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 767
Thessaloniki	Macedonia			Building Foundation	
					F. Burkhalter, A. Philippa-Touchais, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 2001 et 2002', <i>BCH</i> 127 (2003) 956; E.N. Borza, 'Map 50 Macedonia', in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas</i> (Princeton, 2000) 767
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