

THE DESTRUCTION AND CONVERSION OF ANCIENT TEMPLES TO CHRISTIAN CHURCHES DURING FOURTH, FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

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The destruction of ancient temples and statuary as well as the conversion of ancient temples into Christian churches in the Late Roman Empire during the fourth up into to sixth centuries characterize Christians' attitude towards pagan religion and civilization. I believe that this particular historical moment reflects the struggle of the newly established Christian Empire between two cultural elements: Christianity and paganism and the combination of the two.

Since the topic is enormously wide, I will only deal with the eastern part of the Empire during that time. I will attempt to trace the phenomenon of the destruction and conversion of ancient temples on the one hand, by looking into the historical facts, and on the other, by giving some specific examples of temple conversions of which there is substantial archaeological evidence. The areas of my focus are *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and finally *Athens*, since these provide a great deal of literary and archaeological information concerning the destruction and conversion of the temples. A. Minor and Syria are equally important because most of the Church councils concerning the formulation of Christian dogma were held there. Finally, I would like to mention that the penultimate section (16.10) of the «*Codex Theodosianus*» with the title, «*De paganis, sacrificiis et templis*», will be my main source for the anti-pagan legislation of the fourth and early fifth centuries.

There were two ways that Christians dealt practically with pagan monuments: they either destroyed them, as they did in the case of temples and statues or, as it was the case for the temples, after consecrating them, they converted them into Christian churches by making the necessary architectural alterations fitting to the needs of Christian liturgy.

T.C.G. Thornton argues that before the end of the third century there is no direct evidence of Christian insult towards pagan monuments. At that time, Christians followed the Jewish tradition of refraining from

insulting pagan idols publicly, following Exodus (22:28)¹. It is around the beginning of fourth century that Christians' sacrilegious acts towards pagan idols begin to be noted in the sources. Eusebius of Caesarea in his «*History of the Martyrs of Palestine*», mentions several violent sacrilegious acts committed by Christians at the time of Maximin's and Galerius' persecution². With Constantine things begin to change for Christianity. Constantine favored the Christian Church by becoming personally involved in issues of faith and Church administration. Anti-pagan legislation starts in his reign³. In the beginning, imperial decrees were mainly concerned with the prohibition of pagan sacrifices. We read in the Theodosian Code: «*Permission shall be granted to all other persons also to appropriate custom to themselves, provided only that they abstain from domestic sacrifices, which are specifically prohibited*»⁴. Other measures against paganism included closing the temples, confiscating their property and forbidding the worship of idols. They also dealt with superstition and any kind of magic associated with the pagan ritual. «*Superstition shall cease*»⁵. «*It is our pleasure that the temples shall be immediately closed in all places and in all cities*»⁶. Although the early decrees do not mention the destruction of temples, one can find isolated incidents. In his «*Vita Constantini*», Eusebius tells us that Constantine ordered the destruction of the temple at Mambre and the erection of a church at the site⁷. During the convocation of the Nicene Council in A. D. 325, bishop Macarius of Jerusalem came to the Council and asked the emperor to disinter the Tomb of Christ, which, according to tradition was buried under the Temple of Aphrodite built by Hadrian on the Aelia Capitolina. Constantine gave his consent and ordered the razing

1. T. C. G. Thornton. "The Destruction of Idols – Sinful or Meritorious?": *Journal of Theological Studies*. 37 (1986): 123.

2. Thornton, 123.

3. Helen Saradi-Mendelovici. "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 44. (1990): 48.

4. *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.10.1. (transl. by Clive Pharr, New York, 1952).

5. *CTh*, 16.10.2.

6. *CTh*, 16.10.4.

7. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III, 54. (Edited by Heinichen, Lipsia, 1830) 155.

of the pagan temple to rediscover the Tomb⁸. Later, on the same site the Holy Sepulchre was built⁹.

Under Constantine the office of the bishop was granted a certain measure of authority and the bishop himself became the leading member of the local community¹⁰. This very power of the bishop which was drawn from his locality and familiarity with his community was to play a major part later in the destruction of the temples. Bishops' legal authority was considerably restricted in the eastern part of the Empire. Nonetheless, bishops were granted a degree of power that no civil official could ever hope to enjoy since ecclesiastical canons forbade them to move from see to see¹¹. A luminous example is provided by the case of St. Porphyry at Gaza who managed to overthrow the pagan cult in Gaza with the assistance of locals.

Although one could argue that Constantine promoted the Christian faith, his public language was ambiguous. On a political level he had to accept an army and a ruling class who were overwhelmingly pagan¹². P. Chuvin along with other scholars argues that Constantine's religious policy was pragmatic¹³. During his reign and later until Theodosius' early years there are instances where temples were allowed to be opened for the *«assemblage of throngs of people and now also for the common use of the people... but in such a way that the performance of sacrifices forbidden therein may not be supposed to be permitted under the pretext of such access to the temple»*¹⁴.

After Julian's brief administration, during which the Church's relative privileges granted by Constantine and his successors were temporarily suspended, acts of sacrilege on the part of Christians against pagan temples became commendable¹⁵.

8. C. Cousnon. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1974) p. 10.

9. E.D. Hunt. *Holy Land in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460*. (Clarendon Press-Oxford, 1982).

10. G. Fowden. "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, A.D. 320-435", *Journal of Theological Studies*. 29.1 (1978): 57.

11. A.H.M. Jones. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*. (Oxford, 1964) pp. 90-91, 480.

12. Robin Lane Fox. *Pagans and Christians*. (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1986) p. 666.

13. Pierre Chuvin. *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts. London, England: Harvard University Press, 1990) p. 31.

14. Cth, 16.10.8.

15. Thornton, 125.

From the time of Theodosius onwards, the suppression of paganism is increasingly encouraged by the imperial authorities. Although paganism is still alive and tolerated by the official legislation, things changed dramatically when in A.D. 384 the Spaniard Maternus Cynegius became Praetorian Prefect of the East. He held this position until his death in A.D. 388. Cynegius, taking advantage of his intimacy with the imperial court, gave his own interpretation of Theodosius' decree against paganism (May 25, 385 A.D.) and set out organized attacks against temples. The destruction of the temples at Beroea and Apamea may be attributed to him. Towards the end of his career and during a trip to Egypt he is remembered for shutting up pagan shrines and knocking down idols. The reaction of the pagan elite towards this campaign is vividly presented in Libanius' oration, *Pro Templis*. In it, Libanius criticizes the bishops and monks for their brutal attitude against temples:

Such outrages occur even in the cities, but they are most common in the countryside... So they sweep across the countryside like rivers in spate, and by ravaging the temples, they ravage the estates, for whenever they tear out a temple from an estate, that estate is blinded and lies murdered.

*Temples, Sire, are the soul of the countryside: But, they assert, the very absence of temples is a blessing to the world and the people in it... Then what is your purpose, Sire, in maintaining your forces, equipping your armies and conferring with commanders?*¹⁶.

Both civil and Church authorities became involved in the campaign of destroying the temples. Bishop Marcellus of Apamea assisted the imperial authorities in destroying a shrine of Jupiter and a bit later he led the army in an attack against a pagan temple at Aulon¹⁷. Probably in around A.D. 391, at the time of bishop Theophilus of Alexandria, the Alexandrian Serapium was destroyed after a clash between the local Christians and pagans. After this particular event the emperor commanded the demolition of all temples that caused the sedition¹⁸. Bishop Theophilus seems to have been involved in the

16. Libanius, "Oration XXX". in *Libanius Selected Orations, II*. (Cambridge/London: 1977) σ. 113.

17. *Thornton*, 125.

18. *Fowden*, 69.

demise of many pagan temples and their substitution with churches at Canobus and at a village called Menuthis.

So far we have seen two main forces involved in the anti-pagan campaign: the Church and the State. Helen Saradi-Mendelovici argues that hostility towards pagan monuments was neither a general nor an officially adopted policy of the Christian State or of the Church. The destruction of the temples was the work of certain civil officials and local bishops¹⁹.

At this point, I believe we have to examine what was the attitude of late antique Byzantines towards pagan monuments, for it will help us to understand better the phenomenon of destruction and conversion of temples. It has been a puzzle for scholars and historians that Constantine, the first «Christian» emperor, adorned Constantinople with a great collection of marble statues that were placed mainly in the Hippodrome. Eusebius in his *Vita Constantini*», explains the erection of pagan statues as part of a subtle policy of making fun of gods: «...the emperor held up these very playthings to be the ridicule and the sport of all beholders»²⁰. Cyril Mango suggests that the reason for this importation may be attributed to the ambiguity of the religious policy pursued by Constantine's government. The decoration of the capital must have been entrusted to the *curatores*, the subordinate officials who were pagans, and they simply did what one would expect from them²¹. One should bear in mind that paganism was a live issue not only during the fourth century but until about the year 600. Therefore, the newly founded eastern part of the Roman empire in creating its new identity on the one hand, had to draw the line between Paganism and Christianity, and on the other, to formulate its new cultural character from the dialogue of those two opposite elements. Eusebius' comment on the adornment of Constantinople with antique statues seems to suggest that Christian State and Church tried to provide Christian citizens with a proper response to pagan idols by stripping them of their demonic power. When Eusebius refers to the statues as «*those playthings to be of the ridicule of the beholder*», I believe he implies that these statues are no longer to be feared as powerful.

19. Saradi, 47.

20. Eusebius, 150.

21. Cyril Mango. "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 17 (1963): 56.

Yet another approach to pagan statues was to see them as works of art, disassociated from divination. Saradi-Mendelovici argues that classical monuments never ceased to be appreciated for their artistic value, especially by the educated classes²². In a decree of Codex Theodosianus (16.10.8, A.D. 382) referring to a temple at Oshroene in Mesopotamia we read:

«By the authority of the public council we decree that the temple shall continually be open that was formerly dedicated to the assemblage of throngs of people and now also is for common use of the people, and in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity».

Statues that have been purified and removed from their temples namely, dissociated from their cult, could have been easily found in large collections in Constantinople. Another instance of the same sort we come across at the end of fifth century: a great number of idols were salvaged from the temple of Isis at Memphis and taken to Alexandria where they were exposed to public ridicule and destroyed²³. The reason for the erection of a pagan statue in a public place in the city of Alexandria by Patriarch Theophilus was to cause the pagan religion to be derided²⁴. It was really important that the victory of Christianity over paganism be declared. From the *«Life of St. Porphyry»*, we learn:

«When, therefore, the ashes were carried away and all the abominations were destroyed, the rubbish that remained of the marble work of the Marneion, which they said was sacred, and in a place not to be entered, especially by women, this did the holy bishop resolve to lay down for a pavement before the temple outside the street, that it might be trodden under foot not only of men, but also of women and dogs and swine and beasts»²⁵.

At this point, I will examine the beliefs that were held by Christians about the pagan monuments and statues. The very important point is that ordinary as well as high ranking Byzantines associated ancient

22. Saradi, 50.

23. Mango, 56.

24. Saradi, 50.

25. Mark the Deacon, *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*. transl. by G.F. Hill. (Oxford, 1913) p. 87.

statuary with superstition²⁶. This sort of perception was based on the idea that pagan statues as well as the temples were intimately connected with the cult and that statues were inhabited by demons. Demonic, according to Plato's definition, is everything that is intermediary between God and mortal²⁷. In general, one could say that in Greek thought demons remained capable of being either good or bad. On the contrary, to Christians, demons were always considered to be bad and responsible for all evil things in this world²⁸. Because of the identification of pagan gods with demons, Christians attributed all pagan religion to the worship of demons. Demons were nourished by animal sacrifices. That is probably the reason Theodosian code insists on the prohibition of sacrifices. Thus, since statues and temples were identified with demons, they had to be purified. Evil, namely demons, ought to be fought. Exorcism was the form the fight with evil took within the Church. Jesus' authority over satanic power, controlling them by a mere word of command, He passed on to His disciples, with instructions to use it²⁹. Christianity remained steadfast in its belief that demonic powers were defeated initially by Christ's birth, then by the power of His ministry demonstrated over them, and decisively in the crucifixion. The Cross became for Christians the sign of victory over demons and death. On His second coming, Christ will finally destroy the demons. The Cross, the name of Jesus and simple words of prayer were powerful enough to drive the demons out. A common practice to purify the statues had been to draw the sign of the Cross on the forehead of them³⁰. Mark the Deacon in his *«Life of Porphyry»*, describes in a very colorful way the driving out of the demons from the statue dedicated to Aphrodite at Gaza:

«Now when we had come out of the ship unto the city as hath been said, when we came unto the place where was the afore-said idol of Aphrodite (but the Christians were carrying the precious wood of Christ, that is to say the figure of the Cross), the demon that dwelt in the statue beholding and being unable to

26. *Mango*, p. 63.

27. E. R. Dodds. *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine*. (Cambridge, 1965) p. 37.

28. Ramsay MacMullen. *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984) p. 25-28.

29. *Macmullen*, 27.

30. *Saradi*, 56.

suffer the sight of the sign which was being carried, came forth out of the marble with great confusion and cast down the statue itself and brake it into many pieces»³¹.

The text continues:

«And it fell out that two men of the idolaters were standing beside the base on which the statue stood, and when it fell, it clave the head of the one in twain, and of the other it brake the wrist. For they were both standing and mocking at the holy»³².

The latter part of the description reflects a legislative response. In 398 and 399 imperial legislation treats pagan temples in a different manner: The temples in the country had to be demolished without disturbing the peace; the masonry could be used for other construction³³. If we recall the latter of the two parts of the description concerning the driving out of the demons from Aphrodite's statue, it supports C. Mango's conclusion that the placement of ancient stones in conspicuous places meant either a Christian reinterpretation of them or the attribution to them of apotropaic power³⁴. An imperial decree of the year A.D. 435 reads: *«We command that all their fanes, temples, and shrines, if even now any remain entire, shall be destroyed by the erection of the sign of the venerable Christian religion»³⁵*. This section's last decree of the Theodosian Code, which was issued under Theodosius II, seems to be the culmination of the anti-pagan imperial policy.

It appears from our study that every time Christians had to deal with either the destruction of a temple or its conversion to a Christian church they believed that they struggled with demons. From the *«Life of Porphyry»*, we learn about the destruction of the Marneion and its conversion into a Christian site. After the destruction of statues and other objects of worship in the Marneion by the imperial army, Christians debated how they should use the temple. Various propositions were heard such as to tear down the temple, or burn it down, or to purify the place and sanctify it by the erection of a church. But this is how Porphyry solved the problem:

And at last the holy bishop proclaimeth a fast to the people, and a

31. *Mark the Deacon*, 70.

32. *Mark the Deacon*, 71.

33. *Saradi*, 49.

34. *Mango*, 63.

35. *CTh*, 16.10.25.

*prayer that the Lord may reveal unto to them how they must act. And having fasted on that day and prayed unto God concerning this matter, in the evening they celebrated the Holy Communion. But during the celebration of the Communion, a child of about seven years, which was standing with his own mother, cried out suddenly, saying: 'Burn ye the inner temple unto the foundation; for many terrible things have been done in it, especially the sacrifices of human beings... And after the burning, having purified the place, found there a holy church'*³⁶.

Further, we learn that the plan of the church, shaped like a cross was miraculously sent by the empress Eudoxia. As soon as they started constructing the church they cried out: «*Christ hath conquered*». This sort of expression along with, «*The Cross always wins*», were typical in exorcisms at that time. The same expressions are found in the inscriptions on the converted temple of Isis at Philae in Egypt (see below). Such acclamations are also found at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431: «*Christ has won, the Cross has won, it always wins*»³⁷.

Hagiographical material provides us with information concerning the involvement of the monks in the purification of the temples and their fight with the demons. From *the Life of St. Thekla*, we know that St. Thekla lived in the temple of Sarpedon in Seleucia³⁸. A fourth century hermit called Macarius settled in a deserted temple. At night, using a mummy for a pillow, he became the target of the demons. A pagan mummy demon was present in the fight. Finally, the hermit beat the mummy and turned the demons away³⁹.

As we have already discussed, from literary evidences we are informed of temples which were transformed into Christian churches. Among the most important are: the church at Mambre, the Holy Sepulchre, both erected on pagan sites, the converted temples of Mithra and Serapis in Alexandria, the temple of Zeus Marnas in Gaza. Unfortunately, because of the non-existent archaeological evidence

36. *Mark the Deacon*, 75-76.

37. Cf. P. Nautin, "La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne", *CahArch.* 17. (1967): 14.

38. G. Dagon, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thecle: Texte grec, traduction et commentaire.* (Brussels: 1978) 278.

39. Saradi, 56.

of the time of the conversion of the above monuments, we are not able to discuss them further.

At this point, I would like to single out a few examples of temples converted to churches for which we are fortunate to either have archaeological evidence or a record of the Christian transformation. I will begin with the temple of Isis at the island of Philae in the Nile. Despite the anti-pagan imperial legislation, especially the decree issued under Theodosius II (A.D.435) concerning the destruction of the temples, Philae conserved its pagan character until the sixth century. The delay of its conversion may be attributed to its privileged position at the extreme south of Egypt. The conversion of the temple is dated around A.D. 535-537. According to P. Nautin, the reason for the conversion of the temple was mainly political and occurred after a clash between the Justinian's army and a local tribe, the Blemmyes⁴⁰. The priests of Isis resisted when they were forced by Justinian to abandon the temple. The local tribe of Blemmyes, being associated with the priests, got into a fight with the imperial army. The local governor, Narses Kamsarakan, presided over the conversion campaign. The soldiers of Justinian removed the statue of Isis along with the rest of the idols from the temples and sent them to the emperor. Afterwards, the consecration part was left to bishop Theodore. The conversion process here is interesting because we do not have any architectural modifications made to meet the new liturgical needs of the Christian service. Theodore evangelized the temple first by erecting a cross on the day of the inauguration of the church. The next step was to carve apotropaic inscriptions and the sign of the Cross, inscribed in a circle, at various points on the temple. I will consider those inscriptions important for the understanding of the conversion at Philae. Besides, some of them are repetitive in their subject matter. The inscription on the right side of the pronaos pylon reads: «*This place became in the name of the Holy and consubstantial Trinity the house of St. Stephen under our father, the very reverend bishop, abbot Theodore; May God preserve him for a long time*». The formula, «*in the name*», was a common one used for exorcisms and consecrations in order to drive the demons out from either a person or an object or a place. The mention of the Holy Trinity here bears an apotropaic implication. Finally, the inscription reminds us that the

40. Nautin, 6.

conversion of the temple occurred under bishop Theodore.

The inscription on the right side of the pylon of naos reads: *'The Cross has won. it always wins'*. (fig. 2). As I have already mentioned, similar acclamations we find at the Council of Ephesus. This inscription reflects the imperial edict of the year 435 issued under Theodosius II⁴¹. The function of these inscriptions was apotropaic, namely, to keep the demons away. They also declared the victory of the Cross over paganism, and finally there were visible signs to the faithful during the sacred Liturgy. The interior of the temple was not particularly altered. A cross was erected on the site of Isis' statue that was on an axis with the doors of the naos and pronaos. The pagan decorations of the inner walls of the naos were covered so they were not visible. Many of the pagan figures of the outer walls of the temple were defaced⁴².

The recent publication of the excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria provides us with another instance of the conversion of a temple into a Christian church. The temple of Aphrodite, dating to the Augustan era, was in good condition at the time of its conversion around fifth century A.D. The ancient temple was an Ionic one with thirteen by eight columns (fig 4). It is quite certain that the marble statue of Aphrodite, found broken and buried beneath a wall close to the south side of the basilica, was removed from the precinct of the temple at the conversion time. Here, the adaptation of the temple into the new basilica involved two factors: the temple itself and the Corinthian temenos with a central gate to the east of the temple. (fig. 5)⁴³. The Christian builders maintained the east-west axis of the temple and they chose the form of a wooden roofed basilica. They used the already pre-existing colonnades to act as the structural divisions between a central nave and the two side aisles. In order to complete the aisles they constructed a new floor and an outer masonry wall. The width of the new basilica was determined by the north-south projection of the eastern original wall of the temenos on which a central apse and the side chapels were built. The east wall of the earlier temenos or the altar platform was used as the east end of the church

41. *CTh*, 16.10.25.

42. *Naurin*, 17.

43. R. Cormack. "The Temple as a Cathedral". In *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. Supplementary Series Ann Arbor, MI. (1990): 75.

and possibly the western section of the temenos as the west wall of the narthex. The inventiveness of the Christian masons appeared when they moved the columns from the short sides and added them to the extended longitudinal axis. Moreover, they built high outer north and south walls along the north and south side aisles respectively with the necessary windows and entrances in these walls (three large doorways on the north and south sides). The width of the narthex was also determined by pre-existing masonry that remained from the temenos⁴⁴. Three doors opened into the nave and one into each aisle. The fascinating thing at Aphrodisias' conversion is, I think, the Christian re-interpretation of the ancient site on the one hand, and on the other, the degree of unity of the holy site they achieved.

Among the temples converted into churches at Athens in Greece, the temple of Hephaistos offers an interesting example. The spread of Christianity in Athens, and in Greece, in general was slower, and the destruction of temples less common. Philosophical schools in Athens were still powerful during fifth and sixth century until their closure by Justinian in A.D. 529. That Greece was culturally and economically behind compared to the rest of Byzantine empire and also the absence of monasticism might have been other factors for its slow Christianization⁴⁵. The dating of the conversion of the Hephaisteion to either the second half of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century is no longer accepted⁴⁶. A revised theory that places the conversion of the temple well into the seventh century A.D. and not later than A.D. 663 seems more widely accepted⁴⁷. In this conversion case we may observe the following architectural transformations (fig. 6): 1. A construction of an apse at the east side of the nave, at the side of the pronaos. 2. The removal of the two columns of the pronaos and the replacement of them with an apse, without destroying the frieze above. The opening for the apse was narrowed to the width of 4.62 m. by thick piers leading off the antae. The piers with their crowning capitals reached to a height of 2.10 m. and supported an arch consisting of twenty-one voussoir blocks. The gap between the upper frieze

44. *Cormack*, 80.

45. T.E. Gregory. "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay". *American Journal of Philology*. 107 (1986): 235.

46. A. Orlandos, *ABME*, II (1936): 207-216.

47. A. Frantz. "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 19 (1965): 204.

and side original columns was filled with a patch of brick and mortar. 3. The removal of the wall of the pronaos that interrupted the sight of the faithful to the altar. 4. The opening of a big door in the wall of the west short side of the nave. 5. The opening of smaller doors, two at each outer wall of the side aisles⁴⁸. Despite the major constructions, Christian masons did not open any window at the long sides of the temple. Thus, we assume that light was allowed to come in the inner part of the church of the early period from the doors and the windows of the apse of the altar⁴⁹. The new church was dedicated to St. George.

In this paper we attempted to follow the Christianization of the eastern Roman empire by looking at the destruction and conversion of ancient temples. This led us to examine the attitude of the early Byzantines towards classical antiquity. Although I believe that the phenomenon of destruction and conversion of temples is a case study and it is difficult for someone to come up with general conclusions, I will attempt a few observations. I agree with H. Saradi-Mendelovici that hostility towards pagan monuments was not the official policy of either the Church or the Byzantine State. Both Christians and pagans believed that statues are inhabited by demons. For Christians though, demons were nothing but evil. Temples were either destroyed or consecrated and converted because they were the house of the demonic statues. One can say that conversion was an attempt to reinterpret the classical past into a Christian context as we observe in the cases of Philae, Aphrodisias and Hephasteion. It is impressive to trace how, on the one hand, the ancient temple became part of the Christian church and, on the other, how the Christian church was accommodated architecturally by the temple. It seemed that such temple conversions reflect the 'marriage' of a classical past to Christianity.

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48. *Frantz*, 202.

49. *Orlandos*, 211.

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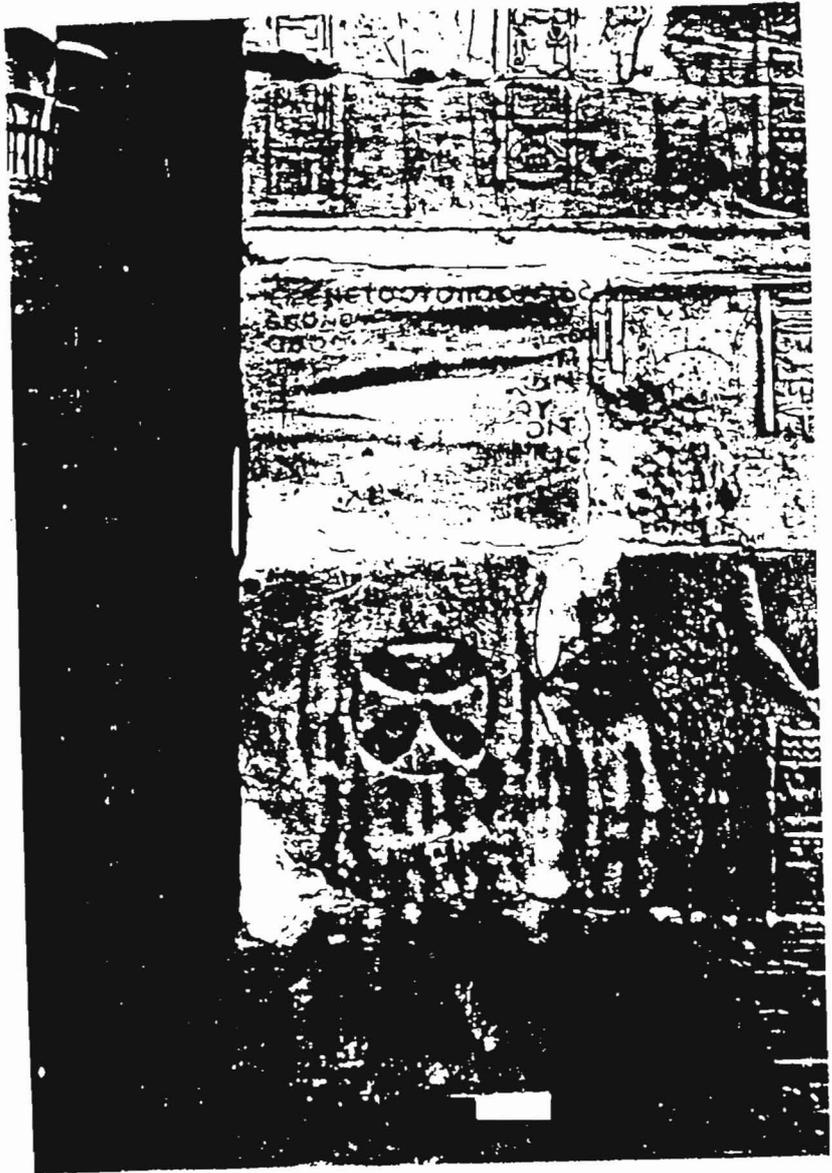


Fig. 1.

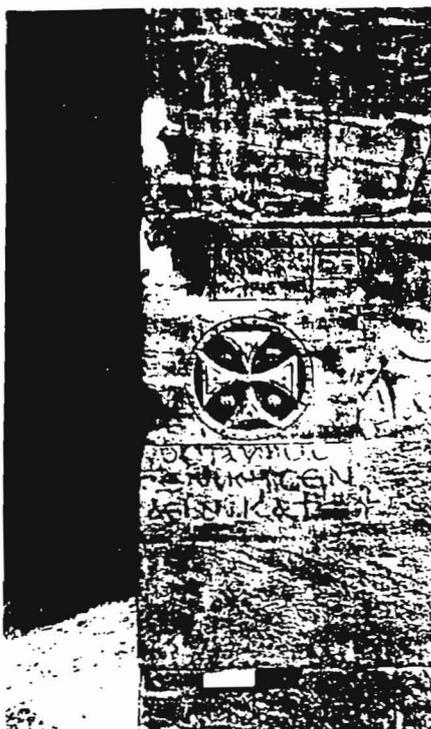


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

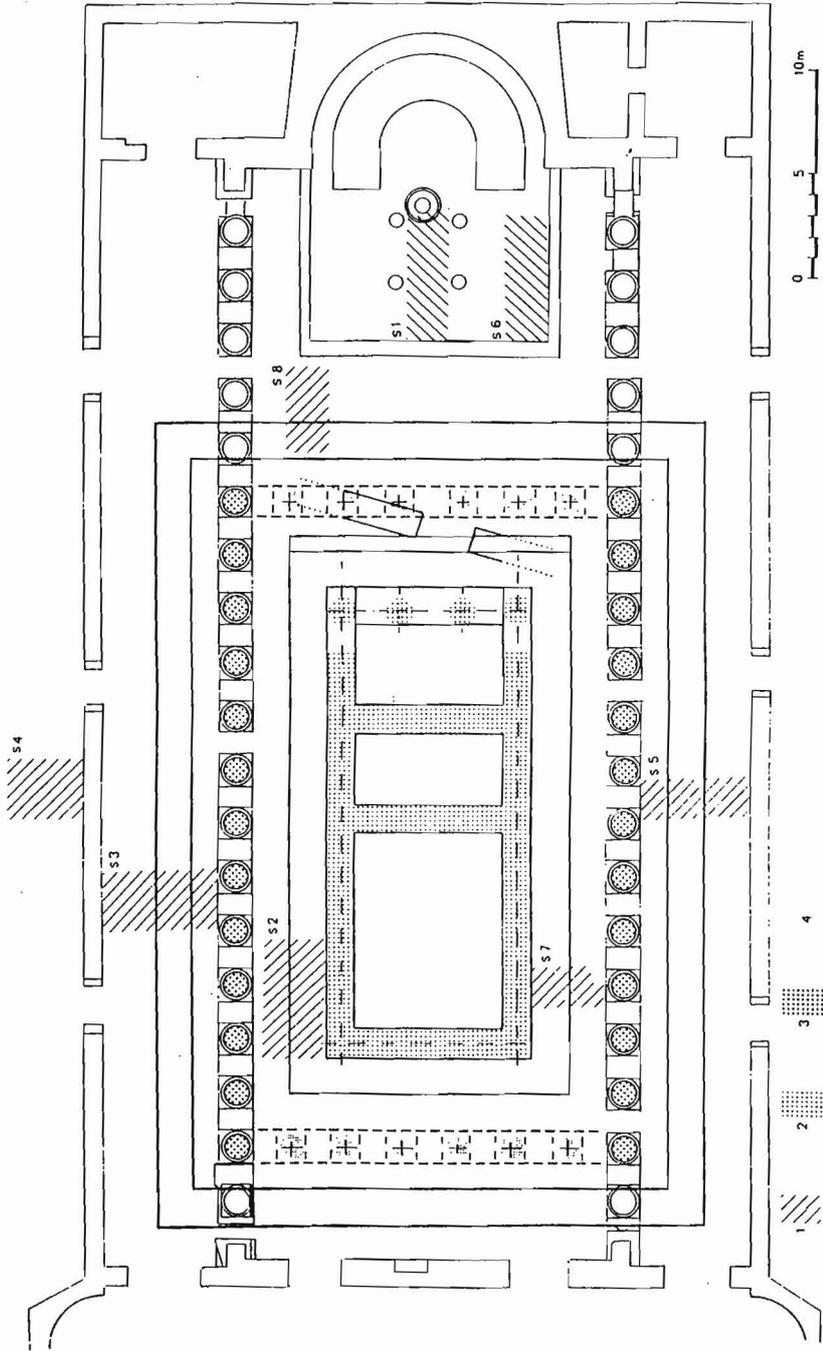


Fig 4.

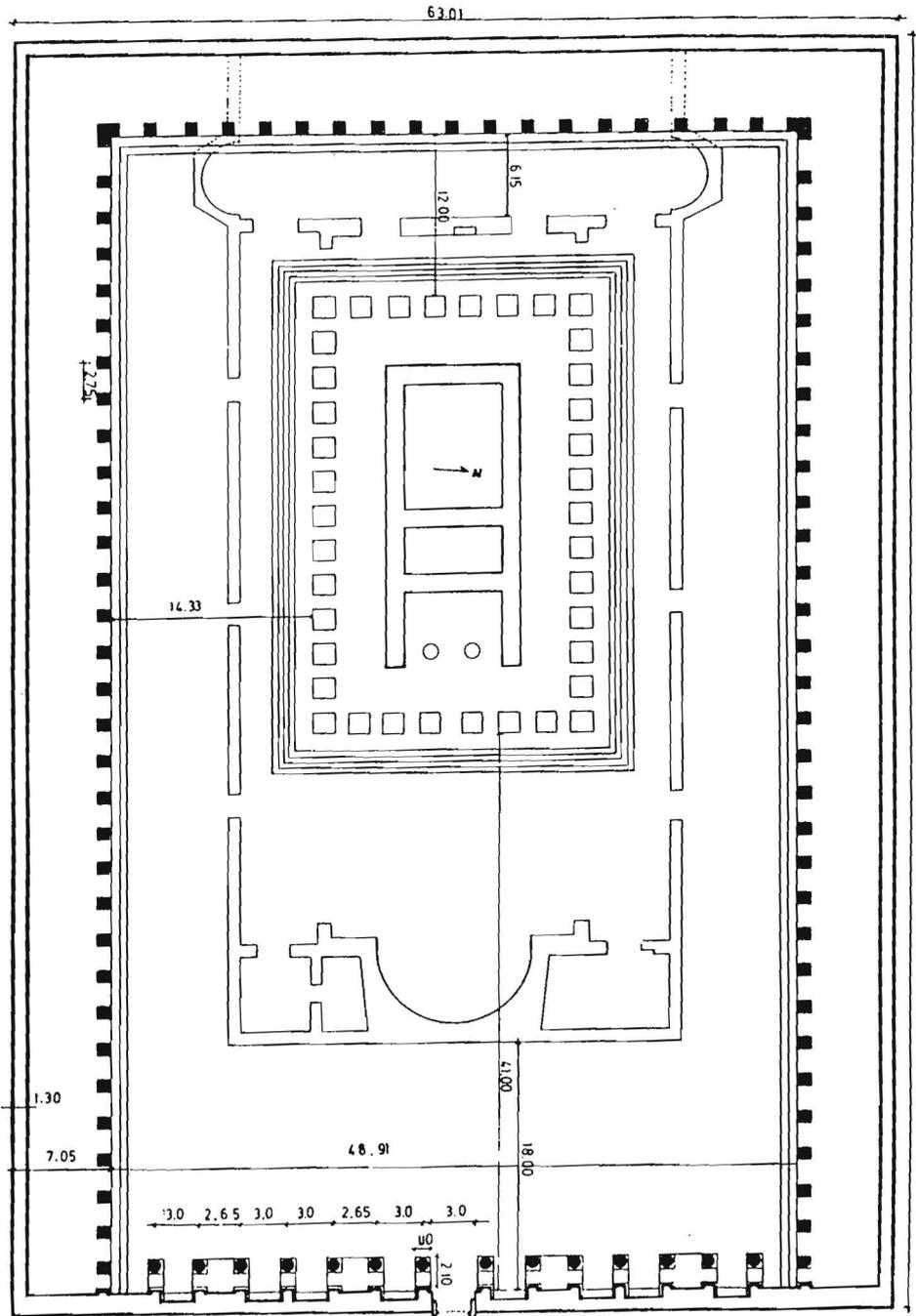
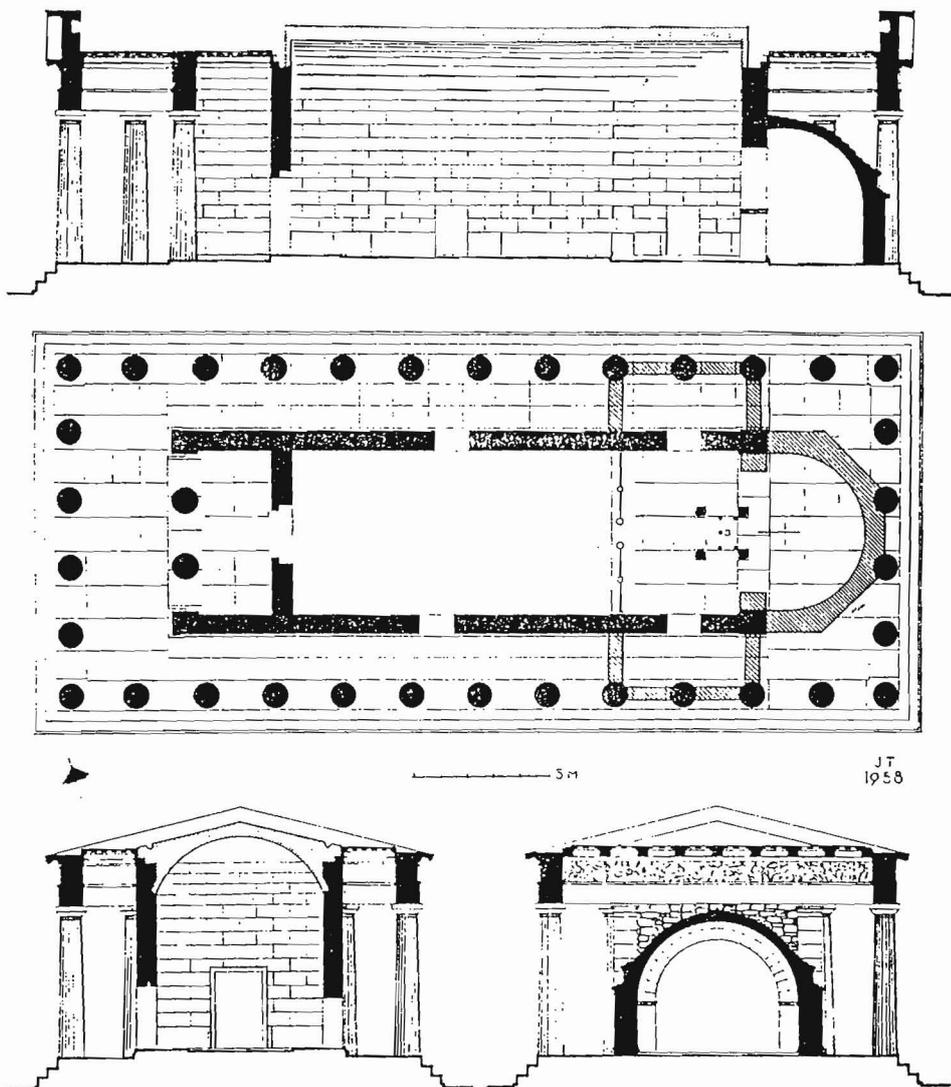


Fig. 5.



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Fig. 6.