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The Writing On The Wall: Inscriptions And Memory In The Temples Of Late Antique Greece And Asia Minor

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Abstract

This dissertation documents late antique (fourth to seventh century CE) Christian responses to earlier, pagan inscriptions at sanctuaries, as seen in the archaeological record. I argue that Christians in Greece and Asia Minor neither ignored nor unthinkingly destroyed older inscriptions, but rather were generally tolerant toward these legible reminders of the pagan past, selectively editing them only occasionally. In order to clarify the types of inscriptions that Christians encountered on temple walls and architraves, I have assembled the first catalog of inscriptions on temples, which reveals that the majority of texts inscribed on sacred structures between the seventh century BCE and the third century CE were, counterintuitively, not about religion, but rather civic matters: political privileges, economic/territorial rights, and elite social structures. This data further reveals regional variations and chronological trends in the ancient practice of inscribing temples, including a proclivity for the practice in Caria and a break in the Roman imperial period from the Hellenistic habit of inscribing important documents on temples. Christian reception of these inscribed texts is explored in depth at six sites: Ankara, Sagalassos, Labraunda, the Corycian Cave (Cilicia) Clifftop Temple, Aizanoi, and Aphrodisias. Inscriptions on temples at these sites have been overlooked in late antique scholarship because of disciplinary biases. Art historical/archaeological studies have traditionally fixated on the original appearance of monuments rather than their full lifespan, while epigraphic publications often treat texts as historical data rather than elements of larger, trans-temporal architectural settings. Each of these sites shows a different approach toward the older inscriptions, including preservation in place, reuse, modification, and erasure. I argue that the civic-focused nature of the majority of inscribed texts on temple walls inflected late antique conceptualization of temples and provided a counterbalance to the negative, polemical depiction of temples presented in hagiographical texts. This study therefore adds a new facet to our understanding of Christianization between the ancient Roman and early Byzantine periods.

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IN THE TEMPLES OF LATE ANTIQUE GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

Anna M. Sitz

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To my family

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ABSTRACT

THE WRITING ON THE WALL: INSCRIPTIONS AND MEMORY IN THE TEMPLES OF LATE ANTIQUE GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

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This dissertation documents late antique (fourth to seventh century CE) Christian responses to earlier, pagan inscriptions at sanctuaries, as seen in the archaeological record. I argue that Christians in Greece and Asia Minor neither ignored nor unthinkingly destroyed older inscriptions, but rather were generally tolerant toward these legible reminders of the pagan past, selectively editing them only occasionally. In order to clarify the types of inscriptions that Christians encountered on temple walls and architraves, I have assembled the first catalog of inscriptions on temples, which reveals that the majority of texts inscribed on sacred structures between the seventh century BCE and the third century CE were, counterintuitively, not about religion, but rather civic matters: political privileges, economic/territorial rights, and elite social structures. This data further reveals regional variations and chronological trends in the ancient practice of inscribing temples, including a proclivity for the practice in Caria and a break in the Roman imperial period from the Hellenistic habit of inscribing important documents on temples. Christian reception of these inscribed texts is explored in depth at six sites: Ankara, Sagalassos, Labraunda, the Corycian Cave (Cilicia) Clifftop Temple, Aizanoi, and Aphrodisias. Inscriptions on temples at these sites have been overlooked in late antique scholarship because of disciplinary biases. Art historical/archaeological studies have traditionally fixated on the original appearance of monuments rather than their full lifespan, while epigraphic publications often treat texts as historical data rather than elements of larger, trans-temporal architectural settings. Each of these sites shows a different approach toward the older inscriptions, including preservation in place, reuse, modification, and erasure. I argue that the civic-focused nature of the majority of inscribed texts on temple walls inflected late antique conceptualization of temples and provided a counterbalance to the negative, polemical depiction of temples presented in hagiographical texts. This study therefore adds a new facet to our understanding of Christianization between the ancient Roman and early Byzantine periods.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1: THEORY, HISTORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY

Opening: Manufactured Violence

In late August 2015, the Islamic State (ISIS) destroyed the ancient temples of Bel and Baalshamin in Palmyra, Syria. ISIS had previously established their tendency for wanton destruction when they released a video documenting the smashing of statues in the Mosul museum.[1] In each instance, news outlets and social media users around the globe responded with horror and outrage; this obliteration of irreplaceable artifacts and destruction of local people's connection with their past served to underscore, yet again, the savageness of ISIS.

The usual narrative set forth by the international media saw these violent acts as evidence of ISIS's religious intolerance: these temples were dedicated to false gods, and the destroyed statues were idols, worshiped by the ancients. As such, under an extreme interpretation of Islamic tradition, they must be destroyed. More astute observers, however, recognized that ISIS's actions were more complex: it was the video of the Mosul museum destruction, not the destructive act itself, that was the goal.[2] The video spread like wildfire through social media and mainstream media; ISIS's disturbing videos of violence against captive journalists, on the other hand, are heavily censored in the media and shared by few social media users. The destruction by explosives of the two temples in Palmyra had a similar effect: ISIS was again in the headlines. The farce was given up when, after the two temples, an arch (hardly a religious structure) in the ancient

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[1] Though many of the destroyed statues are believed to have been plaster casts.
[2] Ömür Harmanşah, "Isis, Heritage, and the Spectacles of Destruction in the Global Media," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78, no. 3 (2015): 170-177.

city was brought down. This was violence for attention's sake, a dramatic statement

against the value of the past, manufactured violence to spread a cause.

> The columns [of the temple] were of great bulk… In each of these the man made
> an opening all round, propping up the superstructure with olive timber before he
> went on to another. After he had hollowed out three of the columns, he set fire to
> the timbers... Then the fire… caught the wood, and consumed it in an instant.
> When their support had vanished the columns themselves fell down, and dragged
> the other twelve with them. The side of the temple which was connected with
> the columns was dragged down by the violence of their fall, and carried away
> with them. The crash, which was tremendous, was heard throughout the town, and
> all ran to see the sight.[3]

This account describes not ISIS's violence against temples, but the purported

actions of the Bishop Marcellus against the Temple of Zeus Belos in Apamea (Syria),

traditionally dated to 386 CE. It was written by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the mid-fifth

century – some six decades after the event, in an account of ecclesiastical history that

weaves historical events with miraculous episodes. It has long been regarded by scholars

as evidence of Christian religious sentiment against pagan gods and temples. But this is

not necessarily the case. Bishop-initiated violence against the Temple of Zeus in Apamea

may never have actually happened – the archaeological evidence is inconclusive.[4] Rather

than a historical record, the account may be based on local stories seeking to explain the

remains of a collapsed temple – a potentially false etiology, creating a narrative to

explain the late antique cityscape.[5] Written long after the event it purports to record,

Theodoret's account too is manufactured violence: it served to advance his narrative and

the Christian community identity of Apamea. Like the modern examples, violence

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[3] Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.21*,* trans. Blomfield Jackson, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, vol. 3, ed. Philip Schaf and Henry Wace, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1892).
[4] Aude Busine, "From Stones to Myth: Temple Destruction and Civic Identity in the Late Antique Roman East," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6, no. 2 (2013): 329.
[5] Ibid., 337.

against temples in late antiquity (fourth to early seventh century CE) – or stories of violence against temples – must be contextualized as something more than straightforward religious attacks. These narratives rather served late antique needs. Indeed, on a broader scale, late antique violence against temples seems to be more narrative than action. The archaeological remains from across Greece and Asia Minor show little evidence for violent temple destruction. Rather, most temples were either reused or abandoned. This dichotomy between late antique textual sources and the lack of actual destructive action, "between the idea and the reality," lies at the heart of this dissertation.[6] In order to pull apart this contradiction, we must understand what temples meant to entire late antique communities, not only to monastic or clerical authors.

Multiple extensive studies have, of course, already endeavored to answer this question by documenting the "fate of temples" in late antiquity, including several edited volumes and dissertations.[7] It may seem like there is little left to say on the topic, barring new excavation findings. I turn instead to a previously untapped source for temples in late antiquity: the messages written on the very walls of the temples themselves. True, Christian graffiti and late antique inscriptions added to temples have been documented before. But the older, Greek and Roman period inscriptions written on the temple walls, architraves, and columns, and still preserved in place in late antiquity, have been ignored in studies because they date from earlier times. These engraved remnants of the pagan

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[6] T.S. Eliot, "The Hollow Men," in *Collected Poems, 1909-1962* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace, 1991), 77-82.
[7] See, for example, Richard Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion*, BAR International Series 1281 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004); Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter, ed., *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan, ed., *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Ine Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space: The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 193 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 272ff.

past were still visible in late antiquity and, as I shall argue, continued to communicate with viewers/readers both through their words and the symbolism of inscribed text. I therefore allow temples to "speak for themselves," by documenting the messages they projected to Christian viewers in this way. I posit that the texts of these inscriptions, and their very presence, shaped Christian cultural memory of pagan sanctuaries. I further propose that late antique Christians interacted with these engraved mementos of the past in a variety of ways.

The first step in understanding what these inscriptions meant in late antiquity requires moving backwards in time to the periods of their original inscribing, that is the Archaic through Roman periods (seventh/sixth century BCE through the early fourth century CE). Late antique Christians did not spring up out of the ground, autochthonous, nor were they foreign conquers who swept over the Roman empire. They were, instead, Romans themselves, the inheritors and proprietors of classical culture. In order to understand their cultural memory of pagan temples, one must first familiarize oneself with the actual referent of that memory, the sanctuaries during the time of active pagan cult. The importance of temples and the messages they transmitted to worshippers were, of course, various, and delivered by many methods, including architecture, location, statuary, votives, festivals, sacrifices, priests, and inscriptions. I focus on this last category – the words written on temples – as especially potent transmitters of messages even after the ephemeral vestiges of paganism, such as animal sacrifice and festivals, had faded away.

Chapter Overview

I have collected a catalog of inscriptions on temples dating from the Archaic

through Roman periods, presented here in the Appendix, as no major study or collection

of this body of material yet exists. The goal is two-fold: both to better understand what

temples stood for in antiquity, in order to identify how that meaning changed or

persevered in the early periods of Christian dominance, and more specifically to

document the types and frequency of text that appeared on temple walls, in order to

compare the overall data set with that subset of inscriptions that continued to be

preserved in late antiquity. This will reveal general trends in the persistence of pagan

inscriptions on temples in late antiquity, for example, whether Christians frequently

chose to destroy one type of inscription and preserve another, or whether inscribed

temples were avoided or were *desiderata*.

Chapter Two of this dissertation centers on the Greek and Roman periods and

presents the findings from the catalog of inscriptions on temples in order to establish the

messages encoded on these buildings by their original, pagan builders/users. Most

traditional epigraphic studies focus on the historical content of the inscriptions, rather

than their architectural setting (in this case, temples), and therefore this group of texts has

largely been subsumed within larger studies of the epigraphy of ancient sanctuaries,

which includes many inscriptions located elsewhere than on the temple structure. By

analyzing my catalog, I suggest that most temple inscriptions can be divided into three

main types, based on the content of the texts and their architectural locations. The data in

the catalog further allows for the documentation of regional trends in temple epigraphy

and clarifies the motivations behind inscribing temples from the seventh/sixth century BCE to the fourth century CE.

Chapter Three then moves to late antiquity (fourth to early seventh century CE) to document the fate of a selection of these inscriptions on temples in the Christian period. The chapter presents six in-depth cases studies where an inscribed temple survived to late antiquity and was reused in some manner. The sites analyzed in the case studies are Ankara, Sagalassos, Labraunda, the Corcycian Cave (Cilicia), Aizanoi, and Aphrodisias. In each instance, I argue that scholars have ignored the presence of pagan inscriptions at these sanctuaries because of disciplinary tendencies to divide epigraphic material by the time period of original inscribing, rather than examining the full lifespan of the inscription. I document the Christian responses to these engraved records, including toleration, preservation, and modification.

Chapter Four is the concluding chapter. The findings presented in Chapters Two and Three are brought together in order to provide a synthesis of the role the that temple inscriptions played in defining sanctuaries from the ancient through the early Christian periods. The Christian attitude toward earlier pagan epigraphy is contrasted with that toward pagan statuary, indicating yet again the different agencies of word and image, as well as their overlap. Viewing late antique practice in light of the earlier epigraphic habit documented in this dissertation reveals a shift in late antiquity regarding the individual who has the privilege of leaving their name on sacred structures. Finally, I suggest that the inscribed Greek/Roman texts still visible on temple walls played an important role in

shaping late antique views of temples alongside that presented in hagiographical narratives.

The remainder of the chapter outlines the theoretical background of this dissertation, including the concepts of cultural memory, *spolia*, and its counterpart, which I term *unspolia*; further explanation of this term follows below. The history of temples in late antiquity is then recounted, including imperial legislation regarding pagan cult and notable historical episodes involving temples. Finally I give an overview of the historiography of temples in late antiquity to lay the foundations for Chapter Three.

Parameters and Terminology

But first, I establish here the parameters of the dissertation and offer a few notes on terminology. My study is limited to Greece and Turkey, including the islands that lie between them, because these are the areas of my own expertise and where I have been able to make site visits.[8] I have seen in person a fair proportion of the inscriptions represented in the catalog, and spent time at each of the case studies sites presented in Chapter Three. I occasionally make reference to temples or events located outside of Greece and Asia Minor, but only when especially relevant as *comparanda* for the material at hand. Throughout this dissertation, I use several chronological designations, some of which are more standardized than others. "Archaic" designates the eighth century BCE until 480 BCE; "Classical" denotes 480 BCE until the death of Alexander in 323 BCE, while a lowercase "classical" refers to the ancient Greco-Roman periods as a whole; "Hellenistic" indicates the period from 323 BCE to the advent of the Roman imperial period in 31 BCE; "Roman" or "Roman imperial" refers to the period from 31

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[8] As defined by modern borders, an arbitrary though necessary delineation.

BCE to the triumph of Constantine the Great in 312 CE; "late antique," which in other

scholarship is sometimes referred to as the "early Byzantine" period, represents the time

from 312 CE to approximately the early seventh century, when incursions by the Persians

and subsequently the Arabs, alongside natural disasters and plague, significantly

disrupted the traditions of classical urban life.

When referring to the traditional religious practices and beliefs of the ancient

Mediterranean exclusive of Christianity(ies) and Judaism, I prefer to use the term

"paganism" (without any pejorative connotation) rather than "polytheism," because some

pagans were also monotheists.[9] I use the term "temple-church" to refer to any church

built into a pre-existing pagan temple or newly constructed within the temenos largely

from the spoliated blocks of the temple.[10] Throughout, the word "naos" designates a

pagan temple, while "nave" indicates the large central aisle of a basilica church (which is

usually called "naos" in the scholarship on eastern Mediterranean churches, but which

would cause confusion in this dissertation). Potentially unfamiliar architectural terms will

be defined as they appear.

Theory

This dissertation is grounded on the linguistic theory that the words used to name

and describe something – a temple, a deity, a culture – inflect how people see and

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[9] For the designations "pagan" and "polytheist," and an argument in support of the former, see Christopher Jones, "The Fuzziness of 'Paganism,'" *Common Knowledge* 18.2 (2012): 249-254. See also Stephen Mitchell and Peter van Nuffelen, ed., *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[10] I am not following Bayliss' distinction of temple-churches, temple-spolia-churches, and temenos-churches, since my focus is not on the architectural mechanisms of reuse (Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 7). In subsequent chapters, more precise descriptions of the various temple-churches discussed in detail will be given.

conceptualize those same things. The world around us is constructed through language. Buildings obviously do not have inherent meaning; meaning is created through cultural context and framed through the particular vocabulary used to identify them. In short, words matter. But words do not exist in a vacuum. Meaning is further shaped by memories, both those of individuals and of societies as a whole. The question of what (if anything) temples symbolized in late antiquity is tied to this question of memory. By the later half of the fifth century, few city inhabitants would have had personal memories of visiting temples or participating in pagan sacred rites. Yet paganism and temples continued to occupy an important place in the late antique consciousness as *lieux de mémoire*, to use the term of Pierre Nora.[11] Individuals therefore would rely on both language and the cultural memories of pagan sanctuaries to make sense of these charged spaces.

The concept of cultural memory – that memory is not individual but rather shaped by society – was expounded in 1925 by Maurice Halbwachs and has informed much archaeological research.[12] Cultural memory is distinct from history, as it does not aim to preserve a record of specific events in a chronological continuum, unlike the primary conception of the past today.[13] Rather, the important events and attitudes of the past are preserved either by communities on their own behalf, or by ruling elites/systems for their

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[11] Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

[12] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), originally published in 1925. For recent examples of the theory of cultural memory in classical studies, and with earlier bibliography, see Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, ed., *Archaeologies of Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. 2003); Beate Dignas and R.R.R. Smith, ed., *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Karl Galinsky, ed., *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[13] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire,"* *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24.

own perpetuation. Scholars have since explored the many ways that groups preserve, shape, and modify narratives about the past and present, through monuments, written and oral stories/myths, and ritual reenactment.[14] Religion was therefore both a vehicle for preserving/controlling cultural memory, and an object of memory itself.[15]

The companion of cultural remembering is forgetting. A vast number of memories – of events, circumstances, persons – are simply forgotten by happenstance, lacking the memorialization (through story, words, structures, rituals) that would preserve them for future generations. But other memories are intentionally erased. The techniques used to forget are sometimes effective, resulting in a loss of memory within a generation or two. In other cases, however, the aim of "erasure" is not really forgetting, but perpetual condemnation. This is often the case in the Roman practice of *damnatio memoriae*, where the name or image of a disgraced emperor, his family members, or officials was publically erased, leaving behind visible, often ugly, gaps in the text or image.[16] This action ensured that no one actually forgot about the individual in question, but rather remembered them only in negative terms, as one of the condemned; a cautionary tale for all others who might consider acting in a similar way. This practice continued in late antiquity.[17]

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[14] Susan Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker, ed., *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008).

[15] Lorenz E. Baumer, *Mémoires de la religion grecque* (Paris: CERF, 2010).

[16] Mika Kajava, "Some Remarks on the Erasure of Inscriptions in the Roman World (with Special Reference to the Case of Cn. Piso, cos. 7 BC)," in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3-6 sept. 1991 habiti*, ed. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1995): 201-10; Eric Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation:* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[17] Charles W. Hedrick, Jr., *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin: UT Press, 2000).

The question to ask is therefore not whether late antique memories of the pagan past were "accurate," but rather to interrogate the many ways that these memories were preserved, modulated, and selectively forgotten to serve the late antique present. I suggest that these processes were especially acute at formerly pagan sanctuaries, where past generations had defined their relationships to both gods and each other. The advent of Christianity undoubtedly broke with many of these older community-constructing rituals and spaces. The question of what Christians did with the physical remains of cultural memory at sanctuaries is therefore critical.

Inscriptions: *Spolia* and *Unspolia*

At the intersection of cultural memory and linguistic theory lie inscriptions, the verbalized records of the past on public display. Inscriptions represent an essential connection to antiquity, serving as unmediated expressions from individuals, groups, and civic bodies. They impart historical data (for example, a decree passed by a city or an imperial directive) as well as sociological data (the presence of Latin-speaking soldiers in central Anatolia or the persistence of indigenous names in provinces of the empire). Of course, as with literary sources, all this information must be understood through the lens of self/group/civic representation and need not be factually accurate. Texts shape rather than record history. Nonetheless, the historical narratives derived from epigraphic sources underpin much of our understanding of the ancient/late ancient world and provide the historical context for archaeological discoveries. But is this all that inscriptions are good for?

Inscriptions do provide information to us today, but they also communicated with viewers in antiquity. This aspect of inscriptions has rarely been addressed in scholarship: the phenomenological experience of, and viewer interaction with, inscribed words. The historiography of epigraphic studies has heavily favored using inscriptions as historical documents with little regard for their surrounding contexts.[18] Most inscriptions have been published in isolation: in entire volumes dedicated to epigraphy or in appendices at the end of excavation volumes, rather than alongside the architecture, sculpture, and landscape features which framed - and were framed by – the inscribed words.[19] The large epigraphic *corpora* – for example, the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, do include the original find-spot when known, but this is possible in only a fraction of entries. Often, this information was lost long ago when inscribed blocks were reused to build houses, walls, and churches. In other instances, early excavators failed to record the locations of these finds, seeing their value as intrinsic (contained in the words written on the stone) as opposed to contextual (where the stone was displayed, its intended viewers, and reuse).

Even when excavation reports do record the find-spots of inscriptions, these are rarely plotted on site/building plans in a way that makes spatial visualization possible. While the text of the inscription does have intrinsic value, a fuller appreciation of the

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[18] For similar critiques, see Stephen Mitchell, "Epigraphic Display and the Emergence of Christian Identity in the Epigraphy of Rural Asia Minor," in *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text. Akten des XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Berlin 2012*, ed. Werner Eck and Peter Funke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 275-276; Irene Berti, Katharina Bolle, Fanny Opdenhoff, and Fabian Stroth, "Introduction," in *Writing Matters: Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 3-5. This last volume, along with other work of the Heidelberg Materiale Textkulturen research group, attempts to locate inscriptions in their surrounding space – "text spaces" as the editors term it – and engages with theoretical approaches to inscriptions.
[19] Though the importance of interpreting inscriptions within their context is beginning to be acknowledged within the scholarship. See, for example, Andreas Rhoby, "Text as Art? Byzantine Inscriptions and Their Display," in *Writing Matters: Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Irene Berti, Katharina Bolle, Fanny Opdenhoff, and Fabian Stroth (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 265-283.

stone is only possible when the location of its display is known. Few art historians would attempt to interpret a single scene from Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling without reference to the surrounding images and architectural setting. Yet all too often, inscriptions are still approached as isolated historical fragments rather than parts of a composite whole.

In addition to disregard for location, inscriptions are often published and studied as *monotemporal* objects – the focus is on the date and circumstances at the moment of its original creation. Who was the individual who commissioned an inscription, and what was her/his message to viewers *at that moment*? Again, this is a valid, and indeed essential, approach, but it counterintuitively treats these carved stones as ephemeral historic blips. The diachronic nature of inscriptions is ignored; the very permanence that has allowed them to survive into the present also allowed them to be legible throughout antiquity and late antiquity.[20] Inscriptions continued to be read and impart messages to viewers long after their original creator and historical circumstances were gone.

The diachronic nature of inscriptions is acknowledged in some contemporary scholarship, usually framed as studies of the "afterlife" of inscriptions.[21] These studies, however, often focus on inscriptions that have been *reused*, i.e., taken from their original display location and built into a new structure, often a church. They therefore fall under

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[20] John C. Barrett ("Chronologies of Remembrance: The Interpretation of Some Roman Inscriptions," *World Archaeology* 25.2 [1993]: 236-247) likewise criticizes subjecting Roman inscriptions found in military camps in south Wales to our modern idea of chronology, assigning them to years in order to plot historical development, rather than understanding them as permanent statements of loyalty to the emperors.
[21] Alison Cooley, ed., *The Afterlife of Inscriptions: Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing & Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, 2000); Robert Coates-Stephens, "Epigraphy as Spolia – The Reuse of Inscriptions in Early Medieval Buildings," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 70 (2002): 275-296; Antony Eastmond, ed., *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

the rubric of *spolia*: reused inscriptions, reliefs, carved architectural fragments, and

marbles built into new structures in such a way that they continued to be on display.[22] As

with temple conversions, much of the scholarship has attempted to attribute these

appropriations to either practical needs (the difficulty of obtaining new marbles or of

finding skilled sculptors) or ideological motivations (the use of the past to bolster one's

own pedigree, a desire to show triumph over the past, continuity over time, etc.).

　　Spolia studies have undoubtedly added much to our appreciation for and

understanding of late antique architectural assemblages and the many ways the past can

be used as a tool in the present. Yet they fail to account for elements that were *not*

spoliated, but left in place, still visible and carrying meaning for late antique viewers.

True, the act of spoliation always required a conscious decision to reuse, whether that

decision is based on economic necessity or ideological appropriation. The decision to

leave elements in place, however, can also be intentional – especially when the building

material itself may have been desirable for reuse elsewhere. I am therefore interested in

exploring both *spolia* and what I term "*unspolia*," by which I mean inscriptions, reliefs,

statues, and architectural decoration which continued to be displayed *in situ* in populated

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[22] Like most scholars, I do not consider reused bricks or basic wall blocks to be properly *spolia*, as the reemployment of these materials is usually not noticeable in the new structure. The literature on *spolia* is vast, but see especially Joseph Alchermes, "Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 167-178; Jaś Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: the Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 149-184; Michael Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney, ed., *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine* (Oxford: Taylor and Francis, 2011); and Stefan Altekamp, Carmen Marcks-Jacobs, and Peter Seiler, ed., *Perspektiven der Spolienforschung 1: Spoliierung und Transposition* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

areas under changed historical circumstances, in order to gain a fuller picture of attitudes toward the past in late antiquity.

By acknowledging that inscriptions left *in situ* throughout antiquity (not simply those that experienced an 'afterlife' by being reused elsewhere) continued to be visible and carry meaning, we can approach these stones with methodologies adapted from other fields, such as literary criticism and art history. We could, for example, look for intertextuality among inscriptions from different periods. In the late antique period, city inhabitants were surrounded by texts: on walls, architraves, statue bases, *stelai* (flat, thin stones specifically designed to bear inscriptions), and sometimes even the pavement under their feet. It is unlikely that many viewers knew, or cared very much, about the historical circumstances surrounding a particular sacred law or proxeny decree from centuries past – unlike modern epigraphers, who have focused almost exclusively on these historical data. Rather, late antique individuals could understand both the symbolic importance of the inscribing itself, as well as some of the more specific messages to be received from these texts, as I shall argue in Chapter Three.

Unnaming and Renaming

"What's in a name?" asked Juliet. Quite a lot, actually, as the ill-fated lover would find out. Naming, and the removing/replacing of names, are frequent tools in the shaping of cultural memory. Greek villages, many of which had "foreign" names as a result of the *Tourkokratia* (the Ottoman rule over Greece), received new names in the twentieth century; the exact reverse process has been at the same time carried out in Turkey in

formerly Greek villages.[23] In the US city of Philadelphia, a 2014 decision to remove the

iconic PNB (Philadelphia National Bank) logo from an historic building formerly

occupied by the bank was met by local backlash, as residents expressed nostalgia for this

visual feature of the cityscape and local geographical marker.[24] Indeed, the name of the

bank had long outlived the financial institution itself, which had merged with other banks

and been renamed in the 1980s. Names, as preserved in both oral and inscribed iterations,

serve to define locales and calcify that identification for future generations. Their

removal or replacement therefore indicates a conscious attempt to alter meaning and

redirect the historical narrative.

The power of names to shape the past in response to present concerns was also

recognized by late antique and medieval Christians. Dale Kinney has detailed the various

ways that the western medieval world absorbed and reused ancient, sometimes clearly

pagan, imagery on gemstones.[25] One option was to give the iconography an *interpretatio*

christiana, conceptually transforming it from secular/pagan theme to a Christian one.

Kinney cites the example of a cameo depicting the emperor Honorius and his wife Maria,

which was later inscribed with the names St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, thereby

transforming the individuals (including a woman) into these saints.[26] In another example,

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[23] Jack Davis, "Memory Groups and the State: Erasing the Past and Inscribing the Present in the Landscapes of the Mediterranean" in *Negotiating the Past in the Past*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 227-256.
[24] Stephan Salisbury, "Iconic PNB letters removed without review," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 22, 2014. http://articles.philly.com/2014-08-23/news/53116977_1_sign-removal-penny-balkin-bach-historic-buildings. Accessed December 18, 2014; I thank Dale Kinney for drawing my attention to the removal of this logo.
[25] Dale Kinney, "Ancient Gems in the Middle Ages: Riches and Ready-mades," in *Reuse Value:* Spolia *and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011): 97-120.
[26] Ibid., 111.

an early Augustan Medusa cameo is used as the head of a figurine identified in the inscription as *David rex* in the late thirteenth century.[27] Simply inscribing a name on an image held the power to completely transmute the identifies of the figure, from secular to religious, female to male, monstrosity to royalty.

In other instances, however, Kinney argues that pagan imagery was not actually renamed, but simply *unnamed.* "Unnaming" is the process of erasing a figure's identity by ignoring the iconography that points toward their pagan character, either willfully or through ignorance. She cites the example of a medieval writer who described a cameo (attributed with the supernatural power to facilitate childbearing) as depicting a figure "holding in its right hand a spear on which a serpent creeps upward."[28] The writer, however, does not make the mental leap based on this iconography to identify the figure as the pagan god Asclepius. In another case, a cup with Dionysiac imagery was dedicated to an abbey "in faithful conscience."[29] Subsequent descriptions of the cup in its new ecclesiastical setting focused on the flora and fauna, conditioned by the context not to see or describe anything pagan in its iconography. Frank Trombley has furthered noted that the old gods are often demoted from named individuals with specific traits to nameless *daimonia* in late antique textual sources.[30] Both the removal of names, and their replacement, are therefore methods of neutralizing the past. We shall see how these techniques were applied to pagan sanctuaries through epigraphy in Chapter 3.

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[27] Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in Mittelalter* (New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 261.
[28] Kinney, "Ancient Gems," 111.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 99-108.

History of temples and paganism in late antiquity

  The fate of temples in the Christian period is, of course, tied to the fate of paganism itself, which waned in late antiquity even as some aspects of it were adopted into the new religion.[31] Especially in the first few centuries of the new era, there was much slippage between pagans, Christians, and Jews in beliefs, practices, and self-identification. Most scholarship accepts the late antique Christian understanding of "we" and "others." Should we choose instead to view late antiquity from the point of view of Neoplatonists, for example, we might have a different structuring paradigm: "we" as educated pious students of The One, all "others" as the superstitious unenlightened, whether of the animal sacrificing or the Savior-eating persuasion. This dissertation, however, approaches the material culture in terms of pagan and Christian identity, acknowledging that not all individuals fit neatly into one of two categories and that Christians were themselves often split into different doctrinal camps, including Monophysites, Arians, and Chalcedonians.

  Late antiquity is usually framed as a "religious revolution," a transition from paganism to Christianity, from a polytheistic world to a monotheistic one. "Paganism" was, of course, only invented in this period, as Christians increasingly regarded the many disparate traditional Greco-Roman beliefs about the cosmos and cult activities as a single, monolithic, ungodly group.[32] Scholars such as a Guy Stroumsa see the change from

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[31] The bibliography on Christianization and religion in late antiquity is far too vast to be cited here. The reader is referred to Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[32] For a recent overview, see Thomas Jürgasch, "Christians and the Invention of Paganism in the Late Roman Empire," in *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome: Conflict, Competition, and Coexistence in the Fourth Century*, ed. Michele Renee Salzman, Marianne Sághy, and Rita Lizzi Testa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 115-138.

traditional cult to Christianity as a more fundamental shift in how people understood the

concept of religion as a whole, from a civic focused concept to a communitarian and

individualistic one.[33] Specifically, Stroumsa notes that both pagans and Jews of the first

century focused on public animal sacrifice as the main act of worship. After the

destruction of the Jewish temple in 70 CE, both Jews and Christians developed religious

attitudes focused on internal sacrifice and piety – private rather than public religion.

Christianity was not a seamless replacement of paganism, but rather evolved into a

different system altogether. Nonetheless, one would be hard pressed to study the fate of

temples in late antiquity without approaching it from the paradigm of Christians and

pagans, whether in conflict or dialogue. Because of the biased surviving evidence and

power structure of the period under review, this dissertation will inevitably focus most

often on the view of late antique Christians toward temples, but when possible an attempt

to incorporate other viewpoints will be made. Precise actors (imperial officials, bishops,

monks) can usually not be identified in local contexts; I therefore use "Christians" in this

dissertation as a shorthand for the dominant social group in late antiquity. I will now

outline the history of paganism, and pagan shrines, in late antiquity, arranged

chronologically.

Temples in the Third Century and Tetrarchic Period

The third century CE was marked by disruption – invaders, such as the Germanic

Herulian tribe that struck mainland Greece in the 260s, economic downturn, and

uncertain imperial successions after the murder of Alexander Severus in 235 CE.

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[33] Guy G. Stroumsa, "The End of Sacrifice: Religious Mutations of Late Antiquity," in *Empsychoi Logoi: Religious Innovations in Antiquity*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong, and Magda Misset-van de Weg (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 29-46.

Diocletian and his new Tetrarchic system finally put an end to the half-century of crisis. In addition to restructuring the power system at the head of the empire, Diocletian also initiated a number of economic reforms, including his Prices Edict. With the generally improved economic and political situation, one might expect the foundation of new temples to the gods in gratitude, but this was not the case. Restorations of pre-existing temples were carried out, and small private temples were built (for example, in Diocletian's palace at Split), but large scale construction projects seem to have focused rather on the palaces themselves and accompanying funerary rotundas (at Split, Thessaloniki, Romuliana), as well as buildings for public use, such as the enormous baths of Diocletian at Rome or the Basilica Nova in the same city.[34] Rather than reduced pagan religious sentiment, we can probably attribute these construction decisions to the fact that cities were already saturated with temples; there was simply no need for new ones. At the same time, Christians were experimenting with their own religious spaces. At Dura Europos (Syria), a spectacularly preserved house church from c. 240 CE included architectural modifications to the existing building, such as the installation of a baptistery.[35] The evidence for third-century Christian worship spaces in the remainder of the empire, however, is sparse.

During the third century, Christians were subject to periodic persecutions; while there was not a concerted effort of the Roman state to eliminate the new religion,

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[34] For this period see Roger Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); Luke Lavan, "Introduction. The End of the Temples: Towards a New Narrative," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2011), xliv; Gareth Sears, "The Fate of Temples in North Africa," in the same volume, 232.

[35] Clark Hopkins and Paul Victor Christopher Baur, *Christian Church at Dura-Europos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934); most recently see Michael Peppard, *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

individual emperors enforced policies that *de facto* pushed Christians to either violate their beliefs or face repercussions. For example, in 250 CE Decius decreed that everyone in the empire (except for Jews) must sacrifice. While this was likely meant as an affirmation of the *Romanitas* and loyalty to the emperor of inhabitants throughout the Mediterranean, many Christians refused to do so and were therefore seen as (political) traitors. Under Diocletian and his co-emperors, Christians were singled out and required to "return" to traditional religious practices in 303. The sacrifice requirement was revived. The intensity of this persecution varied in different parts of the empire, and next-generation Tetrarchs were more tolerant, gradually ending action against Christians and their property. This process culminated in Constantine and Licinius' Edict of Toleration from Milan in 313, allowing everyone in the empire to worship as they wished. Constantine would soon steer the empire in the direction of Christianity, and (most) of his successors would follow suit.

Constantine and Temples

The fourth century famously saw the conversion of Constantine and increasingly overt imperial support for Christianity. Temples began the century as the cornerstone of civic identity; by the end, they were shuttered monuments of a pagan past even as the Christian future was still being forged. Contemporary historical and archaeological sources also give conflicting accounts of the fate of temples during the reign of Constantine (r. 312-337).[36] I will avoid referring to later fourth and fifth century historians, who tend to view Constantine as a straightforward Christian emperor. In this

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[36] For a recent general overview of Constantine, his religious inclinations, and paradoxical self-representation, see Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); David Potter, *Constantine the Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

respect, many of these authors were following the lead of Eusebius of Caesarea (260/65-339/40 CE), a contemporary of Constantine who wrote the *Ecclesiastical History* and *Vita Constantini*. Eusebius, a bishop and ardent defender of Christianity, claims that Constantine destroyed pagan temples and prohibited all sacrifice. According to the *Vita*, when Constantine initiated a pious building program in Jerusalem after the Council of Nicaea in 325, he was horrified to hear of a temple of Aphrodite built on Golgotha, the supposed place of the crucifixion and also site of Jesus's tomb.[37] Eusebius states that Constantine destroyed the temple completely, removing every stone and timber, specifically claiming that the emperor even ordered the dirt dug up and removed to purify the site completely. These purifying excavations most serendipitously hit upon the cave tomb of Christ, and a church was built on the site formerly occupied by the temple. Archaeological investigations of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre carried out in the 1960s, however, indicates that the church construction actually reused earlier foundations belonging to the temple.[38]

In fact, it is widely acknowledged that Eusebius' literary aims were ideological rather than historical.[39] He casts Constantine as the devout hero sent by God to save Christians from persecution, an unwavering Christian, intent on ridding the Roman world of pagan worship. However, Eusebius can only dredge up three additional examples of

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[37] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, trans. and comm. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.26.

[38] Charles Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); Shimon Gibson and Joan E. Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre Jerusalem: The Archaeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1994); Georgios Labbas, *Ο Πανίερος Ναός της Αναστάσεως στα Ιεροσόλυμα* (Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 2009).

[39] See most recently Martin Wallraff, "Die antipaganen Maßnahmen Konstantins in der Darstellung des Euseb von Kaisareia," in *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt: Imperiale und Lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011): 7-18.

Constantine destroying temples – those to Aphrodite at Aphaka and Heliopolis-Baalbek (Lebanon), both of which were accused of promoting temple prostitution, and a temple of Asclepius at Aigai in Cilicia.[40] Furthermore, Eusebius asserts that Constantine had a church built at Mambre (the location of the Biblical meeting between Abraham and three angels) in order to Christianize the site, which was already visited for both worship and commerce by Jews and pagans.[41] Archaeological evidence does show a Constantinian-era church there, but it is not built directly on top of the holy *relicta* (the well and the oak), potentially leaving these features accessible to worshippers of other religious inclinations.[42]

Other sources, textual and archaeological, paint an entirely different picture of Constantine altogether. The emperor continued to use the *Sol Invictus* imagery on his coins and built his famous arch at Rome in such a way as to frame a statue of the sun god.[43] Libanios, a cultured teacher of rhetoric in Antioch, claims that it was Constantine's son Constantius II (r. 337-361) who prohibited sacrifices, not Constantine himself.[44] Libanios was born in 314, and we may expect him to correctly remember whether

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[40] Scott Bradbury, "Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century," *Classical Philology* 89.2 (1994): 123.

[41] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 3.51-3.

[42] Doron Bar, "Continuity and Change in the Cultic Topography of Late Antique Palestine," in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 284-285.

[43] Elizabeth Marlowe, "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape," *The Art Bulletin* 88.2 (2006): 223-242.

[44] Libanios, *Pro Templis* (Oration 30), in *Selected Works*, vol. 2: *Selected Orations*, trans. A.F. Norman, Loeb Classical Library 452 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 6. For overviews of the context of the *Pro Templis,* see Hans-Ulrich Wiemer, "Für die Tempel? Die Gewalt gegen heidnische Heiligtümer aus der Sicht städtischer Eliten des spätromischen Ostens," in *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt: imperiale und locale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011): 159-186; Edward Watts, "Libanios' Pro Templis and the Art of Seeing Syria through Rhetoric," in *Le vie del sapere in ambito Siro-Mesopotamico dal III al IX secolo* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2013), 105-114.

performing sacrifices had been illegal his entire life, or only as he entered adulthood. Of course, the discrepancy may be due to the uneven application of the laws – perhaps Constantine had tried to outlaw sacrifices in one area, but this dictate was not followed in Antioch. Martin Wallraff argues that Constantine likely issued a ban with regard to a specific situation or concerning one aspect of sacrifice (presumably divination); Eusebius generalized this into a widespread ban.[45] Libanios (who naturally has his own biases and agenda) does tell us that Constantine confiscated temple landholdings and made them a part of his *res private* or gave them as gifts to courtiers, which must have represented a substantial financial blow to many sanctuaries.[46]

Constantine's remaking of the city of Byzantion according to his own wishes also presents an ambiguous picture.[47] First, Byzantion, situated at the point where Europe meets Asia, was not known as a Christian city prior to its re-founding, and as far as we know lacked any sort of Christian mythology or major saints. Constantine could have elected to build his new capital at any number of Asia Minor sites associated with the travels of St. Paul. Instead, we are told that he originally wanted his new city to be built at Ilion (Troy), a site strongly associated with Hellenic mythological history and the Roman origin story. Even after moving to Byzantion, Constantine brought a statue of a radiate male (probably nude), allegedly from Ilion, and rechristened it as himself atop the porphyry column that bears his name and is still visible in Istanbul today (the statue is

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[45] Wallraff, "Die antipaganen Maßnahmen," 10; Jill Harries, "Superfluous Verbiage?: Rhetoric and Law in the Age of Constantine and Julian," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 19, no. 3 (2011): 371-372.

[46] Libanios, *Pro Templis*, 37-38. For all the evidence related to the expropriation of temples, see Noel Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities: Imperial Authority and Civic Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 171-172.

[47] For a synthesis of the evidence, see Albrecht Berger, "Konstantinopel, die erste christliche Metropole?" in *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, ed. Gunnar Brands and Hans-Georg Severin (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003): 63-71.

long-gone, unfortunately).[48] This was one of many statues brought to Constantinople for

its founding in 330 CE – including those from famous pagan shrines such as Delphi.

Transplanted from that sanctuary, the three-headed serpent column celebrating victory

over the Persians at Plataea (479 BCE) found a new home in the Hippodrome next to the

imperial palace. Despite Eusebius' claim that Constantine only imported the statues so

that they could be ridiculed by Christians, Constantine's main aim was presumably to add

to the beauty of his new capital and link it (and by extension himself) with Greco-Roman

history, while also reducing the appeal of pagan sanctuaries around the empire, now in

competition with Constantine's preferred locale of patronage, the Holy Land.[49]

Byzantion had a number of pre-existing temples that Constantine seems to have

left unmolested.[50] It even appears that Constantine (or perhaps one of his sons) built a

new temple in Constantinople – a monument called the Capitolium or Philadelphion,

which lay on the Mese, the central street of Constantinople.[51] Based on the designation

"Capitolium," it may have been a sanctuary of the Capitoline triad (Jupiter Optimus

Maximus, Juno, and Minerva), emphasizing Constantinople's role as the "New Rome."

Or, the building may rather have been a temple of the imperial cult. The porphyry statues

of the embracing Tetrarchs now in Venice (reinterpreted as Constantine and his sons)

were displayed somewhere on the monument and led to the designation Philadelphion

("Brotherly love"). While the remains of the building itself have not been uncovered and

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[48] Robert Ousterhout, "The Life and Afterlife of Constantine's Column," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27 (2014): 304-326.

[49] Helen Saradi, "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, no. 4 (1997): 395-423; Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[50] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor*, 261.

[51] Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), 267.

cannot answer the question of its original dedication, by 425 it was transformed into an academy, suggesting that its previous usage was now obsolete. Libanios also implies that there are still-standing, though neglected, temples in Constantinople when he is writing in the 380s.[52]

Temples after Constantine

In any case, Constantine increasingly favored Christianity throughout his reign, and his sons Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans continued this trend. One might think that the fate of temples in late antiquity was determined exclusively by imperial policy. As we shall see, this was not the case. It is nonetheless useful to establish the legal standing of pagan cult sites in the critical early decades of Christian dominance. This can be ascertained from the law code contained in the *Codex Theodosianus*.[53] Theodosios II (r. 408-450) compiled this collection of the laws of previous emperors (beginning with Constantine in 312); it was first published in 438 and became the law of the land in 439.[54] Book 16 of the *Codex*, entitled *De fide catholica*, gives various laws about religion – both Christianity and "heretics." The section on "pagans, sacrifices, and temples" comes at the very end. Sacrifices are repeatedly prohibited, with a particular enmity toward divination, which was clearly still believed to work and could be used against the emperor. As mentioned above, it seems likely that Constantine placed some sort of prohibition, if a limited one, on sacrifices in 324. Sacrifices in Hellenic religion took place outside of

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[52] Libanios, *Pro Templis*, 5.
[53] Translated into English by Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952). See also Sylvie Crogiez-Pétrequin and Pierre Jaillette, *Le Code Théodosien: Diversité des approaches et nouvelles perspectives* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2009); Jill Harries and Ian Wood, ed., *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, 2nd edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).
[54] For a detailed study of the process of collecting these laws, see A.J.B. Sirks, *The Theodosian Code: A Study* (Friedrichsdorf: Tortuga, 2007).

temples, at altars located usually directly in front of the main building, which was usually inaccessible to worshippers anyways. Deligitmizing sacrifices therefore decreased the desirability of visiting sanctuaries and the livelihood of priests, who usually received a portion of the sacrificed animal. This prohibition was reiterated and expanded by Constantius II in 341; the same emperor would even prescribe capital punishment for sacrifices in 356. Even so, in 337, Constans granted permission to the town of Hispellum in northern Italy to complete a temple in honor of the *gens Flavia* (Constantine's family), so long as the temple was not "polluted by the falsehoods of some contagious superstition."[55] As Jonathan Bardill notes, this line does not specifically forbid sacrifices, but rather leaves the interpretation of *supserstitio* up to local officials.[56]

Already established temples were subject to varying legal ordinances according to the *Codex*. In 342 (*C. Th.* 16.10.3, issued by Constantius II and Constans), temples outside the city walls should be left untouched - allegedly because they are the cultural reference behind various theatrical works and circus amusements. This is the *Codex's* earliest law directed at temples; it is unclear whether these sanctuaries were still in use, or what the status of intermural temples was. By 356, however, imperial attitude toward temples had taken a harder line: Constantius declared that all temples everywhere, including in cities, must be closed and threatens death for those caught sacrificing (*C. Th.* 16.10.4).

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[55] "*ne….cuiusquam contagiose superstitionis fraudibus polluatur.*" *CIL* 2.1.5265. For a translation of the inscription, see Allan Chester Johnson et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes: A Translation with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), #306.
[56] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor*, 212.

The degree to which this order was followed, however, is unclear. Older

scholarship focused on these legal dictates toward paganism and temples, viewing these

laws as both descriptive (i.e. giving an accurate account of the situation of temples),

authoritative (i.e. the laws would be followed), and motivational (i.e. every action taken

against pagans and temples can be related back to imperial legislation). This view has

now fallen by the wayside.[57] Archaeological evidence attests that many laws were

haphazardly applied at best.[58] It is clear that not all temples were outright destroyed, as

Theodosios would decree in 435. The *Codex's* frequent imposition of fines on judges

who do not follow its precepts hints that these regulations were often not enforced by

these officials. Furthermore, it is likely that not every law relating to paganism, especially

those from the fourth century, was incorporated.

It should also be noted that many pagan rites actually took place outside of

temples; closing the temples therefore does not automatically equate to ending all pagan

worship (though the cult statue, if still in place, would no longer be able to gaze out from

the temple at the sacrifices). The same Constantius who decreed in 356 that all temples

must be closed is also said to have admired Rome's temples on his visit there in 357,

according to Ammianus Marcellinus and Symmachus.[59] We are told that the emperor,

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[57] Johannes Hahn, "Gesetze als Waffe? Die kaiserliche Religionspolitik und die Zerstörung der Tempel," in *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt: Imperiale und Lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 201-220.

[58] Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 117.

[59] Ammianus Marcellinus, *The History*, vol. 1, trans. John C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 16.10.14; Symmachus, *Relatio* 3.7, in *Der Streit um den Victoriaaltar. Die dritte Relatio des Symmachus und die Briefe 17, 18 und 57 des Ambrosius*, ed. Richard Klein (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972). See further Chapter 3, ---. For the fate of temples in the west, see Christophe J. Goddard, "The Evolution of Pagan Sanctuaries in Late Antique Italy (IVth-VIth Centuries A.D.)," in *Les cites de l'Italie tardo-antique (IVe-VIe siècle): institutions, économie,*

visiting Rome for the first time, admired the temple of Tarpeian Jupiter (the Capitolium),

the temple of the city (Venus and Roma), and the Pantheon, even the vast expanse of its

interior and the statues of former emperors occupying the niches there – if Ammianus can

be trusted. The Theodosian Code therefore is of only limited use in understanding the fate

of temples in late antiquity and attempts to cover a messy reality with a false impression

of imperial order. It is nonetheless likely that the majority of temples were closed for

active worship but maintained by cities in the first half of the fourth century.

Julian and the Renewal of Temples

When Julian (331/2-363) became sole emperor in 361 after the death of

Constantius II, he had been a closeted pagan and Neoplatonist for years. Official portraits

of Julian cast him as a priest and philosopher rather than emperor; inscriptions lauded

him as the *philosophiae princeps* ("prince of philosophy").[60] He celebrated his rise to

power with public and explicitly pagan animal sacrifices, including in his own words

"many hecatombs" (ἑκατόμβας πολλάς).[61] Hecatombs (originally the sacrifice of one

hundred cattle, though the actual number could vary) were expensive endeavors, and it

was logistically difficult to obtain a large number of sacrificial victims and slaughter

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société, culture et religion, ed. Maxximiliano Ghilardi, Christophe J. Goddard, and Pierfrancesco Porena (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006): 281-308.

[60] For Julian's portraiture, see Eric Varner, "Roman Authority, Imperial Authority, and Julian's Artistic Program," in *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, ed. Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2012), 183 – 211. For the epigraphic evidence, see Stefano Conti, *Die Inschriften Kaiser Julians* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), for example, Nr. 26 (*I.Eph* #313a). For Julian's philosophical background, see Polymnia Athanassiadi, *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

[61] Julian, *Epistle. 8*, in *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. 3, trans. Wilmer Cave Wright. The Loeb Classical Library (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1923), 415.c. For Julian and sacrifice, see Theresa Nesselrath, *Kaiser Julian und die Repaganisierung des Reiches: Konzept und Vorbilder* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2013), 140-143.

them en masse.[62] We must remember, however, that the meat from these sacrifices could be distributed in public banquets; Julian may therefore have been trying to curry favor with local populations.

It was nonetheless a polarizing act. Julian's focus on blood sacrifices was not really a return to "tradition:" as several scholars have noted, the importance of public animal sacrifices had declined in the later decades of pagan dominance. Some philosophers, including Neoplatonists, questioned the necessity of animal sacrifice. Additionally, John Scheid has argued that as cities in the Roman empire grew, there were too many people to directly participate in public sacrifices; they were therefore a less integral part of religious experience.[63] Rather, Julian's focus on large scale public sacrifice can be understood as a direct political confrontation with Christians, who found blood sacrifice to be highly objectionable and would have been reminded of the forced sacrifices required during the sporadic persecutions. Though Julian did not make Christianity illegal or attempt to convert Christians by force, he clearly favored pagans in his bureaucratic appointments.

In his brief two-year reign, Julian embarked on a program of pagan temple renewal. He was praised in inscriptions as the "restorer of the holy rites (or places)."[64] He attempted to organize the pagan priesthoods hierarchically by province, mimicking the organization of the Christian church with bishops.[65] Regardless of the extent and success

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[62] Gunnel Ekroth, "Animal Sacrifices in Antiquity," in the *Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, ed. Gordon Lindsay Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[63] John Scheid, "Le statut de la viande à Rome," in *Sacrifices, marché de la viande et pratiques alimentaires dans les cites du monde romain*, ed. W. Van Andringa, *Food & History 5* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 19–28.
[64] Conti, *Die Inschriften*, Nr. 54: "ἀνανεωτοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν." Nr. 176: "restitutor sacrorum."
[65] Nesselrath, *Kaiser Julian*, 97-100.

of Constantine and Constantius' prohibitions on temples, Julian claimed that these buildings were in need of his intervention and renovation. Inscriptions call him the "restauratorus templorum" and the "restitutor Romanae religionis."[66] He ordered the reconstruction of the Temple of Asclepius at Aigia in Cilicia, one of the few temples said to have been destroyed by Constantine.[67]

Laurence Foschia has noted, however, the propensity of scholars to date any repair to temples in late antiquity to Julian's reign.[68] In actuality, some of these restorations may have been made at other times. Only one inscription confidently attributed to Julian's reign specifically commemorates the restoration of a temple: the text from near Bosra (Syria), dated to 19 February 362, states that under the emperor "the holy rites were renewed, and the temple was re-inhabited/rebuilt and consecrated."[69] Note that the particular verb used, "ἀνοικοδομεῖν," could have either the meaning "to rebuild" or "to re-occupy." It is therefore unclear whether the temple was merely re-opened, or whether substantial investment was needed to renovate it. At other sanctuary sites where we may have expected Julian's involvement to be acknowledged, we find no epigraphic evidence – although inscriptions may have been removed after his death.[70]

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[66] Conti, *Die Inschriften*, Nr. 17, Nr. 18, and Nr. 167.
[67] Libanios, *Pro Templis*, 39; Zonaras, *Epitome* 13, in *Linguistic and Literary Studies in the Epitome Historion of John Zonaras*, Iordanes Gregoriades (Thessaloniki: Kentro Byzantinon Ereunon, 1998), 12.
[68] Laurence 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, no. 2 (2009): 209-223.
[69] Conti, *Die Inschriften*, Nr. 1: "ἀν(ενεώ)θη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνοικοδομήθη καὶ ἀφιερώθη ὁ ναὸς" (*ILS* III.2 #9465).
[70] Benet Salway, "Words and Deeds: Julian in the Epigraphic Record," in *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, ed. Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2012): 137-157.

In any case, Julian's project to revive paganism was over before it had really begun. While undoubtedly supported by many philosophically-minded intellectuals and some traditionalists, Julian and his policies met with a lackluster reception in most cities. Julian was overall unpopular, and not just because of his religious views. His disastrous stay at Antioch in 362/3, where his attempt to remove Christian relics, an economic crisis precipitated by his stationing of the army in the city, and his lack of communication with his subjects, led the Antiochenes to openly insult the emperor on the streets.[71] These missteps, among others, combined with his early death in 363, meant that his pagan revival never materialized. His impact on the fate of temples was therefore negligible.

Return to Christianity

After the death of Julian, the Christian Jovian (331-364) took the throne. A policy of toleration was instituted: pagan practices, while no longer officially encouraged, were also not persecuted. The *Codex Theodosianus* is conspicuously silent or offers only minor prohibitions (such as anti-divination measures) from 356 until the 380s. Libanios notes that sacrificing remained legal until Valentinian and Valens prohibited animal sacrifice but continued to allow incense burning in 370 (*C.Th.* 9.16.8).[72] Despite the 380 Edict of Thessaloniki, proclaiming that all the empire's inhabitants should follow the religion of the bishop of Rome (*C.Th.* 16.1.2), we should not be surprised that many individuals continued their age-old traditional cult practices and beliefs. Furthermore, emperors continued to be *pontifex maximus* until 383, and there is substantial epigraphic evidence

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[71] Lieve van Hoof and Peter van Nuffelen, "Monarchy and Mass Communication: Antioch A.D. 362/3 Revisited," *Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011): 166-184.
[72] Libanios, *Pro Templis*, 7.

for the continuance of imperial cult, at least until 395 CE.[73] At other times, however, it was commanded that temples be preserved, and even opened to the public as an aesthetic experience: a 382 missive to Edessa instructed that the temple there be opened and the statues judged on their artistic merit (*C.Th.*16.10.8).

Animal sacrifice also still occurred even after it was technically illegal. In the west, a letter written by the senator Symmachus sometime between 375-384 mentions that the town of Spoleto had sacrificed multiple victims in an attempt to expiate a bad omen; they had so far been unsuccessful, and Symmachus wanted to call together a *collegium* to discuss the problem.[74] The bishop Ambrose complains that pagan senators perform sacrifices "everywhere" in Rome around 385.[75] Arguments (albeit tenuous) have even been made for isolated groups of Christians continuing ritual animal slaughtering all the way to the present, as on Lesbos in the Aegean, and in Armenia.[76] In Armenia, at least, the textual source for continuing sacrifice suggests that the practice was retained for economic, not religious reasons: the priests, who were selected from a priestly clan, were

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[73] Frank R. Trombley, "The Imperial Cult in Late Roman Religion (ca. A.D. 244-395): Observations on the Epigraphy," in *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt: Imperiale und Lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 19-54.

[74] Symmachus, "Letter 1," as reproduced in Michele Renee Salzman, "The End of Public Sacrifice: Changing Definitions of Sacrifice in Post-Constantinian Rome and Italy," in *Ancient Mediterranean Sacrifice*, ed. Jennifer Wright Knust and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 169.

[75] Ambrose, *Epistle* 73.81, trans. Mary Melchior Beyenka, *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation*, vol. 26 (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954).

[76] Anthony Kaldellis, "Lesbos in Late Antiquity: Life Evidence and New Models for Religious Change," in *Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval, and Post-Medieval Greece: Studies on Method and Meaning in Honor of Timothy E. Gregory*, ed. William R. Caraher, Linda Jones Hall, and R. Scott Moore (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008): 155-167; Fred C. Conybeare, "The Survival of Animal Sacrifices Inside the Christian Church," *American Journal of Theology* 7, no. 1 (1903): 62-90. For a skeptical view, see Timothy E. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay," *American Journal of Philology* 107, no. 2 (1986): 229-242. It seems to me that the practice of animal sacrifice, eliminated in late antiquity, could have been adopted anew from their Muslim neighbors in both these cases.

accustomed to receive a part of the sacrificed victim, and they converted more easily to Christianity when this benefit was left in place.

Despite these continuities, change was certainly in the air. Libanios made a passionate appeal (the *Pro Templis*) to Theodosios I for the preservation of temples in the late 380s – but notes that some might think he is undertaking a dangerous task.[77] The rhetorician claims that temples are the ornaments of cities and that Theodosios has not legislated against temples or against faith in pagan gods, noting that the emperor allows a man in his court to swear by the old gods in his presence. Libanios paints a dire picture, claiming that monks were running rampant, pulling down temple walls and roofs, carrying away statues, and overturning altars, especially at rural temples. According to Libanios, this has led to a disruption of agriculture in the areas where temples have been destroyed, since the farming poor have invested all their hopes in these buildings, which he calls the "soul of the countryside" and, seeing them destroyed, also lose the will to work the land and therefore contribute fewer taxes.[78] We may suspect Libanios of trying to sway the emperor by inventing an economic motive for saving temples, but it is also possible that the disruption of cultic ritual associated with the agricultural season may have actually negatively affected farmers.[79]

Unfortunately, it seems that Libanios was unsuccessful at persuading the determined Christian emperor. The praetorian prefect of the East in 384, named Maternus

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[77] *Pro Templis*, 2.
[78] "Ψυχὴ γάρ, ὦ Βασιλεῦ, τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ ἱερὰ…" Ibid., 9.
[79] For the economic importance of temples in rural areas and the Christian appropriation of that role, see Rebecca Sweetman, "The Christianization of the Peloponnese: The Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3, no. 2 (2010): 203-261.

Cynegius, is said to have destroyed a number of famous temples.[80] Theodosios I's edicts

of 391/2 (*C. Th.* 16.10.12) prohibited every form of pagan worship, *de facto* making

Christianity the only officially sanctioned religion (other than Judaism, which was to be

tolerated). Not only public, blood sacrifices were prohibited, but the lighting of candles

and burning of incense to the *lares* or *penates* – acts of private domestic worship – were

also penalized. The 390s saw several imperial edicts warning people to stay away from

temples and repeatedly forbidding even private pagan worship (*C. Th.* 16.10.10,

16.10.11, 16.10.13). While these decrees did not actually result in the end of all pagan

practice, they make it clear that, officially at least, temples continued to be places of

contention.

Temple Destruction?

The last two decades of the fourth century are said in the literary sources to have

witnessed a pair of high profile temple destructions. Alexandria appears from the textual

sources to have been a flourishing pagan center even in the middle of the fourth century,

but sectarian violence between pagan and Christian factions around 391 put an end to any

hope for a pagan triumph.[81] In this conflict, the Serapeum, a magnificent temple and

home to the city's main deity, was destroyed, possibly with imperial approval and more

immediately at the instigation of the bishop of Alexandria from 384-412, Theophilos.

Although we lack many of the details of the destruction, the event apparently

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[80] Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.21. Although, as discussed above and again below in the "Historiography" section below, we should be cautious when accepting literary accounts of destructions that allegedly took place decades earlier.

[81] Johannes Hahn, "The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into the 'Christ-Loving' City," in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 336-367.

reverberated throughout the empire, being included in several histories and the object of (fake) oracles and visions, heralding a brave new world of Christian dominance. A few years earlier (386), the purported destruction of the Temple of Zeus at Apamea likewise speaks to an emboldened Christian population – again, if this incident recorded in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History* actually occurred.[82] Attacks on temples became a *topos* in hagiography by the early fifth century.[83] The *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* states that the Temple of Zeus Marnas in Gaza was destroyed around 402 with the blessing of the emperor; a church was then built over the former temple, supposedly incorporating building material from the temple in the church atrium, so that people and animals alike would tread on it.[84] The *Miracles* of St. Thecla, written in the mid fifth century record this saint's triumphs over various gods at various sanctuaries in southern Anatolia, where the temples are then turned into churches.[85] Several other examples could also be cited.[86] However, these destructions cannot usually be archaeologically corroborated, and more recent scholarship has exercised caution in reading these narratives as historical descriptions.

We might take as a cautionary tale an aside in a letter of Julian. Recalling his visit to Ilion/Troy in 354, Julian says that it had been reported to him that the bishop Pegasius of that city had destroyed the tomb of Achilles. But Julian found the tomb perfectly

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[82] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.22; Busine, "From Stones to Myth," 329.

[83] Helen Saradi, "The Christianization of Pagan Temples in the Greek Hagiographical Texts," in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 114.

[84] Mark the Deacon, *The Life of Porphyry of Gaza,* trans. G.F. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 26, 76; Busine, "From Stones to Myth, 330 ff.

[85] Gilbert Dagron, *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle. Texte grec, traduction et commentaire* (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1978), 90-94.

[86] For an overview, see Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 18-21.

preserved.[87] Even for contemporaries, then, false rumors about shrine destruction could spread without any evidence. Temple destructions can function in texts or oral stories to prove the power of the new God and his followers, re-write a city's pagan past into a tale of Christian piety, or even act as an etiology tale for temple ruins. Whether or not any of these destructive events actually happened, their portrayal in contemporary and fifth-century texts indicate that temples continued to be spaces of symbolic importance for Christian authors.

The majority of sanctuaries, however, were not destined for brutal destruction at the hands of bishops. There is no evidence for widespread anti-temple fervor, and around 400 CE, approximately half of the empire's inhabitants may have still been pagan.[88] Two decrees from 399 are almost comically contradictory: Arcadius and Honorius commanded that the "ornaments of public works" (presumably including temples) should be preserved in the west (*C.Th.* 16.10.15), while the Praetorian Prefect of the East was commanded to tear down all temples in the countryside without disturbance (*C.Th.* 16.10.16). In 407/8, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosios II legislated that income of taxes in kind would be taken away from temples (*C.Th.* 16.10.19) – a startling hint that temples were still receiving goods from local communities. The temples structures were then to be put to public use. By 435, Theodosios II commanded that all shrines and temples should be destroyed and purified by a cross (*C.Th.* 16.10.25). It is unclear the

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[87] Julian, *Epistle* 19. We of course cannot exclude the possibility that Julian was misled about the identification of the tomb. See also Michael Sage, "Roman Visitors to Ilium in the Roman Imperial and Late Antique Period: The Symbolic Functions of a Landscape," *Studia Troica* 10 (2000): 211-231.
[88] Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire AD 100-400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 65, n. 16. Of course, this statistic is completely unverifiable, as modes of distinguishing between pagan and Christian (usually looking for changes in names, from traditional pagan names to Christian inspired ones) are murky at best, and it should be noted that some individuals may have occupied a gray space at the interstices of paganism and Christianity, adopting practices and beliefs from both.

degree to which any of these orders were widely carried out. Rather than destruction, either reuse or confiscation of property followed by abandonment seems to be more the norm. Outright attacks on temples were hardly necessary; with their civic funding gone and the decline of elite *euergetism*, temples gradually fell into decay, as Peter Talloen and Lies Vercauteren have argued for the temples of Anatolia.[89]

Pagan Tenacity

The actual closure and reuse/dismantling of temples, as well as the psychological effects of the frequent stories of temple destruction, were undoubtedly painful blows to the empire's remaining pagans. Nevertheless, they persisted. Each of Theodosios I's successors, down to Justinian, felt the need to reiterate the ban on animal sacrifice.[90] Some prominent philosophers continued to express their pagan beliefs. In Athens, the Neoplatonic Academy persevered into the age of Justinian. Proclus (412-485) headed the Academy from 438 until his death and made substantial philosophical contributions to Neoplatonic metaphysics. His life is recorded in a biography, supposedly written shortly after his death by his student Marinos. Though the biography likely contains many episodes of rhetorical expansion rather than factual reporting, Proclus' devotion to the old gods shines throughout.[91] This affinity for the gods can be archaeologically corroborated, if we accept that the villa found under Dionysiou Areopagitou Street to the south of the

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[89] Peter Talloen and Lies Vercauteren "The Fate of Temples in Late Antique Anatolia," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 350.
[90] K.W. Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past & Present* 128 (1990): 7.
[91] Marinus of Samaria, *Proclus or Concerning Happiness*, trans. Kenneth S. Guthrie (Yonkers, NY: Platonist Press, 1925). On Proclus and his biography, see Pieter d'Hoine and Marije Martijn, ed., *All From One: A Guide to Proclus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Acropolis is, in fact, the house where Proclus lived and taught.[92] Marinos' description of the location of Proclus' home should put it somewhere in this general area, and the architectural features of the villa, which was partially excavated in the 1950s, point toward its use as a school (an apsed room with niches). Though the case that this was the villa of Proclus should not be overstated, it most likely at least belonged to a fifth-century elite with an interest in philosophy. Late antique portraits in the philosopher type from the villa have been associated with the Academy's teachers; also found were much older sculptures from the fourth to third century BCE, including a *naïskos* (small shrine) of Cybele. Lorenz Baumer has argued that these sculptures point toward a memorialization of the (pagan) past, regardless of the owner of the house.[93]

In cities throughout the empire, local elites apparently continued to embrace pagan traditions, or at least the sources imply that they did. The revolt of Leontius and Illus against the emperor Zeno in 484-8 may have had a pagan dimension, though these two individuals seem to have been mainly motivated by personal ambition.[94] Paganism survived even into the sixth century.[95] For some, by this period the secretive carrying out of pagan rituals may have been less about religion per se, and more about antiquarianism: an affinity for the glorious Greco-Roman past, for the rituals mentioned by august authors

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[92] For an assessment of the evidence, see Arja Karivieri, "The 'House of Proclus' on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: A Contribution," in *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267-529*, ed. Paavo Castrén (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute at Athens, 1994), 115-139.

[93] Baumer, *Mémoires*, 31-38, 42-46.

[94] Sofia Giftopoulou, "Rebellion of Illos and Leontios against Zeno, 484-488," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World*, http://asiaminor.ehw.gr/forms/fLemmaBodyExtended.aspx?lemmaID=10022, accessed August 2, 2017.

[95] For overviews, see J. Irmscher, "Paganismus im justinianischen Reich," *Klio* 63 (1981): 683-88; Helene Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Image and Historical Reality* (Athens: the Society of Messenian Archaeology, 2006); and several of the essays in Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan, ed., *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

and philosophers, a return to an idealized past. In any case, neither archaeology nor textual studies can hope to uncover the interior beliefs of individuals. Suffice to say, explicitly pagan practices likely continued on a small scale and in private; imperial and ecclesiastical *anxieties* about pagans continued more openly and strongly. Charges of pagan sacrifice were often combined with charges of magic – fear of the dark arts was a motivating factor in controlling the religious activities of those close to the emperor.[96] Some imperial officials were identified as pagans during purges carried out by Justinian in 529 (the same year that Justinian closed the Neoplatonic academies of Athens) and 545/6. Anthony Kaldellis has brought attention to one potential pagan in the emperor's circle, Phokas, the prefect under whom construction on Hagia Sophia was initiated in 532.[97] Phokas was interrogated in the purge of 529 and denounced by fellow pagans in the one of 545/6; he then committed suicide. However, we should be cautious when dealing with these accounts of specific pagans at Justinian's courts. Kaldellis, usually more cautious with textual sources, simply states that "Phokas was a pagan" because he was denounced by other "pagans" under torture.[98] We may consider other possibilities, such as that his downfall was brought about for political reasons.

Whatever Phokas' personal religious leanings, the architects chosen to build Hagia Sophia, most likely by him, may themselves have been pagans. Anthemios of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletus designed the daring new church and oversaw construction from 532-537. Kaldellis draws connections between these two *mechanikoi*, who

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[96] Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief," 24.
[97] Anthony Kaldellis, "The Making of Hagia Sophia and the Last Pagans of New Rome," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6, no. 2 (2013): 348-350.
[98] Ibid., 350.

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specialized in mathematics rather than actual construction, and a circle of pagan

philosophers in Alexandria. Anthemios was taught by, and friends with, pagan teachers in

the schools there, and Isidoros was connected with these same figures. The architecture

of Hagia Sophia would therefore not invoke the specifically Christian notions of divine

light from heaven and the perfection of holy wisdom, but Neo-Platonic conceptions of a

chain stretching from the (Olympian) heavens to earth and the sun as a divine figure in its

own right.[99] Of course, we have no way of actually knowing the religious beliefs of the

architects of the "Great Church." Nonetheless, there is other evidence for the perpetuation

of pagan circles in the capitol, including among members of the imperial bureaucracy.

John of Lydus, an official employed by Phokas, reveals in his writings the impact of

Platonism on his thought; he also wrote a text on the history of pagan rituals.[100] John

refers to Hagia Sophia as the "temenos of the Great God," perhaps evoking Neoplatonist

belief in The One, while avoiding directly confronting Christian belief.[101]

     Shortly after Justinian had employed these potential crypto-pagans to build his

magnificent church, in 542 he also encouraged the Monophysite monk John of Amida to

become the bishop of Ephesus and take firm action against pagans still residing in the

area. Now known as John of Ephesus, he claimed to have converted thousands of pagans

over his career, though Michael the Syrian's assertion that John converted sixty thousand

pagans in a single year is surely hyperbole.[102] In accounts such as this, it is, of course,

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[99] Ibid., 365.
[100] Ibid., 351.
[101] "τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ τέμενος," Ibid., 353;
[102] John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.2.44, 3.36; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 9.26,33; Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief," 20. For the argument that 80,000 converts over thirty years is plausible, see Frank R. Trombley, "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece," *Harvard Theological Review* 78.3-4 (1985): 330-331.

difficult to distinguish actual pagans from bogey men – some reports of paganism may have been just rumors, while other cases were probably Christians who maintained some traditional ritual action that marked them as pagans in the eyes of more orthodox authorities. In other cases, political motives and fabricated evidence may have been behind pagan accusations. Yet there were undoubtedly at least some pagans left in the empire.

Sources report that shrines at Heliopolis (Baalbek, Lebanon), Carrhae (Harran, Turkey), and Edessa (Urfa, Turkey) continued to operate into the sixth century.[103] Sometime between 535-539, Justinian commanded the Temple of Isis at Philae in upper Egypt to be closed – the empire's final operating temple, though it may have been in decline since the early fourth century.[104] The temple had remained in use up until this point at least in part because of the still un-Christianized people groups to the south. A new Christian chapel was installed in the pronaos of the temple.

Even after Justinian, fleeting accounts of paganism survive. Tiberius (578-82) and Maurice (582-602) each were said to face pagan revolts.[105] The Mani peninsula in Greece was believed to harbor pagans in the ninth-century, as recorded by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[106] Monks traversing the Greek countryside claimed to be

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[103] Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief," 14.
[104] Peter Grossmann, "Modalitäten der Zerstörung und Christianisierung pharaonischer Tempelanlagen," in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 299-334; Jitse H.F. Dijkstra, "The Fate of Temples in Late Antique Egypt," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 421-425.
[105] Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief," 26.
[106] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly J.H. Jenkins, reprint (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks 2008), 236.

converting the rural population in the tenth century.[107] For pagans throughout late

antiquity, temples must have held different connotations than they did for Christians.

Unfortunately, little evidence survives to illuminate their views.

By the late fifth century, however, Christianity's triumph was a foregone

conclusion. Near the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, a certain Demeas set up a statue base

with (most likely) a cross atop it and an inscription: "Having destroyed a deceitful image

of demonic Artemis, Demeas set up this sign of truth, honoring both God and the driver-

away of idols…."[108] Public opinion at Ephesus had apparently turned completely against

the city's former protective goddess. No longer would the Ephesians shout, as they had at

Paul, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!"[109]

Historiography of Temples in Late Antiquity

The general historical sketch presented above gives the outlines of the fate of

temples and paganism in late antiquity in legislation, textual sources, and archaeology;

when it comes to the details, however, scholars have taken various approaches and

produced a variety of interpretations. Research on temples in late antiquity began with a

focus on enmity between Christians and pagans and temples that were reused as

churches. This is perhaps not surprising, since the west, particularly Italy, displays a

number of temples reused as churches, earlier columns proudly visible on the exterior of

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[107] Trombley, "Paganism in the Greek World," 327-52. Note, however, that Trombley often bases his assertions on uncritical readings of hagiographical texts, uncorroborated by other data.

[108] "Δαίμονος Ἀρτέμιδος καθελὼν ἀπατήλιον εἶδος Δημέας ἀτρεκίης ἄνθετο σῆμα τόδε, εἰδώλων ἐλατῆρα θεὸν σταυρόν τε γερέρων, νικοφόρον Χριστοῦ σύνβολον ἀθάνατον," *I.Eph* 4 #1351. For the full bibliography on this famous inscription, see Troels Myrup Kristensen, *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Response to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2013), 9.

[109] Acts 19:28.

the building. One might think of the cathedral of Syracuse, Sicily, with its unmistakable Doric columns lining the exterior walls of the church. As early as the first century of our era, the author of the Biblical book of *Acts* has a silversmith named Demetrios from Ephesos, who incited a mob against Paul, express fear not only that they will lose revenue if people no longer want to buy statues of the goddess, but even that "the temple of Artemis will be discredited."[110] In the first century already, then, in the mind of that author, Christians were seen as a threat to temples.

The systematic study of temples in late antiquity began only in 1939, when Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann produced a catalog of churches built in ancient sanctuaries, including eighty-nine examples from Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Nubia, Asia Minor, Greece, Sicily, Italy, Gaul and North Africa.[111] Many of these churches were actually built next to temples, not within the pre-existing temple structure proper; Deichmann did not distinguish between different manners of reuse. He relied heavily on textual sources, including Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, and cited an inscription from the church of St. George in Zorava (Syria) that contrasted the light of Christ with the previous darkness, the sacrifices of idols with the chorus of angels.[112] Interpreting the archaeology in light of these types of texts, Deichmann took the view that building a church in an ancient sanctuary was an act of triumphal appropriation, stating, "Die Wandlung des antiken Heiligtums ist das Symbol der Ecclesia triumphans."[113] This

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[110] Acts 19:27.
[111] Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 54 (1939): 105-229.
[112] "Θεοῦ γέγονεν οἶκος τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταγώγιον, φῶς σωτήριον ἔλαμψεν ὅπου σκότος ἐκάλυπτεν, ὅπου θυσίαι εἰδώλων νῦν χοροὶ ἀγγέλων, ὅπου θεὸς παρωργίζετο, νῦν θεὸς ἐξευμενίζεται." *CIG* IV 8627 (*OGIS* II #610).
[113] Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen," 114.

approach colored how churches built in or near temples were viewed for decades.

Deichmann also steered the study of temples in late antiquity to only consider those

which were actively reused for Christian worship, rather than reused for other purposes,

abandoned to slowly crumble naturally, or dismantled for building material.

Scholars relying primarily on textual sources continued to embrace the narrative

of conflict and competition between pagans and Christians. Garth Fowden in 1978 drew

on hagiographical and legal texts, including the *Codex Theodosianus,* to argue that

bishops were the main protagonists in the fight against paganism, and understood them to

be instigators of violence against temples through their sermons and influence on the

population.[114] Frank Trombley in 1995 relied on hagiographical sources as well as

inscriptions to narrate the clash of paganism with Christianity, again crediting bishops

and holy men (rather than imperial officials) as the primary forces in the struggle for

Christianization.[115]

Yet Deichmann's straightforward interpretation of temple-churches had already

been challenged by Alison Frantz in 1965, who turned away from literary sources to

more closely examine the archaeological remains.[116] Frantz argued that the temples in

Athens that had churches built in or near them (the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the

Hephaesteion, and the temple of Asklepios) were reused only in the sixth or seventh

centuries based on the archaeological finds, not the fifth century, as had been previously

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[114] Garth Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A.D. 320-435," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29, no. 1 (1978): 53-78.
[115] Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1993-94).
[116] Alison Frantz, "From paganism to Christianity in the temples of Athens," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 185-205.

assumed.[117] She built this argument from the stylistic characteristics of the early Christian

carved decoration added to the temples when they were converted and the surrounding

historical circumstances. The reuse therefore dated about two centuries after the temples

had legally, at least, been closed, and most likely after the last pagan philosophical

academies had been closed in 529. With this long period of abandonment between the

time when temples were closed and when they were re-purposed, and with the lack of any

real threat from paganism, Frantz argued that the churches were not meant to be a sign of

Christian triumph, nor was their conversion accompanied by violence. Rather, as Athens

shrank in the sixth and seventh centuries and resources dwindled, the empty temples

reused by necessity as places of worship since it was easier than building a church from

the ground up.

Jean-Michel Speiser in 1976 expanded Frantz's conclusions to the rest of

Greece.[118] He saw few traces of confrontations between paganism and Christianity;

rather, pagan sanctuaries had already lost much of their prominence even in the third

century. He viewed the Herulian invasion of 267 CE as marking the end of prosperity in

Greece; large temples that were costly to maintain were simply abandoned out of

necessity. By the sixth and seventh century, the population of Athens moved into the

fortified city center next to the Acropolis; churches on the outskirts were deserted and

pre-existing, empty temples were sensibly reused (without much attention paid to their

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[117] The conversion of the Hephaesteion, however, has recently been re-dated to the fifth century: Jaqueline P. Sturm, "The Afterlife of the Hephaisteion: The *Interpretatio Christiana* of an Ancient Athenian Monument," *Hesperia* 85, no. 4 (2016): 814-819.

[118] Jean-Michel Speiser, "La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce," in *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, ed. U. Jantzen (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1976), 309-320. This essay was translated and reprinted as "The Christianization of Pagan Sanctuaries in Greece," in Jean-Michel Speiser, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2001), 2-13.

questionable past). Speiser further notes that in Greece outside of Athens, only one other example of a temple structure itself reused as a church has been identified – and in fact this "temple" is only a heroön-style Roman tomb on the island of Sikinos. He is also skeptical of claims that Christians destroyed temples in Greece, noting that destructions often attributed to Christians could just as well have been carried out by invading forces, such as Alaric in 395.[119]

In Speiser and Frantz's view, therefore, pagan activity at sanctuaries slowly subsided, leaving a vacuum that Christianity later filled, motivated by the pragmatic desire to reuse existing architecture, rather than from ideological competition. Helen Saradi-Mendelovici pushed the argument further, arguing that not only were most temples not actively destroyed or converted by Christians, but that many late antique city inhabitants maintained a positive view of these civic monuments, regarding them as part of the ornamentation of their *polis*.[120] As a whole, the archaeological evidence suggests that Christians writ large did not wantonly destroy temples in late antiquity, and that, regardless of the fact that changing late antique cityscapes may have sometimes been framed by triumphalist narratives in texts or inscriptions, most temple reuse was largely practical, a way to preserve beautiful older buildings and avoid the effort of constructing costly new ones.

Any attempt to further refine our understanding the fate of temples would, of course, have to look closely at the temple structures themselves and reconstruct the factors impacting the decision to convert or not. Jan Vaes made the important observation

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[119] Speiser, "La christianisation, 313; "The Christianization," 5.
[120] Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 50.

in a fabulously illustrated, but rarely cited, article of 1986 that Christians reused all sorts of buildings as churches – not only temples.[121] He lists examples from both east and west where Christians reused parts of villas, baths, private basilicas, theaters, gymnasia, stoas, fortifications, and mausolea in addition to temples. He estimated that between thirty and fifty percent of early churches reused earlier structures rather than being built *ex novo*.[122] His data set was archaeological, with only rare reference to ancient texts. Furthermore, in the tradition of *Bauforschung*, Vaes paid attention to the mechanics of transforming these earlier structures into Christian worship spaces – the architectural modifications that were carried out to affect this change. However, Vaes' overview of building reuse was not comprehensive and was not organized as a catalog, making it difficult to use as a resource for further study.

A series of regional studies in the new millennium have further emphasized the practical over the ideological. Foschia has documented the reuse of pagan sanctuaries in Greece, and concludes that, despite the polemical textual sources, most appropriation was pragmatic.[123] She dates the majority of reuses to the seventh century, when cities contracted significantly, as had previously been proposed by Frantz. Furthermore, some myths or stories that arose in late antiquity could be accepted and used by both pagans

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[121] Jan Vaes, "Christliche Wiederverwendung antiker Bauten: ein Forschungsbericht," *Ancient Society* 17 (1986): 305-443.

[122] Ibid., 310.

[123] Laurence Foschia, "La reutilization des sanctuaries païens par les chrétiens en grèce continentale (IVᵉ-VIIᵉ s.)." *Revue des Études Greques* 113 (2000): 413-434; see also Laurence Foschia, "Shifting Pagan and Christian Cult Places in Late Antiquity: from Monumentalization to Cryptocult and Vice Versa," in *Soma 2001: Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of Postgraduate Researchers, The University of Liverpool, 23-25 February 2001*, ed. Georgina Muskett, Aikaterini Koltsida, and Mercourios Georgiadis (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002): 105-111.

and Christians.[124] Beatrice Caseau has drawn attention to Christian interaction with temples in the rural hinterland of cities.[125] Their location in the countryside initially made these temples more susceptible to Christian interference, but in later late antiquity, their remoteness permitted pagans to continue worshipping at these sacred places long after city temples had been closed.

The study of temples in late antiquity was greatly aided by Bayliss' 2004 deceptively-title book, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion*. Though the monograph focuses on Cilicia, Bayliss actually provides the most comprehensive overview of the fate of all temples in the Roman empire to date.[126] He updates Deichmann's antiquated 1939 catalog of temples conversions (expanding it from Deichmann's eighty-nine to a hundred fifty-eight across the Mediterranean) and attempts to quantify the data he collected. For example, the largest number of destroyed sanctuaries belonged to Mithras, followed closely by Zeus and Asclepius.[127] Based on his catalog, conversions of temples into churches were rare before the mid-fifth century, harkening back to Frantz and Speiser's arguments of a period of abandonment between the last pagan use and Christian reuse. Furthermore, in the tradition of Vaes, he draws attention to the structural mechanics of repurposing a building, refining the study of the architecture of temple reuse by dividing "conversion" into distinct types: churches that reuse the still-standing temple structure itself ("temple-church"), those that are built

[124] Laurence Foschia, "Les mythes de la fin du paganisme dans le monde grec (IIIᵉ-VIᵉ siècles," in *Mythes et sociétés en Méditerranée orientale. Entre le sacré et le profane*, ed. Constantin Bobas, Arthur Muller, and Dominique Mulliez (Lille: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 2005): 89-104.
[125] Beatrice Caseau, "The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity and the Christianisation of the Countryside," in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, ed. William Bowden, Luke Lavan, and Carlos Machado (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 105-144.
[126] Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*.
[127] Ibid., 17.

within the temenos, but not actually in the temple building ("temenos-church"), and those built from the disassembled building material of the temple ("temple-spolia-church").[128]

Bayliss thus gathers a huge amount of material, though his in-depth study focuses only on Cilicia.[129] That region presents a number of temple-churches, and the archaeological evidence is carefully analyzed in each of his case studies. He argues that temple conversions on a wide scale happened only after the mid-fifth century. For the Mediterranean as a whole, Bayliss draws on both literary and archaeological sources, noting the reliability of each account. The end result is an impressive array of data from throughout the empire that is, however, difficult to assimilate into a cogent picture for each region outside of Cilicia. Furthermore, his focus is on temples reused as churches, leaving out the large number of temples that were not reused or were re-purposed for other functions.

These gaps were bridged by the 2011 volume *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, which presents syntheses of the "fate of temples" in various region of the empire. The essays emphasize the lack of evidence for violent destructions of temples. Luke Lavan, in the introduction to this volume, questions whether even "clear" evidence of Christian interference with temples, such as crosses carved onto these structures, is actually evidence of anti-temple/pagan sentiment: crosses were graffiti-ed onto practically everything in late antiquity.[130] Jitse Dijkstra in the same volume argues that even in Egypt, usually considered a land of monastic extremes and mob violence, temple

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[128] Ibid., 35-47.
[129] A second study on temple-churches in Cilicia appeared in 2008 but did not make use of Bayliss' research: E. Equini Schneider, H. Elton, and D. Wannagut, *Temple to Church – The Transformation of Religious Sites from Paganism to Christianity in Cilicia* (Istanbul, 2008).
[130] Lavan, "The End of the Temples."

destruction and their reuse as churches is quite rare.[131] In North African cities, Anna

Leone estimates that perhaps only five percent of temples were reused as churches.[132]

Relevant for our purposes, Saradi argues for the continued strength of paganism in late

antique Greece, founded upon its centuries-old sanctuaries and cult traditions, as well as

the strength of the Neoplatonic schools in Athens.[133] Peter Talloen and Lies Vercauteren

emphasize that many temples in late antique Asia Minor were never reused for Christian

purposes, but rather were transformed into secular buildings or mined for construction

material.[134] Those that were converted nonetheless played a significant role in

Christianizing the *poleis*, though without the triumphalist overtones that had been

assumed by scholars of the Deichmann school. These archaeological studies have

therefore moved away from the "temple to church" paradigm, noting the wide variety of

reuses to which temples could be subjected, and focusing on pragmatic considerations of

maintenance and building materials.

Nonetheless, the assumption that violence against temples was a norm and that

converting temples into Christian worship spaces was widespread continues to pervade

textual studies, although recent work has begun to take into account the physical remains.

The 2008 volume *From Temple to Church* gathered several essays (the majority

concerning Egypt) that sought to give a more complete picture of violence against

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[131] Dijkstra, "Late Antique Egypt."

[132] Anna Leone, *The End of the Pagan City: Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 66.

[133] Helen G. Saradi, with the contribution of Demetrios Eliopoulos, "Late Paganism and Christianisation in Greece," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 261-310.

[134] Talloen and Vercauteren, "Late Antique Anatolia." For several examples in Asia Minor, see also Ortwin Dally, "'Pflege' und Umnutzung heidnischer Tempel in der Spätantike," in *Die spätanike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, ed. Gunnar Brands und Hans-Georg Severin (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), 97-114.

temples; most had an explicit or implicit reliance on textual accounts.[135] The essays on

various aspects of Christianization in Egypt emphasize, among other aspects, iconoclasm

against images, both in temples and elsewhere (David Frankfurter), the destruction of the

cult at Philae (Johannes Hahn), and the firsthand account of the destruction of a domestic

pagan shrine by the monk Shenoute of Atripe (Stephen Emmel), though in the

introduction to the volume, the editors take a more nuanced approach, emphasizing the

various fates that awaited temples and the difficulty of reconciling the archaeological

evidence with the textual sources.[136]

The subsequent volume, *Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt* (2011) presents

a more cautious view of state-sponsored violence, with several essays that questioned

textual sources and the way they have been used by scholars.[137] Brian Ward-Perkins'

contribution raised the point that naturally occurring damage to temples from

earthquakes, accidental fires, and slow collapse could easily be mistaken in the

archaeological record for violent destruction, and vice versa.[138] Even when human forces

are evident in the "destruction" of a temple, people may have been simply dismantling a

long-disused building for construction material, perhaps not realizing or caring that it was

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[135] The reliance on textual sources and the propensity to view the history of temples primarily in terms of their conversion into churches is also criticized by Dijkstra, "Late Antique Egypt," 391-2.

[136] David Frankfurter, "Iconoclasm and Christianization in Late Antique Egypt: Christian Treatments of Space and Image," 135-159; Stephen Emmel, "Shenoute of Atripe and the Christian Destruction of Temples in Egypt: Rhetoric and Reality," 161-201; Johannes Hahn, "Die Zerstörung der Kulte von Philae. Geschichte und Legende am ersten Nilkatarakt," 203-242; Stephen Emmel, Ulrich Gotter, and Johannes Hahn, "'From Temple to Church': Analysing a Late Antique Phenomenon of Transformation," 1-22, all in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[137] Johannes Hahn, ed., *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt: imperiale und locale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

[138] Brian Ward-Perkins, "The End of Temples: An Archaeological Problem," in *Spätantiker Staat und Religiöser Konflikt: imperiale und locale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011): 187-200.

formerly a temple. Additionally, archaeological dating methodology is usually rather

imprecise, operating more on *terminus post quems* and half or whole centuries, rather

than the precise dates that allow us to connection action against temples with a particular

emperor, official, or bishop. Harold Drake in the same year drew attention to the way that

political motivations can underlie the supposedly religious violence between "pagan" and

"Christian" factions; not surprisingly, local factors and individuals play a large role in

destructive actions.[139]

In an attempt to swim against the prevailing current in the scholarship and instead

to connect texts describing violence with archaeological documentation, Eberhard Sauer

argued that we have remade late antique people in our own image, seeing them as tolerant

kindred spirits motivated primarily by practical and economic concerns. He rather views

religious hatred and violence as real, not merely rhetorical, forces in late antiquity.[140] He

points to examples of defacements around the empire, finding evidence especially for the

destruction of Mithras cult spaces and extensive, elaborate iconoclasm in Egypt.

However, other scholars have questioned some of his conclusions, and noted that the

destruction of the mystery cult of Mithras is not equivalent to actions against major

temples at the center of a *polis*. The broad consensus among archaeologists who study

temples in late antique Greece and Asia Minor is that few underwent violent destruction.

The scholarship from the past decade has largely acknowledged the divide

between the archaeological and textual sources and attempted to reconcile them. Aude

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[139] H.A. Drake, "Intolerance, Religious Violence, and Political Legitimacy in Late Antiquity," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 79, no. 1 (2011): 193-235.
[140] Eberhard W. Sauer, *The Archaeology of Religious Hatred in the Roman and Early Medieval World* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2003).

Busine has argued that many of the temple destruction accounts found in saints' lives or supposedly historical texts are actually etiology stories, written to explain the presence of looming or partially destroyed temple ruins (whatever the cause of their dilapidation) in late antique cities.[141] In addition to the tale of temple destruction at Apamea, discussed in the introduction to this chapter, she also examines the *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* and notes that it was written a century and a half after the supposed destruction of the Marneion. It therefore reflects contemporary concerns rather than recounting a historical event. In Busine's view, stories of temple destruction served to build Christian civic identity by creating a mythology around crumbling temples and earlier Christian churches.[142] The city's history could therefore be transformed into a heroic tale of pious Christians overcoming pagan demons.

Ine Jacobs in 2013 has drawn the discussion away from the religious connotations of temples, instead focusing on their aesthetic value, as had first been suggested by Saradi.[143] In a comprehensive overview of aesthetic maintenance in cities mainly of the eastern Mediterranean, which covers temples but also many other civic monuments, Jacobs argues that both officials and individuals worked to keep cities in good repair and with a generally "classical" appearance even into the mid-sixth century. She sees the use of *spolia* in many of these restorations as largely practical reuse of available building material, rather than ideologically charged. Temples could still be appreciated on aesthetic terms; the building of churches in or on temples can be attributed to the need for

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[141] Busine, "From Stones to Myth."
[142] Ibid., 325-346.
[143] Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance*.

land in crowded late antique cities.[144] Contra Bayliss, Jacobs notes that there are several

examples in large cities of churches being built on temple property before the mid-fifth

century, perhaps within living memory of Julian's revival of pagan cult in the 360s.

Rebecca Sweetman's 2015 article on the Christianization of the Peloponnese

likewise shifts the focus away from religion *per se* and toward another important aspect

of both pagan temples and Christian churches: their role in maintaining the established

economic order and existing social hierarchies.[145] She draws attention to the role of

sanctuaries as landowners and centers of rural agricultural traditions, an aspect of temples

also emphasized by Libanios in the fourth century. Sweetman notes that churches in the

Peloponnese were often founded in the areas around ancient temples, thereby shifting

focus away from sanctuaries and toward these new sculptors of cultural memory.

Sanctuary sites were more likely to be reused if they already attracted a large number of

visitors, such as healing shrines like that of Asklepios at Epidauros. The temples

themselves were reused only later and from practical motivations, she suggests, because

these nearby churches had already taken over the role of preserver of "community

memory."[146]

Summary of previous approaches

Much of the previous scholarship on temples in late antiquity has focused on the

fundamental question of what temple conversion meant: was it a triumphalist gesture of

Christians appropriating the still-meaningful religious space of their rivals, or simply a

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[144] Ibid., 278; 312.
[145] Rebecca Sweetman, "Memory, Tradition, and Christianization of the Peloponnese," *American Journal of Archaeology* 119, no. 4 (2015): 501-531.
[146] Ibid., 519.

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pragmatic gesture of recycling a now-useless building? Early scholars, such as Deichmann and Fowden, saw a straightforward narrative of religious appropriation. However, beginning in the 1970s with Frantz and Speiser, this narrative was called into question because of the long gap between the closure of temples and their reuse as churches, based on the archaeological evidence. Christians of the fifth and sixth centuries (or later) were no longer truly threatened by paganism; displaying their "triumph" would not be a major concern. Archaeological studies tend to find little evidence for conflict between pagans and Christians at temples and have emphasized the many different needs that temples could fulfill in late antiquity, including contributing to the beauty of the city or providing a convenient, ready-made structure for reuse or disassembly for building material. Scholars relying on the many textual sources describing or decrying destruction, however, still tend to emphasize violent conflict at sanctuaries. In this view, action taken against temples, usually by local bishops or monks, was religiously motivated because of beliefs about demon-plagued temples and the need to assert a new, Christian identity for *poleis*.

I would suggest that the question of triumphalism vs. pragmatism sets up a false dichotomy: neither of the two opposing paradigms is able to account for all the evidence, and an act can be both practical and ideologically charged at the same time. Yes, cities in late antiquity may have seen practical advantage in reusing the still-standing but now empty temples, which often occupied prime real estate at the heart of the city. Destroying a solid masonry structure, such as a temple, would require enormous resources, making reuse a much more attractive option than starting over. Yet, numerous late antique textual

sources continue to attribute temples with ideological significance and portray them as symbols of the old religion or the haunts of demons. These texts were often written by high-ranking members of the church – in other words, those with the authority and platform to spread their views (whether sincerely held or not) to the wider population. It therefore seems unlikely to me that temples were ever viewed completely neutrally, as straightforward quarries for building materials or ready-made spaces for reuse.

Additionally, both interpretations attempt to uncover the motivations behind the reuse – practical needs or triumphalist showing off? Yet neither paradigm explains *how* temples could be viewed in these ways: how can a monument that is a city's pride and protector *lose* all its meaning within a couple generations to become merely a quarry for building material? Or, from the other viewpoint, how could it flip from positive to negative, the hallowed house of a god to the haunt of a demon? Alternatively, how could the symbolic importance of temples be reformulated – stripped, perhaps, of its specifically pagan associations but maintain intact its civic importance? When, and how, were some of these earlier associations deliberately erased and forgotten? Naturally, no single study can hope to fully answer all of these questions, because the mechanisms for creating and altering meaning are many and varied. This dissertation provides *some* answers to the question of how temples were conceptualized in late antiquity by examining the inscriptions that Christians encountered written on their walls. But first, we turn to earlier times in order to understand how people in the Greek and Roman periods were already formulating and modulating meaning at pagan sanctuaries through epigraphy.

CHAPTER 2: INSCRIBING TEMPLES, ARCHAIC THROUGH ROMAN
PERIODS

Opening

This chapter addresses the practice of writing inscriptions on temples in the

ancient (Archaic through Roman) periods, in order to establish the types of texts that

were written on sacred buildings and the messages they conveyed. This information

clarifies which kinds of inscriptions Christians inherited when they took over pagan

temples, and which attitudes toward temples were both encapsulated in, and created

through, these texts. When Christians or Christianized cities made decisions about what

to do with the physical reminders of the pagan past, they did not approach these remains

as complete strangers, but rather as individuals still firmly enmeshed in classical urban

life. The present chapter therefore presents the background of the significance of temples

as transmitted through the inscriptions written on their walls.

This dissertation focuses on inscriptions engraved on the actual temple building

itself because of their inalienability from the temple; short of human action or accidental

destruction, these inscriptions remained in place into the late antique period and beyond.

If a temple structure was still standing in late antiquity, it retained whatever texts were

written on its walls; inscriptions on *stelai*, or statue bases, on the other hand, were easy to

remove for reuse as construction material or to be burnt for lime mortar. The reuse of

stelai or statue bases could therefore have exclusively economic motivations, while

removing or altering an inscription on a still-standing wall shows a certain degree of

intentionality. It should be noted, however, that the vast majority of sanctuary epigraphic

practice did, in fact, take place on these movable *stelai*, bases, and plaques. Temple walls

could also be adorned with non-epigraphical features, such as shields affixed to the wall (for example, the shields on the architrave of the Parthenon).

Of course, it should be stated from the outset that temples were not the only buildings in Greco-Roman antiquity that bore inscriptions on their walls. Theaters, stoas, bouleteria, and other buildings could all bear dedications, lengthy decrees, law codes, or letters on their walls – to say nothing of the nearly ubiquitous architrave inscriptions in the Roman period. Monumental building inscriptions may have begun on the periphery of the Greek world, as evidenced by the dedication to Cybele on the so-called Midas Monument (Yazılıkaya) near Eskişehir in central Anatolia, dating to the late eighth century BCE. The text runs vertically on the edge of the rock-cut façade. The earliest known Greek architrave inscription dates from the mid-sixth century and comes from the treasury of the Knidians at Delphi.[147] The Stoa of the Athenians at the same sanctuary bore an inscription in large letters on its stylobate, recording both the dedication of the stoa and the spoils of war taken from Persian ships, sometime after 480 BCE. Dedications on temples would not appear until the next century, as we shall see.

Later, important documents could be inscribed in public archives in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods – as at Magnesia on the Meander, which displayed Hellenistic texts in a stoa, or Aphrodisias, where imperial letters to the city were inscribed on a wall of the theater.[148] In late antiquity, however, temples became

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[147] Gretchen Umholtz, "Architraval Arrogance? Dedicatory Inscriptions in Greek Architecture of the Classical Period," *Hesperia* 71 (2002): 266.
[148] *I.Magnesia* 16-64, 66-84, 87. *I.Magnesia* = Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin: Spemann, 1900). *Aphrodisias and Rome* #7-21. *Aphrodisias and Rome* = Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982). In general, see Maria Brosius, ed, *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient*

contentious sites in a way that no other monuments did. My aim is to better understand

how late antique people viewed temples specifically, not all inscribed monuments, and

for this reason my discussion remains focused on these sacred structures, except for

occasional mentions of other relevant inscriptions. It should be remembered, however,

that writing on temple walls was part of a larger tradition in the ancient world; the very

act of writing on a wall *per se* would not have struck the ancients (or late ancients) as

unusual.

In this chapter, I present the results of my catalog of temple inscriptions, which is

found in the Appendix and includes texts from seventy-six temples. Collecting the

catalog revealed that most temple epigraphy fell within one of three main categories,

which is how I have organized this section, each with its own analysis, followed by a

more general synthesis of the overall habit of inscribing temples. I aim to clarify the types

of texts that were engraved on temples, the chronological development and regional

trends of different categories of temple inscriptions, and what these texts can tell us about

the motivations behind inscribing. First, however, I present a general overview of ancient

temples in order to ground the subsequent epigraphic discussion in its historical and

architectural contexts.

World (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Christina Kokkinia, "The Design of the "Archive Wall" at Aphrodisias," *Tekmeria* 13 (2016): 9-55.

Temples and Civic Life

Ancient religion was at the heart of Greek and Roman life.[149] There was no separation of "church and state," and civic offices and institutions often had a religious component. Buildings that we would regard as secular – theaters, stadia, law courts – were for the Greco-Romans closely associated with cult and religious festivals. Indeed, the modern concept of "religion" does not fully capture the myriad traditional beliefs about the world and humans' role in it that permeated ancient life. The presence of the divine was most strongly concentrated, however, at temples. Ancient sanctuaries were both real and symbolic places. Real in the sense that individuals visited them, admired them, and performed rituals, such as sacrifices, at them. But they were also symbolic – they attested a city or community's wealth and prestige, the god's favorability toward them, and the piety of prominent individuals.

Before proceeding any further, it is necessary to define "temple" more precisely. By "temple," I mean a purpose-built cult structure, usually exhibiting certain architectural features, such as a cella, peristasis, and pediment.[150] Though the classical orders of Greek architecture may have originated in wooden buildings in the pre-historic period, the temples discussed in this dissertation are all masonry structures. Sanctuaries could be embedded at the heart of a city, located close to a city but outside of its walls/urban area, or in a rural place far from a city (but usually under the control of a city). Temples were

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[149]149 The bibliography on ancient religion is obviously vast. For an introduction, the reader is referred to Erich S. Gruen, "Religion," in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Oxford Reference Online.

[150] A cella is the interior part of the temple, usually a rectangular room with a single door. A peristasis (sometimes called the peristyle) is the surrounding one or two rows of columns wrapping (usually) around all four sides of the cella. The pediment is the triangle space created above the rectangular cella and the pitched roof; it was sometimes decorated with sculpture.

typically accompanied by altars constructed in front of them; the religious rituals took place outside the temple building, while the cult statue of the goddess, along with her possessions, occupied the interior of the temple. In addition to an altar, many temples were surrounded by a *temenos* wall, which separated the sacred precinct of the god from the outside space of the city or countryside. The temenos itself was often built in the form of porticoes surrounding the temple. The temenos wall could be pierced by one or more entrances, including a monumental *propylon* (gateway). Temples were sometimes surrounded by other buildings, such as treasuries, *androns* (feasting rooms), sacral buildings, or even other temples.

The most common Greek word for "temple" was *naos,* roughly equivalent to the Latin word *templum.* However, sacred buildings could also be referred to as simply the *oikos* (home) of the god, or the *hieron* (holy place). Of course, the line between "temple" and "not temple" was occasionally blurred in antiquity. In addition to Olympian and local deities, heroes could also be the subject of cult. A temple-like building could also be conferred on those whose status was not divine. A city might honor its outstanding citizens with a heroön (hero shrine) after their death, as at Assos, where a small pedimented building was established for three leading citizens, the sons of Hephaistogenes, in the agora; the architrave inscription refers to them as "heroes."[151] Self-funded heroön tombs were also popular with Roman elites in western Asia Minor

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[151] Along with dedications by the *demos* to two other sons of Hephaistogenes. *I.Assos* #27: ὁ δῆμος Καλλισθένει Ἡφαιστογένους ἥρωϊ. *I.Assos* = R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos* (Bonn: Habelt, 1976).

and the islands.[152] The heroön tomb on the Cycladic island Sikinos was such a close imitation of temple architecture that it was known as the "Temple of Apollo Pythios" until an article by Frantz, Homer Thompson and John Travlos in 1969.[153] I do not include either honorary heroa for historical individuals, nor heroön tombs, in my catalog since these are not temples proper.

Most of the buildings discussed in this dissertation are unequivocally temples, with temenos walls delineating a sacred precinct, altars for sacrifice, and iconic pedimental architecture. Some cases are ambiguous – for example, the Kabirion on Delos, which is a rectangular room with a statue dedicated to the Kaberoi (chthonic deities) by the priest Helianax. Though this building does not embody the architectural ideal of a temple, its epistyle inscription refers to it as a *naos,* and therefore it is included here.

The primary act of worship in the ancient world was sacrifice, a critical component of the "*do ut des"* (I give so that you give) relationship between gods and humans.[154] Mortals offered sacrifices, service, objects, and temples to the gods, so that they might look with favor on an individual or community. Ancient sacrifice could encompass killing and burning an animal, or sometimes just burning grain. The gods desired the smell of the cooking meat and were pleased by the sacrifice of a ritually-appropriate animal. The entire animal was not burnt for the god, however. The

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[152] For several examples, see Gül Işın and Ertan Yıldız, "Tomb Ownership in Lycia: Site Selection and Burial Rights with Selected Rock Tombs and Epigraphic Material from Tlos," in *Life and Death in Asia Minor in Hellenistic, Roman & Byzantine Times*, ed. J. Rasmus Brandt, Erika Hagelberg, Gro Bjørnstad, and Sven Ahrens (Oxford: Oxbow, 2017), 85-108.

[153] Alison Frantz, Homer A. Thompson, and John Travlos, "The 'Temple of Apollo Pythios' on Sikinos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, no. 4 (1969): 397-422.

[154] For an overview, see Ekroth, "Animal Sacrifices."

worshipper her/himself received most of the meat to cook and eat, while the priests at the sanctuary sometimes received a portion of the slaughtered animal as payment for their religious services. Major sanctuaries held annual festivals for the god, which could attract large numbers of visitors and included athletic competitions as well as feasting.

Votives were also a central feature of ancient religion.[155] It was common for individuals to make a pact with a god; upon the happy conclusion of a certain circumstance (for example, the healing of a wound or surviving a storm at sea), the individual would give a "votive offering" to the god as recognition of the god's divine intervention. These could take the form of statues, terracotta anatomical parts, or simply plaques. The usual Greek word used to designate a promise made to the god was εὐχή, meaning "prayer" or "vow." Ancient religion therefore included both personal interactions (or perhaps better transactions) with the deity and communal ritual activity.

Origin of Writing on Temple Walls

Greek temples in the Classical period were typically not adorned with inscriptions of any kind, neither on their architraves nor walls. As Gretchen Umholtz has argued, the phenomenon of inscribing the name of the founder on the temple has long been assumed to originate in the east.[156] The belief has been that the classical Greeks considered it *hubris* to put the name of an individual or city on the house of a god. Umholtz, however, argues that a few early examples from Magna Graecia and Greece itself attest that writing on temples was not problematic; rather, it was the communal nature of the temple construction process, as well as the fact that many funds might come from the god's own

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[155] Brita Alroth "Votive Offerings," in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Michael Gagarin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Oxford Reference Online.
[156] Umholtz, "Architraval Arrogance?" 263.

64

treasury, that made inscribing a dedication on the temple a moot point.[157] This scholarly

discussion on building dedications, as encapsulated by Umholtz, does not typically move

beyond the origin of this practice, however. The flourishing of architrave dedications

under the Romans or the practice of inscribing decrees and letters on temple walls has not

received the same detailed study.[158]

Scholars who work on epigraphy may have a general sense of the types,

placements, and dates of inscriptions on temples. For example, Wolfgang Blümel, Riet

van Bremen, and Jan-Mathieu Carbon, in their catalog of inscriptions from the Milas

Museum, write that "Important public documents were often inscribed on the building

blocks of sanctuaries…these include sacred regulations…and, especially, many

documents concerned with the purchasing of land on behalf of the local sanctuaries…"[159]

They do not, however, expand this idea further, citing examples only in Mylasa and the

temple of Artemis at Hasanbağı, nor do they reference any secondary sources on the

practice. Likewise, Riet van Bremen in her essay on the temple of Hekate at Lagina states

that "it is well known that the antae of temples were used for inscribing important

documents, and that on them we often find the earliest texts."[160] Again, no secondary

sources are cited, and no examples are mentioned. This chapter can provide more

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[157] Ibid., 282.

[158] Marietta Horster (*Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser: Untersuchungen zu Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Prinzipats* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001]) has written on imperial building dedications (of all types) in the west – a useful resource. She does not, however, investigate the origins of the practice of inscribing architraves in the west, or its potential connections with eastern Mediterranean practice. Heinrich Lattermann's *Griechische Bauinschriften* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1908) presents selected examples of construction accounts, mostly on *stelai*; it is therefore not especially useful for my purposes.

[159] Wolfgang Blümel, Riet van Bremen, and Jan-Mathieu Carbon, *A Guide to Inscriptions in Milas and its Museum* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 2014), vi.

[160] Riet van Bremen, "The Inscribed Documents on the Temple of Hekate at Lagina and the Date and Meaning of the Temple Frieze," in *Hellenistic Karia*, ed. Riet van Bremen and Jan-Mathieu Carbon (Paris: De Boccard, 2010), 488.

precision on the topic of temple epigraphy, and we will assess the claims of these previous scholars at its conclusion. Although I approach the material from the perspective of late antique viewers of older temples, I analyze the ancient texts in their own right when appropriate to present new findings on the ancient habit of inscribing temples.

Methodology

In total, this catalog represents inscriptions engraved on seventy-six temples from Greece, the Aegean islands, and Asia Minor. The actual number of inscriptions is much higher; a single temple could potentially carry many brief texts, as at Klaros, for example, where more than a hundred records have been found. I include in this catalog only inscriptions from the original, pagan use of the temple – i.e., excluding later Christian graffiti, since my aim is to document the pre-existing texts that Christians encountered on temple walls and their interactions with them. My methodology for collecting these ancient inscriptions was to comb through the major epigraphic corpora of Greece and Turkey and record texts that were identified as being "on the wall of temple X," "on the anta of a temple," "from the epistyle of the temple," and so on.[161] Exceptionally tenuous identifications are not included here; "an architrave, perhaps from a temple" or "a wall block, near the sanctuary of Artemis" would not make the catalog. Additionally, I have not included masons' marks or simple measuring/construction signs on temples. For example, a capital of the Temple of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes has the word "ἔξω" (out) written on its underside; this would only have been visible during construction and either

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[161] I would also like to thank many colleagues who pointed me toward useful resources and inscribed temples, especially John Camp, Edward Harris, Gretchen Umholtz, Molly Richardson, Jeremy McInerney, Brady Kiesling, and Rhys Townsend.

indicated the orientation of the capital or the designation of that capital as belonging to the peristasis (rather than the pronaos); it is therefore not relevant for this dissertation.[162] I have also excluded inscribed pictorial labels, sometimes present in relief decoration.

Naturally, there exist many difficulties in collecting data in this way. No one corpus even attempts to include all Greek inscriptions; the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (hereafter the *IG*) includes only Greek inscriptions in Europe (therefore excluding Asia Minor); the *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (hereafter the *IK*) volumes focus on specific sites, with many sites not (yet) published in this series.[163] The *Tituli Asiae Minoris* series has not managed to be as comprehensive as the *IG*.[164] To make matters worse, all the epigraphic series are works in progress, sometimes with important volumes that have never been published - for example, *IG* VI (Achaea and Elis) is still forthcoming more than a hundred years after the series began. Other volumes were published in the late nineteenth century and have not been updated since, despite the great deal of archaeological research that has taken place in the meantime. The *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* can bridge this gap to some degree, but its very nature (brief entries on recent publications) does not make it a suitable replacement for a corpus.

A second major issue with collecting an epigraphic catalog is the lack of both detailed indices and searchable digitized versions of the existing collections. Corpora are

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[162] David Scahill, "New Research on the Temple of Apollo Ismenios, Thebes, Boeotia," lectuer at the Finnish Institute at Athens, April 18, 2016.
[163] *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1873 →); *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn: Habelt, 1972 →)
[164] Donald McCabe published new editions of many of these inscriptions in electronic versions; his new numbering system, however, has not replaced the older designations of the *IG* and *IK* series.

sometimes organized by inscription type (e.g., sacred laws; *res Romanae*) rather than findspot. The indices typically include long lists of the names of individuals and key Greek terms; only within the past decade have new volumes of the *IG* added a findspot index, and even then the locations are fairly general (for example, "the acropolis" in Athens without further subdivisions). The Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) online Greek Epigraphic database includes many (though certainly not all) inscriptions from a variety of epigraphic publications on their website, a hugely beneficial tool which allows for quick searches for textual *comparanda*. Most entries, however, include only the text of the inscription itself and minimal bibliographic references without information about the stone or precise findspot.[165] While the PHI database is therefore a very useful repository of ancient inscriptions, it is not possible to search it for my purposes. Recent *IG* volumes are included in the online database of the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, with German translations of the inscription provided.[166] This resource is valuable, but the full description of the stone and findspot is again not included.

Therefore, the data collection for this catalog of temple inscriptions proceeded as systematically as possible in light of the current limits of publications and technology. It is likely that some inscribed temples have been omitted. Nonetheless, the examples that have been collected represent the first resource known to this author for the study of

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[165] The Packard Humanities Institute, Searchable Greek Inscriptions, http://epigraphy.packhum.org/. Though the database is not searchable by inscription location (i.e. on temples), it was immensely helpful for retrieving the actual text of inscriptions – i.e., typing in the search bar a few words of an inscription found in a book made it possible to find the full text of the inscription. Most of the inscription texts presented in this dissertation were found on the PHI database.
[166] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/index.html.

inscribing temples as a broad cultural practice in Greece and Asia Minor. The data allows

several trends to be identified and lays the groundwork for Chapter 3.

Locations on Temples

First, a few general comments on where inscriptions were located on temples,

likely familiar to even casual travelers in the Mediterranean, but worth making explicit

before proceeding with the discussion. These texts can be found on the exterior walls,

columns, antae, door frame, architrave, frieze, *crepis*, and even the roof tiles.[167] The

pediment, paving, and interior walls of the cella typically were not engraved. Architraves

– the long band running across the façade of the temple above the columns – were ideal

locations for dedicating the building to a specific deity; an architrave stood as a

synecdoche for the whole structure.[168] Antae, the projecting pilasters located at the front

of the building, were perhaps evocative of the familiar reading-surface of a *stele*. Antae

form the pronaos of a temple, the area in between the antae and immediately in front of

the temple door. Both the inner pronaos walls (those facing each other in front of the

temple) and the outer pronaos walls (those facing outwards toward the peristasis) could

be inscribed; these walls are contiguous with the cella walls. Also available for inscribing

were the columns of the temple peristasis, and occasionally, the crepis, sometimes called

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[167] Roof tiles would sometimes be marked as belonging to the god(dess) – for example, the roof tiles of the Temple of Artemis Orthia near Sparta read "ΙΕΡΟΙ ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ" (*IG* V.I #864). I do not include these tile impressions in my catalog because these impressions were more likely associated with workshop production than intentional inscribing of a building, and they were not visible to viewers. See Rainer C.S. Felsch, "Further Stamped Roof Tiles from Central Greece, Attica, and the Peloponnese," *Hesperia* 59, no. 1 (1990): 301-323.

[168] A point made by Emma J. Stafford, "'The People to the Goddess Livia' Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult," *Kernos* 23 (2013): 222 – while specific pieces of temples might be dedicated by individuals (for example, a column), the architrave stood for the whole building.

the *crepidoma* and including the stylobate and stereobates (the platform on which the temple stands).

Categories

In collecting inscriptions on temples for the catalog in the Appendix, I have chosen to group these texts into three main types: "Construction Donations," in which the names of individuals, groups, or city who paid for all or part of a temple are written on the structure, "Lists of Priests," in which the names of priests who served the deity are written on the temple itself, and "Documents," in which important letters, decrees, and contracts are made unbreakable by being entrusted to the god on his own house. There is, of course, overlap in the motivations and effects of these types. Occasionally, a single inscription could potentially fit into two separate categories, but here they have been included in only one. For example, at Lagina, the names of priests were inscribed on the building both in lists and as construction dedications to the goddess; I have included this later group under the category "Lists of Priests" (rather than "Construction Donations") since the primary aim of the dedications at Lagina seems to be recording the activities of the priesthood. A final category has been labeled here "Miscellaneous" to represent inscriptions that do not have parallels on other temples. Since the Greek can be found in the catalog in the Appendix, I avoid reproducing it in this chapter unless making a specific point about the terminology used.[169]

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[169] Throughout, I use the Leiden Conventions for the transcription of epigraphic texts, which is the standard for modern scholarship. Brackets, [ ], indicate letters that are missing and have been restored by the editor. A dot underneath a letter means that part of the letter is visible, but the reading is not certain. Parentheses indicate that the editor is expanding an abbreviation in the text. Letters in all caps indicate that they can be read by the editor, but s/he can make no sense of them.

The first two categories of inscriptions, "Construction Donations" and "Lists of Priests," attest to the prominence of the *do ut des* religious concept discussed above. Christianity, drawing on Biblical examples such as the trials of Job and hagiographical depictions of martyrdom, attempted to moderate this religious *quid pro quo* attitude, officially teaching that the pious should worship the Judeo-Christian God even if they were not to reap any material benefits from it in this world. Nonetheless, in practice, the habit of offering inscribed gifts of liturgical implements, mosaics, and churches themselves to the divinity continued. Christians would, therefore, understand the concept of inscribed architecture or records of pious service as a gift to the gods.

Construction Donations

Late antique viewers would frequently encounter the name of a donor recorded on the temple structure itself, recording his/her donation to construct all or part of the temple. The most visible part of the temple to inscribe was the entablature, which includes both the architrave (either flat or with two or three fasciae) and the frieze. The habit of inscribing architraves solidified into a genre with its own formulaic phrasing, and therefore I present them first as a subgroup. As is to be expected, donors are usually named in the nominative, while the recipient of the temple typically was in the dative case.[170] Entablature inscriptions are most often associated with the Roman imperial period, but a number date from earlier periods.

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[170] For different the cases (accusative, dative, genitive, and nominative) used in Greek imperial dedications of various types (not just on temples), see Mika Kajava, "Honorific and Other Dedications to Emperor in the Greek East," in *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (November 1-2,*

Entablature Inscriptions

The earliest known temple architrave inscription in the area under study here was on the Temple of Zeus at Labraunda, an extra-urban sanctuary near Mylasa in Caria. The dedication by Idrieus, Hekatomnid ruler and younger brother of the more famous Maussollos, is dated to his reign (351-44 BCE) and reads "Idrieus the Mylasian, son of Hekatomnos, built the temple for Zeus Labraundos," written in a single line on the upper of two fasciae from the Ionic architrave.[171] Idrieus also chose to inscribe his name at another Carian sanctuary, Amyzon.[172] If the reconstruction is correct, Idrieus used the same formula as at Labraunda, replacing the name of Zeus with Artemis. The second fascia of the bi-fascia architrave bears a later inscription from Zeuxis, viceroy of Antiochos III (r. 222-187), in which he dedicates fields to Artemis after 203 BCE; he follows Idrieus' lead by including his ethnic ("Μακεδών").

Labraunda was a sanctuary site of pan-Carian significance, and presumably many visiting delegates saw the architrave inscription. It appears that whatever those visitors to Labraunda may have thought of Idrieus' self-advertisement/aggrandizement, the idea of writing on temple architraves did not catch on across Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. Even such a personage as Alexander the Great opted to place his name on the

2007), ed. Panagiotis P. Iossif, Andrzej S. Chankowski, and Catharine C. Lorber (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 555-560.

[171] Cat. #1, *I.Labraunda* #16. *I.Labraunda* = Jonas Crampa, *Labraunda III: The Greek Inscriptions, Parts I and II* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet I Athen, 1969 and 1972). The missing part of the inscription is restored from other contemporary architrave inscriptions on Andron A (by Idrieus) and the earlier Andron B (by Maussollos).

[172] Cat. #2, *Amyzon* #1. *Amyzon* = Jeanne and Louis Robert (*Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, vol. 1: *Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions* [Paris: De Boccard, 1983] 93-96, #1) as belonging to the propylon of the sanctuary of Artemis, but Pontus Hellström has recently argued based on the block lengths that it must have come from the temple itself instead: "Sacred Architecture and Karian Identity," in *Die Karer und die Andere: internationales Kolloquium an der Freien Universität Berlin, 13 bis 15 Oktober 2005*, ed. Frank Rumscheid (Bonn: Habelt, 2009), 276.

anta, not the architrave of the Temple of Athena at Priene.[173] The third century produces

only two examples of temple entablature inscriptions, the Zeuxis addition to the Amyzon

architrave mentioned above and the dedication of Philetairos, dynast of Pergamon from

281-263 BCE, at Mamurt Kale/Kaikos, a small sanctuary near the *polis*. The temple bears

a laconic inscription on its Doric architrave: "Philetairos, son of Attalos, to the Mother of

the Gods."[174]

In the second century BCE, temple architrave inscriptions appear on occasion,

especially on the island of Delos while under Athenian control.[175] There, a small temple

(*naiskos*) in the Agora of the Competaliates (sometimes called the Italian agora) bore a

bi-lingual dedication to Hermes and Maia dated to circa 140 BCE; several names appear

in the nominative followed by the typical statement that they "set it up"

(fecerunt/ἀνέθηκαν).[176] The three small temples that comprised the sanctuary of the

Egyptian gods on the same island each had architraval inscriptions, dating to the 130s

BCE and all from the *demos Athenaion* and including eponymous officials.[177] Around

125 BCE, a second *naiskos* was built in the Agora of the Competaliates; its architrave

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[173] Or whoever was charged with, or decided to, engrave his name. We need not assume that Alexander personally oversaw the inscribing of his name. *Infra*, page 84.

[174] Cat. # 3, *IMT Kaikos* #928. *IMT Kaikos* = Matthias Barth and Josef Stauber, ed., *Inschriften Mysia & Troas* (Munich: Leopold Wenger Institut, 1993). For a drawing, see Alexander Conze and Paul Schazmann, *Mamurt-Kaleh: Ein Tempel der Göttermutter unweit Pergamon. Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* IX. (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911), Pl. 5.

[175] A single architrave (Cat. #4, *IG* IX, 2 #578) from Pelasgiotis, near Larissa in Thessaly, states that Makon son of Omph[…] dedicated the temple to Zeus, Enodia, and Pompaios and has been dated to circa 145 BCE based on an individual of the same name from Larissa in an inscription at Delphi (*F.Delphes* III 4.4 #355). Based on the rarity of temple architraves at that date, however, I raise the possibility that the architrave dates from later and was dedicated by a member of the same family. *F.Delphes* III = J. Pouilloux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. III, fasc. 4, part 4: *Épigraphie. Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire* (Paris: Boccard, 1976).

[176] Cat. #5, *I.Délos* #1731. *I.Délos* = F. Durrbach, *Inscriptiones de Délos* (Paris: Librarie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926-1937). For this *naiskos* and a drawing of its façade, see Claire Hasenohr, "*Les sanctuaires italiens sur l'Agora des Compétaliastes à Délos*," *Revue Archéologique* 1 (2000): 198-203.

[177] *I.Délos* #2041 (Cat. #6), #2042 (Cat. #7), and #2043 (Cat. #8).

again included a list of names and a (now missing) dedication, though only in Greek in the preserved portion.[178] In 102/1 BCE, the Athenian priest Helianax dedicated an unusual building on Delos called the Kabirion.[179] The inscription tells us that Helianax dedicated this temple (*naon*) to the Dioskouroi Kabeiroi and to Mithridates VI, on behalf of both the Athenians and (ironically, given the coming war) the Romans.[180]

We can therefore see Delos as something of an anomaly, an island on which the practice of inscribing temple architraves was common, despite its apparent rarity in both mainland Greece and Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. The majority of the architraves from Delos were inscribed during the period of Athenian control, in most cases initiated by either the *demos Athenaion* or an individual Athenian. Were they, perhaps, replicating a practice already in vogue in Athens, for which we have no surviving evidence? Or was it rather the local builders or stone cutters who determined that the temple architrave was appropriate for inscribing, possibly after the introduction of the practice in the Italian agora?

Further architrave dedications in the first and second centuries BCE are rare. In 46 BCE, the *demos* of Aigai (near Pergamon) made a dedication to Apollo Chresterios on the architrave of the temple, as a thank-offering (χαριστήριον) for the city being saved by the proconsul Publius Servilius.[181] On the brink of the imperial era, the citizens of Aigai

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[178] Cat. # 9, *I.Délos* #1734. For this *naiskos*, see Theodoros Mavrojannis, "L'*aedicula* dei *lares compitales* nel *compitum* degli *Hermaistai* a Delo," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 119, no. 1 (1995): 99-103.
[179] For this monument, see most recently Patric-Alexander Kreuz, "Monuments for the King: Royal Presence in the Late Hellenistic World of Mithridates VI," in *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, ed. Jakob Munk Højte (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 131-144.
[180] Cat. #10, *I.Délos* #1562. The walls of the Kabirion further carried busts of officials at Mithridates' court, also inscribed. For the full list of individuals represented, see Kreuz, "Monuments for the King," 136-7.
[181] Cat. #11, *Alt. von Aegae* #47. *Alt. von Aegae* = Richard Bohn, *Altertümer von Aegae*. Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Ergänzungsheft (Berlin: Reimer, 1889).

were already using a temple architrave to advertise their beneficial relationship with the Roman powers that be. The rise of Augustus would see this trend increase dramatically.

The majority of temple architrave inscriptions in the Roman imperial period dedicate the temple to an emperor or to both an emperor and a god.[182] The Temple of Athena at Priene was newly dedicated to Augustus as well, making Athena and Augustus *synnaoi theoi*, temple-sharing gods: "The *demos* dedicated (the temple) to Athena Polias and to the emperor Caesar Augustus, the divine son of a god."[183] Both the Metroön at Olympia and the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous were re-named through architrave inscriptions in the early imperial period, being dedicated exclusively to Augustus and Livia, respectively.[184] As a cautionary tale on the limits of the epigraphic refashioning of temple identity, we should note that both of these temples continued to be associated with their traditional deities; re-naming through inscriptions was not always successful.[185]

In other instances, newly constructed buildings were dedicated both to a traditional deity and to imperial figures, as at Aizanoi in Phrygia, where a Temple of Artemis was constructed by the priest Asklepiades, most likely during the reign of Claudius (41-54 CE), and dedicated to both "Artemis and the emperors."[186] A few decades later in the same city, the Temple of Zeus received a dedication in bronze on the

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[182] For the ubiquity of Roman emperors on building architraves in the West, see Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser*.

[183] Cat. #16, *I.Priene (2014)* #153. *I.Priene (2014)* = Wolfgang Blümel and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Priene I/II. IK* 69 (Bonn: Habelt, 2014).

[184] Cat. #15, *IvO* #366; *IG* II^2 #3242. *IvO* = W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin: Asher & Co., 1896).

[185] Pausanias (5.20.9) mentions how the Metroön is still called by its ancient name, even though imperial statues, not the mother of the gods, can be found within it. For continuing dedications to Nemesis at Rhamnous, see Stafford, "'The People to the Goddess Livia,' 216-217.

[186] Cat. #20, *MAMA* IX #270; Michael Wörrle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi II: Das Problem der Ära von Aizanoi," *Chiron* 25 (1995): 63-68, #1. *MAMA* IX = Barbara Levick, Stephen Mitchell, James Potter, and Marc Waelkens, eds., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 9 (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1988).

architrave, only recently reconstructed as a dedication to the Zeus of Aizanoi and to Domitian (r. 81-96 CE), by the polis.[187] As we shall see in Chapter 3, both these temples would find new uses in late antiquity. The use of bronze letters in inscriptions was, itself a Roman feature; they had first appeared in Rome on Augustus' Parthian Arch before being adopted in Asia Minor in the last years of the first century BCE.[188]

At Blaundos, a city in the Meander valley on the Lydian and Phrygian border, a newly built temple bore dedications to both Ceres/Demeter and (most likely) the empress Domitia Longina (wife of Domitian) in Latin (on the frieze) and Greek (on the tri-fascia architrave).[189] In the second century CE, the habit of inscribing temple architraves proliferated, especially in Pisidia. At Sagalassos, the Temple of Apollo Klarios received a lengthy, three-line dedication from local notable T. Flavius Collega in 119/20 CE to both Apollo and the *Theoi Sebastoi*, the (approximate) Greek equivalent of the term *divi Augusti,* the divine emperors.[190] The inscription mentions Collega, his wife Flavia Longilla, his mother and brother, and specifies that they had funded the *peripteros* and

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[187]Cat. #26, *SEG* 58 #1492; Kai Jes, Richard Posamentir, Michael Wörrle. "Der Tempel des Zeus in Aizanoi und seine Datierung," in *Aizanoi und Anatolien: neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie im Hochland des westlichen Kleinasien*, ed. Klaus Rheidt (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2010), 83. For the temple as a whole, see Rudolf Naumann, *Der Zeustempel zu Aizanoi. Nach den Ausgrabungen von Daniel Krencker und Martin Schede* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1979).

[188] Charles Brian Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, no. 1 (2005): 29.

[189] Or possibly to the Domus Augusta. Cat. #24, *CIG* #3869, Falko von Saldern, "Katalog der Inschriften," in *Blaundos: Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet*, ed. Axel Filges (Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth, 2006), 321-350, #3 (Latin), #4 (Greek).

[190] Cat. #31, *IGR* III #342. The inscription was first published by Karl Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens II: Pisidien* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1892), #200. The temple may have formally been dedicated both to Apollo and Vespasian during Flavian times, according to Peter Talloen and Marc Waelkens, "Apollo and the Emperors (II). The Evolution of the Imperial Cult at Sagalassos," *Ancient Society* 35 (2005), 224. For the revised dating of the inscription (previously believed to date to 103/4 CE), see Werner Eck, "Die Dedikation des Apollo Klarios unter Proculus, *legatus Augusti pro praetor Lyciae-Pamphyliae*," in *Exempli Gratia*: *Sagalassos, Marc Waelkens and Interdisciplinary Archaeology*, ed. Jeroen Poblome (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 43-50, at 45-46.

the revetment of the walls of the temple. In Chapter 3, we will see how this architrave

was reused centuries later. Antoninus Pius was explicitly mentioned on several

architraves in the region of Pisidia, where he was popular. These include a second temple

at Sagalassos, attributed jointly to that emperor and Hadrian (if the restoration of the

fragmentary architrave inscription presented by the excavators is correct), on a small

temple at Kocaaliler (an unidentified ancient site), and in Latin on a temple at nearby

Kremna.[191]

A few other architraves from the imperial period mention the emperor in some

capacity other than the recipient of a dedication. At Blaundos, a structure designated

Temple 2 bore an architrave inscription in Latin, which began with the names and titles

of Vespasian and Titus in the ablative, before mentioning the god and the donor.[192] The

emperors, given the place of prominence at the beginning of the inscription, were

essentially only there to provide the date. The Parthenon in Athens received a dedication

to Nero (in the accusative) in bronze letters on its architrave; they were removed a short

time later, when the emperor suffered *damnatio*.[193] No verb is provided, and it is likely

that the *demos* of Athens intended only to honor Nero rather than re-dedicate the entire

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[191] Sagalassos: Cat. #34, Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, #188. Both the excavation website and the on-site placard state that the fragmentary architrave was dedicated to "divine Hadrian" ([ΘΕ]Ω ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ) alongside Antoninus Pius; it is unclear to me, however, why this should not be restored, following Lanckoroński, only as [ΑΙΛΙΩ ΑΔ]ΡΙΑΝΩ (Antoninus Pius). A dedication to (ΘΕ)Ω ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ) finds no secure parallels in the PHI database. Kocaaliler: Cat. #35, *I.Pisid.Cen* #148. *I.Pisid.Cen.* = Greg H.R.Horsley and Stephan Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia*, *IK* 57 (Bonn: Habelt, 2000). Kremna: Cat. #36, *I.Pisid.Cen*, #11.
[192] Von Saldern, "Katalog der Inschriften," #6. For this temple, see Dorothea Roos and Axel Filges, "Das Heiligtum in der Nordstadt. Die Feldarbeiten der Kampagnen 1999, 2000, und 2002," in *Blaundos: Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet*, ed. Axel Filges (Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth, 2006), 46-66.
[193] *IG* II/III^3 4,1 #10

temple to him – thus the use of the accusative instead of the dative.[194] The *boule* and

demos of Arykanda, in Lycia, "constructed the temple of white stone" "on behalf of the

safety" of the emperor Trajan. The epigraphical construction "ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ

Αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τρ[αιανοῦ]...σωτηρίας" is unusual on an architrave and is not a

direct dedication to Trajan, but rather a votive for his safety.[195]

     At Troy, the older temple of Athena received a new inscription on its architrave,

recording the name of Augustus in the nominative.[196] Presumably Augustus had in some

way contributed to the restoration of the sanctuary, though there is no archaeological

evidence for renovation activity of that period.[197] The same situation is found at Klaros

with the name of Hadrian in the nominative.[198] Perhaps a sizeable donation could earn the

emperor a place on the architrave, even without contributing directly to the structure; or

perhaps we can simply not see certain types of repairs, such as replacing a roof.

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[194] Stafford, "'The People to the Goddess Livia,' 225-226.

[195] Cat. #29, *I.Arykanda* #16. *I.Arykanda* = S.Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda*, IK 48 (Bonn: Habelt, 1994). This formula occurs on other types of dedications as well. See Kajava, "Honorific and Other Dedications," 560.

[196] Cat. #17, *I.Ilion* #84. *I.Ilion* = P.Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion, IK* 3 (Bonn: Habelt, 1975).

[197] C. Brian Rose, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 224. Kajava ("Honorific and Other Dedications," 560) notes that statue bases could receive the emperor's name in the nominative as an honorific, without the implication that the emperor had contributed to the statue. In this case, however, the nominative presumably acted as a title describing a statue of the emperor himself; it does not work on a temple in the same way, unless we are meant to understand the architrave as an elaborate frame for a statue of Augustus. This architrave inscription would later be covered with one in bronze letters; see Chapter 3, 131-32.

[198] Jean-Louis Ferrary, "Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros en l'honneur de Romains," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 124, no. 1 (2000): #13. For the construction history of the temple in brief, see Jean-Charles Moretti and Didier Laroche, "Le temple de l'oracle d'Apollon à Claros," *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 342 (2010): 2-9. See also Deborah N. Carlson, "Dating a Shipwrecked Marble Cargo Destined for the Temple of Apollo at Claros," in *Le sanctuaire de Claros et son oracle. Actes du colloque international de Lyon, 13-14 janvier 2012*, ed. Jean-Charles Moretti and Liliane Rabatel (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2014), 51-62. The name of Tiberius had already been inscribed in the genitive on the temple at Klaros, although inside the pronaos: Ferrary, "Les inscriptions du sanctuaire," #12. It is likely that only a portion of the temple was therefore given over to imperial cult.

The Temple of Dionysos at Teos in Ionia also bears on its fragmentary architrave an inscription with Hadrian's name and titles in the nominative.[199] The temple was originally built in the second century BCE, and was largely restored in the second century CE, so Hadrian may have in fact provided the funds to the temple for the restoration.[200] In Corinth, Commodus is given in the nominative as the founder of two small temples in the Agora, Temples H and J (c. 185-190 CE).[201] The final line of the identical Latin inscriptions, however, mention that the temples were arranged according to the will of a Cornelia Baebia, so it is unclear to what degree Commodus was himself involved.

Temple architrave inscriptions were not solely associated with imperial names, however. In the first centuries CE, a few temples used the entablature space to name a private donor rather than an emperor. Shrines to Tyche in both Miletopolis (near Kyzikos) and in Diocaesarea (Cilicia) were dedicated by private individuals.[202] The first-century CE Temple E at Corinth bore a prominent Latin inscription from a local donor in bronze letters on the top fascia of the architrave. If the man's patronymic was also on the fragmentary architrave, there likely would not have been room for the name of the god to whom the temple was dedicated (the dedication of the temple is, in fact, disputed).[203]

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[199] Cat. #33, McCabe *Teos* #76. McCabe *Teos* = Donald McCabe, *Teos Inscriptions. Texts and Lists* (Princeton: Institute for Advanced Study, 1985), #76. See also Louis Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, vol. 3 (Paris: Adrien-Masonneuve, 1946), 86.

[200] For construction and restoration dating of the temple as a whole, see Duran Mustafa Uz, *Teos'taki Dionysos Tapınağı* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 2013).

[201] Cat. #38 and #39, *Corinth* 8, 3 #111 and #112. *Corinth* 8,3 = John H. Kent, *Corinth*, vol. 8, part 3: *The Inscriptions 1926-1950* (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies, 1966). See also Robert Scranton, "Two Temples of Commodus at Corinth," *Hesperia* 13, no. 4 (1944): 315-348, at 346.

[202] Miletopolis: *I.Miletopolis* #35. *I.Miletopolis* = E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung*, part 2: *Miletupolis. Inschriften und Denkmäler*, *IK* 26 (Bonn: Habelt, 1983). Diocaesarea: E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12 (1891): 225-274, at 264; *MAMA* III, 56. *MAMA* III = Josef Keil, and Adolf Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 3: *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931).

[203] Cat. #25, *Corinth* 8,3, #333, 134.

This mirrors Latin practice elsewhere in Corinth (on Temples H and J) and in the West, for example on the Pantheon at Rome.

Summary and Analysis of Entablature Inscriptions

Late antique Christians would find entablature dedications written prominently on many, though certainly not all, temples in Greece and Asia Minor. A total of forty-one temple entablature inscriptions are represented in my catalog. Twenty-six are located in Asia Minor, seven on the Aegean islands, and eight from mainland Greece. Two date from the Classical period, nine or ten (depending on dating) come from the Hellenistic period, and twenty-nine or thirty are from the Roman imperial period. Christians would therefore be more likely to encounter inscriptions from the Roman period (some on much older temples). The tradition of inscribing temple architraves flourished in the second century CE before dropping off precipitously in the third century, with only one example potentially datable to that period: an architrave to the *Theoi Sebastoi* and Zeus Sarapis at Adada in Pisida.[204] A lengthy break in the epigraphic habit therefore occurred between the period of active pagan inscribing and Christian appropriation of temples.

The dedications could come from the *demos*/*polis*, rulers, or prominent local individuals. The majority of these inscribed temple entablatures were associated with imperial names in some way, with members of the imperial family either as the recipient of temples (sometimes alongside a traditional deity), as their dedicators, or simply honored here. In addition, one or more eponymous officials may be included to link the dedication to a specific year (or rather, in the ancient mindset, to events associated with

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[204] Cat. #40, *IGR* III #364, dated to the late second or early third century CE. See also J.R. Sitlington Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1888), #421. Another late example of an architrave dedication (to Julian, r. 361-363) is discussed in Chapter 3 (131-32).

the time of that individual). In the case of individual donors, their titles (such as priest) and family members may also be included on the entablature. Additionally, private donors typically included the phrase "ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων" ("from his/her own funds/initiative").

From the earliest to latest examples, temple entablature inscriptions in Greece and Asia Minor are typically found on the architrave (rather than the frieze, which typically contained either decorative reliefs or triglyphs and metopes). Architraves may be flat or split into fasciae; the available writing surface naturally determined the visibility and length of the inscription. Inscriptions begin on the top fascia of the architrave, which is the largest and therefore the most amenable to inscribing; longer inscriptions could stretch onto the second and third fasciae. In contrast, in Rome architects/patrons were willing to sacrifice the frieze of the temple order in order to have more space for an inscription. The Marcus Agrippa inscription of the Pantheon is both striking and easily legible because it inhabits the tall, blank frieze; the Severan inscription on the two fasciae of the architrave below the frieze is much less visible. On the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina in the Forum Romanum, "DIVO ANTONINO" occupies the blank frieze, while "DIVAE FAUSTINAE" is relegated to the architrave, where the two fasciae have been left smooth (i.e. as a single fascia) only in this central section, allowing the bronze letters of Faustina's name to be larger than would otherwise be possible. Likewise, in our region, the two temples at Blaundos with bi-lingual dedications place the Latin text on the frieze.

Within this group of entablature dedications, there was room for experimentation with textual layout, especially with early texts, in the Hellenistic and early imperial

periods. On Delos, the early dedications in the Agora of the Competaliates place the Latin

and Greek texts next to each other, one on the left and the other on the right side of the

architrave, rather than above and below, as would be the practice in the Roman period.

On the same island, the flat architrave of the Temple of Isis held a three-line inscription;

the tri-fascia architrave of the Temple to Sarapis, Isis, and Anoubis rather held five lines,

with two each on the upper two fasciae. The same five-line arrangement can be found on

the tri-fascia architrave of the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Athens. At Olympia, the

dedication on the Metroön is essentially a block of text rather than stretching across the

façade. A similar layout can be seen in the re-dedication of the Temple of Nemesis to

Livia at Rhamnous. After the mid-first century CE, however, temple entablature

inscriptions were typically one to three lines on tri-fascia architraves or (occasionally)

older flat architraves. When viewing older temples, therefore, late antique Christians

were likely to encounter a number of individuals on their entablatures, from the divine, to

semi-divine emperors, to local elite donors and civic officials.

Non-entablature Construction Donations

Late antique citizens viewing older temples might also find construction donors

memorialized somewhere other than on the entablature. Inscriptions could name a

specific individual as the donor of an architectural element that formed part of the

building.[205] The most common place to honor donors was on columns. Frank Rumscheid

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[205] This could even include the akroterion (an architectural ornament mounted on the peak of a pedimented roof): at Messene, circa 200-150 BCE, the sculptor Damophon and his sons dedicated a marble akroterion base from the Temple of Zeus to all the gods and the polis. In this case, the dedication represents not a monetary contribution, but the bronze sculpture itself, emphasizing that temple donations were equivalent to a votive gift. Because of its location, this dedication was clearly meant primarily for the god's eyes, and therefore is distinct from the more public-oriented dedications described here. Cat. #48, *SEG* 53.399.

has analyzed several of these temples with inscribed columns in an essay on financing

temples in western Asia Minor, in which he emphasizes the long, multi-generational time

span for many of these construction projects.[206] Of course, placing the names of donors

on columns was not reserved for temples; rather, they can also be found on the porticoes

of temenos walls and in stoas, for example, at Metropolis in Ionia.[207] Additionally,

Roman grave markers sometimes took the form of a fluted column with an engraved

tabula ansata.[208]

   The earliest example of this phenomenon on a temple was, famously, the archaic

Artemision at Ephesos. Fragments of the name of the Lydian king Croesus (595-547

BCE) have been found on the bases of four columns from the archaic temple.[209] As

Umholtz has noted, the columns were essentially votive offerings of the king, with the

inscription placed on the bases, as was the practice with other votive gifts, such as

statues.[210] After the destruction of the Temple of Artemis by fire in 356 BCE (on the

night of Alexander the Great's birth), the Ephesians rebuilt the temple and again included

the name of donors on the columns of the temple. Alexander offered to rebuild the

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[206] Frank Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder – Zu Projektierung und Finanzierung antiker Bauten in Westkleinasien und anderswo." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 114 (1999): 19-63.

[207] For Metropolis, see Recep Meriç, *Metropolis in Ionien: Ergebnisse einer Survey-Unternehmung in den Jahren 1972-1975* (Königstein: Anton Hain, 1982), 31-33; Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 44-45, Figs. 18 and 19 for this and other examples. For the practice of writing on columns (in various contexts) from the broader Mediterranean world, see Robert M. Royalty, Jr. "Etched or Sketched? Inscriptions and Erasures in the Messages to Sardis and Philadelphia," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27, no. 4 (2005): 452-3.

[208] For a well-preserved example, see the funerary column of Solon from Fırın Yıkığı at Kayış, near Sagalassos: Marc Waelkens, ed., *Sagalassos V: Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), Fig. 27.

[209] Cat. #42, *I.Eph* #1518. *I.Eph* 5 = Christoph Börker and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, part 5, *IK* 15 (Bonn: Habelt, 1980). Pliny (*Natural History* 36, Chp 21) believed that all the columns of the temple were inscribed with the names of kings. Herodotos (*Histories* 1.92) mentions Croesus' dedication of columns at Ephesus, along with golden cows.

[210] Umholtz, "Architraval Arrogance?" 264-5.

temple, if he were permitted to inscribe his name on it; the Ephesians refused. Instead, other donors contributed to the re-building effort. About twenty-five fragments of dedications from columns have been found.[211]

Alexander found a more receptive audience for his self-advertising donation at Priene around 334 BCE. He paid for the construction of the Temple of Athena; rather than a single column, the anta was inscribed: "King Alexander erected the temple for Athena Polias."[212] At the time, the only preserved dedications of an entire temple in Asia Minor were those from Idrieus on architraves at Labraunda and Amyzon. Why did Alexander not likewise put his name on the architrave? The different settings of the two temples – one an extra-urban sanctuary already heavily patronized by the Hekatomnid family with experimental architecture and the other the major civic shrine in the middle of a thriving metropolis – may have impacted what was considered acceptable in terms of inscribing. Or, for the Prieneans and Alexander himself, it may have simply looked "wrong" for a temple to bear writing on its architrave, the idiosyncratic dedications of a Carian ruler fifteen years prior notwithstanding. Rather, the anta offered a convenient writing space that effectively identified the entire cella as a donation from Alexander. I have not, however, found other examples of founders on temple antae.[213]

Elsewhere, donors continued to place dedications on columns. At Sardis, two short Lydian dedications from circa 300-280 BCE have been found on columns from the

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[211] *I.Eph* 5 #1519.
[212] Cat. #45, *IPriene (2014)* #156.
[213] Maussollos had inscribed his name on the anta of the North Stoa at Labraunda, however.

Temple of Artemis.[214] At Pergamon, a perhaps fourth-century bilingual Greek and Lydian inscription was found on a column from the pronaos of the Temple of Athena.[215] A second inscription from a different column was in verse.[216] The dedicator addresses Athena directly, telling the "thrice-born goddess" that he has set up the column for her. In contrast to Sardis and Ephesos, where the dedications were inscribed low on the column or on the base so as to be legible, at Pergamon, the inscriptions were at a height of about four meters.

After circa 300 BCE, however, the habit of inscribing temple columns seems to have disappeared until the Roman imperial period.[217] When column inscriptions reappear, they were now placed on *tabulae ansatae* on the shaft of the column. This location on the exterior of the temple was optimal for advertising the donation to the public. Several examples come from Caria. At Aphrodisias, individuals such as Eumachos and Amias Olympias had their names inscribed on three columns of the temple peristasis, now preserved in the north aisle of the temple-church, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.[218]

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[214] Cat. #74, W.H. Buckler, *Sardis*, vol. 6, part 2: *Lydian Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 1924), *#21;* Roberto Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964), #21. As translated on http://www.sardisexpedition.org/en/artifacts/latw-37. See the summary of the current state of research by Fikret Yegül, http://www.sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-yegul-temple-of-artemis.

[215] Cat. #43, *I.Perg* #1. *I.Perg* = M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* vol. 1 and 2 (Berlin, 1890-1895).

[216] Cat. #44, *I.Perg #2.*

[217] Contra, see Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder,", 38-39; he attributes the three inscribed columns (*I.Iasos* #257-258) from perhaps the third centuries BCE with dedications to Artemis Astias found at Iasos to the temple of that goddess, though none was found *in situ*. The columns are unfluted, and he notes that this does not bar them from belonging to a temple. I, however, see no compelling reason to definitively attribute these columns to the temple (rather than another part of the temenos), and therefore I have not included them here. *I.Iasos* = Wolfgang Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, IK 28 (Bonn, Handelt, 1985).

[218] Cat. #51, *IAph2007* #1.4. *IAph2007* = J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007), http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007. See also Joyce Reynolds, "Inscriptions and the Building of the Temple of Aphrodite," *Aphrodisias Papers* I, ed. Charlotte Roueché and Kenan T. Erim (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 1, 1990), 37-40; Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 26-28.

Eumachos' designation as *Philokaisar* ("friend of Caesar") was included. This title was used during the early imperial period (from which this inscription likely dates) both by Rome's client kings and by private citizens who had some manner of special connection to the emperor, including being involved in the imperial cult.[219] Two other columns in the peristasis were dedicated in the same period by Attalos and Attalis, priests of Aphrodite.[220]

Mylasa also presents a temple column inscription from the early imperial period, which records the donation of eight columns to Zeus Osogo.[221] The donation was made by the priest Pollis, his wife Menias, and their sons, and it is tempting to think that the eight columns may have formed the front or rear façade of an octastyle temple, as the inscription records that they set up "τοὺς ἐξῆς κίονας," "the columns one after another."[222] The Temple of Zeus Lepsynos at Euromos, also in Caria, featured similar column inscriptions on *tabulae ansatae*. Of the temple's preserved columns, thirteen bear donor inscriptions; one has a *tabula* that is uninscribed, and five are unfinished (i.e., without fluting or *tabulae*), according to a drawing made by Rumscheid.[223] Six of the columns bear dedications by Menekrates, chief physician of the city and *stephanephoros*, with his daughter Tryphaina, also *stephanephoros* and *gymnasiarch*.[224] These inscriptions

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[219] Kostas Buraselis, *Kos Between Hellenism and Rome: Studies on the Political, Institutional and Social History of Kos from ca. the Middle Second Century B.C. Until Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2000), 102-3.
[220] *IAph2007* #1.7 (Cat. #52) and #1.8.
[221] The temple is, unfortunately, not preserved.
[222] *I.Mylasa* #326. *I.Mylasa* = Wolfgang Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, vol. 1: *Inschriften der Stadt*, *IK* 34 (Bonn: Habelt, 1988).
[223] See the discussion and illustration in Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 34, Fig. 10.
[224] Cat. #55, McCabe *Euromos* #8. McCabe *Euromos* = Donald McCabe, *Euromos Inscriptions: Texts and Lists* (Princeton: The Institute for Advanced Study, 1991). For the inclusion of children in benefactions made by their parents, see Konstantinos Mantas, "Children as Office Holders and Benefactors in the

are from the Roman imperial period, possibly the age of Hadrian, though a full publication of these texts is still forthcoming.

Several columns from the Temple of Apollo at Hierapolis in neighboring Phrygia were reused in a Byzantine construction inside the Large Baths; most have blank *tabulae ansatae*, while one is inscribed with a dedication to Tiberius and the *demos* (Apollo is excluded from his own temple).[225] The Temple of Aphrodite Kataskopia at Troizen may provide the only example in Greece of a temple column dedication: "Eytychos, son of Hermes, set up (the column) with his son Eision," perhaps of the second century CE. The column's reuse in a Byzantine church, however, makes it difficult to confidently attribute it to the temple's peristasis.[226]

In the Roman period, dedications could appear in other locations on the temple as well. At Priene, the upper step leading to the cella of the Temple of Athena was dedicated by a Marcus Antonius Rusticus.[227] At Aphrodisias, Gaius Julius Zoilos in the late first century BCE chose to inscribe his name above the door of the temple, writing that he, "savior and benefactor of the fatherland, the priest of the god Aphrodite (erected) the temple."[228] He was clearly donating only the cella, since the columns of the peristasis would receive their own dedications at a later date, as discussed above. Centuries after

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Eastern Part of the Roman Empire," *Polis* 18 (2006): 163-186. Six additional columns bear a dedication from Leon Quintus, another *stephanephoros*, stating that he dedicated the column, base, and capital according to his vow (McCabe, *Euromos* #7).

[225] Cat. #53, *SEG* 46-1655.

[226] Cat. #56, *IG* IV #781; Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 39.

[227] Cat. #50, *I.Priene (2014)* #159. Only a small fragment of this inscription was preserved by the twentieth century. The reconstruction is based on the note of an early visitor, and therefore its precise phrasing and location are uncertain.

[228] *Aphrodisias and Rome* #37, with corrected reading in Reynolds, "Inscriptions and the Building," 38.

Zoilos' dedication, late antique Christians had to decide what to do with this inscription, along with the rest of the temple, as will be explored in Chapter 3.

At Termessos in Pisidia, Aurelia Armasta Pankratia recorded her donation of a temple in eight lines on the lintel of the door around 212 CE.[229] Her mother was a co-dedicator and provided for the decoration, revetment, and "silver images." The inscription outlines the two women's familial relationships, including fathers, grandfather, and husbands. Whether only the cella was completed by the time of the inscription, or whether Pankratia opted to place her inscription on the door lintel (rather than the architrave) because it was possible to fit a longer, more detailed inscription here (and was more legible for being closer to the viewer), cannot be determined. Pisidia offers another example of a nearly contemporaneous door lintel inscription. At Adada, Theodoros, son of Neikomachos (not Neichomachos, as is erroneously published) dedicated a temple to the imperial cult in three lines around the year 200.[230]

Rarely, donors could be listed together as a group on the surface of the temple, rather than individually on architectural members.[231] On an imperial estate twenty

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[229] Cat. #59, *TAM* 3,1 #17. As Johannes Nollé notes, although usually attributed to Artemis, the inscription could just as easily be reconstructed as a dedication to Isis or Serapis: "Die Taurische Artemis im Tauros: Zeugnisse und Überlegungen zum Artemiskult von Termessos in Pisidien," in *Ancient History, Numismatics and Epigraphy in the Mediterranean World: Studies in Memory of Clemens E. Bosch and Sabahat Atlan and in Honour of Nezahat Baydur*, ed. Oğuz Tekin in collaboration with Aliye Erol (Istanbul: Ege Publications, 2009), 275-290.

[230] Cat. #58, *IGR* III #366, which uncritically reprints Sitlington Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition*, #422. Both publish Θεόδωρος Νειχομάχου, which would be a hapax. From photographs, however, it is clear that it should rather read Νεικομάκου, a common name. Additionally, both indicate that the inscription is four lines long, when, again, photographs clearly show only three lines. The lengthy restoration published for the supposed gap in line 2 should rather be much shorter.

[231] The list of names on the temple above the Corycian Cave in Cilicia (Cat. #67) may potentially be a list of donors, as proposed by Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," #27. I argue, however, that the location of the list (on the anta), the continuing addition of new names into the third century CE on the interior of the anta, and the fact that some names are represented with a B' (indicating "twice") fits better with a list of priests. See further *infra*, 98-99.

kilometers from Pisidian Antioch, a third century CE association known as the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi*, the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends, published a subscription list of donors on the temple columns and blocks.[232] The men were listed with their patronymic, ethnic identification, and the amount of their contribution. There may, perhaps, be two other instances of collective donors commemorated on temple walls (at Aphrodisias and at the Corycian Cave Clifftop Temple), though I will argue that, with the lack of specific contribution amounts, it is more likely in both cases that the list records priests, not donors. This is because lists of priests are more common on temple walls than collective lists of donors (*infra* 94-101).

Summary and Analysis of Non-Entablature Construction Donations

Literate late antique Christians could learn from these texts that, like churches, some ancient temples were constructed as a community effort, with several prominent local individuals commemorated on architectural elements. Asia Minor provides twelve temples with non-entablature dedications, Greece two, and the islands none.[233] One temple held construction donor inscriptions in the Archaic period, two or three (depending on the dating) in the Classical period, two or three in the Hellenistic period, and nine from the Roman period.[234] The earliest donors to temples engraved their names on columns, usually on the base or the lower portion of the shaft; this tradition can be seen from at least the sixth century BCE at Ephesos, and it continued into the classical

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[232] Cat. #60, *Nouv.inscr.d'Antioche*, #14. *Nouv.inscr.d'Antioche* = M.A. Byrne and G. Labarre, *Nouvelels inscriptions d'Antioche de Piside d'après les Note-books de W.M. Ramsay*, *IK* 67 (Bonn: Habelt, 2006). See also W.M. Ramsay, "The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 32 (1912): 151-170.

[233] Each temple is counted here only once – for example, even though Aphrodisias is represented in this section of the catalog three times (for a door lintel and two different column texts), I have counted it only once here.

[234] Priene is counted here twice, once for Alexander's classical-period (c. 334 BCE) dedications and for Rusticus' imperial step inscription.

and early Hellenistic period. Recording a name on a column is not an effective way to take credit for the construction of an entire structure, however, and Alexander's name was rather placed on the anta at Priene. Despite the isolated examples in the early Hellenistic period, it does not seem that the tradition of individuals inscribing their names on temples was widespread in that era.

At the opening of the Roman imperial period, we again find the names of donors inscribed on architectural members. Often, the same donor(s) would provide funds for multiple columns at the temple and receive a corresponding number of inscriptions. It seems that the columns were erected first, and donors subsequently sought, because several of the *tabulae ansatae* at Euromos, Hierapolis, and Aphrodisias were never inscribed.

Summary and Analysis of Construction Donations

Late antique individuals viewing ancient temples, therefore, would quite frequently encounter, alongside the names of the ancient gods, the names of individuals who had wholly or as a group funded the temple. In total, fifty-four temples in Greece and Asia Minor contain on their walls at least one preserved construction donation inscription.[235] The evidence is greatest for Asia Minor, with thirty-seven temples there bearing this type of inscription.[236] Mainland Greece has ten such temples, while the

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[235] In this total count, I have counted each temple only one time – for example, the Temple of Athena at Priene, which contains both an architrave inscription to Augustus and Alexander's dedication on the anta, is counted only once.

[236] In roughly chronological order of the earliest present construction donation, these are: Ephesos (Artemis), Pergamon, Labraunda, Amyzon, Mamurt Kale, Sardis, Lagina, Aigai, Kyaneai, Aphrodisias, Mylasa (Augustus), Priene, Troy, Klaros, Mylasa (Zeus Osogo), Hierapolis, Aizanoi (Artemis), Sulia, Blaundos (Temple 2), Blaundos (Ceres), Aizanoi (Zeus), Miletopolis, Diocaesarea, Sagalassos (Apollo), Arykanda, Ephesos (Hadrian), Teos, Euromos, Sagalassos (Antoninus Pius), Kocaaliler, Kremna, Korykos, Adada (Zeus), Adada (Emperors), Termessos (N4), Pisidian Antioch, Elaioussa.

Aegean islands contain seven.[237] The majority of construction donation inscriptions date from the Roman period, with between thirty-eight and forty-one temples (depending on the dating) having at least one text dating from that period, while eleven to fourteen temples have Hellenistic texts, four or five hold Classical inscriptions, and a single temple (the Artemision at Ephesos) includes Archaic dedications.[238] The proportions of these numbers are, of course, heavily influenced by preservation bias – for example, Delos contains six small temples/shrines with preserved architrave dedications; the island was largely abandoned in later periods, and these temples were therefore never re-used or dismantled.

Although the goals of entablature dedications and those on other architectural elements were the same (public recognition of the *euergetism* of these wealthy individuals and offering an architectural gift to the deity), the two represent semi-distinct genres. Non-entablature dedications are typically shorter, condensed to fit onto columns or represented collectively as a list on a wall without extraneous information. Architrave inscriptions, by contrast, could be much lengthier, stretching across the entire façade of the temple and continuing for at least three lines (when the architrave had three fasciae). Dedications on door lintels seem to have functioned more like entablature inscriptions: they can be lengthy and indicate that the whole temple (or at least the cella) was dedicated by an individual. Furthermore, in no cases did the *demos* itself make a

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[237] Mainland Greece: Messene, Pelasgiotis, Athens (Augustus), Olympia, Rhamnous, Athens (Parthenon), Corinth (Temple E), Troizen, Corinth (Temple J), Corinth (Temple H). Islands: Delos (Hermes), Delos (Isis), Delos (Sarapis, Isis, and Anoubis), Delos (Anoubis), Delos (Hermaistai), Delos (Kabirion), and Samos.

[238] In these counts, a single temple may be counted twice if it includes texts from more than one period. The Temple of Athena at Priene is here counted twice – once for the Classical-period Alexander dedication, and once for both the Roman architrave to Augustus and the dedication of a step in the same period.

dedication on an architectural member other than the entablature. This implies that temples were either fully funded by the *demos* (commemorated on an architrave), by individuals (recorded on an architrave or on architectural members), or by the god's own funds, in which case no dedicatory inscription would be offered, as Umholtz has argued.[239]

Gaining the favor of a deity by making a permanent, expensive architectural gift to them was one of the most potent motivations for inscribing temples in the Greek and Roman periods. This type of gift would presumably enhance the *do ut des* exchange, so that the donor could hope to receive some benefit back from the god. Archaic and Hellenistic dedications are consistent with wider Greek votive practices, merely extending to architecture the epigraphic habit already popular on objects. These construction donation inscriptions were typically brief, including the name of the donor, his/her patronymic, ethnic, or title, the name of the deity, and (sometimes) a verb such as ἀνέθηκεν. In the Roman period, donor inscriptions became increasingly verbose, often including a lengthier pedigree for the dedicators and more specific information about the donation (for example, the temple and its ornament). For all periods, the architectural members – architraves, columns, doors – must be contextualized among the surrounding votive objects as particularly prominent gifts to the gods. By late antiquity, however, most of these other votive gifts had likely been cleared away or buried as part of a deposit, leaving temples and their texts as the primary testaments of the pagan past at disused sanctuaries. The late antique viewing experience was therefore not wholly unlike our own today.

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[239] Umholtz, "Architraval Arrogance?" 282-283.

The donating city or individual would, of course, also increase their esteem in the eyes of fellow mortals as well. Donating all or part of a temple was not only intended to bring favor to the individual making the gift, but could be expected to benefit the entire city. Several of the donor inscriptions on both entablature and columns include a dedication not only to the god, but also τῷ δήμῳ. In other cases, the *demos/polis* itself was the dedicator. Cities found their place in donation inscriptions in other ways as well. By the second century BCE, the Athenian dedications on Delos mentioned several eponymous officials in order to establish the date of architrave dedications. The inclusion of officials for dating continued on several dedications in the Roman period. The civic offices of the dedicators themselves could be included; at both Euromos and Mylasa (Zeus Osogo), for example, we are told that the donors are *stephanophoroi*. In other cases, donations in the Roman period emphasized the familial relations of these local elites, as can be seen especially on the lengthy dedication at Sagalassos (Apollo Klarios) and Termessos.

A literate late antique viewer, therefore, could read on temples the names of gods, emperors, and wealthy local elites. While the gods rarely were paired with descriptors (beyond identifying epithets such as Klarios), mortals were often listed with their official, civic/governmental titles (consul, *philokaisar*, gymnasiarch, etc.) and familial connections. The portions of inscriptions giving information about the donors or the date (in terms of eponymous officials) was therefore usually much longer than that directly relating to the deity. Late antique viewers could therefore see the temple's connection with prominent historical figures: kings, emperors, leading citizens.

Lists of Priests

Late antique Christians would sometimes encounter lists or records of pagan priests on the walls of temples. Unlike Christian priests, ancient priesthoods could either be for a single term or for life and (usually) did not require renouncing worldly attachments, such as families; prominent Greco-Roman citizens could take on these priesthoods as a part of service to both god and city. Priests made sure that communities remained in the good graces of the local deity by performing sacrifices according to age-old traditions. Priests could, of course, also be donors to the construction of a temple, as we saw above at Aphrodisias, for example. Overlap therefore exists between my first and second category of inscriptions, both of which are in any case under the *do ut des* rubric. When an inscription aims to give a list or record of the priests of a sanctuary, rather than being primarily concerned with an architectural donation, I include them here rather than in the "Construction Donation" section.

Several records of priests were inscribed in the territory of Stratonikeia in Caria. The earliest example of this phenomenon can tentatively be identified with the Temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus at Stratonikeia. The sanctuary seems to have pre-dated the city, which was founded by a Seleucid king, either Antiochios I or II, in the 260s BCE or later. The site of the temple itself has yet to be identified, but Mehmet Çetin Şahin argues that a wall block found inside the city likely belonged to this temple and lists those who held

the priesthood; it was inscribed around 300-270 BCE according to his analysis of the palaeography.[240]

Nearby, at Lagina, the walls of the Temple of Hekate were covered with priest lists and records, about a hundred and thirty inscriptions in total.[241] These differ from the majority of other priest lists presented here, in that the list of priests was running rather than inscribed at one time (i.e., new priests could add their names to the list), and that, in the Roman period, individual priests could record their service and *euergetism* on the walls of the temple as discrete texts rather than as part of a list. Whereas usually only construction donations make their way onto the walls of temples, these Roman priests at Lagina could commemorate their donations both of physical objects and festivals. For example, the priest Chrysaor and priestess Panfile recorded the amount of money that they had spent on festivals, as well as their repair of a theater on the pronaos of the temple.[242]

The temple at Lagina is therefore idiosyncratic in its epigraphic habits compared with most other temples in this catalog. Van Bremen has recently reassessed the inscriptions from this temple and attempted to identify the precise original locations of

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[240] Cat. #61, *I.Stratonikeia* 3 #1063. *I.Stratonikeia* 3 = Mehmet Çetin Şahin, *The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia*, part 3, *IK* 68 (Bonn: Habelt, 2010). The same block also holds on another face a letter from a king Seleukos, which Şahin also dates to the early third century BCE and therefore associates with Seleukos I (r. 305-281 BCE). Getzel M. Cohen suggests that the letter may rather be from Seleukos II (r. 246-225 BCE): *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Berkley: The University of California Press, 1995), 271.

[241] Cat. #62, *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1 #601-741. *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1 = Mehmet Çetin Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, part 2.1: *Lagian, Stratonikeia und Umgebung* (Bonn: Habelt, 1982). See also Van Bremen, "The Inscribed Documents," 488.

[242] *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1, #662. Non-priest individuals may likewise have been permitted to dedicate on the walls at Lagina: a Maneilios, not identified as a priest as is usual, recorded his gift of a garment to the goddess. Whether this was due to the undesirability or impossibility of embroidering a dedication on the garment, or whether Maneilios was, in fact, a priest, is unknown.

the wall and antae blocks, which were found in secondary contexts.[243] She argues the earliest inscriptions on the temple (constructed, according to her, sometime between 150-130s BCE) are the lists of priests that began on the antae (possibly the inner antae walls) shortly after the construction of the temple. Later priests continued inscribing the walls of the temple into the second century CE. The Lagina temple thus became a monument to centuries of local priests.

At Panamara (also in the territory of Stratonikeia) priests again recorded their names and euergetism on wall blocks most probably from a temple. Most are dated broadly to the Roman period, while two may be Hellenistic.[244] Some seem to note sacrifices or meals provided by the priests. At Koraia, a *phyle* of Stratonikeia, illegal digging recently uncovered two wall blocks with a list of priests on them.[245] Şahin proposes that they belong to an otherwise unknown temple of Koraia because of the priest lists; the palaeography suggests a date circa 50-25 BCE. Also in Caria, though outside of the territory of Stratonikeia, the Temple of Athena at Herakleia Latmia had a list of priests on the anta immediately below an oracle about the priesthood (*infra*, 109-110).[246] The list began with priests from circa 100-75 BCE; the latest names in the list date to the Tiberian period, when the inscription was actually engraved.

Farther inland in Caria, the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias contains on an orthostate from the cella an unpublished list of male names with patronymics. This list

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[243] The inscriptions were previously studied by Alfred Laumonier, "Recherches sur la chronologie des prêtres de Lagina," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 62 (1938): 251-284. Van Bremen indicates that she plans a much-needed full reappraisal of the inscriptions.
[244] Cat. #64, *I.Stratonikeia* 3, #1409, #1410.
[245] Cat. #63, *I.Stratonikeia* 3, #1501, #1502.
[246] McCabe *Herakleia Latmia*, #17. McCabe *Herakleia Latmia* = Donald McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia Inscriptions. Texts and Lists* (Princeton: Institute for Advanced Study, 1991).

was first mentioned by Joyce Reynolds, who suggests that the names may represent members of the *neopoioi,* a group of magistrates associated with the construction of the temple; the possibility has also been raised that it is rather a subscription list of donors to the sanctuary.[247] Based on the comparative rarity of collective donor lists, or other lists of individuals, on temple walls, I propose instead that the list represents priests of the Temple of Aphrodite. A Hellenistic temple pre-existed the Roman one currently standing on the site, and it is possible that at the time of the construction of the Roman temple in the first century BCE/CE, an older list of names was reproduced on its walls. The probability that this list represents priests is heightened by its location in Caria, where, as we have seen, priests often appear on temples. One may further note that Zoilos had already taken credit for the construction of the cella, and other citizens had their names inscribed on the columns of the peristasis, making it unclear what was left for additional donors to fund.

Lists of priests also occurred occasionally on temples outside of Caria. At Ankara, in Galatia, a list on the north anta of the Temple of Augustus began with those holding the priesthood as early as 5/4 BCE, according to Stephen Mitchell and David French; it may have been inscribed around 12 CE.[248] The text began near the top of the anta and covered the majority of it. Not only priests, but also the Roman governors were listed. These priests of the new imperial cult were largely drawn from the Galatian ruling class,

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[247] Cat. #65. Reynolds, "Inscriptions and the Building," 39. My thanks to Angelos Chaniotis and Bert Smith for sharing information about this list with me. Personal communication, March 19, 2017. The precise original location of this block is uncertain since it was re-used in the church. See further Chapter 3, 215-218. For the *neopoioi* and the cult of Aphrodite in general, see Angelos Chaniotis, "Aphrodite's Rivals: Devotion to Local and Other Gods at Aphrodisias," *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 21 (2010): 237.
[248] Cat. #66, *I.Ancyra* #2. *I.Ancyra* = Stephen Mitchell and David French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra). Vol 1: From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2012).

and some had recognizably Celtic names.[249] On the opposite anta, a single priest's record

dating to the time of Trajan began much lower on the anta, four courses above the

orthostate level; no subsequent priests added their names.[250]

The Hellenistic Clifftop Temple above the Corycian Cave in Cilicia contains a list

of at least one hundred sixty-five names on its northeast anta, possibly inscribed during

the Augustan period and filling the entire face of the anta.[251] The list gives male names

with patronymic, and in a few cases the name is followed by a *beta*, meaning twice.

Scholars have variously suggested that the names belong to donors to the temple (some of

whom gave twice the normal donation, thus the *beta*) or to priests of the cult.[252] A

second, later list of names is also found on the south/inner face of the same anta; several

hands are represented, indicating that names were added in separate phases across time,

rather than in a single inscribing campaign.[253] Several of the names on this inner anta

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[249] For this list of priests, see further in Chapter 3, 160-61.

[250] See Daniel Krencker and Martin Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1936), Pl. 5.

[251] Cat. #67, Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," #27; the inscription is usually referred to in the scholarship as *JHS* 12 #27. For drawings of the inscription, see Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 44 (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1896), #155, 73-75. It has been suggested (Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, 72) that the final name on the front of the anta, Ἀρχέλαος Ἀρχελάου, refers to the client king of Cappadocia, Archaelaos (d. 17 CE), but this connection should be regarded as tenuous at best. Other individuals named Archaelaos could also have sons by the same name – for example, a third century CE inscription from Olympia records the same name and patronymic: *IvO* #122. One additional block built into the west end of the church but belonging originally to the southeast anta of the temple also bears a name, Epikrates (Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, #156); it is uncertain whether the entire southeast anta was also filled with names. For the temple as a whole, see Otto Feld and Hans Weber, "Temple und Kirche über der Korykischen Grotte (Cennet Cehennem) in Kilikien." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17 (1967): 254-278. See further Chapter 3, 181ff.

[252] Hicks ("Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," 256) states that the names cannot be the priests of Olbian Zeus, but rather belong to contributors to the temple. He offers, however, no reason for this supposition.

[253] It is possible that these names began at the top of the inner anta wall, and continued lower as time progressed, but this cannot be confirmed.

wall include M(arcus) Aur(elius), indicating an inscribing date after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* granted citizenship to non-slaves throughout the empire in 212 CE.[254]

Based on this second list, I side with the view that these names represent priests of the temple, rather than donors. For one, lists of collective donors are rarer than lists of priests. Only one example of collective donors on a temple (the Tekmorian Guest Friends) is certain, compared with three certain lists of priests and an additional four probable ones. If these were donors, one would further wonder that several gave twice the usual donation, but no leading citizen gave three (or more) times the recommended amount. Second, if Otto Feld and Hans Weber are correct in dating the temple's original construction to circa 175-63 BCE, and the dating of the inscription on the front of the anta is correctly attributed to the Augustan period, one would have to question why the donors to temple construction were recorded (or re-inscribed) so many years later.[255] Rather, it makes more sense for the one hundred and sixty-five names on the front of the anta to represent priests, with approximately thirty-five of them serving twice; if we assume one priest per year, the list engraved in the Augustan era or a little later could easily stretch back to circa 175 BCE, when construction on the temple may have begun. The continuation of names on the inner face of the anta further supports the idea of a continuing priestly tradition, rather than occasional financial contributions to the temple.[256]

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[254] The three names appear to be inscribed by the same, somewhat irregular, hand.

[255] Feld and Weber offer a date only of late Hellenistic for the temple based on the few surviving architectural features; they note that the closest parallels for the antae capitals date from around 175-163 BCE ("Tempel und Kirche," 263-4). One may very tentatively date the Corycian Cave Clifftop Temple to the same period. The polygonal peribolos wall is older.

[256] On the inner (south) face of the anta, some individuals are given both a name and a nickname, for example, Διογένης ὁ καὶ Κόππαλος Ἄππα (Diogenes also called Koppalos Appa, *JHS* 12 #28, lines 21-22).

Analysis of Lists of Priests

The inscribing of lists of priests on temples was not as common as recording

construction donations on temples (or inscribing documents on them, see below). The

habit of inscribing the names of priests on the very *naos* they served seems to have

existed only in Asia Minor, with a total of eight probable examples. These are

Stratonikeia, Lagina, Koraia, Panamara, Herakleia Latmia, Aphrodisias, Ankara, and the

Corycian Cave, and we find on their walls either lists of priests or records of individual

priests. Lists of priests are to some degree a set genre. The priest's name and patronymic

are included, and sometimes a mention that they served two terms. Beyond this, however,

some lists include additional information, such as the ethnic (at Lagina) or information

about their donations to the goddess (at Ankara). Priests could also have their names

added individually to a temple, rather than as part of a list (later period Lagina and

Panamara). These priests' records can of course not be completely separated from the

"Construction Donation" inscriptions made by priests (as at the Temple of Zeus Osogo in

Mylasa or that of Zoilos at Aphrodisias).

In several instances, the lists or records of priests spanned the Hellenistic to

Roman imperial periods (at Lagina, second century BCE to second century CE, at

Panamara, where most records are Roman but some may be Hellenistic, at the Corycian

Cave, where a list of names could stretch back to circa 175 BCE and new additions were

made into the third century CE, at Herakleia Latmia, where names going back to circa

100 BCE were inscribed in the Tiberian period, and possibly at Aphrodisias, with an

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One man, Ζηνοφάνης ὁ καὶ Ῥωμύλος (Zenophanes also called Romulus), is designated as the priest for life
of the Nemeses. Presumably he was able to hold the Corycian Cave temple priesthood in addition this other
lifetime appointment.

undated list that may represent earlier priests, and possibly at Koraia, with a list dated

circa 50-25 BCE). The recording of priests therefore offered continuity across changed

historical/political circumstances. The local community's long service to the deity is

emphasized. Additionally, the long lists of priests may also have functioned as a sort of

calendar, as other donations to the sanctuary may have been dated by the eponymous

priest of the year. The large number of names inscribed on some temples, such as at

Lagina, emphasized the sanctuary's lengthy history and continued vitality into at least the

second century CE. Christians could, therefore, at select temples view these records of

the servants of the old gods. We will see further in Chapter 3 how Christians interacted

with these records at Aphrodisias and the Corycian Cave.

Documents: Decrees, Letters, Contracts, Codes, and Manumissions

In addition to construction donations and lists of priests, late antique viewers

would also encounter documents, including letters, decrees, or contracts, on temple walls

and antae.[257] These documents were usually not engraved on temple walls or anta as a

one-off but instead were part of an archive group or dossier. Rather than participating in

the *do ut des* relationship between gods and men, the engraving of documents on temple

walls benefited mainly mortals. One aim of inscribing these documents at sanctuaries was

to add a layer of inviolability to the contents – by being dedicated to a god, the terms of

the document became unbreakable and were guaranteed by the authority of the deity.

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[257] Some of these documents have previously been discussed in historical studies, for example, Charles Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), and Robert K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), neither of which emphasizes the architectural contexts of the texts.

Setting up a text anywhere in a sanctuary offered this inviolability; placing a document

on the temple building itself did not automatically confer greater protection. For example,

at Delphi, a manumission text from 20-40 CE included the directive that it be, inscribed

"on the sanctuary of Apollo," (ἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος).[258] It was found on a block

near the theater, rather than on or at the temple itself (if the findspot was indeed its

original location). The internal needs of the document – to be made unbreakable – could

therefore be met by placing it anywhere within the temenos. From the perspective of

viewers, however, cities or sanctuaries could choose to highlight particularly significant

decrees/letters by placing them not on a *stele* or base, but on the very house of the god,

the visual focal point of a sanctuary, thereby emphasizing certain associations.

A single early example of inscribing a document on a temple is exceptional. At

Gortyn on Crete, the Temple of Apollo Pythios featured an archaic law code (from the

seventh or sixth century BCE, and therefore pre-dating the more famous Gortyn Law

Code dating to the fifth century BCE and still preserved in its reused location).[259] One

text covered forty-four stones, wrapping around the entire perimeter of the building.[260]

This is the only instance of a law code inscribed on a temple in the regions considered

here. A fragmentary decree was further added to this *oikos* of Apollo in the fifth century

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[258] *CID* V #1180, line 13. Reproduced in Anne Jacquemin, Dominique Mulliez, and Georges Rougemont, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes, traduites et commentées* (Paris: De Boccard, 2012), #136. I thank Jeremy McInerney for bringing this text to my attention.

[259] The archaic law code is *IC* IV #9-19 and most likely also include #20-26.

[260] Cat. #69, *IC* IV #10. See Giovanni Marginesu, "Use, Re-Use and Erasure of Archaic and Classical Gortynian Inscriptions. An Archaeological Perspective," in *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*, ed. Oliver Pilz, Gunnar Seelentag (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 207-218, at 207; Margherita Guarducci, "Intorno alle vicende e alla eta della Grande Iscrizione di Gortina," *Revista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 16 (1938): 264-273.

BCE. These inscriptions were preserved *in situ* up until Roman times, when a renovation of the building ignored and mostly obscured these much older texts.

Perhaps two or three centuries after the archaic law code was inscribed at Gortyn, two other temples in the Aegean show evidence of engraving decrees on temple walls, if the dating and identification of these inscriptions are correct.[261] At the Temple of Apollo Pythios on Ios, a proxeny decree by the *boule* of the Pholegandrians (the neighboring island) was inscribed on an anta believed to come from the temple in perhaps the fourth century BCE, although it was not found *in situ*.[262] The decree includes the explicit instruction that it be engraved "ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου," "on the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios." A temple belonging to the same god at Karthaia, on the island of Kea, likewise held decrees by the local *boule* on its antae. The majority date from the third century BCE, but one brief fragment, possibly of a *lex sacra*, may be from the fourth century.[263] Although neither of these fourth century examples is certain, one may wonder whether the identity of Apollo Pythios – the god who spoke through oracles – may have encouraged the addition of written words to his temples as a regional Aegean trend.

The third century witnessed a rapid proliferation of documents inscribed on temples. The Prieneans had already witnessed the engraving of Alexander's donor dedication on the anta of the Temple of Athena; within a few decades they would choose

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[261] Dates for engraved decrees are often published without clarifying whether the decree itself, or the inscribing of it, is the object of the date. In most cases, we can assume that decrees and letters were engraved within weeks or months of their passage/delivery. But this is not always the case – see, for example, Pessinous (*infra* 112).

[262] Cat. #70, *IG* XII 5.1 #9.

[263] Cat. #71, *IG* XII 5.1 #530.

to further embellish the temple with important documents. The earliest of these, the Alexander Edict, was actually inscribed years after that ruler's death, in circa 285 BCE, while Lysimachos was king of the region, as S.M. Sherwin-White has argued, and deals with a neighboring community of Priene, the "Greekness" of the inhabitants, and the rights of Priene in relation to them.[264] This edict was engraved along with a letter of Lysimachos, and an honorary decree of the *boule* of the Prieneans for him. New documents continued to be inscribed on the Temple of Athena into the second century BCE; at least one anta and anta wall were covered with these texts. The front face of the anta was filled first, starting under Alexander's dedication at its top and moving downwards; the wall of the anta was then inscribed, also starting at the top. At least three *senatus consulta* also found their way onto the wall, confirming Priene's rights in disputes with neighbors.[265] Documents higher up on the wall were inscribed with larger letters, thereby enhancing legibility for readers below.

Probably around the same time, the Temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus, later incorporated into the city of Stratonikeia in Caria, also received inscriptions of royal letters on its walls. The site of the temple has never been securely identified, but, as mentioned above, Şahin has argued that fragments of wall blocks found within Stratonikeia originated from that structure. He dates several fragmentary inscriptions to the early third century BCE based on the paleography; one of them seems to be a letter of

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[264] Cat. #72, S.M. Sherwin-White, "Ancient Archives: The Edict of Alexander to Priene, a Reappraisal," *JHS* 105 (1985): 69-89. See also Peter Thonemann, "Alexander, Priene, and Naulochon," in *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis*, ed. Paraskevi Martzavou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 23-36; Marietta Horster, "Priene: Civic Priests and Koinon-Priesthoods in the Hellenistic Period," in *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*, ed. Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 177-208, at 179.
[265] Sherwin-White, "Ancient Archives," 72.

Seleukos I (r. 305-281 BCE) to a *boule* and *demos*, although the identity of this *polis*, if the letter is dated correctly, is uncertain.[266] The same stone also bears an inscription in Carian and a list of priests, as mentioned above.[267]

Inscriptions appeared also on the Temple of Artemis at Amyzon (where Idrieus had already inscribed his dedication on the architrave) also in the first third of the third century BCE. The earliest one that can confidently be ascribed to the temple antae opens with a dating formula for the ninth year of "Ptolemy son of Ptolemy," that is 273 BCE.[268] The inscriptions are both civic decrees (many of them honoring individuals for their services to the city) and letters from Hellenistic kings.[269] Two civic honorary decrees written on wall blocks found at Olymos (also in Caria) sometime in the third century BCE most likely came from a temple, since the text of both decrees specifies that it should be written "ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ" (on the temple) of Apollo and Artemis.[270]

By the late third century in Labraunda, a series of letters called the Olympichos dossier was inscribed on the rear antae of the Temple of Zeus. This dossier comprises letters dated c. 240-220 BCE between the city of Mylasa, Olympichos (a *strategos* of Seleukos II turned local dynast), and the priests of Zeus Labraundos and covers a dispute over control of the sanctuary and the revenue from the sacred lands.[271] The conflict was

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[266] Cat. #73, *I.Stratonikeia* #1001.
[267] Cat. #61, *I.Stratonikeia* #1063.
[268] Cat. #75, *Amyzon* #3.
[269] Pontus Hellström has recently reassessed the blocks and has concluded that *Amyzon* #3, 4, 5 S, 15, 16, 36, and 38 certainly come from the temple; a few others might.
[270] Cat. #76, *I.Mylasa* #868; *Inscriptions in Milas* #44.
[271] Cat. #77, *I.Labraunda* #1-7. A new block from this series was found during excavation in 2014. Naomi Carless Unwin and Olivier Henry, "A New Olympichos Inscription from Labraunda: *I. Labraunda* 137," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 49 (2016): 27-45.

mediated by Seleukos II and, later, Philip V of Macedon.[272] Some letters from this dossier were also inscribed on the antae of Androns A and B, feasting rooms at the site also built by the Hekatomnids. All save the first of the documents appear to be inscribed in the same hand, suggesting that they were inscribed as part of a single program after the final correspondence.[273] Based on the reconstruction of the temple antae by Naomi Carless Unwin, Olivier Henry, and Damien Aubriet, the letters would have been located fairly high up, making it difficult for visitors to read them.[274]

Sardis offers a different type of document inscribed on a temple wall in the second half of the third century: a contract and its outcome. The inscription on the north anta wall records that the temple appropriated the land of a certain Mnesimachos, which had been granted to him by Antiogonos Monophthalmos since he was unable to repay a loan of 1,325 gold staters that he had borrowed from the temple's accounts.[275] The temple's right to seize this land was specified in the original contract. Written in the first person, the agreement between Mnesimachos and the temple-warden had likely been made in the late fourth century BCE but was inscribed on the temple wall later (the temple construction began around 281 BCE).[276] The agreement stipulates that Mnesimachos and his descendants had to continue to pay the temple until they repaid the

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[272] For more on Olympichos, see Damien Aubriet, "Olympichos et le sanctuaire de Zeus à Labraunda (Carie): autour de quelques documents épigraphiques," in *Communautés locales et pouvoir central dans l'Orient hellénistique et romain*, ed. Chr. Feyel et al. (Nancy: A.D.R.A., 2012), 185-209.

[273] Carless Unwinn and Henry, "A New Olympichos Inscription," 29.

[274] Ibid., Fig. 5; Olivier Henry and Damien Aubriet, "Le territoire de Mylasa et le serment d'Olympichos: autour d'une nouvelle inscription découverte au sanctuaire de Zeus Labraundos en Carie," in *Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres comptes rendus 2015* (Paris: De Boccard, 2015), 673-702.

[275] Cat. #78, *Sardis* 7.1 #1. *Sardis* 7.1 = W.H. Buckler and David M. Robinson, *Sardis*, vol. 7, part 1: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 1932).

[276] Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123.

original amount of the loan. By displaying the document near the entrance of the temple, the contract, in addition to being inviolable, publicly affirmed the temple's right to Mnesimachos' land; perhaps some dispute over the land, from Mnesimachos' descendants or a royal source, was the motivating factor behind the inscribing.

At Longa near Naupaktis in Greece, several formulaic manumission contracts were inscribed on the Temple of Asklepios around 160-140 BCE.[277] These included dates based on local officials, the names of master and slaves, the price at which he/she was "sold" to the god, and the names of witnesses. The documents were inscribed all over the unfluted columns and antae of the rural shrine. Inscriptions related to the freeing of a slave were often deposited at sanctuaries; for example, over a thousand inscriptions relating to manumission have been found at Delphi, though inscribed on the older polygonal wall behind the Athenain stoa and on other blocks, rather than on the temple itself.[278] As the village of Longa is about a two hour walk from Naupaktis, the impetus for inscribing these notices here seems to have been more to make Asclepius responsible for holding all parties accountable than to have a convenient public archive. The one other location in Greece where manumission were also inscribed on a temple – the Roman-period Temple of the Mother of the Gods at Leukopetra in Macedonia, with

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[277] Cat. #82, *IG* IX, 1 #379-385. See also W.J. Woodhouse, "Aetolian Inscriptions," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 13 (1892-1893): 338-355.

[278] See most recently Joshua D. Sosin, "Manumission with Paramone: Conditional Freedom?" *TAPA* 145, no. 2 (2015): 325-381. These inscriptions have typically been called "manumissions," but as Sosin, M. Ricl ("Donations of Slaves and Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration," *Tyche* 16 [2001]: 127-160), and others have argued, they may actually be simply documents recording the future freedom of slaves when certain conditions had been met (usually the death of the master), or actual dedications of slaves to the gods; human master was simply exchanged for a divine one, and the slave would be expected to serve in the sanctuary. However, I will use "manumission" in this context as a catch-all phrase to describe inscriptions related to the (eventual) freedom of a slave.

inscriptions dating from around 170-313 CE – was also in a rural location.[279] Perhaps the availability of a writing space on the temples was desirable in these cases compared with the effort of purchasing and transporting a *stele*, or perhaps the slaves were engaged in agricultural activity near the rural shrines rather than living in the cities with their masters, making this a desirable location for engraving manumissions.

At Teos, a dossier of inscriptions from the walls of the Hellenistic Temple of Dionysos has been found in which various cities (the majority Cretan, some Aetolian) issued decrees to affirm that they recognize the *asylia* of that sanctuary. *Asylia* in the Greco-Roman east meant that a sanctuary or city was immune from violence and outside authority.[280] Totaling twenty-one preserved inscriptions found in secondary contexts throughout the city, most were inscribed in 205/1 BCE; a second wave of inscribing took place circa 170-40 BCE. The decrees from the various cities are highly formulaic.[281] Teos had apparently sent its ambassadors on a trip around Crete and Aetolia requesting that they recognize the *asylia* of their temple.[282] By inscribing the documents on the walls of the temple, Teos both advertised its many international connections and clarified that the sanctuary was truly a place of *asylia*, with both political and religious repercussions for those who violated it.

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[279] Cat. #94, *I.Leukopetra* #1-194 (some are also on stelai, plaques, or bases). *I.Leukopetra* = Photios M. Petsas, M.B. Hatzopoulos, Lucrece Gounaropoulou, and P. Paschidis, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la mère des dieux autochtone de Leukopetra (Macédoine)* (Paris: De Boccard, 2000).

[280] For full exploration of the concept of *asylia*, see Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1996.

[281] Cat. #79, *IC* II.i #1.

[282] The Teian request for *asylia* recognition seems to be unusual because of the lack of oracle supporting or motivating their request. See the unpublished dissertation of Jonathan Ryan Strang, "The City of Dionysos: A Social and Historical Study of the Ionain City of Teos" (PhD diss., SUNY at Buffalo, 2007), 220-21. Strang also traces the fate of the inscribed wall stones, which have not received a comprehensive publication to date. The majority today are in a private Irish collection.

The temple at Teos may have held other types of inscriptions on its walls as well. A document engraved not there, but on the Temple of Athena at Pergamon, presents a lengthy letter from Eumenes II (r. 197-159 BC) mediating the conflict between Teos and its resident Guild of Dionysiac Artists.[283] The final preserved section of the inscription specifies that letter should be engraved "on the sanctuary of Dionysos" (at Teos) and in (or on) the sanctuary of Athena (at Pergamon) and in the temenos of Artemis.[284] The autonomous Guild, charged with organizing religious festivals, has apparently not taken into account Teos' financial interest in these festivals; Eumenes here lays out regulations for the interaction of the city and Guild. Though the section about the Temple of Athena is largely restored, the inscription was, apparently, inscribed on this temple, in four columns of sixty to eighty lines each; the lowest portion of the inscription was on an orthostate and therefore was legible to viewers. At Teos, the date of this document is more or less contemporaneous with the numerous *asylia* decrees also inscribed on the temple. The temple of the wine-loving, carousing Dionysos had apparently become a repository of important documents, both those directly related to the sanctuary (*asylia* decrees) and those of broader civic importance (the Guild letter). The reason to inscribe this letter on the Temple of Athena at Pergamon is less clear, as it deals with neither the city's nor goddess' affairs.

The second century BCE saw several additional inscriptions on temples in Caria. At Herakleia Latmia, a dossier of royal letters from Antiochos III and his associate Zeuxis can be dated to around 195 BCE and were inscribed on the antae of the Temple of

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[283] Cat. #80, *I.Perg* #163. See also the discussion and translation by Welles, *Royal Correspondence,* #53, 219-237.
[284] Column III C, line 9-10 and IV C, line 9-11.

Athena.[285] These revolved around financial matters for the city: the payments owed to the king and import/export taxes for the citizens. The antae of the temple continued to be used for inscribing documents in subsequent years. A block now in the Louvre from the anta contains a letter from Lucius Cornelius Scipio to the polis, dating from 189 BCE.[286] The consul grants Herakleia its "freedom" and was therefore an important political statement to the Herakleians (even if the reality of Roman "freedom" did not always match Greek hopes). At the end of the second century, the anta of the temple would receive another document – an oracle instructing the Herakleians to alter their system of distributing the priesthood. It was later followed by a list of priests continuing into Tiberian times. At Kurbet Köy in the territory of Stratonikeia, a decree of the *koinon* honored individuals on the anta of the temple, while at Bargylia, civic decrees providing for a festival of Artemis were inscribed on wall of her temple in the last third of the second century.[287]

Lagina was perhaps the Carian inscribed temple *par excellence*; in addition to the lists of priests already on its antae walls, a civic decree describing how the goddess had saved her sanctuary was inscribed on the front of an anta in the late second century BCE.[288] Then, around 80 BCE, an entire wall of the temple was given over to a lengthy dossier of letters and decrees relating to Stratonikeia's relationship with Rome.[289] According to van Bremen, who has recently re-assessed the stones from the temple, this

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[285] McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia* #7; SEG 37-859.
[286] McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia* #6.
[287] Kurbet Köy: Cat. #83, *I.Stratonikeia* #801. Bargylia: Cat. #84, Blümel, van Bremen, and Carbon, *Inscriptions in Milas*, #47.
[288] *I.Stratonikeia* #512.
[289] Cat. #85, *I.Stratonikeia* #505, #507-508.

dossier comprised five columns inscribed across seven meters of the south wall of the cella; the text was about two meters in height and therefore took up a substantial amount of the south wall. The dossier included five documents: a decree of the senate (81 BCE), two letters of Sulla, and the two texts mentioned above, a decree of Stratonikeia deciding that the cities and kings recognizing the *asylia* of the sanctuary should be inscribed, followed by the list of cities. Stratonikeia had been rewarded by Rome for supporting Sulla in the war (88-85 BCE) against Mithridates, and chose to memorialize this praise by inscribing the documents on its extra-urban temple at Lagina. The temple therefore emphasized its combined religious and civic importance.

The temple at Delphi presented a more mixed message on its walls. Around 125 BCE, a dossier concerning a dispute over the embezzlement of funds was engraved on Apollo's oracular temple, on the orthostates of the southern cella wall. These documents include a *senatus consultum* requesting the Amphyktyony to mediate the dispute, and the decision of this council in relation to the scandal as well as defining the borders of the sacred lands of Apollo, both in relation to the neighbors of Delphi and the appropriation of the lands by Delphinians.[290] The inscribed documents therefore acknowledged the internal conflicts of the inhabitants of Delphi and asserted the god's land rights, with the authority of Rome as a guarantor.

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[290] *F.Delphes* III.4.3 #276-85, *CID* IV #119. *F.Delphes* III.4.3 = André Plassart, *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. III, fasc. IV, part 3: *Épigraphie. les inscriptions de temple du IVᵉ siècle* (Paris: De Boccard, 1970). *CID* IV = F. Lefèvre, *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, vol. IV: *Documents amphictioniques* (Paris: De Boccard, 2002). For the events of the "scandal of 125," see Georges Daux, *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu' à la paix romaine 191-31 av. J.-C.* (Paris: de Boccard, 1936), 372-386; Sheila L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337-90 B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 465; Pierre Sánchez, *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes: recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au IIe siècle de notre ère* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2001), 408-414.

In Galatia, the Temple of Kybele at Pessinous (from which Rome had taken the sacred stone embodying the mother goddess in 205/4 BCE) was engraved with letters between Eumenes II, his brother Attalos, to a local priest named Attis.[291] These originally dated from about 160 BCE, a period when Pessinous was technically autonomous and not under the direct control of either Rome or the Attalids; they were only inscribed on the wall in the second half of the first century BCE. The letters were originally secret and revealed the close connections and policy discussions between the Attalids and Pessinous; who are depicted in the letters as essentially equals, though in reality Pergamon was the dominant power and shaped policy.[292] Like the Attalid kingdom, Pessinous came under Roman control; by 25 BCE, Galatia was officially made a province. It was about that time that the priests of Kybele publicly inscribed the letters between their predecessors and the Attalids; scholars have argued that the letters were propagandistic and were meant to show Attalid behavior (treating Pessinous as a near equal) as a pattern for Rome to follow and a call for the autonomy of the sanctuary to be restored.[293]

The Roman imperial period witnessed a decline in the habit of inscribing important documents on temple walls, yet occasional exceptions exist. One shining example – deemed the "queen of inscriptions" by Mommsen – is the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, Augustus' autobiographical account of his accomplishments, engraved on the

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[291] *I.Pessinous* #1-7. *I.Pessinous* = Johan Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous*, *IK* 66 (Bonn: Habelt, 2005).

[292] Angelo Verlinde, *The Roman Sanctuary Site at Pessinus: From Phrygian to Byzantine Times* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 21.

[293] Biagio Virgilio, *Il "tempio stato" di Passinunte fra Pergamo e Roma nel II-I A.C.: C.B. Welles, Royal Corr., 55-61* (Pisa: Giardini, 1981); Verlinde, *The Roman Sanctuary Site*, 22.

Temple of Augustus at Ankara.[294] The bi-lingual inscription is well-preserved in both

Latin and Greek iterations. The *Res Gestae* was inscribed on the temple sometime after

Augustus' death in 14 CE; the temple must have been substantially completed by the time

the inscription was added, because the wall blocks had to be smoothed in order present a

flat writing surface. The Greek text is located on the outer southwestern pronaos/cella

wall, stretching nearly the entire length of the cella, while the Latin is on the inner

pronaos walls. Though difficult to see today, the words would have been substantially

easier to read when painted red.[295] Although the document would have been too lengthy

to be fully read by all but the most dedicated of viewers, the large letters of the headings

of both Latin and Greek texts would have quickly signaled the content of the inscription –

as would have been the case with late antique viewers as well.[296]

Fragments of the *Res Gestae* have been found elsewhere in Galatia (at Pisidian

Antioch and Apollonia). Peter Thonemann has recently argued that another fragment

found at Sardis belongs to this text as well, though his suggestion that the text was not

inscribed in columns, but rather in long lines stretching across a wall, leads me to

question this identification, as all the documents in my catalog were inscribed in

columns.[297] In any case, at Pisidian Antioch the *Res Gestae* was inscribed on the

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[294] *I.Ancyra* #1.

[295] Stephen Mitchell, *The Imperial Temple at Ankara and the Res Gestae of the Emperor Augustus / Ankara'daki Roma İmparatorluğu Tapınağı ve İmparator Augustus'un Başarılarının Yazıtı* (Ankara: The British Institute at Ankara, 2008), 24. Mitchell further states that the entire temple seems to have been painted yellow, based on traces of the color visible until recently. Urs Peschlow rather argues that the yellow color was only a patina on the marble rather than paint: *Ankara: die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit* (Vienna: Phoibos, 2015), 30.

[296] See Chapter 3, 157-161.

[297] Peter Thonemann, "A Copy of Augustus' *Res Gestae* at Sardis," *Journal of Ancient History* 61, no. 3 (2012): 282-288, at 288. Ancient documents were almost always inscribed in columns, to facilitate reading without having to constantly walk to and fro.

Propylon of the Temple of Augustus, not the temple itself, and at Apollonia it was on a statue base.[298] Inscribing the document on the temple at Ankara was therefore not a foregone conclusion, but was rather a conscious choice made in a local context. The type of inscription is unprecedented on a temple – it is not a proper letter from Augustus, nor a decree of the senate, and certainly not a law code or contract. It is rather a work of literature, and therefore lacks Hellenistic precedents for inscribing on a temple. Benjamin B. Rubin has argued that both the autobiographical form of Augustus' *Res Gestae* and the decision to publicly inscribe it in Galatia was part of a long tradition of first-person ruler inscriptions stretching back to the Persian ruler Darius at Behistun (522-486 BCE).[299] The decision to inscribe the *Res Gestae* on the temple at Ankara can therefore be understood as a confluence of the Hellenistic tradition of inscribing significant documents on temples and the Anatolian habit of ruler inscriptions.

Lykosura, a small settlement in Greece around the sanctuary of Despoina and Kore in Arcadia, kept closer to the Hellenistic tradition of inscribing honorary decrees for individuals on temples. The Temple of Despoina received on its anta a decree from nearby Megalopolis honoring a man named Xenarchos in the early imperial period. Xenarchos had benefited both his city and the sanctuary of Despoina in a number of ways, including by constructing an imperial temple within the sanctuary, and he was therefore elected imperial priest for life.[300] At Delphi, where decisions resolving the

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[298] See the discussion of these texts in Alison E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 13-18.

[299] Benjamin B. Rubin, "(Re)presenting Empire: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor, 31 BC – AD 68" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008), 118-139.

[300] Cat. #89, *IG* V 2 #515; discussed by Maria Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte imperial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens* (Paris: De Boccard, 2007), 181; 215.

embezzlement and land dispute of 125 BCE had been engraved on the temple cella wall, new imperial decisions by Claudius, Trajan, Hadrian, and Commodus defining the sacred land of Apollo and the city of Delphi were also inscribed in the same place, essentially continuing the dossier that had begun centuries earlier.[301]

In Ionia, Klaros presents an unusual set of documents on the walls of the Temple of Apollo. This important oracle drew visiting delegations from cities all over the Greek world, and brief records ("memories") of their visits were recorded in stone. These formulaic records included the city name, the eponymous officials of the sanctuary as well as the names of members of the delegation. The records began to be inscribed in the early second century CE, on the sanctuary's Propylon as well as on *stelai*, as Jean-Louis Ferrary has documented.[302] In 141/2 CE, the inscriptional habit at the site shifted to the architectural space of the (much older) temple itself.[303] Over the next five years at least thirty records were inscribed on the crepis of the temple, without any records coming from elsewhere in the sanctuary.[304] After 146/7 CE, records continued to be sporadically inscribed on the crepis, but also elsewhere at the sanctuary. By the year 188 CE, epigraphic focus again shifted exclusively to the temple, and between that year and circa 236 CE nearly fifty records were engraved on the columns of the temple, with no

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[301] *F.Delphes* III.4 #286-#332. Claudius' 52 CE letter (*F.Delphes* III.4 #286) to Gallio, proconsul of Achaea, focuses on the re-population of Delphi by bringing in new citizens, but is much more famous for providing historical confirmation and a date for Gallio, who was mentioned in the Biblical account of the Apostle Paul's trial in Achaea: Acts of the Apostles 18:12-17.

[302] Cat. #92, Jean-Louis Ferrary, *Les mémoriaux de delegations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, d'après la documentation conservée dans le fonds Louis Robert*, vol. 1-2 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2014), 202. Ferrary very helpfully has made a list of the monuments of the sanctuary with the inscriptions engraved on them.

[303] For the construction history of the temple, see William Aylward, "Lewis Holes at Claros," in *Le sanctuaire de Claros et son oracle: actes de Colloque International de Lyon, 13-14 Janvier 2012*, ed. Jean-Charles Moretti and Liliane Rabatel (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2014), 71.

[304] Ferrary, *Les mémoriaux de delegations* #63-93.

securely dated examples from elsewhere.[305] The decision to inscribe the surfaces of the

temple therefore either went through periods of being in vogue, or the decision was made

by the officials in charge of the sanctuary that these records were an appropriate

adornment for the temple. Throughout, these inscriptions focused on the front of the

temple – the lateral and rear peristasis were never completed.

At Aizanoi, several documents were added to the Temple of Zeus in the second

century CE. These included letters between Hadrian and several officials concerning a

dispute over the temple's land. Some were published in an inscription field of the

temple's pronaos in the original Latin.[306] The inscription field of the exterior of the

pronaos (north wall) was also inscribed with a curious set of documents relating to a

citizen named Marcus Ulpius Eurykles.[307] They were essentially letters of

recommendation for this young local notable, who had served as Panhellene (a member

of the Panhellenion), in 156 CE. The Panhellenion was an association of Greek cities

established by Hadrian in 131/0 CE to renew interest in Greek cultural traditions; like the

fifth-century BCE Delian League, it was headquartered at Athens. Eurykles had

presumably solicited these letters in order to advance his career (he did, in fact, go on to

hold high offices).[308] One of the letters praising Eurykles was from the emperor

Antoninus Pius himself, another from the council of the Areopagus in Athens.

Additionally, at some point in the second century, at least two older letters of Caesar,

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[305] Ferrary, *Les mémoriaux de delegations* #272-321.
[306] For the texts of the inscriptions and the context of the dispute, see Umberto Laffi, "I terreni del tempio di Zeus ad Aizanoi," *Athenaeum* 49 (1971): 3-53.
[307] Cat. #90, *OGIS* II #502, #504-507.
[308] A.J. Spawforth and Susan Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis," *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 78-104, at 89.

dating from 46 BCE, were inscribed on the Temple of Zeus, although on its podium

rather than in the inscription field running around the cella.[309] Both fragmentary letters

mention the sanctuary of Zeus; Caesar was presumably mediating some dispute. It is

unclear why the podium, rather than the inscription band, was chosen as the location for

these texts; perhaps the more ready accessibility and legibility afforded by the podium

were factors. All these texts remained in place on the temple when it was reused as a

church, as we will discuss in Chapter 3.[310]

Some Roman period inscriptions on temples were only brief notices, rather than

pieces of a larger dossier or archive. The Kızılbağ Sanctuary near Elaioussa in Cilicia

presents a very abbreviated civic decree. The traditional opening mentioning the *boule*

and *demos* has been shortened merely to ἔδοξεν; the city ordinance concerned the

weights system in use and penalties for those not complying with the standard

measure.[311] At the sanctuary of Apollo at Halasarna on Kos, four names were inscribed

within carved wreaths/crowns along with the designation as *gereaphoroi*. This indicates

that the individuals – three men and one woman, probably representing a couple and two

sons – were honored by receiving special portions of sacrificed animals.[312] The

inscription therefore likely represents a civic decree rewarding them for their service to

the land, but it may also have originated from the priests of the sanctuary.

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[309]Cat. #91, *SEG* 59-1479, Michael Wörrle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi V: Aizanoi und Rom I," *Chiron* 39 (2009): #1. The temple was built on a podium that was broken by stairs on its east (front) side; a crepis with stairs on all sides stood upon the podium, on which the cella and peristasis was built.
[310] 198-200.
[311] Cat. #93, *IGR* III #864. This notice was inscribed on the temple pronaos, near brief donation inscriptions of the priests Pomponios Nigeros and Menodotos.
[312] This information is provided by the Halasarna project website of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. http://en.arch.uoa.gr/research-congresses/excavations/kardamaina-kos/the-sanctuary-of-apollo-the-excavation/building-c.html. Accessed 06/11/17.

Summary and Analysis of Documents

Late antique visitors to ancient sanctuaries sometimes encountered older decrees,

official letters, and (occasionally) contracts, manumissions, and law codes on the walls of

temples. The practice of inscribing important documents on temples was widespread in

the regions under review here, with a total of twenty-six temples bearing such texts on

their walls. It was most common in Asia Minor, where eighteen temples carried

documents, compared with four each in the islands and in mainland Greece.[313] The

majority of examples date from the Hellenistic period, with fifteen temples displaying

these texts, compared with nine in the Roman period, two tentatively dated to the fourth

century BCE, and one archaic example.[314] The practice of inscribing important

documents on temples was clearly in decline in the Roman period, and those that were

inscribed were often idiosyncratic (the *Res Gestae*, Eurykles' letters of praise, the

delegations to Klaros) or brief (the weights ordinance from Kizilbağ, the honoring of the

gereaphoroi). In both the Hellenistic and Roman periods, documents could be inscribed

on either the anta or on the walls of the pronaos or cella; on occasion they could also be

inscribed on the temple podium/crepis or unfluted columns.

The majority of these documents are either letters from royal/imperial figures or

decrees from the local *boule* or equivalent. Several of the local decrees are honorifics for

individuals who have served the city in some way. Three examples represent contracts

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[313] Asia Minor: Priene, Stratonikeia, Amyzon, Olymos, Labraunda, Sardis, Teos, Pergamon, Herakleia Latmia, Kurbet Köy, Bargylia, Lagina, Pessinous, Ankara, Aizanoi, Kizilbağ, and Mylasa. Islands: Gortyn, Ios, Karthaia on Kos, and Halasarna on Kos. Greece: Longa, Delphi, Lykosura, and Leukopetra.
[314] The fifteen temples with Hellenistic documents are: Priene, Stratonikeia, Amyzon, Olymos, Labraunda, Sardis, Teos, Pergamon, Herakleia Latmia, Longa, Kurbet Köy, Bargylia, Lagina, Delphi, and Pessinous. The night temples with Roman-period documents are: Ankara, Delphi, Lykosura, Aizanoi, Kizilbağ, Klaros, Leukopetra, Halasarna on Kos, and Mylasa (Augustus and Roma). The two temples that may hold Classical-period documents are on Ios and at Karthaia on Kos. Gortyn is the only archaic example.

(the Mnesimachos inscription at Sardis and the two manumission temples in Greece), while a law code is represented only at Gortyn. In the third century Hellenistic period, the decrees/letters were typically local decrees and letters from kings, but by the second and first centuries BCE, letters from Roman officials and *senatus consulta* begin to appear on walls as well, as Rome became the regional power. In most cases, temples that held important documents in the Hellenistic period did not continue to receive such texts in the Roman imperial period.

Although in the ancient world religious and civic affairs were not conceived of separately, from the modern perspective, only six temples held exclusively documents dealing with primarily religious themes or temple business – these include disputes over temple land holdings and revenues (Labraunda, Sardis, Delphi) , the *asylia* of the sanctuary (Teos), provisions for a festival (Bargylia), and delegation to consult the oracle (Klaros).[315] Four more temples held documents related both to temple and civic affairs (Aizanoi, where a temple land dispute was settled by Hadrian and Eurykles advertised his own success; Lykosura, where Xenarchos was honored for his service both to city and sanctuary; Lagina, where a decree honoring Hekate and a list of cities recognizing the sanctuary's *asylia* sat beside letters from Sulla praising Stratonikeia's loyalty; and Herakleia Latmia, where an oracle concerning the election of priests was inscribed along with the letter of the Scipiones granting the city its freedom). Sixteen other temples held documents that dealt only with city, rather than temple matters, including territory disputes, special privileges such as tax reductions, the mediation of conflicts, the

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[315] If Teos also held the letter of Eumenes II concerning the Guild dispute, it would rather fit into the category of mixed temple and civic affairs.

honoring of individuals for their service to the *polis*, regulations concerning weights or

taxes, manumissions, and law codes.[316] In terms of documents inscribed on temples,

therefore, civic rather than specifically sanctuary-focused matters were more likely to be

represented.[317] I will argue in Chapter 3 that this facet of temple epigraphy impacted

Christian decisions about the reuse of these sacred structures.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions

     A number of inscriptions on temples do not fit into any of the three main

categories described above. At Aliki on Thassos, the blocks of the "two sanctuaires"

(*deux sanctuaries*), a double cult building with hearths for sacrifices, were covered with

graffiti, including of an erotic nature, from at least the fourth century BCE into the late

Roman period.[318] At Sardis, one of the monumental columns of the Temple of Artemis

bears a metrical inscription in one line wrapping around the base of the shaft. The verse

celebrates the impressive feat of carving the base and torus together from a single,

gigantic marble monolith; it likely dates from the mid-second century CE.[319] At

Antiocheia ad Cragum (Cilicia) a lengthy dice oracle was inscribed in more than one

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[316] I take manumissions here as mainly private business, rather than a true dedication to a god.
[317] A similar conclusion has been drawn by Evelien Roels in her research on the documents inscribed on temple pronaoi: "Der Tempel als monumentaler Schriftträger: Die Inschriften am Zeus-Tempel in Aizanoi," in *5300 Jahre Schrift*, ed. Michaela Böttner, Ludger Lieb, Christian Vater, Christian Witschel (Heidelberg: Wunderhorn: 2017), 50-53; Evelien Roels, "'ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὴν παραστάδα τοῦ ναοῦ.' The Presence of Inscriptions in the Pronaos of Temples in Hellenistic and Imperial Asia Minor," poster presented at the 15th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Vienna, August 2017.
[318] Cat. #97, *IG* XII 8 #590-597. See also Jean Servais, *Aliki I: les deux sanctuaires*, Études thasiennes 9 (Paris: Boccard, 1980).
[319] Cat. #99, Buckler and Robinson, *Sardis* 7.1 #181. For the column and context, see Fikret K. Yegül, "A Victor's Message: The Talking Column of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 2 (2014): 204-225.

hundred ninety lines in the second century CE or later.[320] Elsewhere in Cilicia, a second temple near the Corycian Cave contained a graffito on a wall block, invoking Zeus Korykos and a name in the genitive, either Τραϊανός (and therefore possibly a prayer for the health of the emperor) or ΤΡΑΓΑΝΟϹ, perhaps a local Cilician name.[321] In Pisidia, two citizens of Termessos named Molesis and Aristeides, completed a successful tenure in a city office; they then wrote a short but flowery text celebrating on an anta block of temple N5 there.[322] These miscellaneous inscriptions are so disparate as to make a synthetic analysis unfruitful; one should note only that they almost all date from the Roman period, when a greater variety of inscriptions were apparently permitted on temple walls.

Overall Analyses

Not every temple in Greece and Asia Minor bore writing on its walls; the proportion that were inscribed is difficult to calculate because of how few temples have survived intact. When inscriptions were present, walls were typically not completely covered in writing. This indicates that the engraving of a text on a temple was not the default, as it was, for example, in pharaonic Egypt, where temples were consistently adorned with hieroglyphs. Rather, inscribing a temple in Greece or Asia Minor represents

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[320] Cat. #100, *TAM* 22: Antiocheia epi Krago #19. I thank Rhys Townsend for bringing this text to my attention and providing much useful information. For dice oracles in general, see Randall Stewart and Kenneth Morrell, "Fortunetelling," in *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature*, ed. William Hansen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 285-286.

[321] Cat. #98, *IGR* III #859. To me it makes little sense to find the name of Trajan etched in the nominative. I therefore believe it is the name of a local individual.

[322] Cat. #101, *TAM* III.1 #18. If the reading is correct, the text includes a mention of writing it on the temple of Artemis (thereby identifying N5 with that goddess), but, curiously, the goddess is not mentioned elsewhere in the inscription.

a conscious choice by individuals or communities, who determined that it was both appropriate and desirable to permanently alter the appearance and meaning of the sacred building.

A total of seventy-six temples are represented in my catalog, spanning a period from the Archaic era through late antiquity. Many of these temples have multiple inscriptions on them, often from more than one of the three categories. The earliest preserved temple inscription in these regions is a sixth/seventh century law code, but for the subsequent three centuries, writing on temples was confined to a few sanctuaries with donor dedications, either on columns or architraves, which essentially transformed the temple or its constituent parts into a votive gift to the deity.

Beginning in the Hellenistic period or a little earlier, civic decrees and royal letters were inscribed on temples, which made them inviolable (along with the other inscriptions at the sanctuary). At times, the documents guaranteed a city's or a sanctuary's rights in terms of land or financial disputes, and it is understandable why adding a layer of inviolability to these documents would be desirable. In several instances in the Hellenistic period, however, honorary or proxeny decrees for individuals who had performed some service for the *polis* or sanctuary were also inscribed on temples. This suggests that the temple surface functioned not only to entrust important decrees to the safekeeping of the gods, but as a particularly desirable place for honorary display. Furthermore, lists of priests hardly needed to be entrusted to a god for safe-keeping; rather, these both documented the local community's long-lived devotion to the deity and highlighted the sanctuary's deep historical and local roots. Indeed, beyond the obvious

motivations of inviolability and bribing the gods with an expensive architectural gift, the temple architrave, walls, antae, and columns served as locations to exhibit the city or sanctuary's connections with powerful rulers, ancestral prerogatives, lengthy history, and habits of euergetism.

These motivations for inscribing temples continued in the Roman imperial period, with the added need to honor the semi-divine emperors. Several cities chose to do this by adding architrave inscriptions to older, previously uninscribed temples, re-dedicating them to both the city's patron god and the new emperor. Architrave inscriptions are the most common type of temple inscription in the Roman period. On occasion, important documents were still engraved on temple surfaces, but not to the same degree as in the Hellenistic period. Likewise, priests' lists continued to be engraved, especially in the early imperial period. Overall, the Roman period offers more variety in temple epigraphy, allowing for several inscriptions that have few parallels on other temples. As is to be expected based on wider epigraphic trends, the habit of inscribing temples declines significantly after the first few decades of the third century. In Chapter 3, we will see isolated examples continuing into late antiquity, including a mid-fourth century text at the still-active Heraion on Samos and a late fifth-century example on the Temple of Augustus in Mylasa, by which time the temple must have been closed or in reuse.

Broad regional trends can be seen in the data collected in the catalog. Late antique citizens in Asia Minor were more likely to encounter inscriptions on temples, with a total of forty-nine examples, than were those in Greece, with fourteen, or on the islands, with thirteen. Caria in particular shows a strong regional proclivity for inscribing temples. The

mid fourth-century Idrieus dedicated architraves at Labraunda and Amyzon, and by the

early third century, Carians were inscribing both royal letters and civic decrees again at

Amyzon and Stratonikeia (Zeus Chrysaoreus), and probably a list of priests there as well.

The sanctuaries at Labraunda and Olymos likewise received decrees or letters in the third

century BCE. In the second century, temples at Herakleia Latmia, Lagina, Kurbet Köy,

and Bargylia joined the trend, along with Koraia and Panamara probably in the

subsequent century. In the Roman period, some temples continued inscribing records of

priests on their walls (Lagina and Panamara), while architectural donor inscriptions

became predominant in the region (Aphrodisias, both temples in Mylasa, and Euromos).

The sanctuaries in the territory of Stratonikeia, which belonged to semi-autonomous

communities that pre-dated the founding of the *polis* in the 260s BCE, were particularly

inclined to inscribe documents and records of priests on temple walls. A total of fourteen

temples in Caria were inscribed, several of them with inscriptions of more than one type.

It is therefore no surprise that the only scholars I found who engaged with topic of

inscriptions on temples in Greece and Asia Minor (beyond its origins) are specialized in

Caria. As mentioned above, Blümel, van Bremen, and Carbon in their catalog of

inscriptions from the Milas museum claim that temples frequently carried sacred

regulations and documents related to the sanctuary's land holdings. This statement is

partially true – several temples do carry documents about land holdings or rents; sacred

regulations occasionally are found here as well. It ignores, however, the large amount of

strictly civic business that found its way onto sanctuary walls, including honorary

decrees, resolutions of inter- and intra-city disputes, and praise from distant kings or

emperors. As mentioned above, sixteen temples in this catalog bore texts related to civic, not religious, affairs, compared with the ten that held documents related to the temple or a mixture of civic and temple business. Furthermore, Van Bremen's assertion that the oldest documents are often found on the antae of temples can now be corroborated by my catalog, at least for the early Hellenistic period.

It is perhaps, not a coincidence that two of the earliest Hellenistic examples of writing documents on temple walls (Priene and Amyzon) are found on temples that already bore a dedicatory inscription on its architrave or anta. After the appearance of writing somewhere on the temple irreversibly altered the appearance of the structure, it may have seemed like less of an innovation to add more text. Essentially, writing attracts more writing, as has been observed for graffiti in the ancient world as well. At Amyzon, this phenomenon can likewise be seen on the architrave, where Idrieus's name appeared in the mid fourth century BCE, and Zeuxis added a second line around 203 BCE. Zeuxis' inscription is one of only two on a temple architrave from the third century BCE, and we can question whether he would have placed his dedication there had Idrieus not already inscribed it. The same principle likely applies to cities and regions as a whole – after the appearance of text on one temple became normalized, the wardens of other temples in the vicinity may have decided to join the trend.

What is not inscribed on temples is just as informative as what is: with few exceptions, sacred laws, regulations for sacrifices or festivals, invocations, votive prayers, praise of the deity, and dogmatic statements did not usually make their way onto temple walls. The deity her- or himself never spoke in the first person on the walls of

Greco-Roman temples, and we find no aretologies (list of divine attributes) there either. In most cases, we learn far more about the donor – his or her familial relations, social standing, expenditure – than we do about the god. Moreover, few graffiti dated to the ancient periods are found on temples.[323] This is in contrast to late antique and Byzantine graffiti, which was frequently added to temples after their closure. The lack of early graffiti on temples implies either an attitude of respect toward the sacred structure, which belonged to the god, or control exercised over temple walls by the relevant authorities – or probably both. This lack of graffiti contrasts with the substantial amount of ancient graffiti from other contexts, including at rock-cut shrines or sacred caves.

Why Inscribe Temples?

The reasons for writing on the walls of temples in the Greek and Roman periods were manifold. The temple wall surface was an available, inscribable blank canvas, one that did not require the additional cost and time of preparing a *stele*. We should, however, avoid seeing the walls as cost-effective alternative to other stones: my catalog demonstrates that the sanctuaries which received wall inscriptions were generally not poor, and periods of crisis or economic depression do not witness a rise in writing on the walls. Furthermore, inscribing lengthy texts on the walls of temples sometimes required added labor to smooth the wall stones, as at Ankara.

Rather, the impetus to inscribe the walls of the temple lay elsewhere. Writing the names of donors on the parts of the temple they financed, or on the building more

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[323] Alternatively, ancient graffiti may have been overlooked in early epigraphic publications, or mistakenly attributed to the Christian era. My own on-site observations have also found few examples of ancient graffiti. I thank Maria Xenaki and Anne McCabe for discussing the lack of ancient graffiti on the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion, respectively, with me.

generally, guaranteed that they received credit for their donation from both gods and mortals. Significant decrees, letters, or contracts engraved on temples became inviolable. These construction donations, lists of priests, and documents undoubtedly became elements of spoken culture as well, as locals discussed the new texts added to temples and expounded on their content to fellow citizens and foreign visitors alike. Moreover, as the visual focal point of a sanctuary, temple walls could function as billboards, advertising a city's most honored citizens, special privileges, long history, and prized associations with distant rulers. Recognition of a temple/city's special status (such as *asylia*) might be lost among a myriad of other *stelai*, but not if they occupied the walls of such a prominent monument. In short, inscriptions on temples served to contextualize these sacred structures within the wider *polis* and local history. As we shall see in Chapter 3, these texts continued to perform this work in the post-pagan world.

CHAPTER 3: VIEWING INSCRIBED TEMPLES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Opening: Reading Temples in Rome

In 384, Symmachus (c. 340 – c. 402 CE), the staunchly pagan Roman senator, pleaded with the new emperor Valentinian II to restore the Altar of Victory to the Curia in Rome, where it had stood since the time of Augustus. Although the altar and its golden statue of the goddess had previously been removed by the Christian emperor Constantius II, Symmachus recounts that emperor's other, more tolerant actions toward traditional Roman religion in order to show that the emperor held no real animosity toward the city's pagan patrimony. He writes that when Constantius visited Rome in 357 CE, he toured the eternal city's monuments, as so many tourists do today. We are told that he

> viewed with a mild expression the sanctuaries, he read the names of the gods inscribed on their upper parts, he asked about the origins of the temples, he admired their founders and, although he himself followed a different faith, he preserved these religious traditions for the empire…[324]

Whether or not Symmachus' account of Constantius' tour is wholly accurate is immaterial for our purposes.[325] It was at least believable to his readers that an individual could walk through the streets of Rome and still read the names of gods on temple architraves, contemplating the origins of these structures. His admiring of the founders of temples may have also been precipitated by seeing their names inscribed on the architraves alongside those of the gods, as at the Pantheon, where the name of M.

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[324] "…vidit placido ore delubra, legit inscripta fastigiis deorum nomina, percontatus templorum origines est, miratus est conditores cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur, has servavit imperio." Symmachus, *Relatio* 3.7, my translation.

[325] Ammianus Marcellinus likewise records that Constantius made a tour of the city's temples: *The History*, 16.10.14.

Agrippa is still easily legible today. This experience – viewing the great monuments of the past, reading the names inscribed on them, and asking locals about the origins of the impressive structures – must have been familiar to many inhabitants of late antique cities throughout the Mediterranean, in addition to those of the eternal city. Regardless of the changed religious preference of the majority, architectural remnants of the pagan past remained front and center in the late antique cityscape.

This chapter documents the continued presence of inscriptions on temples in late antiquity, as well as potential Christian interaction with these texts. Unlike Chapter 2, which presented data that had been collected in a catalog, this chapter is centered rather around case studies. This is due to the nature of the evidence. A large number of temples were simply abandoned or collapsed in an earthquake in late antiquity (or even earlier), making it difficult to document any Christian interaction with them. Still others were completely disassembled to provide construction material for medieval or early modern villages. Many other temples were excavated in the grand old days of archaeology, with the aim of reconstructing the original, ancient appearance of the building. The result was that post-classical material was discarded and the Christian re-use of these structures was obscured in the scholarly record. The number of temples in Greece and Asia Minor, where the building is both well-preserved and its late antique usage documented, is limited. The number of these that also held ancient inscriptions is even smaller. This chapter therefore presents six in-depth case studies representing the majority of the available data, with occasional references to other sanctuaries that show evidence of late antique interaction with earlier temple epigraphy.

"Interaction" is, of course, a concept difficult to define. I propose that both active interference (erasure, alteration, relocation) of a text, as well as graffiti-ing in the area of an inscription (with or without interfering with the inscription itself) indicates some degree of engagement with earlier epigraphy. I further suggest that this interaction often takes the form of passive tolerance, frequently overlooked in the archaeological record. "Tolerance" may at times be the result of actual abandonment of a district or building, but in other cases, there is continued evidence of late antique activity in the area of a temple. I therefore limit myself to case studies where there is good evidence of Christian appropriation of a sanctuary combined with the continued presence of earlier temple inscriptions. Each of the case studies presented here illustrates some facet of this interaction between Christian present and pagan past.

Temple Epigraphy: A Continuing Tradition

Though this chapter is primarily about Christian (or, at least, late antique) interaction with *earlier* inscriptions, the practice of writing on temples did not cease spontaneously with Constantine. Rather, select late antique communities continued to conceptualize temples as spaces for inscribed text. In the west, the Temple of Saturn from the Forum Romanum in Rome presents its intentionally vague entablature inscription after its fourth century reconstruction: "SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS / INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT."[326] The reader is not told exactly what "it" is (a *templum*, presumably), or for whom it has been restored (the god? the *civis*?). The

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[326] Patrizio Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno: architettura e decorazione* (Rome: de Luca, 1984), 59-61. It is possible that this fourth century inscription was actually copying an older one on this architrave, in the same way that Hadrian reproduced Marcus Agrippa's dedication on the Pantheon.

blank slate on which this message was written had been created by turning carved

entablature blocks, with a palmette frieze and tri-fascia architrave, inwards to face not the

exterior, but the cella. These blocks were likely *spolia* from the Forum of Trajan.[327] The

motivation for turning the blocks backwards is not entirely clear. Was a desire for a large,

blank surface for an inscription, taking up the space normally occupied by both frieze and

architrave, the motivating factor? Or was this simply an approximation of the previous

architrave of the temple and a repetition of its dedicatory text? The architectural

reconstruction of the original temple is uncertain.

Returning to the regions under consideration here, a few temples show evidence

for continued inscribing in late antiquity. At Troy, in addition to the name of Augustus on

the architrave of the Temple of Athena (*infra* 78), a number of dowel holes also appear

interspersed throughout the inscription, indicating that bronze letters were later attached

to the architrave in a single line, at least partially obscuring the earlier text. Though the

assumption has heretofore been that the inscribed Augustan inscription was quickly

replaced by more impressive bronze letters, C. Brian Rose has recently argued that the

bronze inscription is actually late antique and spelled out the name of the emperor Julian

(361-63) in the genitive: "[Φλαβίου Κλαδί]ου Ἰουλ[ιανοῦ]" (Flavius Claudius

Julianus).[328]

Although the use of the genitive on a temple architrave is unusual, it is not

unprecedented. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the temple of Trajan at Arykanda in Lycia

bore an inscription on its architrave "ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα

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[327] Gilbert J. Gorski and James E. Packer, *The Roman Forum: A Reconstruction and Architectural Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 235.

[328] Cat. #41, Rose, *The Archaeology of Greece and Roman Troy,* 265-266.

Τρ[αιανοῦ...σωτηρίας" (on behalf of the safety of the emperor Trajan), a votive for the preservation of the ruler.[329] At Troy, therefore, we could tentatively posit that the bronze letters added to the Temple of Athena's architrave could read something like, "ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Φλαβίου Κλαδίου Ἰουλιανοῦ σωτηρίας" (for the safety of the emperor Flavius Claudius Julian). This formulation would be uniquely suited to the historical circumstances. Julian and his pagan supporters could interpret the inscription as a typical votive inscription for his safety in the long tradition of inscribing an emperor's name on the architrave of pagan temples. Local Christians, on the other hand, could note that the inscription was not actually a dedication of the temple *to* Julian (in the dative), but simply a general prayer for the emperor's health – a sentiment that Christians supported. If the proposed restoration is correct, the inscription would therefore carefully occupy the gray space between pagan and Christian and neither side would find it offensive.

At Samos, at least two metrical inscriptions to Hera were made by imperial officials of the fourth century CE on the anta of the Heraion. One was an invocation to Hera by an Aedisius and is dated to 307-11 CE.[330] The second probably dates from a few decades later and was made by a Ploutarchos, perhaps a friend of the emperor Julian.[331] He mentions that he had also visited Ida on Crete and sacrificed to Zeus there. Presumably, he did the same for Hera, although the epigram does not mention it. Both epigrams open with an address to the goddess (Ἥρη) and praise for her. The carefully

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[329] Cat. #29, *I.Arykanda* #16. For the formulation "for the safety of the emperor" on other types of dedications (for example, statue bases), see Kajava, "Honorific and Other Dedications," 560.
[330] *IG* XII 6.2, #584 I.
[331] Cat. #102, *IG* XII 6.2, #584 II.

crafted epigrams themselves function as a gift to the goddess while recording the visits of

these two higher-level visitors to the sanctuary, acting as evidence of their piety. This

type of text is unprecedented on temples; in earlier Greek and Roman periods, individuals

were usually not allowed to inscribe their names on temples unless they had contributed

to its construction.

At Mylasa (modern Milas) in Caria, the Temple of Augustus and Roma presents

the latest example known to me of the centuries-old tradition of inscribing official

documents on temple walls. Letters of Theodosios II and his *comes sacrarum largitionum*

Flavius Eudoxius were inscribed in both Latin and Greek in 427/29 CE.[332] The decision

of the emperor bestowed the status of being tax-free on the harbor of Mylasa, called

Passala, a major economic boon to the Mylasans and a privilege they were no doubt eager

to maintain. Then, in 480 CE, a decree of the praetorian prefect Flavius Illus Pusaeus

Dionysius known as the *Forma generalis* was inscribed on the podium of the temple.[333]

The prefect had received a complaint from the administrator of an estate in Caria that he

was being over-taxed; Dionysius therefore ordered that his decision regulating tax

practices be inscribed in every city in Caria. The Mylasans choose to add it to the other

documents already on the podium of the Temple of Augustus.[334] The temple was built in

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[332] Cat. #96, *I.Mylasa* #611-613.
[333] *IK Mylasa* #611; *CIL* III 448 = Suppl. 1,1 7151. See also Denis Feissel, "L'ordonnance du préfet Dionysios inscrite à Mylasa en Carie (1er août 480)," in *Travaux et mémoires*, vol. 12 (Paris: De Boccard, 1994), 263-297. The inscription was also engraved at Stratonikeia and Keramos.
[334] It is unclear whether there may have been other even earlier texts on the temple as well – a nineteenth-century traveler, Robert Pococke (*A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries*, vol. 2, part 2 [London: W. Bowyer, 1745], 61), says that he saw "several defaced inscriptions, with the cross on them" on the stones of the temple (not on the steps of the temple, as Vincenzo Ruggieri mistakenly quotes ["Annotazioni in margine alla trasformazione del tempio in Chiesa in ambito rurale: il caso di Lagina in Caria," in *Bizantinistica*, vol. 9 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2007), 82]). As far as

the Roman, rather than Greek style, with a podium broken by stairs only at the front; the remainder therefore presented a flat space ideal for receiving the lengthy letters.[335] The inscription breaks with older tradition by being inscribed in long lines (c. 4.5 m), rather than divided into columns.

The Temple of Augustus and Roma at Mylasa has been almost completely lost today, but in 1994, Rumscheid rediscovered the podium wall with inscription in a house in the modern town.[336] The lack of archaeological evidence has therefore made it difficult to situate the inscription in its late antique context. We know that the temple building was almost perfectly preserved around 1750 when early modern travelers, including Robert Pococke, visited and made detailed drawings of the structure.[337] We also learn from Cyriacus of Ancona, who visited Mylasa in 1446, that the temple was used as a church of St. Nicholas by the town's Greek population at that time. Whether the conversion to a church occurred in late antiquity or only later is unclear.[338] The detailed drawings of early modern travelers indicate that the building had not undergone any structural alterations usually seen in a temple-church: there is no evidence of an apse. The architrave inscription to Augustus and *thea Roma* is clearly visible in the early drawings of this temple; unless it was covered in some manner in late antiquity, it would have been visible

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I can understand from the publications, none of the texts discussed here were marred by cross graffiti, implying that Pococke saw additional inscriptions on the temple.

[335] For a summary of the early modern representations of the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Mylasa, as well as a newly drawn plan, see Frank Rumscheid, "Der Tempel des Augustus und der Roma in Mylasa: eine kreative Mischung östlicher und westlicher Architektur," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 119 (2004).

[336] Ibid., 140.

[337] Pococke, *A Description of the East*, 61.

[338] Ruggieri ("Annotazioni," 83) notes that in the *Vita Eusebiae*, probably composed in the late fifth or early sixth century at Mylasa, a plot of land is described as being "near the holy church of God and the (place? district? structure?) called temple/holy" (πλησίον ὄντα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου ἱεροῦ). It seems that two distinct structures (the church and the one called "temple") are being referred to, but the full meaning is difficult to ascertain.

then as well. In 480, when the decree of the prefect Dionysius was inscribed, the building was surely no longer an active temple. But had it already been appropriated for Christian worship, or was it in use for other purposes? The evidence is lacking.

In general, however, as we might expect, the tradition of engraving decrees, letters, and priest lists on temple walls tapered off in late antiquity. At Leukopetra, in northern Greece, the last dedication/manumission to the autochthonous mother of the gods is dated 313 CE, as though the locals had somehow sensed the changing tide that came with the Edict of Milan.[339] At other temples, wall space continued to receive new engravings, but in the form of Christian graffiti rather than civic- or priest-commissioned inscriptions. In Greece and Asia Minor, the role of temples as repositories of newly-written important documents had come to an end. Christians would therefore encounter primarily much older documents and dedications on temple surfaces when they reused these structures.

Christian Interaction with Earlier Inscriptions: Textual Sources

Textual sources present evidence of late antique interaction with earlier inscriptions, not only on temples but also on *stelai* or bases.[340] Literary collections of older inscriptions were compiled in late antiquity, drawing both on older textual

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[339] Cat. #94, Petsas, Hatzopoulos, Gounaropoulou, and Paschidis, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire*, #118.

[340] Catherine Saliou ("Espace urbain et mémoire des empereurs en Orient dans l'Antiquité Tardive," XV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Vienna, August 30, 2017) presented the preliminary results of her research on the continuing use of imperial toponyms for public buildings, especially baths, in late antiquity, and suggested that these names were perpetuated at least in part through the inscribed dedications on Roman buildings. She notes, however, that late antique cultural memory sometimes replaced "bad" emperors with "good" ones when referring to older buildings. I thank her for discussing her work with me.

compilations and on the physical inscriptions themselves.[341] Sometimes, the inscriptions

need not even be genuine ancient texts. As Aude Busine has documented, the discovery

of a real, forged, or imagined earlier text was used throughout the ancient world, not just

by Christians, to justify the introduction of a new cult.[342] A collection of oracles called

the Tübingen Theosophy, compiled in the late fifth/early sixth century CE and probably

by an Alexandrian Christian author, indicates the importance of earlier inscriptions to

Christians when interacting with formerly pagan sites.[343] The text includes a number of

real oracles supposedly pointing to the coming of Christ, in addition to pseudo-oracles,

such as one from Apollo at Kyzikos. We are told that in the time of the emperor Leo

(457-474), an inscription was found affixed to the temple wall in that city when the late

antique townspeople were converting it into a church of the Theotokos. The oracle had

supposedly been given to a previous generation of Kyzikians, who had asked Apollo to

whom the temple should be dedicated. The text of the oracle is of interest. Apollo states:

> Do whatever calls forth virtue and order. I, at any rate, announce a single triune
> God on High, whose imperishable *logos* will be conceived in a virgin. And he,
> like a fiery arrow, will streak through the world, gather up everything and bear it
> as a gift to his Father. This house will be hers, and her name is Maria.[344]

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[341] Franz Alto Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter. Papststiftungen im Spiegel des Liber Pontificalis von Gregor III. bis zu Leo III* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 21-25.

[342] Aude Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon: Pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive (IIe-VIe siècles)* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Busine, "The Discovery of Inscriptions and the Legitimation of New Cults," in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, ed. Beate Dignas and R.R.R. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 242-256.

[343] Cyril Mango, "The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church: The Tübingen Theosophy," Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 18 (1995), 201; Anthony Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 48-49.

[344] Trans. Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 48.

First, it is of note that within this forged oracle, the polytheist inhabitants of Kyzikos are given some credit.[345] They are told to do "whatever calls forth virtue and order," presumably the maximum that could be expected from those living under the old gods. The author(s) of the oracle have imagined here virtuous, not debauched, pagans; their inscriptions could correspondingly give virtuous advice.

Apollo continues with his proclamation of a single Triune God and predicts that the temple will one day belong to the Virgin Mary. A parenthetical note in the text, possibly added later, states that the same oracle was "found in Athens, on the left side of the temple by the door;" despite this precise location, no trace of such an inscription at the Parthenon has ever been found, though the meaning of "by the door" (κατὰ τὴν πύλιν), does not exclude the possibility of a free-standing stele or base.[346] Remarkably, on the island of Ikaria, an actual engraved text, nearly word for word, of this oracle was found; it was published in 2003.[347] It is dated to the fifth or sixth century CE, though unfortunately its original findspot is unclear. Busine notes that in textual sources, this same oracular text is also sometimes said to be engraved in other, specific locations, for example on the altar to the unknown god in Athens (the one described by Paul in Acts

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[345] Though perhaps our concept of "forged" is not entirely appropriate here. From the modern perspective, were any ancient oracles "authentic?" Can we perhaps imagine a late priest(ess) at an oracular shrine, either personally converted, commanded by governmental edict, or sensing the new social needs of the late antique *populus* when the tide clearly turned to Christianity, attempting to smooth the transition from old cult to new?

[346] As translated by Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 48. Mango also takes the meaning to be "by the door," rather than on the door jamb. It is always assumed that the temple referred to in Athens is the Parthenon, both because of the lack of other large, well-known temples (the Temple of Olympian Zeus having already fallen into ruin in the 3rd century), as well as the fact that the Parthenon did in fact become a church dedicated to Mary. Because the date of this note in the text is unclear, it does not provide firm evidence that the Parthenon had already been converted into a church by the late fifth century.

[347] *IG* XII 6, Pars 2, #1265 (2003). The text of the inscription is nearly the same as the manuscript version, but with orthographic differences and occasionally changed word order. For this text, see also Georgios Deligiannakis, "Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands and Processes of Christianisation," *Late Antique Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (2011), 325-326.

17:23).[348] The evidence points to the wide circulation of this fake/late oracle in the late antique Eastern Mediterranean, and the probability of multiple copies set up in various places.[349]

A slightly different tradition is also connected to the temple at Kyzikos; the story (as it was circulating around 530 CE and recorded by Malalas and John of Antioch), records the people of Kyzikos receiving this same oracle but subsequently engraving it on a door lintel of a temple dedicated to Rhea, the mother of the gods.[350] As we saw in Chapter 2, the door lintel was, in fact, a possible location for the dedication of a temple (for example, at Aphrodisias). It is easy to see the symbolism of the shift from the old mother of the gods to the new mother of Christ, and one could even wonder whether the change could have been carried out epigraphically as well as metaphorically, as "ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ" could easily be modified to read "ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΟΥ" – perhaps as easily as closing the omega and erasing the first bar of the *nu*.

Textual studies of hagiographies again provide evidence that late antique people were reading and engaging with older epigraphy. Thonemann's essay on the *Life of St. Abercius* is a rare example of scholarship that acknowledges that inscriptions were still visible and meaningful to late antique viewers.[351] Passages from the mid/late-fourth

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[348] Busine, "The Discovery of Inscriptions" 247. It seems likely, therefore, that some late/fake oracle was set up in Athens at some point.

[349] According to Mango, "The Conversion of the Parthenon," 203, the text of the oracle had even made its way to the west (Rome or Sardinia) by the sixth or seventh century, as it was copied into the *cod. Laudianus gr.* 35, a bilingual manuscript of Acts.

[350] Mango, "The Conversion of the Parthenon," 202; Malalas, *Chronicle*, Book IV (c. 530 CE); John of Antioch, Fr. 15.

[351] Peter Thonemann, "Abercius of Hierapolis: Christianization and Social Memory in Late Antique Asia Minor," in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, ed. Beate Dignas and R.R.R. Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 257-282; for this and further examples, see also Busine, "From Stones to Myth," 340ff.

century *Life,* which tells the story of a second-century bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia Salutaris (modern day Koçhisarköy in the Afyonkarahisar province), drew heavily on Roman inscriptions still visible in the fourth century. The *Life* is famous for including a transcription of the historical Abercius's actual second-century grave epitaph, fragments of which were found by William Ramsay in 1883 in a stroke of incredible good luck.[352]

The text of the *Life of Abercius* also includes a letter purported to be from Marcus Aurelius to a citizen of Hierapolis; it gives the correct honorific titulature of the emperor and names historical officials in Asia Minor known to have lived during the second century. Thonemann argues that the *Life* incorporates a real letter from the emperor to these officials from 177/8 CE preserved somewhere in the city in an inscription, simply adding a paragraph about Abercius into this letter.[353] In this way, the fourth-century inhabitants of Hierapolis were able to refashion their (pagan) history into a Christian one, with the authenticity offered by the historical text.[354] Thonemann, following Louis Robert, has likewise argued that a hagiography of St. Ariadne of Prymnessus, dating from the fourth or fifth century, drew names, titles, and phrases from a second century inscription honoring a real imperial official; though the precise inscription has never been found, a similar honorary decree for the same man has been found at Perge.[355] Hagiographical texts like these therefore indicate a continued late antique engagement

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[352] William Ramsay, "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 4 (1883): 424-8, #36. The fragments are currently in the Vatican Museum. Two years prior, Ramsay had also found fragments of a funerary inscription of Alexander son of Antonius, dated to 215/16 CE, which copied some lines of Abercius' epitaph (assuming, of course, that Abercius' came first).
[353] Thonemann, "Abercius of Hierapolis," 273.
[354] Ibid., 277.
[355] Louis Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (Paris: De Boccard, 1980), 244-256; Peter Thonemann, "The Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prymnessos and an Inscription from Perge," *Chiron* 45 (2015): 151-170.

with older inscriptions, and a willingness to re-shape them to fit a new, Christian narrative.

Inscriptions as *spolia*

Late antique Christians also interacted with older inscribed texts as physical objects, reusing them as *spolia* for new structures.[356] This reuse is sometimes viewed as a triumphal appropriation of the pagan past, displaying victory over the "heathens" and/or dishonoring their inscribed history by using formerly valued stones as everyday building material. Writing on the Christianization of Gerasa (Jordan), Jason Moralee takes this approach. He notes that several inscriptions, including those from pagan contexts, were reused in the construction of the city's Cathedral, built on the former site of the Temple of Artemis in the fourth century, and in the neighboring church of St. Theodore in the fifth century.[357] Both new late antique inscriptions and older reused (and sometimes defaced) inscriptions were found near the entrances of the ecclesiastical complex. These late antique inscriptions explicitly drew attention to the former pagan use of the site, describing the stench of slaughtered animals and contrasting it to the now-fragrant space of the church.[358] An ancient inscribed altar base was reused for a Christian altar – with added crosses.[359] Moralee sees this as part of a triumphalist narrative constructed by

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[356] Cooley, ed., *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*; Coates-Stephens, "Epigraphy as Spolia"; Eastmond, ed., *Viewing Inscriptions.* For *spolia* in general, not just inscriptions, see recently Brilliant and Kinney, ed., *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation.*

[357] Jason Moralee, "The Stones of St. Theodore: Disfiguring the Pagan Past in Christian Gerasa," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14, no. 2 (2006): 183-215.

[358] Ibid., 192-3.

[359] Ibid., 199.

Gerasa's Christians as they physically and ideologically defaced the pagan past; he

argues that this narrative was strongest in the late fifth century.[360]

It may be tempting to apply this triumphalist interpretation to the material remains

in Greece and Asia Minor as well, but caution should be exercised. At Priene, a number

of inscriptions on *stelai* were found built into the floor of the late antique basilica, usually

identified as the cathedral, in front of the theater (near the Temple of Athena).[361] The

Temple of Athena was still standing for at least part of late antiquity, as evidenced by the

Christian graffiti found in a few places on it.[362] It has been assumed in the scholarship

that these *stelai* came from the sanctuary of Athena. Saradi interprets these as evidence of

a triumphalist attitude from the late antique Christians of Priene.[363] Her interpretation is

bolstered by a hagiographical source, the *Life of St. Porphyry of Gaza*, which describes

the paving of a church forecourt with slabs from a temple, specifically so that people and

animals would step on them.[364] We must remember, however, that even if the story of

paving the church forecourt with temple marbles was true, the motivations could have

been many, including aesthetic; and the story need not be true at all.[365] At Priene, I

wonder with what degree of certitude these *stelai* can be attributed to the sanctuary of

Athena, as opposed to any other public place in the city: the inscriptions record decrees of

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[360] Ibid., 204.

[361] F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906). For the architecture and phasing of this church, see Stephan Westphalen, "Die Basilika von Priene. Architektur und liturgische Ausstattung," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 48 (1998).

[362] Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader, *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1904), 88. At some point, the temple was destroyed, perhaps by an earthquake and accompanying fire, and select pieces of it were reused in "Byzantine" structures in the area of the theater. The majority of the temple, however, was found in situ where it had fallen.

[363] Saradi, "The Use of Ancient Spolia," 401.

[364] Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 74ff.

[365] Busine, "From Stones to Myth, 330ff.

the *demos* dating to the Hellenistic period, which would certainly be appropriate for display in the sanctuary, but need not come from there. It is worth noting that the church is also built from *spolia* from the nearby Upper Gymnasium.[366] Furthermore, it is unclear in the 1906 publication where, exactly, these inscriptions were built into the floor, or even that they were face up, as they are described as being only "im Pflaster" (in the floor) and then were transported to Berlin.[367] I therefore question the degree to which the use of inscribed *spolia* in the cathedral of Priene can be ascribed to a triumphalist attitude more than to practical reuse. If the inscriptions were displayed face up in the church, they could just as easily be a sign of pragmatic tolerance as ideologically motivated display. The same holds true for Ephesos, where a large number of inscribed *stelai* were incorporated into the atrium paving of the church of Mary.

We should therefore be cautious about assuming a negative, triumphalist attitude toward older inscriptions. Late antique Christians, like the scholars of today, likely varied in their attitude toward older inscriptions, with some individuals viewing them negatively as a symbols of paganism, others as positive connections to their civic past, and still others as neutral building material. On the whole, however, there is little evidence for specific animosity toward earlier inscriptions in Greece and Asia Minor.

Inscriptions and Temple Reuse

Based on comparing my catalog of temple inscriptions with Bayliss' catalog of temples reused as churches, it appears that there is no straightforward correlation between the presence of inscriptions and the decision to reuse the building as a church; nor is there

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[366] Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, 481.
[367] Hiller von Gaertrigen, *Inschriften*, 4ff. Wiegand and Schrader (*Priene*, 481) state that graves were found beneath this floor with inscriptions, without giving any indication of the dating of these burials.

any indication that inscriptions deterred Christians from reusing the structure – the inscriptions were, apparently, not imbued with negative energy nor unwelcome reminders of the pagan past. As Bayliss, Jacobs, and others have demonstrated, there were a variety of factors behind the decision to reuse a temple, including the desire to preserve the aesthetic appearance of the city, the need for real estate in already crowded cities, and the perpetuation of much older cult sites.

Greece as a whole presents less evidence of late antique Christian interaction with temple epigraphy, and this chapter therefore focuses on Asia Minor. This is in part due to the fact that the practice of engraving texts on temples was never as prevalent in Greece as in Anatolia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, meaning that there were fewer inscribed temples available for reuse. The wholesale reuse of temples as churches (as opposed to as sources of *spolia* and construction material) was also less common in Greece. Athens, which is often cited in the scholarship as a typical example of Christian recycling of temples, is, in fact, quite exceptional within Greece. The city presents at a minimum four, and as many as six, temple conversions: the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Hephaesteion, the Asklepeion, (probably) the Temple of Artemis Agrotera, and (perhaps) the Temple of Rhea and Kronos (Fig. 1). Yet none of these temples seem to have born inscriptions on their architraves, walls, or columns (with the exception of the Parthenon's short-lived Nero dedication).

But while inscriptions may not have been motivating/demotivating factors in temple reuse, it does not mean that they were completely overlooked by late antique Christians either. Too often, texts left in place on buildings have been ignored by

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scholars, who treat their continued presence in late antiquity as simple inertia. I instead

argue for the concept of *unspolia*, which describes older material that continued to be

displayed under changed historical circumstances (see Chapter 1, 13-15). I suggest that

when late antique activity continued in an area where older inscriptions were visible, the

persistence of these texts reveals an attitude of tolerance and the decision made by both

individuals and communities not to remove, deface, or erase these texts. The easiest

decision, to be sure, one requiring no additional effort, but a decision nonetheless. This

toleration is especially pointed in the structures discussed here – temples, the epicenters

of pagan cult. The presence of a pagan statue visible in a temple-turned-church would

hardly be disregarded as simple meaningless persistence in archaeological studies – and,

indeed, the presence of pagan statuary on the Parthenon when it became a church is often

remarked upon – but inscribed texts from the pagan period have so far been

overlooked.[368]

I will now present a series of case studies from late antique Asia Minor, each of

which illustrates different modes of Christian interaction with earlier temple epigraphy,

or interaction under different circumstances. These case studies are Ankara, Sagalassos,

Labraunda, the Corcycian Cave (Cilicia), Aizanoi, and Aphrodisias. The common thread

running through this tapestry is that of baseline tolerance toward ancient inscriptions –

though as we shall see, this tolerance has its limits.

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[368] For the Parthenon's conversion, see Robert Ousterhout, "'Bestride the Very Peak of Heaven': The
Parthenon in the Byzantine and Ottoman Periods," in *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present*, ed.
Jenifer Neils (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 292-325; Kaldellis, *The Christian
Parthenon*.

Ankara: Tolerance

Ankara (ancient Ancyra) in central Anatolia and the modern-day capital of
Turkey offers scholars the "Queen of Inscriptions," a bilingual text of the *Res Gestae*, the
autobiographical account of the reign of the emperor Augustus (see Chapter 2, 97-98;
112-114). Just as Augustus transformed Rome from a city of brick to one of marble,
Kemal Atatürk turned Ankara from an Ottoman town into the sprawling concrete
metropolis of today, with the unfortunate loss of much of the city's ancient patrimony.
Fortunately, the Temple of Augustus and Roma remains in place (Fig. 2). It is on the
walls of this shrine – reused first as a church and later as part of an Islamic medrese
(school) – that the text of the *Res Gestae* has made its way to us (Fig. 3). The
inscription's preservation is therefore not accidental, buried under the ground until found
by modern archaeologists, but the product of a tolerant attitude that stretches across
epochs.

History of Ankara

Ankara was the site of a settlement already in Phrygian times in the ninth and
eighth centuries BCE; its classical and Hellenistic history is not well known, but on the
cusp of the Roman imperial era it was a fortress of the Tectosages, a Galatian tribe.[369]
Local inhabitants maintained their Galatian identity for centuries to come, and Galatian
remained a spoken language in the region.[370] In Roman times, the city expanded and
became the capital of Galatia, which encompassed a wide area in central Anatolia, and
suffered the many reversals of fortune that attended *metropoleis* on a major east-west

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[369] For an overview of the early history of the city, see Musa Kadıoğlu, Kutalmış Görkay, and Stephen
Mitchell, *Roman Ancyra*, trans. Elif Keser-Kayaalp (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 19-21.
[370] Mitchell and French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, 27, 96.

route.[371] The third century brought attacks by the Goths as well as by Zenobia of Palmyra, who managed to extend her new empire to the city in 271, before she was defeated by Aurelian. These major destructions resulted in the construction of a city wall in the third century, which would, however, prove ineffectual against later attacks by the Persians and Arabs.

Late antique Ankara regained its former prominence and prosperity.[372] As the city lay on the main road from Constantinople to the eastern frontier, several late Roman emperors spent time in the city, including Constantius II (who considered the city as his main residence from 337-51), Julian (in 362), Valens (from 371-78) and Arcadius, (r. 383-408) who used the city as a summer residence.[373] Three church councils were held in Ankara, in 314, 358, and 375, attesting to the city's Christian prominence, despite a lack of apostolic connections.[374] Indeed, the 325 Council of Nicaea was originally planned for Ankara before being moved to its more central location.[375]

The city likely hosted competing Christian sects in the first centuries under Christian emperors. Stephen Mitchell has published evidence of a Montanist community there, including a remarkable tombstone, probably of the early sixth century, for a

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[371] For the Roman period, see Julian Bennett, "The Political and Physical Topography of Early Imperial Graeco-Roman Ancyra," *Anatolica* 32 (2006); Kadıoğlu, Görkay, and Mitchell, *Roman Ancyra*, 21-34.
[372] For late antique Ancyra, see Clive Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977); Semavi Eyice, "Bizans Döneminde Ankara." *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 14 (1996); David French, *Roman, Late Roman, and Byzantine Inscriptions of Ankara: A Selection* (Ankara: The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, 2003), 70ff; Ufuk Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara: Topography and Architecture," in *Marmoribus Vestita: Miscellanea in onore di Federico Guidobaldi*, vol. 2, ed. Olof Brandt, Philippe Pergola, and Federico Guidobaldi (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2011); Peschlow, *Ankara: die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften*, 17-18.
[373] Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 30.
[374] Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 1259.
[375] Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 37.

"Trophimus, apostle, from Pepuza."[376] Pepuza was the center of the Montanist church and was destroyed around 550, so the tombstone presumably dates from earlier. Mitchell also draws attention to the Montanists elements in the *Life of Theodotos*, a local saint.[377] Theodotos, a shopkeeper who was martyred, was venerated at the nearby village of Malos, as attested both in his Life and by an inscription found at the site. Mitchell has argued that the Life is an accurate portrayal of the persecution of a rigorist Christian sect at Ankara under Maximinus Daia circa 312, written a few decades later.[378] One also finds conflicts between the Orthodox and Arian clergy of the city.

It is clear that church councils notwithstanding, many of the elites in fourth-century Ankara kept their pagan identity. The pagan rhetorician Libanios maintained many connections with Ankara's ruling class in the middle of that century.[379] When the emperor Julian arrived in Ankara on his way to Antioch, he found that a festival in honor of Adonis was taking place.[380] Like other late antique cities, Ankara held a mixed population of Christians and pagans, and possibly a Jewish community as well.[381] In the sixth century, Ankara, like the rest of the empire, was decimated by plague. The reign of Heraclius (610-41) brought to an end even a veneer of classical urban life at Ankara, which found itself on the frontlines of the war with the Persians. The city fell in 622, and all its inhabitants are said in a source to have been either killed or enslaved; the

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[376] Stephen Mitchell, "An Apostle to Ankara from the New Jerusalem: Montanists and Jews in Late Roman Asia Minor," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24 (2005), 211.
[377] Stephen Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotos of Ancyra," *Anatolian Studies* 32 (1982), 104.
[378] Ibid., 108.
[379] Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 42-49.
[380] David Woods, "The Martyrdom of the Priest Basil of Ancyra," *Vigilae Christianae* 46 (1992).
[381] As Mitchell has argued, the Montanist community mentioned in the Trophimus inscription seems to have been closely modeled on Jewish community organizations; it is therefore possible that there may have been a Jewish community alongside the Montanist one at Ankara. Mitchell, "An Apostle to Ankara," 10-11.

excavation of the Large Bath uncovered a destruction layer that can be dated to this period.[382]

Ankara's residents recovered to some degree, but the city fell again, this time to the Arabs, in 654. When al Mu'tasim invaded Anatolia in 838, it is reported by al-Tabari that his sights were set on Ankara and Amorium as the most desirable cities in the Byzantine realm to conquer.[383] He succeeded at taking these cities for a short time. Ankara was clearly still one of the largest cities in the region, and it was repaired and endowed with substantial new fortification walls by the emperor Michael III in 859.[384] By that time, the Temple of Augustus had graced Ancyra's cityscape for more than eight centuries.

The Temple of Augustus and Roma

The Temple of Augustus and Roma was begun circa 5/4 BCE and finished before Augustus' death in 14 CE; it was likely shortly thereafter that the *Res Gestae* of Augustus was inscribed on its walls (Fig. 4). The sanctuary complex was a monumental presence near the center of the ancient city, as it is in the modern one. This pseudo-dipteral octastyle temple housed the imperial cult in the capital of Galatia. As with many of the temples that survive intact to the modern period, the Temple of Augustus was converted into a church at some point. The excavators of the temple, Daniel Krencker and Martin Schede, identified a rectangular annex built onto the opisthodomos at the east of the temple as an apse; a vaulted substructure underneath this annex, accessible through a

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[382] Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 70-72.
[383] Al-Tabari. *The History of al-Tabari, Vol. 33: Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, trans. C.E. Bosworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 99; Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 78.
[384] Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 1271.

central doorway in the floor, was deemed a crypt (Fig. 5).[385] However, the association of this annex with a Christian apse has recently been called into question by Stephen Mitchell. It is therefore worth reviewing the architecture of the annex in more detail.

The rectangular annex is built against the rear antae of the temple, which formerly delineated the opisthodomos (Fig. 6). The rear wall of the cella (which separated the interior space of the temple from this opisthodomos) was carved away to be flush with the north and south cella walls. The annex is narrower than the width of the cella and is connected to the inner faces of the rear antae by short straight walls (which show repairs). It is barrel vaulted (the springing of the vault can still be seen today) and was constructed of red and white ashlar facing with a rubble core of andesite stones, maroonish in color (Fig. 7). The foundations of the annex, which would not have been visible below ground level, are constructed from worked maroonish andesite ashlars of varying lengths; some are more carefully worked than others, and we can assume that they are *spolia*. The foundations of the annex are slightly higher than the original floor level of the temple's peristasis, implying that the ground level had risen somewhat before the construction of the annex. Andesite ashlars were used in construction in Ankara across the ages, from the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theater and the walls of the Large Bath, to the base of the Hacı Bayram mosque minaret next to the Temple of Augustus, making them unhelpful for dating purposes.

Above the foundations of the annex, red and white alternating courses of different stones create a striking pattern that contrasts with the white marble of the temple it adjoins. The colors were visible on both the interior and exterior of the annex. The floor

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[385] Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara,* 32-34.

level of this barrel-vaulted room was higher than the post-antique floor level of the cella,

meaning that the annex room was accessible by steps. At the entrance of the annex, one

encounters a low doorway leading to stairs that open into a subterranean room,

designated by the excavators as a crypt. The room is barrel-vaulted with monochrome

ashlars. This bi-level annex therefore included two rooms, both windowless and opening

onto the interior of the temple.

In addition to this "apse," the excavators cite Christian graffiti/inscriptions as

evidence that the temple was reused as a church. One is a lengthy grave inscription of a

Eustathios Tourmarches, dated to the ninth or tenth century, on the inner face of the north

cella wall.[386] Another nearby inscription briefly records the burial of the hegemon

Hyphatios (sic); it could potentially date from the eighth or ninth century.[387] Fragments of

a number of other burial inscriptions also remain, as well as several incised crosses.[388] At

some point in its history, three windows were carved into the south wall of the cella; their

form is consistent with ancient/Byzantine windows, with simple carved grilles (Fig. 8).

The floor level of the cella – originally higher than the pronaos/opisthodomos floor level

in the Roman period – was lowered, as evidenced by a threshold block set into the

original door frame of the cella. The threshold is smaller than the original opening,

implying that most of the monumental door was filled in.

It is also of note that a tall, thick fortification wall can be seen near the temple.

This wall was excavated by E. Mamboury in 1939-40; the lowest courses proved that it

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[386] Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel*, 59-60.

[387] Ibid., 60; Peschlow, *Ankara*, 44.

[388] The second volume of Stephen Mitchell and David French's *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara* collection, which covers late antique and Byzantine epigraphy, is unfortunately still forthcoming, but it will likely add several new texts to this group of inscriptions.

began as the temenos wall of the temple before being later enlarged and taking on a

defensive purpose.[389] Only a small portion of the fortification wall (to the northwest of

the temple) is visible, and it is unclear how this wall relates to the other fortifications of

the city – it is within the third century CE walls, but is located about a kilometer from the

major fortification of the acropolis. Whether the temple fortification followed the full

course of the ancient temenos, surrounding the temple/church on four sides as an enclave

outside of the acropolis, or whether the walls enclosed a larger space, is unclear.

Mamboury dated the wall to the second half of the sixth century based on comparisons of

the construction technique and mortar with Constantinople, but Ufuk Serin has argued

that fortification walls are difficult to date, and that this one could date from as late as the

ninth century, contemporary with the completion of the acropolis fortifications.[390]

Without firmer archaeological data, a date anywhere from the third to the ninth century is

possible, but the historical circumstances tip the scale toward the seventh to ninth

centuries.

The evidence for the use of the temple area in the post antique period is therefore

ambiguous, and several ideas have been proposed for the date of the conversion of the

temple to a church. Square church apses are not unheard of in late antiquity – there are

several examples from Syria – but they are rare in Asia Minor.[391] Nonetheless, Krencker

and Schede believed that the annex dated to the late antique period, suggesting that the

red and white stripes of the walls imitate in appearance the striations in late antique walls

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[389] E. Mamboury, "Les parages du temple de Rome et d'August à Ankara," *Türk Tarih, Arkeoloji, ve Etnografya Dergisi* 5 (1949), 26-28; 99-102.
[390] Mamboury, "Les parages," 102; Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 1277.
[391] Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 1265.

produced by ashlars with brick courses, as can be seen in the Theodosian walls of

Constantinople, for example. "Striped" walls can also be seen more locally in Ankara at

the large bath (perhaps constructed under Caracalla, 211-217 CE), where regular brick

courses contrast with andesite ashlars.[392] Serin, on the other hand, notes that there is no

firm evidence linking the conversion of the temple to late antiquity, and has argued that

the disruptions of the seventh century would provide the impetus for converting the

temple to a church.[393] She does not give a detailed analysis of the archaeological remains

or her reasons for dating the conversion to this period, however.

Mitchell has complicated the question of the temple to church conversion by

positing that the rectangular annex is not an apse at all, but rather dates from the Ottoman

medrese phase of the building.[394] Early western travelers to Ankara recorded that the

temple was known as the Ak Medrese (White School), presumably because of the white

marble walls of the temple. Mitchell therefore suggests that the barrel-vaulted plan of the

annex makes more sense as an *iwan* (a rectangular vaulted hall open on one side) than a

Christian sanctuary. The *iwan* opened onto a court (the by-then roofless cella of the

temple), while the "crypt" was built as a subterranean room for mystics.[395] The medrese

was presumably built around the time of the Hacı Bayram Veli mosque, which abuts the

temple and was constructed in the fifteenth century. His view is that the annex's red and

white stripes fit better with the Ottoman aesthetic, where such alternating colors are often

seen in arches, for example. Mitchell still believes that the temple was used as a church

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[392] Kadıoğlu, Görkay, and Mitchell, *Roman Ancyra*, 179ff.
[393] Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 1274.
[394] Mitchell, *The Imperial Temple at Ankara*, 30.
[395] Ibid., 32.

based on the Christian inscriptions on the walls, but no secure remains of an apse can be seen.[396]

Despite Mitchell's confidence (the extension is "certainly of early Ottoman date"), the matter has not been conclusively decided.[397] Urs Peschlow has more recently re-studied the building and offers a six-point refutation of Mitchell's theory. He notes that: 1) No trace of an alternative apse has ever been found 2) Medreses normally have *iwans* opening onto a courtyard, but Dernschwam in 1555 records that ten rooms had been built inside the cella to house members of the medrese, essentially filling up the court 3) The temple is mentioned as a medrese in travelers' accounts only in 1864, though the Ottoman archival sources suggest it was a school as early as the late fifteenth century. With the courtyard (cella) occupied by housing in the mid sixteenth century, the medrese was only functioning around fifty years 4) Early Ottoman masonry usually achieves colored stripes through the use of limestone with brick 5) The arched stone over the crypt probably dates to the Ottoman period, but does not serve to date the entire structure 6) The large gap in the north cella wall was not created in order to create a closer connection between the medrese and mosque, but was due to private individuals taking building material; it was first recorded in 1834.[398] Peschlow additionally does not find any late antique parallels, and because the annex is in (relatively) good condition, he argues that it must date from after the Arab destruction of the city in 838.[399] He therefore

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[396] Mitchell suggests that the side walls of the annex, which connect with the temple's rear antae, may pre-date the annex and may have originally opened onto an apse. Because these side walls have been heavily repaired, it is difficult to come to any conclusions. Ibid., 29.
[397] Ibid., 30.
[398] Peschlow, *Ankara*, 42-43.
[399] Ibid., 46.

sees the rectangular annex as a transitional period/middle Byzantine church apse, albeit one without *comparanda* elsewhere.

None of Peschlow's points *contra* Mitchell is particularly plausible. There may be no trace of a semi-circular apse, because perhaps no apse ever existed; or perhaps it was totally obliterated in the construction of the annex. Furthermore, Peschlow's argument that the annex must date from after the Arab invasion of the city in 838 is unconvincing. The temple itself is in a fair state of preservation, despite the third century Gothic invasions, the taking of the city by Zenobia, and the Persian and Arab attacks of the seventh and ninth centuries, respectively. We can also question the degree of destruction wrought by the Arab al Mu'tasim in 838. The *History* of al-Tabari records that the people of Anquirah (Ankara) fled the city before the Arabs arrived; the Arabs therefore took Ankara without a fight, and stayed there "for a few days."[400] There is no mention of the destruction of the city; it is rather the countryside between Ankara and Amorium that is to be ravaged and burned.

In my opinion, the annex does not appear to be Byzantine in form or construction technique, and the low barrel vault would create a poor sanctuary for a church. Mitchell is likely correct to identify it as an *iwan*; in addition to serving a medrese, it could also be an *iwan* tomb, with the crypt below.[401] It is likely that the construction of this *iwan* involved completely removing any remains of a Christian apse. I suggest, however, that the apse was not located underneath the *iwan*/annex, but rather was located in the

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[400] Al-Tabri, *History, vol. 33*, 107, section 1244.
[401] I want to thank Scott Redford for his suggestion of an *iwan* tomb, and for sharing his assessment that annex likely dates to the Beylik period (circa fourteenth century). Personal communication, March 11, 2017.

opisthodomos. The three windows carved in the south wall of the cella are centered within the old cella – i.e., they seem to respect the cross wall separating the cella from the opisthodomos, now completely removed. Had the windows been carved after this back wall was obliterated, one would expect them be spaced farther apart, or a fourth window to be cut in the southern opisthodomos wall. With the rear wall of the cella still in place at the time of Christian use, one can perhaps imagine the cutting of an opening in the center of that wall to create an apse extending onto the opisthodomos, or an internal apse/bema constructed within the cella without altering any of the temple's exterior walls.

Regardless of the date of the rectangular annex, it is my view that the Temple of Augustus was likely reused as a church in late antiquity. True, none of the Christian remains found in the temple can conclusively be dated to late antiquity – the preserved grave inscriptions date to the eighth/ninth century or later; none of the incised crosses can be dated at all. Yet, the temple has survived the centuries in a good state of preservation. Like other temples in the empire, it would have been closed for pagan worship in the fourth or, at the latest, early fifth century; the fact that it was a temple of the imperial cult, and therefore had political overtones, may have allowed it a slightly longer lifespan than other polytheist temples. At some point, the peristasis fell or was removed; Peschlow notes that the nearby baths were severely damaged in an early fifth century earthquake, and suggests that the same earthquake might have brought down the temple's peristasis columns.[402] Only a few column drums and capitals were found at the site, and these likely correspond with the columns of the pronaos; the rest of the fallen peristasis was

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[402] Peschlow, *Ankara*, 45.

presumably cleared. The collapse of the columns would have taken down the roof as well, necessitating a new one for the church.

Both Serin and Peschlow want to push the conversion of the temple to the seventh century or later, but it seems unlikely to me that a new temple conversion would take place at the moment when the city underwent major disruptions and began to contract to its acropolis. Peschlow's desire to push the conversion all the way to the ninth century, at the time of Michael III's restoration of the city following its capture by the Arabs in 838, seems particularly improbable. The temple would have had to sit unused for more than four hundred years without being spoliated. Both the inner and outer fortification walls of the acropolis, largely completed by 859, make extensive use of *spolia*, even sometimes decoratively.[403] If the temple had been closed long ago and had no compelling new function, one would expect its marble ashlars to be spoliated for use in constructing the fortification wall or melted down to make lime for the same. Additionally, it was located well outside of the fortification walls (Fig. 2). True, we do not know a significant amount about the topography of the Byzantine city, and how far the settlement extended outside of the fortified acropolis. The church of St. Clement, probably dating from the ninth century, is also located outside of the acropolis, but significantly closer to its main gate than is the Temple of Augustus.[404]

The un-datable fortification wall excavated by Mamboury to the northwest of the temple further suggests to me that the conversion had already taken place before these walls were built. As Serin notes, this fortification built on the older temenos wall is

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[403] For the use of *spolia* in the fortification walls, see Görkem Kokdemir, "Ankara kalesi sur duvarlarının içerisinde barındırdığı Ankara'nın klasik dönemlerine ilişkin ipuçları." *Idol* 17 (2003).
[404] Serin, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," 1278.

actually thicker than the main fortifications of the acropolis; it therefore represented a

significant investment of time and material.[405] It seems unlikely that a new church would

be founded in the seventh century (or later), which would then immediately require a

major project of fortification. This implies to me that the temple-church was already an

important site in late antiquity, prior to the seventh century, and worthy of receiving a

fortification wall in that troubled period to protect it rather than being simply abandoned.

Inscriptions

The *Res Gestae* has received extensive attention in the scholarship for its

historical import and remarkable preservation in both Latin and Greek copies; yet

remarkably, I have not found any authors explicitly noting that this text was left in place

on the church or querying what messages Christians may have received from it.[406] Suna

Güven deftly explores the many messages that Roman-period viewers would take from

the Ankara *Res Gestae* in its architectural setting, noting that the inscription does not

record history, rather it forms it.[407] She further emphasizes the "timeless" aspect of

inscriptions, noting modern parallels for inscriptions by national leaders, but does not

mention the Christian use of the structure. Alison E. Cooley has likewise explored the

varied meaning of the text in its original Roman context, drawing attention to the way

that the Greek translation of Augustus' original Latin text omits some mentions of

military triumphs – perhaps an uncomfortable topic for a province such as Galatia which,

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[405] Ibid., 1275.
[406] Cat. #88, *I.Ancyra* #1.
[407] Suna Güven, "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus: A Monument of Imperial Image for All." *Journal of the Society of Archietctural Historians* 57.1 (1998): 30-45, at 30; 39.

in the time of Augustus, had only recently been brought under Rome's control.[408] In

particular, the Latin and Greek headings inscribed on the walls of the temple at Ankara

give very different impressions of the text. The Latin reads,

> (The record of) the deeds of the divine Augustus, by which he subjected the
> whole earth to the rule of the Roman people, and the expenses, which he incurred
> for the republic and Roman people, engraved on two bronze pillars set up at
> Rome, copied below.[409]

The Greek is more condensed, stating only, "The deeds and gifts of the god Augustus,

which he left behind engraved on two bronze *stelai* at Rome, translated and written

below."[410] As Cooley notes, Augustus' expenditures on behalf of the people of Rome are

translated in the Greek as merely "gifts," implying that they were more generally

dispersed throughout the empire rather than Rome-centric. These messages were

originally present for the audience in Augustan times, and presumably later Roman times

as well; the record of a priest added to the temple under Trajan assures that the sanctuary

continued as an active cult site in the imperial period, as is to be expected. Yet in

Cooley's discussion of the *Res Gestae* text, the Christian phase of the building is left

unmentioned.

What is clear is that if the temple underwent conversion in late antiquity, as I have

argued, the texts of the *Res Gestae* and the priests' list were tolerated and preserved on its

walls and antae, becoming what I have termed *unspolia* as they continued to be displayed

in this new context (Figs. 9). Though damaged by the destructive act of excising clamps

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[408] Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 28-29.

[409] Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terra[rum] imperio populi Rom[a]ni subiecit, et inpensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit, incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis, quae su[n]t Romae positae, exemplar sub[i]ectum.

[410] Μεθηρμηνευμέναι ὑπεγράφησαν πράξεις τε καὶ δωρεαὶ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ἅς ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐνκεχαραγμέναις χαλκαῖς στήλαις δυσίν. My translations after Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 28-29.

(at an uncertain date) and by modern pollution, the inscriptions are otherwise well preserved, showing no evidence of erasure or intentional defacement. The windows on the south wall were carved from both the exterior and interior sides and are located directly above the Greek text of the *Res Gestae* on the exterior cella wall; this means that workmen with tools and scaffolding had ample opportunity to rough up the inscription, had such an act been desirable (Fig. 8). Instead, the decision was made to leave it in place. Furthermore, at least four incised crosses are located on the orthostate blocks below the Greek *Res Gestae*; they can be seen near the end of the inscription, roughly under the easternmost of the three windows.[411] Mitchell and French also briefly mention "Byzantine" inscriptions inscribed below the Greek text, but the details of these inscriptions are still forthcoming in the second volume of the *Inscriptions of Ancyra* series.[412] At the entrance to the church, the lowest lines of the Latin text of the *Res Gestae* were located just above eye level on both the north and south pronaos walls, flanking the entrance to the church. Again, this text was left in place without alteration. The list of priests in Greek filling the north anta at the entrance of the church, as well as the shorter notice on the south anta, were likewise preserved (Fig. 10).

What would a late antique citizen have seen when viewing the Temple of Augustus? The inscribed texts on its walls likely stood out significantly more than today, as traces of the red paint in the letters (or possibly a red primer for gilding) survived across the centuries to the present. Presumably the coloring was more prominent in late

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[411] It is likely that more cross graffiti originally existed on these orthostates, which in most other areas of the wall have suffered badly from pollution and, in areas, appear to have been reworked with a chisel, presumably when this wall formed the side of an Ottoman house.

[412] Mitchell and French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, vol. 1, #1, 96.

antiquity. A visitor to the temple would encounter the records of priests on the *antae*; the heading of the text, written in large letters near the top of the left anta, begins with "Γαλατῶν οἱ ἱερασάμενοι" (those of the Galatians having served as priests).[413] "Galatians" is given pride of place at the beginning of the inscription, immediately evoking local identity rather than pan-empire community. Those continuing to read the notices on the *antae* would find, in addition to the Roman governors used as dating devices, a mention of Pylaimenes, son of the (Galatian) king Amyntas. The names of many of the priests were unmistakably Celtic in origin rather than Greek or Latin. Local traditions and hierarchies were therefore intertwined with the new Roman order, as traditional elite families used the priesthood of the imperial cult as a means of asserting their own importance and continued relevance. This emphasis on local identity and historical figures would still be evident to late antique readers as well.

The Latin text of the *Res Gestae*, inscribed on the wall of the pronaos and therefore confronting visitors entering/leaving the temple-church, must have been illegible to many viewers because of its foreign script; it naturally held symbolic meaning as a signifier of "Roman-ness."[414] Yet, as Mitchell and French have demonstrated, about twenty-nine percent of Ankara's Roman period inscriptions were in Latin, a higher percentage than is found in other centers such as Ephesus or Smyrna.[415] Many of the

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[413] Cat. #66, *I.Ancyra #2*. See Chapter 2, 97.

[414] For the symbolic potential of inscriptions, see John Bodel, ed., *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (London: Routledge, 2001), 19-24.

[415] Mitchell and French, *Inscriptions of Ankara*, 27; see also Kadıoğlu, Görkay, and Mitchell, *Roman Ancyra*, 69-72. In one inscription, Constantine was honored in Latin (and only Latin, as opposed to the many bilingual inscriptions known from elsewhere) in 324-27: E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1967), #305. Julian was likewise honored in Latin in 362: *CIL* III.247.

city's citizens adopted Roman (rather than Greek names).[416] This suggests that the Latin text of the *Res Gestae* may not have appeared quite as foreign as it would have in other eastern cities; rather, it would be one among many of the older Latin inscriptions dotting the cityscape of late antique Ankara. The Greek text of the *Res Gestae* would of course have been more intelligible to most of the city's literate late antique inhabitants. Presumably few attempted to read the entire lengthy text, but the heading, written in large letters, gives a succinct impression of the whole. The heading continued to project the same message that it had to citizens in centuries past: that the inscriptions recorded the great deeds of the legendary Augustus, as well as his gifts to the empire. The message – of powerful, if distant, emperors distributing their largesse to the cities of the empire – would surely have resounded with late antique projections of imperial power as well.

Ankara: Conclusion

By late antiquity, then, these inscriptions on the Temple of Augustus were long-standing evidence of Ankara's history both as a Galatian community and as a part of the larger Roman world. The Latin text of the *Res Gestae*, though illegible to all but a few, spoke to Ankara's cosmopolitan make-up and connection with the far-away center, Rome. The Greek text of the *Res Gestae* emphasized the city's long-standing reverence of the benevolent emperors – surely a popular message in late antiquity, when a number of emperors passed through or stayed in the city. An unidentified late antique emperor even received an honorary column in Ankara, not far from the temple, now known (probably erroneously) as the column of Julian. In late antiquity as in the Roman period, the cumulative message of these inscriptions on the temple was not focused on religious

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[416] Kadıoğlu, Görkay, and Mitchell, *Roman Ancyra*, 45-46.

rites or beliefs, but rather on the intersection of local and broader Roman identity. It is therefore no surprise that the late antique Christian citizens of Ankara accepted, rather than censored, these texts.

At Ankara, therefore, we find a temple re-used as a church, most likely without significant architectural alteration. I have argued the conversion likely took place in late antiquity, prior to the seventh century. The process of converting the temple presumably involved removing any remaining pagan paraphernalia, such as an altar, imperial statues, and dedications to the divine emperors. It did not, however, require the removal or editing of either the *Res Gestae* or the lists of priests on the antae. The Temple of Augustus and Roma at Ankara therefore demonstrates an attitude of tolerance toward earlier inscriptions on the part of Christians.

Sagalassos: Reuse

At Sagalassos in Pisidia in central Anatolia, late antique Christians, like those in Ankara, again encountered the inscribed remains of a temple. In this instance, the architectural pieces of the temple were taken apart and rebuilt as a church. As we shall see, an active decision was made to incorporate the epigraphic remains of the past inside the new temple-church.

History of Sagalassos

The city of Sagalassos is magnificently situated on the side of a high mountain, overlooking smaller hills and the valley below (Fig. 11). The city existed already at the time of Alexander, but the majority of the well-preserved structures visible at the site

today date from the Roman period. As the metropolis of Roman Pisidia, it was both an economic center and the *locus* at which the province negotiated its relationship with distant emperors, building temples to honor them and hoping for imperial favor in return.

In late antiquity, Sagalassos, like most cities, largely incorporated its (pagan) past into its present life without apparent difficulty. The city maintained its title as *neokoros* (temple warden, meaning that the city had the privilege of housing a temple of the imperial cult) through the reign of Constantine, before quietly dropping it in the reign of Constantius II (r. 337-361).[417] When a road leading from the Lower to the Upper Agora was rebuilt around 500 CE, both early imperial honorific monuments and statue bases celebrating victors in the games of Klarian Apollo were left in place.[418] By the sixth century, local attitudes began to shift, and statue bases were instead re-used in walls in the Upper Agora.[419] A votive inscription and relief to Demeter received the graffito *eis theos* (one God), likely at the time when it was re-used as a drain cover for a sixth-century basin.[420]

Sagalassos' temples were re-purposed in late antiquity. The Tychaion in the Upper Agora was converted into a monument honoring members of the imperial family under Valentinian II and Gratian (r. 375-383 CE); around 400 CE the empress Flavia

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[417] Talloen and Waelkens, "Apollo and the Emperors (II)," 244.
[418] Luke Lavan, "The Agorai of Sagalassos in Late Antiquity: An Interpretive Study," in *Fieldwork Methods and Post-Excavation Techniques in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 313.
[419] Ibid., 325, 334.
[420] For an image of this plaque, see Marc Waelkens et al., "The 1994 and 1995 Excavation Seasons at Sagalassos," in *Sagalassos IV: Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, ed. Marc Waelkens and Jeroen Poblome (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), Fig. 67; Talloen and Vercauteren "Late Antique Anatolia," 352, suggest from this plaque that the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore – which has never been found – may have been violently destroyed based on this graffito, which they connect to desacralisation rites in late antiquity. This supposition seems overly tenuous to me.

Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius, was honored here.[421] The Doric Temple in the same area was built into the late antique fortification wall as a watchtower in the early fifth century.[422] The Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius fell out of use in the late fourth century, before being dismantled in the early fifth.[423] Its architectural members were reused in encroaching structures within the temenos, as well as in a fortification wall and Basilica E1. This basilica was itself built largely from the stones of another temple, that of Dionysos. The temple became a construction quarry for the church in the fifth or sixth century; its blocks were numbered to facilitate re-building. The new basilica was located in the disused stadium, suggesting that it may have been dedicated to a martyr believed to have been killed there. The decorative carving of the temple was reused in the north transept of this three-aisled basilica, including seemingly pagan subject matter. The exterior wall featured a frieze of Dionysian imagery, including masks of maenads and Silenus, while dancing satyrs could be seen inside the church.[424]

The Temple of Apollo Klarios

The Temple of Apollo Klarios likewise was dismantled and rebuilt as Basilica E (Fig. 12). Overlooking the Lower Agora of the city, the temple was a focal point of civic life in Sagalassos the first and second centuries CE. The sanctuary was founded during the time of Augustus; by a restoration in 119/20, if not earlier, it also housed the imperial cult at Sagalassos (see Chapter 2, 76). This Ionic temple, with a six-by-ten peristasis of

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[421] Talloen and Vercauteren, "The Fate of Temples," 361; Lavan, "The Agorai," 347.
[422] Talloen and Vercauteren, "The Fate of Temples," 361.
[423] Ibid., 355-356; Talloen and Waelkens, "Apollo and the Emperors," 177-80; Peter Talloen *et al*, "Sondages near the Temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius," in M. Waelkens, "Report on the 2004 Excavation and Restoration Campaign at Sagalassos," in *XXVII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 30 Mayıs 3 Haziran 2005, Antalya* (Ankara: Kültür Bakalığı Yayınları, 2006), 277-78.
[424] Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, 141, 151-2; Talloen and Vercauteren, "The Fate of Temples," 366.

unfluted columns, had hosted the Klarian games in the Roman period. In late antiquity, this temple was converted into a three-aisle church with a transept (Fig. 13). Recent research by Jacobs, Koen Demarsin and Marc Waelkens has suggested that the conversion to a church may have taken place in the first half of the fifth century, based on the sherds found in a substrate of the floor in the northern aisle; if the dating is correct, this would make it one of a small number of early temple-churches.[425] The temple was transformed by taking apart the cella walls, as well as the blocks of the podium, and then rebuilding them as the external walls of a basilica with transept; the columns from the peristasis were then moved inwards and re-erected as the colonnade separating two side aisles from a nave, resulting in a three aisled transept basilica with a gallery.[426] The usual row of columns separating the aisles from the nave is supplemented by an additional column to the north and south at the end of the nave, nearly touching the wall corner where the aisles and transept meet. A cross was carved onto the door-post (which probably originated from the temple) at the west entrance of the building.[427] In addition to the many architectural fragments from the temple, the excavators found copious amounts of marble wall revetment and both glass and stone tesserae, suggesting that both the floors and walls may have carried mosaics in the late antique period.[428] After a devastating earthquake in the seventh-century, the church was repaired in the middle

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[425] Ine Jacobs, Koen Demarsin, and Marc Waelkens, "From Temple to Church to Graveyard." Forthcoming in *Holistic Archaeology: Prehistory and Beyond*, ed. Ph. Bes and M. Waelkens (Leuven: Leuven University Press). A fuller publication of the material is awaited.

[426] Ibid. No new plan has been published after that of Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, 150, Fig. 123.

[427] Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, 152.

[428] See the Sagalassos excavation reports for August 14-18, 2005, and August 6-10, 2006, on *Archaeology's Interactive Dig* website: http://interactive.archaeology.org/sagalassos/field06/apollo1.html. Accessed June 10, 2017.

Byzantine period and used until the eleventh or twelfth century, when many graves were dug to the south of the church.

Inscriptions

Though the final publication of this temple-church is still forthcoming, it seems that the temple's architrave, frieze, and cornice were reused to crown the church's exterior walls. Only one element of this arrangement directly touches on our topic: the three-lined architrave inscription recording the refurbishment of the temple by T. Flavius Collega and his family members in 119/120 CE (see Chapter 2, 76; Fig. 14). The text begins in the typical way, identifying the god(s) to whom the sanctuary was dedicated: "Ἀπόλλωνι Κλαρίῳ καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς" (to Apollo Klarios and to the emperors).[429] Like the rest of the temple, the blocks of this inscription were reused in the church, at the point where the nave meets the transept, just in front of the bema.

The architrave was discovered by Count Karl Lanckoroński in 1885/6, who made the first investigation into this temple-church and recorded the excavation of the architrave in surprising detail. After a block with Greek letters was spotted near the east end of the temple-church rubble, Lanckoroński began digging and found four architrave blocks, out of the original five that would have graced the temple's façade.[430] He believed that the architrave and the columns supporting it were in their original, *in situ* location from the temple – i.e., that even though the cella walls and lateral peristasis had been taken apart and re-positioned to create the church, the row of six columns from the east façade of the temple, along with the architrave, were left untouched (Fig.15). This row of

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[429] Cat. #31, *IGR* III #342, Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, #200.
[430] Though one of these four has gone missing between the 1880s and today.

columns, now located inside the basilica, would separate the nave from the transept, an unusual architectural feature. Based on the orientations of the blocks when they were found, Lanckoroński believed that the inscription was facing east toward the apse (i.e., visible from only from the transept and the apse, not to worshippers in the nave).[431] The preserved blocks of the inscription are in good condition, showing no evidence of erasure or graffiti.

What to make of this long, well-preserved dedication to Apollo inside of the temple-church, possibly converted only a few decades after imperial pronouncements of temple closure in the late fourth century? Lanckoroński seemed to believe that since the text was legible only from the bema and transept (in his view), the average worshipper would not be in a position to read it, and therefore the inscription was harmless. Waelkens instead suggests that the inscription was covered with stucco when built into the church, which is entirely possible.[432] On the other hand, Lanckoroński's assertion that the words would have been visible to those in the bema implies that no traces of plaster were found on the architrave when he uncovered it; one would expect at least some fragments of plaster to remain lodged in the carved letters.

A re-examination of the blocks themselves and a close reading of Lanckoroński's discovery offers an alternative possibility. He is fairly precise in his description of finding the inscription. Again, he believed that the six columns of the temple façade were still *in situ*, running north to south and demarcating the line where the nave met the transept, although he admits that he only found the two northernmost columns in his excavation.

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[431] Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, 132.
[432] "Epigraphical Studies 2006." Accessed Jan 24, 2017 at http://interactive.archaeology.org/sagalassos/field06/recording3.html.

The fifth (last) architrave block was found between the (excavated) second and (putative) third columns from the north, while architrave Blocks 1 and 3 were found between the (putative) third and fourth columns.[433] Architrave Block 2 was found between the (putative) fourth and fifth columns, and the fourth architrave block was never found.[434]

As far as I have understood from the present-day excavation reports and on-site observations, however, the middle two columns of this supposed six-column façade are completely missing, along with their bases or settings. Lanckoroński was therefore incorrect to assume that a row of columns with the architrave blocks ran from north to south between the nave and transept – which, as mentioned above, would be an unusual architectural feature inside a church. I propose rather that, as Lanckoroński's own plan shows, there were only four columns in this line; the middle of the nave was left open, as is standard at other churches. L-shaped corner cuttings on the back of the architrave blocks further are evidence that the first and last (fifth) blocks must have been moved to span the easternmost columns of the north and south aisles (Fig. 16). These corner cuttings were from the original Roman construction and allowed two architrave blocks (the inscribed, front facing one and the first lateral block) to meet at the corner of the peristasis, sharing a column capital, while presenting a regular outer appearance.[435] These would fit in the church plan only at the corners of the aisles, facing each other across the nave; the original, lateral peristasis architrave blocks, with matching L-shaped corner

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[433] Because the northern two columns were found *in situ*, Lanckoroński seems to be counting the columns from the north (right).

[434] Lanckoroński notes that the architrave blocks are not in their exact original positions or order; we should further keep in mind that the majority of the columns of the church have never been found by excavators, suggesting that the collapsed church was substantially disturbed as its architectural pieces were partially robbed out.

[435] I thank Friederike Kranig for this observation.

cuttings, could have then spanned facing the apse/transept, running north to south. We may further hypothesize that, rather than placing inscribed architrave Blocks 1 and 2 together proceeding westward down the aisle, Block 3 may rather have followed Block 1, and Block 2 placed after Block 5. The texts inscribed on them would therefore not join, creating an illegible line of text as the words from Block 1 were separated from their continuation on Block 2. In this arrangement, the inscription would rather appear as a series fragments, with the middle (fourth) architrave block simply missing. It would therefore be difficult to make out the meaning of the text, and any pagan associations would be obscured by this scrambling and de-contextualization.

Additional older inscriptions were also incorporated into the temple-church. Two bases celebrating victors in the Klarian games were built into the walls of the church, which in any case seem to have been covered by revetment or mosaics. The reuse of these blocks was therefore pragmatic. A Roman-period cylindrical altar may have likewise been a practical choice for recycling as a basin for holy water standing next to the door opening into the transept from the east. The dedication to Apollo on the altar, however, did require modification. It was partially, and not very thoroughly, erased. The memory of the former god, as well as the basin's status as a reused object, was thereby acknowledged.

Conclusion

As a whole, therefore, the inhabitants of late antique Sagalassos maintained a largely tolerant attitude toward the remnants of their pagan past. This attitude held for both architecture and inscriptions. The city found ways to reuse its former temples, both

as Christian structures and more practical buildings, such as a watchtower. When the Temple of Apollo Klarios was re-built as a church, a decision was made to re-use the architrave with dedication to the god and emperors in the church, rather than simply discarding or re-working the stones. I have suggested rather it may have been arranged in such a way on the columns of the side aisles that the full text could no longer be continuously read, and therefore lost its specific meaning as a pagan dedication. Only a dedication on an altar re-used in the church, visually inescapable and laconic enough to be easily intelligible, inspired a partial erasure. Sagalassos therefore indicates an attitude of tolerance toward pagan inscriptions, and a willingness, not only to passively tolerate the inscribed temple architrave, but to actively rebuild it into the temple-church.

Labraunda: Preservation

The sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria in southwestern Turkey is a rich locale to study the role of memory at a famous pagan site. This is the only case study where the temple was not reused as a church; rather, it seems to have been at least partially disassembled in late antiquity, the same period in which two churches were built on the fringes of the ancient sanctuary. Despite the fact that the temple itself was not being reformulated into a church (or reused at all, as far as is known), we find a late antique attitude toward inscriptions that goes beyond tolerance to active preservation.

History of Labraunda

Labraunda is located in the mountains of ancient Caria (Fig. 17). A distinct ethno-linguistic region, Caria was incorporated into the Persian empire, although it exercised

170

considerable autonomy under the Hekatomnid rulers of the fourth century BCE. The sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos was established at an uncertain early date; by the fourth century, it was a pan-Carian sanctuary where representatives of important towns of the region would gather for festivals, sacrifice, and feasting. It remained an extra-urban sanctuary, rather than a town itself, though some individuals, such as the priests and their servants, likely lived at the site. The sons of Hekatomnos, the famous Maussollos and his brother Idrieus, both contributed significant resources toward monumentalizing the sanctuary of Zeus in the mid fourth century BCE, including a new temple and *andrones*, rooms for ceremonial feasting.

Collective memory was already a shaping force at Labraunda in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; I will therefore describe the role that inscriptions played in these periods before moving to late antiquity. Labraunda continued to exist as basically a Hekatomnid sanctuary through the Hellenistic period, when very little construction activity was carried out at the site; the nearby city of Mylasa took possession of the sanctuary in the third century, though Caria as a whole came under the successive control of different Hellenistic kingdoms (see Chapter 2, 105). Pontus Hellström has argued that during this period, major Carian sanctuaries, such as Labraunda and Amyzon, as well as the Mausoleum in Halikarnassos, functioned as "memory theatres," the preservers and formers of collective Carian identity; they also reminded viewers of the days when Caria had been a semi-independent satrapy and a major player in (eastern Mediterranean) world affairs.[436]

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[436] Hellström, "Sacred Architecture and Karian Identity," 267, 278.

Labraunda fulfilled this role, not only through the impressive and innovative architecture of the Temple of Zeus and the Andrones of Maussollos and Idrieus, but also through the inscriptions that adorned these and other buildings. The penchant of the Hekatomnids for engraving their names in large, bold letters on the architraves of several buildings at Labraunda (the temple, the Andrones, the Oikoi, the South Propylaea) ensured that they remained prominent figures at the site for centuries. Hellström has even argued that the architrave inscription of the Doric House (possibly originally a well-house, located next to the South Propylaea), which, though fragmentary, is reconstructed as a dedication by Idrieus, is in fact a later fake, which attempts to imitate closely the letterforms of the genuine Idrieus inscriptions found at the sanctuary.[437]

At some point in the late second century BCE, earlier inscriptions at Labraunda were copied onto *stelai* and displayed at the sanctuary. These copies included the Olympichos dossier engraved on the temple and andron antae (Chapter 2 (pages)). These letters repeatedly affirmed Mylasa's control of the sanctuary and rights to the proceeds from the sacred land. Though Hellström notes that the originals of this dossier were still visible, the new reconstruction of Carless-Unwinn, Henry, and Aubriet has demonstrated that they were located high on the antae, and therefore would have been difficult or impossible to read from the ground (Fig.18).[438] The *stelai* would therefore make the texts more accessible. Though the precise motivation for the copying of these inscriptions in the late second century BCE is not clear, we can hypothesize that the increasing activity of Rome in the region may have given the Mylasans reason to reaffirm their traditional

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[437] Ibid., 279.
[438] Carless-Unwinn and Henry, "A New Olympichos Inscription," Fig. 5;

ownership of the sanctuary.[439] These and other Hellenistic letters were copied a second time in the Roman imperial period.[440]

Moreover, Roman-period modifications to structures at Labraunda recognized, preserved, and re-used earlier inscriptions. On the temple terrace, the North Stoa, originally built by Maussollos, was re-erected between 102 and 114 CE.[441] This building project reused the antae blocks from Maussollos' stoa, which were covered with inscriptions from the time of that ruler down through the Hellenistic period; new Roman inscriptions were added to them as well. A second building on the temple terrace also reused inscribed blocks from an uncertain Hellenistic building as a part of its façade.[442] These blocks bear inscriptions dating from the Hellenistic period through the Roman period. For example, a single block, B101, bears a decree of the Chrysaoreian League from the third century BCE, a list of names, perhaps priests, from the early imperial period, and a second list of names from the second century CE.[443] In the Roman period, therefore, inscribed texts from Labraunda's past continued to be read, reproduced, and displayed.

The late antique period at the Labraunda sanctuary is somewhat more opaque than the Roman period because of a lack of historical and epigraphic sources, but recent research by Jesper Blid has clarified many of the remains, especially on the periphery of

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[439] We could compare the decision of the priests of Kybele at Pessinous to engrave earlier correspondence that revealed the sanctuary's autonomy in the first century BCE, presumably to encourage Rome to respect the independence of the priests (see Chapter 2, 112).

[440] Crampa, *Labraunda III*, part II, page 87-8.

[441] Peter Liljenstolpe and Patric v. Schmalensee, "The Roman Stoa of Poleites at Labraynda. A Report on Its Architecture," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 21 (1996), 125-148.

[442] Ragnar Hedlund, "Antae in the Afternoon: Notes on the Hellenistic and Roman Architecture of Labraunda," in ΛΑΒΡΥΣ: *Studies Presented to Pontus Hellström*, ed. Lars Karlsson, Susanne Carlsson, and Jesper Blid Kullberg (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014), 57-69.

[443] *I.Labraunda* 44, 113, and 118.

the ancient sanctuary, where two churches were built.[444] The East Church, wedged

between the south and east propylaea and making substantial reuse of the earlier walls of

the East Bath, was excavated in the 1950s, with renewed studying on-going at the time of

writing. The West Church was built outside the ancient temenos, reusing an older stoa

and visible as visitors from Mylasa approached along the road. According to Blid, both

churches were built in the early fifth century.[445] A private bath near the West Church

further suggests a large, late antique villa in that area. It is not surprising that habitation

and worship continued at Labraunda. The sanctuary is situated on a road connecting two

cities (Mylasa and Alinda); goods moving to/from the coast likely traveled this route. The

many natural springs dotting the Labraunda mountainside provided (and still do today) a

reliable source of drinking water. The land is good for olive cultivation and honey. As

pagan worship at the site declined, Labraunda became increasingly an economic, rather

than religious, center.

This transition and the end of pagan cult at Labraunda cannot be dated with any

precision. My fieldwork in the 2017 season investigated two olive presses next to the

ancient Built Tomb at the edge of the sacred area. This intrusion of small-scale

economic/agricultural activity into the formerly monumental terrace of the tomb is

important evidence for the changing use of the site; analysis of the ceramic finds, which

are still being processed, may provide clearer dates for the installation, use, and

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[444] Jesper Blid, "Recent Research on the Churches of Labraunda," in *Labraunda and Karia: Proceedings of the International Symposium Commemorating Sixty Years of Swedish Archaeological Work in Labraunda*, ed. Lars Karlsson and Susanne Carlsson (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2011), 99-108; Jesper Blid, *Felicium temporum reparatio: Labraunda in Late Antiquity (c. AD 300-600)* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2012); Jesper Blid, *Labraunda 4: Remains of Late Antiquity* (Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2016).
[445] Blid, *Labraunda* 4, 124; 176.

abandonment of these presses.[446] The original excavations of the Temple of Zeus itself in

the 1948-51 seasons were little concerned with the final use phases of the temple; they

record later walls built across the cella and pronaos of the temple, and mention that three

limekilns were found on or to the east of the temple.[447] If the excavators' interpretation

was correct, the presence of a limekiln at the temple would be interesting; the need for

lime mortar implies major construction activity at Labraunda. Could pieces of the temple

marble have been reconstituted as mortar for the construction activity at the churches?[448]

We will likely never be able to date the burning of temple blocks with any precision.

Gneiss geisons from the temple were reused as paving slabs in the annex (a house?)

added to Andron B at an uncertain date, probably the Byzantine period, but the

disassembly of the temple may have begun much earlier.[449]

What is interesting, however, is what did not end up in the limekiln. Excavations

have uncovered numerous pieces of marble sculpture, architectural fragments, and (to

date) one hundred thirty-seven inscriptions. Some inscriptions ended up as construction

material in the baths or churches, but many were found close to their original locations,

e.g., the many statue bases east of the temple, and most of the building architraves. The

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[446] A preliminary report is forthcoming: Anna Sitz, "Two Olive Presses near the Built Tomb: the BTC and BTP Excavations," in Oliver Henry, et al., "Labraunda 2017," *Anatolia Antiqua* 26 (2018).
[447] The notebooks were discussed and summarized by Pontus Hellström and Thomas Thieme in the publication on the Temple of Zeus: *Labraunda I.3: The Temple of Zeus* (Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1982), 7-8. Photographs of a limekiln are mentioned in this notebook summary, and a news article about the Labraunda excavation by Axel Perrson in the *Illustrated London News* (1949) includes a photograph that appears to show one of the later walls next to the temple. I thank Pontus Hellström for many fruitful conversations about material from Labraunda.
[448] Blid notes that the eastern parts of the East Church (i.e., the parts that did not reuse walls of the bath), was constructed with a mortared rubble technique – so lime mortar would have been necessary. Jesper Blid, "New Research on Carian Labraunda in Late Antiquity," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 31-32 (2006-2007): 233; Blid, *Labraunda 4*, 148.
[449] Pontus Hellström, "Architectural Layout of Hecatomnid Labraunda," *Revue Archéologique* 2 (1991): 301.

Oikoi building, a two-room structure standing next to the temple and perhaps originally

serving the priests of Zeus Labraundos, seems to have taken on a different function in late

antiquity but maintained its architrave dedication. A brick dome supported by four brick

and masonry piers was built into the larger, southern room of the Oikoi. The function and

date of this brick domed structure is not clear: it could be a tomb of a local notable, or

perhaps a small martyrium to create a new religious focal point of the site immediately

facing the Temple of Zeus. Blid argues that the span of the dome (about five meters) is

larger than was typical for the middle Byzantine period (during which time there was a

settlement on the acropolis), and it should therefore date from late antiquity.[450]

Perhaps around the same time as the brick dome, or, as Blid suggests, earlier in

the Roman period, the smaller northern room of the Oikoi received a brick base or altar,

built abutting its back (western) wall.[451] Alfred Westholm identified the base as a

Christian altar, which is a tempting interpretation alongside the potential-martyrium in

the south room.[452] But the orientation of the "altar" (on the west wall), along with a lack

of other evidence, makes this unlikely. Blid suggests that it may rather be a base to hold a

statue or other object. A fourth-century BCE bronze *kline* leg in the shape of a dog was

also found in the north room of the Oikoi in 1951, as well as fragments of several Roman

inscription plaques.[453] We could therefore raise the possibility that in late antiquity, the

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[450] Blid, *Labraunda 4*, 195-197; Lynne Lancaster's research on vaulting makes it clear that brick sail vaults (i.e. domes) could be found in Asia Minor as early as the third or second half of second century CE: Lynne C. Lancaster, *Innovative Vaulting in the Architecture of the Roman Empire: 1st to 4th Centuries CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 83. An earlier date for the Labraunda dome can therefore not be entirely excluded, but late antiquity is still the more likely option.
[451] Blid, "New Research," 251-252; Blid, *Labraunda 4*, 196-197.
[452] Alfred Westholm, *Labraunda I*, Part 2: *The Architecture of the Hieron* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963), 92.
[453] Inge Dahlen, "Fragments of a Kline from Labraunda," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 2 (1955): 37-46. It was found in a corner of the room, sitting above the sand substructure of the floor – so it had been brought in

north room of the Oikoi may have functioned as a display or storage place for historical items from the sanctuary. Whatever the function of the two rooms of the Oikoi in late antiquity, it apparently happened under the memory of Idrieus and Zeus Labraundos. It is very probable that that the architrave inscription (*I.Labraunda* #17) remained in place on the front of the building, as is shown in Blid's reconstruction drawing of the late antique Oikoi, but not commented upon by him.[454] Its state of preservation is excellent on all but the first block (which is weathered). The dedication to ΔΙΙ ΛΑΜΒΡΑΥΝΔΩΙ was not erased or modified in any way.

Though not all the architrave blocks from the various buildings around Labraunda are fully preserved, only one shows any evidence of later erasure. The architrave of the South Propylaea, on which Idrieus dedicated the entry gate of the sanctuary to Zeus Labraundos, was found out of place.[455] Crampa notes that the upper fascia of one block is "re-worked with a cruder chisel," which (though he does not state it) amounts to the erasure of the inscription.[456] It is perhaps no surprise that this architrave may have been partially erased and disassembled for reuse in late antiquity. The South Propylaea would have been the main entrance to the sanctuary still in that period, and it was located

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after the floor was removed and is certainly not evidence that the Oikoi was used for feasting, as is sometimes suggested. Most of the inscriptions found were Roman copies of Hellenistic documents. The texts are *I.Labraunda* #1B, 2, 10, 53, 55, 87, 88, and 102. Crampa states that these plaques were used as revetment to cover the walls of the Oikoi, but this seems unlikely to me. The plaques range from four to seven centimeters wide, quite thick for revetment, and in any case there are no holes for revetment on the walls of the Oikoi. It should also be noted that a limekiln was found on the porch of the Oikoi, which presumably post-dates all other activity there (i.e., the construction of the brick dome and the use of the north room for display/storage), as one would hardly want to burn marble at the entrance of a still-functioning building. Again, it is of note that the architrave and the fragments of plaques from inside the north room, as well as various other elements of the Oikoi's marble architecture, were not thrown in the kiln. The notebooks from 1950 and 1951 might provide more clarity on this subject. I thank Pontus Hellström and Olivier Henry for discussing these inscriptions with me.

[454] Blid, *Labraunda 4*, Fig. 216.
[455] *I.Labraunda* #18, blocks A 16 A, A 16 B, and K 81.
[456] Crampa, *Labraunda III*, Part 2, 15.

immediately in front of the East Church. An architrave identifying the gate (and, by extension, the entire sanctuary behind it) as a dedication to Zeus could hardly have been desirable immediately in front of the church. Yet several other architrave dedications around the sanctuary show no sign of erasure. The dedication of Andron B, for example, is nearly entirely preserved, including the portion to Zeus.

The Temple and Inscriptions

This general attitude of tolerance and preservation extended also to inscriptions from the Temple of Zeus. Although some blocks from the architrave of the temple are missing (including the one bearing the name "Zeus"), the remaining blocks show no sign of erasure.[457] As described in Chapter 2 (pages), four blocks from the antae of the temple, including two with inscriptions, have been found inside Andron A. Though most of the scholarly attention so far has focused on these texts as historical documents and as architectural pieces to reconstruct the original appearance of the Temple of Zeus, the process by which they ended up in the Andron is also deserving of closer attention.[458]

The four blocks of the temple that were found in Andron A are: an uninscribed block from the lower part of the temple's southwest anta; the inscribed antae blocks of *I.Labraunda* 137 and *I.Labraunda* 1, both also from the temple's southwest anta; and an anta capital, probably from the same anta (Fig. 19).[459] All of the blocks are in a good state of preservation, with the inscription faces of *I.Labraunda* 1 and *I.Labraunda* 137

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[457] Cat. #1, *I.Labraunda* #16.

[458] Carless-Unwinn and Henry discuss the findspot in the Andron as "noteworthy" and write that it is unclear why the blocks from the temple anta were moved into this building: "A New Olympichos Inscription," 38, n. 53.

[459] Cat. #77. These are blocks (M 50), (M 02), (AB 3), and (M 03), respectively. Not in the Andron, two additional adjoining inscribed blocks (*I.Labraunda* #3, blocks AB 2 and AB 1) were found next to the temple's southwest anta, whence they are presumed to have come.

undamaged.[460] The inscribed blocks are estimated to have come from approximately five

meters high on the antae; it is therefore unlikely that they would have survived an

accidental fall from the antae during an earthquake or collapse. Rather, we can expect

that these inscriptions and the capital were intentionally taken down at some point after

the temple had fallen out of use and carefully moved into the Andron.

The newly discovered *I.Labraunda* 137 furthermore offers evidence of an active

desire to save the inscription. The block has deep cut marks on its top, right, and left

sides, about thirty centimeters behind the inscription face (Fig. 20).[461] This suggests that

an attempt was made to separate the inscription from the rest of the block, presumably

with the intention of reusing, displaying, or conserving the inscription elsewhere. The

cutting activity was abandoned in *medias res*, and the inscription was never separated

from its anta block. The date of moving the blocks into the Andron is not clear, but we

can expect it occurred in late antiquity, when there was significant construction activity at

the site in the form of the East and West churches, rather than later, when most settlement

and activity had moved onto the acropolis.[462]

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[460] *I.Labraunda* 1 is worn on the lower left corner, probably from post-depositional processes. The good state of preservation is observed by Carless-Unwinn and Henry, "A New Olympichos Inscription," 38, n.53.

[461] Either before or after this attempt at cutting the block, dowel holes and a single larger circular cutting were added to it, all inconsistent with the block's original use on the anta. These may perhaps relate to the late olive press also found in the Andron. See Carless Unwinn and Henry, 37 n. 40.

[462] Olivier Henry et al., "Labraunda 2014," *Anatolia Antiqua* 23 (2015): 334-335. In any case, the move happened before the late tenth century, since the anta capital was found below an ashlar floor of approximately that date, in the context of several late or post antique pits inside the Andron; see Anna Sitz and Olivier Henry, "Andrôn A," in Olivier Henry et al., "Labraunda 2015," *Anatolia Antiqua* 24 (2016): 416-424. *I.Labraunda* 137 may have also lain below a portion of this floor. The final deposition of *I.Labraunda* 137 is curious – it was deposited upside down in a rectangular pit cut through a preserved portion of the Hekatomnid plaster floor. Based on its size and the straight cut edges, it appears that the pit was cut specifically to receive the block of *I.Labraunda* 137. The reason behind this is, however, not clear.

Conclusion

In short, inscriptions played a significant role in shaping collective memory at Labraunda in Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Roman times. Late antique Labraunda saw the addition of new, Christian sites of worship on the periphery of the classical temenos. The fate of the temple is unclear, but it seems at some point to have been intentionally disassembled, and partially burnt in a limekiln. The epigraphy of the site largely escaped this fiery demise. The attitude toward the many older inscriptions was generally tolerant, including to inscriptions mentioning Zeus Labraundos in prominent places (i.e. on architraves). The evidence at two locations, the Oikoi and Andron A, suggests that earlier inscriptions were not only tolerated, but actively preserved, as seen in the attempted cutting of the inscription block *I.Labraunda* #137 and the potential storage or display of inscriptions in the Oikoi. Labraunda, therefore, represents a long history of engagement with epigraphy to shape site identity, revealing in late antiquity an attitude not only of tolerance, but even active preservation of older inscriptions.

Corycian Cave (Cilicia): Preservation and Modification

On the cliff high above the Corycian Cave in Cilicia (southern Asia Minor), a temple was disassembled in late antiquity and its blocks rebuilt into a church. As at Sagalassos, inscribed pieces of the temple were incorporated into the Christian holy space. Here, however, subsequent worshippers may have been less tolerant toward the spoliated inscriptions than the builders of the temple-church.

History of the Corycian Cave

The Corycian Cave (Κωρύκειον ἄντρον) in Cilicia is one of the most impressive natural features in the region, and undoubtedly has attracted the attention of humans for millennia (Fig. 21).[463] There are actually two deep depressions at the site, one known colloquially today as Heaven (Cennet) and the other as Hell (Cehennem).[464] In antiquity, the inaccessible cave, Cehennem, was believed to be the location where Zeus imprisoned the monster Typhon. The other cave, Cennet, is accessible to visitors, who must walk down a path into the gorge-like depression before entering the cave. A wall perhaps of the Hellenistic period seems to have closed the opening of the cave; a Christian chapel dedicated to the Theotokos was later built on the site, possibly in the sixth century.[465] The Corycian Cave was therefore the focal point of a long cultural memory, perhaps including collective fear of the mythic evil entity entrapped in the cave, and the need of a divine protector to keep it there.

The Clifftop Temple and Inscriptions

Above the cave, set a few meters back from the cliff edge, stood a late Hellenistic Doric temple *in antis* (see Chapter 2, 98-99). Though often called the Temple of Zeus in scholarship, it may rather have been dedicated to Hermes; I follow Bayliss in calling it the "Clifftop Temple."[466] The date of construction is difficult to ascertain, but Feld and Weber have tentatively suggested the first half of the second century BCE.[467] The temple

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[463] Not to be confused with a cave by the same name in Boeotia in Greece.
[464] For an overview of the site, see Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5: Kilikien und Isaurien*, Part 1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 314-315.
[465] Feld and Weber, "Tempel und Kirche," 102-3; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 85.
[466] Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 81.
[467] Feld and Weber, "Tempel und Kirche," 263.

lacked the surrounding columns of a peristasis; the cella walls were constructed from

ashlar limestone blocks, a single block wide. The structure was later rebuilt as a church,

making it difficult to fully understand the architecture of the original building (Fig. 22).

The Christian structure was built both from reused ashlars from the temple, and other

disparate construction material. Its highest courses, sitting on top of the ashlar walls, were

built of *Kleinquaderwerk* masonry (Fig. 23). It had a gallery, as evidenced by the large

timber holes carved into the highest ashlar course. The church likely dates to the late fifth

century, based on Feld and Weber's dating of a pier capital in the apse.[468] To the south of

the temple-church, a number of small, Roman or late-Roman houses are visible,

suggesting that this sacred site attracted a settlement in later times. It is unclear when the

church and settlement were abandoned.[469]

The church was in fact only continuing a tradition of memorializing older

religious spaces at the site, as visitors would see when they entered the atrium of the

church. The Hellenistic temple had sat in a temenos closed by an older wall, built in

polygonal masonry, which could potentially date to any time between the archaic and

Hellenistic periods.[470] This polygonal wall was left *in situ* as a ready-made atrium for the

new church. Regardless of whether people in late antiquity had any real sense of how old

this wall actually was, it did clearly evoke the distant, pre-Roman past through its

distinctive masonry style and contrast with the temple-church, which was constructed of

dressed ashlars.

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[468] Ibid., 277; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 84 accepts this date for the conversion.
[469] Twelfth-century frescoes added to the small chapel at the mouth of the Corycian Cave, below this clifftop temple, at the least attests to continued medieval interest in the area.
[470] Feld and Weber, "Tempel und Kirche," 263. The date of the wall is unclear; the polygonal masonry technique could date from archaic, classical, or Hellenistic times.

Early visitors to the site mistakenly believed that the north wall of the temple was still standing and simply reused *in situ* in the plan of the church, but Feld and Weber, followed by Bayliss, have now demonstrated that the temple was first fully disassembled before being rebuilt as a larger, three-aisled basilica.[471] The temple stood somewhere in the area of the church, but its precise foundations have not been identified. In some cases, blocks in the wall of the church are completely out of place, as in the reuse of a stylobate block with the carved impression of the termination of a column built into the orthostate course of north wall. Only in one section of the wall have the blocks been rebuilt in their exact original arrangement: the northeast anta of the temple, now the northeast corner of the church.

It is this anta which bears a lengthy list of names on its front face, with continuing lists on its inner (south) side and some of the adjoining wall blocks (Fig. 24). As discussed in Chapter 2, these names with patronymics are most likely priests of the temple; the list on the front of the anta was probably engraved in Augustan times (which therefore contained names stretching many generations back), and names were added to the side of the anta at least into the third century.[472] Not all the inscribed names would have been visible after the blocks were re-erected as part of the church, however. The transverse wall of the north aisle (i.e. the wall running from the edge of the main apse to the north wall of the church) covered the face of the anta with the earliest, Augustan list of names. These inscriptions were therefore preserved out of sight for centuries, while those on the inner (south) side of the anta were now located in the aisle of the church.

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[471] Cat. #67; Feld and Weber, "Tempel und Kirche," 256-259; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 81.
[472] Unfortunately, the southern corner of this anta has suffered significant damage since Heberdey and Wilhelm (*Reisen in Kilikien*, 73-76) published their drawing of the inscriptions.

Although these blocks are each in their original position in the anta, two of them (the fourth and fifth blocks from the top) are placed upside down in the re-erected anta. Feld and Weber suggested that the workmen were simply illiterate and did not realize their mistake, while Bayliss rather argues that the blocks were placed in such a way intentionally so that "the scarred faces would be obscured beneath the interior plaster."[473] By "scarred faces," I assume that he means the rough beam-holes carved on these blocks, two on the fourth and a single large aperture on the fifth. Bayliss attributes the "scarred faces" to damage incurred during the dismantling of the temple, though he does not specify which construction activity would require the carving of beam-holes. Neither Bayliss nor other scholars have yet noted, however, that, when turned right-side up, the holes carved on the upper (fourth from the top) block would be in line with the continuing line of holes carved on the subsequent blocks of the north wall, assuming that those blocks too have been reversed so that their outer face is now on the interior (Fig. 24).[474] Only the anta blocks have been turned upside down, because they could not simply be rotated a hundred eighty degrees on their axis to make the outer face the inner due to the setback on their sides.

I propose that this line of holes is evidence for a rough built-on added to the temple while it still stood in its original form, before it was dismantled to build the church. It therefore dates to the transitional period of late antiquity, most likely after the

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[473] Feld and Weber, "Tempel und Kirche," 257; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 83. Other than mentioning this upside-down arrangement, Bayliss does not otherwise comment on the presence of older inscription on the walls of the temple-church.

[474] The lower (fifth) block, which also has a large cavity carved into it, finds its parallel in the same course on the north wall, father to the west. Presumably the same procedure (turning the outer face of the block inwards) took place with these blocks as well.

temple fell out of use but before its re-erection in the late fifth century. It was apparently a concern of the builders that the outer façade of the church be smooth and regular in appearance, while the inner wall – in a dark, windowless side aisle – was less of a priority. Bayliss has also noted how the portions of the church visible from its forecourt (formed by the old temenos wall) was constructed of temple ashlars, and therefore more regular and impressive in appearance than the south wall of the church, which was built of mixed, smaller stones and visible primarily from the surrounding settlement.[475] In any case, the face of this northeast anta was subsequently covered by the transverse wall, therefore making it a moot point whether the texts were right-side up or not.

What to make of this intentional re-construction of the temple's northeast anta as a part of the church? Bayliss argues that it made construction sense to use the anta blocks all together, since they were already dressed to the same size.[476] The orthostate blocks from the temple were, according to him, likewise reused to make an orthostate for the north wall of the church, since this made it easier to create level courses, in addition to the aesthetic effect. One could question, however, whether it truly made sense from a construction perspective to rebuild the anta at the northeast corner of the church. The result was that the east wall of the church was not bonded with the north wall, hardly an ideal situation from a structural point of view. Furthermore, blocks from the temple's other anta were used in wall construction elsewhere in the church; this material clearly

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[475] Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 84.
[476] Ibid., 83.

185

could be incorporated into the non-homogenous building material used for the church's south wall.[477]

Rather, I suggest that when confronted with older inscriptions on the anta's front and side, the attitude of the builders tended toward preservation, even if some of the inscribed names would be hidden behind a wall. When re-erecting portions of the temple cella walls as the north wall of the church, the inscribed blocks functioned like the pictures printed on puzzle pieces, making it possible to re-assemble them in the correct order without exceeding difficulty or numbering the blocks.[478] The church construction phase was not the end of the story for these inscribed blocks, however. Some names on the interior wall of the anta/interior wall of the north side aisle have been haphazardly erased, probably as a discrete event after the church construction (Fig. 25). The erasures are visible only on the lower courses of the blocks – i.e., where individuals could reach without the aid of a ladder. In most cases, only parts of names are erased. The overall impression is of spontaneous, non-programmatic erasure, likely carried out by individual worshippers who came across the names on the walls and decided to hack at them.[479]

An additional inscribed block was also reused in the church in a location where it was visible. At the west end of the church, three doors open from the façade into a small narthex. The jamb of the southern door incorporates a wall block inscribed with names; it

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[477] It is unclear why the south anta was not rebuilt as well. Perhaps too many of the blocks had been damaged or had already been taken for re-use elsewhere. Bayliss argues that ashlars from the temple were also used in constructing the small chapel at the mouth of the Corycian cave below the temples (Ibid., 84).
[478] There is no evidence that these blocks were numbered, although of course not all faces are visible.
[479] Bayliss assumes that the whole interior of the church was plastered, which would have covered the inscriptions; significant portions of plaster survive in the apse, and potential traces of it may be seen on the north wall. It is unclear, however, from which period the plaster dates. At Sagalassos, the white plaster on the wall of the north transept of the temple-church clearly dated to the middle Byzantine repair of the structure. At the Corycian Cave temple, the presence of the erasures suggests that the plaster there may likewise have been a later addition to the church.

does not come from an anta, but perhaps originated from the wall contiguous with the temple's southeast anta, which was likewise inscribed with names.[480] The block is set low in the door jamb, and therefore may not have been immediately noticeable to those entering the church. Yet, the block could have been positioned in reverse, with its unworked back face toward the viewer: the block above it in the door jamb has just such an unfinished face. There was, therefore, at the least no effort to hide this older inscription during the construction of the church.

Conclusion

The overall attitude of those building the church from the blocks of the Clifftop Temple above the Corycian Cave in the late fifth century tended toward not only tolerance of earlier, pagan-era inscriptions, but even the impulse to actively preserve these older texts when possible. I am not suggesting that these inscriptions were intentionally displayed in the church as decorative or historical features, but only that the construction logic of the temple-church took them into account alongside other consideration, such as aesthetics. The desire to preserve the inscribed texts, even if hidden behind a wall, impacted the decision to fully re-build the temple anta in the northeast corner of the church, where the structure could have been made stronger by instead bonding the transverse east wall with the anta blocks. I have further argued that the beam holes on this wall are not related to the church, but attest an intermediary use of the temple after it had closed for worship but before the conversion. As at Ankara, the priests preserved on the anta came from the local Cilician community, and some of the names are linguistically Cilician as well. The church, built from the temple blocks and

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[480] This inscription is mentioned by Feld and Weber, "Tempel und Kirche," 259.

with this list of names and other inscriptions, contrasted with its older, polygonal masonry atrium/temenos. We therefore have a site were memories were layered, physically building on traces of older sacred structures. The texts preserved on older blocks were simply another feature of this *locus* of memory.

Aizanoi: Tolerance and Its Limits

Aizanoi in Phrygia, in central Anatolia, offers the rare opportunity to study the fate of inscriptions on two different temples. These are the Temple of Zeus, built under Domitian, which stood as a monumental complex at the heart of the Roman city, and the Temple of Artemis, smaller and built under Claudius, which also stood within the city.[481] As we shall see, the two sanctuaries provide evidence of two distinct impulses: tolerance and preservation at the one, erasure and un-naming at the other. I argue that these were not random or contradictory responses, but rather were specific responses to both the text of the inscriptions and their contexts.

History of Aizanoi

The Hellenistic city of Aizanoi was greatly expanded in Roman times, with all the necessary foundations of a Greco-Roman *polis* – a bath-gymnasium, a spectacular theater-stadium complex, an agora, colonnaded streets, and temples (Fig. 26). It was built on both banks of the river Penkalas, which still runs through the present-day village of Çavdarhisar; three well-preserved bridges from the Roman period span the river even today. The Christian history of the city is not especially well known, as we lack primary written sources from that period. Aizanoi was the seat of a bishop, who attended Nicaea I

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[481] See Chapter 2, 75.

in 325.[482] Several Christian worship spaces were established in the city, all reusing earlier structures. A small chapel was added to the stadium/theater complex at some point; a church was built into the Mosaic Bath after the fourth or fifth century; the round building (Macellum) became a chapel in the sixth century.[483] A church was also installed in the Temple of Zeus; the date of this conversion is contested, and will be discussed below. In contrast with this practice of recycling buildings within the city, a large number of architectural fragments found at villages throughout the ancient city's hinterland attest that many elaborately decorated churches existed in the periphery.[484] From the seventh century onwards, the city contracted and lost much of its influence. Christians continued to occupy the city until the town was overtaken by Çavdars (Tatars) in the thirteenth century; they left their name to the modern village (Çavdarhisar).

The Temple of Zeus

The monumental Temple of Zeus is one of the best preserved in all of Asia Minor (Fig. 27). Much of the temple cella walls and peristasis have been standing since antiquity. The temple is pseudo-dipteral and is built, unusually, on top of a large, vaulted subterranean chamber accessible via a staircase (Fig. 28).[485] It may be the case that Zeus

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[482] Klaus Belke and Norbert Mersich, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 7: *Phrygien und Pisidien* (Vienna: Österreischischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 201.

[483] Klaus Rheidt, *Aizanoi: Çavdarhisar. Führer durch die Ruinen* (Ankara: Dönmez, 1998), 17; Philipp Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien: Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 144-148.

[484] Philipp Niewöhner, "Aizanoi, Anatolien und der Nahe Osten: Siedlungsentwicklung, Demographie und Klima in frühbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Aizanoi und Anatolien: Neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie im Hochland des westlichen Kleinasien*, ed. Klaus Rheidt (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2010), 146-153.

[485] A similar subterranean chamber can be seen at the temple of the Palace of Diocletian at Split – although that temple is much smaller than the one at Aizanoi. For further reconstructions of the Temple of Zeus, see Thekla Schulz, "Die Gebälk- und Dachkonstruktion des Zeustempels," in *Aizanoi und Anatolien: Neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie im Hochland des westlichen Kleinasien*, ed. Klaus Rheidt (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2010), 88-97.

shared the temple with Kybele, a popular goddess in Phrygia, that an oracle was located

underneath the temple, or that the space had a practical function, such as a storeroom.[486]

The walled opisthodomos held a staircase going into the vaulted substructure, as well as

another staircase leading up to the roof. The temple stood at the center of a large, paved

temenos bordered with porticoes. The entire complex was built by digging into and

leveling a bronze-age settlement mound. The construction of the temple was initially

attributed to the Hadrianic period, because the earliest inscriptions preserved on its walls

date from the reign of that emperor, but the recent decipherment of the dowel holes for

bronze letters forming an architrave dedication revealed that the temple was rather from

the time of Domitian (r. 81-96 CE).[487]

 At some point, the Temple of Zeus became a church (Fig. 29).[488] The dating and

circumstances of this conversion have not yet been settled. First, it is necessary to review

the general history of the temple courtyard, bordered by its temenos walls, in the post

Roman period.[489] Due to substantial later disturbances, little can be known about the late

antique period in this area. The altar to Zeus, located to the east of the temple, was largely

deconstructed, presumably in late antiquity, with traces of it remaining just above ground

level. The evidence for the temple courtyard becomes clearer for later periods. A number

of tiles graves, likely dating from sometime between the seventh through the ninth

centuries, were dug into the area to the south and east of the temple podium, although

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[486] Rheidt, *Aizanoi: Çavdarhisar*, 6.

[487] Jes, Posamentir, and Wörrle, "Der Tempel des Zeus."

[488] For the church, see Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, 76-77; Klaus Rheidt, "Die Ausgrabungen und Forschungen 1997 bis 2000," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2001): 241-267; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 153-156.

[489] For the excavation, see Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, 41-42.

grave finds were lacking.[490] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Byzantine houses built of *spolia* were constructed throughout the temple courtyard, including over the earlier graves. The entire temenos portico was robbed out and rebuilt as a fortification wall, thereby creating a fortified settlement centered around the ancient, still-standing temple. By the thirteenth century, the area fell in to the hands of the non-Christian Çavdars and the church presumably became defunct at that time. The walls of the Byzantine settlement were substantially robbed out at some later point, as this and other *spolia* became building material for the village that is still on the site today. It is therefore quite difficult to reconstruct the condition of the temple court at the time of the church's construction.

The process of converting the pagan temple into a church necessitated architectural alterations to the older structure. The orientation of the temple was reversed so that the entrance was in the west, where two pre-existing doors opened into the opisthodomos. New doorways would therefore have been cut into the back wall of the cella, creating entrances into the nave though a very narrow, cramped narthex in the space of the former opisthodomos.[491] Any alterations to the nave/cella cannot be seen today due to the damaged or missing walls; the preserved north wall of the cella is unaltered, without the addition of windows. In the east, a single, large apse was built in the area formerly occupied by the pronaos; no longer visible at all today, traces of it were seen in the nineteenth century and again in the excavation of Krencker and Schede in the

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[490] Rheidt, "Forschungen 1997 bis 2000," 252.
[491] The rear (western) wall of the cella is missing today.

1920s, and subsequently published by Naumann (Fig. 30).[492] The apse began just in front

of the antae and extended over the pronaos, where the columns had been removed or

collapsed by the time of the apse construction. The original east wall of the cella, which

had been the temple's entrance, was still in place while the temple was used as a church.

We can see this from the marks of a later fire in the cella, which substantially damaged

the stone on the inside of the room. The fire damage stops before the pronaos wall and

the wall separating the cella from the opisthodomos, indicating that both were in place at

the time.[493] It is therefore likely that the original door to the temple was simply left open,

creating a sort of choir in the former pronaos between the nave and the apse.

The date of the reuse of the temple has usually been assumed to be late antique;

Jacobs suggests that the conversion happened early, around 400 CE, because the

construction of the new porticoed street (*Säulenstraße*) to the southwest of the temple

court would have brought increased access and attention to this central sector of the

city.[494] Niewöhner, on the other hand, proposes that the conversion did not take place

until much later, in the Transitional period (seventh to mid-ninth century) or Middle

Byzantine period (mid-ninth to early thirteenth century). He wants to bring the

conversion into the context of the eleventh-century fortification towers added to the

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[492] Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie mineure par Mrs. Alexandre de Laborde* (Paris: Didot, 1838), 55; Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, 76; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 153.

[493] Based on the damage to the cornice of the inscription field of the pronaos, I furthermore suggest that the wall next to the temple door may have had an additional small window opening or door carved in to it during the church phase. This fire is briefly mentioned by Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, 18, but he does not specifically describe the areas that were burnt, nor the (apparent) decision at some later point to completely remove the damaged east and south walls.

[494] For this *Säulenstraße* in general, see Klaus Rhedit, "Aizanoi: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1992 und 1993," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1995): 696-715; Klaus Rheidt, "Archäologie und Spätantike in Anatolien. Methoden, Ergebnisse und Probleme der Ausgrabungen in Aizanoi," in *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, ed. Gunnar Brands and Hans-Georg Severin (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003): 239-248.

temenos wall and argues that at that period, the Byzantine inhabitants of Aizanoi

retreated within this protected area and built an extensive settlement there. He raises the

possibility that the inscription of 1004/5, which states that the *naos* was renovated by

Michael the archdeacon, could use "*naos*" in the sense of pagan temple rather than an

earlier phase of the church, meaning that the conversion of the temple could date to the

early eleventh century.[495] Niewöhner further notes that the plan of this church is not

typical of late antiquity, since it lacks a proper narthex, aisles, galleries, and would have

been rather dark in the naos since windows were not carved in the north and south walls,

as they were at the temple in Ankara, for example. He also examines the archaeology of

the sector to reconstruct the sequence of events in the post-Roman temple courtyard. His

hypothesis of a very late conversion, however, seems unlikely to me. It is therefore worth

looking at these arguments more closely.

Niewöhner's assessment of the archaeological remains goes as follows.[496] First,

the area within the temenos, including the temple's podium and some of the courtyard

paving, was robbed out, and the material was taken elsewhere for reuse. The graves were

dug into the area surrounding the temple. Then, the first destruction of the temple

occurred, when the columns, entablature, and *acroteria* of the southeast section of the

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[495] Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 153. The full text of the inscription reads:
+Ἀνεκ(αι)νήσθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτ(ος)
παρὰ Μιχ(αὴλ) ἀρχ(ι)διακό(νου) κ(αὶ) δο...
ἐτ. /Ϛ φιγ᾿ἰνδ. Γ᾿
κ(αὶ) οἱ ἀναγινό(σ)κοντες εὔ-
χεσθ(ε) ὑπ(ερ) αὐτοῦ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς συνχωρέσῃ τὸν
"+This church/temple was made new
By Michael the archdeacon and do…
In the year 1004/5, third indiction
And those of you reading this,
Pray for him: "O God, keep the (man)."
MAMA IX #557. My translation.
[496] Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 153-155.

temple collapsed. These debris remained lying until they were re-arranged in the eleventh century as foundations for houses (Fig. 31). This indicates that there was no longer a need for *spolia* at the time of the temple collapse, as there had been earlier, when the courtyard was robbed out. According to Niewöhner, the church apse was erected only after this destruction, since the *pronaos* columns were already gone. Additionally, much of the floor of the pronaos was already missing. He rejects Rheidt's suggestion that the robbing out of the temple courtyard may have been done in order to provide construction material for the church, since it would not make sense to create unsightly, ravaged remains immediately adjacent to the new Christian structure.[497] The conversion involved a fairly simple construction process, in Niewöhner's assessment, in contrast to other more elaborate temple churches, such as at Aphrodisias and Diocaesarea in Cilicia. He acknowledges that the temple most likely already functioned as a church by the time burials were dug nearby, which could date to the seventh to ninth centuries. His conclusion is that there was no church in the Temple of Zeus in late antiquity.

I take issue with some of Niewöhner's points. First, the pronaos columns (missing before the construction of the apse) need not have fallen at the same time as what Niewöhner terms the "first destruction of the temple," when the outer peristasis columns and entablature collapsed onto the robbed-out podium. The circuit of the apse stops short

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[497] Rheidt, "Forschungen 1997 bis 2000," 249; Klaus Rheidt, "Frühe Zeiten – späten Zeiten. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte Anatoliens," in *Lux orientis. Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa. Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann*, ed. Rainer Michael Boehmer and Josef Maran (Leidorf: Rahden, 2001), 339-344, at 343. Rheidt and Niewöhner both suggest that the level of the temple courtyard had been significantly lowered (by 1.5-2m) from the original Roman ground level in late antiquity. One could note, however, that in many places on Naumann's plans of the temple peristasis collapse, the architectural debris is lying on top of the apparently *in situ* temple courtyard paving slabs. This implies that the change in elevation was more a matter of happenstance, such as erosion, digging the foundations of a house, or burying the dead, rather than a concerted program of spoliation and soil removal.

of where the peristasis columns would have stood, suggesting to me that these outer columns may have still been in place when the apse was built, as Naumann had already noted.[498] Rather, the pronaos columns may have been removed intentionally for the construction of the church; the removal of pronaos columns to create space for an apse can also be seen in Athens at the Hephaesteion, whose conversion has recently been re-dated to the fifth century (Fig. 1).[499] The roofing of the temple at Aizanoi would have been altered in this process as well, probably being rebuilt as a timber roof covering the cella and pronaos and meeting the vault of the apse. As at the Hephaesteion, the outer peristasis, entablature, and even the gable could continue to stand after the conversion, collapsing only later.

Second, Niewöhner asserts that the floor of the pronaos was already partially missing before the construction of the apse.[500] This is difficult to ascertain, as substantial post-Byzantine disruptions in the area make it possible that some, or the majority, of the losses came later. True, the remains of the apse excavated by Krencker and Schede were not sitting on floor blocks, but these may have been removed precisely in order to construct the foundations of this apse. The portions of the apse found in the excavation are, indeed, likely to be foundations – the level of the floor inside the cella/nave was higher than that of the pronaos, suggesting that the actual floor of the apse would have been raised to create a step up into the sanctuary rather than down into a sunken apse.[501]

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[498] Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, 76.

[499] Sturm, "The Afterlife of the Hephaisteion," 814-819. The conversion was previously dated to the seventh century based on architectural carving.

[500] Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 153.

[501] The first western traveler to see the temple-church, Laborde (*Voyage de l'Asie mineure*, 55), refers to the substructure of an apse. A cross in a medallion is carved on one of the blocks of the pronaos floor, but this

The original floor of the pronaos would therefore no longer have been visible, but instead covered underneath a higher apse floor. Furthermore, Niewöhner's suggestion that "*naos*" in the 1004/5 may refer to a renovation of the pagan temple is unlikely. *Naos* was the standard term used to refer to churches in the eleventh century; one would expect the author of the inscription to have qualified it in some way if it was referring to a previously unconverted pagan temple, perhaps calling it a 'false naos,' an 'ancient naos,' or some such.

I agree with Niewöhner that the church is rather atypical in plan and unlikely to be the late antique cathedral of the city, but I still think that the plan fits better into late antiquity than in the middle Byzantine period. The single apse itself presents no difficulty, as numerous other late antique temple-churches in Bayliss' catalog likewise have only one apse. In terms of using the entire cella as a single nave, the Aizanoi temple-church finds its closest late antique parallels in the Hephaesteion in Athens and the Bêt Djaluk temple in Phoenice.[502] Transitional period and Middle Byzantine churches likewise usually had tripartite sanctuaries, so the plan fits no better in those periods. The combination of the two doors opening into the narthex, as well as probable windows in the apse and the two doors at the side of the apse, would allow adequate light to enter. It may also be the case that windows were carved into the now-missing southwest wall of the nave, as at Ankara, where windows were cut into only the southeast wall of the temple-church.

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graffito could have taken place before the construction of the apse or at the time of the eleventh century renovation.
[502] Bayliss, Fig. 16 (Athens) and Fig. 18 (Bêt Djaluk).

I therefore maintain the traditional dating of this conversion to the late antique period and propose the following order of events: The Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi ceased to function as an active temple most likely in the fourth century CE; in the fifth or sixth century, the temple underwent conversion and became a single aisle, single apse Christian basilica. The suggestion that the conversion took place around 400 CE, at the same time that the *Säulenstraße* was constructed nearby, is possible but cannot be verified. In any case, the structural alterations to the temple preserved almost the entire fabric of the pagan building, except for the removal of the pronaos columns, corresponding changes to the roof, and the opening of doors from the opisthodomos into the cella. The exterior peristasis and entablature continued to stand, largely maintaining the appearance of the temple. In perhaps the seventh century, when intramural burial was a standard practice, graves began to aggregate at the eastern end of the church, around the edges of its podium. Burying people naturally required removing the temenos courtyard paving slabs, and it may have been at this time, in the troubled seventh century, that the temple podium was likewise spoliated. At some subsequent time, a collapse of the temple's southwestern peristasis and entablature occurred onto the remains of the podium; some of these remains were then used to build houses in the tenth/eleventh century settlement. In 1004/5, the older church was renovated, as recorded in the inscription. At an uncertain subsequent time, a devastating fire substantially damaged the walls of the church; whether that took place at the time of the Çavdar takeover of the settlement, or later, is unclear.

197

The Inscriptions

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi bore several inscriptions on its walls: a dedication to Zeus and Domitian in bronze on the architrave, as well as letters regarding a land dispute and praising a local benefactor called Eurykles.[503] About the fate of the bronze architrave inscription we can say nothing. Presumably the dedication to Zeus, at the very least, was removed on the occasion of its conversion into a church, if it had not been taken down earlier for the value of the bronze. The other inscriptions, however, remained in place in the Christian period, including when the structure became a church, thereby becoming *unspolia* (Fig. 32). They are largely well-preserved, and any damage seems to be accidental. Even a mention of the name Zeus (ΔΙΙ) was not erased.[504] After the construction of the apse in the pronaos temple, the inscriptions on the interior pronaos wall (one in Greek and three in Latin, regarding the rents of the sacred land of Zeus) would have been located in the bema/choir, visible to the priests if not worshippers in the nave. The remainder of the texts, including the Eurykles letters, were located on the temple-church's exterior north wall.

These older, pagan-period inscriptions, located about two meters above ground level, were not simply ignored or invisible to Christians. There are numerous examples of Christian graffiti on the exterior walls of the cella. All are inscribed in blank spaces lower on the walls, and none encroach on the older inscriptions (Fig. 33). These graffiti include numerous crosses, the renovation record of 1004/5 discussed above, an admonition to

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[503] Cat. #26, #90, #91.
[504] *OGIS* II #502 (*IGRR* IV #571), line 2.

enter the church gladly, an anonymous *kyrie boithi* petition (unpublished), and another, longer graffito on the north wall, apparently unpublished, that I was unfortunately unable to decipher.[505] One cross (later erased) was carved in blank space on the orthostate below one of the Eurykles inscriptions. It is natural that the Christian graffiti was located closer to eye level rather than in the higher inscription field, but the height was no obstacle to those with a mind to graffiti over the inscriptions, as demonstrated by the later Çavdar graffiti located both on the temple orthostates and in the inscription field, as well as even higher up on the temple walls. These stick-figure graffiti show warriors on horses, many of them holding bows. In several instances, the horse rider graffiti are inscribed on top of the older Roman inscriptions, thereby destroying parts of them.

That the late antique Christians of Aizanoi respected these earlier inscriptions enough not to deface or erase them is clear; but what messages might they have taken from them? The Latin inscription on the inside of the pronaos likely became unreadable to all but the most educated late antique citizens, but western script itself would evoke the Roman past and Aizanoi's connection with the distant, ancient seat of power at Rome. The inscriptions in Greek, on the other hand, would have still been quite legible to the educated, even if the letter forms and some of the vocabulary were unfamiliar. Some of these letters praised a leading local citizen, Eurykles, including one from the emperor Antoninus Pius himself, and likely evoked the same sense of civic pride that their ancestors would have felt when correspondence from the emperor was engraved on the walls. As at Ankara, with the Res Gestae, these documents spoke to a civic rather than

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[505] The 1004/5 inscription is *MAMA IX* #557. The entry inscription, appropriately inscribed on the west corner of the north wall of the church, near the western entrance, is *MAMA IX* #558.

specifically religious past, and may have allowed Christians to continue to view the building positively, as an emblem of civic pride through both the impressive architecture and historic inscriptions.

The Temple of Artemis and Inscriptions

Aizanoi also presents an alternative response to a temple and inscription – the reuse of the architrave dedication of the Temple of Artemis.[506] Around 400 CE, the city built the new porticoed street (*Säulenstraße*) mentioned previously, only a portion of which was excavated in the 1990s, next to the older Macellum (Fig. 34).[507] The porticoes would later collapse in an earthquake of the sixth century, perhaps the middle of the century. The street was constructed from *spolia*, including from the Temple of Artemis. Because the blocks from the temple are in good condition, it is believed that the temple may have been disassembled for reuse, rather than damaged in an earthquake. The architrave inscription from the temple was rebuilt into the northeast portico. The inscription reads,

> [[Ἀρ]τέμιδι ἁγιωτάτηι καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῶι δήμωι Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ [Ἀρτέμωνος Χάραξ ἱερεὺς διὰ Βίο]υ]] τὸν ναὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων κατεσκεύα[σεν.]

> [[To Artemis the most sacred and to the emperors, and the demos, Asklipiades Charax, son of Asklipiades, son of Artemon, priest for life,]] built the temple from his own initiatives.[508]

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[506] Cat. #20.

[507] Rheidt, "Untersuchungen 1992 und 1993," 696-715; Rheidt, "Archäologie und Spätantike," 239-248; Klaus Rheidt, "Von Attalos über Augustus bis Atatürk: Auf der Suche nach den Umbruchphasen in der Geschichte Anatoliens," in *Aizanoi und Anatolien*, ed. Klaus Rheidt (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2010), 14-17.

[508] Cat. #20. Michael Wörrle, "Inschriftenfunden von der Hallenstraßengrabung in Aizanoi 1992," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1995): 719- 727, #2. Wörrle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi II."

The entire first part of the inscription, up to the mention of the *naos,* was erased, presumably when it was rebuilt into the portico (Fig. 35). This included the name of the goddess and a general dedication to the emperors, as well as the name of the patron, Asklipiades, who had been a priest. Whether Asklipiades' name was erased because it was rather pagan sounding, because he had been a priest, or for the simple reason that he was, in fact, not paying for the erection of the portico, and therefore should not get any credit for it, is unclear. What is clear is that the word "naos" was left un-defaced and still fully visible from the street. This is particularly notable, as the structure the architrave was attached to now was obviously not a temple, but a portico. The word "naos" unambiguously reminded viewers that these architectural fragments had come from a temple.

Other inscriptions along the *Säulenstraße* further contributed to this mixture of pagan history and late antique present. On the opposite side of the street, reused blocks with a dedication to Zeus of Aizanoi (ΔII AIZANΩN) and to Nero were not erased, except for the name "Nero," a *damnatio* which presumably took place centuries earlier.[509] The exact origin of this architrave is uncertain, but it does not appear to have been from a temple. In addition to these architraves, the street, as it existed at the moment of collapse in the sixth century, also bore a number of statues. One base preserved a dedication to Zeus (ΔII), also un-erased; a base dedicated to a local *matrona*, Markia Tateis, was topped by a headless satyr statue.[510] Since no fragments of the head were found in the excavation, it seems that it was displayed in its headless state as an *object d'art*. Why

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[509] Wörrle, "Inschriftenfunden von der Hallenstraßengrabung," #1.
[510] Ibid., #4.

would the name of Zeus be left untouched, while that of Artemis was erased; at the same time, the mention of "naos" was left in place on the previously discussed architrave?

I suggest that the Aizanoi *Säulenstrasse* represents a case of "unnaming," with Artemis' name removed from the architectural fragments of her temple. As discussed in Chapter 1, Christians on occasion refused to acknowledge a pagan name in order to remove its power and neutralize the figure (or place) described. This process can be seen at work in Prokopios' mention of the district near Constatnintople called Heraeum, which he states is now called Hieron.[511] By simply shifting a few vowels, the specific identity of the goddess was erased, even as the history of the *topos* as holy was preserved. The prospect of an ancient sanctuary was less threatening to the new Christian majority if it was simply a vague, non-specific temple. Likewise at Aizanoi, the former existence of the temple of Artemis could be acknowledged, so long as it was anonymous. Removed of the associations of her name, as well as the specific local festivals and traditions attached to it, the temple no longer had the same meaning. The Zeus inscription was never from a temple, and therefore was not directly related to a specific cult building or practices. The satyr statue may also be a case of making harmless through anonymity – displayed without its head, it could just as easily be a youth with a panther skin, since nothing else explicitly identifies it as a satyr.[512] The panther skin may even have been a clever reference to the son of Markia, named Pardalas, since the Greek name for panther is πάρδαλις, as Rheidt has suggested.[513] The *Säulenstraße* therefore demonstrates the need

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[511] "ἔν τε τῷ Ἡραίῳ, ὅ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζοησι." Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I.11, 16-22.
[512] Rheidt (*Aizanoi: Çavdarhisar*, 18) notes that this re-used element had lost its original meaning, but he does not articulate precisely how this happened.
[513] Klaus Rheidt, "Römischer Luxus – Anatolisches Erbe," *Antike Welt* 28.6 (1997): 490.

of the late antique population of Aizanoi to both acknowledge and edit their pagan past. This modification of collective memory was enacted through partial, not complete, erasure. There was no need to hide the fact that a *naos* had formerly existed, nor the physical evidence of the act of erasure, only the desire to erase the specific associations of the goddess' name.

Conclusion

The site of Aizanoi therefore presents a spectrum of responses to pagan inscriptions, from toleration to erasure. These different responses were not random, but rather were based on reading the specific texts and their intended purposes. An inscription which functioned specifically as an "identifying" text, such as the architrave of the Temple of Artemis, required erasure. Other texts, such as letters inscribed on the Temple of Zeus, were less related to religion or dedicating the structure to the god than to Aizanoi's broader place in the Roman world. The very nature of the documents – lengthy, verbose – subsumed the specific references to the Temple of Zeus within the overall narrative of historical circumstances and official decisions encapsulated in the letters. Aizanoi demonstrates the overall attitude of tolerance and preservation seen at other sites, as well as the limits of that tolerance.

Aphrodisias: Tolerance, Preservation, and Modification

The temple-church at Aphrodisias has received extensive attention in the scholarship, both because of its admirable preservation and the careful documentation of the excavation and archaeological remains. The role that inscriptions played in this re-

shaping of the temple's identity, however, has been overlooked. Like at Aizanoi, a general toleration toward both the temple's architectural elements and pagan-period inscriptions is apparent, but does not extend to every text – especially one prominently displayed at the entrance of the church.

History of Aphrodisias

The city of Aphrodisias lies on a flat plain in inland Caria in Asia Minor, near a branch of the Maeander River. Although the city existed already in Hellenistic times, nearly all the remains visible today date from the Roman or late Roman periods (Fig. 36). The sanctuary of Aphrodite pre-existed the foundation of the city in the early second century BCE and was the impetus for founding the new city on that spot. Correspondingly, the goddess' temple was located near the center of the city, next to the *bouleterion* where the citizens of Aphrodisias met to decide civic matters. The city flourished under Augustus, who maintained a favorable attitude toward the place, in part because of the *gens Julia's* putative descent from Aphrodite, the main deity of Aphrodisias, as well as his good relationship with his freed slave, a man named Zoilos, who was a native of the city. Indeed, in a letter from around 38 BCE, Octavian wrote that he had chosen this one city out of all of Asia to be his own.[514] Due to its loyalty to Rome, the city also received the privileges of autonomy, not paying taxes, and *asylia* (immunity from war). Aphrodisias' close relationship to Rome was showcased in the Sebasteion, an impressive early imperial monument to the ruling clan, replete with sculptural reliefs of the Roman emperors, their provinces, and the gods. The *polis* possessed both a good

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[514] *Aphrodisias and Rome* #10.

204

source of marble and an excellent sculptural workshop tradition, resulting in high quality statues and architectural decoration throughout its history.

Late antiquity was a prosperous time at Aphrodisias, based on the archaeological remains.[515] The earlier structures of the classical city were largely maintained. The sculptural workshop continued to produce high quality representations of local governors and leading citizens, now in the new, late antique style, which adorned the city's columned streets. The city received new fortification walls in the 350s, built primarily from *spolia*.[516] Occasionally, some aspects of the city's patrimony required selective editing to fit with new Christian ideals. The reliefs of the Sebasteion underwent careful modification, with genitals chiseled away throughout, and the complete chiseling of figures of pagan gods not involved in narrative scenes – though personifications and emperors were permitted to remain.[517] The temple of Aphrodite, which is the focus of this case study, was re-structured into a large and impressive church. Nearby the large Triconch House possibly functioned as the home of the provincial governor or bishop.[518]

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[515] For late antique Aphrodisias, see Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989); Charlotte Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993); Angelos Chaniotis, "The Conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Context," in *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 243-273; Peter De Staebler and Christopher Ratté, "Survey Evidence for Late Antique Settlement in the Territory of Aphrodisias," in *The Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, ed. Christopher Ratté and Ortwin Dally (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum Publications, 2011), 123-36; Örgü Dalgıç, "Early Christian and Byzantine Churches," in *Aphrodisias V: The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, ed. Christopher Ratté and Peter D. De Staebler (Darmstadt/Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2012), 367-396.

[516] Peter De Staebler, "The City Wall and the Making of a Late Antique Provincial Capital," in *Aphrodisias Papers 4: New Research on the City and its Monument*, ed. Christopher Ratté and R.R.R. Smith (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 70, 2008), 284-318.

[517] R.R.R. Smith, "Defacing the Gods at Aphrodisias," in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, ed. Beate Dignas and R.R.R. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 282-326.

[518] See Michelle L. Berenfeld, "The Triconch House and the Predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias," *American Journal of Archaeology* 113, no. 2 (2009): 203-229, for the building phases and identification of this house.

Several structures in the city received elaborate mosaics and other decoration in late antiquity.[519]

All good things must come to an end, however. In the seventh century, the *polis* felt the upheavals of the empire as a whole and the transmutation of classical culture that resulted in the neglect of many of the city's ancient structures. In this troubled period, citizens (or at least local authorities) attempted to un- and then re-name the *polis*. The city of Aphrodisias became the city of the cross, Stauropolis, presumably in an attempt to repudiate the city's pagan past and gain favor with the Christian god.[520] The change happened at the latest by 680, as attested by the signature of a bishop of Stauropolis at the Sixth Ecumenical Council.[521] This shift was affected not only through official documents and the presumed way that inhabitants referred to the city when speaking, but in epigraphy as well. On the northeast gate of the city wall, an inscription most likely from the mid-fifth century, records the renewal of the wall by Flavius Ampelius.[522] The inscription in its original form opened with "For the good fortune of the splendid metropolis of the Aphrodisians" (Ἐπὶ εὐτυχίᾳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀφροδεισείων), but in the seventh century the text was altered to instead read "of the Stauropolitans," (Σταυρουπολιτῶν), reusing as many letters from the previous name as possible (Fig. 37). As the previous letters were carefully erased, the transition is fairly seamless, perhaps not

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[519] Sheila Campbell, "Signs of Propserity in the Decoration of some 4th-5th c. buildings at Aphrodisias," in *Aphrodisias Papers III*, ed. Charlotte Roueché and R.R.R. Smith (Ann Arbor: *Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series Number 20*, 1996): 187-200.

[520] Although this name change was ultimately unsuccessful, as the town came to be called simply Caria, which survives in the name of the modern village, Geyre. See Charlotte Roueché, "From Aphrodisias to Stauropolis." In *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected: Essays Presented by Colleagues, Friends, & Pupils.* Ed. John Drinkwater and Benet Salway. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 91* (2007): 183-192.

[521] Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 149.

[522] Ibid., #42.

noticeable to a casual reader of the gate inscription.[523] It was, apparently, important to correctly name, and therefore attribute an identity to, the city on its gate as one entered.

Most likely in the same period, the name of the city of Aphrodisias was removed from selected other inscriptions in the city, notably on the Archive Wall located on the *parodos* of the theater. This wall had been inscribed in third century CE with older documents showcasing the city's close connection with Roman rulers, including the letter of Augustus in which he claims Aphrodisias as his own city.[524] As Roueché has noted, not every instance of "Ἀφροδεισιέων" was removed from the archive wall; rather, the erasure was concentrated in the lower, easier to reach registers.[525] In these texts, no replacement name was inscribed. This public un-naming was therefore not fanatical, nor did it require the more specialized skill to re-inscribe with the city's new moniker. The aim was only the visible repudiation of the old pagan name in what was presumably still a frequented part of the city.[526]

The Temple of Aphrodite

Around a century and a half before the city attempted to change its name, its long-held devotion to Aphrodite had already waned. The first-century BCE/CE, eight-by-thirteen column, Temple of Aphrodite was converted into a church, perhaps dedicated to the archangel Michael (Fig. 38). The conversion seems to have taken place around 500

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[523] The final sigma of *lampras* (λαμπρᾶς) is, however, made to do double duty as the last letter of that word and the first of Stauropolis (ΛΑΜΠΡΑΣΤΑΥΡΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ). Alternatively, city has been re-christened as Tauropolis ("city of the bull"), but that name is not attested in other sources of the period.

[524] *Aphrodisias* #10, as above; see also Kokkinia, "The Design of the 'Archive Wall.'

[525] Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 149.

[526] It is perhaps notable that part of the theater was decorated with a wall painting of the archangel Michael, datable to the sixth century. Robin Cormack, "The Wall-Painting of St. Michael in the Theatre," in *Aphrodisias Papers II: The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin-Types*, edited by R.R.R. Smith and Kenan T. Erim (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 2, 1991), 110-122.

CE or a little earlier, based on coin finds from Leo I (r. 457-474) embedded in the north apse of the outer narthex.[527] This transformation of the holy place at the heart of Aphrodisias was undoubtedly an event of symbolic importance for both the city and foreign visitors.

From a construction standpoint, turning the temple into a church was a massive undertaking.[528] Unlike many other temple-churches, which simply reused the temple cella as a nave and therefore required little additional modification beyond the addition of an apse, the temple at Aphrodisias was almost completely dismantled, with only the north and south rows of thirteen peristasis columns each left in place. The columns from the east and west peristasis were taken apart and re-erected in line with those of the north and south rows, elongating the line of columns. The temple was then turned inside-out, with the marble ashlars from the cella wall, along with other, smaller stones, used to construct exterior walls outside of the peristasis columns, thereby creating a three-aisle basilica.

Both an inner and outer narthex were constructed to the west, partially reusing the older temenos portico, as well as an atrium. In the east, a single large apse was built, flanked by two smaller side "apses," actually rectangular in shape but presumably fulfilling the role of subsidiary apses at the termination of the side aisles. The exterior eastern wall of the church was flat, however, giving no indication of the apse behind it. Within the central apse, one finds a rather unusual feature: the opening of a well. This is presumably the famous well of Aphrodite, mentioned by Pausanias, which had stood in

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[527] Laura Elizabeth Hebert, "The Temple-Church at Aphrodisias" (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2000), 27.
[528] For a detailed analysis of the construction, see ibid., 29ff.

front of her temple and was reputed to hold saltwater.[529] At the time of conversion, the ground level around the well was raised, in order to create a foundation for the church at the same level as the temple stylobate. The well was therefore likewise elongated to reach the new surface level. Keeping the well and placing it at the center of the apse was a priority. The entire temple-church continued to be used and renovated into the middle Byzantine period.

The Inscriptions

Despite the well-preserved nature and impressive size of the temple-church at Aphrodisias, its transformation has received surprisingly limited study, beyond an essay on the architecture and dating by Robin Cormack and a reconstruction of the social setting of this conversion by Angelos Chaniotis.[530] The only monograph to deal with the temple-church is an unpublished dissertation by Laura Hebert (2000).[531] The inscriptions of the temple-church have received some attention, with those dating from the Roman period published by Joyce Reynolds, and those from late antiquity by Charlotte Roueché. These disciplinary divides – between architecture and epigraphy, and between Roman and late antique – have resulted in a curious oversight: none of these scholars has explicitly acknowledged that the late antique builders incorporated several pagan-period inscriptions into their new temple-church. Although Hebert briefly mentions these Roman inscriptions, she does not clarify that they would have been visible in the temple-church, nor that reusing them was a conscious decision. I would like to argue that these

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[529] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.26.5; Hebert, "The Temple-Church," 32, 43.
[530] Robin Cormack, "The Temple as Cathedral," in *Aphrodisias Papers I: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture.* Ed. Charlotte Roueché and Kenan T. Erim. *JRA Supplementary Series 1.* Ann Arbor, 1990, 75-88; Chaniotis, "The Conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite."
[531] Hebert, "The Temple-Church."

inscriptions were not completely ignored by the late antique builders, but rather were incorporated into the church when possible, sometimes being edited for content in order to conform with the new Christian use of the building.

First, those entering the temple-church through the atrium would encounter a reused architrave most likely originating from a gymnasium. The name of the emperor Hadrian and parts of his imperial titulature were left untouched; the name of the donor and the name of any deity to whom the structure may have been dedicated, however, were erased with a high degree of efficacy.[532] Though most of these architrave blocks were not found *in situ* in the atrium, one block is built into the wall along its base in the northwest sector of the space, face out. This suggests that these architrave blocks were reused as a decorative base of the wall, and that the vine tendril frieze or inscription (or both), were desirable decorative elements. Though Cormack states that the atrium wall looks "pirated" and would "presumably" have been covered in revetment, this reveals more about the aesthetic sensibilities of the modern period than of late antiquity.[533] I do not see any indication of revetment (adfixing holes) or plaster in the church atrium. The selective erasure of the spoliated architrave further suggests that it was visible, as there would be no need to erase something hidden behind a covering.

Moving from the atrium through the narthexes, a visitor would pass through a massive central door into the nave (Fig. 39). As reconstructed by Hebert, this door was the same width as the entrance to the temple cella, and therefore this doorframe was

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[532] The text, *IAph2007* #1.174, is published by Reynolds and McCabe without erasure brackets, making it difficult to know precisely which letters were erased. A photograph of block b on the *IAph2007* website, however, indicates that [Τραϊα]νῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστ[ῷ], at the very least, is un-erased.
[533] Cormack, "The Temple as Cathedral," 80.

likely reused for the church entrance.[534] The inscription on the door lintel further confirms this. In its original, late first century BCE form, it read, "Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώ[ϊ]λος ὁ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς] / σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος τὸν ναὸν Ἀφροδείτη" (Gaius Julius Zoilos, priest of the god Aphrodite, savior and benefactor of the fatherland, (built) the temple for Aphrodite) (Fig. 40).[535]

This designation was, understandably, inappropriate for the new entrance to the church, and the inscription was correspondingly modified. All previous publications of this text simply mention that it is "partly erased," or "deliberately but not quite efficiently erased," and none uses the epigraphic conventions to show erasure (double brackets).[536] Examination of the inscription on site and in published photographs has made it possible to give more precision on the erasure of this text (Fig. 41).[537] I read Γ[[άϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώ[ϊ]λ]]ος ὁ ἱερ[[εὺς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς]] / σ[[ωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτη]]ς τῆς πατ[[ρίδος τὸν ναόν Ἀφροδείτη]]. As the brackets indicate, some of the letters show no signs of erasure at all. Even where erasure is present, not all letters are erased to the same degree. While both references to Aphrodite and her temple are quite scrupulously removed, the word "*soter*" (savior) is still legible, despite the light chiseling beginning after the initial sigma. The gamma of Gaius (Γάϊος) is likewise left in place, as are the two final letters of Zoilos (Ζώϊλος). The beginning of his designation as "the priest," (ὁ ἱερ) is still visible. The memory of the former patron of the temple – hints of his name, his titles – is therefore

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[534] Hebert, "The Temple-Church," Plates 14 and 15.
[535] Cat. #49, *Aphrodisias and Rome* #37, *IAph2007* #1.2.
[536] Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* #37; Reynolds, "Inscriptions and the Building," 37; *IAph2007* #1.2.
[537] The door lintel is broken into three fragments, with photos of each published on the *IAph2007* website. On-site I was able to see the first two fragments, but could not locate the third. The second fragment (ιος Ζώ[ϊ]λ]]ος / ὐεργέτ]]ης τῆς πα) is now quite weathered, and therefore easier to read in the published photographs.

still present on the door lintel, with enough letters remaining to indicate that he was an important local individual. Only the name of Aphrodite – eponymous deity of the city and former occupant of the temple – had to be completely erased. The previous temple had been, in effect, un-named by this erasure.

I would further raise the possibility that this un-naming may have been accompanied by attributing a new identity to the occupant of the temple-turned-church. After the name of Zoilos, the letters that are most legible on the on the architrave, even if partially erased, are "ὁ ἱερ… σωτὴρ …τῆς πατ." Ἱερ(ος) (holy) and σωτὴρ (savior) are both used in Christian contexts, and the general sense of these visible words, "the holy savior of the fatherland" would be an appropriate reference to either God or the archangel Michael, to whom the temple-church may have been dedicated. One may compare the defacement of the metopes on the Parthenon in Athens: only an image of a seated woman being greeted by another figure was left partially visible, perhaps because the scene could be given an *interpretatio christiana* as the Annunciation.[538] In any case, the overall effect of the reused Zoilos door lintel and erasure was to acknowledge its status as *spolia* and the former presence of a local elite donor, while un-naming the temple and leaving visible only those words generally appropriate for a Christian space. Although the doorjambs of this central door into the nave are not preserved, the jambs of the door farther to the west, which opens onto the atrium from the street, are covered with

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[538] Nadin Burkhardt, "The Reuse of Ancient Sculpture in the Urban Spaces of Late Antique Athens," in *The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture: Late Antique Responses and Practices*, ed. Troels M. Kristensen and Lea Stirling (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 146-147. For a criticism of the scholarly assumptions made about this metope's partial preservation and the *interpretatio christiana*, see Benjamin Anderson, "The Defacement of the Parthenon Metopes," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 57 (2017): 248-260.

Christian graffiti and carved crosses, including some that are so elaborate they seem to be part of the official church decoration.[539] This suggests that the liminal spaces of the entryways were especially charged locations for defining and Christianizing the space.

Within the church, more first century CE donors to the temple construction were memorialized in *tabulae ansatae* on the columns of the temple peristasis, re-used *in situ* as the north and south aisle colonnades of the basilica, making them, in my terminology, *unspolia* (Fig. 42). The five donor inscriptions represent two couples from the first century CE. One, Eumachos Diogenes and Amias Olympias are described both with patronymics as well as Eumachos' title of *Philokaisar* (friend of Caesar).[540] The text mentions that the column (τὸν κίονα) is dedicated for Aphrodite and the *demos*. These texts apparently continued to be significant long after their inscribing.

On the fourth column from the west, in the north colonnade of the church, a *tabula ansata* bears a copy of the Eumachos/Amias inscription, but carved in a poor hand at odds with the neat, first-century lettering of the other texts (Fig. 43).[541] Reynolds, Roueché, and Gabriel Bodard write that this inscription seems to date from much later than the original, well-cut donor texts, but decline to give an actual date; they suggest it may have been a re-inscription, perhaps when a repair of the temple resulted in the loss of the original donor inscription. It seems unlikely that such an unseemly inscription would be added to the city's prized temple before the late second or third century. The presence of an uncial/lunate omega (ω) also suggests a later date, since at Aphrodisias, some

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[539] *IAph2007* #1.21 and 1.22.
[540] Cat. #51, *IAph2007* #1.4.
[541] *IAph2007* #1.6. There are several spelling and dittography errors.

inscriptions continued to use the "old" letter form of omega into the fourth century.[542]

Could this copying of the Eumachos and Amias text even date from the time of the

conversion of the temple into a church? This possibility cannot be ruled out, though there

is no firm evidence for it. In any case, these donor inscriptions continued to be relevant to

the city's inhabitants at least a century or two after their original inscribing; perhaps some

of the descendants of these local notables were even then among the city's ruling class.

There is no evidence that these texts on the columns were covered or destroyed

when the temple peristasis became the basilica aisle. I do not see any trace of roughening

or plaster on the *tabulae ansatae* nor signs of erasure.[543] Even the statement that the

column was dedicated for Aphrodite and the *demos* remained in place. It is somewhat

surprising that the name "Aphrodite" was not erased in the new Christian space, but one

may note that the inscriptions would have been more difficult to read in the aisles of the

church than when they were on the exterior of the temple peristasis. Nonetheless, the

tabulae ansatae themselves would have been noticeable, especially as a door opened in

the north wall of the church immediately across from the Eumachos and Amias

inscriptions. Christian graffiti is furthermore located on column bases close to these

inscriptions. Those who did read the Roman texts would find the names of important

local donors, even one (Eumachos) who was designated as *philokaisar* – a friend of the

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[542] The shift to uncial omegas across the empire began to take place in the first and second centuries CE, according to B.H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002), 41. At Aphrodisias, they appear first in private pagan inscriptions (such as grave stones) before being adopted in public inscriptions in the fourth century.

[543] There is a blank *tabula ansata* on the sixth column from the west in the north peristyle/colonnade. It appears to me, however, that this *tabula* was never fully worked in the first place, and was therefore never inscribed. It is not uncommon to have unfilled *tabulae* on temple columns, as can be seen at Euromos and Hierapolis.

emperor.[544] Like the name of Hadrian left on the architrave from a gymnasium reused in the church atrium, this text evoked the imperial past and its positive connotations for the Aphrodisians. While the specific identity of these individuals and their family connection had likely faded from memory by the fifth century, the overall impression – that Aphrodisias was an important *polis*, with illustrious citizens who maintained connections with distant emperors – was reinforced by the older inscriptions.

One final pagan inscription from the temple likely did not remain visible on the Christian holy building, however. On the cella walls of the temple, an unpublished list of male names with patronymics – perhaps representing a list of priests, as I have argued in Chpater 2 – was engraved across two orthostate blocks (Fig. 44).[545] These, along with the other orthostate blocks, meander frieze, and wall ashlars from the temple cella were rebuilt as the straight, east wall of the church. Only in this area of the temple-church were the blocks reused in their original configuration, resulting in a very classical appearance for the wall that even caused confusion as to whether this wall was an original part of the temple rather than a late antique construction.[546] The result of this construction decision was that the two orthostate blocks bearing the inscription were kept together, thereby preserving the inscription. Unfortunately, the upper part of the blocks, where there may have been a heading clarifying the purpose of the list, is badly damaged.

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[544] For this title, which originated with Rome's client kings, see Buraselis, *Kos Between Hellenism and Rome*, 102-3.

[545] Cat. #65. My thanks to Bert Smith and Angelos Chaniotis for sharing information about this inscription with me. Personal communication, March 19, 2017. I was further able to see this inscription in person on the temple-church wall. The inscription was first mentioned by Reynolds, "Inscriptions and the Building," 39.

[546] Hebert, "The Temple-Church," 41, notes that the foundations of this wall reuse temple blocks, showing that it is not an original Roman wall, but has rather been built in late antiquity.

We may wonder whether these blocks were rebuilt in their original locations precisely in order to keep the inscription intact. In this case I think this is unlikely. Rather, the decision to reuse the temple blocks in their original configuration assured that the east wall of the church would be the most regular and aesthetically unified of the whole temple-church, and perhaps also the most structurally sound in order to support the vaults of the apses. Preserving the inscription was unlikely to be a motivating factor because at some point, the blocks bearing this inscription, as well as the surrounding blocks, were roughened with small holes in order to receive plaster, thereby damaging the text; the blocks also show larger holes consistent with the attachment of revetment or plaques. These presumably represent two distinct phases, as revetment normally does not require the roughening of the surface behind it. Both the revetment holes and the plastering have not been mentioned in previous publications on the temple-church, and Hebert's dissertation only briefly mentions the plastering without detailing its location.[547] I will therefore make some observations on this feature.[548]

On the east wall of the temple-church, the six blocks on each side which are on the exterior of the "side apses" (actually rectangular rooms) are revetted/plastered, corresponding only with the area of the church's aisles (but not central nave) (Fig. 45).[549] The covering of these blocks was therefore not random, nor solely aimed at hiding the inscription (which stretches across only two blocks), but rather planned and symmetrical. Furthermore, I propose that the revetment holes are earlier than the plastering, since the

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[547] Ibid., 66.
[548] I thank Franz Alto Bauer for thinking through these modifications to the blocks with me.
[549] That is, from the outer corner orthostates to those in line with the interior row of columns. The revetment holes/roughening for plaster extends one block around the corner, onto the north and south walls of the temple-church.

roughening plaster holes seem to be placed around these larger revetment holes. In fact, the unsightly revetment holes (after whatever covering had been removed) were likely the reason for the plastering. On the lateral exterior walls of the basilica, a few other orthostate stones also show evidence of roughening for plaster, and the majority of these also have revetment holes, or are showing their anathyrosis (rather than fully worked) faces, and therefore required plastering in order to present a uniform, smooth appearance.

The blocks on the center of the east wall of the temple-church, corresponding rather with the central apse and nave, were not covered by revetment or plaster, but rather show on their smooth marble faces incised crosses, of the staurogram type (the combination of the Greek letters *tau* and *rho* to create a cross) (Fig. 46).[550] The central orthostate block of the wall, on axis with the center of the apse, bears instead a *chi-rho*. These Christian symbols therefore mark the most significant parts of the church and sanctify the stones of the former temple. None of the blocks that were roughened for plaster, on the other hand, show evidence for inscribed crosses.

I therefore see two possible scenarios for the revetment and plastering. The revetment holes may have been an original feature of the temple, perhaps indicating the addition of votive plaques or gifts to the sacred house of Aphrodite. The number of blocks (twelve in total) could potentially be accommodated in the temple pronaos walls. When converted into a church, these blocks were used symmetrically in the east wall, and the holes from the plaques were simply covered over with plaster. Alternatively, perhaps the builders of the church wanted in some way to distinguish the side aisles from the nave

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[550] On both sides, there is one or two blocks between the plastered stones which lack both revetment/plastering and incised crosses.

on the exterior of the east wall, as a part of the decorative program of the church. They therefore put up revetment, perhaps costly colored marbles. At some point the revetment was removed or damaged, and the holes left by their attachment were covered by plaster, perhaps as late as the middle Byzantine renovation of the church.

In any case, I propose that either the revetment or plastering was carried out at the time of the temple's conversion into a church. The staurogram crosses and *chi-rho* on the central blocks of the east wall most likely date to late antiquity, when these symbols were widely used both in imperial and general Christian iconography. The lack of the incised staurogram crosses (or any other Christian graffiti) on the revetted/plastered stones, compared with the abundance of graffiti found elsewhere on the temple-church, suggests that these stones were covered from the earliest days of the church. In the case of this inscribed list of names, therefore, the inscription was essentially ignored by the temple-church builders and covered over by revetment/plaster as a part of the larger decorative program of the eastern wall of the church exterior.

Conclusion

The temple-church at Aphrodisias, therefore, shows yet again a generally tolerant attitude toward pagan inscriptions. Roman donor inscriptions on the columns could be incorporated into the church, even when the old goddess was mentioned. Inscriptions which served as identifiers for entire buildings – such as the architrave of a gymnasium built into the church atrium or the door lintel recording the founder of the temple, named Zoilos – required some editing, in order to un-name the pagan structures and leave them open to new Christian meanings. I have suggested that the partial erasure of the Zoilos

218

door lintel was not done thoughtlessly or haphazardly, but rather focused on fully removing only the critical misidentifications – the name of the goddess and her priest and donor, Zoilos. Other words, such as *soter*, were inoffensive, perhaps even Christian sounding, and therefore did not require full erasure. The door lintel therefore acknowledged its own past and status as *spolia*.

It has always been assumed in the scholarship that the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite into a church, probably in the late fifth century, must have been a crushing blow to the remaining pagans of Aphrodisias. But I would like to emphasize instead the great deal of the temple's patrimony – from its epigraphy to its architectural elements – that was incorporated into the new sacred space. The east wall of the temple presented a distinctly classical appearance, with its meander frieze and smooth blocks, some of them perhaps refreshed with costly revetment or a coat of white or colored plaster as part of the decorative program. The sacred well of Aphrodite was, at significant effort and without precedent, showcased in the apse of the church. In an age where Christianity had clearly won the battle for the empire's ruling families and the majority of its citizens, the conversion of the temple in such a way may have seemed like a best-case scenario for the late pagans of Aphrodisias, who may have feared the complete destruction or disassembling of the goddess' famous shrine. Cormack writes that after the conversion the "temple of the goddess had literally disappeared."[551] But for those who looked, and read, more closely, the temple was still very much present.

Overall, the temple-church at Aphrodisias kept the past relevant by incorporating so many elements from the temple. The city therefore presents yet again a generally

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[551] Cormack, "The Temple as Cathedral," 82.

tolerant attitude toward pagan inscriptions, which were either preserved in place (on the columns) or were lost only as collateral damage, rather than the intentional obscuring of memory (in the case of the list of names on the east wall of the church). Only an inscription explicitly identifying the structure as a pagan shrine to Aphrodite required erasure – and even that was only partial.

Summary of Case Studies and Trends

I will now summarize the evidence at each of the six sites presented here. At Ankara, the Temple of Augustus was converted into a church; I have argued that the conversion took place in the thriving late antique town, before much of the city had withdrawn to the fortified acropolis amid the upheavals of the seventh to ninth centuries. The texts of the *Res Gestae* (in both Latin and Greek), as well as the lists of Galatian priests on the antae, were permitted to remain on the building. The Latin text of the *Res Gestae* and the Greek priests' notices flanked the entrance to the temple-church. At some point, probably at the time of conversion, masons with tools and presumably scaffolding carved windows on this south wall of the temple-church, but did not damage or edit the inscription. Cross graffiti of uncertain date appears below this text of the *Res Gestae*, indicating that Christians were, at the very least, viewing this wall. Ankara therefore demonstrates an attitude of tolerance toward the epigraphy already gracing the walls of this temple when it was transformed into a church with minimal architectural changes.

The site of Sagalassos continues the trend of showing toleration toward temple inscriptions, in this case even in active reuse of inscribed stones. Most likely in the first

half of the fifth century, blocks from the Temple of Apollo Klarios were rebuilt as a church. The architrave of the temple, which bore a lengthy three-line dedication to Apollo by a local citizen, was reused without any trace of modification or plastering. I have suggested that the inscription may have been split into segments facing each other across the nave, thereby presenting as fragments that would be difficult to make sense of. The Sagalassians therefore treated the inscribed architrave not only with tolerance, but chose to reuse it in the church; even its text was considered inoffensive and acceptable within the church, so long as its full meaning was somewhat scrambled by its placement.

At Labraunda, there was a long history of preserving and copying earlier inscriptions to shape site identity already in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In late antiquity, the Temple of Zeus seems to have been dismantled, and a limekiln was established on the temple terrace. The inscriptions from the temple – part of the architrave dedication to Zeus and the Hellenistic letters related to ownership of the sanctuary, which were inscribed on the antae, as well as much of the carved architectural decoration, were not burnt, but rather abandoned next to the temple or moved into a nearby building, Andron A, perhaps for storage. One of the temple anta inscriptions was in the process of being cut off, presumably to save or display the text, when it was abandoned. At the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos, then, we find not only a general tolerance toward the inscriptions from the temple (and many other epigraphic monuments around the site), but even an active decision to move the blocks and an attempt to save one of the texts.

Above the Corycian Cave in Cilicia, a temple was deconstructed and reconstructed as a church, most likely in the late fifth century. The blocks from the temple were used as raw building material throughout, except for one anta that was reconstructed with its blocks in their exact original configuration, even though it meant that the wall was not bonded with the church's eastern wall. It was this anta that bore a lengthy list of names, probably priests, with entries continuing to be added on the anta wall into at least the third century CE. Much of the list on the anta face was covered, and thereby preserved, by the church's east wall, but other names were left exposed in the aisle of the church. Some of these names were partially and unsystematically erased, probably by an individual worshipper, rather than as part of the construction program. I have suggested that at the time of construction, the list of names was both tolerated and provided the impetus for reconstructing the anta in such a way, even if some of the names would be hidden and others susceptible to spontaneous damage/erasure by individuals.

The inhabitants of Aizanoi had two temples available for reuse by late antiquity. Around 400 CE, a temple dedicated to Artemis was dismantled, and its pieces rebuilt as part of a porticoed street. The inscribed architrave was reused face-out, but the parts of the inscription naming the goddess and the donor of the temple were thoroughly and neatly erased. A mention of "*naos*" (temple) and the remainder of the text ("from his own funds") were left untouched and visible from the street. The larger Temple of Zeus also found a new function. It was converted into a church, and I have argued that this transition took place in late antiquity rather than later. The letters inscribed on its walls, including those in Latin concerning a land dispute of the temple and those in Greek

222

commending a local elite from the second century CE, were left in place and untouched; even the name of Zeus, which occurred occasionally in these texts, was not erased. In both the Temple of Artemis and that of Zeus, therefore, the earlier inscriptions were not hidden or completely removed. At the Temple of Zeus, these texts were treated with tolerance, as they presumably could have been erased during the process of constructing an apse but were not. The architectural pieces of the Temple of Artemis were actively selected for reuse in the *Säulenstraße*, but the specific identity of the former structure was un-named by the erasure of references to Artemis and the donor of the temple.

At Aphrodisias, the Temple of Aphrodite was deconstructed and its constituent parts reformulated into a massive church probably in the second half of the fifth century. Columns from the temple peristasis, which were left in their original places when the walls of the church were built around them, continued to bear dedications from leading citizens to the goddess, without evidence for covering or erasure. A list of names (donors or priests) was located on two adjacent orthostate blocks rebuilt into the east wall of the church, but it was covered over by revetment or plaster, as a part of the overall exterior decorative program distinguishing the side aisles from the central nave. It was therefore not the target of erasure. The primary dedication of the temple, inscribed over its monumental doorframe, was removed in late antiquity and reused for the main entrance to the church. This text was erased, though the effort was selective. Only the goddess and the mention of her temple, as well as most of the name of the donor, was erased with vigor. The remainder of the inscription, including innocuous words, which may have even had positive associations, such as "*soter*" (savior) and "*tis pat(ridos)*" (of the

223

fatherland), were left legible, thereby acknowledging the block's status as *spolia* and evoking the memory of the formerly glorious temple. The erasure was therefore not carried out by a fanatic hacking away at pagan remains or an illiterate workman, but was rather a conscious decision to both acknowledge and edit the site's pagan past.

As these case studies show, late antique individuals and communities primarily expressed tolerance toward older epigraphy found on formerly pagan temples. This accepting attitude has often been mistaken in the scholarship for unthinkingly ignoring the inscriptions. I argue instead that the decision to leave texts in place on the walls or antae of a temple reused as a church was a conscious one. This tolerant attitude toward inscriptions can be seen with the *Res Gestae* and list of priests at Ankara, the letters on the wall of the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, and on the column donor dedications at Aphrodisias, which became *unspolia* through their continued display when the temple transformed into a church. At each of these sites, Christian graffiti was added to the walls or column bases near these older texts, suggesting that worshippers were active in these areas. In other cases, the attitude toward older inscriptions went beyond tolerance to active engagement with and intentional, visible reuse of inscribed blocks. This is found at Sagalassos, Labraunda, at the Corycian Cave, at Aizanoi (the Artemis architrave dedication), and at Aphrodisias (the door lintel dedication).

Previous scholars have also often operated under the assumption that any older inscriptions with inscribed faces exposed in churches would simply be covered with plaster. However, I argue that there is no reason to assume plastering when no evidence

224

exists. Even when plaster is present, it may date to the middle Byzantine period rather than late antiquity, as is the case on the walls of the temple-church at Sagalassos.

Nonetheless, the tolerance displayed by late antique Christians toward older inscriptions from temples does have its limits. This is primarily when a text explicitly and visibly defines a structure as belonging to a pagan god. At both Aizanoi (the Temple of Artemis) and Aphrodisias, therefore, the names of deity and donor were erased from an architrave and a doorframe, respectively. I have argued that these erasures, which were only partial in both cases, amount to the un-naming of the pagan structure while acknowledging its past. When the name of a god or goddess instead occurs submersed in a longer text, and therefore did not play the role of defining the entire building, it was left in place, as at Ankara, Aizanoi (the Temple of Zeus), and Aphrodisias (the column dedications). At the Corycian Cave temple, the names on the anta/aisle wall were haphazardly erased, but likely as a spontaneous decision by an individual rather than as part of a program.

One may further note that erasures are more likely to happen when the inscription is "at hand," that is to say, when it has been taken down in preparation for reuse (as at Aizanoi and Aphrodisias) or is easily reachable (as at the Corycian Cave temple).[552] It is at the moment when inscriptions were removed from walls in order to reuse the blocks in a new structure that late antique individuals had the greatest opportunity to modify or actively preserve these texts. At Sagalassos, the decision was made to incorporate the architrave to Apollo in the church without modification; at Aizanoi and Aphrodisias, an architrave and doorframe, respectively, were selectively erased upon their reuse. In both

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[552] I thank Franz Alto Bauer for this observation.

225

these instances, the erasure was dictated and/or carried out by a literate individual: at Aizanoi, the erasure stopped at the end of the word *biou*, at Aphrodisias, only the names of donor and goddess were thoroughly erased. These were therefore not indiscriminate actions but rather planned and probably initiated by an authoritative individual; whether bishop, architecture, master builder, or governmental official were responsible is impossible to say.

In every case, maintaining inscribed blocks on temple-church walls or reusing those blocks in the construction of a church was, of course, a practical decision. It was simply easier to leave text on a wall than to erase it, more convenient to reuse an inscribed architrave than to carve a new one. But the pragmatism of late antique builders is not the same thing as completely disregarding the presence of earlier inscriptions, as I hope I have shown. The erasures are the exceptions that prove the rule, indicating that late antique people were aware of, and even read, these earlier texts, making decisions about which texts required editing and which were acceptable in Christian contexts.

What messages might late antique people have taken from these temple inscriptions? The presence of text itself conveyed in the first place symbolic meaning even to the illiterate, harkening back to a distant past through its stylistic differences with contemporary late antique inscriptions. Texts inscribed in Latin, for example at Ankara and Aizanoi, signaled "Roman-ness" and connections with distant centers of empire, even though likely illegible to all but the most educated. For those late antique individuals who could read the Greek inscriptions (perhaps mainly the headings and with difficulty due to changed letter forms and vocabulary), the texts presented in most cases

226

the civic and local past, rather than specific religious or cult traditions. Even when priests are listed, they are often imbued with local identity, as at Ankara, where the priests had Celtic names and connections with ruling Galatian families, or at the Corycian Cave temple, where some of the priests had Cilician names. In other cases, the wealth of local elites or their connections with distant emperors, rather than their religious piety, is featured in the texts, as at Sagalassos, where Collega indicates how many *denarii* he spent on the temple refurbishment, at Aizanoi, where Antoninus Pius wrote a personal recommendation of Eurykles, or Aphrodisias, where Eumachos was a *philokaisar*, a friend of Caesar. At Aizanoi and Labraunda, several of the documents on temple walls or *antae* related to the land-holdings of the temple, the revenue from these agricultural lands, and, at Labraunda, the appropriation of these lands and incomes by the closest large *polis*, Mylasa. The financial aspects of the temple are therefore emphasized, a finding in keeping with Sweetman's argument that the topography of the Christianization of the Peloponnese was inflected by the need to maintain traditional social and economic structures.[553]

To conclude, from the case studies presented here, no clear rule emerges describing late antique Christian interaction with temple epigraphy; rather, a variety of approaches were taken at different sites. I have argued that the overall attitude regarding older inscriptions on temples tended toward tolerance. These texts were clearly not seen as problematic, even when their context was transformed from temple to church. Only select inscriptions, when at hand and usually those defining a space as a dedication to a pagan deity, were modified.

[553] Sweetman, "Memory, Tradition, and Christianization."

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

As this dissertation has demonstrated, the practice of inscribing temples was both long-lived and widespread in the regions of Greece and Asia Minor. Texts were not added to these sacred structures at random, but rather fall into categories that indicate trends in different periods. I have argued that these texts continued to interact with viewers centuries after their original inscribing. Furthermore, viewing these two bodies of material (the ancient and late ancient) together results in additional insights. I will first summarize the findings of Chapters 2 and 3, before drawing some conclusions from the material as a whole.

Chapter 2, "Inscribing Temples, Archaic through Roman Periods," presented the findings of my catalog of inscriptions on temples in order to establish the type and frequency of epigraphic material that late antique Christians inherited on temples, as well as to make observations on the ancient habit of inscribing temples, heretofore little studied. I endeavored to include in this catalog every inscribed temple in Greece and Asia Minor. The inscriptions can be divided into three main types: "Construction Donations," "Lists of Priests," and "Documents." A representative example of each type of inscription is included for each temple where they occur.

A chronological overview of the practice of inscribing temples is as follows: at least one temple in the archaic period, that of Apollo at Gortyn, carried a law code on its walls; whether the practice of inscribing documents on temples was widespread in that period, or whether Gortyn was an outlier, cannot confidently be stated because of the lack

228

of preserved archaic temples. In the same period, however, there is evidence for dedicating temple architectural elements as votive gifts to the gods. The practice largely tapered off in the early third century BCE; at the same time it became common to inscribe documents, especially civic decrees and letters from Hellenistic kings on both antae and walls. These could establish a city or sanctuary's territorial holdings and special privileges or record honors decreed for citizens, foreigners, or rulers. Contracts, including manumissions, could also occasionally be inscribed on temple walls. As Rome became more involved in the eastern Mediterranean, letters from Roman republican leaders or *senatus consulta* were also engraved on temples.

The habit of recording construction donations on temples revived around the mid second century BCE, in the form of entablature inscriptions, previously present at only a select few temples. The advent of the imperial Roman period saw a major proliferation of donor inscriptions on architraves, often dedicating or re-dedicating a temple to an imperial figure. Individual donors could in the same period be honored on columns with inscriptions in *tabulae ansatae* or on door lintels. Priests could likewise have their service to the god permanently recorded on temple walls. These could be in the form of a list, inscribed at one time years after the individual priests had served, as a running list, with new names added as desired, or in the form of individual notices of priests and their gifts to the deity. In a number of instances, these lists were inscribed in the early Roman imperial period, or spanned from the Hellenistic to imperial periods, thereby emphasizing continuity of local/sacral authority across changed political circumstances. Documents, including letters from emperors and officials, as well as civic decrees, could still be

inscribed on temples in the Roman period, though with less frequency than in the Hellenistic period. On occasion, individuals or delegations who visited a sanctuary could also record their visit on the temple walls.

The Roman period overall saw greater variety in the types of texts that could be inscribed on temples, as well as their locations. The lengthy, bilingual text of the *Res Gestae* at Ankara was itself exceptional and never to be repeated. Other Roman-period texts include a dice oracle, brief city ordinances, or notices from individuals. At Klaros, it was acceptable in the second century CE to inscribe notices even on the crepis and column flutes of the temple. The habit of inscribing temples was overall more common in Asia Minor, and especially so in Caria. Chapter 2 therefore clarified the relative frequency and types of texts that Christians inherited when they became the dominant social group and took possession of temples.

Chapter 3, "Viewing Inscribed Temples in Late Antiquity," presented evidence that late antique Christians were cognizant of the older inscriptions interspersed throughout cities and investigated their responses to these texts at six formerly pagan sanctuaries. Late antiquity saw the abatement, but not total disappearance, of the practice of engraving temples, indicating that temples continued to be conceived as carriers of texts. The majority of texts that Christians found on temples, however, were centuries older. I have argued that the generalized Christian attitude toward older inscriptions tended toward tolerance. This is evidenced by the several instances where inscriptions from temples were either left in place when the structures were converted into churches, or rebuilt into the new Christian space. As indicated by the cross graffiti in the area of

230

some of these inscriptions, Christians were still looking at and interacting with temple walls. Leaving an inscription on the walls of a temple when it was converted was not a given, but rather represents a conscious decision to preserve and appropriate these older texts rather than remove, thoroughly erase, cover, or graffiti over them. Furthermore, a variety of strategies were employed to neutralize the most ostentatiously pagan elements of these texts, including unnaming through selective erasure, leaving behind traces of words that hint at a new Christian significance of the building, and scrambling text by placing reused blocks in such a way that the inscription became unintelligible.

This dissertation documenting Christian responses to older inscriptions across a broad area provides evidence for a contrast with a more studied phenomenon, Christian interaction with pagan statuary. As scholars have noted, residents living during both the Greco-Roman period and late antiquity treated statues as animistic, meaning they believed that the stone was in some way inhabited by the spirit of the individual represented; statues could be agents for good or evil.[554] Recent scholarship has emphasized that many statues, including those of political figures, private individuals, and mythological characters were tolerated in late antiquity in both public and private spaces.[555] Cult statues, on the other hand, were often either intentionally damaged,

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[554] Liz James, "'Pray not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard': Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople." *Gesta* 35.1 (1996): 12-20.

[555] Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments;" Ine Jacobs, "Production to Destruction? Pagan and Mythological Statuary in Asia Minor," *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, no. 2 (2010): 267-303; Luke Lavan, "Political Talismans? Residual 'Pagan' Statues in Late Antique Public Spaces," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 439-78.

marked with a cross, or buried as part of a deposit.[556] These diverse impulses are perhaps

best illustrated by the reliefs of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.[557] Imperial figures,

personifications, and deities in mythological scenes were permitted to remain on display

in late antiquity, when the Sebasteion (a monument to the Julio-Claudian dynasty) was

revitalized as a market space. Genitals were carefully edited to conform with new

Christian ideas about the body. The Olympian gods depicted on the Sebasteion, however,

especially those seen receiving sacrifice, were chiseled away, leaving visible reminders

of their former presence and current fall from grace. At Miletus as well, a cache of

intentionally damaged and buried statues has recently been excavated in a cave

underneath the theater.[558] Though most of these statues do not represent deities, they

were presumably associated with the cave shrine (where votives were also found) and the

theater above; the deposition dates to circa 400 CE or a little later. Some of the heads

found present clear evidence of being struck. Other statues from the city were marked

with crosses, edited, and left on display.

Similarly, at Aizanoi, where inscribed letters were preserved in place on the

Temple of Zeus and an architrave dedication to Artemis was partially erased, a statue

head excavated in 1998 in late antique fill from the temenos of the Temple of Zeus

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[556] Beatrice Caseau, "Religious Intolerance and Pagan Statuary," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, ed. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 479-502; Kristensen, *Making and Breaking the Gods*.

[557] R.R.R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987): 88-138; Smith, "Defacing the Gods at Aphrodisias."

[558] Philipp Niewöhner, "An Ancient Cave Sanctuary Underneath the Theatre of Miletus, Beauty, Mutilation, and Burial of Ancient Sculpture in Late Antiquity, and the History of the Seaward Defences," with contributions by Lucy Audley-Miller, Ercan Erkul, Stefan Giese, Sabine Huy, and Harald Stümpel, *Achäologischer Anzeiger* 2016, no. 1 (2016): 67-156.

suggests a more forceful approach than that taken with inscriptions.[559] The female

Hellenistic head is described in the publication as having a nose that is "abgeschlagen;"

from the photographs, it is difficult to determine whether the damage is accidental or

intentional. Furthermore, the head is marked on its neck, below her left ear, with a *theta*.

Kai Jes suggests that this may be a workshop mark that was simply never smoothed, but I

would note that the letter is deeply incised into an already-worked surface. I rather

suggest that the sign may be a late antique addition, perhaps a short form for *eis theos*

(one God), a formula found on occasion on other ancient sculpture, or an abbreviation for

thanatos (dead).[560] This statue may therefore have required a more active rebuttal than

the simple erasure of Artemis' name on an architrave or the preservation of letters on the

Temple of Zeus.

Late antique attitudes therefore varied toward older carved images, depending on

the local context and subject matter, but statues representing gods from sanctuaries were

especially susceptible to iconoclasm and deposition. The evidence in this dissertation

therefore suggests that the same does not hold true for inscriptions: on the whole, texts on

temples were more likely to be tolerated and preserved than statues or carved reliefs

adorning those same sanctuaries. This is perhaps unsurprising, as carved images

communicate with humans on a basic level with immediacy, usually requiring no training

to comprehend the a general sense of the image: a god, a mythological figure, an

emperor, an elite portrait. The repetition of attributes and body/facial types may have

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[559] Kai Jes, "Ein hochhellenistischer Statuettenkopf aus Aizanoi," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2001 (2002): 295-301.

[560] *Eis theos* appears engraved on a plaque of Demeter and Kore reused as a drain cover in Sagalassos, as mentioned in Chapter 3. See Talloen and Vercauteren "Late Antique Anatolia," 352. I thank Diliana Angelova for the suggestion that *theta* may stand for *thanatos*.

made specific pagan gods intelligible as such even in late antiquity. Inscriptions, on the other hand, required not only literacy to be comprehended as anything more than symbolic text, but also the time and will to read through several lines. The inscribed word functioned on a different level than carved images, holding less immediate power to confront viewers than pagan statuary, and therefore required less Christian intervention. The texts that required modification were those that were concise and large enough for the goddess' name to be immediately intelligible – when the distinction between visual symbol and written word became blurred.

This dissertation is furthermore founded on the premise that Christian practice should not be viewed in isolation but can only be properly understood in relation to what had come before it, in the Greco-Roman periods. The catalog of inscriptions on temples indicates that personalization of sacred architecture was reserved in ancient times for wealthy elites – one had to donation the funds for all or part of a temple to receive the privilege of inscribing one's name on it. The inclusion of a name was almost always closely linked with the donated architectural element itself, such as a column.[561] Furthermore, few graffiti dating to the ancient periods are found on temple walls, as opposed to other types of spaces, such as stoai, streets, and theaters.[562] The number of ancient individuals who could add their names to temples was therefore quite limited. This contrasts with the late antique period, when (literate) individuals from a variety of

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[561] Occasional exceptions occurred. At Lagina, individuals, not all of whom are identified as priests, could record the donation of other items to Hekate – for example, a garment or bronze doors (perhaps, but not definitely, for the temple). It should be noted, however, that these individuals may have been priests even when not so called; the inscribing of the walls of the temple at Lagina may have been perceived as a priestly privilege, making the particular designation unnecessary. Nonetheless, recording non-architectural donations on temple walls was exceptionally rare.

[562] With exceptions at sites such as Aliki on Thassos (Cat. #97).

social classes could add their names in the form of graffiti to sacred spaces, whether they were newly-built churches or converted temples. For example, on the temple-church at Aphrodisias, one reads the names of Asterius, a lute player, and Theophilos, a butcher, in a space formerly adorned only with select local elites, both an actual friend and freedman of Augustus, Gaius Julius Zoilos, and another designated as a *philokaisar*, Eumachos Diogenes. In late antiquity, even the illiterate could leave their mark with crosses etched onto the walls of the (temple) churches. This phenomenon represents a democratization of memorialization in the Christian period, as the walls of sacred space shifted from highly controlled spaces serving the euergetistic display of wealthy elites to blank canvases for regular worshippers seeking divine aid.

The most significant finding of this dissertation is the prevalence of civic-focused inscriptions on temples in both ancient and late ancient times. From the data collected in the catalog of temple inscriptions, I argued in Chapter 2 that matters of the *polis*, rather than those specific to the cult, were more likely to be inscribed on temple surfaces from the Hellenistic period onwards. Documents or letters related to land disputes, city rights, conferred privileges, honorary decrees, or business matters are found in great number on temple walls, while specific descriptions of cult practices, religious beliefs, or praises of the deity almost never appear. In my catalog, the goddess herself never speaks in the first person on the walls of the temple. Even when the sanctuary's affairs are recorded on its walls, it is often the business concerns of land or rent that are recorded in this way rather than ritual practice. Priests are sometimes mentioned, though one should remember that this was in most cases a civic as well as religious office. Donors are usually presented in

235

terms of their civic identity, with bureaucratic or honorary titles (*philokaisar,*

stephanephoros, soter tis patridos) far outnumbering religious descriptors such as

"pious" (*eusebes*).

It is this body of inscriptions – largely civic focused – that Christians inherited

when they appropriated temples. Cult statues, votive gifts, altars, even inscriptions on

stelai could be removed from sanctuaries for deposition or reuse elsewhere when a

temple became a church. But the texts on temple walls stayed. This tendency to present

polis and economic rather than cult matters on temples adds a new facet to our wider

understanding of Christianization in Greece and Asia Minor, especially in light of the

portrayal of temples given in hagiographies. As Saradi writes, "the *Lives* of saints are

marked by an anti-pagan and anti-urban message," and temples are frequently portrayed

as demon-haunted, dangerous places in need of violent destruction or deep

purification.[563] Scholarship of recent years often remarks upon the disconnect between

this textual depiction and the archaeological remains, which indicate that most temples

were not destroyed but were at times actively preserved, or in other cases peacefully

abandoned, reused as churches, or taken apart for their building material. The

hagiographical texts were, of course, written by biased authors, often monks or

churchmen, and fulfilled certain expectations of the genre, including dramatic

showdowns between the saint and pagan elements.[564] Even so, it may seem somewhat

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[563] Helen Saradi, "The Christianization of Pagan Temples," 113.

[564] Robert Wiśniewski has recently argued that late antique Christians throughout the Eastern Mediterranean regarded temples as demon-haunted, because of the long Greek tradition of believing that the gods were actually present at sanctuaries, especially oracular ones: "Pagan Temples, Christians, and Demons in the Late Antique East and West," *Sacris Erudiri* 54 (2016): 111-128. Although this incorporation of the older Hellenic religious beliefs is useful, Wiśniewski still relies mainly on textual,

strange that such extremes – hagiographies encouraging destruction versus frequent preservation/reuse – could exist in the same cultural setting.

I propose that the very texts inscribed on temple walls provided a counterweight to the hagiographical polemics, emphasizing instead the positive, civic, and economic history of temples and shaping cultural memory around these poles, rather than esoteric religious beliefs or the attributes of individual gods. In each of the case studies presented in Chapter 3, I have drawn attention to the elements of local identity (linguistically-marked names, group identifiers such as "Galatians" or "Aizanitians," connections to both nearby towns and the wider Greco-Roman world) that continued to be visible on temple walls. This finding lends additional weight to other recent research on the "fate of temples," which emphasizes their non-religious roles, including aesthetic markers of late antique cities and guarantors of economic and social hierarchies.[565] Alongside traditions passed orally from generation to generation, these inscribed texts ensured that temples continued as repositories of important historical documents and records of illustrious citizens of the past. These inscriptions therefore offered Christians the option to continue to view temples positively, fitting them into a local, *polis*-centered narrative and social hierarchy rather than as focal points of religious conflict.

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rather than archaeological sources, and does not fully explain why so many temples were preserved and reused in the cities of the east.

[565] Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance*, 272ff; Sweetman, "Memory, Tradition, and Christianization."

APPENDIX: CATALOG OF INSCRIPTIONS ON TEMPLES

In this catalog, I attempt to represent all the inscriptions on temples in Greece and Asia Minor known to me. It is not possible to include each text individually, as some temples hold many inscriptions on their walls. I have attempted to give a representative example, and mention the other relevant texts in the commentary. Because I am in almost all cases reprinting earlier editions rather than giving a new reading, I do not include the full epigraphical apparatus; the reader should consult the original citation for that information. I give only the most recent or standardized name of a text, rather than listing the many published versions. For my methodology in collecting these texts, see Chapter 2, 66-69.

When the findspot or condition of the temple is recorded in previous publications, I include it here (for example, "built into a late wall," "reused in a church," or "found in the ruins of the temple"). In many cases, however, the early publishers of these texts failed to precisely record the find locations.

The Appendix, like Chapter 2, divides these texts into three main types: "Construction Donations," "Lists of Priests," and "Documents." "Construction Donations" is subdivided into "Entablature Inscriptions" and "Non-Entablature Construction Donations." A final category, "Miscellaneous," contains texts without parallels. Each category is organized in chronological order.

Throughout, I use the Leiden Conventions for the transcription of epigraphic texts, which is the standard for modern scholarship. Brackets, [ ], indicate letters that are missing and have been restored by the editor. A dot underneath a letter means that part of the letter is visible, but the reading is not certain. Parentheses indicate that the editor is expanding an abbreviation in the text. Letters in all caps indicate that they can be read by the editor, but s/he can make no sense of them. Because of the great variety of of epigraphic *sigla* used in the original publications, however, I have here chosen to represent all missing lettes with a simple ellipsis in brackets ([…]), rather than indicating exactly how many letters are believed to be missing (except when only one or two letters are missing, which is then indicated by one or two periods, respectively). The reader is therefore again referred to the original publication for the full epigraphic information. My abbreviations of epigraphic sources follow the standard set by the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*).

I provide English translations of each text included here. The translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

Construction Donations
Entablature Inscriptions

#1 Labraunda, Temple of Zeus. Caria.
Architrave inscribed under Idrieus (r. 351-344 BCE). Single line on bi-fasciae architrave. Found in the ruins of the temple, which was disassembled at least in part at an indeterminate time most likely in late antiquity, with some blocks probably ending up in a lime kiln. *I.Labraunda* #16.

Ἰδριεὺς Ἑκα[τόμνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Διὶ Λαμβραὺ]νδωι
Idrieus, son of Heka[tomnos, a Mylasan, set up the temple for Zeus Labrau]ndos

#2 Amyzon, Temple of Artemis. Caria.
Two lines on a bi-fasciae architrave. Firsts line inscribed under Idrieus (r. 351-344 BCE), second line inscribed by Zeuxis c. 203-200 BCE. Found re-used in a later wall. *Amyzon* #1 (with a new reconstruction from Hellström, "Sacred Architecture and Karian Identity," 276).

Ἰδριεὺς Ἑκατό[μνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι]
Ζεῦξις Κυνάγου Μακεδὼν τοὺς ἀγροὺς τῶ[ι θεῶι … ἀποκατέστησεν]
Idrieus, son of Hekato[mnos, a Mylasan, set up the temple for Artemis]
Zeuxis son of Kynagos, a Macedonian, [restored] the fields to [the goddess]

#3 Mamurt Kale/Kaikos, Temple of the Mother of the Gods. Aeolis (near Pergamon).
Architrave inscribed under Philetairos (r. 281-63 BCE). Single line on flat architrave. Found in the ruins of the temple. *IMT Kaikos* #928.

Φιλεταῖρος Ἀττάλου Μητ[ρ]ὶ Θεῶν
Philetairos, son of Attalos, to the Mother of the Gods

#4 Pelasgiotis, Temple of Zeus Meilichios, Enodia, and Pompaios (Hermes). Near Larisa, Thessaly.
Inscribed in two lines on a tri-fasica architrave, perhaps around 145 BCE, if the association of this Makon, son of Omphalion, with another instance of the same name from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III 4.4 #355) is correct, or this inscription from an individual of the same name may date somewhat later. *IG* IX, 2 #578.

Μάκων Ὀμφαλίωνος τὸν να[ὸν]
Διὶ Μειλιχίωι καὶ Ἐνοδίᾳ καὶ Πομ[παίῳ.]
Makon, son of Omphalion, (dedicated) the temple to Zeus Meilichios, Enodia, and Pom[paios]

#5 Delos, Temple of Hermes and Maia in the Italian Agora. Cyclades.
Inscribed c. 140 BCE on the flat architrave of a tetrastyle *naiskos*. The Latin inscription is located on the left side of the architrave; the Greek inscription begins near the middle and extends toward the right. Both are in three lines. *I.Délos* #1731.

M'. M[arcius M'. f., N. Obellius M. f., …]ius G. l.,
M. Lo[llius Q. f., Sp. Anicius M. f., …]us N. f.
ma[gistreis Mercurio et Maiae ... fe]çerun[t].
Μάνιος Μάρκιος Μανίου, Νε[μ]έ[ριος Ὀ]βέλλιος Μα[…ιος Γαίου],
Μάρκος Λόλλιος Κοίντου, Σπόρι[ος] Ἀνίκιος Μ[…ιος Νεμερίου],
οἱ Ἑρμαισταὶ Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Μαίαι τὸν να[ὸν ἀνέθηκαν]

Manius Marcius, son of Manius, Nemerius Obellius, son of Marcus, […]ius, son of Gaius,
Marcus Lollius, son of Quintus, Spurius Anicius, son of Marcus, […]us, son of Numerius,
the Hermaistai, set up the temple for Hermes/Mercury and Maia

#6 Delos, Temple of Isis. Cyclades.
Three-line inscription on a flat architrave. Before 135 BCE. *I.Délos* #2041.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀ[θηναίων] Ἴσιδι
[ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῆς νήσου … καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ Βυττά]κου τοῦ Βυττάκου Λαμπτρέως καὶ
[…] Ἀναφλυστίου.
The *demos* of the Athenians to Isis
[When so and so was the *epimeletes* of the island, and those in charge of the holy rites were Butta]kos, son of Buttakos of Lamptrai and of […] of Anaphlystus.

#7 Delos, Temple to Sarapis, Isis, and Anoubis. Cyclades.
Inscribed 135/4 BCE. Five lines on a tri-fasciae architrave (two lines each on the upper two fasciae). The top line is larger than the remaining lines. *I.Délos* #2042.

1 [ὁ δῆμος ὁ] Ἀθηναίων Σαρ[άπιδι, Ἴ]σιδ[ι, Ἀνο]ύβιδι,
2 [ἐπὶ ἐπιμ]ελητοῦ τῆ[ς] νήσου Φιλωνίδ[ου το]ῦ Ὀτ — — — [ἐκ Κολ]ωνο[ῦ]
3 [καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ Α]ἰσχίνου τοῦ Φιλοκλέους Ἀχαρνέω[ς] κα<ὶ> Ν[ικ]άρχο[υ τοῦ Κλέ]ωνος Ἁλαιέως,
4 [ἱερέ]ως τοῦ Σαράπιδος v Ζήνωνος τοῦ [Ε]ὐρ<ή>μω[ν]ος Ἀν[αφλυστίου].
5 Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἡρα[ίου] Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν.

[The *demos* of] the Athenians to Sarapis, Isis, and Anoubis, when Philonides son of Ot[…] from Colonus was *epimeletes* of the island, and those in charge of the holy rites were Aischines, son of Philokles of Acharnai, and Nikarchos, son of Cleon of Halas, and when the priest of Sarapis was Zeno, son of Euremon of Anaphlystus. Apollodoros, son of Heraios, an Athenian, made it.

#8 Delos, Shrine of Anoubis. Cyclades.
Inscribed 130/29 BCE. Two lines on a flat architrave. The top line is approximately twice as big as the lower one. *I.Délos* #2043.

1 ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων Ἀνούβιδι,
2 ἐ{ι}φ᾽ {ἐφ᾽} ἱερέως Νέωνος τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτου Λευκονοέως.
The *demos* of the Athenians to Anoubis, when the priest was Neon, son of Hermokrates of Leukonoe.

#9 Delos, Naiskos of the Hermaistai. Cyclades.
Inscribed circa 125 BCE in (at least) two lines on the top fascia of a tri-fascia architrave, on the central architrave block. The other fasciae were likely also inscribed. A list of names was inscribed on the left, while the heading (οἱ Ἑρμαισταὶ…) was on the right. *I.Délos* #1734.

οἱ Ἑρμαισ[ταὶ οἱ]
καὶ τὰς πα[στάδας]
[…].
l.1 Γάιος Στάιος Ουίου.
Αὖλος Κερρίνιος Λευκίου.
[ὁ δεῖνα …].
r.1 [ὁ δεῖνα …].
The Hermaistai, who also the colonnades… Gaius Staius, son of Vivus, Aulus Quirinius, son of Lucius, [so and so …]

#10 Delos, Kabirion. Cyclades.
Inscribed 102/1 BCE. Three lines on tri-fasciae architrave. The final line is written smaller than the other two. *I.Délos* #1562.

1 [ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἡλιάναξ Ἀσκληπιοδ]ώρου Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς Πο[σειδῶνος Αἰσίου, γενόμενο]ς καὶ Θεῶν Με[γάλων Σαμο]θράκων Διοσκούρων [Καβείρων]
2 [ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τ]οῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων τὸν ναὸν [καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῶι ἀγάλματα καὶ τ]ὰ ὅπλα θεοῖς οἷς ἱερά[τευσε καὶ βασιλ]εῖ Μιθραδάτηι Εὐπάτορι Διονύσωι,
3 [ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ] τῆς νήσου Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου Σουνιέως.

The priest Helianax, son of Asklepiodoros, an Athenian, priest for life of Poseidon Aisios, having become also the priest of the Great Gods of Samothrace, the Dioskouroi Kabeiroi, on behalf of the *demos* of the Athenians and the *demos* of the Romans (dedicated) the temple and the statues in it and the weapons to the gods whom he has served, and to the king Mithridates Eupator Dionysos. When Theodotus son of Diodoros of Sounion was *epimeletes* of the island.

#11 Aigai, Temple of Apollo Chresterios. Aeolis (near Pergamon).
Inscribed under the proconsul Publius Servilius Isauricus in 46 BCE. Two lines on top two fasciae of tri-fasciae architrave. If reconstruction drawing is correct, the inscription was centered across two architrave blocks (the second and third from the left), rather than being centered on the architrave as a whole. *Alt. von Aegae* #47.

1 ˊΟ δᾶμος Ἀπόλλωνι Χρηστηρίῳ χαριστήριον σωθεὶς
2 ὑπὸ Ποπλίῳ Σερουιλίῳ Ποπλίῳ υἵῳ, Ἰσαυρικῷ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ.
The *demos* to Apollo Chresterios, as a thanks offering, having been saved by the proconsul Publius Servilius Isauricus, son of Publius.

#12 Kyaneai, Temple of Eleuthera. Lycia.
Inscribed in late Hellenistic or early imperial times in two lines on a tri-fascia architrave. The architrave blocks were found reused in a cistern under the narthex of a basilica. F. Kolb and M. Zimmermann, "Neue Inschriften aus Kyaneai und Umgebung," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 (1990): 115-138, #1.

Κάλλιπος Ἡγε[λό]χου τοῦ Καλλίπου τοῦ Ἡγελόχου
τὸν ναὸν Ἐλευ[θ]έρᾳ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶι δήμωι.
Kallipos, son of Hegelochos, son of Kallipos, son of Hegelochos,
(dedicated) the temple to Eleutheria the head deity of the city and to the *demos*.

#13 Mylasa, Temple of Augustus and Roma. Caria.
Inscribed under Augustus, between the years 12 BCE and 2 CE. Single line on the upper fascia of a tri-fasciae architrave, as recorded by early travelers. *In situ* on temple when it became a church at an uncertain date. *I.Mylasa* #31.

Ὁ δῆμος Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ.
The *demos* to the emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, high priest, and to the goddess Roma.

#14 Athens, Temple of Augustus and Roma. Attica.

Inscribed between 27 BCE-14 CE. Five lines on tri-fasciae architrave (two lines each on the upper two fasciae). Καίσαρι seems to have originally read Σωτῆρι, but it was erased and replaced. The reason is unclear. *IG* II/III³ P4 F1 #10 = *IG* II² #3173.

[ὁ] δῆμος θεᾶι Ῥώμηι καὶ Σ[εβασ]τῶι [[Καίσαρι]] στρα[τηγ]οῦντος ἐπὶ τ[οὺς]
ὁπλίτας Παμμένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος Μαραθωνίου ἱερέως θεᾶς
Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπ' ἀκροπόλει, ἐπὶ ἱερείας Ἀθηνᾶς
Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆς Ἀσκληπίδου Ἁλαιέως θυγατρός.
5 ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀρήου τ[οῦ] Δωρίωνος Παιανιέως :
The *demos* to the goddess Roma and to Caesar Augustus, when the *strategos* of the hoplites was Pammenes, son of Zeno of Marathon, (also) the priest of the goddess Roma and the savior Augustus on the Akropolis, when the priestess of Athena Polias was Megiste, daughter of Asklepi(a)des of Halas, when the archon was Ares son of Dorion of Paeanieus.

#15 Olympia, Metroön. Elis.
Inscribed under Augustus, 27 BCE-14 CE. Four short lines on a flat architrave. Augustus is here in the genitive, which is rare. The sense should be that the temple now belongs to emperor. *IvO* #366; *IG* II² #3242.

Ἠλῆοι θ[εοῦ] υἱοῦ Καί[σαρος]
Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆ[ρος τῶν Ἑλ]-
λήν[ω]ν τε καὶ [τῆς οἰκου]-
μένη[ς] πάσῃ[ς …]
The Eleans (dedicate a temple of) Caesar Augustus, son of a god, Savior of the Hellenes and of the whole world…
(trans. after Stafford, "'The People to the Goddess Livia,'" 224)

#16 Priene, Temple of Athena. Ionia.
Architrave inscribed under Augustus (r. 27 BCE- 14 CE). In two lines on top two fasciae of tri-fasciae architrave. Although the top fascia is slightly larger than the middle one, the letters in both lines are roughly the same size. Found in the ruins of the temple. *I.Priene (2014)* #153.

1 ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηνᾶι Πολιάδι καὶ
2 [Αὐ]τοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ υἱῶι Θεῶι Σεβαστῶι [ἀνέθηκεν.]
The *demos* [dedicated it] to Athena Polias and to emperor Caesar Augustus, divine son of a god.

#17 Troy, Temple of Athena. Troad.

243

Inscribed under Augustus (r. 27 BCE – 14 CE). In two lines on flat architrave block. Only a fragment is preserved, and it was later covered by another inscription in bronze, based on dowel holes (see #41). Augustus is named in the nominative, rather than as the recipient of the temple in the dative. *I.Ilion* #84.

Αὐτοκράτ[ωρ Καίσαρ Θεοῦ]
υἱὸς Σεβα[στὸς ...]
Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god…

#18 Samos, Corinthian Temple in Heraion precinct. Aegean islands.
Inscribed under Augustan or Tiberius? Architrave with holes for bronze letters. *IG* XII 6,1 #481.

[…κατα]σκευάσσα {[ἐπι]σκευάσασα} ΙΛ[…]
[She (or the polis),] having prepared/restored…

#19 Klaros, Temple of Apollo Klarios. Ionia.
Inscribed under Tiberius (r. 14-37 CE). In three lines on a flat architrave of the temple's pronaos, which was not highly visible due to the exterior peristyle architrave and columns (erected already in the first century BCE). Ferrary, "Les inscriptions du sanctuaire," #12.
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,
Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ, Θεοῦ
υἱωνοῦ, Σεβας[τ]ο[ῦ].
(Place) of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, grandson of a god.

#20 Aizanoi, Temple of Artemis. Phrygia.
Inscribed under Claudius (r. 41-54 CE). One line on top fascia of tri-fascia architrave. The entire first part of the inscription, until τὸν ναὸν, was erased (although the block beginning with Ἀρτέμωνος is missing, it is reconstructed based on other inscriptions found in the city, and was also erased, as evidenced by the erasure of the final υ of βίου found on the following block. This architrave was reused in a colonnaded street (the *Säulenstraße*) built c. 400 CE. *MAMA* IX #270.

[[Ἀρ]τέμιδι ἁγιωτάτηι καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῶι δήμωι Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ [Ἀρτέμωνος Χάραξ ἱερεὺς διὰ Βίο]υ]] τὸν ναὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων κατεσκεύα[σεν.]
To Artemis the most holy and to the emperors and to the *demos*, Asklepiades Charax, son of Asklepiades, son of Artemon, priest for life, constructed the temple from his own funds.

#21 Rhamnous, Temple of Nemesis/Livia. Attica.
Inscribed under Claudius in 45/6 CE. In six lines on a single block at the center of the flat architrave. *IG* II² #3242.

1 ὁ δῆμος
θεᾶι Λειβίᾳ στρατηγοῦντος
[ἐπὶ] τοὺς ὁπλε[ί]τας τοῦ καὶ ἱερέως θεᾶς
[Ῥώμη]ς κ[α]ὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος [Δημ]οστράτου
5 [τοῦ Διονυ]σίου Παλληνέως, ἄρχοντος δὲ
[Ἀντιπάτρου] τοῦ Ἀν<τι>πάτρου Φλυέ[ως ν]εωτέρου.
The *demos* to the goddess Livia, when the *strategos* of the hoplites and the priest of the goddess Roma and of Caesar Augustus was Demostratos, son of Dionysios of Pallene, and when the archon was Antipatros the younger, son of Antipater of Phlya.

#22 Athens, Parthenon. Attica.
Inscribed under Nero in 61/2 CE. Bronze letters in three lines (interspersed with shields) on flat architrave. Removed when Nero underwent *damnatio*. *IG* II/III³ 4,1 #10.

1 ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων Αὐτοκράτορα μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν
2 Γερμανικὸν θεοῦ υἱόν, στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας τὸ ὄγδοον τοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου
3 Τι Κλαυδίου Νουίου τοῦ Φιλίνου, ἐπὶ ἱερείας Παυλλείνης τῆς Καπίτωνος θυγατρός.
The council of the Areopagus and the council of the Six Hundred and the *demos* of the Athenians (honored?) the great emperor Nero Caesar Claudius Augustus, Germanikos, son of a god, when Tiberius Claudius Novius, son of Philinos, was the *strategos* of the hoplites for the eighth time and also the *epimeletes* and the *nomothetes*, and when the priestess (of Athena) was Paullina, daughter of Kapiton.
(trans. after Stafford, "'The People to the Goddess Livia,'" 225.)

#23 Blaundos, Temple 2. Lydia/Phrygia.
Inscribed under Vespasian (r. 69-79 CE). Latin inscription in two lines on flat frieze. Von Saldern, "Katalog der Inschriften," #6.

1 [Imp(eratore) Caesare Vespasiano Aug(usto) #] et Imp(eratore) Caesare A[ug(usti)] f(ilio) T(ito) Vespasi[ano # cos ….]orum et civitat[ti Blaunde]nae C(aius) Octavius C(ai filius) Co[rnelia (tribu)]
2 te]mplum et portico[s …]um Ti(beri) Claudi[…dis f. Quir(na) Men[ecrat-]
In the consulate of the emperor Vespasian for the # time…, and in the consulate of Titus, his son, for the # time … Gaius Octavius, son of Gaius, of the Cornelian tribe, (dedicated) the temple and the porticoes to … and to the city of Blaundos. With Tiberius Claudius …
(trans. after Falko von Saldern, *Blaundos*, 324)

#24 Blaundos, Temple to Ceres and Domitia (?) Augusta. Lydia/Phrygia.
Inscribed under Flavians (69-96 CE). The inscription is bilingual, with Latin in two lines on the frieze, and Greek in three lines on a tri-fasciae architrave. *CIG* #3869; Von Saldern, "Katalog der Inschriften," #3 (Latin) and #4 (Greek).

1 Cereri et Dom[itiae] Au[g(ustae) et civitati Blaundenae C(aius) Octavius C(ai filius) Cornelia (tribu) pius] et in patriam [aman(?)]tissimus sua pecunia templum et porticus et aditum [cum co]lum[nis f]ieri iussit, c[uram]
2 [op]eri[s reficiendi habuit Ti. Claudius – dis f(ilius) Quirina (tribu) Menecra]tes
1 [Δημήτρι καὶ Δομιτίαι Σεβαστῆι καὶ] τῶ[ι δήμωι Γ]άιος Ὀκτάου[ι]ος Γ(αίου) Κορνηλία ε|ὐσε[β]ὴς καὶ φιλόπατ[ρις δραχμῶν ἑκατ]ὸν χι[λιάδων ἀναλώματι]
2 [τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὸ πρόπυλον ἀνέθηκεν, τὴν ἐ]πιμέλειαν τῆς ἀποκαταστάσε|[ως α]ὐτῶν ποιησαμ[ένου Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίο[υ
3 …δος υἱοῦ v. Κυ]ρείνα [Μ]ενεκράτους […]ντος
To Ceres and Domitia Augusta (?) and the city of Blaundos, Gaius Octavius, son of Gaius, from the tribe of Cornelia, the pius and fatherland-loving (?) man, (Greek: 10,000 drachmas) from his own money commanded that the temple, the stoas, and the proplyon with the columns be erected. Tiberius Claudius, the son of [so and so] from the tribe Quirina, took care of the re-erection (of it).
(trans. after Falko von Saldern, *Blaundos*, 323-24)

#25 Corinth, Temple E. Corinthia.
Inscribed in the 80s CE(?). Bronze letters with under carving, on the top fascia of a tri-fasciae architrave. *Corinth* 8,3 #333.

-[e]T LIBERI EIUS SP[…]
[so and so] and his children […]

#26 Aizanoi, Temple of Zeus. Phrygia
Inscribed under Domitian in 92 or 94/95 CE. Bronze letters (without under carving) in two lines on tri-fasciae architrave. Only dowel holes preserved. Probably removed when the temple became a church, if not earlier. *SEG* 58 #1492.

1 [vac. Διὶ Αἰζανῶν καὶ Α]ὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρ[ι] θεοῦ Οὐεσ[π]ασιανοῦ [υἱῶι Δ]ομιτιανῶ[ι Σ]εβαστῶι Γερ[μανικῶι, ἀρχιε]ρεῖ μεγίστωι δημαρχικῆ[ς ἐξ]ουσίας τὸ ια᾽,
2 Αὐτοκράτο[ρι] τὸ κβ᾽, ὑπάτωι τὸ ι[ς᾽, τειμ]ητῆι διὰ βίου, [πα]τρὶ πατρίδος, ἔ[κτισεν ἡ Αἰζα]νειτῶν πόλις
To Zeus of Aizanoi and to the emperor Caesar Augustus Domitian, son of the god Vespasian, Germanicus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power the eleventh time,

imperator the twenty-second time, consul for the sixteenth time, censor for life, pater patriae. The city of the Aizaneitis founded (the temple).

#27 Miletopolis, Temple of Tyche. Mysia (near Kyzikos).
Inscribed by Euschemon, a purple-dyer, in the first or second century CE. Two lines on the top fasciae of a fragment of a bi- or tri-fasciae architrave. *I.Miletopolis* #35.

[ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Μειλ]ητοπολειτῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν τῆ[ς π]όλεως Τύχην καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῆς κατεσκεύασε[ν]
2 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Εὐσχήμων [π]ορφυροπώλης
On behalf of the *demos* of the Miletopolitans, Euschemon, a purple-dyer, set up the (statue) of the Good Fortune of the city and her temple, from his own funds.

#28 Diocaesarea, Tychaion. Cilicia.
Inscribed first/second century CE. In a single line on the top fascia of a tri-fasciae architrave. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," *JHS* 12 #50; *MAMA* III, 56.

Ὄππιος Ὀβρίμου καὶ Κυρία Λεωνίδου ἡ γυνὴ Ὀππίου τὸ Τυχαῖον τῇ πόλει
Oppios, son of Obrimos, and Kyria, daughter of Leonides and wife of Oppios (dedicated) the Tychaion for the city.

#29 Arykanda, Temple of Trajan. Lycia.
 Inscribed under Trajan, after 102 CE but before 114 CE. In three lines on an architrave block. *I.Arykanda* #16.

ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τρ[αιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ σωτηρίας]
τὸν ναὸν ἐκ τοῦ λευκολίθου ἐπεσκ[εύασεν Ἀρυκανδέων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος διὰ τῶν δείνων …]
γραμματευσά[ντω]ν ἀνέθηκεν δὲ κα[θιεροῦντος τοῦ δεῖνος … πρεσβευτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ].
For the safety of the emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, the *boule* and the *demos* of the Arykandyans established the temple out of white stone, and when [so and so] were the secretaries they dedicated it with [so and so consecrating it… *legatus propraetor* of the emperor.]

#30 Ephesos, Temple of Hadrian. Ionia.
Inscribed under Hadrian, in 119 CE. Three lines on arched tri-fasciae architrave. After the temple and nearby bath collapsed, the blocks were piled up along the road to create a barrier. *I.Eph* #429.

1 [Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίᾳ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσα]ρι Τραιανῶι Ἀδριανῶι Σεβαστῶ[ι] καὶ τῶι
νεωκόρωι Ἐφεσί[ων δήμ]ωι Πόπλιος Κυιντίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Γαλερία
2 [Οὐάλης Οὐάριος … σὺν … τῇ γυναι]κὶ καὶ Οὐ[α]ρίλλῃ θυγα[τ]ρὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐκ
θεμελίων σὺν παντὶ τῶι κόσμωι καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτ[ῷ ἄγαλμα ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἐπὶ
ἀνθυπάτου Σερβαίου Ἰννόκεντος, γραμματεύοντος τοῦ δήμου τὸ β΄,
3 Ποπλίου Οὐηδίο[υ Ἀν]τωνείνου ἀσιάρχου, ὑποσχομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Τί(του) Κλαυδίου
Λουκκ[ειανοῦ γραμματέω]ς τοῦ δήμου." To Ephesian Artemis and to the emperor Caesar
Augustus Trajan Hadrian, and to the neokoros *demos* of the Ephesians, Publius Quintilius
Valens Varius, son of Publius with his wife Galeria […] and his daughter Varilla, erected
from their own money the temple from the foundations with all its decoration and the
statue in it, during the proconsulship of Servius Innocens, when he was the secretary of
the *demos* the second time, when Publius Vidius Antoninus was Asiarch, and when Titus
Claudius Luccianus was secretary of the *demos*.

#31 Sagalassos, Temple of Apollo Klarios. Pisidia.
Inscribed under Hadrian, 119/120 CE. Three lines on tri-fascia architrave. Found in its re-
used location in the church built in this temple. *IGR* III #342, Lanckoronski, *Städte II*
#200. For the most recent edition and dating, see Eck, "Die Dedikation des Apollo
Klarios," 45-46.

1 Ἀπόλλωνι Κλαρίῳ καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι Τ. Φλ. Κολλήγας, μετα Φλ.
Λονγίλλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, τὸ περίπτερον [τὸν δὲ ναὸν μετὰ … καὶ … Ἑρμο]λάου
τῶν Διομήδους καὶ Ἀδὸς πατρὸς
2 καὶ μητρὸς τοῦ Κολλήγα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἐκ δηναρίων μυρίων τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων ἐν
χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τοῦ Κολλήγα κατασκευάσας ἀνέθηκε καὶ καθιέρωσε[ν αὐτὸς
διὰ … ἐπὶ Κορνηλίου] Πρόκλου τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἡγεμόνο[ς …],
3 τὴν δὲ σκούτλωσιν τῶν τοίχων τ[ο]ῦ ναοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς Φλ. Κολλήγας καὶ
Τ. Φλ. [Οὐ]ᾶρος Δαρεῖος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, διὰ Φλ. Διομ[ήδους … καὶ …].
To Apollo Klarios and to the *theoi sebastoi* and to the fatherland, Titus Flavius Collega,
with Flavia Longilla his wife, erected and dedicated the *peripteros* [and the temple …
Herm]olaos of Diomedes and Ados the father and the mother of Collega, out of their own
(money) and out of the thousand denarii given in the year of the high priesthood of
Collega, that man (Collega), having fully equipped it, dedicated and consecrated it,
through [….. in the time when] Proklus was the most revered hegemonos […], the same
Flavius Collega (funded) the revetment of the walls of the temple, and his brother, Titus
Flavius Varus Darius, through Flavius Diom[edes…and …].

#32 Klaros, Temple of Apollo. Ionia.
Inscribed under Hadrian between 132 and 138 CE. Two lines on a flat architrave. Top
line is roughly centered on the architrave, while second line begins at left and terminates
around the middle of the façade. Ferrary, "Les inscriptions du sanctuaire," #13.

1 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ[αρ Θεοῦ Τραιαν]οῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς Θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱω[νὸς Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸσς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,] δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ… αὐ]το-
2 κράτωρ τὸ δε[ὐτερον, ὕπατος] τὸ (τρίτον), Ὀλὺμπιος καὶ Πανελλήν[ιος καὶ Πανιώνιος …]

Emperor Caesar [Trajan Hadrian Augustus,] son of the [god Trajan] Parthicus, grandson of the god Nerva, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power the […] time, imperator the second time, [consul] the third time, Olympios and Panhellen[ios and Panionios…]

#33 Teos, Temple of Dionysos. Ionia. Hadrian (132/8).
Inscribed under Hadrian, between 132 and 138 CE. Three lines on tri-fasciae architrave. Found in the ruins of the temple. Robert, *Hellenica* 3, 86; McCabe, *Teos*, #76.

1   Αὐτοκράτω[ρ Καῖσαρ] Θεοῦ Τρ[α]ϊανοῦ Πα[ρθικοῦ υἱ]ὸς Θεο[ῦ Νέρου]α υ[ἱωνὸς Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς Ὀλύμπιος Πανελλήνιος …]
2   Παν[ι]ώνιο[ς ἀρχιερεὺ]ς μέγι[σ]τος δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξου]σίας [τὸ ., ὕπατ]ος τ[ὸ …]
3   […]EN[…]

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the god Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the god Nerva, Olympios, Panhellenios …] Panionios, ponteifex maximus, holding the tribunician power the […] time, consul the […] time […]

#34 Sagalassos, Temple of Hadrian(?) and Antoninus Pius. Pisidia.
Inscribed under Antoninus Pius, 138-61. In two lines on tri-fascia architrave. Found in the ruins of the temple, which was disassembled for building material in late antiquity. I follow here the version of Lanckoronski, rather than the reconstruction (to the god Hadrian) proposed by the current excavators. Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien* II, #188.
1 [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτω Αἰλίω Ἀδ]ριανῷ Ἀντων[είνω Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ θεοῦ Ἀδ]ρια[νοῦ υἱῶ] καὶ τῷ σὺνπαντι
2 [οἴκω καὶ πατρίοις θεοῖς ἡ λαμπρὰ Σαγα]λασςέων πό[λις πρώτη τῆς Πισιδίας, φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος] Ρω[μαί]ων καθιέρωσεν.
To the Emperor Caesar Titus Ailius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the god Hadrian, and to his whole house and ancestral gods, the shining city of the Sagalassians, first city of Pisidia, friend and ally of the Romans, dedicated (the temple).

#35 Kocaaliler, Temple of Antoninus Pius. Pisidia.
Dedication Antoninus Pius (r. 138-61) in two lines on an architrave (description not recorded). *I.Pisid.Cen* #148.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτω Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ

[…] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καθιερῶσεν.
To the Emperor Caesar Titus Ailius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius… from his own funds dedicated (the temple).

#36 Kremna, Temple of Antoninus Pius. Pisidia.
Inscribed under Antoninus Pius (r. 138-61). Single line inscription in Latin, written in a narrow band on what appears to be a frieze. *I.Pisid.Cen*, #11.

[Imp. Caesari T. Aelio Hadriano Antoni]no Aug. Pio p.p. [-]
To the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, pater patriae…

#37 Korykos, Temple, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (?). Cilicia.
Not yet published. Mentioned in Deniz Kaplan, "Korykos Tapınağı'na İlişkin Öneriler," *Olba* 16 (2008): 227- 248, at 238; Chiara Giobbe, "Roman Temples in Rough Cilicia: A Diachronic Analysis," in *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, ed. Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 128-143, at 128.

#38 Corinth, Temple J. Corinthia.
Inscribed under Commodus in 184/5 CE. Preserved only in two Latin lines (the top one on the abbreviated flat frieze and the second on the upper fascia of the bi-fasciae architrave). Second line was erased when Commodus underwent *damnatio*. *Corinth* 8, 3 #111.

…POS DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI AB NEPOS
[[PONTIF MAX TRIB P X IMP VII COS IIII PP]]
…descendant of the divine Trajan Parthicus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power the tenth time, imperator the seventh time, consul the fourth time, pater patriae…

#39 Corinth, Temple H. Corinthia.
Inscribed under Commodus (r. 180-192 CE). In three Latin lines (the top one on the abbreviated flat frieze and the second and third on the bi-fasciae architrave). *Corinth* 8,3 #112.

1. IMP CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PII GER[M FIL DIVI PII NEPOS DIVI HADRIANI PRONEPOS DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEPOS]
2. DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS [[M AUREL. COMM[ODUS]] ANT AUG PIUS SARM GERM MAX BRITT PONTIF MAX TRIB P…IMP…COS…PP]
3. EX TESTAMENTO CORNEL BAEBIAE FECIT CUR[AVITQUE …]
Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the divine Marcus Antoninus Pius Geramnicus, grandson of the divine Pius, great grandson of the

divine Hadrian, descendant of the divine Trajan Parthicus, descendant of the divine Nerva, Sarmaticus, Germanicus maximus, Britanicus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power the ...time, imperator the … time, consul the …time, pater patriae, made it and oversaw it according to the will of Cornelia Baebia.

#40 Adada, Temple of Emperors and Zeus Sarapis. Pisidia.
Inscribed in the late second or early third century. On an epistyle block (presumably a tri-fascia architrave). The text of the inscription is published in four lines, but Sterrett's drawing of the inscription suggests a more standard three lines. The line breaks here are my proposal based on Sterrett's drawing. *In situ* on the temple. *IGR* III #364.

[Θεοῖς Σεβ]αστοῖς καὶ Διὶ [Μεγίς]τῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι Ἀ[ντίοχος Τλαμόου φιλόπατρις, ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν
2 Σε]βαστῶν τὸ Βʹ, κτίς[της, υἱὸς π]όλεως καὶ Ἄννα Ὅπλωνος, ἡ γυνὴ αὐτο[ῦ ἀρχιέρεια καὶ Τλαμόας καὶ Ἀντίοχος, φιλοπάτριδες,
3 κτίσται κα]ὶ υἱοὶ πόλεως, τὸν ναὸν κα[ὶ τὰ ἀγάλμα]τα, σὺν ταῖς περικειμέναις στοαῖς καὶ ἐργας[τ]ηρίο(ι)ς καὶ [παντὶ κόσμῳ, καθιερώσαντες ἀνέθηκαν.]
To the *Theoi Sebastoi* and to the great Zeus Sarapis and to the fatherland, Antiochos, son of Tlamoas, *philopatris*, priest of the imperial cult the second time, founder, son of the city, and Anna, daughter of Hoplos [?], his wife, priestess, and Tlamoas and Antiochos, *philopatrides*, founders and sons of the city, erected and dedicated the temple and the statues, along with the surrounding stoas and workshops and all the decoration.

#41 Troy, Temple of Athena. Troad.
In late antiquity, an inscription in bronze letters in a single line was laid over the older, two-line Augustan inscription, which was carved. C. Brian Rose has recently argued that the bronze inscription is a dedication to Julian, which would date it from the years of 361-363. Rose, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy,* 265-66.

[Φλαβίου Κλαδί]ου Ἰουλ[ιανοῦ]
My proposed reconstruction:
[ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Φλαβίου Κλαδί]ου Ἰουλ[ιανοῦ σωτηρίας]
For the safety of the emperor Flavius Claudius Julian.

Construction Donations not on Entablature

#42 Ephesos, Temple of Artemis. Ionia.
Four column bases from the archaic Artemision, inscribed under Kroesos (r. 560-547 BCE). Fragments of around twenty-five dedications on column bases have been found (*I.Eph* 5 #1519). *I.Eph 5*, #1518 1-4.

Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν.
King Croesus dedicated it.

#43 Pergamon, Temple of Athena. Aeolis.
Bi-lingual inscription (Greek and Lydian) on a pronaos column shaft, about four meters above ground level. Inscribed approximately fourth century BCE. *I.Perg* #1.

[Lydian inscription not reproduced here]
Παρτάρας
Ἀθηναίηι
Partaras to Athena.

#44 Pergamon, Temple of Athena. Aeolis.
Verse inscription on a pronaos column shaft, about four meters above ground level. Inscribed approximately fourth century BCE. *I.Perg* #2.

[...] ος [τ]όνδε ἀνέ[θηκεν] / Ἀρτέμωνος παῖς σοί, Τριτογένεια θεά.
[so and so,] child of Artemon, set this up for you, o thrice-born goddess.

#45 Priene, Temple of Athena. Ionia.
Inscribed under Alexander, c. 334 BCE or a little later. On the face of the highest block of the temple's northwest anta. *I.Priene (2014)* #156.

βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος
ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν
Ἀθηναίηι Πολιάδι
King Alexander erected the temple for Athena Polias.

#46 Ephesos, Temple of Artemis. Ionia.
Inscription on the base of a column from a woman of Sardis in the second half of the fourth century BCE. At least twenty-five column bases were inscribed in the late classical period. *IEph* #1519a, McCabe *Ephesos* #806.

[…]γι[…] Σαρδιηνὴ Ἀρτ[έμι]δι τ[ὸ]ν οὐδὸ[ν ἀνέθηκεν.]
[so and so] of Sardis dedicated the threshold to Artemis.

#47 Sardis, Temple of Artemis. Lydia.

Inscription in Lydian on column #12 of the projecting prostyle porch. On the apophyge (lowest portion of the shaft). Tentatively dated to the early third century BCE. Buckler, *Sardis* 6.2, #21.

[Lydian not reproduced here]
Manes, son of Bakivas, grandson (?) of Manes, to Artemis
(Translation from http://www.sardisexpedition.org/en/artifacts/latw-37)

#48 Messene, Temple of Zeus. Messenia.
Dedication on the marble base of the peak akroterion of the temple, from the sculptor Damophon and his sons. Inscribed c. 200-150 BCE. Found in re-use in a medieval wall. *SEG* 53.399

Δαμοφῶν Φιλίππο[υ] καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ [τὰ] ἀκρωτήρια ἀνέ[θηκαν Διί, θε]οῖς τε πᾶσι καὶ [τ]ᾶι πόλει.
Damophon, son of Philip, and his sons, dedicated the akroterion to Zeus, all the gods, and the city.

#49 Aphrodisias, Temple of Aphrodite. Caria.
Dedication of cella. Inscribed mid to late first century BCE. Two lines on the fasciae of the cella door lintel. Re-used for the main entrance to the nave of the temple-church. The inscription was erased, but in several sections letters were left untouched and still visible. See the discussion in Chapter 3 (211-13). *Aphrodisias and Rome* #37, with corrected reading in Reynolds, "Inscriptions and the Building," 38; *IAph2007* #1.2.

[[Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώιλος ὁ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς]
σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος τὸν ναὸν Ἀφροδείτη]]
Gaius Julius Zoilos, priest of the god Aphrodite, savior and benefactor of the fatherland, (erected) the temple for Aphrodite.

#50 Priene, Temple of Athena. Ionia.
Step leading to the cella, dedicated by Marcus Antonios Rusticus during the reign of Augustus. Inscribed in a single line. *I.Priene (2014)* #159.

[Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος] Μάρκο[υ υἱὸς Ῥούστικος τὸν τρίβασμον Ἀθηνᾶι]
[Πολιάδι καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῶι θεῶι Σεβαστῶι]
Marcus Antonius Rousticus, son of Marcus, (dedicated) the steps to Athena Polias and to the divine emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god.

#51 Aphrodisias, Temple of Aphrodite. Caria.

Dedication of column by donor Eumachos Diogenes Philokaisar and Amias Olypias to Aphrodite. Inscribed first century CE. Nine lines on *tabula ansata*, on second drum of column shaft of the peristasis. The same inscription is found on two other columns at the temple, *IAph2007* #1.5 and #1.6. The heights of the *tabulae ansatae* do not appear to be consistent. Columns re-used in place in the temple-church. *IAph2007* #1.4

1 [Εὔ]μαχος Ἀθηναγό-
ρου τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου
τοῦ Εὐμάχου Διο{γε}-
γένης Φιλόκαισαρ καὶ
5 Ἀμιὰς Διονυσίου φύσ<ε>ι
δὲ Ἀδράστου τοῦ [Μό]-
λωνος Ὀλυ<ν>πιὰς τὸν κί-
ονα θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ {τὸν}
{κίονα} καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Eumachos Diogenes, son of Athenagoras, son of Athenagoras, the son of Eumachos, *philokaisar*, and Amias Olympias, (adopted) daughter of Dionysios, by nature daughter of Adrastos, the son of Molon, (set up) the column for the goddess Aphrodite and for the *demos*.
(trans. after Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 27)

#52 Aphrodisias, Temple of Aphrodite. Caria.
Dedication on column by donors Attalos and Attalis Apphion to Aphrodite. Inscribed first century CE. Eight lines on *tabula ansata*, on second drum of column shaft. Columns re-used in place in the temple-church. *IAph2007* #1.7.

Ἄτταλος Με-
νάνδρου τοῦ
Ἀττάλου καὶ
Ἀτταλὶς Μενεκρά-
5 τους Ἄπφιον οἱ ἱε-
ρεῖς τῆς Ἀφροδεί-
της θεᾷ Ἀφροδεί-
τῃ καὶ τῷ Δήμωι

Attalos, son of Menandros, son of Attalos, and Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menekrates, the priests of Aphrodite, (set up the column) for the goddess Aphrodite and for the *demos*.

#53 Hierapolis (Pamukkale), Temple of Apollo. Phyrgia.
Dedication on a column by Hikesios Kokos, to Tiberius (r. 14-37 CE). Inscribed in *tabula ansata*. Several other columns from the temple have blank *tabulae ansatae*. Found re-used in a Byzantine structure inside the Large Baths. *SEG* 46-1655.

Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τὸν κείονα Ἱκέσιος Πόλλιδος Κῶκος φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐσεβής, ἁγνός, τέκνον πόλεως.

Hikesios Kokos, the son of Pollidos, *philopatris* and pious, pure, child of the city, dedicated this column to the emperor Tiberius and the demos.

#54 Mylasa, Temple of Zeus Osogo. Caria.
An inscription in eleven lines on a column recording the donation of eight columns by Pollis son of Hierokles, his wife Menias, and their sons. Early imperial period. The column was found in re-use, but it is very likely that this column, and perhaps a number of other column dedications to Zeus Osogo in the area, originated from the temple. *I.Mylasa* #326.

Πόλλις Ἱεροκλέους τοῦ Ἱε-
ροκλέους, στεφανηφορήσας
καὶ ἱερατεύσας τοῦ τε Διὸς
τοῦ Ὁσογω καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
5 Λαβραύνδου καὶ ἀγορανο-
μήσας, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Μη-
νιὰς Φαίδρου καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν
Ἱεροκλῆς καὶ Φαῖδρος ἀνέθη-
καν τοὺς ἑξῆς κίονας ὀκτὼ
10 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων
τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὁσογωι.

Pollis son of Hierokles, son of Hierokles, *stephanephoros* and priest of Zeus Osogo and Zeus Labraundos and *agoranomos*, and his wife Menias, daughter of Phaidros, and their sons Hierokles and Phaidros set up the eight columns one after the other from their own funds to Zeus Osogo.
(trans. after Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 38)

#55 Euromos, Tempel of Zeus Lepsynos. Caria.
Dedication on column by Menekrates and his daughter Tryphaina, no recipient mentioned. Inscribed in *tabulae ansata* on the first drum of the column, in the Hadrianic or later period. Menekrates and Tryphaina also dedicated five other columns with inscriptions that. Six additional columns carry dedications by a Leo Quintus, and a final column was dedicated by a Rufus. The *tabulae ansatae* are at a uniform height on the peristyle. McCabe, *Euromos* #8.

Μενεκράτης Μενεκράτους <ὁ> ἀρχίατρος τῆς πόλεως στεφανηφορῶν τὸν κείονα σὺν σπείρη καὶ κεφαλῇ προνοησαμένης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Τρυφαίνης τῆς καὶ αὐτῆς στεφανηφόρου καὶ γυμνασιάρχου.

Menekrates, son of Menekrates, the chief physician of the city, being *stephanephoros*, (dedicated) the column with the base and capital, with his daughter Tryphaina, herself also *stephanephoros* and *gymnasiarch*, planning (it).
(trans. after Rumscheid, "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder," 34)

#56 Troizen, Temple of Aphrodite Kataskopia. Argolid.
Dedication in five lines on a column re-used in a Byzantine church known as Palaia Episkopi (date of re-use uncertain). Dated to the second century CE. *IG* IV #781.

Εὔτυχος Ἑρμοῦ σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Εἰσίωνι ἀνεθηκεν.
Eutychos son of Hermes with his son Eision set up (the column).

#57 Elaioussa, Kizilbağ Sanctuary/Temple of Hermes (?). Cilicia.
Dedication of a bench and stairs on the wall of the pronaos. No further information about location or date given; perhaps second century? A second inscription (*JHS 12* #14) also on the anta wall likewise recorded a donation (or perhaps restoration) of a bench by the priest Menodotos. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," *JHS 12* #13.

1 Πομπώνιος Νίγερος
ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τὴν ἀνάκλισίν τε
καὶ τὴν ἀποκλειμάκωσιν τοῦ [να]-
οῦ καὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον κατεσκεύ-
5 ασεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.
Pomponios Nigeros, priest of Hermes, set up the bench and the stairs of the temple, and the kitchen, from his own funds.

#58 Adada, Temple to the Emperors. Pisidia.
A dedication by Theodoros, son of Neikomachos (not Neichomachos as published) in three lines on the three fasciae of the door lintel of the temple, which is unfinished and dates circa 200 CE. *In situ* on temple. The *IGR* incorrectly publishes it as a four line inscription, following Sterrett's drawing, but photographs indicate that it is only three lines long, and additionally that the lengthy restoration of titles in line two of these publications is far longer than the available space. Furthermore, a K, not a X, in Theodoros' patronymic is clearly visible in photographs. The corrected text is given here. Sitlington Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition* #422; *IGR* III #366.

1 θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι Θεόδωρος Νεικομάχου, φιλόπατρις,
2 ἀρχιερεὺς [τῶν Σεβαστῶν …], τὸν ναὸν ἐκ [θεμελίων], σὺν τῷ ξοάνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι
3 [.]ΧΑΙ[.]ΜΑΝΠ[…]ΟΝΚΟΧΑΙΟ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε καὶ καθιέρωσε.

To the *Theoi Sebastoi* and to the *patria*, Theodoros, son of Neikomachos, *philopatris*, high priest [of the emperors…] set up the temple from the foundation, with the (carved) image and the statues … from his own funds and he dedicated it.

#59 Termessos, Temple of Artemis (?) (Temple N4). Pisidia.
A dedication by Aurelia Armasta Pankratia and her mother Aurelia Padamouriani Nanilis in eight lines on the door lintel of the temple. C. 212 CE. Presumably the second Hoples mentioned is a different man than Pankratia's husband. Selection of *TAM* 3,1 #17.

1 [...Ἀρτέμ?]ειδι Αὐρηλία
Ἀρμάστα ἡ καὶ Πανκράτια, θυγάτηρ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Πανκράτους Τειμοκράτους, ἄρξαντος τὴν
ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀρχιερασαμένου, γυνὴ δὲ ἱερέως Μουσῶν διὰ βίο[υ] Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Τιβερίου Ὁπλῆτος,
τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸν νεὼ ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευάσασα …
6 τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν σκούτλωσιν τοῦ ν[εῶ κ]αὶ τὴν ἀργυρῶν εἰκόνων ¸
ἀνάθεσιν Αὐρ(ηλία) Παδαμουριανὴ Νανῆλις Ὁπλῆτος, ἀρχιερασαμένη, ἡ μήτηρ τῆς Παν-
κρατείας, ἀκολούθως εἰσαγελία ἡ ἐποιήσατο καὶ αὐτή, συνκαθιέρωσεν.
…to Artemis(?), Aurelia
Armasta, also called Pankratia, daughter of Marcus Aurelius Pankratos Teimokratos, being the eponymous magistrate and high priest, and (she being) the wife of the priest of the Muses for life Marcus Aurelius Tiberius Hoples,
the statue and the temple from the foundations, having provided it from her own (resources) …
And the remaining decoration and the revetment of the temple and the silver images, Aurelia Padamouriani Nanilis (wife or daughter of) Hoples, high priestess, the mother of Pankrateia, following public announcements she made (these things) and herself co-dedicated it.

#60 Pisidian Antioch, Temple of the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends. About twenty kilometers outside of the city. Pisidia.
List of donors on temple columns and blocks. Inscribed third century CE.
Nouv.inscr.d'Antioche #14, lines 7-9.
[Αὐρ. Καρ]ικὸς Μάνου Ἀκροηνὸς (δην.) ψι᾽
[Αὐ]ρ. Δομνίων Ἀμύντου Μητροπολείτης (δην.) χ᾽
[Αὐ]ρ. Σωκράτης Β᾽Κουσεανὸς ἱερεῦς (δην.) φα᾽
Aurelius Karikos, son of Manos, the Akroian 710 denari
Aurelius Domnion, son of Amyntas, the Metropolitan, 600 denarii
Aurelius Socrates the second, son of Kouseaos, a priest, 501 denarii

Lists of Priests

#61 Stratonikeia, Temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus. Caria.
List of priest on a wall block likely originating from the temple. Perhaps inscribed around 300-270 BCE. Very fragmentary. On the side of the block that also holds *IStrat* #1001 (a letter from Seleucos I from the early third century BCE) on its front face; it would therefore be a corner block of the temple. Found out of place. *I.Stratonikeia* 3 #1063.

[Ἱερεῖς τοῦ] θεοῦ
[?Χρυσαορείου] κατὰ
[τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ] βούλησιν
[ὑπόγυον? …]ογένης καὶ
[…]
Priests of the god Chrysaoreus, according to the council of the god … –ogenes and […].

#62 Lagina, Temple of Hekate. In the territory of Stratonikeia, Caria.
An on-going list of priests on the walls of the temple. Hundreds of names are given with patronymic and ethnic. The earliest names likely began on an inner anta wall (according to van Bremen). Inscribed beginning around 150-130 BCE, continuing to second century CE (*I.Stratonikeia* 2 #601-741). Selection of *I.Stratonikeia* #609, covering the years 37/6 BCE to 34/3 BCE.

   …
 4 [Ἄνδ]ρων Διονυσίου Κωραιεύς
   [Ἀρις]τόδημος Μενεκράτου Κολ[ιοργεύς]
   [Ἀρις]τέας Ἡρώδου Ταρμιανός
   …
Andron, son of Dionysios, Koraieus, Aristodemos, son of Menekratos, Koliorgeus, Aristeas, son of Herodes, Tarmianos

#63 Koraia, unknown temple. In the territory of Stratonikeia, Caria.
List of priests with patronymics on two wall blocks (*I.Stratonikeia* 3 #1501 and #1502) probably belonging to a temple. Dated c. 50-25 BCE. Selection of *I.Stratonikeia* 3 #1501.

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Φανίου τοῦ
Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Μενίππου
τοῦ Φανίου, ἱερεὺς πρῶτον
4 [Ἰ]άσων Μενεδήμου
τὸ δεύτερον ἱερεὺς
Μεγά[ν]αξος Διονυσίου τοῦ
…

When Phanios, son of Artemidoros, son of Menippos, son of Phanios, was *stephanephoros*, the first priest was Iason, son of Menedemos, the second priest was Meganaxos, the son of Dionysios …

#64 Panamara, unknown temple. In the territory of Stratonikeia, Caria.
Records of individual priests on fragments of wall blocks most probably from a temple. These include *I.Stratonikeia* 3 #1403-14. Most date to the Roman period, a couple (#1409 and #1410) may be Hellenistic. *I.Stratonikeia* 3 #1407.

[Ἱ]ερεὺς ἐ[ν Ἡραίοις]
κατὰ πεν[ταετηρίδα
[Ἑ]ρμαῖ(ο)ς Ἐ[…]
The priest in the festival for Hera during the *pentaeteris* (five year festival) was Hermaios …

#65 Aphrodisias, Temple of Aphrodite.
An unpublished list of male names with patronymics in three columns on two orthostates from the cella reused on the east wall of the temple-church. Most likely dates to the late first century BCE or early first century CE. At some point, the inscription was damaged when the wall was roughened in order to receive plaster. No text provided as publication is pending.

#66 Ankara, Temple of Augustus and Roma. Galatia.
Lists of priests on the front faces of the antae. The first list, on the north (left) anta (*I.Ancyra* #2) contains names and donations of priests dating from 5/4 BCE to 12 CE, as well as the names of four Roman governors as dates. This list was inscribed at one time, around 12-14 CE. The list was then continued on the same anta for another three or four years. The priest's name and patronymic is listed, as well as his benefactions to the public. A second list of priests (*I.Ancyra* #4) was begun on the right (southern) anta, about halfway down the anta. This list dates to the reign of Trajan and included the priests' building donations. Selection of *I.Ancyra* #2.

1 [Γα]λατῶν ο[ἱ]
  [ἱε]ρασάμενοι
  θεῶι Σεβαστῶι
  καὶ θεᾷ Ῥώμηι
  …
20 [Πυ]λαιμένης Βασιλέως Ἀμύ-
  [ν]του υἱός· δημοθοιν[ίαν]
  δὶς ἔδωκεν, θέας δὶς
  ἔδωκεν, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν

 καὶ ἁρμάτων καὶ κελήτων ἔ-
25 δωκεν, ὁμοίως δὲ ταυρομα-
 χίαν καὶ κυνήγιον, …

Those Galatians who have been priests for the god Augustus and the goddess
Roma…Pylaimenes, son of the king Amyntas. He twice gave public feasts, twice feasts
of the goddess, he gave a wrestling competition and also one of chariots and horses, also
bull-fighting and a beast hunt…

#67 Corycian Cave Clifftop Temple (Turkey), Cilicia.
Lists of names and patronymics on the front face of the anta and on the inner (left) face of
the anta, extending onto the wall. The names likely represent priests, although they may
rather be donors to the temple or otherwise involved in temple affairs. Some names are
followed by a Bʹ, indicating "twice." The circa one hundred sixty-five names on the front
face of the anta (*JHS 12* #27) are inscribed in uniform script, which is datable to the
Augustan period. The names on the inner face of the anta (*JHS 12* #28) are less uniform
and appear to be a running list. The lowest course of names include the *praenomina*
M(arcus) Aur(elius), indicating that these names were added after Caracalla granted
citizenship to all free men in 212 CE. Selections of Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western
Cilicia," *JHS* 12 #27 and #28.

#27
Front face of anta, Stone II
…
21 [Ταρ]κύαρι[ς] Ἀρτέμωνος
[Ἐπι]κράτης Ἀπολλωνίδου
Διομήδης Ἀ(π)ο(λ)λωνίδου
Θυρόλαος Ἀρτέμωνος

…
#28
…
11 Κάτυλλος
Καλλιστράτου Β
Πο. Αἴλι[ος] (Κ)υν
τὸς Ἀπε[λ]λῆς Β,
15 Ζηνοφάνης Β,
ὁ καὶ Ῥωμύλος,
ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου
τῶν Νεμέσεων
…

#27 …Tarkuaris, son of Artemon, Epikrates, son of Apollonides, Diomedes, son of
Apollonides, Thyrolaos, son of Artemon…

#28 …Catullus, son of Kallistrates (twice), Publius Aelius Quintus Apelles (twice), Zenophanes (twice), also called Romulos, priest for life of the Nemeses…

#68 Herakleia Latmia, Temple of Athena. Caria.
List of priests with patronymics on the anta of the temple. Engraved in the Tiberian period (with names going back to circa 100 BCE). The list follows the text of an oracle in which the god is asked whether the priesthood of Athena should continue to be sold as a lifetime position, as had been the custom, or whether they should instead elect a new priest each year. Selection of McCabe *Herakleia Latmia* #17.

…
 [Δημο]χά[ρη]ς Καλλισθένου τὸ [δεύτερον]
[Π]ερικλῆς Λέοντος
4 [Σ]τέφανος Χιωνίδου
[Ἀ]θήναιος Γλαύκου
…
…Demochares, son of Kallisthenes, the second time, Perikles, son of Leon, Stefanos, son of Chionides, Athenaios, son of Glaucos…

Documents

#69 Gortyn, Temple of Apollo Pythios. Crete.
An archaic (sixth/seventh century) law code written on the steps and walls of the temple. On the wall, the text (IC IV #10) stretches all the way around the perimeter of the building, across forty four blocks. In the fifth century BCE, another decree was added to the temple. Found in re-use in the area. Extremely fragmentary. Selection of *IC* IV #10.

c-e.1   […κατι]στάντο͞ν καὶ τὸν δενδρέ[ο͞ν …]
f-h.1   […] κατισ[τά…]ν πεντήροντα {πεντήκοντα} λ[έβητας …]

…let him bring also from the trees… let him bring fifty cauldrons…

#70 Ios, Temple of Apollo Pythios. Cyclades.
A proxeny decree by the *boule* and *demos* of the Pholegandrians, inscribed on remains of an anta likely from the temple. The inscription may date to the fourth century BCE. Selection of *IG* XII 5.1 #9.
…
ἀναγρά[ψαι]
20 δὲ τὰν προξε-
ν[ί]αν [ἐς] τὸ ἱερὸ[ν]

[τ]οῦ Ἀπόλλω-
[νο]ς τοῦ Π[υθίου]
[τὸ ἐν Ἴωι(?)].
… (and they decided that) the proxeny (decree) will be engraved on the temple of Apollo
P[ythios, the one on Ios.]

#71 Karthaia on Kea, Temple of Apollo Pythios. Cyclades.
Several decrees by the *boule* and *demos* inscribed on the antae of the temple from both
the Keans and other cities/leagues about Kea. The majority of the inscriptions date from
the third century BCE, but one fragment may be fourth century BCE (*IG* XII 5.1 #530).
This archive includes *IG* XII 5 #526-538. Selection of *IG* XII 5 #532 (third century
BCE).

1 Ἡρακλείδης εἶπεν· … δεδόχθαι Κείων τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι·
εἶναι Αἰτωλοῖς πολιτείαν ἐγ Κέωι καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
μετέχειν αὐτοὺς πάντων ὧνπερ καὶ Κεῖοι μετέχουσιν…
Herakleides said: … it seemed best to the *boule* and *demos* of the Keans, that there be
politeia with the Aitolians on Kea, and that they can own both land and houses, and that
they can share in all the other things which the Keans share in…

#72 Priene, Temple of Athena. Ionia.
An archive of letters and decrees inscribed beginning c. 285 BCE on the anta of the
temple, and extending onto the side wall of the pronaos. The first entry in the archive,
positioned under Alexander's earlier dedication at the top of the anta, is the Alexander
edict, inscribed c. 285 BCE under Lysimachos, along with some decisions by that ruler.
The latest document inscribed at the bottom of the wall dates from the second century
BCE and was an arbitration reaffirming territorial distribution between Priene and its
neighbors. All of the documents have to do with Priene's territorial disputes or privileges,
including three second-century *senatus consulta*, as well as an honorary decree for
Lysimachos. Selection of *I.Priene* #15.

1 [βασιλεὺς Λυσίμαχος Πριηνέων τῆι βουλῆι]
[καὶ] τῶι δήμωι χαίρει[ν· οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν]
[πρε]σβευταὶ Ἀντισθένη[ς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ]
[ἀφι]κ[ό]μ[ενοι τ]ό τε ψήφισμα [ὑμῶν ἀπέδοσαν]
5 ἡμῖν κ[αὶ α]ὐτοὶ συνησθέντες ἐ[πὶ τῶι]
ἐρρῶσθαι ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς φίλ[ους καὶ τὰς]
δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ πράγματα κατὰ [πᾶσαν τὴν]
χώραν διελέγησαν παραπλησίως τοῖς ἐν τῶι
[ψηφί]σματι γεγραμμένοις, ἐμφανίζοντες περί
10 [τε τῆ]ς εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχει ὁ δ[ῆ]μος εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅτι
ἐπιστειλά[ντ]ω[ν ἡ]μῶν πειθαρχεῖν Σω[σθένους? τοῦ]

στρατηγοῦ [ὑπ]ήκουσεν προθύμως καὶ ο[ὐθενὸς]
ἀφίσταται τῶν ἡμῖν χρησίμων, καί[περ πορθου]-
μένης τῆς [χ]ώρας ὑπό τε Μαγνήτων [. . .]
King Lysimachos to the *boule* and *demos* of the Prieneans, greetings. [Your] ambassadors, Antisthenes [and those with him, came and delivered] to us [your] decree and themselves rejoiced at [the fact that] we are in good health and (likewise) our friends [and] forces and affairs through [the entire] land, and they spoke along the lines of what is written in the decree, declaring [the] good-will which the *demos* holds toward us and that, when we sent instruction to obey, (the *demos*) obeyed So[sthenes? the] *strategos* with enthusiasm and [in no way] stood apart from what was useful to us, although the land was being [ravaged] by the Magnesians …
(trans. Sherwin-White, "Ancient Archives," 77)

#73 Stratonikeia, Temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus. Caria.
Five lines from a letter, probably from Seleukos I (r. 305-281 BCE), based on the palaeographic dating, or perhaps Seleukos II (r. 246-225 BCE). On a wall block probably from the Temple of Zeus, though the remains of the temple have yet to be conclusively identified. The block must be a corner block, as *I.Stratonikeia* #1063 (perhaps a list of priests) is inscribed on its left side. Above this letter is a Carian inscription; other blocks probably coming from the temple hold *I.Stratonikeia* #1504 and #1505, both Hellenistic documents. *I.Stratonikeia* #1001, *SEG* 30 #1279.

[Carian inscription not reproduced here]
βασιλεὺς Σέλευκ[ος … τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν· … καὶ … οἱ]
[π]αρ᾽ ὑμῶν πρεσβε[υταὶ …]
τ[.]κωι ἀπέδωκ[αν …]
[τ]ῆς χώρας ἡμεῖς […]
…
King Seleucus to the *boule* and to the *demos*, greetings. …the ambassadors from us…he restored…of the land we...

#74 Stratonikeia, Temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus. Caria.
Another fragment most likely of a royal letter from a wall block probably originating from the Temple of Zeus, preserved in eight lines. Dated to circa 300-270 BCE. Selection of *I.Stratonikeia* #1504.

…
Βα]σιλεὺς καὶ τ[…]
… ἀναγρά[ψαι
Διὸ]ς τοῦ Χρυσαορ[ίου
μηνὸς το]ῦ Πανήμου δε[υτέραι

…king and … (that) it be engraved (on the temple of) Zeus Chrysaoreus, on the second of the month of Panemos…

#75 Amyzon, Temple of Artemis. Caria.

Decrees inscribed on the antae (inner, front, and outer faces) of the temple. The earliest one that is securely attributed to the temple anta is an honorary decree of the *ekklesia* dated to 273 BCE (the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos). Another block with an *ekklesia* decree concerning the delegate to Delphi and dated to the reign of Philip III (r. 323-317) may be from the temple, although it is not certain. The inscriptions are a mixture of decrees from the *ekklesia* and royal letters to the Amyzonians. The civic decrees in several cases honor individuals for their services to the city. Several of the decrees and one royal letter specify that it is to be inscribed on the temple. [front face of anta not filled first] The inscriptions certainly from the antae of the temple are *Amyzon* #3, 4, 5 S, 15, 16, 36, and 38; those possibly from these antae are #2, 6, 7/8, 14, and 17. The blocks were found re-used in later walls or in the area of the temple. Selection of *Amyzon* #3, dated to 273 BCE.

[Βασι]λεὺντ[ος Π]τολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολε[μαίου]
[ἔ]τους Θ᾽ μηνὸς ὑπερβερεταίου . …
εἶπαν Διονύσιος καὶ Οὐλι-
5 άδης οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Μάργον. ἐπειδὴ Μάρ-
γος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ὤν (διατελεῖ) καὶ ποιῶν
πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῶι δήμωι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.
Δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι. ἐπαινέσαι Μάργον τὸν
....
16 ...ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ-
[πὶ τοῦ] προμετωπίου τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
[ἵνα δια]μένηι διὰ παντός · ...
In the year 9, month Hyperberetaios
of the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy,…
Dionysios and Ouliades,
the ambassadors to Margos, said: Since
Margos the *strategos* is ever a good and fine man and is doing
everything which is beneficial to the *demos* and the gods,
it pleases the *demos*: that Margos be honored …
(several lines of honors to be given to Margos)
16 …and that this decree be written
upon the façade of the temple of Artemis
in order that it should remain for all time …
(trans. after Robert and Robert, *Amayzon*, 120)

#76 Olymos, Temple of Apollo and Artemis. Near Mylasa in Caria.

264

Two honorary decrees from the third century BCE (*Inscriptiosn in Milas* #44 and #45) state that they should be written "upon the temple of Apollo and Artemis" presumably, the block on which this inscription was found came from the temple. Selection of *I.Mylasa* #868; *Inscriptions in Milas* #44.

1 [ἐπ]ὶ στεφανηφ[όρ]ου Αἰ[…]
ἔδοξεν Ὀλυμέων τ[ῶι δήμωι· ἐπειδὴ …]
…
10 … δεδόχθαι· ἐπ<η>[ινῆσθαι …]
καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶι τε κ[αὶ ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν καὶ μετου]-
σίαν πάντων ἐφ' ἴση καὶ [ὁμοία τοῖς λοιποῖς Ὀλυμεῦσιν· καὶ ἐ]-
πειδὴ ἄξιός ἐστιν μείζ[ονος χάριτος … στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν]
ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕν[εκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, γράψασθαι δὲ συγγε]-
15 νείας ἧς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλ[ηται· ἵνα δὲ πολλῶι μᾶλλον φανερὰ γίνηται]
ἡ τοῦ πλήθους εὐχαριστ[ία πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργετεῖν τὸν δῆμον προ]-
αιρουμένους, τοὺς ἐνε[στῶτας ταμίας ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα]
ἐπὶ [τ]οῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλ[λωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.]
When Ar[…] was *stephaneophoros*… the people of Olymos decided: … that Asklepiades [be praised for these matters] and that he [and his descendants have citizenship] and participation in all events with equal rights [to the other Olymeis]. And since he is worthy of an even greater [honour, to crown] him with a godly crown for his excellence and benevolence. [And he is to be enrolled] in whichever *syngeneia* he chooses. [And so that] the thankfulness of the multitude toward those who choose to value merit become [more conspicuous, the *tamiai* currently in office] are to write up the present decree on (the wall of) the temple of Apol[lo and Artemis]. (trans. Blümel, van Bremen, and Carbon, *A Guide to Inscriptions in Milas*, 71)

#77 Labraunda, Temple of Zeus Labraundos. Caria.
A series of letters dating from c. 240 BCE down to c. 220 BCE, all inscribed around 220 or a little later. The letters involve disputes over the control of the sanctuary between the city of Mylasa and Olympichos (a local dynast), with the mediation of Seleukos II and, later Philip V of Macedon. The first letters were inscribed on the rear antae of the Temple of Zeus; subsequent letters were inscribed on Andron A and then Andron B. Two of the inscribed antae blocks from the temple were found inside the Andron (*I.Labraunda* #1 and #137); one of these (#137) was in the process of being cut to detach the inscription face from the rest of the block when it was abandoned. Two other inscribed blocks (#3) were found next to the northwest anta, from which they presumably came. *I.Labraunda* #2 is known only from a later copy. *I.Labraunda* #1 (letter dated to c. 240 BCE).

[Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ὀλυμπίχωι χαίρειν.]
ἔγραψεν ἡμῖ[ν] Κόρρις ὁ ἱερε[ὺ]ς τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ Λαβρ]αύνδου
μέρη τινὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας τῆς πρότερον διοικουμένης
ὑπ᾽αὐτοῦ διὰ προγόνων ἀφειρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυλασεῖς μὴ προσ-

[η]κόντως καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς αἴρεσθαι καὶ τὰ γέρα τὰ γινόμενα
[αὐ]τῶι παρὰ τῶν θυόντων μόνους Μυλασεῖς μὴ διδόναι βουλο-
[μένου]ς παροινεῖν. εἴπερ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, φαίνεται ἡμῖν οὐ-
[κ ὀ]ρθῶς γίνεσθαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μὴ ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς Μυλα-
[σ]εῦσιν κατὰ μηθένα τρόπον προσπορεύεσθαι τῶν ἐπιβαλ-
[λόντων τῶι ἱερ]ῶι καὶ τῶι ἱερεῖ. κρίνομεν γὰρ τὰ συγκεχωρημέ-
[να τῶι Κόρριδι διὰ προγ]όνων διαμένειν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλ[λ]οις ἄ[πα]-
σιν...]

King Seleukos to Olympichos, greetings. Korris, the priest of Zeus Labraundos, wrote to us that the Mylasans unbefittingly keep away from him a certain portion of land previously administered by him from ancestral privilege and that the produce are taken away and that only the Mylasans are not giving him his privileges from the sacrifices, wishing to insult him. Therefore, if things are truly so, it does not seem right to us, but in truth even now do not permit the Mylasans in any way to encroach on those things belonging to the priest and the sanctuary. For we decide that the things conceded to Korris from ancestral privilege should continue and in all other…
(My translation after Crampa, *Labraunda III, Part 1*, 7)

#78 Sardis, Temple of Artemis. Lydia.
Contract between the temple and Mnesimachos, who had used his property as a guarantee on money he borrowed from the temple coffers and, because he could not pay, now had to confer the property to Artemis. Date of the contract is around 310, but it was inscribed in the later half of the third century BCE, in two columns on the north anta wall. Selection of Buckler and Robinson, *Sardis* 7.1, #1.

I.1 […] ἐπερωτήσαντος Χαιρέο[υ …]
[…]ς καὶ ὕστερον ἐπέκρινέ μοι τὸν οἶκον Ἀντίγονος· ἐπειδὴ νῦν οἱ νεωποῖαι τὸ χρυσίον τῆς
[παρακαταθή]κης τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀπαιτοῦσιν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔχω πόθεν ἀποδώσω αὐτοῖς, ἔστι οὖν
[τὸ καθ᾽ ἓν το]ῦ οἴκου κῶμαι αἴδε <αἳ> καλοῦνται Τοβαλμουρα κώμη ἐν Σαρδιανῶι πεδίωι ἐν Ἴλου ὄρει· προσκύρουσιν δὲ
5 [πρὸς τὴν κώ]μην ταύτην καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι ἣ καλεῖται Τανδου καὶ Κομβδιλιπια, φόρος τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Πυθέου
[… χ]ιλιαρχίαν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσοῖ πεντήκοντα· …

[…] Chaireas having inquired [into these matters, a division was made,] and subsequnetly Antigonos awarded the estate to me. Whereas now the temple wardens are demanding back from the gold of the [loan/deposit] belonging to Artemis, but I do not have the wherewithal to pay it to them, therefore the following named villages make up [the totality] of the estate: Tobalmoura village in the Sardian plain on the hill of Ilos, and belonging [to this village] other villages also, that called Tandoukome and Kombdilipia, the tribute of these villages to the chiliarchy of Pytheos [son of So-and-so] being 50 gold staters per year; ...

(trans. Billows, *Kings and Colonists*, 138-139)

#79 Teos, Temple of Dionysos. Ionia.
A dossier of twenty-one decrees recognizing the *asylia* of the sanctuary, issued mainly by Cretan cities. The first documents were inscribed around 205 BCE, a second group sometime between c. 170-140 BCE. Selection of *IC* II i #1, a decree of Allaria.

1 Ἀλλαριωτᾶν.
ἐπειδὴ Τήιοι φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς διὰ προ-
γόνων ὑπάρχοντες …
23 … ἕνεκεν ὧν καὶ παρ᾽ ἁμῶν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμι-
α δίδοται τῶι θεῶι, καὶ Τηίων τάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν
25   χώραν ἀνίεμεν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον νῦν τε καὶ εἰς
τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πάντα, …
From the Allarians. Since the Teans are friends and relatives (of ours) through their ancestors…
we allow that that the city and territory of the Teans be holy and safe from violence now and for all remaining time…

#80 Pergamon, Temple of Athena. Aeolis.
Letter of Eumenes II (r. 197-159 BCE) written in at least three columns of sixty to eighty lines each on the wall blocks of the Tempel of Athena, and extending down onto the orthostates. The letter concerns a dispute between Teos and the Guild of Dionysiac Artists. Eumenes commands that his decision be inscribed on the temple of Dionysos (at Teos, presumably), on the sanctuary of Athena (at Pergamon), and in the temenos of Artemis. Blocks were found re-used in later fortifications, and some fragments of the inscription were found in the area of the Temple of Athena. Selection of *IPerg.* #163, Welles, *Royal Correspondence* #53.

II B
… οἱ-
[κ]ονομήσασθαι· ἃ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν Τηΐων, οὐ κοινὴν
[πο]ησαμένων τὴν συντέλειαν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμετέ-
ραμ μὲγ κεκρικότων ἰδίαν, εἰ δέ τι πρὸς τὰς προσ-
5 όδους συνέτεινε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιού-
των συγχώρησιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διειληφότων ἀν-
ήκειν, ὃ καὶ ἦν δίκαιον.
…
III C
9 ... [an agreement] ὅπερ κρίνω ἀναγραφῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
τοῦ Διονύσιου, ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ ἴσον
τοῖς νόμοις εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὑπάρ-

267

χηι
....
IV C

[ἀναγράφαι ἐμ Περγάμωι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς] Ἀθη[νᾶς καὶ ἐν τ]ῶι τ[εμένει …] Ἀρτέμιδος [...]

to manage, partly on the part of the Teans themselves who have not made the conduct of the festival a joint matter but have regarded this as your affair, but if there was any question concerning the city's revenues they considered that the decision in such matters belonged to them, as was in fact just.

…

(the decision,) which I think should be inscribed on the temple of Dionysos so that it may be secure and equal with the laws for all time, while the other document attached below should be invalid.

…

[it should be inscribed in Pergamum in the temple of] Athena [and in] the [precinct …] of Artemis. …

(trans. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, #53)

#81 Herakleia Latmia, Temple of Athena. Caria.
Letters and an oracle inscribed on the antae. These include a letter of Antiochos III (McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia* #4) dating from 196/193 BCE on the north anta, and a letter of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and his brother (McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia* #6) granting the city its freedom in response to an envoy in 189 BCE on the front of the southern anta. Underneath the letter of the Scipiones, and also on the front of the anta, an oracle (McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia* #17) concerning how the priesthood of Athena was distributed was inscribed around 100 BCE, with a list of priests under it continuing into the later years of Tiberius' reign (Cat. #68). A second list of priests began on the exterior face of the anta. Found in the ruins of the temple. Selection of McCabe, *Herakleia Latmia* #6.

1 [Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίω]ν στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων
[καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ἀδελ]φὸς Ἡρακλεωτῶν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δή-
[μωι χαίρειν·] … ἡμ[εῖ]ς δὲ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐνόως διακείμεν[οι]
[τυγχά]νομεγ καὶ πειρασόμεθα, παραγεγονότων ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέρα[μ]
[πίστιμ,] πρόνοιαμ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐνδεχομένην, ἀεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ παρα[ί]-
10 [τιοι γεν]όμενοι· συγχωροῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν τήν τε ἐλευθερίαγ καθότι καὶ
[ταῖς ἄ]λλαις πόλεσιν, ὅσαι ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔδωκαν, ἔχουσιν ὑ[φ’]
[αὐτοὺς πά]ντα τὰ αὐτῶμ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους νόμους,
[καὶ ἐν τ]οῖς ἄλλοις πειράσομεθα εὐχρηστοῦντες ὑμῖν ἀεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ
[παραίτ]ιοι γίνεσθαι· ἀποδεχόμεθα δὲ καὶ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶμ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ τὰς
15 [πίστεις, κ]αὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ πειρασόμεθα μηδενὸς λείπεσθαι ἐγ χάριτος ἀποδόσει·
[ἀπεστά]λκαμεν δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς Λεύκιον Ὄρβιον τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον τῆς
[πόλεως κ]α[ὶ] τῆς χώρας ὅπως μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς παρενοχλῆι. ἔρρωσθε.

[Lucius Cornelius Scipio,] consul of the Romans [and Publius Scipio, his] brother, to Herakleia's Boule and People, [greetings.] …We are in fact well disposed toward all the Greeks and will try, since you have come into our [pledge of good faith,] to take all possible care of you and always to be the authors of some good (for you). We grant to you your freedom just as also [to the] other cities which have given us the power of decision (over them), retaining your right to govern all your affairs [by yourselves] according to your own laws, [and in] all other ways we will try to be of service to you and to be always the [authors] of some good to you. We also accept from you the kind acts and [pledges of good faith] and will ourselves try to omit no favor toward you in return. We have sent to you Lucius Orbius to care for your [city] and territory, that nobody may harm you. Farewell. (trans. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East*, 13)

#82 Longa (near Naupaktis), Temple of Asklepios. Central Greece.
Formulaic manumission contracts engraved on the unfluted columns of the temple. Inscribed around 160-140 BCE. Selection of *IG* IX 1^2 3 #638,4.

1 ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι. γραμματεύοντος
θεαροῖς Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία ἐν
Ναυπάκτοι, μηνὸς Εὐθυαίου ἀπέ-
δοτο Σάτυρος Μενϑος Ναυπάκτιος
5 τοῖ Ἀσκλαπιοῖ τοῖ ἐν Κρουνοῖς παι-
δάριον, οἶ ὄνομα Σωσᾶς, καὶ κορά-
σιον, ἆι ὄνομα Σωσώ, γένος οἰ-
κογενῆ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ἑκάτε-
ρα Μ {6 minae} ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι.
 …
 μάρτυροι Δάφνων, Σωσίας

Good wishes. When the secretary for the envoy in Naupaktis was Philo, son of Sosias, Saturos, son of Menos, a Naupaktian, delivers to Asklepius in Krounois the child named Sosas and the little girl named Soso, born in his home, for the price of six minae each at the time of their manumission …. witnesses: Daphnon, Sosias.

#83 Kurbet Köy, Temple of Artemis. In the territory of Stratonikeia. Caria.
A decree of the *koinon* of [Koliorg?]eis honoring individuals, inscribed on the anta of a temple in the second century BCE. Found in the ruins of the temple. Selection of *I.Stratonikeia* #801.

5 …δεδόχθαι οὖν τῶ[ι κοι]-
νῶι, κυρωθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσμ[α]-
[το]ς, ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφα-
[νῶσαι] ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χρυσέωι στ[ε]-
[φάνωι] ἀριστείωι, ἀναγράψαι δὲ κ[αὶ]
10 [αὐτοὺς] ἐν τῆι παραστάδι τοῦ ναοῦ [τῆς]

269

Ἀ[ρ]τέμιδος εὐεργέτας τοῦ κοινοῦ,
[δίδ]οσθαι δὲ καὶ μερίδα δι[πλῆ]ν ἑκάστω[ι]
[διὰ πάσης τῆ]ς ζωῆς· …

…therefore it seemed best to the koinon, with this proposal having been ratified, that they be commended and crowned, each one of them with a golden crown of excellence, and that these (honorees) be engraved on the *parastasis* (antae) of the temple of Artemis, benefactor of the koinon, and that a double portion is given to each one for his whole life…

#84 Bargylia, Temple of Artemis Kindyas. Caria.

Regulations from the *prytany* of Bargylia for the provision of cattle for a festival of the goddess. The festival was expanded after Artemis helped the city in relation to the pretender to the Attalid throne, Aristonikos (r. 133-129 BCE), who attempted to prevent Rome from annexing Pergamon. The documents are found on wall blocks, presumably coming from the *pronaos* of the temple as is prescribed in #47, lines 25-27. #48 states that it is to be inscribed on the wall next to the previous decree. The regulations date from circa 129-100 BCE. Selection of Blümel, van Bremen, and Carbon, *Inscriptions in Milas*, #47, lines 3-9 and 25-27.

…
3 Βοῦς τ[ρέφειν προελ]ῶνται· καὶ παραγέτωσαν τὰ θ[ρέμματ]α εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησί[αν τοῦ] μηνὸς τοῦ Ἑρμαιῶνος τῆι εἰκάδι· δ[οκιμ]ασθέντων
δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀχθέντων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κινδυάδος
[τ]ῆι δευτέραι τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Στρατείου ἀποφαινέσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες
7 οἱ καὶ τὴν εὐανδρίαν τῶν φυλῶν κρίνοντες τὸν ἄριστα βεβουτρο-
φηκότα καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, καὶ προπομπεθέτωσαν καθότι ἄν καὶ
ἡ ἀπόφασις γένηται· …
25 … ἀναγρα
-ψάτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐνεστῶτες νεωποῖαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῶι
προνάωι τοῦ Παρθενῶνος· …

3 And they are to lead the [animals reared] into the assembly on the twentieth of the month of Hermaion; when they have been scrutinized (in that assembly) and have been led into the sanctuary of Artemis Kindyas on the second day of the month of Stratios, the men who are also the judges of the masculine vigour (*euandria*) of the *phylai* are to decide who has reared the best cattle and then the next best and so on, and they are to lead the procession exactly in the order in which the judges' decision was given.
25 The *neopoiai* currently in office are to describe this decree in the *pronaos* of the Parthenon; …
(trans. Blümel, van Bremen, and Carbon, *A Guide to Inscriptions in Milas*, 77-78)

#85 Lagina, Temple of Hekate. Caria.

Documents written on the temple include: a decree describing how the goddess saved her sanctuary on the front of an anta, likely inscribed in the late second century BCE (*I.Stratonikeia* #512); a dossier of documents written in five columns across the temple's south wall, which included two letters of Sulla praising Stratonikeia for its loyalty during the war against Mithridates VI combined with a *senatus consultum* c. 81 BCE inscribed in five columns on the south cella wall (*I.Stratonikeia* #505), confirming privileges both to Stratonikeia and the sanctuary as a reward, a civic decree about engraving the names of those cities which recognize the *asylia* and festival of the sanctuary (*I.Stratonikeia* #507), and the actual list of cities and kings (*I.Stratonikeia* #508). Documents were written mainly on the south cella wall, as well as the pronaos walls, rather than on the front of the antae. Selection of *I.Stratonikeia* #505.

[Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Λ]ευκίου [υἱὸς] Σύλλας Ἐπαφρόδιτος
[δικτάτωρ Στρατονι]κέων ἄρ[χο]υσι βουλῆι δήμωι χαίρειν·
[οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν ὑμᾶς] διὰ προ[γ]όνων πάντα τὰ δίκαια
[πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέρα]ν ἡγεμ[ον]ίαν πεποιηκότας καὶ ἐν
5 [παντὶ καιρῶι τὴν πρὸς ἡ]μᾶς πί[σ]τιν εἰλικρινῶς τετηρηκότας
[ἔν τε τῶι πρὸς Μιθραδά]την π[ο]λέμωι πρώτους τῶι εν τῆι
[Ἀσίαι αντιτεταγμένους κα]ὶ διὰ ταῦτα κινδύνους πολλούς
[τε καὶ παντοδαποὺς] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων δημοσίων
[πραγμάτων προθυμό]τατα ἀ[ν]αδεδεγμένους
…

Lucius Cornelius Sulla, son of Lucius, dictator favored by Aphrodite (*felix*), to the ruling council (and) to the *demos* of the Stratonikeans, greetings. We have not forgotten you, you who through your ancestors have done every proper thing with regard to our authority and who, in every instance, have kept absolutely your faith in us, you, in the war against Mithradates the first in Asia to have resisted him and throughout you most willingly having taken upon yourselves dangers many and varied on behalf of our public affairs…

#86 Delphi, Temple of Apollo. Phocis.
A series of documents concerning the extent of the land holdings of Apollo and the claims of surrounding communities, all engraved on the orthostates of the temple's southern cella wall, beginning at the west end. The earliest (*F.Delphes* III.4 #276-85, *CID* IV #119) deals both with the land dispute as well as the embezzlement of sacred funds in c. 125 BCE. Later letters were written by Claudius (52 CE, *F.Delphes* III.4 #286), Trajan (98 and 99 CE, *F.Delphes* III.4 #287 and #288), and Commodus (180-192 CE, *F.Delphes* III.4 #328). Selection of *F.Delphes* III.4 #286.

1 Τιβέρ[ιος Κλαύδιος Καῖσ]αρ Σ[εβαστ]ὸς Γ[ερμανικός, …]
   πάλ[αι μὲν τ]ῆι π[όλει τῇ] τῶν Δελφ[ῶν ἢ ο]ὐ μό[νον εὔνους, ἀλλ’ ἐφρόντισα τῆς τύ]-
   χης, ἀεὶ δ’ ἐτήρη[σα τὴ]ν θρησκεί[αν τ]οῦ Ἀπό[λλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ]
5 νῦν λέγεται καὶ [πολ]ειτῶν ἔρη[μο]ς εἶναι, ὥ[ς μοι ἄρτι ἀπήγγειλε Λ. Ἰού]-

νιος Γαλλίων ὁ φ[ίλος] μου κα[ὶ ἀνθύ]πατος, [βουλόμενος τοὺς Δελφοὺς]
ἔτι ἔξειν τὸν πρ[ότερον κόσμον ἐντελ]ῆ, ἐ[ντέλλομαί σε καὶ ἐξ ἄλ]-
λων πόλεων καλ[εῖν εἰς τοὺς Δελφοὺς νέους κατοίκους] . . .

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus … Long have I been not only well-disposed to the city at Delphi, but I have even provided for its good fortune, and always have I guarded the cult of Pythian Apollo. Since now he is said to be bereft of citizens, as Lucius Junius Gallion, my friend and proconsul, has just now reported to me, I, wishing that Delphi have even still its former full honor, I command you to summon new inhabitants to Delphi from other cities…

#87 Pessinous, Temple of Kybele. Galatia.

A series of letters engraved in the second half of the first century BCE, but dating from much earlier, c. 160 BCE. The letters (*I.Pessinous* #1-7) were between Eumenes II, his brother Attalos, and a local priest, Attis and were engraved on wall blocks, most likely from the temple. They were found reused in an Armenian cemetery and are now lost. *I.Pessinous* #1.

[…]μενους συστῆ-
σαι […] διὸ καὶ νῦν τὴν τα-
χίστην π[αραγ]ενόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς τό-
πους καὶ ἐπισκεψάμενος πάντα σα-
5 φῶς διασάφησόμ μοι πόσων ἔτι χρεί-
αν ἔξεις στρατιωτῶν. καὶ τοὺς Πεσ-
σόγγους δὲ ἐὰν δύνῃ πραξικοπῆισαι,
γράφε μοι τίνων ἐστὶ χρεία· ἱεροῦ γὰρ τοῦ
χωρίου ὄντος ληπτέον ἐστὶ πάντως.
10 ἔρρωσο· δλ΄, Γορπιαίου ζ΄ ἀπιόν(τος).

…therefore go now as quickly as possible into the country districts and inspect everything welll, and then let me know how many more soldiers you will have need of. And if you can take Pessongoi by treachery, write me what is needed, for since the place is sacred, it must be taken by all means. Be well. (Year) 34, the 7th day of the last decade of (the month) Gorpiaios.
(trans. Johan Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous*, 5)

#88 Ankara, Temple of Augustus and Roma. Galatia.

The *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, also known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, was inscribed in columns in both Latin (on the north and south pronaos walls, flanking the entrance to the cella) and Greek (on the exterior south pronaos and cella wall). These texts were presumably inscribed shortly after Augustus' death in 14 CE. *I.Ancyra* #1.

Latin text heading:

RERUM GESTARUM DIVI AUGVSTI QUIBUS ORBEM TERRA[RUM] IMPERIO POPVLI ROMANI SUBIECIT ET IMPENSARUM, QUAS IN REM REPUBLICAM POPULUMQUE ROMANUM FECIT

(Concerning the) deeds of the divine Augustus, by which he subjected the whole earth to the rule of the Roman people, and the expenses, which he incurred for the republic and Roman people

(Trans. after Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 28-9.)

Greek text heading:

Μεθηρμηνευμέναι ὑπεγράφησαν πράξεις τε καὶ δωρεαὶ Σεβαστοῦ Θεοῦ ἅς ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐνκεχαραγμένας χαλκαῖς στήλαις δυσίν

The deeds and gifts of the god Augustus, which he left behind engraved on two bronze *stelai* at Rome, translated and written below

(trans. after Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 28-9.)

#89 Lykosura, Temple of Despoina. Arcadia.
A decree of Megalopolis honoring the priest Xenarchos for his generosity to the city and the sanctuary of Despoina, inscribed in at least fifty-eight lines on the anta of the temple in the early imperial period. A church was constructed near the temple, but the precise find-spot of the inscription is unknown. Selections of *IG* V, II #515.

#515A

…
10 … τοῦτο τὸ ψά-
[φισμ]α [εἰς τ]ὸ παράστα-
[μα τ]οῦ π[ρο]ναίου.
…
#515 B

…
… ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τ[ῷ δά]-
20   [μ]ῳ [κ]αὶ Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς πραγματευομένοις ἐ[ν Με]-
[γάλ]ᾳ πόλει εὐχαριστοῦντας ἐπαινῖν Ξέναρχον Ὀνασικ[ρά]-
[τεος ἐπ]ὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ [τε] καὶ
[Νικίπ]πας τᾶς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τᾶν γενεᾶν ἀγάλματα καὶ
[ἰκόνας ἐν ὅπλ]οις ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἀναθῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Δεσποίνας, ἐπιγρά-
25   [ψαντας ὅτι· "ἁ π]όλις τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν Ξέναρχον καὶ Νικίππαν καὶ τὰς γενεὰς
[αὐτῶν, εὐ]εργετοῦντας τὰν πόλιν παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον", ὁμοίως τε καὶ ἐν [τ]ῷ ναῷ
[τᾶς Δεσποίνας]…

…that the decree (be) inscribed on the *parastama* (anta) of the *pronaos*…

… it seemed best to the commissioners and to the *demos* and to the Romans who are employed in public affairs in Megalopolis that (they), being thankful, commend Xenarchos, son of Onasikrates, on account of all the reasons written above, and that they make a statue group and images with gilded trappings of him and also of Nikippa his wife

273

and set them up in the sanctuary of Despoina, engraving on them the following: "the *polis* of the Megapolitans (set up these statues of) Xenarchos and Nikippa and their offspring, they having served the city throughout their whole lives," and that the same be written also on the Temple of Despoina…

#90 Aizanoi, Temple of Zeus. Phrygia.
A series of letters, including those from Avidius Quietus, proconsul of Asia in 125/6, concerning a land dispute over the temple's holdings, in both Latin and Greek (*OGIS* II #502 and Le Bas-Waddington Inscr. III, #862). These were inscribed on the inner wall of the north anta, in a framed inscription field. A second series of letters praised a local notable, M. Ulpius Eurykles. These included letters from the archons of the Panhellenion in Athens (*OGIS* II #504 and #507), a letter from the Areopagus in Athens (*OGIS* II #505), and one from Antoninus Pius (*OGIS* II #506), all inscribed on the exterior of the pronaos wall. The letter from Antoninus Pius is on the exterior (right) side of the anta, while the others are in the inscription field. The letters date from the period between 156-161 CE and were presumably inscribed shortly thereafter. *OGIS* II #506.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ υἱό[ς θεο]ῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θεο[ῦ Νέρ]βα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἁδριανὸς [Ἀντ]ωνεῖος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ[γιστ]ος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κ', αὐ[τοκρ]άτωρ τὸ Β', ἥπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πα[τρίδ]ος, τῶι Πανελληνίωι χαίρειν · [ὅτι οἱ] πρὸ ὑμῶν Πανέλληνες Οὔλ[πιο]ν Εὐρυκλέα ἀπεδέξαντο ὡς ἐπι[ει]κῆ, ἔμαθον ἐκ τῶν ὑπ᾽αὐτῶν ἐπ[εστ]αλμένων. Εὐτυχεῖτε: πρὸ μι[ᾶς κα]λανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων ἀπὸ Ῥώμη[ς].
Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Hadrian, grandson of the divine Trajan Parthicus, descendant of the divine Nerva, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, pontifex maximus, in the 20th year of his tribunician power, imperator the second time, consul the fourth time, pater patriae: Greetings to the Panhellenion. I have learned from their messages, that the Panhellenes before you accepted Ulpius Eurykles as a capable man. Farewell.
One day before the calends of December, from Rome.

#91 Aizanoi, Temple of Zeus. Phrygia.
Two very fragmentary letters of Caesar from 46 BCE, (re?)inscribed in the second century CE. On the podium of the temple. Found re-used in later walls. Selection of *SEG* 59-1479; Wörrle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi V," #1.

[Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτ]ωρ, ὕπατος τὸ γ´ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς δ[ικτάτωρ ?τε τὸ γ´, … ἀντι]στρατήγω […
15 … τὸ τοῦ Διὸ]ς ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Αἰζανοῖς ΠΕ[…]
…Gaius Julius Caesar, imperator, consul for the third time and pontifex maximus, [dictator for the third time…] to the commander…the sanctuary of Zeus in Aizanoi…

#92 Klaros, Temple of Apollo Klarios. Ionia.

Records of delegations consulting the oracle from various cities. These records can be precisely dated by the eponymous officials and were written on the crepis of the temple of Apollo, beginning in 141/2 CE. From c. 188-236 CE, these records were written only in the flutes of the columns of the temple. These small texts crowded onto the architectural surfaces are highly formulaic. Several inscribed blocks from the sanctuary were reused in a church at the nearby settlement of Notion. Record from 141/2 CE, from Hierapytna (Ferrary, *Les mémoriaux de delegations* #62):

Ἱεραπυτνίων. Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀπόλλωνος · τὸ ξζ᾽, ἱερατεύοντος Γα(ΐου) Ἰουλίου Ζωτίχου, προφήτου Κρίτωνος γ᾽τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, θεσπιῳ δοῦντος Μάγνου τοῦ Ἑρμογέ[νο]υς,

2 Θεοπρόποι Ἐπίκτητος Ἐπικτήτου, Εἰρηναῖς φίλωνος τὸ γ᾽, ἠΐθεοι Διονύσις Ἐπικτήτου Διονυσιανὸς Εἰρηναίου, Φλ(άβιος) Λυκολέων, Φλ Αὐξίβιος Κλ(αύδιος) Δῶρος,

3 Μᾶρκος Αὐτολύκου Δίδυμος Αὐτολύκου, Ἀσπάσις Αὐτολύκου, παρθένοι Λάκαινα Εἰρηναίου, Φλ(αβία) Παρδάλη, Μαρκία Σωτάδου.

(The delegation) of the Hierapytnians. In the 67th prytany of Apollo, when Gaius Julius Zotichos was priest, when Krito son of Artemidoros was the prophet for the third time, when Magnus son of Hermogenes was *thespioidos*, the *theopropoi* to the oracle were Epiktetos, son of Epiktetos, Eirinai(o)s, son of Philo for the third time, the young boys were Dionysi(o)s, son of Epiktetos, Dionysianos, son of Eirinaios, Flavius Lykoleon, Flavius Auxibios, Claudios Doros, Marcus, son of Autolykos, Didymos, son of Autolykos, Aspasi(o)s, son of Autolykos, the young girls were Lakaina, daughter of Eirinaios, Flavia Pardale, Markia daughter of Sotades.

(trans. after Ferrary, *Les mémoriaux de delegations*, 311)

#93 Elaioussa, Kizilbağ Sanctuary. Cilicia.

Municipal decree regarding weights inscribed on the wall of the temple to the right of the entrance. The letters were painted red. Second century CE or later. *IGR* III #864.

1 ἔδοξεν. ἐάν τις
εὑρεθῇ Κιλικίῳ μέ-
τρῳ μετρῶν, ἀπ-
οδώσει ἰς τὸν φίσκ-
5 ον δηνάρια εἴκοσι
πέντε. μετρεῖν δὲ
μέτροις οἷς ἡ πόλ-
ις νομιτεύετε {νομιστεύεται}

It seemed best: if anyone should be found measuring with the Cilician unit, he will give to the fisc twenty-five denarii. Rather (let him) measure with the units which the city currently uses.

#94 Leukopetra, Temple of the Autochthonous Mother of the Gods. Macedonia.
Short manumission records on the unfluted columns and antae of the temple. Dating from
around 170 CE to 313 CE. *I.Leukopetra* #68 (218 CE).

Αὐρηλία Φίλα
ἡ πρὶν Ἀμίας
δωροῦμαι Μη-
4 τρὶ Θεῶν Αὐ-
τόχθονι κο-
ράσιον ὀνόμα-
τι Κοπρίαν, ὡς
8 ἐτῶν Κ, κατὰ τὴν
ἀπόφασιν Τερ-
τυλλιανοῦ ἀν-
θυπάτου
12 ἔτους ΘΜΣ σεβαστοῦ
τοῦ καὶ ΕΞΤ, Δαι-
σίου ΚΖ
I, Aurelia Phila, previously called the daughter of Amia, gift to the mother of the
authochthonos gods a girl by the name of Kopria, around twenty years old, in accordance
with the decision of Tertyllianos the proconsul; August 249 and 365, Daisios 27.
(trans. after Petsas, Hatzopoulos, Gounaropoulou, and Paschidis, *Inscriptions du
sanctuaire*, #68)

#95 Halasarna, Temple of Apollo. Kos, Aegean.
The names of four individuals honored as *gereaphoroi* on the left pronaos anta of
Building C (constructed in the third century BCE), inscribed in the third century CE. The
four names were inscribed in the third century CE and represent individuals given an
extra portion of the meat of sacrificed animals. Presumably this was the result of a civic
decree. The names are inscribed in four quadrants and accompanied by wreaths. Line
breaks not accurately represented here. *IG* XII 4,2 #1168.
γερηφόρων
Μ(άρκου) Σεμπρ<ω>νίου Ἐπαφροδείτου.
Αὐρ(ηλίης) Ῥουφίνης τῆς Ῥούφου.
Μ(άρκου) Σεμπρωνίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.
Μ(άρκου) Σεμπρωνίου Φαύστου.
The *gereaphoroi* Marcus Sempronius Epaphrodeitos, Aurelia Rufina, daughter of Rufus,
Marcus Sempronius Julianus, Marcus Sempronius Faustus.

#96 Mylasa, Temple of Augustus and Roma. Caria.

Letters/decrees inscribed on the podium of the temple. The first two (*I.Mylasa* #611 and #612) were inscribed in the period of 427-429 CE; they include a letter of the emperor Theodosios II (#611) and his *comes sacrarum largitionum* Flavius Eudoxius (#612) granting the port of Mylasa, called Passala, tax-free status. A third document, the *forma generalis* of the praetorian prefect Flavius Illus Pusaeus Dionysius of 480 CE is written in the form of a decree, rather than a letter, and attempts to resolve a problem with tax receipts in Caria in response to a petition (*I.Mylasa* #613). *I.Mylasa* #612.

1 ἡ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ δευτέρου τύπου τοῦ κώμ(ητος) τῶν λαργιτιόνων·
Φλ(άουιος) Εὐδόξιος Φλ(αουίῳ) Βαραλὰχ τῷ λαμπρῷ ἄρχοντι Καρίας·
κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄφελος καὶ συμφέρον ἤγουν καὶ δίκαιον
περὶ τοῦ τέλους τῆς Πασσαλιαητῶν κώμης τῆς Μιλασέων πόλεως·
5 πολλῶν ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντων μεταξὺ τοῦ
ἐντολέως Δομνίνου τοῦ καθοσιομένου (= καθωσιωμένου) κουβουκλαρίου καὶ
τῶν πολιτευομένων τῆς μνημονευθείσης πόλεως… καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ …
πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Ἀπριλίων.
The translation of the second rescript of the *comes largitionum*: Flavius Eudoxius to Flavius Baralach, the illustrious governor of Caria. About the domestic benefit both collected and lawful concerning the issue of the village of Passala (belonging to) the city of Mylasa: with many conducting business in our court between the agent of the emperor the *devotissimus* Koubouklarios and the citizens of the aforementioned *polis*… Five days before the Ides of April.

Miscellaneous

#97 Aliki, Thassos, "the two sanctuaries," Aegean.
Graffiti on the stylobates of two cult buildings (sometimes referred to as *oikoi* or as "les deux sanctuaires) near a sacred grotto of Apollo. The two buildings had hearths within for making burnt offerings to the god and were built around the seventh century BCE. The stones of these buildings seem to have received graffiti from individuals from at least the fourth century BCE into the late Roman periods. Several of the early texts are erotic graffiti praising boys or women as *kalos*/*kale*, more commonly found on sympotic vessels. *IG* XII 8 #590-597; *SEG* 31 756-776; Servais, *Les deux sanctuaires*, 46-48. Here *IG* XII 8 #591, Servais 48, #7.

a) Σῖμος καλὸς ἐγ Καρδίαι (4th c. BCE)
b) Ἴλαρος (late Roman)
a) Simos in Kardia is beautiful
b) Hilarus

#98 Corycian Cave (Turkey), Temple 2. Cilicia.

A graffito described as on a wall of this temple (which is distinct from the Corycian Cave Clifftop temple reused as a church). It may perhaps be a prayer for the health of Trajan, or, more likely in my view, a prayer from an individual. Undated but perhaps Trajanic. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia," *JHS* 12 #30, *IGR* III #859.

<Z>εῦ Κορύκιε {Κωρύκιε}
Τρα[ϊ]ανός(?) {ΤΡΑΓΑΝΟΣ?}
O Zeus Koryke, Tra[-]anos.

#99 Sardis, Temple of Artemis. Lydia.
Verse inscription in the column's own voice, celebrating that the torus and base were carved from a single monolith paid for by the temple itself. Inscribed mid-second century CE in a single line wrapping around the fillet at the base of the shaft. Left in place throughout late antiquity, when a chapel was built nearby. Buckler and Robinson, *Sardis* 7.1 #181.

ἡ σ[π]εῖρα χὠ [ῥ]ιζαῖος εἷς ἐστιν λίθος, πρῶτος δὲ πάντων ἐξ ὅλων ἀνίσταμαι οὐ δημοτεύκτων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' οἰκείων λίθων.
One stone forms my torus and my foundation block, and I rise first of all out of all the stones, not made by the *demos*, but domestically [i.e., from the temple's own funds]. (trans. after Yegül, "A Victor's Message," 204)

#100 Antiocheia ad Cragum
A metrical dice oracle invoking Apollo Chresterios inscribed on two wall blocks on the north wall of the temple cella. Dated to the second century CE or later. The lengthy inscription is at least 190 lines and was inscribed in columns. Found in the ruins of the temple. Selection of *TAM* 22, *Antiocheia epi Krago* #19.

[…] Φοῖβε χρηστή[ριε],
μαντείαν δὸς ἀψευδῆ περὶ ὧν ἐπιβάλλομαι, εἰ σύμφορον καὶ λῷον.
I.1   {1} ααααα   Διὸς Λαμώτου.
ε´   Ζεύς σοι καλὴν τὴν πρᾶξιν εἰσηγήσεται,
        τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀδήλων καὶ χρόνων πεφυρμένα{ι}
        εἰσαῦθις ἔσται χαρμονῆς πεπλησμένα.
5   {2} αααγ   [[Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου]]
ζ´   ἅπανθ' ὁ Φοῖβός σοι σαφῆ προμηνύει·
        Νείκην ἀρωγὸν σὺν θεοῖς ἕξεις ἅμα.
        σπεῦδε, καταπράσσου, μηδὲ ἐπίσχεσιν ποιοῦ.
…
O oracular Phoebus, give an unerring prophecy about those things which I undertake, if it be profitable and better. (roll of dice)
I.1 Zeus will guide you to good business, the things mixed together out of the unseen ages will be again full of joy.

2 Apollo Pythios: Phoibos foretells all clear things to you. You will have a propitious victory together with gods. Hasten, finish it, do not delay.
…

#101 Termessos, Temple N5 (Artemis?). Pisidia.
An honorary inscription for the "Solymnian fatherland" written by two citizens who had completed their time in office. On an anta block found in the ruins of temple N5. Date uncertain. *TAM* III.1 #18.

  Α·Φ·Α·Κ·
τειμαῖς ἐν προέδροισι καὶ εὐδικίαις ἐν ἀμέμπτοις
πάσαις ἀμφὶ δίκαις κῦδος ἀϊράμενοι,
σοί, πάτρη Σολυμηῖ, θεμιστοπόλοι ναετῆρες,
5 [.]τρη[.]έος εὐεπίης ἄνθεα λεξάμενο[ι],
[…] Μọλεσις καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἀγανόφρω[ν]
[ἄνθεσαν(?) εὐσε]βίης εἵνε[κ'] εν Ἀρτέμιḍọς.
ΑΦΑΚ The law-administering citizens, having won fame in honorable councilorships and in irreproachable righteous dealings in all judgments, and having gathered for you, o Solymnian fatherland, blossoms of […] eloquence, the [glorious] Molesis and gentle Aristeides, honored you from piety in/on the Temple of Artemis.
(trans. after Nollé, "Die Taurische Artemis," 280).

#102 Samos, Temple of Hera. Aegean.
Metrical dedications by two imperial officials (*IG* XII 6.2, #584 I, from Aedisius, dating to 307-11 CE, and II, from Ploutarchos, dated to the fourth century), on the anta of the Heraion. A dedication to the tetrarchs by the *polis* of the Samians may also belong to the temple anta (*IG* XII 6.2 #610). *IG* XII 6.2, #584 II

II Ἥρη παμβα[σίλεια, Δι]ὸς μεγάλου πα[ρ]άκ[οι]τι
εἴλαθι κἀμὲ φύλαττε, σαόπτολι, σὸν λάτριν ἁγνόν·
ἄρτι γὰρ ἱρὰ Διεὶ ῥ[έξ]ας Κρήτησιν ἐν ἄντροις
Ἴδης ἐν σκοπέλοισι λάχον ἐκ βασιλῆος
νή<σ>ων, τὰς πέρι πόντος ἁλίκτυπος ἐστεφάνωκε,
10 ἡγῖσθαι Πλούταρχος, ἔχων πατρὸς οὔνομα κλεινόν,
‾ ˘ ˘ Ι σὺμ π[ᾶσ]ιν ἐμὸν βασιλῆα φύλασσε.
O Hera, all royal, wife of great Zeus,
Be merciful and defend me, o protector of cities, your pure servant.
For just now I, having performed sacrifices to Zeus in the Cretan caves,
I obtained in the rocky places of Ida a gift from the king,
to governor the islands, around which the sea-smitten sea lies like a crown,
I, Plutarchos, having the renowned name of my father,
…with everything defend my king.
(trans. after Klaus Hallof, *Inscriptiones Graecae* online database).

#103 Aizanoi, Temple of Zeus. Phrygia.
A painted wreath of uncertain date, on the west face of the cella. The inscription is very faded, but ends with the word "εὐχήν." It could date from Roman period, or late antiquity, when the west wall of the cella became the entrance to the church. Unpublished.

[…] / εὐχήν
…prayer/vow

Possibly Spurious
These texts are attributed in the scholarship to temples. However, in both case, the evidence linking them to temples, rather than other structures, is tenuous.

#104 Iasos, Possibly from the Temple of Artemis Astias. Caria.
Dedication on an unfluted column by Simon and Strongilla, to Artemis. Context and date of column is uncertain. It may in fact come from the temple, as is argued by Rumscheid, but the evidence is not clear. It was found in reuse. *I.Iasos* #258. An additional column possibly from the temple was dedicated by a Nikokrateia and Melanos (*I.Iasos* #257).

Σῖμον Πολεμάρχου
στρογγύλου γυνὴ
τὸγ κίονα
Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀστιάδι
Simon, son of Polemarchos (and) Strongilla his wife, (dedicated) the column to Artemis Astias.

#105 Sulia, Temple of Artemis. Crete.
Short prayers or vows by individual worshipers on wall blocks. The publication says that the wall blocks, found in reuse, probably came from a temple, because of the dedications to the goddess, but this catalog indicates that it is rare for individuals to be permitted to write their names and prayers directly on temple walls, suggesting to me that these blocks came from a different type of structure. Many names are Roman. *IC* II.XXV #10 and #17a.

Ἀρτέμιδι εὐχήν
prayer/vow to Aretmis
Τι Κλαύδιος Δημήτριος νε(ώτερος)
Tiberius Claudius Demetrios the younger

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281

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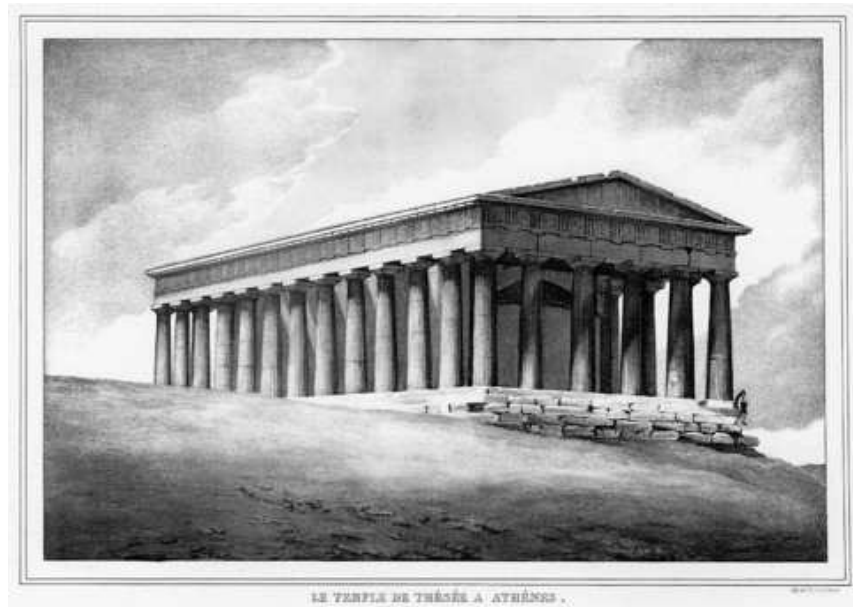
Fig. 1. Hephaesteion temple-church, Athens. L. Dupré, 1825, reprinted in Sturm, "The Afterlife of the Hephaisteion," Fig. 5.
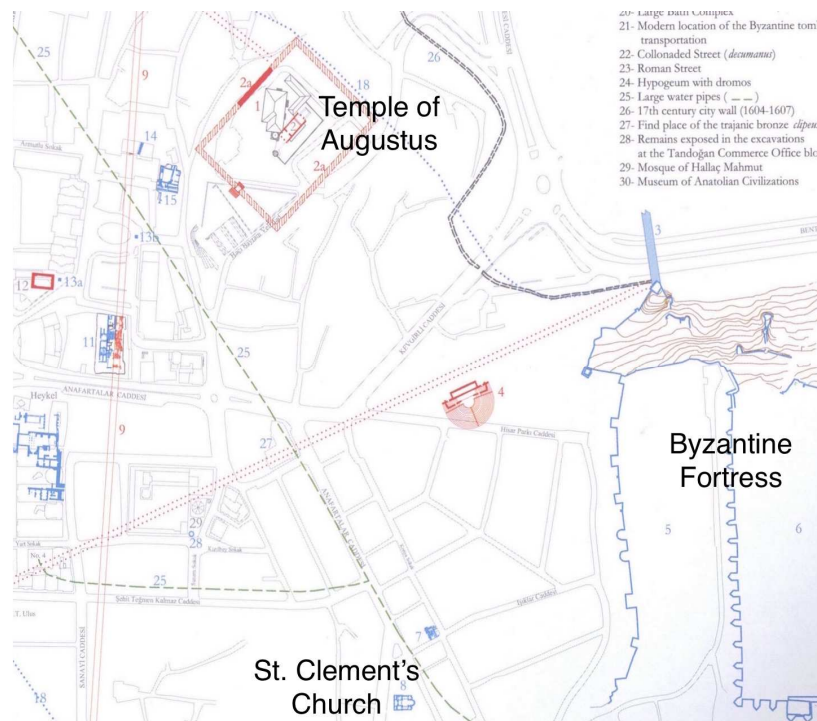
Fig. 2. Ankara. Kadioğlu, Görkay, and Mitchell, *Roman Ancyra*, Plan 2, with additions.

Fig. 3. Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Photo: Author.
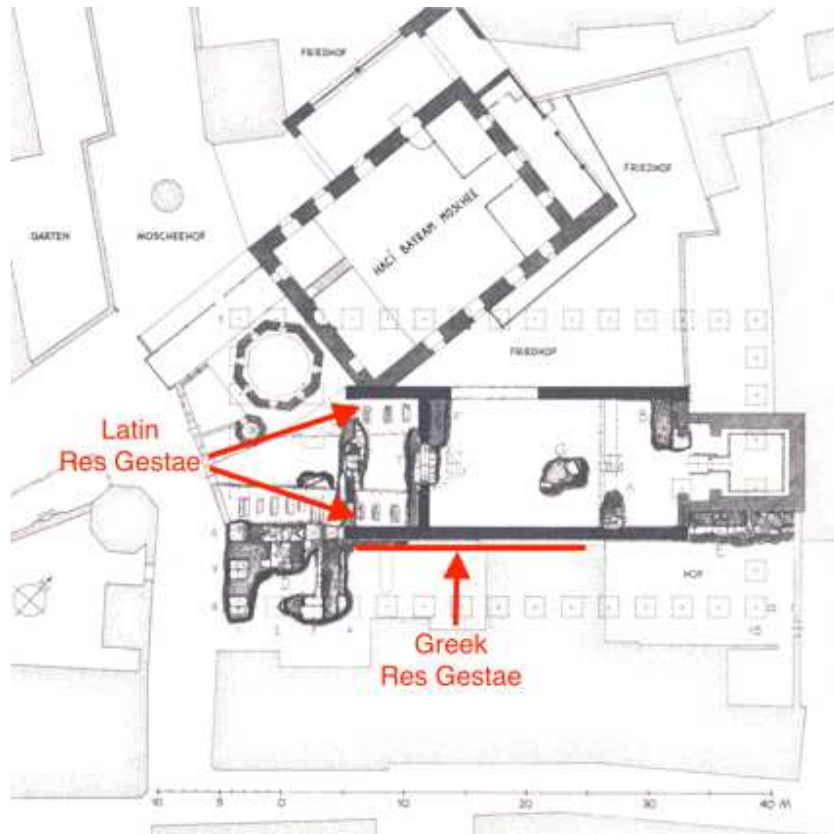
Fig. 4. Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara, with Annex to the
east. Plan: Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Pl. 2.

Fig. 5. Annex. Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Photo: Author.
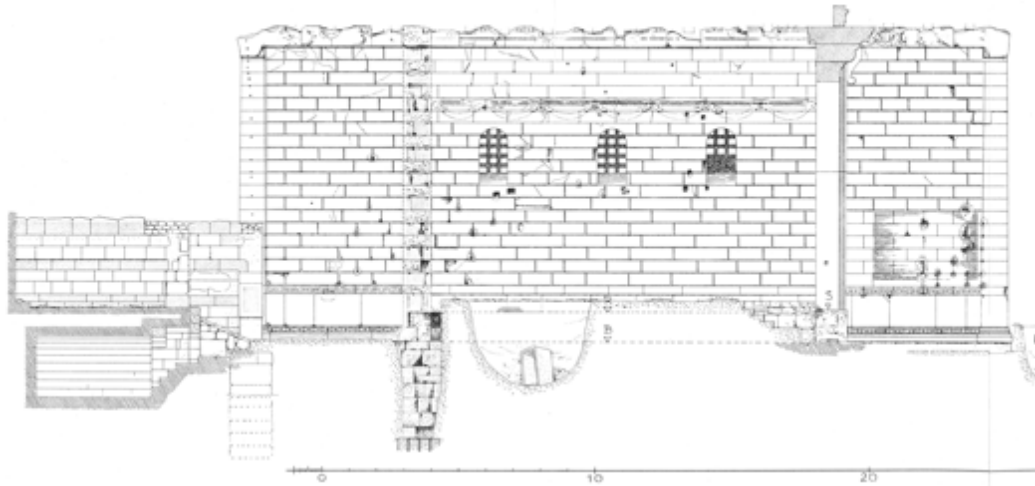
Fig. 6. Section, including Annex with "crypt." Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Pl 6.

Fig. 7. Annex with entrance to "crypt," view toward the east.
Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Peschlow, *Ankara*, Fig. 52.
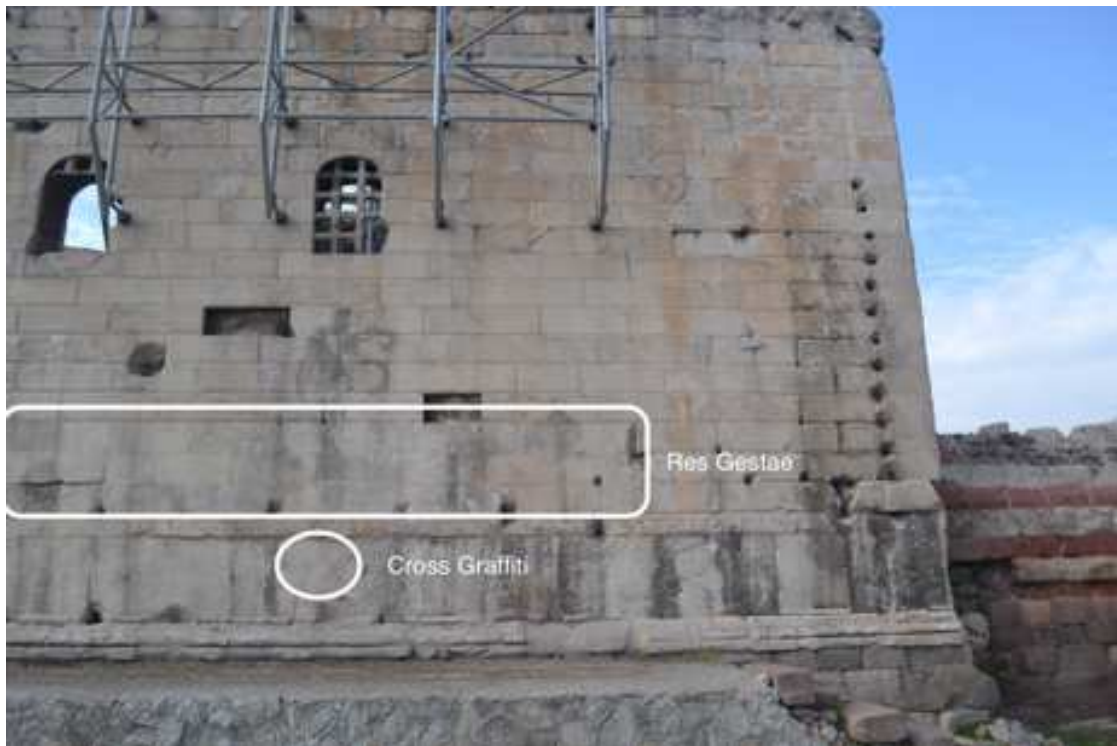
Fig. 8. Detail of south wall, with windows above the *Res Gestae*.
Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Photo: Author.

Fig. 9. Greek text of the *Res Gestae*, on the southern wall of the Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Pl. 41.

Fig. 10. List of priests, north anta. Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara. Krencker and Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Pl. 43.

307
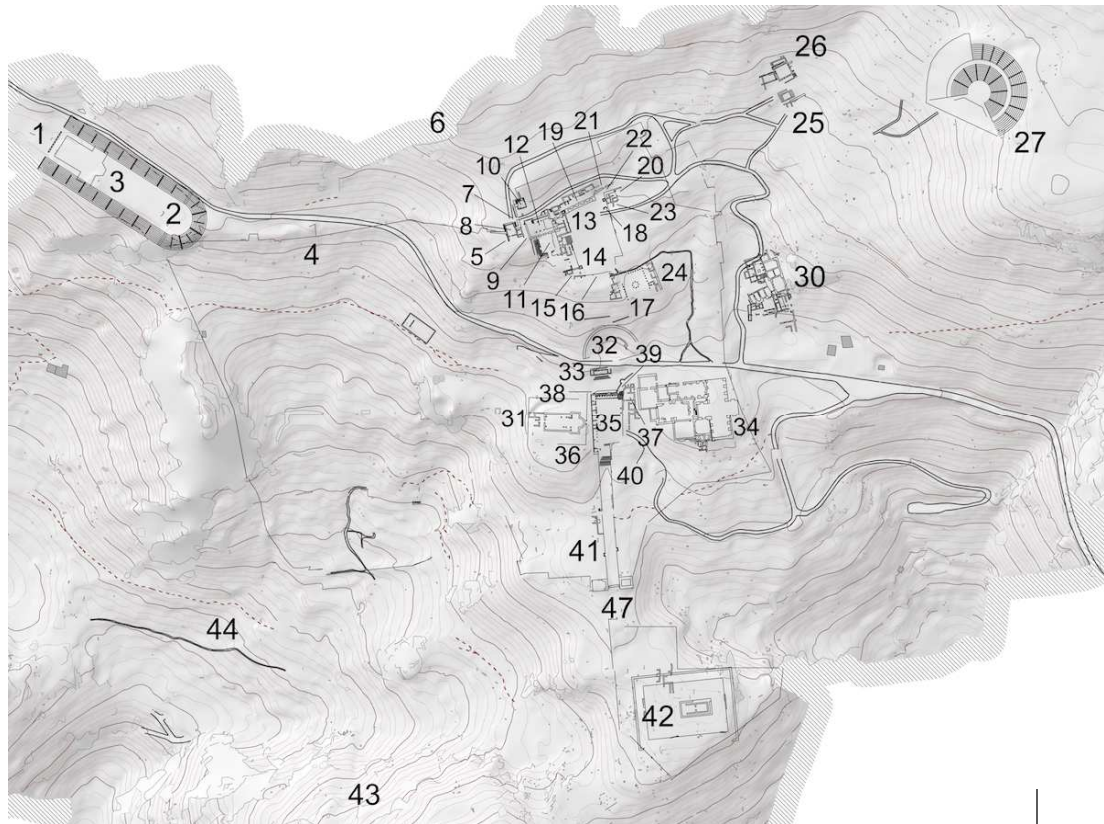
Fig. 11. City plan, Sagalassos. #31 is the Temple of Apollo Klarios church (Basilica E).
#3 is the church in the stadium (Basilica E1). Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project
website, http://www.sagalassos.be/node/2452

Fig. 12. Church built from the building blocks of the Temple of Apollo Klarios.
View toward southeast, including the transept and apse. Sagalassos. Photo: Author.
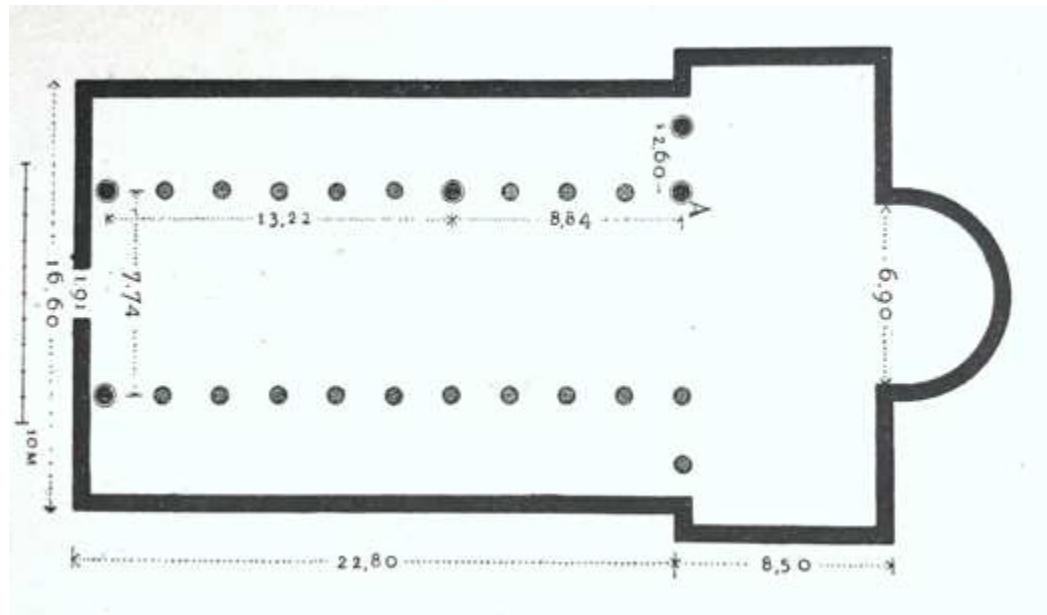
Fig. 13. Plan of the temple-church (Temple of Apollo Klarios). Sagalassos.
Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, Fig. 123.

Fig. 14. Architrave with inscription from Collega, his wife, and relatives.
Temple of Apollo Klarios, Sagalassos. Photo: Author.
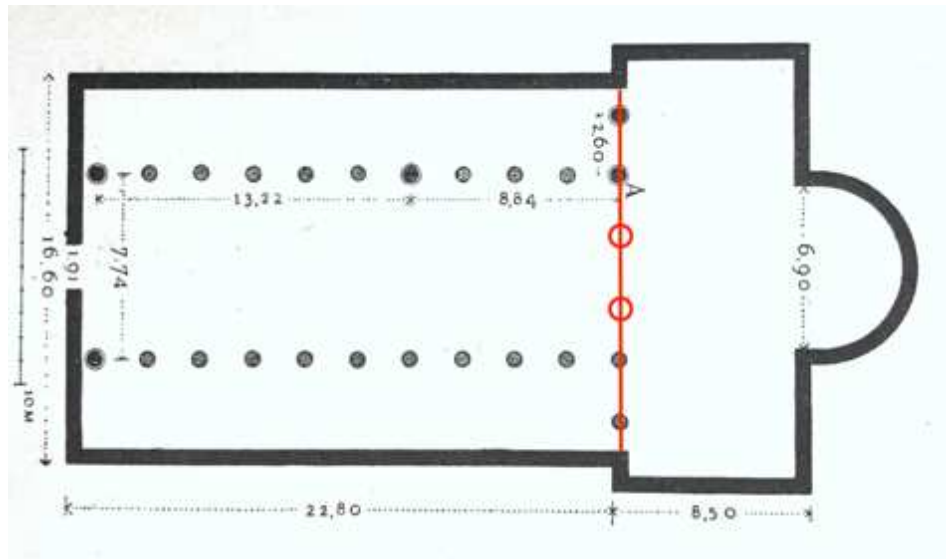
Fig. 15. Lanckoroński's reconstruction of the location of the architrave within the temple-church. *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, Fig. 123, with my additions.
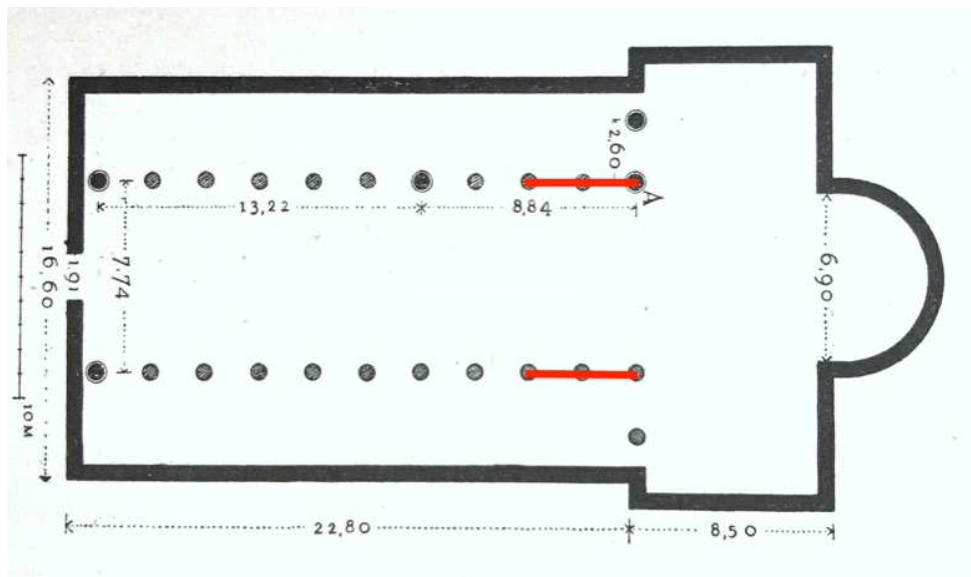
Fig. 16. My reconstruction of the location of the architrave within the temple-church. Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidien II*, Fig. 123, with my additions.

310
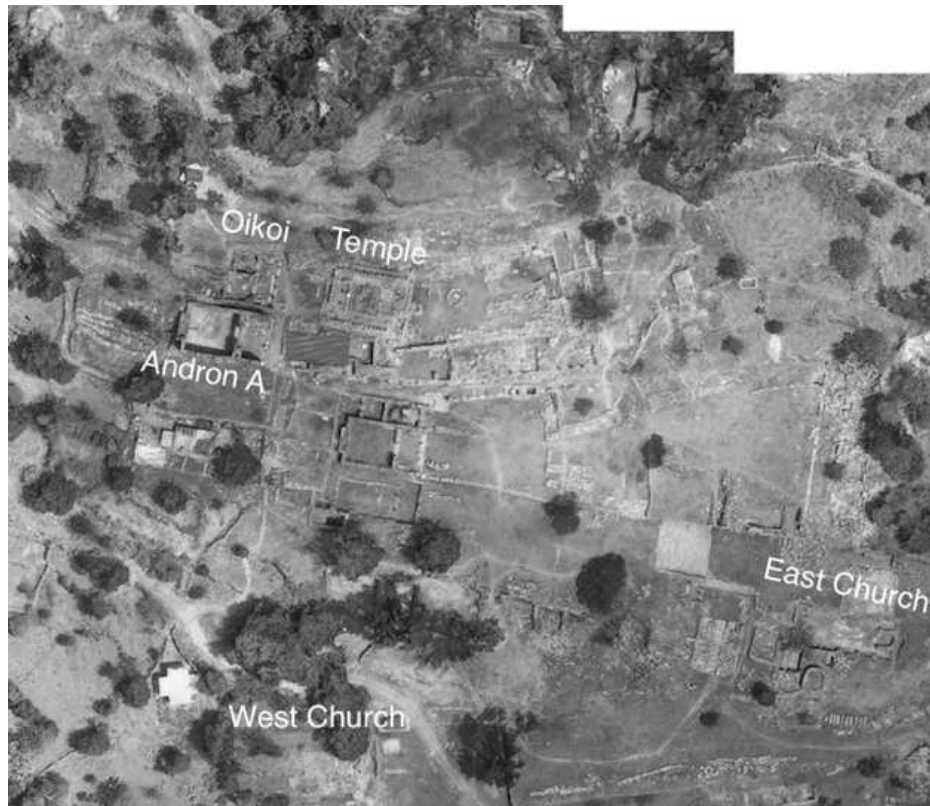
Fig. 17. Orthophoto plan of Labraunda (Turkey). D. Lowenberg,
in Henry, *et al.,* "Labraunda 2015," Fig. 68, with my additions.
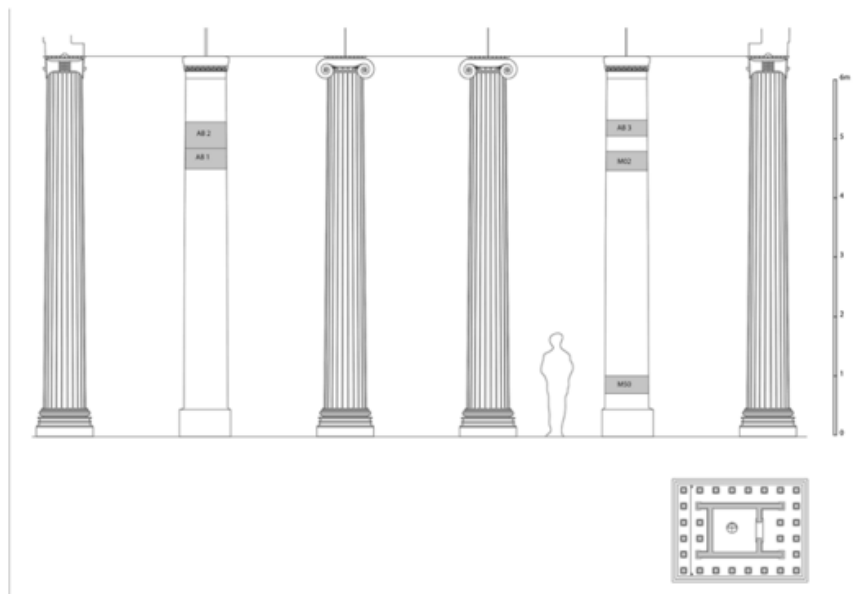
Fig. 18. Rear façade of the Temple of Zeus, Labraunda, with inscribed antae blocks.
Carless Unwinn and Henry, "A New Olympichos Inscription," Fig. 5.
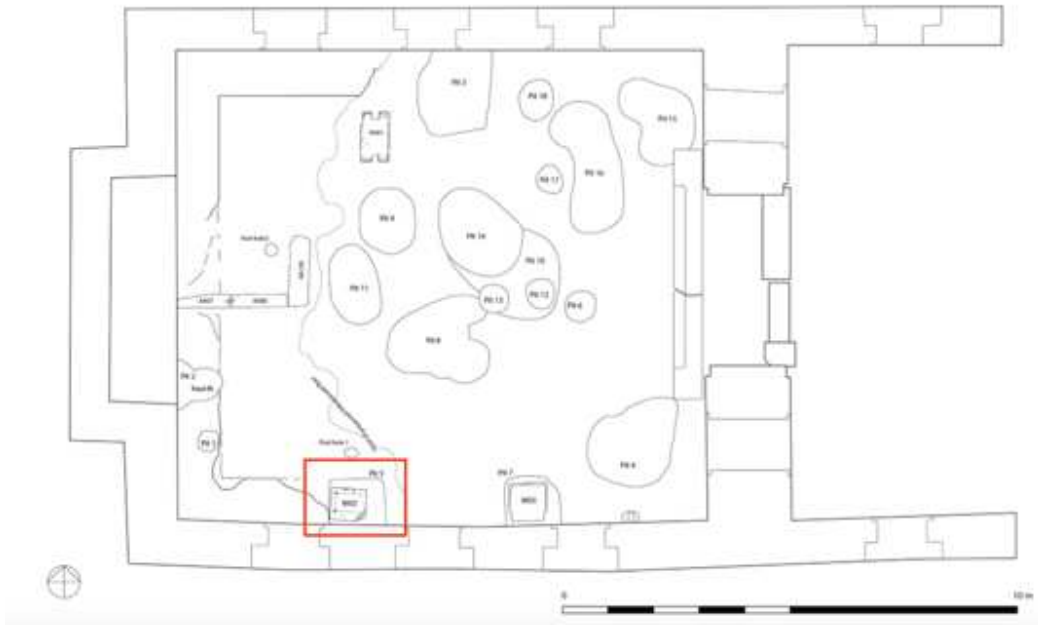
Fig. 19. Andron A, showing locations of later pits and the findspot of *I.Labraunda* #137.
Henry, in Sitz and Henry, "Andron A," Fig. 109.

Fig. 20. *I.Labraunda* #137, with cut mark. Photo: Olivier Henry.

312
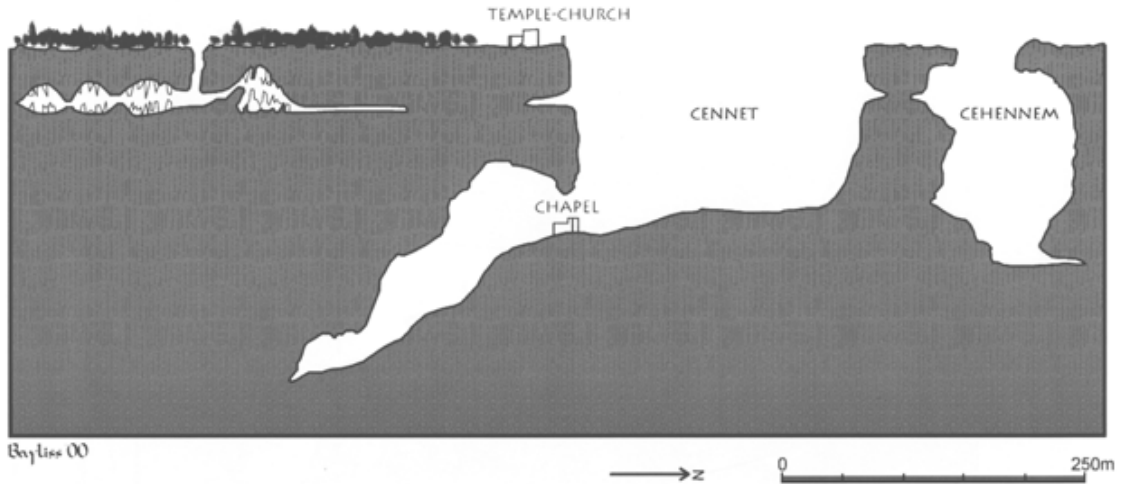
Fig. 21. Section view of the Corycian Cave (Cennet), the neighboring cave (Cehennem),
and the Corycian Cave Clifftop Temple (Temple-Church). Cilicia, Turkey.
Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, Fig. 109.
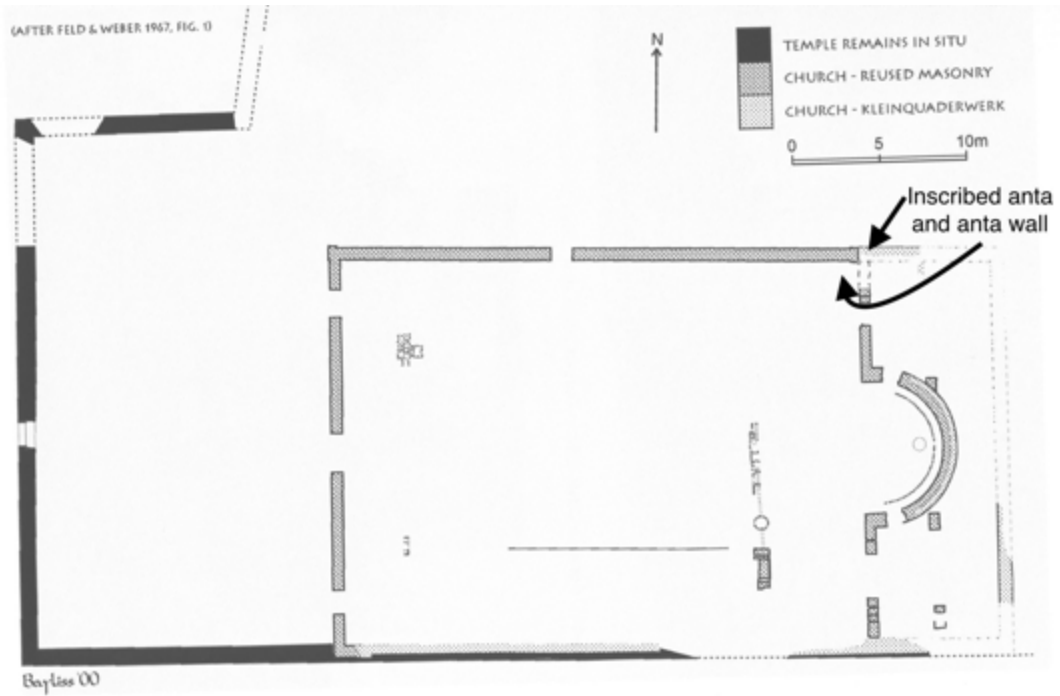
Fig. 22. Plan of the Corycian Cave Clifftop Temple-Church, with temenos wall.
Cilicia. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, Fig. 110, with my additions.

313

Fig. 23. Corycian Cave temple-church, from the exterior.
North wall and apse (behind tree). Cilicia. Photo: Author.

Fig. 24. Northeast anta with inscribed lists,
Corycian Cave temple-church. Cilicia. Photo: Author.

Fig. 25. Anta wall, Corycian Cave temple-church.
Late list with haphazard erasures. Cilicia. Photo: Author.
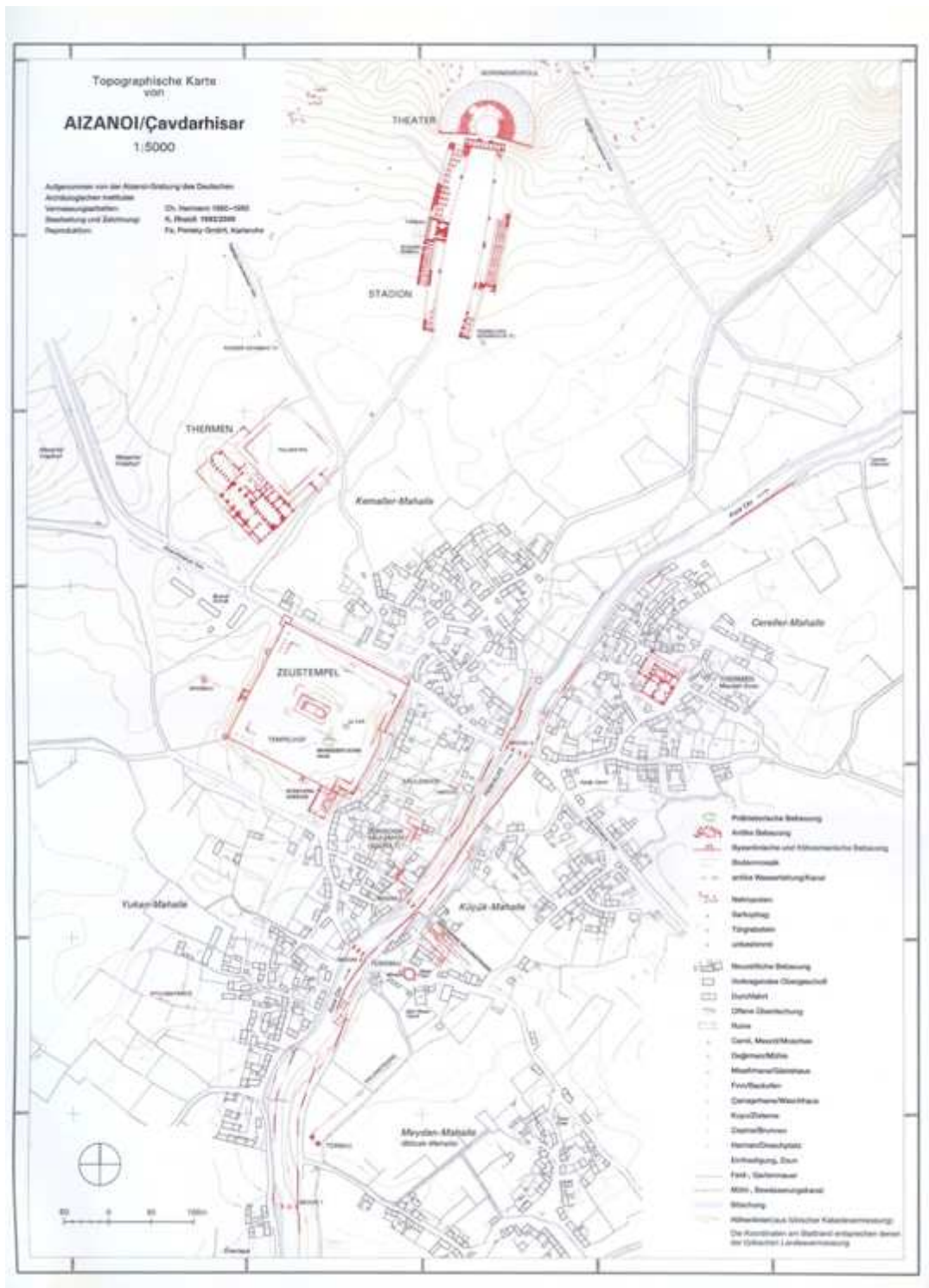
Fig. 26. City plan, Aizanoi (Aezani). Rheidt, *Aizanoi und Anatolien*, Plan 1.

Fig. 27. Temple of Zeus, from northwest. Aizanoi. Photo: Author.
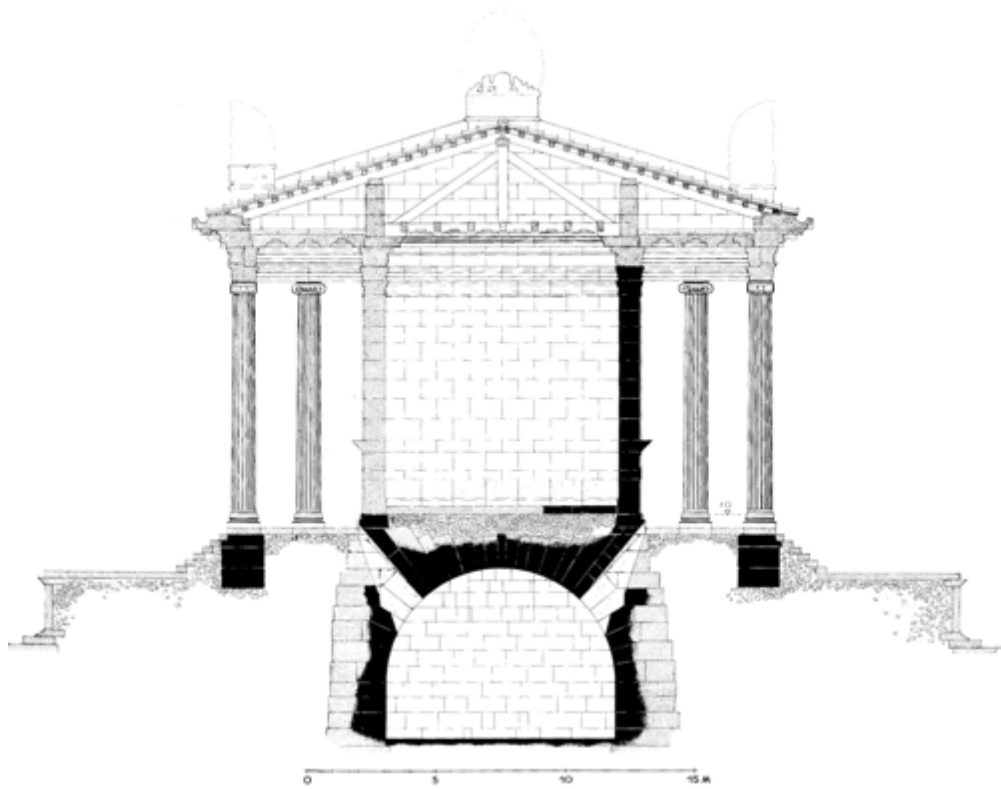
Fig. 28. Temple of Zeus with subterranean chamber, section.
Aizanoi. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, Pl. 12.
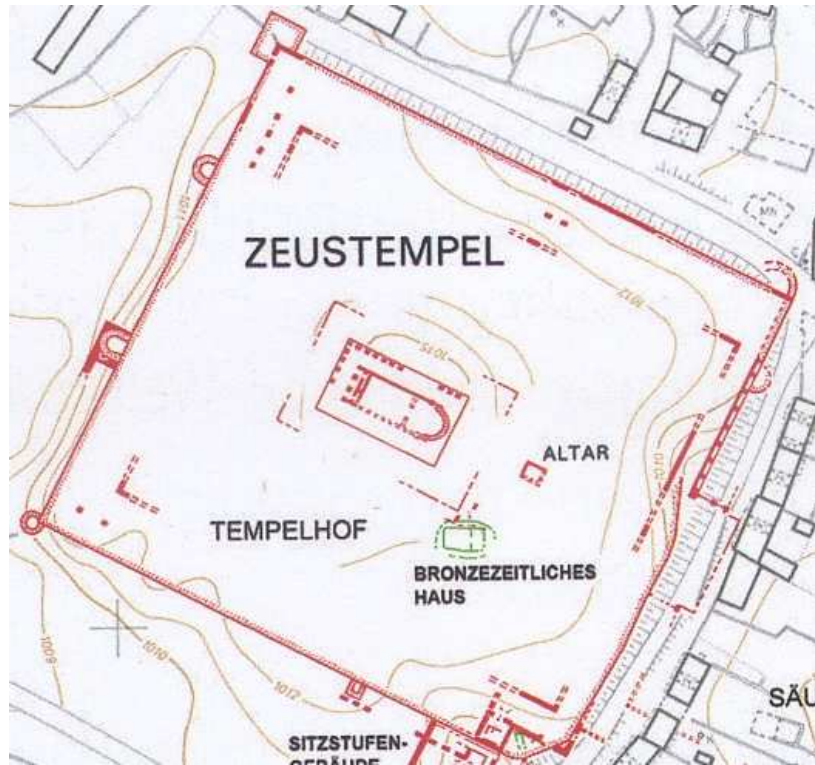
Fig. 29. Temple-church and temenos. Aizanoi.
Rheidt, *Aizanoi und Anatolien*, Plan 1.
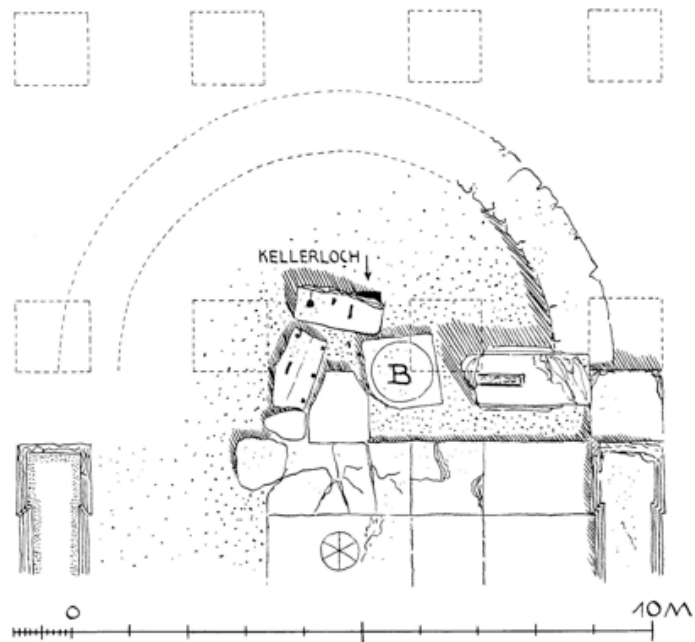
Fig. 30. Temple of Zeus, apse of the temple-church on the pronaos.
Aizanoi. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, Fig. 44.
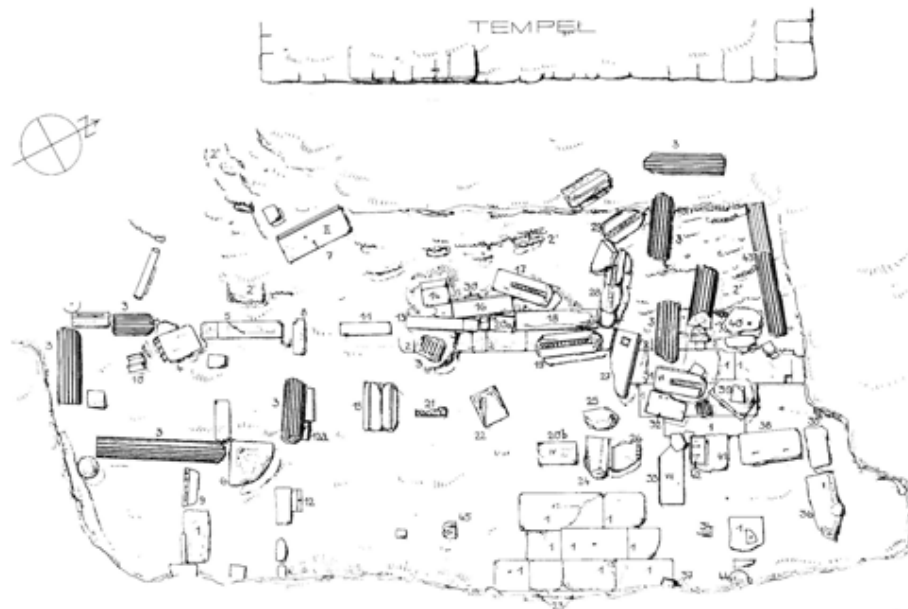
Fig. 31. Collapse of the peristasis of the Temple of Zeus, as found in the excavations. Aizanoi. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, Pl. 18.
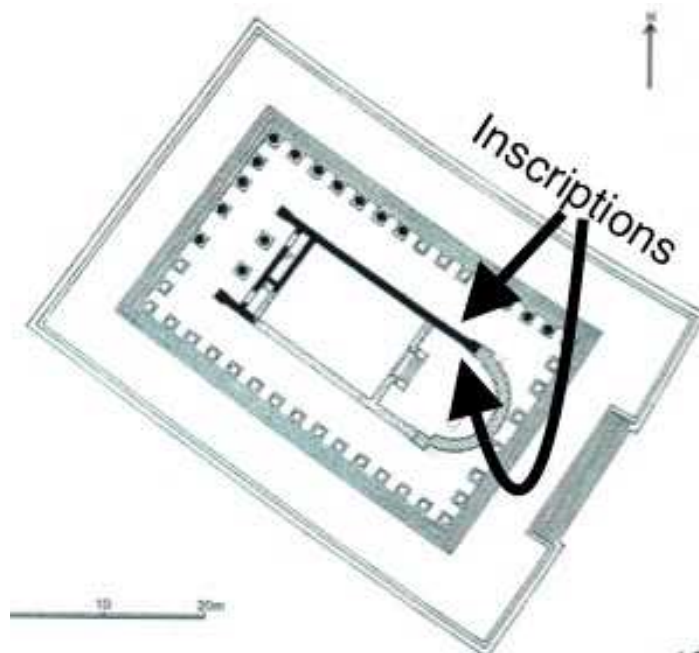
Fig. 32. Temple-church, with inscription locations indicated. Aizanoi. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, Fig. 16, with additions.

319

Fig. 33. Temple-church, inscriptions. Letters in praise of Eurykles, with later graffiti. Aizanoi. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel*, Fig. 16.

Fig. 34. *Säulenstraße*, Aizanoi. Photo: Author.
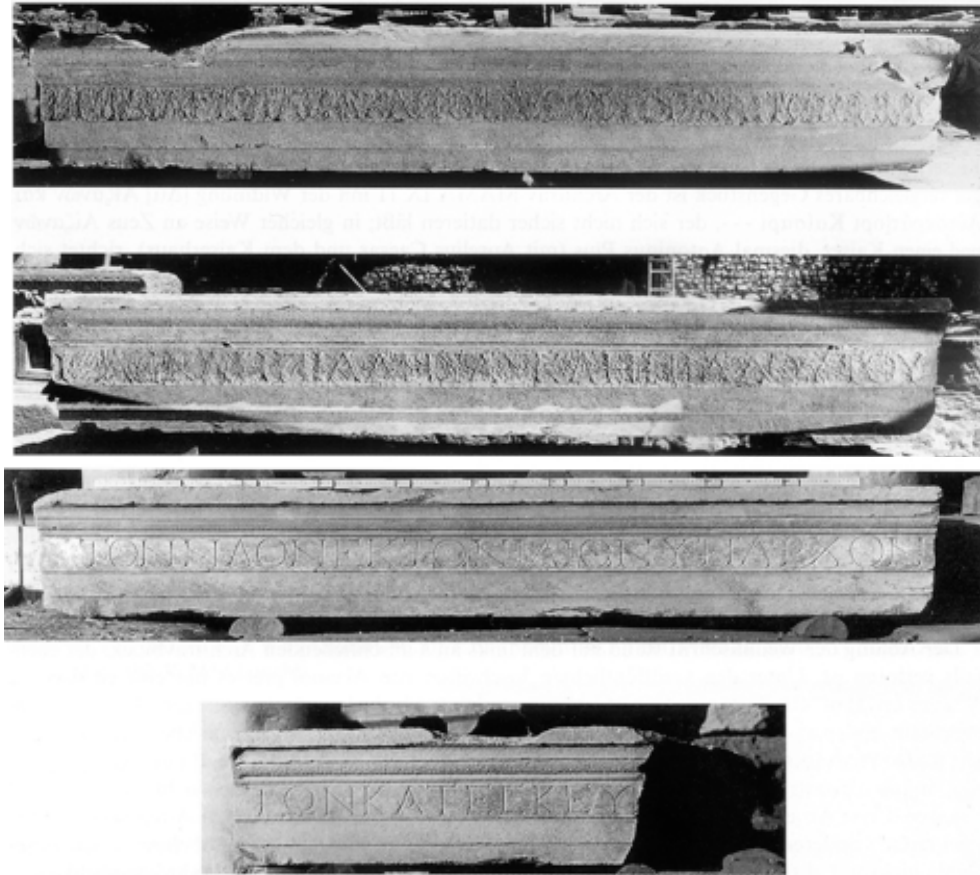
Fig. 35. Architrave from the Temple of Artemis, partially erased and reused in the
Säulenstraße. Aizanoi. Wörrle, "Inschriftenfunden," #2.
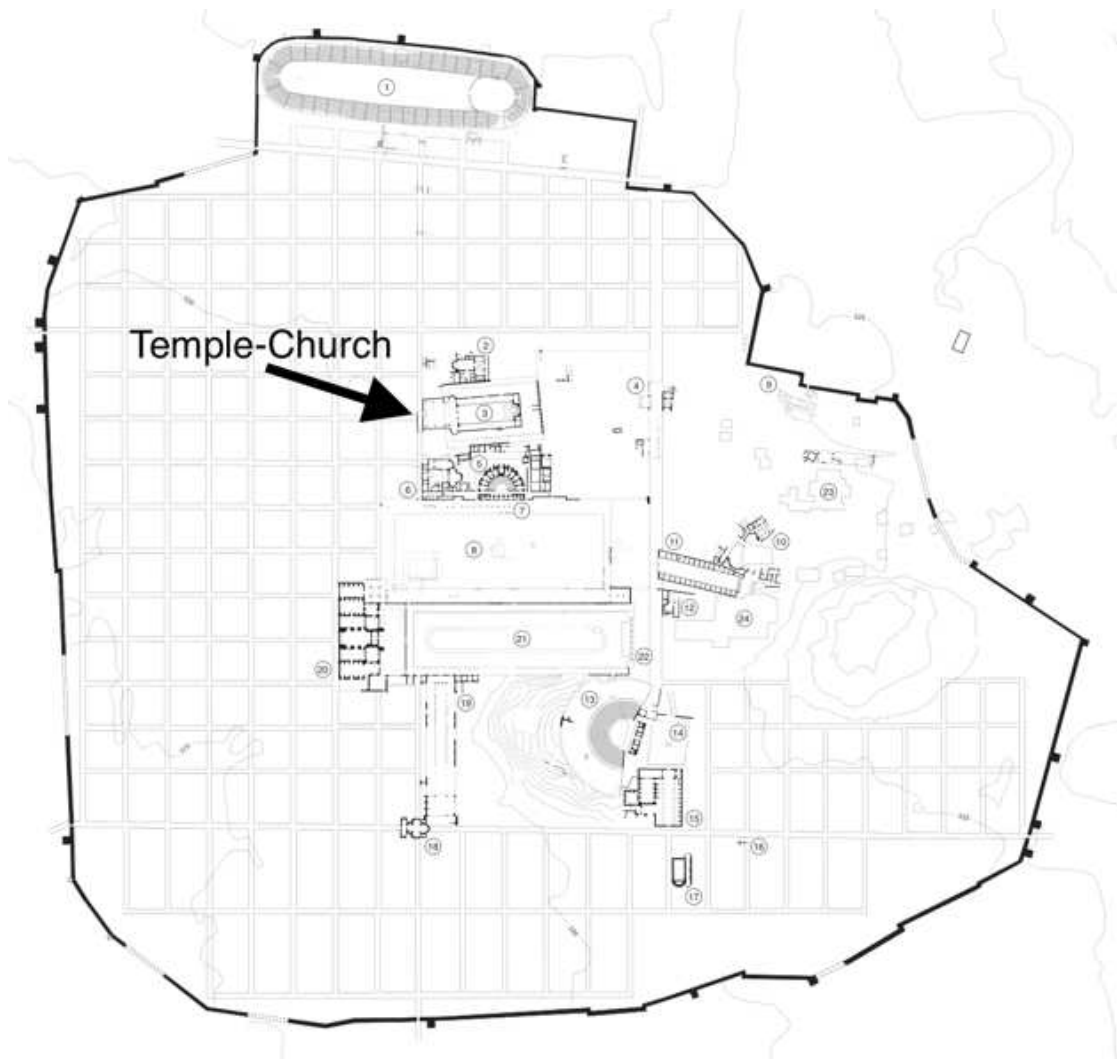
Fig. 36. Aphrodisias city plan, with temple-church indicated. H. Mark, *Aphrodisias Excavations* website, http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/, with my additions.

Fig. 37. *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity (ala)* #22 and #42. Charlotte Roueché,
http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/inscription/eAla022.html.
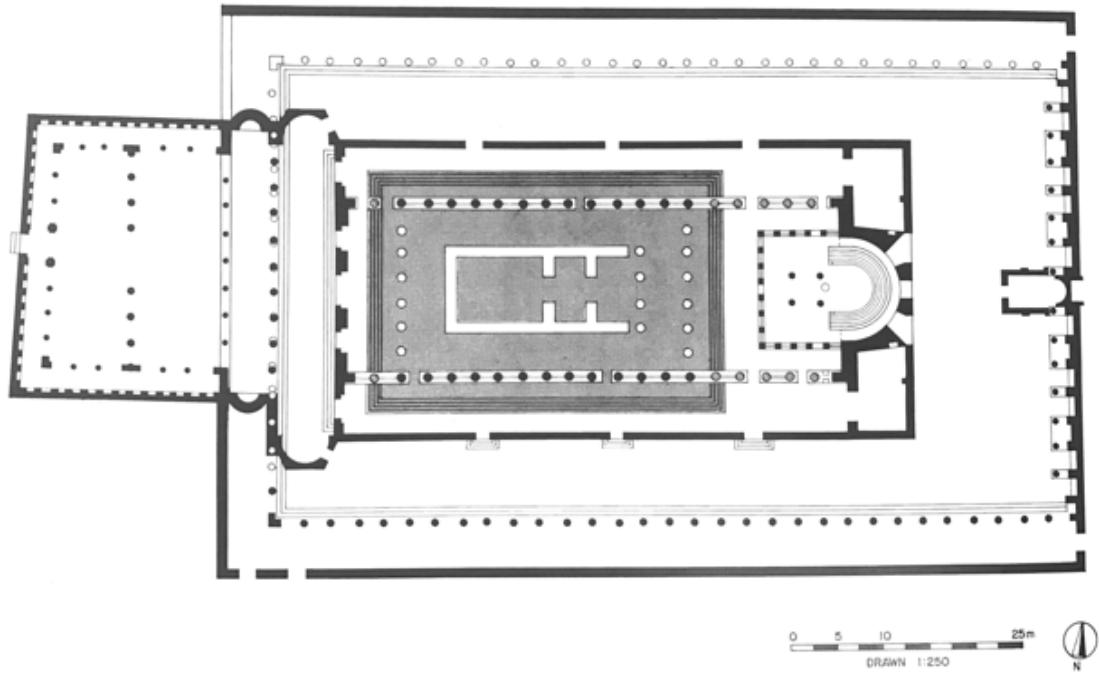
Fig. 38. Temple-church, showing the location of the Temple of Aphrodite.
Aphrodisias. H. Mark, in Hebert, "The Temple-Church," Pl. 14.

323

Fig. 39. Temple-church, view from the atrium toward the east.
Central door with Zoilos inscription indicated. Photo: Author.

Fig. 40. Fragment of door lintel, with Zoilos dedication. Temple-church.
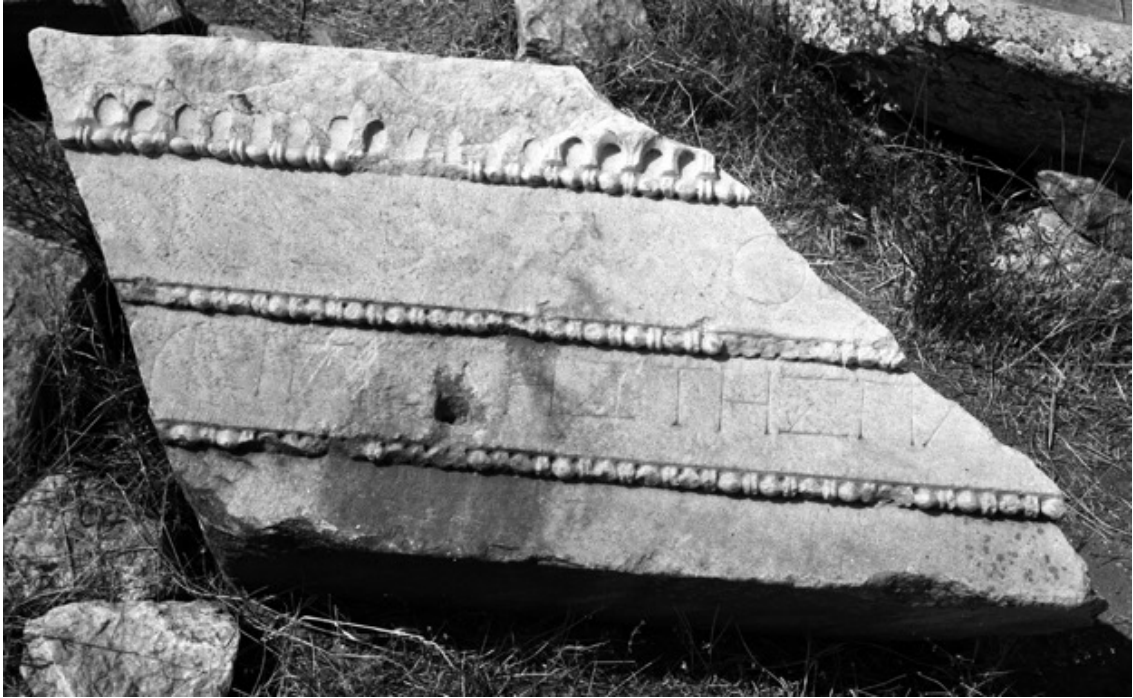Aphrodisias. Photo: Author.

Fig. 41. Middle fragment of door lintel, with Zoilos dedication. Temple-church, Aphrodisias. *IAph2007* #1.2, http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph010002.html.

Fig. 42. Temple-church, north colonnade/peristasis. Inscriptions in *tabulae ansatae* are marked. Photo: Author.

Fig. 43. Later copy of one of the column inscriptions. *IAph2007* #1.6,
http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph010006.html.

Fig. 44. Temple-Church exterior, view toward the northwest.
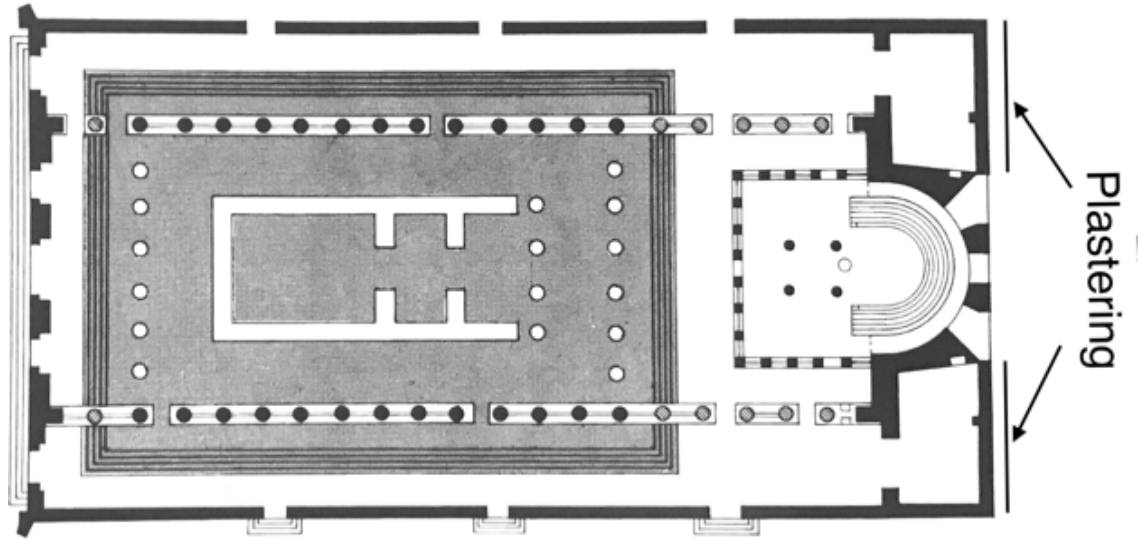Aphrodisias. Photo: Author.

Fig. 45. Temple-Church, showing locations of roughening for plaster and revetment holes. The section of the wall in between the two lines bears inscribed crosses. H. Mark, in Hebert, "The Temple-Church," Pl. 14, with my additions.

Fig. 46. East wall of temple-church, central section. Circles indicate incised crosses. Aphrodisias. Photo: Author.