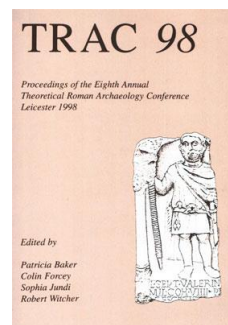# Usurping the Urban Image: the experience of ritual topography in late antique cities of the Near East

by Richard Bayliss

Introduction

In this paper I will examine the variable impact of Christianity on the symbolic map of cities in the Near East. The notion that the material composition of the Christian city was different from the cities of the old gods has underpinned the study of urbanism in late antiquity. The dichotomy observed between the two reflects a widespread over-reliance on the elitist and polarised sources of the fourth to sixth centuries and an overemphasis on the major centres of Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem. By reviewing the archaeological evidence from a select few sites in the Near East I will attempt to show that the degree of urban 'transformation' between the pagan and Christian city has perhaps been exaggerated as a result of this scholarly framework.

My main objective will be to discuss the urban context of religious experience, which in both the pagan and the Christian city involved not only the ritual foci (temples and churches), but also the streets, public spaces and cemeteries [1]. I will first demonstrate how the sacred topography of a city was perceived and projected in antiquity and then illustrate how the physical manifestation of urban Christianity often appeared merely as a repackaging of the existing ritual and architectural framework. Thus in many Near Eastern cities interaction with and experience of the sacred built environment was defined by the same social activities and architectural devices in the Christian city as it had in the pagan (see also MacCormack 1990:16–7).

I will focus on evidence from the eastern provinces, while purposefully avoiding the three great cities previously mentioned. Each in its own way was particularly unique and we can, therefore, draw a few general conclusions from the study of their respective sacred topographies [2]. So concentration will remain on those cities which were of little significance in the scriptures, and which gradually swayed towards a Christian preference through the fourth and fifth centuries without experiencing exponential growth in the same period. In some cities the change is indeed much more profound, with the apparent abandonment and rejection of pre-Christian sites. I will attempt merely to shed some light on this diversity and the broad range of scenarios by which religious change manifested itself in the built environment, while highlighting some implications of the Christian appropriation of pagan places.

Vistas, landmarks and urban imaging in the ancient city

Kevin Lynch and those who followed his pioneering studies of urban cognition and environmental design demonstrated how we understand cities in terms of simplified cognitive maps, comprising paths, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks, fleshed out more subtly by the auditory, olfactory and haptic senses (Lynch 1960, 1981:131–50; Downs & Stea 1977:156–61, 241–52; Rodaway 1994). To the individual, the city comprises a series of paths between points of personal significance. Edges provide definition and boundaries to perception, we are conscious of moving through districts, and landmarks contextualized by urban vistas bestow a sense of place. These cognitive maps provide our footholds to orientation and meaning in the urban landscape.

By defining the principal elements that comprised human cognitive maps of cities Lynch attempted to stimulate new approaches to urban planning, towards the development of cities which were more legible, less confusing and less intimidating. Even though considered impractical and over-optimistic by his intended audience, his ideas became highly influential in the social sciences, where they have been nurtured and progressed (Lynch 1984). His simplified and

approachable categorisation of urban experience has moreover gradually percolated into studies of ancient urbanism and topography, primarily because his studies provided a framework for understanding how others might compose mental maps of a built environment (Dyson & Prior 1995; Favro 1996:1–2, 193–214; MacDonald 1986; Wharton 1995:64–104, 1996; Yegül 1994). His work, therefore, proved to be hugely popular amongst scholars keen to contextualize urban monuments and study ancient cities as lived, dynamic and experienced places.

Yet when we acknowledge that individuals experience cities and their monuments in different ways, that buildings and landscapes are polyvocal, we find difficulties in ascribing subjective meanings and values to places and spaces (Downs & Stea 1977:20–4; Favro 1996:232–47; Jackson, this volume). Main streets and commercial areas formed public foci, yet individuals would utilise and relate themselves to space in socio-specific ways, tempered by memory of past experience, motivation, age, gender and disposition, to name but a few determinants. Although architectural composition provides a medium through which an individual can interpret a space, different places, whether monumentalized or not, would never find expression in a single all-embracing meaning.

So where was the overlap between individual mental maps that enabled a coherent image of a city to be projected? An image powerful enough to stimulate the all-pervading force of civic identity that underpinned the flourishing cities of antiquity. In the Greek and Roman city, civic identity and social hierarchy was defined and asserted through regularly repeated ritual procession and ceremony, the stage for which was the city, its monuments and the routes between them. Procession and sacrifice created a synergy and homogeneity between public monuments that symbolised the unified identity and image of a city, defined by the gods and by its historical pedigree. It was through these spatially organised ritual celebrations that people were supposed to understand how the sacred world around them was organised and linked (Price 1984; Davies 1997). Through a study of contextualized urban procession we can in this way hope to understand buildings as aspects of urban image projection. However, we can only hope to gain a somewhat autocratic impression as we will only understand how the image was supposed to be understood and not how different individuals actually felt about it.

Ritual procession in context

The festival calendar created the division of time in the Roman city (Price 1984:101–32; Burkert 1985:99–103). Sacred time was recognisable by the sights, sounds and probably also the smells associated with procession, ritual and sacrifice (Lynch 1972:83–9, 173–80). There was a rich variety in the meaning of fixed calendar processions, from the honouring of a patron deity to the marking of a significant date in the history of the city or empire (Croke 1990). Above all, urban procession was context-sensitive; it had a beginning, an end and a route which were intimately bound to its meaning and purpose. By witnessing or participating in the regular and repeated high profile processions, people could relate themselves to a sacred and symbolic map that created and enforced an urban identity.

Some processions took on a 'stational' character whereby at significant places along the way, an act of ritual would take place, perhaps some kind of re-enactment of an event in the city's history (Rice 1983:26; Burkert 1985:102). This strengthened and coloured the urban image in relation to the city's monuments. The participants, the route and the timing of the procession were all fundamental to the message conveyed. This was an enforcement of civic pride, serving to clarify the social hierarchy and to instil knowledge of the important events in the city's history, particularly for the young who often took prominent participatory roles (Rice 1983:190–2; Rogers 1991:112).

Figure 1. Gerasa, the colonnaded street (photograph by Charles Daniels, courtesy of Miriam Daniels)

The stage for these urban dramas was the streets and monuments of the city. It was here in the city's public arena where expressions of civic identity and munificence were most highly manifest, and it was these monuments and the great streets between that channelled procession between points of significance and on to an ultimate goal (Figure 1).

By its very nature the colonnaded street created strong bounding edges, and anything punctuating the monotony, enforced its identification as a landmark in the mental map (MacDonald 1986:99–107; Yegül 1994). The projecting *propylea* of buildings along the street served to mark destinations from a distance. At Gerasa in provincial Arabia the only intrusions on an 800m stretch of colonnaded street between the north gate and south piazza were the *tetrapyla* on the two principal intersections and the propylea which marked the positions of the two principal temples (Browning 1982:80–6, map 3; MacDonald 1986:38–42; Wharton 1995:64–7). A colonnaded street that terminated in a temple as at Palmyra and again at Gerasa, could also bestow added potency to the vista of approach at a sacred time. Nor should it be ignored that these experiential qualities of what MacDonald called an 'urban armature' (MacDonald 1986:5–31) may well have been emphasised through distinctions in the colour of buildings and, particularly during festivals, in the decoration of significant buildings.

One of the most vivid portrayals of urban procession is provided by a long inscription from the early second century found at Ephesos, in which a wealthy benefactor Salutaris intends to provide funds for a regular procession in honour of the city's patron goddess Artemis (Rogers 1991). According to the inscription, approximately every two weeks a group of 31 gold and silver statues and images of mythological, imperial and local figures were carried in a circuit around the city by a procession comprising some 260 persons, organised into a strict hierarchy and following a fixed route (Rogers 1991:figs. 1–3). The procession would begin and end out-
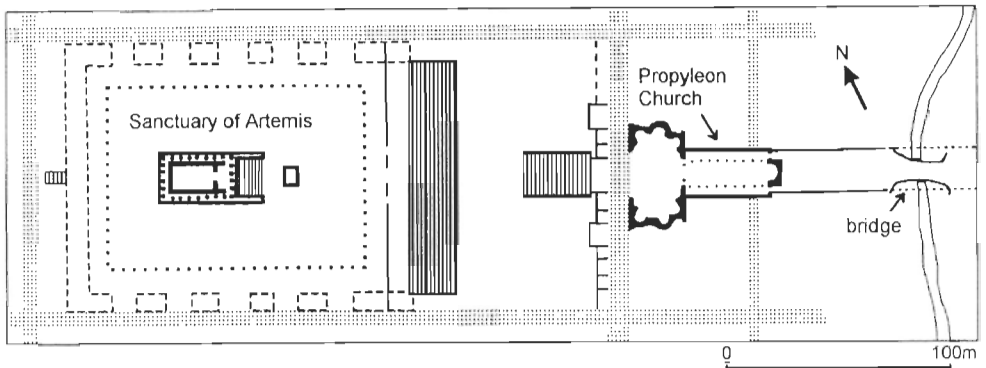
Figure 2. Gerasa, simplified plan of the Artemis temple complex and Propyleon Church (after Browning 1982: 83)

side the city at the temple of Artemis, symbolising the fundamental role of the goddess in the mythological foundation and the ultimate destiny of the city. Its route, the choice of statues and images carried, connected the three historic foundations of the city, from the Roman Imperial re-development of the upper agora, through the city's Hellenistic core, to the Ionian quarter by the Koressian gate, proceeding through them in a reverse chronological direction. Furthermore, by the status and ordering of participants, the images conveyed, its timing and its direct reference to the city's historic monuments and statuary which lined and punctuated the route, the Salutaris procession was clearly intended to perpetuate the foundation legends and social hierarchy, and by regular repetition to create an image, symbolic map and identity for the city (Rogers 1991:80–115).

The fundamental importance of procession in urban ritual can further be reflected in the archaeological record. At Gerasa, there survives one of the most striking ensembles of processional monuments in any Roman city; those associated with the second century Sanctuary of Artemis (Figure 2). The temple was situated at the conclusion of a 500m sequential architectural scheme, which combined a dominating approach vista with successive increases in elevation emphasising the temple as an urban landmark (Browning 1982:86–92; MacDonald 1986:70–1; Wharton 1995:65–75). The axial arrangement of these structures along the *Via Sacra* created a bounded ritual pathway that defined the heart of the city; from the bridge on the east side, along the street, through successive propylea and up a series of grand staircases to the sacred precinct. This route and the monuments associated with it were apparently composed to embellish and to emphasise the ritual approach to the temple.

Christian procession

By the end of the fourth century in the East, pagan public festivals had on the whole been superseded by Christian ceremonials led by the bishop and ecclesiastical hierarchy (Croke 1990:177–82; Markus 1991:97–121)[3]. Recent research in early Christian art and literature has clarified the central importance of procession in early urban Christianity, which developed to a large degree within the existing framework. Baldovin has defined the crucial role of stational liturgy in the formation of the Christian urban topography of Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem, beginning in the late fourth century as personage-centred and participatory ritual procession connected the increasing number of urban churches and monuments in many major cities (Croke 1981; Baldovin 1987:234–7, 253–68). In addition, Mathews has demonstrated how the convergent procession dominated the repertoire of Christian interior decoration in the fifth and sixth centuries, and how images of procession were sympathetic to the ritual activities of the

Figure 3. Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç), temple and church.

viewers in a particular space (Mathews 1993; also Wharton 1995:60; Elsner 1995:221–39). By the fifth century the calendar of festivals in most eastern cities was predominantly Christian, although the logistics, timing and meaning of many processions had been adopted from antique predecessors. For example the procession of the Great Litany in Rome took place on the same date as the pagan Robigalia, with a similar route and composition (Baldovin 1987:236)

With the rise of the cult of martyrs, the gods as bearers of civic identity were succeeded in this role by 'protector' saints. Yet even as many old pagan centres withered in the mid to late fourth century, most still remained untouched by the church builders. With the growing attention given to the shrines of martyrs, Christian procession in the fourth century generally involved movement from within to without the city or vice versa and bore very little reference to pre-existing places. However, by the late fourth century a new intra-mural trend was emerging, as the martyrs relics were translated to new churches within the city walls and within the pagan centres (Hunt 1998:242–4, 250–7). Relics began to form the foci of elaborate processions, like the statues of Artemis in Salutaris' procession, which in turn gave buildings, churches and places new Christian meanings. It was only from this time that the Church really made its mark on the innermost fabric of the cities (Markus 1991:139–155; Milojević 1996).

We have seen how pagan procession bore a direct relationship to the monuments that defined the route, and how at Gerasa for example, the monuments themselves demonstrate the importance of procession. Accepting the centrality of procession and processional architecture in the urban religious experience, archaeology can reveal aspects of the usurpation rather than obliteration of the symbolic map. I will proceed to examine the spatial and what I see as the experiential qualities of these changes.

Temple conversions and re-invented topographies

The late fourth to sixth century was the most active period of temple conversions, many of which resulted in only visually superficial changes to the pre-existing monument (Deichmann 1939; Vaes 1986:fig. 48; Milojević 1997). In many instances the temple peristyle was preserved in the new church building, either on the interior, forming the church colonnades as at Aphro-
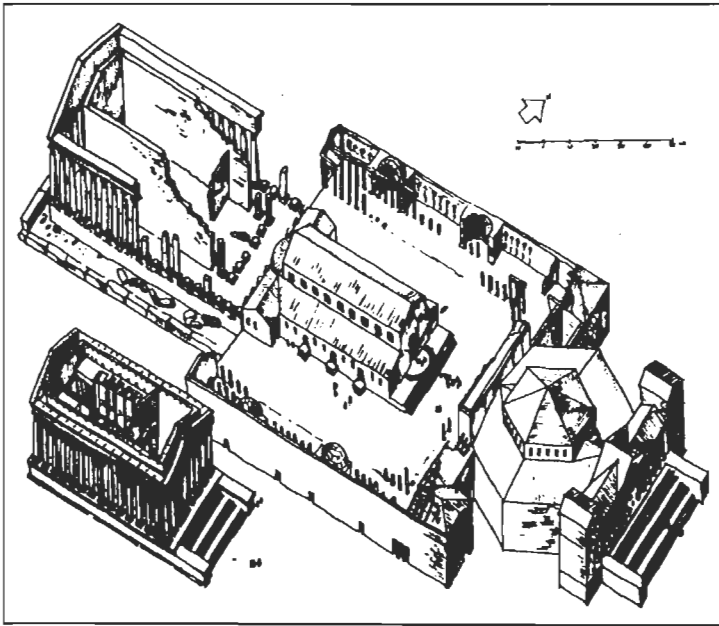
Figure 4. Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitan and the Church of St. Peter at Baalbek (after Ragette 1980: 70)

disias in Caria (Cormack 1990b) or in the outer fabric as at Diocaesarea in Cilicia (Hill 1996:252–4). In the latter case the intercolumniations were walled up with blocks probably from the temple cella and the upper portions of the columns modified to accommodate a new roofing system (Figure 3). The scale, essential form, surrounding architectural context and strong verticality imposed by the peristyle were maintained in the church. Temples converted in this way therefore still retained many of their pre-existing visual qualities, and are in a sense similar to some of the later conversions in Rome which reflect efforts to resurrect the city's ancient identity (Krautheimer 1980).

In a great number of other temple conversions, when the church was built entirely within the peristyle or cella, the transformation may not have been possible to detect from a distance, as may perhaps have been the case with the temple conversions of Ancyra, Assos and Didyma (Deichmann 1939:128–9). The more famous examples at Agrigento and Syracuse are worth mentioning in this context, as are the later conversions of the Parthenon and the Hephaiston in Athens. It is important to remember that temples such as these were located in prominent, highly visible urban positions.

Other examples of temple conversions are equally as illuminating in terms of what is preserved. At Baalbek in Phoenicia the altar and viewing platform of the massive and dominating temple of Jupiter was destroyed at the end of the fourth century and the material used to build a church in front of the temple steps (Figure 4). To maintain the existing approach from the east, the apse of the church was oriented unusually westward. The temple *propyleon* and hexagonal court were restored and continued to provide a grand entrance. It was only some time later, when more rigorous building traditions were apparently enforced, that the apse was moved to the east side and the approach to the church became disarticulated (Ragette 1980:68–71).

The late antique re-development of Aezani in Phrygia has also been realised with some clarity by recent excavation (Rheidt 1995). This included the construction of a church within the peristyle of the Temple of Zeus and a major rebuilding programme on the street that led to it.

Material from a nearby temple dedicated to Artemis was used extensively in the porticoes of the street, which from at least the second century had formed part of a processional way connecting both temples with an important extra-mural rock-cut shrine.

As highly visual urban landmarks, temples were an important element of the city's imaging and orientation (Price 1984:136–46; Favro 1996:168–9). With a conversion that was often little more than superficial, the experiential components of the city that had provided the strongest identifying characteristics were translated but maintained. Just as importantly we must consider the many churches which replaced a partially or wholly destroyed temple while preserving its predecessor's architectural context. Most people's experience of a temple was from the outside, whether during sacred time or otherwise and the urban temples were often the focus of expansive architectural ensembles that may have included a precinct wall, propylea, approach streets and neighbouring structures. The effect of these conversion scenarios was that urban vistas were perpetuated and sacred localities preserved under a Christian guise. So the grand architectural devices of entrance that had provoked and stirred emotions of expectancy on approach to the holy place were appropriately re-employed. Churches that occupied the sites of temples in this way were re-inventing exactly the same visual vitality for a new urban liturgy.

Aphrodisias

To extract meaning from these changes in the built environment we must appreciate the city as an articulated whole and consider the impact of Christianized buildings beyond the limits of the individual monument. Recent excavation and survey at Aphrodisias in Caria has aimed at clarifying the organisation and planning of the urban topography and in particular the relationship between the buildings and the street system (Smith & Ratté 1995:42; 1996:16; 1997:10–16, fig. 1; 1998:225–30, fig. 1). This has led to a much clearer understanding of the Christian impact on the city, a subject previously explored in an article by Cormack (Cormack 1990a). In this section of my paper I will attempt to build on his work in the light of more recent research at the site and will also suggest that the various Christianized elements appear to have been connected in a more intimate way than may initially have been suspected (Figure 5).

The temple of Aphrodite, patron goddess of the city, was converted into a church dedicated to St Michael sometime after the middle of the fifth century (Smith & Ratté 1995:44–6). The temple complex, including an elaborate *temenos* and forecourt, occupied an extensive area between two major north-south streets. The principal approach was from the east side through a *tetrapylon* that projected into the main street (Paul 1996: figs.1–2; Smith & Ratté 1998:228; Figure 5). The space between the *tetrapylon* and the *temenos* appears to have been occupied by a forecourt, with the main access to the precinct itself afforded by a 3 metre wide doorway in the centre of the monumental and highly articulated east *temenos* wall (Doruk 1990).

However, when the temple was converted the principal approach was shifted to the church atrium on the west side and at some point the eastern *temenos* doorway was blocked by the insertion of a west-facing brick apse. This implies that the Christian liturgical usage of the site extended beyond the bounds of the church proper, but how far and for what purpose is difficult to ascertain. It is also not clear whether any approach route was maintained from the east. Limited excavation in the forecourt appears to indicate that at least a portion of this area was given over to high status domestic residences (Smith & Ratté 1996:8–9). However, the *tetrapylon* was restored sometime after the turn of the fifth century and at some point a relief bust of Aphrodite on its west tympanum was defaced and replaced with a cross (Smith 1996:11–3) perhaps indicating that this monument was still considered to be part of the Christianized complex. Whether the conversion of the temple area, therefore, effectively severed the pre-existing communication between the two major north-south streets of the city is not yet clear.
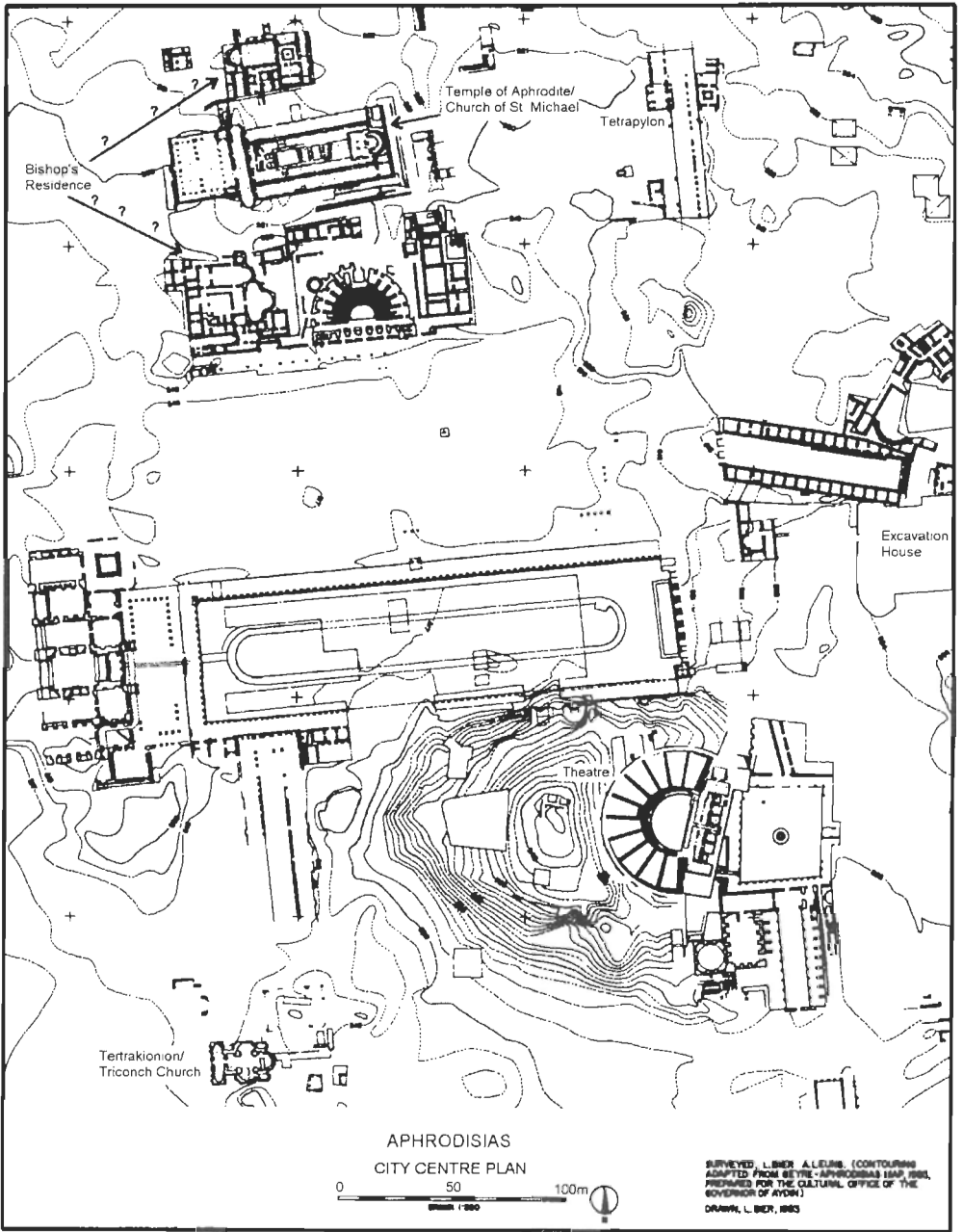
Temple of Aphrodite/
Church of St Michael

Tetrapylon

Bishop's
Residence

Excavation
House

Theatre

Tertrakionion/
Triconch Church

APHRODISIAS

CITY CENTRE PLAN

0   50   100m

Figure 5. Aphrodisias, city plan (after Smith & Ratté 1997)

Abutting the outside of the *temenos* wall to the north was an elaborate structure that has been tentatively identified as the residence of the bishop (Campbell 1996:188–92; Smith & Ratté 1998:230–2). Two other structures in the southern sector of the city also appear to have been significant nodes in the urban liturgy of Byzantine Aphrodisias. The first is a four-columned monument identified as a *tetrakionion*, which served to monumentalise the junction of the main street running south from the church atrium with an east-west street running past the theatre

baths. It was probably built in the fifth or sixth century and was structurally similar to a monument on the Arcadiane at Ephesos (Smith & Ratté 1995; 48–51, figs. 22–3; 1996:13–6, figs. 7–9). It has been argued that the columns of the Ephesian example held statues of the evangelists (Foss 1979:57–8, fig. 16; Yegül 1994:100)[4], and I would suggest that the symbolic nature of the Aphrodisian example was equally if not more overt.

This interpretation of what might normally be perceived as a 'secular' monument is based on the Byzantine history of this junction after the early seventh century when a small *triconch* church was built, which entirely encased the monument, but apparently without employing it structurally within its fabric (C.Ratté, pers. comm.)[5]. This implies that the church was recognising the *tetrakionion* as the marker of a meaningful intersection in the Christian city, which may well have some reflection on the original significance of the *tetrakionion* itself. Much like the *tetrapylon* at the east end of the temple court, it acknowledged and emphasised a focal point at an intersection of special importance within the city plan .

The second Christianized monument I will mention is the theatre, which probably remained in use until the early seventh century. It is located on the main street running south from the temple *tetrapylon* and close to its junction with the street running east from the *tetrakionion*. The theatre in antiquity was the scene of ritual as well as entertainment and at Ephesos formed the sole stopping place on the Salutaris procession (Rogers 1991:102–103). Theatres, in general, appear to continue to provide a focus for public activity in the Christian period, although it often seems that their usage underwent some change (Roueché 1991). With the decline of 'immoral' public displays in the Christian city, the theatre of Aphrodisias may indeed have taken on more responsibility for ritual, as sometime in the middle of the sixth century, large images of the archangels were painted on the walls of a room in the stage building (Cormack 1991). One of these paintings, of particularly high quality, is identified as St. Michael, Aphrodite's usurper as the new patron of the city.

Thus the inter-relationship of Christian elements within the topography of Aphrodisias becomes clearer. The restoration and Christianization of the *tetrapylon* at the east end of the temple court suggests that it may have functioned as a part of the church complex as it had with the temple. However there was a shift in emphasis towards the major street on the west side that linked the bishop's residence, the church atrium and the monumentalized intersection to the south. The other major node of the early Byzantine city was the theatre, which lay on the same major street as the *tetrapylon*, and which also may have become a focus for Christian ritual. From the evidence of the dominating new church and the other Christianized monuments, as well as the connecting streets, we can begin to see the emergence of a symbolic map of the Christian city, based entirely on the existing armatures and landmarks. It does not take much extension of the imagination to envisage the scope for ritual procession within this interconnected framework of meaningful monuments.

Gerasa

We finally return to Gerasa, where we have already witnessed the processional organisation of the Artemis complex. The Christian usurpation of Gerasa focused primarily on the urban centre in the vicinity of the temple. From the late fourth to sixth century churches sprang up around this old pagan focus, yet without advancing into the sacred *temenos* itself (Wharton 1995:64–74). One particular church, built within the *propyleon* of the temple, served to breach what would have been the major processional route from the east (Figure 2). The initial reaction of the excavators and more recent interpretations of the site is that the church symbolises the severance of this major artery of the city, and perhaps therefore symptomatic of the collapse of the bridge to the east (Kraeling 1938; Browning 1982:147–52). This interpretation fails to explain the presence of eastern entrances to this church, which in other contexts, most notably Constantinople and Cilicia, have been associated with a processional liturgy (Mathews 1971:105–7; Hill 1996:28–37). Rather than ultimately nullifying this architectural scheme, the

construction of this church may therefore have effectively restored meaning to it via a revived emphasis on procession which, moreover, rendered the street through the *propyleon* obsolete for any purpose other than a ritual one.

Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to take the perspective of the observer and participant in urban ritual and procession in order ascribe more subtle meaning to the impact of church building on perceptions of the urban ritual topography. It has not been possible here to consider the implications for the many cities in this region where the symbolic map *does* appear to undergo a dramatic transformation in the fourth to sixth centuries, for example at Ephesos, Sardis and Corycos. Certainly the fact that few common threads can be drawn between the fate of temples in different cities reflects the great diversity in Christian attitudes towards the monuments themselves (Saradi-Mendelovici 1990:47).

The reasons and motivations for temple conversions, from a symbolic 'victory of the cross', through the eradication of pagan demons, to pure expediency, have been discussed extensively elsewhere and are not the subject of this paper [see Bayliss in preparation]. I merely wish to suggest that the implantation of a church within an existing and aggrandised architectural scheme quite probably had far-reaching implications and may have achieved a subtle coercive effect, even if it was done so unwittingly. In terms of visual impact the exposed remains of a temple would moreover set one of these churches apart from others as something special or different. Many would surely recognise the ancient sanctity of the place and the attitude toward the building must on the whole have been a positive one [6]. For the generation or two who had witnessed or participated in urban ritual and procession before the closure or destruction of their cities' temples there would be a certain familiarity in the urban manifestation and context of Christianity, which presented itself as the natural and inevitable successor to worship of the old gods. There is perhaps a lesson we should learn from recent studies in the art of this period; that scholars who have long sought to find explanations for the pell-mell of pagan and Christian symbolism appearing in late antique contexts, perhaps missed the point that to the fourth century viewer the distinction was not so clear (Elsner 1995:251–270).

Pope Gregory the Great apparently advised Augustine of Canterbury to purify the standing temples of the Angli so that they might be put to use as churches:

> that when the people themselves see that these temples are not destroyed, they may put away error from their heart, and, knowing and adoring the true God, may have recourse with the more familiarity to the places they have been accustomed to.

(Epistles 76)

Although these instructions were given at a time when the Christianization of the eastern cities was considered by most to be complete, they nevertheless reveal an attitude that almost certainly had a longer pedigree. In this sense it was the *familiarity* of the sacred topography that may have been instrumental to the Christianization of many late antique cities. The perpetuation of the symbolic map with a Christian veneer was befitting to the Christian ethos to convert, not destroy, the Other in society. The archaeology has demonstrated that in many cases more than the temples were preserved. Also the approaches, vistas and outward appearance of the site are maintained, which to a degree perhaps even mystified the usurpation of a sacred place.

Many churches built from temples re-employed the architectural composition and urban imagery that had made the temples such a visual force in the urban landscape. Thus symbolic maps of cities were translated and given Christian meanings, expressed and re-enforced through procession. So in many cities and for many people, the individual and communal experience of sacred time and place remained remarkably unchanged despite dramatic social upheaval and a period of great dynamism in the built environment.

                    Department of Archaeology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Endnotes

[1] In the Christian city the importance of monumentalized communication between churches is made clear in the planning of the 'new towns' of the sixth century such as Caričin Grad and Arif, which drew no influence from existing buildings or street systems. Numerous example are given by Milojević (1996:252–3).

[2] In Rome, the Church was forced to develop away from the old centre until the sixth century or later, which had long-lasting implications for the development of the medieval city. The exponential growth rate of Constantinople after AD 330 makes any correlation between the pagan and Christian city difficult to ascertain and virtually irrelevant in this context, given the difference in scale between the third and the fifth century city. The sacred topography of Jerusalem and the Holy Land was, unlike anywhere else, derived largely from the identification of places associated with events in the scriptures.

[3] There is evidence to suggest that traditional festivals in many places were maintained right through the fourth century, although apparently stripped of overtly pagan ritual (Chuvin 1990:27, 54).

[4] Although Bauer has recently offered an alternative explanation (Bauer 1996:271–5).

[5] The four columns of the *tetrakionion* inscribe a smaller square than that would be required in the superstructure, if the encasing walls were projected to full height and their communication with one another considered. Therefore any reconstruction of the upper storey that attempted to include the columns as load-bearing supports would appear clumsy and disarticulated.

[6] For example, the Church of St Michael in Alexandria, scene of the murder of the pagan philosopher Hypatia, was still known as the Caesareum in the early fifth century (Chuvin 1990:88). The fabric of this former centre of the Imperial cult had been preserved in the conversion to a church and as such the visual transformation was perhaps insubstantial enough that the original name had never lost its relevance.

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