

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE CLASSICAL STOA:  
INVESTIGATING THE TRANSITION FROM CLASSICAL TO MEDIEVAL THROUGH  
THE STUDY OF BYZANTINE STOA REUSE

by

Travis Hill

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SIGNED: Travis Hill

## APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

---

Dr. Mary Voyatzis  
Professor of Anthropology and Classics

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4/28/17  
Date

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## Abstract

Changing circumstances during Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine Period (4<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.) required Byzantine communities to make deliberate adjustments in order to survive, endure, and ultimately flourish again during the Middle Byzantine Period (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries). The role these communities had in decision-making can easily be overlooked, leaving instead hapless victims of insurmountable external pressures such as imperial manipulation, economic recession, Christian acculturation, or a general sense of inexorable decline. Although factors such as these played a role as each community deliberated on a complex and unique set of local concerns, the ultimate decisions each community made should not be assumed but rather investigated on the basis of both textual and archaeological evidence.

The stoa is particularly well-suited for the study of reuse and therefore valuable for understanding the adaptive strategies implemented by Byzantine individuals and communities during the transition period from antiquity to the medieval period. The stoa was one of the most ubiquitous buildings of the Greco-Roman city and was highly adaptable for reuse, whether by incorporation into large structures such as churches or fortifications, or by subdivision into smaller units for uses such as housing, storage, or commercial activities. The stoa was commonly found not only in urban contexts, particularly in *agorai* and *fora*, but also at many extraurban sanctuaries. By compiling data on the reuse of stoas throughout the Byzantine Empire during the 4<sup>th</sup> - 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, four patterns of reuse can be identified: residential, economic, ecclesiastical, and defensive. Abandonment, or a lack of reuse, is a fifth pattern. These patterns of reuse provide insight into the lives of Byzantines outside of the imperial and ecclesiastic elites and inform the excavation of post-classical phases of stoas.

## Chapter 1 - Introduction: The Transition from Classical to Byzantine

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The history of Byzantium was long neglected after its treatment in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon. Runciman declared that “the splendor of [Gibbon’s] style and the wit of his satire killed Byzantine studies” for many years to come.<sup>1</sup> Late Antiquity, as a prelude to this ignominious end, was also viewed negatively. These perceptions lingered well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century; they are manifest, for instance, in Broneer’s description of Corinth after the late 4<sup>th</sup> century AD when he states that “the ruins of that era bear the marks of material dilapidation, artistic decline and civic helplessness.”<sup>2</sup> Whether or not this period indeed represents decline,<sup>3</sup> such viewpoints limited the scope of historical studies and severely restricted archaeological contributions to our understanding of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup>

Because of pioneering work by scholars such as Peter Brown, more recent decades have witnessed a surge in interest and research regarding Late Antiquity, which has extended the perceived vitality of the Roman Empire well beyond the third century AD.<sup>5</sup> Scholarship on the Byzantine Empire has been slower to follow, but this field too is experiencing increased interest as the prosperity of the Eastern Empire well into the 6<sup>th</sup> century has become established.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the dating of late Roman antiquity in this region has been pushed forward to as late as the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Crawford, for instance, noted a great amount of continuity with earlier periods in his study of the shops at Sardis, which were sealed by a destruction layer in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century AD: “If the Byzantine Shops are compared to the shops of Pompeii and

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<sup>1</sup> Runciman 1976, 103-110.

<sup>2</sup> Broneer 1954, 159-160.

<sup>3</sup> Still a matter of great debate (infra 18).

<sup>4</sup> Athanassopoulos 2008; Decker 2016, 28-37; Saradi 2006, 13-18.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150-750* (1971) and *The Making of Late Antiquity* (1978). On the role of Peter Brown see Decker (2016, 40).

<sup>6</sup> Even still, Cameron (2014) notes that Byzantine Studies contends with several unique challenges.

Herculaneum, the differences seem surprisingly small, despite the gap of nearly 550 years which separates them.”<sup>7</sup> Increasingly, historical biases are being identified and overcome while a more nuanced view of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire is continuously evolving.

Of particular interest within the fields of Late Antiquity and Byzantine Studies is the period of transition between Late Antiquity and the medieval period (Figure 1). The topic has been approached from many angles, with each scholar searching for elements of continuity or discontinuity that can help describe and explain the nature of this transformation. A better understanding of this transition is important for its wider implications concerning how societies modify and adapt to new conditions. The manner in which modern society is responding and will respond to factors like technological innovation, globalization, and climate change is one of the most important questions of today. An analysis of the processes which have brought about dramatic societal transformations in the past, for better or for worse, can be useful for comprehending current societal trends and predicting future outcomes. A tendency in these types of analyses, however, is to focus on large-scale deterministic factors driving societal change without identifying the strategies implemented by communities and individuals in order to adapt and survive. This thesis, while acknowledging large-scale trends in the transformation of Byzantine society, seeks to emphasize the ways in which individuals and communities responded in their own way to the challenges of their age.

The study of architectural reuse or spoliation is a useful method for studying societal transition, and this practice was ubiquitous in the Byzantine Empire. Late Roman and Byzantine reuse or spoliation of architecture has long been noted by scholars, but the topic has recently reemerged in scholarship as a useful perspective from which to study many aspects of culture

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<sup>7</sup> Crawford 1990, 12.

from an interdisciplinary perspective.<sup>8</sup> The extent and type of reuse reflected larger concerns held by the individual or community which was appropriating ancient building materials.

This thesis approaches questions of continuity, community adaptation, and classical reception by studying the reuse of stoas. The history of the development of the stoa is well-documented for the Greek and Roman periods, but the building type's continuing evolution into the Byzantine period has not been addressed by scholars. Individual stoas and general factors governing reuse during this time period have been examined, but this study is the first to examine the Byzantine stoa from an empire-wide perspective, and it is the first to develop general patterns of reuse for this building type.

The inspiration for the study derives from my experience as a trench supervisor in the summer of 2016 as part of the Mount Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project. My trench was located in the stoa of the Lower Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion, and over the course of the summer's excavation a complex series of late walls and floor surfaces was uncovered, adding evidence to the still poorly understood Byzantine reuse of the building documented in earlier excavations.<sup>9</sup> Late Antique and Byzantine reuse of classical stoas is a common occurrence, and so it is the goal of this thesis to provide context and comparanda which can aid in the interpretation of stoa reuse not only at Mount Lykaion but also at sites throughout the former extent of the Byzantine Empire.

The stoa is particularly well-suited for the study of reuse and therefore valuable in the study of adaptive strategies implemented by individuals and communities during the transition period from antiquity to the medieval period. The stoa was one of the most ubiquitous buildings of the Greco-Roman city and was highly adaptable for reuse, whether by incorporation into large

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<sup>8</sup> Esch 2011, 13-15.

<sup>9</sup> Kourouniotis 1909, 187-189; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 231-237.

structures such as churches or fortifications, or by subdivision into smaller units for uses such as housing, storage, or commercial activities. The stoa was commonly found not only in urban contexts, particularly in *agorai* and *fora*, but also at many extraurban sanctuaries. Unlike the temple, which was also found in both urban and rural contexts but was not usually reused because of its pagan associations, the stoa was a secular building and thus avoided much of the stigma ascribed to temples.<sup>10</sup> Finally, stoa reuse frequently represents the often ignored agency of Byzantine communities acting outside of direct imperial or ecclesiastical stimuli. For all of these reasons, the stoa, more than any other type of classical building, is able to supply information on the contemporary health and concerns of nearly all urban and numerous rural contexts throughout the entire Byzantine Empire. Ultimately, the use-life of each stoa should be treated as a unique case, reflecting Coulton's acknowledgment that "'the stoa' is not a continuously evolving process, but a series of individual buildings, each with its own problems, aims, and achievements."<sup>11</sup>

The chief limitation to the stoa's usefulness in this study is the availability of well-documented excavation reports which cover the relevant time period. This thesis surveys numerous known instances of Byzantine use or reuse of stoas in order to provide data which can be used for analysis at an empire-wide and then site-based level (see Appendix). Chapter 2, "History of Scholarship," first establishes an outline of recent developments in the field as well as the current state of scholarship. Chapter 3, "The Origin and Evolution of the Classical Stoa," defines what constitutes a stoa in this study and also traces the development of the classical stoa from its Greek roots to its Roman form through the Early Empire. Chapter 4, "Patterns of Reuse for the Byzantine Stoa," carries the study forward into Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period

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<sup>10</sup> On the avoidance of temple reuse, see Jones 1986, 736; Mango 1975, 57; Ward-Perkins 1999, 233-234.

<sup>11</sup> Coulton 1976, v.

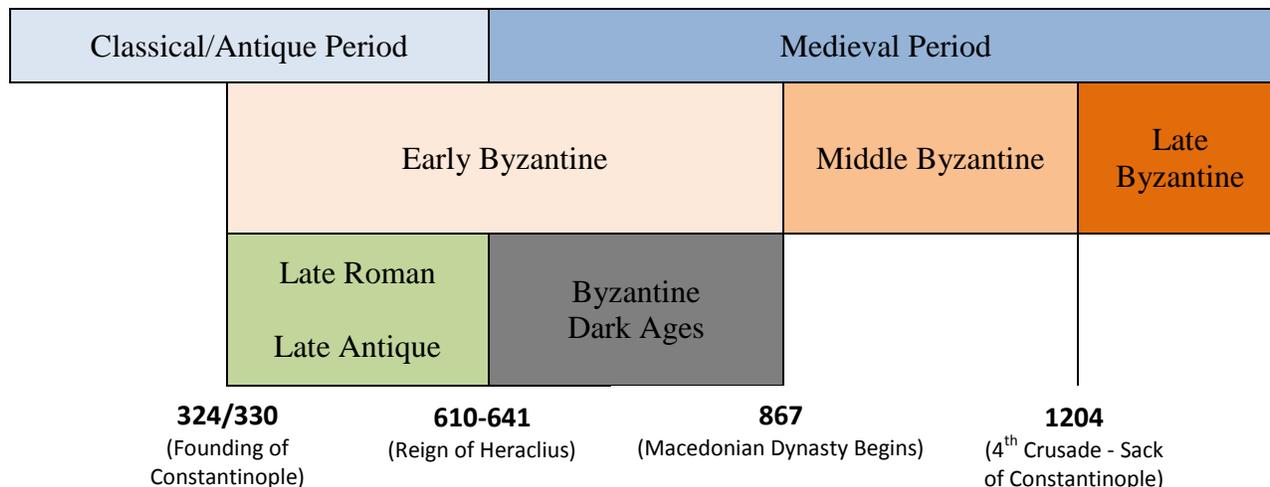
and also catalogues and discusses Byzantine iterations of stoa usage. Chapter 5, “The Stoa at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion, Arcadia,” analyzes a case study set in the context of the Peloponnese. Chapter 6 concludes the study by investigating how each pattern of Byzantine stoa reuse reflects community adaptation to societal transformation.

### *Notes on Chronology*

This section surveys the most common chronological divisions used by scholars for the history of Byzantium during the 4<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> centuries and also defines the chronological terms used in this thesis. As a result of rapidly shifting perceptions concerning the nature of the Roman world after the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, a variety of chronological terms have been employed and their current usage is still far from standardized (Figure 1). The most common starting dates given for the Byzantine Empire are 324 and 330 AD, marking the beginning and end of Byzantium’s renewal and expansion by Constantine. The shift of the Roman Empire’s focus away from Rome to the East, the swift development of Constantinople into the Empire’s new capital, and the state sponsorship of Christianity are all represented by the new designation of “Byzantine” for the time after 330. As awareness has grown, however, of the Eastern Roman Empire’s continuing vitality beyond this point both economically and culturally, many treatments of the time period from the 4<sup>th</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> centuries have preferred the terms “late antique” or “late Roman” over “Byzantine,” emphasizing the continuity of Roman culture during this time-period.<sup>12</sup> As a result, “Early Byzantine,” “Late Antique,” and “Late Roman” have all become roughly synonymous for a time period from 324/330 AD to about 600 AD.

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<sup>12</sup> E.g., works by Peter Brown, Averil Cameron, A. H. M. Jones.



**Figure 1.** Chronology.

Several factors, however, complicate this chronology. First, these terms are typically applied only to those areas under direct Roman rule. The lands under imperial control varied considerably during this time period, contracting over the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> century with the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and then expanding again during the 6<sup>th</sup> century under Justinian (r. 527-565). With the absence of imperial rule, the term “medieval” is generally applied to the barbarian kingdoms which arose in the West, though recent scholarship has increasingly applied “Late Antiquity” and “late Roman” to these areas as well.<sup>13</sup> Second, the end of this period is ambiguous. Recent works typically identify the end of both the late Roman period and Late Antiquity with the reign of Heraclius (r. 610-641), after which the Byzantine Dark Ages are considered to begin.<sup>14</sup> The Early Byzantine Period, however, is generally extended to the end of the Dark Ages to the beginning of the Middle Byzantine Period, which is associated with the foundation of the Macedonian dynasty in 867 under Emperor Basil I (r. 867-

<sup>13</sup> See in particular scholarship in *The Transformation of the Roman World* series sponsored by the European Science Foundation and edited by Ian Wood as well as the *Late Antique Archaeology* series published by Brill and edited by Luke Lavan.

<sup>14</sup> Although the term “Dark Ages” is out of vogue for descriptions of the early medieval period in the former Western Roman Empire, the term is still widely used for a period spanning the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Byzantine East. See Decker (2016, 1-6) on use of the term “Dark Ages” and chronological difficulties for the period more generally.

886). Finally, more frequent collaboration with scholars of Western Europe's medieval period has resulted in a recent tendency to apply the terms "medieval" or "middle ages" to the Byzantine period during and after the reign of Heraclius. I have illustrated the manner in which I will use these terms in Figure 1, which is also representative of the recent scholarly trends regarding chronological divisions during this time period.

## Chapter 2 - History of Scholarship

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As with any research topic, the history of scholarship directly affects the outcome of the scholarly product. This chapter traces the development of research concerning the rural and urban environments of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The first section explores the conclusions first reached by ancient historians and then discusses the ways in which archaeologists have complemented or complicated these conclusions. Section 2.2 briefly surveys contemporary topics of interest to scholars in the field, and section 2.3 concludes with the current debate revolving around the nature of the transition from the ancient to the medieval world. This final section also identifies sources of bias inherent in both “decline” and “transformation” ideological frameworks. Overall, the chapter aims to apprise the reader on the relevant scholarship while also introducing the most common ideological perspectives which can influence the interpretation of the available data.

### *2.1 Historical Foundations and Archaeological Revolution*

Much scholarship on Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period over the last 70 years has focused on the urban and rural environment.<sup>15</sup> Early research was by necessity based mainly on documentary sources, including some inscriptions and coins, since archaeological research for this time period was extremely limited.<sup>16</sup> A. H. M. Jones laid the foundation for the study of late antique urbanism by describing the administrative changes which resulted in the gradual loss of civic autonomy in exchange for direct imperial authority.<sup>17</sup> Jones vividly relates the great measures taken by both *curiae* and the imperial government in order to maintain urban infrastructure in the face of fundamental changes in the fabric of society. Lepelley argues that

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<sup>15</sup> For a thorough bibliographic introduction on urbanism “to orientate the newcomer” see Lavan (2001, 9-26); for rural conditions, see Christie (2004, 1-37).

<sup>16</sup> Zavagno 2009, 8; Ward-Perkins 2001, 315.

<sup>17</sup> In particular see chapter 19, “Cities,” in Jones 1964, 712-766.

research based primarily on the historiographical approach tended to introduce a bias of decline and led some historians to the conclusion that

municipal self-government had been completely destroyed and the decurions had become proletarianized, reduced to the unpaid, impoverished and terrorized agents of the tyrannical imperial government. In the view of these historians, the essential elements of the classical city - civic institutions, social structure, ideological tradition - had effectively disappeared.<sup>18</sup>

The analysis of Jones, to be fair, is more nuanced than this, noting that the curial order was maintained with “very moderate success,” leaving the decurions (members of a municipal senate) “a much poorer class in the sixth century than they had been in the third” yet of sufficient numbers and wealth to cover the expenses of their cities.<sup>19</sup> Jones’ notion of decline is explicit, however, when he states that “as the councils lost their richest and most enterprising members, as their revenues were curtailed, and as civic patriotism decayed, the cities lost initiative and vitality.”<sup>20</sup>

Absent archaeological evidence, the above conclusion is likely inevitable. The advance of archaeological investigation, however, has complicated the notion of decline during Late Antiquity as excavations from all around the Byzantine Empire have revealed unexpected levels of both urban and rural activity. The epicenter of this archaeological reevaluation was in Asia Minor, an area on which Foss has published a great number of articles beginning in the 1970s, the most groundbreaking being “Archaeology and the ‘Twenty Cities’ of Byzantine Asia.”<sup>21</sup> These articles drew attention to the economic vitality and continued monumentality of late antique cities in this area, a situation contrary to the conclusions late antique sources had led historians to reach. Kennedy’s influential article “From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late

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<sup>18</sup> Lepelley 1992, 51

<sup>19</sup> Jones 1964, 737, 757.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 757.

<sup>21</sup> This and many more of Foss’s articles were compiled in *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (1990).

Antique and Early Islamic Syria” drew attention to the Byzantine Empire’s Near Eastern provinces and demonstrated unexpected continuity of Byzantine cities into the Islamic period.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the 1980s saw a diffusion of renewed archaeological interest and investigation into all regions of the Byzantine Empire, as reflected in Hohlfelder’s 1982 edited volume *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era*.

Although Jones’ conclusion of a gradual decline in autonomous civic administration and its replacement with ecclesiastical and imperial authority remained sound, new archaeological research was not producing evidence for a gradual decline in all aspects of both civic and rural landscapes. Urban and rural characteristics and trends in fact varied greatly by region within the Byzantine Empire, preventing treatment of the Byzantine Empire as a monolithic whole, either geographically or chronologically.<sup>23</sup> The archaeological challenge to accepted history resulted in the flourishing of scholarship on Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period, which continues to expand swiftly in the present day. This chapter does not attempt a comprehensive review of this scholarship, but it does try to introduce some of the major topics and trends which are relevant to a discussion of the urban and rural environments during these time periods.

## 2.2 Current Research Themes

As mentioned above, archaeological research into Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period began to flourish in all regions of the Byzantine Empire by the 1980s.<sup>24</sup> Information derived from excavations has increasingly been augmented by archaeological surveys which

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<sup>22</sup> Kennedy 1985.

<sup>23</sup> Zavagno 2001, 15.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., North Africa - Leone 2003, 2013; Lepelley 1992; Potter 1995; Roskams 1996. Near East - Avni 2011; Foss 1996, 1997; Kennedy 1985; King and Cameron 1994; Liebeschuetz and Kennedy 1989; Tsafirir and Foerster 1997; Walmsley 1996. Asia Minor - Crawford 1990; D’Andria 2001; Foss 1976, 1979, 1990; Ivison 2007; Jacobs 2015; Rheidt 1998; Russell 1982, 2001; Scherrer 2001; Whittow 2001. The Balkans and Greece - Avarmea 2007; Bintliff 2013; Bowden 2003; Curta 2011; Dagron 1984; Frantz 1988; Gregory 1982, 1994a; Hattersley-Smith 1996; Hodges, Bowden, and Lako 2004; Kardulias 2005; Pettegrew 2008; Poulter 1992, 2007; Sanders 2004; Sweetman 2012; Veikou 2010, 2013; Volling 2001. Italy - Brogiolo 2006; Ward-Perkins 1981, 1984.

have made certain to include data from post-classical periods.<sup>25</sup> The influx of archaeological data, however, has not always been used carefully or critically, and so several scholars have attempted to raise awareness of the limitations of archaeological data as well as the necessity and complexity of integrating this data with historical and literary sources.<sup>26</sup> Many studies have excelled in regard to their integration of historical, literary, and archaeological sources, such as Saradi's study of the 6<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine city, Lavan's study of 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century *agorai* and *fora*, or Zanini's presentation of traders and artisans in the early Byzantine city.<sup>27</sup> Others have focused on specific types of evidence and how to approach them, such as Caraher's study of hagiography, Lavan's survey of *praetoria*, Caseau's research on rural temples, or Crow's analysis of late antique fortifications.<sup>28</sup>

As more information has become available, broader surveys have been attempted. One area of growing interest is the Byzantine Dark Age, of which period Curta, Decker, Haldon, and Whittow have written the most comprehensive overview.<sup>29</sup> Certain ideologies have also been treated more broadly. The Byzantine ideal conception of the city has been described by Haldon, while several scholars have focused on the effects of Christianity on various aspects of urban and rural landscapes.<sup>30</sup> Other studies have focused on the economics of the Byzantine world.<sup>31</sup> The most common theme which interweaves through almost all of this research, however, is the relationship between the classical and medieval worlds. There is great debate over whether this transition should be characterized as a decline, a collapse, or a transformation; elements of

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<sup>25</sup> Chavarría and Lewit (2004) provide a bibliographic essay on surveys and survey-related research.

<sup>26</sup> Brandes 1999; Gregory 1994b; Russell 1986; Sanders 2004.

<sup>27</sup> Lavan 2006; Saradi 2006; Zanini 2006.

<sup>28</sup> Caraher 2008; Caseau 2004; Crow 2001; Lavan 2001.

<sup>29</sup> Curta 2011; Decker 2016; Haldon 1990, 2016; Whittow 1996.

<sup>30</sup> Haldon 1999; on Christianity, see Caseau 2004; Fowden 1978; Sweetman 2010, 2015a, 2015b.

<sup>31</sup> Bowden 2001; Brandes and Haldon 2000; Laiou and Morriison 2007.

continuity and discontinuity are perennial topics of debate.<sup>32</sup> The position each scholar has taken on this issue in particular dictates much of the emphasis behind his or her research. For this reason, I have separated into the following discussion the various ideological approaches to the transition from the classical period to the Byzantine or medieval period.

### 2.3 Models for Change

One of the major scholarly debates within Byzantine Studies centers not so much on what the elements of continuity or discontinuity are between the ancient and medieval worlds but more so on whether the transition is best viewed as a “decline” or a “transformation.”<sup>33</sup> An important subset of this debate is the view that rejects both gradual decline and transformation over the course of Late Antiquity in preference for an abrupt systems collapse, which then ushered in the beginning of the medieval period.<sup>34</sup>

The city, as the centerpiece of classical culture, has become a frequent battleground for this debate. Ultimately, scholars on both sides agree on most of the relevant evidence, but differ in matters of definition and emphasis. Liebeschuetz represents the general sentiment of the so-called “declinists”:

The story of the city in Late Antiquity involves the end of a political tradition, the end of a pattern of urban design related to the political tradition, the end of a particular ideal of what makes for the good life, the end of a secular ideal of

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<sup>32</sup> E.g., Liebeschuetz 2001, with responses from Cameron, Ward-Perkins, Whittow, and Lavan.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. See Decker (2016, 38-42) for an excellent summary of the debate between decline and transformation. This debate can be attested to by a few recent book titles. On one side: Liebeschuetz 2001, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, Ward-Perkins 2005, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. On the other: Zavagno 2009, *Cities in Transition*, Christie 2004, *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, *The Transformation of the Roman World* (this last an entire series of edited volumes produced by the European Science Foundation). Others certainly attempt a more neutral view, e.g. Avarmea 1997, *Le Péloponnèse du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Changements et Persistances*.

<sup>34</sup> A similar model has been proposed by Eric Cline (2014) for the end of the Bronze Age. Byzantine society during this time fits in large part the general criteria for systems collapse discussed by Cline and defined in general terms in Renfrew 1979: the “collapse of central administrative organization,” the “disappearance of traditional elite class,” the “collapse of centralized economy,” and “settlement shift and population decline.” On the end of antiquity as a systems collapse, see Gregory 1994b; Lavan 2009; Mango 1975; Pettegrew 2008; Whittow 1996, 2001, 2003.

education, and in many cases a shrinkage of population. All this happened within a context of the collapsing structures of an empire and of the associated economic system. It abundantly merits to be described as decline.<sup>35</sup>

Those who advocate the notion of transformation over decline do not dismiss the evidence presented by “declinists.” Zavagno, for example, states that he is aware of

the demonumentalization of *fora*, the encroachment of artisanal workshops and commercial stalls onto colonnaded streets, partitioning of large residential buildings, the disarray of the former regularly-planned, orthogonal and Hippodamean city-plan, the rejection of the classic life-style (in terms of amenities like *stadia*, theatres and baths) and the abandonment of the ideal of *civilitas* predicated upon the public and political (in its etymological sense).<sup>36</sup>

Zavagno argues that all of the various political, social, cultural, religious, and economic aspects of urban life did not die with the classical city but rather continued to exist, simply relocating their focus or altering their manner of manifestation with changing circumstances.<sup>37</sup>

Liebeschuetz himself admits that many aspects of this debate ultimately come down to value judgments, and are “therefore perhaps outside the remit of the historian.”<sup>38</sup> The truth of the matter likely lies somewhere in between decline and transformation, where the overall impact was mixed: some elements of society changed for the worse (e.g., poorer urban sanitation), some elements for the better (e.g., the introduction of additional charitable services), and some elements experiencing a neutral transformation (e.g., the shifting of commercial activities away from *fora* to colonnaded avenues). Nonetheless it is important to acknowledge this debate because of the tendency for a pre-existing bias in favor of decline or transformation to influence how data from this time period is interpreted.

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<sup>35</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 415.

<sup>36</sup> Zavagno 2001, 6.

<sup>37</sup> Zavagno 2001, 6-7; see also Potter 1995, 101-102. The church, for example, became the new outlet for the elites’ competitive display of munificence.

<sup>38</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 415.

For example, an often cited indicator for the demographic decline of the late antique city is the construction of a much reduced wall circuit. In his discussion of the city of Tours in France, Liebeschuetz evaluates the population of the city in terms of its walled enclosure: “Tours was a very small place. The city of the Early Empire had covered around forty hectares, the walled enclosure of Late Antiquity no more than nine.”<sup>39</sup> Gregory, however, has argued that in many cases the late antique wall was not intended to enclose a city’s inhabited area, but rather “to protect the civic center and to act as a bastion or a place of refuge, to which the inhabitants could flee in a time of danger.”<sup>40</sup> Gregory notes archaeological evidence for extensive habitation during Late Antiquity outside of the city walls at Corinth, Athens, and Epidauros, indicating a much larger population than would have been calculated purely from the area enclosed within the city wall.<sup>41</sup> The population of Tours cannot be assumed to have declined only on the evidence of a reduction in its wall circuit, yet the narrative of decline may have predisposed Liebeschuetz to make this claim. Similarly, it is not difficult to imagine that scholarship with a “transformation” bias is likely to emphasize vitality in the medieval period, perhaps even to the point of overinterpreting data. While it may be impossible to detach ourselves entirely from all biases, it is important to recognize the potential interpretive effects that a “decline” or “transformation” emphasis may have and to minimize this bias to the greatest extent possible.

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<sup>39</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Gregory 1982, 50.

<sup>41</sup> Gregory 1982, 51-54.

## Chapter 3 - The Origin and Evolution of the Classical Stoa

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Before analyzing the use and reuse of stoas during the Byzantine period, it is important to define the characteristics of a stoa and to explore diachronically the uses of stoas prior to the Byzantine period. The term “stoa” has been used in various ways by authors both modern and ancient, and terms such as “portico” and “colonnade” are often used interchangeably with “stoa.” The first section of this chapter addresses these issues by introducing the relevant terminology in both ancient and modern contexts and by describing what these terms mean within this thesis. Section 3.2 traces the Greek development of the stoa, spanning a time period from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Age. Finally, section 3.3 addresses the adoption of the stoa by the Romans. At this point the evolution of the Greek stoa was subsumed under Imperial Roman developments. The investigation concludes in the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.; subsequent developments are limited geographically to the Eastern Roman Empire and are discussed in chapter 4.

### *3.1 Terminology*

Coulton, whose 1976 work *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* remains the most comprehensive study in the field, restricts his definition of the stoa to “a building which is free-standing and a great deal longer than it is high or deep, and which has a colonnade occupying most of one side and a portico as the most important part of its interior.”<sup>42</sup> With this definition, Coulton recognized that he was making several somewhat arbitrary restrictions, though these were restrictions he viewed as necessary in order to attempt a useful study of manageable scope. His definition required that the structure be at least twice as long as it is deep, and he excluded “buildings whose porticoes occupy much less than half of their total depth.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Coulton 1976, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Coulton 1976, 6.

Finally, while recognizing the “pi-shaped” stoa (e.g., #1 in Figure 6), Coulton excluded the peristyle court from his definition (e.g., #4 in Figure 6).<sup>44</sup>

Most scholars have implicitly followed these general guidelines by differentiating more separate, freestanding colonnades (“stoas”) from more extensive, connected colonnades which are often subsidiary to their connected buildings (“porticoes”). Ambiguities abound, however, which preclude the ability to strictly distinguish these building types without the creation of arbitrary restrictions such as those cited above. The use of “stoa,” for example, for a three sided (“pi-shaped”) colonnade and the use of “portico” for each side of a peristyle court is more contrived than natural. Similarly, a section of the main colonnaded street at Sardis and the South Stoa at Corinth are similar in plan and use (that is, a row of *tabernae* with a covered, columned walkway in front), but the term “stoa” would typically be reserved for the latter while “portico” or “colonnaded street” would be considered more appropriate for the former.<sup>45</sup> The citation of these examples is not intended as a critique of how these terms are used, but rather to show that there is great variety and flexibility in how the terms “stoa” and “portico” are applied and in the kinds of structures to which they may refer.

The ancient Greek word “stoa” was used with even greater flexibility in the ancient world. While originally restricted to a long, freestanding structure, the word gradually began to extend its meaning over time, eventually encapsulating both “buildings which are long and narrow but have no outer colonnade” and buildings “which have colonnades but are not freestanding.”<sup>46</sup> Large buildings supported by columns such as the Hypostyle Hall on Delos and

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<sup>44</sup> Coulton 1976, 7: “Another rather arbitrary distinction must be drawn between the stoa and the peristylar court; one of the most important and interesting developments of the stoa is the Ionian use of L- and pi-shaped stoas to frame an open space, but the fully enclosed agora or temenos, the end-product of this development, is no longer quite a stoa; for the peristylar court is an inward- not an outward-looking building.”

<sup>45</sup> Compare Crawford (1990, Fig. 4) with Broneer (1954, Plan, X).

<sup>46</sup> Coulton 1976, 2.

the Thersilion in Megalopolis were each referred to as a “stoa,” and the Greeks even applied this term to the Roman basilica.<sup>47</sup> The earliest evidence for the term’s application to a colonnaded court is around 110 B.C. in reference to the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts at Delos, yet by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Pollux was arguing that each side of a peristyle court could be separately called a “stoa.”<sup>48</sup> Pausanias used “stoai” to describe the side aisles of the temple of Zeus, and this term continued in use by Byzantine authors in reference to the side aisles of basilical churches.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the only attribute which all these structures shared was the inclusion of usable space; the term “stoa” was not used to describe colonnades that were purely aesthetic.<sup>50</sup>

This concept of usable space is of critical importance to the current study, which is anthropological rather than architectural. The degree of independence which a structure has in relation to its environment is not under scrutiny but rather the inclusion of sheltered, usable space within that structure. Because this study is interested in the use and reuse of space rather than aesthetics, a colonnade which does not contain usable space but is purely an aesthetic façade to another structure, such as a *scaenae frons*, is not considered. Otherwise, any structure which can be considered either a stoa or a portico is included. Thus the nature of this study allows for a flexible, ancient usage of the term “stoa,” which here is used interchangeably with “portico” and “colonnade.” Although this definition by ancient standards could include buildings like the Hypostyle Hall, the Thersilion, and basilicas, structures such as these which depart so significantly from the modern conception of stoas and porticoes are excluded, and so in this one way the ancient conception has been modernized.

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<sup>47</sup> Coulton 1976, 3-5.

<sup>48</sup> Coulton 1976, 2-3.

<sup>49</sup> Coulton 1976, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Coulton 1976, 3.

### 3.2 Greek Development of the Stoa

Although it would later become one of the most ubiquitous building types of the classical world, the architectural genesis of the Greek stoa is debated. No stoas have been dated to the Geometric period, but several examples are known from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. including at Didyma, Smyrna, Larisa on the Hermos, Samos, Argos, Megara Hyblaia, and the mouth of the Silaris (Figures 2-4).<sup>51</sup> Coulton notes that “these stoas are so substantial that it is very likely that they had simpler predecessors as well as simpler contemporaries.”<sup>52</sup> Martin has argued that the stoa could have derived from peripteral temples as porticoes which detached from the cella - an idea which Coulton views as overly complex.<sup>53</sup> Coulton, on the other hand, contends that these early stoas, being in essence of such a simple design, require no special explanation for their genesis and could have been derived naturally in order to meet basic human needs:

It is natural for primitive builders to adopt a long narrow plan for a rectangular building, since this provides maximum space for minimum roof span. If the space must be protected as well as possible, the door will be placed at one end, as in the megaron and later the temple. But if a less enclosed building is required, where lighting and access or display are more important than seclusion, then a natural arrangement is to open one long side, with the supports necessary to carry the eaves of the roof forming the columns of a small portico.<sup>54</sup>

Still, the sudden emergence of a well-developed building type has led some scholars to search the Bronze Age for architectural inspirations for the Greek stoa. A survey of Bronze Age architecture across the Eastern Mediterranean offers plenty of examples of peristyle courts and hypostyle halls, but no exact correspondence to the characteristically Greek, free-standing stoa. Some Minoan and Mycenaean palaces included porticoes around portions of their central courts (e.g., at Malia and Tiryns), and Tiryns in particular offers examples of porticoes placed in front

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<sup>51</sup> Coulton 1976, 26. For West Greek stoas, see Bell 1993, 326-341.

<sup>52</sup> Coulton 1976, 26.

<sup>53</sup> Martin 1951, 449-50; Coulton 1976, 21.

<sup>54</sup> Coulton 1976, 22.

of rooms recessed into the defensive walls. Egypt could have inspired visiting Greeks with the grandeur of its numerous colonnaded courtyards and hypostyle halls, such as those found at the Luxor Temple in ancient Thebes. Without additional evidence, however, it is not clear how influential these structures were in the early Greek development of the stoa.

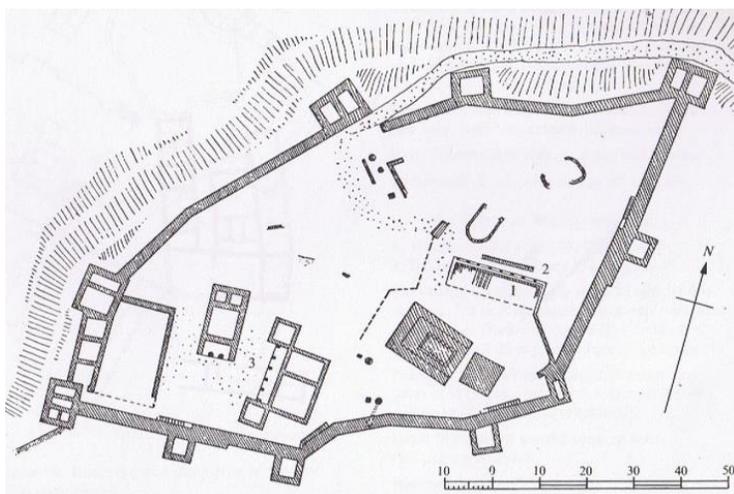
From the beginning, the placement of stoas showed an interest in demarcating space. In sanctuaries, the temenos was often outlined by a series of stoas, which has led some to conclude that many early stoas began as structures dependent on temenos walls.<sup>55</sup> North Stoa I at the acropolis of Larisa on the Hermos and the North Stoa at the Argive Heraion are two 7th century examples of sanctuary stoas (Figures 2-3). Each of these stoas faces the area established for the temple and runs along the line of the temenos. Similarly, the 7<sup>th</sup> century east and north stoas at Megara Hyblaia show the same concern for the demarcation of space but this time in the urban setting of an agora (Figure 4).

The earliest Archaic Greek stoas are found mostly at sanctuaries, where they served as shelter from both sun and inclement weather, housed various offerings and dedications left at the sanctuary, displayed statuary (though most statues were often lined up in front of the stoa so as not to clutter the interior space), and accommodated overnight visitors.<sup>56</sup> As the Greek *polis* developed over the course of the Archaic period, the demand for civic meeting places increased and so too did the demand for stoas in urban contexts. Although the archaeological evidence for many uses of the Greek stoa is often limited, inscriptions and literary sources are useful for filling in some of these gaps. Evidence exists for urban stoas in Greek *poleis* being used as offices for magistrates, for displaying laws, artwork, and the spoils of war, for holding court, for

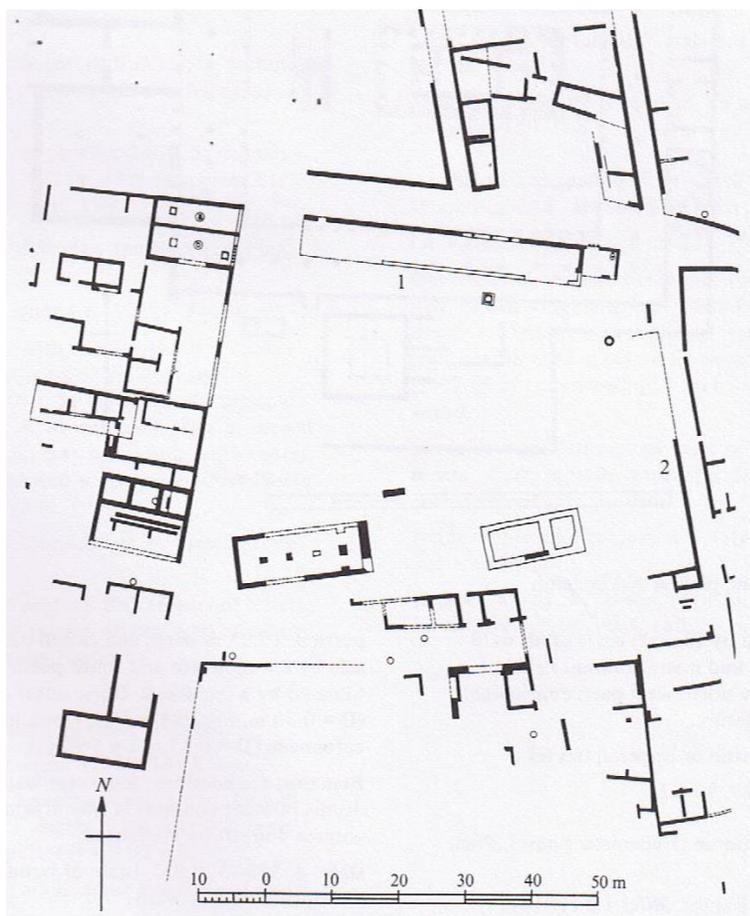
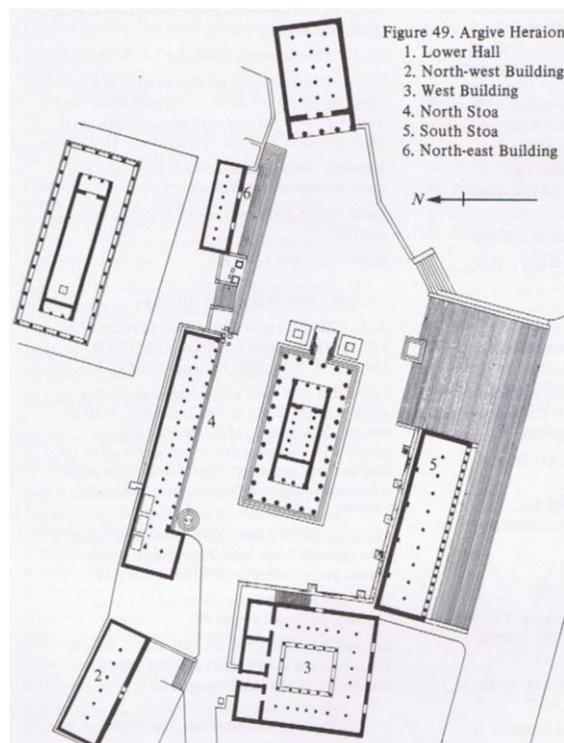
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<sup>55</sup> Coulton (1976, 22) argues against this claim.

<sup>56</sup> See Sewell (2010, 64-65) for an excellent summary of the uses for Greek stoas based on Coulton.



**Figures 2-3.** Larisa on the Hermos, North Stoa I (marked 1, above) and the Argive Heraion, North Stoa (marked 4, right). After Coulton 1976, Figs. 49 & 77.



**Figure 4.** Megara Hyblaia, North and East Stoa on the Agora (marked 1 & 2). After Coulton 1976, Fig. 84.

dining, and for leasing to various vendors.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, the stoa was found to be a useful amenity anywhere large crowds tended to gather, and for this reason porticoes began to appear near many theaters, stadia, and gymnasia.<sup>58</sup> These uses would remain largely unchanged through the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Coulton identifies the period from 480-323 B.C. as a time of swift development in both the architecture and uses of the stoa: “At the beginning of the period stoas were often small, usually simple and unsophisticated, and in use almost entirely restricted to sanctuaries; by the end of the period, the main types of stoa had been created, the most important conventions of stoa design were established, and stoas were widely used in a variety of secular roles.”<sup>59</sup> Indeed, by the end of the Classical period, the stoa was often listed as an essential amenity for any Greek *polis*.<sup>60</sup> A detailed typology of stoas is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it will suffice to say that the general trend at this point was one of increasing elaboration and monumentality, though small, simple stoas continued to thrive in certain contexts. A plan of the Athenian agora in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC demonstrates the variation in size and appearance of stoas by this time (see Figure 5), such as the small Royal Stoa (2), a peristyle courtyard (9), the winged Stoa of Zeus (3), and the South Stoa (5) which included a row of small rooms in the back.

During the Hellenistic period, the major developments in stoa design shifted away from mainland Greece to the Eastern Aegean, where formal Hippodamian planning and intensive royal investment created a new environment for the stoa and established more coordinated

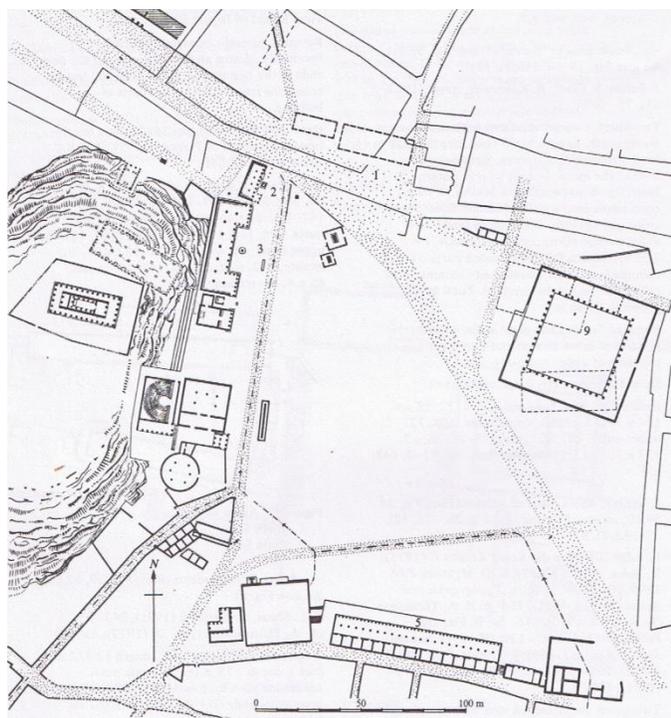
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<sup>57</sup> Sewell 2010, 65.

<sup>58</sup> Coulton 1976, 12; Vitruvius *De arch.* 5.9.1: *Post scaenam porticus sunt constituendae, uti, cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus, quo se recipiat ex theatro.* (Behind the *scaena* porticos ought to be built, so that, when sudden showers will have interrupted the shows, the people will have a place in which they may withdraw themselves out of the theater.)

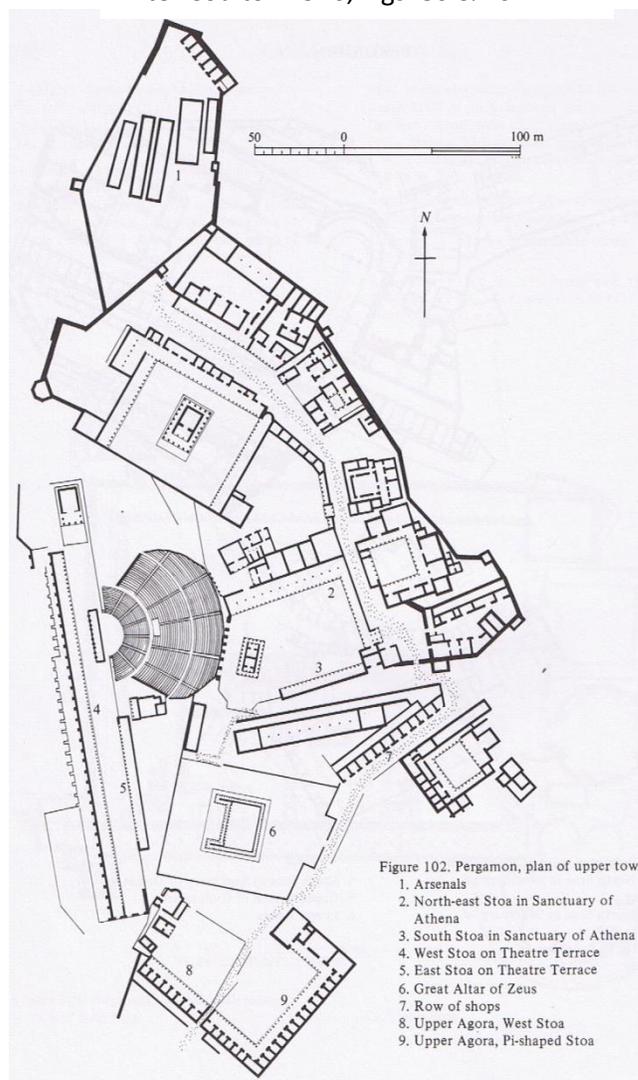
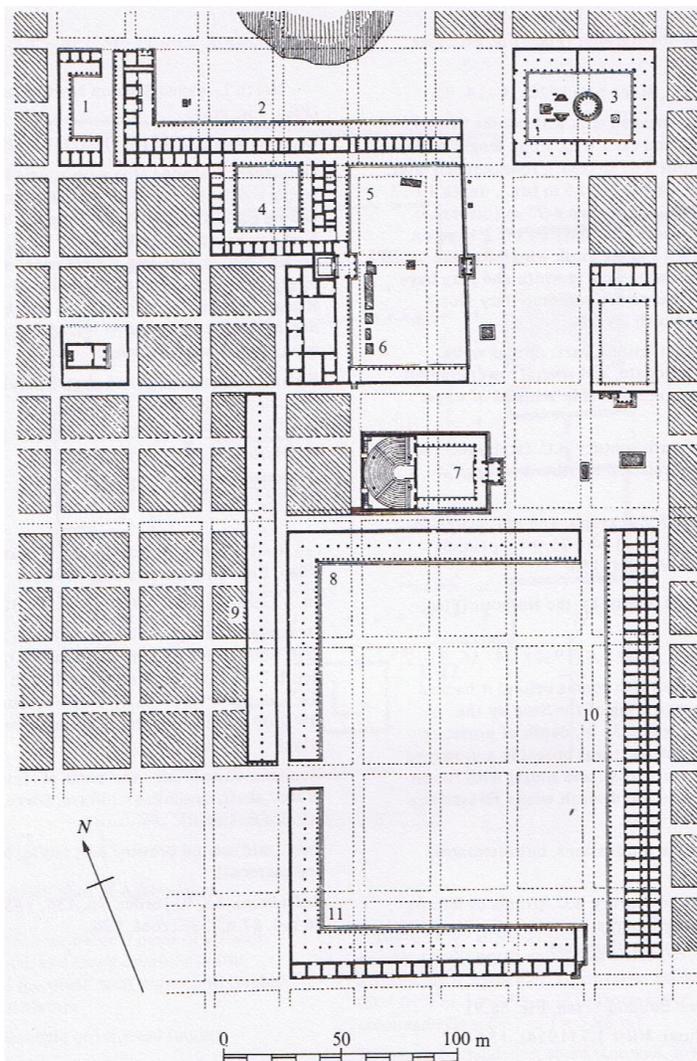
<sup>59</sup> Coulton 1976, 39.

<sup>60</sup> Coulton 1976, 12.



**Figure 5.** Athenian Agora, Late 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC (left). After Coulton 1976, Fig. 53.

**Figures 6-7.** Ionian School at Miletos (bottom left) and Pergamene School at Pergamon (bottom right). After Coulton 1976, Figs. 86 & 102.



**Figure 102.** Pergamon, plan of upper town  
 1. Arsenal  
 2. North-east Stoa in Sanctuary of Athena  
 3. South Stoa in Sanctuary of Athena  
 4. West Stoa on Theatre Terrace  
 5. East Stoa on Theatre Terrace  
 6. Great Altar of Zeus  
 7. Row of shops  
 8. Upper Agora, West Stoa  
 9. Upper Agora, Pi-shaped Stoa

relationships between buildings.<sup>61</sup> Soon a distinct, Ionian school of thought had developed concerning stoas. Pausanias (6.24.2) makes reference to this new paradigm in his description of the agora in Elis: ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ἴωνων καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς Ἴωνία πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων, τρόπῳ δὲ πεποιήται τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ στοαῖς τε ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστῶσαις καὶ ἀγυιαῖς δι' αὐτῶν (But the agora for the Elians was made not according to the cities of the Ionians or whatever Greek cities are near Ionia, but in the more ancient way with the stoas separated from each other and with streets through them). Pausanias here refers to the process by which stoas had departed from their separated, free-standing origins in order to promote new Hellenistic interests in symmetry, uniformity, and monumentality. Whereas before stoas were more closely related to the spaces they surrounded than to other buildings, “in Ionia, where regular planning was normal, buildings began to be arranged in symmetrical compositions; the most important building was placed on the central axis, and others were sometimes concealed behind a unifying façade, so as not to spoil the formal pattern” (Figure 6).<sup>62</sup> The stoa was transitioning from an independent structure to an adjunct of monumental city planning.

Even at sites like Pergamon, where the irregularity of the upper city’s terrain precluded a strict adherence to orthogonal planning, porticoes were still used to dramatically define and accentuate the terraces of the city, providing a monumental unity to the urban landscape (Figure 7).<sup>63</sup> The deployment of stoas in Pergamon was copied by many other hilltop cities with great effect, and so Coulton considers “Pergamene” to be the second major group of stoas during the Hellenistic Age, after Ionian.<sup>64</sup> The Greek stoa had reached the pinnacle of its development by

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<sup>61</sup> Coulton 1976, 54-55.

<sup>62</sup> Coulton 1976, 74.

<sup>63</sup> Coulton 1976, 74.

<sup>64</sup> Coulton 1976, 55.

the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., at which time the Romans began to take an interest in adopting Greek-style porticoes for the adornment of their own cities and sanctuaries.<sup>65</sup>

### 3.3 *The Roman Stoa*

As the Romans began to establish colonies in Italy during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C., they incorporated many town planning concepts and Greek building types into their own foundations.<sup>66</sup> The stoa, for instance, began to appear in Roman fora in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>67</sup> The delay, however, in the Roman adoption of the stoa has provoked discussion among scholars, since Roman architects of earlier centuries were almost certainly familiar with the Greek stoa, since every Greek agora in Italy and Sicily included one by the third century B.C.<sup>68</sup> The early Roman conception of the forum seems to have differed in some ways from the Greek conception of the agora, and it may be that these differences played some role in the Romans' delayed acceptance of the stoa as a suitable addition to their fora.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, despite initial reservations, the stoa became a quintessential element in Roman urban planning over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

The Romans had thoroughly absorbed Hellenistic concepts of symmetry, uniformity, and dramatic monumentality by the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. The culmination of this process is evident at the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, constructed or renovated by Sulla in the late 80s BC, which “embodies the union of Pergamene and Ionian ideas, with its symmetrical arrangement of terraces rising to a climax at the top” (Figure 8-9).<sup>70</sup> The presence of stoas here at a sanctuary together with their inclusion in urban contexts marks the successful transition of the building

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<sup>65</sup> Sewell, 67.

<sup>66</sup> Exactly *how* influential Greek models were in relation to native Italian traditions is debated.

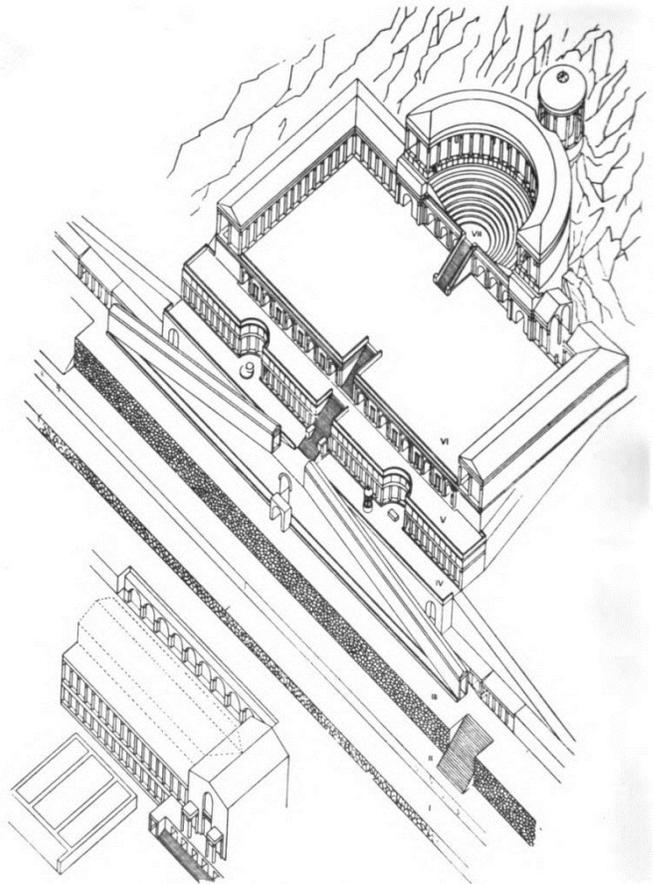
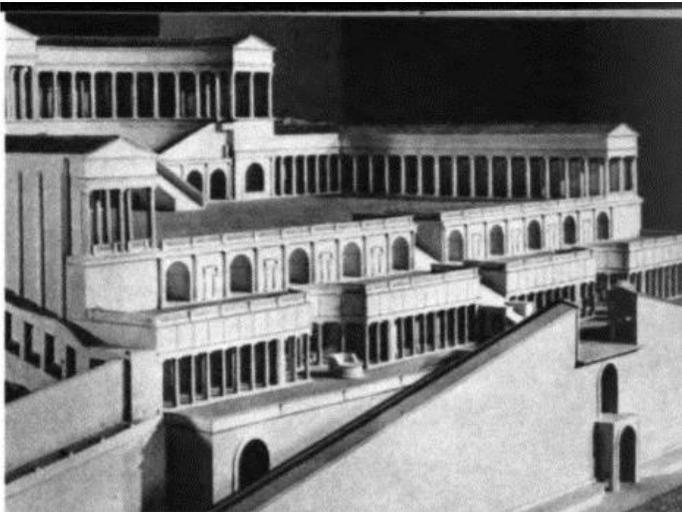
<sup>67</sup> Sewell, 67.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Sewell, 167-174; Roland Martin, “Agora et Forum,” in *Architecture et Urbanisme* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987), 155-185.

<sup>70</sup> Coulton, 74.

type from Greek to Roman architecture. The next two centuries involved what MacDonald calls “a lengthy synthesis of Roman formulations with Hellenistic and other potent forces,” during which time cities throughout the Roman Empire gradually acquired the distinctive elements of *Romanitas* so easily recognizable today.<sup>71</sup>



**Figures 8-9.** Model (above) and plan (right) of the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste. After Brown 1961

The stoa in the Imperial city expanded on the architecturally unifying role of the Hellenistic portico while retaining the structure’s civic, economic, and social roles. The development of the Roman basilica did channel some civic functions away from the portico, though this effect was more strongly felt in the Western Empire where there had not been a pre-existing tradition of the stoa.<sup>72</sup> By the time of the emperor Hadrian in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.,

<sup>71</sup> MacDonald 1986, 2-3.

<sup>72</sup> Coulton 1976, 182.

MacDonald argues that Roman cities had developed “urban armatures” which he defines as “thoroughfares, plazas, . . . and municipal buildings, all joined together in a continuous, flowing system, with no single component isolated from the whole, and with the chief junctions, entrances, and changes in direction prominently and meaningfully articulated.”<sup>73</sup> The stoa constituted an essential role in creating this effect by ensuring that “the architecture of connection in any given location did not differ substantially from that to come.”<sup>74</sup> Thus imperial notions of uniformity, grandeur, and stability could be conveyed in an easily recognizable form throughout the entire empire.

In the Eastern Roman Empire a new manifestation of the portico began to appear in the form of colonnaded streets (Figure 10-11). Herod’s avenue in Antioch is often cited as one of the earliest examples of a colonnaded street, but MacDonald argues that these porticoes were more likely added during the reign of Tiberius; certainly colonnaded thoroughfares had become widespread by the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., particularly in the Eastern Roman Empire.<sup>75</sup> Many reasons have been cited for why the colonnaded street rose to such great prominence in the east, including the importance of elaborated processional ways in eastern religion, the removal from fora of activities unrelated to the transaction of public business, and the reconceptualization of the street as an architectural unit amenable to monumentalization.<sup>76</sup> The porticoes of nearly all colonnaded streets were associated with shops, and so the traditional commercial use of the stoa continued, although the focus of this activity had changed from the agora or forum to the streets.

Ultimately nearly all of the traditional uses for the Greek stoa were preserved into the Roman period, though the application of the building type had diversified into various

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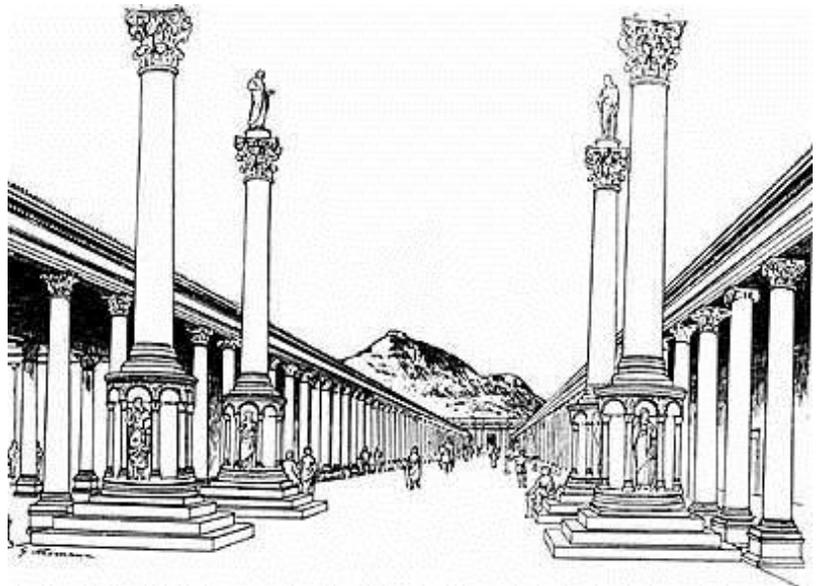
<sup>73</sup> MacDonald 1986, 14.

<sup>74</sup> MacDonald 1986, 33.

<sup>75</sup> MacDonald 1986, 33-34.

<sup>76</sup> Ball 2016, 310-326; Coulton 1976, 177-179; MacDonald 1986, 43.

continuous porticoes, peristyle plazas, and colonnaded streets. Very few freestanding stoas were being built or maintained, but the evolved forms of the stoa abounded and still retained their manifold usefulness at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Over the course of the 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, however, changes in both civic and rural landscapes began to alter the ways in which stoas were used. The development of the stoa through Late Antiquity and into the Medieval Period within the Byzantine Empire is the subject of the next chapter.



**Figures 10-11.** Arcadiane at Ephesus (photograph left, after Crawford 1990; drawing right, after Foss 1979).

## Chapter 4 - Patterns of Reuse for the Byzantine Stoa

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Communities within the Byzantine Empire<sup>77</sup> faced many challenges during Late Antiquity and the subsequent Dark Ages, ranging from invasions and plague to ideological shifts involving religious beliefs and civic engagement. Still, as drastic as the transition from Late Antiquity to the medieval period appears in hindsight, these communities did not view themselves as entering a new epoch, for the history of the Roman Empire was already filled with wars, plagues, and profound ideological changes. An increasing unity of religious belief, especially after the loss of the Eastern provinces, which had remained recalcitrant in their adherence to monophysitism (a differing conceptualization of Christ's human/divine nature), helped to unify the Empire against these challenges. Although pockets of pagan cult practice endured through the end of antiquity and beyond, these were restricted to increasingly isolated areas, and a Christian worldview was prevalent in both the upper and lower classes by the end of Late Antiquity.<sup>78</sup> In rural areas, ancient customs often persisted to the annoyance of both imperial and ecclesiastical authorities, yet the condemnation of these practices reveals more about "the traditional beliefs and superstitions of ordinary people who were also Christians" rather than the existence of paganism.<sup>79</sup> The prevailing attitude of many Byzantines was that they were a "Chosen People" who had been set apart and would ultimately be preserved by God.<sup>80</sup> Despite the immense loss of Byzantine territory during the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries to the Arabs (Figures 12-13), more and more Byzantines began to identify themselves as Christian citizens of an

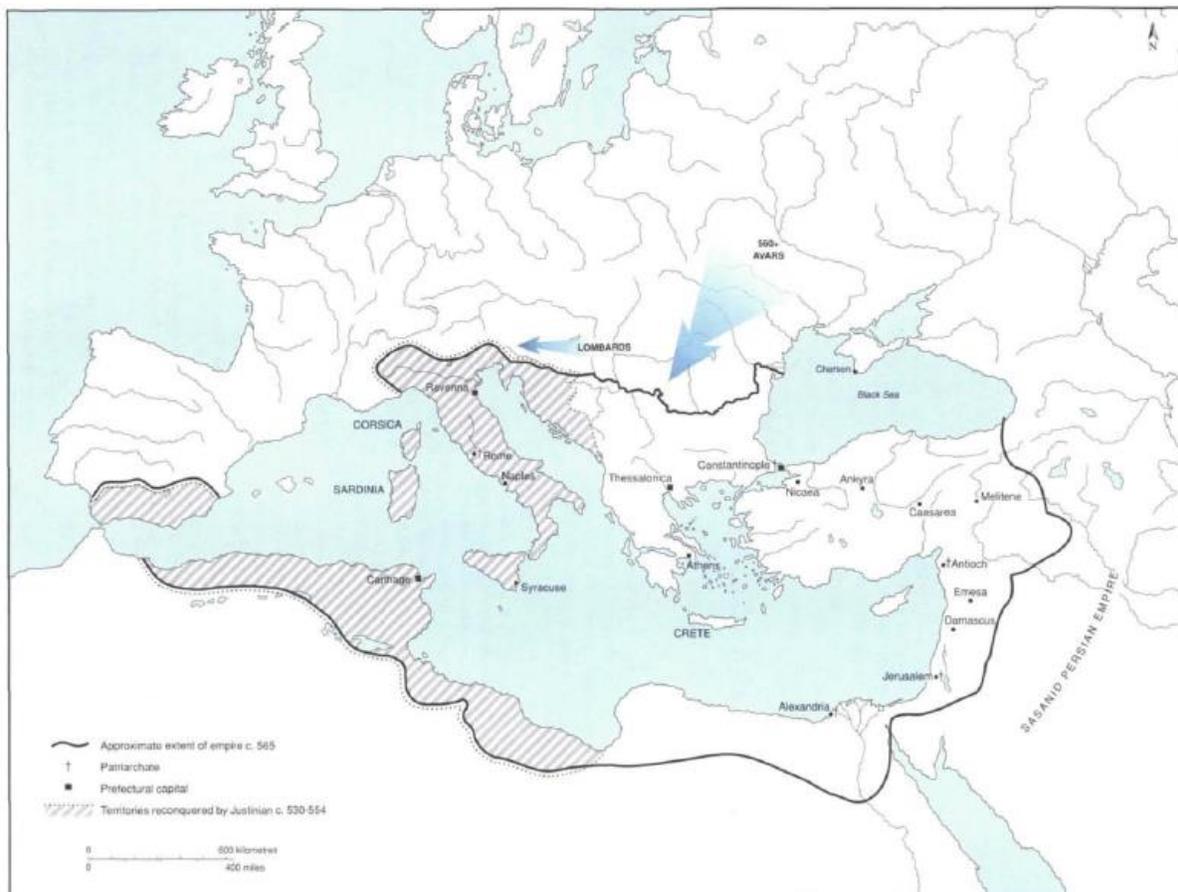
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<sup>77</sup> The territorial extent of the Byzantine Empire varied considerably over the time period considered in this work. Some sites and regions considered in this thesis fell outside of imperial control, particularly over the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, though some of these areas were recovered in later periods. See Figures 12-13 for the territorial extent of the empire during late antiquity and the Byzantine Dark Age.

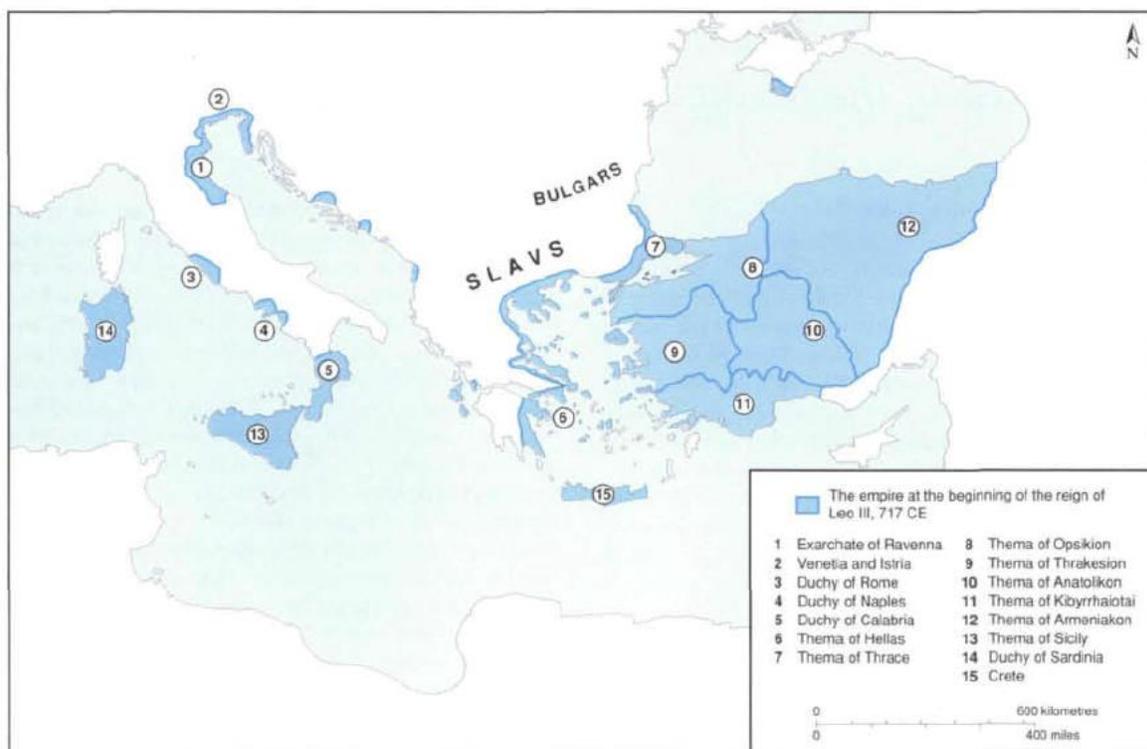
<sup>78</sup> On the survival of paganism, see Haldon 1990, 327-337.

<sup>79</sup> Haldon 1990, 336.

<sup>80</sup> Whittow 1996, 134-138.



**Figure 12.** The Byzantine Empire in 565, Showing the Conquests of Justinian. After Haldon 2005, Map 2.4.



**Figure 13.** The Byzantine Empire in 717, Showing the Administrative *Themes*. After Haldon 2005, Map 5.1.

eternal Roman Empire, creating an ideological sense of continuity over the course of Byzantine history which belies modern chronological divisions between antiquity and the medieval period.<sup>81</sup>

Although many aspects of Byzantine identity remained unchanged during the critical transition period of the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries, evolving circumstances required that Byzantine communities make deliberate adjustments in order to survive, endure, and ultimately flourish again. The role these communities had in decision-making can easily be overlooked, leaving instead hapless victims of insurmountable external pressures such as imperial manipulation, economic recession, Christian acculturation, or a general sense of inexorable decline. Factors such as these doubtless played a role as each community deliberated on a complex and unique set of local concerns, but the ultimate decision of each community should not be assumed but rather investigated on the basis of both textual and archaeological evidence.

Both urban and rural communities frequently appear in late antique texts, but the real concerns of these communities are often masked behind several layers of Christian ideology, classicizing literary motifs, and rhetorical elaboration.<sup>82</sup> Rural communities often appear in hagiographical texts, and the city was frequently the subject of *ekphrasis* and *encomium* in rhetorical works, histories, poetry, epigrams, and hagiography.<sup>83</sup> Similar sources exist for the Dark Ages, though much reduced in quantity and difficult to access and study due to a lack of modern editions and commentary.<sup>84</sup> Archaeological evidence thus provides essential information

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<sup>81</sup> Spieser 2001, 14.

<sup>82</sup> Saradi 2006, 49.

<sup>83</sup> On rural texts, see Schachner 2004, 52-53; on urban texts, see Saradi 2006, 49-101.

<sup>84</sup> For overviews of Dark Age sources, see Haldon 1990, xvii-xxiii and Whittow 1994, 1-14.

that can be used to both complement and critique textual sources and in many cases shed light on the actions of communities which would otherwise be unknown.<sup>85</sup>

As I have argued above,<sup>86</sup> the stoa is uniquely suited for providing insight into how Byzantine communities adapted to change during Late Antiquity and the early medieval period. Since archaeological investigation into these time periods has largely been a recent development, much of the information that has been obtained was ancillary to projects focused on earlier periods.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, until the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was common practice for archaeologists to take only cursory note of post-classical remains or even to completely disregard them. This practice has been especially damaging for post-classical evidence of stoa usage. Most early excavations in Greek and Roman cities focused on the civic center radiating out from a central forum or agora. Because the majority of urban stoas were located in these areas, some major stoas have already been excavated with little documentation of their post-classical remains. The south stoa at Corinth, for example, was one of the largest and most important stoas in the Greek world and was revitalized and maintained during the Roman period. The stoa's major publication appeared in 1954 as *Corinth I.4* by Oscar Broneer. The following description of the post-classical occupation of the stoa is representative of both the dismissiveness and, more importantly, the lack of detailed information that often besets an inquiry into stoa reuse:

The last quarter of the fourth century was a period of destruction and general decline in Corinth as in the rest of Greece. The earthquake of A.D. 375 caused the demolition of many buildings, but during the next twenty years efforts were made to rebuild them. So far as it is possible to trace the effects of the earthquake and the character of the subsequent repairs, the picture it presents is one of overwhelming disaster and material decay, reflecting a general exhaustion and deterioration of the creative ability of the people. In A.D. 395 the invading Goths under Alaric delivered the *coup de grace* to this unhappy period of twilight of

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<sup>85</sup> See Chapter 2.2. On the importance and challenges of synthesizing textual and archaeological sources, see Russell 1986, 2001.

<sup>86</sup> *Supra* 9-10.

<sup>87</sup> Whittow 1994, 14.

Classical Corinth. After this destruction Corinth ceased to exist as a Greco-Roman city. In the Early Christian period and during the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire, many of the classical buildings continued to be used, but the ruins of that era bear the marks of material dilapidation, artistic decline and civic helplessness. Before that state is reached the story of the South Stoa comes to an end.<sup>88</sup>

Stoas at major extraurban sanctuaries have also suffered uneven treatment, as most of these sanctuaries with their associated stoas were excavated before any importance was placed on post-classical remains. Nevertheless, despite setbacks such as these, the body of evidence for post-classical reuse of stoas has grown steadily in the last several decades as a result of more comprehensive excavations at new sites and reinvestigations of old ones.<sup>89</sup>

Over the course of Late Antiquity, more and more stoas in both rural and urban settings became available for reuse. Throughout the Roman Empire, cities experienced a decline of their curial class and civic autonomy due to the growing importance of imperial and ecclesiastical authority.<sup>90</sup> As a result, the focal points of late antique cities began to shift away from fora and agoras with their associated civic buildings towards the imperial complexes and cathedrals from which wealth and power now emanated.<sup>91</sup> Cities were left with largely irrelevant public buildings in their city center which required a significant investment to keep maintained. Furthermore, the proliferation of public buildings during the 1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD had also left cities with the responsibility of maintaining these expensive structures.<sup>92</sup> As private munificence declined and civic budgets became increasingly regulated and regularized by imperial authority, cities looked to reduce costs by providing services “on a more rational scale”; bath complexes, for example, were particularly numerous, but cities could reduce their expenses by “maintaining only one or

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<sup>88</sup> Broneer 1954, 159-160. Later publications, however, have done much to readdress the post-classical use-history of the South Stoa; see Ivison 1996; Slane and Sanders 2005; Scranton 1957; Williams 1980.

<sup>89</sup> For a particularly well documented example, see Waywell and Wilkes (1994) on the Roman Stoa at Sparta.

<sup>90</sup> A well-documented phenomenon noted in Jones 1986. See Liebeschuetz (2001) or Saradi (2006, Chapter 6) for more recent treatments.

<sup>91</sup> Potter 1995, 101-102.

<sup>92</sup> Jones 1986, 736.

two large complexes while closing or selling off the rest.”<sup>93</sup> These factors led to the privatization of many public facilities, especially in and around civic centers. All of these trends are present in Ephesus, for example, where over the course of Late Antiquity expensive gymnasia were reduced to baths, several new buildings including a governor’s palace and the monumental Church of Saint Mary were built well removed from the classical city center, and the city’s two monumental *agorai* began to fill with private structures.<sup>94</sup>

The stoas which adorned extraurban sanctuaries also gradually lost their original purpose as patronage of pagan sanctuaries declined over the course of Late Antiquity. This decline became widespread during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and all but the most remote pagan sanctuaries had ceased to function by the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>95</sup> The simultaneous expansion of rural sites attested in archaeological surveys ensured that there would still be people present in the rural landscape who would visit these sanctuaries and perhaps decide to repurpose the abandoned architecture they found there. At Olympia, for example, the last Olympiad was held in 396, after which time the sanctuary began to fall into disuse. By the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, however, a rural community had settled in and around the ruins of the sanctuary and soon converted the former workshop of Phidias into a Christian basilica.<sup>96</sup>

How each community decided to reuse the ubiquitous colonnades that adorned these public spaces and sanctuaries varied greatly not only by region but even within regions.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, I have evaluated each stoa on a case-by-case basis in order to determine the nature of the structure’s reuse. The data from this analysis is provided in the appendix, which lists

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<sup>93</sup> Lavan 2009, 806.

<sup>94</sup> Foss 1979, 96-99.

<sup>95</sup> Caseau 2004.

<sup>96</sup> Völling 2001.

<sup>97</sup> Many scholars have noted the difficulties in interregional analyses for the Roman empire during this time and the importance of identifying more local patterns: Haldon 2006, 608-609; Lavan 2003, 185; Liebeschuetz 2001, 5; Zavagno 2009, 15.

pertinent information for each stoa considered in this study. Through the course of this investigation, I have identified five distinct patterns of reuse, four of which are residential, economic, ecclesiastical, and defensive; the fifth pattern is abandonment or an absence of reuse. In the succeeding chapter, I evaluate the stoa at Mount Lykaion in the light of these broader patterns for reuse as well as regional historical developments.

#### *4.1 Residential Reuse*

The most typical reuse of stoas was for private residences. The design of stoas facilitates subdivision, typically accomplished through the walling up of intercolumniations. Additionally, many colonnades served as a screen for a row of shops, which could easily be repurposed for habitation with minimal modification. The most common stoas which became available for reuse in cities were colonnades lining the civic center (forum/agera) and the colonnades of palaestra adjoining unmaintained baths.<sup>98</sup> These habitations were generally humble, reflecting the diminished importance of civic centers in late antique cities, whereas wealthier homes were typically built closer to the city's centers of power and were thus more likely to be within reduced city wall circuits - as a result, the homes of the wealthy are often found near prominent commercial hubs, cathedrals, and imperial palaces.

In the countryside, stoas at sanctuaries became available for reuse as pagan worship lost favor. Many of these extraurban sanctuaries developed into villages, a trend corroborated by archaeological surveys which have identified large rural populations during Late Antiquity and an increase in villages over previous eras throughout the Byzantine East.<sup>99</sup> Although I have not yet found direct evidence for stoa reuse at extraurban sanctuaries, it is highly probable that stoas

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<sup>98</sup> E.g. Aphrodisias (Ratte 2001; Rouche 1989; Whittow 2001) for fora/agerai; Anemurium (Russell 1982) for palaestra.

<sup>99</sup> Didyma (Foss 1977), Olympia (Völling 2001), and Delphi (Speiser 1976, 9-10) are major examples. For survey findings, see Bintliff 2013; Gregory 1994b; Pettegrew 2008; Whittow 2003.

would have been reused for residences by villagers. As also seen in cities, temples were not typically reused but rather plundered for building material whereas stoas had no direct religious connotation to discourage reuse.

#### 4.2 Economic Reuse

In many cases, residential reuse of stoas was accompanied by small-scale industrial or craft activity. For this reason, it is important to place each stoa within its local and regional economic context in order to determine whether combined residential and economic reuse of a particular stoa is to be expected. The palaestra colonnade at Anemurium, for example, was reused for housing and has also revealed evidence for the small-scale crafts practiced by the inhabitants, often within their homes. The impetus for mixed residential and small-scale economic activity at this site was likely the insecurity and instability of the region beginning

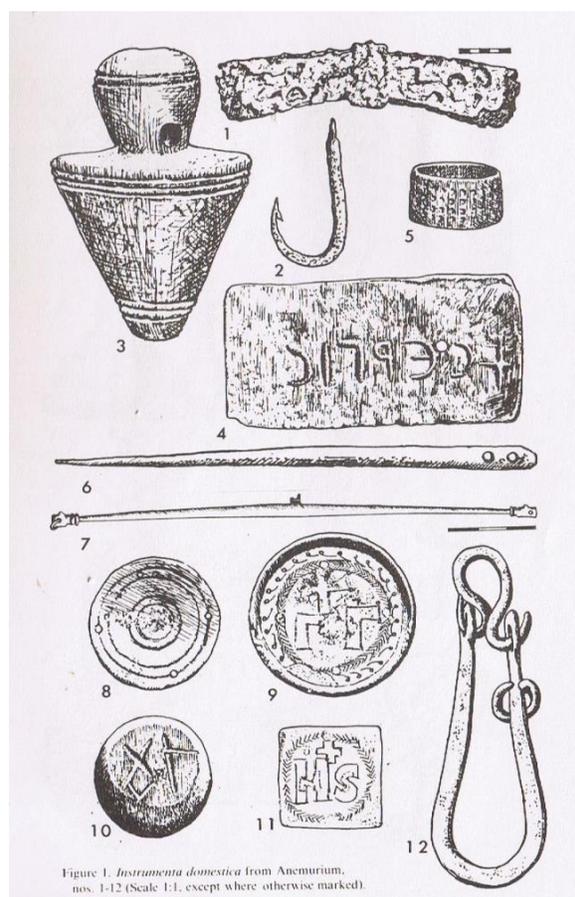


Figure 1. *Instrumenta domestica* from Anemurium.  
nos. 1-12 (Scale 1:1, except where otherwise marked).

**Figure 14:** *Instrumenta Domestica*  
after Russell 1982, Figure 1

in

the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century as a result of frequent Arab raids in this part of Anatolia. Russell lists several finds which demonstrate the wide variety of trades represented (Figure 14): a farmer's iron dolabrum (1), a carpenter's chisel, a fisherman's fish-hook (2), a stone-mason's plumb-bob (3), a lead stamp belonging to a tile-maker or potter (4), a tailor's thimble (5), a heavy needle used by a

sail-maker or leather-worker (6), the bronze balance-arm (7) and small pan (8) of a jeweller's scales, bronze weights (9-11), and a suspension bar from a weighing apparatus (12).<sup>100</sup>

Zanini has argued that the Late Antiquity more generally witnessed a “micro-immigration” of artisans who formerly lived on the outskirts of town into the center.<sup>101</sup> In cases where their output was limited, this was likely the result of a dual economic role in which these individuals were “engaged in subsistence farming and occupied in the cultivation of agricultural land in the environs of the city” as well as “small-scale artisanal activities that were aimed at the creation of monetary surplus.”<sup>102</sup> This type of small-scale economic production seems to continue into the Dark Ages and may help explain the empire's ability to continue collecting taxes in coin despite dramatic reductions in overall economic production.<sup>103</sup>

In other cases, large-scale production which required capital investments in equipment like olive presses and lime or ceramic kilns moved into civic centers.<sup>104</sup> Roman law had long required that industries deemed excessively noisy or smelly remain outside of the city, but as the focus of late antique cities shifted away from their civic centers and these areas now lay abandoned, these laws were either relaxed or ignored.<sup>105</sup> Although often portrayed as squatters indicative of urban decline, those who moved into public areas were usually legally sanctioned and provided the city with additional rent income for what would otherwise have been unused buildings.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Russell 1982, 136-137.

<sup>101</sup> Zanini 2006, 402-403.

<sup>102</sup> Zanini 2006, 402-403.

<sup>103</sup> Whittow 1996, 104-105.

<sup>104</sup> E.g., Brogiolo 2006 (Brescia in N. Italy), Leone 2003 (overview of N. Africa), and D'Andria 2001 (Hierapolis in Asia Minor).

<sup>105</sup> Zanini (2006, 398), for example, cites local regulations from the 6<sup>th</sup> century *Urban Treatise* by Julian of Ascalon.

<sup>106</sup> Saradi 2006, 186-207.

Among major industries operating out of repurposed stoas, lime kilns and kilns devoted to tile-making were common throughout the empire.<sup>107</sup> The location of lime kilns in civic centers provided easy access to the necessary material for the industry. Although any unused public building might be dismantled, the most frequent objects of quarrying were pagan temples, nearly all of which were despoiled, with their stone either reused in other buildings or fed to the lime kilns. The rare few which survived were typically those which had been converted into churches. Brogiolo has argued that the operation of these industries is indicative of urban vitality rather than decay, since large amounts of lime and tile were not needed for domestic architecture, which increasingly relied on wood, but were necessary for prestige architecture.<sup>108</sup> The presence of lime and tile production indicates that building projects were occurring elsewhere in the city, likely funded by imperial or ecclesiastical resources.

Although many stoas associated with *fora* or *agorai* lost their primary uses, other stoas, particularly those incorporated into colonnaded streets, continued to serve as lively mercantile centers until the end of Late Antiquity or even beyond in some cases.<sup>109</sup> The continued functionality of colonnaded streets and some *fora/agorai* colonnades is well attested in 4<sup>th</sup> century sources.<sup>110</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, stoas were still considered an important element of cities, both old and new. Procopius mentions Justinian's construction of stoas in Antioch after the Persian sack of the city in 538.<sup>111</sup> The plan of the new Byzantine city of Justiniana Prima, founded in 535, also reveals the continued importance of colonnaded streets as all of the city's

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<sup>107</sup> E.g., Brogiolo 2006, 278; D'Andria 2001, 112; Foss 1975, 737; Leone 2003, 275.

<sup>108</sup> Brogiolo 2006, 278.

<sup>109</sup> See Crawford (1990) for well-documented colonnaded street flourishing into the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Many colonnaded streets in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia continued to function as both thoroughfares and markets under Arab rule, though with a much changed aspect due to encroachment, see Kennedy 1985. Within Asia Minor and Greece, evidence of continued use of colonnaded streets in their original capacity is difficult to trace through the Byzantine Dark Age, though this may have occurred in some instances, e.g. Corinth's Lechaion Road, see Dey 2014, 192-195.

<sup>110</sup> Lavan (2006) provides numerous examples.

<sup>111</sup> *Aed.* II.9.1-7.

thoroughfares are monumentally colonnaded. Seen in this context, the survival of stoas during Late Antiquity was directly related both to the presence of imperial patronage as well as the location of the stoa within the city. Generally, stoas associated with pre-existing civic *fora/agorai* fell into disuse and were repurposed whereas stoas which remained on vital thoroughfares or were near the new imperial and ecclesiastical civic *foci* flourished, retaining their monumental and economic character (see Appendix).

Encroachment is a common phenomenon observed in those stoas which endured through Late Antiquity.<sup>112</sup> Through this process, private constructions were gradually imposed onto public spaces, typically in the form of additional shops or shop extensions which filled in sidewalks and even spilled onto streets. This practice was a frequent target of late antique legislation<sup>113</sup> and is attested in literary sources such as the following complaint of Libanius:

αἱ πόλεις, ὅσας ἴσμεν ἐπὶ πλούτῳ μάλιστα φρονούσας, ἓνα στοῖχον τῶν ὀνίων δεικνύουσι, τὸν τῶν οἰκημάτων προκείμενον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις τῶν κίωνων ἐργάζεται οὐδείς, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πωλητήρια, ὥστε ἐκάστου μικροῦ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀντιπρόσωπον ἐργαστήριον, ἀντίπυργοι ξύλινοι καὶ ῥῶπες εἰς σκέπην, καὶ τόπος οὐδείς ψιλὸς χειροτεχνήματος, ἀλλὰ κἄν μικροῦ τις λάβηται κρασπέδου, παραχρῆμα τοῦτο ἀκεστήριον ἢ τι παραπλήσιον, καὶ ἔχονται δὴ τῶν τόπων οἷον καλωδίων, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦ ἐρινεοῦ.<sup>114</sup>

The cities which we know especially pride themselves in their wealth display one row of goods, a row having been set in front of the buildings, and no one works in the middle of the columns; but for us even these areas are shops, such that there is a workshop facing each small unit of the buildings, wooden towers and brushwood upon the shelter, and no place devoid of handicraft, but if anyone grabs hold of a small strip of space, this immediately becomes a tailor's shop or something like it, and they hold tightly onto the place as to ropes, just like Odysseus to the wild fig tree.

Although this process has frequently been cited as symptomatic of civic decline, it is important to realize that encroachment in such spaces had existed since at least the early imperial period.

<sup>112</sup> Lavan 2009; Liebeschuetz 2001, 39, 58; Saradi 2006, 188 *passim*.

<sup>113</sup> E.g. *Cod. Theod.* xv.1.39, 46,47; *Cod. Iust.* VIII.10.12.6, VIII.11.20. See Saradi 2006, 192-194.

<sup>114</sup> *Or.* XI.254.

Saradi, for example, notes that “Pompeian wall paintings depict street-stall [*sic*] of various merchants in front of colonnades probably of the forum.”<sup>115</sup> Martial (VII.61) indicates that encroachment was hardly novel to Late Antiquity:

Abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem,  
 Inque suo nullum limine limen erat.  
 Iussisti tenuis, Germanice, crescere vicos,  
 Et modo quae fuerat semita, facta via est.  
 Nulla catenatis pila est praecineta lagonis,  
 Nec praetor medio cogitur ire luto,  
 Stringitur in densa nec caeca novacula turba,  
 Occupat aut totas nigra popina vias.  
 Tonsor, copo, cocus, lanius sua limina servant.  
 Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit.

The rash shopkeeper had born away the entire city,  
 and there was no threshold on one's own threshold.  
 You commanded, Germanicus, that the narrow alleys widen,  
 and now what had been a path has been made a street.  
 No pillar has been encircled with bound wine flasks,  
 nor is the praetor compelled to proceed in the middle of the mud,  
 nor is the razor drawn blindly in a dense crowd,  
 nor does the dark eatery occupy entire streets.  
 The barber, the innkeeper, the cook, the butcher -  
     they preserve their own thresholds.  
 Now it is Rome, what was recently a great shop.

The accounts of both Libanius and Martial are both exaggerated for literary purposes. Any broader conclusion on encroachment and privatization of stoas during any particular period should make sure to compare literary descriptions such as these with archaeological data.

While archaeological evidence has certainly produced numerous examples of encroachment during Late Antiquity, Lavan has stressed the fact that this process did not accelerate until the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, and that “in any event, encroachment was not so severe as to end the monumental character of cities like Sardis, Aphrodisias, Gerasa or Scythopolis, with

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<sup>115</sup> Saradi 2006, 188.

their clean-swept and well-maintained roads.”<sup>116</sup> Indeed, the sealed remains of the early 7<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine Shops at Sardis show little evidence for encroachment, though Crawford does emphasize the reduced monumentality of the shops in comparison with those of earlier times.<sup>117</sup> The process of encroachment cannot be viewed simplistically as a universal, even inevitable process during Late Antiquity, but rather is a result of unique circumstances in individual cases. Regardless of the degree of encroachment observed, its presence supplies useful evidence for ongoing economic activity at many Late Antique and Byzantine stoas.

#### 4.3 Ecclesiastical Reuse

In 435 Theodosius II issued an edict which reiterated previous bans on pagan rites and ordered the destruction and expiation with the sign of the cross of any pagan temples still standing.<sup>118</sup> The already growing Christian church subsequently flourished during the 5<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, as evidenced by the construction of thousands of new churches throughout the Empire.<sup>119</sup> Some of these new churches were constructed in the abandoned stoas which increasingly dotted both urban and rural landscapes.<sup>120</sup> The decision to reuse a stoa for ecclesiastical purposes was likely made for a complex set of reasons. Stoa reuse was economical and would have allowed some churches to be built that otherwise would not have been due to a lack of funds. Indeed, many of the churches which utilized stoas were small and humble

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<sup>116</sup> Lavan 2009, 810.

<sup>117</sup> Crawford 1990, 6.

<sup>118</sup> *Cod. Theod.* xvi.10.25

<sup>119</sup> At least 130 churches were built in the Peloponnese alone from AD 398-695; the majority of these during the late 5th/early 6th century. See Sweetman 2010, 212.

<sup>120</sup> E.g., Elis agora, Ephesus market basilica and lower agora, Pergamon lower agora, Iol Caesarea forum. See Appendix.

establishments, such as the chapel which was tucked away into the corner of Iol Caesarea's forum (Figure 15).<sup>121</sup>

In other circumstances, however, stoas were incorporated into much larger structures, such as the magnificent Basilica of St. Mary in Ephesus, which served as the seat of the city's bishop and even hosted ecclesiastical councils in 431 and 449 (Figure 16).<sup>122</sup> Another stoa in Ephesus, identified by Foss as a market basilica and by Scherrer as the south stoa of the Olympieion, was renovated in the mid to late 4<sup>th</sup> century into a three-aisled, apsed basilica complete with a narthex and atrium.<sup>123</sup> The church, rebuilt in two additional iterations over the years, was maintained well into the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>124</sup> Conservation of resources, then, was not always the principle motivation for the reuse of stoas in ecclesiastical construction.

Beyond practical concerns, ideological purposes would also have motivated the positioning of new churches in both cities and extraurban sanctuaries. Much like pagan temples, Christian churches helped define the community by shaping both its identity and topography.<sup>125</sup> Sweetman argues that the positioning of churches was intentional and aimed to create a sense of Christian identity by adding to or even replacing the pre-existing associations of a particular place. Additionally, the imposing architecture and exclusivity of church design worked to create a sense of awe, giving the Christian community both legitimacy and pride. The placement of churches in the stoas of civic centers was a way to associate the church with the most important buildings of the city's civic identity, while the placement of churches at sanctuaries worked to replace the pagan associations of that place with a Christian one.

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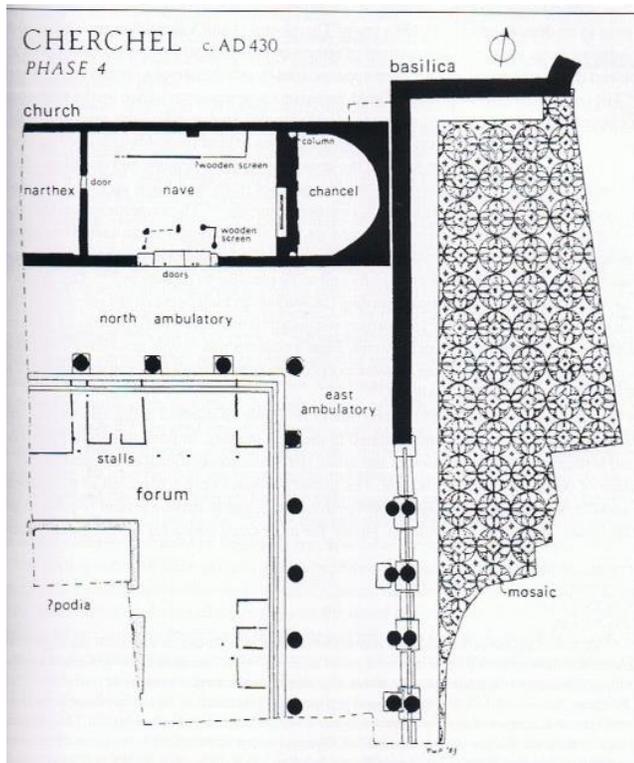
<sup>121</sup> Potter 1995. Another similar example is a chapel in the Lower Agora of Ephesus - see Figure 19 (Foss 1979, 104).

<sup>122</sup> Foss 1979, 51-54

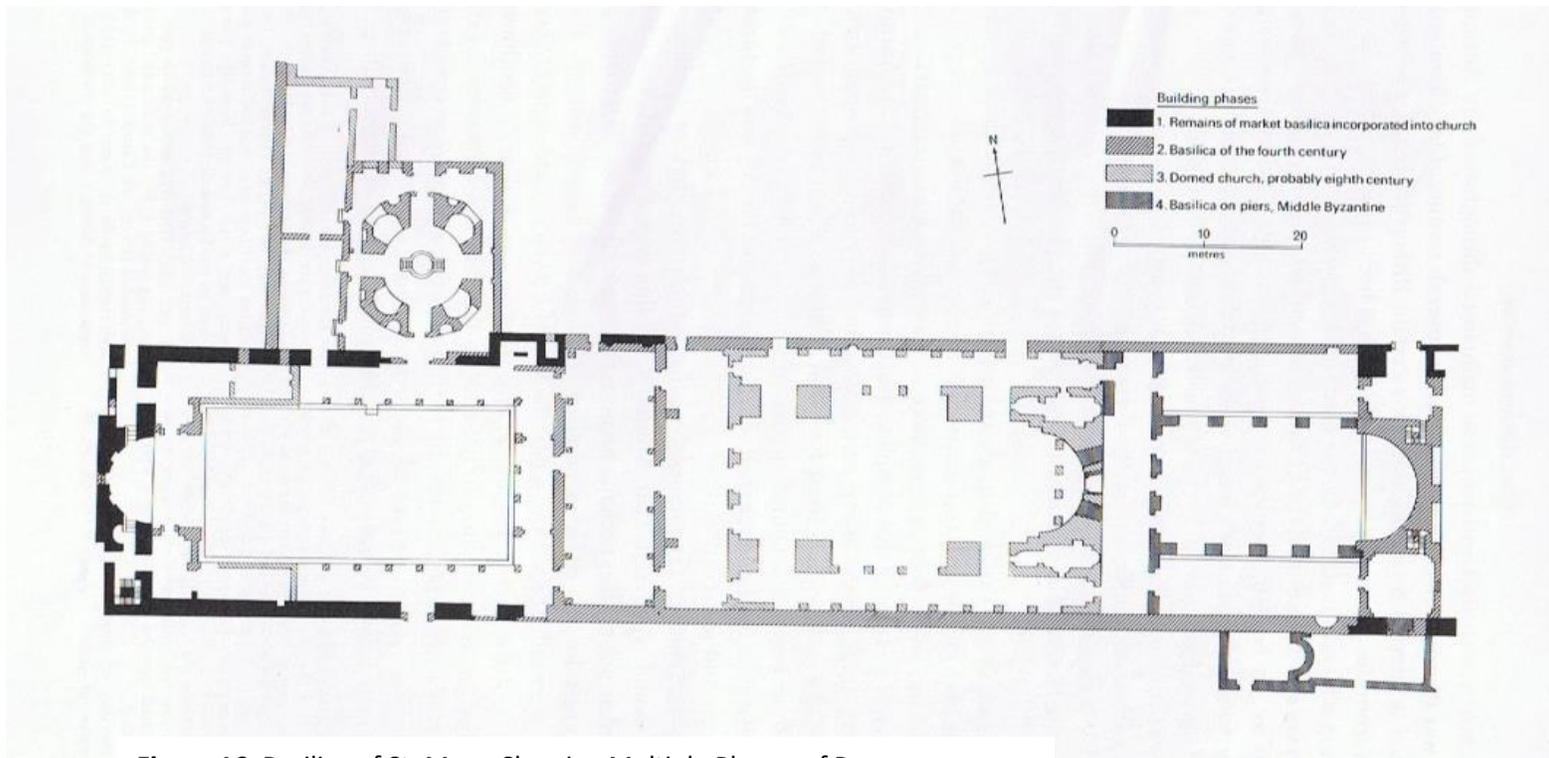
<sup>123</sup> Foss 1979, 51-52; Scherrer 2001, 80.

<sup>124</sup> Foss 1979, 112 & 132.

<sup>125</sup> Sweetman 2010, 210.



**Figure 15.** Church Incorporated into the Forum Portico at Iol Caesarea, N. Africa.  
After Potter 1995, Figure 15.



**Figure 16.** Basilica of St. Mary, Showing Multiple Phases of Reuse.  
After Foss 1979, Figure 14.

A subset of ecclesiastical reuse of stoas is the placement of burials within abandoned stoas. These burials almost always occurred in close association with churches.<sup>126</sup> Many churches built during Late Antiquity housed the remains of martyrs; these *martyria* soon became attractive locations for burial, as it was widely believed that burial near the holy relics (*ad sanctos*) would sanctify a believer's remains by proximity.<sup>127</sup> Because laws which forbade intramural burials were still in force at this time, a spatial pattern developed in which cemetery churches were located at the edges of cities.<sup>128</sup> As city centers shifted away from *fora* and *agorai*, the abandoned areas sometimes attracted churches and their associated burials. In some cases, the reduction of city wall circuits meant that the forum or agora was no longer within the city's wall circuit.<sup>129</sup> The overall trend, however, was a gradual acceptance of intramural burials, eventually leading to Pope Leo VI abolishing the laws against this practice in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>130</sup>

One of the best documented cases of mortuary reuse of stoas is at Corinth (Figure 17).<sup>131</sup> As the civic center fell out of use, churches and burials began to enter the abandoned space, with burials well-established by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>132</sup> Tile graves and spolia cist graves have been found in the Northwest Stoa, and the South Stoa contains pit graves, spolia cist graves, tile graves, and spolia multiple burial tombs.<sup>133</sup> Earlier 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century tombs made use of tile while later tombs incorporated spolia from nearby buildings, including columns, sliced in half and reused as door lintels or as tomb lids; one tomb in the South Stoa reused "large pieces of the

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<sup>126</sup> E.g., the Roman Stoa at Sparta did not attract burials until immediately after a Middle Byzantine church was constructed along its front foundation in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century; see Waywell and Wilkes 1994, 386-387.

<sup>127</sup> Ivison 1996, 102.

<sup>128</sup> Sweetman 2010, 223-224.

<sup>129</sup> There are many examples of civic centers excluded from reduced wall circuits, including at Ephesus and Athens. If Slane and Sanders' (2005) proposed late Roman circuit is correct, this would also be true of Corinth.

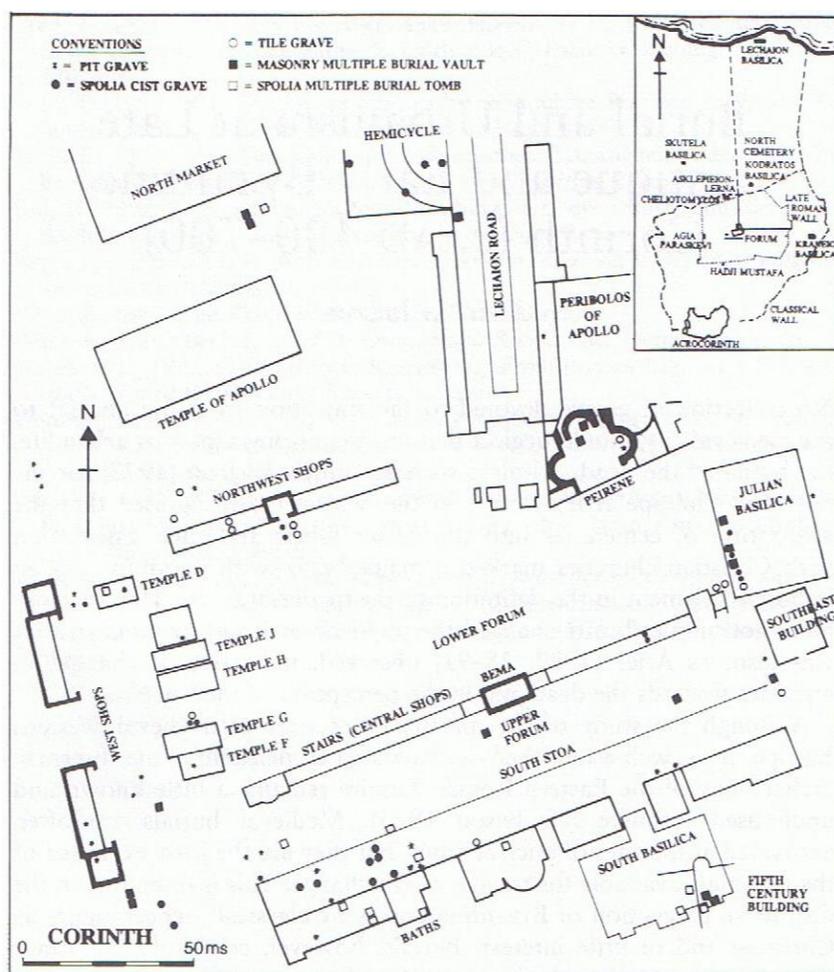
<sup>130</sup> Ivison 1996, 102

<sup>131</sup> Ivison 1996; Slane and Sanders 2005; Scranton 1957; Weinberg 1974.

<sup>132</sup> Ivison 1996, 104.

<sup>133</sup> Ivison 1996, Figure 5.1

marble gutter of the Stoa for its roof.”<sup>134</sup> Slane and Sanders have proposed a chronological development for these tombs: “tiles and Gaza amphoras are typical burial covers in the late fifth to sixth centuries, brick-built and rock-cut coffins are used in the later sixth and seventh centuries, and the large vaulted tombs with spolia in the forum may be eighth century.”<sup>135</sup> The presence of tombs such as these, which Ivison notes were “often carefully constructed and their burials formally laid out,” gives testimony to a community still living in the area and willing to take the time and effort to inhumate their dead in a ritual manner.<sup>136</sup>



**Figure 17.** Burials in the Civic Center of Corinth. After Ivison 1996.

<sup>134</sup> Ivison 1996, 112-113.

<sup>135</sup> Slane and Sanders 2006, n. 100.

<sup>136</sup> Ivison 1996, 114.

#### 4.4 Defensive Reuse

Another category of stoa reuse is incorporation into city defenses. The reduction in the defensive wall circuit of many cities during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period has been noted by many scholars, and the significance of this trend has provoked debate.<sup>137</sup> The traditional view has been that the reduction in city area reflected a decline in the vitality of cities, which were suffering from demographic collapse, fiscal crisis, and frequent invasions. The final solution was for cities to disperse much of their population into the countryside, shed extraneous buildings and services, and protect a few remaining imperial, ecclesiastical, and military necessities within a small, heavily fortified *kastron*. According to this model, the classical city ceased to exist and a new type of medieval city came into being.<sup>138</sup>

In more recent years, many scholars have begun to dispute this conclusion, especially in light of new archaeological evidence from both surveys and excavations, and they have begun to search for other causes of the phenomenon.<sup>139</sup> Gregory argues that a reduction in wall circuits is best understood in reference to an individual city's historical situation, and it is this view which is adopted here.<sup>140</sup> The abandonment of civic centers presented most cities with stoas that could potentially be used for defensive purposes. How, when, and if these stoas were indeed incorporated into defensive structures was unique to each city and varied considerably in relation to a community's particular resources, topography, and level of insecurity. In order to illustrate this diversity, I provide two distinct examples, one from Athens and the other from Ephesus.

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<sup>137</sup> Kirilov 2007, 3-4.

<sup>138</sup> See Liebeschuetz (2001) for a representative exposition of this view.

<sup>139</sup> E.g. Crow 2001, Gregory 1982, Kirilov 2007, Lavan 2001.

<sup>140</sup> Gregory 1982, 56: "In the end, the form of the walls by themselves probably tells us little about the survival of cities in the Byzantine period, but it provides valuable information toward the history of events at individual sites. Certainly, the urban fortifications of late antiquity bore no simple relationship to the survival of urban forms, and one should similarly abandon the idea that a fortified city was *ipso facto* in decline. In fact, the construction of defensive walls is probably evidence of a certain degree of civic vitality, enough at least to respond to a crisis with organized and appropriate action."

The Heruli raided Athens in 267, inflicting severe damage on much of the city including the destruction of most of the buildings in the agora.<sup>141</sup> Soon after this, a new, much reduced circuit wall was constructed which incorporated the remains of several buildings damaged in the raid. The Stoa of Attalos was among the severely damaged buildings, and so the remnants of the structure were used in the northwest corner of the post-Herulian wall (Figure 18). The north and south ends of the stoa were incorporated into towers. A third tower was added to the middle of the former stoa. The city outside of the wall revived and continued to be occupied.<sup>142</sup> The new fortifications were maintained and, unlike the fate of many cities in Greece, successfully defended the core of the city from Alaric's invasion in 396, although damage was inflicted to the city outside of these walls.<sup>143</sup> Yet again, the city continued to thrive after Alaric's departure with both repairs and new construction outside of the wall circuit and endured through the Dark Age.<sup>144</sup> When conditions became more secure, the northernmost tower in the stoa was converted into the residence of the metropolitan bishop.<sup>145</sup>

A second example comes from the Lower Agora at Ephesus where the northeast section of the agora's colonnade was incorporated into a defensive wall and tower (Figure 19). Unlike Athens, the date of this wall is uncertain and cannot be tied to a specific historical event; Foss gives a date of 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century for the wall and suggests that the general threat of Arab raids during that time provided an impetus for its construction.<sup>146</sup> Like other cities in the Byzantine Empire, *agorai* in Ephesus were no longer maintained by the city and had been resigned to a combination of private use and abandonment. The fortification wall did not enclose the entire

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<sup>141</sup> Frantz 1988, 3-5.

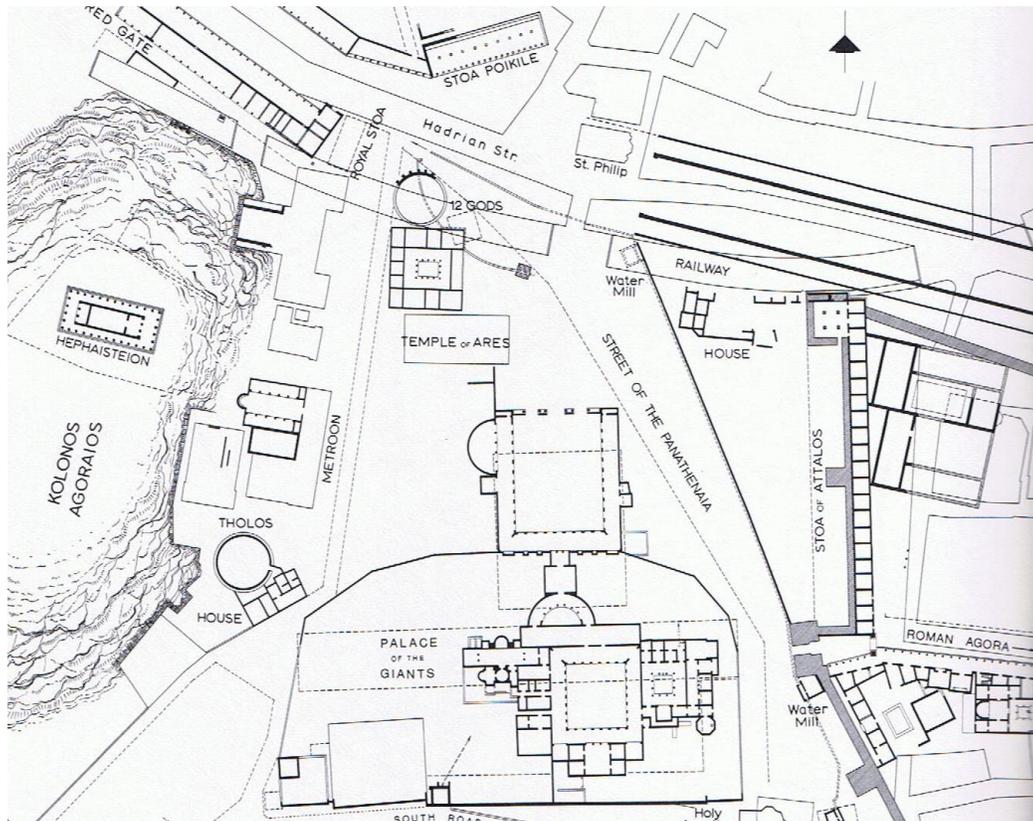
<sup>142</sup> Frantz 1988, 48-49.

<sup>143</sup> Frantz 1988, 53-56.

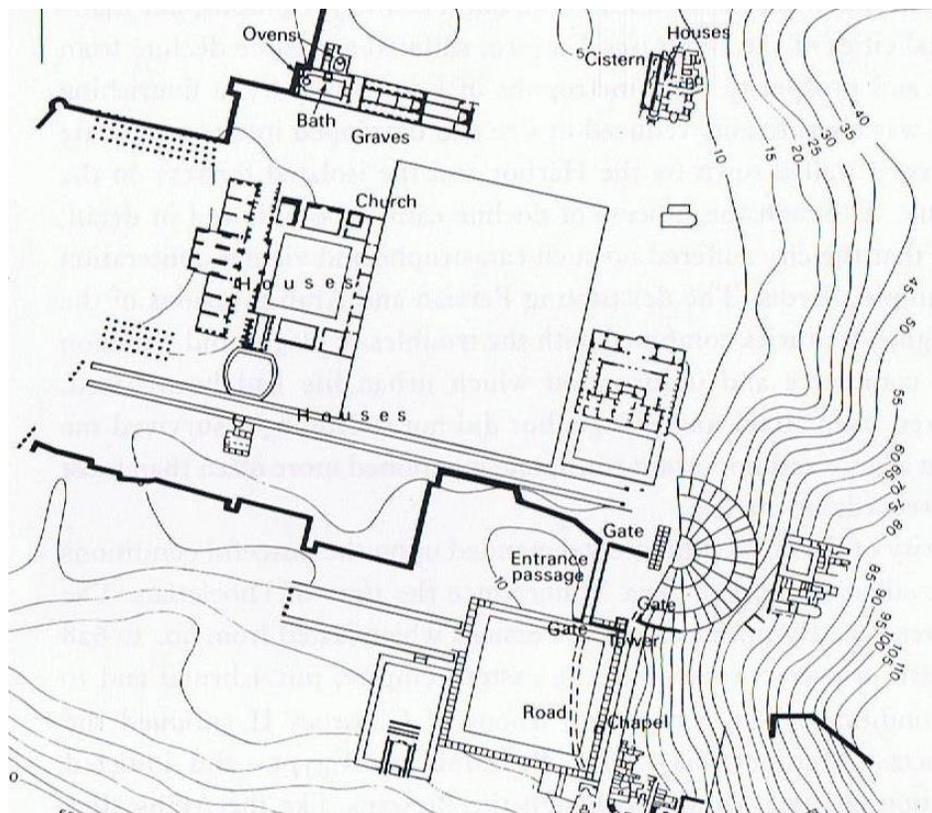
<sup>144</sup> Frantz 1988, 58-68; for evidence from the Dark Age, 117-122.

<sup>145</sup> Frantz 1988, 136.

<sup>146</sup> Foss 1979, 106-107.



**Figure 18.** Athenian Agora in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century, Highlighting the Stoa of Attalos. After Frantz 1988, Plate 6.



**Figure 19.** Ephesus during the Byzantine Dark Age, Highlighting the Lower Stoa. After Foss 1979, Figure 35.

inhabited area but instead a smaller portion of the city which included the Basilica of St. Mary, seat of the bishop, as well as an imperial complex. The presence of pre-existing but under-utilized structures such as the agora portico and the nearby theater allowed the city to both reduce expenses and speed completion of the new fortifications during an era of insecurity and economic recession. To echo Gregory, the construction of this wall is hardly an indication of civic helplessness, but rather “evidence of a certain degree of civic vitality, enough at least to respond to a crisis with organized and appropriate action.”<sup>147</sup>

#### *4.5 Abandonment*

Some stoas do not show any indication of reuse. This conclusion for any particular stoa should be viewed skeptically, however, since many excavations in the past have proved either inadequate or uninterested in the preservation of post-classical or even late antique remains. The most secure evidence for abandonment comes from destruction layers where the material remains have remained sealed, as was the case at the Byzantine shops at Sardis.<sup>148</sup> Here, the colonnade was evidently viewed as a total loss by the community and was eventually paved over with later roads.<sup>149</sup> Other strong evidence for discontinuation of use is the dismantling of the stoa and reuse of the building materials elsewhere, as was the case for the Stoa Poikile in Athens.<sup>150</sup> Even in the event of abandonment, it should be remembered that this too is the product of decisions made by individuals and communities. Abandonment should not be assumed to indicate an absence of people, as evidenced by the two examples above, but like any other instance of stoa reuse, should be analyzed in the broader context of the community concerned.

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<sup>147</sup> Gregory 1982, 56.

<sup>148</sup> Crawford 1990, 2: “After the destruction, there was a definite period of abandonment, judging from a thick, sterile layer with few finds of any kind. There apparently were no attempts to recover objects from the Byzantine Shops or to rebuild them. Everything lay as it had fallen.”

<sup>149</sup> Crawford 1990, 2-3

<sup>150</sup> Frantz (1988, 78 & 81) notes evidence of mid-5<sup>th</sup> century destruction and subsequent reuse of the Stoa Poikile’s materials in later 5<sup>th</sup> century constructions.

## Chapter 5 - The Stoa at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion, Arcadia

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### 5.1 Description of the Stoa

The purpose of this final chapter is to evaluate the post-classical use of a stoa located at the Lower Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion in Arcadia. The stoa was first excavated by Kourouniotis in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and excavation at the stoa has continued since 2007 through the Mount Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project.<sup>151</sup> Facing northwest, the stoa is located at the southeast edge of the Lower Sanctuary (Figure 20). The dimensions of the structure are 67.08 m long by 13.70 m wide.<sup>152</sup> The terrain rises southeast of the stoa, and so a retaining wall was built 1.44 m behind the stoa's back wall (Figure 21).<sup>153</sup> The fact that the lowest masonry course at the eastern end of the stoa is higher than that of the western end as well as the discovery of floor surfaces at different elevations suggests that the stoa may have had more than one level with potential differentiation of use at each end.<sup>154</sup> If so, differentiated reuse of the building in later periods is a possibility. The stoa's initial construction is likely Late Classical, though there are some indications for an earlier phase of the building.<sup>155</sup> It is uncertain exactly when the building fell out of use.<sup>156</sup> The Lykaion games are known from victor lists to have occurred at the lower sanctuary in the late fourth century, and other areas in the sanctuary indicate use of the site through the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Kourouniotis 1909; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 2015.

<sup>152</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 231.

<sup>153</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 231.

<sup>154</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 231.

<sup>155</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 231. Romano and Voyatzis (2015, 262-263) suggest a correlation between the establishment of Megalopolis, which took over management of the sanctuary, as the capital of the Arcadian League with the architectural development of the lower sanctuary, including the stoa. This context gives 368-362 BC as the most likely date range for the construction of the stoa and several other buildings in the lower sanctuary

<sup>156</sup> Jost 1985, 185; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 231.

<sup>157</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 258. Victor lists: *IG V ii* 549 and 550.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Pausanias (8.38.5) described the lower sanctuary as no longer in use:

ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλλος δένδρων καὶ ἵππόδρομός τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον: τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα. ἔστι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀνδριάντων βάθρα, οὐκ ἐπόντων ἔτι ἀνδριάντων.

There is on Lykaion a sanctuary of Pan, and a grove of trees around it, and both a hippodrome and in front of this a stadium. Of old they used to hold here the Lycaean games, and on this spot also were bases of statues, but the statues are not still upon them.

Jost has noted that after the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC synoecism of Megalopolis, many “doublets” of the area’s most sacred cult places were established within the city, including a duplication of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion.<sup>158</sup> Although the Upper Sanctuary was still in use during Pausanias’ visit, the use of the Lower Sanctuary eventually seems to have lost its importance in preference for the sanctuary’s “doublet” in Megalopolis. This process was likely accelerated in 215 BC by the refoundation in Megalopolis of the Lykaion Games, which had previously been celebrated at the Lower Sanctuary.<sup>159</sup> Alcock has noted a tendency in Greece during the early imperial period for cult centralization, in which outlying cult places, particularly those associated with the imperial cult, would sometimes be relocated into an urban center. It is possible that any lingering activity at the Lower Sanctuary may have been consolidated into Megalopolis at some point in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>160</sup> Without additional evidence, however, a precise history of the site during the early Roman period remains unknown.

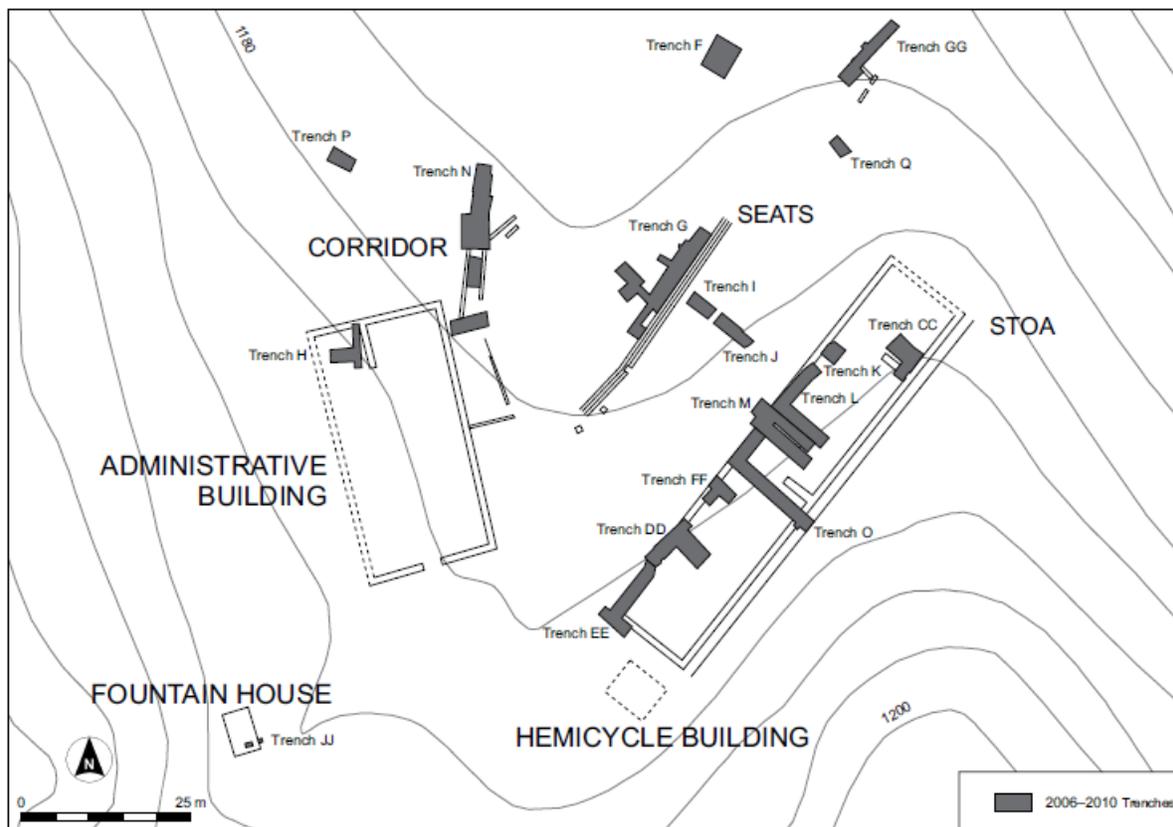
The next available evidence for the stoa derives from Kourouniotis’ excavation.

Kourouniotis recorded that “in the stoa many Byzantine coins were discovered (Justinian I and II

<sup>158</sup> Jost 1994, 226-228.

<sup>159</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 258; based on evidence from *IG II<sup>2</sup> 993* which “records the Athenian acceptance of an invitation from the city of Megalopolis to participate in the refoundation of the Lykaion Games in the year 215 b.c.”

<sup>160</sup> Alcock 1993, 191-192



**Figure 20.** Plan of the Lower Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion.  
After Romano and Voyatzis 2015, Fig. 3.



**Figure 21.** Actual-state Plan of the Stoa at the Lower Sanctuary.  
After Romano and Voyatzis 2015, Fig. 22.

527-578) as well as a few Christian tombs, built and covered with thin, unworked plaques (none preserved any funerary finds).”<sup>161</sup> The presence of several late walls subdividing the area of the stoa is also noted by Kourouniotis.<sup>162</sup> Recent excavation in the stoa since 2007 has uncovered a variety of small finds including glass vessels, lamp fragments, a bronze cross pendant, and iron nails.<sup>163</sup> Many of these finds have been dated to the Late Roman Period except for the bronze cross which is Middle Byzantine.<sup>164</sup> My own excavation at the stoa within an extension of Trench DD (Figures 20-21) conducted in the summer of 2016 confirmed the presence of several late walls built within the stoa.<sup>165</sup> A paved floor surface was recovered within the area of the late walls. Directly above this floor was a dense layer of broken pottery and animal bones, followed by a destruction layer of charcoal, roof tiles, and stone debris. Considerable quantities of pottery have been found throughout the stoa trenches, consisting mostly of unpainted cookware and tableware. Most of the pottery awaits further study, though several pieces have been identified as Middle and Late Byzantine.<sup>166</sup>

Much of the stoa remains unexcavated, so the exact nature and extent of the late subdivisions of the building remain uncertain. No other late Roman or Byzantine remains have been discovered at the site except for a late structure built over the top of the Late Classical and Hellenistic administrative building. This building was excavated by Spyropoulos in the 1990s, but the findings remain unpublished.<sup>167</sup> The archaeological evidence clearly indicates a late Roman and Byzantine presence at the lower sanctuary, with a concentration of activity within the stoa. Before attempting any sort of discussion, however, on the late Roman and Byzantine reuse

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<sup>161</sup> Kourouniotis 1909, 188.

<sup>162</sup> Kourouniotis 1909 188.

<sup>163</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 235.

<sup>164</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 235-237.

<sup>165</sup> Hill 2016a, 2016b.

<sup>166</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 236-237; identifications by Joanita Vroom and Elli Tzavella.

<sup>167</sup> Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 212.

of the stoa at Mount Lykaion, I will first provide the historical context of the Peloponnese from the 4<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

### *5.2 The Byzantine Peloponnese, 4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries A.D.*

According to the primary sources, Corinth and much of the Peloponnese faced a severe decline beginning in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century due to invasions, earthquakes, and plague.<sup>168</sup> Archaeological investigation, however, has demonstrated that the Peloponnese followed the same trends which can be seen throughout the Byzantine Empire from the 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The Peloponnese has benefitted from numerous archaeological surveys which have revealed a “Late Roman boom” represented by a general rise in site numbers and often wealthy villas with associated transport amphorae and widely traded finewares.<sup>169</sup> Pettegrew notes that the “ubiquity of Late Roman pottery in the area [of Corinth], imported from Asia Minor, Palestine, the Aegean, and Africa, indicates that the territory continued to function in interregional and Mediterranean markets at least through the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.”<sup>170</sup> Haldon summarizes the Late Antique trade network of the Peloponnese, as evidenced by ceramics, as follows:

The incidence of wares produced in the Aegean region and connected with the development of Constantinople as an imperial centre during the fourth century increases in proportion as that of African wares decreases; while over the same period the importance of imported fine wares from the Middle East, especially Syria and Cilicia, also increases. Aegean coarse wares - transport vessels such as amphorae, and cooking vessels, in particular - begin to compete with the western imports during the sixth century and finally to dominate from the decades around 600. The pattern of ceramic distribution thus reflects a variety of factors, including highly localised economic sub-systems. Amphorae from both Palestine and north Syria are found in quantity in the Peloponnese and in Constantinople from the middle of the sixth century, for example, complemented by amphorae from western Asia Minor, presumably representing imports of olive oil and wine.

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<sup>168</sup> Pettegrew 2008, 250.

<sup>169</sup> Bintliff 2013, 127. Bintliff and others (Pettegrew 2008, 253; Sanders 2004) have cautioned that this “Late Roman boom” has likely been artificially inflated for a variety of reasons. Still, all agree that the Late Roman Period at the very least can be characterized as an extension of the preceding period’s prosperity, if not an actual increase in prosperity.

<sup>170</sup> Pettegrew 2008, 252; see also Laiou and Morriison, 24-38; Riley 1981.

From the later sixth century a greater localisation of fine-ware production can be observed. The economic implications of these patterns is that several overlapping networks of ceramic production and exchange complemented one another, and these were accompanied by similarly overlapping exchange-patterns for the products which accompanied or were transported in these containers.<sup>171</sup>

Crucial to the operation of this complex system of exchange was the vast imperial administrative network which collected taxes and redistributed goods to the army and other imperial services.

Much of the private economy depended on this network, as those employed by the empire for the transport of these goods were given some allowance to include their own merchandise for private sale alongside the imperial goods.<sup>172</sup> Thus when imperial authority was withdrawn from a region, much of the apparatus for the private transport and exchange of goods was also taken away, often resulting in economic recession in that region and the reorientation of that economy to more locally produced products.

Like the economy, Christianity also received strong patronage during this time from both imperial and private sources, allowing for the construction of 130 churches from 398-687 with the majority of these built in urban centers during the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figure 22).<sup>173</sup> These urban centers reflected trends found throughout the empire; although civic *foci* were shifting and fortification walls were contracting, cities were still the centers of intense economic, cultural, administrative, and religious activity.<sup>174</sup> Thus the overall image of the late Roman Peloponnese reflects the general prosperity found throughout the Eastern Roman Empire.

The history of the Peloponnese from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries is less well understood and continues to be a source of contention among scholars. This period, known as the Byzantine Dark Age, has preserved far fewer primary sources in comparison with the periods both

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<sup>171</sup> Haldon 2005, 44.

<sup>172</sup> Haldon 2005, 45.

<sup>173</sup> Sweetman 2010, 212.

<sup>174</sup> E.g., Avarmea 1997; Slane and Sanders 2005.



Peloponnese, claims that the Peloponnese was lost to the Slavs in 587 and was not recovered by the Byzantines until 805/6:

Οὕτως οἱ Ἄβαροι τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατασχόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ δῆρκεσαν ἐπὶ χρόνοις διακοσίοις ὀκτωκαίδεκα μῆτε τῶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, μῆτε ἐτέρῳ ὑποκείμενοι, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τοῦ ς' αἰ' ἔτους τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς ὅπερ ἦν ἕκτον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Μαυρικίου, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ς<sup>ου</sup> τ' ἔτους, ὅπερ ἦν τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Νικηφόρου τοῦ Παλαιοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος Σταυράκιον.<sup>175</sup>

Thus the Avars<sup>176</sup>, having taken possession of and settled in the Peloponnese, remained there for two hundred and eighteen years, having been subjected neither to the Roman Emperor nor to any other, that is to say from 6096 years after the creation of the world (587 AD), which was the sixth year of the Emperor Maurice, until 6313 years (805/6 AD), which was the fourth year of the Emperor Nicephorus the Elder, who begat Stauracius.

This account has long been taken as evidence for a complete loss of Byzantine authority over the Peloponnese. A source contemporary to the time period which recounts the pilgrimage of Bishop Willibald of Eichstätt to the Holy Land states that Willibald arrived at Monemvasia “in the land of Slavina” in 733.<sup>177</sup> This statement too has often been interpreted as additional evidence for Slavic control of the entire Peloponnese. Archaeological evidence, however, has complicated this interpretation by demonstrating uninterrupted imperial authority over some portions of the Peloponnese. Slavic settlement within the Peloponnese remains contentious, with ongoing debate over when it occurred, whether it was violent or peaceful, the exact extent of the Slavic presence, and the degree of mixing or persistence of pre-existing Greek communities.

The implications of the Slavic settlement of Greece for the ethnic identity of the modern Greek people have long been a source of contention in related scholarship.<sup>178</sup> As a result, “research on Dark-Age Greece seems to be paralyzed by an obsessive concern with identifying

<sup>175</sup> Lines 134-140 in Duřev (1976, 16).

<sup>176</sup> The terms “Avar” and “Slav” are often used interchangeably in the sources.

<sup>177</sup> Curta 2011, 118-119.

<sup>178</sup> Curta (2011, 1-8) explains in detail the origin of the various scholarly positions.

ethnic groups in the archaeological record.”<sup>179</sup> Difficulties abound, however, in attempting to interpret the archaeological evidence in concrete ethnic terms. So-called “Slavic ware,” for example, was long taken as an indicator for the presence of Slavs because of its coarse, handmade construction.<sup>180</sup> In contrast, finer, often glazed wares have been taken as evidence for a Byzantine presence. Additional research, however, has revealed many examples of Slavic Ware mixed with finer, wheel-made pottery. When Gregory discovered Slavic pottery mixed with Byzantine material in Dark Age contexts at Isthmia, he proposed two possible conclusions concerning the people living at the site:

If the settlers were Slavs, they had settled down, and they were in significant contact with Byzantine society since their pottery assemblage included Byzantine as well as Slavic wares. The possibility exists that these people were not Slavs at all but rather Greek-speakers who used the so-called Slavic pottery as ordinary kitchen ware of the period. But even if they were Slavs, one should note the absence of any evidence of conquest, and stress the sedentary nature of the people and their incorporation into the broader matrix of early Byzantine material culture.<sup>181</sup>

In sum, several scholars have now concluded that Slavic Ware either represents peaceful cohabitation of Slavs and Greeks or that it simply reflects a contracting economy in which fewer mass-manufactured goods were being replaced by home-made products.<sup>182</sup> Either way, its presence at a site does little to resolve questions concerning the ethnic identity of the inhabitants.

Some Greeks fled the arrival of the Slavs while others chose to remain. Curta has argued that evidence exists for the planned evacuation of some Byzantine cities by the imperial administration, and both archaeological and historical sources attest to the presence of Greek

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<sup>179</sup> Curta 2010, 415.

<sup>180</sup> Vroom (2004, 318) characterizes this ware as “a variety of vessels that feature both handmade or hand shaped and slow wheel turned pots. They appear to be small cooking vessels, often with a flat bottom, an everted rim and a rounded wall. The walls of the pots are not regular, and fingerprints can be seen on the surface (both on the interior and on the exterior). The fabrics of Slavic Ware have been seen to vary widely, even among finds from the same sites. Some examples of Slavic Ware have no decoration at all, other vessels are decorated with multiple and single linear or wavy incised lines, stamps or raised ribs.”

<sup>181</sup> Gregory 1994a, 159.

<sup>182</sup> Avarmea 1997, 159; Bintliff 2013, 130; Curta 2010, 418-419; Vroom 2004, 318-319.

refugees fleeing to coastal cities and various islands while the Slavs settled in the central and eastern portions of the Peloponnese.<sup>183</sup> Other communities likely chose to remain and found ways to coexist to some degree with the Slavic immigrants. Regardless of the decisions of each community, the end result of the Slavic migrations was a loss of imperial control over the majority of the Peloponnese over the course of the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>184</sup> Although the extent and even the very existence of imperial authority within the Peloponnese during the Dark Age has long been debated, there has been a very recent and growing consensus that “the Aegean coasts and islands and key larger cities in Greece survived under imperial control, abandoning the rural areas on the Mainland to partial or total Slav domination for one or more centuries.”<sup>185</sup>

Evidence from hoards of Byzantine coins, mostly small denomination copper coins (*minimi*), has often been interpreted as evidence for Greeks fleeing Slavic attacks. Curta, however, has convincingly demonstrated that these hoards represent the presence of the Roman army receiving their pay in coin rather than Slavic attacks.<sup>186</sup> “Their concealment,” Curta argues, “is not necessarily the result of barbarian raids, because their owners may have kept their savings in cash in a hiding place *custodiae causa*, not *ob metum barbarorum*.”<sup>187</sup> The known operations of imperial forces coincide directly with the influx or removal of coins from Peloponnesian sites. There are no coins of Heraclius, for example, which postdate his withdrawal of troops to the eastern front; the next increase in coins belongs to Constans II, who is recorded to have visited Athens and Corinth in 662/63 and campaigned in the area.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Curta 2011, 65, 92,

<sup>184</sup> There is much debate on the exact timing of this loss of imperial authority in the Peloponnese covering a span of about 40 years, from AD 580-620.

<sup>185</sup> Bintliff 2013, 128.

<sup>186</sup> Curta 2010, 2011, 2013.

<sup>187</sup> Curta 2010, 454.

<sup>188</sup> Curta 2010, 454.

Other evidence for an imperial presence in portions of the Peloponnese during the Dark Age is the large number of seals belonging to military officials.<sup>189</sup> The fact that the majority of these seals belong to naval authorities affirms the geographic distribution of coin hoards, which together attest to an imperial presence in the eastern Peloponnese, particularly in major cities near the coast like Corinth and Argos. The title of *archon* was used by local Byzantine officials within the *theme* of Hellas, but “by 750 their seals begin referring to individual tribal groups, such as Drugubites, Belegezites, or Evidites” who were located in central and northern Greece (Figure 13).<sup>190</sup> These Slavic tribes had been established as client buffer states at the northern and eastern borders of Byzantine territory in order to ward off Bulgar and Avar attacks. It is not unlikely that Slavic groups within the Peloponnese were treated in the same way, with their leaders receiving the title of *archontes* and their people treated as clients of the Byzantine Empire. This treatment of the Slavs recalls earlier imperial policies which had recognized groups like the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Franks, and Vandals as *foederati* and settled them (or recognized *de facto* settlement) on imperial land.

This state of affairs endured largely unchanged until the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century when Nicephorus I began a series of campaigns to recapture territory within the Peloponnese, eventually creating the Peloponnesian *theme* around 805.<sup>191</sup> The re-Hellenization of the Peloponnese was likely well under way even before major military operations as a result of missionary activities conducted by the church as well as the relocation and resettlement of Greeks into the Peloponnese during the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>192</sup> These three strategies - resettlement, conversion, and military conquest - proceeded steadily over the course of the 9<sup>th</sup> century until

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<sup>189</sup> Curta 2010, 460.

<sup>190</sup> Curta 2011, 124.

<sup>191</sup> This *theme* incorporated portions of the *theme* of Hellas, see Fig 13.

<sup>192</sup> Curta 2011, 137.

“most of Greece was culturally and administratively Greek again except for a few small Slavic tribes living in the mountains.”<sup>193</sup> The 9<sup>th</sup> century thus marked a Byzantine revival in the Peloponnese, as indicated by the expansion of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and other cities as well as the development of monasticism.<sup>194</sup> During the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Peloponnese experienced economic redevelopment and prosperity, leading to the return of privately funded church construction.<sup>195</sup> Whereas Dark Age church construction had been limited to coastal areas, churches now began to spread again into the interior of the Peloponnese as far as Arcadia, with many being constructed over the top of Late Roman ruins.<sup>196</sup>

### *5.3 Discussion*

The late Roman reuse documented for the stoa at Mount Lykaion, as evidenced by Kourouniotis’ description of 6<sup>th</sup> century coins along with the more recent excavation’s discovery of late Roman lamps and glass vessels, fits well into the pattern of more intensive use of marginal, rural land during Late Antiquity as well as an increase in the number and size of villages.<sup>197</sup> The import of manufactured goods (like the lamps and glass vessels) to even remote rural sites like Mount Lykaion is also characteristic of the Late Roman Period more generally. The current state of research on the stoa finds does not make clear the exact nature of late antique activity, such as whether cult activity was present or what kind of economic production may have occurred at the site. There are examples elsewhere in the empire of abandoned extraurban sanctuaries transitioning into villages over the course of later periods, with the sanctuary often losing its sacred aspect entirely.<sup>198</sup> Even sanctuaries which were still functioning in the 4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Fine 1983, 83.

<sup>194</sup> Cities: Bintliff 2013, 133. Monasticism: Curta 2011, 151.

<sup>195</sup> Curta 2011, 193-194.

<sup>196</sup> Curta 2011, 188. See Waywell and Wilkes (1994) for an example from Sparta.

<sup>197</sup> Liebeshuetz 1992, 32-33; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 235-237.

<sup>198</sup> Sweetman 2010, 245. E.g., Didyma - Foss 1977, 478.

century AD are known to have quickly lost their support over the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, often leading to residential and economic reuse of the buildings; a handful of pagan sanctuaries in remote locations, however, experienced a revival during Late Antiquity, such as the temple of Zeus Messapeus near Sparta.<sup>199</sup>

The presence of late antique Christian churches at sanctuaries is known at Epidaurus, Nemea, Tegea, Sparta, Lykousoura, Argos, Olympia, Corinth, and Messene.<sup>200</sup> These churches were typically located at the edge of sanctuaries, and temples were almost never converted to Christian use at this time.<sup>201</sup> Sweetman notes that nearly all late antique churches in the Peloponnese were located near or within urban centers and that “there was no pressing need to have a network of churches representing the clergy in the rural sphere. Churches that were located outside the cities might have been pilgrimage sites.”<sup>202</sup> Reoccupation of a pagan sanctuary for the purpose of Christian cult activity is by far the exception rather than the rule during Late Antiquity.<sup>203</sup> No evidence for cult activity, either Christian or pagan, has been found at Mount Lykaion which dates from the late Roman or Byzantine periods, though additional excavation in the stoa and further study of materials already collected could change this conclusion.

The existence of burials in the stoa, as recorded by Kourouniotis, is suggestive of an established community, perhaps in the vicinity of a church.<sup>204</sup> Without a more detailed investigation of these or similar tombs at the site, however, it is not clear whether or not they are Christian burials. Kourouniotis identifies them as such, but remarks that no grave goods were

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<sup>199</sup> Caseau 2004, 112, 134.

<sup>200</sup> Sweetman 2010, n. 139.

<sup>201</sup> Sweetman 2010, 242.

<sup>202</sup> Sweetman 2010, 227.

<sup>203</sup> Spieser 1976, 4-5.

<sup>204</sup> Kourouniotis 1909, 188.

found with the bodies. Tombs of a similar construction have been found elsewhere in the Peloponnese, but they are not always Christian.<sup>205</sup> Investigation of the late building located above the Hellenistic administrative building could also provide useful context for the activities occurring in the area. The building may have been a church, but this too cannot be known for certain without further study. If the structure was a church, it would likely date to the Middle Byzantine period, as a late antique date, as mentioned above, would be exceptional.

Although much more study must occur on the stoa's post-classical phasing before more definite conclusions can be made, my own observations lead me to believe that the existing late walls within the stoa are Middle and Late Byzantine. The late Roman materials seem to be mixed with late Classical and Hellenistic materials as fill used for a leveling of the stoa prior to the Middle and Late Byzantine occupation.<sup>206</sup> Without additional analysis of the pottery, it is difficult to determine how long the late Roman occupation of the site continued before the Middle Byzantine phase. Several scholars have remarked on the difficulties in identifying Dark Age materials and the danger of creating artificial lacunas in the occupation history of some sites.<sup>207</sup> As mentioned above, the late Roman materials at the stoa show a connection with a broader, interconnected economy during the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>208</sup>. The arrival of the Slavs and the withdrawal of imperial authority and troops to the eastern front during the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries would have severed Mount Lykaion's connection with these trade networks.<sup>209</sup> The presence of so-called Slavic Ware in Greece, once interpreted as a product of Slavic settlers, is now usually interpreted as localized peasant production as a result of severed ties with wider

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<sup>205</sup> See Ivison 1996.

<sup>206</sup> See Waywell and Wilkes (1994) for an analogous situation at the Roman Stoa in Sparta.

<sup>207</sup> Bintliff 2013; Sanders 2004.

<sup>208</sup> Laiou and Morrisson, 24-38; Riley 1981.

<sup>209</sup> On the connection between imperial authority and trade, see Haldon 2000.

trade networks.<sup>210</sup> The Dark Age throughout the Byzantine Empire and particularly in Greece, witnessed a reduction in site numbers and nucleation due to both issues of security and economic stagnation. Therefore, it is likely that the frequenters of Mount Lykaion's stoa abandoned the site during the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century out of a concern for security or in order to seek better economic opportunities (or a combination of both of these factors).

Materials dated to the Middle and Late Byzantine period show renewed activity at the site. This fits the overall pattern found throughout the Peloponnese beginning in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, a period characterized by an expansion of urban areas, increased site numbers, new economic activities, and a burst of church construction. Additional information, however, is needed in order to understand the nature of the activities occurring at the site during this time. The stoa at Mount Lykaion may have been incorporated into a village, but there was also an increase in monasticism during this time as well as a proliferation of church construction (particularly in the southern Peloponnese), and so Christian activity at the site is also a possibility. The only Christian artifact recovered thus far from the stoa is a bronze Christian cross pendant dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

There are many opportunities for additional research on the late Roman and Byzantine occupation of the stoa at Mount Lykaion. Additional excavation will reveal more of the late occupation of the stoa; there are several late walls and floor surfaces continuing into the scarps of the existing trenches. The finds from the work already conducted and the pottery in particular would benefit from additional analysis, especially as current trends in late Roman and Byzantine research are continually offering additional information useful to the identification and analysis of similar finds. A reinvestigation of the late building over the Hellenistic administrative building also offers the potential for a better understanding of the site's chronology and use. Although the

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<sup>210</sup> Haldon 2000, 251. On Slavic Ware, *supra* 63.

north/south orientation of this building is atypical for a Christian church, its overall plan and dimensions do not rule out this possibility. Arcadia is not well understood during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, but the stoa at Mount Lykaion is providing useful information which will allow for a better understanding of the Peloponnese during an important period of transition.

## Chapter 6 - Conclusion

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The transformation of Roman society from Late Antiquity to the medieval period was a dynamic process which proceeded at different speeds and in different ways throughout the Roman Empire. The end result was the widespread acceptance of a new, Byzantine identity, but the process by which each community became Byzantine was unique to each. A complex set of factors such as invasions, plague, imperial and ecclesiastical patronage, geography, topography, ethnicity, religious beliefs, wealth, population, and natural resources all interacted and influenced the decisions made by each community during this period of transition.

In this study, the stoa has proven to be a useful proxy for evaluating how individual communities were able to adapt to changing circumstances. The results have shown that adaptive strategies can vary considerably between regions and even between towns within the same region. Aphrodisias, for example, shows no signs of stoa reuse during the Dark Age whereas a variety of reuse types occurred in the stoas at Ephesus, less than 100 miles away.<sup>211</sup> Multiple adaptive strategies might be used in different stoas within a city or even within the same stoa, as was the case for the Roman Stoa at Sparta. Although certain large-scale trends influenced every community in the Byzantine Empire, these trends cannot predict the decisions ultimately made by each of these communities. Thus, individual site histories are best reconstructed from direct historical and archaeological evidence, rather than extrapolated from a regional model.

The stoa's role in community adaptation has been found to fall into a limited number of general categories, each discussed in Chapter 4. Residential reuse of stoas was likely indicative of population increase in the community. As civic *foci* shifted away from *fora* and *agorai*, the abandoned stoas in these areas would have drawn in populations in need of housing. These populations might have relocated from other parts of town, perhaps displaced by new imperial or

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<sup>211</sup> For this and all other examples mentioned in this chapter, see Appendix.

ecclesiastical construction, but in most cases, new imperial or ecclesiastical structures filled unused spaces or made use of unused public buildings themselves.<sup>212</sup> The new residences, then, are most likely a result of population increase, though the cause of this increase would have varied by city. In some cases, the population increase could be interpreted as a sign of economic prosperity whereas in other cases populations may have been fleeing smaller, insecure villages in preference for proximity to a well-defended site. At extraurban sanctuaries, the impetus for people to move away from established villages and to build homes at new sites was indicative of population increase or at the least a desire to utilize additional areas of the landscape.

Another category of stoa reuse was economic. The large-scale operation of ceramic and lime kilns within former civic centers reflects the continuing prosperity of the regional economy. The production of lime and roof tiles in particular demonstrates the presence of construction projects within the community. Whether the source of funding was from local sources or from imperial or ecclesiastical sources varied by city, but in any case, the presence of these facilities, almost always outside of city defenses, indicates a general level of economic vitality and regional security which was able to provide a market for mass-produced goods.<sup>213</sup> In other circumstances small-scale economic production thrived, often in association with domestic reuse of stoas. The presence of household trade production in an urban context may indicate a reduced market for mass-produced goods or limited access to markets; at an extraurban sanctuary, household production would be expected in a village economy.

Abandoned stoas also attracted forms of ecclesiastical reuse. Church buildings ranging in size from small chapels (e.g., Elis, Iol Caesarea, Sagalassos) to large cathedrals or monasteries

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<sup>212</sup> Two examples are the Palace of Giants, which filled largely open space in the Athenian Agora, and the Church of St. Mary in Ephesus, which reused a stoa or market basilica.

<sup>213</sup> In North Africa, the installation of kilns during Vandal rule followed by frequent abandonment after the Byzantine reconquest present a perhaps surprising statement on each authority's ability to maintain stability and market connections.

(e.g., Ephesus, Sparta) were built in abandoned stoas. Sometimes the architectural choice of a stoa as the site of the church building allowed for economy when only a small portion of the pre-existing structure was filled; in this way a community could afford a church by minimizing the amount of new construction. In other cases, large stoas could form the foundation of ambitious building projects, reflecting either the local community's wealth or imperial benefaction. Since all of these stoas were usually located outside of the Byzantine city walls, suburban neighborhoods often coalesced around the church. The reuse of a stoa for ecclesiastical purposes, whether at a sanctuary or in an urban setting, often served to reassign former community connection with the *polis* or pagan shrine with a new Christian community.

In close connection with ecclesiastical reuse was the use of stoas as burial grounds. Most late antique burials were interred in the vicinity of a church. Mortuary reuse of stoas generally does not begin until the dark ages or later, perhaps reflecting a community's inability to continue maintaining a stoa in its primary use or a preference for structural reuse of stoas during better times and mortuary reuse when money was unavailable for new construction. Christian burials were not interred near pagan sites, and so mortuary reuse would not be expected within a stoa at a pagan sanctuary, unless a church was located nearby.

Most Roman cities became fortified over the course of Late Antiquity, though as discussed in Chapter 4.4, the timing and stimulus behind the decision to fortify could vary greatly by city. The construction of walls was a monumental undertaking for a city, and was rarely attempted without imperial support. Although the construction of walls could at times be in response to external pressures, the ability to fortify reflects a certain amount of vitality in the local community which has decided to brace for the attack rather than withdraw. The decision to incorporate stoas into fortifications was often very natural, especially for those located at the

edge of often abandoned civic centers (e.g., Athens, Ephesus, Sparta). The long, linear plan of stoas also made stoas an attractive building for incorporation into defenses.

In the case of the stoa in the Lower Sanctuary at Mount Lykaion, the exact nature of reuse remains uncertain without further study. The location of the stoa in a remote rural area suggests residential reuse as part of a village as the most likely possibility. The small areas contained by the walled subdivisions and the assortment of artifacts which included various household items like tableware, a bronze pin, and lamps are also suggestive of residential reuse. The account from an earlier excavation mentioning burials, the possible identification of another late structure at the site as a church, and the find of a bronze Christian pendant do not rule out the possibility of ecclesiastical reuse of the stoa, perhaps as a monastic facility. The lack of agricultural tools and implements for other trades is unusual for village residences and could perhaps support the idea of ecclesiastical reuse. With careful further study, the stoa at Mount Lykaion may yet reveal the full story of the Byzantine communities which lived there and how they adapted to the transformation of their society.

## Appendix - Table of Stoas

	<b>Initial Use and Pre-330 AD Modifications</b>	<b>Late Antique (AD 330 - c. AD 650)</b>	<b>Dark Age (c. AD 650 - c. AD 850)</b>	<b>Middle Byzantine (c. AD 850 - AD 1204)</b>
<b>Apamea</b> <i>Street</i> (Saradi 2001)	Thoroughfare	(?) Walls fill intercolumniations		
<b>Aphrodisias</b> <i>North Agora</i> (Saradi, 2006)	Civic center	In north stoa, lamps indicating industrial use; bouleuterion portico converted into sculptor's workshop	Abandonment	
<b>Aphrodisias</b> <i>South Agora</i> (Ratte 2001; Rouche 1989; Whittow 2001)	Civic center	(Rouche - early 6 <sup>th</sup> ; Whittow - perhaps later, even 7 <sup>th</sup> ) Inscriptions on columns records repair of stoa; well-maintained through Late Antiquity	Earthquake; abandonment	(10 <sup>th</sup> ) coins suggest residential/agricultural use returns
<b>Athens</b> <i>The Stoa of Attalos</i> (Frantz 1988)	(159-138 BC) Agora; free-standing; general use; dedication by Attalos II of Pergamon  (AD 267) Destruction (burning) from Herulian invasion  (late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD) Incorporation into fortification wall; 3 towers included	General military use; shops likely maintained as storerooms	(?) Tower W7 - residence of the Metropolitan Bishop	(?) Tower W7 - residence of the Metropolitan Bishop
<b>Athens</b> <i>Stoa Poikile</i> (Frantz 1988)	(475-450 BC) Agora; free-standing; housed paintings	(396) Damaged in Sack of Alaric; paintings removed around this time  (late 5 <sup>th</sup> ) Completely destroyed, perhaps by Vandals, and dismantled for use in other constructions		
<b>Corinth</b> <i>Northwest Stoa</i> (Iverson 1996)	Attached to civic center	(6 <sup>th</sup> ) burials begin		

<b>Corinth</b> <i>South Stoa</i> (Iverson 1996; Weinberg 1974)	Attached to civic center	(mid-5 <sup>th</sup> ) three shops converted to bath (late 6 <sup>th</sup> ) burials begin	Burials continue including "Wandering Soldier's Grave"	
<b>Cyrene</b> <i>Agora, North and East Porticoes</i> (Saradi 2006)	(late 3 <sup>rd</sup> ) some residences within stoas  (365) earthquake destroys residential subdivisions, which are then rebuilt more densely	Intensified residential subdivision		
<b>Elis</b> <i>Agora</i> (Sweetman 2000, Table 1)	Civic Center	(early 6 <sup>th</sup> ) conversion into church		
<b>Ephesus</b> <i>Arcadiane</i> (Foss 1977, 1979)	Thoroughfare	Thoroughfare	Poor rubble houses	
<b>Ephesus</b> <i>Church of Mary</i> (Foss 1979; Scherrer 2001)	(?) Market basilica (Foss) or South Stoa of Olympeion (Scherrer)  (262) destroyed by fire around time of the Gothic attack	(mid-late 4 <sup>th</sup> ) converted to 3-aisled, apsed basilica with narthex and atrium; east portion used as bishop's Palace	(7 <sup>th</sup> ) destroyed by fire  (early 8 <sup>th</sup> ) cross-domed basilica in west part of ruins	(?) new, piers basilica built between apses of domed church and original church; other portions reused with ovens and small bath, perhaps some housing  (?) final use for burials
<b>Ephesus</b> <i>Embolos</i> (Foss 1977, 1979; Saradi 2001; Scherrer 2001)	Thoroughfare	(?) walls fill intercolumniations	Abandoned; road kept clear	
<b>Ephesus</b> <i>Lower/Tetragonos (Commerical) Agora</i> (Foss 1977, 1979)	(Hellenistic) gradually built up with stoas  (23 AD) earthquake; extensive rebuilding  (2 <sup>nd</sup> AD) enlarged  (262) earthquake and Gothic raids damage agora	(late 4 <sup>th</sup> ) large-scale restoration under Theodosius	Chapel; other rooms reoccupied incorporation into wall; defensive tower; gate	Abandonment of residences
<b>Ephesus</b> <i>Upper/State Agora -North Stoa</i> (Foss 1977, 1979; Saradi 2006)	(finished A.D. 11) 3-aisled north stoa displayed imperial portraits	"private constructions"	Graves; se building converted to workshop	

<b>Hierapolis</b> <i>Agora</i> (proxy) (D'Andria 2001; Whittow 2001)	(early 2 <sup>nd</sup> ) large agora (280 x 170m) built under Hadrian	(mid-4 <sup>th</sup> ) earthquake damages stoas; rebuilt  (c. 500) agora excluded from new city walls - area becomes "artisanal suburb" with tile and lime kilns, small houses, and workshops  (early 7 <sup>th</sup> ) earthquake; abandonment of shops	abandonment	(11 <sup>th</sup> ) village of farmhouses on agora east side
<b>Iol Caesarea</b> <i>Forum</i> (Potter 1995)	Civic center			
<b>Pergamon</b> <i>Lower Agora</i> (Foss 1977; Rheidt 1998)	Economic center	Church built into the Lower Agora		
<b>Pergamon</b> <i>Temple of Athena</i> <i>Polias</i> (Rheidt 1998)	Temple			Domestic reuse
<b>Pergamon</b> <i>Via Tecta</i> (Crawford 1990; Rheidt 1998)	Thoroughfare	Encroachment	Swift decline; subsequent use? ("left few traces")	
<b>Sagalassos</b> <i>Upper Agora</i> (Saradi 1996)	Civic center	(5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> ) section reused for Christian chapel	(mid-7 <sup>th</sup> ) earthquake and widespread destruction, followed by abandonment	
<b>Sardis</b> <i>Colonnaded Street</i> <i>(in sector MMS/N)</i> (Whittow 2001)	Thoroughfare	(4 <sup>th</sup> ) construction  (late 6 <sup>th</sup> ) new mosaic, dated by coin of Tiberius Constantine (578-82)		
<b>Sardis</b> <i>The Byzantine</i> <i>Shops</i> (Crawford 1990)	Colonnaded street; commercial activity	Commercial activity	(early 7 <sup>th</sup> ) destruction, either by accidental fire or Persian attack; subsequently abandoned and paved over by later roads	

<p><b>Sparta</b> <i>The Roman Stoa</i> (Waywell &amp; Wilkes 1994)</p>	<p>(125-150 AD) Agora; free-standing; general use; Hadrianic revival</p>	<p>(3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>) Unrepaired damage to the front of the stoa  (c. 400) Marble facings stripped; cisterns; incorporation into fortification wall</p>	<p>Decay/abandonment</p>	<p>(late 10<sup>th</sup>) Debris cleared  (early 12<sup>th</sup>) Private homes in west portion  (12<sup>th</sup>) Church and associated monastic activity in east portion; frescoes and burials</p>
<p><b>Thebes (Thessaly)</b> <i>Basilica C, S. Stoa</i> (Karagiorgou 2001)</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p>(mid-5<sup>th</sup>) initial construction in connection w/ Basilica C precursor, Basilica G  (6<sup>th</sup>?) earthquake damage; repairs subdivide with one room identified as a school</p>		
<p><b>Thessalonica</b> <i>Upper Agora</i> (Saradi 2006)</p>	<p>Civic Center</p>	<p>(4<sup>th</sup>) renovations  (early 6<sup>th</sup>) some porticoes converted into cisterns</p>	<p>(620) earthquake and collapse of porticoes, subsequently abandoned</p>	

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