BOIOTIKA

Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium
zu Ehren von Professor Dr. Siegfried Lauffer

Institut für Alte Geschichte
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
13.–17. Juni 1986

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JOHN BUCKLER

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auf den Schreibtisch beschränkt war, — so werden wir versuchen, sein Bild in unserem Denken und Tun weiterzutragen und ihm damit unsere Dankesschuld ein wenig abzutragen."

Böotien als Thema für das Kolloquium baute auf Professor Lauffers Forschungsschwerpunkt und suchte gleichzeitig die internationalen böotischen Kolloquien fortzusetzen, die am 18.3.1972 in Montreal ihren Anfang genommen hatten und zuletzt in Lyon (1983) erfolgreich fortgesetzt werden konnten.

Bei der Einladung der Teilnehmer dienten die Verzeichnisse der früheren Kolloquien als Richtschnur, doch war es Absicht der Kolloquiumsplanung von Beginn an, den Kreis der 'Boiotologen' so offen wie nur möglich zu halten und auch Kollegen zu interessieren, die 'nur' gelegentlich sich mit boiotischen oder angrenzenden Themen beschäftigt hatten. Ferner sollte auch auf die Themenauswahl kein irgendwie gearteter Einfluß ausgeübt werden, um die Offenheit des Themas 'Böotien' zu erhalten, seiner engen Verflechtung mit der übrigen antiken Geschichte Rechnung zu tragen und aus der Pluralität der Forschungsaspekte den größtmöglichen Nutzen zu ziehen.

Von Anfang an hat die Kolloquiums-Idee breite Zustimmung und Unterstützung gefunden, in der Universität, dank der Fürsprache von Professor Dr. Karl Schnith, Dekan der Fakultät 9 für Kunst- und Geschichtswissenschaften, und vor allem im Institut für Alte Geschichte, dank des besonderen Einsatzes der Professoren Dres. Hatto H. Schmitt und Jakob Seibert.

Dank der Vermittlung von Professor Schmitt hat die Gerda Henkel Stiftung (Düsseldorf) durch eine großzügige Spende die finanziellen Voraussetzungen für die internationale Beteiligung an diesem Kolloquium geschaffen.

Das Emblem, eine Sphinx von einem böotischen Kantharos (um 570 v.Chr.) aus der Staatlichen Antikensammlung, München (Inv. Nr. 6010), hat freundlicherweise Carol Buckler für das Kolloquium entworfen und gezeichnet.

Die Durchführung des Vortrags-, Exkursions- und kulturellen Beiprogramms haben die so fachkundige wie charmante Führung von Direktor Dr. Raimund Wünsche durch die Glyptothek, und der unermüdliche Einsatz der Kollegin Dr. Elke Hölkeskamp, der Kollegen Dr. Wolfgang Günther und Kai Brodersen M.A., der Sekretärin Frau Marianne Wolff und der studentischen Hilfskräfte unseres Instituts (Elke Bernlocher, Elmar W. Eggerer, Bettina Krasberg, Harald Nottmeyer, Thomas Rettstatt, Dorothea Schäfer, Tanja Scheer, Wolfgang Seitz und Rita Wüst) ermöglicht.

Allen, die so am Gelingen des Kolloquiums mitgeholfen haben, nicht zuletzt auch den Teilnehmern selbst, sei hiermit herzlich gedankt.

Die Gutachter, die Professoren A. E. Raubitschek (Stanford University), A. Snodgrass (Cambridge University), V. Manfredi (Universität Mailand), P. B. Georges (Harvard University), Allen Ward (University of Connecticut) und P. Karavites (Bridgewater State College, Mass.) haben rasch und selbstlos ihr Bestes getan, um die Veröffentlichung der Akten zu gewährleisten. Die Professoren Dres. Marcell St. Restle und Hatto H. Schmitt haben mit viel Rat die Aufnahme der

Akten in die Reihe 'Münchener Universitätsschriften. Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte' unterstützt. Professor Gilbert Argoud (St. Étienne) und Drs. Diana und Andreas Graeber-Bettinali haben freundlicherweise beim Korrekturlesen der Druckfahnen geholfen. Die Sekretärinnen des Department of History der University of Illinois, Jacquelyn Osby, Pat Prothe und Nadine Rutledge, schrieben Teile des Manuskriptes neu. Ein namhafter Durckkostenzuschuß der Gerda Henkel Stiftung (Düsseldorf), der International Programs and Studies of the University of Illinois, Urbana, und des Vice-Chancellor R. M. Berdahl der University of Illinois aus seinem 'discretionary funds' haben die Veröffentlichung der Akten schließlich ermöglicht. Ihnen allen sei für ihre Hilfe, die Vorträge des Kolloquiums der Fachwelt zugänglich zu machen, Dank gesagt.

Die Harmonisierung der Zitierweise ist im wesentlichen auf Einheitlichkeit innerhalb einzelner Aufsätze bzw. Sprachgruppen von Aufsätzen ausgerichtet und an amerikanisch-kanadischen Verlagsusancen orientiert. Für die Publikation in München wurde aus Zeit- und Kostengründen daran prinzipiell nichts mehr geändert. Aus organisatorischen Gründen konnten leider die Diskussionsbeiträge, an denen sich auch die Studenten des Instituts und die Kollegen von benachbarten altertumswissenschaftlichen Instituten beteiligt haben, in die Drucklegung nicht mit aufgenommen werden.

In der Schlußsitzung des Kolloquiums beschlossen die Teilnehmer, das Münchener Kolloquium als das fünfte in der Reihe der internationalen Böotien-Kolloquia zu zählen. Dankbar nahm die Versammlung das Angebot von Dr. John Bintliff, Senior Lecturer in Archaeology an der University of Bradford (Großbritannien), an, das nächste Kolloquium 1989 vorzubereiten, und die Bereitschaft von Frau Professor P. A. Bernardini (Università di Urbino), für das Kolloquium danach sorgen zu wollen.

München/Urbana (Ill., USA), im Mai 1989

Hartmut Beister
John Buckler

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(Bradford University) *(Cambridge University)*

FROM POLIS TO CHORION IN SOUTH-WEST BOEOTIA

Introduction

Byzantium is a neglected civilisation *(Fig. 34)*, partly because of the overconcern with literature, religious and secular architectural history, and a prolonged neglect of everyday archaeology; but also, as Timothy Gregory has shown (1984), because medieval history has almost exclusively treated Byzantium as a dead end, a fossil without relevance to the 'rise of the West' and of medieval and later civilisation in Europe. Scholars of Western European history generally ignore the belief of the Byzantines that they were merely the Roman Empire 'Part Two', a large chunk of that Empire that carried on Roman rule and tradition for a thousand years after the fall of Rome itself and the dissolution of the Western Empire. Instead of our term – Byzantines – this civilisation preferred the term 'Romaioi' or 'Romans' for themselves, and ironically today, the essence of being a Greek is sumed up in the concept of 'Romaiosine' or 'Roman-ness'. A central issue, therefore, which we would like to address in this paper, if the degree to which recent archaeological research is revealing the reality of the transition from ancient to medieval life in the Eastern Empire.

The data-base we will use will be essentially that collected since 1978 by the Boeotia Project, a 10-year field survey of a major region of Central Greece *(Fig. 35-36)* carried out jointly by the Universities of Bradford and Cambridge under the co-directorship of the authors. We will also refer briefly to archaeological data obtained elsewhere in the East Mediterranean region and attempt to draw cautious comparisons and contrasts with the situation in the West Mediterranean. Finally we shall even more cautiously indicate the intriguing theoretical issues raised by our analysis. But first it is necessary to provide some background on the Boeotia project, and in particular about the methodology employed in obtaining the data about to be discussed. For a much fuller description see now a Preliminary Report on the Project for 1978-1982 (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, cf. also Bintliff 1985). It cannot be stressed enough that a clear statement of the methods used in obtaining site survey information is required, before its incorporation into summary form as *e.g.* distribution maps, which may then be used by other scholars for historical purposes (cf. *Fig. 37*).

The modern province of Boeotia is almost identical to the ancient tribal region, the latter having a surface area of some 3800 sq. kms. Since the first full field season we have fieldwalked 33 sq. kms. (1979-1984) of rural countryside in the South-Western sector of the region, finding on average 4 pre-modern sites per sq. kilometre. Fieldwalkers are spaced at 15 metre intervals and 100% of the landscape is surveyed on foot. The districts so far covered were chosen to represent a cross-section of topography and geology typical for Boeotia as a whole, and

so as to include land belonging to more than one ancient city–state (in this case the territories are those of Thespiae and Haliartos). Using an automatic counting device of 'clicker' each fieldwalker registers the visible density of pre–modern surface artefacts within each transect (which are usually 100–200 metres long). When recorded densities rise beyond a certain limit, the fieldwalkers snift to a more intensive stage of surface recording, walking at 7 1/2 metre spacing and proceeding in mini–transects of 10 metres length. For each mini–transect a total count of pottery density is made and a reasonable sample taken of 'feature' pottery for dating purposes; these data permit the mapping of both chronological and activity variations across each surface site. These sites can also be studied in relationship to the surrounding 'background scatter' of pottery that carpets the concentrations of human activity or 'sites' appears to lie around 0.45 sherds per sq. metre with historical settlements in Boeotia.

From 1979–1984 fieldwalking took place in a large block of countryside surrounding the ancient cities of Thespiae and Haliartos. A remarkable density of rural settlements was identified, as well as a previously unknown town site that has to be the community of Askra, a satellite town of the city–state of Thespiae. In 1985 we turned our attention to these three urban centres, in expectation that a detailed survey of their surface pottery would provide an interesting comparison with the changing distribution of rural sites in their dependent territories.

The satellite town of Askra was analysed as follows *(Fig. 38)*: the individual fields that contain this site were used as macro–sample units, for each of which quantitative surface pottery densities were recorded and representative collections recovered. A second series of samples, much smaller than the previous 'town samples', was set up in a network across the whole town area; these were standard 10 by 30 metre sample units as we employ them in all rural sites, but their role in the towns was to act as a control on the sampling error that might occur in the 100% cover of macro–samples. The city–state centre of Haliartos was analysed with a more regular system of contifuous 'town samples' at the macro–level, blocks of 50 by 60 metre size; the network of mini–samples was spaced evenly across the site and was again in units of 10 by 30 metres *(Fig. 39)*. Whereas 20 and 25 hectares, the city–state centre of Thespiae was known to be much larger around 100 hectares or more. Moreover, the exact location of the city boundaries was unknown. Travellers' accounts did however allow us to reconstruct the probable line of a late antique town wall, which in the early 19th century appeared to enclose only the westernmost third of the town ruins. On the basis of this information we set up a very large grid of 'town samples', normally 60 by 60 metres, designed to cover the whole town and define its edges into the non built–up countryside; at the micro–level theses c. 260 sample units were complemented by a very numerous series of mini–samples at 10 by 30 metres *(Fig. 40)*. During the 1985 season all the pottery collected at Askra and Haliartos was dated, but at Thespiae we still have to process the material from the western end of the site for dating purposes. However, the general character of this sector is known, and it is not expected that the analysis of its pottery in 1986 will significantly affect our provisional interpretation

of the occupational history of the overall site based on the material analysed from the central and eastern sectors. In the following section we shall briefly present the picture we now have available for the changing nature of town and country during the consecutive historic epochs in South–West Boeotia. It will be appreciated that the interpretations offered are provisional, and may be modified as a result of future work in Boeotia.

Geometric to Archaic Period, c. 900 to 600 BC

We shall not illustrate the distribution of rural sites for this period, as only a handful of sites are known from the area of over 30 sq. kms hitherto surveyed. This suggestion of extremely low population density is confirmed from the three urban sites. At Haliartos *(Fig. 41)* the plot of individual dated sherds of this period from the sample collections shows a small beginning of the settlement on the upper acropolis sector, in late Geometric times, followed by a more extensive occupation in transitional Geometric/Archaic and full Archaic times. At Askra *(Fig. 42)* we illustrate occupational intensity by degrees of shading. Only in the far north is any significant settlement attested, with sporadic low–level activity in a limited number of town samples elsewhere on the site (the zero symbol denotes no finds of this period recovered in a particular sample area). At Thespiae *(Fig. 43)* individual dated sherds are plotted. Here we may be seeing a slightly different pattern of early occupation with several arguably discrete but small foci of settlement. Whether this corresponds to the model of hamlet–clusters for the proto–Polis (Greek city), set out by Snodgrass (1980) should become clearer when we have the additional results from the mini–samples at Thespiae (the plots used in this paper rely entirely on the 'town' samples). Once more, the later pottery of Archaic date shows a more extensive community developing.

In summary, the region seems to have been thinly–populated until mature Archaic times. Rural settlements datable before c. 600 BC are extremely rare, and at the later town foci small hamlets can be identified. Since the subsequent, rapid expansion of population is synchronous for both rural and urban settlements, these particular Boeotian towns would seem to have grown as much by internal demographic takeoff as by the influx of rural population In other parts of Mainland Greece such as Attica and the Argolid this period of low population is well–attested till middle Geometric times, but already from late Geometric times (the 8th century BC) population begins to rise dramatically, in both town and country (cf. Snodgrass 1980, Figs. 3 and 4). It is tempting to link this retarded development in Boeotia with the late climax of Boeotian power compared to its neighbour states, and perhaps to its failure to merge its constituent city–states into a unified territorial state.

Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic Period, c. 600 BC to 200 BC

The distribution of rural sites for this era *(Fig. 44)* shows a formidable density of settlement, entirely consonant with the highly flourishing picture of classical Greek

civilisation available from the historical sources. Almost all these rural sites are small farms, the remainder being rural hamlets together with some putative sanctuary sites. The town sites offer the same picture of cultural climax. At Haliartos *(Fig. 45)* the plot of individual sherds is a dense one throughout the city area. At Askra *(Fig. 46)* there is dense occupation in the north and central sectors of the site, and very few fields without activity during this period. Finally at Thespiae *(Fig. 47)* in the samples so far dated, we see a very extensive community covering almost every town sample for which information is available, with only a handful of cells lacking definite finds of this era.

The historical picture of this era as the climax of Greek city–state life, and especially for the 4th century BC as being a time of very high population density in Boeotia, is fully borne out by rural and urban archaeology. Indeed we have suggested elsewhere (Bintliff and Snodgrass, Bintliff *op.cit.*) that this demographic climax was seriously beyond the capacity of the landscape to support in the long–term.

Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Period, c. 200 BC to 300 AD

The rural settlement of this era *(Fig. 48)* (note that this particular map only shows areas surveyed by 1983) exhibits a severe contraction of population, not only in terms of a greatly reduced number of occupation sites, but at of these numerous sites activity for this period is only slight. The decline is most notable in the northern zone, that belonging to the city of Haliartos.

At first sight, the drop in surface finds at Haliartos seems unbelievably severe *(Fig. 49)*, but in fact the city was destroyed by the Romans in 171 BC and our sherd finds attest to the absence of any significant reoccupation of the site for the rest of the period. There is some slight historical evidence suggesting a relocation of the survivors, which we have suggested may refer to a large site a couple of kilometres to the east. The reduction in rural settlement is especially drastic in the putative hinterland of Haliartos, understandably, although it is pronounced throughout the territory of Thespiae as well. At Askra *(Fig. 50)* we see a very much reduced area of intensive occupation in the centre of the site, and most of the town samples show no activity datable to this era. Thespiae *(Fig. 51)* likewise demonstrates a clear urban contraction, with occupation concentrating on the sector enclosed by a late antique wall and that part of the site immediately to the east of the wall.

Late Roman Period, c. 300 to 650 AD

The rural settlement distribution *(Fig. 52)* shows a dramatic recovery of population, particularly in the 'chora' or lands of Thespiae. The pottery from rural sites is dominated by late forms which point to the 5th to 7th centuries as the climax within this phase. On the other hand, until survey was extended to the urban sites, some doubt existed that diagnostic pottery forms for the earlier half of the period were not being distributed to inland Central Greece. The 1985 urban surveys, especially at Thespiae demonstrated on the contrary, that the period c. 300 to 500

AD was indeed probably a continuation of the Early Roman slump, with recovery beginning in the 5th and continuing through the 6th centuries, possibly even into the first half of the seventh century AD.

Haliartos *(Fig. 53)* obviously has not recovered its urban status, indeed the thin scatter of sherds indicated, concentrated in the south–east sector, need represent little more than a small farming site. The probable replacement community is however extensive and flourishing at this time. Askra *(Fig. 54)* has become once again a large urban focus, with intensive occupation concentrated in the central and south–central sectors of the site. Very few town samples lack activity for this period. At Thespiae the much larger proportions of the town in all periods enable a localisation of pottery exclusively datable to the early half of this phase (c. 300 to 55 AD) *(Fig. 55)* which we shall term 'Mid Roman'. The areas indicated are exactly those to which the town was confined during the preceding period. Significantly there is an inscription referring to a major rewalling of Thespiae in the 4th century, and the numerous inscriptions that were built into the wall circuit, still visible in the early 19th century, include many early Imperial pieces (indeed the wall was almost completely demolished by French 'archaeologists' at the end of that century for the sake of its content of inscriptions!). The comparatively limited defensive enclosure would certainly be appropriate for the shelter of a town population confined to the walled sector and an adjacent eastern suburb, together with a rural population still perhaps at the same reduced level as in Early Roman times. If we turn, in contrast, to the picture for the Late Roman era as a whole *(Fig. 56)* bearing in mind that the ceramics are typified by 5th to 7th century AD forms, we see a much more extensive community, with the same core zones in the enceinte and to its immediate east, but accompanied now by significant reoccupation in a wider swathe to the site limits.

We can relate this Late Roman revival, especially for the phase following the sack of Rome, to a general flourishing of settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean lands. Well–published examples include the cities of Asia Minor and the expansion of village life in Syria and Israel (including the latter's southern deserts) (cf. Foss and Magdalion 1977). Some North African evidence tends towards the same view. Graeme Barker's (1982) model for rural Cyrenaica for example, and the cumulative historical sources for Carthage (Clover 1978, 1982). On the other hand, constrasting with a supposed rise of population and expansion of the rural economy in Cyrenaica is the excavated evidence for very impoverished town life at former centres such as Sidi Krebish, and for all the liveliness of Carthage in our sources, recent excavations again reveal a very decrepit urban fabric (Hurst 1985). It is therefore of interest that scholars are increasingly suggesting that the towns of the Eastern Empire had already begun to transform themselves into the supposedly 'Islamic' pattern of decentralised residential and commercial quarters with tortuous paths of communication (cf. Kennedy 1985). In this respect it is noteworthy that the flourishing rural landscape of Thespiae is focussed upon an obviously large and thriving town, yet at the beginning of this period the 4th century defence wall is built by dismantling a considerable quantity of the monu-

mental accroutiements of preceding centuries. Just how 'classical' the revived Late Roman town remained is therefore an open question.

Medieval to Modern Period c. 650 AD to Present

We shall confine discussion to the more important sites of this long period, for reasons of space and clarity. Figure 57 summarizes the key points of settlement development. Provisionally we would distinguish two settlement types for the post–Roman era. One is a hilltop or hillslope community with defensive advantages, typical for recent traditional village locations in Boeotia; the other is a lowlying habitat, much more accessible to agricultural land and comparable to or indeed overlying ancient settlement foci of the Greco– Roman eras. An overall tendency however, uniting both settlement modes, is towards nucleation of settlement in post–Roman times, with the emphasis being on hamlet/village sites spaced regularly across the landscape, anticipating and probably forming the origins of the modern village network. Smaller, dispersed farm sites, as would appear to be the characteristic feature of the Greek and Roman countryside, are not common, indeed there is no everyday word in Modern Greek for a 'farm' in this sense, so natural has nucleated community life become.

The early to high medieval phases in Greece are divisible as follows: Early Byzantine runs from the mid 7th to the mid 9th centuries AD, and is generally termed a 'Dark Age' because of the breakdown of Imperial authority outside of the main cities of the Byzantine Empire and the incursions and conquests of Imperial lands by Arabs and Slavs. The Middle Byzantine phase is one of recovery of the Empire under the vigorous Macedonian dynasty, dated from mid 9th to the end of the 12th century. The Late Byzantine or Frankish era commences in 1204 AD with the conquest of Konstantinople by the Latin Fourth Crusade, after which Greece is carved up into feudal domains by a motley collection of nobles from France, Italy and Iberia. The period is brought to an end by the inexorable advance of the Ottoman Turks, who are already the dominant force in Central Greece by the end of the 14th century but whose total conquest of Byzantine Greece is signalled by the fall of the Imperial capital in 1453. It is important to note that although later Middle and Late Byzantine pottery should be recognizable in provincial Greece, the nature of provincial pottery is almost unkown, and we have only the most tentative suggestions for occupation sites in this period in our survey area.

Referring once more to Figure 57, an obvious example of our first model of post–Roman settlement is the community of the Expedition base village, Mavrommati. Our field survey tends to confirm the folk–memory of the villagers, that the original settlement lay a couple of kilometres to the north–west (medieval 'Palaeomavrommati'). Surface pottery confirms the existence of the settlement in late Middle and Late Byzantine times, whilst a few sherds might conceivably belong to Early Byzantine or Middle Byzantine times. In the early Turkish period archaeology and folk–memory point to the transference of this community to the modern village site. Both locations are in hidden, defensive locations, peripheral to their

farming land. The predecessor of modern Neochori village lies uphill of the modern site. Both are hill locations, the earlier being well hidden in comparison to the modern site. Medieval Neochori is in existence at least by later Middle Byzantine times, and possibly earlier. In addition to these modern villages, our field survey has come across two previously unknown medieval sites, probably small hamlets, indicated as 'D.M.V.' (deserted medieval village) in the south–centre and south–west of Figure 57. The western example lies on the fringes of the ancient Sanctuary of the Muses, and is a Byzantine and Early Turkish community in a very secluded and defensive location on the periphery of its putative farming land. The other DMV lies in a low–lying, exposed plain–edge location but has a very short occupation in the late Middle and early Late Byzantine era; at least at this time it would seem that security was not the vital factor for rural populations, although the community is certainly larger than a farm. The latter hamlet represents our first example of a Model 2 location.

Turning to the fate of our three urban sites in the post–Roman era, we can begin with Haliartos *(Fig. 58)*. The ancient town lies on a low hill in a narrow plain bordering Lake Copais (drained in the late 19th and early 20th centuries). The modern town of Haliartos is a large 'street town' straddling the old main road through Central Greece, and its western suburbs extend onto the eastern slopes of the ancient town. However modern Haliartos is a very recent settlement postdating the Copais drainage, and the immediate predecessor is a typical hill–village on steep mountain slopes a kilometre south of the ancient and modern towns (Mazi). Surface survey shows that the ancient town saw only slight activity during the post–Roman era, with at the most a limited settlement of the upper acropolis sector in Late Byzantin/Frankish times. Whether this was a small military post utilising the ancient fortifications, or an agricultural hamlet is beyond the limits of our data. However our research in the final days of the 1985 field season suggest a more intriguing story, which seems to indicate that Haliartos conforms not to Model 1 but Model 2 for post–Roman settlement. About a kilometre east of modern Haliartos is a large and imposing Frankish tower, which with numerous other examples in Boeotia has been assigned to a network of route defences. Our ongoing research on these towers inclines rather to the interpretation of them as feudal keeps associated with dependent villages and a mosaic of land fiefs (cf. also the forthcoming architectural analysis by P. Locke in *BSA*.

Local confirmation is hinted at in the description of this locality by Colonel Leake in 1835: although the contemporary village lay at Mazi, Leake records a ruined medieval and early Turkish village in the area of the modern town of Haliartos. A brief reconnaissance following Leake's directions relocated one of his ruined churches together with surface pottery of late Middle and Late Byzantine age. It would seem probable, therefore, that the main post–Roman settlement focus in the Haliartos locality remained in the exposed lowland near the ancient city until a relocation occurred in late Ottoman times to a hill–village with peripheral access to the best lands.

At Askra *(Fig. 59)* we find ourselves again in a typical lowlying topography,

central to the extraordinary arable richness of the Valley of the Muses. The plot of post–Roman pottery is suggestive of continuity, as the earliest clearly–datable finds come from the south–centre and south 'town' samples of the site, where we have seen the main occupational emphasis shifting to during the Greco–Roman eras. This collection of pottery of Middle and/or Middle–Late Byzantine date rarely rises above a thin scatter except around the ruined religious building marked on the plan, and Ayiasmata or sacred spring complex. This locality has a modern toponym 'Episkopi'.

Pottery of Late Byzantine date shows a more extensive use of the site, although most significant activity continues to be focussed in the south and south–central sectors. The pottery of the next phase, with transitional Late Byzantine/Early Turkish styles, has a very similar distribution. Later Turkish finds point to the likely abandonment of the site except for sporadic activity, probably of a non–occupational character. There are a few pieces of pottery from this medieval settlement that could conceivably bridge the apparent gap in occupation for Early to early Middle Byzantine times, and the toponym Episkopi might even suggest that the Roman city survived into medieval times (with a special attachment to a Bishop. Did the Dark Ages witness continuity of occupation at Askra linked to ecclesiastical continuity of authority in the region, and was the medieval village a dependency of a bishop now residing elsewhere? These are mere speculations at this stage cf our enquiries, but it may help to explain the significant overlap of occupation between Askra and its eventual successor, a large medieval village founded in late Middle Byzantine times about a kilometre to the east and in a much more defensive and arable–peripheral topography. In Late Byzantine times an impressive Frankish tower is erected on a high crag above this new village. Was this a secular counterpart to a putative ecclesiastical estate village on the ancient town site? In any case by Early Turkish times Askra is abandoned and all the local population is concentrated into the hill village. In Late Turkish times once again the village is relocated, this time about a kilometre and a half further to the east, where it exists today as the large village of Palaeopanagia. This final location is a rocky ridge projecting into fertile land from impoverished limestone hills, and combines a defensive stance with excellent access to its fields.

The available surface data from Thespiae is shown in *Fig. 60*. Early to Middle Byzantine sherds from town samples are indicated individually by symbols, those of the Late Byzantin/Frankish era by numbers. In the north–east sector of the site a few pieces may attest continuity on a very small scale through the Dark Age of Early Byzantine times. During the Middle Byzantine revival we have evidence of an extensive village stretching across the whole of the east side of the site (the area between stream and road with no data shown is known to be rich in medieval pottery). This village clearly continues through the Frankish era, and as may be seen from Figure 60, and pottery spanning Frankish to Early Turkish times *(Fig. 61)* has an identical distribution. Fortunately in 1204 we have a record of the handing over of this village to the Latin order of the Premonstratians, where it is called Erimokastro. This name, which means "deserted castle" aptly describes

our village lying distinctly outside and to the east of the Late Roman defended enceinte. The village was clearly large and important, and there are still visible the foundations of several large churches across the eastern sector of the site. By late Turkish times however, as Figure 62 demonstrates the village is all but deserted. This harmonizes excellently with the reports of English travellers. In 1682 Wheler records two villages on the high ridge overlooking the ancient and medieval site, in the plain below and Colonel Leake is even more helpful, informing us that in 1802 he saw only 3 inhabited cottages at the plain site, then none in 1835. The two hilltop villages were known to the travellers as Erimokastro and Kaskaveli, (today renamed Thespiae and Leondari) and are typical examples of Model 1 defensive locations, even though they have the advantage of excellent access to fertile plateau lands to counteract the steep journey down to their plain fields. There is minimal surface pottery at these hill for a pre–Modern occupation (although Classical remains may hint at an 'acropolis' role for the main city down in the plain).

The overall development of post–Roman settlement in South–West Boeotia matches the highpoints of the best–known monuments in this province of Greece. The Middle Byzantine revival is borne witness to locally by the construction of the splendid churches at Skripou (ancient Orchomenus) and at the Holy Luke monastery, whilst the continued flourishing of village life into the time of the Frankish occupation is reflected in the numerous Frankish keeps that probably once formed a dense and continuous network across the more fertile zones of Central Greece.

For the Ottoman centuries we have no visible trace of a mosque or Moslem gravegard, but there are extensive remains of elaborate irrigation works and mills that should belong to this era; though mostly ruined, parts are still in use. The Boeotia Project is currently investigating the Turkish period in the following ways: 1) recording surface sites as part of the continuing field survey programme 2) visiting deserted villages recorded in historic sources 3) studying the physical evolution of the modern villages with the aid of vernacular architecture, village plans and local tradition 4) collaborating with Ottoman archive specialists who have available imperial tax returns for Boeotia in the Early Turkish period 5) working systematically through the travel books of Western European authors who frequently visit Central Greece from the 17th century onwards.

Preliminary results from other field surveys in Greece provide a similar picture of recurrent fluctuations in population density, generally contemporaneous with those described above for Boeotia. For the Argolid Survey for example, an overall summary view has recently been published by Pope and Van Andel (1984).

Discussion

It seems a worthwhile exercise at this point to suggest apparent contrasts and parallels to conditions in the Western Roman Empire, having followed one region of the East across the troubled divide of Ancient to Medieval. It is widely accepted that the Late Republican and Early Emperial centuries, up to the crises of the 3rd

century AD, saw the climax of the Western Empire, especially in Italy itself. From then on there are widespread signs of decay, both in many areas of the countryside, and in the size and visible wealth of towns. I am aware that this state of affairs is localised and not necessarily the case for all regions of the West, but the useful summary for North and Central Italy given by Tim Potter (1979) sums up a widespread trend of decline. One possible exception to the trend is Roman North Africa, to judge by recent fieldwork on rural settlement in the Libyan Valleys and in Cyrenaica.

For Early Imperial times, in Greece at least, the climax of the West is a time of a virtually empty countryside and shrunken towns, (though in the latter relevant imports still accumulate and limited prosperity can be found archaeologically and in the sources). From c. 300 AD onwards, and especially for the 5th–6th centuries AD, there are plentiful signs throughout the East Mediterranean of a flourishing urban and rural life, even of expansion and/or recolonisation of land under cultivation.

For the post–Roman era I shall confine my Eastern data base to the Byzantine heartland of Greece (and let us recall that post–Roman begins in mid–7th century!). Here, whilst in much of Western Europe between 700 and 900 AD there are plentiful signs of revival and repopulation, culminating in the Carolingian Renaissance, we have in Greece the opposite, the most severe phase, a genuine Dark Age (Early Byzantine) in which traces of human activity are minimal in countryside and rural towns alike (and matched by the cultural negativism of Iconoclasm). Only with the latter part of the Middle Byzantine era, the 11th–12th centuries AD, do our proto–villages and hamlets grow to any size and number before being taken over as expanding concerns by the Frankish feudal gentry. That Frankish conquest, after 1204 AD, is indeed symptomatic of the more developed economy and surplus population produced by the earlier recovery of Western Europe from the traumas of the collapse of Roman rule.

Theoretical Issues

In the final section of this paper I shall raise two important theoretical issues that emerge from the previous data and discussion. (1) *The disappearance of the complementary town and rural farm settlement pattern, and the rise of the nucleated hamlet/village pattern* is characteristic for post–Roman Greece as it is for large areas of the Western Empire. Certainly in Greece until this century there has never been a significant revival of dispersed settlement for most of the country, the early medieval hamlets merely growing into villages and thence more recently into mega–villages often numbering several thousand inhabitants.

In trying to understand the reasons behind this fundamental break with the Greco–Roman rural landscape one must consider the catastrophic drop in population seemingly evidenced by site survey archaeology: we have to envisage a formerly populous landscape now inhabited by tiny hamlets generally kilometres apart. Such small settlements would have subsisted adequately on the immediately surrounding fields, leaving the vast bulk of a previously highly–cultivated

countryside reverting to wasteland and scrub. For such small communities, with the known breakdown of central Imperial administration and in particular of local security arrangements, in the Dark Age, safety should have ranked foremost, and the need to concentrate into multi–household units in defensible and hidden locations on the margins of cultivable land a natural behavioural response.

However, as we have seen, at least in Boeotia this Model One seems to be only a gradual development in settlement history, often only completed in Late Turkish times, rather than an immediately post–Roman creation. The decline of tha Ottoman Empire, from at least the seventeenth century, was accompanied by rural insecurity and abuse of power on a massive scale, coupled with endemic malaria and a possible climatic deterioration (the Little Ice Age of Europe; the present day inhabitants of Thespiae village explain their move from the plain below as due to swamp diseases). A more dominant mode of post–Roman settlement shows the same preference for multi–family nucleations but remains in the ancient lowlying locations on or beside the ancient cities, or in similar topography; in the former case continuity of settlement may be postulated but not yet proven (Mode Two). If anything ties together these two modes of post– Roman settlement, apart from the long drawn–out trend from type 1 to type 2 settlements, it is the apparent emphasis upon the local community in the face of external pressures.

It is appropriate at this point to refer to a general model described elsewhere (Bintliff 1982, 1984 chapter 5) where I have suggested that cyclical patterns in the intake and abandonment of the agricultural in pre–Industrial Europe landscape have been intimately related to the elaboration of social elites and to variability in the economic dependency of the rural peasantry. Let us apply this model to an historic context not dealt with in the above–cited applications: the post–Roman Dark Age of the Eastern Empire. We might suggest that the loss of authority over the Greek countryside by Byzantine generals and bureaucrats went hand in hand with the collapse of rural security and of markets for non–subsistence products and services. By a combination of these elements, plus the thoroughly obscure incursion into Greece of Slav peoples, a catastrophic population decline occurred from the 7th through to the 9th century AD. The tiny remnant populations necessarily cultivated but a fragment of the available land, and with no significant human or resource base to sustain them, local elites would have become ineffective or even non existent Only with the revival of Imperial control and of the general economy in Greece from the late 9th century through to the 12th century AD, would the expanding village populations and growing potential for surplus product have encouraged the rise of a new regional elite structure, based in part on local social differentiation and in part on the import of elites back into areas of countryside as these were effectively reabsorbed into the Imperial administration.

Remarkably, this generalising predictive model matches very well with a model put forward by Byzantine historians entirely from written sources for the same period of the latter 1st millennium AD. These scholars (cf. Antoniadis–Biblicou 1977; Partlagen 1975; Browning 1980), argue that the post–Roman era witnessed the emergence of a class of free peasant cultivators out of the tied populations or

coloni of antiquity. This class became concentrated into distinct local communities with a strong sense of solicarity. By the end of the millennium however, this class is under general attack by an expansive, aggressive seigneurial elite – the conflict of the powerful and the weak. Despite attempts by the central government to protect the peasant communities, a systematic swallowing–up of the semi–autonomous villages into seigneurial domains is a characteristic phenomenon of the 10th to 13th century Byzantine economy and political development. From this situation, which some compare to Marx's concept of the 'Asiatic Mode of Production', a smooth transition occurs to the imposed feudal system of the Franks and then to the management strategy of the Ottoman Empire with its policy of treating the rural commune as a semi–autonomous unit to be milked for taxes and manpower.

(2) More complex is the *apparent out–of–phase relationship between the rise and fall of the Western provinces and those of the Eastern Empire* and possibly parts of North Africa. One could be tempted by a bipolar model, where the rise of the Roman Empire based in Italy had fed upon the newly–conquered Eastern and African provinces, sucking them dry of their resources in food, minerals and manpower (a parasitic "core–periphery" model), just as the core region around Rome had done to the rest of Italy in an earlier period. In the Late Empire a more independent East and South entered into pronounced recovery and growth, precisely matched by the opposite symptoms of demographic and economic coctraction in the European West. The temporarily successful attempt by the Byzantine Empire under Justinian in the 6th century to expand into Italy and North Africa, merely replayed the empire–building game, but from the opposite end of the pitch. Long before, when Rome was but a sleepy little hill–town in the 8th century, but then on till at least the 4th century BC, political initiative and colonial expansion had also come from a flourishing Eastern Mediterranean, with the massive spread of city colonies of Greeks and Phoenicians throughout the Western Mediterranean.

But in considering this ebb and flow of power and economic prosperity over the centuries, the 'core–periphery' model makes, I believe, a false assumption that a uniform political system implies a totally integrated economy and population balance. In a recent paper (1984), Fergus Millar discusses the late Roman Republican era, when the Mediterranean lands are criss–crossed by the armies of the Civil War, whilst exorbitant demands are being made on the local populations by the rival powers. Millar asks: how far did these events affect the continuity of regional life? He concludes, surprisingly, that very broadly, not much long–term disruption occurred in provincial life. How can this be? Surely the giant Roman state must have irreversibly transformed provincial towns and villages into harmony with the ups and downs of political and military events at the centre of power? Let me take a bolder paradox. Richard Hodges in 1984, in a single page, packaged the Decline and Fall of Rome. But what is intriguing is how erroneous it would be to use his model for Late Roman Italy in other provinces of the Empire. When the Barbarian tribes swept through almost every province in the 4th+5th centuries AD local conditions were very far from uniform. Within the Early and then Late Roman Empire the apparent 'health' of individual provinces varied markedly across the

Empire and locally from century to century.

This only seems strange to us if we are thinking in terms of a modern national economy, where market forces and a constant flow of money to the centres of power have the effect of involving all the constituent regions of a political unit in the grosser swings and dives of economic productivity. Some people do try and portray pre–capitalist empires as if they were multi–national corporations or unified, centrally–directed economic blocs. A great deal of evidence seems to run counter to such a view, suggesting that ancient empires were in many respects a good deal less complex than we often imagine from their imposing ruins. Rather than seeing an ancient empire as an organic whole, with Rome (for example) acting as a typical 'brain organ' and each limb dependent on all the others for the flow of vital nourishment and preservation from disease, we should instead perhaps consider such empires as mechanical agglomerations of discrete regions, welded together by political force but in important respects forming a series of semi–autonomous economies. Of course there are flows of tax to the centre, flows of exchange between provinces, but it can be argued that these are of less importance than the state of health of the regional, predominantly internal economy. Immanuel Wallerstein, in his influential study (1974) of pre– and proto–capitalist Europe has drawn a distinction between 'world empires' and 'world economies'. Ancient empires expand into multi– regional form as politically centralised units, but fail to integrate component regional economies on a scale to create total interdependence as in a 'market system'. World economies on the other hand, are exactly the latter kind of sphere of economic interdependence, and over time Wallerstein has argued that they replace the more primitive 'empires'. In Europe the demise of world 'empires' occurs with the growing penetration of an international monetary economy and a linked international commercial/industrial sector throughout the Western European nation states from the later Middle Ages.

I would like to clarify the situation exposed by Millar for the Late Republic and that just outlined for the breaklined for the breakdown of the Roman Empire, through the following model:

Region — Macroregion Model

(1) Logical Agricultural–Demographic Cycles; Local Human Ecology or 'Health'
(2) Mode(s) of Production Operated at Local Level
(3) Mode(s) of Production Operated at Macroregion Level e.g. by the State

For the ancient Mediterranean we can isolate three major elements at work moulding regional community life: firstly local trends in population density, tied to the expansion or contraction of local food–producing activity — these indicate the ecological health of the human communities in their environment, and to a significant extent can form part of long–term semi–autonomous agricultural and demographic cycles. Secondly the locally–based modes of production in the ways in which local productive forces — land, labour and surplus products are controlled and manipulated by different social groups within provincial society. Chris Wickham in a major paper (1984) has highlighted the usefulness of keeping this factor separate from our element number *three:* the state's "mode of production" in the way in

which the central authority draws on the resources of its provinces or hinterland to support its apparatus of officials, bureaucrats and permanent armed forces.

Such a model, with scope for semi–autonomous developments within the various provinces of the Roman Empire, may help to make sense of divergent development over time, but does undermine our earlier suggestion that the swing of prosperity from East to West then East again is due to alternate parasitical exploitation. A more satisfactory solution might run as follows:

It can be argued for Classical Greece for example that it underwent a dramatic phase of demographic and economic growth (Element I) between the 8th and 3rd centuries BC, that overshop available resources; the low population levels and political weakness of its city–states in the subsequent Late Hellenistic and Early Roman eras were an inevitable result. External political control (Element III) acted as a secondary force inhibiting local recovery. For the Early Roman era Millar argues that within the Roman state there existed a whole series of regional economies, fundamentally focussed on the older form of the polis or city state unit; the state was burdening these cities with heavy demands from its inner and outer conflicts. This is Wickham's Ancient Mode of production at the state level (Element III). At the local level (Element II) he refers to the Feudal Mode of Production, stressing the dominant role of local land magnates in controlling surpluses and power. But whereas the ecological and demographic health at the regional level (Element I) was good or at least safely above the level of collapse in the Western Provinces, in Greece at least local conditions were poor to catastrophic. In the Late Roman era, we also find contrasted evidence: now in the West, according to Wickham, a disastrous local agro–demographic picture (Element I), unbearable state demands on the regions (Element III) to support its hopeless wars against the barbarians and rival emperors, and a great strengthening of the local Feudal mode of production (Element II) as local elites withdraw their involvement in the state mode, converting the free peasantry to serfs. Wickham sees this as the birth of the medieval economy at both local and state level. But in the Eastern Mediterranean provinces (and possibly in North Africa) a different story must be written. By the late Empire indigenous growth (Element I) has resumed and will be sustained well beyond the collapse of Roman Italy; we see the same state pressure (III) but a much healthier local human ecology (I) and a greater commitment of the local landowners (II) to the city state unit — hence the survival of the Greco–Roman way of life and landscape some two centuries after its collapse in Italy. Indeed when disaster does strike the Eastern Empire, obviously from the Persian and then Arab attacks and less clearly from Slav infiltration into the countryside, during the so–called Dark Ages from the mid 7th to mid 9th centuries AD, Western Europe is emerging from the worst of its post–Roman Age into a new and different civilization highlighted by the Carolingian Renaissance.*

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* None of our interpretations of rural and urban site histories would have been possible without the masterly and unparalleled knowledge of Greek pottery from Archaic to late Ottoman made available to us by the annual presence on our Survey of Professor John Hayes (Royal

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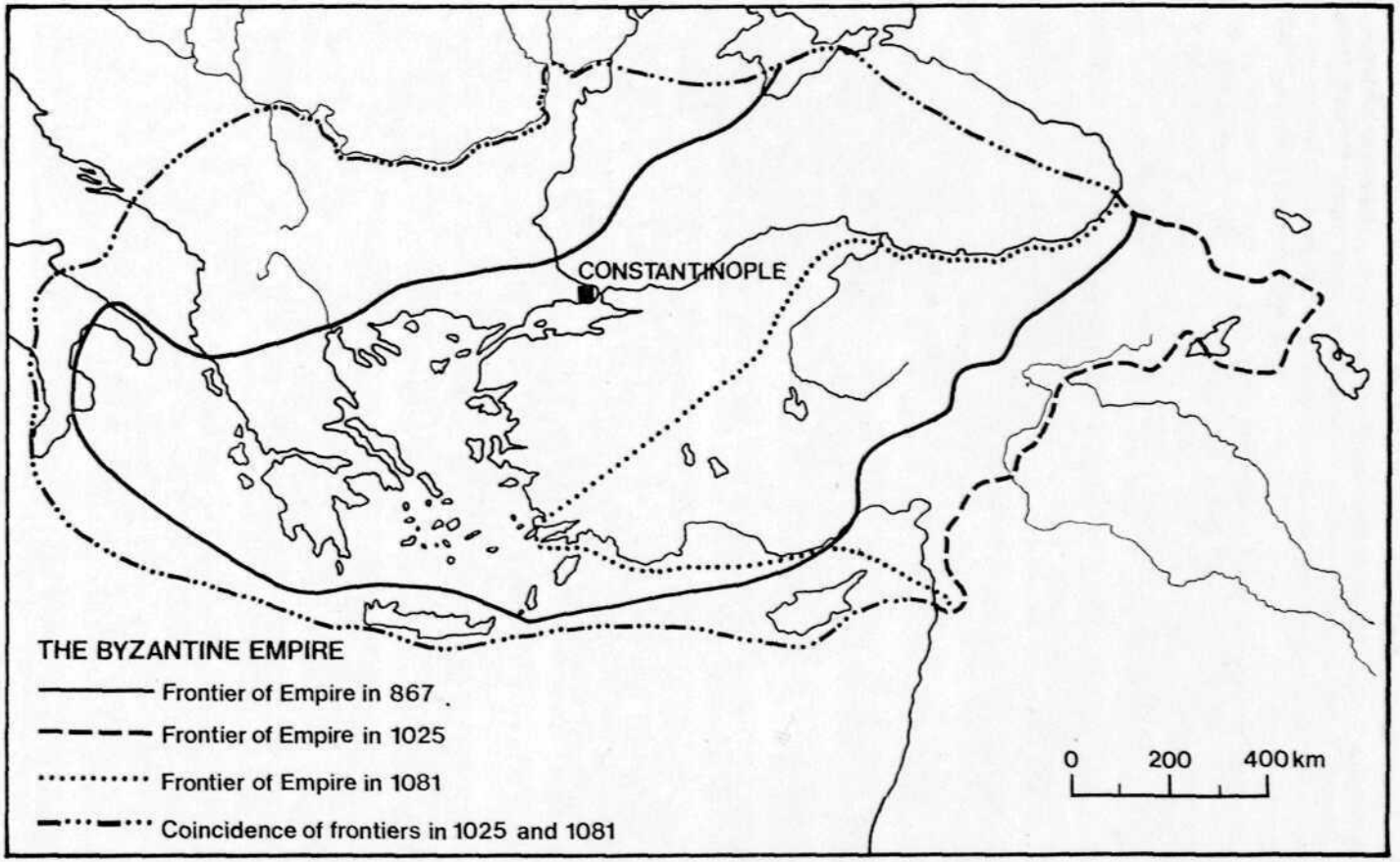


34. The Byzantine Empire.

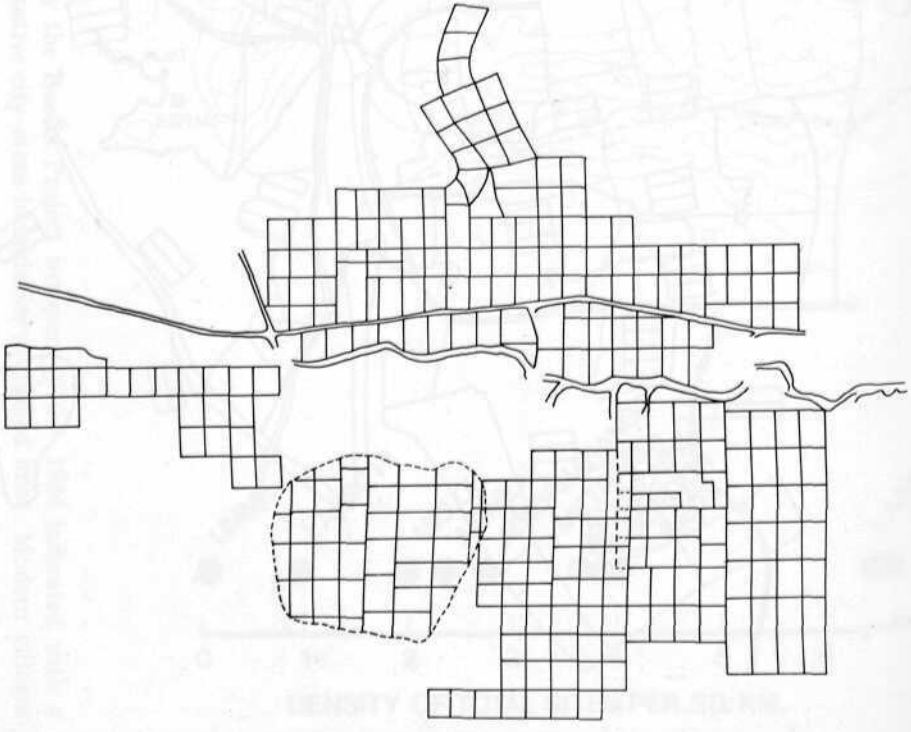
35. Central Greece.

36. South–West Boeotia, with the rural zone surveyed by the Boetia Project between 1979 – 1984 indicated with a dotted line. Ancient towns shown as dark squares, putative city–state boundaries as dashed lines. Modern villages are indicated by black circles.

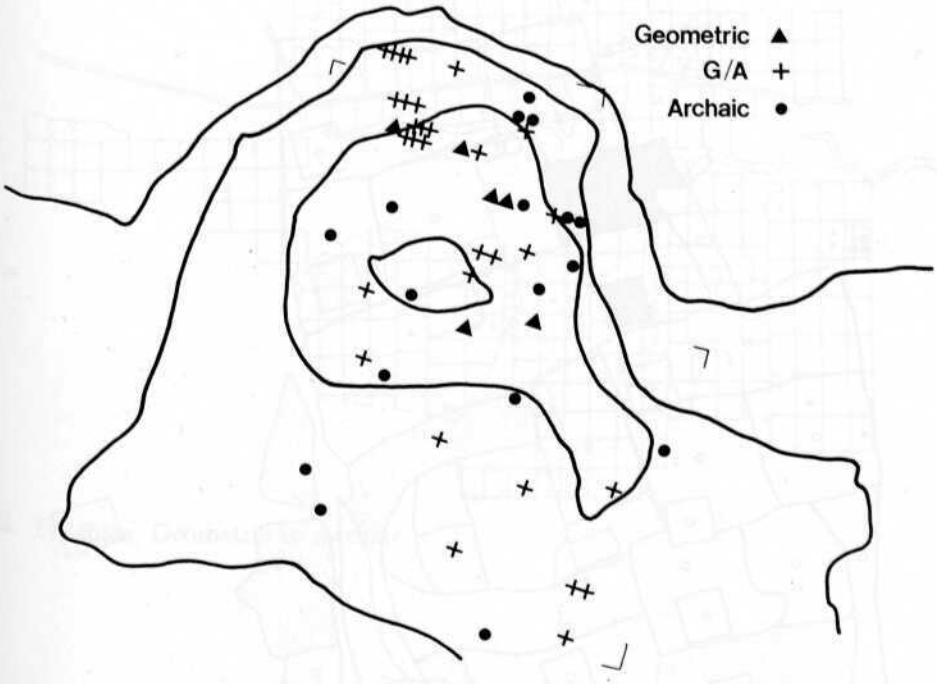
37. Density of Total Sites per sq. km, recorded by modern field surveys in Greece. All were intensive surveys except for the Messenian Project (UMME) which was extensive in coverage.

38. Askra – network of sampling units, 1985.

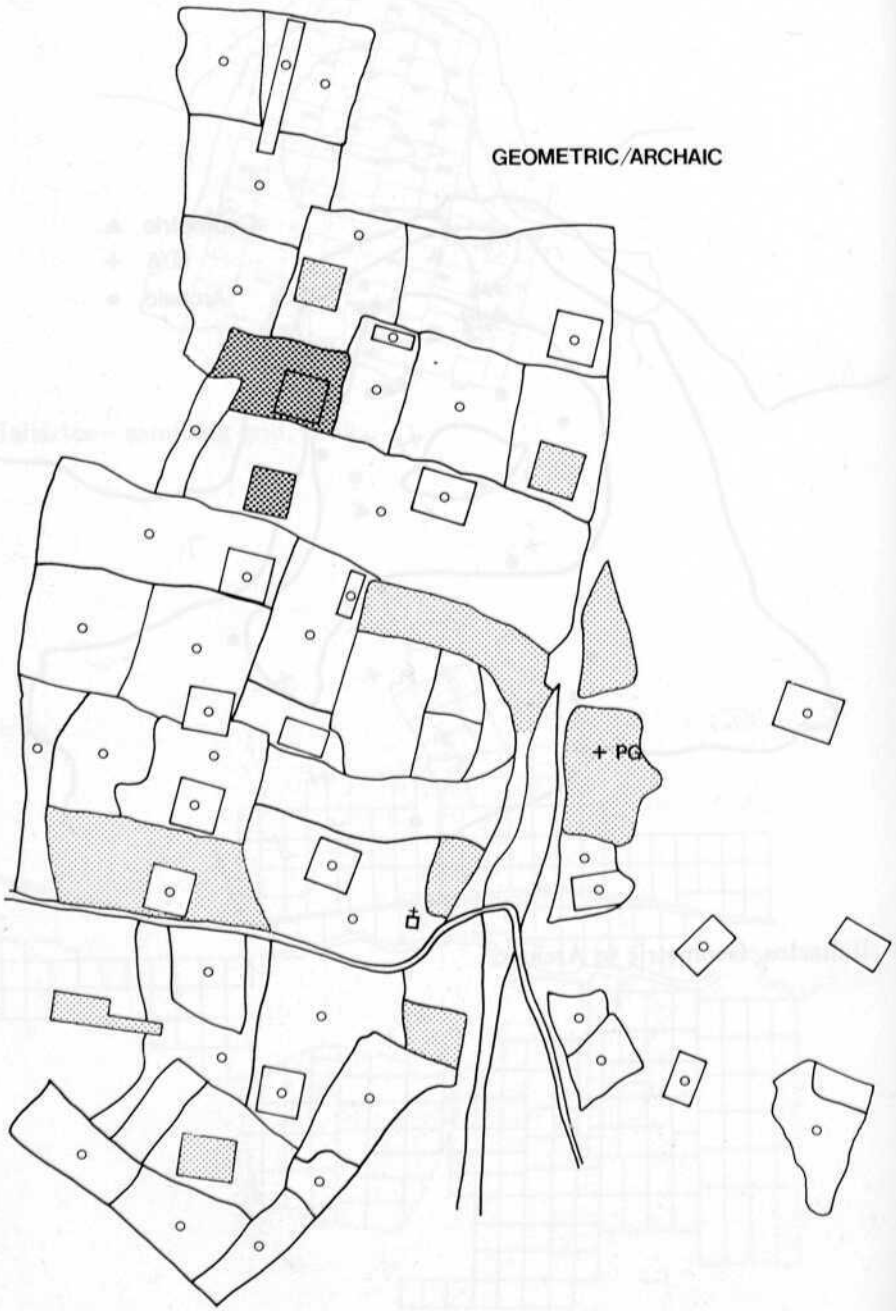
39. Haliartos – sampling grid, 1985.



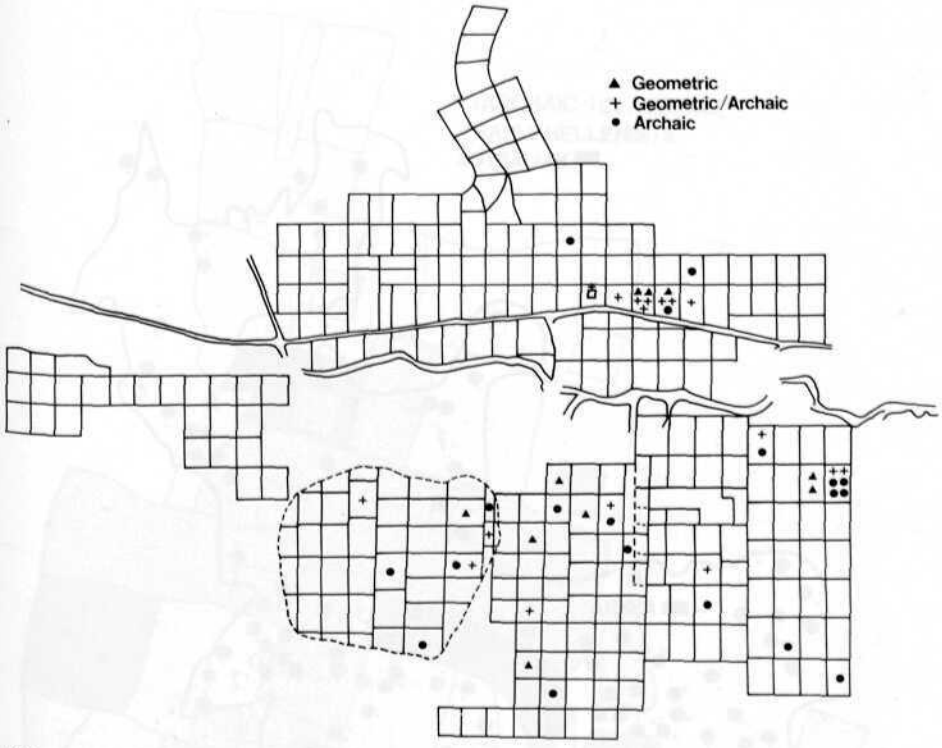
40. Thespiae – sampling grid, 1985.



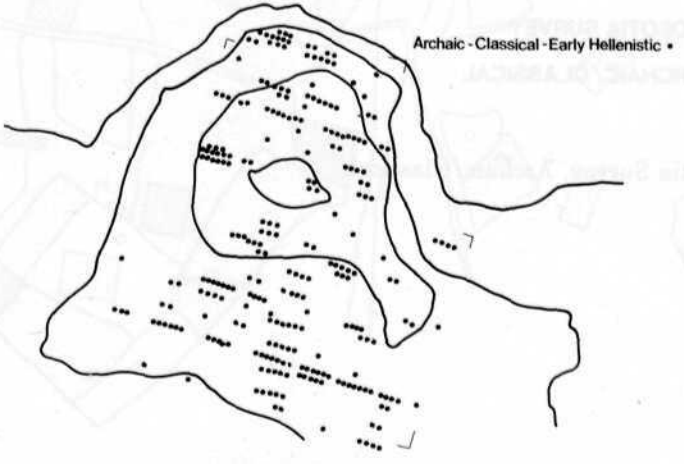
41. Haliartos, Geometric to Archaic.



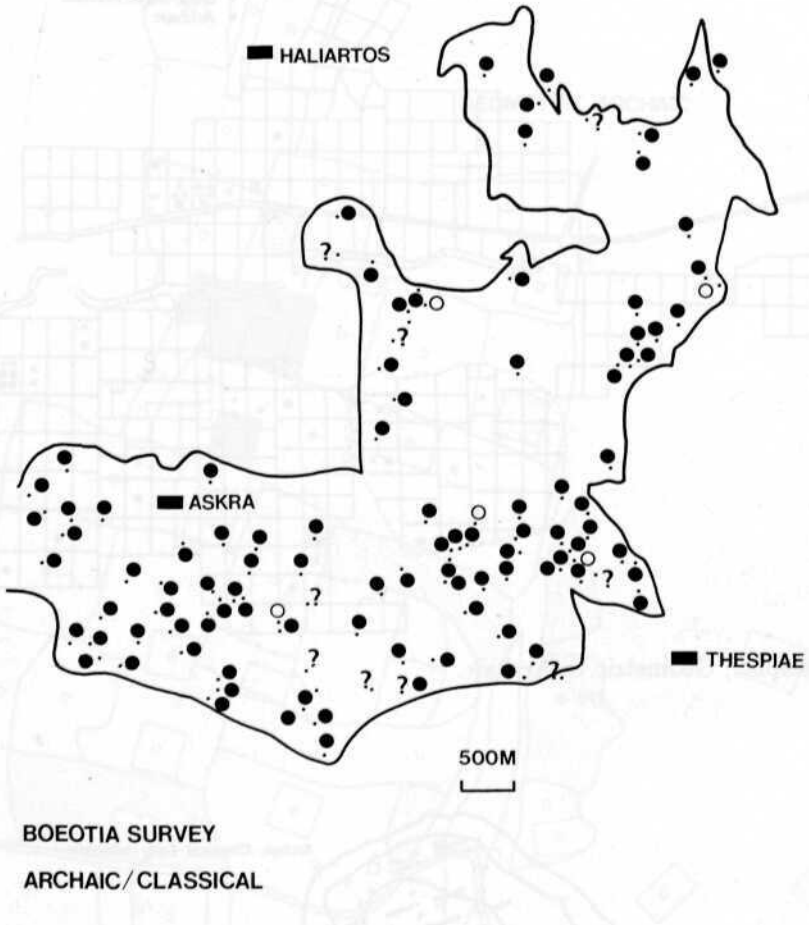
42. Askra, Geometric/Archaic.



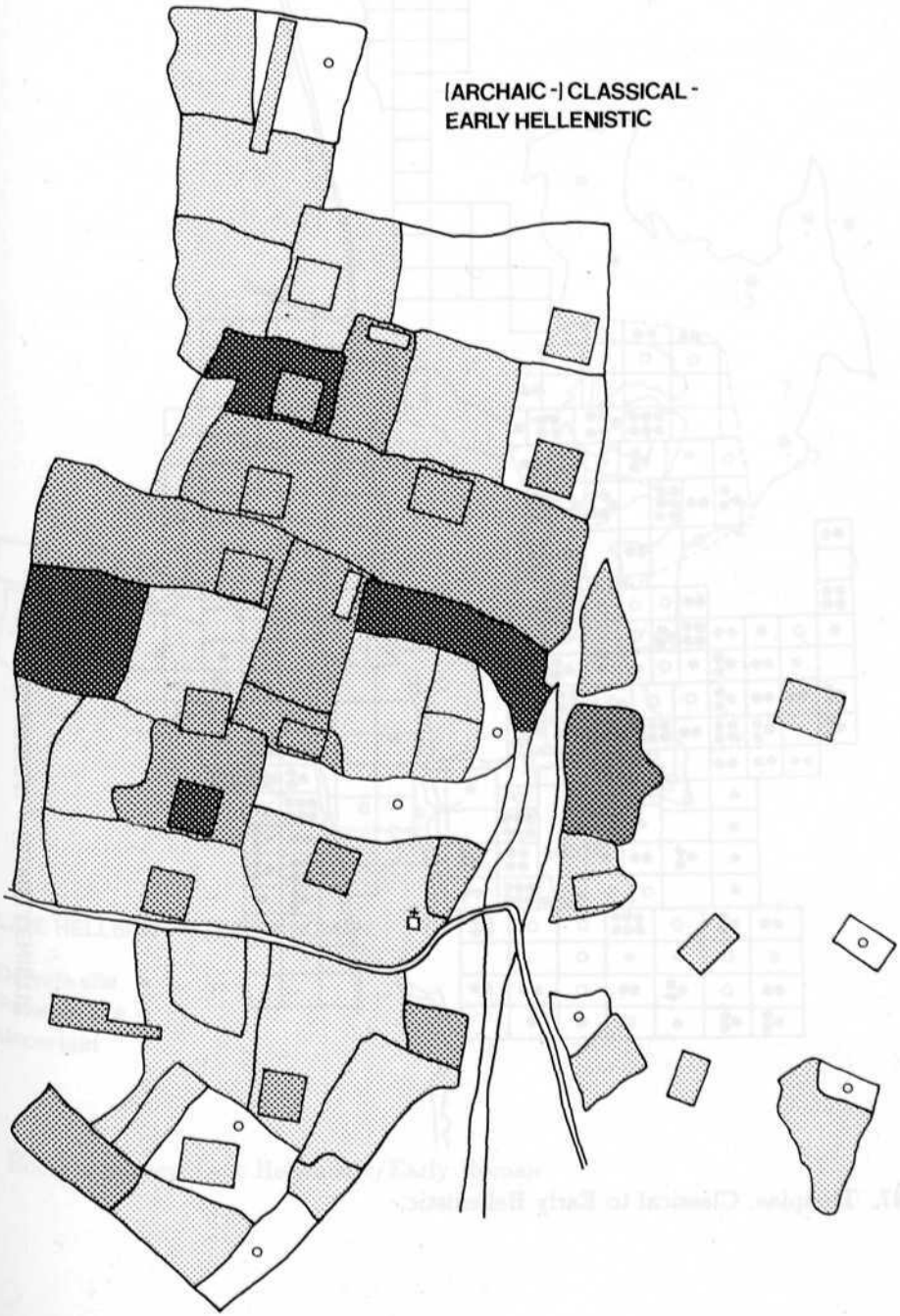
43. Thespiae, Geometric to Archaic.



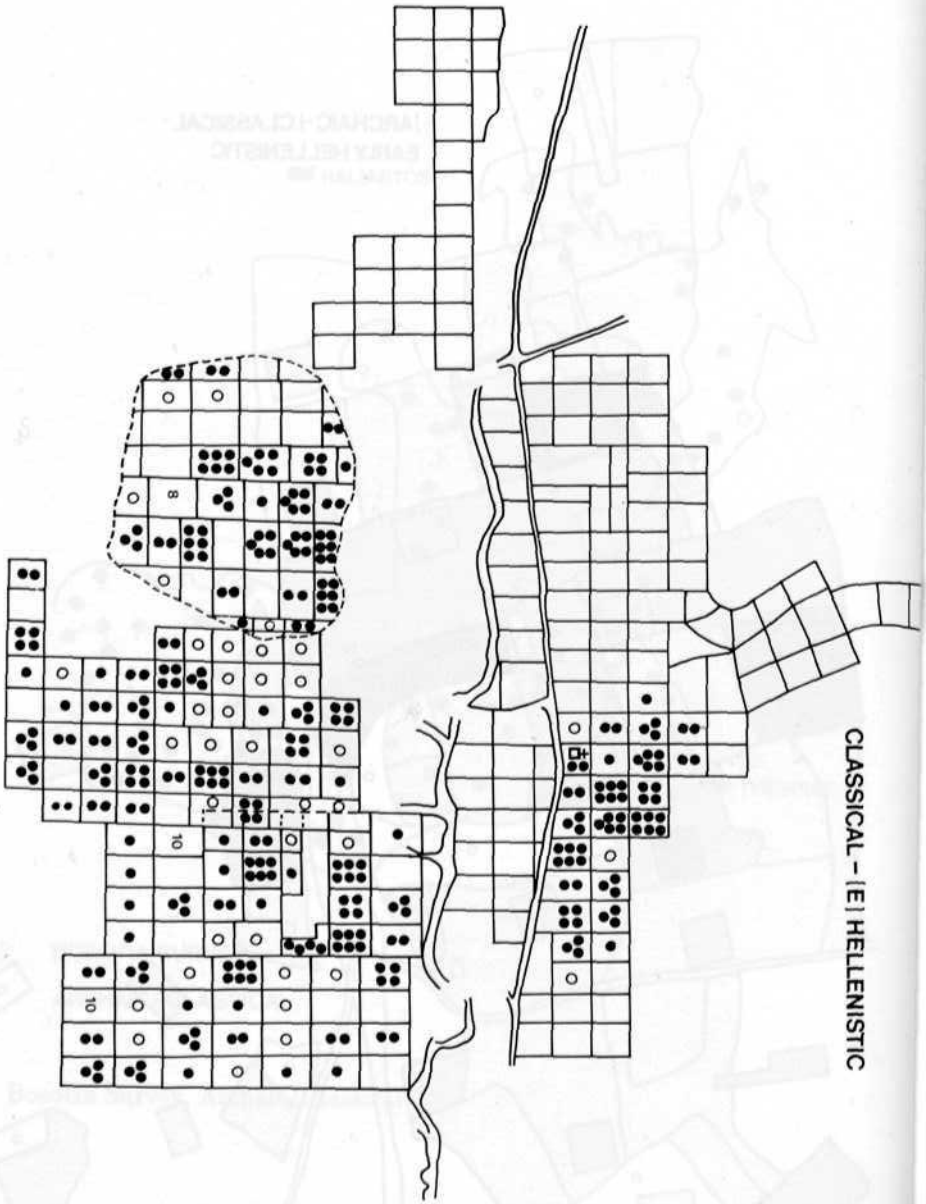
45. Haliartos, Archaic to Early Hellenistic.



44. Boeotia Survey, Archaic/Classical.

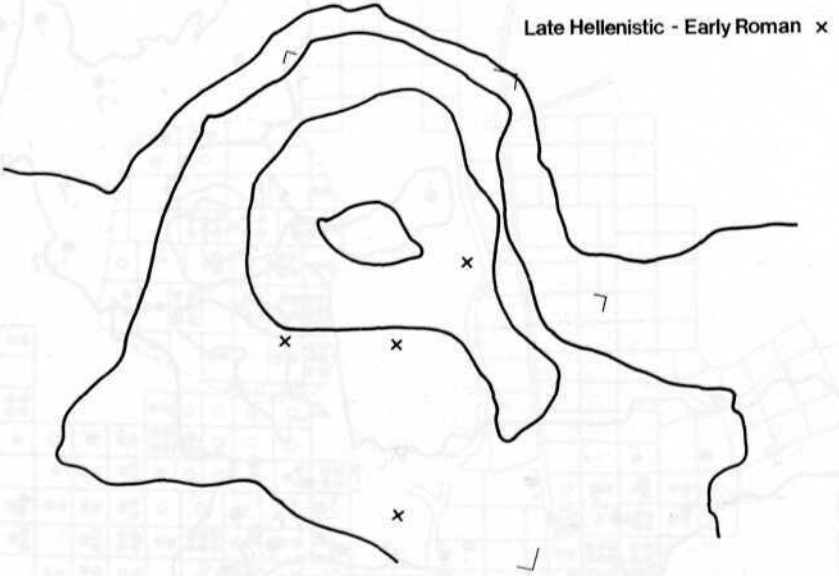


46. Askra, Archaic/Classical to Early Hellenistic.

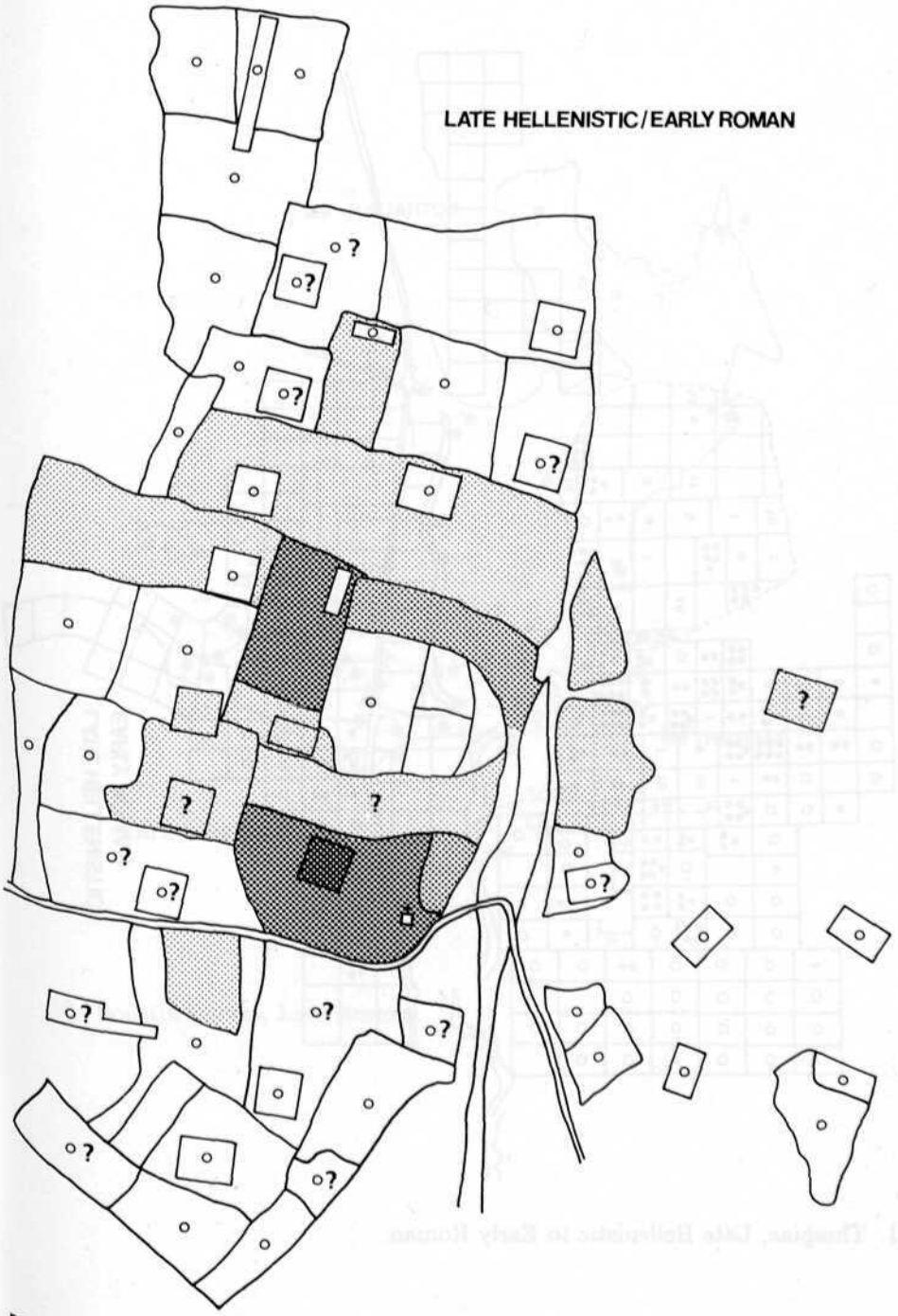


47. Thespiae, Classical to Early Hellenistic.

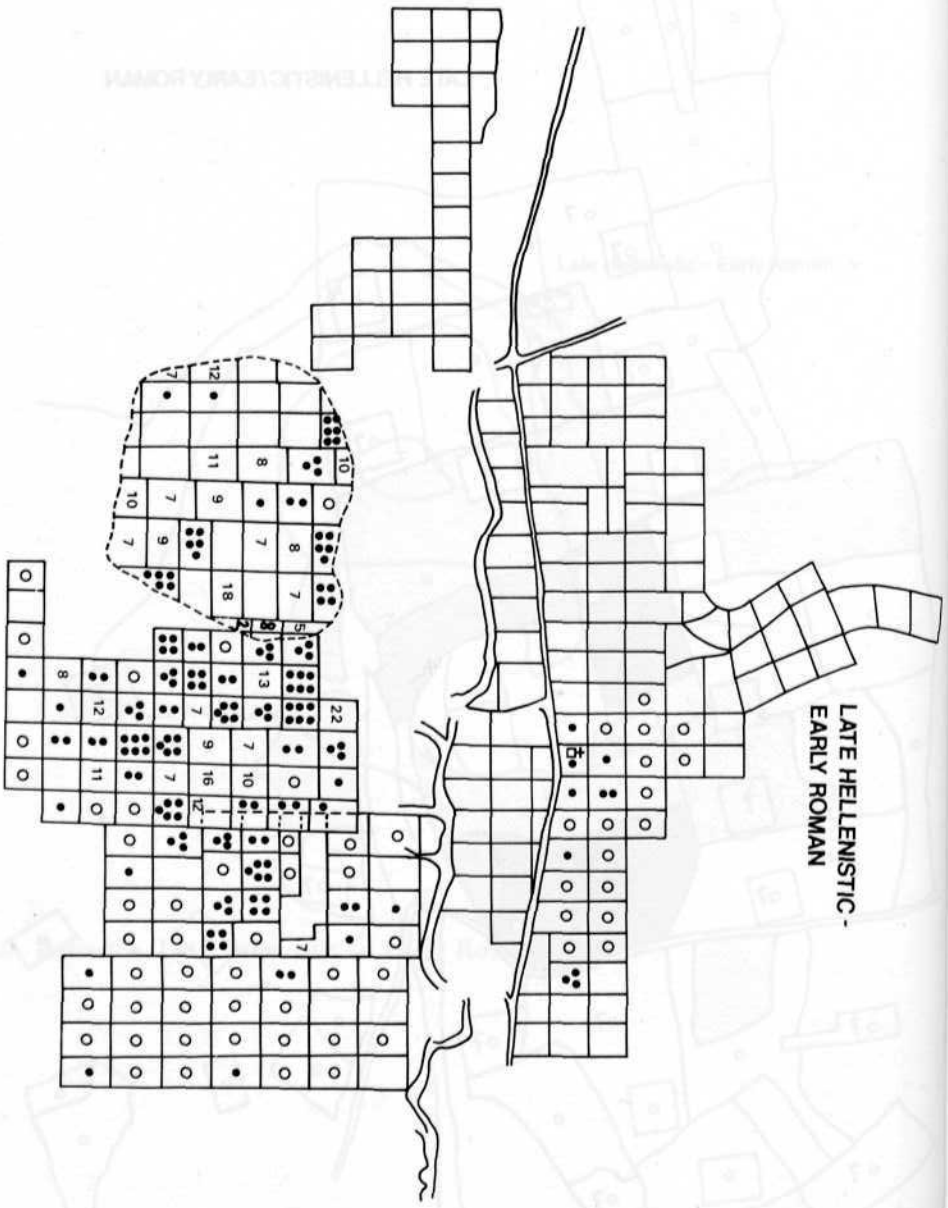
48. Boeotia Survey, Late Hellenistic/Early Roman.



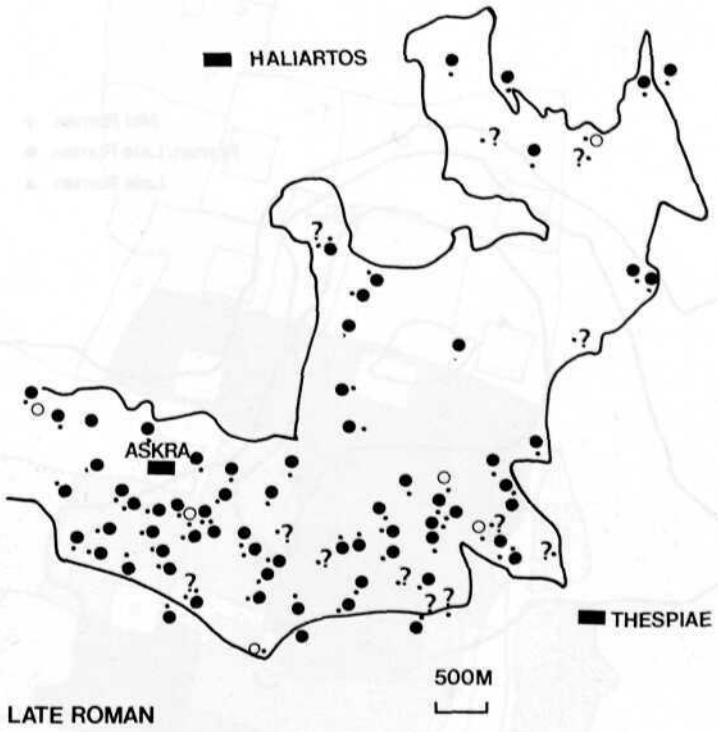
49. Haliartos, Late Hellenistic to Early Roman.



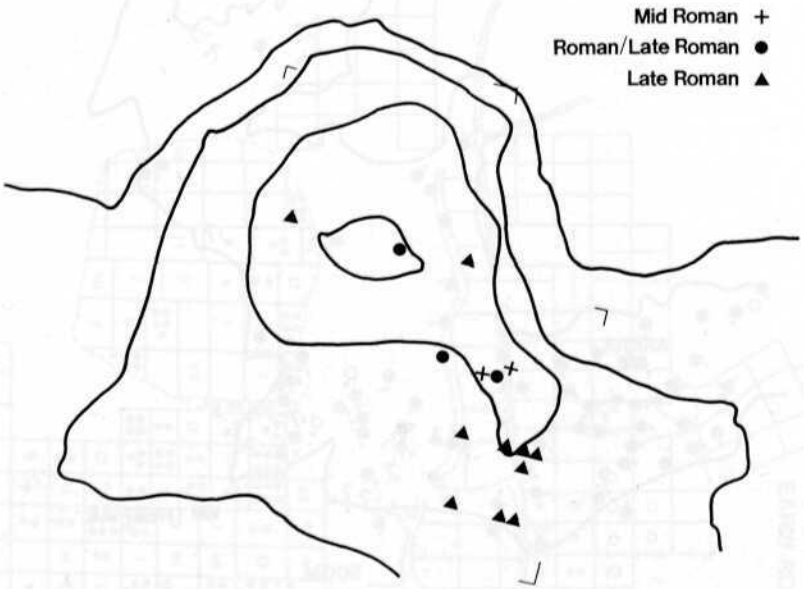
50. Askra, Late Hellenistic to Early Roman.



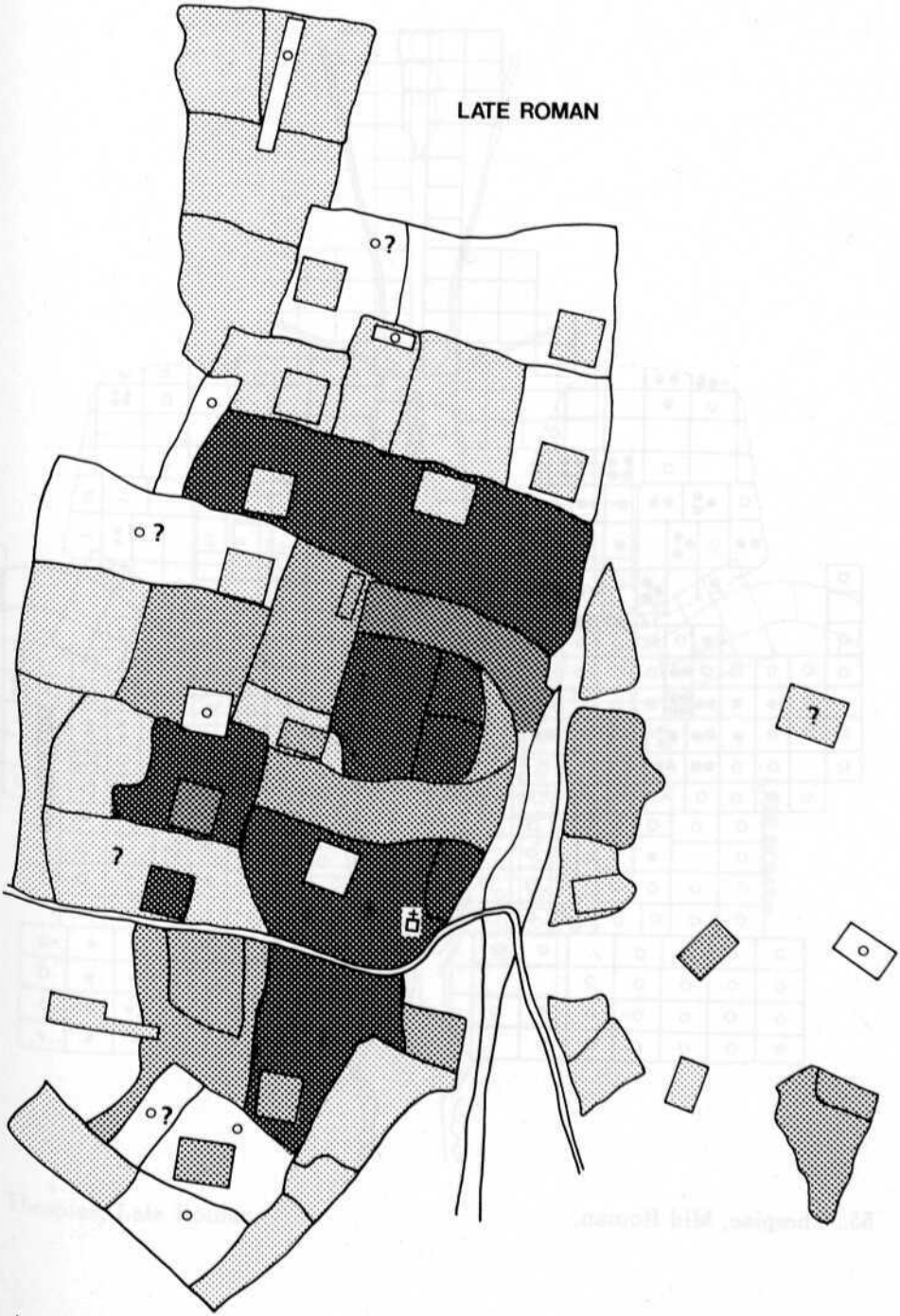
51. Thespiae, Late Hellenistic to Early Roman.



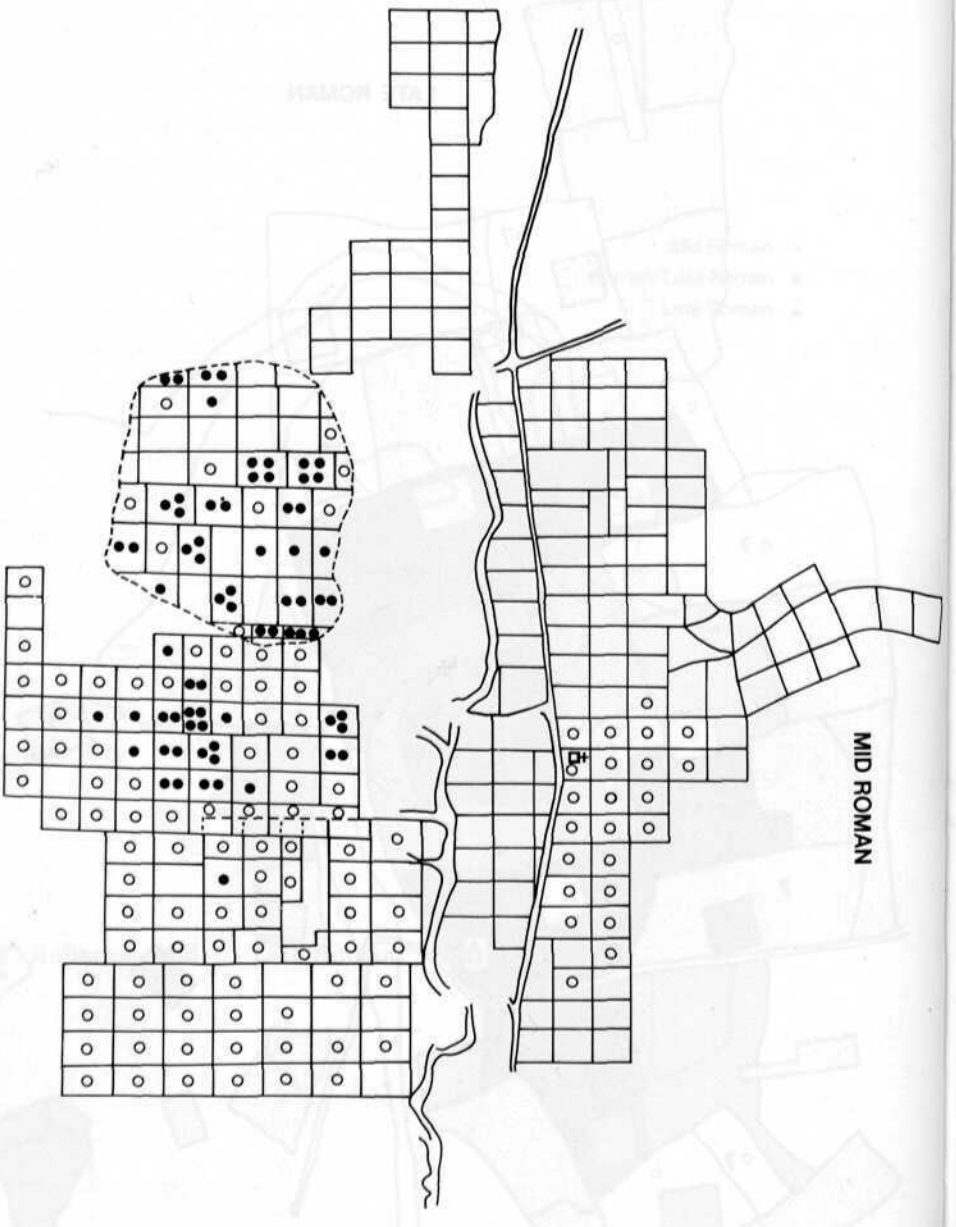
52. Boeotia Survey, Late Roman.



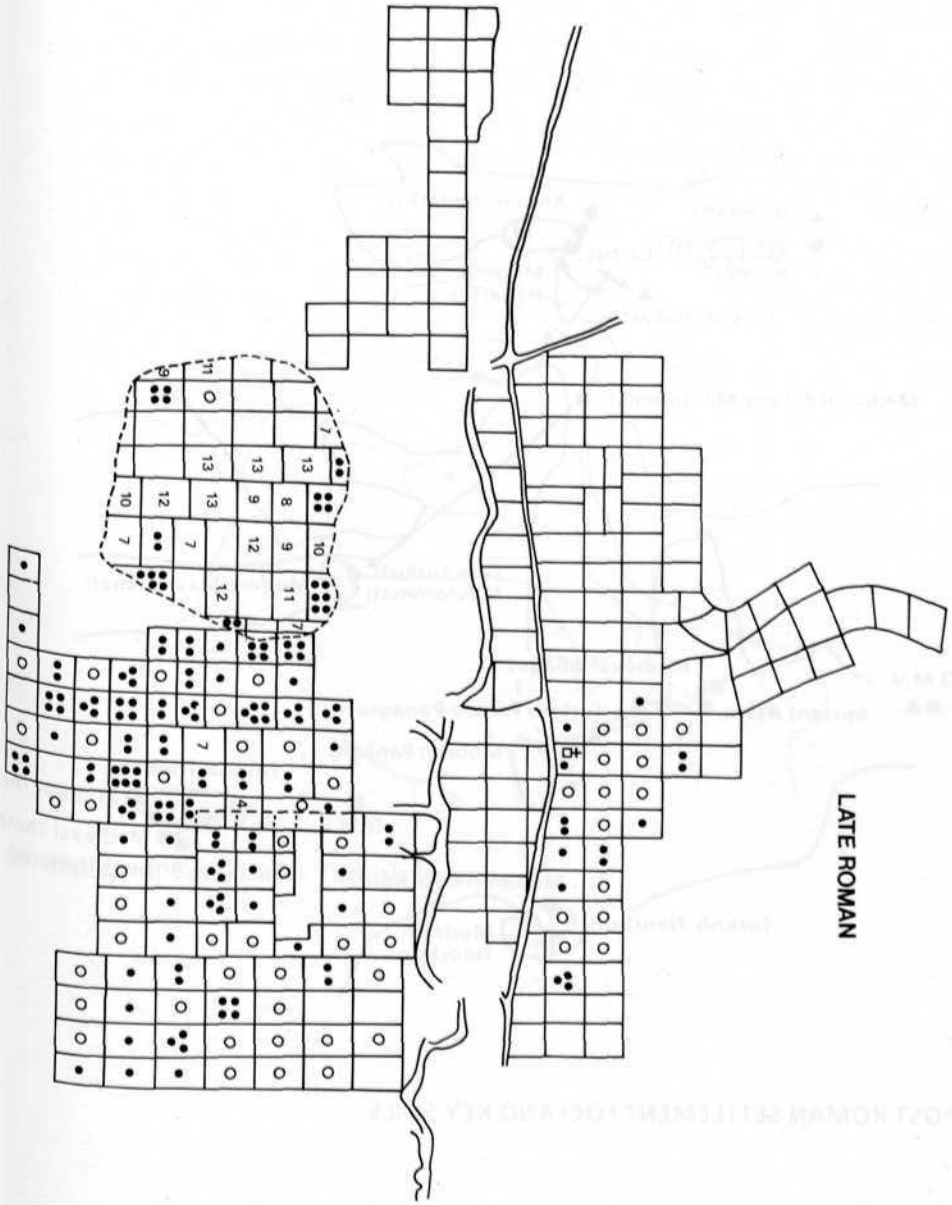
53. Haliartos, Mid–to–Late Roman.



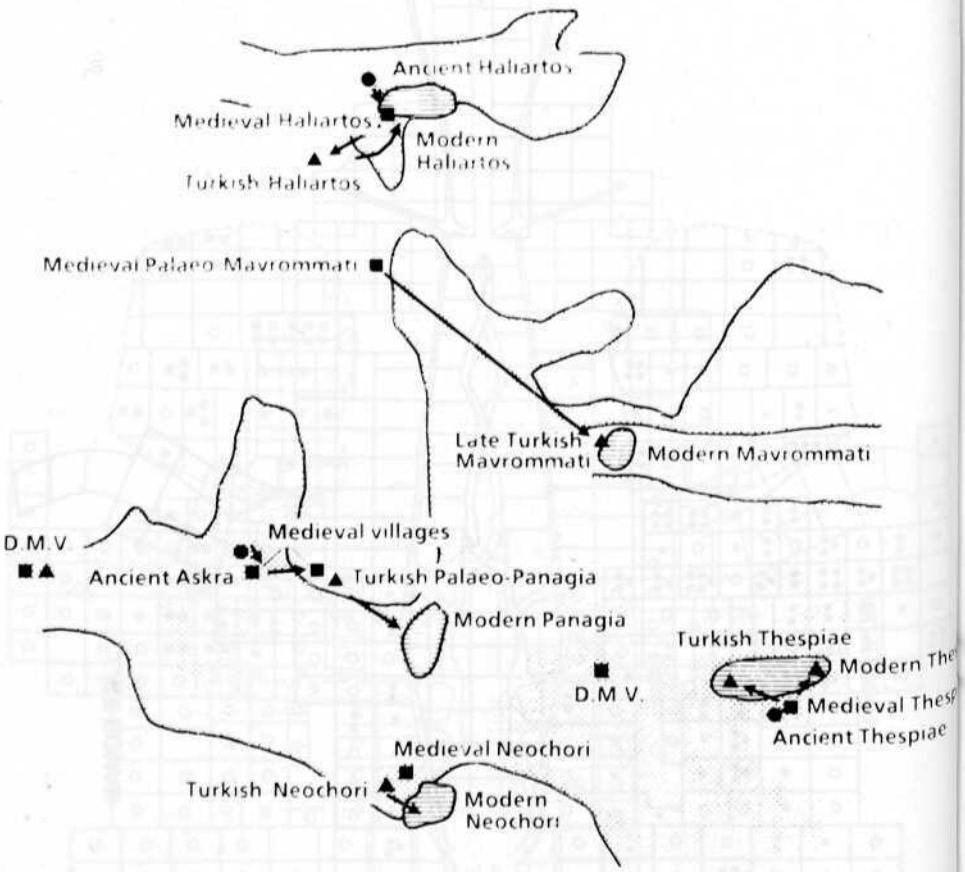
54. Askra, Late Roman.



55. Thespiae, Mid Roman.

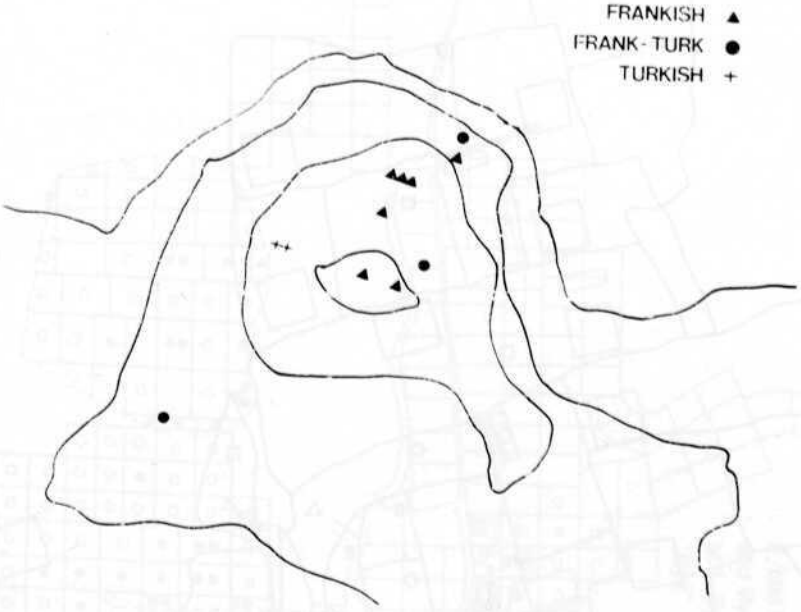


56. Thespiae, Late Roman.



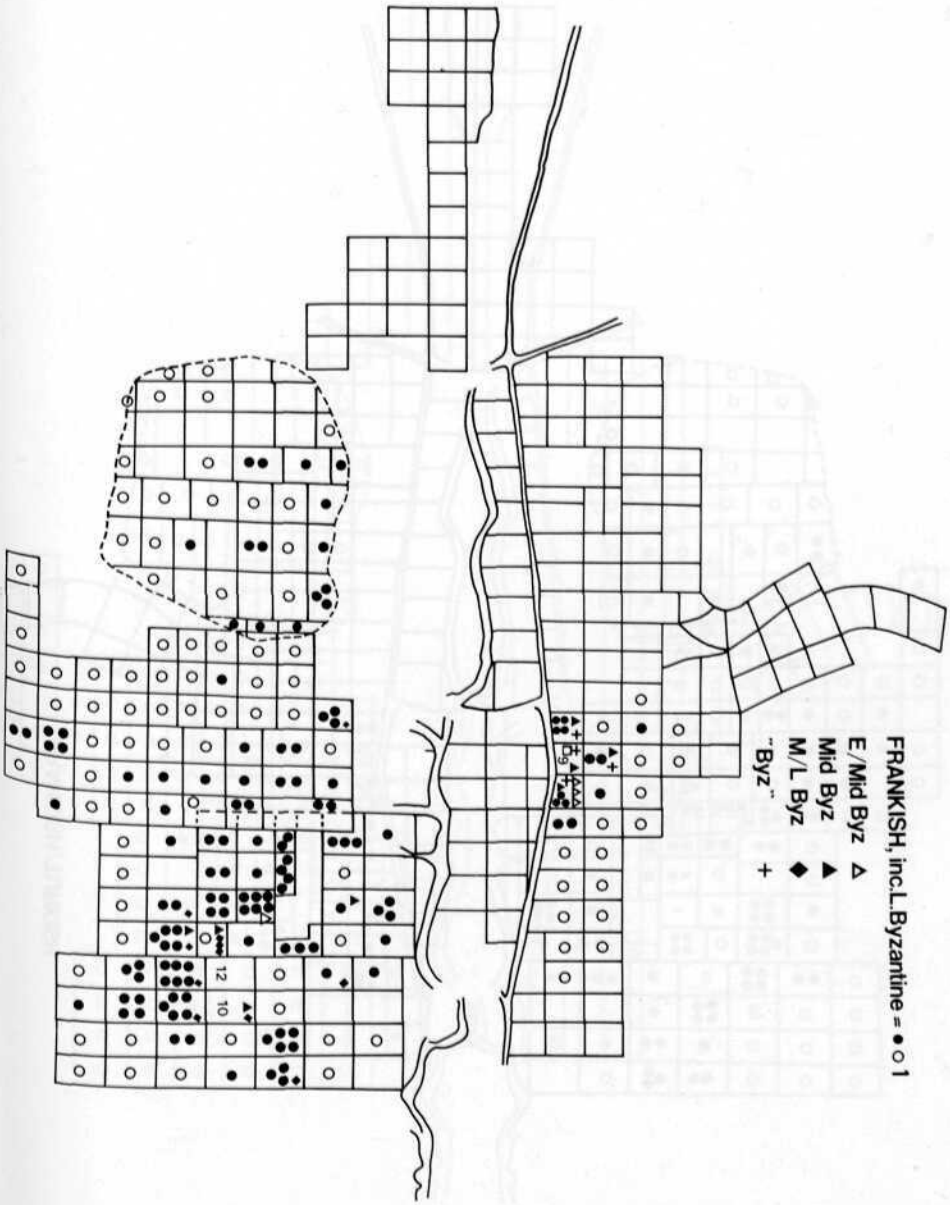
POST ROMAN SETTLEMENT FOCI AND KEY SOILS

57. Boeotia Survey, Post Roman Settlement Foci and Key Soils.

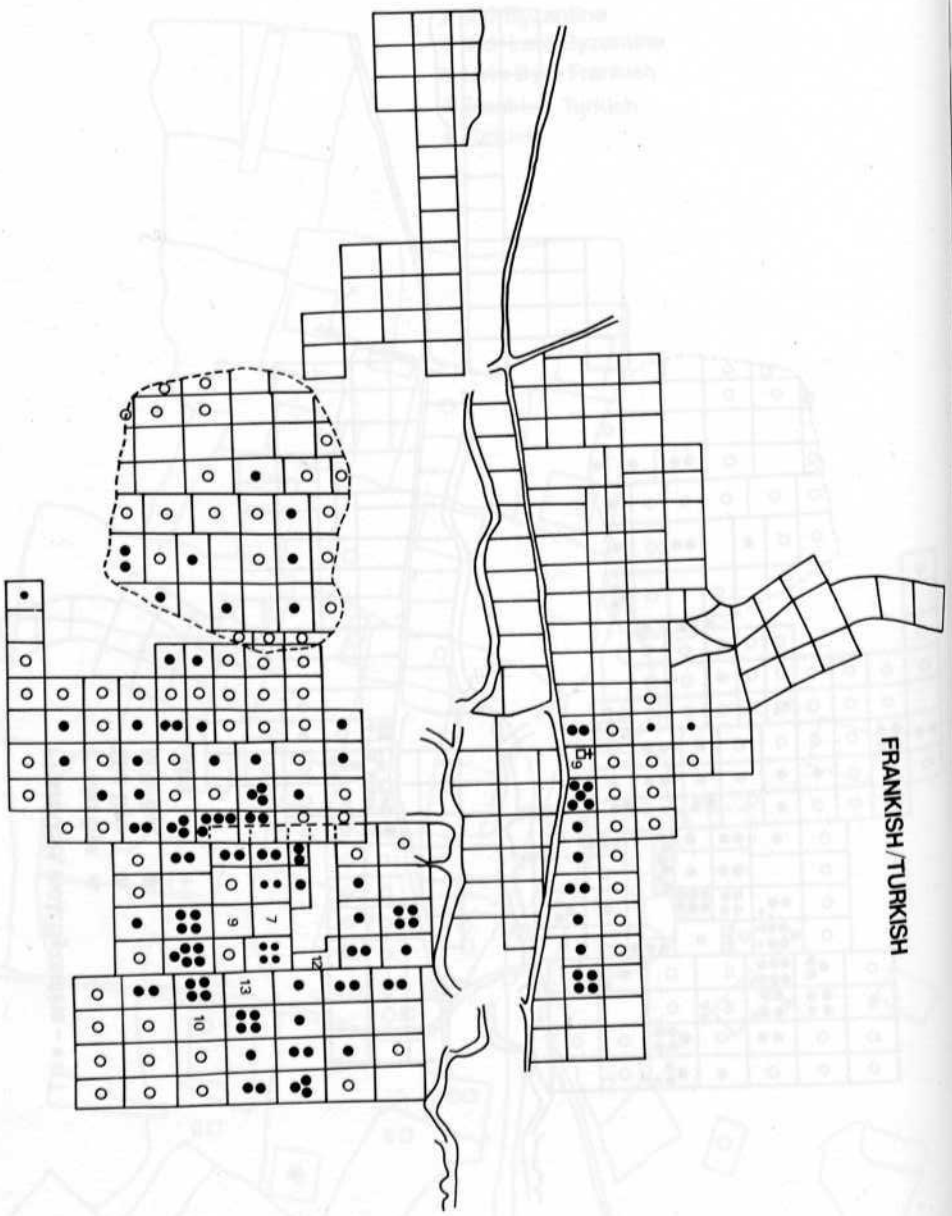


58. Haliartos, Frankish to Turkish Periods.

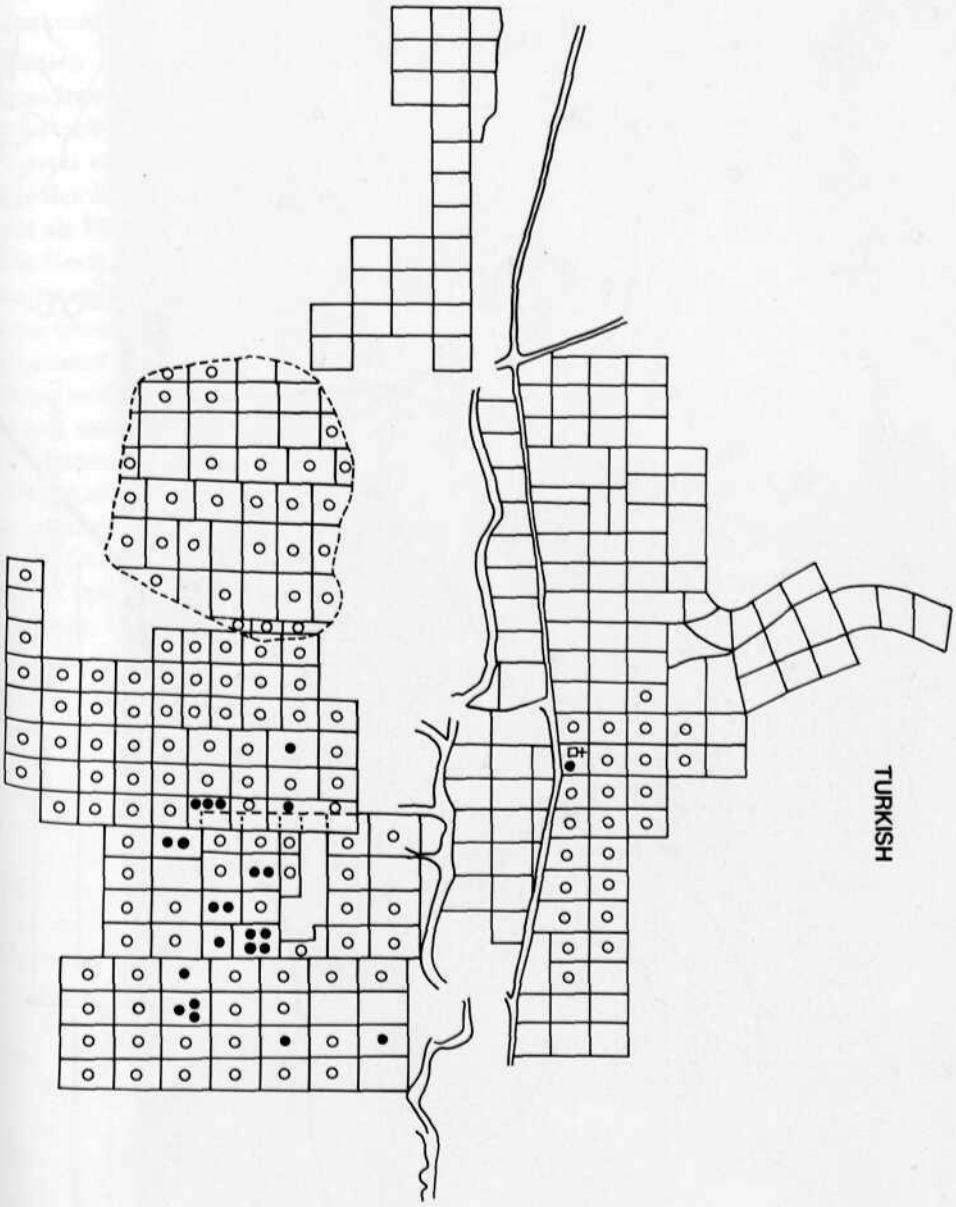
59. Post–Roman Askra. Intensity of occupation is shown by the degree of shading for each symbol minimal presence is an open symbol, then intensity increases



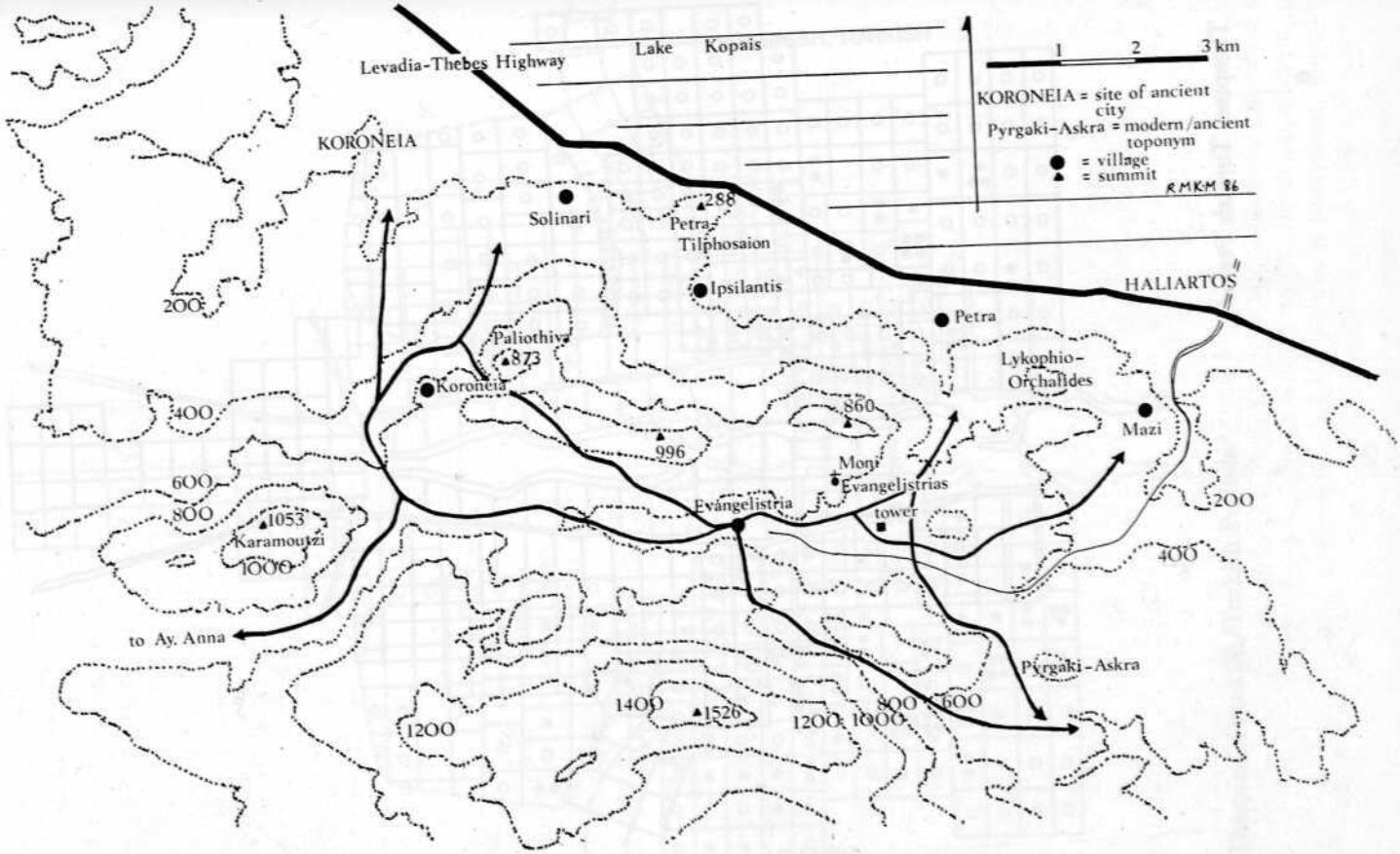
60. Post–Roman Thespies. Pre–Frankish finds are shown individually using the symbols indicated in the key. Frankish period finds are shown in three categories open circle (none present in this sample), shaded circle (number of finds equals number of such circles per sample), and numbers (for samples where Frankish finds are particularly numerous).



61. Thespiae, Frankish/Turkish Periods.



62. Thespiae, Turkish Period.



63. Routes through the Zagara Pass.