THE CREATION OF THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ASIA MINOR DURING THE 'THEODOSIAN RENAISSANCE'

INTRODUCTION

By the beginning of Late Antiquity, the age of lavish spending on the city had already come and gone. With the exception of imperial projects, Late Antique and Early Byzantine undertakings were of a much more modest nature. Buildings were increasingly abandoned, after which they either stood deserted or were dismantled to supply new building projects, of which the quality is, with a few exceptions, considered worse than that of previous centuries. Moreover, as many changes in Late Antique times were brought about by a lack of resources, the entire period can be seen as a decline in comparison with previous centuries of the Roman Empire. However, instead of focusing on what was lost and abandoned, the period can be valued on its own terms.[1] In particular, it should be stressed that, despite political, social and religious changes, the ideological adherence to urban living did not falter before the late 6th or early 7th century. Until that time, urban populations maintained their physical surroundings to the best of their ability.[2] Moreover, the level of activity between the late 3rd and early 7th century was not constant: periods of greater activity – 'renaissances' – alternated with decades characterised by stagnation or decline. Due to the size of the Roman Empire and the different histories of its separate dioceses and provinces, this timeline is not necessarily the same everywhere.[3]

This article will focus on Asia Minor in the Theodosian period (AD 379-450, Fig. 1). Its aim is twofold. Firstly, it will present the major urbanistic activities within Asia Minor during this particular timespan, mainly based on material evidence. It will be demonstrated that urban centres here were

[1] The distinctiveness of Late Antiquity is, for instance, stressed in the contributions to the volume *Die antike Stadt in Umbruch*, see esp. BURKHARDT and STICHEL 2010, pp. 10-15.

[2] JACOBS 2012.

[3] In the last decades, general overviews have given way for a more detailed and more regionalised view, based both on a re-examination of older information and the increased amount of attention for Late Antique and Early Byzantine remains in ongoing excavations. See for example WALMSLEY 1996; BRANDES 1999; BRANDES and HALDON 2000; BANAJI 2001; POULTER 2004; WAELKENS *et al*. 2006; POULTER (ed) 2007. E.g., in North Africa, the well-known Severan boom was followed by a slump (LEONE 2007, p. 36).

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Fig. 1 Map of Asia Minor showing locations of sites mentioned in the article

not only very much alive, undertaking construction and renovation works on a large scale, but also that most features that we nowadays consider typical of the Late Antique city came into being in these decades. Secondly, it is aimed at placing these urbanistic interventions against contemporaneous historical events as well as against wider political, social and religious changes in order to explain their appearance in this particular period in time.

Interpreting the evidence

Asia Minor was, in contrast to regions such as the Balkans, largely spared from raids and warfare. Placing this region in the centre of this research is thus a thought-through choice, as its cities could largely develop without external obligations or strains. But even within Asia Minor, cities had very different histories. Not only were they sensible to empire-wide or region-wide changes, local particularities and events as well as their status and importance within the Empire also influenced their development. Especially Constantinople, as the new imperial capital, was unique. First of all, the city was largely laid out on virgin soil and could be expanded by taking only

geographical considerations into account. Moreover, Constantinople as imperial capital had an exceptional status, could count on much larger financial resources and had to consider an international resonance, which was obvious in the extent, nature and decoration of its urban framework. Although the continuous occupation of the city since Antiquity hampers archaeological research, its buildings were enumerated in city catalogues (*regionaria*),[4] and it was the source of many *encomia* and features in most secular and ecclesiastical histories, as it was the stage of key-events in the Empire's political and religious history. Moreover, quite a few edicts assembled in the Theodosian Code were intended to regulate daily life in Constantinople, although they were probably applicable to other cities as well.[5] Conversely, Asia Minor was a region where urban culture was long-lived, and where changes in Late Antiquity came about in an existing urban landscape. The Empire's provincial capitals and 'ordinary' cities had to get by with more modest provincial and especially municipal funds, which, as will be discussed further on, sometimes put a strain on construction activities. On the whole they also did not attract attention from writers, except when the writers had a special connection to a city, for instance it was their hometown.[6] On the bright side, since cities in Asia Minor were often partially or largely abandoned after Antiquity, their state of preservation is generally high and much research has been done.

Also within Asia Minor, cities were diverse in size and history. For instance, Ephesus, the cosmopolitan capital of the Asian diocese, was an important Christian centre at least from the late 2nd or the early 3rd century AD onwards.[7] In contrast, the provincial capital of Caria, Aphrodisias, had a strong pagan presence until the late 5th or early 6th century AD.[8] Sardis, capital of Lydia, was extra important because of the presence of an imperial arms factory.[9] Other cities mentioned in this article comprise further provincial capitals, such as Perge, as well as medium-sized towns, such as Hierapolis and Sagalassos. Ideally, these are compared to the development of small towns, for instance Blaundos, but information on such towns remains scanty.

[4] For this period, most relevant is the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, composed in the second quarter of the 5th century under Theodosius II.

[5] Baldini Lipollis 2007, pp. 197-198.

[6] For instance, the writings of Eunapius (frag. 45 [*FHG*, IV.33] and *Vitae Sophistarum* 503) contain information on his hometown Sardis.

[7] Harreither 2002, pp. 78-80, Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, pp. 408-416.

[8] Smith 1991, pp. 157-158; Trombley 1993-1994, pp. 52-73.

[9] Foss 1976, pp. 14-15.

Finally, the study of infrastructure and architecture in Late Antiquity in general is faced with specific difficulties. Some of these are due to the nature of the evidence, others to research interests and strategies.[10] Until recently, later architectural phases received little attention and Late Antique structures were considered inferior to those built during the Early and High Empire. This disinterest has in more than a few cases caused the partial or total removal of later additions and alterations of older elements. Moreover, even though during the last three decades, our data collection and knowledge of the 4th to 7th centuries AD have expanded enormously, dating of Late Antique archaeological traces remains problematic.[11]

Changing the Cityscape

This section presents the three main physical changes within cities of Asia Minor in the Theodosian period. Together they determined the appearance and ensured that the city functioned well for centuries to come. Firstly, from the later 4th century onwards, urban fortifications again became a prominent addition to the urban fabric. Secondly, by the later 4th century, temples were deserted en mass, a phenomenon that has already drawn much attention.[12] Although they were not all immediately replaced by Christian centres of worship, churches were already introduced into the cityscape in the Theodosian period, an innovation that was to be of the highest importance within the history of urbanism. Finally, many cities renovated their streets and squares, thereby creating eclectic ensembles that are nowadays considered to be typical for Late Antiquity.

[10] Ideally, cities are also researched in combination with their countryside, certainly when wanting to answer questions of prosperity. However, this research has in many areas not yet been done and where the countryside has been the subject of research, precise dates are even more problematic than in the cities due to the nature of the material, which was generated largely through survey collection. Recent examples include Niewöhner 2007, pp. 71-82 for Aizanoi and Vanhaverbeke, Martens and Waelkens 2007 for Sagalassos. A recent overview of literature on the countryside is provided in Chavarria and Lewit 2004.

[11] Construction dates are often derived from a stylistic classification of building elements and decoration. When such architectural ornamentation is not present, structures are roughly categorised as being 'Late Antique', 'Byzantine' or 'Early Christian'. Moreover, most components of the urban landscape in Late Antiquity consisted of older monuments and infrastructure, most of which underwent decorative, structural and technical alterations of variable importance during their lifespan. Consequently, such changes can seldom be connected to stratigraphic deposition of sediments and remain undated.

[12] Hahn, Emmel and Gotter 2008 provide a recent state of the art.

A fortified city

After the establishment of Roman rule and the resultant peace and stability, fortifications were no longer built and pre-existing Hellenistic walls lost their relevance.[13] Only from the 3rd century onwards was the Empire again confronted with enemy threats. In the past, the construction or repair of a fortification has often been interpreted as a response to specific historic events such as foreign raids or invasions. For the eastern Mediterranean, the assumption until recently was that there were two main periods of fortification: the first starting under the reign of Valerian in the mid-3rd century – in response to recurrent raids of the Goths and the Heruloi in Asia Minor[14] and the Persians in the East[15] – and ending around AD 330, the second starting during the reign of Anastasius and Justinian, culminating in the period of Heraclius and Constans II.[16] For what concerns the first phase, it is true that in Asia Minor, as well as in neighbouring regions, a few fortifications were erected in the aftermath of the 3rd century Gothic upheaval.[17] In addition, Constantine also saw it wise to strengthen his new capital with walls, no doubt following the examples of Rome and the Tetrarchic cities.[18] However, archaeological research of the past decades has now re-assigned the majority of city fortifications in Asia Minor to the second half of the 4th century, with a peak around AD 400 (Table 1). Strangely enough, in these decades, Asia Minor itself was fairly peaceful and the archaeological remains of the period even suggest that the cities of the region did not really fear hostile attacks. In contrast, even though genuine threats were again appearing by the end of the 6th and in the 7th century, it could be estab-

[13] JONES 1966, p. 256; FOSS and WINFIELD 1986, p. 125 for the redundancy of walls in the Eastern Roman Empire. Military architecture was primarily concentrated on the borders of the Empire (GROS 1996, p. 52).

[14] By the 3rd century AD, the Goths had migrated as far south as the Lower Danube, around the Black Sea. During the third part of the century, Gothic armies and fleets ravaged Thrace, Dacia, and cities in Asia Minor and along the Aegean coast. They plundered the large sanctuaries of Ephesos and Didyma in the early 260's, besieged Side and, together with the Heruloi, captured and plundered Athens in 267 (MITCHELL 1993, pp. 235-238; SARTRE 1995, pp. 183-186; WILKES 1989 for Greece).

[15] SARTRE 1995, pp. 183-184.

[16] LIEBESCHUETZ 2001, p. 51.

[17] E.g., the walls of Pergamon (KLINKOTT 2001, pp. 8-12) and Athens (FRANTZ 1988, pp. 125-141) are thought to postdate the events.

[18] LAMPADA 2008 with further references for the Walls of Constantine in Constantinople. For the Aurelianic Walls of Rome, see DEY 2011, pp. 17-32 with further references. All Tetrarchic capitals – Nicomedia and Sirmium in the East, Milan and Trier in the West, as well as other imperial sites of the early 4th century such as the Palace of Diocletian at Split and the re-founded settlement of Tropaeum Traiani – were fortified.

Table 1. Examples of urban fortifications in Asia Minor between AD 350-450.

Site	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Aphrodisias	Constructed	Between 350 and 370	De Staebler 2008
Blaundos	Constructed	Around 400	Giese 2000a-b
Hierapolis	Constructed	Around 400	D'Andria 2003, pp. 38, 106-107, 115-117; Arthur 2006, pp. 42-43, 129-130
Perge	Renovation Hellenistic wall	4th c./around 400	Özgür 1990, pp. 26-33; Foss 1996 article no. 4, pp. 14-16
Sagalassos	Renovation Hellenistic wall	Around 400	Poblome 1995, pp. 189-190; Poblome 1999, pp. 280, 317; Loots, Waelkens and Depuydt 2000, pp. 598-631
Sardis	Constructed	Second half 4th c.	Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975: figures; Van Zanten, Thomas and Hanfmann 1975, pp. esp. 35-45; 45-49; Foss 1976, p. 114, source 18; Hanfmann 1983, p. 143
Selge	Renovation Hellenistic wall	Around 400	Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, pp. 36-46
Side, Outer Fortification	Renovation Hellenistic wall	Around or after the 360's	Mansel 1968, pp. 239-241; Foss 1977b; Foss 1996, pp. 31-33

lished that these decades saw relatively little new wall construction, at least not of enceintes intended to protect sizeable urban populations.[19]

Provincial capitals, such as Aphrodisias, Sardis or Perge, seemingly preceded smaller towns in obtaining a defensive perimeter. Already in the 360's, they either had a completely new circuit constructed, or had the remnants of

[19] Walls surrounding only a part of the city, often not the former centre, can be found in, for instance, Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Sagalassos and Sardis. Their creation has often been connected to the invasions of the Persians, who from AD 602, at the start of the reign of Phokas, until 623, following their defeat under Herakleios, waged war on Byzantium. They invaded large parts of Asia Minor in 616 and reached the walls of Constantinople. Coin evidence implies that both Ephesos and Sardis were destroyed by fire around this time, after which the cities were never again rebuilt. At Ephesos a smaller city wall was set up and a small fortified settlement or *kastron* was erected on the hill of Ayasoluk. At Sardis, the acropolis would become a military centre around the middle of the 7th century. Some archaeologists believe that destruction levels at Aphrodisias can be assigned to the battle with the Persians (RATTÉ 2001, p. 144). None of these previous fortifications have been dated securely and their date remains a point of discussion. Finally, excavations at the *kastron* of Sagalassos favour a date around the mid-7th century AD (JACOBS 2010b).

their Hellenistic walls repaired. In addition, Side may have strengthened its Hellenistic fortifications in the same period. However, in other provincial cities such as Hierapolis, Blaundos, Sagalassos or Selge, fortifications again became part of the urban amenities only around AD 400. Finally, Theodosius must have planned a new and more substantial fortification for his capital already in the 380's.[20] Nevertheless, the only element executed at this time was a triumphal arch, completed before 391, later to be known as the Golden Gate. The construction of the remainder of the 6.5 km long Land Walls was then started in AD 404 or early 405 and ended nine years later, in 413.[21] The finishing of the Sea Walls would take another 25 years.[22]

The defensive system of Constantinople did become by far the most monumental of the Late Antique world. It was already exceptional because of the area it enclosed, 650 ha, which apparently included as much open ground as actual urban development. The Land Walls comprised not one, but two curtain walls fronted by an artificial moat, which accounted for a total width of more than 60 m, its top rising some 25 m above the ground level on the exterior.[23] Furthermore, the walls were built in an incomparable technique: small, carefully cut blocks alternating with five brick courses. Towers – rectangular, round and polygonal in shape – were added at more or less regular intervals. Brick relieving arches in both curtain walls and towers were not only functional, but also visually appealing. The Golden Gate, the main access into the *intra muros* area, was a converted triumphal arch built with Proconnesian marble. It was further adorned with two bronze elephants, presumably belonging to a reused *biga* or *quadriga* composition placed above the central passageway, and a statue of Theodosius, accompanied by a Nike and the Tyche of Constantinople. In addition, flying eagles were carved on the corners of the tower cornices.[24]

The walls of a provincial capital, such as Aphrodisias or Sardis**,** also distinguished themselves from those of the other cities of the provinces by the large surface they protected, surrounding virtually the entire city. They further possessed neat wall faces, which were made completely or partially from newly quarried stones, and which occasionally received additional finishing layers in plaster or stucco.[25] Conversely, the majority of walls

[20] BARDILL 1999, p. 692.
[21] CROW 2001; BARDILL 1999, p. 676.
[22] *Chronicon Paschale* 583.
[23] See ERSEN 1999, pp. 102-104 and CROW 2001, p. 92 for a short description.
[24] The presence of statues was confirmed by the elevated number of dowel holes found on the top face of its cornices (BASSETT 2004, pp. 95-96; JACOBS 2009a, p. 203).
[25] This could, for instance, be attested at Sardis (VAN ZANTEN, THOMAS and HANFMANN 1975, pp. 39-40, fig. 20). Though this decoration was only encountered on the inside face of one of the northern stretches, the general preservation of the wall is so bad that it is likely that

surrounding medium-sized and smaller towns in Asia Minor were typically characterized by the small size of their circuits, often leaving out part of the built-up area, the large-scale employment of reused blocks, sometimes assembled rather haphazardly, the presence of a limited number of simple, rectangular towers situated only at strategic points in the landscape, and also by clear differences between neighbouring wall sections. Only the wall sections near gates and the gates themselves were invariably constructed with more care than the rest of the circuit. Their high-visibility further induced the application of additional architectural and figurative decoration. For instance, the North Gate at Blaundos featured an architrave with two *fasciae* and, above this, a Doric frieze, whereas the towers in all likelihood were decorated with elements of a Doric architrave and triglyp-metope frieze (Fig. 2).[26] The North Gate of Hierapolis and the South Gate of Perge were adorned with columnar architecture framing the doors.[27] The subjects of figurative decoration varied greatly. Military reliefs depicting shields, weapons and cuirasses unsurprisingly were the most popular (Fig. 3),[28] followed by other apotropaic images such as lions and lion heads, panthers, gorgoneia, snakes and so on. Although mythological and occasionally blatantly pagan depictions were in this period still recuperated,[29] the cross and chrismons featured on the North Gate of Hierapolis and also on the Golden Gate of Constantinople heralded the new Christian age. Gates built from AD 400 onwards would follow their example more and more.[30]

it was also present on outer wall stretches. The extra attempt to draw vertical and horizontal grooves in it makes this likely, since such an imitation of ashlars is more suitable for an outside rather than an inside face, where its visibility was low.

[26] GIESE 2006b, p. 81.

[27] D'ANDRIA 2003, pp. 112-114.

[28] They occurred in the area of the Magnesian Gate at Ephesus, the most recent rebuilding of which may be dated to the 4th century (SEITERLE 1982, pp. 147-148; SCHERRER 2006, p. 68; Sokolicek 2009, pp. 342-343), at the South-West Gate of Sardis, the gates of Selge, Side, Perge and Sagalassos. The apotropaic use of figural friezes with a military connotation originated in the Hellenistic period (MCNICOLL 1997, p. 129) and was intended to discourage the opponent before the actual fighting began (VON HESBERG 2005, p. 74). For a discussion and bibliography on weaponry reliefs in Late Antique gates, see JACOBS 2009a, pp. 203, 208; 2010a, p. 277; 2012, pp. 79-83.

[29] The reliefs reused near the West Gate of Aphrodisias included depictions of Nike and hunting cupids, while those of the South-East Gate incorporated depictions of sphinxes, a baby Herakles, a gorgoneion and a satyr head (DE STAEBLER 2008, pp. 298-301). The iconography displayed at the North Gate of Hierapolis was similar, with reliefs of heads of lions, a head of a panther and of a Gorgon (D'ANDRIA 2003, pp. 112-114). The North-West Gate of Sagalassos was unique in that it featured not only a keystone with a relief of an eagle holding a snake, but also busts of the warrior gods Ares and Athena. For a discussion, see JACOBS 2009a, pp. 203-204; 2010a, pp. 277-278.

[30] For a discussion on the meaning of reliefs and later crosses on city gates, see JACOBS 2009a, pp. 208-209.

Fig. 2 The North Gate at Blaundos

It was, in fact, not entirely surprising that cities were refortified in the Theodosian age. Theodosius I only came to power after the former emperor Valens had been killed and the Roman army was decimated by the Goths in AD 378 at Adrianople, barely 160 km from Constantinople. Two years earlier, Gothic tribes, together with smaller numbers of other immigrants led by assorted kings, had crossed the Danube. This was the start of a considerable amount of conflict. Although Theodosius managed to suppress the immediate danger, he could not drive the Goths from the Balkans and eventually had to settle for a peace treaty that allowed the newcomers to settle within the borders of the Empire as *foederati*.[31] Opposed to his predecessors, who had regarded Constantine's city as little more than a 'transit camp',[32] Theodosius I took permanent residence at Constantinople. He must have been well aware of the potential dangers threatening the city and thus had very likely already conceived a plan to surround it with a second and larger defensive circuit.

[31] LIEBESCHUETZ 1991, pp. 26-31, HEATHER 2007, pp. 167-168.
[32] CROKE 2010, p. 241.

Fig. 3 The weaponry frieze that decorated the East Gate of Side, showing armour pieces, helmets, swords and cuirasses

In addition, widespread wall construction at the end of the 4th and in the early 5th century was probably also the result of directives from the central administration issued in response to a climate of increased insecurity and the shock of military malfunction.[33] Indeed, general discontent from the part of the Goths concerning the peace treaty eventually resulted in a full resumption of hostilities in AD 395. Under a new leader, Alaric, they first ravaged Macedonia and Thessaly and plundered and devastated farms in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople. Thereafter, the Goths moved into Greece, before retreating to Epirus in 397. Although Alaric was appeased by the eastern government by being granted the command of the empire's forces in Illyricum, Constantinople's hold on the region was only strengthened again after Alaric's army permanently moved west and out of the Eastern Empire in 407-408.[34] These happenings, whereby not only the borders, but also the heartlands of the Empire were threatened, must have raised further doubts about the safety of the Empire's cities, and rightly so. Alaric experienced little trouble capturing major centres such as Athens and Corinth, cities that were, at that time, largely undefended. In contrast, walled cities such as Adrianople had proved to be able to resist hostile attacks.

[33] *CTh* 15.1.34 (AD 396 = *CJ* 8.11.12). *CTh* 15.1.45 (AD 407-412) ordered the entire population of the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum to participate in wall construction. Significant in this context is that urban fortifications again appeared almost contemporaneously in all heartlands of the Empire. For Illyricum - the region that suffered the gravest damage under the Goths - especially the earlier years of the reign of Theodosius II, just after the Goths had finally left to the West, was a period of intensive fortification. The walls of Athens were refortified, probably between AD 408 and 412 (Gregory 1982, p. 19; Fowden 1997, pp. 553-556). Also the Hexamilion with the Isthmian Fortress has been dated convincingly to the earlier part of the reign of Theodosius II (Gregory 1993). The walls of Corinth, Sparta, Epidauros, Aigina and Korone in Messenia are assumed to have been built in the late 4th and especially the early 5th century (Gregory 1982). In the Near East, Skythopolis, which became the capital of Palaestina Secunda in the early 5th century AD, may at that time have been given walls (Tsafrir and Foerster 1997, pp. 100-102). Also Antioch may already have been refortified. These walls have now almost completely disappeared, but 19th century depictions clearly show they strongly resembled the Land Walls of Constantinople (Foss and Winfield 1986, p. 215, fig. 17). Other large cities such as Caesarea Maritima apparently followed somewhat later in the 5th century AD. In the West, cities in Italy, Spain and Southern Gaul were again surrounded by fortifications in the early 5th century AD. In Italy, the first half of the 5th century was a period of intense urban (re-) fortification, with rebuilding of the walls of Rome (under Honorius), Naples, Terracina, Albenga and Ravenna (Christie and Rushworth 1988). This phase can maybe again be connected to a general climate of insecurity caused by the dealings of the Goths in this region. For restorations to the fortification of Rome under Honorius, see Dey 2011, 32-48. In Spain, two large groups of fortifications have been distinguished: the first dating to the Tetrarchic period, the second to the early 5th century AD (Fernández-Ochoa and Morillo 2005, p. 327). Cleary, Jones and Wood (1998, p. 353) mention large-scale wall construction around AD 400 in the province of Novempopulana.

[34] Liebeschuetz 1991, pp. 48-72; Heather 2007, pp. 168-169.

The region of Asia Minor may have been further harassed by raids of Hunnic tribes between AD 395 and 398,[35] who penetrated the Empire as far as Antioch.[36] The cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia may have found a direct reason for initiating urban defences as they were plagued by Isaurian raids from the third quarter of the 4th century until the early 5th century AD.[37] In particular the refortification of Side may have been a consequence of the city's partake in the *limes Isauriae*, the regional defence system against these repetitive attacks. The spread and impact of these Isaurian and Hunnic raids, however, remain largely unknown. In any case, the material record of the region's cities on the whole rather suggests that the urban populations did not fully share the government's concern for invasions. Both residential and artisanal quarters as well as major monuments were often left outside the new urban fortifications and apparently thrived (e.g., the urban mansion at Sagalassos). Furthermore, simultaneously with city walls, other new major monuments (e.g., the Martyrion at Hierapolis) as well as residential quarters *extra muros* (e.g., the Paktolos suburb at Sardis[38]) were laid-out, whereas the columnar architecture preceding some city gates, majestic as it may have been, also harmed their defensive capability.[39]

Although historical events thus in all likelihood caused the widespread reappearance of fortifications from the later 4th century onwards, as said above, a few city walls preceded Theodosian fortifications by a few decades. With the exception of Side, they all belonged to provincial capitals. These city walls were often highly impressive constructions that surrounded most, if not all, of the inhabited area, that were constructed with the utmost of care and that comprised decorative gates. Given the absence of peril around the middle of the 4th century, the evident conclusion is that these walls were conceived as status symbols,[40] distinguishing the nuclei of the

[35] This was at least suggested in Claudian, *In Eutropium* I.234-286; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI.1; Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.1: Philostorgios XI.8; ps-Joshua Stylites, *Chronicle* §9; *Chronicon Edessenum* III. 4, 6.20-21; Claudian, *In Rufinum* II.33-5. DEMOUGEOT 1979, pp. 386-393 discusses the Hunnic raids in the later 4th and early 5th century.

[36] Jerome, *Epistulae* 60.16, 77.8.

[37] For Side, see FOSS 1996 article no. 4, p. 29. For the Isaurian tribes, see FOSS 1977, p. 174; LAWRENCE 1983, p. 176; NOLLÉ 1993, pp. 135-136.

[38] FOSS 1976, pp. 46-47; HANFMANN and BUCHWALD 1983, p. 194.

[39] JACOBS 2009a, p. 209.

[40] This was also suggested for Aphrodisias in DE STAEBLER 2008, p. 286. CLEARY, JONES and WOOD 1998, p. 353 interpreted Theodosian fortifications in Gaul as status symbols, as they remained virtually limited to administrative centres. The tradition of walls perceived as status symbols was centuries old by the 4th century. For instance, in the relatively peaceful era of Trajan, Dio Chrysostom (45.13) wanted Prusa to have city walls to improve its status as a city. For the concept of urban fortifications as status symbol and representation of urban space, see GROS 1996, p. 215.

provinces from the cities under their influence, just as Constantinople had been singled out from all other cities in Asia Minor by Constantine. The representational possibilities of walls were likewise exploited in the Theodosian enceintes, although mainly surrounding their gates. The municipal governments, instead of dully executing the imperial edict, indeed employed these monumental constructions as elements of self-representation in an ongoing inter-city competition. One of the consequences would be that urban enceintes, together with Christian churches, would come to define a city by the 6th century AD.[41]

Constructing a state religion

Theodosius I entered history first and foremost as the emperor that made the switch to Christianity definite.[42] In doing so, he substantiated the second large physical change of the Late Antique city: the wholesale desertion of temples and the start of widespread church construction. Of course, the Christianization of the Empire was an evolution that had already been on its way for more than a century. The combination of diminished resources and opposition against pagan religion must have caused the slow but certain abandonment of many temples in the course of the 4th century.[43] I have argued elsewhere that temples in Asia Minor were seldom violently destroyed

[41] See, amongst others, Prokopios, *De Aedificiis* 2.1.3-4, 2.9.20, 6.5.13; Evagrios, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.18. For a discussion on the perception of the city in the 6th century, see Saradi-Mendelovici 1988, esp. pp. 397-401; Zanini 2003, pp. 198-199; Jacobs 2012, p. 30. Prokopios, De *Aedificiis* 6.6.13-16 clarifies that cities without urban fortification became an abnormality.

[42] The edict enforcing Nicene orthodoxy was issued in AD 380 (*CTh* 16.1.2).

[43] Price 1984, p. 59 and Beard, North and Price 1998, pp. 387 for the abolishment of traditional festivals due to reduced resources. Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, p. 50 for literary sources on abandonment and natural decay. For a while, cult activities may have continued on a more modest scale. For instance, after the Artemision at Ephesos had been plundered by the Goths in AD 262, the *cella* was restored and paved, probably during the reign of Diocletian, but the materials used were taken from other ruined parts of the complex (Foss 1979, pp. 86-87; Bammer and Muss 1996, pp. 60-61). In the same period, the eastern *temenos* hall of the city's 'Serapeion' was devastated. The continuation of cult activities into the 4th century was here attested by a dedication, but the portico was never repaired (Foss 1979, p. 64; Heberdey 1915, pp. 86-87). Likewise, at the extra-urban Letoon, the main sanctuary connected to the city of Xanthos, excavations have shown that in the latest phase, when the sanctuary was already in ruins, its weakened resources were directed towards defending the site against the increasing severity of seasonal flooding (Hansen 1991, pp. 334-336; Le Roy 1991, p. 351; Bayliss 2004, p. 16, note 95). Finally, parts of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis were already dilapidated and removed in the first half of the 4th century (Foss 1976, pp. 48, 50; Hanfmann and Buchwald 1983, p. 193). It is hardly surprising that three out of the four examples mentioned belonged to the most extensive sanctuaries of the classical world, which were very likely the most vulnerable to a decline in resources.

and instead deconsecrated relatively peacefully, which comprised the dismantlement of the altar as well as the removal of their cult statues, interior furniture and decoration.[44] As such, outwardly, relatively little changed before the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century. Only then, far-reaching and often long-lasting decisions on what to do with such remnants of the past were made. One was probably obliged to do so, since the abandoned temples were either already suffering from continued non-maintenance or were at least in danger of becoming ruins in the near future.[45]

If a temple was already in decay, restoration was probably not an option given the changing religious climate and also the limited civic funds in this period.[46] The next best solution was to ensure that the building remains would disappear from view completely. For this reason damaged and crumbling temples were pragmatically used as stone-quarries for building projects at the same location or elsewhere in the city.[47] Especially at Ephesus, many temples were in the process of dismantlement by AD 400. Building elements from the famous Artemision were recycled for the renovation of the Harbour Baths in the second quarter of the 4th century, and blocks of its *temenos* wall were abundantly used in the construction of the Church of St. Mary and its associated 'bishop's palace' in the later 420's or early 430's. The altar of the Artemision and the surrounding temenos colonnade, together with its pediment, were further reused in the area of the Basilica of St. John.[48] Likewise, the dismantling of the large Temple of the Sebastoi began before the end of the 4th century at the latest,[49] as did that of the Olympieion.[50] The much smaller Temple for Divus Julius and Roma on the State Agora and the so-called 'Felsspalttempel' were also presumably taken apart in contemporaneous operations.[51] Although some of these temples were located in the heart of Ephesus, their dismantlement often went by unnoticed, as it remained hidden behind the original *propylaea* and *temenos* walls.[52]

[44] JACOBS *accepted*.

[45] In a law of 435 (*CTh* 16.10.25), Theodosius acknowledged that many temples probably no longer survived intact. When some 25 years later, in 458 (*Novella Maioriani* 4), temples and other public buildings gained more stringent protection with stricter penalties attached, this assumingly pertained to functioning, or at least structurally sound, public monuments. For a discussion, see JACOBS *accepted*.

[46] Cf. infra.

[47] As ordered in *CTh* 15.1.36 (397). Only later, from AD 435 onwards, temples were ordered to be outright destroyed (*CTh* 16.10.25).

[48] For the redistribution of building elements of the Temple of Artemis, see FOSS 1979, pp. 86-87; BAMMER and MUSS 1996, p. 60.

[49] AUINGER and AURENHAMMER 2010, p. 690 with further references.

[50] SCHERRER 2000, p. 184.

[51] THÜR 2003, p. 262.

[52] For an overview of the evidence, see JACOBS 2012, pp. 475-476; *accepted*.

The widespread dismantling of pagan cult buildings at Ephesos had a very particular cause: it was very likely the result of their ruinous condition after the earthquakes of the second half of the 4th century (AD 358, 365, 368).[53] As these derelict monuments defiled the appearance of the city, and because there were many other buildings in need of repair or renovation, the reuse of building elements from temples would have killed two birds with one stone.[54] Although this phenomenon is the most widespread at Ephesus, it was also known elsewhere.[55]

Conversely, temples that were still in good condition did not need to be taken down. What is more, they were even protected by the imperial authorities that, in the later 4th and early 5th century did not hide their concern for the urban landscape.[56] Intact cult buildings were sometimes given a new function as they were.[57] In the Theodosian period especially, temples were put to new municipal uses. Since reuse is only recognizable when it involved at least some small adjustments to the original structure,[58] few such examples have been attested archaeologically. According to plentiful literary sources though, temples were given a second life as administrative centres,

[53] LIMBERIS 1999.

[54] For practical reasons behind the reuse-phenomenon, see DEICHMANN 1975, pp. 91-99; COATES-STEPHENS 2001; LINDROS WOHL 2001, p. 99; LEGGIO 2003, ESCH 2005, p. 19.

[55] E.g., the Temple of Apollo at Hierapolis was probably damaged during an earthquake that struck the city around the middle of the 4th century AD. It served as a stone quarry from the 5th century AD onwards (D'ANDRIA 2007, pp. 14-25). For additional examples, see JACOBS 2012, pp. 304-305.

[56] Similar concerns are apparent in Italian and African inscriptions mentioning temple restorations in the 4th and early 5th century AD. An overview of laws related to pagan cult and cult buildings can be found in CANTINO WATAGHIN 1999, pp. 741-749, table 2. Similar preoccupations were apparently less pressing when the countryside was involved: in 399, Arcadius and Honorius did order the destruction of a rural temple (*CTh* 16.10.16). CASEAU 2004 for a detailed account on the fate of rural temples.

[57] In comparison to the West, where pagan sites in the 4th and 5th century were avoided (WARD-PERKINS 2003, p. 286), temple sites in the East came to house other activities relatively quickly. See BAYLISS 2004, pp. 45-46, 58-59 for the possible continuation of other functions in temple *temenè*.

[58] At Sagalassos, a small Doric *distylos in antis* temple dedicated to Zeus was converted into a watchtower and integrated in the town's enceinte. The temple's superstructure may have already collapsed by this time. In any case, the roof and pediments were removed for the conversion and the walls were raised with mortared brick. Inside the former *cella,* pilasters supporting a wooden platform or a gallery running along the inner walls were built and, finally, a new doorway was inserted in the south wall (LOOTS, WAELKENS and DEPUYDT 2000, pp. 619-620). Once transformed into a tower, the structure was most likely roofed again. In this form, it was possibly maintained until the beginning of the 6th century AD. Similarly, it is possible that the cella of the Temple of Artemis at Gerasa came to house the seat of a *curator*, who was responsible for the maintenance and functioning of all municipal buildings, and undoubtedly also for the dismantling and redistribution of their elements from this period onwards (PARAPETTI 2002, pp. 32-33. BRENK 2003, p. 12).

Table 2. Overview of Theodosian churches in Asia Minor

Church	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Aizanoi, Temple of Zeus	Converted	Late 4th, early 5th c.	Naumann 1979, pp. 76-77; Rheidt 2001, pp. 343; 2003, p. 244, 246; Niewöhner 2007, pp. 74-75, 153-155;
Ephesos, 'Serapeion'	Converted	Theodosian	Heberdey 1915, pp. 86-88; Alzinger 1970, pp. 1652-1654; Miltner 1958, pp. 69-72; Foss 1979, p. 64; Pillinger 1995, p. 44; Bayliss 2004, p. 25; Scherrer 2000, pp. 148-150; 2005
Ephesos, Artemision	Converted	5th c.	Foss 1979, pp. 86-87; Bammer 1993, p. 167; 1999, pp. 86-88; 2008; Scherrer 2001, pp. 54-55
Ephesos, church in East Gymnasium	Converted	Late 4th or 5th c.	Miltner 1958, pp. 74-78; Restle 1967, p. 166; Alzinger 1970, pp. 1613-1615; Scherrer 1995, p. 24; 2001, p. 70
Ephesos, Church of St. John	Newly constructed	390-420	Miltner 1958, p. 90; Krautheimer 1986, pp. 106-107
Ephesos, Church of St. Mary	Converted	426-431	Karwiese 1989, pp. 17-39; Foss 1979, pp. 52-54, note 12; C. Jones 1993; Karwiese *et al*. 1997, pp. 12-18; 1999; Volanakis 1999, pp. 351-352; Thür 2003, p. 265
Ephesos, stadium	Converted	5th c.	Karwiese 1994, p. 24; 1995a; Scherrer 2000, p. 166
Hierapolis, Bath Church	Converted	First half of 5th c.	Verzone 1972; Hierapolis di Frigia 1987, p. 130; M. L. De Bernardi 2002, pp. 270-276; D'Andria 2003, pp. 62-66; Arthur 2006, pp. 100-101
Hierapolis, Martyrion of St. Philip	Newly constructed	Late 4th to early 5th	*Hierapolis di Frigia* 1987, pp. 128-130; D'Andria 2001, pp. 112-113; A. De Bernardi 2002; D'Andria 2003, pp. 184-191; Arthur 2006, pp. 154-158
Sagalassos, Apollo Klarios Church	Converted	First half of 5th c.	Talloen and Waelkens 2004, pp. 175-177; Waelkens *et al*. 2006, p. 232; Jacobs, Demarsin and Waelkens *forthcoming*
Sagalassos, Bouleuterion Church	Converted	First half of 5th c.	Waelkens *et al*. 2006a, p. 220; Uytterhoeven *forthcoming*

Church	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Sardis, Church E	Newly constructed	Between 350-400	Hanfmann 1983, pp. 194, 196-201; Buchwald 1984, pp. 201-205
Sardis, Church M	Newly constructed	Before 400	Butler 1922, pp. 112-113; Buckler and Robinson 1932, pp. 145-146; Hanfmann and Frazer 1975, pp. 57-61; Foss 1976, pp. 48-50; Hanfmann 1983, pp. 49, 119-120, 193, 195.
Selge, Basilica B	Converted	Late 4th, early 5th c.	Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, pp. 49-53, 104, 107-108; Dally 2003, pp. 101-103
Xanthos, East basilica	Newly constructed	5th c.	des Courtils and Laroche 1998, pp. 469-471; des Courtils 2003, pp. 90-95; Cavalier 2005, pp. 106, 139, 140, 146, 155, 164-167; Brandt and Kolb 2005, p. 128; Raynaud 2009

as museums, as entertainment buildings and so on.[59] Whether or not these examples were all real, their mention in literary sources implies that conversions for secular purposes would not have been conceived as improbable by contemporaries. Even though the reuse of temple cellae was various and more frequent than is generally assumed, sources mentioning such reuse are limited to the second half of the 4th century AD and it seems very likely that a new secular function, though ensuring the immediate survival of the temple, could not guarantee a long-term preservation.

There appears to have been one exception to this rule, though. If we look at the temples that remained virtually intact throughout the centuries, they

[59] The Theodosian code (16.10.8, AD 382) suggests that temples as well as statues, provided that they no longer served cult functions, could be reintegrated in the Christianized society and be admired as secularized "art" in "museums". Theodosius I supposedly gave one of the three temples on the acropolis of Constantinople to the Church, whereas the second was made into a 'gaming room for dice players' and the third was turned into a carriage house for the Praetorian Prefect (Malalas, *Chronographia* 345). Libanios further recommended Theodosius I to turn temples into tax collection offices and extra-urban temples (Libanios, *Oratio* 30.42 and 30.44). The Museion at the writer's hometown Antioch became a school, the city's temple of Dionysios was turned into a courtroom, the temple of Athena lived on as a lawyers' meeting place and an unknown temple was converted into a private residence (respectively Libanios, *Oratio* 1.102, *Oratio*. 45.26, Libanios, *Epistulae* 847 and Libanios, *Epistulae* 1364.7). A further unlocated temple was said to have been used as a tavern (Palladas *Anthologia Graeca* 9.180). For similar conversions outside of Asia Minor, see EMMEL, GOTTER and HAHN 2008, p. 8.

were most often located at very prominent locations within the city, where they could receive new meaning as decorative and monumental landmarks. In Asia Minor, the most conspicuous example was the so-called Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos, a simple *prostylos in antis* temple that was facing the Embolos, the centre of the Late Antique city. It was extensively rebuilt, possibly around AD 300, and repaired at least once more between AD 383 and 393 by a Christian sponsor. The late restoration and permanent preservation of a temple so far into the 4th century may have been aided by a redefined role in the celebration of both Christian emperors and city founders.[60] This is suggested by the fact that the last restorations also entailed the application of the frieze displaying myths of the city's founding in the *pronaos*, or at least that of a relief said to feature Theodosius I in the company of not just his family, but also Olympian gods.[61] Similar motives may justify the preservation of the Tychaion on the Upper Agora of Sagalassos (Fig. 4). This monument occupied an extremely visible position along the south side of the square. It was only a small building, so if one had wished to do so, dismantling would have been simple. Instead, the original statue that stood in the centre was removed; the statue base received a new dedication first to Constantia, wife of Gratian, and later to Flavia Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius, whereas the two northern pedestals carried inscriptions mentioning the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II.[62] As such, the city expressed that it considered its well-being no longer tied to a local city goddess, but to the Christian – first Arian and later orthodox – imperial house.

Although Christianity had quickly gained pace since Constantine, the urban landscape was not yet dotted by churches by AD 400. The first churches at Constantinople were constructed during the reign of Constantine,

[60] BAYLISS 2004, p. 61.

[61] MILTNER 1958, pp. 104-106; 1959, pp. 264-273; HUEBER 1997a, p. 53, 86-88; OUTSCHAR 1999, p. 447; THÜR 1999, pp. 116-117. The relief with the imperial family can probably be dated between AD 383 (when Arcadius became Augustus) and 393 (when Honorius, who is not depicted here, became Augustus). The date of the other reliefs is contested: initially, they had been dated stylistically to the first half of the 3rd century by SAPORITI (1964). BRENK (1968) and LAUBSCHER (1985) put them in the Tetrachic period, but recently BAUER (1996, pp. 284-285, note 86) and FEISSEL (1999, p. 28, note 12) redated all the reliefs to the Theodosian period. Similar examples of temples at highly visible locations which were also preserved include the façade of the temple with the round cella at Skythopolis, situated at the junction of Palladius and North-West Street and in the sightline of the last street. Two of its huge columns stood upright until the earthquake of 749, though the cella itself had been abandoned and dismantled presumably by the beginning of the 5th century (TSAFRIR 2003, pp. 279-281).

[62] DEVIJVER and WAELKENS 1995, pp. 118-119 no. 5-6; TALLOEN and WAELKENS 2004, pp. 189-191; 2005, p. 246.

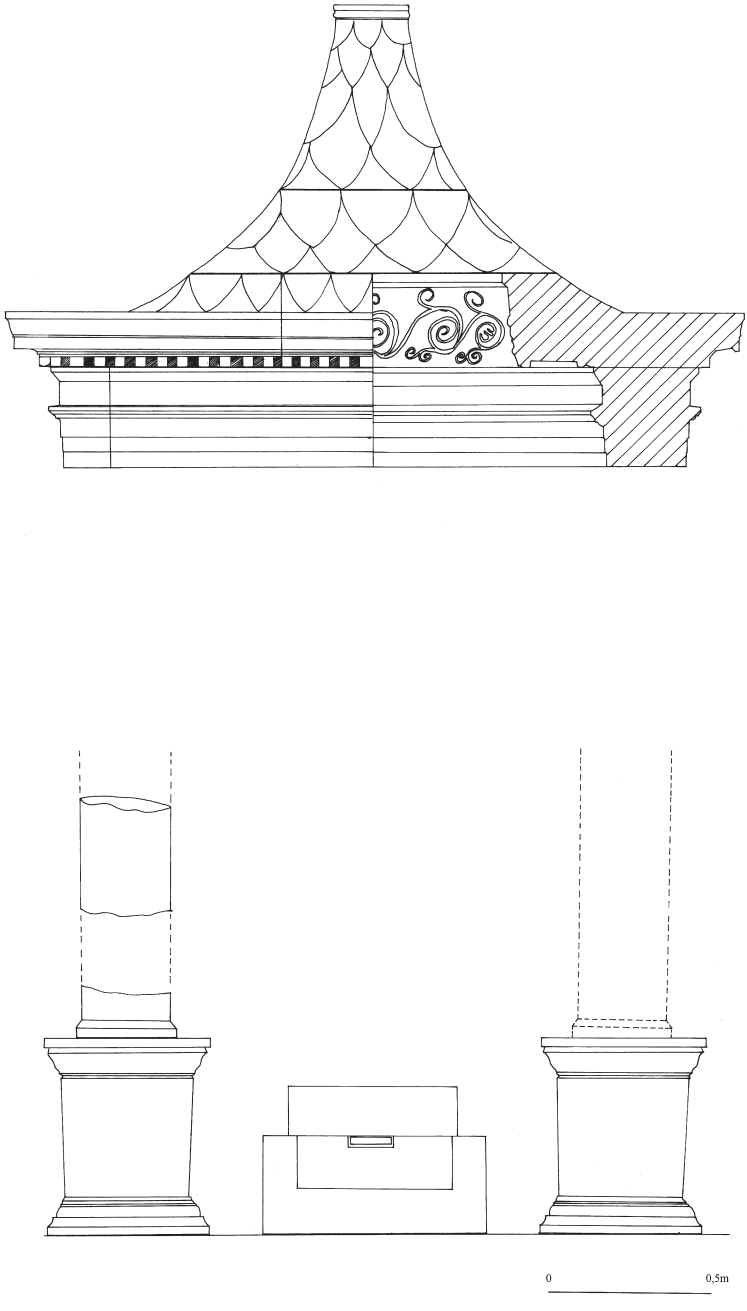

Fig. 4 Reconstruction drawing of the Tychaion at Sagalassos
(© Sagalassos Archaeological Project)

but they remained scanty.[63] When Theodosius I made up his residence in the city, there were many competing congregations, all of them centred on particular churches, of which quite a few belonged to private mansions.[64] The most important monumental buildings in this period were the church of the Holy Apostles and Saint Eirene, both initially held by Arians, but soon usurped by the orthodox community.[65] Theodosius himself added three new churches to the urban landscape and promoted the construction of monasteries and martyria.[66] His example was without a doubt followed by his son and grandson.

Christian gatherings and celebrations of mass in Asia Minor as well as in the other provinces of the Empire surely took place in *domus ecclesiae*,[67] even though their remains are impossible to identify without the help of non-archaeological sources. The first monumental churches in Asia Minor only appeared in the later decades of the 4th century AD.[68] Quite a few of them resulted from in situ conversions of older public buildings, temples as well as secular monuments.[69] In addition, some temple buildings were dismantled and immediately replaced by a church reusing the building materials on site.[70] Such substitutions of temples by churches have long been interpreted as Christian triumphalism.[71] Nevertheless, other influencing

[63] Constantinian churches remain confined to St. Eirene, St. Mokios and St. Acace (MANGO 1985, pp. 34-35). On the whole, churches erected by Constantine himself were only located in larger key-sites of Christian history such as Rome and Jerusalem (KRAUTHEIMER 1986: chapter 2).

[64] Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.20.4; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII.17.1.

[65] *CTh* 16.5.12 (AD 383).

[66] CROKE 2010, pp. 260-261. Theodosius was responsible for the building of the Church of John the Baptist at the Hebdomon, the Church of the Holy Notaries and the Church of Saint Mark near the Forum of Theodosius. The Church of the Virgin is probably attributed to him incorrectly.

[67] WHITE 1990, pp. 23-24.

[68] At Sardis, Basilica E and Church M arose in the second half of the 4th century (HANFMANN and BUCHWALD 1983, pp. 194-195, 199), and also in Pisidian Antioch a first monumental basilica was constructed (MITCHELL and WAELKENS 1998, pp. 210-217).

[69] Although it has long been assumed that temple conversions before the second half of the 5th century were scarce (SPIESER 1976; VAES 1984-1986, p. 325; 1989, p. 303; BAYLISS 2004, p. 57), examples are gradually increasing. The Zeus Temple at Aizanoi may have been converted as early as AD 400, the Serapeion at Ephesus became a small church in the Theodosianic period, and in the course of the 5th century AD, the cella of the Artemision was reused as a church building. Finally, by AD 431, the Church of St. Mary at Ephesos had been established in the southern portico of the Olympieion.

[70] At Sagalassos, a large basilica was built at the site of the Temple of Apollo Klarios in the first half of the 5th century (JACOBS, DEMARSIN and WAELKENS *forthcoming*). Also the cathedral at Gerasa is very likely to have been constructed at the site of a dismantled temple as early as the first half of the 5th century (BRENK, JÄGGI and MEIER 2006).

[71] CORMACK 1990, p. 33; TALLOEN 2003, pp. 164-167. Testimonies with a true triumphal undertone only date from later periods.

factors can also be pinpointed. Also other public buildings, entertainment buildings and even political structures were converted[72] and, moreover, many temples had already gone out of use several years or decades before church construction was initiated. In contrast to Constantinople, where open space was still available, certainly in the city quarters in the west, the city centres in Asia Minor were already completely built-up by the 3rd century AD. When the need for monumental churches arose, they could either be established in the outskirts, or they could usurp then derelict monuments and deserted sites.[73] In the case of temples, the possible fear of demons apparently succumbed to the desire to occupy these favourable locations. In addition, the city government supposedly encouraged the redevelopment of temples into churches. As said, temples could remain standing after deconsecration. Even when in good condition, their continuous upkeep is hardly likely to have been a favourite post of expenditure. 'Losing' them to the church thus meant that, while pursuing a religious objective, they found an easy and cheap way to ensure the preservation of the urban landscape at the same time.[74] The local bishop probably eagerly purchased these properties, as they guaranteed both a relatively cheap way to install a monumental focus for celebrations, which, moreover, was located in the very centre of the city and by its position alone confirmed the supremacy of Christian religion. It indeed seems that the Church in this period was not yet the financial force it would become in later centuries[75] so that the reuse of complete buildings or at least the ready availability of all necessary building elements on site was decisive in the take-over of formerly public and even pagan sites.

In addition, a few church buildings were also being constructed on virgin plots in the Theodosian period. Most of them were either very small church buildings, such as Church E at Sardis, which was probably a neighbour-

[72] At Ephesus, a church was installed in the East Gymnasium, already in the late 4th or early 5th century AD. The stadium of the city came to harbour a Christian cult centre in the course of the 5th century, though in this case it may have functioned as a martyrium. At Hierapolis, a hall of one of the city's baths was reused as a Christian assembly place. At Perge, an existing palaestra was turned into the forecourt of a Tetraconch church building, probably also in the late 4th to early 5th century AD. In addition, municipal assembly places were also reused as churches. Around AD 400, the Odeion at Selge became a church and around the same time, perhaps somewhat later, the site of the earlier Bouleuterion of Sagalassos was thoroughly rearranged.

[73] SPIESER 1976, p. 311 considered the lack of land the most important factor behind the construction of churches on temple ground.

[74] As ordered in *CTh* 15.10.25.

[75] Non-imperial bequests and donations apparently strongly increased only in the course of the 5th century (JONES 1964, pp. 894-896; 1993). SOTINEL (1998) argues that the economic dependence of the Church in the West continued until the mid-5th century.

hood church serving the new city quarter established just outside the city walls and which thus replaced the more traditional house churches, or Church M in the same city, a small chapel that deconsecrated the site of the enormous Artemis Temple. In addition, larger churches arose as pilgrimage centres either in the suburbs – such as the Church of St. John at Ephesus that could be dated to AD 390-420 or the Martyrion of St. Philip at Hierapolis, constructed around AD 400 – or in the countryside.[76] Even though this was nothing compared to the church boom that began in the second half of the 5th century, the locations of these sites again announced the Christian dominance of urban topography. The Ayasoluk Hill to the north-east of Ephesos was visible to both visitors arriving by land from the road as well as for all visitors travelling by sea (Fig. 5). The Martyrion of St. Philip towered above Hierapolis.[77]

It was in all likelihood not coincidental that these first monumental new churches were pilgrimage sites, nor that the switch from house churches to public cult centres can be situated in the Theodosian period. Theodosius not only made religion a state matter through his continuous efforts to establish an unambiguous Christianity and to eradicate paganism,[78] but also strove to make Christianity more tangible. On the whole, the establishment of monumental, clearly visible centres for religious celebrations in addition to more private gathering places fits in nicely with the official promotion of the true faith. Furthermore, the worship of holy places and relics was strongly endorsed from the later 4th century onwards. Pilgrimages towards the Holy Land – begun under Constantine – further took flight;[79] locations that could be connected to the life and especially the death of the Apostles, martyrs or saints became focal points of holiness also elsewhere[80] and for those cities that had not been blessed with an apostolic past or a god-blessed city

[76] TURNER (1974, pp. 166-230) and BROWN (1981, p. 42) for the psychological consequences of extra-urban locations.

[77] The position of the churches was further exploited. The Martyrion possessed two porticoes, one which provided an expansive overview of the city and the other from which the surrounding landscape leading towards the Kadmos Mountain could be admired (DE BERNARDI 2002, p. 157). At the latest in its Justinianic construction phase, the atrium of the Basilica of St. John was designed to provide a panoramic view over the plain and the harbour of Ephesos.

[78] LIEBESCHUETZ 1991, pp. 146-165; HUNT 1993, esp. pp. 146-150.

[79] ELSNER and RUTHERFORD 2005, pp. 28-29.

[80] The Apostle Philip is said to have been martyred in Hierapolis. The church on Ayasoluk Hill at Ephesus supposedly stands over the burial site of St. John, the apostle, author of the gospel and the Apocalypse. At Resafa (Syria), the original phase of the complex of St. Sergius was assigned to the first quarter of the 5th century AD (ULBERT 1986, p. 139). In the first half of the 5th century a church was erected above the tomb of St. Menas in Abu Mina, Egypt (GROSSMANN 1998, p. 283).

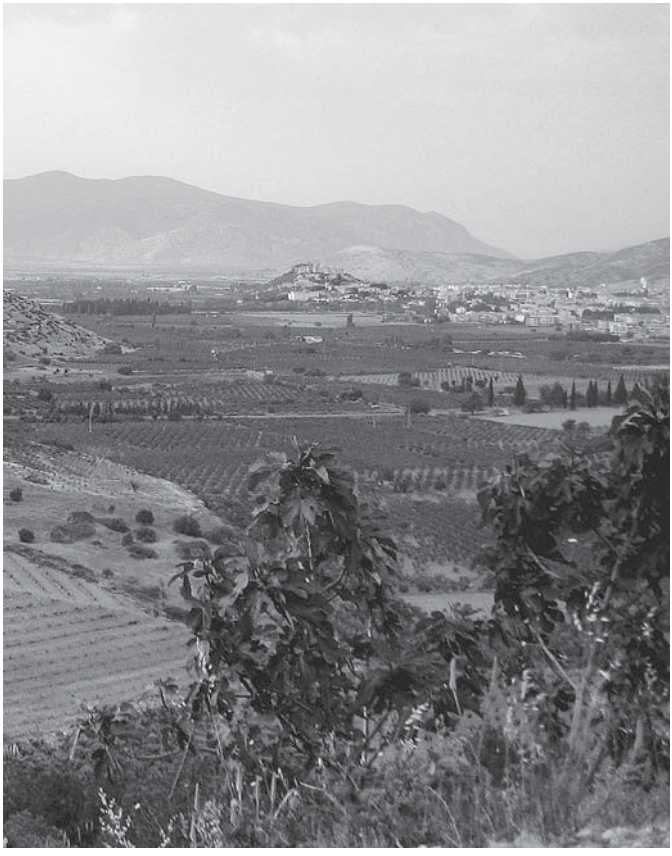

Fig. 5 The Ayasoluk Hill at Ephesos

dweller, the worship of relics achieved the same results.[81] It is even likely that the imperial court interfered or at least influenced the churches at Hierapolis and Ephesos. The Martyrion of St. Philip stood out because of its size, its exceptional design that can be identified not as the work of a local architect, but as being devised by a theoretically schooled *mechanikos*, and

[81] Theodosius is known to have had the body of the exiled former bishop of Constantinople, Paul, brought to the city in 381. A few years later, the remains of the African martyrs Terentius and Africanus were transferred and in 391 the head of John the Baptist arrived at the newly built church of Hebdomon (CROKE 2010, p. 255), which, like the complexes at Ephesus and Hierapolis, was at that time located outside the city proper. These efforts were in the western part of the Empire matched by the relocations of relics to Milan organised by Ambrose (DASSMANN 1975; BAUER 2008, pp. 184-185).

its newly carved, rich architectural decoration.[82] Procopius (*De Aedificiis* 5.1.4-6) tells us that the successor of the Theodosian church of St. John was constructed by Justinian. Also the first church was in all likelihood inspired by the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople.[83] Anyhow, from the later 4th century onwards, a network of Christian holy places rivalling the many sanctified locations of the pagan days came to form a prominent factor in the everyday life of Christians.[84]

Streets and squares

A third phenomenon that occurred almost simultaneously in many cities was the large-scale renovation of their armatures and especially their colonnaded streets. Colonnaded streets were already seen as an enhancement of urban life in Roman times, but in Late Antiquity, they became symbolic for a city and a source of pride in the writings of many authors.[85] The decades preceding the Theodosian period saw extremely few positive interventions pertaining to streets and squares, the only known exception in Asia Minor being the Tetrastoon at Aphrodisias.[86] However, around the same time, the northern portico of the city's South Agora was spoliated and temporarily encroached.[87] Similarly, the 4th century earthquakes at Ephesus, the diocesan capital, left the prominent area around the Celsus Library in a deplorable condition.[88] Around AD 365, the large agora of Hierapolis was also damaged during an earthquake and subsequently deserted.[89]

[82] The plan of the Martyrion had been based on Euclidian geometry (De Bernardi 2002). For *mechanikoi* and *architektones*, see Jones 1964, pp. 1013-1014; Mango 1976, pp. 14-15; Ousterhout 1999, pp. 43-44; Schibille 2009. The specific shape of the martyrion also necessitated a complicated roofing system, which may have been difficult to execute for local carpenters who were more familiar with simple saddleback roofs. In comparison to contemporaneous building projects, the Martyrion was provided with completely finished architectural fragments, including octagonal pedestal bases with detailed mouldings and especially, Composite capitals, which had always been rare in Asia Minor. Similar capitals also appeared in the original phase of the Arkadiane at Ephesos, which was probably an imperial project.

[83] Krautheimer 1986, p. 70.

[84] For pre-Christian pilgrimages, see for instance Elsner and Rutherford 2005.

[85] E.g., Libanios, *Oratio* 11.201, 215-216 and Malalas, *Chronographia* 15.11 for Antioch, ps-Joshua Stylites, *Chronicle* §29 for Edessa, Chorikios, *Oratio* 7.52 for Gaza (discussed in Saliou 2005, p. 176) and Prokopios, *De Aedificiis* 3.4.18 for Melitene.

[86] This more or less square plaza of ca. 45 by 50 m was located behind the city's theatre. As a consequence, rather than being a completely new creation, the pavement and porticoes of an older *porticus post scaenam* were probably redone in the early 360's (ala2004 20).

[87] de Chaisemartain and Lemaire 1996, p. 158.

[88] Breaks in the water conduit caused the water to run down the Stiegengassen, over the Library Square and towards the Agora. A series of water mills was built, the lowest in front of the Celsus Library (Hueber 1997a, pp. 260-261; 1997b, p. 269).

[89] Arthur 2006, p. 33.

A new phase of construction was then initiated in the later 4th century AD (Table 3). At Constantinople itself, the building boom under the Theodosian dynasty included the creation of three imperial fora and one additional civic square along the Mese, the city's central axis laid out under Constantine (Fig. 6).[90] Theodosius himself added the Forum Theodosius and its associated monuments as well as the civic square known as 'Bus'.[91] The Forum of Arcadius was finished under Theodosius II, who may have also created the Sigma.[92] Also in the cities of Asia Minor, some streets and squares were still newly laid out, particularly in new city quarters. However, as stated in the introduction, most of the cities in Asia Minor had such a long history that renovations and restorations were of the utmost importance. In contrast to fortifications, there was apparently little or no difference between larger and smaller cities for what concerns the chronology of these operations. They occurred more or less simultaneously at the diocesan capital of Ephesus, in provincial capitals such as Sardis and Aphrodisias and in smaller cities such as Aizanoi.

The colonnades of the Sebasteion Street and the Tetrastoon at Aphrodisias consisted of new building elements to which they thanked their homogenous appearance. The presence of newly carved pedestals, column shafts and capitals at Aphrodisias also in the late 4th and early 5th century can be explained by the local marble quarries which remained in use far into the Late Roman period.[93] Conversely, most of the streets and squares that were created, re-laid or repaired in the Theodosian period within the region of Asia Minor combined building elements of various origin.[94] This reuse altered the appearance of pavements, of stylobates, and most noteworthy, also that of colonnades and porticoes. I will explore the characteristics of Theodosian and by extension Late Antique colonnades by means of two examples.

[90] In comparison, two fora in total – the pre-Constantine agora of Constantinople or the Augusteion and the Forum of Constantine – could be identified that pre-dated the Theodosian period, whereas two imperial fora were established under later Late Antique and Early Byzantine emperors: the Forum of Marcianus and the Forum of Leo I. These are discussed in BAUER 1996, pp. 148-187, 213-217.

[91] For a description of these squares, see BAUER 1996, respectively pp. 187-203 and pp. 234-235.

[92] BAUER 1996, pp. 203-213.

[93] Reuse became common practice here by the early 6th century at the latest, when the South Portico was renovated using diverse building elements (DE CHAISEMARTIN and LEMAIRE 1996, p. 157).

[94] In contrast, streets in the Near East were mostly laid out with new materials, so that their appearance often differed little from that of their Roman predecessors. This was the case in the Theodosian age, for instance, in Palladius Street at Skythopolis, but also with much later streets such as the extension of the Cardo at Jerusalem under Justinian.

Table 3. Examples of renovated and repaired streets and squares in cities of Asia Minor

Site	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Aizanoi, agora	New decoration	Around 400	Naumann 1979, pp. 45-62
Aizanoi, late antique colonnaded street	New	End 4th-begin 5th c.	Rheidt 1995; Von Mosch 1995; Wörrle 1995; Rheidt 2003, pp. 243-247
Aphrodisias, North Agora	Repaired	Later 4th c.	Smith and Ratté 1997, pp. 6-8; 2000, pp. 233-235; Ratté 2001, p. 135; Ratté and Smith 2004, pp. 156-160
Aphrodisias, Sebasteion Street	Relaid	End 4th-begin 5th c.	Erim 1990, pp. 11-13, 27 fig. 30; Dillon 1997
Aphrodisias, South Agora	Spoliated	4th c.	Erim 1990, pp. 13-23; de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996
Aphrodisias, Tetrastoon	New	Second half 4th c.	Erim 1986, p. 89; ala2004 20
Ephesos, Arkadiane	Relaid	Early 5th c.	Wilberg and Heberdey 1906, pp. 132-133; Alzinger 1970, p. 1597; Foss 1979, p. 56; Bauer 1996, p. 423; Schneider 1999
Ephesos, colonnaded street between Arkadiane and Church of St. Mary	New	Second quarter 5th c.	Keil 1964, pp. 76, 80; Foss 1979, p. 60; 1977, p. 472; Jacobs 2011, p. 324
Ephesos, Domitian Street	Repaired	Later 4th c.	Eichler 1961; Vetters 1972-1975
Ephesos, Embolos	Relaid	Late 4th, early 5th c.	Foss 1979, pp. 65-66; Bauer 1996, pp. 284-290, 422-425; Thür 1999; Roueché 1999, p. 167; Roueché 2002; Ladstätter 2009
Ephesos, plaza in front of the Celsus Library	Relaid	Around AD 400	Jobst 1983, pp. 149-242, esp. 230-231; Bauer 1996, pp. 282, 423-424; Hueber 1997a, pp. 260-261; 1997b, p. 269
Ephesos, State Agora	Repaired	Second half 4th c.	Eichler 1965, pp. 96-97; Alzinger 1972-1975, p. 296; Foss 1979, p. 82; Bauer 1996, pp. 290-293; Scherrer 2001, pp. 78-87

Site	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Ephesos, Tetragonos Agora	Repaired	Under Theodosius I (379-395)	Wilberg and Keil 1923, pp. 4-18, 40-75; Foss 1979, p. 63; Bauer 1996, pp. 275-278, 423; Scherrer 2000, pp. 140-146; Scherrer and Trinkl 2006, pp. 48-51; Ladstätter and Pütz 2007, pp. 404-405
Hierapolis, agora	Spoliated	Late 4th c.	D'Andria 2001, pp. 104-108, 112; 2003, pp. 88-110; Arthur 2006, pp. 109-110, 117; Jacobs 2009b, pp. 207-208; 2011, pp. 626-627
Hierapolis, processional way	New	Early 5th c.	Jacobs 2011, pp. 127, 154, 331, 338, 588, 717
Sagalassos Streets A2'-A3'-A4'	Repaired	Later 4th to early 5th c.	Waelkens *et al*. 1997, pp. 168-171, 185-187; Martens 2007, pp. 349-350
Sagalassos, plaza in front of the Neon Library	Repaired	Third quarter of the 4th c.	Waelkens *et al*. 1995, pp. 48-50, 59-61; 1997, pp. 120-121, 125; Poblome 1999, pp. 315-316; Waelkens *et al*. 2000a, p. 329; 2000b, p. 426
Sardis, colonnaded street in sector MMS	New	Early 5th c.	Foss 1976, pp. 44-45, sources 18 and 19; Greenewalt, Cahill and Rautman 1987, pp. 18-20; Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1994, p. 12; 1996, pp. 6-7
Sardis, Marble Road	Renovated	Around AD 400	Yegül 1986, pp. 18-21; Crawford 1990; Bejor 1999, pp. 20-21
Sardis, colonnaded street in sector HoB	New	5th c.	Foss 1976, p. 44: 115, source 18
Sardis, colonnaded street to the east of the Bath-Gymnasium	Repaired	Early 5th c.	Yegül 1986, p. 22; Jacobs 2011, p. 716
Sardis, plaza in sector MMS/N	Relaid	Early 5th c.	Hanfmann 1983, p. 168; Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1994, p. 4; 1995, p. 7; Greenewalt and Rautman 1998, pp. 474-478
Side, agora, possibly 'Forum of Arcadius'	Repaired	Under Arcadius?	Mansel, Bean and Inan 1956, pp. 26-37; Mansel 1963, pp. 97-107; Nollé 1993, pp. 486-488, no. 166; Bauer 1996, p. 293; Foss 1996, pp. 34-35

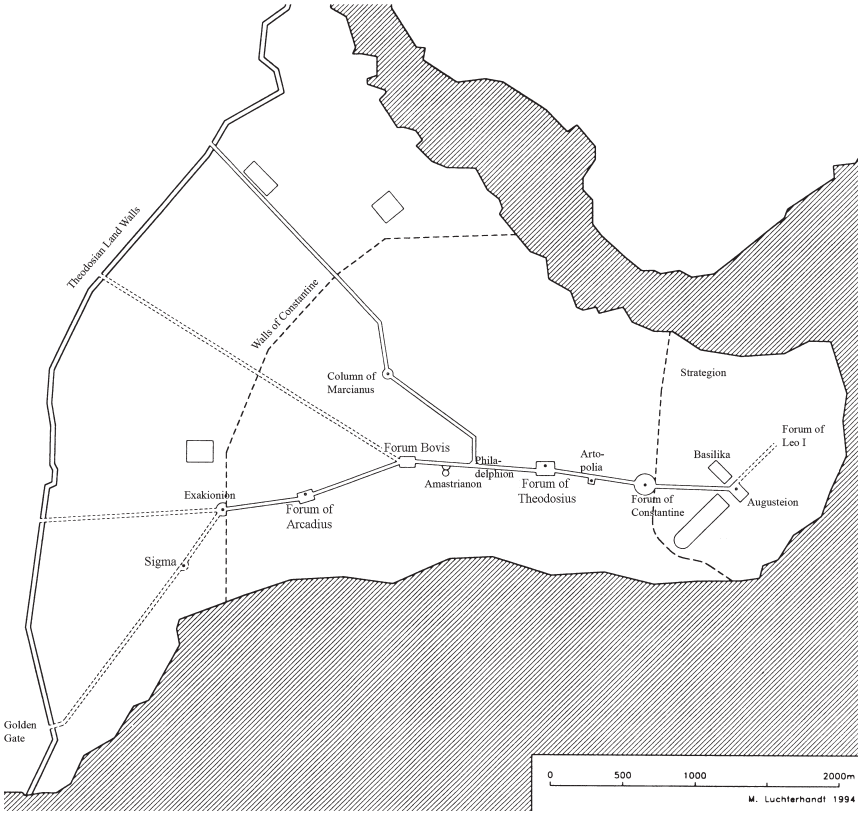

Fig. 6 Late Antique fora and plazas at Constantinople (after BAUER 1996: 146, fig. 47)

First of all, Aizanoi's Late Antique colonnaded street proves that it was still possible to create uniform ensembles even when working with miscellaneous building elements and despite smaller building mistakes (Fig. 7).[95] The new thoroughfare probably replaced an old, secondary street that had led to the Zeus Temple of the town. Around AD 400, the temple was probably being converted into a Christian Church. At this time, the need for a more monumental approach may well have been felt. No effort was spared for its creation. The area was cleared from earlier structures before the 8.30 m wide road, its colonnades and rows of shops were laid out. All building elements used – the pavement slabs of the road and the colonnade,

[95] RHEIDT 1995, pp. 699-710; VON MOSCH 1995, pp. 742-744 for the coin finds associated with the construction of the street.

Figure 7 The Late Antique colonnaded street at Aizanoi

the stylobates, the columns as well as the entablature pieces – were reused. They were clearly assembled beforehand and their particular measurements were taken into account during construction. For example, the longer set of columns in the northeast colonnade was combined with a low stylobate. In contrast, the stylobate of the southeast colonnade was made of two steps. Some of the reused blocks possessed profiles; others had functioned as the upper or lower margins of marble walls.[96] Both colonnades were composed of unfluted Ionic columns. The ones in the northeast were some 4.9 m high, those in the southwest 4.1 m. Both colonnades were combined with Ionic capitals that originally did not belong to the shafts. The Ionic capitals of the northeast colonnade were somewhat too small and therefore the volutes had to be re-cut to make them fit the columns. For the same reason, the top profile of the column shafts also needed to be removed. The columns in the northeast all came from the temple of Artemis that was mentioned in an inscription on two of the architraves supporting the portico roof. These architraves were supplemented by items with different but similar measurements and profiles. Above the architraves, a frieze with garlands deriving

[96] RHEIDT 1995, pp. 699-700 and p. 708.

from the town's bath-gymnasium and a cornice with consoles was found. The elements of the latter originated from at least three different buildings and were placed next to each other without any regard for their varied size or decoration. The architrave on top of the columns in the southwest colonnade likewise consisted of a variety of elements that did not always fit together nicely. Also the frieze is a composition, of which some elements possess a simple decoration, while others had none. Conversely, the dented cornice on top was derived from one single building.[97]

Although this street thus included quite a few imperfections, their impact was limited by taking as many building elements from the same structure as possible. Especially the fact that the columns of each colonnade were all identical was beneficial for the final result. With a total height of some 6 m and an entablature that was maybe unsystematically composed but still classical, its appearance was even traditional. This was no longer the case in other streets belonging to the period under research. Most often, there was a large variety among the columns. Thus the second example of a Theodosian colonnaded street I will discuss, the Marble Road at Sardis, was framed by eclectic rows of columns (Fig. 8). The nine column bases recovered from the north colonnade abutting the Bath-Gymnasium complex could be divided into two groups: five small Attic-Ionic bases with plinths and four much larger Attic bases without plinths. Furthermore, at least three column shafts were supported by Ionic pedestals. It should also be mentioned that the items of these separate groups varied in dimension. Finally, a large, rectangular base with two receding curved mouldings was found in situ. In order to integrate it in the row of columns, it was laid somewhat off-centre and supported by an extra stone on the lower step. The column was again placed off-centre compared to the base, but in line with the rest of the colonnade. The column shafts could be divided into two groups with different diameters and heights.[98] They were cut down to eventually achieve an even height for all elements of the colonnade. In capitals there was also a wide range of variation in size and style with Pergamene, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite items present. Some of them were re-cut in order to make them shorter, so that they corresponded better with the varying lengths of the column shafts. Their height ranges between 0.12 and 0.44 m! Moreover, small Attic-Ionic bases were reused as capitals. As a result of the large variety within this ensemble and

[97] RHEIDT 1995, p. 710.

[98] The first, comprising ten members, possessed lower diameters between 0.34 and 0.38 m; the second, with seven members, had lower diameters of 0.42 to 0.48 m. Of the first group, the height of three columns could be established (1.70; 1.92; 1.96 m). In the second group, a shaft of 2.18 m was almost completely preserved.

Fig. 8 The colonnade section of the Marble Road at Sardis abutting the Bath-Gymnasium complex

the subsequent re-carving and down-shaving to enable the installation of a simple wooden entablature on top of the capitals,[99] the total height of the colonnade probably did not reach higher than 3.20 m.

This widespread use of secondary material within city centres clearly distinguished the Late Antique city from its Roman predecessor. This is rather ironic, since porticoes and colonnades thanked their initial popularity to their ability to regulate the appearance of both public spaces and streets.[100] The unity that had for centuries been the foremost characteristic of a row of columns now evaporated. In the following decades and centuries, the appearance of colonnades and especially of street pavements would be given an evermore varied and often untidy appearance as the result of subsequent smaller-scale renovations and repairs.

Nevertheless, the decoration of these new streets remained very traditional. As was the case in the past, they were still abundantly adorned with decorative monuments and in particular, with statues. We are well informed of the statuary decoration of the monuments and streets in Constantinople by literary, epigraphic and iconographic sources.[101] Thus the lower relief windings of the column of Arcadius, erected on the Forum of Arcadius in AD 402, show pagan and mythological statues, most of them ancient works of art already imported into Constantinople by Constantine, on display

[99] As opposed to the traditional entablature consisting of an architrave, a frieze and a cornice that was common in earlier centuries.

[100] GROS 1996, p. 95; MACDONALD 1986, pp. 32-33; BEJOR 1999, p. 7. The long perspectives offered by colonnades also exalted admiration in literary sources, see for example Achilles Tatius 5.1-5 (2nd century AD) on Alexandria and *Oracula Sibyllina* 13. 64-68 (AD 253) for the colonnades of Bosra and Philippopolis.

[101] BASSETT 2004.

along the city's main street.[102] The Theodosians followed Constantine's example and further augmented the statuary numbers of the capital by importing older statuary and by erecting contemporary portrait statues of the ruling emperors and their families especially on the imperial fora and the squares of the city.[103]

The combination of old and new statues was also made in the Empire's provincial capitals. The best-studied ensemble is a collection of 12 bronze Nikes on the Embolos or Kuretenstrasse at Ephesus. They had been taken from an unknown location in the city and put on display together with a portrait statue of the empress Aelia Flacilla (AD 379—386) and maybe also with a rider statue of the emperor Theodosius.[104] In the later 4th century, the Embolos was clearly upgraded to be the representational centre of the city. As such, it became a favoured location to post new statues of contemporary inhabitants, proconsuls and emperors.[105] Likewise, at Aphrodisias, newly carved honorific statues of emperors and governors as well as new statuary decoration still appeared.[106] Thus the back wall of the Sebasteion Street, which, as said above, was still composed of contemporary architectural elements, received an elaborated decoration including pilaster capitals depicting Erotes or a putto carrying out diverse activities.[107] Conversely, smaller cities of the province almost exclusively used the existing collection of older statues at their disposal to decorate their urban armatures. For instance, the further elaboration of the colonnaded street of Aizanoi included two honorific bases and at least one mythological statue taken from elsewhere.[108]

Therefore, despite their often less classical appearance, the widespread relaying, renovation and re-decoration of civic armatures in the Theodosian period indicate that they were still very much central to civic life, both in Constantinople and in the other cities of Asia Minor. The importance of quite a few older civic squares would, however, dwindle in the further course

[102] BAUER 1996, p. 336.

[103] See references cited in notes 90-92.

[104] ROUECHÉ 2002; AUINGER and AURENHAMMER 2010, p. 684.

[105] THÜR 1999 for the Late Antique history of the Embolos. ROUECHÉ 2009, AUINGER and AURENHAMMER 2010 discuss the statues erected and relocated here.

[106] Honorific bases for imperial statues: ala2004: 23, 25, 26 and 27. Statues of the governors Alexander and Oecumenius were found in the North Stoa of the North Agora (ala2004: 31 and 32; SMITH 1999, pp. 165-167; 2002).

[107] DILLON 1997, pp. 744-762.

[108] A first originally carried the bronze image of Aurelius Demetrius, mentioned in the inscription as neokoros (temple warden) of Zeus (WÖRRLE 1995, pp. 725-726). The statue it supported on the colonnaded street was not retrieved. On top of a second base, originally intended for a Markia Tateis, mother of two Asiarchs, a statue of a satyr was now posted (VON MOSCH 1995). The motives for these relocations and new combination, together with further examples of statuary reuse, are discussed in full in JACOBS 2010.

of the 5th century.[109] Most agorae that, just like the imperial fora of Constantinople, interrupted the course of a colonnaded street – that thus could be conceived of as broader parts of colonnaded streets – survived until the end of Antiquity.[110] The importance of the colonnaded main streets, as said in the beginning of this section, indeed only became greater. They formed the stage of many important events, notably secular and an ever-growing number of Christian processions. At Constantinople, the urban ceremonial developed under Theodosius first included the appearance of the emperor in the city streets, foremost the Mese, surrounded by clergy and courtiers. In addition, Christian processions are known to have taken place on important religious feasts such as Ascension Day, when new saints were introduced to the city or when resident saints were celebrated.[111] Similar religious processions must also have been initiated in smaller cities, at least from the moment that the first monumental churches appeared. Here, colonnaded streets would also frame public rituals such as *adventus*, official visits of the provincial governor or, more rarely, by the emperor himself.[112] Unsurprisingly, these highly visible and much visited locations were treated as the primary showcases of a city.

The Late Antique city and the changed political situation

The consequences of the changes made to the administrative structuring of the Empire and, as a consequence, to the municipal life in the beginning and the course of the 4th century are worth discussing in more detail.

[109] A detailed overview of the later history of multiple agorae and related squares can be found in Lavan 2006. Private usurpations of fora in North Africa is discussed in Messerschmidt 2010.

[110] The two agorae of Sagalassos are exemplary: both of them were located along the main colonnaded streets of the city and thus had to be crossed when traveling through it. Large-scale renovations to the main streets as well as the agorae continued far into the 6th century AD (Bes, Jacobs and Waelkens *forthcoming*).

[111] Bauer 1996, pp. 381-387 with references; Bauer 2008, pp. 200-203 and Croke 2010, pp. 254-255 for political processions. The most important source for reconstructing the occasions, composition and routes of processions are the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia, from the beginning of the 10th century and the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, written a few decades later. Baldovin 1987, pp. 181-204 discusses all relevant literary sources for religious processions in Constantinople. See also Bauer 2001, pp. 50-52; 2008, pp. 203-206; Berger 2001; 2002.

[112] The reception of such an official happened according to a predetermined schedule. He would be greeted by a delegation while approaching the city; local magistrates and a carefully lined up crowd awaited his arrival outside the city gate. From there on, city dwellers accompanied him over a main colonnaded thoroughfare to the city centre, where he would listen to a laudatory speech. His departure followed a reversed sequence (Slootjes 2006, pp. 106-110).

Indeed, with the renewal of building activity in the Theodosian period, the practical consequences of the rearrangement of the political arena were noticeable foremost in the cities.

The cities of the Roman Empire no longer possessed the means they had in the first three centuries AD. The reforms initiated by Diocletian created a more complicated central administration, with smaller provinces and a very bureaucratic tax system. The task of local councillors was suddenly more burdensome and much less rewarding, which explains why members of the local elite became eager to escape their traditional duties.[113] As competition for prestigious posts in the municipal government strongly diminished, so did the private benefactions that had traditionally ensured candidates of local popularity. Moreover, civic property and civic taxes were confiscated by the imperial *res privata* under the reigns of Constantine and Constantius. This confiscation must have severely curtailed possibilities to finance projects of the traditional kind, and even made it difficult to maintain existing urban amenities. Complaints soon followed.[114] In order to ensure the proper upkeep of public buildings and walls, a fixed part of the city's remaining revenues was apportioned for this purpose in AD 374.[115]

Especially smaller cities of the province were hit by the cutback in their resources. Physical consequences are foremost noticeable in their fortifications. Their walls were characterized by the smaller size of their circuits, the large-scale employment of reused blocks, and the clear differences between wall sections, with only the stretches near gates and the gates themselves constructed with care. The overseers of the construction apparently concentrated resources and skills here, leaving the rest of the wall construction to less professional builders, probably unskilled city dwellers performing *munera*.[116] As a consequence, material and labour costs of these

[113] On the decline of the curial order, see MILLAR 1983; LANIADO 2002: esp. chapter 1.

[114] CHASTAGNOL 1986.

[115] *CTh* 15.1.18 (AD 374). *CTh* 4.13.5 (358) already ordered a refund of 'one fourth of the payments of imposts' to the cities of Africa so that they could restore their walls and repair their buildings. *CTh* 5.14.35 (AD 395 = *CJ* 11.70.3) confirmed that one third 'of the regular tax which is paid annually from parcels of land and estates of a municipality is sufficient for the restoration of the public walls'. For the confiscations and refunds by the central administration, see also JONES 1964, pp. 732-733; LEPELLEY 1979, pp. 61-72; CHASTAGNOL 1986; DELMAIRE 1989, pp. 276-299, 645-657. LIEBESCHUETZ 1996 has suggested alternative revenues for replenishing these losses.

[116] Laws implying the existence of compulsory tasks in the 4th and early 5th century AD are *CTh* 15.1.5 (AD 338); 15.1.7 (AD 361) 15.1.23 (AD 384); 15.1.49 (AD 412); 11.16.4 (AD 328) and *Digesta* 50.4.4 (ascribed to Ulpian). In addition, both laws on wall construction cited in note 33 suggest the involvement of the urban population in wall construction. Especially the second edict, which explicitly stated that 'all persons, regardless of their privileges, shall be compelled to aid in the construction of walls and in the purchase and transportation of supplies, so that in these instances, at least, all shall be forced to perform these compulsory services in proportion to their landholdings and land tax units.'

walls could be seriously reduced. Finally, it is also significant that smaller cities only took the trouble to construct walls when they had been explicitly told to do so by the central administration.

Conversely, the walls of capitals preceded the enceintes around the other cities of the provinces by a couple of decades. The costs of these walls were high as they invariably surrounded most if not all of the inhabited area, as they were completely constructed anew and, at times included additional decoration on the wall faces themselves. It is true that the administrative changes of the early 4th century had been beneficial for provincial capitals. They were the residence of the local governor, who as direct representative of the imperial government held almost absolute control over the cities of his province. He became responsible for the management of major public works – meaning that he decided what was to be undertaken and how much would be spent on it – in all municipalities of his province.[117] Moreover, he controlled their funds and was even given the power to transfer money from one town to another, if he found it necessary.[118] Unsurprisingly, a governor favoured his capital, which resulted in more numerous building projects of higher quality. Moreover, governors were in a position to request additional support from the imperial government, in the form of financial contributions or simply tax remissions.[119]

The concentration of power and funds in the imperial centre of Constantinople itself caused its fortifications, and, in addition, almost every construction adorning the city, to be larger, more creative and more luxurious than anywhere else in the Empire. Newly carved architectural elements were amply used in its fortifications, in its streets, squares and in grandiose monuments, both secular and Christian. Although this was no doubt made possible and also necessary by the presence of the imperial court, constructors at Constantinople also had little other choice, since the city was largely built on virgin ground where only few building elements were available for reuse. The import of older ashlars, entablature pieces and columns, which sometimes did occur,[120] cannot have been much cheaper than the production of new ones.

[117] JONES 1964, p. 374 for the tasks of the governor. SLOOTJES 2006, pp. 77-89 deals with the position of the governor as benefactor of public works. Epigrams commemorating governors, see ROBERT 1948, pp. 35–82, esp. pp. 60–82. City councils are mentioned in only two out of 53 laws assembled in book 15 of the Theodosian Code. During that period, it was the governor who was assumed to be responsible (JONES 1964, p. 1312, note 103).

[118] *CTh* 15.1.18 (374).

[119] Johnson 1983, pp. 59-60 for examples. Grants may also have been obtained by sending a special representative or embassy to the court, such as the one that obtained the status of *civitas* for the community of Orcistus in the early 4th century (CHASTAGNOL 1981). On the organisation of embassies in general, see *Digesta* 50.7, especially 50.7.1-3.

[120] E.g., Justinian had red and green columns from the Harbour Gymnasium at Ephesos transported to be integrated in his Hagia Sophia.

However, in order to give the newly founded capital more prestige and to provide it with more historical, artistic and religious authority, it also needed a rich statuary decoration. For this purpose, Greek and Roman statues were taken from at least 23 cities – including Rome – and distributed over the capital's monuments, streets and squares in two distinct phases: the first and by far the largest in the very beginning, under Constantine, the second under the Theodosian dynasty, from ca. 380 to 420.[121] They were then supplemented by new statues depicting members of the imperial house, of the Constantinopolitan court or of local celebrities such as victorious charioteers. Like Constantinople, provincial capitals combined new and old statues into one decorative ensemble. In smaller cities, however, Late Antique honorific statues and new sculptural decoration were extremely sparse, since the changed political situation had ensured that the political arena together with the largest supplies of money became concentrated in the provincial capitals. Smaller cities were left with little choice but to reuse older items to ensure a worthy setting for urban activities.

The dichotomy between Constantinople and provincial capitals on the one hand and the smaller cities of the provinces on the other was thus expressed in their fortifications and their statuary record, with the use of new building blocks and new sculptural decoration largely limited to the former. Conversely, a city's status in secular administration was not so influential for what concerns street infrastructure or church buildings. Only at Constantinople, reuse of building blocks stayed a marginal phenomenon. A provincial capital such as Sardis and even the diocesan capital of Ephesos possessed colonnades combining diverse architectural elements. Strikingly, even at the Arkadiane, known to have been renovated under the auspices of an emperor, one did not refrain from combining the older columns of the street with a variety of other building materials, rather than providing it with a new and uniform architectural decoration.[122] In contrast, the colonnade section excavated at the otherwise unexceptional town of Aizanoi was made of homogenous columns. In this particular case, it could be argued that the use of the building elements was ideological, as it was made very clear to passers-by that a temple was recycled for this purpose: on two architraves an inscription was readable, belonging to the original pagan cult building that was apparently dedicated to Artemis. Moreover, in the northwest colonnade, two slabs from the temple's

[121] BASSETT 2004, pp. 37-120. Statuary transports to Constantinople largely came to an end after the Theodosian dynasty.

[122] The inscription (*IvE* IV 1306) identifying the street itself was also a rather unimpressive monument, carved into a marble base of which the older text was replaced by this new inscription, with very irregular letters.

tympanon, one of them carrying a flat relief of a deer, were integrated in the pavement of the northwest colonnade to be trodden on. Although the derision of the goddess Artemis was no doubt a nice side effect of the temple dismantlement, the main reason was pragmatic in my opinion. The temple, which by the late 4th century was probably deserted and decaying, offered a substantial supply of identical elements that could relatively easily be assembled into a classical-looking ensemble.

Finally, church construction was also independent from administrative status in this period and instead followed its own logic, with the most magnificent building complexes arising near capitals as well as in smaller cities and in the desert. In this respect, it is understandable that Theodosius had to boost the Christian importance of the capital by importing relics into the city.

A Theodosian 'Renaissance'

In this article, I have attempted to place three major developments that characterized the cities of Asia Minor in the Theodosian period – the widespread construction of walls, the desertion of temples followed by the creation of monumental churches and finally the renovation of the cities' armatures – back into their historical framework and in the wider cityscape of which they were a part of and with which they interacted.

The expansion of Constantinople in the Theodosian period is self-explicatory. Theodosius' determined effort to create a capital worthy of imperial authority led to the city being furnished with adequate infrastructure – not only additional streets, fora and fortifications, but also aqueducts, cisterns, a harbour[123] and horrea for storing the grain to feed the increasing population – representative public buildings, religious foundations and also lavish palaces for members of the court and the elite that were assembling around the emperor. Somewhat more difficult is the explanation why Asia Minor experienced a boost from the later 4th century onwards.

On the one hand, interventions in Constantinople surely functioned as an example for the other cities of the Empire and elements of its city fabric and ritual life were thus transposed on a smaller scale. On the other hand, the central administration in all likelihood was responsible for, or at the

[123] The aqueduct of Valens was further extended in the Theodosian period (Berger 1997, p. 380; Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008, p. 16). For the vast expansion of the city's water storage especially from AD 406 onwards, see Crow, Bardill and Bayliss 2008, pp. 15-16. The capital's existing harbours were restored (*CTh* 15.1.23) and a new one was constructed on the Marmara side of the city (Kocabaş 2008, pp. 18-20).

least strongly encouraged, the first two developments discussed above. Nevertheless, there never appears to have been a deliberate policy of urban renewal, neither from the imperial administration nor from individual cities. Rather, a number of unrelated factors arising in just a few decades' time fuelled the formation of the typical Late Antique city. These developments did have a direct influence on one another at times. For instance, the construction of monumental churches necessitated the presence of an adequate – meaning both practical and representative – approach. Thus the adaptation of the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi was probably the direct incentive for the conversion of a secondary street into a colonnaded venue. Likewise, the establishment of the Martyrion of St. Philip outside the city walls of Hierapolis induced the layout of a new ceremonial approach, which, although it was probably never colonnaded, did aim at evoking awe from visitors.[124]

Finally, almost all examples mentioned above were concentrated in the later 4th and the first decades of the 5th century. Indeed, it appears that from ca. the 420's onwards, interventions to the secular city had already slowed down, even if one probably still profited from all the works that had just been carried out. The second half of the 5th century was even less eventful. With a few exceptions, streets were no longer built or renovated and fortifications may already have been decaying.[125] Finances became more and more redirected to the Church, which is expressed in the fast growing number of churches in the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century AD. It is because of the diversity of interventions that the Theodosian age, and in particular the last twenty years of the 4th and the first twenty years of the 5th century AD, can be considered to have been the last renaissance of the Roman Empire.

[124] After exiting the city through a secondary gate, church-goers crossed a small valley by means of an imposing bridge, then ascended the slope to the east of the city by means of a long staircase, passed through a door fronted by a small, semi-circular staircase and then turned 90 degrees to the north to mount the high, steep staircase that, with a final surprise effect, gave access to the Martyrion.

[125] Debris and rubbish were dumped against wall sections near the North-West Gate at Sagalassos (WAELKENS *et al*. 2000, pp. 231-239). The courtyard in front of the Magnesian Gate at Ephesos was already used for burials at the end of the 4th century or somewhat later. After the 5th century, the gate went out of use (SOKOLICEK 2009, 342-344). At some sites, such as at Blaundos (GIESE 2006a, p. 78), and probably also at Kyaneai (HANSEN 1996, pp. 28-30), two Late Antique phases of fortification were recognised, whereby original wall stretches needed to be supplied with new additions. The only examples in Asia Minor of large-scale interventions to streets postdating the Theodosian period are the repaving of the Marble Street at Ephesos by the proconsul Eutropius in the third quarter of the 5th century (*IvE* IV 1304) and the renovation of the north-south colonnaded street and the two agorae at Sagalassos in the second quarter of the 6th, presumably after a heavy earthquake (JACOBS and WAELKENS *submitted*).

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SUMMARY

Asia Minor witnessed a resurgence of construction and renovation activities in the Theodosian age, and in particular in the last twenty years of the 4th and the first twenty years of the 5th century AD. In fact, the typical Late Antique city, with its imposing fortification walls, heterogeneous street colonnades and agora porticoes, and monumental churches replacing earlier temples, came into being in these decades. A confrontation of the material remains with contemporaneous historical, political, social and religious events and changes, would suggest that these urbanistic interventions were the result of unrelated factors arising in just a few decades' time. Despite the absence of a deliberate Theodosian policy of urban renewal, the care for and energy invested in the cityscape does testify to continuance of aesthetic principles and representational concerns, not only at Constantinople, but also in the provincial capitals and even in the smaller cities of the region.

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