

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS ON THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE KASTRON

Recently, the thesis has been put forward with respect to the publication of some excavation results⁹⁰³, that the *kastron* was the »luxueuse résidence d'un noble local« and that the numerous embrasures are to be seen as »un élément plus symbolique que proprement défensif«⁹⁰⁴ The author puts the *kastron* of Androna alongside the buildings of Qasr ibn Wardan and Stabl Antar that were also interpreted as being a »résidence aristocratique« or »résidence fortifiée«. His thesis started out from the assumption that the *kastron* lay in the middle of an »already well fortified« settlement, a situation which, in his opinion, suggests a civil function for the *kastron*. One fundamental factor in D. Genequand's interpretation of the *kastron* as being a private residence was the rich decoration of some upper storey rooms mentioned in the preliminary reports. In the thesis it is thus a matter, on the one hand, of the situation of the enclosing walls towards the middle of the 6th century and, on the other hand, the question whether a defence concept was at all part of the overall plan for the *kastron*, or whether it was not rather a »pseudo-military« building for which an »external military appearance« was chosen in order to reflect »the owner's power and high status«. It seems sensible to first present the results of the excavations in a summary and only then to return to D. Genequand's thesis.

The following parts have been clarified as being elements of the whole complex: The double-storeyed rooms in front of the inside of the outer walls, an entrance portal flanked by fortified towers in each case at the middle of the western and southern sides, a parapet walk running round on all sides of the *kastron*, a ramp house at the centre of the western and southern sides in each case, a tower at the middle of the eastern and northern sides and at least three-storey towers in the corners of the building (pl. 45; 50, 2; 61, 1-2; 62, 2; 70, 1-2; 90, 1; 96, 1; 147; 152; 153, 1; 156, 1; 158; 172, 1; 178, 1).

The excavations started out from a state of preservation which had been changing constantly until immediately before the beginning of the excavations. After the final collapse of the upper storey rooms, the rubble was removed over the centuries. The dismantling of the diagonal towers of the *kastron*, which in part still stood at a height, was still not concluded in the years shortly before and after 1900 (pl. 17, 2; 18, 1). Apart from the robbery of stone and destruction in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, only the parts of the building, which had collapsed into the ground floor rooms, remained, as well as all the elements which had been incorporated as spoils in secondary buildings of the Arab period. So our excavation work began on the hilltops of the western side of the *kastron* over which a thin layer of humus had formed (pl. 48, 1), leading down over five to six metres of excavation to the floor of the rooms on the ground floor (pl. 48, 2). The ground plan, which Butler had published (fig. 22) changed fundamentally with the uncovering of the parapet walk, the great gateways and the eastern stair tower: In the great halls, not cruciform pillars, but simple pillar supports in the lower and upper floors supported the vaults, while the smaller rooms were barrel-vaulted and without pillar supports. Thus with the excavations, not only did the sequence of rooms

⁹⁰³ Strube 2003, 53-56. – Strube 2007, 128f.

⁹⁰⁴ Genequand 2012, 384-388. The author does not deal with the inscription's content. According to his thesis, it is thus to be assumed that Thomas erected a private residence at the centre of the town, in the direct vicinity of the main church and the public bath, which »occasionellement« served the residents of the town as a refuge. Apart from the significance

of the inscription for every analysis of the *kastron*, it would be revealing to find out what such a private residence at the centre of the town says for the author about Thomas's position in Androna. Above it was shown that the *kastron* cannot be discussed without the situation of the surrounding walls and that, apart from Thomas, two further names came to light.

on the western, southern and northern sides change fundamentally, but also their basic form. However, it was partially possible to include the irregular spacing of the locations of some pillar which surround the kastron courtyard and were still for the most part *in situ* in Butler's day, in our ground plan (pl. 147).

The subsequent use of the kastron for centuries had, on the one hand, far-reaching consequences for the original building and, on the other, preserved a wealth of elements through their reuse in later structures.

One characteristic of the whole complex is the change of room forms from one side of the *kastron* to the other and the accentuation of the western and southern sides through the great gateways and their connection with the great rampouses (pl. 147).

The main gate at the centre of the western side bears the building inscription (pl. 17, 1; 50, 1; 148), which not only names the donor Thomas and his nephew Jakobos, but also informs about the beginning of construction in May 558 and the insertion of the lintel in November 559 AD. The astonishingly short construction time raises questions of the organisation of the construction operations which are very closely linked with the situation of the circuit walls in the year 558 AD: Was basalt material from the perhaps preceding demolition of the inner circuit wall used for the construction of the kastron, i. e. did the basalt wall already no longer have any function when construction works for the kastron began? Does the short construction time indicate the intensive deployment of gangs of army construction workers? At which time began the construction of the outer circuit wall?

Both gateways of the kastron were flanked by fortified towers and connected to the inner courtyard through a long vestibule (pl. 57, 1-2; 147; 155-156; 179, 2; 180, 2). The well-thought out combination of gate, fortified tower and ramp house on one side of each of the two gateways gives the southern half of the western wing and the western side of the southern wing a special importance. In both ramp houses, some ramp inclines begin with steps which were inserted to achieve the intended storey height (pl. 53, 2; 54, 2; 179, 1).

All the ground floor rooms excavated were not connected with one another on the ground floor by passageways and were entered from the courtyard side, i. e. from the pillar porticoes, through doors (pl. 147; 170). All the rooms opened in their full height onto the parapet walk (pl. 70, 1; 180, 1; 181, 1-2). On the western, southern and northern sides, several smaller rooms face a large hall. While there is some indication that the large halls served as utility and communal rooms, it is more difficult to deduce the function of the smaller rooms, because only one of the smaller rooms on the southern and northern side was excavated.

In contrast to the halls, the smaller rooms of the groundfloor were only poorly lit and problematic as living rooms because of the high opening onto the parapet walk. In the period of subsequent use, the high openings of the western and southern halls were closed off by means of a high mud brick wall on spolia columns and thus made »homely« (pl. 70, 1; 72, 2; 82, 1; 166, 2). The question is whether the ground floor rooms of 18-30m² in size did not function mainly as storage and stock rooms – I shall return to this question.

On the south-western side of the kastron a large hall adjoins the ramp house, followed by a latrine (pl. 75; 147; 150, 1; 168). Between the large hall at the southern end of the southern wing and the ramp house there are three rooms, one of which was excavated. Sondages in the area of the western and southern porticoes, the uncovering of the south-western corner tower, as well as extensive works in the south-western outside area of the western wing supplemented the investigation of the western and southern wings which represented a main focus of the excavation works in the kastron. On the other hand, the works in the northern wing were not continued after the uncovering of a large hall, as special constructive forms require extensive excavations which it was not possible to implement within the time limits of our project (pl. 89, 1-2). In the three great halls of the western, southern and northern wings, the vaults on the lower floor were supported by pillars which were integrated into the lower parapet walk on one side and located in front of the wall on the other (fig. 24; pl. 180, 2). It was possible to prove the existence of pillar supports also in the upper floor rooms, because the capitals of the upper pillars differ from those in the lower rooms. However,

the original position of the upper pillars is open. On each side of the *kastron* it is linked with the question of the design of the upper rooms, their lighting and their possible connection with one another (pl. 179-182). The results for the western and southern halls are particularly informative. Of the original inventory of the western hall, the well in the northern part of the room and the abundant illumination through large round-arched windows should be pointed out, because they underline the hall's importance as economical and communal room (pl. 150, 1; 154, 2; 157, 2). The surprising find of an Annunciation scene with a Syrian dedication inscription on one of the eastern pillars (pl. 73, 2) still belongs to the early Byzantine period. When the hall was divided up into three compartments in the Umayyad period, the Annunciation scene disappeared behind the clay bricks of a secondary wall. Only the well and the floor slabs were preserved from the hall's original equipment.

The findings in the western and southern halls complement each other in their message: In the hall at the western end of the southern wing, two pillars with the vaulting positioned on them were particularly well preserved (pl. 83, 2; 166) and the findings for the vault forms as well as the rich interior decoration of the upper storey of both halls is of great importance for the original state (pl. 81, 1-2).

In the upper rooms of the western and southern wings, apart from the imported column and capital of the upper store with the Thomas-monogram (pl. 165) and fragments of »window glass«, it was surprising to come across an exceptionally rich wall panelling in *opus sectile* which has close parallels not only in north Syrian towns, but also in Asia Minor. The various types of marble, as well as red and green porphyry were imported, and as they came to light in more or less large quantities in all sondages of the western and southern wings, it is to be assumed that precious materials gave the upper rooms of the western and southern wings a special significance (pl. 58-60; 140-141).

The statement of the wall panels is enhanced by the imported column and its capital, which came to light in the southern hall. They lead to imported materials in Androna's main churches, in the church of Qasr ibn Wardan and in addition to that to Northern Syria's leading workshops (pl. 123, 3; 165). The results of the excavations in the western hall were extended by the works in the area outside this hall and in front of the western facade of the *kastron*. It was the small finds, which came to light in both halls, in the latrine and during the excavations in front of the western facade, as well as the course of the trace of fire on the facade (pl. 56, 2; 79, 5) which complemented each other to make a particularly important statement: The use of the southern hall, the main part of the western hall, as well as the latrine did not go beyond the 8th century. The final collapse after a fire, or a fire as a consequence of an earthquake spared only the well area of the western hall, making its use possible until the 12th century, and perhaps even beyond that until the beginning of the 14th century.

The latrine (pl. 168) with the contrasting design of the ground and upper floors raised a number of questions which could only be partially answered. The barrel-vaulted main room, with drainage gutters in front of the rows of seats and a large drainage pit on its western side (pl. 75, 1-2; 76, 1) provided room for at least 20 persons. The latrine was shut off from the defence walk by a wall with two window openings. None of the seats has survived, but the unusually high layer of fire debris, which covered the entire main room, lets it be presumed that the rows of seats were constructed at least partially of wood. The drainage opening in the southern part of the western hall did not only lead out in front of the western facade, but was also connected with the drainage pit. Unfortunately it was not possible to answer the question of the water supply to the latrine with certainty. It can only be presumed that the high plinths on the side jambs of the eastern door, which are to be found again in the eastern door of the western hall (pl. 77, 3), were connected with the water supply. The important point is that fragments of the brick vault of the latrine do not only more or less repeat the basic unit of the vault from the upper storey of the southern hall, but lead in addition to Qasr ibn Wardan, and to the ground floor of the citadel of Aleppo (pl. 78, 1-3).

In the area outside the latrine and southern hall, carefully worked elements of a single latrine were excavated, richly decorated on the front side and jutting out from the outside wall of the kastron (pl. 79, 1-4). But this latrine is only partially reconstructable. It belonged to a room above the lower latrine and was undoubtedly accessible from the latter. The connection of the upper storey room to the outside latrine leads back to the question of the upper parapet walk and to the numerous basalt elements which – having collapsed outwards – came to light in front of the western facade.

No elements of an upper parapet walk with embrasures came to light in the stone debris in front of the western facade, but six completely preserved rectangular windows and a door lintel with a Sergios inscription (pl. 169; fig. 60). The lintels of four windows are decorated with a medallion and one lintel bears a Jakobos inscription (fig. 60). There is some evidence that the two inscriptions expand the statement of the Thomas capital in the southern hall and indicate that individual upper storey rooms were used by certain inhabitants of the village. However, further excavations in the outside area are required in order to clarify whether names on individual windows or doors designate the owners/users of individual rooms.

For the time being, we can only record that elements of rectangular windows also came to light in the northern part of the western facade and in front of the northern, eastern and southern facade, thus there is some evidence that they determined the appearance of the outside of the facades on all sides of the kastron (pl. 178, 1).

The numerous fragments of *opus sectile* wall lining and marble incrustation, as well as the small-sized columns and supports made of marble, limestone and basalt leave no doubt about the lavish decoration of at least some upper storey rooms and their function as living rooms (pl. 128, 4-5). However, fundamental questions about the construction of the upper rooms cannot be answered with certainty because only the elements that collapsed into the ground floor rooms, supplemented by the few finds excavated up to now in front of the outside walls of the kastron, have been preserved.

So it must remain open until further excavations whether the individual rooms were connected with one another through doors or passages, and whether they were only accessible from the upper storey of the pillared porticoes or also from a covered passageway above the parapet walk (pl. 180, 1-2; 181). We can also only assume that not only in the southern wing, but also in other upper storey rooms columned arcades existed as room dividers (pl. 181, 1), and it must also remain open whether the numerous fragments of *opus sectile* as wall and floor decoration, the occasional wall mosaic tesserae found, as well as the small supports made of marble and basalt belonged only to the appointments and interior decoration of the upper rooms of the western and southern wings. However, it is certain that at least some upper storey rooms in the kastron of Androna had decorations which led directly to the interior of the church at Qasr ibn Wardan and to the decoration of the Byzantine bath.

Some of the main questions at the beginning of the excavations concerned the upper storey of the pillared porticoes and the design of the eastern wing with its pillared portico, which is directly connected to the parapet walk and the outside wall and does not lie in front of two-storeyed rooms (pl. 147). The character of the eastern wing changed with the lavishly enlarged stair tower at the middle of the eastern wing which differs fundamentally from the tower at the centre of the northern façade (pl. 171). The portico on the ground floor was not only ideally suited for accommodating animals, but at the same time provided the connection between the northern and southern wings. The carefully elaborated trough (pl. 90, 2; 91, 2) and the fixing holes in individual pillars underline as remains of the original building the function of the eastern portico. Nevertheless, the findings in the southern part of the kastron inform us about the fact that the care of animals was not just reserved for the eastern wing: Between the pillars of the southern portico were feeding troughs which are directly comparable with those of the livestock building of the house excavation (fig. 69-

70). The irregular width of the pillar openings in the southern portico, which is repeated in isolated cases in the northern portico, could have resulted from this use of the pillar bays.

The whole complex of upper storey rooms and their connection to the ramp houses and towers suggest that the pillared porticoes had an upper storey. However, unfortunately it has not been possible to clarify the construction of these upper storeys satisfactorily with the excavations up to now. No elements of pillars and screens of an upper storey were found among the surface and also excavation findings, and there are also no clues for column arcades above the pillar arcades in the findings up to now. It is conceivable that, precisely on account of the irregular distances between pillars on the lower floor, the upper floor was separated off from the courtyard not by rows of pillars or columns, but by a low structure made of bricks or basalt ashlar.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN USE OF THE KASTRON

The questions concerning the function of the huge structural complex at the centre of Androna not only lead to times when the place was endangered, they also touch on the kastron's situation in times of peace. The maintenance/administration of the building was a task that not only affected the kastron, but also the outer enclosure wall, which probably together with it had a formative influence on the defence situation of the town in the second half of the 6th century. It is scarcely conceivable that the maintenance and safeguarding of both defence works was entrusted solely to the guard squad. Here below, it will also have to be discussed whether the previous excavation results give grounds for the assumption of a military unit stationed in the kastron.

Outstanding features of the kastron are the surrounding parapet walk and its direct connection to the ground-floor rooms, the elaborate construction of the ramp houses, which made a rapid transport of heavy equipment and materials possible to the upper storeys, the existence of a great latrine and the design of the northern and eastern wings which differed so clearly from the western and southern wings in the form and function of the stair towers.

The embrasures, that have been uncovered and can be reconstructed with certainty, give a total number of at least 150 openings for the parapet walk, the first two floors of the corner towers and also the fortified towers of the western and eastern gates, the stair tower on the eastern side as well as the tower in the northern wing of the kastron. In a small number of the openings excavated in the northern wing there was a vertical grill in the opening, so some of the openings functioned as slit windows. However, if we start out from the certain finding of the embrasures and amplify this through the evidence of the distances between the corner towers, the defensive towers of the gates and the towers of the eastern and northern sides, which all in all guarantee a good range for archers, then it may be said: The defensive character of the kastron is best to be grasped in the layout of the parapet walk and its connection with the various towers and the great number of embrasures.

More than dubious is the thesis that this well thought-out organisation did not have a really defensive character, but is rather to be regarded as an »élément symbolique«. If one had wanted solely to arouse the impression of a kastron intended for defence, such an elaborate and methodically organised system of parapet walks, embrasures, tower structures and stair constructions would not have been necessary.

It is more difficult to reconstruct the full function of the ramp houses. Their function was certainly not restricted to the narrow passageway to the parapet walk (pl. 45) and the connection to the upper storey

rooms, as well as to the upper storey of the porticoes (pl. 45; 179, 1; 180, 1-2). It is conceivable that the ramps led to flat roofs (pl. 179, 1) which probably played a role in the defence and in the system of water supply.

While the single and the communal latrine in the western and southern wings clearly refer to the different function of ground floor and upper storey rooms, it remains open whether this finding can be applied, for example, also to the northern wing. Here, above all, one question cannot be answered with certainty on account of the lack of excavations works: Were the upper storey rooms of the western and southern wings reserved for residents of the village, or was at least one wing (the northern wing?) completely reserved for a garrison and for the guards of the *kastron*.

The question whether a military unit was stationed in the *kastron*, whether we have archaeological clues for the reconstruction of the size of such a unit and whether, apart from quarters for the troops, rooms for the accommodation of animals are also to be discussed, leads back to the ground-floor rooms of 18-30 m² in size and single finds of the excavations

The 18 cereal mills all in all, which came to light in secondary buildings from the periods of reuse (pl. 100, 4-5) – fragmented and with just one exception without the millstone fitted – represent just a fraction of the mills which were originally in operation in the *kastron*⁹⁰⁵. They differ clearly in size from the four fragmented querns from the upper layers of findings and take their place alongside the large-size mortar and storage vessels, feeding and water troughs⁹⁰⁶. It is difficult to explain the exceptionally large number of cereal mills. May be, that they were necessary in times of danger, when a great number of fugitives had to be feeded⁹⁰⁷. But to the same extent the carefully finished troughs, which came to light in every wing, and the proof of feeding troughs for large animals in the bays of the pillar arcades (figs 69-70) are only to be understood as references to the accommodation of horses and probably also camels⁹⁰⁸ on the ground floor of the *kastron*.

The ornamentation of the doors could suggest that the poorly lit ground floor rooms of the southern half of the southern wing could be interpreted as store rooms and rooms for animals (pl. 133, 3; 134, 1-2)⁹⁰⁹. The rooms of the eastern half of the southern wing as well as those of the entire northern wing are too little known, but they were not well lit either and could also have served for the accommodation of animals. For the upper storey rooms of the entire northern wing, as well as the non-excavated halves of the western and southern wings, we can not rule out, that they offered accommodation perhaps for a garrison going beyond the guard squad and, in times of emergency, also for the residents of *Androna* and surrounding settlements⁹¹⁰. It is also probable that the alignment of the ramp houses is an indication of the other use of the upper storey rooms in parts of the western, southern and northern wings.

In conclusion it has to be recorded that the question of the stationing of a military unit, and that means also of its composition and size, cannot be answered with the excavation results up to now. Particularly important would be further excavations in the northern wing and in the eastern part of the southern wing.

⁹⁰⁵ The mills came not from ruined buildings outside the *kastron*: The kind of reuse in secondary buildings shows, that they belonged to the original building of the *kastron*. Well preserved mills, troughs etc. were not incorporated into buildings in the period of subsequent use, but transported away. For this p. 201.

⁹⁰⁶ For this p. 97.

⁹⁰⁷ They will not have been in operation simultaneously. However, if they were not moved by men, but fundamentally by animals, the question of the accommodation of animals in the *kastron* intensifies.

⁹⁰⁸ The evaluation of the animal bones, a larger quantity of which comes from camels, will take place in volume II. In the *kas-*

tron – in contrast to the Byzantine bath – it is made more difficult by the many centuries of subsequent use. However, as findings of camel bones play a major role in the case of the excavation of the house, too, camels are mentioned here together with horses and mules. See Kroll 2010, 170-174. According to Pringle 1981, 87 one single camel alone needs 4 m × 3 m space.

⁹⁰⁹ For this p. 241.

⁹¹⁰ See the explanations in Konrad 2001, 104-106. – Reddé 1995, 99f. For the situation of units serving on the *limes* and the questions of the militia see Isaac 1990, 208-211. 252-254. 325f. – Konrad 2001, 104f. – Reddé 1995, 98-102.

USE OF THE KASTRON AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST IN THE 7TH CENTURY

Changing structures added in the Arab period are to be found not only in the Byzantine bath and the church buildings in Androna, but were also found in the only house complex excavated up to now. However, it is certain that no building was so intensively subsequently used for centuries, and thus so fundamentally changed, as the kastron. As every available element of the original building was used subsequently in secondary additions and structures, one of the main tasks of the kastron sondages was to reconstruct the origin of the individual elements, i. e. their use in the original building.

It is open how long the kastron was used in an unchanged state after the first quarter of the 7th century, but it is certain that the changing subsequent use of the two-storeyed economical and residential rooms began in the early Omayyad period. It was possible to reconstruct this completely for the western and southern hall⁹¹¹. The subsequent use of the pillar porticoes began somewhat later, led far beyond that of the great halls in time and could be reconstructed in its main features through detailed excavations in the western and eastern wings (pl. 86, 2; 90, 2; 157, 1-2; figs 63-65; 71-78). In addition, it was proved in three sondages that the entire courtyard area was cluttered up by primitive structures – a subsequent use that leads up to the Ottoman period (fig. 68; pl. 103, 1).

The Kufic inscription on a limestone slab from the upper storey of the western hall (pl. 87, 1-2) and the remains of wall painting from the Umayyad period in a fortified tower of the southern gate (pl. 65, 3; 66, 1-3) are proofs of the subsequent use of the kastron. For the reconstruction of the Androna's situation as a whole after the wave of Arab conquest it is important that the findings from the kastron are to be seen in connection with those of the Umayyad bath and, above all, with the inscription of Muawiyya found there. The fact that marble slabs and *opus sectile* works in the main buildings at the centre of the village as well as in the kastron were removed already in the Omayyad period is shown not only by the numerous marble slabs reused in the Umayyad bath, but above all by the collection points for limestone and marble slabs which we came across in some rooms in the kastron. But in some points the buildings added in the first phase of subsequent use differ from those of the later period: They were erected on the original floor slabs (pl. 70, 2; 150, 1), whereas in the following phases of subsequent use, easily transportable elements, such as floor slabs, screens, small pillars and columns etc. had already been transported away, or were at least partially incorporated into secondary walls. In addition, the spolia allow us to recognise that only a few basalt ashlar were available because of the destruction inside the kastron, on the other hand, the destruction of the porticoes of the kastron church was already far advanced.

The secondary walls of the pillar porticoes and the courtyard area document a different situation: The large number of damaged grain mills and elements, such as consoles, small column drums, basalt supports etc., which were used in structures, let one recognise that more serious destruction had preceded that inside the *kastron*. The secondary structures added thus differ from one another and give the first indications of the sequence of the individual phases of subsequent use.

The western and southern halls were subdivided into single compartments in the Umayyad period by mud brick walls on a spolia base of basalt ashlar (pl. 48, 2; 150, 1; 161), and in both halls in one compartment the high opening to the parapet walk was closed by a mud brick wall born by spolia columns, a part of the halls was thus made »more homely« (pl. 70, 1; 82, 1). Much suggests that the majority of columns and capitals of these high partitions originally belonged to the columned porticoes of the church in the kastron courtyard⁹¹².

⁹¹¹ For this p. 125f. 159f.

⁹¹² For this p. 160.

The excavations inside the western hall and in the area outside of the western facade showed that the subsequent use of the middle and southern parts of the hall, the latrine and the entire southern hall was brought to an end already in the 8th century by an earthquake followed by a fire or by a fire followed by a collapse (pl. 56, 2; 79, 5). However, the northern part of the western hall with the well there remained to a large extent undamaged and continued to be used until the 11th/12th centuries, perhaps even until the 14th century⁹¹³.

The subsequent use of the pillar porticoes led beyond that of the residential/economical rooms on the western, southern and northern sides of the kastron. In some phases, the pillar porticoes were divided up by mud brick walls on a base made of basalt spolia into single rooms, connected to each other. The pillar bays were bricked up and only opened onto the courtyard through narrow passages.

It is revealing that through the division of the great halls, as well as the porticoes, into individual compartments the connection to the well facilities and the drainage openings in the outside walls was cut off. It is also striking that basalt troughs, mortars and intact mills were subsequently used, but not the cattle troughs in the pillar bays which were intended for large animals. Thus in the period of subsequent use the individual compartments of the pillar porticoes would seem to have served above all for the accommodation of animals – probably above all sheep- and also as store-rooms⁹¹⁴.

The spolia findings for the primitive later structures, which fill the courtyard area, lead decisively beyond the findings from the individual wings of the kastron (pl. 89; 100; 103, 1). The numerous elements of the interior decoration of the residential/economical rooms, which came to light during the sondages, are only to be explained by a to a large extent ruinous state of the kastron in this final phase of subsequent use. The sondages in front of the northern and southern sides of the kastron church prove that the spolia columns standing upright, which fill the courtyard area at irregular distances apart, were used to reinforce the mud-brick walls (pl. 101, 1; 103, 1). The complete excavation of the courtyard area would take a very long time, but, with numerous elements of the original building, would contribute towards clarifying some open questions about the upper storey of the porticoes as well as the upper storey rooms in general.

The location of two spolia walls above one another as a sign of an extended period in time of use links the eastern and western porticoes with the secondary buildings of the courtyard area (pl. 86, 2; 90, 2). Thus it is not to be ruled out that the ceramic findings of the eastern wing leading until the Ottoman period record not only the duration of the subsequent use of all pillar porticoes, but also that of the courtyard area.

In conclusion it has to be recorded that the individual phases of the subsequent use of the kastron are directly connected with Androna's situation in the period after the Arab conquest. The manner of the use of basalt spolia is to be seen in connection with that of the Umayyad bath and also the change of the buildings in the village constructed mainly of basalt through structures adding mud-brick on a base of basalt spolia⁹¹⁵.

To sum up it can be said:

Although wide areas of the kastron have not yet been excavated, the excavation results up to now do allow some statements on the former use. The ground floor rooms were utility and store rooms, offering space for the accommodation of animals, and were integrated into a system of defence through their connection with the parapet walk, the ramphouses and the different towers. The construction of the ground floor rooms has not a »pseudo-military« character but is bounded to a late phase in the development of late antique *castra*.

⁹¹³ For this p. 128-130.

⁹¹⁴ The animal bone findings, which can be assigned to the period of subsequent use, will be presented in volume II. However, it

should be pointed out already here that the bones of sheep and goats make up the greatest part of the bone findings.

⁹¹⁵ For this p. 25. 29. 39.

For the rich decoration in some upper storeys we found parallels in a *latrina* at Magnesia (pl. 58, 1-2) and in some of the great cities of Northern Syria. It seems to be a *novum* in a late antique military building and may be interpreted as a first step to Omayyad palace architecture –, not forgetting the great differences between the building of the 6th and the buildings of the 7th-8th century discussed by D. Genequand⁹¹⁶.

We don't know, whether the donor Thomas was permanently or only from time to time at Androna, but we assume, that at least one of the upper rooms of the *kastron* was reserved for him. But after the discovery of the inscriptions in front of the western façade we can not exclude, that the upper rooms in the south-western part of the *kastron* were also used by other inhabitants. This leads back to the inscription on the western door⁹¹⁷ and the situation of Androna in the second half of the 6th century.

The rich installment in some of the upper rooms of the *kastron* was repeated some years later in the Byzantine bath. We saw, that in the inscription of the *kastron* Thomas »appeared as a *soter*« (pl. 148), and we can only suppose, that the formulation refers to a situation of Androna, which led to the construction of the huge building at the centre of the site. The investigation of the two circuit walls showed that the construction of the *kastron* leads to the situation of the walls in the 6th century. The demolition of the inner wall began in the 6th century, but we don't know at which time. The outer wall is later but it is open, whether its construction began in the first half, against the middle or in a late phase of the 6th century.

⁹¹⁶ Genequand 2012, 379-389.

⁹¹⁷ For this p. 102 f.