

# Some remarks on the transformation of the *villae* at the end of Late Antiquity: Selected examples from *Macedonia prima*

Aikaterini Peppa

## Introduction

The study of the transformation of the Empire at the end of Late Antiquity has received increasing attention over the last few decades<sup>1</sup>. The urban changes that took place in the 6<sup>th</sup> century have been the object of various studies<sup>2</sup>. One manifestation of this phenomenon is

the disappearance of wealthy, *villa*-type houses at the end of Late Antiquity<sup>3</sup>. Yet, this decline in urban culture did not result in the complete abandonment of sites<sup>4</sup>. New economic patterns emerged to replace previous practices, and other forms of housing became popular.

In particular, the region of *Macedonia prima* offers, during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a uniform picture of economically strong urban centres, many of which have been studied and excavated over the last few decades (Fig. 1)<sup>5</sup>. The excavations

<sup>1</sup> Scholars usually define Late Antiquity as the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. On this question, see A. GIARDINA, *Esplosione di tardoantico*. *Studi Storici* 40, 1999, 157–180; P. ATHANASSIADI, *Antiquité tardive: construction et déconstruction d'un modèle historiographique*. *Antiquité Tardive* 14, 2006, 311–324; A. MARCONE, *A Long Late Antiquity? Considerations on a Controversial Periodization*. *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1,1, spring 2008, 4–19. – The time limits of this period, and especially its end, are controversial and vary for the different parts of the Empire. However, the continuous transformation that started in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the 8<sup>th</sup> century sealed the end of the Late Antique period. The Empire entered a new era, the Byzantine period, the beginning of which is often called the “the period of transformations”: See J. HALDON, *The Empire That Would Not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740* (Cambridge MA 2016). – For this period in general, see also C. MORRISSON, *Les événements, perspective chronologique*. In: *Idem, Le monde byzantin. L'empire romain d'Orient (330–641)* (Paris 2004), 36–47; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Byzance sur la défensive: la stabilisation des frontières (du VII<sup>e</sup> s. au milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*. In: *Idem (ed.), Le monde byzantin II. L'empire byzantin (641–1204)* (Paris 2006) 3–22.

<sup>2</sup> To name a few: J.-C. SPIESER, *L'évolution de la ville byzantine de l'époque paléochrétienne à l'iconoclasme*. In: J. Lefort/C. Morriison (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin, I* (Paris 1989) 97; A. DUNN, *The transition from polis to kastron in the Balkans (III–VII cc): General and regional perspectives*. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18, 1994, 60–81; H. SARADI, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Real-*

*ity* (Athens 2006); A. POULTER, *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube: the City, the Fort, and the Countryside*. In: *POULTER 2007*, 51–97. – For archaeological examples from Greece and bibliography, see P. PETRIDIS, *Late Roman/Early Byzantine Archaeology in Greece: a “Gateway” to the period of Transformations, Recent Developments in the Long-Term Archaeology of Greece*. *Pharos* XX,I, 2014, 269–290.

<sup>3</sup> The study of how domestic architecture was transformed during this period is often framed only within the perspective of urban decline. In most cases, the studies concerning domestic architecture concentrate on describing the buildings' wealthy phases; they usually include a description of their mosaics and rich decorations while their destruction phase is only briefly presented and generally attributed either to the insecurity caused by invasions or the effects of earthquakes.

<sup>4</sup> See J. BINTLIFF, *Aspects of settlement change in Late Antiquity from regional survey evidence*. In: E. Rizos (ed.), *New Cities in Late Antiquity documents and archaeology*. *Bibl. de l'Antiquité Tardive* 35 (Turnhout 2017) 13–17.

<sup>5</sup> *Macedonia prima* was a province that comprised 32 cities in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The urban centres of the region vary greatly since some were situated near the sea while others were located inland, usually at the crossroads of major routes, especially the *Via Egnatia*. The main source of information for this region comes from the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, a work that describes the administrative division of the Empire



**Fig. 1** The region of *Macedonia prima* with road network and sites mentioned in the text. – Map by the author. Source of data for the road network and for the geographical boundaries of *Macedonia prima* see M. McCORMICK/G. HUANG/G. ZAMBOTTI/J. LAVASH, *Roman Road Network* (version 2008) 2013 <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TI0KAU> (30.06.2020) Harvard Dataverse, V1; DRAKOULIS 2009, 108–116.

of the Late Antique cities of the region have revealed episcopal residences, and wealthy *villa*-type dwellings in urban, suburban and rural contexts<sup>6</sup>. These settlements followed Ro-

during the reign of Justinian. See E. HONIGMANN, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiérokès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939); DRAKOULIS 2009, 108–116. – For the administrative history of the region, see also F. PAPAZOGLU, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*. *Bull. Corr. Hellénique* suppl. 16, 1988, 90–98.

<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to provide definitions for the urban *villa*-type houses (*villa urbana*) and the country *villae* as they evolved through time and had different features, dependent on which part of the Empire they were built. The term urban *villa*-type house is used here to describe the houses in urban centres, characterised by elaborate plans with peristyle courtyards and spacious arched reception rooms (*triclinia*), see SFAMENI 2007, 335–375; KARAGIANNI 2012, 65–100. – The term country *villa* is used here to describe the same type of structures, which were located in a rural setting and connected with agricultural production. The term *villa rustica* is not used because it remains underdefined. The examples presented here are at the top of the region's settlement hierarchy but do not conform to the ideal presented by Roman authors. For the ideal of the *villa rustica*, see A. MARZANO, *Roman Villas in Central Italy. A Social and Economic History* (Leiden, Boston 2007) 82–101. – For examples of *villae rusticae*, see A. RIZAKIS, *Rural structures and the agrarian strategies in Greece under the Roman Empire*. In: A. Rizakis/I. Touratsoglou (eds.), *Villae Rusticae. Family and Marker-oriented Farms in Greece under Roman Rule* (Athens 2013) 20–51; KETANIS 2015–2016, 24–32.

man prototypes and in many cases were built directly over their Roman predecessors, thus indicating a high level of continuity in the use of domestic space. Their architecture follows the patterns established all over the Empire: the *villae* had a central courtyard, several rooms, a large arched reception room (*triclinium*), mosaic floors, and baths<sup>7</sup>. The residential space also had a representational function and promoted the social status of its owner<sup>8</sup>. During the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, *villa* architecture reached a new peak in the region, with renovations conforming to the latest architectural developments in the Empire and an increase in the number of rooms. This evolution coincided with the multiplication of basilicas and the transformation of the city centres in the area<sup>9</sup>. Nonetheless, during

<sup>7</sup> Frequently, the courtyard was colonnaded, and, in some cases, there was more than one courtyard. Furthermore, some houses had more than one *triclinium*. For a detailed description of housing in Illyricum during Late Antiquity, see SODINI 1984, 341–397; IDEM 1997, 435–577; IDEM, *Résidences de l'antiquité tardive: quelques remarques sur leurs évolutions* (IV–VIIe s.). In: 24<sup>th</sup> Symposium on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art 2004, 89; P. PETRIDIS, *Παρατηρήσεις στις πόλεις και τις αστικές οικίες της ύστερης αρχαιότητας στον ελλαδικό χώρο* (Observations sur les villes et les villas urbaines de la Grèce pendant l'Antiquité Tardive). *Deltion of the Christian Arch. Society* 29, 2008, 247–258 here 255 f.

<sup>8</sup> SFAMENI 2007, 335–375; KARAGIANNI 2012, 65.

<sup>9</sup> HATTERSLEY-SMITH 1996.

the following decades, from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the houses changed profoundly, and urban building activity generally declined<sup>10</sup>.

Recent research has identified many factors that contributed to this phenomenon. First, the barbarian groups of this period are usually presented as the main cause of the urban decline. By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Slavic groups were attacking cities as other Slavic groups were permanently settled in the southern Balkans<sup>11</sup>. Second, natural disasters such as earthquakes are linked to the demise and abandonment of sites<sup>12</sup>. Earthquakes at the end of Late Antiquity mark a turning point in the urban history of the region and constitute an important landmark for the history of domestic architecture in *Ma-*

*cedonia prima* because they caused much damage and sealed the transformation of some of its urban centres. Finally, particular importance has been attributed to environmental factors during the last decades<sup>13</sup>. A growing body of evidence suggests that at the end of Late Antiquity, the Balkan region experienced climate fluctuations and colder temperatures<sup>14</sup>.

Recent fieldwork has yielded datable material from this region and the results of new excavations and studies have contributed to our understanding of the transformation of the Late Roman city and the evolution of housing in the Balkan region. The present contribution seeks to provide a synthesis of the archaeological data that concern the transformation of wealthy dwellings in the region of *Macedonia prima* in both urban and rural contexts after the 6<sup>th</sup> century and address the aftermath of their decline. It focuses on Late Antique *villae* that were originally built as residential structures. The houses that have been selected are excavated and published examples, and their publications include, for most of them, the material culture found in the different building phases.

<sup>10</sup> The transformations that took place in the cities from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century are a topic that has attracted much attention, see DUNN 1997, 137–151; J.-P. SODINI, The Transformation of Cities in Late Antiquity within the Provinces of Macedonia and Epirus. In: POULTER 2007, 311–336. – For the problems related to the study of this phenomenon, see M. VEIKOU, Byzantine Histories, Settlement Stories: *Kastra*, “Isles of Refuge”, and “Unspecified Settlements” as In-between or Third Spaces. In: T. Kioussopoulou (ed.), *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις (8ος-15ος αιώνας): Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις* [Byzantine Cities (8<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.): Research Perspectives and New Interpretative Approaches] (Rethymno 2012) 160–164; DUNN 1997, 137–151.

<sup>11</sup> The evidence of their presence comes from the Miracles of Saint Demetrius. See P. LEMERLE, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. II (Paris 1981). – Literature on the presence of Slavic groups in the Byzantine territory is abundant, see F. CURTA, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700* (Cambridge 2001); J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge 1990), 42–48.

<sup>12</sup> For *Macedonia secunda*, the earthquake of 518, and for *Macedonia prima*, the earthquake of 620: AMBRASEYS 2009, 217; P. LEMERLE, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius*, vol. I (Paris 1979) 190–197, 217–219. – See also Ch. BAKIRTZIS, A day after the destruction in Philippi (Η ημέρα μετά την καταστροφή στους Φιλιππους). *Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> International Symposium Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 15–17 September 1988. Centre for Byzantine Research/E.I.E. (Athens 1989) 695–711 here 709; IDEM, Τι συνέβη στη Θάσο στις αρχές του 7ου αι. In: *Φιλια Έπη εις Γ. Ε. δια τα 60 έτη του ανασκαφικού του έργου*. *Vivliothēkē tēs en Athēnais Arch. Hetaireias* 103 (Athens 1989) 339–341.

<sup>13</sup> Growing interest in the environment has contributed to the proliferation of studies which focus on the impact of environmental factors. However, so far, few studies concerning the Balkan region are available. A. IZDEBSKI et al., The environmental, archaeological and historical evidence for regional climatic changes and their societal impacts in the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity. *Quaternary Science Rev.* 136, 2016, 189–208 here 190.

<sup>14</sup> M. McCORMICK et al., Climate Change during and after the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the Past from Scientific and Historical Evidence. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Hist.* XLIII,2, 2012, 169–220 here 191–207; A. GOGOU et al., Climate variability and socio-environmental changes in the northern Aegean (NE Mediterranean) during the last 1500 years. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 136, 2016, 209–228 here 218; E. WEIBERG et al., The socio-environmental history of the Peloponnese during the Holocene: Towards an integrated understanding of the past. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 136, 2016, 40–65; E. XOPLAKI et al., The Medieval Climate Anomaly and Byzantium: A review of the evidence on climatic fluctuations, economic performance and societal change. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 136, 2016, 229–252. – For information from ancient sources, see E. CHRYSOS/I. TELELIS/D. METAXAS, *Οι μαρτυρίες των βυζαντινών πηγών για τον δριμύ χειμώνα του έτους 763/4 μ.Χ.* (Documentary evidence from the Byzantine sources for the severe winter A.D. 763/4). *Dodoni* 19, 1989, 105–127.

## Thessaloniki

Thessaloniki, the capital of *Macedonia prima*, shows a remarkable degree of urban stability. In the *longue durée*, the city was an important political and economic centre and had a lively urban history; on numerous occasions, its wealthy private and public building underwent many changes<sup>15</sup>.

Late Antiquity was a period of prosperity and growth for the domestic architecture of Thessaloniki; the city expanded in the north, where the new houses of the wealthy were built<sup>16</sup>. At the same time, the pre-existing Roman *villae* in the city centre were renovated to keep up with the architectural trends of the period<sup>17</sup>.

During the transitional period that followed the first decades of 6<sup>th</sup> century, many of Thessaloniki's important *villae* turned into more modest houses. Although their status changed less radically compared to neighbouring urban centres, they follow the transformation pattern noticed in the region at the end of Late Antiquity<sup>18</sup>. In many cases these transformations in-

dicating that the *villa* owners did not retain the same degree of wealth: the vast residences were subdivided into smaller units and transformed into modest dwellings; new walls made from recycled material and mud were built over the luxuriously decorated floors and in some cases tiles covered the mosaics<sup>19</sup>. Parts of the grand residences were abandoned in the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the majority were transformed into workshops<sup>20</sup>. In rare cases, the area was replaced by tombs or waste deposits<sup>21</sup>.

The Late Antique dwelling at 75 Agia Sophia and 18 Sofokleous Street provides an example of such transformations; it had a *triclinium*, which was remodelled to have an arched wall, mosaic floors and marble decorations<sup>22</sup>. At the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, part of the house fell into disuse and new walls, made of mud and reused building material, were built<sup>23</sup>. After an earthquake destroyed this complex at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, more mud-built walls were constructed, and isolated parts of the houses were used for waste disposal<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> For the history of Thessaloniki's urbanism, see M. VITTI, Η Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη της Θεσσαλονίκης από την ίδρυση της έως τον Γαλέριο (Die städtische Entwicklung in Thessaloniki von der Gründung bis zur Herrschaft von Galerius). (Athens 1996). – For the history of housing, the studies of N. Karydas (for example KARYDAS 2009, 127–142) are particularly important.

<sup>16</sup> Many *villa*-type houses have been excavated in Thessaloniki but, as they are mainly known from rescue excavations, few complete house plans are available. For typical forms of later Roman and Early Byzantine *villae*, see KARYDAS 1996, 571–585; IDEM 2009, 127–142; K. RAPTIS/X. KOUTSOGIANNIS, Πρωτοβυζαντινή αστική έπαυλη με τρικλίνιο στην Άνω Πόλη Θεσσαλονίκης. Σωστική ανασκαφή στην οδό Αριστίππου 4 (Early Byzantine Villa Urbana with Triclinium in Thessaloniki [4 Aristippou str. Rescue Excavation]). Arch. Ergo Makedonias Thrakis 24, 2010, 247–251.

<sup>17</sup> N. KARYDAS, Η εξέλιξη της παλαιοχριστιανικής οικίας στην Θεσσαλονίκη [The Evolution of the Late Roman House in Thessaloniki]. In: 24<sup>th</sup> Symposium on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art 2004, 47. The wealthiest examples were built on the outskirts of the city, near the walls.

<sup>18</sup> Thessaloniki, despite being attacked on various occasions, was the city that had the highest level of continuity of urban life in the region. C. BAKIRTZIS, Imports, exports and autarky in Byzantine Thessalonike from the seventh to the tenth century. In: J. Henning (ed.), Post-Roman towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe, Byzantium and the Near-East. Vol. 2. Byzantium,

Pliska, and the Balkans (Berlin 2004) 89–118 here 89. For the workshops of the city and their urban history, see ANTONARAS 2016.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the dwelling at 94 Egnatia Street: see SIGANIDOU 1971, 382–385 and fig. 7.

<sup>20</sup> For example, the house at 74 Benizelou Street (S. KISSAS, Οδός Βενιζέλου 74. Arch. Deltion 39 B, 1984, 238–242; ANTONARAS 2016, 164) and of the *villa* at 52 Agias Sofias Street that had been renovated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. After its abandonment, the floors were covered with earth and workshops were built in their place (E. MARKI, Οδός Αγίας Σοφίας 52. Arch. Deltion 49 B2, 1994, 511–514 and fig. 29; ANTONARAS 2016, 207). – The Late Roman *villa* of 6 Iasonidou Street is a similar case: it was a luxurious, lavishly decorated dwelling with mosaics and marble, which was later subdivided into smaller houses and part of it was probably transformed into a workshop (ANTONARAS 2016, 214).

<sup>21</sup> This was the case of the *villa* in Antiochou Street in the northern part of Thessaloniki, which was built at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and destroyed around the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup>. After its abandonment, part of the house was used for depositing waste and the area was transformed into a cemetery (ANTONARAS 2016, 215–219).

<sup>22</sup> This house was built in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and continued to evolve during the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup>. At the beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century, marble paving covered its courtyard (KARYDAS 1996, 252).

<sup>23</sup> KARYDAS 1996, 256.

<sup>24</sup> This occupation phase lasted a century, the building being abandoned in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. However, during

Some houses remained in use without radical change to their status. For example, the grand house with arched *triclinium* and mosaics in 48 Sokratous, 124 Agiou Demetriou and 15 Ioulianou Streets remained in use, with some alterations, until the Byzantine period<sup>25</sup>. As for the house at 6 Konstantakopoulou and Theseos Street, it was transformed into a monastery in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and continued to function as such until the beginning of the Late Byzantine period<sup>26</sup>.

In the north of Thessaloniki, in the suburb of Oraiakastro, a fortified *villa rustica*, which flourished in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, followed the same transformational pattern as the *villae* in the city area. It had a peristyle courtyard, a *triclinium* surrounded by smaller rooms, and a baths complex; its floors were covered with mosaics and the walls were painted in a style imitating marble decoration<sup>27</sup>. At the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century or in the first years of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the complex was destroyed by fire and abandoned. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, new buildings with a more pronounced agricultural function (including a new wine press) replaced it. Later, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, a large storage room was added to its eastern area. The last phase of this complex is associated, according to E. Marki, with ecclesiastical property, and a small church was built in the area<sup>28</sup>.

In sum, in Thessaloniki urban stability goes hand by hand with the continuity of use of the domestic space. The *villae* were gradually transformed into smaller dwellings throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> century without radical change.

## Philippi

Philippi, a medium-sized city and station on the *Via Egnatia* (Fig. 1), witnessed the slow

the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the remains of this house were incorporated into a new house (KARYDAS 1996, 257).

<sup>25</sup> SIGANIDOU 1971, 390–393 and fig. 13.

<sup>26</sup> ANTONARAS 2016, 213 f.

<sup>27</sup> See [http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/gh352.jsp?obj\\_id=22385](http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/gh352.jsp?obj_id=22385) (26.06.2020); ANTONARAS 2016, 192 f. and fig. 304–306; MARKI/AKRIVOPOULOU 2003, 283–298; P. ADAM-VELENIS, Farmhouses in Macedonia: the beginnings of “feudalism”. *Arch. Ergo Makedonias Thrakis* 20, 2009, 1–15 here 14; KARYDAS 2009, 92–94; MARKI 2010, 26–40.

<sup>28</sup> MARKI/AKRIVOPOULOU 2003, 283–298; MARKI 2010, 38.

degradation of its domestic architecture during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century even though the city centre continued to evolve. The bishop’s residence at Philippi occupied a significant location in the city centre. It was a complex building with two floors and baths, and its ground floor was equipped with large storage rooms<sup>29</sup>. In the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the ground floor was transformed to accommodate a wine press<sup>30</sup>. Finally, at the end of the same century, the complex was abandoned, and the bishop moved to the other side of the city; modest workshops were constructed in place of the former residence<sup>31</sup>.

The house situated to the east of the episcopal residence was also exceptionally wealthy<sup>32</sup>. It had two *triclinia*, an atrium, mosaic floors and marble decorations<sup>33</sup>. In the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, the *villa* was divided into two houses<sup>34</sup>. The division of the *villa* and the repairs of the mosaics with cheaper materials suggest an impoverishment of its owners. During the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a new house was built in the *villa*’s western part, in the space previously occupied by the courtyard. The ground floor was designed to host agricultural installations and

<sup>29</sup> CH. BAKIRTZIS, Το επισκοπείο των Φιλίππων [The bishop’s residence at Philippi]. In: *Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium Kavala and its environs (Kavala 1987)* 155; E. KOURKOUTIDOU-NIKOLAIDOU, Το επισκοπείο των Φιλίππων στον 6ο αι [The bishop’s residence at Philippi during the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD]. In: *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου (Thessaloniki 1997)* 115–125.

<sup>30</sup> SODINI 1997, 459. It is likely that the building continued to be used as the bishop’s dwelling. Two large storage rooms with *pitthoi* were found on the ground floor (PELEKANIDES 1967, 74, 78). – A similar evolution took place in the bishop’s residence in the city of Bargala in *Macedonia secunda*. This residence was modified in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century: a wine press and a glass workshop were added to the premises as well as storage rooms. For further details, see T. NACEV, The winery of the late antique city of Bargala. *Folia Arch. Balkanika* 2, 2012, 3–9.

<sup>31</sup> PELEKANIDES 1967, 75.

<sup>32</sup> This *villa* was located in the fourth square of the city’s grid and during its richest phase, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it occupied a total area of 1400 m<sup>2</sup> (G. GOUNARIS/G. VELENIS, *Ανασκαφή Φιλίππων 1991–1992* [Excavation at Philippi 1991–1992]. *Arch. Ergo Makedonias Thrakis* 6, 1992, 529; EADEM 1991–1992, 267 f.).

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed description of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century *villa*, see GOUNARIS/VELENIS 1991–1992, 267, 258, 263.

<sup>34</sup> For this transformation, see GOUNARIS/VELENIS 1991–1992, 263.

[Die Abbildung ist aus urheberrechtlichen Gründen nicht online.]

**Fig. 2** Philippi, Maison des fauves. – Courtesy of the École française d’Athènes.  
C. WEBER/S. PROVOST, *Maison des fauves*. 2002. In: PROVOST 2002, 513.

storage spaces with large ceramic containers (*pithoi*)<sup>35</sup>. This house was destroyed in the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. After a phase of abandonment in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, two smaller houses were erected in this area. The new walls were roughly constructed on the debris, and the open space of the unused atrium was gradually transformed into an area for waste disposal<sup>36</sup>.

On the southern limits of the city, another grand and luxurious residence went through many transformations (Fig. 2)<sup>37</sup>. This house was

renovated twice in the 5<sup>th</sup> century: first, a mosaic floor was installed on its *triclinium*, and second, during the same century, its east-west oriented wing was transformed, with some of the doorways put out of service and new floors made of beaten earth<sup>38</sup>. This house was destroyed, probably by fire, and, in the aftermath of its destruction, was used for simpler constructions<sup>39</sup>. Thereafter, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century or later, another rudimentary dwelling occupied one of the rooms of the *villa*: a small structure with a makeshift hearth in the middle<sup>40</sup>. Finally, near the west-

<sup>35</sup> A new floor was laid over the mosaics to install the *pithoi*: GOUNARIS/VELENIS 1991–1992, 257.

<sup>36</sup> GOUNARIS/VELENIS 1991–1992, 270.

<sup>37</sup> The house was built in the south-western part of the city over another house during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. It was a rectangular house, with a central courtyard, baths complex and mosaics.

<sup>38</sup> PROVOST 2002, 514; PROVOST/FOSCHIA 2002, 110–112.

<sup>39</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, it is likely that the atrium was filled in for the foundations of a new building: PROVOST 2002, 517.

<sup>40</sup> Ceramic tiles from the previous floors of the house were used for the construction of the hearth: PROVOST/FOSCHIA 2002, 114 f.

ern part of the walls of Philippi, a nine-roomed rectangular building was constructed during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>. It probably served as a wine production and storage area and could have been an annexe to a residential building. The building was damaged by fire but continued to be used after some alterations.

## Heraclea Lyncestis

Heraclea Lyncestis was also a medium-sized city and station on the *Via Egnatia* but fewer data are available. The main evidence comes from the episcopal residence built in the city centre next to the grand basilica. It was situated to the south of the basilica and had a complex structure, with a *triclinium* on the north side and mosaic floors. The layers discovered on top of the mosaics of the residence show that it was abandoned during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. However, the excavation report describes that drystone walls were unearthed<sup>42</sup>. It is therefore likely that simpler buildings that could date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century and later took its place.

In the city-centre, in the space between the *scena* of the theatre and the grand basilica, two medium-sized houses were built. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, these were high status buildings. At the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, an earthquake destroyed these houses. House 2 was rebuilt on a smaller scale but retained its status; it was abandoned after a second destruction episode<sup>43</sup>. A simpler dwelling, made with sun-dried bricks, took its place in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>44</sup>. Dur-

ing the same period, identical building techniques were used in the residential area near the theatre. Small domestic complexes made of mud walls occupied the area of the orchestra in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>45</sup>; some had storage spaces, as the nine *pithoi* unearthed in the domestic area's eastern part demonstrate<sup>46</sup>. The archaeological evidence from Heraclea Lyncestis indicates that the city centre had fallen into disuse during the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

## Thasos

The port city of Limenas in Thasos witnessed an even more dramatic transformation. The luxurious residences built near the city within the area of the *agora* were abandoned at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>47</sup>. The most impressive is the *villa* known as Domus V, which was continuously expanded, incorporating the streets surrounding it (Fig. 3). Its surface reached 1200 m<sup>2</sup>. It had a central courtyard, a *triclinium*, and mosaics in the principal rooms<sup>48</sup>. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century or the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a luxurious baths complex with a marble bathtub was added to its south side and the main reception room was extended and renovated. The Domus V

<sup>41</sup> M. NIKOLAIDOU-PATERA/D.-D. MEGGIDIS, Ανασκαφές στα Δυτικά των Φιλιππών [Excavations to the south of Philippi]. Arch. Ergo Makedonias Thrakis 18, 2004, 40; MEGGIDIS 2007, 110–112, KETANIS 2015–2016, 43–45.

<sup>42</sup> M. KUSTOS, Ausgrabungen in Heraclea Lyncestis bei Bitolj in Süd-Serbien. In: Bericht über den VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin, 21.–26. August, 1939 (Berlin 1940) 180–181.

<sup>43</sup> The destruction of the house is attributed to the earthquake of AD 518, which had a disastrous effect on the province of Dardania, see Marcellini Comitatus V. C. Chronicon. In: Chronica Minora SAEC. IV, V. VI.VII, vol. II. In: MGH 11, ed. by Th. Mommsen (Munich 1981) 100.6–7; AMBRASEYS 2009, 180–183.

<sup>44</sup> L. DZIDROVA, Археолошки истражувања на куќа 2 во Heraclea Lyncestis Сектор театарски плоштад (Archaeological excavations of house no. 2 at Heraclea Lyncestis, Theatre Square). Macedonicae Acta Arch. 18, 2002–2004, 291–310.

<sup>45</sup> The houses comprised a single room or several small rooms occupying a surface of 12.75 m<sup>2</sup> to 168 m<sup>2</sup> (JANAKIEVSKI 1987, 75–80). The residential complexes were erected after the abandonment of the theatre and abandoned at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The last coins found in the area, are dated to AD 583–584. – See also T. JANAKIEVSKI, Heraclea Lyncestis: Tri objekta iz kasnoantičke Mikrostanbene celine iznad Rimskog teatra [Three buildings from the late antique Micro-housing complex above the Roman Theater]. Arheološki Vestnik 29, 1978, 694–707; T. JANAKIEVSKI, Docnoantička mikrostanbena celina nad rimskiot teatar vo Heraclea Lyncestis (The late-antique micro-residential ensemble above the Roman theatre in Heraclea Lyncestis) (Bitola 2001).

<sup>46</sup> JANAKIEVSKI 1987, 73.

<sup>47</sup> Y. GRANDJEAN/F. SALVIAT, Guide de Thasos (Athens 2000) 203.

<sup>48</sup> In the neighbouring area of Domus V, another similar villa, Domus VII, was discovered. The two houses had similar architectural features and were separated by a street (BLONDÉ et al. 2008, 733 f.). The main occupational phase is dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The archaeological report mentions walls built in simpler techniques but, in the absence of any additional details, they cannot be dated (J. PERREAULT, Thasos 2. Abords orientaux de l'Artémision. Bull. Corr. Hellénique 110, 1986, 793–797).

was abandoned while its last renovation was still in progress<sup>49</sup>. After its abandonment in the last decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, some parts of the house were used by squatters. At the same time, some of the rooms were transformed into areas for waste disposal, which included the bones of wild animals and massive quantities of seashells<sup>50</sup>.

In another part of the city, the Tokatlis-Divanakis *villa* was also refurbished during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>51</sup>. It was an opulent residence with a peristyle courtyard, mosaics, and marble decorations including a monumental *nymphaeum*, which was probably added in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>52</sup>. Thereafter, in the middle of that century, new additions were built in a different and simpler drystone technique, completely altering the original plan and splendid appearance of the residence<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, some of the doorways were blocked, cutting off access to some parts of the ground floor. In this occupational phase, kitchen waste and seashells were found on the mosaic floors, suggesting an en-

tirely different lifestyle and use of the rooms<sup>54</sup>. Finally, the house was abandoned at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>55</sup>. The examples cited indicate that the transition from a rich occupational phase to the abandonment of the houses in Limenas took place in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. The archaeological record shows that the wealthy owners of complexes suffered economic hardship in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and that this led to the general abandonment of Limenas's city centre.

## Kitros

Lastly, the same transformational pattern is visible in establishments that did not form part of a city, i.e. in isolated residences. The episcopal residence found at Kitros in Pieria, an important fortified complex which also included a three-aisled basilica, is a quite unique example<sup>56</sup>. It was an important economic centre during the reign of Justinian, which produced wine and olive oil and had large storage rooms with numerous *pithoi*<sup>57</sup>. In the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, most probably around AD 560, this complex was destroyed, lost its status as a bishop's residence, and was abandoned. The new occupants of the region transformed its ruins into a house with four rooms and added walls made of sun-dried bricks. They were also involved in rural activities on a smaller scale<sup>58</sup>. The earthquake of AD 620 caused serious damage to all the buildings, which were once again abandoned. After some time, the remains of the site were used for craft activities<sup>59</sup>, with various workshops being built with material from the destroyed buildings. The workshop complex, which yielded pottery, metalwork and glassware, comprised four kilns. Ceramic was made in the north-western part of the complex, where two clay pits, a large kiln and the base of a potter's wheel were found. A lime-burning kiln is also presumed to have existed in the north-eastern sector. No traces of

<sup>49</sup> For the different phases of the Domus V, see F. BLONDÉ et al., Thasos. Les abords nord de l'Artémision (THANAR). Bull. Corr. Hellénique 138, 2014, 633 f.; PETRIDIS 2015, 39–43.

<sup>50</sup> Domus V it is the only case where archaeozoological and archaeobotanical studies are available. The faunal remains found in the waste deposit show that the diet of the last occupants of this house included food obtained from by hunting and fishing, indicating that whatever was available was consumed (T. OUESLATI, Les amas coquilliers protobyzantins de Limenas: exploitation des ressources piscicoles, alimentation carnée. Déclin de la cité de Thasos [Grèce]. In: P. Bearez/S. Grouard/B. Clavel (eds.), Archéologie du poisson, 30 ans d'archéo-ichthyologie au CNRS, Hommage aux travaux de Jean et Nathalie Desse-Bresset, XXVIII<sup>e</sup> rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes [Antibes 2008] 1–12; BLONDÉ et al. 2008, 732 f.; PETRIDIS 2015, 44 f.).

<sup>51</sup> The courtyard was enlarged in this renovation, and a peristyle was added. The date of the last coins found, AD 580–591, gives a *terminus ante quem* for the renovation works (DAUX 1965, 937). – See also SODINI/KOZEJL/WURCH-KOZEJL 2016, 142 f.

<sup>52</sup> SODINI/KOZEJL/WURCH-KOZEJL 2016, 143 f. For the *nymphaeum*, see Ibid., 71–135. For the initial plan of the house is dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century, see Ibid., 13–36.

<sup>53</sup> For example, the north-eastern portico was cut in half: DAUX 1965, 937. – For a description of the walls that belong to the same phase, see M. SÈVE, Philippes. Bull. Corr. Hellénique 106, 1982, 651–653 here 671.

<sup>54</sup> SODINI/KOZEJL/WURCH-KOZEJL 2016, 144–146.

<sup>55</sup> DAUX 1965, 937.

<sup>56</sup> The residence of the bishop of Pydna was transferred in AD 479, when the city was raided by the Goths, to Kitros, a station on the road from Thessaloniki to southern Greece.

<sup>57</sup> MARKI 2004, 35.

<sup>58</sup> During this phase, only the nave of the basilica was used (MARKI 2004, 35, 39 plan 5).

<sup>59</sup> MARKI 2004, 42.

[Die Abbildung ist aus urheberrechtlichen Gründen nicht online.]

**Fig. 3** Thasos, the Domus V and Domus VII *villae*. – Courtesy of the École française d’Athènes. T. KOZELJ/A. MULLER, Les abords nord de l’Artémision. In: BLONDÉ et al. 2008, 735.

houses were found, but the presence of cooking wares in the workshops suggests that the craftspeople lived there. The workshops continued to be in use until the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The material culture of this community can offer information about its status. A great variety of tools associated with the activities of the workshops

was discovered, as well as specific tools used in agriculture, building, and carpentry activities<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> For a presentation of the tools found in the complex dated to the 6–7<sup>th</sup> centuries, see E. AGEΛKOU, Εργαλεία και εργαστηριακές δραστηριότητες στις Λουλουδιές Κίτρος [Tools and craft activities in Louloudies in Kitros]. In: 22<sup>nd</sup> Symposium of Byzantine and Post-

Thus, it was probably an autonomous village. The discovery of coins cut in half also indicates that local trade continued to function, but new ways were found to face a shortage of coins.

### Farmhouses – rural *villae*

Outside the city, suburban residential establishments and farmhouses were completely transformed or abandoned during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. A farmhouse on the site known as Piges Voiranis (Voirani spring) in the northern part of the plain of Philippi, comprised a wine press of three pressing rooms with *pithoi*<sup>61</sup>. In the northern-eastern part of the building, an underground space carved out of the rock was probably used for storage. The buildings also had a first floor and mosaics, which suggest elite owners. The dwelling was eventually destroyed by fire and abandoned. A 5<sup>th</sup>- and 6<sup>th</sup>-century farmhouse situated on a hill north-east of the city of Philippi followed a similar evolution. The complex had four wine pressing or storage basins and was probably abandoned during the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

Another farmhouse, with two buildings and a circular structure, was unearthed near the city of Serres<sup>62</sup>. The first building was simple and probably served as the residential part and the second building, which had storage installations. Those buildings were destroyed during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. After the destruction of the farmhouse the circular structure was used as a burial place<sup>63</sup>. As for the roman farmhouse near the site of Potamoi Dramas, it is one of the wealthiest in the region<sup>64</sup>. It had a *villa*-type plan of

many rooms around a central courtyard; it also had a second smaller courtyard, a small kiln and storage area. Two kilns were found in the main courtyard and they are linked with pottery production. The main occupational phase of this farmhouse is dated during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Before its abandonment during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the *pithoi* in the storage area were used as waste containers and semi-circular hearths were installed in some of the rooms.

The Roman *villa* located in the foothills south of Mount Zygos in the south-eastern corner of the plain of Philippi was transformed at the same time into a fortified settlement, built in drystone<sup>65</sup>.

### Discussion

To sum up, the transformation of *villa*-type houses in *Macedonia prima* was not a phenomenon caused by a sudden event; on the contrary, it was a slow degradation process, which is reflected in the urban centres themselves. The *villa*-type houses unearthed in the region constitute a homogenous group. The residential patterns changed at the same time in this geographical area, regardless of their location, be it inland or coastal.

The examples discussed here indicate that residential architecture underwent a first transformation in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. The *villae* lost their signs of opulence: their trademark decorative features (marble elements and mosaics) were not maintained. Furthermore, additions or alterations used cheaper materials. Although the layout of the *villae* was still respected, some houses were subdivided to serve multiple owners; the larger rooms were cut in half, and doorways were blocked. In addition, the rooms no longer had the same function. Moreover, many urban residences acquired winemaking facilities, and storage spaces were built in the reception rooms of some houses, often directly on

Byzantine Archeology and Art 2004, 61–72.

<sup>61</sup> E. KOURKOUTIDOU-NIKOLAIDOU, Ληνοί εις τὰς πηγὰς Βοϊράνης [Wine presses in the Voirani spring region-Piges Voiranis] Arch. Society Athen 1973, 36–49; SODINI 1984, 374; MEGGIDIS 2007, 108 f.

<sup>62</sup> M. BALLA, Θολός – Νέα Ζίχνη. Οικόπεδο Μ. Παπαναγιώτου [Tholos - Nea Zichni. Excavation of the plot of M. Papapanagiotou]. Arch. Deltion 56–59, B 3, 2001–2004, 649–650; KETANIS 2015–2016, 35 f.

<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately there are no available data which could determine a chronology of that occupational phase.

<sup>64</sup> P. MALAMA/K. NTARAKIS, Ανασκαφή Ποταμών Δράμας 2004–2005 (Excavation at Potami. Drama Prefecture, 2004–5). Arch. Ergo Makedonias Thracis 19, 2005, 35–44; P. MALAMA, Νομός Δράμας. Ποταμοί [Drama Prefecture, Potami]. Arch. Deltion 56–59 B3,

2001–2004, 660–661; KETANIS 2015–2016, 39–41.

<sup>65</sup> Ch. BAKIRTZIS/St. DADAKI, Χαλκερό [Chalkero]. Arch. Deltion 45 B2, 1990, 391–392. – A. DUNN (Continuity and change in the Macedonian countryside from Gallienus to Justinian. Late Antique Arch. 2,1, 2004, 535–585 here 550) argues that this was probably a refugium.

the mosaic floors. This suggests that the great majority of city dwellers were involved in wine production<sup>66</sup>. As a result, from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the *villae*, even if they were still in use, served exclusively functional purposes without any aspiration to social representation.

During the last decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the *villa* was completely abandoned as an architectural type and the housing arrangements became much smaller and simpler. The new constructions had simpler plans, used less sophisticated building techniques and employed recycled materials. Most of the Late Antique residential buildings were reused, at least partially, but this reuse did not respect the earlier layout or previous habits. From a typological point of view, a settlement hierarchy does not appear to have existed in the region, as there is a notable absence of the elite from the archaeological record of the period in favour of the more modest members of society<sup>67</sup>. The lifestyle was much simpler, focusing on self-sufficiency, with many domestic buildings converted to workshops. Many of the winemaking facilities were abandoned. In some cases, living conditions appear to have deteriorated, since the living arrangements are situated near waste deposits. Some of the transformational patterns indicate a high degree of mobility in the region, as attested by housing built for short term residence<sup>68</sup>. It is also worth noting that the

only country *villae* that continued to be used were those that were fortified and probably had reduced their production; in one case a rural establishment is likely to have been transformed into a refugium.

This radical change in housing in the urban environments and the countryside must be associated with a social and economic evolution. Despite the high level of continuity in the use of residential spaces, the region seems to have become poorer during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. From the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, architectural projects came to a standstill and the luxurious residential buildings were transformed into more modest houses. At the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, both ecclesiastical and residential buildings appear impoverished. Most settlements were occupied but the quality of life was different. Thessaloniki was much more resilient than the smaller centres in the region, the smaller cities of the province showing evidence of greater change in their housing history than the provincial capital.

The economic downturn led to an inevitable transformation in the perception of the living space in the region. This caused a wave of internal migration as well as the creation of new housing forms and economic behaviours; a shift in the domestic paradigm<sup>69</sup>. The new residential forms were modest but economically active; their inhabitants sought autarchy and their way of life differed markedly from the Late Roman standard. This can be interpreted as an effort to compensate for the disruption of long-distance trade and the loss of imports from other parts of the Empire<sup>70</sup>. These changes can also be in-

<sup>66</sup> Theophylact Simocatta gives a similar account of the city of *Singidunum*, reporting that during the attack of the Avars the inhabitants of the city were working in the fields. See Theophylact Simocatta, *Historia*. Ed. by C. de Boor (Leipzig 1887) I,46.

<sup>67</sup> J.-P. SODINI (1993, 182) has argued that during the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century the middle agricultural class was prosperous: "Une paysannerie moyenne aisée s'y développe au VI<sup>e</sup> jusqu'aux années 550". Furthermore, the wealthiest members of society had already abandoned the cities (HATTERSLEY-SMITH 1996, 66 f.). Consequently, the owners of the establishments that produced agricultural goods compensate for the disruption of commerce and imports. Producers are the wealthiest members of society in this region, and the typical house had large storage spaces. For this social transformation (E. ZANINI, *Coming to the End: Early Byzantine Cities after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century*. In: *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016. Plenary Papers [Belgrade 2016] 127-140 here 139).

<sup>68</sup> As in the "Maison des fauves C" in Philippi or the informal settlements (squats) in the abandoned *villae*, e.g. in *Domus V* in Thasos.

<sup>69</sup> In many cases people fled to the urban centres to escape from the barbarian raids. Consequently, a number of houses were constructed to host them. Procopius of Caesarea describes that, during the reign of Justinian, people from all the regions of the Empire came to reside in the capital but many could not afford a house. *De aedificiis* describes the construction of such houses: Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia, 4. Ed. by G. Wirth (Leipzig 1964), 11.23.

<sup>70</sup> For the Late Roman economy and the role of the State, see the introduction in: L. LAVAN, *Local economies in Late Antiquity? Some Thoughts*. *Late Antique Arch.* 10,1, 2013, 1-11. - Furthermore, see PIERI 2012; J. HALDON, *Commerce and Exchange in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries. Regional Trade and the movement of Good*. In: MORISSON 2012, 99-122. - During this period, smaller, local amphora production, which

scribed in the broader transformations in the logistical and economic conditions of the area, evidenced by a halt in the use of marble in construction, even though there were local quarries, and by the decrease in winemaking in an area long known for its viticulture.

The abandonment of the *villae* is inextricably linked to the abandonment of a way of life that was exclusively associated with a (Late) Roman lifestyle. The economic and social systems that emerged from the collapse of the Roman economy remain largely obscure. Future analysis of the material culture found in *villa* contexts will contribute to our understanding of the transformation of the local society as well as the function of the economy of the region.

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imitated the standard amphora types used for long-distance trade, increased. Unfortunately, there are no such studies so far concerning the local amphorae of *Macedonia prima*. For imitations of Late Roman pottery, see J. HAYES, *Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, The Athenian Agora* 32 (Athens 2008) 448; P. PETRIDIS, *Ρωμαϊκά και πρωτοβυζαντινά εργαστήρια κεραμικής στον ελλαδικό χώρο* (Roman and early Byzantine pottery workshops in mainland Greece). In: D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi/D. Kousoulakou, *Κεραμικής της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον Ελληνικό χώρο* (Thessaloniki 2010) 81–96 esp. 89; PIERI 2012, 47–49.

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### Summary

The present study examines the transformation of the *villae* in *Macedonia Prima* in the closing years of Late Antiquity. This process took place gradually. The *villae* increasingly lost their prestige in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in that fewer mosaics and marble elements were included in their architecture and cheaper building materials were used. Their plans remained unchanged at first but many rooms that had once been richly decorated were used for other purposes, such as producing wine or as storage spaces. During the last decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, *villae* were no longer a feature of the towns and cities. The new dwellings had a simpler plan and were built with cheap and recycled materials. In the countryside, on the other hand, the few still functioning rural *villae* were strengthened by defensive works.

### Zusammenfassung

#### **Bemerkungen zur Transformation von *villae* am Ende der Spätantike: ausgewählte Beispiele aus *Macedonia prima***

Der vorliegende Aufsatz untersucht die Transformation von Villen während der ausgehenden Spätantike in der Region *Macedonia Prima*. Dieser Prozess hat sich allmählich vollzogen. In der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts verloren Villen immer mehr an Pracht, indem immer weniger Mosaik- und Marmorelemente eingebaut und billigere Baumaterialien verwendet wurden. Die Grundrisse blieben vorerst unverändert, aber viele ehemals reichlich geschmückte Räume erhielten neue, wirtschaftliche Funktionen, wie für Weinherstellung oder Lagerung. Während der letzten Jahrzehnte des 6. und des frühen 7. Jahrhunderts wurde die Villa als Bautyp in den Städten vollständig aufgegeben. Die neuen Wohnhäuser zeigen einen einfacheren Umriss und wurden mit billigen und recycelten Baumaterialien errichtet. Die wenigen, weiter genutzten ländlichen Villen werden hingegen befestigt.