

»... that slow change which makes up the history of cities«. The Lower Agora of Pergamon and its Transformation in Late Antiquity

In memory of Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt

The transformation of urban spaces¹ in late antiquity has been much discussed in recent years². The overall development of Pergamon during this period has been outlined by various scholars³; this paper therefore focuses on the transformation of an individual building complex, the so-called Lower Agora of Pergamon, and its immediate urban surroundings. The building was excavated between 1900 and 1902 by Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Except for two preliminary reports, the results of these excavations remained unpublished⁴. It is mainly due to the lack of an in-depth publication that the Lower Agora complex has so far played a marginal role in the literature on late antique and early Byzantine Pergamon⁵. For that reason, in 2013 a new research project was initiated in order to provide the necessary material for a thorough understanding of the building complex and its history⁶. Based on new archaeological evidence from this project, this paper discusses the character of and possible reasons for the transformation of a major public building within the urban cityscape of late antique Pergamon.

Due to its position within the urban fabric as well as its building history the Lower Agora offers a good example for studying the phenomenon of architectural and functional transformation of urban space in late antiquity. The vast building complex is situated on the southern slope of the Pergamene acropolis just inside the Hellenistic city walls. According to the traditional view, the settlement pattern of Pergamon is marked by a shift from the acropolis to the plain (fig. 1)⁷. Hence at the time of its construction the

Lower Agora would have been situated on the southern outskirts of the late Hellenistic settlement, whereas it would have been part of the northern periphery of the city in late antiquity⁸. The history of the area can be divided roughly into three main phases. In its original state (phase I), the agora consisted of a rectangular square surrounded by porticoes on all four sides. Although the function of the building still needs to be determined more precisely, it is clear that it must have been a public space of some importance within the expanding city of the late Hellenistic age. In the second half of the 2nd century, the porticoes were partially rebuilt on a large scale (phase II). Finally, a Christian basilica was erected within the central courtyard of the agora, possibly in the 5th century (phase III). In addition, this church was subsequently surrounded by a considerable number of graves. Thus, the area of the Lower Agora exhibits a gradual change both in architectural form and function. This process has so far been given two opposing interpretations. In his preliminary report Dörpfeld assumed that the church was built at a time when the porticoes of the agora were still standing⁹. This assumption has led Wolfram Hoepfner to suggest that the church was constructed with the intention of occupying an earlier civic centre that was still discernible as such¹⁰. Hoepfner's argument is largely based on the original plan published by Dörpfeld (fig. 2). However, this plan mingles features of a state plan, a phase plan and a reconstruction, which hinders understanding of which parts were actually contemporaneous. An alternative interpretation of the remains was put

1 The following reflections are based on the results of a joint fieldwork project that is part of the Pergamon Excavation of the German Archaeological Institute Istanbul under the auspices of Felix Pirson. The project was conducted between 2013 and 2017 as a cooperation between the Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Istanbul (Arzu Öztürk) and the Freie Universität Berlin (Burkhard Emme) and was generously funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (Cologne). I would like to express my warmest thanks to Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan for providing me with the opportunity to discuss the topic of this paper with an audience of experts in the field of late antique archaeology, to Philipp Niewöhner for his helpful comments on a first version of this paper and to Kristina Terpy and Orla Mulholland, who kindly corrected the English version of this text.

2 See e.g. Brogiolo/Ward Perkins, *Late Antiquity*. – Dally/Ratté, *Late Antiquity*. – Burkhardt/Stichel, *Umbruch*. – Jacobs, *Maintenance*. – Brands/Severin, *Christianisierung*.

3 Rheidt, *Wohnstadt*. – Rheidt, *Shadow*. – Otten, *Pergamon*. – Pirson, *Siedlungsgeschichte* 117-119.

4 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I*. – Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke II*.

5 Otten, *Pergamon 820-822* focuses on the churches in the Red Hall and on the terrace of Athena. – Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 182-186 gives a thorough synthesis

of the results of earlier research on the area, but focuses on the immediate surroundings rather than the agora itself.

6 Emme/Öztürk, *Erster Vorbericht*.

7 See e.g. Wulf, *Stadtplan*; the validity of this model has been questioned recently by Pirson, *Siedlungsgeschichte*.

8 Wulf, *Stadtplan* 168-170. – Rheidt, *Shadow* 397. – Dally, *Pflege und Nutzung* 105-107. – For a critical reassessment of the urban structure and its development in the Roman Imperial period, see Pirson, *Siedlungsgeschichte* 102-111.

9 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I* 33: »Nur eines scheint mir sicher, dass bei der Erbauung der Kirche die Agora noch aufrecht stand. Nicht nur, dass sich die Kirche genau innerhalb des Hofes der Agora hält, [...] sondern es hat sich auch in den Mauerresten [der Kirche] kein einziger sicher zur Agora gehöriger Stein gefunden.« – See also Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 182.

10 Hoepfner, *Ende 148f.*: »Wie in Dion haben Christen in Pergamon ostentativ das alte Zentrum besetzt.« – Lavan, *Agora* remarks that in general, the agorai remained functional until the 5th century at least, without explicit reference to the situation in Pergamon.

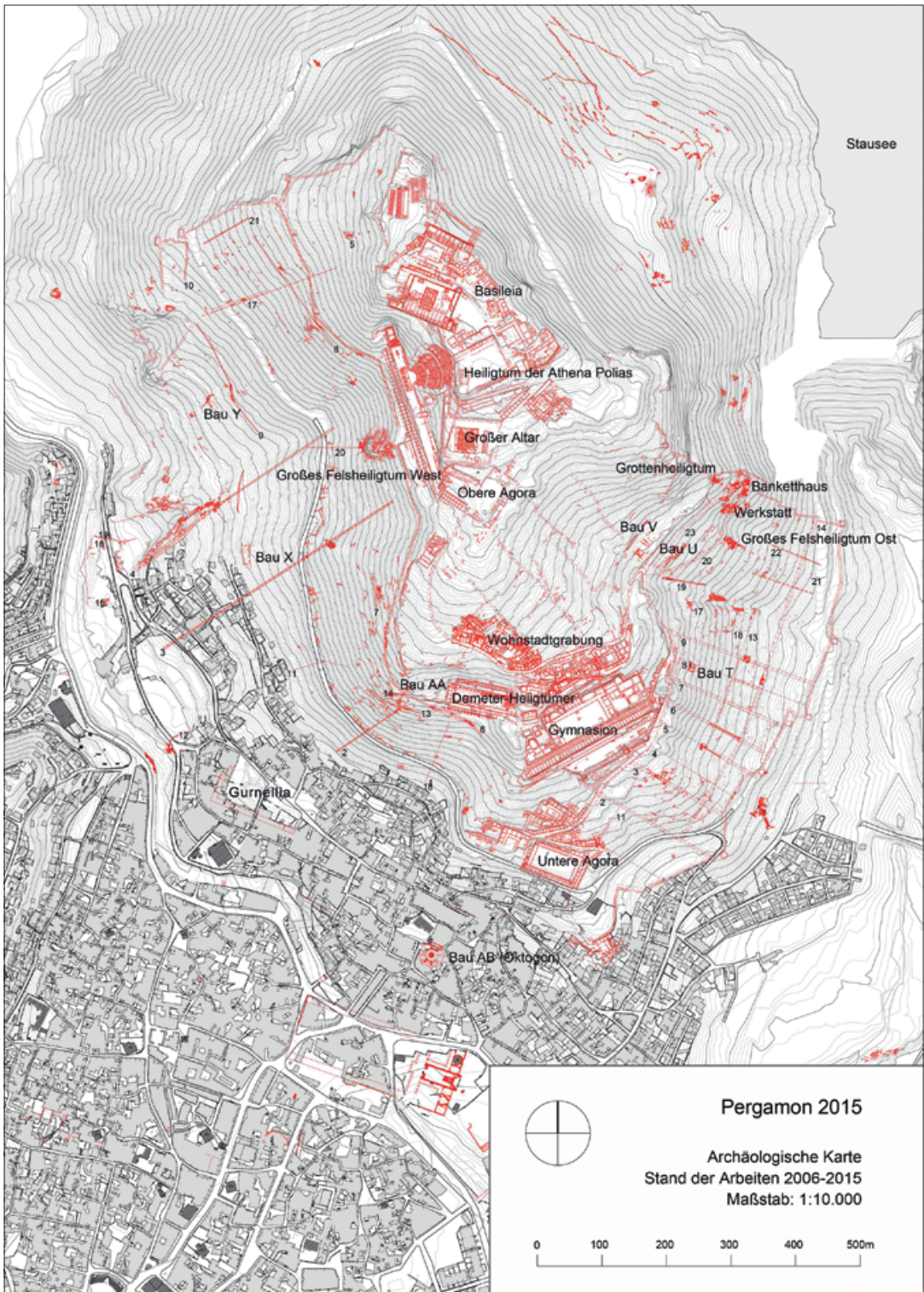


Fig. 1 Pergamon, ancient remains marked red. – (DAI Pergamon-grabung).

forward by Klaus Rheidt, who justly pointed out that the apse of the church was partially built over the foundations of the eastern portico¹¹. This observation indicates that at least this section of the Lower Agora had been dismantled before the construction of the church. Consequently, Rheidt

assumed that the church was built in a »peripheral empty space without function«¹². Accordingly, the plan used by Rheidt to illustrate his argument features only the church and the surrounding graves, while all architectural remains of the original building are left out (fig. 3).

11 Rheidt, Wohnstadt 182. However, Rheidt still agrees with Dörpfeld that no spolia from the original architecture of the agora were reused for the construction of the church.

12 Rheidt, Shadow 397: »There is no evidence that any of the intact buildings on the hill from antiquity were in use beyond the fourth century CE. [...] Even facilities at the foot of the hill, such as the Lower Agora [...] had turned into peripheral empty spaces without function.« – See also Rheidt, Wohnstadt 196 f.

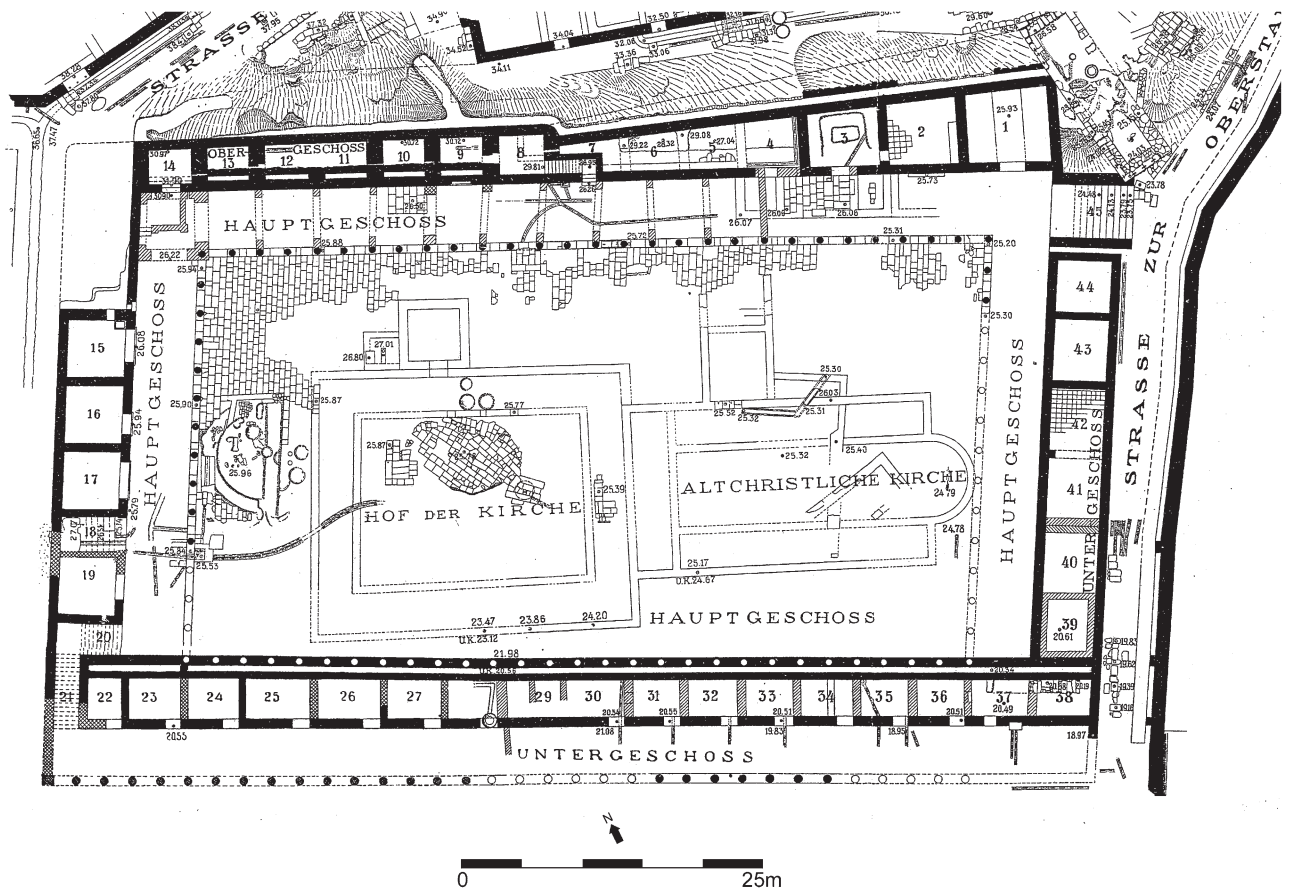


Fig. 2 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Plan. – (After Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I* pl. 2 and Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke II* pl. 7).

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the underlying process of transformation was more complex than has hitherto been assumed. Based on new archaeological evidence I show that the Lower Agora had fallen gradually into a state of disrepair from the 2nd century onwards (phase II). Subsequently some parts of the agora were reused for the construction of modest houses in the late 4th/early 5th century, before the Christian basilica was built in the centre of the original courtyard (phase III). For the sake of clarity, I will discuss the individual phases in their chronological order.

Phase I

The architectural remains of the Lower Agora have suffered much from destruction over the centuries. Furthermore, the western and north-western sections of the original structure were rebuilt in the 1960s as storerooms for the ongoing excavations¹³. Since some remains deteriorated after their excavation, especially on the southern side of the building, many structures from late antiquity and the Byzantine era

are documented only in a number of photographs from the excavation (see below). However, a general outline of the complex can still be obtained¹⁴.

In its original state, the agora consisted of a large square measuring approximately 88 m × 55 m (figs 2, 4). This square was surrounded by porticoes on all four sides. A small number of rooms were placed on the rear side of the porticoes in the north-eastern and the western parts of the building. On both these sides the original portico was two-storeyed. Due to the sloping terrain, only the southern and eastern part of the building had a basement floor. The southern part consisted of a series of rooms behind a colonnade opening to the outside of the building. Our understanding of the central courtyard is rather limited. It is clear, however, that the preserved pavement was a secondary addition. This is indicated by a number of gaps that mark the position of statue bases in front of the northern and the western porticoes (fig. 4)¹⁵. In contrast, a large semicircular structure in front of the western portico must have been part of the original layout. Although only the foundation trenches of this structure are preserved, the level of the natural rock inside these foundations is higher

13 Boehring, *Ausgrabungen 416f.* figs 2, 3.

14 For a recent reconstruction of the Lower Agora in its original state, see Pison, *Stadtraum 73* fig. 7.

15 Emme/Öztürk, *Erster Vorbericht 129f.* – Emme/Öztürk, *Zweiter Vorbericht 122f.*

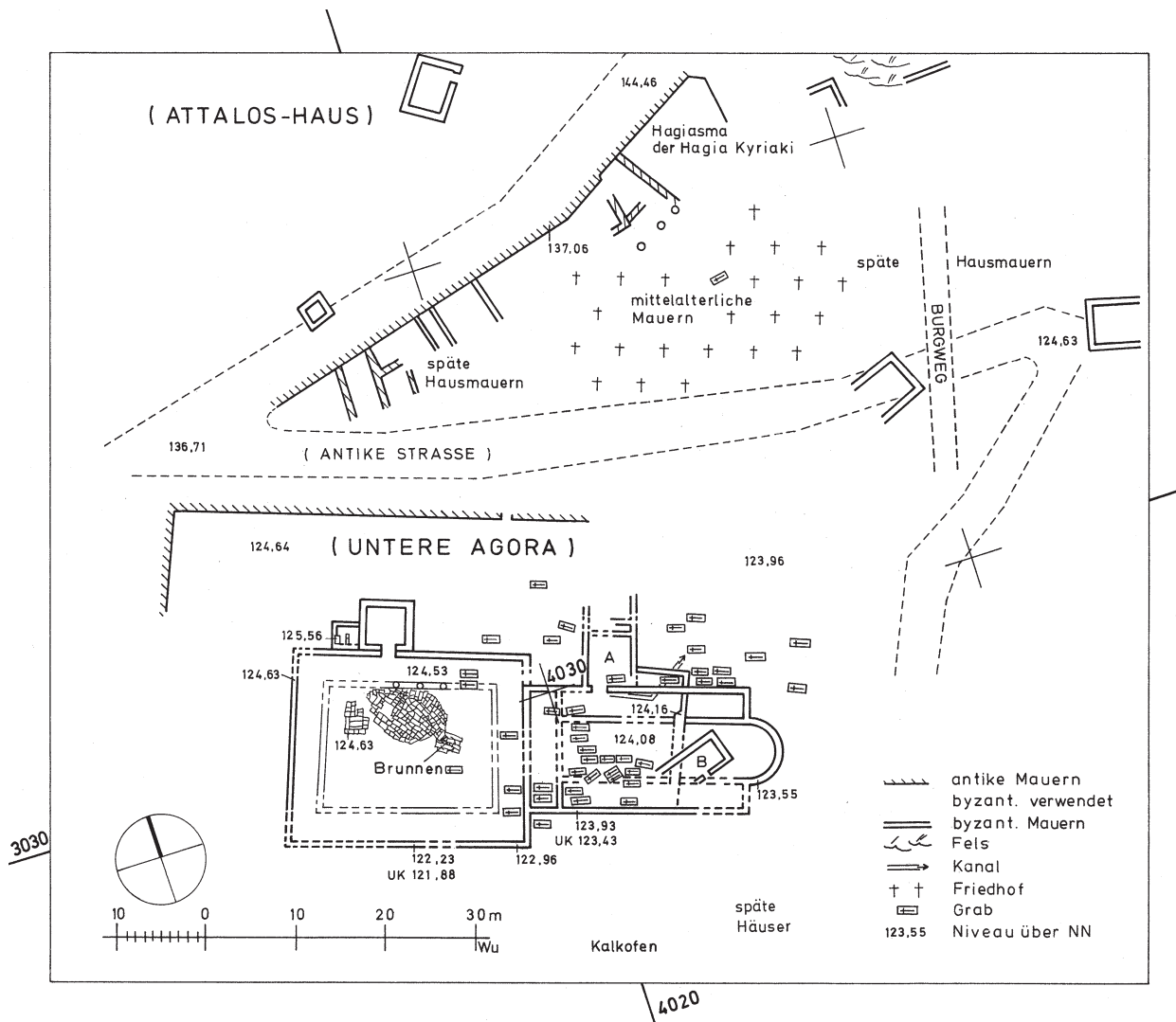


Fig. 3 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Remains of the Byzantine period. – (After Rheidt, Wohnstadt 183 fig. 35).

than that of the adjacent pavement and the stylobate of the neighbouring portico, indicating its earlier date¹⁶. According to Dörpfeld the Lower Agora was constructed as an urban centre of the lower part of the Hellenistic city, which was widely extended in the reign of King Eumenes II (197-159BC). This dating was based largely on the position of the complex within the Hellenistic city walls (fig. 1), the building technique and general historical assumptions¹⁷. However, as recent investigations have proved, the construction of the agora must be dated to about 150 years later. On the basis of the archaeological finds from the foundation levels, the original complex was built between approximately 50 BC and AD 50 (= phase I)¹⁸.

Phase II

At a later stage, the agora underwent considerable alterations. Although these were recorded already by Dörpfeld their implications for the overall functioning of the building were not considered in full. In the western part of the northern portico a double row of piers was installed in order to stabilise the building (fig. 4). These piers were built against the back wall and against every second column and were joined by arches of large stone blocks (fig. 6b)¹⁹. At the juncture of the northern and western portico, a cross vault was installed. In contrast to the construction of the vaults in the northern portico this construction was made of bricks and *opus cae-*

16 The structure has been interpreted as a fountain and was conjecturally dated to the High Imperial period by Wulf, Stadtplan Beilage 5. – For the recent reassessment, see Emme/Öztürk, Dritter Vorbericht 152f.

17 Dörpfeld, Bauwerke I 26. – Wulf, O 142. – Pirson, Stadtraum 72.

18 Emme/Öztürk, Zweiter Vorbericht 118f. – Emme, Vierter Vorbericht 121. – For the implications of the new dating, see Pirson, Siedlungsgeschichte 82f. 89-95.

19 For this particular construction, see Emme, Vierter Vorbericht 123-125 figs 17-18. Interestingly the unfinished surfaces of some of the preserved blocks indicate that the installation of the vaults was not completed.

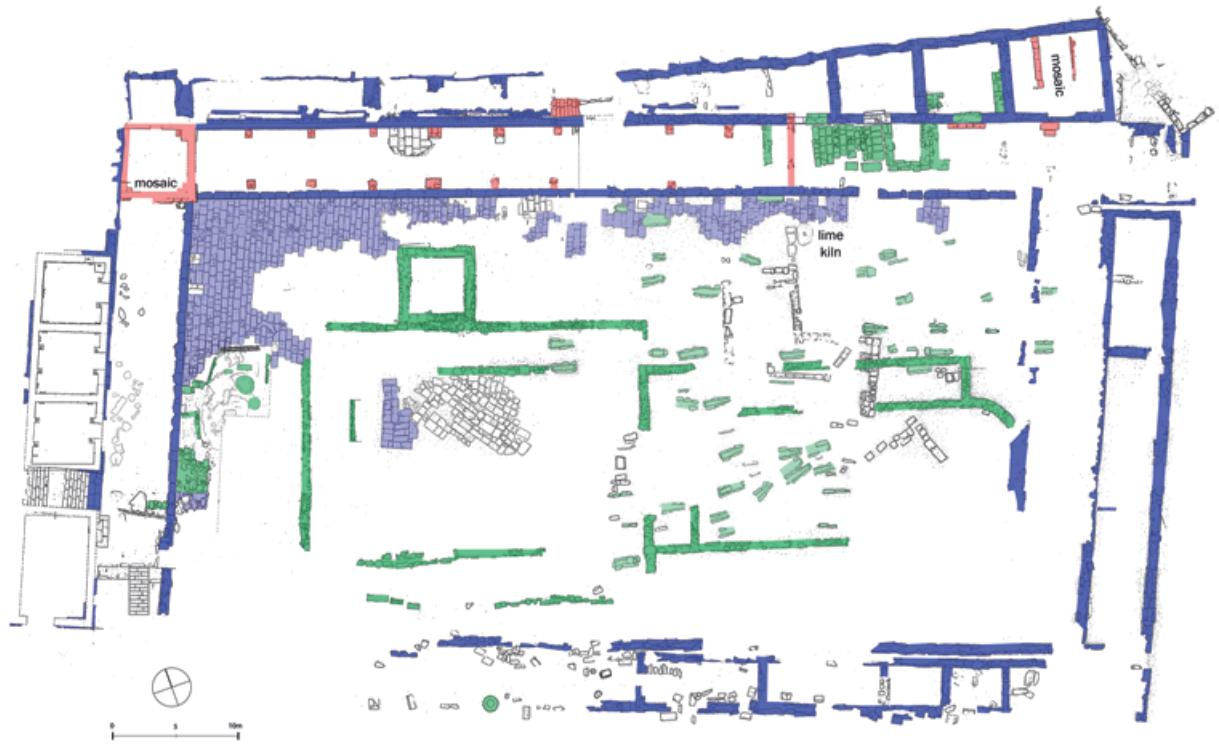


Fig. 4 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Phase plan; blue: originals structures; red: alterations of ca. 200; green: early Byzantine installations. – (Draft A. Öztürk / K. Başak / B. Emme).

mentium (fig. 5). Additional installations were constructed in this part, including a mosaic floor with a geometric pattern in black, white and yellow and a low podium or *bema*²⁰. Two small piers that were erected on the edge of the *bema* were still *in situ* at the time of their excavation but were removed soon afterwards (figs 5. 8). One of them was carved from an ionic marble column, as is indicated by the remaining cannelures on its rear side.

The eastern section of the northern portico underwent several alterations too. Here the colonnade seems to have collapsed and was not rebuilt afterwards. This is clearly indicated by the lack of piers in the easternmost part of the portico and by the fact that the stylobate of the colonnade inclines severely towards the south and east (fig. 2)²¹. In order to separate the two sections, a new wall was constructed in front of room 4 and it now marks the eastern end of the remaining stoa (fig. 4). Despite the decay of the colonnade, some refurbishments were conducted in the adjacent rooms 1 and 2. In front of both rooms an additional step was added in order to compensate for a subsided floor level within the portico (fig. 6b)²². As a foundation of small stones indicates, the eastern wall of room 1 was rebuilt approximately 2 m

west of its original position. The room was subsequently decorated with a mosaic floor similar to that in the western part of the agora and with a marble revetment whose remains are still visible along the northern wall and along the newly-built eastern wall of the room²³. The function of a line of small blocks which marks the western edge of the mosaic floor in room 1 remains unclear.

Nevertheless, the alterations of rooms 1 and 2 are instructive for understanding the development of the agora in phase II in general. On the one hand, similar to the construction of a set of piers in the western part of the northern portico, the rebuilding of the eastern wall of room 1 shows that the building had suffered severe damage. On the other hand, the installation of two very similar mosaic floors in two different parts of the complex suggests that at this point in time, the Lower Agora was still considered a functional unit²⁴.

Unfortunately, the exact dating of phase II is not clear. Traditionally the alterations in the western section of the northern portico have been identified with the reconstruction of an *agoranomion* mentioned in an honorary inscription of the (early?) 2nd century²⁵. Accordingly, the excavators dated the extensive reinforcement of the northern portico to the

20 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I* 29-31. – Emme, *Vierter Vorbericht* 123-127. – On the mosaic Scheibelreiter-Gail 345 f. cat. 113.

21 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I* 19. 29; whereas in the middle of the northern portico the surface of the stylobate has a height of 124.21 m above sea level, the north-eastern corner has a level of 123.66 m only. The difference of 55 cm would have led to a considerable inclination of the architecture.

22 See Emme/Öztürk, *Zweiter Vorbericht* 124 f. fig. 5.

23 See Salzmann, *Mosaiken* 444 figs 12-13. – Emme/Öztürk, *Dritter Vorbericht* 154 f. fig. 20.

24 Emme/Öztürk, *Dritter Vorbericht* 154. 156.

25 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I* 30. – Fränkel, *Inscripfen* 244-246 no. 333 A. – Rheidt, *Wohnbauten* 182. – Radt, *Pergamon* 89 f. fig. 37. – For the dating of I. Nikodemus Nikon, see also Thomas, *Monumentality* 96-98. – Mathys, *Architekturstiftungen* 70.



Fig. 5 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Northwestern corner with secondary piers, cross-vault and *bema*. – (Photo DAI, Neg.-Nr. D-DAI-ATH-Pergamon_0232).

first half of the 2nd century too. However, the connection of the inscription to the agora is highly hypothetical. The inscription was found as part of a modern wall in a quarter of the old town of Bergama just south of the agora and is still in place today²⁶. Although it was reported by the owner of the house to have come from the area of the agora, it seems possible that the block had already been reused at an earlier stage, e.g. for the construction of the church. Furthermore, the architectural shape of the *agoranomion* is not at all clear, so an identification of this structure as the podium in the north-western corner of the agora is not well founded.

Therefore it seems impossible to base the date of the second building phase on the inscription²⁷. However, other features suggest a date in the second half of the second century.

It had already been pointed out by Dörpfeld that, in contrast to the original architecture of the agora, lime-based mortar was used for construction of the piers in the northern

26 Fränkel, *Inschriften* 244. – Emme, *Vierter Vorbericht* 127 fig. 20.

27 Emme, *Vierter Vorbericht* 217. – The significance of the inscription depends on the identification of I. Nikodemos Nikon with Aelius Nikon, the father of Galen. Whereas this identification is widely accepted in German scholarship (see e.g. Radt, *Pergamon* 89), E. Thomas has recently argued against it. Thomas justly points out that Nikodemos' cognomen Neon may indicate that this person is more likely to be a follower of the more famous Aelius. Accordingly, the inscription would date about one generation later than traditionally thought, i. e. to the late 2nd c.; see Thomas, *Monumentality* 96.

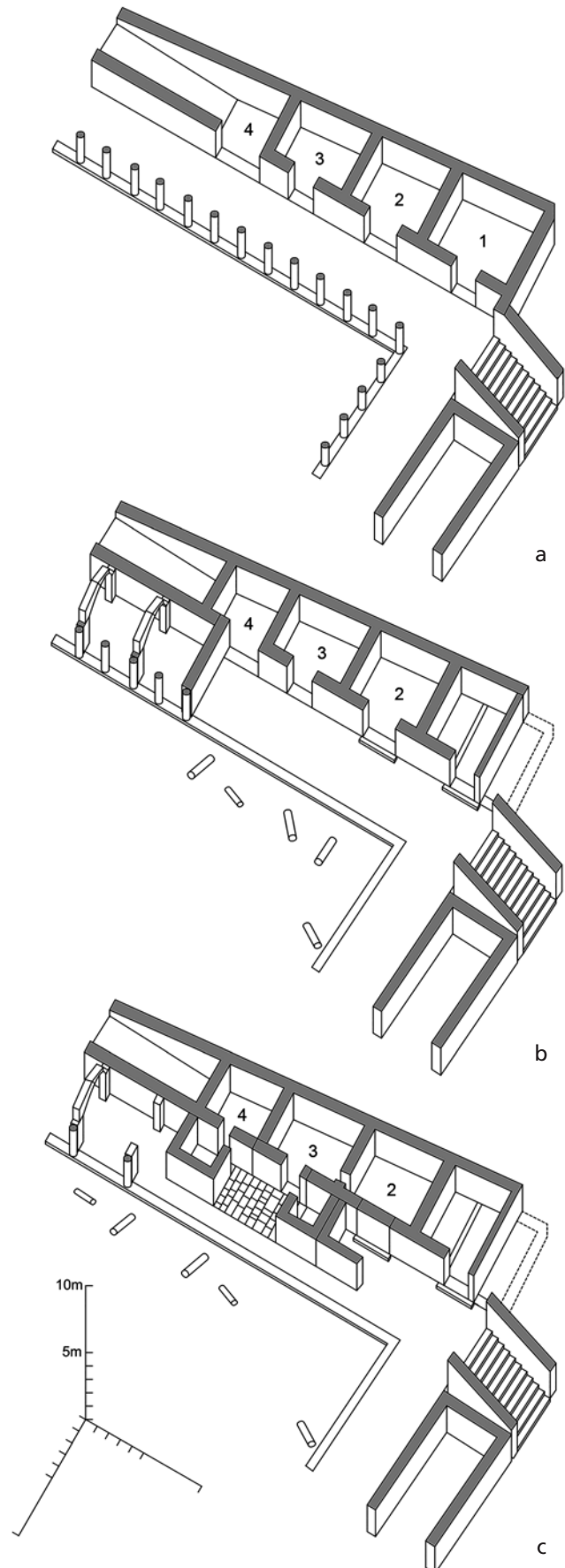


Fig. 6 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Reconstruction of northeastern section of the building with rooms 1-4: **a** original layout (phase I). – **b** rebuilding of rooms 1-4 (phase II). – **c** construction of a courtyard house (phase III). – (Draft B. Emme).



Fig. 7 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Secondary mosaic floors: **a** in the northwestern corner. – **b** in room 1. – (Photo B. Emme).

portico²⁸. The overall construction technique of the piers is remarkably similar to that of a comparable secondary construction in the central room of the Gymnasium (room H)²⁹. In that case the installation of secondary piers is dated to the early 3rd century³⁰. A similar dating is indicated by the two mosaic floors mentioned above. The floor of room 1 is fairly well preserved. Dieter Salzmann dated this floor to the late 2nd/early 3rd century on stylistic and technical grounds (fig. 7)³¹. The floor in the north-western corner is less well preserved. In the light of Dörpfeld's identification of this installation as the *agoranomion*, Salzmann dated this floor to the early 2nd century³². However, when both mosaics were uncovered again in 2015, it became clear that they are very similar in their technical aspects, such as the size of the *tesserae*, the

combination of colours used (black, white and yellow), and the dimensions of their formal elements (width of alternating bands, etc.) (fig. 7). Because an open-minded dating based on the archaeological evidence alone was offered only for the mosaic floor in room 1, and because this floor is better preserved than its western counterpart, it seems plausible to accept the later date proposed by Salzmann for the latter as well. Therefore it seems more likely that the two mosaics are contemporary and were part of a general refurbishment of the agora in the second half of the 2nd century.

Finally, the decoration of the small piers that were part of the *bema* inserted into the north-western corner of the agora points to a contemporaneous dating. These piers have a narrow headband decorated with tendrils and *acroteria* in

28 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke* I 29.

29 Schazmann, *Gymnasium* 58-61. – For a comparison of the construction in the two areas see Emme, *Vierter Vorbericht* 125 f.

30 Schazmann, *Gymnasium* 60. – Radt, *Pergamon* 127.

31 Salzmann, *Mosaiken* 444: »Mehrfarbigkeit und Füllornamente weisen das Agoramosaik in das späte 2. oder frühe 3. Jh. n. Chr.«. – See also Scheibelreiter-Gail, *Mosaiken* 345 f.

32 Salzmann, *Mosaiken* 444. – Scheibelreiter-Gail, *Mosaiken* 346.



Fig. 8 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Small pier from *bema*. – (Photo B. Emme).

the shape of palmettes (fig. 8). Similar decorations can be found on the upper edge of statue bases from Pergamon but not before the Antonine period³³. Hence it seems plausible that the rebuilding of the northern portico as well as the installation of the podium in its western corner were both executed in the second half of the 2nd century or at the very beginning of the 3rd century³⁴.

Due to the poor state of preservation of the agora, the overall extent of the reconstruction measures of phase II is hard to determine. It seems that large sections of the building were severely damaged. Subsequently, significant sections of the building, such as the eastern part of the northern portico and, possibly, all of the eastern portico, were not rebuilt

(fig. 6)³⁵. In the case of the western portico no alterations can be attributed to this phase except the semicircular monument in front of it. This structure, which must have been part of the original layout of the agora, was removed completely at some point during the 2nd century. This is indicated by the date of ceramic finds from the secondary fill of the foundation trench which was partially excavated in 2015³⁶.

Considerable reconstruction must have taken place in the southern portico too. Although large sections of this part are not preserved today, several structures were recorded by the excavators. For example, in his excavation diary Dörpfeld pointed out that the back wall of the southern portico was partially rebuilt using lime-based mortar between rooms 22 and 27 (figs 9, 13c). Although these alterations were not incorporated into Dörpfeld's final plan, it seems very likely that the back wall of the southern portico was reinforced at this crucial point where it had to absorb the thrust of the western portico. Thus the extent of the manifold alterations in phase II leads to two conclusions. On one hand, the overall structure of the agora was still considered a functional unit. Even though the easternmost part of the northern portico had collapsed or been dismantled, the rooms in this area of the building complex were refurbished along with the western part of the northern and southern porticoes (fig. 6). It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the agora still served its original public function even after its partial rebuilding in the late 2nd century. On the other hand, considerable sections of the original architecture were not rebuilt.

This ambiguous character of phase II allows for two different interpretations. In the traditional view this phase illustrates the gradual decline of the urban landscape on the acropolis in the Roman Imperial period as a part of the above mentioned shift of the city centre to the area at the foot of the hill³⁷. According to this interpretation, the Lower Agora would indicate that some public buildings on the acropolis hill were suffering neglect already by the 3rd century. However, to the contrary, one might stress the fact that the building partially maintained its function, signifying a considerable interest in this part of the city around 200. In fact, it is remarkable that the Hellenistic gymnasium was lavishly refurbished at roughly the same time³⁸. It is not clear, however, how long both buildings remained functional during the 3rd or even the 4th century. Klaus Rheidt assumed that a major earthquake in 262 marked the end of the settlement in the area on the southern slope of the acropolis hill³⁹.

This assumption is possibly strengthened by the recent observation of a minor lime kiln that was installed in front of

33 Mathys, *Architekturstiftungen* cat. AI 12 A pl. 1,4; cat. AI 13 pl. 2,3.

34 With regard to this dating, it is possible that the reason for the previous damage to the Lower Agora was a major earthquake in 178: Pirson, *Siedlungsgeschichte* 115 f.

35 Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 182 no. 1262 assumes that the agora was severely damaged by an earthquake in 262 and was not rebuilt afterwards. Although this is possible, it is evident that the original building must have been heavily damaged already before its reconstruction in the late 2nd c.

36 Emme/Öztürk, *Dritter Vorbericht* 152 f. – Emme, *Vierter Vorbericht* 122 f.

37 See above n. 6, 7.

38 See Schazmann, *Gymnasium* 12, 48. – Radt, *Pergamon* 113-134. – Pirson, *Siedlungsgeschichte* 108.

39 Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 182.

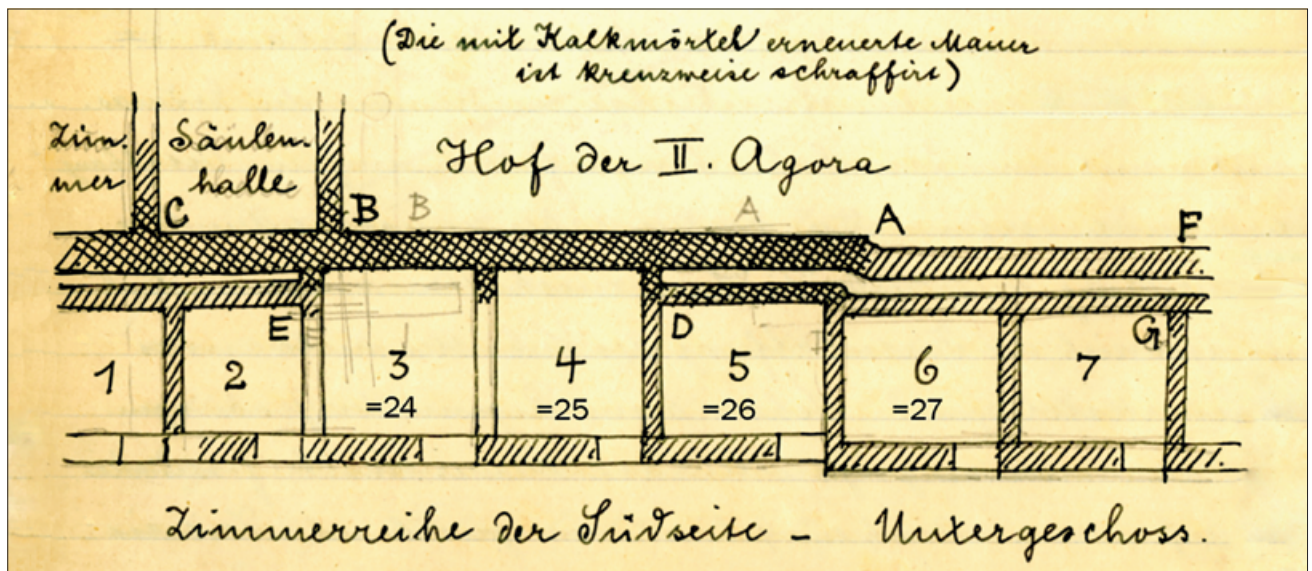


Fig. 9 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Western part of the southern portico (rooms 22-28; Dörpfeld). – (After DAI Pergamongrabung, Tagebuch Architektur 1902, 13a).

the eastern part of the northern portico (fig. 4). The original enclosure of the kiln is lost, but a flat core of burned lime was recovered in 2014 (fig. 10). From this core and its immediate surroundings, a considerable number of marble fragments were collected. Whilst these fragments include a variety of white and coloured marble slabs, no fragments of sculpture or inscriptions were recorded. It seems reasonable to conclude that the kiln was filled only with fragments of marble revetments or floors⁴⁰. Two features point to a relatively early date for the lime kiln in the agora. Firstly, the kiln was constructed when the original pavement of the courtyard was still in place. Whereas one pavement slab remains still *in situ* underneath the extant lime core, further slabs were evidently removed after the kiln fell out of use, as is suggested by the smooth surface of the lower side of the core (fig. 10). The second point is that fragments from the filling of the kiln were found in the foundation of a nearby pavement (see below). This foundation can be dated to the late 4th century, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the kiln. With regard to this dating, two interpretations seem possible. Either the lime kiln was part of the large-scale reconstruction works of the late 2nd century, or it was in use at a later stage when the agora had already fallen into decline in the late 3rd/early 4th century. Although the latter scenario cannot be excluded completely, several aspects suggest that a connection of the kiln with the large scale reconstruction of phase II is more plausible⁴¹.



Fig. 10 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Remains of a lime kiln in the eastern section of the courtyard and entrance to room 4 in the background, from S. – (Photo B. Emme).

40 In this regard, the small kiln differs significantly from a second one that was discovered in 1902 in the area south of the agora and which included a piece of the Telephos frieze from the Great Altar: Rheidt, Wohnhäuser 185 no. 1286 with reference to the excavation diary.

41 Some arguments in favour of the earlier date are as follows: a) The fact that lime-based mortar was used in several parts of the reconstructions, such as the piers in the northern portico and the back wall of the southern portico, makes clear that lime was required in considerable quantities for these works. b) The

composition of the preserved marble fragments indicates a systematic selection of marble pieces. c) Although the fact that the kiln remained *in situ* seems irritating at first glance, it is possible that the reconstruction works of phase II were not fully completed either, as is indicated by some unfinished blocks, see Emme, Vierter Vorbericht 124f. 127. Further, the kiln was positioned in front of the section of the northern portico that was not rebuilt. This could indicate that the eastern part of the agora's original courtyard was no longer in use.



Fig. 11 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Secondary installations in front of room 3 at time of excavation. Note standing architrave block reused as reveal. – (Photo DAI, Neg.-Nr. DAI-ATH-Pergamon_0118).

Phase III

Following its reconstruction in the second half of the 2nd century, the third phase of building activity in the area of the Lower Agora comprises three major elements: the construction of the church, in the centre of the original courtyard, the placing of a number of graves in the area of the church, the construction of several installations within the original structures of the agora. Unfortunately, the chronology of these three elements is far from certain.

To begin with, a precise dating of the church itself is yet to be established. Two trenches that were opened in 2013 and 2014 within the atrium and in the northern aisle of the church, respectively did not yield any material that could be dated⁴². The problem is that the foundations of the church were constructed on top of the available surface without any foundation trenches whose filling might be excavated.

Further, no architectural members that might be dated stylistically were recorded by the excavators. Hence the only feature that can provide a somewhat substantial dating for the building is its architectural layout. On this basis two proposals have been made. Immediately after the excavation Josef Strzygowski dated the church to as early as the 4th century⁴³. With regard to the overall development of Pergamon as well as from typological comparisons, Klaus Rheidt has argued for a later date, namely, in the second half of the 5th century⁴⁴. Furthermore, it is worth noting that, in spite of Dörpfeld's assumption that no spolia from the agora were reused in the church, to the contrary, architectural pieces from the agora are discernible in various parts of the church foundations⁴⁵. For example, a column shaft from the upper storey of the agora was identified in the foundations of the western wall of the church's atrium and three more pieces mark the line of the southern wall of that part of the building (fig. 4)⁴⁶.

42 Emme/Öztürk, Erster Vorbericht 127f. fig. 35. – Emme/Öztürk, Zweiter Vorbericht 115f. fig. 43.

43 Dörpfeld, Bauwerke I 33-35. – Radt, Wohnstadt 203.

44 Rheidt, Wohnstadt 182 no. 1264, 228. – Rheidt, Shadow 398. – With regard to the building history of the basilica Victor Schultze suggested that the atrium was a secondary addition to the building (Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte* 43; contra: Rheidt, Wohnstadt 182 no. 1264). In the course of recent examinations

it became apparent that, in fact, the foundations of the atrium abut those of the basilica, indicating a second phase in the chronology of the Christian building project. However, considering the overall position of the basilica within the original courtyard of the agora, it seems reasonable to assume that the atrium was part of the original building plan of the church.

45 See above n. 9.

46 Emme/Öztürk, Erster Vorbericht 130f. fig. 39.

Similarly, two fragments of geison blocks and part of a door lintel from the agora were discovered in the remains of the apse after cleaning. Hence, contrary to Dörpfeld's assumption, the church was partially built out of material obtained from the original architecture of the agora. It is not clear whether these pieces were collected from scattered remains or remaining parts of the porticoes that were systematically dismantled for this purpose.

In addition, a considerable number of graves were discovered both inside and outside the church in the course of Dörpfeld's excavations (figs 3-4)⁴⁷. The human remains from these graves were removed by Dörpfeld, but the recent project has provided a precise plan of approximately 40 graves on the site. The graves are enclosed by stone structures, which were frequently built out of reused blocks, but very few such spolia could be identified as originally belonging to the architecture of the agora. Because this type of grave is widespread in Pergamon from the late Antique period until the 13th century, dating can only be established in relation to the church building⁴⁸. Several graves were found adjacent to the basilica's foundations, indicating a prior date for this building. This is especially the case inside and outside the northern wall of the church (fig. 4). A large group of about ten graves is situated in the central nave of the church. In contrast to those located more to the north, the orientation of these graves differs significantly from that of the church.

The overall height of the upper edge of these graves ranges between 123.46m and 123.56m above sea level. In contrast, the original floor level of the basilica was approximately 123.97m, as indicated by the remaining block of the threshold on the northern side of the building. The considerable difference of 40-50cm may indicate that the graves in the centre of the church were placed at a later stage, possibly after the basilica had been dismantled and its original floor had been removed⁴⁹. Furthermore, at least one of the extant grave enclosures crosses the line of the church walls in the western atrium (fig. 4). Therefore, it is likely that only some of the graves were constructed while the church was still standing, whereas the majority were installed after the building had for the most part been dismantled.

Finally, several small compartments in front of rooms 1-3 of the agora can be attributed to phase III (figs 6, 10-11). The extant foundations of this construction consist of two rows of reused blocks of varying dimensions. The remaining structures give the impression of a small rectangular courtyard that was paved with reused slabs and flanked by two small rooms on its western and eastern sides (fig. 6c). In addition,

the new building incorporated the original rooms 2, 3 and 4 of the agora. This integration of the original architecture occurred together with a profound spatial reorganisation. The original entrance of room 2 (30m²), which had been equipped with an additional step in phase II, was now closed. Instead, a secondary door was made through the western wall of room 2, providing indirect access via the adjacent room 3⁵⁰. The date of two more installations in room 2 is uncertain but they may also belong to this phase: Along the eastern wall of this room a bench was constructed out of reused blocks and in front of the western wall a pavement of reused brick tiles was installed⁵¹. In the entrance of room 3 (27m²) a new threshold was installed on top of the original one. In addition, this entrance was significantly narrowed. Among other spolia a reused architrave block from the original porticoes was used as a reveal of this door (fig. 11); it was still in place at the time of Dörpfeld's excavation. Similarly, the wide opening that gave access to room 4 (17.2m²) in its original state was partially closed, leaving only a narrow access to this room (fig. 10). As a result the new structure combined three of the original rooms of the agora with two newly-built ones (fig. 6c). Both new rooms are considerably smaller than those of the original agora. Whereas the western room measures 2.60m x 2.80m (7.28m²), its eastern counterpart measures approximately 2.00m x 2.80m (5.60m²). Apart from room 2 all rooms were accessible from a small courtyard sized 2.80m x 6.00m (16.80m²). It remains unclear whether this courtyard was closed off by a wall on its southern side⁵².

Overall, the structure gives the impression of a house of five rooms and a central court with an effective surface of approximately 103.8m² (87m² of which were actually roofed). Immediately east of this structure a similar unit must have existed. This is indicated by the poorly-preserved foundations abutting the courtyard house on its eastern side. It seems likely that this unit also incorporated room 1 of the original agora. In general, the layout of these installations is comparable to modest houses from the late antique and Byzantine period⁵³. Houses from the early Byzantine period have not been identified so far within Pergamon itself, but comparable structures from other sites in Asia Minor have been attributed to the 4th to 6th century⁵⁴. A number of similar houses from Pergamon itself have been dated to the late Byzantine period⁵⁵. Thus, typologically the structure is comparable to what Simon Ellis has called the »Early Byzantine courtyard house«⁵⁶. Due to the lack of distinctive architectural features such as mosaic floors or a peristyle, as well as its size, the

47 Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke I* 33. – Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 184.

48 For a typology of Byzantine graves in Pergamon see Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 225.

49 Alternatively, it is possible that the graves were covered by the original floor of the basilica. However, given the difference in orientation, this interpretation seems less plausible.

50 Emme/Öztürk, *Zweiter Vorbericht* 124f. fig. 52.

51 The northern section of this floor was removed in 2007, but the fill beneath it did not yield any material that could be dated: Pirson, *Bericht* 104 fig. 24. – For

comparisons for the floor and the podium see Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 29f. pl. 18, 4, 216.

52 It seems quite likely that the ionic column base and the large upright-standing block were discovered *in situ* at the time of excavation (fig. 11).

53 For an overview, see Ellis, *Middle Class Houses*.

54 Filges, *Blaundos* 148-150 fig. 8. – Wulf-Rheidt, *Akören* 195-198 fig. 7.

55 Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 205-209 type B1-5.

56 Ellis, *Early Byzantine Housing* 43-45.



Fig. 12 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Coin of Constantius II found beneath the secondary pavement in front of room 3. – (Photo J. Chameroy). – Scale 2:1.

structure incorporating rooms 2-4 may qualify as a modest »middle class house«⁵⁷.

In order to gain securely-dated material from this structure, an excavation was undertaken in 2014 beneath the pavement of the supposed courtyard in front of room 3⁵⁸. The excavation unearthed two layers. The lower stratum can be identified with the original floor of the portico. Above that, a fill of debris and broken tiles formed the foundation for the secondary pavement of the hypothesised court. A considerable number of burnt marble fragments similar to those from the lime kiln were also found (see above). Whereas the pottery from this layer dates to not later than the 3rd century, the latest find was a coin of emperor Constantius II that can be dated to the years around 350-353 (fig. 12)⁵⁹. The newly detected building activity thus yields important evidence for the development of the agora in general. Whilst the alterations of the later 2nd century still aimed at rebuilding the original structure of the complex, the conversion of the north-eastern section into a residential house in the late 4th/early 5th century points in the opposite direction. Evidently, the large complex had finally lost its public function and the remaining structures were partially reused by means of »sub-division«, that is, integrating them into a house of modest dimensions and interior⁶⁰. This observation seems indicative for the overall development of the Lower Agora in this period, as becomes evident with regard to other sections of the agora where similar structures are discernible, especially in the southern portico.

A group of comparable installations was still partially preserved in the basement floor of the southern portico at the time of the original excavations. Although these installations have since largely vanished due to the poor quality of their masonry, the abundance of later alterations in this part of the agora is documented by a number of photographs from the original excavation (figs 13-16). Thus the partition wall

between rooms 25 and 26 was rebuilt using small stones and a large fragment from an architrave block (fig. 13a). In the neighbouring room (26) a platform was installed on top of the remains of the original back wall of this room. This platform was covered with reused tiles similar to those from room 2 in the northern wing of the agora (fig. 13b). Two small blocks seem to indicate that a partition wall was constructed inside the original portico, suggesting its subdivision into smaller units (fig. 13c). In fact, a similar wall was recorded in the original plan by Dörpfeld projecting from the partition wall between rooms 28/29 (fig. 2). In the entrance to room 28 a large stone basin was placed on top of the threshold (fig. 14a). Since the basin must have blocked the original entrance to this room it seems likely that a secondary entrance from room 27 was created. Further alterations include remains of a stone pavement in front of room 29 (fig. 14b), a foundation made of small stones in front of rooms 29/30, which seems to replace the lost stylobate of the original portico in this part of the building (fig. 14d), and another foundation of similar composition inside the southern portico in front of rooms 31-34 (fig. 14c). A final example is the case of the partition wall between rooms 30 and 31. At some point this wall was rebuilt with a door providing direct access from room 30 to room 31 (fig. 15a). Yet at a later stage the floor level of both rooms was raised. Probably at the same time a new threshold was installed on top of the original one of room 30 (fig. 14e, 15c). Subsequently the door between rooms 30 and 31 was finally sealed (fig. 15b).

This observation suggests that at least two more phases must have followed the original construction of the agora in this location⁶¹. Whether rebuilding of the partition wall with a door took place as early as building phase II remains unclear. In any case, the construction of a door between the two adjacent rooms and its subsequent sealing indicate repeated alterations in the overall spatial organisation of this section of

57 Ellis, *Middle Class Houses* 418-422.

58 Emme/Öztürk, *Zweiter Vorbericht* 116 f. fig. 44.

59 Emme/Öztürk, *Dritter Vorbericht* 155. – It is worth mentioning that coins struck under Constantius II are by far the most frequently found in Pergamon from the early Byzantine period until now, as pointed out by Otten, *Pergamon* 824-826. It remains unclear whether this indicates a correspondingly large amount of building activity at that time, or is due to numismatic reasons such as an increase in the quantity of coins struck under this emperor.

60 For subdividing as a common building strategy in the 4th/5th c. see Ellis, *Roman Housing* 110-112. – Ellis, *Early Byzantine Housing* 47-50. – A similar date was indicated by earlier finds, such as the late Roman lamp forms in one of the rooms: Conze, *Stadt und Landschaft* 324. – Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 182 f. no. 1264 with reference to the excavation diary.

61 Emme/Öztürk, *Dritter Vorbericht* 149 f.



Fig. 13 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Southern wing at time of excavation, from W. – (Photo DAI, Neg.-Nr. DAI-ATH-Pergamon_383).

the building. As in the case of the structure in the north-eastern part of the agora, this may signify a subdivision of the original structure inspired by a change in function. Although the precise layout of the manifold structures in the southern wing of the agora is hard to determine, two separate units may be identified hypothetically, comprising rooms 27/28 and rooms 29/30 respectively (fig. 16).

Nevertheless, the overall character of this part of the agora in late antiquity is less clear than its northern wing. On the one hand, it is possible that the various structures were used as living quarters as well. On the other hand, some of the rooms could have been used continuously as shops or workshops, given the presence of the adjacent street on the southern side of the agora. A combination of both functions seems possible too, as is illustrated by the Byzantine shops in Sardeis⁶².

Unfortunately a trench dug in room 30 and 31 in 2015 did not yield any material which could be dated and sub-

stantiate these measures⁶³. Given their similar character, it seems likely that the majority of alterations in the basement of the southern portico that are discernible on the Dörpfeld photographs can be attributed to the same period as those in the northeastern part of the agora, i. e. the late 4th or the early 5th century. Therefore the construction of residential facilities within the area of the agora would have been carried out either slightly earlier than, or contemporaneous with, the construction of the adjacent basilica. This chronological sequence has serious implications for our understanding of the overall development of the agora and its urban surroundings. Whereas scholars have hitherto argued that the church was built either within a functioning architectural complex or, to the contrary, in an empty space bare of any function, it is more likely that the church was constructed within an area that was inhabited. Although the quarter of the Lower Agora must have changed drastically in relation to the lavish

62 Crawford, *Byzantine Shops*. – Ellis, *Roman Housing* 80. – It should be mentioned that comparable installations were unearthed also in the *via tecta* and the colonnaded street that led to the extra-urban sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamon. Here, the archaeological finds indicate that the majority of secondary alterations date to the 5th c.; see de Luca, *Via Tecta* 154-156. – Rheidt, *Wohnstadt* 192. – Crawford, *Byzantine Shops* 112 f. – Pison, *Siedlungsgeschichte* 119.

63 Within room 30, a deep pit was excavated which originally may have been used to hold a pithos. At a later stage, the large jar was removed and the pit was refilled to provide an even floor level. The latest finds from the filling include fragments of late Byzantine sgraffito ware. See Emme, *Vierter Vorbericht* 149 f.

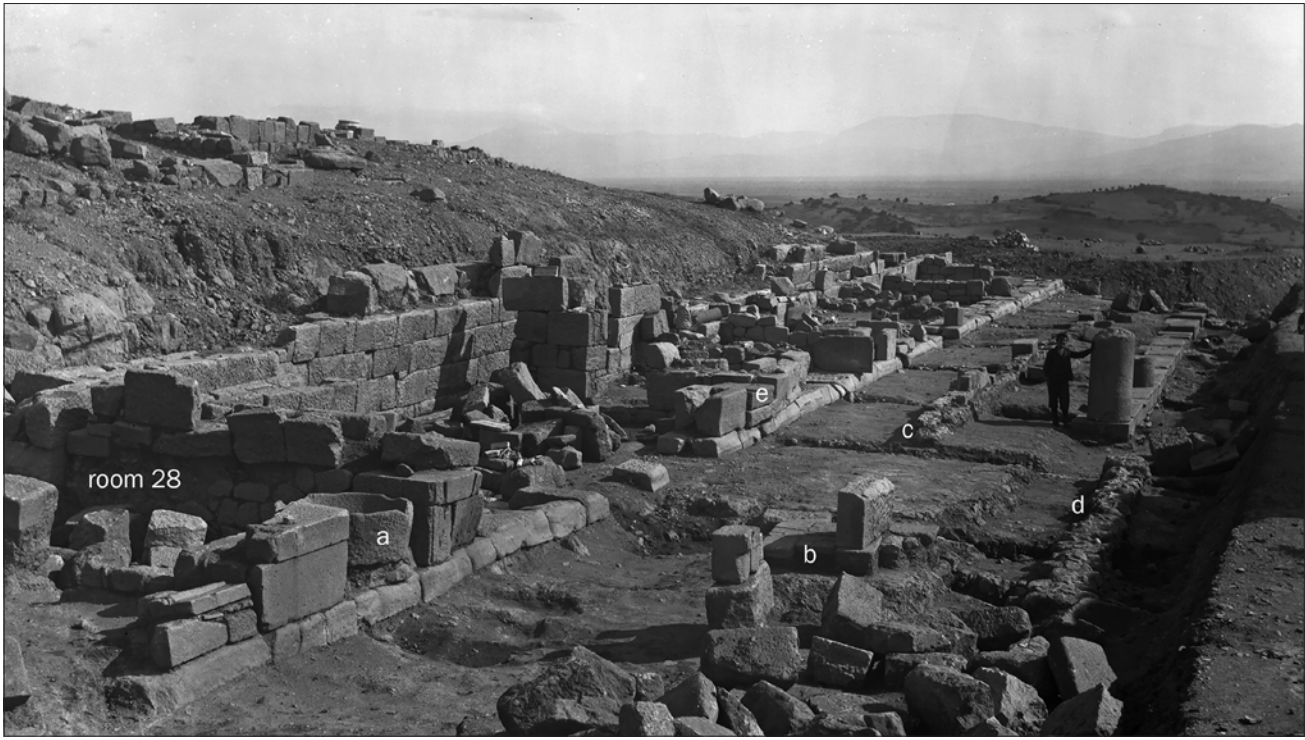


Fig. 14 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Southern wing at time of excavation, from W. – (Photo DAI, Neg.-Nr. DAI-ATH-Pergamon_384).

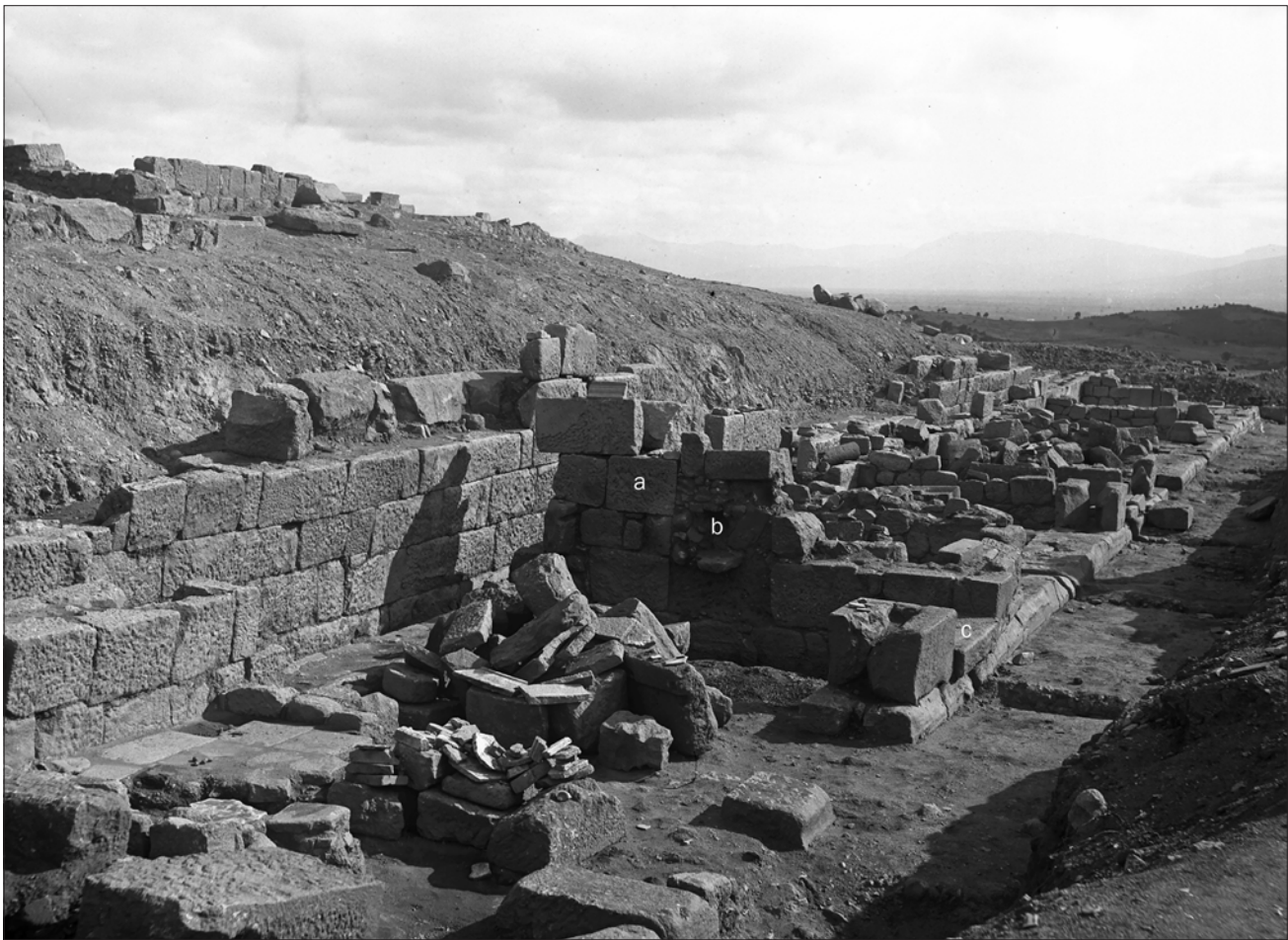


Fig. 15 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Southern wing at time of excavation, from W. – (Photo DAI, Neg.-Nr. DAI-ATH-Pergamon_280).

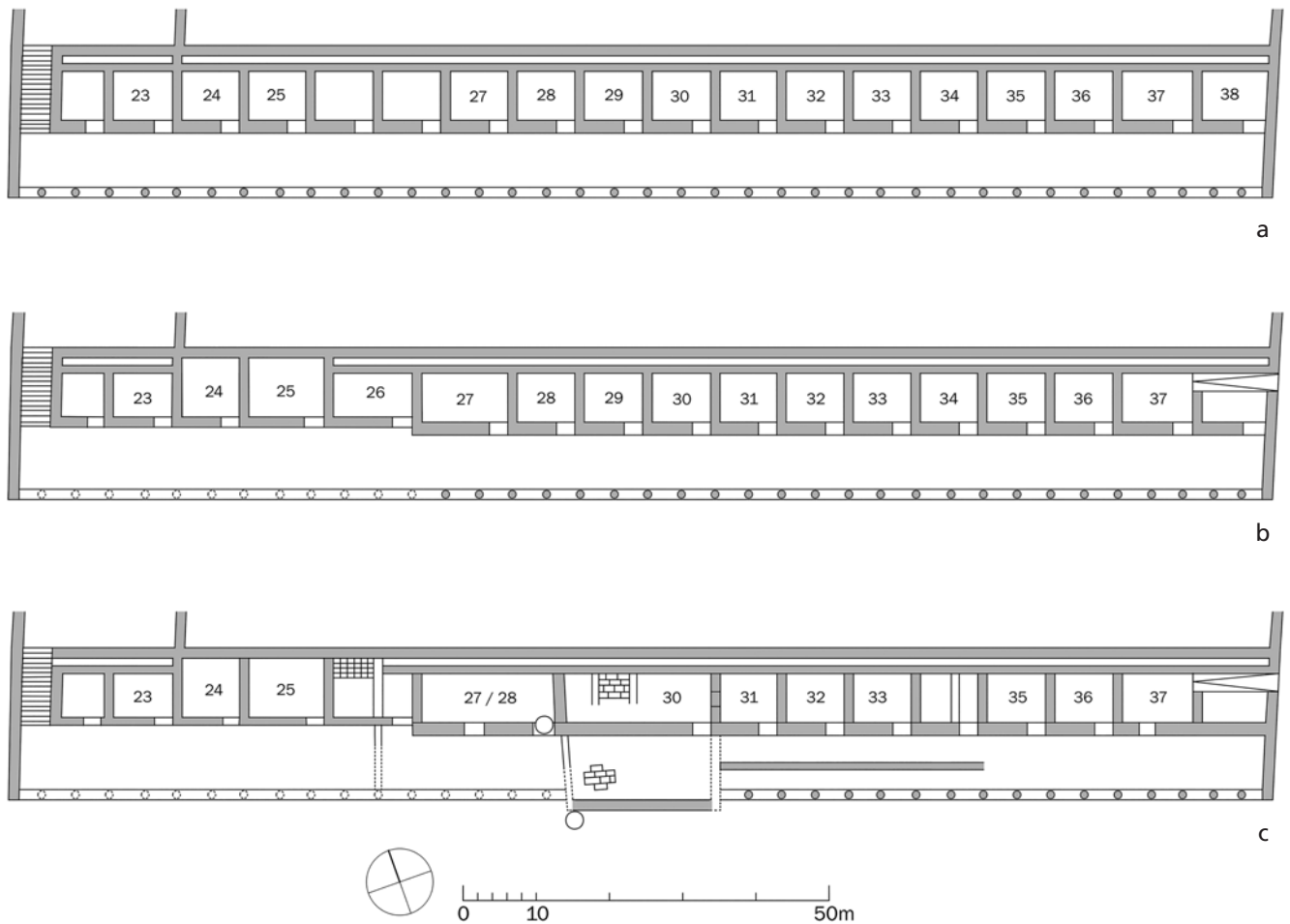


Fig. 16 Pergamon, Lower Agora. Development of southern wing: **a** alleged original layout (phase I). – **b** rebuilding of back wall between rooms 23 and 26 (phase II). – **c** installation of smaller units by means of subdivision and further installations (phase III). – (Draft B. Emme).

peristyle houses of the Roman Imperial era, it seems to have functioned as a residential quarter also in the late 4th and the 5th century⁶⁴. Whether the area was continuously inhabited or new inhabitants settled here after a hiatus of about a century remains to be discussed⁶⁵.

While the modest houses made use of the remaining structures surrounding the central square, the original courtyard of the agora was used as a levelled building ground for the basilica on a generally sloping terrain. A number of architectural members from the agora were reused for the construction of the basilica's foundations (see above). The reasons for choosing the agora as the site for the church would have been a matter of convenience to some degree. It was here that a building of generous dimensions could easily be erected without facing the difficulties of either levelling

the site or tearing down earlier constructions. Indeed, scholars have stressed that the positioning of churches within the late antique cities of Asia Minor and elsewhere was dependent on a variety of different local factors that were mostly pragmatic in character⁶⁶. However, the archaeological data discussed here suggests that further considerations also played a role. Above all, the existence of a considerable number of secondary installations illustrates that, following its gradual decline in the 3rd century, the extant structures of the Lower Agora were reused for the construction of residential houses. As Klaus Rheidt has pointed out, the construction of two large basilicae in this period required a large Christian community⁶⁷. With regard to the newly detected structures discussed here, it seems likely that at least some of the less well-off members of this community lived in the immediate vicinity of the church⁶⁸.

64 The date of the latest building activity in Peristyle houses II and III is still under debate. Pinkwart suggests a date in the later 3rd or 4th c., see Pinkwart, Peristylhäuser 54 f. 67. However, *contra*: Rheidt, Wohnstadt 185 f. no. 1289 argues that the peristyle houses were not in use after the 3rd c. See also Pirson, Siedlungsgeschichte 115 f.

65 The remarkable rise of the floor level that is documented by **figs 13-15** may suggest that the southern portico was reused only after the deteriorating back wall had caused parts of the terrace fill to subside.

66 Jacobs, Maintenance 310-326. – Severin, Positionierung.

67 Rheidt, Wohnbauten 243: »Basilika und Kirche auf der Unteren Agora setzen eine große und tatkräftige Gemeinde voraus«.

68 Radt, Wohnstadt 203 suggests that the complex may have been a monastery. *Contra*: Rheidt, Wohnstadt 182 f. no. 1264. – For the problem of identifying monasteries from the archaeological record alone see Otten, Pergamon 818 f.

Conclusion

Due to its topographical situation, the urban development of Pergamon was quite dynamic compared to other cities in Asia Minor. For the period between the late Hellenistic and early Byzantine era, this process is reflected remarkably well by the architectural and functional transformation of the Lower Agora. Conceived as a centre of the expanding city at a time when building activity was mainly restricted to the area within the Hellenistic city walls, the complex was evidently not considered important enough to be reconstructed completely after its massive destruction in the later 2nd century. However, the building was still in use, as is indicated by the uniform character of reconstructions in its different sections. Yet by the later 4th century the condition of the agora had been crumbling further. The building, which had been in decline presumably for several decades or even centuries, now finally lost its public function. Nevertheless, the original architectural shape of the agora remained a determining factor for the following building activity until the early Byzantine period. On the one hand, several modest houses were inserted within

the remaining structures of the porticoes. Whether the new inhabitants of the area came from another part of the city, e.g. from quarters lying higher up on the acropolis hill, or had moved into the city from the surrounding countryside, remains unclear. On the other hand, the even ground in the central courtyard was used for the construction of a large basilica. In fact, like in many other places on the steep slopes of the Pergamene acropolis, the terraces originally erected for the construction of monumental buildings of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial era retained their formative character in the urban space long after they had lost their original function. Thus, within the process of constant alteration and transformation of the urban fabric these structures stand out due to their persistence and durability. The interrelationship between these two aspects is well characterised in the words of Marguerite Yourcenar: »To build is to collaborate with earth, to put a human mark upon a landscape, modifying it for ever thereby; the process also contributes to that slow change which makes up the history of cities«⁶⁹.

References

- Boehringer, Ausgrabungen: E. Boehringer und Mitarbeiter, Die Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon im Jahre 1965. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1966, 415-482.
- Brands/Severin, Christianisierung: G. Brands / H.-G. Severin (eds), Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung. *Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven* 11 (Wiesbaden 2003).
- Broggiolo/Ward-Perkins, Late Antiquity: G. P. Broggiolo / B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The Transformation of the Roman World* 4 (Leiden 1999).
- Burkhardt/Stichel, Umbruch: N. Burkhardt / R. H. W. Stichel (eds), Die spätantike Stadt im Umbruch. *Kolloquium in Darmstadt*, 19. bis 20. Mai 2006 (Wiesbaden 2010).
- Conze, Stadt und Landschaft: A. Conze, *Stadt und Landschaft. Altertümer von Pergamon I* 2 (Berlin 1913).
- Crawford, Byzantine Shops: J. S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis. Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph* 9 (London 1990).
- Dally, Pflege und Umnutzung: O. Dally, »Pflege« und Umnutzung heidnischer Tempel in der Spätantike. In: Brands/Severin, *Christianisierung* 97-114.
- Dally/Ratté, Late Antiquity: O. Dally / Ch. Ratté (eds), *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 2011).
- de Luca, Via Tecta: G. de Luca, *Das Asklepieion 4: Via Tecta und Hallenstraße. Die Funde. Altertümer von Pergamon XI* 4 (Berlin 1984).
- Dörpfeld, Bauwerke I: W. Dörpfeld, *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1900-1901. Die Bauwerke. Athenische Mitteilungen* 27, 1902, 10-43.
- Bauwerke II: W. Dörpfeld, *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1902-1903. Die Bauwerke. Athenische Mitteilungen* 29, 1904, 114-116.
- Ellis, Early Byzantine Housing: S. Ellis, *Early Byzantine Housing*. In: K. Dark (ed.), *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 2004) 37-52.
- Middle Class Houses: S. Ellis, *Middle Class Houses in Late Antiquity*. In: W. Bowden / J. Bardill (eds), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity. Late Antique Archaeology* 3, 1 (Leiden 2006) 413-437.
- Roman Housing: S. Ellis, *Roman Housing* (Bath 2000).
- Emme/Öztürk, Erster Vorbericht: B. Emme / A. Öztürk, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Unteren Agora*. In: F. Pirson, *Pergamon. Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2103. Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2014/2, 121-130.
- Zweiter Vorbericht: B. Emme / A. Öztürk, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Unteren Agora*. In: F. Pirson, *Pergamon. Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2014. Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2015/2, 115-126.
- Dritter Vorbericht: B. Emme / A. Öztürk, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Unteren Agora*. In: F. Pirson, *Pergamon. Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2015. Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2016/2, 147-156.
- Emme, Vierter Vorbericht: B. Emme, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Unteren Agora*. In: F. Pirson, *Pergamon. Pergamon. Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2017. Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2018/2, 118-127.

69 Yourcenar, *Memoirs* 134.

- Filges, Blaundos: A. Filges, Buildings and Citizens: Observations from Late Antique and Byzantine Blaundos in Phrygia. In: O. Dally / Ch. Ratté (eds), *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 2011) 137-150.
- Fränkel, Inschriften: M. Fränkel, Die Inschriften von Pergamon II. Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 2 (Berlin 1895).
- Hoepfner, Agora: W. Hoepfner, Das Ende der Agora. In: Brands/Severin, *Christianisierung* 145-150.
- Jacobs, Maintenance: Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space. The »Classical« City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 193 (Leuven 2013).
- Mathys, Architekturstiftungen: M. Mathys, Architekturstiftungen und Ehrenstatuen. Untersuchungen zur visuellen Repräsentation der Oberschicht im späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Pergamon. *Pergamenische Forschungen* 16 (Darmstadt 2014).
- Lavan, Agorai: L. Lavan, Fora and Agorai during the 4th and 5th Century AD. In: W. Bowden / A. Gutteridge / C. Machado (eds), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*. *Late Antique Archaeology* 3, 1 (Leiden 2006) 195-249.
- Otten, Pergamon: T. Otten, Das byzantinische Pergamon – Ein Überblick zu Forschungsstand und Quellenlage. In: F. Daim / J. Drauschke (eds), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter* 2, 2: *Schauplätze*. *Monographien des RGZM* 84 (Mainz 2010) 809-830.
- Pinkwart, Peristylhäuser: D. Pinkwart / W. Stammnitz, Peristylhäuser westlich der Unteren Agora. *Altertümer von Pergamon* XIV (Berlin 1984).
- Pirson, Siedlungsgeschichte: F. Pirson, Die Siedlungsgeschichte Pergamons – Überblick und kritische Revision. *IstMitt* 67, 2017, 43-127.
- Stadtraum: F. Pirson, Stadtraum und Städtebau im hellenistischen Pergamon. In: R. Grüßinger / V. Kästner / A. Scholl (eds), *Pergamon. Panorama der antiken Metropole* (Petersberg 2011) 66-73.
- Vorbericht: F. Pirson, Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2007. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2008/2, 83-155.
- Radt, Pergamon: W. Radt, Pergamon. Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole (Darmstadt 1999).
- Wohnstadt: W. Radt, Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon. In: *Wohnungsbau im Altertum. Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung* 3 (Berlin 1978) 199-223.
- Raeck, Veränderung: W. Raeck, Urbanistische Veränderung und archäologischer Befund in Priene. In: A. Matthaei / M. Zimmermann (eds), *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus* (Berlin 2009) 307-321.
- Rheidt, Shadow: K. Rheidt, In the Shadow of Antiquity: Pergamon and the Byzantine Millenium. In: H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon. Citadel of the Gods*. *Harvard Theological Studies* 46 (Harrisburg 1998) 395-423.
- Wohnstadt: K. Rheidt, Die byzantinische Wohnstadt. *Altertümer von Pergamon* XV 2 (Berlin 1991).
- Salzmann, Mosaiken: D. Salzmann, Mosaiken und Pavimente in Pergamon. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1991, 433-456.
- Schazmann, Gymnasion: P. Schazmann, Das Gymnasion. Der Tempelbezirk der Hera Basileia. *Altertümer von Pergamon* VI (Berlin 1923).
- Scheibelreiter-Gail, Mosaiken: V. Scheibelreiter-Gail, Die Mosaiken Westkleinasiens. *Tessellate des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften* 46 (Wien 2011).
- Schultze, Altchristliche Städte: V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften* 2, 2. Kleinasien (Gütersloh 1926).
- Severin, Positionierung: H.-G. Severin, Aspekte der Positionierung von Kirchen in oströmischen Städten. In: Brands/Severin, *Christianisierung* 249-257.
- Thomas, Monumentality: E. Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire. Architecture in the Antonine Age* (Oxford 2007).
- Wulf, Stadtplan: U. Wulf, Der Stadtplan von Pergamon. *IstMitt* 44, 1994, 135-175.
- Wulf-Rheidt, Akören: U. Wulf-Rheidt, Akören: Two Late Antique Villages in Cilicia. In: O. Dally / Ch. Ratté (eds), *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 2011) 189-203.
- Yourcenar, Memoirs: M. Yourcenar, *Memoirs of Hadrien* (transl. G. Frick) (New York 1999).

Zusammenfassung / Summary / Özet

»... that slow change which makes up the history of cities.« Die Untere Agora von Pergamon und ihre Umwandlung in der Spätantike

Die Untere Agora von Pergamon spielt für die Entwicklung der Stadt am Übergang von der Kaiserzeit zur Spätantike eine zentrale Rolle. Die Errichtung eines aufwendigen Kirchenbaus innerhalb der Platzanlage wird üblicherweise als ein Musterbeispiel für urbane Transformationsprozesse in der Spätantike angesehen. Der vorliegende Beitrag zielt darauf ab, aufzuzeigen, dass der zugrundeliegende Prozess deutlich komplexer war, als bislang angenommen werden konnte. Ausgehend von den Ergebnissen neuer Feldforschungen wird gezeigt, dass die Anlage ab dem mittleren 2. Jahrhundert sukzessive aufgegeben wurde, bevor in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts umfangreiche Baumaßnahmen nachweisbar sind, die der Errichtung von Wohnräumen in den erhaltenen Strukturen dienten. Das aufgrund dieser Forschungen erstmals nachweisbare Wohnviertel bildete sodann das Umfeld, in dem die frühbyzantinische Kirche errichtet wurde.

»... kentlerin tarihini oluşturan yavaş değişim.« Pergamon Aşağı Agora ve Geç Antik Dönem'deki Dönüşümü

Pergamon Aşağı Agora, Geç Antik Erken Bizans Dönemi kentin gelişiminin anlaşılmasında aslî bir rol oynamaktadır. Orta avlu içerisinde yer alan oldukça geniş boyutlardaki bir kilise inşası, genellikle antik polisten Erken Bizans kentine dönüşüm örneği olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, dönüşümün altında yatan sürecin bu zamana kadar varsayılandan daha karmaşık olduğunu göstermektir. Arkeolojik Yeni verilere dayanarak, Aşağı Agora'daki, bazı mevcut yapıların dördüncü yüzyıl sonları ve beşinci yüzyıl başına ait mütevazî ölçülerdeki özel evler için bir inşaat sahası olarak kullanılmasından önce, ikinci yüzyıldan itibaren yavaş yavaş harap düştüğünü göstermekteyim. Buna bağlı olarak, bir Bizans kilisesi de bu yerleşim alanına inşa edilmiştir.

»... that slow change which makes up the history of cities.« The Lower Agora of Pergamon and its Transformation in Late Antiquity

The Lower Agora at Pergamon plays a central role in understanding the city's development during the late antique and early Byzantine period. The construction of a church of generous dimensions within the central courtyard is usually taken as illustrating the transition from the antique polis to the early Byzantine city. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the underlying process of transformation was more complex than has been assumed so far. Based on new archaeological evidence, I show that the Lower Agora gradually fell into disrepair from the 2nd century onwards before some of its extant structures were reused as a building site for private houses of modest size and construction in the later 4th/early 5th century. Therefore, the Byzantine church was constructed in an area of settlement.