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PRODUCTION AND PROSPERITY IN THE THEODOSIAN PERIOD

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PROSPERITY, SUSTAINABILITY, AND POVERTY
IN THE LATE ANTIQUE WORLD:
MEDITERRANEAN CASE STUDIES

John BINTLIFF

From the third century C.E. the Roman Empire *as a whole* begins a progressive decline, its weakness marked and partly hastened by the raids and later colonization of barbarian peoples. In this paper I wish to reveal, and later try to resolve a paradox, which marks the late Roman era apart from many other historic periods, and that is the curious contrasts characteristic for late antiquity between the third and early seventh centuries, where we observe both prosperity and decline, wealth and poverty, urban decay, and a building boom.

Let me start with some Aegean examples of the paradox. In some landscapes rural settlements multiply in late Roman times, for example the Argolid¹ and Methana.² Usually these sites are larger and are believed to be dominated by villa estates³ — Jameson used historic records to suggest that estates are now three to four times larger than in Classical Greek times. For Methana, however, the sites are often small but are argued to represent tenants for wealthy landlords focused on cash crop agriculture, emphasized by the common finding of olive or wine presses. Nonetheless, two of the three earlier nucleated centers on the Methana Peninsula have disappeared and the survivor ancient Methana city is only one third of its earlier size. For the Argolid the site rise has to be set against the observation that the local city of Halieis has shrunk to a villa with a cemetery of laborers, and the other town of Hermione is much reduced in size.

¹ Jameson et al. 1994, 400-4.

² Mee and Forbes 1997, 84-91.

³ Alcock 1993, 58-92, here discussing the trend to larger rural sites in both early and late Roman Greece.

Alongside such “busy landscapes”⁴ are those with almost no late Roman population, such as large parts of Attica,⁵ where pastoral enclosures replace Classical farms.

Even the city of Athens⁶ gives a polarized picture — some wealthy suburban mansions are contrasted with the contraction of the town itself, largely now behind a new post-Herulian wall which excludes the Classical Agora, where a possibly unfinished palace might have been planned for a state official. The northern great city of Thessaloniki provides another example of Late Roman polarization: major new monuments such as Christian basilicas and wealthy mansions occur, but these are set against the abandonment of the giant early Roman forum and its public buildings from the fourth century C.E. on, which will see only minor reuse by potters’ kilns in the fifth century.⁷

The visitor sailing to Corinth’s northern port at Lechaion would disembark to be suitably amazed by the giant basilica built around 500 C.E.: Richard Rothaus comments that its length of 223 m outranks the original St Peter’s at 186 and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople at 109m.⁸ Significantly this was probably paid for by the emperor, and the renovated harbor works of Lechaion by the provincial governor. But if our visitor next proceeded to the *city* of Corinth, a dramatic contrast appears — the early Roman town had been merely 140 ha⁹ compared to its giant Classical predecessor around 500 ha, but by late antiquity it had shrunk to a mere 40 ha.¹⁰ Like Athens its Agora-Forum had been excluded from a new fifth-century city wall, its public buildings becoming progressively abandoned. By the sixth century the Roman Agora is no longer a civic center. Yet new basilicas appear in the town and its suburbs, and in the surrounding countryside basilicas were erected alongside wealthy villas. Amidst the abandoned ruins of the nearby sanctuary at Isthmia, a new sort of town has arisen, a fortification associated with the fifth-century Hexamilion Wall which protects the Peloponnese from

⁴ Pettegrew 2007.

⁵ Lohmann 1993, 254-61.

⁶ Camp 2001, 223-38.

⁷ Velenis 1990-1995.

⁸ Rothaus 1995.

⁹ Romano 2003.

¹⁰ Slane and Sanders 2005.

northern attack. Nick Kardulias and Timothy Gregory postulate a population of soldier-farmers, with industrial production, external trade and a military-ecclesiastical elite dominating the community.¹¹ Local villas may be assisting their food needs. This novel form of central-place is seen as the basis for Balkan Medieval towns by Liebeschuetz.¹²

More detail can be given from my own project in Boeotia, Central Greece. The town of Hyettos shrank dramatically by late antiquity,¹³ so too did other towns such as Thespieae,¹⁴ with its 70 Classical hectares reduced to some 40 late Roman hectares, but with a *kastron* or fort for an associated extramural settlement. Boeotian rural settlement shows a familiar mosaic — the territory of abandoned Haliartos city has little late Roman settlement,¹⁵ whilst that of shrunken Thespieae city sees a great revival of rural sites.¹⁶ After a largely abandoned landscape in early Roman times, the late Roman reoccupation of rural Thespieae is impressive. Indeed if we count up the total occupied hectares in town and country, the loss of urban extent is largely compensated for by the large villa estate centers that now dominate the landscape. Was late Roman population back to Classical Greek levels then? The answer seems to be *No*: these late Roman villa sites are large roofed structures with storage vessels and few domestic finds.

Evidence from intensive surface survey adds a startling source of information on contemporary land-use. The entire district is full of millions of pieces of pottery lying *between* sites in a carpet form. Tony Wilkinson pioneered the analysis of such sherd carpets in the Near East and argued they were the traces of massive manuring, rubbish disposal from settlement sites into surrounding agricultural fields.¹⁷ In our case the main source will have been the city itself. To our surprise the date of this evidence for agricultural intensification was not Roman nor late Roman, but almost entirely Classical-Hellenistic, the time when the city of Thespieae itself reached its

¹¹ Kardulias 2005, Gregory 1993.

¹² 2001, summarized in 400-16; 2007.

¹³ Bintliff et al. 2000.

¹⁴ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988a; Bintliff et al. in preparation.

¹⁵ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988b.

¹⁶ Bintliff et al. 2007, 175-79.

¹⁷ Wilkinson 1989.

maximum size. The implication was clear: Roman and late Roman landscape use was not at all intensive, and the expansive villa estates were not maximizing the production of crops from this landscape. So what were they doing? Their location is significant: the Classical-Hellenistic rural sites cover all types of topography and soils and represent a strongly subsistence orientated peasant economy. In contrast the late Roman villas are specialized on a limited area of the landscape, in particular lowland moist soils. We argue that they are estates focusing on cash crops for a wider market in wine or oil. We further suggest that the poverty of domestic evidence reflects a tiny resident management force supplemented by tenant or tied labor drawn from the shrunken town of Thespieae and nearby villages. Boeotia thus fits one of the varied forms of late Roman life already identified: a half deserted town and country driven by a highly specialized interregional economy.

Moving back to the Mediterranean level of comparison,¹⁸ Southern France may follow a similar trajectory, from the results of the *Archeomedes Project*:¹⁹ we observe an overall decline in site numbers and their rise in size, but their articulation into large estates with tied satellites around them forms the basis for the later pattern of villages by Medieval times.²⁰ In Italy also, overall there is both a rural decline and a trend towards ever larger commercial estates, even if the severe rural collapse first here recognized in this region north of Rome²¹ has been reduced by greater sensitivity to the bias introduced by previous overreliance on imports for dating.²²

An alternative form of variety appears in the late Roman settlement of the semi-deserts of Libya²³ and the Negev, Southern Israel.²⁴ In both cases landscapes too dry for rainfed cultivation are densely settled thanks to massive investment in elaborate irrigation systems which can multiply effective water by a factor of five! Yet Steven Rosen for the Negev and Marijke van der Veen²⁵ for Libya agree on

¹⁸ cf. Bintliff 2007.

¹⁹ Raynaud 1996.

²⁰ Raynaud 1990.

²¹ Potter 1979, 139-46.

²² Patterson 2008.

²³ Gilbertson et al. 2000.

²⁴ Rosen 2000.

²⁵ Rosen 2000; van der Veen 1985.

ruling out a commercial aim. The inter-annual fluctuations in always sporadic rain would not allow any regular surpluses to be available for export out of these regions. The more likely explanation for both areas of colonization is a state-inspired settlement of essentially subsistence-farmers and herders to act as a military buffer-zone against nomadic raiders. These landscapes are therefore entirely dependent on the existence and needs of the state and the Libyan example soon empties with the collapse of Roman power. The Negev however still flourishes under the early Islamic Umayyads, but with the removal of state concern when the Caliphate shifts from Damascus to Baghdad, this landscape also reverts to nomadic pastoralism.

Two examples nonetheless can be argued to represent both genuine late Roman population rises *and* increasing production for a wider market. The first is that of the famous Dead Cities of inland Syria — where the number and size of such mixed farming settlements (large villages rather than cities in fact) grows for the later Roman Empire. Interestingly the sustainability of this explosion is fragile: the landscape is harsh and French scholars studying the 700 or so Dead Cities²⁶ calculate that the amount of land available to each family was constantly declining. This is also over a period when regional climate records suggest increasing aridity.²⁷ To maintain economic viability the late Roman economy becomes far more involved in long-distance export of its agricultural products especially olive oil and wine, and to rationalize land use families bond into multi-family cooperatives, which are evidenced by the dominance of large elaborate stone houses in these villages. Both ecological difficulties and the decline of urban markets may be the reason for the gradual depopulation of the Dead Cities from the seventh century onwards.

The second example of genuine late Roman demographic and economic growth is the Konya Plain in Central Anatolia (where late Roman is termed Byzantine).²⁸ A wide range of soils are taken into use and investment in irrigation seems likely, whilst the size and packing of large sites and surrounding smaller rural settlements indicate a maximization of land use in late antiquity. However again this

²⁶ E.g. Tate 1992; 1997.

²⁷ Casana 2008.

²⁸ Baird 2004.

is an ecologically-fragile region with a dry continental climate, and such massive land intake was probably also unsustainable, while its late explosion of settlement may also represent an earlier awareness of such factors.

I have presented a continuing paradox in the late Roman Mediterranean — in town and country we have striking contrasts between growth, stagnation and decline, extreme wealth and poverty. It seems this is symptomatic for an unstable society which is step-by-step declining as an empire, however flourishing some areas and some places and some people appear to be. Can we offer some deeper theoretical insights into these unusual phenomena?

THE LATE ANTIQUE PARADOX AND A SCIENTIFIC LAW

I would like to propose a solution from an unexpected direction — a scientific law, namely the Second Law of Thermodynamics. The power of this law can be seen from the following quotations:

Sir Arthur Eddington: “If your theory is shown to be against the Second Law of Thermodynamics, I can give you no hope: there is nothing for it but to collapse in deepest humiliation.”²⁹

“The writer C.P. Snow argued that [The Second Law] should be part of the intellectual complement of any well-educated person. He described being with highly educated people ‘who have with considerable gusto been describing their incredulity at the illiteracy of scientists. Once or twice I have been provoked and have asked the company how many of them could describe the second law of thermodynamics.’ ”³⁰

The Second Law is that of increasing “entropy”: all concentrations of energy inevitably break down and dissipate, ultimately creating an equilibrium of energy maximally dispersed. “Time is linked by Thermodynamics to ideas about organization and randomness. The flow of time becomes apparent because there is an inexorable tendency in any system left to its own devices for organization to diminish and randomness to increase.”³¹

²⁹ Cited by Coveney and Highfield 1990, 33.

³⁰ Coveney and Highfield 1990, 148.

³¹ Coveney and Highfield 1990, 147.

However, the Nobel Prize winning research team at the Free University of Brussels, headed by Ilya Prigogine, discovered that the Second Law is not synonymous with a rapid decline into disorder. Their work pioneered “Non-Linear Thermodynamics”, popularly known as Chaos-Complexity Theory.

“Push the system far enough from equilibrium to a crisis point and organisation may emerge.”³² “The new states which arise far from equilibrium can possess an extraordinary degree of order.... Prigogine coined the term *dissipative structures* to describe them...collectively called *self-organisation*.”³³

“Human and animal societies also form patterns on the arrow of time.... Societies can be regarded as open and highly non-linear dynamical systems, in which feedback loops and competition abound. Scientists have begun to draw parallels between the self-organisation and chaos which can be seen in, for example, chemical reactions, and the phenomena typified by words like ‘revolution’, ‘riot’ and economic ‘crash.’”³⁴

Non-Linear System Dynamics follow the Second Law in that complex structures of energy must break down over time, which for human societies equals historical change. But Prigogine showed that as high-level complex systems dissipate their elaborate forms, provided that the system is open, remarkable new local organizational structures can emerge of surprising beauty.

THE APPLICATION TO LATE ANTIQUITY

The Later Roman Empire was subject from the third century C.E. to overall decline in manpower, economic production, military effectiveness and political cohesion, the cumulative crisis which eventually culminated in the loss of the Western Empire and then of the Middle Eastern provinces, leading to the small Byzantine state. As non-linear dynamics teaches us, universal decline is not the only option for systems which are running down so dramatically. The remaining energy can form new patterns, often of considerable

³² Coveney and Highfield 1990, 183.

³³ Coveney and Highfield 1990, 168.

³⁴ Coveney and Highfield 1990, 294.

internal sophistication, through *concentrating* the constantly dissipating resources of the system into new constellations of highpoints surrounded by increasing zones of minimal energy.

Thus I think we can explain the polarization of visible phenomena in late antiquity: giant new buildings in shrinking towns being transformed into *kastra* (small fortified settlements) or villages; empty or half empty landscapes bordered by well-populated and “busy countrysides”; extraordinary elite wealth and the low living standards of a largely dependent peasantry. In reality the declining total energy in the empire was being channeled into smaller but effective achievements.

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