

Chapter 1

A Tribute to Timothy E. Gregory

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Timothy E. Gregory received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. in 1972 from the University of Michigan where he studied with the distinguished Byzantinist Paul Alexander and the noted Roman historian John W. Eadie. After receiving his Ph.D., he taught for several years at Penn State before joining the faculty at Ohio State University in 1978, where he has taught for close to thirty years in the Department of History. During this time he crossed paths with numerous other scholars, graduate students, and undergraduates, and he has rarely failed to make some kind of impact on their lives as scholars and academic citizens. This volume is a tribute to his influence on a generation of scholars who have worked to understand expansive and relatively unexplored tableaux of the post-Antique Eastern Mediterranean.

Gregory was a member of the cohort of scholars who during the 1970s began to exert a crucial influence on the development of the study of Late Antiquity. This period represented a key moment in the study of the Late Roman world and, more broadly, the Mediterranean. Scholars had begun to process the massive work of A.H.M. Jones's *Later Roman Empire* and had just come to know Peter Brown's highly influential *The World of Late Antiquity* as well as John Hayes' watershed work, *Late Roman Pottery*.¹ At the same time, the Mediterranean World was emerging as a topic of study in Fernand Braudel's great experiment in total history: *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.² The appearance of this work in English stimulated a new interest in producing richly integrated regional studies drawing together material from a wide range of sources. This innovation met the needs of scholars interested in the Late Roman world for which the textual evidence provided only a partial window into this tumultuous time. Moreover, the emphasis on regional studies by the *Annalistes* fit well the increasingly fragmented world at the end of Antiquity. The emerging trends in local archaeological investigation, especially as practiced by survey archaeologists under the influence of archaeological paradigms in the Americas and the Near East, complemented historical research on the regional scale and often coincided with the systemic emphases characteristic of the *Annales* school.³ Gregory, like many of his peers, found in this moment a crucial opportunity to bring together the numerous strands of evidence for the post-Classical world to produce a far more sophisticated image of Late Antiquity.

Like his advisor Paul Alexander, Gregory infused his historical study with a sound understanding of the Greek language, thereby producing a strong foundation in both

1 Jones 1964; Brown 1971a, 1988; Hayes 1972.

2 Braudel 1972.

3 Most notably: McDonald and Rapp 1972; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982.

historical and philological methods. Such traditional, philological training is visible in Gregory's work throughout the 1970s and 1980s in a series of articles exploring various influences on the dynamic urban environment in Late Antiquity, including the seminal study of Novatianism in English.⁴ For this work Gregory drew on a corpus of rich and complex Late Antique texts that had been somewhat neglected by historians, including the *Acta* of the Ecumenical Councils and Late Roman historians such as Zosimus, Socrates, and Sozomen. These early textual studies culminated in his 1979 book, *Vox Populi*, which explored the role of the Christological controversies in urban violence in 5th century Constantinople and other Eastern cities.⁵ This book also signaled Gregory's strong interest in Late Roman religion and religious change, as well as his willingness to employ sociological and anthropological models to inform his studies – a commitment that also appears in his archaeological work. This willingness to integrate historical, philological, and the theorizing of the social sciences in the study of Late Antique religion continued in his most influential article on the topic—"The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay"—as well as several other significant contributions on post-Classical religion in Greece.⁶ While Gregory's approach to Late Antique religion in some ways paralleled Peter Brown's work,⁷ Gregory showed a far greater willingness to see religion itself as a causal agent in the behavior of individuals in the Late Roman past. Gregory's work, along with that of such early pioneers as E. R. Dodds and contemporaries like Brown, recognized Late Roman religion, both emerging Christianity and the long final days of paganism, as vital, independent social forces, rather than merely the epiphenomenal detritus of a collapsing civilization.⁸

Contemporary with his work on Late Roman religion, Gregory was becoming more familiar with the material culture of the Ancient world as he spent several complete academic years at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. During this time he became familiar with the work of Alison Frantz who introduced him to the storerooms of the Athenian Agora excavations and their relatively untapped wealth of Post-Classical ceramics. Moreover, he spent considerable time excavating in and around the ancient city of Corinth. Returning to the Eastern Mediterranean nearly every subsequent year, Gregory soon developed the foundation for much of his future work which sought to meld specialized expertise in multiple areas of historical study, ranging from Late Antique literary texts to numismatics, epigraphy, and especially ceramics, with the broader, more generalized perspective of the historian interested in regional systems of exchange, settlement, and social organization.⁹ These interests broadened his work beyond the study of excavated material culture, to encompass the emerging field of survey archaeology. Gregory's expertise in the area of Roman and Byzantine ceramics enabled him to contribute to

4 Gregory 1975a.

5 Gregory 1973, 1975a, 1979a, 1983d.

6 Gregory 1986a. On oracles: Gregory 1983c, 1984b.

7 Brown 1971b.

8 Dodds 1965. For the influence of Dodds on Brown, see Brown 1997, pp. 19–21.

9 Numismatics: Gregory 1974, 1983a, 1993a; Epigraphy: Gregory 1979b; Ceramics: Gregory 1986b, 1987a, 1989, 1993b, 1993c, 2003; Gregory et al. 1987.

the pioneering Argolid Exploration Project and in the later phases of the Minnesota Messenia Expedition, as well as providing a basis for him to direct his own projects, such as the Ohio Boeotia Expedition and a series of smaller, yet ground-breaking surveys in the Eastern Corinthia.¹⁰ These projects reveal a growing interest in a regional level approach to the archaeological record and in the development of an approach rooted in local or micro-history.

Gregory's leadership of these projects set the foundation for his promotion to Co-Director of the Isthmia Excavations in 1980, thus succeeding Paul Clement in directing the excavation and study of the Roman Bath, the Byzantine Fortress, and the Hexamilion Wall at the Pan-Hellenic site of Isthmia.¹¹ His work on the fortifications at Isthmia complemented earlier publications on Late Roman urbanism generally and coupled with his study of the Late Roman wall at Corinth, led to a substantial body of interpretive work on Late Roman fortifications in Greece.¹² As Co-Director of the Isthmia Excavations, he published *Isthmia V: The Hexamilion and Fortress*, and will co-author the final publication of the Roman bath.¹³ He has also fostered the research of Joseph Rife, who will publish *Isthmia IX: The Roman and Byzantine Graves and Human Remains*.¹⁴ In keeping with his earlier, more traditionally historical scholarship, his work on these projects took a particular interest in Medieval or Dark Age material dating from Late Antiquity through the Byzantine period. This represented a significant change from the typical practice of Greek archaeology, in which the study of the Classical period stood pre-eminent, as it perhaps does even today. Gregory and a handful of other contemporary scholars have worked diligently to show how the most traditional archaeological method, excavation, could contribute to the study of post-Classical Greece, and how the most humble vessels, such as the so-called "Slavic" pots found at Isthmia, could reveal valuable chronological and social data.¹⁵

While Gregory's research in the Corinthia has continued to use excavation as a method for revealing the post-Classical past, he has also been committed to regional and landscape approaches to archaeological research.¹⁶ The foundations of this approach have tended to be in survey archaeology, but the study of the landscape has also always required a strong background in textual, epigraphic, architectural, and topographic study. Moreover, regional surveys, particularly those committed to the study of such aspects of the *longue durée* as settlement change, require a willingness to study the past in a diachronic mode. Thus, his roles in several large-scale regional survey projects, as the ceramicist for the Sydney-Cyprus Survey Project, and as Director of and ceramicist for the Eastern Corinthia Archaeological Survey and the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey, reflect his

10 Gregory 1980a, 1982a, 1983b, 1984a, 1985, 1986b, 1992a, 1996, 1997; Gregory, Kardulias, and Sawmiller 1995.

11 Gregory and Mills 1984, Gregory and Kardulias 1990.

12 Gregory 1979c, 1982b, 1982c, 1984a, 1987b, 1992b, 2000, 2001.

13 Gregory 1993e; Yegul and Gregory (in preparation).

14 Rife (Forthcoming).

15 Gregory 1993d.

16 Gregory 1986c, 1994b.

ability to analyze and interpret the varied evidence for landscape change through time.¹⁷ These large synthetic projects have reinforced the dynamic between specific expertise and synthetic impulse present in Gregory's scholarship. On the one hand, these projects have proposed methodological advances in the field of Mediterranean archaeology, his most significant contribution being the Chronotype system, a systematic, albeit controversial, method for collecting, documenting, and interpreting survey artifacts.¹⁸ On the other hand, his willingness to contribute to specialized methodological discourses has reinforced his efforts to revise master narratives for our understanding of settlement patterns, economic history, and even political history in the Late Roman, Byzantine, and even Early Modern periods.¹⁹

In particular, Gregory's work at both Isthmia and elsewhere shed light on ex-urban and sub-urban space during the post-Classical era. Isthmia, for example, following its role as a pan-Hellenic sanctuary, became a fortification and later, a settlement.²⁰ His fieldwork revealed the maze of Frankish streets and buildings on the sloping height of Ayios Vasileios in the Southern Corinthia.²¹ The coast of the Eastern Corinthia and the islands of the Saronic Gulf came alive with activity in the Late Roman period.²² Gregory's research also transformed the previous interpretation of Corinthian and Saronic Gulf islands, as places of "refuge" for an oppressed and threatened populace, to marginal lands utilized during periods of exceptional economic vitality and population growth. In contrast to earlier work which focused on urban areas, Gregory's work in the 1980s and 1990s, and indeed today, has emphasized the dynamic nature of the countryside and helped to define the post-Antique world as a time of economic, social, and political vitality.

Tim Gregory's wide range of interests and expertise, reminiscent of scholars of an earlier era, has allowed him to recognize the broader significance in his studies of specific topics or material. Some of this is evident in his work as Editor of archaeology and historical geography for the exhaustive *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, prepared at Dumbarton Oaks.²³ The articles that he authored reveal the range of his specialized expertise that includes areas as varied as narrative history, religious disputes, architecture, ceramics, and regional and urban topography. In 2005, he published the textbook *A History of Byzantium*, which provides a valuable synthesis of the political, social, and religious history of Byzantium.²⁴ His current project, a history of Byzantine Greece based on the archaeological evidence, reflects his continuing interest in making the small details speak to big-picture historiographical issues.

Gregory's commitment to diachronic, regional, and interdisciplinary research is perhaps best known to his students. His lectures, seminars, study tours, and field

17 Gregory et al. 1999; Gregory et al. 2002; Gregory, Given, and Knapp 2003; Gregory et al. 2006; Gregory 2007.

18 Gregory 2004.

19 Gregory 1994b; Gregory 2007

20 Gregory and Kardulias 1990.

21 Gregory 1994a.

22 Gregory 1979, 1986b, 1997; Gregory, Kardulias, and Sawmiller 1995.

23 Kazhdan et al. 1991.

24 Gregory 2005.

schools have exposed students of all kinds—from first-semester freshmen to graduate students and academic colleagues—to his work. He is a pedagogical innovator at Ohio State University, among the first faculty members in the Humanities to use the web as a teaching tool, and creating online courses within the Department of History, thereby allowing students to travel via the internet to Greece's archaeological sites. Gregory's openness to innovation and his wide range of knowledge attracted a diverse cadre of graduate students both at The Ohio State University and elsewhere. As a result, he has advised students writing numerous dissertations on topics ranging from Late Roman Beirut to landscape archaeology and the relations between Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Greece.²⁵ The contributions to this volume reflect his interests and influences as a teacher, colleague, and friend. Gregory's patience as a mentor and colleague has produced a kind of loyalty that the editors think is reflected in this volume. While the editors can hardly speak for the diverse group of contributors here, which includes former students, long-time colleagues, collaborators, and friends, it is still notable that all the papers in this volume, as diverse as they are, reflect the influence of Timothy Gregory's contribution to the study of material culture, texts, and the Post-Classical world.

The first group of essays, entitled "Methods and Analyses," reflects Gregory's continuing interest in the relationship of archaeology and text, as well as the practice of archaeology and archaeological method. The first two articles, by Effie Athanassopoulos and Penelope Allison, speak to the tension between text and material culture that Gregory's scholarship has sought to reconcile. Rothaus et al.'s article continues in this vein as it compares how we read ancient descriptions of disasters to modern first-hand descriptions of seismic events for which we have far more geological data. Frey tackles a similar issue with his study of how the interpretations presented by Early Modern travelers have influenced our reading of ancient sites.

The other four papers in the first section deal with the practical implications of certain methodological advances advocated by Gregory over the course of his career. R. Scott Moore's and Richard Yerkes's articles examine some significant methodological advances employed in Gregory's fieldwork and track how these advances have influenced archaeological work elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Moore's emphasis on the Chronotype system highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the use of this controversial system for cataloguing survey pottery over the last decade. Yerkes' experiences with sub-surface remote sensing evokes some of Gregory's early uses of these techniques to map the remains present at the Byzantine fortification at Isthmia. Kardulias employs the techniques of ethnoarchaeology, experimental archaeology, and historical analogy, to unpack modern perceptions of farming and return the farmer to the archaeological landscape. Like Moore and Yerkes, Kardulias is deeply interested in the methods that archaeologists employ to recreate past activities in the landscape, and his article speaks as much to this methodological challenge as to any particular issue. The final piece in this first section is Samuel Fee's article, which examines how archaeological data are made available on the web both for analysis by colleagues and as the basis for instruction.

25 Hall 2004; Pettegrew 2006; Rothaus 2000.

The second group of essays considers how the methodological advances in the study of the landscape have influenced our reading of the Post-Classical world. The contributions emphasize the continuities and transformations of the Post-Classical landscape through time, and demonstrate the vitality and validity of the methods discussed in the first section. The term “landscape” here includes both urban areas, as seen in Yegul’s treatment of the Baths of Constantinople, and rural areas like the islands of Kythera (Caraher, Paspalas, Tsortzopoulos-Gregory), Lesbos (Kaldelis), and the Eastern Corinthia (Pettegrew and Tsortzopoulos-Gregory). In addition, our contributors show an awareness of the ever-expanding corpus of liminal spaces that are neither rural nor urban, but, in the experience of an individual, may oscillate in between (Kourelis, Paspalas, Rife).

The conceptual unity of these studies belies their varied methods and evidence. Several of the contributors, Rife, Kourelis, and Tzortzopoulos-Gregory, draw upon epigraphy. Some, like Caraher and Yegul read architectural evidence against the evidence from texts. Others like Kourelis, Pettegrew and Kaldelis draw upon an array of archaeological evidence. Paspalas examines an icon. The diversity of evidence employed by these scholars both evokes Gregory’s commitment to a holistic analysis of the Post-Classical world, and recognizes a diachronic discourse in the spirit of the *Annalistes’ longue durée*. In all, these works demonstrate the influence, spirit, and subject interests of Timothy Gregory and, we hope, stand as a testimony and tribute to his continuing career as a scholar and teacher.

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Timothy E. Gregory Bibliography

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