

THE CHURCH'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE ECONOMIC
LIFE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN GREEK TOWNS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis wishes to draw attention to the economic, social and political implications of the rise and establishment of the institutional Church in Early Christian Greece, particularly by exploring the pilgrimage, philanthropic and industrial function of the churches' annexes. The diverse functions of churches annexes, besides reflecting a social dimension, they also reflect economic and political realities that require the development of an interdisciplinary approach, based on civil and ecclesiastical legislation, archaeology, epigraphy, history and theology, in order to explore the extent and the effects of the institutional Church's activity in Greece. Interpreting Christian archaeology in key excavated sites of Greece by interweaving literary and material evidence both of ecclesiastical and secular origin, will help not only to ascertain how churches stood in relation to adjoining buildings combining religious and economic purposes, but also to restore to the most possible extent the Early Christian Greek urban and rural topographies.

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my husband Georgios, for his love and support.

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CHAPTER I (INTRODUCTION)

STANDARDS AND VARIABLES OF THE DIMENSION OF THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN EARLY CHRISTIAN GREECE: A NEW GLANCE AT CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY BYZANTINE HISTORY

I/A. Socio-economic implications of the functioning of the Early Christian Church in Greece

This thesis wishes to contribute to a better understanding of the economy of the Early Christian era, by examining the Church's involvement in the economic life of the Greek towns. By concentrating in a specific region, I hope the emphasis given to its individual details and peculiarities will offer new insights in the reconstruction of a general picture of the urban and rural provincial economy. The contribution of the Church to the economy of the Early Christian towns in Greece will be examined on the basis of exploitation of the churches' annexes and the ecclesiastical complexes in general, and of their diverse activities, in order to ascertain how churches stood in relation to adjoining buildings combining religious and economic purposes. From this perspective, this thesis will explore the question: to what extent and in what way the material evidence of the multiple activities of the churches' annexes may add to the store of our knowledge about the formation of an economic model in relation to the establishment of an institutional Church in Early Christian Greece.

The area the present project is focused on is therefore contemporary Greece, a region that occupies former Byzantine lands and is intended to fill a gap in Byzantine regional studies. One might wonder however, why such a study is intended for the Greece, since it is not a favourable area for providing sufficient literary and material evidence. Indeed, at first glance, the realities of the situation, the lack of historical and archaeological evidence of an

institutional Church in Greece, and the scarcity of literary information are not in favour of such an effort. However, although there is only scattered evidence to support the function of an institutional Church, I believe that the archaeology of the Early Christian Greek towns is rich in excavation data and it can provide much evidence of the churches annexes, although it has not been discussed in an interpretative framework and in relation to the economy of towns. That makes implicit a call for a more dynamic Christian archaeology interacting with other major relative disciplines such as history, epigraphy, imperial and ecclesiastical legislation and theology.

Depending on the material evidence this thesis is examining, ranging chronologically from the fourth to the seventh century, the term that is used to define this period is 'Early Christian'. In recent years the definition of this specific period in Greece referred to as Late Antique, Late Roman, Early Byzantine or Early Christian is somewhat problematic and scholars are using different terminologies to refer to it while those working in the western provinces commonly refer to it as 'Early Medieval'.¹ These terminologies define the history and archaeology of the period as 'Late Roman' or 'Late Antique', 'Early Byzantine' or 'Early Christian' respectively, but usually with no precision in the correspondence of terminology and chronology. In this thesis the Early Christian period in Greece will cover the post-Constantinian era that saw the emergence of the basilicas as public religious landmarks due to the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire until their evolution down to the first half of the seventh century, the beginning of the so-called 'Dark-Ages'. Early Christian archaeology that defines the material evidence of the Christianisation of the Empire is also broadly attributed to any structures of secular origin due to their affiliation with the Church as an institution such as the annexes of the churches. Although the term

¹ For the problematic terminology of this period see Sweetman 2013, 103; Dunn 2012, 107.

‘Early Christian’ has been chosen mostly for the study of aspects of the institutional Church, when referring to works of other scholars it will use the terms that are used by them.

However, Christian archaeology, that is one of the older terms if not the oldest that has been used for the study of this era, has obviously changed meaning over time resulting in a changing terminology that has limited the use of the term ‘Early Christian’ strictly to define ecclesiastical monuments. Nevertheless, I believe that the term ‘Early Christian’ can cover broadly the period from the fourth to the seventh century applying as a term to structures of secular, non-liturgical origin, which can be called ‘Early Christian’ due to their association with the Church. Moreover, the term ‘Early Christian’ may illustrate the material evidence of the new cultural pattern that has been gradually inaugurated, supported and resulting from the relationship that the state developed with the Church. Admittedly, the transformation of the political identity of the Empire under Christianity had an impact in all aspects of everyday life that is also detectable in substantial alterations to the tissue of towns. Early Christian archaeology under this interpretation is not merely the archaeology of churches. As the Emperor promoted the Church and their institutions to be the new public cores of the towns, a new culture emerged, in which Christian ethics were strong enough to orientate the structure of the town according to churches and a need for their institutions to pertain all aspects of everyday life. That uniform culture based on Christianity the emperors wished to keep stable at all costs across the Empire in order to preserve political as well as economic stability.²

In the chronological range, that defines the Early Christian era between the fourth to seventh century, the focus in this thesis will be taken particularly on the sixth and seventh centuries. These are the centuries that changed the picture of the towns and especially of their centres, as new structures, dwellings and workshops took over the public monuments and

² For the roles of the Emperor see Whitby 2008, 65-96.

spaces and additionally, phenomena such as the blockage of intercolumniations along porticoed streets and the installation of small-scale industrial facilities in abandoned monumental public buildings made their appearances.³ It has been believed that this phenomenon of the arrival of artisans in the working and living quarters in the heart of the towns could be interpreted either as a sign of decline or, if not directly connected with socioeconomic insecurity, as one of the most significant signs of the transition between the ancient and Byzantine cities together with the appearance of churches and other religious buildings.⁴ A counter argument is that although the construction of churches and the establishment of Christianisation contributed to these alterations, they do not necessarily equal a setback in prosperity, but more importantly are structures that should rather be related with the wealth and status of the towns rather than with a decadence of the public space.⁵

In the context of the evidence of transformations that occurred in the sixth and seventh centuries there will be made an attempt to construct an explanatory model for the profound socio-political change in the centre of the towns and the role that the institutional Church played in this. This phenomenon could be interpreted from a historical point of view as the outcome of the heightened social tensions of the era of Justinian that were evident in the provinces of the Roman Near East in the late sixth and early seventh centuries and which were containable through the propagation and dissemination of an ever more integrative Christian culture.⁶ From the middle to the end of the sixth century the material evidence of churches coincides with certain alterations in their structure not only by incorporating industrial installations but also by partitioning and walling up.⁷ It is possible however, that the

³ Jacobs 2009, 203-244; Lavan 2012, 376-377.

⁴ Zanini 2006, 399.

⁵ Jacobs 2009, 224-225.

⁶ Sarris 2006, 200-227.

⁷ Jacobs 2009, 221-222.

accommodation of such installations is rather underlying the importance of the churches in the formation of public space rather than the observation of a general decadence.⁸

The industrialisation and the gradual secularisation of churches, sprang rather from the ‘creation of a public space in which imperial behaviour was interwoven with the religious calendar, especially when the Church could be used as a counter-weight to aristocratic influence in the provinces’.⁹ The Church, from the time of its establishment evolved gradually to become not only the spiritual but also the social, economic, and political epicentre of the everyday life of towns. Its power actually sprang from the parallel relationship it developed with the state but more importantly from the immediate relationship it developed with its subjects.

The state funded the construction of hospices, hospitals as well as other institutions, and churches of these institutions were provided with endowments to cover both their proper upkeep and the needs of the clergy.¹⁰ This was however, the beginning for the Church through the establishment of its charitable institutions, which gradually became profitable, to become involved whether directly or indirectly to the economy of the towns. Theoretically, the relationship between the Church and the economy is something that has been detected as early as the biblical times.¹¹

Scholars of economics have made their own contribution to this matter by exploring the economic practices developed by formative Christianity and the problem of the reconstruction of the socio-economic universe of the first Christian groups.¹² They have developed a model of Jesus preaching the establishment of an alternative economic order centred on cooperation, altruism and sacrificial giving from the very beginning. The biblical

⁸ Jacobs 2009, 224.

⁹ Cameron 1981, 209-210.

¹⁰ Cameron 2011, 33; Miller 1985; 2003; Herrin 1990, 151-169; Horden 2012, 715-743.

¹¹ For the relation of the Christian doctrine to the political economy see Meeks 1989, *passim*.

¹² Gotsis and Drakopoulou-Dodd 2007, 133-163; Gotsis 2003a, 41-56; Gotsis 2003b, 25-33.

economic tradition therefore, offers an understanding of the later development of the Christian tradition based on both distributive justice in economic transactions and distributive justice underlying social responsibilities to the weaker members of society as moral concern for economic justice became a permanent feature of Christian tradition.¹³ The economic role of the Church is therefore not something totally new but it has never been studied holistically in order to form an economic model based primarily on material evidence. The supporting material evidence will be studied in two aspects that will help to form the basis of an economic model: the first one is a holistic study of the Church's annexes that will examine their direct and or indirect economic role to the everyday life of towns, and the second one with the illustration of the public character of churches that contributed to the alteration of the towns' topography. Therefore, Christian archaeology in this thesis will deal with the way the Church functioned as an institution, and the way its behaviours had an impact upon the minds of its subjects, with which the Church was able to interact in a more immediate and effective way than the state could. Ecclesiastical institutions via their diverse activities and contribution to the shaping of the Early Christian social life emerged as the new public spaces of the towns combined religious and secular elements.

Interpreting Christian archaeology in key excavated sites of Greece by interweaving literary and material evidence both of ecclesiastical and secular origin will undoubtedly prove fruitful and enduring. Thus, it will help to restore to the most possible extent the Early Christian topographies of several Greek sites, in order to provide not only a wider context for the material culture that has been excavated but not interpreted, but also a directed programme

¹³ Meeks 1989, *passim*; Nitsch 1998, 148-162; Gotsis 2003a, 41-56; Ceccarelli 2011, 283-284; The Christian tradition is not the only one that has addressed economics but it is possible to find evidence of economic reasoning in Islamic sources as well, see Ceccarelli 2011, 288-289.

of research into the nature of the town's economic fabric that could be also used as comparanda for other Early Christian sites.

I have been heading towards this direction since my MPhil thesis in which, by examining the interaction of ecclesiastical and ritual remains with secular structures I tried to combine Early Christian archaeology with the archaeology of trade economies, namely the marketplaces. This particular relationship that involves religious and secular elements, seems at first contradictory. But I strongly believe that it would be the most effective way to study holistically the Church's involvement in the economic life of the Early Christian towns. Taking material evidence at the core of Christian archaeology, and via the study of other auxiliary disciplines as has been stated above, an effort will be made to reconstruct the ways the Church involved itself in the economy of the towns and was part of the market.

Therefore, my efforts will be concentrated in developing and establishing a pattern based on representative evidence that will hopefully create the foundations for a more systematic future examination of the material evidence of the economic role of the Church and for a re-evaluation of the respective evidence from Greece. The attempt to establish an economic pattern based on a specific role of the Church in Early Christian Greece, presupposes a study of the physical presence of the Church and its institutions in the region regarding pilgrimage along with philanthropic and industrial activities. The handful of efforts that deal with the churches' annexes in Greece, do not define these specific functions as the outcome of the establishment of an institutional Church.¹⁴ Therefore, it is not possible to start analysing the economic role of the Church without creating a background. This is of course not an easy task for an individual to complete successfully in all aspects. This study will therefore address only a representative selection of the respective evidence. The situation of

¹⁴ Varalis 2000, 456-462; Mailis 2011.

the Church in towns and in the countryside will be discussed and analysed through selected case studies. Additionally the role of the Church as a pilgrimage destination, as a philanthropic agent, and as entrepreneur, will be reconstructed and reasons will be given for its activities to be considered as a widespread phenomenon in Greece. This approach however is missing from the literature of the Late Antique economy, which has been at the very forefront of research as part of many of the previous attempts to describe and understand the means by which the town and countryside operated during the period.¹⁵

I/B. Evaluation of the current scholarship in Late Antique studies and of the status of Christian archaeology in Greece

The interest of a burgeoning scholarship in the world of Late Antiquity displayed by a recent number of publications, both of historians and archaeologists, has indeed advanced our knowledge about urban Christianity, the transformation of civic centres and the art and culture of the fourth through the sixth centuries.¹⁶ But despite great recent progress it should be stated from the very beginning that the research into the economy of Late Antiquity has ignored the material evidence of Christianity's contribution to the economic and political life and it is not given the proper attention in any of the new economic histories of and contributions to the period.¹⁷ The economic theories of historians and archaeologists alike are focusing on the monetary economy, on open economies of independent micro-regions or dependant economies influenced by the state, local and interregional trade economies in general

¹⁵ For a summary on the exploration of economic models see Morrisson 2012, 1-9; Kingsley and Decker 2001, 1-16.

¹⁶ Lavan 2001; 2006, 195-249; Ellis and Kidner 2004; Saradi 2006; Chatzityrphonos 2008; Lazaridou 2011; Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012; Drandaki, Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Tourta 2013; Friesen, James and Schowalter 2014; Jacobs 2014.

¹⁷ Brogiolo, Gauthier and Christie 2000; Lavan 2001; Liebeschuetz 2001; Kingsley and Decker 2001; McCormick 2002; Morrison and Sodini 2002, 171-220; Bowden, Lavan and Machado 2004; Wickham 2005; Bowden, Gutteridge and Machado 2006; Banaji 2007; 2012, 597-624; Grey 2011; 2012, 625-666; Lavan 2012, 333-377; Morrisson 2012; Whittow 2013, 133-165.

involving in many instances a patronage alliance consisting of the state, the military presence and occasionally the Church. But a study of how the Church entered into the market based on the material evidence of its institutional activity depicted both in urban and rural settings has not been conducted yet.¹⁸

Similarly, it has been observed elsewhere too, that ‘the burgeoning scholarship on the Late Roman economy has largely ignored Christianity’s contribution – either as institution or as an economic mind-set – such that one can barely trace Christianity’s progress in any of the great new economic histories of the period’,¹⁹ and that ‘how Christian attitudes influenced wealth production and management, how settlement and trade became tied to Christian institutions, how lay elites competed with and colluded with the ever-more powerful institutional church for land, people, and influence remain unanswered’.²⁰

Consequently, Late Antique studies on the economy in general, and regional studies more specifically, particularly in Greece, have not yet generated satisfactory models of long-term historical change, which do justice to the involvement of the Church in the life of towns, interacting with the political, economic and social spheres explored by archaeological enquiries. Nevertheless, current scholarship has enriched our knowledge with works on regional as well as interdisciplinary studies dealing with aspects of the institutional Church as part of topics on saints and ritual spaces in the Mediterranean, as well as on topics on bishops, poverty, and the middle class.²¹

More specifically, the institutional Church in Egypt has been studied as the system of managing Church property in accordance to the role of the bishop and most specifically

¹⁸ There are of course regional studies that do justice to the economic role of the Church in town and countryside based on the material evidence of oil and wine presses, see Chapter V, 201-204.

¹⁹ Bowes 2008, 609-610.

²⁰ Bowes 2008, 609-610.

²¹ Herrin 1990; 151-169; Brown 2002; Heiska 2003; Rapp 2005; Mayer 2006, 465-484; Wataghin 2006, 287-309; Wipszycka 2007, 331-349; Bakirtzis 2008, 367-371; Yasin 2009; 2012a, 935-969; 2012b, 248-280; Ellis and Kidner 2004; Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012; Horden 2012, 715-743.

concentrating on the central role that the monasteries played in the local economic activities – buying and selling property, serving as landlords, making and exporting wine and oil.²² This approach agrees with the economic history of Late Antiquity, which emphasizes the involvement of monks in Egypt and Palestine especially in the agrarian economy and in the wine-export markets.²³ Bishops on the other hand were expected to act jointly with town councillors in the municipalities' self-governance, including the selection, appointment, and supervision of public officers. In addition, bishops' public recognition was ensured as leaders and spokesmen of the Christian communities enjoying *parrhesia*, the ability to speak openly with the Emperor.²⁴ The elevated role of the bishops that coincided with the establishment of the Church's institutions will lay the foundation for the Church's involvement in the economic life of towns.

The institutional behaviour of the Church has also been the core theme of a recent doctoral thesis that exhibits it in three types of possible ritualised activity: liturgical, paraliturgical and non-liturgical.²⁵ It focuses on the paraliturgical activities that are taking place in the Church by discussing how the gifts placed at the *altaria* might account for the presence of domestic pottery and how these paraliturgical activities preceded the liturgical performance in the Church sanctuary and involved the transport, storage, and distribution of wine and bread inside the Church.

Another recent effort examines the architecture and the function of the annexes of the Early Christian basilicas of Greece from the fourth to the sixth century.²⁶ Although it mainly focuses on the liturgical origin of the annexes such as the *diaconicon* and the baptistery, it

²² Wipszycka 1972; Hirschfeld 1992; Bagnall 1993; 2007; Heiska 2003.

²³ For example, see Banaji 2001; Wickham 2005.

²⁴ Rapp 2000, 379-399.

²⁵ Mulholland 2011.

²⁶ Mailis 2011; For the architecture of the Early Christian Greek basilicas in general, see Orlandos 1952-56; Krautheimer and Curcic 1992, 117-134.

concludes that the archaeological evidence from the annexes was not used exclusively for sacramental purposes. It recognises the importance of the basilicas as economic units in the Late-Antique society through the existence of large storage rooms and workshops for the production of goods.²⁷ More interestingly it provides a useful catalogue of Early Christian basilicas including the rooms with domestic/agricultural functions as well as occasionally functions of rooms related to pilgrimage, although this is not part of the discussion of the annexes.

On the other hand when the economic role of the Church is clearly acknowledged as part of the economy of Late Antiquity, in terms of the tourism industry (pilgrimage), trade, building estate ownership and large-scale agricultural production,²⁸ the material evidence behind these roles has not been given substance. Obviously, an interdisciplinary interpretative framework regarding the evolution of the institutional Church and its influence in the shaping of life in towns and countryside has not been undertaken yet.

Admittedly too, there has been made great progress in revising the decline model theories concerning the development of the towns that the Jonesian model inspired, by arguing the continuity of the public spaces, and especially that of shops and marketplaces down to the sixth and seventh centuries,²⁹ but it is still widely believed that one of the symptoms of the disastrous financial, cultural and demographic collapse of the towns was the disappearance of the public spaces and their replacement with private ones.³⁰ The Church among other factors has been accused of the disappearance of the public aspects in the life of the city and its inhabitants, thus making people accept the idea of living without public spaces and consequently that there was little physical continuity between the ancient forum and the

²⁷ Mailis 2011, 147.

²⁸ Kingsley and Decker 2001, 9-11.

²⁹ Lavan 2006, 195-249; 2012, 333-377.

³⁰ For the absence of public space in towns see Saradi 2006, 271-294; Baldini-Lippolis 2007, 197-237.

medieval urban square.³¹ This is also depicted in the *ekphrasis* of the Church as it emerges in the elaborated rhetorical compositions of the sixth century, in which the Church is presented ultimately dominating the city in contrast to the previous models of Hellenistic and Roman town planning predominated in these descriptions; this has been interpreted as correspondence to the historical reality of a diminishing urban vitality in the sixth century.³²

A decisive contribution to the alterations observed in the public spaces from the fourth to the seventh centuries in relation to churches has been made by Ine Jacobs who argues that these changes are not indicative of decline or economic growth and that the churches themselves in all probability were actively involved in the organisation of economic activities regarding the function of shops and workshops.³³ Jacobs argues further the public role of the churches in the towns by acknowledging institutional activities that take place at the annexes of the churches in Pththiotic Thebes in Greece, based on the observations of Olga Karagiorgou.³⁴ However, the setting of the churches in the topography of the towns and its cosmology that provided the new model of public space, although it has been acknowledged³⁵ it has not yet been defined properly. Furthermore, in discussions of the evolution of public spaces, the economic and social role of churches has usually not been taken into account, as ‘public’ has been separated from ‘religious’, and religious activities such as the assemblies or processions that seemed occasionally to have been taking place in public spaces have not been thought of as being a standard space of Christian practices.³⁶

On the other hand, the origins of the Christian archaeology in Greece can be traced as early as the end of the 19th century summarised in Georgios Lampakis’s booklet on the

³¹ Kirilov 2007, 18.

³² For the Early Byzantine *ekphrasis* discussed in an archaeological context see Saradi 2003, 31-36.

³³ Jacobs 2009, 203-244, especially 221-222.

³⁴ Jacobs 2009, 222.

³⁵ For example, Karagiorgou 2001 studies the churches under the category of public buildings of cult.

³⁶ But see Andrade 2010, 161-189.

introduction of Christian archaeology, published in 1897.³⁷ According to Lampakis, Christian archaeology is called the science that belongs to the historical branch of Theology and it studies the historical sources, the initial reasons, the place and time, and in general the evolution of the different types of institutions, worship, life and art of the Christians from the first centuries until nowadays. As subjects of Christian archaeology he defined the archeology of the Church's constitution and archaeology of worship, archaeology of living, including the private life of Christians in which the philanthropic institutions belong.³⁸ A few decades later, in 1929, Anastasios Orlandos underlined that the research of Christian archaeology in Greece has been limited to the study of the limited and obscure evidence of the early ecclesiastical writers and it has not taken into account many other sources, such as the acts of the saints, accounts of martyrdoms, travelogues, miracles and many more liturgical books.³⁹ He believed that only a detailed elaboration of this indirect evidence in accordance especially with the excavation of Christian monuments is able to shed light on the evolution of Christian archaeology in all its aspects. At the same time he made implicit the call for a detailed elaboration of the sources by theologians.⁴⁰

William Frend's analysis on the other hand of the history of Christian archaeology is undoubtedly of very great value bringing together all efforts and attempts regarding the beginning and evolution of Christian archaeology in different regions.⁴¹ His discussion on the contribution of the Christian archaeologists in Greece is remarkable, as it remains the first and only attempt so far to construct Greece's regional history of Christian archaeology as part of the Empire's wider study of the history of Christian archaeology.⁴² Frend, in the introduction

³⁷ Lampakis 1897; 1906, 29-62.

³⁸ Lampakis 1897, 6.

³⁹ Orlandos 1929, 2-3.

⁴⁰ Orlandos 1929, 2-3.

⁴¹ Frend 1996, *passim*.

⁴² Frend 1996, 205-206.

of his monumental work *The Archaeology of Early Christianity* pointed out that in the inter-war years archaeological activity extended to Greece and the Balkans where the newly independent countries found in the discovery and excavation of churches the means of expressing a national, Christian identity. In Greece, determination to rise above the disaster of 1922 was allied to a strong Christian sense of identity, which favoured research into the early spread of the faith in their countries.⁴³ In that phase he mentions the attempts of Greek archaeologists, followed by the phase called the 'Pandora's box' ranging from 1965-1990, to conclude that in the course of four centuries Christian archaeology has moved from an apologetic to a scientific study and expresses the hope that the progress towards an interdisciplinary approach to its problems will continue.⁴⁴

But a detailed regional study of the history of Christian archaeology in Greece, its conception and its achievements in relation to the different each time political and social realities is still lacking. Frend interprets the situation in the inter-war years to draw a conclusion about a national Christian identity. A much earlier expression of a national Christian identity is expressed by Lampakis, founder of the Christian Museum of Athens, who argued in general that the notions of the newly founded Greek State owed more to its Byzantine past rather than to its classical.⁴⁵ This might be part of the reason why Greek archaeologists invested during the first decades of twentieth century in excavations of Christian monuments providing abundant information in contrast to the trend of the time to invest mostly in the classical past, probably because they believed that the Early Christian centuries were cut off from their classical past. Peter Brown is adding to Frend's syllogism by observing that the modern study of Late Antiquity began with a strong sense of the dark in a

⁴³ Frend 1996, 205; The disaster of 1922 refers to the Asia Minor catastrophe after the defeat of the Greek army during the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) that followed the World War I.

⁴⁴ Frend 1996, 388.

⁴⁵ Lampakis 1897.

Europe that had recently emerged from the violence of war between 1914-1945 and that only in the 1960's and 1970's did this sense of darkness recede before the wish to overcome 'cultural narcissism'.⁴⁶ Has Christian archaeology in Greece from the time of Lampakis reached or redefined its goals, and has Frend's question to the next generation 'and what of tomorrow?' been answered?

Christian archaeology has over the years expanded its discipline beyond the traditional religious field of churches and their architectural elements into adjacent fields and it has moved into discussing the Christian remains in the context of other themes.⁴⁷ It has studied how churches functioned as social and ritual spaces and has examined the architectural form and decoration of churches in light of the buildings' interaction with and reception of their users, and how the Church building itself provided a new forum for the public advertisement and perpetual commemoration of the donor's achievements.⁴⁸

However, the progress of Christian archaeology does not contribute to the holistic approach that is called for. Although it has been acknowledged that the development of Christian urban and rural topographies are also the product of local economies and that the archaeologist should set churches and other ritual remains within these contexts, the notion of a specific Early Christian archaeology, meaning the material culture of ritual activities but also the material culture associated with any activity of the Church as a category of archaeological analysis, still remains a neglected and underdeveloped subject, and the field of Christian archaeology a rather conservative one. Some effort has been made, however, by a few scholars to bring Early Christian archaeology at the forefront of research again. Bowes's

⁴⁶ Brown 2011, 21.

⁴⁷ Yasin 2009; For a detailed historiography on Christian archaeology and a discussion on its current status see Bowes 2008, 575–619.

⁴⁸ Yasin 2009, 5, 150.

discussion on the current status of Early Christian Archaeology,⁴⁹ Mark Humphries's call for the need of an agenda for the future development of the archaeology of Early Christianity with more studies of individual centres and regions,⁵⁰ and most recently William Caraher's project on the Early Christian archaeology of sacred places and landscapes for the *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Archaeology*.⁵¹

For much of the twentieth century, the focus of Early Christian studies in Greece was on the excavation of churches that resulted in a vast body of essential material contributing to an understanding of the period. It has been stated elsewhere that the exceptional excavation work of archaeologists such as Anastasios Orlandos, Demetrios Pallas and Georgios Soteriou among others, has provided scholars with a huge body of Church data but evidence regarding Late Antique settlements, industries and trade has not been as extensive.⁵² Obviously, the separation of the liturgical function of the Church and the secular function of settlements, industries and trade has not drawn attention to the association of the latter with the evolution and establishment of the Church, as well as the identification of material evidence with the function of the Church's institutions in efforts to identify the function of the annexes in relation to Christian communities.

The opportunity for the material evidence of aspects of the institutional Church presented by the archaeologists of the early twentieth century to be explored along with the evidence of the liturgical function of the basilicas has rather been overlooked. Despite the abundance of new evidence provided by the excavations the secular components of the ecclesiastical complexes are usually not interpreted in relation to the function of the Church and have not been studied in association with their contribution in the economy of towns (and

⁴⁹ Bowes 2008, 576-619.

⁵⁰ Humphries 2008, 96-99.

⁵¹ This project is currently in progress, see <https://mediterraneanworld.wordpress.com/2015/01/15/sacred-places-and-landscapes/>

⁵² Sweetman 2013, 102.

countryside). The consideration, for example, as simple as that baths are normally to be associated with churches at pilgrimage centres,⁵³ and similar interpretations of secular buildings in relation to the role of the Church, could open a path of exploration that may give answers regarding the position and the role of the Church in the Early Christian towns and countryside. Therefore, more holistic studies are needed that contextualise Christian remains within their local topographic, social, political and economic circumstances.

A related fundamental problem that holds back the Early Christian studies in Greece concerns the Church's ritual and pilgrimage function in the Greek landscape. Greece has never been considered as a famous destination for pilgrims apart from a few well-known pilgrimage centres (St. Demetrius in Thessalonica, or martyr Leonidis at Lechaion). Consequently, pilgrimage and the cult of saints have not been considered as a widespread phenomenon and therefore their architectural identification and interpretation have not raised an issue apart from a few exceptions, such as the pilgrimage character of the town of Philippi.⁵⁴ Furthermore, when it comes to the excavation of the Early Christian sites, the architectural elements of the basilicas are of course discussed exhaustively but the identification of their annexes – if mentioned – is always obscure and cannot be interpreted in a way that can shed light upon the holistic function of the Church.

The difficulty in the interpretation of the ecclesiastical complexes in Greece with secular functions can be explained due to the low profile evidence of the Church's institutions in Greece that reflected and produced local economic and political realities. Nevertheless, the economic history of the Church in Greece and its material components is poorly known not just because of the 'paucity' of evidence but also due to the lack of an interpretative framework. The material evidence that the archaeological projects in towns and in countryside

⁵³ Dunn 2011, 27-30.

⁵⁴ For the evolution of Philippi in a pilgrimage destination, see Bakirtzis and Koester 1998.

have produced is not represented in an interpretative way, and fails to offer new insights into the economic conditions expressed by the activity of the Church. It should be stated however that only in the last few decades have the Early Christian antiquities attracted the interest of researchers. Previously, the interest of researchers was focused in the remains of earlier periods which resulted in the wholesale destruction of Christian-period buildings. In Athens for example – as in other sites too –, at the Acropolis and the classical *agora*, the Early Christian buildings was removed because it was considered inferior to its Greco-Roman past. This coincides with the idea that Church construction came to outshine the monumentality of the *agoras* according to the pagan historian Zosimus, who at the turn of the sixth century attributed the decline of urban monumentality to the Christianisation of the Empire and to the subsequent ideological changes.⁵⁵

The existence of pagans and their documented opposition to the rise of the Christian Church as well as their refusal to accept the Church's alliance with the state through the Christian successors of Constantine⁵⁶ has created a heated discussion among scholars on the relationship between Christians and pagan temples, and consequently of the use of public space even if for some scholars Christianity has been dissociated from the destruction of the ancient temples.⁵⁷

I believe that the evidence of paganism during the Early Christian era is given too much attention as a religion rather than as a tradition involving political and economic components.⁵⁸ The survival of paganism reflected rather a tradition that was opposed to the constitution and was a way to resist and to express opposition to paganism's lost influence in the political scene and to the economic consequences that this entailed. In this respect

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the view of Zosimus see Saradi-Medelovici 2011, 38.

⁵⁶ Brown 2011, 24.

⁵⁷ For a summary on the arguments of this discussion see Caraher 2010, 243-244.

⁵⁸ On studies on Late Antique paganism see Lavan and Mulryan 2011.

paganism was a threat for the emperors who wished to establish cultural unity under Christianity, but not a greater threat than the heresies within Christianity, whose suppression was not a mere religious matter either.

A call for a more dynamic Christian archaeology including the development of an interdisciplinary approach towards the Greek sites is therefore necessary in order to establish economic motives and rationales of the history of the Church so that it will finally show that it can indeed fulfil the demands of the economic involvement of the Early Christian Church in the everyday life of the Greek towns and countryside. There is a tendency in general, for Late Antique studies to underestimate the relationship between secular finds and their religious purposes, ignoring the development of a 'secular Christianity', while on the other hand Christian archaeology tends to ignore the secular dimensions of the function of the Church. Secular Christianity is also applied to enhance our understanding of the image of the average Christian citizen. An average Christian citizen would not embody the virtues of the sermons of the Church fathers but on the other hand would make use of the public institutions of the Church. By the time of Justinian, the great Christian basilicas and their spacious courtyards had emerged as the forums of a new urban society.⁵⁹ But what is the material evidence for this?

An approach to the economic role of the Church in Early Christian Greece that develops a re-oriented Christian archaeology will hopefully offer both a regional example and a general framework for the direct and indirect economic role of the Church in the life of towns and countryside. It is evident that there does not exist, not then, not now, a model based on the material evidence of the Early Christian sites that offers a guideline on the way ecclesiastical establishments of any nature could add to the economic activity of the towns.

⁵⁹ Brown 2011, 23.

However, in order to study the Church's direct or indirect involvement one needs first to comprehend how the Church could fit into the market system. In order to understand the primacy of the Church in entering into the market, and even leading the market, we first need to understand its direct or indirect involvement in the economic life of the towns through its institutional activity.

I/C. Direct and indirect involvement of the Church in the economic life of the Early Christian Greek towns and the documentation

It is generally accepted that the churches, apart from the space dedicated to the Eucharist, were expanding to include auxiliary areas related to the diverse activity of the Early Christian society with the Church as the centre of its everyday life.⁶⁰ It has also been demonstrated through literary evidence that these auxiliary areas could have different functions such as space for teaching, libraries, archives, sacristy, and treasury, or for housing the philanthropic activities of the Church.⁶¹ It has also been very common to find close to the churches, cooking areas, *xenodocheia*, and baths all in an extended complex, whose spiritual and often the geometric centre was the church itself.⁶² In addition to this it has been observed that the tables and benches found at the annexes of the churches are not necessarily related to ritual use, neither are the different kinds of storage vessels.⁶³ More interestingly, it has been observed that from the middle of the sixth century, the rooms next to the narthex or to the atrium obtained either an industrial character or the characteristics of burial chambers.⁶⁴

Early Christian basilicas and their various architectural annexes consisting of workshops, baths, hostels housing mainly pilgrims and poor travellers, but also rooms

⁶⁰ Varalis 2000, 456.

⁶¹ Orlandos 1952-56, 19-21.

⁶² Orlandos 1952-56, 58.

⁶³ Varalis 2000, 456-457; Chalkia 1989, 101-106; Mailis 2011, 105, 147.

⁶⁴ Varalis 2000, 461.

functioning as hospitals, philanthropic buildings in general, *martyria* and pilgrimage sites with markets, shed light on the property of the Church and its involvement in charitable activities, as for example its main obligation of taking care of the poor and the ill, including the preparation and the offerings of food.⁶⁵ The state lacked the loving personal touch that the Church could offer. The annihilation of the distance created between the helper and those being helped enabled the Church to pass its own *mores* to its flock. There were various expressions of Christian philanthropy, including the feeding of the poor and the erection of hostels and hospitals, which strengthened the Early Christian bishops' relationships with their communities.⁶⁶ Through the financing of such institutions the Church was effective in redistributing wealth and although there is a clear relationship between the classical benefaction (*eurgetism*) and Christian patronage, the latter aimed principally at the poor.⁶⁷ It was actually, as Peter Brown has put it: the emergence of a new understanding of what society – and the Church – owes to the poor.⁶⁸ At this point one should take under consideration how the poor are depicted in the Church's doctrine both literally and metaphorically, and the way the Church embraced the poor population as part of its social responsibility.⁶⁹ Philanthropy was a primary concern for the Church that helped people avoid impoverishment, and it led to important changes in the social fabric and urban design including the construction of buildings with philanthropic activities.⁷⁰

Shrines were also part of the local economy and played an important role in the liturgical but also in the festal life of towns. Sometimes these places tended to be synonymous

⁶⁵ For the material evidence of Church institutions in Greece see Chapters III and IV. For parallels from other provinces see Chapter V, 201-204; For an insight from hagiographic sources for the social and economic involvement of Church institutions in sixth century Anatolia see Trombley 1985, 45-59.

⁶⁶ See for example Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 4.24 and *Eccl. Hist.* 7.22.7.

⁶⁷ Rapp 2005, 223-226; Cameron 2012, 81-83.

⁶⁸ Brown 2002.

⁶⁹ See discussion in Chapter II, 61-64.

⁷⁰ For the philanthropic activity of the Church see Constantelos 1968, *passim*.

with economic centres and the conciliar Canons often condemned this situation.⁷¹ At the same time there is evidence that clergymen, apart from serving as officials of the Church, were having lucrative business often acting as traders or artisans.⁷² Land and sea communications were becoming very important in this regard, as soon as the desire of the pilgrims to travel emerged.⁷³ Not only was the road network that linked the various areas important but also the urban streets and the role of the institutional Church within the urban framework of the Early Christian period. And there was a whole industry lying behind the pilgrimage like the production and distribution of the *ampullae*, or behind philanthropy like the preparation of the food for feeding the poor.

The expansion of Christianity and the implementation of a new building programme for its establishment, as well as the equipment for churches and their staff, required highly specialised artisans. This demand for artisan skills in the construction trade is particularly interesting, as it created a new kind of labour market and encouraged the inter-regional mobility of those artisans who had a particular specialisation.⁷⁴ The emergence of the ‘class’ of artisans including craftsmen, merchants, shopkeepers and others who had achieved a comparable degree of prosperity during the fifth and sixth centuries due to the flourishing of construction in the towns. This project obviously required a large number of workers and an enormous mobilization of labour and skills, such as architects, stonemasons, builders, sculptors, workers in mosaics, marble masons, glass workers (for *polykandela* and for windows), woodworkers, brickmakers, specialists in *opus sectile*, mosaicists and at the head of all these trades, entrepreneurs and architects.⁷⁵

⁷¹ C. Trullo, Can. 76.

⁷² For the secular professions of clergymen see Constantelos 1985, 375-390.

⁷³ For the land and sea communications see for instance Avramea 2002, 57-90.

⁷⁴ Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 204-206; Niewöhner 2014, 251-271.

⁷⁵ Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 201-202; For the employment of artisans in the countryside in relation to the expansion of Christianity see Trombley 1985, 45-59.

At the same time workshops and shops were becoming widespread in the centre of towns.⁷⁶ From the sixth century the dwellings and workshops of the artisan class conquer progressively the ancient central monumental areas of the city, a phenomenon that coincides with the agricultural and industrial activity of the Church's annexes.⁷⁷ Artisans connected with the construction of churches such as stonemasons, are recorded in the Early Christian inscriptions of Greece, especially on the funerary inscriptions.⁷⁸ This 'specialisation' movement as part of the establishment of the Church was the reason artisans became a wealthy class.⁷⁹ As it has been argued elsewhere, it was those artisans who lived and worked in the dwellings and workshops that were so profoundly to transform the town's monumental centre were very likely the same people who fed the trade of basic and precious commodities that constituted one of the characteristic elements of the urban economy.⁸⁰ Behind this mobility however, there are hidden the activities of the institutional Church. The artisan, industrial and agricultural activity that is associated with the annexes of the Church to the Early Christian towns, is a testimony to the continuation of a monetary economy, which doubtless, had played a precise role contributing to an economic system that that was based on varied production, on organised exchange, and on monetary circulation.

Apart from the fact that the Church supported several crafts and trades, it is also possible that it played a crucial role in some specific trades such as the marble quarrying and sculpting or the production of tiles and bricks, as the bulk of these products was destined for the new project of redevelopment of the public space in towns.⁸¹ The Church, by supporting artisanal and trade activities, and sometimes engaging itself in such activities, helped the

⁷⁶ Jacobs 2009, 203-244.

⁷⁷ Jacobs 2009, 214-217, 221-222; Lavan 2006, 195-249; 2012, 333-377.

⁷⁸ Sironen 1997.

⁷⁹ Zisimou 2008 (unpublished MPhil B thesis).

⁸⁰ Zanini 2006, 402.

⁸¹ Karivieri 2010, 15-20, especially 18; Niewöhner 2014, 251-271; See also discussion in Chapter III/B.3, 107-110 and Chapter III/C, 133-139.

towns and countryside maintain a stable economy. Consequently, it can be said, that the Early Christian era coincided with a developed artisan industry and trade that saw the Church as a socially stabilising factor that contributed decisively to the prosperity both of towns and countryside.

The structure then, of an economic theory of the Church's involvement in the economic life of the Early Christian Greek towns, including the approach of the phenomenon of the sixth-century transformation of the centres of the towns, should be based on the analysis of certain key roles demonstrated by the presence and function of the Church: the creation of the new public religious spaces in towns, the nature of the diverse role played by the Church institutions in the orientation of the public space, and finally the nature of the profound interactive role between the Church and the state as represented in the institutional function of the Church. Towards this examination, attention needs to be drawn to the importance of other documentary sources, namely civil and ecclesiastical legislation, their contribution to the topic when interacting with the liturgical texts of the Church needs to be shown. Unfortunately, ecclesiastical history cannot give sufficient evidence for the function of the institutional Church in Greece. This is quite surprising because it gives the impression that in this part of the Empire the Church had not been active or important enough in order to be mentioned; it is also quite discouraging because it makes more difficult the identification of the material evidence of the activity of the institutional Church.

In order therefore to construct a theory of the Church's economic involvement in the everyday life of people in towns (and in countryside), one first needs to answer particular questions like what were the state's regulations on the economic role of the Church? What were the oecumenical councils' prohibitions and permissions on the same matter? More specifically, what were the inferences about the relationship of the Church and the state

explored through their legislation? And finally what was the authentic Early Christian approach to the economic life of towns?

Evidently, Christianity did not present society with an ideal model of economic life but it presented moral principles to be integrated into economic life. The Church as an institution however offered recommendations for the arrangement of a society's economic activity. Oecumenical Councils provided Canons for the economic regulation of the institutional Church and were condemning the evasion of these Canons, especially on economic matters. On the other hand, imperial law, especially the sixth-century legislation and particularly the Novels of Justinian included parts of Canon law that were related to the Church's economic activity. The connection of imperial to ecclesiastical legislation as seen through the Novels of Justinian, which not only embrace the ecclesiastical law but which also include laws regulating the function of the Church, forms a concept of coexistence, or the so-called '*συναλληλία*'⁸² in the political scene between the state and the Church, as is also depicted in the Novels, and that relationship provided the foundation for the establishment of the institutional Church in the public spaces of the towns.

The understanding of this relationship between the Church and the state also helps one to see clearly another dimension, that of the role of the state when it realised its need to use and rely on another, non-political institution that was however, under public control. The Church as an institution was never really fully integrated into the political system but obviously it cannot be studied separately from it.

Furthermore, the use of liturgical texts will show how they influenced the everyday life of Christians and how they shaped the background for the architectural expression of the institutional Church. In this direction, careful work on Christian hagiography provides

⁸² Troianos and Velissaropoulou-Karakosta 2010.

previously unavailable insights into the way that martyrdoms were incorporated into social life by evolving later into sites of pilgrimage. Despite the problems the hagiographic texts pose in the effort to extract historical information their value lies undoubtedly in their popularity among the Christians. The information that will be extracted is the résumé of the names of the common places where martyrdoms took place mentioned in the hagiographies, as well as the names that refer to the places where their bodies reposed.

The sources therefore that will help analyse the institutional function of the Church in the following chapters are the civilian legislation along with the conciliar canons (but no later than the Council in Trullo of 691) and with the literature of the Church, more specifically, aspects of the Old and New Testament, the *Divine Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom, and the martyrologies. A closer examination of the imperial and ecclesiastical legislation and of the literature of the Church, studied in accordance with the archaeological evidence will help set the foundations of an economic explanation of the profound transformation of the towns that occurred from the middle of the sixth century onwards, and explore the situation in the countryside.

Regarding the approach of the material evidence of the churches' annexes, both in towns and in countryside, this will be made through selective case studies from the Early Christian Greek sites that preserve material evidence of a combination of institutional activities. The study of the material evidence of the activities of the churches' annexes in the towns of Greece will consist of rooms identified with *xenodocheia* for the reception of pilgrims, tables, benches, cooking areas with the philanthropic activity (but also with pilgrimage) that are supported by epigraphic evidence. Also of wine presses, oil presses and the specialised production of bricks and tiles by or for the Church, supported by the epigraphic evidence too.

The same aspects of material evidence will be examined in the rural case studies. Two important Early Christian towns, Thessalonica and Athens will be studied along with a third one in the countryside of a Dodecanese island, Kalymnos, which preserves the ruins of an extensive but hitherto unknown Early Christian settlement. The study of this settlement was made through a closer examination and observation of the layout of the basilicas and their contribution to the understanding of the function of rural and harbourside settlements in Greece. In addition, the closer examination and observation of the *ampullae* from the so-called ‘Palace of the Giants’ in the Athenian *agora* offered the opportunity to make an attempt to decipher both the inscribed monograms (and their parallels) and propose an alternative function of the ‘Palace of the Giants’ in the centre of Athens.

CHAPTER II

CIRCUMSTANTIAL LEGAL AND LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE INSTITUTIONAL FUNCTION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN GREECE

In this chapter an effort will be made to trace from the written sources indirect evidence for the economic role of the institutional Church in Early Christian Greece. This attempt will initially involve the regulations regarding the involvement of the Church in the economy of the towns as it appears in the secular law, more specifically in the *Codex Theodosianus* and in Justinian's legislation. Secondly, this information will be incorporated into the study of the broader idea and ideal of the Church's institutional behaviour regarding the philanthropic, pilgrimage and industrial activities that are depicted in the conciliar Canons. Finally, we will study how these three categories of the institutional activity of the Church drew inspiration from the Church's literature and what is the relationship between this and the architectural and archaeological evidence of the institutionalisation of the Church. A thorough study of the secular law in the sphere of interconnection with the Canon law and the impact of both in the alterations observed in the architectural remains of the ecclesiastical complexes has not yet been undertaken for the Greek region. This contribution, however, is only a preliminary introduction to a larger and rather complicated subject.

More specifically, selective parts of the *Codex Theodosianus* and Justinian's legislation will be stressed when referring to the institutions of the Church in Illyricum. Most of the Greek provinces were part of the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum, except Rhodope, which, as a province of the diocese of Thrace, was in the prefecture of Oriens, as were the Islands. However, this pattern was radically altered by the developments of the seventh

century.⁸³ The application of the secular law to the Greek region will be compared with the application of the Canon law, which regulated in general the behaviour of the institutional Church. In that way the legal function of the institutional Church in Greece, both secular and ecclesiastical, will be accessible circumstantially. At this point, another indirect factor, the literature of the Church, will help us to see from the inside the way the Church itself incorporated aspects of the three categories of institutional function (pilgrimage, philanthropic and industrial) into its prayers and liturgical services. This approach would challenge one to think if the material evidence of the institutional character of the Church sprang initially from its literature and evolved gradually with the establishment of Christianity and the elevated role of the bishop in the towns to take the form of auxiliary structures next to churches.

II/A. Secular law

In this section, the secular law regarding the regulations of the Church with an extending interest in the involvement of the Church in the economy of the Greek towns, whether of pilgrimage, charitable or industrial nature will be exploited through the Codifications of Theodosius and Justinian. In the Novels of Justinian, it is stated explicitly that in Illyricum, which as has been stated already above, during the Early Christian era incorporated most of the contemporary Greek region, there was functioning an institutional Church along with monasteries and different philanthropic establishments and which was also obliged to obey the laws about not making illegal profit in any way⁸⁴ and to have an educated

⁸³ Koder 2005, 109-115.

⁸⁴ *Just. Nov.* 7.3, (535) ‘(...τούς τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος...) μήτε τινὰ ξενοδόχον ἢ πτωχοτρόφον ἢ νοσοκόμον ἢ ορφανοτρόφον ἢ γεροντοκόμον ἢ βρεφοτρόφον ἢ μοναστηρίου ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἡγούμενον ἢ ἡγουμένην, ἢ τινὰ ὅλως προεστώτα τῶν εὐαγῶν συστημάτων ἄδειαν ἔχειν ἐκποιεῖν πρᾶγμα ἀκίνητον ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἢ ἐν κήποις ἢ ὅλως ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, μηδὲ γεωργικὸν ἀνδράποδον μηδὲ πολιτικὴν σίτισιν, μηδὲ κατὰ ἰδικοῦ πρόφασιν ἐνεχύρου παραδίδόναι τοῖς δανεισταῖς...οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ δόσιν τινός ἐνεχύρου ἐπ’ἀκινήτῳ πράγματι γινομένην πρᾶφάσει δανεισμάτων γίνεσθαι συγχωροῦμεν. Καὶ τοῦτο κρατεῖν βουλόμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ

clergy in order to serve its flock and presumably the pilgrims who were staying at the Church's *xenodocheia*, under the supervision of the bishop.⁸⁵ In contrast to the textual evidence, however, the evidence of the function of an institutional Church regarding the situation in Greece, remains 'obscure' and puzzling, especially when the evidence of the basilicas' annexes constitute along with the main building of the church a sacred complex. Then the rather obvious hidden evidence of the function of an institutional Church usually remains unidentified. It should be stressed however that the difficulty in identifying Church institutions as part of the sacred complexes lies not only in the lack of an interpretative framework that needs to take into consideration the existence of any kind of activities of the institutional Church from hospices and workshops to pilgrimage centres, but also in the difficulty of identifying relevant material evidence due to the lack of a prototype.

Therefore, in order to interpret the function of the material evidence of the Early Christian basilicas' annexes in the Greek towns (and countryside) from a point of view that is related to the function of an institutional Church, I first need to underline the importance of the imperial legislation in establishing the evidence of an active institutional Church in the Greek region. Furthermore, by considering the imperial legislation in relation to the material culture of this particular part of the Empire, I hope to help in understanding what effect these regulations had on the architecture and the resulting archaeology of churches as well as to discover how far the Church was integrated into the economic and political life of the towns.

παντός μοναστηρίου καὶ νοσοκομείου καὶ ξενῶνος καὶ βρεφοτροφείου καὶ ἀσκητηρίου καὶ γεροντοκομείου καὶ παντός ἀπλῶς συστήματος'.

⁸⁵ *Just. Nov.* 6.11 (535), '...γραμμάτων παντοίως ἐπιστήμονας ὄντας' γράμματα γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντα παντελῶς οὐ βουλόμεθα ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τάξει κληρικὸν εἶναι· δηλαδὴ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τὰς τε ἱερὰς εὐχὰς διδασκομένων τὰ τε τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἀναγιγνωσκόντων βιβλία'; *Just. Nov.* 123.23 (546), 'Τοὺς δὲ οἰκονόμους καὶ πτωχοτρόφους καὶ ξενοδόχους καὶ νοσοκόμους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων εὐαγῶν οἰκῶν διοικητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας κληρικοὺς κελεύομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπιστευθεισῶν αὐτοῖς διοικήσεων παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ᾧ ὑπόκεινται ἀποκρίνεσθαι'.

In general, scholars have already studied the impact of the civil law on the organisation of the Church, and they have produced works on the laws of the Emperor in connection to the regulation of the ecclesiastical affairs. Troianos' *Nomos und Kanon in Byzanz* is also one of the academic efforts to deal with the old problem of State and Church by exploring the correspondence of civil and ecclesiastical law.⁸⁶ Coleman-Norton's *Roman State and Christian Church* brings together the two spheres of power by gathering the relevant laws of the Roman State that concern the function of the Christian Church up to the middle of the sixth century, leading to a helpful collection of legal documents regarding the relationship of the Church with the secular political power.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Zeisel's work on *An economic survey of the Early Byzantine Church* illustrates through an exhaustive exploration of civil law how the wealth accumulation and administration were parts of the process of change that led from personal to institutionalised Christianity; also shown is the evolution of the churches from small and humble congregations into large and more rationally organised institutional complexes, with their own land and money, the way they used them, and finally what it all meant in terms of the Late-Antique society.⁸⁸ Zeisel's work is a painstaking research of the administrative organisation of the dioceses and of wealth disposition and management of churches and monasteries of the Eastern Mediterranean through the study of literary sources and occasionally of inscriptions, but with no supportive archaeological background or specific evidence for the Church's various institutions.

Peter Sarris' *Economy and Society in the age of Justinian* has contributed impressively to the social and economic history of the Eastern Roman Empire in the reign of Emperor Justinian through the reconstruction of the local economy of Egypt by using the Oxyrhynchus papyri. Sarris provides a social and economic context in which to situate

⁸⁶ Troianos 1991, 37-51.

⁸⁷ Coleman-Norton 1966.

⁸⁸ Zeisel 1975.

Justinian's reform programme in relation to the emergent relationship between the landowners, peasants and the Emperor and its implications in the Late Antique Eastern Empire.⁸⁹

An interesting approach to Justinian's involvement in gaining the control of the Church has also been made by Anastos's 'Justinian's despotic control over the Church as illustrated by his edicts on the Theopaschite formula and his letter to Pope John II in 533', which studies the political implications beneath the religious controversies.⁹⁰

The institutionalization and evolution of the churches into wealthy complexes from other perspectives whether based on art history or on ecclesiastical literature sources, has been explored as well, as for example is Dominic Janes's *God and Gold in Late Antiquity*⁹¹ or Constantello's *Byzantine Philanthropy and social welfare*.⁹²

Most recently there is also Peter Brown's *Through the eyes of a needle: Wealth, the fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD*, which illustrates how Christianity evolved into an institutional infrastructure built on corporate wealth and how bishops acted as managers of institutional wealth apart from being spiritual leaders.⁹³

These works are only representative efforts of a wider subject that is the relationship between the Church and the state studied through the imperial and councilar legislation. Each of these studies actually represents or tries to combine a different aspect in the comprehension of the Church's economic orientation and implementation policy, but usually when treating a subject from a reductionist critical approach, the conclusions cannot be holistic. In the study of the relationship between the Church and the state there needs also to be taken into account the material evidence that the textual sources will help in its interpretation.

⁸⁹ Sarris 2006.

⁹⁰ Anastos 1964.

⁹¹ Janes 1998.

⁹² Constantelos 1968.

⁹³ Brown 2014.

Another aspect of this particular relationship that needs caution is the association of the religious and secular spheres that the institutional Church represents. I believe that the inauguration of the term ‘secular Christianity’ in this work will hopefully make this distinction more profound. Secular Christianity contains the political and economic character of the Church as an institution, which scholars in referring to the economic activities of the Church name it as the ‘secular’ Church.⁹⁴ However, because the establishment of the institutional Church springs from its religious character, the latter needs to be taken into account separately, as part of the literature of the Church that is studied below.

This section therefore seeks to shed light on a long-neglected subject by identifying and examining the institutional Church along with the religious and secular attitudes supporting its foundation. By limiting the research to a specific part of the Empire, namely 21st century Greece, one can study more thoroughly the application of the written sources both in the material evidence of the Church institutions and the society that sustained them in theory and in practice. More specifically, the Theodosian and Justinian codification are the landmarks of the written sources that in conjunction with the other architectural and epigraphic evidence discussed in the following chapters will be able to depict the historical situation of a rather problematic and much-debated era.

The unwritten, yet, institutional history and archaeology of the Early Christian Greek Church, besides reflecting a social dimension, that is, establishing itself in an urban and rural powerhouse, also makes clear the economic and political realities that require the development of an interdisciplinary approach in order to explore the extent and the effects of the evolution of the institutional Church in Greece.

⁹⁴ Kingsley and Decker 2001, 11; Hamilton 1980, who however deals with the secular clergy and their institutions in the Latin Church during the 12th-13th centuries.

II/A.1 *Codex Theodosianus* as evidence of the institutional Church in Greece⁹⁵

According to a decree issued in 421, ‘religious laws passed in Illyricum remain in place and any legal questions must come before the bishop and with the knowledge of the bishop of Constantinople’.⁹⁶ The state is supporting and protecting the laws of the Church for the geographical area of Illyricum that also incorporates Greece. Therefore, the laws incorporated in the enactments of Theodosius provide evidence of a diverse function of the institutional Church in Illyricum, and inevitably in the Greek region. Interestingly, the decree reveals an immediate relationship with the See of Constantinople too.

Codex Theodosianus uses distinctively the term ‘public’ to describe the function of the churches and of other buildings, such as baths, *stoas*, yards, gardens and houses that were enclosed by precincts in order to offer protection to refugees.⁹⁷ This information would help identify the nature of the structures that have been excavated in the churches’ precincts, but more importantly confirms the public function of the churches in towns that has been already argued in Chapter I.

But, the most sustainable activity for the benefit of the Church drawn from the written sources is the state’s law on the tax exemptions granted to clerics who wished to conduct business whether for the sake of a livelihood or for charitable activities to benefit the poor

⁹⁵ For the decrees included in *Codex Theodosianus* see Pharr 1952. The translation of the codes is also according to Pharr 1952; For studies on the Theodosian Code see Harries and Wood 1993.

⁹⁶ *CTh* 16.2.45 (421), ‘We command that the ancient practice and the pristine ecclesiastical canons which have been in force up to the present shall be observed throughout all the provinces of Illyricum and that all innovations shall cease. Then, if any doubt should arise, such cases must be reserved for the synod of priests and their holy court, not without the knowledge of the most reverend man of the sacrosanct law, the Bishop of the City of Constantinople, which enjoys the prerogative of ancient Rome’.

⁹⁷ *CTh* 9.45.4 (431), ‘Thus if there should be any intervening space within the circumference of the walls of the temple which We have marked off and within the outer doors of the church behind the public grounds, whether it be in the cells or in the houses, gardens, baths, courtyards, or colonnades, such space shall protect the fugitives just as the interior of the temple does’.

(discussed in Zeisel from the fourth to the seventh centuries)⁹⁸ along with evidence for the capitation tax exemption specifically for the Church of Thessalonica.⁹⁹

In the first place the codes give evidence of privileges granted to clerics whether of tax exemption or of compulsory public service exemption,¹⁰⁰ but in order people not to take advantage of this exemption, there were limits on the number of people entering the clergy, as people should not become clerics in order to avoid public service.¹⁰¹ At the same time the exemption from taxation to the extent of ten solidi per person for tradesmen in Illyricum and Italy allowed clerics to follow this occupation; however, in the case of employment in business beyond this amount they had to pay tax in gold.¹⁰²

This actually means that clerics could be successfully involved in trading business and moreover they could be granted the privilege of tax exemption. But were they to be involved in personal business or in business for the Church? Studies on the professions of clerics underline directly or indirectly the fact that during the first centuries the clergy were supposed to have a profession in order to make their living and that such behaviour was accepted by the Christian society.¹⁰³ Even by the establishment of Christianity and the issuing of relevant legislation forbidding priests to get involved in worldly affairs the attitude of society regarding the professions of clerics did not change radically. It makes sense though, that the state was exempting the clergy from taxes up to a certain limit in order for the income to be used for the benefit of the Church rather than for personal use. That is why in case clergymen were taking advantage of their occupation wishing to make more profit, then they were

⁹⁸ Zeisel 1975, 190-200.

⁹⁹ *CTh* 11.1.33 (424) 'The sacrosanct Church of the City of Thessalonica shall be excepted from this regulations, but with the provision that it shall clearly know that by the special grant of imperial favor of My Divinity only the amount of its own capitation taxes shall be alleviated'.

¹⁰⁰ *CTh* 16.2.8 (343); 16.2.9 (349).

¹⁰¹ *CTh* 16.2.6. (326).

¹⁰² *CTh* 13.1.11 (379).

¹⁰³ Constantelos 1985, 375-390.

obliged to pay the tax in gold. Because the wealthy should not be allowed to become clergy¹⁰⁴ and with the same reasoning personal land held by the clergy, which could make them potentially wealthier, was also taxable.¹⁰⁵ The law of Theodosius states that clergymen should be free from every compulsory public service, that is, from every duty and servitude, and shall zealously serve the Church.¹⁰⁶ This could be interpreted to mean that those of the clergy who acted as tradesmen could actually be zealously serving the Church by giving their income to the Church institutions. The study of the literature of the Church gives indeed evidence of clerics carrying on secular professions for philanthropic purposes, as for example bishop Spyridon of Trimithus in Cyprus, who was involved in secular trades in order to use the earnings to help the poor or for lending without interest to those in need.¹⁰⁷

From other decrees we get evidence of the Church engaging in trade for the benefit of the poor and of its exemption from taxes,¹⁰⁸ and additionally of clerics owning workshops and stalls.¹⁰⁹ Other hints that could be used as evidence of function of an institutional Church are coming from two other decrees, which state that estates left to the Church should not be taken for public use and that the clergy, when buying and selling food within legal limitations were exempted from paying taxes on that enterprise.¹¹⁰ The estates give evidence both for the property of the Church, probably acquired by endowments, and of their exploitation for the

¹⁰⁴ *CTh.* 16.2.17 (364), 'We forbid altogether that wealthy plebeians shall be received a clerics by the Church'.

¹⁰⁵ *CTh.* 16.2.15 (360).

¹⁰⁶ *CTh.* 16.2 (319).

¹⁰⁷ For the case of Spyridon along with other examples see Constantelos 1985, 380.

¹⁰⁸ *CTh.* 16.2.8 (343); 16.2.15 (360); 16.2.10 (353), 'In order that organisations in the service of the churches may be filled with a great multitude of people, tax exemption shall be granted to clerics and their acolytes, and they shall be protected from the exaction of compulsory public services of a menial nature. They shall by no means be subject to the tax payment of tradesmen, since it is manifest that profits which they collect from stalls and workshops will benefit the poor. We decree also that their men who engage in trade shall be exempt from all tax payments'.

¹⁰⁹ *CTh.* 16.2.10 (353); 16.2.14 (357), '...for if they have accumulated anything by thrift, foresight, or trading, but still in accordance with honesty, this must be administered for the use of the poor and needy, and whatever they have been able to acquire and collect from their workshops and stalls they shall regard as having been collected for the profit of religion.'

¹¹⁰ *CTh.* 16.2.36 (401), 'If any clerics of the Catholic religion employ the practice of buying and selling food within the limit prescribed by law, they shall be held exempt from the payment of the tax payable in gold'; 16.2.40 (411).

benefit of the institutional Church. On the other hand, the fact that the clergy is buying and selling food within certain legal limitations, may reflect the institutional activity of the Church, especially if it is exempted from taxation, by the storage facilities¹¹¹ and the material evidence of the preparation of food in the annexes of the churches.

Finally the *Codex Theodosianus* includes decrees with regulations concerning the institutional Church and more specifically the pilgrimage practices, as it is encouraging the erection of *martyria* in any place where the saints were buried. On the other hand, other decrees on the erection of *martyria* forbid the transfer of relics, sale, or traffic in the relics of martyrs.¹¹² This evidence gives a clear picture of the pilgrimage practices being separated from their original spiritual orientation, and becoming synonymous with economic transactions so that they acquired eventually a secular character.

Later however, secular professions for the clergymen were prohibited by a decree issued by Valentinian III, who ordered that clerics should henceforth engage in no trade and if so they would be subject to the provincial governors and would not be protected by the privilege of clerics.¹¹³ This is a law that brings an end to the official engagement of the clerics in business. Was that a result of the secularisation of the role of the clerics as they took advantage of this opportunity and misbehaved? Or was it that the state after Theodosius II started to interfere in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs?

Interestingly, Theodosius's codification does not include punishment for clerics' ethical misconduct, which is only subject to an ecclesiastical authority, compared with Justinian's relevant jurisdiction, which interferes in the ecclesiastical law. For example, the

¹¹¹ For example the large granary among other structures at the monastery related to Eutychios, patriarch of Constantinople, see Trombley 1985, 51-52.

¹¹² *CTh*. 9.17.7 (386) 'No person shall transfer a buried body to another place. No person shall sell the relics of a martyr; no person shall traffic in them. But if anyone of the saints has been buried in any place whatever, persons shall have it in their power to add whatever building they may wish in veneration of such a place, and such building must be called a martyr.'

¹¹³ *NVal* 35.4 (452).

decrees issued by Theodosius, although they punish the clerics by bringing them to the judge or by making them pay tax in gold, do not involve themselves at all with the punishments of the ecclesiastical law. There was no ecclesiastical punishment confirmed by the State for clerics, but on the contrary there was a series of laws stating clearly that disagreements over religious matters should be addressed by Church authorities, while criminal cases should be brought before a judge.¹¹⁴ This differentiation however between the ecclesiastical and secular powers did not continue down to the era of Justinian who wished to gather under his control both the ecclesiastical and secular worlds.

II/A.2 The Novels of Justinian as evidence of the institutional Church in Greece¹¹⁵

In accordance with his interpretation of the role of the Church in the Empire, Justinian issued a number of Novels, as well as numerous decrees, constitutions, and edicts, which dealt with ecclesiastical questions of every sort. There was no phase of the life of the Church in which he did not regard himself as the highest authority. In this way he sought to define the nature of the relationship between imperial authority and the priestly office and it was ultimately his task to regulate the spiritual life of both laymen and priests alike.¹¹⁶

Justinian's religious and ecclesiastical policies went hand-in-hand with the codification and reformation of the civil law. In his legislation are defined explicitly the institutions of the Church in all the provinces including Illyricum and are also mentioned the privileges and obligations of the Church at different times in his reign, obviously depicting the changes in the political scenery. Justinian decreed with respect to documents of the churches' fiscal exemption including the Church of Thessalonica which was released from the payment of its own land tax only if the state was not injured by the exemption of other

¹¹⁴ *CTh.* 16.2.23 (376); 16.2.12 (355); 16.11.1(399).

¹¹⁵ For Justinian's legislation see Schoell 1928.

¹¹⁶ *Just. Nov.* 6 (535); Anastos 1964, 3; Sarris 2006, 200-227.

property along with the Church of Thessalonica through the abuse of the ecclesiastical name.¹¹⁷ Concerning the privileges of ecclesiastical possessions, the lands that belonged to the so-called ‘Holy Churches’ and to religious establishments were forbidden to be subject to degrading charges and extraordinary tributes. But on the other hand churches were responsible for contributing to the repair of roads, bridges or anything else when necessary.¹¹⁸

Uniform legislation was imposed upon all churches, hospitals, monasteries, asylums, infirmaries for the poor, and all other religious foundations. According to Novel 7, any other churches in Constantinople, or within its confines, (including Illyricum), as well as superintendents of hospitals, orphanages, infirmaries for the poor, abbots and abbesses of monasteries, and presidents of ecclesiastical colleges, should not be permitted to alienate any immovable property, whether it consisted of buildings, fields, gardens or anything of this kind, rustic slaves, and grain provided by the state, or to deliver it under a special contract to creditors by way of pledges.¹¹⁹

In this part of Novel 7, of great interest is the observation of the types of religious institutions named by the Emperor: the hospitals, orphanages, infirmaries for the poor, ecclesiastical colleges and monasteries among them, mentioned along with their superintendents. Even more interesting though is the information about the exact immovable property of these institutions especially the information about the grain provided by the state, which gives ground to consider that it was destined for the philanthropic activity of the Church and for the meals prepared at the annexes of the churches. This particular information

¹¹⁷ For the Church of Alexandria and the churches of the Egyptian provinces see *Just. Edict* 13.10 (539); For the Church of Thessalonica see *Cod. Just.* 10.16.12 (424). Relevant to this law is also *CTh* 11.1.33 (424), see p. 35, n. 99 above.

¹¹⁸ *Just. Nov.* 131.5 (545).

¹¹⁹ *Just. Nov.* 7 (535) ‘...μήτε τινὰ ξενοδόχον ἢ πτωχοτρόφον ἢ νοσοκόμον ἢ ορφανοτρόφον ἢ γεροντοκόμον ἢ βρεφοτρόφον ἢ μοναστηρίου ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἡγούμενον ἢ ἡγουμένην, ἢ τινὰ ὅλως προεστώτα τῶν εὐαγῶν συστημάτων ἀδειαν ἔχειν ἐκποιεῖν πράγμα ἀκίνητον ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἢ ἐν κήποις ἢ ὅλως ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, μηδὲ γεωργικὸν ἀνδράποδον μηδὲ πολιτικὴν σίτισιν, μηδὲ κατὰ ἰδικοῦ πρόφασιν ἐνεχύρου παραδιδόναι τοῖς δανεισταῖς...’

of the state providing the Church with grain coincides with A.H.M Jones' statement, that is not often mentioned either in the legal or the ecclesiastical sources that the subsidies the churches received from the reign of Constantine from the state, spoken of as *annona*, were apparently in the form of foodstuffs, especially grain.¹²⁰ This evidence could explain the storerooms excavated adjacent to the churches and demonstrate the philanthropic activity of the Church as well as the meals that the Church prepared for the poor.

The activity of similar ecclesiastical institutions in Greece is well illustrated in Justinian's Novel 153, issued in 541, which reveals that the people of Thessalonica were leaving their unwanted offspring in or near the churches of the town.¹²¹ This illustrates the philanthropic activity of the Church in Greece but also the evolution of the institutional Church as the protector of orphans that made people consider the Church as one of the most suitable places to leave unwanted infants. In order for people to leave the infants in or near the churches, this means that the orphanages were part of the Church complexes.

Novel 7 states that the sale, donation, and exchange of property, as well as the perpetual *emphyteusis*, which does not differ greatly from alienation, are forbidden. This law applied to all the provinces of the Empire and was subject to the authority of the Church, and should be perpetually observed and executed by the patriarchs of every diocese as well as by the metropolitans, bishops, priests, *oikonomoi*, abbots, and superintendents of hospitals, orphanages, and all other similar religious institutions, and be maintained by them in all its force.¹²² It was therefore applied to Greece as well, and to all the religious institutions of the Church in Greece, whose material evidence however, has yet to be uncovered in the following chapter.

¹²⁰ Jones 1973, 899.

¹²¹ *Just. Nov.* 153 (541) 'Ἀνδρέας ὁ Θεοφιλέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀποκριστὰς τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας προσήγγειλεν, ὥς τινες τὰ προϊόντα εὐθὺς ἐκ κοιλίας ἀπορρίπτοντες βρέφη καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις αὐτὰ καταλιμπάνοντες ἐκκλησίαις.'

¹²² *Just. Nov.* 7 (535).

Emphyteusis meant actually the right to enjoyment of property with a given stipulation that the property will be improved or maintained in an agreed manner.¹²³ This coincides with the previously mentioned evidence of the Church's property including fields and gardens and other such property that could be subject to *emphyteusis*.¹²⁴ It has also been concluded that the *emphyteutic* status of the property of the Church applied to all the provinces and all the religious institutions of the Empire, consequently to Illyricum, which included part of the contemporary Greece as well.

Later however, Novel 46 explicitly states that because a matter that is difficult of solution has arisen, that is to say, ancient debts as well as others recently contracted, and, above all, fiscal claims, the necessity of religious houses to sell their lands is implicit. And this is not applied to the Church and institutions of Constantinople but to the exterior provinces where a scarcity of money existed, which prevented the Church from paying its debts in cash.¹²⁵

All matters regarding alienations, *emphyteutical* contracts, leases, and other agreements relating to ecclesiastical administration are combined in another Novel numbered 120, that now allows the *emphyteusis* to be applied to the Church and its institutions in Constantinople. At the same time it allows exchange of immovable property between the churches with some regulations for the Church of Constantinople and finally allows sacred utensils that are part of the movable property of the Church to be melted, and then the metal to

¹²³ For the definition of *emphyteusis* and its regulations see *ODB* 1991, 693; Mackelden, Ralles and Renieris 1838, 127-132.

¹²⁴ Jones 1973, 897.

¹²⁵ *Just. Nov.* 46.3 (537), '...ταῖς ἔξω χώραις αὐτὸν ἐφιστάντες μόνον, ἐν αἷς πολλή τις ἐστὶν ἀπορία χρημάτων, καθ' ἣν αἱ ἁγιώταται ἐκκλησίαι λύσαι διὰ χρημάτων τὰ ὀφλήματα οὐκ ἂν δυνηθεῖεν'.

be sold, using the price for the discharge of the debt, in order to prevent immovable property from being alienated.¹²⁶

During the fourth and fifth centuries large amounts of the lands of the Church were leased under open-ended, heritable, permanent *emphyteusis*, which effectively removed them from ecclesiastical control. Justinian forbade perpetual leases and restricted churches to temporary *emphyteusis*. Final relaxation came when all churches outside the diocese of Constantinople were allowed to lease under either temporary or perpetual *emphyteusis*.¹²⁷ In short, Novel 7 is mentioning the rules of handling the ecclesiastical property, Novel 120 being the fullest summary of the rules regarding alienation of ecclesiastical property, while Novel 131 summarises the privileges of the ecclesiastical lands.

Justinian also issued decrees for the regulation of the Church's economic administration by allowing the financial administrators of churches and their institutions to grant perpetual *emphyteutic* leases, after taking an oath before the bishop that the lease would not be detrimental to their finances.¹²⁸ Justinian's legislation also allowed the clergy to be tutors, guardians and administrators of philanthropic institutions.¹²⁹

Through the imperial constitutions, Justinian supported the role of the bishop in supervising all the religious institutions of his diocese and allowed them to accept legacies and to receive inheritances,¹³⁰ and he extended certain exemptions from taxes to the estates of

¹²⁶ *Just. Nov.* 120 (544), 'Ἄδειαν τοίνυν δίδομεν τοῖς εἰρημένοις εὐαγέσιν οἰκοῖς μὴ μόνον πρόσκαιρον ἐμφύτευσιν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων τῶν αὐτοῖς προσηκόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διηνεκῶς ταῦτα ἐμφυτευτικῶ δικαίῳ τοῖς βουλομένοις διδόναι... Περί δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐκτηρίοις οἰκοῖς ἐν οἰωδήποτε τόπῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας κειμένοις...ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς δίδομεν...πωλεῖν ἢ χωνεύειν καὶ ὁμοίως πιπράσκειν, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν εἰς τὸ χρέος παρέχειν, ὥστε μὴ τὰ ἀκίνητα πράγματα ἐκποιεῖσθαι.'

¹²⁷ Jones 1964, 897.

¹²⁸ *Just. Nov.* 120.6 (544).

¹²⁹ *Just. Nov.* 123.5.6 (546).

¹³⁰ For the role of the bishop see more specifically *Just. Nov.* 123 (546).

the Church, of its institutions and of monasteries.¹³¹ At the same time, he tried to protect the churches and the institutional foundations by forbidding alienation of any church property and by strictly defining the percentage of the estates, which bishops or administrators could lease, and the terms of such leases.¹³² Especially, by the time of Justinian's Novels, Roman law both favoured and protected the estates of Christian philanthropic institutions with certain immunities.¹³³

On the one hand it seems that the state is protecting the institutional Church by being in favour of the Church and its institutions and on the other hand it allows selling their movable and immovable property in order to pay off their debts including their public debts, in cash. I believe that this is a new dimension in the relationship of the Church and the state. At a time when the state needs money it takes it from those institutions that it helped and whose establishment it had financed. The Church therefore had indirectly to assist the state and that might be one of the explanations for the industrialisation of the centres of the towns, that begun from the Church and its institutions. And in order to be able to do that the state had to assist the Church with laws. Because at a time that the Church did not have financial assistance from the state, the latter needed to create and allow the conditions that would made it possible for the Church not only to pay public debts but also to cover its own expenses for its maintenance and for its institutional activities. From this point of view it is essential that the Church had to invest in its own land and property.

More specifically this was an opportunity for the Church to become autonomous. Although this is an issue that needs further examination, it can be observed that the Church showed a spirit of cooperation rather than of being repressed by the state in obeying its laws.

¹³¹ *Just. Nov.* 131.5 (545); *Just. Edict* 13.10 (539); *Cod. Just.* 10.16.12 (424).

¹³² *Just. Nov.* 7 (535); 120 (544).

¹³³ Justinian's enactments in relation to Christian philanthropic institutions are well explored by Miller 1985, passim, but especially 101-104.

What is more, the interrelation that was evolving between the Church and the state leaves a hint that the establishment of the institutional Church, which was in many instances respected and protected by the state as a public organisation, was the outcome of this interrelation rather than the outcome of a mere religious initiative. Most importantly however, Justinian is claiming the payment of the debts to be made in cash.¹³⁴ The issuing of the decrees allowing the alienation of the Church's property was mainly because Justinian was in need of cash, and because the only institution that was able to assist the state and simultaneously to preserve the monetary economy, was the Church.

It seems therefore that the evidence from the Novels of Justinian raises more issues for exploration than it gives answers. In contrast to the implementation of these laws about the Church's investment in the landed property (reflected, I argue, in the material evidence of the workshops adjacent to churches throughout the Empire), the spirit of cooperation between the 'Holy Churches' of the provinces and the state was not of the same kind. From the point of view of his control over the Church and his views on doctrinal questions the distinction scholars make about his behaviour towards the Popes of Rome and the Patriarchs of Constantinople is interesting.¹³⁵ The Popes appeared to succeed in liberating themselves from bondage to the emperors of Byzantium, while the Patriarchs of Constantinople were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the Emperor and were therefore always constrained to do his bidding.¹³⁶ On the other hand this reaction of the Popes was responsible for separatism from Byzantium.¹³⁷ The early hints for separatism in the reign of Justinian did not have religious reasons but rather economic. The fact that the Patriarchs of Constantinople did not actively seek independence from the Emperor could also be understood as a sign that they

¹³⁴ *Just. Nov.* 46.3 (537).

¹³⁵ Anastos 1964; Richards 1979, 476-752; Economou 2007, 590-752.

¹³⁶ Anastos 1964.

¹³⁷ Economou 2007, 590-752.

were simply in collaboration with the Emperor. The Emperor needed and even used the Church, but the Church also needed the Emperor in giving privileges and establishing the Nicene faith in all the provinces. This mutual need, I believe, has been well described by Peter Sarris who states that the growing Christianisation of the imperial office strengthened the tie between Emperor and subject in a more effective way than was possible through secular expressions of imperial authority, and this could only work if his subjects were Christians.¹³⁸

Efforts to restore the unity of the Church and improve the moral character of his subjects were also associated with a determined effort to reposition the figure of the emperor within the conceptual framework of orthodox Christianity. But apart from religious and political liberation we should imagine that the Popes undoubtedly sought economic liberation from the Emperor too.

The relationship between the Emperor and the Popes is far more important in order to understand the case of Greece in this intermixture of state and Church. Albeit the transfer of Illyricum to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople happened later than the reign of Justinian, in the first half of the eighth century, at his time it was actually only technically under the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope.¹³⁹ By claiming religious issues such as the ‘three chapters’ and the edicts of the ‘theopaschite formula’ they started to ignore and misunderstood one another, and begun to go separate ways.¹⁴⁰ That added to the disastrous impact of the division of the Empire along geographical lines due to the tensions between Constantinople and outlying regions and cities. This was especially apparent in the great doctrinal controversies over Christology, with the Oriental provinces, Egypt, Palestine and Syria leaning towards heresies such as Donatism, Monophysitism, Marcionism among others,

¹³⁸ Sarris 2006, 200-227.

¹³⁹ Anastos 1957, 14-31, argues that the transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the jurisdiction of Patriarchate of Constantinople happened in the 732-733 while Grumel 1952, in 748-752.

¹⁴⁰ Anastos 1964; Anastos 2001; Calhoun and Lindbeck 2011, 279-321; Caraher 2014, 160-164.

and Asia Minor and the Balkans pulling in the opposite direction.¹⁴¹ It is important for the study of the material evidence of the institutional Church in Greece to stress that Greece was not decisively affected nor from heresies neither from the Papal struggle for independence and it therefore needs to be studied under the influence of the interconnectedness between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Imperial authority.

II/B. Canon Law¹⁴²

Canon 38 of the Council in Trullo states remarkably that ‘the organisation of churches is to follow upon the refoundation of a city’ and that ‘if by imperial authority any city has been renovated or shall have been refounded, the organisation of ecclesiastical affairs shall follow the pattern of civil and state organisation.’¹⁴³ This Canon demonstrates that the organisation of the institutional Church happens in accordance with the state’s organisation and at the same time the fact that the organisation of the Church follows the refoundation of a city makes apparent that the institutional Church is considered as a public institution, and that it developed in a spirit of cooperation and strong affiliation between them.¹⁴⁴

The Church’s Canons and regulations were protected by Novel 131, where Justinian is making clear his intention to support the doctrinal decrees of the first four Councils in the same way as the laws of the state were approved.¹⁴⁵ This actually shows the need of the state to be involved in the ecclesiastical affairs and reciprocally the need to involve the Church in secular affairs. The validity that the decrees of the ecclesiastical Canons gained is the key to

¹⁴¹ For the different heresies in the provinces see Jones 1964, 950-956.

¹⁴² For the Apostolic Canons and the Canons of the Oecumenical Councils see: Ralles and Potles 1852.

¹⁴³ *C. Trullo*, Can. 38 ‘Εἰ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὐθις καινισθεῖη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων τάξις ἀκολουθεῖτω.’

¹⁴⁴ The foundation of Justiniana Prima, which has been distinctively characterised as ‘small, fortified, Christian and imperial’, see Zanini 2003, 214.

¹⁴⁵ *Just. Nov.* 131.1 (545).

explore the efficiency of their enactment in relation to the material evidence for the institutional Church.

But in order to have a thorough understanding of the Early Christian ecclesiastical affairs, it is implicit that the evidence of the institutional Church presented in the conciliar Canons and their interconnectedness with the secular law be exploited.¹⁴⁶ The philanthropic, industrial and pilgrimage aspects of the institutional Church have been regulated as disciplinary matters by the conciliar Canons, whether oecumenical or local. On the other hand secondary sources on Byzantine Church institutions are limited and mostly refer to the philanthropic character of the Church. Constantelos' *Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare*, Miller's *The birth of the hospital in the Byzantine Empire* and *The orphans of Byzantium* as well as Herrin's *Ideals of charity, realities of welfare: the philanthropic activity of the Byzantine Church* and Hordens' *Poverty, charity and the invention of the hospital*¹⁴⁷ underline the fact that apart from a handful efforts the academic world has shown little concern about the Church's institutions except for monastic institutions.¹⁴⁸ These works, although they study aspects of the Early Christian and Byzantine institutional Church, do not study the historical evidence in accordance with the material evidence. This is rather underlying the fact that the three aspects of the institutional Church mentioned above, the pilgrimage, the philanthropic and the industrial have never been linked together before. Therefore, in this subsection, issues regarding mostly economic matters of the Church that concerned the first six Oecumenical Councils will be studied until the Council in Trullo –

¹⁴⁶ The literal interaction between the ecclesiastical and civil law can be described for example at Canon 30 of the Council of Laodicea, that forbids any of the priestly or clerical order, or any Christian whatever, or layman, to wash in a bath with women. In accordance to this, Justinian's Novel 22.16.1 allows a husband to divorce his wife if she bathes with men.

¹⁴⁷ Constantelos 1968; Miller 1985; 2003; Herrin 1990; Horden 2012.

¹⁴⁸ The evidence of monastic institutions, is well explored, especially in Egypt, as is shown in Chapter I, but in Greece, there is no archaeological evidence of monastic institutions during the Early Christian period.

which are included within the first seven Councils approved by the Orthodox Church.¹⁴⁹

Early on, the Apostolic Constitutions regulated the economic affairs of the Church in relation to charity. The bishops and their deacons directed the local churches' charitable functions, collecting from the richer Christians and distributing to the poorer. Also the bishops were supposed to look after the sick among their flock in fulfillment of Christian command.¹⁵⁰ Although the Apostolic Constitutions condemned the clergy's secular professions of a political and civic administrative nature, those in charge of philanthropic institutions and charitable organizations and those engaged in teaching were excluded from the provisions of the Canons.

Church legislation provided for the erection of the first philanthropic institutions, such as hospitals, houses for the poor and the elderly, orphanages, and similar establishments called distinctively 'ἐὐαγεῖς οἴκοι'. Canon 70 of a corpus of eighty Arabic Canons attributed to the first Council of Nicaea (325) advised that hospitals should be erected in every city of the Empire¹⁵¹ while Canons 8 and 10 of the Council of Chalcedon (451) were issued in order to maintain good administration of the existing institutions, namely *xenôns* (hostels) *ptôchotropheia* (foodbanks) and others.¹⁵² Local bishops were concerned with the establishment or maintenance of existing philanthropic institutions. They placed the orphans, the widows, the strangers in want, and others in need of help under the philanthropic care of priests and deacons. These bishops were bound by the Church law to do charitable works. Bishops' humanitarian policies, which have been well illustrated by Constantelos, sprang

¹⁴⁹ For the Canons, explanation and history of the Oecumenical Councils, see Ralles and Potles 1852; Schaff and Wace vol. 14, 1886-1900; Hefele and Leclercq 1907-1952; Joannou 1962.

¹⁵⁰ *Const. Apost.* 4.2-3.

¹⁵¹ For the captions of the Arabic Canons attribute to the first Council of Nicaea see Schaff and Wace 1886-1900, vol.14, 116-127.

¹⁵² *C. Chalcedon*, Can. 8, 'Οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων, καὶ μοναστηρίων, καὶ μαρτυρίων...'; Can. 10, '...Εἰ μὲν τοι ἤδη τις μετετέθη ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλην ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲν τοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἐκκλησίας, ἦτοι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μαρτυρίων, ἢ πτωχείων, ἢ ξενοδοχείων ἐπικοινωνεῖν πράγμασιν...'

initially from the ‘spiritual intentions of *philanthropia* to please God, to manifest a love of mankind, and to achieve absolution for their practitioners’;¹⁵³ These acted as a motivation to engage in the administration and organisation of the Church’s institutions according to the literature of the Church. The Christian model of philanthropy was a novel in the Graeco-Roman world where the traditional classical pattern of *euergetism*, according to which the rich shared their wealth not with the poor but with their fellow citizens, prevailed.¹⁵⁴

The Early Church Canons issued by the first four oecumenical and other local councils were incorporated into the Canon Law of the Byzantine Church and were valid throughout the Byzantine era. Many of these Canons were ratified by the Council in Trullo (692). The Quinisext Council also called Council in Trullo (692) addressed matters of discipline (as a supplement to the 5th and 6th councils) and ethics.¹⁵⁵ Many of the Canons of the Council in Trullo were reiterations of previously passed canons. The Church held this council to be part of the Fifth (Second Council in Constantinople (553) and Sixth (Third Council in Constantinople (680-681) Oecumenical Councils, with the addition of these Canons.¹⁵⁶ Various rulings also reflect on general everyday conduct including the Church’s behaviour, such as the Canon against stabling animals in churches except in cases of dire need¹⁵⁷ or the Canon forbidding love feasts to take place inside the church.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Constantelos 1968, 70-87.

¹⁵⁴ For a selection of papers on *euergetism* and municipal patronage see Lomas and Cornell 2003.

¹⁵⁵ The Oecumenical status of this council was repudiated by the western churches.

¹⁵⁶ Hefèle and Leclercq 1909, III, 560-578.

¹⁵⁷ *C. Trullo*, Can. 88.

¹⁵⁸ *C. Trullo*, Can. 74.

II/B.1 Regarding lending at interest, the management of the economic affairs of the Church and the translation of bishops

The first ‘Holy and Oeumenical Council’, held in Nicaea in 325, condemned Arianism, defined the divinity of Christ and composed the first part of the Creed. Its Canons dealt with on the regulation of economic affairs of the Church. The dishonest gain of the clergy, by either receiving usury either as a direct business or by some indirect contrivance, was condemned.¹⁵⁹ Interesting is the term ‘*hemioliae*’ (ἡμιολίαι) that is used to define a sum equal to half the principal as interest. Even worse, however, he who was to receive interest at the hundred and fifty per cent should be deposed.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, according to Canon 4 of the Synod of Laodicea (circa 365) it was not right for persons belonging to the priesthood to act as usurers, and take interest, including that, which is called *hemioliae*.¹⁶¹

Also of relevance to this, the third Council of Carthage forbade any African cleric who lent anything to receive back more than his loan.¹⁶² The Council of Tarragona (516) declared that any cleric who accepted money for assistance in a lawsuit (freewill gifts to the Church excepted) should be dealt with in the same way as an exactor of interest.¹⁶³ Canon 10 of the Council in Trullo also stated that no priest was to receive interest or one-per-cent charges. If any bishop or presbyter or deacon received interest or the so-called one-per-cent charges,¹⁶⁴ he should cease, or he should be deposed.

The fourth ‘Holy and Oeumenical Council’, held in Chalcedon in 451, affirmed two-natures in Christ. A phrase in Canon 3 prohibited lay occupations, mainly management of

¹⁵⁹ *C. Nicaea*, Can. 17.

¹⁶⁰ *C. Nicaea*, Can. 27.

¹⁶¹ *C. Laodicea*, Can. 4.

¹⁶² *C. Carthage*, Can. 16.

¹⁶³ *C. Tarragona*, Can. 10.

¹⁶⁴ This is known as ‘ἐκατοστὰς’. For its explanation see Ralles and Potles 1852, II, 151.

lay estates, because it had been observed that some of those who were enrolled in the clergy did, for a dishonest gain, become the fiscal farmers of the landed properties of others, and undertook the management of the property of secular persons. According to the Council, no one should either farm possessions, or involve himself into the administration of secular affairs. The only reason allowing him to act like that was, perhaps, that he be unavoidably called by the laws to be the guardian of legal minors; or unless the bishop of the city should delegate him to manage the affairs of the Church, or of orphans and widows who were unprovided for, or of those persons who were most in need of the help of the Church.¹⁶⁵

Canon 2 of the Council of Chalcedon was against any bishop making an ordination for money, of any who is reckoned in the clergy or promoting for money any one belonging to the clerical estate, mentioning specifically an *oikonomos* or *ekdikos*, or *paramonarios*.¹⁶⁶ All these ranks, especially that of an *oikonomos* (fiscal officer), were directly related with the management of economic affairs of the Church and they played a key role in providing a healthy administration of the Church properties that is also recorded in various Early Christian inscriptions from Greece.¹⁶⁷ Therefore it was agreed that every church that had a bishop should also have an *oikonomos* from among its own clergy, who should be responsible for the management of the Church's business under the sanction of his own bishop.¹⁶⁸

Canon 23 of the Council in Trullo, which incorporates regulations regarding the Holy Communion, states that of those who give Communion, neither bishop, nor presbyter, nor

¹⁶⁵ C. Chalcedon, Can. 3.

¹⁶⁶ Lampe 1961, 943-944, defines 'οἰκονόμος' as steward, an ecclesiastical administrator, local official having charge of revenues and property; 427, defines 'ἐκδικος' as a legal representative, public advocate of Church; 1022, defines 'παρμονάριος' as an ecclesiastical office, administrator, guardian.

¹⁶⁷ Varalis 2000, 515-516.

¹⁶⁸ C. Chalcedon, Can. 26 'Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς περιηγήθημεν, δίχα οἰκονόμων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά χειρίζουσι πράγματα, ἔδοξε πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσαν, καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου σκορπίζεσθαι τὰ αὐτῆς πράγματα, καὶ λοιδόριαν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ προστρίβεσθαι.'

deacon, are to exact from the recipient money or any payment whatsoever in return for the Communion.¹⁶⁹

There is also evidence for the clergy running or managing parts of poor houses, monasteries and *martyria*, and regulations that they should be in accordance with the tradition of the Holy Fathers, under the authority of the bishops of the respective cities. Canon 76 of the Council in Trullo for example punishes with excommunication anyone who keeps a tavern, displays victuals, or does commerce within sacred precincts, thus preserving the reverence due to churches.¹⁷⁰ Jesus commanded people ‘*make not my Father’s house a marketplace*’ and he poured out the changers’ money and drove away those who profaned the temple.¹⁷¹

Not only none of the priesthood, from presbyters to deacons, and so on in the ecclesiastical order to subdeacons, readers, singers, exorcists, doorkeepers, or any of the class of the ascetics, ought to enter a tavern¹⁷² but also Canon 9 of the Council in Trullo forbids clerics to keep a tavern, since if one was not permitted to enter a tavern, then it was even more inadmissible to serve others.¹⁷³

Since the Council of Nicaea the translation of the bishops was prohibited and no bishop, neither presbyter, nor deacon could pass from city to city but they should be sent back if they attempted to do so, to the churches in which they were consecrated.¹⁷⁴ Canon 16 of the council of Sardica (343) refers to a special problem that affected the Church of Thessalonica: ‘Aetius complained to the Synod that this large city attracted numbers of presbyters and deacons from other communities, and that they either made Thessalonica their place of

¹⁶⁹ C. Trullo, Can. 23.

¹⁷⁰ C. Trullo, Can. 76, “Ὅτι οὐ χρή ἔνδον τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων καπηλεῖον, ἢ τὰ διὰ βρωμάτων εἶδη προτιθέναι, ἢ ἑτέρας πράξεις ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ σεβάσμιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας φυλάσσοντας.”

¹⁷¹ John 2: 14-16.

¹⁷² C. Ancyra, Can. 24.

¹⁷³ C. Trullo, Can. 9.

¹⁷⁴ C. Nicaea, Can. 15.

permanent residence or were compelled to return to their own churches only with great difficulty'.¹⁷⁵ It is quite possible that due to the greater opportunities offered in Thessalonica due to its evolution into a pilgrimage centre, the clergy in question desired to become permanently attached to the Church of that city. Unauthorised translations by presbyters and deacons had previously been forbidden by the Canons of a number of councils and in accordance with this the Council in Syrian Antioch (341) decreed that a bishop, even if compelled by the people, and compelled by the bishops, must not be translated to another see.¹⁷⁶ This canon can be compared with the Apostolic Canon 15 which states that, 'A bishop is not to be allowed to leave his own parish, and pass over into another, although he may be pressed by many to do so, unless there be some proper cause constraining him'.

However because obviously there was frequently observed among bishops the attitude of leaving their own bishopric and going to another, Canon 8 of the Council of Chalcedon does not let them do so. A following Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, Canon 10, states additionally that if any of the clergy has been transferred from one church into another, he should not be associated with the belongings of the former church, – that is, the *martyrion*, or poor house, or hostel which is under it.¹⁷⁷ This Canon reveals the reason for the translation of the clergy that they wished to participate in the profitable institutions of the Church. The sanctity and evolution of *martyria* was protected early on by Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra (circa 340) from those who from haughty disposition and antipathy condemned the

¹⁷⁵ C. *Sardica*, Can. 16, 'Ἀέτιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅποια καὶ πηλίχη τυγχάνει ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων μητρόπολις. Πολλάκις τοιγαροῦν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐτέρων ἐπαρχιῶν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι παραγίνονται, καὶ οὐκ ἀρκούμενοι βραχέος διαγωγῇ χρόνου, ἐναπομένουσι, καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον αὐτόθι ποιοῦντες διατελοῦσι, ἢ μόλις μετὰ πλείστον χρόνον εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπανιέναι ἐκκλησίας ἀναγκάζονται'; See also Hess 1958.

¹⁷⁶ C. *Antioch*, Can. 21.

¹⁷⁷ C. *Chalcedon*, Can. 8, 10.

assemblies of the martyrs (i.e. those held in their honour), or the services conducted in them, and their memories (or ‘commemorations’).¹⁷⁸

Justinian associated the acquisition of wealth only with churches, later however Heraclius in Novel 24 included orphanages, hospitals, and other religious houses.¹⁷⁹ Evidently, the growing wealth of these institutions made virtually all of them magnets for clerics.

II/B.2 Regarding the property of the Church, the offerings and philanthropy

The Council of Ancyra (314) concerned with the reclaiming of the property of the Church, which was sold by the presbyters when there was no bishop, and left it to the discretion of the bishop whether or not to receive the purchase price.¹⁸⁰ However, all the clergy were cognizant of ecclesiastical matters so that when the bishop died the Church preserved her own goods; but what belonged to the bishop should be disposed of according to his will.¹⁸¹

If although the bishop had power over ecclesiastical goods, he should not be content with those things, which are sufficient for him, and if he alienated the goods and revenues of the Church without the advice of the clergy, penalties should be exacted from him in the presence of the Council. And the same would happen, in the case where he converted to his own uses what was given for the poor.¹⁸²

Canon 25 of the Council in Syrian Antioch (341) gives evidence of the bishop having power over the property of the Church so as to distribute it to all who are in need, but is not allowed to convert the Church revenue to his own use, and not to manage the income of the

¹⁷⁸ *C. Gangra*, Can. 20.

¹⁷⁹ *Just. Nov.* 3.2 (535); See also discussion in Zeisel 1975, 220-221.

¹⁸⁰ *C. Ancyra*, Can. 15.

¹⁸¹ *C. Ancyra*, Can. 24.

¹⁸² *C. Antioch*, Can. 25.

Church or rent (agricultural produce) of the farms without the consent of the priests or the deacons, as well as the possibility of the bishop or the priests that are with him be defamed, as carrying off for themselves what belongs to the Church.¹⁸³

The Council of Gangra condemned anyone who gave or received offerings, except the bishop and the *oikonomos* appointed to disburse charities.¹⁸⁴ In the same way anyone who spurns those who invite to the *agape* is condemned, and who, when invited, will not communicate with these.¹⁸⁵ A clergyman invited to an *agape* (love feast) was not allowed to carry anything away with him; for this would bring his clerical order into shame. The taking away of the remains of the *agape* was here forbidden, because, on the one hand, it showed covetousness, and, on the other, was perhaps considered a profanation.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, couches were forbidden to be set up in churches, as well as love feasts to be held there.¹⁸⁷ Canons 27 and 28 of the Council of Laodicea (364) restricted these abuses. The Third Council of Carthage (393) reiterated this legislation, which prohibited feasting in churches, and the Council in Trullo (692) decreed that honey and milk were not to be offered on the altar, and that those who held love feasts in churches should be excommunicated.¹⁸⁸

The prohibition itself, however, given here, as well as in the preceding Canon, prove that as early as the time of the Synod of Laodicea, many irregularities had crept into the *agape*. Canon 74 of the Council in Trullo repeated this rule word for word: that no one is to eat inside a sacred building; no one is to hold the so-called *agape* in churches, nor to eat nor to make up banqueting couches inside the sacred house.

¹⁸³ *C. Antioch*, Can. 25.

¹⁸⁴ *C. Gangra*, Can. 8.

¹⁸⁵ *C. Gangra*, Can. 11.

¹⁸⁶ *C. Laodicea*, Can. 27.

¹⁸⁷ *C. Laodicea*, Can. 28.

¹⁸⁸ *C. Carthage*, Can. 3; *C. Trullo*, Can. 57, 74, “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς Κυριακοῖς, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, τὰς λεγόμενας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐσθίειν, καὶ ἀκκούβιτα στρωννύειν.”

Regarding philanthropy, the evidence of *chorepiscopi* in the Canons of Oecumenical Councils state that they were appointed after the pattern of the Seventy to act as fellow-servants, and should be devoted to the poor.¹⁸⁹ It is clear that their chief ministry of the *chorepiscopi* was thought to be the care of the poor, and their devotion to the poor could imply the philanthropic activity of the institutional Church in the rural settlements. Rural bishops, however were progressively reduced and replaced by itinerant inspectors although the former were still recorded up to the sixth century.¹⁹⁰

Instructions and regulations on handling economic matters were as early as the appearance of Christianity, showing undoubtedly how thin was the line between spirituality and secularity and how prone were the subjects to divergence. The instructions in the Apostolic Canons and in the Old and New Testament concerned later the 'Holy Synods', whether oecumenical or local, that adopted Canons for the good governance of the Church. Worth mentioning is that the civil legislation was also concerned with the ecclesiastical matters and sometimes, there can be observed a disagreement between the same civil and ecclesiastical legislation, especially regarding punishment; the civil penalty was usually a fine while the ecclesiastical was usually deposition, as for example regarding clerics who ran secular businesses.

It is evident that the sunshine of the new era had produced a crop of secularity within the Church. The clergy tried to make profits from lending money at interest, and putting on sale the grace of the Church's holy mysteries. The sees in great towns had become lures to ecclesiastical ambition. The only reason the Church was allowed to be involved in the administration of secular affairs, with the civil law's and to the bishop's permission, was for

¹⁸⁹ *C. Neocaesarea*, Can. 14, 'Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι, εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὡς δὲ συλλειτουργοί, διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς προσφέρουσι τιμώμενοι'; *C. Antioch*, Can. 9, 'Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους'.

¹⁹⁰ *C. Laodicea*, Can. 57; Jones 1964, 879.

philanthropic purposes. However, the Church's institutions, the poor houses, the hostels and the *martyria* mentioned in the Canons above would have attracted endowments and donations that made them wealthy. The clergy therefore – that were often accused of using the profits of the philanthropic institutions for themselves – wished to be transferred to churches with wealthier institutions, something that the Canons did not allow.

It can therefore be observed that some bishops had been managing their churches' properties without *oikonomoi* and thereupon, as it is explicitly stated in Canon 26 of the Council of Chalcedon, every Church which has a bishop shall also have an *oikonomos* chosen from among its own clergy, to administer the property of the Church under the direction of its own bishop.¹⁹¹

Among the properties of the Church it is clearly stated that the agricultural possessions, which can be connected with the functions of the workshops attached to the basilicas, were destined especially for the production of olive oil and wine. But according to the Canons, the clergy owned not only farms but also taverns, and permitted commerce within sacred precincts, or eating inside a sacred building. The assumption that after the prohibition of these activities taking place inside the church (especially eating in the church, practising *agape* or charitable feasts) by the Oecumenical Councils, they moved to the annexes where there is plenty evidence of a domestic character; this would make very interesting a revised approach to the Early Christian ecclesiastical architecture.

However, it should be stressed that although the Council of Chalcedon condemned the administration of farm possessions by the Church as profitable, on the other hand the later Novels of Justinian strongly recommended (indirectly) the function of workshops for the processing of agricultural products in order for the Church to pay back its debts to the state.

¹⁹¹ C. Chalcedon, Can. 26.

Therefore, I believe, it is not a coincidence that we find industrial establishments like olive oil presses or wine presses attached to churches in the reign of Justinian and not earlier.¹⁹²

The secularisation of the churches and their institutions obviously grew with their wealth and influence. But it should be stated that it was not the mere fact of secular employment, but the secularity of motive and of tone connected with it, that was condemned in the Canons.

II/C. The relevance of the literature of the Church

Before we explore the material evidence of the secularisation of the churches and their institutions it is important to show how and in what ways Christian ideology, including economic ideology, percolated down through the flock. The relation of the literature of the Church to archaeology, art, and architecture is usually expressed via the study of Christian symbols whose analysis belongs primarily to the discipline of theology. Behind the literature of the Church that contributed to the formation of the services in the churches of Eastern Illyricum is therefore hiding the theology of the Orthodox Church. It is crucial to watch how the Church has interpreted and incorporated symbolisms into the practice of faith by using aspects of theology, as it will eventually be possible to comprehend the ways the Church interacted with the Christian population, the way it educated its flock and indoctrinated it with the notions and values of the Christian doctrine. For that reason, the Novels of Justinian state explicitly that all levels of the clergy should be well educated and according to this may also be interpreted an inscription naming a tutor (*παιδοτρίβης*) at the Basilica C at Phthiotic Thebes in Greece.¹⁹³ The most efficient but rather underestimated way for the Church to express its beliefs and to pass them to the Christian population was through its literature. The

¹⁹² See relevant evidence discussed in detail in chapters III and IV.

¹⁹³ *Just. Nov.* 6.4 (535); For a discussion on this inscription see Chapter III/C, 126-127.

Emperor also used the literature of the Church in order to communicate with his subjects and as a way to reflect his power too. The imperial power therefore was filtered through the power of the Church.

Aspects of theology have not been taken fully into account as an assistant discipline in Byzantine Studies unless scholars of the field have approached it with their own historical, archaeological or art-historical interest in order to decipher Early Christian symbolism. Scholars who study social welfare in Byzantium usually use the literature of the Church in their explanations and analysis of the Church's welfare institutions;¹⁹⁴ others use it to study the interaction between the ecclesiastical sermons and the faithful,¹⁹⁵ or to illustrate how the evolution of the Church services influenced the evolution of the ecclesiastical architecture,¹⁹⁶ or even to identify material evidence in relation to pilgrims, a *martyrion* or a *xenodocheion* respectively.¹⁹⁷

The study of the literature of the Church in relation to Christian archaeology in Greece, however, is something more as it underlines the political evolution of the Greek region directly involved with the capital. The Greek region was politically connected with Constantinople and although it was inevitably involved in religio-political turbulence it did not suffer decisively from heresies or from the Papal struggle for independence that would eventually cut it off from the influence of Constantinople. The theology of the Church of Constantinople as depicted in its literature incorporates Canons and decrees of oecumenical and local councils, like the Council in Trullo that was never accepted by the Papal authority.

Representative aspects of the Church's literature will offer the ground to argue that it served as the inspiration for the architectural evolution of the institutional Church. Depending

¹⁹⁴ For example, Constantelos 1968 and Miller 1981.

¹⁹⁵ Cunningham 1990, 29-46; Taft 2006.

¹⁹⁶ Varalis 2000.

¹⁹⁷ Pallas 1956, 164-178; Schneider 1929, 97-141.

on the way the literature of the Church is approached in relation to the material evidence of the ecclesiastical complexes, it is possible to bring one closer to the theology that is hidden beyond. Thus, the interpretation of the literature of the Church provides evidence of its relation to the Church institutions by acting as the doctrinal basis that was provided as educational material by the Church to its flock. The services themselves were the doctrinal and theological background that actually lay beyond the institutionalisation of the Church.

Admittedly, it was not possible for all people to be familiar with the numerous Canons and ecclesiastical laws, so instead the Church familiarised its flock with Christian notions and attitudes via the liturgical services and also via the religious architecture and decoration. That is why, according to Canon 17 of the Council in Trullo during the time of the service, some lessons would be interspersed with the psalms and because the lessons were of the utmost importance in the Church services; Canon 79 again of the Council in Trullo states that no psalms composed by private individuals nor from any uncanonical books should be read in the Church, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments. On the other hand Canon 75 of the same Council advises those who were assigned to sing the psalms to do so in a proper manner that would be clear to all without any noisy shouting.

The Church law therefore makes explicit the fact that it wished all people to understand the meaning of the texts in the services which incorporated texts from the Old and New Testament and provided special lessons in order to make the meaning of these texts to be clearly understood. Obviously, among the meaning of these texts lay also the foundations of the institutional activity of the Church whose material evidence has been found at the annexes of the Early Christian Greek basilicas.

The psalms, the poetical book of the Old Testament, was part of the cult from the first centuries of Christianity and served indeed as means of communication with the faithful in

diverse ways. Psalms and their symbolisms were used not only to depict the holy but also to educate as well as to enhance the faith of the Church subjects, to accompany the deceased (as shows an inscription from the psalms that has been found on a grave at Louloudies-Pierias),¹⁹⁸ but more interestingly as an inspiration for the symbolic iconography of churches and their institutional behaviour. In the process of being expressed as art (church decoration) and architecture (pilgrimage and charitable institutions) though, they were secularised.

In the same way the psalms were the inspiration for mosaic iconography, as for example the *chorion* depicted in the Ravenna mosaics,¹⁹⁹ or in several depictions of plantation, birds and animals in Early Christian mosaics.²⁰⁰ They were one of the instruments through which the philanthropic activity of the Church was motivated. The psalms by referring constantly to the poor and needy, remind one that God protects these people and that God will reward those who are assisting them. By providing evidence of the Church's conception of poor and those in need, the psalms served obviously as an inspiration for the philanthropic activity of the Church.²⁰¹

The psalms additionally provide evidence for the use of oil, wine, and bread, the three holy ingredients in the Church services: 'and wine makes glad the heart of man, to make his

¹⁹⁸ Marki 2008, 111.

¹⁹⁹ Psalm 90:13, You will tread on the lion and cobra. You will trample underfoot a young lion and a serpent (ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα).'

²⁰⁰ For example Psalm 103:16-17, 'The trees of the plain shall be full (of sap); (even) the cedars of Lebanon which he has planted' (χορτασθήσονται τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου, αἱ κέδροι τοῦ Λιβάνου, ἃς ἐφύτευσας); 'There the sparrows will build their nests; and the house of the heron takes the lead among them' (ἐκεῖ στρουθία ἐννοσσεύσουσι, τοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ ἡ οἰκία ἡγεῖται αὐτῶν).

²⁰¹ For example Psalm 40:1, Happy is the man who thinks on the poor and needy: the Lord shall deliver him in an evil day ('Μακάριος ὁ συνιῶν ἐπὶ πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα· ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πονηρᾷ ῥύσεται αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος'); 81:3-4, 'Judge the orphan and the poor: do justice to the low and needy. Rescue the needy, and deliver the poor out of the hand of the sinner' ('κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ καὶ πτωχῶ, ταπεινὸν καὶ πένητα δικαιοῦσατε· ἐξέλεσθε πένητα καὶ πτωχόν, ἐκ χειρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ ῥύσασθε αὐτόν').

face cheerful with oil, and bread strengthens man's heart'²⁰², and also to philanthropy: 'I will surely bless her provision: I will satisfy her poor with bread.'²⁰³

These ingredients can be related not only to the services of the Church but indirectly to the estates that belong to the Church and to the agricultural and industrial activity that the Church gradually developed regarding the production of olive oil, wine and bread. Psalms can also give evidence of the Church's regulations regarding economic matters, that agree with the enacted Canons and laws of the Church: 'He has not lent his money on usury, and has not received bribes against the innocent'.²⁰⁴

Additionally, aspects of the Old Testament reveal the practice of primitive offering traditions that underline the elevated role of the clergy that has preserved in the Early Christian times: 'the custom of the priests with the people was, when any man offered a sacrifice, the priest's servant would come with a three-pronged fork in his hand while the meat was being boiled and would plunge the fork into the kettle. Whatever the fork brought up the priest would take for him. This is how they treated all the Israelites who came to Shiloh.'²⁰⁵ These primitive offering traditions may also account for the evidence of preparation of meals for the clergy and for the poor that is attested at the annexes of the Greek basilicas. Primitive offering traditions, sermons on economic matters as well as metaphoric uses of the products of olive oil, wine and bread, give ground to consider that the psalms and the books of the Old Testament in general, can influence not only the mosaic decoration and the charitable education of the flock but also the architecture of the Church, especially that of

²⁰² Psalm 103:14-15, 'τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἄρτον ἐκ τῆς γῆς· καὶ οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἱλαρῦναι πρόσωπον ἐν ἐλαίῳ, καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει'.

²⁰³ Psalm 131:15, 'τὴν θύραν αὐτῆς εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω, τοὺς πτωχοὺς αὐτῆς χορτάσω ἄρτων'.

²⁰⁴ Psalm 14:5, 'τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ καὶ δῶρα ἐπ' ἀθώοις οὐκ ἔλαβεν.'

²⁰⁵ Kings A', 2:13-16: 'καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ παιδάριον τοῦ ἱερέως, ὡς ἂν ἠψήθη τὸ κρέας, καὶ κρεάγρᾳ τριόδους ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν λέβητα τὸν μέγαν ἢ εἰς τὸ χαλκεῖον ἢ εἰς τὴν χύτραν· καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν ἀνέβη ἐν τῇ κρεάγρᾳ, ἐλάμβανεν ἑαυτῷ ὁ ἱερεὺς· κατὰ τὰδε ἐποίουν παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ τοῖς ἐρχομένοις θῦσαι Κυρίῳ ἐν Σηλῶμ'.

the annexes.

More specifically oil presses and wine presses have quite strong scriptural models in the literature of the Church such as the Song of the Vineyard in Isaiah, Old Testament, and the parable in Mathew, New Testament. In the parable, Jesus starts talking about ‘a landowner who planted a vineyard and put a wall around it and dug a wine press in it, and built a tower and rented it out to vine-growers and went on a journey’²⁰⁶ in terms which are strongly reminiscent of the vineyard in Isaiah, in which was built a watchtower and cut out a wine press as well.²⁰⁷

But it is not only the evidence of the parable of Mathew from the New Testament. Christians stressed *agape* as the central virtue of their faith especially to the poor who were considered the heirs of His kingdom²⁰⁸ and emphasised the primacy of charity, such as the collection for the poor in the epistles of Paul²⁰⁹ and the importance of one earning his living²¹⁰ but not to become materialistic because riches are temporary²¹¹ and God who takes care even

²⁰⁶ Mathew 21:33: ‘...ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὅστις ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκε καὶ ὥρυξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνὸν καὶ ὠκοδόμησε πύργον, καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν’.

²⁰⁷ Isaiah 5:1-2: ‘...ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ἐν κέρατι, ἐν τόπῳ πίνοντι. 2 καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκε καὶ ἐχαράκωσα καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἀμπελον Σωρὴχ καὶ ὠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ προλήνιον ὥρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ’.

²⁰⁸ James 2:5, ‘Listen, my beloved brethren: Has God not chosen the poor of this world *to be* rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which He promised to those who love Him?’ (‘Ακούσατε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί. οὐχ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ κόσμου πλουσίους ἐν πίστει καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς βασιλείας ἧς ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν;).

²⁰⁹ 1 Cor 16: 1-4; Rom 15: 25-32; 2 Cor 8: 13-15, ‘Our desire is not that others might be relieved while you are hard pressed, but that there might be equality. At the present time your plenty will supply what they need, so that in turn their plenty will supply what you need. The goal is equality, as it is written: ‘The one who gathered much did not have too much, and the one who gathered little did not have too little’. (‘οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἄλλοις ἄνεσις, ὑμῖν δὲ θλίψις, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἰσότητος ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ τὸ ὑμῶν περισσεύμα εἰς τὸ ἐκείνων ὑστέρημα, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων περισσεύμα γένηται εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα, ὅπως γένηται ἰσότης, καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασε, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἡλαττόνησε’).

²¹⁰ Thesalonians 3:10, ‘He will not work, will not eat’, (τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω).

²¹¹ James 1: 9-11, ‘The brother in lowly circumstances should take pride in his high standing, and the rich one in his lowliness, for he will pass away “like the flower of the field.” For the sun comes up with its scorching heat and dries up the grass, its flower droops, and the beauty of its appearance vanishes. So will the rich person fade away in the midst of his pursuits’, (καυχάσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐν τῷ ὕψει αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ πλούσιος ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὡς ἄνθος χρότου παρλεῖται. ἀνέτειλε γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος σὺν τῷ καύσωνι καὶ ἐξήρανε τὸν χρότον, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε, καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀπώλετο. οὕτω καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ταῖς πορείαις αὐτοῦ μαρανθήσεται).

of the lilies of the field will take care of him too.²¹² On the other hand the pharisaic exercise of charity is strongly discouraged through the exemplary death of Ananias and Saphira, a couple who on their own incentive sold a piece of property for charity but kept back part of money for themselves.²¹³

The Church assumed a major portion of society's responsibility to assist the ones in need through Christian explorations to care for the fellows, as well as the frequent references in sermons and holy services to God's special concern for the ones in need, which motivated lay believers to contribute to existing charitable foundations.²¹⁴

The Church's philanthropic institutions emerged as the result of images employed in religious thought before social, economic and political forces provided the stimulus to exercise philanthropy on a continuous basis.²¹⁵ The Church offered through the ecclesiastical literature the healing of human pain by developing institutions to receive the poor, the sick, the orphans and all those in need. The Church's resonance as the prevalent social organisation has also been depicted in its central and imposing architectural position, which replaced the urban core of ancient town planning. The Church of Thessalonica's orphanages mentioned in the civil legislation (541) where people left their unwanted children is a good example. Philanthropy therefore has been the fruition of the Church's literature and evolved into an institutional activity when secular components became involved in the erection and maintenance of the necessary establishments.

Another source regarding philanthropy, worth noting here, is St. John Chrysostom's *Divine Liturgy*, which was (and still is) the most popular service throughout the Orthodox

²¹² Mathew 6:28, 'Why are you anxious about clothing? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow. They don't toil, neither do they spin', (καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μερμνᾶτε; καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει).

²¹³ Acts 5: 1-11.

²¹⁴ Miller 2002, 109, 140; Miller 1985, 50-53.

²¹⁵ The motives behind the philanthropic attitude in the Byzantine religious thought have been well explored by Constantelos 1968, 18-28, 29-41.

ecclesiastical year.²¹⁶ The service is educative as it contains prayers for philanthropy and hints for the activity of Church institutions: ‘For the safety of travelers by sea and land; and those who are lying ill’;²¹⁷ ‘for them that bring offerings and do good works in this holy and most venerable church’.²¹⁸

The Lives of the martyrs and saints that were incorporated in the liturgical services make up also part of the literature of the Church and their interpretation may shed light on the material evidence of *martyria* and pilgrimage sites. The tradition of excavating relics and establishing pilgrimage sites first started with the discovery of the ‘True Cross’ by the Empress Helena and gradually expanded to other sacred sites in relation to martyrs and holy men at the rest of the Empire.²¹⁹ According to martyrologies one may distinguish four prevalent places that are frequently stated as the places of martyrs’ humiliation and finally of their martyrdom and/or burial: public spaces such as the streets and the *agoras* of towns (e.g. the Life of hosiomartyr Andrew of Kriasi, 8th century: ‘...διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης περὶ πληθούσαν ἀγορὰν συρόμενος ἤγετο...κοπίδα μεκελλικὴν...θατέρου ποδὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ σώματος μέσου κατανεγκών, ἴστησι τε τὸν τῆς ἀθλήσεως τῷ μάρτυρι δρόμον...’).²²⁰ The baths (e.g. the Life of martyr Demetrius, Thessalonica, early 4th century: ‘...παρὰ τὸ στάδιον δημοσίου γειτνιῶντος βαλανείου, περὶ τὰς τῶν καμίνων φρουρεῖσθε καμάρας...λόγχαις αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτοῖς ἐν οἷς καθεῖρκετο διαφθαρεῖναι κελεύει...’).²²¹ The sea (e.g. The Life of martyr Leonidis, bishop of Athens, middle of the 3rd century: ‘...μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἁγίων τῷ βυθῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπερίφη’).²²² And

²¹⁶ St. John the Chrysostom was possibly inspired by earlier writers such as Clement of Alexandria (c. AD 150-215), who passed the insights of philanthropy on to the Byzantine Church (*Strom.* 7.1).

²¹⁷ Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, νοσοῦντων’.

²¹⁸ Ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ’.

²¹⁹ Frend 1996.

²²⁰ PG 115, 1125; *BHG* 3rd ed., 112.

²²¹ Delahaye 1909, 260-262; *BHG* 3rd ed., 496-497.

²²² PG 117, 406.

finally the outskirts of the town (e.g. the Life of martyr Cyril of Gortyna, Crete, end of 3rd-early 4th century: ‘ὅτε δὲ ἔφθασαν εἰς ἕναν τόπον ὀνομαζόμενον Ῥάζον...κλίνας τὸν λαμόν του ὑπὸ τὴν σπάθην ἀπεκεφαλίσθη...’).²²³

The most remarkable observation, however, that can be made while reading the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, is the names of the places where various martyrs were buried, are briefly described as: ‘notable place’ (ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ),²²⁴ ‘venerable place’ (ἐν τόπῳ σεμνῷ),²²⁵ ‘in the same place the martyrdom took place’ (ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἐτελειώθη),²²⁶ ‘in an empty memorial’ (ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ),²²⁷ ‘in a holy place’ (ἐν ἱερῷ τόπῳ),²²⁸ ‘in the same precinct’ (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ περιβόλῳ).²²⁹ These names may correspond partly to the four places of martyrdom and burial that are discussed above, the streets/agora, the baths, the sea, and the outskirts of the town, but most interestingly may match Soteriou’s statement that the Christians were burying their martyrs in visible parts of the towns, at the *agoras*, next to the churches, and even at the *heroa*, in order for the Christian town to honour the graves of the martyrs.²³⁰ After the peace of the Church, it was common for one or more basilicas and comparable *martyria* to be founded above the places associated with the graves or the martyrdom of local martyrs or bishops and these basilicas were called a *martyrion* too. An example of an identification of a martyr’s burial in a ‘holy place’ (ἐν τόπῳ ἱερῷ) could be the case of St. Achilleios, patron saint of Larisa, where it has been argued that the original

²²³ *Synaxaristes* 1868, II, 204.

²²⁴ *BHG* 3rd ed., I, 12, 64, 192; II, 72, 88, 321.

²²⁵ *BHG* 3rd ed., I, 167, 226, 256; II, 124, 219.

²²⁶ *BHG* 3rd ed., II, 116, 166, 210, 215.

²²⁷ *BHG* 3rd ed., II, 170.

²²⁸ *BHG* 3rd ed., I, 24.

²²⁹ *BHG* 3rd ed., II, 128.

²³⁰ Soteriou 1939, 39-49.

place of the burial was in a certain section of the cemetery *extra muros* which was designated as a 'holy place' because it was used exclusively by the Christian community.²³¹

I believe that the characterisation of the place of martyrs' burials is important information that needs to be taken into account in the identification, interpretation and study of the pilgrimage sites in Greece. In Greece, apart from a few well-studied Lives of saints, such as the Life and Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica,²³² there is only a small effort to benefit from the Lives of the Greek saints in relation to the excavated material evidence. In the absence of recorded evidence of the Lives of saints, the tradition and the *Synaxaristes* of the Church should also be taken into account, when possible. It is well known that Apostle Paul first brought Christianity to the geographical area corresponding to modern Greece, although the Church's apostolicity also rests upon St. Andrew, who preached the gospel in Greece and suffered martyrdom in Patras,²³³ and Luke the Evangelist who traditionally martyred in Thebes.²³⁴ The Apostle Paul's visits to several towns of Greece had been obviously a reason for establishing holy places for worship later on, as is the case of Philippi,²³⁵ while the relics of the Apostles, Andrew and Luke, were recalled to Constantinople from Patras and Boeotia respectively. There is also Titus, Paul's companion, who preached the gospel in Crete where he became bishop;²³⁶ Philip who, according to the tradition, visited and preached in Athens;²³⁷ and John the Theologian who was exiled on the island of Patmos where he received the Revelation recorded in the last book of the New Testament.²³⁸ On the other hand Greece had also accommodated Stylites, especially

²³¹ Karagiorgou 2001, 42, appendix II, 9.

²³² For the Life, Miracles and cult of St. Demetrius see Chapter II/C, 65, n. 221 and Chapter III/B.1, 78, n. 263.

²³³ *BHG* 3rd ed., I, 29-33; Saradi and Triantafyllopoulos 2013.

²³⁴ *BHG* 3rd ed., II, 57-60.

²³⁵ For Philippi see Chapter III/B.1, 87-89 and Chapter III/B.3, 112-113.

²³⁶ *BHG* 3rd ed., II, 306-307.

²³⁷ *BHG* 3rd ed., II, 202.

²³⁸ *BHG* 3rd ed., I, 23-34.

Dendrites,²³⁹ (the latter being of a higher level than the former in the hierarchy of the Church), such as Hosios Daniel at Thessalonica.²⁴⁰ Additionally there were many local saints and martyrs that contributed to the shaping of the topography of the towns and landscape by evolving gradually into pilgrimage sites. The literature of the Church including the Lives of the saints has created the background for the establishment and development of the Church's institutions in Greece, as have been recorded in the imperial and conciliar legislation.

The concept of an institutional Church appears early in the literature of the Church from the biblical times down to the Early Christian era and its orientation was initially of spiritual origin. However, the outcome of the depiction of the spiritual orientation of the Church's institutions in practice was inevitably to be gradually secularised. The spirituality of philanthropy, the veneration of martyrs and the Church's economic justice that were incorporated in the literature and in the services of the Church as shown above, soon resulted in the institutionalisation of the Church and became synonymous with economic affairs that the civil law and conciliar Canons wished, rather unsuccessfully, to stop.

²³⁹ Dendrites are monks who nested in the branches of trees.

²⁴⁰ *Synaxaristes* 1868, 235; Loenertz 1953; For the Dendrites in general see Charalampides 1995; For the archaeology of Stylites see Schachrer 2010, 329-398.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPRESSIONS OF THE DIVERSE NON-LITURGICAL FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN GREEK TOWNS: REASONS, MEANS AND CONSEQUENCES OF SECULARISATION

III/A. ‘Secular Christianity’: A contradictory term?

Secular Christianity, which has already been introduced in chapter I, although a contradictory term, is a term that I am using in order to be able to describe that part of Christianity that was not directly involved with liturgical services and worship, but with the activities of the institutional Church that involved socio-economic impacts in the everyday life of people in towns. In fact, the reason I am using this term, is in order to include the non-liturgical activities of the annexes that have been excavated in several churches in Greece, which, because of their storage, domestic, agricultural and industrial or other non-liturgical character, are considered secular and therefore not directly related with the liturgical function of the Church. The Church, on the other hand, apart from its liturgical function, had become an institution that demonstrated various secular characteristics from administrative and managerial professions²⁴¹ to the temporal needs of the pilgrims and of the Christian community in general; the demonstration of these activities was in practice secular and can be detected in the ancillary rooms of the Early Christian churches.

The approach of an institutional function of the churches’ annexes will help to show that the churches acted not only as the religious focal points of the towns but also that they actually contributed in the shaping of a uniform tradition based on both the liturgical function

²⁴¹ See Chapter III.C, 127-129 for relevant epigraphic evidence from Greece.

of the Church and on the social, economic, and political involvement in the life of towns through its institutional activity.

The Church, as a religious organisation, had certain morals and disciplines, whether they were followed or not, and as an institution had a certain strategy to familiarise its subjects with these conceptions and expressions and act not only as the social and spiritual epicentre of the everyday life of towns, but also, by involving itself in the market, as the economic epicentre, always with a political hint. Therefore, this is a chapter about interconnectedness, about how the spiritual and secular spheres interconnect with each other in mutually determinative ways, about how the worlds of economy and holiness are intertwined. It does not shy away from developing a different point of view of the objective of Christian archaeology nor from interpretations that arise because of it.

From my point of view, the spiritual world in the material evidence may be traced in the main body of the Church architecture while the earthly benefit of the Church was usually expressed through the institutional activities in the annexes. The most influential expression of secular Christianity was the Church's involvement in the economic life of the towns whether expressed via the pilgrimage character of the sites, the philanthropic character of the institutional Church, or the agricultural or industrial establishments associated with the properties of the Church. Although it may seem at first glance that the Church's institutional activities are associated only with the evolution of the Church, they actually influenced the economy of the whole town as the Church's profits formed part of an interaction scheme with the town's economy.

'Secular Christianity' therefore, describes everything that has to do with the Church, from material finds to notions that have a worldly value in the everyday life of people. When a workshop is excavated adjacent to a church as part of a religious complex, then despite the

fact that it is part of the ecclesiastical architecture it is however of secular origin. And even if the products of the workshop or the profits of it are to be given for the philanthropic mission of the Church, the means of doing so are secular.

I have traced similar conceptions of this idea expressed as a question: how does the physical world address the spiritual world? For instance an assumption about medieval pilgrimage was that the two worlds could come together at certain special places, where the powers of heaven were more easily tapped, either for earthly benefit or for aid in salvation.²⁴²

As already has been stated in Chapter I, the expressions of the secular Christianity in relation to the economic life of towns are both direct and indirect, and will be studied in three main categories: the institutions of the Church serving the pilgrimage practices, the philanthropic mission of the Church, and the Church's engagement in business. The Church, with its institutional activities, obtained characteristics of the core activities of the local society and gradually evolved to be the civic centre of the towns. Churches with their institutional annexes their yards and their open spaces, now constituted the focal points of the social and economic life of the Greek towns.

It has already been argued elsewhere that after AD 313 the veneration of martyrs developed into one of the main focuses of the Church's social and political organisation, and that bit by bit the marketplaces, baths, and gymnasia of the cities were abandoned as socio-political centres in favour of the cathedral,²⁴³ and that so much did the civic life come to centre on churches that the role played by the atria, where so many social activities took place, may have contributed to the decline of ancient civic centres.²⁴⁴ However, I believe that a combination of interacting dynamics should be taken into account before the Church is considered the reason that brought decline to the former public spaces. It should be noted

²⁴² Ousterhout 1990, 1.

²⁴³ Mentzos 2011, 48.

²⁴⁴ Lavan 2003, 325.

here, that the churches along with their annexes belong to the category of public religious buildings, something that as has been stated in chapter I, has not been made clearly up to now. Because ‘public’ is usually synonymous with ‘secular’, it has not been considered that the places of congregation of the state-protected and state-funded religion, Christianity, were of public use. In contrast, Justinian’s law condemns religious services that take place on private lands or the construction of private chapels and monasteries without the blessing from the local bishop.²⁴⁵ There was therefore a separation between public and private religious spaces. The churches that were constructed on public lands, in the centre of the towns, should be considered public too.²⁴⁶ Respectively, the different activities of the Church’s institutions that are mentioned in the imperial and ecclesiastical legislation in Chapter II, should also be found taking place in relation to churches in the centre of towns.

Presumably, churches were *not* the only cores of civic life, but they represented a major lively cell of the society that has been underestimated until now.²⁴⁷ Should someone be a Christian in order to use this civic space? We should imagine that the majority of the population was Christian at least by the time of Justinian,²⁴⁸ but again, I do not believe that we should create a label of ‘Christian civic space’ because of the Church. In many instances the predominance of the Church’s architecture in the public spaces of the towns was at the state’s initiative, which also involved political reasons, as depicted in the reconstruction of the walls of the towns to which the state intentionally gave a religious character according to relevant mural inscriptions from the Greek towns.²⁴⁹ Was all the population that the town’s walls enclosed Christian? Obviously not, but the state’s expression of monumental public

²⁴⁵ *Just. Nov.* 131, 7-8.

²⁴⁶ See Karivieri’s argument on the erection of the tetraconch in Athens in public land, Karivieri 1994, 112.

²⁴⁷ Other civic cores were shops and marketplaces, see Morrisson 2012; Lavan 2006, 195-249; 2012, 337-377; Zisimou 2008 (unpublished MPhil(B) thesis).

²⁴⁸ Cameron 2011, 36.

²⁴⁹ Caraher 2014, 159-165; See Chapter III/C, 123-124 for epigraphic evidence from the walls of Greek towns.

architecture, including the erection of churches and the reconstruction of walls, was a policy according to which, as has been stated in the introductory chapter, the state wished to establish its political domination over a culture united by Christianity, and that was the tradition it promoted and protected. On the other hand the early evidence of merchants in the yards of the churches or the involvement of the Church in the market or the *panygereis* for the commemoration of the martyrs, and the impact of pilgrimage in general upon the economy of the towns, were opportunities for all to make profit; that had far more than the religious purpose that one should imagine of a Christian civic space, and that was also condemned in the conciliar Canons.

The accumulation of crowds in the Church's annexes that can be related with the function of its institutions, demonstrate similar characteristics with the accumulation of crowds in the former public spaces, e.g. the *fora* and *agoras*. Such similarities can be traced in certain architectural examples from door thresholds that are found in the annexes of the Early Christian basilicas in Greece. The most remarkable evidence in this respect comes from the annexes of the Basilica B or basilica of Alkison at Actia Nikopolis. Alexandros Filadelfeus, one of the first excavators of the Basilica B at Nikopolis in the early twentieth century, names the annexes of this basilica as the Institution of Alkison (*Ἰδρυμα Ἀλκίσωνος*) due to a mosaic inscription that mentions the name of a bishop Alkison that was found in one of the rooms of the basilica's annexes.²⁵⁰ The inscription actually mentions a certain bishop Alkison who built everything from foundation. Filadelfeus regarded this to be an ecclesiastical institution, whether an ecclesiastical school or an episcopal complex [Fig.1a/b]²⁵¹ As far as I know it is one of the unique times that an archaeologist in Greece is identifying an annex with a Church institution and names it as such, although of obscure

²⁵⁰ Filadelfeus 1924, 26.

²⁵¹ Filadelfeus 1924, 26.

exact function. Undoubtedly the annexes of the basilica would be important enough in order for the bishop to commemorate their foundation in a mosaic inscription (dated to the fifth or early sixth century), especially when this kind of inscriptions are usually found at the basilica itself.

Although the exact function of this ecclesiastical institution has not been defined yet, at the initial stage of the annexes' excavation Filadelfeus described a very important detail that I believe has not drawn the proper attention. He describes a three-meter and eighty-five centimetres wide door threshold at the east side of the institution's square atrium, opening to a monumental *stoa* [Fig.1a/b].²⁵² The special characteristic of this marble threshold was a deep groove running along the threshold implying the use of a panel door. This large opening was in a key location leading to the oblong room where the mosaic inscription of the bishop Alkison was found. Interestingly, Filadelfeus detected this kind of threshold again in another smaller room of the complex, which he identified as a bath. This threshold has been found in other ecclesiastical complexes and churches' annexes in Greece, as for example at the Octagon of Philippi, where it was found more strangely, at the windows of a storage area.²⁵³

I have come across this evidence of threshold dooring in my MPhil thesis where I illustrated their evolution from Hellenistic times down to Early Christian times. These are usually found at shop entrances, although their initial use in Hellenistic times was as door thresholds in *agoras*. In Late Antique Greece they were used in shops that stayed open all-day and closed only at night [Pl.1a-d].²⁵⁴ I observed the presence of this threshold again, near the *propylon* of Basilica B at Philippi, which now makes more sense, as the existence of this kind of threshold at Church annexes implies another use other than the strictly commercial [Fig. 6.4; Pl.1d]. The parts of the Church annexes that are using these kinds of thresholds

²⁵² Filadelfeus 1928, 54.

²⁵³ Pelekanidis 1968, 74-76, Pl. 53a.

²⁵⁴ Zisimou 2008 (unpublished MPhil(B) thesis).

imply that they are used by crowds. Such a use imposes the need for the doors to stay open continuously as well as the windows, the latter probably for the proper ventilation [Pl. 2b]. The use of the Church annexes that are characterised by this type of thresholds are given the institutional Church more distinctively the characteristic of a public space. The institutional Church has indeed replaced the former uses of the forum and of other public buildings and it can be now considered as a major public complex in the towns concentrating around itself most of the former expressions of the everyday religious, social, political and economic life.

The religious character of the Church therefore, cannot exclude the secular character of its annexes; similarly, the religious character of the Church and the secular institutional character of its annexes cannot be excluded from being considered as public space. The term public, which is synonymous with secular, could be Christian too, and the term Christian, which is synonymous to religious, could be secular as well. Therefore, secular Christianity is not a contradictory term, but a term that will help explore the Church's function beyond its traditional typology.

The archaeology of the pilgrimage, charitable and industrial character of many of the Early Christian Greek churches can be deduced from the various architectural annexes of the basilicas, consisting of workshops, baths, hostels or auxiliary rooms for preparation of food and storage facilities. These auxiliary rooms, which usually seem to have a rather domestic character, described by cookware, hearths and/or bench-like structures, are widespread in the ecclesiastical architecture of Early Christian Greece, but being rather unidentifiable, remain obscure. The study of these rooms also naturally helps in the identification of the purposes of the rest of the areas of such annexes and sheds light on the property of the Church or its involvement in charitable activities, such as its obligation of taking care of the poor and the ill as well as of the faithful offerings of food.

The Church's involvement in the economic life of the Early Christian Greek towns, as it is depicted in the light of the archaeological evidence, will be studied in this chapter in certain ways: firstly through the documentation of the existence of the institutional Church in the Greek region through representative material evidence of the pilgrimage character of selected sites, secondly the philanthropic activity of certain Church complexes, and thirdly through representative evidence of the industrial activity of the churches' annexes. Finally, in the last part will be studied the interpretation of the Early Christian inscriptions in support of the respective expressions of the institutional Church in Greece.

III/B. Perception and implementation of the institutional Church in the Early Christian Greek towns: interpreting the archaeological evidence

III/B.1 The sacred topography of Early Christian Greece: revealing the pilgrimage sites [Map 4; Figs. 2-7; Pl. 3]

This section seeks to contribute to the understanding of the origins, development and impact of pilgrimage in the Early Christian towns of Greece. Pilgrimage as a phenomenon was not a Christian invention but was actually the continuation of a pagan practice, a Greco-Roman custom, which continued to the Early Christian times.²⁵⁵ The continuation of this phenomenon involved also economic impacts with pilgrims acting as a special category of tourists, and pilgrimage therefore became apparently synonymous with the economic evolution of the towns.²⁵⁶ Pilgrims' routes were connected to trade routes with the fairs on religious days as an epicentre, and Early Christian pilgrimage became a way, whether for the individuals or for the Church, to make profit. This resulted in a need for decrees and Canons

²⁵⁵ Elsner and Rutherford 2005; Bitton-Ashkelony 2005; Ousterhout 2014.

²⁵⁶ Kiss 1989; Kingsley and Decker 2001, 10.

during the fourth to sixth centuries to severely prohibit the exploitation of the martyrs' veneration for economic purposes.²⁵⁷

Although contemporary scholarship is concerned with pilgrimage and holy space in the provinces of the Empire in Late Antiquity – a distinguished example being Late Antique Egypt and the exploration of finds related with pilgrimage such as the *ampullae* of St. Menas²⁵⁸ – the way the pilgrimage practice was incorporated in the institutional Church, the mechanisms of function, and the interpretation of the relevant material evidence, remains an underdeveloped subject, especially in Greece. This is because the pilgrimage practice is studied mainly from written sources, theoretically and historically rather than using effectively the architectural and archaeological evidence²⁵⁹ an exception being the study of the *ampullae* or simply the flasks of pilgrims, which constitute another kind of evidence of the activity of *martyria* and holy places as well as of pilgrims' travel routes that are connected to trade routes.²⁶⁰ The most well studied *ampullae* however, are the ones for the cult of St. Menas in Alexandria, which are spread all over Mediterranean.²⁶¹ What is noteworthy about the *ampullae* of St. Menas is the incision in some of them of the phrase 'Blessing of Hagios Menas',²⁶² giving valuable information of what would have been more appropriate to be inscribed on these vessels: whether the name of the martyr of the shrine or the stamp of the potter's workshop.

Apart from the *ampullae*, Charalambos Bakirtzis' contribution in the proceedings of the international symposium entitled '*Routes of Faith*' sheds light on the archaeological substance of pilgrimage sites through the architectural and archaeological documentation of

²⁵⁷ *CTh.* 9.17.7; *C. Chalcedon*, Can. 8,10.

²⁵⁸ Kiss 1989; Frankfurter 1998; Bagnall 2007.

²⁵⁹ Ousterhout 1990; Ellis and Kidner 2004; Gwynn and Bangert 2010; Wescoat and Ousterhout 2011.

²⁶⁰ Hahn 1990, 85-96; Duncan 1990, 125-139; Karayanni 2008, 331-339.

²⁶¹ Kiss 1989.

²⁶² 'ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ'

the pilgrimage character of the Octagon at Philippi. This is however an individual effort as there is little collective effort about the study of Greek pilgrimage destinations of the Early Christian Empire, of which the most well known is the cult of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki.²⁶³ Admittedly, the evidence of *martyria* and pilgrimage sites in Greece does not correspond to their actual number. There is a limited number of scholarly works that make an effort to establish the pilgrimage character of those Greek sites, which provide reasons to be considered among the favoured destinations of pilgrims in Early Christian times, either of local and or global importance.²⁶⁴

Undoubtedly, the erection of numerous Early Christian basilicas in Greece was inspired by the importance of worshipping martyrs or saints or of commemorating holy places in relation to 'Holy Men'.²⁶⁵ It seems likely that churches associated with martyrs and with sacred spaces in general developed into important pilgrimage foci, as happened around the wider Eastern Mediterranean and contributed both to the rise of the power of the Church in towns and to the economy of towns. Pilgrimage, being initially part of the religious and festal life of the towns more or less tended to be synonymous with economic centres, offering hopefully a holistic insight into the research potential of the Early Christian pilgrimage sites in Greece. Evidently, as pilgrims of the Early Christian world combed the eastern Mediterranean travelling to holy places at the same time new shrines sprang up throughout the Empire, and inevitably in Greece as well. The pilgrimage character of its local and world famous sites would have contributed undoubtedly to trading activities and played a major role in the local economy, offering a new approach to the avenue of research and exploration of Church archaeology in Greece.

²⁶³ Regarding the miracles and cult of St. Demetrius, see Soteriou 1922; Lemerle 1979; Mentzos 1994; Drakoulis 2006, 1-11; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2006; Spieser 1984.

²⁶⁴ Bakirtzis and Koester 1998; Kaldellis 2009; Mentzos 2011, 48-52.

²⁶⁵ For the term and discussion of the 'Holy Man' see Brown 1971, 80-101.

The institutional evolution of pilgrimage sites in Greece, documented by the material evidence of the necessary auxiliary rooms surrounding the *martyria* (e.g. *xenodocheia* or baths), and their economic and political involvement in the life of towns deserve to be dealt with in detail. But as this is the outcome of the function of *martyria* and other relevant pilgrimage sites, this is the evidence that first needs to be detected and the status of the research in Greece to be illustrated.

Unfortunately in Greece no study has brought together the evidence of *martyria* and holy spaces of the first centuries of the triumph of Christianity and their evolution into pilgrimage sites. Apparently no *martyrium* has been identified earlier than AD 313, although it has been stated that it is possible that some funerary monuments - such as the *cubicula* of the Ilissos basilica and at Phthiotic Thebes that are dated at the end of the third and at the beginning of the fourth century - and were later incorporated in places of worship, could have functioned as *martyria*.²⁶⁶

The Greek Archaeological Society during the first half of the twentieth century, as is depicted in the excavation reports, identified material evidence related to *martyria*, veneration of martyrs and pilgrimage activities. Most outstanding are the catacomb-type *martyrion* excavated at Thebes²⁶⁷, the *martyrion* of Leonidis at the the Ilissos basilica in Athens²⁶⁸, a relevant type of *martyrion* excavated at the south side of Mytilini²⁶⁹ as well as the *martyrion* at Lechaion, which could well serve as a model-type *martyrion*.²⁷⁰ The most frequent space for a pilgrimage site to evolve was the place where the martyrdom took place, based on the accounts of the martyrdom in which the records of the martyrs' trials took pride of place, or where the martyr was buried and in that case the celebration of Eucharist was taking place

²⁶⁶ Marki 2002, 164-165; Evangelidis 1930-31, 3.

²⁶⁷ Keramopoulos 1917, 113-122, Fig. 79.

²⁶⁸ Soteriou 1919, 8, Figs. 7-9.

²⁶⁹ Evangelidis 1930-31, 2-3.

²⁷⁰ Pallas 1956, 164-178.

over the tombs of martyrs.²⁷¹ In this case the Christians were gathering at least once a year or more, often performing the liturgy along with the *agapai* on the so-called *mensae martyrum*. It has also been suggested that at the *mensae martyrum* the Christians were also putting food for the poor of the parish where the *martyrion* belonged.²⁷² Scholars believe that the so-called *mensae martyrum* or ‘sigma’ tables, were not directly related with the graves or relics of martyrs but they were destined for offerings in honour of the memory of martyrs in the church or the *martyrion* that was erected in their memory.²⁷³ The initial argument however, for the identification of sigma tables with the *mensae martyrum* in Greece, was made by Soteriou, who studied a sigma table from Thessaly which bore an inscription of martyrs (see chapter III/C) and since then he called every discovered sigma table a *mensa martyrum*.²⁷⁴ Since the excavation and identification of authentic *martyria*, meaning the case where the tomb along with the relics have been found and confirmed by an inscription, is rather rare, we cannot be sure of the original locations of the *mensae martyrum*. We can be sure though, that they represent a customary act of public worship that may have well become a pilgrimage practice since the places where they have been found were characterised as sacred in the minds of Christians who later erected a church in honour of the martyr.

Soteriou has grouped the evidence of the Early Christian *martyria* in Greece in certain categories: chapels with martyrs’ tombs, large churches incorporating martyrs’ tombs which retained the initial shape of the *martyrion*, *martyria* attached to large churches, and finally churches to which the relics of martyrs were translated; but most important of all he considers the *martyria* that are incorporated in large churches, where the *martyrion* was an above

²⁷¹ Mentzos 2011, 48.

²⁷² Soteriou 1939, 46.

²⁷³ Chalkia 1989, 101-106; Duval 1982; 465, 468, 525.

²⁷⁴ Soteriou 1929c, 102, 234-236, Fig. 136.

ground or underground tomb surrounded by the necessary auxiliary rooms serving the pilgrims' worship.²⁷⁵

The evidence of the Early Christian *martyria* in Greece in relation to cemetery basilicas that are dated between the end of the fourth and the sixth century has been studied and grouped in categories by Euterpi Marki.²⁷⁶ Marki distinguishes the *martyria* as autonomous, in which case they were usually of pericentric plan, or incorporated in a wing of the transept of the basilicas or as small oratories attached to basilicas or to rotundas. According to Marki the latter were constructed adjacent to the bema and were always the same shape as the church to which they were attached. In these was kept the relic of the martyr, which the faithful used to venerate before entering the nave to attend the liturgy.²⁷⁷ For the first category of the autonomous *martyria* she provides evidence of the *pentanchon martyrion* related to the martyrs Theodoulos and Agathopodas in Thessaloniki, the hexagon at Kato Milia Pierias that also includes the martyr's grave, the triconch at Akrini Kozanis, the *triconchon* building at Mesara in Crete related to Hagioi Deki, the *tetraconch* at Mesara too, including the martyr's grave, as well as the *martyrion* close to the basilica at Argala in Mytilini.²⁷⁸

The evidence for the second group of the *martyria* attached to churches, usually at the south wall, is the cruciform *martyrion* excavated on the Triti Septembriou Street in Thessaloniki, the triconch at the basilica of Kraneion and the *martyrion* of Kodratos at Old Corinth, and possibly the cruciform structure on Cheimaras Street in Rhodes. Also part of this group is the underground *martyrion* of St. Leonidis at Athens, the north wing of the nave

²⁷⁵ Soteriou 1939, 39-49.

²⁷⁶ Marki 2002, 163-176.

²⁷⁷ Marki 2002, 167-170.

²⁷⁸ Marki 2002, 167-170.

transept of Basilica D at Nikopolis, and a relevant feature at the cruciform basilica at the town of Thasos, as well as the south wing of the Kastri basilica at Chersonisos in Crete.²⁷⁹

Marki also draws attention to a special architectural element attributed to the *martyria* in Thessaloniki that has also been observed at the three-aisled cemetery basilica on Triti Septembriou Street at the east cemetery of Thessaloniki: the spacious basement corridor-crypt, serving the worship practices. She also mentions five *martyria* at the east necropolis of Thessaloniki and at the west necropolis a pentaconch *martyrion* and two more churches.²⁸⁰ Among the structures that are clearly centres of veneration and come under the category of *martyria* is the ground-level *martyrion* built above the ancient heröön in Philippi and the *aedicule* (little house) attested in the sources as built on the burial spot of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki.²⁸¹

The identification of *martyria* in most cases, due to the lack of the epigraphic evidence to confirm their function as such, can attract much criticism. However, archaeologists continue to identify *martyria* interpreting the respective architectural and archaeological evidence, although with some reservation. I believe however, that the identification of *martyria* cannot rely only on the epigraphic evidence but on a combination of archaeological, architectural and textual evidence.

At Thessalian Diocletianoupolis, the character of Basilica B1 has been interpreted as similar to a *martyrion*; a shrine erected over the grave of the probable martyr or saint, whose skeleton was found *in situ* in the burial chamber, although the opinion has been expressed that the relic was left behind after the abandonment of the site if it ever was indeed a

²⁷⁹ Marki 2002, 170-172.

²⁸⁰ Marki 2002, 171.

²⁸¹ Mentzos 2011, 49.

martyrion.²⁸² Also at Diocletianoupolis, a close relationship between a monumental tomb and the Basilica C, discovered at the site of Paravela, has been mentioned.²⁸³

Additionally, at the area Limenas in Thasos, in a complex of two three-aisled basilicas that have been excavated at the site of St. Vasileios, at the southern basilica's narthex, has been identified a circular *martyrion* covered with mosaic floors and the tomb of the martyr underneath. Both the basilicas were in simultaneous use and were communicating via a tripartite annex. Below the southern basilica an earlier basilica was discovered, probably connected with the *martyrion*.²⁸⁴

At Phthiotic Thebes an effort has been made to connect the *extra muros* Early Christian chapel that lacks an apse, and preserves a rectangular hole for contacting a martyr or saint's relics, with the existence of martyrs' tombs by means of a dedicatory inscription found in Basilica B at Phthiotic Thebes.²⁸⁵ It has further been argued that among the three probable disciples, Andreas, Irodionas and Onisimos who preached Christianity in Thessaly, the one who established Christianity in Thessaly was in all probability the disciple Onisimos.²⁸⁶ Undoubtedly, the city would have been developed into a local pilgrimage centre near the harbour, which is also supported by the finds related to pilgrimage such as the *ampullae* found at Phthiotic Thebes.²⁸⁷ The *ampullae* are very similar to each other as they have a disc-shaped body and small size representation of engraved concentric circles – in one of them surrounded by a stylised laurel wreath – enclosing a Greek cross [Pl.3i/j]. I believe that the *ampullae* should not be necessarily connected with foreign pilgrimage sites but

²⁸² Papazotos 1988, 205-207; Karagiorgou 2001, 152-153.

²⁸³ Papazotos 1988, 211-212; Karagiorgou 2001, 153.

²⁸⁴ Andreadaki -Vlazaki 2012, 245-246.

²⁸⁵ Dina 1994, 365; Soteriou 1955, 138; See also discussion in Chapter III/C, 132, n. 471.

²⁸⁶ Lazaridis 1987, 314; Avramea 1974, 39-42; Dina 1992, 453-454.

²⁸⁷ Lazaridis 1969, 25, Pl. 36b; Bakirtzis 2002b, 173, no. 195. Another evidence of *ampullae* from Greece comes from the Palace of the Giants in Athens, for which, see Chapter III/B.1, 93-98 and III/C, 136-138.

initially with the pilgrimage character of the site where they have been found, since *ampullae* can provide pilgrimage evidence themselves.

The cult of martyrs was also widespread in Athens²⁸⁸, as for example the martyrs Klimatios and Leonidis²⁸⁹. The worship of martyr Leonidis was transferred from Lechaion, Corinth, which belonged to the Athenian see, to the Ilissos basilica in Athens (early fifth to middle of the fifth or early sixth century),²⁹⁰ and would, along with the cult of Christ the Saviour at Asclepieion and the mother of God at Parthenon attract pilgrims from all over Attica and probably Greece.²⁹¹ The latter is an example of a healing pilgrimage basilica of the mid sixth century, although its date is variously placed from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century.²⁹² The basilica at the Asclepieion and its annexes were built in a precinct with two wide yards at the east and west of it. At the northeast corner of the church the ancient cave-fountain had been probably converted into holy water fountain (or even a baptistery), the water of which was transferred by pipes into a small basin outside of the south long wall of the church. Between the basilica and the cave of the fountain the arcade that was previously used by the Asclepieion as a place of rest and sleep for the sick formed the north aisle of the basilica including an auxiliary room probably with the same use, while the reconstructed Ionic stoa served as a *xenodocheion* [Map 4; Fig. 2].²⁹³

Also in Athens, the three-aisled basilica at the Olympeion (end of the fifth - early sixth century) preserves five steps leading to a vaulted tomb and more tombs in the aisles had been preserved, which were probably earlier than the church itself.²⁹⁴ At the northwest side of the

²⁸⁸ For the saints and martyrs of Athens see Pallas 1989, 12-19.

²⁸⁹ Pallas 1989, 20-23, 26-28.

²⁹⁰ Pallas 1989, 34; Caraher 2003, 398; Mailis 2011, 87.

²⁹¹ For the cult of Mother of God at Parthenon see Kaldellis 2009, 81-82.

²⁹² Travlos 1939, 34-68; Caraher 2003, 393; Mailis 2011, 87-88; Varalis 2000, 38; Papaefthymiou 2012, 82.

²⁹³ Travlos 1939, 35-68, believes that the northeastern complex retained its ancient function as an area of miraculous healing; Pallas 1989, 86, believes that the fountain was transformed into a baptistery and the Doric stoa was used as a preparatory room for the baptism.

²⁹⁴ Varalis 2000, 40, no.18, citing previous literature.

church there has been excavated a bath probably in use until the seventh century, and another room close to it, which is believed to have been used for the holy-water [Map. 4].²⁹⁵ Additionally, the assumption by Karivieri of the use of the Panathenaic Way in Christian processions in relation to the *tetraconch* at the Library of Hadrian²⁹⁶ also suggests the connection of the churches in the centre of Athens by processions and litanies, which reveals another use of the public space in the centre of Athens.

Furthermore, Antony Kaldellis's in his contribution on the '*Christian Parthenon*' argues that the Parthenon became a major site of Christian pilgrimage after its conversion into a church, presenting a different form of pilgrimage, and reconstructing Athens as an important pilgrimage centre throughout Byzantine period.²⁹⁷ Kaldellis argues that the city which the Akathistos Hymn was written for was Athens, the *Parthenos*' special city, not the capital. Athens had therefore become the home of the most prestigious shrine of the Mother of God. In support of this he also uses the verses of the Akathistos Hymn that condemn the sophists and philosophers of Athens in the name of the new faith: 'Rejoice, you who rend the webs of the Athenians' (*Χαίρε, τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πλοκάς διασπῶσα*).²⁹⁸ The Salutations, better known as the Akathistos Hymn were written in the fifth or sixth century for, as has been widely believed, in the city of Constantinople, which many regarded as the Virgin's favoured city. There was a festival – probably annual – celebrated in honour of the Theotokos that drew people to Athens from far and wide, and also in honour of a miracle of divine light inside the Parthenon, probably a lamp whose flame never died.²⁹⁹ In that sense Kaldellis presents a form of pilgrimage in Athens that after the sixth century started gradually to

²⁹⁵ Varalis 2000, 40, no. 18.

²⁹⁶ Karivieri 1994, 113.

²⁹⁷ Kaldellis 2009.

²⁹⁸ Kaldellis 2009, 7-10.

²⁹⁹ Kaldellis 2009, 196-206, provides evidence of the classical lamp's light that was never extinguished, mentioned in Pausanias and Strabon, in connection with the rhetoric of light in Choniata's speech as well as other middle-Byzantine literary evidence to make a case of a divine light inside the Parthenon.

replace its fame as a university city and led it to evolve into a major pilgrimage centre that attracted even more pilgrims and contributed to the economy of the town more than its previous schools and students.³⁰⁰

Therefore, providing a wealth of new evidence, Kaldellis argues that the Parthenon became a major site of Christian pilgrimage after its conversion into a church. From this point of view full advantage of the language of the Akathistos Hymn needs to be taken in the documentation of the new form of pilgrimage which he suggests, that of the 'divine light'. The many aspects of light were indeed a characteristic of the Theotokos attributed to her in the Salutations, and if it could be argued that this kind of pilgrimage was taking place in Athens as early as the period of the Salutations, that would contribute the most to the Early Christian urban and economic status of Athens.³⁰¹

But I would argue that the most interesting aspect of the process of identifying *martyria* and pilgrimage sites is the documentation of special buildings that were set up to receive the devout supplicants in the places where the memory of a high-profile martyr was venerated. So far, at the Asclepieion at Athens discussed above it, has been supported based on its architecture, that it had preserved the Doric arcade as a place of rest and sleep for the sick that continued in use down to Early Christian times, along with the reconstructed rooms of the Ionic stoa, which functioned as a *xenodocheion*, and it has been argued that the basilica at Olympeion preserved a bath, which it could also have been destined for the use of the pilgrims. The close proximity between Asclepieion, Olympeion and Parthenon makes us wonder if the documented facilities for pilgrims were exclusively for the pilgrims of Asclepieion and Olympeion or there were open to pilgrims from nearby shrines such as the Parthenon.

³⁰⁰ Kaldellis 2009, 60-80.

³⁰¹ The archaeological evidence for the urban and economic status of Athens in relation to the institutional Church is discussed in Chapter III/B.3, 114-117.

Other buildings that could be related to a pilgrimage site are hostels, kitchens and dining halls (refectories) that are adjoining the *martyria*, but these could also be relevant to the philanthropic activity of the Church. A well-studied and published case documented both architecturally and archaeologically is the complex at the Octagon of Philippi, whose interpretation gives plenty of evidence of the special structures that were set up especially for the pilgrims.³⁰²

The town of Philippi became an episcopal seat and an important religious centre where the profound memory of the founding visit of the Apostle Paul was alive, and it therefore evolved into a famous pilgrimage site.³⁰³ The Hellenistic Heröon with the underground Hellenistic tomb, which was much respected and was therefore included in the Episcopal Octagon, functioned as the Christian cult centre of the town presumably in memory of Apostle Paul, and it has been argued that it contained relics of the Apostle Paul.³⁰⁴ The Octagon complex at Philippi is situated east of the *agora* and it comprises an octagonal church, the octagon's annexes including the bathhouse, and the two-storey bishop's residence [Figs. 5; 6.1].³⁰⁵ The structure identified as the *xenodocheion* formed part of the Octagon's complex, being an integral part of the ritual and social life, both in terms of its layout in the Early Christian town and in terms of its function [Fig. 5]. Given its independent monumental entrance on the main road, the Octagon's *xenodocheion* was an important building in the town and it operated independently of the rest of the Octagon's complex as the communication between them was limited and controlled. Charalambos Bakirtzis compares the *xenodocheion* at the Octagon's complex, where people could be accommodated, to the spatial arrangement

³⁰² Mentzos 2011, 52; Bakirtzis 1998, 40.

³⁰³ Bakirtzis 1998, 37-48.

³⁰⁴ Bakirtzis 1998, 40.

³⁰⁵ Bakirtzis 2008, 367-371.

of the *xenodocheion* of St. Menas near Alexandria.³⁰⁶ He also gives similar evidence to the Octagon's *xenodocheion* from the *xenodocheion* of the basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, which provided accommodation, meals and baths, as well as medical care and hospital treatment to the pilgrims.³⁰⁷ The architectural evidence of the Octagon complex's layout demonstrates a common feature of the sixth century, especially at the rooms of the northern wing, which were split by putting up walls in order to meet new needs. In these rooms were found utility pottery, pieces of a marble table and many earthenware storage jars. None of the finds were ecclesiastical or devotional in nature revealing that the rooms had a domestic use.³⁰⁸ The feature of the splitting of walls as well as the walling-up is evidence of a restructuring taking place at the Church's annexes, which do not have an ecclesiastical function either.

The Octagon as a pilgrimage destination was organised by the Church of Philippi in order to cover the everyday needs of the pilgrims along with the religious ones. We should imagine the groups of pilgrims travelling either by sea to Neapolis at the nearby modern Kavala or by land, attending the holy services, and taking part in processions and representations as it has been suggested for the churches in the centre of Athens. In Philippi it has been suggested that the processions and representations that took place in the town centre followed a route starting from the Basilica A and continued to Basilica B which were related to the imprisonment and arrest of Apostle Paul respectively, and finally ended at his tomb at the Octagon.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Bakirtzis 2008, 371.

³⁰⁷ Bakirtzis 2001, 428; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 232.

³⁰⁸ Bakirtzis 2008, 369.

³⁰⁹ For a discussion on the sacred topography of Philippi see Mentzos 2005, 139-146; For the tradition of processions by Christians see Andrade 2010, 161-189. Andrade argues that St. John the Chrysostom organised psalm-singing processions transforming the civic spaces of the city in 'churches'.

I would argue though, that a different direction in the processional route than the one proposed was followed, which took full advantage of the streets and central public areas of the town of Philippi. It is more possible that the procession that pilgrims would have also taken part would start from the Octagon, continue to Basilica B the place where the Paul was traditionally arrested, and then to Basilica A where he was traditionally imprisoned, terminating again at the Octagon where it was possible to accommodate his relics and which at the same time could have the symbolic meaning of rebirth and renaissance [Fig. 6.1-3]. It was rather a cyclical route and this can explain better the double entrances at the Octagon, one on the 'Commercial Road' where the litany would start and the other on the 'Via Egnatia' where it would end [Fig. 6 (1-3)]. Litanies were closely related with the martyrs' veneration and were the reason pilgrims would travel, in order to be part of these processions. They would find accommodation at hostels run by the Church for that purpose, such as the one connected with the Octagon. Under these circumstances trade would benefit and commercial transactions would grow increasingly. It is possible that the prosperity of the commercial and industrial areas in the centre of the town of Philippi were connected with the expansion of Christianity, that was also responsible for the application of the new building programme. The activity of the glass workshop excavated at the *insula* close to the Octagon that also demonstrates the characteristic threshold with the slot that is intended for doors that stay open all day,³¹⁰ and the row of shops on the Commercial Road opposite the Basilica B could be the outcome of the economic influence of the churches' institutions in the town of Philippi [Fig. 6 (5-6)].³¹¹ Above all, the argument of the pilgrims' processions and

³¹⁰ Gounaris 2004, 73-87, Fig. 4.

³¹¹ Zisimou 2008 (unpublished MPhil (B) thesis).

representations demonstrates the use of the public space oriented by churches and their institutions.³¹²

Another *xenodocheion* has been identified at the excavation of the annexes of the Early Christian basilica of Mytilini [Fig. 3].³¹³ The excavator describes the last of the south annexes of the basilica as an oblong structure that communicates with doors to the basilica. The technique of the construction of this structure according to the excavator, although resembling the rest of the basilica, was not made so carefully, and can therefore be dated later than the basilica itself, which he dates in the fifth century.³¹⁴ He also finds similarities with the architectural layout of another excavated oblong structure at the north side of the Heraion basilica at Samos that also communicates with doors to the basilica and has first been identified as a *xenodocheion* by Schneider [Fig. 4].³¹⁵ Schneider's identification is based on the architectural evidence of three rooms that form an annex in the northern chamber of the church and on the remains of tables and a bench running along the rooms as well as on the literature of the Church, which states that close to the church should be found the *xenodocheion* for the reception of pilgrims.³¹⁶ He also gives evidence of other similar structures that resemble *xenodocheia* in relation to Early Christian churches in Greece, one at Thera, and another at Epidavros.³¹⁷ The identification of the oblong structure at the Heraion basilica at Samos with a *xenodocheion* has been developed into an architectural model in the identification of similar structures at the annexes of Early Christian basilicas. The function of similar oblong structures at the annexes of basilicas as possible *xenodocheia* have also been

³¹² For the transformation of civic spaces of towns in 'churches' by processions, see Andrade 2010, 161-189.

³¹³ Evangelidis 1930-31, 1- 40, Fig. 1.

³¹⁴ Evangelidis 1930-31, 28, 35.

³¹⁵ Evangelidis 1930-31, 28; Schneider 1929, 124-127, Pl. 14.

³¹⁶ Schneider 1929, 124-125.

³¹⁷ Schneider 1929, 125.

suggested for two other cases at Vathy, in Kalymnos, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

By exploring the *martyria* or the holy places in Greece that may have become pilgrimage sites only a small part of the actual material evidence has been discussed. Since the Church was venerating numerous martyrs and holy men from the time of Paul's visit to Greece down to the seventh century, it would not be an exaggeration to expect *martyria* and holy places to be a widespread phenomenon and almost every town to have its own pilgrimage centre or centres, of local or in some cases of wider influence.³¹⁸

There are some architectural characteristics that define the Early Christian Greek *martyria* in categories as has been shown by Soteriou and Marki. Similarly, there are some architectural characteristics that define the auxiliary rooms of non-liturgical character that are related with the organisation of the pilgrims by the Church as has been well illustrated by Bakirtzis for the Octagon of Philippi or by Schneider for the basilica of 'Heraion' at Samos. These characteristics should be studied under the institutional Church's activities.

At this point I should not omit mentioning another architectural feature that may define pilgrimage sites, that is the strong divergence of the orientation of the churches to the south, which is the most striking feature of some of the churches built as *martyria*.³¹⁹ This phenomenon is usually happening in order to enclose the place of the martyrdom or the martyr's tomb or any other sacred evidence that is actually the reason for the erection of the church or the shrine. One of the many examples can be drawn from the Early Christian basilica at Knossos.³²⁰ This basilica according to the excavators seems to have occupied a

³¹⁸ The *Synaxaristes* and the tradition of the Church provide numerous examples of Greek martyrs, saints and holy men. The fact that they have not drawn the attention of scholars is probably because their Lives are not always offering historical or topographical information. I believe though, that from an archaeological point of view, even the tradition of the Church would be helpful in studying the topography of pilgrimage sites.

³¹⁹ Orlandos 1952-56, 84-89.

³²⁰ Frend 1964, 103-105; Frend and Johnston 1962, 186-238.

curious position as the west end had been dug into the hillside so that the church had to be entered either from the south side of the narthex or through one of the annexes. However that was rather deliberate since the builders seem to have been at pains in order to align the church exactly over an already existing group of graves one of which was singled out as of special importance and came to occupy the northwest corner of the nave. However, the widest divergence of a church orientation to the south has been observed at the large cruciform church built in the early sixth century close to Thasos's harbour, whose divergence was the largest of all known Early Christian churches in Greece.³²¹ Actually it shares this feature with churches of the Macedonian province including the sites of Philippi and Thessaloniki.³²²

Finally, combining the evidence of the Early Christian pilgrimage sites with the evidence from the literature of the Church explored in the previous chapter we should try to answer the question: what were the most common sites for the establishment of *martyria*? Restating, among the most common places for a *martyrion* to be established, was the *agora*, the most preferable place for humiliation of the martyr or for exemplary punishment. This is actually what happened at the *forum* of Philippi where Apostle Paul was traditionally arrested and in memory of this, Basilica B was erected. Respectively basilica A was built in memory of the imprisonment and finally the Octagon was constructed possibly as the burial place, in the vicinity of the ancient *agora* and the *forum*. It is interesting to speculate that the *agoras* could have been used as an open space, which the construction of *martyria* required and on the other hand, would have undoubtedly a crucial effect on the growth of commercial activities and on the continual function of the marketplaces around the *agora*. Other common places for the establishment of *martyria* were the sea and the baths. The martyrdom of St.

³²¹ Divergence to the South 67°30', see Orlandos 1952-56, 87, n. 1; For the cruciform basilica, see Orlandos 1951, 3-61.

³²² Orlandos 1952-56, 86-87.

Leonidis at Lechaion in Corinth, took place at sea and by the seashore was built in his memory the shrine and later the basilica. With the baths on the other hand is related the basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, which in order to include the baths where traditionally the martyr suffered and died, the altar that was built on top of the baths was not in alignment with the rest of the basilica.³²³

Interestingly, the literary evidence of the Church, as studied in chapter II regarding the places of martyrdom, might be confirmed by the archaeological and architectural evidence of the pilgrimage churches, while on the other hand, the evidence of pilgrimage churches may imply and offer interpretation for the institutional arrangements of the Church annexes for the accommodation of pilgrims. Ultimately, the development of pilgrimage centres in Greece, as is supported from the civil and ecclesiastical legislation, the Church literature and the archaeological evidence, would have undoubtedly an impact on the economic growth of the town.

A new pilgrimage destination? The 'Palace of the Giants' in the Athenian agora: a case study

In addition to the suggested pilgrimage character of the Parthenon, the Asclepieion, the Ilissos basilica, presumably the basilica at Olympeion and the prevalence of buildings with Christian character in the centre of Athens discussed above, there has also been discovered a concentration of a large number of *ampullae* in the so-called 'Palace of the Giants' at the Athenian *agora* in its sixth-century phase, and other at scattered points in the wider area of the ancient *agora* [Fig. 7; Pl. 3a/b].³²⁴ The concentration of a large number of *ampullae* in a specific site is not a common phenomenon in Greece and it may be evidence of a pilgrimage

³²³ For the anomaly of the main apse in relation to the crypt see Xyggopoulos 1946, 13-14 and 18-21.

³²⁴ Frantz 1988, 91-92.

destination. John Hayes has stated that the *ampullae* were Palestinian products used as containers from the shrines of the Holy Land, and that the involvement of the Church in their distribution was profitable.³²⁵ Contradicting his first assumption in a recent publication of most of the *agora's ampullae*, Hayes is certain that the *ampullae* were imported from the potter's workshop at Kybira, in Asia Minor.³²⁶ However, the monograms inscribed on the *ampullae* have not been studied and interpreted and therefore it is difficult to understand the specific cult that the *ampullae* were destined for or if the monograms were eventually related with the pilgrimage site, or they simply contained the potter's signature [Pl. 3a/b]. The letters incised on the *ampullae* are rather complicated. Studying them closely I made an attempt to read them in a way that connects them with the assumption of the existence of a *martyrion* and have come to some first conclusions. The attempt to decipher the combination of the monograms on the *ampullae* will be discussed in the section III.C below, which is dedicated to the discussion of the Early Christian inscriptions as supporting evidence to the existence of an institutional Church in Greece. However, it is important first to develop the argument of the possibility of a martyr's cult in relation to the 'Palace of the Giants' in the Athenian *agora*.

The Life of a local saint, namely St. Aristeidis the Philosopher, who was an Athenian pupil of St. Dionysios the Areopagite may shed light to the evolution of the Athenian *agora* in Early Christian times.³²⁷ After writing a very famous apology to the Emperor Hadrian in order to defend the Christian faith, it is said that he was martyred on the thirteenth September in AD 120 in the ancient *agora*. Most specifically it is traditionally believed that he was

³²⁵ Hayes 1971, 243-248.

³²⁶ Hayes 2008, 116-118; Japp 2009, 95-128.

³²⁷ *Acta Sanctorum Augusti*, 6, 650-651, mentions briefly his life and apologetic activity. There is no legendary or criticism but only a book about the Life of St. Aristeidis in relation to the tradition of the Church, see Theodoropoulos 2008.

hanged at the *koilon* of the *agora*.³²⁸ I believe that there is a correlation between the Odeon of Agrippa, what is today called the ‘Palace of the Giants’, and the Life of St. Aristeidis, the Philosopher and Apologist. The Life of St. Aristeidis mentions that his martyrdom, by hanging, took place at the *koilon* of the Athenian *agora*. *Koilon* is usually a characteristic component of theatres where the audience sat. The most common theatre at that time was that of Dionysus at the south slope of the Acropolis, but this was not part of the *agora*. I would therefore identify the so-called ‘*koilon* of the *agora*’ with the Odeon of Agrippa, which by that time, during the mid second century would be at the centre of Athens’s civic life. As has already been discussed above, in Chapter II, the *agora*, especially when the martyr died by hanging or crucifixion was the preferable place for humiliating a martyr or for exemplary punishment. If the Odeion, the centre of civic life in the *agora* at that time, is the place of St. Aristeidis’s martyrdom, then that would be rather for exemplary punishment, due to his apology in defence of the Christian faith and to his Christian philosophy. It would also be an irony of fate to die there, as it could also be the place where he used to teach. The identification of the Odeion as the place of St. Aristeidis’s martyrdom helps additionally to understand the later phases of the Odeion, down to Early Christian times.

The ‘Palace of the Giants’ was originally known as the Odeion of Agrippa, which was located in the centre of the south side of the *agora*, in front of the south square, north of the Middle Stoa and next to the Southwest Temple [Fig. 7].³²⁹ The Odeion of Agrippa was erected in the Augustan period as a grand hall for musical performances and philosophical lectures. After the collapse of its roof it was rebuilt in the mid-second century following a different design.³³⁰ Based on the topographical clues provided by Pausanias (*Attica* 8, 6), the structure’s identification with ‘the theatre they call the Odeion’ is certain. The building

³²⁸ For the Life of St. Aristeidis in relation to the sacred topography of the town see Theodoropoulos 2008.

³²⁹ Thompson 1988, 95-116.

³³⁰ Camp 2001, 188-189, Fig. 182.

continued to be used as an Odeion until c. AD 160 at least, when Herodes Atticus built an Odeion in the southern slope of the Acropolis, in honour of his spouse. After its destruction, parts of the building were used in the construction of the massive 'Palace of the Giants' during the Early Christian era, possibly a Gymnasium or a villa or palace of some official³³¹ that was possibly financed by Empress Eudocia (fifth century).³³² However, during the late fifth century it changed function again by obtaining a more utilitarian use resembling a great farmhouse that may have belonged to one of the notables of the town.³³³

The plan of this building comprised four major parts: the North court, the South court complex, the Southeast Court complex and the bath. It featured many rooms opening to two peristyle courtyards and to a rather expansive garden. Placed on tall pedestals, four of the six Tritons and Giants taken from the second-phase Odeion decorated its façade. The American School of Classical Studies excavated the building in 1934-1936 following the repeated campaigns of the Archaeological Society in Athens who cleared the façade of the building and re-erected the torsos of the Giants.³³⁴ The emphasis of the excavations and of the research was given to the structures underlying the Late Roman Complex, which means that unfortunately all relevant evidence to the sixth century 'Palace' has been lost. The most prevalent interpretation is that of a 'Palace', however, scholars have also discussed elements that resemble a church and had first tried to identify it as such, but that was not possible because of its non-ecclesiastical layout,³³⁵ as well as the possibility of being a monastic complex on the base of a communal worship on a small scale that the fragments of sigma

³³¹ Castrén 1994, 10-11; Thompson 1988, 111.

³³² Burman 1994, 63-87; Karivieri 1994, 111-113.

³³³ Castrén 1994, 14.

³³⁴ Thompson 1988, 95-116, citing previous literature.

³³⁵ Thompson 1988, 113.

tables, the Christian *ampullae* and lamps, and the incision of a cross on a marble column may indicate [Pl.3 a-c].³³⁶

The most interesting observation was made by Homer Thompson, who stated that ‘the close physical relationship between the builders of the fifth century at the north court of the Palace with the Odeion of Agrippa may be taken to suggest a deliberate effort to revive in some measure a famous ancient monument’.³³⁷ This could be related with the statement that at the east side of the north court a large monument of Early Roman date with a tomblike basement chamber was still respected³³⁸, a fact that might suggest the introduction of a cult and the possible evolution of this monument as a *martyrion*. Interestingly, in the fifth century in Greece a similar combination of elements had been employed in the design of Early Christian churches, especially regarding the similarity of the construction between the walls of the ‘Palace’ and the tetraconch at the Library of Hadrian nearby.³³⁹ This could be interpreted as an effort to revive a sacred space that was important enough to have erected around it a complex that was similar in design with other ecclesiastical complexes from Greece (see below). This speculation along with the discovery of plenty of *ampullae* in a part of the complex makes stronger the assumption that the Palace had been developed into an ecclesiastical complex and also in a pilgrimage centre in the memory of a martyr. In that case the possibility of the cult of St. Aristeidis should be a serious consideration and the *ampullae* should not necessarily be related with pilgrimage sites from other parts of the Empire. I believe that the layout of the complex and especially the fact that it was protected by sturdy concrete precinct walls enforced by towers³⁴⁰, the encroachment of watermills and

³³⁶ Frantz 1988, 91, Pl. 72b, 73b.

³³⁷ Thompson 1988, 97, 102.

³³⁸ Thompson 1988, 97, 102.

³³⁹ Travlos 1950, 52; Thompson 1988, 95-116; Karivieri 1994, 108, 111.

³⁴⁰ Frantz 1988, 79; Thompson 1988, 106.

olive oil press at its precinct³⁴¹ and the interpretation of the Early Christian finds in combination with the context of the finds and the parallel layout of the identified episcopal and/or ecclesiastical complexes related with pilgrimage and/or industrial activity may reveal that this was an ecclesiastical complex combining possibly pilgrimage, industrial and episcopal use [Fig. 6]. By establishing a relationship between the ‘Palace of the Giants’ and the place of martyrdom of St. Aristeidis at the *koilon* of the *agora*, the finds at the southernmost unit of the ‘Palace’ consisting of several fragments of ‘sigma tables’, among lamps of the second half of the sixth century with Christian symbols, as well as several typically Christian *ampullae* discussed above,³⁴² could make more sense if interpreted in relation to the Church’s institutional roles.

III/B. 2 The philanthropic activity of the Early Christian Church in Greece

The reports of the excavations regarding the annexes of the Early Christian basilicas in Greece proliferate in discoveries of domestic character, which at first seem to contradict the liturgical function of the basilicas and therefore have rarely been associated with them. Although it has been argued that the tables and benches found in ecclesiastical complexes are not necessarily related always with worship but that they can have secular domestic functions,³⁴³ they have not been connected directly with the activities of the institutional Church. I believe that the discoveries of domestic character at the annexes of the Early Christian basilicas such as areas for the preparation of food usually identified from hearths, utilitarian pottery and storage area for relevant products, have initially their roots in the primitive biblical traditions concerned with the outstanding role of the clergy in the Early

³⁴¹ Its industrial function is discussed in Chapter III/B.3, 116.

³⁴² Frantz 1988, 91.

³⁴³ Chalkia 1989, 101-106; Varalis 2000, 456-457; On the *mensae martyrum* see also Orlandos 1952-56, 480-486.

Christian society and gradually with the property of the Church. At the same time this practice expanded to include the poor and the ones in need in Early Christian communities, by exercising philanthropy.

The offerings of the people to the Church as a primitive tradition were not only for the sanctuary but also for the priest to make his living. This tradition remained and the faithful were giving offerings except for the needs of the liturgy to the priest and through him (or directly) to the poor and people in need. The grain also provided from the state to the Church as well as the evidence of priests engaging in business of buying and selling food may explain partly the domestic character of the churches' annexes. At this point I should not omit mentioning the so-called *agapai* (love feasts) included in the primitive traditions of the Early Church, initially taking place at *martyria* above the martyr's tomb, which give evidence of eating in the Church, a practice that the Oecumenical Synods and local councils wished to stop. However, the suggestion of Soteriou is very interesting regarding the meals of the so-called love feasts discussed in the section above, that the faithful could have used the *mensae martyrum* also for leaving food for the poor.³⁴⁴ Apart from Canon 74 of the Council in Trullo that prohibits love feasts, Canon 76 prohibits any kind of food within holy precincts. The flock however was familiar with bringing food to the Church, presumably for different reasons each time, whether for the Eucharist or other traditional reasons. A funerary inscription from Tanagra gives evidence of the offerings that the flock was asked to bring to the church on the sixth day of each week for the needs of the Eucharistic liturgy: twelve round loaves and sweet wine.³⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Church's literature, as shows the example drawn from a text of the Old Testament and discussed in Chapter II, illustrates the primitive tradition and ritual of the folk giving offerings to the priest, including references to items of

³⁴⁴ Soteriou 1939, 46.

³⁴⁵ Platon 1937, 655-657; Trombley 1989, 224.

domestic use: a flesh hook (*κρεάγγρα*), a bronze cooking vessel (*χαλκεῖον*, or *λέβης* or *χύτρα*) and table ware which might have had a relevant use in Early Christian times too.

Of particular interest regarding the material evidence of this specific primitive tradition are the finds in one of the annexes of the imposing Early Christian basilica at Eleutherna, Crete, that formed with its subsidiary structures the centre of the Early Christian town.³⁴⁶ On the south side of its narthex an annex was excavated consisting of a large hall divided into three rooms. In one of the rooms has been found an intact bronze wine ewer, a bronze utensil, a discoid cast bronze lid, and an iron flesh-hook bent out of shape (*κρεάγγρα*), a censer (or *polykandelon*) as well as an intact circular millstone set on an inverted ionic column base, two hearths at the foot of the north wall, one circular and the other rectangular and finally vessels of various shapes and sizes scattered about.³⁴⁷ The interpretation of this room was domestic, a dwelling, according to the excavator, which was used at least in the third phase during the sixth to seventh centuries and that it was abandoned at the same time as the basilica. Similarly, at the small annex at the northwest side of the Knossos basilica narthex was discovered a hearth near the north wall, which was interpreted as domestic occupation too. At the second larger annex, which was built next to the former, were found other objects of domestic use such as querns, carbonised olive stones, traces of hearths, and a cooking pot mixed with glass fragments and parts of glass lamps. Beyond this annex were traces of a paved courtyard in whose northwest corner was found a bench-like structure set against the wall facing into the courtyard.³⁴⁸ Those facilities may be related to the institutional Church's philanthropic activities although Schneider identified similar halls with tables and benches to the reception of pilgrims. The Knossos basilica as has been discussed above, may have indeed functioned as a pilgrimage destination. In such cases, as Soteriou has suggested for the

³⁴⁶ Themelis 2004; 2009.

³⁴⁷ Themelis 2009, 80-92.

³⁴⁸ Frend and Johnston 1962, 186-238.

function of the *mensae martyrum* both for the love feasts and for leaving food for the poor, the facilities for the reception of pilgrims may have had dual activities such as serving the poor as well.

At the excavation of the *Ipsilometopos* basilica at Mytilini, close to the propylon gate, there were discovered built benches from the inside, which were according to the excavator used for the distribution of goods (*διάδοσις*) to the poor or the feeding of the poor.³⁴⁹ Evangelidis explains the meaning of *διάδοσις* as the distribution of bread or money to the poor by the clergy or by monks or by other authorities.³⁵⁰

At Phthiotic Thebes, very close to the Basilica A, the remains of a public building have been identified with a hospice, most probably from the discovery of a metal stamp bearing the inscription 'of the poor of St. Onisimos'.³⁵¹ With the hospice there has been found a storeroom at the northwest,³⁵² and baths whose last phase is dated to the fifth-sixth century.³⁵³ The function of the active baths of Basilicas A and C at Phthiotic Thebes has been suggested for clerical use or for the poor,³⁵⁴ but I believe that the use of the baths should be mostly related to pilgrims. At Phthiotic Thebes at the annexes of Basilica B, (end of fifth, early sixth century) a complex of hearth and a dining hall has been discovered, where according to Soteriou the distribution of food to the poor of the parish was taking place.³⁵⁵ The hall was probably the refectory for feeding the poor or according to another interpretation served for the preparation of love feasts, demonstrating that the Canons of the oecumenical and local Councils that forbade love feasts to take place in churches had little effect in practice. Alternatively, according to another explanation these structures were part

³⁴⁹ Evangelidis 1930-31, 7.

³⁵⁰ 'Διάδοσις' is explained as the distribution of Eucharist, see Lampe 1961, 346.

³⁵¹ Dina 1994, 365-6.

³⁵² Dina 1994, 365-366; Dina 2000, 211.

³⁵³ Dina 1994, 362-363.

³⁵⁴ Soteriou 1929c, 49-51; 1935, 65-69; 1955, 134-135; Dina 1994, 362-363; Karagiorgou 2001, 55.

³⁵⁵ Soteriou 1929a, 66-67; Soteriou 1929c, 132, Fig. 177-178.

of dwellings that took over the area of the annexes of Basilica B when the basilica stop functioning.³⁵⁶

Of a similar use could be the six hearths which were found in a row in close proximity to the stylobate of the south colonnade of Basilica C in Phthiotic Thebes, as well as a storage room nearby, which has been identified from the great number of jars excavated there.³⁵⁷

Presumably, the cooking taking place at the structures attached to basilicas could be interpreted as part of the philanthropic activity of the institutional Church that originated from primitive offering traditions that expanded beyond the liturgical needs. The Church was now responsible for providing food to the poor and the pilgrims. In this case the preparation and offerings of food could be related to the Church's functioning simultaneously as a *martyrion*, or functioning possibly as a mess hall for travellers and families under the protection of the Church (widows with children, fathers unable to work). Part of the storage facilities excavated at the annexes in relation to the hearths and other finds of domestic character could also explain the stock of products the Church needed for the preparation of food and probably for the their distribution to the poor.

The grain that was provided to the Church from the state could also be stored at the Church's annexes and used for philanthropy and/or the reception of pilgrims. The weight found at the storage room of the Octagon complex at Philippi [Pl. 2a] dated to the first half of the fifth century that was shaped in an imperial figure, which at that age represents the vigilance of state services for honest and proper weighing,³⁵⁸ might be an indication of the certain amounts of grain granted from the state to the Church of Philippi and probably re-distributed by it after keeping part for its own uses.

³⁵⁶ Varalis 2000, 458, does not accept these interpretations and believes that they belong to later dwellings.

³⁵⁷ Lazaridis 1979, 58; Lazaridis 1980, 45.

³⁵⁸ Pelekanidis 1974, 67-70, Pl. 72b.

The offerings although they remained in-kind, taking the form of food or ingredients, were also of an economic nature as a number of inscriptions referring to the erection of basilicas being made from offerings.³⁵⁹ Admittedly, the philanthropic character of the Church was interrelated with other activities of the institutional Church such as serving the pilgrims, managing its property and its economics, as part of retaining its functional category of serving the prosperous Early Christian community, which would have grown in size.

III/B. 3 The industrial and agricultural activity of the Early Christian Church in Greece **[Maps 1, 4; Figs. 5, 7-10; Pl. 2]**

This section's objective is to identify and analyse in context any significant archaeological remains of any kind of industrial activity that belongs to the industrial and agricultural installations attached to ecclesiastical buildings and share with them the status of civic landmarks in the towns. By determining the presence of the material evidence related to economic functions, such as workshops, and with pilgrimage or charitable uses such as a *martyria* or refectories discussed in the previous sections, the character, form, function and evolution of activities indicated by the archaeological remains contribute further to our understanding of the extent of the institutional Church's involvement in the economic life of the Greek towns.

Workshops adjacent to churches were an early phenomenon, as early as the expansion of the Early Christian basilicas in Greece, and obviously served as auxiliary areas providing material for their erection and decoration, such as marble or mosaic workshops. During the sixth and seventh centuries though, small-scale industrial or agricultural establishments were attached to churches taking mostly the form of oil presses and wineries. While the former

³⁵⁹ See the following section III/C for the epigraphic evidence of the institutional Church in Greece.

workshops were used in order for the Church to be built or decorated (giving evidence of an artisanal activity and possibly of guilds)³⁶⁰ the latter industrial establishments were used for its maintenance (giving evidence of the property of the Church, which presumably owned its own land), not only as the basic products of trade but also coincidentally as the three ingredients that the Church had incorporated in its liturgical services.

The establishment of the oil presses and wineries from the second half of the sixth and up to the seventh century is the outcome of certain modifications that were taking place in the Greek towns – as elsewhere at the Empire. These were a widespread phenomenon, which characterised urban change, like the remodelling of secular and ecclesiastical structures by rebuilding, partitioning or walling-up. The newly remodelled structures obtained in most cases industrial or commercial or storage functions: e.g. installation of kilns and presses in public spaces like the Christianised *agoras* and *fora*, or the encroachment of workshops or shops and houses onto the street and specifically in close proximity to ecclesiastical buildings.³⁶¹

The peculiarities of the architecture of the churches at the time of the construction and incorporation of the industrial spaces, during which the churches underwent certain modifications, actually acted against their monumentality. This has also been interpreted as another sign of decline starting from the end of the era of Justinian as the installation of workshops of wine and olive oil adjacent to basilicas or to ecclesiastical buildings in general provide evidence of the decline and ruralisation of the centre of towns and of the churches, which it is believed that at that time in all probability stopped functioning as ritual places.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Urban craftsmen and shopkeepers were universally organised in guilds, see Jones 1964, 858-864; For the function of guilds see *CTh.* 14.4 and 14.7; For an example of concentration of trades in a small city (Korykos in Cilicia) see Trombley 1987, 16-23.

³⁶¹ Jacobs 2009, 221-222.

³⁶² Thomson and Wycherley 1972, 214; Frantz 1988; Morrison and Sodini 2002.

More specifically, the purpose of this archaeological work is to identify and analyse the presence or parts of industrial installations, usually presses, weights or counterweights, tanks and their relationship with the religious buildings in order to explore the patterns of structured deposition and apply comparative analysis to the buildings and their contents that may reveal – obscure up to now – economic function of the Early Christian churches in the Greek sites. The reports of the excavations of the Early Christian basilicas in Greece can give representative examples of a satisfactory number of annexes that demonstrate different kind of industrial roles.

A step towards the exploration of the economic role of the basilicas' annexes has been recently made by the work of Mailis who studied the annexes of the Early Christian basilicas in Greece. In his work he defined a number of rooms with domestic and/or agricultural functions such as rooms for wine or oil production, storage rooms or houses in relation to the annexes of the basilicas in Greece.³⁶³ Further careful comparative study of the annexes of the Early Christian basilicas in Greece will be carried out here, and an attempt to interpret the major and minor finds of the annexes in relation to the institutionalisation of the Church, that might hopefully shed light on the diverse socio-politico-economic role of the Church in towns.

Artisans' workshops

At the excavation of the northwest annexes of the Lechaion basilica at the port of Corinth, the excavator identified a mosaic workshop on the basis of a kiln for the production of mosaic tesserae and relevant finds such as a built basin, a cistern and a concentration of glass tesserae. It has been believed that this annex had been built prior to the basilica and that it served for its decoration providing evidence of a gifted artisans' school.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Mailis 2011, 147.

³⁶⁴ Pallas 1961, 153, 156; Pallas 1963, 77.

Another mosaic workshop according to Soteriou was found at Phthiotic Thebes, as part of the southern annexes of Basilica C's complex of three successive grandiose basilicas. That was a square, paved room and was identified as a mosaic workshop on the grounds of a semicircular kiln having signs of burning and remains of red and blue sand around it, fragile coloured glass slabs and an abundance of mosaic elements that were used for wall and floor mosaics.³⁶⁵ Although the identification of this mosaic workshop has been questioned, the counter interpretation of the 'kiln' being a throne cannot undermine the argument of the function of a mosaic workshop.³⁶⁶

The Basilica A's importance as a civic landmark in Phthiotic Thebes, that contributed to the activity of a busy avenue, can be attributed, apart from its religious character to its annexes, especially to the rectangular room east of the baptistery, which, because of remains of hearths, a kiln and a well near there, should be connected with some kind of industrial activity.³⁶⁷ The proximity of the paved avenue to the town's harbour and to the basilicas A and C, presupposes the gravitation of industrial activities to this street, which retained its use in the re-organised Early Christian town.

At Basilica C in Phthiotic Thebes, the inscription of the Greens incised on a stone 'Victory, the luck of the Greens of the orthodox!' may be indicative of artisans grouped in guilds hinting at the impact and influence of Constantinople, or might suggest artisans coming from Constantinople for carrying out special manufacturing work.³⁶⁸ From my point of view however, I would interpret this inscription in the category of a religious outburst of faithful Christians as will be suggested below for other similar expressions too.³⁶⁹ Finally, what is noteworthy is that a surprisingly large number of coins were excavated inside and outside the

³⁶⁵ Soteriou 1929a, 68; 1954, 144-146.

³⁶⁶ Davidson-Weinberg 1962, 129-133.

³⁶⁷ Lazaridis 1972, 33-34.

³⁶⁸ Lazaridis 1969, 21.

³⁶⁹ See discussion in Chapter III.C, 122-123.

Basilica C, possibly depicting economic transactions that were organised by the Church of Thebes.³⁷⁰ I would further argue that this intense economic activity may also be attributed to pilgrimage and especially as far as the coins found inside the basilica are concerned.

At the complex of buildings that has been interpreted as the *agora* of Phthiotic Thebes, there has been identified a pottery workshop in use at least from the third century, based on the excavated cistern and on the complicated system of drains as well as on the abundance of pottery sherds.³⁷¹ However, if we accept Spieser's dating of the pottery workshop during the fourth and fifth centuries, then it is contemporary with the remodelling of the building during the Early Christian era and with the erection of the basilicas.³⁷² That is because there were found many bricks incised 'Church of Thebes' (*Εκκλησία Θεβῶν*) and it has been believed that they were probably the production of the pottery workshop. Similar bricks were found at Basilica A.³⁷³ Additionally *amphorae* have been found in the town bearing inscriptions mentioning that they belong to the Church³⁷⁴ and it is very possible that they were all products of the same workshop for the needs of the town's churches.

The possible function of a workshop of Early Christian marble sculpture at Philippi, has been identified from half-finished capitals at different stages of completion and numerous marble fragments found during the excavation of the area, that had been established in the east part of a building, outside the north wall of the Basilica B's baptistery [Fig. 6 (4)].³⁷⁵ The building was established on the previous commercial centre of the town, the *macellum*, presumably at the beginning of the Early Christian era, but we should imagine that it had been

³⁷⁰ Karagiorgou 2001, 76-78.

³⁷¹ Lazaridis 1960, 63-66; Lazaridis 1963, 45-48.

³⁷² Spieser 1984b, 326.

³⁷³ Lazaridis 1960, 66.

³⁷⁴ Soteriou 1929c, 103.

³⁷⁵ Gounaris and Gounari 2004, 58-59, citing previous literature.

out of use when the Early Christian Basilica B was built ca. 550 over the greater part of it.³⁷⁶ What has been preserved of the market is only the *hexastyle* colonnade at its northern part which was incorporated by the Byzantine architect into the church as a monumental entrance to its northern nave [Fig. 6 (4)]. What is noteworthy is, at the west room as one enters the colonnade, the characteristic threshold with its evidence of closing of shops, which has been already discussed above and has already been observed *in situ* opposite the Basilica B [Pl. 1d], at the shops south of the forum [Fig. 6 (5); Pl. 1a]; the marbles of the stylobate in the middle of the stoa and those of the stairs in front of the portico are hollow, indicative of the continuous use of the portico.³⁷⁷ That is very reasonable if we imagine that a great number of locals and pilgrims crossed this area after the erection of Basilica B. Its main thresholds were never repaired, though. Workshops attached to basilicas will prove to be a very common phenomenon in Early Christian era. The bulk therefore of the marble was used for ecclesiastical architecture and there was need to work it out locally in workshops attached to basilicas by gifted craftsmen. But from where did they bring the marble? Is there evidence for active marble quarries at that time in Greece?

Indeed, two marble qualities destined for ecclesiastical use not only existed in the Greek region but also exported abroad one from the Thessalian quarries and the other from the Thasian quarries. Most of the Thessalian marble, during its peak time, the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth centuries, was used except for Constantinople, in the basilicas A and B at Philippi, in the basilicas of Acheiropoiitos and St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, in basilicas A and C at Phthiotic Thebes, and had different applications in their ecclesiastical

³⁷⁶ Collart 1937, 364; Lemerle 1945, 421-424; Lazaridis 1973, 39; DeRuyt 1983, 133-136.

³⁷⁷ Lazaridis 1956, 30-31.

architecture. In this group we should included the ambo of the Marzamemi shipwreck that is also indicative of the ecclesiastical use of the marbles.³⁷⁸

Olga Karagiorgou concludes that the presence of the Thessalian marble in construction projects related directly to the imperial or ecclesiastical initiative, underlines that the Omorfochori quarries were subject to imperial control during the Early Christian times, and that during the Early Christian times the commercial transactions of Thessaly were taking place at the harbours of Demetrias and Phthiotic Thebes.³⁷⁹

But it was not only the Thessalian quarries which were famous for their marble in Early Christian times in Greece, but also the quarries of Thasos, whose marbles were also destined for ecclesiastical use and were found at several Greek sites as well. The natural harbour at Alyki, at the south side of the island, was situated at one of the principal marble quarries of antiquity.³⁸⁰ In the Early Christian era, Alyki was synonymous for its double basilicas³⁸¹ and what is more, graffiti of Christian symbols became characteristic of the area. From the fourth to the sixth century exportation of semi-finished pieces especially slabs and columns went on. Aliki's trade markets as well as the quarries of other harbours, especially those of Cape Vathy and Cape Fanari among others, were Rome, Asia Minor, and from the Greek region Philippi, Thessalonica, Delphi and Phthiotic Thebes.³⁸² In fifth century contexts the larger part of the material appears in ecclesiastical structures. By the end of the Early Christian era Thasos's quarries, although they still removed marble, were in decline in volume

³⁷⁸ Karagiorgou 2004, 183-219.

³⁷⁹ Karagiorgou 2004, 212.

³⁸⁰ For the Alyki harbour quarries see Sodini, Labraki and Kozelj 1980, 79-137.

³⁸¹ Sodini 1970, 855-866; Sodini and Kolokotsas 1984.

³⁸² Herrmann, Barbin and Mentzos 1999, 75-90; Kozelj and Wurch-Kozelj 2005, 465-486; Herrmann and Barbin 1993, 91-103.

and in quality. From the sixth century their trade destinations were still long-distance but less in volume and started focusing on Macedonia.³⁸³

The evidence of the marble market's demands, also confirms the argument of the public character of the churches, which has been supported from the very beginning in Chapter I. The new public cores of the towns, the ecclesiastical complexes, demanded tons of marble, and artisanal labour, to be initially constructed and later reconstructed. Whether State-funded from the imperial quarries, or purchased from donations and endowments, the bulk of the marble market during the Early Christian era was destined for the public religious constructive activity.

Industrial and agricultural workshops

Mainland Greece

At the site of Louloudies Pierias, in northern Greece, there has come to light a complex of a three-aisled basilica and an apsidal structure with mosaic decoration and a storeroom for the storage of grain, both surrounded by auxiliary rooms and colonnaded stoas, enclosed by a wall, (as the discovery of a moat and a gate distinctively illustrate), that has been interpreted as an episcopal centre. [Fig. 8].³⁸⁴ The first phase of the complex, which has been identified as an episcopal complex based on an architectural basis, is dated by the excavators to the end of the fifth century while in the second phase which coincides with the era of Justinian, the complex is extended and supplemented with industrial establishments.³⁸⁵ A wine press establishment consisting of five rooms was built at the northwest part of the complex against the north precinct and an olive oil press was also established [Fig. 8] ³⁸⁶ The

³⁸³ Hermann et al. 1999, 80-82.

³⁸⁴ Marki 2004, 27-45; 2008, 89-111, Pl. 5.

³⁸⁵ Marki 2008, 96.

³⁸⁶ Marki 2004, 27-59; 2008, 96, 103; Aggelkou 2004, 47-59, Figs. 2-13; Cheimonopoulou 2004, 53-57.

wine press comprises three rectangular tank-presses attached to the western wall, an overflow tank east of those and two lower tank presses attached to the overflow tank's sides, with stairs for their cleaning. North of these are two long storage rooms (cellars) with *pithoi*. A third storage room (cellar) is added to the west. In all these storage places parts of twenty-nine *pithoi* were uncovered.³⁸⁷ The olive oil press is divided in two rectangular rooms attached to the north precinct of the complex. The south part of the pressing installation would function as a storage area and simultaneously as the entrance to the entire installation. In the northern room an oil manufacturing system was uncovered. It comprised a built tank with two olive mills, a *trapetum* and a *mola olearia* as well as a rectangular pressing base.³⁸⁸ However, in an effort to reconstruct the procedure of producing virgin olive oil the excavators are concentrating on the existence of the two mills. Although the *mola olearia* is a very productive mechanism, the *trapetum* gives a quality of a virgin olive oil probably exclusively for the needs of the bishop. This is supported by later evidence concerning the olive oil of Nicaea that is regarded as 'magisterial and fine olive oil' (*δεσποτικὸν καὶ κάλλιστον ἔλαιον*).³⁸⁹

This large complex was obviously functioning as an industrial unit, which was cultivating vineyards and olive trees or was buying the grapes from the wider area, and selling the wine or even more possibly, as the excavators have suggested, was related to the upgrading of the episcopal role with administrative activities of a financial character including the management of the local farm products, and as a 'civic' complex for the needs of the peasants.³⁹⁰ Interestingly, regarding the tools used for agriculture, which are dated to the sixth and seventh centuries, these are found at scattered points all over the site, but there are some

³⁸⁷ Marki 2004, 35.

³⁸⁸ Marki 2008, 103.

³⁸⁹ Cheimonopoulou 2004, 53-57.

³⁹⁰ Marki 2008, 105.

spots like the south-eastern side of the basilica where they have been found in concentration.³⁹¹

Of special interest are also the annexes of the Early Christian basilica at Kilkis. The single-aisled basilica, which is dated at least to the second half of the fifth century.³⁹² Noteworthy from the first phase of the basilica are two vaulted tombs that occupy the north side of the nave of the church and the narthex respectively; during the middle of the sixth century it was turned into a three-aisled basilica and at the end of the sixth century the complex was extended southwards by the creation of several new areas such as a baptistery, a wine press, store-rooms, all surrounded by a strong circuit wall [Fig. 9].³⁹³ The existing evidence shows that in front of the south wall there was an open stoa while the upper floor formed an oblong space probably with towers at its two corners according to the excavator, presumably for administrative use.³⁹⁴ The remaining part of the oblong space on the ground floor was converted into a winery, and in sequence with the workshop a storage area was discovered with four *pithoi in situ* at the southwest corner [Pl. 2c]. A small hoard of twenty-six bronze coins of the first half of the seventh century was found at the terrace of the storeroom. The upper part of the corner rooms, which were destined for storage too, was formed in towers as has already been stated, indicating also the defensive character of the building.³⁹⁵

Another example of the industrial character of the Church annexes from northern Greece can be drawn from the Octagon at Philippi. A wine press was installed at the storerooms in relation to the Episcopal residence, from which survives evidence of its twin

³⁹¹ Marki 2008, 105; Aggelkou 2004, 61-72.

³⁹² Kissas 1987, 411-413; 1988, 207-217.

³⁹³ Kissas 1987, 411-413.

³⁹⁴ Kissas 1988, 207-217, Figs. 9-10.

³⁹⁵ Kissas 1988, 210.

storage tanks with the respective *pithoi* [Fig. 5; Pl.a-b]³⁹⁶ The winepress was established in the wider storage area of the Octagon's complex, here, interestingly, the windows with the special thresholds with the slot were found, as well as the weight scale with the imperial shaped figure [Pl.a-c].³⁹⁷ Similarly, a winepress has been found in a room adjoining the atrium of the *extra muros* cemetery basilica of Dion, which has been dated to the middle of the sixth century [Fig. 10].³⁹⁸

Interestingly, in two cases so far, the so-called episcopal complex at Louloudies Pierias and the ecclesiastical complex at Kilkis demonstrate the same features, a basilica with annexes parts of which during the reign of Justinian acquired an industrial character and a defensive enclosure and towers along with a possible administrative character for the rest of the structures. At Philippi, the wine press had also been established in close relation to the episcopal residence, while at Dion the wine press had been established at a cemetery basilica, outside of the walls of the town.

At Velika in Melivoia, close to the coast, a building complex attached to the west of an Early Christian basilica and dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, comprised of three wings around an atrium and housing an olive oil press as well as storage facilities and a hearth, which has been interpreted as being for preparation of food [Pl. 2f].³⁹⁹ At Diocletianoupolis, at the Basilica C *extra muros* discovered at the site of Paravela, at a later phase, among other alterations to the original plan of the basilica, was the addition of a wine press in the space between the monumental tomb and the basilica.⁴⁰⁰ These two examples of the modifications of church annexes that occurred after the middle of the sixth century provide evidence of churches outside the walled town and probably not walled, underlying the

³⁹⁶ Pelekanidis 1966, 54, Pl. 35b; 1974, 65-72.

³⁹⁷ Gounaris 1980, 210-211.

³⁹⁸ Mentzos 1992, 240.

³⁹⁹ Sdrolia 2010, 75-78, n. 23.

⁴⁰⁰ Papazotos 1988, 214, Fig. 2.

fact that the establishment of oil and wine presses was evenly distributed in all churches, whether episcopal, cemeterial, pilgrimage or simply congregational.

The industrial character of the church annexes in the urban centre of Athens will be discussed based on the work of Sophoklis Chatzisavvas, who identified and dated in the Early Christian era evidence of olive oil-presses in the Athenian *agora* and its vicinity.⁴⁰¹ Although the remains of industrial units can be dated to the Early Christian era, the respective Early Christian material evidence, the basilicas and their annexes, were removed early and therefore an effort will be made to reconstruct them in order to discuss the finds in their material context. The discussion of the industrial character of the churches' annexes in the centre of Early Christian Athens, results from Chatzisavvas' identification and dating of the olive oil press units to the Early Christian era, and simultaneously with the relationship of this evidence to the function of nearby Early Christian churches. The discussion about Athens as a place of pilgrimage, worship of saints, and economic activity in relation to the wealth of the *martyria* in the section III/A.1 above, will give the opportunity to strengthen the approach of the economic involvement of the Church in towns with the additional evidence of the industrial activity of the churches' annexes in the centre of Athens. The spread of Early Christian churches in Athens during the sixth and seventh centuries was remarkable. The Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the south wing of the Propylaia, the Hephaisteion, a small temple of Demetra and Kore by the Ilissos river, the Asclepieion, a single-aisled basilica on the eastern parodos at the theatre of Dionysos with a nearby Christian cemetery, the Library of Hadrian, the tower of the Winds and the caves around the Acropolis, were all reconsecrated for Christian worship while at the same time other original Christian basilicas were built elsewhere in the town [Map 4].⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ Chatzisavvas 2008, 109-117.

⁴⁰² Travlos 1962, 719-733; 1971; Kaldellis 2009, 31-32.

The single-aisled basilica at the Theatre of Dionysos (most probably of the second half of the sixth century)⁴⁰³ apart from the interesting discovery of a vaulted grave with many bones in the nave, after gradual conversions, used the orchestra of the theatre as its atrium [Map 4]. This is important information that connects the church with the industrial activity of an olive oil press detected in the area. According to Chatzisavvas, inside the area of the theatre and more specifically at the tenth row of the fourth section of the *koilon*, was found a compression base and weight for the reception of the *cochlea* mechanism, providing evidence of a complete olive oil pressing installation that can be dated according to its respective counterweights during the Early Christian era, and in any case before the seventh century [Pl. 2e].⁴⁰⁴ Undoubtedly, the atrium of the Early Christian basilica would have obtained an industrial character especially since the dating of the atrium after gradual conversions around the end of the sixth century coincides with Chatzisavvas' chronology of the olive oil press unit before the seventh century. This however was not the only industrial unit established in the area of the theatre of Dionysus where the single-aisled basilica was erected. East of the temple of Dionysos, Chatzisavvas identified the installations of a twin olive oil press that is most probably dated from the Early Christian times and it probably forms a sequence with other similar establishments excavated at the Acropolis Museum area (Makrygiannni area).⁴⁰⁵

Parts of a three-aisled basilica have also been uncovered at the Roman *agora* (early sixth century), under the northeast corner of the mosque [Map 4].⁴⁰⁶ East of the mosque, where used to be the eastern arcade of the Roman *agora* there have been found two stone bowls along with *pithoi* and twin built cisterns that could be contemporary with the basilica lying under the mosque. Their presence there has been interpreted as testimony of the

⁴⁰³ Varalis 2000, 40, no. 17, citing previous literature.

⁴⁰⁴ Chatzisavvas 2008, 115.

⁴⁰⁵ Chatzisavvas 2008, 112-114.

⁴⁰⁶ Varalis 2000, 42, no. 25, citing previous literature.

continuous use of the area for olive oil production.⁴⁰⁷ The units of olive oil production may not only be related to the contemporary nearby church but also to the religious complex at the eastern side of the Roman *agora*, where a single-aisled room partly excavated at the building of the *agoranameion* was possibly converted into a church as inferred from Christian incisions on the walls. Additionally the octagon at the 'Tower of the Winds' that preserves two incised crosses in a medallion on its doorframe, situated the northwest of the Roman *agora*, is believed to have functioned as the baptistery either of this church or of the other church in the centre of the Roman *agora*.⁴⁰⁸

Respectively, in the museum of the ancient *agora* there have been stored dozens of parts that belong to olive oil production installations.⁴⁰⁹ However, there are only limited publications of them such as the ones from the 'Palace of the Giants' or from the Metröon.⁴¹⁰ The remains of an industrial unit for the production of olive oil established in juxtaposition to the 'Palace of the Giants' after the middle of the sixth century in relation to its layout that has been discussed above, resembles the cases of Louloudies-Pierias, or Kilkis where the fortified ecclesiastical complexes obtained industrial character during or after the reign of Justinian [Fig.7; Pl.2d]. Another type of industrial installation, a flourmill with a water wheel, is located in the southeast corner of the ancient *agora*, dating to ca. 450-580 which could be connected with the needs of the 'Palace of the Giants' [Fig. 7].⁴¹¹ Evidence of a water mill elsewhere in Greece comes from Early Christian Messene⁴¹² while finds connected both with flour mills and the activity of the Church are the bread seals widespread in Greece and like the *ampullae*, the bread seals dated from the fifth to the seventh centuries are incised with

⁴⁰⁷ Chatzisavvas 2008, 109-110.

⁴⁰⁸ Varalis 2000, 38-39, no. 15, citing previous literature.

⁴⁰⁹ Chatzisavvas 2008, 115.

⁴¹⁰ Thompson-Wycherley 1972, 44; Frantz 1988, 59, 121-122, Pl. 76c.

⁴¹¹ Spain 1987, 335-353; Parsons 1936, 70-90; Frantz 1988, 80-82.

⁴¹² Themelis 2002, 35.

Christian symbols, crosses and christograms.⁴¹³

For the rest of those olive oil presses that are situated all over the ancient *agora* at Athens, as well as along the train tracks, we know nothing about their origin. The fact, however, that so many remains of the olive oil presses' installations exist in such a small area around the Acropolis in relation to ecclesiastical architecture, reminds us not only of the large fields with olive trees in the centre of Athens but also with the possibility that they formed part of lands that were owned or exploited by the Church. If this was the case during Early Christian times, it seems that the olive oil press installations in the town centre of Athens should be associated with the activity of the landed estates.

In the Peloponnese, the Early Christian basilica at Olympia demonstrates an architectural complex excavated near it that has been identified as part of a wine press along with a pottery workshop, but the most impressive aspect is that there is evidence of other wineries as well found around the area [Map 1].⁴¹⁴ At the Early Christian basilica at Sikyon, inside the square room attached to the north side of the church communicating only with the north aisle was identified a liquid tank, which had been first thought of being filled possibly with olive oil⁴¹⁵ but after second observations it has been suggested that it functioned as a wine press, due to a pipe installation ending at a pit and a large *pithos* installed inside the floor [Map 1].⁴¹⁶ Finally, an olive press has been excavated at the site of the ancient and Late Roman Sparta in proximity to an Early Christian basilica.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Koumoussi and Moutzali 2008, 9-21, especially 11-12 for other examples from Greece.

⁴¹⁴ Schauer 2002, 208-216; Völling 2004, 33-36.

⁴¹⁵ Orlandos 1933, 84.

⁴¹⁶ Mailis 2011, 93, Pl. 96a,b.

⁴¹⁷ Dunn 2011, 27.

The islands

The west rooms of the atrium at Panormos basilica in Rethymnon, Crete, it has been argued, became a wine press and a storage area [Map 1].⁴¹⁸ In the large Gymnasium of Samos two Early Byzantine basilicas were built; one dating to the reign of Justinian was part of a probable large monastic complex with a basilica, atrium, baptistery, a banqueting hall, a cemetery, and rooms.⁴¹⁹ The annexes bounding the Early Christian basilica give evidence of both wine production and olive oil production and there were also storage rooms containing *amphorae* for processing grain and a kiln for the production of lime. The excavators argued that this sacred complex was possibly a monastery but the counter argument is that it could not be a monastery due to the lack of living quarters, and that it was simply a church complex in which agricultural production was carried out when the church ceased to be used as a church.⁴²⁰

The history of the *praetorium* at Gortyna in Crete, has been illustrated by the Italian archaeological team, whose phases have been traced from a *praetorium* to a palace and finally to a monastery in the seventh century [Map 1]. The identification with a monastery is based on architectural evidence of a holy complex of large dimensions with food self-sufficiency as the presence of the underground silos and other storage facilities along with an olive oil press suggests.⁴²¹ As it has been demonstrated above, however, the evidence of industrial units is not necessarily related to the function of monasteries although it cannot exclude such function. The truth is that we are not aware of the layout of monasteries in Early Christian Greece, although their presence is certain.⁴²² I believe that the layout of the *praetorium* and its evolution could find a close parallel to the ‘Palace of the Giants’ in the Athenian *agora*,

⁴¹⁸ Platon 1949, 112-127.

⁴¹⁹ Martini and Steckner 1993, 143-161; Steckner 1998, 173-182.

⁴²⁰ Brenk 2004, 469, Fig. 8.

⁴²¹ DiVita 2010, 163-205, Figs. 275, 277.

⁴²² For inscriptions naming monks and nuns from Greece see Varalis 2000, 516-518.

which, as I have argued, should have functioned during the Early Christian era as an ecclesiastical complex, combining pilgrimage, episcopal and further institutional activity.

It is not a coincidence that at later times part of the aisles or of the annexes of basilicas were converted into workshops. As an outcome of the expansion of Christianity and the implementation of a new building programme for the establishment of churches as the new public religious centre of the towns, the Church itself played a major role in the absorption of artisans connected with these activities. On the other hand, several other professions flourished as an outcome of the open markets and fairs, in relation to the pilgrimage character of the sites, such as itinerant merchants and cooks.⁴²³ Apart from the fact that the Church supported several crafts and trades, it is also possible that it played a crucial role in the production of certain materials such as the marble quarrying and sculpting. This could make sense as the bulk of these products were destined for ecclesiastical use since the new imposing public buildings in the towns were now the ecclesiastical complexes.

The phenomenon of olive oil and wine presses as part of church annexes is rather a natural continuation of the function of artisans' workshops, which continued to exist but under a different use. When the time of the elaborated Church construction and decoration programme was over, the need for the production of more practical products had arisen. If the workshops were linked directly with the Church or with the people related to or nominated by the Church we should not feel amazed to see the Church as the place for this kind of activity, especially if the profits from these workshops were destined for its maintenance and for philanthropy.

As part of the transformations observed in the architecture of the sixth century, the organisation of churches did indeed follow the state's renovation of the towns. More

⁴²³ Sironen 1997, nos. 152, 186, 211; 1983, no. 232; Mentzou 1975, 103-106.

specifically, Justinian passed a law in 535 forbidding lending or divestiture, obviously following the conciliar Canons regarding the economic behaviour of the Church.⁴²⁴ Later however, in 537 and 544, this law changed and now churches from all the regions of the Empire (except for Constantinople) were allowed to sell up their movable and immovable properties (including those given by the state) in order to pay off their debts including their public debts.⁴²⁵ The annexes of the basilicas discussed above may represent part of the implementation of this law and the establishment of workshops at the annexes of the basilicas, could reflect the opportunity that churches took, under economic pressure from the state, to reclaim and invest in their properties. After all, wine and oil were part of the Christian triad (wine, olive oil, bread) whose symbolism was incorporated into the services of the Church. Therefore they would be among the most appropriate products for the Church to get involved with, in both production and circulation, especially if we see the Church emerging as an outstanding ecclesiastical authority with civic responsibilities.

Ecclesiastical complexes functioning whether as pilgrimage sites or holy places, philanthropic centres, industrial centres, or a combination of more than one of these activities, indicate not only a prosperous and profitable institutional Church but also the gradual evolution and finally the dominance of the Church in the public space. It also shows that the public centre in Early Christian towns remained around the religious buildings, as happened in classical towns, attracting most of the social life. The large number of churches constructed in the centre of the same town represents simultaneously the number of the public spaces that were used for the people's assemblies as well as their participation in the diverse activities of the Church's institutions. The evidence of ecclesiastical complexes protected by precincts

⁴²⁴ *Just. Nov.* 7.

⁴²⁵ *Just. Nov.* 46, 120.

agrees with the evidence from that refers to the buildings that are included in the precinct.⁴²⁶ Dwellings, baths and yards among them are evident in most of the cases studied above, but more interestingly, the combination of the evidence of gardens, yards, baths, stoas and houses mentioned in the *Codex Theodosianus* that can be found at the ‘Palace of the Giants’ in the Athenian *agora* strengthens its identification as an ecclesiastical complex. Its strong precinct would protect those who sought protection in time of invasions, since the Late-Roman wall did not include the area of the ancient *agora* where the ‘Palace of the Giants’ was established.

The interpretation of the public use of buildings in the precinct of the churches studied in the context of the Early Christian topography of the previously classical towns, may show that the civic life was not anymore synonymous with theatres and *agoras* while on the other hand even the evidence of baths was mostly related to churches.⁴²⁷ Therefore, the new type of public space was not a large square that was surrounded by other civic buildings and activities, but was rather related to the public religious buildings, the ecclesiastical complexes. Presumably the same function had the annexes of the churches that accommodated industrial and agricultural functions as well as other functions related to the Church’s institutions, but in a smaller scale.

III/C. The epigraphic evidence of the institutional Church in Early Christian Greece

[Pl. 3]

The Early Christian inscriptions from Greece have been given much attention, especially the funerary inscriptions, and there are several contributions besides the excavation reports, providing interpretation, commentaries and useful listings.⁴²⁸ The inscriptions

⁴²⁶ *CTh* 9.15.

⁴²⁷ *CTh* 9.15.

⁴²⁸ Sironen 1997; Feissel 1983; 2006; Feissel and Philippidis Braat 1985, 267-396; Bandy 1963, 227-247; 1970; Caraher 2003, 311-337.

presented here are not new material, but comprise an effort to bring together under a new interpretation the various inscriptions on different material that are related to the economic involvement of the Church's institutional role, whether serving the philanthropic mission of the Church, pilgrimage, or the Church's engagement in business.

The familiarisation of the population with the ecclesiastical architecture and the fame of these buildings across the Empire, from the fourth to the sixth century, is indicated by a sketch on the floor of the Pompeion at Athens, depicting architectural features that resemble large centralised buildings such as mausoleums or *martyria*. More specifically this sketch depicts a centralised building that had an extension, probably roofed with a barrel vault on one side and with a triconch end, and a vestibulum made wider with side niches, which opened into the circular room by way of a tribelon.⁴²⁹

Other inscribed signs that may show how keen the population was in expressing instinctively aspects of the Christian religion are the signs of 'solar-discs' (*helios*) on the thresholds, both of the annex of Alkison's Basilica at Nikopolis and on a threshold at the Octagon at Philippi, which has been interpreted as a kind of gaming board [Pl. 3h].⁴³⁰ However, I do not think this suitably explains the nature of the function of such buildings. Instead, these signs resemble one of the primitive symbols of Christ and more specifically a primitive type of the evolution of the symbol of the cross.⁴³¹ This inscribed sign that could be of the primitive type of the cross is not part of the decorative project but rather an instinctive expression of the Christian religion. It is a common phenomenon for the motif of cross to appear in every part of people's life, from jewellery, clothing, utensils, lamps, furniture, houses, to places of commerce and work, markets, quarries and boats.⁴³² Similarly, graffiti of

⁴²⁹ Bouras 2007, 31-34.

⁴³⁰ Papadopoulou 2007, 623, Fig. 24.

⁴³¹ Sulzberger 1925, 337-448.

⁴³² Maguire 2011, 43-47.

fish have been found in Corinth, in the wet mortar of the Lechaion basilica, the Panayia Bath and the Hexamilion wall and in several other places in the vicinity of Corinth.⁴³³ Like the sign of 'solar-disc', the fish is an early symbol associated with Christianity. Its appearance in ecclesiastical and secular buildings in Corinth has been interpreted either as *apotropaic*, representative of particular crew of labourers, or as expressing resistance to external pressures.⁴³⁴ Christian graffiti including the cross monogram and the fish have also been recorded on one of the columns at *agoranomeion* as well as on the doorway of Christian Hephaisteion and on a column in the 'Palace of the Giants' in Athens.⁴³⁵ Regarding the motif of the cross on doorways, thresholds and on floors, the Canons of the oOecumenical councils, which were reinforced again by Canon 73 of the Council in Trullo, prohibited the depiction of the cross on floors; therefore it certainly provides a date at least before the seventh century.

These reveal only part of the expression of a well-established religion both depicted in the town architecture and in the mind of the people that formed the basis for Justinian to strengthen his political presence in Greece; it was also expressed via the evidence of mural inscriptions. Invocations to God on the gates of the Greek towns were rather a common phenomenon, as the examples from the invocative inscriptions possibly from a gate of the Hexamilion wall near Corinth, of the wall at Amphipolis, and of the wall of Philippi show. A pillar-shaped stele with an invocatory inscription dated to the sixth century found at the excavation of the south side of the fortification wall of Amphipolis within a prominent position records: 'Christ our God, save and restore this city'.⁴³⁶ Another, partly restored

⁴³³ Caraher 2014, 155-156.

⁴³⁴ Caraher 2014, 156.

⁴³⁵ Frantz 1988, 91; 72, n.101.

⁴³⁶ Doukata-Demertzi 2011, 95, no. 33, citing previous literature: '+ X (ΠΙΣΤΕ) Ο Θ (ΕΟΣ) / ΗΜΩΝ / ΣΩΣΩΝ / ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑ-/ ΣΤΗΣΩΝ / ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ / ΠΟΛ [Ε] ΙΝ / ΤΑΥΤΗΝ'.

inscription, from the Neapolis Gate at Philippi seems to include a version of a relevant theme: ‘...and safeguard those dwelling in you to your glory’.⁴³⁷

The invocative inscription from Corinth uses phrases of the creed to pray to God for the emperor Justinian and his servant Viktorinos and all the people in Greece who are living according to God: ‘Light of Light, True God of True God, guard the emperor Justinian and his faithful servant Viktorinos along with those dwelling in Greece in accord with God’.⁴³⁸ A relevant inscription, again from Corinth, possibly from a similar gate at the Hexamillion wall or the wall of the town again refers to Justinian and his servant Viktorinos: ‘Holy Mary, Theotokos, safeguard the Empire of the Christ-loving Justinian and his faithful servant Viktorinos along with those who dwell in Corinth living in accord with God’.⁴³⁹

Apart from the invocative inscriptions on the walls of the Greek towns, Justinian made again his appearance at the pilgrimage basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki. On a fragment of a plaque from the floor of the basilica an edict was inscribed: ‘Justinian, Alamanicus, Gothicus, triumphant, conqueror, always to be revered..., Demetrios of.. (venerable) house on the (...) who had prayed (to)...’.⁴⁴⁰ It has been suggested that the emperor had rather made some thank-offering to the ‘venerable’ house of St. Demetrius’, which may refer to a tax-collecting concession rather than a visit by Justinian himself to

⁴³⁷ Feissel 1983, 90-192, no. 223: [...ΚΑΙ ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ Εἰν σοι κατο[ι]κοῦντας εἰς ΔΟΞΑ [Ν ΣΟΥ].

⁴³⁸ Caraher 2014, 160, citing previous literature: ‘+ΦΩΣ ΕΚ ΦΩΤΟΣ, ΘΕΟΣ / ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΥ, / ΦΥΛΑΞΗ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ / ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ / ΠΙΣΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ / ΒΙΚΤΟΡΙΝΟΝ ΑΜΑ ΤΟΙΣ / ΟΙΚΟΥΣΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΙ ΤΟΥΣ Κ(Α)Τ(Α) ΘΕΩΝ / ΖΩΝΤΑΣ.+’

⁴³⁹ Caraher 2014, 161: ‘+ΑΓ(ΙΑ) ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ, ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ / ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ / ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ / ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΓΝΗΣΙΩΣ / ΔΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΩ / ΒΙΚΤΩΡΙΝΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ / ΟΙΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩ Κ(ΑΤΑ) ΘΕΩΝ / ΖΩΝΤΑΣ.+’

⁴⁴⁰ Paisidou 2011, 136, no. 97, citing previous literature: ‘[ΙΟΥ]ΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ, ΑΛΑΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, ΓΟΤ [ΘΙΚΟΣ] ΝΙΚΗΤ(ΗΣ), ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥΧ(ΟΣ), ΑΕΙΣΕΒΑΣ [ΤΟΣ... ...]Σ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ [... ...]ΒΑΣΜΙΩ ΟΙΚΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗ [... 5 ...] ΠΡΟΣΕΥΞΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗ Θ[... ...] ΠΡΑΚΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ Δ [... ...] ΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΕΛΑΤΤΩ [... ...] ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΣΤ [... ...] ΑΚΩΧΗΣ ΚΑ [10 ...] ΙΝΑΙΤΟΥ’.

Thessaloniki and to the church of St. Demetrius, as there is no historical evidence for the latter.⁴⁴¹

The political dimensions behind the religious invocations at least for the Corinthian inscriptions have been discussed by Caraher who sees in the theological issues such as the controversy of the Three Chapters, the presence of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed along with the name of the 'Theotokos' as a project with political aspects that was sponsored by the Emperor in order to influence the Church in the West,⁴⁴² or simply, to enhance the relationship between Greece and Constantinople.

The organisation of the institutional Church has further been illustrated indirectly through the various decrees of Justinian's legislation regarding the Church's institutions, discussed above in Chapter II. Jones provides in summary the offices and professions in relation to the institutions of the Church: 'there were also sacrists in charge of the Church treasures and plates, and keepers of the archives. Managers of Church hospitals, almshouses and hostels conducted the charitable activities of the see. Moreover, in any episcopal church of any importance there were bodies of notaries who kept its records and of defensors who guarded its legal interests and served as clerical policemen.'⁴⁴³

Relevant inscriptions found in the excavation of the churches in Greece confirm the involvement of these professions in relation to the organisation of the Church's institutions. The study of the inscriptions helps additionally with the literary and architectural evidence explored in the previous sections, to support the existence of a powerful and active institutional Church in Greece, but principally to identify the ecclesiastical complexes with refectories, hospices, workshops and industrial establishments and commercial activities, as well as *martyria* and pilgrimage centres. More interestingly, the study and interpretation of

⁴⁴¹ Paisidou 2011, 136.

⁴⁴² Caraher 2014, 160-164.

⁴⁴³ Jones 1964, 911.

the inscriptions reveal whole industries lying behind these functions, like the production and distribution of *pithoi* and *ampullae*, the preparation of food for feeding the poor, or leases of lands that belonged to the Church. Hopefully this attempt will offer an unprecedented insight into the diverse function of the institutional Church in Greece, showing the secular along with the ecclesiastical function, which acted as a new dynamic in the orientation of the religious and social public space.

The Early Christian inscriptions give plenty of evidence of priests, deacons, sub-deacons and readers with side jobs, as for example in the sites of Phthiotic Thebes, Athens, or Rhodes where there is evidence of a deacon being simultaneously a goldsmith.⁴⁴⁴ Clergymen engaged in lay professions were not unusual during the Early Christian times and it was rather natural for the clergy to live by their non-clerical professions.⁴⁴⁵ It was natural for persons with ecclesiastical office also to have a secular job, and it was a very common practice to offer their services to the Church or to make donations with the money made from their secular jobs. Distinctively, among other relevant inscriptions from Greece, an inscription on a plaque from the Early Christian basilica at Olympia associates the basilica's reader who was a marble-cutter by profession with the basilica's construction: 'Lord Jesus Christ help your servant, Andreas, marble-cutter and reader'.⁴⁴⁶

The representation of an owl in the middle of the floor mosaic at the stoa of the atrium of the fifth century Basilica C at Pthiotic Thebes, along with the evidence of an ancient inscription to which was added during the Early Christian times the word 'tutor' (*παιδοτριβης*)⁴⁴⁷ leads to an assumption of the existence of ecclesiastical schools. This

⁴⁴⁴ Sironen 1997, 402-403, n.219, 220, 222, 223; Varalis 2000, 512-518, provides inscriptional evidence for the offices of the lower clergy.

⁴⁴⁵ Constantellos 1985, 375-390.

⁴⁴⁶ Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 373, no. 15: 'Κ (ΥΠΙΕ) Ι(ΗΣΟ)Υ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Ε, ΒΟΗΘ(Ε)Ι ΤΩ Δ / ΟΥΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΕΑ, ΤΩ / ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑΠΙΩ'.

⁴⁴⁷ Soteriou 1940, 20-21.

inscription was found on a previously Roman structure, which after being destroyed was used after the reconstruction of the new basilica at the reign of Justinian as an educational hall, although it is not clear if the tutor was a clergyman or lay, giving evidence for the function of schools close to churches.⁴⁴⁸ The existence of schools under the auspices of the Church and the relation between religion and education has been studied from the Lives of the saints⁴⁴⁹ and we know that synodical and legal acts allowed clergymen of all ranks to serve as tutors but we are not aware of any relevant material evidence from Greece up to now.

At Phthiotic Thebes again, a funerary stele found near Basilica D, a cemetery basilica, bears the inscription of a certain Thomas who was *notarios* of the Church of Thebes. This inscription is most significant both for mentioning the office of *notarios* in the Church of Thebes and for the use of Thomas's grave by another person named Theosebios.⁴⁵⁰ The Church of Thebes should have developed into an important ecclesiastical organisation in order to have notaries to keep its records and presumably to maintain its institutional activity too, whether pilgrimage, philanthropic or industrial.

Another office of the institutional Church is mentioned in the mosaic inscription found at the diaconikon of the Early Christian basilica at Mastichari, Kos, which mentions a clergyman who is 'αἰδέσιμος' and a sacristan (or treasurer) ('ἐνθήκαρις') most probably in the church where the inscription was found, who contributed to the mosaic decoration of the church with his wife and for his family.⁴⁵¹

A founder's mosaic inscription from the nave of the Early Christian basilica at Afedeli, Lesvos, is commemorating the office of a 'palatinus' in combination with the office of

⁴⁴⁸ Soteriou 1930, 35; 1935, 65.

⁴⁴⁹ Magoulas 1976, 114-124.

⁴⁵⁰ Soteriou 1934, 64: ΜΝΗΜΙΟΝ ΘΩΜΑ / ΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΩΤ(ΑΤΗΣ) / ΕΚ(ΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ) ΘΗΒ(ΩΝ) ΕΝΘΑ (ΔΕ) / ΚΙΤΕ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΙ / ΟΣ ΚΥΖΙΚΙΣ'.

⁴⁵¹ Orlandos 1955, 287: 'ΕΥΣΤΟΧΙΟΣ Ο ΕΛΕΣΙΜΟΣ ΕΝ / ΘΗΚΑΡΙΣ ΚΕ Η ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΑΜΕ / ΤΗ ΠΑΣΣΚΑΣΙΑ / ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ / ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΕ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΨΗΦΩΣΑΝ'.

Defensor: ‘Onisimos palatine a former Defensor decorated with mosaics the sanctuary and the nave’.⁴⁵² Those were called Palatini who were sent to the provinces for a certain service from the palace or those who were entrusted at the palace with the treasures. Onisimos, before he served as a Palatine served as a Defensor, (‘*ἐκδικος*’). Defensor was an office entrusted with the responsibility to judge at the Church’s propylon minor ecclesiastical issues.⁴⁵³ Jones distinctively states that all kind of transactions of the Church’s property from sales or mortgages to *emphyteutic* leases had to be registered before the defensor, who actually guarded the Church’s legal interest and served as a clerical policeman.⁴⁵⁴ This inscription clearly illustrates the interrelation between the state and the Church and the political character of the institutional Church’s offices that allowed an ecclesiastical office to be promoted to an imperial office. In case however Onisimos was a non-ecclesiastical defensor shows indirectly how the state financed church construction.⁴⁵⁵ Most of all, however, it shows that the property and economic affairs of the Early Christian basilica at Lesvos that needed legal support provides evidence of how wealthy were its institutions, due for example to pilgrimage, as it is the same church that Evangelidis has identified the pilgrims’ *xenodocheion*.

One of the mosaic inscriptions from the chancel of the Early Christian basilica at Klapsi in Evrytania, names a reader and *oikonomos*: ‘...reader and *oikonomos* of this most Holy Church...’.⁴⁵⁶ A steward, ‘*οἰκονόμος*’, was required by the Council of Chalcedon in

⁴⁵² Orlandos 1929, 69-70, Figs. 76-77: ‘ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ ΠΑΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ / ΚΕΑΠΕΓΔΙΚΩΝ ΕΚΕΝΘΗΣΕΝΤΟ / ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΟ ΕΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ’.

⁴⁵³ For the role of *ἐκδικος* as legal representative, public advocate of the Church, see Lampe 1961, 427 and Jones 1964, 911.

⁴⁵⁴ Jones 1964, 897, 911.

⁴⁵⁵ Civil defensores were responsible for recording all complaints and by so doing to check the malpractice of local administrators. They also had judicial authority in minor cases. With the decline of the city on the seventh century the office of *defensor civitatis* fell into disuse, see ODB 1991, 600; Jones 1964, 144-145, 279-280.

⁴⁵⁶ Chatzidakis 1958, 61: ‘...ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟ / ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ / ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ...’.

order to avoid the bishop's involvement in any financial scandal.⁴⁵⁷ Another inscription on a plaque from the Early Christian Church at Olympia mentions a reader and *emphyteutic* leaseholder, 'ἐμφοτευτής', who paved the floors: 'Kyriakos the most pious reader and 'emphyteutic lease-holder' decorated the pavement of the building praying for his salvation'.⁴⁵⁸ The term *emphyteutic* leaseholder, 'ἐμφοτευτής', is most interesting as it suggests further that the Church was supported partly by long-term leases perhaps associated with relatively high-yield cash crops like vineyards.⁴⁵⁹ Relevant to the information of long-term leases that this inscription reveals could be the evidence of vine cultivation that the archaeological evidence of wineries that have been found at this site indicates.⁴⁶⁰

An inscription from the Metropolis of Crete, Gortyn, names a certain Aristeas who was a lessee of agricultural land (or other movable or immovable property) of the most Holy Church of Thessaloniki.⁴⁶¹ This inscription demonstrates a private agreement between the tenant Aristeas and the Church of Thessaloniki of the time and the money of the lease. The Church of Thessaloniki was involved in an economic activity of non-ecclesiastical character expanding beyond the geographical borders of the city; and the inscription could be related to the legal evidence of Justinian's edict that allows the exchange of immovable property between the churches of the Empire.

Another interesting mosaic inscription at entrance to bema of the Eresos basilica at Lesbos, refers to the offerings, the so-called 'καρποφορίαι' or '*oblaciones*': 'Timagoras, a

⁴⁵⁷ C. Chalcedon, Can. 26; *Oikonomos* is an ecclesiastical administrator, a local official having charge of revenues and property see Lampe 1961, 943-944.

⁴⁵⁸ Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 373, no. 15: 'ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ Ο ΕΥ / ΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ / ΕΜΦΥΤΕΥΤΗΣ / ΤΗΣ ΚΤΗΣΕΟΣ / ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ / ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΞΑΜΕ / ΝΟΣ ΕΚΑΛ(Λ)ΙΕΡΓΗ / ΣΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΩΣΙΝ'.

⁴⁵⁹ A long-term lease (*emphyteusis*) with a set annual fee was a very common way to let Church's land during the sixth century, see Jones 1964, 897; Mackelden, Ralles and Renieris 1838, 127-132; *ODB* 1991, 693.

⁴⁶⁰ Völling 2011, 33-36; Schauer 2002, 209-210.

⁴⁶¹ Guarducci 1950, 406, no. 481.

presbyter and *oikonomos*, I made (this) from offerings'.⁴⁶² In this inscription, the phrase 'from offerings' should mean that the mosaic was made using the offerings of the faithful, since Timagoras was a presbyter, and it implies that the offerings most probably took the form of economic assistance.

The verb 'καρποφορέω-ᾶ' which initially refers to 'first-fruit offerings' is mentioned very often in the Early Christian inscriptions and it means, 'I offer gifts' to the Church, or I construct something with my own means. The so-called 'καρποφορίαι' either in kind or in cash, were initially the voluntary offerings from the faithful that were later overshadowed by the income from endowments.⁴⁶³ In Early Christian inscriptions and in the Church literature, usually the language seems to be figurative as they do not seem to have taken the form of regular first fruits but they were synonymous with offerings.⁴⁶⁴ They were actually directly related to the institutional Church as they comprised the revenue from which the Church supported the clergy, maintained their buildings, and distributed charity to the poor.

Another mosaic inscription at the nave of the same basilica at Eresos in Lesbos, informs us of another construction of the mosaic floor made from offerings: 'The work was made with the offering of our most pious bishop Ioannis'.⁴⁶⁵ This inscription names the bishop Ioannis who contributed most probably financially to the erection or decoration of the Eresos basilica. From these two mosaic inscriptions from Eresos basilica, it is obvious that the mosaic was decorated with the contribution of many people both clergy and laity.

Finally, I believe that the language used in the previous inscriptions mentioning those who give their offerings to the Church (originally meaning that they bear first fruits to the

⁴⁶² Orlandos 1929, 38-39: 'ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ/ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕ/ΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟ/ΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΠΟΙ/ΗΣΑ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΡ/ΠΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ.'

⁴⁶³ For a discussion on the practice of the offerings see Jones 1964, 894.

⁴⁶⁴ 'Καρποφορώ' means make offerings, vow offerings, gifts to the church, while 'καρποφορίαι' means the offerings to the church, see Lampe 1961, 704.

⁴⁶⁵ Orlandos 1929, 40: 'ΕΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ/ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ[ΟΠΟΥ] ΗΜΩΝ/ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Κ[ΑΡΠ]ΟΦΟΡΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ'.

Church) and do good works in the Church, was inspired from the Church services and more specifically from the prayer mentioned in St. John Chrysostom's Divine Liturgy: 'For them that bring offerings and do good works in this most venerable Church'.⁴⁶⁶

On the other hand philanthropy was a primary concern for the Church, which involved both economic expenditures and volunteers from the members of the Church. As has been already stated in a previous section, at the site of Phthiotic Thebes, very close to Basilica A, the remains of a public building have been identified with a hospice, most probably from the discovery of a metal stamp bearing the inscription 'of the poor of St. Onisimos'.⁴⁶⁷ St. Onisimos was a saint whose life, according to the tradition of the Church, is closely related with philanthropy and who was the patron saint of the needy. Therefore it is quite possible that the ecclesiastical institution that exercised philanthropy bore his name.

For those who exercised philanthropy and helped with good works at the institutions of the Church there is another inscription on mosaic from the nave of the Early Christian basilica at Molaoi, Laconia provides evidence: 'Remember Lord and have mercy on all those doing good works in your Holy Church'.⁴⁶⁸ I believe that this inscription was inspired too from John Chrysostom's Divine Liturgy: 'For them that bring offerings and do good works in Thy Holy church' as has been mentioned above.

Actually this phrase means the ones who strive and bring forth the fruit of good works. Orlandos commenting on this inscription provides three meanings of the verb 'καλλιεργῶ', including those who are doing good works for the Church, or the ones who are doing

⁴⁶⁶ Ὑπέρ τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ. St. John the Chrysostom was himself inspired by the works of earlier writers such as Clement of Alexandria, see Chapter II/C, 64, n. 216; For the use of 'καρποφορίαὶ' by other writers see Lampe 1961, 704.

⁴⁶⁷ Dina 1994, 365-6: 'ΤΟΝ ΠΙΝΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΣΟΝΙΣ'.

⁴⁶⁸ Etzeoglou 1974, 249-250, n.1, Pl. 84a: 'ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕ / ΗΣΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ / ΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΓΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΕΝ Τ / Η ΑΓΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ.'

decorations for the Church.⁴⁶⁹ I believe that this inscription is most important as is indirectly referring to the works of those contributing to the operations of the Church institutions, including their financial contribution. The verb ‘καλλιεργῶ’ with the meaning of doing good works in the Church, is again mentioned in another inscription from a marble closure slab of a chapel attached to the south side of an excavated Early Christian basilica in the Korinthia, at Kiato: ‘Remember Lord, your servant...and all those who are doing good works’.⁴⁷⁰ This inscription is actually giving evidence of a certain faithful person who has in some way, whether financial, or artisanal or philanthropic, helped the institutional Church, and is asking God to remember not only him but also all those who are helping with their works the Church.

Apart from philanthropy, the pilgrimage practice was another fundamental expression of the institutional Church detectable in the inscriptions, and indirectly related to the Church economy. Soteriou, in an attempt to read a dedicatory inscription found at Basilica B in Phthiotic Thebes, has interpreted it as giving evidence of martyrs’ tombs at the site of Early Christian Thebes: ‘Bishop Epiphanius founded the church (a *martyrion*?) with the help of Stefanos *eparchikos* at the place where he found the bodies of the saints’.⁴⁷¹ In relation to this, Soteriou also explains an inscription on a marble fragment found in Larisa, Thessaly, as a *mensa martyrum*:⁴⁷² ‘On the 18th of December the foundations of the *martyrion* dedicated to martyrs Ioannis, Loukas, Andreas, Leonidis, were laid by their servant Sotiris’.

⁴⁶⁹ Orlandos 1933, 83, n. 2; ‘Καλλιέργια’ is explained as work of beauty, embellishment of a church and acts of charity, see Lampe 1961, 697.

⁴⁷⁰ Orlandos 1933, 83: ‘[ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ.. ΚΑΙ] ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ <ΤΩΝ> ΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΓΟΥΝ [ΤΩΝ]’.

⁴⁷¹ Soteriou 1955, 138: ‘+ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ(Ε)Ι Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΕΠΙΦΑΝ(ΙΟΣ).../ΑΡΧΙ(ΕΡΕΥΣ) ΕΥΡΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ Σ(ΚΗΝΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ;)/ ΕΚΤΙΣΕΝ ΤΗ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ (ΠΟΛΕΙ...)/ ΕΣΧΗΚΩΣ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΩΝ Σ(ΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ;)/ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΥΜ(Α)Σ(ΤΟΝ;)/ ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΚ(ΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ;)’; A different translation is also offered for the word ΕΚ(ΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ), that of ΕΚ(ΔΙΚΟΣ), implying that Stephanos (?) worked not only in the office of the prefect of Illyricum but also exercised his juridical authority to protect the city of Thebes, see Dina 2011, 93, no. 30, citing previous literature.

⁴⁷² Soteriou 1932, 7-17, Pl. A, Fig. 1; Chalkia 1989, 101-106; 2011, 130, no. 89: ‘ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩ[Ν] ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ

The archaeological identification of a *martyrion* in Greece is demonstrated by an inscription naming the tomb of martyr Akakios at one of the three burial cavities at the north side of the narthex of the Early Christian basilica erected at the *agora* at Thasos, assuming therefore that the basilica was dedicated to martyr Akakios: ‘(Tomb of) martyr Akakios’.⁴⁷³ It is believed though that the relics of martyr Akakios were translated from Constantinople and this specific *martyrion* should belong according to the categorisation of *martyria* by Soteriou to the churches in which the relics of martyrs were translated.

Finally the industries for the production of materials intended for the construction or for the various needs of the Church, were also related with the institutions of the Church. There is also evidence that the Church supported and played a crucial role in some specific crafts and trades as it has been argued for the marble trade. There were workshops producing *pithoi* and stamped tiles among other vessels for the needs of the Church, revealing that there was an industry especially for or by the Church, as the evidence from stamps on bricks and tiles demonstrates.

At the *agora* of Phthiotic Thebes there has been discovered a pottery workshop producing probably the tiles, which were found around the area, that refer to the ‘Church of Thebes’.⁴⁷⁴ Additionally *amphorae* have been found in the same town with inscriptions that belong to the Church. Soteriou mentions an example from the sacristy of Basilica B, where on the rims of a *pithos* has been inscribed: ‘(of the Church) of Thebes’.⁴⁷⁵ Also at the sacristy of Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes, at the south tower of the atrium, among other finds, a large number of parts of *pithoi* was found, some of which bear on their rims inscriptions, whether

ΛΟΥΚΑ ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΥ.../[ΕΤΕΛΕΙ]ΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ [Τ]Η ΠΡΟ ΙΕ ΚΑΛΕΝΔΩΝ)
ΙΑΝ(ΟΥΑΡΙΩΝ/ [ΑΝΕΣ]ΤΗΣΕΝ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΣΩΤ(ΗΡΙΣ).

⁴⁷³ Delvoye 1951, 154-164, Fig.67: ‘ΑΚΑΚΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ’.

⁴⁷⁴ Lazaridis 1960, 60-6, Pl.46g: ‘ΕΚΚΛ(ΗΣΙΑ) ΘΗΒ(ΩΝ)’.

⁴⁷⁵ Soteriou 1929c, 45, 103, Fig.137: (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ) ΘΗΒ(ΩΝ).

of the name of the Church that owned them or the amount of their content: ‘of the Church of Thebes’ and ‘a thousand modii’ respectively.⁴⁷⁶

Similar bricks incised with the word ‘of the Church’ have been found at Basilica B at Nikopolis.⁴⁷⁷ Stamps on the bricks of Basilica D at Nikopolis and at the Basilica at Kephalos in Amvrakia, consisting of a cross in a circle, indicate that these basilicas made a special order with religious themes.⁴⁷⁸ At the Basilica of St. Achilleios in Larisa, worth notifying are the fragments of bricks with relief letters that form the name ‘Achilleios’ as well as two fragments from a marble wellhead with the inscriptions ‘...and this work’ on the one and ‘of Archbishop Achilleios’ on the other. The name Achilleios was immediately connected to St. Achilleios, the patron saint of Larissa, and his sixth century namesake the Metropolitan of the city.⁴⁷⁹ Marble fragments of tables have also been found at the northwest annexes of Basilica C at Phthiotic Thebes along with *pithoi*; one of which bears on its rim the inscription ‘may God help this work’.⁴⁸⁰ These can be related either with the philanthropic activity taking place there or with the piousness of the labourers when manufacturing the vessels, similar to other expressions of inscribed signs (such as the crosses and fish discussed above).

There is also evidence of other objects of secular use usually in the vicinity of churches that are inscribed with religious phrases usually inspired by the Church literature. The large stamped clay *pithos* rim found at the excavations of the Early Christian Basilica at Stamata, Amygdaleza, in Attica, was incised with the inscription ‘The Lord’s blessing be with us’.⁴⁸¹ At the basilica of St. Athanasios at Toroni, Khalkidiki, among the movable finds there

⁴⁷⁶ Soteriou 1927, 46: ‘Ε.ΘΒ’ (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΘΗΒΩΝ), ‘Χ.Μ.’ (ΧΙΛΙΟΙ ΜΟΔΙΟΙ).

⁴⁷⁷ Soteriou and Orlandos 1930, 80: ‘ΕΚΚΛ(ΗΣΙΑΣ)’.

⁴⁷⁸ Orlandos 1961, 100; Barlas 1966, 100.

⁴⁷⁹ Karagiorgou 2001, 42.

⁴⁸⁰ Dina 2000, 211: ‘ΘΕΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ’.

⁴⁸¹ Ghini-Tsofopoulou 1995, 71-73: ‘ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΦΗΜΑΣ’.

has been found a clay basin bearing on its rim the inscription: 'Lord help your servant'.⁴⁸² In Rhodes there have been found scattered counterweights, indicative of the existence and function of olive presses, and interestingly on one of the weights of an olive- press installation that is dated to the sixth century has been inscribed the phrase 'Grace of God' (*Θεοῦ Χάρις*) from the site of Erintos Mesanagrou near the chapel of St. Nikolaos.⁴⁸³ It could be possibly an olive press in the use of the Church representing a possible connection with the Church's economic role, or a mere expression of the piety of the artisan.

The technique of the brick stamps has been studied by Theocharidou, who concludes that around the fifth century the bricks from the Thessalonica district and Macedonia in general were made in wooden or metal moulds with an incised mark (the brick stamp) at the bottom of each one, usually a letter, a cross or a combination of letters.⁴⁸⁴ The same technique and symbols are found on bricks excavated at Dion and Kitros in Pieria, as well as other sites in Pieria. In Phthiotic Thebes the bricks were of the same technique but with different content. As with the tiles, they have simple finger marks; on the very rare occasions when they bear stamps, they were of the impressed type, before they disappear completely in later years.⁴⁸⁵

For the interpretation of the content of the stamps different opinions have been suggested: names of emperors, lay or clerical officials, names of brickmakers, names of saints to which the church was dedicated, the building the product was destined for, or even the public industry that produced the bricks. Although these are mere assumptions what is almost certain is that the stamps are related to either the producer, the orderer, or the building for which they were destined.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸² Akrivopoulou 1999, 142: 'ΚΥΠΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ[ΛΟΥ ΣΟΥY]'.
⁴⁸³ Chatzisavvas 2008, 96-99.
⁴⁸⁴ Theocharidou 1988, 97-112.
⁴⁸⁵ Theocharidou 1988, 108, Fig. 17a.
⁴⁸⁶ Theocharidou 1988, 110.

The stamped bricks found at the excavation of the Early Christian basilica at Bhiadoudi, Epanomi, bear a partly restored inscription: ‘of the city of Th[essalonica]’ or ‘of the city of Th[ermi]’.⁴⁸⁷ Both interpretations reveal the city where the pottery workshop was active, and it could further imply that it belonged to the civic authority of Thessalonica or Thermi. It may therefore be argued that there were pottery workshops that belonged to the State whose products can be traced at the Bhiadoudi basilica, as there were others that belonged to the Church whose products can be traced at Pththiotic Thebes. Obviously the Church used the products of her own workshops as well as the products of the state’s workshops in ecclesiastical construction. The rest of the cases, however, where the owner of the workshops is not mentioned like the civilian or ecclesiastical authorities, it may be argued that it was the product of private workshops, whether by order where an appropriate stamp (usually a cross) for ecclesiastical use would be suitable, or by endowments, where the potter would inscribe phrases appropriate to endowment phrases, similar to dedicatory mosaic inscriptions, asking for the blessing, help and grace of God upon him.

At this point the evidence of other inscribed vessels, the *ampullae*, should be included in the study and more specifically the combination of monograms inscribed on the *ampullae* from the Palace of the Giants in Athens [Pl. 3].⁴⁸⁸ The first observation is that there is a very common combination of letters on the *ampullae*, such as the Greek letter ‘X’ inside the letter ‘M’ and which, according to the pilgrimage character of the vessels and to my assumption of the existence of a *martyrium*, I would interpret as Martyr of Christ ‘*Μάρτυς Χριστοῦ*’. This phrase, as well as the respective common combination of the letters ‘M’ and ‘K’ which I would also interpret as Martyr of the Lord ‘*Μάρτυς Κυρίου*’ are very common in the ecclesiastical literature, especially in the Lives of the saints and in the services for the martyrs.

⁴⁸⁷ Pazaras 2009, 176: [Π]ΟΛΙΣ Θ[Ε]ΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ] or [Π]ΟΛΙΣ Θ[Ε]ΡΜΗΣ].

⁴⁸⁸ Hayes 2008, 216-218.

There is also observed a combination of the Greek letters ‘A’ and ‘P’, ‘M’ and ‘K’ that could mean a martyr of the Lord whose name begins with the letters ‘AP’. The combination of letters ‘A, P, M, K’ could mean ‘Aristeidis Martyr of the Lord’.⁴⁸⁹ There is also a similar combination of letters with the letter ‘B’ replacing letter ‘M’.⁴⁹⁰ There are even more complex combinations involving a lot more letters as well as much simpler ones like the Greek letters ‘ATς’,⁴⁹¹ or what I see as the repetition of the combination of the letters ‘M’ and ‘X’, which look like triangles.⁴⁹² Another complicated combination of letters that I did not mention before, consisting of two ‘B’s on the one side, two ‘K’s on the other side and ‘M’ with an ‘X’ inside, in the middle, could be interpreted as ‘Martyr of Christ’ for the combination of the letters in the middle, while in the two ‘B’s and two ‘K’s I can see the words from the Apocalypse of John, ‘King of Kings’ (*Βασιλεύς Βασιλέων*) and ‘Lord of the Lords’ (*Κύριος Κυρίων*).⁴⁹³

The relevant stamps from the *ampullae* at Kibyra, found on the southern slope of the theatre hill where the potter’s quarter was detected, although difficult to interpret, display monograms in arranged triangles, which look similar to the ones found in the Athenian *agora*.⁴⁹⁴ It is believed that the combination of the monograms might be assigned to the potters or even to the producers, because they were stamped during the production process, although one of them depicts a cross inscribed in a central circle surrounded by the Greek letters ‘Y EΠICK’, referring probably to a bishop.⁴⁹⁵ These types of stamps is not unusual and although it has been often recorded their precise function remains a mystery.⁴⁹⁶ Similar products are known both from coastal sites and from Ephesos, the interior of Asia Minor as

⁴⁸⁹ Hayes 2008, Pl. 90, No: SS4632; SS14350.

⁴⁹⁰ Hayes 2008, Pl.90, No. SS123.

⁴⁹¹ Hayes 2008, Pl. 90, No. SS7998; SS4635.

⁴⁹² Hayes 2008, Pl. 90, No. SS6264; SS53694; SS4628; SS4624.

⁴⁹³ Hayes 2008, Pl. 90, No: SS14834; SS14735; SS8075.

⁴⁹⁴ Japp 2009, 102-103, Figs. 54-69.

⁴⁹⁵ Japp 2009, no.61, Fig. 67.

⁴⁹⁶ Mango 1950, 19-27; Orlandos 1952-56, 240-245; Bardill 2004, *passim*.

well as from the southeastern Mediterranean [Pl. 3c/f].⁴⁹⁷ Most of the pieces show general similarities in form, fabric and the type of stamp used. Therefore several manufacturing sites need to be considered between the fourth and seventh centuries, but according to the excavators the potters of Kibyra formed one of the larger centres.⁴⁹⁸

On second observation, although the combination of monograms could be interpreted in relation to the worship of a certain saint, however, the similarities in the type of monograms of the *ampullae* that have been found in different provinces of the Empire are leading to the assumption that some of them probably share a common religious symbolism that was a trend at that time across the Empire, and especially in the pilgrimage centres. Interestingly, a similar combination of letters has been observed on floor tiles, east of the Basilica C at Phthiotic Thebes,⁴⁹⁹ and the letter X either alone or inscribed in a square, as it usually appears on the *ampullae*, is also found on Christian graves, and on Church wall graffiti in other parts of the Empire [Pl. 3d/e].⁵⁰⁰

That such combinations of letters had an apocryphal religious meaning that is certainly not related with the artisan's initials is shown by a series of attempts to decipher the Greek letters 'XMI' that were found in several inscriptions across the Empire.⁵⁰¹ It was finally read with the assistance of the evidence of papyri as 'Christ, Mary's Birth': ('Χριστός Μαρίας Γέννα').⁵⁰² Most helpful however in understanding how such monograms are combined in symbolical meanings set in geometrical shapes is the study of the evolution of the christogram and the symbol of the cross [Pl. 3g].⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁷ For similar stamps on *ampullae* and *pithoi* from Ephesos, see: Metaxas 2005, 79-95.

⁴⁹⁸ Japp 2009, 102-103.

⁴⁹⁹ Lazaridis 1980, 59.

⁵⁰⁰ Mazzoleni 2004, 91, Fig. 1; Asano 2010, Fig. 248.

⁵⁰¹ Bandy 1963, 229-230; Mazzoleni 2004, 91-93.

⁵⁰² Mazzoleni 2004, 93.

⁵⁰³ Lampakis 1906, 57; Sulzberger 1925, 337-448.

In conclusion, this chapter tried to identify and interpret representative material evidence of the annexes of the Early Christian churches in Greece that may indicate institutional activities of various types, from pilgrimage to philanthropic and industrial, which may have all played a direct or indirect role to the economic involvement of the Church in the everyday life of towns. There is a common picture observed at the Early Christian churches in towns from the study of all these three types of institutional activities discussed above. The churches usually demonstrate a combination of functions in the same complex or individually, based on monumental tombs, wineries or oil presses, pottery workshops, extensive storage facilities, baths, kitchens, *xenodocheia*, refectories, coins, and even possibly evidence of schools. Both the inscriptions and the imperial legislation confirm the material evidence of the diverse functions of the Church annexes that have been excavated in Greece. I believe that this interpretation is closer to an understanding of the historical-archaeological and topographical evolution of the Early Christian towns especially by the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century than assuming that the churches ceased functioning and that their auxiliary areas obtained domestic use taken over by dwellings. Instead, I believe that this evidence helps us restore the topography of the town centres under the influence of the ecclesiastical complexes that also concentrated apart from religious, on social, political and economic roles within the public spaces of the towns.

More specifically, regarding the archaeological attempts of interpreting and identifying *martyria* and *xenodocheia* whose supporting material evidence is less obvious than the identification of the industrial units, in most instances they rely only on architectural types that have not been verified by other kind of evidence, especially as far as the identification of *xenodocheia* is concerned. They remain however, the only contributions in respect to the institutional function of the Church in Greece. I believe that the gathering of all

this information in the context of the diverse activities of the Church as supported by the material evidence, may help for synthetic observations to be developed in order for further research to be conducted.

CHAPTER IV

RURAL ECONOMIES AND COASTAL SOCIETIES: THE IMPACT OF THE CHURCH

IN THE FORMATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN GREEK LANDSCAPE

IV/A. The status of the problems

In the previous chapter the examination of the economic role of the Church in towns was distinguished in three main categories. The institutions of the Church associated with pilgrims, the institutions regarding the philanthropic activity of the Church and finally the Church's engagement in business. These three main categories will remain the key elements in exploring the role of the Church in the Early Christian Greek countryside as well.

Rural sacred sites and holy persons became not only significant spiritual foci but also foci of economic development. Interestingly, pilgrimage sites might not only be a reason for economic flourishing but primarily, in many cases, for the habitation of once deserted areas. The ruins of agricultural exploitations as well as the ruins of philanthropic and pilgrimage-related establishments that are found as part of the annexes of the rural churches, attest to the diverse activity of the institutional Church, which in many respects was similar to the situation in towns.

The status of the rural settlements and the evolution of the countryside in general is a topic that has recently started to attract the interest of both historians and archaeologists who wish to contribute to the enigma of the rural economy from the fourth to seventh century.⁵⁰⁴ Contemporary scholarship on rural economies however has largely ignored the material evidence of the rural Churches in wealth production and the ties of the rural settlements to Christian institutions.

⁵⁰⁴ Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 3-51.

The contribution of the Church has been ignored in the market and business economy model proposed by Jairus Banaji. Banaji builds his arguments regarding the agrarian change in Late Antiquity on the stable coinage of gold, which revolutionised the economy of the Late Empire.⁵⁰⁵ Trade and business economies contributed to a remarkable prosperity of the Late Roman countryside and as taxes were commuted to cash, the countryside was integrated into commercial exchanges that advanced by the sixth century in a major transformation of the economy. Banaji in his first and most interesting to this thesis chapter, illustrates how the settlement pattern across the empire was not uniform, although the archaeological evidence in support of his arguments could be more updated. His argument on the alteration of the social physiognomy of the countryside by the sixth century is also of interest. However, it is limited to a detailed interpretation of papyri from Egypt and tends to be a regional rather than a holistic study of agrarian change in Late Antiquity.

Cam Grey on the other hand acknowledges flexibility and adaptability of rural communities in the period from the third to fifth centuries.⁵⁰⁶ Grey addresses issues such as the Christianisation of the countryside, the emergence of the army and the church along with the state as types of patronage relations, and the effects of the new system of taxation upon rural social structures. Furthermore, he illustrates the responses of the rural communities to the pressure and changes that accompanied the two major changes of the period, the Church and the imposition of a new tax system. Peasants had been oppressed both by the Church and the taxation and also resist to the new changes that finally led to economic decline. Finally, he acknowledges as a characteristic rural settlement in the eastern provinces the village that occupies a series of landscapes of diverse geographic and geologic origin.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ Banaji 2007; 2012, 597-624.

⁵⁰⁶ Grey 2011; 2012, 625-666.

⁵⁰⁷ Grey 2012, 630.

The illustration of the relationship between the peasants and the Church is also depicted in the views of other historians such as Peter Sarris.⁵⁰⁸ According to Sarris the growth of the Church as a landowning institution from the fourth century onwards was, on one level, one of the most significant economic developments of the Late Antiquity. The growing involvement of the Church and its personnel in exploitative agrarian social relations resulted in peasants' hostility to the Church and its representatives in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Sarris underlines further that 'this reaction was also fuelled by resentment at the introduction of Christianity that was, for the most part, imposed from above' and that 'the Christianisation of the peasantry is likely to have been a far more haphazard, piecemeal, and gradual process than is commonly supposed.'⁵⁰⁹

That the peasants were suffering from the injustices of the Church as a great landowner has also been illustrated through the Lives of the saints that refer to the position of administrators for the Church-owned villages in Anatolia and Syria.⁵¹⁰ According to the Lives of the saints the small farmer was pressurised and oppressed by the great landlord who was represented by both the Church and the Byzantine official. More interestingly however, the Lives show that when the Byzantine officials exercised oppressive measures the farmers would seek refuge in a monastery. The relation between the peasants and the Church therefore depended on another factor, the belief of the Byzantine peasants that their saints were capable of providing panaceas to all types of problems.⁵¹¹ Obviously the peasants according to the Lives of the saints were seeing in the Church two faces: the one of the oppressive landowner and the other of the spiritual reliever. Could the latter have a greater influence on the peasantry than the Church's landowning institution? Interestingly, the rural model in Asia

⁵⁰⁸ Sarris 2011b, 1-10.

⁵⁰⁹ Sarris 2011b, 8.

⁵¹⁰ Magoulias 1990, 59-70.

⁵¹¹ Magoulias 1990, 62.

Minor, that could be extended down to the sixth century, has shown how the religion of the monk triumphed over that of the bishop and that finally the religion of the village triumphed over that of the city.⁵¹² The religion of the monk could be interpreted as the spiritual element of the Church and that of the bishop as the institutional Church.

On the other hand, scholarship that takes account of rural archaeology has also contributed to the subject. Kim Bowes in approaching the state of Christian archaeology in the countryside, describes how in the East, particularly in the Aegean, Egypt, and Asia Minor, the first churches appear as part of fifth and sixth-century landscapes of villages, small farms, and occasional villas. Bowes wisely questions if the Church that frequently served as the nexus of a new settlement attracted habitation or vice versa. She accepts the existence of martyrs' shrines, sometimes at the fringes of villages or in solitary points in the landscape, as the successors of the rural pagan sanctuaries of the Graeco-Roman period, serving as points of mediation and competition for a ring of local villages.⁵¹³ For Asia Minor and especially for Egypt there is enough material and literary evidence for one to study the evolution of villages and the Church's involvement in the countryside.⁵¹⁴

Instead the evidence from the Greek countryside is scant but promising, in contrast to the situation in the towns discussed in the previous chapter, and does not allow distinguishing the town from the village. Historians and archaeologists, as will be shown below, have put efforts into analysing the evolution of rural settlement patterns in order to distinguish a town from an elusive village, at a time when, admittedly, the most striking phenomenon of the sixth century was the so-called 'ruralisation' of the towns; the fact that the towns obtained rural characteristics made them inseparable from rural settlements. But what is the difference between a town and a village? In a comparative perspective, what is considered a town in one

⁵¹² Mitchell 1993; Liebeschuetz 1995, 326.

⁵¹³ Bowes 2008, 604-605.

⁵¹⁴ Monks 1953, 344-362; Wipszycka 1972, especially 40, 47-49, 52-53; Dossey 2010; Hickey 2012.

region of the empire might only be a large village in another region. 'The east is not west; in the east itself, Egypt is not Asia Minor, which in its turn is not the Balkan Peninsula, and that, for lack of particular studies, our view of things tends to be crudely general and hence imprecise'.⁵¹⁵

The different 'schools' of archaeology in the study of the countryside in Greece have been summarised as the excavation of rural churches without specific contextualization; extensive survey of the 'monumental landscape' (essentially rural churches and fortifications); and the identification of 'ceramic landscapes' on the basis of evidence from multi-period intensive surveys.⁵¹⁶ The work of the Archaeological Service in Greece, which is rescue-led, regarding the investigation of traces of the rural communities has been presented in the *Archaeological Reports* by Archibald Dunn. Important observations made by Dunn that we will come across in the case studies below, are that 'rural basilicas are potentially highly relevant to the distribution of rural settlements' and that 'complementing the rapidly developing record of excavation at Early Byzantine rural sites is evidence of dispersed loci of maritime traffic.'

In defining the type of the settlement the terminology used varies between 'villae', 'villages', 'farmsteads', 'estates', 'hamlets' as well as 'loci of maritime traffic', 'emporion', 'secondary centres' and 'satellite towns' especially in defining the activity of the coastal settlements.⁵¹⁷

However, as John Bintliff has acknowledged, the lines between the various types of Byzantine settlements are exceedingly blurred and the organization of space outside the most monumentalized centres continues to offer a serious challenge. Bintliff sees the empty or half-empty landscapes bordered by well populated and 'busy countrysides' only as the last

⁵¹⁵ Bowman and Wilson 2011, 1-14.

⁵¹⁶ Dunn 2012, 109.

⁵¹⁷ Dunn 2011, 100; Veikou 2013, 128-130, citing previous literature.

effective achievement of the declining total energy of the empire.⁵¹⁸ Boeotia's half-deserted countryside for example was driven by a highly specialised interregional economy showing a remarkable contrast, or, as it has been called, 'the paradox of curious contrast' of prosperity and decline.⁵¹⁹ Unlike most surveys on Byzantine archaeology, which consider Greece as peripheral to the Byzantine heartland, Bintliff locates central and southern Greece at the centre of his discussion of archaeological inquiry.⁵²⁰ The contribution of survey archaeology has indeed shed light on the Late Antique countryside and, by extension, on the Late Antique economy and has begun to populate the countryside with rural sites, but rural churches remain undocumented.⁵²¹ There are exceptions of course. The detailed recording of 27 churches along with plans, photographs and commentaries for the Methana survey⁵²² or the attempt to record several previous overlooked or under-documented Early Christian churches at Sikyon survey, as well as an attempt to argue that the site of Klisi-Boukoura at Styliia might be a monastic foundation based on the size of over three thousand sq. m.⁵²³ This shows how many significant interpretative gaps need to be filled in the documentation of the Greek rural landscape.

Dunn on the other hand through the case-study examination of the Macedonian countryside introduces a new rural settlement-pattern in relation to the presence of the army and argues further that the investment in rural fortifications needs to be assessed in the light of the evidence for open villages and rural churches.⁵²⁴ The association of these villages with monumental Church building in the fifth and sixth century indicates a previously undocumented stability and viability. He therefore acknowledges the importance of rural

⁵¹⁸ Bintliff 2014, 319-326.

⁵¹⁹ Bintliff 2014, 322.

⁵²⁰ Bintliff 2014 319-326; 2012a; 2012b, 69-73.

⁵²¹ Pettegrew 2007, 745, n. 8.

⁵²² Koukoulis 1997a, 92-100; 1997b, 211-256.

⁵²³ Lolos 2011, 269-376.

⁵²⁴ Dunn 2007, 101-109; Dunn 2005, 267-278; Dunn 2004, 535-583.

churches through their control of land and their contribution to economic and productive activity. He contradicts the view of infertile and of low-value Greek landscapes and he argues that the village pattern that spread across Early Byzantine Macedonia gives evidence of economic development such as contact with markets.

Florin Curta who declares that the only type of settlement that was omnipresent in the Balkans was that of fort garrisons until the central distribution of *annona* completely ceased and maintaining the troops on the frontier became impossible, has also argued the military character of the Balkan landscape but not in relation to the role of the Church.⁵²⁵ A military-ecclesiastical type of settlement, it has also been argued, dominated the community of the Corinthian countryside, involving soldier-farmers with industrial production and external trade.⁵²⁶ The Christian character however of the Corinthian countryside has been questioned by Guy Sanders who is doubtful even about the existence of churches in Corinth's countryside.⁵²⁷ Judging from the rarity of the basilicas in Corinth he wonders at what rate Christianity developed a monumental identity in southern Greece. The conclusion that Corinth had a large unbaptised adult population leads him to believe that if the capital of the province was tardy in this respect, then what would the state of the Church in rural areas be.⁵²⁸ But scholars working on the Corinthian countryside have contradicted this argument. William Caraher argues that the half-dozen unexcavated Early Christian period churches that the fieldwork across Corinthia has produced and which could have a fifth-century date, indicate that Christians perhaps used less imposing structures for their ritual and social needs in the countryside, associated with the property of the local elite.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁵ Curta 2001, 206-207.

⁵²⁶ Kardulias 2005; Gregory 2003.

⁵²⁷ Sanders 2004, 163-193.

⁵²⁸ Sanders 2005, 419-442.

⁵²⁹ Caraher 2014, 146.

Nevertheless Sanders represents a school that is still debating on paganism and Christianity and interprets the rarity or little evidence of churches in the countryside as a sign of a small or underdeveloped Christian community. According to this school it has been argued that the small number of churches in the countryside is because Christianisation in the Peloponnese was not successful, whether because paganism prevailed or because it coexisted with Christianity.⁵³⁰

Recapitulating my argument about paganism and Christianity expressed in the introductory chapter, I believe that the emphasis given to the presence of paganism has taken such a religious direction that has diminished the socio-political changes hidden by its continuing presence. If the *religion* is extracted from the notion of paganism and only the *tradition* is left,⁵³¹ then it is highly probable that the interpretation of the available evidence will assist us in understanding that the two traditions were far from being antagonistic, and that other reasons may be responsible for the non-detection of Early Christian basilicas in some areas.

As far as the study of the Greek countryside is concerned, the Army, the State and the Church are in general the proposed interpretations in relation to settlement patterns, but the interpretation of churches in relation to settlements faces the problem of an uneven identification of churches across the Greek countryside, such as in Peloponnese. The major problem however of interpreting the rural settlements in Greece, is the lack of synthesis of all the available evidence from the different archaeological ‘schools’, from historical theories and from literary sources.

From my point of view, the presence of numerous rural churches appears increasingly to be a feature of Early Christian Greece and it constitutes the most well documented physical

⁵³⁰ Sweetman 2010, 208-210, 241-244.

⁵³¹ Gregory 1986, 231, argues, that if paganism is considered not as a religion but as a tradition then it will be more easily understood why the Church fathers were positive in the acceptance of the classical tradition.

evidence in the Greek countryside in relation to settlements. Presumably, the Early Christian Church in Greece played a major role in the agrarian economy by practising extensive farming focused on the characteristic biblical triad of wheat, wine and olive oil, and it was conducting this particular kind of farming as well as the monoculture of the olive, based on the exploitation of the oil. In this respect, the evidence from the annexes of rural churches has not yet reached its academic potential.

IV/B. Church and countryside in sixth century Greece: the material evidence

The sixth century is a landmark in the study of the Greek countryside due to the impact of the economic reorganisation, which began under Justinian. This is not the only reason, though, that I have chosen to apply a deeper perspective into the Church's role in the Greek countryside during the sixth century. The fourth and fifth centuries, especially the fifth, are usually linked to the first phases of the Church architecture in the countryside, and cannot provide evidence for the evolution of the institutional Church through the study of the annexes.

Justinian's economic reorganisation had a significant impact on establishing the role of the Church as a major landowner in the countryside, which helps to watch the rural societies from the inside. The point of view I am proposing is the regulation of the *emphyteutic* law, which I believe is the innovation of the period in the middle sixth century. During the fifth and sixth centuries, apart from a modest government grant, the churches derived their income from the offerings of the faithful and the rents of lands and house property given or bequeathed by benefactors or more rarely purchased.⁵³² The decisive point, though, for the history of the Church and its impact on the formation of the countryside, was

⁵³² Jones 1960, 84-85.

the Novel 120, whereby Justinian gave authority to churches outside Constantinople to grant perpetual *emphyteutic* leases.⁵³³ Apparently, the Church experienced a great expansion in its possessions by exploiting its lands by the means of *emphyteutic* leases, evolving into a great landowner.

The agrarian economy was the most important part of the Early Byzantine economy. The land was the most secure and safe fund and the most stable income both for the farmer and for the state.⁵³⁴ When Justinian introduced the *emphyteutic* law, the Church was in need to find resources for its equipment and to pay the clergy. The Church became for the villagers the landowner and the land leaser at the same time and the clergy of the countryside became tied to the agrarian economy. Investing in olive oil or wine presses working only seasonally for the needs of the village or for a nearby settlement, the churches gained both the products of the workshop and money for their self-sufficiency.

It is also possible that the workshops, like the olive presses or the wine presses, were built next to the churches presumably because like in the towns they served as the focal point of the rural settlements, a public space that offered open access to the needs of the villagers. On the other hand it was the only way to control the bulk of the crops of their fields. In this way, it is very possible that during the sixth century the oil presses and similar establishments became in many instances the characteristic of the churches and monasteries associated with rural settlements although the monasteries are more difficult to identify archaeologically in the Greek landscape.

Justinian's Constitution, by allowing perpetual *emphyteutic* leases, was one of the most crucial steps in the history of the Church in order to obtain its independence based on self-sufficiency. During the sixth century the Church gained a kind of independence and

⁵³³ *Just. Nov.* 120. 6.

⁵³⁴ Karayanopoulos 2001, 441-443.

public authority in leading the local economy that allowed the countryside to remain wealthy and vital to the town by preventing the undermining of the currency. Just how vital the countryside was to the city in general is clearly demonstrated in the description of the plague which struck the metropolis of Myra, where the farmers from the surrounding countryside refused to enter and the citizens were left without any supplies of food.⁵³⁵

Beginning to analyse the major trends and patterns in the rural economic scene the comparison between the relationship of the economy of civic settlements and the economy of rural settlements is inevitable. If the city flourished then should we expect the village also to flourish? Or the flourishing of the village happened at the expense of the declining city? Some scholars believe that the urban life in the Balkans was not based on a thriving rural economy⁵³⁶ and some others that the countryside in Late Antiquity was less and less subject to the remaining cities.⁵³⁷

My point of departure in order to understand the interrelations of civic and rural settlements is that the latter cannot be dissociated from the economic background of churches, their institutional activity, and mostly the way they were engaged in business. The industrialisation of churches happened both at the town and at the village. In the town it is called 'ruralisation'. In the village it can be called self-sufficiency. The villages can stand on their own demonstrating self-sufficiency, without however this necessarily meaning isolation from the urban centres. In the middle of the sixth century the village developed into an autonomous economic unit with the Church playing a major role in this. The industrialisation of churches should have begun from the villages and then spread to the towns where there was usually the see of the bishop. The so-called 'ruralisation' of the towns in the period is

⁵³⁵ Magoulias 1990, 69.

⁵³⁶ Curta 2001, 206.

⁵³⁷ Dunn 2004, 563.

nothing more than an attempt at self-sufficiency compared to that of the rural settlements in a time of economic crisis.

Eventually, the development of the Church, not just into a landowner, but also into a stabiliser of the civic and rural economy, affected the relationship between the town and the countryside. The material evidence supporting this argument will be analysed below, based on three interacting case studies from the Early Christian Greek countryside.

IV/C. Three interacting case studies: Khalkidiki, Mesogaia and the area of Lavrion, and Vathy on Kalymnos

The economic role of the Church in the Early Christian Greek countryside will be explored here through three interacting case studies; by comparing Khalkidiki in northern Greece with Mesogeia and the area of Lavrion in Attica, southern Greece, and Vathy valley on Kalymnos in the Dodecanese. The countryside in all three sites will be studied with the same methods applied to the Early Christian basilicas in towns. As far as the pilgrimage, industrial, and charitable character of the basilicas is concerned it will be explored through the available archaeological, architectural and topographical evidence.

The countryside of Khalkidiki as well as of Mesogeia and the area of Lavrion demonstrate similar characteristics, being at the periphery of big and famous towns of the Empire, respectively Thessaloniki and Athens, and both having coastal and inland sites. The case study of Khalkidiki provides sufficient material evidence of the function of an institutional Church but admittedly not much of the material evidence of the associated Early Christian settlements. The countryside at Mesogeia and the area of Lavrion in the Attic countryside on the other hand, apart from the evidence of an institutional Church, demonstrate

a well studied road network in relation to which can be studied the connectivity of the basilicas and their annexes to the town of Athens.

Finally, the Vathy valley in Kalymnos, located at the periphery of Greece, fills the gap of the missing material evidence in the identification of Early Christian settlements as far as the association between churches and houses is concerned. Vathy is a fertile valley that forms part of Kalymnos' rural landscape with inland sites but also with coastal ones as it is extended to include the harbourside settlement called Hellenika at the gulf of Rina. Hellenika is a rare example of a well-preserved Early Christian settlement that demonstrates outstanding material evidence of the organisation of a settlement along with basilicas, houses and cisterns.

We are therefore dealing with parts of the Greek countryside where each one of which is filling the gaps of the other's evidence and all are putting together parts of the puzzle in order to show the existence of a uniform pattern regarding the evolution of the institutional Church and the rural settlements in the Early Christian Greek countryside.

IV/C.1 Khalkidiki [Map 2; Figs. 11-14; Pl. 4]

We are not particularly clearly aware from the written sources for the historical development of the institutional Church in Khalkidiki during the Early Christian times. We can guess that certain edicts concerning the Church of Thessalonica would indirectly refer to the organisation of the churches of Khalkidiki as Thessalonica was the administrative and ecclesiastical capital of the Provincia Macedonia Prima, where most of Khalkidiki also belonged.⁵³⁸ An imperial law regarding the exemptions of the land tax system for the Church of Thessalonica included in the Theodosian Code⁵³⁹ is presumingly referring to the lands of Khalkidiki which was traditionally known for its wine and crop production. The same should

⁵³⁸ For the argument that most of Khalkidiki was in the territorium of Thessaloniki see Dunn 2004, 558-563;

For the organisation of settlements in Provincia Macedonia based on *Synekdemos*, see Drakoulis 2012, 79-106.

⁵³⁹ *CTh* 11.1.33.

be supposed for Justinian's Code regarding the exemption of the Church of Thessalonica from the land tax.⁵⁴⁰ Khalkidiki would have remained important enough as a strategic area throughout Antiquity in order for Justinian to rebuild the partition wall at the passage to the Kassandra peninsula extending from the Thermaic to Toronaic Gulfs.⁵⁴¹

During Early Christian times Khalkidiki was probably divided into bishoprics that were under the archbishopric of Thessaloniki. From mosaic inscriptions at the basilica of Nikiti dated to the fifth century we are informed about a certain bishop Sofronios but we are not aware of his bishopric.⁵⁴² The earliest bishopric we are aware of in Khalkidiki is that of Kassandria whose bishop Hermogenes took part in the 'Robber Council' of Ephesos at 449.⁵⁴³

Not only imperial laws but also the material evidence of an estimated number of seventy-six Early Christian basilicas that have been discovered all over Khalkidiki, should be related with the big neighbouring cultural centre of Thessaloniki.⁵⁴⁴ The basilicas demonstrate high artistic and cultural status, showing that Khalkidiki was not a rural peripheral area, marginal and isolated from the trends of the time.⁵⁴⁵

The exploitation of the status of the Early Christian basilicas of Khalkidiki has been made mostly individually in excavation reports or conference proceedings, although there have been made valuable efforts in bringing together the evidence of all the excavated basilicas or parts of them. Ioakeim Papaggelos's Master's and Doctoral thesis as well as many of his studies and articles have contributed the most to our knowledge on the Early Christian and Byzantine Khalkidiki.⁵⁴⁶ Sofia Akrivopoulou's Master's thesis provides a lot of available

⁵⁴⁰ *Cod. Just.* 10.16.12.

⁵⁴¹ Procopius, *De Aed.* 4.3; Pazaras 1987, 157-192.

⁵⁴² Papaggelos 1998a, 80.

⁵⁴³ Papaggelos 1998a, 80.

⁵⁴⁴ Papaggelos 1998a, 81, Fig.3 (1-72).

⁵⁴⁵ As for example Sofronios basilica shows, see Karadedos and Nikonanos 2007, 359-371.

⁵⁴⁶ Papaggelos 1982; 2000 (I did not have access to his Doctoral thesis).

evidence of the monumental topography of Early Christian Khalkidiki too.⁵⁴⁷ On the other hand Theocharis Pazaras' monograph on the excavation of the Early Christian basilica at Epanomi offers a structured comparandum for other excavated basilicas with active annexes at Khalkidiki and in Greece in general.⁵⁴⁸

All the above evidence will be analysed in order to detect and approach the function of an institutional Church in Khalkidiki through the evidence of philanthropic, pilgrimage and business activities that the annexes of certain basilicas may provide. However, most of the Early Christian basilicas of Khalkidiki demonstrate general architectural elements that could be attributed to the activities of the institutional Church. Among the examples are the basilicas of St. Georgios, Nikiti,⁵⁴⁹ and St. Athanasios, Toroni [Map. 2].⁵⁵⁰ The Early Christian settlement at Toroni, north of Porto-Koufo, a large and safe natural harbour, is implied by three basilicas, the third one in relation to the Early Christian cemetery. At the basilica of St. Georgios at Nikiti, the narthex is not in alignment with the main body of the basilica and St. Athanasios at Toroni is also built in a marshy area on a soil-tamped shelf made specifically for this purpose, demanding extra labour and cost.⁵⁵¹ As it has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, the churches that have been intentionally built out of alignment, then it is highly probable that the builders wished to include specific sites that are important to the Christian population. These sites were related with the worship of martyrs and saints and later by the erection of basilicas they probably obtained a pilgrimage character.

To the Early Christian settlement at Toroni is related a probable pilgrimage site at Peristeronisi. The islet of Peristeronisi is at the left side of Porto Koufo, only two hundred

⁵⁴⁷ Akrivopoulou 1999.

⁵⁴⁸ Pazaras 2009.

⁵⁴⁹ Nikonanos 1992, 381-390; Karadedos and Nikonanos 2007, 359-371; Akrivopoulou 1999, 127-133; Papaggelos 1998a, 81, Fig. 3 (43).

⁵⁵⁰ Nikonanos 1991, 1267-1279; Akrivopoulou 1999, 138-145; Papaggelos 1998a, 81, Fig. 3 (51).

⁵⁵¹ Akrivopoulou 1999, 131, 142.

meters away from the coast, and is thought to be part of the Toroni settlement [Map 2].⁵⁵² In a surface survey an Early Christian basilica with annexes was identified; admittedly this is a very small islet for a settlement, but the easily accessible location favours the function of the pilgrimage basilica.⁵⁵³ Another probable pilgrimage site nearby could have been the Pagona cave at Porto Koufo. Decorated with red crosses on the ceiling of all three chambers, it has been related to anachoritisism and worship too.⁵⁵⁴

At the basilicas, at Sofronios Nikiti, St. Athanasios Toroni, and Elia close to Nikiti a bench was built along and adjacent to the south wall of the churches, similar to other bench-like structures documented frequently in various Early Christian basilicas in Greece that are connected both with philanthropy and pilgrimage, also discussed in Chapter III, [Map 2]. From the Early Christian settlement at Elia, which, it is believed that it was built around the moorage, only the basilica has been excavated at the south side of the moorage in a small peninsula.⁵⁵⁵ The basilica is dated to the fifth century and after its destruction in the sixth century it was reconstructed and functioned again for a short time.⁵⁵⁶

The three-aisled Early Christian basilica with atrium at Ierissos is the largest and one of the most important in the Khalkidiki [Map. 2].⁵⁵⁷ Along its south side has been excavated a rectangular annex on whose floor has been found a well-preserved fragment of a marble table. It is believed that this room was the area of the offerings although there is no specific identification as such.⁵⁵⁸ The offerings of the faithful, apart from the liturgical needs of the Church, were a practice that can be connected with the philanthropic and economic activity of the Church. More specifically this evidence reminds us of the inscriptions on offerings, whose

⁵⁵² Akrivopoulou 1999, 143-144.

⁵⁵³ Papagelos 1982, 21.

⁵⁵⁴ Tsigaridas 1976, 284-289; Papagelos 1982, 22, map 4 (11).

⁵⁵⁵ Akrivopoulou 134-135; Papagelos 1982, 16.

⁵⁵⁶ Papagelos 1972, 305, n. 1.

⁵⁵⁷ Papagelos 2011, 14-15.

⁵⁵⁸ Papagelos 2011, 14.

institutional character is discussed in the previous chapter. Other scholars, as is also discussed in the previous chapter, have argued for the non-liturgical function of tables found in the annexes of churches, and I have proposed in many instances in Chapter III, a secular, institutional function for the annexes based on the evidence from tables, interpreting the relevant architectural, archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence.

Apart from the general characteristics that the Early Christian basilicas of Khalkidiki demonstrate regarding the function of an institutional Church that possibly depict similar practices to those that have been observed in the previous chapter, there is more specific material evidence that attests to the philanthropic, pilgrimage, and industrial activities of the institutional Church.

Close to Thessaloniki, and rather not of monumental dimensions, lies an Early Christian basilica at the site of Bhiadoudi, in Epanomi [Map. 2; Fig. 11]. The excavation results of the basilica have been recently published and include all the details that the material evidence shows regarding the activity of its annexes.⁵⁵⁹ It is about a three-aisled basilica dated approximately to the first half of the fifth century. The annexes that were excavated at the south side of the church included a baptistery, a second room in connection to the baptistery identified probably with a sacristy -which was later converted into a winepress room- and finally, a barrel-vaulted tomb [Fig. 11].⁵⁶⁰ The room identified initially as a sacristy was later due to the discovery of many sherds of transport and storage vessels as well as jars, assumed to have not necessarily been used for the storage of sacred utensils. According to the excavator, the annexes of other Early Christian churches should have a similar use, as for example the ones in Basilicas A and B at Phthiotic Thebes, and the ones at the South Basilica

⁵⁵⁹ Pazaras 2009, 167-197, Pl. 73.

⁵⁶⁰ Pazaras 2009, 195, 201-206, Figs. 234-236.

in Alyki at Thasos.⁵⁶¹ At a later phase during the middle of the sixth century, when the baptistery's font was transformed into a square basin, two tanks and a *pithos* among other finds were found at the sacristy room, contemporary to the baptistery's alteration and were related to the establishment of a winemaking installation [Pl. 4a].⁵⁶²

Additionally, south of the winery was discovered an Early Christian monumental arched tomb painted with frescoes which according to the excavator presumably belonged to a distinguished member of the Church or to a benefactor who later on was worshiped as a saint [Fig. 11].⁵⁶³ It is also possible that the tomb was functioning as a *martyrion*, due to its proximity to the church and its monumental character, and this may be supported by the fact that no bones were found inside it. This means that the bones, after the sanctification of the holy relics, were kept somewhere else, probably for veneration.⁵⁶⁴

Rooms for storage and for preparation of food were built after the sixth century to the west of the exonarthex [Fig. 11].⁵⁶⁵ At the inner southeast corner of the exonarthex a whole *pithos* put in the soil was discovered. Outside the southwest and northwest edge of the exonarthex and across with its external wall, extensive traces of burning possibly from a hearth were revealed, leading to the assumption, along with the discovery of many sherds from transport, storage, cooking and table vessels, that the area was used for food preparation and storage of products. It has been stated by the excavator that these domestic remains should belong to a later construction phase than to the basilica, especially because of the rough masonry. However, comparative evidence from other annexes of Early Christian basilicas in Greece studied in the previous chapter as well as the evidence from Paliambela that will be studied below, provide evidence that such domestic use parallel to the liturgical

⁵⁶¹ Pazaras 2009, 194-195.

⁵⁶² Pazaras 2009, 194-196, Figs. 234-236.

⁵⁶³ Pazaras 2009, 201-206.

⁵⁶⁴ Pazaras 2009, 201-206.

⁵⁶⁵ Pazaras 2009, 177-181, Fig. 210.

function of the church is not unusual. Finally, the Ionic capital, which was found in the area, is similar to the one of the group of Ionic capitals from the early fifth century found in the quarries of Alyki at Thasos, indicating commercial transactions for ecclesiastical use within the northern Greek region that have been discussed in detail in Chapter III.

The evidence from the excavation of the annexes at the Bhiadoudi basilica combines all three aspects of the institutional Church in interaction with each other: the agricultural/industrial activity after the changes occurred at the basilica along with the existence of a *martyrion* as the tomb reveals. Along with the existence of a possible *martyrion* the evidence for the food preparation suggests a charitable character as well. The basilica was obviously part of an Early Christian settlement, which has been traced by a surface observation between the cemetery that has been excavated nearby and the basilica itself. The site of Bhiadoudi is located south and very close to the city of Thessalonica (approximately 30 km), probably supplying it with wine that the basilica produced.

Similar to the situation of the Bhiadoudi basilica at Epanomi is that of the three Early Christian Basilicas at Yazo-Jorji in the mountainous area of Varvara [Map 2; Fig.12].⁵⁶⁶ It is a complex of three Early Christian Basilicas with building phases ranging between the fourth and sixth century, including an ancillary building, seven meters southwest of Basilica I, in which part of a wine press installation has been identified [Fig. 12; Pl. 4b].⁵⁶⁷ Some other significant finds have come to light also from Basilica I regarding its institutional character: a tile inscribed 'Lord Help', which has been discussed in the epigraphic section of the previous chapter, as well as two bronze scales found at the north part of the narthex along with a lead weight.⁵⁶⁸ At this part of the narthex have also been found three parts of a *sigma* table, while at the outer part adjacent to the west wall of the basilica a built bench has come to light. These

⁵⁶⁶ Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2003, 392, Figs 1-2.

⁵⁶⁷ Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2003, 393-402, Fig. 12.

⁵⁶⁸ Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2003, 395, Figs. 5b, 6: 'K(YPI)E BOHΘH'.

finds seem to match the characteristics of the economic, pilgrimage and presumably philanthropic activity of the Church as has been analysed in the previous chapter. The inscription on the tile is a common prayer found elsewhere too, and it gives evidence of a special order for this church, while on the other hand the wine press installation and the scales seem to be related to the economic activity of the Church, and the sigma tables and the built benches either to the pilgrimage or philanthropic activity of the church. The discovery of the scales more specifically remind me of the relevant discovery at the Octagon complex at Philippi, which also comprised evidence of pilgrimage activity with storage facilities and the establishment of a wine press.

The diverse activity of the churches at Yazo-Jorji, comes in contrast with the marginal location of their site on a small plateau high up in the mountains. Their position cannot be characterised as a strategic one; on the contrary, it is hidden by the mountain peaks. They were, however, built on purpose at this specific site and if they did not have an institutional character, which presupposes the interaction with a settlement or a ring of settlements, then they would be isolated in the rural landscape of the mountainous Khalkidiki.

The oral tradition among the local population gives an interesting insight on the purpose of the erection at least of one of the three basilicas. It is believed that it was dedicated to St. Markos whose Life states that he, as bishop of Arethousa, had lived and was martyred during the fourth century.⁵⁶⁹ If the Life of St. Markos could be the reason for the erection of the three basilicas, then the evidence from the excavated sacred complex illustrates the predominant role that the Church acquired in rural societies by attracting habitation and serving as the epicentre of a nexus of settlements. These structures demonstrate a local

⁵⁶⁹ Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2003, 399; For the Life of St. Markos see *BHG* 3rd ed., III, 45.

artisanal activity presumably combining the functions of a pilgrimage complex with industrial character, very similar to the situation at Bhiadoudi in Epanomi.

Interestingly, the excavators believe that the sacred complex at Yazo-Jorji is probably related to a nearby settlement whose physical remains should be found on the opposite slope.⁵⁷⁰ If this is the case with the sacred complex at Yazo-Jorji, then it is quite possible that other basilicas which nowadays seem to be standing isolated in the landscape, formed part of an active settlement that, although we have grounds to believe it existed, it has not survived in ruins.

Another small-scale pilgrimage site has been identified at the site of Solinas in Kassandra, by the seashore [Map 2].⁵⁷¹ The three-aisled basilica was built around the beginning of the fifth century, and along with the cemetery was probably part of a neighbouring settlement. Along with the basilica exists a structure that has been interpreted as a *martyrion*, a shrine over a martyr's tomb, covered with mosaics and dated to the fifth century. It is very probable that the original building was the *martyrion*, which was later embellished with the construction of the basilica although this is not certain yet.⁵⁷² Moreover, during the seventh century at the south part of the basilica's yard at the site of an older structure, a large rectangular room was built in which were found, among other finds, medical tools. This room, the basilica and the cemetery were protected by a stone enclosure.⁵⁷³ This important evidence of medical tools in the annex of a basilica is rather rare. Written sources do mention that medical care was one of the institutional Church's jurisdictions but relevant material evidence to confirm this is scarce. Along with the evidence of a tutor from the narthex of Basilica C at Phthiotic Thebes it forms a different category of the activity of the

⁵⁷⁰ Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2003, 399.

⁵⁷¹ Papaggelos 1998a, 81-82, Figs. 3 (34), 4-5.

⁵⁷² Papaggelos 2010a.

⁵⁷³ Papaggelos 2010a.

Early Christian Church in Greece, which for the moment does not have other parallels that can be compared and documented with greater certainty. It can only give an idea of other possible secular elements of the function of the institutional Church and its inextricable involvement in the social life of the Greek towns and countryside.

However, one of the most important sacred complexes in Sithonia and one of the most remarkable in Khalkidiki is that of the Sofronios basilica [Map 2]. This complex, which is dated to the sixth century and consists of a three-aisled basilica with narthex and exonarthex, atrium, baptistery, annexes and a bath, is believed to be part of an Early Christian settlement at the coastal site of Nikiti.⁵⁷⁴ On the mosaic floor at the Sofronios basilica is mentioned the name of the bishop Sofronios who is the first known bishop of Sithonia although we cannot be sure what was his diocese.⁵⁷⁵ Along the wall of the south aisle has been revealed a built bench.⁵⁷⁶

The excavators believe however, that after the destruction of the basilica the area of the annexes around the atrium was reused based on finds such as hearths, parts of wine-presses and signs of modification like the opening of new doors in order to unite the rooms. This occurred during the fourth building phase after the destruction of the complex by an earthquake and it is linked with the reuse of the atrium and the related areas around the peristyle colonnade by the local population, who inhabited these areas according to the interpretation of the utilitarian pottery, and the existence of a cooking area, of the winery and of several other agricultural establishments.⁵⁷⁷

However, as has already been stated above, the evidence from other annexes of a domestic or agricultural character from Khalkidiki and from Greece in general, may confirm

⁵⁷⁴ Tsigaridas 1972, 572; Karadedos and Nikonanos 2007, 359-371; Akrivopoulou 1999, 128-131; Papagelos 1998a, 81, Fig. 3 (44).

⁵⁷⁵ Papagelos 1998a, 80.

⁵⁷⁶ Papagelos 1982, 14.

⁵⁷⁷ Karadedos and Nikonanos 2005, 359-371.

that it is indeed possible for the secular activity of the annexes to be combined with the liturgical function of the basilicas and their existence does not mean that the church should have gone out of use.

Another Early Christian basilica has been identified together with a Roman and Early Christian settlement at the area of Gerani in a marshy area next to the seashore at Nea Fokaia (W. Khalkidiki).⁵⁷⁸ Most probably the settlement's population was occupied with the systematic exploitation of the salt pits that occupied most of the site. From the entire settlement only part of the Early Christian cemetery and a building complex were excavated. In the middle of the settlement after a surface survey the remains of an Early Christian basilica with annexes came to light.⁵⁷⁹ It is very possible that the basilica could have belonged to an industrial settlement.⁵⁸⁰

A site that is worth mentioning here, although not part of the county of Khalkidiki but on the borders between Khalkidiki and Thessaloniki county, above the lake Volvi, is the site of Paliambela. Paliambela is located on the eastern slope of a river valley, which was a passageway from both the coast and Via Egnatia towards the north. A three-aisled Early Christian basilica has been excavated on an uphill location eight kilometres north of Via Egnatia and is dated to the late fifth and early sixth centuries [Map 2; Fig. 13].⁵⁸¹ Higher up the hill close to the church have also been found cist graves. The excavation of the northern part of the church revealed an area for wine production, a hearth, large storage vessels, lots of pottery, amphora and *pithos* lids, glass vessels, knives and other metal tools, and over fifteen kilograms of animal bones in the levels below the thick destruction layer of the church [Pl.

⁵⁷⁸ Papaggelos 2010b.

⁵⁷⁹ Papaggelos 1998a, 81, Fig. 3 (17); Akrivopoulou 1999, 111-112; Papaggelos 2010b.

⁵⁸⁰ Papaggelos 1998b, 25-27; Papaggelos 2010b.

⁵⁸¹ Karivieri 2010, 15-20; 2009, 31-41; 2003, 139-142; 2002, 191-195; 2001, 181-186; 2000, 117-124; 1999, 117-121; Adam-Veleni 1995, 351-365.

4c].⁵⁸² According to the excavator ‘the existence of two treading floors for wine production, storage vessels, as well as some grape pips give further support to the fact that the traditional name of the site, Paliambela, refers to viticulture in this area’.⁵⁸³ Notably, this theme is represented in the mosaics in the narthex of the church, which is decorated with vine scrolls and birds picking the grapes. This adds further to the argument supported in the second chapter regarding the influence of the literature of the Church in the decoration of the basilicas with an application to its institutional architecture. The products of viticulture, associated with the Eucharist and with several symbolisms illustrated in the literature of the Church, were among the most appropriate ones for the Church to get involved in their production and probably cultivation, and this is also depicted both in terms of mosaics and of industrial remains. More remarkable however is the establishment of the winery in the north aisle of the basilica, which was transformed to serve as an annex instead of adding one to the original structure of the basilica.

Similar to the secular facilities of the winery at the north aisle of the basilica are the *amphorae*, *pithoi* and a hearth at the west of the narthex, probably for the preparation of food for the poor of the rural community. Karivieri believes that this evidence was part of the pastoral economy of the settlement along with the agricultural one, and that it is testimony to the continuation of a pastoral economy from antiquity as well as a multifunctional area for the use of the local community.⁵⁸⁴ However, the finds of bones could also be related with the continuation of primitive traditions as discussed in the second chapter regarding the literature of the Church. This tradition was developed in the preparation and offering of food to the needy after treating the priest first. Finally, the finds of a cemetery on the slope overlooking

⁵⁸² Karivieri 2004, 250-251.

⁵⁸³ Karivieri 2004, 251; 2005, 191-202; 2008, 191-208.

⁵⁸⁴ Karivieri 2004, 250-251; 2010, 18-19, Fig. 3.

the church provide evidence of the existence of a settlement that the church was serving as a meeting place.

Based on the material evidence available so far, it has been possible to relate the Early Christian basilicas with rural settlements and settlements of maritime traffic in Khalkidiki. Nevertheless, the evolution and types of the settlements cannot be observed clearly, as there do not exist any extensive remains of settlements that the basilicas were related to, but in many cases the evolution of settlements in Khalkidiki presupposed the exploitation of productive resources⁵⁸⁵ along with, or the worship of martyrs and saints that evolved in local pilgrimage centres.

Although on many occasions the archaeologists in the excavation reports refer to the Early Christian settlements of Khalkidiki by identifying characteristics of settlements such as the basilica itself, a cemetery, or surface observations of structures and pottery, there is no evidence of extensive material remains of settlements. In the excavation reports such statements proliferate: 'at the site of Gveli northwest of Vatopedi, there has been identified an Early Christian settlement along with an Early Christian basilica'⁵⁸⁶ and 'from the Early Christian settlement of Elia that was built around the moorage only the basilica has been excavated'.⁵⁸⁷ Similar statements such as: 'the sacred complex at Varvara is related to a nearby settlement whose physical remains can be seen at the opposite slope'⁵⁸⁸ and 'the Early Christian basilica of Nikiti is forming part of the Late Antique settlement which is traceable due to remains of structures and pottery on the surface',⁵⁸⁹ show how the existence of the basilicas is inevitably related in the mind of the excavators to the existence of settlements that unfortunately have not been examined in particular surveys.

⁵⁸⁵ Dunn 2004, 535-586; Dunn 1992, 235-298.

⁵⁸⁶ Papagos 1998, 81, Fig. 3 (42); Akrivopoulou 1999, 102.

⁵⁸⁷ Akrivopoulou 1999, 134-135.

⁵⁸⁸ Tavlakis et al. 2005, 391-402.

⁵⁸⁹ Tsigaridas 1972, 572.

What has survived, apart from the evidence of the churches at Khalkidiki, is dispersed evidence of farmsteads like the one excavated at Sani, or the coastal remains of a settlement with Early Christian phases at Veria as well as scatters of Early Christian presses for the production of olive oil at several sites in Khalkidiki.⁵⁹⁰ It has also been stated recently that a distribution of small settlements at Kassandra, usually close to the sea, made their appearance along with many farmsteads during the third and fourth centuries and continued down to the sixth century, showing prosperity, safety and intensive exploitation of rural land as well as engagement with trade.⁵⁹¹

On the Nea Sylata coast, between Nea Kallikrateia and Nea Sozopolis, the Byzantine settlement of Veria has been excavated [Map 2]. East of the central archaeological site has been found remains of an Early Christian basilica dated by the excavator in the sixth century.⁵⁹² Apart from the basilica, the archaeological site consists of various Early Christian structures such as a public building or a commercial portico, a wine press establishment as well as cisterns, ceramic furnaces and other establishments that can give evidence of a prosperous settlement with flourishing economy based on agriculture and handicraft.⁵⁹³

At the site of Megali Kypsa at Sani, in the fertile coastal valley of Kassandra, there has been excavated a Roman farmstead with Early Christian phases [Map 2; Fig. 14].⁵⁹⁴ Part of the Early Christian phase is an apsidal room, which was identified with an Early Christian basilica, although this identification has not been supported by other finds. Interestingly, the Roman farmhouse survived to the Early Christian times in a complex containing evidence of economic activities such as farming products (wine, olive oil, grain) along with the evidence

⁵⁹⁰ Papagelos 1996, 177, Fig. 6.

⁵⁹¹ Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 429.

⁵⁹² Tavlakis 1984, 154; Akrivopoulou 1999, 69.

⁵⁹³ Akrivopoulou 1999, 70-71; Tavlakis 1987, 145-154; Pazaras and Tsanana 1990, 353-370; Pazaras and Tsanana 1991, 289-301; Pazaras 1995, 367-382.

⁵⁹⁴ Akrivopoulou 1999, 113; Papagelos 2010c; 2011, 467.

of a pottery workshop and metalworking. Among the finds were vessels for the storage of oil and grain as well as a stone mill for the oil pressing.

Although it is not clear what was the exact function of the apsidal room, we cannot exclude any relation with the Church's institutional activities, as has been observed in a rural villa north of Philippi. There was found a complex of a winemaking installation along with a room covered with luxurious mosaics decorated with vines growing from *kraters*, a religious Christian symbolism of the Eucharist that is more appropriately found in ecclesiastical buildings,⁵⁹⁵ as we have already observed at the Early Christian basilica at Paliambela. The possible Christian character of the farmsteads whether in the form of mosaics or apsidal rooms needs to be exploited further as it could eventually illustrate the involvement of the institutional Church in the economic life of the Greek countryside and the understanding of the development of the landscape.

Although extensive material evidence of a settlement pattern directly related with the Early Christian basilicas at Khalkidiki has yet to be uncovered, the institutional activity of the Church demonstrated above, shows, apart from the flourishing of the countryside of Khalkidiki, a rural united community with public religious buildings that also have secular functions: the Early Christian basilicas and their annexes.

IV/C. 2 Mesogaia and the area of Lavrion (Lavreotiki) [Map 3; Figs. 15-17].

The big number of Early Christian basilicas that have been identified in the countryside of Mesogaia and the area of Lavrion (hereafter Lavreotiki) at the periphery of Athens, offers another representative example of Early Christian basilicas dominating the Greek landscape, in accordance with the first case study (the Khalkidiki). Although the

⁵⁹⁵ Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou 1973, 36-49.

material evidence from Early Christian settlements in the region of Mesogaia and Lavreotiki is scant there is significant research into the ancient road network of Attica that sheds light on the topography of the area.⁵⁹⁶ As the Byzantine sources from the fifth century onwards show, it was not common for the Byzantines to construct new roads but they were using instead the road network that they inherited.⁵⁹⁷ The outline of the road network in relation to the Early Christian basilicas and the available material evidence of settlements will be the major contribution from the case study of Mesogaia and Lavreotiki [Map 3]. Mesogaia is an extensive plain south east of Athens surrounded by the mountains of Penteli and Hymettos, with inland as well as coastal sites with the most important the port of Porto-Rafti. Lavreotiki is an extension of Mesogaia to its southwest, oriented by the mountain Olympos, having both inland and coastal sites, with the most important the port of Lavrion.

The topography of Attica with an extended interest down to Early Christian times was recently the subject of collective efforts, both on the ancient road network of Attica⁵⁹⁸ and on the historical geography of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean⁵⁹⁹. Those efforts actually supplement Travlos's effort in mapping the basilicas and the ancient routes by providing an improved version.⁶⁰⁰ Travlos in his study included the Early Christian basilicas with the ancient road network that was known in the 1988, an initiative that only very recently has been updated by Georgios Steinhauer in his study on town and countryside in Attica from classical to Late Roman times, offers a provisional map of the Early Christian basilicas and the Late Roman farmsteads along with the main ancient road network of Attica.⁶⁰¹ On the other hand, neither Travlos nor Steinhauer although they include the basilicas on their maps,

⁵⁹⁶ Steinhauer 2006; Korres 2009.

⁵⁹⁷ Lougis 1994-95, 37.

⁵⁹⁸ Steinhauer 2006; Korres 2009.

⁵⁹⁹ Drakoulis and Tsotsos 2012.

⁶⁰⁰ Travlos 1988, 383.

⁶⁰¹ Steinhauer 2012, 47-66.

reflect the relationship between basilicas and road networks in their commentaries. This gap can be bridged by the archaeological reports on the Early Christian churches of the Mesogaia and Lavreotiki as well as by scholarly works that present detailed catalogues of the Early Christian churches of Greece that also include Mesogaia and Lavreotiki.⁶⁰²

Mesogaia, which was known as the granary of Athens since ancient times, was supported by a remarkable road network that offered intercommunication between all demes, based on the geomorphology of the area, and did not cease to be inhabited and to supply Athens with farm produce. Its rural character remained stable after the establishment of Christianity as numerous Early Christian basilicas were often placed near the ancient Demes' sites,⁶⁰³ and on or near the main routes that remained in use from Antiquity connecting Athens with its territory.

As was the case in Khalkidiki, Mesogaia, the most extensive plain of Attica, can be divided into inland and coastal Mesogaia. The heart of inland Mesogaia was the plain orientated by the villages of Liopesi/Paiania and Spata (north), Koropi and Markopoulo (south), which were minor settlements, successors of ancient Demes that flourished in the area. The fertile plain of Mesogaia along with the development of small and large-scale harbours at its eastern coast as, for example, the exit of the Gulf of Euboea to the East that facilitated the development of the largest and safest harbour of coastal Mesogaia at Porto-Rafti played a significant role in sea communications and would have been of utmost importance because of its direct link with the city of Athens.⁶⁰⁴ The close relationship between Mesogaia and Athens, the town and its rural periphery, is illustrated by the natural

⁶⁰² Caraher 2003; Mailis 2011; Varalis 2000.

⁶⁰³ The ancient Demes provide a rural settlement pattern through land subdivisions of the Attic countryside surrounding Athens and their name was mostly linked to Democracy, see Steinhauer 2006, 14, n.1.

⁶⁰⁴ Gini-Tsofopoulou 2001, 149; Kakavoyanni 2009, 182-197.

passage between Mount Penteli and Hymettos, which controlled the access to the basin from Athens, mainly through the pass at Stavros.

Although the remains of settlements are scarce, as was also the case in Khalkidiki, the dispersion of Early Christian churches in many instances can be related with the everyday life in well organized and advanced rural settlements. It is also possible that the Christian nuclei at Mesogaia had been organised in a bishopric in the area where self-sufficient farming communities were settled.⁶⁰⁵ Additionally, it consisted presumably of communities of merchants and artisans. Finds of considerable artistic merit, both in monumental architecture, floor mosaics, pottery, and minor objects indicate not only flourishing local workshops but also a high standard of living of the inhabitants.⁶⁰⁶ Interestingly, as has been argued by Johannes Koder, the basilicas in particular of Mesogaia were connected with rural markets,⁶⁰⁷ something that now can be further defined and interpreted by taking into consideration the material evidence of the basilicas' annexes. More specifically, Koder classifies the area of Mesogaia to the southeast of Athens between the two areas of Sterea Hellas that according to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles do not have any urban centres and therefore postulate the existence of non-urban market possibly with *nundinae*.⁶⁰⁸ The possible site for a market in the agrarian area of Mesogaia according to Koder is either the territory of Kouvaras with at least four known Early Christian basilicas in an area of twenty square metre kilometres around it, or the port of Vravron, where from the early sixth century there existed an Early Christian basilica.⁶⁰⁹ The institutional church, which was already, among other attributes, one of the economic epicentres of the rural settlements, favoured in many ways the organisation and control of such markets. In terms of topography and settlement, characteristic of the structure

⁶⁰⁵ Gini-Tsofopoulou 2001, 151.

⁶⁰⁶ Gini-Tsofopoulou 2001, 151-152.

⁶⁰⁷ Koder 1986, 170.

⁶⁰⁸ Koder 1986, 170, the other site is the western Locris, between Amphissa and Naupactos.

⁶⁰⁹ Koder 1986, 170.

of the Demes of Mesogaia was the small number of settlement centres with widely dispersed farmsteads, grave enclosures and workshops along the basic road network.⁶¹⁰ The unity between town and countryside of the ancient Attic Demes was long gone. The Early Christian basilicas now represent a new settlement pattern.⁶¹¹

The Early Christian countryside of Mesogaia and Lavreotiki will be studied through a journey based on the three main routes of the road network of Mesogaia, which intersect at Pallini. The first route starting from Stavros, leads to Marathon via Pikermi and Raphina [Map 3, A-B], the second leads to Vravron via Spata, [Map 3, A-C] and the third one leads to Lavrion via Koropi, Porto-Rafti and Thorikos [Map 3, A-D]. Departing from Athens to Mesogaia, the north entrance was (and still is) the natural passage of Stavros, between the foothills of Penteli and Hymettos. From Athens, the ancient road led in general up to Gerakas (the ancient Deme of Pallini) the route of the modern Mesogeion Avenue. The ancient Deme of Pallini was at the junction of the road network between Athens, Marathon and Mesogaia and was actually the starting point of the peripheral road network of Eastern Attica [Map 3, A].⁶¹² At Stavros, one road led to Vravron through Spata, another to Porto-Rafti through the sites of Paiania, Koropi, Markopoulo and Merenda following the modern Lavriou Avenue, which continued further south to Lavrion through the site of Kalyvia-Thorikos. The other road led to Marathon through Gerakas, Pallini, Pikermi and Raphina following the modern Marathon Avenue.⁶¹³

At the entrance to Mesogaia, at a relatively short distance from the intersection of the three ancient roads of Pallene there have been excavated rural installations with separate and

⁶¹⁰ Schilardi 2006, 125.

⁶¹¹ Steinhauer 2012, 56.

⁶¹² Steinhauer 2009, 49.

⁶¹³ Taxiarchi 2009, 172-181.

successive phases of habitation up to the sixth and seventh centuries [Map 3A].⁶¹⁴ The excavation that fell within the boundaries of the ancient Deme of Pallene revealed an extensive complex of rooms with large dimensions. Obviously this was an important building probably of public character or one of the wealthy farmhouses of the sixth to seventh centuries, and in that case the settlement remains belong to the category of a farmhouse or two farmhouses with workshops.⁶¹⁵ Its importance however lies in the fact that it is only a short distance away from the intersection of the ancient roads at the entrance to the Mesogaia. Close to this building were also brought to light eleven clay tripod stilts from a pottery kiln found nearby while another important architectural piece of evidence related to the sixth-seventh century building is a winemaking installation or a tank for storing liquid produce such as olive oil.⁶¹⁶ This is not the only Early Christian discovery in the area though. The remains of an Early Christian basilica that have been observed in second use at the chapel of St. Thekla, only a short distance away from the excavated settlement, indicate the existence of an Early Christian basilica somewhere around this area, since the assumption of an Early Christian layer under the chapel of St. Thekla has not been confirmed in recent investigations.⁶¹⁷ Furthermore, next to the chapel of St. Thekla was found a Late Roman pi-shaped building comprising possibly the lower section of a rectangular fortification tower controlling the pass between the mountains of Penteli and Hymettos, leading to and from the city of Athens [Map 3A].⁶¹⁸ Those three structures, the farmhouse with the workshops, the fortification and an elusive Early Christian church at the point of the intersection with eastern Attica, are impressive landmarks that add to the study of the Early Christian Mesogaia's topography.

⁶¹⁴ Schilardi 2006, 124-126.

⁶¹⁵ Schilardi 2006, 124-126.

⁶¹⁶ Schilardi 2006, 119-121, Fig. 1.

⁶¹⁷ Pantelidou-Alexiadou 2006, 146-155, Figs. 3-5.

⁶¹⁸ Christodoulou 2006, 156-157, Figs. 1-2.

From the intersection point at Stavros if one takes the modern Marathon Avenue, which actually follows the ancient road axis linking Pallene with the port of Raphina and Marathon, one comes across the three aisled basilicas at Pikermi,⁶¹⁹ Raphina,⁶²⁰ and finally by the lake at Marathon [Map 3, A-B].⁶²¹ From Raphina the road network also leads to Vravron. Another way to reach Vravron is via the Demes of Pallini and Spata, where at the site of Skibi near Spata an Early Christian basilica with an annex at the north side has been identified [Map 3, A-C].⁶²²

Vravron's Early Christian church's interest lies in the section of structures that are adjacent to the baptistery.⁶²³ The circular oven found at one of the annexes has been identified with a domestic space, while a square structure with a porch has been identified as being relevant to the reception of a special category of pilgrims, who possibly sought healing, as well as another oblong room with a possible porch on its façade as a possible hospice for the pilgrims [Map. 3; Fig. 15].⁶²⁴ Pallas' identification of the pilgrimage use of the annexes could justify the large dimensions of the basilica and its high artistic elements as well as its proximity to the sea communications.⁶²⁵

Returning to the intersection point at Pallene, if one takes the modern Lavriou Avenue following the road that was leading to Porto-Rafti through Paiania, Koropi, Markopoulo and Mereda, one will come across firstly the two Early Christian churches at Paiania (Liopesi): the remains of a three-aisled Early Christian basilica under the church of St. Athanasios and a second one under the church of St. Paraskevi [Map 3, A-D].⁶²⁶

⁶¹⁹ Travlos 1988, 335-336; Caraher 2003, 420; Mailis 2011, 85.

⁶²⁰ Travlos 1988, 380-381.

⁶²¹ Travlos 1988, 216-221.

⁶²² Gini-Tsofopoulou 2001, 152; Pallas 1985, 43-69.

⁶²³ Travlos 1988, 55-57; Varalis 2000, 55, no.66; Caraher 2003, 407; Mailis 2011, 86.

⁶²⁴ Pallas 1986, 48.

⁶²⁵ Stikas 1951, 53-76.

⁶²⁶ Caraher 2003, 414; Mailis 2011, 85.

At Markopoulo, at the site of the chapel of St. Emilianos there have been found remains of a two-aisled basilica, which was built on the remains of an earlier apsidal structure that the excavator believes was part of a bath. The initial structure was therefore a bathhouse, which during the Early Christian times with the addition of an aisle at the south side was converted into a basilica.⁶²⁷

The final destination of this route is Porto-Rafti by leaving Lavriou Avenue after Koropi where there are the remains of two Early Christian basilicas. One of them, at the north side of St. Spyridonas bay, is the basilica of St. Kyriaki.⁶²⁸ Part of a hand-mill has been identified close to the church revealing secular functions such as the preparation of food.⁶²⁹ Most interesting however is that near the church have been traced physical remains of a bath complex, of houses and of an apsidal structure which remains unidentified.⁶³⁰ What has been uncovered therefore, is a small part of a flourishing Early Christian settlement [Map 3; Fig. 17].

If staying on the Lavriou Avenue at the intersection to Porto-Rafti, it leads directly to Lavrion through the site of Kalyvia/Thorikos, where there have also been found the remains of a three-aisled Early Christian basilica under the church of Taxiarkhis.⁶³¹

At Lavrio, the remains of an Early Christian basilica can be found at the hill of St. Paraskevi towards the port overlooking the Saronic Gulf, dated to the late fifth-early sixth century;⁶³² it demonstrates some interesting features such as built benches on both sides of a structure that was part of its south annexes [Map 3, A-D].⁶³³ The basilica has survived under

⁶²⁷ Skarmoutsou 1960, 69-72.

⁶²⁸ Travlos 1988, 364-367.

⁶²⁹ Gini-Tsofopoulou 1979, 122.

⁶³⁰ For the apsidal structure it has been proposed the function of a philosophical school, but this has not been documented further, see Gini-Tsofopoulou 1991, 85-86, Pl. 6; 1981, 83.

⁶³¹ Gini-Tsofopoulou 1986, 191-193.

⁶³² Travlos 1988, 204-205; Mailis 2011, 87.

⁶³³ Gini-Tsofopoulou 1985, 82-83.

the name ‘the basilica of St. Epameinondas’ based on the observations of a 19th century itinerant who indicates on the map the church of St. Epameinondas at the site called Ergastiria. At this site, southwest of the port of Lavrio, a cemetery was found dated from the fourth to fifth century, and it has been argued that craftsmen and labourers who were working at the mines were buried there, forming a certain social group, as it is very possible that until that time silver was still produced from the treatment of ancient slag.⁶³⁴ This is of course an assumption, but if taken into consideration along with the tradition of the Church, it might give a closer insight into the socio-economic evolution of this industrial settlement. More specifically, the tradition of the Church regards that the worship of St. Epameinondas was brought to Lavrio by labourers who came from Carthage to work in the mines during the fourth century.⁶³⁵ The tradition of the Church therefore suggests a migration of a Christian working class across the empire and the erection of a church for the worship in memory of a distant martyr. The strategic site of the basilica overlooking the Saronic Gulf was not a coincidence, and can be interpreted not only in relation to the ancient temples at Sounion but also to its dominating involvement in the economic and social life of the harbour settlement of Lavrio.

Close to Lavrio, at the mountain called Olympos, there has been found another Early Christian church,⁶³⁶ which Pallas dates just before 559 and he recognises the work of an active Early Christian artisan school of Attica [Map 3].⁶³⁷ At the annex of the basilica an olive oil press has been established parallel to the olive presses at the centre of Athens [Fig. 16].

⁶³⁴ Parras 2010, 142.

⁶³⁵ St. Epameinondas is one of the 40 African martyrs whose memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church, see *Αγιασματάριον* 1959 and *BHG* 3rd ed., I, 97.

⁶³⁶ Caraher 2003, 413; Mailis 2011, 87.

⁶³⁷ Pallas 1986, 51.

However, as the room of the olive press was attached to the Early Christian basilica in the seventh century, the basilica was reduced to one aisle and the other aisles were walled up.⁶³⁸

Out of the fourteen Early Christian basilicas recorded at the area of Mesogeia and Lavreotiki, two sites (Porto Rafti and possibly the intersection point at Pallene) are accompanied by physical evidence of parts of settlements, two others (Vravron, Lavreotic Olympus) give evidence of pilgrimage and industrial activities of the institutional Church. A few others, such as the Lavrion basilica may be associated with some kind of pilgrimage activity taking into consideration the tradition of the Church. This interpretation may well apply to other harbourside basilicas that are connected with industrial activity, and presuppose labour migration, as do the double basilicas at Alyki in Thasos. Most interestingly however, we can see that the basilicas are located in the same sites as were occupied by the former Demes of classical Attica and inevitably use the same road network. The connection between the basilicas and their institutional character, as well as the settlements which they were part of, makes it possible to reconstruct a diverse economic character of the Church in the countryside but most remarkably to watch how easily the town of Athens could be cut off from the countryside of Mesogaia through the controlled passes and vice versa.

The analysis of the two above case studies offers the chance to explore the countryside of two famous Early Christian towns of Greece, one in the north and the other in the south, and additionally to demonstrate the activity of the institutional Church in their periphery too. Khalkidiki in a bigger scale, while Mesogaia and Lavreotiki in a smaller scale, confirm that the evolution of the institutional Church in the countryside was not inferior to that of the towns. The material evidence of the churches in Khalkidiki offered the opportunity to construct a map of the Early Christian basilicas with their annexes related to the institutional

⁶³⁸ Kotzias 1952, 92-128, Fig. 15; Frantz 1988, 59, 121, Pl. 76d-e; Chatzisavvas 2008, 124, Fig. 130.

activity of the Church, and with as their reference point the city of Thessaloniki. On the other hand similar material evidence from the countryside of Mesogaia and Lavreotiki offered the opportunity to construct a map that consists of the basilicas and their activities in connection with the road network. Although the number of churches dispersed in the Mesogaian countryside and the evidence from the function of the their annexes is admittedly smaller than the one in the countryside of Khalkidiki, the study of the basilicas along with the evidence of the ancient road network shows that Christianity in Mesogaia developed in the same sites as the ancient Demes and used almost the same road network. The continuous occupation of the sites until nowadays might account for the small number of basilicas in comparison to the countryside of Khalkidiki but the evidence of the road network, the basilicas, and the evidence of settlements, although little, makes it possible to construct a picture of the rural topography of the Mesogaian countryside and its immediate relationship to the town of Athens along with the role of the institutional Church. In both countrysides, Khalkidiki and Mesogaia with Lavreotiki, the institutional Church is associated with the development of settlements, whether in the hinterland or on the coast, and is directly or indirectly involved in the activities of these settlements, whether agricultural, industrial or commercial.

Although one case study seems to be filling the gap of the other and both give representative evidence of the diverse institutional role of the numerous Early Christian churches that dot the Greek countryside, there is a major factor that is missing from both. That is the extensive material evidence of churches and settlements in the countryside that can act as model landscape evidence, according to which we can set and document the other, or most of the other freestanding churches in the Greek countryside. This will be hopefully possible through another case study introduced below, where an unknown Early Christian coastal settlement in the countryside of Kalymnos in the Dodecanese will be revealed.

IV/C. 3 Vathy in Kalymnos [Map 5; Figs. 18-31; Pl. 5-8]

The countryside of Kalymnos provides extensive material evidence of a rural settlement in the flat plain of Vathy, at the periphery of Greece. Although the settlement at Vathy is one of the most well preserved Early Christian settlements in Greece, it has failed to attract the interest of scholars, especially that of archaeologists. The basilicas and the houses of the settlement have not been studied in detail since Vasilis Karabatsos' effort to present the evidence of this site to the academic world.⁶³⁹ In some cases the basilicas themselves have not been excavated systematically or interpreted nor have the annexes of the basilicas, except for a few exceptions that will be discussed below.

The situation at Kalymnos regarding its historical development during the Early Christian times is more obscure than the one at Khalkidiki, as written sources seem to totally ignore its ecclesiastical evolution. It is believed that from the end of the third century Kalymnos was part of the 'Provincia Insularum', one of the provinces of Asiani that included the southwest part of Asia Minor along with the Aegean islands and had Rhodes as its capital. However there is no information confirming this and the only information we can get for Early Christian Kalymnos is from the monuments themselves.⁶⁴⁰

Indeed Kalymnos, one of the Dodecanesian islands, has a strong but rather unexplored Early Christian material culture, which, along with the Early Christian remains at Telendos and Pserimos, makes it an outstanding example. In Kalymnos there have been found 23 basilicas dated between the fifth and sixth centuries. The most important and well known are the so-called Christos of Jerusalem and St. Sophia at the sanctuary of Apollo, St. Ioannis at Melitsakha, St. Nikolaos at Skalia, and Taxiarkhis and Palaiopanagia at Vathy.⁶⁴¹ At Telendos

⁶³⁹ Karabatsos 1987.

⁶⁴⁰ Kollias 1994, 25.

⁶⁴¹ Karabatsos 1994, 259-362.

there are five and at Pserimos six Early Christian basilicas.⁶⁴² Interestingly at these three sites, Kalymnos, Telendos and Pserimos, apart from the basilicas there have been recorded other Early Christian buildings such as baths, above ground vaulted tombs and remains of settlements.⁶⁴³ Of special interest however, as has already been noted above, is the settlement at Vathy, the most fertile land of the island, which has a unique opening towards the sea, the port of Rina [Map 5, Pl. 5a-c].⁶⁴⁴

Given the fact that there is little fertile land available in the island and that lies in Vathy valley, while the other major centres were ports of commerce, Vathy is an ideal case study of a flourishing coastal site in the countryside of Kalymnos. Apparently, not only the fertile lands but also the safe port of Rina contributed to the development of the settlement at Vathy, east of the valley, opposite the coast of Asia Minor. In Vathy valley there is a distribution of thirteen out of the twenty three Early Christians basilicas found on Kalymnos⁶⁴⁵, surprisingly almost the same number as the basilicas found in the countryside of Mesogaia [Map 5; Fig. 18]. In order to maintain all these churches, Vathy should have consisted of wealthy and well populated rural settlements. Vathy reached its peak during the Early Christian times, from which the largest and most inhabited settlement of the valley has been detected south of the present village near the sea. Seven out of the thirteen Early Christian basilicas at Vathy, were erected on both sides of the Rina port on the terraces of the sloping lower ground among dwellings and cisterns.⁶⁴⁶ Actually, the settlement to the south has been called Hellenika, consisting of five churches and that to the north, Rina, consisting of two churches [Map 5, Fig. 18; Pl. 7a]. The extended ruins of the Early Christian settlement of Hellenika have survived presumably on a former settlement of late Hellenistic or Roman

⁶⁴² Karabatsos 1994, 297-316; Volanakis 1994, 187-258.

⁶⁴³ Karabatsos 1987, 225-232; 1994, 265-354.

⁶⁴⁴ Karabatsos 1987, 230-232; 2001, 10-11; Karabatsos, Platon and Magos 2001, 8-9.

⁶⁴⁵ Karabatsos 1994, 317-351.

⁶⁴⁶ Karabatsos 1987, 230-232, Fig. 40; Karabatsos, Platon and Magos 2001, 9.

origin, which became increasingly prosperous in Late Antiquity.⁶⁴⁷ Before proceeding to the exploration of the settlement and its involvement in the economic life of Kalymnos' countryside, it is important to discuss the ground plans of the basilicas and the identification of their annexes that have survived at foundation levels.

At Hellenika settlement, three of the basilicas, that of Anastasis, St. Georgios and the basilica at the Khalkitis estate are preserved at foundation level and offer the possibility to be measured and depicted in ground plans [Map. 5; Fig. 18-20; Pl.6a]. The peculiarity of these basilicas, which has been addressed by personal observation, is their evolution from mono-apsidal to bi-apsidal churches in order to include a reliquary in the second apse for the cult of saints or martyrs, implying therefore a possible introduction of multiple cults at the same site that may have attracted pilgrims.

Karabatsos has argued that they are three-aisled basilicas, presuming that they were divided into nave and side aisles, with nave and south aisle terminating at semi-circular apses.⁶⁴⁸ From a closer observation though, especially on the remains of the Anastasis basilica [Fig. 19; Pl. 6b], which is better preserved and more easily accesible from the water front, one can see that the semi-circular apse of the south aisle was not built in symmetry to the main apse and that it was rather added later to the main body of the church. The north aisle on the other hand ends in a square irregular room, which preserves its blocked inner doorway that connects it with the nave. Karabatsos dated the first phase of the basilica before the first half of the sixth century and the second phase of the blocking of the inner doorway of the north aisle after the earthquake of the 554.⁶⁴⁹ I believe however, that the semi-circular apse of the south aisle not only was not built in symmetry with the main apse but rather is an asymmetrical semi-circular apse itself. This observation may offer another interpretation of

⁶⁴⁷ Karabatsos 1987, 231.

⁶⁴⁸ Karabatsos 1994, 37-338.

⁶⁴⁹ Karabatsos 1994, 338.

the basilica's construction phases. It is more probable that the basilica was built initially as a mono-apsidal church with north (and probably south) irregular chambers and, at a later time for some reason, the south chamber was modified or constructed anew to take the form of a semi-circular apse, while the north was blocked and functioned as an autonomous room. After the modifications, the mono-apsidal church was transformed clearly into a bi-apsidal church. These modifications did not necessarily occur because of the earthquake. As a matter of fact, I believe that the earthquake had little to do with the actual reason that required the changes to the basilica. This rare phenomenon of the Church architecture regarding the evolution of mono-apsidal to bi-apsidal basilicas has been an issue for survey and study in other areas of the Empire such as Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Cyprus and is considered there too a unique phenomenon with regard to the more common evolution of the mono-apsidal to tri-apsidal churches. In these areas, the insertion, addition, or construction of a single apse into one of the lateral pastophoria is described as a special phenomenon which occurred throughout the Levant, from the fourth to the eighth century and is attributed to the cult of the saints and martyrs [Fig. 27].⁶⁵⁰ If the insertion of the apse at the south chamber of the church of Anastasis occurred as the outcome of the deposition of a reliquary, then it is possible to explain the evolution of the mono-apsidal church into bi-apsidal instead of arguing that it was built from the beginning as a bi-apsidal. As far as the blocking that occurred at the north chamber, this can be explained from the other examples of church modifications that are related to the institutional activities of the Church, especially when the rooms resulting from such modifications acquired domestic or industrial use. The north aisle at the basilica at Paliambela for example, was detached from the liturgical plan of the church in order to be put to secular use. In support of the intentional secular use of the modified north chamber related

⁶⁵⁰ Margalit 1990, 321-334, citing previous literature.

to the institutional character of the basilica of Anastasis at Vathy, could be the discovery of a millstone. Actually, it is about a fragment of marble slab that survives from the church's furnishings preserved beside the church – now painted in lime – and was deliberately cut into a circular shape for secondary use. On one side the slab has a rough surface with a hole drilled at the centre, indicating that it was perhaps used as a millstone.⁶⁵¹ At what phase did these modifications occur at the basilica of Anastasis? If the earthquake (554) cannot serve as a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the basilica and as a *terminus ante quem* for the modification of the north chamber, then a chronological issue occurs. The modifications such as the blockage of door openings and the industrial use of the annexes of the basilicas usually take place from the middle of the sixth or to the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh. Did the modification into a bi-apsidal church occur at the same time or was it an earlier incident? And if so what was the initial date of the erection of the basilica? This is not a question that can be answered immediately, but instead, more detailed investigation needs to be done regarding the typology of the basilica of Anastasis, and above all, to benefit from extensive and intensive surveys.

The same applies to the other two basilicas at Hellenika whose nave and south aisle are ending in apses while the north aisles end in square-shaped rooms. The basilica of St. Georgios is built only twenty-five metres away from the basilica of Anastasis and like the latter it borrowed its name from the Late Byzantine chapel constructed at its courtyard [Map 5; Fig. 18-20; Pl. 6a]. Karabatsos again interprets the remains at foundation level as that of a three-aisled basilica with nave and south aisle terminating at semi-circular apses. Interestingly the main apse preserves the remains of a synthronon while an open courtyard of a higher elevation has been placed to the south of the church probably influenced by the Syrian

⁶⁵¹ Karabatsos 1987, 98, Fig. 31, Pl. 88.

atria.⁶⁵² Karabatsos dates the church to the second half of the sixth century. However, I believe that the basilica has again more than one phase according to my interpretation of its being transformed into a bi-apsidal church after initially being mono-apsidal; it therefore needs more investigation in order for the different phases as well as the remains of the annexes to be deciphered properly.

The third bi-apsidal basilica is an otherwise unknown church at the Khalkitis estate, only fifty metres east of the basilicas of Anastasis and St. Georgios that came to light during a rescue excavation [Map 5; Figs. 18, 21].⁶⁵³ According to Karabatsos it was built as a three-aisled basilica with two semi-circular apses corresponding to the nave and the south aisle. It was built upon three artificial terraces – on the lowest was the narthex area, on the middle level the north aisle and nave, and in the upper level the south aisle – with different dimensions between the terraces because of the rocky landscape. The church bears important features such as a bench intentionally cut on the rock running along the south aisle and with traces of a chancel screen at the eastern end of the south aisle too, while the entire floor of the aisle is occupied with mosaic pavements depicting geometric patterns and crosses.⁶⁵⁴ Other interesting features that have been observed by Karabatsos are the remains of a synthronon at the main apse and the thickening of the walls between the south aisle, the nave and the western wall of the narthex that occupied parts of the floor mosaic.⁶⁵⁵ Karabatsos, although acknowledging a second construction phase of the church due to the element of the thickening of the walls that occupied parts of the mosaics, dates the church to the first quarter of the sixth century because of a bronze follis of Justin I found in the nave.⁶⁵⁶ I believe that the evidence provided by the typology of the south aisle at the basilica of Khalkitis estate confirms the

⁶⁵² Karabatsos 1994, 341.

⁶⁵³ Karabatsos 1994, 341.

⁶⁵⁴ Karabatsos 1994, 342-343.

⁶⁵⁵ Karabatsos 1994, 343.

⁶⁵⁶ Karabatsos 1994, 343.

argument of the modification of the mono-apsidal churches into bi-apsidal due to the worship of a martyr or saint. It is very possible that at the southern chamber an apse was inserted because its floor contained the depository for the reliquarium. Above the reliquarium were an altar and the remains of the marble chancel screen that closed off the entrance to the apse. This is a widespread feature of bi-apsidal churches interpreted in the light of *martyria* throughout the Levant.⁶⁵⁷

The complete conversion of a mono-apsidal to a tri-apsidal church can be seen at the basilica of St. Sofia, a smaller church built away from the sea front but in the heart of the remains of the dwellings of the settlement [Map 5, Fig. 18, 22; Pl. 6c]. According to Karabatsos the church consists of nave and side aisles with projecting semi-circular apses although the northern was added at a later time. The dimensions of each part of the church are again different, the south aisle's apse being relatively smaller than the others. Karabatsos dates the church to the seventh century or even later.⁶⁵⁸ Elsewhere however he argues a date around the ninth century.⁶⁵⁹ Again, I believe that the church has more than one phase that need careful and detailed investigation and excavation in order to decipher these questions. Judging from the architectural pattern described above, and indeed accepting the observation that the northern apsidal chamber was added later, I believe that the initial church was once again mono-apsidal, but was later converted not into a bi-apsidal but a tri-apsidal church which is the typical and frequent evolution for the mono-apsidal churches.

The fifth and final Early Christian church at the settlement of Hellenika is no more apparent as on its ruins has been erected the middle-Byzantine church of Panagia Kyra-Khosti [Map 5].⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁷ Margalit 1990, 334.

⁶⁵⁸ Karabatsos 1994, 336.

⁶⁵⁹ Karabatsos 2001, 11.

⁶⁶⁰ Karabatsos 1994, 334-335.

Karabatsos describes the settlement consisting of houses and among them several cisterns with a double coat of plaster on the interior faces of their walls, and recognises two construction phases of the houses of the settlement and considers them to be Late Roman structures that probably continued in use well into the middle Byzantine period [Figs. 28-30; Pl. 6c].⁶⁶¹ He probably based his argument on the observation of the wall whose masonry consists of limestone with stones of various sizes and a rubble core bound with hard lime mortar between the faces of the walls.⁶⁶² He also observed that although there are narrow streets between the houses, the settlement was not built to a plan and this was probably the consequence of the steeply rising slopes of the site as the buildings had to be constructed on terrace retaining walls.⁶⁶³ Regarding the typology of the houses Karabatsos has distinguished three categories of dwellings: the first category consists of large, rectangular houses built in two storeys and with large windows on the upper floor [Fig. 28]. The second category consists of small, rectangular houses covered by a barrel-vault with timber crossbeams [Fig. 29]. Finally, the third type consists again of small, rectangular houses built in two storeys whose ground floor was covered by a barrel-vault above which was added the second storey [Fig. 30].⁶⁶⁴

To summarise the evidence from the Hellenika settlement, it has been established that a well-preserved settlement existed on the rocky slope overlooking the port, organised around five basilicas, which demonstrate a possible pilgrimage site due to their conversion from mono-apsidal to bi-apsidal in order to include the reliquary. Only one, however, of the five basilicas preserves a reliquary depository. This is the basilica at the Khalkitis estate which is the only one that has been excavated. A future excavation at the other basilicas may reveal

⁶⁶¹ Karabatsos 1987, 232.

⁶⁶² Karabatsos 1987, 232.

⁶⁶³ Karabatsos 1987, 232.

⁶⁶⁴ Karabatsos 1987, 231-232.

more reliquary depositories. The uniqueness of the churches described above and the equivalent types in the Near Eastern countries, may be reflected in the barrel vaulted roofs, which were not very popular in the Early Christian church architecture in Greece, but proliferated in Syria. The remains of the houses, the churches, the construction material and the layout of the settlement in general are rather simple and modest both in terms of the material used and the building dimensions. The pilgrimage churches have nothing luxurious comparing to other basilicas at the upper Vathy valley or to others in Kalymnos and Telendos in general (see below). Hellenika settlement represents an authentic Early Christian autonomous coastal settlement, which follows the trends of the time but on a smaller scale. This scale however depicts its original dynamics.

On the opposite slope, facing the Hellenika settlement, there are two other Early Christian basilicas. This is the settlement of Rina whose remains of dwellings however are very few compared to the Hellenika settlement and lie further down from the two basilicas [Map 5, Pl. 5b/7a].

The first is the church of St. Eirini, which demonstrates the same architectural characteristics as the churches of Hellenika settlement. The nave and south aisles terminate in semi-circular apses while the north aisle does so in a square chamber, and there is also evidence of a barrel-vaulted roof both over the nave and the side aisles [Fig. 23].⁶⁶⁵ Also, the main apse preserves remains of a synthronon. Karabatsos, in contrast to Volanakis who dates the basilica in the late fifth or early sixth century, proposes a date in the second half of the sixth century, because during that time the tripartite sanctuary was fully developed.⁶⁶⁶ However, as I have stated above, I do not believe that this basilica had only one construction

⁶⁶⁵ Karabatsos 1994, 347.

⁶⁶⁶ Karabatsos 1994, 347; Volanakis 1980, 9, Fig. 4.

phase; the basilica of St. Eirini also clearly demonstrates the transition from the mono-apsidal to bi-apsidal churches.

The anonymous church standing forty-six meters to the east of the church of St. Eirini was built on a partly artificial terrace at its south side because the ground drops steeply down to the sea, which is about fifty meters away [Pl. 7b]. The sloping nature of the ground has affected the levels within the church. The north aisle, which ends in an apse, does not run the full length of the church because of the steeply rising bedrock and the south aisle along with a long extra chamber running along the south side of the building end in square chambers at a considerably lower elevation [Fig. 24].⁶⁶⁷ Here again, if the excuse of the steeply rising bedrock is accepted for the north aisle not running the full length of the church, then it is again about the transition of the mono-apsidal to bi-apsidal, only now it happens to the north chamber and not to the south. This is also common in other sites of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as the complex of St. Stephen at Umm Er-Rasas in Jordan.⁶⁶⁸ Otherwise it is a mono-apsidal church with a chapel and auxiliary areas. Interestingly, Karabatsos has suggested that the long south corridor may have functioned as a *xenodocheion*, especially as there was no doorway connecting the narthex with the south room [Fig. 24].⁶⁶⁹ This is an explanation that would agree with the pilgrimage function of the bi-apsidal basilicas; however, the communication of the rooms identified as *xenodocheia* with doorways to other parts of the church, as has been observed at the other cases of Samos and Mytilini, is not uncommon.

The study of the Early Christian basilicas and dwellings at Hellenika and Rina settlements relies largely on the measurements, depictions and personal observations of Karabatsos. Karabatsos dedicates a whole chapter of his Master's thesis to the exploration of

⁶⁶⁷ Karabatsos 1994, 347-350.

⁶⁶⁸ Margalit 1990, 326-328, 334.

⁶⁶⁹ Karabatsos 1994, 347-350.

the Early Christian and Byzantine settlements at Kalymnos.⁶⁷⁰ Along with his revised contribution to the collective volume on 'Kalymnos', his attempt to approach the material evidence of the Early Christian settlements on Kalymnos, and especially that of Hellenika remains the major, if not the only, to my knowledge, effort to provide a typology of the settlement's basilicas and houses.⁶⁷¹ The topographical plan of the settlement, although it is very helpful, was made for the needs of educational programmes at school and not for any scientific research.⁶⁷² Karabatsos believes that the concentration of churches indicates the existence and distribution of settlements and that the isolated churches should be interpreted as monastic ones. He does not however offer in the discussion of the typology of the settlement, the connection between the churches and the houses, the highlight of a key settlement that will help understand other possible settlements in Greece, in the future.

Admittedly, Karabatsos has done a remarkable effort in studying and publishing unknown sites; but surprisingly his effort was not followed by further investigations and surveys that would eventually contribute to the reconstruction of the most well preserved and rather peculiar Early Christian settlement in Greece. This unique Early Christian settlement in Greece remains unexplored and unknown to most of the academic world. Obviously, there is so much to be done, and so there are many things yet to be revealed: I will only add two observations. The first is that along with the basilicas and dwellings, the remains of walls on the rocky slope of the Rina settlement needs to be explored, which may reveal that the settlement, or at least the complex of the two basilicas was walled, and the second observation is the underwater remains of structures near to the Hellenika settlement, which may belong to harbour installations [Pl. 7b, 8a].

⁶⁷⁰ Karabatsos 1987, 225-232.

⁶⁷¹ Karabatsos 1994, 259-362.

⁶⁷² Karabatsos, Platon and Magos 2001, 9.

Hellenika and Rina settlements discussed so far, form part of the lower Vathy valley by the sea front. What is the evidence from the upper valley of Vathy then? At the upper valley of Vathy there are two of the most imposing Early Christian basilicas recorded in Kalymnos. The first one is the Early Christian basilica of Archangel Michael or simply Taxiarkhis, (as it is known from the Late Byzantine chapel built upon its south aisle), which is situated in a prominent position on the Hellenistic acropolis of Ebolas occupying perhaps the site of an ancient temple, and is dated to the second half of the sixth century [Map 5; Figs. 18, 26].⁶⁷³ The walls of the church, which was built as a three-aisled basilica with a narthex at the west, are preserved to roof level including part of a two-storey narthex with its upper north window. A long lateral chamber against the north aisle was added at some later date due to the butt joints between the walls. It has an inner doorway at the west communicating with a small secondary entrance room, which also communicates with the narthex through another doorway. The function of the added north chamber is obscure. One option is for it to have been a hospice or *xenodocheion*, as has been suggested by Schneider for a similar chamber at the north side of the basilica at the Heraion of Samos as well as for the south corridor at the anonymous basilica close to St. Eirini at Rina [Fig. 26].⁶⁷⁴

The second one is the basilica of Palaiopanagia, which was constructed on a precipitous site overlooking the Vathy valley and dated from the late fifth to early sixth century.⁶⁷⁵ In plan the church was a three-aisled basilica with a narthex attached at the west side, and a semi-circular projecting apse at the east [Map 5; Figs. 18, 25]. There are also ancillary rooms on the north and south sides of the church, and a small, independent rectangular structure three meters to the east of the main apse.⁶⁷⁶ The latter is of identical,

⁶⁷³ Karabatsos 1994, 317-322.

⁶⁷⁴ Karabatsos 1994, 320.

⁶⁷⁵ Karabatsos 1994, 322-27.

⁶⁷⁶ Karabatsos 1994, 322-327.

apparently contemporary, construction to the church and cannot be disassociated from it. The function of this structure cannot be ascertained. The basilica at Palaiopanagia gives evidence of a special order for its marble architectural fragments, as on the lower edge of the columns and capitals are engravings of the alphabet indicating that they came from the organized state-owned quarries of Prokonnisos.⁶⁷⁷ The special orders for the church construction should have arrived at the Rina port where the settlements there, organised around the basilicas, would have played a predominant role as loci of maritime traffic in the services of the state and the Church.

From other Early Christian basilicas on Kalymnos we get important information of the existence of an *oikonomos* (*οἰκονόμος*) mentioned in a pier capital at the basilica of ‘Christ of Jerusalem’, the most spectacular church on Kalymnos, who was probably managing the finances and estates of the Church of Kalymnos.⁶⁷⁸ We also get information of a possible triconch *martyrion* at of the church of Evangelistria (or St. Sophia) fifty meters away from the church of ‘Christ of Jerusalem’.⁶⁷⁹

Telendos on the other hand, which was once the western extension of Kalymnos, has remains of five Early Christian churches, a hardly traceable settlement below sea level [Map 5].⁶⁸⁰ The abundant above ground vaulted graves that have been found on the island can be used to estimate the population of Telendos’ major settlement. Early Christian baths and establishment of olive oil presses reveal the secular activities of the two massive Early Christian basilicas of St. Vasileios and Palaia Panagia.⁶⁸¹

Remains of Early Christian basilicas have been traced in six different sites on the island of Pserimos too [Map 5]. The most interesting discoveries in relation to this thesis are

⁶⁷⁷ Karabatsos 1994, 326-327.

⁶⁷⁸ Karabatsos 1994, 273; 2001, 7.

⁶⁷⁹ Karabatsos 1994, 277-282.

⁶⁸⁰ Karabatsos 1994, 297-316; 2001, 9, 11; Karabatsos, Platon and Magos 2001, 5.

⁶⁸¹ Margalit 1990, 334.

part of a hand mill at the basilica at Khora, stressing probably institutional activities such as preparation of food.⁶⁸² Additionally, to the west of the basilica at the site of Letri there has been found an above ground vaulted tomb with annexes that has led Volanakis to the assumption that the place was developed into a pilgrimage site but this assumption has not been documented further.⁶⁸³ Finally, according to Volanakis, at the Panagia Graftiotissa site, the three-aisled basilica was part of an Early Christian settlement whose remains are traceable at its coastal area.⁶⁸⁴

Compared to the other Early Christian basilicas presented above on Kalymnos and Telendos and especially to the basilicas at the upper Vathy valley, as for example the basilica of Palaiopanagia, which is large, elaborated, and with the added benefit of a baptistery, the Early Christian basilicas at Hellenika are not rich and elaborated buildings but rather simple and modest like the houses of the settlement. It is believed that the settlement of Hellenika consisted of fishermen or merchants in contrast to the other settlements in the hinterland, which were populated by rich landholders or farmers who financed the elaborate basilicas of Archangel Michael and Palaiopanagia.⁶⁸⁵ Was the Vathy valley therefore populated sporadically with richer settlements in the hinterland and less rich at the port? The port of Rina could have functioned as a commercial harbour, despite its particularly narrow layout, because of its safe position that allowed the settlement to flourish almost undisturbed. The population of the settlement did not invest in large wood-roofed basilicas as elsewhere in the island but rather in small-scale barrel vaulted basilicas from local limestone that is abundant in the rocky area of Rina. This is an inexpensive method and simultaneously a way to keep cool during the extensive annual sunshine, a method that the locals also preferred for their

⁶⁸² Volanakis 1994, 197.

⁶⁸³ Volanakis 1994, 198-200.

⁶⁸⁴ Volanakis 1994, 205-209.

⁶⁸⁵ Karabatsos 2001, 11; Karabatsos, Platon and Magos 2001b, 8.

dwelling, but also a very popular technique for building churches in hot areas like Syria. The influence of the barrel-vaulted roofing system and the transition from mono-apsidal to bi-apsidal churches could be attributed to sea communications with the near eastern countries, or, a similar situation to the introduction of the cult of St. Epameinondas at Lavrio from immigrants from Carthage could have happened at Hellenika too. Elsewhere, those phenomena were possibly widespread in the Greek region too (the basilica at Vravron in Mesogaia could be called bi-apsidal too), especially in the local island architecture, but have not been identified yet or do not survive in numbers.

Hellenika was an authentic active and flourishing rural coastal settlement in the periphery of Early Christian Greece that shares and adopts the practices of the institutional Church but on a much smaller and humbler scale. Some of the churches are relatively small, the largest of all being the Anastasis (25X13.80), and the smallest the church at the Khalikits estate (12.20X9.50), compared for example to St. Vasileios on Telendos (which measures 34X15), but of normal size compared to the average dimensions of the Early Christian churches on the island and for the dynamic of the settlement. Is it possible that the population was organised around each different church and that the dispersion of churches was not only for the glory of the martyrs and saints but also functioning as parish churches of the different neighbourhoods of the settlement? The majority of the churches were erected at the edge of the settlement in strategic positions at the mouth of the port controlling the narrow passage. Their erection, though, could be connected with the memory of a martyr or saint and it is more possible that it was the basilicas that initially attracted habitation because of their pilgrimage function than that the people of the settlement built them as parish churches. And if judging from the remains of walls – although only by observation – one may be tempted to make the assumption that the rocky area where the churches were built was walled in a

similar manner to other cases from Greece (e.g. Louloudies-Pierias, Kilkis, Solinas). Unfortunately the physical remains of the settlement are only a part of its actual size that prevents us from making an average estimation on the number of the residents in order to understand the extent of the settlement; the concentration of such a big number of basilicas in a small area is a phenomenon that neither the case of Khalkidiki nor Mesogaia and Lavreotiki has illustrated. Only harbour towns, and again not all, such as the nearby Telendos, Phthiotic Thebes, or Thasos, illustrate this, but of course on a different scale. The settlement of Hellenika however, is not a town. But it is not a fishermen's village either. Unfortunately, there have not survived remains of settlements of the upper part of Vathy valley or close to the other large and imposing basilicas at Kalymnos and Telendos to enable comparison of the typology between the settlements. It is not that Kalymnos does not provide highly artistic and splendid Early Christian architecture. It does, but it is not what one can observe at the basilicas of Hellenika settlement. These are relatively small, barrel-vaulted, each part of the churches being of different dimensions and in different levels, and they are hardly imposing as they seem to be one with the rocky place. I believe that the settlement of Hellenika provides what no other site in Greece has provided yet: an extensive settlement of the countryside with the benefit both of the rural economy that the valley offered and of the maritime communications and trade that the small but well hidden and protected Rina port offered too.

The settlements of Hellenika and Rina along with their seven churches, can be compared to another well-preserved Early Christian settlement on St. Nikolaos island or as is nowadays known as Gemiler island, close to the Lycia coast of Asia Minor and close to the Dodecanese complex of islands, that has been partly excavated (only the churches, not the

houses) and published by a Japanese archaeological team [Map 1].⁶⁸⁶ It is about an islet only a thousand meters long and four hundred meters wide, which preserves a monumental scale of buildings; four basilicas, a corridor, a long wall and a large cistern [Fig. 31].⁶⁸⁷ The most interesting of the four churches, is Church III (dated to the late fifth-early sixth century), interpreted as the symbol of the island, built on the top of the island's rocky hill.⁶⁸⁸ The importance of this monument is supported by the painstaking preparation of the rocky place as the rock cut foundations show, exclusively for the construction of this church. The importance of this church has been attributed by the excavators to the flourishing of the island as both a maritime transportation hub in the Mediterranean and also as a holy site related to the veneration of St. Nikolaos.⁶⁸⁹ The long corridor from Church IV leading to Church III that probably functioned as a route to the sacred place which was separated from the secular and populated area below the hill, and another passageway of smaller scale adjacent to the north side of the Church II, from which one can enter the nave through the entrance of the northern wall.⁶⁹⁰ Interestingly, as donor of the floor mosaics of Church III is mentioned a Macedonian goldsmith,⁶⁹¹ revealing an interregional mobility from across the Empire. Although the section of the houses has not been studied, important elements of a public layout such as plazas or open spaces have not yet been clearly defined [Pl. 8b]. As an outcome of the excavation of the churches on Gemiler island, the Japanese team believes that the history of the island began in Late Antiquity as a provincial region for small scale pilgrimage that welcomed people sailing to the Holy Land and that in the sixth century it flourished by attracting numerous pilgrims probably because of its relation to the Life of St. Nikolaos by

⁶⁸⁶ Asano 2010.

⁶⁸⁷ Asano 2010, 125-133.

⁶⁸⁸ Asano 2010, 95.

⁶⁸⁹ Asano 2010, 95, 151.

⁶⁹⁰ Asano 2010, 95, 121-123.

⁶⁹¹ Asano 2010, 241-242.

developing into a typical city of the Justinianic era.⁶⁹²

The evolution of the Early Christian monuments in the Gemiler island is in many ways similar to the Hellenika settlement at Vathy, in Kalymnos. Firstly, they both demonstrate well-preserved settlements in relation to basilicas. The basilicas at Gemiler island, which are obviously much more monumental than the basilicas at Hellenika settlement, demonstrate a pilgrimage function through the deliberate connection of sacred spaces via passageways, while the pilgrimage character of the basilicas at Vathy in Kalymnos, could be shown through the deliberate addition of the second apse and the interpretation of the existence of a *xenodocheion* at the anonymous church next to the church of St. Eirini. It is very possible that both sites attracted settlements because of the pilgrimage function of the basilicas in relation to the active trade in the eastern Mediterranean that their port facilities welcomed. Interestingly, both settlements are built deliberately on rocky places, possibly both walled, and possibly from both is missing the layout of public spaces as it existed in the Graeco-Roman towns.

Both sites may act in support of the argument that the public space in the Early Christian settlements is provided by the ecclesiastical complexes themselves and that the institutional Church exercised around the various activities. However, I think it is an exaggeration of the interpretation of Gemiler island's settlement as a city. In the end of the sixth century it is very difficult to recognise the status of a city in other places than Constantinople; probably Thessaloniki was a plausible city in the Empire after Constantinople.⁶⁹³ But I do not think it was a town either. The small size of the islet itself, its proximity to the coast of Asia Minor, the port facilities and its relation to the Life of St. Nikolaos, are in favour of its development into a rather maritime traffic settlement of a

⁶⁹² Asano 2010, 150-151.

⁶⁹³ Koder 2005, 164.

pilgrimage destination that coincided with trade routes; its development therefore depended both on the coastal and inland sites of Asia Minor and on the trade routes of the Eastern Mediterranean, as the epigraphic evidence of the donation of the mosaics of Church III, from a Macedonian goldsmith reveals.

The Early Christian settlement at Gemiler island is the closest parallel to Hellenika settlement at Kalymnos, which demonstrates a similar evolution of maritime traffic settlements in the Aegean [Map 1]. As the best preserved Early Christian loci of maritime traffic settlements along with their basilicas can be used as model landscape-sites that inform us how the Early Christian basilicas evolved in the coastal landscape in relation to settlements. If the settlement at Pserimos had been preserved it would possibly follow the same typology as the Hellenika settlement and Gemiler Island. We should therefore imagine that the Aegean proliferated in flourishing harbourside settlements that provide evidence both of the remains of basilicas and of the settlements they belonged to, and of the interaction with the society that was using them. They further demonstrate that the basilicas with their institutional activities that particularly flourished in coastal sites in association with settlements, are worthy examples of the impact of the Church in the formation of the Early Christian countryside. However, in the case of Hellenika settlement, these are only first personal observations on an archaeological site that needs the attention of the academic world.

CHAPTER V (CONCLUSIONS)

AN ERA IN CRISIS OR A SCIENCE IN CRISIS?

V/A. Accomplishment of goals and their implications

The objective of this thesis was to identify the foundations of a pattern for the spread of the institutional Church, including primarily its economic practices as well as its social and political dimensions. This would hopefully serve as the key to answer questions of historical change and to formulate theories of economic models concerning the Church's involvement into the market economy. In order for that to be accomplished, the risk of a new approach to the functions of the Church's annexes in relation to the activities of the institutional Church was taken. All relevant and recent archaeological evidence was then examined and discussed within an interpretative framework, placing emphasis upon the archaeological material from excavation reports. Representative examples were pointed out through the regional study of Greece and especially through case studies that dealt also with the realities and problems of this approach. Also observations from fieldwork were taken into account, especially for the documented but unexcavated or partly excavated Early Christian Church complexes and settlements, such as the case of the settlement of Hellenika on Kalymnos. A new approach is also seen in the creation of three categories of activity of the institutional Church (pilgrimage, philanthropic, industrial), in order to include under these categories most of the functions of the excavated annexes and to come to conclusions about the economic involvement of the Church in the life of the Early Christian Greek towns.

Part of the new approach was also the use of the self-contradictory term 'secular Christianity' in order for the presence of the Church's auxiliary rooms with obvious non-liturgical functions not to be dissociated from the holistic function of the Church. It hopefully establishes that there is another expression of the Early Christian archaeology other than the

liturgical, that is, the secular one, which has mostly been shaped through the institutional activities of the churches that engagement with worldly values, a long neglected and misinterpreted phenomenon, such as the contribution of the churches' institutions to the economic life of the Greek towns.

In support of this approach, the imperial and conciliar legislation along with the literature of the Church was examined in the second chapter. The legal evidence from the Theodosius and Justinian's codification regarding the institutional Church, actually secured the property of the Church by differentiating it from the public property; the Church therefore was allowed to have its own inheritance and use it for its own economic benefit. Additionally, clergymen were allowed to become involved in tax-exempted business such as the enterprise of buying and selling food (taverns?) but especially from the era of Justinian more common is the evidence of professions in relation to ecclesiastical and/or civilian offices that reveal a rapid evolution of the establishment and organisation of the institutional Church. In the imperial codification the names of the different churches' institutions are named clearly along with their movable and immovable property, including the evidence of *martyria*. *Martyria* therefore are widespread in the Empire and in Greece too, and the imperial legislation allowed them to be erected in any place where the martyrs were buried, coinciding with the evidence from the Lives of the saints.

The Church in general was protected by the state with tax exemptions such the ones enacted for the city of Thessalonica, and was supported by funds along with foodstuffs, more specifically with grain. That presupposes special areas for storage in relation to churches in order to accommodate the state's provisions as well as provisions from others or from its own lands and an attempt was made to be identified in the material evidence presented in the excavation reports.

Canon law on the other hand is mostly concerned with the clergymen's misconduct rather than with a specific regulation of the institutional Church, for which the imperial law informs us more clearly. It however gives precious information by showing that the accumulation of wealth in the Church's institutions, including that of the *martyria*, were magnets for bishops and priests who wished to be translated to towns with wealthier Church institutions. More interestingly though, the Canon law confirms the different Church institutions that are mentioned in the imperial laws, and indicates the places of socialising in towns where the clergymen were not allowed to participate: these were the taverns and public inns. I regard this information as being of high importance, as it reveals what were the other places of public assembly apart from the ecclesiastical complexes since no other evidence of public space for the people to socialise has been recorded in the material evidence of the Early Christian towns. We should imagine, therefore, that other spaces in the towns for socialising were the taverns, public inns, as well as workshops and shops that the site of Philippi has revealed, or other places of commerce.

Finally, the interpretation of the evidence of the literature of the Church regarding the three aspects of its institutional activity has been illustrated as serving as the inspiration for the architectural establishment of the Church's institutions. Moreover, aspects of the Church's literature has already been used in the identification of the Church's annexes with institutional activities such as the ones related to pilgrimage, (e.g. at the Octagon complex at Philippi and the basilica of Heraion at Samos). At the same time the imperial and conciliar law has confirmed the evidence of Church institutions being a widespread phenomenon in Greece, as frequent as the spread of the churches was. Under the evidence of imperial and conciliar laws and the Church literature, the Church's annexes should be re-considered as housing welfare or relevant to pilgrims and entrepreneurship institutions under the auspices of the Church. The

welfare institutions of the Church in Greece are confirmed by the imperial law stating that the unwanted children in the city of Thessalonica were left outside the churches and additionally by an inscription naming a hospice at Phthiotic Thebes.

The interpretation of the material evidence of the Church annexes in relation to the pilgrimage, namely, the evidence of *xenodocheia*, can be categorized based on the architectural identifications by the excavators of the early 20th century (such as Schneider's for the *xenodocheion* at the basilica of Heraion at Samos, or Evangelidis's for the basilica at Mytilini), as well as on similar architectural identifications of other scholars (such as Travlos's for the Asclepieion at Athens, or Pallas's for the basilica at Vravron) and the interpretations of contemporary scholars too (such as Bakirtzis' for the Octagon complex at Philippi, or Karabatsos's for the cases of the Taxiarkhis and the anonymous church at Vathy, on Kalymnos). The categories of the identified *xenodocheia* can be described as those occupying the one long aisle of the basilica whether the south or the north (e.g. the chambers of the Heraion basilica at Samos, the basilica at Mytilini, and the basilica of Taxiarkhis and anonymous church on Kalymnos) and those occupying rooms surrounding the atrium of the basilica or are found in relation to the atrium of the basilica or the ecclesiastical complex's atrium (e.g. the rooms at Vravron, Asclepieion, Octagon-Philippi).

On the other hand, the material evidence of the philanthropic activity of the Church had to be assumed from the discoveries of cooking facilities, utilitarian pottery, benches, tables, and storage facilities that are common discoveries in most of the excavations of the churches' annexes, and in the interpretation of several excavators for the use of such areas in relation to the poor (Evangelidis's assumption about the use of benches in relation to *διάδοσις* for the poor, or Soteriou's hypothesis of the existence of a hospice close to basilica A at Thebes), or for the storage and preparation of food for the Christian community (such as

Pazaras' evidence at the exonarthex of the basilica at Bhiadoudi, or Karivieri's similar evidence at the exonarthex of the basilica at Paliambela).

The material evidence of *xenodocheia* and philanthropic establishments as indicators of the economic activity of the institutional Church in Greece may have possible parallels in a recent effort to address receptive buildings for pilgrims in sixth century Jerusalem.⁶⁹⁴ Jerusalem, one of the most desirable pilgrimage sites, provides evidence of *xenodocheia* and hospices in a large scale and gives a clear picture of their function in relation to other public structures of the city, such as baths and markets.⁶⁹⁵ More specifically the *xenodocheion* of the Nea Church, along with the one excavated south of the Temple Mount and the one within the Mamilla area are all centrally located facing main streets of the city and are in close proximity to a row of shops. Interestingly, one of the rooms of the *xenodocheion* excavated south of the Temple Mount enclosure as part of a monastery, was identified with a kitchen which has been argued to be of public use.⁶⁹⁶ Of great importance, however, is the identification of the buildings excavated at the Mamilla area with a *xenodocheion* both in terms of architectural organisation and inscriptions. The building consisted of an open courtyard with mosaic floors and a cistern, and it was divided into several spaces and was equipped with a latrine.⁶⁹⁷ Two Greek inscriptions of psalms in one of the mosaic floors of the courtyard encouraged according to archaeologists the practice of pilgrimage (Psalm 118:6-7, Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος. Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ γὰρ ἐπόψομαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου; Psalm 95:6, δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν

⁶⁹⁴ Voltaggio 2011, 197-210.

⁶⁹⁵ Voltaggio 2011, 205-206.

⁶⁹⁶ Voltaggio 2011, 203-204.

⁶⁹⁷ Voltaggio 2011, 204.

αὐτῷ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἐναντίον Κυρίου, τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς).⁶⁹⁸ The identification of another *xenodocheion* that was excavated 6km east of Jerusalem, as part of the Martyrius monastery, should also be addressed here.⁶⁹⁹ The receptive structures for pilgrims formed an independent unit beyond the north-east corner of the monastery's precinct and were divided into two sub-units: the stables with the guest rooms and the chapel. Interestingly, the chapel had a narthex in its north side and north of it were built two guest rooms. This arrangement coincides with the evidence of rooms at the annexes of churches in Greece identified with *xenodocheia* although it is difficult to connect them with the evidence of monasteries. On the other hand, the arrangement of the rooms at the open courtyard excavated at Mamilla area along with the evidence of latrines is closer to the arrangement of the *xenodocheion* at the Octagon at Philippi, while the argument of the function of public kitchens in these structures strengthens the relevant evidence of excavated kitchens in several church complexes in Greece. It seems that pilgrimage and philanthropic activity coincided in many occasions and the function of the excavated public baths near churches and pilgrimage sites should also be considered in the service of the churches' institutions. On the other hand, the connection of psalms with the identification of a *xenodocheion* or I would say with church institutions more broadly, supports the role of the literature of the Church in the establishment of the institutional Church discussed in Chapter II.

The interpretation of the material evidence of the institutional Church, apart from the architectural and archaeological evidence, is supported additionally in this thesis by a new approach to the evidence of inscriptions and by the fact that the ecclesiastical complexes were

⁶⁹⁸ Psalm 118:6-7, The Lord is on my side; I will not fear. What can man do to me? The Lord is with me; He is my helper. I look in triumph on my enemies; Psalm 95: 6, Come, let us bow down in worship, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker.

⁶⁹⁹ Voltaggio 2011, 203.

considered as public religious spaces, introducing therefore a new type of public space related to the Church annexes that is easily traceable both in the towns and the countryside of Greece.

Another indicator of the Church's economic activity in Greece discussed in Chapters III and IV that has become a widespread phenomenon in the excavated churches both in towns and countryside is the industrial and agricultural units at the annexes of basilicas whose functional relationship to the basilicas has also been argued. The physical proximity between church buildings and wine and oil presses, both in towns and in the countryside during the sixth and early seventh centuries, is a phenomenon that has been addressed elsewhere around the Mediterranean. The strict physical connection between production centres and churches has been argued for the towns of North Africa along with the statement that they might have been part of the production activity controlled mainly by the clergy.⁷⁰⁰ The argument of contemporaneous function of oil presses and wine presses with churches in Palestine has been made only very recently contradicting previous arguments; additionally, the churches in Palestine provide evidence of agricultural units in rural monastic complexes that give an insight of close collaboration between monastic communities and villagers (Fig. 32).⁷⁰¹

Tchalenko's argument that the economic growth of rural Syria was a result of the expansion of the olive oil and wine markets is further defined in a recent survey of a number of villages in north-western Syria, in which it is argued that the construction of monasteries may have served as a way to cultivate deserted agricultural land in close proximity to villages.⁷⁰² Furthermore, the traces of wine and olive oil presses along with the construction of impressive churches are also the signs of growth for the rural settlements of Anatolia where local markets were able to encourage and sustain settlement prosperity as well as some

⁷⁰⁰ Leone 2013, 228.

⁷⁰¹ Tassel 2013, 361-394.

⁷⁰² Ashkenazi 2014, 745-765.

agricultural specialisation that was a strong proof of the existence of intensive local exchange.⁷⁰³

The material evidence of oil presses and wine presses adjacent to churches in relation to the evidence from Greece and their contribution to economic growth, helps to put together not only a piece of the puzzle of the economic activity of the Church in the sixth and early seventh centuries but also a big piece of the puzzle of the local economic activity of the Church in Greece, since the first evidence we get for its economic activity especially in relation to monasteries in the countryside is much later in the middle Byzantine era.

More specifically, the situation in the countryside that the fourth chapter examined through the evidence from the distribution of churches and settlements in respect to the three case studies of Khalkidiki, Mesogaia and Lavreotiki and Vathy on Kalymnos shows that the countryside demonstrated an organisation of settlements around the Church complexes, equal to that of the towns. More specifically, the same aspects of the activity of the institutional Church that were observed in the towns were also detectable in the countryside, especially through the evidence of the well-preserved settlement of Hellenika and its equivalent at Gemiler Island, in Turkey. The same settlement pattern therefore that was prevalent in the towns applied in the countryside too: that consisted of the churches and their annexes that in some cases formed large and walled ecclesiastical complexes, while at the same time no other apparent public spaces were identified. We should consider that the absence of any other public space should be balanced by the function of workshops and/or shops, taverns and public inns that the Canons mention as part of the Early Christian towns. We should also include the baths, but in most cases, their function was connected with the institutional activities of the ecclesiastical complexes.

⁷⁰³ Izdebski 2013, 343-376.

The problem however that the evidence of the Hellenika settlement poses, is that the ruins of the settlement are so extensive – although not examined in depth – and in greater density than evidence of other settlements in the countryside or towns of Greece has demonstrated. Usually, even in towns, the extent of the habitation is presumed from the function of the basilicas, as there is no other evidence of extensive habitation. Therefore, the extent of a well-preserved settlement, such as the one of Hellenika might be misinterpreted as a town, just as the settlement on Gemiler island was interpreted as a city. Both settlements demonstrate a considerable number of churches, so that it seems possible that the churches attracted habitation due to their pilgrimage function rather than the opposite.

Another problem concerns certain features of the ecclesiastical complexes discussed in both the third and fourth chapters respectively that require further attention. These features are the walled complexes that on some occasions have been interpreted as the bishop's residence like the complex at Louloudies Pierias or at Kilkis. The evidence from *Codex Theodosianus* provides an explanation for the public character of the walled ecclesiastical complexes which included secular buildings such as houses, baths, *stoas*, yards and gardens. It is very possible, that such complexes in the era of Justinian incorporated also industrial activities while at the same time it is very possible that they retained their public character. The industrial units established in the precinct of ecclesiastical buildings could not only be for the use of the Church but also for the use of the settlement too. However, in other regions of the Empire, similar complexes have been interpreted as monasteries and/or as pilgrimage centres.⁷⁰⁴ It is possible that both a monastic complex and a pilgrimage centre can demonstrate the evolution of the walled ecclesiastical complexes mentioned above.

⁷⁰⁴ Brenk 2004, 447-476.

From this perspective, is the complex at Louloudies-Pierias an Episcopal complex indeed? It could be a monastery, or a pilgrimage centre or simply a walled ecclesiastical complex or a combination of more than one of these functions. It is common in the Lives of the saints for the places of the martyrs' burial to be included in the precinct. Could they refer to the precincts of the Church complexes to which the archaeological evidence gives testimony? If so, could the walled ecclesiastical complexes be pilgrimage sites that also involve other institutional functions (e.g. hospitals or *xenodocheia*)? The identification of the walled Early Christian basilica at Solinas with a *martyrion* could coincide with this assumption.

But the truth is that we are not aware of any excavated Early Christian monastery in Greece although the Early Christian phase of certain complexes such as the basilica at the Gymnasium of Samos, the *praetorium* at Gortyna, and the 'Palace of the Giants' in Athens have been proposed to function as monasteries (see Chapter III). In Greece the line is very thin in distinguishing a monastic complex from a pilgrimage and episcopal complex or simply an ecclesiastical complex with pilgrimage and/or industrial activity. What I would suggest, is that in town centres the model of the Octagon's complex at Philippi is more appealing: A pilgrimage-episcopal complex with auxiliary rooms in the service of the pilgrims, storage facilities and workshops. This is a model that I have also proposed for the 'Palace of the Giants' in the Athenian *agora*.

Another issue that should be raised is the chronology of the churches' annexes and of the excavated ecclesiastical complexes in general. Although the middle of the sixth century and onward, more or less corresponds to the transformation of the churches' annexes that acquired industrial use, the deciphering of the various phases and their dating is not always clearly expressed and documented. For many churches, even the first construction phase has

been debated and the divergence in the proposed dating is even a century (e.g. the Early Christian churches in the centre of Athens, like the Asclepieion).

One should wonder, however, whether the discussion on the Church's economy could well inform a more robust definition and understanding of this important period from the fourth to the seventh century but especially from the sixth century and on. The information that the Church as an institution had an economic role to play is not something surprising, especially when we have to understand the means by which these institutions were maintained and functioned. The fact that the clergy's acts of misconduct have been attested and that the Church was becoming profitable from a business point of view, is not something to be unmasked either. The Church's Canons themselves were condemning such behaviour and ecclesiastical (and secular) judges were giving penalties and anathemas. The Church's deviation from the Canons regarding economic issues is not a major matter of discussion as regards its involvement in the economy of towns. So what makes the difference in studying the material culture of the Church's institutions and especially of their financial involvement in the life of the Greek towns during the Early Christian era?

I believe the difference that this thesis makes is that it can trace this activity both in theory and in practice. It studies its evolution by recognising the Church and its institutional activity, through the existing material evidence, as a decisive factor of social, economic and political influence and not of a private character but, interestingly, of a public one. Although the existing material evidence itself is not a new discovery and most of it has already been reported, the combination of this evidence within another framework, and for a regional study, could make a difference in the study of Christian archaeology. It may also give reasons to explain the archaeological problems of both the highly debated 'end of the ancient city', which in many instances has been attributed to the rise of Christianity, and of the later mid-

sixth-century and later economic crisis.⁷⁰⁵ This thesis does not intend to give answers to the archaeological problems that arise from the Church's involvement in the economic life of towns, although future research and excavations might do so, but it wishes to give some observations and ideas that could serve as basis for further research and scholarship.

As it has been clearly demonstrated throughout this thesis the Church's economic involvement in the Early Christian Greek towns was not a mere economic matter. It was actually the expression of its institutional character, with powerful deep roots in the every-day life of the society. The Church's institutions, although they sprang from a religious character, were involved in all aspects of people's life. This corresponds with an evenly applied settlement pattern in Greece both in towns and countryside, (on a larger scale in the towns and on a smaller scale in the countryside), with the Church and its institutions as the epicentre of this pattern; it also supports the argument of the Church acting as a stabiliser of the civic and rural economy.

Most emperors were promoting a Christianised state and supported the establishment of a 'secularised' institutional Church, as it was rather the tradition of the religion rather than the religion itself; the emperors and especially Justinian wished to establish. Therefore the state contributed to the erection of numerous elaborate basilicas and *martyria* in the memory of martyrs and saints to mark not only the establishment of the Christian religion but also, through this, the establishment of the power of the emperors themselves. Churches at that time obtained similar uses to those of the monumental public buildings that decorated the Greco-Roman towns. It was important for the Emperors to be projected through the elaborate frescos and mosaics, gold and prestigious decorations. After all, it was a way to communicate with their citizens. On the other hand, the Early Christian society, with the support of the

⁷⁰⁵ Barnish 1989, 385-400; Liebeschuetz 2001; See also discussion in Chapter I, 11-12.

state, was inspired in general by a Christian ethic and social trends related to the spread of Christianity were responsible for the nature of the life in towns especially during the sixth century, which also made a radical contribution to social change. The Greek towns might have retained their economic and cultural activity as markets and as production and manufacturing centres but at the same time a big part of the political, social, and economic activity was gathered around the ecclesiastical complexes. The evidence discussed in Chapter III regarding the thresholds that were destined for places to stay open all day like the shops, found in the annexes of the churches, underlying their social, political and economic character, which made church complexes the new public places. After all, the organisation of the institutional Church had been built upon the back of the civic organisation.

As the status of the town changed during the Early Christian times, by shading away its political character, replacing at the same time most of the town's former public activities with the numerous ecclesiastical complexes, by the end of the era of Justinian the towns had changed even more. That is the obscure mid-sixth to early seventh century era, marked by transformations in the material evidence of the Church complexes, including the industrial function of the annexes that were interpreted as decay due to an economic crisis.

Although the churches were still part of the state's renovation programme, the quality of the renovation was different as well as the arrangements made, which now served more practical solutions, such as the emergence of industrial establishments at the annexes of the basilicas. Obviously the state could not be present as before due to its own financial difficulties. The absence of the state reveals the autonomous function of the Church, which had still its own means, as well as revealing the actual number of the population of the settlements. The previously big elaborated churches were not necessarily evidence of a large

population but rather of honour and prestige.⁷⁰⁶ When churches were renovated on a more modest scale, this does not mean that the population was dramatically shrunk, but that due to changing conditions, the Church adjusted to the needs of its original population.

During the reign of Justinian, most of the population was living on and from the land, as the Church complexes, with the establishments of wine presses and olive presses show. Consequently the status of the town changed and what we knew as towns before in Greece now came very close to the status of rural settlements, as shown in Chapters III and IV. It is not to be said that towns were barely distinguishable from rural communities because this will lower the status of the towns. I would rather say that the status of the villages had been elevated due to the role of the institutional Church. In the rural communities there was also a boom of churches complexes that shaped the everyday life of the population as it did in the towns. If the status of the town was formerly derived from its public buildings, now it was its churches. And the rural Church's communities as has been demonstrated in Chapter IV, were following the same organisation as the towns. Perhaps, Justinian's aim was not only to accomplish an even distribution of towns across the Empire but also an even distribution of rural settlements that would demonstrate self-sufficiency. Obviously, the reformation of the economy of the countryside was far more important than the reformation of the towns, and it was accomplished through the establishment of the institutional Church. Interestingly, both the Church and the state wished to invest in the countryside especially during the reign of Justinian. The Church sought to expand its land ownership while the state to get back cash through the Church's investment in the countryside.

The organisation of an institutional Church guiding the historical and social evolution of Greece is not the only key element that springs out from the representative evidence

⁷⁰⁶ Caraher 2014, 146, argues that 'the construction of numerous churches was less a functional response to a growing Christian population and more of a response to increased imperial investment in the region'.

collected in this thesis. Another key element is also the status of the relationship between the Church and the state. The mutual interactive roles of these two entities had been established early on, but how they would work out in the most efficient way, reflected in the Emperor's ability to guide this relationship. This ability would be more apparent in times of difficulty. We can draw inferences from Justinian's massive economic obligations, which required drastic measures to be taken in order to preserve financial stability. He used the Church in order to prevent the weakening of the state to breaking point. The Church was an investment for Justinian, an ace up his sleeve, which played a major role in bringing economic stability, even distribution of settlements across the Empire, mitigation of economic inequality, and momentary redress. Justinian's policy was to enhance the Church's involvement in the economy because it was giving back funds to the state and served as factor to prevent the devaluation of currency. During and after the sixth century the situation was that the Church was giving back to the state, but the state was not giving back to the Church in the way it did before. Therefore it saved money with the Church's and her institutions' growing autarky and at the same time with the care they provided to the citizens in need.

Mostly by allowing the alienation of the Church's property and the use of *emphyteutic* law that resulted in the establishment of industrial units at the annexes of the churches in order the Church to be able to pay back the public debts in cash, he managed to maintain a healthy economy and to prevent, as has been stated above, the undermining of the *solidus*. This accomplishment however did not last long. The use of older or cut coins that were found in the excavation of the Episcopal complex at Louloudies-Pierias during the seventh and eight centuries⁷⁰⁷ shows that the economic reformation of Justinian and his measures against the economic crisis were probably not used successfully by his successors.

⁷⁰⁷ Marki 2008, 111.

The observations from the study of the material evidence of the institutional Church in Greece could open new avenues of research and could possibly inspire one to construct an alternative economic model to fiscal and anti-fiscal policies, to a state's sponsored economic activity or to an economic relationship developed between independent micro-regions within the Empire.

Justinian's reformation policy motivated the redevelopment of the rural industry in the hope of bringing back to the state cash, filling the gap that the previous disrupted economies had created. Obviously this redevelopment created space for the Church to take the opportunity and lead the market of the rural production. It is not a coincidence therefore, that the industrial units excavated in relation to churches are the predominant buildings in both the civic and rural settlements where there is no other apparent public building apart from the churches and their complexes. The archaeological evidence of the activity of the institutional Church in Greece reveals that the churches dominated primarily the settlement pattern regarding the municipal public construction in the urban and rural landscape, a phenomenon that is established more profoundly as early as the sixth century rather than, as it has been considered in a later era.⁷⁰⁸

The increasing power of the institutional Church, which begun under the state's initiative as a public funded institution in which the state wished to be reflected, resulted in being developed into an economic and social powerhouse that in many ways overshadowed the state. Admittedly, there is a fine line in the relationship that the state developed with the Church, but it is evident that the power of a stable and well-established institutional Church had a greater impact in the everyday life of people than that of the state. The material evidence of the establishment and evolution of the institutional Church provides evidence of

⁷⁰⁸ Koder 2005, 169.

the accumulation of wealth and of the power that the Church enjoyed for most of the sixth century and even after the transformation of the annexes in order to include industrial establishments from the middle of the sixth until the early seventh century.

The power of the institutional Church resulted from leading the rural production market and redistributing wealth, which made people depending upon her, but most importantly, even the state who wished to get back cash from the alienation of its properties, depended upon the investments of the Church. On the other hand, the fact that the industrial establishments of churches could possibly have public use and that trade and commerce flourished as an outcome of the pilgrimage/philanthropic economic activity of the Church favours the assumption that they offered the opportunity for a free economy to grow. By the time of Justinian it can be said that the Church played a decisive role in the economic development of the towns, but the most interesting observation is that the institutional Church was the reason for equal economic development in the countryside.

This however was gradually followed in most of the Early Christian sites in Greece by a general decadence and final abandonment of the ecclesiastical complexes, in the so-called 'Dark-Ages'. From my point of view I do not believe that this change can attributed to earthquakes or barbarian invasions but it rather reflects an effort by the state to minimize the role of the institutional Church and its influence in leading the economy. I believe that this effort to put limits to the economic role of the Church took the form of a revolutionary reformation with major political, social and economic implications motivated by a heated religious controversy: iconoclasm. The state's involvement in religious controversies for political reasons has been mentioned again in discussing Justinian's religious policy with the West.

In conclusion, the examination of all the auxiliary sources used in support of the establishment of an institutional Church in Greece, were possible to be interpreted in a way that verified the material evidence of the existence of an institutional Church in Greece. Furthermore, by establishing the study of the institutional Church as expressed in the three major categories was possible to argue towards a restored Early Christian topography in towns, villages and loci of maritime traffic, which revealed the Church to be a powerful component not only in the development of the towns and the shaping of the landscape but also a contribution to the construction of an economic model.

V/B. Christian archaeology then and now: the need of constructing a regional history of Christian archaeology

I explained in the introductory chapter why I have chosen to study the material evidence of the Church's complexes in Greece under the term 'Early Christian' and not under other, admittedly more frequently used terms nowadays terms, such as Early Byzantine, Late Antique, Late Roman or even Early Medieval archaeology, not to mention more specialized terms such as archaeology of religion and archaeology of liturgy. I also explained the definition and proposed a re-orientation of Christian archaeology in order to be able to gain all its potential in the study of ecclesiastical buildings that has not been possible from the time of its establishment up to now.

I am not implying that the diversity of various terms has held back the studies of Christian archaeology in Greece, but they have not helped either in creating research strategies for archaeological cohesion of the material remains of the era from the fourth to seventh century.⁷⁰⁹ Information about Early Christian material evidence is hiding behind other

⁷⁰⁹ For the problem of different emphasis that alternate chronologies entail see Sweetman 2013, 103.

relevant terms (such as Late Roman, Late Antique or Early Byzantine) although sometimes, different terms are used confusingly together for the same period.

Christian archaeology has become a subcategory of the studies of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium and has been limited to liturgical architecture, and so tends to lose its objective. As has been stated in the introductory chapter, Early Christian archaeology is not only the archaeology of churches but also of structures of secular origin, which however are related to the Church, such as the Church's annexes and parts of the ecclesiastical complexes, ranging from houses, baths, workshops and other rooms related to the function of the Church's institutions.

What happened from the establishment of the Christian archaeology in Greece as was illustrated by Lampakis in the late 19th century up to nowadays? The absence of a regional history of the evolution of Christian archaeology in Greece is making obscure the progress of the excavations in relation to ecclesiastical monuments and their proposed identifications. The interpretation and identification gaps have resulted in the situation where certain research topics have been overlooked.

Admittedly, more work needs to be done regarding the function and typology of Early Christian baths, ruins of settlements (especially the 'Hellenika' settlement on Kalymnos), ecclesiastical complexes, pilgrimage centres, Christian inscribed symbols and monasteries. These topics may seem to be beyond the limitations of scholarship, but the potential of Christian archaeology in Greece has much more to offer. Hence, I believe, that the future of Early Christian studies lies within a focus upon the material evidence of the activity of the institutional Church and its diverse involvement in the everyday life of Early Christian towns and countryside, in regional studies, such as Greece.

By expanding our knowledge of the function of the institutional Church in Greece and its impact overall on society, it may also be possible to understand why the Greek region and the other provinces of the Empire developed along such different trajectories. But more importantly, it will be possible to address the question: were the transformations of the mid-sixth century, a result of an economic crisis or was more a result related to culture and religion? And could the problems presented by the era of Justinian and afterwards to the sciences of archaeology and history be actually the outcome of a crisis that these sciences undergo?

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| ABME | Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος |
| ABSA | Annual of the British School at Athens |
| ΑΔ | Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον |
| AE | Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς |
| AEMΘ | Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Μακεδονία και Θράκη |
| AJA | American Journal of Archaeology |
| An Tard | Antiquité Tardive |
| BCH | Bulletin de correspondance hellénique |
| BHG | Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca |
| BMGS | Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies |
| BZ | Byzantinische Zeitschrift |
| DOP | Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| ΔΧΑΕ | Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας |
| GOrThR | Greek Orthodox Theological Review |
| ΘΗΕ | Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια |
| JESHO | Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient |
| JRA | Journal of Roman Archaeology |
| JRS | Journal of Roman Studies |
| J Theol Studies | Journal of Theological Studies |
| Int J Histor Archaeol | International Journal of Historical Archaeology |
| LA | Liber Annuus |
| ODB | The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium |
| ΠΑΕ | Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας |

| | |
|--------|---|
| PG | Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca |
| T&MByz | Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'hist. et civil. byzantines |
| ZDPV | Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins |

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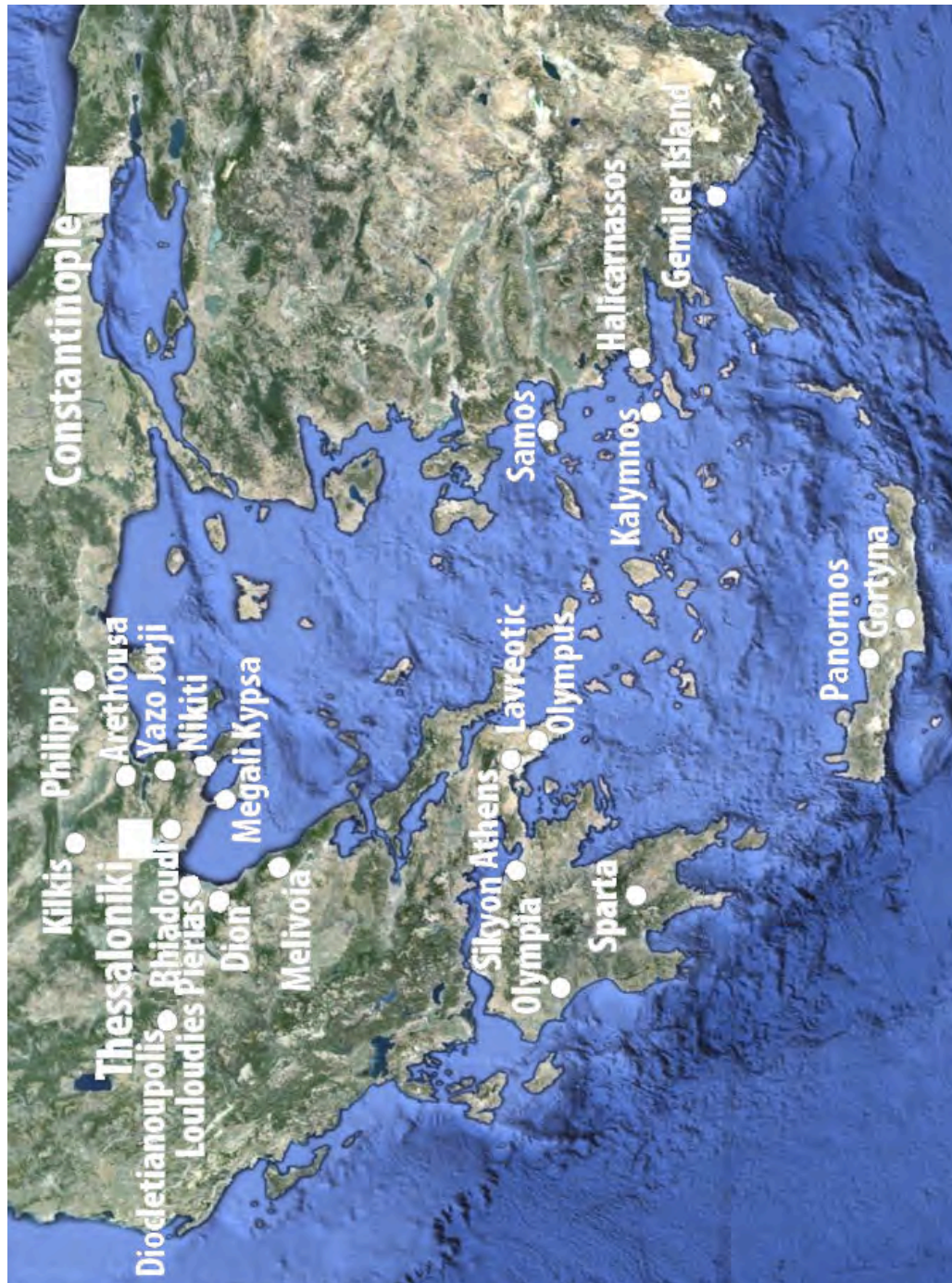
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MAPS



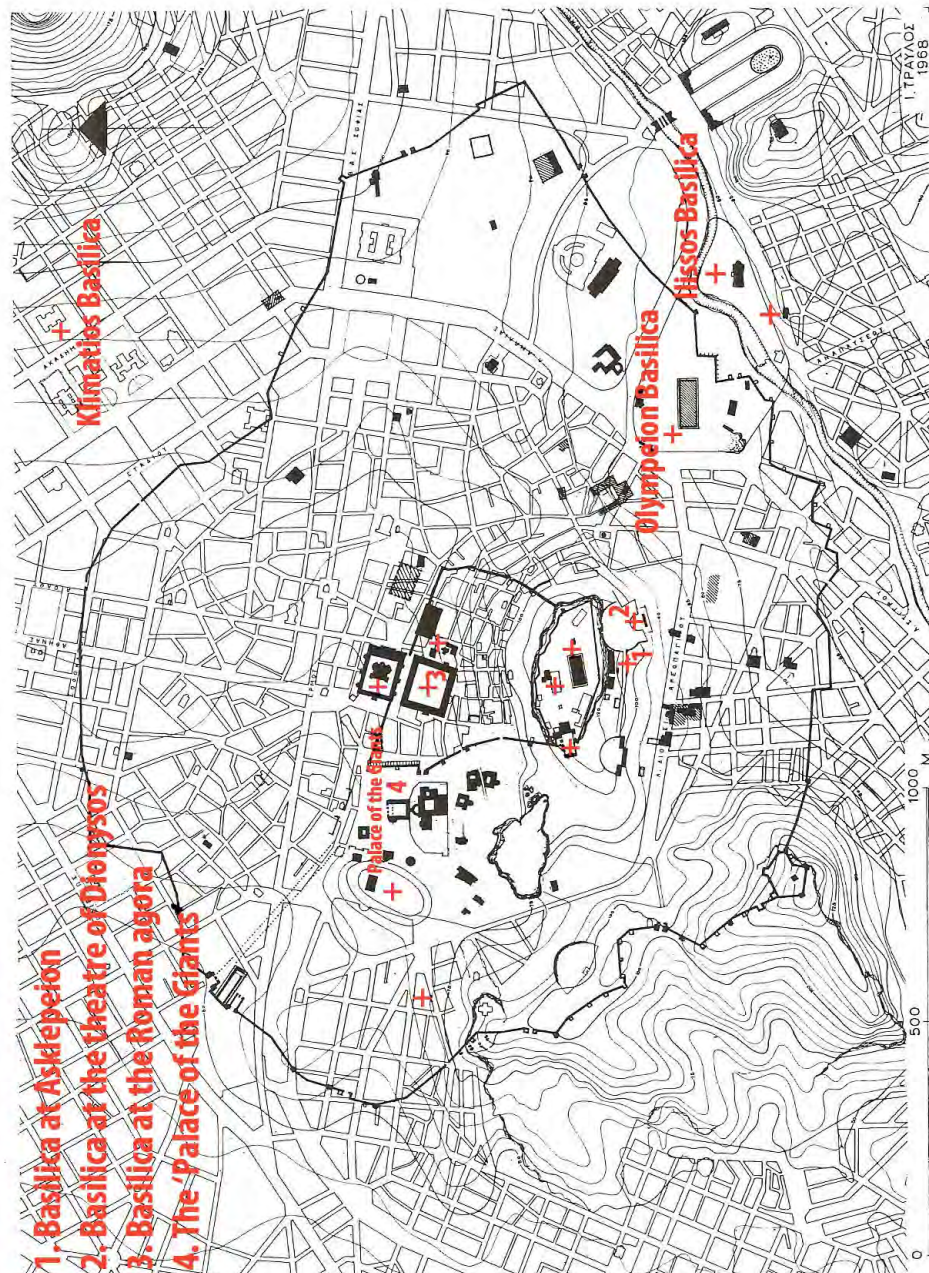
Map 1. The Early Christian churches in Greece with recorded industrial function [By E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].



Map 2. The Early Christian churches at Khalkidiki with institutional function [By E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].



Map 3. The dispersion of Early Christian churches at Mesogaia and the area of Lavrion in relation to the ancient road network [By E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].



Map 4. The centre of Athens in sixth century and the industrial function of the Early Christian basilicas. [After Travlos 1971, Fig. 221. Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].



Map 5. The Early Christian churches of Kalymnos, Telendos and Pserimos and the Hellenika settlement [By E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

FIGURES

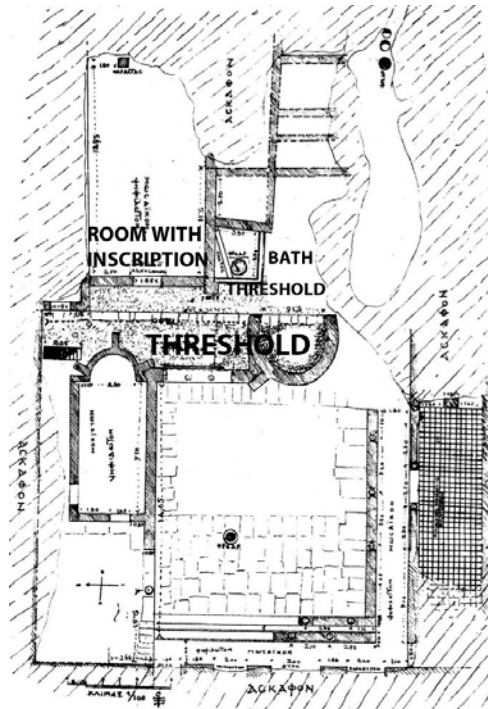


Fig. 1a Actia Nikopolis. Institution of Alkison: the evidence from the first excavations [After Filadelfeus 1927, Fig. 1 (48). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

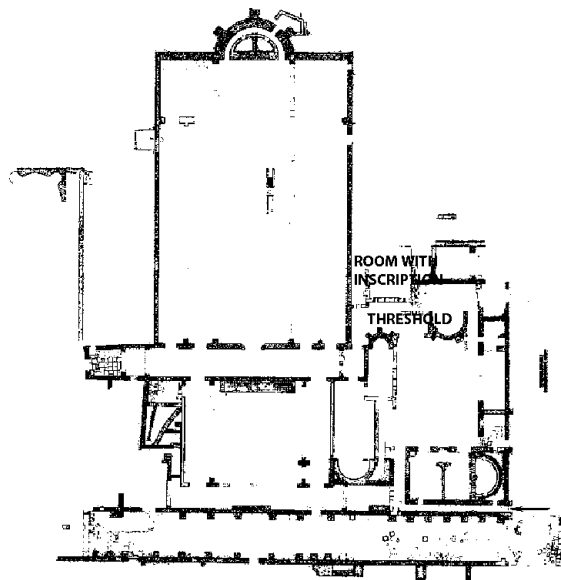


Fig. 1b Actia Nikopolis. The institution of Alkison in the context of the Early Christian Basilica B after the progress of the excavations [After Papadopoulou 2007, Plan 1 (399). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

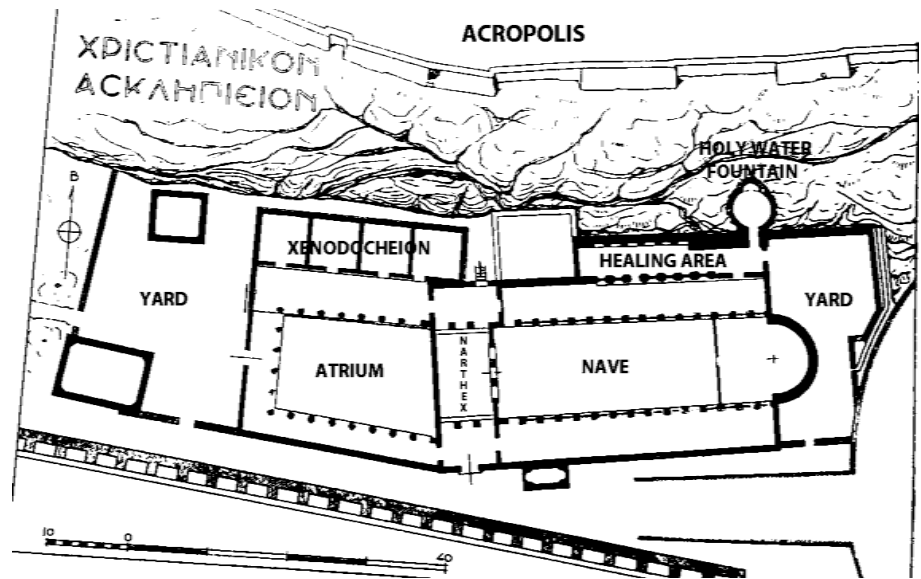


Fig. 2 Athens. The Christian Asclepieion [After Travlos 1939-41, Fig. 19 (65). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

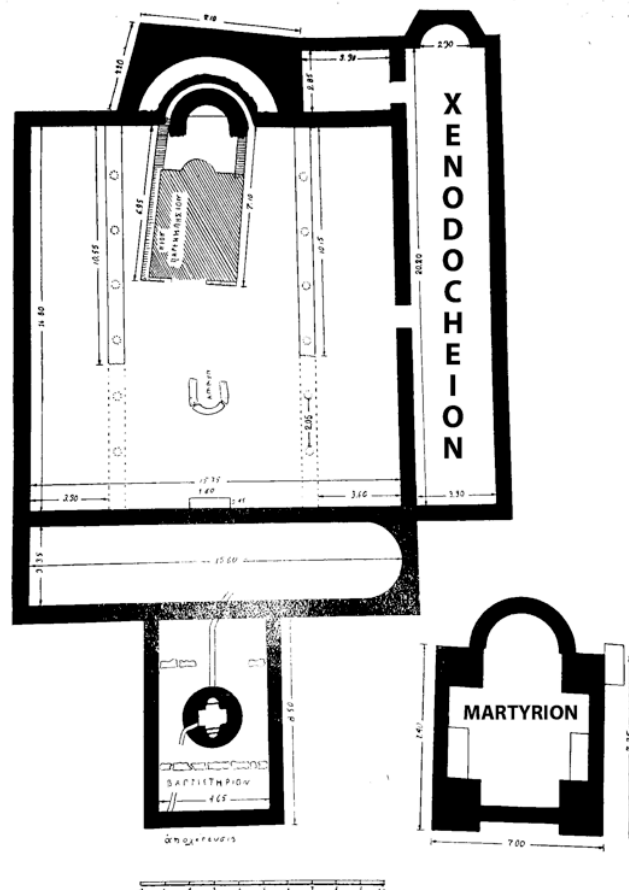


Fig. 3 Mytilini. The Early Christian Basilica of Argala [After Evangelidis 1930-31, Fig. 1. Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

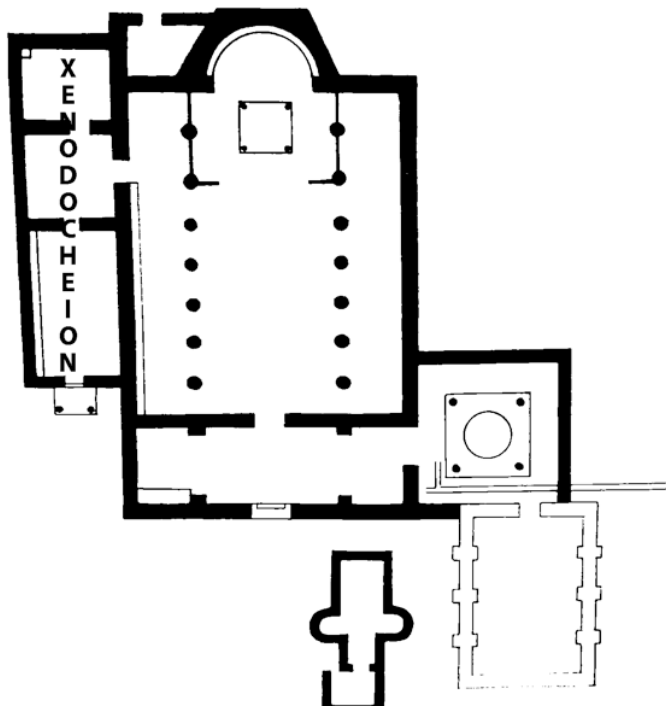


Fig. 4 Samos. The Early Christian Basilica of Heraion [After Schneider 1929, Fig. 14 (122). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

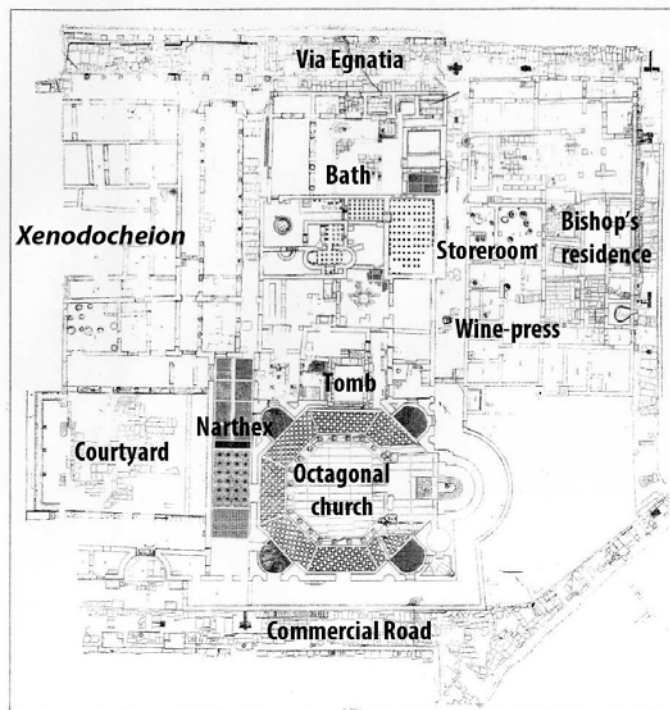


Fig. 5 Philippi. The Octagon's complex [After Bakirtzis 2008, Fig. 1 (369). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

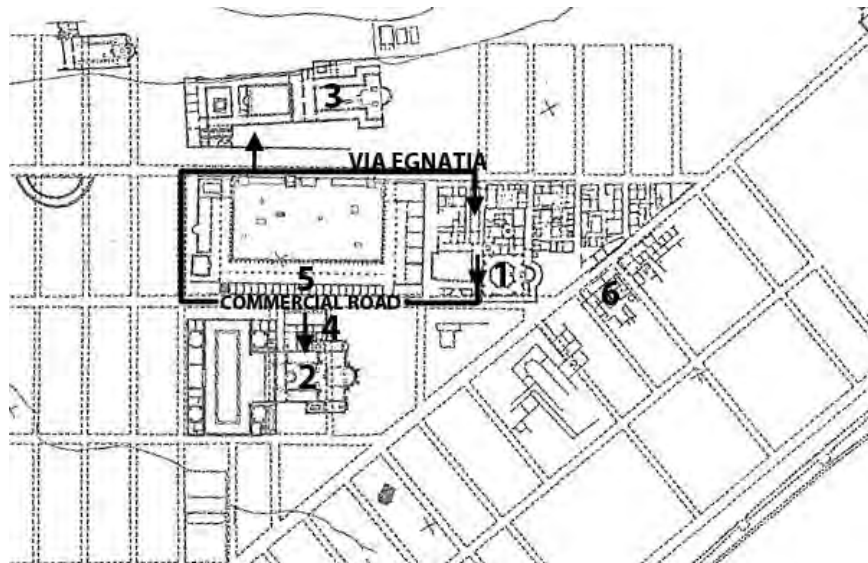


Fig. 6 Philippi. Plan of the town centre. 1: Octagon complex, 2: Basilica B, 3: Basilica A, 4: Propylon(marble workshop), 5: Shops, 6: Glass workshop. 1-2-3: The processional route around the religious monuments [After Provost and Boyd 2002, Fig. 7, Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

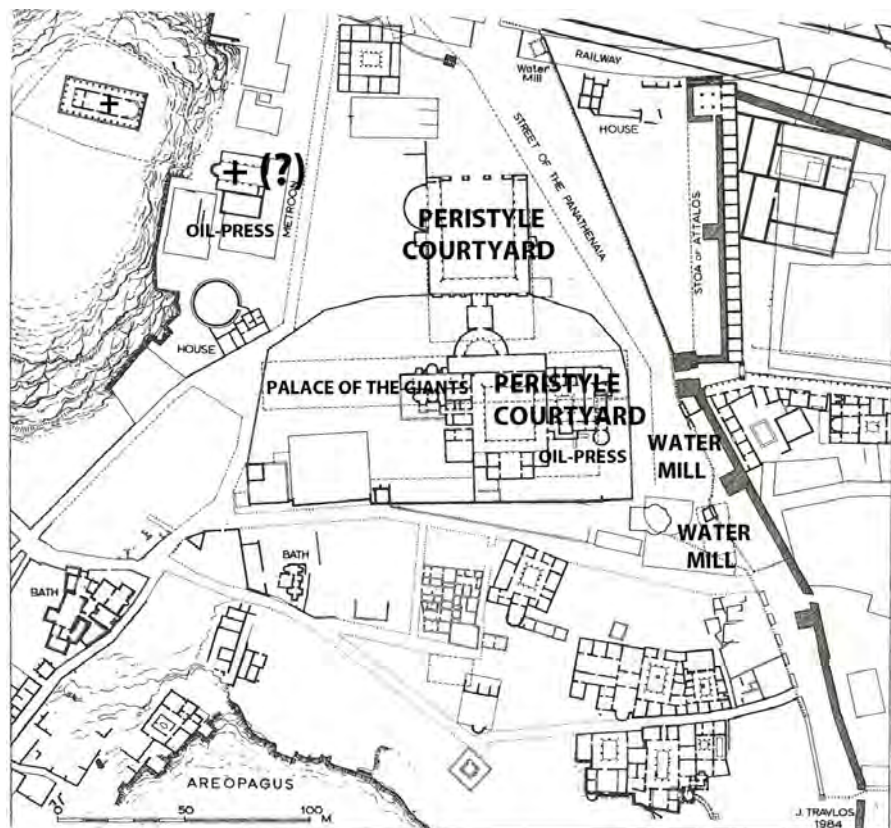


Fig. 7 Athens. The Palace of the Giants in sixth century [After Travlos 1988, Fig. 45. Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

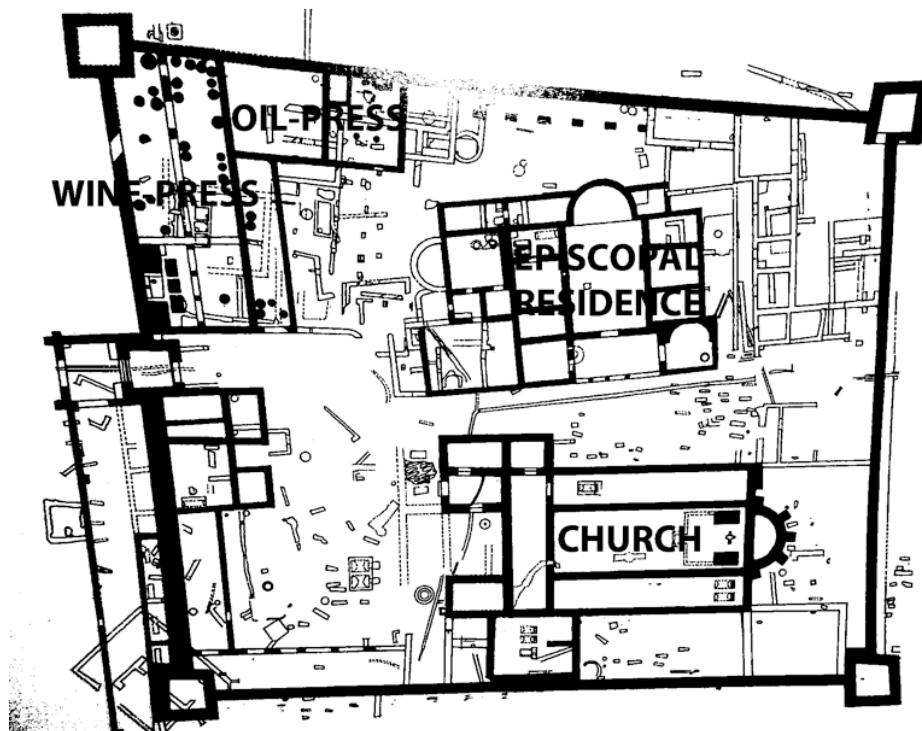


Fig. 8 Louloudies Pierias. The Episcopal Complex [After Marki 2008, Fig. 5. Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

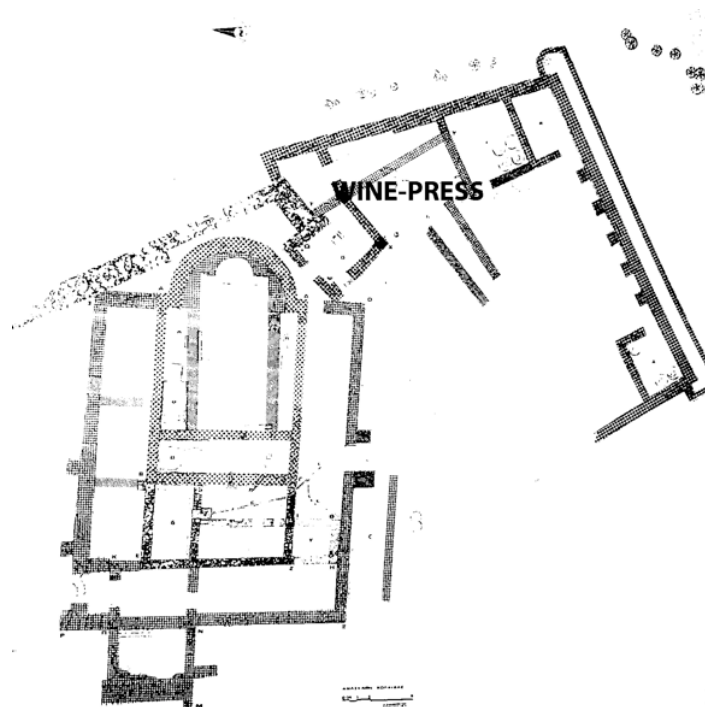


Fig. 9 Kilkis. The Early Christian basilica and its annexes [After Kissas 1988, Fig. 1, (208). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].



Fig. 10 Dion. The Early Christian cemetery basilica [After Mentzos 1992, Fig. 1, (236). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

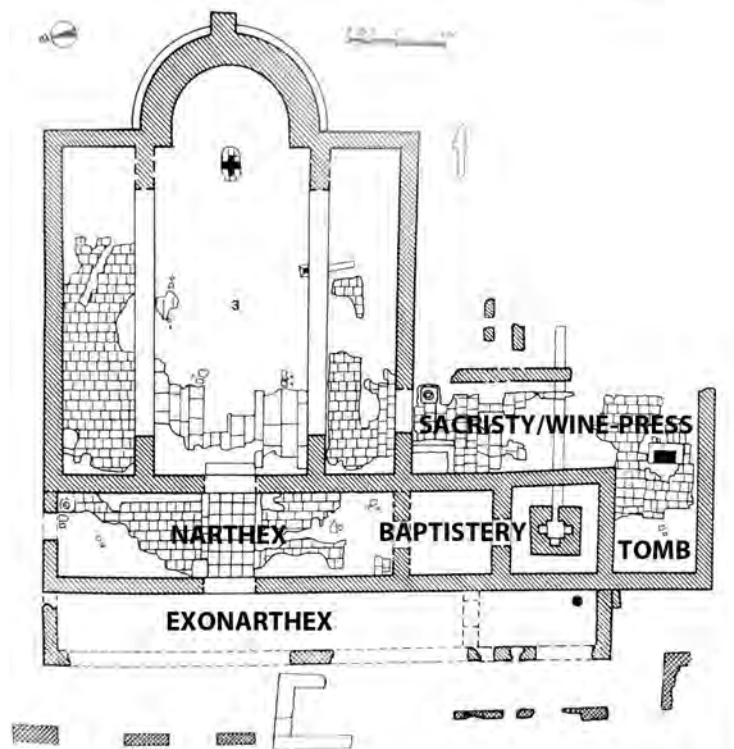


Fig. 11 Epanomi. The Early Christian basilica at Bhiadoudi [After Pazaras 2009, Fig. 73 (173). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

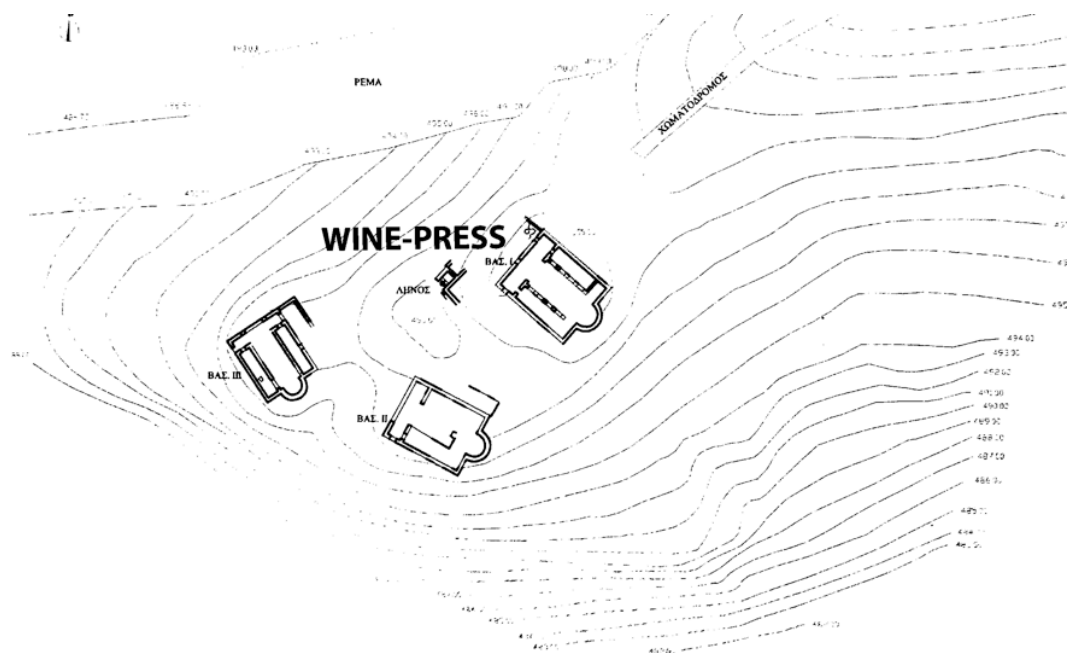


Fig. 12 Yazo-Jorgi. The complex of the three Early Christian basilicas [After Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2005, Fig. 2].

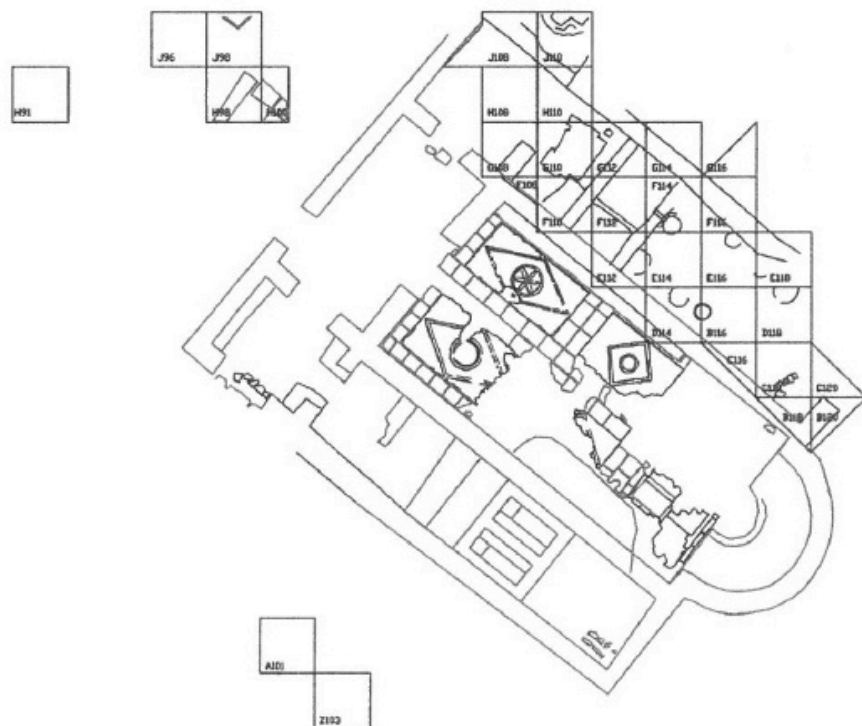


Fig. 13 Arethousa, Paliambela. Plan of the excavations of the Early Christian basilica [After Karivieri 2009, Fig. 2 (p. 34)].

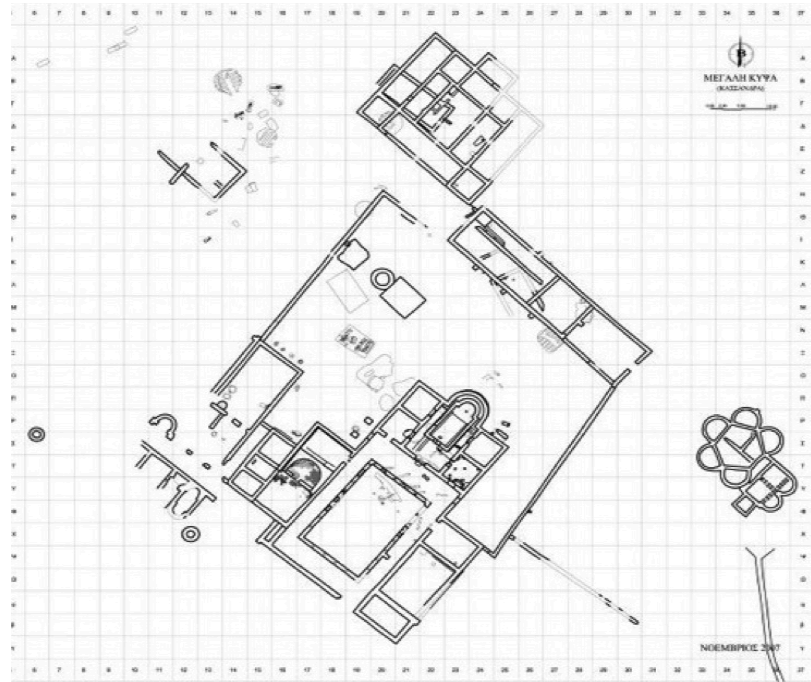


Fig. 14. Sani. Megali Kypsa. Plan of the farmhouse and the basilica [After Papagelos 2011, Fig. 3 (470)].

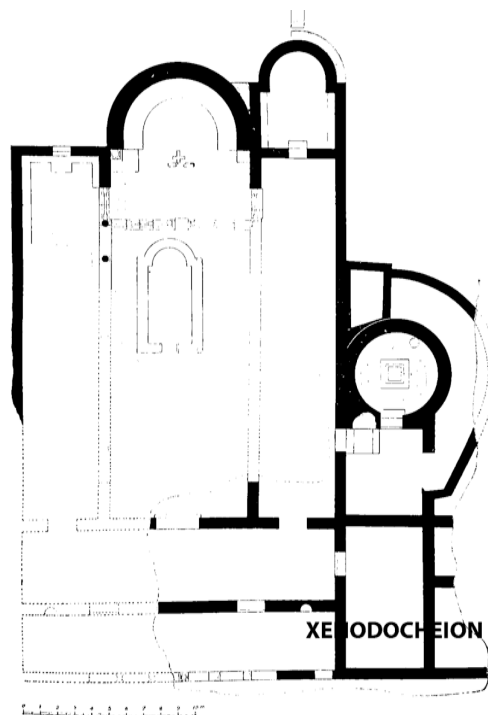


Fig. 15 Vravron. The Early Christian basilica and its annexes [After Stikas 1951, Fig. 3 (55). Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].



Fig. 18 Vathy, Kalymnos. Plan of the Early Christian settlement [After Karabatsos, Platon and Magos 2001, 9. Edited by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

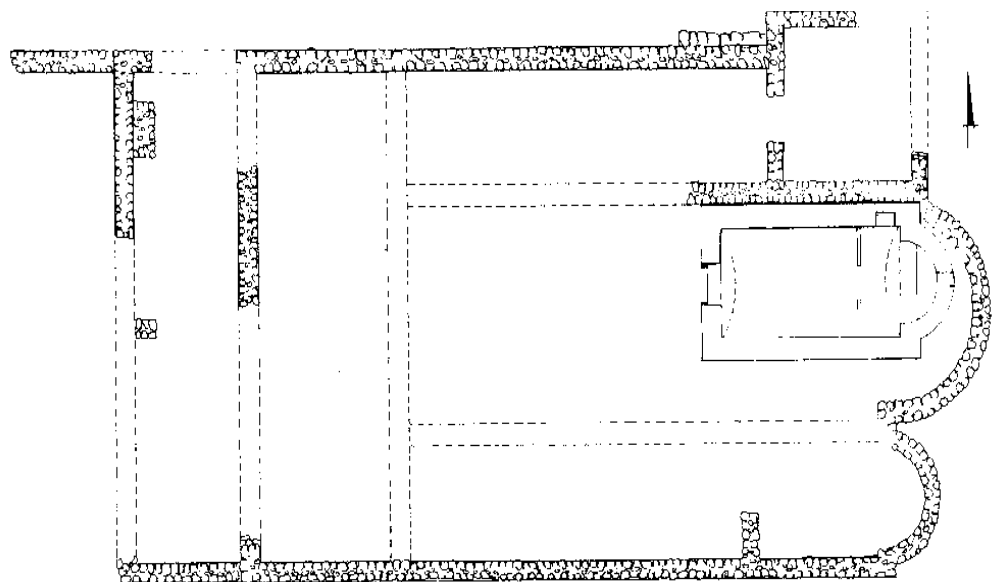


Fig. 19 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of Anastasis [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 33 (337)].

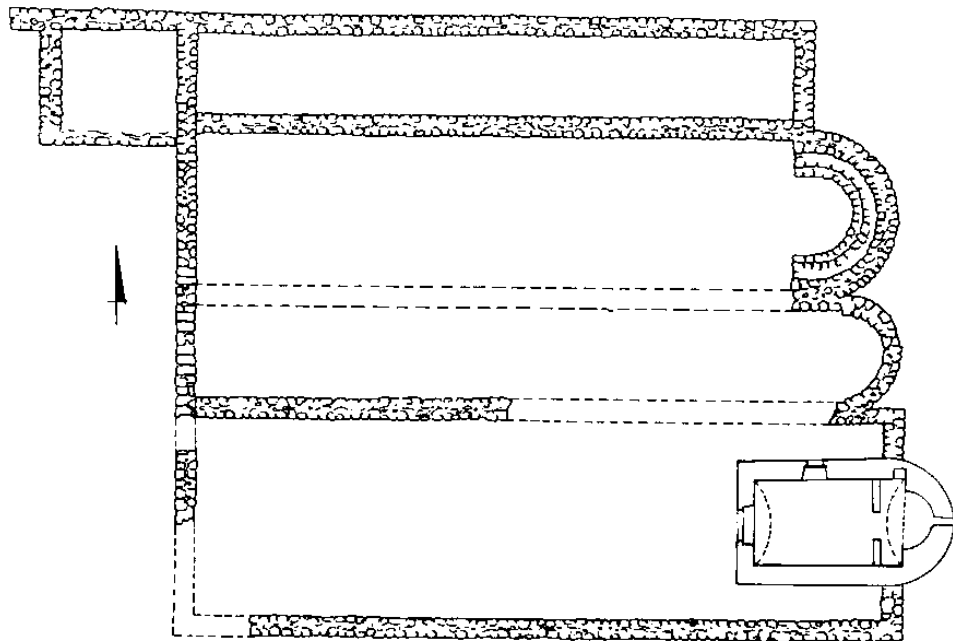


Fig. 20 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of St. Georgios [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 35 (340)].

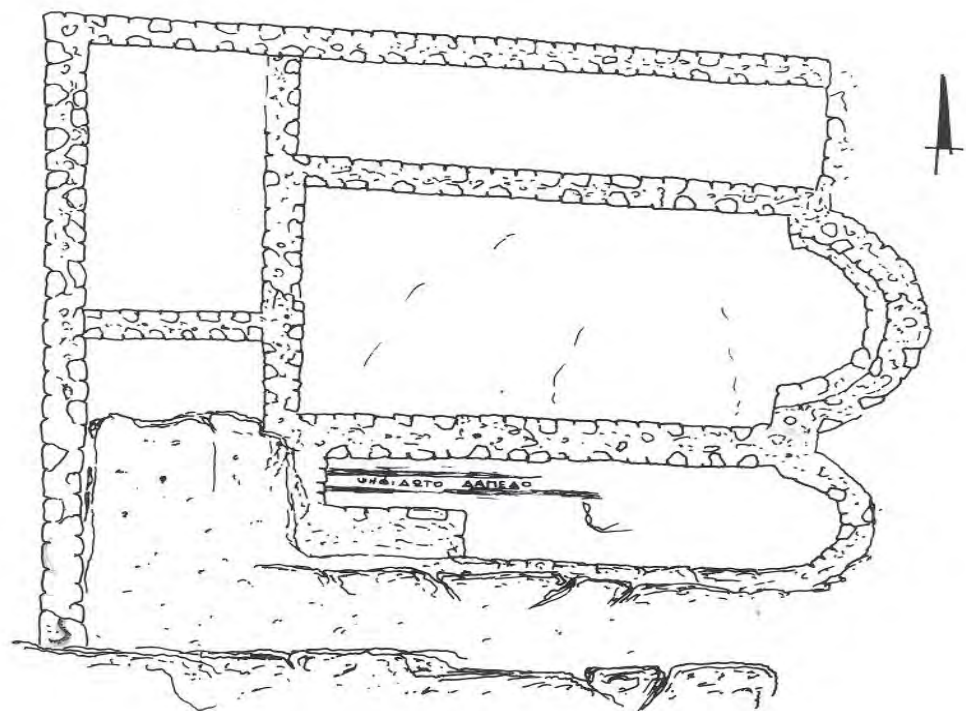


Fig. 21 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of Khalkitis estate [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 36 (342)].

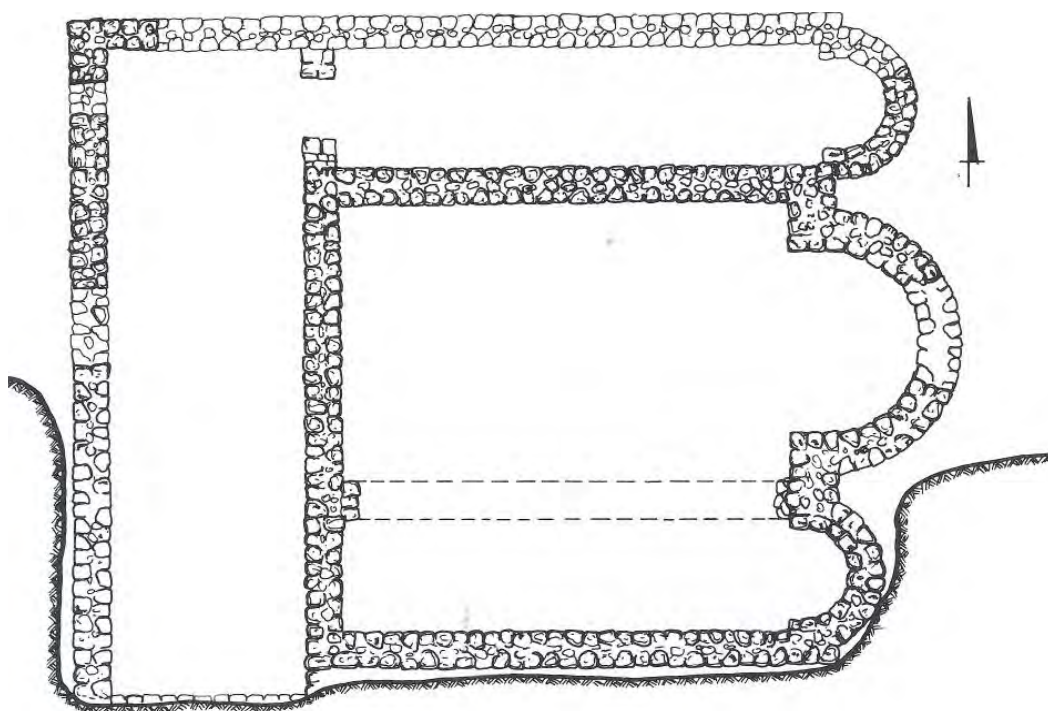


Fig. 22 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of St. Sophia [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 32 (335)].

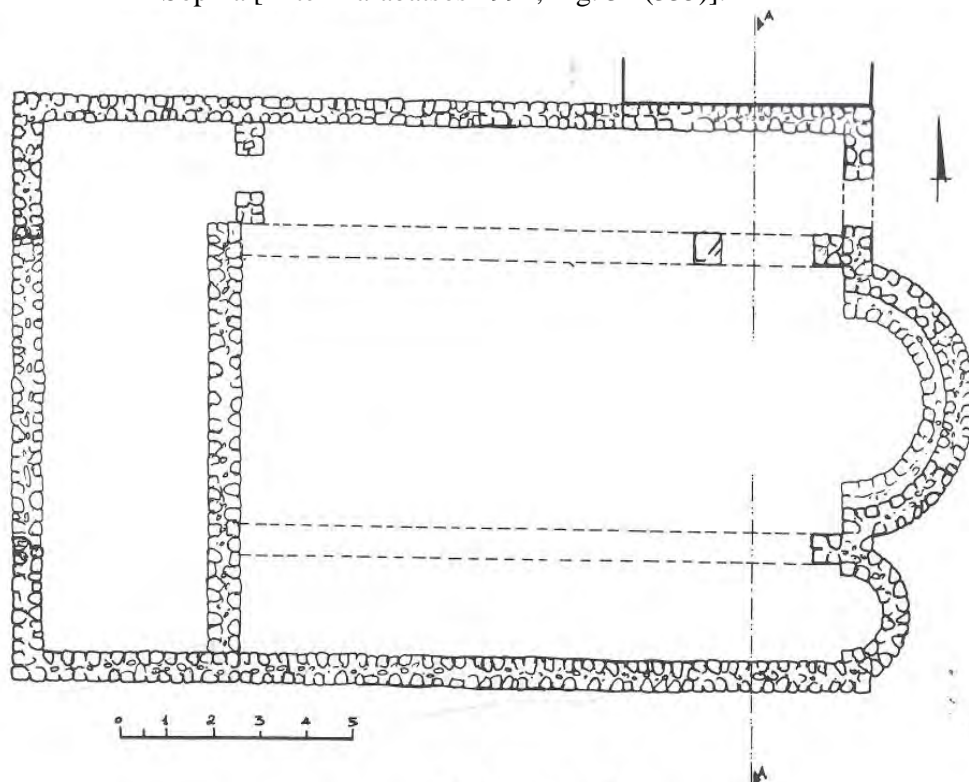


Fig. 23 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of St Eirini [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 37 (344)].

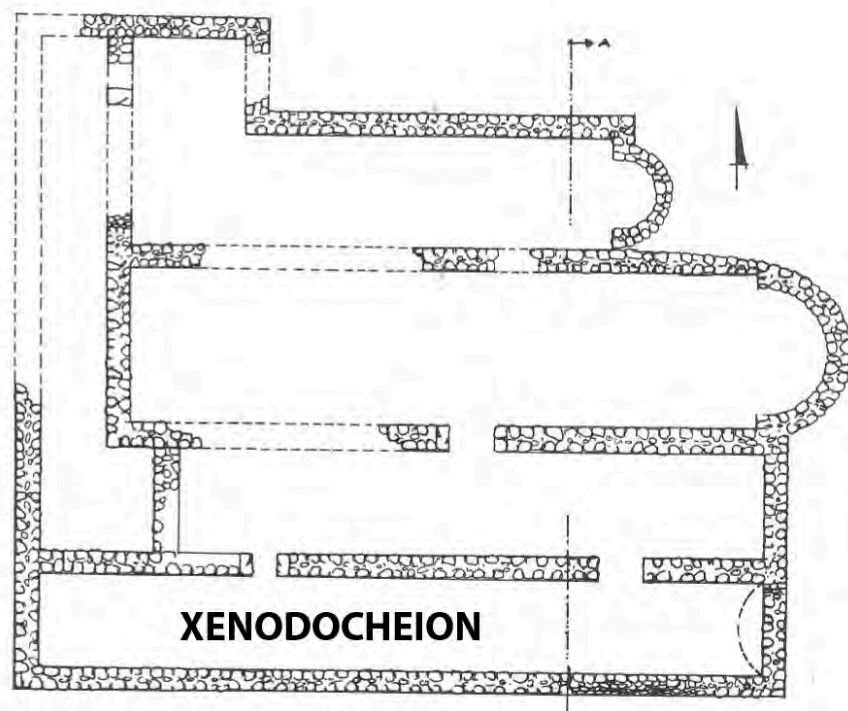


Fig. 24 Vathy, Kalymnos. The anonymous Early Christian basilica next to St. Eirini [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 39 (348)].

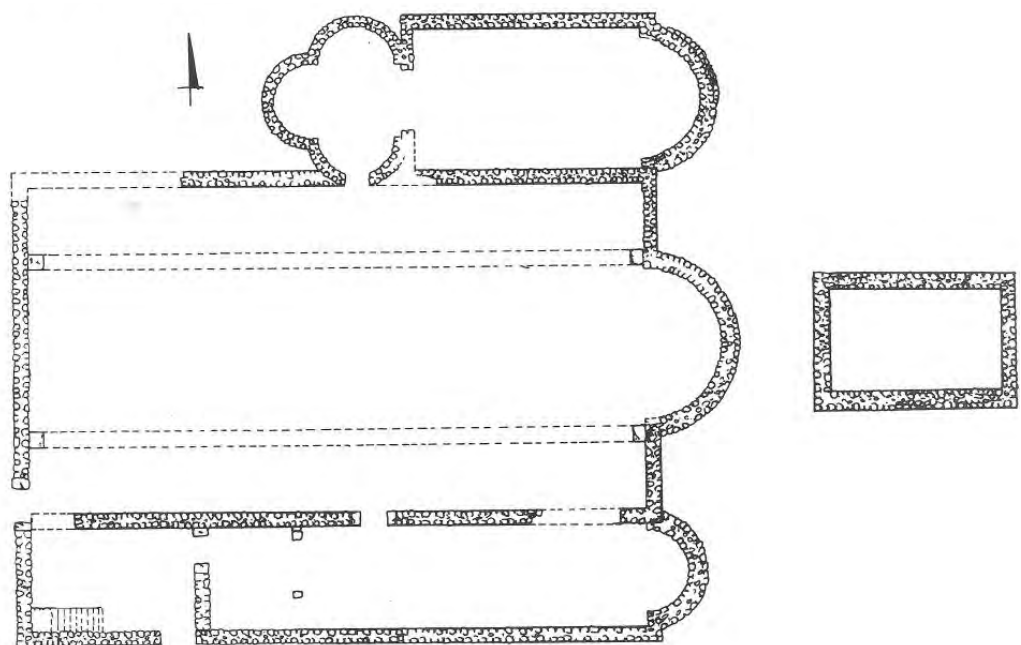


Fig. 25 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of PalaioPanagia [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 26 (323)].

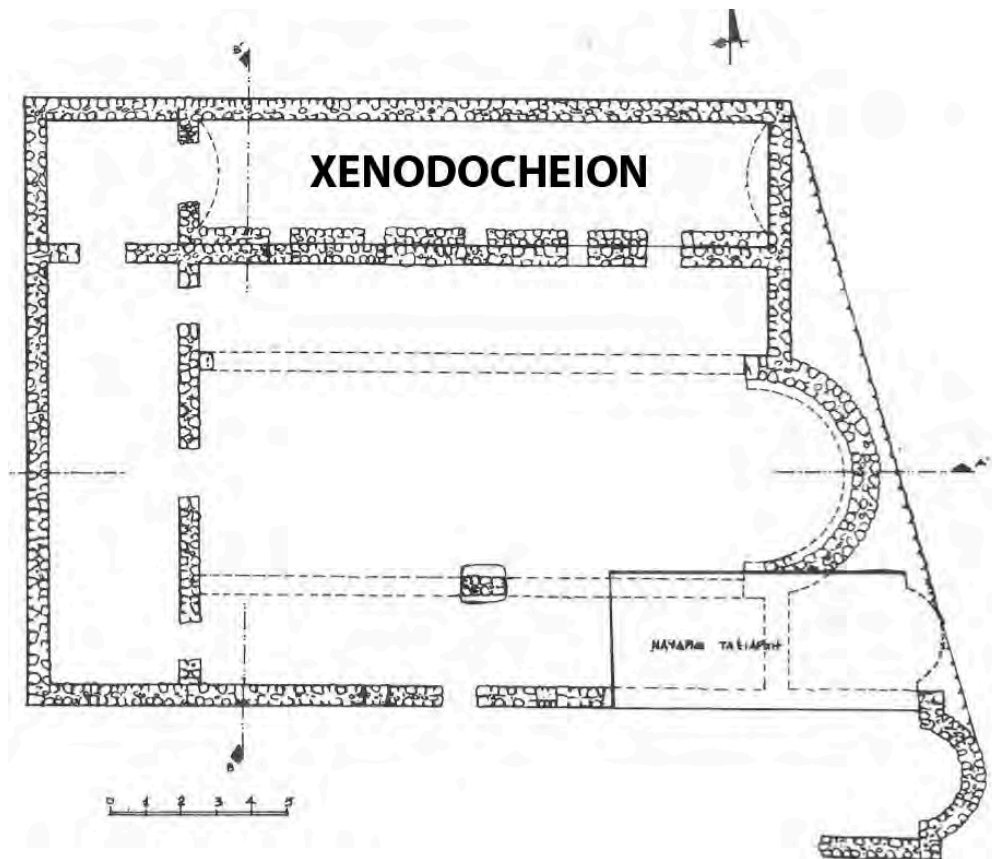


Fig. 26 Vathy, Kalymnos. The Early Christian basilica of Taxiarchis [After Karabatsos 1994, Fig. 23 (318)].

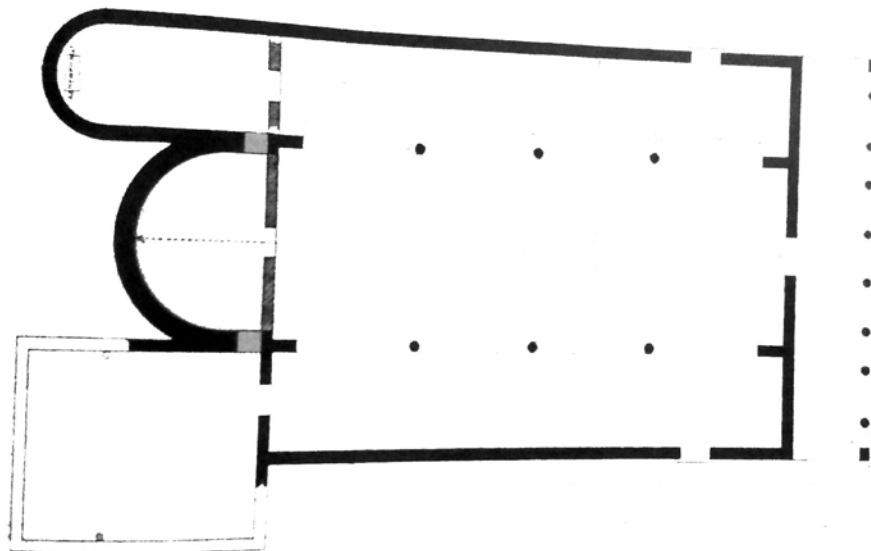


Fig. 27 Palmyra. The bi-apsidal Early Christian basilica [After Margalit 1990, Fig. 10].

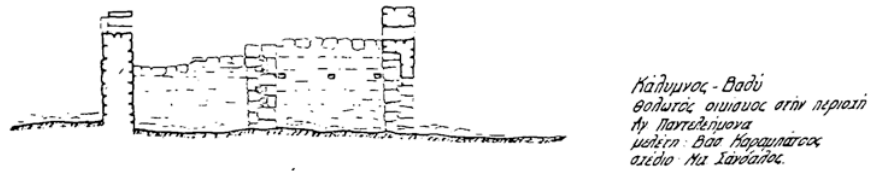
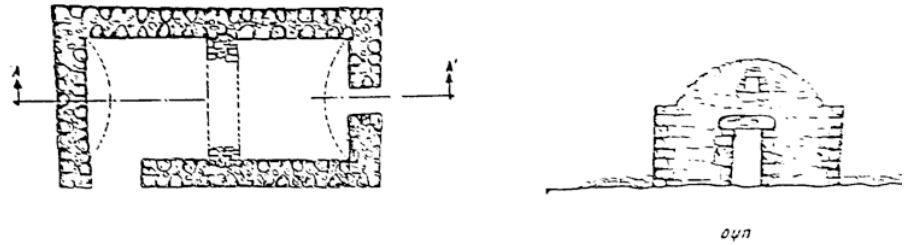
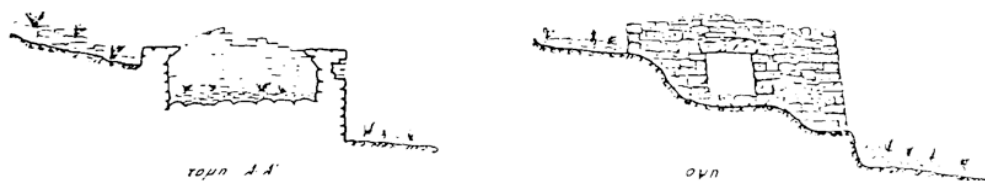
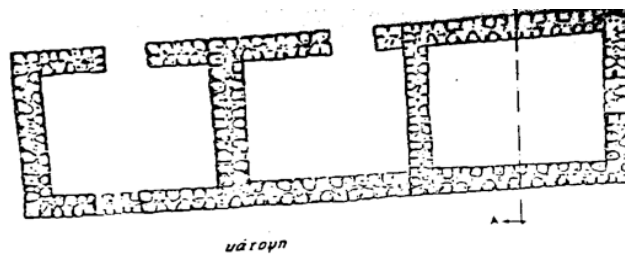


Fig. 28 Vathy, Kalymnos. Type of house (1) of the Early Christian settlement [After Karabatsos 1987, Fig. 39].



Κάλυμνος - Βαθύ (Ε. Σανδαλός)
 Πατριστεριον της Βαθύς
 μέλη: Βασ. Καραμπατάκης
 αμέδιο: Ντ. Σανδαλός

Fig. 29 Vathy, Kalymnos. Type of a house (2) of the Early Christian settlement [After Karabatsos 1987, Fig. 40].

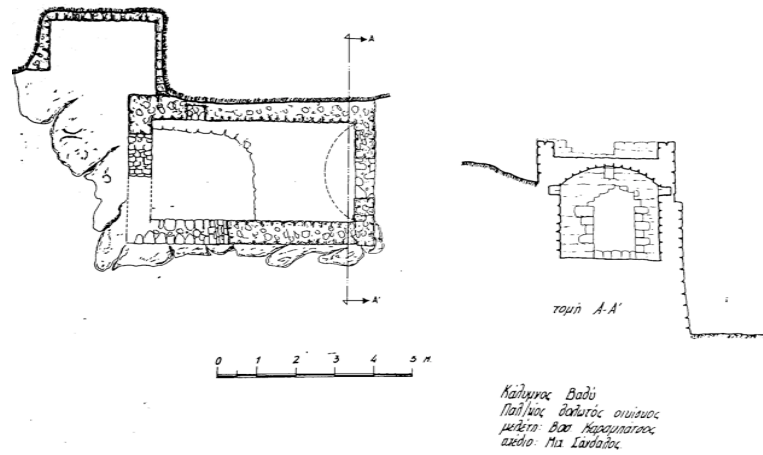


Fig. 30 Vathy, Kalymnos. Type of a house (3) of the Early Christian settlement [After Karabatsos 1987, Fig. 41].

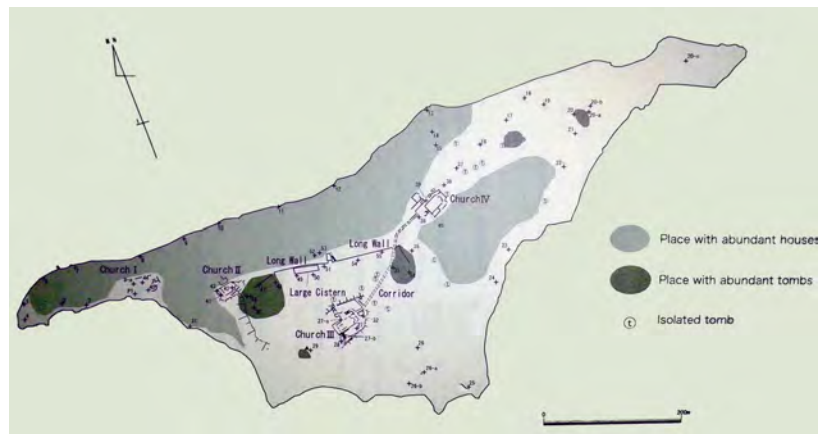


Fig. 31 Gemiler island. Plan of the Early Christian settlement [After Asano 2010, Fig. 140 (126)].

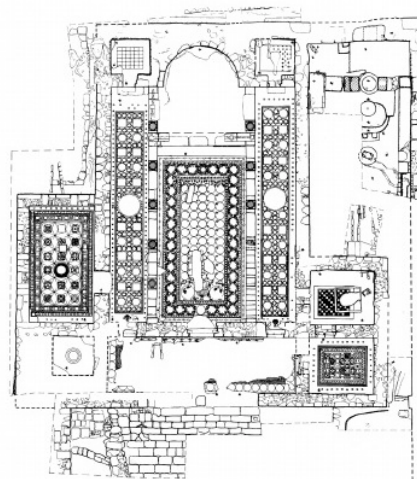


Fig. 32 H̱orvat Beit Loya, Palestine. Plan of the Byzantine church and adjacent oil press [After Taxel 2013, Fig. 12 (380)].

PLATE 1



a.



b.



c.



d.

a) Philippi. Door threshold of a shop on the Commercial Road, (Roman-Early Christian). [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi.]

b) Athens. Door threshold at the 'Sculptor's workshop', (Roman). [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi.]

c) Thasos. Door threshold of a shop at Thasos (Roman-Early Christian). [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi.]

d) Philippi. Door threshold at the annex of Basilica B, Philippi, that took over the area of the *macellum* (Roman-Early Christian). [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi.]

PLATE 2



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.



f.

a) Philippi. *Pithoi* at the storage room of the Octagon complex [After Pelekanidis 1968, Pl. 52a].

b) Philippi. Window thresholds at the storage room of the Octagon complex [After Pelekanidis 1968, Pl. 53a].

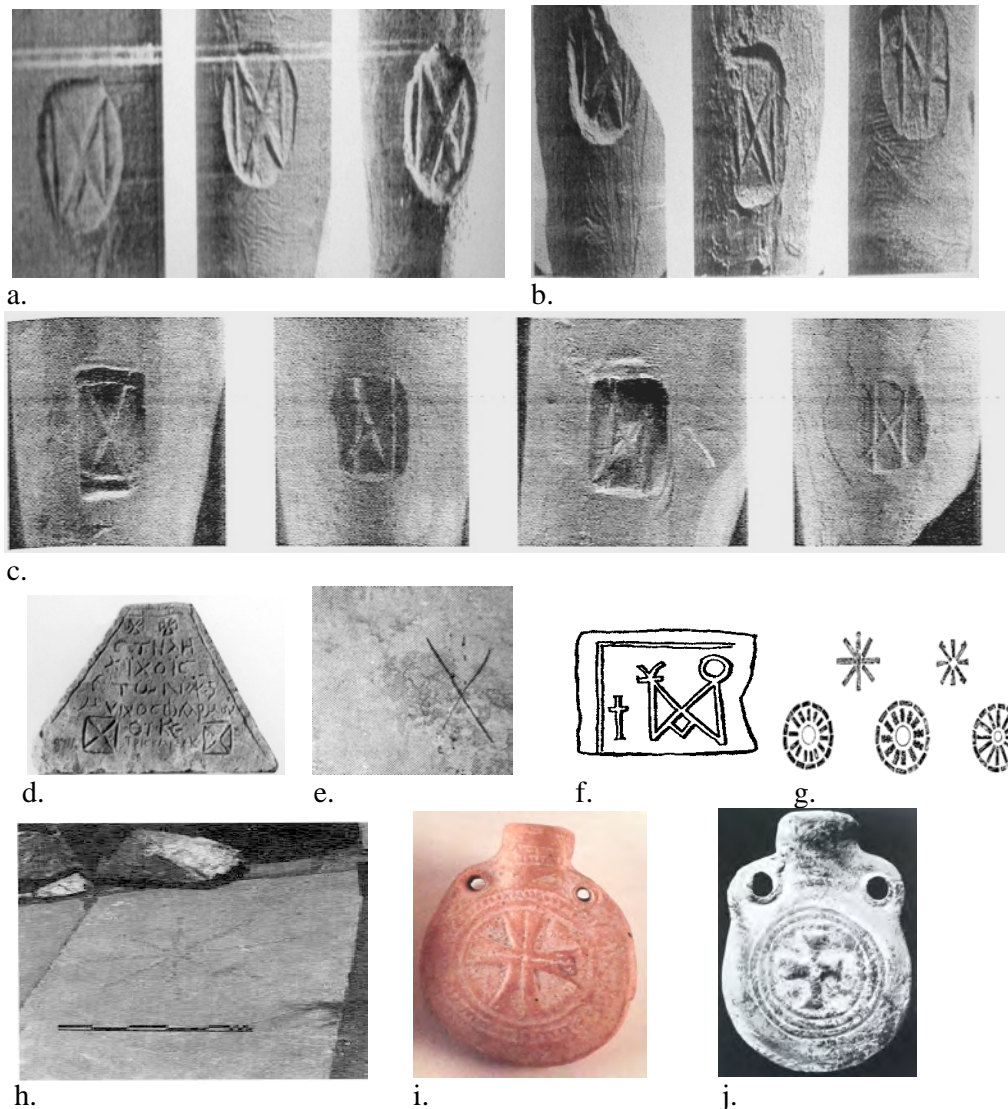
c) Wine press at the annexes of the Early Christian basilica at Kilgis [after Kissas 1988, Fig. 9, (216)].

d) Athens. Millstone and foundation for crusher at the vicinity of the 'Palace of the Giants'. [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

e) Athens. Part of the olive oil press unit at the Theatre of Dionysus [After Chatzisavvas 2008, Fig. 123 (116)].

f) Melivoia. Olive oil press unit established at the atrium of the Early Christian basilica [After Sdrolia 2010, Fig. 13 (77)].

PLATE 3



- a/b) Inscribed monograms on the *ampullae* found at the 'Palace of the Giants' [after Hayes 2008, Pl. 90].
- c) Inscribed monograms on the *ampullae* found at Ephesos [after Metaxas 2005, Pl. 2].
- d) Inscribed 'chi' type monogram on a funerary stele at Cairo Museum [After Mazzoleni 2004, Fig. 1].
- e) Inscribed 'chi' letter from the Church II at Gemiler island [After Asano 2010, Fig. 248].
- f) Inscribed combination of monograms on brick stamps [After Mango 1950, Fig. 3 (21)].
- g) The apocryphal signs of solar-discs of the Apocalypse [After Lampakis 1906, 57],
- h) The sign of solar-disc found on a step at the *stoa* of the complex of Basilica B at Nikopolis [After Papadopoulou 2007, Fig. 24 (416)].
- i/j) The *ampullae* found at Phthiotic Thebes [Lazaridis 1969 Pl. 36b; Bakirtzis 2002, no. 195 (173)].

PLATE 4



a.



b.



c.

a) The wine storage tank at the annexes of the Early Christian basilica at Bhiadoudi [After Pazaras 2009, Fig. 235 (196)].

b) The wine press at the complex of the three Early Christian basilicas at Yazo-Jorgi [After Tavlakis, Bitsikopoulos and Maladakis 2005, Fig. 12 (402)].

c) The wine press and the storage room at the annex of the Early Christian basilica at Arethousa, Paliambela [After Karvieri 2009, Fig. 3 (36)].

PLATE 5



a.



b



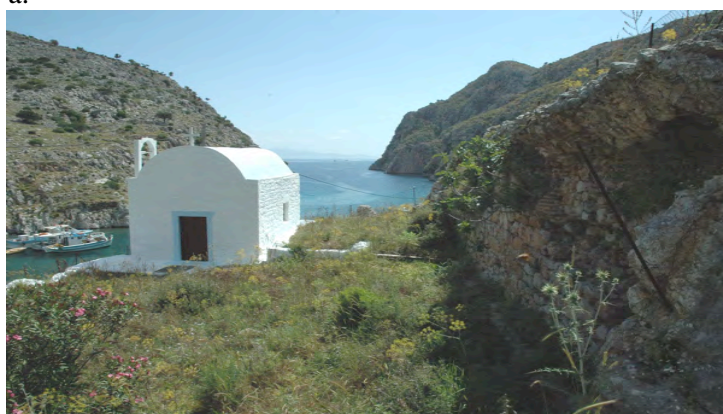
c.

- a) General view of the Vathy valley including the port [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].
b) General view of the Vathy valley from the Early Christian basilica of St. Eirini [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].
c) The Asia Minor coast opposite Vathy settlement [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

PLATE 6



a.



b.



c.

a) General view of the Hellenika settlement with the basilicas of Anastasis and St. Georgios [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

b) The vaulted south wall of the Early Christian basilica of Anastasis [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

c) General view of the remains of houses of the Hellenika settlement and the Early Christian basilica of St. Sofia as seen from the Early Christian basilica of St. Georgios [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi]

PLATE 7



a.



b.

- a) General view of the Early Christian basilicas of St. Eirini and the anonymous basilica next to it [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].
b) Remains of possible walls [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].

PLATE 8



a.



b.

- a) Underwater structures at the port of Hellenika settlement [Photo taken by E. Zisimou-Tryfonidi].
b) Remains of houses at Gemiler island and the Early Christian Church II [After Asano 2010, Pl. 70.1].