

# Aspects of Pilgrimage in the Eastern Mediterranean During the Early Byzantine Period Archaeological Evidence from Rhodes

The island of Rhodes was one of the most important centres of Hellenism: it developed into an economic power due not only to the commercial enterprise and naval competence of its inhabitants, and had actually taken over the control of the transit trade in the Mediterranean, but also its geographical location, benefiting from a coastline that could protect shipping; factors that permitted the Rhodian state to thrive and become famous for its harbours throughout the Hellenistic period<sup>1</sup>. When the island was absorbed into the vast Roman Empire and lost its independence, its former status was gradually eroded as the centre of political decision-making was, by Late Antiquity, the distant imperial capital; nevertheless, Rhodes did retain its place as a hub of transit trade in the Mediterranean basin<sup>2</sup>.

During the transitional period from the Late Roman to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Rhodes experienced several major earthquakes<sup>3</sup> in 155, 344/345, 474 (478), and the greatly destructive one of 515 and that of 554 (558) which devastated the island<sup>4</sup>. Although the central government responded to the destruction caused by the earthquake of 515 with a massive rebuilding project that included restoration and repairs of public buildings, walls, harbours, baths etc. with the most generous project ran by the Emperor Anastasius I himself<sup>5</sup>, the ongoing process of decline proved irreversible. These natural disasters contributed, alongside other causes<sup>6</sup> to the gradual shrinking and depopulation of the city; the preserved old Hippodameian street grid of the city was encroached upon, while under a new *ad hoc* approach to spatial organisation large

basilicas<sup>7</sup> were erected in the vicinity or on top of ancient temples and other former public and private(?) buildings.

The history of Early Christian and Medieval pilgrimage has lately occupied a place of importance for the scholarly community, forming part of a broader interest in border studies, mechanisms of travel and other topics related to its origins and development. The scarcity of written evidence renders pilgrimage objects crucial for the understanding of the movement of people and goods during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>8</sup>, when »pilgrimage tourism«<sup>9</sup> was the only one practiced, excluding of course commercial, military, or other administrative reasons that induced people to travel. Rhodes itself did not become a sacred destination in the early Byzantine era, nor does it seem to have been an intermediate attraction for the pilgrims who sailed along its shore, but it did its share to enhance the religious aspect of its micro-region through its ecclesiastical building programme. As a result, the Christian assemblages of the city of Rhodes, regardless of how or why these sacred buildings were unplanned or so by the local communities, they existed on a key maritime route used by pilgrims headed for Asia Minor and the Holy Land. This paper will deal with the presentation of the archaeological finds of Rhodes as well as with their interpretation within their historical context which, within limits, can permit the drawing of a broad outline of the island's significance within these pilgrimage routes and an examination of the microeconomic conditions which supported and fuelled religious energy through

1 For the history of Rhodes, see von Gaertringen, Rhodos. – Berthold, Rhodes. – Wiemer, Krieg – Papachristodoulou, Ialysia 36-41. »Full of fields and groves« is how Ael. Arist. Rhod. 5-6 describes the acropolis of the city of Rhodes. For the collated written reports, Filimonos-Tsopotou, Ochyrosē 21-22.

2 For a more general overview of the mechanisms of commercial traffic and maritime routes in the eastern Mediterranean, see Kingsley/Decker, New Rome 1-27; Poblome, Sagalassos especially 89-97. – Avramea, Communications 57-90. For the Dodecanese specifically, see Deligiannakis, Economy 209-233.

3 For Rhodes in Late Antiquity see Kollias, Rhodos 299-308; Konstantinopoulos/Kollias, Ereunai 260-265. – Papavasileiou/Archontopoulos, Demirli-Agēsandrou 16-17 and 64-65. – Bairami, Synolo 249-269. Deligiannakis, Dodecanese passim.

4 For earthquakes in the Mediterranean region, see Guidoboni, Earthquakes. – Papazachos/Papazachou, Seismoi and for Rhodes, see 225 ff. For the earthquake of 515, see Jo. Mal. chron. 145-146. – Evag. Schol. hist. eccl. 3, 43. For the earthquake of 554 or 558: Agath. hist. 2, 16.

5 Papachristodoulou, Istoría 242-243.

6 In reviewing the largely repetitive references on the island's history concerning earthquakes, it is still too early to draw informed conclusions; detailed studies of the table ware (fine ware) and coins found in rescue excavations are prerequisites for the understanding of temporal sequences. Currently see Kasdagli, Nomismata 159-174, with preliminary conclusions which are largely corroborated in the study of lamps (Katsioti, Lamps).

7 See for instance the Early Christian basilica of Cheimarras Street and its environs, spreading over nearby streets, Deligiannakis, Dodecanese 116-117.

8 Interesting conclusions for the trade activities in the West deduced by the distribution of Egyptian eulogiae in: Anderson, Menas 221-243.

9 See for instance a depiction of an Anchorite carrying a flask, votive fresco 10<sup>th</sup> century now Khartoum, National Museum: Vikan, Sacred Images 5. 246 fig. 8.26.

There is no need to expatiate here on the numerous relevant studies. See mainly Vikan, Pilgrimage Art, and for the mechanisms of pilgrimage tourism: Mango, Motivation 1-9. Let it be noted that the act of pilgrimage is hard to distinguish from other travel, cf. Irmsher, Proskynēmata 347-350.



Fig. 1 Rhodes, ampullae of St Menas (ΠΧ 1305, ΠΧ 472).

the regional topography of pilgrimage towards the end of the Early Christian era.

The best known and most recognizable pilgrimage objects are the clay pilgrim flasks also known as *eulogiae*. Only a few Egyptian type flasks have so far been found in Rhodes, while the so-called Asia Minor types are more common. Lamps with decoration related to St John the Theologian of Ephesus could also be considered as pilgrimage objects under certain conditions. Additionally, and if Late Roman *unguentaria* could be considered as pilgrim items, those found in Rhodes outnumber all the above and, though their study is still in a preliminary stage, they seem to be imported, most probably from Asia Minor.

The pilgrim flasks of St Menas that have been recovered on the island, uninscribed disc-shaped bottles with a series of buttons on the disc's perimeter, represent the massive production of the later and most popular iconographic type dated to the reign of Heraclius (610-641) and until the middle of the century, according to excavation data from the shrine of St Menas at Kôm-el-Dikka in Egypt<sup>10</sup> (fig. 1).

Judging from their characteristics – small size, oblate shape with narrow suspension hole opened with a spiky tool close to the cylindrical neck – the other flasks belong to the so-called Asia Minor type<sup>11</sup>. Their coarse manufacture, from two separately moulded parts cemented together, bear

witness to a casual and large-scale production in response to market needs<sup>12</sup>. Because of their thematic variety, they are of greater interest than the Egyptian ones. Their dispersal, of course, cannot be compared to that of St Menas but, apart from Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, they have also been found in rather distant places, such as Caričin Grad<sup>13</sup> and Jerusalem<sup>14</sup>. Although their proposed association to the shrine of St John the Theologian at Ephesus in the past has been based solely on their theme range, a great deal of which seemingly relates to the Evangelist<sup>15</sup>, their fabric macroscopically points in the same direction<sup>16</sup>.

Among the decorative themes appearing on the Rhodian finds<sup>17</sup>, it is worth noting the frontal portrait of the Evangelist, most probably the Theologian (fig. 2); he is sometimes represented under an arch and, in one occasion, his portrait is coupled on the reverse side with a maritime incident; (fig. 3-4). St Phocas, patron saint of sailors<sup>18</sup>, who holds a model ship upright with a fish hanging from his belt<sup>19</sup>, and a standing saint, possibly St George (ΠΧ 3053). The maritime incident, with three figures in a small boat, had in the past been interpreted as the Calming of the storm by Christ<sup>20</sup>, although recently a different interpretation<sup>21</sup> sees in it a miracle at sea – part of the ancient iconographic cycle<sup>22</sup> of the shrine of Theologos – is welcome because it strengthens the hypothesis of a provenance from Ephesus. The invocation of the Theologian by a certain Addaius, ΘΕΟΛΟΓΕ ΒΟΗ(ΘΕΙΤΟ)

10 For this type of eulogiae, Metzger, Ampoules nos. 9-19. – Kiss, Kôm el-Dikka 29-43, nos. 43-106. See recently Gilli, San Mena. – Gilli, Berlino 461-468.

11 For those characteristics, Griffing, Ivory Plaque 278. – Metzger, Ampoules pas-sim. See recently Poulsen, Halikarnassos 479-496. – Aydin, Izmir 487-513 (in Turkish). – Aydin, Marmaris.

12 For the pilgrimage centres of Asia Minor: Hellenkemper, Wallfahrtsstätten 259-271.

13 Metzger, Asie Mineure 158-160.

14 Maier/Strauss, Pilgrim Flask 237-241.

15 See Michon, Ampoules 321-322. – Zaleskaya, Ampoules 182-190. – Zaleskaya, Visions apocalyptiques 355-359. – Hanfmann, Donkey 425. – Vikan, Guided 78. – Duncan-Flowers, Ephesus 125-139.

16 According to Katsioti, Lamps, most of those Asia Minor ampullae could macroscopically be connected with the workshops of Ephesus and its environs. The writers' observations are based on the similarities of the clay – generally uniform, light brown or reddish brown, with mica and a reddish yellow slip,

similar to that of the contemporary lamps that have been attributed to Ephesian workshops, for example on those of the British Museum in correspondence with lamps found at Rhodes.

17 For the Dodecanesian pilgrim flasks, see Katsioti, Phialidia-eulogies.

18 His cult, widespread in Early Christian times, was gradually replaced by that of saint Nicholas, see Oikonomides, Agios Phōkas 184-219. – Foss, Pilgrimage 135.

19 As on talismans from Cherson, see: Grabar, Martyrium 2. 85 fig. 138. – Oikonomides, Agios Phōkas 195.

20 Vikan, Guided 78.

21 Semoglou, Paratērēseis 106-108.

22 It has been suggested that the themes on the early Christian ampullae were also parts of iconographic cycles. For a resumé of those opinions: Grigg, Images. See recently for finds from the Holy Land, Hunter-Crawley, Monza-Bobbio Ampullae 135-156.



**Fig. 2** Rhodes, ampulla of an evangelist (St John the Theologian?) (PX 1309).



**Fig. 3** Rhodes, ampulla with St Focas and an evangelist.



**Fig. 4** Rhodes, ampulla with an evangelist and a marine episode (PX 731).



Ν ΖΕΝΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΟΥ ΑΔ(Α)ΙΟΥ, on a flask inscribed on both sides (fig. 5)<sup>23</sup>, points in the same direction. The extremely rare, for this period, name of Addaius means that he might be identified with the praetorian prefect of 551 and eparch of Constantinople in 565<sup>24</sup>; if the *ampulla* belonged to him, it would imply his presence on the island about the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

The production of clay flasks in proximity to important shrines, like that of Ephesus, or to nearby cities, is highly plausible although, so far, archaeological evidence of this, such as workshop installations or associated waste, is lacking. Taking

into account the flasks with St Phocas already mentioned, and the standing probable St George as well as a few with St Thecla<sup>25</sup> (fig. 6) from Cos and Knidos, we also feel that, in order to satisfy rising market demand due to the pilgrims travelling to Ephesus, clay flasks may have produced with depictions of saints who were not necessarily worshipped there, but were highly venerated in general. The discovery in the Cherson excavations of a mould for medals/amulets, possibly with St George<sup>26</sup>, corroborates the idea that pilgrim artefacts with figures of prominent saints could be manufactured far away from their principal pilgrimage centres<sup>27</sup>. We would also like

23 Carved invocations are not common on Asia Minor clay flasks. For this type of invocation, cf. the carving on a column of the church of Saint John the Theologian at Ephesus: ΘΕΟΛΟΓΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΙΣΙΝΗ ΚΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΙΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ, Vican, *Pilgrim's Art* fig. 8.33. Cf. also an inscribed eulogea from Sardis, with Saint John the Baptist and the Virgin and Child, ΑΓΗΙΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΒΑ(ΠΙΤΙΣΤΑ) ΒΟΕΙΘΕΤ(Ο)ΥΣΕΝ(Ο)ΥΣ, with subject and scripture similar to the one of Addaius (Greenewalt/Rautman, *Stylite Ampulla* fig. 13).

24 For the Syrian Αδδαίο-Αδδαίο (Marianus Iacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus), executed probably in 566, see PLRE 2, 14-15. – Feissel, *Préfet* 139. – Delmaire, *Largesses* 117.

25 For the cult of saint Thekla and her iconography on pilgrim objects see Semoglou, *Thekla*.

26 Majeska, *Medallion* 365.

27 Similar hypothesis in Metzger, *Ampoules* 17. Cf. Egyptian ampulla with saint Theodore, Metzger, *Ampoules* No. 74 fig. 61. Motivated by the same idea, i. e. that these artefacts could be manufactured far away from their principal pilgrimage centres, M. Rautman *Stylite ampulla* 713-721, led by an Asia Minor ampulla with a stylite saint found at Sardis, argues for its provenance from Western Asia Minor, and does not exclude Ephesus.



Fig. 5 Rhodes, inscribed ampulla of Αδαίος (ΠΧ 1265).



Fig. 6 Cos, ampulla of St Thecla (ΑΧ 66).

to call attention to the alternative theory of retail shipping of such products by merchants far away from Ephesus to buyers who would have been interested in purchasing depictions not only of the Evangelist himself but of other saints as well<sup>28</sup>.

The persistent appearance of marine subjects on the flasks, amulets etc, either related to the Theologian or to other saints, like Phocas, Isidoros or Menas, invokes their protective power for the travellers. The ship depicted in many

clay flasks of St Menas thus refers to the departure of the pilgrims from the busy port of Alexandria, while other representations with mounted figures, which can be identified with the scenes of the Flight to Egypt or the Entrance into Jerusalem<sup>29</sup>, should be associated to travel by land<sup>30</sup>.

These flasks, in conjunction with the excavation finds from Rhodes and Cos<sup>31</sup>, mostly coins and Asia Minor lamps, suggest a date within the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century bracket and, we believe, was made before 614<sup>32</sup>, when Ephesus was raided and severely damaged by the Persians, with serious consequences for both commercial traffic<sup>33</sup> and workshop production output<sup>34</sup>.

In all probability, some of the lamps found in the Dodecanese and belonging to the so-called Samian<sup>35</sup> type, dated to 550-650, must also be associated with pilgrimage and considered as products of Ephesian workshops. Two of them were found on Rhodes (fig. 7) and one on Kalymnos (today at the British Museum)<sup>36</sup>. The rest of the assumed pilgrimage lamps were finds from Miletus (today in the Museum of Mainz)<sup>37</sup> and Didyma<sup>38</sup>. Of the two Rhodian examples, the first, ΠΧ 1308<sup>39</sup>, bears on its disc an arched structure with two columns on a podium surmounted by a cross, while, on the shoulder, two relief tongue-like shapes with masks flank the nozzle on each side. Its decoration, similar to the lamp of Kalymnos, suggests

28 Campbell, Aphrodisias 539-545.

29 Vikan, Guided 85-87. Robert, Documents fig. 8-12. For another interpretation of the images, see Semoglou, Thekla 112-118.

30 Vikan, Guided 78-84.

31 Katsioti, Phialidia-eulogies. Didioumi, Material Culture .

32 The same happens with eulogiae found at Sardis, see: Hanfmann, Eighth Campaign 16-17 fig. 12-13. – Hanfmann, Tenth Campaign 10-11 fig. 8.

33 Foss, Ephesus 96-115.

34 Katsioti, Lamps.

35 On the subject of the »Samian type« lamps, see: Poulou-Papadimitriou, Samos 594-595 and the argument in Katsioti, Aspects 196-198. – Katsioti, Samian.

36 See: Bailey, Catalogue 392 No. Q 3201 pl. 113 c. 550-650.

37 Menzel, Lampen 99 No. 641 fig. 72, 3.

38 Wintermeyer, Didyma 158 No. 240 pl. 66.

39 Archontopoulos/Katsioti, Lychnaria fig. 99αβ. – Katsioti, Samian.



Fig. 7 Rhodes, clay lamps (ΠΧ 1308, ΠΧ 2831).

that the two probably issued from the same mould. The other one, ΠΧ 2831<sup>40</sup>, slightly smaller in size, bears a simpler version of the same subject: a colonnaded portico with an entrance, although the latter has been effaced by the filling hole. The fact that the same subject is repeated, mainly<sup>41</sup>, in Asia Minor clay flasks is, of course, not due to chance<sup>42</sup>. On them, a shrouded figure is clearly visible within the entrance; its identification with Lazarus from the scene of the Resurrection<sup>43</sup> is not unchallenged. Indeed, after a thorough reexamination of the scene, we are inclined to think that the figure is that of St John the Theologian, probably derived from a popular iconographic cycle of his shrine at Ephesus. A similar representation of the Evangelist has been interpreted as the Entombment of the Theologos, in conjunction with his Metastasis, based on mainly apocryphal texts<sup>44</sup>.

Moreover, a lamp mould with a similar subject, an arched portico and shrouded figure, and a clay bread stamp with similar iconography from Cos (fig. 8), seem identifiable with the scene of the Metastasis of the Theologian from neighbouring Ephesus and the local iconographic tradition which had developed there. Another example, more abstract this time, decorates the disc of a bread stamp found in the village of Bospora, at the Rhodian Peraia (now on display at the Ar-

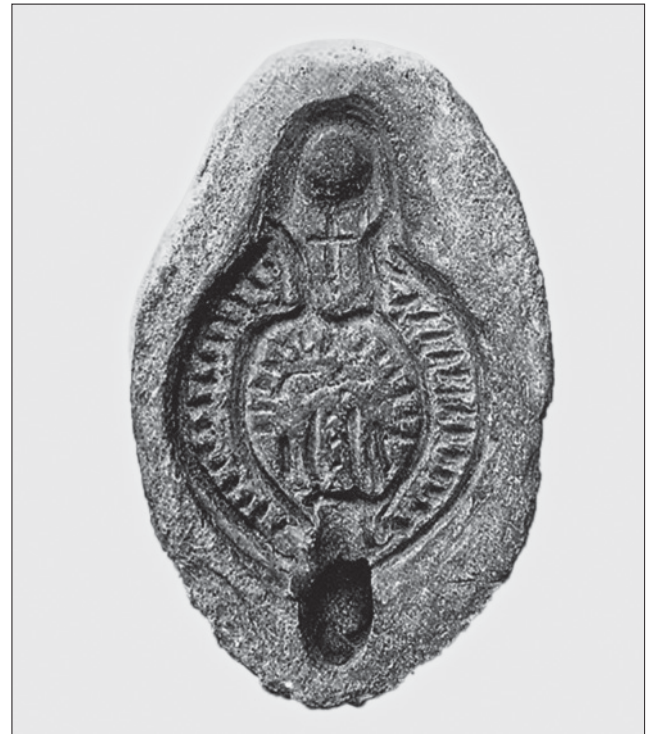


Fig. 8 Cos, clay lamp mould.

40 Katsioti, Lamps.

41 Among the recent finds at the city of Halae in Lokris, a recently published lamp bears the same theme on the disc. According to the author, it belongs to the attic production and imitates North African types and it dates at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. Kakavas, *Polē tōn Alōn* 130-131 f. 20β.

42 e.g. Metzger, *Ampoules* No. 120-122 fig. 102-103, today at the Louvre, purchased at Izmir.

43 Metzger, *Ampoules* 20-21 where, correctly in our view, the author poses the iconographic problems that prevent the convincing identification of the scene with the Resurrection of Lazarus, proposing instead the theme of the Holy Sepulchre.

44 Semoglou, *Paratērēseis* 110-111.



Fig. 9 Archaeological Museum of Symi, clay bread stamp (AK 948).

archaeological Museum of Symi<sup>45</sup>) (fig. 9): The central arch of the structure is occupied by a cross with flattened edges or by the shrouded figure in a more schematic rendering, thus making more than obvious the iconographic relationship with the artefacts of the previous group.

It seems that the permutations of the arcaded building are the result of efforts to reach a pictorial compromise between theology and iconography, as has been assumed for other pilgrimage objects<sup>46</sup>. We would like to stress that the effort was affected by both ritual and visual representation<sup>47</sup>, fundamental as these must have been for the religious experience of the pilgrims. The depiction of the Holy Sepulchre, found in numerous Jerusalem products, was easily transformed, it seems, to an iconographic element representing, from about the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the shrine of the Theologos at Ephesus, to which all of the pilgrims thronging there would relate. It should also be remembered here that all the topographical references on these mementos, brief and abstract though they may be, are not at all generalized. They are specific and with a definite symbolism. Therefore, both the lamps and the bread stamps, even if excluded from the pilgrimage objects

group, we strongly feel should be connected to relevant practices of pilgrimage and, of course, iconography.

A great number of the so-called Late Roman *unguentaria*<sup>48</sup> has been found in Rhodes, most of which still remain unpublished<sup>49</sup>. According to current research, these slender fusiform thick-walled vessels (fig. 10) were containers for dispensing liquids and powdered substances such as oils, perfumes or emulsions, and this has been proven by laboratory analysis<sup>50</sup>. Here they are examined only cursorily, because it is uncertain whether they ever had anything to do with pilgrimage and associated practices<sup>51</sup>. Nevertheless, their study, acquires considerable significance, since from the 130 Late Roman *unguentaria* found in Rhodes so far, almost half, 63 in number, are stamped. If we consider that of the 501 found in Sagalassos only 21 are stamped<sup>52</sup> or of Saraçhane, where of a total of 504 only 50 are stamped<sup>53</sup>, the case of Rhodes needs to get more attention, as it is hoped will be revealed from their final study, now in progress.

Their presence on the island poses a problematic on matters of origin, as macroscopic investigation shows that, most probably, none of them were made in Rhodes<sup>54</sup>. The opinion that they are products of southwest Asia Minor has partly been verified<sup>55</sup>. It is true, however that, with the exception of Kibyra<sup>56</sup>, without the discovery of kilns or significant assemblages, locating production centres is impossible. We cannot claim that they were extensively imported to the island due to their limited numbers, except that they are objects which could have been stowed in pilgrims' luggage on their way back from a major shrine. One such example might, perhaps, be St Nicholas' church at Myra in Lycia, although no case can be made so far for their production there, either<sup>57</sup>. It seems more plausible that they were purchased in order to be sold at other major pilgrimage centres, such as Ephesus, thus making the problem of origin irrelevant. It could also be that they originated at various production centres and then, both stamped and unstamped pieces, would be brought together at important religious sites where they were made available to visitors or pilgrims. The alternative interpretation, that they may have been imported directly to Rhodes, would automatically exclude these *unguentaria* from being pilgrimage objects.

It is worth considering whether we are actually dealing with pilgrimage objects. Their solid construction with thick walls that allow for fairly limited, probably precious, content, indicates objects designed to travel safely. It is unclear

45 Chaviaras, Prosporikoi 355-359. – Similar stamp from Thebes: Thebes 42.

46 Sodini, Hiérarchisation 255-7. See recently Katsioti, Pēlinē mētra.

47 In certain celebrations in honour of the Theologian, the pilgrims collected the manna issuing from his tomb in the form of a powder: Papaconstantinou, Manne 239-246.

48 Hayes was the first (Hayes, New Type 287-288) to assign this name to those standardized clay objects.

49 Hayes, New Type. Three of them have been published in: Cat. Athena 2002, 175 No. 198α-γ (Th. Archontopoulos).

50 See, for example Lafli, Unguentaria 187 No. 38.

51 Hayes, New Type 245-247. – Hayes, Agora 116.

52 Metaxas, Ampullen und Amphoriskoi. – Degeest et al., Sagalassos 255.

53 Hayes, Saraçhane 8.

54 For earlier mentions of their being produced in Rhodes, or possibly, in Cyprus as well (Waldner, Yeni Pinar 105), have not been confirmed.

55 Japp, Kibyra 102-103 fig. 59-67. – Dündar, Patara 71 No. 26, with bibliography.

56 Özüdoğru/Dündar, Unguentariumları 145-146.

57 Lafli, Unguentaria 188 No. 65, with bibliography.



Fig. 10 Rhodes, late Roman unguentaria (ΠΧ 4596, ΠΧ 1111, ΠΧ 1115).

whether their content was associated with the collection of myrrh from specific shrines, a rather rare practice during the Early Christian period, which might, however, explain their function and/or their hypothetical pilgrimage character. This need not exclude other uses, such as in burials, although this particular practice is rather rare<sup>58</sup>. In the city of Rhodes, the discovery of unguentaria in the Cheimarras St. basilica, the largest and oldest so far excavated of the island, implies that they were being used as containers of oils for ecclesiastical purposes (e. g. baptism), a theory that should not be rejected out of hand<sup>59</sup>.

The existence of monogrammatic stamps on some of the unguentaria has only occasionally troubled researchers in the past, leaving many gaps in their interpretation. Usually, a stamp serves in conveying a vital piece of information concerning both the content and its authentication. Examples bearing similar stamps are not necessarily of the same origin, as considerable numbers of fragments from different sites appear to display identical stamps. For instance, the butterfly-like monogram is very widespread as may be gauged from its many examples from Rhodes and elsewhere<sup>60</sup>.

It also seems plausible that workshops would use different stamps for each batch of production. This might mean that the stamps represented those under whose authority these receptacles were produced or their contents distributed. Perhaps the stamps relate to the manufacturer of the object, the producer of the content or the control of the whole operation through state or church officials; or, indeed, with a range of control mechanisms operating concurrently. The convenient link to the eparchs' office in stamped unguentaria from Ephesus, Knidus, and Limyra<sup>61</sup>, and the secure reading of the bishop's title<sup>62</sup> in other examples converge towards the

second and third possibility (fig. 11). In any case some of the stamps might also represent state officials.

As far as the Church is concerned, due to its active role in the commerce and production of this period<sup>63</sup>, the manufacture and stamping of unguentaria might be part of its profit-making enterprises in all the major pilgrimage centres. Viewed from this angle, it would be interesting to match the stamps, mainly the monogrammatic ones used on the unguentaria, with those used on other items, for instance the lead tokens.

The possibility that humble objects with somehow prized content like the unguentaria were transported under the control of these officials, either commercial, or fiscal<sup>64</sup>, widens the field of research towards this direction and brings to the fore the need for stamping procedures to be present at one or more levels; this could mean that stamps represented manufacturers, traders and both state and church officials, all of whom might be involved in thriving enterprises possibly related to the shrines, and taking a cut from the profit of the ultimate sellers. Besides amphora production, state control might well be exercised on pottery workshops where other clay containers, such as unguentaria, were concerned, thus acquiring a more systematic fiscal and authenticating character. It could then be supposed that payment of the requisite fees would be expressed by stamping at least one item from each batch, while the qualitative control could ensure the origin and the content's weight; all of which show the means the state, as represented by public officials<sup>65</sup>, used its power to control production.

After the above, it becomes relevant to examine the place of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands in the commercial

58 Caseau, Parfum 141-191, suggests that, in late antiquity, perfumed oils were not generally used in the context of Christian worship, in order to prevent confusion with contemporary medical or other secular practices. The same author poses the radical change of the appearance of the miraculously emanating myrrh in lives of saints from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, though without a historically substantiated explanation for this phenomenon.

59 The theory that unguentaria were of an exclusively funerary character must not be accepted (Pétridis, Céramique protobyzantine 423-428), since most have been found outside funerary contexts.

60 As, for example, at the Agora of Athens (Hayes, Agora No. 1778-1782), Hierapolis of Phrygia (Cottica, Hierapolis 999-1021) and elsewhere.

61 Eisenmenger/Zäh, Knido e Limyra 115.

62 Serin, lasos 12.

63 Brouskari, Sphragida. – Bournias, Naxos. – Martini/Steckner, Gymnasium.

64 e. g. Grünbart/Lochner-Metaxas, Stempel(n) 181-2, with bibliography. See also Haldon, 7<sup>th</sup> Century 232-244.

65 On these subjects, see Papanikolaou, Apotyposis 186-187.



**Fig. 11** Rhodes, late Roman *unguentarium* (ΠΧ 1281). Inscr.:+CEVHP/IANOV/ΕΠΙΣΚΟΛΟ/+.

or pilgrimage maritime routes, which were connected with the important ports of Alexandria and Ephesus, during the Early Byzantine period, up to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. We need to keep in mind, though, that the Byzantines were reluctant to travel by sea<sup>66</sup>; they apparently discarded the adventurous trait and the curious mind so evident in their ancient forebears<sup>67</sup>. After the foundation of Constantinople, the route to and from Alexandria, with intermediary stations such as Rhodes<sup>68</sup>, was well frequented, particularly during the autumn with the annual grain convoys to the capital. It seems reasonable to assume that in this period there would be regular traffic along this sea lane for the rest of the sailing season. The issue of the balance between the transport of the *annona* and associated/concurrent commercial activities that took advantage of its shipments has been discussed in the past<sup>69</sup>, and the degree of state control on the transit trade in particular (free market state or state controlled distribution?)<sup>70</sup>.

The fact that different kinds of items, valuable or not, were stamped and that they were found far away from their production centres indicates that state agents were actively involved in the trade. The scope of this paper does not go that far, but we may assume that the maintenance of traffic along the great trade routes was being centrally controlled. The island of Rhodes, a small section of this route, benefited to an extent from the main line that connected Alexandria to Constantinople but, judging from the finds, the pilgrimage

process must have been a limited and collateral activity. In the case of Rhodes the involvement with pilgrimage seems rather occasional, with secular motivations, rather than inspired by the aim to secure one's soul in the afterlife, or receive spiritual help: On the feast of St John the Evangelist, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, celebrated at Ephesus with a big fair<sup>71</sup>, we assume that pilgrims from Rhodes and the other islands would flock into the city.

The communication of the islands with the coast of Asia Minor naturally included other parameters as, until the last World War, it served in some senses as their hinterland. Apparently, a great many of the objects examined here, with the exception of those that were not pilgrimage mementos but were imported by traders or were the products of private trading, were procured in short and fairly safe journeys, which, according to research<sup>72</sup>, holds true for the majority of pilgrimage travel in this late period.

\*\*\*

This small contribution has enabled us to bring to the fore the place of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands in the commercial and pilgrimage maritime routes, and provided an opportunity to present a summary of the available local archaeological evidence associated to pilgrimage. We have also reviewed the possible mechanisms of distribution and believe that, in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the excavation data of Rhodes show that trade and the associated activity of pilgrimage was mainly focused on specific destinations. Presumably, for most ships, the start of journey was the port of Alexandria and its end was the capital, Constantinople. Intermediate stations, such as Rhodes and Ephesus, benefited greatly from such travel and it is not by chance that the pilgrimage objects found in Rhodes might originate either in Alexandria or Asia Minor.

Judging from the finds, it seems that pilgrims with different destinations, such as the Holy Land, were more likely to prefer travelling by land across Asia Minor, thus avoiding the sea passage via Rhodes. On this matter, the information of later sources, in spite of changing circumstances, are illuminating: In 829 St Gregory the Decapolite chose to take the dangerous high-roads of Asia Minor rather than sail along the coast and through the islands<sup>73</sup>. Saints like Elias the Younger of Sicily, who, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, travelled unhindered across Byzantine and Arab territories as though he had a safe-conduct, also apparently shunned the Dodecanese and Rhodes<sup>74</sup>. It therefore appears that the cessation of the *annona* from Egypt dramatically affected intermediate stations on its route much earlier than suspected: one such station was Rhodes,

66 On this matter, see the testimonies in: Koutrakou, Dodecanese 403-420. – Katsioli, Traffic.

67 Interesting conclusions on this subject in Cheynet, Reliques 171-180.

68 For the *annona* and the ports involved in its transport, cf. Deligiannakis, Dodecanese 87-93.

69 The *annona* fleet was simultaneously operating as mercantile. Cf. Sodini, Céramique 196 and note 117. – Deligiannakis, Dodecanese passim.

70 For the role of the *annona* see also Hobson, North African Boom 149-153.

71 For the economic dimension of pilgrimage centres see Külzer, Handelsgüter 185-196.

72 Cf. Maraval, Pilgrimage 63.

73 Malamut, Route 247-248.

74 Malamut, Route 256.



on whose economy the Arab raids dealt the decisive blow. The islands, including Rhodes, were detached, not only in fact but also psychologically, from the perception of the Byzantines, who referred to them mainly when revisiting their

glorious past. Thus, it seems that, during the early Byzantine era, in Rhodes pilgrimage traffic was centred on nearby shrines rather than far-off locations. This activity had ended by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

## Bibliography

### Sources

Ael. Arist. Rhod.: Aelius Aristides, Rhodiakos. In: *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia* 2. Ed. by B. Keil (Berolini 1898) 72-91.

Agath. hist.: Agathias: The Histories. Ed. by J. D. Frendo. CFHB 2A, Series Berolinensis (Berlin, New York 1975).

### References

Anderson, Menas: W. Anderson, Menas Flasks in the West: Pilgrimage and Trade at the End of Antiquity. *Ancient West and East* 6, 2007, 221-243.

Archontopoulos/Katsioti, Lychnaria: Th. Archontopoulos / A. Katsioti, Λυχνάρια της ύστερης αρχαιότητας από την Ρόδο. *Archeologikon Deltion, Μελέτες* 65-66, 2010-2011, 305-418.

Avramea, Communications: A. Avramea, Land and Sea Communications, Fourth-Fifteenth Centuries. In: A. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the 7<sup>th</sup> through the 15<sup>th</sup> century*. DOS 39, 1 (Washington, D.C. 2002) 57-90.

Aydin, Izmir: A. Aydin, Izmir Arkeoloji Müzesi İle Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi'nde Bulunan Ampullalar (Ampullae finds in the Izmir Archaeology and in the history and Art Museums). *Olba* 23, 2015, 487-513.

Marmaris: A. Aydin, Marmaris Müzesi'ndeki Ampullalar (The Ampullae at the Marmaris Museum). *Olba* 21, 2013, 437-456.

Bailey, Catalogue: D. M. Bailey, A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum, 3, *Roman Provincial Lamps* (London 1988).

Bairami, Synolo: K. Bairami, Ταφικό σύνολο παλαιοχριστιανικών λυχναρίων από την ροδιακή νεκρόπολη. In: D. Papanicola-Bakirtzi / D. Kousoulakou (eds), *Κεραμική ύστερης αρχαιότητας από τον Ελλαδικό χώρο (3<sup>ος</sup>-7<sup>ος</sup> αι. μ.Χ.), Επιστημονική Συνάντηση, Θεσσαλονίκη, 12-16 Νοεμβρίου 2006, Πρακτικά, vol. Α'. ΔΑΙΜΘΣ 8 (Thessalonikē 2010) 249-269.*

Berthold, Rhodes: R. M. Berthold, Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age (New York 1984).

Bournias, Naxos: L. Bournias, Roman and Early Byzantine Lamps from the Island of Naxos in the Cyclades. In: N. Poulou-Papadimitriou / E. Nodarou / V. Kilikoglou (eds), *LRCW 4 Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry. The Mediterranean: a Market without Frontiers*, 1 *British Archaeological Reports Inter. Ser.* 2616, 1 (Oxford 2014) 787-798.

Brouskari, Sphragida: E. Brouskari, Σφραγιδα άρτου παλαιοχριστιανικών χρόνων από την Κω. In: *Αναπόδοση, Μελέτες βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή* (Athēna 2010) 267-280.

Campbell, Aphrodisias: S. Campbell, Armchair pilgrims, Ampullae from Aphrodisias in Caria. *Mediaeval Studies* 50, 1988, 539-545.

Evagr. Schol. hist. eccl.: The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia, edited with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Indices. Ed. by J. Bidez / J. L. Parmentier (London 1898).

Jo. Mal. chron.: E. Jeffreys / M. Jeffreys / R. Scott, The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation. *Byzantina Australiensia* 4 (Melbourne 1986).

Caseau, Parfum: B. Caseau, Parfum et guérison dans le christianisme ancien et byzantin: des huiles parfumées au myron des saints byzantins. In: V. Boudon-Millot / B. Pouderon / Y.-M. Blanchard (eds), *Les Pères de l'Eglise face à la science médicale de leur temps* (Paris 2005) 141-191.

Cat. Athena 2002: D. Papanicola-Bakirtzi (ed.), *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Θεσσαλονίκη, Λευκός Πύργος Οκτώβριος 2001-Ιανουάριος 2002 [exhibition catalogue]* (Athēna 2002).

Chaviaras, Prosporikoi: N. D. Chaviaras, Προσφορικά σφραγίδες, ήτοι τυπάρια, και βυζαντιακή σφραγίς. *Ekklesiastikos Faros* 6, 1910, 355-370.

Cheyne, Reliques: J. C. Cheyney, Les reliques du Pape Clément. *Transversalités* 75, 2000, 171-180.

Cottica, Hierapolis: D. Cottica, Unguentari tardo antichi dal Martyrion di Hierapolis, Turchia. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: antiquité* 112-2, 1990, 999-1021.

Degeest et al., Sagalassos: R. Degeest / R. Ottenburg / H. Kucha / W. V. aene / P. Degryse / M. Waelkens, The Late Roman Unguentaria of Sagalassos. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 74, 1999, 247-262.

Deligiannakis, Dodecanese: G. Deliyannakis, The Dodecanese and the Eastern Aegean Islands in Late Antiquity, AD 300-700 (Oxford 2016).

Economy: G. Deligiannakis, The Economy of the Dodecanese in Late Antiquity. In: C. Papageorgiadou-Banis / A. Giannikouri (eds), *Sailing in the Aegean. Readings on the economy and trade routes. Μελετήματα* 53 (Athens 2008) 209-233.

Delmaire, Largesses: R. Delmaire, Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. In: F. Baratte (ed.), *Argenterie Romaine et Byzantine, Actes de la Table Ronde, Paris 11-13 oct. 1983* (Paris 1988) 113-122.

Didiomi, Material Culture: S. Didiomi, The Material Culture and the Ecclesiastical Productions. In: I. Baldini / M. Livadiotti (eds), *Archeologia Protobizantina a Kos. La città e il complesso episcopale* (Bologna 2015) 95-104.

Duncan-Flowers, Ephesus: M. Duncan-Flowers, A Pilgrim's Ampulla from the Shrine of St John the Evangelist at Ephesus. In: R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana, Chicago 1990) 125-139.

- Dündar, Patara: E. Dündar, Patara Unguentariumları. Patara 4, 1 (Istanbul 2008).
- Eisenmenger/Zäh, Cnido e Limyra: U. Eisenmenger / A. Zäh, Ampullae tardoantiche dell'Asia Minore. Nuovi esempli de Cnido e Limyra. Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia 9, 1999, 113-137.
- Feissel, Préfet: D. Feissel, Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VI<sup>e</sup> et au VII<sup>e</sup> s. Revue numismatique, ser. 6, 28, 1986, 119-142.
- Filimonos-Tsopotou, Ochyrōsē: M. Filimonos-Tsopotou, Η ελληνιστική οχύρωση της Ρόδου (Athēna 2004).
- Foss, Ephesus: C. Foss, Ephesus after antiquity: A late antique, Byzantine and Turkish city (Cambridge 1979).
- Pilgrimage: C. Foss, Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor. DOP 56, 2002, 129-151.
- von Gaertringen, Rhodos: RE Suppl. V (1931) 731-839 s.v. Rhodos (H. von Gaertringen).
- Gilli, Berlino: M. Gilli, Le ampole di San Mena conservate negli Staatliche Museen di Berlino. Antiquité Tardive 10, 2002, 461-468.
- San Mena: M. Gilli, Le ampole di San Mena. Religiosità, cultura materiale e sistema produttivo (Roma 2002).
- Grabar, Martyrium: A. Grabar, Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et d'art Chrétien antique, 2 vols. and atlas (Paris, College de France, 1943-1946).
- Greenewalt/Rautman, Sardis: C. H. Greenewalt / M. L. Rautman, The Sardis Campaigns of 1994 and 1995. AJA 102, 1998, 469-505.
- Griffing, Ivory Plaque: R. P. Griffing, An Early Christian Ivory Plaque in Cyprus and Notes on the Asiatic Ampullae. Art Bulletin 20, 1938, 266-279.
- Grigg, Images: J. R. Grigg, The Images on the Palestinian Flasks as Possible Evidence of the Monumental Decoration of Palestinian Martyria [University of Minnesota, Ph.D. diss. 1974].
- Grünbart/Lochner-Metaxas, Stempel(n): M. Grünbart / S. Lochner-Metaxas, Stempel(n) in Byzanz. In: W. Hörandner / J. Koder / M. Stasinopoulou (eds), Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger (Wien 4.-7. Dez. 2002) (Wien 2004) 177-189.
- Guidoboni, Earthquakes: E. Guidoboni, Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10<sup>th</sup> Century (Rome 1994).
- Haldon, 7<sup>th</sup> Century: J. Haldon, Byzantium in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century. The Transformation of a Culture (Cambridge 1997).
- Hanfmann, Donkey: G. Hanfmann, The donkey and the king. Harvard Theological Review 78, 1985, 421-430.
- Hanfmann, Eighth Campaign: G. H. M. Hanfmann, The Eighth Campaign at Sardis, 1965. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 182, 1966, 2-54.
- Tenth Campaign: G. H. M. Hanfmann, The Tenth Campaign at Sardis, 1967. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 191, 1968, 2-41.
- Hayes, Agora: J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery. Fine-ware Imports. The Athenian Agora 32 (Princeton 2008).
- New Type: J. W. Hayes, A new type of Early Christian ampulla. The Annual of the British School at Athens 66, 1971, 243-246.
- Saraçhane: J. W. Hayes, Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul 2. The pottery (Princeton 1992).
- Hellenkemper, Wallfahrtsstätten: H. Hellenkemper, Frühe christliche Wallfahrtsstätten in Kleinasien. In: Akten des 12. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991 (= JbAC 20/1, 1995) 259-271.
- Hobson, North African Boom: M. Hobson, The North African Boom. Evaluating economic growth in the Roman Province of Africa Proconsularis (146 BC-AD 439). JRA Suppl. Series 100 (Portsmouth RI 2015).
- Hunter-Crawley, Monza-Bobbio Ampullae: H. Hunter-Crawley, Pilgrimage made Portable: A Sensory Archaeology of the Monza-Bobbio Ampullae. HEROM. Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture 1, 2012, 135-156.
- Irmsher, Proskynēmata: J. Irmsher, Βυζαντινά προσκυνήματα. In: N. G. Moschonas (ed.), Η επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο, Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου (ΚΒΕ-ΕΙΕ) (Athēna 1993) 347-350.
- Japp, Kibyra: S. Japp, The local pottery production of Kibyra. Anatolian Studies 59, 2009, 95-128.
- Kakavas, Polē tōn Alōn: G. Kakavas, Η πόλη των Αλών στην Παλαιοχριστιανική και Βυζαντινή περίοδο. In: M. F. Parakonstantinou (ed.), Αρχαιολογικοί χώροι και μνημεία Δήμου Λοκρών. Το σημερινό στάδιο της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Διημερίδας, Αταλάντη 30.6-1.7.2012 (Lamia 2015) 127-141.
- Kasdagli, Nomismata: A.-M. Kasdagli, Νομίσματα των μέσων χρόνων στην εκτός των μεσαιωνικών τειχών πόλη της Ρόδου. In: P. Tselekas (ed.), Το νόμισμα στα νησιά του Αιγαίου: νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου της Ε' επιστημονικής συνάντησης (Μυτιλήνη 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2006), Β'. Οβολός 9 (Athēna 2010) 159-174.
- Katsioti, Aspects: A. Katsioti, Aspects of the Economic and Commercial Activity of Rhodes during Late Antiquity. The Case of Lamps. In: C. Papageorgiadou-Banis / A. Giannikouri (eds), Sailing in the Aegean. Readings on the Economy and Trade Routes. Μελέτηματα 53 (Athens 2008) 189-208.
- Lamps: A. Katsioti, The Lamps of Late Antiquity from Rhodes, 3<sup>rd</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD, Archaeopress Editions (forthcoming).
- Samian: A. Katsioti, The dating of the »Samian type« lamps (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. AD). The evidence of Rhodes, Greece, 5<sup>th</sup> International Lychnological Association Congress, Sibiu Romania (in Vorbereitung).
- Traffic: A. Katsioti, Rhodes-Constantinople, 6<sup>th</sup> Century to 1522: A Two-Way Traffic. In: F. Karagianni / U. Koçabaş (eds), Proceedings of the Symposium on City Ports from the Aegean to Black Sea, Medieval-Modern Networks, 22<sup>nd</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> August 2015 (Istanbul 2015) 179-190.
- Pēlinē mētra: A. Katsioti, Πήλινη μήτρα λύχνου πρωτοβυζαντινών χρόνων από την Κω και ζητήματα εργαστηρίων κατασκευής λύχνων στα Δωδεκάνησα. In: P. Adam-Veleni / K. Tzanavari (eds), Διημέσσα, Τιμητικός τόμος για την Κ. Ρωμισπούλου (Thessalonikē 2012) 555-560.
- Phialidia-eulogies: A. Katsioti, Πήλινα φιαλίδια-ευλογίες από τα Δωδεκάνησα. DeltChrA 30, 2009, 271-282.
- Kingsley/Decker, New Rome: S. Kingsley / M. Decker, New Rome, New Theories on Inter-regional Exchange. An Introduction to the East Mediterranean Economy in Late Antiquity. In: S. Kingsley / M. Decker

- (eds), *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001) 1-27.
- Kiss, Kôm el-Dikka: Z. Kiss, *Les ampoules de saint Ménaes découvertes à Kôm el-Dikka* (1961-1981) (Varsovie 1989).
- Kollias, Rhodos: E. Kollias, *Η παλαιохριστιανική και βυζαντινή Ρόδος. Η αντίσταση μιας ελληνιστικής πόλης*. In: *Ρόδος 2400 χρόνια, Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523), Διεθνές επιστημονικό συνέδριο, Ρόδος 24-29 Οκτωβρίου 1993, Β'* (Athēna 2000) 299-308.
- Konstantinopoulos/Kollias, Ereunai: G. Konstantinopoulos / E. Kollias, *Παλαιохριστιανικά και βυζαντινά έρευναι εις την Ρόδον*. *Archaeologica Analekta ex Athinon* 1, 1968, 260-265.
- Koutrakou, Dodecanese: N. Koutrakou, *The Distance and the Past: middle-byzantine perception of islands in the Dodecanese (7<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. In: *Χάρης Χαίρε. Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζια* (Athēna 2004) 403-420.
- Külzer, *Handelsgüter*: A. Külzer, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege: Wirtschaftliche Aspekte byzantinischer Pilgerzentren*. In: E. Kislinger / J. Koder / A. Külzer (eds), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*. *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 18 (Wien 2010) 185-196.
- Lafli, *Unguentaria*: E. Lafli, *Roman and Late Roman Terracotta Unguentaria, 1988-2005*. In: C. S. Lightfoot / E. A. Ivison (eds), *Amorium Reports 3. The Lower City Enclosure Finds Report and Technical Studies* (Istanbul 2012) 181-192.
- Maer/Strauss, *Pilgrim Flask*: A. M. Maer / Y. Strauss, *A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin from Late Byzantine/Early Ummayyad Jerusalem*, *Anatolian Studies* 45, 1995, 237-241.
- Majeska, *Medallion*: G. Majeska, *A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*. *DOP* 28, 1974, 361-366.
- Malamut, *Route*: E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris 1993).
- Mango, *Motivation*: C. Mango, *The Pilgrim's Motivation*. In: *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991 (= JbAC 20/1, 1995) 1-9*.
- Maraval, *Pilgrimage*: P. Maraval, *The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East*. *DOP* 56, 2002, 63-74.
- Martini/Steckner, *Gymnasium*: W. Martini, C. Steckner, *Das Gymnasium von Samos. Das frühbyzantinische Klostergut*. *Samos* 17 (Bonn 1993).
- Menzel, *Lampen*: H. Menzel, *Antike Lampen im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz* (Mainz 1969).
- Metaxas, *Ampullen und Amphoriskoi*: S. Metaxas, *Frühbyzantinische Ampullen und Amphoriskoi aus Ephesos*. In: F. Krinzinger (ed.), *Spätantike und mittelalterliche Keramik aus Ephesos* (Wien 2005) 67-103.
- Metzger, *Ampoules*: C. Metzger, *Les ampoules à eulogie du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1981).
- Asie Mineure*: C. Metzger, *Une «ampoule à eulogie» du type d'Asie Mineure*. In: N. Duval / V. Popovič (eds), *Caričingrad 1* (Belgrade, Rome 1984) 158-160.
- Michon, *Ampoules*: E. Michon, *Nouvelles ampoules à eulogies*. *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 58, 1897, 285-332.
- Oikonomides, *Agios Phōkas*: N. Oikonomides, *Ο άγιος Φωκάς ο Σινωπεύς, Archeion Pontou* 17, 1952, 184-219.
- Özüdoğru/Dündar, *Unguentariumlari*: Ş. Özüdoğru / E. Dündar, *Erken Doğu Roma Dönemi Mühürlü Unguentariumlari*. *Olba* 15, 2007, 145-177 (in Turkish with English abstract).
- Papachristodoulou, *Ialysia*: I. Papachristodoulou, *Οι αρχαίοι Ροδιακοί Δήμοι. Ιστορική επισκόπηση – Η Ιαλυσία* (Athēna 1989).
- Istoria*: Chr. Papachristodoulou, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου από τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους έως την ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου* (Athēna 2<sup>1994</sup>).
- Papaconstantinou, *Manne*: A. Papaconstantinou, *La manne de Saint Jean. A propos d'un ensemble des cuillers inscrites*. *REB* 59, 2001, 239-246.
- Papanikolaou, *Aprotypōseis*: P. Papanikolaou, *Αποτυπώσεις της εξουσίας. Εικονογραφία και προσωπογραφία επάρχων σε ενσφράγιτους πρωτοβυζαντινούς αμφορείς*. In: P. Triandafyllidis (ed.), *Σοφία άδολος, τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Χρ. Παπαχριστοδούλου* (Rhodos 2014) 171-194.
- Papavasileiou/Archontopoulos, *Demirli-Agēsandrou*: E. Papavasileiou / T. Archontopoulos, *Το τέλος της παλαιохριστιανικής περιόδου και η αρχή του μεσαίωνα στην πόλη της Ρόδου: Α. Ανασκαφή στο Δεμιρλί (εκκλησία Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ) και Β. Ανασκαφή στη οδό Αηγιάνδρου*, *Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> Symposium of DhAE. Abstracts* (Athēna 1990) 16-17. 64-65.
- Papazachos/Papazachou, *Seismoi*: V. Papazachos / K. Papazachou, *Οι σεισμοί της Ελλάδας* (Thessalonikē 1989).
- Pétridis, *Céramique protobyzantine: Céramique protobyzantine intentionnellement ou accessoirement funéraire?* In: S. Gelichi (ed.), *Atti del 9 Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo, Venezia, Scuola Grande deo Carmini, Auditorium Santa Margherita nov. 2009* (Venezia 2012) 423-428.
- Poblome, *Sagalassos*: J. Poblome, *Production and distribution of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware. A Dialogue with the Roman Economy*. In: M. Herfort-Koch / U. Mandel / U. Schändler (eds), *Hellenistische und Kaiserzeitliche Keramik des Östlichen Mittelmeergebietes. Kolloquium Frankfurt 24-25 April 1995* (Frankfurt am Main 1996) 75-103.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Samos*: N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Lampes paléochrétiennes de Samos*. *BCH* 110, 1986, 583-610.
- Poulsen, *Halikarnassos*: B. Poulsen, *A pilgrim flask from Halikarnassos*. In: L. Karlsson / S. Karlsson / J. Blid Kullberg (eds), *ΛΑΒΡΥΣ Studies presented to P. Hellström*. *Boreas* 35 (Uppsala 2014) 479-496.
- Rautman, *Stylite ampulla*: M. Rautman, *A stylite ampulla at Sardis*. *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*. *TM* 15, 2005, 713-721.
- Robert, *Documents*: L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure, Ampoules chrétiennes*. *BCH* 108, 1984, 458-467.
- Semoglou, *Thekla*: A. Semoglou, *Η Θέκλα στην αυγή του χριστιανισμού. Εικονογραφική μελέτη της πρώτης γυναίκας μάρτυρα στην τέχνη της ύστερης αρχαιότητας* (Thessalonikē 2014).
- Paratērēseis*: A. Semoglou, *Παρατηρήσεις στον διάκοσμο των πήλινων ευλογιών από το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Ιωάννη του Θεολόγου στην Έφεσο*. *Byzantina* 25, 2005, 99-116.
- Serin, *Iasos*: U. Serin, *Early Christian and Byzantine Churches at Iasos in Caria. An Architectural Survey* (Citta del Vaticano 2004).
- Sodini, *Céramique*: J.-P. Sodini, *Productions et échanges dans le monde protobyzantin (IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Le cas de la céramique*. In: K. Belke et al. (eds), *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes im Mittelalter* (Wien 2000) 181-208.

Hiérarchisation: J. P. Sodini, La hiérarchisation des espaces à Qalat Sem'an, In: Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident (Paris 2001) 251-262.

Thebes: Οδηγός Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θηβών, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia, Thebes 2015.

Vikan, Guided: G. Vikan, Guided by Land and Sea. Pilgrim Art and Pilgrim Travel in Early Byzantium. In: Tesserae. Festschrift für Josef Engemann. JbAC 18, 1991, 74-92.

Pilgrimage Art: G. Vikan, Byzantine Pilgrimage Art (Washington, D.C. 1982).

Sacred Images: G. Vikan, Sacred Images and Sacred power in Byzantium (Aldershot 2003).

Waldner, Yeni Pinar: A. Waldner, Byzantine monastery at Yeni Pinar. In: P. Niewöhner et al. (eds), Bronze Age höyüks, Iron Age hilltop forts, Roman Poleis and Byzantine Pilgrimage in Germa and its vicinity.

»Connectivity« and a lack of »definite places« on the central Anatolian high plateau. *Anatolian Studies* 63, 2013, 97-136.

Wiemer, Krieg: H.-U. Wiemer, Krieg, Handel und Piraterie. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Rhodos. *Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte. Beihefte N. F. 6* (Berlin 2002).

Wintermeyer, Didyma: K. Tuchelt (ed.), Didyma, Bericht über die Arbeiten der Jahre 1975-1979. Mit Beiträgen von P. Schneider, U. Wintermeyer, H. Roland Baldus, W. Günther, R. Naumann, W. Schiele. *IstMitt* 30, 1980, 99-197.

Zaleskaya, Ampoules: V. N. Zaleskaja, Ампулы-эвлогии из Малой Азии (IV-VI вв.). *VV* 47, 1986, 182-190.

Visions apocalyptiques: V. Zaleskaya, La représentation des visions apocalyptiques sur les monuments ephésiens du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. In: H. Friesinger / F. Krzinger (eds), 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions, Wien 1995 (Wien 1999) 355-359.

## Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

### Aspekte der Pilgerfahrt im östlichen Mittelmeerraum in frühbyzantinischer Zeit. Archäologische Zeugnisse aus Rhodos

Die Insel Rhodos war eines der wichtigsten Zentren des Hellenismus. Sie entwickelte sich nicht nur aufgrund ihres Handelsgewerbes und der maritimen Kompetenz ihrer Bewohner zu einer Wirtschaftsmacht und da sie den Transithandel im Mittelmeer kontrollierte, sondern sie profitierte auch von ihrer geografischen Lage und von einer für die Schifffahrt günstigen Küste.

Diese Arbeit möchte die archäologischen Funde von Rhodos präsentieren und sie in ihren historischen Kontext einordnen. Dies erlaubt es, in begrenztem Umfang einen Überblick über die Bedeutung der Insel auf diesen Pilgerwegen zu erlangen und die mikroökonomischen Bedingungen zu untersuchen, die die religiöse Energie durch den regionalen Pilgertourismus gegen Ende der frühchristlichen Ära stützten und förderten.

Die bekanntesten und am leichtesten erkennbaren Wallfahrtsobjekte sind Pilgerflaschen aus Ton, auch Eulogien genannt. Bisher fand man auf Rhodos nur wenige ägyptische Flaschen, während die sogenannten kleinasiatischen Typen häufiger vorkommen. Lampen mit Dekorationen, die sich auf den hl. Johannes den Evangelisten aus Ephesus beziehen, könnten unter bestimmten Bedingungen auch als Pilgergegenstände betrachtet werden. Zusätzlich, und wenn späte römische *unguentaria* ebenfalls als Pilgergegenstände angesehen werden, sind die in Rhodos gefundenen in der Überzahl, und obwohl deren Erforschung kaum erst begon-

nen hat, scheinen sie höchstwahrscheinlich aus Kleinasien importiert worden zu sein.

Die Untersuchung der Funde ermöglichte es, die Lage von Rhodos und anderer Dodekanes-Inseln auf den maritimen Handels- und Wallfahrtswegen ins rechte Licht zu rücken, und sie gab Gelegenheit, die verfügbaren lokalen archäologischen Zeugnisse im Zusammenhang mit der Wallfahrt zu präsentieren. Wir überprüften auch mögliche Verteilungsmechanismen und glauben, dass die Grabungsbefunde aus Rhodos für das 6.-7. Jahrhundert zeigen, dass sich der Handel und die damit verbundene Pilgerfahrt hauptsächlich auf bestimmte Zielorte konzentrierte. Vermutlich begann für die meisten Schiffe die Reise im Hafen von Alexandria und endete in der Hauptstadt Konstantinopel. Zwischenstationen wie Rhodos und Ephesus profitierten sehr von solchen Reisen, und es ist kein Zufall, dass die in Rhodos gefundenen Pilgergegenstände entweder in Alexandria oder in Kleinasien entstanden sein dürften.

Es scheint, als ob Pilger mit anderen Zielen, wie dem Heiligen Land, eher über Land durch Kleinasien reisten, um so den Seeweg über Rhodos zu vermeiden. Möglicherweise ist es so, dass das Ende der Getreideversorgung aus Ägypten die Zwischenstationen wesentlich früher als vermutet betraf: Eine solche Station war Rhodos, gegen dessen Wirtschaft die arabischen Überfälle den entscheidenden Schlag führten. Während der frühen byzantinischen Epoche konzentrierte sich der Pilgerverkehr auf Rhodos jedoch eher auf nahegelegene Schreine als auf weit entfernte Orte. Diese Aktivitäten waren Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts beendet.

## Aspects of Pilgrimage in the Eastern Mediterranean During the Early Byzantine Period. Archaeological Evidence from Rhodes

The island of Rhodes was one of the most important centres of Hellenism: It developed into an economic power due not only to the commercial enterprise and naval competence of its inhabitants, and had actually taken over the control of the transit trade in the Mediterranean, but also its geographical location, benefiting from a coastline that could protect shipping.

This paper deals with the presentation of the archaeological finds of Rhodes as well as with their interpretation within their historical context which, within limits, can permit the drawing of a broad outline of the island's significance within these pilgrimage routes and an examination of the microeconomic conditions which supported and fueled religious energy through the regional topography of pilgrimage towards the end of the Early Christian era.

The best known and most recognizable pilgrimage objects are the clay pilgrim flasks also known as *eulogiae*. Only a few Egyptian type flasks have so far been found in Rhodes, while the so-called Asia Minor types are more common. Lamps with decoration related to Saint John the Theologian of Ephesus could also be considered as pilgrimage objects under certain conditions. Additionally, and if Late Roman *unguentaria* could be considered as pilgrim items, those found in Rhodes outnumber all the above and, though their study is still in a preliminary stage, they seem to be imported, most probably from Asia Minor.

The co examination of the finds has enabled us to bring to the fore the place of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands in the commercial and pilgrimage maritime routes, and provided an opportunity to present a summary of the available local archaeological evidence associated to pilgrimage. We have also reviewed the possible mechanisms of distribution and believe that, in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the excavation data of Rhodes show that trade and the associated activity of pilgrimage was mainly focused on specific destinations. Presumably, for most ships, the start of journey was the port of Alexandria and its end was the capital, Constantinople. Intermediate stations, such as Rhodes and Ephesus, benefited greatly from such travel and it is not by chance that the pilgrimage objects found in Rhodes might originate either in Alexandria or Asia Minor.

It seems that pilgrims with different destinations, such as the Holy Land, were more likely to prefer travelling by land across Asia Minor, thus avoiding the sea passage via Rhodes. It therefore appears that the cessation of the *annona* from Egypt dramatically affected intermediate stations on its route much earlier than suspected: one such station was Rhodes, on whose economy the Arab raids dealt the decisive blow. During the early Byzantine era, though, in Rhodes pilgrimage traffic was centered on nearby shrines rather than far-off locations. This activity had ended by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

## Aspects du pèlerinage en Méditerranée orientale durant la période byzantine précoce. Témoins archéologiques de Rhodes

L'île de Rhodes fut l'un des centres les plus importants de l'hellénisme. Elle doit certes son essor économique à l'initiative commerciale et aux compétences navales de ses habitants, prenant ainsi le contrôle du commerce transitant par la Méditerranée, mais aussi à sa position géographique avec une côte protégeant la navigation.

Cet article veut présenter les trouvailles archéologiques de Rhodes et les situer dans leur contexte historique, ce qui permettra, dans certaines limites, d'esquisser l'importance de l'île au sein du réseau emprunté par les pèlerins et d'analyser les conditions microéconomiques qui ont soutenu et alimenté l'énergie religieuse à travers la topographie régionale du pèlerinage vers la fin de l'époque paléochrétienne.

Les objets les plus connus et les plus aisés à reconnaître sont les ampoules en céramique appelées aussi *eulogiae*. Seules quelques ampoules de type égyptien furent identifiées à Rhodes, tandis que les types dits d'Asie mineure sont très courants. Les lampes décorées, relatives à saint Jean le Évangéliste d'Éphèse, pourraient être, elles aussi, considérées sous certaines conditions comme des objets de pèlerinage. En outre, si les *unguentaria* romains tardifs pouvaient passer pour des objets de pèlerinage, ceux trouvés à Rhodes dépasseraient de loin tous ceux mentionnés plus haut. Leur étude n'en est qu'aux début, mais il semble qu'ils aient été importés de l'Asie mineure.

L'examen des objets nous a permis de mettre en évidence le rôle joué par Rhodes et les autres îles du Dodécanèse dans le réseau des routes commerciales et de pèlerinage et de présenter un aperçu des témoins archéologiques locaux disponibles, associés au pèlerinage. Nous avons aussi examiné les mécanismes de distribution possibles et pensons que les données des fouilles de Rhodes relatives aux 6<sup>e</sup> et 7<sup>e</sup> siècles indiquent des activités commerciales, associant celles de pèlerinage, essentiellement axées vers des destinations spécifiques. Pour la plupart des navires, le voyage commençait au port d'Alexandrie pour se terminer à Constantinople, la capitale. Les étapes intermédiaires, comme Rhodes et Éphèse, profitaient fort de tels voyages et ce n'est donc pas un hasard si les objets de pèlerinage trouvés à Rhodes peuvent venir d'Alexandrie ou d'Asie mineure.

Il semble que les pèlerins visant d'autres destinations, telle que la Terre sainte, préféraient la voie de terre à travers l'Asie mineure, évitant ainsi le passage maritime par Rhodes. En outre, la fin de l'acquittement de l'annone par l'Égypte aurait profondément affecté les stations intermédiaires bien plus tôt que supposé. Rhodes était l'une d'elles dont l'économie fut brisée définitivement à la suite des raids arabes. Cependant, durant la période byzantine précoce, les voyages des pèlerins de Rhodes visaient plutôt les sanctuaires proches que les destinations éloignées. Ces activités cessèrent vers la fin du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle.