

Panegyric Markets in the Byzantine Empire and their Role in the Pilgrimage Economy (5th-12th Centuries)

There is no need to justify a thorough economic investigation of a specific market type *prima facie*. However, this hasn't been done with a comprehensive approach for panegyric markets in the Byzantine empire, so far, for the following reasons. Those periodic markets were under either episcopal or monastic control and fixed in time and space to a feast day of the respective local Church, and did therefore not follow strict economic patterns alone. Due to being organised by the Church or monasteries, they are mostly mentioned in hagiography and theological writings; in most cases without signalling their economic role, the purchasers and sellers, the goods traded, and the money involved. Furthermore, panegyric markets were a common practise in the Byzantine world and they are rarely described in any detail¹.

Therefore, it is challenging to write a concise economic history of these markets in Byzantium. The aim of this study is to reveal the economic mechanisms acting in these feast markets and to explore how economic aspects did influence the institution of the panegyris over time. As a prerequisite to this, a comprehensive list of the known Byzantine panegyris has to form the basis of this study. Fortunately, we have more than only cursory information on two specific Byzantine panegyric markets – the one in Thessalonica and the one in Euchaita – which will help to tackle the major issues encountered and both of them will be investigated in more detail below. An economic analysis of the phenomenon will be attempted at the end of this study.

Larger panegyric markets in the Byzantine empire

Panegyris (*πᾶς ἀγειρεῖν) were common gatherings timed to ritual festivities, a practice which continued in Christian times with only some modifications². As was the case with their pagan predecessors³, the Christian panegyris encompassed cult rituals, meetings of the provincial élite, banquets, rhetoric contests (therefore the term *panegyrikoí logoi*), dances (antagonised by theologians) and of course, markets⁴. Although I will focus on the last aspect which I call panegyric markets, the other components of panegyris nevertheless did also influence their economic role, as I intend to argue. The Byzantine sources do not distinguish in their vocabulary and always only use the general term *panegyris*, without differing between the religious festival and the interrelated market. Only the context reveals if a flourishing market was part of the feast or not.

Usually the panegyris started with the vigils at the evening before the feast's day⁵, which was regarded as a time where the respective saint's power was supposed to work more miracles than usual⁶. Therefore, it was convenient for pilgrims to visit a sanctuary at this time in order to experience a miracle and to see the special ceremonies practised during these days which were often the only chance for the public to catch a glimpse of the relics of the saint⁷. Needless to say, panegyris were visited by both the local flock and by travellers with various motivations and not purely religious ones only, of course.

In Late Antiquity many panegyris are testified. Those we know to have encompassed a proper market of some significance were Gaza and Resafa (both for Sergius 7th October)⁸,

1 This major hindrance for research was already stressed by: Papoulia, *Jahrmärkte* 133.

2 The basic main literature on the subject: Vryonis, *Panegyris* 198-202 and outdated but still useful: Koukoules, *Bios kai politismos* 3, 270-286. Papoulia's two almost identical articles do not go much beyond: Papoulia, *Jahrmärkte*. – Papoulia, *Jahrmärkte II*. Instead, a very important contribution is: Ligt, *Fairs and Markets* 35-36. Continuity is noticed by: Greg. Nyss. *vit. Macr.* 33 (Maraval 248). Most Christian panegyris were installed at the turn of the 4th/5th centuries, as shown by: Fevrier, *Fêtes chrétiennes*.

3 Theodoretus of Cyrhus expressed the continuity most vividly: Theod. *Gr. aff. cur.* 7, 69-70 (Raeder 219. – Müller 316-317). For the topic of the institutional transformation of pagan to Christian panegyris cf. Koukoules, *Bios kai politismos* 3: 270-271 and Kislinger in this volume.

4 Cumulation for different purposes of visit is inevitable due to the effort of travel: Ligt/Neeve, *Ancient Periodic Markets* 398.

5 *Miracula Theclae*, mir. 26, 6-10 (Dagron 356. – Talbot/Johnson 103).

6 *Passio episcopi Athenogenis* cap. 40 (Maraval 80-82). On Athenogenes' feast day, blessed meat will not corrupt for a long time and water is abundant although the region is very arid. Furthermore, similar beliefs are testified in the Latin West as well, cf. *Sumption, Pilgrimage* 212.

7 Angenendt, *Heilige* 129-132. – Maraval, *Lieux saints* 217.

8 *Choricii Gazaei Laudatio in Marcianum eps I^o capp.* 1 (Förster/Richtsteig 1-2) and 12-14 (Förster/Richtsteig 5-6). Litsas supposes on the contrary that the panegyris of Gaza for St Sergius was celebrated on 26th May, without revealing his deliberations, cf. Litsas, *Choricus of Gaza* 431.

Diospolis/Lyddā (George 3rd November/23rd April)⁹, Ascalon (Koimesis 15th August)¹⁰, Philadelpheia/Amman (Aelianus 10th Aug)¹¹, Qal'at Sim'ān (Symeon the Elder 1st Sep)¹², Berrhoia/Aleppo (Mār Asyā and Ish'ayā 16th October)¹³, Edessa (Thomas 3rd July)¹⁴, Euchaita (Theodore Tiron March/April)¹⁵; Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Thecla 24th September)¹⁶. The ones in Jerusalem (Exaltation of the Cross 14th September)¹⁷ and in Cypriot Trimitous (Spyridon 12th December)¹⁸ are testified only since the 7th century, but may be of earlier date.

Starting in the 9th century other locations are testified which may have had a panegyric market even before: besides Ephesus (John the Theologian 8th May)¹⁹ also Trebizond (Eugenius 21st January)²⁰, Sinope (Phokas 22nd September)²¹, Chonai (Michael's water miracle 6th September)²², Myra (Nikolaus 6th December)²³, Nicomedia (Panteleimon 27th July)²⁴, Heraclea Perinthus (Glyceria 13th May)²⁵, Thracian Adrianople (Koimesis 15th August)²⁶, Phatrynos/Phatre in Paphlagonia (George 23rd April)²⁷, Charax at the Parthenios river (August)²⁸, Lakedaimon (Nikon 26th November)²⁹, Skoupia/Skopje (Presentation of the Virgin 21th November)³⁰, and Monte Gargano (Michael's battle assistance 8th May)³¹. The most important panegyric market on the Balkan peninsula was certainly the one at Thessalonica (Demetrius 26th October).

The list reveals that contrary to previous notions, panegyric markets were a common phenomenon for both rural areas as well as for cities, and for both coastal and inland regions (fig. 1). This is even more obvious considering that even Constantinople itself had a panegyric market in the Komnenian period, initiated by Patriarch John IX Agapetos (1111-1134)

on the feast day of Emperor Justinian I (14th November), taking place in front of Hagia Sophia³².

Panegyric markets as a periodic market

Luuk de Ligt established and Richard Hodges modified a useful differentiation of periodic markets in Antiquity³³, which yielded an analytic progress in contrast to earlier studies. Essentially three periodic market types can be distinguished: local, regional and interregional. The first ones only lasted for a few days due to their restricted catchment areas (approx. 50km) and brought together only producers and consumers. The goods traded there were of inferior kind³⁴. Regional markets lasted one or two weeks, possessed a catchment area radius of max. 300km, and intermediary traders were to be found on them. These merchants (in Pakourianus's typicon called *πανηγυριστές*) were trading superior goods, as well³⁵. The last market type – interregional periodic markets – were set to last for more than a month, attracting merchants from afar (more than 1000km), and also offering luxury and entrepôt goods and not just basic goods. They are almost non-existent in Antiquity. In Late Antiquity only two periodic markets of that kind are known: in Batnai south to Edessa (Osrhoene) in September and in Cilician Aigai³⁶. Both markets were installed by imperial authority in order to concentrate the Oriental trade. For the Dark Age period, the island of Comacchio can be adduced, which stood under Lombard protection³⁷. Hodges coined the term »emporion« for this

9 In Late-Antique Diospolis it was celebrated on 3rd November (i.e. translatio of relics), cf. Arcadii episcopi Constantiensis Laudatio in Georgium. – Krumbacher, Georg 203-207. According to later Arabic sources the panegyris was preserved but shifted to 23rd April when relocated to Ramla: Binggeli, Annual Fairs 285-286 with refs. – Gil, Palestine 241-242 (testimony of the 9th c.).

10 Binggeli, Annual Fairs 287-288.

11 Binggeli, Annual Fairs 288. – Gil, Palestine 241-242.

12 Michaelis Syri Chronicon XI 6 (Chabot II 422). – Horn, Children as Pilgrims 459-460: there, the author occupies herself with the attack on the panegyris in 639/40 CE.

13 Binggeli, Annual Fairs 288.

14 Gregorii Turon. Liber in glor. mart. cap. 32 (Krusch 57-58). – Vita Symeonis Stylitae iun. cap. 1 (van den Ven 2-3). – Binggeli, Annual Fairs 295.

15 Miracula Theodori Tironis, mir. 1, 4 (Sigalas 315, 19-21. – Haldon 68). – Gerolymatou, Agores 267 fn. 12.

16 Hellenkemper, Wallfahrtsstätten 264. – Dagron, Thècle 78.

17 Adamnani De locis sanctis 1, 1, 8 (Bieler 185). – Gil, Palestine 241-242 (with testimonies of the 9th and 11th centuries to this market called in Arabic'id al-salib).

18 Theodori Vita Spyridonis cap. 23 (van den Ven 96-97).

19 Brandes, Städte Kleinasien 158. A firm testimony for its existence in the mid-10th c. is Vita Pauli iunioris Latrensis cap. 10 (Delehaye 111, 13-16). For the 8th c., s. below.

20 Ioannis Lazaropuli Laudatio in Eugenio cap. 1, 36-62 (Rosenqvist 206).

21 Andrae Libadani Laudatio in Phocam (van de Vorst 289, 17-22).

22 Panteleonis Laudatio in Michaelē (PG 98, 1264-1265) for the 9th century. – Metropolitan Chonis ep. 5, 18 (Darrouzès 348) for the 10th century. – Michaelis Choniatae Laudatio in Nicetam episcopum Chonis 95 (Lampros I 56) and Nicetae Choniatae Historia (van Diēten 178 and 400) for the 12th century. Usually the panegyris is misdated to the synaxis of the angels (8th November) by modern authors instead of the specific feast day for the miracle of Kolossai/Chonai on which the Constantinopolitan synaxarion refers: AASS Nov. prop. 19-20.

23 Andrae Laudatio in Nicolaum cap. 10 (Anrich I 428). – Hild/Hellenkemper, Lykien und Pamphylien 346.

24 Theodori Studit. parva catech. 23 (Auvrey 84 [comm. 641]). – Mohr 64-65). In this source the celebrated saint is not mentioned. Even though, we may

deduce from a later source its patron saint. In the middle of the 13th century, it was St Panteleimon's panegyris that was splendidly celebrated in Nicomedia, as Pachymeres testifies when relating the visit of this panegyric market by the protasekretis Michael Kakos Senacherim, who got at there the news about the reconquest of Constantinople which had been accomplished on 25th July 1261: Georgii Pachymeris Relationes historicas II 28 (Failler I 205). The St Panteleimon church was situated extra muros west of the city; cf. Janin, Grands centres byzantins 99. For this particular visitor, see PLP no. 25154.

25 Vita Elisabethae abbatis cap. 3 (Halkin 253. – Karris 123). – Külzer, Ostthrakien 228.

26 Mentioned in relation to an attack of Samuel in the year 1002; the market took apparently place outside the walls: Io. Skyl. Synops. hist. (Thurn 346, 50-52. – Wortley 328). – Gerolymatou, Agores 267.

27 Miracula Georgii, mir. 4 (Aufhauser 20), 8 (Aufhauser 94-100). – Belke, Paphlagonien und Honorias 148 fn. 88.

28 Nicetae Paphlag. Acta Andrae cap. 23 (Bonnet 329). – Mango, Journey 259-260. The source does not reveal if this market was private or a panegyric market (9th/10th c.).

29 Vita Niconis Metanoie cap. 56 (Sullivan 178-180). – Lampropoulou, Panēgyreis 294-295.

30 Popović, Balkan Fairs 759-761. This fair is said to have been established by Emperor Romanus III (1028-1034) in a privilege given in the year 1300 by the Serbian King Stefan Uroš II Milutin and had a duration of eight days at that time. Its revenues fell to the adjacent monastery of St George.

31 Arthur, Fairs 429-430. – Everett, Liber de apparitione S. Michaelis 378-380.

32 Nicephori Callist. Hist. eccl. XVII 31 (PG 147, 301). – Prinzing, Bild Justinians 24. This panegyric market is testified up until the 15th century with duration of eight days: Koukoules, Bios kai politismos 3, 281 with ref. to the Palaiologan testimony.

33 Hodges, Dark Age Economics 22.

34 Ligt, Fairs and Markets 78-82.

35 Greg. Pacurian. Typicon 1842 (Gautier 131. – BMFD 557): »those conducting the fair of Stenimachos«.

36 Ligt, Fairs and Markets 88.

37 For this important place see: Gelichi, Tra Comacchio e Venezia. – Gelichi, Isola del vescovo.



Fig. 1 Panegyric markets in the Eastern Mediterranean, with their respective feast day. – (Map information by author; drawn by M. Ober, RGZM).

kind of market place, because either the buyers or the sellers changed periodically³⁸. In the Byzantine empire, Constantinople was attracting the long-distance trade more or less to itself, yet not on periodic but on permanent markets³⁹. In sum, Byzantium lacked emporia because its trade was facilitated by either permanent markets in cities or periodic ones like the panegyric markets investigated here; and most of the known Byzantine panegyric markets of the period considered here belong to the category of regional markets defined by de Ligt.

As a matter of fact, panegyric markets are always periodic and annual according to their constitution. Due to the necessity of having a sustainable number of visitors on them, especially those panegyris in pilgrimage centres of the empire provided the opportunity for establishing sizeable panegyric markets. Pilgrimage destinations at the coast had an advantage over those inland, of course, for reasons of accessibility. This can be highlighted when looking cursorily at few well-known examples, e. g. when contrasting the respective markets of Ephesus and Chonai. While the former could

basically fulfil a role of an entrepôt for western Asia Minor, the latter could only have a distributive function for its wider region. Furthermore, also Jerusalem's panegyric market in September (Exaltation of the Cross) became renowned for its Oriental luxury goods in the Crusader period because of the general role of the city for the Oriental trade in that period⁴⁰. Preconditions of this kind should be taken into account when evaluating the consequences of these markets for the respective pilgrimage centre and the local Church because different market functions led to a different market sizes⁴¹.

Market actors and goods

As panegyric markets considered here can be regarded as regional markets, most economic actors stemmed from the regional population which attended the panegyris for both religious and economic reasons⁴². An important testimony for this is the synaxarion entry for St Metrius from Paphlago-

38 Hodges, *Dark Age Economics* 24. – Hodges, *Adriatic Sea Trade* passim.

39 Laiou, *Exchange and Trade* 725.

40 Jacoby, *Economic Impact of Pilgrimage* 697. Adamnanus mentioned the panegyris for the 7th c. without providing any details; it is supposed to have started on 12th September, cf. Adamnani *De locis sanctis* 1, 1, 8 (Bieler 185).

41 Ligt/Neeve, *Ancient Periodic Markets* 402-403.

42 Sumption, *Pilgrimage* 211.

nia who visited the panegyris of Chonai in the 9th century. Supposedly he found a bag filled with 1500 Solidi of a πραγματευτής there and returned it back to its owner one year thereafter. Apparently not only the regional population returned again and again every year, but even the same intermediary tradesmen⁴³. Furthermore, as the mentioned money indicates, the transactions were monetized.

The rural population was taking agrarian products and crafted goods to the market in order to get similar goods they lacked and tax money, because it was virtually the only occasion for the rural population (especially in the »Dark Ages«, 7th to mid-9th centuries) to get their hands on tax money which they had to pay once a year⁴⁴. This became relevant especially after Emperor Constantine V ordered to apply *adaeratio* on the levy of land taxes in 767⁴⁵ which affected every peasant. Therefore, money transfers between the central market of Constantinople and the periodic markets in the provinces were a necessity which was fulfilled by merchants⁴⁶.

In the written sources, some goods are particularly mentioned in relation to panegyric markets. Candles, spices⁴⁷, and cattle for example, in other words, superior goods whose demand did not need to be fulfilled constantly and which did not perish fast. Furthermore, bulk goods are mentioned. Chris Wickham classified them for the Byzantine period in a general manner as textiles and leather goods, metal objects, pottery, glass objects, wooden craft items like tools, building materials, and writing material⁴⁸ – some of which were likely traded in a panegyric market and are mentioned in the panegyris of Thessaloniki as told by the Timarion (clothes, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep)⁴⁹. Also Theodore Studites's reference of the panegyris of Nicomedia in one of his catecheses indicates that trade encompassed especially textiles and money there: Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦνται κατὰ καιρὸν ὧδε καὶ ὧδε, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα, ἐφ' ἧς συντρέχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πωλοῦντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον τοῦτο, καὶ πάλιν διαλόνται. ἢ δὲ κατὰ ψυχὴν πανηγυρις μία τέ

ἔστι καὶ ἀδιάλυτος τῇ ἐκάστου ζωῆ συμπαρεκτεινομένη, ἧς ἡ πραγματεία οὐ χρυσοῦς, οὐκ ἄργυρος, οὐχ ἱματισμὸς, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπικέρων καὶ φθειρομένων⁵⁰.

Anyway, we should not infer from the testimonies that superior and bulk goods were the main trading goods on these markets – only due to being mentioned more often than agricultural products – because they were rather regarded as worth mentioning. Supposedly, one of the main functions of periodic markets was to withdraw agricultural surpluses from the provinces to the urban centres and Constantinople by buying them off in major crop cultivation areas. This is mentioned in a sermon ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria (c. 5th c.), where he apparently visited a panegyris in his hometown and purchased olive oil⁵¹. It is also indicated for the panegyris in Gaza where Choricus of Gaza (died c. 550) in his first encomium on St Marcian mentioned aliments and wine as trading goods⁵², in another instance also silver vessels⁵³ as being on offer in the respective panegyris. In the 5th-century Vita of Epiphanius of Salamis, a peasant purchasing cattle is mentioned⁵⁴, a similar testimony is provided by a homily of John Chrysostom, where he refers to both cattle and clothing as trading goods in a panegyric market⁵⁵.

Market organisation and taxes

In opposition to private markets the organiser of a panegyric market was the local bishop and his clergy. They took place on his land property which is testified in several instances, e. g. for Gaza⁵⁶. In late antiquity, the market taxes – called *octava* due to their amount of 12,5 %⁵⁷ – were levied by the *civitas* and a share of them (apparently 4%) was given to the *fisc* later on⁵⁸. Therefore, the city could announce an ἀπέλεια (tax remission) in order to attract more customers due to lower prices and to compete against rivalling cities nearby for status⁵⁹. These opportunities were no longer feasible when the cities lost their role in the tax levying system.

43 Vita Metrii Paphlagoniae (AASS Nov. prop. 721-724): the mentioned amount of coins is certainly exaggerated, of course, which does not affect the economic interpretation offered here. – Laiou, Händler und Kaufleute 58. For the terminology of merchants in Byzantium see: Merianos, Literary Allusions 227. – Patlagean, Marchés du grand commerce 612.

44 Laiou, Exchange and Trade 709.

45 Theoph. Chron., ad a. 6259 (Boor 443. – Mango/Scott 611); Nicephori patriarchae Breviarium 85 (Mango 160). – Rochow, Konstantin V 39.

46 Brandes postulates that the coin transfers mentioned took place through office holders or soldiers at panegyric markets and that these periodic markets indicate an underdeveloped trading economy, cf. Brandes, Städte Kleinasiens 159. I would rather suggest that it is a specific feature of panegyric markets that they were a mode of resource allocation which was less restrained or dominated by governmental control, cf. Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages 717-718. Furthermore, the panegyric markets' restrictions on small intervals of time and only few places point to a fairly developed trading economy, because they stayed pretty monetized, as the sources reveal.

47 In the case of Jerusalem's panegyric market, cf. Jacoby, Economic Impact of Pilgrimage 697.

48 Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages 700-701.

49 Timarion 155-164 (Romano 55). – Laiou, Exchange and Trade 756.

50 Theodori Studit. parva catech. 23 (Auvrey 84. – Mohr 64-65): »brothers and fathers, panegyris do take place here and there, as right now in Nicomedia,

where men gather for buying and selling, but only for a short time before they disperse again. The panegyris of the soul is but one interconnected to each one's life, but not dealing with goods made of gold, silver, garments nor spoiled or perishable matters« (transl. by author).

51 Ps.-Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo 21 capp. 6 and 15 (PG 86, 432 and 441).

52 Choricii Gazaei Laudatio in Marcianum eps I^o capp. 1 and 12-14 (Förster/Richtersteig 1-2 and 5-6). – Litsas, Choricus of Gaza 430-433.

53 Choricii Gazaei orat. declam. 6^a capp. 6-8 (Förster/Richtersteig 255).

54 Ioannis episcopi Constantiensis Vita Epiphanius episcopi Salamini cap. 1 (PG 41, 25).

55 Joh. Chrys. elem. 3 (PG 64, 436).

56 Gaza: see above for Choricus. – St Denis: Sumption, Pilgrimage 212 and below fn. 60.

57 This tax was constituted by 2,5 % import tax and 10 % ad valorem market (selling) tax: cf. Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes 59-74. The Octava is regulated in Cod. Iust. 4, 61, 7 (Krüger II 187. – Otto V 667-668) in a law promulgated in 366 CE.

58 Marek, Geschichte Kleinasiens 482-483 (there mistakenly 2,5 %, but this was only the city's share of the tax). – Oikonomides, Role of the Byzantine State 987.

59 Ligt/Neeve, Ancient Periodic Markets 412-413.

The bishop in his role as market organiser of a panegyric market was in a way the successor of the former *boulé* in this regard. The functions to levy the market taxes and to deliver them to the fisc fell on him⁶⁰. The tax income gathered by the bishop was donated at certain occasions by the state to his Church. This is scarcely testified, though; for instance, in the year 634/635 for the panegyris of St Denis during the reign of King Dagobert I when the market taxes were given to the Church of St Denis⁶¹. This panegyric market was the most important in the Merovingian kingdom at the time. It may be assumed that the king followed the example of earlier philanthropy of Roman emperors which are not transmitted by the written sources. Only in 795 the first example is attested for Byzantium when Emperor Constantine VI donated the commercium of the panegyris of Ephesus to the city's Church after a battle victory against the Arabs on the feast day of St John: *Καὶ τῆ ἡ' τοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς πολεμῆσας μεθ' ἑνὸς κούρσου αὐτῶν ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιλεγομένῳ Ἀνοῦσαν, νικήσας καὶ τρέψας ἦλασεν ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ εἰς τὸν Θεολόγον εὐξάμενος τὸ κωμέρκιν τοῦ πανηγυρίου, ρ' λιτρῶν χρυσίου ὄν, ἐκούφισε πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου*⁶².

Theophanes mentions here the enormous sum of 100 gold pounds. It is not clear if it represents the rounded tax income of a probable exceptional year⁶³ or the annual tax lump sum destined to go to the fisc⁶⁴. Yet another possibility is to regard the sum as a pro rata reduction of a larger tax sum because of the wording (*ἐκούφισε*); but this appears improbable to almost everyone due to the sheer amount mentioned. I agree with Oikonomides and Mango that this donation was an exceptional event of an *ἐξκουσσεία* due to a battle victory on the saint's feast day⁶⁵. In my point of view, it should not be apprehended as a permanent privilege⁶⁶. At any rate, the mentioned commercium of 100 gold pounds requires a tax base of 1000 gold pounds which appears »incredible« to Mango⁶⁷, but credible to Salvatore Cosentino in a recent article⁶⁸. This is not the place for a thorough investigation of this detail of numbers, though.

The commercium represented in any case a 10 % tax ad valorem during the Mid-Byzantine period – therefore also called *dekaton/dekateia* – which was supposed to be levied from the seller of the goods and was collected by the market organiser⁶⁹. A bypassing reference of Nicetas Cho-

niates suggests that the taxes were collected at the very end of the panegyric market – in this instance of a monastery by one of its monks: *Ἦσαν δ' ἄν ἅπαντες τοῦ κακοῦ τῆς αἰσχυμάλωσις ἀπείρατοι [...] ὅς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου μονῆς ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο τελωνήσων τὴν πανήγυριν, [...]*⁷⁰.

Late Byzantine emperors privileged some Churches with the panegyric market's income on a permanent basis. According to a doubtful and late source, the so-called chronicle of ArgYROKASTRO, Emperor Alexios I confirmed the possession of the panegyris near Chaonioupolis (location unknown) to the Epirote archbishopric of Dryinoupolis (then incumbent: Methodios), celebrated in honour of the Dormition of the Theotokos (15th August), and gave its commercium in around 1081-1084 on a permanent basis, among other privileges which do not concern us here⁷¹. Although this very donation is very dubious and the date of the chronicle is uncertain, we may deduce from the source that a panegyric market was actually taking place there in the later Middle Ages whose revenues fell on the Church since time immemorial. A similar provision is testified for the Michael's market of Ioannina for which Emperor Andronicus II ordered that its tax revenues should be equally distributed among the »*ekklesia*« and the clergy, because the clergy has to have 300 modioi wheat, one barrel of wine and 50 Nomismata Trikephala (c. 16 Hyperpyra) per year⁷². At that time (13th century), it was already common practice to hand over a fixed share of the tax income to the fisc (lump sum) instead of giving the varying tax income directly⁷³.

At any rate, the practice of a permanent donation of the commercium generated in panegyric markets cannot have been very widespread in the Mid-Byzantine period considered here, because testimonies for it set in later and are then proudly elaborated in the privileges given by the emperors. In the privileges up to the 12th century, only the plain holding of panegyric markets at traditional locations and dates is confirmed but no mention is given to taxes. For which reasons permanent donations became a common phenomenon in the 14th century, is a matter of debate. Smyrlis casts doubt on the efficiency of the market tax levy in general and proposes that a great deal of market exchanges escaped taxation⁷⁴. This estimation might have some merit, but tax evasion was not easy to accomplish when we bear in mind that the market organiser was responsible for the levy and had to deliver a

60 Papagiannē, *Organōsē* 819.

61 *Diplomata spuria* 23 (MGH DD Merov. 140-141). – Verlinden, *Markets and Fairs* 120. – Kruse, *Messen* 611-612.

62 *Theoph. Chron.*, ad a. 6287 (Boor 469-470. – Mango/Scott 645-646): »On 8th May he [Constantine VI] battled an [Arab] looting squad at a location called Anousan, defeated it, and pursued it to the river. Thereafter he came to Ephesus in order to pray to [St John] Theologos and remitted the commercium of 100 gold pounds of the panegyris for the grace of the holy apostle and evangelist John« (transl. by author).

63 Laiou, *Exchange and Trade* 709.

64 Tax lump sum defined at: Borchardt/Hanke/Schluchter, *Max Weber* 523.

65 Oikonomides, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale* 171.

66 A different interpretation is given by Külzer, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege* 193.

67 Mango/Scott, *Theophanes* 646 fn. 3.

68 Cosentino, *Perception* 336-337.

69 Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 107-108. – Oikonomides, *Role of the Byzantine State* 986.

70 Nicetae Choniatae *Historia* (van Dielen 500, 80): »Everyone had been spared from disaster of captivity, if not the monk of the monastery of Antigonos who had come to tax the panegyris...« (transl. by author).

71 *Fragm. Epir. VI* (Bekker 278, 3-10). For the privilege see: Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* no. 1051b. – Grumel/Darrouzès, *Regestes* no. 922. For the location and significance see: Soustal/Koder, *Nikopolis* 147. – Asdracha, *Foires* 439-441. – Stavrakos, *Molybdoskepastos* 195-196.

72 Andronici II *dipl. eccl. Ioanninensis* 39, 40-48. – Asdracha, *Foires* 437-438.

73 Laiou, *Händler und Kaufleute* 63.

74 Smyrlis, *Trade Regulation* 69.

lump sum to the fisc after the market had taken place. In my point of view, the respective Churches and monasteries acclaimed those revenues for their loyalty to the emperor in the Palaiologan period.

In addition to the commercium also market dues and punitive damages should be taken into account. In the sources the former ones are referred to as *τωπιαιτικά*⁷⁵. These dues were levied for the fair booths and the use of weights. Their amount cannot be determined exactly – there is even disagreement if they were fixed or a pro rata due⁷⁶ –, but they seem to be relevant as the episode about the phoundax of the Logothete Nicephoritzes (scil. Nikephoros) in Michael Attaleiates' history infers⁷⁷. The testimonies on the annual yields of panegyric markets unfortunately do not reveal the proportion of commercium and topiatika to each other.

Before 1204, only few trustworthy numbers on the profits generated by those markets are transmitted. Apart from the testimony on the panegyric market in Ephesus cited above, the phoundax of Rhaidestos mentioned here yielded 60 gold pounds p. a.⁷⁸ The Athos acts indicate that profits could amount to a substantial sum even for very modest panegyric markets⁷⁹: the market for St John the Forerunner in Hierissos yielded two Hyperpyra to the monastery of Iberon (in 1301)⁸⁰, the two panegyric markets in Doxompos in the theme of Strymon (St Nicolas and Christmas) brought a return of ten Hyperpyra to the benefit of the Megisté Laura⁸¹, and the panegyris in Borisos for St Paraskeue on 14th October yielded three Hyperpyra for the monastery of Iberon (1316)⁸².

Peregrine Horden recently postulated that: »Like St Demetrius's fair at Thessalonica, this one [in Ephesus] took place in a city. But that is to some extent an accident. In the eastern Mediterranean of the 6th and 7th centuries AD, when life of the cities generally underwent rapid transformation, the great rural sanctuaries became foci of economic and social activity. Conversely, festivals and fairs were essentially labile, and if they happened to be given the appurtenances of civic status, were still apt to move elsewhere, leaving the city without a *raison d'être*«⁸³. Actually, it is not only ungrounded that periodic markets were a rural phenomenon (see above), but also that they could be relocated easily. The fixed feast day of the

respective saint rendered it very difficult to change the basic conditions of the market date and its location.

Because of the fact that the organiser of the market had to levy the tax, the fisc had a sincere interest in protecting existing markets and to prevent the establishment of new ones. This can be exemplified by the novel of Emperor Basileios II against new private markets promulgated in 996 which aimed at preventing the relocation of markets⁸⁴. In this novel the market chief became also defined more exactly (*δεσπότης / κύριος τῆς πανηγύρεως*), as either a single dynatos or a (village) community. Although this law was not directed to panegyric markets organised by the Church in particular, it can be nevertheless deduced that the state was seeking stability for the periodic markets existing in the empire in order to grab the commercium for the fisc. Consequently, we virtually know of no single instance where a panegyric market was relocated from one place to another⁸⁵.

Cumulation and impact on the date of panegyreis

The duration of panegyric markets varied considerably from region to region and also from one century to another. Some merely lasted few days, others roughly a month. The date was fixed because it was related to the feast day of a saint. Nevertheless, as will be shown, most testified panegyric markets were placed in spring and autumn (after harvest) – a fact which shows that economic reasons played a significant role in fixing the date of the respective market⁸⁶.

As in Antiquity, panegyreis offered the opportunity for meetings of the provincial elite⁸⁷. This was affirmed to a rule, as both the first council of Nicaea (325) and the synod of Antioch (341) obliged the bishops of each province to meet at least twice a year⁸⁸. Additionally, interprovincial assemblies have to be taken into account like those of Nicomedia (327), Seleucia ad Calycadnum (359) or Ephesus (449) to name just some in renowned pilgrimage destinations⁸⁹. A coordinateness of these meetings to the local panegyreis increased the significance of the latter, because not only the bishops themselves travelled to them but also their entourage⁹⁰. In

75 Magdalino, Grain Supply 41. – Herman, Bischöfliches Abgabenwesen 497-499. – Morisson, Weighing 396-397. – Smyrlis, Trade Regulation 68. – Gerolymatou, Agores 269. – DuCange, Glossarium 1584.

76 While Magdalino speaks in favour of a pro rata due, Smyrlis disagrees and sees it as a fixed rent for the ground where transactions and good storage takes place, cf. Magdalino, Grain Supply 41. – Smyrlis, Trade Regulation 68. For the moment, this dispute cannot be decided due to lack of any evidence.

77 Michaelis Attaliatae Historia (Tsolakis 155, 23-158, 3).

78 Michaelis Attaliatae Historia (Tsolakis 155, 23-158, 3). Another manuscript tradition transmits the number of six gold pounds, which is also possible, but less likely in my point of view. Discussed by: Smyrlis, Trade Regulation 68-69. – Gerolymatou, Agores 198-201.

79 Harvey, Economic Expansion 260. He argues that the incomes from markets were ridiculously small in comparison to the profits made from agriculture: this (unjustified) general estimation is founded on the small monastic panegyreis which are documented in the Athos acts.

80 Acta monasterii Iberonis 70, 158 (Lefort III 164).

81 Acta monasterii Laurae 104 (Lemerle II 170).

82 Acta monasterii Iberonis 74, 251 (Lefort III 205). – Laiou, Händler und Kauffleute 62.

83 Horden/Purcell, Corrupting Sea 434-435.

84 Basilii II imp. nov. 2 § 7 (Svoronos 216-217) of 996 CE. – Dölger/Müller, Regesten no. 783. – Laiou, Händler und Kauffleute 54-56. – Laiou, Exchange and Trade 731. – Smyrlis, Trade Regulation 67. Testimony in the Peira: Eustathii Romani Epitome legum § 57 (Zepos IV 228). – For this Papagiannē, Organōsē.

85 There is only one dubious exception – to be found in the aforementioned chronicle of Argyrokastro (see note 70) – where it is stated that Emperor Pogonatos (scil. Constans II or Constantine IV) relocated the panegyric market from Pelakos to Chaonioupolis (both unlocated but within northern Epiros), see: Fragm. Epir. VI (Bekker 278).

86 Vryonis, Panegyris passim.

87 Karagianni, Pilgrimage Churches 336.

88 Conc. Nicaeum, can. 5 (Joannou I 27-28). – Conc. Antiochenum, can. 20 (Joannou I/2 120-121).

89 Kaçar, Church Councils 305-306.

90 Kaçar, Church Councils 307.

the case of the Concilium Ephesinum (431) it is known that shortages occurred and the bishops were forced to supply on their own costs⁹¹.

The rule of annual provincial synods on the occasion of a panegyris was also kept in force in the Mid-Byzantine period. A case in point is the church of St Achilleus in the Small Prespa Lake for the synod of Ochrid⁹², the church of St Nicolas in Myra for the Lycian Church⁹³, and Thessalonica's church of St Demetrius. In the last case the Macedonian bishops gathered even in Ottoman times at the end of the panegyris of the saint in late October⁹⁴. On the occasion of panegyris, the Church distributed alms on a larger scale, sometimes even meat and wine⁹⁵.

On the basis of the few available testimonies it can be stated that panegyric markets were always connected with the (in most cases immobile) feast day of the respective saint, but did not necessarily commence on that day. The feast day for St Demetrius (26th October) was positioned halfway through the panegyris for the saint, lasting 16 days in the 12th century. In Ioannina, the 15-days long panegyric market for St Michael ended on his feast day (8th November) in the 14th century⁹⁶. As can be deduced from both instances, the Church tried to avoid the rainy November in order to attract more people to the markets. This pattern can already be detected in Late Antiquity. In Gaza the early October was perceived as ideal time for a panegyris (in this case, St Sergius 7th October), because »it is the best time of the year: the body relaxes, neither heat nor cold presses, the equality of day and night time ensures good climate which makes it easier for travellers to come because there is neither rain nor blistering heat«⁹⁷. Therefore, it comes to no surprise that other markets also took place during early autumn, like the one for St Thecla in Seleucia ad Calycadnum which started on the saint's feast day on 24th September and lasted one week⁹⁸. Most panegyris of which we possess the information lasted around one week: the one for St Glyceria in Heraclea Perinthus in the 10th/11th centuries (not the 5th as her Vita supposes)⁹⁹, and the one for St George in Diospolis/Lyddia in the 6th to 9th centuries¹⁰⁰. Already mentioned above were the markets of Hagia Sophia and Skoupia, both lasting eight days. Another example is the panegyric market at Chaonioupolis, celebrated in honour of the Dormition of the Mother of God (15th August) for twelve days¹⁰¹.

A specific case in point of temporal dislocation of a panegyris can be detected in Trebizond. The feast day of St Eugenius on 21st January was ill-placed for economic purposes because in winter times the mountain passes were blocked and seaborne traffic was much reduced (*mare clausum*). In the 14th century the imperial sanctuary tried to dislocate the feast day – supposedly on behalf of the saint himself (!) – to his hitherto unknown birthday on 24th June¹⁰²: Καλή μὲν ἡ ἑωρτὴ αὐτῆ καὶ πάνδημος καὶ δημοτελής καὶ ἀξίεπαινος. Δίκαιον δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τὴν γενέθλιον ἑμὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἐκτελεῖν ἐτησίως καὶ πανηγυρίζειν αὐτήν¹⁰³. As the author John Lazaropoulos states, the very same attempt had been already unsuccessfully made in the 9th century. We do not know if the venture succeeded at the time he was writing (14th century). Anyway, it is especially evident in this case that economic consideration had a fundamental impact on the panegyris themselves¹⁰⁴. This phenomenon did not only target the objective to attract the largest crowd possible from the respective region, but also to guarantee the operation of the market by enabling the relevant merchantmen to be present. To this end, coordination with adjacent panegyric markets was inevitable in order to safeguard the merchant's presence¹⁰⁵. As the better-known examples for the theme of Armeniakon (Sinope, Euchaita, Trebizond) and for south-western Asia Minor (Chonai, Ephesus, Myra) illustrate, the respective panegyric market's juncture did not overlap. Now it seems worthwhile to take a closer look on those two panegyric markets where we have sufficient sources to go into more detail.

The panegyris of Thessalonica

According to the Timarion the so-called Demetria of the 12th century started eight days before the feast day of the saint (26th October) and ended eight days thereafter¹⁰⁶. In the 14th century the market lasted almost the complete October¹⁰⁷. As the Timarion indicates, the visitors came from far off regions like Italy, Spain¹⁰⁸, Egypt, Syria, France, and of course of the Macedonia and the whole Balkans. Byzantines from all parts of the empire are mentioned as well – termed »Hellenes«, which is significant on semantic grounds¹⁰⁹.

The panegyric market was organised and led by the archbishop of the city¹¹⁰. According to the Timarion, the market

91 Kaçar, Church Councils 311. For the consequences of the council for the city of Ephesus see: Limberis, Council of Ephesos.

92 Theophylacti eps. Achridensis ep. 31, 35-38 (Gautier 235).

93 Vita Nicolai Sionitae cap. 1, 76 (Anrich 52; Blum 89).

94 Karagianni, Pilgrimage Churches 336-337.

95 Ligt/Neeve, Ancient Periodic Markets 399.

96 Andronici II dipl. eccl. ioanninensis 39, 40-48.

97 Choricii Gazaei Laudatio in Marcianum eps I^a cap. 1 (Förster/Richtsteig 1-2).

98 Miracula Theclae, mir. 33, 1-3 (Dagron 376. – Talbot/Johnson 133). – Vryonis, Panegyris 200. – Dagron, Thècle 79 and 330-332.

99 Vita Elisabethae abbatis cap. 3 (Halkin 253. – Karris 123).

100 Binggeli, Annual Fairs 290.

101 Fragm. Epir. VI (Bekker 278, 3-10).

102 Ioannis Lazaropuli Laudatio in Eugenium cap. 1, 36-62 (Rosenqvist 206). – Rosenqvist, Local Worshipers 198. – Bryer/Winfield, Pontos 169.

103 Ioannis Lazaropuli Laudatio in Eugenium cap. 1, 47-49 (Rosenqvist 206).

104 Although this phenomenon is not connected to a panegyric market in the source, already Janin suggested such a relation, cf. Janin, Grands centres byzantins 266 fn. 10: »[...] avec laquelle les communications devaient être très difficiles durant l'hiver, suggère une raison moins mystique pour l'institution de la fête du 24 juin«.

105 This very phenomenon can especially be detected in the organisation of the six Champagne fairs between 1150 and 1190 (in four locations: Troyes, Bar, Provins, and Lagny), which led to the evolution of a fair system; see: Irsigler/Reichert, Foires 105.

106 Timarion 96-97 (Romano 52).

107 Bauer, Thessaloniki 399-400.

108 Not Iberia (i. e. Kartli), cf. Baldwin, Timarion 90 fn. 40.

109 Timarion 114-123 (Romano 53).

110 Timarion 170-174 (Romano 55).

place itself was situated next to the Axios river¹¹¹ in front of the city walls¹¹² and was established by tents beaded in rows¹¹³. The sources mention textiles and livestock as major trading goods¹¹⁴. In the 14th century, every fourth panegyris was larger than the other three, Nicephorus Gregoras rendering it as the *έορτή έορτών, πανήγυρις πανηγύρεων* and explaining this phenomenon with the tradition of the Olympiads¹¹⁵.

The panegyris of Euchaita

The panegyric market for St Theodore Tiron («the recruit») was one of the most important of the empire since Late Antiquity to the Mid-Byzantine period, although an intervening lapse of time where the market did not take place may have existed. The market's significance is made evidently clear from the encomium of Chrysippus of Jerusalem (5th c.)¹¹⁶, a small passage in Nicephorus Ouranus' Vita for the saint (10th c.)¹¹⁷, and the letters of the city's metropolitan Bishop John Mauropous (11th c.); the latter stating: *τὸ παρὸν μὲν οὖν ἄθροισμα ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους ἤδη μικροῦ τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἔστι, καὶ συνήλθεν ἔνταῦθα τοσοῦτον πλῆθος καὶ συνεχύθη*¹¹⁸. The market fulfilled a function as import vehicle for grain¹¹⁹, because in the region mostly livestock-breeding was practiced and crop fields were rather lacking. Furthermore, Mauropous states that the market's visitors stemmed from all strata of society and from the region and far away alike¹²⁰. Poor people of the region received alms from the Church on the occasion of the market.

The market was led and organised by the *prosmonarios* of the sanctuary, a subaltern of the bishop¹²¹. Processions with the icon purportedly painted by Eusebia¹²² – which stood in

the focus of the cult¹²³ – took place in the framework of a *rhodismos* as in Myra and Ephesus¹²⁴. This means that both the city and the procession were decorated with flowers. Other activities belonging to the liturgy of the panegyris and mentioned by John Mauropous are chores, laudations, honours, gift-giving, garlanding of people, lighting of candles, and burning of myrrh¹²⁵. Although not being part of the market, these activities nevertheless indicate a nuanced demand of goods like candles and myrrh on the occasion of the panegyris itself.

The feast day of St Theodore Tiron is placed on the 17th February. But the panegyris took place at another time, as Sigalas already noticed: on Saturday before the first Sunday of Lent¹²⁶. At this day the Kollyba miracle of the saint was celebrated¹²⁷. Therefore, the panegyris took place later in the year on a mobile date in March or April¹²⁸. This stipulation may also be grounded in considerations of more favourable climate and the attraction of people, but it is unprovable. Anyway, only when considering this fact, it is explicable why a *rhodismos* was organized on this occasion because the panegyris was actually taking place in spring¹²⁹.

The issue of the panegyris' date is closely linked with an event mentioned in the chronicle of Theophanes. According to him, the strategos of Armeniakon was taken by surprise by an Arab attack on Euchaita in the year 811, and the assailants were able to capture the *rhogai* of the theme amounting to 1300 gold pounds¹³⁰. Trombley supposes that the panegyris of Euchaita may have been the usual occasion of distributing the *rhogai* among the soldiers of the theme in question¹³¹, without making clear, however, at what time the panegyris actually took place. At first, his hypothesis seems to be unfounded, considering that the thematic capital of Armeniakon had always been Amaseia and not Euchaita.

111 Timarion 90 (Romano 52). – Vryonis, Panegyris 204.

112 Kislinger's statement in: Kislinger, *Reisen und Verkehrswege* 378 fn. 277 that the panegyris had taken place within the city in the 8th-11th centuries is not sustainable on the basis of the sources available, because they most probably refer to permanent markets, because even streets are referred to by the retailer's shops: *Acta monasterii Docheiarii* 3 § 57 (Oikonomides 71) of 1112 CE, 4 § 27 (Oikonomides 84) of 1117 CE. – Io. Camen. *De expugn. Thessal. cap. 9* (Böhlig 11).

113 Timarion 129-130 (Romano 54).

114 Timarion 155-164 (Romano 55). – Laiou, *Exchange and Trade* 756.

115 Nicephori Gregorae *Laudatio in Demetrium cap. 8* (Laourdas 88-89). Very similar phrasing in Constantini *Acropolitae Laudatio in Demetrium cap. 59* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208).

116 *Miracula Theodori Tironis, mir. 1, 4* (Sigalas 315, 19-21. – Haldon 68).

117 Nicephori Urani *magistri Passio Theodori Tironis cap. 15* (Halkin 323).

118 Ioannis Mauropod. or. 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 131): «Actually the present audience originates from all peoples under the sky and comes here together in such a multitude and is streamed together» (transl. by author). – Karpozēlos, *Ioānnēs Mauropus* 148-150.

119 Ioannis Mauropod. ep. 64 (Karpozēlos 173). – Ioannis Mauropod. *orationes* 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 130-137) und 189 (Bollig/Lagarde 207-209).

120 Ioannis Mauropod. or. 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 136).

121 *Miracula Theodori Tironis, mir. 6, 1* (Sigalas 327. – Haldon 75).

122 Ioannis Mauropod. or. 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 135).

123 *Ibidem* 189 (Bollig/Lagarde 208). – Karpozēlos, *Ioānnēs Mauropus* 153. – Haldon, *Tale* 11.

124 Ioannis Mauropod. or. 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 135). – Karpozēlos, *Ioānnēs Mauropus* 150-151 (with ref. to the Armenians).

125 Ioannis Mauropod. or. 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 134): *ἔθεν τοι καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἔκδημον καὶ ὅσον ἐγκάτοικον εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐλεῖσθαι ἔν γεγόνασιν ἄθροισμα καὶ μία ἐκκλήσια καὶ σύμπνοια. Προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔξαρχον, ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς μικρῶ πρότερον ἐξ ἄλλοτρίας ἔφθην ἐπιδημήσας, ἰδοὺ κοινῇ πάντες τὴν χαρμόσυνον ταύτην ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν καὶ τὸν κοινὸν περιστάνας πάντοθεν εὐεργέτην, τὰ πρὸς δύναμιν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν συνεισφέρομεν, κροτοῦντες, ὕμνοῦντες, εὐλογοῦντες, γεραίροντες, δῶρα προσάγοντες, λαμπάδας ὑφάπτοντες, ἐπιρραίνοντες μύροις, ἀναδούντες στεφανίτην, μεγαλομάρτυρα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις παγκόσμιον σωτήρα καὶ κηδεμόνα.*

126 Sigalas, *Enkomion* 89. The *kontakia* for Theodore are always connected with the first Saturday of Lent, cf. Maas, *Kontakion auf den hl. Theodoros* 50.

127 For this miracle: *Ps.-Nectarii Sermo de festo Theodori Tironis* (PG 39, 1821-1840). – Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 16.

128 Külzer and Haldon are mistaken by dating the panegyris on 17th February: cf. Külzer, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege* 193. – Brubaker/Haldon, *Iconoclast Era* 522. – Haldon, *Tale* 11. Also Karpozēlos is mistaken when stating it were unknown when the panegyris was celebrated: «irgendwann am Ende des Frühlings/Beginn des Sommers», pace Karpozēlos, *Ioānnēs Mauropus* 150. This is strange: already Nilles had discussed this issue extensively in the 19th century, cf. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale* II 96-101.

129 Ioannis Mauropod. or. 180 (Bollig/Lagarde 135). – Anrich, *Nikolaos* 447-448. – Haldon, *Tale* 11, relying on Delehaye (AASS Nov. IV 24) postulates on the one side that the *rhodismos* was taking place on 8th June and on the other side that the panegyris' date is unknown, maybe starting on that very day. In fact, the *rhodismos* was most probably celebrated in conjunction with the panegyris. Further information regarding the tradition of *rosalia/rhodismoi* is to be found in Peeters, *Review*.

130 *Theoph. Chron.*, ad a. 6303 (Boor 489, 17-22. – Mango/Scott 672).

131 Trombley, *Exception of Euchaita* 72.

Taking a closer look, one discovers that in the year 811 Easter fell on 13th April; consequently, the first Sunday of Lent took place on 2nd March. The panegyric market started one day earlier (as stated above), on 1st March. The on-slaught took place on 1st March according to Theophanes¹³². Therefore, that day actually constituted the starting day of the panegyric market. But there are still more conclusions to draw from this instance, because distributing the rhogai made any sense only at the beginning of the market. We can deduce from Theophanes' contemporary testimony that there had been an adapted mode of distribution of the rhogai in the theme of Armeniakon, focusing on Euchaita. The mode was different from those in other themes or the capital. In Constantinople, the rhogai were distributed in the two weeks before Easter in the 10th century¹³³. The salary payment on the occasion of a panegyric market strengthens my line of argument that those markets were the place of monetary transactions; especially in regions where the level of monetization was low¹³⁴. Due to the fact that the thematic armies were not paid annually but only every four years alternatively (in the 9th/10th c.), as can be deduced in accord with Hélène Ahrweiler and Michael Hendy¹³⁵ from *De ceremoniis*¹³⁶, one can assume that at least in that period, every fourth panegyris had a special character.

Apparently the strategos visited the panegyris at its official beginning; also, in order to distribute the rhogai to the thematic troops – which were mobilised for an offensive against the Arabs according to Oikonomides. Nevertheless, it was probably rather the crowds of people than the rhogai which were the target of the Arab attack. This scenario can be parallelized with the known instances of Arab attacks on panegyric festivities in Qal'at Sim'an (in September 639 or 640)¹³⁷, Myra (some when in the 2nd half of the 9th century)¹³⁸ and on an Aegean island, most likely Mitylene (some when in the 9th or 10th centuries)¹³⁹. The purpose of these assaults was to take masses of people captive in order to ransom them for high sums later on.

Macro-economic functions of panegyris

Periodic markets in general and panegyric markets in particular became more important in a waning monetary sur-

rounding and their heyday had been not without reason in the Dark Ages (7th-9th centuries). This fact was already recognized by Hodges who studied the so-called emporion economy especially of the Dark Age period. The reason for this phenomenon is founded in the fact that only levelling out of a critical mass of goods supply and coined money did guarantee a sufficient environment for transactions and low transaction costs, and a more balanced price formation especially in regions which were neither well-urbanised nor monetized¹⁴⁰. The economic difficulties in the Byzantine Dark Ages led to the blossoming of periodic markets. Their existence pertained, though, and the testimonies become even more plentiful later relating to the better transmission of the sources, but also due to the growth of trade in general. In the 10th-12th centuries, there are much more testified panegyric markets, but they became smaller in size as can be deduced from mentioned tax incomes and their geographical situation. They were much more often overseen by monasteries, and entertained by monastic communities in order to obtain superior goods in remote areas¹⁴¹. A further hint at the widespread existence of monastic markets in the Komnenian period is the chrysobull of March 1158 in which Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180) granted the monasteries of the Constantinopolitan hinterland besides their movable and immobile properties also their traditional panegyric markets with their income they had at that time¹⁴².

Most panegyric markets took place at an advantageous season, and the consumers waited to get their superior demands for that annual market in order to get a wider selection, and better prices due to a better market situation¹⁴³. Furthermore, it was advantageous for the producers to store their products for the market because only then interregional merchantmen (*πραγματευται*) and henceforth more potential buyers of the surplus were present in the province. From a macro-economic point of view, panegyric markets fulfilled the function of detracting agrarian products (the quartet of grain, wine, olive oil, and livestock) from the provinces¹⁴⁴ and to supply those with superior goods like crafted products and bulk goods as well as coined money from the urbanized centres of the empire. Insofar, those markets took a specific distributive role within the Byzantine city – countryside relations, as was already recognized by theologians of the 5th century¹⁴⁵. The ones in coastal areas additionally served

132 Mango/Scott, Theophanes 672 fn. 6.

133 Hendy, *Byzantine Monetary Economy* 190-192. – Oikonomides, *Role of the Byzantine State* 1011-1013 (Palm Sunday and Holy Week).

134 For the issue of monetization of the provinces in the 7th-9th centuries: Laiou, *Exchange and Trade* 711-712 and 733-734. – Morriison, *Byzantine Money* 946-950.

135 Hendy, *Administrative Basis* 136. – Hendy, *Byzantine Monetary Economy* 648-649. – Ahrweiler, *Recherches* 7-8.

136 Const. Porphy. *De cerem.* 1 app. (Reiske I 493-494).

137 Michaelis Syri *Chronicon* XI 6 (Chabot II 422).

138 Vita Nicolai Sionitae cap. 7, 6-7 (Anrich 188-189). This text was written in the first half of the 11th c., see: Anrich, *Nikolaos* 380-382. – Kretzenbacher, *Gefangenenretter* 66-68. The event is duly noticed in: Hild/Hellenkemper, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 347.

139 *Miracula Georgii*, mir. 9 (Aufhauser 100-101): Εἶωθεν οὖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ ἁγίου πλῆθος λαοῦ οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπανέρχεται καὶ πανεγυρίζειν. It must be stressed, though, that this dubious miracle is very similar to no. 4. Even though, the story setting had to be plausible for the audience and insofar, this Mid-Byzantine narrative bears historical content. For a useful study of the miracle: Kretzenbacher, *Gefangenenretter* 22.

140 For the level of monetization of Byzantine provinces in general, cf. Morriison, *Coinage and Money* 274.

141 e.g. Bačkovo: Laiou, *Händler und Kaufleute* 60-61.

142 Manuelis I imperatoris *Novella* [61] § 9 (Zepos I 382). – Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* no. 1419. – Svoronos, *Privilèges* 330.

143 Ligt/Neeve, *Ancient Periodic Markets* 399.

144 Ligt/Neeve, *Ancient Periodic Markets* 402.

145 Joh. Chrys. *elem.* 3 (PG 64, 436). – Theod. *hist. eccl.* VII 2 (Canivet I 366-368). – Ligt/Neeve, *Ancient Periodic Markets* 413-414.

as intermediaries to the inland areas, as can be exemplified by the case of Gaza¹⁴⁶.

Panegyric markets within the Byzantine trading networks

The Byzantine empire possessed a »dendritic market system« as defined by Minc, at all times of its existence¹⁴⁷, because it was strongly, hierarchically organised; directed to few trading centres only¹⁴⁸. This is shown by the importance of Thessalonica and few import-export centres like Trebizond and Attaleia, which were overwhelmingly overshadowed by Constantinople. The network was consequently very loose which means that the direct exchange between trading centres of equal importance was rather little and was working rather indirectly via larger centres. Such a trading pattern always has an impact on price formation, trade connections and tax levying. In short, only the mercantile access to Constantinople itself safeguarded the equality of competing merchants because in every dendritic market system the basic prices are lowest at its centre¹⁴⁹.

Grounded on this consideration, it is easier to understand why the complete relocation of the Bulgarian-Byzantine trading market from Constantinople to Thessalonica in 894 escalated to open war¹⁵⁰, because it put Bulgarian traders at a disadvantage due to the mentioned price effect¹⁵¹. Furthermore, this decision of Emperor Leo VI (886-912) proved favourable for the panegyric market of Thessalonica and its clergy due to higher profits generated there. Magdalino has shown brilliantly in a concise article why Leo expressed a remarkable devotion to St Demetrius which was founded in his belief that this very saint had effected the reconciliation with his father Basileios¹⁵². For this reason, one possible notion cannot be discarded, namely that the decision of 894 also had a religious component favouring the Church of St Demetrius by giving more significance to her panegyric market.

The role of the panegyric markets in the pilgrimage economy

As I tried to show, pilgrimage and panegyric markets did concatenate with each other symbiotically, because each local Church was able to increase its income from pilgrimage traffic due to the larger visitor numbers during panegyric markets. At the same time the panegyric markets themselves became a mean of extracting income by levying *topiatiká* for the organiser and by levying the *commercium* for the state, taking influence on a part of the fisc that way. Consequently, parts of the periodic trade in the provinces came under indirect sway of the Church and became one of the milestones for the expansion of the episcopal power in Byzantine society. Furthermore, traders were usually supposed to gratefully donate a share of their profit to the local pilgrimage centre. The church of St Nicolas in Myra received a large grain donation from sea merchants this way, who had been saved from a storm before¹⁵³. The monasteries of Mt Galesion (Ionia) obtained the cargo of a merchant in a similar way¹⁵⁴. This kind of custom was certainly cherished also after panegyric markets. Besides these direct economic links with their consecutive incomes there is a further, probably very significant factor to be taken into account. By the installation of a panegyric markets the pilgrimage centres gained the opportunity of binding the regional population much closer to the sanctuary by guaranteeing a visit once per year. This way the visitor group expanded to many more people than to the »usual« pilgrims, and the cult tradition was solidified by a festive tradition. The latter aspect becomes especially apparent in those pilgrimage centres which fell under sway of the Arab Muslims (like Resafa, Ramla¹⁵⁵, Philadelpheia/Amman¹⁵⁶) where the cult tradition persisted also due to the panegyric market for a very long time.

In sum, panegyric markets were a useful institution for pilgrimage centres scooping their economic power. This connection between trade and pilgrimage consolidated, as the later Turkish saying »hem ziyaret, hem ticaret« (partially visit [of a sacred place], partially commerce) expresses most appropriately.

146 McCormick, *Movements and Markets* 53-54.

147 Minc, *Regional Market Systems* 86.

148 Already to be found in: Hodges, *Dark Age Economics* 23-24.

149 Temin, *Roman Market Economy* 36-48 succeeded in deducing based on a comparison of the transmitted wheat prices of Sicily and Rome that the Sicilian wheat price is the same as the price in Rome reduced by the transaction costs needed, crucially the transport costs from Sicily to Rome.

150 Io. Skyl. *Synops. hist.* (Thurn 175, 78-176, 83). – Theophanis *continuati Historia* 6, 9 (Bekker 357). – *Sym. mag. Chron.* 133, 15 (Wahlgren 275).

151 Alternative point of view of Kislinger, *Reisen und Verkehrswege* 371: it was supposed to be only a new border point on the Vardar-Morava-axis like the

existing trade points in Abydos and Mesembria. Even another point of view to be found in: Laiou, *Exchange and Trade* 726.

152 Magdalino, *St. Demetrios passim*. Due to this, Leo composed homilies on St Demetrius of which no. 17 is related to this very miracle, cf. Leonis VI hom. 17 (Antonopoulou 243-257).

153 Michaeli archim. *Vita Nicolai* cap. 34 (Anrich 130-131).

154 *Vita Lazari Galesiotae* cap. 75 (Delehay 532; Greenfield 163-164).

155 See above, fn. 9.

156 Binggeli, *Annual Fairs* 288.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Panegyreis im Byzantinischen Reich und ihre Rolle in der Pilgerökonomie (5.-12. Jahrhundert)

Diese Studie untersucht die Termine, die Verteilung, Organisation und Funktion der byzantinischen panegyrischen Märkte und stellt sie in ihren ökonomischen Kontext bezüglich Besteuerung und Markttypen. Eine Evaluierung ihrer makro-ökonomischen Rolle sowohl im byzantinischen Handelssystem als auch in der Ökonomie der byzantinischen Kirche zeigt, dass die panegyrischen Märkte ein erheblicher Bestandteil der Pilgerwirtschaft, insofern als sie den Pilgerverkehr verdichteten und verschiedene Einkommensquellen für die Kirche lieferten. Angesichts der Fülle an Informationen in der schriftlichen Überlieferung werden die beiden Panegyreis in Thessalonikē und Euchaita ausführlicher behandelt.

Panegyric Markets in the Byzantine Empire and their Role in the Pilgrimage Economy (5th-12th Centuries)

This study investigates the dates, distribution, organisation, and functions of Byzantine panegyric markets and sets them into their economic context regarding taxation and market types. An evaluation of their macro-economic role in both the Byzantine trading system and the economy of the Byzantine Church may show that panegyric markets were a significant aspect of the pilgrimage economy, as well, insofar as they intensified pilgrimage traffic and provided several sources of income for the Church. Due to more information available in the written sources, the two panegyric markets in Thessalonica and Euchaita are treated in more detail.

Les marchés lors des panégyries dans l'Empire byzantin et leur rôle dans l'économie byzantine du pèlerinage (5^e-12^e siècle)

Cette étude examine les dates, distribution, organisation et fonctions des marchés lors des panégyries et les situe dans leur contexte économique en ce qui concerne la taxation et les types de marchés. L'évaluation de leur rôle macro-économique, tant dans le système commercial byzantin que dans l'économie de l'Église byzantine, révèle que les marchés représentaient un élément important de l'économie des pèlerinages pour autant qu'ils intensifiaient la circulation des pèlerins et qu'ils fournissent plusieurs sources de revenus à l'Église. Vu l'abondance d'informations disponibles dans les écrits, on traitera plus en détail les marchés de Thessalonique et d'Euchaïta.