Early Christianity in Macedonia

From Paul to the Late Sixth Century

ANCIENT JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY 119

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN GREECE 2

Julien M. Ogereau

BRILL

Early Christianity in Macedonia

Early Christianity in Greece (ECG)

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Early Christianity in Macedonia

From Paul to the Late Sixth Century

By

Julien M. Ogereau

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

En hommage à Denis Feissel,
sans qui ce livre n'aurait jamais été écrit

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Preface

This study began while working as a research associate on the *Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* (*ICG*) project at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin from 2014 to 2016. A rough draft of the book was written thanks to a Junior Research Fellowship from The Macquarie University Ancient Cultures Research Centre in 2015 and an LMUexcellent Research Fellowship from the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München from 2017 to 2018. The manuscript was finally completed in my spare time between 2019 and 2022, while I prepared an epigraphic commentary of 1 Thessalonians at the University of Vienna.

The research for this book could not have been completed without the material and financial support of the above-mentioned institutions and without the guidance, encouragement, and assistance of a number of people. Chief among these are the senior members of the then B-5-3 research group of the Excellence Cluster 264 Topoi, Berlin, namely, Cilliers Breytenbach (who proposed the book in the first place), Klaus Hallof (who taught me every epigraphic skill I know and who corrected numerous mistakes in the final manuscript), Stephen Mitchell, Ulrich Huttner, Christiane Zimmermann, and Erkki Sironen. Warm thanks are also due to the colleagues of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Munich for providing me with a stimulating and conducive research environment. In particular, I am grateful to David du Toit (who sponsored my LMUexcellent Research Fellowship), Loren Stuckenbruck, Christof Schuler and Rudolf Haensch (who both kindly hosted me at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik, Munich).

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This book is dedicated to Denis Feissel, the person who has taught me the most about the Christian inscriptions from Macedonia. He deserves as much credit as I do for the completion of this volume, and it is an honor to publish this study on the fortieth anniversary of his magisterial *recueil*.

Julien M. Ogereau
Vienna, December 2022

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Abbreviations

Christian inscriptions already entered into the *Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* (*ICG*) are referenced by their permanent number in the database. The database can be freely accessed online (https://icg.uni-kiel.de/) and has been published on the digital repository of the Edition Topoi (https://doi.org/10.17171/1-8). Other epigraphic sources have been abbreviated according to the "List of Abbreviations of Editions and Works of Reference for Alphabetic Greek Epigraphy" of the Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine (available at https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html). Abbreviations for Greek patristic literature normally follow G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), those for Latin texts A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), and those for non-Christian works S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Biblical and related texts (including Philo and Josephus) have been abbreviated according to *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014). Additional abbreviations are listed below.

AASS	*Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. Paris et al., 1643–1940
ArchD	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον/Archaiologikon deltion*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BHG^2	H. Delehaye, ed. *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*. 2nd ed. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1909
BHG^3	F. Halkin, ed. *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*. 3rd ed. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957
BHL	Société des Bollandistes, ed. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*. 2 vols. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901
BMC	R.S. Poole et al., eds. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*. 29 vols. London: British Museum, 1873–1922
CSLA	B. Ward-Perkins and R. Wiśniewski, eds. *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2020. http://cultofsaints.history.ox.ac.uk/
DACL	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924–1953
EDB	A. Felle et al., eds. *Epigraphic Database Bari: Inscriptions by Christians in Rome (3rd–8th cent. CE)*. Bari: Università degli studi di Bari Aldo Moro, 1988–. http://www.edb.uniba.it
Ergon	*Το Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας/To Ergon tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias*

ICG	C. Breytenbach et al., eds. *Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* (*ICG*)*: A Digital Collection of Greek Early Christian Inscriptions from Asia Minor and Greece*. Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2019. https://doi.org/10.17171/1-8 or (more up-to-date) https://icg.uni-kiel.de/
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LGPN	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987–2014
LSJ	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon: With a Revised Supplement*. Edited by H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie. 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
Malchus	L.R. Cresci, ed. *Malco di Filadelfia*: *Frammenti; Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario*. Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana 9. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1982
Mansi	G.D. Mansi, ed. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. 31 vols. Florence: Veneti, 1759–1798
NewDocs	G.H.R. Horsley, S.R. Llewelyn, and J.R. Harrison, eds. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity.* 10 vols. Macquarie University, Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1981–2002
OLD	P.G.W. Glare, ed. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 2012
PAE	*Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας/Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias*
P.Col. 7	R.S. Bagnall and N. Lewis, eds. *Columbia Papyri*. Vol. 7, *Fourth Century Documents from Karanis.* American Studies in Papyrology 20. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979
P.Ness. 2	L. Casson and E.L. Hettich, eds. *Excavations at Nessana*. Vol. 2, *Literary Papyri.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950
PGL	G.W.H. Lampe, ed. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
PLRE	A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, eds. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992
TIB 11	P. Soustal. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vol. 11, *Makedonien, Südlicher Teil.* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 535. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1 Beyond Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*

"Das Christentum auf der Balkanhalbinsel (Illyrische Diözese) ist uns für die ersten Jahrhunderte schlecht bekannt."[1] So begins the short section on the dissemination of Christianity throughout Thracia, Macedonia, Dardania, and the southern regions of the Greek peninsula in the fourth edition of Adolf von Harnack's monumental study *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*.[2] The reason for his negative conclusion was simple. There lacked "exceptional men" ("[e]s fehlte an hervorragenden Männern"),[3] he noted, men such as Bishop Dionysius from Corinth whose influence extended from Rome to the Pontus region.[4] As a result, he deduced, Christianity had spread in an heterogeneous, if not ad hoc, fashion throughout the Balkans: "Die Verbreitung war eine sehr verschiedene."[5] Prior to the council of Nicaea in AD 325, it firmly established itself at the easternmost tip of the European continent around Byzantium (later renamed Constantinople) in eastern Thracia and blossomed in cities such as Corinth and Thessalonica.[6] Yet, he concluded, it made few inroads in the Balkan peninsula overall and failed to impose itself before the fourth century, rendering a discussion of Christianity in the region nearly impossible: "die meisten Teile der Halbinsel können bis 325 nur eine spärliche christliche Bevölkerung besessen haben.

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[1] Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 786.

[2] Ibid., 786–93. The first (1902), second (1906), and third (1915) editions all begin with the same opening statement—the first edition only misses the clarification "(Illyrische Diözese)." As regards Macedonia, the first two sections of the third chapter ("Die Verbreitung des Christentums bis zum Jahre 325") of the fourth book ("Die Verbreitung der christlichen Religion"), which list the places where Christian communities were attested in the first century (sec. 1; pp. 621–26) and in the second century before AD 180 (sec. 2; pp. 626–28), mainly record evidence from the New Testament (cf. p. 624).

[3] Ibid., 786–87. He admitted elsewhere nonetheless that the success of Christianity was not due to a few individuals but ultimately to Christians themselves who acted as "effective missionaries" ("Die zahlreichsten und erfolgreichsten Missionare der christlichen Religion waren nicht die berufsmäßigen Lehrer, sondern die Christen selbst, sofern sie treu und stark waren," p. 377).

[4] Eusebius, *h.e.* 4.23. On Dionysius's extensive network, see now Concannon, *Assembling Early Christianity*.

[5] Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 787.

[6] Ibid., 787.

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Von einem gemeinsamen Charakter und Typus derselben läßt sich natürlich nicht sprechen."[7] In sum, however vigorous the evangelists from Thessalonica had been,[8] one could not really speak of a Macedonian or Greek Christianity: "[e]in macedonisches oder ein Christentum Griechenlands, wie es ein kleinasiastisches, syrisches, pontisch-armenisches und ägyptisches gegeben hat, hat sich in besonderer Eigenart niemals entwickelt."[9]

For once, Harnack's treatment of the evidence could hardly be described as "positivistic."[10] His cursory survey of the early Christian sources from Macedonia, which runs over two paragraphs or thirteen lines of text, simply adduces a handful of literary testimonia relating to Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beroea,[11] and a single inscription from Edessa, which was later added in a footnote in the third edition.[12] This is hardly surprising when one considers that Harnack himself had no intention of collecting and examining all the relevant evidence comprehensively,[13] having in fact invited other specialists to join him in the mission of mapping early Christianity,[14] and since that, by the early twentieth century, the territory of Macedonia had still not been extensively explored.[15] No major site had been thoroughly excavated and little Christian

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[7] Ibid., 786.

[8] Cf. 1 Thess 1:8.

[9] Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 792.

[10] This seems to be a commonly held view in North American circles, though one rarely, if ever, articulated (cf. Bremmer, *Rise of Christianity*, 30, on the lack of secondary literature on Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung*). Cf. White, "Harnack," 99; Maier, "Christ Belief in the Lycus Valley," 153. For a critique of Harnack's treatment of Jewish sources, see Cohen, "Harnack." For a more general critique, see Henderson, "Mission and Ritual"; Bremmer, *Rise of Christianity*, 24–47 (with further bibliography referenced p. 30 n. 127).

[11] E.g., Eusebius, *h.e.* 4.26; *v.C.* 4.43. Stobi and Pydna are also briefly mentioned (Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 791–92). But note the remarkable comment in reference to the attested or alleged presence of Christians at Trajanopolis (Thracia), Buthrotum (Epirus), and Pydna (Macedonia), which was included in footnotes in the fourth edition: "Leider vermag ich aus meinen Papieren zur Zeit nicht festzustellen, aus welchen Quellen ich die Nachrichten über diese Orte geschöpft habe" (p. 792 n. 5).

[12] *ICG* 3012 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 5; *I.Kato Maked.* II 351; AD III). See Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 788 n. 2 (p. 238 n. 3 in 3rd ed.). Mullen's 2004 gazetteer of Christian Macedonian sources dated prior to AD 325 hardly improves on Harnack (see Mullen, *Expansion of Christianity*, 154–69), so meagre is the evidence from the second and third centuries (as he himself acknowledges, pp. 2–3).

[13] See Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 642: "Vollständigkeit in Bezug auf das sichere geographische Material ist hier angestrebt; ob sie erreicht ist, darüber wird mich die Kritik belehren. Vollständigkeit ist freilich auch hier ein relativer Begriff. Nicht alle Zeugnisse für eine sichere Thatsache habe ich aufgesucht und angeführt." Cf. ibid., VI.

[14] Ibid., 620 n. 1.

[15] Harnack himself appears to have never visited the area. On his major travels, see Zahn-Harnack, *Adolf von Harnack*, 288–92, 377–91. On the earliest explorers of Macedonia, see

(or even non-Christian) epigraphic material had been identified, let alone compiled, edited, and published outside of the works of the Greek philologists Margaritis G. Dimitsas and Petros N. Papageorgiou,[16] works which Harnack likely had neither knowledge of nor access to, and which in any case contained a minimal sample of Christian inscriptions that (mostly) postdated his main period of interest. Similarly, Ernst Curtius and Adolf Kirchhoff's fourth volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, which Harnack would have certainly been able to consult while in Berlin from 1888 onwards, comprised only a modest collection of relevant evidence from mainland Greece and Illyricum,[17] and no more than four inscriptions from Macedonia, all of which except one had been dated between the fifth and the sixth centuries.[18]

Whether Harnack would have reached a different conclusion about the spread of Christianity in Macedonia prior to AD 325 had he considered these few inscriptions will never be known. At the very least, he might have come to suspect that there was more evidence still to be uncovered that could suggest that Christianity was, by the fourth century already, much more diffused throughout the region than what was originally assumed. As the next hundred years would show, there was indeed much more lurking underneath the surface than anyone had probably hoped for or even imagined. Almost five hundred Christian inscriptions have come to light since then in Macedonia alone, while numerous ecclesiastical buildings have been identified or excavated throughout the region.[19] No longer, therefore, should we bemoan with Harnack our ignorance of early Christianity in the Balkan peninsula, for we now have more

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Bellier et al., *Macédoine*, 49–59; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 4–8; Hatzopoulos, "Les épigraphistes français en Macédoine."

[16] See Dimitsas, *Μακεδονία*, and Nigdelis, *Παπαγεωργίου επιγραφικά μελετήματα*. Dimitsas's collection comprises about fifty Christian inscriptions from Macedonia, while Papageorgiou seems to have published only seven.

[17] See *pars quarta* of *CIG* 4 (nos. 9288–9449) published in 1856. Most of the inscriptions come from Athens.

[18] *CIG* 4.8965, 9439, 9440, 9441 (cf. *ICG* 3122–3128, 3137, 3208, and 3237 in the relevant sections). Other resources Harnack would have been able to consult include Bayet's dissertation, *De titulis Atticae christianis* (1878), and the collection of Greek and Latin inscriptions by Le Bas and Waddington (1870). The latter, however, contains only one Christian inscription from Macedonia: LBW 3.1424 (*ICG* 3237).

[19] On the epigraphic sources, see sec. 3 below. According to Snively ("Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 567 with n. 91), "several hundred churches" have been discovered on the territory of North Macedonia (though not all have been thoroughly excavated and documented). Cf. Mikulčić who estimated the number of late antique and early Byzantine churches in the region at two hundred. See Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 12, with p. 54 (chart 1) and "Beilage 2." For the archaeological evidence found in northern Greece, now see Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*.

than enough material to begin to piece back together a picture, however hazy and incomplete it may be, of early Macedonian Christianity.

This is precisely what this volume intends to achieve. Its primary objective is to update and expand Harnack's initial limited survey—survey which was little improved by Roderic I. Mullen's recent gazetteer[20]—and thus to document with the help of all the relevant primary sources the emergence and development of Christianity in Macedonia in the first six centuries. It relates how small and dispersed groups of Christ-believers eventually grew into a major religious institution and explores, amongst other issues, how the first Christian communities were initially formed and organized, what place and role they came to have in Macedonian society, and how Christian identity was defined and expressed. What it does not attempt, however, is to revisit all of the questions Harnack addressed in his magisterial *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, or to identify each and every one of the factors that may have contributed to the expansion of the Christian faith in the region.[21]

Undoubtedly, because of the fragmentary nature of the extant primary evidence, this historical reconstruction can only be a limited and imperfect, and at times a very impressionistic and obscure, depiction of the ancient reality.[22] Similarly, as with any work of historical interpretation, it will inevitably be a very subjective treatment of the topic, one that has been oriented and structured by the author's own understanding of the evidence, his subjective appreciation of its historical significance, his personal research interests, and by the very questions he deemed meaningful to be asked of the material.[23] As Daniel Marguerat once remarked, "[t]here is no history apart from the historian's interpretative mediation which supplies meaning: history is narrative and, as such, constructed from a point of view."[24] Nevertheless, it is hoped that the following study will advance significantly our understanding of early Christianity in Macedonia, of its diffusion throughout the Balkan peninsula, and of its impact on Graeco-Roman culture and society more generally.

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[20] Mullen's survey of the evidence from Greece does include a few more patristic references than Harnack's. See Mullen, *Expansion of Christianity*, 154–69.

[21] Regional surveys of Christianity generate and answer different types of questions than general, comprehensive studies. Cf. Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley*, 2.

[22] Cf. Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley*, 1; Hengel, *Acts*, 3–5; Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 6.

[23] Cf. Mitchell, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 16.

[24] Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 5–6.

2 History of Research

To say that the history of early Christianity in Macedonia has not aroused great scholarly interest would be an understatement,[25] despite the fact that the question of the expansion of Christianity, or of the "Christianization" of the Roman empire, continues to generate an abundant secondary literature.[26] To this day, the number of studies specifically addressing the topic can be counted almost on a single hand. This does not mean that Macedonian Christianity has been of no concern at all to scholars of early Christianity. However, their attention has generally concentrated on the first Christian communities the apostle Paul founded at Philippi and Thessalonica, and especially on the letters he wrote to them,[27] which recent studies have increasingly sought to interpret with greater consideration for their cultural and material environment.[28] Thus, with a few rare exceptions, scholarship has rarely moved beyond the first century and has never explored the subject from a broad regional perspective, usually preferring to focus on a single locality at a time.[29] Classicists and ancient historians, on the other hand, barely, if ever, delve into Macedonia's Christian past. It is rather telling, for instance, that each of the two companions on ancient Macedonia published by Brill and Blackwell dedicates no more than a single chapter to the emergence of Christianity and to the history of the province in late antiquity.[30] Whatever the reason(s) for this lacuna might be, the history of early Christianity in Macedonia deserves to be investigated thoroughly and to be recounted in a way that integrates all the available primary evidence, something which no study has ever attempted.

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[25] The same observation applies to Roman Macedonia, which has received less attention than other provinces. Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 2–3.

[26] For recent treatments, see, e.g., Harris, *Spread of Christianity*; Trombley, "Spread of Christianity"; Inglebert, Destephen, and Dumézil, *Le problème de la christianisation*; Rothschild and Schröter, *Rise and Expansion of Christianity*; Ameling, *Christianisierung Kleinasiens*.

[27] See the relevant sections in chap. 3 below.

[28] See, e.g., Tsalampouni, "Die urchristlichen Gemeinden in Makedonien"; Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, and Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*; Harrison and Welborn, *Philippi*; Friesen, Lychounas, and Schowalter, *Philippi*.

[29] On Philippi and Thessalonica, see, e.g., Pilhofer, *Philippi*; Bormann, *Philippi*; Brélaz, *Philippes*; Friesen, Lychounas, and Schowalter, *Philippi*; Harrison and Welborn, *Philippi*; vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*; Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, and Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*; Harrison and Welborn, *Thessalonica*. Collart, *Philippes*, and Lemerle, *Philippes*, are the only two diachronic studies spanning several centuries. For a succinct survey of its bishops, see Vailhé, "Les évêques de Philippes."

[30] See Kyrtatas, "Early Christianity in Macedonia," and Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity."

Radomir Popović's 1996 dissertation *Le Christianisme sur le sol de l'Illyricum oriental jusqu'à l'arrivée des Slaves* mainly provides a general ecclesiastical history of the prefecture of Illyricum, one which places a special emphasis on hagiographical traditions and theological controversies.[31] His treatment of Macedonia proper, however, remains rather limited, as his ambitious study covers a wide geographical area that encompasses Pannonia, Dardania, Macedonia, Moesia, Dacia, and parts of Dalmatia. With regards to Macedonia, it mainly focuses on the ministry of the apostle Paul in the Greek peninsula in the first century,[32] and, for subsequent centuries, on the history of the main episcopal centers in and around northern Macedonia, that is, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, Lychnidos, and Bargala.[33] Are thus completely left out all the southern Macedonian regions, which comprised some of the largest and most important cities such as Thessalonica, Philippi, Amphipolis, Beroea, and Dium.[34] Further, despite his acknowledgement of the importance of epigraphic and archaeological sources (and the existence of about 1,100 inscriptions from Illyricum),[35] Popović does not explore or discuss these in any detail and makes very little use of Denis Feissel's recueil of inscriptions. Instead, he relies more heavily, and at times rather uncritically, on Christian literary sources and hagiographical traditions that often have dubious historical origins.[36] More problematic still is the way in which his religious enthusiasm,[37] his tendency to interpret historical events theologically, and his desire to root the Slavic orthodox tradition in the apostolic tradition (independently from Rome)[38] regularly taint his analysis and conclusions. In sum, what Popović has given us is an apologetic ecclesiastical history of the prefecture of Illyricum that gives pride of place to the theological controversies and developments of the fourth and fifth centuries,[39] and which occasionally flirts with triumphalism and caricature.[40] Despite his impressive command of patristic and hagiographical sources, Popović's monograph thus proves to be of limited historiographical value and documents only partially the rise and spread of Christianity in Macedonia.

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[31] His third chapter on the "évènements ecclésiastiques" in Illyricum in the fourth and fifth centuries is particularly useful. Zeiller's dated article ("Les premiers siècles chrétiens") had hardly touched on Macedonia, while Bratož's brief study ("Kirche in Makedonien") had mostly focused on theological and ecclesiastical considerations.

[32] Popović, *Christianisme*, 27–40. The final pages of the first chapter (pp. 40–50) are devoted to the tradition of St. Andrew's evangelistic work in Greece and Thrace.

[33] Ibid., 113–34.

[34] The role of Thessalonica vis-à-vis Rome and Constantinople is nonetheless discussed, ibid., 189–92.

[35] Ibid., 21–22. The number of 1,100 inscriptions was likely borrowed from Barnea, "L'épigraphie chrétienne," 631.

[36] See, e.g., his summary treatment of the traditions relating to the ministries of the apostle Andrew and various other saints throughout the Balkans, Popović, *Christianisme*, 41–44. Cf. Caseau's review of Popović's study.

[37] To suggest that "déjà à l'aube du Nouveau Testament, le Christianisme avait fortement inondé le sud-est de l'Europe, les Balkans et à travers eux des pays de l'Europe occidentale" (Popović, *Christianisme*, 29), is exaggerated, to say the least. Cf. p. 33 on the supposed impact and rapid growth of Philippi as a "missionary center"; p. 44 on how quickly and deeply the Christian faith took root in all the cities Paul visited; or pp. 118–20 on how the (slim) primary evidence from Heraclea Lyncestis offers us a relatively complete picture of Christianity there.

Regrettably, subsequent studies have not greatly enriched our knowledge of the topic or improved Popović's treatment. Blaga Aleksova's 1997 survey of martyrial centers dating from the fourth to the ninth century, *Loca sanctorum Macedoniae*, does provide an informative introduction to the Christian archaeology discovered on the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia[41]—what used to be known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).[42] However, her belief that martyrial cults were fundamental to the development of early Christian art and architecture, and that ecclesiastical buildings were generally built on top of, or in the vicinity of, *martyria*,[43] often leads her to overinterpret the archaeological data.[44] Also questionable is her assumption that large numbers of Christians were systematically martyred for their faith throughout Macedonia and subsequently revered at local memorials set up near theaters where they had been executed.[45] Though valuable as an introduction into the archaeological material of the region, many conclusions in Aleksova's survey simply cannot be taken seriously.

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[38] See, e.g., ibid., 21, 134, 189–92, 199. See esp. p. 204 and his conclusion (contra Pietri, "Illyricum ecclésiastique") on the question of the vicariate of Illyricum (through which Rome sought to control the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia), which he judges to be "une doctrine ou prétention purement romaine" (p. 192).

[39] See esp. his chap. 3 on the contributions of bishops from Illyricum to the theological debates at the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries.

[40] See, e.g., his conclusion (ibid., 224): "toutes ces réminiscences paléochrétiennes […] témoignent que le Christianisme, dès les 3e et 4e siècles, n'était pas seulement répandu sur ces territoires, mais qu'il y était devenu la civilisation dominante qui fleurissait et se développait en rayonnant son influence bénéfique vers les peuples des environs qui n'avaient pas encore été baptisés."

[41] Aleksova, *Loca sanctorum*. For a summary, see ead., "Religious Centres." Over the years, Aleksova has produced an abundance of articles on the early Christian archaeology from the region, not all of which have been translated in English unfortunately. Aleksova's survey represents an improvement from Hoddinott's *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia*, which offers a general overview of the origins and development of early Christian art and architecture in the region. Although useful for its descriptions and illustrations of the main late antique and early Byzantine churches, it contains a number of transcription errors and misinterpretations vis-à-vis the inscriptions.

[42] For a review of the historical and diplomatic issues involved, see Danforth, "Macedonia."

[43] In the absence of a *martyrium*, "relics of anonymous local martyrs" (Aleksova, *Loca sanctorum*, 272) would often be placed right underneath the altar table in the basilica (see pp. 34–35, 272).

Thankfully, more recent studies have been more evidence-based and less ideologically driven, even though they have not been as detailed and comprehensive as one might have wished. Dimitris J. Kyrtatas's twenty-page-long essay published in Brill's companion in 2011, for instance, offers little more than a general and superficial overview of the topic.[46] It mostly revisits well-known literary sources such as the book of Acts, Paul's letters to the Philippians and to the Thessalonians, or less familiar ones such as Polycarp's letter to the Philippians and the Acts of the martyrs Agape, Irene, and Chione. Remarkably, however, it hardly gives any consideration to epigraphic and archaeological material and shows no familiarity with Feissel's seminal corpus of inscriptions. In this respect, the recent works of Carolyn S. Snively and Efthymios Rizos, two archaeologists and historians of the late antique Balkans, have been more insightful in the way they have probed archaeological evidence to illustrate the Christian transformation of Macedonia in late antiquity. Still, they do not quite do justice to the wealth of epigraphic sources discovered in the last hundred years, a task that is obviously impossible to accomplish in the span of a few pages.[47] Their geographical scope is also rather broad and exceeds the boundaries of this study: Snively surveys the Christian archaeology from the modern territory of North Macedonia, which, in late antiquity, straddled across the provinces of Dardania, Epirus, Dacia mediterranea, and Macedonia, while Rizos examines the Christianization of the late Roman civil diocese of Macedonia, which encompassed the provinces of Macedonia, Thessalia, Epirus, Achaia, and Creta. Be that as it may, their shift away from over-analyzed literary sources unto non-literary material, and their efforts to examine both types of sources together and no longer in isolation represent an important and commendable move that points the way forward methodologically. For, as we shall see in the next section, epigraphic and archaeological evidence effectively constitute our principal source of information about early Christianity in Macedonia after the second century. These recent encouraging developments notwithstanding, a comprehensive and integrated history of the rise and expansion of Christianity throughout Macedonia remains to be written.

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[44] Her theory about the development of the Christian monumental architecture at Stobi, and in particular about the presence of a *domus ecclesiae* located underneath the Episcopal Basilica, is a case in point, as no such *domus* has ever been found. A similar observation would apply to her attempt to identify the martyr to whom the North Basilica was dedicated. See Aleksova, *Loca sanctorum*, 83, 141. Cf. Wiseman, "Stobi," 406–7; Snively, "Early Christian Period."

[45] Cf. Aleksova, *Loca sanctorum*, 30–37, 81–89, 271–74. Her connection (pp. 87, 273–74) between the architectural plan of theaters and that of basilicas is particularly dubious.

[46] Kyrtatas, "Early Christianity in Macedonia." The same may be said of Valeva and Vionis's overview of early Christianity in the Balkan peninsula, in which Macedonia is dealt with very cursorily. See Valeva and Vionis, "Balkan Peninsula."

[47] Snively, "Early Christian Period," and Rizos, "Christian Society." See also Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 559–69; ead. "Episcopal Basilica." Snively's "Early Christian Period" is a valuable and well-illustrated survey that would deserve to be republished in English and disseminated more widely. Special thanks are due to the author for sharing a copy of the original English draft.

3 Sources and Methodological Considerations

As alluded in the previous two sections, the bulk of the early Christian evidence from Macedonia consists of a handful of literary testimonia, dozens of archaeological vestiges, and almost five hundred inscriptions, which, for the most part, are dated between the fourth and the sixth centuries. While this may not seem much at first, it is more than enough to help us gain a better understanding, albeit an imperfect one, of the beginnings of Christianity in Macedonia. In fact, when one compares this body of evidence to what has been preserved in other regions of Asia Minor or the Balkans, one feels rather fortunate, and at times overwhelmed, to have so much material to work with.

The best-preserved literary sources, namely, the letters written by the apostle Paul and Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, to the churches in Philippi and Thessalonica, and the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the book of Acts, bring us back to the earliest days of Christianity in the first and early second centuries. In this respect, they represent our earliest and best source of information on the foundation of the first Christian communities at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beroea. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence, on the other hand, takes us much further into late antiquity as it spans from the end of the third century to the end of the sixth century. What is thus immediately apparent is a gap of about one hundred and fifty years between the last major piece of literary evidence, most likely Polycarp's letter written in the first half of the second century,[48] and the first (preserved) Christian inscriptions from Thessalonica and Edessa, which date from the late third century at the earliest. In other words, unlike in the upper regions of central Anatolia where a large number of third-century inscriptions have been found,[49] very little epigraphic material dated prior to the fourth century has survived in Macedonia.

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[48] On the date of the letter, see Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 40–45.

This major lacuna in our sources, which will probably never be mended, is but one of several challenges confronting the historian. Among other issues are the historical authenticity of some of our literary sources such as the Acts of the martyrs Agape, Irene, and Chione, or the book of Acts—an inexhaustible source of scholarly disputes—as well as the authorship, date, and manuscript tradition of texts such as 2 Thessalonians or Polycarp's letter to the Philippians.[50] The reliance on a handful of personal letters, be they written by the apostle Paul or by someone else, is also problematic since letters do not necessarily record historical events explicitly and/or objectively. They are generally one-sided, occasional documents that are rhetorically designed to address a particular situation or set of circumstances, which, more often than not, can only be inferred by reading between the lines (with all the dangers it implies). The nature of our literary sources, and some of the unresolved scholarly debates about them therefore justify that they be treated cautiously and critically, though not necessarily hypercritically.[51]

This said, ancient inscriptions (as much as archaeological vestiges) are hardly easier material to work with and present their own set of challenges and limitations.[52] Firstly, their date and provenance, two fundamental pieces of information without which it is difficult to place inscriptions in their historical context, cannot always be determined with precision (for a variety of reasons).[53] They can also be fragmentary (to various extents), having been damaged accidentally or intentionally recut and reused as building material

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[49] Cf. Destephen, "La christianisation de l'Asie Mineure," and Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity."

[50] See the relevant sections in chap. 3 below.

[51] As Hemer, *Acts*, 86–87, once remarked: "The presence of *Tendenz* in an ancient source does not invalidate that source; it merely requires the proper exercise of critical judgment upon it." Cf. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:3.

[52] Few introductions on epigraphy have been written with students and scholars of early Christianity in mind, and the methodological approach of older manuals on Christian epigraphy is usually problematic (see further below). Perhaps the most helpful resources on the Christian epigraphic material are Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani*, and Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 4. For more general introductions to epigraphy, see Robert, "L'épigraphie"; Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence*; McLean, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*. Cf. the bibliography in Bérard, *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, 27–30.

[53] In the absence of explicit internal evidence, inscriptions can be extremely difficult to date. The letter style, the presence of specific formulae and titles, and sometimes the archaeological context in which the inscription was found often only allow a rough estimate down to a century or two.

(often in haste to erect fortification walls).[54] Hence, inscriptions ought to be approached with circumspection and reasonable expectations as they can only offer us a glimpse and not a full picture of the ancient reality. Furthermore, as John Bodel has noted, the text and form of an inscription are in part always determined by cultural conventions, by "what was considered appropriate to communicate or to record [...] on a particular object in a particular place at a particular time," and not "solely by what one wished to communicate or to record."[55] The exploitation of inscriptions as sources of social data can therefore be tricky as they were not meant to record social or "demographic realities." Rather, inscriptions merely reflect "commemoratives practices," which were to a great extent dependent on local cultural factors.[56] Similarly, caution ought to be exercised when only one artefact has survived, as Charalampos Tsochos reminds us in his introduction to *Die Religion in der römischen Provinz Makedonien*: "Einzelbelege, die zwar ein Indiz für eine bestimmte Situation darstellen, können deshalb nicht immer als repräsentativ angesehen werden."[57] Single instances indeed hardly warrant general conclusions but may give glimpses into the lives of ordinary people in ways that literary sources do not.[58]

Special consideration must also be given, as much as is possible, to the monumental and architectural setting in which inscriptions were originally displayed, if their function and significance are to be adequately interpreted and fully appreciated.[59] That is to say, they ought to be studied not merely as texts but as integral monuments, whose "modes of display" conveyed "verbal and non-verbal messages [...] to the public that viewed and read them."[60] While this might be difficult to achieve for inscriptions that were not originally set up in a public urban context, as is the case of most funerary texts, other cues such as the physical aspect of the monument and the decorations accompanying the text can still provide valuable insight as to how those who commissioned it wished to represent themselves and be remembered.[61]

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[54] Cf. Pandermalis, "Monuments and Art," 211.

[55] Bodel, "Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian," 34.

[56] Ibid., 36.

[57] Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 12.

[58] Cf. Bodel, "Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian," 39–41.

[59] This methodological approach was the theme of the fourteenth epigraphic congress in Berlin in 2012. See Eck and Funke, *Öffentlichkeit—Monument—Text*. Cf. Carletti, "Epigrafia cristiana," 116; Bolle, Machado, and Witschel, *Epigraphic Cultures*, 16–18. On the challenges of dealing with funerary epigraphic material originating from rural contexts, see esp. Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 277–79.

[60] Ibid., 276.

[61] Cf. ibid., 277–78.

In short, despite their inherent limitations, inscriptions remain a vital source of information on the social groups that produced them. As deliberate acts of communication, commemoration, or self-representation, they can disclose, both explicitly and implicitly, a good deal about ancient beliefs, *mentalités*, value systems, social structures, cultural identities, and even social, political, or religious agendas.[62] With respect to Macedonian Christianity, inscriptions constitute our most abundant, and thus principal, source of information in the post-Constantinian era, which explains why they shall be given pride of place in the following study. They shall prove all the more valuable insofar as they illustrate one of the way(s) in which the early Macedonian Christians defined and asserted their religious identity and place in society.

This acknowledged, it is necessary at this stage to establish what actually constitutes a "Christian inscription," or at least what will be herein considered as a "Christian inscription." The question might seem superfluous to ask, but it needs to be clarified since identifying the religious disposition or affiliation of the person(s) setting up or mentioned in an inscription is not always a straightforward process,[63] and because the category itself (along with those of "Jewish epigraphy" and "pagan epigraphy") has been called into question over the last few decades[64]—just as "Christianity," "Judaism," and "paganism" have been contested as mutually exclusive identity categories.[65] Recognizing the intrinsic difficulties in defining "Christian inscriptions" in a so-called "Christian Roman empire" after the fourth century and in distinguishing them (at times) from "Jewish" or "pagan inscriptions," a number of epigraphists have indeed called to abandon what has been increasingly perceived as an artificial and misleading classification, which, historically, was the result of a nineteenth-century, apologetic and confessional agenda wanting to make "Christian epigraphy" (as much as "Christian archaeology") a discipline separate from classical epigraphy

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[62] Cf. Bolle, Machado, and Witschel, *Epigraphic Cultures*, 18; Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 278. See also Aigrain, *Manuel*, 1:8–9.

[63] See, e.g., the discussion of an epigram in honor of the *hyparchos* Basileios displayed at Thessalonica in Ogereau, "Authority and Identity," 217–22. Cf. Ameling, "Epigraphic Habit," 217.

[64] Carletti ("Epigrafia cristiana") was perhaps the first to call for a major reconsideration of "Christian epigraphy" during a colloquium of the Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine in Bologna in 1986. Cf. Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani*, 9–11, 13–18; Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies."

[65] The secondary literature on this issue is too important to be listed in full here. Recent major contributions include (among others): Mitchell, "Theos Hypsistos"; Lieu, *Christian Identity*; Piepenbrink, *Christliche Identität*; Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities*; Alkier and Leppin, *Juden—Heiden—Christen?*

(and classical archaeology).[66] Instead, they have advocated that all late antique epigraphic material be studied together as a whole—hence the proposed category of "late antique epigraphy" to describe any inscriptions dated between the late third and the early seventh centuries[67]—and that Christian epigraphic specificities be appreciated as the epigraphic habit, or habits (if one is to take regional variations into account), of the early Christians—what Carlo Carletti has called the "epigraphy of Christians" ("epigrafia dei cristiani").[68]

The distinction between "Christian epigraphy" and "epigraphy of Christians" may be subtle, but it is significant, and its ramifications are not unimportant. It is particularly pertinent when it comes to the compilation of epigraphic corpora or when one considers late antique epigraphy as a whole.[69] Put simply, the term "Christian" should neither describe a historical period nor the bulk of the epigraphic material from a particular period. The distinction is also useful in correcting problematic definitions and in rescuing "Christian inscriptions" from the disciplinary isolation and historical decontextualization that have been imposed upon them.[70] That is, Christian epigraphic habits should not be seen as having developed *ex nihilo* and *ipso facto* but must be replaced and studied within the century-old, Greek and Roman epigraphic traditions from which they stemmed.[71] The distinction is thus helpful in that it demythologizes "Christian epigraphy" and differentiates between the act of "documenting a religious practice"—a nineteenth-century concern—and that of "documenting a social group."[72]

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[66] See esp. Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 507–9. Cf. Carletti, "Epigrafia cristiana," 115–16; id., *Epigrafia dei cristiani*, 9, 13–18. On the difficulties of differentiating Christian and Jewish inscriptions in particular, see Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions," 686; Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish"; Bij de Vaate and Van Henten, "Jewish or Non-Jewish?"

[67] See esp. Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 509–12. Cf. Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani*, 9–11. Roueché and Sotinel do not say what is to be done with third-century Christian inscriptions from Rome or with the 250 pre-Constantinian Christian inscriptions from central Asia Minor, however. On the latter, see Destephen, "La christianisation de l'Asie Mineure"; Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 280–97.

[68] Cf. Carletti, "Epigrafia cristiana"; id., *Epigrafia dei cristiani*, 9.

[69] Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 506–9.

[70] See, e.g., the definition articulated by Monceaux in 1903 and accepted by De Rossi, Le Blant, Aigrain, Jalabert, and Mouterde. Before the end of the fourth century and the banning of "paganism," any inscription that presents obvious signs of Christianity ("une preuve évidente de christianisme") is considered as Christian. From the fifth century onwards, any inscription that does not contain any sure evidence of "paganism" must be taken as Christian. Monceaux, "Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne," 61. Cf. Aigrain, *Manuel*, 1:5; DACL 7:623; Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 508.

[71] Cf. Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani*, 9.

This acknowledged, it should not dispense historians, as good sociologists and anthropologists, from the necessity of identifying and collecting a manageable body of primary sources in the first place, before proceeding to study the people who produced them—hence the need for the *Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* (*ICG*) database.[73] As Charlotte Roueché and Claire Sotinel have themselves admitted, collections of Christian inscriptions do remain "convenient" and "useful,"[74] indeed indispensable, to those primarily interested in Christianity. Care only needs to be taken how the material is defined and assembled, and that it "be plunged again into the sea of all the inscriptions of the epoch in question," that is, that it be examined within its wider historical context.[75]

With these methodological caveats in mind, and whilst acknowledging the inadequacy of "Christian epigraphy" as a broad category and as a discipline for the study of Graeco-Roman society in late antiquity, this study shall nonetheless retain the label "Christian inscription" and generally apply it, for all practical intents and purposes, to any inscription put up by or for someone who is a "Christian."[76] More specifically, it shall consider as Christian any inscription erected by or for someone who is explicitly identified as a χρ(ε)ιστιανός/-ή or χρηστιανός/-ή ("Christian"), and/or any inscription mentioning a Christian building (or institution), and/or any inscription that presents easily recognizable Christian symbols such as a Greek cross (+), a Latin cross (†), a Christogram (☧) or staurogram (⳨), *nomina sacra* such as Χ̅Ω̅ (i.e., Χριστῷ, "by/to Christ"), or acronyms such as ΙΧΘΥΣ (i.e., Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior"). Specific Christian titles, offices, or epithets such as ἐπίσκοπος ("bishop"), πρεσβύτερος ("presbyter"), διάκονος/διακόνισσα ("deacon/deaconess"), or δοῦλος/δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ/Χριστοῦ ("slave of God/Christ") are also usually understood to be characteristically Christian, as are words, formulae, prayers, or acclamations that were typically used by Christians. Among these are, for example, the terms ἀνάστασις ("resurrection"), κοιμητήριον (lit., "resting place"), or μνήμης +άριν ("in remembrance") where a cross replaces the chi of χάριν,[77] and the acclamation ζήσῃς ἐν θεῷ/*vivas in Deo* ("may you live in God!") or the prayer Χριστὲ βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου ("Christ, help your slave!"). Finally, biblical or theophoric names that are frequently, though not necessarily exclusively, born by Christians such as Παῦλος (Paulos), Κυριακός (Kyriakos), Θέκλα (Thekla), Κεφᾶς (Kephas), Πέτρος (Petros), Ἀναστασία/Ἀναστάσιος (Anastasia/Anastasios) are also generally taken as good indicators that the person mentioned was born in a Christian family.

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[72] Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 510.

[73] For more information on the history and rationale of the whole *ICG* project, see Breytenbach and Ogereau, "*Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae*"; Ogereau and Huttner, "*Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* Database."

[74] Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 508, 510.

[75] Ibid., 510–11.

[76] For a similar rationale establishing selection criteria to identify Jewish inscriptions, see Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions," 682–83; *I.Jud. Orientis* 1, p. v; and *I.Jud. Orientis* 2, pp. 8–21. Cf. Van der Horst, "*Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*," 67–69 (for an evaluation of the criteria used by *I.Jud. Orientis*), and Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish," for additional methodological caveats. See also the discussion in Felle, "Judaism and Christianity."

It goes without saying that not all inscriptions feature easily recognizable Christian elements—often they contain merely hints—and, as noted earlier, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate a Christian inscription from a Jewish or a so-called pagan one. This is particularly the case with the earliest inscriptions, which are by far the most difficult to surely identify as Christian since, as we shall see, they barely deviate from the standard Graeco-Roman epigraphic forms[78]—distinctions became starker only in late antiquity.[79] Similarly, not all of the above-listed clues necessarily qualify as definitive evidence of Christianity—especially when found in isolation—since Christians and Jews shared aspects of their symbolic, onomastic, and scriptural traditions in common.[80] For example, Christians cited or alluded to the Septuagint in their epitaphs rather frequently (in fact more often than Jews themselves),[81] and both Jews and Christians appear to have used the so-called "Eumenean formula" against tomb desecration on their epitaphs.[82] Moreover, both groups employed the palm branch or lulab as a symbol of victory over death (as the second- or third-century epitaph of the *presbyteros* Apollonios from Thessalonica illustrates),[83] both gave their children similar biblical names,[84] and, for the first few centuries at least, they were both buried in the same necropoleis alongside so-called pagans.[85] Even terms or expressions such as πρεσβύτερος[86] or κοιμητήριον,[87] which are most often used by Christians, can occasionally be observed in Jewish inscriptions.[88]

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[77] This can occasionally be observed on non-Christian epitaphs or votives as well. See, e.g., Ricl, "Le sanctuaire des dieux saint et juste," 163; Summa, "Christian Epigraphy of Cyprus," 231.

[78] Cf. Ogereau, "Authority and Identity," 222–28. Carletti ("Epigrafia cristiana," 118–31) has observed the same phenomenon in the late-second and early-third-century inscriptions found in some of the oldest Roman catacombs: eighty percent of them have been found to be "neutral," that is, featuring neither explicitly Christian nor explicitly pagan elements.

[79] Cf. Ameling, "Epigraphic Habit," 218–19.

[80] Cf. Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 18; Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish"; Felle, "Judaism and Christianity" (passim).

[81] The most-often cited texts are taken from Isaiah or the Psalms (cf. Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 399–434). See Breytenbach, "Early Christians and Their Greek Bible"; Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia*, 679–92. For a comprehensive survey of biblical citations in inscriptions, see Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*.

[82] The imprecation ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("s/he will have to reckon with God") is so called because it is mainly found in and around Eumenea in Phrygia. Scholars remain divided as to whether it was exclusively used by Christians or not. See Calder, "Eumeneian Formula"; Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 57–58; Trebilco, "Eumeneian Formula"; Ameling, *I.Jud. Orientis* 2, pp. 20–21. Cf. Rebillard, *Religion et sépulture*, 86–91.

Caution and restraint must therefore always be exercised when dealing with ambivalent inscriptions, which, fortunately, only represent a marginal fraction of the overall evidence from Macedonia (i.e., no more than one or two percent). In the great majority of cases, it is indeed possible on the basis of a combination of these clues to determine with relative confidence that the inscription was put up by and/or for someone who can be clearly and decisively identified as Christian. Similarly, apart from the above-mentioned epitaph of the presbyter Apollonios (or that of Abramios), which may well have been Christian,[89] all of the twenty or so Jewish inscriptions from Macedonia can be surely identified as such either because they contain Hebrew letters,[90] specifically Jewish symbols (e.g., a menorah, shofar, or ethrog),[91] Jewish names (e.g., Benjamin),[92] make reference to a synagogue community or Hebrew ethnicity,[93] or were found in a Jewish archaeological context (i.e., a synagogue or a Jewish tomb).[94]

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[83] See ICG 3131 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 113) and the discussion in chap. 5, sec. 2.1 (n. 8) below. Cf. *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 18 and the bibliography referenced therein. For some it features a Christian palm branch and for others a Jewish lulab. See also Ameling, *I.Jud. Orientis* 2, pp. 11–12.

[84] Cf. Ameling, *I.Jud. Orientis* 2, pp. 13–15.

[85] See esp. Rebillard, *Religion et sépulture*, 31–49. Cf. Ameling, “Epigraphic Habit,” 208; Mitchell, “Theos Hypsistos,” 124; Koukouvou, “Ἡ ἑβραϊκὴ κοινότητα τῆς Βέροιας,” 26–28; Marki, *Η νεκρόπολη της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 60–61; Noy et al., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1, p. 98.

[86] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 2.20, 118, 141, 150.

[87] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Ach 21, Ach 28–30; *I.Jud. Orientis* 2.183. On the origin, significance, and specific Christian usage of the term, see Rebillard, “*Koimetérion* et *coemeterium*.” Cf. Creaghan and Raubitschek, “Christian Epitaphs from Athens,” 5–6.

[88] Cf. Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 41–42; Park, *Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions*, 34–35.

[89] See ICG 3131 and 3194 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 113 and 173). Cf. *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 16 and 18. See the discussion in chap. 5, sec. 2.1 below.

[90] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 17.

[91] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 2, 6, 8, 10, 11.

[92] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 14.

[93] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 1 (ὁ πατὴρ τῆς συναγωγῆς […] κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν), 7 (ἁγιωτάτη συναγωγή), 9 (Ἑβρέων), 12 (συναγωγή), 15 (λαμπραὶ συναγωγαί).

[94] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 3, 4, 5, 13.

Incidentally, more or less the same could be said of central Asia Minor, where, according to Stephen Mitchell, "[l]ate Roman epigraphy is overwhelmingly an *overtly* Christian phenomenon" with "[*m*]*ost* of the funerary inscriptions of the period [being] *unambiguously* identified as Christian by the symbol of the cross."[95] This may be explained by the fact that, in contrast with Macedonia, acknowledging one's faith publicly on one's funerary monument became crucial to asserting one's religious identity and membership into the Christian community very early on.[96]

With all due respect to the fact that the cultural boundaries between Christians, Jews, and pagans might not have been as strictly delineated as they were once thought to be (especially in the earliest centuries),[97] inscriptions featuring both Christian and Jewish elements, or Christian and pagan elements, or all three elements, remain extremely rare. The bulk of the evidence, which is much more "religiously coherent" than what is sometimes acknowledged, instead compels one to view such inscriptions as the exception that proves the rule rather than as the norm. And such exceptions may at times be more easily explained by practical considerations, such as the reuse of a stone, rather than by syncretism. A good example of this phenomenon can be illustrated by the famous, early-third-century, Roman stele of Licinia, on which the unique phrase ἰχθὺς ζώντων ("Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior of the living") and an anchor flanked by two fish were carved right underneath the standard Roman dedication to the Manes (i.e., *DM* for *Dis Manibus*).[98]

More generally, what some of these unusual inscriptions highlight is that, for reasons that are not entirely clear, epigraphic forms that are distinctively

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[95] Mitchell, "Christian Epigraphy of Asia Minor," 279 (emphasis added).

[96] This seems especially applicable to Phrygia. See Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 281.

[97] Cf. the literature referenced in n. 65 above. As regards epigraphy specifically, see Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions," 683; Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 18; Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish," 142; Bij de Vaate and Van Henten, "Jewish or Non-Jewish?," 17; Felle, "Judaism and Christianity."

[98] *ICUR* 2.4246 (*EDB* 8818; Rome, AD 200–250). Scholarly opinion still diverges on this inscription. Carletti ("ΙΧΘΥΣ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ"; "Origini cristiane ed epigrafia") suggests that the Greek text ἰχθὺς ζώντων was carved after the discovery of the stone in order to "Christianize" it, while Felle ("Greek in the Early Christian Inscriptions," 312–13) has more recently argued that, given the traces of erasure still visible underneath the last two lines, the stone was more than likely reused. Dedications to the Manes are not unusual in the Christian inscriptions from Rome (a search of the *EDB* returns more than 350 results, which represents less than one percent of the total) and also occur in Jewish inscriptions. See Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 42–43; Park, *Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions*, 16–21.

Christian took time to develop and to impose themselves.[99] In Rome and Phrygia, this process seems to have taken less than two centuries (as the earliest recognizably Christian inscriptions date from the middle to the late second century),[100] fueled as it may have been, in central Anatolia at least, by a form of pious rigorism and the desire to assert one's membership in the Christian community.[101] In Macedonia, on the other hand, this development lasted almost three centuries as the earliest, explicitly Christian, inscriptions date from the late third or the early fourth century, which makes Macedonia stand out from the rest of the Greek peninsula[102]—in Attica and the Corinthia, for instance, most of the Christian inscriptions date from the late fourth to the sixth century.[103] This implies that, to an extent that is impossible to quantify, there may be more Christian epitaphs that have not, and cannot, be identified as such within the mass of late-first-, second-, and early-third-century inscriptions[104]—though this does not necessarily entail that there existed so-called "crypto-Christians" in Macedonia.[105]

To date, a total of approximately 470 (published) Macedonian inscriptions have been recognized as Christian,[106] which represent about a quarter of the known Christian epigraphic material from mainland Greece. As shown in chart 1, these consist of epitaphs for the most part (71%), of votives (8%), invocations (7%), and building dedications on mosaic panels or architectural blocks (6%).

As is evident from map 1, they originate primarily from the main urban centers of the province, that is, Thessalonica (35%), Edessa (18%), Philippi (10%), Stobi (10%), and Beroea (7%), where they were found either *in situ* in churches and necropoleis or reused in later constructions.

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[99] On possible reasons for the dearth of Christian inscriptions in the first hundred years—e.g., the fear of persecution, no commemorative funerary habit and/or epigraphic "self-consciousness," the low number of Christians—see Ameling, "Neues Testament und Epigraphik," 23–25.

[100] Cf. Carletti, "Epigrafia cristiana," 118–31; Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 283; id., "Christian Epigraphy of Asia Minor," 279–80.

[101] Cf. Mitchell, "Christian Epigraphy of Asia Minor," 281–82.

[102] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, pp. 2–3; Ogereau, "Authority and Identity," 222–32.

[103] See *IG* II/III^2 5 and IV^2 3, edited by Sironen. Cf. id., "Early Christian Inscriptions from the Corinthia," 201.

[104] The same observation applies to Asia Minor. See Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 280–81; Destephen, "La christianisation de l'Asie Mineure," 165.

[105] On this problematic category, see Chiricat, "'Crypto-Christian' Inscriptions"; Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity," 282–83.

[106] About thirty or forty inscriptions from Philippi, Amphipolis, and Dium remain to be published.

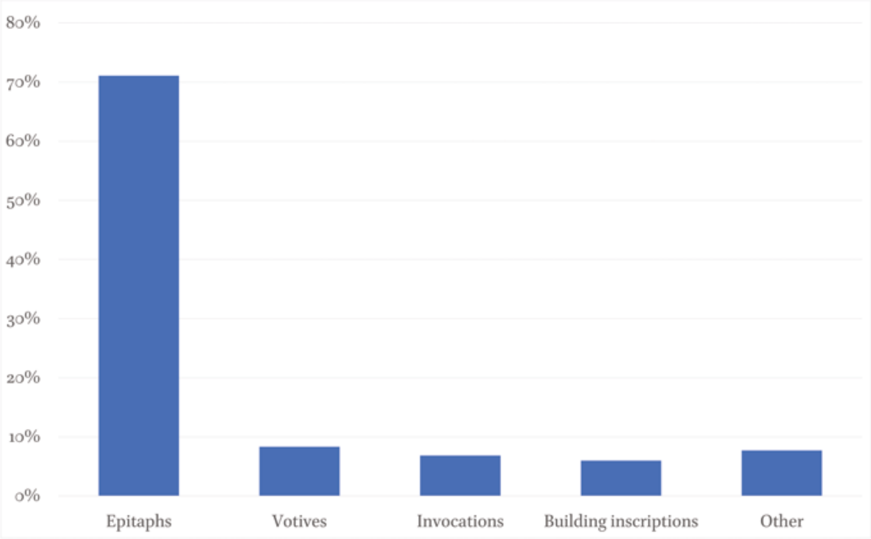

CHART 1 Types of early Christian inscriptions in Macedonia

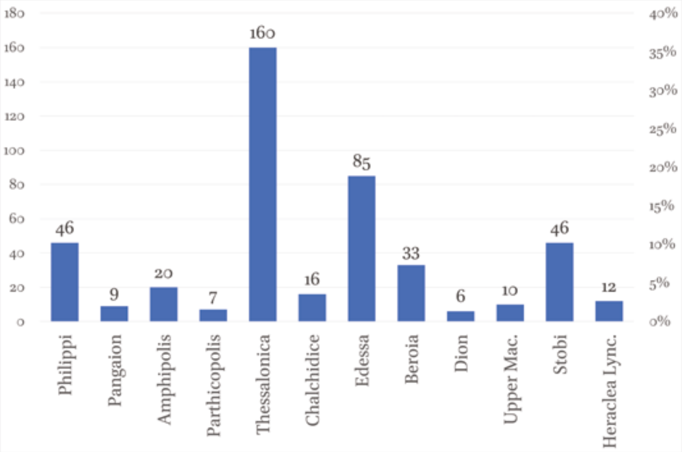

CHART 2 Distribution of Christian inscriptions in Macedonia

More than half of these, that is, about 270 inscriptions (if we exclude those from Thasos), form the bulk of Feissel's magisterial *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^{e} au VI^{e} siècle* (*I.Chr. Macédoine*), which, though it appeared in 1983, remains an indispensable collection.[107] The other

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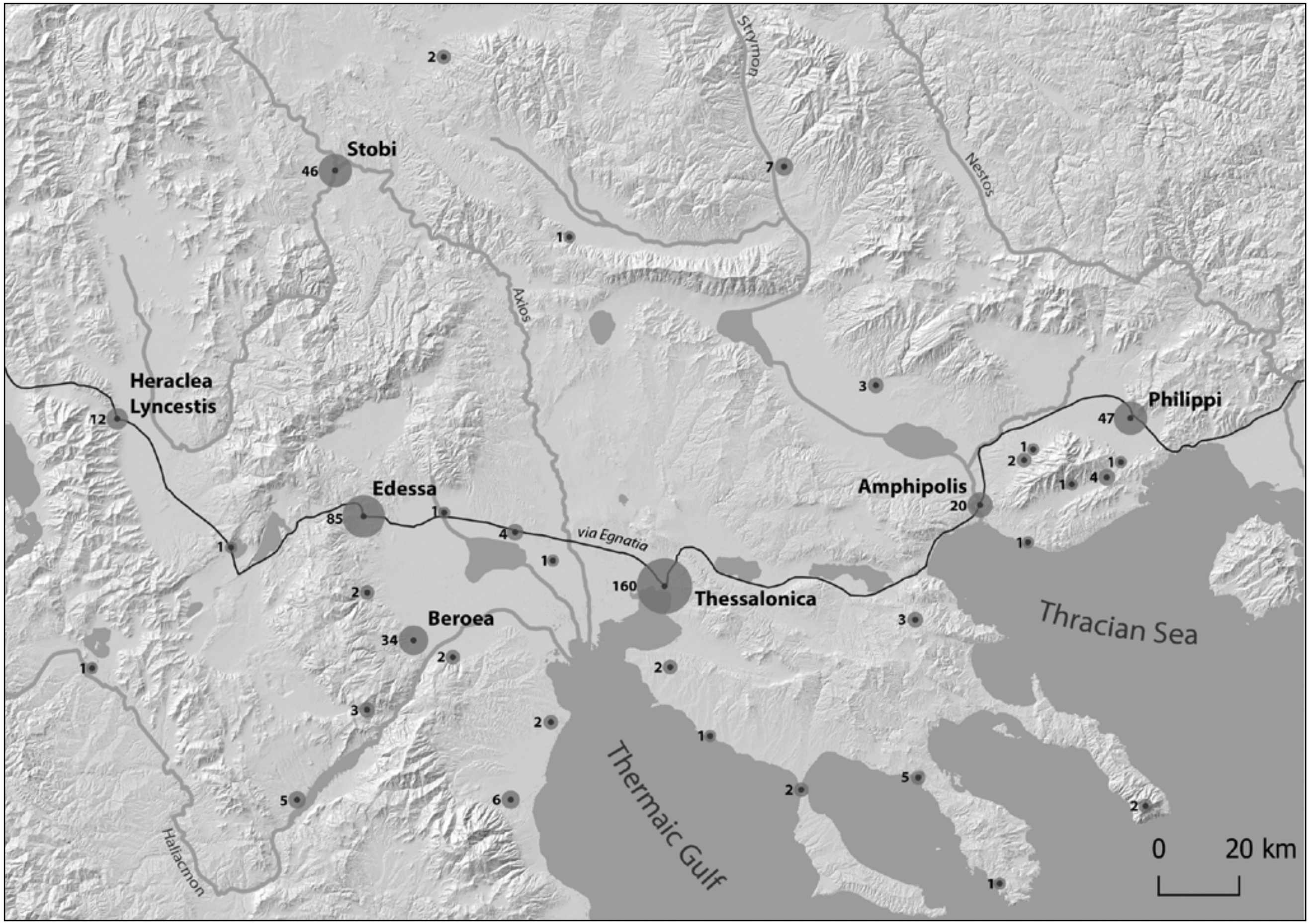
[107] See also Feissel, "Recherches sur les inscriptions paléochrétiennes de Macédoine." Inscriptions discovered after 1976 were not included in his recueil (*I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 4). The earlier survey by Barnea, "L'épigraphie chrétienne," did not provide any critical edition of the inscriptions.


2
Strymon
Nestos
Stobi
46
7
1
Axios
3
Heraclea
Lyncestis
12
Philippi
47
1
2
1
1
4
Amphipolis
20
Edessa
85
1
4
via Egnatia
1
1
160
Thessalonica
2
Beroea
34
2
3
Thracian Sea
2
1
2
3
2
1
5
5
6
2
2
Thermaic Gulf
0
20 km
1
Haliacmon

MAP 1 Distribution of Christian inscriptions in Macedonia
A. STÄDTLER

two hundred or so inscriptions discovered since then have been published in various specialized periodicals and in five major epigraphic corpora, which have appeared between 1985 and 2023, namely, *Ἐπιγραφές Ἄνω Μακεδονίας* (*I.Ano Maked.*), *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας* (*I.Beroia* and *I.Kato Maked.* II), *Inscriptiones Stoborum* (*I.Stobi*),[108] the supplements to the volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* on Thessalonica (*IG* X 2,1s), and the two fascicles on the inscriptions from northern Macedonia (*IG* X 2,2). All of these inscriptions have now been digitally edited in the *Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* (*ICG*) database and published in an online repository in open access.[109] Unless they contain an inscription of particular significance, Roman milestones, *instrumenta domestica*, brick stamps, and coins from the Constantinian and post-Constantinian eras have, however, generally been left out from the database and from this study.[110]

Unlike inscriptions, the documentation on Christian archaeological material from Macedonia is usually more difficult to access and exploit as it has been mostly published (if at all) in a variety of Greek, Macedonian, Serbian, and even Bulgarian periodicals such as the *Archaiologikon deltion*, *To archaiologiko ergo ste Makedonia kai Thrake*, the *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias*, or *Spomenik*. These mainly comprise concise reports on past or ongoing excavations that rarely give critical editions of inscriptions but that generally provide useful information on the archaeological context in which inscriptions were found. They also document in various levels of detail the excavations of major Christian structures. In most cases, these effectively represent our only source of information on ancient sites as more comprehensive studies can take several decades to appear, if they ever do. Retrieving relevant data from such periodicals is never a straightforward process and can be extremely time-consuming, as one needs to scan through literally volumes of Greek archaeological reports.

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[108] Most of these inscriptions have now been revised and republished in *IG* X 2,2 along with a handful of inedita (*IG* X 2,2.752, 787, 798, 803; *ICG* 4461, 4533–4535).

[109] The database, which was developed by the Excellence Cluster 264 Topoi, Berlin, reproduces the Greek (and occasionally Latin) text of each inscription along with an English (or German) translation, brief critical annotations and comments, a short descriptive of the monument, information on its past and present geographic locations, and images (whenever available). On the history and rationale of the project, see Breytenbach and Ogereau, "*Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae*"; Ogereau and Huttner, "*Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* Database." The database can be accessed at https://icg.uni-kiel.de and has been published on the digital repository of the Edition Topoi at http://repository.edition-topoi.org/collection/ICG.

[110] Cf. Feissel, *I.Chr. Macédoine*, pp. 3, 16, who left out *miliaria*, graffiti, and brick stamps from Thessalonica, which are particularly difficult to date. On the latter, see Vickers, "Brickstamps from Thessaloniki." On the small collection of early Byzantine crosses from Stobi, see Spasova, "Early Christian Metal Crosses."

Fortunately, most of the Christian archaeological material from ancient Macedonia that was found in northern Greece has now been compiled in Flora Karagianni's extensive survey of late antique and Byzantine settlements,[111] a real treasure trove of archaeological and bibliographic data.[112] It is particularly helpful when used in conjunction with Ivan Mikulčić's study of late antique and Byzantine settlements,[113] with the two volumes of the *Tabula Imperii Romani K 34* and *K 35, I* by Jaroslav Šašel and Anna Avraméa,[114] with Peter Soustal's *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* on southern Macedonia,[115] and with Panagiota Asimakopoulou-Atzaka's comprehensive catalogue of the mosaic floors discovered in Macedonia.[116] All these help us map Christian archaeological traces over most of the territory of Macedonia, and thus to analyze and assess the geographical dissemination of Christianity throughout the region.

4 Chronological and Geographical Boundaries

The chronological boundaries of this study are primarily determined by the sources themselves, which cover a period of about six centuries. Our first literary sources, Paul's letters to the Philippians and to the Thessalonians, are usually thought to have been written between the mid-50s and the early AD 60s, though scholars do not agree on an absolute chronology.[117] The bulk of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, on the other hand, can be dated more or less approximately between the middle of the fourth century and the end of the sixth century, though a small number of early inscriptions probably date from the late third or the early fourth century. As noted in the previous section, our sources are thus divided by an unbridgeable hiatus of about two centuries, which leaves historians with little else other than their own imagination to fill in the gaps.

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[111] Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*.

[112] Karagianni records a great variety of monumental archaeological evidence (e.g., basilicas, buildings, fortifications, tombs) and material culture (e.g., ceramics, coins, architectural fragments) from the late antique and early Byzantine eras. Her coverage of the Christian inscriptions is not exhaustive, however.

[113] Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*.

[114] Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 10.

[115] See *TIB* 11; vol. 16 on northern Macedonia is still in preparation at the time of writing.

[116] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*.

[117] See the relevant sections of chap. 3 below.

The difficulty of dating precisely a large number of inscriptions poses an additional challenge, namely, that of establishing a terminus for this study.[118] Given that most of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence postdate AD 325, it makes little sense to choose the council of Nicaea as a cut-off point, as Harnack and Mullen did, even though most scholars would probably hesitate to still speak of "early" Christianity after the conversion of Constantine, Nicaea, and the shift of the imperial capital to the East, which, for some, signal the beginning of the Byzantine age.[119] Perhaps a more appropriate, though no less arbitrary, terminus might be the death of Justinian in AD 565, after which the political, social, and economic situation of the region started to deteriorate and the epigraphic evidence dwindles.[120] Alexander Demandt, for example, adopted it as the terminus for his opus *Die Spätantike*, while Arnold H.M. Jones stopped his study of the later Roman empire at the end of Maurice's reign in AD 602.[121] However, in the aftermath of Peter Brown's seminal treatise *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150–750*, the tendency among historians of late antiquity has been to view the end of the sixth century, or the beginning of the seventh century with the fall of the Sasanian empire and the rise of Islam, as the critical turning point.[122]

To a certain extent, a broader periodization accords better with the epigraphic and archaeological material from Macedonia—even though the region had to deal with different threats from the fourth century onwards, namely, the Goths, the Huns, and the Avaro-Slavs who settled in northern Greece in the late sixth century. Indeed, up until the late sixth century local inscriptions form a rather homogenous group in terms of formulaic, palaeographic, and iconographic features. As is the case with the rest of the Mediterranean world, the regional epigraphic habit only starts to evolve at the turn of the sixth century, which effectively marks the beginning of Byzantine epigraphy.[123] For these reasons, and given that many undated inscriptions can only be roughly dated down to a century or two, that is, typically, to the fourth and fifth or to the fifth and sixth centuries, it seems more judicious herein to adopt a broad chronological framework stretching from the middle of the first century to the end of the sixth century (and thereby to qualify as "early Christian" any evidence predating the seventh century). Hence have been omitted from this study the inscriptions from the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessalonica that postdate its restoration in the seventh century,[124] the Byzantine inscriptions of Mount Athos (except for *ICG* 3229),[125] and most of the Byzantine inscriptions collected by Konstantinos G. Zesios in his 1914 study.[126]

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[118] On the difficult question of the definition and periodization of "late antiquity" in general, see Inglebert, "Introduction."

[119] See, e.g., Morrisson, *Le monde byzantin*, vii–viii.

[120] See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 3 (with n. 11); Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "*Mors Macedonica*," 272–73, 278–79. For a similar rationale, see Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes*, 8. On the historical development of Macedonia, see the end of chap. 2, sec. 1 below.

[121] Jones's two main reasons for stopping at the death of Maurice were that, firstly, it precipitated the collapse of the eastern empire, and, secondly, the primary evidence "abruptly fades out" at that point both in the East and in the West. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, v.

[122] In *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, for instance, Mitchell stops at the death of Heraclius in AD 641, while the second volume of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (ed. A. Casiday and F.W. Norris) and the fourteenth volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History* (ed. A. Cameron) end around AD 600. As for the *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, its editor Scott F. Johnson refrained from adopting "any single chronological span as necessarily authoritative" (p. xx). On the shifts in historical approaches to late antiquity, see Mitchell, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 5–11. Cf. Inglebert, "Introduction."

The geographical boundaries, on the other hand, follow more or less those of what may be called "historical Macedonia"—what Fanoula Papazoglou and Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos identify as "la Macédoine proprement dite"[127]—which corresponds approximately to the kingdom of Philip II, the father of Alexander III (later known as Alexander the Great), after the annexation of Chalcidice in 348 BC,[128] and which was ethnically and culturally relatively distinct from its neighboring regions that were Thracia to the east-northeast, Dardania to the north, Illyria and Epirus to the west-southwest, and Thessalia to the south.[129] This area, effectively, roughly corresponds to the territory

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[123] Cf. Mango, "Byzantine Epigraphy"; Roueché and Sotinel, "Christian and Late Antique Epigraphies," 511–12.

[124] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 16.

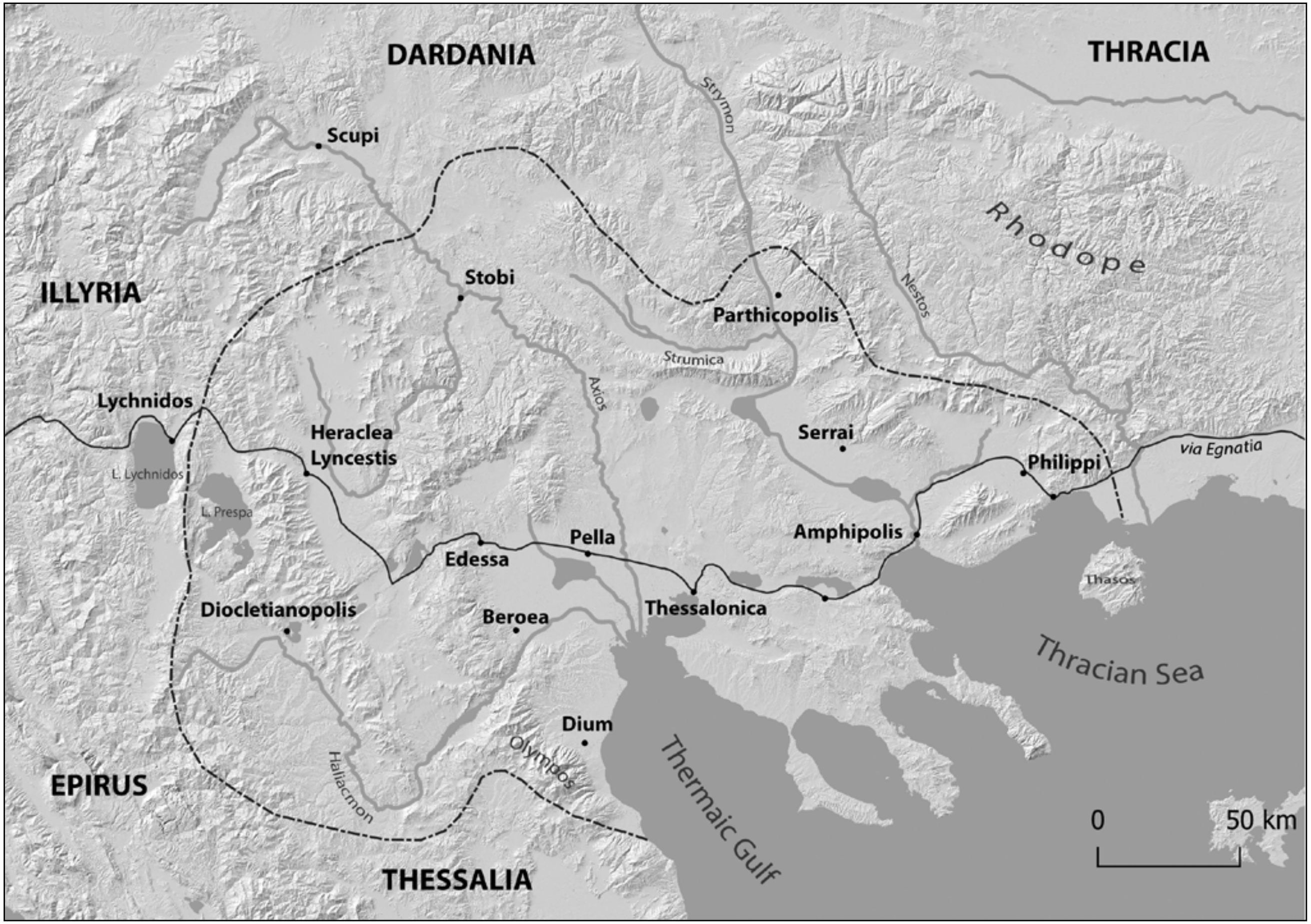
[125] *ICG* 3229 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 208) corresponds to no. 230 in Millet, Pargoire, and Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos*.

[126] The only inscriptions from Zesios's collection to be included in this study are those of the Rotunda at Thessalonica. See Zesios, *Μακεδονίας Χριστιανικά μνημεία*, 4–14.

[127] See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 302, 328; ead., *Les villes de Macédoine*, 73–98 (cf. the border delineation on map 20); Hatzopoulos, "Τὰ ὅρια τῆς Μακεδονίας." For Hammond and Hatzopoulos, "Macedonia proper" or "historical Macedonia" is restricted to the Pierian and Bottiaean plains, the "cradle" of Macedonian civilization, or, more broadly conceived (after the period of territorial expansion between the fifth and third centuries BC), to the area stretching from the upper Haliacmon to the Strymon rivers that was populated and directly administered by Macedonians. See Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:3–18; Hatzopoulos, "L'histoire par les noms," 111–12; id., "Τὰ ὅρια τῆς Μακεδονίας." Cf. map 1 in id., *Macedonian Institutions*.

[128] See Hammond, "Frontiers of Philip II's Macedonia"; Ellis, "Political History," 115. On the extent of Philip's kingdom (which included all of eastern Thrace) at his death in 336 BC, see ibid., pp. 118–20. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, 179–99. On the Olynthian war more generally, see Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 2: 296–347.

[129] See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 328; Hatzopoulos, "Τὰ ὅρια τῆς Μακεδονίας," 177. Cf. Sakellariou, "Inhabitants," 63; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 96. On the eastern


DARDANIA
THRACIA
ILLYRIA
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
Rhodope
Strymon
Nestos
Strumica
Axios
Haliacmon
Olympos
Scupi
Stobi
Parthicopolis
Serrai
Lychnidos
L. Lychnidos
L. Prespa
Heraclea Lyncestis
Philippi
via Egnatia
Amphipolis
Edessa
Pella
Thessalonica
Diocletianopolis
Beroea
Dium
Thasos
Thracian Sea
Thermaic Gulf
0
50 km

MAP 2 Roman Macedonia

A. STÄDTLER. BASED ON MAP 20 IN PAPAZOGLOU, *LES VILLES DE MACÉDOINE*

Legend: [– – – – –] approximate boundaries of Roman Macedonia covered by the four administrative regions (μερίδες) established by the Romans at the end of the Third Macedonian War in 168 BC.[130] It also matches relatively closely the administrative situation of the sixth century attested in Hierocles's *Synekdemos*, the official list of cities of the eastern empire that was likely composed at the beginning of Justinian's reign,[131] after successive alterations to the provincial borders between the third and the sixth centuries significantly reduced Macedonia (with the creation of the provinces of Epirus Nova and Thessalia to the west and south).[132] To the east, the border ran northward somewhat alongside the Nestos river and west of the Rhodope range, the traditional boundary from the Hellenistic period onward, and crossed the Strymon valley about halfway between Serdica and Amphipolis, slightly north of Parthicopolis. It continued westward to the north of the Strumica valley and cut the Axios valley at a midway point between Scupi and Stobi. To the west, it passed between the lakes of Lychnidos and Prespa and made a large loop to the south-west to include the regions of Upper Macedonia (Lyncestis, Orestis, Elimaea) and the Pierian plain lying northeast of Mount Olympos. As for its southern border, it naturally espoused the contours of the northern Aegean coast and barely extended out to sea. Although the islands of Thasos and Samothrace are listed under the province of Macedonia in Hierocles's *Synekdemos*,[133] the second-century geographer Ptolemy and epigraphic evidence indicate that they were included in the territory of Thracia as soon as the province was formed in AD 45/46,[134] whilst retaining their political independence (as *insulae liberae*) and their territorial possessions (περαία) on the mainland at least until the third century.[135]

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border with Thracia, see Gerov, "Thracia," 232–37. The cultural and linguistic distinctions with Epirus and southern Illyria should not be over-emphasized, however. See Cabanes, "Histoire comparée," 308–10.

[130] See sec. 1 in chap. 2 below.

[131] See Hierocles, *Synekdemos* 638–641.9 (Honigmann, 14–16).

[132] Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 96–98; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 1; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 546–50 (with map 9). For a more extensive discussion, see sec. 1 in chap. 2 below.

[133] Hierocles, *Synekdemos* 640.9–10 (Honigmann, 15).

[134] Ptolemy, *Geog.* 3.11.14 (3.11.8 in some earlier editions). Cf. the *praefatio* on Thasos in IG XII 8, p. 79.

[135] See Fournier, "Thasos." Cf. Gerov, "Thracia," 231–32; Valeva, Nankov, and Graninger, *Ancient Thrace*, 76. Thasos nonetheless maintained strong commercial connections with the main cities of Macedonia. See Fournier, "Les citoyens romains à Thasos."

5 Outline of Study

These introductory matters being laid out, we may now proceed with the rest of this study. After sketching the historical, geographic, and socio-cultural context within which Macedonian Christianity emerged (chap. 2), attention is then given to the earliest literary evidence attesting a Christian presence in the region, namely, the letters of (or attributed to) the apostle Paul and Polycarp (chap. 3). Ensues a detailed survey of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, which, for all practical intents and purposes, is examined in four separate chapters ordered according to an east-west orientation (chaps. 4–7). In each of these chapters, the material is organized geographically around the main urban centers in which it was discovered for the most part and chronologically (as far as is possible). These four chapters form the backbone of this study inasmuch as they include, both in the original language and in translation, almost all of the Christian Macedonian inscriptions published so far.[136] It should be noted that the Greek text given in footnotes is that of the corresponding ICG entry, which is principally based on Feissel's corpus edition (*I.Chr. Macédoine*), though it occasionally integrates new readings or revisions from subsequent editions.[137] Hence the primary reference given is usually that of the ICG entry followed by those of the main corpus editions in brackets. To save ink and space, references to secondary scholarly literature discussing inscriptions have been kept to a minimum and may be consulted online in ICG.

The first of these, the fourth chapter, focuses on eastern Macedonia, that is, the area occupied by the colony of Philippi between the Pangaion and the Rhodope ranges, as well as the lower Strymon valley stretching from Amphipolis to Parthicopolis. The fifth chapter is dedicated to the city of Thessalonica and its immediate surroundings where the largest number of Christian inscriptions have been found, and to the Chalcidice peninsula. Moving further west, the sixth chapter reviews the evidence from Dium and the Pierian region, Beroea, Edessa, and the frontier region west of Mount Bermion. Finally, the seventh chapter explores the northernmost territories of Macedonia, that is, primarily the cities of Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis and their environs.

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[136] Exception is sometimes made of very fragmented inscriptions. Texts still awaiting publication have also been excluded.

[137] ICG entries can be consulted in the database at https://icg.uni-kiel.de or on the digital repository of the Edition Topoi at http://repository.edition-topoi.org/collection/ICG. The more recent inscriptions from Edessa usually reproduce the text given in *I.Kato Maked.* II.

While the survey conducted through the fourth to the seventh chapter might be particularly tedious to some readers, it is nonetheless indispensable to gain a comprehensive and coherent overview of the material. Indeed, it is only as each and every document is examined within its historical and archaeological context, individually as well as collectively, that an historical picture begins to emerge, albeit one that is painted in broad and imprecise strokes.

CHAPTER 2

Macedonia in Roman Antiquity

1 Introduction

The Roman history of Macedonia begins with the fall of the five-hundred-year-old kingdom of Macedon at the battle of Pydna in 168 BC,[1] when the forces of Perseus, the son of Philip V, were crushingly defeated by the Roman general L. Aemilius Paullus.[2] The victory signaled the end of the Third Macedonian War and the beginning of Roman imperialism in the East.[3] Unlike on two previous occasions when the subdued Antigonid monarch had been kept at the head of a weakened and subjugated state,[4] this time Perseus was once and

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[1] Cf. Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 251. On the battle itself, which is recounted in detail by Plutarch (*Aem.* 15–23), and its repercussions, see Hammond, "Battle of Pydna"; Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 547–69; Benecke, "Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy," 267–78; Eckstein, "Macedonia," 243–46.

[2] The main sources on the end of the Macedonian dynasty, which are fragmentary (and rather late in the case of Plutarch, Appian, and Dio Cassius), consist of Polybius (in passing from bk. 22.18 onwards, with the Third Macedonian War being related in bks. 27–29), Livy (in passing in bks. 40–45, with the reasons of the Macedonian Wars explained in 39.53; much of Livy's account derives from Polybius); Diodorus Siculus 28–31 (passim); Plutarch's *vita* of Aemilius Paullus; Appian 9; Dio Cassius 20–21 (Zonaras 9.21–24, 28). Literary sources directly addressing the early Roman history of Macedonia are even more scarce and fragmentary, though Macedonian affairs do get indirectly mentioned in other sources from the Republican and early imperial eras. The bulk of the primary evidence is indeed epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic in nature. For a detailed study of this period, see Daubner, *Makedonien*. See also Eckstein, "Macedonia," 225–27; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 253–55; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 545–46.

[3] On the Third Macedonian War and this crucial period of transition more generally, see the third part (pp. 367–569) of Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*. Cf. Derow, "Fall of Macedon"; Benecke, "Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy"; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 359–436; Gehrke, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 117–28, 224–28; Walbank, "Third Macedonian War"; Raditsa, "*Bella Macedonica*"; Eckstein, "Macedonia." On the unprecedented change in Roman foreign policy this victory entailed, see Baronowski, "Provincial Status," 460; Eckstein, "Macedonia," 244–45. But see also (for a more nuanced perspective) Gruen, "Macedonia and the Settlement of 167 B.C."; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony*, 11–13, 30, 95. Cf. Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 721–30.

[4] On the first two Macedonian Wars in 215–205 and 200–197 BC, see Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 387–447; Benecke, "Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy," 241–67; Raditsa, "*Bella Macedonica*." Cf. Eckstein, "Macedonia," 229–37.

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for all deposed and deported to Italy along with a good part of his court.[5] The entire territory of Macedonia was divided into four demilitarized, administrative units or regions (*regiones*/μερίδες), which, though politically independent from Rome, were to remain compliant to her.[6] An annual tribute was imposed, trade and intermarriage (across the four units) were proscribed, as were logging (for ship building) and gold and silver mining, the two main "sources of Macedonian wealth (hence Macedonian power),"[7] in order to prevent its economic (and thus military) resurgence.

The long-term effects of Perseus's defeat were to be devastating for the Macedonian state.[8] Yet it would take another twenty years before the Roman senate determined to establish a province in 148 BC (or 146 BC)[9] over a territory that extended from the Adriatic Sea to the Thracian Sea[10]—however

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[5] Polybius 29.14–21; Livy 45.35, 42; Diodorus Siculus 31.8–9; Plutarch, *Aem.* 26, 34, 37. On the final settlement and dismemberment of Macedonia after the war, see Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 563–69; Gruen, "Macedonia and the Settlement of 167 B.C."; id., *Hellenistic World*, 423–36; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 28–100. Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 53–56; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, 43–46; Benecke, "Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy," 273–75.

[6] Cf. Livy 45.18, 29; Strabo 7, frag. 47. On the political organization of Macedonia during this period, see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 53–71; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 52–150. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, 219–30. Recently discovered numismatic evidence suggests that this territorial division predated the Roman conquest. See Kremydi-Sicilianou, "ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ."

[7] Eckstein, "Macedonia," 245.

[8] Cf. Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 568–69; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 101–41.

[9] The actual date of creation of the province is debated but likely to be 148 BC (even if set and applied retrospectively). See Tod, "Macedonian Era." Cf. id., "Macedonian Era II"; id., "Macedonian Era Reconsidered"; Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 302–9; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 252, 255.

[10] The original provincial boundaries thus exceeded those in the imperial era and in late antiquity. The province initially stretched from the Adriatic Sea to the river Hebros (and later the river Nestos) on the southern Thracian coast, immediately north of the Chersonese peninsula, and was bounded to the north by an imaginary line running east from Lissos (slightly north of Dyrrhachium) on the Adriatic coast (cf. Strabo 7, frag. 10). This large area would later be reduced with the creation of the provinces of Dalmatia, Moesia, Thracia, and Achaia in the early imperial era (cf. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 3.13.1–46), and then further divided by Diocletian, Constantine, and their successors into two main provinces, Epirus Nova and Macedonia Prima (itself temporarily split into two: Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Salutaris/Secunda, see further below). On these notional boundaries (and their associated issues), which fluctuated in the Republican, imperial, and late Roman eras, see Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 325, 328–38; ead., *Les villes de Macédoine*, 73–98; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou, *Macedonian Topography*, 63–100; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 258–59, 264, 269–70, 274; Tsitouridou, "Political History"; Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 20–30; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 546–50; Wittke, Olshausen, and Szydlak, *Historical Atlas*, 186–87.

"loose" the legal and administrative definition of *Macedonia provincia* might have been originally.[11] The exact reasons behind the decision are not entirely clear, although it is suspected that the needs to pacify the region, to secure the eastern and northern frontiers from Thracian and Gallic incursions, and to prevent the Macedonians from making an alliance with the Carthaginians (as Philip V had attempted during the Second Punic War) were the main driving factors.[12] Though unprecedented (vis-à-vis the Greek East), the measures taken in 168 BC had indeed been ineffective in squashing Macedonian patriotic sentiment, and a series of Macedonian-Thracian rebellions in the 140s BC, in particular a catastrophic defeat in 149 BC against a pretender to Perseus's throne, had forced Rome to take more resolute and definitive action.[13] The senate's solution was to send a larger army to annihilate Macedonian forces and to keep a military presence in the region permanently.[14] Still, the process of establishing the province was to be gradual as the primary responsibility of the first governors was initially to ensure its security and stability. Thus, it is only progressively that the Roman magistrates posted in Macedonia came to assume the kind of administrative duties that would later be more generally ascribed to provincial governors.[15]

Until the provinces of Dalmatia, Moesia, and Thracia were established to the north and east in the first century AD, Macedonia would remain a region of prime importance for Rome's military interests in the Balkan peninsula as it acted as a buffer zone against attacks from Thracian and Gallic tribes south of the Danube and from Mithridates VI further east[16]—just as it had served as an "advanced bastion" for the Greeks in the Hellenistic era.[17] Its strategic geographical position between Italy and Asia Minor, which allowed relatively rapid movements of troops, would also ensure it retained a central stage during the Roman civil wars with major battles occurring at Dyrrhachium in 48 BC and at Philippi in 42 BC.[18] Similarly, in the early imperial era it would continue to play an important tactical and logistical role in the military campaigns taking place south of the Danube by allowing troops and supplies to reach the front swiftly thanks in part to the *via Egnatia*, the main trans-Balkan road linking Dyrrhachium (and Apollonia) to Kypsela, and then ultimately Byzantium.[19]

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[11] The actual process of establishing a province remains a moot question. For a "more flexible view" on the issue, see Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony*, 11–41 (citation on p. 42). See also Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 433–34; Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 302–8; ead., *Les villes de Macédoine*, 64–66; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 141–50.

[12] Imperialistic expansionism, military and political ambitions of Roman aristocrats, and commercial interests must have had their importance as well. Cf. Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 251, 255–59; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony*, 12–18, 30–41 (see esp. pp. 40–41); Eckstein, "Macedonia," 247–48. See also Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 302–21.

[13] Cf. Benecke, "Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy," 275–78; Morgan, "Metellus Macedonicus," 422–33; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 423–36; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony*, 30–41; Eckstein, "Macedonia," 246–48; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 251–52.

[14] Cf. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony*, 16–18, 30, 343–45; Eckstein, "Macedonia," 247–48; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 252.

[15] For an overview of this development, see Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 302–25; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*"; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony*, 19–21; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 141–50. Cf. Morgan, "Metellus Macedonicus," 425–30; Eckstein, "Macedonia," 248. On the administration of the province itself, see Haensch, *Capita provinciarum*, 104–12; id., "Le 'visage' du gouvernement romain"; Bartels, *Städtische Eliten*, 95–104. Concerning Philippi in particular, see Brélaz, *Philippes*.

Towards the end of the third century, the administrative landscape of the Balkan peninsula was significantly remodeled starting with Diocletian's reforms, which sought to reorganize and stabilize the empire after the crisis of the third century.[20] The territory of Macedonia was slightly reduced to the west and southwest to create the provinces of Epirus Nova and Thessalia, and was integrated into the diocese of Moesia.[21] Under Constantine I, the latter was then subdivided into the dioceses of Dacia (to the north) and Macedonia (to the south), which comprised several provinces such as Macedonia, Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova, Thessalia, and Achaia.[22] In the middle of the fourth century, the two dioceses were then joined to that of Pannonia to form the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum, which, after the death of Theodosius I in AD 395, definitely became part of the eastern empire.[23] Provincial borders, however, remained unstable from the late fourth century to the mid-sixth century, and Macedonia appears to have been temporarily divided into two separate regions, Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Secunda or Salutaris, for administrative, fiscal, and military purposes.[24] The exact delineation of each district, the duration of their existence, and the relationship between Macedonia Salutaris and Macedonia Secunda are not precisely known, however, as primary sources on the matter are scarce and not always coherent. Macedonia Salutaris, which is only mentioned in the early-fifth-century *Notitia dignitatum*, an administrative manual for civil and military officials, may have been created in AD 386 along with other provinces (which were given the same epithet).[25] Yet it was short-lived, being abolished in AD 395 (possibly), and only encompassed the northwestern corner of Macedonia (which was subsequently divided between the provinces of Epirus Nova and Prevalitana).[26] Formed a century or so later, Macedonia Secunda, which is slightly better attested in literary sources,[27] seems to have mostly covered northern Macedonia as it included Stobi and Bargala, which had been part of Dacia Mediterranea in the fourth century.[28]

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[16] Macedonia was never quite fully at peace between 140 and 60 BC until those threats were resolved. See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 308–25, 338; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 260–64. Cf. Edson, "Early Macedonia," 30.

[17] Edson, "Early Macedonia," 44.

[18] Cf. Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 321–25; Walbank, "Via Egnatia," 14–16; Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 267–68; Haensch, "Le 'visage' du gouvernement romain," 3. On the battle of Philippi specifically, see Collart, *Philippes*, 191–219.

[19] On its western course, see Strabo 7.7.4. Its construction may have begun in the 140s BC. See Hammond, "Western Part of the *via Egnatia*"; Walbank, "Thoughts on the *Via Egnatia*"; id., "Via Egnatia." Cf. Vanderspoel, "*Provincia Macedonia*," 269–70; Haensch, "Le 'visage' du gouvernement romain," 3, 11–12.

[20] On the administrative reorganization of Macedonia in late antiquity, see esp. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 90–98. Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 75–84; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 547–50; Bavant, "L'Illyricum," 308–13.

[21] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 90–94. Cf. Tsitouridou, "Political History," 224; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 546–47.

[22] Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations," 266; Tsitouridou, "Political History," 225; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 547–48.

[23] Tsitouridou, "Political History," 225; Dragon, "Illyricum protobyzantin," 1–2; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 548. Cf. Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations," 266–67; id.,

Understandably, these administrative reforms did not merely have territorial consequences but also proved to be significant for the political and ecclesiastical history of Macedonia, which found itself caught in the power struggles between the eastern and western empires, and between the church of Rome and the patriarchate of Constantinople. Selected by the tetrarch Galerius as

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Philippes, 241–50 (on the ecclesiastical tensions between Rome and Constantinople). The history of the prefecture of Illyricum is complexed and debated. For an introduction, see, e.g., Grumel, "Illyricum."

[24] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 94–98; Pietri, "Les provinces 'Salutaires,'" 332–33. Cf. Tsitouridou, "Political History," 226–27.

[25] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 95. Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 78; Tsitouridou, "Political History," 226–27; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 548–49.

[26] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 95; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 549. Wiseman ("Macedonia Secunda," 290–91) opines that M. Salutaris and M. Secunda occupied roughly the same region, the latter being "a more-or-less immediate successor" to the former.

[27] E.g., Justinian, *Novellae* 11 (dated to AD 535); Hierocles, *Synekdemos* 641 (Honigmann, 15–16). Cf. Snively, "Thessaloniki versus Justiniana Prima."

[28] According to the acts of the council of Chalcedon (see Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, 39), Stobi and Bargala were part of M. Prima. However, they are later mentioned in Hierocles's *Synekdemos* as belonging to M. Secunda. For Wiseman ("Macedonia Secunda," 289), M. Secunda occupied "the land along the middle Vardar, i.e., much of the heartland of ancient Paeonia, and stretching from the Bregalnica river on the northeast (near modern Štip) to the mid-Crna river in the southwest, in the Pelagonian plain south of Prilep." Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 96–97; Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 20–30 (with map 1); Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 549–50; Tsitouridou, "Political History," 226–27.

his main place of residence in AD 298/299,[29] Thessalonica was thus to witness some of the most dramatic events in late antiquity after it became the main administrative and economic center of the Balkan peninsula (after Constantinople). The alleged martyrdom of the young Christian army officer Demetrios (who would later be hailed as the patron saint of the city) under Maximian,[30] and the execution of Licinius, Constantine's rival, in AD 325 both took place at Thessalonica, for example.[31] And so did Theodosius I's baptism in AD 380, his proclamation of an edict in support of Nicene Christianity in February of the same year,[32] and his massacre of seven thousand rioters in the hippodrome in AD 390 (which earned him an official reprimand from Ambrose of Milan).[33] Yet the emperors' occasional stays in the Macedonian capital and the strong military presence in the province could not prevent the Gothic, and later Hunnic and Avaro-Slavic, incursions to threaten continually the region between the end of the fourth century and the sixth century.[34] While Thessalonica (thanks to its fortifications and weapon factory) and several other walled cities on the *via Egnatia* managed to resist the Goths, others such as Stobi, Heraclea Lyncestis, or Kassandreia paid a heavy price and forced Theodosius and Zeno to seek a settlement in AD 382 and 482 respectively.[35] Over time, and despite Justinian's efforts to fortify the region in the middle of

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[29] Allamani-Souri, "Imperial Thessaloniki," 88–90; Adam-Veleni, "Thessaloniki," 162–68. Remains of Galerius's palace, victory arch, and mausoleum (presumably) are still visible. For recent studies and research overviews, see Laubscher, *Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens*; Stefanidou-Tiveriou, "Palastanlage des Galerius"; Hadjitryphonos, "Palace of Galerius"; Athanasiou et al., *Η αποκατάσταση*.

[30] See sec. 2.3 in chap. 5 below.

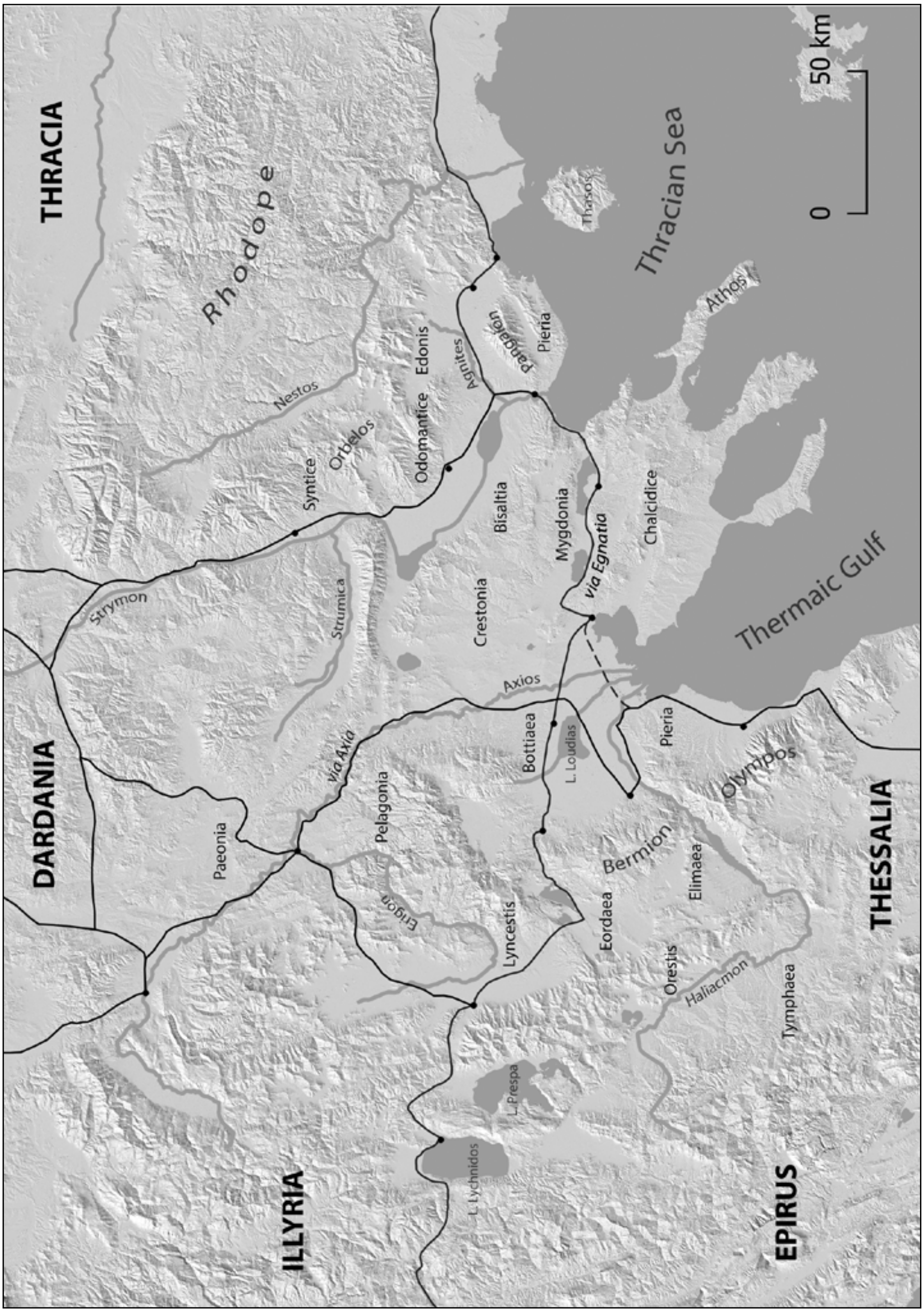
[31] Zosimus 2.28. Cf. Potter, *Roman Empire*, 379–80.

[32] *Cod. Theod.* 16.1.2. See also *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.14 against Apollinarianism (AD 388).

[33] Theodoret, *h.e.* 5.17–18; Sozomen, *h.e.* 7.25.1–8; Ambrose, *ep.* 51 (PL 16:1210–14). Cf. Tsitouridou, "Political History," 227–28; Adam-Veleni, "Thessaloniki," 171; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 550–54.

[34] See esp. Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations"; id., "Conclusion," 501–7; Ferjančić, "Slaves dans les Balkans"; Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 78–87. Cf. Tsitouridou, "Political History," 228–30, 250–55; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 554–57; Poulter, "Illyricum"; Bavant, "L'Illyricum," 338–45.

[35] As a result of their threat on Thessalonica in AD 482, the Goths of Theodoric were given several cities to settle in in the Pierian and Bottiaean plains, namely, Kyrros, Europos, Methone, Pydna, Beroea, and Dium (Jordanes, *Get.* 286–288). See Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations," 278–81; Tsitouridou, "Political History," 229; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 551, 554, 556. Cf. Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 187–89. On the settlement of AD 382, see id., *Goths and Romans*, 157–81. On the various attempts to sack Thessalonica in the seventh and eighth centuries, see esp. Lemerle, *Saint Démétrius*, vol. 2.


THRACIA
Rhodope
Nestos
Thracian Sea
Thasos
0
50 km
Athos
Pieria
Pangaion
Agrianes
Edonis
Odomantice
Orbelos
Syntice
Bisaltia
Mygdonia
Chalcidice
via Egnatia
Thermaic Gulf
Strymon
Strumica
Crestonia
Axios
DARDANIA
via Axia
Bottiaea
L. Loudias
Pieria
Olympos
Paeonia
Pelagonia
Erigon
Bermion
Elimaea
Eordaea
Lyncestis
Orestis
Haliacmon
Tymphaea
THESSALIA
L. Prespa
L. Lychnidos
ILLYRIA
EPIRUS

MAP 3 Geographical setting of Macedonia
A. STÄDTLER

the sixth century,[36] incessant pillaging by hordes of Goths, Huns, and Slavs, combined with recurring earthquakes, the bubonic plague of AD 541–542 (which reoccurred at regular intervals),[37] evolving climatic conditions (for the region of Stobi at least),[38] and other major urban and societal changes,[39] were to have a devastating impact on the demographic and economic situation of the region.[40] Ultimately, all these factors accelerated the decline of several major cities such as Philippi, Amphipolis, Dium, and Stobi, and precipitated "the veritable collapse of civilization in the region at the end of the sixth century."[41]

2 Geographical Setting[42]

If the territory of Macedonia played such an important role for Rome militarily and commercially in the second and first centuries BC, it is precisely because it enjoyed a strategic location, standing "squarely upon the chief routes through the Balkan peninsula from north to south and from east to west."[43] Indeed, long before modern political borders were established between Greece, Albania, North Macedonia, and Bulgaria, Macedonia acted as a major crossroad between Italy and Asia, and between the Danube regions and the Greek peninsula, providing its main cities with a "catchment-area of trade which extended westwards to the Adriatic Sea, northwards to the Danube basin, and eastwards to the interior of Thrace."[44]

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[36] On the fortification of northern Macedonia in this period, see Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 78–106; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 50–53, 71–73; Rizos, "Late-Antique Walls of Thessalonica."

[37] See, e.g., the essays by L.K. Little, H.N. Kennedy, D. Stathakopoulos, and P. Sarris in Little, *Plague*. Cf. Meier, "Justinianic Plague."

[38] Folk, "Geological Framework of Stobi." Cf. Wiseman, "Macedonia Secunda," 312–13. Wiseman ("Environmental Deterioration") rejects climatic changes as the sole factor behind the abandonment of Stobi, however.

[39] Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 440–41; Lavva, "Οι πόλεις των 'Χριστιανικών Βασιλικών,'" 403–13; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 564–69; Rizos, *New Cities*, 9–12, 19–38, 293–97; Spieser, "La ville en Grèce," 338.

[40] Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations," 287; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 440–41; Bakirtzis, "End of Antiquity"; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 557–58, 564–69; Wiseman, "Environmental Deterioration," 106–7. Lemerle ("Invasions et migrations," 277–81) somewhat underplays the impact of the Gothic and Hunnic raids in the fourth and fifth centuries, and attributes the demographic transformation of the Balkan peninsula to the arrivals of the Slavs at the end of the fifth century (cf. pp. 281–87).

[41] Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 545; cf. ibid., 568–70; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 48–53. On the historical developments of this period, see also Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 15–18.

[42] Ancient sources on the geography and topography of Macedonia are scarce (see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 15–36). Pausanias left no detailed description, while Pliny's succinct overview is riddled with errors (due to his amalgamation of ancient and contemporary sources; cf. Pliny, *HN* 4.10). The sections on Macedonia and Thracia in Strabo's seventh book have been lost and can only be reconstituted from fragments (4–44) preserved in the Vatican and Palatine epitomes (not all of which are reliable; cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:143; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 20–21). The principal sources on the topography of Macedonia in the early and late imperial eras are Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.13.1–46) and Hierocles's *Synekdemos*, both of which can be supplemented by epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic evidence, as well as by the *Itinerarium Antonini*,

Geographically, Macedonia belongs to the land-mass of the Balkans and not to the Greek peninsula itself, which, strictly speaking, ends north of Thessalia and Epirus at the Olympos and Pindos ranges.[45] It is thus more exposed to the hinterland than to the Mediterranean Sea, to which it has a much more limited access than the rest of Greece.[46] This situation is further reflected in its climate and vegetation, which are more continental than Mediterranean with important precipitation throughout the year, cold and snowy winters, sultry summers (with frequent thunderstorms), and an abundance of continental trees such as oak, chestnut, pine, or beech trees (while fig and olive trees are confined to the coastal areas and to Chalcidice).[47]

Itinerarium Burdigalense, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* for the third and fourth centuries (cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 24–26, 36). Fundamental works on the topic remain Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, vol. 1; Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*; id., *Γεωγραφία της ρωμαϊκής επαρχίας Μακεδονίας*; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*. See also recently *TIB* 11 and Evangelidis, *Archaeology of Roman Macedonia*, 13–24. Though incomplete and of unequal quality, the *Tabula Imperii Romani K 34* and *K 35, I* by Jaroslav Šašel and Anna Avraméa are also useful. On the geology and geomorphology of the region, see Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, 3–56; Higgins and Higgins, *Geological Companion to Greece*, 106–13; Lespez, "Philippes-Drama"; Ghilardi, "Thessalonique" (esp. the geological map, p. 485). Schultze's dated survey of Macedonia's climate and landscape (*Makedonien*, 1–32), Casson's study of its geography and natural resources (*Macedonia*, 10–101), Sivignon's and Thomas's introductions ("Geographical Setting" and "Physical Kingdom"), and the physical description of the territory by Bellier et al. (*Macédoine*, 1–48) are likewise helpful, as are the various accounts by the first modern explorers such as W.M. Leake, E.M. Cousinéry, M. Delacoulonche, or L. Heuzey (especially since they shared a particular interest in antiquities). On the latter, see esp. Bellier et al., *Macédoine*, 49–59; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 4–8. Cf. Hatzopoulos, "Les épigraphistes français en Macédoine."

[43] Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:210.

[44] Ibid., 1:3.

[45] Philippson, *Landschaften* 1/1, 10–11. Cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:4.

[46] Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:3–4.

[47] Ibid., 1:4–5, 207, 210–11. Cf. Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, 57–59; Casson, *Macedonia*, 97–101; Sivignon, "Geographical Setting," 17–25; Bellier et al., *Macédoine*, 12–26, 30–35; Lagopoulos and Boklund-Lagopoulou, *Meaning and Geography*, 49–50.

Apart from the three headlands of Chalcidice, which by their physiognomy and climate are typically Mediterranean,[48] the Macedonian landscape greatly differs from that of mainland Greece, which is characterized by a succession of "small plains and rocky slopes."[49] In contrast, "Macedonia consists mainly of open plains and widely spaced mountains" (ranging between ca. 2,000 and 3,000 m), with "areas of arable sloping ground above the plains […] or between the coast and the mountains."[50] The northern and western regions, central Chalcidice, and the area around Mount Pangaion feature rugged, wooded highlands,[51] which in antiquity provided plenty of timber, precious metals such as gold and silver,[52] wild game, freshwater lakes rich in fish, and fertile pastures for sheep rearing (in the summer).[53] To the south-southeast, on the other hand, lie well-irrigated coastal plains and wetlands that open onto the Thermaic gulf and the Thracian Sea,[54] and which allowed for cereal agriculture, horse and cattle breeding, sheep pasturing (in the spring and autumn), fishing, salt and olive production, and maritime trade.[55]

Encircling these fertile alluvial plains are the Aegean and Thracian Seas to the south-southeast and a series of mountain ranges to the east, north, and west, which can only be crossed at a few passes and defiles,[56] and which functioned as natural obstacles protecting Macedonians against northern and eastern enemies.[57] This unique geographical setting helps explain why Macedonia was overrun only once in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods, and why it became the primary "frontier of Hellenism against the barbarian north," south of which Greek civilization could prosper.[58] To the east, the massive Rhodope range (ca. 2,200 m) sheltered the plains of Philippi and Amphipolis from Thracian incursions, which by land would have only been possible through a southern coastal corridor running west of the Nestos to Neapolis, and through the Strymon valley, which, north of Parthicopolis, becomes a narrow and treacherous gorge.[59] The elongated range (ca. 2,000 m) stretching between the Strymon and the Axios, south of the Strumica, provided another natural rampart against enemy attacks and made the Axios valley, which in some places is no wider than the Strymon valley,[60] the second main entry point from the north into the central plain of "Lower Macedonia" (Κάτω Μακεδονία).[61] West of the Axios, the vast area commonly referred as "Upper Macedonia" (Ἄνω Μακεδονία) consists of a succession of mountains (known as the "Hellenids") running parallel to each other from the northwest to the southeast, and of river valleys and lake basins joined-up by narrow passes.[62] It encloses the Bottiaean and Pierian plains lying to the north and east of Mount Olympos, plains which were always more easily accessed (and therefore attacked) by land through the Tempe pass or by sea from the south.

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[48] Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:4.

[49] Ibid., 1:210–11.

[50] Ibid., 1:6, 210. Sivignon ("Geographical Setting," 24) notes that about a third of the Greek Macedonian territory consists of arable land.

[51] One fifth of Greek Macedonia was still wooded in the late 1960s, according to Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:207; cf. ibid., 14. But see Bellier et al., *Macédoine*, 30–31, 35, on the destruction of the primary vegetation since medieval times.

[52] Contrary to earlier popular opinion, the mining of gold and silver (and other ore) seems to have continued well into the Roman and Byzantine periods (cf. Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos*, 207; Samsaris, "Les mines"). Macedonia is rich in other minerals as well (e.g., copper, iron, lead). See Casson, *Macedonia*, 57–79; Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:12–13 (with map 1); Sivignon, "Geographical Setting," 22–24; Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 48–50; Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos*, 194–221. On the mines of the Pangaion (which started to be exploited in the early Bronze Age), see, e.g., Unger and Schütz, *Ein Gebirge und sein Bergbau*; Schütz and Unger, *Wanderungen im Pangaion*; Unger, "Pangaion"; Spitzlberger, "Pangaion."

[53] Cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:10, 13–15, 18, 93; Casson, *Macedonia*, 52–79; Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*, 24–42; id., *Γεωγραφία της ρωμαϊκής επαρχίας Μακεδονίας*, 7–20; Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos*, 222–25.

[54] On which see Strabo 7, frag. 20–23, 36.

[55] Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:205–211; Edson, "Early Macedonia," 18–19. Cf. Casson, *Macedonia*, 3–10; Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos*, 225–29; Lagopoulos and Boklund-Lagopoulou, *Meaning and Geography*, 49–50.

[56] See Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:207.

The three main rivers (and their tributaries) running through this vast territory, namely, the Haliacmon, the Axios (modern Vardar), and the Strymon (modern Strymonas), have also played an important part (along with the Nestos on the eastern border) in defining and shaping Macedonia as a geographical and political entity.[63] They divided it into semi-isolated land segments (which roughly correspond to the territories of the four main administrative units),[64] and delineated north-south communication axes (although these were not necessarily the easiest or safest ways to travel).[65] Over the centuries, they have also greatly contributed to the agricultural fertility, and hence prosperity, of the region, and to the transformation of its landscape. In particular, the accumulation of sediments from the Haliacmon, the Axios, and the Strymon, as well as deforestation, irrigation, and the drainage of lakes and swamps in Hellenistic (and modern) times have resulted in the formation of large fertile plains in the Axios-Haliacmon delta (whereas the Thermaic gulf used to reach almost as far as Pella in the Bronze Age),[66] in the lower Strymon basin, and in the depression between the Rhodope and Pangaion massifs.[67] Together with Macedonia's other natural and agriculture resources, its maritime and road infrastructures such as Thessalonica's harbor or the *via Egnatia* (which, in the Roman period, facilitated trade across the Balkans and between Italy and western Asia Minor),[68] these fertile alluvial plains thus ensured the development and sustainability of the sizeable, interconnected urban centers that were Thessalonica, Amphipolis, Beroea, Dium, and Philippi.

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[57] See the brief overview in Thomas, "Physical Kingdom," 70–74.

[58] Edson, "Early Macedonia," 44. Edson attributes the Gauls' incursion in 279 BC to the "evil and irresponsible" behavior of the Macedonian king at the time, whereas its territory was otherwise usually impregnable. Cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:207, 211.

[59] Cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:8. On the eastern Macedonian-Thracian mountain ranges, see Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*, 11–15; Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos*, 73–85, 119–23, 167.

[60] There are three main defiles along the Axios between Scupi and the Thermaic gulf. See Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:171.

[61] Cf. Strabo 7, frag. 4. On the delineations of Lower Macedonia, see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 101–2.

[62] On the physical outlook and elevation of Macedonia, see map 1 in Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, vol. 1. Cf. Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία της ρωμαϊκής επαρχίας Μακεδονίας*, 7–8. On the limits of Upper Macedonia, see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 227–33.

[63] On the main Macedonian rivers in general, see Casson, *Macedonia*, 13–22; Le Bohec, "Les fleuves de Macédoine." Cf. Thomas, "Physical Kingdom," 67–70.

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[64] Cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:206–7; Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 566.

[65] While the Axios and the Strymon were likely partly navigable (cf. Le Bohec, "Les fleuves de Macédoine," 99), the easiest and perhaps fastest route from the Aegean Sea to the central Balkans followed the *via Egnatia* from Thessalonica to Heraclea Lyncestis, where it veered north towards Stuberra and then east towards Stobi, thus avoiding the narrow gorge of Demir Kapija (the "Iron Gate") on the Axios, some twenty kilometers southeast of Stobi. See Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:7, 153, 173. The coastal road linking the Pierian plain to Thessalonica (without passing through Beroea) was probably built in the third or fourth century to facilitate the deployment of troops to the north. See Edson, "Strepsa," 173–82. Cf. Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou, *Macedonian Topography*, 53.

[66] On the formation of the alluvial plain south of Pella, the largest coastal plain of Greece (ca. 2,200 km^2), see Ghilardi, "Thessalonique"; Fouache et al., "Thessaloniki Coastal Plain" (esp. p. 1170, fig. 10). Cf. Higgins and Higgins, *Geological Companion to Greece*, 110; maps 15–16 in Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:145, 150; and fig. 5 in Sivignon, "Geographical Setting," 24.

[67] Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:9–10, 15–16, 142–62, 164, 193–94. Cf. Sivignon, "Geographical Setting," 25–26; Le Bohec, "Les fleuves de Macédoine," 96. On the lower Strymon basin and the plain of Philippi, see esp. Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*, 16–23; Zannis, *Le pays entre le Strymon et le Nestos*, 69–73, 126–29, 147–55; and Lespez, "Philippes-Drama."

[68] On the course of the *Egnatia* across the region, see the next section (3). On its socio-economic impact, see Lolos, "Via Egnatia after Egnatius."

3 Urban Infrastructures and Transportation Network

Until fairly recently, the dominant opinion amongst historians was that Roman Macedonia was little more than a rural provincial backwater that remained rather primitive in its socio-economic outlook, and which faded away from the historical stage once the regions south of the Danube had been pacified and annexed as provinces.[69] Archaeological and epigraphic explorations in the second half of the twentieth century have turned this view around, however, and have helped uncover a relatively dense network of cities, towns, and villages that thrived culturally and economically from the Principate onwards.[70] The work of Fanoula Papazoglou in particular has challenged the view that Macedonia remained tribal in its socio-political organization,[71] and has highlighted the "expansion" and "intensification" of urban life in the region after the Roman conquest,[72] even though more recent archaeological research has somewhat nuanced this reconstruction (at least as it concerns the second and first centuries BC).[73] Based on a variety of literary and epigraphic sources, she estimated that between eighty-five and a hundred cities existed at the time of the creation of the province and in the early imperial era, a number that had shrunk by at least half in late antiquity.[74] Due to the successive crises of the third century, the plague, and the Avaro-Slavic raids of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Macedonian population indeed contracted significantly and moved from the more vulnerable central plains to the less accessible towns and settlements of Upper Macedonia.[75]

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[69] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 1–2, 37–51, 441.

[70] See Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, xv, 1–2, 4–10, 437–38; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 48; Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 564–69; Pandermalis, "Monuments and Art," 202–11; and most recently Evangelidis, *Archaeology of Roman Macedonia* (esp. pp. 25–37). The sedentarization and urban development of Macedonia and the political organization of its cities were actually accelerated by Philip II. See Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 49–51; Marc, "Les villes de Macédoine"; Cabanes, "Histoire comparée," 299–300. On the economic outlook of Greece and Macedonia in the Roman period in general, see Tenney, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 436–96.

[71] For Papazoglou (*Les villes de Macédoine*, 1) urbanization is itself an indicator of the socio-cultural, economic, and political development of a region, and thus of the decline of a tribal political structure.

[72] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 442. Cf. similar conclusions in Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 364; Zarmakoupi, "Urban Space"; Sève, "Comment estimer l'importance régionale de la colonie de Philippes à la lumière des données architecturales?"; Evangelidis, *Archaeology of Roman Macedonia*, 176–86.

[73] See Blein, "L'évolution de l'occupation," 245 and 248. In appearance, at least, there is no sign of the (relative) desolation noted in Attica and the Peloponnese in the aftermath of the Roman conquest, on which see Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 24–32, 53–55, 89–91. See Karagianni's fundamental survey, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, for the evolution of urbanization and settlement patterns in late antiquity.

[74] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 437–42.

These cities, and the municipalities or regional confederacies (κοινά) comprising the small towns and villages (κῶμαι) of Upper Macedonia, provided the basic political and administrative structure on which the Romans relied to govern the province, leaving them, as Philip II had traditionally done, a certain degree of autonomy in the governance of their internal affairs.[76] Few of these cities prospered in the period between the demise of Perseus in 168 BC and the end of the Roman civil wars in the 40s BC, as they fell victim to the rapine of Roman governors or suffered repetitive raids from northern tribes.[77] In the last days of the Roman republic, however, a new wave of demographic and urban development took place with the influx of Roman merchants (*negotiatores*/συμπραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι), veterans, dispossessed Italians, and former Pompeian supporters, who contributed to the economic resurgence of the pacified region (in part through acts of euergetism) and rose as the social elites of its cities.[78] Four triumviral and Caesarian-Augustan colonies with large rural territories were established at Kassandreia and Dium in 43/42 BC, at Philippi in 42 BC, at Pella around 40 BC, and even perhaps at Stobi, which, if it never became a colony, at least enjoyed the rare privilege of *ius italicum*[79] as a *municipium* from AD 73.[80] Most of the other cities, such as Edessa, Beroea (the seat of the Macedonian *koinon*), or Heraclea Lyncestis, retained their peregrine status as tributary *poleis* or *civitates* (if they were not converted into *vici* and integrated into the territories of colonies), and their traditional political institutions such as the popular assemblies (ἐκκλησία, δῆμος), the city councils (βουλή), and the local magistracies (ἄρχοντες, πολιτάρχαι, ἀγορανόμοι).[81] Two notable exceptions are Thessalonica, the seat of the Roman governor, and Amphipolis, which were both granted the status of *civitas libera* (i.e., free and self-governing city) in 42 BC and 148 BC respectively, along with some regional *koina* from Upper Macedonia, which, though appearing to be free, were likely autonomous only with regards to their local affairs.[82]

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[75] On the decline and transformation of Macedonian cities in late antiquity, see Snively, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity," 564–69; Rizos, *New Cities*, 30–32, 36–38; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 62, 68–70. For a detailed survey of the cities, villages, and fortified settlements of northern Macedonia in the late antique and early Byzantine periods, see Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*.

[76] Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 351–54; ead., *Les villes de Macédoine*, 37–51; Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 363–68; Blein, "L'évolution de l'occupation," 236–38. On the political organization and social outlook of Upper Macedonia, see esp. Sverkos, *Συμβολή στη ιστορία της Άνω Μακεδονίας*. See also Nigdelis and Souris, "Πόλεις and Πολιτεῖαι."

[77] Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 320, 356; Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine," 113–14; Sarikakis, "Cicero."

[78] See Papazoglou, "La population des colonies"; Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine"; Demaille, "La population d'origine italienne"; Bartels, *Städtische Eliten*; id., "In Search of Social Mobility"; Sève, "Notables de Macédoine"; Sverkos, "Prominente Familien"; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 19–30, 249–74. Cf. Samsaris, "Οι Ρωμαίοι"; Fournier, "Les citoyens romains à Thasos."

[79] That is, just as a colony, Stobi was of equal legal standing as an Italian city. Amongst other privileges, it could govern itself and its citizens were free from direct taxation. Cf. Berger, *Dictionary of Roman Law*, 530.

[80] Although Philippi was founded by Marcus Antonius, and Kassandreia, Dium, and also perhaps Pella by Brutus (under Caesar's orders), it is Augustus who was acknowledged as founder of all four after the battle of Actium. See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 356–61; ead., *Les villes de Macédoine*, 108–111, 135–39, 405–13, 424–29; ead., "La population des colonies";

By the second or third century AD, many of the major cities of the province had acquired the kind of urban infrastructures and monumental architecture that are common throughout the Roman Greek East, namely, a public square girded by administrative, commercial, and religious buildings, which was the *haut lieu* of the civic life of the community, public baths, fountains, and aqueducts for sanitation, stoas and/or gymnasiums for social interaction, educational activities, and physical training, theaters for public meetings, cultural entertainment, and gladiatorial shows (in the Roman period), and, from the middle of the fourth century onwards, one or several ecclesiastical basilicas with at least one baptistery (if the city was an episcopal see).[83] In sum, just as anywhere else in the Roman empire, Macedonian cities functioned as political, cultural, and economic centers around which the neighboring rural areas (χώραι) gravitated. They were interconnected by a vast network of terrestrial and maritime roads, some of which had existed since Hellenistic times

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Rizakis, "Expropriations et confiscations"; id., "Recrutement et formation des élites"; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 19–56; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 202–14. Regarding Stobi's uncertain status, see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 313–18. As a free city (*civitas libera*), Thessalonica was only given the honorary distinction of *colonia* in the middle of the third century. Cf. Edson, "Macedonica," 133; Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 361 n. 267.

[81] Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 359, 361. Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 195–96, 198–99; Youni, "Grecs et Romains," 14–15. On the Macedonian civic institutions and magistracies, see Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, 127–65.

[82] Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 361–67; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 198–99; Haensch, *Capita provinciarum*, 104–12; Blein, "L'évolution de l'occupation," 237–38. Cf. Sverkos, *Συμβολή στη ιστορία της Άνω Μακεδονίας*, 31–68; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 224–27. Scotussa, a city in the lower Strymon basin about which hardly anything is known, appears to have been a *civitas libera* as well (cf. Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 362).

[83] Cf. Pandermalis, "Monuments and Art," 208–14; Zarmakoupi, "Urban Space"; Sève and Weber, *Philippes*; Sève, "Comment estimer l'importance régionale de la colonie de Philippes à la lumière des données architecturales?"; Di Napoli, "Buildings for Entertainment."

at least,[84] and which facilitated commercial and cultural exchanges as well as population mobility across the region.[85]

The largest and principal Macedonian cities were indeed all placed on the main transportation axes that were the *via Axia* and the *via Egnatia*, the latter being by far the most important road in the whole province, if not in the southern Balkans. Likely built in the 140s BC by the governor Cn. Egnatius for military purposes primarily,[86] and later repaired by Trajan,[87] it functioned as an extension of the *via Appia* (which stopped at Brundisium) and traversed the entire Balkan peninsula from Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, the two starting points on the Adriatic coast, all the way to Byzantium on the Bosphorus.[88] Heading east, it passed through Lychnidos, veered southeast at Heraclea Lyncestis before making a ninety-degree left turn at Arnissa, south of Petres, to pass north of Mount Bermion and reach Edessa on the western edge of the Bottiaean plain.[89] It continued further east onto Thessalonica after crossing the Axios near Pella, skirted the north of the Chalcidice peninsula via Apollonia (running south of Lakes Koroneia and Bolbe), and followed the coast of the Strymon gulf onto Amphipolis.[90] Rather than running south through the Pierian plain (which was traversed by a secondary road), it then went around the northern side of the Pangaion through the Angites valley, before heading southeast towards Philippi.[91] It carried on further south onto the harbor city of Neapolis, from which it proceeded eastward along the Thracian coast until Kypsela on the Hebros river initially, and, from the end of the Republican era, all the way to Perinthos (and eventually Byzantium/Constantinople).[92]

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[84] Cf. Samsaris, "Το οδικό δίκτυο"; Loukopoulou, "'Ο Φίλιππος Ε΄"; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, "A propos des voies de communication"; Walbank, "Via Egnatia," 8.

[85] Cf. Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine," 110–12 (with fig. 1). For an overview of the road network in northern Macedonia, see Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 30–47.

[86] Walbank, "Thoughts on the *Via Egnatia*." Cf. Hammond, "Western Part of the *via Egnatia*," 192–93; Walbank, "Via Egnatia."

[87] Collart, "Une réfection de la '*via Egnatia*' sous Trajan"; id., "Les milliaires de la *via Egnatia*," 190 and 197 (no. 2).

[88] On its western course, see Strabo 7.7.4.

[89] Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:19–28 (with important corrections in id., "Western Part of the *via Egnatia*"); Edson, "*Via Egnatia* in Western Macedonia"; Hammond and Hatzopoulos, "Via Egnatia in Western Macedonia," pts. I and II; Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία της ρωμαϊκής επαρχίας Μακεδονίας*, 24–31. Cf. Collart, "Les milliaires de la *via Egnatia*," 183–87; Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la voie Egnatienne*.

[90] Hatzopoulos, "The *via Egnatia*." Cf. Collart, "Les milliaires de la *via Egnatia*," 187–90.

[91] Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*, 43–48; Walbank, "Thoughts on the *Via Egnatia*"; Collart, "Les milliaires de la *via Egnatia*," 190–91.

[92] Walbank, "Thoughts on the *Via Egnatia*."

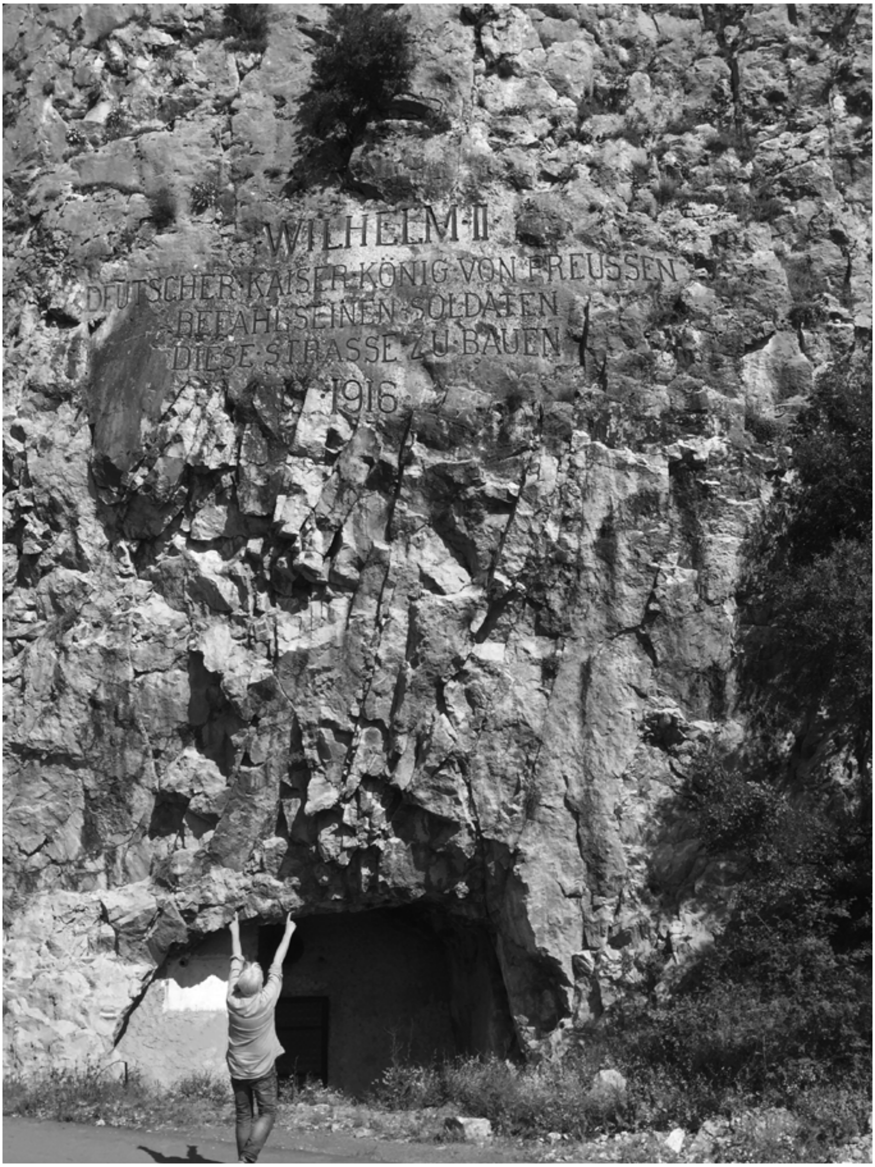
WILHELM II
DEUTSCHER KAISER KÖNIG VON PREUSSEN
BEFAHL SEINEN SOLDATEN
DIESE STRASSE ZU BAUEN
1916

FIGURE 1 *Doctissimus servus Inscriptionum Graecarum spectans unam ex maximis inscriptionibus Macedoniae in loco Demir Kapija*
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU

The *via Axia*, on the other hand, was shorter and ran north from a crossroad on the *Egnatia* located near Pella.[93] Its actual route along the Axios river is not certain, though it is clear that it ran along its western bank through the gorge of Demir Kapija, before continuing across the plain of Stobi onto Scupi and, further on, onto Naissus in Moesia—the Axios itself and the lower Strymon may have also been partly navigable.[94] The road going in the opposite southern direction must have left the *Egnatia* at the same crossroad and proceeded in a southwestern direction towards Beroea across the Bottiaean plain (passing south of Lake Loudias).[95] It most likely bridged the Haliacmon at the entrance of the gorge, and went around the northeastern side of the Pierian range via Aegae, the former capital of the Macedonian kingdom, and the harbor of Pydna. Thence, it headed south towards Dium across the Pierian plain, before continuing south onto Thessalia through the Tempe pass. Towards the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth, when sufficient sediments had accumulated in the Axios-Haliacmon delta and bridges could be constructed across the river mouths, a coastal road was built between Pydna and Thessalonica to avoid the long detour via Beroea, and thus to hasten the deployment of troops from central Greece to the Danube frontier.[96] Soldiers or merchants heading further north could thus have traveled onwards on the *via Axia*, or they could have followed the *via Egnatia* westward until Heraclea Lyncestis, whence they could join the road that ran northeast along the Erigon and Astibo rivers all the way to Serdica via Stuberra, Stobi, Astibo, Tranupara, and Pautalia.[97] Alternatively, they could have journeyed up the Strymon valley on the road(s) that also led to Serdica via Amphipolis, Serrai, and Parthicopolis.[98]

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[93] Edson ("Strepsa," 176) places it "probably at a point between Cyrrhus and Pella."

[94] Cf. Le Bohec, "Les fleuves de Macédoine," 99. For two possible *miliaria* from the *via Axia* discovered in the vicinity of Stobi, see *IG* X 2,2.468 and 490 (AD 306/7).

[95] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou, *Macedonian Topography*, 28–32.

[96] Edson, "Strepsa," 173–82. Cf. Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou, *Macedonian Topography*, 53. On the bridge that crossed the Haliacmon on the coastal road from Thessalonica to Dium, see Edson, "Strepsa," 179; Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:160–62; and more recently Ghilardi, "Roman Bridge."

[97] According to Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, 1:7, 153, 173, the first section of the road via Heraclea Lyncestis was likely the easiest and fastest route from the Aegean Sea to the central Balkans. Cf. Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 36–39.

[98] Two roads running on either side of the river in the lower Strymon valley have been identified. See Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 354–60; Kolev, "Middle Strymon Valley." Cf. Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*, 50–53; Hatzopoulos, "Strymon," 33–46.

4 Ethnic and Socio-cultural Outlook

From its earliest beginnings, the Roman province of Macedonia was primarily populated by two ethnically distinct groups (even though the reality is slightly more complex):[99] the Macedonians, who themselves were made of various tribes but who shared a common ethnic and cultural identity, and the Illyrians who traditionally lived in the Epirus region (west of Lychnidos), which became the province of Epirus Nova after Diocletian's reforms[100]—a Thracian substratum also persisted in the east, in the region of Philippi.[101] After the annexations of Philip II, all of the indigenous tribes living on Macedonian territory, including those of Thracian or Phrygian origin on the eastern and northern frontiers,[102] were more or less Hellenized and integrated into Macedonian society, which, though still relatively diverse ethnically, formed a culturally cohesive society by the second century BC.[103]

The creation of the province in 148 BC logically resulted in an increased Roman and Italian presence in the region (albeit a military one at first), which is particularly well attested by the wide distribution of the silver denarius,[104] by the appearance of Roman names (either in Latin or in Graecized form) in Latin and Greek inscriptions,[105] and by an abundance of Italian sigillated and fine ceramics in some of the main cities (especially those located on or near the *via Egnatia*).[106] Veterans and dispossessed Italians were settled in at least four newly founded colonies in the 40s BC,[107] while the prospect of new markets along the *Egnatia* attracted numerous merchants (*negotiatores*/πραγματευόμενοι) and landowners (ἐγκεκτημένοι) from Italy, the Aegean islands (Delos especially), and neighboring provinces, who, in the late Republican and early imperial eras, established Roman communities (*conventus civium Romanorum*) in cities such as Thessalonica, Beroea, Edessa, Stuberra, or even Acanthus in Chalcidice.[108]

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[99] See Papazoglou, "Structures ethniques." Cf. Proeva, "Macédoine," 173.

[100] Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 328–29, 337–38. Cf. Youni, "Grecs et Romains," 15–16; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 96.

[101] Cf. Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation," 144–61 (passim); Rizakis, "Expropriations et confiscations," §18; Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien," 148; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 75.

[102] On the lower Strymon valley, see Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 353–54. The northern frontier of Hellenism coincided with the administrative border of northern Macedonia, which can be safely established at a midway point between Stobi and the Flavian colony of Scupi where Latin predominates in the inscriptions. See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 333; Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen*, 21. Cf. Proeva, "Macédoine," 169; Destephen, "La coexistence du grec et du latin," 133. On the Hellenization and Romanization of Thracia, see Sharankov, "Roman Thrace."

[103] Distant Phrygian and pre-Macedonian indigenous influences remained discernible only in the onomastics of tribes from eastern and northern Macedonia, as well as from western Illyria. See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 334, 337–38; ead., "Structures ethniques." Cf. Proeva, "Macédoine," 174–75. See also Sakellariou, "Inhabitants," 63.

[104] Amandry and Kremydi, "La pénétration du denier en Macédoine."

[105] Generally speaking, Roman citizens can be identified by their Latin *tria nomina* (or *duo nomina* from the second or third century AD onward), while Macedonian *peregrini* usually bear a single personal name followed by a patronymic or matronymic (in the case of illegitimate children) in the genitive. See especially the standard studies by Tataki, *Roman Presence*; ead., *Ancient Beroea*, 371–405; ead., *Macedonian Edessa*, 86–91; ead.,

The Roman subjugation of Macedonia did not completely eradicate Hellenistic civilization, however, and cities retained a certain degree of autonomy in their internal political affairs initially (albeit under Roman control), while the local rural population (from Upper Macedonia especially) appear to have preserved its Greek cultural identity and traditions.[109] Outside of the urban aristocracy, few Macedonians were granted Roman citizenship (prior to the second century AD),[110] and the majority remained *peregrini*.[111] Greek

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"Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia"; ead., "Nomina of Macedonia." See also Samsaris, "Η περίπτωση της Βέροιας," 367–75; Rizakis, "Κοινότητα των 'Συμπραγματευομένων Ρωμαίων'"; Papazoglou, "Stuberra," 252–56; Babamova, "Romanization," 181–83; Salomies, "Contacts"; Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine," 124–31; Youni, "Grecs et Romains," 20–23.

[106] Anderson-Stojanović, *Stobi*, 185–89; ead., "Pottery at Stobi," 49–50; Karivieri, "Trade and Exchange along the Via Egnatia." Cf. Proeva, "Les influences étrangères," 310–11.

[107] Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 356–61; ead., "La population des colonies"; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation"; Rizakis, "Expropriations et confiscations"; Demaille, "La population d'origine italienne." On the commercial importance of the *Egnatia*, see Lolos, "Via Egnatia after Egnatius."

[108] See Papazoglou, "Stuberra," 253–55; ead., "La population des colonies," 112; Samsaris, "Οι Ρωμαίοι"; Loukopoulou, "Roman *Conventus* of Chalcidice"; Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine." Cf. Tataki, "Nomina of Macedonia," 108; ead., *Roman Presence*, 37–38; Salomies, "Contacts," 116 and 124; Youni, "Grecs et Romains," 15–17.

[109] See Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 198–99; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 2, 53. Cf. Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 569; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation," 157–58. More generally on the impact of Romanization on the Greeks, see Woolf, "Becoming Roman"; id., "Roman Provincial Cultures," 16.

[110] See Samsaris, "Η περίπτωση της Θεσσαλονίκης"; id., "Η περίπτωση της Βέροιας"; id., "Το ανατολικό τμήμα της επαρχίας"; Sève, "Notables de Macédoine"; Sverkos, "Prominente Familien." Cf. Papazoglou, "Stuberra," 253–56; Hatzopoulos, "La société provinciale," 52; Rizakis, "Recrutement et formation des élites" (see esp. pp. 110–11, 123–29); Giannakopoulos, "Greek Presence," 100–102, 115–17; Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien," 133–34. The grant of the *civitas romana* was in any case a rare occurrence in the early imperial era. See Rizakis, "Anthroponymie," 27.

[111] A survey of 850 inscriptions from Upper Macedonia and Paeonia showed, for example, that the number of *peregrini* was more than double that of *cives Romani*. See Babamova, "Romanization," 181–83. Cf. Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 359. On the legal status of the

continued to be the dominant language throughout the province (as illustrated by inscriptions) and progressively replaced Latin, the language of the Roman administration and military, in colonies and in the provincial capital (though more slowly at Philippi and Thessalonica than at Dium, Pella, and Kassandreia).[112] Cultural and legal traditions, as well as religious beliefs and practices, persisted and co-existed with Roman customs and newly introduced eastern cults.[113] Yet, while the newcomers embraced local cults, few Roman deities were adopted by the autochthons themselves outside of the official cults of Roma and of the emperor (mainly for political reasons), probably because "most of them were anyway assimilated to the main Greek divinities"[114]—the worship of Artemis/Diana on the acropolis of Philippi is a case in point.[115]

From the second century AD, when Macedonian patriotic sentiment no longer posed a threat (as it was "now divorced from any aspiration towards independence"),[116] Macedonia's cultural heritage was somewhat revived, or at least reconciled with,[117] by philhellene Roman emperors such as Hadrian, Caracalla, or Alexander Severus, who wished to perpetuate and appropriate the memory of Alexander the Great,[118] as well as by local civic

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indigenous populations living in or near Roman colonies, see ead., "La population des colonies"; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 56–72; Demaille, "La fondation de la colonie romaine de Dion."

[112] See Papazoglou, "Macédoine," 333; ead., "La population des colonies," 118–19; Destephen, "La coexistence du grec et du latin," 134, 138–39; Hatzopoulos, "Le grec et le latin"; Rizakis, "Le grec face au latin"; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation," 153–55; Giannakopoulos, "Greek Presence"; Brélaz, "La langue des *incolae*"; Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien"; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 77–94. As Rizakis ("Langue et culture") notes, in the imperial era Latin was adopted by Greek notables and intellectuals mainly for practical political and scholarly considerations.

[113] Cf. Babamova, "Romanization," 183–85; ead., "Epigraphic Traces," 279–80; Hatzopoulos, "La société provinciale," 49–52; Youni, "Grecs et Romains," 19–20; Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien," 126–32. On the application of private law in Roman Macedonia, see Youni, *Provincia Macedonia*.

[114] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207. Cf. Düll, "Romanisierung Nordmakedoniens." "[R]eferences to Roman cults and mythology" are particularly rare on coins, except at Philippi and Stobi (where depictions of various Victoria types, including Victoria Augusta, are common). See Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 100; ead., "Victoria Augusta."

[115] See Collart and Ducrey, *Les reliefs rupestres*, 222–25. Cf. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 44–47, 121–35; Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien," 145–46.

[116] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 202.

[117] Cf. Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation," 161–62.

[118] This is particularly well illustrated by the numerous provincial coins minted from the end of Severus Alexander's reign (i.e., *post* AD 231), which commonly feature a head of Alexander on the obverse (e.g., Gaebler, *Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* 3/1:94–188 nos. 322–859 and 3/2:47–48 nos. 1–4; *BMC* 5:22–27 nos. 98–144). Cf. Gagé, "Alexandre

communities—Amphipolis especially—and aristocratic families eager to appeal to their glorious past on their coinage and monumental architecture, in their inscriptions, and by giving their children historical Macedonian names.[119] Thus, whilst Romanization did have a considerable impact on the central political institutions of Macedonia and on the urban structure, monumental topography, and "sacred landscape" of its cities,[120] its effects were perhaps less dramatic at a socio-cultural level as Roman and Italian immigrants, together with their descendants and (non-Macedonian) freedmen, integrated into Macedonian society (partly through intermarriage),[121] progressively assimilated Greek culture and adopted its language,[122] and increasingly contributed to the life of their communities as the new social elite.[123] Still, as material culture, monumental architecture, inscriptions, onomastics, and the survival of Latin indicate, they did so without completely forsaking their cultural heritage.[124] They brought along with them popular social practices such as public bathing and gladiatorial games, and held unto certain funerary customs such as the Rosalia or Parentalia festivals, which are well

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le Grand"; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199, 202; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 105; Allamani-Souri, "Imperial Cult," 107–8. On Roman philhellenism more generally, see Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 250–72; Woolf, "Becoming Roman," 132–35.

[119] See Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 569; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199, 202; Touloumakos, "Historische Personennamen"; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 101–5. The reuse of a Macedonian frieze on the eastern façade of a public basilica at Dium is particularly telling, as are statues erected in honor of Alexander the Great and his family on the forum at Thessalonica (*IG* X 2,1.275–277; cf. no. 278 mentioning a priest of Alexander). See Pandermalis, "The Cities," 99–100; id., *Discovering Dion*, 208–9; Christodoulou, "Δημόσια οικοδομήματα," 307–12; id., "Δίον," 179 (with figs. 1–4); Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien," 124–25; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 58–59.

[120] See Papazoglou, "Macédoine"; Haensch, *Capita provinciarum*, 104–12; id., "Le 'visage' du gouvernement romain"; Bartels, *Städtische Eliten*, 95–104; Kousser, "Hellenistic and Roman Art," 535–36; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*; Zarmakoupi, "Urban Space"; Sève, "Comment estimer l'importance régionale de la colonie de Philippes à la lumière des données architecturales?"; Evangelidis, *Archaeology of Roman Macedonia*, 75–92.

[121] See Youni, "Grecs et Romains," 20–23.

[122] Ernst, "Hellénisme et romanité"; Rizakis, "Le grec face au latin"; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation"; Brélaz and Demaille, "Traces du passé macédonien," 133–37.

[123] On the Roman elites in Macedonia, see Bartels, *Städtische Eliten*; id., "In Search of Social Mobility"; Nigdelis, "*Geminii* und *Claudii*"; Sverkos, "Prominente Familien"; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 249–74; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 175–94. Cf. Rizakis, "Anthroponymie," 28–29; id., "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine," 118–20; id., "Recrutement et formation des élites"; id., "La mobilité sociale" (passim).

[124] Ernst, "Hellénisme et romanité"; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, "Acculturation."

attested at Philippi.[125] As has been increasingly recognized, Romanization, a much debated concept in itself, never took place in a single direction but was a much more complex, bi-directional, cultural interaction and negotiation,[126] which, in Macedonia as elsewhere, led to an amalgamation of Roman and Greek cultural elements and to the emergence of multidimensional civic and cultural identities.[127]

In addition to Roman and Italian settlers, the province attracted other ethnic groups who migrated from neighboring regions such as Thracia or from territories further east, namely, northwestern Asia Minor and the Levant (though it is not always possible to discern their actual place of origin).[128] Eastern influence is particularly pronounced in funerary epigraphy and iconography, and, to a lesser extent, in the onomastics. It is also reflected in the worship of oriental deities such as Isis, Serapis, or the Mother of Gods Ma (at Edessa).[129] This suggests regular cultural interaction with populations from the eastern provinces as, thanks to the *via Egnatia*, Macedonia continued to function as a nodal point of commercial exchanges throughout the imperial era.[130] From the fourth century, the repeated incursions of northern Avaro-Slavic tribes and the settlement of Goths in several cities of the Bottiaean and Pierian plains in the late fifth century would further contribute to the ethnic and cultural diversification of the province in late antiquity.[131]

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[125] See Collart, *Philippes*, 475–85; Tsochos, “*Rosalia*”; Proeva, “Les croyances funéraires,” 151–52; Ducros, “Organisation et importance des combats de gladiateurs.” Cf. Papazoglou, “Stuberra,” 256; Babamova, “Romanization,” 186; ead., “Epigraphic Traces,” 283–84; Youni, “Grecs et Romains,” 24–25.

[126] See, e.g., Woolf, “Becoming Roman”; id., “Roman Provincial Cultures”; Alcock, “Problem of Romanization”; Webster, “Creolizing”; Rizakis, “Langue et culture.”

[127] See Ernst, “Hellénisme et romanité”; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, “Acculturation.” Cf. Kousser, “Hellenistic and Roman Art,” 532–36; Rizakis, “Anthroponymie,” 28–29; Youni, “Grecs et Romains,” 26; Kremydi-Sicilianou, “‘Belonging’ to Rome,” 96, 104; Evangelidis, “Architecture of the Imperial Cult,” 126.

[128] See Robert, “Inscriptions de Thessalonique,” 242–43; Proeva, “Les influences étrangères”; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, “Acculturation,” 158–59; Demaille, “La population d’origine italienne,” 199.

[129] See Proeva, “Les influences étrangères”; ead., “Macédoine,” 174–75; ead., “Stèles funéraires,” 146; Babamova, “Epigraphic Traces”; Nikoloska, “Cults of Isis”; Christesen and Murray, “Macedonian Religion,” 435–36; Rizakis and Touratsoglou, “*Mors Macedonica*,” 264, 275, 280; Rizakis, “L’émigration romaine en Macédoine,” 129–30 (with the abundant bibliography in nn. 98–104).

[130] Cf. Lolos, “Via Egnatia after Egnatius.”

[131] See Lemerle, “Invasions et migrations”; Ferjančić, “Slaves dans les Balkans.” Cf. Snively, “Macedonia in Late Antiquity,” 554–57.

In sum, despite regional specificities, Macedonian society appears to have differed little from the rest of the eastern Graeco-Roman world. It was multiethnic and multicultural, open to western and eastern religious influences (as will further be seen below), and highly stratified socially. Its population comprised mostly indigenous Macedonians and Thracians, whom the Romans nonetheless considered as *peregrini* (or *incolae*/πάροικοι, if they lived on colonial territories), Greek and/or Hellenized migrants originating from the regions north and east of Macedonia, along with Italian traders and Roman citizens.[132] Among the latter, the majority were likely free-born Romans (*ingenui*), who had settled in one of the four colonies (or descended from the first settlers), while a small number must have consisted of *peregrini* who received the *civitas romana* by imperial privilege (as their *nomen gentile* indicates). As anywhere else in the Roman world, slavery must have also been omnipresent, as the numerous manumission inscriptions of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods Autochthon at Leukopetra suggest, even though it is impossible to evaluate the proportion of *servi* and *liberti* in Macedonian society in Roman times.[133]

Similarly, despite the dearth of epigraphic and archaeological evidence it is safe to assume that the majority of the population was of humble social origins and comprised artisans, traders, workmen, farmers, and pastoralists who lived modestly in the towns, villages, small farms, and rural estates dispersed throughout the region. They manufactured consumer goods and artistic works, built infrastructures, exploited local mines, bred sheep and cattle, and continued to cultivate cereals, orchards, vineyards, and olive trees, just as their ancestors had done before them.[134] Though likely landowners themselves, the social elite, on the other hand, aggregated in the main urban centers that they administered and developed. Judging by the numerous monuments erected in their honor, they must have concentrated all of the economic, political, and religious power into their hands, sharing amongst themselves the various magistracies and priesthoods—some of which (e.g., the "politarchy" and "Macedonarchy") were specific to Macedonia—and were responsible for relaying and implementing imperial policies throughout the province.[135] In this respect as well, Macedonian society was not at all dissimilar to other Roman provincial societies. While it was not as rich in natural resources as Asia Minor and never functioned as a hub for Mediterranean-wide trade, its agricultural fertility, transportation infrastructures, and urban facilities ensured its economic and cultural development in the early imperial era, which proved to be a period of relative peace and prosperity.[136]

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[132] Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199–202; Papazoglou, "La population des colonies"; Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 356–57.

[133] See Youni, *Provincia Macedonia*, 49–120; ead., "Affranchissements." Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199–202; Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 357; Demaille, "Esclaves et affranchis." For epigraphic evidence of manumission from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods Autochthon, see *I.Leukopetra*.

[134] Cf. Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 360–63; Tsitouridou, "Political History," 232–35.

5 Religious Context

The religious outlook of Macedonia in the Classical and Hellenistic periods did not vastly differ from that of the rest of the Greek world insofar as it was marked by the same plurality and diversity of cults and divinities, even though it had a strong regional character that reflected local preferences and original historical developments.[137] Whilst we lack sources to reconstruct the "Macedonian pantheon" in its entirety, all the available evidence point to the existence of a "'regional pantheon' which was definitely Greek," yet "open to different influences and characterized by local peculiarities."[138] This regional singularity, which can in part be explained by the way in which local cults and political institutions (both royal and civic) were interrelated, is particularly well illustrated by the variety of Macedonian epithets (e.g., Dionysus Pseudanor, Heracles Aretos/Patroos, Artemis Tauropolos), festivals (e.g., the

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[135] For a detailed study on the Macedonian elites, see Bartels, *Städtische Eliten*. Cf. Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 358–59; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 249–74; and the references given in n. 123 above.

[136] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199, 202–4. Cf. Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 172.

[137] Papazoglou and Pandermalis ("Macedonia under the Romans," 204) attribute the originality of Macedonian religion to the "two different religious conceptions" that "coexisted" in the region and "eventually interpenetrated each other," namely, "the Greek religion of the Macedonians, with its aloof and majestic gods," and the "more emotional religion of the indigenous population, with its mystic and orgiastic cults." Cf. Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 428–29.

[138] Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 465. Cf. ibid., 453–55; Kalleris, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, 532–72; Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 39. See also Sakellariou, "Inhabitants," 60. For a (dated) catalogue of the various deities attested in Macedonia, see Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*. For an updated version, see Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*. On the religious transformation of Macedonia in the imperial era (with a special focus on Samothrace, Philippi, and Dium), see Tsochos, *Makedonien*.

Xandika, the Hetairideia, the Daisia), and cultic practices or "rites of passage" (including funerary rites) that are not encountered anywhere else.[139]

Although Macedonia had a religious and cultural center at Dium, where the "pan-Macedonian" festival of the Olympia and military victories were celebrated, one cannot really speak of "Macedonian religion" as a unified, "national" phenomenon that was solely initiated and organized by the central royal power.[140] Nor did the Macedonians abstain from taking part in other indigenous cults or from visiting the Panhellenic sanctuaries (since at least the archaic period).[141] The coexistence of cults of civic and "national" dimensions and of different social appeal over a broad geographical area effectively resulted in a rather complex religious landscape that was marked by regional particularisms, in which gods were assigned certain functions (depending on the local context) that are neither typical nor always clear to determine.[142]

One of the most important deities for the Macedonians was Zeus—the father of Macedon, the Macedonians' eponymous mythological ancestor, according to Hesiod—who was occasionally represented on coins and to whom the "'national' sanctuary" at Dium was consecrated.[143] His prominence is further evidenced by the wide diffusion of the cult of Zeus Hypsistos throughout the region, which is thought to have "originated in all probability in Macedonia."[144] The other Olympian gods were of course also venerated throughout the region, together with other divinities and heroes such as Persephone, who commonly appears in funerary contexts (alongside Artemis and Heracles in Roman times), Heracles, the mythical ancestor of the Temenid dynasty,[145] or the Thracian Rider, who was widely popular and often depicted on funerary steles as a heroized representation of the deceased.[146] At Dium, for instance, prominent deities (besides Zeus Olympos) included Artemis Eileithyia, Aphrodite Hypolympidia, Demeter, who watched over the rites for young women along with Dionysus (whilst those for teenage boys were placed under the tutelage of Heracles),[147] and the healing god Asclepius, who was popular both with the royal family and with the people (and whose priests were likely appointed by Philip II as eponymous magistrates in every Macedonian city to foster political unity).[148]

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[139] See Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 453, 455, 457, 460, 465; Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 440–41; Sakellariou, "Inhabitants," 60. On rites of passage specifically, see Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*.

[140] This said, there is definitely evidence of "royal interventions in the management of cult centers and 'pan-Macedonian' festivals, on the sanctuaries' administration, and on relationships with civic authorities, on private cults, and on the diffusion of individual cults in different areas" (Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 454).

[141] Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 453–54, 463–64.

[142] Ibid., 458, 460–61.

[143] Ibid., 456. Cf. Pandermalis, *Discovering Dion*, 45–59; Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 98–106; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 223–31; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 18–19. See also Sakellariou, "Inhabitants," 60–61; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204; Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*, 109; Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 430.

[144] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204. Cf. Mitchell, "Theos Hypsistos," 126 (with epigraphic examples nos. 34–59, pp. 130–31); id., "Further Thoughts," 170–71 (with inscriptions A11–A29, pp. 199–200).

At Aegae, the first royal capital, Heracles Patroos and Eukleia played an important role in the religious life of both the court and the city, while the sanctuary of Aphrodite and of the Mother of Gods dominated the civic landscape in the later capital Pella (where, in contrast, the cult of Demeter was pushed to the margins).[149] Asclepius, Demeter, and Kore-Persephone (in association with Dionysus) were revered at Beroea, though not as fervently as Heracles Kynagidas, "the national hero of the Macedonians,"[150] who in literary and epigraphic sources is often presented, on par with Zeus, as the "dieu ancestral des Macédoniens."[151] A favorite deity of the Antigonids, he was also the patron of hunters, freed slaves, and of the rites of passage for the ephebic elite.[152] Dionysus was likewise involved in rites of passage (and funerary practices) and was particularly popular in rural areas throughout the region (especially around the Pangaion), with shrines or sanctuaries being attested by statuary elements and dedications in western and northern Macedonia,[153] at Beroea,[154] Thessalonica,[155] Philippi (in the form of Liber Pater),[156] north of the plain of Philippi (in the vicinity of modern Drama),[157] and also perhaps at Dium.[158]

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[145] On his importance in Macedonia, see esp. Huttner, *Die politische Rolle der Heraklesgestalt*, 65–79, 86–123; Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien*.

[146] See Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*; Tsochos, *Makedonien*; Chatzinikolaou, "Sanctuaries in Upper Macedonia." Cf. Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 457–58; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207; Sakellariou, "Inhabitants," 52, 60–61; Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 430–31. For a list of identified sanctuaries, see table 1 and the catalogue in Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 24, 179–372. On funerary heroization, see esp. Proeva, "Les croyances funéraires." Cf. ead., "Stèles funéraires," 140–41; ead., "Sur l'iconographie des stèles funéraires," 690–92, 700–1.

[147] See Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*. Cf. Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 456–57. On the sanctuary of Demeter, see Pandermalis, *Discovering Dion*, 60–73.

[148] Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 462. On the cults and sanctuaries of Dium, see esp. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 15–38; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 222–64.

[149] Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 458–59. Cf. Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 192–99, 214–21.

[150] Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 459.

[151] Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*, 109. For epigraphic evidence see *I.Ano Maked.* 6, 20, 97, 115; *I.Kato Maked.* II 442; *IG* X 2,2.172 and 319. Cf. Edson, "Antigonids," 226–32; id., "Macedonica," 125–26; Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 86–93; Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*, 102–11; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 205. On the various sanctuaries of Beroea, see Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 200–7.

[152] Edson, "Antigonids"; Huttner, *Die politische Rolle der Heraklesgestalt*, 163–74; Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien*, 91–97; Allamani-Souri, "Ηρακλής Κυναγίδας"; Allamani-Souri and Voutiras, "Sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas"; Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*, 87–111. Cf.

Besides these traditional cults, there is plenty of (non-monumental) archaeological evidence attesting the existence of numerous sanctuaries dedicated to various epichoric gods and local heroes, which illustrate "the vitality of the classical religion" in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[159] Among the more notable ones are those of Apollo Oteudanos/Eteudaniskos at Colobaisa near modern Prilep,[160] of the Hero Auloneites at Kipia,[161] southwest of Philippi, of the Mother of Gods Ma Aniketos or Autochthon at Edessa and Leukopetra (on the territory of Beroea),[162] and of Diana/Artemis (Bendis) at Philippi, where

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Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 461; Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 373–74; Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 430–31.

[153] E.g., *I.Ano Maked.* 28, 31; *I.Kato Maked.* II 264 (with mention of phallic procession, l. 12), 400, 612; *IG* X 2,2.248, 357; *I.Stobi* 8. Cf. Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 77–85; Nikoloska, "World of Dionysos."

[154] Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*, 63–72.

[155] E.g., *IG* X 2,1.28, 59, 503, 506; *IG* X 2,1s.1058. Cf. Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 158–81; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 289–90; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 172–83.

[156] Tsochos, "Philippi," 248–49; id., *Makedonien*, 89–109; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 335–36; Rizakis, "Aspects du dionysisme."

[157] *I.Philippi*² 417, 499, 501, 597. More generally, see Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 432–33.

[158] See the banqueting hall with a stunning mosaic of Dionysus in Pandermalis, *Discovering Dion*, 153–203.

[159] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207. On the distribution of sanctuaries in northern Macedonia (which are mainly concentrated in the middle Strymon valley and in the region between Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis) see fig. 12 in Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 169. See also Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 101–23; Chatzinikolaou, "Sanctuaries in Upper Macedonia."

[160] It is only attested by altar dedications (*IG* X 2,2.230–232) discovered in the Orthodox monastery of Treskavec. See Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 55–56; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 183. Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 291.

[161] See *I.Philippes* 76, 158, and pp. 52–55; *I.Philippi*² 619–625. See recently Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Malamidou, "Hero Auloneites." Cf. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 76–80; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 338–44.

[162] On the two sanctuaries, see Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 187–89, 207–13, with the inscription of the latter in *I.Leukopetra*. The Mother of Gods (and its various other

she was represented as a hunter with a bow or a spear on scores of votives carved into the rock of the acropolis.[163] By far "the most widespread cult in Roman Macedonia,"[164] she was worshipped as Artemis Kynagogos/Agrotera/Ephesia in central and northern Macedonia,[165] but as Artemis Bendis in eastern Macedonia (Bendis being the Thracian goddess of the forest and fertility), where her cult dominated the middle Strymon valley.[166] In contrast, Apollo seems overall to be underrepresented in the region,[167] except at Thessalonica where he was associated with Kabeiros, the "most holy ancestral god" (ὁ ἁγιώτατος πάτριος θεὸς Κάβειρος) and "tutelary deity" who saved the city from the Goths in AD 268,[168] and in whose honor the Pythian games founded in AD 240 were celebrated (to rival those organized by the Macedonian *koinon* at Beroea).[169]

Just as with other aspects of Macedonian culture, the arrival of the Romans and Italians in the region in the second century BC did not dramatically alter the religious landscape and barely seem to have affected cultic practices, as the "national Macedonian divinities continued to be worshipped with

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female representations throughout the region) is likely to be a later manifestation of the same "Grande Déesse préhellénique" (Hatzopoulos, "La société provinciale," 50). Cf. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites*, 64–65, 72. See also Proeva, "Mâ et son culte en Macédoine."

[163] Collart and Ducrey, *Les reliefs rupestres*, 222–25; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 122–30; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 332–35.

[164] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204. Cf. Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 50–58; Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 431.

[165] E.g., *IG* X 2,2.233. On her various epithets, see Tzanavari, "Gods and Heroes in Thessaloniki," 185–87.

[166] See Popov, "Bendis." Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204.

[167] Cf. Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 50–58. However, see *I.Kato Maked.* II 7, 83(?), 543, and *I.Philippi*^{2} 651, 652, 669, 682, in the "*Dubia et spuria*" section. A sanctuary seems to have existed north of Serrai, in the region of modern Sidirokastro. See Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 345–46.

[168] On the civic importance of the cult at Roman Thessalonica, which is mainly evidenced by its coinage, see Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 188–204 (citations on pp. 192–93); Gaebler, *Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* 3/2:123–24 (nos. 34–38); Touratsoglou, *Münzstätte von Thessaloniki*, 94–337 (passim); Witt, "Kabeiroi," 78–80. So far only two inscriptions, *IG* X 2,1.199 (AD III) and *IG* X 2,1s.1075 (AD 260), have corroborated the numismatic evidence. More generally on the cult throughout Macedonia, see Witt, "Kabeiroi."

[169] See especially the dedication *IG* X 2,1.38 (AD 252/253) by the agonothete of the games. Cf. Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 191; Robert, "Pythia de Thessalonique"; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 162–63. For other dedications to Apollo see *IG* X 2,1.52, 54, 908. Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199, 205, 207; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 71; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 102–3.

undiminished fervour."[170] Greeks and Romans having many of their deities in common (though named differently),[171] it merely added to this diversity by introducing a number of Roman and eastern deities such as Silvanus, whose *collegium* famously set up a large inscription at Philippi,[172] Mithras, whose cult is, oddly enough, so far only faintly attested at Thessalonica and Stobi (despite a strong military presence in the region),[173] or Syria Parthenos, to whom slaves were consecrated at Beroea.[174] The Romans also helped revive the cult of ancestral deities such as Nemesis, the patron goddess of gladiatorial shows in whose honor a small shrine was, for example, built in the central room of the *scaena*-building of the theater at Stobi.[175] From the reign of Augustus onward, they also contributed to revitalizing the religious life of the province and of its sanctuaries (which flourished under the Nerva-Antonine dynasty in the second century).[176]

Of all the oriental deities, Isis and Serapis seem to have been the most popular (particularly among Roman *negotiatores*), judging by the large number of votives, statues, and dedications discovered throughout the region.[177]

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[170] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204. Cf. Samsaris, "Bas-Strymon," 376–77; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 138–39.

[171] Düll (*Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 142) notes that, in northern Macedonia, Hercules, Jupiter, Liber, and Ultrix Augusta were in fact referred to by their Greek names. Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 35.

[172] CIL 3.633 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 163–166). Cf. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 130–32; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 330–32.

[173] See Tzanavari, "Gods and Heroes in Thessaloniki," 255–59; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 63–69. Yet-to-be-published fragments of a relief featuring Mithras were also identified on the suggestion of K. Hallof at Stobi in May 2018.

[174] See *I.Beroia* 51–52. Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207. A sanctuary to Syria Parthenos has also recently been identified at Agios Nikolaos, south of Pella. See Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 199.

[175] Gebhard, "Theater at Stobi," 18–19. Evidence of the cult of Nemesis has also been found at Heraclea Lyncestis (*IG* X 2,2.56) and Philippi (*I.Philippi*^{2} 142–144). Cf. Collart, "Le théâtre de Philippes," 108–13; Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, §§121–126; Di Napoli, "Buildings for Entertainment," 331–33; Ducros, "Organisation et importance des combats de gladiateurs," 347–48.

[176] See Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 45–68, 69–97.

[177] E.g., *I.Ano Maked.* 92; *IG* X 2,1.75–123; *I.Stobi* 16, 37; *I.Philippes* 23, 134, 193; *I.Philippi*^{2} 175, 255. Other Egyptian deities such as Osiris and Anubis are of course also attested. Cf. Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 107–10; Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 181–88 (see esp. p. 182); Tzanavari, "Gods and Heroes in Thessaloniki," 237–52; Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine," 120–22. On Egyptian cults in the region more generally, see Düll, *Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens*, 148–52; Christodoulou, "Priester der ägyptischen Götter"; Nikoloska, "Cults of Isis."

Vestiges of sanctuaries consecrated to the Egyptian gods have been found at Thessalonica,[178] Philippi,[179] Dium,[180] and more recently at Stobi, where an impressive complex has been excavated east of the theater.[181] These "newcomers" did not really supplant the traditional Macedonian deities, however, for they were usually integrated into existing cults. Thus at Dium, for example, Isis was joined to Artemis Eileithyia and Aphrodite Hypolympidia,[182] while in Upper Macedonia and at Thessalonica Zeus Eleutherios, "the protector of the new regime,"[183] was associated with Roma.[184]

The introduction of the cult of Roma and of Roman benefactors (Ῥώμης δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων εὐεργετῶν) long before the imperial period,[185] along with that of the Roman emperors, was likely one of the most significant "religious" innovations of the first century AD, even though Macedonians were used to grant rulers divine honors.[186] Not unlike other cults, the evidence for the imperial cult primarily consists of inscriptions, statuary, and coins, while only a few monumental remains have been found.[187] The relative paucity of archaeological evidence can perhaps be explained by the fact that the imperial cult was generally associated with other cults (and gladiatorial fights), such as that of Zeus at Dium, where Hadrian was honored as Hadrian Olympus.[188] At Stobi, on the other hand, two dedications—one of which was set up by a member of the college of the Augustales[189]—indicate that it was also connected with the cult of Isis,[190] a cult that the Flavian and some of the Nerva-Antonine emperors appropriated to promote imperial ideology in the first and second centuries.[191]

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[178] See especially the building dedications *IG* X 2,1.102 (AD II) and *IG* X 2,1s.1052 (ca. AD I). Cf. *BCH* 45 (1921): 540–41; Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 181–82; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 266–80; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 79–132; Voutiras, "Sarapieion de Thessalonique"; Koester, "Egyptian Religion in Thessalonikē," 134–39.

[179] Tsochos, "Το ιερό των Αιγυπτίων Θεών"; id., "Philippi," 249–52; id., *Makedonien*, 43–44, 109–19; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 324–30.

[180] Pandermalis, "Heiligtum in Dion"; id., *Discovering Dion*, 89–117; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 21–23; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 248–64; Christodoulou, "Isis à Dion."

[181] Blaževska and Radnjanski, "Temple of Isis."

[182] Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 21–23; Mari, "Cults and Beliefs," 458.

[183] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204.

[184] See *I.Ano Maked.* 93; *IG* X 2,1.32. Cf. Edson, "Macedonica," 129–32, 134; Daux, "Notes," 350; Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 204.

[185] See Edson, "Macedonica," 134; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 207; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 97–98.

[186] Cf. Christesen and Murray, "Macedonian Religion," 441–43; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 52; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 48–49, 62–64. But see Mari ("Cults and Beliefs," 458) on the distinctiveness of ruler cults in Macedonia.

[187] Epigraphic evidence is particularly important at Philippi (e.g., *I.Philippes* 5, 6, 16, 18, 19, 21). Cf. Tsochos, "Philippi," 246–47; id., *Makedonien*, 54–71; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 98–99; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 228–65.

[188] E.g., *CIL* 3.5483; *CIL* 3 suppl. 1.7281. Cf. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 19; Ducros, "Organisation et importance des combats de gladiateurs," 347 and 355.

The lack of monumental remains is also likely due to the ad hoc nature of archaeological excavations, which have enabled to identify temples of the imperial cult only very recently and with various degrees of certainty. The existence of a Sebasteion at Dium, west of the forum, is now generally accepted,[192] while it is almost certain that the small temple in the northeastern corner of the forum at Philippi was dedicated to the emperors.[193] At Thessalonica, whose *neokoros* status is attested on coins from Gordian III (AD 238–244),[194] excavations in the 1930s and the 2000s have suggested that an Augustan *kaisaros naos*, which was likely dedicated to the divine Julius Caesar (and Venus) initially and which until then had only been known by a (now lost) building inscription, stood a little west of the agora.[195] Moreover, colossal imperial portraiture discovered in the 1920s near the northeastern end of the forum seems to indicate that another temple devoted to the Flavian emperors was erected on an upper terrace immediately north of the forum in the AD 80s.[196] Yet none of these finds have been as spectacular as the discovery of a seventy-meter-long colonnaded complex (together with statue fragments of Augustus, Roma, and Trajan) dedicated to the imperial cult at Kalindoia in

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[189] *I.Stobi* 16 (AD I–II).

[190] *I.Stobi* 16 and 37. For two other dedications to the emperor by Augustales, see *I.Stobi* 15 and 18. See also the dedication to Dionysus for the welfare (*pro salute*) of Hadrian (*I.Stobi* 6).

[191] See Christodoulou, "Sarapis, Isis and the Emperor."

[192] Pandermalis, "Monuments and Art," 210; id., "Δίον, η δεκαετία των ανασκαφών 1987–1997," 209; id., "Δίον 2002," 419. Cf. Christodoulou, "Δίον," 179; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 28.

[193] See *I.Philippes* 19; cf. no. 126. See also Sève and Weber, "Un monument honorifique," 477–79; id., *Philippes*, 20, 39–43. Cf. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 56–60; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 320–24.

[194] Thessalonica was made four times νεωκόρος under Trajan Decius in AD 250/251, but was later demoted to twice νεωκόρος under Valerian and Gallienus in AD 253/254, before being promoted again to thrice νεωκόρος under Gallienus around AD 260. See Gaebler, *Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* 3/2:127–28 (nos. 56–61); BMC 5:124–26 (nos. 116–131); Touratsoglou, *Münzstätte von Thessaloniki*, 265–314. Cf. Ziegler, "Thessalonike"; Burrell, *Neokoroi*, 198–204.

[195] See IG X 2,1.31 (cf. Edson, "Macedonica," 132–33); cf. nos. 32, 34, 35, 40, 133, and IG X 2,1s.1074–1075. See Allamani-Souri, "Imperial Cult," 103–7; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 28–54; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 48–49, 280–89. Cf. Voutiras, "Η λατρεία της Αφροδίτης," 1339–40; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 103 (with n. 98).

[196] The architectural structure had formerly been interpreted as a library. See Stefanidou-Tiveriou, "Titus au forum de Thessalonique"; ead., "Η βόρεια πλευρά της αγοράς της Θεσσαλονίκης." Cf. Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*, 48–49, 59–61.

Mygdonia (northern Chalcidice), where a *conventus* of Roman *negotiatores* prospered in the first century AD.[197]

As in other eastern provinces, one can expect the imperial cult to have been widespread and particularly vibrant in each of the four colonies, and in *municipia* such as Stobi and Apollonia, or wherever a Roman *conventus* could be found.[198] However, it is unlikely to have been as strong as at Beroea, the seat of the Macedonian *koinon* whose "raison d'être" was the imperial cult.[199] Its president was indeed the high priest of the cult and was responsible for organizing the games in honor of the emperor at the annual gathering of the Macedoniarchs, the presidents of the *koinon* assembly.[200] First declared *neokoros* under Nerva (AD 96–98) and then made twice *neokoros* under Elagabalus (AD 218–222),[201] Beroea was in constant competition with Thessalonica, the seat of the provincial government, which, though a *civitas libera* that was likely excluded from the *koinon* (for the first two centuries AD at least),[202] repeatedly proved its attachment to the imperial dynasty on its coinage.[203] The rivalry partly highlights how the imperial cult was as much a political and diplomatic affair as a religious matter, and that it was an avenue for the provincial elite to affirm their political ambitions and to display their loyalty to the imperial house.[204] In fact, the purpose of the *koinon* was mainly to ensure the political unity of Macedonian communities, which were more or less autonomous depending on their legal status, and their allegiance towards Rome. It also allowed Rome to entertain "the illusion of provincial autonomy" and to "maintain national feeling,"[205] as the *koinon* could approach the emperor directly, lay charges against a rogue governor, and mint its own coinage with an imperial figure on the obverse and a more patriotic symbol and legend on the reverse (e.g., ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ or ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ).[206]

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[197] See the various articles by K. Sismanidis listed in the bibliography, as well as Adam-Veleni, *Καλίνδοια*, 39–55, 83–89, 109 (no. 08), 123–68. Cf. Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 300–312; Loukopoulou, "Roman *Conventus* of Chalcidice," 144–45; Daubner, *Makedonien*, 257–65.

[198] See Brélaz, *Philippes*, 188–96, 202–9; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 98; Loukopoulou, "Roman *Conventus* of Chalcidice," 144.

[199] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207. For a detailed overview of the institution, see Kanatsouli, "Το κοινόν των Μακεδόνων." Cf. Deininger, *Provinziallandtage*, 91–96; Papazoglou, "Le *koinon* macédonien"; Tataki, *Ancient Beroea*, 447–48, 456–57; Allamani-Souri, "Imperial Cult," 100–3.

[200] The majority of the Macedoniarchs came either from Thessalonica or from Beroea. See Kanatsouli, "Οι μακεδονιάρχαι." The games were called "Olympian" from AD 242 to contrast with the "Pythian" games of Thessalonica. See Gagé, "Alexandre le Grand," 4–5; Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 191–96; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 102–3.

[201] For numismatic and epigraphic evidence, see Gaebler, *Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* 3/2: 47–48 (nos. 1–4) and 189–91 (nos. 860–871); *I.Beroia* 66, 70, 71, 109, 117, 481; *IG* X 2,1s.1073. Cf. Ziegler, "Thessalonike"; Burrell, *Neokoroi*, 191–97.

[202] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 207; Allamani-Souri, "Imperial Cult," 100. But see Burrell, *Neokoroi*, 199.

[203] E.g., Gaebler, *Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* 3/2:125–31 (nos. 43–70); Touratsoglou, *Münzstätte von Thessaloniki*, 24–96, 140–313. Cf. Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 207; Kremydi-Sicilianou, "'Belonging' to Rome," 104.

[204] Cf. Allamani-Souri, "Imperial Cult," 99–100; Bartels, *Städtische Eliten*, 155; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 202–93; Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 53. On the imperial cult more generally, see Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, 348–63.

Whether it was a direct or indirect consequence of Rome's expansion in the East, the presence of Jewish communities in the region is also attested in the Roman era, although it is virtually impossible to gauge their size and dissemination throughout the province.[207] Equally difficult to determine is when exactly the first Jews settled in Macedonia and how well they were integrated into the local society.[208] That there were established communities at Thessalonica and Beroea, and a less formally organized group of "God-fearing" women at Philippi, by the middle of the first century is suggested by the Acts of the Apostles,[209] and by Philo's reference to Jewish "colonies" (ἀποικίαι) in Macedonia and nearby Thessalia in his report on the delegation to the emperor Caligula in AD 39/40.[210] Yet, no epigraphic or archaeological evidence correlating the witnesses of Acts and Philo has so far been found, as the earliest Jewish inscriptions and synagogal structure discovered at Thessalonica and Stobi are usually dated to the mid- to late second or third century AD.[211] Be that as it may, the presence of Jews in Attica, the Peloponnese, and the Aegean islands in the Hellenistic period raises the strong possibility that some of them reached

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[205] Papazoglou and Pandermalis, "Macedonia under the Romans," 199.

[206] E.g., Gaebler, *Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* 3/1:80–93 (nos. 251–321) and 3/2:10–12 (nos. 14–27); *BMC* 5:27–29 (nos. 145–158). Cf. Kremydi-Sicilianou, "Victoria Augusta," 66–67.

[207] For an overview of the Jewish presence in Macedonia, see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 3/1:64–68; vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*, 212–33; Panayotov, "First Jewish Communities."

[208] For a general discussion of "Jewish identity and communal life" in the Balkans, see Panayotov, "First Jewish Communities," 487–91.

[209] Acts 16:13–14; 17:1–4, 10–12.

[210] Philo, *Legat.* 281–282.

[211] See *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 18 (*ICG* 3131) and 15; *CIJud* 694 (*I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 1; *I.Stobi* 19). The Jewish character of *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 18 is contested, and so is that of *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 16 (*CIJud* 693; *ICG* 3194), which was initially dated to the end of the second century AD. Cf. Van der Horst, "*Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*," 68. For a succinct summary of the Jewish epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Thessalonica and Stobi, see vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*, 217–33; Wiseman, "Jews at Stobi." Cf. *I.Jud. Graeciae*, pp. 112–26; Nigdelis, "Juden in Thessaloniki"; Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations*, 191–212.

Macedonia fairly early on, having settled there as free economic agents or having been brought or sold as slaves by Roman or Italian merchants.[212]

What is clear is that, three or four centuries later, there were still Jewish communities in the cities that Paul visited, as a handful of inscriptions and tombs indicate.[213] Judging by the size of its cemetery,[214] the Jewish community of Thessalonica is likely to have been larger and more affluent than that of Beroea or Philippi, where only a handful of epitaphs have been found.[215] Furthermore, the reference in the plural to "synagogues" (συναγωγαί) as potential recipients of funerary fines on an imposing sarcophagus,[216] and a bilingual dedication written in Greek and Samaritan Hebrew[217] suggest that it was likely composed of several subcommunities representing various traditions within ancient Judaism (broadly conceived). At Beroea and Philippi, on the other hand, similar funerary warnings mention only one synagogue.[218]

However, in neither of these three cities has a synagogue been discovered yet.[219] It is only at Stobi, further north, that two superposed synagogue structures with several inscriptions have been excavated right underneath the so-called "Central Basilica," in whose atrium the famous dedicatory column of Polycharmos was found reused.[220] As "father," and probably founder, "of the synagogue in Stobi" (ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἐν Στόβοις συναγωγῆς), Tiberius Claudius Polycharmos, also known as Achyrios, donated sections of his large residence to the "holy place" (τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ), that is, the synagogue, whilst retaining the usage of the second storey.[221] Although the exact date of the inscription remains debated (partly because the archaeological stratigraphy underneath the basilica is difficult to interpret),[222] it can nonetheless be concluded that a Jewish community flourished at Stobi in the second and third centuries under the patronage of a Jewish Roman citizen, who was likely a descendant of an imperial freedman.[223]

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[212] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Ach 1–4, 6–14, 25–27, 31–33, etc.; 1 Macc 15:23; Josephus, *B.J.* 3.540. See also Panayotov, "First Jewish Communities," 480–82; id., "Jewish Communities in the Balkans." Cf. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea*, 455.

[213] E.g., *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 6–18 (the Jewish character of no. 18 is contested; see *ICG* 3131). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine* 291–295.

[214] See Marki, *Η νεκρόπολη της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 60–61 (with fig. 3 and pls. 28, 44–45, 66, 74).

[215] *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 6–12. A few inscriptions currently on display at the archaeological museum of Philippi remain to be published, however. On Beroea, see Tataki, *Ancient Beroea*, 454–55.

[216] *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 15. On which see Nigdelis, "Juden in Thessaloniki," 305–306.

[217] *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 17 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 291).

[218] *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 7 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 295), 12 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 387A).

[219] Cf. Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 237–43; Tataki, *Ancient Beroea*, 454.

[220] See *IG* X 2,2.739–745, 748–749 (*I.Stobi* 19–26; *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 1–5 with introductory discussion, pp. 56–62). For the most up-to-date discussion of the archaeological context, see Wiseman, "Jews at Stobi." Cf. Panayotov, "First Jewish Communities," 485–87.

[221] See *IG* X 2,2.739 (*I.Stobi* 19; *I.Jud. Orientis* 1 Mac 1; AD II–III) and the substantial secondary literature therein referenced.

6 Summary

When the first Christian missionaries arrived in Macedonia in the mid-first century, they would have found the province still in the process of recovering from the depressed Republican years, during which it had been depleted from its resources by crooked governors and years of civil wars. However, the renewed political stability and relative safety from northern and eastern enemies in the post-Actium era, along with the establishment of colonies and the influx of veterans and Roman or Italian merchants, would contribute to the rapid socio-economic development of the region and its successful integration in the Roman empire. In addition, its efficient road network and urban infrastructures would facilitate population mobility, commercial and cultural exchanges, and the dissemination of new philosophical ideas and religious cults. Although Macedonia would reach its *apogée* in the second century under the Nerva-Antonine emperors, it must have offered favorable conditions to the diffusion of the Christian faith already by the first century. Thus, it is hardly surprising that, after having visited some of the urban centers of central and northwestern Asia Minor, Paul and his companions decided to follow the main route going west and visit the province. The next chapter will explore the establishment of the earliest Christian communities in Macedonia in the first and second centuries.

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[222] See Wiseman, "Jews at Stobi." Wiseman (p. 345) concludes that the "archaeological evidence indicates that in the 2nd century Polycharmos donated a part of his home (which was in existence in the 1st century AD) for the use of the Jewish community and remodeled some parts of it, including the main hall […]. The column bearing the long inscription of Polycharmos must belong to the 2nd-century renovation and expansion of the main hall in the 2nd century."

[223] On the importance of the Claudii in the region, see Babamova, "Prosopography of Stobi," 115–17.

CHAPTER 3

Christian Beginnings in Macedonia

1 Introduction

The beginnings of Christianity in Macedonia in the middle of the first century is a familiar story to readers of the New Testament, albeit one that is not adequately documented and not well defined chronologically due to a lack of detailed and trustworthy sources.[1] The two authentic Pauline letters written to the Christ-believers at Thessalonica and Philippi, 1 Thessalonians and Philippians, and the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the book of Acts, our only narrative on this episode, undoubtedly connect the advent of Christianity in Macedonia to the ministry of the apostle Paul and his associates, Silas/Silvanus and Timothy.[2] Traveling along the *via Egnatia* in the very late AD 40s or the early AD 50s,[3] they established what may well have been the very first Christian communities in the whole Balkan peninsula at Philippi, a Roman colony, and at Thessalonica and Beroea, two political and cultural centers where Jews were known to live.[4]

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[1] A detailed discussion of the chronology of Paul's life and ministry activities lies beyond the scope of this chapter. For extensive treatment of this question, see, e.g., Knox, *Life of Paul*; Suhl, "Paulinische Chronologie"; Lüdemann, *Paulus* (esp. pp. 213–64 on his Macedonian stay); Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*; Tatum, *Life of Paul*; Schnelle, *Paulus*, 29–38.

[2] The Silvanus of 1 Thess 1:1 can only have been the Silas of Acts. Cf. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 85; Hemer, *Acts*, 230; Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 346–47; Holtz, *Thessalonicher*, 36; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 97–98; BDAG, s.vv. Σίλας and Σιλουανός. It is not certain that Paul was the first to establish Christ-believing communities on European soil. His letter to the Romans, for instance, indicates that he was not the founder of the church in Rome, which was probably founded before his arrival in Macedonia in the late AD 40s. Since no Macedonian is mentioned in the list of ethnicities present in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:9–11), it is also unlikely that a Christ-believing community already existed in the region by the AD 40s. Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 229–31.

[3] This is the generally accepted date range. See, e.g., Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 79; Koester, *History and Literature*, 118–19; Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*, 364; Schnelle, *Paulus*, 175–77. For others such as Knox (*Life of Paul*, 81–88) and Suggs ("Date of Paul's Macedonian Ministry"), the Macedonian mission must have taken place in the early AD 40s. In context, the reference to the "beginning of the gospel" (ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, Phil 4:15) is relative to Paul's stay at Philippi and signals the commencement of new evangelistic ventures in partnership with the Philippians (ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας). See Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 269.

[4] See the end of sec. 5 in chap. 2 above. According to Paul's letters and Acts, there were likewise no established churches in Corinth and Athens (and likely throughout mainland Greece) prior to their arrival. Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 229–31.

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What happened to the small clusters of Christ-believers in the aftermath of Paul's visit remains obscure, although the three letters written to the churches of Thessalonica and Philippi indicate that they must have continued to grow despite local opposition. Ignatius's stopover at Philippi on his way to Rome in the first or second decade of the second century, and Polycarp's letter written to the Philippians slightly later on confirm that Paul's beloved church had at least managed to survive the turmoils of the end of the first century and to resolve some of the internal divisions threatening its existence. In fact, if Tertullian's rhetoric in *De praescriptione haereticorum* is to be taken at face value, it seems that by the beginning of the third century Philippi had succeeded in securing its authority and reputation as an apostolic church alongside Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome.[5]

The same cannot really be said of the church of Beroea, about which hardly anything is known. No letter seems to have been written to the believers there, or at least none of those written have survived.[6] However, the attendance of a Beroean bishop at the council of Serdica in AD 343 and a handful of fourth-century inscriptions forbid us from being overly pessimistic about the fate of the church in subsequent centuries.[7] The lack of evidence attesting the presence of Christian communities at Beroea is in fact characteristic of the nature of our primary sources on Macedonian Christianity in this period. As noted in introduction, unlike the upper regions of central Anatolia where numerous third-century inscriptions have been found,[8] very little epigraphic and archaeological Christian material dated prior to the fourth century has survived in Macedonia. The period between the middle of the second century and the end of the third century constitutes a veritable "black hole" in our sources, a lacuna that will likely never be mended and that will forever impede our attempts at reconstructing an early history of the rise and expansion of Christianity in the region. Be that as it may, the following chapter will explore what can be ascertained more or less confidently about the first Christian communities in Macedonia in the first two centuries in light of the extant literary sources, namely, the four letters written to the churches at Philippi and Thessalonica, letters that have been traditionally attributed to Paul and to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, as well as the Acts narrative.

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[5] Tertullian, *Praescr*. 36.1–2 (emphasis added): *Age iam, qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuae, percurre* ecclesias apostolicas*, apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae apostolorum suis locis president, apud quas ipsae authenticae litterae eorum recitantur sonantes vocem et repraesentantes faciem uniuscuiusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longe es* a Macedonia, habes Philippos*; si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum; si autem Italiae adiaces, habes Romam unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est.*

[6] Goguel (*Introduction*, 4:327–37) has suggested that 2 Thessalonians might have been written to the church at Beroea. However, no internal or external evidence supports this hypothesis.

[7] Cf. Mullen, *Expansion of Christianity*, 160. The Macedonian Beroea is not to be confused with the Syrian Beroea, to whose church Basil the Great wrote several letters (*ep.* 185, 220, 221).

[8] See Mitchell, "Emergence of Christian Identity"; id., "Christian Epigraphy of Asia Minor."

2 Sources

Not unlike inscriptions, our literary sources pose numerous methodological and hermeneutic challenges that render a historical reconstruction of these foundational events particularly arduous. Not least among these are the authenticity and literary integrity of some of the Pauline letters, which have been contested since the nineteenth century.[9] In addition, the historical reliability of Acts remains fiercely disputed due to unresolved questions of authorship, date, genre, sources,[10] and a complex textual tradition.[11] Needless to say, it lies beyond the scope of this chapter to review in details, let alone resolve, any of these points of contention. Rather, the following chapter merely aims to reconstruct and assess the earliest stages of the development of Christianity in Macedonia based on the information contained, and/or inferred, in the available sources. Following a generally accepted precept,[12] priority will be given (whenever possible) to the Pauline epistles that, as primary historical sources, take precedence over later secondary accounts such as Acts, whose portrait of Paul is, to an extent that is difficult to determine, inevitably tainted by the author's own interpretation of the sources, his literary motives, and his ideological agenda.

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[9] For more details, see sec. 4.1 below.

[10] The relevant secondary literature on these issues is far too large to be included here (cf. the reviews of scholarship and bibliographies in Gasque, *Acts of the Apostles*; Gräßer, *Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte*). For relatively recent discussions on the nature and reliability of Acts as a historical source, see, e.g., Bruce, "Acts of the Apostles"; Lüdemann, "Acts"; Barrett, "Historicity of Acts"; Hemer, *Acts*, 1–29; Sterling, *Historiography*; Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*; Rothschild, *Luke-Acts*. On the author's local and historical knowledge in particular, see Hemer, *Acts*, 101–81 (cf. Pervo, *Acts*, 5–6, who locates him in Ephesus). On the question of date and authorship, see, e.g., Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte*, 217–21; id., *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 63–81 (wherein he provides arguments for a date in the early AD 60s); Hemer, *Acts*, 308–410; Sterling, *Historiography*, 321–29; Pervo, *Dating Acts* (with a summary of scholarly positions on the dating of Acts, pp. 359–63); Holladay, *Acts*, 1–13. On the question of genre, see especially the review of scholarship in Adams, *Genre of Acts*, 1–67. Cf. Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 1–29; Pervo, *Acts*, 14–18.

[11] In this section, the shorter Alexandrian text is generally preferred over the so-called "Western text" (of which D is the primary witness), which usually expands the original text with redundant or confusing explanations, emendations, or marginal notes. See Delebecque, "Paul à Thessalonique et à Bérée." On this issue in general, see Strange, *Text of Acts*. Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 14–50; Barrett, *Acts*, 2–29; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 66–79; Pervo, *Acts*, 1–4; Holladay, *Acts*, 13–30.

[12] Cf. Baur, *Paulus*, 1–18; Hengel, *Acts*, 38; Knox, *Life of Paul*, 30–43; Jewett, *Chronology of Paul's Life*, 22–24.

It must be further noted that the report of Paul's first evangelistic expedition in Macedonia begins at a sudden narrative shift in Acts 16:10,[13] namely, the change from the third-person plural to the first-person plural, which gives the narrator, even if only temporarily until Acts 16:17, the posture of a direct, and therefore potentially more reliable, eyewitness of the events he recounts.[14] Scholars continue to disagree as to whether this was truly the case,[15] whether he used another source,[16] or whether the author changed of narrative voice merely for stylistic or narrative purposes,[17] even though some of the suggested benefits for resorting to such rhetorical or literary strategy are not immediately apparent.[18]

Whatever the case may have been, Acts represents an important source of information that simply cannot be dismissed, though one that must be examined with critical eyes. Indeed, it provides us with the unique point of view of someone who may have been a member of Paul's traveling party, or who may have consulted with people who journeyed with him, and/or who may have had access to a travel diary or to some of his letters (including some that may now be lost).[19] At the very least, it offers us a rare perspective on how Paul's evangelistic work in Macedonia was remembered towards the end of the first century, or, some would say, in the early second century.[20]

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[13] This is one of three such shifts introducing the so-called "We-passages" (16:10–17; 20:5–21:18; 27:1–28:16).

[14] The reason and significance of this shift in narrative voice has been widely discussed. See, e.g., Haenchen, "'Wir' in der Apostelgeschichte"; Hemer, *Acts*, 312–34; Porter, *Paul of Acts*, 10–46; Wedderburn, "'We'-Passages"; Rothschild, *Luke-Acts*, 264–67; Campbell, *"We" Passages*; Adams, "Paul and Luke"; Pervo, *Acts*, 392–96; Marguerat, *Actes*, 2:128–30.

[15] See, e.g., Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte*, 131; Dibelius, *Acts of the Apostles*, 136; Dupont, *Livre des Actes*, 160–61 (with an extensive discussion and review of scholarship, pp. 73–107).

[16] See, e.g., Haenchen, "'Wir' in der Apostelgeschichte"; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 103; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:xxvii–xxx; Porter, *Paul of Acts*, 10–46.

[17] See, e.g., Robbins, "By Land and by Sea"; id., "We-Voyages in Acts"; Wehnert, *Wir-Passagen*; Thornton, *Zeuge des Zeugen*; or more recently, Campbell, *"We" Passages*. Cf. Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, 24–25; Rothschild, *Luke-Acts*, 264–67; Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 170–73.

[18] It is not clear, for instance, how the "narrator's presence" conveyed through the first-person plural actually "reinforces the assertion that the expansion of Paul's mission from Asia Minor to Greece is mandated by God in a vision to the apostle" (Campbell, *"We" Passages*, 73), or how the insertion of "we" helps "indulge the audience in a fantasy meant to transport them beyond argument to belief" (Rothschild, *Luke-Acts*, 267).

[19] Scholars remain divided on these issues. Vielhauer ("Paulinism") famously highlighted what he perceived to be a "material" and "temporal" distance between Paul and the author of Acts. Cf. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 6–9. But see Enslin ("Luke and Paul"), or more recently Aejmelaeus (*Rezeption der Paulusbriefe*), Pervo (*Dating Acts*, 51–147), Porter

3 The Foundation of the First Christian Communities in the AD 50s[21]

From the outset, it must be noted that Paul's letters provide hardly any information about the founding of the first Christ-believing communities in Macedonia, which makes it difficult to piece together the various stages of his journey and ministry in the region. From 1 Thess 2:1–8,[22] we learn that Paul and his associates, Silvanus and Timothy, came to Thessalonica to preach the gospel after having evangelized the Roman colony of Philippi, where they had been severely mistreated. This is corroborated by Phil 4:15–16 in which Paul gratefully acknowledges the material support the Philippians sent to them while residing in Thessalonica.[23] Their work in the provincial capital did not prove to be smooth sailing either,[24] but their Thessalonian audience embraced the gospel quite readily and proceeded to spread it throughout Macedonia, Achaia, and beyond.[25] For untold reasons, their stay came to an abrupt end and the three evangelists had to make their way to Athens.[26] Desiring but unable to return to Thessalonica, Paul and Silvanus then decided to dispatch Timothy to Macedonia to strengthen and encourage the Thessalonians in their "afflictions" (ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν ταύταις).[27] Upon his return and reassurance that

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("Paulinism," 12), or Schellenberg ("First Pauline Chronologist?"), all of whom believe the author used, or at least knew, Paul's letters (which does not necessarily mean that he traveled with him).

[20] The relation between the (remembered) "Paul of Acts" and the "historical Paul" (as known from his letters) continue to generate much scholarly discussion. For recent contributions to the debate, see, e.g., Jervell, *Unknown Paul*, 52–76; Hemer, *Acts*, 244–76; Porter, *Paul of Acts*, 187–206 (responding to Haenchen, *Acts*, 112–16, and to Vielhauer, "Paulinism"); Pervo, "Paul of Acts"; Marguerat, *Paulinism in Acts*; Butticaz, "Paul et la mémoire Lucanienne."

[21] For earlier works treating this topic in greater or lesser depth, see, e.g., Collart, *Philippes*, 456–71; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 7–68; Pilhofer, *Philippi*; Bormann, *Philippi*; Reinbold, *Propaganda und Mission*, 117–63; Tsalampouni, "Die urchristlichen Gemeinden in Makedonien"; Kyrtatas, "Early Christianity in Macedonia"; Brélaz, "Outside the City Gate"; id., *Philippes*, 231–44.

[22] Cf. 1 Thess 1:5.

[23] The Macedonian churches continued to support him while in Corinth. See 2 Cor 11:9.

[24] Cf. 1 Thess 2:2: ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι.

[25] 1 Thess 1:6–8; 2:13.

[26] 1 Thess 2:17.

[27] 1 Thess 3:1–5; cf. 1:6; 2:14; 3:4.

they were holding firm onto their faith, Paul penned 1 Thessalonians to congratulate them for their love and perseverance and to exhort them further. When, or whether, Paul traveled back to Macedonia is nowhere mentioned in the Philippian and Thessalonian correspondence. Based on his letters to the Corinthians, it can be inferred that Paul did visit the Macedonian churches on at least one occasion while traveling between Ephesus and Corinth, as they contributed to the Jerusalem collection and appointed some of their members to accompany him to Corinth and Jerusalem.[28] This is as much as Paul's letters will allow us to reconstruct. Any other information regarding his evangelistic activities in Macedonia must be derived from the narrative of Acts with all the interpretive difficulties it implies, while keeping in mind C.K. Barrett's conclusion concerning the historicity of Acts. Namely, "[w]e cannot prove that it happened in the way Luke describes, but if it did not it must have happened in a similar way or the result could not have been what it was."[29]

According to Acts 16, Paul's Macedonian mission was occasioned by the frustrated developments of his ministry in western and northern Asia Minor.[30] Prevented from proclaiming the gospel in Asia and Bithynia, we are told, Paul journeyed through the countryside of Phrygia and Galatia all the way to Alexandria Troas,[31] where upon arrival he received a night vision of a man appealing for help whom, for untold reasons, perhaps his accent or some other distinctive sign, he identified as a Macedonian.[32] Likely interpreting the dream as a divine summon,[33] Paul and his companions immediately set sail for Macedonia, crossed the Thracian sea, and landed two days later in Neapolis.[34] Thence, they headed north towards the colony of Philippi, a "city of the first district (μερίς) of Macedonia" and the first major stop on the *via Egnatia*.[35] Upon the Sabbath, Acts relates, they visited a "place of prayer" (προσευχή) outside the city gate that was attended by some women who, one presumes, must have been either Jewish, Jewish sympathizers (i.e., God-fearers), or perhaps worshippers of Theos Hypsistos.[36] Among them was a "God-fearing woman" (σεβομένη τὸν θεόν) named Lydia, a dealer of purple cloth from Thyatira, who responded positively to Paul's message, was baptized with all her household, and extended hospitality to the evangelists.[37] How many more women were won to the gospel is not related in Acts, but it could be that the Euodia and Syntyche mentioned in Phil 4:2 were also part of the original group that gathered at the προσευχή.

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[28] 2 Cor 8:1–5; 9:1–7. Cf. 1 Cor 16:5–9; 2 Cor 1:15–16; 2:13; 7:5; Acts 20:4. Note Paul's change of plan between 1 Cor 16:5 (ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω· Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι) and 2 Cor 1:16 (καὶ δι᾽ ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς). On the Jerusalem collection, see, e.g., Ogereau, "Jerusalem Collection," and the substantial literature referenced therein.

[29] Barrett, "Historicity of Acts," 534. Cf. Marguerat, *Actes*, 1:26–27. The same may be said about Paul's ministry in Lycaonia (cf. Acts 13:13–14:23). See Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia*, 61.

[30] On the possible reasons, see Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia*, 66–70. Cf. Marguerat, *Actes*, 2:121.

[31] Acts 16:6–8.

[32] Acts 16:9.

[33] Cf. Marguerat, *Actes*, 2:122–23.

[34] Acts 16:10–12. According to Acts 20:6, it would take Paul five days to sail the 250 or so kilometers from Neapolis to Troas on his last visit. The journey probably took place between March and June to take advantage of southerly winds. See Jewett, *Chronology of Paul's Life*, 47–48.

We do not know how long exactly Paul and his companions remained in the colony.[38] According to Acts, it took them some days (ἡμέρας τινάς) to find out about the existence of the προσευχή in the first place,[39] though Paul is said to have waited patiently "for many days" (ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας) before confronting and exorcizing the soothsaying slave-girl who followed them around announcing them as "the slaves of the most High God" (οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου)[40]—a designation that could have caused them to be identified by the locals as worshippers of Zeus Hypsistos.[41] Deprived of their profits, Acts continues, her masters seized Paul and Silas, dragged them before the city magistrates, and accused them of introducing customs that were illegal for Romans to practise.[42] Anxious to appease the crowds and restore public order, the *duumviri* resolved to give them a severe beating and threw them in jail for the night.[43]

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[35] Acts 16:12. The corrective conjecture πρώτης (for πρώτη τῆς) in the reading ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις ("a city of the first district of Macedonia") is preferable and historically more accurate than the oldest and better attested reading ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις ("a leading city of the district Macedonia," 𝔓^{74}, ℵ, A, C, Ψ, etc.). See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 444–46. Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 20–23; Haenchen, *Acts*, 494; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 159–65; Brélaz, "Outside the City Gate," 124–27; id., *Philippes*, 237–38; Pervo, *Acts*, 399.

[36] Acts 16:12–13. Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 182–88, 231–34; Koch, "God-Fearers," 80–81; Tsalampouni, "Die urchristlichen Gemeinden in Makedonien," 122–23; Mitchell, "Theos Hypsistos," 92–94, 97, 110, 115–16. While outside of Palestine a προσευχή generally designates a Jewish synagogue (cf. Hengel, "Proseuche und Synagoge"; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 2:439–40; Noy, "Jewish Place of Prayer"; Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 326, s.v. *proseuchē*), in the Bosporan kingdom it could also refer to a sanctuary of Theos Hypsistos (cf. esp. Mitchell, "Theos Hypsistos," 92–94 with n. 20). On the location "outside the city gate by the river" (ἔξω τῆς πύλης παρὰ ποταμόν) of the προσευχή, see Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 165–74; Brélaz, "Outside the City Gate," 131–33.

[37] Acts 16:14–15; cf. 16:40. On Lydia as a historical character, see Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 234–40. Bonz (*Past as Legacy*, 131 [n. 12], 167), on the other hand, takes her to be a "symbolic character," a "Lukan literary creation."

[38] Jewett (*Chronology of Paul's Life*, 60) estimates that they may have stayed between three months and a year.

[39] Acts 16:12.

[40] Acts 16:17–18. On the "realistic dimension" of this episode in antiquity, see Holladay, *Acts*, 323.

While such chastisement was not out of the ordinary in the Roman world, their miraculous deliverance by means of an earthquake can hardly have been a "regular" occurrence, to say the least.[44] In context, the whole episode is evidently meant to fulfill the author's theological agenda and to pave the way for the dramatic conversion of the conscience-stricken gaoler and his entire household.[45] The second Philippian convert from a non-Jewish background, his conversion marks a significant step in the development of the Pauline mission narrated in Acts. As Richard I. Pervo has indeed remarked, "[f]or the first time," Paul is thus portrayed as establishing "communities based on household churches headed by gentiles" primarily.[46] Dismissed by the local magistrates the following morning,[47] Acts recounts, Paul and Silas then gathered all the new believers (who could not have been more than a handful) in Lydia's house for a final farewell and headed west towards Thessalonica, the administrative center of the province.[48]

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[41] Cf. Trebilco, "Servants of the Most High God"; Marguerat, *Actes*, 2:134. Trebilco (op. cit., 64–65) further points out that the girl's designation of Paul's gospel as "a way of salvation" (ὁδὸς σωτηρίας, 16:17) could have also been a cause of offense.

[42] Acts 16:19–24. Schwartz ("Accusation") considers the accusers to have been Jewish, but this seems unlikely.

[43] On the judicial process, see Brélaz, "Outside the City Gate," 127, 134–35; id., "First-Century Philippi," 170–73; id., "Paul's Imprisonments," 487–88. Cf. Barnes, "Legislation," 48–49; Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 3–29; Omerzu, *Prozeß des Paulus*, 124–67; Weber, "Bürgerrecht des Apostels Paulus," 201.

[44] Acts 16:25–26.

[45] Acts 16:30–34. Cf. Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte*, 118; Dibelius, *Acts of the Apostles*, 23–24; Conzelmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, 101, 103; Haenchen, *Acts*, 500–504; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 588; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 154; Pervo, *Acts*, 409–11, 415; Marguerat, *Actes*, 2:136. See esp. Marguerat (ibid., 126–27) on the "chaîne de causalité" of the whole passage and the potential sources the narrator used.

[46] Pervo, *Acts*, 400.

[47] The grounds for Paul's release and the question of his *civitas romana* need not concern us here. For a recent discussion of the latter and its (substantial) secondary literature, see Weber, "Bürgerrecht des Apostels Paulus." Note that the Western text expands slightly at Acts 16:35–40 and, with typical "heavy-handed pedantry" (Pervo, *Acts*, 421), offers additional explanations for Paul and Silas's dismissal by the magistrates. See Pervo, *Acts*, 398–99, 414–15.

[48] Acts 16:40–17:1.

The road trip of about one hundred and fifty kilometers along the *via Egnatia* would have likely taken them no more than a few days by foot as they only passed through Amphipolis[49]—by far the most important (free) city of eastern Macedonia in Roman times[50]—and through Apollonia.[51] Acts does not give any reason why they did not linger in these two localities, but one suspects that the absence of a Jewish community and/or of God-fearers might have encouraged them to press on towards Thessalonica.[52] According to Acts, Paul visited the synagogue on the Sabbath and presented his gospel to the congregants who gave it a mixed reception.[53] While a certain number of the God-fearing Greeks (τῶν σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων) and of the leading women (γυναικῶν τῶν πρώτων) were persuaded by his message and "attached" themselves (προσεκληρώθησαν) to Paul and Silas, "envious" (ζηλώσαντες) Jews (who likely feared a secession within their community and the possible loss of the God-fearers' "financial and political support")[54] are said to have opposed them vehemently.[55] Not unlike at Iconium (and later at Corinth),[56] the narrator has them foment a small riot in the agora during which a certain Jason, Paul and Silas's host (who might have been a believer),[57] and some other disciples were brought before the politarchs of the city (since they could not get hold of Paul and Silas). Rather than being accused of perverting Roman *mores* as at Philippi, this time Acts has them charged with acting seditiously against Caesar's decrees—whatever these might have been—by promoting another king named Jesus.[58] The charges being probably treated as somewhat absurd or unfounded[59]—the author does not say—all were then immediately released on bail and escaped unscathed from the confrontation.[60] The whole episode concludes with Paul and Silas being once more forced to flee the city in the middle of the night, as Thessalonica no longer proved to be a safe place for them to work.[61]

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[49] One hundred Roman miles separated Philippi from Thessalonica, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* (Cuntz, *Itineraria*, 99).

[50] Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 392–97; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, "Amphipolis," 427–36; Brélaz, "Outside the City Gate," 124–25.

[51] Acts 17:1. On the geographical significance of the textual variant here (διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ κατῆλθον εἰς Ἀπολλωνίδα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην), see Strange, *Text of Acts*, 150–53. It is not clear why, as the Western text seems to imply, Paul and Silas would have only passed through Amphipolis but made a point to visit Apollonia, which actually lay a little south of the *Egnatia*. On the history and identification of Apollonia, see Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia Hellenis"; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 218–22.

[52] Recently discovered epigraphic evidence suggests nonetheless that God-fearers (θεοσεβεῖς) existed in Amphipolis in the third century AD (P. Nigdelis *per litteras*).

[53] Acts 17:2–3.

[54] Pervo, *Acts*, 420.

[55] Acts 17:4–5. On the possible nature of Paul's alleged conflict with the Thessalonian Jews, see esp. Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica*, 126–206.

[56] Acts 14:2–5; 18:12–17.

[57] Acts 17:7. Cf. Holladay, *Acts*, 334; Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*, 12–17; vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*, 234–42.

Just as with the episode at Philippi, the veracity of the historical events behind this section of the Acts narrative—including the presence of Jews[62]—and the outcome of the evangelists' mission are particularly difficult to determine.[63] And so is the length of their stay at Thessalonica, which must have lasted somewhat longer than what Acts reports.[64] If the disturbance took place shortly after the end of the three-week period during which they visited the synagogue, then they may not have spent more than a month there, which represents an extremely short time to establish a church—at Corinth and Ephesus, in contrast, Paul would remain about eighteen and twenty-four months respectively, according to Acts.[65] This also raises a question as to the number of people they could have possibly won to their cause. As usual, Acts remains evasive on the actual impact of Paul's mission and provides no exact figures, as though the narrator had generally "little interest in the efforts required to found a community and none whatsoever in what happened between the initial foundation and the persecution."[66] Alternately, he may have had no precise information on the question and could only report in schematic fashion that "a great many" (πλῆθος πολύ) of the God-fearing Greeks attending the synagogue and "not a few" (οὐκ ὀλίγαι) of its leading women were persuaded by the evangelists.[67] That is to say, a significant *proportion* of both groups, though not necessarily a significant *number*, could have responded positively to Paul's message, so that the first Thessalonian church need not have counted more than a few souls. Despite the accusation that Paul and Silas had "destabilized the world" (οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι),[68] their impact on the city must have actually been very modest, and the local authorities would have likely remained unaware of their presence had not accusations been brought against them publicly.

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[58] Acts 17:6–7. It is not clear whether the politarchs, as magistrates of a *civitas libera*, would have been juridically competent to adjudicate the matter (in lieu of the provincial governor), but the accusations would have been serious enough to require their attention, especially since it disturbed the peace of the city. Cf. Barnes, "Legislation," 49.

[59] The nature of the alleged charges remains debated. See, e.g., Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, 96 and 103; Judge, "Decrees of Caesar at Thessalonica"; Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 30–44; Omerzu, *Prozeß des Paulus*, 177–220; Hardin, "Decrees and Drachmas"; Burnett, *Studying the New Testament*, 97–120; Brélaz, "Paul's Imprisonments," 490.

[60] Acts 17:8–9. Sosthenes, the leader of the synagogue at Corinth, would be less fortunate (cf. Acts 18:17).

[61] Acts 17:10.

[62] 1 Thess 1:9 suggests that the infant church mostly comprised Christ-believers from a Graeco-Roman background. Cf. vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*, 207–33; Ascough, "Thessalonian Christian Community," 311–13.

[63] See, e.g., the discussion in Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica*, 61–82.

[64] Cf. Ramsay, *Paul the Traveller*, 228; Lüdemann, *Paulus*, 203–4; Coulot, "Paul à Thessalonique," 393.

[65] Acts 18:11; 19:10. Jewett (*Chronology of Paul's Life*, 60) opines that they stayed about three to four months in Thessalonica. Riesner (*Paul's Early Period*, 362–64) agrees that it cannot have lasted more than two to four months. See also Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 24–25; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 59–61.

Running away from Thessalonica, their only option would have been to press westward on the *Egnatia*, which took a more or less straight-course through the Bottiaean plain in a northwesterly direction until Edessa.[69] The decision to veer off the *Egnatia* just before Pella and head southwest towards Beroea, as reported in Acts, may have been motivated by the presence of another Jewish community there, by an offer of hospitality from acquaintances of the Thessalonian Christ-believers, or simply by a decision to head south towards Achaia. Going straight to the local synagogue, Acts recounts, Paul and Silas found the Beroean Jews to be particularly receptive to their message. Said to be of a nobler class (εὐγενέστεροι) than the Thessalonian Jews, they listened attentively to their teaching and daily examined their scriptures (τὰς γραφάς) to assess whether it accorded with them.[70] As a result, Acts reports, "many" of the Beroean Jews (πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν), and "not a few" (οὐκ ὀλίγοι) of the socially-prominent Greek women and Greek men (τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν), put their faith in Paul's gospel without, it seems, causing too much disruption.[71] Notably, the "mission at Beroea" as depicted in Acts thus stands out as "atypical in that it yields a rich harvest of Jews and well-placed gentiles—again in the privileged place among the latter—without Jewish opposition."[72] The number of converts might have continued to grow, but, according to Acts, some of the agitators from Thessalonica came to rouse the mob and thwart the evangelists' work.[73] The Beroean believers were to take no chance. They reportedly escorted Paul out of the city and led him down the Pierian road "towards the sea" (ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν), where, at Pydna most likely, he boarded a ship for Athens.[74] Meanwhile, Silas and Timothy (who is first mentioned in the narrative since Acts 16:1) remained at Beroea to look after the infant church before joining Paul later on in Athens.[75]

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[66] Pervo, *Acts*, 418. One exception is Acts 19:7 that mentions that about (ὡσεί) twelve men were baptized by Paul. Unlike the figure given for the mass conversion of pilgrims at Jerusalem (Acts 2:41; cf. 4:4), this number is unlikely to be meant symbolically (cf. ὡσεί), as no allusion to the twelve tribes of Israel or to the twelve apostles is implied. Cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 554 n. 2; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 644; Pervo, *Acts*, 86–87.

[67] Lüdemann (*Early Christianity*, 188) considers the report historically credible on the basis of 1 Thessalonians.

[68] Acts 17:6.

[69] Cf. Acts 17:10.

[70] Acts 17:11. Ciampa ("'Examined the Scriptures'?") contests the idea that the Beroeans had access to physical copies of the Jewish scriptures and suggests that the verb ἀνακρίνω here simply signifies that they interrogated Paul about them. The object τὰς γραφάς, the absence of the double accusative Παῦλον, and the final proposition εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως, however, make it rather clear what they interrogated or examined.

Just as with the episodes in Philippi and Thessalonica, it is difficult to ascertain the underlying historical events and virtually impossible to evaluate the actual impact of Paul, Silas, and Timothy's ministry in the city, as it is recounted over the course of four verses only. Whether their stay in Beroea was longer than that in Thessalonica or Philippi is also hard to tell, though it would have probably lasted a few weeks, if not a few months.[76] What is particularly striking is that, despite the Beroeans' ready acceptance of their message and the apparently larger number of believers of Greek and Jewish background in the Acts narrative, Paul does not seem to have kept any close contact with them. No epistle written to the Beroean church has survived or is apparently ever mentioned in subsequent Christian literature, as though the Beroean Christians completely fell into oblivion.[77] What is clear from the Acts narrative, however, is that Paul's first evangelistic campaign in Macedonia ended in typical fashion with the apostle fleeing in the face of opposition. As Pervo has observed, this trope effectively reinforces one of the author's literary motives, which was to present persecution of the Christian movement as "the fuel," rather than the hinderance, "of its continued expansion."[78]

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[71] Acts 17:12. According to the Western text, some Jews believed and some did not, while a large number of Greek men and women did. On the (syntactical) "peculiarities" of the text at this point, see Strange, *Text of Acts*, 153–54. Cf. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 454; Haenchen, *Acts*, 508.

[72] Pervo, *Acts*, 422.

[73] Acts 17:13.

[74] Acts 17:14. At Acts 17:15, the Western text explains that Paul bypassed Thessaly on his way to Athens, as he was prevented from evangelizing the region. Contrary to what Meers ("Who Went Where and How?," 203) suggests, it is unlikely that Paul traveled all the way down to Dium, which, according to Strabo (7, frag. 17), lay seven *stadia* (i.e., ca. 1.5 km) from the sea shore.

[75] Cf. 1 Thess 3:1–2.

[76] Cf. Ramsay, *Paul the Traveller*, 234. Jewett (*Chronology of Paul's Life*, 60) suggests they stayed in Beroea only two months.

[77] The Macedonian city of Beroea must not be confused with the homonymous Syrian city, to whose church Basil the Great wrote letters (*ep.* 185, 220, 221).

As indicated at the beginning of this section, Paul's letters to the Corinthians indicate that he returned to Macedonia on at least one occasion to encourage the newly-founded churches and to organize the collection for the poor in Jerusalem.[79] According to Acts 20, Paul passed through Macedonia on two occasions during his third and final journey as he circumvented the northern Aegean twice on his trip from Ephesus to Jerusalem via Corinth between AD 56/57 and 58. As will be seen in the next section, he also kept a lively correspondence and maintained a close relationship with the Macedonians, being apparently accompanied in his travels by the Thessalonian Aristarchus who would eventually sail with him to Rome.[80] However, the Acts narrator tells us very little about Paul's second passage in the province on his way to Achaia, other than "he encouraged the disciples with many words" (thereby implying that they were experiencing some difficulties, possibly because of local opposition, or perhaps simply struggling with their faith).[81] With his stay in Corinth shortened to three months and his plan to sail back to Jerusalem foiled, Paul is then said to have returned to Macedonia accompanied by, amongst others, a certain Sopater from Beroea (whose father Pyrrhus bore the name of a famous Epirote general), and by Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica.[82] Once more, Acts provides no information about this third and final visit apart from the identity of the men who sailed ahead of Paul from Philippi and waited for him at Troas in the spring of AD 58, namely, Timothy, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius of Derbe, Tychicus and Trophimus from the province of Asia,[83] and, possibly, the narrator himself who may have stayed at Philippi in the meantime (as the second shift to the first-person plural at Acts 20:5 somewhat implies).[84]

How long both stays in the province lasted, and which cities he actually visited, is simply not related in Acts (or in his letters, for that matter). If Paul traveled by foot through Achaia and Thessalia, he would have most likely followed the Pierian road that passed through Dium, Pydna, and Beroea, where he could have met with the church there. He could have then joined the *Egnatia* near Pella and easily traveled back to Thessalonica. Or he may have sailed directly to Pydna or Thessalonica from Athens. What is also unclear is whether it is during one of these last two visits that Paul had the opportunity to penetrate deeper into the Balkan hinterland and to evangelize "round about as far as Illyricum" (κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ).[85] Notwithstanding Paul's affirmation in Romans, Acts remains completely silent about his possible travels through the rugged regions west of Beroea and Edessa, and through the territories north of Thessalonica, both of which were, in Paul's time, part of the province of Macedonia and easily accessible thanks to the *via Egnatia* and the *via Axia*. Given that there is "no point in the narrative of Acts before 20:2 where we could easily place such a mission," and given that his "original mission in Macedonia was marked by harassment and haste," Colin Hemer has proposed that Paul's ventures into the western and northern confines of Macedonia might have taken place during his last visit around AD 56–57, if they ever did.[86] By contrast, Alfred Suhl and Peter Pilhofer have suggested that it is right after his first stay in Thessalonica in AD 50 that Paul traveled further west on the *Egnatia* all the way to Dyrrhachium where, met by the news that the emperor Claudius had expelled Jews from Rome, he decided to head south towards Corinth.[87] Unfortunately, neither hypothesis can be confirmed or refuted on the basis of Paul's letters or Acts 17.

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[78] Pervo, *Acts*, 421.

[79] 2 Cor 8:1–5; 9:1–7. Cf. 1 Cor 16:5–9; 2 Cor 1:15–16; 2:13; 7:5. On the Jerusalem collection, see the large bibliography referenced in Ogereau, "Jerusalem Collection."

[80] Acts 19:21–22; 20:1–2; 27:2. Cf. 1 Cor 16:5; 2 Cor 1:16; 2:13; 9:2–4.

[81] Acts 20:2.

[82] Acts 20:3–4.

[83] Acts 20:4–5.

[84] Acts 20:5–6.

In conclusion, not a great deal transpires in our sources on the establishment and development of Christianity in Macedonia in the middle of the first century. Paul's letters offer only snippets of information about his activities, while the Acts account mostly relates clichéd anecdotes of questionable historical value, which are woven together to serve a broader theological and apologetic agenda.[88] Still, without the latter it would be nearly impossible to sketch out the beginnings of Christianity in the region.[89] The next section will delve into the consolidation of the Christian movement in Macedonia with the help of the letters written by and/or attributed to Paul.

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[85] Rom 15:19. Before the creation of the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia under Vespasian, it comprised territories from the northern and central Balkans that later became part of the province of Moesia. See Suetonius, *Tib.* 16.4. Cf. Šašel Kos, "Illyricum," and sec. 1 in chap. 2 above.

[86] Hemer, *Acts*, 260–61. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 140; Bruce, *Acts*, 404–5. For Geyser ("Un essai d'explication"), Rom 15:19 should be understood neither in a historical nor in a geographical sense.

[87] Suhl, *Paulus*, 94, and Pilhofer, *Das Neue Testament*, 235–38. Cf. vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*, 199–206.

[88] For important discussions on the historical and theological aspects of Acts, see, e.g., Haenchen, *Acts*, 90–112; Marshall, *Luke*; Maddox, *Purpose of Luke-Acts*; Squires, *Plan of God*; Sterling, *Historiography*; Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*; Rothschild, *Luke-Acts*. The updated edition of Bovon's *Luke the Theologian* remains an essential critical guide to the enormous secondary literature on the topic.

4 The Consolidation of the First Christian Communities in the AD 50s–60s

4.1 *Introduction*

Following his first journey through Macedonia, Paul wrote at the very least two letters to the communities he founded at Thessalonica and Philippi. Of the three Macedonian epistles that were later included in the New Testament, only 1 Thessalonians and Philippians are generally considered to be authentic Pauline letters, while the authorship of 2 Thessalonians remains largely disputed. Slightly shorter than Philippians, both 1 and 2 Thessalonians are usually understood to form a coherent literary unit (even though this has not gone unchallenged vis-à-vis 1 Thessalonians).[90] Philippians, on the other hand, is taken by many to comprise between two to five letters that were written at various stages of Paul's last decade, and which were later edited and collated into a single document.[91] Despite the outstanding difficulties of proving or refuting any of the various partition hypotheses, it is not hard to conceive that Paul could have written several letters to the Macedonian churches over the last ten to fifteen years of his life and inspired a few more after his death, among which only the three canonical ones were deemed important enough to be preserved for posterity.[92]

As with many of the other documents forming the New Testament, their exact date and place of composition remain unknown. These can only be guessed based on the biographical information they contain and on what we know of Paul from his other letters and Acts. First Thessalonians is commonly regarded as one of the earliest (with Galatians), if not the earliest, of Paul's

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[89] Cf. Hengel, *Acts*, 38.

[90] On the question of the literary unity of 1 Thessalonians, see, e.g., Collins, "Integrity"; Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 33–46; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 29–37; Holtz, *Thessalonicher*, 23–25.

[91] See the review of scholarship and literature on the subject in Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 223–34. Cf. Holloway, *Philippians*, 10–19.

[92] Polycarp, for example, affirms that Paul "wrote letters" (ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς) to the Philippians (*Phil.* 3:2).

(extant) epistles written from Corinth in AD 50 or 51,[93] if it was not written from Athens as a *subscriptio* in some early manuscripts claims.[94] In contrast, Philippians could be Paul's very last (preserved) letter written from prison in Rome shortly before his death in the early AD 60s, if it was not written from Ephesus or Caesarea Maritima in the mid-AD 50s.[95] The circumstances behind Second Thessalonians are more difficult to determine. Those who consider it as genuinely Pauline generally date it to the interim decade between 1 Thessalonians and Philippians, though it has been occasionally argued that it could predate both.[96] Those who think it is a pseudepigraphical document written by one of Paul's followers or a forger date it, understandably, after the apostle's death, at some point between AD 70 and the early second century.[97]

Needless to say, the following section has no pretension to review in detail, or to resolve, any of these points of contention (or any other outstanding theological issues for that matter). Nor can it engage with the vast scholarly literature written on these documents in any exhaustive fashion. Rather, it merely aims to examine the information that could give us some insight into Paul's evangelistic work in Macedonia, and that could help us better sketch the social and theological contours of the first Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi.

4.2 *First Thessalonians*[98]

As seen in the previous section, Acts relates how Paul's stay at Thessalonica ended abruptly when he and Silas—Timothy is not mentioned—were exfiltrated out of the city under the cover of darkness and safely escorted to Beroea.[99] Still according to Acts, Paul left Silas and Timothy behind to look after the church and made his way to Athens, whence he sent his escort back to Beroea to fetch his companions. He remained in Athens for some undetermined time and engaged with the Jews and God-fearers in the synagogue and the Greeks in the agora, before he moved on to Corinth where Silas and Timothy are said to have found him actively evangelizing the Jews.[100] Upon receiving fresh news from Macedonia, Paul, with the assistance of Timothy and Silvanus (1 Thess 1:1), who can only have been the Silas of Acts,[101] was prompted to write to the church at Thessalonica, his "glory and joy" (2:20), to encourage them in the faith. Likely his first formal communication with the Thessalonians since he had left Macedonia, it was a timely opportunity to reiterate his deep affection and longing for them (2:17; 3:6, 10), to express his pride for their perseverance in the faith (1:2–3, 7–8; 2:19–20), to exhort them to Christ-like living (4:1–12; 5:12–22), and to address some of their theological questions (4:13–5:11). It was also the occasion to defend or legitimize his own ministry at Thessalonica, which may have been contested by some unidentified opponents, and to urge them to follow in his footsteps (1:5–7; 2:1–12).[102]

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[93] Cf. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 42–51; Bruce, *Thessalonians*, xxxiv–xxxv; Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 49–60; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 71–74. See also the literature referenced in n. 3 above. Lüdemann (*Paulus*, 263–64) dates it to ca. AD 41 based on its eschatological outlook (cf. pp. 212–63).

[94] See von Dobschütz, *Thessalonicher-Briefe*, 17–18 n. 4; Best, *Thessalonians*, 7; F. Vouga in Marguerat, *Introduction*, 250.

[95] On the date and place of composition, see recently Holloway, "Provenance of Philippians"; id., *Philippians*, 19–24; Flexsenhar III, "Provenance of Philippians." Cf. Reumann, *Philippians*, 3–18.

[96] See, e.g., Weiss, *Urchristentum*, 217; West, "Order"; Manson, *Studies*, 259–78; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 37–45. Cf. Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 24–26; Bruce, *Thessalonians*, xxxix–xliv; Green, *Thessalonians*, 64–69; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 361–64.

[97] See, e.g., Wrede, *Echtheit*, 91–96; Trilling, *Thessalonicher*, 27–28; Lindemann, "Abfassungszweck," 42–45; Bailey, "II Thessalonians," 143.

[98] The secondary literature on the Thessalonian correspondence and its context is substantial. Important contributions include Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*; Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*; Collins, *Thessalonian Correspondence*; vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*; Donfried, *Paul*; Donfried and Beutler, *Thessalonians Debate*; Nasrallah, Bakirtzis, and Friesen, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*; Harrison and Welborn, *Thessalonica*.

On the basis of the internal evidence, the actual circumstances of the letter are quite difficult to make out precisely without the Acts account, which is in some respect corroborated by the information contained in the letter.[103] It confirms, for instance, what Acts relates about Paul's initial stay in the city, and in particular his hardships and dramatic escape, which he describes as a traumatic separation that had left them "orphans" (ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν, 2:17). In another respect, it contradicts the information given in Acts as it is clear that all three, Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, were together in Athens and had sought to return to Thessalonica several times (καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δίς), only to

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For a review of scholarship and a bibliography, see Trilling, "Thessalonicher," and Weima and Porter, *Annotated Bibliography*. On the Hellenistic and Roman history of the city, see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 189–212; vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki*, 12–101; Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*; Torp, "Thessalonique paléochrétienne"; Ogereau, "Thessaloniki."

[99] Acts 17:10, 13–15.

[100] Acts 17:17; 18:5.

[101] Cf. n. 2 above.

[102] On the question of Paul's possible apology in 1 Thess 2:1–12, see especially the discussion in Donfried and Beutler, *Thessalonians Debate*, 31–131.

[103] Cf. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*, 366–67; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 57, 69. It is exaggerated to claim, as Coulot does ("Paul à Thessalonique," 377), that Acts 17:1–9 and 1 Thess 1:6–2:12 "ne se recoupent en aucun point."

be prevented by Satan himself (2:18).[104] Resigned to their situation, Paul and Silvanus decided to remain in Athens and to send Timothy to "strengthen and encourage" the Thessalonians "in the faith," since they experienced some opposition (3:1–3; cf. 1:6; 2:14). We are not told whether they had actually received reports from the Thessalonians about their hardships, but they certainly had expected, and indeed forewarned them, that their circumstances would worsen and their faith be tested (3:3–5). Upon his return (while they were still in Athens or Corinth, more likely), Timothy brought the news that the Thessalonians were holding fast unto the gospel despite their current adversities and longed to meet with them again (3:6–10).

In contrast with some of his other, more incisive, letters such as Galatians or 1 Corinthians, Paul's first address to the Thessalonians is a genuinely positive response that offers a balanced mixture of praise for their faithfulness and perseverance, of encouragement in the face of opposition, and of theological instruction.[105] He opens in typical fashion with a thanksgiving prayer and a commendation for their "work of faith," "labor of love," and "patient hope in Christ" (1:3). He reminds them of God's love for them and of their calling in the gospel, which was manifested among them with divine power and conviction (1:4–5). He congratulates them for having so readily accepted the gospel as God's word despite their many afflictions (1:6; cf. 2:13–14; 3:3–4), and for having "turned away from idols to serve the true and living God" (1:9–10), which indicates that they were mostly, if not entirely, of Graeco-Roman background. As a result of their embracing Paul and his message (1:6), they have themselves become ambassadors, model "imitators" of the evangelists for all the believers throughout Macedonia and Achaia (1:6–7), their faith having become renown to the churches of these regions and beyond (1:8). They have also become "imitators" of the churches of Judaea by sharing in the same type of sufferings that the latter endured from their own countrymen (2:13–14).[106]

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[104] On the discrepancy between Acts 17:1–15 and 1 Thess 3:1–2 in particular, see the discussion in Donfried, *Paul*, 209–19. Cf. Conzelmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, 104; Dibelius, *Thessalonicher*, 32; Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 30–32; Holtz, *Thessalonicher*, 123–34; Marguerat, *Actes*, 2:142–43. More generally on the evidence provided by 1 Thessalonians and Acts, see the discussion in Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 55–71. Cf. Best, *Thessalonians*, 1–7.

[105] On the paraenetic character of the letter, see esp. Malherbe, "Exhortation"; id., *Paul and the Thessalonians*, 61–94. Cf. de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts*, 170–75. But see Pitts, "Pauline Paraenesis," for a nuanced position.

[106] On the possible interpolation of 1 Thess 2:13–16, see Collins, "Integrity," 68–85; Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 33–46; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 29–37; Holtz, *Thessalonicher*, 25–28; Standhartinger, "Paul."

How “the word of the Lord” had effectively “come out from them” (1:8)—whether by word of mouth via professional networks, through proactive evangelism, or by simply imitating Paul (cf. 1:6–7)[107]—and what kind of hardships the Thessalonians had actually endured is not explained.[108] Nor is any detail given on Paul’s own troubles at Philippi, other than he and his companions had suffered greatly and had been “treated outrageously,” which nonetheless had not hampered their determination and their efforts in preaching the gospel at Thessalonica (2:1–2). As though to legitimize his exhortations later on in the letter, Paul then reminds them of the purity and sincerity of their motives in proclaiming the gospel to them, and of their exemplary, righteous, and blameless attitude in their midst as divinely approved evangelists (2:3–4, 10). Unlike others (who remain anonymous), they had not resorted to any trickery or sought to defraud them out of greed or vainglory, nor were they overbearing as “apostles of Christ” (2:3–6). Rather, they had toiled day and night to avoid becoming a financial burden to them (2:9). They had behaved as though they were “gentle nurses” looking after their own children with love and care (2:7–8), and as fathers had exhorted them to godly living (2:11–12).[109]

Much to their relief, none of their efforts proved to be vain, as “the tempter” had not managed to lead the Thessalonians astray (cf. 3:5). Timothy had indeed brought back some genuinely positive news that overjoyed Paul and Silvanus and caused them to erupt in thankfulness (3:6, 9–13). Their faith and love were running strong as “they stood firm in the Lord,” eagerly desired to meet them again, and showed themselves charitable to all the believers in Macedonia (3:6–9, 10). Paul only needed to exhort them to continue to live in a godly manner and to correct a few misunderstandings they had about the fate of those who had already “fallen asleep” (4:1, 13). Paying heed to his earlier instructions (4:1–2), they were to pursue purity and holiness by abstaining from sexual immorality and by keeping bodily passions under control (4:4–5, 7). They were to conduct themselves honestly with one another, lead peaceful and orderly lives, and be self-sufficient so as not to bring any disrepute upon the community (4:6, 11–12; 5:13). They were to persevere and increase in their love for one another with all benevolence (4:9–10; 5:15), patiently encourage those struggling in life or in their faith (5:11, 14), admonish the disorderly (5:14), and hold in the highest esteem those serving in some form of leadership positions (5:12–13). In sum, they were to continue to build their own spiritual community with all diligence, prayerfulness, and thankfulness. Finally, they were to change their perspective on death and be neither troubled by the fate of those who had already died nor be concerned about the "day of the Lord" (4:13–5:11). Excessive grief for "those who have fallen asleep" was unwarranted, for God would raise them again, in the same way that Jesus had been resurrected (4:13–14). They would in fact precede those who are still alive at the parousia of Christ, when he would descend from heaven to gather his elect (4:15–17). They only needed to keep watch patiently, soberly, and prayerfully for the unpredictable return of the Lord, and not be distracted by unfounded rumors (5:1–8). Ultimately, as children of light, salvation alone awaited them in Christ (5:4–10).

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[107] See the discussions in Ware, “Thessalonians as a Missionary Congregation”; Dickson, *Mission-Commitment*, 95–103; and Ascough, “Thessalonians’ ‘Mission.’”

[108] On the latter, see Barclay, “Conflict in Thessalonica,” which moderates Jewett’s reconstruction in *Thessalonian Correspondence*. Cf. de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts*, 155–70; Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica*, 208–86; Ascough, *Paul’s Macedonian Associations*, 167–68.

[109] Cf. Malherbe, “Gentle as a Nurse.” On the variant ἤπιοι (“gentle, kind”) in 1 Thess 2:7, which is given as the original reading in some manuscripts (e.g., A, K, L, P, 𝔐) and is preferred in the Greek eastern tradition (cf. Crawford, “1 Thessalonians 2,7,” 69), see von Dobschütz, *Thessalonicher-Briefe*, 93–94; Dibelius, *Thessalonicher*, 9; Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 418–19; Holtz, *Thessalonicher*, 82; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 561–62. The reading νήπιοι (“infant, child”) is by far the better, and earlier, attested reading (e.g., א, B, C, D, 𝔓^{65}) but makes less sense in context.

Overall, not a great deal transpires in the letter about the circumstances and outlook of the church at Thessalonica. The community to which Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy wrote within a few months of their initial visit was still very much in its infancy stage. It was beset by the usual challenges confronting the earliest Christ groups, namely, opposition from a hostile polytheistic environment and from Jewish communities that likely felt threatened by the gospel. Hence, it needed more encouragement than admonition, as well as corrective theological instruction, in order to consolidate its foundations. This said, no hint is given as to its actual size. The mention of those in position of prominence or leadership (τοὺς προϊσταμένους) somewhat suggests a basic organizational structure (5:12–13), or at least an informal hierarchy based on age and social respectability, while Paul's insistence on his diligent manual labor (as an example to follow) could imply that the Thessalonian congregation mostly comprised artisans from the lower levels of society (2:9; cf. 2 Thess 3:8–10).[110] Similarly, the final injunction (with oath) to read the letter to everyone could indicate that the whole church might not have been able to gather in the same place at the same time, or that it met separately in various households throughout the city. The urgency conveyed by the oath also hints at the importance the three evangelists placed on their message for the well-being of the church, which was still at a vulnerable stage of its development.

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[110] Cf. de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts*, 147–54; Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations*, 169–77.

As a final incidental note, it may be pointed out that although 1 Thessalonians has gone down in history as one of Paul's earliest authentic letters, it is one of the least personal. Except at 1 Thess 2:18 and 5:27 where he is more emphatic and employs the first-person singular, he appears otherwise rather withdrawn and mostly relies on the first-person plural.[111] This somewhat goes to say that, despite the weight of tradition, Silvanus and Timothy perhaps deserve as much credit as Paul for the successful beginnings of Christianity at Thessalonica in the first century.

4.3 *Second Thessalonians*[112]

The circumstances surrounding the second (preserved) letter written to the Thessalonians, which has been traditionally attributed to Paul, are even more enigmatic than those of the first letter, as we possess no information concerning its occasion, date, and place of composition. Further, since the early nineteenth century, its authorship has been seriously contested by scholars who have taken issues with its apparent literary dependence on 1 Thessalonians (in its epistolary framework at least), its stylistic variations, and its theological divergences, in particular its apocalyptic outlook (cf. 2:1–12).[113] Thus, many interpreters have come to consider 2 Thessalonians as having been written by a pseudonymous author after Paul's death despite, or perhaps (partly) because of, the final autograph claiming to be by his own hand in 2 Thess 3:17,[114] and despite its reception as an authentic Pauline epistle in the early church tradition.[115] Others, however, have pointed out that the stylistic and linguistic evidence neither proves, in absolute terms, its pseudepigraphic origin or even its fraudulent character,[116] nor accounts for an adequate context in which 2 Thessalonians might have been written.[117] While some verbatim reiterations—mostly epistolary or liturgical formulas—do occur,[118] it could be that either Silvanus or Timothy had been commissioned to write the letter (with the help of 1 Thessalonians), to which Paul would have then simply apposed his *signum* (σημεῖον) of approval in order to reassure readers that the letter was not the work of impersonators (3:17; cf. 2:2).[119] This could explain some of the similarities though not its theological singularity, which must have been demanded by a particular contingency or a changed situation since the first letter had been written,[120] or, as Adolf von Harnack (unconvincingly) argued, by the theological disposition of its predominantly Jewish audience.[121]

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[111] Cf. the discussion in Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 77–80; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 86–89.

[112] As noted above, the secondary literature on the Thessalonian correspondence and its context is consequential. For a sample of significant studies, see the bibliography referenced in n. 98 above.

[113] The studies by Wrede (*Die Echtheit des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefs*) and Trilling (*Untersuchungen zum zweiten Thessalonicherbrief*) have been most influential in this regard. Cf., e.g., Lindemann, "Abfassungszweck"; Bailey, "II Thessalonians"; Marxsen, *Der zweite Thessalonicherbrief*, 15–41; Holland, *Tradition That You Received*; Nicklas, *Thessalonicherbrief*, 26–58. See also the review of scholarship in Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 3–18.

[114] A pseudepigraphic autograph could have been included precisely to try to convince its recipients of the authenticity of the letter (cf. Col 4:18). However, the case never seems to be made for other Pauline autographs (1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; Phlm 19).

[115] It is cited or alluded to by Polycarp (2 Thess 1:4 in *Phil.* 11:3 possibly), Irenaeus (*haer.* 3.7.2; 5.25.1), Clement of Alexandria (*str.* 5.3), and Tertullian (*Scorp.* 13; *Res.* 24), and was included in $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ (most likely), in Marcion's collection, and in the Muratorian fragment. Cf. Best, *Thessalonians*, 37–38; Bailey, "II Thessalonians," 131–32; H.Y. Gamble in McDonald and Sanders, *Canon Debate*, 282–87; Thiselton, *Thessalonians*, 11–15; Nicklas, *Thessalonicherbrief*, 58–63.

Whatever the case may have been, what is clear is that 2 Thessalonians should not be dismissed altogether as it could provide some insight into the life of the church in the years, or decades, after Paul's initial visit and first letter—assuming, of course, that it was not written by a pseudonymous author to a community in Asia Minor.[122] Whether written by Paul himself, by Silvanus or Timothy, or by an unknown follower of theirs, it remains important for our understanding of the church's situation at Thessalonica and of Pauline (or pseudo-Pauline) theology. If indeed authentic, 2 Thessalonians is likely to have been written shortly after 1 Thessalonians in the early to mid-AD 50s. If pseudepigraphical, then it must have been written after Paul's death, and can thus potentially inform us on the evolution of the Thessalonian church in the second half of the first century.

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[116] Trilling (*Untersuchungen*, 45) and Friesen ("Second Thessalonians," 201) themselves admit this point.

[117] See Best, *Thessalonians*, 50–58; Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 3–18; Barclay, "Conflict in Thessalonica," 527; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 364–70.

[118] E.g., 1 Thess 1:1 and 2 Thess 1:1; 1 Thess 3:11 and 2 Thess 2:16; 1 Thess 5:23 and 2 Thess 3:16; 1 Thess 5:28 and 2 Thess 3:18. The parallelisms between 1 Thess 5:14 and 2 Thess 3:6, and 1 Thess 3:4a and 2 Thess 3:10a, are less significant than that between 1 Thess 2:9 and 2 Thess 3:8. See esp. Wrede, *Echtheit*, 3–36; Marxsen, *Der zweite Thessalonicherbrief*, 15–41; Holland, *Tradition That You Received*, 8–33. On the thanksgiving periods, see also Schubert, *Pauline Thanksgivings*, 17–30.

[119] Cf. Donfried, *Paul*, 53–55; Elmer, "Pauline Letters," 48–49.

[120] Cf. Barclay, "Conflict in Thessalonica," 527; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 368–69.

[121] 1 Thessalonians would have thus been addressed to the gentile core of the church, and 2 Thessalonians to its smaller Jewish nucleus. See Harnack, "Problem des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes," who is followed by Lake, *Earlier Epistles of Saint Paul*, 83–86.

[122] Cf. Trilling, *Thessalonicher*, 27–28. But see Nicklas, *Thessalonicherbrief*, 49–50.

What is immediately apparent is that two of the issues that had motivated the first letter, namely, local opposition and eschatological anxieties, had not been resolved and that the Thessalonians were in dire need of exhortation. These issues notwithstanding, the evangelists' earlier wish that the Thessalonians' faith and love for one another would continue to abound seemed to have been in part fulfilled, making them thankful and proud for their "perseverance and faithfulness in all their persecutions and afflictions" (1:3–4; cf. 1 Thess 3:1–10). Though they were already under duress at the time 1 Thessalonians was penned, the situation had apparently worsened, their earlier afflictions (θλίψεις) now turning into outright persecutions (διωγμοί), which had likely amplified their eschatological anxieties and which now justified another letter of encouragement.[123] This time, however, the authors offered more than mere words of comfort to help them endure what they had been found worthy to suffer for the kingdom of God (1:5), for they promised divine retribution upon their enemies as vindication. God would indeed repay their tormenters with afflictions and bid the Thessalonians relief from their miseries, when Christ would be revealed with his angels and execute vengeance upon those who rejected him (1:6–8). Eternal damnation and alienation from the presence of God would be their "reward," whilst those who had believed in God and proven themselves worthy of his calling through benevolence and works of faith would be saved (1:9–12).

Once again, the Thessalonians needed to readjust their eschatological perspective and expectations concerning the parousia of Christ, the consummation of the world, and the gathering of the elect, and not let themselves be troubled or led astray by false rumors or letters from impersonators asserting that the "day of the Lord" had already come (2:1–2). They had not missed the "eschatological train," as it were, for the apostasy preceding it and its chief representative, the "man of lawlessness" and "son of destruction," had not yet been made manifest (2:3, 9–12). As they had been warned, he himself would easily be recognized when all the restraints placed upon him have been removed, since he would openly antagonize God and exalt himself above every idol, claiming himself to be God by taking his seat in his temple (2:4–7). However, the "lawless one" would not last long as Christ would immediately destroy him at "the epiphany of his parousia," and thus annihilate his deceptive power (2:8–10).

The Thessalonians need not be concerned, therefore, but rather be grateful to have been chosen as the "first fruits unto salvation," set apart by the sanctification of the Spirit and true faith (2:13–14). Unbelievers who have been led astray by "God's enemy" would, on the other hand, receive their just condemnation and perish for having despised the truth and delighted in unrighteousness (2:9–12). The Thessalonians' main challenge was simply to "stand firm" and hold fast unto the teachings and traditions they had received from the evangelists (2:14–15). God, being faithful, would preserve them from the evil one, comfort them with hope and grace, strengthen them in every good deed and word, and establish them in peace (2:16–17; 3:3, 5, 16). Finally, they were to continue to live in a manner fitting of the gospel, following the moral example Paul and his associates had set while in Thessalonica, and not tire of doing good (3:7, 9, 13). It was imperative—note the commands at 2 Thess 3:4, 6, 10 and 12—that all remained financially independent by working diligently and earning their own living, as the evangelists had themselves done, and not become a burden to anyone by relying on free handouts from others, as some indolent members of the community were now indulging in (3:6–12). As the apostles had instructed, whoever did not want to work should not eat either (3:10). Disorderly or disobedient believers were thus to be shunned and shamed in reprimand, though not altogether alienated as though they were enemies (3:6, 12, 14–15).

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[123] Cf. Donfried, *Paul*, 49–67; Barclay, "Conflict in Thessalonica," 527–30.

Overall, 2 Thessalonians offers limited insight into the life of the church in the middle or late first century. Although it addresses some specific theological and ethical issues, the letter is rather generic in its outlook and could have easily been read by any other community with some benefit—hence, its inclusion in the *corpus Paulinum* most likely.[124] Just as in 1 Thessalonians, not a single member is mentioned by name and no hint is given as to its possible size, structure, or expansion (other than its spiritual growth; cf. 1:3–4). The church continued to face adversity, albeit with increasing intensity, and to struggle with its own eschatological uncertainties, which may have led some to rely on others for their personal needs. Yet, while outsiders posing as apostles may have been responsible for the Thessalonians' troubled conscience about the eschaton, no sign of inner conflict or division is immediately apparent—a rare enough occurrence in the early Christian movement to be underlined.

Ultimately, whether 2 Thessalonians was written by Paul in the middle of the first century, or by someone else slightly later on, may not be as fundamental a question as it seems for our understanding of early Christianity in Macedonia—provided one does not assume that it was written to a different community altogether, in which case 2 Thessalonians might be considered either as a commentary on 1 Thessalonians or as a corrective of its (supposedly erroneous) eschatological perspective and/or misinterpretation within the

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[124] Cf. Nicklas, *Thessalonicherbrief*, 58–60.

Paulusschule.[125] For our purpose, what is indeed more important to appreciate is that the evangelists' early efforts had likely not been in vain, and that Paul's influence continued to be felt at Thessalonica throughout the second part of the first century.

4.4 *Philippians*[126]

As noted in the introduction of this section, Philippians is generally understood to be one of, if not the last of Paul's letters written (with the assistance of Timothy) at the culmination of his life and ministry while in chains in Rome in the early AD 60s (if it was not composed earlier during his imprisonment at Ephesus or Caesarea Maritima).[127] The date and place of composition, however, are but two of the main uncertainties concerning the letter whose literary unity remains a major point of contention. Since the nineteenth century, a number of partition hypotheses have indeed been proposed to account for abrupt shifts in tone at Phil 2:19; 3:1; 4:1; and 4:10, and have resulted in the segmentation of the canonical letter into two, three, or even five different documents, which are thought to have been written at intervals during an undetermined period of time.[128] While examining these various hypotheses lie beyond the scope of this section, it must be noted that the adoption of a particular hypothesis has important implications for one's reading of the letter as a whole. It affects one's understanding of the chronology of the events alluded in the letter, one's understanding of Paul's relationship with the Philippians, and, ultimately, one's understanding of the development of the church itself. Similarly, one's assumption about the place of composition, in particular one's identification of the *praetorium* (πραιτώριον, 1:3; cf. 4:22) where Paul was kept under guard, can bring the date of composition forward by a few years.[129] The outstanding uncertainties surrounding its final edition, in particular the possible compilation of several documents into one, thus renders any historical reconstruction inevitably conjectural. This justifies that, for the sake of convenience at least, it be herein examined in its final canonical form.

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[125] Cf. Bultmann, *Theologie*, 484; Trilling, *Thessalonicher*, 27–28; Holland, *Tradition That You Received*; Roose, "Thessalonicherbriefe"; Popkes, "Bedeutung." But see Nicklas, *Thessalonicherbrief*, 49–58.

[126] As with the Thessalonian correspondence, the secondary literature on the letter is too abundant to be referenced in full here. Besides exegetical commentaries such as Standhartinger's recent *Philipperbrief*, fundamental studies include Lemerle, *Philippes*, 7–60; Pilhofer, *Philippi*; Bormann, *Philippi*; Oakes, *Philippians*. For recent contributions see, e.g., Harrison and Welborn, *Philippi*; Frey and Schliesser, *Philipperbrief*; Marchal, *People beside Paul*; Betz, *Studies*; Friesen, Lychounas, and Schowalter, *Philippi*. On the Hellenistic and Roman history of the city, see esp. Collart, *Philippes*; Lemerle, *Philippes*; Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 405–13; Brélaz, *Philippes*.

[127] On the possible place(s) of composition, see Thielman, "Literary Setting of Philippians"; Holloway, "Provenance of Philippians"; id., *Philippians*, 19–24; Standhartinger, *Philipperbrief*, 31–35; Flexsenhar III, "Provenance of Philippians"; Brélaz, "Paul's Imprisonments," 494–98.

[128] See the review of scholarship and the literature therein referenced in Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 223–34. Cf. Reumann, *Philippians*, 8–16; Holloway, *Philippians*, 10–19; Standhartinger, *Philipperbrief*, 14–23.

These interpretive difficulties aside, what is clear is that, over the years, Paul had maintained a privileged relationship with the Philippians who were probably the very first church (amongst those he had himself established) to participate materially and/or financially in his evangelistic efforts throughout Greece (1:5; 4:3, 15–16; cf. 2 Cor 11:8–9).[130] And, like Timothy (Phil 2:19–24), they had remained loyal to him until the closing stages of his life, sending even one of their own, Epaphroditus, to deliver provisions and attend to his necessities while in prison (2:25–30).[131] What is also immediately apparent from Paul's repeated pleas for unity and his exhortations to rejoice is that the Philippians were affected by internal divisions and were dispirited by the pressure of their social environment and the attacks of opponents (1:27–30; 2:1–4, 18; 3:1; 4:1–4).[132] In addition, judging by his long report on his personal situation and the progress of the gospel, they seem to have been distressed about Paul's imprisonment and the outcome of his ministry (1:5–7, 12–18).[133]

Visibly moved by the Philippians' genuine concern and material assistance, which Epaphroditus had conveyed on their behalf (2:25–30; 4:10–19), Paul thus begins his letter with an outburst of thanksgiving for their unwavering support and partnership in the gospel "from the first day until now" (1:3–5). As he acknowledges at the end of the letter, they were indeed the first and only church to have associated with him in his ministry when he left Macedonia

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[129] Cf. n. 127 above.

[130] For a detailed examination of Paul's privileged relationship with the Philippians, see Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, which is summarized in id., "Paul's Κοινωνία." Cf. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership*; Peterman, *Paul's Gift*; Briones, *Paul's Financial Policy*; all of whom are reviewed and discussed in Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 1–42. On the Philippians' involvement in Paul's mission, see also Ware, *Mission*, 163–284; Dickson, *Mission-Commitment*, 141–50, 201–12.

[131] On Epaphroditus's role, see, e.g., Dickson, *Mission-Commitment*, 315–17; Wansink, *Chained in Christ*, 126–46.

[132] On the Philippians' disunity, see esp. Peterlin, *Philippians.* On possible external conflicts, see, e.g., Bormann, *Philippi*, 217–24; Oakes, *Philippians*, 77–102; de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts*, 261–87.

[133] See Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 244–65. For Holloway (*Consolation*), Paul principally wrote to the Philippians to alleviate their distress caused by his imprisonment, using rational argumentation and exhortation.

(4:15). And they persevered with him through thick and thin, remaining faithful to him even in his imprisonment and legal defense (ἀπολογία) of the gospel (1:7). Despite his captivity, they should not be worried in any way for his welfare and the outcome of his mission since it has contributed to advance the gospel in the most unlikely of places, namely, the Roman *praetorium* where he is kept under watch while awaiting trial, so that even some from Caesar's household have now become Christians (1:12–14; 4:22).[134] For news has spread throughout the *praetorium* and beyond that his chains are a consequence of his faith in Christ, which has emboldened some to proclaim the gospel, be it out of noble or selfish ambitions (1:12–17).

Whatever the outcome of his imprisonment might be—he does hope to come shortly after Timothy (2:24)—they are exhorted to continue to live in a manner worthy of the gospel and to remain united, not giving way to dissension but "contending in one spirit and one soul for the faith of the gospel" (1:27; 2:14). They are not to cower in the face of opposition but to take heart in the fact that, like the Thessalonians and Paul himself, they have been found worthy not merely to believe in Christ but also to suffer for him (1:28–30). Therefore, they are to take courage in his spiritual communion and compassion, and to persevere in the same mind and love, "united in soul" (σύμψυχοι, 2:1–2; cf. μιᾷ ψυχῇ, 1:27). Adopting Christ's humble demeanor, they are to take care of each other with selfless consideration, leaving personal ambitions and interests aside (2:3–8).[135]

In a similar vein, they are to imitate Paul in his pursuit of Christ as the ultimate prize, τέλος, on earth, and to live as citizens of heaven who will soon be glorified into his likeness by his transforming power (3:12–17, 20–21).[136] They are not to succumb to the pressure of doomed "enemies of the cross of Christ" who have tried to impose circumcision on them (3:2–3, 18–19).[137] The truly circumcised are those who serve and worship God in the Spirit, place their pride in Christ, and do not put their trust in the flesh (3:3), as Paul himself once did before his dramatic revelation of Christ (3:4–11).

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[134] Caesar's household (Καίσαρος οἰκία) here corresponds to the imperial administrative personnel (*familia Caesaris*), whether slave or freed, and not to the members of Nero's family. Cf. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 3–4; Reumann, *Philippians*, 729–30; Holloway, *Philippians*, 190–91; Flexsenhar III, *Christians in Caesar's Household*, 27–44, 134–40; Standhartinger, *Philipperbrief*, 101–3.

[135] No other passage in the letter has attracted as much attention as the so-called Christ hymn of Phil 2:6–11. See, e.g., Reumann, *Philippians*, 333–83; Holloway, *Philippians*, 114–29; Standhartinger, *Philipperbrief*, 148–82, and the rich bibliography therein referenced.

[136] On this topic, see esp. Arnold, *Christ as the Telos*.

[137] On the question of Paul's and the Philippians' opponents, see recently Vollenweider, "Rivals"; Nanos, "Out-Howling the Cynics." Cf. Reumann, *Philippians*, 469–70; Holloway, *Philippians*, 148–49.

Paradoxically, Philippians actually tells us much more about Paul himself than about the church, as it is rich in autobiographical details about his past, current situation, and theology. As one of his most intimate letters, it gives us a rare glimpse into his psychological state during one of the darkest moments of his life, when the sword of Rome was hovering over his head. It perspires pathos as he lays his soul bare and evokes his deep affection for the Philippians. At the same time, it contains some of the most profound and inspiring theological poetry in the form of the so-called Christ hymn, an original composition that, if he did not himself author, he at least appropriated (and possibly adapted) from a now lost oral tradition.[138] Overall, the letter provides little practical information about the situation of the church at Philippi other than it was prone to dissension, as the admonition addressed to Euodia and Syntyche exemplifies (4:2–3), and that it was hard pressed by external opposition. Likely written in the decade following his initial visit, it also reveals that the church had grown to a size significant enough as to require some "overseers and deacons" (ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι, 1:1), though it is not clear what the first of these functions entailed. The fact that there were several *episkopoi*, and not a single *episkopos*, indicates that it cannot have corresponded to the formal office of bishop (as the term would a century or so later), which in turn suggests that these overseers must have merely supervised the activities and finances of the church—incidentally, less than a century later, Polycarp only addresses himself to presbyters and deacons (*Phil.* 5:3).[139]

Finally, Philippians provides some crucial insight into logistical aspects of the Pauline mission, in particular the question of its financial support. As investigated at length elsewhere,[140] the letter indeed reveals what significant role the church played early on for Paul, how it supported him materially when he was in Thessalonica, and later on when he left Macedonia to evangelize the southern regions of Greece (4:15–16; cf. 1:5). Simply no other church had, until then, entered into a partnership with him for the purpose of disseminating the Christian faith. This likely explains their apparent concern for the fate of Paul and his mission, and his insistence on the progress of the gospel at the beginning (1:12–18). It also accounts for his digressive travelogue and solemn recommendation of Timothy and Epaphroditus, his fellow "soldiers" in the gospel (2:19–30; cf. 4:3), and for the lengthy acknowledgement of their latest contribution by the hands of Epaphroditus at the end of the (canonical) letter (4:10–19).[141] Understandably, Paul intended to reassure them that, despite his imprisonment, neither his efforts nor their material support had been in vain. His chains had in fact offered him new opportunities to preach Christ and to win people to his cause, including some from the emperor's household (4:22). In an ironic twist, he who had once been arrested and expelled from the colony for social disturbance was now proclaiming the gospel at the very heart of the imperial establishment.

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[138] Cf. the discussion in Reumann, *Philippians*, 333–83; Holloway, *Philippians*, 114–29.

[139] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 52–56; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 140–47; Standhartinger, *Philipperbrief*, 76–79. See also Stewart, *Original Bishops*, 213–18; Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia*, 560–61.

[140] Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*. Cf. id., "Christian Accounting."

5 Macedonian Christianity in the Second Century

5.1 *General Overview*

With the second century commences what can only be described as the darkest period of Macedonian Christianity, that is, the period about which we know the least, and which extends from the end of the first century to the end of the third century, or the start of the fourth, when the first Christian inscriptions begin to appear. As noted in introduction, this "dark age" is principally due to the near complete absence of primary sources for about two hundred years, which leaves us virtually ignorant of the fate of the Christian communities Paul founded, and of the development of Christianity in the region more generally. Notwithstanding the fact that the book of Acts could date from the early second century, Polycarp's letter to the church at Philippi is the only extant piece of literary evidence that sheds light on Macedonian Christianity in this period, since the book of Acts, just as the Acts of Paul and the Acts of Andrew, which also evoke the apostles' stay at Philippi and Thessalonica, actually tells us little about Macedonian churches from the first or second century.[142] Likely written in the first quarter of the second century, it gives us a last, though distant, glimpse into the life of the first community Paul established in the Balkan peninsula and some insight as to how his letters might have been received and his ministry remembered two or three generations later.

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[141] See esp. Ogereau, *Paul's Koinonia*, 265–309.

[142] The letter supposedly written by Ignatius to the Philippians is unanimously recognized to be spurious. See Lemerle, *Philippes*, 67–68. The Philippian episode in Acts Paul 10–11 is poorly preserved, and the Latin version of Andrew's *miracula* at Philippi and Thessalonica was radically edited by Gregory of Tours in his *Epitome* 9–18 (cf. BHL 430). See the textual recensions in Pervo, *Acts of Paul*, 135–48; MacDonald, *Acts of Andrew*, 219–53. Cf. Standhartinger, "Beloved Community," 322–24.

Hardly anything else is heard of the Macedonian Christians after Polycarp, apart from rare allusions in a handful of early church writings,[143] and nothing else will apparently be written to them, or by them, until the Byzantine era when historically doubtful hagiographies start to be composed.[144] This situation stands in stark contrast with that of regions such as Rome, North Africa, central Asia Minor, or the Eastern Mediterranean, which have produced a wealth of literary and documentary evidence between the second and fourth centuries. At first glance, it suggests that Christianity was slower to take root and impose itself in Macedonia, and that its churches never rose to any significant size, influence, or prominence in the Christian ecumene, lacking, as they might have, outstanding leaders and intellectuals.[145]

Be that as it may, in the early third century Tertullian nonetheless considered the church of Philippi, where the chairs and writings of the apostles were still revered, to be of equal (apostolic) standing with the churches of Corinth, Ephesus, or even Rome—note the absence of Thessalonica.[146] All rhetoric aside, this indicates that Christian communities were still known to exist in Macedonia at the time. And indeed, from the fourth century onwards ecclesiastical synods were regularly attended by bishops from various Macedonian cities such as Stobi, Beroea, or Heraclea Lyncestis (and not just from Philippi or Thessalonica).[147] This further illustrates the relative vitality of Macedonian churches and the widespread dissemination of Christianity throughout the Balkans during this period. More likely than not, Macedonian churches had continued to grow slowly but steadily in the second and third centuries. However, they began to emerge from their obscurity and to leave traces in the historical record only in the late third or the early fourth century.

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[143] E.g., Tertullian, *Praescr.* 36; Origen, *comm. in Rom.* 10:41 (PG 14:1289) (the Gaius of Rom 16:23 is named as the first bishop of Thessalonica); Apos. Con. 7.46 (Onesimus, the servant of Philemon, is identified as the bishop of Beroea). Eusebius (*h.e.* 4.26.10) also reproduces a letter of Melito of Sardis supposedly written to Antoninus Pius that evokes a rescript of Hadrian instructing the cities of Thessalonica, Larissa, and Athens not to adopt new policies (μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν) against Christians. For literary testimonia, see esp. Mullen, *Expansion of Christianity*, 154–69.

[144] The most famous is that of St. Demetrios, on which see Lemerle, *Saint Démétrius*. Cf. sec. 2.3.1 in chap. 5 below.

[145] Cf. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 786–87.

[146] Tertullian, *Praescr.* 36 (see the full citation in n. 5 above). Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 257–58.

[147] Cf. Mullen, *Expansion of Christianity*, 159–69 (passim), and the relevant sections in the following chapters.

5.2 *Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians*[148]

Detached from its historical context, the occasion of Polycarp's letter to the Philippians may strike as rather odd at first, its actual "purpose" remaining "somewhat ambiguous" even for scholars themselves.[149] As the bishop of Smyrna, an important city lying slightly north of Ephesus on the western coast of Asia Minor, it is not clear how Polycarp came into contact with the church at Philippi in the first place, and it is not certain that he ever visited it. His acquaintance with the Philippians seems, for the most part, due to the intermediation of Ignatius, the famed bishop of Syrian Antioch who passed through Macedonia and briefly stayed in the colony on his way to Rome towards the end of Trajan's reign. Prior to his arrival at Philippi, Ignatius had stayed in Smyrna (whence he wrote letters to the churches of Rome, Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles),[150] before traveling the same route (via Alexandria Troas and Neapolis) that Paul had taken more than half a century earlier.[151] Following their encounter with the Antiochian bishop, the Philippians then decided to write to Polycarp to enquire about a theological and moral issue (*Phil.* 3:1), to ask him to forward their letter to the church at Antioch (13:1), and to request copies of Ignatius's letters (13:2).[152]

Whether this was their first contact with Polycarp, whose reputation was already quite established in the Aegean world,[153] or whether they had been in communication before is difficult to judge. The final paragraph of Polycarp's response in which he commends a certain Crescens, the letter carrier, whom he had previously "commended in (their) presence" (*in praesenti commendavi*, 14:1), suggests that the two parties had already met or, at least, had exchanged letters.[154] That is, either Polycarp had paid the Philippians a visit or they had sent a delegation to him in Smyrna, and/or they had already written to each other—Polycarp's extant letter has sometimes been interpreted as a combination of two documents, with the last two chapters taken as a cover letter written shortly after Ignatius's visit to Philippi and appended to his epistolary collection (cf. 13:2).[155] One cannot be entirely sure, however, since the Greek text for this last section is lost and since the quality and accuracy of the Latin translation, on which we are reliant for *Phil.* 10–12 and 14, is rather uncertain.[156]

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[148] For an overview of scholarship on the letter, see Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," and Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 3–16. Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 381–406; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 60–68; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 207–28. For detailed introductions and commentaries, see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2/2:433–722; Schoedel, *Polycarp*; Paulsen, *Polykarp*; Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*; and Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*.

[149] Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 50.

[150] Ign. *Rom.* 10:11; *Eph.* 21:1; *Magn.* 15:1.; *Trall.* 13:1. Cf. Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 49.

[151] Cf. Acts 16:11. Ignatius's other letters were written from Troas (*Phld.* 11:2; *Smyrn.* 12:1).

[152] Cf. Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 81–87.

[153] Cf. Mart. Pol. 12:2; 19:1. See also Meinhold, "Polykarpos," 1663–69; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 43.

[154] The temporal sense of *in praesenti* (*commendavi vobis*) has sometimes been argued, despite the clause immediately following it (*et nunc commendo*). However, it is much more likely to mean "in presence" or "in person." Cf. *OLD*, s.v. *praesens*. See also Bauer (*Polykarpbriefe*, 74) and Oakes ("Leadership and Suffering," 370–73) who suggest *in praesenti* might have translated κατὰ πρόσωπον in the original Greek letter. Cf. the discussion

The date of the letter (or letters) is equally difficult to establish precisely as it depends on the date of Ignatius's martyrdom, its *terminus ante quem* (cf. 13:1), which is itself disputed, but which most likely took place in the last few years of Trajan's reign between AD 107 and 117, if not slightly later in the AD 120s or 130s.[157] Hence, a date of composition between AD 100 and the 130s is generally accepted, though some have suggested that it could have been written in the Hadrianic period between the AD 120s and the 140s.[158] In any case, what is more important to appreciate is that Polycarp's letter to the Philippians was composed some forty to eighty years after Paul's very own letter, that is, two to four generations after the first generation of believers. While it is unlikely, though not impossible, that some of the recipients had met Paul in person, just as Polycarp had himself supposedly been taught by the apostles (according to

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in Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 41; Paulsen, *Polykarp*, 126; Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 78–81; id., *Polycarp's Epistle*, 160–61.

[155] See, e.g., Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*; Joly, *Ignace d'Antioche*, 17–37; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 206–9. Cf. the discussions in Meinhold, "Polykarpos," 1682–85; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 4; id., "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," 279–81; Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 148–69; id., *Polycarp's Epistle*, 27–40.

[156] On the manuscript tradition, see Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," 272; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 26–27.

[157] In his *Chronicon*, Eusebius places the date of Ignatius's execution in the tenth year of Trajan's reign (AD 107/108) but gives no specific year in *h.e.* 3.36. The difficulty is compounded by an apparent discrepancy between *Phil.* 9:1 and 13:1–2 (on which see Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 28, 33, 38–39; Joly, *Ignace d'Antioche*, 17–20). In *Phil.* 9:1, which some view as a later interpolation, Polycarp counts Ignatius "among the blessed" (ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις), which implies that he has already been martyred. However, in *Phil.* 13:1 he affirms that Ignatius wrote to him to ask him to convey his letters to the church in Antioch (cf. Ign. *Pol.* 7:2; 8:1), and in *Phil.* 13:2 he requests news that the Philippians might have received from Ignatius. See the discussion in Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 40–45. On the date of Ignatius's letters and death, see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2/2:435–72 (see esp. 471–72); Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 388–406; Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 4–7; id., "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," 285–92.

[158] See Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 386–88; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 60–64; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 44–45.

Irenaeus),[159] the souvenir of Paul must have remained vivid in the community's collective memory.

Polycarp himself appeals on two occasions to the "blessed and glorious Paul" who used to boast about the Philippians among all the churches, and invites them to revisit the letters he had written to them for edification (3:2; 11:3). In these, he reminds them, they will be able to find the "word of truth" that will build their faith and instruct them in the "righteousness" (δικαιοσύνη), which is fulfilled through faith, hope, and love towards God and one's neighbor (3:1, 3). The question of "righteousness" is precisely what seems to have motivated the Philippians to write to Polycarp in the first place (3:1), faced as they were with a significant moral issue within the community.[160] The bishop obliges and begins by stressing how the "love of money" (φιλαργυρία) is the primary source of trouble or grief (4:1). He then continues in typical paraenetic fashion by dispensing ethical instructions to household members—wives, widows, young men, and virgins (4:2–3; 5:3)—and to those with responsibilities in the church, namely, presbyters and deacons (5:2–6:1). Noteworthily, in three instances he warns them specifically against avarice (4:3; 5:3; 6:1), as though the issue was especially relevant at Philippi,[161] which he sets in opposition to the love of God, Christ, and humankind (3:3).[162]

And indeed, further down he expresses his consternation at the behavior of a certain Valens, a former presbyter with a (common) Roman name, who, out of covetousness (*avaritia*), had abused his position in the church (11:1, 4). What wrong he and his wife had committed is not made explicit, but one might presume that they had somehow defrauded the church and/or some of its members, perhaps stealing from the common fund, embezzling monies originally aimed as charitable relief, or taking advantage of their position as (wealthy) patrons of the church.[163] Alternatively, as Peter Oakes has proposed, Valens may have "compromised his Christianity to escape economic suffering,"[164] or, like the Demas of the Pastoral Epistles who "loved the present age" (ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα),[165] he may have simply left his role as presbyter in the church to pursue riches and worldly pleasures.[166] Whatever the case may have been, Polycarp reiterated his admonitions against *avaritia*, stressing the need to exercise self-control and abstain from all evil, so as not to fall into idolatry (11:1–2). He also pleaded for their genuine repentance and swift restoration into the community, inviting the Philippians, remarkably, to handle the situation with mercy and moderation and not consider Valens and his wife as enemies (11:4).[167]

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[159] Irenaeus, *haer.* 3.3.4. Cf. Eusebius, *h.e.* 3.36.1, 10; 4.14.1–9; 5.20.4–8; Tertullian, *Praescr.* 32. Polycarp's apostolic connection is debated. See Meinhold, "Polykarpos," 1669–73; Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," 275; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 2, 11–16.

[160] Cf. Steinmetz, "Polykarp"; Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," 282; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 218–24.

[161] Cf. Oakes, "Leadership and Suffering," 363–69.

[162] Cf. Steinmetz, "Polykarp," 71–72.

[163] Cf. Steinmetz, "Polykarp," 67; Paulsen, *Polykarp*, 123; Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 86–87; Stewart, *Original Bishops*, 217–18; Maier, "Sin of Valens."

[164] Oakes, "Leadership and Suffering," 369.

This issue aside, the Philippians appear to have been holding firm onto their faith, as Polycarp congratulates them in his opening (1:2), and to have kept away from idolatry (11:3), their mind being "well exercised in the sacred writings" (12:1). They also showed themselves to be hospitable towards other servants of Christ, having warmly welcomed Ignatius and his two companions, Zosimus and Rufus (cf. 9:1), and having escorted them away in a manner befitting those chained for the gospel (1:1). Thus, he encourages them to steady themselves and to continue to "serve God in fear and truth" (2:1; cf. 6:3), believing that he who resurrected Christ will also raise them from the dead, if indeed they persevere in his teaching and love and keep away from all unrighteousness, including greediness (φιλαργυρία, 2:1–3). In a typically Johannine fashion, he warns them against the false teaching of "pseudo-brothers," hypocrites who take on the name of Christ but refute his coming in the flesh, reject the cross, and deny Christ's teachings on the resurrection and the final judgment (6:3–7:2).[168] Rather, they are to "return to the word initially entrusted to them," persevere in prayers and fasting so that they may not fall into temptation, and hold fast unto Christ's hope of salvation (7:2–8:1). They are to take courage in his example of endurance, as well as that of Ignatius and his companions who have suffered along with Christ (8:2–9:2). Finally, they are to continue in his love and benevolence, caring for one another in unity and with gentleness (10:1–3), as Paul himself had also exhorted them.

Much like Paul's letters, Polycarp's address to the Philippians represents an important source of information on early Christianity in Macedonia in the absence of any other primary evidence. Although it fails to give us a full and detailed picture of the church at Philippi, we can nonetheless gain some insight, albeit limited insight, in its organization and the issues it had to face by carefully reading between the lines. Not unlike other churches in this period, it was overseen by a group identified as the "presbyters" (πρεσβύτεροι, 6:1), and no longer as the *episkopoi* (cf. Phil 1:1), who were themselves assisted by "deacons" (δίακονοι, 5:2). The change of designation from *episkopoi* to presbyters is puzzling but may not necessarily have indicated a change of function, as the duties of the *episkopoi* probably corresponded to those of the presbyters—these included dispensing compassionate and pastoral care, looking after (ἐπισκεπτόμενοι) the sick, and providing social support to widows, orphans, and the poor (*Phil.* 6:1).[169] Whatever the reason may have been, both groups were expected to behave in a manner worthy of their responsibilities as leaders and role models in the community, and to uphold the highest possible moral standards (such as those outlined in one of the Pastoral Epistles),[170] something which Valens had obviously failed to achieve.

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[165] 2 Tim 4:10. Note the contrast with the Philippian martyrs who despised the present age (οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα, Pol. *Phil.* 9:2).

[166] Cf. Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 141–43.

[167] Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 223–24.

[168] See 1 John 4:2–4; 2 John 7. Cf. Hartog, "Opponents of Polycarp."

Just as the first generation of Christ-believers, the Philippian Christians of the second century had also encountered some opposition and had had to suffer for their faith (8:2–9:2), though no detail is given as to the kind of trials they had to endure.[171] For Oakes, they may have simply been subject to the hostile pressure of their cultural environment, and as a result may have suffered ostracization from familial and social networks, harassment by the local authorities, and economic repression (rather than outright martyrdom).[172] However, in his exhortation to display the same "endurance" (ὑπομονή) that the "blessed" (μακάριοι) Ignatius, Zosimus and Rufus (his companions in imprisonment and martyrdom), Paul and the apostles, and "some others from among you" (καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν) had demonstrated in their afflictions, Polycarp clearly hints that some of the Philippians had been persecuted for their faith, even to the point of death (9:1). For having "run in faith and righteousness," they had taken "their due place by the Lord's side with whom they had also suffered" (εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον, 9:2).[173] When, and with what intensity, this wave of persecution took place is not told, but it could have happened in Domitian's or Trajan's reign, if not earlier. Yet, just as Paul had once encouraged them,[174] they were to pray for their persecutors and take comfort in the fact that they had not run in vain (9:2; 12:3).

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[169] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 65–66; Stewart, *Original Bishops*, 213–18; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 123–24. See also Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 226–28; Oakes, "Leadership and Suffering," 356–63.

[170] Compare *Phil.* 5:2 and 6:1 with 1 Tim 3:1–13. This is one of the reasons that led H. von Campenhausen to suggest that Polycarp had written the Pastoral Epistles. See Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," 285; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 17.

[171] Cf. Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 76–79.

[172] Oakes, "Leadership and Suffering," 363–69. Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 214–15.

[173] Cf. Joly, *Ignace d'Antioche*, 22–23; Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 135–38.

Another form of opposition they had experienced, one more pernicious in kind, seems to have been the false teachings of those whom Polycarp describes as pseudo-Christians who, in their hypocrisy, lay down stumbling blocks in believers' path and lure people away from the truth of the gospel (6:3–7:1).[175] As he reminds the Philippians, anyone who denies Christ's incarnation is "against Christ" (ἀντίχριστος), anyone who does not acknowledge the "witness of the cross" is "from the devil" (ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου), and anyone who "perverts" Christ's teaching on the resurrection and the final judgment is "the firstborn of Satan" (πρωτότοκος τοῦ σατανᾶ, 7:1). It is not entirely clear whether Polycarp simply meant to offer a general warning or whether he had in mind someone specific such as Cerinthus, the gnostic from whose presence the elder John is said to have run away at a bath house in Ephesus, or Marcion whom Polycarp opposed and used to call "the firstborn of Satan" (according to Irenaeus).[176] The indefinite construction ὃς ἄν ("whosoever") rather supports the first interpretation and raises the question whether Polycarp had actually heard reports that the Philippians had been troubled by false teachers, or whether he was merely anticipating the possibility that the very opponents he had had to confront in Asia might at any time try to deceive the Philippians as well.[177] Similarly, the subsequent exhortation to "abandon the futility of the crowds and their false teachings" and to "return to the word initially handed to them" (by Paul) leaves some ambiguity as to the actual situation at Philippi (7:2), even though the rhetorical use of the first-person plural (ἐπιστρέψωμεν) rather suggests that Polycarp might have meant it more as a general admonition, reading perhaps his own situation into that of the Philippians.[178]

Overall, what is clear is that three or four generations after Paul's initial campaign in Macedonia, the church at Philippi was still standing relatively strong and presumably growing, if not in numbers, at least in unity and spiritual maturity, withstanding external opposition, and striving to overcome the moral shortcomings of some of its members. Though not as informative as one would wish, Polycarp's letter nonetheless sheds some suggestive light into the obscure, second-century Macedonian Christianity, instilling the hope that it may not have been as dark and gloomy as the dearth of primary evidence makes it to be.

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[174] Cf. *Phil.* 3:1–4:1.

[175] See esp. Hartog, "Opponents of Polycarp"; id., *Polycarp's Epistle*, 72–76.

[176] Irenaeus, *haer.* 3.3.4; relayed in Eusebius, *h.e.* 4.14.6–7. This would, by implication, place the letter towards the middle of the second century. Cf. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 172–206; Meinhold, "Polykarpos," 1685–87; Nielsen, "Polycarp and Marcion." But see Schoedel's commentary on *Phil.* 7:1 (*Polycarp*, 23–26).

[177] Cf. Hartog, *Polycarp's Epistle*, 72–76.

[178] Cf. Meinhold, "Polykarpos," 1685–87; Steinmetz, "Polykarp," 73–74.

6 Summary

As seen throughout this chapter, the historical reconstruction of the origins and development of Christianity in Macedonia in the first and second centuries constitutes a challenging task due to the paucity of our primary sources. Adding to the difficulty is the one-sided and circumstantial nature of the sources themselves, which can, to some extent, undermine one's confidence in their reliability and prevent a full and objective appreciation of the historical events behind them. Acts is undoubtedly selective in the information it provides, and its representation of the Pauline mission in Macedonia obviously serves a broader ideological agenda. Be that as it may, there is little reason to doubt that the apostle Paul and his companions, Silas/Silvanus and Timothy, played a critical role in the dissemination of Christianity and the establishment of the first churches in the region in the mid-first century. However late and edulcorated the account of Acts might be, little in it immediately contradicts what is found in the two or three earlier letters written by (or attributed to) Paul and his two associates, whose role and influence are generally ignored or underappreciated. At the same time, little of the content of these letters is echoed in the Acts account (except perhaps the constant opposition from their cultural environment), which raises the question whether the author of Acts actually had copies of them, and whether he had been a direct participant and eyewitness of the Macedonian mission.

Overall, the letters tell us more about the main writer himself—his theology, ministry philosophy, internal and external struggles—than about the churches to whom they were written. What is known of their situation, organization, theological and existential anxieties, inner divisions and conflicts with the outside world can only be derived indirectly by reading between the lines, with all the hermeneutical challenges and dangers it implies. Ultimately, these unique and precious documents give us only a very shadowy picture of small struggling communities striving to hold onto their faith and the traditions they received from their founders, caught in between religious opponents zealous to lure them away from the gospel and a hostile pagan environment. Yet they hardly provide us with any detailed information on their social and ethnic composition, their size, growth, or impact on Macedonian society, leaving it all to our imagination to fill in the gaps.

With the passing away of their main founder, our documentation becomes even poorer as we are left with a single letter written by a distant bishop from the western coast of Asia Minor. His contribution to our understanding of second-century Macedonian Christianity is all the more limited insofar as he only wrote to the church at Philippi and does not seem to have had any contact with, or knowledge of, other communities in the region. Whether this means that none of them had survived because of inner conflicts, Roman persecutions, or some other reason is impossible to say. What is not improbable is that they would have encountered the same kinds of issues and hardships that affected the Philippians, namely, leadership misconduct, moral shortcomings, internal conflicts, local opposition, and false teaching. On the positive side, the perseverance of the Philippian congregation in the face of adversity strongly suggests that all of the churches founded in the first century did endure and continued to grow throughout the rest of the second and third centuries. Indeed, this seems to be the easiest explanation for the emergence of Christian funerary inscriptions at Thessalonica, Beroea, and Edessa towards the end of the third century. Leaving the obscurity of the apostolic and post-apostolic age behind, let us now turn our attention to the Nicene and post-Nicene era guided, as it were, by the dim light of inscriptions.

CHAPTER 4

Early Christianity in Eastern Macedonia

1 Introduction

In the following chapter, eastern Macedonia corresponds approximately to the first of the four μερίδες of the province of Macedonia established after the Roman conquest of 168 BC.[1] It comprises the Pangaion region and the plain of Philippi near the eastern border, the lower Strymon valley with the cities of Amphipolis and Serrai, and the area around Parthicopolis in the middle of the Strymon valley.[2] As related in the previous chapter, eastern Macedonia was likely the first region to be visited by Christian missionaries in the late AD 40s or the early 50s. Crossing from Asia Minor, the apostle Paul and his companions established what must have been the first Macedonian Christian community at Philippi, the second-most important city in eastern Roman Macedonia after Amphipolis (city which they only passed through on their way to Thessalonica).[3] Interestingly, the distribution of Christian inscriptions in the region somewhat follows the path of the earliest missionaries and remains concentrated at Philippi, where more than half of the Christian epigraphic evidence has been discovered. Significant archaeological vestiges excavated at Philippi, Amphipolis, and Parthicopolis nonetheless attest that all three cities functioned as episcopal sees in late antiquity.

2 Philippi and Its Territory

The first Macedonian city to be named after its founder, Philippi was established by Philip II in 356 BC on the site of the Thasian colony of Krenides, which enjoyed a strategic position in the rich and fertile region of what has now become known as the plain of Drama.[4] Following a decisive battle between the

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[1] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 67, 345, 413.

[2] Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 345–413.

[3] On the prominence of Amphipolis over Philippi, see Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 392–97; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, "Amphipolis," 427–36; Brélaz, "Outside the City Gate," 124–25.

[4] For a detailed history of the city, see Collart, *Philippes*; Fournier, *Philippes*; Brélaz, *Philippes*. Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 405–13; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, "Philippi"; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 147–52 (no. 98); *TIB* 11:852–60.

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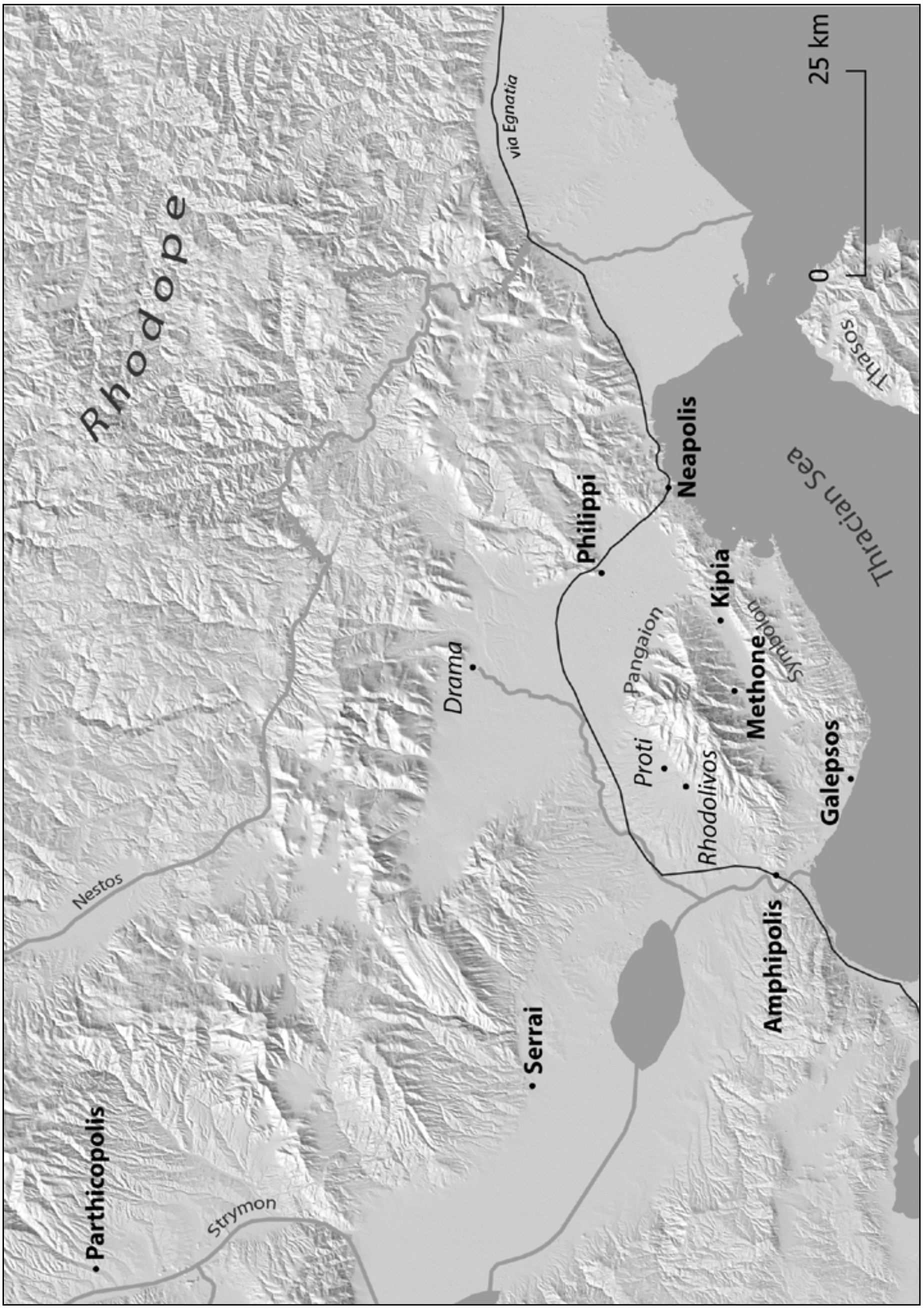
Rhodope
via Egnatia
Nestos
Strymon
Parthicopolis
Serrai
Drama
Philippi
Neapolis
Thasos
Thracian Sea
Kipia
Symbolon
Pangaion
Methone
Proti
Rhodolivos
Galepsos
Amphipolis
0
25 km

MAP 4 Eastern Macedonia
A. STÄDTLER

Pompeian and Caesarian forces outside its walls in 42 BC, Philippi was made a Roman colony and granted a vast territory that encompassed the entire plain of Drama, the Pangaion and Symbolon highlands, as well as the fertile grasslands of Pieria (possibly as far as Galepsos).[5]

The first city of the Balkan peninsula to have been visited by Paul and his associates, Philippi appears to have remained deeply attached to its apostolic heritage.[6] Much like the rest of Macedonia, however, the local Christian epigraphic evidence is rather late, leaving an unbridgeable gap of two or three centuries with the earliest literary sources. About a quarter of the extant material has been estimated to date from the fourth century (or slightly later), while the bulk of it originates from the fifth or sixth century.[7] This is corroborated by the predominant use of Greek in inscriptions,[8] which, at Philippi, progressively supplanted Latin from the third century onwards.[9]

The number of Christian inscriptions discovered on the territory of Philippi remains overall rather limited, representing only a quarter of that from Thessalonica and about half of that from Edessa. Altogether, the Philippian material amounts to a mere tenth of all the known Christian inscriptions from Macedonia. Most of it was found reemployed in the basilica B (southwest of the forum), or *in situ* in the Octagon church (southeast of the forum) and in the *extra muros* basilica, a building of major importance that has delivered some of the best preserved and more precisely dated burials.[10]

2.1 *The Basilica of Paul and the Octagon Complex*

One of the earliest, and perhaps the most famous, of all the Christian inscriptions at Philippi is the dedication of the so-called basilica of Paul by Bishop

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[5] See most recently Brélaz and Tirologos, “Philippes”; Brélaz, *Philippes*, 100–106. Cf. Papazoglou, “Philippes”; ead., *Les villes de Macédoine*, 398–99, 408–12; Rizakis, “Philippes”; id., “Une *praefectura*”; Tirologos, “Philippes.”

[6] Cf. Bakirtzis, “Paul and Philippi”; Brélaz, “Authority of Paul’s Memory”; id., “Outside the City Gate.”

[7] Precise dating of Christian inscriptions at Philippi is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that epitaphs continued to be written in a more ancient style well into the fourth century, period during which inscriptions usually start to become more distinctively Christian. See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, pp. 196, 198.

[8] I.e., fifty-six Greek Christian inscriptions for only two published Latin inscriptions (*ICG* 3272–3273; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 251–252). Pilhofer (*I.Philippi*^{2}, p. 332) has also noted the presence of what appears to be an unpublished Christian Latin inscription lying next to the epitaph *ICG* 3267 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 246) in the narthex of basilica B.

[9] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 102; *I.Philippes*, p. 64; Brélaz and Rizakis, “Le fonctionnement des institutions,” 161.

[10] *I.Chr. Macédoine*, pp. 17–18.

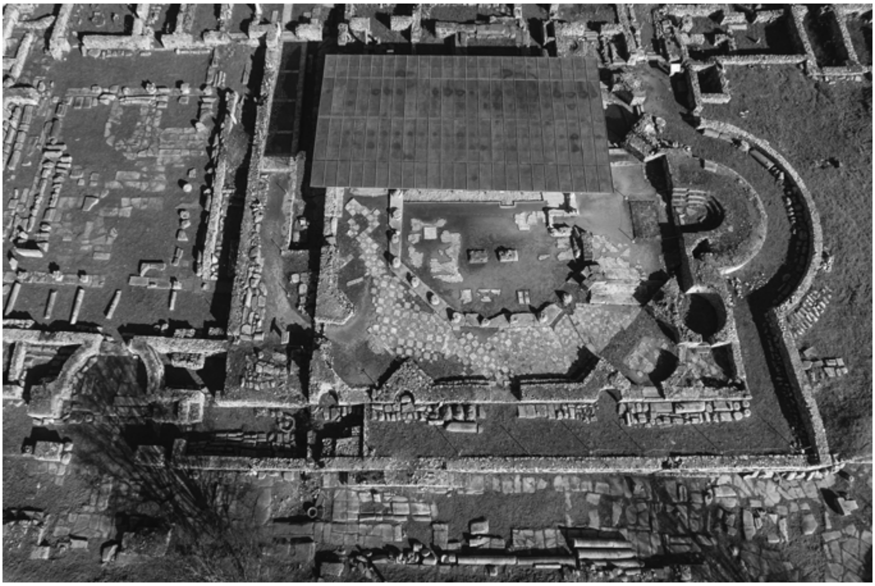

FIGURE 2 Octagon complex, Philippi
PHOTO BY N. STOURNARAS; © HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS

Porphyrios, which was found on a colorful mosaic floor underneath the eastern gallery of the octagonal church: “Porphyrios, bishop, made the mosaic of the basilica of Paul in Christ.”[11]

A mosaic inscription of rare quality (with the name and title of the bishop set in golden letters at the top across a sizeable *tabula ansata*),[12] it suggests that the dedicant and sponsor of the basilica was a person of prominence, most likely the bishop named Porphyrios who attended the council of Serdica (modern Sofia) in AD 343.[13] There being no other known bishop (presbyter or deacon) named Porphyrios at Philippi (or in Macedonia),[14] it is highly likely that they are indeed one and the same person, making this mid-fourth-century

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[11] *ICG* 3247 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 226; *SEG* 27.304; *I.Philippi*^{2} 329; *BE* 1977, no. 284; mid-AD IV): Πο[ρφύ]ριος ἐπίσκο|πος τὴ[ν κ]έντησιν τῆς βασιλικῆ|ς Παύλο[υ ἐπ]οίησεν ἐν Χρ(ιστ)ῷ. See figure 3.

[12] The words Παύλου and Χριστῷ are also written in golden letters. Apart from ἐν, which is in red, all other letters are set in blue against a white background (ll. 2–3). Cf. Abrahamsen, “Porphyrios,” 81; Hattersley-Smith, “Churches of Macedonia,” 230; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 278 (no. 1, 1.31), with pl. 140.

[13] Mansi 3:38D, 42, 48; Hilary of Poitiers, *ep.* B.II.4.9 (Feder, 133). Cf. Pelekanidis, “Kultprobleme,” 393; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 270; Abrahamsen, “Porphyrios”; Bakirtzis, “Paul and Philippi,” 41–42; Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 19–20.

[14] Cf. Vailhé, “Les évêques de Philippes.”

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FIGURE 3 *ICG* 3247 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 226): mosaic inscription by Bishop Porphyrios in the basilica of Paul, Philippi
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU; © HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS

structure one of the earliest (known) Christian buildings in the whole of Macedonia, and so far the only basilica that has been identified by its original name.[15]

Porphyrios aside, it is perhaps the mention of the basilica of Paul (βασιλικὴ Παύλου) that has intrigued the most. Not much is known about the rectangular building (which remains partly buried underneath the foundations of the Octagon), except that it had a single nave and a narthex (27.50 × 9.90 m) and that it stood adjacent to an imposing Hellenistic *heroon* (4.50 × 5.40 m) built for an elite teenager of Thasian origin (who might have been related to the founders of the city).[16] Nor can one be entirely certain about the identity of this Paulos who is neither acknowledged as a saint nor as the apostle in the dedication. While he is generally thought to refer to the founder of the first Christian community at Philippi,[17] others have proposed that he might be a homonymous Philippian martyr[18]—a suggestion that is hardly convincing since no Philippian martyr by the name of Paulos seems to be attested.[19]

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[15] Coins of the empresses Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius (AD 395–408), or Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II (AD 408–450), have been discovered in the layer above the mosaic and suggest a date in the mid-fourth century. See Pelekanidis, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φιλίππων," 177–78. Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 192; Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 42, 47; Sève, "Philippes en Macédoine," 198; Rizos, "*Paulus et Sileas*," 103–5.

[16] Pelekanidis, "Ἀνασκαφὴ Φιλίππων" (1977), 101; id., "Ἀνασκαφὴ Φιλίππων" (1980), 70–72. Cf. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 111–13; Gounaris, *Το βαλάνειο*, 55–57; Pelekanidou and Mentzos, "Οκτάγωνο Φιλίππων," 597–600; Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 41–43; Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 73–74; Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1518–21; Schörner, *Sepulturae graecae*, 230–33, cat. A12 (with extensive bibliography); Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 246–53; Rizos, "*Paulus et Sileas*," 95–98, 103–4.

More intriguing still is the role of the *heroon* itself within the Octagon complex.[20] Its discoverer, Stylianos Pelekanidis, considered it to be the only reason for which the basilica was built in this location, as the local Christians attempted to transform the hero cult into a "Märtyrerkultus."[21] The original cult, however, had likely faded away in the Roman period and the tomb, which could neither be displaced nor destroyed, might have simply been preserved as a memorial of the city's Hellenistic past.[22] The space above the tomb (where hundreds of fourth- to sixth-century coins have been discovered) nonetheless appears to have been refurbished later on as an *oratorium* or a martyrial shrine, which could be accessed from the basilica by a small passage where a *hagiasma* (a sarcophagus possibly containing relics) may have also been placed.[23] Although this does not constitute definitive evidence that the *heroon* was considered as a *martyrium* of Paul *stricto sensu*, it does suggest that "the space above the Hellenistic tomb was used as a chapel devoted to the martyrial cult of Paul."[24]

The only other inscription found in the foundations of the same complex consists of an ordinary prayer by a certain Priskos, who inscribed his petition

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Recently, Mentzos ("Paul and Philippi," 304–6) has argued that the *heroon* was a family tomb. On the mosaic panels, see Spiro, *Mosaic Pavements*, 629–36; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 107–10, 275–80 (no. 1, 1.31), with pls. 127–147.

[17] Pelekanidis, "Άνασκαφὴ Φιλίππων" (1977), 101–2; id., "Kultprobleme," 393. Cf. Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 42.

[18] Gounaris, *Το βαλάνειο*, 57; Valeva and Vionis, "Balkan Peninsula," 359.

[19] Cf. Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 255.

[20] For a recent discussion, see esp. Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 245–58.

[21] Pelekanidis, "Kultprobleme," 394, 397. Cf. Gounaris, *Το βαλάνειο*, 55–57; Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 45–47; Verhoef, "Syncretism." But see Ward-Perkins ("Memoria," 13) who contests that Hellenistic hero-cults played any direct role in shaping Christian martyrial cult. Cf. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 1:31–32.

[22] Cf. Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 249–51; Mentzos, "Paul and Philippi," 306.

[23] See Pelekanidis, "Excavations in Philippi," 395; id., "Άνασκαφαὶ Ὀκταγώνου Φιλίππων" (1966), 88. Cf. Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 45–47; Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1526–28; Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 251–53; Rizos, "*Paulus et Sileas*," 103–104. According to Gounaris (*Το βαλάνειο*, 57), the coins might have fallen down from a second storey where the church's treasury was kept, but this seems improbable. For a plan of the installation, see fig. 10.2 in Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 252.

[24] Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 254.

on another piece of mosaic pavement of the basilica of Paul.[25] The plea for help (βοήθει τοῦ δούλου σου) is nothing unusual, but the direct address to Christ (Χριστέ) is rare enough in eastern Macedonia to be highlighted.[26] Its orientation here suggests that it may have been intended to be read by visitors entering the basilica from a northern entrance (from the courtyard of the *heroon*?),[27] who were reminded to intercede for Priskos, the donor of the art work (presumably) and a self-proclaimed "slave of Christ" (ὁ δοῦλος Χριστοῦ).[28] Rather more common are simple invocations to the Lord (Κύριε), which, at Philippi, are exemplified by a late graffito carved by another δοῦλος (Χριστοῦ) named Petros on the western stylobate of the portico leading to the Octagon[29]—the name is slightly less frequent than the name Paulos in Macedonia.[30] Christian graffiti such as that of Petros are extremely rare at Philippi, but another example has been sighted on the wall of a staircase in the anti-chamber of the baptistery of the sixth-century museum basilica (C).[31] Tentatively reconstructed as Δομ[νίν]ου μ[άρτυρος],[32] it is thought to have referred either to the Domninus martyred under Maximian in Thessalonica,[33] or to a martyr from Philippi.[34]

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[25] *ICG* 3248 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 227; *I.Philippi*^{2} 328; *BE* 1977, no. 284; *SEG* 34.671; mid-AD IV): Χ̣ριστέ, βωήθι τô δούλου σου Πρίσκου σὺν παντὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ. "Christ, help your servant Priskos with all his household!" Cf. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 278 (no. I, 1.31), with pl. 143.

[26] Cf. *ICG* 3647 (*SEG* 47.881; Amphipolis). It is more commonly attested in northern Macedonia, especially at and around Stobi. See *ICG* 3312 (*I.Stobi* 258), 3317 (*I.Stobi* 263), 3322 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 278; *I.Stobi* 268), 3634–3635 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 283–284).

[27] Cf. Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 43.

[28] The designation δοῦλος (or *servus*) is frequent in inscriptions from Macedonia and beyond (e.g., *ICG* 3119, 3201, 3634; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 107, 180, 283) but rarely found at Philippi (cf. *ICG* 3249, 3267, 3273; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 228, 246, 252). Its origins are unclear and likely stem from Paul's self-identification as a δοῦλος Χριστοῦ (e.g., Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1), which may have derived from the expression δοῦλος κυρίου/Θεοῦ frequently used in the Septuagint (e.g., Josh 24:30; 2 Kgs 10:23; 18:12; Ezra 5:11; Ps 35:1). Guarducci (*Epigrafia greca*, 4:307) opines the imagery originates from the language of Roman slavery.

[29] *ICG* 3249 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 228; *BE* 1967, no. 364; *I.Philippi*^{2} 324; AD VI): Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου | Πέτρου, ἀμήν. "Lord, help your servant Petros, amen!" A similar, shorter petition accompanied with a cross has also been found on an undated seal from Rhodolivos, a small village on the northwestern slopes of the Pangaion. See *ICG* 3293 (*SEG* 35.762; *I.Philippi*^{2} 594; AD IV–VI?): † Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη. "Lord, help!"

[30] For another occurrence of Petros at Philippi, see *ICG* 3266 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 245). For western Macedonia, see *ICG* 3080, 3172, 3190 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 70, 152, 169).

[31] See also the graffito of Ioannes in the *macellum* (*ICG* 3250; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 229) in n. 138 below.

[32] *ICG* 3291 (*SEG* 42.622; *I.Philippi*^{2} 196; AD IV–VI): "Of Domninus, martyr(?)."

[33] Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "Η βασιλική του Μουσείου Φιλίππων," 468.

[34] *I.Philippi*^{2}, p. 248.

The restoration μ[άρτυρος] being highly conjectural, however, neither solution imposes itself.

No other inscription seems to have been discovered in the Octagon, which owes its name, evidently enough, to its geometrical shape (33 × 29.70 m), and which was topped with a cupola or a "pyramidal wooden roof."[35] Neither mosaic inscriptions nor wall paintings have indeed survived, and most of the other Christian inscriptions at Philippi were found either *in situ* in the *extra muros* basilica or reemployed as building material in the basilica B. Just as with the basilica of Paul, our understanding of the history and function of the Octagon remains vague.[36] Probably built in the first half of the fifth century as a freestanding building (Octagon A), it was renovated in the following century and fenced by a square wall enclosure (Octagon B).[37] Accessible from the *decumanus maximus* through a monumental portico, it connected to sizeable building annexes on its northern side, which included a four-room baptistery (which was likely decorated with mosaic walls and ceilings), a *phiale*, a *diakonikon*, baths, and what is usually identified as a two-storey episcopal residence.[38] To the west, it opened onto an atrium surrounded by a number of storage rooms and/or what might have been lodgings for pilgrims visiting the site.[39] Given the sheer size of the complex (which extended over 7,000 m² in a prime location southeast of the forum), the presence of a baptistery, and the proximity of a large residence, it is very likely that the Octagon functioned as the episcopal church of Philippi in the fifth century.[40]

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[35] Pelekanidis, "Excavations in Philippi," 396.

[36] Excavations began in 1958 under the direction of Pelekanidis (see the relevant sections in *PAE* from 1958 to 1983). For a recent summary, see Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1516–28. See also Pelekanidis, "Excavations in Philippi"; Pelekanidou and Mentzos, "Οκτάγωνο Φιλίππων"; Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 110–18; Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 39–40 (with figs. 5 and 6).

[37] For Pelekanidis ("Kultprobleme," 393; "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Φιλίππων," 178), it could date from as early as Arcadius's reign (AD 383–408). Cf. Pelekanidou and Mentzos, "Οκτάγωνο Φιλίππων," 604; Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 47. Krautheimer (*Architecture*, 128), followed by Sodini ("Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce: Catalogue," 736 n. 76) and Pallas (*Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 117), dated it to the early sixth century. None of them acknowledges the earlier phase of the building.

[38] Cf. Bakirtzis, "Το επισκοπείον των Φλιππων"; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "Επισκοπείο των Φιλίππων."

[39] See Pelekanidis, "Excavations in Philippi"; Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 110–19; Gounaris, *Το βαλάνειο*; Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi," 39–40; Müller-Wiener, "Bischofsresidenzen," 659–64.

[40] On the debated identification of the episcopal see at Philippi, see Mentzos, "Paul and Philippi," 296–97.

Whether it was also considered as a *martyrium* of the apostle Paul remains debated, as noted above.[41] While octagonal structures have often been linked to *martyria* and the cult of saints in the Greek East,[42] it does not necessarily ensue that the Octagon held relics of Paul, as has been claimed.[43] Nevertheless, the presence of the *heroon*, of the adjacent (suspected) *hagiasma*, of the hundreds of fourth- to sixth-century coins (thrown as offerings?), and of a small reliquary in the southeast corner of the Octagon strongly suggest that, in late antiquity, the Octagon was indeed the locus of a martyrial cult devoted to the apostle Paul (who might have actually been martyred at Philippi, according to pseudepigraphical 3 Corinthians).[44]

2.2 *Fourth-Century Funerary Epigraphy*

As noted earlier, the bulk of the Christian epigraphic evidence from Philippi dates from the fifth or sixth century, while only a few inscriptions from the fourth century have survived. One of the most notable among these is a prayer painted on the inner wall of a vaulted family tomb (2.28 × 1.73 × 1.95 m), which was discovered in the eastern necropolis, underneath the modern village of Krenides. Inserted within the border of an *arcosolium* that contains an enwreathed Latin cross flanked by two birds (probably two peacocks symbolizing the resurrection),[45] the inscription records one of the most unusual petitions ever found in Macedonia: “Lord, have mercy on us and raise us up, we who have been laid to rest here in the (up)right faith!”[46] Particularly striking are the deceased’s plea to be resurrected (ἐλέησον καὶ ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς), a prayer rarely encountered in Macedonia,[47] and the claim to have died in the “(up)right (or true) faith” (ἐν τῇ ὀρθῇ [πί]στι).

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[41] See the recent discussion in Brélaz, “Authority of Paul’s Memory,” 246–47 (with various interpretations referenced in n. 24).

[42] See Grabar, *Martyrium*, 1:141–52, with further remarks in Ward-Perkins, “Memoria,” 15.

[43] Bakirtzis, “Paul and Philippi,” 45–48. But see Brélaz, “Authority of Paul’s Memory,” 255.

[44] Cf. Bakirtzis, “Paul and Philippi,” 45–48; Koester, “Paul and Philippi,” 63–65; Brélaz, “Authority of Paul’s Memory,” 263–66. On 3 Corinthians (which was included in Acts Paul 10), see Pervo, *Acts of Paul*, 135–43; Standhartinger, “Beloved Community,” 327–28. Cf. Callahan, “Dead Paul.”

[45] See similar iconographic examples in *DACL* 13/1:1075–97. Cf. Steier, “Pfau,” 1420.

[46] *ICG* 3255 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 234; *I.Philippi*^{2} 099; AD IV): + Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ὀρθῇ | [πί]στι ἐνθάδε κοιμηθέντας +. See figure 4.

[47] Cf. *ICG* 3043 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 35; Edessa, AD V–VI): Χ(ριστ)έ, [σῶσον] || κ(αὶ) πάλ[ιν ἀνά-]|στησ[ον ἡμᾶς]. For other mentions of the resurrection (ἀνάστασις), see *ICG* 3012 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 5; Edessa, AD III) and 3137–3138 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 119–120; Thessalonica, AD III–IV).

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FIGURE 4 ICG 3255 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 234): painted prayer on the inner wall of a vaulted family tomb, Philippi
PHOTO BY S. PELEKANIDIS; REPRODUCED FROM *I.CHR. MACÉDOINE*, PL. LV

While not infrequent in literary sources from the second century onwards,[48] the expression ὀρθὴ πίστις is altogether rare in inscriptions, even though the adjective πιστός is often employed in epitaphs to emphasize the departed's faith or faithfulness.[49] More common is the formula ὀρθόδοξος πίστις, which has been observed at Constantinople, Thebes, Ephesus, or Iconium, where a deacon prided himself to have led his life ἐκ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου.[50] The orthodox claim to ὀρθὴ πίστις here is likely to have been directed against Arianism, which in turn helps date the tomb to the Nicaean era, or at least to the first half of the fourth century.[51] By implication, it suggests that the church at Philippi had been directly affected by the Arian controversy, which further explains the presence of Bishop Porphyrios at the synod of Serdica.[52]

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[48] E.g., Serapion *apud* Eusebius, *h.e.* 6.12.3–6 (ὀρθῇ πίστει); Origen, *fr. 1 in Jo.* (Preuschen, 483, l. 11: τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως); *comm. in Rom.* 20 (Ramsbotham, 224, ll. 6–7: περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως); Gregory of Nyssa, *ep.* 17.4 (Pasquali, 52: ὀρθῆς πίστεως). Cf. Ps.-Justin Martyr's treaty entitled ΕΚΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ (*Expositio rectae fidei*) (Otto). The origin of the expression is unclear. No mention of ὀρθὴ πίστις is ever made in Jewish or Christian literature prior to the second century, though reference is often made to ὀρθὴ ὁδός (Prov 14:12; Jer 38:9; Herm. Mand. 35:2, 4; Josephus, *A.J.* 6.13), ὀρθαὶ τροχιαί (Prov 4:11, 26; Heb 12:13), ὀρθοὶ λόγοι (Prov 16:13; Sib. Or. 8:367, 402; Philo, *Opif.* 1.143), ὀρθὴ καρδία (Prov 15:14), etc.

[49] E.g., ICG 2079 (IG II/III^2 5.13493: Χριστιανὸς πιστός), 116 (*MAMA* 8.325: Ματρ[ώ]να πιστή), 117 (*MAMA* 8.326: Κόϊντος πιστός). In ICG 3268 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 247) in n. 111 below, the adjective simply seems to stress the trustworthiness of the deceased *tribunus notariorum* (τριβοῦνος νοταρίων). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 208.

Significantly, no other claim to ὀρθὴ πίστις has so far been noted on church buildings or funerary monuments throughout the region—not even on those erected in memory of the local clergy—even though the term πίστις is found once more in a carefully inscribed, fragmentary epigram from Philippi.[53] Nor is any Macedonian church ever referred to as the "church of the Orthodox" (ἐκκλησία τῶν ὀρθοδόξων), the epithets καθολική and ἁγία/ἁγιοτάτη (ἐκκλησία) being generally preferred. Incidentally, the first of these terms appears on a neatly carved marble epitaph from the late fourth century that was set up by the "newly appointed presbyter of the catholic church" (πρεσβύτερος νέος τῆς καθολεικῆς ἐκλησίας),[54] Aurelios Kapiton, in memory of his parents, his wife Baibia Paula and his beloved son Elpidios, in the year 410 (i.e., AD 379).[55]

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[50] *ICG* 286 (*SEG* 6.442; AD IV). See also the "psalmist of the Orthodox" (ψαλταναγνωστῶν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων) in *ICG* 975 (*MAMA* 6.237; AD V–VI). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 199. Pelekanidis ("Παλαιοχριστιανικός τάφος," 228) deems ὀρθὴ/ὀρθόδοξος πίστις to be somewhat synonymous and equivalent to καθολικὴ πίστις.

[51] *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 199. Based on stylistic similarities, Pelekanidis ("Παλαιοχριστιανικός τάφος," 225–27) concluded that the tomb was painted by the same artist who decorated that of the presbyters Faustinos and Donatos in the *extra muros* basilica (*ICG* 3256; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 235), which has been dated to the mid-fourth century thanks to numismatic evidence.

[52] Pelekanidis, "Παλαιοχριστιανικός τάφος," 228.

[53] *ICG* 3251 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 230; *SEG* 19.447; *I.Philippi*^{2} 107; AD V–VI): οὐδὲ θανὼν [–] | -μος ἀλλὰ σὲ π̣[άντες –] | κυδένουσι [– σο]|φίης χάριν ε[–] ||^{5} ἑπτὰ γὰρ λ̣υ[κάβαντας –] | καὶ τέσσερα[ς δεκάδας –] | οὐδενὶ οὐδ[–] | ἔλαχες σο[–] | πάντας γὰρ [–] ||^{10} ειδε πᾶσιν [–] | ΠΙΟΟΙΕΥΝΟ[–] | δικαζομεν̣[–] | τ̣οὕνεκα Ϲ̣[–] | θεὸς πανὸ̣[λβιος –] ||^{15} σὺν πίστι Ṇ[–] | μακαρτατ[–]. The text is too fragmented to be translated as the right half of the stone is missing. Neither the mention of Θεός (l. 14) nor the occurrence of πίστις (l. 15) is enough to prove the Christian character of this inscription (cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 194). The language of *fides*/πίστις is not exclusively Christian, although it was increasingly so in late antiquity. For a study of the origin and development of πίστις in early Christian thought and theology, see Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith*.

[54] Cf. Coupry and Feyel, "Inscriptions de Philippes," 47; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 94–95.

[55] *ICG* 3254 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 233; *AE* 1937, no. 48; *I.Philippi*^{2} 360; AD 379): Αὐρ(ήλιος) Καπίτων πρεσβύ(τερος) | νέος τῆς καθολει|κῆς ἐκλησίας ἀνέ|στησα τὴν στή||λην ταύτην τοῖς | ἰδίοις γωνεῦσιν | καὶ τῇ εἰδίᾳ συνβίῳ | Βεβίᾳ Παύλᾳ καὶ | τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ || μου υἱῷ Ἐλπιδίῳ | υʹ κὲ δέκα. "I, Aurelios Kapiton, new presbyter of the catholic church, set up this

The only Christian inscription from Philippi to be precisely dated,[56] it suggests that in the late fourth century some ecclesiastics still felt the need to stress their adherence to the Nicaean confession (possibly to legitimize their own authority) and to distance themselves from "deviant" doctrinal positions.[57]

Another notable contemporary (AD 330s–360s) example that mentions the "holy catholic and apostolic church of the Philippians" (καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Φιλιππησίων) is the epitaph of the presbyters Faustinos and Donatos, which was found lying over the entrance of tomb B in the *extra muros* basilica.[58] A sizeable vaulted tomb (2.65 × 1.90 × 1.84 m) situated underneath the southern aisle of the basilica, it contained two skeletons and had walls decorated with large enwreathed Latin crosses seemingly inlaid with pearls and precious stones.[59] Interestingly, although the two inscriptions date from the same period, Faustinos and Donatos's epitaph is more characteristically Christian in its appearance and formulary (i.e., κοιμητήριον τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου δεῖνος) than the tombstone set up by Kapiton, which looks more traditional in terms of style (i.e., framed stele), palaeography (i.e., neat angular letters), and formulary (ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέστησα τὴν στήλην τῷ δεῖνι).[60] More intriguing still

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stele for my own parents and (my) own wife, Baibia Paula, and for my dearest son, Elpidios. (Year) 410."

[56] Despite its traditional style and appearance, this inscription is more likely to date from AD 379, and not from AD 262/263. That is, it follows the Actium era (starting after the battle of Actium in 31 BC), rather than the provincial era starting in 148 BC. See Lemerle, *Philippes*, 94–101; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 198.

[57] The adjective καθολικός here is not to be understood in the sense of "universal," as in early Christian literary sources (e.g., Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2; Mart. Pol. 1:1; 8:1), but more specifically in the sense of "orthodox" (i.e., not Arianizing). See Lemerle's detailed survey of the expression καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία in juristic and epigraphic sources in *Philippes*, 96–101. Cf. Pelekanidis, "Παλαιοχριστιανικός τάφος," 228. For additional epigraphic examples of the expression καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, see *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 198.

[58] *ICG* 3256 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 235; *BE* 1963, no. 140; *SEG* 19.441; *I.Philippi*^{2} 101; mid-AD IV): Κοιμητήριον τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων | πρεσβ(υτέρων) Φαυστίνου καὶ Δωνάτου | τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς | ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Φιλιππησίων. "Tomb of the most pious presbyters, Faustinos and Donatos, of the holy catholic and apostolic church of the Philippians." The date is suggested by the discovery of coins of Constantius between the floor slabs covering the entrance of the tomb and the epitaph above it. However, as Feissel has noted, these may only provide a *terminus post quem* for the inscription, which, despite their differences in style and formulary, seems to be contemporary with *ICG* 3254 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 233) that is likely dated to AD 379. See Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 152–53, 173–75; id., "Παλαιοχριστιανικός τάφος," 225; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 200.

[59] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 153, 155, 157 (photos nos. 40–43). Similar decorations have been observed at Thessalonica. See ibid., 153 n. 1.

[60] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 198.

is the expression *καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολική*, which is seldom encountered in inscriptions—the adjective *ἀποστολικός* itself is observed nowhere else in Macedonia.[61] More common in literary sources from the fourth century onwards,[62] it may have been derived from the last paragraph of the Nicaean creed and its concluding anathema (Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας [...] ἀναθεματίζει ἡ *καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία*).[63] Alternatively, it might have simply been meant as a commemoration of Philippi's apostolic heritage, about which the Philippians appear to have been particularly proud.[64] The reoccurrence of the expression *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* nonetheless suggests that the local clergy were very much aware of contemporary theological disputes and felt it essential to differentiate themselves from Arius's proponents.

Nothing of the sort appears in the last two epitaphs from this period, both of which conclude instead with a threat of a fine to be paid to the imperial *fiscus*.[65] The first one, a rough slab of local marble broken in half, was discovered in the eastern necropolis (in the vicinity of Dikili Tasch) and erected for the teacher (διδάσκαλος) Aurelios Kyriakos and his wife and children.[66] The second, a roughly dressed quadrangular pillar, comes from the Turkish cemetery of Raktcha, north of the eastern necropolis, and was put up for the (estate) manager (πραγματευτής) Aurelios Severos and his family.[67] The stylistic and linguistic similarities between the two stones (including the formulary and ligatures) are particularly striking and suggest that they were most likely executed by the same hand, in the same workshop, and about the same period in the early fourth century, if not in the third century (judging by the use of the praenomen Aurelios/Aurelia for both husband and wife).[68]

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[61] Outside Macedonia, see the rare examples in *ICG* 316 (*SEG* 34.1341; Lycaonia, ca. AD V: Σέλευκος πρεσβίτερος τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἁγίας τοῦ θ̣εοῦ ἐκλησίας, ll. 1–4), 327 (*SEG* 52.1866; Lycaonia, AD V–VI: είερέ|ων τῆς κατο|λικῆς κὲ ἀποσ|τολικῆς ἁγίας || τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐκλησίας), and 619 (*SEG* 52.1355; North Lycaonia, AD IV–V: διάκων | τῆς καθολεικῆς | κὴ ἀποστολεικῆς | ἁγείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκλη|σείας, ll. 1–5).

[62] E.g., Eusebius, *v.C.* 3.53.2 (ἀξίαν τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας βασιλικήν); Epiphanius, *haer.* 1.157 (πίστις ἀληθείας τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς καὶ ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας); 2.349 (τῆς μόνης ἀποστολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας). The earliest attestation is found in Origen, *exp. in Pr.* 24 (PG 17:225): δόγμα ὁμοίως τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

[63] Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 215–16. The actual text of the creed was reconstituted in the early twentieth century (see pp. 208–11). Cf. Epiphanius, *anc.* 118.12 (Πιστεύομεν [...] εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν); Athanasius, *decr.* 37.2 (τοὺς τοιούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία); cf. Socrates, *h.e.* 1.8.29–30. The expression is very rare in inscriptions (see n. 61 above), though more common in literary sources from the fourth century (e.g., Eusebius, *v.C.* 3.53.2; Epiphanius, *haer.* 1.157; 2.349).

[64] Cf. Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 258.

[65] For an overview of funerary fines at Philippi, see *I.Philippes*, pp. 70–74.

[66] *ICG* 3252 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 231; *I.Philippi*^{2} 071; *AE* 1937, no. 49; AD IV): Αὐρήλιος | Κυριακὸς διδ̣[άσ]||καλος ἐποίησ̣[α] | τὸ χαμοσόρ[ιον] ||^{5} τ[ο]ῦ̣το ἐ̣[μαυτῷ] | κ̣[αὶ τῇ συμβίῳ̣] | μου [Α]ὐ̣ρη[λίᾳ̣] | Μαρκελλίνῃ | καὶ τέκνοις· ||^{10} εἰ δέ τις τολ|μήσι ἕτερον σκή|νωμα καταθέσ|θαι, δώσει τῷ̣ | ἱερωτάτῳ̣ τα||^{15}[μ]ε̣ίῳ̣ χρυσοῦ | [λί]τ̣ρ̣αν μίαν. "I, Aurelios Kyriakos, teacher, made this tomb for [myself and] my [wife] Aurelia Markelline, and for (our) children. If anyone dares to lay another corpse (here), s/he shall pay one pound of gold to the most sacred treasury."

Neither of these can be surely identified as Christian. The cognomen Kyriakos is no definitive evidence of Christian faith,[69] especially since there is no other iconographic clue such as the Latin footed cross engraved on the rough stele of Kyriakos (and Nikandra) found reused in the basilica B.[70] Nor are fines of one gold pound restricted to Christian epitaphs.[71] However, the metaphorical use of the term σκήνωμα, which replaces the words πτῶμα and νέκυς more commonly observed in non-Christian inscriptions at Philippi,[72] does appear to have been predominantly used by Christians.[73]

2.3 *Late Antique Epigraphy from the Eastern Necropolis and the Colony's Territory*

2.3.1 Inscriptions from the *extra muros* Cemetery Basilica

The epitaph of Faustinos and Donatos mentioned in the previous section introduces us to one of the most important buildings for the history of the Christian community at Philippi, namely, the *extra muros* cemetery basilica that was located in the eastern necropolis underneath the village of Krenides. Unknown until its excavation in 1956, the ruins of the fourth largest (33 × 15.60 m), and perhaps the second oldest, basilica at Philippi have yielded about fifteen epitaphs, which represent a quarter of all the Christian inscriptions so far discovered on the territory of the colony.[74] Erected in the second half of the fourth century at the earliest,[75] on a site a few hundred meters east of the Neapolis gate, the church underwent two major building phases in antiquity (after a fire damaged most of the upper structure in the mid- or late fifth century), before being destroyed and abandoned around the eighth century.[76] The first edifice had a typical three-aisled layout with annexes to the north and south (but no baptistery),[77] and was modestly decorated with simple mosaics and sculptures.[78] Of particular interest are the reliquary located beneath the pavement where the altar would have stood[79] and the sixteen tombs scattered over the floor of the basilica (Α–Π), all of which except one (Π) seem to date from the first building phase.[80] Several of these tombs were sealed with nicely executed epitaphs, including two Latin ones,[81] which celebrated the lives of some of the illustrious members of the community, mostly clerics or notables under whose leadership and patronage the church flourished.[82]

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[67] *ICG* 3253 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 232; *I.Philippi*^{2} 083; *BE* 1987, no. 432; AD IV): Αὐρήλιος | Σεβῆρος | πραγματευ|τὴς ἐποίησ[α] ||^{5} τὸ χαμοσόρ[ιον] Β | τοῦτο ἐμαυ[τῷ̣] | καὶ τῇ συμβ[ίῳ̣] | μου Αὐρ(ηλίᾳ̣) Κλαυδίᾳ̣ | καὶ τοῖς γλυ[κυτά]||^{10}τοις μου τέκν[οι]ς· | ἰ δέ τις τολμήσι ἕτε|ρον σκήν⟨ω⟩μα κατα{ι}|θέσθα̣ι, δώσι τῷ̣ ἱερ[ω]|τάτῳ̣ ταμίῳ̣ χρυσοῦ̣ ||^{15} λίτραν μίαν. “I, Aurelios Severos, an (estate) manager, made this (second?) tomb for myself and my wife Aurelia Klaudia, and my dearest children. If anyone dares to lay another corpse (here), s/he shall pay one pound of gold to the most sacred treasury.”

[68] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, pp. 195, 197.

[69] Cf. Feissel, *BE* 1987, no. 432.

[70] See *ICG* 3264 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 243; AD IV–V) in n. 165 below.

[71] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 197.

[72] E.g., *I.Philippi*^{2} 022, 137, 273, and 387A.

[73] The term is in any case rare in inscriptions and appears to have been used exclusively in Christian epitaphs. See, e.g., *I.Zoora* 89 (Zoora, AD 405); *I.Pisidia Central* 56 (AD III–IV); *I.Tyana* 108 (ca. AD IV); *SEG* 59.1713 (Jerusalem, AD IV–V). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 197; *PGL*, s.v.; *NewDocs* 4:172 no. 85.

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[74] For the excavation report, see Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων." For a detailed, though not entirely reliable, description in English, see Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 99–106. Cf. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 107–10. On the mosaics panels, see Spiro, *Mosaic Pavements*, 636–42; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 280–83 (no. 1, 1.32), with pls. 148–155.

[75] Based on the simple decoration of the building, numismatic evidence, the two Latin inscriptions *ICG* 3272–3273 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 251–252), and the absence of a baptistery, Pelekanidis ("Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 172–79) estimated it to be the oldest (known) church at Philippi at the time. But it must surely be later than the basilica of Paul (ca. AD 340s), which was only discovered twenty or so years later in 1975. Pallas (*Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 110) and Spiro (*Mosaic Pavements*, 636–42) date it to the fifth century.

[76] Coins of Theodosius II (AD 408–450) were found underneath repaired sections dating from the second building stage, while coins from Justinian I (AD 527–565) were discovered in the brick stylobate separating the nave from the northern aisle in the second structure. The church may have been destroyed by fire during the siege of Philippi by Theodoric Strabo in AD 473, before being restored a few decades later in the early sixth century. A third, single-nave Byzantine chapel was constructed on the old ruins in medieval times. Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 172–79. Cf. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 105–6.

[77] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 132–36, 176. Cf. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 109; Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 100–101, 104–5.

[78] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 115 (esp. with photos nos. 8, 12–17, 20–26); Sodini, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce: Catalogue," 736–37 n. 59.

[79] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 119–21.

[80] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 150–62 (with drawings, pp. 155, 158), 178–79. Cf. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 108; Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 100, 103–5.

[81] See *ICG* 3272–3273 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 251–252) in nn. 106 and 101 below.

Besides the epitaph of Faustinos and Donatos, four more inscriptions commemorating five presbyters have been discovered *in situ*. To begin with, a funerary plate for the "most devout presbyters" (τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων πρεσβυτέρων) Gourasios and Konstantios was laid over the entrance of tomb Γ (2.50 × 1.46 × 1.75 m),[83] a double-apse vaulted structure slightly smaller than tomb B that was located underneath the central axis of the nave, west of the apse.[84] The chamber itself contained several skeletons and eighteen skulls, which indicate that it was used several times for, presumably, the burials of other clerics.[85]

Paulos(?), the "presbyter and doctor of the Philippians" (πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἰατρὸς Φιλιππησίων), was interred in tomb A (2.20 × 1.40 × 1.65 m) at the eastern end of the northern aisle, left of the apse, and remembered with a notable epitaph.[86] Possibly the first of only two Philippian presbyters named after the founding apostle, Paulos seems to have felt less sanctimonious than Gourasios and Konstantios, for his epitaph concluded with a humble petition to Christ to have mercy on him and not remember his sins on the day of judgment (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως μὴ μνησθῇς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου, ἐλέησόν με). The mention of his medical occupation is noteworthy but not at all peculiar as clerics often combined their ecclesiastical functions with other economic or vocational activities.[87] What is more unusual, however, is the acclamation to the *ex nihilo* creator God Jesus Christ (ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ ὄντων εἰς εἶναι), which echoes a similar invocation in an epitaph from Thessalonica,[88] and which finds some parallels in early Christian literature and liturgy as well.[89]

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[82] Three epitaphs are simply too fragmented to be of much use. See ICG 3251 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 230 in n. 53 above), 3261 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 240; *I.Philippi*^{2} 105; SEG 19.445; AD V–VI: Σιρο[–] | κομι[–]|ος | ἐκυ[μήθη] || πρὸ α′ [Νω]|νῶν | Ὀκτωβρί[ων], "Siro … laid to rest on the 6th of October"), and 3271 in n. 164 below. ICG 3271 was initially published by Pelekanidis alongside two small fragments, which Feissel did not include but which were later republished by Pilhofer. See ICG 3297 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 108; SEG 19.448; AD V–VI: [–]άσιος | [–]ΜΑ *vac* | [–]ΡΩΝΧΗ) and 3298 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 109; SEG 19.449; AD V–VI: † ΠΡΟCΤ). Cf. Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 170–71 (nn. 9–11). Several other tombs (Μ, Ν, Ξ, Ο, Π) were closed with reused tombstones bearing Roman inscriptions. See ibid., 161.

[83] Tomb C in Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 104.

[84] ICG 3257 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 236; BE 1963, no. 140; SEG 19.442; *I.Philippi*^{2} 102; AD IV–VI): Κυμητήρ(ιον) | τῶν θεοφιλλ(εστάτων) | πρεσβ(υτέρων) | Γουρασίου καὶ || Κωνσταντίου | ἀναπαυσαμ(ένων) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ | ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδʹ. "Tomb of the most devout presbyters, Gourasios and Konstantios, who died in Christ on the 14th *indictio*."

[85] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 154 (photo no. 34). Cf. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 104.

[86] ICG 3258 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 237; BE 1963, no. 140; SEG 19.440; *I.Philippi*^{2} 100; AD IV–V): Κοιμητήριον Πα[ύλου] | πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἰατροῦ | Φιλιππησίων. | Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ὁ ποιήσας || ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ̣ ὄ̣ν̣των εἰ⟨ς⟩ | εἶναι, ἐν τῇ ἡ̣μ̣έρᾳ τῆ⟨ς⟩ | κρίσεως μὴ μ̣νη̣σ̣θῇς | τῶν ἁμαρτ̣ι̣ῶν μου, ἐλ[έ]|ησόν με. "Tomb of Paulos, presbyter and doctor of the Philippians. Lord Jesus Christ, God who brought into being that which was not, do not remember my sins in the day of judgment, have mercy on me!" Cf. Samama, *Les médecins*, 189–90 no. 089.

At the opposite western end of the northern aisle, between the two entrances of the *diakonikon* annexes, was buried another Paulos in a marble sarcophagus in tomb H (2.05 × 0.75 × 0.23 m).[90] A “first presbyter” (πρωτοπρεσβύτερος) of the “holy church of God of the Philippians” (τῆς Φιλιππισίων ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλησίας),[91] Paulos enjoyed the privilege of being interred in a single tomb (μονόσωμον)[92] that could not be reused, as the penultimate clause threatened (ἤ τις δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν κατάθεσιν ἐπιχειρήσει ἐνθάδε ἕτερον θεῖναι νεκρόν, λόγον δώσει τῷ θεῷ). While common in Christian inscriptions from Asia Minor,[93] such warnings are rarely observed in Macedonia and only a few other instances have been discovered at Edessa, Beroea, and in the southern Pangaion region near Kipia.[94] One final gravestone from the *extra muros* basilica commemorates a presbyter named either Εὔπλο(υ)ς (so Pelekanidis), or Εὐστάθιος (so Feissel).[95] Found reemployed as a doorstep of the *diakonikon*, the white marble plate simply features a large Latin cross at the top from which two vine leaves grow, and under which was inscribed a monogram made with the letters Υ, Ε, and Λ (or C and T).

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[87] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 201. See also Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises*, 154–73; Destephen, “La christianisation de l’Asie Mineure,” 173–74.

[88] *ICG* 3201 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 180; *IG* X 2,1.*786; AD IV–V): · Ἰ · (ησο) · ῦ · Χρ(ιστ)ὲ · ὁ ποιήσας ἑνὶ λόγου τὰ πάντα (ll. 1–4).

[89] Cf. Rom 4:17 (θεοῦ τοῦ […] καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα); Herm. Mand. 26:1 (ὁ θεὸς ὁ […] ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα); Theophilus, *Autol.* 1.4 (τὰ πάντα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι); Apos. Con. 8.12.7 (ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών). See also the liturgy of Basil in Brightman, *Liturgies*, 1:313 (l. 10: ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 201.

[90] *ICG* 3259 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 238; *BE* 1963, no. 140; *SEG* 19.443; *I.Philippi*^{2} 103; AD IV–V): † Κυμητήριον Παύλου | πρεσβοιτέρου τῆς Φι|λιππισίων ἁγίας τοῦ | θεοῦ ἐκλησίας· ἤ τις δὲ || μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν κατάθε|σιν ἐπιχειρήσει ἐνθάδε ἕτε|ρον θεῖναι νεκρόν, λόγον δώ|σει τῷ θεῷ· ἔστιν γὰρ μονό|σωμον πρωτοπρεσβοιτέρου †. “Tomb of Paulos, presbyter of the holy church of God of the Philippians. Whoever attempts to lay another corpse here after my burial shall give an account unto God. For this is the single tomb of a first presbyter.”

[91] A πρωτοπρεσβύτερος was the highest-ranked cleric after the bishop himself, whom he could replace in his absence. Cf. Socrates, *h.e.* 6.9.3. See also *PGL*, s.vv. ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος, πρωτοπρεσβύτερος; Pelekanidis, “Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων,” 166–67; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 203. For examples from Asia Minor, see *ICG* 554 (*MAMA* 7.89), 1443 (*MAMA* 11.113), 2466 (*I.North Galatia* 449).

[92] For similar examples of the term at Thessalonica, see *ICG* 3173 and 3191 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 153 and 170). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 202; *BE* 1965, no. 2.

[93] See Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia*, 683–84.

[94] Cf. *ICG* 3040, 3068, 3239–3240 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 32, 58, 218–219), and 3295–3296 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 631–632). The last two are likely to be the two (then unpublished) inscriptions kept at the museum of Philippi and reported by Feissel (*I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 202).

Regrettably, none of these inscriptions is precisely dated, which renders the establishment of a chronology of ecclesiastical offices at Philippi nearly impossible.[96] Only tomb B of the presbyters Faustinos and Donatos (*post* AD 330s–360s),[97] and tomb H of the presbyter Paulos (*post* AD 380s–390s),[98] might be dated approximately to the end of the fourth century at the earliest thanks to coins of Constantius II and Theodosius I found underneath the engraved slabs.[99] The epitaph of Gourasios and Konstantios does mention that the presbyters died in the fourteenth *indictio*,[100] but no consular year is given to help identify in which fifteen-year cycle they passed away. In any case, the skeletons and the eighteen skulls discovered in their tomb indicate that it was reopened on a regular basis between the fourth and sixth centuries to place additional corpses.

No other ecclesiastic is known from the *extra muros* basilica. A Latin inscription might have made reference to a *servus dei* named Lauricius,[101] but the designation *servus dei* (or δοῦλος θεοῦ/Χριστοῦ) need not imply that Lauricius was a member of the clergy.[102] Found reemployed in a later chapel, its date is uncertain though the use of the Latin suggests it might be as early as the fourth century.[103] The expression *in nomine Christi*, which is commonly associated with the formula *hic in pace requiescit*,[104] appears on yet another epitaph from the same basilica and the same period (presumably)—the last of only two (published) Latin Christian inscriptions at Philippi. Placed over tomb Θ,[105] the fine white marble plate commemorates a *vir clarissimus* and ex-count named Mauricius.[106] Rarely attested at Philippi,[107] the two titles, even if only meant honorifically,[108] situate Mauricius among the local elites. That is, he may have been a military or civic official of senatorial status,[109] who might have also served as one of the patrons of the church in which he was inhumed.

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[95] *ICG* 3260 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 239; *SEG* 19.446; *I.Philippi*^{2} 106; AD IV–V): † κοιμ(η)τ(ήριον) (monogram) πρεσ(βυτέρου). "Tomb of Eustathios(?), presbyter."

[96] The best attempt at reconstructing a chronology of the bishops of Philippi from literary and documentary sources remains that of Lemerle (*Philippes*, 268–80), who improved the list given by Vailhé ("Les évêques de Philippes").

[97] *ICG* 3256 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 235).

[98] *ICG* 3259 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 238).

[99] Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 153, 161. But as Feissel notes, the numismatic evidence can only provide a *terminus post quem*. See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 200.

[100] *ICG* 3257 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 236).

[101] *ICG* 3273 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 252; *AE* 1983, no. 891; *I.Philippi*^{2} 112; AD IV–V): *Hic in pac*[*e requiescit*] | *in nomine Cḥ*[*risti*] | *Lauricius sẹ*[*rvus Dei*] | *qui vixit an*[*nos*] *x̣xii* +. "Here [rests] in peace, in the name of Christ, Lauricius, servant [of God], who lived 22 years." The epitaph of the deaconess Agathe (see *ICG* 3381 in n. 145 below) may have also come from the *extra muros* basilica (or from the eastern necropolis).

[102] See n. 28 above on the possible origins of the title.

[103] Cf. Pelekanidis, "Ἡ ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῶν Φιλίππων," 175–76.

Mauricius is one of two high-profile Christian laymen laid to rest in the *extra muros* basilica. The other one, a "faithful tribune of the notaries" (ὁ πιστὸς τριβοῦνος νοταρίων) named Andreas,[110] was interred in tomb Δ by the narthex.[111] Buried at eighteen years of age, it is unlikely that Andreas ever performed any tribunitian or notarial function,[112] the office of *tribunus et notarius* being usually attributed to sons of influential court officials at the onset of their career from the late fourth century onward.[113] Thus, he must have received the title honorifically due to his nobility (cf. εὐγένια πολλή, ll. 5–6), which is further indicated by the laudatory language employed (cf. ll. 4–6)[114] and his massive, neatly carved marble tombstone.

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[104] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 210.

[105] Tomb H in Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 104.

[106] *ICG* 3272 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 251; *I.Philippi*^{2} 111; *AE* 1983, no. 890; AD IV–V): + *Hic in pace requies|c[i]t in nomine | [C]ḥristi Mauric̣ị|[us] vir clariṣṣi|[mus] ẹx̣ c̣ọṃite*. "Here rests in peace, in the name of Christ, Mauricius, a vir clarissimus, ex-count."

[107] Cf. *I.Philippes* 37, 38, 41, 42.

[108] So *AE* 1983, no. 890. From the fifth century, the title *clarissimus* ceases to indicate effective membership of the senate. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 8, 104–5, 379.

[109] Cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 8, 104–5, 528–31; Demandt, *Spätantike*, 250, 273–74, 281–82.

[110] Mentzu-Meimare (review of *I.Chr. Macédoine*, 324) understands πιστός here "im Sinne des getauften Christen und Mitglieds der Kirche," and suggests placing a comma after the adjective (i.e., "the young believer, a tribune of the notaries"). But see *PLRE* 2:87 (s.v. Andreas 7): *Andreas qui et Comitas v(ir) d(evotus), tribunus et notarius*. Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 208.

[111] *ICG* 3268 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 247; *BE* 1963, no. 140; *SEG* 19.444; *I.Philippi*^{2} 104; AD V): † Ἐνθάδε κῖται Ἀνδρέας | οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλην Κομιτᾶ ὁ | π̲ιστὸς τριβοῦνος νο|τ̲α̲ρίων, συνετὸς ὤν, ἡλι||κ̲ί̲α, κάλλος καὶ εὐγένια|{α̲} πολλὴ ἦν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ · | ο̲ὖ̲τος δ᾽ ἐτελεύτα ἐτῶν | δέκα ὀκτὼ παρὰ μῆ(να) α′ ἡμ(έρας) ς′. "Here lies Andreas, nicknamed Komitas, the faithful tribune of the notaries, an intelligent (man). Youth, beauty, and great nobility were his. He died at eighteen, minus one month and six days."

[112] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 208.

[113] Demandt, *Spätantike*, 241. Cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 573–75. For equally young *notarii*, see ibid., 1235 n. 21.

[114] The themes of beauty and nobility are not uncommon in Christian hagiography. See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 208.

2.3.2 Inscriptions from the Eastern Necropolis and the Basilica B

The name of the young tribune buried in the *extra muros* basilica, Andreas, seems to have been a popular name for it is observed in three more Christian inscriptions from the territory of Philippi. It appears, for instance, after a staurogram on an undated drinking cup discovered at a site five kilometers north of Philippi.[115] A *lector* named Andreas dedicated a piece of cornice (found west of Philippi, in the modern village of Lydia) “for the glory of God.”[116] More significantly still, a long epitaph unearthed in the nave of a basilica from the eastern necropolis commemorates a cleric named Andreas, whose “prudence” (ἐχεφροσύνη) was legendary and who was proven “worthy of dwelling near the heavenly scepters” (οὐρανίων γὰρ ἄξιος ἦν σκηπτρῶν ἔγγυθι ναιετάειν).[117] Remarkably, the metric epigram also evokes Andreas’s “mystagogical authority” (cf. μύστιδος ἀρχῆς, ll. 11–12) and his pious execution of all his duties (τερπόμενος θεσμοῖς· αἰ [ἐ]π’ εὐσεβίης, ll. 12–15), which suggests that he was a prominent cleric, possibly a bishop, who was in charge of initiating young catechumens and/or performing sacraments.[118]

The basilica where Andreas was buried belongs to a sizeable funerary complex located three hundred meters south of the *extra muros* basilica that has been dated to the second half of the fourth century at the earliest. It comprises a central courtyard hedged by porticoes, around which were built a basilica (south), storage rooms (north), and a 100 m^2 structure (east), which may have been used as a place of worship or as a *hagiasma*, and under which a sizeable burial chamber was constructed.[119] In total, nine vaulted tombs (some of which with marble walls), twenty tile graves, several lead coffins, and nineteen skeletons (oriented towards the east) were discovered on site along with a large vaulted chamber (designated as a ἡρῷον) and three inscriptions.[120] The first one, the tomb's foundation inscription, was engraved and painted in red letters on the revetment by the entrance of the south chamber. It relates how a prominent couple from Pontus, Flavios Gorgonios and Glykeris, settled in Philippi and built the tomb for themselves and their children, before concluding with a threat of a hefty fine to be paid both to the "holiest church" (ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ) and to the imperial *fiscus*, if the tomb is ever reused.[121] A second metric inscription dedicated to the memory of the same Glykeris, the daughter of a *vir clarissimus* from Pontus, was also engraved in red letters on the southern wall of the south chamber.[122]

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[115] ICG 3292 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 421; AD IV–VI?): ⳨ Ἀνδρέου. “Belonging to Andreas.” Cf. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, 30 n. 87.

[116] ICG 3246 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 225; *I.Philippi*^{2} 353; AD V–VI): Ἀνδρέας ἐλάχ(ιστος) ἀναγν(ώστης) εἰς ⟨δ⟩ό⟨ξ⟩αν ⟨θ⟩[εοῦ –]. “Andreas, the most humble *lector*, for (the) glory of [God?].”

[117] ICG 3290 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 125; SEG 34.669; 36.629; AD IV–V): † Ἀνδρέαν ὥ̱|ς νέκυν οὗ̱|τος ἔχει τάφ|ος· ἀλλὰ κ||^{5}αλύπτειν κί|νοῦ ἐχεφροσ|ύνην οὐδὲ χρ|όνος δύνατ|{ατ}αι· πάντα γὰρ ||^{10} ἐξετέλεσεν ἐ|πάξια μύστιδ|ος ἀρχῆς τερπ|όμενος θεσμο|ῖς αἰ [ἐ]π’ εὐσεβί||^{15}ης· τοὔνεκεν | ὅς μιν ἔτευξε | καὶ ἔλαβεν· οὐ|ρανίων γὰρ ἄξι|ος ἦν σκηπτ||^{20}ρῶν ἔγγυθι να|ιετάειν. “This tomb contains the deceased Andreas, whose prudence time cannot conceal. For he has fulfilled everything (in a manner) worthy of (his) authority as a mystagogue, delighting in the divine ordinances always piously. Therefore, he who created him also took (him), for he was worthy of dwelling near the heavenly scepters.” Cf. Pennas, “Christian Burials at Philippi,” 223–27 (pl. XI.19); Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 110–13, 283–86 (no. I, 1.33), with pls. 156–166.

[118] The significance of μύστις ἀρχή, a collocation not found in literary sources, is not entirely clear. Pilhofer (*I.Philippi*^{2}, p. 133) wonders whether it is not an “Umschreibung für Gott.” Pennas (“Christian Burials at Philippi,” 225 n. 31) and Petridès (“Note sur une inscription chrétienne d’Amasée,” 276) suggest, on the other hand, that μύστις (or μύστης) is to be understood in the sense of μυσταγωγός, which more commonly refers to an initiated Christian teacher or spiritual leader in patristic sources, and which might be a poetical rendering of ἐπίσκοπος, ἀρχιερεύς, or ἱεράρχης. Cf. PGL, s.vv. ἀρχή II.D, μύστης, μυσταγωγός; *I.Chr. Crete* 77 (p. 105).

While none of the members of this illustrious family can be identified with certainty as Christian (especially in the absence of iconographic elements),[123] the metaphorical usage of the term σκήνωμα,[124] the orientation of the bodies, and the mention of the church as the recipient of the fines are sufficient elements to conclude that Flavios Gorgonios and Glykeris were indeed Christians. Their relation to the other persons buried in the complex is unclear, but they are likely to have belonged to the couple's household. Evidently, by the late fourth century, the church at Philippi counted within its rank persons of affluence and nobility, and had become a socially significant institution.[125]

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[119] Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 215–22.

[120] Besides ICG 3289A and B immediately below, a third inscription, a funerary fine, was found on the side of a (reused) sarcophagus lid (Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 218): τοῦτο τὸ πῶμα ὃς ἂν μεταθῇ ἀπο|τείσι τῇ πόλει | Ӿ Φ. "Whosoever moves this lid shall pay to the city 500 denarii." An inscribed column fragment found nearby may have also come from the same basilica. See ICG 3383 (*SEG* 34.670; *BE* 1987, no. 445; *I.Philippi*^{2} 124; AD IV–V): Ὑπὲρ ε[ὐχ]ῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου. "Ex-voto of Alexandros." For details of the excavations, see Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 215–27 with plans II–VI.

[121] ICG 3289A (*I.Philippi*^{2} 125A; *SEG* 45.795; AD IV–V): Φλάβιος Γοργόνιος ὁ Κρατεροῦ | καὶ ἡ Γλυκερὶς ἡ Ἀνδρονείκου τοῦ λ(α)μ(προτάτου) | ἐκ πατρίδος Πόντου, οἰκήσαντες | ἐν Φιλίπποις, ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ||^5 κατεσκεύασαν τὸ ἡρώιον, παρανγέ|λοντες μηδὲν ἐπεισφέρειν σκήνωμα | ἀλλότριον τοῦ γένους. Εἰ δέ τις τολ|μήσιεν δώσει{ι} προστείμου τῇ μὲν | ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ χρυσοῦ ||^{10} λείτρας δύο, τῷ δὲ ἱερωτάτῳ | ταμείῳ χρυσοῦ λείτρας πέντε. "Flavios Gorgonios, son of Krateros, and Glykeris, daughter of the *vir clarissimus* Androneikos, from their homeland Pontus, lived in Philippi and built this tomb for themselves and their children, ordering that no one should bury another corpse from another family (here). But if someone dares (to do so), s/he shall pay two pounds of gold as a fine to the most holy church, and of five pounds of gold to the most sacred treasury." Cf. Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 216–21; *BE* 1998, no. 631.

[122] ICG 3289B (*I.Philippi*^{2} 125B; *SEG* 45.795; AD IV–V): Ἀνδρονείκοιο παὶν Γλυκερὶν παράκοιτιν ὀλέσσας | τοῖσδ᾽ ἐνὶ γῆς κόλποις κά[τ]θετο Γοργόνιος ἐκ καμάτων ἰδίων σῆμα τόδ᾽ ἐξανύσας. "Gorgonios, losing his wife Glykeris, the daughter of Androneikos, placed her in the bosom of the earth, having made this tomb from his own toil." Cf. Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 219–21; *BE* 1998, no. 631.

[123] Cf. Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 220; *BE* 1998, no. 631; *I.Philippi*^{2}, pp. 134–36.

[124] See n. 73 above.

This impression is further reinforced by a late boundary stone found fortuitously near Argyroupolis (ca. 10 km west of Drama), which demarcated the property of a certain Maurentios from that of the "holy church of the Philippians" (Φιλιππισίων ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ).[126] A *vir magnificentissimus*, that is, a high official at the imperial court in the fifth or sixth century (and not the metropolite of Philippi),[127] Maurentios obviously belonged to the elite of the Philippian church that, by then, had grown sufficiently wealthy as to own an estate side by side with prominent figures such as Maurentios.[128] Further, as was claimed in a remarkable, sixth-century, funerary mosaic found in a third (cemeterial?) church or chapel, some twenty meters southeast of the *extra muros* basilica, the Philippian church had acquired a strong reputation as a community that was "proud of its apostolic bonds in Christ" (ἐκλησία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς | δεσμοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ καυχωμένη, ll. 5–6).[129] Laid down over the tomb of the presbyter Daniel and his “reverent wife and sister in Christ” Aspilia, the epitaph retraces Daniel’s *cursus clericalis* within the Philippian Christian community. Sent by the “city of king Constantine” (i.e., Constantinople) to that “of Philip (king) of the Macedonians,” Daniel was nurtured in the church’s “divine ordinances” (διά τε θίων δογμάτων … ἀνε|θρέψατο, ll. 7–10), and progressed through the lower clerical ranks of reader and deacon before being eventually made a presbyter. Incidentally, Daniel’s epitaph also reveals the identity of two, hitherto unknown, bishops under whose supervision he served and who join the long list of late antique bishops at Philippi.[130] The “notoriously remembered Iakobos” (Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀοίδημος | ἐν μνήμαις, ll. 10–11) appointed him among the readers. The “prudent Demetrios who served God and kings his entire life” (Δημ⟨ή⟩τριος δὲ | ὁ διὰ βίου σώφρονος Θ(εὸ)ν καὶ βασιλέας θε|ραπεύσας, ll. 12–14) led him into the assembly of deacons.[131] Finally, their successor Bisaltios, the “firm guardian of evangelical ordinances” (τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν παραγ|γελμάτων βέβαιος φύλαξ, ll. 16–17), the “God-given shepherd and fervent(?) leader and protector” of Philippi (ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεὶς ἡμεῖν ποιμὴν τῆς τε πατρί|δος καὶ τῆς πόλεω̣[ς θερ]μὸς προστάτης | καὶ κηδεμών, ll. 18–20), likely promoted him to the office of presbyter.

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[125] Cf. Pennas, "Christian Burials at Philippi," 221; *I.Philippes*, p. 73; Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 258–63.

[126] *ICG* 3245 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 224; *BE* 1978, no. 306; *SEG* 27.259; *I.Philippi*^{2} 528; AD V–VI): (A) [– δι]α[φ]έρο̣[ν] | Μαυρεν|τίου | † μ(εγαλο)π(ρεπεστάτου) †. (B) [–]ΜΕΓΕΟ̣ . . Ν̣ | διαφέ[ρ(ον)] τ̣ῇ̣ | Φιλιππισ(ίων) | ἁγ(ίᾳ) ἐκκλ(ησίᾳ). (A) "… belonging to Maurentios, a *vir magnificentissimus*." (B) "… belonging to the holy church of the Philippians."

[127] See Feissel (*I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 191), contra Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou (*ArchD* 27 B2 [1977]: 575), who misread Α(ΡΧΙ)Ε(ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ) on the first line of face A. On the title and function, see Koch, *Beamtentitel*, 45–58; Demandt, *Spätantike*, 199–200.

[128] C. Brélaz recently recognized another boundary stone of the Philippian church in the reused Latin epitaph *I.Philippi*^{2} 402, which was found near a mill at Kalamonas. See *ICG* 4056 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 403; AD V–VI). The revised text will appear in the third volume of *I.Philippes*.

[129] *ICG* 3389 (*BE* 2019, no. 285; AD VI): + Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέ|ως ἡ πόλις ἐμὲ ἠνέγκατο : ἥτις ἀπεπέμ|ψατο ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου : τοῦ τῶν Μα|κεδώνων : ἧς ἡ προκαθημένη παγκή||[5]ρυκτος ἐκλησ(ία) καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς | δεσμ(οῖς) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ καυχωμένη : ἐν τοῖς κόλ|ποις δεξαε μένη με : + : διά τε θίων δογμάτων | καὶ πατρικῶν αὐτῆς συγκροτήσεων | ὁρατῶς καὶ νοητῶς γνησίως ἀνε||[10]θρέψατο : ὧν : Ἰάκωβος μὲν : ὁ ἀοίδημος | ἐν μνήμαις : τῇ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν αὐ|τῆς χώρᾳ μὲ ἐνκατέταξεν : + : Δημ⟨ή⟩τριος δὲ | ὁ διὰ βίου σώφρονος Θ(εὸ)ν καὶ βασιλέας : θε|ραπεύλ σας ἐν τῷ τῶν διακόνων συλ||[15]λόγῳ ἐπανήγαγεν : + : ὁ δὲ τούτων δι|άδοχος : καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν παραγ|γελμάτων βέβαιος φύλαξ : Βισάλτιος | + ὁ ἐκ Θ(εο)ῦ δοθεὶς ἡμεῖν ποιμὴν : τῆς τε πατρί|δος : καὶ τῆς πόλεω̣[ς θερ]μὸς προστάτης ||[20] καὶ κηδεμὼν ἐν [τ̣ῇ τῶν πρ]εσβυτέρων | καθέδρᾳ ἱδρυ̣[– –]ν ὄνομα δέ μοι | Δανιήλ : ὅς : τό[δε σῆ]μα ζῶν : *hedera* | ἑαυτῷ κατεσκ[εύασα]

While none of the remaining Christian epitaphs from Philippi match Daniel’s remarkable funerary mosaic, they nonetheless provide some insight into the social composition of the local Christian community. The fourth-century epitaphs of the teacher (διδάσκαλος) Kyriakos and of the manager (πραγματευτής) Severos seen in the previous section (if they were indeed Christians)[132] can probably be counted among the few Philippian examples

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καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ γνησίᾳ | συμβίῳ καὶ ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἀδελφῇ *hedera* | Ἀσπιλίᾳ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ + *hedera*. “The city of king Constantine brought me forth (and) sent me away to the (city) of Philip, (the king) of the Macedonians, whose residential church is renowned and proud of her apostolic bonds in Christ. Receiving me in her bosom, she brought (me) up nobly through her divine ordinances and hereditary support in a visible way and invisible (i.e., mental) way. The notoriously remembered Iakobos appointed me among the readers, while Demetrios, who was prudent throughout life in serving God and kings, led me into the assembly of deacons. And their successor and firm guardian of evangelical ordinances, Bisaltios, our God-given shepherd and fervent(?) leader and protector of our fatherland and city (seated me?) in the chair of presbyters. My name is Daniel, who prepared this tomb in my lifetime for myself and my lawful wife and sister in Christ, the revered Aspilia.” Cf. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 286–88 (no. 1, 1.34), with pls. 170–171. On the archaeological context, see ibid., 113–14, 286 (n. 1409), 288.

[130] See Lemerle, *Philippes*, 268–80. Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 413.

[131] This might be the same Demetrios mentioned by Procopius, *Goth.* 3.5. Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 271.

[132] See ICG 3252 and 3253 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 231 and 232) in nn. 66–67 above.

that record the occupation of the deceased—the phenomenon is more common in Christian inscriptions from Attica and the Corinthia.[133] Just as the "newly baptized Christian teacher" (διδάσκαλος χρηστιανὸς νεοφώτειστος) from Thessalonica,[134] Kyriakos was probably a school teacher (rather than an instructor of catechumens),[135] while Severos was likely an estate manager (*actor*/*vilicus*),[136] such as those mentioned in several Greek and Latin inscriptions from Philippi and Kavala.[137]

Only a few similar inscriptions mentioning occupations have been discovered at Philippi. One peculiar example is a circular hopscotch game (⌀ 1 m) by/for the butcher (μάγειρος) Ioannes that was inscribed on the floor of the northern hall of the *macellum* (before it was destroyed to make way for the basilica B in the sixth century), and which was adorned with two simple crosses likely indicating the shop owner's faith.[138] One of several board games found scattered around the forum and *macellum*,[139] it may have been intended as a *topos* inscription for Ioannes's meat shop or stall,[140] or simply to entertain bored customers and bystanders.[141] Ioannes, who was likely a butcher (rather than a cook),[142] is one of the few Christian μάγειροι known from Greece and

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[133] Sironen, "Early Christian Inscriptions from the Corinthia," 201–3.

[134] ICG 3141 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 123).

[135] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 195.

[136] Cf. Collart, *Philippes*, 289; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 197. Another Christian πραγματευτής named Nikandros is known at Philippi, but his epitaph has not been published yet. See Bakirtzis, "Ἔκθεση Παλαιοχριστιανικῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων," 95; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 18 (n. 84bis).

[137] E.g., *I.Philippi*^{2} 248, 333, 344, 432, 525.

[138] ICG 3250 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 229; BE 1948, no. 107; *I.Philippi*^{2} 247; AD IV–VI): † Ἰωάννου | † μαγ[ί]ρου. "(Game/place?) of Ioannes, butcher." The inscription is written in circular fashion around the game, one letter per slot. Concerning cross graffiti on the doorposts of individual shops, see the discussion in Jacobs, "Cross Graffiti," 186.

[139] Cf. Collart, *Philippes*, 362; Coupry, "Un joueur de marelle," 102 (n. 5); Sève and Weber, *Philippes*, 74–75. For a brief description of the *macellum* (53 × 27 m), see De Ruyt, *Macellum*, 133–37.

[140] The two crosses are particularly intriguing, their use being quite rare in public inscriptions before the fourth century (so Lemerle). They might have been meant to reassure potential customers that the meat sold met Christian dietary standards (i.e., that it had not been dedicated to pagan deities). On the significance of the other two crosses carved in the rock of the acropolis at Philippi, see below in sec. 2.4 and Lemerle, *Philippes*, 85–86 (with add., p. 519). On this type of inscriptions, see also Ascough, "Τόπος Inscriptions."

[141] Cf. Coupry, "Un joueur de marelle," 104–5. On this particular type of board games, see Lamer, "*Lusoria tabula*," 1987–88 (no. 45).

[142] Cf. Coupry, "Un joueur de marelle," 104; Robert, "Grèce centrale," 448 (n. 4). See also Rankin, *ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ*, 64–66.

Asia Minor,[143] a profession that is itself seldom mentioned in inscriptions in the Roman era.[144]

Equally exceptional is the "receiver" (ὑποδέκτης) Ioannes, the husband of the deaconess Agathe, who was also a linen-worker or seller (ὀθονίτης).[145] The nature of his responsibilities as a ὑποδέκτης are difficult to determine in the absence of a specific context and comparable epigraphic evidence.[146] Given his second vocation as an ὀθονίτης, Peter Pilhofer concluded that Ioannes held the office of church treasurer ("Kassierer ['Kirchmeister'?]"),[147] even though no mention of the church is made and the terms more commonly used to designate administrators of public or religious treasuries were either ταμίας (*quaestor* in Latin) or οἰκονόμος (especially in the church).[148] If he was indeed some kind of church treasurer, then he would have presumably been responsible for collecting donations and bequests, or perhaps funerary fines in the case of tomb desecrations.[149] But Ioannes could have equally been a "receiver" of imported products at a warehouse or, more likely, a tax or duty collector,[150] similar to those attested in papyri from the fourth century.[151]

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[143] See, e.g., *ICG* 1921 (*IG* II/III^2 5.13343; AD V–VI); *MAMA* 3.82 (AD V–VI). Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 194.

[144] The term is more frequently observed in inscriptions at Delphi and Olympia in relation to the performance of sacrifices. See Rankin, *ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ*, 55–64.

[145] *ICG* 3381 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 115; AD V): † Κυμιτίριον | διαφέροντα | Ἀγάθης δια|κόνου καὶ Ἰω||άν⟨ν⟩ου ὑποδέ|κτου κὲ ὠθο|νιτοῦ †. "Tomb belonging to Agathe, a deaconess, and to Ioannes, a 'receiver' (of public/church dues?) and linen-worker/seller(?)." The noun ὀθονίτης seems to derive from ὀθόνη ("fine linen or cloth"; cf. s.v. in LSJ and *PGL*). Feissel (*I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 18 n. 84bis) understands him to be a "marchand de toile"—Philippi was certainly not known as a production center for the textile industry. Cf. Mentzu-Meimare, *Συμβολαί*, 107–8; Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain," 90–92; Labarre and Le Dinahet, "Les métiers du textile," 59. An unpublished epitaph for another Ioannes, which features a large Latin cross with foliage at its foot, is also on display at the archaeological museum of Philippi.

[146] The term is rarely attested in comparison to ἀποδέκτης, which is commonly found in Attic inscriptions from the Classical and Hellenistic periods (e.g., *IG* I^3 84, ll. 16–17; *IG* II/III^3 1.298, l. 43).

[147] *I.Philippi*^{2}, p. 122. Cf. Abrahamsen, "Women at Philippi," 23 (n. 22): "treasury official."

[148] Cf. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises*, 135–41. But see *PGL*, s.v. ὑποδέκτης.

[149] Cf. *ICG* 3252 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 231), 3253 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 232), 3289A (*I.Philippi*^{2} 125A). On the administration of church finances in late antiquity, see esp. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 894–910.

[150] Feissel understands him to be a "percepteur," which is the sense more commonly encountered in literary sources (e.g., John Chrysostom, *Laz.* 4.4 [PG 48:988: *exactor*]; *hom. in Mt.* 85.4 [PG 58:762: *exceptores*]; Justinian, *Novellae* 163.2 [Schoell: *susceptor*]). See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 18 (n. 84bis). Cf. *PGL*, s.v. ὑποδέκτης.

[151] E.g., *P.Col.* 7.150, 161 (Karanis, AD 347–351). Cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 222–25; Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, 212–15.

Rather less ambiguous is the (common) occupation of Alexandros, a builder or architect (οἰκοδόμος) whose sizeable marble tombstone was found reemployed in the eastern necropolis.[152] Given that the term could refer to a range of building activities and implies varying levels of knowledge and experience, Alexandros might have simply been a builder with basic training and no significant responsibility on construction sites. Alternatively, he might have been one of the accomplished workers or foremen from Constantinople or Thessalonica who were likely employed to build one of the basilicas erected in Philippi between the fourth and sixth centuries.[153] Little else is known of the economic activities of the Philippian Christians, and not much can be deduced about their involvement in the military either, which is known to have drawn large numbers from Macedonia.[154] One reemployed epitaph found in basilica B does indicate that a Christian woman named Theodora, a "slave of God" (δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ), was married to a centurion of Greek origin.[155] However, nothing is said about her husband Agroikios. If he did share her faith, then he would be one of the very few Christian military officers attested in Macedonia.[156]

Theodora's epitaph is one of six inscriptions found reemployed in the large sixth-century basilica B, the so-called Direkler basilica erected immediately south of the forum.[157] Others include the imposing marble stele of the devout *lector* Aresias, the second known liturgist at Philippi whose tombstone was as carefully engraved as that of Theodora.[158] By comparison, the remaining few inscriptions retrieved from the basilica B and the *extra muros* basilica are roughly cut, cheaply decorated, and without any refined formulary, which suggests a relative decline in the local epigraphic habit in the late fifth and sixth centuries.[159] This is no more evident than with the unadorned epitaphs of the two men named Philokyrios and of Eutychiane,[160] which lack any ostentatious symbols. By contrast, Petros's marble stele features a carefully incised Latin cross splitting the inscription in half,[161] while that of Euodiane and Dorothea displays a large Maltese cross at the top.[162] These epitaphs nonetheless highlight further the predominantly Greek character of the church in late antiquity.[163] Herakleon,[164] Kyriakos and Nikandra,[165] Harmodios and Charidemos,[166] Alexandra and Glyker(i)os (or Glykeria?), whose tombstone was decorated with a poorly executed cross with unequal branches,[167] obviously all bore common Greek names.

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[152] *ICG* 3269 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 248; *SEG* 30.584; *I.Philippi*^{2} 116; AD V–VI): † Μνῆμα | Ἀλεξάν|δρου οἰ|κοδόμου || καὶ τῆ⟨ς⟩ συν|βίου αὐτοῦ | ἅμα τῇ γλυ|κυτάτῃ μη|τρ{ρ}ί {ι}. "Tomb of Alexandros, builder, and his wife, together with his dearest mother."

[153] Cf. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain," 79. See also Mentzu-Meimare, *Συμβολαί*, 169–76; Orlandos and Travlos, *Λεξικόν*, s.v. οἰκοδόμος; Hellmann, *Recherches*, 296–97.

[154] Sarikakis, "Des soldats Macédoniens."

[155] *ICG* 3267 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 246; *I.Philippi*^{2} 268; AD IV–V): + Ἐνθάδε κῖτε | ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θ̣(εο)ῦ | Θεοδώρα γαμ̣η̣τὴ̣ | Ἀγρυκίου κεντυ̣|ρίων̣ο̣ς̣. "Here lies the servant of God, Theodora, wife of Agroikios, a centurion." A cross with vine leaves on both sides was once visible at the top of the stele. Pilhofer (*I.Philippi*^{2}, p. 332) noted the presence of an unpublished Christian Latin inscription lying next to it in the narthex of basilica B.

[156] Others include the ταξεώτης Demetrios from Thessalonica (*ICG* 3169; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 149), the *protector* and *comes Valentinus* from Beroea (*ICG* 3643; *I.Beroia* 438), the *eparchos* Stephanos and the *optio* Ioannes from Edessa (*ICG* 3602; *I.Kato Maked.* II 336), and the *spectabilis* Romylos from Diocletianopolis (*ICG* 3700; *I.Ano Maked.* 203).

[157] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 101–3. For a detailed description of basilica B, see Lemerle, *Philippes*, 415–513.

[158] *ICG* 3263 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 242; *I.Philippi*^{2} 292; AD V–VI): + Κοιμητήρι[ον] | διαφέροντα̣ | Ἀρεσίου τοῦ εὐ|λαβεστάτου | ἀναγνώστου καὶ | τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ. "Tomb belonging to Aresias, the most devout *lector*, and to his wife."

No other Christian inscription seems to have been recovered from basilica B. The last known Christian epitaph from the eastern suburb of Philippi is that of the deaconess (διακόνισσα) Posidonia and the canoness (κανονική) Pancharia, whose Hellenistic-styled stele also features three Maltese crosses at the top underneath its pediment.[168] Little is known of canonesses, who may have been celibate (ascetic?) women involved in charitable works and funeral

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[159] Cf. Lemerle, "Inscriptions," 160.

[160] *ICG* 3270 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 249; *I.Philippi*^{2} 308; AD V–VI): Μεμόριον | Φιλοκυρί|ου καὶ Εὐ|τυχιανῆς. "Tomb of Philokyrios and Eutychiane."—*ICG* 3382 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 123; *SEG* 34.667; *BE* 1987, no. 445; AD V–VI): Μεμόριον Φιλοκυρί[ου]. "Tomb of Philokyrios."

[161] *ICG* 3266 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 245; *I.Philippi*^{2} 293; AD V–VI): † [Κοι]μη||[τή]ριο|ν | Πέτρου | ΔΥΓΑ+. "Tomb of Petros …?"

[162] *ICG* 3380 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 114; AD V–VI): ✠ Κυμ(ητήριον) Εὐοδι|ανῆς κέ Δω|ροθέας. "Tomb of Euodiane and Dorothea."

[163] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 102.

[164] *ICG* 3271 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 250; *I.Philippi*^{2} 110; *SEG* 19.450; AD V–VI): † Ἑρακλέ|ωνο̣[ς] | μιμό[ριον] | ἐν τῳ̣[....]. "Monument of Herakleon."

[165] *ICG* 3264 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 243; *I.Philippi*^{2} 274; AD IV–V): † Κοιμητ̣ή̣|ριον Κυρια̣|κοῦ καὶ Νικ[ά]|ν̣δ̣ρ̣α̣ς̣. "Tomb of Kyriakos and Nikandra."

[166] *ICG* 4455 (*AE* 2018, no. 1448; AD IV–VI): Κοιμ(ητήριον) Ἁρ̣μωδ̣ίου | κ(αὶ) Χαριδήμου | ὃ ἠγοράσαμε[ν] | παρὰ Μαρτυρίου || πληρώσαντες | τὰς τιμάς. "Tomb of Harmodios and Charidemos, which we bought from Martyrios, having paid the full price."

[167] *ICG* 3265 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 244; *I.Philippi*^{2} 275; AD V–VI): + Κοιμητ(ήριον) | Ἀλεξά(ν)|δρας κ(αὶ) Γλ[υ]|κερ[ίου(?)]. "Tomb of Alexandra and Glykerios(?)." Note the unusual order of the deceased's names here: the female precedes the male, which suggests that the former was the mother of the latter (rather than his wife).

[168] *ICG* 3262 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 241; *I.Philippi*^{2} 077; AD IV–V): ✠ ✠ ✠ | + κοιμ(ητήριον) διαφέρ|οντα Ποσιδω|νίας διακ(ονίσσης) κ(αὶ) Πα|νχαρίας ἐλαχ(ίστης) | κανονικῆς ✠. "Tomb belonging to Posidonia, the deaconess, and to Pancharia, the most humble *kanonike*."

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FIGURE 5 *ICG* 3380 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 114): epitaph of Euodiane and Dorothea, archaeological museum of Philippi
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU; © HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS

services.[169] Along with the deaconess Agathe mentioned above,[170] Posidonia and Pancharia are the only two female church officers attested at Philippi, which in turn makes it difficult to assess the role and significance of women in the eastern Macedonian church.

2.4 *Apotropaic Inscriptions*

A detailed survey of the Christian epigraphic evidence from the city of Philippi would not be complete without examining the two badly damaged, fifth- or sixth-century, apotropaic inscriptions discovered outside the eastern Neapolis gate. The first document, which consists of three small marble fragments, appears to have been an invocation to Christ and the Virgin Mary and includes a short prayer for the divine protection of the city and its inhabitants: "[Lord Jesus Christ, born of the] Virgin Mary, crucified [because of us, help] this [city] to stand for all [time and keep its] inhabitants in you for [your] glory."[171] The restored text by Henri Grégoire is rather unusual (for an inscriptions placed at a city gate), but the prayer does present some similarities with contemporary liturgy and with a shorter invocation found at Amphipolis.[172]

The second inscription, which is now lost, consists of a very fragmented marble copy of Abgar's two-part correspondence with Jesus. It belongs to a rich and complex tradition of apocryphal letters translated in several languages and preserved on various media (i.e., parchment, ostracon, stone, and metal) during the late antique and Byzantine eras.[173] The following restoration by Denis Feissel is based on two very similar epigraphic versions from Ephesus and Gurdju (Pontus),[174] as well as on Eusebius's fourth-century copy.[175] Part A, which is made up of nine fragments, contains Abgar's initial letter to Jesus and his request for healing:[176]

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[169] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 92–93; Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia*, 665–67; Eisen, *Amtsträgerinnen*, 183–84.

[170] *ICG* 3381 (*I.Philippi²* 115).

[171] *ICG* 3244 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 223; *I.Philippi²* 130; AD V–VI): [Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς π]ạρ̣θέ|νου Μαρ̣ί̣ας̣ σ̣ταυρ̣[ωθεὶς δι᾽ ἡμᾶς, βοήθει τῇ πόλ]ε̣ι ταύτῃ | στῆναι εἰς ἅπαντ̣[α χρόνον καὶ φύλαξον τοὺς ἐ]ν̣ σοὶ κατο[ι]|κ̣οῦντας εἰς δόξ̣α̣[ν σου]. *vac* [–] παρθέν[–]. The vertical bars here indicate the borders between fragments A and B, and not the end of the lines.

[172] See *SEG* 47.881 in n. 257 below.

[173] More than one hundred literary *testimonia* attest to the legend. See von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 158*–249*. Cf. id., "Briefwechsel"; Picard, "Abgar," 49–50; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 87–88.

[174] *I.Ephesos* 46 (AD V–VI); *Studia Pontica* III 211 (AD IV?). Another fragment of Jesus's response has been found at Hadji Keui (Pontus). Cf. Picard, "Abgar," 42, 52; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 89. See also von Dobschütz, "Briefwechsel," 422–26; Grégoire, *I.Chr. Asie Mineure*, pp. 37–39.

[175] Eusebius, *h.e.* 1.13 (cf. 2.1.6–8). A fourth incomplete Greek inscription found in a cave near Edessa (Osroene) along with a papyrus copy from Nessana (*P.Ness.* 2.7) testify of the sixth-century editorial work that produced the final *epistula Abgari.* The first epigraphic

A. *vac*
[+ Ἄβγα]ρ̣ος Οὐχαμᾶ τοπάρχης Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ἀ̣[γαθῷ σ(ωτῆ)ρι ἀναφανέντι]
[ἐν πόλει Ἱ]ε̣ρ̣οσολύμων χαίρειν̣. [*vac*]
[Ἤκουσταί μ]ο̣ι̣ τὰ περὶ σοῦ κ(αὶ) τῶν σῶ̣[ν ἰαμάτων, ὡς ἄνευ]
[βοταν]ῶ̣ν κ(αὶ) φαρ̣μ̣άκων ὑπὸ σοῦ γι̣[νομένων, – – – – – – – –]
[– λόγ]ῳ̣ τυφλοὺς ἀναβ̣λ̣έπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς̣ [περιπατεῖν, *vac*?]
[κ(αὶ) λεπρο]ὺ̣ς καθαρ[ίζεις] κ̣(αὶ) ἀκάθα̣ρ̣τ̣α̣ [πνεύματα ἐκβάλλεις κ(αὶ)]
[τοὺς ἐν μ]α̣κρονοσί̣[α̣ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις.]
[Ταῦτ]α̣ π̣ά[ν]τ̣α̣ ἀ̣κ̣ο̣ύ̣[σας περὶ σοῦ, – – – – – – – – – –]
ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς [– – – – – ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ποιῶν]
ταῦτα. Ἰδού, [– – – – – – ἐδεήθην σου σκυλῆναι πρός με]
κ̣(αὶ) τὸ πάθος [ὃ ἔχω θεραπεῦσαι. – καταγογγύζου-]
σ̣ί̣ν σου κ(αὶ) ὑ̣[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –πόλις]
μικροτ̣[άτη μοί ἐστι κ(αὶ) σεμνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις. +]

> [Abgar], son of Ouchama, toparch, to Jesus, [(the) good savior who appeared in the city of] Jerusalem, greetings. *vac* [I have heard] about you and your [healings] that you performed [without plants] and remedies. [By your word] you make the blind to see again, the lame [to walk, *vac*?], you purify [the lepers], and [expel] impure [spirits], [and heal those afflicted] by a long illness. Having heard all [these] things [about you … I became convinced that] you are either God [… or the son of God who does] these things. Behold, [I have prayed to you to trouble yourself with me] and [to heal] the affliction I have … [(I have heard that the Jews) murmur] against you and […? I have] a tiny [and respectable city, which is enough for both (of us).]

Part B, whose size cannot be determined precisely as only four small fragments have survived, features Jesus's response to Abgar. It was written in larger and slightly more spaced-out letters, as if to highlight the importance of Jesus's reply.[177] It likely closed with a promise to protect the city, an important clause

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copy (in Sahidic) ever discovered was on a Coptic tomb near Faras, in the Nubian desert. See Picard, "Abgar," 50; *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 186.

[176] ICG 3243 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 222; *I.Philippi*^{2} 131; AD V–VI). Cf. Picard, "Abgar," 41–69; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 87–90.

[177] Picard, "Abgar," 48.

of inviolability that also concluded the Ephesian and Gurdju copies,[178] but which was probably unknown to Eusebius (who used an earlier Syriac version obtained from the local archives of Edessa):[179]

B.
[+ Μακάριος εἶ πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ ἑορα-]
[κώς με· γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἑο-]
[ρακότας με μὴ πιστεύσειν ἐν ἐμοὶ κ(αὶ) ἵνα]
[οἱ μὴ ἑορακότες με αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσι κ(αὶ)]
[ζήσον]ṭạ[ι· περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν]
[πρός] σε δẹ́[ον ἐστὶ πάντα δι᾽ ἃ ἀπεστάλην]
[ἐνταῦθ]α πλη̣[ρῶσαι κ(αὶ) οὕτως ἀναληφθῆναι]
[πρὸς τ]ὸν ἀπ[οστείλαντά με – – – – – – – κ(αὶ)]
[ἐπει]δ̣ὰν ἀν[αληφθῶ – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[ἀποσ]τέλλω σ[οί τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου ἵνα?]
[ζω]ὴ̣ν αἰών[ιον κ(αὶ) εἰρήνην κ(αὶ) σοὶ κ(αὶ) τοῖς]
[σ]ὺν σοὶ π[αράσχηται κ(αὶ) τῇ πό]λ̣ε̣ι̣ σο[υ –]
[–] π̣ρὸς τὸ̣ [μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶ]ν σου [ἐξου-]
[σίαν τ]α̣ύ̣τ̣[ης ἔχειν ἢ σχεῖν π]ο̣τ̣[ε. +]

> [Blessed are you who have believed in me without having seen me. For it is written about me (that) those who have seen me will not believe in me, and (that) those who have not seen me will believe and live. And concerning the (letter) that you wrote to me, to come to] you, [it is necessary] to fulfil [all the things for which I was sent here and thus to be taken up to] the one who sent [me … and] when(?) I am taken up […?] I send [to you one of my disciples so that(?)] eternal life [and peace (may be) to you and to those] with you, [and to] your city […] so that [none of] your [enemies may gain power] (over) it [or seize it].

The third-century origins and development of the Abgar tradition need not concern us here, as these questions have been examined at great length elsewhere.[180] What is more important to consider is the actual purpose of the letter, which remains the only exemplar discovered at a city gate.[181] Whether parts A and B were engraved on the same plate next to each other, or on separate plates on either side of the gate, is not entirely clear. What the letter's final clause (frag. B, ll. 12–14) and actual display location strongly suggest, however, is that it fulfilled an apotropaic function, function which is well attested in Greek and Syrian traditions as the letter became increasingly employed as an amulet to ward off evil and diseases from the fourth century onward.[182]

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[178] Picard, "Abgar," 51. The clause was likely due to Syrian influence and probably date from the late fourth century. See von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 102–4; id., "Briefwechsel," 423; Picard, "Abgar," 52–53. Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 189.

[179] Eusebius, *h.e.* 1.13. On the origin of Eusebius's copy, see von Dobschütz, "Briefwechsel," 433, 448, 454.

[180] The fundamental study remains von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 102–96 and 158*–249*. See also id., "Briefwechsel," 422–86; Picard, "Abgar"; DACL 1:87–97; Kirsten, "Edessa," 588–93; Drijvers, "Abgarsage."

The copy at the eastern Neapolis gate may thus have been put on display as a kind of palladium to safeguard the city against potential invaders, who, ironically, would later come from the north (and not the east) between the fifth and the seventh centuries.[183] But it could have also been meant in a more general prophylactic manner,[184] or to supplant pagan apotropaic deities that were commonly honored with statues or altars in niches of city gates throughout Macedonia and the island of Thasos.[185] The large altar dedicated to Isis for the safety of the colony (*pro salute coloniae*),[186] which was discovered by the same eastern gate, is a good example of such pagan cultic practices, which the Philippian Christians sought to "exorcize" by subsequently engraving a cross and a dove on its right lateral face.[187]

Similar acts of consecration (or of spatial appropriation) are also attested on the acropolis, where two Latin crosses were cut into the face of the cliff overlooking the many votive reliefs dedicated to Artemis/Diana.[188] The first one was roughly incised right above the reliefs themselves, while the second one was engraved with a more confident hand, in a neatly carved square frame (similar to that used for pagan votives), on the right-hand side of the ramp leading up to the Egyptian sanctuary.[189] Their position vis-à-vis the reliefs suggests that they may have played an apotropaic role as well, unless they were simply meant to purify the acropolis where pagan cults had been celebrated since Hellenistic times at least.[190] Whatever their real purpose may have been, these two crosses and the two apotropaic inscriptions at the Neapolis gate further illustrate how Philippi was progressively Christianized in late antiquity as some, perhaps the majority, of its inhabitants reappropriated for themselves ancient sacred spaces and placed their city under the protection of Christ and of the Virgin Mary.[191]

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[181] Cf. Picard, "Abgar," 56.

[182] The Nubian and, possibly, the Edessan copies, which were both found in necropoleis, suggest its protective power might have been applied to the netherworld as well. The Ephesian version, which was discovered engraved on the lintel of a house, illustrates its apotropaic usage in private dwellings. The Abgar legend itself developed from an alleged incident related by the bishop of Edessa to the *pélerine d'Aquitaine*, during which the original letter had supposedly been brandished to put to flight a besieging Persian army. The autographed document was then kept as some sort of talisman, before being copied, distributed, and employed in a similar way throughout the Latin West and the Greek East. See von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 104–9, 178–79; id., "Briefwechsel," 467–85; Picard, "Abgar," 43, 53, 56–57; Collart, *Philippes*, 466–68; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 87–88; Kirsten, "Edessa," 590–91.

[183] Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 89–90, 106–18.

[184] So Lemerle, *Philippes*, 89–90.

[185] See Picard, "Abgar," 59–63; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 90. Reliefs of the Dioscuri may have also been displayed at the Golden gate in Thessalonica. See Edson, "Cults of Thessalonica," 199–204.

[186] *I.Philippes* 23 (mid-AD II).

[187] It is not entirely clear whether the altar was initially erected by the gate (so Brélaz, *I.Philippes*, p. 118), or in the Egyptian sanctuary on the slopes of the acropolis, from which it may have been moved later on (so Picard, "Les dieux de la colonie," 182–83 n. 7). Cf. Collart, *Philippes*, 467.

2.5 *Christian Monumental Architecture*

The desire to Christianize Philippi with ecclesiastical monuments is further evidenced by the vast building program that transformed the central civic landscape in late antiquity.[192] Beside the basilica of Paul, the Octagon, and the *extra muros* churches mentioned previously,[193] a total of four basilicas were constructed within the city walls in the late fifth and sixth centuries. Most impressive among them are basilicas A and B excavated in the 1930s, which enclosed the forum to the north and south (while the Octagon edged it to the east).

Built in the late fifth or the early sixth century, basilica A (55 × 39.5 m) featured a monumental propylaeum and a large atrium (39 × 30 m) paved in marble

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[188] Collart and Ducrey, *Les reliefs rupestres*, 246 nos. 162–163 (with p. 182, figs. 198–199).

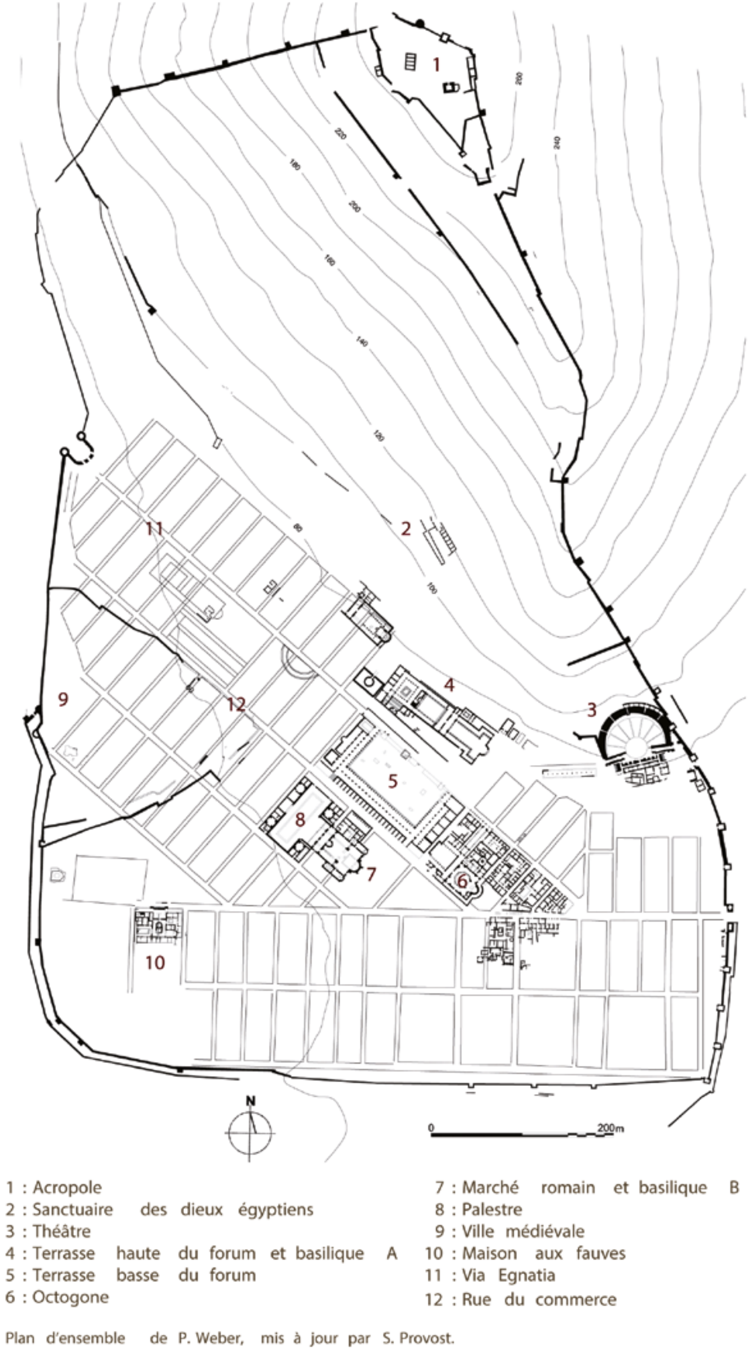
[189] See Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéologique*, 85–86 (pl. IV.9); Picard, "Les dieux de la colonie," 200; Collart, *Philippes*, 466–67 (pl. LXXXIII.1 and 2); Collart and Ducrey, *Les reliefs rupestres*, 182–83 (with nn. 162–163 and figs. 198–199), 246. Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 85.

[190] Cf. Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéologique*, 86; Collart and Ducrey, *Les reliefs rupestres*, 32, 246; Lemerle, *Philippes*, 85. Tsochos (*Makedonien*, 45) remains unsure about the significance of these crosses. But see the general discussion in Jacobs, "Cross Graffiti." On the pagan votives themselves, see Picard, "Les dieux de la colonie," 117–201; Collart and Ducrey, *Les reliefs rupestres*.

[191] A Byzantine cross was also engraved within a niche on a supporting stone of the Krenides gate. See Roger, "Philippes," 33 (pl. XII.A). Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 86.

[192] For recent overviews, see Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 67–87; Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes"; Sève, "Philippes en Macédoine," 197–202. Cf. Pelekanidis, "Οι Φίλιπποι"; Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 261–62.

[193] Cf. sec. 2.1 and 2.3 above.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0
200m
1 : Acropole
2 : Sanctuaire des dieux égyptiens
3 : Théâtre
4 : Terrasse haute du forum et basilique A
5 : Terrasse basse du forum
6 : Octogone
7 : Marché romain et basilique B
8 : Palestre
9 : Ville médiévale
10 : Maison aux fauves
11 : Via Egnatia
12 : Rue du commerce
Plan d'ensemble de P. Weber, mis à jour par S. Provost.

FIGURE 6 Christian monuments of Philippi in late antiquity
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(a feature that has been associated with pilgrimage activity).[194] Extending over the entire upper esplanade (where temples dedicated to the Capitoline Triad had presumably stood),[195] the massive transept structure would have effectively dominated the entire civic landscape on the northern side. Sadly, little has survived of the two-storeyed, three-aisled monument apart from marble columns, stylobates, and capitals, and no inscription has been recovered *in situ* either on stone or on mosaics. This is likely due to its brutal destruction (possibly following an earthquake) and the reemployment of some of its architectural elements as construction material in basilica B.[196]

Later in the sixth century, basilica A was matched on the opposite, southern side of the forum by an equally impressive basilica B (ca. 40 × 30 m), the so-called Direkler (i.e., "column") basilica, which was erected on top of the *macellum* and palaestra.[197] Slightly shorter than basilica A, it was built in the Constantinopolitan style characterizing Justinianic cupola basilicas (such as the Hagia Sophia) by using a significant number of architectural elements from earlier Roman monuments. It is unlikely that it was ever put in service, however, as the cupola appears to have collapsed before the basilica was finished (probably as a result of an earthquake in the 620s),[198] and since the *naos* (with its pavement, altar, and *synthronon*) and the atrium were never completed.

Finally, a third basilica (C) has been partially excavated on the southwestern slopes of the acropolis (next to the modern museum), immediately west of basilica A, while a sixth-century(?) basilica (D, 46 × 22 m?) has been tentatively identified further to the west of the city.[199] Probably constructed in the early sixth century initially, the three-aisled structure (38.20 × 27.50 m) was converted into a transept basilica in the middle of the sixth century. It was fitted with luxurious marble revetment and featured two ambos, including one shaped like a fan that was similar to that found in the Rotunda at Thessalonica.[200]

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[194] For a detailed study, see Lemerle, *Philippes*, 281–412. Cf. Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1529–33; Rizos, "*Paulus et Sileas*," 110–16.

[195] On the site itself, see Lemerle, *Philippes*, 283–90. It remains unclear to which deities these temples were dedicated. See Sève and Weber, *Philippes*, 19–20, 32–38. Cf. id., "Le côté Nord" (see esp. pp. 579–81).

[196] Lemerle, *Philippes*, 289.

[197] Lemerle, *Philippes*, 415–513. Cf. Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1536–40.

[198] Lemerle, *Philippes*, 424–25. Cf. Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1538.

[199] Provost and Boyd, "Philippes, les quartiers Sud-Ouest," 492–96; id., "Philippes, les quartiers Ouest," 460–69. The epitaph of Aurelios Kapiton (*ICG* 3254; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 233) was found reemployed in the cemetery adjacent to the Byzantine chapel that was built in the ruins of basilica D.

[200] Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "Η ανασκαφή στη βασιλική του Μουσείου"; ead., "Η βασιλική του Μουσείου Φιλίππων"; ead., "Οἱ δύο ἄμβωνες"; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Marki,

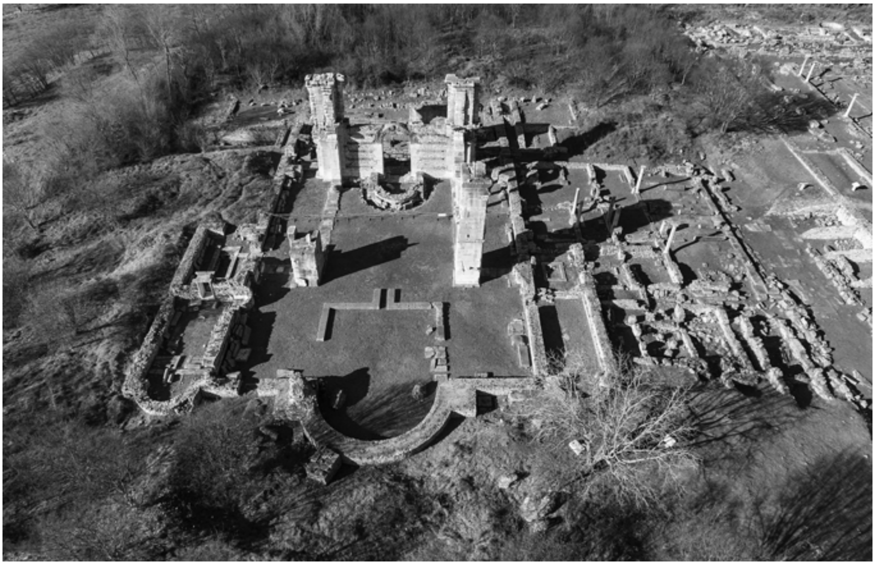

FIGURE 7 Basilica B, Philippi
PHOTO BY N. STOURNARAS; © HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS

As at Stobi, which counted no fewer than four *intra muros* basilicas,[201] the number of churches at Philippi in the sixth century appears to have exceeded the liturgical needs of the local population, even though it is not clear how long basilica A was in use and whether basilica B was ever inaugurated. This suggests that the city had become an important pilgrimage center in late antiquity, and a major stopover for anyone traveling to and from Constantinople on the *via Egnatia*.[202] Whether, as has been argued, each and every single basilica corresponded to a specific stage of a liturgical procession that commemorated a particular episode of Paul's initial stay in the colony is debatable.[203] What is nonetheless apparent is that Philippi remained strongly attached to its apostolic heritage in late antiquity, and indeed sought to capitalize on it.

"Des innovations liturgiques et architecturales." Cf. Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1532–36; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 150 (no. 98).

[201] Cf. sec. 2.2–3 in chap. 7 below.

[202] See esp. Rizos, "*Paulus et Sileas*."

[203] See Mentzos, "Ζητήματα τοπογραφίας"; id., "Paul and Philippi." Cf. Sodini, "L'architecture religieuse de Philippes," 1541; Rizos, "*Paulus et Sileas*," 115–16. But see the critique in Brélaz, "Authority of Paul's Memory," 256–57.

2.6 *Inscriptions from the Philippian Territory*

The Christian epigraphic material outside of Philippi is rather scarce and dispersed throughout the rural territory of the colony, primarily in villages around the Pangaion mountain. Apart from an undated seal from Rhodolivos (which may have belonged to the territory of Amphipolis)[204] and the late boundary stone found fortuitously near Argyroupolis mentioned earlier,[205] most of the evidence consists of simply carved epitaphs from the southwestern part of the territory that can be approximately dated to the fifth and sixth centuries. Two inscriptions, however, were discovered on the northwestern slopes of the Pangaion overlooking the Angites valley, in the villages of Proti and Rhodolivos. The first one, which was found in the narthex of the church of the Great Taxiarchs at Rhodolivos, was set up for a man who may have been a citizen of Philippi and was named after the Carthaginian martyr Cyprian.[206] Inscribed around a large footed cross, it evokes the kingship of Christ (βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) and was dated according to the regnal year of an unknown emperor—both formulas are rarely, if ever, included. The second inscription, which appears to be equally late and was found reused as a stepping stone in a *metochion* of the monastery of Kosinitza at Proti, was erected for a *lector* named Philippos.[207] While these two isolated stones and other archaeological remains suggest that Christianity had penetrated deeper into the rural hinterland by late antiquity, they may have actually come from Philippi or Amphipolis, the two main urban centers of the region.[208] In other words, Philippos could well have officiated at one of the major churches at Philippi or Amphipolis, unless he served at one of the two sixth-century basilicas uncovered underneath the modern chapels of Hagia Marina and Hagia Paraskevi at nearby Mikro Souli.[209]

Further evidence of the diffusion of Christianity throughout the Philippian territory has been found in the form of a three-aisled basilica (24.70 × 17 m) at Kipia, at the eastern end of the Pierian plain stretching between the Pangaion and Symbolon. Erected around the sixth century a few hundred meters away from the ruins of the Hellenistic-Roman sanctuary of the Hero Auloneites,[210] it remained in use well into the sixth or seventh century when it was probably destroyed by an earthquake.[211] Three rather similar, sixth-century inscriptions for the "most devout" (θεοφιλέστατος) local presbyters have emerged from graves located in the narthex of the basilica.[212] Of the three, that of Basilios is the simplest and shortest,[213] while those of Stephanos and Petros conclude with a typical imprecation that tomb desecrators shall give an account to God here on earth and on the day of judgment (δόσι λόγον Θεῷ ὃδε καὶ ἐν ἡμέρα κρίσεως).[214]

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[204] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 396.

[205] See *ICG* 3293 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 594) and 3245 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 224) in nn. 29 and 126 above.

[206] *ICG* 3241 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 220; *SEG* 35.762; *I.Philippi*^{2} 591; AD VI?): +Ἔνθα κῖτε Κυπριανὸς Φι[– με]|τὰ τῖς συμβί(ου) αὐτο[ῦ –]|ρήας, βασιλεύοντο[ς – τοῦ] | Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(η)σ(ο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐπὴ βασιλέος [–]. “Here lies Kyprianos [from Philippi?] with his wife … (Maria?), when our Lord Jesus Christ was king, under the reign of …(?).”

[207] *ICG* 3242 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 221; *I.Philippi*^{2} 583; AD V–VI?): Φιλί|ππου | ἀναγν(ώστου). “(Tomb) of Philippos, *lector*.”

[208] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 17.

[209] Architectural elements have also been retrieved at Angista and Rhodolivos. See Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 198 (no. 229), 202–3 (nos. 235–236), 205 (no. 240). Cf. Papazotos, “Τα χριστιανικά μνημεία.”

As with Philippi, the absence of a precise dating prevents the establishment of a clear chronology of the presbyterian offices at Kipia. What can only be deduced is that a Christian community existed in the fertile plain of Pieria between the fourth and the seventh centuries. It must have populated the entire plain stretching from Kipia to Galepsos (near modern Kariani) at the opposite western end, as remains of late antique basilicas were unearthed ten to fifteen kilometers northeast of Kariani at Podochori and in a field two kilometers north of Akropotamos.[215] A vase offering inscribed with a prayer was also discovered in the wall of a house at Kariani.[216] Christians must have lived along the coast from Galepsos to Neapolis (modern Kavala), but no firm trace of their presence appears to have been found outside of a large number of architectural elements (likely originating from late antique basilicas), which were reused in later churches and buildings at Kavala.[217]

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[210] See recently Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Malamidou, "Hero Auloneites." Cf. Tsochos, *Makedonien*, 76–80; Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia*, 338–44.

[211] See Bakirtzis, "Ανασκαφή Παλαιοχριστιανικής Βασιλικής στο Παγγαίο"; id., "A propos de la destruction de la basilique paléochrétienne de Kipia"; id., "End of Antiquity," 125. Cf. Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 142 no. 85.

[212] A fragment of a fourth tombstone was also discovered in the nave of the basilica. See *ICG* 3386 (*I.Philippi*^{2} 633; AD VI): [–]NAI[–].

[213] *ICG* 3294 (*SEG* 42.608A; *I.Philippi*^{2} 630; AD IV): † Κοιμιτίριον τοῦ | θεοφιλ(εστάτου) Βασιλίου πρ(εσ)β(υτέρου). "Tomb of the most devout presbyter Basilios."

[214] *ICG* 3295 (*SEG* 42.608B; *I.Philippi*^{2} 631; AD VI): † Κοιμητήριον | τοῦ θειοφ(ι)λ(εστάτου) Στε|φάνου πρ(ε)σβ(υτέρου). ὅσ|τις ἐπειβουλεύ||σει, δόσι λόγον Θ(ε)ῷ ὃδε κ(αὶ) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ | κρίσεος †. "Tomb of the most devout presbyter Stephanos. Whoever deals treacherously (with this tomb) shall give an account to God here (in this world) and on the day of judgment."—*ICG* 3296 (*SEG* 41.572C; *I.Philippi*^{2} 632; AD VI): † Κοιμητήριον τοῦ | θεοφιλ(εστάτου) Πέτρου πρ(εσ)β(υτέρου). | ὅστις ἐπειβου|λεύσετει ἕτερον θόσει, δόσι λό||γον τῷ θ(ε)ῷ ὃδε κ(αὶ) | ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεος †. "Tomb of the most devout presbyter Petros. Whoever plots to lay another (corpse in this tomb) shall give an account to God here (in this world) and on the day of judgment."

[215] Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 130 (no. 64), 146–47 (no. 94). Cf. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 268–70 (no. I, 1.28), with pls. 101–115.

[216] *ICG* 3238 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 217; *SEG* 56.706; AD V–VI): [–] μέμνησθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσενέγκαντ[ος –]. "... remember the donor (of this offering) ..." Feissel (*I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 17) remarks that the inscription could have also come from nearby Amphipolis, whose

Little other evidence attesting to a Christian presence in the area has survived except for two late fragmentary epitaphs found reused in a house at Moustheni, some ten kilometers west of Kipia, and in a church at Eleftheroupolis (where remnants of a late antique basilica have been identified),[218] some five kilometers east of Kipia—both might have actually originated from Philippi.[219] The first was likely set up for a deacon, whose name (Primasios?) was commemorated by an elaborate monogram, and included a final imprecation comparable to those observed on Stephanos's and Petros's tombstones.[220] A similar threat may have also concluded the second epitaph, which was crudely carved in the shape of a cross.[221] The (apparent) systematic use of such imprecations in the Christian epigraphy around Kipia is noteworthy and unlike anything observed elsewhere in Macedonia. It contrasts with the evidence from Philippi where fine threats are more common,[222] and could be explained by a certain Asian influence on the funerary formulary from southeastern Macedonia.[223]

The diffusion of Christianity to the north-northwest of Philippi is even more poorly documented. Other than the boundary stone of Maurentios mentioned earlier,[224] no significant early Christian epigraphic evidence seems to have emerged from the highlands north of the plain of Drama. Traces of late antique basilicas and architectural elements have nonetheless been discovered in the court of the church of the Taxiarchs at Drama, at a site two

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territory might have also encompassed Galepsos, according to Papazoglou (*Les villes de Macédoine*, 396).

[217] Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 140 (no. 83). Cf. *TIB* 11:350–54.

[218] Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 130 (no. 67).

[219] See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 17.

[220] *ICG* 3239 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 218; *SEG* 2.416; *I.Philippi*^{2} 613; Moustheni, AD V–VI): [– δια-]| κό(νου) (monogram) *vac*(?). | Ἐάν τις ἄ[λλο σῶμα] | ὁ͂δε θ̣ωσι (*sic*) δώσ̣ι̣ [λόγον] | *vac* τῷ θ(ε)ῷ̣. "[Tomb …] of the deacon (Primasios?). … If someone lays [another corpse] here, s/he shall render [an account] to God." On the monogram, see *BE* 1987, no. 432.

[221] *ICG* 3240 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 219; *I.Philippi*^{2} 634; Eleftheroupolis, AD V–VI): Κυμητή̣[ριον] | Μάρκου [–] | ὥστης ἐ̣[πιχειρή]|ση̣ ΘΟΥ[–], | δώσ[ει λόγον θ(ε)ῷ̣]. "Tomb of Markos … Whoever attempts to … (lay another corpse here?) shall render [an account to God]."

[222] Cf. *ICG* 3252, 3253 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 231, 232), and 3289A (*I.Philippi*^{2} 125A).

[223] Cf. *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 202. For two similar examples from Edessa and Beroea, see *ICG* 3040 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 32: [ἐὰν δέ τις] μ̣ετὰ τὴν τελ⟨ευτ⟩ὴν̣ || [αὐτῶν τολ]μήσι αἰπανῦ|[ξαι, λόγο]ν̣ δ̣ούσι τοῦ θε(οῦ)) and 3068 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 58: ἴ τις δὲ τολμῇ̣ | ἀνῦξεν, δώσι Κυρίῳ̣ | λόγον).

[224] See *ICG* 3245 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 224) in n. 126 above.

kilometers south of Prosotsani (some 15 km northwest of Drama), at Petroussa (4 km northeast of Prosotsani), at Kokkinogeia (about 15 km northwest of Drama), and in the ruins of the fort at Adriani (11 km east of Drama, towards Mesochori).[225] This clearly indicates a stronger Christian presence in the area in late antiquity. Just as Roman colonists had established rural estates throughout the entire plain of Drama in the first century, so did Christians establish faith communities throughout the area in subsequent centuries.

3 The Strymon Valley: Amphipolis, Serrai, and Parthicopolis

3.1 *Amphipolis*

Founded by Athenian colons in 438/437 BC on a plateau of the Strymon delta, Amphipolis was by far the largest and most important city of eastern Macedonia, enjoying from 42 BC the privileged status of a "free city" (*civitas libera*) where Augustus was honored both as "Savior" (Σωτήρ) and "Founder" (Κτίστης).[226] For some unexplained reasons, Christian beginnings at Amphipolis appear to have been rather modest. Paul is never said to have established a community there, but only passed through the city on two or three occasions as he traveled along the *via Egnatia*.[227] Nor does he seem to have ever written to an Amphipolitan church, which is apparently never mentioned in subsequent patristic sources. Nevertheless, Amphipolis probably became an episcopal see in the fourth or the early fifth century, and grew into a regional Christian center in the sixth century (judging by the number of churches built in its vicinity).[228]

As elsewhere, the epigraphic (and archaeological) evidence offers us only a shadowy glimpse of the Christian community in and around Amphipolis between the fourth and sixth centuries.[229] It comprises about twenty inscriptions, which consist of a dozen epitaphs, three boundary stones, two ex-votos,

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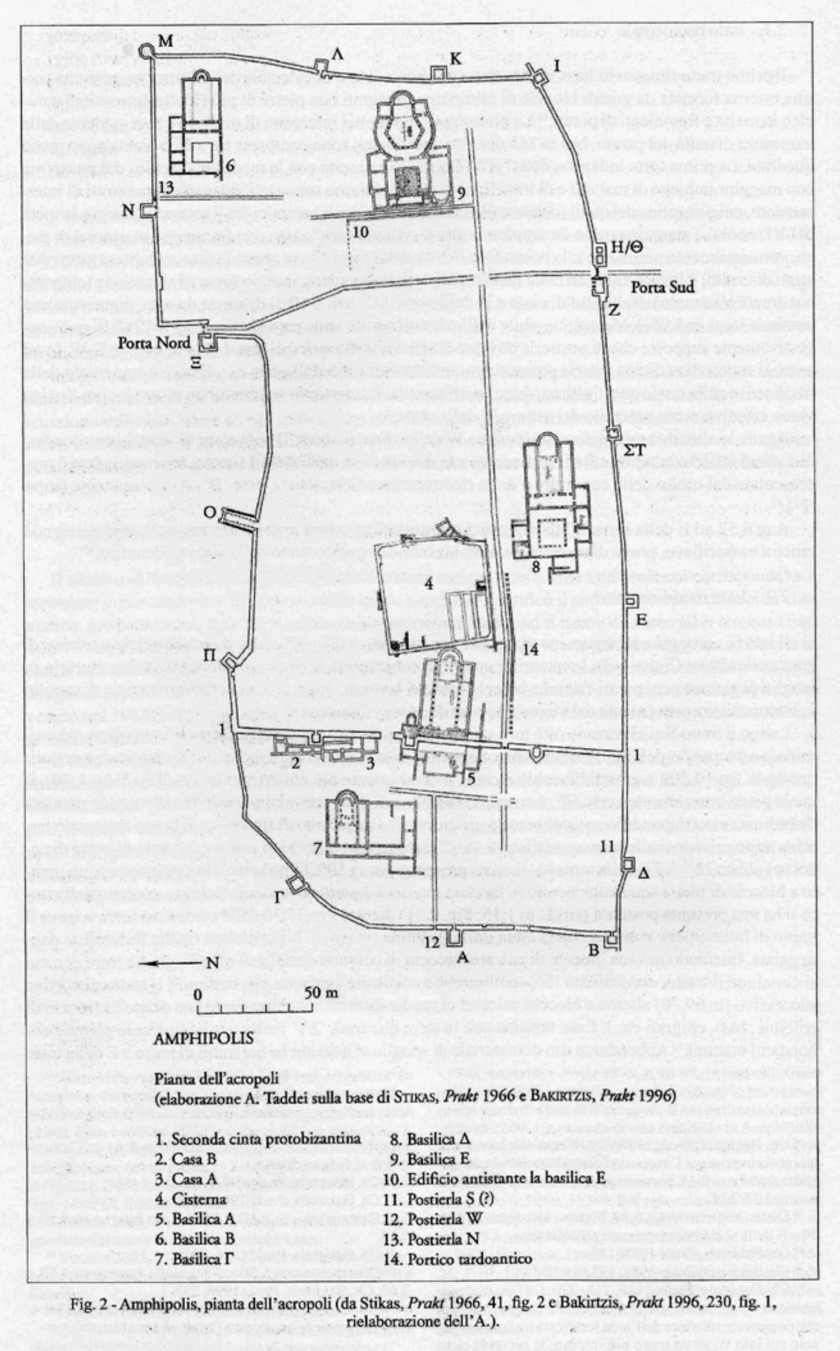
[225] Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 107–9 (nos. 12, 14, 15, 18).

[226] See Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 392–95; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, "Amphipolis"; *TIB* 11:203–7. Cf. Taddei, "Amphipolis," 253–55; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 198–201 (no. 230); Zarmakoupi, "Urban Space," 275–79.

[227] See the discussion in chap. 3, sec. 3 above. Cf. 2 Cor 8:1–5; 9:1–7. See also 1 Cor 16:5–9; 2 Cor 1:15–16; 2:13; 7:5.

[228] Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 139; Taddei, "Amphipolis," 255–57; Gounaris, "Amphipolis," 50.

[229] For a detailed archaeological survey of the city in late antiquity, see Taddei, "Amphipolis." Cf. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 103–12.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AMPHIPOLIS
Pianta dell'acropoli
(elaborazione A. Taddei sulla base di STIKAS, *Prakt* 1966 e BAKIRTZIS, *Prakt* 1996)
1. Seconda cinta protobizantina
2. Casa B
3. Casa A
4. Cisterna
5. Basilica A
6. Basilica B
7. Basilica Γ
8. Basilica Δ
9. Basilica E
10. Edificio antistante la basilica E
11. Postierla S (?)
12. Postierla W
13. Postierla N
14. Portico tardoantico
Fig. 2 - Amphipolis, pianta dell'acropoli (da Stikas, *Prakt* 1966, 41, fig. 2 e Bakirtzis, *Prakt* 1996, 230, fig. 1, rielaborazione dell'A.).

FIGURE 8 Christian monuments of Amphipolis in late antiquity
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION FROM TADDEI, "AMPHIPOLIS," 262, FIG. 2

two invocations, and one acclamation.[230] Hardly any inscription has been found *in situ*, which renders their dating and interpretation particularly difficult, as most have been discovered around Amphipolis by local villagers or retrieved from the city's fortifications where they were reemployed.[231]

One of the two inscriptions found *in situ* consists of a classic anonymous dedication dated to a seventh indiction: "Ex-voto, those whose names God knows have made (this decoration), 7th *indictio*."[232] Set on a long mosaic floor (4.09 m) across the narthex of basilica C, it greeted worshippers entering the smallest of the five Amphipolitan churches, which is estimated to date from the second half of the fifth century.[233] Likely one of the first churches to have been built, basilica C had a typical three-aisle layout with a large porticoed atrium to the south, and was decorated with mosaics depicting geometric patterns and various animals.[234] Along with an acclamation to the cross inserted in the façade of a Byzantine tower,[235] basilica C provides the surest proof that a sizeable Christian community existed in the city by the early fifth century.

Only a very few of these Christians are known to us from their tombstones, which, in the absence of internal dating and a precise archaeological context, can only be approximately dated to the fifth or sixth century—many of these appear to have been of secondary use as well.[236] Apart from the elaborate Trinitarian epitaph of Likkon detailed below, their formulary is mostly unassuming and consists of the (variously spelt) word μνημόριον followed by the (generally Greek) name of the defunct and his ecclesiastical title or vocation. A handful, however, simply display a cross or the epithet μνημόριον with the name of the deceased (in the genitive or the nominative),[237] or even just an invocation (i.e., "Emmanuel").[238] No one is recorded as bearing a civic title except Euphemos, a *principalis* (πρωτεύων) who counted among the leading men of the city, and who may have held additional responsibilities (unless the rest of his truncated epitaph simply mentioned his wife).[239]

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[230] About a third of them were included in Feissel's recueil, while the remaining two thirds were later published by Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas ("Νέες επιγραφές"). Cf. the topical study by Zapheiriou, "Παλαιοχριστιανικές επιγραφές." A couple of inscriptions mentioning a reader and (possibly) a bishop have also been discovered in recent years, and will hopefully be included in the epigraphic corpus of Amphipolis currently in preparation.

[231] Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 128.

[232] *ICG* 3235 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 214; *BE* 1970, no. 383 with corrections in *BE* 1971, no. 408; mid-AD V): + Ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς οὗ οἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὀνόματα καλιέργησαν + | ἰνδ(ικτίωνι) ἑβδόμῃ. The plural genitive ὧν should be understood instead of οὗ, and an augment supplied to καλιέργησαν (i.e., ἐκαλλιέργησαν). Cf. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 376 (no. I, 1.76), with pls. 378–379. For similar anonymous mosaic dedications from Macedonia, see *ICG* 3113, 3116, 3121, 3581 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 102A, 104, 109; *I.Kato Maked.* II 57A).

[233] Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 14–16; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 199–200 (no. 230).

[234] See the reports in *PAE* 1959 (1965): 44–45; 1962 (1966): 42–46; 1964 (1966): 41–43; 1966 (1968): 39–46; 1969 (1971): 57–58; 1970 (1972): 53–54; 1971 (1973): 45–46; 1983 (1986): 40; 1989 (1992): 220–21; 1991 (1994): 212–18; 1995 (1998): 115–19; *Ergon* 1962 (1963): 55–65; 1964 (1965): 19–45; 1969 (1970): 65–68; 1971 (1972): 42–47; 1991 (1992): 77–79. Cf. Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 14–16; Spiro, *Mosaic Pavements*, 611–29.

[235] See *ICG* 3233 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 212) in n. 253 below.

[236] See, e.g., *ICG* 3651, 3656, 3657 (*SEG* 48.725, 730, 731). Cf. Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 135.

Family relationships are never stated and women hardly ever mentioned, Dionysia and Paramona being the only two females attested so far. The first seems to have been buried with her husband Alexandros, as her name was engraved in the nominative form alongside his epitaph, around a footed cross.[240] The second was apparently interred in a tomb chamber in the central hexagonal church (also known as the Rotunda), or at least her marble plate (which features a large Latin cross) was found there.[241] This is rather peculiar considering that none of the other church officials seems to have been interred in or near the basilica at which they served, unlike what has been observed in the *extra muros* basilica at Philippi.

In addition to Bishops Alexandros and Andreas who attended the councils of Constantinople in AD 553 and 691/692 respectively,[242] only four other ecclesiastics are known to us by name from the epigraphic sources.[243] These include Bishop Leon (who may have officiated in the early seventh century),[244] the presbyter Secundinos (whose Hellenistic-styled epitaph displays a prominent Christogram on the pediment),[245] the deacon Posidonios,[246] and the subdeacon Ioannes[247]—the names of another presbyter and of a "servant of God(?)" (δοῦλος [Θεοῦ?]), who might have been a cleric, have not been preserved unfortunately.[248] Incidentally, the presbyter Secundinos appears to be one of only two Amphipolitan Christians who had a Roman name, if "Aurelianos" is indeed to be read on another stele as the name of "the one who has departed from the world."[249]

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[237] Besides *ICG* 3237 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 216) and 3618 (*SEG* 33.502) in nn. 240–241 below, see the following: *ICG* 3656 (*SEG* 48.730; AD VI): [M]ιμό|ριν Βρα|σίου. "Tomb of Brasios."—*ICG* 3657 (*SEG* 48.731; AD VI): † Φίλιπος. "(Tomb of) Philippos." Another undetermined fragment (with a cross at the top), which could well be an epitaph, is *ICG* 3234 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 213; *BE* 1977, no. 280; *SEG* 26.725; AD V–VI): [–] + | Νικα[ε]ύ̣ς̣ [. . | . . . .]τη Θ̣[εσ]|σαλονικεύς, || Ἀμφιπόλεως | [. . . . .]ω̣νος | [. .]νυα[. .]ης. "… Nikaeus (a Nicaean?) … a Thessalonian, of Amphipolis …(?)." The names of the persons mentioned at ll. 1, 3, 6, and 7, appear to have been intentionally erased.

[238] *ICG* 3658 (*SEG* 48.732; AD VI): Ἐμματνουήλ. "Emmanuel (i.e., God is with us)," or less likely "(tomb of) Emmanuel." Cf. Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 136 (no. 10); Zapheiriou, "Παλαιοχριστιανικές επιγραφές," 159. See also the invocatory use of the name on a lintel fragment (*ICG* 3354; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 274; *I.Stobi* 303), on an epitaph (*ICG* 3033; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 25), or in a tomb from Zagora (Pillinger and Zimmermann, *Wandmalereien Bulgariens*, 38–39 no. 28).

[239] *ICG* 3649 (*SEG* 48.723; AD IV–V): † Μνημό̣[ρι]|ον Εὐφίμ̣|ου προτεύ̣|οντος καὶ [–]. "Tomb of Euphemos, a *principalis*, and …"

[240] *ICG* 3237 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 216; *CIG* 4.9441; AD V–VI): (left) [Δι]|ον † υσί|α. (right) Μ̣ημ̣ό|ριον | Ἀλε|ξάν||δρου. "Dionysia. Tomb of Alexandros."

[241] *ICG* 3618 (*SEG* 33.502; *BE* 1987, no. 444; AD V–VI): Μιμόριν | Παραμό{α}|νας. "Tomb of Paramona."

[242] Mansi 9:392; 11:993. Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 396–97; Taddei, "Amphipolis," 255–56. Bishop Narcissus who attended the council of Serdica did not represent Amphipolis, as was thought earlier, but the Cilician city of Eirenoupolis.

None of these epitaphs, however, compares to that of Likkon, the most elaborate of the Amphipolitan Christian tombstones discovered so far that exudes piety and includes an exceptional reference to the Trinity.[250] After confessing his steadfast hope in "the eternal life" (τῆς ἐωνίου ζοῆς) that stems from the "majestic and vivifying incorruptible Trinity" (μεγάλης καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ἀχράντου Τριάδος), Likkon adjures the "blessed episcopacy of the holy church of Amphipolis" and its devout clergy, "by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" (κατὰ

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[243] Cf. Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 139–40; Velenis, "Συμβολή," 9–10.

[244] *ICG* 3695A (*SEG* 48.721A; 55.671; AD 609?): [Ὑπὲρ εὐ|χ]ῆς Λέω[ντος/νίδους(?) | τ]οῦ ἁγηωτάτο̣[υ | ἡ]μῶν ἐ⟨π⟩ησκό||π̣ου ἐν ἔτη̣ | ,ϛμʹ · ἀμήν · | γένητω. "Ex-voto of Leon (Leontios? Leonides?), our holiest bishop in the year 6040(?). Amen, let it be so." The date in ll. 5–6 is difficult to read on the stone itself as it is currently displayed at the archeological museum of Amphipolis. If the reading ,ϛμʹ is to be understood as 640 (i.e., 6(00) + 40), then it may be dated to AD 492 (following the provincial era), or perhaps more likely to AD 609 (following the Actium era), as with the epitaph of Aurelios Kapiton at Philippi (*ICG* 3254; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 233; cf. n. 55 above). Velenis ("Συμβολή," 7–10; cf. *SEG* 55.671) reads ἐν ἔτη κ(όσμου) ,ϛρϙαʹ and suggests the date AD 682/683 (i.e., the year 6191 after the creation of the world). This reading, however, is difficult to support by autopsy, and such an early occurrence of the Byzantine dating system in Amphipolis is very doubtful. See Feissel, *Chroniques*, 33 (no. 112). Cf. *BE* 2006, no. 540.

[245] *ICG* 3651 (*SEG* 48.725; AD v): ☧ Μιμόριον Σε|κουνδίν|ου πρε⟨σ⟩β(υτέρου). "Tomb of Secundinos, a presbyter."

[246] *ICG* 3652 (*SEG* 48.726; AD v–vi): † Κυμιτήρ̣|ι{ν}ων Πω|σιδουνί|ου διακώ|νου †. "Tomb of Posidonios, a deacon."

[247] *ICG* 3650 (*SEG* 48.724; AD v): † Μημόρι|ον Ἰωάν|νου ὑ|ποδια̣|κόνου †. "Tomb of Ioannes, a subdeacon."

[248] *ICG* 3654 (*SEG* 48.728; AD v–vi): [. .]ιϲ̣[–] | π̣ρεσβ(υτέρου) ϲ̣[–]. "[Tomb of …?] presbyter …(?)."—*ICG* 3655 (*SEG* 48.729; AD v–vi): [–]τωρ δοῦλος | [Θεοῦ ἐτ]ε̣λεύτη||[σεν –]. "[Tomb of?] … tor, servant of [God?]. He died … (date?)."

[249] *ICG* 3653 (*SEG* 48.727; AD v–vi): † Μεμόριν † | κατάκιτε̣ | ὃς ἀποχ[ωρ]|ῶν ἀπὼ κό[σμο]|ν Ἀβ⟨ρ⟩ηλι[ανός?] †. "Tomb wherein lies he who has departed from the world, Aurelianos(?)."

[250] For other epigraphic allusions to the Trinity in Greece, see *ICG* 4055 (*SEG* 39.449; Tanagra, AD v), 3861 (*BE* 1993, no. 755; Thessalian Thebes, AD v–vi), 2104 (*IG* ii/iii^2 5.13518; Attica, AD v).

Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος), not to concede to anyone else the right to use his tomb.[251] One of the most theologically articulate Christian epitaphs from Macedonia, Likkon's gravestone confirms that Amphipolis was an episcopal see around the fifth century and that, not unlike Philippi, it had probably been affected by the doctrinal controversies of the fourth century as well.[252]

Further insight into the devotion, and also perhaps anxieties, of the Amphipolitan Christians can be gained from another remarkable inscription, namely, a unique acclamation to the cross that draws its inspiration from Constantine's vision at the Milvian bridge: "By this (cross/sign), the faithful conquer!"[253] Found enwalled (upside-down) into a Byzantine tower (where it has remained), it may have originally been displayed at one of the city gates as some kind of apotropaic or prophylactic talisman in the fourth and fifth centuries (just as Abgar's letter was put up at the Neapolis gate at Philippi). Alternatively, it may have adorned the entrance of one of the basilicas built in the fifth or sixth century. Interestingly, unlike similar acclamations, it is preceded by a staurogram (⳨) instead of a Christogram (☧) or a simple cross (as is more frequent), and it is the "faithful" themselves (οἱ πιστοί) who claim victory rather than Christ or the cross itself, as is more often the case.[254]

Who, or what, the Amphipolitan Christians were supposed to overcome remains unclear. It may have been a catastrophic earthquake, the plague of AD 541–543, the threat of the Avaro-Slavs in the late sixth century,[255] or even pagan cults such as the Bacchic festivals evoked in the Byzantine hagiographical account of Mokios, a presbyter from Amphipolis.[256] Whatever the case may have been, the Christian community at Amphipolis must have suffered greatly in late antiquity, for it erected yet another monumental marble stele (0.84 × 0.46 m) with an invocation to Christ "to rescue and raise up this city also."[257] Engraved with two large footed crosses on both sides, it must have likewise been displayed in a prominent public place, possibly by the southern gate near which it was found, in order to exhort believers to pray Christ to safeguard their city that had once more been brought to its knees.[258] Around the same period possibly, the ex-voto of Bishop Leon mentioned earlier was also repurposed and engraved on another side with an invocation to the "God of the Holy Theotokos" (Θεὸς τῖς Ἁγίας Θεωτώκου)—one of only two references to the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God (θεοτόκος) in Macedonia[259]—to shelter and guard her servants.[260]

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[251] *ICG* 3236 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 215; AD V–VI): + Τὸν κοινὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον εὐσχημόνως (*hedera*) | διαγαγών, διὰ παντὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα + | τῆς ἐωνίου ζοῆς ἱκετεύσας ἀπολαβῖν παρὰ τῆς | μεγάλης καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ἀχράντου Τριάδος, ||[5] ἐγὼ Λίκκων ἐνθάδε κῖμε· ὁρκίζω οὖν | τὴν εὐλογημένην τῆς Ἀμφιπολιτῶν | ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ τὸν ταύτης | θεοφιλῆ κλῆρον κατὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πν(εύματο)ς | μὴ συνχωρῆσε ἕτερόν τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ τεθῆνε ||[10] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ μου (*hedera*) +. "Having spent the common human life honorably, having always beseeched (God) to receive the hope of the eternal life from the majestic and vivifying incorruptible Trinity, I, Likkon, lie here to rest. Therefore, I adjure the blessed episcopate of the holy church of the Amphipolitans and its devout clergy, by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, not to concede (the right) to anyone else in the future to be laid in my tomb."

[252] Cf. sec. 2.2 above (passim).

[253] *ICG* 3233 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 212; AD IV–V): ⳨ Ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πιστοὶ νικοῦσιν. Cf. Eusebius, *v.C.* 1.28: τούτῳ νίκα.

[254] See additional examples (*IGLS* 3.746A and 4.1457; *I.Chr. Bulgarien* 77) in *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 178. Cf. Peterson, *Εἷς Θεός*, 153; Guarducci, "Le acclamazioni."

[255] Cf. Taddei, "Amphipolis," 256–57; Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 137–38; Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Amphipolis."

[256] Mokios was allegedly arrested in Amphipolis under Diocletian after opposing the Bacchic festival. Tortured multiple times (to little effect), he was eventually sent to Constantinople

This sentiment of insecurity is easily understandable given the turmoil the Balkans experienced in late antiquity, but is somewhat moderated by the actual archaeological evidence, which indicates that, architecturally speaking at least, the local Christian community thrived in this period. Indeed, it erected no fewer than five basilicas (including an episcopal one) within less than two centuries and even possessed some estate(s), as three boundary stones found in the environs suggest.[261] Two of these, basilica C (18.2 × 28.1 m), which was decorated with rich polychromatic mosaics,[262] and basilica D

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where he was martyred. His *passio* develops classical martyrial motifs, many of which are historically dubious. See Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace," 163–76. Cf. *BHG*² 1298; *CSLA* E06221.

[257] *ICG* 3647 (*SEG* 47.881; 48.720; AD VI): † Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς | ἡμῶν | σῶσον καὶ ἀνά|στησον || καὶ τὴν | πόλειν | ταύτην. "Christ, our God, rescue and raise up this city also!"

[258] Cf. Bakirtzis in *PAE* 1996 (1998): 234–35; Doukata-Demertzi and Commatas, "Νέες επιγραφές," 137–38; Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Amphipolis," 163.

[259] Another reference to the (ἁγία) θεοτόκος was found on a faded mosaic in the basilica of St. Demetrios at Thessalonica (*ICG* 3118). The Virgin Mary (παρθένος Μαρία) is also mentioned on an invocation to Christ (and perhaps to Mary as well) at Philippi (*ICG* 3244).

[260] *ICG* 3695B (*SEG* 48.721B; AD VI–VII): † Ὦ Θ(εὸ)ς τῖς Ἁ[γία]|ς Θ(ε)ωτώκ[ου σκέ]|πε κ(αὶ) φύλατ[τε τ]|οὺς δούλους ⟨Σ⟩οῡ || γνοστῶν κὲ [φ]|ήλων τοὺς [ἐν Σοὶ ζ]|ῶντ[ας –] | PHẠT . [–]. "O God(?) of the Holy Theotokos, shelter and guard your servants who know and love those who live [in you] …(?)."

[261] *ICG* 3232 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 211; *BE* 1946, no. 140; AD V–VI): Ὅρ(ος) ἐκκ(λησίας) | Ἀμφι|πο(λιτῶν). "Boundary stone of the church of the Amphipolitans."—*ICG* 3670 (*SEG* 59.648; AD V–VI): Ὅροι | τῆς Ἁ|γίας τοῦ | Θ(εο)ῦ | ἐκκλ(ησίας). "Boundary stone of the holy church of God."—*ICG* 4446 (*SEG* 48.697; AD V–VI): ἐκλη(σία) Ἀμφι(πόλεως). "Church of Amphipolis."

[262] See the reports in *PAE* 1959 (1965): 44–45; 1962 (1966): 42–46; 1964 (1966): 41–43; 1966 (1968): 39–46; 1969 (1971): 57–58; 1970 (1972): 53–54; 1971 (1973): 45–46; 1983 (1986): 40; 1989 (1992): 220–21; 1991 (1994): 212–18; 1995 (1998): 115–19; *Ergon* 1962 (1963): 55–65; 1964 (1965): 19–45; 1969 (1970): 65–68; 1971 (1972): 42–47; 1991 (1992): 77–79. Cf. Spiro, *Mosaic*

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FIGURE 9 *ICG* 3647 (*SEG* 47.881): marble stele with an invocation to Christ, archaeological museum of Amphipolis
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU; © HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS

(24.7 × 18.5 m),[263] were likely built in the second half of the fifth century, while the other three, namely, the two-storey basilica A (21.1 × 28.8 m),[264] basilica B (23.25 × 16.45 m),[265] and the so-called Rotunda (⌀ 15.4 m),[266] were constructed in the early to mid-sixth century. All except the Rotunda were designed according to a three-aisle plan with a narthex and a large atrium and were laid with marble revetments and mosaic floors featuring typical motifs such as the deer and peacocks drinking from *canthari* that were depicted in the southern aisle of basilica A—only basilica D had side aisles with clay-tiled floors, but wall mosaics.[267] As its name suggests, the Rotunda consisted of an hexagonal colonnaded *naos* surrounded by semicircular exterior walls, to which a large quadrangular atrium (and a baptistery, possibly) was adjoined. It was decorated in expensive fashion with marble-tiled floors and revetments, mosaic walls, and elaborately carved marble capitals featuring heads of rams, lions, and eagles.[268]

Although none of these buildings matches in size and majesty those of Philippi and Thessalonica, the Christian monumentalization of late antique Amphipolis must have been deeply impressive. In particular, the concentration of five churches *intra muros* further evidences that the Christianization

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Pavements, 611–29; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 158–63, 371–78 (no. 1, 1.76), with pls. 358–384.

[263] *PAE* 1966 (1968): 46; 1972 (1974): 51–57; 1976 (1978): 101–6; 1977 (1980): 46–53; *Ergon* 1966 (1967): 25–42; 1976 (1977): 40–50; 1977 (1978): 38–46. Cf. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 378–79 (no. 1, 1.77), with pl. 385.

[264] *PAE* 1967 (1969): 83–88; 1969 (1971): 54–57; 1970 (1972): 50–53; 1971 (1973): 43–45; 1972 (1974): 49–51; 1976 (1978): 99–100; 1979 (1981): 88–89; 1983 (1986): 39–40; 1994 (1997): 131–37; *Ergon* 1966 (1967): 25–42; 1967 (1968): 54–65; 1969 (1970): 49–64; 1972 (1973): 33–42; 1976 (1977): 38–39. Cf. Spiro, *Mosaic Pavements*, 587–607; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 164–68, 362–68 (no. 1, 1.74), with pls. 333–351.

[265] *PAE* 1959 (1965): 44; 1972 (1974): 57–61; 1973 (1975): 34–38; *Ergon* 1973 (1974): 27–34. Cf. Spiro, *Mosaic Pavements*, 607–610; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 163–64, 368–71 (no. 1, 1.75), with pls. 352–357.

[266] *PAE* 1976 (1978): 107–10; 1978 (1980): 59–63; 1979 (1981): 80–88; 1980 (1982): 14–20; 1981 (1983): 26–32; 1995 (1998): 119–23; *Ergon* 1978 (1979): 17–22; 1979 (1980): 14–15; 1995 (1996): 50–51.

[267] Besides the above-mentioned excavation reports in *Ergon* and *PAE*, see the recent overview by Taddei, "Amphipolis," 269–304. Cf. Zikos, *Amphipolis*. On the mosaics themselves, see Spiro, *Mosaic Pavements*, 587–629; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Μακεδονίας*, 362–79 (no. 1, 1.74–77), with pls. 333–385. Cf. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 90–106; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 198–201 (no. 230); Gounaris, "Amphipolis." The large rectangular structure immediately east of basilica A, which had initially been identified as an episcopal palace, was later proven to be a large cistern (46.5 × 47 m). See Taddei, "Amphipolis," 267–69.

[268] Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 17–22. Cf. Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 200.

of Macedonia was characterized by a dramatic transformation of the central urban topography. Yet, just as in Philippi and Stobi, it is difficult to imagine that the local Christian community was large enough to have required all these edifices at the same time, or that the local population had sufficient resources to finance a building program on such a grand scale. Since these basilicas follow a Constantinopolitan architectural and decorative style, one may conclude that the impetus behind this construction boom came directly from the imperial court, possibly to promote Amphipolis as an episcopal see.[269] Local affluent families and bishops seeking to enhance their prestige probably also contributed to the effort,[270] but personalized mosaic or architrave dedications similar to those found at Philippi or Stobi are altogether rare,[271] the ex-voto by Bishop Leon being the sole exemplar.[272]

Be that as it may, Amphipolis began to decline from the late sixth century, most likely as a consequence of the Avaro-Slavic raids, the series of earthquakes hitting the region in the sixth century, and the Justinianic plague.[273] The *intra muros* area shrunk by a fifth approximately, a new fortification wall was built right across basilica A in the seventh century (splitting the atrium from the main building along a north-south axis), and the episcopacy was likely transferred further north to Serrai by the eighth century.[274] As with other Macedonian cities, Christianity in Amphipolis flourished in the Theodosian and Justinianic eras, and slowly withered away in the early Byzantine period, unable to adapt, it seems, to the dramatic changes affecting the Balkans in late antiquity.

3.2 *Serrai*[275]

Nestled on the southwestern edge of the Orbelos mountain range, Serrai enjoyed a commanding position in the lower Strymon valley as it controlled the vast plain stretching from the Strymon gorge to Amphipolis and the main road connecting the northern Aegean to Serdica. As a result, it flourished as an autonomous Greek city (which belonged to the Macedonian *koinon*) during the imperial and Byzantine eras.[276]

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[269] Cf. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 111–12; Taddei, "Amphipolis," 304.

[270] Cf. Taddei, "Amphipolis," 257, 304.

[271] See *ICG* 3247 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 226; Philippi) and 3320–3321, 3349, 3354 (*I.Stobi* 266–267, 298, 303; Stobi).

[272] See *ICG* 3695A (*SEG* 48.721) in n. 244 above.

[273] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 397; Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Amphipolis."

[274] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 397; Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 6–7. Cf. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture*, 111; Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Amphipolis," 164; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 198, 201; Taddei, "Amphipolis," 279.

[275] This is the form given in Hierocles's *Synekdemos* 639.10 (Honigmann, 15). The name of the city is spelt as Σίρρα or Σίραι in other ancient sources. See Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 379, 381; *TIB* 11:967.

Sadly, hardly any early Christian evidence has survived in Serrai, probably because the city was sacked several times in medieval and modern times. To date, only three inscriptions dated to the fifth or sixth century have been found, one of which, an epitaph for what may have been a *lector* named Anastasios and his wife Matrona, has now been lost.[277] By far the most significant piece consists of a late marble capital featuring an inscribed *tabula ansata* that was dedicated by an otherwise unattested bishop named Prektikios.[278] Discovered in the southern court of the Byzantine basilica of the Hagioi Theodoroi, it likely decorated one of Serrai's first episcopal churches, which Prektikios may have either founded or helped renovate. A third capital fragment, which was also retrieved from the Hagioi Theodoroi, may have displayed a similar dedication, but the surface of the stone is too damaged to allow for a confident restoration.[279]

Regrettably, nothing else is known of the early Christian community at Serrai, which became a bishopric and a regional center for monasticism and religious art in the Byzantine period.[280] Bishop Maximios who attended the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon in AD 449 and 451 has simply left no epigraphic or archaeological traces,[281] as have the earliest Christian edifice(s) on the ruins of which the Hagioi Theodoroi, the oldest Byzantine basilica of Serrai, was likely erected in the eleventh or twelfth century.[282] Little early Christian evidence has been discovered around Serrai or in the rest of the lower Strymon valley either, although architectural elements and vestiges of two sixth-century basilicas have been uncovered further to the southeast at Mikro Souli, Angista, and Rhodolivos, slightly north of Amphipolis.[283]

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[276] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 379–81; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 206–8 (no. 241); *TIB* 11:967–77. Cf. Samsaris, *Γεωγραφία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας*, 126–28; id., "Bas-Strymon," 351–52, 363.

[277] *ICG* 3231 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 210; AD V–VI): + Ἀναστα|σίου ἀνα(γνώστου?) | καὶ συμβίου | αὐτοῦ Μα||τρώνας. "(Tomb of) Anastasios, a *lector*(?), and his wife Matrona."

[278] *ICG* 3230 (*I.Chr. Macédoine* 209; AD VI?): + Πρεκτήκιος | ἐπίσκοπος | εὐξόμε|ν̣ο̣ς [. . . .]. "Prektikios, bishop, having made a vow …" The name is so far unattested in this form (cf. *LGPN*) and could be a Greek variant of the Latin name Praejecticius, according to Feissel. The form εὐξόμενος for the aorist εὐξάμενος is analogical to the present participle εὐχόμενος. See *I.Chr. Macédoine*, p. 176.

[279] *ICG* 3646 (*SEG* 45.804; AD V–VI): [–]ΚΟΝ | [–]ΟΥΑΓ[–] | Ο̣Ϲ̣Ο̣Λ̣Ο̣[–]. Zapheiriou ("Δεύτερη ανάγνωση") restored the fragment as follows: [εὐχὴ *nomen* | δια]κόν(ου) | [τ]οῦ Ἁγ[ίου] | Θ̣ε̣ο̣δ̣ώ̣[ρου](?).

[280] Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 381; Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 206–8 (no. 241).

[281] Honigmann, "Original Lists," 35 (l. 61) and 58 (l. 386).

[282] On the Byzantine metropolitan church, see Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 208.

3.3 *Parthicopolis*

The northernmost city in eastern Macedonia, Parthicopolis (or Paroikopolis) lay on a major commercial road on the eastern bank of the Strymon river, about halfway between Amphipolis and Serdica.[284] Likely never visited by the first generation of Christian evangelists, Parthicopolis would nonetheless become an important episcopal center in late antiquity, around which smaller communities from the middle of the Strymon valley gravitated.[285] To date no fewer than eight three-aisled basilicas and several late antique necropoleis have been uncovered underneath the modern Bulgarian city of Sandanski, including a splendid episcopal basilica (IV), two cemetery basilicas (V, IX), and a few vaulted tombs decorated with crimson Latin crosses.[286] This rich archaeological context contrasts with a meagre epigraphic harvest that offers a very modest glimpse into the Christian community that flourished in northeastern Macedonia in the fifth and sixth centuries.

To date, less than ten inscriptions have been discovered on site, which represents the smallest tally for an episcopal see in Macedonia. This is rather surprising given the presence of at least five necropoleis to the north and south of the city,[287] which have so far delivered only three Christian epitaphs.[288] The most notable one consists of a sizeable and carefully engraved marble stele that begins with a maladroit hexameter. The first of only two Christian epitaphs set up for a lay person, it commemorates an accountant (*numerarius*) of the military commandment of Illyria, who "lived a spotless life" (βίον ἀκιλίδουτον) until he was "ordered by Christ" (κελεύσι δὲ Χριστοῦ) to leave this world.[289] The second tombstone is much less impressive, more crudely engraved, and consists of two oddly arranged epitaphs. The earliest(?) one cut in the middle of the stone simply pleads Christ to remember Demetrios, a *primicerius*, while the second one for Nikostrate was likely added later on at the top and bottom of the stone.[290] It remains unclear whether Demetrios was a superintendent in a civil or an ecclesiastical office,[291] but it seems improbable that he was a candle-bearer, as has been suggested.[292]

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[283] Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί*, 198 (no. 229), 202–3 (nos. 235–236), 205 (no. 240). Cf. Papazotos, "Τα χριστιανικά μνημεία."

[284] The identification of the city is now certain after being disputed throughout the twentieth century. See Hierocles, *Synekdemos* 639.8 (Honigmann, 14); Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 93–96; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 345–60; Mitrev, "Parthicopolis." Cf. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 371–75; *TIB* 11:824–25.

[285] See, e.g., the fifth-century basilica excavated at Mikrevo, fifteen kilometers north of Sandanski. Cf. Petkov, "Mikrevo"; Asamer and Zimmermann, "Mikrevo." Excavations at Heraclea Sintica began in 2007 and have so far not yielded any Christian building or inscription. See Vagalinski and Nankov, *Heraclea Sintica* (esp. pp. 86–125).

[286] For detailed overviews, see Petrova, "Urban Planning of Parthicopolis"; ead., "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis"; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 410–44; Petkov and Somova, "Eine spätantike Nekropole." A ninth basilica, the so-called "monastery basilica" (VI), was discovered near the monastery of St. Kosmas and Damianos, two kilometers northwest of Sandanski's city center. See Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 115.

[287] See Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 99–104; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 459–73; Petkov and Somova, "Eine spätantike Nekropole."

[288] Besides *ICG* 4143 and 4144 immediately below, a third epitaph was found in a necropolis, namely, that of the subdeacon Krispinos. See *ICG* 4145 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 242) in n. 293 below.

The remaining inscriptions discovered in the city and its surroundings merely provide us with an illustrative sample of local clerics whose epitaphs, incidentally, become slightly more elaborate the higher they stood in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. That of the subdeacon Krispinos, which was carved between two Latin crosses on a columbarium-sized plate (0.2 × 0.28 m), only records his name and rank in the genitive.[293] By contrast, that of the "reverent" (εὐλαβέστατος) psalmist Andreas, who was buried with his wife Eudokia on the 22nd of December, was engraved on a limestone stele that is twice as big as Krispinos's plate and was decorated with twice as many Greek crosses.[294] An equally typical epithet (μακαριώτατος) was conferred upon a presbyter

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[289] *ICG* 4143 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 240; Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, no. 570; AD V–VI): † Τί σπεύδις; μάν|θαν⟨ε⟩ θανῆν κὲ ἐρεῦ | τάφῳ γιγνόσκιν Γέ|νολον εἶνε τοὔνομα, ||^{5} ὅστις γῆρας τίμιον ἐ|σχικὸς κὲ βίον ἀκιλίδ|ουτον ἐπὶ μίκιστον βί|ου χρόνον ζήσας πλι|ρόσας εὐσέμνος στρατί||^{10}αν νουμεραρίου τῆς σ|τρατοπεδαρχικῖς τά|ξεος τοῦ Ἠλλυρίο⟨υ⟩. Κ|ελεύσι δὲ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐνθάδ|ε κατετέθη μη(νὸς) Ὀκτ||^{15}ονβρίου ἰνδ(ικτίωνι) δευτ|έρα̣ †. "Why do you hasten? Look, (he is) dead, and tell the grave that you know his name was Genolos. He was of honorable age and a spotless life he lived for the longest lifetime, fulfilling his august military service as *numerarius* of the military commandment of Illyria. And by the command of Christ he was laid to rest here in the month of October in the second *indictio*."

[290] *ICG* 4144 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 241; Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, no. 571; AD VI): (1) [+] ἔνθα κῖτε | Νι- ⳨ (monogram) ⳨ κοστρά|τη †. (2) [μ]ν̣ήσθη|τ̣ι, Χ(ριστ)έ, Δημητρί[ου] | πριμικιρί[ου]. | ναί, ἀμήν. (1) "Here lies Nikostrate." (2) "Remember, Christ, Demetrios, a *primicerius*. Yes, amen!"

[291] Cf. Beševliev, *I.Chr. Bulgarien*, p. 174; Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 99; Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, no. 571.

[292] See Pillinger, "Stifterinschrift des Johannes," 56.

[293] *ICG* 4145 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 242; *BE* 1962, no. 183; AD VI): † Κρι|σπίνου † | ὑποδι|ακόνου. "(Tomb of) Krispinos, a subdeacon."

[294] *ICG* 4146 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 243; *BE* 1962, no. 183; AD VI): + Μνημῆον + | Ἀνδρέου τοῦ εὐ|λαβεστάτου | ψάλτου. + κ(αὶ) ἡ || τούτου σύνβ(ιος) | Εὐδοκ(ία) ἡ κ(αὶ) ἐτελ(εύτησεν) | μη(νὸς) Δεκεμ(βρίου) κβʹ, ἰν(δικτίωνος) ϛʹ +. "Tomb of Andreas, the most reverent psalmist, and of his wife Eudokia who also died on 22 December in the 6th *indictio*."

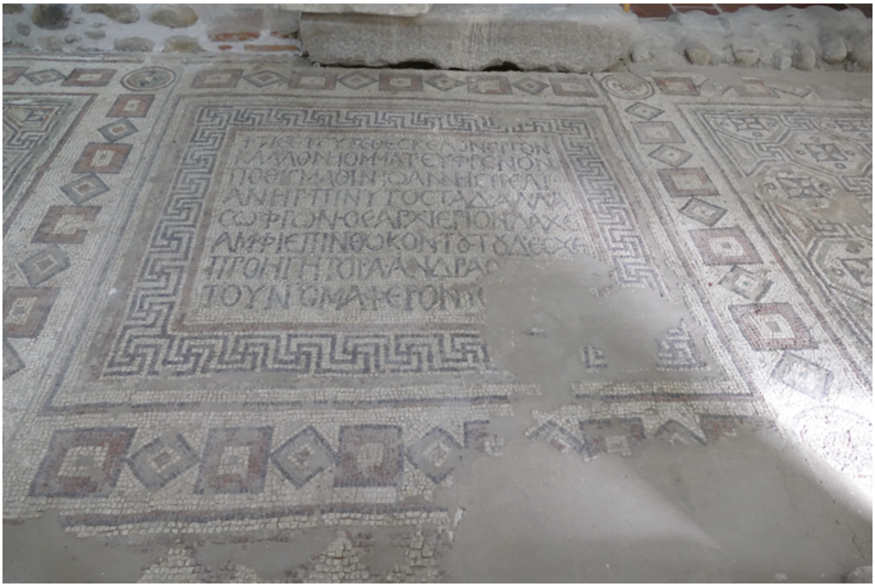

FIGURE 10 *ICG* 4142 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 239): building dedication by Bishop Ioannes at the entrance of basilica II, Parthicopolis
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU

named Petros who died on the 26th of February after "reverently serving God and the holy church for forty years," and whose epitaph was unearthed near a chapel at Petrovo, slightly south of Sandanski.[295] More impressive still is the mosaic inscription commemorating Bishop Ioannes, a "wise and prudent man" (ἀνὴρ πινυτὸς τὰ δ' ἄλλα σώφρων), which was ostentatiously placed at the entrance of the basilica that is now named after him (II), a "wondrous work relishing the eyes by its beauty."[296]

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[295] *ICG* 4147 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 244; Petrovo, AD VI): ἐνθάδε κῖτε Πέτρος | ὁ μακαριώτ(ατος) πρεσβ(ύτερος), | ὅστις σεμνῶς ἐδού|λευσεν τῷ θ(ε)ῷ καὶ τῇ || ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησί|ᾳ ἔτη μʹ · ἐτελεύτησεν | δὲ μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίου | κϛʹ ἰνδ(ικτίωνι) ιʹ *hedera*. "Here lies Petros, the highly blessed presbyter, who reverently served God and the holy church for 40 years. He died on 26 February, in the 10th *indictio*."

[296] *ICG* 4142 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 239; *SEG* 35.763; *BE* 1965, no. 2; AD V–VI): + Τίς ἔτευξε θέσκελον ἔργον | καλλονῇ ὄμματ' εὐφρε̂νον | ποθῖς μαθῖν; Ἰωάννης πέλι | ἀνὴρ πινυτὸς τὰ δ' ἄλλα || σώφρων, ὃς ἀρχιέριον ἔλαχε | ἀμφιέπιν θῶκον τούτου δ' ἔσχε | προηγήτορα ἄνδρα ὁ[σιώτατον] | τοὔνομα φέροντ' ọ[–]. "Who made this wondrous work (that) rejoices the eyes by its beauty, do you wish to know? Ioannes did, a prudent man and a wise one too, who had care of the seat of *archiereus* (i.e., bishop), which his predecessor, a holiest man by the name of …(?), had held."

Inserted within a colorful mosaic floor stretching the entire length of the exonarthex, the metrical dedication would have greeted worshippers entering one of the churches where Ioannes, possibly the bishop represented by the presbyter Cyril at the council of Chalcedon in AD 451, likely officiated.[297] Constructed in the mid-fifth century,[298] the basilica connected to a residence (for the bishop, presumably)[299] and to another basilica (I) to the south, which must have been inaugurated by one of Ioannes's predecessors, perhaps the one whose name has not been preserved in Ioannes's dedication.[300] Likely the first church to be built in the middle of the fourth century, west of the central street, basilica I might have in fact been commissioned by Bishop Ionas who, according to Hilary of Poitiers, participated in the council of Serdica in AD 343.[301] However, no epigraphic evidence has been found to confirm this possibility (unlike at Philippi).[302]

As at Stobi, most of the *intra muros* churches were erected along the principal *via* passing through the city on a north-south axis and, unusually enough, all had walls made of river boulders, bricks, and spolia from earlier Roman buildings.[303] Further south of basilicas I and II, sections of three more basilicas (III, VII, VIII) dating from the fifth or sixth century have been partially excavated, one of which (basilica III) featured a *tribelon* arch at the entrance of the nave and rich polychromatic mosaic floors in the narthex and nave.[304] Yet the most impressive structure undoubtedly consists of the large episcopal basilica IV (22 × 23 m for the *naos*), which was built in several phases a few meters to the northwest of basilicas I and II, on the opposite side of the central

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[297] Mansi 6:578; Honigmann, "Original Lists," 58 (l. 389). See Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 372; Petrova, "Urban Planning of Parthicopolis," 166–67; ead., "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 94, 98, 106–7; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 422–24. Cf. Popova, "Mosaics of Ioannes' Basilica"; Pillinger, "Monumenti paleocristiani," 298; ead., "Stifterinschrift des Johannes," 60–65.

[298] A second building (or restoration) phase took place in the sixth century, according to Pillinger, "Stifterinschrift des Johannes," 72. Cf. Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 424.

[299] Pillinger, "Stifterinschrift des Johannes," 71–72.

[300] See the end of *ICG* 4142 (*I.Chr. Bulgarien* 239) above. Cf. Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 104–5; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 414–22.

[301] Mansi 3:47; Hilary of Poitiers, *ep.* B.II.4.33 (Feder, 136). See Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine*, 372; Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 98, 105; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 320.

[302] See above the dedication by Bishop Porphyrios at Philippi (*ICG* 3247; *I.Chr. Macédoine* 226).

[303] Petrova, "Roman Architectonic Decoration."

[304] Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 107, 115–16; Stojanova-Serafimova, "Die frühchristliche Basilika"; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 425.

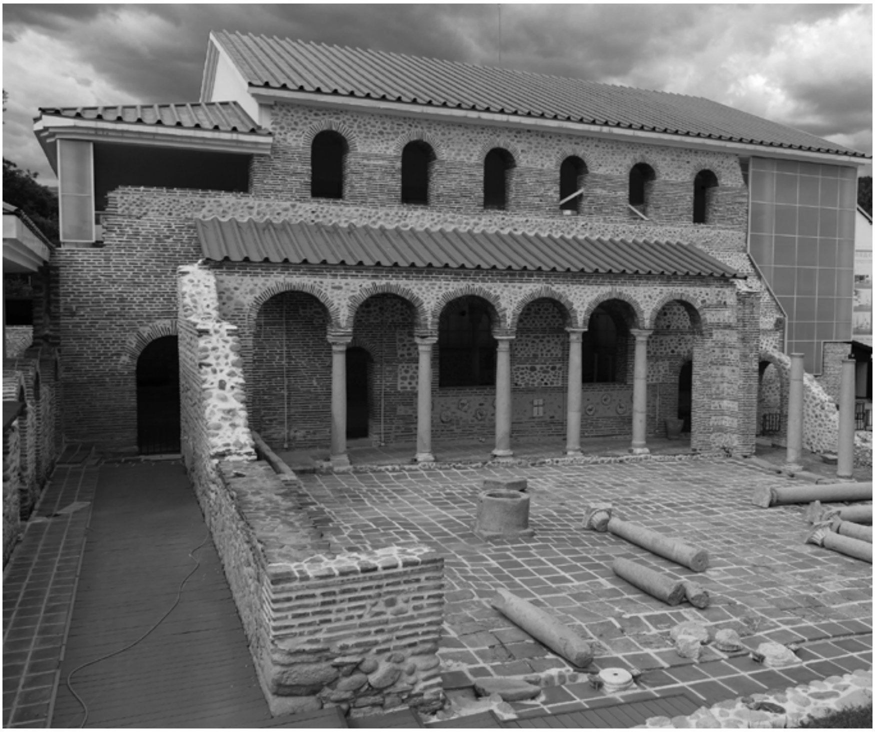

FIGURE 11 Restored episcopal basilica (IV), Parthicopolis
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU

street. Initially constructed in the late fourth or the early fifth century,[305] the two-storey monument was decorated in lavish style with geometrical and polychromatic mosaic floors, wall frescoes, marble revetments, *opus sectile* (in the *presbyterium*), and chancel panels carved with biblical scenes (possibly Jesus and the apostles).[306] To the south, it opened to a large atrium with fountains. To the west, it connected to what has been interpreted as a *martyrium* (despite

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[305] Pillinger ("Stifterinschrift des Johannes," 67, 72) proposes that the first building phase of basilica IV in the late fourth or the early fifth century preceded the first building phase of basilica II, which itself seems to have coincided with the second building phase of basilica IV in the mid-fifth century. In the sixth century, both churches underwent, respectively, a third and second building (or restoration) phase. Cf. Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 435.

[306] The panels may originate from a sarcophagus and were later repurposed as chancel screens. See Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 108–14; Dimitrova-Milčeva and Petkov, "Basilika Nr. 4"; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 425–43; Petrova, "Chancel Screens"; Pülz, "Considerations on the Relief Panels." Cf. Pillinger, "Stifterinschrift des Johannes," 65–72.

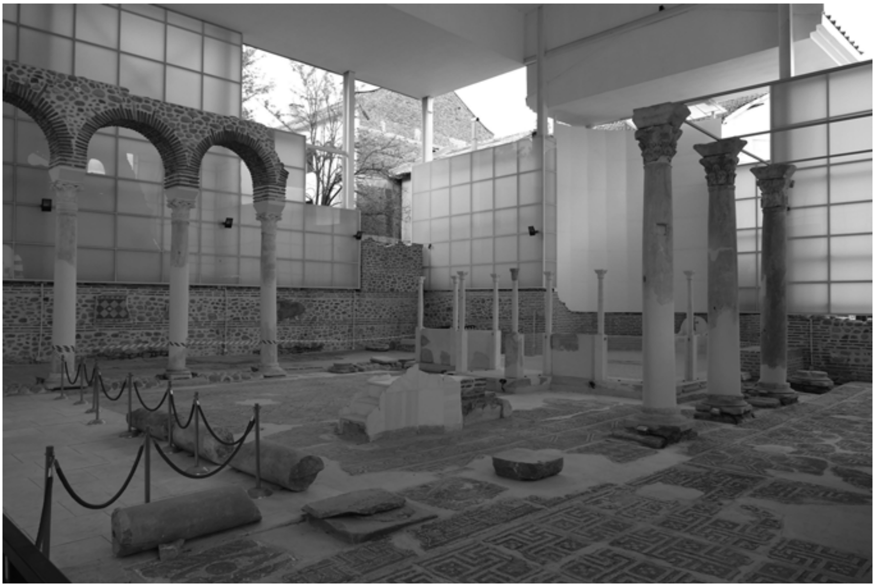

FIGURE 12 Restored episcopal basilica (IV), Parthicopolis
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU

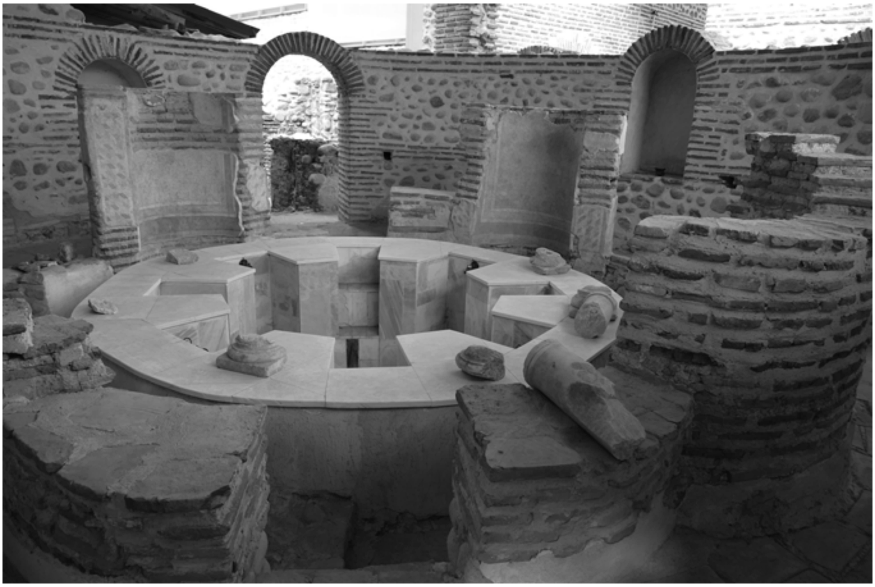

FIGURE 13 Restored baptistery of the episcopal basilica (IV), Parthicopolis
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU

the absence of a reliquary)[307] and to a rotunda baptistery (⌀ 11 m), which was sumptuously adorned with marble revetments, frescoes, and a baldachin (just as in Stobi).[308]

It is precisely in the baptistery and its adjacent rooms that were discovered several fragments of one final inscription, namely, a reused marble plate that was probably displayed on the wall of the baptistery. One of the most intriguing Christian artefacts ever found in Macedonia, it features at the top an enwreathed Christogram flanked by an alpha and an omega and, underneath it, an open book or tabula (22 × 30 cm) in which was inscribed in minute letters a dedication by the "slave" (of God) Anthimos.[309] Although he only identifies himself as the "craftsman" (τεχνίτης) who built this "place of remembrance" (ἐπ[ο]ίησεν ὐκητήρι||ον μνημόσυνον), Anthimos might well be the bishop who founded (or renovated?) basilica IV, which, according to the original editor, he compares to the temple that Solomon had raised in Jerusalem in his great wisdom and for the glory of God[310]—this reading and interpretation are difficult to verify on the plate due to its erosion. What is clear is that basilica IV suffered a tragic fate in late antiquity, the violence of which is attested by the destruction of Anthimos's dedication in several fragments and its dispersion throughout the baptistery. This might have been the direct consequence of a raid by the Avaro-Slavs or of the earthquake that hit the city at the turn of the seventh century. Whatever the case may have been, Parthicopolis inexorably declined from the late sixth century and, just as many other Macedonian cities, was eventually abandoned in the seventh century.[311]

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[307] Petrova, "Urban Planning of Parthicopolis," 171–73.

[308] See Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 113–14; ead., "Baptistery"; Dimitrova-Milčeva and Petkov, "Basilika Nr. 4," 420–21.

[309] *ICG* 4447 (*SEG* 60.750; *BE* 2012, no. 293; AD V–VI): (col. 1) Ὁρκισμὸς Σολο|μῶνος ὑεοῦ Δαυ(ίδ). | ὁ βασιλεὺς [ὁ ἡμῶν?] | ἐν Εἰσστραῆ[λῳ ε]ὐλο||γητὸς κύριος [ὁ θεὸς?] | τῷ Σολομῶνι Δ(α)υ(ὶδ) | σοφίαν [–] | σοῦα̣(?) δόξα [–]. (col. 2) εἰς τοὺς ἐῶ|νας, ἀμήν. | τὶς τε[χ]νίτης | ἐπ[ο]ίησεν ὐκητήρι||ον μνημόσυνόν | του. Μνημηνεύ|εσ(α)τε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς | ἐῶνας. Θε(έ), βοήθι τῷ | δοῦλῳ σοῦ Ἀνθίμῳ. (col. 1) "Oath of Solomon, the son of David. [Our?] king in Israel, blessed (be) (the) Lord [God?] to/for(?) Solomon, (son of) David(?), wisdom … glory …(?)." (col. 2) "… into the ages, amen. The craftsman who made this place of remembrance, remember him forever. God, help your slave Anthimos." A second fragment of a similar codex or tabula has been found, but it is hardly decipherable. See frag. XXVII (with pl. XXXVI.1) in Gerassimova, "Inscriptions from the Basilica No. 4," 202–4.

[310] Gerassimova, "Inscriptions from the Basilica No. 4," 203–4. Cf. Petrova, "Christian Basilicas of Parthicopolis," 113; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 428, 478.

[311] Petrova, "Urban Planning of Parthicopolis," 183–84; Petrova and Petkov, "Parthicopolis," 484.

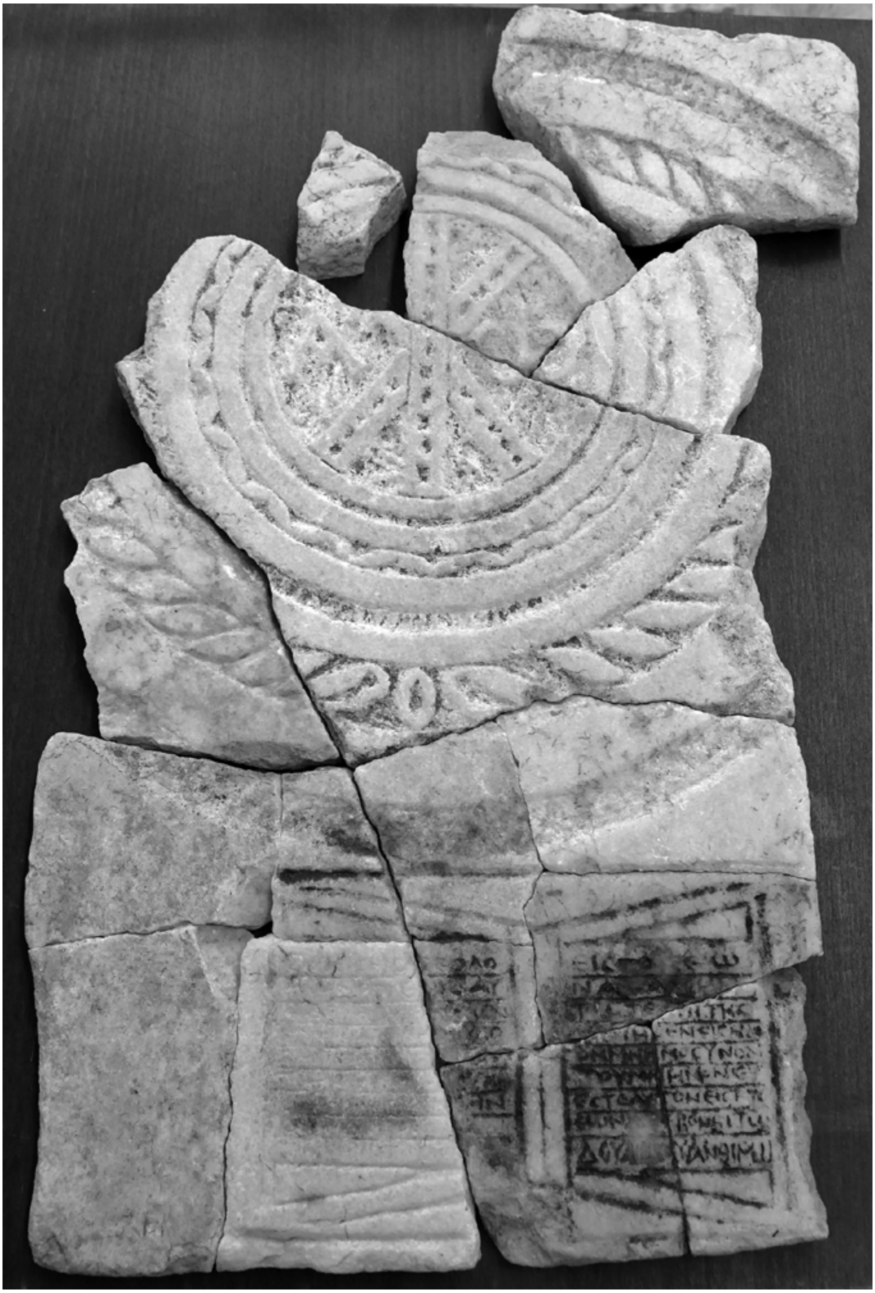

FIGURE 14 *ICG* 4447 (*SEG* 60.750): building dedication by Anthimos, Parthicopolis
PHOTO BY J.M. OGEREAU

4 Summary

The first Macedonian city to have been visited by Paul and his companions, Philippi retained a prominent place in the history of Christianity in the region, especially since Paul wrote to the Philippian Christ-believers one of his most poignant letters. Surprisingly, however, Christian epigraphic material from Philippi and the lower Strymon valley remains rather scarce in comparison with that of central Macedonia, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, has proven to be much more prolific epigraphically. While, at first glance, it seems that Christianity had a more limited impact on eastern Macedonia, vestiges of sumptuous ecclesiastical monuments attest quite the opposite. Christian communities thrived at Philippi, Amphipolis, and Parthicopolis, three major episcopal centers that underwent considerable architectural development between the fourth and the sixth centuries, before declining in the seventh century. Most notable during this period is the multiplication of basilicas at Philippi and Amphipolis, which must have exceeded the liturgical needs of the local communities. This suggests that, in late antiquity, both cities had become significant pilgrimage sites for travelers sojourning on the *via Egnatia* who, in the case of Philippi at least, were eager to commemorate the apostle Paul and also perhaps to commune with what they thought were his relics.