

Middle Byzantine Period

After the seventh-century Arab conquests of the south-eastern Mediterranean and especially after the capture of Crete (c. 826-961), Thessaloniki showed a marked demographic growth, as frightened inhabitants of the islands and the Aegean coast sought refuge in the city. At the same time, people from the northern and central Balkans migrated and settled in Thessaloniki and its surroundings, following the Slavic invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries – Thessaloniki itself was besieged five times between 597 and 676 – and especially after the founding of Bulgaria in 681. It has also been thought that the economic and geopolitical importance of Thessaloniki increased as a direct consequence of the creation of the Bulgarian state. The city became a military bulwark against Bulgaria, as well as the administrative centre of the Empire and a commercial hub for regional and inter-regional trade and as a centre for the promulgation of Christian and Imperial ideology to the Slavs.

Constantinople's restoration as the centre of Byzantine-Bulgarian trade in the last decade of the ninth century, seriously affected Thessaloniki's importance as an administrative and commercial centre. The situation further deteriorated with the outbreak of conflict between the two rivals in the region of Macedonia, culminating with the sack of Thessaloniki by the Saracens in the summer of 904 and the consequent enslavement of its inhabitants. The resulting period of population decline lasted until the reign of Vasileios II (963-1025). From the middle of the eleventh century, the Empire was in crisis, endangered by diverse enemies threatening its security. Thessaloniki itself was besieged by the Bulgarians in 1042. Nevertheless, its economy appeared to be flourishing, according to the description of the annual fair of Saint Dēmētrios by the anonymous author of the twelfth-century satirical dialogue *Timarion*. The demographic increase of Thessaloniki and its region continued until the mid-fourteenth century¹⁷⁸. It has even been estimated that the size of the city in the eleventh or twelfth centuries reached 150,000¹⁷⁹. The city was briefly captured by the Normans in 1185, while the anomalous political situation at the end of the twelfth century led to

the fall of Constantinople and, a little later, of Thessaloniki to the Crusaders. Thessaloniki then became the capital of the Montferrat Crusader state, the Kingdom of Thessalonica, for the next twenty years, before being captured in 1224 by Theodore Komnenos Doukas, ruler of the Despotate of Epirus. Doukas then used it as his capital. Finally, in 1246, it became part of the Empire of Nicaea.

All this and the consequent fluctuations that resulted, necessarily affected the commercial life of Thessaloniki and can be considered in different ways in connection with the professional and artisanal activity in the city. This is especially apparent when the archaeological findings are examined in comparison with the historical texts that refer to the administrative and economic position of Thessaloniki in the Byzantine Empire, especially in the Balkan peninsula, during the Middle Byzantine period¹⁸⁰.

Urban Planning

Urban planning seems to have been neglected, if not actually non-existent, in Byzantium during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. In the case of Thessaloniki, as in other ancient cities with a continuous existence, what defines them is the degree of preservation of the ancient structures that originally shaped them. What is generally to be noted is the abandonment of planning on a predefined geometrical layout. Organised building is only observed in the constructing and maintenance of fortifications¹⁸¹.

Byzantine Thessaloniki, according to the picture presented by the archaeological excavations, preserved its Roman urban grid with twenty-four quarters (*insulae*) on an east-west axis and eight running north-south¹⁸². On the seaboard side and especially towards the port, the rectangular Hippodameian system was not applied. On the contrary, streets follow the coastline. In the northern, mountainous part of the city, where the Hippodameian system was never applied, no regularity in the setting of the streets is observed. The influx of large numbers of refugees and new-comers caused, at least temporarily, a shortage of available houses and lodging places and resulted in using places such as the public baths

178 Laiou/Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* 90, 93 with bibliography.

179 Treadgold, *A History* 702.

180 Kōnstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 81-94. – For a general overview on Macedonian History of this period, see the works of Christophilopoulou, *Politikē istoria* 250-257. – Eadem, *Politikes exelixeis* 258-2663. – Ahrweiler, *Politikē Istoría* 272-279. – Karagiannopoulos, *Politikē Istoría* 279-288. – Theo-

charidēs, *Istoría Makedonias* 41-95. – Stavridou-Zaphraka, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 114-135. – Vakalopoulos, *Istoría Thessalonikēs* 102-185.

181 Bouras, *Poleodomika passim* and esp. 89.

182 Markē, *Sōstikes anaskaphes* 208, with references to a plethora of salvage excavations that support this view.

as emergency shelter¹⁸³. There was, though, still space for gardens within the city walls, probably in the grounds of houses, or even in the areas close to the walls, which were probably not built upon¹⁸⁴. The lower part of the city appears to have been densely populated, while the upper part, probably somewhere below modern Olympiados Street, where large cisterns for the redistribution of the water are found¹⁸⁵, had few buildings and was mostly occupied by monasteries.

In the Early Christian period, large urban villas had been built north of the complex of Hagios Dēmētrios, between Kassandros and Olympiados streets, within the framework of the Hippodameian grid. It appears that these now underwent major alterations. After being earlier subdivided into smaller properties, some of them were now abandoned, whilst some others were converted into monasteries and the entire area remained sparsely populated¹⁸⁶. The perimeter of the lower city was occupied by poorer neighbourhoods and ruined complexes¹⁸⁷. The excavations conducted in the city show that building activity in this period was mainly the remodeling and subdividing of Early Christian buildings with only the occasional construction of new ones. The spacious rooms of Early Christian houses were subdivided into separate apartments. In some instances even the original central atrium was converted into living quarters. These new houses, sometimes on two stories, together comprised a residential complex with a central court (αὐλαί)¹⁸⁸.

Public areas, such as squares, agoras and street porticoes, were gradually encroached upon by private individuals – even the streets were partly occupied – creating a warren of narrow streets¹⁸⁹. Shops lined the streets or were found in private courtyards (αὐλαί), in contrast to the public nature of the space of the Ancient Agora. The main street (*Leōphoros*) was lined on both sides with workshops¹⁹⁰, just like the *mesē* in Constantinople. Furthermore, porticoes (also known as *emvoloi*), just like *fora*, were used by a variety of trades. They lined the streets of Constantinople and many other cities and often incorporated commercial premises behind the colonnades¹⁹¹.

Infrastructure

Water and sewage pipes, water reservoirs and wells have been found in almost every salvage excavation, showing the constant use of this essential urban infrastructure¹⁹². In the eighth century, due to the damage caused by earlier earthquakes, mainly, if not exclusively, repairs of public buildings were undertaken. The vestibule of the Octagonal throne room in Galerius' palace and the *cryptoporticus* in the southern part of the Agora after the earthquakes of 620-630 were converted into large cisterns, apparently as part of the city's preparations to improve its ability to withstand protracted sieges¹⁹³. The construction of new water reservoirs, in addition to the ones that already existed, give an indirect indication of the thriving population of the city at this time.

- 183 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 90. – Bakirtzēs, Agiō Dēmētrioi Thaumata 2:3 §224: «προσπλευσάντων ἐνθάδε πλείστων ἐπιηλύδων» [and many foreigners had put ashore here]; §226: «οἱ ἐνταῦθα προσπλέοντες» [those who put ashore here]; 1:14 §143: «πολλοὺς αὐτῶν προτροπαῖς τε καὶ ὑποσχέσει πείθειν τῇ πόλει προσχωρεῖν, ὡς μεμεστῶσθαι τὰ μὴ χρηματίζοντα δημόσια βάλανεια τῶν ἐκ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς πληθῆος μεταχωρούντων, κάντεῦθεν πλείστην τοῖς τῆς πόλεως χαρμονὴν καὶ θάρσος ἐγγίγνεσθαι» [through incitements and promises, they persuaded many of them to come over to the city, with the result that the public baths which had fallen into disuse were filled with a great number of barbarians who moved in, which fact filled the city's citizens with courage and joy]. – On the gradual decline of baths from the fourth century onwards, their falling out of use and their occasional use as private dwellings and workshops, see Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 341-343.
- 184 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 92. – Bakirtzēs, Agiō Dēmētrioi Thaumata 2:4 §252: «ἐν τοῖς ἐξῶν τῆς πόλεως κήποις» [in the gardens inside the city].
- 185 Markē, *Sōstikes anaskaphes* 281, with older bibliography. – The Roman infrastructure of Thessaloniki's water supply system from Mountain Chortiatēs was improved and augmented in the Middle Byzantine period and operated without interruption until 1970. An underground pipe and waterbridge supplied water to the Acropolis at the north of the city. From there, through a many number of bifurcations, it was distributed to the baths and the water reservoirs of the city. One of the most important cisterns was quite probably the one in the precinct of the Vlatadōn monastery, Manōledakēs/Androudēs, *To systēma ydromasteutēs* 285-292 esp. 290. – Akrivopoulou, *Ydatogephyra Chortiatē*.
- 186 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 105. – Caminiatae, *De expugnatione* §5.2: «τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πεδιάσιμον εἶναι καὶ ταῖς χρεῖαις τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατάλληλον, τὸ δὲ τοῖς βουνοῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὄρων ἀκρότησιν ἀνατείνεσθαι» [One part of it is flat and suitable for the inhabitants' needs, while the other rises up towards the mountains and their peaks]. – A monastery operating in this period in Thessaloniki's upper town is Latoumou, see Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* 392-394. – Also Karydas, *Anaskaphes Agias Sophias kai Gyzē* 342-344. Karydas, *Vyzantinē monē stēn odo Thēseōs* 152-154 pl. 6; Karydas, *Anaskaphes Glaukou* 249-255.
- 187 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 105. – For a detailed description, see Saint Theodōra, *Life* §50.1-14, where a young Theodōros was possessed by the Devil (μειρακιῶδες παιδιαῖς [...]) ἐν τινι τῶν τῆς πόλεως φορυτῶν ἔπτων καὶ τῆδε κάκεισε φερέμενος ἰξεύων τε καὶ παγίδας στρουθοῖς τῆ γῆ κρυφῆδὸν ἐντιθείς, τοῦ πονηροῦ συνελήφθη πάγαις [...] μέγαν κτύπον ἐν ταῖς

ἐκεῖ πλησιαζούσαις καμάραις ποιήσας) [running impetuously in outdoor children's games in one of the city's dumps, wandering here and there, chasing birds with a limestick and setting traps in the ground for sparrows, he was caught in the traps of Evil [the Devil] raising a great racket among the nearby arches]. – On a stylite, who lived in the western end of the city, see Saint Grégoire le Décapolite 60.8-11, and Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *Ē Thessalonikē stē Vyzantinē logotechnia* 104, with further bibliography.

- 188 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 106, with relevant examples of houses found in the Diokētēriou Square. – Karydas, *Palaiochristianikes oikies* II 141. – Markē, *Sōstikes anaskaphes* 215.
- 189 On the finds proving that the *Leōphoros* was partly occupied, as was the marble-paved plaza east of the junction of the modern Venizelou Street, as well as on the major rising of the street and its transformation into a gravel-paved street at some point in the tenth century, see Makropoulou/Kōnstantinidou, *METRO Thessalonikēs – Stathmos Venizelou*.
- 190 Caminiatae, *De expugnatione* §9.6: «Λεωφόρου γὰρ δημοσίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀγοῦσης ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως διὰ μέσου τῆσδε χωρούσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναγκαίως πειθούσης τοὺς παροδεύοντας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδιαιτρίβειν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζεσθαι, πᾶν ὅποιον ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν καλῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκαρπούμεθά τε καὶ προσεκτώμεθα» [the main street ran from west to east through the city's centre, and encouraged travelers to stay in our city and lay in all necessary supplies. We benefited from them, and acquired all the goods one could name.]. Also, Makropoulou/Kōnstantinidou, *METRO Thessalonikēs – Stathmos Venizelou*.
- 191 Mundell Mango, *The Commercial Map of Constantinople* 192, with further bibliography. On the rights and obligations of the owners of the stores and workshops in relation to the colonnades see also Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 195-196.
- 192 The information preserved by Kaminiates regarding a sewage system in the city is of importance, see Caminiatae, *De expugnatione* §57.7. – The finds of the metro excavations in the area of *Leōphoros* (junction of modern Venizelou Street and Agias Sophias Street) are enlightening regarding the preservation and use of Roman and Early Christian sewers until the Ottoman period: Dr Despoina Makropoulou and Mrs Krino Kōnstantinidou, personal communication. Also, see Makropoulou/Kōnstantinidou, *METRO Thessalonikēs – Stathmos Venizelou*.
- 193 On the *octagonon* (the octagonal throne room), see Spieser, *Thessalonique* 110-116. – Vitti, *Poleodomikē exelikhē* 210-213. – On the *cryptoporticus* see Bakirtzēs, *Agora tēs Thessalonikēs* 5-19.

The ninth century saw the repair of several older monuments and the city walls¹⁹⁴. Inscriptions on the walls also attest to their repair in the twelfth century in parts connected with the acropolis¹⁹⁵. There is also direct reference in the written sources to old quarries that once operated within the city walls, at its northern, rocky part¹⁹⁶.

Fortifications and Port

It is probable that the acropolis was constructed as part of a tenth-century fortification programme. Probably in the same period, a second sea wall, seen only in excavations, was built south of the existing seaward fortifications. New curtain walls were built outside the old wall bordering the shoreline, so that the city was only accessible from the south to shipping¹⁹⁷. The Constantinian port continued to be the main commercial port of the city at that time¹⁹⁸, but it was also the naval port and for that reason it was fortified by walls and towers. The sources also note the presence of state granaries (ὠρεῖα)¹⁹⁹ and customs around the port. Other ports in the city, apparently of lesser importance, were also mentioned in the sources: the *ekklēsiastikē skala* (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ σκάλα), probably at the south-east end of the city, connected to the Galerian palace²⁰⁰, and the *kellarion* (κελλάριον), in one of the coves to the east of the city²⁰¹.

Churches

Large Early Christian churches (the Rotonda, the Hagios Dēmētrios, and the Acheiropoiētos) were renovated and repaired in this period²⁰², while the Hagia Sophia was constructed anew, becoming the largest new edifice in the

Balkans during the seventh century²⁰³. The large octagonal church in the western part of the city was destroyed and in its place, probably at a later date, a monastery was founded²⁰⁴. Among the surviving churches of this period is the Church of the Mother of God, approximately in the middle of the *Via Regia*, which was built in 1028 under Prōtospatharios Christophoros, the Katepano of Longobardia, and his family. It is known today as the Panagia Chalkeōn²⁰⁵.

Monasteries

Many monasteries existed inside the city during the Middle Byzantine period, probably due to the impetus of monasticism after the Iconoclasm. They were incorporated into the urban grid and unlike the Early Christian churches they do not represent significant landmarks. The founding of larger numbers of monasteries in Thessaloniki took place in a different period to that of Constantinople. Foundations flourished from the late eighth century to the middle of the tenth century, again in the twelfth century, and particularly in the Palaeologan period, especially during the early fourteenth century up until the conquest of the city by the Turks in 1430²⁰⁶. Among the convents we might mention those of Hagios Loukas, Hagios Stephanos (where Saint Theodōra lived as a nun²⁰⁷) and Vasilikon²⁰⁸, and of the monasteries, the Akapniou²⁰⁹, Philokalou²¹⁰, and the Prodromou founded by Emperor Constantine VII in 946²¹¹. According to written sources, in Middle and Late Byzantine Thessaloniki, 83 per cent were male institutions and 17 per cent were female – a ratio similar to that seen in Constantinople and far higher than that of the provinces²¹².

- 194 Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou/Tourta, *Peripatoi* 20-21. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 278.
- 195 Oikonomidēs, *La tour* 33-36. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 370.
- 196 In his account of Latomou Monastery in Thessaloniki, Ignatios, the abbot of Akapniou monastery, mentions old stone quarries inside the city: «περὶ τὰ βορειώτερα που καὶ ἀνωφρέστερα μέρη τῆς πόλεως, ἃ δὴ Λατόμια ἐγγυῶρις ὀνομάζονται, διὰ τὸ τοὺς λίθους ἐκείθεν (οἰμαί) λατομείσθαι τοὺς χρησίμους εἰς οἰκοδομὰς». [somewhere in the northern and higher parts of the city, which are called by the locals *Latomia* [quarries], because they quarried building stone from there]. – For the text and some recent comments on the passage, see Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *Ἡ Θεσσαλονικὴ στή Vyzantinῆ logotechnia* 133-135.
- 197 Bakirtzēs, *Thalassia ochyrōsē* 316-318. – Velenēs, *Ta teichē* 133. – Bakirtzis, *Urban Continuity* 39-42.
- 198 Bakirtzēs, *Thalassia ochyrōsē* 315-320. – Odorico, *Vyzantino limani* 121-141. – For finds from the plots 18 Moskōph Street and 3 Danaidōn Street, see Markē/Chatzeiōannidēs, *Phrangōn* 28, 273-274.
- 199 Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 94-95. – Bakirtzēs, *Agiou Dēmētriou Thaumata* 2:4 §244: «δντος ἐν τοῖς ἐνθάδε δημοσίοις ὠρείοις σίτου.» – *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2002, 9.
- 200 Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 95. – Bakirtzēs, *Thalassia ochyrōsē* 320-321. – Spieser, *Note sur la chronologie* 34, assumes that the *ekklēsiastikē skala* would have been inside Thessaloniki's main harbour.
- 201 Bakirtzēs, *Agiou Dēmētriou Thaumata* 2:1 §186: «εἰς τὸν πρὸς δύσιν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς σκάλας πύργου, ἐνθα καὶ παραπύλιον ὑπάρχει» [at the western tower of the *ekklēsiastikē skala* (literally «ecclesiastical ladder» or «staircase»), where there is a small side gate]; 2:1 §182: «εἰς τόπον κοιλώδη ὀρμίσσεως τινος ὑπαρχούσης, τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων κελλάριον» [in a cove located there, that was called «*kellarion*» by the ancients]. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 95. – Bakirtzēs, *Thalassia ochyrōsē* 321-322, placing it at Karampournaki. – Toska et al., *Synkrotēma* 426, place it in the bay to the east of the White Tower.
- 202 Velenēs, *Mesovyzantinῆ naodomia passim*. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 277-280. – On the Rotonda: Moutsopoulos, *Palaiochristianikῆ phase*

- Rotondas* 355-375. – Theocharidou, *Rotonta Thessalonikēs* 57-75. – Velenēs, *Mesovyzantinῆ naodomia* 51-62. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 279. – On the wall painting of the Ascension, see Xyngopoulos, *Toichographia Analēpseōs* 32-53. – On Hagios Dēmētrios: On the stairs of the south-eastern entrance to the church a small chapel, dedicated to Saint Euthymios, was built in the late ninth–tenth century, see Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 279 and Velenēs, *Mesovyzantinῆ naodomia* 8-16, 20. – On the Acheiropoiētos Basilica: Raptēs, *Paratērēseis* 220. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 279. – Velenēs, *Mesovyzantinῆ naodomia* 19-24, 37-51.
- 203 Theocharidou, *Architektonikῆ naōn Agias Sophias* 196-197. – Bakirtzēs, *Neōteres paratērēseis* 167-180. – Velenēs, *Chronologēsē Agias Sophias* 72-81. – For a dating in the middle of the eighth century Velenēs, *Mesovyzantinῆ naodomia* 62-94. – On the late-ninth century mosaics of the Ascension, see Pelekanidis, *I mosaici* 337-349 and Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou/Mauro-poulou-Tsioumē/Bakirtzēs, *Psēphidōta Thessalonikēs* 238-295 esp. 290-294.
- 204 *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2001, 7. – Markē, *Enas oktagōnikos naos* 117-133.
- 205 Euangelidēs, *Panagia Chalkeōn*. – Velenēs, *Vyzantinῆ architektonikῆ Thessalonikēs* 1-14. – Velenēs, *Mesovyzantinῆ naodomia* 16-19, 26-33, 94-97. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 371-373.
- 206 Varinlioglu, *Urban Monasteries* 197.
- 207 Saint Theodōra, *Life* §43.2-3: «συνήλθε οὐ βραχὺς μοναζουσῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐκ τῶν γειτνιαζόντων μοναστηρίων» [many nuns from the neighbouring nunneries were gathered]; §60.7: «εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῆς ὑπέστρεψεν μοναστήριον» [she returned to her (own) nunnery]. – *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2001, 8. – Bakirtzēs, *Monē Agias Theodōras* 587-588.
- 208 Magdalino/Darrouzēs, *Some Additions and Corrections* 277-279 on Βασιλικὸν nunnery.
- 209 Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* 347-349.
- 210 Theocharidēs, *Sēmantikῆ monē* 1-26, especially on its founding 6-7. – Euangelidēs, *Eikonomachika mnēmēia* 341-351. – Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 279-280.
- 212 Varinlioglu, *Urban Monasteries* 192.

As to the general distribution of monastic establishments in Thessaloniki, the following can be noted. The location of approximately a quarter of all monasteries (23.47 per cent) known through written sources remains unknown. More than 57 per cent of the remaining monasteries were located along the inland walls – especially towards the eastern walls – and 33 per cent in the higher regions of the city. They were quite accessible: 40 per cent of them were in close proximity to a major road, a logical arrangement if one takes into consideration their character as centres of social provision. Furthermore, 27 per cent were in the city centre, indicating the availability of land here, as well as the monasteries' integration into the city's civic centre²¹³. More specifically, some of the information preserved in the sources notes that in the north-western part of the city someone converted his property into a monastery dedicated to Saint Mark²¹⁴. Also, in the northern part of the city, close to the small Aproïtoi Gate (Παραπόρτιον τῶν Ἀπροΐτων), the Monastery of Saints Theodore and Mercurios – known also as the Monastery of Koukouliates – is mentioned, among others, in the eighth century. At some time this was relocated to the north in the area of the quarries, i.e. Latomeia (Λατομεΐα), near the chapel (εὐκτήριον) of Saint Zacharias, which is known even today as the Latomou Monastery²¹⁵.

Residences and Residential Areas

The large late-antique houses that were built in the upper part of the lower city and the lower part of the upper city, i.e. north of modern Kassandrou Street, were subdivided into smaller properties or converted into monasteries and as such they continued to cover an entire *insula* as a single complex²¹⁶. Thessaloniki was organised in quarters, typically around a church which gave its name to the neighbourhood. The sources mention the neighbourhoods (γειτονίαι) of Hagios Mēnas, Kataphygē, Acheiropoiētos, Hagia Pela-

gia, Asōmatoī, Hagios Paramonos, Chrysē, Omphalos, and Hippodromos²¹⁷. It is known that Jews lived near the port in the Vrochthoi (Βρόγθων) quarter, near the market in the Rogoz (or Rogos) quarter, and probably west of the Panagia Chalkeōn in the *Omphalos* quarter²¹⁸. Eustathios of Thessalonica also mentions in a letter to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch in the twelfth century that before his bishopric some of the Jews had moved into Christian plots, rebuilding ruined dwellings or even inhabiting Christian buildings, some of which were decorated with Christian religious pictures²¹⁹.

Public Buildings

The only surviving secular public building of this time is the bath on Theotokopoulou Street, which has been dated to the eleventh century²²⁰. From indirect references in the sources it can be assumed that there was a palace, an episcopal residency and the private residences of high officials serving in the city²²¹. There is evidence of teachers in the city from the fourth century when Eutychios the Teacher (Εὐτύχιος Διδάσκαλος) lived, known from his funerary inscription, which has survived up to the modern period²²². The presence of schools, though, is not evident until the ninth century when Saint Gregory Decapolite referred to a student of such a school²²³.

Cemeteries

The Byzantine period saw an important change in the cityscape with the development of smaller cemeteries within the city. After the seventh century we see these appearing throughout the city, but particularly around or within churches and in large open areas, such as the Ancient Agora. Here we mostly see the use of simple pit graves and only rarely examples of narrow barrel-vaulted tombs²²⁴.

The otherwise obscure picture of the professional, artisanal and ultimately commercial side of Middle Byzantine Thessaloniki²²⁵ is illuminated with great clarity by John Kamin-

213 Varinlioglu, *Urban Monasteries* 190-191.

214 Saint Grégoire le Décapolite 60.8-11. – For the text and some recent comments on the passage, see Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *E Thessalonikē stē Vyzantinē logotechnia* 103.

215 As was mentioned in the *vita* of Hosios David, see Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *E Thessalonikē stē Vyzantinē logotechnia* 98-101, with comments on the text and relevant bibliography.

216 On the disintegration of the rich houses in Byzantium from the fourth to the late sixth centuries in general, see Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 168-173, 454-454, for their use as chapels or monasteries see p. 172 with further bibliography. – Especially on Thessaloniki, see Karydas, *Vyzantinē monē stēn odo Thēseōs* 161 fig. 6. – Karydas, *Anaskaphes Glaukou* 249-250. – Bakirtzis, *Urban Continuity* 61, with further bibliography, proving that there was indeed no dense habitation during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods in the upper city and on the outskirts of the city.

217 On the increasing importance of the churches in the cities, their proliferation and their distribution pattern, see Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 384-426. – On the fact that streets or quarters were named after the Early Christian church, see Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 422-423, with bibliography. Especially for Thessaloniki see *infra* nt. 386.

218 Moutsopoulos, *Evrāikes synoikies* 1-41.

219 Eustathios, *Opuscula* 344 epistula λβ'. – Starr, *The Jews* 237 text 184. – Moutsopoulos, *Evrāikes synoikies* 21: »Ἐπί τιων πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀρειωτάτου ἁγίου ἀρχιερέων παρεχωρήθησαν Ἑβραῖοι πλατυνηθῆναι. ...Καὶ ᾤκησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἐρειποτοπίαις χριστιανικοῖς, ἀνοικισθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν οἰκήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ᾤκουν Χριστιανοί. ὧν οἰκημάτων τινὰ καὶ θείους εἰκονισμασιν ἠγλαΐζοντο καὶ ἐπάλλοντο.« [During the bishoprics of some of the holy prelates who came

before my worthless self, Jews were granted rights to expand (their area of residence). Some rebuilt in Christian ruins, and others in buildings where Christians lived. And some of these buildings were embellished with holy icons and were celebrated].

220 Trypsianē-Omērou, *Vyzantino Ioutro* 587-599. – Trypsiani-Omirou, *Byzantine Bath, Thessaloniki* 314-317. – On an Early Christian bath connected to Acheiropoiētos, see *cat. no. 86*. – On the baths in general see Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 325-342. – On the baths in Thessaloniki see Vitti, *Poleodomikē elixilē* 151, 194-197, 202-203, 241-243.

221 Rautman, *Observations on the Byzantine Palaces of Thessaloniki* 297-298, refers, among others, to Kaminates, who was a cleric and *kouinuklesios* in the Imperial palace in 904; and to a reference of Eustathios to an Imperial precinct ἐξ Κομνηνοῦ in 1185.

222 Tsigaridas/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Katalogos no. 8*. – Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions* 123.

223 Saint Grégoire le Décapolite §62.5-6: »νέω δε τινη ἐν τῇ τῶν παιδων σχολῇ διατρίβοντι μοναχός τις ὄφειλε χρυσοῦ νόμισμα ἐν« [a monk owed a gold coin to a young man who was studying in the boys' school].

224 For a concise presentation on relics and Christian burial sites and on the graves' import in the cities, see Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 433-439, 459-460, with further bibliography. – Kanonidēs, *Vyzantino koimētēriou plateias Dioikētēriou* 523-530. – Kanonidēs, *Neōtera stoicheia apo tis anaskaphes tou* 1998, 183-194. – Kanonidēs, *Taphes entos tōn teichōn tēs Thessalonikēs* 207-218.

225 Kōnstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 81-94, with all relevant bibliography, also raises the question whether that part of the text with the description of the city belongs to the original core of the text, or whether it is a Late Byzantine addition.

iates (or Caminiates), who described it as a dynamic and populous metropolis in his work *On the Capture of Thessalonica*, concerning the Saracen conquest in 904. He noted the central role of the city's busy main street, the *Via Regia*, or as it was then known, the *Λεωφόρος* (*Leōphoros*). The shops along the *leōphoros* were filled with different types of goods, namely woollen and silk textiles, gold and silver jewellery (some of them embellished with many precious stones), bronze, iron, tin and lead metalworks, and glassware²²⁶. Although no direct reference to whether these goods were local products or not is given, it is likely that many of them were locally produced and that only some were imported²²⁷. The premises on the *Leōphoros* operated as both workshops and sales outlets. They were only recently discovered – on today's Egnatia Street – and excavated to reveal how small and closely packed they were, as well as some of the items they produced, such as jewellery and their moulds²²⁸.

There was an abundance of agricultural products and livestock from the surrounding plains, fish from nearby lakes and rivers, and a thriving port²²⁹. The economy of Thessaloniki has always been based on a combination of agriculture and trade, on the products of its hinterland and on the products of its artisans, and the imports traded by its merchants²³⁰. In the city centre, according to both written sources and ar-

chaeological finds, were many *ergasteria* (retail shops and/or workshops)²³¹. These often extended their space onto the covered pavements or porticoes (ἐμβολοί)²³², or were occasionally concentrated in courtyards (αὐλαί). Each one of the courtyards formed a small economic unit, additionally often comprising houses and other buildings as well²³³. At least in one case, a courtyard was used exclusively for commercial and non-residential purposes²³⁴. Kilns have been recently found to the east of the waterfront, beside the sea wall, and near the port²³⁵.

The *Leōphoros* was lined on both sides with workshops²³⁶, just like the *Mesē* (Μέση) in Constantinople. It is well known that porticoes (or *emboloi*), just like *fora*, were used by a variety of trades and lined the streets of Constantinople and many other cities. In addition, commercial premises were often found behind these porticoes²³⁷. These workshops cannot be easily distinguished from other shops, since both manufacturing and retail activities took place in them. They were located among dwelling houses, giving the impression that no consideration was shown to the sort of disturbance they would cause to the local inhabitants²³⁸.

Apart from those artisanal activities that, due to their nature, are untraceable archaeologically, remains of workshops of all kinds of trades and professions from this period have

226 Caminiatae, De expugnatione §9.6-9: »λεωφόρου γὰρ δημοσίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀγούσης ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως διὰ μέσου τῆσδε χωρούσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναγκαιῶς πειθούσης τοὺς παροδεύοντας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδιαιτρίβειν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζεσθαι, πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν καλῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔκαρπούμεθ' αὐτὰ τε καὶ προσεκτώμεθα. ἔνθεν καὶ παμμυγίης τις ὄχλος αἰεὶ περιστοίχει τὰς ἀγυῖας τῶν τε αὐτοχθόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιξενουμένων, ὡς εὐχερέστερον εἶναι ψάμμιον παράλλιον ἐξαρθεῖν ἢ τοὺς τὴν ἀγορὰν διοδεύοντας καὶ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων ποιουμένους τὴν μέθοδον. ἐντεῦθεν χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ λίθων τιμῶν παμπληθεῖς θησαυροὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Σηρῶν ὑφάσματα ὡς τὰ ἐξ ἐρίων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπινεόητο. περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὑλῶν, χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου κασσιτέρου τε καὶ μολύβδου καὶ ὕλου, οἷς αἱ διὰ πυρὸς τέχνηαι τὸν βίον συνεχουσι, καὶ μνησθῆναι μόνον παρέλκον ἡγοῦμαι, τοσοῦτων δ' ὄντων ὡς ἄλλην τιὰ δύνασθαι πόλιν δι' αὐτῶν δομεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαρτίζεσθαι.« [the main street ran from west to east through the city's centre, and encouraged travellers to stay in our city and lay in all necessary supplies. We benefited from them, and acquired all the goods one could name. There was a mixed crowd of locals and foreigners that continuously frequented the streets. It was easier to count the grains of sand on the beach than (the numbers of) those crossing the marketplace and engaging in commerce. From this (commerce), there were created for most of them countless treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones, and they wore silk garments the way others wore woollen ones. I think it is superfluous to speak of other materials – copper, iron, tin, lead, and glass – through which the professions that employ fire sustain our lives. There were so many of these materials that one could have employed them to build and equip a new city].

227 On the artisanal production of Thessaloniki and the trade during the ninth and tenth centuries, especially, see comments by Nasledova, *Remeslo i trgovija* 61-84. – Also, see Kōnstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 56-58. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 110-111.

228 Makropoulou et al., *METRO kata to 2011*; Makropoulou, *To ergo* (cat. no. 59).

229 Lefort, *The Rural Economy* 253-254, for discussion of information regarding the market-gardening suburbs of Thessaloniki, mainly to the west and south-east of the city and their products in Middle and Late Byzantine periods. – Also Laiou, *The Agrarian Economy* 358-359, for a mid-fifteenth-century case between Ivērōn monastery and the Argyropouloi family that involves a vegetable garden (κηποπεριβόλιον) just outside the city. – Caminiatae, *De expugnatione* §5.6-15. – For a Greek translation with comments, see Kameniatīs, *Stēn Alōsē* 57f.

230 Laiou, *Thessalonikē, ē endochōra kai o oikonomikos chōros* 183. – On large tracts of land, entire villages and water mills that were the property of the church of Thessaloniki in the surrounding areas, see Theodorīdēs, *To ktēmatalogio passim*.

231 e. g. cat. no. 98. – The fact that the term *ergastērion* (ἐργαστήριον, workshop) was used irrespectively for all shops, offers an indirect hint that in the majority of the shops goods were not simply sold, but also, at least partly, manufactured. For the term *ἐργαστήριον*, see Koukoules, *Vios kai politismos*, B1, 235-236. – Kazhdan, *Ergasterion* 726. – Also, Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 396, 422-423.

232 Koukoules, *Eustathiou Iaographika* 385. – Koukoules, *Odoi kai emvoloi* 3-27.

233 On these courtyards and their topography in general, see Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 422 nt. 158, and Bouras, *Aspects of the Byzantine City* 515-520, both with further bibliography. – For two examples in fourteenth-century Thessaloniki where the term *aulē* (αὐλή) is used in legal documents to indicate the entire complex of buildings and the courtyard, see Živojinović, *The Houses* 472.

234 On the presence and the density of *ergastēria* in the area of *kataphyḡē* (καταφυγή) witness a document issued in 1117, preserved in the archives of Mount Athos, where can be seen that in one complex the monastery owned seven, two-storied *ergastēria*. See Oikonomidēs, *Docheiriou* 233. The complex presented a kind of a shopping centre or mall, consisting of non-residential workshops, according to Papagiannē, *Morphes oikodomōn* 24-25, 35-40.

235 At least two, double-roomed workshops with kilns and wells, dated to sometime between the mid-seventh and twelfth centuries, have been found (cat. nos 3, 67). One of them was secondarily used as a lime kiln. Tsimpidou-Avlōnitē/Lykidou/Euthymoglou *Nea stoicheia*. – On the sea walls and their relocation towards the sea, see Bakirtzēs, *Thalassia ochyrōsē passim* esp. 329. – Velenēs, *Ta teichē* 132-133. – Further to the east, closer to the port and adjoining the sea walls, at 18 Moskōph Street (cat. no. 22), Middle Byzantine circular kilns (identified as pottery kilns) have also been located, see *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2002, 14-15. – Furthermore, at 59 *Leōphoros Nikēs* a modern period pottery kiln has been excavated (cat. no. 38).

236 Caminiatae, *De expugnatione* §9.6: »λεωφόρου γὰρ δημοσίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀγούσης ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως διὰ μέσου τῆσδε χωρούσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναγκαιῶς πειθούσης τοὺς παροδεύοντας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδιαιτρίβειν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζεσθαι, πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν καλῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔκαρπούμεθ' αὐτὰ τε καὶ προσεκτώμεθα.« [the main street ran from west to east through the city's centre, and encouraged travellers to stay in our city and lay in all necessary supplies. We benefited from them, and acquired all the goods one could name]. – Also, Makropoulou/Kōnstantinidou, *METRO Thessalonikēs* – *Stathmos Venizelou*.

237 Mundell Mango, *The Commercial Map of Constantinople* 192, with further bibliography. – On the rights of the owners of the stores and workshops in relation to the colonnades, see also Sarandi, *The Byzantine City* 195-196.

238 Mundell Mango, *The Commercial Map of Constantinople* 192, with further bibliography.

been located in excavations both outside and within the city walls. We find them in residential quarters, close to large churches, near the sea walls in the centre and around the port. Potteries and brickyards have been found to the east, outside the walls, but also in the city, in the thinly populated north-western part, as well as on the *Leōphoros* in the eleventh century, and the west end of the city in the area of the port. Glassworkers operated in central areas close to the Hagia Sophia, as well as in the densely populated western part of the centre. Metal workshops have been found in several sites along the *Leōphoros*, along other main streets, close to the port and near the west walls. A coppersmiths' market, the *Chalkeutikē Stoa* (Χαλκευτική Στοά), is known to have existed on the *Leōphoros*, west of the Ancient Agora. Finally, noisome and aggravating for the local inhabitants, dyeworks have been found north of the Hagia Sophia and south of the *Leōphoros*, as well as further north, to the west of the Hagios Dēmētrios – both densely populated residential areas.

Kaminiates mentioned a market, which he described as the heart of the economic life of the city. According to Bakirtzis, this can probably be connected with the *Megalophoros* and the area of the Ancient Agora²³⁹. Also, the coppersmiths' market, *Chalkeutikē Stoa*, where copper vessels and utensils were made, it is known, from the *Passio Altera* of Saint Dēmētrios' life, to exist at the south-west of the main Agora of the city (the *Megalophoros*)²⁴⁰. Also, another market, or possibly a fair, is mentioned, the *Phoros of Stavriou* (Φόρος Σταυρίου), in the area of Hagios Mēnas, close to the port²⁴¹. Furthermore, another market, or probably a fair, is mentioned by Theodōros Studitēs in a letter of 797. He was then in exile in Thessaloniki, living at the west end of the central street, inside the Cassandria Gate. There, probably on the site of the Hippodrome, according to Bakirtzis, the Thessalonians and

the inhabitants of Kalamaria traded agricultural products, raw materials, artisanal products and commercial supplies²⁴². It is well attested that in Macedonia in general and the region of Thessaloniki multiple activities and polyculture prevailed in agriculture throughout the Byzantine era, offering a wide array of products for the city's markets²⁴³.

From the ninth century onwards, and probably from quite earlier, markets were held periodically outside the city limits, gradually evolving into the annual fair, the so-called *Dēmētria*. This large livestock and goods fair took place outside the western walls from 20 October to 28 October in connection with the annual veneration of Saint Dēmētrios. At this fair regional, inter-regional and international trade was catered for²⁴⁴. Here merchants from far and wide gathered, selling their products from tents arranged in rows forming a long road with many short, vertical bifurcations. Such an arrangement reminded the author of the *Timarion* of the numerous short legs of an animal²⁴⁵. The author goes on to praise the fertility of the Axios valley and the commercial activity of the city, as shown in this annual festival of Saint Dēmētrios²⁴⁶. Greek merchants from all parts of the Byzantine Empire, as well as Bulgarians, Russ, Hungarians, Italians, Celts and Gauls are specifically noted among those taking part in the fair. Some goods, such as those from the Black Sea region, came via Constantinople. Greeks bringing fabrics from Boeotia and Peloponnese are mentioned, as were western merchants, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and French bringing fabrics by ship. Egyptian and Syrian merchandise, probably fabrics, is also mentioned as being sold at the fair²⁴⁷.

It appears that Thessalonian monks were also dealing in lucrative commercial activities, possibly to a greater extent than their religious duties, according to imputations of Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonica²⁴⁸. For example, it is

239 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 109-110. – Caminiatae, De expugnatione §9.7: »τοὺς τὴν ἀγορὰν διοδεύοντας καὶ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων ποιουμένους τὴν μέθοδον« [those passing through the marketplace and engaged in commerce]; §38.4: »διήκει τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν μέσῳ« [was running in the middle of the marketplace]. – The area of the Roman Agora of Thessaloniki was an open square in the Late Byzantine period, see Bakirtzis, Urban Continuity 57.

240 Tafarli, Topographie de Thessalonique 126 nt. 2. – Bakirtzēs, Agiou Dēmētriou Thaumata 37, 350 esp. for this reference at p. 36: »ἐκ δυσμῶν τοῦ τῆς πόλεως μεγαλοφόρου ἐν τῇ ἐκεῖσε Χαλκευτικῇ λεγομένῃ Στοᾷ« [in the western part of the city's *Megalophoros*, in the so-called *Chalkeutikē Stoa*].

241 For the only reference to that market, see the Testament of Theodōros Karabas, issued in May 1314, published in *Actes de Chilandar* 60, 62 no. 27. – More recently published in *Actes de Chilandar I*, 216 no. 30 esp. ln. 28.

242 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 111. – Vitti, Poleodomiḱḗ exelixē 216-218. – On this type of markets see also Laiou/Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* 37. – Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture* 188-189. – Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae* §15.106-118 (epistula 3): »προσέμεν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ πύρτι [...] καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας ἤγον διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς« [waited at the eastern gate and after entering they closed the gates and passed through the marketplace]. – See Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *Ἡ Thessalonikḗ stē Vyzantinḗ logotechnia* 6-7. – On the fact that in Constantinople there existed an outer band of animal or food markets as opposed to an inner band of luxury markets in the Forum of Constantine and in *stoai*, see Mundell Mango, *The Commercial Map of Constantinople* 204-205.

243 Laiou/Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* 113-115, 171-172.

244 Laiou/Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* 81-82 for a concise presentation of the classification of the markets, the trade and the exchange systems in Byzantium.

245 Vlachakos, *Timariōn* 54-55, §128-132, 135-136 »ἐμπορικὰ σκηνὰ ἀντιπρόσωποι, στοιχηδὸν ἐκ παραλήλου πυγνύμεναι· ἐπὶ μακρὸν οἱ στοιχοὶ διήκοντες ἀντιπλευρῶ τινὶ διαστάσει διέξοδον ἐν μέσῳ πλατεῖαν εὐρύνοντες καὶ τῇ ρύμῃ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν πάροδον ὑπανοίγοντες. [...] ἐγκάρσιά που τῶν στοιχῶν ἕτεραι σκηνὰ παρεπήγνυντο καὶ αὐταὶ μὲν στοιχηδὸν, ἐπὶ μακρὸν δ' οὐκ ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερὲ μικρότατοι πόδες ἔρπυστικοὶ ὀλκοὶ παρεφύοντο« [Vendors' tents were set up facing one another and in rows extending at great length, with the distance between them leaving in the centre a wide opening for people to pass through. (...) Perpendicular to these, they had set up other tents, these of course also in rows, but in small ones, like tiny legs extending sideways from a long, snake-like body]. Laiou, *Thessalonikḗ, ἡ endochōra kai o oikonomikos chōros* 183-194.

246 Tsaras, *Timariōn* 189-203. Vlachakos, *Timariōn* 47-61, 175-190. On the fair's inter-regional character and its place in the economy of the region, see also Laiou, *Thessalonikḗ, ἡ endochōra kai o oikonomikos chōros* 183-194; Laiou, *Exchange and Trade* 756.

247 Laiou, *Thessalonikḗ, ἡ endochōra kai o oikonomikos chōros* 184. *Kōnstantakorouliou, Vyzantinḗ Thessalonikḗ* 213.

248 Eustathios, *Opuscula* 223, 38-40, in his work Ἐπίσκεψις βίου μοναχικοῦ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν among the others he mentions that one can see them more often in the marketplace than in the church's congregation. »Συχνότερον γὰρ βλέπει τούτους ἢ ἀγορὰ, ἤπερ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἄθροισμα' οἱ καὶ θάττον ἀν' ἀπολέξωνται μονάζειν, ἤπερ ἀγοράζειν« [one sees them more often in the marketplace than at church services]. He culminates his castigation in p. 229 ln. 18: »οἱ τοῦ κορευῆσθαι τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἀπώναντο, καὶ ἀδωὴ αὐτὸ πλημμελεῖν« [who by becoming monks have purchased the right to engage in commerce, and that without fear of sinning], referring to the fact that they prefer the activities of a merchant to those of a monk; and in ln. 48 mentioned that they strive to accumulate money and that they gradually get so fat that he wonders how they present themselves as monks and

known that the Saint Dēmētrios Basilica maintained a candle making workshop, where candles of standardised sizes – small, medium and large – were produced. Larger, man-sized candles came from an independent workshop. These were sold to pilgrims by *paramonarioi*, who kept a percentage of the price²⁴⁹.

Other workshops for making candles must have existed in the city throughout the Byzantine era, supplying Thessalonians with candles for their religious observances²⁵⁰. The virtues of wax candles and their superiority when compared to other burning materials were extolled by Eustathios of Thessalonica, who may have been expressing the general opinion of Byzantine society, certainly that of twelfth-century Thessalonians²⁵¹.

Ceramic Production

During the Middle Byzantine period, workshops specialising in the production of bricks and roof tiles were active outside the city walls to the east, in a small cove²⁵². They were known in early and mid-tenth-century sources as *kaminia*, i.e. kilns²⁵³. The type of bricks produced by this kind of kiln can be seen in the surviving monuments of the city²⁵⁴ (fig. 24).

An eighth-century pottery has been found in the north-western part of the city where clay vessels, possibly even transportation vessels, were produced²⁵⁵. An eleventh or early-twelfth-century pottery was located in the city cen-

tre, practising a regionally rare technique of layering vessels in the kiln by arranging them on shelves of clay rods²⁵⁶. Another pottery kiln used in the manufacture of vessels, generally dated to the Byzantine era, has been unearthed in the south-western part of the city²⁵⁷. Middle Byzantine circular kilns, which have been identified as pottery kilns, have been found near the port, adjoining the sea wall at 18 Moskōph Street²⁵⁸. Tableware present in the city during this period includes greenish bowls and plate, with painted or incised-graffito ware²⁵⁹, and ninth or tenth-century glazed white-clay bowls with polychrome or stamped decoration²⁶⁰. However, there is no indication which of these, if any, were produced locally. There is no evidence for the local production of any of the locally found tableware vessels, with the possible exception of some lower quality twelfth or thirteenth century examples²⁶¹. An apparently imported frieze of glazed tiles bearing kufesque decoration on the southern side of the Panagia Chalkeōn should also be added to the list of the clay products present in the city in the eleventh century²⁶².

A group of late-seventh-century pointed amphora-shaped vessels is also considered to be produced locally (fig. 25). They have been used in their hundreds to fill the northern and southern upper gallery floors of the Hagia Sophia²⁶³. Most of them are medium-sized with thin walls, badly fired and obviously unsuitable for transportation use. Due to their light weight and fragility, it has been proposed that they belong to the same category of vessels mentioned in historical sources

not as fat oxen or calves: »Ότε δε τις λεπτός, καί, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ὑπέρινος τῆ ἰσχυρότητι, τὸν μονήρη βίον ὑπέισε· λθὼν λιπαίνεται, παχύνεται, πλατύνεται [...] ἄλλ' εἰς χρήματα δὲ ἐπικτησίσεως, πῶς ἂν συστήσει, μοναχὸν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, καὶ οὐ παχὺν βῶδιν, ἢ μοσχίον« [and so, when one who is thin, worn out by his thinness as one might say, enters monastic life, he becomes »well-oiled«, becomes fat, and grows broad, as an unchecked beast and not only physically from living the good life, but in additional money that he acquired after (his tonsureship as a monk). How could such a one introduce himself as a monk, and not as a fat ox or calf?]. On monastic life in the twelfth century seen through the work of Eustathios, see Konidiarēs, *Monastikē zōē* 135-141. Kōnstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 160. Magdalino, *Eustathios and Thessalonica* 227-230. On the hierarchical order, the ecclesiastical area and the administrative organisation of the archbishopric of Thessaloniki from mid-eighth century to 1430, see Chatzēantōniou, *Mētropolē Thessalonikēs*. On the amount of land owned by the Thessalonian church, and the income from it, during the Middle and Late Byzantine period, see Theodōridēs, *To ktēmatologio passim*.

249 Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 100-101. Bakirtzēs, *Agioi Dēmētriou Thaumata* 131-135, 376, 1:7 §64, 66, »Περὶ Ὀνησιφόρου τοῦ παραμοναρίου«. Bakirtzēs, *Agioi Dēmētriou Thaumata* 1:7 §64: »μικροὺς ἢ μεγάλους αὐτῶθι προσφέρει κηρούς [...] νομίσας χρηματικώτερον περιποιεῖν τι καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ ἑμαυτῷ [...] τοὺς μὲν μεγάλους τῶν προσφερομένων κηρῶν παραχρήμα ἐσβέννυσον, λεπτοὺς δὲ ἄντ' αὐτῶν καὶ μικροὺς ἐπήγνυσον καίεσθαι« [here offer small or large candles (...) believing that I was offering some pecuniary gift both to the Saint and to myself (...) I was blowing out the larger candles immediately, and instead lighting small, slim candles]; and §66: »ἦκέ τις μεγίστους λίαν προσάγων κηρούς« [someone came bringing some very large candles].

250 For references concerning Thessaloniki, see Saint Theodōra Life §6.3-4: »τὰς ἐκ κηροῦ λαμπάδας χερσὶ κατέχων ἕκαστος« [each held wax candles in his hands]. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy*, 111. Generally on candle making and candle makers (κηρολλάριοι) and relevant references in Byzantine texts, see Koukoules, *Vios kai politismos*, B1, 197, and Taft/Kazhdan, *Candles* 371-372. Also, see Motsianos, *Phōs Ilaron* 69-120, where both texts and archaeological finds are examined thoroughly, and candles and candle making from Roman to Late Byzantine period are presented. On Middle and Late Byzantine period especially, see Motsianos, *Phōs Ilaron* 92-98.

251 Eustathios, *Oruscula*, Ἐπίσκεψις βίου μοναχικοῦ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, 235:87-88.

252 *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2003a, 11 (cat. no. 7). – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 108-109. The proximity of the workshop to the sea, leads to the logical assumption that part of its production was transported by sea to other cities.

253 Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *Ἡ Thessalonikē stē Vyzantinē logotechnia* 117, if the kilns mentioned during the visit of Saint Elias the Younger in the 903 were indeed for pottery and if they were not at the western part of the city. For the sale of a roof-tile workshop situated near the sea for three gold coins in 952, see *Actes de Lavra* I 97-102 no. 4. The workshop belonged to the monastery of Saint Andreas in Peristera, see Sampanopoulou, *Katalogos* 91, 141.

254 Panagia Chalkeōn and the chapel of Hagios Euthymios are the best preserved examples, see Euangelidēs, *Panagia Chalkeōn*. Mauropoulou-Tsioumē, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 104-110. For a thorough overview of the Middle Byzantine church architecture in Thessaloniki see Velenēs, *Vyzantinē architektonikē Thessalonikēs* 1-16; and also Velenēs, *Mesovyzantine naodomia passim*.

255 Kousoula/Kōnstantinidou/Tourtas, *Agioi Dēmētriou kai Philōta*. – Makropoulou, *To ergo* (cat. no. 21).

256 Makropoulou et al., *METRO kata to 2011*. – Makropoulou, *To ergo* (cat. no. 24). Konstantinidou/Raptis, *Archaeological Evidence of an Eleventh-century Kiln*.

257 Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou/Tsioumē, *Phourio Vardariou* 239-240 (cat. no. 23). – Markē, *Simplērōmatika archaiologika stoicheia* 139, 148 illus. 1 fig. 7. Part of another kiln has also been located at the same site (cat. no. 25).

258 *Cat. no. 22*, see *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2002, 14-15.

259 *Cat. Athens* 1999, 38, 46-47 nos 21, 32-33 (D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi).

260 Bakirtzis/Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *De la céramique byzantine* 421-436. Kanonidēs, *Mesovyzantinē ephyalōmenē keramikē* 71-76. For an overview of Middle Byzantine glazed pottery and issues of their trade and market see Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Ceramics on the Market* 194-205.

261 Bakirtzis/Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *De la céramique byzantine* 425-426.

262 Tsitouridou, *Panagia Chalkeōn* 22-24. See also Mundell Mango, *Polychrome Tiles* 37-38 fig. 33, where their use is placed in the context of the contemporary polychrome clay tiles used in architectural decoration.

263 Kissas, *Angeia metaphoras* 232-245.



Fig. 24 Panagia Chalkeon, general view, 1028.

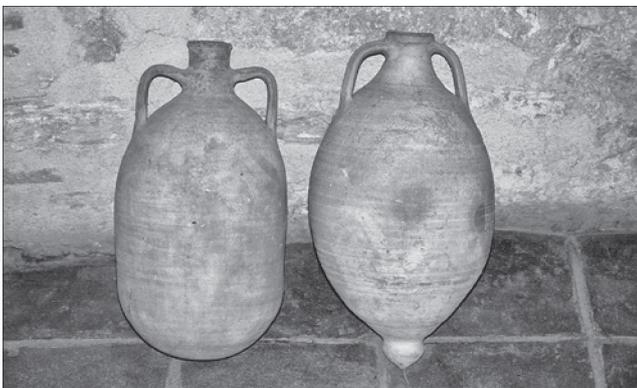


Fig. 25 Amphoroid vessels, Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia's vaults, late seventh century.

as having been used to extinguish the fire at the Basilica of Saint Dēmētrios²⁶⁴. It is also accepted that both amphorae, used, among other things, for extinguishing fires, and clay grenades were in use and probably produced in tenth-century Thessaloniki²⁶⁵. Forms of smaller and bigger amphorae and pithoid vessels made for transporting and storing goods are also found in large numbers in the Hagia Sophia, shedding light on the typology of pottery present or even made in late-eleventh-century Thessaloniki²⁶⁶.

264 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 101. Bakirtzēs, Agiou Dēmētriou Thaumata 2:5 §104: «τὸ πῦρ ἀνανεμηθὲν φθάσαι τὴν ὀροφὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους καλάθους ἀρξασαί περιπεφροῦν, διὴ τότε τινές, ἀεροδρομήσαντες εὐσκόλτως κατὰ τῶν δοκῶν σὺν ἀγγείοις πλείοσιν ὕδατοφόρους, θεοῦ συνεργείᾳ περιεγένοντο τοῦ φλογμοῦ.» [the fire rose up to the roof, and began licking at the coffers. Finally, a number of men, tiptoeing nimbly atop the beams and holding a great number of containers filled with water, defeated the fire with God's help]. – Bakirtzis, Céramiques en complément de voutes 697-702 esp. figs 6-8.

265 Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 108. – Kaminates §31.8: «ὕδατα τε ταῖς ἐπάλξαισιν ἐν τισὶ προαποθέμενοι σκεύεσιν» [for us to bring water to

the ramparts in containers] §32.10: «ἄλλους πυρὶ τινι, καὶ τῷ τετεχνημένῳ καὶ τισὶν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν προηυτρεπισμένῳ» [to others, some type of artificial fire is stuffed in earthenware containers] §33.7: «σκεύεσιν ὀστρακίνοις ἐπιτηδευμένα.» [in earthenware containers prepared in advance] §34.7: «πῦρ τε διὰ τῶν σιφῶνων τῷ ἀέρι φυσήσαντες, καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα σκεύη καὶ αὐτὰ πυρὸς ἀνάμεστα εἰσω τοῦ τείχους ἐξακοντίσαντες» [they also threw fire into the air with *sifonia* (flame-throwers) and hurled other implements containing fire inside the walls].

266 Kissas, Angeia metaphoras illus. 2-14 figs 2-8. Bakirtzis, Céramiques en complément de voutes 697-702 esp. figs 2-4.

Glassworking

Glassworking is one of the few artisanal activities described by Kaminiates that has been proven archaeologically to be present in the city, although no firmly dated glass vessels have been discovered archaeologically²⁶⁷. In the centre of Thessaloniki, in disregard of legal regulations²⁶⁸, two glass workshops have been discovered (fig. 26). The first, to the west of Hagios Dēmētrios, produced glass vessels and its furnace is the only one in the city to have survived. Among its products, stemmed beakers and hanging lamps are the most identifiable²⁶⁹ (fig. 27). The second glass workshop was located near the Hagia Sophia, to the north-east, and only movable finds have been unearthed. Apart from deformed glass masses, of interest are the few glass tesserae, a dark blue glass cake for the production of mosaic tesserae and dark blue tiles, square and circular ones, seemingly decorated with near white and red festoons²⁷⁰.

Metalworking

Several Middle Byzantine metalsmiths' workshops have been located at the outskirts of the city within the city walls, and in the city centre²⁷¹. It has already been noted that a *fabrica*, a state arms factory, was active in Thessaloniki from the Early Christian period²⁷². Middle Byzantine sources, like Eustathios of Thessalonica, note that a *zavareion*, i.e. a state armoury and probably an arms factory, operated in the city during the eleventh century²⁷³. It is also known that the *stratēgos* of the city was ordered to manufacture 6,000 arrows, 3,000 lances and as many shields as possible for an expedition to Crete during the reign of Leo VI (886-912)²⁷⁴. A group of 182 iron arrowheads was discovered in one of the towers of the Acropolis, which was used over a long period of time



Fig. 26 Glass furnace and wasters from Thessaloniki, Dioikētēriou Square, early ninth century.



Fig. 27 Glassworking remains, from Thessaloniki, 3 Agapēs Street, Middle Byzantine period.

to defend the city, during its restoration in 1995, although they should be probably dated to the Late Byzantine period (fig. 28). Apart from smaller triangular arrowheads for bows, there are also a few examples of massive, triangular bolt

267 On Middle Byzantine glass finds from northern Greece in general, see Antonaras, *Old and Recent Finds of Byzantine Glass passim*, where both plain vessels, as well as rare and apparently precious silver-stained vials from the region of Thessaloniki are described.

268 Laws that were in use throughout the Byzantine period and are preserved in the fourteenth-century work of Konstantinos Armenopoulos, namely, Armenopoulos, *Procheiron Nomōn* 117-118, 2.4.19: »Ἐπαρχικῶ. Περί ὑελουργῶν καὶ σιδηρουργῶν. Ὑελουργοὺς καὶ σιδηρουργοὺς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰς ἀξίνας καὶ τὰς ἀμμάς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μεγάλα ὄργανα, καὶ ἀνδριαντοπλάστας, οὐ χρὴ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη τις γένηται τοῦτοισι κατοικεῖν τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τὰς τούτων ἐργασίας ἐν αὐταῖς γίνεσθαι, εἰς τοὺς ἀπωκισμένους καὶ ἰδιάζοντας τῶν πόλεων τόπους δεῖν ταῦτα ἐργάζεσθαι. πολλὺς γὰρ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς πέλων κίνδυνος τοῖς οἰκήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συνεχῆς λοιμὸς γίνεται» [On glassworkers and blacksmiths. Glassworkers and blacksmiths who produce hoes and sickles and other large tools, and statue makers should not be working within cities. If there is a need for them to live in the cities and their works to be done in them (the cities), they should work in uninhabited and specific areas, given that there is a great danger of houses catching fire, and of humans catching diseases].

269 Kanonidēs, *Anaskaphē ergastēriou yalourgias* 143-153 (cat. no. 66). – Spatharas et al., *New Magnetic* 134.

270 *Cat. Athens* 2002, 119-120 no. 115a (I. Kanonidēs), dated generally to the Middle Byzantine period. – For the excavation, see Kanonidēs, *Agapēs* 3, 490-493 (cat. nos 65, 107).

271 Find from the 5 Gyzē Street plot: *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2002, 11 (cat. no. 52). – 3 Tzacheila Street: Markē, *Tzacheila* 3, 584-586 figs 11-12 (cat. no. 55). –

74 Venizelou Street: Kissas, *Venizelou* 74, 238-242 (cat. no. 56). – 74 Olympiados Street: Markē, *Olympiados* 74, 430-432 (cat. no. 54). – 67 Egnatia and G. Bakatselou Street: Markē, *Provlēma anagnōsēs* 457-458 fig. 9 illus. 5 (cat. no. 57). – 28 Phrangōn Street: Markē/Chatzeiōannidēs, *Phrangōn* 28, 277 (cat. no. 58). – Egnatia and Venizelou, Metro digs: Makropoulou et al., *METRO* kata to 2011. – Makropoulou, *To ergo*. – Makropoulou/Kōnstantinidou, *METRO Thessalonikēs – Stathmos Venizelou* (cat. no. 59), where, among others, several moulds for earrings, rings, amulets and crosses, along with finished products have been found.

272 *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XI, 35-9: »*Fabricae: ...Illyrici quatuor: Thessalonicensis, Naissatensis, Ratiarensis, scutaria Horreomargensis*« [in [the diocese of] Illyricum four: at Thessaloniki, at Naissus, at Ratiaria, of shields at Horreomargij]. – Generally on *fabricae* see James, *The fabricae* 257-330. – Also, Tafel, *De Thessalonica* 184 nt. 30. – Spieser, *Thessalonique* 15 nt. 51.

273 Eustathius, *La espugnazione*, 86:20. David Doukas Komnēnos, the governor of the city, gave a running commentary on a battle from this vantage point: »Ὑψιστος γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔφω γηλόφῳ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ζαβαρείου ἐπανηγύριζε, θεωρικῶς τὴν τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης γνωματευῶν διάθεσιν, ἦν ἐγειρομένη κόνις ὑπὸ τῶν τρεχόντων καὶ ἀντιτρεχόντων ἐσήμαινε.« [High on the eastern hillcock of our *Zavareion* (armoury), he began delivering a speech, making theoretical observations on the developing battle on the basis of what he could gather from the dust raised by soldiers running about on both sides].

274 Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* 657 ll.44.12-14: »ιστέον, ὅτι ἐδέξατο ὁ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ καμῖν σαγίτας χιλιάδας σ' καὶ μεναῦλια χιλιάδας γ' καὶ σκουτάρια, ἑσα δυνηθῆ«. Koliias, *Zaba –Zabareion – Zabareiotēs* 27-35 esp. 31.



Fig. 28 Iron arrowheads and bolt heads from tower (Π2) of the Acropolis, Middle and Late Byzantine period.

heads with long cylindrical shafts for crossbows or heavier arbalests (τζάγκραι or βαλλιστριδαί)²⁷⁵. We should also include the mint among the metalworking activities in the city. The mint operated almost continuously throughout the Byzantine period. There is concrete evidence for minting in Thessaloniki until 630 and then again from the 820s²⁷⁶.

Several lead seals found in Thessaloniki, which belonged to religious and state dignitaries of the city or region, shed light on another activity of local metalsmiths, i. e. the production of lead blanks and *boulōtēria* (βουλωτήρια), the metal stamps used for making the inscriptions and representations on the lead seals²⁷⁷ (fig. 29).

From the sixth or seventh centuries the bishopric of Thessaloniki, among its other possessions, owned large estates, including water mills, to the east of the city at the site of the Ropalaiā (Ροπαλαία), near the Byzantine village of Hagia Euphēmia (Ἁγία Εὐφημία), modern Lakkia²⁷⁸. Here excavations have revealed a workshop for some metal refining process, possibly of gold, which may have operated from as early as the fifth or sixth century up until the fifteenth century²⁷⁹. An eighth-century stone mould for *eulogiae* (εὐλογίαί), found on the north side of the Hagios Dēmētrios complex²⁸⁰ was assumed previously to have been used for stamping metal *eulogiae*, but it appears more probable that it was used for

275 For a thorough bibliography of Byzantine military history and technology, see Devries, *A Cumulative Bibliography* 38-52, and 750-769 for bows and crossbows especially. See also McGeer, *Archery* 156, and McGeer/Kazhdan/Cutler, *Weaponry* 2192, where it is noted that, according to Anna Komnene, the Crusaders' western type of crossbow was unknown to Byzantines prior to the twelfth century. See also Lepage, *Medieval Armies and Weapons in Western Europe* 14-17, on the Byzantine Empire in general, 113-116 on crossbows, which were known from Roman times, but were used in western European armies from the twelfth century onwards. I thank my colleague Dr D. Athanasoulēs for his help with the bibliography on western finds. For Late Byzantine arrowheads, see Babuin, *Ta epithetika opla tōn Vyzantinōn* 181-194, with further bibliography. For Late Byzantine arrowheads from Serbian fortresses, see Minić/Vukadin, *Srednjovekovni Stalac* 111-117, with further bibliography. On crossbows or βαλλιστριδαί, see Babuin, *Ta epithetika opla tōn Vyzantinōn* 207-240, with further bibliography.

276 Metcalf, *The Coinage of Thessaloniki* 277-288. – Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans passim*. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe passim*. – Bendall/Protonotarios, *Further Rare and Unpublished Coins* 178-180. – Morisson, *Byzantine Money* 914, 926, 959-962.

277 On *Voulōtēria* (βουλωτήρια) see Grierson, *Byzantine Gold Bullae* 247 fig. 9. – On lead seals from Thessaloniki, see Kissas, *Molyvdovoulla* 185-202. – For a detailed publication of the total of lead seals which have been found in Thessaloniki and its region, see Leontiadēs, *Molyvdovoulla passim*.

278 Theodoridēs, *To ktēmatologio* 417 (cat. no. 68). Also on the site see Lefort, *Villages de Macedoine* 136-38, and Sampanopoulou, *Katalogos* 91-92.

279 Theocharidou, *Enkatasasē* 27-28. – Eadem, *Orycheio Peristeras* 408 (cat. no. 76). – Generally on metallurgy and metalworking techniques throughout the Byzantine era, see Papanthassiou, *Metallurgy* 121-127, with further bibliography.

280 Pelekanidēs, *Anaskaphē* 38-41.



Fig. 29 Lead seal of Leōn, *vasilikos prōtospatharios* and *stratēgos* of Thessaloniki, c. 920-940.

sphragidia (σφραγίδια), pilgrim tokens made of a non-durable material, since no stamped examples have yet been discovered (**fig. 30**). It depicts in negative relief the bust of Christ on the Cross flanked by the Apostles Andrew and possibly Paul, who were, in all probability, considered to be the founders of the Thessalonian Church²⁸¹.

Lentoid lead ampullae (**fig. 31**), known to Thessalonians as *koutrouvia* (κουτρούβια)²⁸², were produced locally, probably by or under the auspices of the local Church, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries for pilgrims to the shrines of the two myrrh-producing saints of Thessaloniki, Saints Dēmētrios and Theodōra²⁸³. They are simple, apparently mass-produced objects cast in a mould, formed by the joining of their two, slightly convex sides that bear a simplified, linear and occasionally carelessly executed relief decoration. They appear in two versions, with a short or long funnel mouth decorated with rinceau, with the representations of Saint Dēmētrios on the one side and the Mother of God or Saints Theodōra, Georgios, or Nestor on the other side in medallions surrounded by a wide frame with oblique strokes. A hitherto unnoted and unpublished single stone mould of a *koutrouvion*, having a long funnel mouth and the bust of the Mother of God on its body, was found during salvage excavations in the Byzantine neighbourhood excavated west of Saint Dēmētrios.

It appears that the same needs that were met for ordinary pilgrims with the lead *koutrouvia*, for wealthier and more important people, were met with reliquaries for *lythron* or



Fig. 30 Stone mould with Christ flanked by two apostles, Thessaloniki, Hagios Dēmētrios, eighth century.

myrrh of Saint Dēmētrios. These were made of precious materials depicting the saint's sarcophagus and the ciborium covering it, both of them bearing the image of the saint. On the interior, i. e. on the sarcophagus, he is depicted with arms crossed and eyes closed, and on the exterior cover, i. e. on the ciborium, he is depicted as a standing orant²⁸⁴. Judging by the

281 Mentzos, A Stone Mould 18-24.

282 Iōakeim Ivēritou, Iōannou Staurakiou logos, 353:25-28: «καὶ ἡσπάσατο καὶ σκεῦος τι, ὡς ἐδόκει, φέρων χερσίν, ὃ δῆτα ἐγγυρίως καλεῖται κουτρούβιον, τοῦτο τῶν ἀναβλυζόντων ἐκεῖθεν μύρων περιλήρωκεν» [he kissed (the saint's relics) and holding as was meet a receptacle in his hands called by the locals *koutrouvion*, he filled it with the myrrh gushing forth from there].

283 Bakirtzēs, *Koutrouvia myrou* 523-528. – Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Ampoulae* 140-149. – *Cat. Athens 2002*, 184-185 nos. 203 (Ch. Bakirzis), 204 (V. Papadopoulou), 205 (E. Gini-Tsoforoulou). – On Saint Theodōra see A.-M. Talbot, *Holy Women* 159-237. – On Thessalonian *koutrouvia* bearing the bust of Saint Dēmētrios and Mother of God found in what is today Bulgaria, see Totev, *Ampuli kutruvii* 205-216, 411-416. On two more from the Prespa region, FYROM and three more from Serbia, see Bitrakova-Grozdanova, *Golem Grad Prespa* 95-100, with further bibliography. For a thorough catalogue of lead ampoules, encolpia and icons found in Bulgaria, dated to the twelfth

to fifteenth centuries and attributed to Thessalonian workshops, see Totev, *Thessalonian Eulogia Found in Bulgaria passim*. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 243 nt. 12, makes the interesting note that all extant *koutrouvia* were found outside of Thessaloniki, apparently belonging to pilgrims from remote areas who kept them on their persons as *phylacteria* for a considerable period after visiting Thessaloniki.

284 Grabar, *Quelques reliquaires* 3-28. – Grabar, *Un nouveau reliquaire de S. Dēmētrios* 305-313 esp. 307. – *Cat. New York 1997*, 161-162, 167-168, 174, nos. 108 (W. D. Wixom), 116 (D. Katsarelias), 117 (I. Kalavrezou), 125 (S. A. Boyd). – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 241-254 esp. 243-244. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 100. – For an epigram of Manuel Philes that was written for a silver reliquary probably like these, possession of Dēmētrios Palaeologos, see Frolov, *Un nouveau reliquaire* 100-110. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 244.



Fig. 31 Lead ampulla, Retina, thirteenth century.



Fig. 32 Touchstone, Thessaloniki, 3 Agapēs Street, Middle Byzantine period.

reliquaries and some preserved encolpia²⁸⁵ and crosses²⁸⁶, it appears that local thirteenth-century jewellers also used enameling for the decoration of metal objects.

In addition, the discovery of a touchstone (fig. 32) – a piece of black basalt, known in the Byzantine era as *lydia lithos* (λυδία λίθος) or *vasanos lithos* (βάσανος λίθος) – dated to the Middle Byzantine period, attests to the presence of goldsmiths and money changers, *katalaktai* (καταλάκται) –

both occupations that would require the use of a touchstone to establish gold purity – at the very centre of city, as one might have expected²⁸⁷. The diversity of used and possibly locally produced jewels, both precious and most often simpler ones, is evident from the numerous archaeological finds²⁸⁸.

Finally, important information concerning the activity of local metal production can be found in the written sources, such as the fact that gold and silver embellishments and revetments supplemented the decoration of the city's churches²⁸⁹. In particular, there are two surviving references to the silver cover of the Saint Dēmētrios reliquary. The earliest (from 1145), was made by Deacon Nikasios who noted that by order of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos the curved outer cover was taken to the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople while a new one of silver and gold was made to replace the original²⁹⁰. The second reference is dated to 1185, during the Norman occupation of the city, when axes were used to remove the exterior silver decoration of Saint Dēmētrios' grave and the gold wreath over the saint's head, along with the icon revetments that were made of precious materials from the churches. After the intervention of the Archbishop

285 For an encolpion preserved in Vatopaidi Monastery see Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou/Pitarakis/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Enkolpia* 74-75 no. 22.

286 For a cross-shaped reliquary originally from Mount Athos, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, see *Cat. New York* 1997, 174, no. 125 (S. Boyd). For another cross-shaped reliquary similar to the former in the Grassi-Museum, Leipzig, see Effenberger, *Ein byzantinisches Emailkreuz* 114-127.

287 For references in Byzantine texts on *argyropratai* (ἀργυροπράται) and *chrysochoi* (χρυσόχοι), makers and shellers of silver and gold objects, their trade, tools, workshops and personnel, see Koukoules, *Vios kai politismos*, B1, 224-225 and B1, 228-229. – The touchstone presents a find from the excavation north-east of Hagia Sophia, at 3 Agapēs Street (*cat. no. 53*): *Cat. Athens* 2002, 107 no. 97 (I. Kanonidēs). – For similar finds from Frankish Thebes, see Koilakou, *Viotechnikes enkatastaseis* esp. 235 figs 8-10. – For terms relevant to the find and the procedure, see Koukoules, *Vios kai politismos*, B1, 226-227.

288 Antonaras, *The Use of Glass in Byzantine Jewelry* 331-334. – On Middle Byzantine glass bracelets, see Antonaras, *Gyalina mesovyzantina vrachiolia* 423-434. – For a short overview of Middle and Late Byzantine jewellery from Thessaloniki and its region, see Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry* 117-126. – For a thorough presentation of Middle Byzantine jewellery in gen-

eral and an exceptional classification of all relevant forms, as well as a detailed discussion of the two Middle Byzantine jewellery hoards from Thessaloniki, see Bosselmann-Ruickbie, *Byzantinischer Schmuck* passim esp. 18-57, 91-125.

289 Kaminates §11.1, referring to the decoration of Hagia Sophia, Acheiropoiētos and Hagios Dēmētrios §21.3, referring to the gold and silver decorations of the aforementioned churches.

290 Papadopoulou-Kerameus, *Analekta* IV 238-246: «τὴν ἱερὰν σκέπον σαρὸν διαρρύσιον προκάλυμμα ... ὄρθιον φέρον τὸν μέγαν Δημήτριον, ἐκτεταμμέναις παλάμαις [...] ἀκολούθως τῇ βασιλικῇ προστάξει ἕτερον ἐτέθη κατασκευασθὲν διὰ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου» [the holy remains were covered by a protruding cover (truncated pyramidal) which was bearing Saint Dēmētrios standing with palms extended (...) and after the royal command, another (cover) of gold and silver was placed]. – Kaltsojiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *Ἐθνησιακὴ στή* Vyzantinē logotechnia 139. The exact translation of the text (especially of the word «διαρρύσιον» used in the archaic manner of the writer with its Homeric meaning of «protruding», «piercing into») proves that the outer cover was protruding and must have been similar to the truncated-pyramidal ones rendered in the silver reliquaries of the ciborium. – On the reliquaries and the shape of the cover, without any comments about the wording of Nikasios, see Xyngopoulos, *To «prokalymma»* 187-199.

Eustathios of Thessalonica, Count Baldwin donated gold and silver to restore the plundered decoration²⁹¹.

From the sources it is also known that a special artisanal quarter, a portico of the coppersmiths, existed²⁹². In the same way, we know that other coppersmithing works existed, such as the large bells of Hagios Dēmētrios²⁹³, hot-water boilers²⁹⁴, and silver and gold-plated harnesses for the horses of local dignitaries²⁹⁵. In addition, the iron chain that secured the mouth of the port²⁹⁶ and the ironclad wooden doors of the city must have been made and repaired by local blacksmiths²⁹⁷, as were the weapons²⁹⁸ and fine locks that private citizens kept in their houses²⁹⁹.

Stoneworking

According to written sources, a sculpture workshop was active in the city in the late ninth century. Here such items were made as the sarcophagus of Saint Hilarion of Iberia in 875 and the decorated marble sarcophagus of Saint Theodōra in 893³⁰⁰. Marble icons are another known local product. They are a rarity in the Byzantine world, known mainly in the

Post-Iconoclasm period, especially from the tenth to twelfth centuries. They are rectangular plaques, usually framed, occasionally with an arched top, on which are rendered, following painterly prototypes, single figures of holy persons or, rarely, evangelical scenes, mainly of the Twelve Great Feasts. They were fixed on walls in churches as a focus of worship, or on gates of buildings or city walls for protection³⁰¹. Seven Middle Byzantine examples have been found in Thessaloniki, all depicting the Mother of God Orans (**fig. 33**), and two Late Byzantine ones, an unfinished Christ and a Hosios David³⁰².

An eleventh-century workshop, the products of which have been found in several sites in Macedonia and Epirus, with several plaques found in the city belonging to its repertoire, has been assumed to be from Thessaloniki³⁰³. In addition, parts of ciborium arches from Hagios Dēmētrios and other churches of the city have been ascribed to the same workshop³⁰⁴. Several inscriptions preserved from this period indicate another type of simpler work created by local sculptors³⁰⁵.

Another local product is the marble closure slab with a griffin rendered in soft relief on a polished background with some details rendered with incisions, dated to the late tenth

291 Eustathius, *La espugnazione*, 114:29-31: «καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν σεβασμιῶν τυπωμάτων κατασχίζοντες, ὅσα μὴδὲν τι γλαφυρὸν ἐκ τιμίας ὕλης εἶχον, τὰ δὲ φιλοῦντες τοῦ κατ' αὐτὰ κόσμου μετὰ πληγῶν» [and they were tearing up the venerable icons, at least those not encased in precious metal, while from others they were stripping away their decoration with blows]; 116:11-15: «ὅποιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μυροβλύτου, οὗ τῷ τάφῳ ἐμπειραϊκότες μετὰ πέλκεων [...] τὸν τε περὶ ἐπιπολάζοντα κόσμον ἐξ ἀργύρου κατέκοψαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς δὲ περιελόντο χρύσειον στέφανον καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀπήγαγον τοῖν ποδοῖν» [on the myrrh-gushing saint. They rushed to his grave with axes (...) cut away the abundant silver decoration surrounding the grave, stole the gold wreath covering the saint's skull, and removed the bones of one of his legs]; 126:32-34: «καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου τάφῳ ἀργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐχορήγησε, τὸν ἀρκοῦντα εἰς ἀνατοίησιν τοῦ ἐλλείφαντος.» [and he donated silver and gold for the tomb of the Saint, enough to replace what had been stolen.]. The same count also donated valuable ceremonial items, 126:35-36: «πῆγματα δὲ κηρῶν ἀργύρεα μεταφορητὰ ἐν ἱεραῖς εἰσόδοις λόγου ἄξια ἐχαρίσατο.» [he also donated to the church notable silver candelabra used for the processions of Entrances]. – Messēs, *Chronika* 273, 274, 283.

292 A *Chalkeutikē Stoa* (Χαλκευτικὴ Στοὰ) is mentioned in *Passio Altera γ'* of Saint Dēmētrios' miracles, which was compiled sometime between the sack of 904 and the end of the thirteenth century, see: Tafrafi, *Topographie de Thessalonique* 126 nt. 2. – Bakirtzīs, *Agiou Dēmētriou Thaumata* 37, 350 nt. 4; Bakirtzīs, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 99 nt. 55: «ἐκ δυσμῶν τοῦ τῆς πόλεως μεγαλοφόρου ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ Χαλκευτικῇ λεγομένῃ στοᾷ.» [in the western part of the city's *Megalophoros*, in the so-called *Chalkeutikē Stoa*].

293 Eustathius, *La espugnazione* 136:12-14. «Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῖν ἀπορήσαι τί δήποτε τοὺς μὲν ἄνω περὶ τὸν τοῦ Μυροβλύτου ναὸν σημαντικούς τοῦ ψάλλειν μεγάλους κώδωνας οὐχ ὑποπέουσαι, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν συνθηματίζον ζύλον τὴν ἱερὰν σὺναξιν βαρέως φέρουσι.» [I had wondered at the time why they were not in the least suspicious of the large bells atop the church of the myrrh-gushing saint [Dēmētrios] which signalled the chanting in the church, whereas they distrusted the *semantron* [wooden or iron beam or plank] of the metropolitan church that signalled the gathering of the congregation for services]. – Messēs, *Chronika* 290.

294 Saint Theodōra, *Life* §31.5-7: «συνέβη δὲ τὸν τοῦ θερμοῦ λέβητα στήσαι τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ἔνθα ἡ μακαρία τὸ ψιθάιον ἐπ' ἑδάφους ἀπλώσασα ἐκάθευδεν» [the nuns happened to install the boiler in the place where the deceased woman slept, spreading her mat out on the ground]. – Bakirtzīs, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 111.

295 Vlachakos, *Timariōn* §7.189: «Πῆποι δε τοῖτους Ἀρράβικοι [...] ἐδόκουν συνίναει καὶ τῆς περιεκεμένης λαμπρότητος, ὅση ἐν χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρῳ τοὺς χαλινούς περιέλαμπεν ὡσπερ ὑποπετόμενοι τῇ τῆς περιβολῆς φανητῖα καὶ πυκνὰ τοὺς τραχίλους ὡσπερ ἐπιελίττοντες τοῖς στιλβώμασι.» [Their horses were Arabian (...) They (the horses) seemed to understand the splendour surrounding them, that which made their reins shine with gold and silver, and they frequently

turned their necks with these shiny ornaments, as if they enjoyed their superb equipage].

296 Mentioned by Kaminiates securing the entrance to the port during the Arab siege and sack of the city at 904, Kaminiates §25:1: «ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τοῦ λιμένος ἀλύσει σιδηρᾷ καὶ τισὶ ναυσὶ βεβυθισμέναις δντα κατάφρακτον» [furthermore, the entrance to the harbor was well-fortified with an iron chain and some sunken ships]. Iron chains were also used by the Arabs to secure their ships in pairs in order to create improvised towers from which they could attack the low seaward defence wall of the city, Kaminiates §32.5: «Καὶ τισὶ κάλοις στιβαροῖς καὶ σιδηραῖς ἀλύσεισι» [with thick ropes and iron chains].

297 Kaminiates §31.4: «τὴν μὲν ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἥτις ἦν ἅπασα σεσιδηρωμένη» [The exterior of the gates was clad entirely in iron]. – Bakirtzīs, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 111.

298 Kaminiates §23.2: «ὅπλιζομένων τε πάντων ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν» [and everyone armed themselves as best they could]. – Bakirtzīs, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 111.

299 Although the term key is used by cleric Grēgorios it seems that he was using it in the figure of speech of *synecdochy* (*pars pro toto*), referring to the entire securing system, the lock used to seal the reliquary. Saint Theodōra, *Translation* §4.1: «προσέφερε τις θαυμασιαν κλεῖδα, ὅσπασιν οὐδεὶς τῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως θεασάμενος ἦν» [A wonderful key was offered (for the saint's reliquary), the like of which no one in the city had ever seen before]. – Bakirtzīs, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 111.

300 Bakirtzīs, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 109 nt. 109. On the sarcophagus of Saint Theodōra, see Saint Theodōra, *Translation* §3.7-8: «λάρνακα κατασκευάσασα ἐν αὐτῇ κατέθετο τῆς ὁσίας τὸ λείψανον» [she constructed a casket in which she deposited the saint's relics]; §3.20-21: «ποικίλως γλυφίσαν ἔξωθεν ταύτην διακοσμήσαντες» [and they decorated its exterior with various kinds of sculpted ornamentation]. About the creator, a sculptor who was also a priest, see Saint Theodōra, *Translation* §3.17-24: «καὶ δὴ τινα λιθοξόον προσκαλεσάμενοι, τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τετιμημένον ἀξία» [And indeed, they invited a certain stoneworker, who had been accorded the honour of priesthood]. – On saint Hilarion, see Malamut, *Thessalonique 830-904*, 185, with further bibliography. – Also Kaltsogiannē/Kotzampassē/Paraskeuopoulou, *Ἡ Thessalonikē stē Vyzantinē logotechnia* 107. – According to Bakirtzīs, *op.cit.*, it is not clear whether it was a newly constructed sarcophagus or an old one. – For parts of a twelfth to thirteenth-century marble templon and a sarcophagus found in the excavation of the monastery, see *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2001, 8.

301 Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefikone passim*.

302 Tsilipakou, *Vyzantines marmarines eikones*, on the Middle Byzantine icons 304-317, 328-340, 344-351, on Hosios David 317-328, on Christ 340-344.

303 Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi* 134-135, 164. On the workshop, see also Vanderheyde, *Les reliefs* 708.

304 Mentzos, *Ergastērio glyptikēs* 217-230.

305 Tsigaridas/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Katalogos* 94-97, 101-102, 104, 106.



Fig. 33 Marble icon of Mother of God Orans, Thessaloniki, eleventh century.

or early eleventh century³⁰⁶ (fig. 34). Finally, another type of marble work found in Thessaloniki during this period is the relief icon of the Great Deesis with four standing figures of the apostles at Vlatadōn Monastery, dated to the tenth century (c.900). It is a combination of champlévé and painting, giving an effect similar to *cloisonné* enamel. The outlines of the figures and the folding of the clothes are in relief, while the inner part of the figures in counter-relief was filled with a coloured resin³⁰⁷.

306 Pazaras. *Katalogos plakōn* 88-89 pl. XXX:55. – *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2011b, 164-165 no. 80 (A. Tzitzibasi).

307 Sklavou-Mavroeidé, *Glypta Vyzantinou Mouseiou* 92 no. 128. – *Cat. New York* 1997, 43 fig. no. 9 (M. Catzidakis).

308 Pelekanidis, *I mosaici* 337-349. – Pelekanidis, *Bemerkungen* 29-40. – Cormack, *The apse mosaics* 111-135. – Bakirtzēs, *Neōteres paratērēseis* 167-180. – Mauropoulou-Tsioumē, *Zōgraphikē* 393-410. – Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou/Mauropoulou-Tsioumē/Bakirtzēs, *Psēphidōta Thessalonikēs* 238-295 esp. 290-294.

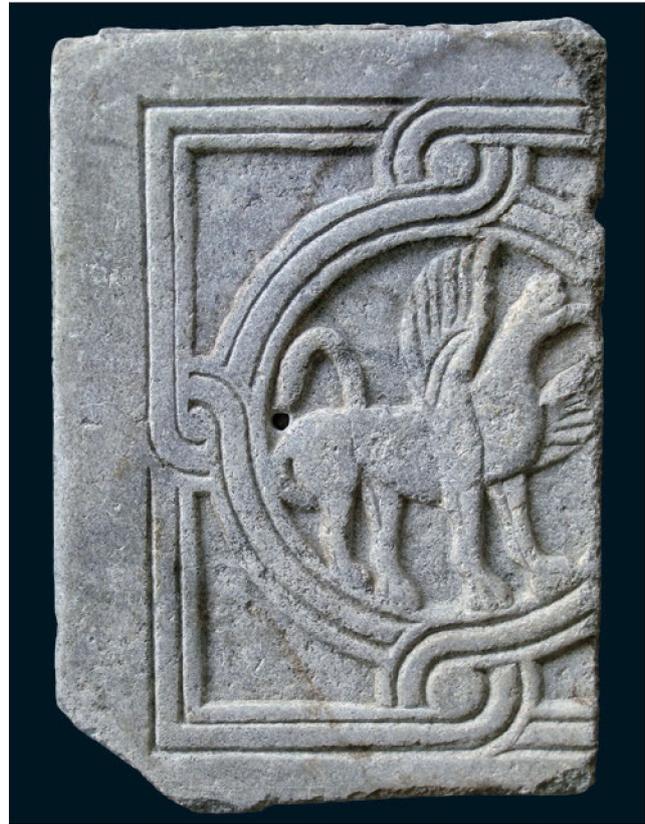


Fig. 34 Marble closure slab with a griffin, Thessaloniki, late tenth to early eleventh centuries.

Mosaics

The presence of a mosaic workshop, perhaps even only a temporary one, can be deduced from several finds (fig. 35). Foremost is the mosaic decoration of Hagia Sophia, dating to the eighth, ninth, tenth and twelfth centuries³⁰⁸. In addition, excavations near the church have uncovered glassworking remains, such as glass cakes – from which mosaic tesserae were broken off – and other forms of rectangular and circular flat glass tiles, of some form of *opus sectile* (possibly insets in marble sculptures)³⁰⁹.

Painting

»Iōannēs« is the only painter known by name. According to the cleric Grēgorios, he was a late ninth-century artist who painted the icon of Saint Theodōra after a miraculous vision³¹⁰. However, the archaeological record shows that paint-

309 *Cat. Athens* 2002, 119-120 no. 115a (I. Kanonidēs), dated generally to the Middle Byzantine period (*cat. no.* 107).

310 Saint Theodōra, *Life* 171-177, §52-54: »ᾧφθη ζωγράφῳ τινὶ τοῦνομα Ἰωάννη [...] ὄψις δνειράτων τοιαύτη [...] καὶ τῆ νυκτὶ ἐκέλευε πάλιν ὄρᾳ ἑαυτὸν ὁ ζωγράφος σκιαγραφοῦντα εἰκόνα μοναχῆς.... Παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον [...] ἀνεστήλωσεν τὴν τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας εἰκόνα« [A vision appeared to a painter by the name of Iōannēs (...) and that night the painter again saw himself sketching (painting) the picture of a nun (...) he arrived at the nunnery (...) (and) restored the icon of Saint Theodōra].



Fig. 35 Hagia Sophia, wall mosaic, Ascension, Mother of God flanked by two angels, ninth century.

ers, specifically mural painters, were employed throughout this period of Thessaloniki's history³¹¹. The surviving examples are: an anonymous church excavated in the city centre at the junction of Egnatia and Dēkastērion Streets (today's Mētropolitou Gennadiou) decorated with rows of gemmed crosses flanked by columns dating to the first half of the ninth century³¹²; a funerary chapel at 90 Kassandou Street in the eastern part of the city, decorated in the first half of the ninth century with three gemmed Latin crosses with dedicatory inscriptions flanked by columns on one wall and on another wall with imitations of marble incrustations³¹³; a late ninth-century mural of the Ascension³¹⁴ in the apse of the Rotonda which is considered to be the creation of the same workshop that produced the similar mosaic of the Ascension on the dome of Hagia Sophia³¹⁵; the Panagia

Chalkeōn³¹⁶ and Hosios David³¹⁷ were also decorated in this period; and finally, remains of the tenth century wall painting found during the excavation of a private house on the site of the Byzantine Monastery of Prodromou³¹⁸. Furthermore, two small wooden icons from the epistyle of a templon, depicting scenes of the Dodekaorton, the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Transfiguration respectively, have been ascribed to a Thessalonian workshop of the second half of the twelfth century³¹⁹.

In a poem dating from 1074 or 1075, we catch a glimpse of the originality of secular paintings decorating aristocratic houses in Thessaloniki. During the renovation of the house of Leōn Sikountēnos, a mural painting is described in which religious themes were supplemented by contemporary figures and scenes, such as the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komne-

311 On ninth-century painting in Thessaloniki in general, see Maupoulou-Tsioumē, *Zōgraphikē* 393-410.

312 Euangelidēs, *Eikonomachika mnēmeia* 341-351 figs 5, 5^a, 7, 7^a.

313 Makropoulou/Tzitzimpasē, *Sōstikē anaskaphē* 361-364.

314 Xyngopoulos, *Toichographia Analēpseōs* 32-53.

315 Cormack, *Ninth Century Monumental Painting* 198-199 [non vidī], according to Tsigaridas, *Toichographies monēs Latomou* 100 nt. 57. The same conclusion is reached by Maupoulou-Tsioumē, *Zōgraphikē* 409, where she dates them to c. 880.

316 Euangelidēs, *Panagia Chalkeōn passim*. – Xyngopoulos, *Apolestheisai toichographiai* 1-19. – Papadopoulou, *Die Wandmalereien passim*. – Maupoulou-Tsioumē, *Byzantine Thessaloniki* 104-110.

317 Tsigaridas, *Toichographies monēs Latomou passim*, and 149-156 for a thorough overview of painting in twelfth-century Thessaloniki.

318 Cat. Athens 2002, 269 no. 265 (E. Markē).

319 Vokotopoulos, *Vyzantines eikones* 198-199 figs 30, 31. – Tsigaridas, *L'art au Mont Athos* 48 with all relevant bibliography.



Fig. 36 Rotonda, wall painting, Ascension, detail with an angel, ninth century.

nos depicted next to the histories of Moses and Joshua³²⁰. However, the uneven quality of the art of Thessalonian painters was mentioned in the late twelfth century by Eustathios of Thessalonica, who commented that many painters existed in his city but not all of them were skilful³²¹ (**fig. 36**).

Textile Production

We can state that the weaving of linen, cotton and wool and the production of everyday items with them took place in Thessalonian households, but it is also quite probable that this took place in specialised workshops as well³²². It is known from textual sources that fabrics of all types and qualities were woven by both men and women³²³. After visiting the

320 Hunt, *Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration* 139. – For the Greek text (MS Venice, Cod. Marc. gr. 524 fol. 22v-23r) see Lampros, *Markianos* 29-30. – A part of the translation into English from Mango, *Sources* 225-226. I thank Prof. I. Kazazēs for his help in the translation of the text and Debora Brown Kazazē for the translation into English: «Καινὸν τὸ βᾶθρον ὧδε τοῦ δόμου, ξένη, / ἐκ τῶν ἄνω στήριγμα τοῖς κάτω νέμον· / τῶν ἀρετῶν γὰρ ἐπερείδεται πλέον / τοῖς ἐντὸς ἐκτὸς εἰκονισμένοις τύποις, / ἄς καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς ζωγραφῶν ὁ τεχνίτης / ἔργοις βεβαίῳ σχημάτων τὸ ποικίλον, / ἀνδρᾶς γεραροῦς δεκτικούς τούτων γράφων, / Μωσῆν ..., / καὶ ... Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ... / Τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις καὶ τα νῦν συγγράφει / τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐρανῶν βασιλείως / συνιστορῶν ἄνακτα γῆς στεφνήφορον / τὸν πορφυραυγῆ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης στυλόν / Κομνηνοφυῆ Μανουῆλ ἔθνοκτόνον, ... / Ἀραγῆς τοῖνυν μένε [δόμῃ] / καὶ σὸν νεουργὸν ἐν μακροῖς τέρπε χρόνοις / Σικουνητῶν Λέοντα σὺν τοῖς γνησίοις» [Novel is the base of this house, o stranger, / providing support to the lower from the upper / because it leans more on the virtues / of the figures depicted inside and outside / the same those that by painting them the artisan / by his works affirms the polychromy of the figures / by painting imposing men, fitting for them, / Moses... / And Joshua... / To these ancient [subjects] he [the artist] has added those of the present time / the soldiers of the heavenly King / by painting alongside the crowned Emperor of the earth, / the pillar of the New Rome shining in the purple, / Manuel, the descendant of the Komnenoi, slayer of alien peoples / And [house] stay without a crack / and delight for many years your renovator / Sikountēnos Leōn with his children].

321 Eustathius, *Opuscula* XIV. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπεγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ μνησικακίαν, 98, § 2, ln. 28-31: «ὅτι μὲν γοῦν ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς πᾶμφορος πόλις αὕτη γραφῶν εὐπορεῖ, οὐ πάντων πρὸς τέχνης, ἀλλὰ που καὶ φαύλων γραφόντων ἀνθρωπικούς χαρακτήρας καὶ ἀχρειοῦντων, καὶ ἄλλας μὲν εἰκόνας ἐν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τὴν ὑμετέραν...». [For our city, which has everything, is rich in painters, not all of whom depict human figures/portraits skilfully, but rather poorly and worthlessly, while (others paint) other representations, including your own...]. The archbishop actually refers in his text to a caricature, released by his opponents in Thessaloniki

and Constantinople which was also accompanied with the caption: «Here's a resentful man that we have him bishop of Thessaloniki», p. 98 ln. 28-64. – On an icon of Saint Dēmētrios brought to Constantinople by Manuel I from Thessaloniki in 1149, apparently of a higher quality than those castigated by Eustathios see Gautier, *Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator* 21-23. – Thomas/Constantinides, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* 725-726, with prior bibliography.

322 Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 444-445.

323 According to Eustathios of Thessalonica, *Opuscula* 223.17-18: «Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδαμεν ἀνδρας, τοὺς μὲν ἰσθὼν ὑφαίνοντας ὀλίγου τιμώμενον, καὶ μόγις δι' ἡμέρας ἀποφερομένους κέρδος τοῦ καμάτου νούμμοις εὐαριθμήτους ...». [Moreover, do we not know men, some of whom weave sailcloth for a small price...]. He refers to the difference with ancient Greek society where only women were weavers, apparently in contrast to what was accustomed in his own society. – Also, in *Timariōn* (Vlachakos, *Timariōn* 56, §6.148) products sold in the trade fair of Saint Dēmētrios are mentioned as «ὑφάσματα καὶ νήματα ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν»; interpreted by Phaidōn Koukoules as «fabrics and threads of both men and women». – For further references to Byzantine texts on the same matter, see Koukoules, *Vios kai politismos*, B1, 215-217. – Kaminiates described the great quantities of silk, linen and woollen fabrics, among other valuables treasured in the houses of Thessalonians in his account of the sack of Thessaloniki by the Arabs in 904 (Kaminiates §58.7-8): «ὄση διὰ σηρικῆς ἐσθῆτος εὐπρεπῆς ἦν καὶ ὄση διὰ λίνου τοῖς ἀραχνεῖσις ἠρῖζεν ὑφάσμασιν, ὡς ὄρη καὶ βουνοὺς ἐκτελεῖσθαι τὰς τούτων σωρείας, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ τὸν ὑποκειμενὸν τόπον πληροῦντων. Χαλκῶν γὰρ καὶ σιδηρέων σκευῶν ἢ τῶν ἐξ ἐρίων ἐσθημάτων οὐμενοῦν οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐφρόντισαν, περιττὴν ἡγοῦμενοι τὴν κτήσιν αὐτῶν» [such as gorgeous silk and linen garments rivaling gossamer materials. All these were piled up, forming hills and mountains thrown one atop the other and entirely covering the space. They gave no importance to objects of copper and iron or to woollens. They considered their possession unnecessary].

city, Benjamin of Tudela noted in 1155, when the Byzantine economy was flourishing, that the five hundred Jews of the city were mainly occupied in technical artisanal activities, and specifically with sericulture³²⁴. There is also indirect evidence for a local guild of hat makers in the city in 1097, when Iōannēs Armenēs the head of the hat makers' guild (πρῶτος τῶν καμαλαυκάδων) witnessed a contract³²⁵. There is only one, or possibly two, Middle Byzantine dyeworks attested archaeologically, in the north-east of the city³²⁶. Finally, although there are references in written sources³²⁷ and archaeological finds from the wider region³²⁸ (fig. 37) concerning gold and silver weft clothes, such evidence only indicates their use and not their local production. The official character and ease of transportation of such garment makes it likely that they were imported from elsewhere.

Furriery

The presence of furriers in the city is only known through a legal document from 1097. This is a contract of sale of a vineyard witnessed by two furriers, Theodōros son of Christophoros and Leōn Sinadinos³²⁹.

Bonecarving

No particular finds indicate the local production of bone objects in Thessaloniki in this period. However, the fact that artefacts of this kind were present in the city is attested by finds from various salvage excavations, including a cylindrical

beaker, crudely executed Corinthian capitals – one of them possibly not totally finished – and elongated tool handles, probably for knives³³⁰.

Woodworking

From the work of Kaminiates and the *Vita of Saint Theodōra* we can deduce that local carpenters were engaged in the production of furniture (beds and couches), farmers' carts and small fishing boats, among other things³³¹. Other written sources, such as Eustathios of Thessalonica, offer further indirect information on the extended use of wooden vessels in everyday life in Byzantium³³².

Basket and Mat Weaving

Mats and basketry products appear to have been a widespread commodity, especially given the topography of Thessaloniki, surrounded as it is by four rivers, two lakes, several streams and large areas of marshland, all ideal habitats for reed, cattail and sedge³³³. So widespread were such products that even in times of great disaster and shortage they could be found easily, or even thrown away in the streets. When Archbishop Eustathios described the sack of Thessaloniki by the Normans in 1085, he noted how the women of the city were disguised as soldiers using mats in an attempt to give the Normans an exaggerated impression of the city's garrison during the siege³³⁴. He also told of a poor Thessalonian whose only clothing was a piece of mat that he had pierced

324 Kōnstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 177. – Moutsopoulos, *Evrakes synoikies* 4. – Benjamin of Tudela 64. – Concerning silk production and trade in western Byzantium in the period before the Fourth Crusade, see Jacoby, *Silk in Western Byzantium* 452-500.

325 *Actes de Lavra* I 275-278, no. 53 ln. 39. – Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 418.

326 On the plot at the junction of Paster and Mēropolitē Iōakeim Sgourou Streets, see *Cat. Thessaloniki* 2002, 17 (cat. no. 80). – In the plot at 6 Prasakakē and Koukouphlē Street: Markē, Prasakakē – Koukouflē 337-340 pl. 152a. – Markē, *Agia Sophia kai prosktismata* 58-59 (cat. no. 82). – Probably the workshop that was operating in the eighth to ninth centuries at 52 Agias Sophias Street could be associated with a tannery, see Markē, *Agias Sophias* 52, 511-515 (cat. no. 86).

327 As for instance, the reference to the richly ornated silk garments of the city's Duke garrison in Vlachakos, *Timariōn* 60-61, §7.185: «οἱ δὲ γε λογάδες αὐτοῦ [...] σπρικοῖς καὶ καταστῆκτοις ἀμφίους τὴν περιβολὴν καλλυνόμενοι» [His chosen ones (elite) (...) handsomely attired in embroidered silk garments].

328 For the single Middle Byzantine, probably eleventh-century, silk, gold-weft tissue excavated in the Macedonian area, see Moutsopoulos, *Le tombeau* 114-126, for the excavation, and Antonaras/Kavasila, *Gold Weft Tissue* 14-15, for the tissue.

329 *Actes de Lavra* I, 275-278, no. 53 (ll. 37, 40). – Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 418.

330 For bone objects ascribed to the Middle Byzantine period, see *Cat. Thessaloniki* 1986b, 89-90 nos 8-10. The possibly unfinished capital that was unearthed in the salvage excavations at 27 Kōnstantinou Palaiologou Street in 1997 is hitherto unpublished.

331 Kaminiates §31.2: «ἀμάξας ἐφευρόντες ἐπέθηκαν ἐν αὐταῖς πρηνεῖς τὰς βραχυτάτας νῆας, αἷς πρὸς τὴν θήραν τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἐκέκρητο» [They found some wagons and on them they placed upside down small boats, which our fishermen use for fishing]. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 108.

332 Sarantē, *Ta vyzantina epitrapezia skeuē* 536-541.

333 *Saint Theodōra*, *Life* §31.9-10: «ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς γῆς τῷ ψιαθίῳ καὶ τῷ κωδίῳ διαναπαύετο» [she was resting on the mat and the sheepskin placed on the dry ground]; §32.30: «τὸ ἐν ᾧ καθεύδει κώδιον» [The sheepskin on which you sleep]. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarchy* 111. – In the area even today, reed, cattail and sedge are indigenous plants, all of them until recently widely used for the production of mats and baskets in Thessaloniki and the surrounding area. This type of workshop was mainly concentrated in the south-western part of the city, outside the western city wall, where some of them are still operating even today. For a toponym *Kalamokopelion* (καλαμοκόπε[ι]ον), i.e. site where reed is cut, in the same area, mentioned in *acta* at 1047 and 1290, see *Actes d'Iviron* I no. 29, ln. 31 and *Actes d'Iviron* II no. 52 ln. 262. It is mentioned that the monastery of Ivērōn from Mount Athos possessed a dependency in the region of Bourgou with lands near the marsh of Kalamokopion and even a part of the reeded area; *kalamōnas* (καλαμώνας), was still covered by them *hypokalamos* (ὑποκάλαμος). Here, unsurprisingly, the church and a house were *kalamostegos* (καλαμόστεγος), i.e. their roofs were thatched with reed, according to the detailed description of the buildings provided in the *act*, *Actes d'Iviron* II no. 52 ln. 265-272. In the same document another *kalamōnas* is noted to exist in the monastery of Hagia Varvara, in the quarter of the Hippodromion at the eastern end of Thessaloniki, *Actes d'Iviron* II no. 52 ln. 380. – For a possible identification of the site *Xeropotamos* with an older route of nowadays Dendropotamos watercourse see Malamut/Grélois, *Le port de Thessalonique* 140. – On Basketry and Matting in Antiquity, see Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 4, 180-186.

334 Eustathios, *La espagnazione*, 289:90: «Ὅσα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὀπλισμὸν ἐρρῶμιζον αὐτάς, ῥάκη καὶ ψιάθους ἐναπτόμεναι, ὡσεὶ καὶ τινὰς θώρακας, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρας εἰς ἔλιγμα διαλαμβάνουσαι, εἴ πως στρατιῶται εἶναι σοφίσονται» [and as regards armour, (these women) they arrayed themselves by donning rags and mats that resembled cuirasses, and bound their heads with bands (turban-like) so as to deceptively resemble soldiers].



Fig. 37 Gold-waft silk tissue, Hagios Achilleios, Lake Prespa, eleventh century(?).

and placed on his body³³⁵ and of others who were reduced to wearing improvised mat hats by the conquerors³³⁶.

Ropes of flax and hemp, and textiles, essential for the rigging and sails of ships, for example, must also have been widely produced; especially those of flax, since the plant

was also used for production of linseed oil, as well as for the production of yarns for strings and ropes³³⁷. Acquiring long yarns adequate for weaving linen textiles, required premature harvesting and, at least in modern times, a different type of plant³³⁸.

335 Eustathius, *La espugnazione* 298:90-299:1: »Ἐτρύπησέ τις ψιάθον καὶ περιβαλλόμενος ἔκρυπτε μόγις τὴν προσθήαν αἰσχύνην« [someone opened a hole in a mat and wore it, barely covering his genitals].

336 Eustathius, *La espugnazione* 298:110: »Πῶλον μὲν γὰρ ἀσκητὸν περιθέεισθαι οἱ εὐτυχεστάτοι κατεπλούτου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους ψιάθων πλέγματα ἢ σχοίνων ἢ καλάμης ἐσχεδίαζον εἰς τοιαύτην σκέπη« [the luckiest had the luxury of wearing a well-made hat, while the rest fashioned improvised head-coverings from mats, ropes, or reeds].

337 On references to ropes, rope makers and fishing nets, all of them made with flax, rush and hemp, in Byzantine texts, see Koukoules, *Vios kai politismos*, B1, 190, B2, 204, E, 331. – On industrial textile plants documented in Macedonia, see Laiou/Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* 66, with bibliography.

338 On Fibres and Fabrics in Antiquity, see Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 4, 1-81 esp. 82-98 on flax and linen. – Patterson, *Spinning and Weaving* 196-197.

From Armenopoulos we learn that rope making, along with wool laundering, was not a harmless occupation. The sulphur used to bleach the ropes created an unpleasant smell, while the process of smoking the ropes caused frequent fires. Rope making, therefore, had to be undertaken in isolated buildings, unattached to other structures. When it was unavoidable to operate in an inhabited building or to be adjoined to an inhabited one, then the artisan had to sign a written agreement with the neighbour that he would not smoke the ropes with an open fire in the same premises where ropes were stored³³⁹.

Scribal Activity

Hagiological sources, such as the *Vita of Saint Joseph the Hymnographer* from Thessaloniki (d. 842), lead us to suppose

that during the ninth century a scriptorium for copying and decorating manuscripts was active in Thessaloniki, probably in the Latomou Monastery³⁴⁰. Generally, and within the frame of the teachings of Eustathios of Thessalonica, several scriptoria operated in the city's monasteries, such as that of Akapniou, and also in smaller establishments, such as that of Theotokos of Mastounēs³⁴¹. The name of a copyist active in the Theotokos of Mastounēs Monastery, a certain Theodōros, is recorded³⁴². Indirect information on a little known type of scribal work, topographic plans known as *skiagraphiai* (σκιαγραφίαι), is referred to in the *Praktikon* of Sebastos Iōannēs Komnēnos of 1104, where the property of the Ivērōn Monastery, in the region of Galykos, near Vramodilos, is listed in every detail. It was also mentioned that Iōannēs Proedros Melidōnēs possessed such a plan of his estate neighbouring the monastery³⁴³.

339 Tourptsoglou-Stephanidou, Perigramma 131-132. – Armenopoulos, Procheiron Nomōn 128, 2.4.21: »Ἐπαρχικόν. Περί σχοινοπλόκων καὶ ἔρισπλυτῶν. 21. Αἱ τῶν σχοινοπλόκων καὶ ἔρισπλυτῶν τέχναι τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐδὲ νομίζονται λυμαινέσθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ὀλίγη βλάβη καὶ κίνδυνος· θυμῶσι γὰρ πολλαῖς τὸ θεῖον· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἢ τούτων ὀσμὴ ἀηδῆς οὖσα, πολλὴν δυσωδίαν τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι παρέχει· πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ θυμιῶντες ἐνώσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς σχοίνους ἢ τὴν ἑρέαν τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων συνεχῆς καύσις προσγίνεται τοῖς οἰκίμασι τοῖς παρακειμένοις· μάθησις δὲ τούτων ἢ πείρα· πολλαῖς γὰρ καύσις ἐγένετο τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οἰκίμασιν· ὅθεν χρὴ μονάζειν τοὺς τοιοῦτους οἴκους καὶ μὴ ἑτέροις ἐπισυνάπτεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη τις γίνεται καὶ τούτους κατοικεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπισυνάπτεσθαι ἑτέροις οἰκίαις, χρὴ τῶν τούτων δεσπότην ἐγγράφως ποιεῖν τοῖς παρακειμένοις, ὡς οὐ θυμιάσει ἐμπύρω κέχρηται ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν οἴκοις σχοίνους« [On rope makers and wool launderers. 21. Most people think that the crafts of rope maker and wool launderer are harmless. However, they entail both harm and danger. Firstly, they frequently smoke with sulphur, whose odour is disgusting and creates a great stench for the inhabitants. And oftentimes when smoking, the fire and sulphur unite under the ropes or wool, and from this practice the adjacent houses are continually catching fire. Experience has taught us this, for such structures have often caught fire. Therefore, they (such establishments) should be housed in isolated buildings not adjoining any other structure. In case it is necessary to operate in an inhabited building or beside an inhabited one, then the artisan has to sign a written agreement with his neighbours not to employ smoking with an open fire on premises where there are ropes].

340 Katsaros, Grammata kai pneumatikē zōē 324. – Mango, On Re-reading the Life of Saint Gregory the Décapolite 635-646. – On Byzantine writing implements based on preserved texts and illuminations, that apparently were needed for Thessalonian scriptoria as well, and partly must have been produced in the city, see Djordjević, Predstave pribora za pisanje i opremu knjige 87-112. – Sharpe, Preliminary Notes on Greek Writing Implements 151-168. – Zarras, Stadia proetomiasias 511-528, with all prior bibliography.

341 Eustathius, Opuscula, Ἐπίσκεψις βίου μοναχικοῦ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, 249:144, where he describes the impact that an illustrated manuscript of the Works of Saint Gregory the Theologian had on its viewers. They flocked to see it and the monks of the monastery where it was kept would explain the meaning of the illustrations to the people; even the Archbishop himself went to see and admire it, only to find out that it had already been sold.

342 Katsaros, Grammata kai pneumatikē zōē 325. – Janin, Les églises et les monastères 347-349. – Papageorgiou, Peri cheirographou 542-543.

343 Actes d'Iviron II no. 52 In. 321-323. »Εὐρέθη(σ)αν (καὶ) κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν τοποθεσίαν τοῦ Γαλυκοῦ πλη(σ)ιον τοῦ Βραμοδῖλ(ου) χ(ω)ρά(φ)ι(α) [...] τῶν τοπίων [...] τῶν δεσποζομ(έν)ων νῦν παρὰ Ἰω(άν)νου προέδρου τοῦ Μελιδόνη, ἔχοντα σκ(ια)γραφίαν τοιάνδε« [And they were also found fields at the location of the Galykos near the Bramodilos (...) places (...) that now belong to proedros, Iōannēs Melidonēs, who is in possession of such a topographical sketch].