

Artisanal production in Byzantine Thessaloniki (4th-15th century)*

As in most cities that have endured over many centuries, tracing artisanal activities in 2300-year-old Thessaloniki is quite difficult. For the most ancient period, it is almost impossible, at least as far as locating immovable elements is concerned. Usually, the only evidence comes from movable archaeological finds that, due to their density or special character (e.g. deformed and / or unfinished products), present indirect yet strong evidence of local artisanal activity. In fact, only some of the workshops can be located archaeologically, particularly those a) relating to the processing of organic materials, which required the extensive use of water and therefore had water reservoirs and systems for inflowing and drainage water and b) those relating to the processing of inorganic materials requiring the use of furnaces, remnants of which are also traceable in the excavations. Finally, valuable information on these professions is available in written sources, e.g. inscriptions, historiographical, hagiographical, and legal texts, *acta* of the monasteries of Mount Athos that, either directly or indirectly, shed light on aspects of the private and professional life of the citizens of Thessaloniki.

* The author, based on the research undertaken for this paper, has presented in detail the entire corpus of workshops excavated in Thessaloniki, relevant archaeological finds and the references on them in written sources in the book «Arts, Crafts and Trades in Ancient and Byzantine Thessaloniki. Archaeological, Literary and Epigraphic Evidence». *Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 2* (Mainz 2016).

- 1 Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Paragōgikē monada asvestiou* 101 f. – Sdrolia, *Archaio-logikes ereunes*.
- 2 Velenis et al., *Programma Archaia Agoras 251*. There are indications of a lime kiln active in the Late Middle Byzantine period close to the sea wall, near the harbor. See Tsimpidou-Avloniti/Lykidou/Euthymoglou, *Thessalonikēs amyntēria*
- 3 Finds from a rescue excavation at K. Palaiologou 18 str. See Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, 9^e Ephoreia 285. Two rectangular kilns for building material and vessels from a rescue excavation at K. Melenikou 30A, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2004, 6. – In the plot of the Museum of Byzantine Culture: Nal-pantis, *Oikopedo* (1) 381; (2) 346. Two late antique, rectangular pottery kilns, whose products have not been identified. – At the northern gate of the Hel-expo Trakosopoulou, Chōros DETH 555 f. pl. 213. Artisanal installations, such as a medieval cistern, a lime pit and remains of a possibly 1st c. clay figurine workshop, were traced among several 3rd-4th c. graves. – In the plot at the junction of Koloniaris-Galanakis and Papatthanasiou str. See Nalpantis, *Odos Kolōniarē-Galanakē-Papatthanasiou* 405 dr. 9 pl. 226β. Two rectangular pottery kilns, the second one only partly preserved. – At the plot on the Mavili 17 str., see Vavritsas, *Anaskaphai kentrikēs Makedonias* 505.
- 4 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2004. A semicircular kiln founded in the Late Early Christian period, unearthed at the village Vasilika close to the river Gramostikeia where byzantine water mills have also been found. On the byzantine mills, see Theodoridis, *To ktēmatologio* 417 f. and Papangelos, *Agramades* 65 f.
- 5 Nalpantis, *Anaskaphē sto oikopedo* 119-127 pl. 34-41. – Makropoulou, *Taphoi kai taphes* 440-447 pl. 7-19. 63 f. – Panti, *Keramikē tēs Ysterēs Archaioitētās* 469-471.
- 6 Petsas, *Theologikē Scholē* 334-339 pl. 345-359. On the plot at the junction of Chrysospathi and Monachou Samouil str., see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2002, 13. For findings from the ancient forum of the city, see Adam-Veleni, *Lychnoi* 192 f. no. 85. – Velenis/Poulou-Papadimitriou/Zachariadis, *Lychnaria*.
- 7 Vickers, *Fifth century Brickstamps* 285-294. – Theocharidou, *Symvolē stē meletē tēs paragōgēs* 108 f. – Theodoridis, *To ktēmatologio* 414. On the plain west of the city walls and its use by potters, see *Miracles* 1997, 2:5. § 288. For

Early Christian Period

Workshops with kilns

Lime kilns

Remains of lime kilns have not been located in Roman strata in the city or its surroundings. Two large complexes of kilns found at Platamonas, dated to the early 4th century, were assumed to be connected with the building activity of Galerius and Constantine I in Thessaloniki¹. The only lime kiln found in the city was located in the area of the ancient forum, dated to the 7th century, apparently melting into lime the marble members of the ruined monuments of the forum².

Pottery

Several late imperial workshops were found, both within and outside the city wall³, as well as in the hinterland of Thessaloniki, towards Chalkidiki, some of which continued to function until the late Byzantine period⁴. Several forms of vessels⁵ (fig. 1) and other crude creations, along with lamps⁶ (fig. 2), bricks and roof tiles⁷, were produced in the city.



Fig. 1 Clay vessels, necropolis of Thessaloniki (late 3rd-4th c.). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, *From the Elysian Fields* 129 fig. 55).

bibliography on locating the site in various other places, see Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 101 fn. 66. For workshops, recently redated to the Palaeologan era, see: *Monasteriou str. 91: Makropoulou, Monastēriou* 91, 503 f. – *Monasteriou str. 93: Makropoulou, Monastēriou* 93, 379 ff.; Eleutheriadou et al., *Sōstikes anaskaphes Thessalonikēs* 274 f. fig. 10. – *Giannitson str. 48: Makropoulou, Giannitson* 48, 618. – For the new dating, see Makropoulou, *Taphoi kai taphes* 371 no. 238; 373 no. 240. One of the kilns that has been unearthed in the plot at the junctions of Koloniari, Galanaki and Papatthanasiou str., see Nalpantis, *Odos Kolōniarē-Galanakē-Papatthanasiou* 405 dr. 9 pl. 226β, dated to the Early Christian period, has recently been identified as a brick or roof tile kiln, see Makropoulou, *Taphoi kai taphes* 373 no. 240.



Fig. 2 Clay oil lamp mould, eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki (mid-4th c.). – (After Reg.-No. BK 4451. Museum of Byzantine Culture, DVD made by the Greek Ministry of Culture, ISBN 978-960-8276-41-3 [Athens 2009]).

Glass working

Glass workshops were active in Thessaloniki during the imperial period, especially during the late imperial period, and several forms of vessels have been attributed to them. It seems that few forms of *unguentaria* were already manufactured locally in the late 1st century AD⁸, while in the 4th and 5th century, several forms of tableware, jugs, bottles, beakers, as well as lamps and *unguentaria*, were produced here (fig. 3)⁹. Glass workshops, just like other installations that used open fire, had to be located outside the city walls, at the edges of the cities. However, glass working remains have been located in Thessaloniki at the eastern necropolis, and also in abandoned public spaces within the city walls (fig. 4)¹⁰.

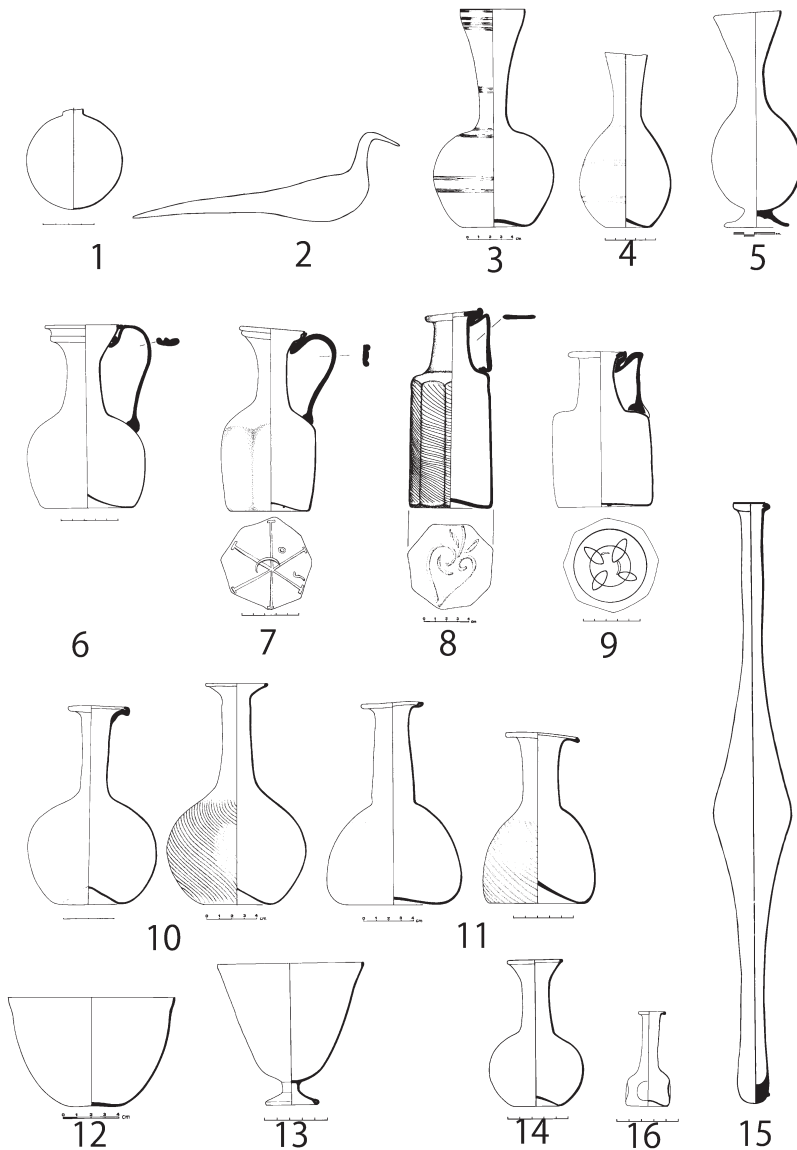


Fig. 3 Drawings of locally produced glass vessels (1st and 4th-5th c.).

8 Antonaras, Glass Doves and Globes.

9 Antonaras, Rōmaikē kai palaiochristianikē yalourgia 75-84. – Antonaras, Production and Distribution. – Antonaras, Glass working activities. On glass jewels present in Early Christian Thessaloniki, see: Antonaras, Glassware in Late Antique Thessalonikē 321-327.

10 Antonaras, Rōmaikē kai palaiochristianikē yalourgia 61-75. – Antonaras, Yalopoiia kai yalourgia. – Antonaras, An Early Christian Glass Workshop 95-113.



Fig. 4 Glass furnace, Thessaloniki, Vasileos Irakleiou 45 str. Early Christian period. – (Photo A. C. Antonaras).

Metal working

Early Christian metalsmith workshops have been spotted in the center of the city and near the western city walls¹¹, while a set of melting pots for jewelers has been found at the center¹². Also, it must be noted that extraction of gold in Macedonia and especially from the river beds close to Thessaloniki is a well attested activity known from Roman times and throughout the Byzantine period¹³.

Sources mention that an entire market of coppersmiths existed and that both gold and silver objects were bought or made in the city, both for secular and ecclesiastical needs¹⁴. Some objects still extant are ascribed to Thessalonian craftsmanship without the existence of any firm evidence¹⁵. Stamped lead water pipes, such as those found in excavations at the center of the city, must have also been local products (fig. 5)¹⁶. Also, the *fabrica*, the state arms factory¹⁷ and the mint that were active here demonstrate metal working¹⁸.



Fig. 5 Stamped lead water pipes, Thessaloniki, Zephyron 7 str. (5th-6th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 214 no. 245).

Weaving

The number of different categories of artisans and traders relevant to textile and clothing has only been witnessed partly in Thessaloniki, although the use of different types of textiles for clothes has been traced archaeologically¹⁹ and is also mentioned in written sources, where reference is also made to textiles used for the decoration of houses²⁰. Furthermore, a 6th century funerary inscription of a *himatioprates*, a draper, offers additional, firm evidence of this activity in the city²¹.

- 11 Finds from the ancient forum: Velenis et al., *Programma Archaia Agoras* 251. – Valavanidou, *Ergastēriakes chrēseis* 127. A circular kiln with slag and some stone and metal tools was unearthed in the site of the Agias Sophias Metro station, see Paisidou/Vasiliadou/Tzevreni, *METRO*. For Zephyron str. 7, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 1999-2000, 7. Also, Makri, *Odos figs.* 11-12. *Insula of Filippou, Dragoumi, Iordanidi and Arrianou streets*, see: Vokotopoulou, *Nea Philippou* 91, 362-364 dr. 2 pl. 213b; 214a-g. – Vitti, *Ἐπολεοδομικὴ ἐξελικὴ* 229-232 no. 115.
- 12 Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 101 no. 87 [P. Kambanis].
- 13 For an overview of the mining of gold in Macedonia and Thrace, see Vavelidis, *Koitsmata* 47-62. Particularly on the extraction of gold from riverbeds especially during the Roman and Byzantine periods and the impressive remains of big, long hills of pebbles, on the sites of extraction, see Papangelos, *Agramades* 63-72. – Theocharidou, *Enkatasasē* 27 f.
- 14 Bakirtzi, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 98-100. – *Miracles* 1:1 § 23; 1:5 § 60.
- 15 Tsitouridou, *To missorio* 187-196. – Bakalakis, *Παυσάλπιπος* von Thessalonike 43 ff. – Tsitouridou *Palaiochristianikē Technē* 249. – Bakirtzi, *Pilgrimage to Thessalonike* 179.
- 16 Found at Zephyron str. 7, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 214 no. 245 [E. Marki] dated to 5th-6th c.
- 17 *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. XI, 35-9: *Illyrici quatuor: Thessalonicensis, Naissatensis, Ratiarensis, scutaria Horreomargensis*. – Generally on *fabricae* see James, *The fabricae* 257-330. On *fabricenses* in the city see Souris, *To rōmaiko ergostasio oplōn* 66-78.
- 18 On Early Christian coinage of Thessaloniki, see Metcalf, *The Copper Coinage of Thessalonica* passim. – Oeconomides-Karamessini/Touratsoglou, *The 1948 Thessaloniki Hoard* 289-312. – Hahn, *New light on the Thessalonican Moneta Auri* 178-182.
- 19 Cf. Antonaras, *Early Christian gold-embroidered silks* 45-47, on silk, gold embroidered, gold interwoven and laced vestments. A bigger part of a purple, gold weft dress is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, see Vokotopoulou, *Odēgos Archaologikou Mouseiou* 88. 89 fig. XY. – Linen and woolen threads have been unearthed in several Early Christian tombs, unpublished material in the Museum of Byzantine Culture.
- 20 *Miracles* 1:1 § 22; 1:14 § 152. – Bakirtzi, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 94. 98.
- 21 Edson, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae* 231 no. 795. – Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions* 141 no. 157.



Fig. 7 Non-finito marble capital, Thessaloniki, Agiou Dimitriou str. (2nd half 5th-1st half 6th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 66 no. 8).

Fig. 6 Non-finito marble capital, Hagios Demetrios Thessaloniki (7th c.). – (Photo A. C. Antonaras).

Textile dyers and, more specifically, purple dyers were active in Thessaloniki from the 1st century BC. An association of purple dyers, *porphyrovaphoi*, was active in Roman times, called the one of the *eighteenth* [street], so declaring their working site and distinguishing themselves from other associations in the city²². The purple, gold weft dress, which was found in a lead coffin placed in a marble sarcophagus in the eastern necropolis, could be the work of some of these purple dyers²³. Finally, thread- or fabric-dyeing activity has been detected in the area of the shops on the street south of the forum, which hosted workshops after the 4th and in the 5th century²⁴, and also in the area close to Hagia Sophia²⁵.

Tanners

The activity of tanners and dyers has been located at the south side of the ancient forum, where a series of shops are arranged in front of a *cryptoporticus*²⁶. Another tannery dated to the 6th-7th century has been excavated within and very close to the eastern walls²⁷.

Bone carvers

Bone carving has left unexpectedly few remains in Thessaloniki, both in terms of finished and unfinished products or raw

material²⁸. A bone carving workshop was located on the site of the Roman forum²⁹.

Sculptors / marble carving

The local production of sculptures flourishes in particular during the years of the Tetrarchy, when it appears that artists from major centers of the eastern part of the empire were invited to operate within a well-organized workshop in Thessaloniki and hence raised the level of works produced for the Tetrarch Galerius³⁰. Some elements of the rich and diverse sculptural decoration of Early Christian monuments were probably executed locally. However, the only elements that can be securely attributed to local production is a group of four small, truncated, conical 7th century capitals; an identical, unfinished one was used in Hagios Demetrios' basilica during its 7th century renovation³¹. It appears that a local sculpture workshop was active in Thessaloniki until the middle of the 7th century and it has been noted that it was open to Constantinopolitan influences although still keeping alive the Hellenistic tradition (fig. 6)³². A small and unfinished capital (dated to the 2nd half of the 5th or 1st half of the 6th c.) also appears to be a local product; it was found during the excavation of a church on the west side of the city (fig. 7)³³. In addition, it seems highly likely that simple items, such as mortars throughout the Roman and Early Christian period,

22 Edson, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae* 117 no. 291. – Comments on the inscription at Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* 535 no. 3. – Vitti, *È poleodomikè exelikhè* 78 f. Indications of, probably 5th c., purple dyers' activity has been archaeologically spotted at the western part of the city, north of Chryse gate at Zephyron 7. See Markè, *Οδός* 586.
 23 Vokotopoulou, *Odègos Archaïologikou Mouseiou* 88 f. fig. XY.
 24 Valavanidou, *Ergastèriakes chrèseis* 128-129.
 25 Excavation at Agias Sophias str. 75, the installation is dated to the 4th to the early 5th c.; see Karydas, *Anaskaphè se oikopedo stèn odo Agias Sophias* 252-254 figs 3-4.
 26 Vitti, *È poleodomikè exelikhè* 102 f. – Valavanidou, *Ergastèriakes chrèseis* 128 f.

27 For the plot of K. Melenikou 18, where two large lime pits have been unearthed, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sòstikes* 2004, 6.
 28 Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 210. 410. 468 no. 239; 498-501. 504. 637-640: bone dice, pins and spoons.
 29 Valavanidou, *Ergastèriakes chrèseis* 127.
 30 Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck* 145 ff. – Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Trapezophora* 21 f. – Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *To mikro toxo* 83-96.
 31 Velenis, *Tessera pròtotypa kionokrana* 669-679.
 32 *Ibidem* 678.
 33 Makropoulou, *Dyo prosphata anakalyphthentes naoi* 713. – Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 66 no. 8 [D. Makropoulou].



Fig. 8 Funeral wall painting with Susannah and the Elders, necropolis of Thessaloniki (5th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 534).

are also local products³⁴. Finally, hundreds of funerary steles, most of them bearing only simple inscriptions, bear witness to the self-evident, yet provable, continuous presence of sculptors in the city³⁵. The only vague indication of the actual location of a marble workshop is in the area leading to the western necropolis³⁶.

Wall paintings

The activity of painters, particularly those engaged in the production of wall paintings, in Late Roman to Early Christian Thessaloniki is mainly evidenced by the dozens of wall-painted tombs that are still preserved in both necropolises of the city³⁷. The iconography is rich, quite diverse and skillfully



Fig. 9 Wall paintings, Thessaloniki, Lapithon 7 str. (2nd half 5th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 232).

executed³⁸. In the 3rd-4th, or even in the early 5th century, garlands, architectural and linear motives, imitations of incrustations, Christian symbols, and paradisiacal and biblical scenes appear (fig. 8). From the 5th to the 7th-8th century, depictions of the Cross, occasionally flanked by trees or shrubs, prevail and gradually become the only symbol present in the graves³⁹. Very few of the mural paintings that once decorated churches⁴⁰ and rich urban houses of Thessaloniki have been preserved (fig. 9). The secular ones still extant are all geometrical patterns, obviously rendering *opera sectilia* prototypes in an inexpensive way⁴¹.

Mosaics

The extant mosaic pavements of luxurious private and public buildings, as well as the wall decoration of churches and houses (fig. 10), indicate that a local school of mosaicists was active⁴² and had most probably started working in the buildings of Galerius, creating a tradition that continued throughout the 4th and into the early 5th century⁴³. Simple mosaics, single- or two-colored ones made with marble or stone asymmetrical tiles are also works by local workshops dating from the late 4th to the 6th century⁴⁴.

34 On mortars from Thessaloniki, see Tzitzibasi, *Marble bowls* 18-29.

35 Edson, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae*. – Spieser, *Inventaires I* 145-180. – Spieser, *Inventaires II* 303-348. – Tsigaridas/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Katalogos christianikōn epigraphōn* 33-78. 87-91. 99f. – Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions* 81-240. – Tzitzibasi, *Epitymvies epigraphes* 169-208.

36 Found at Margaropoulou 20 str., see Makropoulou, *Taphoi kai taphes* 225.

37 Gounaris, *Oi toichographies tou taphou ar.* 18, 245-262. – Nikonanos, *Topographia kai technē* 245f., on some thoughts on the connections of Thessalonian mural paintings with those from the catacombs of Rome and on the unity and universality of art in that period. For still standing fragments of Early Christian wall paintings on the walls of the Moni Latomou, see Tsigaridas, *Monē Latomou* 54f. fig. 12.

38 Marki, *Ē nekropolē tēs Thessalonikēs* 240f.

39 *Ibidem* 120-240.

40 Brownish and greenish imitations of five marble slabs with lozenges in them are painted at the lower part of the apse, below the mosaic decoration, at Latomou monastery. Tsigaridas, *Monē Latomou* 25 no. 3 dr. 2.

41 For a 5th c. house with rich mosaic pavement and wall paintings, exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, see: Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, *Lapithōn 7*. – Eleutheriadou, *Lapithōn 7*, 323 pl. 151β. – Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Syntagma tōn palaiochristianikōn psēphidōtōn* 258f. – For a house with Early and Late Imperial layers of painting rendering the former a building in Pompeian-Style and an *opus sectile* the latter, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 1999-2000, 13.

42 Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Syntagma tōn palaiochristianikōn psēphidōtōn pasim*. – Nikonanos, *Topographia kai technē* 247.

43 Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Syntagma tōn palaiochristianikōn psēphidōtōn* 112f. 156f.

44 Guidobaldi / Guiglia-Guidobaldi, *Pavimenti marmorei* 252-254, esp. fn. 466. – Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Syntagma tōn palaiochristianikōn psēphidōtōn* 168-176, esp. 168.



Fig. 10 Hagios Demetrios. Wall mosaic with St. Demetrios with the founders of the church (7th c.). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou/Tourta, *Peripatoi* 163 no. 191).



Fig. 11 Funeral inscription of Heliodoros Leptourgos, necropolis of Thessaloniki (5th-6th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 68 no. 11).

Carpenters / woodcarvers

The single proof of the self-evident and very common presence and professional activity of woodcarvers in Thessaloniki is a funerary inscription mentioning the *leptourgos* *Heliodoros* who died in the city sometime in the 5th century (fig. 11)⁴⁵.

Wine press

Evidence of wine production in the area is quite scarce. A wine reservoir was unearthed in the excavation of a 5th century *villa rustica*, at Palaiokastro, west of Thessaloniki⁴⁶. Also, it has been noted that, at the eastern necropolis, after its destruction in the Early Byzantine period, a square-shaped burial monument was used as part of an installation for the production of wine⁴⁷.

Middle Byzantine period

The otherwise obscure picture of the professional, artisanal and ultimately commercial side of Middle Byzantine Thessaloniki⁴⁸ is illuminated with great clarity by Ioannis Kameniatīs who, in his work on the city's conquest by the Saracens in 904⁴⁹, describes it as a dynamic and populous metropolis. He notes the central role of the *leophoros*, overcrowded with local and visiting buyers, filled with woolen and silk textiles, jewelry, metalwork and glassware. Although no direct reference is made to whether these goods were local products, it is likely that several of them were produced locally and only some were imported⁵⁰.

Furthermore, there was an abundance of agricultural products from the surrounding plains, fish from nearby lakes and rivers, and the port was also thriving⁵¹. The economy of Thessaloniki was always based on a combination of agriculture and trade, on the products of its hinterland and on the products of its artisans or the imports traded by its merchandisers⁵².

45 Edson, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae* no. 787. – Tsigaridas/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Katalogos christianikōn epigraphōn* no. 43, 73, with further notes on the term *leptourgos*. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 68 no. 11 [A. Tzitzibasi].
46 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2002, 8.
47 For the excavation see Pelekanidou, 9^ē Ephoreia. – For its later use in the production of wine, see Raptis, *Palaiochristianika kai vyzantina ergastēria* 112.
48 Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 81-94, where all relevant bibliography is cited, and where is questioned whether the part of the text with the description of the city belongs to the original core of the text or is a late Byzantine addition.

49 Kameniatēs, *Stēn Alōsē* § 11,71-78. – Specially on the artisanal production of Thessaloniki and the trade during the 9th and 10th c., see comments by Nasledova, *Remeslo i trgovija* 61-84. Also, see Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 56-58.
50 Kameniatēs, *Stēn Alōsē* 8 f. § 9,6.
51 *Ibidem* 57 ff. § 10.
52 Laiou, *Ē Thessalonikē* 183. On big pieces of land, entire villages and water mills that were property of the church of Thessaloniki in the surrounding areas, see Theodoridis, *To ktēmatologio passim*.

According to written sources, many *ergasteria* workshops⁵³ operated in the city center in the 12th century; these were especially concentrated in complexes that seem to have been used exclusively for commercial and non-residential purposes⁵⁴. Indeed, artisanal kilns were recently found in the east of the waterfront, beside the sea wall, and near the port⁵⁵. In the same period, the writer of the satire »Timarion« praises the fertility of the Axios valley and the commercial activity of the city, as shown in the festival of Hagios Demetrios⁵⁶. The large trade and animal fair, the Demetria, took place in late October, outside the west city walls where Greek and foreign merchants presented their merchandise⁵⁷.

It seems that Thessalonian monks also performed lucrative commercial activities, possibly to a greater extent than their religious duties, according to an imputation of Eustathios of Thessaloniki⁵⁸. It is also known that Hagios Demetrios' basilica had a candle-making workshop for the production of candles of standardized sizes, small, medium and large. Even larger, man-sized candles were ordered from a different, independent workshop⁵⁹. Other candle-making workshops must have existed throughout the Byzantine era in the city, supplying Thessalonians with the candles needed for their religious needs⁶⁰.

Pottery

During the Middle Byzantine period, private pottery workshops, specialized in the production of bricks and roof tiles, were active outside and very close to the eastern city walls⁶¹. In early and mid-10th century sources, they were referred to as *kaminia*, i. e. kilns⁶². The type of bricks produced by this type of kiln can be seen in the surviving monuments of the city⁶³. The only other pottery kiln used for the production of vessels generally dated to the Byzantine era has been unearthed at the southwest part of the city⁶⁴. There is no evidence for the local production of any of the locally found tableware

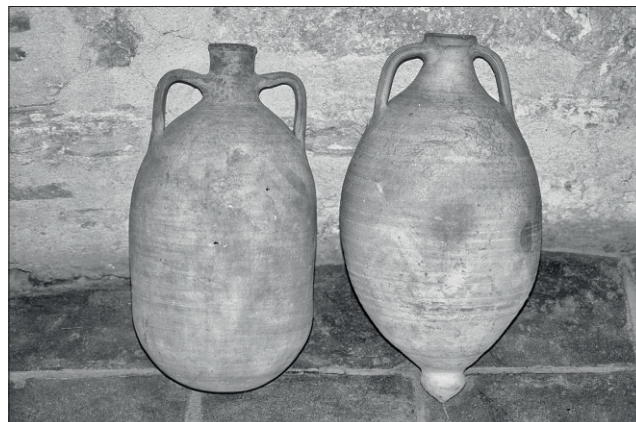


Fig. 12 Amphoroid vessels, Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia's vaults (late 7th c.). – (After Bakirtzis, *Céramiques en complément de voutes* figs 6-8).

vessels, except possibly some of the lower quality 12th-13th century ones⁶⁵.

A group of late 7th century pointed amphora-shaped vessels may have been local products. They are used in their hundreds for filling Hagia Sophia's north and south upper galleries' flours (fig. 12)⁶⁶. Most of them are medium-sized with thin walls, badly fired and obviously not suitable for real transportation use. Due to their lightweight and very thin, fragile walls, it has been suggested that they belong to the same category as the vessels mentioned in the sources used to extinguish the fire that broke out on the roof of Hagios Demetrios' basilica⁶⁷. It is also accepted that both amphorae, used with the others for extinguishing fires, and clay grenades were in use and quite probably produced in 10th century Thessaloniki⁶⁸.

Forms of smaller and larger amphorae and pithoi vessels made for transporting and storing goods were also found in large numbers in Hagia Sophia, shedding light on the typology of the pottery present or even possibly made in late 11th century Thessaloniki⁶⁹.

53 The fact that the term *εργαστήριον*, i. e. workshop, was used for all shops offers an indirect indication that, in the majority of shops, goods were not simply sold but at least part of their production process took place in them.

54 On the presence and the density of *εργαστήρια* / workshops in the area of *καταφυγή* / *καταφυγή* witness document issued at 1117, preserved at the archives of Mount Athos, where it can be seen that, in one complex, the monastery owned seven, two storey-high *εργαστήρια* / workshops. See Oikonomidis, *Iera Monē Docheiariou* 233. The complex presented a kind of a shopping »mall« consisting of workshops without any residences in it, according to Pappagianni, *Morphes oikodomōn* 24 f. 35-40.

55 At least two, double-roomed workshops with kilns and wells, dated after the 7th and prior to the 12th c. One of them was secondarily used as a lime kiln. Tsimpidou-Avloniti/Lykidou/Euthymoglou, *Thessalonikēs amyntēria*. – Middle Byzantine circular kilns have been also located farther to the east, closer to the port and adjoining the sea walls, on Leoforos Nikis 59 and Moskof 18, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2001, 14 f.

56 Tsaras, *Timariōn* 189-203. – *Timarion* 47-61. 175-190.

57 Laiou, *Ē Thessalonikē* 184. – Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 213.

58 Eustathios, *Opuscula* 223, 38-40. – Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 160. On the size of the land property and the income from it, of the Thessalonian church during the Middle and Late Byzantine period, see Theodoridis, *To ktēmatologio passim*.

59 Bakirtzis, *Agioi Dēmētrioi Thaumata* 131-135. 376 1:7 §§ 64. 66 »Περὶ Ονησιφόρου του παραμοναρίου«. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 100-101.

60 Cf. St Theodora, *Life* § 6.3-4. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 111.

61 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2002, 11. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 108 f.

62 Kaltosgianni/Kotzabassi/Paraskevopoulou, *Ē Thessalonikē stē byzantinē logotechnia* 117, if the kilns mentioned in the 903 visit of Saint Elias the Younger were indeed for pottery and if they were not at the western part of the city. Lavra I 97-102 for a sale of a roof-tiles workshop situated near the sea from 952 for three gold coins.

63 Panagia Chalkeon is the best preserved example. See Evangelidis, *Ē Panagia Chalkeōn*. – Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Byzantinē Thessalonikē* 104-110.

64 Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou/Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Acheiropoiētōs*. – Marki, *Symplērōmatika archaiologika stoicheia* 139. 148 dr. 1 fig. 7. Part of another kiln has also been located on the same site.

65 Bakirtzis / Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *De la céramique byzantine* 425 f.

66 Kissas, *Angeia metaphoras kai apothēkeusēs* 232-245.

67 Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 101. – Bakirtzis, *Céramiques en complément de voutes* 697-702, esp. figs 6-8.

68 Kameniatīs, *Stēn Alōsē* §§ 31,8; 32,10; 33,7; 34,7. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 108.

69 Kissas, *Angeia metaphoras kai apothēkeusēs* drs 2-14 figs 2-8. – Bakirtzis, *Céramiques en complément de voutes* 697-702, esp. figs 2-4.



Fig. 13 Glass kiln and wasters from Thessaloniki, Dioikitiriu square (early 9th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium 119-20* no. 115).



Fig. 14 Glass working remains, from Thessaloniki, Agapis 3 str. Middle Byzantine period. – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium 119-20*, no. 115).

Glass working

Glass working is one of the few artisanal activities described by Kameniatēs that have been archaeologically proven to be present in the city. Two glass workshops have been unearthed in the center of Thessaloniki in disregard of juridical regulations⁷⁰. The first one, to the west of Hagios Demetrios, produced glass vessels and its kiln is the only one surviving in the city (fig. 13). Its products included stemmed beakers and hanging lamps⁷¹. The second workshop was located to the northeast of Hagia Sophia and only movable finds have been unearthed (fig. 14). Apart from deformed glass masses, a few glass tesserae, dark blue glass cakes for the production of mosaic tesserae and tiles, both square and rounded in shape, decorated with colorless-whitish and red festoons, are very important and interesting⁷².

Metal working

Several Middle Byzantine metalsmith workshops have been located on the outskirts of the city but within the city walls⁷³. It has already been noted that there was an active *fabrica*, a state arms factory, as early as in the Early Christian period in Thessaloniki⁷⁴. Middle Byzantine sources, like Eustathios, note that a *zavareion*, an arsenal, or a state arms factory, operated in the city during the 11th century⁷⁵. It is also known

that the general of the city accepted (or rather: was obliged) to procure thousands of weapons for an expedition to Crete during Leo's reign, e.g. 6000 arrows, 3000 lances and as many shields as possible⁷⁶. Furthermore, the mint of the city should also be included in the metalsmith's artisanal activities, which continued almost without interruption throughout the Byzantine period⁷⁷. Moreover, several lead seals found in Thessaloniki (fig. 15) that belonged to religious and state dignitaries of the city or region shed light on another activity of local metalsmiths, i.e. the local production of lead blanks and βουλωτήρια, the metal pincers with inscriptions on their jaws and representations stamped on lead seals, which were used by religious and state dignitaries of the city⁷⁸. Also, from the 6th-7th century, to the east of the city, near the Byzantine village of Αγία Ευφημία, at the site of Ροπαλαία, the bishop of Thessaloniki possessed large parts of land and watermills, as well as a workshop for refining metals, possibly gold⁷⁹.

As to the movable finds that appear to be local products, it is important to mention an 8th century stone mould for *eulogiae*, probably metal ones, that was found at the north side of Hagios Demetrios' complex⁸⁰. It depicts a negative relief bust of Christ on a Cross, flanked by the apostles Andreas and possibly Paulos, probably considered to be the founders of the Thessalonian Church (fig. 16)⁸¹. Furthermore, lentoid, lead ampoullae, appearing in two versions with either a short or long funnel mouth, with the busts of the saint Demetrios on one side and the Mother of God or the saints Theodora

70 Kōnstantinos Armenopoulos, *Procheiron Nomōn* 117f. (2.4.19). Laws that were in use throughout the Byzantine period and are preserved in the 14th c. work of K. Armenopoulos mention that glassworkers were not supposed to work within city walls. If there was still a need to have them installed within the city walls, then they were obliged to create their workshops in uninhabited parts of the city as the danger of a fire was great and the disturbance of the neighbors constant.

71 Kanonidis, *Anaskaphē ergastēriou yalourgias* 143-153.

72 Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium 119-120* no. 115a, dated generally to the Middle Byzantine period. For the excavation, see Kanonidis, *Agapēs* 3, 490-493.

73 Find from the Gyzi 5 str. plot, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2001, 11. – Marki, *Tzacheila* 3, 584-586 figs 11-12. Kissas, *Venizelou* 74, 238-242.

74 See no. 17. Also, Tafel, *De Thessalonica* 184 no. 30. – Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments* 15 no. 51.

75 Eustathios, *La espugnazione* 86 ln. 20.

76 Konstantinos Porphyrogennētōs, *De cerimoniis* 657 ll. 44.12-14. – Kolias, *Zaba – Zabareion – Zabareiotēs* 27-35, esp. 31.

77 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.

78 On *Vouloteria*, see Grierson, *Byzantine Gold Bullae* 247 fig. 9. On lead seals from Thessaloniki, see Kissas, *Molyvdovoulla apo ta yperōa* 185-202. For a thorough publication of all lead seals that have been found in Thessaloniki and its region, see Leontiadis, *Molyvdovoulla tou Mouseiou Byzantinou Politismou passim*.

79 Theodoridis, *To ktēmatologio* 417.

80 Pelekanidēs, *Anaskaphē*.

81 Mentzōs, *A stone mould* 18-24.



Fig. 15 Lead seal of Leon vasilikos protospatharios and strategos of Thessaloniki (ca. 920-940). – (After Λεωντιάδης, Μολυβδόβουλλα του ΜΒΠ 175-177 no. 68).



Fig. 16 Stone seal with Christ flanked by two apostles, Thessaloniki, St. Demetrios (8th c.). – (After Mentzos, A stone mould 18 fig. 1).



Fig. 17 Lead ampulla, Rendina (13th c.). – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Everyday life in Byzantium 184-185).



Fig. 18 Touchstone, Thessaloniki, Agapis 3 str. Middle Byzantine period. – (After Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Everyday life in Byzantium 107 no. 97).

Georgios or Nestor on the other, known to Thessalonians as *koutrouvia*, were produced locally between the 10th and the 13th century in order to meet the needs of the peregrination to the shrines of the two *myron*-producing saints of Thessaloniki (fig. 17)⁸². It appears that the same peregrine needs met for ordinary people by lead *koutrouvia* were met for wealthier and more important people by reliquaries for *lythron* or *myron* of Saint Demetrios; these were made of precious materials and rendered the saint's sarcophagus and the ciborium covering it⁸³. Judging by the reliquaries and some preserved encolpia⁸⁴ and crosses⁸⁵, it appears that local jewelers also used enamel to decorate metal objects. Also, the finding of a touchstone (fig. 18) dated to the Middle

Byzantine period confirms the presence of goldsmiths, as one might expect, at the very center of the city⁸⁶. The diversity of used and possibly locally produced jewels is obvious thanks to numerous archaeological finds, both precious and predominantly simpler ones⁸⁷.

Finally, written sources provide important information about the activity of local metal production. Other work by coppersmiths, such hot-water boilers, are also known to be present in the city⁸⁸, as were silver- and gold-plated harnesses for the horses of local dignitaries⁸⁹. Also, the ironclad wooden doors of the city walls must had been made and repaired by local blacksmiths, just like the weapons and fine locks that private citizens kept in their houses⁹⁰.

82 Bakirtzis, *Koutrouvia myrou* 523-528. – Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Ampoulae* 140-149. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 184f.

83 Grabar, *Quelques reliquaires* 3-28. – Grabar, *Un nouveau reliquaire de S. Démétrius* 305-313, esp. 307. – Evans/Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium* 161f. 167f. 174 nos 108. 116f. 125. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 241-254, esp. 243f.

84 Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou/Pitarakis/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Encolpia* 74f. no. 22.

85 Evans/Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium* 174 no. 125.

86 Find from the excavation NE of St Sophia, at Agapis str. 3. See Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 107 no. 97 [l. Kanonidis]. For similar finds from Frankish Thebes, see Koilakou, *Viotechniques enkatastaseis* esp. 235 figs 8-10.

87 Antonaras, *The use of Glass in Byzantine jewelry* 331-334. Antonaras, *Gyalina mesovyzantina vrachiolia* 423-434. – Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine jewellery*.

88 *St Theodora, Life* § 31, 5-7. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 111.

89 Tsaras, *Timariōn* 200. – *Timarion* 60f.

90 Kameniatis, *Stēn Alōsē* § 32,2; 31,4. – *St Theodora, Translation* § 4,1. – Bakirtzis, *Imports, exports and autarchy* 111.



Fig. 19 Marble icon of Mother of God Oranta (11th c.). – (After Caputo/Gentili, Torcello 89).

Μαρμαρογλύπτες

According to written sources, a sculpture workshop was active in the city in the late 9th century. The decorated marble sarcophagus of Saint Theodora was made here in 893. A few years earlier, in 875, a monk not local to the area made the sarcophagus of saint Hilarion of Iberia⁹¹. Marble icons are confirmed as local products. They generally present a rarity in the Byzantine world, known mainly in the post-iconoclasm pe-

91 Bakirtzis, Imports, exports and autarchy 109 fn. 109. St Theodora, Translation § 3.7-8; 20-21. On saint Hilarion see Kaltosgianni/Kotzabassi/Paraskevopoulou, *Ē Thessalonikḗ stē byzantinē logotechnia* 107. Yet [acc. to Bakirtzis, op.cit.] it is not clear whether it was a newly constructed sarcophagus or an old one. For parts of a 12th-13th c. marble templon and a sarcophagus found in the excavation of the monastery, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 1999-2000, 8.
 92 Tsilipakou, *Byzantines marmarines eikones: on the Middle Byzantine icons* 304-317. 328-340. 344-351; on Hosios David 317-328; on Christ 340-344.
 93 Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi* 134f. 164. On the workshop, see also Vanderheyde, *Les reliefs* 708.
 94 Mentzos, *Ergastērio glyptikēs stē Thessalonikḗ* 217-230.
 95 Tsigaridas / Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Katalogos christianikōn epigraphōn* 94-97. 101f. 104. 106.



Fig. 20 Rotonda. Wall painting. Ascension, an Angel (9th c.). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou/Tourta, *Peripatoi* 69 no. 75).

riod, especially from the 10th to the 12th century. Seven Middle Byzantine examples have been found in Thessaloniki and all present the Mother of God Oranta (fig. 19). Two Late Byzantine examples depict an unfinished Christ and a Hosios David⁹².

An 11th century workshop, active on several sites in Macedonia and Epirus, with several plaques found in the city belonging to its repertoire, is assumed to be from Thessaloniki⁹³. Also, parts of ciborium arches from Hagios Demetrios and other churches of the city have been ascribed to the same workshop⁹⁴. Several inscriptions preserved from that period indicate another type of simple work executed by local sculptors⁹⁵.

Painting

Although the only painter known by name is Ioannis, a late 9th century artist who painted the icon of Saint Theodora after a miraculous intervention, according to the cleric Gregorios⁹⁶, painting workshops appear to have been constantly present in Thessaloniki, or rather painters worked on wall paintings, as works from all centuries are preserved among the few surviving monuments from this period (fig. 20)⁹⁷.

96 St Theodora, *Life* 171-177 § 52-54.

97 For an anonymous church at the very center of the city at the junction of Egnatia and Dikastirion (today Mit. Gennadiou) streets with 1st half of 9th c. decoration consisting of rows of gemmed crosses flanked by columns, see Evangelidis, *Eikonomachika mnēmeia* 341-351 figs. 5. 5^a. 7. 7^a. For a funerary chapel at the eastern part of the city, at Kassandou 90 str., decorated at the first half of the 9th c. on one wall with three gemmed crosses with dedicatory inscriptions, flanked by columns and on another wall with imitation of marble incrustations, see Makropoulou/Tzitzibassi, *Sōstikē anaskaphikḗ* 361-364. – Generally on 9th c. painting in Thessaloniki, see Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Ē zōgraphikḗ* 393-410. On the Ascension at the apse of Rotonda, see Xyngopoulos, *Ē toichographia tēs Analēpsēs* 32-53. The wall painting of the Ascension bears obvious similarities to the mosaic presentation of the Ascension on the dome



Fig. 21 Hagia Sophia. Wall mosaic. Ascension (9th c.). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou/Tourta, *Peripatoi* 209 no. 251).

Mosaics

Mosaic decoration of Hagia Sophia, dating from the 8th, 9th, 10th and 12th century⁹⁸, in connection with glass working remains of glass cakes and other forms of rectangular and curved flat glass tiles, possibly of some form of opus sectile, that have been located in an excavation in the proximity of the church⁹⁹ bear witness to the, even temporary, presence of a workshop of mosaicists in the city (fig. 21).

of Hagia Sophia and they are considered works of the same workshop, see. R. S. Cormack, *Ninth Century Monumental Painting and Mosaic in Thessaloniki* (London 1968) 198-199 [non vidi], according to Tsigaridas, *Oi toichographies tēs monēs Latomou* 100 no. 57. The same conclusion is expressed by Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Ē zōgraphikē* 409, where she dates them at approx. 880. On Panagia Chalkeon: Evangelidis, *Ē Panagia Chalkeōn passim*. Xyngopoulos, *Ai apoltheisai toichographiai* 1-19. Papadopoulou, *Die Wandmalereien passim*. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Byzantine Thessaloniki* 104-110. On Hosios David: Tsigaridas, *Oi toichographies tēs monēs Latomou passim*. For a thorough overview of painting in 12th c. Thessaloniki, see Tsigaridas, *Oi toichographies tēs monēs Latomou* 149-156.

98 Pelekanidis, *I mosaici* 337-349. – Pelekanidis, *Bemerkungen* 29-40. – Cormack, *The apse mosaics* 111-135. – Bakirtzis, *Neōteres paratērēseis* 167-180. – Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Ē zōgraphikē* 393-410.

Textiles and textile dyeing

Benjamin of Tudela notes that, when he visited Thessaloniki in 1155, the 500 Jews in the city were mainly occupied with technical artisanal activities, specifically with sericulture¹⁰⁰. Only one Middle Byzantine dye-house is archaeologically attested; this is located in the northeast of the city¹⁰¹. Finally, although there are references in written sources¹⁰² and archaeological finds from the wider region¹⁰³ to gold and silver weft clothes, they actually only indicate their use and not their local production as, due to their official character and the ease of transportation, it is quite possible that they were traded from other remote centers.

99 Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Everyday life in Byzantium* 119f. no. 115a, generally dated to the Middle Byzantine period [I. Kanonidis].

100 Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē. Chōros kai Ideologia* 177. – Moutsopoulos, *Oi evraïkes 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.

101 On the plot at the junction of Paster and I. Sgourou str. see, 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2001, 17.

102 As for instance the reference to the richly ornated silk garments of the city's Duke in Timarion 60-61 § 7. 185-200.

103 For the single Middle byzantine, probably 11th c., silk, gold weft tissue excavated in the Macedonian area, see for the excavation Moutsopoulos, *Le tombeau* 114-126 and for the tissue Antonaras/Kavasila, *Gold Weft tissue* 14-15.



Fig. 22 Water mill, Polychni, Thessaloniki. Late Byzantine period. – (After Siaxambani, *Watermills from Polichni* 338).

Carpenters

From Kaminiates' work and the vita of Saint Theodora, it is clear that local carpenters produced beds and couches, carts for farmers and small boats for fishermen¹⁰⁴. As their products are also mentioned in the sources, baskets-makers and tanners were also active in the city¹⁰⁵.

Scribes

Hagiological sources, like the vita of Saint Joseph the hymnographer from Thessaloniki (†842), confirm the hypothesis that there was a scriptorium in Thessaloniki in the 9th century¹⁰⁶ while, in the late 12th century, scriptoria operated in

several monasteries of the city. The name of an active copyist in the Theotokos of Mastounis monastery, a Theodoros, is known¹⁰⁷.

Late Byzantine period

During the second half of the 13th and in the early 14th century, the city prospered, exporting, amongst other things, agricultural products to Italian cities. It seems that large sections of the population were benefiting from the social changes in trade¹⁰⁸. According to a 15th century manuscript, festivals and trade fairs lasting several days were organized by several churches and were an important element of the commercial activity in the city¹⁰⁹.

Water mills: flour, oil and wine

Water mills, either for grinding cereals or pressing oil, represented an important economic activity, and more than 20 of them, together with one wine press, have been located, mainly outside the city walls, at the northeast and northwest (fig. 22)¹¹⁰. Furthermore, a water tower has also been excavated at the upper part of Thessaloniki, indicating that workshops using water power, possibly water mills, were also active within the city walls¹¹¹. It should also be noted that few hand mills have been unearthed within the city, implying that the flour used by its inhabitants was mostly ground in professional mills. Notes concerning several workshops in Thessaloniki that belonged to the Mount Athos monasteries are preserved in their *acta*. A linseed oil mill, known as *tzymilareion*, is mentioned in 1432 to have been located in the center of the city, in the Hagios Menas' neighborhood¹¹². The existence of a large number of linseed oil presses in the city can be assumed from the note by Archbishop Symeon stating that, during the famine of the last siege of the city, they mixed »bran made from crushed linseed (...) with a little barley or sometimes wheat flour«¹¹³. Press mills and huge marble jars at the Vlatadon monastery also indicate oil pressing at the site¹¹⁴.

104 Kameniatēs, *Stēn Alōsē* § 31.2. – Bakirtzis, Imports, exports and autarchy 108.
105 St Theodora, *Life* § 31.9-10; § 32.30. – Bakirtzis, Imports, exports and autarchy 111.

106 Katsaros, *Grammata kai pneumatikē Zōē* 324. – Mango, On re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Dēcapolite 635-646.

107 Katsaros, *Grammata kai pneumatikē Zōē* 325. – Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* 347-349. – Papageorgiou, *Peri cheiographou* 542 f.

108 For a thorough presentation of written sources on Palaeologan Thessaloniki and an overview of the city's history, see Stavridou-Zafra, *Ē physiognōmia* 75-84. Jacoby, *Foreigners and the Urban Economy* 101. 105. 111. 114 on exports from Thessaloniki to Venice, Pisa and Florence of grains, cotton, silk, wax and kermes. – Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 218, with thorough bibliography.

109 Notes written in a manuscript inform us that, during the 15th c., trade fairs, other than that of Hagios Demetrios, were organized by the churches of Hagia Sophia, the Acheiropoietos, the Asomaton and the Angelon. Some of them

are said to have lasted eight days and the Asomatoi church it is also said to have organized a second, six-day fair. See, Papagianni, *Oi panēgyreis tōn naōn tēs Thessalonikēs* 144 f. 147.

110 Siaxambani, *Byzantina ichnē sto Retziki* 86. – Siaxambani, *Neromyloi* 112-122. Siaxambani, *Watermills from Polychni* 338-341.

111 Marki, *Anaskaphōn Thessalonikēs eranismata* 248-250.

112 Lavra III 183-185 no. 168. – Papangelos, *Elaia kai elaion* 174-201, esp. 187 no. 83.

113 Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon* 64 (*Λόγος εις τον εν αγίους μέγιστον αθλητήν και μυροβλύτην Δημήτριον εν ιστορίας τύπω τα νεωστί αυτού γεγονότα διηγούμενος θαύματα*, f. 290, 3-5). 180. – Jacoby, *Foreigners and the Urban Economy* 123.

114 Bakirtzis, *Tsoukalolagēna* 114 f. Also, a wine press from the byzantine period has been traced within a tower of the eastern city walls, at *Kastron str.*, north of *Olimpiados str.*, see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2002, 5.



Fig. 23 Wasters of sgraffito wares, Thessaloniki. Palaeologan period. – (After Papanikola-Bakitz, Byzantine Glazed Pottery 188).

Pottery

During the Late Byzantine period, the production of pottery also flourished. In this period, use of ceramic amphorae diminished and they gradually vanished and were replaced by wooden barrels¹¹⁵.

Glazed vessels are characteristic for the production of this period and, thanks to semi-finished, deformed vessels found in the city, local products can be easily discerned. Almost all the findings are open bowls, and very few are pitchers. The products known thus far are categorized according to their decoration (fig. 23): 1) engraved products, which present the more numerous group; 2) painted products. Local production of the latter seems to be proven by bowls with an impressed monogram of Saint Demetrios on the base and occasionally with painted motives on their exterior¹¹⁶. According to archaeological evidence, pottery workshops were located in open spaces at the center of the city and close to the western and eastern city walls (fig. 24)¹¹⁷. Finally, workshops for bricks and



Fig. 24 Glazed clay bowl with impressed decoration. Palaeologan period. – (After Papanikola-Bakitz, «πολύτιμα» εργαστηριακά απορρίμματα 465 figs 26-27).

roof tiles located at the field west of the city have recently been dated to the Late Byzantine period¹¹⁸. The numerous surviving monuments in the city demonstrate the type of products produced by these workshops¹¹⁹.

115 On byzantine amphorae, see Bakirtzi, Tsoukalolagēna 70-88, especially on the time and the reasons for their extinction 84-87.

116 Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Ergastērio ephyalōmenēs karameikēs 377-388. – Papanikola-Bakirtzi, The Palaeologan Glazed Pottery 203 fig. 2. For a detailed overview of the Thessalonian Palaeologan glazed pottery, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Byzantine Glazed Ceramics 188-221, esp. 188-189. – Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Polytima 451-467.

117 Ancient forum: Personal observation and research of unpublished material from the excavation. A general note is also given by Adam-Veleni, Archaia Agora 517-521, esp. 519. On the site of Galerius' palace: Personal observation and research of material from unpublished excavations. Finds from the plot of the former 3rd Male Gymnasium, 9th Ephoreia, Sōstikes 2001, 10. A Late Byzantine pottery workshop was established on the site of an Early Christian pottery workshop at K. Melenikou 30A; two small, two-storied kilns and unfinished bowls with inscribed bird pecking a tree have been found, see 9th Ephoreia, Sōstikes 2004, 6. Soueref, Odos Gounarē-Vassou 350 f. – Marki/Chatzioanidis, Sōstike anaskaphe. Many silts have been found in a workshop at Eurimedontos 3 str. See 9th Ephoreia, Sōstikes 2005, 5. Also at

Aristotelous 19-21: Makropoulou, Aristotelous 19-21, 501-503 and a newly excavated at Vasileos Irakleiou 45 that will be published by the excavator Dr. Sophia Akrivopoulou.

118 Monastiriou str. 91: Makropoulou, Monastēriou 91, 503 f. – Monastiriou str. 93: Makropoulou, Monastēriou 93, 379 ff. – Eleutheriadou et al., Sōstikes anaskaphe Thessalonikēs 274 f fig. 10. Giannitson str. 48: Makropoulou, Giannitson 48, 618. For their new dating, see Makropoulou, Taphoi kai taphes 371 no. 238; 373 no. 240. Giannitson str. 48: 9th Ephoreia, Sōstikes 2005, 8; Marki, Oi Sōstikes anaskaphe 217 f. For four new rectangular kilns, vaguely dated to the Medieval period, excavated at the Metro station by the Railway Station, see Acheilara, METRO 22 and Acheilara, METRO 23. For a short overview of the pottery workshops excavated in Thessaloniki, see Marki, Oi Sōstikes anaskaphe 217 f.

119 Parts of the city walls and nine churches survive from the Palaeologan building activity. On the topic, see Vokotopoulos, Oi mesaionikoi naoi 97-110. – Vokotopoulos, Church Architecture 107-116. – Čurčić, The Role of Late Byzantine Thessalonike 65-84.



Fig. 25 Glass vials, Thessaloniki, Hagios Demetrios (15th-16th c.). – (After Antonaras, *Forms and Uses* figs 35; 54).

Glass working

No archaeological remains of Palaeologan glass workshops have been unearthed in Thessaloniki. However, some of the numerous bottles found in the city might be local products (fig. 25)¹²⁰. They cannot be connected to the tradition of style of any major glass center. Several examples of them are found. They are minor, slightly clumsy receptacles made of bluish glass and, as is known from 15th century sources, were probably used not only to hold fragrances, but also Saint Demetrios' myron¹²¹.

Metal working / jewelry

It seems that the gold and silver deposits of Macedonia continue to be exploited during this period, in particular the sedimentary / alluvial ones from the river beds, as micro toponyms in the region and explicit references in the *acta* of Mount Athos monasteries indicate¹²². Some groups of metal objects and jewels can be ascribed with a measure of certainty to local production.

It appears that, in the Late Byzantine period, the production of Saint Demetrios' reliquaries continued, rendering now the altered form of the saint's sarcophagus¹²³. Also, some of the 13th century glass gems, possibly the ones depicting Saint Demetrios' bust or their prototypes, could have been



Fig. 26 Icon of Mother of God Hodegetria with metal revetment. Vatopaidi Monastery, Mount Athos (4th quarter 14th c.). – (After Tsigaridas, *Phorētes eikones* 449 fig. 438).

produced locally, although it appears that they were mainly made in Venice¹²⁴.

Silver or gold plated silver revetments for icons and crosses were also made in Thessaloniki, during the 13th until the early 15th century (fig. 26). Two groups of revetments are discerned: some are made in low relief repoussé complete with champlévé enamels¹²⁵, and others in filigree made with fine, smooth bands attached to the silver foil / base of the revetment¹²⁶. Also, metal parts of a 14th century book binding are preserved¹²⁷. Furthermore, several censers¹²⁸, as well as parts of a *polykandelon*¹²⁹, have been ascribed to Thessalonian workshops¹³⁰. The ring of Konstantinos Mastounis in Hermitage (fig. 27)¹³¹, along with the rings from the Stathatos collection¹³², represents a very interesting and quite rare group of signet rings that were probably made in Thessaloniki. It seems

120 On a special form of lentoid flasks, see Antonaras, *Venetian Glass Pilgrim Vessels*. For a general overview of glass vessels, see Antonaras, *Forms and Uses* passim and specially on Palaeologan vessels 408-422.

121 Papazotos, *Merikes plērophories* 51-56.

122 Papagelos, *Agramades* 65-66. P. Lemerle / A. Guillou / N. Svoronos / D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra II* (Paris 1977) doc. 90 In. 1-69; doc. 108 In. 167; 179. *Lavra III*, doc. 130 In. 13-16; doc. 128 In. 27-30. J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xèropotamou* (Paris 1964) doc. 25 In. 29

123 Mentzos, *To proskynēma tou Agiou Dēmētriou* 129-140. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 241-254, esp. 244 f.

124 On the medallions see: Wenzel, *Zu dem Enkolpion* 11-24. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 245-246. – Foskolou, *Glass medallions* 51-73.

125 Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Vyzantinē Mikrotechnia Vatopaidiou* 481 f. 488 fig. 29. – Tavlakis/Liakos, *O stauros* 64-75.

126 Tsigaridas, *Phorētes eikones* 392 f.

127 Astruc, *Isidore de Thessalonique* 272. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 253. – Byzance. *L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* 471 no. 363.

128 Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 254. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Vyzantinē Mikrotechnia Agiou Orou* 353-354 no. 9.27.

129 Todorović, *Nalazi iz stare solunske livnice* 91-124, esp. 114-115. 120.

130 Kissas, *Ē mesaiōnikē Thessalonikē* 32 f.

131 Kissas, *Zlatni pečatni prsten* 113-114. – Evans, *Faith and Power* 44-45.

132 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, *A 13th-century Jewellery Hoard from Thessalonica* 219-232, where a group of gold rings and bracelets, assumed to be found in the area of Thessaloniki, are discussed, with some examples probably presenting local products.



Fig. 27 Signet ring of Konstantinos Mastounis (13th c.). Gold and niello. – (After Evans, Faith and Power 44 no. 14).



Fig. 28 Lead seal of Eirini Komnini Doukaina Palaiologina (1303-1317). – (After Leontiadis, Μολυβδόβουλλα του ΜΒΠ 59-61 no. 8).

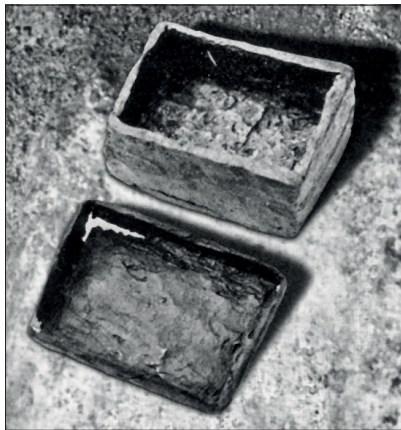


Fig. 29 Sotiras' chapel. The Engainion and its Reliquary (14th c.). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, Saviour 43 figs 34-35).



probable that they were made under a Western influence and could be dated to the Latin occupation of the city, or just afterwards. It has already been assumed that an enameling workshop was active in Thessaloniki during this period¹³³. Written sources shed light on some other facets of the activities of the city's metal workers. After 1224, according to a letter he wrote to the bishop of Thessaloniki, Ioannis Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, commissioned a seal maker in Thessaloniki to make a silver seal; this sealmaker was experienced and engraved the Mother of God turning her face away from the bishop's titles instead of looking at them¹³⁴. This passage offers important information on the continuation of local production of βουλωτήρια in the city in a period when the use of seals had diminished considerably¹³⁵. Due to paleographical clues, a seal of Eirini Komnini Doukaina Palaiologina, dated to the period between 1303 and 1317, is also ascribed to Thessalonian workshops (fig. 28)¹³⁶.

A mid-14th century, small, plain, lead, rectangular and inscribed reliquary, which was excavated in the *engainion* of the Sotiras chapel (fig. 29), must also be a local product¹³⁷. Other probable local products include the wires, lamellae and gold and gold-plated silver threads for embroideries, as well as alloy and copper coins that were minted in Thessaloniki¹³⁸.

Sculpture

A workshop specialized in marble icons appears to have been active in the city, continuing the Middle Byzantine tradition of the city, as indicated by an early 14th century unfinished icon of the Christ, as well as one depicting Hosios David (fig. 30)¹³⁹.

A workshop specialized in champlévé decoration was probably established in late 13th to early 14th century Thes-

133 Wessel, Byzantine Enamels 185. – Evans/Wixom, Glory of Byzantium 498-499 no. 335.

134 Kissas, Solunska umetnička porodica 40.

135 Leontiadis, Molyvdovuilla tou Mouseiou Byzantinou Politismou intro 33ff.

136 Leontiadis, Molyvdovuilla tou Mouseiou Byzantinou Politismou 59-61 no. 8. Letters A and Δ are identical to the peculiar forms that were used by the mint of Thessaloniki.

137 Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, To enkainio 205-217. – Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, Saviour 42-47.

138 Touratsoglou/Protonotarios, Les émissions de couronnement 68-76. – Bendall, Thessalonian Coinage 105-115. – Bendall/Donald, The Later Paleologan Coinage passim. Bendall, Palaeologan Gold Coins. – Touratsoglou, L'atelier monétaire de Thessalonique. – Protonotarios, John V and Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica. – Touratsoglou, Ta nomismatika pragmata.

139 Mentzos, Émiteles anaglypho 262-269. – Tsilipakou, Byzantines marmarines eikones 340-344, esp. on Hosios David 317-328, and on Christ 340-344. – Pazaras, É glyptiké stē Makedonia 475-476.



Fig. 30 Marble Icon, Hosios David (13th-14th c.). – (After ΑΓ 773. Museum of Byzantine Culture, DVD made by the Greek Ministry of Culture, ISBN 978-960-8276-41-3 [Athens 2009]).

saloniki¹⁴⁰. Also, decoratively anachronistic sculptures made with mixed techniques and decorative themes appear¹⁴¹. The marble reliquary of Saint Demetrios preserved at Great Lavra monastery probably presents another type of local work; it renders the altered, Late Byzantine form of the saint's sarcophagus¹⁴². Finally, several Late Byzantine inscriptions, mainly funerary ones, are preserved, shedding light on another, simpler type of work executed by local sculptors¹⁴³.



Fig. 31 Hagioi Apostoloi. Wall mosaic, entrance into Jerusalem, the Jews (ca. 1310-1314). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou/Tourta, *Peripatoi* 129 fig. 152).

Mosaics

Wall mosaics of Hagii Apostoloi and from an anonymous church in the upper town, together with two mosaic icons, bear witness to the presence of a workshop of mosaicists, even an itinerant one, in Thessaloniki (fig. 31)¹⁴⁴. Two mosaic icons that are stylistically connected to the art of Thessaloniki probably also corroborate the hypothesis of the presence of mosaicists in the city: the mosaic icon of Saint John Evangelist at Great Lavra, linked to the 14th century painting of Thessaloniki with the later addition of a silver revetment¹⁴⁵, and the mosaic icon of Saint Demetrios with a *koutrovion* with a silver revetment of the Thessalonian type that is considered to be from Thessaloniki, a work possibly provided for wealthy pilgrims¹⁴⁶.

140 Pazaras, *Reliefs of a Sculpture Workshop* 159-182, esp. 162. – Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi* 165-167. – Pazaras, *É glyptikē stē Makedonia* 476-477.

141 Pazaras, *É glyptikē stē Makedonia* 479 with earlier bibliography. – Kampouri-Vamvoukou, *Anaglyphē plaka sarkophagou* 90-108. – Xyngopoulos, *Tessares mikroi naoi* 39 ff. fig. 21.

142 Mentzos, *To proskynēma tou Agiou Dēmētriou* 140-150. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 241-254, esp. 244-245.

143 Tsigaridas/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Katalogos christianikōn epigraphōn* 79-85. 91-93. 97-99. 103-107. Also, unpublished pieces exhibited in the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Byzantine Culture.

144 Xyngopoulos, *É psēphidōtē diakosmēsē passim*. – Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Byzantinē Thessalonikē* 130-136. – Kyriakoudis, *To klassistiko pneuma* 237 f. Finding from a rescue excavation at Armatolon 14-16 str. See: 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikes* 2004, 5.

145 Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 251 fig. 17. – Chatzidakis, *Une icône en mosaïque de Lavra* 71-83.

146 Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 247-248 fig. 7. It is dated to the 2nd half of the 14th c. and belonged to cardinal Bessarion.

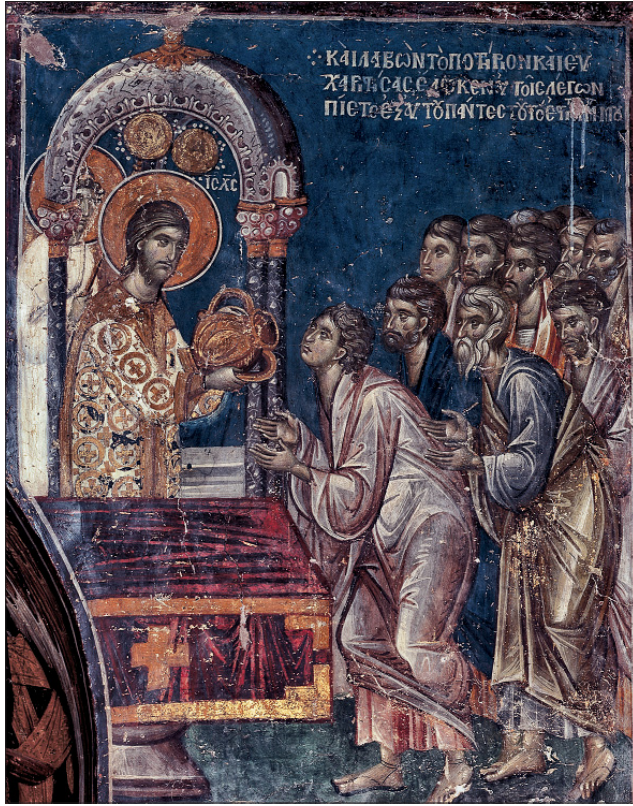


Fig. 32 Hagios Nikolaos Orphanon. Wall Painting, the Communion of the Apostles (1310-1320). – (After Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou/Tourta, *Peripatoi* 79 fig. 85).

Painting

Artistic workshops were active in Thessaloniki during the Latin occupation. In the biography of Saint Savvas of Serbia, we read that, in 1219, he invited local artists to the Philokalous monastery in Thessaloniki to paint some large icons of Christ and the Virgin¹⁴⁷. During the Palaeologan period, painters from Thessaloniki, in addition to their works in the monuments of the city itself (fig. 32)¹⁴⁸, were also active throughout the Balkans and especially during the late 13th-first half of the 14th century, which marks the culmination of Thessalonian painting. For the first time, some of the artists signed their works, a number of which have been preserved to the present day (Manouel Panselinos, Georgios Kalliergis, Eutychios and

147 Kissas, *Solunska umetnička porodica* 39.

148 On that topic, see Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Mnēmeiakē zōgraphikē* 656-668. – Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Byzantinē Thessalonikē* 119-169. – Kampouri-Vamvoukou/Papazotos, *Ē Palaiologeia zōgraphikē* passim. – Kyriakoudis, *To klassistiko pneuma* passim. – Gerstel, *Civic and Monastic Influences* 225-239.

149 Georgios Kalliergēs: On his presence in Thessaloniki at 1322, see Theocharidis, *O vyzantinós zōgraphos Kalliergēs* 542-544. On his work in general, see Pelekanidis, *Kalliergēs* passim. – Eutychios kai Michaēl Astrapas: Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto* passim. – Kissas, *Solunska umetnička porodica* 35-37. – Miljković-Peppek, *L'atelier artistique* 491-494. – Todić, *Signatures des peintres* 643-662. – Manouel Panselinos: Xyngopoulos, *Manouel Panselinos* passim. – Vasilaki, *Ypēxe Manouēl Panselinos* 39-54, where the historicalness of the name of the artist is questioned; Tsigaridas, *O kyr Manouēl Panselinos* 2-11. – Tsigaridas, *Phorētes eikones stē Makedonia kai to Agio Oros* 123-155. – Tsigaridas, *Toichographies* passim. – Papangelos, *O Thessalonikeus* 64f., where



Fig. 33 Wooden lecterns from Vatopaidi monastery (1st half of the 15th c.). – (After Nikonanos, *Ta xyloglypta Vatopaidiou* 543-545 figs 488-492).

Michail Astrapas)¹⁴⁹. Apart from the wall paintings, Thessalonian painters also produced wooden icons (fig. 26)¹⁵⁰.

Woodcarving

A pair of lecterns preserved at Vatopedi, donated by the despot Andronicos Paleologos, illustrates the high artistic and artisanal values of Thessalonian craftsmanship (fig. 33)¹⁵¹. Masterly carved with floral decorations surrounding small plaques that bear, sometimes on a red or blue background, geometrical patterns, depictions of the life and hymnography of the Virgin (The Akathist Hymn), as well as other holy figures and scenes from the Old Testament.

the presence of a painter «κυρ Μανουήλ» is noted as well as of «κυρ Μιχαήλ τον προελεύσιν» and of «κυρ Γεώργιον Καλλιέργην» in 14th c. Thessaloniki, according to the acta of the Mount Athos monasteries.

150 The following can be used as examples: the Odegetria and the Hospitality of Abraham, kept at Vatopedi monastery, originally from Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki: Tsigaridas, *Phorētes eikones* 392-393. – Two examples of Christos Pantokrator: N. Chatzidaki, in: *Kypraiou, Mystērion Mega* 192-197 nos 54-55, both icons originally from Thessaloniki, from Hagios Menas and from Hagia Sophia, respectively. – Annunciation: Tsigaridas, *Phorētes eikones* 392-393. On the revetment, see Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Vyzantinē Mikrotechnia Vatopaidiou* 497 fig. 331. – For the revetments of all of them, see Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 250-251.

151 Nikonanos, *Ta xyloglypta tou Agiou Orous* 296-297. – Nikonanos, *Ta xyloglypta Vatopaidiou* 536-546.



Fig. 34 Gold embroidered epitaphios (ca. 1300). – (After BYF 57 Evans, Faith and Power 312 no. 187A).

Weaving and tannery

The local manufacture of silks, woolens and mixed fabrics did exist, providing threads and fabrics for the famous silk and gold embroidered fabrics ascribed to the workshops of the city¹⁵². Moreover, substantial transactions are known to have taken place in the mid-14th century concerning exports of Thessalonian linen cloths and fustians¹⁵³. Also, mid-15th century sources mention a special Thessalonian type of hat, σκούφια θεσσαλονικαία, as well as a form of subtle fabric known to Ragusians as *Solunski*, i.e. Thessalonians¹⁵⁴. The only workshop of this kind, although identified as a tannery and dated to the Palaeologan period, has been excavated close to the western city walls¹⁵⁵. Tannery products are almost

never preserved, with the rare exception of a pair of leather shoes, poorly preserved, traced in the chapel of Sotiras¹⁵⁶. The leather binding of a 14th century book¹⁵⁷ with impressed and applied decoration might present a second example.

Gold embroidering

The aer-epitaphios dated to approx. 1300 presents a magnificent witness to the activity of a local workshop of gold embroidering in Thessaloniki, along with a few more embroideries that are also considered to be from Thessaloniki (fig. 34)¹⁵⁸. Finally, an independent embroidery workshop, owned by the χρυσοστίκτης / *chrysostiktēs* Palatios who was

152 Jacoby, *Foreigners and the Urban Economy* 85-132, esp. 107. – Matschke, *Tuchproduktion* 47-88, esp. 66. 69-76.

153 Linen cloth and fustians produced in Thessaloniki were bought for 1900 hyperpera by Genoese trades in Chios at 1349: Matschke, *Tuchproduktion* 70-72. – Jacoby, *Foreigners and the Urban Economy* 116.

154 Matschke, *Tuchproduktion* 69-71.

155 Rescue excavation at Zephyron 12 str., see 9th Ephoreia, *Sōstikēs* 2005, 7.

156 Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, *Saviour* 34. 39.

157 Astruc, *Isidore de Thessalonique* 261-272, esp. 267-272.

158 Boura, *The epitaphios of Thessaloniki* 211-214 figs 215ff. For a podēa from Chilandar that bears identical motives with the epitaphios, see Bogdanović/Djurić/Medaković, *Hilandar* 124. – For an Aer-epitaphios from *Vatopedi*, donation of the emperor John VI Cantacouzenos, see Theochari, *Chrysokentēta amphia* 420-424 figs 356-357. – For examples from *Virgin Perivleptos* (Saint Clement), Ochrid, see: 1. – For an epitaphios, donation of Andronicos II Paleologos, see Millet, *Broderies religieuses* 90; Rousseva, *National Museum of History* 139 no. 140. – 2. For a podēa with Crucifixion, see Bojtscheva, *Ein Kunstwerk* 8-15. – For a general overview on that matter, see Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Thessalonique, centre de production* 252-253.

working with his fellow-craftsmen, is attested in written sources at Thessaloniki in the late 1350s. Amongst other things, it embellished with gold the sacerdotal vestment of the local archbishop, the later canonized (Saint) Gregorios Palamas¹⁵⁹.

Scribing

The development / expansion of scriptoria, which contributed in the growth of the rejuvenescent spirit of the times, presents an aspect of classicism that was predominant in Palaeologan Thessaloniki. Classical, religious and law texts were copied and illuminated in the city by several copyists in different scriptoria, as were Hebrew books, at least occasionally. Scholars involved in writing and copying books were Demetrios Triklinios (Thessaloniki 1280-ca. 1340)¹⁶⁰, Ioannis Pediasimos Pothos¹⁶¹, Thomas Magistros (early 14th c.)¹⁶², Ioannis Katraris and Ioannis Asrtapas of the well known family of painters¹⁶³. Also, it has been suggested that, in the middle of the 14th century, a scriptorium of legal texts existed in the city and was possibly established by Armenopoulos himself¹⁶⁴. Also, charts or maps were drawn in the city, obviously works of experienced draughtsmen¹⁶⁵.

Generally speaking, a considerable increase in the number of religious manuscripts copied for the libraries of major Macedonian monasteries can be observed, as well as for smaller monasteries of the city to which manuscripts were donated by rich, pious patrons¹⁶⁶. In the late 13th century, Thessaloniki is an important center of book copying and orders were placed for copies of religious and secular works by Constantinopolitan scholars, such as Nicephoros Choumnos, Nicephoros Gregoras and Georgios Cyprios, who even commissioned a copy of Plato's works from Ioannis Kavasilas, a well known copyist of manuscripts in Thessaloniki¹⁶⁷. Theodoros Hagiopetritis is perhaps the best known scribe and miniaturist of religious manuscripts with signed works from 1277 to 1308¹⁶⁸. In his studio, he worked with his daughter Eirini¹⁶⁹, the monk Theodosios and Leo¹⁷⁰. Theodosios, as it appears, was also a miniaturist, contributing another name of a painter from Thessaloniki¹⁷¹. Hagiopetritis cooperated with two other, anonymous painters / miniaturists who executed miniature portraits of the evangelists in the gospels of

Gottingen (1290)¹⁷² and Pantokratoros monastery (Cod. 47; 1301-1302)¹⁷³.

Furthermore, it seems that, apart from the Christian scribes in Thessaloniki, a Jewish scribe called Adoniyah, son of Abba Kalomiti, was active in 1329. Also, in 1403, another Jew, from Toledo, calling himself »the Spaniard«, is attested. He spent a short period in the city (between 1401 and 1404) and also copied a manuscript¹⁷⁴.

Book binding was a craft that was obviously present in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki where several scriptoria were active. However, original bindings are seldom preserved. One of the rare exceptions is the 14th century cover of a 14th century manuscript by Homilies of Isidoros Glavas (Paris. gr. 1192), decorated with impressed geometrical and floral designs and metal monograms¹⁷⁵.

159 Matschke, *Tuchproduktion* 76-79. – Tsamis, *Philotheou erga* 553. 556.

160 Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 140. – Katsaros, *Grammata kai pneumatikē Zōē* 327. One of his books is preserved bearing the, probably not original, title »Περὶ τοῦ ἐντός τῆς σελήνης ὀρμημένου μέλανος« and it appears that he conducted systematic experiments with a large mirror.

161 Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 141 no. 2.

162 Katsaros, *Grammata kai pneumatikē Zōē* 326.

163 Kyriakoudis, *To klassistiko pneuma* 233 with thorough bibliography.

164 Medvedev, *Υπέρθε στὴ Thessalonikē ena ergastērio* 215. 219.

165 As can be suggested by the case of Maximos Planoudis (1260-1310), who was known to possess a map of the city, *γεωγραφικὸν πινάκιον*, that he consulted in order to understand the favorable site of the city, the neighborhood close to the sea and the direction of the north winds. – Cf. Konstantakopoulou, *Vyzantinē Thessalonikē* 208.

166 Katsaros, *Grammata kai pneumatikē Zōē* 328.

167 Konstantinidis, *Aparches pneumatikēs akmēs* 141. 147-148. – Kyriakoudis, *To klassistiko pneuma* 225.

168 Lamberz, *Nea Stoiceia* 85-106.

169 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites* 79. 122-123.

170 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites* 86-94. 114-115. 117. 124.

171 *Illuminations of Evangelists Mark, Luke and John of the gospel gr. I,20* (Biblioteca Marciana, dated to 1302) rendered in the voluminous style are ascribed to him, see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites* 112-115.

172 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites* 101-105 pl. 56-59.

173 Pelekanidis et al., *Oi thēsaurοi tou Agiou Orou* 128-133. 263-265.

174 Jacoby, *Foreigners and the Urban Economy* 124.

175 Astruc, *Isidore de Thessalonique* 261-272, esp. 267-272.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Handwerk im byzantinischen Thessaloniki (4.-15. Jahrhundert)

Der Beitrag behandelt Müller, Kalkofenbetreiber, Töpfer, Glaser, Steinbearbeiter und Skulpteure, Mosaziisten, Grob- und Feinschmiede, Maler, Holz- und Knochenschnitzer, Gerber, Weber, Färber, Goldsticker, Kerzenmacher und Schreiber, die mehr oder weniger kontinuierlich während der byzantinischen Epoche in Thessaloniki tätig waren. Generell tendierten sie dazu, ihre Werkstätten in unbewohnten Arealen im Zentrum zu unterhalten oder verteilt in den Gewerbevierteln der Stadt, hauptsächlich aber in den Außenbereichen in der Nähe der Stadtmauern und außerhalb davon in den Arealen der ausgedehnten Stadtfriedhöfe oder sogar weiter auswärts. Als allgemeine und ebenso triviale Schlussfolgerung ist die nahe liegende Tatsache festzuhalten, dass eine bevölkerungsreiche Stadt in den elf Jahrhunderten ihrer Existenz die täglichen Bedarfsgüter offensichtlich von der lokalen gewerblichen Produktion bezog und dass deren Produkte auch in ferne Gebiete exportiert wurden, wo sie hochgeschätzt waren. Unglücklicherweise führte die Geringschätzung gewerblicher Aktivitäten zu einem nur geringen Niederschlag in den Schriftquellen und die kontinuierliche Besiedlung Thessalonikis verhindert einen anschaulicheren und präziseren Einblick in diesen facettenreichen Teil des wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Lebens des byzantinischen *Symvasileusa*. Lediglich die fragmentarischen und ausschnitthaften Rettungsgrabungen sowie indirekte Nachrichten aus den schriftlichen Quellen vermögen Aufschluss zu geben. Übersetzung: J. Drauschke

Artisanal production in Byzantine Thessaloniki (4th-15th century)

The present text mentions millers, lime kilners, potters, glassworkers, stone carvers, sculptors, mosaicists, metalsmiths, jewelers, painters, wood carvers, bone carvers, tanners, weavers, dyers, gold embroiderers, candle-makers and scribes. Throughout the Byzantine period, these people were active more or less continuously in Thessaloniki. They had their workshops in empty areas of the center or scattered in com-

mercial parts of the city. However, they mainly worked on the outskirts of the city, near the city walls, or outside them, in the area of the extended city cemeteries or even farther afield. The most generic and trivial conclusion that can be drawn from this is the self-evident fact that, during the course of eleven centuries, a populous city mainly met its needs with the local artisanal production of all types of products and that some of its products were exported to remote areas where they were much appreciated. Unfortunately, due to the low esteem in which activities of this kind were held, they were not mentioned in written sources and centuries of constant habitation obstruct us from gaining a more vivid and precise picture of this multifaceted aspect of the economic and social life of the Byzantine *Symvasileusa*, leaving us with only the fragmentary and obscure salvage excavations and indirect notes revealed in written sources.

L'artisanat de Thessalonique à l'époque byzantine (4^e-15^e siècle)

Cet article traite des meuniers, chauffourniers, potiers, verriers, tailleurs de pierre et sculpteurs, mosaïstes, forgerons, orfèvres, sculpteurs sur bois ou sur os, tanneurs, tisserands, teinturiers, brodeurs d'or, ciriers et scribes, qui, de manière plus ou moins continue, furent actifs à Thessalonique durant l'époque byzantine. Ces artisans avaient généralement tendance à établir leurs ateliers dans des zones inhabitées du centre ou alors dans différents quartiers artisanaux de la ville, mais surtout à proximité des remparts et au-delà, près des grandes nécropoles, voire même plus loin. La conséquence générale et triviale, que l'on peut retenir, est qu'une ville densément peuplée se procura ses produits de base quotidiens auprès d'ateliers locaux durant ses 11 siècles d'existence et que ses produits furent exportés vers des pays éloignés où ils étaient fort appréciés. Malheureusement, le mépris pour les activités artisanales eut comme conséquence, que les écrits n'en gardèrent que peu de traces, et l'occupation continue de Thessalonique empêche de se faire une idée plus concrète et plus précise de ce pan aux multiples facettes de la vie économique et sociale de la *Symvasileuousa* byzantine.

Traduction: Y. Gautier