Thessaloniki was founded by Cassander, later King of Macedon in 316/315 BC by joining 26 smaller settlements in a strategic position in the Thermaic gulf. It was the most important centre on the Via Egnatia, connecting the trade routes running through the valleys of Morava and Axios, the Danubian area and the Balkan hinterlands with the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean. The strategic position of the city played a decisive role in its future development. The city experienced a period of steady and constant growth in both its political and economic importance from the Roman conquest in 168 BC until 298/299 AD when it was chosen by Galerius as his capital and the temporary residence of Constantine I before the final selection of Byzantium as his capital. Groups of foreign traders were active in Thessaloniki, extending their activities into the city’s hinterland, from the late Hellenistic period and during the Roman Imperial period. Characteristic examples presented by the Roman traders (negotiatores) organised in communities (Conventus Civium Romanorum), the Jewish traders and artisans, known through the Acts of the Apostles and others, mainly from Asia Minor and Levant whose presence in the city escaped oblivion thanks to the epigraphic evidence of funerary inscriptions, such as the μυρωνίδης (μυρωνίδης, fragrance seller) Gaios Ostios Eros Insteianos.

Theodosius I was the next emperor who resided in the city, during his campaign against the Goths in 380. It was he who most probably ordered the repair of the city’s walls. During the Early Byzantine period, Thessaloniki remained one of the larger cities in the eastern Mediterranean with around 100,000 inhabitants, according to some historians. From the late fourth to the seventh centuries, barbarian invasions played a key role in the history of Thessaloniki and Macedonia in general. From the late fourth into the fifth century the invaders were the Goths, from the mid-sixth century they were the Huns, and from the seventh century onwards we see Avar and Slavic invasions. The invaders occasionally laid siege to the city, damaging its economic position and depriving it of the valuable resources of the outlying area. However, the port remained open and operational, providing the city with goods and merchandise from other regions.

From its founding by the later King of Macedon Cassander in 316/315 BC, a little after his marriage to Thessaloniki, the daughter of King Philip II, and regardless of its exact size and the part of the area where it was first laid and developed, Thessaloniki was delineated by its walls. These are only partly traced at the north-eastern section of the later walls, while to the south they ran approximately west of the Rotonda. It is still not clear if the original Hellenistic city extended to the seashore, or if it only later expanded to this point, as could be indicated by the distribution of workshops that would be expected to operate outside the city walls to the plain in the

Hellenistic to Early Christian Period


7 On the presence of an association of mule drivers (collegium mulionum) during the second century AD in Thessaloniki and the consequent flow of goods from the city to the region and vice versa that their existence suggests, see Nigdelis, Epigraphik Thessalonikea 184-188. – Furthermore, the members of an association of Hērō Aulōneitēs (συνεπίσκεψη Ἡρώων Αὐλώνιτα) mentioned in a funerary inscription of 159/160 AD in Thessaloniki, were also connected with wagoners and merchandisers: Terzopoulos, Amaxes 301-302, with all prior bibliography.

8 These foreigners appear to be integrated into Thessalonian society by the late first century BC, or early first century AD, see Nigdelis, Voluntary Associations passim esp. 21.

9 Rizakis, Konotopía sympragmatanoménon Rómáin 511-521. – Velenis, Sympragmatanomenoi Rómáin 8-15. – Generally, on religious and professional associations in Thessaloniki and the role they played in forging collective identities among the middle and lower classes in a city dominated by an aristocratic minority, see Nigdelis, Voluntary Associations 13-47.

10 Acts 17:1-10: «Διὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τῆς Ἡγεμονίας ἔθεεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, ὅπου ἦν συναγωνίζοντες τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [When they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessaloniki, where there was a Jewish synagogue]. It appears that the main body of Jews had arrived in Thessaloniki in the second century BC, probably from Alexandria. – On Jews in the area, see Nigdelis, Synagoge(n) und Gemeinde 297-306. – An overview, mainly based on Nigdelis, Synagoge(n) und Gemeinde, with newer bibliography on the same matter is presented in Meletētē, Parousia Evraine 84-91.

11 Nigdelis, Ἱβέντοις λάπιδοις 242-243. Furthermore the members of an association of mule drivers (συνεπίσκεψη Ἡρώων Αὐλώνιτα) mentioned in a funerary inscription of 159/160 AD in Thessaloniki, were also connected with wagoners and merchandisers: Terzopoulos, Amaxes 301-302, with all prior bibliography.

12 On references to artists and artisans and their position in society in Early Christian legal and hagiological texts, where only their works are occasionally appreciated and never the artisans as individuals, see Asimakopoulou-Altaiza, Mneis kalitexhion kai tekhniton 291-311.

13 I thank Prof. P. Nigdelis for discussions on this matter and help with the bibliography concerning Thessalonian inscriptions and the Roman history of the city. Furthermore, on G. O. Eros, see Misiadou-Despotidou, Epigraphes Makedonias 73 no. 72. – Nigdelis, Epigraphik Thessalonikea 163-167, where the inscription is dated to the second half of the second century AD. – See ibid. 219-224, for another myropolios named Chrēsimōs (Χρησίμως) also from the second half of the second century AD; an apparently quite successful entrepreneur who could afford a marble sarcophagus for himself, his wife Chryseis and their children Chrēsimē, Chryseis and Chrēsimos. – On other foreigners in Thessaloniki, especially from Asia Minor, see Robert, Les inscriptions de Thessalonique 242-243.

14 Laou / Morrison, The Byzantine Economy 26, with bibliography.

15 For a detailed overview of the history of the port of Thessaloniki from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries, see Malamust Grélois, Le port de Thessalonique 131-146.

16 For a general overview, see Tsiouridou, Palaiochristianikē technē 224-249. – Christophopoulou, Polítikē Istoria 250-257. – Eadem, Polítikes exektis 258-263.
south and the coastal region. In any case, it is evident that already in the second century BC, the city possessed organised port facilities.

**Urban Planning**

The city was laid out on a rectangular grid, the Hippodameian system, which is still visible in the modern city and is especially obvious in the orientation of Roman and Hellenistic ruins. The streets of Thessaloniki formed rectangular quarters (insulae), 102 m long N-S and 58.5 m E-W, including the streets that surrounded them. This plan was preserved to a great extent until the twentieth century. Main roads are still visible today, such as the Decumanus Maximus, known as the Via Regia, i.e. modern Egnatia Street, stretching on an E-W axis and its parallels to the north (decumani), as well as several streets (cardines) vertical to them. These marble-paved streets, or at least some of the more important among them, had covered pavements, porticoed stoas (viae colonatae) and large vaulted sewers underneath. It is probable that they were also widened in the Roman period. The Decumanus corresponding to the modern Agiou Dēmētrιou Street had three-metre-wide porticoes, supported by massive pilasters, just like the cardo that intersected it (modern Paster Street). The most central street, the Via Regia was a marble-paved via colonnata five metres wide, with five-metre-wide pavements. It traversed the city from the Chrysē Gate in the west, which from the second half of the first century BC was accentuated by a triumphal arch decorated with elaborate reliefs, to the Cassandra Gate in the east. Another important street, with E-W orientation, corresponding with modern Agiou Dēmētrιou Street, stretched between the Lētē Gate and the New Chrysē Gate. It has recently been proposed that at least two monumental columns with statues of emperors on high pilaster-like pedestals were placed along this street. Furthermore, between these two main streets, two more ancient streets are preserved, being today Olympou and Filippou Streets. Also, modern Venizeλou Street stands out among the several preserved ancient cardines, vertical to those aforementioned streets. It was three metres wide and lined with column-supported porticoes/stoas. At its junction with the Via Regia there stood a monumental tetrapylon, which remained in use even after the end of Antiquity, into the Dark Ages, and probably up until the nineteenth century.

**Sanctuaries**

In the west part of the city, north of the Via Regia, were the sanctuaries. In that area, in nearby Dioikêτēriou Street, a Hellenistic Sarapeion was traced, which remained in use for many centuries. Several extant inscriptions referring to other temples and sanctuaries prove their presence in the city. In the early Imperial period, several works were undertaken connected with the introduction of the Imperial cult in the west part of the city, in the area of the sanctuaries and north of the Sarapeion. There, statues of the emperors embellished an unidentified building in modern Strategou Doumpiótē Street. Also, a large fifth-century BC Ionic temple was translocated, probably from Aineia at the junction of Krystalē and Dioikêτēriou Street, possibly to house the new Imperial cult. The Serapeion continued to thrive during the late Imperial period and it seems that it comprised an extended complex in which several, mainly oriental, deities were worshipped. Finally, votive pits with clay figurines indicate the existence of a temple devoted probably to the nymphs, or rather a thesmophorion, dated to the third century BC and also to the second to the fourth centuries AD, were identified at 35 and 39 Mousōn Street.

**Public Buildings**

There are scarce written sources and few uncontested archaeological finds elucidating the history of the city’s public buildings in this period. It is known that in the first century BC Thessaloniki had a Gymnasium, probably situated close to the area of the later Roman Agora. Also, according to a 60 BC inscription found at Olympou Street, a monumental agora existed at that time, probably situated near the site of the Roman Agora, but apparently not at the exact same place, since it has not been found in the detailed excavations conducted in the area of the Agora.

A public bath operated until the end of the first century AD in the south-eastern corner of the area covered later by the Roman Agora, while the eastern part of that same area

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17 Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 41, 121-122. – Velenis, Ta teichē 19, 63, who believes that the city was originally farther from the shore. – For a more recent study on the matter with an overview of the older arguments, incorporating the evidence from excavations conducted in recent years, see Markē, Chōrotheōtēs passim.
18 Livius, Ab urbe condita XXIV 10, noted that in 169 BC, Perseas burned down the shipyard when the Romans reached Heracleion in Perea. Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 131-133, with thorough bibliography.
19 Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 55. – Markē, Chōrotheōtēs 94, with information on the excavations of four plots.
20 Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 75, 141.
21 Livius, Ab urbe condita XXXII 27.10. – Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 68-69.
22 Karydas, Anaphakhes Paster 309-320, especially on the porticoes of the streets 316-317 fig. 6. – Markē, Sōktikes anaphakhes 208-209.
24 Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Yilan Mermer
25 Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 67-86.
26 On streets and porticoes in Early Byzantine cities in general, see Sarandi, The Byzantine City 259-294. – On colonnaded streets (viae colonatae) and Thessaloniki, see Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 151-152, with all older bibliography. – Karydas, Anaphakhes Paster 316-317. – Specifically on this find, see Makropoulou/Kōstantinindrou, METRO Thessalonikis – Stathmos Venizelou.
28 Tasia/Loia/Petteksē, Ysteriacharalkos noas 227-246. – Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Olkidodēmētata autokratōrikēs lateinas 613-631.
29 Vitti, Poleodomīkē exelīxē 50, 55, 148-149. – On the worship of Egyptian gods in Thessaloniki, see Koester, Egyptian Religion 133-150.
30 Mallos, A Hellenistic Sanctuary at Argo Poli 239-266, for a detailed presentation of the clay figurines from two votive pits of the sanctuary. – Markē, Chōrotheōtēs 96. – On the finds from the pit of the sanctuary and its identification as a thesmophorion, see Adam-Velenē, Thessalonikī, neraída 86-87 figs 54-56. – Adam-Velenē, Thessalonikī 550.
31 IG XII.1 no. 4, which was found north of Hagios Dēmētrios Basilica. On the Agora, see Adam-Velenē, Dekastronē foreia 15-38.
32 IG XII.1 no. 5. Found in the Olympou Street.
was still covered by private houses. In the Augustan era, the area took on a public character with the first Agora complex being built between the first and second centuries. In the late second and early third centuries AD (c. 200), a monumental Agora complex was built, covering approximately 2 hectares. It was two stories high with double stoas stretching along three sides of a marble-paved plaza. The buildings on the eastern side served administrative functions, such as the city’s archive and the state mint. A roofed theatre, an odeion, which was also used as a vouleuterion, was also built. In the fourth century the odeion was expanded and re-shaped into an open-air theatre. The outlines of two buildings are found at the Agora’s northern terrace. It is probable that one of these was a sanctuary of the Imperial cult and the other a library.

Due to the steep slope on the Agora’s southern side a cryptoporticus (vaulted stoa) was constructed. In front of this and to the west of the Agora’s monumental entrance steps were twenty, two-storied shops. The shops on the lower floor opened onto a marble-paved street, 2.5 m wide with a sewage pipe running underneath its central part. This street was in constant use until the end of the Byzantine era.

South of the Agora and close to the Via Regia was a building dated to the early third century AD. Part of its two-storied stoa or portico, known as Las Incantadas, or Eidiola (Eidiola), and notable for its mythological carvings was still standing, or (Las Incantadas), idōla, being dated to the early third century AD. Part of its two-storied residence of the quaestor, resident of Athens during further bibliography. 34. Adam-Velené, Valanxio progenerestro Agoras 351-364. – Adam-Velené et al., Oikoskeut tou Valanxioi 85-102.
35. Adam-Velené et al., Archaia Agora 501-531. – Adam-Velené, Archaia Agora Thessalonikés, vol. 1 passim. – A detailed overview of all finds from the area of the Agora is presented in Evagelidès, Agora poleom tis Elladas 184-215.
37. Stephanidou-Tveriou, Voreia pleura agoras 229-240.
38. Vitti, Poleodemiké exelék 185-186 no. 63 fg. XV pl. 50-51. – Bolt/Skiaadreas, Strômographia ste notia eidos 94-96.
40. Diodorus Siculus, Biblioteca Historica XXXII 15.2. γ’ τον δ’ ἐπερευν θεσσαλονίκη, παλαιόν ἐβδομήντα, κατ’ μέσην τῆς ἐξόρρανν τῆς τοῦ περιπλού κατ’ τὴν ἀληθείαν [Ardoukdis said that Perseus had hidden … another treasure of seventy talents, at Thessalonika, in the middle of the exoed of the colonnade, opposite the court].
41. Tasia et al., Anaskaphiko ergo 545-553, with older bibliography.
42. Cicero, Pro Plancio XLI.99-100. «O religios omnis dies noctesque eae quisbus iste a me non recedens Thessalonican me in quaestoriumque perduxerit!» [O all the remainder of those days and nights during which he never left me, until he had conducted me to Thessalonica, and to the official house of the quaestor!].
44. Vitti, Poleodemiké exelék 153. – Kardas, Paläochristianistikes oikies 571-586. – Kardas, Paläochristianistikes oikies II 127-141, with thorough bibliography on the excavations of relevant finds. – For an overview of the history and the changes that these rich houses underwent in Byzantium in general, their disintegration and ruralisation from the fourth to the late sixth centuries, see Sarandi, The Byzantine City 168-173, 454-454; for their use as chapels or monasteries, see ibid. p. 172; and for the incorporation of workshops in them, see ibid. 173, with further bibliography.
45. Vitti, Poleodemiké exelék 154.
46. Vitti, Poleodemiké exelék 55-63.

**Houses**

More than twenty private urban villas have been excavated, mainly in the north-eastern part of the city, close to the Galerian complex. They have a central courtyard around which are arranged several rooms, including a large apsidal dining room (triclinium), which is almost always orientated north-south, storage rooms, water reservoirs, baths and also gardens. This type of house with a triclinium emerged in the fourth century AD and remained in fashion until the early sixth century. During the sixth and seventh centuries the villas were re-modelled with some of the larger rooms being subdivided. Earthquakes in the seventh century caused serious damage and it appears that only some of the villas, or parts of them, were rebuilt. This type of luxury villa was imitated by the builders of more modest houses found in several areas within the city’s insulae grid, most frequently in the centre. In contrast, the large villae were mostly built along the borders of the Hippodameian grid of the city.

**Fortifications and Port**

During the Roman Imperial period, the importance and population of Thessaloniki increased considerably. Important public works were now undertaken, in contrast to the situation during the first centuries of Roman occupation. For example, the city walls were not maintained regularly during the early Roman period. In 58 BC, when Cicero was in exile here, their defensive capability was considerably compromised. Consequently, Cicero advised the Thessalonians to...
abandon the lower city when danger threatened and fortify the acropolis.46 Barbarian invasions in the Balkans during the third century served to increase the city’s strategic importance. In the middle of the third century, after centuries of neglect of the fortifications, the citadel received new walls. These were 1.65 m thick with rectangular towers, encompassing c. 30 hectares, which protected the city successfully during two Gothic sieges in 254 and 268.47

After his victory against the Persians in 297, Tetrarch Caesar Galerius made Thessaloniki his capital. He expanded the city walls to the east, demolishing the luxurious urban villas that existed there, and started building a palatial complex, forever changing the character of the eastern part of the city.48 Emperor Constantine I frequently stayed in Thessaloniki before 324, for approximately two years in total. Under his rule, the western part of the coastline was developed into the city’s port. This remained in use throughout the Middle Ages. He also initiated other public works, such as churches, which he also had decorated, baths, water pipes and water reservoirs.49 The square port of the city was protected by a breakwater, later known as Tzerempoulon (Τζερέπολον).50 Emperor Theodosius I probably had additional triangular towers added along the walls and re-enforced the southern part of the walls, as well as the sea walls. A strengthening of the city walls to the north of the modern Agiou Omóthriou Street was undergone in the fifth century under Hormisdas, as a brick verse inscription on a tower of the eastern wall records. The walls were rebuilt in parts until the middle of the seventh century. The most characteristic example of such reconstruction is that of the north wall, which today separates the city from the later acropolis. Sea walls were rebuilt along the modern Météropoleis Street in Late Antiquity.51 Already in the Roman period, the steep and rocky north-eastern part of the city was used as Thessaloniki’s citadel. The site was later known, due to its triangular shape, as the Trígōnion.52 Large complexes of public hórea, or warehouses, which enclosed parallel series of oblong storage chambers for wine, oil, and other commodities, were found in the area of the port and it seems that they were in constant use until the Byzantine era.53 A similar building existed at the eastern end of the city outside the walls. It operated between the fourth and the sixth centuries.54 In the same period, state warehouses were operating to the west, outside the Chrysé Gate at Vardari Square, where, among other things, wine and oil were deposited.55 Remains of shipyards have been found next to the port, where one would expect them to be. Here ships were protected during the winter and the yards probably also operated as warehouses during the summer months.56

Churches and Cemeteries

Large public bath houses were founded during the Imperial period in several parts of the city. Their size, greater than that of normal insulae, disrupted the urban grid plan, altering the face and character of the city.57 During the Early Christian period and especially in the fifth century, large Christian churches were erected on the sites of these complexes.58 These were: the basilica under the seventh-century Hagia Sophia, which was probably dedicated to Saint Mark;59 the Basilica of Acheiropoëtos;60 and the three-aisled basilica under the Hagios Démétrios complex.61 Another basilica was

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46 Cicero, De provinciis consulandis 8.4. «Macedonia […] sic a barbaris quibus est properavit avam pare equeveut […] ut Thessalonicenses, posit in gremio imperiali nostri, reliquiare oppidum et arcam munire cognitione [Macedonia …] is now so harassed by the barbarians, that the people of Thessalonica, placed in the lap, as it were, of our Empire, are compelled to abandon their town and to fortify their citadel.»

47 Spieser, Note sur la chronologie 507-519. – Marké, Chlōrōtēsia 96.

48 Karamperé/Christodouloudi, Diachroniko kóttela 393-400. – Karamperé/Christodouloudi, Galeriana erga ypodomés 307-315.

49 On the port, see Bakirtzís, Thalassia ochýrťs 315-321. – On the other Constantinian works and the period that Constantinian Resides in Thessaloniki, see Cedrenus, Synopsis 1.496. «Καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ χώραν καὶ τόπους ἔρευν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπιμῆν, καὶ τὰς τόμους δραχμῆς διοίκησε καὶ διεξήγησε τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης.» [He arrived in Thessaloniki, and because he liked the site remained for two years, constructing magnificent churches, baths, and water pipes. – On the construction of the port, see Zosimias, Historia nova 22.2, p. 93: «καὶ τὸν ἐν ταυτῇ λαόν πρότερον ἐκ δυναμικῆς νοῦς καὶ ἐν θεαματικῇ κατασκευάσει πρῶτον κατασκεύασε τὸ πόλις σπάρτιαν καὶ διήνυσε τὸ καταστρεπτὸν λαὸς καὶ ἐπέστρεψε τὴν πόλιν.» [And he constructed its (Thessaloniki’s) port, which had not existed previously, and decorated churches admirable for their beauty and size, in addition to water pipes. – On aqueducts in Byzantine cities during the Early Christian period, see Sarandí, The Byzantine City 343-349, with further bibliography. – On working waters in Thessaloniki which were ascribed to Constantinian, see Marké/Chatzébōn ñis, Ydēreuitika erga 279-284. The city was supplied with water from the nearby Chorätíes Mountain from the Roman Imperial period onwards; the water system was improved in the Middle Byzantine period and was in use until 1970. – Manoliedas-Androuldís, Το σύστημα υδρομαστευτικός 285-292. – AkriUopoulou, Ydátegephyrá Chorátiás.]

50 On the Tzerempoulon perceived as a breakwater, see Bakirtzís, Thalassia ochýrťs 318-319. – Bakirtzís, Tzerempoulon Thessalonikís 332-337. – For a different reading of the sources, where Tzerempoulon is identified as a sewer or water pipe, see Odoricó, Vyzantino Iłmargi 124-130. – Finally, for its identification as a breakwater, which was also part of the sewage system, see Mout-sкопoulos, Euríkles synovikes 20-22.

51 Velenís, Τα τείχη πασίμ. – Velenís, Τα τείχη 62-63. – Bakirtzís, Urban Continuity 47, with new archaeo-logical finds from the area.


53 Allamáν, Démotiko Théatro Képou 634-635. – Also Toska, Démotiko Théatro Képou 698.

54 Makropoulou/Tzervén, METRO Thessalonikís – Stathmos Plateías Démokratías 2012.

55 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 15. – For finds from the plots 18 Mokóph Street and 3 Danádón Street, see Marké/Chatzébōn ñis, Phrangón 28, 273-274.

56 On baths in Byzantine cities during the Early Christian period and their gradual decline, specially of the large ones, from the fourth century onwards, see Sarandí, The Byzantine City 325-342. – On the baths in Thessaloniki, see Vitti, Poleodómnikí exéxelí 151, 194-197, 202-203, 241-243.


58 Mentzos, Synvolí 201-221. – Theochrátidou, Architektoniké naš Agías Spíhias 34-39. – For a concise overview of the bibliography on the monument and travellers’ accounts of it from the twelfth to nineteenth centuries, see Tam-pákí, Thessaloníki 114-133.

59 Xyngopoulou, Peri tén Acheiropoétán 472-487. – Bakirtzís, Sur le donateur 37-44. – Papázóts, O megálas naro 121-131. – Kourkósidou-Nikolásdou, Acheiropoéтов. – Tam-pákí, Thessaloníki 134-146, for bibliographic overview and travellers’ accounts.

60 Sóstírnu/Sóstírnu, Vasíkik Agióu Démétrioú Thessalonikís. – Bakirtzís, Vasíkik Agióu Démétrioú. – Mentzos, Proskynémna. – Tam-pákí, Thessaloníki 78-101, for bibliographic overview and travellers’ accounts.
founded at the western part of Agiou Dēmethriou Street\textsuperscript{62}. The Rotonda of the Galerian complex was also converted into a church\textsuperscript{63}, and a large octagonal church\textsuperscript{64} was founded at the west end of the city, almost mirroring the Rotonda\textsuperscript{65}. Finally, several funerary basilicas and martyria were founded on the sites of both necropoleis, east and west of the city, due to the Christian preference to be buried \textit{ad sanctos}, i.e. near a site sanctified by martyrdom or the grave of a martyr\textsuperscript{66}.

**Workshops**

Remains of Hellenistic and early Roman workshops have been discovered at three locations. Two of them appear to have been used by several artisans at the same time. These artisanal activities have been located at several parts of central and coastal Thessaloniki. An extended complex of workshops was found underneath the main buildings of the palace of Tetrarch Galerius at the south-eastern end of the city, practically on the coast, as it was then, where potters, metalworkers, purple dyers and possibly bone carvers were active. These workshops operated in the period between the second or first century BC and the first century AD\textsuperscript{67}. Another group of workshops where clay figurines and clay vessels were made was found on the middle plateau where the Agora was later built. There several potters dug their clay at the site of the later Agora, and, more specifically, indications of coroplast production have been identified\textsuperscript{68}. The production of vessels is attested there, too, as the deformed and overburnt spindle-shaped \textit{unguenantia} found on the site indicate. It has been assumed that potters operated on the site of the Agora between the late third to second century BC and again in the Augustan era\textsuperscript{69}. Finally, further uphill to the north, at modern 91 Philippou Street, there was a Hellenistic forge\textsuperscript{70}.

Regarding the artisanal activity and the spatial distribution of the workshops in the city during the Imperial and Early Christian periods several developments can be noted. After the fourth century, the Agora gradually lost its official character and the site was occupied by various artisans, exploiting existing buildings as well as the open space of the plaza for their professional activities\textsuperscript{71}. Among others, a lime kiln, a bone carving workshop, a glass workshop, a tannery and a dyeworks operated on the site of the Roman Agora. Looking more generally at finds across the entire city, remains of workshops of the Imperial and Early Christian periods have been excavated at several sites. Potters worked in the western and eastern necropoleis, but also within the city near the western and eastern walls, relatively close to the central gates. Glassworkers also worked in the eastern necropolis and within the city walls: in a workshop near the \textit{Via Regia}; in the abandoned Agora; and in the ruins of the large public bath house on top of which the Acheiropoiētōs Basilica was erected. Metallurgical activities have been found in several places in the city: around and on the \textit{Via Regia}; to the north; and possibly near the western wall. Furthermore, it is known that to the west of the Agora was a copper-smiths’ market. Remains of thread or fabric dyeworks have been found close to the axis of the Agora and it is probable that there was also a purple dyeworks here. Tanneries have been found in the Agora and close to the eastern wall. The only area where possible remains of stoneworking have been identified is in the western necropolis. Finally, remains of grape processing for the production of wine have been found outside the city walls, in the eastern necropolis and in a fortified \textit{villa rustica} at Oraiokastron, a suburb of Thessaloniki. All collected data are presented by profession in more detail in the following.

**Lime Production**

Building was a constant activity in the city, with peaks as the city grew (particularly from its founding to the late Imperial period) and as extensive new public and private works were undertaken. This meant a corresponding demand for lime for use in the production of plaster and mortar. Lime was in demand throughout the Byzantine era for the repair and expansion of the city walls and the construction of baths, churches, monasteries, public warehouses and so on, as well as for the construction and repair of private buildings\textsuperscript{72}.

According to what we know, large-scale lime production was mainly undertaken in the countryside where the appropriate raw materials – limestone and plenty of firewood – could be easily found. In addition, considerable quantities of this part of the city and for providing me with photographs from the excavations and the movable finds.

62 This basilica was partly excavated in 2010 and has been dated provisionally to the fifth century, see Chatzélianíddes et al., Sóstikī anaskaphē.

63 Moutsopoulou, Palaiochristianiķē phaiķe Rotodai 361-362. – Theochari-dou, Thallonikōs Thallonikōs 57-75, with all prior bibliography. – Kourkouti-dou-Nikolaïdou/Tourta, Peripatoi 48-69.

64 Markē, Enas oktagōnikos naos. – Theochari-dou, Thallonikōs 57-75, with all prior bibliography. – Kourkouti-dou-Nikolaïdou/Tourta, Peripatoi 48-69.

65 Curčić, Christianization, 213-244.

66 Vitti, Poleodomikī exelikē 34-138, with older bibliography on the Hellenistic and Roman cemeteries of the city. – Markē, Necroplō Thallonikōs pasim. – On Christian buildings in the cemeteries, see also Markē, Christianika koimētēria 35-46, with older bibliography. – Also, Makropoulou, Palaiochris-tianiķes naos 25-46. – MAK×opoulou, Dyo proshpata anakalypthentes naos 705-722. – For a newly found cemetery church at the edge of the western wall’s ditch, close to the Chryṣē Gate, see Makropoulou/Tsevrē, METRO Thallonikōn – Stathmos Plateias Dēmokratias 2012.

67 For further bibliography see cat. nos 15, 27, 45, 77. I wish thank the excavator of the site, Dr Mariana Karamperē, for her help with the complex stratigraphy.

68 For a concise presentation of clay figurines found in Thalloniki, see Kortē-Kontē, Koroplastikē Thallonikōn pasim.

69 For further bibliography see cat. nos 19, 41, 43.

70 For further bibliography see cat. no. 44.

71 On the gradual change of the character of the Agora in Byzantium in general and their change into mere market places, see Sarandi, The Byzantine City 211-252, on Thallonikōsi, esp. 242-243.

72 On an entire community north of Thallonikōn on mountain Chontiatē (modern Kavestochozē) founded by Sultan Murat II in the middle of the fifteenth century in order to exploit the lime stone of the region and where industrial lime kilns are still operating, see Zacharopoulou, Eutopiēmou, katapēγē kai axiologiē 347-360. – Samparopoulou, Katalogos 48, with all prior bibliography concerning the site.
of antique and pagan sculpture and architectural elements ended up in the kilns, where they were reduced to lime.73 During the Roman period it was forbidden to operate lime kilns in residential areas or near susceptible structures, such as threshing floors, due to the hazardous nature of the kiln fires and lime fumes. Consequently, no lime kilns have been found in the Roman-era city or surrounding area.74 Two large lime kiln complexes dating from the early fourth century have been found at Platamônas, a harbour on the opposite side of the Thermaic gulf. These are assumed to be connected with the building activity under Galerius and Constantine I in Thessaloniki.75 The only lime kiln found in the city dates from the seventh century and was situated within the Ancient Agora, where it appears to have been used to make lime out of marble from the ruins of the Agora.76

Ceramic Production

Production of ceramic objects, vessels, figurines, bricks and roof tiles must be considered self-evident in a city of the size and importance of Thessaloniki, and the presence of several workshops operating in the same period is to be expected.77 Judging by the refuse from different workshops, it seems that there was a differentiation of production: building materials were produced in different kilns or workshops from vessels and lamps. Several late imperial workshops have been found. These are mainly outside city walls, although there were a few intra muros, and most of them had rectangular kilns.78 The majority were situated in the open spaces in the two necropolises, with a higher concentration in the western necropolis, apparently on the roads that led from the hinterland to the city gates and relatively close to the walls. They have also been found at the fringes of the city near the walls, and in open spaces in the city centre that had lost their original public character. Ceramic workshops also operated in the hinterland of Thessaloniki, towards Chalkidiki, some of which continued to function until the Late Byzantine period.79

There is no evidence for the nature of the clay vessels produced in any of the researched workshops, at least not in terms of the sort of physical evidence that one would expect from items having been discarded on-site. Among the large number of stylistically identical vessels found throughout the city and in both necropolises, and hence considered to be local products, we find several forms of plain vessel, usually made of a yellowish or a light reddish clay, e.g. bulbous unguentaria, tall and slender jugs, and spherical and biconical jugs on very narrow bases (fig. 1). Lamp moulds have been found at production sites in both necropolises and in the city centre. These show that locally produced lamps derived from Athenian tradition or prototypes at the Early Christian period was unearthed in the village Sasilika close to the city gates and relatively close to the walls. They have also been found at the fringes of the city near the walls, and in open spaces in the city centre that had lost their original public character. Ceramic workshops also operated in the hinterland of Thessaloniki, towards Chalkidiki, some of which continued to function until the Late Byzantine period.

73 On lime kilns in general, see Adam, Roman Building 65-73. — For an overview of Late Roman and Byzantine lime kilns and their technology in Greece, see Raptis, Ergastíria 75-81, 203-217.
74 On lime kilns in Byzantium see Koukoulès, Vios Kai Politismos, 81, 184, with references to the sources. — On regulations concerning their operation in a Late Byzantine law text that mainly repeats Early Byzantine texts, see Armenopulos, Procheiron Memorion 2.4.17, see nt. 413.
75 Loverdou-Tsigarida, Parargyko monadia anesteiou 101-102. — Srdiola, Archeologistes emesena (cat. no. 4).
76 Veleris et al., Programma Arcaichos Agoras 251 (cat. no. 2). There are indications for another lime kiln active in the Late Middle Byzantine period close to the Early Christian sea wall (near the harbour), see Tsipmoudis-Avlinitou/Lykidou/Euthymiogou, Nea stoicheia (cat. no. 3).
77 On the Roman heritage in pottery production in Byzantine times in Greece, see Raptis, L’eredita romana. On kilns of the Byzantine era in Greece, see Raptis, Klionyn — kainos 228-236. — For an overview of Late Roman and Byzantine potteries in Greece and the technology that their operation involves, see Raptis, Ergastíria 35-71, 149-185. — For a shorter presentation on the same topic, see Raptis, Early Christian and Byzantine Ceramic Production Workshops in Greece. — Also Raptis, Archaeologiak tekmeria 173-196. — For an overview of clay objects (building material, vessels and lamps) present in the city, see Papandikola-Bakirtzi, Ceramics in Late Antique Thessaloniki 263-298. — Several clay objects from Thessaloniki can be found in Cat. Thessaloniki 1986a and Cat. Thessaloniki 1986b. — Furthermore, a plethora of clay objects found in the rescue excavation conducted along the city’s east-west axis for the water supply pipeline, representative of the diversity of objects that appear in intra muros excavations, are published in a digital format in Rescue Excavations for Thessaloniki’s Water Supply Pipeline.
78 Finds from a rescue excavation at 18 Κ. Palaiologou Street: Kourkoutidou-Nikolaou, K. Palaiologou 18, 285 (cat. no. 16). — Two rectangular kilns for building material and vessels from a rescue excavation at 30 Κ. Melienikou Street: Cat. Thessaloniki 2005, 6 (cat. no. 18). — In the plot of the Museum of Byzantine Culture Nalpantes, Okoporo 381. — Nalpantes, Okoporo Moussaiou 346. — Two Late Antique, rectangular, pottery kilns, whose products have not been identified were unearthed in the plot (cat. no. 5). — At the northern gate of the HELEXPO: Trasokopoulou, Anaskaphi DEI 208 figs 1-2, Trasokopoulou, Choros DEI 555-556 pl. 213. — Among several third to fourth-century graves some artisanal installations were traced, such as a medieval cistern, a lime pit and remains of a possibly first-century clay figurine workshop (cat. no. 42). — On the pottery from the plot, see Panté, Keramik 466-485. — In the plot at the junction of G. Koliniari, Galanakti and V. Papathanasiou Streets: Nalpantes, Koliniari — Galanakti — Papathanasiou 405 fig. 9 pi. 2269. Two rectangular pottery kilns were found; the second one only partly preserved (cat. no. 8). — In the plot at the junction of Giannitsa, K. Mazaraké and Kavala Street, where five large kilns (presumably for bricks and roof tiles) and a reservoir were found: Lamprothanasi-Koronaki/Antoniadou, Osos Giannitsa; for the dating on one of them in the fifth century, see Ioannidés et al., Chronologiepairomakiisin klinarin. For a thorough presentation and interpretation of the workshop, see Raptis, Brick and Tile Producing Workshops (cat. no. 13). — In the plot at the junction of N. Kapato, G. Iannakopoulou and Galanakti Streets, at the plot of the 66th Elementary School, where four kilns (two semicircular and two elliptical ones) were unearthed, see Makropoulou, Taphoi kai taphes 373 nt. 240. — Archives of the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (cat. no. 20). — For the plot at 17 Maviili Street, see Vavritis, Anaskaphai keramikisin Makedonias 505 (cat. no. 17). — Finally, on the site of the Ancient Agora potteries were once again active after the fifth century (cat. no. 19).
79 Cat. Thessaloniki 2005. — A semicircular kiln (cat. no. 6) founded at the end of the Early Christian period, was unearthed in the village Vasilika close to the Grammosolikia watercourse, where Byzantine water mills have also been found (cat. no. 68). On the Byzantine mills, see Theodoridès, To klimatologiko 417-418. — Papangelos, Agramaides 65-66.
81 For finds from the eastern necropolis, see Petras, Theologiai Scholai 334-339 pi. 345-359 (cat. no. 39). Another example, from the western necropolis, was found on the plot at the junction of Chrysothaphê and Monachou Samoulis Streets: Cat. Thessaloniki 2003a, 13 (cat. no. 40). — For findings from the Ancient Agora of the city, see Adam-Velent, Lychnoi 192-193 no. 85. — Velentis/Papoulas-Papadimitriou/Zacharidiou, Lychnoria (cat. no. 41).
or gladiators. These present yet another special type of local ceramic product. We see from the large number of different brick stamps used during the period of the Tetrarchy, when Galerius’ complex was built, that several brickyards were operating in the city (fig. 3). We can argue that production continued into the fifth century because parts of several Early Christian monuments – the Basilica of Hagios Dēmētrios, the Acheiropoiētōs Basilica, the five-aisled basilica underneath Hagia Sophia and the Christian parts of the Rotonda – are made with bricks marked with the same stamps. Production sites for bricks and roof tiles have been unearthed on the plain west of the city walls, which was partly a marsh until the late nineteenth century, at the site known from sources from the second half of the sixth century or seventh century as the kēramēsios kampos (κεραμησίος κάμπος, pottery plain). Previously, these were considered to have been contemporary

82 Three identical oversized tiles (0.76 m x 0.50 m x 0.07 m), two of which were produced as stelai (funerary monuments), were found re-used in a third-century grave in the western necropolis. They must have been produced in one of the nearby workshops in order to be placed over the graves of two soldiers or gladiators who lost their lives at the same time. The whole decoration was inscribed on the fresh clay with swift movements. The names of the deceased were inscribed on the upper part of the tile while the clay was still soft: Κώβιος (Kōvios) and Δεκουράτος (Dekouratos). On both tiles a large helmet is depicted with a long crest from the top of the head to the neck. The helmet is facing an oblong, curved branch or young tree possibly laurel. On Kōvios’ tile a sword is depicted at the lower part of the tile, and an identical sword pointing upright is placed next to the helmet at Dekouratos’ tile. Diagonally arranged grooves are impressed on the reverse of both tiles. Makropoulou, Odos Lankada 263 Illus. 3. – Makropoulou, Taphoi kai taphes 91 pl. 6.

83 For a concise overview in English of the archaeological research conducted in the area of the palace, see Hadjitypyronous, The Palace of Galerius in Thessaloniki 203-217. – For a short overview of the use of clay (raw and baked) in Roman architecture, see Adam, Roman Building 58-65. – On Thessalonian finds, see Vickers, Fifth Century Brickstamps 285-294. – Theocharidou, Symvoli meletēs paragōgēs 108-109. – Theodōridēs, To kinitarologiās 414. – In addition, for stamps on the bricks of Acheiropoiētōs, see Raptēs, Paratērēseis 220-226. – Theocharidou, The Walls 221-235. – Athanasiou et al., Plinthis 299-316, where eight different stamps are identified as being used in the Galerian palace between the fourth and the seventh centuries, and all bibliography on brickstamps from other monuments of Thessaloniki is gathered.
Imperial period glassworking became a relatively common trade and workshops have been found in small towns and insignificant settlements. Archaeological research reveals that 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 in the late first century AD a few special forms of unguentaria were manufactured locally such as fine-walled globular and bird-shaped forms. Local production increased dramatically in the fourth and fifth centuries when several forms of tableware — jugs, bottles, beakers and bowls as well as lamps and unguentaria, were produced using free blowing, mould-blowing and dip-mould-blowing techniques with the historical sources, although most of them have now been redated to the Late Byzantine period.

### Glassworking

The invention of glassblowing saw a great expansion of glassworking and secondary glass workshops from the first century AD. The latter were workshops in which objects were formed from raw glass that was imported from the great glass-producing centres of the Levant and Egypt and recycled glass objects, operated in the major cities of the Roman Empire (fig. 4). In the first centuries of the Roman Imperial period, glassworking became a relatively common trade and workshops have been found in small towns and insignificant settlements. Archaeological research reveals that 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 in the late first century AD a few special forms of unguentaria were manufactured locally such as fine-walled globular and bird-shaped forms. Local production increased dramatically in the fourth and fifth centuries (fig. 5) when several forms of tableware — jugs, bottles, beakers and bowls as well as lamps and unguentaria, were produced using free blowing, mould-blowing and dip-mould-blowing techniques.

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84 On the fact that the plain west of the city walls was called «the plain of the potters», see Bakirtzis, Agios Dimitrios Thassamata 2:5. 528B: «ὁ θεῖος κόσμος μέρος καὶ κρατῆσαι τὴν Κεραμίκην καμένον» (upon arriving in our region, he occupied the Keramēsios kampos). For the bibliography on locating the site in various other places, see Bakirtzis, Imports, Exports and Autarchy 101 nt. 66.

85 For workshops, recently redated to the Palaeologan era, see: 91 Monastirion Street: Makropoulou, Monastirion 91, 503-504 (cat. no. 10). – 93 Monastirion Street: Makropoulou, Monastirion 93, 379-380 (cat. no. 11). – Eleutheriadou et al., Sostikes anaskaphes Thessalonikis 274-275 fig. 10. – 48 Giannitsi Group: Makropoulou, Giannitsi 48, 618 (cat. no. 9). – For the new dating, see Makropoulou, Taphoi kai taphes, 371 nt. 191. 377 nt. 240. – One of the kilns that have been unearthed in the plot at the junctions of G. Koloniari, Galanaké and V. Papathanasiou Streets (cat. no. 8) dated to the Early Christian period, Nauplions, Koloniari – Galanaké – Papathanasiou 405 illus. 9 pl. 226E, has been lately identified as a brick or roof tile kiln, see Makropoulou, Taphoi kai taphes 373 nt. 240. – In the plot at the junction of Giannitsi, K. Mazaraké and Kavala Street, where five big kilns (presumably for bricks and roof tiles) and a reservoir were found: Lamprothanai-Korantzi/Akontiadiou, Odos Giasios, Giannitsi; for the dating of one of them to the fifth century, see Ioannidès et al., Chronologias romanikōn kliston. – For a thorough presentation and interpretation of the workshop, see Raptis, Brick and Tile Producing Workshops (cat. no. 13).

86 For an overview of Roman glassworking see Antonaras, Fire and Sand 3-39. – Price, Glass-working 167-190. – Stern, Roman Glassblowing 441-481. – Ster- inni, La Fenice passim. – On an extensive catalogue of Roman glass workshops throughout the Roman Empire and even beyond its frontiers, see Stermini, La Fenice 135-200. – For an overview of Late Roman and Byzantine glassworking workshops in Greece and the technology their operation involved, see Raptis, Ergastēria 71-75, 186-202. – Also Raptis, Yalopoiēia kai yalourgeia 165-176, where some issues concerning the identification of glass making sites should be revised.
Fig. 5  Drawings of locally produced glass vessels, first and fourth to fifth centuries.
niques. These were mostly simple, undecorated utilitarian forms. Some, mainly in the third or fourth centuries, were decorated with dip-mould-blown oblique ribs. Some other vessels were shaped in prismatic forms, on a simple level achieved by the use of indentations, or on a more complex level by mould-blowing. Fewer examples were decorated with engraving in the form of simple lines and strokes. Different types of glass objects, mainly beads and gems, as well as a few bracelets, are amply represented among the archaeological finds from the city. It is apparent, due to the fact that identical objects are found throughout the Empire, that several types of beads and bracelets were imported. However, there is also evidence that some forms of larger glass gems, probably more suitable for the embellishment of precious metal objects, e.g. crosses or book bindings, than as individual jewels, were locally produced, since some examples were found in the debris of a glass workshop at the centre of the city (cat. no. 64).

Glass workshops, just like other installations using open fires, were obliged by law to operate outside the city walls or at the uninhabited edges of the cities for public health and safety reasons. For example, we find a workshop operating in the eastern necropolis, probably in the sixth century, abiding by the law. However, remains of glassworking in Thessaloniki have also been discovered within the city walls, in abandoned public spaces – such as the public bath house on top of which the Acheiropoietos Basilica was erected in the mid-fifth century – and on the site of the Ancient Agora, where after the fifth century, and certainly in the seventh century, several artisans operated workshops (fig. 6). Further...
thermore, glass workshops also operated in other densely populated and built-up parts of the city’s centre. A well-preserved, late-sixth-century glass workshop has been excavated in the corner premises of a well-built, two-storied insula at the junction of two streets. Several phases of glass furnaces were preserved in it, along with much glass production refuse. It had two entrances, probably extending its activities onto the pavement in front of it, preserving what appears to be a generally quite unusual picture of a glass workshop in this period. Finally, it should be noted that the use of a separate melting pot is identified only in one of the sites. In the other three, indications for melting tanks imbedded in the furnace are attested.

**Metalworking**

Metalworking was a fundamental requirement to meet many of the needs of the city’s population throughout its history. The earlier indications of the presence of metalsmiths in Thessaloniki, located in at least two parts of the city, is dated to the period between the first century BC and the first century AD. Early Christian metalsmiths’ workshops have been identified in the centre of the city and near the western city walls, while a set of melting pots for jewellers has been found at the centre of the city in an excavation at the Saint Démétrios Basilica. They are funnel-shaped, pointed, mica-ceous clay vessels. Two of them are the size of a thimble, one of them containing 3.8 ml; and the other one 4.5 ml. The other three pots are the size of small cups, one of them containing 37 ml and the other two 42.5 ml. Furthermore, two Late Roman moulds for the production of jewellery were found in the area of the city’s Ancient Agora. It should also be noted that the 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 period.

From the *Passio Altera* of Saint Démétrios’ life it is known that a coppersmiths’ market existed to the west of the main Agora of the city (the Megalophras). The kind of artworks these workshops produced in the late fifth or sixth century include a bronze open-work monumental arch with a vine scroll emerging out of a kantharos, part of a ciborium’s decoration, and a monumental cross-shaped lamp-holder, polykandelon. Both of them were found in the apse of the basilica under Hagia Sophia. It is unfortunate that only the word ANEGETÔI (anetheto), i.e. «dedicated», remains on the arch and not the part with the name of the dedicatory. The arch probably decorated a ciborium over the Holy Table, a reliquary, or the entrance of the chancel screen, over which was probably the polykandelon.

In the *Miracles of Saint Démétrios* it is also mentioned that gold and silver objects were bought in the city’s market and kept in the houses of eminent Thessalonians, although it is...
not clear which ones were locally produced\(^\text{101}\). The ciborium of Saint Démétrios though, was indeed made by a local silversmith. The Archbishop had summoned a silversmith to ask him to take the throne and melt it down to use the silver for the production of a new ciborium after the old one was damaged by fire\(^\text{102}\). However, the throne was not destroyed, because a Master Mēnas donated seventy-five \textit{litrai} (pounds) and an lōannēs, a lawyer of the city, offered forty \textit{litrai} of silver for the ciborium as did others who preferred to keep their anonymity and the new ciborium, weighing more than 115 \textit{litrai} of silver, was made with this metal\(^\text{103}\). The original ciborium with silver doors, bed and candelabrum, might also have been locally produced. The new ciborium was situated in the middle of the church towards the left side. It was hexagonal and enclosed

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\(^{101}\) Bakirtzēs, \textit{Imports, Exports and Autarchy} 98-100. – Bakirtzēs, \textit{Agiou Démētriou Θαυμάτων} 1:1 §23: ‘κάτειν ἐν τῷ πρατηρίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δρας ὥς ἔχρησεν, ἀνευ τῶν οίκων έτοιμον οἵκον τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ προσεχθέσεως αὐτῷ ἀργυρίων τοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίων ἐπὶ ὁπολίμα καὶ πόλω, καὶ ἐν χρυσοίς στατηρίων ὡς ἄλλον ποσόν’ (he descended to his praetorium, took what he needed, and ascended forthwith to the venerable house of the martyr, bringing (with him) many valuable gold and silver items and a not inconsiderable sum of gold staters).

\(^{102}\) Bakirtzēs, \textit{Agiou Démētriou Θαυμάτων} 1:5 §57: ‘καὶ ὡς ἐκκλήσατο εὐθύγην τὸν ἀργυροργόν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνεπλάσθαι αὐτῷ λαβεῖν τὸν θρόνον’ (and he had invited the silversmith, to enjoin him to take the throne).

\(^{103}\) Bakirtzēs, \textit{Imports, Exports and Autarchy} 100. – Bakirtzēs, \textit{Agiou Démētriou Θαυμάτων} 1:5 §60: ‘προσήγαγεν (ὁ κύριος Μηνάς) ἐβδομάδα πέντε λίτρας ἀργύρου’ (he brought 75 pounds of silver), §61: ‘ἔμαθεν, ἐνα τῶν πολλῶν δικαστήρων τῆς παραλόγως Θεσσαλονίκης τηχνάσαντα […] προσήγαγεν ὡς τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐγγυμμένου κιβωρίου αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου λίτρας τοσοῦτον. Καὶ ἄλλοι […] προσήγαγον’ (lōannēs, one of the oldest lawyers in glorious Thessaloniki, offered forty pounds of silver towards the same purpose (the holy ciborium)).
by six columns and walls made of hammered silver. It had a hexagonal roof with a circular upper part, and a large globe with lily stems below it stood on top of the roof, and was supporting a cross. It had silver doors and a silver bed in the middle. Again, the aforementioned Archbishop’s silver throne in the Saint Démétrios Basilica might also have been locally produced. When fire swept through the church, the original ciborium melted and some of the silver was lost. Not having a sufficient quantity of silver to hand for the creation of a new ciborium, the archbishop considered using the silver from the throne. Still in the same church, the iron chains that were used to hang silver krater-like lamps in the interior were probably local products. It is also probable that the massive bronze chains found in excavations east of Hagia Sophia decorated with large barrel-shaped beads and Christograms were locally produced.

Noting that the apparent local production of iron chains, Bakalakis argues that the iron chains that were hanging with an iron chain a bright (multilayered) silver krater in the round church of Saint Demetrius, Hagia Sophia, Athens 2.5 5140, noting the debris of the krater and the silver krater hanging at the ciborium, from which a multilayered and silver krater was hanging. Finally, stamped lead water pipes (fig. 11) and bronze steepleys (kampanoi), such as those found in excavations at the centre of the city, must also have been local products.

104 Bakirtzis, Agios Démétrios Thaumaturgos 152-154, 380, 1 1587: «ορα το ιερόστατο Βασιλεία του της μεσού μεγάλου θυράρου τοις παρεπιπτέον θυραρία πάντων των οποίων φερομένων ημέρας σχηματίζε, καθώς κεί και τούς γονάτους ανορμόντας είχαν, σφραξάνες την διαρροήν μεγάλην μεχρι κεφάλα τις, ψάθες το κόκκινο βλαστάθα θαμμένα περιέβαλλεν, ού δέναις επάνω το κατά τον τοίχων τρόπο τράγοντας άκτοβελάδο, τό μέν διαρροήν διημοιωθάντας τό τον τράγως όμοιος παρακειμένου άκτηθάσθανεν.» (fig. 8). These chains held the apparently quite large, if not monumental, polykandelos. Given the find location, it was probably the one at the middle of the central aisle of the huge, five-aisled basilica under the Hagia Sophia, the one assumed to be the cathedral of Early Christian Thessaloniki. Few surviving objects can be ascribed tentatively to Thessalonian silversmiths, such as the silver reliquary from the enkaitovin (confessio) of the extra mursa basilica on Triptes Septemvriou Street (fig. 9), the Missorium of Theodosius, the so-called Achilles Paten of Pausilypos, and the silver reliquary from Nea Irakleia in Chalkidiki (fig. 10). Reliquaries in the form of the Saint Démétrios’ ciborium were made occasionally both for Thessalonians and pilgrims and it is quite probable that they were made by local silversmiths. Finally, stamped lead water pipes (fig. 11) and bronze steepleys (kampanoi), such as those found in excavations at the centre of the city, must also have been local products.

105 Bakirtzis, Agios Démétrios Thaumaturgos 1.15 §55: «Σοφιά, φησὶ, τὸ ἐν τῷ παντεινῷ τοῖς ταῖς κυκλώμασιν ὁ τὸν ὑπάρχον κυκλόματος, ἑνδαιρομένος πάντοτε καταστρέφοντα τὸ προφέρον ὄνομα κυκλώματος, καὶ μὴ χύσων άναλυόμενον τῆς θύρας τοῦ παντός ἐργοῦ συμπλήρωσεν, ἱδονήτατον τὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πανγευμένο πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖνον εὐφράτην αὐθεντήσας.» It happened, he said, that the ciborium in its sacred precinct, made entirely of beautiful silver, caught fire one night with the result that all the silk melted and was consumed, he said, that the ciborium in its sacred precinct, made entirely of beautiful silver, caught fire one night with the result that all the silk melted and was consumed. When the eparch (prelate) walked to the spot and arrived there, he entered the sacred space and, restituting his face on the silver bed-like structure there, on which was imprinted the godlike face of the venerable trophy-bearer. When he went over to the silver ciborium of the saint and all-glorious martyr Démétrios, where some say his holy relics lie beneath earth. And when the eparch (prelate) walked to the spot and arrived there, he entered the sacred space and, restituting his face on the silver bed-like structure there, on which was imprinted the godlike face of the venerable trophy-bearer—On the ciborium, see Falis, Leb. hag. 6, 44-58. On the ciborium in Byzantine times, see Mentzos, Prosýnomin passim. Among other issues of the cult of Saint Démétrios and his tomb, the ciborium and its depiction on the wall mosaics of the northern aisle of Hagios Démétrios is discussed in Bakirtzis, Pilgrimage to Thessalonike 176-177. For its character as a spatial icon with thorough presentation of the bibliography on the ciborium and its performativity, see Bogdanovic, The Performative 275-301.

106 From the top of the ciborium was hanging with an iron chain a bright (multilayered) silver krater in the round church of Saint Demetrius, Hagia Sophia, Athens 2.5 5140, noting the debris of the krater and the silver krater hanging at the ciborium, from which a multilayered and silver krater was hanging. Finally, stamped lead water pipes (fig. 11) and bronze steepleys (kampanoi), such as those found in excavations at the centre of the city, must also have been local products.

107 Bakirtzis, Pilgrimage to Thessalonike 179. For the remains of what has been assumed to be the guest house for the pilgrims until the seventh century, which was later transformed into a workshop see YPPO, Epitopos parakolouthis 327, 329.

108 A relatively simple silver casket bearing an inscribed Greek cross on each side, a Christogram on its lid, and a carefully inscribed inscription OsΔyμα[γ][α]ς Α['][’yi]μαθίας, referring to its weight (i.e. four ounces and fourteen grams, c. 127), see Koukoutsidou-Nikolidou, Enkainio vasilikis 70-81. - Makropoulou, Palaiochristianikos naos 25-46 esp. 30 pl. 6b, 7a. For another, seemingly very similar oval bronze casket with an inscribed cross on it, now lost, which was found within a fifth-century sarcophagus-like marble box in the enkainion of a ninth-century church at the centre of the city, see Evangelides, Eikonomika chika mnimia 342-343 fig. 3.

109 Tsitouridou, To misorio 187-196.

110 Bakalakis, Παρελθομένους von Thessalonike 43. - Nigdelis, Epigraphika Thessalonikea 480-481, with all prior bibliography on this octagonal silver plate dated c. 330-345. - The plate bears around its basis the inscription Παρελθομένους Θεοσωσιούς λήπαρα, referring to the weight of the plate and the name probably of the artisan that made it, or quite probably to the name of its owner.

111 Tsitouridou, Palaiochristianiké technikh 249, where the casket was considered as an probable local product. For the original publication of the object, see Michaelidis, Argya lepantotithèke 48-49. - The iconography and the technique of the casket were discussed in Panayotidi/Grabar, Un reliquaire paleochrétien 33-48. - The casket was presented in detail and discussed by Naga-Banai, The Trophies of the Martyrs 9-38 figs 1, 8-11, where it was convincingly attributed to a western, probably Roman workshop, and dated to the late fourth or early fifth century. The casket was presented in detail and discussed by Naga-Banai, The Trophies of the Martyrs 9-38 figs 1, 8-11, where it was convincingly attributed to a western, probably Roman workshop, and dated to the late fourth or early fifth century.

112 Bakirtzis, Pilgrimage to Thessalonike 179. - For another seemingly another seemingly similar writing preserving the word Ᾱς/Δυμαθίας, referring to its weight (i.e. four ounces and fourteen grams, dated c. 370, see Koukoutsidou-Nikolidou, Enkainio vasilikis 70-81. - Makropoulou, Palaiochristianikos naos 25-46 esp. 30 pl. 6b, 7a. For another, seemingly very similar oval bronze casket with an inscribed cross on it, now lost, which was found within a fifth-century sarcophagus-like marble box in the enkainion of a ninth-century church at the centre of the city, see Evangelides, Eikonomika chika mnimia 342-343 fig. 3.
Fig. 9  Marble casket and silver reliquary from the confessio of the basilica at Tritēs Septemvriou Street, late fourth century.

Fig. 10  Silver reliquary from Nea Erakleia, fourth century.
Another aspect of local metalworking illustrates the fact that Thessaloniki, according to the Notitia Dignitatum – a document that depicts the administration of the Roman Empire in the late fourth century – was one of the four cities in Illyricum, along with Naissus, Ratiaria and Horreum Margi, where a fabrica, a state arms factory was active. The presence of fabricenses, military personnel working in fabricae, in the city is indicated by an inscription on an early fourth-century sarcophagus. The funerary inscriptions of two gladiators from Thessaloniki, dated between the late second and the early third centuries, which are supplemented with relief decoration, allow a glimpse of a different type of product from the city’s metal workshops, that of gladiatorial armour. On these steles, two different types of shields are depicted: a tall rectangular one and another one, shorter and almost square. Both were decorated. The former divided by a wide band into two square fields, each one covered throughout by two intersecting lines forming a large cross. The latter has oblique sides and at the centre bears a lozenge, which was probably in relief in the original. In addition, two types of helmets are depicted. In the first case, the helmet has a relatively long gorget for the protection of the neck, a visor, and a tall, spiky crest. The second helmet looks heavier, with a short crest, no visor and a wide gorget. Furthermore, among the presented weapons, a short sword, or dagger, could be considered to have been locally produced. Finally, we should add coining to metalworking activity in the city. The mint of Thessaloniki was active practically throughout the Byzantine period until the fourteenth century.

Stoneworking

Sculpture workshops continued to operate in Macedonia and Thessaloniki during the Roman Imperial period. In the second and third centuries, three main types of funeral monument influenced by prototypes from Asia Minor were estab-
lished in the region: rectangular reliefs, monolithic altars and sarcophagi. These are preserved in large numbers. Apart from imported three-dimensional sculpture, e.g., from Attica, it seems that such sculpture was also locally produced. The workmanship ranges from relatively crude to finely executed and the influence of Thassian production is to be noted.

After a short interruption around 260-270, we can definitely say that a large sculpture workshop was again operating in Thessaloniki from the early fourth century. This was due to the large-scale building works of Galerius, who had then moved his seat to Thessaloniki. The so-called Small Arch of Galerius and the relief of the Persian Campaign on Galerius’ Triumphal Arch (fig. 13), among others, have been identified as local products. Roman iconographical elements are combined with those from the Hellenistic tradition, and the co-existence and collaboration of artists from different centres, such as Asia Minor and Attica, is evident. In these works, a classicistic tendency is sometimes apparent, while

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120 Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Deka aiônes 348, with further bibliography. — Stefanidou-Tiveriou, The Local Sarcophagi 239-302. — Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Agal mata mouson 73-122. — Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Mounted Horseman 142-171. — Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Trapezophora. — Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Mikro toxo. — For a concise presentation of sculptures from the city, see also Adam-Veleni, Theamata ki technes 263-282. — Especially on Roman altars found in Thessaloniki and the wider region, see also Adam-Veleni, Makedoniko Vòmmoi passim.

121 Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Deka aiônes 349-350, with further bibliography.
in others Late-Antique anti-Classiciastic elements are visible, as for instance in the Theodosian bust (late fourth century), which was made out of the re-working of a third-century togatus. As it was found near a Christian chapel, it has been assumed that it might represent an apostle or saint\(^\text{122}\) (fig. 14). It has been argued that some of the rich and diverse sculptural decoration of the Early Christian monuments was executed locally\(^\text{122}\). What can be securely attributed to local production consists of a group of four, small-size, truncated, conical, seventh-century capitals. This is due to the fact that an identical, unfinished capital has been used in the Saint Démétrios Basilica during renovation in the seventh century\(^\text{124}\) (fig. 15). It thus appears that a local sculpture workshop was active in Thessaloniki until the middle of the seventh century, which was, as has been noted, open to Constantinopolitan influence whilst also keeping alive the Hellenistic tradition\(^\text{125}\) (fig. 16). A small and unfinished capital (dated to the second half of the fifth century or the first half of the sixth century) found in the excavation of a church on the west side of the city also appears to have been a local product\(^\text{126}\). We might also consider simple creations, such as marble boxes for enkainion reliquaries, to have been produced locally\(^\text{127}\) (fig. 9). In addition, simple works, such as the mortars, or at least their carving, are probably produced.

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123 For instance, even the ambo of the Rotonda, which shows the Adoration of the Magi, has been ascribed to a local workshop: Spieser, L’ambon de la rotonde Saint-Georges 498, 510. – An aspect of the work of the local sculptors is identified in the Roman spolia that have been re-carved and used in Early Christian monuments of Thessaloniki, e.g. in the mid-fifth-century Acheiropoëtos Basilica where inscribed pieces of Roman sarcophagi were used as imposts of pilasters. Rapts, Paratérēsisis 226-229. The original sculptures were cut and carved appropriately, but on their upper, invisible sides the inscriptions were left intact. Similar examples are kept, according to Rapts, Paratérēsisis 229, 231, in the lapidarium of the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessaloniki. – Furthermore, at least three of the limbers of the apse of the Acheiropoëtos Basilica also present reworked parts of a Roman architrave, idem 230-232. – On local and imported capitels found in Thassaloniki, see Mauropolou-Tsioumê/Papanikola-Bakirtzê, Kionokrana, vol. 1, 11-38. – Mauropolou-Tsioumê/Papanikola-Bakirtzê, Kionokrana, vol. 2, 218-236. – Mertzos, Korinthiaka kionokrana passim. On a sixth-century dosseret from Thessaloniki, which was re-carved and re-used as the mouth of a well until relatively recently, see Papanikola-Bakirtzê/Titzinbas, The «Ups and Downs» 40-44.

124 Velenês, Tresséra plênotypa kionokrana 669-679.

125 Velenês, Tresséra plênotypa kionokrana 678.

126 Makropoulou, Dyo prospitha anikalaphthentes naos 713. – Cat. Athens 2002, 66 no. 8 (D. Makropoulou).

127 For a simple square marble casket from the enkainion of the fourth-century basilica at Tîtrís Septemvriou Street see Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, Enkainio vasilikês 70-81. – Makropoulou, Palaiochristianikos naos 25-46 esp. 30 pl. 6b, 7a. – For a fifth-century marble reliquary (in the form of a small sarcophagus with holes in its lid and lower part to facilitate the pouring of oil through it to sanctify it by contact with the reliquary’s sacred contents) from the enkainion of a ninth-century church in the centre of the city, see Euangelidês, Ekonomachi aîmneia 342-343 figs 2-3. – Titzinbas, A Marble Reliquary 26-43, with prior bibliography.
32 Hellenistic to Early Christian Period

locally throughout the Roman and Early Christian period. Finally, hundreds of funerary stele, most of them bearing simple inscriptions or simplified representations, bear witness to the self-evident, but provable, continuous presence of sculptors in the city. The archaeological evidence, such as it is, for the actual location of marble workshops is found in the areas of the western and eastern necropolises.

**Mosaics**

The surviving mosaic pavements of luxurious private and public buildings, as well as the wall decorations of churches and houses (fig. 17), indicate that a local school of mosaicists was active, one with very intense Hellenistic elements in their themes and in the way in which these were rendered. Thousands of square metres of wall mosaics have been preserved in the Rotonda, the Acheiropoïetos, the Hagios Dionysios, and the Latomou Monastery, as well as in other buildings. These are probably only a fraction of the wall mosaics that once existed in Thessaloniki.

The surviving mosaics still preserve an overview of the prevailing themes and artistic styles in use from the early fourth to seventh centuries. The early mosaics express an idealistic naturalism rendered with a variety of colours and nuances, which becomes gradually less pronounced in the later examples, which are more rigid, presenting relatively simple and well-defined themes rendered with fewer colours. In most of the monuments, nuances of yellow, green and blue as well as gold and silver hues are rendered with glass tesserae.

128 On mortars from Thessaloniki, see Tzitzias, Marble Bowls 18-25, 26-29.
130 For the finds in the western necropolis located at 20 Margaropouloou Street, see Makropoulou, Taphoi kai taphes 225 (cat. no. 105). – The finds in the eastern necropolis were located at 72 Akropoleos Street: Makropoulou, To ergo (cat. no. 106).
131 Asimakopoulou-Azaika, Syntagmas tōn palaiochristianikōn psēphidōton III.1 passim. – Nikonasos, Topographia kai Technē 247.
136 A round building on the upper part of the city on 6-12 Aiolou Street: Cat. Thessaloniki 2004, 8. – Another example, imitating a multicoloured gemed chain/band, was found in an Early Christian urban villa excavated at Prasakakē and Koukouphē Streets, unpublished find in the Museum of Byzantine Culture. An identical gemed band was discovered on the southern façade of the Apsidal Building north of the palace of Galerius, see Athanasiou et al., To entochenco.
137 On a recent brief presentation of these mosaics, with all further bibliography and especially on the use of glass in them, see Antonaras, Production and Uses of Glass 189-198.
The mosaic pavements are covered with purely geometrical themes, occasionally covering wide areas with a continuous decoration based on a repeated motif, or occasionally having the decoration divided into large, uneven fields, or in circular compositions.

Similarities in their overall decorative effect, particular motifs and techniques suggest that there was an active workshop of mosaicists in Thessaloniki. They most probably began working on the buildings of Galerius, creating a tradition that continued throughout the fourth century and up to the early fifth century\(^{138}\). Thessaloniki’s fifth and sixth-century mosaic pavements are characterised by a greater iconographic diversity, polychromy, use of composite motifs, and possibly also by the use of zoomorphic compositions\(^{139}\).

Local artisans also produced technically and decoratively simple mosaics, single or two-coloured ones, plain or simply decorated, made with asymmetrical marble or stone tiles. These mosaics appear in all kinds of buildings from the late fourth century to the sixth century in Thessaloniki, in Macedonia and in the wider Balkan region, and it seems that they represent an aesthetic choice and not a mere economic decision\(^{140}\). An example with both types of mosaic pavements used in a single room was unearthed in an opulent and spacious triclinium with wall paintings. The apsidal part of the room, which was used for dining and thus mostly covered by couches and tables, was paved with a simple, crude mosaic. The larger, rectangular part of the room was covered by a fine mosaic rendering elaborate, polychromatic geometrical motifs and even the names of the owner, Eusebios, and his family, Markia, Helladites and Klémentinē, in a tabula ansata frame\(^{141}\) (figs 18-19).

**Wall Painting**

The activity of painters, particularly those engaged in the production of wall-paintings, in Late Roman and Early Christian Thessaloniki is mainly evident from the dozens of wall-painted tombs that are still preserved in both necropolises of the city\(^{142}\). Forced by their own fresco technique, mural painters needed to work with swift movements, in some cases first drawing the main outline of the figures roughly on the wet plaster. In this way they created a basic guideline for

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\(^{138}\) Asomakopoulou-Atzaka, Ta palaiochristianika psophidia ta deda 407-408. – Asomakopoulou-Atzaka, Syntagma tón palaiochristianikón psophidiónn III, 1, 112-113.

\(^{139}\) Asomakopoulou-Atzaka, Syntagma tón palaiochristianikón psophidiónn III, 1, 156-157.

\(^{140}\) Guidobaldi/Guiglia-Guidobaldi, Pavimenti marmorei 252-254 esp. nt. 466. – Asomakopoulou-Atzaka, Syntagma tón palaiochristianikón psophidiónn III, 1, 168-176 esp. 168.

\(^{141}\) Kourkoutidou-Nikolaoud, Lapithón 7, 323. – Eleutheriadou, Lapithón 7, 332 pl. 151. – Asomakopoulou-Atzaka, Syntagma tón palaiochristianikón psophidiónn III, 1, 258-259. This fifth-century triclinium from 7 Lapithón Street is exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture. The inscription in capital letters reads Εςυεβις Ευεστος Μαρκιας Κλημεντινης. This fifth-century triclinium from 7 Lapithón Street is exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture. The inscription in capital letters reads Eυεβις Ευεστος Μαρκιας Κλημεντινης. This fifth-century triclinium from 7 Lapithón Street is exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture. The inscription in capital letters reads Eυεβις Ευεστος Μαρκιας Κλημεντινης. This fifth-century triclinium from 7 Lapithón Street is exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture. The inscription in capital letters reads Eυεβις Ευεστος Μαρκιας Κλημεντινης. This fifth-century triclinium from 7 Lapithón Street is exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture. 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The inscription in capital letters reads Eυεβις Ευεστος Μαρκιας Κλημεντινης.

For an early Roman burial monument (most probably from the first century AD) with wall paintings imitating marble slabs and intarsio decoration, see Tampidou-Avlonitou/Galaniki/Anagnostopoulou, DETH kai archeotetres 232-234 fig. 15. – Gounaris, Toichographies taphou ar. 18, 245-262. – Nikos, Topographia ka/Technetou 245-246, considers the connections between Thessalonian mural paintings and those from the catacombs of Rome, and the unity and universality of art in that period.
the composition of their brush work. A rare example of such an incised outline on wet plaster is still visible in the funerary mural painting of Susannah and the Elders from the first half of the fifth century AD [143] (fig. 20). The use of incised draft outlines is known in the Macedonian region from at least the middle of the fourth century BC. We see styles ranging from the free, even careless way, employing deep, thick lines, used in the paintings of the Rapture of Persephone in Vergina and in the Early Christian painting of Susannah, as well as in an accurate and very fine way, as in the mural painting of the Royal Hunt in the grave of King Philip in Vergina [144].

It has been stated that in mural paintings in Late Roman and Early Christian tombs in Thessaloniki, when an outline is observed it was always rendered by engraved lines and never by painted ones [145]. However, a closer inspection of the dozens of painted burial murals that are kept in the Museum of Byzantine Culture reveals that incised outlines were only used in exceptional cases. Actually, incised outlines, apart from the human figures in Susannah’s panel, were only observed in two other cases where a wide incision was used to form the human figures in Susannah’s panel were only observed in two other cases where a wide incision was used to form perfect circles, probably with the use of callipers.

The iconography of the paintings in general is rich, quite diverse and skilfully executed [146]. Garlands, architectural and perfect circles, probably with the use of callipers. in two other cases where a wide incision was used to form the human figures in Susannah’s panel, were only observed in two other cases where a wide incision was used to form perfect circles, probably with the use of callipers.

143 On the mural painting of Susannah, see Mauropoou-Tsoumni, Parasaté Sxomanas 247-258. For a presentation of the painting in English with a colour illustration, see Cat. Athens 2013, 31, no. 17 (E. Angelkou).
144 Saadoglu-Palaiodile, Vergina 38-40.
145 Marké, Nekropole Thessalonikis 122.
146 Marké, Nekropole Thessalonikis 240-241.
147 Marké, Nekropole Thessalonikis 120-240.
148 Marké, Nekropole Thessalonikis 123.
149 For parts of the wall paintings of a fourth-century building under the Hagia Sophia presenting a colonnade and polychrome marble plaques, see Kalligas, Anaskaphi Agias Sophias 79-80 fig. 5. — 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: Tsiganidou, Moné Latomou 25 nt. 3, illus. 2, 54-55 fig. 12. — For a small painted figure depicted in the southern upper gallery of the Acheiropolis Basilica, see Kourkoudiou-Nikolaidou 241-242 pl. 106e. — Raptis, The Mural Decoration 101-114, where it is dated to the late seventh to early eighth centuries.
150 Dioecletian’s Edict of Maximum Prices 7.8-9, issued in 301 AD, stipulating the wage of the former at 70 denarii and of the latter at 150 denarii. — For an overview on Roman artis, art and painting in particular, see Stewart, Roman Art chap. 2 on Art of the House and the Tomb, ibid. 29 for the distinction between the two groups of painters and their wages. — Also Clarke, Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans 237.
151 For first-century villas on the site where Galerius’ palace was erected (richly decorated with mosaic and intarsia pavements, stucco and wall paintings, imitating geometrical, intarsia patterns rendered with red, green, yellow, white and turquoise colours; destroyed by fire in the middle of the third century), see Karamperé, Metallogéj figs 4a, 4b; Karamperé/Christodoulidou, Diachronikésa 394-396 figs 2a, 2b. Dr Karamperé is currently preparing a publication on another wall painting from one of the aforementioned villas, which presents an unusual theme: the red background at its lower part has two horizontal bands, a thinner white one and a wider blue one. Above these bands it is divided into two rows of equal square blocks by straight, fine, black, leafy bunches or cords. In the middle of each side of the square is accentuated by a white ribbon tied in a large bow or knot. Each square

152 Smaller parts of the marble revetments or the system of their attachment to the masonry of these monuments are still visible on site. On the octagonal room and the bath of the Palace, see Athanasiou et al., Diakoméshok tagiánoù 255-267, with further bibliography. On the wall revetments of the Civil Basilica, see Athanasiou et al., Vasiliká Galerianos 118-119 illus. 4. — On the wall revetments of the Rotonda, see Theochoridou, Rotonia Thessalonikis 67-68 fig. 13. — On the wall of theapse of the basilica under Hagia Sophia, see Pelekanidés, Mesóniká pl. 311. — For the house at 6 L. Iasonidou Street, see Marké/Kommatas, Isánon 6 esp. 333 fig. 10. — For a fifth-century house with two phases of wall paintings (a simpler fifth-century phase imitating multicoloured slabs; and a more elaborate fifth or sixth-century phase imitating intarsia decoration), see Karydas, Anaskaphes Glaukou 251-252 fig. 6. is filled with the stretched skin of a spotted, brownish-yellow hare arranged head upright with the characteristic long ears of the animal clearly rendered, illustrated at Karamperé/Christodoulidou, Galeriana erga ypodomōs figs 3, 5-6, and in Athanasiou/Karamperé, The Palace 5. — For a house at 18 Make- donikés Amyndēs Street, with an early Imperial layer of painting in Pompeian style and a late Imperial layer imitating an opus sectile, see Cat. Thessaloniki 2001, 13. — For a Roman Imperial period house at 7 Zéphyron Street, with wall painting imitating an opus sectile see Cat. Thessaloniki 2001, 7. — For a rich house at Dragouni and Palaiozougou Street with wall paintings imitating marble incrustations, dated to the period between mid-third and mid-fourth centuries, see Pazaras, Nees toichographies 155-166, where older similar finds from Thessaloniki are noted among the others at: 1. Palaiozougou and Arme- noulou Street; 2. 94 Egnatia Street; 3. Agiou Démēniou and Sophikleous Streets. — For a fourth-century house with wall paintings imitating intarsia sup- plemented with floral elements, and architectural elements, such as a fluted column on an Ionic base, see Cat. Athens 2002, 268, no. 264 (E. Marké). — For a fifth-century house, found at 7 Lapithon Street, with rich mosaic pavement and wall paintings, exhibited in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, see Kourkoudiou-Nikolaidou, Lapithon 7, 323. — Eulexherioudo, Lapithon 7, 332 pl. 151fl. — Asomakopoulou-Atzaka, Syntagmá tôn palaiochristianikón prósymfónion III, 1, 258-259. — For a sixth-century house with wall paintings of geometrical patterns, wall mosaics and mosaic and opus sectile pavements, see Marké/Kommatas, Iasonidou 6 esp. 333 fig. 10. — For a fifth-century house with two phases of wall paintings (a simpler fifth-century phase imitating multicoloured slabs; and a more elaborate fifth or sixth-century phase imitating intarsia decoration), see Karydas, Anaskaphes Glaukou 251-252 fig. 6. — For a fifth-century house with two phases of wall paintings (a simpler fifth-century phase imitating multicoloured slabs; and a more elaborate fifth or sixth-century phase imitating intarsia decoration), see Karydas, Anaskaphes Glaukou 251-252
Fig. 20  Funeral wall painting with Susannah and the Elders, necropolis of Thessaloniki, fifth century.
A different form of pictorial work, which is rarely preserved, probably because of its ephemeral character, has been discovered in the Roman Agora of Thessaloniki. It is a series of five marble slabs with inscriptions of *philatimiae*, i.e. invitations to wild animal hunts (*κυνηγία*) and gladiatorial contests (*μυρμηχία*), which are precisely dated to 259 AD. On one of the slabs, apart from the inscribed text, painted decoration is preserved. This decoration illustrates the contests with depictions of gladiators in diverse types of armour fighting in pairs or with wild animals, figures leading the animals to the arena, and isolated figures of men or animals.\textsuperscript{153} The painting has been executed in the ancient Greek

\textsuperscript{153} For the inscriptions, see Velenés, *Epigraphes apo tēn Archaia Agora*. – Ngdelės, *Epigrafika Thessalonikea* 73-93.
four-colour palette, i.e. tetrachromy (using red, black, yellow, white and their nuances), supplemented with gold leaf. The shading and the perspective are rendered properly, and the figures were painted directly by the brush without any prior outline incisions, demonstrating the technical skilfulness of the artist. The work seems to have been done in the technique of s/eco and the figures are successfully depicted naturally, while the surroundings have only been slightly depicted\(^{154}\). The activity of painters is also attested by a group of painted Roman painted marble bases.

### Textile Production

The number of different categories of artisans and traders involved with textiles and clothing has only been partly documented in Thessaloniki\(^{155}\). The use of different types of textiles for clothes and other domestic uses has been traced archaeologically\(^{156}\) and found in written sources, which also make reference to textiles used for the decoration of houses and even the defence of the city\(^{157}\). Furthermore, a sixth-century funerary inscription of a *himationprotés* (himationprotê), a draper, presents additional firm evidence for this activity in the city\(^{158}\).

Textile dyers and, more specifically, purple dyers were active in Thessaloniki from the first century BC onwards\(^{159}\). An association of *porphyrotophs* (porphyrotphoi), purple dyers, was active in Roman times, called τς οκτοκαιδεκάτες (τς οκτοκαιδεκάτες), the one of the eighteen [Street]\(^{160}\), indicating their location and distinguishing them from other relevant associations in the city\(^{161}\). An example of the work of some of these purple dyers might be the purple gold-wedt dress that was found in an undecorated lead coffin in a marble sarcophagus from the eastern necropolis (dated to the fourth century)\(^{161}\). Finally, thread or fabric dyeing activity has been detected in the area of the shops on the street south of the Agora, which hosted workshops in the fifth century\(^{162}\), as was also detected in the upper part of the city, west of Hagios Dêmêtrios\(^{163}\).

### Tanning

Tanners are usually identifiable by the presence of liming pits used for swelling and softening hides, and by water tanks used for washing the hides after being dehaired with lime and bathed in bate. In the same tanks or leaching pits, tanning would be undertaken using material such as acorns, pine tree bark, pinecones, chestnuts, etc. Tanneries needed a continuous water supply during the tanning process, especially deliming. Consequently, this meant that tanneries were located next to a river or spring, or in a quarter where the piped water system was reliable.

The frequent re-use of urban space in Thessaloniki means that only small areas have remained undisturbed, thus, the archaeological picture of tanning is a fragmentary one with only parts of the pits and tanks preserved. Furthermore, since most of the tools were made of wood, the only movable finds that give evidence to tanning are the remains of fleshing knives, the long, curved, double-handed knives with which the tanner would scrape the inner side of the hide. The activity of tanners and dyers, unwelcome within the city, has been located on the south side of the Ancient Agora, where a series of shops are arranged in front of a *cryptoptoritis*, i.e. a covered vaulted corridor that supports the southern side of the Agora\(^{164}\). In

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154 Adam-Velenê, *Invitatio* 308 nt. 108. These bases are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki. Another unpublished group of similar works, painted marble bases from an excavation in Thessaloniki, will soon be published, giving extra evidence for this specialised type of pictorial activity in Thessaloniki of Roman times.

155 A sixth-century weaving workshop was identified in Démokratias Square during the excavation for the metro station’s shaft, see Pâisidou/Vasiladou/Κόνstantinidou, METRO 2010 (cat. no. 104). Dyeworks have been identified in some of the shops on the commercial street at the southern side of the Agora (cat. no. 79).

156 Antonaras, *Early Christian Gold-embroidered Silks* 45-47, on silk, gold and silver embroidered, gold intewoven and laced vestments. A larger part of a purple, gold-wedt dress is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, see Vokotopoulou, Oedogos Archaeologikou Mouseiou 88 and fig. on p. 89. – Tzarnavi, *An Example* 25-34. Linen and probably woolen thread, or their prints, have been unearthed in several Early Christian tombs. They are usually coated with bronze oxides (the key factor for their preservation) due to their long-time contact with bronze objects, e.g. coins or jewellery. These are mostly unpublished finds kept in the deposits of the Museum of Byzantine Culture and the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

157 Bakirtzis, *Agioi Dêmêtrioi Thecha* 1:14 5152: «*προς των ἐπελεύσεων ἄρτησαν ἐν βαβύλων λευκῶν ὡσπέρ τής καθίσασαν καταπετάσας, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεξιοτέροις ὑπὸ τοὺς βασιλέως τιθέμενα ἐν τῷ παντοῦ καὶ σάκκοι στρων*» (So they thought to hang to the ramps from narrow rods like a sort of woven curtains, both banqueting mattresses made of papyrus and goat-hair sackcloth). Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Auctarchy* 94, 98. – On curtains in Byzantium and their representation in art, see Parani, Reconstructing 179-184, with bibliography. – On bedding equipments and mattresses see Parani, Reconstructing 176-179. – Koukoules, *Eustathioi Iaougraphika* 82-87.


159 See cat. no. 77 for a workshop located at Nauarionou Square, dated from the second or first century BC to the first century AD. – Late Roman and Byzantine workshops related to textile dyeing from Greece and the technology their operation involves are discussed in Raptès, *Ergastèria*, 132, 134-136, 311-314.

160 Edson, *Inscriptions Thessalonicae* 117 no. 291. For comments on the inscription, see Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* 535 nt. 3. – Vitt, *Poleodonomikê exelêxi* 78-79. – Indications of fifth-century purple dyers’ activity has been archaeologically located at the western part of the city, north of Chrysé Gate at 7 Zephyrion Street (see in cat. no. 47), see Markï, *Zephyrion* 7, 587.

161 A find from the 1960s identified at Vokotopoulou, Oedogas Archaeologikou Mouseiou 88 fig. on p. 89, published in Tanavari, *An Example* 25-34. – MouÌfikerat/Spaniotikà, *Les tissus* 35-48. The cloth was covering a fourth-century, blonde-braided Thessalonian woman who was buried in a plain lead coffin, placed in a large marble sarcophagus, in the north part of the eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki.


163 Excavation at 75 Agias Sophiais Street. The installation is dated to the fourth or early fifth centuries, see Karydas, *Anaskaphes Agias Sophiais* 75, 252-254 figs 3-4 (cat. no. 78).

164 On the architectural remains of Roman tanneries, see Adam, *Roman Building 326-327.* – On leather and the technology of its processing, see Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 5, 1-79. – On this poorly social profession, one of the banasous in Byzantine sources, see Koukoules, *Vicas kai politismos*, 81, 188-189. – Also Kaushan, *Tanner* 2010. – On Late Roman and Byzantine tanneries found in excavations in Greece, see Raptès, *Ergastèria* 133-135, 302-311.
the fifth century, these premises were used as workshops due to their location on a commercial street with easy access and connection to the city’s sewage system. From archaeological finds, such as water reservoirs, lime remains, and fleshing knives, some of them have been identified as thread dye-works and tanneries. Two more tanneries dated roughly to the fourth century and to the sixth to seventh centuries, respectively, have been excavated close to the eastern city walls.

Another aspect of the city’s leather trade in the fifth or sixth century is shown by a partially preserved edict inscribed on the eastern part of the city walls. This edict refers to restrictions on the import of tannage and the penalties imposed upon those breaking the law. It is also possible that the edict demonstrates the presence of a relevant professional association or guild engaged in this trade in the city. As to the products of these tanners, only a few partly preserved shoes have survived the deteriorating soil conditions of Thessaloniki to be attested archaeologically, demonstrating this apparently widespread and utilitarian use of leather in Roman and Early Christian Thessaloniki.

**Bonecarving**

No ivory finds have been excavated at Thessaloniki and only a few objects of antler and bone have been found. Almost all of the finds are relatively simple pieces such as chess pawns, dice, needles, beads, spoons, pins and combs. Exceptional are the fragments of two small chests (hitherto unpublished), decorated with what seem to be colonnades and human figures carved in high relief and even partly in the round. Some of these might be local products, since bone carving was a relatively easy and seemingly widespread craft. Yet, bone carving has left few remains in Thessaloniki, and the main area where indications for the presence of a workshop have been located is the site of the Ancient Agora. In the excavations conducted in this area, a large quantity of raw and partly worked bones, in conjunction with some bone objects, were found, indicating the operation of a bone carving workshop on the site. The products of the Agora’s bone workshop included tools, jewellery, decorative furniture-fittings, clothing accessories, bottoms, figurines, knife and sword-hilts, musical instruments, needles, writing utensils, dice, partly smoothed knucklebones and game counters.

At two more sites in the upper part of the city, large numbers of unfinished or finished but broken bone finds were unearthed, indicating the locations of bone carving in the Late Roman or Early Christian period. Bone pins, styli and spatulae in different stages of preparation were excavated in the north-eastern part of the city on a side-street of Antiochou Street. Two blocks to the south-west, at the juncture of Olympiados and Sakellarios Street, around sixty bone implements, pins, needles and two spoons were found, almost all of them broken and some in a partially finished state. At least four of the pins (globular headed), and nine needle-shafts (oval in cross-section) and pins (circular in cross-section) were unfinished, indicating that they were made on-site or in a nearby workshop.

**Woodworking**

The earliest indication for an artisan involved in woodworking, a *zygopoios* (*ζύγοποιος*), i.e. a yoke maker, Artemôn, is dated to 159/160. After a long period of silence, the next surviving piece of textual evidence comes from a funerary inscription mentioning the *Leptourgos Heliódoros* (*Λεπτούργος Ἡλιόδορος*), who died in the city sometime in the fifth century (fig. 23). Despite the paucity of evidence, the activity of woodworkers in Thessaloniki should be considered self-evident.
Wine Production

The evidence for wine production in the area is scarce, but we know that it existed because vineyards are explicitly mentioned in Thessalonian inscriptions. A wine reservoir was unearthed in the excavation of a fifth-century country villa at Palaiokastro, west of Thessaloniki. Also, it has been noted that a quadrangular burial monument in the eastern necropolis was re-used for wine making after being destroyed in the Early Byzantine period.

For the production of wine and oil in the Mediterranean in general, see Amouretti/Brun, La production passim, where a very wide array of archaeological finds and issues concerning these productions are met. A useful collection of papers on the topic are included in the book of proceedings of the conference Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κρασίου. For an overview of presses and other finds related to wine production in Greece see Raptès, Ergastéria 103-122, 263-283. For a reference to a vineyard of two plethra that was donated by the priestess Euphrosynē to the θίασος (θιασος) of Prinophoros in the third century, on condition that its annual revenue would be used to offer a sacrifice and have her tomb crowned, see Nigdelis, Voluntary Associations 26, inscription no. 130G X/22.1.260.

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176 Cat. Thessaloniki 2003a, 8 (cat. no. 72). Furthermore, for a workshop producing wine, with a press and several clay pithoi used as vats, in the ruins of an Early Christian, fifth-century basilica, ruined in the late sixth or early seventh centuries, in the immediate hinterland of Thessaloniki at Arethousa, see Adam-Veleri, Anaskaphē palaiochristianikēs vasilikēs 356. – Karivieri, Arethousa 2002, 191-192. – Samanopoulou, Katalogos 46-47, with all prior bibliography.

177 For the excavation, see Pelekanidou, Evangelistria 534-535 (cat. no. 73). – For its later use in the production of wine, see Raptès, Ergastéria 112.