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The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike

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I

Thessalonike was founded by *synoikismos* (gathering together the populations of the surrounding towns in one site) in 316/315 B.C. by Cassander, in the innermost recess of the Thermaic Gulf, between the sea and the foothills of Mount Chortiates (ancient Kissos), a strategic location then as now (Fig. 1).¹ Although the city always had a busy port, which served the Balkan peninsula as a link with the Aegean and the Mediterranean, the sea was never its sole productive area.² Thessalonike always looked to its hinterland and the routes leading to it. To the west of the city lay the plain of Thessalonike, to the north the Mygdonian basin, and to the east and southeast an area of Chalkidike known since 1003 as Kalamaria.³

In the mid-fourteenth century, Thessalonike's productive and commercial hinterland was delineated by the castles, built in 1341 by Andronikos III, of Chrysoupolis (Amphipolis) at the mouth of the Strymon, Siderokastron north of Serres, and Gynaikokastron southwest of Kilkis overlooking the lower Axios valley.⁴ Coins of Anna of Savoy, empress of Thessalonike (1354–65), and of John V minted in Thessalonike are not found beyond Drama, Serres, and Pella, being of local interest only.⁵

¹ A. E. Vakalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike, 1972) and idem, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης, 316 π.Χ.–1983* (Thessalonike, 1983). See also *Queen of the Worthy: Thessaloniki, History and Culture*, collected studies edited by I. Hassiotis (Thessalonike, 1997). A. E. Laiou, "Thessaloniki and Macedonia in the Byzantine Period," in *Byzantine Macedonia: Identity, Image and History*, Papers from the Melbourne Conference, July 1995, ed. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2000), 1–11.

² E. Dimitriadis, "The Harbour of Thessaloniki: Balkan Hinterland and Historical Development," in *Ἀρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στὸν καθηγητὴ Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο γιὰ τὰ εἰκοσιπέντε χρόνια πνευματικῆς του προσφορᾶς στὸ πανεπιστήμιο* (Thessalonike, 1990), 541–61.

³ For the geography of Thessalonike and its area, see J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV^e au VI^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Paris, 1984), 7–24.

⁴ Kantakouzenos, *Ιστορία II*, ed. J. Schopen, 39 (CB I, Bonn, 1828, 541–42): *περὶ μὲν γὰρ Θεσσαλονίκη οὐπω πρότερον ὄν τὸ Γυναικόκαστρον προσαγορευόμενον ἐτείχισε . . . καὶ περὶ Φερᾶς ἕτερον Σιδηρόκαστρον, καὶ αὐτὸ διὰ τῶν τειχῶν τὸ εὐπαγὲς καὶ λίαν ὄχυρὸν ὠνομασμένον. Ἀμφίπολιν δὲ τὴν ἐν Στρυμῶνι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα παλαιά, ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν κατεσκαμμένην αὐθις ἐτείχισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς.*

⁵ Grierson, *DOC* 5: 204–6, N. Zekos, "Ἡ κυκλοφορία τῶν παλαιολόγειων νομισμάτων στὴν Ἀνατολικὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη μέσα ἀπὸ ἀνασκαφικὰ δεδομένα," *Ὁβολός 4, Τὸ νόμισμα στὸν μακεδονικὸ χώρο, Πρακτικὰ Β' ἐπιστημονικῆς συνάντησης: νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εἰκονογραφία, ἱστορία ἄρχαιοι, βυζαντινοὶ καὶ νεώτεροι χρόνοι* (Thessalonike, 2000), 239. See also the article by Cécile Morrisson in this volume.

The Thessalonian plain was traversed by the Vardar (ancient Axios) and Gallikos (ancient Echedoros) Rivers, and extended as far as the Loudias lagoon and the River Loudias. Administratively it belonged to the Vardar (or *Paravardaron*) *katepanikion*.⁶ The unhealthy and sparsely populated alluvial coastal plain had no harbor but was suitable for agriculture, and its grasslands for hunting and pasturing livestock.⁷ A trade fair known as the *Demetria* was held in October on the Thessalonian plain outside the west city wall.⁸ In the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, water mills operated on the streams in the surrounding hills.⁹ The discovery of a water tower during a recent rescue excavation more or less in the center of the upper city of Thessalonike shows that there were workshops in this area which used water as motive power, an example being water mills.¹⁰ This meant that at times of insecurity in the countryside and during sieges, it was possible to process agricultural produce inside the city.

An arterial road with three branches cut across the plain. One road connected Thessalonike with the area of the Morava and Serbia via the Vardar (Axios) valley and Skopje. The *kastra* (forts) which have been located in the Gallikos valley are connected with this road: Aëtos *kastron* at Panteleëmon, Melanthion, Kolchis, Plaghia, and Sebaston.¹¹ The second road, to Upper Macedonia, led to the Prespa Lakes and Lake Ohrid and hence via the Adriatic ports to Venice. The third road went south, via the *katepanikion* of Kitros, the plain of Pieria, Platamon castle, and the Tempe valley, and under the shadow of Mount Olympus connected Thessalonike with Thessaly and central Greece.

The second road is associated with the Via Egnatia, which did not run through Thessalonike, but after crossing the Thessalonian plain entered the Mygdonian basin north of Thessalonike via the lower Gallikos valley. One branch of the Via Egnatia was the road which led from the Mygdonian basin to Thessalonike (Litea gate) through what is now the Derveni pass.¹² The Mygdonian basin has two lakes: Langadas (ancient Koroneia) and Bolbe, both charmingly described by Kameniates.¹³ In the late Byzantine period the Mygdonian basin was divided administratively among three *katepanikia*: Langadas, Rendina,

⁶ G. I. Theocharidis, *Κατεπανίκια της Μακεδονίας. Συμβολή εις την διοικητικήν ιστορίαν καὶ γεωγραφίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας κατὰ τοὺς μετὰ τὴν Φραγκοκρατίαν χρόνους*, *Μακεδονικά*, suppl. 1 (Thessalonike, 1954), 34–37.

⁷ Description of the lower Axios valley by the 12th-century Pseudo-Luciano, *Timarione*, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1974), 52. 74–89: γεωργοῖς παντοίων σπερμάτων ἀναδοτικός . . . ἄλιθός ἐστιν ἡ χώρα καὶ ἄθαιμος καὶ ὁμαλὴ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. εἰ δὲ καὶ θηρεύειν βουληθεῖς. See also *Τιμαρίων ἢ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων*, Introduction, translation, commentary by P. Vlachos (Thessalonike, 2001), 48.

⁸ Described in Pseudo-Luciano, *Timarione*, 51–59. Y. Tsaras, “Τιμαρίων ἢ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων,” *He Thessalonike* 1 (1985): 189–203.

⁹ Ch. Siaxambani, “Νερόμυλοι στὴν εὐρύτερη περιοχή τῆς πόλης Θεσσαλονίκης,” “Ὁ ἄρτος ἡμῶν”, ἀπὸ τὸ σιτάρι στὸ ψωμί, *Πολιτιστικὸ Τεχνολογικὸ Ἰδρυμα τῆς ETBA* (Athens, 1994): 112–22. Ch. Siaxambani, “Watermills. Area of Thessaloniki,” in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjistryphonos (Thessalonike, 1997), 338–41.

¹⁰ E. Marke, “Ἀνασκαφῶν Θεσσαλονίκης ἐραníσματα,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 14 (2000): 248–50.

¹¹ S. Kissas and X. Savvouroulou, “Τὸ μεσαιωνικὸ κάστρο τοῦ Μελανθίου Κιλκίς,” *Ἱστοριογεωγραφικά* 1 (1986): 203–4 and 251–53. X. Savvouroulou-Katsiki, “Παλαιοχριστιανικὲς καὶ βυζαντινὲς ὀχυρώσεις στὸ Νομὸ Κιλκίς,” *19th Conference on Byzantine and Postbyzantine Archaeology and Art*, Abstracts, Christian Archaeological Society (Athens, 1999), 99–100. For the castles in the upper Axios valley, see I. Mikulčić, *Srednovjekovni gradovi i tvrđini vo Makedonija* (Skopje, 1996).

¹² Ch. Makaronas, “Via Egnatia and Thessalonike,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1951), 381–98, repr. in *Φεσσαλονίκη φιλήηρου βασιλίσσαν, Μελέτες γὰ τὴν ἀρχαία Θεσσαλονίκη*, Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike (Thessalonike, 1985), 392–401.

¹³ N. G. Pentzikis, “Ἀνὰ τὸ Μυγδονικὸ λεκανοπέδιο,” *Νέα Πορεία* (Thessalonike), 1 (1955): 22–26.

and Stephaniana.¹⁴ The *kastron* of Rendina (Artemision)¹⁵ on the western edge of the basin commanded the valley through which the River Rhechios discharged the waters of Bolbe into the Strymonic Gulf, and the Via Egnatia passed by this *kastron* on its way to Constantinople. As Angeliki Laiou has pointed out, the road was difficult to travel already by the 1320s; after 1341 there is no evidence that it was still functioning as a communications route to Constantinople, and the area to the east of the Strymon River ceased to be related economically with Thessalonike.¹⁶ The declining presence at Rendina of fourteenth-century coins, all from the Thessalonike mint, and the construction in the mid-fourteenth century of a church with all the characteristics of the ecclesiastical architecture of Thessalonike suggest that in this century Rendina marked the easternmost edge of Thessalonike's ever dwindling province.¹⁷

Apart from Rendina, another important town in the Mygdonian basin, and a cross-roads on the Via Egnatia, was Langadas, which was used as a base by Thessalonike's conquerors:¹⁸ Ioannitzes camped here in 1207, as did John VI Kantakouzenos when he was preparing to quell the Zealot uprising in 1350, and Murad II when he was preparing to take Thessalonike in 1430.¹⁹ An oil press north of Bolbe and the Via Egnatia, dated by a brick inscription to 1324/25 (Fig. 2), is connected with the region's agricultural production in the late Byzantine period.²⁰ The produce of the basin was stored before being sold in, or traded via, Thessalonike in a Palaiologan tower with projecting pilasters at the village of Aghios Basileios on the southern shore of Lake Langadas. A. Vakalopoulos believes that this tower served a military purpose and was built by Manuel Palaiologos (1382–87) for the protection of Thessalonike.²¹

The *katepanikion* of Kalamaria had been part of the theme of Thessalonike since 1300, and mainly comprised western Chalkidike.²² The documents of Mount Athos contain numerous references to monastic property, villages and place-names, on the basis of which J. Lefort has drawn up a plan of how the land was used in this area in the Byzantine period.²³ The close connection between Thessalonike and Kalamaria in the late Byzantine period is also reflected in the trade in ceramics. Late Byzantine glazed pottery from Olyn-

¹⁴ Theocharidis, *Κατεπανίκια*, 24–34.

¹⁵ N. Moutsopoulos, *Ρεντίνα I, Οι μυγδονικές πόλεις Αὐλῶν, Βρομίσκος, Ἀρέθουσα καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Εὐριπίδη* (Thessalonike, 1995), 51. N. Moutsopoulos, "Rentina," in *Secular Medieval Architecture* (as above, note 9), 82–84.

¹⁶ A. Laiou, "Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη, ἡ ἐνδοχώρα της καὶ ὁ οἰκονομικὸς της χώρος στὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων," in *Βυζαντινὴ Μακεδονία 324–1430 μ.Χ.* (Thessalonike, 1995), 184–86. A. Laiou, "The Economy of Byzantine Macedonia in the Palaiologan Period," in *Byzantine Macedonia* (as above, note 1), 208.

¹⁷ M. Galani-Krikou and E. Tsourti, "Μακεδονικὴ Ρεντίνα. Ἡ νομισματικὴ μαρτυρία (ἀνασκαφές: 1976–1996)," *Ὁβολός* 4 (2000): 347–54. N. Moutsopoulos, *Ρεντίνα IV. Οι ἐκκλησίες τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ οἰκισμοῦ* (Thessalonike, 2000), 295–334.

¹⁸ N. Kosmas, *Ὁ Λαγκαδᾶς* (Thessalonike, 1968).

¹⁹ Description of the site by Ioannes Staurakios (second half of the 13th century): Τόπος οὗτος, οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως, ἱκανὸς μυρίαν ἵππων διαναπαύσαι, ὕδασι τε καὶ χόρτῳ πολυπληθεῖ. Ioakim Iberites, "Ἰωάννου Σταυρακίου λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου," *Μακεδονικά* 1 (1940): 370.11–13. Kantakouzenos III, 39 (CB II, 236): αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν Λαγκαδᾷ οὐ μακρὰν Θεσσαλονίκης; *Ioannes Anagnostes, Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, ed. Y. Tsaras (Thessalonike, 1958), 16.2–3: τὴν εἰς τὰ Λαγκαδᾶ τοῦ Μουράτου δηλὼν ἀφίξιν.

²⁰ Siaxambani, "Watermills," 338–39.

²¹ A. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, 1354–1833* (Thessalonike, 1969), 37, fig. 8.

²² Theocharidis, *Κατεπανίκια*, 7–13. G. Theocharidis, "Καλαμαριά ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς Χαλκιδικῆς," *Μακεδονικά* 17 (1977): 268.

²³ J. Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine I, Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris, 1982).

thos, as classified by A. Xyngopoulos, presents close similarities with pottery of the same period found in Thessalonike and probably comes from this city's workshops.²⁴

The best-known local monastery in the late Byzantine period was the Chortaites monastery in the northern foothills of Mount Chortiates (ancient Kissos), which supplied Thessalonike and the area to the east of the city with water.²⁵ Parts of an aqueduct, water mills, and clay pipes which carried water from Chortiates survive in the foothills and the hilly area toward Thessalonike.²⁶ A late twelfth-century octagonal chapel outside the monastery precinct survived as a church of the settlement which grew up around the monastery and appears as the *Chortiates kastron* early in the fifteenth century.²⁷

The last part of Thessalonike's surrounding province to retain links with the city by sea after the conquest of Kalamaria was the furthestmost limit of Kalamaria, the Kassandra peninsula (*katepanikion* of Kassandreia).²⁸ This was why the Thessalonians made repeated requests to Venice in 1423 and 1429 that Kassandreia (ancient Potidaia on the neck of the peninsula) be refortified with a wall in order to protect their few sources of food supply.²⁹

In 1372 Turkish *akinci* (raiders) appeared before the walls of Thessalonike, and the following years the Thessalonian plain and the Mygdonian basin were seized by the *ghāzīs* (warriors for the Faith) of the great march-lord (*uc-beği*) Evrenos, thus starting the process of conquering Thessalonike in three stages (devastation of the countryside, subjugation, conquest).³⁰ Under Murad I (1385) and Bayazid I (1393) the area was settled by *yürüks* (Turks of nomadic origin) whose religious center was Evrenos' tomb at Yenice-i Vardar (now Genitsa).³¹ The Turks besieged Thessalonike from 1383 to 1387; after its inhabitants had surrendered, they maintained control of the city from 1387 to 1403.³² The city's economic prosperity came to an end. There is no record of any major construction during this

²⁴ A. Xyngopoulos, "Byzantine Pottery from Olynthus," in D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, vol. 5 (Baltimore–London–Oxford, 1933), 285–92. Ch. Bakirtzis and D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, "De la céramique byzantine en glaçure à Thessalonique," *Ier symposium international "Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi"*, Nessèbre 1979, *Byzantinobulgaria* 7 (1981): 421.

²⁵ G. Bakalakis, "Κισσός," *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1953–54): 353–62. A. Vakalopoulos, "Ιστορικὲς ἐρευνες ἐξω ἀπὸ τὰ τείχη τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Μακεδονικά* 17 (1977): 1–38; repr. in *Παγκάρπια μακεδονικῆς γῆς. Μελέτες Ἀποστόλου Ε. Βακαλόπουλου* (Thessalonike, 1980), 285–90.

²⁶ Siaxambani, "Νερόμυλοι," 113 (map); Siaxambani, "Watermills," 338–41; P. Theodoridis, *Τὶ ἐφύλαγεν αὐτὸς ὁ Χαμαιδράκων; Χρονικὰ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, n.d.), 112–13.

²⁷ N. Nikonanos, "Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Μεταμόρφωσης τοῦ Σωτῆρος στὸ Χορτιάτη," in *Κέρνος. Τιμητικὴ προσφορά στὸν καθηγητὴ Γεώργιο Μπακαλάκη* (Thessalonike, 1972), 102–10. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία Θεσσαλονίκης*, 172, 180, 184.

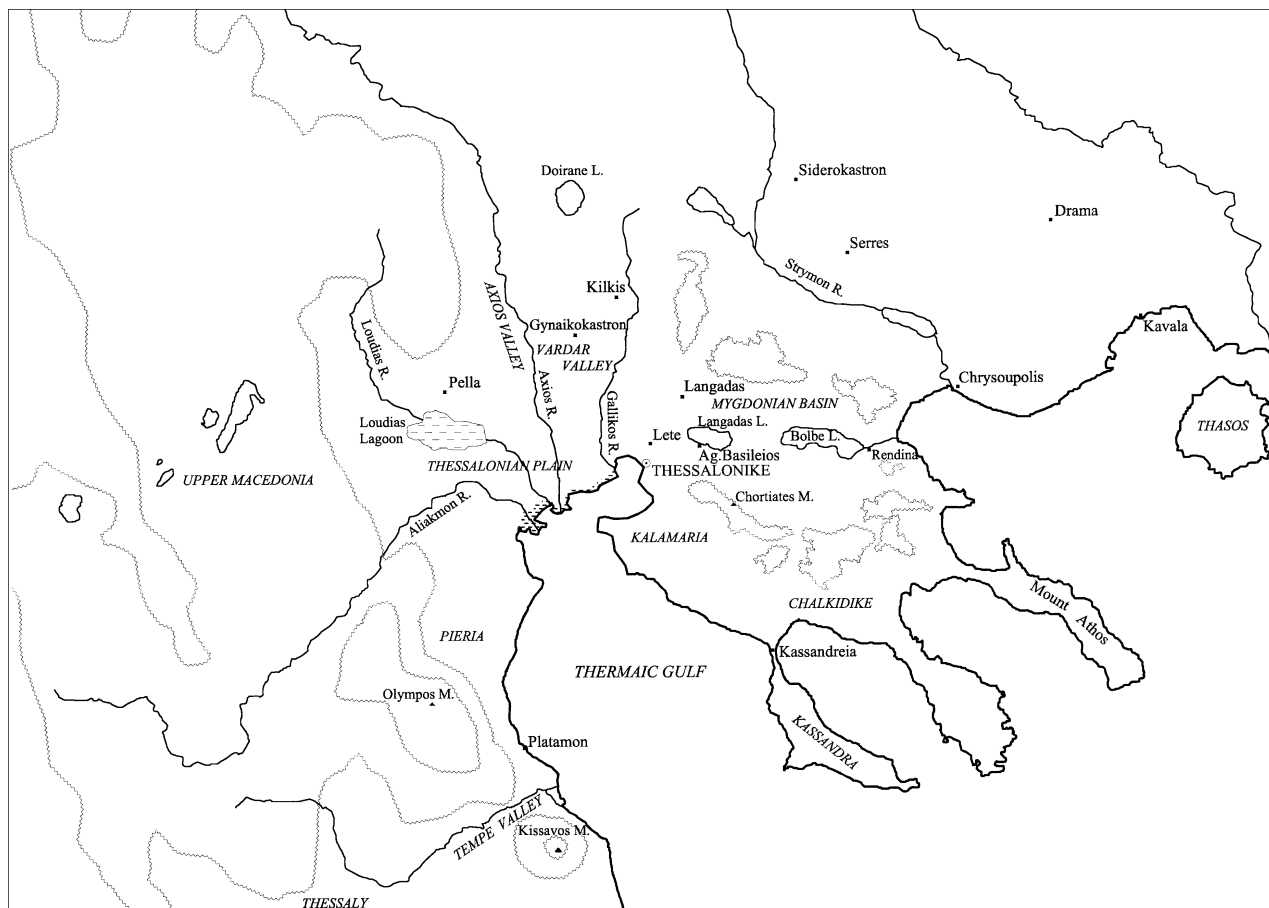
²⁸ Theocharidis, *Κατεπανίκια*, 19.

²⁹ K. D. Mertzios, *Μνημεῖα μακεδονικῆς ἱστορίας* (Thessalonike, 1947), 47 and 74. The Palaiologan tower at Nea Phokaia on the east coast of the Kassandra peninsula was used to keep an eye on the local crops of oil seed and its transportation by sea (I. Papangelos, "Ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους," in M. Pappa, K. Sismanidis, I. Papangelos, and Er. Zelliou-Mastorokosta, *Ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς* [Thessalonike, 1998], 106).

³⁰ P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinische Kleinchroniken*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1977), 302–4. V. Nerantzi-Varmazi, *Ἡ βαλκανικὴ ἐπαρχία κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους βυζαντινοὺς αἰῶνες* (Thessalonike, 1998), 147–48. E. Zachariadou, "Ἐφήμερες ἀπόπειρες γιὰ αὐτοδιοίκηση στὶς ἐλληνικὲς πόλεις κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' καὶ ΙΕ' αἰῶνα," *Ἀριάδνη* (Rethymnon) 5 (1985): 345.

³¹ V. Demetriades, "The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Bey at Yenitsa and Its Inscription," *BSOAS* 39.2 (1976): 328–32. For the conquest of central Macedonia and the environs of Thessalonike, see Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία Μακεδονίας*, 24–41; V. Demetriadis, "Ottoman Chalkidiki: An Area in Transition," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986), 43.

³² G. T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaiologos in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome, 1960), 77–88. A. Karpouzilos, "Macedonia as Reflected in the Epistolography of the Fourteenth Century," in *Byzantine Macedonia* (as above, note 1), 84–88.



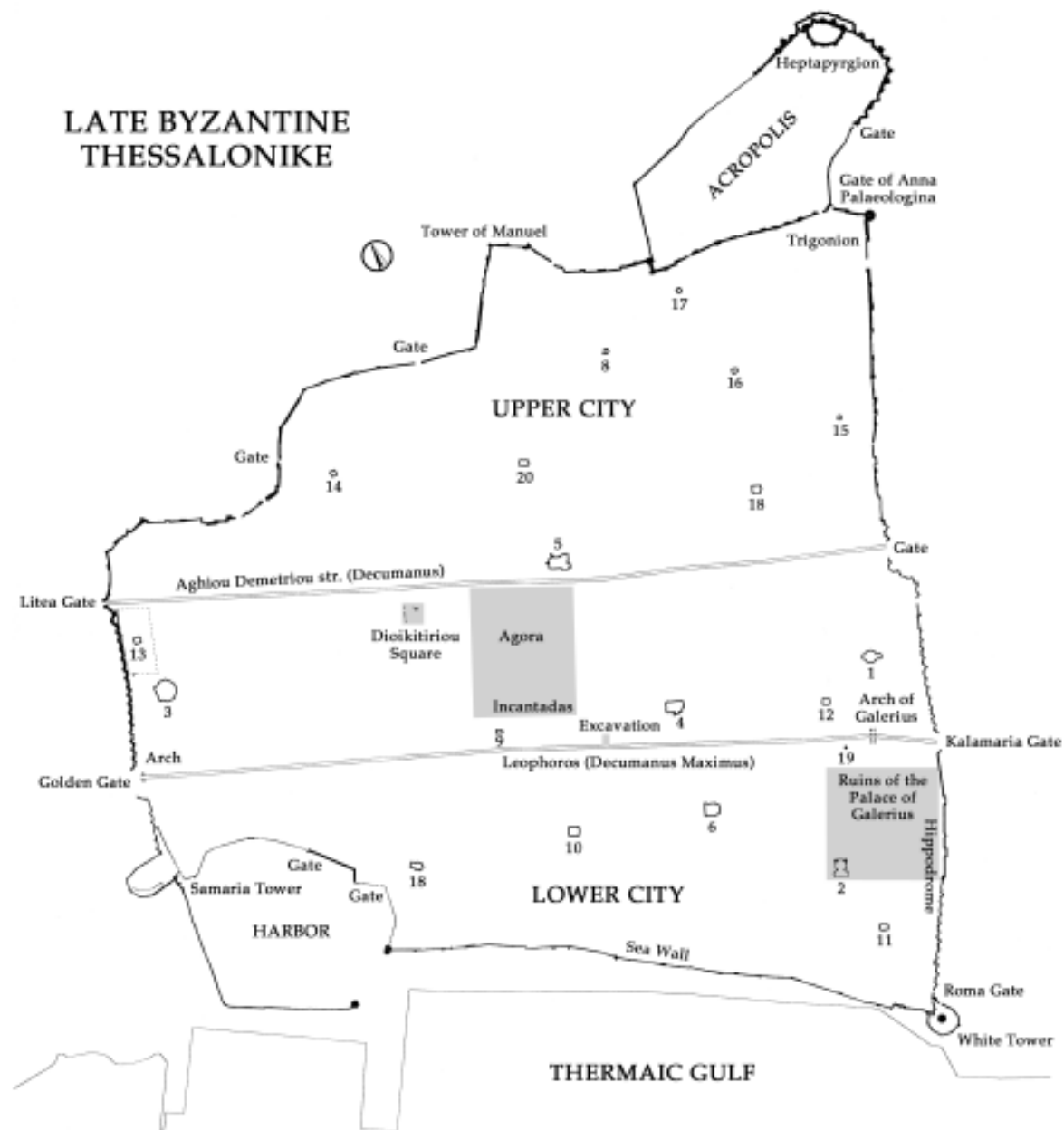
1 Map of central Macedonia (author; drawing by S. Sylaiou, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



2 Bolbe; oil press (courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



3 Basilica of St. Demetrios, tomb of Loukas Spantounes (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 2000, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



- 4 Late Byzantine Thessalonike (author; drawing by S. Sabanopoulou and S. Sylaiou, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



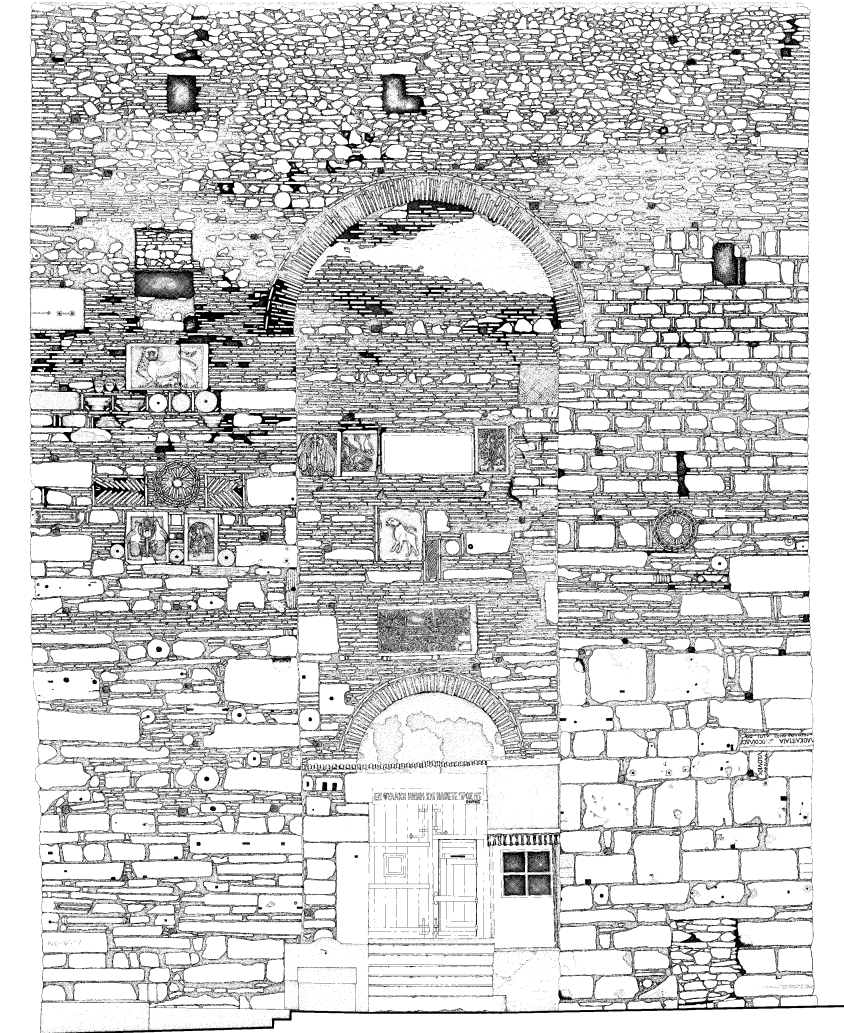
5 Brick inscription (after P. Papageorgiou)



6 Aghiou Demetriou Street, Roman and early Christian cobbled road surfaces and water canalization systems (2001, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



7 Heptapyrgion (photo: Y. Kyriakidis, 2001, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



8 Heptapyrgion; main gate and tower (drawing by E. Malle, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



9 Crypt of the basilica of St. Demetrios; marble capital with the monogram of the Palaiologoi (1999, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



10 Acheiropoietos basilica, interior (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 2001, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



11 Rescue excavation of the katholikon of the monastery of St. Theodora (2001, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



12 Rescue excavation in Dioikitiriou Square (1995, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



13 Roman Agora and St. Demetrios basilica today (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 1998, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



14 The Galerius palace complex (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 1998, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



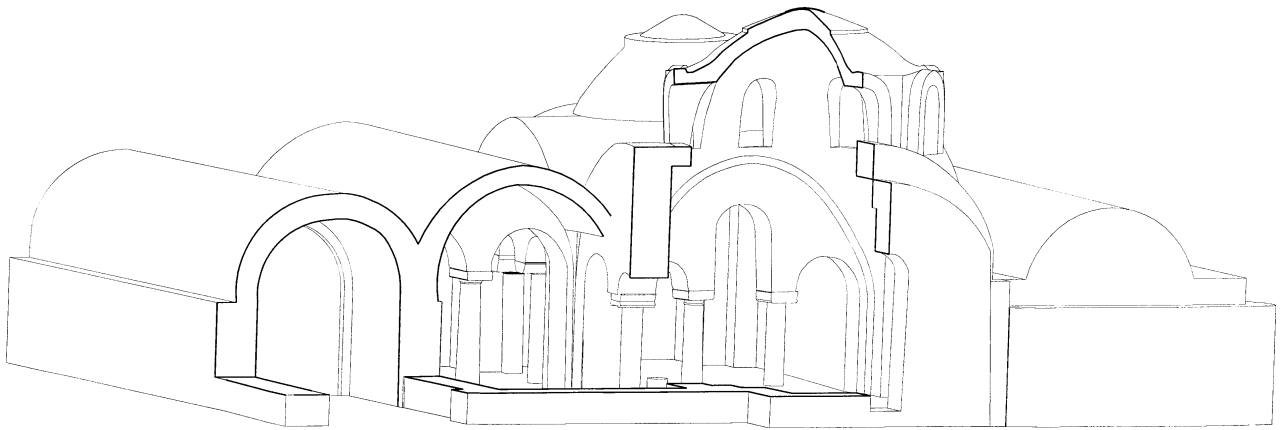
15 The church of the Taxiarchs (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 2000, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



16 The Holy Apostles and the western wall of the city (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 1998, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



17 Prophetis Elias, the basilica of St. Demetrios, and the Agora (photo: S. Chaidemenos, 1998, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)



18 Bathhouse, axonometric section (drawing by S. Sabanopoulou and S. Sylaiou, courtesy of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike)

period in Thessalonike. No works of art in Thessalonike have been dated later than 1380. No buildings attributable to this period have been found in the surrounding countryside. The righting of some social wrongs in Thessalonike by the Turks in this period mentioned by N. Necipoğlu represent one aspect of the real situation.³³ Under John V and during the period 1365–76, between the end of Anna's reign and the revolt of Andronikos IV, the city's mint issued bronze coins with a representation of the martyrdom of St. Demetrios on the reverse,³⁴ the intention probably being to draw a parallel between the Ottomans' assault on Thessalonike and his executioners' assault on St. Demetrios. At this time the saint's iconography, always adjusted to reflect contemporary concerns, was enriched with the type of the soldier armed with a bow and arrows, the Turkish symbols of sovereignty.³⁵

The late Byzantine levels in excavations in Thessalonike have not yielded any examples of imported ceramics that would indicate the existence of trade. Three late fourteenth-century bowls from Spain and the Golden Horde khanate are incorporated as rare and curious items into the south wall of the *katholikon* of Vlatadon monastery.³⁶ Commerce in Thessalonike was based mainly on the production and export of grain and the import and export of textiles, and was directed toward Greece, Epiros, Serbia, Dalmatia, and Venice; that is to say, it was attached to the Venetian commercial system, which it accessed via the plain and especially the port of Thessalonike via Negroponte in Euboea.³⁷ A testimony to this commerce with Venice after 1430 and to the channel which supplied Thessalonike with the breath of life is the monumental tomb of the grain merchant Loukas Spantounes, which was manufactured in the workshop of Pietro Lombardo in Venice and erected in the basilica of St. Demetrios in 1481 (Fig. 3).³⁸ This work is the last funerary monument of the Byzantine aristocracy and the only one the nobility of late Byzantine Thessalonike dedicated to the place where they amassed their wealth, two generations after the fall of the city.³⁹

II

The Fortifications

The triangular layout of Thessalonike's fortification wall (Fig. 4) has not changed since it was built in the middle of the third century A.D. and rebuilt in the fifth cen-

³³ N. Necipoğlu, "Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. A Study of Political Attitudes in the Late Palaiologan Period, 1370–1460" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990; U.M.I., 1994), 154–56.

³⁴ Grierson, *DOC* 5: 204–5. V. Penna, "Ἡ ἀπεικόνιση τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου σὲ νομισματικὲς ἐκδόσεις τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης: μεσοβυζαντινὴ καὶ ὑστερὴ βυζαντινὴ περίοδος," *Ὁβολός* 4 (2000): 205 dates the coin to the period 1365–69. See also Io. Motsianos and M. Polychronaki, "Τύπος παλαιολόγειου νομίσματος τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς 9ης Ἐφορείας Βυζαντινῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων μὲ παράσταση τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου," *Ὁβολός* 4 (2000): 211–31.

³⁵ E. Zachariadou, "Les nouvelles armes de Saint Démétrius," *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ, Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998), 689–93.

³⁶ E. Philon, "Thessaloniki, Andalusia and the Golden Horde," *BalkSt* 26 (1985): 299–320.

³⁷ Laiou, "Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ ἐνδοχώρα," 184–89.

³⁸ Ch. Bouras, "Τὸ ἐπιτύμβιο τοῦ Λουκά Σπαντούνη στὴ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 6 (1973): 3–63. For the funeral inscription see J.-M. Spieser, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," *TM* 5 (1973): 178–80, no. 32.

³⁹ See M. L. Rautman's perceptive remarks in "Patrons and Buildings in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," *JÖB* 39 (1989): 309–10.

ture.⁴⁰ Consequently, Thessalonike covered the same area in the late Byzantine period as in the Roman and early Christian periods. Like Constantinople and Nicaea, Thessalonike did not shrink as did most of the ancient *poleis* when they were converted into medieval *kastra* after the end of antiquity.⁴¹ That life continued without interruption from late antiquity to the middle ages and that the size of the city did not change explain why Thessalonike was described as the second city.⁴²

In other words, the question which arises, and which I intend to answer based on archaeological finds, is: was the size of late Byzantine Thessalonike (Fig. 4) commensurate with its area?⁴³ At this time in Constantinople, Nikolaos Mesarites (in about 1200), describing the area around the church of the Holy Apostles, in the heart of Constantinople, mentions plants, trees, fruits, vines, crops, and fields of wheat.⁴⁴ According to the accounts of two travelers, Ibn Battuta (1332) and Clavijo (1403), a number of scattered urban nuclei (quarters) had sprung up within the walls.⁴⁵ Demetrios Kydones reported that they were separated by profuse vegetation.⁴⁶ A. Bryer relates this phenomenon with the ancient *dioikismos* (the opposite of *synoikismos*) and has proposed that this was a widespread characteristic of the late Byzantine city.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ O. Tafrali, *La topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913), 30–114. Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 25–80. G. M. Velenis, *Tà téichē tēs Thessaloníkēs apò tòn Kássandro ós tòn Hrákleio* (Thessalonike, 1998) and the review of this book by J.-M. Spieser, “Les remparts de Thessalonique. À propos d’un livre récent,” *BSI* 60 (1999): 557–74, repr. in J.-M. Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Burlington, Vt., 2001), art. VIII.

⁴¹ A. Kazhdan, “Polis and Kastron in Theophanes and in Some Other Historical Texts,” *EYΨYXIA* (as in note 35), 345–60. A. Dunn, “Stages in the Transition from the Late Antique to the Middle Byzantine Urban Centre in S. Macedonia and S. Thrace,” *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ν. Γ. Λ. Hammond* (Thessalonike, 1997), 137–50. V. Korac, “Du castrum (kastron) à la ville (polis),” *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference*, Krusevac 10–13 May 2000 (Belgrade–Krusevac, 2002), 23–28.

⁴² Kantakouzenos II, 93 (CB II, 57): Θεσσαλονικὴν, μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πρώτην πόλιν. E. Kaltsogianni, S. Kotzabassi, I. Paraskevopolou, *Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη στὴ βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία. Ρητορικά καὶ ἀγιολογικὰ υεῖμενα* (Thessalonike, 2002), passim. For the equivalent English term *city*, M. Angold, “The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine ‘City’,” *ByzF* 10 (1985): 15, states that “the cities were mostly those that survived intact through the Dark Ages, while the towns are almost always places that grew from the end of the tenth century.”

⁴³ I rely mainly on finds from rescue excavations conducted prior to the construction of new buildings. However, the following considerations must be borne in mind: (1) The sites of the rescue excavations are entirely random and are not determined by any investigative plan. (2) Monitoring of building excavations in the city begins only after the old building has been demolished, and digging is halted only if antiquities are found. It is usually Roman and early Christian ruins that are found. The overlying Byzantine layers were very likely lost when the Turkish and modern Greek buildings were built or demolished. (3) Of necessity, the rescue excavations are carried out mainly to locate finds, not to stratify them. As a result, the finds from rescue excavations are not properly stratified and remain uncollated as an assemblage. (4) Until 1978, rescue excavations in Thessalonike were carried out by the 16th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Since 1978, the 9th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities has taken part in the rescue excavations in the Upper City and around Thessalonike’s Byzantine monuments. Because there is no central directorate for the rescue excavations, it has not been possible to produce an accurate archaeological map of the city. Rescue excavation reports have been published in the *Chronika* of the *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* and presented at the “Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸν ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη” annual conferences.

⁴⁴ G. Downey, “Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,” *TAPS* n.s. 47.6 (1957): 863, 897–98.

⁴⁵ P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale* (Paris, 1996), 68.

⁴⁶ *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, ed. G. Cammelli (Paris, 1930), 112–13, letter 43.

⁴⁷ A. Bryer, “The Structure of the Late Byzantine Town: Dioikismos and the Mesoi,” in *Continuity and Change* (as in note 31), 263–79.

Parts of the unified fifth-century fortification of Thessalonike were rebuilt at a later date, towers were built or repaired, gates constructed, and its defensive capacity continuously strengthened.⁴⁸ The later interventions are frequently covered by more recent Turkish ones.⁴⁹ However, some isolated and limited fourteenth-century interventions, mostly in the acropolis area, are mentioned in inscriptions, together with the names of the persons who carried them out.⁵⁰

(a) A marble inscription of 1315/16 was found when the sea-wall was being demolished in the early twentieth century. It refers to the repair of part of the wall or the extension of the sea-wall toward the sea by Hyaleus, *logothete* of the army in Thessalonike, a year before the death of Empress Irene-Yolanda, wife of Andronikos II, who had been living in Thessalonike since 1303.⁵¹

(b) A brick inscription in the north wall, which divides the city from the acropolis, on the face of the first tower to the east of the newer gate, which stands opposite the entrance to the Vlatadon monastery and is known today as Portara, preserved the letters Ἀ(νδρόνι)κ(ος) Π(αλαιο)λ(όγος) (Fig. 5). This is Andronikos III (1328–41), who showed an interest in protecting Thessalonike.⁵²

(c) An inscription of 1356 refers to the construction or widening of a gate by the *kastrophylax* John Chamaetos, who was probably related to Nicholas Kavasilas (Chamaetos), by order of Anna (of Savoy) Palaiologina, widow of Andronikos III Palaiologos and mother of John V, who lived in Thessalonike from 1351 until her death in 1365.⁵³

(d) The four-line brick inscription in the northwest corner of the enclosure is of a triumphal nature. It refers to the building of a tower by the *doux* of Thessalonike, George Apokaukos, σθένει Μανουὴλ δεσπότης (by the power of the despot Manuel), who is identified as Manuel II Palaiologos, who governed Thessalonike with the title of despot (1369–73).⁵⁴ In point of fact, the work carried out was not the actual building of a tower, but merely involved adding a rather shoddy superstructure to an existing well-built triangular bastion, which had a commanding view of the broad plain to the northwest of the city and the main road leading to it.

More extensive repairs to the walls were carried out less frequently, as after the violent earthquake of 1395/96 mentioned by a Russian chronicle (βραχὺ χρονικόν), for instance.⁵⁵ All the same, despite constant repairs, the Venetian governor of the city reported in 1429

⁴⁸ The most complete description of Thessalonike's walls remains that by Tafrali, *Topographie*, 30–114, for the late Byzantine period 44–51.

⁴⁹ Repairs of the walls are attested into the 18th century: Tafrali, *Topographie*, 51.

⁵⁰ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 170, no. 23; 175–76, no. 28; 176–77, no. 29. *Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, guide published by the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike (Thessalonike, 1997), 32–33 with drawings of the inscriptions (Th. Papazotos).

⁵¹ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 170, no. 23.

⁵² P. N. Papageorgiou, "Θεσσαλονίκης ΑΚΠΛ," *Μακεδονικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* 6 (1913): 23–26, who reads it as Ἀκ(ρό)π(ο)λ(ις) (acropolis). Tafrali, *Topographie*, 46. Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, 32 (Th. Papazotos), which reprints the sketch of the inscription. P. Theodorides, *Χαμαιδράκων*, 51–54. Photograph of the tower before demolition of the superstructure bearing the inscription, in Velenis, *Τεῖχη*, fig. 42.

⁵³ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 175–76, no. 28.

⁵⁴ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 176–77, no. 29. For the *doux* George Apokaukos see *PLP* 1182.

⁵⁵ Quoted by S. Kissas, "Οχυρωματικά ἔργα τοῦ σουλτάνου Βαγιαζίτ Α' στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Ἱστορικὴ προσέγγιση," *Ἀρμός*, 903–7. In the mid-fourteenth century, Philotheos Kokkinos described the walls as still standing; see Kaltsogianni et al., *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 183–84.

that the walls were collapsing before people's very eyes.⁵⁶ Anagnostes said that the eastern wall was crumbling away on the eve of the siege.⁵⁷ It was mainly the walls of the acropolis that underwent a great many repairs, because they had to withstand the brunt of the assaults in the late Byzantine period.

The Division of the City

Following the lie of the land, Thessalonike was divided into the lower, flat, coastal city and the upper city on the slopes of the foothills. The dividing line between the two areas was Aghiou Demetriou Street (*decumanus*), which ran past the south side of the basilica of St. Demetrios. The basilica had been built on the ruins of a Roman bath on the first embankment in the middle of Thessalonike.

The Street Plan The ancient streets uncovered by rescue excavations frequently coincide with those of modern Thessalonike. This is understandable in a city that has been continuously inhabited from antiquity to the present and whose main roads at least were in constant use. This discovery confirms the view put forward first by H. von Schoenebeck and later by M. Vickers that both before and after the fire of 1917, Thessalonike's street plan more or less followed the Hippodamean grid plan of the ancient city.⁵⁸ This phenomenon of continuity can be seen in other cities of the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean (Nicaea, Sinope, Trebizond).⁵⁹ Therefore, the street plan of late Byzantine Thessalonike also followed the same Hippodamean system, though with the modifications necessitated when from the fourth century A.D. onward the width of the Roman streets was occasionally reduced and *insulae* were merged. Also many streets changed course or were abolished. Excavations have traced the grid plan as far as the lower third of the upper city. In the rest of the upper city and the acropolis, the location of the gates in the wall and the entrances to the Byzantine monasteries and churches suggest that the streets did not follow the Hippodamean system.

The laying of a central water main along Aghiou Demetriou Street has provided an opportunity for excavations. Beneath the modern street the late Roman and early Christian cobbled or paved road surface of the *decumanus* has been revealed (Fig. 6). During the late Byzantine period the road was narrowed as large buildings were built on its pavement. In late Byzantine times it had a packed earth surface. It had mostly been destroyed by nineteenth- and twentieth-century structures. *Cardines* revealing the street plan of Thessalonike have been found where Aghiou Demetriou Street crosses the following streets (going east):

⁵⁶ Mertzios, *Μνημεῖα*, 75. F. Thiriet, *Régestes du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1959), 263, no. 21149.

⁵⁷ Anagnostes, 30.23–24: εὐαλώτερον δὲ τὸ κατ' ἀνατολὰς ἐθεάσαντο μέρος. 30.30–32: ἔγνω γὰρ εὐχερέστερον ἐκεῖθεν ληφθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, τὴν τε σαθρότητα τοῦ τείχους ἰδόν.

⁵⁸ H. von Schoenebeck, "Die Städteplanung des römischen Thessalonike," *Bericht über den 6. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie* (Berlin, 1940), 480, repr. in *Θεσσαλονίκη Φιλίππου βασίλισσαν*, 346–50. M. Vickers, "Hellenistic Thessaloniki," *JHS* 92 (1972): 156 and fig. 3 (repr. in *Θεσσαλονίκη Φιλίππου βασίλισσαν*, 486–547) followed the comparative method used by J. Sauvaget for the town plans of Laodicea ad Mare, Beroea, and Damascus. M. Vitti, *Ἡ πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδρυσὴ τῆς ἕως τὸν Γαλέριο* (Athens, 1996), 67–86, and N. Karydas, "Τοπογραφικὲς παρατηρήσεις καὶ πολεοδομικὴ ὁργάνωσις τῆς περιοχῆς νοτιοδυτικῆς τῆς Ροτόντας με ἀφορμὴ τρεῖς νέες ἀνασκαφῆς οἰκοπέδων," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 11 (1997): 447–50. For city plans before and after 1917, see A. Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820–1920). Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike, 1996).

⁵⁹ Bryer, "Dioikismos," 266.

Philota, Aghiou Nikolaou, Sophocleous, Aghias Sophias, Euripidou, Sokratous, Philippou Dragoume, and Lazou Exarche. These *cardines* of course belong to the original town plan but were still functioning at the same sites though at a higher level in late Byzantine times.

The harbor operated in the southwest corner of the city from the time of Constantine the Great, even when the land routes leading to the hinterland were blocked.⁶⁰ Even though after the Zealots (1342–50) the harbor did not flourish as before, Demetrios Kydones referred to it as a large fortified harbor.⁶¹ It had probably become partly silted up, like the sea front of the city.⁶² The inner wall of the harbor was not as wide as the main fortification wall proper, but it did have towers.⁶³ Kantakouzenos mentions that near the sea gate of this wall, which led to the harbor, was a quarter inhabited by sailors, who played a decisive role in the Zealot insurrection.⁶⁴ Anagnostes mentions the Samaria Tower, which stood at one end of the *tsyrembolon* (τσυρέμβολον), a kind of mole built to protect the harbor from the open sea and from silting, which also served as a dockyard, where the Venetian ships were anchored in 1430.⁶⁵

The northern triangular section of Thessalonike, with a citadel (Heptapyrgion) at the northern corner, is separated from the city by a wall and is known today as the Acropolis. The acropolis is a Byzantine structure and did not exist in the early Christian period. Velenis suggests that the acropolis was built after Thessalonike was attacked by the Saracens

⁶⁰ Ch. Bakirtzis, “Τὸ ἔργον τῆς 9ης Ἐφορείας Βυζαντινῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων τὸ 2001,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 15 (2001): 427–28. Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike, *Σωστικὲς ἀνασκαφές 2002* (Thessalonike, 2003), 3–5. Ch. Bakirtzis, “Ἡ θαλάσσια ὀχύρωση τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Βυζαντινά* 7 (1975): 316–20. See the review of this article by G. Theodoridis in *Μακεδονικά* 15 (1975): 371–95, and J.-M. Spieser, “Note sur le rempart maritime de Thessalonique,” *TM* 8 (1981): 477–85, repr. in idem, *Urban and Religious Spaces*, no. IX. E. Marke, “Συμπληρωματικὰ ἀρχαιολογικὰ στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὸ φρούριο Βαρδαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Μακεδονικά* 22 (1982): 133–53, and Y. Tsaras, “Τοπογραφικὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης II,” *Μακεδονικά* 22 (1982): 43–51.

⁶¹ *Μονοῦδία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη πεσοῦσι*, PG 109: 642, and R.-J. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonés. Correspondance*, 2 vols., ST 186 and 208 (Vatican City, 1956–60), letters 177.28 and 219.29.

⁶² For a sea-front view of Thessalonike before the demolition of the sea wall, see W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Housen, *The Life and Epistles of Saint Paul* (London, 1952).

⁶³ Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike, *Σωστικὲς ἀνασκαφές 2001* (Thessalonike, 2002), 9. Ch. Bakirtzis, “Τὸ ἔργον τῆς 9ης Ἐφορείας Βυζαντινῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων τὸ 2001,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 15 (2001): 426.

⁶⁴ Kantakouzenos, III, 94 (CB II, 575.7–14): τὴν πρὸς θάλασσαν πύλιν . . . περὶ ἣν οἰκοῦσι πάν τὸ ναυτικόν, οἱ πλείστοι τε ὄντες καὶ πρὸς φόνους εὐχερεῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὡπλισμένοι πάντες, ὥσπερ τὸ κράτιστόν εἰσι τοῦ δήμου, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι πάσαις αὐτοῖ τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους ἐξηγουῦνται προθύμως ἐπομένον, ἥ ἂν ἄγωσιν αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἰδιάζουσιν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖ παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὣν ἐκεῖνος (Ἀνδρέας Παλαιολόγος) τότε ἦρχε.

⁶⁵ Anagnostes, 38.18–34: τὸν πύργον τὸν καλούμενον Σαμαρείαν . . . εἰς τοῦτον συνέφυγον μόνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐθὺς κεκαλύκεσαν τῆς εἰσόδου. οἱ καὶ διὰ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν προβλημένου διατειχίσματος (Τζερέμπουλον τοῦτο καλεῖν πάντες εἰώθαμεν) εἰς τὰς τριήρεις εἰσίασι. Mertzios, *Μνημεῖα*, 91. Ch. Bakirtzis, “Τὸ τζερέμπουλον τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Ἀρχαιολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* 6 (1973): 332–37. Y. Tsaras, “Ἐκβολος-Ἐκβολή (τοπογραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκης I),” *Βυζαντινά* 2 (1982): 34–35 and Tsaras, “Τοπογραφικὰ II,” 78–84.

⁶⁶ Velenis, *Τείχη*, 133. I myself am of the opinion that there was a fortification with alternating square and triangular bastions on this site, and more specifically at its highest part, in the early Christian period. This fortified enclosure was contemporary with the rest of Thessalonike's early Christian walls and was part of the same plan, though it was not connected to them, being independent and containing a large three-aisled early Christian basilica. I wonder if this fort could have been the shrine of St. Matrona, which, owing to its size and fortified strength, the attacking Slavs in 586 or 597 mistook for the nearby city of Thessalonike (P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1979], 134.31–135.3). If the Roman *spolia* built into the Heptapyrgion walls were not brought from elsewhere, there is good reason to suppose that on the site of the Heptapyrgion and before the early Christian fort of St. Matrona stood the *arx-oppidum* of Thessalonike, mentioned by Cicero (Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 62). For further documentation see Ch. Bakirtzis, “Τὸ ἔργον τῆς 9ης Ἐφορείας Βυζαντινῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων τὸ 2001,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 2002 (in press).

in 904.⁶⁶ The Greek term *akropolis*, mentioned in the Byzantine sources since 1078, refers sometimes to this confined precinct and sometimes to the citadel.⁶⁷ In the first half of the fourteenth century Nikephoros Choumnos and John Kantakouzenos more clearly described this quarter as residential and, like the harbor, distinct from the city proper.⁶⁸

The acropolis communicated with the city via two gates secured on the acropolis side with keys that together with those of the outer gate were held by the keeper of the keys, a resident of the acropolis.⁶⁹ Within the acropolis were the quartermaster's depot, cavalry stables, and the dungeon, either as separate buildings or as part of the citadel.⁷⁰ In other words, the acropolis was a barracks and a residential area for its civilian personnel, who sometimes took a different stand on political issues raised in the lower city.⁷¹

In the acropolis are found ruins of houses, cisterns, and churches.⁷² According to Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonike (d. 1429), during the first occupation of the city (1387–1403) the Turks demolished all the churches within the acropolis, including the church of the Savior, which was the most important.⁷³ It is likely that this clearance was carried out in order to install an army of occupation in the acropolis of Thessalonike without sharing it with the Byzantines as in the case of the acropolis of Sardis.⁷⁴ For this reason and also to secure and control their barracks, I believe that they demolished such monasteries as stood near the acropolis walls either on the side facing the city or beyond the acropolis. For their place of worship they founded within the acropolis the Atik Camii, also known as Eski Camii.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 42, no. 19.

⁶⁸ Kantakouzenos III, 94 (CB II, 576): ὁ δῆμος δὲ τῆς ἄκρας (πόλει γάρ τι νι ἔοικε μικρῷ) καὶ οἰκήτορας ἰδίους ἔχει. See the same description by Nikephoros Choumnos (1310), *Θεσσαλονικεὺς συμβουλευτικός*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1830), 139: Ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἄνωθεν οὕτω μεγάλη καὶ περιφανὴς ἀνέχει, ὥς καὶ δοκεῖν τοῖς αἰφνης ἐς αὐτὴν ὁρῶσιν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ μόνην τὴν ὅλην πόλιν· κάτεισι δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἡ πόλις μεγάλη, μεγαλωστί. The acropolis was similarly characterized in the Turkish period. M. Hadji-Ioannou, *Ἀστυγραφία Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1880; repr. Thessalonike, 1976), 48, gives the name of the area within the acropolis as Küçük Selânik (Little Thessalonike).

⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos III, 94 (CB II, 578 and 579 and 579.1–3 and 580.15–16): τὸν τὰ κλειῖθρα τῆς ἄκρας ἔχοντα. . . . Στρατήγιος δὲ ὁ τὰ κλειῖθρα ἔχων. . . . πολὺ δὲ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκατέρων τῆς ἄκρας ἀλλήλων διεχουσῶν, Ἀπόκαυκος μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχώρου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξάγουσαν τῶν τειχῶν. . . . οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ δὲ δεῖσαντες τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ δήμου, μὴ τὰ ὄντα ἐνδον διαρπάσωσι γενόμενοι, ἀπέκλεισαν τὰς πύλας.

⁷⁰ Kantakouzenos III, 94 (CB II, 579.12–13 and 580.3–5): ἐπειτα (after the people entered the acropolis) πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο ὅπλων τε καὶ ἵππων. . . . Ἀπόκαυκος δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους ἐκατὸν κατέκλεισαν ἐν τῷ δεσποτηρίῳ πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς.

⁷¹ Kantakouzenos III, 94 (CB II, 578.11.12, 579.24–580.1, and 581.5–7): πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀναχωρεῖν, ἐνὸν ἀκινδύνως σώζεσθαι. . . . διήρπαζον (the people) καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων (inhabitants of the acropolis) . . . καὶ πάντας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν ὀλίγων λίαν, οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἄκραν οἰκούντων κατεκρύπτοντο.

⁷² K. Konstantinidou, “Νεότερα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολη τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 15 (1999): 139–248.

⁷³ Io. Phoundoulis, “Μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης. Συμεὼν περὶ τῶν ναῶν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Ἐπ. Ἐπ. Θεο. Σχο. Παν. Θεσ.* 21 (1976): 167. D. Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, 1416/17–1429* (Vienna, 1979), 42.26–29: Τότε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἅμα πλεῖστοι τῶν ἱερῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατέπεσον οἰκοί, ὧν πρῶτος ἦν ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τοῦ Σωτῆρος θεῖος ναός, καὶ ὅσοι ἐκεῖσε λοιποὶ, καὶ ἐτι ὅσαι μοναὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐγγίζουσαι, καὶ καταπάτημα, φεῦ, γεγόνασιν οὗτοι καὶ ἐπίχαρμα τοῖς ἀθείοις; and 251–53. Kissas, “Ὀχυρωματικὰ ἔργα,” 905.

⁷⁴ C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1976), 121–24.

⁷⁵ V. Demetriadis, *Τοπογραφία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας* (Thessalonike, 1983), 212, has suggested that the Atik Camii or Eski Camii within the acropolis was built on the site of the church of the Savior. The second Eski Camii in Thessalonike was the basilica of Acheiropoietos in the center of the lower city, which was converted into a mosque after the second, final fall of Thessalonike in 1430 (Anagnostes,

The Citadel at the northern corner of the acropolis is known as İç Kale (= inner fort) or as Heptapyrghion (< Yedi Kule, Seven Towers) (Fig. 7).⁷⁶ S. Ćurčić includes it among the late medieval fortified palaces of the Balkans.⁷⁷ According to the Ottoman inscription over the main gate (Fig. 8), the citadel was repaired either wholly or in part by Çavuş Bey Sungur, Thessalonike's first Turkish governor, who also resided in it, immediately after the city fell to Murad II in 1430.⁷⁸ The findings of dendrochronological investigations agree with the inscription.⁷⁹ However, the citadel was not built *ex novo* in 1430/31. The inner foundation trench of part of the south wall of Heptapyrghion, which dendrochronology has dated to 1431 and which appears to have undifferentiated masonry from top to bottom, has yielded only sherds of the late Roman period. I have already mentioned my opinion that an early Christian fort, separate from the city, stood on the site of the Heptapyrghion. This area was later joined to the city as the acropolis and parts of the early Christian fort were incorporated into the acropolis fortification wall. Marble architectural members of Roman and early Christian buildings and stones were reused as building materials in the citadel at the highest point of the acropolis. This citadel is described by Henri de Valenciennes (1208/9) as a *castiel*, and S. Kissas has identified it with the *kastellion*, which appeared in a document of 1235.⁸⁰

The Life of the Despot Stefan Lazarević, written by Konstantin Kostenichki (also known as Konstantin Filozof), contains the information that between 1389 and 1402 Bayazid I built a *koula* somewhere in the uppermost part of the city and that Manuel II dismantled Bayazid's *koula* during his stay in Thessalonike, between October 1414 and March 1415, "lest the Ishmaelites forward a demand [for its return], since it was their own construction."⁸¹ We have no reason to reject the opinion of both Kissas and Ćurčić that Bayazid's *koula* was located in Heptapyrghion.

We know neither the exact size nor the precise location of Bayazid's *koula*.⁸² Nor do we

56.14–18: τὸν τ' ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς πόλεως μέγαν νεὼν τῆς Ἀχειροποιήτου παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου καὶ τὴν εἰς ὄνομα πάλαι τιμωμένην τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου μονὴν ἱεράν, τὸν μὲν ὡς σύμβολον νίκης καὶ τῆς γεγεννημένης ἀλώσεως, τὴν δ' ὡς καὶ πρὸ χρόνων παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων ληφθεῖσαν καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τούτους μετέμειψε. A. Vakalopoulos, "Zur Geschichte der Acheiropoietos- und H. Paraskevikirche in Saloniki nach der Eroberung der Stadt durch die Türken im Jahre 1430," *BZ* 37 (1937): 372–75, repr. in *Παγκάρπια*, 233–37.

⁷⁶ *The Eptapyrgion, the Citadel of Thessalonike*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture (Athens, 2001).

⁷⁷ S. Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Μνημεῖο καὶ Περιβάλλον* (Thessalonike) 6 (2000): 37–39.

⁷⁸ For the inscription see G. Stoghioglou, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ πατριαρχικὴ μονὴ τῶν Βλατάδων* (Thessalonike, 1971), 74–77. S. Vryonis, "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430," in *Continuity and Change* (as in note 31), 312–33. The south tower of the main gate of Heptapyrghion was built using numerous Roman, early Christian, and middle Byzantine *spolia*, some of which are decorated with a Christian cross and human faces.

⁷⁹ C. Striker, "Some Monuments of Thessaloniki in the Light of Dendrochronology," annual lecture of the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike, 23 November 2000: "The dendrochronological investigation of the Heptapyrghion proves that most of the structure now visible at the Heptapyrghion dates from a primary phase of construction in the two years following the final Ottoman conquest of the city in 1430 and 1431."

⁸⁰ Quoted by Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 46, nos. 23–24. Kissas, "Ὀχυρωματικά ἔργα," 904.

⁸¹ Kissas, "Ὀχυρωματικά ἔργα," 903–7.

⁸² On the basis of the meaning of the word *koula* in Old Church Slavonic, Ćurčić argues that Bayazid's *koula* was an isolated fortification, probably the central tower, and not the whole of Heptapyrghion or the entire citadel, as Kissas asserts (Ćurčić, "Palaces," 41 note 47). The difficulty in interpreting this term is a general one. M. Kordoses, "Ὁ πᾶνω (καὶ κάτω) γουλάς τοῦ κάστρου τῶν Ἰωαννίνων στὴν ὑστεροβυζαντινὴ περίοδο," *Ἱστοριογεωγραφικά* 7 (2000): 150–51, examines this subject and suggests the compromise that "koula" meant acropolis in the middle ages and tower in the Turkish period.

know whether it was included within some older fortified complex, nor yet whether it was built *ex novo* or incorporated into older buildings. Neither do we know the extent of its destruction at the hands of Manuel II, whether it was razed, or whether its demolition was symbolic. It was common practice in the late middle ages to incorporate foundations and walls of older buildings into newer ones. I think it likely that Çavuş Bey Sungur restored Bayazid's *koula*, which Manuel II had demolished, and resided in it himself by right of succession.⁸³ I am certain that a systematic investigation of the construction history of Hephapyrghion will allow us to locate building phases and periods from both before and after the fourteenth to fifteenth century, one incorporating the other.

The acropolis in a late Byzantine city offered security to its governors. The acropolis of Thessalonike played this role; for example, the grand *primikerios* John Apokaukos had a private (?) house (οἰκία) in Thessalonike, from which he governed the city.⁸⁴ When relations with the Zealots worsened in the summer of 1345, however, he stayed in the acropolis.⁸⁵ I do not know if the residence in which Maria (Margaret of Hungary), wife of Boniface of Montferrat, was living when she was besieged by the Thessalonians in 1205 must be sought in the acropolis or somewhere in the lower city.⁸⁶ Certainly when the emperors and members of the imperial family stayed in Thessalonike for a short or long time, they lived in some palace or important imperial residence (βασίλεια) in the city.⁸⁷ An encomium of Metropolitan Gabriel (1397–1416/17) provides information about the palace of Thessalonike:⁸⁸ first, it locates Nea Mone, which was built by Makarios Choumnos shortly after 1360, on the ruins of a palace. The identification of the church of Prophitis Elias with Nea Mone has been questioned by later opinion.⁸⁹ Rescue excavations south of Prophitis Elias have so far brought to light finds that cannot be attributed to a Byzantine palace.⁹⁰ Second, they attest that this palace was in ruins in 1360. Was it perhaps destroyed by the Zealots, along with the houses of John Kantakouzenos' supporters?⁹¹ Bearing in mind the conditions of heightened external and internal insecurity and social upheaval prevailing in Thessalonike in the mid-fourteenth century,⁹² I consider it likely that John V, his mother

⁸³ It is worth noting that in both the first (1387–1403) and second (1430) occupations of Thessalonike, the Turks set up the city government in the acropolis. In 1696 one of the acropolis' two neighborhoods was named *Divan* (Demetriades, *Τοπογραφία*, 212).

⁸⁴ Kantakouzenos III, 94 (CB II, 575): ἀντεῖπε (Andreas Palaiologos) φανερώς πάντων ἡθροισμένων ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαύκου οἰκίᾳ.

⁸⁵ Kantakouzenos III, 93 (CB II, 571): εἴτε τὸν πατέρα δεδοικώς, εἴτε τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἀπιστῶν, πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλθὼν διῆγε.

⁸⁶ Niketas Choniates, *Χρονικὴ διήγησις*, ed. I Bekker, CB, Bonn, 1835, 818.

⁸⁷ M. L. Rautman, "Observations on the Byzantine Palaces of Thessaloniki," *Byzantion* 60 (1990): 300–306.

⁸⁸ ὁ μὲν ποιμὴν τὸν κάλλιστον τῆς πόλεως τόπον ἀπολεξάμενος, ἵνα δῆποτε καὶ βασίλεια ἱδρυτο (V. Laurent, "Le métropolitain de Thessalonique Gabriel [1397–1416/7] et le couvent de la Née Monή," *Ελληνικά* 13 [1954]: 241–55).

⁸⁹ See note 193.

⁹⁰ *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 47 (1992), B2: 422–23.

⁹¹ Kantakouzenos (III, 38; CB II, 234) refers to destruction of houses only: ὅφ' ἑαυτοῖς δὲ οἱ Ζηλωταὶ τὴν πόλιν ποιησάμενοι, ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν φυγάδων καὶ αὐτὰς τε καθήρουν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας διήρπαζον. Rautman ("Palaces," 302), however, believes the Zealots certainly destroyed the palace.

⁹² Kantakouzenos states that Anna Palaiologina δεδιέναι γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὐ μᾶλλον τοῦ παιδὸς (John V) τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐσαν εὐεξαπάτητον, ὅσον τῶν ἐσπερίων τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα πρὸς νεωτερισμούς (IV, 16; CB III, 112–13). . . ὃν (danger in Thessalonike) οὐχ ἡ ἀδυναμία τῶν ἐνοικούντων μᾶλλον ἐπήγαγεν, ἢ ἡ μοχθηρία (IV, 16; CB III, 113). He himself said of John V, while he was residing in Thessalonike, that ἡ ὑπὸ Τριβαλῶν (Serbs) ἐκπολιορκηθσόμενον ἢ προδοθσόμενον ὅφ' οὕτως ἀτάκτου δήμου καὶ τολμῶντος πάντα εὐχερώς (IV, 27; CB III,

Anna Palaiologina (Anna of Savoy), widow of Andronikos III, who governed Thessalonike as *augusta* and empress (1352–65), and Manuel Palaiologos as despot of Thessalonike (1369–73), made use of the acropolis rather than the city itself, turning its citadel into a place of imperial residence and government, that is, a palace. Due to its fortified character, this palace was referred to as divinely guarded, θεοφρούρητον (1360), and divinely protected, θεοφύλακτον (1375).⁹³

Anagnostes mentions the *Trigonion*, which was not the northeast round tower dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, but the northeast area of the walls of Thessalonike.⁹⁴ Owing to its triangular shape, Anagnostes uses this name to refer to Thessalonike's Roman inner enclosure or "citadel," for which, as G. Velenis has pointed out, the northeast corner of the city was chosen because of the naturally steep and rocky configuration of the terrain there.⁹⁵ Rescue excavations in two plots of land between Akropoleos and Xenokratous Streets in this area of Thessalonike have found parts of this internal wall. This stretch of the wall was solidly built of stone and lime mortar and had Byzantine additions on the upper part which however have been razed by the foundations of the existing houses. It is likely that this was the fortifying enclosure called by Kameniates acropolis and "internal wall" (ἐσώτερον τεῖχος).⁹⁶ It survived into the late Byzantine period and was demolished during the Turkish period, after which all trace of it vanished. We do not know what its purpose was in the late Byzantine period. A reading of Anagnostes suggests that there were no residences in this area. A small church with eleventh-century frescoes has been excavated beside the northernmost tower on the east side, and a chapel has been excavated inside the same tower, with marble tiles with early Christian monograms.⁹⁷ Apart from the gates which would have led from the Trigonion to the city proper, two gates led to the citadel and one, that of Anna Palaiologina, to the area outside the walls.⁹⁸

III

The archaeological data on which I have based my answers to the question asked above, "Was the size of late Byzantine Thessalonike commensurate with its area?" fall into

201). For the internal situation in Thessalonike, which led to Manuel Palaiologos' departure from the city in 1387, see Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II*, 89–95, 151–59 and V. Nerantzi-Varmazi, *Βαλκανική ἐπαρχία*, 145–57.

⁹³ N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou* (Paris, 1984), no. 34, p. 207: παραγενόμεθα εἰς τὸ θεοφρούρητον παλάτιον. P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumis* (Paris, 1988), no. 33, p. 129: πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου παλατίου.

⁹⁴ Anagnostes, 30, 26–33: Ὁ Μουράτης δὲ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Τριγωνίου μέχρις οὗ ἡ μονὴ τυγχάνει τοῦ Χορταΐτου, τοῦ πολεμῆν οὐκ οὐκ ἔληγεν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔγνω γὰρ εὐχερέστερον ἐκεῖθεν ληφθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, τὴν τε σαθρότητα τοῦ τεῖχους ἰδὼν, καὶ ὡς ἐνὶ τείχῃ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐχεῖ. 36.11–12: καὶ τῶν κλιμάκων μίαν κατὰ τὸ Τριγώνιον θέντες, οὗ γωνία τις ἦν ἐκ πύργου. For the round tower see S. Stephanou, "Ὁ πύργος τοῦ Τριγωνίου. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν τουρκικῶν ὀχυρώσεων τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Βυζαντινά* 14 (1988): 413–55.

⁹⁵ Velenis, *Τείχη*, 62–63. Kameniates (*Ioannis Caminiatae De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig [Berlin–New York, 1973] chap. 46.6) describes the area as ἀμφίκριμνον and κινδυνώδη. *Σωστικές ἀνασκαφές* 2001, 7.

⁹⁶ Kameniates, 39.7: κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην ἀκρόπολιν. 41.4: τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πύλης. 42.4: Ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, μήπω πεφθακότων πρὸς ἡμᾶς βαρβάρων, εἰς τινὰ πύργον τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδότερον τεῖχος ἀνιέναι τέως καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει συναναμίγνυσθαι.

⁹⁷ D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle*, BCH, suppl. (Athens, 1983), 93–94, nos. 95–97.

⁹⁸ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 175–76, no. 28. Velenis, *Τείχη*, 121.

two groups: the surviving buildings and the excavated finds. The surviving buildings themselves may be divided into two groups: older buildings that continued to be used in the late Byzantine period and buildings constructed in the late Byzantine period.

To the first group belong churches which, owing to their size, their distinguished place in the city's religious life, and the great historical, spiritual, and artistic value of their decoration, were cherished and preserved by the Thessalonians so they could continue to function in all periods of history.⁹⁹ The Rotunda (Fig. 4:1) functioned as a Christian church from the end of the fourth century onward.¹⁰⁰ Its form in the late Byzantine period was no different from today. The ring corridor which had doubled the building's capacity in the early Christian period no longer survived, because walls of buildings have been found in its place and parts of it were probably replaced by an open portico.¹⁰¹ In the late Byzantine period, the interior of the church still preserved the splendid mosaics in the dome and soffits of the bays and the ninth-century fresco of the Ascension in the sanctuary apse. The figures in the second zone of mosaics and Christ in the central majestic medallion were destroyed when the building was converted to a mosque in 1590.¹⁰² As John Iliadis has argued, the interior was brilliantly illuminated by the light which streamed in through the large windows and the smaller lunettes.¹⁰³ The sixth-century marble ambo probably stood inside the church and was moved outside at the time of the Rotunda's conversion to a mosque.¹⁰⁴ Graves containing glazed Palaiologan bowls were found under the floor of the church during excavations in the early twentieth century and after the earthquake of 1978.¹⁰⁵ The area around the Rotunda was used as a cemetery and continued as such into

⁹⁹ I quote R. Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: The Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, University of Birmingham, Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 118: "Buildings survived for centuries not because there was any aesthetic wish to preserve ancient monuments, but because they were originally built to last."

¹⁰⁰ Opinion is divided as to the date of the Rotunda's conversion into a Christian church. See S. Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike, 2000), 14–17. On the identification of the Rotunda with the Byzantine church of the Asomatoi, see G. Theodorides, "Ο ναός τῶν Ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἡ Rotonda τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ελληνικά* 13 (1954): 24–70.

¹⁰¹ Walls and coins of 1282–95 have been found in the southeast part of the ring corridor, between the south entrance and the sanctuary apse (section E9); see "Ροτόντα. Μελέτη ἀποκατάστασης ζημιῶν" by N. Moutsopoulos (typescript, Thessalonike, 1980), 271–81. N. Moutsopoulos, "Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανικὴ φάση τῆς Ροτόντας τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου Θεσσαλονίκης," *X IntCongChrArch* (1980): 366 and 369, claims that the ring corridor was destroyed around the 9th century, and K. Theodoridou, "Ἡ Ροτόντα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Νέα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀποσαφηνίσεις με ἀφορμὴ τῆς ἀναστηλωτικῆς ἐργασίας," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.* 16 (1991–92): 67 and 75 suggested that the ring was finally destroyed after 1430.

¹⁰² For a reconstruction of the mosaic decoration of the dome by M. Korres, see M. Soteriou, "Προβλήματα τῆς εἰκονογραφίας τοῦ τρούλλου τοῦ ναοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου Θεσσαλονίκης," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.* 6 (1970–72): 191–203. N. Gioles, *Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ τέχνη. Μνημειακὴ ζωγραφικὴ* (Athens, 1990), 51.

¹⁰³ I. G. Iliadis, "The Natural Lighting of the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki," *Lighting Research and Technology* 33 (2001): 13–24.

¹⁰⁴ The ambo has survived in two pieces; one in the courtyard of the Rotunda and the other in the courtyard of St. Panteleimon, before being removed to the Archaeological Museum of Constantinople in 1900 (G. de Jerphanion, "L'ambon de Salonique, l'Arc de Galère et l'ambon de Thèbes," *MemPontAcc* ser. 3, 3 [1932]: 107).

¹⁰⁵ E. Hébrard, "Les travaux du Service Archéologique de l'Armée d'Orient à l'arc de Triomphe de Galère et à l'église Saint Georges de Salonique," *BCH* 44 (1920): 38–39. *Γρηγ. Παλ.* 3 (1919): 584–85. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford, 1930), 102, and E. Hébrard's photographic archive at the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike. Moutsopoulos, "Ροτόντα," 264, 278, 575 from tombs of the 13th/14th century.

the Ottoman period. The few late Byzantine coins which have been collected so far from excavations in the Rotunda all date before 1341.

Despite numerous subsequent interventions, the basilica of St. Demetrios (Fig. 4:5) retained in the late Byzantine period its original form of a five-aisled basilica with a transept. The inscription of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–82) or Michael IX, who resided in the city for two years (1319–20),¹⁰⁶ concerning the replacement of the entire timber roof, shows that emperors and officials were always concerned about the maintenance of the church of Thessalonike's patron saint and that it received offerings and donations, such as the marble capital from a colonnette of an iconostasis with the monogram of the Palaiologoi (Fig. 9).

To the early Christian mosaics surviving in the late Byzantine period and to the wall paintings were added new wall paintings, such as the scenes illustrating the martyrdom and miracles of St. Demetrios at the north inner aisle arcade,¹⁰⁷ or replacing slabs of marble revetment, such as the Paschal calendar for the years 1474–93 on the north wall of the tribelon,¹⁰⁸ the depiction of the man fleeing from the unicorn on the south wall of the tribelon, the representation of St. Joasaph with the features of St. Demetrios, Christ Antiphonites and the twin horsemen, Demetrios and George, on the right side of the entrance to the chapel of St. Euthymios.¹⁰⁹ The chapel was frescoed in 1303 at the expense of a major military leader, the Protostrator Michel Glabas Tarchaneiotēs, who was sent to Thessalonike in 1298 by Andronikos II to regulate relations with the Serbian kral Stefan Uroš II Milutin.¹¹⁰

The adjacent structures on the north side of the basilica and the tombs in the chapel, which at the end of the ninth century was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, were in use in the Palaiologan period too, as is attested by the glazed bowls which have been found inside them.¹¹¹ The entrance to the two chambers at the northwestern corner of the basilica, where the saint's tomb was located, was refrescoed, and from this phase survive St. Demetrios on horseback and St. Photeine.¹¹²

The crypt played an important part in the functioning of the basilica in the late Byzantine period as a place where crowds of pilgrims drew *myron*-cum-holy water in bowls bearing the monogram of St. Demetrios. The crypt lost its prestige after 1387, when the Turks

¹⁰⁶ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 171–73, no. 24. M. Laskaris, "Μιχαήλ Θ' Παλαιολόγος ἐν ἐπιγραφῇ τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1953–1954: *Εἰς μνήμην Γ.Π. Οἰκονόμου*, 1–10, identified the emperor mentioned in the inscription as Michael IX on the grounds of his connection with Thessalonike. The view of G. Soteriou, *Βασιλική*, 221–24, who identifies him as Michael VIII, should not be ruled out.

¹⁰⁷ R. S. Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki: A Re-examination in the Light of the Drawings of W. S. George," *BSA* 64 (1969): 42, repr. in idem, *The Byzantine Eye: Studies in Art and Patronage* (London, 1989), no. I.

¹⁰⁸ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 178, no. 31.

¹⁰⁹ G. and M. Soteriou, *Ἡ βασιλική τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1952), 204–12.

¹¹⁰ G. Theodorides, "Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς Ταρχανειώτης," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἑπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 7 (1956), *Μνημόσυνον Χ. Χαριτωνίδου*, 183–206. Th. Gouma-Peterson, "The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessalonica: Art and Monastic Policy under Andronikos II," *ArtB* 58 (1976): 168–82 and eadem, "The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki: Patrons, Workshops, and Style," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 111–29.

¹¹¹ S. Pelekanidis, "Ἀνασκαφὴ βορείως τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου," *Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 1959: 41, repr. in S. Pelekanidis, *Studien zur frühchristlichen und byzantinischen Archäologie*, Institute for Balkan Studies 174 (Thessalonike, 1977), 41, fig. 4.

¹¹² Ch. Bakirtzis, "Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The Tomb of Saint Demetrios," *DOP* 56 (2002): 190, fig. 10.

began to interfere in the city's internal affairs. The *myron*-cum-holy water ceased to flow in the crypt after the city fell in 1430 and Murad II prayed in the basilica. Until the basilica was converted into a mosque in 1492, the *myron*-cum-holy water and *myron*-oil flowed from the tomb. It flowed on certain days at the west end of the basilica via the narthex, which underwent numerous repairs at that time, attested by inscriptions. At this time the vaulted peristyle was built over the marble early Christian phiale, which filled with *myron*-cum-holy water. The mixture was collected by Christians and Muslims alike in glass ampullae, not lead *koutrouvia*, which were no longer being produced.

There is considerable written evidence concerning the Acheiropoietos basilica (Fig. 4:4) in the late Byzantine period.¹¹³ At some time after the middle of the fourteenth century, Constantine Harmenopoulos extolled the great age of this house of prayer and the spirituality of its piers and colonnades.¹¹⁴ If the built piers with pointed arches in the gallery, which we see in old photographs¹¹⁵ before they were replaced with new marble columns and composite Ionic capitals in 1910–14,¹¹⁶ date to after 1430, they were probably part of the extensive repairs costing 30,000 silver coins that were carried out in Acheiropoietos in 1487 by the governor of Thessalonike, Ceseri Kasim Pasha.¹¹⁷

The basilica's early Christian marble floor, with its huge 4 m-long veined marble slabs, is still in use today (Fig. 10). The floor of the nave still bears traces of the underpinnings of the great early Christian ambo with two flights of steps which was in use during the late Byzantine period until 1430, parts of which have recently been found built into a wall of the Ottoman period on the north side of the narthex.¹¹⁸

The earthfill around the basilica in the late Byzantine period must have reached quite high. The south entrance would have been used as the main entrance, through the monumental propylon, which led to the city's main thoroughfare. Opposite the entrance, the front of the south colonnade was frescoed at the beginning of the thirteenth century with

¹¹³ A. Xyngoropoulos, "Αἱ περί τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀχειροποιήτου Θεσσαλονίκης εἰδήσεις τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοποῦλου," *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοποῦλου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξακοσιοστῇ ἐπετείῳ τῆς Ἐξαβίβλου αὐτοῦ, Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρὶς Σχολῆς Νομικῶν καὶ Οἰκονομικῶν Ἐπιστῆμων Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1950), 1–26, repr. in *Θεσσαλονίκη Μελετήματα* 9α (1925–1979) (Thessalonike, 1999), 259–86. Th. Papazotos, "Ὁ μέγας ναὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Μία ἐπανεξέταση τῶν πηγῶν γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἀχειροποιήτου," *Μακεδονικά* 22 (1982): 127–28, suggests that in the final two centuries of Byzantium the basilica was dedicated to the Annunciation.

¹¹⁴ D. Guines, "Λόγος ἀνέκδοτος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοποῦλου εἰς τὴν προεόρτιον ἑορτὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου," *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 21 (1951): 61–65: Τῶν γὰρ ἱερῶν καὶ θεῶν οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὗτος καθίδρυται, τοίχοις λέγω καὶ πινσῶν καὶ κίοσι συνιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ κίοσι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μόνος μόνους, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσιν, ὑπανεχόμενος πάντοθεν. Ὅν τάχ' ἂν τις δῆπου μὴδὲ τῶν ἐγγείων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναερίων εἶναι λογίσαιτο, τῶν κίωνων οὕτως ἰδὼν ἀνέχοντα (also quoted in Xyngoropoulos, "Εἰδήσεις," 8.14–19).

¹¹⁵ Tafali, *Topographie*, pl. XXV:1 and *Thessalonique. Les autochromes du Musée Albert Kahn, 1913 et 1918* (Athens, 1999), 129, fig. 16.

¹¹⁶ W. E. Kleinbauer, "Remarks on the Building History of the Acheiropoietos Church at Thessaloniki," *X IntCongChrArch* (1980), vol. 2, 257.

¹¹⁷ M. Kiel, "Notes on the History of Some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki and Their Founders," *BalkSt* 11 (1970): 143.

¹¹⁸ The narthex of the Acheiropoietos basilica lost its ecclesiastical purpose after 1430 and was cut off from the *naos* when the tribelon was sealed up and a small entrance was made to the south of the tribelon. See a photograph of 1913(?): S. Tambaki, *Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη στὶς περιγραφές τῶν περιηγητῶν, 12ος–19ος αἰ. μ.Χ. Λατρευτικὰ μνημεῖα* (Thessalonike, 1998), pl. XV: 2.

a representation of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, which takes its stylistic features from the mosaics in the Rotunda.¹¹⁹

The consolidation work carried out in the basilica after the 1978 earthquake confirms W. E. Kleinbauer's conclusion, based on the observations of W. S. George, who visited the basilica in 1908 before the extensive repairs of 1910–14, that Acheiropoietos is far removed from its early Christian state, owing to numerous Byzantine, Turkish, and modern interventions.¹²⁰

The church of Haghia Sophia (Fig. 4:6) was Thessalonike's metropolitan church from its erection until it was converted to a mosque in 1523/24.¹²¹ It held an important place in the life of the city; for instance, the Venetian Senate recognized the church of Haghia Sophia as a place of asylum (1425).¹²²

The church preserves the boxlike form which it had at the beginning of the twentieth century, after drastic repairs were carried out following the fire of 1890.¹²³ The church's original form had already changed in the middle Byzantine period. For instance, the vaults over the narthex, which were originally visible, were covered with a roof and filled with ordinary broken pottery in the eleventh century.¹²⁴ The sanctuary and dome mosaics existed in the late Byzantine period.

Early in the fifteenth century (1416/17–29), Archbishop Symeon gives copious information about the layout of the various parts of the church and its adjacent structures.¹²⁵ Thus we know that the *naos* was floored with marble slabs, the veins of which, as in Acheiropoietos, formed *potamoi* or “rivers,” which is why the floor was described as *potamion*, meaning that the veins flowed like rivers toward the ambo.¹²⁶ There was a large marble ambo with two flights of steps in the middle of the church.¹²⁷ Parts of a sixth-century ambo were found during excavations and are today in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessalonike.¹²⁸ I believe that these fragments come from the ambo described by Symeon and in use in the early fifteenth century and possibly until the church was con-

¹¹⁹ A. Xyngopoulos, “Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τῶν Ἀγίων Τεσσαράκοντα εἰς τὴν Ἀχειροποίητον τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Ἀρχ. Εφ.* 1957: 6–30, repr. in *Μελετήματα*, 427–46. S. Kissas, “L'art de Salonique du début du XIII^e siècle et la peinture de Mileševa,” in *Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe* (Belgrade, 1987), 39.

¹²⁰ Kleinbauer, “Remarks,” 241–56. K. Raptis, “Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ ὀρισμένων δομικῶν στοιχείων τῆς Ἀχειροποιήτου,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 13 (1999): 221–22 reports that early Christian stamped bricks were used in Byzantine and Ottoman repairs to the Acheiropoietos.

¹²¹ S. Kissas, “Ἡ μονὴ τῆς Μικρῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη,” *Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη* 1 (1985): 328. A. Stavridou-Zafra, “Ἡ Ἀγία Σοφία ὡς μητροπολιτικὸς ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖο,” *Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη τοῦ Σωτήρη Κίσσα*, ed. Chr. Mavropoulou-Tsioume and E. Kyriakoudes (Thessalonike, 2001), 557.

¹²² Mertzi, *Μνημεῖα*, 61.

¹²³ K. Theocharidou, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη* (Athens, 1994), 213–15.

¹²⁴ S. Kissas, “Ἀγγεῖα μεταφορᾶς καὶ ἀποθήκευσης κρασιοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ δυτικὸ ὑπερώο τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Ἀμπελοσινικὴ ἱστορία στὸ χῶρο τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ Θράκης* (Naoussa, 1993), 241.

¹²⁵ Io. Phountoulis, “Μαρτυρίαι,” 151–67. J. Darrouzès, “Sainte Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel,” *REB* 34 (1976): 46–78.

¹²⁶ Phountoulis, “Μαρτυρίαι,” 142: Δ1: Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἵσταται ἐν τῷ ποταμίῳ τῷ ὄντι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὡραίων πυλῶν καὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, βλέπων κατὰ ἀνατολὰς. J. Darrouzès, “Sainte Sophie,” 46 note 4 and 68–69, explains the term as “un bandeau du pavage reliant les deux piliers ouest de la coupole.” E. Antoniadis, *Ἐκφράσεις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1908), 51, associates the *potamia* in Haghia Sophia at Constantinople with four green bands or strips set in the floor, which come into contact with the ambo.

¹²⁷ On the ambo's location, see Darrouzès, “Sainte Sophie,” 65–66, figs. 1 and 2.

¹²⁸ P. Jakobs, *Die frühchristlichen Ambone Griechenlands* (Bonn, 1987), 338–39.

verted into a mosque. There was in Haghia Sophia a second smaller, monolithic ambo, known according to Symeon as the *anabathra*, which dates to the early Christian period and is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.¹²⁹ Symeon mentions the tombs of two archbishops of Thessalonike: Basil the Confessor (d. 870?) and Gregory Palamas (d. 1359).¹³⁰ The funerary inscription of another archbishop of Thessalonike, Gregory Koutales (d. 1336), also comes from Haghia Sophia.¹³¹ It is likely that Haghia Sophia was Thessalonike's late Byzantine metropolitan church.¹³²

North of the metropolitan church of Haghia Sophia lay the bishop's palace.¹³³ This was described during the years of the Latin Empire (1204–24) by John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos, as huge, rambling, windowless, built of brick and timber, and with long corridors.¹³⁴ Rescue excavations located there a complex of buildings, smaller churches, and gardens.¹³⁵ According to Symeon, from the two-story bishop's palace with a large *triclinium* and an open gallery (*peripatos*), the archbishop observed the ceremony of the Elevation of the Holy Cross on the evening of 13 September.¹³⁶ After sunset, cantors and readers carrying lights, candles, and wooden sounding boards went up into the galleries and, via wide staircases inside the two western corner piers supporting the dome, came out onto the roof of the church, on a balcony around the four-sided base of the dome. A narrow stairway in the thickness of the base and in its northeast corner took a few of them to the outside of the east side of the dome, and they elevated the cross on top of the dome, in the presence of the entire city.¹³⁷

If we look at the sites of these four large old churches, which were functioning in the late Byzantine period, we notice that they were all in the center of lower Thessalonike. Anagnostes calls them *καθολικούς* (*katholikoi*), which means the principal churches of a diocese.¹³⁸

¹²⁹ Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 127–28. See old photograph in A. Letsas, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1961), fig. 95. Phountoules, “Μαρτυρίαί,” 154: T4 and Y31, gives the relevant citations. Darrouzès, “Sainte Sophie,” 58, translates the term as “petite estrade.”

¹³⁰ Phountoules, “Μαρτυρίαί,” 165. The questioning of the identity of the second tomb by J. Darrouzès, “Sainte Sophie,” 71 is excessive, since the tomb of Gregory Palamas in Haghia Sophia is mentioned by Philotheas Kokkinos (Kaltsogianni et al., *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 189).

¹³¹ Spieser, “Inscriptions,” 175, no. 27.

¹³² Excavations inside Haghia Sophia have yielded tombs, and recently fragments of a built mortuary ciborium with 13th-century frescoes have been found which probably belonged to Konstantinos Mesopotamites, the last archbishop before the Latin conquest (1204), who returned after the city's reconquest (1224–27) (S. Kissas, “A Sepulchral Monument in Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki,” *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 3 [1996]: 36–40) or to Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonike (12th century) (A. Stavridou-Zafraka, “Ἡ μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης 1227–1235,” in *Πρακτικά I Πανελληνίου Ιστορικοῦ Συνεδρίου* [Thessalonike, 1989], 45–58).

¹³³ Rautman, “Palaces,” 299.

¹³⁴ E. Bees-Sepherles, “Aus dem Nachlass von N. A. Bees: Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien),” *BNJ* 21 (1971–76), Suppl., letter no. 67, pp. 122–23. P. Magdalino, “The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium,” *BSI* 48 (1987): 32–33.

¹³⁵ E. Marke, “Ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία καὶ τὰ προσκτίσματά της μέσα ἀπὸ τὰ ἀνασκαφικά δεδομένα,” *Θεσσαλονικέων πόλις* 1 (1997): 54–61. The south gallery of Haghia Sophia seems to have accommodated diocesan offices because lead seals of the 11th century were uncovered there: S. Kissas, “Μολυβδόβουλλα ἀπὸ τὰ ὑπερῶα τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. N. Oikonomides, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1990), 200–201.

¹³⁶ Phountoulis, “Μαρτυρίαί,” 143–45.

¹³⁷ G. Velenis, *Μεδοβυζαντινὴ ναοδομία στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη* (Athens, 2003), 76–79.

¹³⁸ Anagnostes, 62.4–5: μόνους ἡμῖν τοὺς τέσσαρας νεῶς, οἱ καὶ καθολικοὶ λέγονται. M. Laskaris, “Ναοὶ καὶ μοναὶ Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1405 εἰς τὸ Ὀδοιπορικὸν τοῦ ἐκ Σμολένσκ Ἰγνατίου,” *Τόμος Ἀρμενοπούλου*, 327–29. Y.

Apart from these, other early Christian and middle Byzantine churches continued to function in late Byzantine Thessalonike. In the upper city, an early Christian church was the *katholikon* of a monastery known since the ninth century as the monastery of Latomou (Fig. 4:8), dedicated to Christ the Savior.¹³⁹ The splendid early Christian mosaic in the bema and the twelfth-century wall paintings were visible, and the fresco decoration was supplemented ca. 1300.¹⁴⁰ The monastery was very active in the late Byzantine period and in 1405 was visited by the Russian monk Ignatij of Smolensk.¹⁴¹

In the lower city, at the southwest corner of the Megalophoros (main forum or agora), stands the church of the Virgin which is known today as the church of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon (1028) (Fig. 4:9).¹⁴² In the first half of the fourteenth century the west wall of the *naos* was painted with illustrations of the Akathistos Hymn.¹⁴³ This fresco work was probably connected with major repairs to the superstructure of the narthex, the arches and domes of which differ in shape from the main church and main dome and deviate from the longitudinal axis of the main church.¹⁴⁴

Apart from these, other churches functioned in late Byzantine Thessalonike and were demolished or entirely rebuilt in later periods. One example is the *katholikon* of the monastery of St. Theodora (Fig. 4:10), which was already functioning in 837 as the monastery of St. Stephen.¹⁴⁵ The cult of St. Theodora flourished in the late Byzantine period, and John Stavrakios and Nicholaos Kavasilas wrote encomia of her.¹⁴⁶ We also know of lead pilgrim ampullae made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which bear rep-

Tsaras, "Ο τέταρτος καθολικός ναός της Θεσσαλονίκης στο Χρονικό του Ἰωάννη Ἀναγνώστη," *Βυζαντινά* 5 (1973): 165–84. *ODB* 2: 1116, s.v. *katholikon*. For the status of the *katholikai ekklesiai* until the middle of the 12th century, see J. P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 273 and 298.

¹³⁹ A. Xyngoropoulos, "Τὸ καθολικὸν τῆς μονῆς Λατόμου ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ψηφιδωτόν," *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 12 (1929): 142–80. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 392–93. S. Kadas, "Διήγησις Ἰγνατίου περὶ τοῦ ψηφιδωτοῦ τῆς μονῆς Λατόμου (Διονυσίου 132.13 καὶ 260.13)," *Κληρονομία* 20 (1988): 143–63. The name "Latomou" or "ton Latomon" was due to the existence of stone quarries there.

¹⁴⁰ E. Kyriakoudes, "Τὸ κλασικιστικὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ καλλιτεχνικὴ ἀκμὴ στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῶν Παλαιολόγων," *Ἀφιέρωμα Σωτήρη Κίτσα* (as in note 121), 234.

¹⁴¹ Laskaris, "Ναοί," 321.

¹⁴² D. Evangelidis, *Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκῶν* (Thessalonike, 1954). A. Kreidl-Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalerei des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz–Cologne–Böhlau, 1966). A. Tsitouridou, *Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκῶν*, 2d ed. (Thessalonike, 1985). Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 156–60.

¹⁴³ A. Xyngoropoulos, "Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ἀκαθίστου εἰς τὴν Παναγίαν τῶν Χαλκῶν Θεσσαλονίκης," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 7 (1974): 61–77, repr. in *Μελετήματα*, art. XXIX, 507–27. A. Tsitouridou, "La peinture monumentale à Salonique pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle," in *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle*, Recueil des rapports du IVe colloque serbo-grec, Belgrade 1985 (Belgrade, 1987), 18.

¹⁴⁴ Evangelidis, *Παναγία Χαλκῶν*, 22, notes the differences and suggests that the additions were made in the 12th century. Velenis, "Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Αἰσθητικὴ ωροσέγγισις," *Ἀφιέρωμα Σωτήρη Κίτσα*, 8, claims these were not added later and interprets the difference as the aesthetic innovation of a gifted architect of middle Byzantine Thessalonike.

¹⁴⁵ Janin, *Grands centres*, 374–75. S. Paschalidis, *Ὁ βίος τῆς ὁσιομάρτυρος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας* (Thessalonike, 1991), 59. *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1996), 181. A.-M. Talbot, "Family Cults in Byzantium: The Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike," *LEIMON: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1996), 49–69, repr. in A.-M. Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (Burlington, Vt., 2001), no. VII. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 102–6.

¹⁴⁶ *BHG* 1740 and 1741. Paschalidis, *Ὁ βίος*, 33–37.

resentations of St. Demetrios and St. Theodora and contained fragrant oil (*myron*) from their tombs.¹⁴⁷

Recent excavations in the courtyard of the monastery of St. Theodora in the center of Thessalonike have uncovered part of the old *katholikon*, which belongs to several building phases (Fig. 11).¹⁴⁸ The semicircular apse with the originally large triple-light window is the oldest part.¹⁴⁹ In the late Byzantine period, several interventions were carried out and the church was extended southward. The church in this period was a three-aisled basilica with a portico along the south side. I connect the epigram of Nicholaos Kavasilas dedicated to the translation of the saint's relics with the interventions in the church carried out in the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁰ After the city fell in 1430, the saint's tomb was rebuilt,¹⁵¹ and the church as the monastery's *katholikon* throughout the Ottoman period underwent repairs and modifications.¹⁵² Under the floor of the church were found numerous cist- and large barrel-vaulted tombs, which had been used for successive burials.¹⁵³ The earliest finds from the tombs, glazed sgraffito bowls, date to the Palaiologan era. When the church was destroyed by the fire of 1917, it was no different in form from other nineteenth-century basilicas in the lower city, under some of which lie Byzantine churches (St. Antonios, St. Athanasios, St. Charalambos, St. George, Hypapante [church of the Presentation], St. Menas [Fig. 4:18], Nea Panaghia, Panaghia Gorgoepekoös, Panaghia Lagoudiane).¹⁵⁴

IV

The rescue excavations conducted by the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities in recent decades in Thessalonike have uncovered only a few late Byzantine finds in comparison with the wealth of late Roman and early Christian finds.¹⁵⁵ The late Byzantine finds consist of the foundations of usually roughly made buildings of indeterminate use and nature, mixed up with buildings from earlier or later periods. The nature and use of these build-

¹⁴⁷ Ch. Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout, Illinois Byzantine Studies 1 (Urbana-Chicago, 1990), 142–43.

¹⁴⁸ 9th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessalonike, *Σωστικές ανασκαφές* 1999–2000 (Thessalonike, 2001), 8.

¹⁴⁹ Compare the east window of St. Euthymios' chapel in the basilica of St. Demetrios, which has been dated to the end of the 9th century and the first decades of the 10th century (N. Montsopoulos, "Τὸ ὠαρεκυλήσιο τοῦ Ἁγίου Εὐθυμίου στὴ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου," *Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη* 3, 1989 (Thessalonike, 1991), 154–55.

¹⁵⁰ Λώου ἐν τριτάτῃ νέκυς ἐξεφάνθη, / ὅς μυρόεντα ῥέεθρα ἐπιχθονίοισι ἀνήκε (Paschalidis, *Ὁ βίος*, 33 note 44 and p. 36).

¹⁵¹ Anagnostes, 50. 21–27.

¹⁵² Kissas, "Μικρὴ Ἀγίας Σοφίας," 325–39.

¹⁵³ The tomb of St. Theodora was large and possibly barrel-vaulted: Paschalidis, *Ὁ βίος*, 202.5: ψάλλοντες ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον κατήεσαν. For large barrel-vaulted tombs in the late Byzantine period in Thessalonike, see Io. Kanonidis, "Νεότερα στοιχεῖα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνασκαφὴν τοῦ 1998 σχετικὰ μὲ τὰ ὑστεροβυζαντινὰ κοιμητήρια τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 12 (1998): 186. A similar tomb is found at St. John Prodromos monastery (north chapel of the *katholikon*) near Serres (unpublished) and at St. Athanasios in Didymoteichon (R. Ousterhout, "A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteichon and Its Frescoes," in *L'arte di Bizanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi 1261–1453*, *Milion* 5, ed. A. Jacobini and M. della Valle (Rome, 1999), 197.

¹⁵⁴ G. Theocharidis, *Τοπογραφία καὶ πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰῶνα* (Thessalonike, 1959), 21. Th. Mantopoulou-Panagiotopoulou, *Θρησκευτικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη κατὰ τὴν τελευταία φάση τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας, 1839–1912* (Thessalonike, 1989). *Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, 148–55 (S. Kissas). Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 106, 153, and 181.

¹⁵⁵ See the remarks in note 43.

ings can only be ascertained in the case of chapels, around which are graveyards. It has also been shown that the Hippodamean town plan of ancient Thessalonike was maintained into late Byzantine times, with the difference that the streets had been narrowed or rerouted, or in some cases ceased to exist because buildings had been erected on them. It has also been determined that lower Thessalonike was more densely inhabited than upper Thessalonike. I give two typical examples, which concern extensive rescue excavations.

An extensive salvage excavation was carried out in the city center, on the north side of the *leophoros* or *decumanus maximus*, west of the Acheiropoietos basilica, in the probable location of the historical monastery of St. John Prodromos.¹⁵⁶ E. Marke reports that this site has yielded the second vertical street east of the agora, which coincides with what is now Menelaou Street.¹⁵⁷ In the insula to the west of the street are found crowded buildings of the tenth to fourteenth centuries at the same level as late Roman and early Christian structures, parts of which they had incorporated. For instance, walls of an early Christian house were incorporated into a chapel, around which were found simple pit burials of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A similar picture of crowded development and the rather less frequent reuse of earlier walls is also seen higher up in Dioikitirion Square (Fig. 12), that is, south of the street that divided the lower from the upper city. I. Kanonidis reports that most of an insula to the east of a vertical street 6 m wide leading to the harbor area was occupied by a large early Christian house of the Graeco-Roman type, which replaced a house of the same type and size of the second century B.C.¹⁵⁸ We do not know whether the early Christian house was still in use in the late Byzantine period. Isolated walls of middle Byzantine buildings and a glass workshop were found further north in the same insula, but at a higher level. The late Byzantine period is represented in the northeast corner of the site by an aisleless chapel, which was built on the site of an existing barrel-vaulted tomb. Numerous pit and cist-burials were found around it. This cemetery was connected with houses of the late Byzantine period, which are characterized by crowded development, small rooms, and the presence of abundant everyday pottery. The houses yielded three bronze coins minted in Thessalonike, of Andronikos II, Andronikos III, and Michael IX.¹⁵⁹

Small private houses of late Byzantine Thessalonike are described in Athonite deeds of transfer. According to Denise Papachryssanthou, they were small, one-room apartments, owned by different people, and sharing a single courtyard.¹⁶⁰ Little culs-de-sac led from the city streets to these courtyards. Groups of such houses, with little churches between

¹⁵⁶ Balfour, *Symeon*, 253. G. Theocharidis, "Μία ἐξαφανισθεῖσα μεγάλη μονή τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἡ μονή τοῦ Προδρόμου," *Μακεδονικά* 18 (1978): 1–23.

¹⁵⁷ E. Marke, "Ἀνασκαφή Στοῦς Χορτιάτη," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 6 (1992): 327–37.

¹⁵⁸ Io. Kanonidis, "Ἡ περιοχή τοῦ Διοικητηρίου στὰ παλαιοχριστιανικὰ καὶ βυζαντινὰ χρόνια," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 10 (1996): 559–69. Io. Kanonidis, "Τὸ βυζαντινὸ κοιμητήριον τῆς πλατείας Διοικητηρίου Θεσσαλονίκης," in *Ancient Macedonia*, Papers Read at the Sixth International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 15–19, 1996, 2 vols. (Thessalonike, 1999), 1: 523–27. M. Vitti, "Tessalonica: Bilanci e aggiornamenti," *Atti del Secondo Congresso di Topografia Antica: La città romana*, Roma 15–16 maggio 1996, vol. 2, *Rivista di Topografia Antica* 8 (1998): 158–59.

¹⁵⁹ I. Kanonidis, "Σωστικὴ ἀνασκαφή στὸ χώρο τῆς πλατείας Κυπρίων Ἀγωνιστῶν (Διοικητηρίου)—Θεσσαλονίκη 1993," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 7 (1993): 346, fig. 2.

¹⁶⁰ D. Papachryssanthou, "Maisons modestes à Thessalonique au XIV^e siècle," *Ἀμνηστός, στὴ μνήμη Φώτη Ἀποστολόπουλου* (Athens, 1984), 254–67. See also C. Giros, "Présence athonite à Thessalonique," in this volume.

them, replaced the large dwellings of the ancient period and constituted the neighborhoods, creating a labyrinthine street plan in the insulae.¹⁶¹

These little houses bear no resemblance to either the “very great houses” of Thessalonike, which Nikephoros Choumnos extols in 1310 saying as a metaphor that the city had two stories, nor the large, beautiful houses that Murad II awarded to his officers after 1430.¹⁶² This category of accommodation, which would have been located in lower Thessalonike, for instance around Haghia Sophia, was represented by old, two-story houses with an inner courtyard situated in the lower eastern part of the city, which escaped the fire of 1917 and survived until the Second World War.¹⁶³

We may therefore conclude that in late Byzantine lower Thessalonike there were the four large old churches (*katholikoi*), monasteries, churches, and chapels among houses that were distributed in densely built-up neighborhoods. These socioenvironmental units, centered on churches and small markets, created numerous discrete quarters in the heart of the city and changed the overall perception of the city’s scale and size. The large dimensions of the ancient city were replaced by the medieval microcosm.¹⁶⁴

V

Apart from all this, in late Byzantine lower Thessalonike there were also older structures, survivals from the Roman period. I am referring to the Arch of Galerius and the portico known in the nineteenth century as the *Eidola* (Εἰδωλα) or the *Incantadas*, with its relief piers which Emmanuel Miller took to the Louvre in 1863.¹⁶⁵ To these we must add the triumphal arch decorated with elaborate reliefs of the second half of the first century B.C. which was built just inside the western “Golden Gate.”¹⁶⁶ We do not know why these structures escaped destruction. Their relief representations had probably acquired some sort of Christian interpretation or magical properties, and people therefore took care to maintain them. The Byzantine sources, however, do not mention them, although Nikephoros Choumnos praises the painters of this time, who followed the models of Lysippos and Apelles.¹⁶⁷ One might imagine an air of indifference to them; but the fact that they were

¹⁶¹ For the neighborhoods of late Byzantine Thessalonike, see Theodoridis, *Τοπογραφία*, 14. H. Lowry, “Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478,” *Δίωτυχα* 2 (1980–81): 264–77. Demetriadis, *Τοπογραφία*, 23–46. E. Chekimoglou, *Θεσσαλονίκη. Τουρκοκρατία και μεσοπόλεμος* (Thessalonike, 1995), 29–38 and 53–61.

¹⁶² Nikephoros Choumnos, *Θεσσαλονικεῦσι συμβουλευτικός*, 141: Οἰκίαι παμμεγέθεις, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄνω τεῖνονσαι τοῦ ἀέρος, μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτάς τὰς ὄψεις φιλονικεῖν κατὰθεν ταύτας ἑαυτῶν τιθέναι, ἄλλη τις ἐπ’ ἄλλην εἰς ὕψος ἐγειρομένη, καὶ διπλὴν ἀνθ’ ἀπλῆς ποιοῦσαι τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ δοκεῖν τὴν μὲν ἐναέριον εἶναι, τὴν δ’ ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδρυμένην. Anagnostes, 62.1–4: τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶ καὶ οὖσιν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἐδωρήσατο, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ὅσαι δὴ καλλίους ἦσαν τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τε κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος. For the late Byzantine houses, see S. Ćurčić, “Houses in the Byzantine World,” in *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 2002), 234–48.

¹⁶³ A. Vakalopoulos, “Τρεῖς οἶκοι βυζαντινοῦ ρυθμοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη,” *Γρηγ.Παλ.* 19 (1935): 310–16, repr. in *Παγκαρπία*, 191–98.

¹⁶⁴ Ch. Bouras, “City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture,” *JÖB* 31–32 (1981), *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten* 1.2: 611–53.

¹⁶⁵ Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 86–87. Vitti, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη*, 198–99 and 224–26. Vitti, “Tessalonica,” 166–67.

¹⁶⁶ Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 55–56, 62. I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit (32/31 v. Chr. bis 268 n. Chr.)* (Berlin, 1988), 11, 13, figs. 3 and 4. Vitti, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη*, 57, fig. 10. Vitti, “Tessalonica,” 153.

¹⁶⁷ J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d’ état et humaniste byzantin* (Paris, 1959), 110. According to O. Demus, “The Style of the Kariye Djami,” in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 152, the prophets in the mosaics of the church of the Holy Apostles at Thessalonike recall the sculptures of Lysippos.

preserved suggests the opposite. However, one cannot discount the possibility that they became a focus of a humanistic interest in antiquities, as evidenced in Cyriacus of Ancona's description of Thessalonike in 1431.¹⁶⁸

In the center of the city was the Roman agora (Fig. 13), whose colonnades and buildings had already collapsed and disappeared in the earthfill by the seventh century and whose marble architectural members had been used elsewhere.¹⁶⁹ The cryptoporticus had been converted into a water cistern in the sixth century, but it too was now filled with earth.¹⁷⁰ The odeion-theater was not converted into a fort as at Miletos, or into a neighborhood as in Aphrodisias, Messene, and in Arles,¹⁷¹ but was also filled with earth.¹⁷² In the late Byzantine period it was used as a burial site, as was also the case elsewhere in the agora. No Byzantine buildings have been found in the agora. Only pottery kilns of the late Byzantine period have been found in the southeast corner (unpublished). In late Byzantine times the area was just an open square which had nothing in common with the appearance of the monumental agora of the Roman period. It may, however, be identifiable with the "public agora" near the basilica of Acheiropoietos, the site of executions, pilloryings, and stonings and beatings to death.¹⁷³ The agora was a favorite gathering place for the Thessalonians for discussion, gossip and no doubt also because of the taverns there.¹⁷⁴ It was probably in this open "square" free of buildings that the Venetians raised the flag of St. Mark on 14 September 1423.¹⁷⁵

The palace complex built by Galerius (Fig. 14) in the beginning of the fourth century at the east end of the lower city was also in a ruinous condition in the late Byzantine period.¹⁷⁶ The area was dominated by the ruins of the Octagon (Fig. 4:2), whose dome had collapsed in the early Christian period.¹⁷⁷ The antechamber of this great building was used

¹⁶⁸ M. Vickers, "Cyriac of Ancona at Thessaloniki," *BMGS* 2 (1976): 75–82. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, no. 5.

¹⁶⁹ Ch. Bakirtzis, "Περὶ τοῦ συγκροτήματος τῆς Ἀγορᾶς τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," in *Ancient Macedonia* (Thessalonike, 1977), 257–69, repr. in *Θεσσαλονίκη Φιλίππου βασίλισσαν*, 592–604. Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 82–96. Vitti, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξη*, 183–89. Vitti, "Tessalonica," 159–66. *Ἀρχαία Ἀγορά Θεσσαλονίκης I, Πρακτικὰ διημερίδας γιὰ τὶς ἐργασίες τῶν ἐτῶν 1989–1999*, ed. P. Adam-Veleni (Thessalonike, 2001).

¹⁷⁰ Ch. Bakirtzis, "Ἡ Ἀγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ παλαιοχριστιανικὰ χρόνια," *X IntCongChrArch*, vol. 2, 5–19.

¹⁷¹ G. E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* (London, 1967), 219–30. L. Hebert, "Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias," 28th *BSCAstr* (2002): 10–11. *Πρωτοβυζαντινὴ Μεσσηνία καὶ Ὀλυμψία*, ed. P. Themelis and V. Konti (Athens, 2002), 35.

¹⁷² The last reference to the theater's use for performances dates to the end of the 6th century (Lemerle, *Miracles*, I, 14: περὶ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ). For the comic satire performed at this time in the theater at Thessalonike, see *Ἀγίου Δημητρίου θαύματα. Οἱ συλλογὲς ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἀωνύμου. Ὁ βίος, τὰ θαύματα καὶ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, introduction-commentary by Ch. Bakirtzis, translation by A. Sidere (Athens, 1997), 390–93.

¹⁷³ Kantakouzenos III, 64 (CB II, 393): Παλαιολόγον τέ τινα . . . ἐπέσφαξαν ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας ἀγορᾶς. III, 93 (CB II, 571): τοὺς Ζηλωτῶν τινας ἐν τῇ τῆς θεοτόκου τῆς ἀχειροποιήτου τεμένει τοὺς μὲν ἀπέσφαξαν ἀνηλεῶς, ἕνα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατέσυραν, λίθοις βάλλοντες καὶ ξύλοις τοῖς προστυχούσι, ἕως ἀπέπνευσε συρόμενος. Gregoras, *Ρωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία* X, 7 ed. L. Schopen (CB I, Bonn, 1829, 498): τὸν τε οἶκον ἐδημοσίευσεν καὶ τὴν σύζυγον περιγαγεῖν ἀτίμως διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν. See also, Thomas Magistros, *Ἐπιστολὴ δις Θεόδωρον Μετοχίτην*, PG 145, 409A6–B5.

¹⁷⁴ Gregoras XIII, 10 (CB II, 675): τούτοις δ' ἐσκυθρωπακόσιν ἐνὴν οἰκουρεῖν, φυλαττομένοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸ γ' ἐν ἀγοραῖς καὶ θεάτροις παρρησιάζεσθαι. Kantakouzenos III, 93 (CB II, 571): μεθύνοντες (the Zealots) ἐν καπηλείοις.

¹⁷⁵ Mertzijs, *Μνημεῖα*, 43.

¹⁷⁶ Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 110–16. Vitti, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξη*, 213–14.

¹⁷⁷ G. Knithakes, "Τὸ Ὀκτάγωνο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 30 (1975): 105–7. Janin, *Grands centres*, 402–3. Vitti, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξη*, 210–13.

in the late Byzantine period as an open cistern for irrigating orchards and gardens. Palaiologan glazed pottery found in large quantities during the excavation of Galerius' palace probably indicates the presence of workshops or a rubbish dump.

The hippodrome, between the palace and the east wall, was also in ruinous condition and was being used as a burial site.¹⁷⁸ On the ruins of the *spina* of the hippodrome and on the north street (*decumanus*) leading to the coastal area of east Thessalonike, on the site of the post-Byzantine church of Nea Panaghia (Fig. 4:11) some distance from the late Byzantine residential areas, a monastery of the Virgin had been built by Hilarion Mastounis in 1185 or earlier.¹⁷⁹ It was itself in ruins at the beginning of the fourteenth century and in 1324 was renovated by the monk Lavrentios Kladon.

A second large octagonal early Christian building (Fig. 4:3), excavated at the west fringe of the lower city, close to the western wall, was also in ruins in the late Byzantine period.¹⁸⁰ A monastery (?) had been built on the site. The width of the street (*decumanus*) which ran past the north side of this large building was reduced by 3.10 m in the late Byzantine period because a building of this period encroached on it.¹⁸¹

In late Byzantine lower Thessalonike were the unoccupied sites with the ruins of the Roman agora and the palace of Galerius. Part of the first site was used as a public agora and another part for workshops and burials. The second site was also used for workshops and for burials or as a rubbish dump. Roman and late Roman monuments, such as the "Golden Gate," the Incantadas (Eidola), and the Arch of Galerius escaped destruction due to the Christian or magical meaning ascribed to their relief decoration. Monumental buildings of the late Roman/early Christian periods, like the two Octagons mentioned above, on the fringes of the lower city, were not maintained by the Thessalonians and collapsed. Their sites were used in the late Byzantine period for burials and cultivation and were also taken over by monasteries.

VI

The overall picture of late Byzantine Thessalonike is completed by the surviving late Byzantine buildings, which were built within a period of about a hundred years (1280–1380) and are almost all churches, and more specifically *katholika* of monasteries connected with the Metropolitanate of Thessalonike.¹⁸²

Only two of these churches were built in the densely inhabited eastern lower city. The

¹⁷⁸ A. Vavyloupoulou, "Céramique d'offrande trouvée dans les tombes byzantines tardives de l'hippodrome de Thessalonique," in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser, *BCH*, suppl. 18 (Athens–Paris, 1989), 209–12 and *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 29 (1973–74), *Chronika*, 656. Vitti, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη*, 216–18. Vitti, "Tessalonica," 173–74.

¹⁷⁹ Th. Mantopoulou-Panagiotopoulou, "On the Identification of the Church of Nea (Megali) Panaghia in Thessaloniki," *JÖB* 46 (1996): 423–35. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 153–56. For the eastern gate from which the road ran toward the coastal region east of Thessalonike, see S. Tambaki, "Ἀπὸ τὸν πύργο τοῦ Αἵματος στὴν πύλη τῆς Καλαμαριᾶς," in *Ἀφιέρωμα Σωτήρη Κίσσα* (as in note 121), 591.

¹⁸⁰ E. Marke, "Ένας ἄγνωστος ὀκταγωνικὸς ναὸς στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη," *Μακεδονικά* 13 (1983): 117–33. Čurčić, *Observations*, 17.

¹⁸¹ *Σωστικές ανασκαφές 1999–2000*, 7.

¹⁸² P. Vokotopoulos, "Church Architecture in Thessaloniki in the 14th century. Remarks on the Typology," in *Lart de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle*, 107–16. The sources and archaeological data attest 56 churches in late Byzantine Thessalonike (churches, monasteries, and dependen-

first, St. Panteleimon (Fig. 4:12), north of the main street (*leophoros*), is believed to have been the *katholikon* of a monastery of the Panaghia Peribleptos founded by the archbishop of Thessalonike James/Isaac (1289/93–99).¹⁸³ According to the location of the church on pre-1917 surveyors' maps of Thessalonike, the boundaries of the churchyard and the cells show that the extent of this Byzantine monastery was 1,000 m². The second, the sepulchral chapel of Sotiras (Fig. 4:19), dedicated to the Theotokos, is dated after 1340.¹⁸⁴

The other late Byzantine churches are dispersed throughout the upper city and around the western fringes of the lower city. One is St. Nikolaos Orphanos (Fig. 4:15) toward the east city wall with frescoes of the second decade of the fourteenth century. From this monastery the west gate has survived.¹⁸⁵ The outer wall encloses today an area of 4,000 m². Further up is the church of the Taxiarchs (Figs. 4:16 and 15), also the *katholikon* of a late Byzantine monastery of unknown name and size, which preserves a burial crypt with arcosolia.¹⁸⁶ St. Aikaterine (Fig. 4:14) was built at the end of the thirteenth century or according to dendrochronological investigations in 1315, near the west city wall as the *katholikon* of a monastery, probably dedicated to Christ.¹⁸⁷

The church of the Holy Apostles (Fig. 4:13) is believed to have been the *katholikon* of a monastery of the Theotokos near the western, Litea gate, south of the *decumanus* (Aghiou Demetriou Street) and is on the lower western fringes of the city 10 m from the west city wall (Fig. 16).¹⁸⁸ The church was firmly connected with Niphon when he was on the patriarchal throne (1310–14), since he appears three times, as patriarch and as founder, in inscriptions on the church façade.¹⁸⁹ However, this dating has been called into question by dendrochronological results, according to which the church was founded fifteen years

cies), apart from the older churches that were still functioning (*Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά μνημεία της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 20–21). For the relations between the city's monasteries and the Metropolitanate of Thessalonike, see the apposite remarks by Rautman, "Patrons and Buildings in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," 301–4.

¹⁸³ G. Theoharides, "Ο Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρις καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ κυρ-Ἰσαάκ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ," *Byzantion* 40 (1970): 437–59. Janin, *Grands centres*, 386–88. M. L. Rautman, "Notes on the Metropolitan Succession of Thessaloniki, ca. 1300," *REB* 46 (1988): 147–59. Ana Čituriđou, "Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Pantelejmona u Solunu," *Zograf* 6 (1975): 14–20. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 110–14.

¹⁸⁴ A. Xyngopoulos, *Τέσσαρες μικροὶ ναοὶ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἐκ τῶν χρόνων τῶν Παλαιολόγων* (Thessalonike, 1952), 67–75. E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "Ο ναὸς τῆς Παρθένου στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη," *Νέα Ἑστία. Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη* (Athens, 1985), 498–501.

¹⁸⁵ Xyngopoulos, *Τέσσαρες ναοί*, 25–44. Janin, *Grands centres*, 400–401. K. Kirchhainer, *Die Bildausstattung der Nikolauskirche in Thessaloniki. Untersuchungen zu Struktur und Programm der Malereien* (Weimar, 2001). *Agiος Nikolaos Orphanos: The Wall Paintings*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis (Athens, 2003). P. Mijović, "O gradjevinana kralja Milutina u Solunu," *Starinar* n.s. 18 (1967–68): 236, believes that the central part of the church dates to the 12th century.

¹⁸⁶ Xyngopoulos, *Τέσσαρες ναοί*, 5–24. Janin, *Grands centres*, 411–12.

¹⁸⁷ Janin, *Grands centres*, 346. P. I. Kuniholm and C. L. Striker, "Dendrochronological Investigations in the Aegean and Neighboring Regions, 1983–1986," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14 (1987): 394. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 69–71.

¹⁸⁸ P. N. Papageorgiou, "Θεσσαλονίκης βυζαντιακοὶ ναοὶ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα αὐτῶν, I. Ὁ ναὸς τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων," *BZ* 10 (1901): 23–39. A. Xyngopoulos, "Μονὴ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἡ τῆς Θεοτόκου," in *Προσφορά εἰς Στίλβωνα Κυριακίδην ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκοσιπενταετηρίδι τῆς καθηγεσίας αὐτοῦ, 1926–1951* (Thessalonike, 1953), 726–35 (repr. in *Μελετήματα*, art. XV, 305–16). Janin, *Grands centres*, 352–54. G. Velenis, "Οἱ Ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἡ σχολὴ τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης," *Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress, II/4, JÖB* 32.4 (1981): 457–69. K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, A. Anastasiadou, and P. Photiadis, "Ἀνασκαφικὰ εὐρήματα δυτικὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 9 (1995): 244–45. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 71–77.

¹⁸⁹ Spieser, "Inscriptions," 168–69, nos. 20, 21a, 21b.

later, in 1329.¹⁹⁰ Of the monastery precinct there survives the gate on the south side, to which led a horizontal street (*decumanus*) and a vertical street (*cardo*) which ran parallel to the west city wall.¹⁹¹ North of the *katholikon* and within the monastery precinct survives a large cistern, which collected the spring water from the Asvestochori and Retziki area to the north of Thessalonike.¹⁹² The monastery covered an area of more than 10,000 m², which was much larger than that of the Peribleptos (St. Panteleimon) monastery, located in the densely populated late Byzantine central lower city.

After the Zealots (1342–50), the ownership of large properties was strengthened, and sizable monastery complexes were built in Thessalonike by local ecclesiastical elites. Examples are Nea Mone, founded in 1360 by Makarios Choumnos, and at one time identified with Prophitis Elias (Figs. 4:20 and 17),¹⁹³ also in the upper city, and Vlatadon monastery (Fig. 4:17), which was built on a natural plateau in front of the north city wall by two monastic brothers, Dorotheos and Markos Blatades, on the site of an older church, parts of which were incorporated within it.¹⁹⁴ It covers today an area of 13,000 m². This monastery played an important role in the life of the city, since Thessalonike's water supply from Mount Chortiates was distributed from three cisterns in its courtyard and the area controlled by the monastery.¹⁹⁵

These, like other monasteries, were not exclusively religious foundations. Although they derived their revenues mainly from estates, their activities might have included *scriptoria* and workshops for minor art and other crafts, which produced many of the works which still survive today and are connected with late Byzantine Thessalonike.¹⁹⁶ O. Volk

¹⁹⁰ P. I. Kuniholm and C. L. Striker, "Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst (Journal of the History of Architecture)*, ed. W. Schirmer, W. Müller-Wiener, and G. Hersey (Munich–Berlin, 1990): 1–26.

¹⁹¹ Ch. Bakirtzis, "D'une porte inconnue des remparts occidentaux de Thessalonique," *BalkSt* 14 (1973): 305–16. G. Velenis, "Ο πυλώνας της μονής τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἀφιέρωμα στή μνήμη Στυλιανού Πελεκανίδη* (Thessalonike, 1983), 23–36. The distance between the gate and the church is 65 m.

¹⁹² A. Orlandos, "Η κινστήρνα τῶν 12 Ἀποστόλων," *Μακεδονικά* 1 (1940): 377–83. Tsigarida, Anastasiadou, and Photiadis, "Ἀνασκαφικά εὐρήματα," 242–44 and 247. S. Lazaridis, "Τὸ ὕδραγωγεῖο τοῦ Λεμπέτ," *Θεσσαλονικέων Πόλις* 4 (2001): 217–24. For the water supply of Thessalonike, see Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 11–14.

¹⁹³ Janin, *Grands centres*, 398–99. G. Theocharidis, "Δύο νέα ἔγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μονὴν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1955–60): 343–51 and *ibid.* 23 (1983): 398–402 after Demetriades' negative review, *Τοπογραφία*, 302–3. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 162–63. E. Chekimoglou, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 50–51 locates Nea Mone in the neighborhood of Hamza Bey Camii, north of Egnatia Street. Although the evidence is incomplete, Th. Papazotos, "The Identification of the Church of 'Profitis Elias' in Thessaloniki," *DOP* 45 (1991): 121–27 identified Profitis Elias with the monastery of Akapniou; see also Th. Papazotos, "Ἡ μονὴ Ἀκαπνίου—Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ προφήτη Ἡλία," *Θεσσαλονικέων Πόλις* 2 (1997): 34–73.

¹⁹⁴ G. Theocharidis, "Οἱ ἱδρυταὶ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη μονῆς τῶν Βλαττάδων," in *Πανηγυρικός τόμος ἐορτασμοῦ τῆς 600ης ἐπετείου τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Παλαμᾶ, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1960), 61. Janin, *Grands centres*, 356–58. Stoghioglou, *Μονὴ Βλαττάδων*, 56–66. Chr. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, "Ἀνασκαφικὲς ἐρευνες καὶ ἀποκάλυψη τοιχογραφιῶν στὴ Μ. Βλαττάδων. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς μονῆς," *Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη* 7 (1993): *Σταυροπηγιακὲς καὶ ἐνοριακὲς μονές* (Thessalonike, 1995), 163–88. Tambaki, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 147–53.

¹⁹⁵ Theodorides, *Χαμαιδράκων*, 114.

¹⁹⁶ A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *OKEANOS, Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak, Harvard Ukrainian Studies 7 (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 604–18 (repr. in *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium*, no. XVIII). R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator* (Vienna, 1991). K. N. Constantinides, "Οἱ ἀπαρχὲς τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀκμῆς στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη κατὰ τὸν 14ο αἰῶνα," *Δωδώνη* 1 (1992): 147–48. S. Kissas, "Solunska umetni oka porodica Astrapa," *Zograf* 5 (1974): 35–37. See also the article by A. Loverdou-Tsigaridas in this volume.

suggested that the galleries of the churches of Panaghia Chalkeon and Prophtis Elias functioned as *scriptoria*.¹⁹⁷ The urban monasteries were not isolated complexes; outside their precincts there would have been houses for the monasteries' servants with their families, and other adjacent structures, forming entire districts which took their names from the monasteries themselves.¹⁹⁸ A bathhouse (Figs. 4:18 and 18) survives in the upper city, which operated in the late Byzantine period and even into the modern period. It is a four-chambered bathhouse, with a double vestibule and two domed main chambers. The east side was taken up by a large cistern. We do not know if it was used by the citizenry or by monks in the late Byzantine period.¹⁹⁹

We do not know how many monks lived in these monasteries. P. Charanis estimated the average number at between ten and twenty.²⁰⁰ Although we are not familiar with the distinctive features of the monasteries in the cities and the countryside, a comparison can be made with the excavated Byzantine monastery at Synaxis near Maroneia in western Thrace, which functioned until the thirteenth century. The refectory had places for twenty-four monks at most.²⁰¹ It seems that the number of monks was not related to the population of the cities, which in the case of Thessalonike is estimated at twenty-five to forty thousand.²⁰²

The sites of the surviving late Byzantine churches confirm that large monasteries were built on the outskirts of the city, especially in the upper city. Why was this? N. Karydas, who has made a collective study of finds from recent rescue excavations in the upper part of the Hippodamean grid and the lower part of the upper city (the area north of Kassandrou Street), has concluded that large early Christian houses were converted into monasteries from the beginning of the middle Byzantine period and occupied entire insulae.²⁰³ The rescue excavations have indeed shown that there was no dense habitation in the upper city and on the outskirts of the city in the middle and late Byzantine periods.²⁰⁴ These finds

¹⁹⁷ O. Volk, "Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien," Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1954, 112–16, 133–36. Velenis, "Βυζαντινή ἀρχιτεκτονική Θεσσαλονίκης," 9.

¹⁹⁸ Theocharides, *Τοπογραφία*, 14. Demetriades, *Τοπογραφία*, 56. Lowry, "Portrait," 267.

¹⁹⁹ A. Xyngopoulos, "Βυζαντινὸς λουτρὸν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 5 (1940): 83–97 (repr. in *Μελετήματα*, no. VIII, 149–66) dates the bathhouse to the late Byzantine period. A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich, 1982), 93–95. S. R. Trypsiani-Omirou, "Τὸ βυζαντινὸ λουτρὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ Θεοδοκοπούλου στὴν Ἀνω πόλιν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 10 (1996): 587–99 dates the bathhouse to the middle Byzantine period. S. R. Trypsiani-Omirou, "Byzantine Bath, Thessaloniki," in *Secular Medieval Architecture* (as above, note 9), 314–17.

²⁰⁰ P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *DOP* 25 (1971): 72.

²⁰¹ Ch. Bakirtzis and G. Hadjimichalis, *Σύναξη Μαρωνείας* (Athens, 1991), 87. Ch. Bakirtzis, "Synaxis de Maronée. Données des fouilles (1985–1990)," *Domaine* 1994, Domaine de Kerguehennec, chap. 7.

²⁰² P. Charanis, "A Note on the Population and Cities of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century," *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, Jewish Social Studies 5 (New York, 1953), 140–41. A. Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History 16 (Oxford, 1979), 222, repr. in Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London, 1980), no. VI. J. Russell, "Late Ancient and Medieval Populations," *TAPS* n.s. 48.3 (1958): 77–78 estimates the population of Thessalonike on the eve of its fall at 30,000. Pachymeres (II, 262) calls it πολυάνδροῦσα, and Gregoras (II, 634) πολυάνθρωπον.

²⁰³ N. Karydas, "Βυζαντινὴ μονὴ στὴν ὁδὸ Θησέως," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 12 (1998): 161, fig. 6. N. Karydas, "Ἀνασκαφὴ στὴν ὁδὸ Γλαύκου," *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 13 (1999): 249–50.

²⁰⁴ *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 40 (1985), B: 232; 42 (1987), B2: 388–89; 47 (1992), B2: 432; 49 (1994), B2: 507; 50 (1995), B2: 521–22. *Σωστικές ἀνασκαφές 2002*, 10, 12; *Σωστικές ἀνασκαφές 1999–2000* (Thessalonike, 2001), 7, 13, 15 and *Σωστικές ἀνασκαφές 2001*, 11, 16. It must be noted that owing to the natural rock and the slope of the rocky

and conclusions, together with the uninterrupted, dense habitation noted in parts of the lower city, suggest that Thessalonike's residential space diminished in size in the middle Byzantine period and that this process accelerated in the late Byzantine period.

Despite the shrinking of the residential space, the area of the city was not reduced by moving the fortification wall as in the case of two other major centers, Constantinople and Nicaea, for the empty spaces were immediately used for other purposes demanding prompt solution. Activities which had been conducted in the open countryside outside the walls in the early Christian period, such as monastic life and workshop manufacture, were now brought inside the city.²⁰⁵ Excavation in the lower part of the upper city has shown that early Christian mansions were abandoned and gradually converted into monasteries.²⁰⁶ The surviving late Byzantine churches/*katholika* of monasteries are dispersed in the upper city. People also seized the opportunity to bring their livestock into the city²⁰⁷ and to grow food on the empty sites, so that a small part of the productive space of the countryside was also relocated within the walls. Additionally, the monasteries that sprang up in this area had kitchen gardens. The natural rock provided opportunities for excavating stone for building purposes; so there would have been quarry areas, as the name of Latomou ("quarry") monastery attests. Some areas were free of houses. John Apokaukos met secretly with the Zealot leader Michael Palaiologos in the "unbuilt places" of the city and murdered him there.²⁰⁸ There would have been sparse housing near the gates in the walls.

Consequently, the insecurity produced by wars and conflicts in the open countryside during the late Byzantine period prompted the monasteries there to move inside the fortified entities.²⁰⁹ In the early fourteenth century, Andronikos II urged the monks of Mount Athos to abandon their unsafe monastic centers and take refuge in the cities.²¹⁰ To the examples given by Sv. Popović²¹¹ one should add the Chortaites monastery on Mount Chortiaties, which is mentioned by Gregoras in 1322 and by Anagnostes in 1430 as a monastery very close to the eastern wall of Thessalonike and not in the foothills of Mount Chorti-

ground in the upper city, it was impossible to make embankments. The Roman and early Christian ruins thus reach present surface level. Built remains of the late Byzantine period were often destroyed by the foundations of modern houses. Old walls which survived among the low-rise houses of the upper city until the latest (1960s and 1970s) building boom may well have dated to the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period. The lack of dense habitation in the upper city is attested by the limited quantity of Byzantine pottery and other small finds of everyday life.

²⁰⁵ Few Byzantine workshops are excavated inside Thessalonike; see K. Th. Raptis, "Παλαιοχριστιανικά καὶ βυζαντινὰ ἐργαστήρια στὴν Ἑλλάδα" (M.A. thesis, University of Thessalonike, 2001), no. 6, p. 38; no. 13, p. 42; no. 186, p. 139, and *Σωστικές ἀνασκαφές 2002*, 11.

²⁰⁶ See note 203.

²⁰⁷ Kantakouzenos III, 42 (CB II, 256): ἅμα ἐκείνοις καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ βοσκήματα, ἃ ἦν αὐτῷ περιουσία, παραλαβὼν, ἠὲ τομολήσας πρὸς μέγαν δοῦκα ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ.

²⁰⁸ Kantakouzenos III, 93 (CB II, 570): πρὸς τὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα ἀοίκητα μέρη ὑπεχώρει.

²⁰⁹ A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 92.

²¹⁰ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. V (St. Petersburg, 1898), 211.

²¹¹ Sv. Popović, "Shaping a Monastery Settlement in the Late Byzantine Balkans," in *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism*, Papers from a Symposium held at the Frederick R. Weisman Museum, University of Minnesota, March 10–12, 2000, ed. S. McNally, BAR International Series 941 (London, 2001), 130–31. Philotheos mentions that in the early 14th century Gregory Palamas and other monks settled in Thessalonike because of the insecurity prevailing on Mount Athos (D. Tsames, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἀγιολογικά ἔργα. Α΄, Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι* [Thessalonike, 1985], 452).

ates.²¹² It is no accident that not only individual monasteries but also large monastic centers, such as Mount Papikion in western Thrace, and smaller ones too, such as Synaxis near Maroneia, declined and were abandoned in the thirteenth century.²¹³ The monks from these monastic centers very probably moved to the nearby cities of Maroneia and Peritheorion, whose fortifications were being repaired. I have no reason to doubt that, for the same reasons, new monasteries were being established within Thessalonike, on the fringes of the city, and in the upper city, because these areas offered available sites, owing to the reduction of the residential space, isolation, and cultivable plots, as the numerous water cisterns in the area indicate.²¹⁴

Cemeteries

During the seventh and eighth centuries the *extra muros* cemeteries ceased to be used regularly and burials appeared inside the city.²¹⁵ The insecurity of the *extra muros* areas, the development of the neighborhoods, together with the new microcosmic perception of the city, were all factors contributing to this development. For this reason, among the commonest finds during rescue excavations inside Thessalonike are Byzantine graves, which are found almost everywhere: in monastery courtyards, around churches, wherever space was available. The tombs are of various kinds: pit-graves mostly, and also cist-graves and clusters of large barrel-vaulted tombs, which repeat the form of early Christian barrel-vaulted tombs.²¹⁶ The tombs of the late Byzantine period are usually rather makeshift structures, and nails found inside them suggest that the dead were buried in wooden coffins or laid out on wooden litters.²¹⁷ The head, resting on a “pillow” of stone or brick, was surrounded by stones to support it, and the face was covered with a roof tile. The occupants were frequently accompanied by an open vessel or personal items, such as *enkolpia* or jewelry. The bones from earlier burials were collected and laid at the feet of the deceased, and metal buttons from their grave clothes are found scattered about.²¹⁸

²¹² Gregoras, VIII, 11.4–6 (CB 356–57). Anagnostes, 30.29. A. Vakalopoulos, “Ἡ παρὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην βυζαντινὴ μονὴ τοῦ Χορτοαῖτου,” *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 15 (1939): 281–88, repr. in *Παγκαρπία*, 203–9. Janin, *Grands centres*, 414–15.

²¹³ Ch. Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Monasteries in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (Synaxis, Mt. Papikion, St. John Prodromos Monastery),” in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, ed. A. Bryer and M. Cunningham (London, 1996), 49 and 53.

²¹⁴ D. Nalbantis, “Ἡ κινστέρνα στὴν ὁδὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 3 (1989): 283–85. D. Nalbantis, “Θεσσαλονίκης ὑδρευτικά,” *ibid.* 5 (1991): 271–82. Konstantinidou, “Νεότερα στοιχεία,” 246.

²¹⁵ E. Marke, “Τὰ χριστιανικὰ κοιμητήρια στὴν Ἑλλάδα,” *Δελτ. Χρ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 23 (2002): 172–75. This was a widespread phenomenon and is observed in Constantinople too. Leo VI’s 53rd novel (ed. P. Noailles and A. Dain, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI, le Sage* [Paris, 1944], 203–5), which permitted cemeteries inside cities, simply endorsed a custom which had become widespread (C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IVe–VIIe siècles* [Paris, 1985], 57–58).

²¹⁶ D. Makropoulou and A. Tzitzimbasi, “Σωστική ἀνασκαφικὴ ἐρευνα στὴν ὁδὸ Κασσάνδρου 90,” *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 7 (1993): 364–66. I. Kanonidis, “Νεότερα στοιχεία,” 184, fig. 1 and 185, fig. 2.

²¹⁷ For wooden coffins in late Byzantine cemeteries, see A. Agelarakis and Ch. Bakirtzis, “Cemeteries at Polystylon (Abdera),” *Rhodopica* 1 (1998): 57–68.

²¹⁸ D. Makropoulou, “Τὸ βυζαντινὸ κοιμητήριον τῆς μονῆς Βλατάδων,” *Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη* 7 (1993): 235–44.

VII

The picture we have of Thessalonike in the late Byzantine period is as follows. The city still had its Roman and early Christian fortification wall and covered the same area and had the same street plan as in the Roman period. Meanwhile, a large inhabited acropolis had been added to the north part of the city. However, in the middle and late Byzantine period, the core of urban life and the city's main functions were confined to the lower city, shifted slightly toward its eastern part. There were densely inhabited residential neighborhoods with churches and markets in labyrinthine insulae, in which the houses had shared courtyards and private chapels. Between them were old churches (*katholikoi*) and monasteries. Inside the lower city were open ruined spaces, which were used by workshops and as burial grounds. This urban core was not bounded by an enclosure, but had free access to the upper city. Although the upper city was still within the city limits, its decreasing population had gradually been abandoning it ever since the middle Byzantine period, and the available space was being taken over by monasteries, gardens, small plantations, workshops, or used as burial grounds. All these functions also took place in the open country outside the city walls.

So, to answer the question which I asked earlier on, Thessalonike's size in the late Byzantine period was not commensurate with its area, which was bounded by the fortification walls, but smaller and confined mostly to the lower city. However, the distinction is not apparent in the late Byzantine texts concerning Thessalonike. The description of late Byzantine Thessalonike which I have attempted applies to Thessalonike the theory of *dioikismos* developed by A. Bryer for Constantinople partially.²¹⁹ The acropolis and the harbor area appear in the fourteenth century as separate quarters in Thessalonike since they had clearly different functions, military and administrative in the first and commercial and maritime in the second. On the contrary, Manuel II refers to early fifteenth-century Thessalonike as a whole in his recommendation to Demetrios Chrysolares to visit the city.²²⁰ The same conception is hinted at in Anagnostes' description of the fall of Thessalonike; the city was the entire entity, protected by its walls and by its *myroblytes* patron, St. Demetrios.

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²¹⁹ Bryer, "Dioikismos," 263–79.

²²⁰ G. T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 112–14, letter 43: "everything is within the walls; there you may walk about if you desire without hurting your feet, whether you wish to relax, play, take a breath of fresh air, or enjoy the beauty of the flowers; and so there is no need for you to ride about on a noble horse."