

## SEEKING THE MARKETPLACES OF BYZANTINE THESSALONIKE

Medieval Thessalonike, being the only constantly active—apart from Constantinople—urban centre of the empire and the main commercial hub of the Illyricum, controlled both the official and unofficial mercantile activity throughout the European lands of the byzantine territory. Commercial exchanges in local network and overseas international trade were equally combined in the city's life, furnishing its prosperous economy that presented, certainly to a lesser degree, the same characteristics with the economy of the byzantine capital<sup>1</sup>.

During the period in question, Thessalonike is referred as prominent production centre of precious metal<sup>2</sup> and glass-works, as well as a manufacturing and retailing centre of luxurious soft goods as textiles, leathers and furs<sup>3</sup>. At the same time, the city's marketplaces formed the main outlet for the agricultural and stockbreeding products of its immediate hinterland, the centre of the regional trade of a vast inland, which after the conquests of Basil II was greatly extended to the lands of medieval Serbia, as far as Belgrade<sup>4</sup>, as well as the meeting point of interregional<sup>5</sup> or at some point international trade, since the city became the main place of commercial exchange with the Slavs and the Bulgarians<sup>6</sup>. Even though the trade with the Bulgarian merchants was trans-

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<sup>1</sup> G. Dagron, "The Urban Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries", in: A. E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, II, Washington DC 2002, 403.

<sup>2</sup> S. Kissas, "Η Μεσαιωνική Θεσσαλονίκη ως κέντρο μεταλλοτεχνίας", in: *Ε' Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Πρόγραμμα-περιλήψεις ανακοινώσεων*, Athens 1985, 32–33.

<sup>3</sup> Dagron 2002, 403.

<sup>4</sup> A. E. Laiou, "Exchange and Trade, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries", in: Laiou (ed.) 2002, 725–726.

<sup>5</sup> Thessalonike was receiving products from the southern and western Greek regions, some of which have been economically integrated by the city. See: N. Oikonomidès, "Le Kommerkion d'Abydos: Thessalonique et le commerce bulgare au IXe siècle", in: V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morisson (eds), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin*, II, VIIIe – XVIe siècle, Paris 1991, 241–248.

<sup>6</sup> Dagron 2002, 403.



Fig. 1 Map of Thessalonike wherein the areas, where manufacturing or retailing activity had been developed, are spotted.

Сл. 1. Карта Солуна са означеним деловима града где су обављане и развијане трговачке активности.

ferred from Constantinople to Thessalonike by Leo VI in 8947, it was Basil II who connected the city not only with the conquered Balkan inlands but with the central Europe as well, opening and securing the land routes through Belgrade<sup>8</sup>; Thus, he formed the conditions in order Thessalonike to be developed into an important outlet for the trade with the Danubian lands<sup>9</sup>. In addition, once annually, the city received also products from Italy, the western Mediterranean and the Arab lands—thus operating as center of collection and redistribution of the international trade<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Oikonomidès 1991, 246-247. Laiou 2002, 726. Ch. Bakirtzis, “Imports, exports and autarky in Byzantine Thessalonike from the seventh to the tenth century”, in: J. Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium. Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans*, II, Berlin – New York 2007, 104.

<sup>8</sup> The route between Thessalonike and Belgrade is attested from the middle of the tenth century in the *Administrando Imperii* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperii*, F. Moravcsik (ed.), R. J. H. Jenkins (translation) [Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 1/Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1], Washington 1967, 182, 42:15-18. See also: K. M. Hattersley-Smith, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and Early Eleventh Centuries AD, with Special Reference to the Towns of Byzantine Macedonia* [Μακεδονική βιβλιοθήκη 83], Thessaloniki 1996, 192. Laiou 2002, 726. Bakirtzis 2007, 105.

<sup>9</sup> Laiou 2002, 726.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Where, therefore, were organized the marketplace or the marketplaces of Byzantine Thessalonike? Was the mercantile activity of the citizens delimited in one commercial centre, or thematic *agoras* for variable kinds of food and non-food, either local or imported, goods were held in different commercial districts within the fortification?—as it is evidenced in medieval Constantinople<sup>11</sup>. The latter is probably implied in the seventh century narration of the Miracles of St Demetrius, wherein the word *agora*—apparently with the significance of marketplace—is used in plural<sup>12</sup>.

The various goods and commodities that are referenced in literary sources<sup>13</sup>—comprising agricultural and stockbreeding products like cereals, fruits and vegetables, wine, oil, milk and meat, as well as artisanal non-food products, both soft-goods as silken, linen and woolen clothing, leather artifacts, mattresses, baskets, candles, and perfumes, and hard-goods as ceramic wares<sup>14</sup>, glass products<sup>15</sup>, golden, silver, copper and iron-smithing artifacts<sup>16</sup>—evidence probably the existence of thematic markets in different locations for food and artisanal, either plain or luxurious, products.

According to dispersed textual sources the marketplaces of the Byzantine city could be both i) permanently commercial neighborhoods, comprising series or complexes of shops—wherein both manufacturing and retailing activities were located—that formed part of the urban fabric and were arranged either along a main street or around an open square, both potentially called *foros*, and ii) series of temporary stalls for commercial transactions arranged on sidewalks and inbuilt grounds. Additionally weekly or annually operated fairs took place inside or outside the fortifications<sup>17</sup>. Following the scattered literary sources in

<sup>11</sup> M. Mundell-Mango, “The Commercial map of Constantinople”, *DOP* 54 (2000), 189-207.

<sup>12</sup> Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), *Άγιου Δημητρίου Θαύματα. Οι Συλλογές ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἀνωνύμου. Ὁ βίος, τὰ θαύματα καὶ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, Athens 1997, 1:3 § 41, wherein the word *agora* is used with the meaning of the marketplace or that of an open public place for social interaction. See also J. - M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne*, Paris 1984, 85, f/note 28.

<sup>13</sup> About the variable trading goods in Byzantine Thessalonike see: Bakirtzis, 2007, 89-113.

<sup>14</sup> About ceramic production workshops in Thessalonike see: K. T. Raptis, “Χωρικές μεταθέσεις του Κεραμεικού της Θεσσαλονίκης από την ύστερη αρχαιότητα έως τους χρόνους μετά την οθωμανική κατάκτηση”, in: *Μνήμη Ν. Καρύδα* (Provisionary title), forthcoming. About ceramic building materials production in Thessalonike see: K. T. Raptis, “Brick and tile producing workshops in the outskirts of Thessaloniki from fifth to fifteenth century: a study of the firing technology that has been diachronically applied in the ceramic workshops of a large byzantine urban center”, in: *Atas do X Congresso Internacional a Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo (X CICM2)*, Silves 22-27.10.2012, forthcoming.

<sup>15</sup> About glass-working establishments in Thessalonike see: A. Antonaras, “The Production and Uses of Glass in Byzantine Thessaloniki”, in: Ch. Entwistle, L. James (eds), *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, London 2013, 189-198.

<sup>16</sup> Kissas 1985, 32-33. Bakirtzis 2007, 99-100.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. Bouras, “Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries”, in: Laiou (ed.) 2002, 497-528, passim. Laiou 2002, 709–710, 730–732, 754–756. K.-P. Matschke,

dialectic comparison with the archaeological evidence, the present paper seeks the locations of Byzantine Thessalonike, where mercantile activity had been developed, and attempts to draw an—even blur—icon of the commercial map of the large medieval urban center.

### I. Intra-muros marketplaces

The earliest reference to a specific *agora* in Thessalonike, with the medieval significance of the word<sup>18</sup>—that of a marketplace—, dates back to the late years of the eighth century. In the third letter that Theodoros Studites—the shortly later *hēgoumenos* of Studios monastery—wrote to his uncle and mentor Platon in the year 797 describing his exile-journey to Thessalonike<sup>19</sup>, the byzantine monk attested that as soon as he entered the fortification through the eastern gate, probably the one called *Kassandreotikē* at the east end of the main street—or alternatively, though less likely, the one called Roma at the southernmost part of the eastern walls—he was guided through the *agora*<sup>20</sup> to the cathedral, the church of St Sophia, where his visit was followed by an invitation to use the baths of the Episcopal palace and dine with the Thessalonian bishop<sup>21</sup>. Thus, he points to an active eighth century medieval marketplace at the southeastern part of the city, inside and probably close to the eastern walls, not far from the *Kassandreotikē* gate, and certainly not further than the junction with the *cardo* that led to the city's cathedral.

The same marketplace is referenced in the ninth century biography of St Theodora of Thessalonike, wherein an *agora* organized close to the

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“Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in: Laiou (ed.) 2002, 779–782 (Matschke 2002b).

<sup>18</sup> The Byzantine meaning of the word *agora*—linked to the Modern Greek use of the word, i.e. marketplace—has been originally discussed by J.-M. Spieser in *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (1984, 86). K. M. Hattersley-Smith, even though agrees with the medieval use of the word, underlines that in Classical Greek the word *agora* was originally used in the sense of marketplace (Hattersley-Smith 1996, 188). See also Bouras 2002, 512: he states that the area where commercial activities were located continued to be called the *agora* until the end of the Byzantine Era. Even though the ancient meaning of the word as the meeting place of the citizens, had forgotten as the vast peristyle fora of the Greek Roman Antiquity had long since vanished under the debris, the area where commercial or exchanging activities were located, probably continued to form the urban scene for social intercourse (Bouras, *ibid.*).

<sup>19</sup> The monk Theodore was banished along with his brother Joseph from the *Sakkudion* monastery after his confrontation with the emperor Constantine VI, regarding the second ‘illegal’ wedding of the latter with *Theodote*, a maternal cousin of Theodoros. See Th. Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759-826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma: der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch*, Bern 1988, 98-101, 107-113.

<sup>20</sup> S Theodori Studitae, “Epistolarum Lib. I, Platoni III”, in: *PG* 99, 917. E. Kaltsoyianni, S. Kotzabasi, E. Paraskevopoulou, *Η Θεσσαλονίκη στη βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία. Ρητορικά και άγιολογικά κείμενα* [KBE, Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες 32], Thessaloniki 2002, 6-7. See also: Hattersley-Smith, 1996, 188-189, and Bakirtzis 2007, 111.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, *PG* 99, 917-918. Kaltsoyianni et al. 2002, 6-7. Hattersley-Smith 1996, 188-189.

*Kassandreotikē* gate—and an unknown church dedicated to St Lukas the evangelist—is clearly attested<sup>22</sup>. The fact that the biographer of St Theodora, a Thessalonian himself, needed to define the aforementioned marketplace as the one by the *Kassandreotikē* gate, implies that this was neither the main nor the most significant marketplace in the city<sup>23</sup>, since the central agora would not need a definition<sup>24</sup>. Since no evidence of Middle Byzantine shops or workshops have been traced in this area, this marketplace could have been an open-air market, set up at the area between the Rotunda and the residential quarters of the definitively abandoned and partially ruined by that period palatial complex of the Late Antiquity; the open space of the Hippodrome that remain inbuilt throughout the Byzantine era seems suitable for the display of temporary mercantile stalls or booths. It is possible, as already has been suggested<sup>25</sup>, that this agora was a daily or weekly based food market, where the peasants of the rural area at the east of the city traded their products with the citizens.

The aforementioned eighth-ninth century *agora* by the *Kassandreotikē* gate differs from the ninth-tenth century over-active marketplace that *Ioannēs Kaminiatēs*<sup>26</sup> described in his narration about the siege and capture of Thessalonike by the Saracens in 904 C.E. The latter seems to have been evolved along the main road of the medieval urban tissue, the so-called *Leoforos*<sup>27</sup>, or *Mesē* (i.e middle street)—probably after the main road of the Byzantine capital. *Kaminiatēs* aiming to emphasize the productive, mercantile and financial significance of Thessalonike, noted that the crowds—both locals and visitors seeking merchandise and commodities [in the agora of the Byzantine city]—were so infinite that would be easier to count the sand-grains of the seashore than the people, marketers and buyers, crossing the city’s main commercial street<sup>28</sup>. There, treasures made of gold and silver and precious stones were traded, along with silken, linen and woolen fabrics. At the same time the artifacts made of bronze, iron, tin, lead and glass, all processed through fire, were so many that a whole new city could be made out of them<sup>29</sup>. According the merchandises that *Ioannēs Kaminiatēs* listed, the Middle Byzantine commercial district of non

<sup>22</sup> S. Paschalides (ed.), *Ὁ βίος τῆς ὁσιομάρτυρος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ*, Thessaloniki 1991, §9.

<sup>23</sup> A. Xyggopoulos, *Συμβολαί εις την τοπογραφία της Βυζαντινῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1949, 16.

<sup>24</sup> This *agora* near the *Kassandreotikē* gate is identified as the main mid-Byzantine marketplace of Thessaloniki by Bouras (2002, 512-513) and R. G. Ousterhout (“Houses, Markets and Baths: secular architecture in Byzantium”, in: A. Drandaki, D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi and A. Tourta (eds), *Heaven and Earth, art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, Athens 2013, 213).

<sup>25</sup> Bakirtzis 2007, 111.

<sup>26</sup> Ioannis Kaminiatae, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae* (Ἰωάννου κληρικοῦ καὶ κουβουκλησίου τοῦ Καμενιάτου, *Εἰς τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*) [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae IV. Series Berolinensis]. Berolini – Novi Eboraci 1973, § 9.6-9; also in: *PG* 109, 537-540.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, § 9.6; *PG* 109, 537.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, § 9.7; *PG* 109, 537.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, § 9.8-9; *PG* 109, 537-540.

food, both luxurious and plain, artifacts, was organized, as the corresponding marketplace of Constantinople<sup>30</sup>, in the middle of the urban tissue and along the central street of the city, the *Leoforos*, which seems that during the late ninth and the beginning of the tenth century was packed with merchants from all over the world, who were buying and selling both local and imported wares.

Recently, part of the *Leoforos* along with its intersection with the *cardo* that led to the Constantinian harbour, were excavated at the construction site of one of the *intra muros* Metro-stations (*Venizelou*)<sup>31</sup>. Small shops with workshops or storages in the back-rooms and shop-fronts, open directly on the road in the form of semi-open spaces with rough-made parapets and sheds, were set up along and on both sides of the *Leoforos* from the ninth century and thenceforth<sup>32</sup>. The minor findings, namely numerous ceramic, copper, bronze and glass artefacts, including fine jewellery, crucibles and small scale moulds for jewellery casting<sup>33</sup>, as well as ceramic rods for middle-Byzantine glazed wares firing<sup>34</sup>, clarify the operation of a strictly non-food marketplace along the main street of Thessalonike.

However, the territorial extent of that diachronic marketplace along the *Leoforos*—documented in the area of Venizelou Metro-station—cannot be attested with certainty since it could be either extended from gate to gate or restricted only in the city's central district, around the prominent crossroad with the *cardo* leading to the port<sup>35</sup>. Evidence about the operation of both Middle and Late Byzantine workshops that occasionally have been traced from the area close to the Golden gate as far the neighborhood of the Rotunda<sup>36</sup>, near the *Kassandreortikē* gate, point to the former opinion.

<sup>30</sup> Mundell-Mango 2000, 189-207. See also L. Lavan, "From polis to emporion? Retail and regulation in the Late Antique City", in: C. Morisson (ed.), *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, Washington D.C. 2012, 333-377.

<sup>31</sup> E. Marki, S. Vassiliadou, "METPO Θεσσαλονίκης 2008. Το έργο της 9ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων", in: *AEMTh* 22 (2008), 297-306. M. Païsidou, S. Vassiliadou, S. Tzevreni, "Μετρό Θεσσαλονίκης 2009: το έργο της 9ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων", in: *AEMTh* 23 (2009), 255-266; M. Païsidou, S. Vassiliadou, K. Konstantinidou, "Μετρό Θεσσαλονίκης 2010: το έργο της 9ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων", in: *AEMTh* 24 (2010), forthcoming. D. Makropoulou, S. Vassiliadou, K. Konstantinidou, S. Tzevreni, "Πολεοδομικές παρατηρήσεις για την παλαιοχριστιανική και βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη με αφορμή τα ευρήματα των ανασκαφών του METPO κατά το έτος 2011", in: *AEMTh* 25 (2011), forthcoming. D. Makropoulou, K. Konstantinidou "Μετρό Θεσσαλονίκης-Σταθμός Βενιζέλου. Αρχαιότητες σε διαχρονική συνομιλία", in: *AEMTh* 26 (2012), forthcoming.

<sup>32</sup> Makropoulou et al. 2011. Makropoulou, Konstantinidou 2012.

<sup>33</sup> Makropoulou, Konstantinidou 2012.

<sup>34</sup> K. P. Konstantinidou, K. T. Raptis, "Archaeological evidence of an eleventh century kiln with rods in Thessaloniki", *Atas do X Congresso Internacional a Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo (X CICM2)*, Silves 22-27.10.2012, forthcoming.

<sup>35</sup> The territorial extent of the marketplace along the main street of the city could be answered by the findings of the *intra muros* Metro-station excavations, which will be studied and published by the archaeologists of the 9<sup>th</sup> Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, S. D. Vassiliadou and Kr. Konstantinidou, who were in charge of this large scale research.

<sup>36</sup> Raptis, *Μνήμη Ν. Καρύδα*, forthcoming.

The same non-food market was also evolved around the inbuilt—derelict by that time—lower square of the former Agora<sup>37</sup>, the so-called *Megaloforos*<sup>38</sup> (i.e. large forum), in the western portico of which—where, according to the *Passio Altera* of St Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonike was arrested during the Diocletianic persecution—the coppersmith workshops were established since the Late Antiquity<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> The *Agora* of Thessalonike—with the antique significance of the word, as political and social civic centre—was organized around two large squares located in the middle of the city between the two main *decumani* of the urban tissue. These squares, arranged due to the sloping morphology of the terrain in different levels, were defined by two-storey porticoes. The systematically, though partially, excavated upper square of the Roman Agora complex—measuring approximately ninety meters from north to south and one-hundred and forty-five meters from east to west—comprised i) three double porticoes with two-storey colonnades arranged along the west, east and south side of an opened to the north, rectangular paved square, where-around the city's administrative services were concentrated, ii) an *Odeion* behind its east wing, iii) a public-archives chamber at the southeast corner, and iv) a double, vaulted, *cryptoporticus* beneath its southern wing (about the Late Antique Agora of Thessalonike see: Ch. Bakirtzis, “Περὶ τοῦ συγκροτήματος τῆς Αγορᾶς τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης”, in: *Ancient Macedonia*, II, Thessaloniki 1977, 257-269, wherein the precedent bibliography; idem, “Ἡ Αγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στα παλαιοχριστιανικά χρόνια”, in: *Actes du X Congress International dell' Antiquite Chretienne*, II, Thessaloniki 1984, 5-19. Spieser 1984, 82-89. G. Velenis, “Ἡ αρχαία αγορά τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης”, *AAA* 23-28 (1990-1995), 129-141. Hattersley-Smith 1996, 120-122. P. Adam-Veleni, “Ἡ δεκάχρονη πορεία εργασιῶν στὴν Αρχαία Αγορὰ Θεσσαλονίκης 1989-1999”, in: P. Adam-Veleni (ed.), *Αρχαία Αγορὰ Θεσσαλονίκης I, Πρακτικά Δημερίδας για τις εργασίες των ετών 1989-1999*, Thessaloniki 2001, 15-38; eadem, “Thessaloniki: History and Town planning”, in: *Roman Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 2003, 146-148.). At the lower level and outside the southern wall of the *cryptoporticus* a series of mercantile work-shops was annexed (Adam-Veleni 2001, 15-38), which showcase the development of manufacturing and retailing activity in the area—even though, these functions were probably restrained only in the lower level. A monumental stairway led from the southernmost portico of the upper square to the yet unexcavated and consequently unstudied lower square of the *Agora* complex—with estimated dimensions two-hundred and fifty meters on the east-west axis and one-hundred and fifty meters on the north-south one. Regarding the lower square, only the, once existed, two-storey portico of the “idols”—widely known as “*Las Incantadas*” (I. Baldassare, “*Las 'Incantadas' di Salonicco*”, in: *Studi Miscelani* 22 (1974), 23-35. *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand – La Macédoine antique*. L'album dell'exposition, Paris 2011, 576-588)—is known.

<sup>38</sup> Bakirtzis 1977, 258-259, f/note 6-8, wherein the precedent bibliography. Spieser 1984, 84. Hattersley-Smith 1996, 121. The word *Megaloforos* that evidently describes the area of the large Roman Forum exists only in the relatively early text of *Passio Altera* of St Demetrius (see f/note 39). The definition *megalos* (i.e. large) in the probably Late Antique textual source was probably added in order to define the specific place to the Thessalonian audience, and distinguish the Agora complex from smaller probably squares that were evolved during the 6<sup>th</sup> century along the *decumanus maximus* of the city, which by that time would have been also called *foroi* or *fora*. The remains of an analogous restricted forum or *foro*—an open monumental square—has been partially unearthed in the Late Antique layers of the Venizelou Metro station excavation (Makropoulou, Konstantinidou 2012).

<sup>39</sup> Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), *Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θαύματα. Οἱ Συλλογὲς ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἄνωνύμου. Ὁ βίος, τὰ θαύματα καὶ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, Athens 1997, 36. See also: F. Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* [Subsidia Hagiographica 8], Brussels 1957, 497. About the chronology of this textual source and its final transcription, see: A. Mentzos, *Το προσκύνημα του Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης στα βυζαντινά*

It is characteristic that, even though the upper square of the Agora was abandoned as early as the fifth century, thenceforth occupied by light industrial workshops for ceramic, glass and metal production<sup>40</sup>, the retail shops that were located at the lower level of the upper square's south wing—all accessible from a narrow marble-paved road that was running between the upper and the lower square of the Agora—were constantly repaired by byzantine merchants and remained in use until the thirteenth or the fourteenth century<sup>41</sup>, selling probably fine pottery, glass and metal artifacts, including jewellery, as it can be assumed by the numerous byzantine stone and ceramic jewellery moulds<sup>42</sup> that have been found in their context.

Workshops with retail shop-fronts seem to have been also coexisted with residential buildings; these—usually two-storey with the manufacturing or the retailing activity in the ground-floor rooms and the residential places in the upper-floor—were arranged around an open or semi-open courtyard and formed small economic units<sup>43</sup>, in the periphery of largest marketplaces. Even though in Thessalonike analogous mercantile courtyards have not been evidenced by excavation, their morphology and arrangement is documented through textual sources; twelfth century documents deriving from the archives of the Docheiariou monastery contain references to analogous commercial units that have been run in enclosed yards that existed either near the *Leoforos* or the lower agora square<sup>44</sup>.

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*χρόνια*, Αθήνα 1994, 85. About the *Chalkeutikē stoa* and its identification with the western portico of the Agora's lower square, see: A. Xyggopoulos, *Συμβολαί εις την τοπογραφία της Βυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1949, 16-20. The scanty remains of an arched portico that probably formed part of the south wing of the Agora's lower square have been also documented just to the southeast of the Byzantine *Panagia ton Chalkeon* church (Bakirtzis 1977, 258-259, f/note 6-8, wherein the precedent bibliography. Spieser 1984, 84. Hattersley-Smith 1996, 121). This artisanal and mercantile activity outlasted through the centuries: the coppersmith workshops engaged the specific place until the end of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth century. It is worth mentioning that the byzantine church (known today as *Panagia ton Chalkeon*) that was erected in the early eleventh century at the southwest corner of the former lower square of the Roman Agora complex was altered during the period of ottoman occupation into a *camii*, known as *Kazancilar*, i.e. mosque of the cauldron-makers. Moreover, the modern street (*Chalkeon str.*) that is parallel to the west of the modern municipal park, where the lower square of the Roman Agora originally existed, is still occupied by coppersmith shops. M. HadziIoannou, *Άστυγραφία Θεσσαλονίκης, ήτοι τοπογραφική περιγραφή τής Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1880, 95. Hattersley-Smith 1996, 127, 193; Bakirtzis 2007, 99.

<sup>40</sup> G. Velenis, N. Poulou-Papademetriou, St. Zachariadis, “Λύχνοι της ύστερης αρχαιότητας και των πρώιμων βυζαντινών χρόνων από την Αρχαία Αγορά της Θεσσαλονίκης, in: *AEMTh* 23 (2009), 282-283.

<sup>41</sup> Adam-Veleni 2001, 31.

<sup>42</sup> Unpublished; today exhibited in the new site-museum of the Roman Agora in Thessalonike.

<sup>43</sup> K. M. Matschke, “The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries”, in: Laiou (ed.) 2002, 471 (Matschke 2002a).

<sup>44</sup> N. Oikonomidès (ed.), *Actes de Docheiariou. Édition Diplomatique* [Archives de l'Αthos XIII], Paris 1984, 60-88, nos 3-4.



A sale-contract dated in 1112 refers to the real estates of *Eudokia*, daughter of the *patrikios Grēgorios Vourion* and wife of the *protospatharios Stephanos Rasopolēs*, whose dowry contained, among others, a series of (work) shops located on the *Kato-foros* in the neighborhood of *Katafygē*, where her paternal courtyard laid<sup>45</sup>. The urban estate of *Eudokia* is topographically set near the *Kato foros*, which by that period could mean either the sixth century *Megaloforos*, the still inbuilt lower square of the Roman Agora, or the lower of the main streets of the city, namely the *Leoforos*, which could have been defined as lower in order to be distinguished by the street that was running in front of the basilica of St Demetrius, between the *Letaia* and the New Golden gate, along which Byzantine manufacturing and commercial units have been also evidenced<sup>46</sup>.

According to an exchange contract, dated in 1117, *Nikēforos Vourtzis* and his wife Anna granted to the *Docheiariou* monastery half of their suburban estate (*proasteion*) in *Vrya*, in exchange of seven two storey workshops arranged on the three sides of an open courtyard in Thessalonike, also in the neighborhood of *Katafygē*<sup>47</sup>. According to their description<sup>48</sup>, the seven two storey workshops were arranged at the three sides of an open yard. Two of them, built with worked stone, formed the north wing of the complex and had a covered balcony supported on three marble columns. The rest five that formed the west and south wings of the complex, were constructed with less elaborated stone- and brick-built masonry and had balconies supported on wooden pillars. At the free of buildings wall of the courtyard a kiln (or an oven?) was attached. Based on the antique characteristics and the building quality of the thoroughly described in the 1117 document building, it has been suggested that this property was a partially maintained wing of a Late Antique structure, probably part of an urban villa or a public stoa which was altered into workshops and townhouses during the tenth or the eleventh century<sup>49</sup>.

Apart from the analytical description of the market-yard, a topographical information deriving from the same textual source is that this probably family-running commercial unit was accessed from a street that run on the axis E-W and led to the so-called *Sthlavomesē*<sup>50</sup>, probably an organized *agora* in the middle of the urban tissue that could be identified as the inbuilt area of the former, pre-ascribed, *Megaloforos*<sup>51</sup>, which by that period would probably served the trade with the Slavs<sup>52</sup>. Even though nothing else is known about the *Sthlavomesē*—attested only in the aforementioned exchange contract—it can be assumed that from a certain period the trade of the Thessalonians with the Slavs and consequently the Bulgarians was moved from the port area and prob-

<sup>45</sup> *Actes de Docheiariou*, 60ff., especially 62, 71, no. 3.56-57.

<sup>46</sup> Raptis, *Feiftschrift for N. Karydas*, forthcoming.

<sup>47</sup> *Actes de Docheiariou*, 84, no. 4.27-28.

<sup>48</sup> *Actes de Docheiariou*, 86-87, no. 4.74-86.

<sup>49</sup> Hattersley-Smith 1996, 194.

<sup>50</sup> *Actes de Docheiariou*, 74, 78-82.

<sup>51</sup> *Actes de Docheiariou*, 79.

<sup>52</sup> Laiou 2002, 730.

ably restricted in one place in the central district of the city in order tax-losses to be avoided. Based on the morphology of the terrain, the rectangular shape of the inbuilt lower square of the former Agora complex, and the information provided in synchronous texts regarding other open air markets—namely the *Timarion* account about the arrangement of the merchantile stalls and booths during the extra muros Demetria fair—it can be suggested that wooden booths or stalls were set up in straight parallel lines, forming probably a grid of commercial corridors.

One more contract, dated in the late fourteenth century, mentions two urban estates in Thessalonike: a residential one in the neighborhood of St Demetrius and a series of manufacturing or retailing workshops at the *Kato Mesē* (i.e. the lower square or avenue). It seems though that the topographical term refers probably to the lower avenue, the *Leoforos* and not the unoccupied area of the former Agora lower square<sup>53</sup>.

The topographical information in these contracts apart from describing the location of the sold or exchanged estates, give some hints about the mercantile significance of the shops or workshops that were placed close to the main marketplace of the city, even if they were located at the backstreets of the central commercial neighborhood and not accessed immediately through the *Leoforos* or the *Sthlavomesē* square.

Apart the aforementioned extended non-food market in the city center and along the main horizontal axes of the urban tissue, it seems probable that a commercial district would also exist on the southwestern side of the city, near the constantly active Constantinian harbor, where the dockyards, the state warehouses and the customs services under the control of *kommerkiarioi* or *abydikoi*, were located<sup>54</sup>. Recently, rescue excavations conducted inside the fortifications and just north of the Constantinian harbor basin, apart from the remains of the Early Byzantine dockyards and state granaries, brought to light parts of Middle Byzantine warehouses that were probably related with the office of the *Vassilika Kommerkia*<sup>55</sup>. These along with various manufacturing and mercantile establishments, mainly potteries, which have been documented near the port area<sup>56</sup> and dated from the ninth century and thenceforth, give a blur icon of the trading network inside the port area in the middle age.

Later, during the Late Byzantine period, and even though the harbor is characterized by *Demetrius Kydonēs* as large and populous as a second city<sup>57</sup>,

<sup>53</sup> *Actes de Docheiariou*, 258ff, especially 261, 264, no. 49.35-36.

<sup>54</sup> Bakirtzis 2007, 94-95. E. Marki, “Το Κωνσταντίνειο λιμάνι και άλλα βυζαντινά λιμάνια της Θεσσαλονίκης”, in: Fl. Karagianni (ed.), *Proceeding of the International Symposium “Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea”*, Thessaloniki 4-6.12.2013, Thessaloniki 2013, 174-181. A. Chatziioannidis, Chr. P. Tsamissis, “Οι λιμενικές αποθήκες της Θεσσαλονίκης. Από τα δημόσια ὠρεῖα στην αποθήκη τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμερκίων”, in: Fl. Karagianni (ed.) 2013, 187-202, wherein the precedent bibliography about the ports of Thessalonike. For the *kommerkiarioi* (eighth to eleventh century) or *abydikoi* (ninth century) see: Oikonomidēs 1991, 241-248, especially 244-245.

<sup>55</sup> Chatziioannidis, Tsamissis 2013, 194-197.

<sup>56</sup> Raptis, *Μνήμη Ν. Καρύδα*, forthcoming.

<sup>57</sup> Demetrii Cydonii, “Occisorum Thessalonicae Monodia” (Δημητρίου Κυδωνίου,

the commercial activity in a significant port as that of Thessalonike can only be supposed, since there are few literary and archaeological evidence about the evolvment of organized trade in the area<sup>58</sup>. By the few related textual sourc both commercial and money exchange activity seem to have been evolved in the streets to the north and the northeast of the harbor near, or around, the prosperous parochial church of St Menas, where-about the so-called *Foros tou Stavriou*<sup>59</sup> also existed—even though it is uncertain if this particular street or square was actually the place where the main mercantile activity of the harbor neighborhood was held<sup>60</sup>. Evidence of a fourteenth century pottery workshop that produced luxurious decorated glazed pottery were found north to the harbor, in the area where the early Byzantine dockyards. At the same time a lease document dated in the year 1400 refers to a perfumery near the St Menas church<sup>61</sup>.

At the same area of Thessalonike, close to the harbor and along the commercial streets of the St Menas neighborhood, apart from workshops and retail-stores, money exchange tables and offices, the so-called *katallaktika trapezia* or *trapezotopia*, were also set up<sup>62</sup>. As it is attested in textual sources of the period in question, these activities were mainly held by middle-class citizens either on simple tables or in rough-made wooden booths. Most of these money exchange booths were owned either by Thessalonian aristocrats or wealthy monasteries that rented their posts in middle class shroffs and smaller scale bankers<sup>63</sup>.

In the year 1400 two shroff-tables are referred to be next to a perfumery and pharmaceutical shop near St Menas church. These exchange tables that probably had the form of small booths annexed to the façade of the main building and operated immediately on the commercial road of the neighborhood were leased by the tenant of the adjacent perfumery in order to be incorporated in the main store and be used as shop-windows<sup>64</sup>.

There is no evidence about the locations of the *intra muros* food-markets, and we can only hypothesize that, likewise medieval Constantinople<sup>65</sup>, in Thessalonike there were also specialized markets for different kinds of food-stuff as bread, meat, fish, oil and wine, located in different places in the center of the city. It is notable that in a Late Byzantine text a *protomakelarios*, that

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*Μονωδία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη πεσοῦσι*), in: *PG* 109, 641.

<sup>58</sup> Matschke 2002a (f/note 43), 472-473.

<sup>59</sup> *Actes de Chilandar*; 60, 62, no. 27.

<sup>60</sup> Matschke 2002a (f/note 43), 473.

<sup>61</sup> F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II, Wienn 1860-1990, 524-525, no. 664. Perfumeries were probably consisted an uprising market of the period in question, since during the Late Byzantine period an *exarchos ton myrepsion* (i.e. chief of the perfumers) is also referenced in Thessalonike; see Matschke 2002a (f/note 44), 493.

<sup>62</sup> Miklosich, Müller 1860-1990, II, 525, no. 664. N. Oikonomides, “Το μερίδιο των μοναστηριών στην αγορά της τουρκοκρατούμενης Θεσσαλονίκης (1400)”, in: *Ζ' Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη “Σταυροπηγιακές και Ενοριακές Μονές”*, Thessaloniki 1995, 73-79. Matschke 2002a (f/note 44), 482.

<sup>63</sup> Matschke *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Miklosich, Müller 1860-1990, II, 525-526, ar. 664).

<sup>65</sup> Mundell-Mango 2000, 189-207.

is the chief of butchers, is mentioned in Thessalonike<sup>66</sup>. According to the account of *Ioannēs Anagnostēs* about the siege of Thessalonike by the Ottomans in 1430, the marketplace of the city was far from the fortification and it was difficult for the defendants of the city to leave the ramparts in order to obtain the needs that in war time were probably foodstuff<sup>67</sup>.

## II. Extra-muros markets and fairs

Even though there is no evidence about the *intra muros* food markets that could hypothetically have been located in the lower districts of the city, where the meat, fish and green grocery markets of Ottoman *Selanik* were also held, the operation of probably unofficial *extra muros* food markets is indirectly attested. In the Life of St Theodora, is referenced that the ninth-century nun of the urban Thessalonian monastery of St Stefanos was exiting the city for cheaper foodstuffs<sup>68</sup>, probably in semi-organized markets held by peasants of the suburban plains, where, according to the texts, cultivated fields, vineyards, orchards, crops, as well as stockbreeding farmsteads were spread. In these semi-organized markets the citizens were probably able to buy fresh-cut food-goods cheaper than in the official food markets that existed inside the fortified city<sup>69</sup>.

In the plains outside the fortification—apart from the temporary, semi-organized, food markets that occurred in the crops and the farmyards—the *plinthokerameia*, the ceramic building material producing units, were also operated, where the display and the trade of the production took also place. During the Middle Byzantine period the brickyards that existed to the west of the fortification, were probably operated near the road that led from the hinterland to the *Letaia* gate, whereas well organized Byzantine brick and tile producing establishments existed also outside and close to the Roma gate at the southernmost part of the eastern walls, in an area called *Kaminia*<sup>70</sup> (i.e. furnaces) as early as the tenth century. During the Late Byzantine period the brick and tile market was moved along the road that led from the western plain to the Golden gate, almost one kilometer far from the walls<sup>71</sup>.

During the Middle Byzantine period in the plain, outside the Golden Gate, an annual international fair came into existence, described in the pseudo-Lucianic dialogue *Timarion*. According to this, probably exaggerating, twelfth century account—wherein the flourishing commercial activity of Byzantine Thessalonike is underlined—merchants from all over the world, namely Greeks, Mysians coming from as far as the Danube and Scythia (i.e. Serbs, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Russians), Italians, Iberians (i.e. Spaniards), Lusitanians (i.e.

<sup>66</sup> Matschke 2002a (f/note 43), 493.

<sup>67</sup> Joannis Anagnostae, *Narratio de exterio Theddalonicensi excidio* (Ἰωάννου Ἀναγνώστου, *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*), in: *PG* 156, 595-596.

<sup>68</sup> Paschalides 1991, § 23.16-19.

<sup>69</sup> Bakirtzis 2007, 103-104.

<sup>70</sup> P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (eds), *Actes de Lavra, I, Des origines a 1204* [Archives de l' Athos V], Paris 1970, 101. See Bakirtzis 2007, 108.

<sup>71</sup> Raptis, *X CICM2*, forthcoming.

Portuguese), Transalpine Celts (i.e. Gauls), Phoenicians (i.e. Syrians) and Egyptians, were streaming in the city in the occasion of the *Demetria*<sup>72</sup>, the annual fair in honor of the city's patron saint<sup>73</sup>. The greatest of all fairs, as characterized by *Timarion*, was a large, finely organized and probably specialized, open air market for variable merchandises, from threads, textiles, household equipment and furniture to breeders as cattle, sheep, and pigs<sup>74</sup>. Describing the fair, *Timarion* notes that the temporary merchants' stalls, booths or tents, were set up facing each other in straight parallel rows, which were extended for a long way. The lines of the tents were arranged far enough apart in order to form a walkway in the middle that was wide enough to allow space for the teeming crowd to move. At various points at an angle to the rows, other booths were set up forming smaller traverse lines that along with the longitudinal corridors formed in plan a regular, rectangular, grid, consisted of commercial alleys<sup>75</sup>. The *Demetria* fair continued to exist, though it is not clear until which date it was held outside the city. Sometime in the Late Byzantine period, due to the troublous political situation around the city, it probably moved in an open public space inside the fortification<sup>76</sup>. In the troublous early decades of the fifteenth century, at least two more *panegyreis*, urban fairs, apart from that of St Demetrius, has been attested at the churches of St Sophia, *Hagioi Angeloi* (Rotunda), and possibly a fourth one near the church of the Acheiropoietos<sup>77</sup>.

The definitive end of the city's famous urban fairs was marked by the conquest of Thessalonike by the Ottomans in 1430, as *Ioannēs Anagnostēs* attested in his *threnos* for his beloved native city<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> *Timarion* §5.114-123: R. Romano (ed), *Timarione* [Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana 2], Naples 1974, 53; B. Baldwin (ed), *Timarion, Translated with Introduction and Commentary*, Detroit 1984, 44).

<sup>73</sup> Laiou 2002, 765. See also A. Laiou, "Η Θεσσαλονίκη, η ενδοχώρα της κι ο οικονομικός της χώρος στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων" in: *Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία 324-1430*, Thessaloniki 1995, 183-194.

<sup>74</sup> *Timarion* §6.148-157, 161-163: Romano 1974, 55; Baldwin 1984, 45.

<sup>75</sup> *Timarion* §5.129-137: Romano 1974, 54; Baldwin 1984, 44-45.

<sup>76</sup> About the *Demetria* fair during the Late Byzantine period see Matschke 2002b (f/ note 17), 781-782.

<sup>77</sup> S. Kugeas, "Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessaloniki aus dem Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts," in: *BZ* 23 (1914-15), 145ff, nos. 27, 29. Matsche *ibid*, 781.

<sup>78</sup> Joannis Anagnostae, "Pro viribus acta Monodia de excidio urbis Thessalonicensis" (Ἰωάννου Ἀναγνώστου κατὰ δύναμιν Μονοδιά ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης), in *PG* 156, 631 - 632.

Константинос Т. Раптис  
ТРАГАЊЕ ЗА ТРГОВАЧКИМ МЕСТИМА ВИЗАНТИЈСКОГ СОЛУНА

Базиран на недостатним књижевним изворима и археолошким доказима, рад има за циљ указивање на могућа места у византијском Солуну где су обављане трговачке активности. Рад такође преиспитује постојање трговачких улица у сразмерно великом урбаном простору Солуна. Истовремено, показује се и могућност установљавања трговачке мапе града од средњевизантијског периода све до пада под отоманску власт.