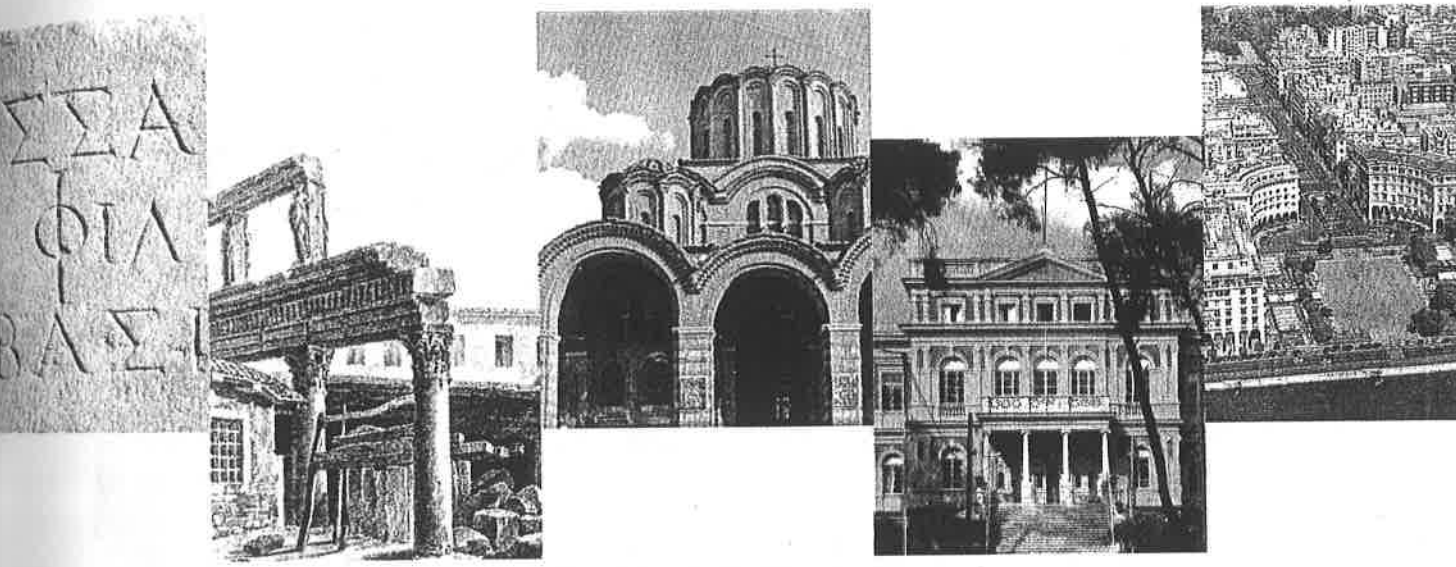
QUEEN OF THE WORTHY

Thessaloniki

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LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN BYZANTINE THESSALONIKI

Vassilis Katsaros

17 Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews:

2And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the scriptures,

3opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ.

4And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.

5But the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people.

6And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;

7Whom Jason hath received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus.

8 And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they had heard these things.

9And when they had taken security of Jason, and of the other, they let them go.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, 17, 1-9



An important place in early Christian Thessaloniki's literary production is occupied by the Books of the Martyrdom of the city's patron Saint Demetrios (here in a frescoe by Panselinos in the Protaton of Mt Athos).

This passage from the Acts of the Apostles shows how, in the very first years of the Christian era, the city received the message which was to become the predominant doctrine in its intellectual and spiritual life, and how this new element came into conflict with a complex society with quite distinct ideologies: on the one hand, the Greek community[1] with its classical traditions[2], and on the other the Hellenised Jewish community, which appeared to have hidden sources of power in the city[3]. From the combined forces of these two groups would spring the new ideology which would eventually

predominate. Thessaloniki had active synagogues throughout the Byzantine period. One of these, judging by a bilingual (Greek and Samaritan)[4] inscription found near the Panaghia Chalkeon church, was in the heart of a Jewish neighbourhood[5]; there was another near the Hippodrome[6], and other in various parts of the city[7]. Besides these inscriptions, there is other evidence of the presence of a Jewish community in Thessaloniki, including references in later books of the lives of the saints[8]. Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1159) mentions 500 Jews, under the leadership of their scholarly Rabbi, Samuel[9]. Eustathios speaks of their great numbers throughout the city[10], which facilitated the installation first of the Romaniote Jews and later of the Ashkenazim (1376) and the Sephardim (1391)[11]. These are all indications that, despite their adherence to their manners and customs, they co-existed peacefully with the Greeks and the Christians in Thessaloniki.

Given a social structure where different cultural elements shifted position within the landscape of the intellectual life of the city, one should remember that by focusing on a single figure in the city one may well, frequently unwittingly, cause others to recede or be overshadowed, or obliterate some of the concentric circles that surround the city and work in synergy towards the integral creation of its intellectual life, which is in any case predetermined by its geohistory. It is thus equally important, for example, to weigh both the city's Hellenistic tradition as well as the subsequent evolution of this tradition in the Roman period, when Thessaloniki acquired the splendour of a prominent Roman centre with a flourishing cultural life[12]. A major administrative and commercial centre like Thessaloniki displays the continuity of its basic culture-producing mechanisms; in other words, it reveals that it has long had both emitters of cultural signals, on the one hand, and at the same time receivers participating in the cultural life of the city on the other. Creators (artists and men of letters) and intellectuals contributed to the elevation of its cultural level. The evidence of this vital reality is found in the monuments expressive of this structure and its evolution[13].

Of literary monuments from the early period of Byzantine letters in Thessaloniki, written texts forming part either of the general canon or of the upper echelons of literary production, we unfortunately have none. What we do have are indications that literary inquiry never ceased its activity, whether as a continuum of classical tradition, or as a remodelling of the content of its messages from the world of Christianity which seems to have engaged, as a new ideology, the youthful society of the city. Youth organisations, «so common in the Hellenistic and Roman ages»[14], still constituted, for the world of ideas and inquiry, for the development of philosophical discourse in the city, the epicentre of intellectual fermentations at the dawn of the new age in which the Roman face of the city was being transformed, as is attested by the account of the «long martyrdom»[15] of Saint Demetrios: «for this reason many of the host of Greeks who came and assembled in the great gallery in the western part of the city, called the coppersmiths gallery, were accustomed to meet in the underground vaults near the public baths»[16].

The *early Christian cycle*[17] which eventually imposed the spirit of Christian ideology on the traditional multi-faceted cultural life of the city included the underground current which created the environment for a literary production of the type of the *Books of Martyrs and the Lives of the Saints*, for the city produced numerous saints. A very special place is occupied by the «Martyrdom of Saints Agape, Irene and Chionia»[18], a text which

attests both to the existence and circulation of books as tools for the spiritual development of the city's youth, as is also evident in the local martyrology of the city, the archetypal ancient text of the «Martyrdom of Saint Demetrios»[19], which for centuries constituted the nucleus of Demetrian hagiological tradition.

The early Christian cycle also includes the first *Christian inscriptions*[20], which constitute a far from negligible chapter of the literary history of the city, not only because they reflect its social and intellectual level, but also because certain of their texts are metrical literary compositions, a continuation of classical poetical tradition which flourished in this particular form of letters in Thessaloniki and which a number of later poets strove to keep alive.

The social problems of the city were a source of inspiration for poets living far away but who kept a finger on its pulse. In his «Iambics addressed to Seleucus», Amphilochios of Iconium[21] described the horror and distress inflicted on the population of Thessaloniki by the central authorities who sowed such terror with the massacre of people in the Hippodrome in August of the year 390[22]. While no local voice was raised in protest against this tragic event, there was another current which influenced the intellectual and social life of Thessaloniki from the end of the 5th century on, and which was to play an active role in the daily life of its people, and that was *monasticism*. The socially compassionate initiatives of the monks, more closely attuned to the everyday problems of the people, made possible the creation of a climate of harmonious co-existence in the long history of the city (a splendid example is the Latomos Monastery, with the restless figure of its blessed founder, Hosios David)[23], and this spirit of harmony is imprinted both in the tradition of panegyrics[24] of which he was the subject as well as in the distillation of the level of education in the unique mosaic in the katholikon of the monastery[25].

Such a level of culture, radiating from the periphery towards the centre, existed in Thessaloniki during the reign of Justinian, when it sent to the Imperial capital the first scholar to devote himself to the service of Byzantine historiography, Petros Patrikios Magistros[26]. The continuity of the spirit of Hellenism, which pervades the faces of the martyrs in the mosaics in the Rotunda, or the similar figures portrayed in the church of Saint Demetrios, drew to a finish as far as the intellectual life of Thessaloniki was concerned with the close of the reign of Justinian, which more or less marked the end of the early Christian period. It is not fortuitous that during this period the life of the city developed the antibodies of its own defence and constituted its own expression focusing on the veneration of Saint Demetrios, the patron saint of the city and its protector in all the difficult moments of history that were yet to come.

The connection with the Demetrian *cycle* of literary production (rhetoric, chronicles, hymnography)[27] and its devotion to the classical style which is reflected in the early mosaics in the basilica of Saint Demetrios, is evident much later in the elegant inscriptions accompanying the portraits:

> *«Here you see the builders*
> *of this glorious House, on both sides*
> *of the martyred Demetrios,*
> *who with barbarous storm drove*
> *away the barbarian fleet and saved*
> *the city»*[28].

The texts of these perfect epigrams, with their concision of expression,

> *«Blessed martyr of Christ, friend*
> *of this city, protector alike*
> *of citizen and stranger*[29]*»,*

and their thematic consonance with the encoded portraits,

Saint Demetrios constituted for centuries the nucleus of Thessaloniki's hagiological tradition. The Saint's figure is also portrayed in various mosaics, created in Thessaloniki's artistic workshops, such as this portable icon of XII cent., kept in Xenophontos Monastery of Mt. Athos.

«Behold[30] in the youth of Leon
the fire-consumed temple before
that of Demetrios»,

are paradigms of a literary production at the same time revelatory of the climate which created and elevated Demetrian written expression. But the text in the Latomos Monastery also reveals this inclination to highly skilled, esoteric literacy:

«+ All-embracing source of life,
food for the souls of the faithful,
this most estimable house»[31].

The trend associated with early hymnography created a continuum also related to tradition still cultivated in the art of the inscription in Thessaloniki, and which was still vital late in the 7th century. Who can have been the scholarly poet behind these elegant inscriptions? It may have been one of the learned bishops of that age, perhaps one of those who conceived and created works of art. It was the ranks of the learned bishops that produced the rhetorical literature dedicated to Saint Demetrios[32]. On the basis of the common archetypal text of the Martyrdom, which may be attributed to the 5th century, we have two other versions of the Martyrdom, which developed possibly as early as the 6th century and through the 7th century, one more concise and the other a more extensive treatment[33]. These are the sources for subsequent texts on the Martyrdom of the Saint, including the compendium produced by the Patriarch Photios in the 9th century[34].

The veneration of Saint Demetrios, the celebration of his memory and the response of the masses which flocked to take part in these manifestations, fostered the ecclesiastical rhetoric (homilies and panegyrics) which diverted classical forms of expression into products of a theological nature, with the bishops of Thessaloniki and the clergy of the church of Saint Demetrios here leading



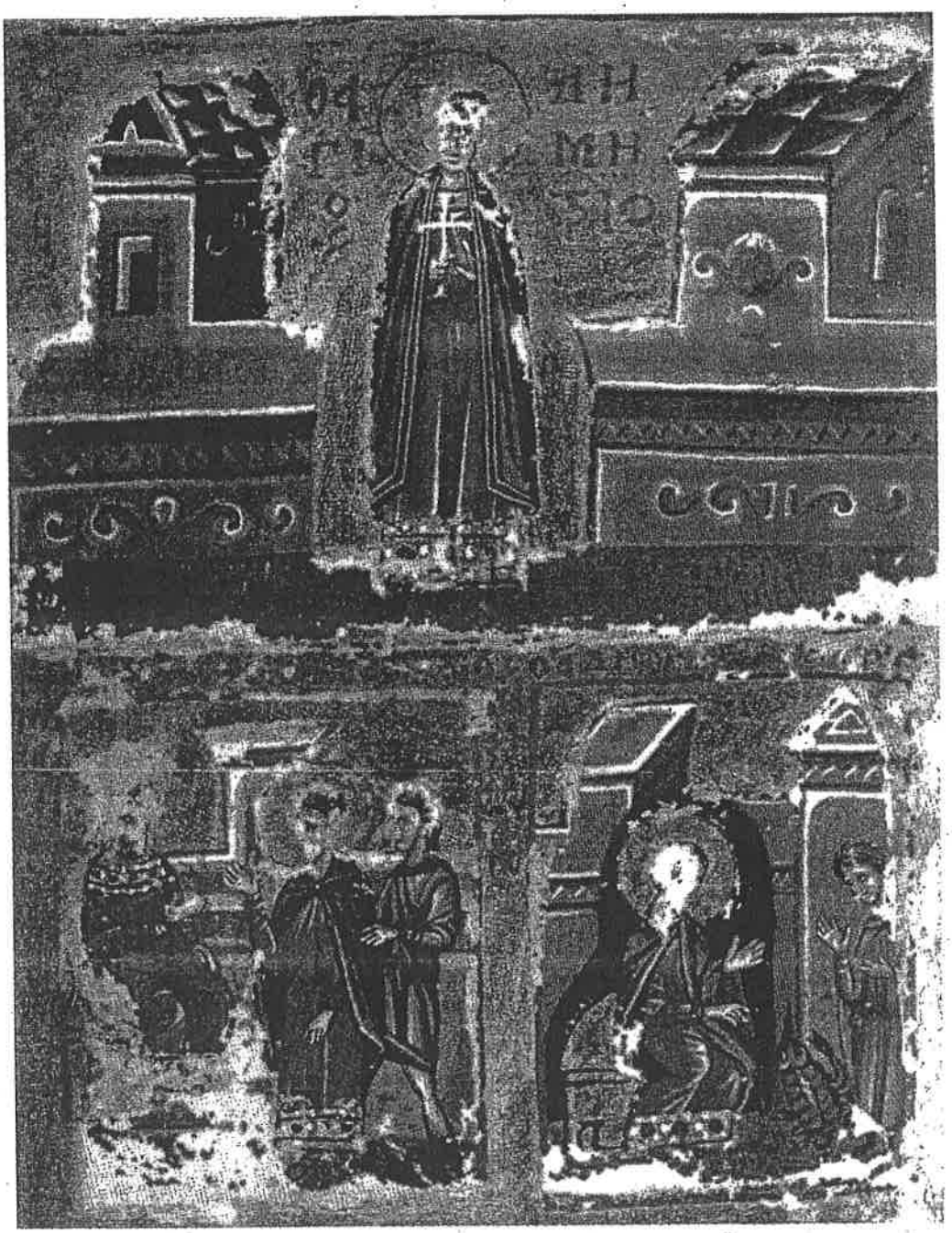
the way. One of the most outstanding of these figures was Archbishop John, who flourished in the period 610-630[35]. Of his work we have only a few of his religious homilies, dedicated to the principal figures of the Christian faith and to the major feast days of the church year. Those composed for the Feast of Saint Demetrios seem to have been based on, or even in parts copied from, the *First Book of the Miracles* of Saint Demetrios[36]. This work is not merely a monumental celebration of the city's patron Saint, but is also the most important source both for the state of learning and the survival of the Hellenist tradition in the city as well as for relations between Byzantium and the Slavs, then appearing on the scene and turned more towards the beacon of Thessaloniki[37], the greatest commercial, social and intellectual centre in the Balkans[38]. While the text of the *Miracles* was rewritten several times during the long history of the Byzantine Empire, the two 7th century collections, by Archbishop John and another cleric of the same name, are most expressive of the time and place of their composition, and characteristic of that current in the social and intellectual life of Thessaloniki commonly described as *religiosity*.

The religious note is also predominant in the early Demetrian hymns. Thessaloniki was the origin of a musical tradition of liturgical hymnography dedicated to Saint Demetrios, and the two hymns «Αθλοφόρε, ἅγιε[39]...» and «Μέγαν εὑρατο»[40] constitute the nucleus around which developed an eponymous hymnographic tradition in honour of the Saint in other centres, especially in the 7th and 8th centuries[41], and which accompanied, as we shall see, the veneration of the Saint as it spread through the Slav-speaking world[42].

Another figure in the network of communication between Thessaloniki and Constantinople (chiefly)[43] and other Byzantine centres was Hippocentios of Maroneia[44], who in the 6th century was corresponding, in Latin, with Presbyter Thomas the Thessalonian on matters of doctrine. The chance preservation of a single letter, however insignificant as an example of the epistolary art, which was of course the natural form of communication, proves that despite the fact that Latin was fast giving way to Greek, there were still scholars in Thessaloniki who could compose in Latin, knowledge of which remained essential after Illyricum[45] became part of the Patriarchal Empire of the East, for correspondence with the Papal West. Thessaloniki was undeniably a centre for this type of communication.

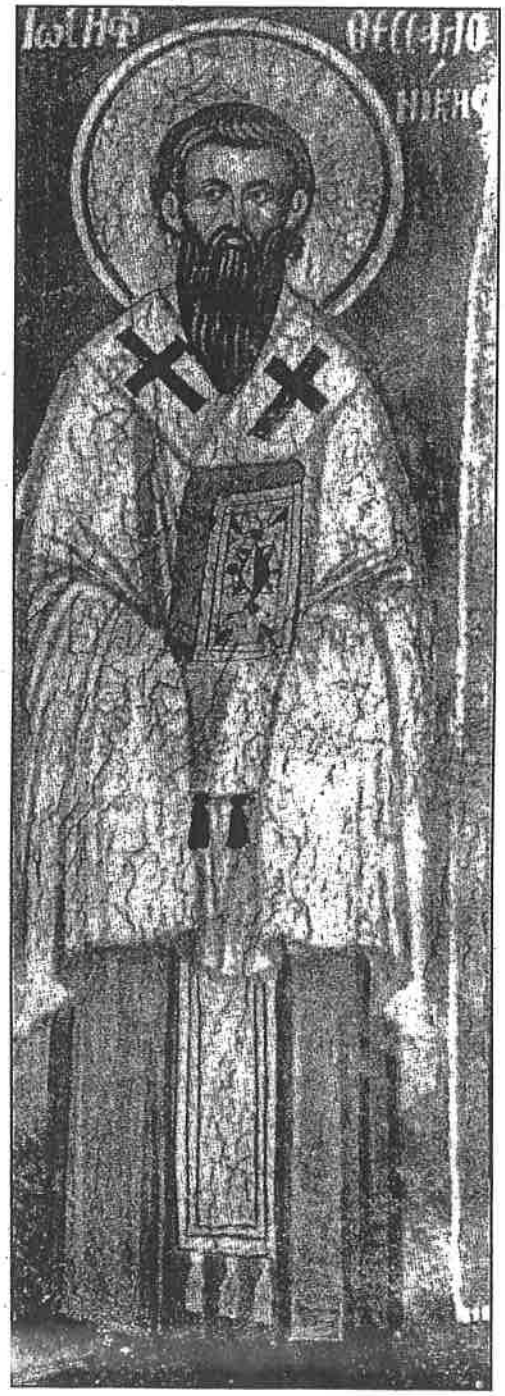
Another point which underlines the contact between Thessaloniki and the *centre* of the Empire, the epicentre of intellectual creativity, was the presence in Thessaloniki in the 8th century, a period when the Empire was shaken by the socio-religious controversy over the issue of icons (a conflict which left its mark on Thessaloniki as well[46]) of the Stoudites. Theodore the Stoudite, an important intellectual figure in the world of Byzantium, lived in exile in Thessaloniki[47], while his brother Joseph became the city's bishop in 795[48], bringing to this city both the light of the ideology that ruled the great monastic foundation of the imperial capital[49] as well as the family tradition of the Stoudites. Joseph was a master of both ecclesiastical rhetoric and religious or liturgical poetry, following in the footsteps of his brother, enriching the liturgical books with his hymns, composing with his brother new ones (the Triodion) or reworking older ones (the Octoechos)[50]. The contribution of Joseph the Stoudite to what was known as the «religious current» in the intellectual history of Thessaloniki was indeed substantial.

Thessaloniki's contributions to the religious current do not, however, mean



An illuminated Greek manuscript, made in a Thessalonian scriptorium. It depicts scenes of Saint Demetrios's life and martyrdom.

that the city's intellectual questing was focused entirely and exclusively on religious life. The functions of the broader environment imposed the development of other types of activities. The curious association of Justinian II with the extensive manuscript tradition of the *Agrarian Law*[51] and the recent hypothesis that this legal compendium, which is related to other earlier collections of statutes and is an invaluable text on the history of Roman/Byzantine jurisprudence, was prepared in Thessaloniki[52], adds a new dimension to the problem of the 85 agrarian statutes which established a legal framework for the tillers of the soil in their daily labours in the countryside, touching on such matters as security and damages[53]. Is there really a connection between this Compendium, composed in the late 7th and early 8th century, and Thessaloniki? Is its connection with Justi-



Saint Joseph, Thessaloniki's archbishop in late VIII century, was a master of both ecclesiastical rhetoric and hymnography.

nian II related to his presence in Thessaloniki in the autumn of 688[54], when he settled certain legal matters (attribution of the revenue of the Kitros salt-pans to the clergy of the Church of Saint Demetrios)[55] in the context of the measures being imposed in the region on account of, among other things, the establishment of Slav colonies? Earlier research linked the composition of this text with the issue of colonisation; but it was later considered that this extremely important work, which provides, among other things, information about the state of Byzantium's villages in that period, should be dissociated from the former issue. Recent conclusions, however, seem to point to the extreme likelihood that the Agrarian Law originated in Thessaloniki[56]. If this is so, then literary production in Byzantium's second city was certainly not channelled exclusively towards the intellectual needs of its religious life: it touched upon problems of everyday life, albeit in a technical document, and strove to associate the intellectual with the material, the material element of everyday activity with the intellectual element of spiritual inquiry.

This perspective makes it possible to seek the origins of the conjunction of the celebration of the Feast of Saint Demetrios with other types of manifestations and activities, for example trade fairs, where contacts between the people of the city and neighbouring Slav populations, within the framework of the open Byzantine political ideology, were imposed also by the severance of the latter from a certain point on from the Byzantine capital: their sole centre for trade and commerce was the port of Thessaloniki. Thus was gradually established the complex cultural phenomenon of the Demetria, the pattern for the fairs that later became so common and frequent. These contacts facilitated the cultural assimilation of the Slav element to the orthodox Byzantine population, and paved the way for what would later become an official policy, the conversion of the Slav peoples, a policy which had its roots, and not by chance, in Thessaloniki[57].

Towards the end of the period of the iconoclastic controversy, the Bishop of Thessaloniki, and one of the last of the moderate opponents of the use of icons,

was Leo the Mathematician[58], a paradigm of the 9th century humanist «renaissance». Born in the Thessalian town of Hypate (?), Leo spent some time in Andros with scholar/teacher Michael Psellos, channelling his restless thirst for knowledge into the study and collection of ancient manuscripts. In Constantinople, where he went seeking his fortune, he continued his studies and acquired a reputation as a scholar and a teacher. Assisted by his relationship to Patriarch John VII Grammatikos, he was appointed in 840 to the Archbishopric of Thessaloniki, where he remained until 843. His presence in Thessaloniki can be considered as a continuation of the temporal current which co-existed with the religious to a point which permitted the scholar-bishop to develop mathematical and astrological theories in his ecclesiastical orations (such as for example the Homily on the Annunciation of the Virgin, pronounced in the church of the Acheiropoietos)[59] and even to advise his flock on how to use knowledge of meteorological and astrological conjunctions to ensure the best possible harvest. The careful guidance of this good shepherd made him a beloved figure in the city, so much so that the people forgot all about his iconoclastic affiliation. A whole my-

Emperor Justinian II's presence in Thessaloniki in the autumn of 688 (depicted here in a frescoe preserved in the basilica of Saint Demetrios) is probably connected with the extensive manuscript tradition of the so-called «Agrarian Law».



thology grew up around his legendary mastery of mathematics; he was the first to introduce the Greeks to algebraic calculation, centuries before it was known in the West, and he was sought by the Arab University of Baghdad as a teacher[60]. He later became a pillar of the Imperial University in Constantinople, founded by Emperor Vardas, where he is known to have been at least until 869. To his interests and initiatives we owe the preservation of manuscripts containing works by Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy, Diophantes, Apollonius and even Plato, and his practical work in optical telegraphy and on the acoustic mystery of the Sigma Palace as well as his mechanical devices for the Palace of Theophilos are well-known. If one adds to all this his accomplishments in Medicine and Poetry (some of his epigrams are included in anthologies of Greek literature), then it is easy to see how he won the appellation of the first European Humanist, many centuries before the Western Renaissance[61].

There is another connection between this mighty scholar and the intellectual life of Thessaloniki, and that is that he was teacher of the «Apostles to the Slavs», Thessalonians Constantine/Cyril and his brother Methodios[62]. The influence of the climate created in Thessaloniki on the level of the Byzantine approach to its Slav population on the one hand and, on the other, the role played by Leo the Philosopher Mathematician by his very presence in Thessaloniki, were the determinant factors in the lives of these two brothers, who grew up and received their basic education in Thessaloniki. Methodios' subsequent position as a government official in Macedonia facilitated his contacts with the Slav world. Driven to Constantinople by the lack of institutions of higher education in Thessaloniki, Constantine eventually became a professor at the Vardas University, whence his epithet of «philosopher». His knowledge of languages encouraged the state to use him as an ambassador to the Arabs and Khazars, where he met up once again with his brother Methodios, now a monk. When Ratislav, the King of Moravia, asked Byzantine Emperor Michael III to organise a missionary expedition to his realm, the two brothers were ready to perform this monumental mission: to transmit to the Slav world, in their own language, written in an alphabet devised for this purpose, the content of Christian teaching, and to create the conditions in which an autonomous Slav culture based on Byzantine civilisation could develop[63]. The miracle which had first appeared in Thessaloniki had played its part. The varied forms of communication between that city and other major centres in Macedonia, such as Achris, and the dependence of the students of these two great men on the city and on its intellectual circles contributed to the dissemination of the light of Byzantine learning to its neighbouring peoples (Bulgars and Serbs). This makes more intelligible the endeavours of the students of Cyril and Methodios to translate into Slavonian the wealth of traditional hymns to Saint Demetrios[64], and the astounding prevalence of the veneration of the Saint among the Slav peoples. This intellectual communication with Thessaloniki is repeatedly attested by the contacts of monks from the city with centres directly associated with Cyrillo-Methodian circles[65].

Over the next few centuries Thessaloniki, without ever severing its ties with the capital, sought to fight its own battles with the contradictions of historical conjuncture.

Early in the 10th century there appeared on the stage of history a figure who was to become known to Byzantine letters as the first Thessalonian historian: John Kameniates[66]. A cleric attached to the church of Saint Demetrios, and a man of

only moderate accomplishments, he left to the history of letters a unique text describing with the truth of the eye-witness the events of the conquest of the city by the Arabs in 904[67]. His work, a mixture of historical narrative, eulogy of the city and chronicle in the style of a personal memoir[68], with a vivacity of style which has induced some doubts if not as to the truth of the events at least as to the date of their writing in relation to the events described[69], writing with the freshness and immediacy of a man intimately familiar with the strength and vigour of life in his city, represents what Thessaloniki was perhaps never fortunate enough to know, the force of, e.g., texts like the «traditions of Constantinople»[70] or the integral expression of the «praise of the city»[71], literary works which, spontaneously and to some slight degree, it approaches. Although the «Conquest of Thessaloniki», limits the range of its content and expression to a familiar readership, the threads of tradition have not been severed from the trends driving the pulse of intellectual life through the veins of the great classical tradition which we saw in the power of inscriptional poetry.

It has been maintained, and to a certain extent both the lack of texts and other indirect evidence makes it not implausible, that Thessaloniki remained outside the «great 9th-10th century philological and artistic renaissance which took place virtually exclusively in Constantinople»[72]. Indeed, from the Life of Constantine/Cyril, we learn that Thessaloniki had neither a teacher nor an organised school capable of providing, in the flowering of the «first Byzantine Renaissance», more than a modest level of education[73]. We may never know whether the Thessalian scholar who compiled in Constantinople the «Euphemian» Collection of 82 inscriptions in the palace of Leo VI the Wise transmitted his lore to the intellectual circles of his native province[74]. The information that another scholar, Grigorios Magistros, who in the first half of the 10th century came to Thessaloniki to record metrical inscriptions from churches and monuments in the city, suggest that the people of Thessaloniki were not deprived of such stimuli[75]. Then too, the breath of this «renaissance» is imprinted in the figures in the mosaic in the dome of the church of Saint Sophia, where the vital bonds with the capital[76] are plain for all to see. Further, information contained in the Life of Joseph the Hymnographer reinforces the view that Thessaloniki, once again with the Latomos Monastery leading the way, also knew a variety of activities of the type that characterised the capital, including scriptoria for copying and illuminating manuscripts and the teaching of Rhetoric and Philosophy[77]. The fact that Joseph remained in Thessaloniki for 15 years suggests another dimension, the relationship between Thessaloniki and the West; and it cannot be considered fortuitous that both during this period and later there appeared on the scene such major figures in the monastic world as Grigorios Decapolites[78], Fantinos of Calabria[79], or Elias Spelaiotes of Reggio[80], figures who, along with other immigrants (Hilarion the Iberian[81]) and local personages of some standing in the monastic world (Theodora[82], Euthymios the Younger[83]), created favourable conditions for the flowering of a significant production or circulation of texts of this type during the 9th and 10th centuries in Thessaloniki.

The creative energy which in the 11th century was channelled into the construction of churches (Panaghia Chalkeon)[84] or the founding of new monasteries in the city and in its immediate environs, for example the great Akapniou Monastery[85], the work of Photios of Thessaly, the spiritual godfather of Basil II, or the famous Hortaitou Monastery[86], created new centres of cultural productivity, as we know from sources

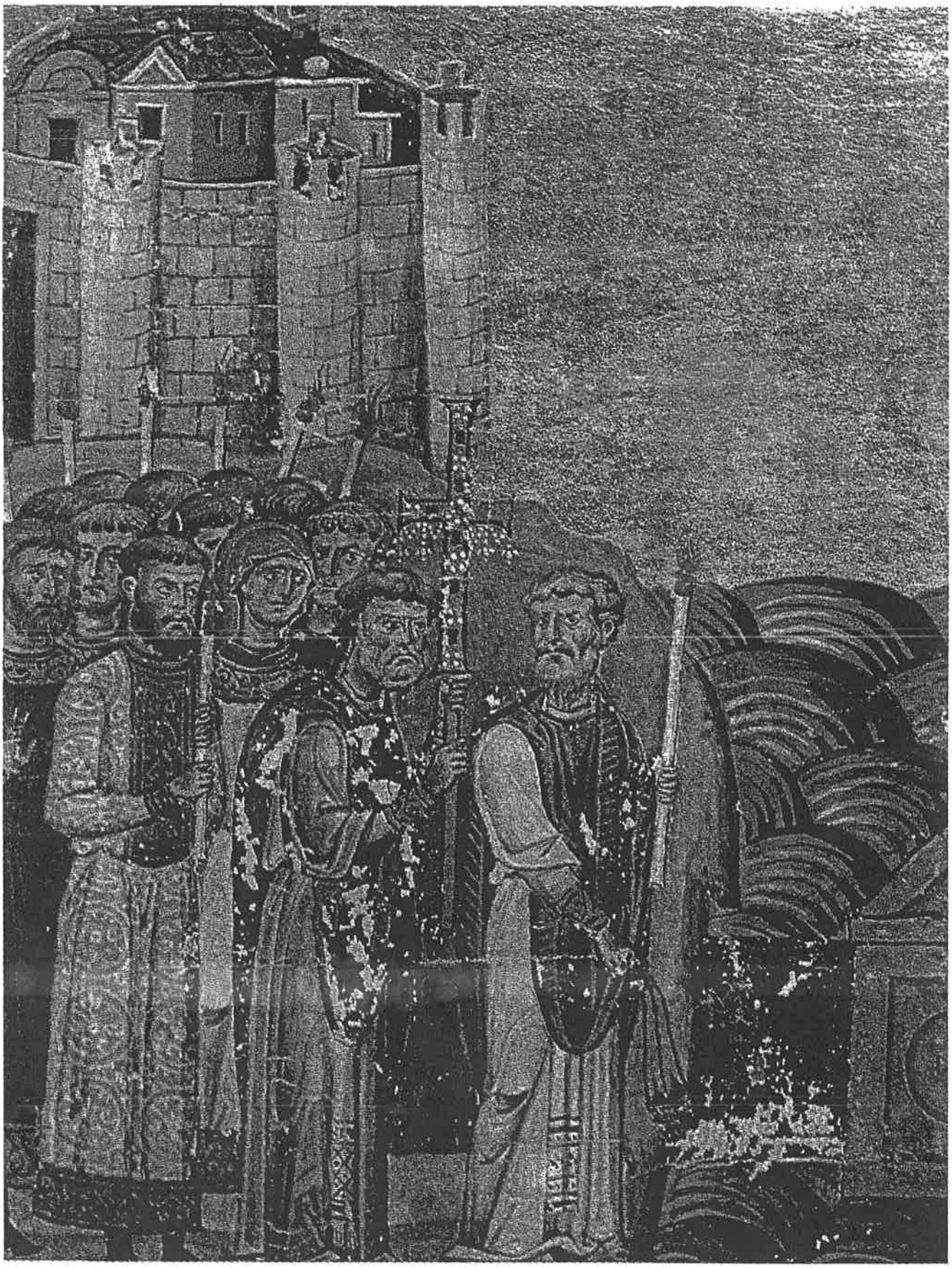
Cyril and Methodios in an illuminated Russian manuscript of the XV century. (p. 189).

attesting the organisation of libraries in these institutions[87]. However, despite efforts to perpetuate the «religious current» in the intellectual life of the city, 11th and especially 12th century Thessaloniki seems to have abandoned this current and its restrictions and to have developed a more purely critical thinking. Freed of the worry of Bulgar invasion and of the weight of superstition that had dominated the end of the millennium throughout the known world, Thessaloniki, like Constantinople, seems to have turned towards exploration of the hitherto suppressed Aristotelian philosophy. The work known as «Timarion: his adventures»[88] is irrefutable proof that Thessaloniki was anything but isolated from the centre of the Byzantine world. This composition, the work of an anonymous follower of Theodoros Smyrnaios, the «supreme philosopher», is famous for the information it provides on the «Demetria»[89]. Written in the form of a dialogue, on the model of Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, it presents two friends (Timarion and Kydion) describing their impressions of their journeys to Thessaloniki and the Underworld. Its pronounced satirical tone and its references to contemporary personalities and events both in Constantinople and Thessaloniki mark the work as an intervention of the critical spirit that was becoming apparent in the search for new definitions and the concept of a new social reality that was dawning with the 12th century[90], in a unique social satire touching also on Thessaloniki's intellectual life.

In Thessaloniki, this new reality found expression throughout the 12th century, and with a certain distancing from the return to former concerns evident in the capital at this time, especially from the line of the official Eastern Church's choices in the sphere of relations with the West. A series of scholar-bishops, such as Michael Choumnos[91], Nicetas (nephew of the bishop of Maroneia, 1132-1145)[92] and Basil of Achris[93], all educated in Constantinople where «university» studies were now a priority[94], besides continuing their own studies, established an open dialogue with the Western Church, giving expression to the



Cyril and Methodios, the two Thessalonian «Apostles of the Slavs», in a miniature of a Greek manuscript of the XI century.



spirit of Aristotelianism before it had made its appearance in western circles. Their ideas are characterised by their conviction of the need for unity in the Christian Church, or at least a rapprochement of its branches, which led them in their treatment of the issue of the Procession of the Holy Spirit to seek ways to facilitate conciliation and smooth over doctrinal differences. Nicetas argued that the western formula filioque was equivalent to the Greek expression «διά του υιού»[95] used by John of Damascus, the great theologian of the Orthodox Church whose work would eventually prevail in western theological thinking in the work of Thomas Aquinas[96], later to become a bone of contention in theological thinking in Thessaloniki. Then, too, Pope Hadrian IV asked Basil to use his good offices with Emperor Manuel I Comnenos for the purpose of discussing church unity. In 1154 Thessaloniki was the site of negotiations with papal legate Anselm of Havelberg[97], which arrived at certain conciliatory concessions on doctrinal differences shared by Nicetas[98], now Abbot of the Akapniou Monastery. This then was the climate, with Thessaloniki acquiring a certain autonomy, in which Eustathios Kataphloros, one of the greatest scholars of the Byzantine world made his appearance on the scene.

Eustathios[99] was a teacher of humanities (maistor ton rhetoron) in the university in Constantinople[100]; sometime between 1174 and 1177 he was translated by Bishop Myron of Lycia to the episcopal throne of Thessaloniki, where he remained until he was recalled in 1191, to return to this position at a later date[101].

The immense classical erudition which enabled him to compose commentaries on Homer[102], Aristophanes and Dionysus Periegetes[103], on the inscriptions in the Hellenic Anthology and the poetry of Pindar[104], did not prevent him from writing, with the felicity of the master, homilies[105] and treatises[106], nor from corresponding with all the most prominent figures in Byzantine society. His shrewd critical spirit enabled him to stigmatise the less savoury aspects of monastic life (see his work on the reform of monastic life)[107], and his penetrating eye led him to make a study of the problems and manifestations of daily life[108], with all the skill of what would today be called a mastery of Human Sciences. His connection with Thessaloniki, however, is best known through his historical account of the capture of the city by the Normans in 1185[109]. Eustathios was both an eye witness and a victim of this calamity[110]. His text, which may be described as a literary creation somewhere between historical narrative and poetical rhetoric, draws a vivid picture of events in the city and provides a detailed analysis of its social structure in the final quarter of the 12th century. As the principle representative of philological scholarship, Eustathios tried to broaden the circle of intellectuals and men of letters, starting with the city's clergy, whom he encouraged to collect, conserve and copy old manuscripts, although the extant evidence of his work is unfortunately very slight[111]. In this same spirit he encouraged the development of scriptoria in monasteries large and small, from the great Akapniou[112] foundation to the Theotokou tou Mastouni Monastery, one of whose copyists, Theodore[113], we know by name.

This climate of fervent intellectual activity, which prevailed throughout the 12th century, also produced a number of other scholarly figures, both secular officials in Thessaloniki on official business, like Nicephoros Prosouch, who chose to declaim his construction work on the walls of city in verse[114], and clerics who were friends of Eustathios and moved in the same circles, like Michael Choniates[115], Bishop of Athens, or Euthymios Malakis[116], Bishop of Neon Patron, who

wrote an ode on his death[117]. Another aspect of this more open century was a growing Serb presence in Thessaloniki, which inaugurated a new reality in both the intellectual and the commercial life of the city[118]. The Philokallou Monastery[119], founded in the late 12th or early 13th century, was generously supported by Savvas, the son of Serbian leader Stephanos Nemanias[120]. Another Serbian monastery, that of St Nicholas, is referred to by Eustathios in one of his treatises[121].

Thessaloniki's lines of communication with the rest of the Greek world were kept open in the following century, when the Fall of Constantinople to the Franks made it necessary to draw tighter the forces resisting the fragmentation consequent on the Latin conquest. Thessaloniki[122] was the centre in which Theodore Doucas was crowned «king»[123], and where a dynamic culture celebrating the optimism of his reign was to develop, finding expression in the construction of monuments both in Thessaloniki itself and in such neighbouring cities as Veria[124]. The orgy of cultural development which accompanied his temporary military successes was marked in Thessaloniki by the active presence of such scholarly clerics as Constantine of Mesopotamia (a retainer of the court at Nicaea), John Apokaukos (principal exponent of the world of ideas in the Despotate of Epirus)[125], and Demetrios Chomatianos[126], Archbishop of Achris, who sanctioned in practice the ideology of the despotate, which however was soon to collapse, as events unfolded unfavourably.

From the rival court of Nicaea, Nicephoros Blemmydes came to Thessaloniki looking for books for his School[127]. Here too came for a time Constantine Acropolites[128], who was to write excellent works on Saint Demetrios[129]. In the second half of the 13th century the intellectual life of the city was marked by two principal trends: one was a powerful renewal of the «religious current», bolstered by a renewal of hymn-writing and by the competent writing of relatively minor authors such as Demetrios Beaskos[130], Petros Tziskos[131] and John Staurakios[132], who wrote a panegyric of Saint Demetrios; while the other foreshadowed what was to happen in the first half of the next century, with a return to antiquity, to the «temporal» current, in other words, to which Thessaloniki was evidently always open.

In the final quarter of the 13th century the links between Thessaloniki and Constantinople were again strengthened by the return to the study of ancient Greek literature, with growing numbers of scholars devoting themselves to studying or perpetuating this tradition. An outstanding personality, an erudite master, was the *ultimate philosopher*, Ioannis Pediasimos Pothos[133]. This circle was centred on the figure of Thomas Magistros[134], a native of Thessaloniki and a teacher of classical literature; he also founded a School in the city, in which he taught for many years, his pupils including many who later made distinguished names for themselves either in Thessaloniki or in Constantinople. He himself visited the capital in 1314, where he enjoyed the favour of the Emperor, Andronicos II, to whom he composed a laudatory address, and establishing there too a wide circle of men of letters. One of his best known works is the lexicon «Ekloge onomaton kai rematon Attikon»[135] (Selection of Attic nouns and verbs), the key to his introduction to ancient literature. His commentaries on classical texts[136] (Aeschylos, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes and Synesios) established him as master of classical scholarship, while his edition of the works of Pindar[137], with commentary, prefigured the purely philological work his distinguished pupils were to produce. While some of his rhetorical compositions suc-

cessfully imitated the style and language of the Second Sophistic, such texts as «On Kingship», «On Statecraft»[138] and «On Harmony»[139] taught social and moral lessons which revealed their author to be a man of broad perception and understanding.

His circle of friends included two men who later became monks, Savvas and Germanos[140], and the distinguished figure of Nicephoros Choumnos[141], for a certain period governor of Thessaloniki. He in his turn created his own circle of scholars and men of letters, including Theodore Kallistos-Xanthopoulos[142] and his more famous brother, Nicephoros[143], a celebrated ecclesiastical historian and teacher of rhetoric during this final flourishing of Byzantine letters. His most distinguished and brilliant pupil, however, was Demetrios Triclines, or Triclinios, who continued to practise in Thessaloniki the profession of teacher of classical literature and student of classical philology[144].

Demetrios Triclinios[145], with his solid grounding in Rhetoric, proceeded to collect and copy classical texts and to produce critical editions of the works of classical poets that excite the admiration of contemporary literary criticism. His profound knowledge of classical metre, matched by few of his humanist colleagues, either in Thessaloniki or Constantinople, enabled Triclinios to edit and comment his editions of the classical poets, correcting hundreds of errors and thus producing better texts[146]. His collector's mania enabled him to work on old manuscripts, which would appear to have been preserved in Thessaloniki since the days of Eustathios. He did not however restrict himself to classical philology[147], but on the contrary developed a wide range of interests, including Astronomy[148], which supports the view that Triclinios was a complex figure, a many-sided scholar who devoted himself with punctilious zeal to the study of classical philology in Thessaloniki and whose contribution moved the level of development of this field of study beyond that achieved by the Palaeologan Renaissance. The affiliation between Thessaloniki and Constantinople, which produced the figure of Theodore Metochites[149], and the peak of development represented by the art of the Monastery of the Great Chora[150], can now be seen in the power of the art in many of the city's monuments, especially that of the Church of the Holy Apostles[151].

The literary currents prevailing in the capital at this time inspired other scholars and men of letters who in one way or another were associated with Thessaloniki and who distinguished themselves in a variety of offices. These included John and Theodore Pediasimos[152], natives of Serres who seem however to have been educated in Thessaloniki. John, who was known as the «supreme Philosopher» and who as well as pursuing a host of other interests wrote commentaries on the works of Hesiod, Theocritos and Aristotle, among others, served as deacon and chartophylax in the Archbishopric of Achris, another centre in many ways dependent on Thessaloniki[153]. His brother devoted himself to rhetorical compositions on matters pertaining both to his native city[154] and to temporal affairs[155] revealing his association with the widely influential cultural circles of Thessaloniki. His association with the city is underlined by his Life of Joseph the Hymnographer[156], who as we have seen was a monk in the Latomos Monastery. Another master philosopher, anonymous this time (Komes? Kometopoulos?) seems also to have been affiliated with the city's literary circle, as well as having written a panegyric on Saint Nestor, the sole text we have on this friend and companion of Thessaloniki's patron Saint Demetrios[157].

14th century Thessaloniki had numerous minor men of letters, including poet



Thessaloniki, with the Latomos Monastery as a leading centre, presented, in late IX and in X centuries, a variety of literary and artistic activities, including scriptoria for copying and illuminating manuscripts. The Monastery contains also marvellous mosaics and frescoes.

like John Katrares[158] and a man known solely as Staphidakis[159], who wrote an epitaph in elegiac couplets on Isaac, the founder of the Kyr Isaac monastery (possibly Aghios Panteleimon?). John Katrares, with his elegant anacreontic verses[160], was a landmark figure in secular literature in Thessaloniki, a sector further developed by poet Manuel Philes[161], who lived for a time in the Macedonian capital.

John Katrares, who also wrote satirical

drama[162], familiar from the verse attack on philosopher Neophytos Prodromenos[163], was also associated with another aspect of classical studies in Thessaloniki, the work of the copyists and calligraphers who made such a contribution to the growth of renaissance spirit that inspired the humanist movement. Katrares practised the art of manuscript copying[164], an activity shared as we have seen by such classical scholars as Demetrios Triclinios[165] and Theodore Pagomenos[166], as well as men of letters like John Zarides[167], producing work for customers with secular interests. Nor did the copying of religious manuscripts lag behind: important figures in this field include Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas[168], a member of a well-known clerical family in Thessaloniki, and Theodore Haghiopetrites[169], whose work enriched the libraries of many of Macedonia's largest monasteries (Mount Athos, the Prodromos Monastery in Serres, etc.).

The libraries of the monasteries in Thessaloniki were endowed with manuscripts donated by faithful sponsors or provided by a variety of other means (Pantocrator Monastery Blatadon[170], Akapniou[171], Kyr Isaac[172], Theotokou Peribleptou or Hypomimneskontos[173]), a fact which once again underlines the spirit of harmony which governed relations between the citizens and the monks and the continued co-existence of both classical letters and theological/philosophical studies, a co-existence which is evident in the classical aspects of the art developed in this city, as we know from extant examples of religious art, aspects which link the artistic activity of Thessaloniki with the centre of the Byzantine world which continued to flourish under such major figures as Theodore Metochites and so many other scholars. This «renaissance» society, however, found fertile soil in Thessaloniki and developed in the heart of Macedonia an intellectual centre fully equal to that of Constantinople.

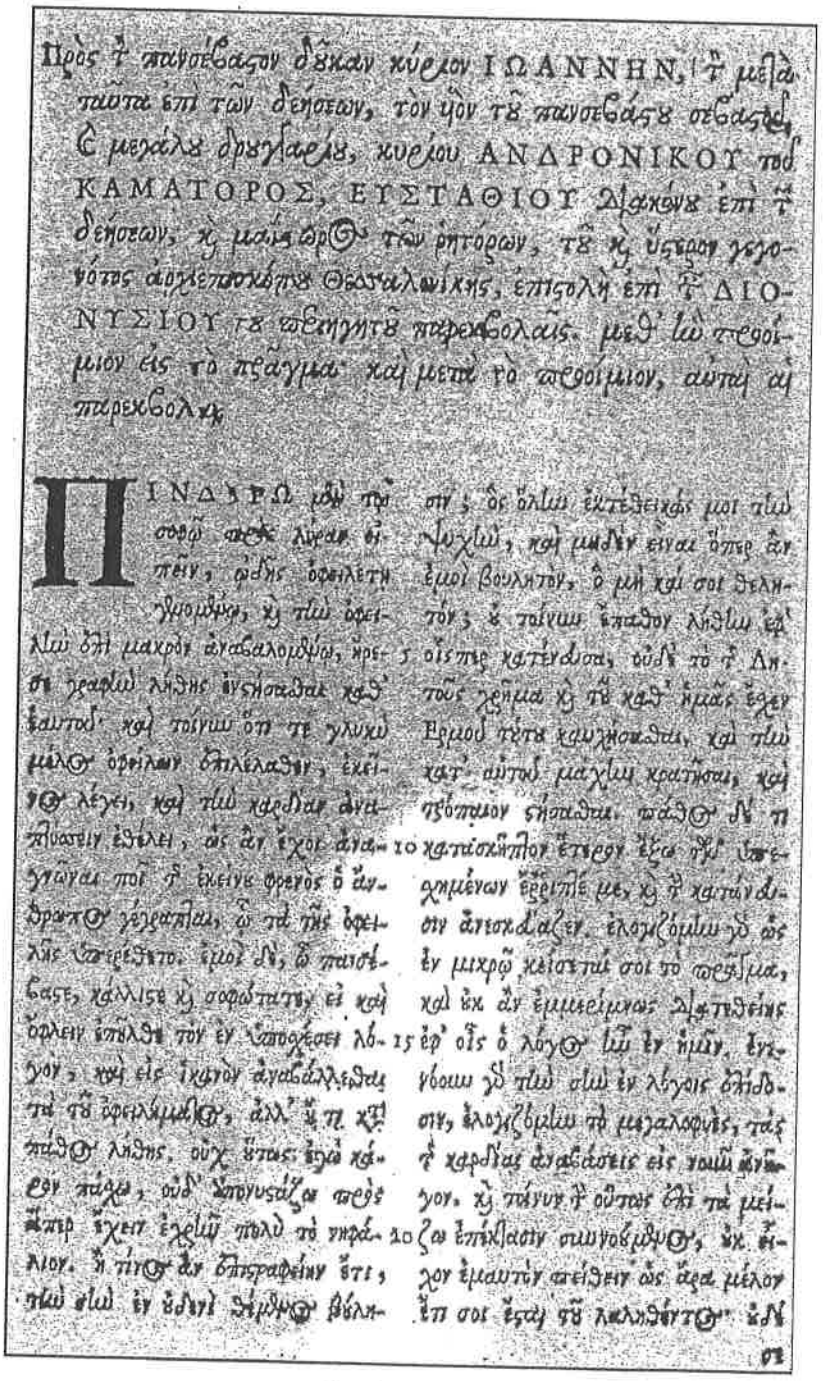
The philological activity which developed in Thessaloniki in this 14th century paved the way for other types of temporal studies as well. The city had long been known for its jurists, men like Manuel Choumnos and Archbishop Nicetas of Maroneia in the 12th century, John Apokaukos and Demetrios Chomatianos in the 13th, or like Bishop John of Kitrous[174], who may have been a native of the city and who certainly resided there for a time late in the 13th century when as senior bishop he replaced Metropolitan Jacob of Thessaloniki[175]; and now, in the 14th century, the renaissance of literary studies seemed to impart renewed vigour to the study of law. The secular wing of the legal world opened with the formerly somewhat enigmatic but now better understood figure of George Phobenos[176], a judge in Thessaloniki, whose short treatises on legal matters and thorough expounding of legal opinion demonstrate that Roman Law was still seriously studied in the city. Our picture of the state of legal studies in Thessaloniki is completed by the presence there of two major legal figures, one from the world of Canon Law and one from the world of Civil Law. Constantine Armenopoulos[177], a judge, or «katholikos kritis», and exponent of the Civil Law in Thessaloniki, is best known for his Hexabiblos[178], a legal handbook which is a compendium of his knowledge of the law, based on its roots in Byzantium and the «Agrarian Law», which may have been compiled in Thessaloniki. The Hexabiblos was widely used[179] throughout the Greek and Slav world[180], and was adopted by the Greek State as the basis of its legal system when it won its independence in the 19th century. Among his other activities, Armenopoulos' «Homily on the Eve of the Feast of Saint Demetrios»[181] is coloured by his particular attachment to the city.

The principal exponent of Canon Law at

this time was Matthew Blastares[182], a monk in the Kyr Isaac Monastery who composed a systematic corpus of Canon Law known as the «Syntagma»[183], an alphabetical compendium with numerous appendices, lists of Byzantine offices and a lexicon of legal terms, which was hugely successful and widely used. He also wrote a number of other works, including orations[184] and systematic studies of practical theology, for he was thoroughly versed in doctrinal and theological matters, which he expounded both orally and in writing. A diverse and many-sided writer, and one of the major figures in both intellectual and government circles, he also composed hymns and poetry[185] and, a fervent classicist, translated classical texts, including those of John Klimakos[186]. In this he was a forerunner of the great wave of translators who did so much, two centuries later, to disseminate Christian theological texts.

The outbreak of the civil war, which began with the death of Andronicos III (1341), blighted Thessaloniki's literary renaissance, which had flourished particularly in the first four decades of this 14th century. The city was now to experience the clash of the two major ideological movements which were to mark the next stage of its history. The social uprising of the Zealots, a movement which initially sought legitimacy in politics and purity in theological doctrine[187], confronted the ascetic theories of the Hesychasts, led by Gregory Palamas and supported by the usurper of the Imperial throne, John VI Cantacuzenos. This great dispute marked the beginning of the decline that typically follows major crises in which there are winners and losers. The great scholars and men of letters who survived the physical and spiritual plague which devastated the city in 1347/48 followed the advice of medical lore for the avoidance of the plague[188] and quitted Thessaloniki, leaving Palamas[189] and his adherents to triumph in their imposition of their doctrine of inaction, in a society which so desperately needed action, dynamism and the vitality to resist the terrible enemy which was even then approaching.

The phenomenon of Hesychasm was a complex development in the spiritual and intellectual life not only of Thessaloniki but of the entire Byzantine world, which may be summarised as a confro-



A page from an early edition of Archbishop Eustathios's Commentaries on Dionysius Periegetes.

Affiliated with Thessaloniki's literary circle seems also to have been the anonymous author of an «Encomion», a panegyric of Saint Nestor (here in an XI century fresco), the friend and companion of the city's patron Saint Demetrios. (σελ. 197).

ntation between the «rationalism» of Western thought and the «sentimentality» of the East. The principal exponent of the former concept was (what else?) a Western monk, Barlaam of Calabria[190], who in 1327 went to Constantinople (like another Italian monk a few centuries earlier, one John), where under the aegis of that great man of letters Andronicos III, he taught philosophy. In 1339 he accompanied the Byzantine delegation to the Synod in Avignon, where he met Petrarch, in whom he inspired a love of Greek. His clash with Gregory Palamas, and his reversion to the West coincided with the death of Andronicos. Philosopher, astronomer and mathematician that he was, he could not adapt to the new climate in the East, which, starting from a concerted anti-Latin propaganda, gradually hardened into politico-religious conspiracy.

After 1224 Thessaloniki became the capital of Theodore Doucas's short-lived «empire» but also a centre of important cultural and literary activities.

Gregory Palamas had been a monk, first on Mount Athos and later in Veria and the Great Lavra, where he became abbot of the monastery and leader of the entire monastic theocracy. His quarrel with Barlaam was sparked by the latter's criticism of the manner of prayer on Mount Athos, but its deeper origins lay in his philosopher's dislike of the form of reasoning developed by this curious western monk who had come to the east to study its thinking and practices. Palamas found both supporters and opponents for his triadic neo-Platonic philosophical and religious system, which set out the differences between divine «essence» and divine «energy». His opponents included, sooner or later, scholars in Constantinople who expressed Aristotelian theories, men like Nicephoros Grigoras and Grigorios Akindynos[191], originally a pupil of Palamas'. The arrival of Palamas in Thessaloniki (1351)[192], backed by the power of Imperial favour, marked the beginning of the end for his former pupil, whose conviction in life was only forestalled by his death.



In 1351 the Synod of Constantinople condemned him posthumously, judging him even dead a dangerous opponent! [The original proceedings of this Synod were recently discovered by Professor D. Harlfinger][193]. The doctrines of Hesychasm, which originated in Thessaloniki, spread to the entire Orthodox world[194], both Greek and Slav, as the received dogma of the church. Those who supported Palamas were mainly monks who had spent some time either on Mount Athos, where they learned his system of contemplative prayer, or in Thessaloniki. Joseph Kalothetos[195], for example, a monk from Chios who spent five years in Thessaloniki, defended Palamas and his doctrines in his polemics and letters, and strove to propagate Palamism among the monks of Crete. Another fervent supporter of Palamas was David Disypatos[196], who in works of both prose and poetry[197] promoted his doctrines, preached against Barlaam and Akindynos and, apparently, endeavoured to ex-

plain to Nicholas Kabasilas the «blasphemies» of those two «heretics».

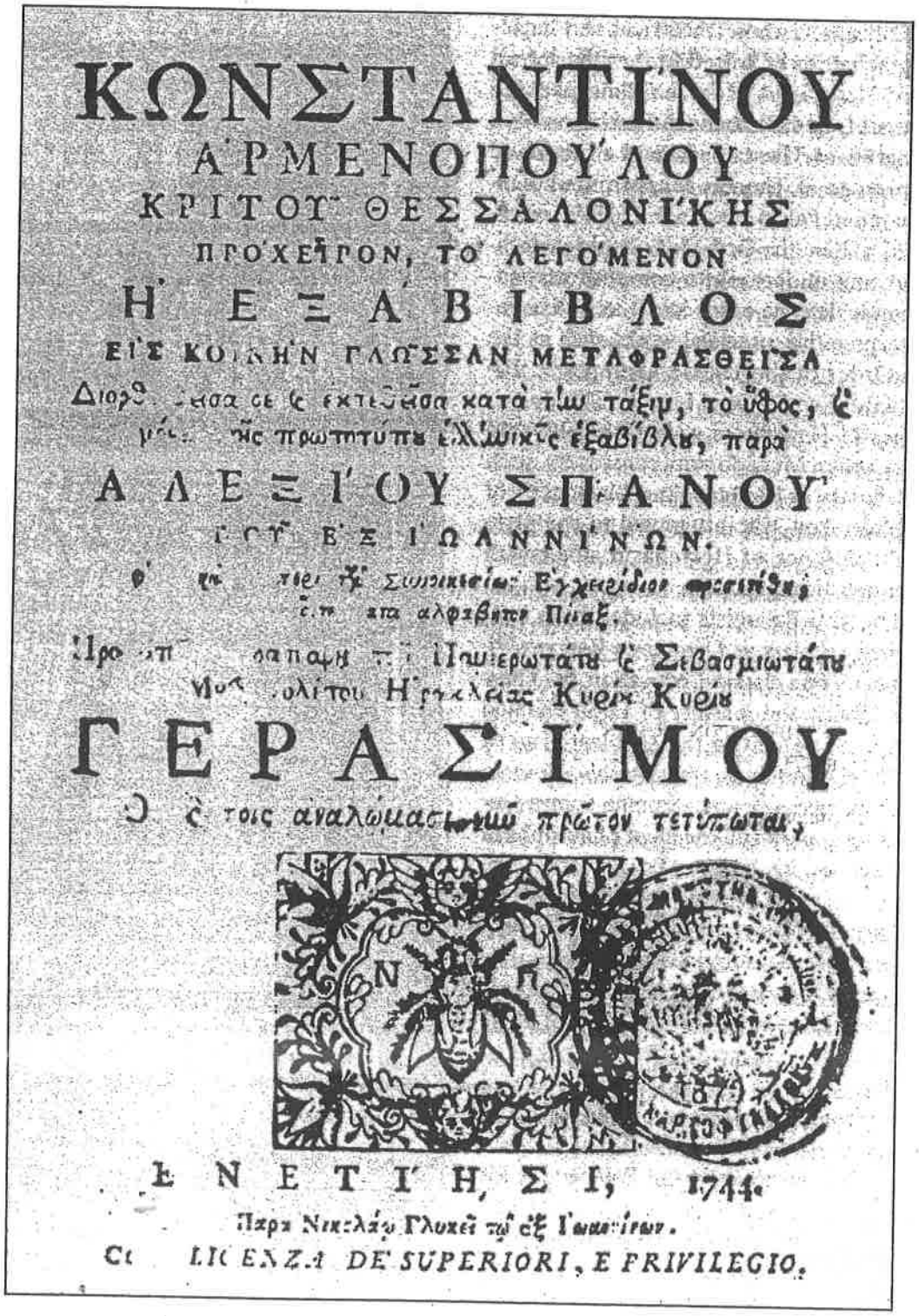
Palamas however found his principal defenders in the persons of two Patriarchs: Callistos I, whose rhetorical and hagiographic works helped further the spread of Hesychasm[198] in the Slav-speaking world, and Philotheos Kokkinos[199], a native of Thessaloniki and a pupil and protege of Thomas Magistros, who canonised Palamas as a saint (1368), worked to bind the Orthodox peoples together and undertook to compose a systematic defence of his ideas, as well as interpretative, practical works such as the «Order of the Divine Liturgy»[200], Rituals[201] and Canon Law[202]. The doctrines of Hesychasm were also cultivated in other Macedonian centres by such scholars as Kallistos Angelikoudes[203] of Melenikon, who attempted to complete the defence of Hesychasm albeit with simplistic arguments.

The anti-Palamists included such brilliant scholars as Demetrios Kydones[204], whose fine classical education (in Thessaloniki) and mastery of Latin enabled him to delight in the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas, translate his «Summa Theologica»[205] and «Summa contra Gentiles», and write excellent philosophical treatises, his brother Prochoros[206], another sound student and expositor of Latin theology, and John Gavras[207], who disputed the doctrines of Palamas with Joseph Kalothetos.

And then there were the «neutrals». Two of the principal representatives of this camp were Neilos Kabasilas and his nephew, Nicholas, both natives of Thessaloniki. Neilos Kabasilas[208], under political pressure from the Palace and his position as Metropolitan of Thessaloniki (1361), finally renounced his initial neutrality and from 1352 on became a Palamist supporter. The sound theological training which made him into one of the great theologians of the age owed much to his studies of the works of Thomas A-



quinas. His nephew, Nicholas Kabasilas Chamaetos[209], seems to have had an inquiring mind which led him to discuss some of the social problems of the age, including usury and the Zealots, while he also wrote fine rhetorical treatises


ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ
ΑΡΜΕΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ
ΚΡΙΤΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ
ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΟΝ, ΤΟ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ
Η ΕΞΑΒΙΒΛΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΘΕΙΣΑ
ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΣΠΑΝΟΥ
ΕΞ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ.
ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΟΥ
ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙ, 1744.
Παρα Νικολάῳ Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI, E PRIVILEGIO.

The frontispiece of the first modern Greek edition of the «Hexabiblos», (Venice, 1744). The «Hexabiblos», a legal handbook written by Thessaloniki's «Katholikos Krites» Constantine Armenopoulos, was widely used throughout the Greek and Slav world for centuries.

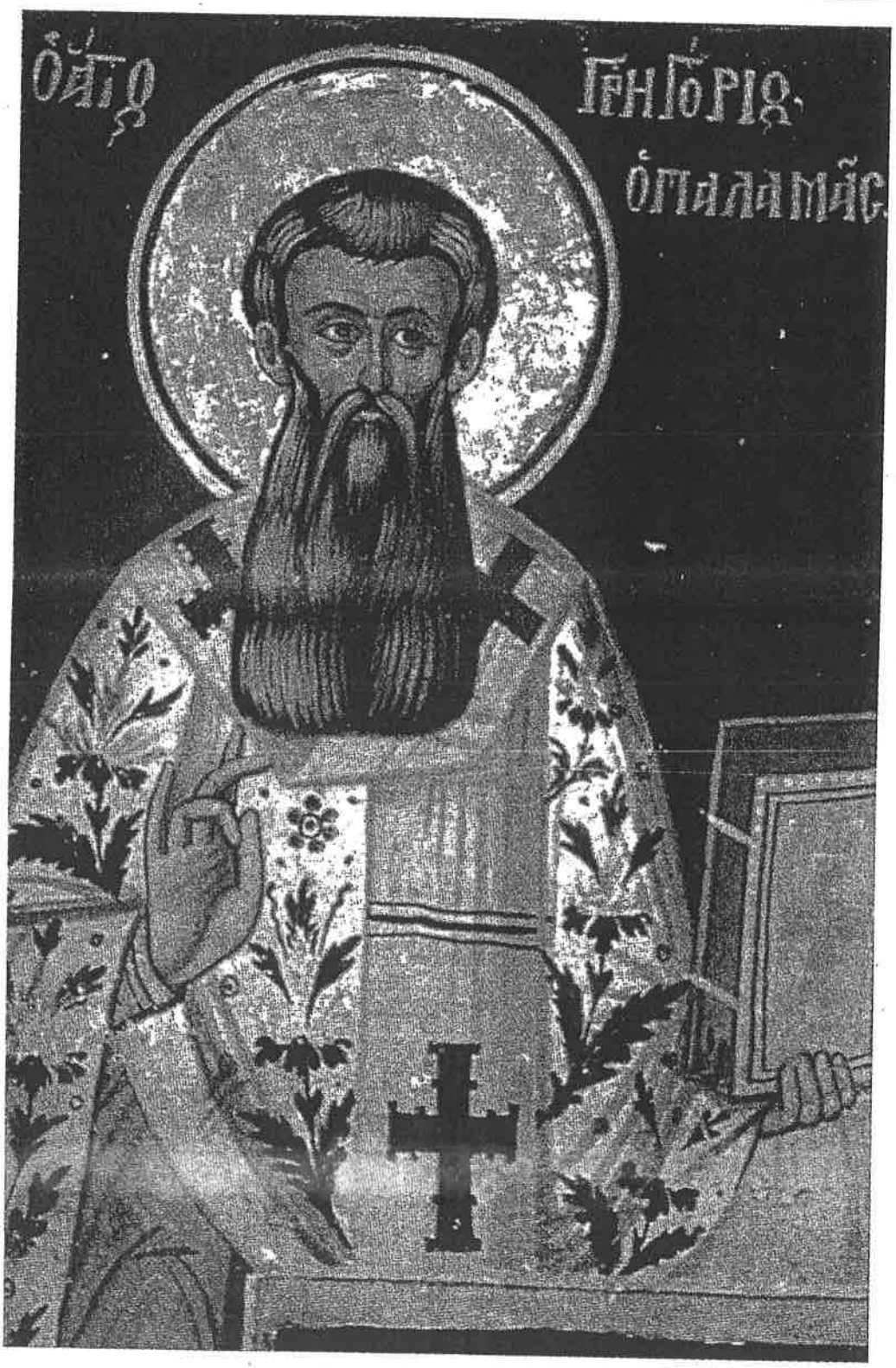
including usury and the Zealots, while he also wrote fine rhetorical treatises and even poetry. While his philosophical interests prevented him from channelling his intellectual energies into the narrow confines of Hesychast doctrine, they kept him on the side of the Eastern theological concepts that found expression in anti-Latin polemics. His fine spirituality is also evident in his love of Thessaloniki, the centre of humanist learning in that age.

As a humanist centre, of course, it also fostered the study of other branches of learning, that is, the «general philosophy» which included both Medicine (Anthropology, Physiology and Psychology) and Mathematics, comprising the four branches known as the quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. The presence in Thessaloniki of Joseph the Philosopher, generally known as the Starving or the Ragged[210], exemplifies this dimension of scholarship in the city in the early years of the 14th century, for although his Encyclopaedia remained unpublished, he left behind him a number of famous pupils who became learned men in their various professions: these included John Zacharias Actuarios[211], a physician who never ceased to proclaim his gratitude to his former schoolmaster. Finally, the science of Astronomy was defended by a scholar whose name is familiar from other circles, John Katrares[212], in one of three Dialogues attributed, although with considerable [illegible] to him.

The conclusion of a great ideological debate was succeeded by a period in which intellectual activity was oppressed by the weight of the victors' triumph, a general climate in which liberal and secular inquiry could not thrive. It was not long before external danger rooted that fear in the troubled souls of Byzantium which causes men to meditate on divine judgement and to turn for refuge to the traditional socio-religious structures of their world, their city. Intellectual life became more and more concentrated in the figures of leading churchmen, who shouldered the burden of buttressing the faith of the people and focusing their attention on living the Christian life and preserving it in the city. Metropolitan Isidore Glavas (1380-1396)[213] was a figurehead for the difficult times which followed. In his rhetorical works, which reveal the multifarious social problems and worries of the times, mention is made for the first time of the practice of paidomazema[214], the large-scale kidnapping of Christian children which was such a scourge of the Ottoman period.

The numerous *Homilies* of his successor, Metropolitan Gabriel (1397)[215], in which he strove to admonish the people of the city on the occasions of the great Church festivals, reveal his satisfaction at the Mongol victory over the Ottoman forces at the Battle of Ankara (1402), a sentiment which was fully shared by his flock, while Symeon[216], who became Metropolitan in 1425, shortly before the city fell to the Turks, returned to the theological preoccupations of Philotheos Kokkinos, leaving us a lucid exposition of the splendid «divine ritual» in the church of Saint Sophia[217] and composing a body of «elegiac» hymns[218] which were to provide the musical accompaniment to the «Thessaloniki School» through centuries of Turkish Rule.

The once great city of Thessaloniki, «first after the first and ruler of the virtuous»[219], the city which «provided a home for the learned who gathered there from all over the world»[220], was no longer a place which could hold its scholars, exponents of secular education and teachers, men like Theodore Gazis[221] and Makarios Makris[222]. The commencement of Thessaloniki's long Dark Age was described in his account of the «Conquest of Thessaloniki» by historian



Gregory Palamas in a fresco in the Xeropotamou Monastery of Mt. Athos. Palamas was a leading figure in Thessaloniki's theological and intellectual life in the XIV century.

John Anagnostes[223], a cleric who, like John Kaminiates, was not prevented by his lack of formal education from writing a history in which his distress at the fate of his city is apparent in every line. A distress which was to become a collective folk memory[224], a dirge lamenting the fall of the two great centres of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

NOTES

1. For ancient cults and religions in Thessaloniki see the collected studies on this subject in: *Μελέτες για την αρχαία Θεσσαλονίκη*, «*Θεσσαλονίκη Φιλίππου Βασίλισσαν*» (Studies on Ancient Thessaloniki, «Thessalonica: Philip's Queen City»), special album produced for the 2300th anniversary of the founding of the city of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 31-43, 201-209, 741-744, 862-867, 886-939, 964-977, 978-990. See also J. Touratsoglou, «Του αγιωτάτου πατρίου Θεού Καβείρου...» (Of Cabeirus, most sacred god of our fathers...), *Thessaloniki*, 1 (1985), 71-43. Cf. J. D. Karavidopoulos, «Αποστόλου Παύλου Α΄ και Β΄ προς Θεσσαλονικείς επιστολές: Οι απαρχές της χριστιανικής γραμματείας» (St. Paul's 1st and 2nd Epistles to the Thessalonians: The roots of Christian literature), *2nd Scientific Symposium «Christian Thessaloniki»: From the Apostle Paul to the age of Constantine*, Thessaloniki 1990, pp. 45-57 esp. 49-52.

2. Yannis Tzannis, «Ο κύκλος των πρώτων ποιητών της Θεσσαλονίκης και η πνευματική ακτινοβολία της μακεδονικής μητρόπολης κατά τον 1ο π.Χ. και τον 1ο μ.Χ. αιώνα» (Thessaloniki's first poets and the intellectual influence of the Macedonian metropolis in the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD), *Thessaloniki*, 4 (1994), 47-53 with bibliography.

3. A. Nar, «Ναοί στο σχήμα του ουρανού (Οι ιστορικές συναγωγές της Θεσσαλονίκης)» (Temples in the shape of the firmament: The historic synagogues of Thessaloniki), *Chronica*, no. 70 (1984), 46-51. Idem, *Οι συναγωγές της Θεσσαλονίκης. Τα τραγούδια μας. Μελετήματα γύρω από την ιστορία και την παράδοση των Εβραίων της Θεσσαλονίκης* (The synagogues of Thessaloniki. Our songs. Essays on the history and the traditions of the Jews in Thessaloniki), Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 16-32.

4. B. Lishitz-J. Schiby, «Une synagogue samaritaine à Thessalonique», *Revue Biblique*, 75 (1968) 368-378.

5. Nar, *The synagogues*, p. 22.

6. Nar, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

7. Nar, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-32.

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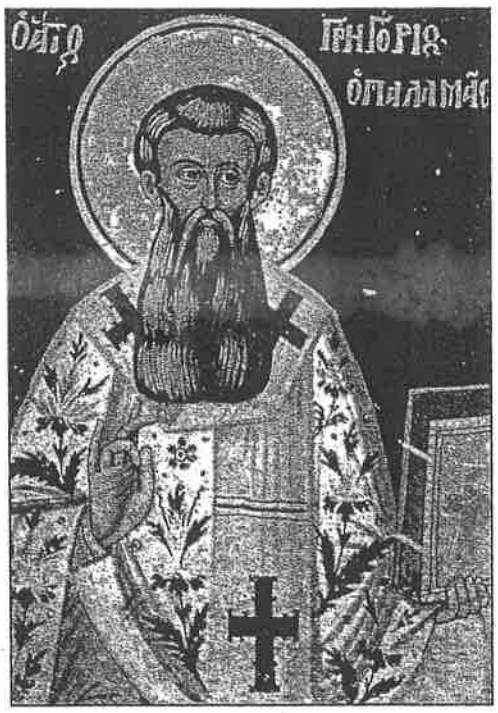
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