



*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies*

# THE ELOQUENCE OF ART

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF HENRY MAGUIRE

Edited by

Andrea Olsen Lam and Rossitza Schroeder



# The Eloquence of Art

For those within the fields of art history and Byzantine studies, Professor Henry Maguire needs no introduction. His publications transformed the way art historians approach medieval art through his insightful integration of rhetoric, poetry and non-canonical objects into the study of Byzantine art. His ground-breaking studies of Byzantine art that consider the natural world, magic and imperial imagery, among other themes, have redefined the ways medieval art is interpreted. From notable monuments to small-scale and privately used objects, Maguire's work has guided a generation of scholars to new conclusions about the place of art and its function in Byzantium. In this volume, 23 of Henry Maguire's colleagues and friends have contributed papers in his honour, resulting in studies that reflect the broad range of his scholarly interests.

**Andrea Olsen Lam** teaches art history for Pepperdine University's campus in Washington, DC. Her current project on the Visitation demonstrates the heretofore overlooked significance of the Virgin Mary's pregnancy in Byzantine art and ritual. Her other research interests include early medieval art that reflects Jewish–Christian–Muslim interactions and the history of iconoclasms.

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Professor Henry Maguire

# **The Eloquence of Art**

Essays in Honour of Henry  
Maguire

**Edited by Andrea Olsen Lam and  
Rossitza Schroeder**

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# Preface

This volume is a humble expression of our gratitude for Henry Maguire's friendship, mentoring and excellent scholarship, which continue unabated during his active 'retirement.' The editors would like to thank the contributing authors, the board at the Birmingham Studies Series, especially Leslie Brubaker and Routledge editor, Michael Greenwood, for their support of this project from its inception. We are especially grateful to the Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation and its Centre for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies (GABAM) and to the History of Art Department at the Johns Hopkins University, whose financial support made possible the colour plates and the index. The core of the volume was formed around a celebration of Henry Maguire's career sponsored by the History of Art Department and Prof. Michael Fried in Spring 2009 at the Johns Hopkins University, organized by Andrea Olsen Lam, and a session at the 40th Byzantine Studies Conference in the Fall of 2014, organized by Ros-sitza Schroeder. We thank Robert Ousterhout for suggesting the volume's title and Warren Woodfin for the photo of Henry Maguire, which he took in Poreč in 1999.

The 23 chapters assembled here are arranged alphabetically according to the authors' last names. Their topics reflect the breadth of Henry Maguire's vast scholarly publications, encompassing subjects as diverse as aesthetics, imperial imagery, icons, liturgy and the reception of Byzantine saints and artistic styles. These papers collectively aim to honour Henry Maguire's work, whether through their methodology, subject or scope in this volume affectionately entitled, *The Eloquence of Art: Essays in Honour of Henry Maguire*.

—Andrea Olsen Lam and Rossitza Schroeder, Editors

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# Abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ABME</i>	<i>Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i>
<i>ActaNorv</i>	<i>Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae</i>
<i>AH</i>	<i>Art History</i>
<i>AnthGr</i>	<i>Anthologia graeca</i> , ed. H. Beckby (4 vols., Munich, 1965)
<i>AnzWien</i>	<i>Anzeiger der [Österreichischen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
<i>Ἀρχ. Δελτ.</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν δελτίον</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, (3 vols., Brussels, 1957)
<i>BIABulg</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, Académie bulgare des sciences</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BSCAbstr</i>	<i>Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers</i>
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique</i>
<i>ByzSt</i>	<i>Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CahArch</i>	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i>
<i>ChHist</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CorsiRav</i>	<i>Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.</i>	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EO</i>	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
<i>GBA</i>	<i>Gazette des beaux-arts</i>

<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HUKSt</i>	<i>Harvard Ukrainian Studies</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JEChrSt</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JMedHist</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JThSt</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JWarb</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>JWalt</i>	<i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>
<i>MEFRM</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen âge– Temps modernes</i>
<i>MonPiot</i>	<i>Monuments et mémoires, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot</i>
<i>MünchJB</i>	<i>Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst</i>
<i>Νέος Έλλ.</i>	<i>Νέος Έλληνομνήμων</i>
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
<i>OrChrP</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i>
<i>PBW</i>	M. Jeffreys et al., <i>Prosopography of the Byzantine World</i> (2011–) <a href="http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/jsp/index.jsp">http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/jsp/index.jsp</a>
<i>PLP</i>	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , ed. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna, 1976–)
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. 1, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris (Cambridge, 1971); vols. 2–3, ed. J. R. Martindale (1980–92)
<i>RACr</i>	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i>
<i>RBK</i>	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i>
<i>REB</i>	
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
<i>RSBS</i>	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi</i>
<i>SicGymn</i>	<i>Siculorum gymnasium</i>
<i>StItalFCI</i>	<i>Studi italiani di filologia classica</i>
<i>Synaxarium CP</i>	<i>Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris</i> , ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
<i>VizVrem</i>	<i>Vizantiiskii vremennik</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, Srpska akademija nauka</i>

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# Introduction

This brief introduction offers a survey of Henry Maguire's ongoing accomplishments and contributions to the field of Byzantine studies which have earned the admiration and appreciation of friends and colleagues around the world. Born in the idyllic village of Combe Hay, outside Bath, England, in 1943, Henry Pownall Maguire became interested in Byzantine art through an ideal combination of travel to historical sites in Europe and the Mediterranean, and teachers and family members, who planted seeds of interest in the arts that flourished throughout his academic career. In childhood, both at home and abroad, he was surrounded by family members actively interested in art and literature, particularly his mother Elizabeth and stepfather Geoffrey McDermott, a British diplomat. As a teenager, Henry Maguire gave a presentation on the mosaics of Ravenna that so inspired his teacher that he included Ravenna on the class trip to Italy the following year. In high school, English to Greek translation assignments required him to use 'proper' Greek of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, but it was the lure of the forbidden, the 'decadent' use of Greek in late antiquity, that first led him to explore Byzantine writings. The resultant philological breadth enabled him to move freely between Classical Greece and Byzantium in his academic work.

Henry Maguire's first formal archaeological experience was as an 18-year-old, when he participated in a dig at the Roman Theatre of Salamis, Cyprus during the autumn of 1961 under the direction of Vassos Karageorgis, later the Director of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus (1963–89). His archaeological exploration was soon followed by an adventurous road trip from the U.K. to Afghanistan (the intended journey to India was cut short for budgetary reasons). While sleeping overnight alongside the road somewhere between Anatolia and Iran, he and his friends encountered at different times wild dogs and knife-wielding bandits; they narrowly escaped attack by the former and adeptly bribed the latter with cigarettes. In the autumn of 1962, Henry matriculated at King's College, Cambridge, where he read Archaeology and Anthropology under Edmund Leach for one year before changing his focus to Art History. While there, he was voted one of 'The Eleven', a writing club of 11 students allowed to meet in the faculty rooms. His intellect and academic rigor might have led him to success in several fields, but the only other profession in which

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he sustained a serious interest in writing fiction, a dream he now fulfils by writing and illustrating short books for his grandchildren.

After Henry completed his studies at Cambridge, he and Eunice Dauterman married and they both began doctoral studies at Harvard University. They first met as teenagers when participating in the Summer School programme of the Courtauld Institute of Art, run by his uncle and aunt, Charles and Barbara Robertson. Since then, Henry and Eunice have been intellectual conversation partners, collaborating throughout decades of academic writing, teaching, mentoring and museum work. They have continuously sharpened and encouraged one another over the years; Eunice's attentive eye and inquisitive mind have contributed an essential dimension to Henry's scholarly work, particularly in the fields of textiles and design.

As a graduate student at Harvard, Henry studied with Ernst Kitzinger and also Ihor Ševčenko, whose respective areas of expertise in Art History and Byzantine Greek enabled them to guide his pioneering studies that combined texts and images. His association with Dumbarton Oaks began when he earned a two-year Bliss Scholarship, followed by a Junior Fellowship there in 1971–72. He taught briefly at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, then returned to Harvard to teach for three years. At that time, he taught 'Art 13', which the undergraduates called 'Darkness at Noon', because the auditorium's lights were off due to the absence of a dimmer switch. Students eagerly enrolled for the young British professor's lectures: there were 350 students the first year, then enrolment rose to 475, filling the basement of the Fogg Museum of Art! The students so loved him that at the end of his three-year appointment, they begged Oleg Grabar to persuade Harvard to extend his teaching contract. In the end, Harvard's loss was a boon for Byzantine studies, because it was then that Henry and Eunice moved to Dumbarton Oaks with their young son, Gavin, where Henry directed Byzantine publications and pursued his own research. Serving in various roles at Dumbarton Oaks, Henry worked alongside several well-known Byzantine specialists such as Irina Andreescu-Treadgold, John Duffy, Alexander Kazhdan, Angeliki Laiou, Ihor Ševčenko and Alice-Mary Talbot.

Henry Maguire taught at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign for several years (1979–91) then returned to Dumbarton Oaks to serve as Director of Byzantine Studies (1991–96). At that time, he revived Dumbarton Oaks's fieldwork projects, partly motivated by the fact that he had himself visited many of the places on his travels to Cyprus and elsewhere as a young man. Henry recalls having felt somewhat presumptuous providing feedback to senior scholars during this period, but he ably shepherded several important projects to completion and led the wonderfully interdisciplinary colloquium on Byzantine Garden Culture (1996). After returning to the University of Illinois for a short stint, the Maguires moved to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, where they both taught courses while Eunice also revived the neglected archaeological collection. While at Johns Hopkins, his students delighted in his pedagogical methodologies and his facility to integrate evidence from poetry, pottery, literature, archaeology and architecture. His graduate courses gathered

interested medievalists from the University of Maryland and the Walters Art Museum, resulting in rich discussions of Byzantine art.

In contrast to his polite and unassuming manner, Henry Maguire's scholarly career is marked by what some have called 'academic daring', but others now simply recognize as 'brilliantly insightful.' Before submitting his thesis, his exploration of sorrow in Byzantine art shocked the status quo, which had labelled Byzantine imagery as flat, expressionless and devoid of emotion. His first book, *Art and eloquence in Byzantium* (1981, rpr. 1994), elaborated on the intricate relationship between Byzantine art, literature and poetry. While at the University of Illinois, he and Eunice collaborated with Maggie Duncan-Flowers to explore domestic arts before iconoclasm, creating the exhibit and accompanying catalogue, *Art and holy powers in the early Christian house* (1989), a project related to his later studies on textiles and the edited volume, *Byzantine magic* (1995). His icon-centred book, *The icons of their bodies: saints and their images in Byzantium* (1996), broke new ground by discerning several of the patterns and rules governing Byzantine icons.

In a field that many had perceived as replete with solely religious art, Henry Maguire's work on the natural world and secular art expanded the terrain to encompass Byzantium's plentiful non-religious imagery: *Earth and ocean: the terrestrial world in early Byzantine art* (1987); *Nectar and illusion: nature in Byzantine art and literature*, co-authored with Eunice Dauterman Maguire (2012); and *Other icons: art and power in Byzantine secular culture* (2007). In each instance, he overturned long-held assumptions regarding the character of Byzantine art and society. Henry Maguire's post-retirement publications continue to demonstrate his incredible depth and breadth within the field of medieval studies. His seminal studies of mosaics, Byzantine court culture, ceramics, gardens, textiles and numerous other topics can be found in his complete bibliography included in this volume.

# 1 Picturing Thessaloniki

*Charalambos Bakirtzis*

First of all, I would like to congratulate Andrea Olsen Lam and Rossitza Schroeder for compiling and editing this volume in honour of their teacher Henry Maguire, and I thank them for inviting me to contribute with a chapter on the Byzantine city. Many outstanding scholars have dealt with the Byzantine city and many important books have been published about it.<sup>1</sup> In this essay I would like to continue the dynamic discussion Henry and I began on Byzantine Thessaloniki at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's 'Byzantine Colloquia' during the academic year, 1984–85.

## **Depictions of cities**

In an icon from Corfu dated around 1500, known as the 'Allegory of Jerusalem on High', two cities are depicted, one in the foothills and the other at the edge of a rocky mountain (Figure 1.1).<sup>2</sup> The former is a great city of unknown shape and size, densely built with tall buildings displaying impressive architectural orders known to Byzantium and Renaissance Italy. The building frenzy is intense, with buildings next to one another, without strict urban planning rules. Within the city, no open spaces, squares or gardens can be made out among the buildings, and the city's layout cannot be understood. There are no theatres, stadiums or other public buildings for the common good. A rotunda in the middle of the city might be understood as a cathedral church, if a cross marked its presence. In the background, a column with a large capital can be made out. Perhaps it once hosted a stylite ascetic; now, however, it has been incorporated into a building to support its epistyle.

Covered balconies beneath domes and flat rooftops everywhere prevail. However, buildings' interiors are dark, despite the competition among them as to which will shine taller in the sunlight. Nikephoros Choumnos, scholar and prime minister at the beginning of the fourteenth century, describes Thessaloniki similarly: 'Enormous houses that rise up into the air, their facades almost fighting in an effort to surpass each other, with one atop the other.'<sup>3</sup>

The buildings on the outskirts of the city are simpler in form, with one or at most, two storeys with pitched roofs for those occupied in serving the city. The

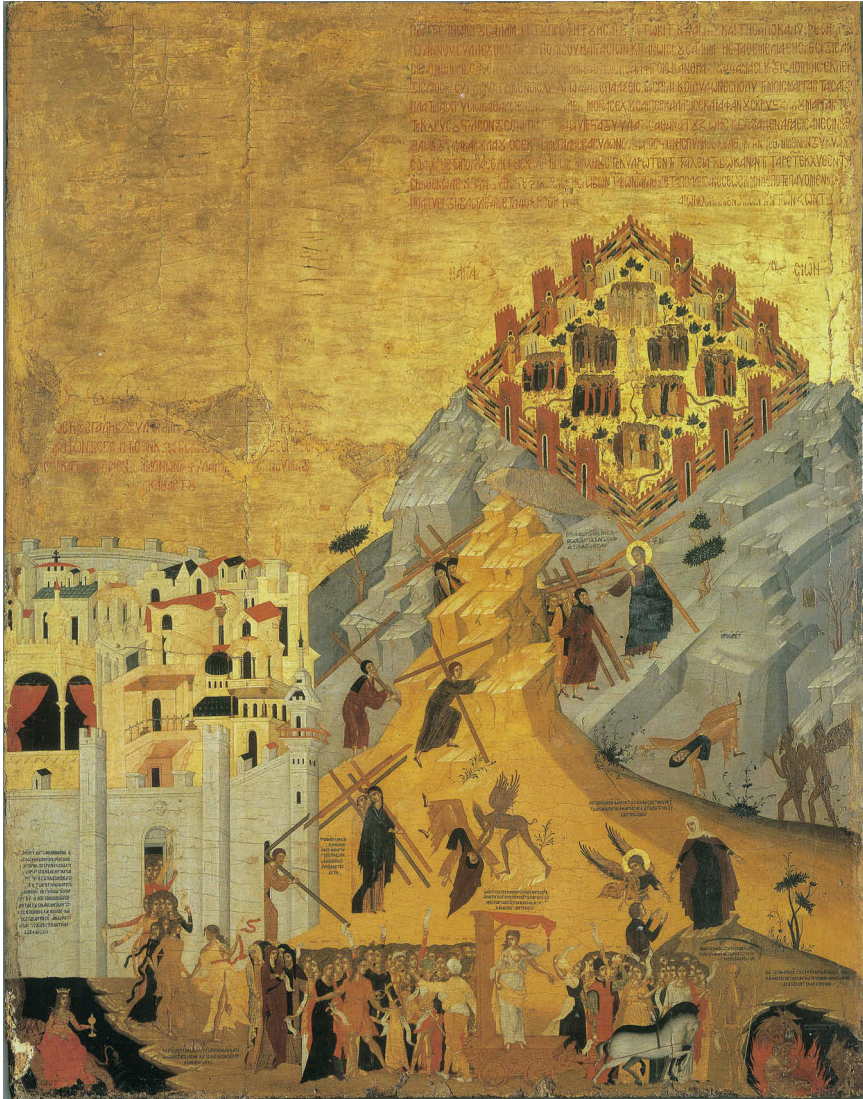


Figure 1.1 Corfu, Monastery of Virgin Platytera, icon. Allegory of Jerusalem on High.  
 [Source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Corfu]

city wall is high, radiating outward with sparsely set battlements and slender towers, as if external dangers have vanished from the life of this city. The materials from which the city wall was built remain unknown, since it is coated in a gaudy white. The corner tower has a balcony where a hermit's cell has

been replaced by a tower-shaped pavilion with an ornate termination. From here we have a panoramic view of this impressive city, though it is suffused with a sense of disorder and insecurity.

The second city in the Corfu icon is of a specific square form, set like a rhombus in a charming manner at a mountain's edge. The wall, slim and strong like the fortresses described in Byzantine love poems, is built of colourful courses consisting of hard stones of unique perfection in their cutting and fitting; thus, there is no reason for the presence of corner towers. Three towers on each of the wall's sides project both outward and inward, through the foresight of their builder, who knew that the city was threatened not only by danger from without, but also from within. The interior of the city is a garden with shade trees and rivers which flow from a spring in the central square. The buildings are single-storeyed, simple and with pitched roofs. Attached to the inner side of the wall, they were indifferent to enemy catapults since the city gates were guarded from within by winged angel-soldiers who stand sentinel on the interior of the towers.

An inscription names the first city, 'Great Babylon' ('ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης Βαβυλῶνος'), despite the many pleasures it offers, it is being emptied of its residents, and only the goblins remain here to rejoice without reason. The residents are exiting from the central gate and making their way dancing towards Death. The inscriptions name them: Enmity (Ἔχθρα), Spite (Μνησικακία), Injustice (Ἀδικία), Hatred (Μῖσος), Envy (Ζηλοτυπία) and a host of other vices. The few inhabitants exiting from the narrow sally-port, bearing the cross of life, are heading along a steep and rugged, pathless ascent. It is they who enter the city on high and inhabit it with order, calm and piety.

In the lengthy inscription composed by the person who commissioned the icon, we read the following description about the upper city, which is of interest from a town planning and architectural standpoint:

The City of God, Holy Zion and Jerusalem on High, founded on sacred mountains. Its enclosure wall was built of emeralds, sapphires, diamonds and other precious stones, fitted with gold, its battlements of jasper, and its gates of costly pearls. Its squares are strewn with solid gold, and it has beautiful monasteries of transparent crystal, pearls, and polished gold. In the city there are rivers of the clearest water of immortal life, and beautiful trees to comfort and delight the blessed.<sup>4</sup>

I have no doubt that this description conveys metaphorically the ideal principles governing the founding, configuring and functioning of a Byzantine city.<sup>5</sup>

### **The imperial Christian city**

In addition to the icon from Corfu, the mosaics of Thessaloniki's Rotunda also depict the Heavenly Jerusalem according to one view, which I do not accept.<sup>6</sup> Slobodan Ćurčić maintained that the Rotunda was built by Constantine the

Great as his mausoleum, and we have shown that Constantine not only founded, but also decorated, the Rotunda with mosaics as his mausoleum in 316–24.<sup>7</sup>

In the lower zone of the Rotunda mosaics, buildings are depicted with men at prayer standing before them (Figure 1.2).<sup>8</sup> The buildings are arranged in two zones, one above another: some have two storeys, while in other cases it is understood that the buildings above are actually *behind* the buildings below. They are built of *spolia* according to Constantine's standard practice of reviving past values in a new context.<sup>9</sup> They have luxurious decoration, including pear-shaped crystals, and tomb furnishings such as candles and censers. Many of the decorative motifs relate to the repertoire of imperial iconography. In the central space of the buildings stand the cross-shaped military *signum* of Constantine, the Book of the Law, the bema or *locus sanctus* and the imperial crown, which were in the process of being established as the Christian *labarum*, Gospel and Holy Bema, respectively.<sup>10</sup>

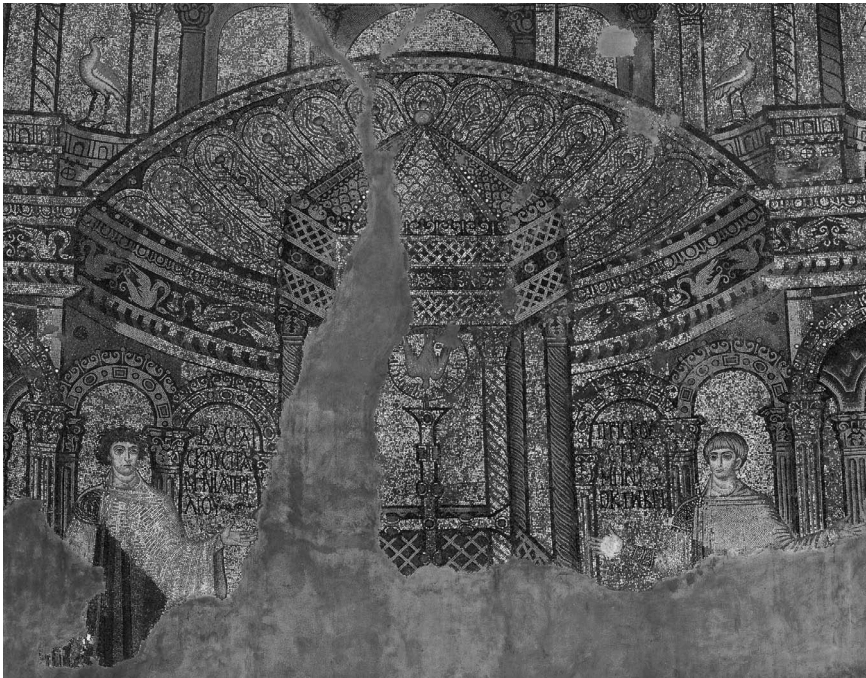


Figure 1.2 Thessaloniki, Rotunda (Mausoleum of Constantine), dome, north panel, wall mosaic. Basiliscos, Priscos and the Constantinian military *signum*.

[Source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund and Expropriations]

Coming from inside the city, there are men emerging who, as Gene Kleinbauer has shown, are neither saints nor martyrs, but persons living during this era.<sup>11</sup> I believe, as Ferris suggested, that they are members of the new elite, military men, clergy, physicians and artists, appointed by Constantine in the administration of cities in the Eastern part of the empire. They are the men who surrounded his authority in amity and prudence, principles to which Constantine invited his audience in his *Oration to the Assembly of Saints*.<sup>12</sup> The scene of the lower zone of the Rotunda mosaics depicts not the Heavenly Jerusalem but the core of a city, just as on the Arch of Constantine appear chief monuments of Rome.<sup>13</sup>

In the mosaics of Constantine's mausoleum in Thessaloniki, the city is not shown with walls, but with splendid public buildings, declaring the emperor's authority as the sole ruler and guarantor of the unity of the state and the well-being of cities, which was replaced by the authority of Christ. Centuries later, Thomas Magister, scholar and grammarian at the beginning of the fourteenth century, noted about Thessaloniki that splendid public buildings or its harbours, stoas and theatres do not make a city; rather, it is its wise men, who through their prudent lifestyle, conserve the cultural works in a city.<sup>14</sup>

### **The appearance of the walled city**

At the end of antiquity (around the turn of the seventh century), invasions, population displacement and installations gradually changed the character of the countryside, and the phenomenon known as 'from polis to kastron' made its gradual appearance.<sup>15</sup> The chief feature of the 'kastron' (fortified city) was that, with its walls, it provided security for its inhabitants from outside threats.

In the founders' mosaic in the Basilica of St Demetrios, three male figures were depicted as simultaneously present in the seventh century: Thessaloniki's patron saint, Demetrios; the eparch Leontios, who founded the basilica in the fifth century and the archbishop of Thessaloniki who restored the church two centuries later (Figure 1.3).<sup>16</sup> The three men are standing, as in a kind of spiritual battle formation beside one another in front and outside of the city walls. As a kind of spiritual moat they are protecting the city from danger from without through their present authority.

In another mosaic in the Basilica of St Demetrios, the Virgin and the military St Theodore are also represented in front of the city walls (Figure 1.4).<sup>17</sup> Between the two figures, a tall and very narrow gate is shown, and to the left of the Virgin there is a four-sided tower in the wall.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the Virgin and Theodore function as the *propyleoi* deities of antiquity, outside the city and occupying the road, in order to avert a siege.

One comes to the same conclusion by looking at the church's other mosaics where the fortified walls of the city are depicted. All the events shown in these mosaics are taking place outside the city's walls (*chora*) where there were churches, monasteries, arable land, estates and battlefields connected with the



Figure 1.3 Thessaloniki, Basilica of St Demetrios, south pier of the sanctuary, wall mosaic. St Demetrios with the builders of the basilica.

[Source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund and Expropriations]

city's survival. Consequently, the city's *chora*, or 'countryside', not only protected it; it was also protected by it.

The mosaic that forms a continuation of the founder's mosaic speaks not of the external but the internal state of the city. This mosaic depicts St Demetrios with an elderly deacon (Figure 1.5).<sup>19</sup> This is the man who continually saw the saint in a vision, and whom the saint called 'brother' (*adelphos*). This is the man who, according to the saint's wishes, oversaw the restoration of the church after its destruction by fire in the early seventh century. For this reason his torso is depicted as a marble column resembling a herm stele. I consider him to be the author of the first three chapters of the Second Book of the *Miracles of Saint Demetrios*, which he is represented holding.

He was also the likely author of the inscription that accompanies the mosaic: 'Most happy martyr of Christ, you who love the city, take care of both citizens and strangers.'<sup>20</sup> This prayer, which the Church of Thessaloniki addressed to



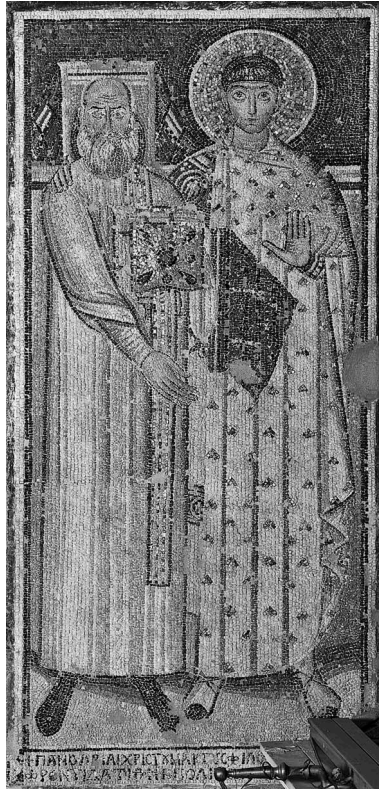
*Figure 1.4* Thessaloniki, Basilica of St Demetrios, north pier of the sanctuary, wall mosaic. The Virgin and St Theodore.

[Source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund and Expropriations]

their patron saint in the early seventh century, concerns a serious demographic problem of the era, which had resulted from the settlement of immigrants in the Thessaloniki area in the wake of unsuccessful attempts by Avars and Slavs to occupy it. The stance taken by the Church of Thessaloniki, as is apparent in the text of the inscription, was not that of selective ghettoization of immigrants implemented by the city authorities at the orders of central government, but rather their inclusion in the city itself.

### **A description of the city/kastron**

John Kaminiates lived through the capture of Thessaloniki by the Arabs in the summer of 904. Shortly after this, as a prisoner of war in Tarsus (Syria), he composed the chronicle of these events. He opens the narrative with a lengthy description or encomium of Thessaloniki that has occupied researchers by virtue of



*Figure 1.5* Thessaloniki, Basilica of St Demetrios, south pier of the sanctuary, wall mosaic. St Demetrios and the deacon.

[Source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund and Expropriations]

the structures and details it includes.<sup>21</sup> The question is which ‘Thessaloniki’ Kaminiates was describing:

The city is large and broad, fortified with walls and densely-set towers, and insofar as this depends upon their [i.e. the walls’ and towers’] construction, offers its inhabitants security. To its south, there extends a sea gulf which facilitates travel for the ships arriving from all parts. There opens up a marvellous port that affords mariners a safe and tranquil entrance. The northern part of the city is very steep and rugged, for a mountain overhangs it. On two sides of the mountain, plains stretch forth. The plain south of the mountain and east of the city is adorned by leafy trees, every sort of orchard and garden, and abundant water from springs and rivers. Vineyards