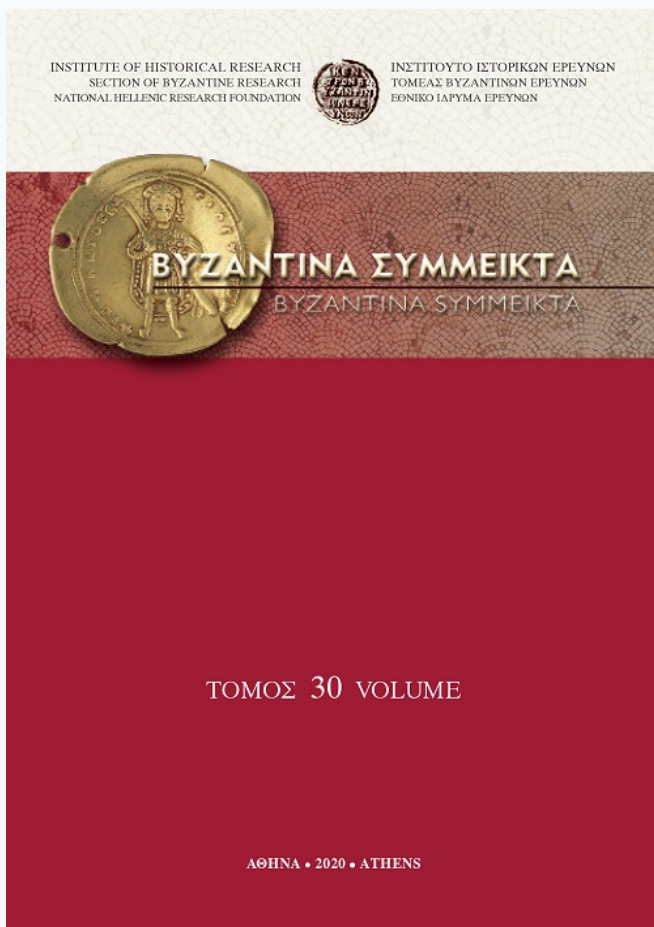


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The late Byzantine and early Ottoman Trikala of Thessaly

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ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΤΟΜΕΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ



BYZANTINA ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ

BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA

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GEORGIOS TEREZAKIS

THE LATE BYZANTINE AND EARLY OTTOMAN TRIKALA OF THESSALY

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GEORGIOS TEREZAKIS

THE LATE BYZANTINE AND EARLY OTTOMAN TRIKALA OF THESSALY

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the last thirty years the availability of both late Byzantine and early Ottoman sources resulted to a certain number of studies, which focused to the issue of transition during the crucial period of ottoman expansion in the Balkans. I do not intend to give a detailed historiographical overview, although we can not overlook the importance of the two conferences which took place in the early eighties, in 1982, at Dumbarton Oaks, and three years later, in the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies in Birmingham. Among others, Anthony Bryer and Michael Ursinus underlined the fact that “Byzantinists and Ottomanists found they were talking the same language”, since they shared common social, economic, intellectual and material concerns¹. A large volume of researches have been devoted to the question of transition, over a long time span from the 1980s to the present day, in the prospect of contributing to the study of socio-economic and demographic history of the Balkans². Although they present a great diversity, both

1. A. BRYER – M. URSINUS, Editorial Note, in: A. BRYER – M. URSINUS (eds.), *From Mantzikert to Lepanto, the Byzantine World and the Turks 1071-1571: Papers given at the 19th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham March 1985*, BF 16 (1991), 3-4.

2. A. BRYER, The structure of the Late Byzantine Town: Dioikismos and the Mesoi, in: A. BRYER – H. LOWRY (eds.), *Continuity and change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman society; papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, Birmingham and Washington 1986, 263-269; J. HALDON, The Ottoman State and the Question of State Autonomy: Comparative Perspectives, *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 18 (1991), 18-108; H. INALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire: the classical age, 1300-1600*, London 1994; C. KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Los Angeles 1995; M. KIEL,

chronologically and typologically, this comparative research can offer interesting insights, taking in account the availability of documentary material, which inevitably influenced the methodological approach, locally centralized, focusing particularly on limited geographic areas.

In this respect, my research will aim at the study of Trikala, in central Greek peninsula, by combining sources both from Byzantine and Ottoman periods, in order to contribute further to the subject of the transition from the late Byzantine to the early Ottoman society. By the late Byzantine period the urban landscape of Thessaly had undergone significant changes. It is sufficient to recognize that the new model of the local cities is worthy of intensive treatment. In Byzantine – and, since we are concerned with the 15th century, Ottoman – perception, a large or smaller city (“πόλις”, in contrast to a “πόλισμα”, “κάστρον”, “φρούριον”, or “şehir” and “kasaba”) was basically identified with the administrative – and, in the case of Byzantium, religious – centre of a larger region³. However Byzantine perception of a city

The incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, in: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, I, Cambridge University Press 2009, 138-191; H. LOWRY, From lesser wars to the mightiest war: the Ottoman conquest and transformation of Byzantine urban centers in the fifteenth century, in: BRYER - LOWRY, *Continuity and change*, 323-338; K. MOUSTAKAS, *The transition from Late Byzantine to early Ottoman southeastern Macedonia (14th-15th Centuries): A socioeconomic and demographic study*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham 2001; N. NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire*, Cambridge 2009; G. TEREZAKIS, *Η θεσσαλική κοινωνία 12ος-15ος αι.: ιστορικές παράμετροι της σύνθεσης και κατανομής του πληθυσμού*, Ioannina 2013 [<https://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/36845>]; P. WITTEK, *La Formation de l'Empire ottoman*. Edited by V. L. MENAGE, Collected Studies Series 153, London 1982.

3. G. OSTROGORSKY, Byzantines Cities in the Early Middle Ages, *DOP* 13 (1959), 45-65; D. ZAKYTHINOS, La Ville Byzantine, *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress*, München 1958, 75-90 [=IDEM, *Byzance: Etat-société-Économie*, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, VII]; A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge Univ. Press 1989, 198-199; J. HALDON, The Feudalism Debate once More: The Case of Byzantium, *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 17/ 1 (1989), 5-40; A. LAIOU, Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries, in: A. LAIOU (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington 2002, 697-770; A. AVRAMEA, Ο εκχριστιανισμός της Θεσσαλίας και η οργάνωση της εκκλησίας έως το α΄ μισό του Η΄ αιώνα, *Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο* 4 (1983), 6-9; S. DIMITÇIOĞLU, Modèle économique de la société ottomane (les XIVe et XVe siècles), *La Pensée* 144 (1969), 41-66; Y. A. LEVITSKY, Problems of methodology of medieval town history (Analyzes on base of the history of West

was informed by socio-economical parameters like trading activity or the presence of nobility⁴.

The fragmentary nature – and, often, scarcity – of sources regarding the cities of Thessaly (and all Byzantine and Balkan cities in general) indicates that we should study their nature using a long-term approach covering the period between the 12th and 15th centuries, in order to fully understand and describe the developments of certain socio-economic and political parameters that defined that particular urban network. It is therefore imperative that we study the location, position, phases of development, functions, and needs of the city of Trikala, particularly regarding the socio-economic developments during the crucial period between the 12th and mid-15th centuries. Such region-specific research is now facilitated by the fairly recent (2001) publication of a very early Ottoman tax register, one of the earliest to have survived, from the year 1454/5, sixty years after this area was conquered (henceforth mentioned as BBA/MM 10).

II. THE CASE OF TRIKALA

a) Historiographical Overviews

Due to its location at the foot of the Chasia mountain range by the Lithaios River, near Stagoi and Phanari, Trikala was quickly established as a major economic centre and communication hub in the region⁵. The main roads

European town), in: *La Ville Balkanique XVe-XIXe siècles*, Sofia 1970, 7-16 [hereafter *Ville Balkanique*]; T. STOIANOVICH, Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan City, in: *Ville Balkanique*, 83-110; Ö. L. BARKAN, Contribution à l'étude démographique des villes Balkaniques au cours des XVe-XVIe siècles, in: *Ville Balkanique*, 181-182; N. BELDICEANU, *Recherches sur la ville ottomane du XVe siècle*, Paris 1973, 15-33.

4. *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, ed. P.A.M. LEONE, Leipzig 1972, 81-82; *Georges Pachymérés relations historiques*, ed. A. FAILLER, v. IV, Paris 2000, 637-639; *Μιχαήλ Άκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. S. LAMBROS, v. I, Athens 1879 (reprint: Groningen 1968), 354-355; LAIOU, Exchange [as in previous n.], 753; K. P. MATSCHKE, The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries, in: LAIOU *Economic History*, 467-468.

5. J. KODER – F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia* (TIB 1), Wien 1976, 277 [hereafter KODER-HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*]; F. STÄHLIN, *H Αρχαία Θεσσαλία*, (Translation G. Papatotiriou, A. Thanopoulou), Thessalonica 2002, 217; A. AVRAMEA, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλία μέχρι τοῦ 1204. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορικὴν γεωγραφίαν*, Athens 1974, 132 [hereafter AVRAMEA, *Θεσσαλία*]; R. J. LILIE, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den*

that connected Thessaly with Kastoria to the north – leading further to the Adriatic coast–Thessalonika route – and Ioannina, and Epirus, through the Zygos and Metsovo passages to the west, all ended in the city⁶.

Both Anna Avramea's thesis and the historical dictionary by Johannes Koder and Friedrich Hild focused on the city's political history and strategic location⁷. Paul Magdalino suggested that Trikala became an urban centre of major importance only after the beginning of the 14th century, when western Thessaly began to enter a period of prosperity⁸. Also, Božidar Ferjančić and Donald Nicol highlighted Trikala's function as an administrative centre in the period following the conquest of Thessaly by the Serbs⁹. A mid-14th century "ekphrasis" of Trikala – the sole surviving description of a Thessalian city from the Byzantine era – was the subject of an article by Demetrios Agoritsas¹⁰. Based on an account by Chatib Celebi or Hadji Kalfa from the early 17th century, Alexios Savvides estimated that the city was captured by the Ottomans in the hijri year of 798 (16 October 1395)¹¹. Nicoară Beldiceanu and Petre Năsturel's work used data

italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genoa in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204), Amsterdam 1984, 63, 216; V. SPANOS, *Οι Οικισμοί της Βορειοδυτικής Θεσσαλίας κατά την Τουρκοκρατία (από τον ιδ' έως τον ιθ' αι.*, Athens 2004, 537-557; N. NIKONANOS, *Μετέωρα. Τα μοναστήρια και η ιστορία τους*, Athens 1992, 12; M. STAMATELATOS, *Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, v. III, Athens 1996, 346.

6. AVRAMEA, *Θεσσαλία*, 96-97; G. KOULOURAS, Το οδικό δίκτυο της Θεσσαλίας κατά τους Μέσους Χρόνους, in: *Ιστορική Γεωγραφία. Δρόμοι και Κόμβοι της Βαλκανικής από την αρχαιότητα στην ενιαία Ευρώπη*, Thessalonika 1997, 136-37.

7. AVRAMEA, *Θεσσαλία*, 132-135; KODER-HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 277-279.

8. P. MAGDALINO, *The History of Thessaly, 1266-1393* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Oxford 1976, 122, 209.

9. B. FERJANČIĆ, *Tesalija u XIII I XIV veku*, Beograd 1974, 290 [hereafter: FERJANČIĆ, *Tesalija*]; D. NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge 1984, 131, 139.

10. D. AGORITSAS, Έκφρασις Τρίκκης (ca. 1363). Η εικόνα της πόλης και η χρήση του ιστορικού παρελθόντος από τον Αντώνιο Λαρίσης, *Τρικαλινά* 26 (2006) [= *Πρακτικά 7ου Συμποσίου Τρικαλινών Σπουδών* (Trikala, 11th-13th November 2005)], 231-242 [Text initially published by D. SOPHIANOS, Τα άγιολογικά και ύμνογραφικά κείμενα του άγιου Οικουμενίου Τρίκκης (α'. Άντωνίου Λαρίσης Έγκώμιον, β'. Άκολουθία) και η χειρόγραφη παράδοσή τους, *Τρικαλινά* 21 (2001), 23-50. Re-edited by V. PSEFTOGAS, *Αντωνίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης Λόγοι Θεομητορικοί, Δεσποτικοί-Αγιολογικοί*, Thessalonika 2002, 308-339.

11. A. SAVVIDES, Splintered Medieval Hellenism: The Semi-Autonomous State of

from the Ottoman censuses of 1454/44 and 1506¹², while an article by Sofia Laiou highlighted the role of the vakifs in the shaping of Trikala's urban character¹³. In this context, Fokion Kotzageorgis' pioneering attempt to outline the basic elements of the local urban society, concludes that the economic data for the region reveal a rapidly growing economy, at least until the late 16th century¹⁴.

b) Urban History and Infrastructure

From the 11th century onwards Trikala became a major administrative center of strategic importance. Following the capture of Neai Patrai by the Catalans in 1318 and the eventual disappearance of the οἶκος of Doukas, the Seat of the Thessalian hegemony was transferred to Trikala – the most thriving city in western Thessaly – and remained autonomous for a few years¹⁵. The city's functions expanded dramatically: it became the Seat of local and Serbian rulers and governors¹⁶, and then, after the second decade of the 14th century, the Seat of the local metropolis¹⁷ – an indication of the city's growing importance in the region. Later, under Ottoman rule, Trikala became the seat of the sanjak bey of the same

Thessaly (A.D. 1213/ 1222 to 1454/ 1470) and its place in History, *Byz.* 68 (1998), 406-418 [= IDEM, *Βυζαντινά, Τουρκικά, Μεσαιωνικά: ιστορικές συμβολές*, Thessalonica 2002, 217]; IDEM, Τα προβλήματα για την Οθωμανική κατάληψη και την εξάπλωση των κατακτητών στο θεσσαλικό χώρο, *Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο* 28 (1995), 56-57.

12. N. BELDICEANU – P. S. NASTUREL, La Thessalie entre 1454/55 et 1506, *Byz.* 53 (1983), 121-122, 139-140.

13. S. LAIOU, Το δίκτυο των Βακουφίων της πόλης των Τρικάλων, 15ος-16ος αι., in *Ιόνιος Λόγος. Τόμος Χαρακτήριος στον Δημήτρη Ζ. Σοφιανό*, Kerkyra 2007, 125-150.

14. F. KOTZAGEORGIS, *Πρώμη Οθωμανική Πόλη*, Athens 2019, 151-173.

15. NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, 80, 101.

16. TAFEL – THOMAS, v. I, Vienna 1856 (reprinted Amsterdam 1964), 498; L. VRANOUSIS, Το Χρονικὸν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 12 (1962), 77; A. RUBIO I LLUCH, *Περὶ τῶν καταλωνικῶν φρουρῶν τῆς ἡπειρωτικῆς Ἑλλάδας* (Translation: G. Mavrakis), Athens 1912, 160; NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, 101, 131, 139; FERJANČIĆ, *Tesalija*, 290; SAVVIDES, *Splintered Medieval Hellenism*, 214-215.

17. J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Paris 1981, 243, 284, 304, 327, 363; MM, v. I, 588; For this see D. AGORITSAS, 'Διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ πρώην'. Επανεξετάζοντας την ιστορία της επισκοπῆς Τρίκκης κατὰ τοὺς 14ο-16ο αἰῶνες, *Θεσσαλικά Μελετήματα* 8 (2019), 51-76.

name, taking up many of Larissa's administrative functions after the latter's decline¹⁸.

Sources from the mid-6th to the late 14th centuries mention a *πόλις* and a *κάστρον*, indicating continuity from the early Byzantine town of Trikke. The castle of Trikala is on the NE part of the city. According to Procopius, it was built by Justinian on the site of the acropolis of ancient Trikke¹⁹. The castle's interior is divided into three sections: a) the lower one, at the heel of the southern slope, b) the middle, and largest in size, c) and the small enclosed section at the top of the hill²⁰. On the northern side of the acropolis lie the remains of Justinian's fortifications. In the 1950's excavations on Prophet Elias hill at the northern side of the castle brought to light a mosaic floor from the narthex of a basilica from the second half of the 5th century²¹. According to Demetrios Theocharis, the church also had a cemeterial function²². Inside the castle lay the remains of the walls of a Byzantine church – possibly the church of Christ the Saviour, the *μετόχιον* of Porta-Panagia²³.

Archaeological remains and written sources paint a picture of a vigorous city. The mid-14th century encomium to the local saint Oikoumenios by Antonios, metropolitan of Larissa, includes an “ekphrasis”

18. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum libri decem*, ed. I. BEKKER (CSHB), Bonnae 1843, 28-29; SAVVIDES, *Splintered Medieval Hellenism*, 217.

19. *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia, IV. De Aedificiis*, eds. J. HAURY, G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1913 (reprinted Leipzig 1964), 112-113: ... *καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας πόλεων ἀπασῶν, ἐν αἷς Δημητριάς τέ ἐστι καὶ Μητρόπολις ὄνομα καὶ Γομφοὶ καὶ Τρικάρτους περιβόλους ἀνανεωσάμενος, ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐκρατύνατο, χρόνῳ τε καταπεποιηκότας μακρῷ, εὐπετῶς δὲ ἄλωτους ὄντας, εἴ τις προσίοι.*

20. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 278; P. LAZARIDIS, *Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Θεσσαλίας*, ΑΔ 20 (1965) Χρονικά Β', 2, 324; IDEM, ΑΔ 29 (1973-1974) Χρονικά Β', 2, 585, ΑΔ 31 (1976), Χρονικά Β', 1, 186, ΑΔ 32 (1977) Χρονικά Β', 1, 140, ΑΔ 33 (1978), Χρονικά Β' 1, 173, ΑΔ 34 (1979), Β', 1 230, ΑΔ 35 (1980) Β', 1, 296; A. SPYRAKI-KALANTZI, *Στερεωτικές και αναστηλωτικές εργασίες, συντήρηση τοιχογραφιών, καθαρισμός και διαμόρφωση χώρων, ανασκαφικές εργασίες*, ΑΔ 37 (1982), Β', 2, 262; TH. NIMAS, *Τα κάστρα των Αντιχασίων Τρικάλων*, *Τρικαλινά* 8 (1988), 265-266.

21. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 278.

22. D. THEOCHARIS, *Αρχαιότητες και Μνημεία Θεσσαλίας*, ΑΔ 21 (1966), Χρονικά Β' 1, 247-255.

23. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 278.

of Trikala, which, as D. Agoritsas points out in his article, is the only known description of a Thessalian city from the Byzantine era²⁴. One point of interest is the demarcation of urban space that distinguishes it from the surrounding rural areas²⁵: the city is delineated by the physical boundary of Pindos in the west and the Peneios River in the west and south²⁶. The text includes mentions of a hill and contemporary descriptions of the city, with the magnificent metropolitan church of Theotokos²⁷ and the church of Michael the Archangel²⁸, founded by the emperor Michael III, to the right side of the city's gate²⁹. Apart from the fortifications, there are allusions to Trikala's size, beauty, and historical past³⁰. These allusions indicate a large city of major importance; however, the hints to its "greek" past could be an

24. AGORITSAS, *Ἐκφρασις Τρίκκης* [as in n. 10], 231-242.

25. SOPHIANOS, *Τὰ Ἄγιολογικὰ καὶ ἕμνογραφικὰ κείμενα* [as in n. 10], 32 = PSEFTOGAS, *Αντωνίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης Λόγοι* [as in n. 10], 209: Ἦς ὑπέρεκειται μὲν, ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ διαστήματος, ὄρος τῶν ἀνεφῶν ἐν καὶ ὑψικόμεν καὶ χιονομιέων προφητικῶς. Πίνδος τοῦτο... Τῶν μέντοι ποταμῶν ὁ μέγιστος Πηνειὸς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃς Τέμπε τὰ θετταλικὰ διατέμνων, εἰς θάλασσαν ποιεῖται τὰς ἐκβολάς, ἠρέμα πως τῇ Τρίκκῃ πλησιάζων ποιεῖται τὴν κίνησιν.

26. AGORITSAS, *Ἐκφρασις Τρίκκης* [as in n. 10], 235.

27. According to S. GOULOUIS (Βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ τῶν Τρικάλων καὶ τῶν γύρω οικισμῶν. Μία πρώτη παρουσίαση, *Τρικαλινὰ* 8 (1988) [= *Πρακτικά 1ου Συμποσίου Τρικαλινῶν Σπουδῶν (Trikala-Kalambaka-Meteora, 6-8/11/1987)*, 304, the church stood to the east of the castle.

28. GOULOUIS, Βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ τῶν Τρικάλων [see previous n.], 305-307.

29. SOPHIANOS, *Τὰ ἄγιολογικὰ καὶ ἕμνογραφικὰ κείμενα* [as in n. 10], 32-33 = PSEFTOGAS, *Αντωνίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης Λόγοι* [as in n. 10], 319-320: Τῆς μέντοι πόλεως οὐ πόρρω λόφος τις ὑπερήρται... Εἶτα τὴν ὑπώρειαν κατιόντι, ἀνατέλλειν ἢ πόλις ἄρχεται... πόλις ἢ νῦν οὐσα καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένη, εἰ χρὴ τάλιθέστερον φάναι, τὸν μέγαν Οἰκουμένιον κεκτημένη πολιοῦχον καὶ οἰκιστήν, ἄγρουπον φύλακα, καὶ πρό γε τούτου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων Ταξιάρχην. Τὴν γὰρ πύλην, εἰ βούλει τῆς πόλεως εἰσελθεῖν, ἕξεις ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦτον τὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα θησαυρόν, τὴν τῶν λειψάνων ἱεραρχικὴν θήκην, τοῦ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων ἐξάρχοντος Μιχαήλ, θεῖον νεών.

30. SOPHIANOS, *Τὰ ἄγιολογικὰ καὶ ἕμνογραφικὰ κείμενα* [as in n. 10], 32 = PSEFTOGAS, *Αντωνίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης Λόγοι* [as in n. 10], 319: Πόλις τοίνυν ἢ Τρίκκη μεγίστη τε καὶ τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ προελθουσῶν εἰς κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, οὔμνον ἀπολειπομένη καθοτιοῦν. Πόλις ἑλληνὶς καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔχουσῶν ὄνομα, οὐ πολλῶ Δευτέρα τυγχάνουσα.

attempt to legitimize Trikala as the new Seat of the local metropolis in the eyes of the faithful³¹.

c) The Economic Typology of Trikala, 12th-14th c.

Fortunately, there is a wealth of available information about Trikala – which is not always the case for other cities in Thessaly. According to Idrisi's account, by the 12th century Trikala was already a thriving city with a rich and fertile mainland; it must have been a popular stop in the route from Kastoria to Larissa, because it is the only city Idrisi chooses to mention in his account³². Also, reports about Trikala in Alexius III Angelos' chrysobull in favour of the Venetians³³ and Benjamin of Tudela's account³⁴ about a local Jewish community suggest that by the mid-12th century the city had developed into a thriving trading centre. From the late 13th through the 14th centuries, the majority of the available information about the city of Trikala comes from property deeds and monastic land ownership records. It is probably no accident that these documents were diligently kept and preserved, since they coincided with Thessaly's political autonomy and the emergence of several regional ruling *οἴκοι* in the area. The monasteries founded by members of the ruling *οἶκος* of Doukai³⁵ enjoyed the politically motivated support of subsequent Byzantine and Serbian rulers much more than other foundations established by persons of lower social status – a fact which undoubtedly contributed to the preservation of their archives. Surviving documents from the Porta-Panagia monastery³⁶, in particular,

31. According to H. SARADI, *The Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical Topos and Historical Reality*, *Gesta* 34.1 (1995), 37-56, the rhetorical style of “κάλλος” (beauty) begins to re-appear in late period documents as a kind of rhetorical convention. This viewpoint is also shared by AGORITSAS, *Ἐκφρασις Τρίκκης* [as in n.10], 234.

32. EDRISI, *Géographie*, (Translation: P. JAUBERT), Paris 1836, 292, 294.

33. TAFEL – THOMAS, 267, 279.

34. EDRISI, *Géographie*, 11; N. GIANNOPOULOS, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰουδαϊκῶν παροικιῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολικῇ Ἡπειρωτικῇ Ἑλλάδι, *ΕΕΒΣ* 7 (1930), 259.

35. P. MAGDALINO, *Between Romaniae: Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), 87-110; D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai: A contribution to Byzantine prosopography*, London 1968, 97.

36. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 245; NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-*

contain a wealth of information about the socio-economic conditions of 14th century Trikala. Also of interest is a series of documents from the late 13th to the late 14th centuries about concessions and privileges granted to the aforementioned monastery³⁷. The ratification of earlier privileges and the granting of new ones reflect both the expansionist tendencies of large land owners and the administration's eagerness to win favour with the local aristocracy.

The documents reveal that the monastic estates of Porta-Panagia went on to expand in urban as well as rural areas. This study will deal with the monastery's urban properties. The churches of St. George Kriskos, St. Anthimos and Christ the Saviour, located in the city of Trikala, were granted to the monastery by Andronikos III Palaiologos in 1336. Of special interest here are the reports about vineyards, arable lands, and dependent farmers, all of which help shine a light on local economic activity³⁸.

1479, 241; S. KALOPISSI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece*, Wien 1992, 59-60: The Porta-Panagia monastery was founded by John I Doukas (1283).

37. These documents include a 1336 chrysobull by Andronikos III Palaiologos [D. SOPHIANOS, Τὸ Χρυσόβουλλο τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Ἀνδρονίκου Γ΄ Παλαιολόγου (1336) ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῶν Μεγάλων Πυλῶν (Πόρτα-Παναγιᾶς), *Τρικαλινά* 9 (1989), 24-26, hereafter SOPHIANOS, Χρυσόβουλλο], an oath-taking epistle by Michail Gavrielopoulos from 1342 [MM V, 260-261 = D. SOPHIANOS, Τὸ «Ὄρκωμοτικὸν Γράμμα» (Ιούν. 1342) τοῦ Μιχαῖλ Γαβριηλόπουλου πρὸς τοὺς Φαναριῶτες τῆς Καρδίτσας, *Πρακτικά Α΄ Συνεδρίου για την Καρδίτσα και την περιοχὴ της*, Karditsa 1996, 40-41, hereafter SOPHIANOS, Ὄρκωμοτικὸν Γράμμα], the minutes of the Zablantia synod in 1382 [L. HEUZEY, Jugement Synodal en faveur du couvent de la Panaghia des Grandes-Portes, *REG XXXII* (1919), 302-317 = D. SOPHIANOS, Τὸ συνοδικὸ γράμμα (1389, Νοέμ.) τοῦ μητροπολίτη Λαρίσης Νείλου ὑπὲρ τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῶν Μεγάλων Πυλῶν (Πόρτα Παναγιᾶς), *Τρικαλινά* 10 (1990), 7-31, hereafter HEUZEY, Jugement and SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα respectively], and a sigillion by Patriarch Antonius IV from 1393 [F. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Τὸ σιγίλλιο τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἄντωνίου Δ΄ (1393) γιὰ τὴ μονὴ τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῶν Μεγάλων Πυλῶν, *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980-1981), 106-108, hereafter DEMETRAKOPOULOS, σιγίλλιο].

38. SOPHIANOS, Χρυσόβουλλο, 25: *περὶ τὰ Τρίκαλα θεῖον ναὸν εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου λεγόμενον τοῦ Κρίσκου, μετὰ ἀμπελώνος χωρφαϊαίας γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε προσκαθημένων... ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου Τρικάλων θεῖον ναὸν εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς Χ(ριστο)ῦ, μετὰ τῶν [ἐκ] βάρων ἀνοικοδομηθέντων παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων μοναχ(ῶν) περὶ αὐτὸν ὀσπητίων ὡσαύτως καὶ περὶ το ἐμπόριον Τρικάλων γῆ ἐν ἧ καὶ ἀνοικοδομοῦσι ναὸν τῷ ἁγίῳ*

Sources from 1342 mention several farms³⁹, while later accounts from 1382 include references to a garden and a mill near Trikala⁴⁰. A sigillion issued by Patriarch Antonius in 1393 contains a detailed list of the monastery's assets inside the city of Trikala – including houses, workshops, vineyards, *στάσεις*⁴¹, arable lands, and gardens – and mentions the existence of fruit-bearing trees in the St. Dimitrios monastery, near Trikala⁴². The local population was involved in agriculture – as evidenced by the references to

ἱερομάρτυρι Ἀνθίμω... καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου Τρικάλων ὄσπητοτόπια δ[ύο ὁ]νομαζόμενα τοῦ Ἰσαριώτου, μετὰ τοῦ ἀμπελίου αὐτοῦ ἃ διὰ πάντα καὶ κατέχουσιν (ιν) ὡς ἄνευφρον, ἀνενοχλήτως μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.

39. SOPHIANOS, Ὁρκομοτικὸν Γράμμα, 40: ἔτει δὲ ἵνα κατέχωσιν καὶ εὐσεβασίμῃ μονῆ τῆς υπεράγιου μου Θεομήτορος ἤγουν ἡ Λευκουσάδα καὶ ἡ Μεγάλῃ Πόρτα τα κτίματα ὅσα ἂν ἔχοσιν διαχρυσοβούλον καὶ ἑτερων δικαιωμάτων

40. SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸν γράμμα, 27-28: ἐσωκῆπια πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου, πέρα τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ, ἀναγόμενα ἀπὸ τὴν ὀνομαστὴν Ἀργυρολύμνην καὶ διήκοντα μέχρι τοῦ δένδρου, ἀνερχόμενα ἕως τὸ παλαιὸν μυλωθέσιον τοῦ Ἐπιφάνους καὶ καταγόμενα τὴν παραποταμίαν ἐν καταλήξει τῆς Ἀργυρολύμνης, ἅτινα νῦν διαμεμερισμένα περιεῖχον ἢ τε μοναχὴ Κοτεανιζένη καὶ ἢ τοῦ Γυμνοῦ θυγάτηρ καὶ ὁ τοῦ δικαιοφύλακος καὶ τοῦ Νοταροπούλου υἱὸς καὶ οἱ τοῦ νομοφύλακος παῖδες.

41. Properties recorded between the 11th and 15th centuries include *staseia* (or *ὑποστάσεις* or *οἰκοστάσια*), with arable lands (fields, vineyards, and gardens), livestock (cattle, sheep), houses, and other facilities (mills). For this see *ODB*, 1944.

42. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 106-108: τὸν περὶ τὰ Τρικάλλα θεῖον ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου μου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ τροπαιφόρου Γεωργίου, καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενον τοῦ Κρίσκου, μετὰ τοῦ ἀμπελώνος αὐτοῦ... ἐκτὸς τοῦ κάστρου Τρικάλων σεπτὸν ναὸν εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ Κ(υρίου) καὶ Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ος) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, ὃν ἀνήγειρε(ν) ἐπὶ σ(ταυ)ροπηγίῳ πατριαρχικῷ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἄγγελος μετὰ τῶν ἀνοικοδομηθέντων περὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ὄσπητίων τὴν περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον Τρικάλων γῆν, ἐν ἧ καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρουσι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ἱερομάρτυρι Ἀνθίμῳ πέραν τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ κηπουροτόπια... ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀπὸ προσενέξεως τῶν κτητόρων, ἦν ἐκ βάρθρων ἀνήγειραν ἐν τοῖς Τρικάλλοις σεβασμίαν μονὴν τοῦ Κ(υρίου) καὶ Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ος) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ ἀμπελίον ἀπὸ προσενέξεως τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν Τρικάλλοις, ὅσον καὶ οἶον ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγορασί(ας) τῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἀμπελίον τοῦ Ἰβάνη, ὡσεὶ μοδιῶν πέντε καὶ ὄσπητιον μετὰ ἐργαστηρίων εἰς τὸν φθρον τῆς μέσης καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Μεληδόνη τὸ στασεῖον, ἀμπελιὰ [τε] χωράφια ὄσπητια καὶ ἐργαστήριον ἐν τῷ φθρῳ καὶ ταφικὸν ἀμπελίον λεγόμενον Ἀγγέλου τοῦ Τζυμισχῆ, ὅσον καὶ οἶον ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ Τρικάλλα ἀπὸ προσενέξεως τῆς μοναχῆς Μιγαρίνης, μονύδριον τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου πέραν τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ, μετὰ τῶν ἀμπελίων καὶ ὀπωρῶν καὶ τῆς χωροφαιίας γῆς.

arable lands, mills, vineyards, and fruit-bearing trees – or practiced some kind of craft, as suggested by the various workshops. The fact that this monastery also owned vast estates outside the city indicates the close links between the city and its surrounding areas. Considering the privileged status of monastic lands, it would be safe to assume that there would have been extensive economic dealings – including the distribution of goods and workforce – between the monastery and the surrounding areas. The reports about dependent farmers clearly indicate that large land ownership relied on direct control of the workforce⁴³.

A series of mid-14th century documents by Serbian rulers further illuminates economic activities within the city of Trikala. In 1348 Stephan Dušan granted the *μετόχιον* of Theotokos and the church of Christ the Saviour, inside Trikala, to the Lykusada monastery⁴⁴. A similar policy was followed by Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, who granted the monasteries of St. Nicholas and Christ the Saviour, the churches of the Three Hierarchs and Theotokos Eleousa, and a series of buildings within the city to the monastery of St. George of Zablantia in 1359⁴⁵ and 1366⁴⁶. More importantly, there

43. SOPHIANOS, Χρυσόβουλλο: *καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε προσκαθημένων*.

44. A. SOLOVIEV- V. MOSIN, *Grcke povelje srpskich vladara*, Belgrade 1936, 154, 156-158 [hereafter SOLOVIEV- MOSIN] = D. SOPHIANOS, *Τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Λυκουσάδας τοῦ Φαναρίου Καρδίτσας παλαιὰ βυζαντινὰ (ΙΓ' καὶ ΙΔ' αἰ.) ἔγγραφα (χρυσόβουλλα κ.α.). Διπλωματικὴ ἔκδοσις, ΕΕΒΣ 52 (2004-2006)* [hereafter SOPHIANOS, Ἔγγραφα Λυκουσάδας], 505, 507: *περὶ τὰ Τρίκαλα μετόχιον εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου μετὰ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ λουτροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐνοίκων καὶ παροίκων καὶ τῆς χωραφιαίας γῆς καὶ τῶν δύο ὑδρομυλώνων... περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ Τρίκαλα ἀμπέλια ἐν διαφόροις τμήμασιν... θεῖον ναὸν περὶ τὰ Τρίκαλα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σκούρη ἀυλοτοπίῳ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τιμημένου τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπικεκλημένου τοῦ Ζωοδότου, ὃν ἀνήγειρων ὁ Ἄγγελος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανατικοῦ θεηλάτου ὄργῃ*.

45. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN 220: *ἐντὸς τῶν Τρικάλων μονύδριον τὸ εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου, μετὰ πάσης τῆς νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς καὶ τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῦ, μεθ' ὧν κέκτηται ἀμπελίων, χωραφίων, ὑδρομυλώνων, κηπουροτοπίων καὶ προσκαθημένων... ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ μετὰ τῆς νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἀμπελίων, χωραφίων, ὑδρομυλώνων, λόγγου καὶ βιβαροτοπίων ἔτι καὶ τοῦ Κησιανοῦ τὸ ὀσπίτιον καὶ τὸ ἀμπέλιον περὶ τὰ Τρικαλινά, στρέμματα ἕξ... καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξοβράχελον τοῦ κάστρου ὀσπίτιον κτιστουποκέραμιον, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον σπιτότοπα δύο μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς προαυλίων*.

46. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 254-256: *τὴν τε ἀγορὰν αὐτῆς τοῦ Δρακονταετοῦς ἐκεῖνον τὸν θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν ναὸν τῶν ἁγίων Τριῶν ἱεραρχῶν, ὅπερ ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήγειρεν τοὺς*

are also references to houses, vineyards, gardens, *βιβαροτόπια* (fish farms) (probably in Peneios), and arable lands (judging by the presence of water mills in the area, these were probably used for grain production). All this was part of what the Byzantines called *βελτιώσεις* (improvements) – measures to increase efficiency. Both the 1336 chrysobull of Andronikos III Palaiologos in favour of Porta-Panagia⁴⁷ and the 1348 chrysobull of Stephan Dušan in favour of Lykusada monastery⁴⁸ include reports about the monks' aspirations to make their properties more efficient.

The issue of how surplus production was distributed to the local markets is partly illuminated by a 1373 epistle regarding the Metamorphosis monastery⁴⁹. Written by nun Theodouli, the epistle mentions a plot of land within Trikala that was granted to the Metamorphosis monastery. At the edge of the city's castle there was a cell that the monks had built as a place of rest for themselves and their animals. However, when the building was found to be impractical, the monastery was granted another stretch of land near the Three Hierarchs church, where a new cell was constructed⁵⁰.

ὕδρομύλωνας καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὅσιν ἔθωκεν μετὰ τῆς νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς αὐτῆς διὰ διαθηκῶν γραμμάτων ταύτης, ἅπερ καὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἐτησίῳ τέλει τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐπισκοπῇ Τρικάλων... τὸν τε θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν ναὸν τῆς Κυρίας μου τῆς Ἐλεύσας, μετὰ ἀμπελίων, χωραφίων καὶ τῆς νομῆς περιοχῆς αὐτῆς τὰ ἀμπέλια τοῦ Γλοῦπαβου, ἅπερ δέδωκε ὁ γλυκύτατος ἀδερφὸς τῆ βασιλείᾳ μου μέγας δούκας ὁ Ἀρχοντίτζης ταφικὸν μετὰ τῶν χωραφίων καὶ τῆς νομῆς αὐτῶν τῆς Φλαμουλίνης περὶ τὰ Τρίκαλα εἶ τι ἂν καὶ εὕρισκεται... τὰ ἀμπέλια καὶ ὀσπίτια τοῦ Κυρσιανοῦ ἐκείνου, ἅπερ ὀφείλουσι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοίως τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Θεοτόκη ἀμπέλια καὶ ὀσπίτια.

47. SOPHIANOS, Χρυσόβουλλο, 26: *καὶ βελτιῶν καὶ συνιστῶν αὐ[τά, καθ' ὅσον ἂν πράττειν] δύνωνται.*

48. SOLOVIEV- . MOSIN, 158/ SOPHIANOS, Ἔγγραφα Λυκουσάδος, 507: *καὶ συνιστᾶ καὶ βελτιοῖ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸν ἐγχωροῦντα καὶ δυνατὸν αὐτῇ τρόπον καὶ καθὼς ἂν ἄλλως ἰσχύη καὶ δύνηται.*

49. N. BEES, Σερβικὰ καὶ βυζαντιὰ γράμματα Μετεώρου, *Βυζαντις* 2 (1910/11), 98-100 [hereafter BEES, Γράμματα].

50. BEES, Γράμματα, 98-99: *οἱ ἐν τῷ Μετεώρῳ μετὰ τοῦ κῆρ Ἀθανασίου εὕρισκόμε(εν) οἱ μοναχοὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς με τῇ ἐν' μοναζούσαισ ἐλαχίστη Θεοδούλῃ τῇ κ(α)τ(α) κόσμον καλουμ(έν)η Κοτεανίτζενα, ἠτήσαντο μοι τόπον, εἰς' οἰκοδομῆν κελλίου, ἵν' ὅτε παραβάλλωσιν ἐντάυθα, ἔχουσι τοῦτο εἰς' ἀνάπανσιν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ζῶων αὐτῶν... δέδωκα αὐτοῦσ' τοπίον ἐντοσ' τοῦ διπλωτίχου, ὃ καὶ ἀπεκατεστήσαντο κελλίον μετ' ἐξώδου αὐτῶν, διὰ τῆν εἰρημ(έν)ην ἀνάπανσιν. μετὰ ὄνν τὸ οἰκοδομησαὶ καὶ ἀπαρτῆσαι τοῦτο, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰσ συμφέρον εἶθὸῦτωσ προμυ[θ]ομ(έν)η τὸ*

The concession was ratified by Joasaph, metropolitan of Larissa, in a 1393 epistle⁵¹. The fact that the monks dwelt at the edge of the city suggests that an organized system for transporting agricultural goods and supplies had been already in effect for some time. Later, though, as demand gradually increased, a new building had to be constructed in the city to satisfy the monks' need for more space. It appears that the monks were involved in trading activities, distributing part of their agricultural production through the market of Trikala. Also, the chrysobull of Andronikos III Palaiologos, the chrysobulls of Symeon Uroš Palaiologos from 1359 and 1366, and the patriarchal sigillion of Antonius IV from 1393, all reference an *emporium* of some kind⁵² – an indication of the increased trading activity in Trikala⁵³. Further, though indirect, information about the breadth of local trading activity is provided by the claim of the St. Nicholas monastery on the cell donated by nun Theodouli to the Metamorphosis monastery. According to Vasilis Spanos, this claim was based on the fact that the cell in question stood next to the Three Hierarchs church, which had been granted to the

έμον' ένθεον έργον, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς έτερον τόπ(ον) πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ οὗ ἀνήγειρα έκ' βάθρων τῶν άγίων εν' δόξων μεγάλων Τεραρχῶν.

51. D. ΖΑΚΥΘΙΝΟΣ, Άνέκδοτα πατριαρχικά καὶ έκκλησιαστικά γράμματα περὶ τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Έλληνικά 10 (1937-38), 284 [hereafter ΖΑΚΥΘΙΝΟΣ, Γράμματα: κ(αὶ) ἰδοῦ προτάσω κ(αὶ) αὐτὸς ἴνα έχωσιν οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Μετεώρου, τὸ παρατηῆς κτησθῆν κελλίον ανενόχλητον κ(αὶ) ἀδιάσηστον, κ(αὶ) ἀκ(α)τ(α)ξή<τη>στον ἀποτουῦν κ(αὶ) εἰς τοὺς έξῆς αἰῶν(ας) κ(αὶ) μηδὶς τῶν ἀπάντ(ων) έξη επαδί(ας), ἡμίζων ἡμικρὸς(ς) ένοχλήσαι αὐτοὺς τὶ τοἰονοῦν.

52. ODB, 694. E. ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας, v. VI, Athens 1978, 23: This was either a market situated inside or outside the walls of the city, or an exclusively commercial district. Writing about Corinth at the end of the 12th century, Niketas Choniates differentiates between the two parts of the city: the town and the fortified acropolis. He describes the town as an *emporium* and speaks of a vibrant market beneath the castle: πόλιν άφνειὸν καὶ κειμένην προς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ ὀλβιζομένην ὑπὸ λιμένων δυοῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν τοὺς έξ Ασίας ναυλοχεῖ καταίροντας, ὁ δε τοὺς έξ Ἰταλῶν εἰσπλέοντας καὶ ἀδίους τὰς εκατέρωθεν εἰσαγωγὰς τε καὶ εξαγωγὰς τῶν φορτίων έχουσαν καὶ τὰς προς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένην ἀμοιβὰς (Nicetae Choniatae Historia, ed. J. A. VAN DIETEN, Berlin-N. York 1975, 74-75). Further on, he adds: Ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ἄκροκόρινθος τῆς μεν πάλαι πόλεως Κορίνθου ἀκρόπολις επ' ανάντους ὄρους κειμένη καὶ δυσάλυτος τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν (ibidem, 611).

53. SOPHIANOS, Χρυσόβουλλο, 25; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220, 254; DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 106-108.

St. Nicholas monastery by nun Theodouli⁵⁴. However, both nun Theodouli's epistle⁵⁵ and the patriarchal sigillion of Antonius IV⁵⁶ castigate the St. Nicholas monastery for its expansionist designs, which could mean that the monastery was seen as trying to draw some or all of the profit from the commercial transactions that took place in the vicinity of the aforementioned cell. Even though there is no data, we can only assume that these monasteries were involved in trade activities, taking in account on the one hand the reports about the local monks' aspirations to make their properties more efficient⁵⁷ and on the other the aforementioned rivalry between Metamorphosis and St. Nicholas monasteries related to the possession and control of a certain area within Trikala.

d) Population, size and measurement – Forms and entities of economic exchange

i. 13th-15th c.

An analysis of the admittedly fragmentary demographic and anthroponymic data from the period between the 13th and 15th centuries provides us with a list of 85 people in all [1 (13th c.), 82 (14th c.), 2 (15th c.)].

54. V. SPANOS, *Ιστορία-προσωπογραφία της ΒΔ Θεσσαλίας το β' μισό του ΙΔ' αιώνα με βάση μοναστηριακά έγγραφα της περιοχής*, Athens 1995, 73.

55. BEES, Γράμματα, 100: *τοῦ μὴ Δύνανται οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου ἀντοῦς ἐνοχλεῖν*.

56. ZAKYTHINOS, Γράμματα, 286: *αλλοὺδὲ οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) Νικολάου, οἵτινες ὑγουμένεβωσι ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν, οἱ γὰρ πρόην ὑγούμενοι συνέδοκαν τοῦτο κ(αὶ) ἀπέγραψαν, οὐδὲ λοιποὶ μοναχοὶ ἔχωσιν ἐπαδίας, ἢ κενωλογίην τὶ περὶ τούτου, ἢ μίζον ἢ μικρ(όν) ρῆμα, ἐπεὶ προτοῦ δοθῆναι πρὸς(ε) αὐτ(οὺς) ὁ τὰ κτήμ(α)τ(α) τῆς Κοτεανίτζεν(ας), ἀπεδόθη ὁ τόπος πρὸς(ε) τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἀλλαδὴ πρὸς(ε) τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θε(εοτό)κον τὴν μετεωρίτησαν, καθὼς τὰ γράμμ(α)τ(α) ἡμῖν ἐσάφησαν, κ(αὶ) αὐτὴ ἡ μοναχὴ κατενώπ(ιον) ἡμῶν κ(αὶ) τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τρανότερον εβεβαίωσε.*

57. For this see footnotes 47 and 48.

Table 1

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
John	bishop of Trikala	1276-1278	PLP 8455. PLP 13926; S. GOULOULIS, Τα εγκαίνια του επισκοπικού ναού του αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ στα Τρίκαλα (Τρίκκη) και η αναδιοργάνωση της Θεσσαλικής Εκκλησίας, <i>Τρικαλινά</i> 26 (2006) [= Πρακτικά 7ου Συμποσίου Τρικαλινών Σπουδών (Trikala, 11-13 Νοεμβρίου 2005)], 219 [hereafter GOULOULIS, Αναδιοργάνωση]; PSEFTOGAS, <i>Αντωνίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης Λόγοι</i> , [as in n. 10] 11-23.
Cyprianus	metropolitan of Larissa	1318-1332/33	PLP 20; S. ARISTARCHES, Έκθεσις ἐπὶ τῶν διαγωνισμάτων Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ηπείρου, <i>Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος</i> 3 (1867), 36.
Avasgos Georgilas	landowner	1331	PLP 29463; BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 66, 69.
Yaleas	landowner	1333	PLP 1098; M. LASKARIS, Deux chartes de Jean Uroš, dernier Némanide (Novembre 1372, Indiction XI), <i>Bsl</i> 25-27 (1955-1959), 281; BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 18-19, 72, 94-95; MAGDALINO, <i>History</i> , 308-15; GOULOULIS, <i>Αναδιοργάνωση</i> , 220.
Antonios	metropolitan of Larissa, «Καθολικός κριτής τῶν Ρωμαίων» (judge, after 1359)	1340-1362	PLP 93374; ARISTARCHES, Ἐκθεσις 36.
Grammatikos	landowner	1336	PLP 24324; ARISTARCHES, Ἐκθεσις 36.
Rogozenos	landowner	1336	PLP 607; BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 64.
Alexios	kaballarios	1340	PLP 555; BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 64.
Alexios Alvanites	landowner	1340	BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 64.
Andreas Zaklivanes	landowner	1340	PLP 2188; BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 64.
Bardanes	landowner / archon	1340	

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
Vodesades	landowning family	1340	PLP 2909; BEES, Γράμματα, 62-72.
George Kourvouleas	archon (from Voksista)	1340	PLP 13518; BEES, Γράμματα, 67.
Demetrios Voutos	landowner	1340	BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Ioannis Alvanites	landowner (Alexios' brother)	1340	PLP 555; BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Ioannis Vrakos		1340	PLP 3147; BEES, Γράμματα, 67, 70.
Kalotas	archon (from Voksista)	1340	BEES, Γράμματα, 67.
Konstantinos Vodesis	landowner	1340	PLP 2910-2911; BEES, Γράμματα, 69.
Konstantinos Kalofiles	assistant to Migiaries, the census-taker	1340	PLP 10734; BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Leon Spinges	landowner / archon	1340	PLP 26546; BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Manuel Alvanites	landowner (Alexios' son)	1340	BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Meletios	priest at the Porta-Panagia monastery	1340	PLP 17751; BEES, Γράμματα, 67, 70.
Michael Alvanites	landowner (Alexios' son)	1340	BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Theodosios Alvanites	landowner (Alexios' son)	1340	BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Michael Makrogenis	landowner / archon	1340	BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Nikephoros Neolos	Thessalian archon	1340	PLP 20100; BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Nicholaos	chartoularios	1340	PLP 20422; BEES, Γράμματα, 64.
Phrankopulos	inhabitant	1340-1341	PLP 30142; I. SAKKELION - A. SAKKELION, <i>Κατάλογος χειρογράφων της Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i> , Αθήνα 1892, 159.
Ioannis Bourgos	inhabitant, father of Phrankopulos		SAKKELION, <i>Κατάλογος</i> 159.
Manuel	“kephale” of Trikala	1342-1359	PLP 16684; SOLOVIEV - MOSIN, 224; Kantakouzenos [as in n. 85], v. II, 311.

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
Alysyres	paroikos	1348	PLP 726; SOLOVIEV-MOSIN, 156/ SOPHIANOS, Ἔγγραφα Λυκουσάδος, 506.
Pacheus	landowner in Kalogeriane (near Trikala)	1348	PLP 22170; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 156/ SOPHIANOS, Ἔγγραφα Λυκουσάδος, 506.
Petros Koutzalas	megas stratopedarches	1348	PLP 13618; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 156/ SOPHIANOS, Ἔγγραφα Λυκουσάδος, 506; BEES, Γράμματα, 71.
John Angelos	governor of Thessaly	1342-1348	PLP 204/ 91038; Kantakouzenos [as in n. 85], II 320; H. HUNGER, Urkunden und Memoirentext: Der Chrysoboullus Logos der Johannes Kantakouzenos für Johannes Angelos, <i>JÖB</i> 27 (1978), 121; NICOL, <i>Despotate of Epiros 1247-1469</i> , 107.
Preljub	Serbian governor	1355-56	PLP 23720.
Voulpavos	landowner	1359	PLP 3090; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220.
Vratisis	landowner	1359	PLP 3191; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220.
Georgios Andritzas	<i>Doukas</i> of Trikala	1359	PLP 938; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 224.
Georgios Balsamas	<i>ειδήμονα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοποδείκτην εἰς ἅπαντα</i> , landowner	1359	PLP 2094; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 224.
Gloubavas	paroikos	1359	PLP 4240; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 218, 256.
Theotokis	landowner	1359	PLP 7560; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220.
Koteanitzis	landowner	1359	PLP 13326; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220.
Michalakis	landowner	1359	PLP 19162; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 222.
Pigonites	landowner	1359	PLP 23151; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 222, 226.
Symeon Uroš Palaiologos	ruler of Thessaly	1359-1371	PLP 21185; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 208-211, 212-215, 216-229, 240-249, 250-257.

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
Kessianos	home owner	1359-1366	PLP 11702/ 14079; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220.
Michael	priest, sakellarios of the cathedral of Larissa	1365	PLP 19122.
Aspietes	landowner	1366	PLP 1569; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 254.
George Theotokis	landowner	1366	PLP 7564; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 256.
Drakondaetis	landowner	1366	PLP 5809; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 254.
Theodosios	megas oikonomos of the St. Nicholas monastery	1366	PLP 7155; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 252.
Iakovos	prior at the St. Nicholas monastery	1366	SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 252.
Loukiane Koteanitzena	nun	1366	PLP 13325; SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 254.
Georgios Perdikis	megas skeuophylax and dikaiophylax, envoy of the patriarch	1371	PLP 22438; MM I, 514.
Theodoretos	priest	1371	PLP 7346; MM I, 514.
Thomais	wife of Symeon Uroš Palaiologos	1363-1372	PLP 7759; D. PΑPACHRYSANTHOU, A propos d' une inscription de Syméon Uroš, <i>TM</i> 2 (1967), 487.
Moses	priest, envoy of the patriarch	1371-1379	PLP 19943; MM I, 514.
Neilos	metropolitan of Larissa	1371-1388	PLP 20043; BEES, Γράμματα, 100; HEUZÉY, <i>Jugement</i> , 308, 314/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 27, 29; MM I, 587-589; N. GIANNOPOULOS, Ἐπισκοπικοὶ κατάλογοι Θεσσαλίας, Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλ. Συλλ. Παρνασσός 11 (1915), 172-225, <i>Θεολογία</i> 11 (1933), 329-342, 12 (1934), 125-141, 13 (1935), 22-36, 14 (1936), (1933), 341; LASKARIS, <i>Deux Chartes</i> , 281.

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
	children of the nomophylax	1381/82	HEUZEY, Jugement, 310/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
Archoditzes Maliassinos	landowner	1381/82	PLP 1458; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
son of Notaropoulos	landowner	1381/82	PLP 20735; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
Gymnos	landowner	1381/82	PLP 4664; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
Zaglivanes	landowner	1381/82	PLP 6503; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
Zervos	landowner	1381/82	PLP 6537; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
Theodoros Sevastopoulos	pinkernes	1381/82	HEUZEY, Jugement, 316/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 29.
Ioasaph / John Uroš Doukas Palaiologos	monk (son of Symeon Uroš Palaiologos)	1381/82, 1385/86	PLP 21179; HEUZEY, Jugement, 308, 316 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 27, 29; N. BEES, <i>Tὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων</i> , v. I, Athens 1998, 219 (cod. 195), 568 (cod. 555); NICOL, <i>The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479</i> , 152.
Makarinos	prior at the Porta-Panagia monastery	1381/82	PLP 16178; HEUZEY, Jugement, 314/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 29.
Maria	wife of Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos	1381/82	HEUZEY, Jugement, 306 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 27.
Neilos	metropolitan of Larissa	1381/82	PLP 20043; HEUZEY, Jugement, 308, 316 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 27, 29; BEES, <i>Γράμματα</i> , 39; MM I, 587-589.
Nicholaos	grammatikos	1381/82	HEUZEY, Jugement, 316 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 29.

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
Notaropoilos	dikaiophylax of the Trikala bishopric	1381/82	PLP 20735; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28.
Petros	pinkernes	1381/82	HEUZEY, Jugement, 316 / SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 29.
Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos	governor of Thessaly	1373-1389	PLP 29750; DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107; HEUZEY, Jugement, 306/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 27; BEES, Γράμματα, 27, 99.
Theodouli Koteanitzena	nun	1381-1393	PLP 13324; HEUZEY, Jugement, 310/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28; BEES, Γράμματα, 98.
Thomas Xeros	priest, chartophylax of the bishopric	1385-86	PLP 20919; BEES, <i>Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων</i> , v. I, 219 (cod. 195), 568-569 (cod. 555).
Manuel	grapheus, dikaiophylax and protonotarios of the Metropolis of Larissa	1392/3	ZAKYTHINOS, Γράμματα, 286.
Avarogos Georgilas	landowner	1393	PLP 18. He is probably identified with Avasgos Georgilas (PLP 20).
Angelos Tzimisches	landowner	1393	PLP 27959; DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107.
Ivanis	landowner	1393	DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107.
Melidones	landowner	1393	PLP 17758; DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107.
Migiarine	nun	1393	PLP 19839; DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107.
Chalapas Giurgitzas	inhabitant	1393	PLP 30380; DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107.
Ioasaph I	metropolitan of Larissa	1383/4, 1386/7, 1388/89, 1392/3- 1401/2	PLP 8914; ZAKYTHINOS, Γράμματα, 286; GIANNOPOULOS, <i>Ἐπισκοπικοὶ κατάλογοι</i> (1933), 341; BEES, Γράμματα, 35. IDEM, <i>Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων</i> , v. I, 4-5 (cod. 2), 24 (cod. 21), 75 (cod. 51), 456 (cod. 450).

Anthroponyms	Status	Date	Sources
Michael Kavaris	dikaiophylax and protonotarios of the Metropolis of Larissa	1392/3-1401	PLP 10059; BEES, Γράμματα, 41, 45, 47; ΖΑΚΥΘΙΝΟΣ, Γράμματα, 284.
Ignatios	priest-monk, Exarch of Thessalonica, Thessaly, Beroia, Larissa, and second Thessaly	1401	PLP 8012; MM II, 524.
Dionessios I	metropolitan of Larissa	1490-1499	D. AGORITSAS, Γράμμα του Οικουμενικού Πατριάρχη Ιωακείμ Α' (1498, Αύγ.) για τα πατριαρχικά σταυροπήγια στη Θεσσαλία, Βυζ Σύμ 29 (2019), 250.

It must be noted that Alexios Alvanites, his brother, Ioannis, and three sons, Manuel, Michael and Theodosios, actually resided in Klinovista, (or Kleino, a settlement 57 km. west of Trikala)⁵⁸. Also, although we have no knowledge of the exact place of residence of Andreas Zaklivanes, Bardanes, Demetrios Voutos, Michael Makrogenis, Leon Spinges, and Nikephoros Neolos, we can assume that they probably resided in the region, because their names are mentioned in a document regarding the dispute between the Vodesades family and the Kalogeriane monastery, which lies 55 km. NW of Trikala⁵⁹. *Archontes* George Kourvouleas and Kalotas are related with Voksista, a settlement of unknown location within the Trikala region⁶⁰.

Division of labour – already evident by the late Byzantine period – had led to the development of artisan activity, as suggested by the existence of *workshops* that processed an array of goods. Also, references to *trade* and *markets* suggest that the city had become the local market centre for the region. Not surprisingly, this seems to have

58. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 282; STAMATELATOS, *Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, v. II, 122.

59. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 180; STAMATELATOS, *Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, v. II, 27.

60. KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 282; J. KODER – F. HILD – K. SPANOS – D. AGRAFIOTIS, *Η Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία. Οικισμοί-Τοπωνύμια-Μοναστήρια-Ναοί* (Translation G. PARASKEVAS), *Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο* 12 (1987), 35-36; BEES, *Γράμματα*, 72.

attracted a large number of land-owners to the area: Petros Koutzalas (μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης)⁶¹, Nikephoros Neolos, Alexios Alvanites and his three sons, Manuel, Michael, and Theodosios⁶², Konstantinos Vodesis⁶³, George Theotokes⁶⁴, Koteanitzes⁶⁵, Vratesis⁶⁶, Michalakis and Pigonites⁶⁷, Aspientes⁶⁸, Drakondaetis⁶⁹, Archoditzes Maliassinos⁷⁰, Ivanis⁷¹, and Melidones⁷², all mentioned between 1340 and 1393. Unfortunately, there is no other information about their exact place of residence. Even though there is no quantitative data – except for George Theotokes, who owned seven

61. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 156/ SOPHIANOS, Ἐγγραφα Λυκουσάδος, 507: ἕτερον (μετόχιον) ἀπὸ προσενέξεως τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπεδάρχου τοῦ Κουτζαλά τὸ εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ τροπαιοφόρου Γεωργίου μεθ' ὧν ἔχει ἀμπέλίων, χωραφίων, κηπουροτοπίων καὶ μυλικῶν ἐργαστηρίου.

62. BEES, Γράμματα, 64: συμπαρόντων ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων... τοῦ Νεόλου κῦρ Νικηφόρου... τῶν υἱῶν κῦρ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ ἐπονομαζο[μένου] Ἀλβανίτου τοῦ τε Μανουὴλ καὶ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοδοσίου.

63. BEES, Γράμματα, 69: ὕβρισαν δε καὶ τὸν Βοδέσην Κωνσταντῖνον ὡς διαβάλλοντα αὐτούς.

64. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220: ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Ἀφρατά, στρέμματα ἑπτὰ, ἅτινα δέδωκε ὁ Θεοτόκης, 256: ὁμοίως τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Θεοτόκη ἀμπέλια καὶ ὀσπῖτια.

65. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220: ἕτερον (ἀμπέλιον) ὅπερ ἠγόρασεν ὁ Κοτεανίτζης καὶ δέδωκεν εἰς τὴν μονήν, στρέμματα δύο.

66. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 220: ἕτερον (ἀμπέλιον) εἰς τὴν Ραπηναίαν, ὅπερ κατεφύτευσεν ὁ Βράτσης εἰς χωράφιον τοῦ μοναστηρίου.

67. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 222: ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως τοῦ Πηγονίτου ἐκείνου ἐξήλωσεν ἄνθρωπος τις λεγόμενος Μιχαλάκης τόπον ἀλσώδη καὶ λογγώδη, ἦτοι ἄβατον, καὶ καλλιέργησεν αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν χωραφιαίαν.

68. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 254: ἔτι γε καὶ τὸ ἡμῖν τῆς Ζουλιάνεως, ὅπερ καὶ εὐεργέτησεν ἡ βασιλεία μου, καὶ ἄπερ δέδωκεν ὁ Ἀσπιέτης ἐκείνος.

69. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 254: τὴν τε ἀγορὰν αὐτῆς τοῦ Δρακονταετοῦς ἐκείνου.

70. HEUZEY, Jugement, 310: Ὡσαύτως καὶ χωραφιαίαν γῆν καὶ αὐτὴν προσενηνεγμένην ἐκ τοῦ Δέση, ὡς καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰρημμένα ἐσωκῆπια, ἡ δὲ καὶ ὑπάρχει πέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, παραρρέοντος ἐτέρου ποταμοῦ Πυργετοῦ, ἣν κατεῖχεν ὁ Ἀρχοντίτζης Μαλιασσηνός, SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικὸ γράμμα, 28: Ὡσαύτως καὶ χωραφιαίαν γῆν καὶ αὐτὴν προσενηνεγμένην ἐκ τοῦ εἰρημμένου Δέση, ὡς καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰρημμένα ἐσωκῆπια, ἡ δὲ καὶ ὑπάρχει πέρα τοῦ παραρρέοντος ἐτέρου ποταμοῦ Πυργητοῦ, ἣν καὶ κατεῖχεν ὁ Ἀρχοντίτζης Μαλιασσηνός.

71. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107: καὶ ἐξ ἀγορασί(ας) τῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἀμπέλιον τοῦ Ἰβάνη, ὡσεὶ μοδίων πέντε.

72. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 107: καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Μεληδόνη τὸ στασεῖον, ἀμπέλια [τε] χωράφια ὀσπῖτια καὶ ἐργαστήρια.

στρέμματα of land, and Afratas, who owned a vineyard of five *μόδιοι* – we can construct an approximate picture of their properties, which included farmlands, vineyards, vegetable gardens, mills, and private residences inside the city of Trikala. A dispute between Michalakes and Pigonites reveals an attempt to increase agricultural production by expanding tillable land. Records show that Michalakes had encroached on a piece of untilled land belonging to Pigonites, carrying out certain improvements to turn it into arable land⁷³. In the end, ownership of the encroached land was handed over to Michalakes by Stephanos Gavrielopoulos, governor of Trikala since 1325, and, following the city's capture by the Byzantines, by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos⁷⁴. In a similar incident recorded in Symeon Uroš Palaiologos' chrysobull in favour of the St. George Zablantia monastery, a man named Vratesis had gone on to farm six *στρέμματα* of land that belonged to the monastery. These concessions reveal an increasingly conciliatory stance adopted by the authorities, who more often than not made decisions favouring those who carried out improvements to the land so as to increase production, thereby raising tax revenues. Intensification of agricultural production highlighted the importance of local market centres for the distribution of local produce and led to the involvement of land-owners in trade and crafts, as demonstrated by the existence of *markets* and workshops in the city. Finally, the Trikala hoard / 1949 suggests that by the middle of the 13th c. several inhabitants of the city had already begun using money for transactions⁷⁵.

73. SOLOVIEV – MOSIN, 222: *καὶ καλλιέργησεν αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν χωραφιαίαν.*

74. SOLOVIEV, MOSIN, 222: *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ τότε αὐθεντέντοτος σεβαστοκράτορος τοῦ Γαβριηλοπούλου, καὶ κατεῖχεν αὐτό, μὴ παρὰ τινος διανοχλούμενος, ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ αἰδοίου βασιλέως ἐκείνου, τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν Τρικάλων ποιησαμένον, ἐδόθη καὶ τῷ ῥηθέντι Μιχαλάκη διὰ προστάγματος το εἰρημένον χωράφιον.*

75. G. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, Νομισματική κυκλοφορία στη βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία, in: *Το νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο*, Athens 2004, 584; M. GALANI-KRIKOU, Συμβολή στην έρευνα της κυκλοφορίας μεσαιωνικών νομισμάτων στο Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, in: *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Άρτα 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)*, Arta 1992, 127-128, 142; ΕΛΔΕΜ, Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία βενετικών grossi ΙΓ'-ΙΔ' αι. στον ελλαδικό χώρο, με αφορμή ένα θησαυρό, *Άρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* 21 (1988), 172-173; A. STAHL, Venetian coinage in Medieval Greece, in *Economies méditerranéennes, équilibres et intercommunications Actes du IIe Colloque International d'histoire*, Athènes

Trikala's role as the administrative centre for the region influenced local social stratification, with *doukas* / "kephale" and *archontes* making it their place of residence. In 1348, following the Serbian conquest of Thessaly, general Preljub made Trikala the seat of his administration and in 1359 Symeon Uroš Palaiologos settled permanently in the city. Also, the fact that the *μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης* was stationed there demonstrates the city's function as a military centre. During the entire 14th century, Trikala is described as a *κάστρον* – another indication of its military function⁷⁶.

There are several reports about the local bishopric and metropolis – especially after Trikala became the Seat of the local metropolis in the early 14th century – and the monasteries of Porta Panagia and St. Nicholas, as well as their respective administrative structures. The offices mentioned are those of bishop; metropolitan; prior; priest; *μέγας σκενοφύλαξ* and *δικαιοφύλαξ* (of the Trikala bishopric); *δικαιοφύλαξ* and *πρωτονοτάριος* (of the Metropolis); priest and *σακελλάριος*, *γραφεύς*, *δικαιοφύλαξ* and *πρωτονοτάριος* (of the Metropolis); *χαρτοφύλαξ* (of the Metropolis); *χαρτοφύλαξ* and *μέγας οἰκονόμος* (of the St. Nicholas monastery). This highlights the importance of the administration of the church within the local community, particularly in the management of the diocese's assets – as revealed by the presence of a patriarchal exarch, a *χαρτοφύλαξ*, a *πρωτονοτάριος*, and a *σακελλάριος* in the city – and the handling of judicial affairs – as demonstrated by the offices of *δικαιοφύλαξ* and *χαρτοφύλαξ*, which, according to Theodoros Valsamon, were in effect at least by the late 12th century.

The detailed listing of church officials suggests that Trikala was an ecclesiastical province heavily staffed from top to bottom by a hierarchy of appointed bureaucrats. The transfer of the Seat of the local metropolis

1985, 371; D.M. METCALF, Questions of style and detail in Byzantine Numismatics, *GRBS* 3 (1960), 212-213.

76. TAFEL, THOMAS, 498: *castrum de Latrichala...* (From a 1325 epistle by Sanudo); SOPHIANOS, Χρυσόβουλλο, 25: *ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου Τρικάλων* (From the 1336 chrysobull issued by Andronikos III Palaiologos in favour of the Porta-Panagia monastery); HEUZEY, Jugement, 310/ SOPHIANOS, Συνοδικό γράμμα, 27: *Ἐσωκῆπια πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου* (minutes of the Zablantia synod from 1381/82); DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Σιγίλλιο, 106-108: *ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου Τρικάλων* (From a 1393 sigillion issued by Patriarch Antonius IV in favour of the Christ the Saviour of Megalai Pylai monastery).

from Larissa to Trikala in the early 14th century represented a move towards a more centralized power structure within the church. After all, the metropolitan of Larissa had already settled in Trikala, where his jurisdiction was extended over a number of bishoprics in Thessaly and Magnesia, as evidenced by a patriarchal document from 1371⁷⁷.

ii. 1454/55

An analysis of the data from the 1454/55 Ottoman tax register reveals further information about the size of Trikala's population. The capital of the sanjak of the same name at the time, Trikala was home to 251 Muslim families and 9 Muslim widows (47.7 %) and 212 Christian families and 73 Christian widows (52.29%) – a total of 545 tax units⁷⁸. According to the average household size suggested by N. Beldiceanu and Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr⁷⁹, Trikala's total population was approximately 2500, with Christians comprising 40% (994 people) and Muslims 60% (1524). The districts of *câmi* (mosque), *Tabbâğân* (tanners), *Bolayir*, *kassâb Ahmed* (Ahmed the butcher), *kassâz Mustafa* (Mustafa the silk-breeder), *Helvâyî Ali* (Ali the halvah maker), *Birgi*, and *Yazici Hizir* (Hizir the clerk) were predominantly Muslim⁸⁰, as were the freedmen community of *Turahan Bey* and *Omer Bey*, and a village called *Petroporos* (*Petroporid*)⁸¹. Christians occupied six districts: the second (*Sâniye*), third (*Sâlise*), fourth (*Râbi*), and fifth (*Hâmise*), the district of *Michael Martis* (*Mihal Marti*), and the *Arvanites* (*Arnavudân*) district⁸².

By the mid-15th century Trikala's population roughly equaled that of Larissa – they were the two biggest cities in the Thessaly region. However, unlike Larissa, Trikala was a comparatively thriving city at the time of its capture by the Ottomans. Its Byzantine inhabitants chose to remain in the

77. MM I, 587-589.

78. The list of inhabitants includes an individual called *Süleyman*, an Islamized Jew (*Yahudi*) (M. DELILBAŞI – M. ARIKAN, *Hicrî 859 Tarihi sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Tirhala*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 2001, 2. BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 120).

79. N. BELDICEANU – IR. BELDICEANU-STEINHER, *Recherches sur la Morée (1461-1512)*, *SüdostF* 39 (1980), 46-47.

80. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 1-4.

81. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 4.

82. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 4-7.

city, which retained a strong Christian element, even though by the mid-15th century the majority of the population were Muslim. Larissa, on the other hand, was more or less re-established as a Turkish Muslim city after its conquest.

One issue that arises here is whether the population data from the 15th century actually reflect the size of the city during the previous late Byzantine era. The approximate number of a thousand Christian inhabitants found in the 1454/55 document seems rather small – the total number of the city’s inhabitants during the late Byzantine era had to be bigger than that. This number probably reflects the size of the city’s population at the end of the 14th century, when it was captured by the Ottomans, after a century-long demographic decline⁸³. Also, apart from the demographic crisis, Trikala appears to have been hit by the “black death” in 1348, when the epidemic spread to Thessaly. Among its victims was John Angelos, who, in all probability, died in Trikala – the seat of his administration – along with a substantial number of the city’s inhabitants. However, throughout the 14th century and even before the Ottoman conquest and subsequent colonization, Trikala had seen an influx of migrants, who had probably filled population vacuums created by the epidemic. Among the Christian districts of Trikala listed in the 1454/55 document there is one that was occupied by Arvanites. Several more Arvanites were interspersed in the other Christian districts – 35 persons out of a total of 285 (12.2 % of the city’s Christian population)⁸⁴. According to John Kantakouzenos’ account, the Arvanites first came to Thessaly in the 1320s⁸⁵. Considering the time that would have elapsed before

83. K. MOUSTAKAS, Η δημογραφική κρίση του ύστερου μεσαίωνα στον ελληνικό χώρο. Η περίπτωση της νοτιο-ανατολικής Μακεδονίας (14ος-15ος αι.), *Μνήμων* 25 (2003), 9-33.

84. DELILBAŞI, ARIKAN, *Defter*, 5, 7.

85. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum*, ed. L. SCHOPEN, v. I, (CSHB), Bonnae 1828, 474: οἱ τὰ ὄρεινὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας νεμόμενοι Ἄλβανοὶ ἀβασίλευτοὶ Μαλακάσιοι καὶ Μπούϊοι καὶ Μεσαρίται ἀπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων προσαγορευόμενοι, περὶ δυσχιλίους καὶ μυρίους ὄντες, προσεκύνησαν ἐλθόντες καὶ ὑπέσχοντο δουλεύσειν. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ μὴ, χεμῶνος ἐπελθόντος, διαφθαρώσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἅτε πόλιν οἰκοῦντες οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ὄρεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες καὶ χωρίοις δυσπροσόδους; MAGDALINO, *History*, 109, 250, 320-322; BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 105; FERJANČIĆ, *Tesalija*, 98-105; SPANOS, *Οικισμοί* [as in n.5], 28, 31, 137, 140-141, 204-206, 240-241, 260-264, 276-278, 303-307, 377-379, 424-431, 622-623; D. NICOL, *Meteora, the rock monasteries of Thessaly*, London 1963, 85.

a number of these farmers and stock-farmers started to move to cities, it therefore follows that the Arvanites began to settle in Trikala after 1348 – probably to make up for a shrinking population.

Ultimately, it is possible that the approximately 1000 Christians who were registered as living in Trikala in 1454/55 represented the entire population of the city in the late 14th century. However, considering the population decrease that almost certainly occurred during that crucial century, it is likely that the population of Trikala in the early 14th century would have been considerably larger – possibly approaching the number of the city’s inhabitants in the middle of the following century, after the city would experience further growth as the Seat of political and ecclesiastical power in the region.

The number of Trikala’s islamized inhabitants appears to be negligible: Only three Muslims are described as being Islamized in the 1454/55 document (Yusuf and Inebeyi, described as ahriyân, and Süleyman, who was formerly Jewish)⁸⁶. However, the low numbers of indigenous islamized inhabitants do not necessarily reflect the number of islamized Muslim inhabitants of the city. A considerable portion of Trikala’s Muslim inhabitants were freedmen (azade) – most likely former slaves, who were islamized before or after their emancipation, or as a prerequisite for it. The 35 freedmen among the 260 registered members of the local Muslim community (13.46%) were certainly not native to the city. Given that sixty years had passed since the Ottomans conquered Trikala and its surrounding area, it is likely that the enslavement of the local population would have stopped along with the Ottoman raids⁸⁷. Therefore, these freedmen – who would not have been very old at the time – were probably captured during Ottoman raids in other areas outside the Ottoman state and brought to Trikala as slaves to wealthy Muslims⁸⁸.

86. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 2, 3, 4.

87. This is corroborated by the existence of freedmen itself. These were former slaves that subsequently became involved in local productive activities, as evidenced by data on the tax register.

88. For more about this, see K. Moustakas’ remarks about the Drama region [K. ΜΟΥΣΤΑΚΑΣ, Η περιοχή της Δράμας στο μεταίχμιο των μεσαιωνικών και των νεότερων χρόνων. Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί (β΄ μισό 15ου – αρχές 16ου αιώνα), in *Ε΄ Επιστημονική Συνάντηση. Η Δράμα και η περιοχή της. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός. Δράμα 18-21 Μαΐου 2006*, Drama 2013, 431-454]. See also ΚΟΤΖΑΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ, *Οθωμανική Πόλη* [as in n.14], 159-163.

Several of these slaves were probably from Peloponnesus and would have been captured during the raids of Turahan Bey – the same person who led the conquest of Larissa and Thessaly in 1423 – between 1423 and 1453. Also, a large portion of Trikala’s freedmen were freed by Turahan Bey himself. These were registered as a distinct group among the Muslim population and probably enjoyed some kind of tax exemption, although there is no explicit mention of such a thing in the available sources⁸⁹. Eventually, it appears that the overwhelming majority of Trikala’s Muslim population was in fact made up of settlers or slaves, as evidenced by the listing of freedmen in the tax registers.

e. Social and Economic development, 1454/55

Trikala’s economy in the mid-15th century is reflected in the available tax data:

Table 2⁹⁰

Type of tax	Activity / Product	Revenue (in aspra)	Percentage
Agricultural activities and products		10.669	23,13%
	wheat	1.904	4,12%
	barley	375	0,81%
	flax	200	0,43%
	viticulture	7.460	16,17%
	cotton	150	0,32%
	mills (11)	330	0,71%
	pigs	250	0,54%
Commercial taxes		29.700	64,41%
	Kist-i bazâr ve niyâbet ve ihtisâb	27.000	58,55%
	Ma’ ber der âb-i Likostem	2.700	5,85%
Personal taxes (ispence)		5.738	12,44%
Total		46.107	100%

89. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 4.

90. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 1, 7-8.

It is clear that trade and crafts were the lifeblood of the city's economy. Agricultural activity appears to have been limited, with the exception of viticulture, which, given the Muslim attitude towards alcohol, was probably dominated by Christians. Here, the census taker makes an important distinction between Christians and Muslims, listing the latter's professional occupations but omitting further information about the former. Muslims were mostly involved in trade and crafts. N. Beldiceanu and P.S. Nasturel arrive at the following categorization: 43 individuals were involved in the textile industry (4 knitting manufacturers, 2 priestly cap makers, 5 silk spinners, 13 tailors, 3 haberdashers)⁹¹; 57 families were involved in leather processing and manufacturing (14 tanners, 11 boot makers, 18 slipper makers, 7 sandal makers, and 7 saddle makers)⁹²; there are also 6 butchers, 4 potters, 4 farriers, 2 boza makers, 2 jewellers⁹³, 1 boiler maker, 1 rope maker, 1 drum manufacturer, 1 porter, 1 grocer, 2 pedlars, and 2 tradesmen (without any further information). Finally, several inhabitants belonged to the military unit of the *aqıngı*⁹⁴. 144 households in total were involved in trade and crafts. Unfortunately, the professional occupations of Christians have not been recorded. However, it is highly likely that a number of Christians would have also been involved in trade and crafts, as well as viticulture – the only agricultural activity of note in the area. Also, it appears that Mehmed II had issued a *berat* granting viticulture privileges to the Christian families living in the third quarter⁹⁵.

There is also a detailed listing of the properties of Turahan Bey's vakif in Trikala⁹⁶; these included a bath, several butchers' shops, commercial stores and market stalls, two mills, and four flour manufacturing facilities, yielding a total income of 13000 *aspra*⁹⁷. A 1446 endowment deed reveals

91. BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 140.

92. BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 140.

93. BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 140.

94. Turkish light cavalry unit that fought for spoils. For this see BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 149.

95. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 6.

96. For further discussion see KOTZAGEORGIS, *Οθωμανική Πόλη*, 155-163.

97. DELILBAŞI – ARIKAN, *Defter*, 34-35; For further information see G. STOURNARAS, *Θεσσαλικές πόλεις κατά την πρόωμη οθωμανική περίοδο. Τα Τρίκαλα (Tirhala) και η Λάρισα (Yenişehir) μέσα από τις αρχαιολογικές πηγές*, in P. DRAKOULIS – G.P. TSOTSOS (ed.),

that Turahan Bey founded a mosque, two churches, two zawiyas, and several charitable institutions in Trikala, endowing them with property and assets for their upkeep. The assets in Trikala were listed as follows: 3 workshops, 2 butchers' shops, a salt shop, a coppersmith's workshop, a soap manufacturing facility, and an unspecified number of other workshops⁹⁸. The vakif's annual expenses for building maintenance and salaries amounted to 3650 aspra⁹⁹. According to the unpublished register BBA/TT 36 from 1506, the vakif's income that year amounted to 31740 aspra. There are also mentions of a bath, a shop that sold heads of lambs, a boza manufacturing facility, a weaving mill, a butcher's shop, a tented market stall, 12 mills (inside and around the city), 18 dugâgin-i serhâ (these too were shops that sold heads of lambs), and 79 other shops¹⁰⁰. Two endowment deeds from 1474 and 1484 reveal the establishment of another vakif by Omer Bey. The 1474 document mentions several charitable foundations that had been set up in Trikala – four churches, the Haider Hane (zawiya), the Tsille Hane (zawiya) with its 12 rooms – and a number of properties and assets all across the city: 44 workshops, 9 inns, 7 tanneries, 16 residences, one two-storey building, 4 mills (three of them in the Alonia district)¹⁰¹, 7 fountains, 2 sour orange orchards, gardens, vineyards, and unspecified numbers of butchers' shops, groceries, wool shops, other workshops, and inns¹⁰². The document from 1484 lists two additional charitable foundations – a seminary (medrese) and a school that had been established during the intervening decade – and shows an increase in the vakif's assets, which now appear to include 25 cobbler's shops, 29 tanneries, 10 wool shops, 87 workshops, 3 inns, 2 mills, one estate, an unspecified number of farrier workshops, and several plots of land¹⁰³. Expenses for the Trikala foundation amounted to 5110 aspra for 1474 and

Ιστορική, κοινωνική και πολεοδομική ανάλυση του χώρου. Αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Ευάγγελο Π. Δημητριάδη, Thessalonica 2014, 269-285.

98. S. GOULOULIS, *Τα αφιερωτήρια των Τουραχανίδων: η ελληνική μετάφραση*, Athens 2003, 53-61.

99. GOULOULIS, *Αφιερωτήρια Τουραχανίδων*, 64.

100. BELDICEANU – NASTUREL, *Thessalie*, 122.

101. SPANOS, *Οικισμοί* [as in n. 5], 191.

102. GOULOULIS, *Αφιερωτήρια Τουραχανίδων*, 71-79.

103. GOULOULIS, *Αφιερωτήρια Τουραχανίδων*, 89-107.

30827,5 aspra for 1484¹⁰⁴. According to the BBA/TT 36 register from 1506, the total income from Omer Bey's vakif in Thessaly was 207474 aspra¹⁰⁵. In her article *Το δίκτυο των Βακουφίων της πόλης των Τρικάλων, 15^{ος}-16^{ος} αι.* (= The Vakif Network in Trikala, 15th-16th c.), S. Laiou addresses the role of the vakif in the shaping of the city's character¹⁰⁶. She believes that the establishment of the charitable foundations provided a boost to the city's economy and helped transform its urban landscape. The founding of a vakif was a socially and culturally established Muslim practice designed to preserve family wealth. It was a way for the upper military class to ensure that their assets would pass to their heirs / relatives, as suggested by the hereditary nature of the position of the trustee¹⁰⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

A comparison between the data of the BBA/MM 10 tax register and data from late period Byzantine sources reveals that the city had continued to function as an administrative and trading centre, although by then agricultural production had probably been reduced. This was probably the result of a strong Muslim presence – already evident by the mid-15th century – that helped transform Trikala's character.

104. GOULOUKIS, *Αφιερωτήρια Τουραχανίδων*, 81-82, 110-111.

105. M. KIEL, *Das Türkische Thessalien: Etabliertes Geschichtsbild versus Osmanische Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Entmythologisierung der Geschichte Griechenlands*, in: *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Göttingen 1996, 143.

106. LAIOU, *Δίκτυο Βακουφίων* [as in n. 13], 125-150.

107. LAIOU, *Δίκτυο Βακουφίων*, 138, 150.

ΤΑ ΤΡΙΚΑΛΑ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΥΣΤΕΡΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΙΜΗ ΟΘΩΜΑΝΙΚΗ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟ

Η σύνθεση των δεδομένων του οθωμανικού καταστίχου BBA/MM 10 με τα στοιχεία των πηγών της υστεροβυζαντινής περιόδου, αποκαλύπτει τη συνέχεια στις λειτουργίες της πόλης των Τρικάλων ως εξέχοντος διοικητικού και εμπορικού κέντρου, ενώ το αγροτικό σκέλος της οικονομίας της πόλεως είχε ενδεχομένως περιοριστεί. Η βασική διαφοροποίηση έχει να κάνει με την ισχυρή, και πλειοψηφική ήδη από τα μέσα του 15ου αιώνα, παρουσία του μουσουλμανικού στοιχείου, που αλλάζει σε σημαντικό βαθμό την φυσιογνωμία της πόλης.