

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE  
**BYZANTINE ATHENS**

OCTOBER 21–23, 2016  
BYZANTINE AND CHRISTIAN MUSEUM  
ATHENS

Edited by  
HELEN SARADI  
In collaboration with AIKATERINI DELLAPORTA  
Byzantine and Christian Museum



Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports  
BYZANTINE & CHRISTIAN MUSEUM

DEMETRA N. PETROU

The Composition of the Last Judgement in two Thirteenth-Century Fresco Ensembles at Mesogaia, Attica

Ἀβάλε πῶς πάϊς ἄφθιτος ἀθανάτοιο θεοῖο  
οὐρανόθεν μὲν ἔραξε κάτεισιν δεύτερον αἶθις...<sup>1</sup>

During the turbulent 13th century, the Frankish regime established in Athens in 1204/1205 after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, left unfading marks on the cultural landscape of Attica. As far as the monumental art is concerned, the imagery of the Last Judgement<sup>2</sup> belongs to those representations that reflect in a particular way the social and ecclesiastical circumstances of the time.

Throughout Attica, the composition of the Last Judgement is better preserved today in two Byzantine significant monuments located in Mesogaia, within a short distance of each other in a region of the contemporary Municipality

---

1 Verses 6–7 from Michael Choniates' poem 'On the Last Judgement' (LAMPROS, Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα II, 391): "How the immortal son of eternal God cometh down once more from heaven upon the earth, for the second time".

2 Of the huge bibliography, see selectively B. BRENN, Weltgericht, in: LCI IV (1972) 514–524; M. GARIDIS, Études sur le Jugement Dernier Post-Byzantin du XVe à la fin du XIXe siècle. Iconographie – Esthétique. Thessaloniki 1985, 22–30; IDEM, Les punitions collectives et individuelles des damnés dans le Jugement Dernier (du XIIe au XIVE siècle). ZLU 18 (1982) 1–18; Y. CHRISTE, Das Jüngste Gericht. Regensburg 2001; M. ANGHEBEN, Les Jugements Derniers byzantins des XIe-XIIe siècles et l'iconographie du jugement immédiat. CArch 50 (2002) 105–341; N.P. ŠEVČENCO, Some images of the Second Coming and the fate of the soul in Middle Byzantine Art, in: Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity (ed. R.J. DALY). Grand Rapids, MI 2009, 250–272; D.D. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, Σωτηρία και τιμωρία: Η εικαστική πλευρά της Δευτέρας Παρουσίας. Synaxi 121 (2012) 25–41; A. WEYL CARR, Narrating Time after Death in Byzantine Art, in: Όψεις του Βυζαντινού Χρόνου. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου (Αθήνα, 29–30 Μαΐου 2015) (eds H. SARADI et al.). Athens 2018, 127–150.



of Saronikos that maintains heretofore its agrarian character<sup>3</sup>: these are the church of St Peter at Kalyvia and the church of St George near Kouvaras. The church of St Peter situated in the area of Ennea Pyrgoi at Kalyvia, is a two-columned cross-in-square domed church decorated with frescoes dated to 1231/1232, as attested by a dedicatory inscription<sup>4</sup>. The church of St George near Kouvaras is an aisleless timber-roofed basilica, in which the Byzantine scene of the Last Judgement has been dated to the fourth decade of the 13th century or slightly later, according to stylistic criteria<sup>5</sup>. Both fresco ensembles have similarities regarding their provincial style that follows, in general terms, the Komnenian tradition<sup>6</sup>. They also constitute distinctive examples of the monumental painting in the second quarter of the 13th century produced in a prosperous rural area of Attica that had a close artistic connection with nearby areas that belonged to the Duchy of Athens and Thebes<sup>7</sup>.

In the present study, we will briefly examine and compare the elements of these compositions highlighting the iconographic trends which were developed in a social and cultural environment marked by the Latin presence.

---

3 For the archaeological and artistic context of the two monuments in the 13th century see in general: E. GINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Τα 'Μεσόγεια' από την επικράτηση του Χριστιανισμού έως την οθωμανική κατάκτηση, in: Μεσογαία. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός των Μεσογείων Αττικής, Athens 2001, 182–197; M. HIRSCHBICHLER, Monuments of a syncretic society. Wall painting in the Latin Lordship of Athens, Greece (1204–1311). PhD, University of Maryland 2005; S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Relations between East and West in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes after 1204: Archaeological and Artistic Evidence, in: Archaeology and the Crusades. Proceedings of the Round Table, Nikosia, 1 February 2005 (eds P. EDBURY – S. KALOPISSI-VERTI). Athens 2007, 1–33; EADEM, Επιπτώσεις της Δ' Σταυροφορίας στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική της Πελοποννήσου και της Ανατολικής Στερεάς Ελλάδας έως τα τέλη του 13ου αιώνα, in: Η Βυζαντινή Τέχνη μετά την τέταρτη Σταυροφορία. Η τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και οι επιπτώσεις της (International Conference, Athens 9–12 March 2004). Athens 2007, 63–104, esp. 75–76; EADEM, Monumental Art 369–417. Furthermore, in Attica the scene was depicted in the church of the Virgin in the Parthenon (Panagia Atheniotissa): A. CUTLER, The Christian Wall-Paintings in the Parthenon: Interpreting a Lost Monument. *DChAE* 17 (1993–94) 171–180, whereas for its re-dating to the 13th century see KALOPISSI-VERTI, Relations 9–10. A fragmentary scene is also preserved in the church of St Nicholas at Kalamos (13th/14th century): BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 361, fig. 335; moreover, some detached fresco fragments depicting angels, originated from an earlier building phase, belonged possibly to a Last Judgement scene dated to the first decades of the 13th century. On this, see E. GINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Άγιος Νικόλαος στο νεκροταφείο Καλάμου Αττικής. Νέα στοιχεία. *DChAE* 11 (1982–1983) 237–239, 245.

4 COUMBARAKI-PANSELINOU, Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara; N. PANSELINOU, Άγιος Πέτρος Καλυβίων Κουβαρά Αττικής. Επιγραφές – Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία του τοιχογραφικού διακόσμου. *DChAE* 14 (1987–88) 173–188; S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece. Vienna 1992, 60–62.

5 The scene has been studied by Doula Mouriki: D. MOURIKI, An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgement in a Thirteenth Century Fresco at St. George near Kouvaras in Attica. *DChAE* 8 (1975–1976) 145–171, fig. 70–91.

6 Ibid. 164, 168–170; KALOPISSI-VERTI, Επιπτώσεις 76.

7 KALOPISSI-VERTI, Monumental Art 380–389.

In the church of St Peter at Kalyvia<sup>8</sup>, originally consecrated also to the apostle Paul, the scene of the Last Judgement occupies the larger part of the narthex<sup>9</sup>. Fully articulated with its basic components adapted to the available space, it resembles the arrangements of the scene in outstanding works of the art of Constantinople<sup>10</sup>. On the east tympanum, above the central opening of the tribelon that leads to the naos, the Supreme Judge is flanked by the Virgin, St John the Baptist and angels in an imposing Deesis<sup>11</sup> (fig. 1). He is seated on a backless throne with his arms lowered and the pierced palms turned in the symbolic gestures of the Judge, the right outward and the left inward. The angels are symmetrically arranged in pairs wearing richly adorned imperial crossed-*loros*- and *chlamys*-costumes and holding sceptres and globes<sup>12</sup>. The Deesis is further enhanced by the twelve apostles enthroned and symmetrically arranged at the lateral barrel-vaults. The leading apostles Peter and Paul stand out in

---

8 COUMBARAKI-PANSELINOU, Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara 60, 85–89, 93–99; PANSELINOU, Άγιος Πέτρος 181–183.

9 The theme is usually depicted in the narthex of Byzantine churches, where funerary practices and rites are attested: F. BACHE, La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XIIe au XIVe siècle. *Histoire de l'Art* 7 (1989) 25–33. The extensive cycle in the narthex appears frequently until the early 14th century, mentioning the scenes in St Stephen in Kastoria (first half of the 10th century) and the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (1028): N. SIOMKOS, L'église Saint-Etienne à Kastoria. Étude des différentes phases du décor peint (Xe–XIVe siècles). Thessaloniki 2005, 91–99, 118–119; A. TSITOURIDOU, Η Παναγία των Χαλκείων. Thessaloniki 1985, 49–55; in the Panagia Mavriotissa near Kastoria (latter half of the first half of the 13th century): S. PELEKANIDIS – M. CHATZIDAKIS, Καστοριά (Βυζαντινή Τέχνη στην Ελλάδα. Ψηφιδωτά–Τοιχογραφίες). Athens 1992, 66–83; in the exonarthex of Mileševa, Serbia, dated to the 1230s: C.M. VAFEIADIS, Ὑστερη βυζαντινή ζωγραφική. Χώρος και μορφή στην τέχνη της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 1150–1450. Athens 2015, 97–100; also in several churches of Lakonia, mostly in the Mani, dated to the 13th and 14th centuries: S.E.J. GERSTEL – P.S. KATSAFADOS, Images of Hell and the Afterlife in the Churches of Lakonia, in: Hell in the Byzantine World: A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean, vol. 1: Essays (ed. A. LYMBEROPOULOU). Cambridge 2020, 310–345. I owe my thanks to P. Katsafados for making this article available to me before publication.

10 As the famous Tetraevangelon Par. Gr. 74 (fol. 51v and fol. 93v) (second half of the 11th century), the mosaics of Torcello cathedral (late 11th or 12th century), and two icons from Sinai (of the late 11th and 12th centuries respectively): GARIDIS, Études 25–26, fig. 2–6; ANGHEBEN, Les Jugements Derniers 106–110.

11 Considering the three main parts of the Byzantine church as spaces of graduated holiness and worship, the Deesis on the east wall of the narthex marks the passage to the nave as a 'screen' of intercessory images: KALOPISSI-VERTI, Proskynetaria 123, 128–129.

12 The *chlamys*-costume, in particular, is rarely encountered in Middle and Late Byzantine contexts. On the imperial iconography of the angels and their vestments see M.G. PARANI, Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th centuries). Leiden–Boston 2003, 42–50, 99–100.

their established position to the right and left of the Judge respectively<sup>13</sup>. The central Deesis group is completed below by a tetramorph and a hexapterygon<sup>14</sup> combined with a small scene of the Hetoimasia to the left.

On the west tympanum, two minor scenes comprise episodes from the restitution of the dead by the earth and the sea (fig. 2): on the left, an angel trumpets towards the earth with the shrouded bodies; and on the right, an angel sounds his trumpet to the sea which is depicted personified as a female figure holding an oar while sitting on a sea monster that yields a deceased man.

Bellow these scenes and all along the west wall, the choirs of the Righteous – male and female martyrs and ascetics, hierarchs, apostles and prophets – (fig. 2) spearheaded by Stephen the Protomartyr and an angel are arrayed in a single, magnificent frieze heading towards the Paradise formerly occupying the north tympanum. Unlike the typical iconography, wherein Peter leads the Righteous into the Paradise<sup>15</sup>, here he is ahead of the choir of the apostles, next to Paul, both forming the pair of the honored saints of the church. However, Paul's posture differentiates among the other apostles: he is not turning to the direction of the Paradise, but he is staring at the Judge on the opposite wall, with his right hand in a gesture of supplication (fig. 3). On the north wall, the remnants of the Gate with the cherub and the figure of the Penitent Thief, although barely discerned today, indicate an inventive spatial arrangement for the unattainable and transcendental garden with sharply defined bounds that conforms to the Byzantine perception of Heaven<sup>16</sup>.

The image of Hell, which is preserved fragmentarily at the southeast part of the narthex, illustrates the Rich Man from the parable of Luke (16:19–31) and few sinners cast in fire by an angel, two of them identified by inscriptions. On the south tympanum, directly opposite the Paradise, a dragon devouring sinners is poorly preserved. On his back an almost effaced figure is sitting, which is possibly the personified Hades. Under this scene, vestiges of

---

13 They already appear in this position with the rest of the apostles in one of the earliest Last Judgement scenes, at the chapel 4, St John of Güllü Dere in Cappadocia (Ayvali Kilise) (913–920): C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *La Cappadoce médiévale: Images et spiritualité*. Paris 2003, 271. Moreover, on their early appearance in compositions inspired by apocalyptic texts see J. HERRMANN – A. VAN DEN HOEK, *Apocalyptic Themes in the Monumental and Minor Art of Early Christianity*, in: *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity* 33–80.

14 Here the tetramorph is depicted six-winged with the central figure of the angel-man –symbol of Matthew– prevailing monumentally. For this theme, related with the *maiestas* iconography and the liturgy see G. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2001, 35, 46–49.

15 GARIDIS, *Études* 85. A representative example of the time appears in the monumental scene of Akhtala (1205–1216): A. LIDOV, *The Wall Paintings of Akhtala Monastery: History, Iconography, Masters*. Moscow 2014, 294, 299, 400.

16 On this concept of the garden in the late Byzantine centuries see H. MAGUIRE, *Paradise Withdrawn*, in: *Byzantine Garden Culture* (eds A. LITTLEWOOD *et al.*). Washington, DC 2002, 23–35, esp. 31.

two compartments with communal punishments are discerned, one of which contained possibly the Gnashing of Teeth<sup>17</sup>.

The particularly refined composition in the church of St George at Kouvaras, which is unique regarding its iconography and layout, occupies a single register on the upper part of the masonry screen (fig. 4, 5). The execution of the theme in this prominent position and its eschatological content associated with the sanctuary possibly indicate the funerary function of the church<sup>18</sup>. In the Deesis above the Royal Door<sup>19</sup> Christ Judge is seated on elaborate throne surrounded by an elliptical mandorla with undulating contour of Western influence<sup>20</sup>, extending his right and left arm in a gesture that denotes acceptance of the Righteous and rejection of the Damned respectively (fig. 4). This realistic element that also appears in the nearby church is often encountered in Byzantine and Western art<sup>21</sup>. Flanked by the Virgin and St John the Baptist he is surrounded by a large choir of angels, symmetrically disposed in two rows, wearing excessively adorned imperial costumes and holding sceptres and globes<sup>22</sup>. The variety of vestments and the diverse colours of their halos highlight the dynamic presence of the heavenly orders, which also include a single pair of wheels (Thrones) depicted in front of Paul. This

---

17 Unpublished scenes. The theme of the dragon and Hades (GARIDIS, *Études* 63–64) is also preserved in the churches of Episkopi (early 13th century) and Agetria (c. 1240–1250), in the Mani: S. TOMEKOVIC, *Le Jugement Dernier inédit de l'église d'Agètria (Magne)*, in: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress (Wien, 4–9 Oktober 1981). Akten II/5. *JÖB* 32/5 (1982) 471, 475, fig. 4–5 (with relevant examples). We will be able to make further remarks on the Hell scenes after the completion of the conservation works that are executed by the Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica.

18 This possible funerary use has been related with the devotional wall paintings preserved on the west wall of the space: ΜΟΥΡΙΚΙ, *Representation* 170–171. In particular, just opposite the Last Judgement scene are depicted four frontal intercessory saints. Two of them, identified with the patron saint of the church and St Basil, are accompanied by votive inscriptions. We presented these frescoes which remained unpublished (except for a short reference in BOURAS *et al.*, *Εκκλησίες* 161) in: D. PETROU, *Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος στη Βυζαντινή μνημειακή τέχνη της Μεσογαίας*. Proceedings of the 17th Scientific Meeting of Southeast Attica (Markopoulo, 3–7 October 2018) (forthcoming).

19 It is noteworthy that in both churches the centrality of the Deesis above critical doorways is stressed, to the sanctuary of the church of St George and to the naos of the church of St Peter respectively (see *supra* n. 11).

20 With undulating contour is rendered the semicircular glory encompassing the Lord in the rare scene of Jacob's ladder in the church of the Taxiarches (Archangels) on Mount Hellanion, Aegina. For this scene dated to the 13th or 14th century see CH. PENNAS, *Η Βυζαντινή Αίγινα*. Athens 2004, 35–38.

21 We mention, e.g., the Judge's gestures in the Panagia Mavriotissa and Mileševa (*supra* n. 9); moreover, in the mosaic composition at the Florence Baptistery (second half of 13th century): M. BOSKOVITS, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting. Section I, vol. II. The Mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence. Florence–Milan* 2007, 303–304.

22 They are clad in the same types of vestments encountered in St Peter, and additionally in the simplified *loros*-type (see *supra* n. 12). The painter would have seen the scene of the nearby church and followed certain models.



arrangement, in our opinion, can be related with the unique in the New Testament mention to the Thrones in the Epistle to the Colossians (1:16), underlining the significance of Paul in the scene.

The central group of the Deesis is framed by the monumental figures of six apostles instead of twelve, standing in front of elaborate furniture<sup>23</sup>. The depiction of Paul first to the right of the Judge, and Peter to the left, is not rare in Byzantine iconography, whereas it appears in contemporary works in Italy; the remaining apostles are identified with the evangelists<sup>24</sup>. Paul is portrayed grey-haired<sup>25</sup>, in a gesture of supplication. Peter, according to our observation, is blessing demonstratively in the Orthodox way and is holding in the left hand a ring with two keys of Heaven (fig. 5). Alike in the nearby church, he is depicted among the Righteous bearing two keys<sup>26</sup> (fig. 3).

The particularities of the scene at St George's church culminate in the River of Fire emanating from the throne of the Judge and flowing below the apostles in the right-hand part of the composition (fig. 5): amidst its flames, individualized punishments are depicted in a unique frieze consisting of one full-length figure and nine expressive heads of sinners. Most of them are portrayed with the implements of their sin suspended from their necks as realistic elements that underline the factual severity of the offenses denouncing the transgressors in this rural community of Mesogaia<sup>27</sup>. First, is the Rich Man from the parable of Luke in a pose established since the 11th century, in contrast to his rare image at the church of St Peter, wherein he is shown sitting up, rather comfortably, in the fire<sup>28</sup>. Next follows the falsifier of the weights,

---

23 Also six standing apostles are referred in the fragmentary scene in the church of St Nicholas at Kalamos: MOURIKI, Representation 153.

24 Ibid. 154. The rare combination of the reversed leading apostles and the four evangelists also appears in the Psalter Vat. gr. 752 (1058/1059): M. MEYER, Hiding in Plain Sight: The Second Coming and the Last Judgment in the Vatican Psalter, gr. 752. *CArch* 56 (2016) 74.

25 MOURIKI, Representation 155. In our opinion, the painter rendered St Paul with this rare feature aiming at a physiognomic closeness to the image of St Peter, who is depicted here according to tradition, with grey-white hair and beard.

26 The keys (Matthew 16:19) became a common attribute in the thirteenth-century portrayal of St Peter in Latin-occupied areas, adding emphasis to the founder of the Roman Church. See *ibid.* 155–156, where two more examples from neighbouring regions are referred, in the Omorfe Ekklesia at Galatsi, Athens (end of the 13th or early 14th century) and the Omorfe Ekklesia on Aegina (1289).

27 Based on the old tradition of public shaming common also in the West, the individualized punishments became widespread in rural areas and monastic centres from the early 13th century. For the scene at St George and relevant examples see *ibid.* 148–150, 156–164; GARIDIS, Les punitions collectives esp. 7; S.E.J. GERSTEL, The Sins of the Farmer. Illustrating Village Life (and Death) in Medieval Byzantium, in: Word, Image, Number. Communication in the Middle Ages (eds J.J. CONTRENI – S. CASCIANI). Florence 2002, 212–213.

28 His graphic rendering shows in a sarcastic way aversion to the apathetic wealthy elites. It is noteworthy that episodes from this parable became popular in Romanesque architectural sculpture: P.K. KLEIN, Programmes eschatologiques, fonction et réception historique des portails du XIIe s.: Moissac – Beaulieu – Saint-Denis, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 33:132 (1990) 326–327, 344.

recognizable by a balance scale tied to his neck<sup>29</sup>. Then, comes the royal couple of Herod and Herodias, who exemplify cruelty and adultery. Next is depicted 'the evil-minded archimandrite' – Ο ΚΑΚΟΦΡΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ – with the koukoulion of his Great Schema and a money pouch, facing a secular functionary with his writing implements dragged by a small black demon<sup>30</sup>. The pairing of these two figures stigmatizes the abuse of power committed by both high-ranking clergy and secular officials. Finally, four more sinners are punished for different crimes of trespassing in rural area, as suggested by their implements<sup>31</sup>: a plow, a sickle<sup>32</sup>, a hatchet, and a large pair of shears<sup>33</sup>.

The inventory of the Damned in both scenes is completed with two naked sinners in St Peter's church<sup>34</sup> labelled as the 'avaricious monk' – ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥ(ΡΟC) ΜΟΝΑΧ(ΟC) – and the usurer – Ο ΤΟΚΟΝ ΛΑΒ(ΩΝ) – with a money-bag suspended from his neck<sup>35</sup>. Adjacent to the Rich Man, they all form a striking group of avaricious sinners doomed in eternal torture. The various individualized punishments in both churches focused on the attachment to the wealth, avarice, abuse of power, usury, and trespassing of property, stigmatized the type of behavior not tolerated in Heaven and thus defined the moral

---

29 Balance scales were employed both in commercial and monetary transactions, including the tax collection: PARANI, *Reconstructing* 213, n. 89.

30 The secular sinner has been identified mainly as a tax assessor: MOURIKI, *Representation* 150; GERSTEL, *Sins of Farmer* 213. Furthermore, his white headgear with streamers combined with the portable pen-case with inkwell (καλαμάριον) may indicate someone with judicial responsibilities. On the writing implements in religious scenes related with trials or as insignia of judicial officers see PARANI, *Reconstructing* 212, n. 84.

31 For further representations of the depicted agricultural tools see A. LIVERI, *Βυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία και μηχανές*. *DChAE* 21 (2000) 276–283.

32 It is rendered with a serrated blade, as was the older type predominated since antiquity in the drier areas of the Mediterranean: K.D. WHITE, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World*. New York 1967, 80.

33 Formerly identified as pruning shears (MOURIKI, *Representation* 160), according to later interpretation, it is likely a pair of sheep shears denoting trespassing of livestock: A. BRYER, *Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's Works and Days*. *ABSA* 81 (1986) 78; GERSTEL, *Sins of Farmer* 213.

34 PANSELINOY, *Άγιος Πέτρος* 183; S.E.J. GERSTEL, *Rural Lives and Landscape in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography*. New York 2015, 28–29.

35 Lending money to peasants who were unable to pay their taxes was the main function of Byzantine usurers. Therefore, usurers and tax collectors were the main targets of public hostility in Byzantium: A. KAZHDAN – G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium*. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies. Washington, D.C. 1982, 150.

standards of the communities<sup>36</sup>.

Particularly at the church of St George, the unique in Byzantine art depiction of tortures on the sanctuary screen highlights the 'avenging' dimension of Divine Justice and the scene takes on a correctional character. Concurrently, due to the contacts with the Latins, the impact of the western eschatological perceptions is undeniable. It has already been remarked that numerous detailed tortures compose the Hell scenes in Latin-held Crete and Cyprus<sup>37</sup>. Notably in the West the medieval representations of the theme are infused with the notions of the intimidation of the faithful, the merciless chastisement of the guilty and the ultimate dispensing of justice<sup>38</sup>. As a case in point we mention the relief scenes of the Last Judgement on the portals of medieval cathedrals mainly in France<sup>39</sup>, and the mosaic imagery of Hell in the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, the apocalyptic beliefs are revived to the full in the aftermath of the Crusades, during an era of religious

---

36 These transgressive behaviors are frequently condemned in the writings of high ecclesiastics since the 12th century. Eustathios of Thessaloniki denounces usury, as well as the profiteering pursued either by laymen or clergy and monastics, complaining that local monasteries were full of mercenary-minded monks: P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge 1993, 156–158. The metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates (1182–1204) condemns the burdensome taxation and the rapacious disposition of tax collectors, the usury, trespassing and rustling, and also the corruption of the clergy. See indicatively K. ΜΑΥΡΟΜΜΑΤΙ, *Οι "Κατηχίσεις" του Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη. Χρονολόγηση και ιστορική προσέγγιση*. *ByzSym* 20 (2010) 53–58.

37 E. PROKOPIOU – D.D. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *From the Here to the Afterlife. Eschatological perceptions and representations in Christian Art*, in: *Η Ζωή μετά Θάνατον/Life after Death. Exhibition's Catalogue* (eds C.G. CHOTZAKOGLU – I.A. ELIADES). Lefkosia 2017, 113; R. DUTS, *Artistic interactions between Byzantium and Italy in the Palaiologan era: The case of Hell*, in: *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West, 1204–1669. Whose Mediterranean is it anyway? Papers from the Forty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Milton Keynes, 28th– 30th March 2015 (ed. A. LYMBEROPOULOU). London–New York 2018, 74–101.

38 According to the dominant in the Western perception of sin 'satisfaction theory' of Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), Divine justice demanded full payment in order for humankind to be set right with God, reflecting the feudal understandings about law and obligation that arose in the medieval West: J.R. PAYTON JR., *The Victory of the Cross: Salvation in Eastern Orthodoxy*. Downers Grove, IL 2019, 101–102. This judicial, 'dicanic' treatment of sin gave rise to horrific martyrdoms in Hell, in contrast with the analogous concept in Byzantium and the neptic character of the Greek Orthodox tradition in which Christ is not seen as a merciless Judge-Avenger and sin is not treated as a transgression of the Divine Law, but rather as an illness that requires remedy: D.D. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *Ιστορία και εσχατολογία στην ορθόδοξη λειτουργική τέχνη. Παράδοση και ανανέωση από το Βυζάντιο στην εποχή μας*, in: *Ζ' Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου* (Komotini, 20–23 September 2007). Komotini 2011, 87–89, 92.

39 TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *Σωτηρία και τιμωρία* 30–32; K. ROUSSEAU, *Mapping our Last Places: Apocalyptic Space and Imagery at Chartres Cathedral – A Social and Visual Analysis of Imagined Space*, in: *Religious Representation in Place: Exploring Meaningful Spaces at the Intersection of the Humanities and Sciences* (eds M.K. GEORGE – D. PEZZOLI-OLGIATI). Basingstoke 2014, 89–103.

40 These mosaics inspired Dante while writing the *Inferno*: BOSKOVITS, *Mosaics* 166.

militarism and economic opportunity<sup>41</sup>. In the 12th and 13th centuries, in particular, acute social tensions and intellectual reformative movements arose in Western Europe along with the increasing belief in the imminent end of the world and the Second Coming of Christ, whereas new interpretations of the Apocalypse set forth<sup>42</sup>.

Furthermore, in both churches the prominent position of the apostles Peter and Paul as representatives of the Roman Catholic and of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and as intercessors of the humanity is emphasized. It mirrors not only the communion of the two main factors of Christianity, but also the ecumenical dimension of the papal primacy pursued by the Latin ecclesiastical policy of the time<sup>43</sup>. However, at St George's church, the Hellenic standpoint of the unknown donor is accentuated through the characteristic Orthodox blessing gesture of St Peter, and notably with the emphasis on St Paul, denoting the preference for the Apostle of the Greeks, especially of the Athenians.

The official spirit of conciliation is mostly identified in the church of St Peter, originally dedicated to the two apostles, the portraits of whom are discerned in the niche above the entrance. However, their pairing among the choir of the apostles has an ambiguous meaning: on the one hand, it can be interpreted as a sign of conformity with the new ecclesiastic conditions, and as an attempt to smooth over the differences between the indigenous population and the Latin lords; on the other, the underrated position of St Peter who is not first in front of the Gate of Paradise, and mainly the specific posture of

---

41 B. MCGINN, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York 1979, esp. 89; see also Y. CHRISTE, *The Apocalypse in the Monumental Art of the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (eds R.K. EMMERSON – B. MCGINN). Ithaca, NY 1992, 234–258.

42 A visionary exponent of the apocalyptic ideas was the Calabrian monk Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135– 1202), who developed concepts as the future unity of the Church under Roman primacy and the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth in the future Age of the Holy Spirit. From the 13th century his theory affected the mendicant orders of Franciscans and Dominicans: T. STEPANOV, *Waiting for the End of the World: European Dimensions, 950–1200*. Leiden–Boston 2020, 68–71; CHRISTE, *Apocalypse* 235.

43 It is noteworthy that the heads of both apostles first appeared on papal seals from the 11th century, whereas Pope Paschal II (1099–1118) adopted and developed further this type: G. GLÜCKSMANN – R. KOOL, *Crusader Period Finds from the Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem*. *Atiqot* 26 (1995), 87–104, esp. 91. Moreover in Attica, the leading apostles were painted in medallions in the southern chapel in the Cave on Mount Penteli, possibly dedicated to them according D. Mouriki, who linked the decoration of the church –the larger part of which is dated to 1233/1234– with the workshop of St Peter's murals: D. MOURIKI, *Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῶν παρεκκλησίων τῆς Σπηλιᾶς τῆς Πεντέλης*. *DChAE* 7 (1973–1974) 79–119, esp. 109, 111–112. Furthermore, they are depicted in monumental scale facing each other in the Omorpe Ekklesia at Galatsi, Athens (supra n. 26): VASILAKI-KARAKATSANI, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς* 9, 32; they are also forming a facing pair in the north part of the narthex in the same church, flanking the Deesis and followed by saints of Orthodox and Latin cult: G.K. TSANTILAS, *Το εικονογραφικὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦ νάρθηκα τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς τῆς Αῥίνας*. (Unpublished Master's thesis). Athens 2010, 7–9, 55–58.



St Paul depicting next to him, reflect possibly certain reservations toward the Roman Church and subtly emphasize the preference of the Greek donor.

Moreover, in the first portion of the ktetoric inscription on the east wall of the narthex, both saints are praised equally as representatives of the Christian Church, apparently regardless of doctrine<sup>44</sup>. Questionable is whether, according to former interpretations, the reference to Peter as ‘foundation of orthodox doctrines’ has to be understood as an effort to defend the papal allegiances of the donor Ignatios<sup>45</sup>.

In the second part of the inscription (fig. 1), the donor of the painted decoration of the church Ignatios, addressing to the leading apostles refers to the Last Judgement of the Lord, the imposing representation of which unfolds in the space<sup>46</sup>. Ignatios was bishop (πρόεδρος) of the bishopric of the islands Thermia (Kythnos) and Kea, a suffragan see of the Latin archbishopric of Athens<sup>47</sup>. As mentioned above, according to earlier bibliography, the stance of Ignatios has been interpreted as a positive attitude towards the Latins because of his cooperation with the Catholic Church of Athens. This view is now challenged by our recent reading resulted from the re-examination of the important metrical inscriptions during the recent conservation works: the phrase “εν βοίω” (ἐν βίῳ, in lifetime) quoted in the former rendering of the inscription by N. Panselinou must be read “εν βιέω” (ἐν βιαιῳ, in force, involuntarily)<sup>48</sup>. Thus, Ignatios invoking the two apostles for the deliverance from his sins, while referring to the Second Coming of Christ as if he expected his own death, seems to express his apology for collaborating with the Latin Church.

In a period of widespread crisis of values, Michael Choniates himself, the last metropolitan of Athens before the Frankish conquest, who was a great opponent of the “most bitter” “barbaric tyranny”, had acknowledged occasionally in his epistles the necessity of complying with crusader rule in specific circumstances, when a lot was at stake. However, he lost his episcopal see because he refused to submit to the demands of the Latin Church as he remained firm in his religious convictions. This attitude of compromise while maintaining the Orthodox dogma allowed the Orthodox Church to continue

---

44 ...᾽Ω Πέτρε κρηπὶς ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων / ᾽Ω Παῦ(λε) κῆριξ ἐνθέων διδαγμάτων): PANSELINOU, Ἅγιος Πέτρος 173.

45 COUMBARAKI-PANSELINOU, Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara 47–49; HIRSCHBICHLER, Monuments 63.

46 Καμοὶ δὲ βραβεύοιτε λύσιν σφαλμάτων) / ᾽Ων ἐν βοίῳ πέπραχα τῷ παναθλίῳ / Λυτρούμενοί με κὲ πυρὸς τοῦ πανφάγου / Ἐπανελεύσει(ε) δευτέρῳ τοῦ Δεσπότη(ου) / Ἰγνάτιος κέκραγα λιτὰ ζῶν τάδε / Ἐκ γῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἡγμένος μονότροπο(ς) / Νήσων προεδρεύων δὲ Θεομερίων Κέω: PANSELINOU, Ἅγιος Πέτρος 173–178.

47 Ibid. 174–175; for the ecclesiastical conditions of the time in Attica see further SETTON, Papacy 41–42, 405–408; HIRSCHBICHLER, Monuments 88–98.

48 We will study in detail the new reading of the inscription in a forthcoming publication.

its determinant role in preserving the identity of the local Greek community<sup>49</sup>. Ignatios possibly knew and revered the exiled bishop of Athens, as it is deduced from his portrayal with nimbus included among the officiating hierarchs in the Bema of St Peter's church next to St Ignatios the God-Bearer<sup>50</sup>. Michael Choniates, a renowned classicist scholar and prolific writer<sup>51</sup>, composed a poem *Εἰς τὴν Δευτέραν Παρουσίαν*, of which the theological content, rendered in an exquisite narrative manner, corresponds to the various elements of the iconography of the Last Judgement<sup>52</sup>.

The devotion to the Greek Orthodox Church, hinted in iconographic implications and in the second part of the ktetoric inscription, is revealed in the lengthy, magnificent frieze of the Righteous, and mostly, in the remaining scenes of the narthex that highlight the sacramental and neptic character of the Eastern Christian tradition: the Baptism (east wall), the Nipter, and the Last Supper (central vault of the narthex), and also ten figures of ascetics (lower part of west wall) (fig. 2)<sup>53</sup>. The presence, in particular, of Saints Zosimas of Palestine and Mary of Egypt<sup>54</sup> on either side of the entrance reinforces the Eucharistic character in this space, as is also the case with the scenes of the Last Supper and the Nipter<sup>55</sup>.

The iconographic emphasis on the leading apostles on the one hand, and on the Holy Eucharist on the other, is undoubtedly related to the ecclesiastical

49 SHAWCROSS, *Golden Athens* 86, 89, 93. See also EADEM, *The Lost Generation* (c. 1204–c. 1222): Political Allegiance and Local Interests under the Impact of the Fourth Crusade, in: *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (eds J. HERRIN – G. SAINT-GUILLAIN). New York 2016, 63, 81–83.

50 COUMBARAKI-PANSELINOU, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara* 68–70. It is likely that a local worship of Choniates as a saint – who is also portrayed in the southern chapel of Penteli – had spread among the inhabitants of Attica after his death (ca. 1222): ΜΟΥΡΙΚΙ, *Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίαις* 96–98, 107.

51 For his biography see ΚΟΛΟΝΟΥ, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης* 9–23.

52 See supra n. 1; *ibid.* 41.

53 For their description see COUMBARAKI-PANSELINOU, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara* 54, 59–60, 86–89, 99; PANSELINOU, *Ἅγιος Πέτρος* 180, where, except for the Saints Zosimas and Mary of Egypt, no reference is made to the other, quite damaged, figures of saints, all belonging to ascetics.

54 We observe that St Mary of Egypt is depicted twice in the west wall, included also in the choir of the female martyrs and ascetics. Her emaciated figure is contrasted with that of the typically corpulent Rich Man on the opposite wall, thus praising bodily discipline and the Eucharist as the focal points in the life of the faithful. See on this A. EASTMOND – L. JAMES, *Eat, drink...and pay the price*, in: *Eat, Drink and Be Merry* (Luke 12:19). Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, In Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer (eds L. BRUBAKER – K. LINARDOU). Aldershot–Burlington VT 2007, 175–176, 179.

55 These representations from the cycle of the Passion, frequently found on the west part of the churches, are associated with the service of Maundy Thursday commemorating the Washing of the Feet (Nipter), the Last Supper and the establishment of the Eucharist by Christ. For relevant examples see L. SAFRAN, *S. Pietro at Otranto*. Byzantine Art in South Italy. Rome 1992, 55.

dialogues over Church union that were taking place already from the first decades of the 13th century, and especially in this period with the active participation of the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos II exiled in Nicaea (1223–1240)<sup>56</sup>. It is remarkable to mention that in the aspirational iconographic program of St Peter's church, the portrait of St Germanos, patriarch of the early 8th century, is included in the Bema, close to the semi-cylinder of the apse<sup>57</sup>. This representation is certainly an honor by the donor Ignatios to the homonymous Patriarch of the 13th century who insisted on the dogmatic and other differences of the Orthodox with the Latin Church.

Having been produced in a period of great social and ecclesiastical upheaval, the imagery of the Last Judgement in the two churches of Mesogaia echoes the anxiety of the clergy and the laypeople caused by the encounter with the Latins. It can be seen also within the context of a strong desire of the Orthodox Greeks of the area to preserve their spiritual and cultural identity. Nonetheless, the eschatological messages reflected in the two compositions are different: While in St George prevails a par excellence 'dicanic' dimension of the Last Judgement, denoting the exasperation of his donor toward the injustices plaguing the agrarian population, in the earlier composition of St Peter, where the memory of Michael Choniates is still lively preserved, the sacramental and ascetic life within the Church is propounded so that the faithful are enabled to dwell in the presence of the coming Lord.

Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica

---

56 During these discussions the Latins pursued the agreement to subject the Orthodox to the Roman Church and to the Pope's authority. In his epistles to Rome, Patriarch Germanos II focused on the major divisive points, such as the addition of *filioque* to the Creed and the papal primacy. Concurrently, in his pastoral texts addressed to the Orthodox people of the Latin-occupied areas, he referred to individual issues of disagreement, as was the use of the unleavened bread for the Eucharist: C. ARAMPATZIS, Το μυστήριο της θείας Ευχαριστίας ως παράγοντας ενότητας της Ανατολικής και Δυτικής Εκκλησίας κατά τον 13ο αιώνα. *Byzantina* 29 (2009) 361–384, esp. 373, 378. See also A. ALEXAKIS, Official and Unofficial Contacts between Rome and Constantinople before the Council of Lyons (1274). *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 39/1 (2007) 95–124.

57 Germanos I showed great interest in Athens as he wrote an *akolouthia* for Dionysios Areopagites. See the article of TH. KOLLYROPOULOU and A. LAMBROPOULOU in the present volume.





Fig. 1. Kalyvia, Church of St Peter. Narthex, east wall. Last Judgement: The Deesis, with tetramorph and hexapterygon, and parts of the ktetoric inscription. © Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica (photo: D. Petrou)



Fig. 2. Kalyvia, Church of St Peter. Narthex, west wall. Last Judgement: The frieze of the Righteous; the restitution of the dead by the earth and the sea (tympanum). Figures of ascetics (lower part). © Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica (photo: D. Petrou)





Fig. 3. Kalyvia, Church of St Peter. Narthex, west wall. Last Judgement: The frieze of the Righteous (detail). Sts Peter and Paul leading the choir of the apostles.  
© Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica  
(photo: D. Petrou)

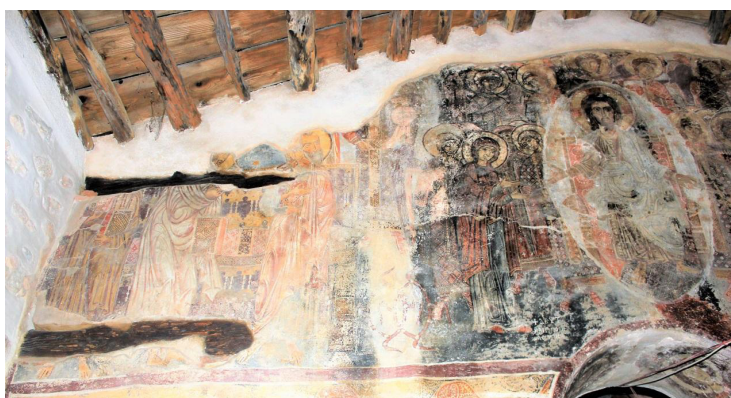


Fig. 4. Kouvaras, Church of St George. Masonry screen. Left part of the Last Judgement: Detail from the Deesis with the Virgin, angels, a pair of wheels (Thrones), St Paul and two Evangelists. © Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica  
(photo: D. Petrou)

Fig. 5. Kouvaras, Church of St George. Masonry screen. Right part of the Last Judgement: Detail from the Deesis with St John the Baptist, angels, St Peter and two Evangelists. Sinners in the River of Fire (lower part).  
© Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica  
(photo: D. Petrou)



## ABBREVIATIONS

### JOURNALS

- AA:** *Archäologischer Anzeiger*  
**AAA:** Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν  
**AAIAB:** *The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin*  
**AASOR:** *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*  
**ABSA:** *Annual of the British School at Athens*  
**ADelt:** Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον  
**AEMTh:** Το Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη  
**AEphem:** Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς  
**AJA:** *American Journal of Archaeology*  
**AK:** *Antike Kunst*  
**ALinc:** *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*  
**AM:** *Arte Medievale*  
**AnBoll:** *Analecta Bollandiana*  
**AnTard:** *Antiquité Tardive*  
**ArtB:** *The Art Bulletin*  
**ASAtene:** *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*  
**ATech:** Ἀρχαιολογία και Τέχνες  
**BCH:** *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*  
**ByzD:** *Βυζαντινὸς Δόμος*  
**ByzF:** *Byzantinische Forschungen*  
**ByzSym:** *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεκτα*  
**BZ:** *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*  
**CahCM:** *Cahier de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles*  
**CArch:** *Cahiers archéologiques*  
**CPh:** *Classical Philology*  
**CSCA:** *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*  
**DChAE:** Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς καὶ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας  
**DIEEE:** Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
**DOP:** *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*  
**EEBS:** Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν  
**EEPhSPA:** Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν  
**EETHSPA:** Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι Πανεπιστημίου  
**GBBNP:** *Göttinger Beiträge zur byzantinischen und neugriechischen Philologie*  
**GRBS:** *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*  
**IJCT:** *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*  
**JHS:** *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*  
**JLA:** *Journal of Late Antiquity*  
**JÖB:** *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*  
**JRA:** *Journal of Roman Archaeology*  
**JRS:** *The Journal of Roman Studies*  
**JS:** *Journal des savants*  
**JTS:** *Journal of Theological Studies*  
**LibAnt:** *Libya Antiqua*  
**MB:** *Musée Belge*  
**MDAI AA:** *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*  
**NChr:** *The Numismatic Chronicle*  
**NE:** Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων  
**OCA:** *Orientalia Christiana Anallecta*  
**Ocnus:** *Ocnus. Quaderni della scuola di specializzazione in archeologia*  
**OCP:** *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*  
**OrChr:** *Orientalia Christiana*  
**Ostraka:** *Ostraka: Rivista di antichità*  
**PraktArchEt:** Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας  
**ProcBrAcad:** *Proceedings of the British Academy*

**RCRF Acta:** *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta*  
**REB:** *Revue des études byzantines*  
**REG:** *Revue des études grecques*  
**RQ:** *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*  
**RSBN:** *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*  
**SBN:** *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*  
**SP:** *Studia Patristica*  
**TM:** *Travaux et Mémoires*  
**VV:** *Vizantijskij Vremmenik*  
**WJL:** *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*  
**ZLU:** *Zbornik za likovne Umetnosti*  
**ZPE:** *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY & SOURCES

- AASS:** *Acta Sanctorum*, 71 vols. Paris 1863–1940  
**ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής των Φιλανθρωπινών:** M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής των Φιλανθρωπινών στο Νησί των Ιωαννίνων*. Athens 2004  
**Acropolis Museum Guide:** D. PANTERMALIS *et al.*, *Acropolis Museum Guide*. Athens 2013  
**Acta Philippi:** *Acta Philippi Textus* (eds F. BOVON *et al.*) (CCSA 11). Turnhout 1999  
**AHG:** G. SCHIRÒ (ed.), *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae Inferioris*, Joseph Schirò consilio et ductu edita. Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Università di Roma con il concorso del consiglio Nazionale delle ricerche. I–XIII. Rome 1979–1983  
**ALEXOPOULOS, When a Column Speaks:** S. ALEXOPOULOS, *When a Column Speaks: The Liturgy of the Christian Parthenon*. *DOP* 69 (2015) 159–178  
**AP:** *Anthologia graeca* (ed. H. BECKBY), 4 vols. Munich 1965–1968  
**ARAPOGIANNI, Κάντζα:** X. ARAPOGIANNI, Ανασκαφή στην Κάντζα Αττικής, in: *Πρακτικά Β΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης Ν.Α. Αττικής*. Kalyvia 1986, 255–266  
**ASEMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα II:** P. ASEMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδας, II, Πελοπόννησος – Στερεά Ελλάδα*. Thessaloniki 1987  
**Athens II:** *Athens II. Athens in Late Antiquity* (eds I. TANASEANU-DÖBLER – L. von ALVENSLEBEN). Tübingen 2020  
**BALDINI, Atene: la città cristiana:** I. BALDINI, *Atene: la città cristiana*, in: *Gli Ateniesi e il loro modello di città. Seminari di storia e archeologia greca 1* (eds L.M. CALIÒ – E. LIPPOLIS – V. PARISI). Rome 2014, 309–321  
**BAZZECCHI, Athenian Identity:** E. BAZZECCHI, *Athenian Identity in Late Antiquity: An Investigation of the Urban Elite and their Connection with the Monumental Aspect of the City*, in: *SOMA 2012, Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy 1–3 March 2012* (eds L. BOMBARDIERI *et al.*). Oxford 2013, 467–474  
**BAZZECCHI, Das Stadtzentrum:** E. BAZZECCHI, *Das Stadtzentrum Athens in der Spätantike*. *MDAI AA* 129/130 (2014/2015) 217–256  
**BHG:** F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, I–III. Brussels 1957  
**BHL:** *Socii Bollandiani, Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, I–II. Brussels 1898–1901  
**BONIFAY, Etudes sur la céramique:** M. BONIFAY, *Etudes sur la céramique romaine tardive d’Afrique*. Oxford 2004  
**BORBOUDAKIS, Παναγία Κερά:** M. BORBOUDAKIS, *Παναγία Κερά: βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στην Κριτσα*. Athens s.a.  
**BOURAS, Alaric:** CH. BOURAS, *Alaric in Athen*. *DChAE* 33 (2012) 1–6  
**BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα:** CH. BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα, 10ος–12ος αι.* Athens 2010, published in English with “revisions and new material”: IDEM, *Byzantine Athens, 10th–12th Centuries*. Abingdon–New York 2017  
**BOURAS – BOURA, Ναοδομία:** CH. BOURAS – L. BOURA, *Η Ελλαδική ναοδομία κατά τον 12ο αιώνα*. Athens 2002  
**BOURAS et al., Εκκλησίες της Αττικής:** CH. BOURAS *et al.*, *Εκκλησίες της Αττικής*. Athens 1969



- BRADDEEN, Inscriptions:** D.W. BRADDEEN, *Inscriptions: the Funerary Monuments (The Athenian Agora 17)*. Princeton, NJ, 1974
- BREITENBACH, "Das wahrhaft goldene Athen":** A. BREITENBACH, "Das wahrhaft goldene Athen": Die Auseinandersetzung griechischer Kirchenväter mit der Metropole heidnisch-antiker Kultur. Berlin 2003
- BRUBAKER – HALDON, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era:** L. BRUBAKER – J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: A History*. Cambridge–New York 2011
- BUSINE, Gathering Sacred Words:** A. BUSINE, *Gathering Sacred Words. Collections of Oracles from Pagan Sanctuaries to Christian Books*, in: *Selecta Colligere II. Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus* (eds R.M. PICCIONE – M. PERKAMS). Alessandria 2005, 39–55
- BUSINE, Paroles d'Apollon:** A. BUSINE, *Paroles d'Apollon. Pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive (IIe–VIe siècles)*. Leiden–Boston 2005
- CASTRÉN, General aspects of life:** P. CASTRÉN, *General aspects of life in Post-Herulian Athens*, in: *IDEM, Post-Herulian Athens 1–14*
- CASTRÉN, Paganism and Christianity:** P. CASTRÉN, *Paganism and Christianity in Athens and Vicinity during the Fourth to Sixth centuries A.D.*, in: *The Idea and Ideal of the town between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (eds G.P. BROGIOLO – B. WARD-Perkins). Leiden 1999, 211–223
- CASTRÉN (ed.), Post-Herulian Athens:** P. CASTRÉN (ed.), *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of life and culture in Athens, A.D. 267–529*. Helsinki 1994
- CCSA:** *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum*
- CFHB:** *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
- CHOREMI-SPETSIERI, Πορτρέτα:** A. CHOREMI-SPETSIERI, *Πορτρέτα ύστερης αρχαιότητας από την Αθήνα*, in: *Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της Ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας* (eds T. STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU *et al.*). Thessaloniki 2012, 115–127
- CIG:** *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols. Berlin 1828–1877
- COUMPARAKI-PANSELINOY, Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara:** N. COUMPARAKI-PANSELINOY, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Merenta. Deux monuments du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Attique*. Thessaloniki 1976
- CREAGHAM – RAUBITSCHKE, Epitaphs:** J. CREAGHAM – A. RAUBITSCHKE, *Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens. Hesperia 16* (1947) 1–52
- DARROUZÈS, Notitiae episcopatum:** J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes*. Paris 1981
- DI BRANCO, Atene immaginaria:** M. DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria: Il mito di Atene nella letteratura bizantina tra agiografia, teologia e mirabilia. ALinc 402* (2005) 65–134 (= *IDEM, La città dei filosofi 199–240*)
- DI BRANCO, La città dei filosofi:** M. DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi. Storia di Atene da Marco Aurelio a Giustiniano, con un'appendice su Attene immaginaria nella letteratura bizantina*. Florence 2006
- DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων:** M. DI BRANCO, *Η πόλη των φιλοσόφων. Η πόλη της Αθήνας από τον Μάρκο Αυρήλιο στον Ιουστινιανό* (transl. N. PAPANDREOU). Thessaloniki 2017
- DRANDAKIS, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες:** N. DRANDAKIS, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης*. Athens 1995
- ELEFATHERATOU, Στοιχεία:** S. ELEFATHERATOU, *Στοιχεία πολεοδομικής και οικιστικής οργάνωσης από το νότιο τμήμα της αρχαίας πόλης των Αθηνών κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους*, in: *VLIZOS, Recent Discoveries 185–205*
- ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή:** S. ELEFATHERATOU (ed.), *Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή. Ευρήματα από το χώρο ανέγερσης του Νέου Μουσείου της Ακρόπολης*. Athens 2006
- Έρμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης:** A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Έρμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης (Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ) καὶ αἱ κύρια αὐτῆς ἀνέκδοτοι πηγαί*. St. Petersburg 1909, new ed. Athens 2007
- Εὐρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων:** K. KOUROUNIOTIS – G.A. SOTIRIOU (eds), *Εὐρετήριο των Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Α. Εὐρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων. Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Ἀττικῆς, Α'. Parts Β'/Β': Α. ΧΥΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Τουρκικὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, Γ': Α. ORLANDOS, Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα τῆς πεδιάδος τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν κλιτύων Ὑμηττοῦ–Πεντελικοῦ–Πάρνηθος καὶ Αἰγάλεω*. Athens 1929–1933
- Everyday Life:** *Everyday Life in Byzantium. Catalogue of the Exhibition Byzantine Hours, Works and Days* (Thessaloniki, October 2001–January 2002) (ed. D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZIS). Athens 2002



- FGrH:** F. JACOBY, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, I–III. Berlin–Leiden 1923–1958; G. SCHEPENS, IV. Leiden 1998
- FOWDEN, The Athenian agora:** G. FOWDEN, The Athenian agora and the progress of Christianity. *JRA* 3 (1990) 494–501
- FRANTZ, From Paganism:** A. FRANTZ, From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens. *DOP* 19 (1965) 187–205
- FRANTZ, Late Antiquity:** A. FRANTZ, Late Antiquity: A.D. 267–700 (The Athenian Agora 24). Princeton 1988
- GIOCHALAS – KAFETZAKI, Ιχνηλατώντας την πόλη:** TH. GIOCHALAS – T. KAFETZAKI, Αθήνα. Ιχνηλατώντας την πόλη με οδηγό την ιστορία και τη λογοτεχνία. Athens 2014
- GKIOLES, Η Αθήνα:** N. GKIOLES, Η Αθήνα στους πρώτους χριστιανικούς αιώνες. Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη. Athens 2005
- GREGOROVIVS, Geschichte:** S.F. GREGOROVIVS, Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter. Von der Zeit Justinians bis zur türkischen Eroberung, 2 vols. Stuttgart 1889 (repr. Munich 1980)
- HAAR:** Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture
- HALKIN, Recherches:** F. HALKIN, Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine. Brussels 1971
- HAYES, Fine-Ware Imports:** J.W. HAYES, Roman Pottery. Fine-Ware Imports (The Athenian Agora 32). Princeton 2008
- Heaven & Earth:** Heaven & Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece (ed. J. ALBANI – E. CHALKIA). Athens 2013
- HUNGER, Athen in Byzanz:** H. HUNGER, Athen in Byzanz: Traum und Realität. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 43–61
- IG:** Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin, 1873–
- JACOBS, Prosperity:** I. JACOBS, Prosperity after disaster? The effects of the Gothic invasion in Athens and Corinth, in: Production and prosperity in the Theodosian period (ed. I. JACOBS). Leuven 2014, 69–89
- JANIN, La géographie ecclésiastique I/III:** R. JANIN, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I. Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. III. Les églises et les monastères. Paris 1969
- JANIN, Les églises:** R. JANIN, Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins. Paris 1975
- Καθημερινή Ζωή:** Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Όρες Βυζαντίου, Έργα και Ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο. Αθήνα–Θεσσαλονίκη–Μυστράς (ed. D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI). Athens 2002
- KALDELLIS, The Christian Parthenon:** A. KALDELLIS, The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens. Cambridge 2009
- KALDELLIS, Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας:** A. KALDELLIS, Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας. Η Ακρόπολη ως σημείο συνάντησης χριστιανισμού και ελληνισμού. Athens 2013, (transl. G. TZIMAS: The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens. Cambridge 2009)
- KALOPISSI-VERTI, Monumental Art:** S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212–1388): Latin and Greek Patronage, in: A Companion to Latin Greece (eds N.I. TSOGARAKIS – P. LOCK). Leiden–Boston 2015, 369–417
- KALOPISSI-VERTI, Proskynetaria:** S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections, and Reception, in: Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West (ed. SH.E.J. GERSTEL). Washington, D.C., 2006, 107–134
- KAMBOUROGLOU, Μνημεία:** D. KAMBOUROGLOU, Μνημεία της Ιστορίας των Αθηναίων, Α' Τουρκοκρατία. Athens 1891
- KARIVIERI, The Athenian Lamp Industry:** A. KARIVIERI, The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity. Helsinki 1996
- KARIVIERI, The 'House of Proclus':** A. KARIVIERI, The 'House of Proclus' on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: A Contribution, in: CASTRÉN (ed.), Post-Herulian Athens 115–139
- KARIVIERI, The So-called Library of Hadrian:** A. KARIVIERI, The So-called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens, in: CASTRÉN (ed.), Post-Herulian Athens 89–113
- KHILERICH, From Temple to Church:** B. KHILERICH, From Temple to Church: The Redefinition of the Sacred Landscape on the Acropolis, in: Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space (eds S.W. NORDEIDE – S. BRINK). Turnhout 2013, 187–214
- KODER – HILD, Hellas:** J. KODER – F. HILD, Hellas und Thessalia (Tabula Imperii Byzantini I.). Vienna 1976
- KOLOVOY, Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης:** F. KOLOVOY, Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βίου και του έργου του. Τὸ Corpus τῶν ἐπιστολῶν. Athens 1999

- KONTOGEOURGOPOULOU, **Βυζαντινή Αττική**: CH. KONTOGEOURGOPOULOU, Η Βυζαντινή Αττική. Athens 2016
- KORRES, **The Parthenon**: M. KORRES, The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century, in: The Parthenon and its impact in modern times (ed. P. TOURNIKIOTIS). Athens 1994, 136–161
- KOUNOYRIOTOU-MANOLESSOU, **Άγιος Νικόλαος Ραγκαβάς**: H. KOUNOYRIOTOU-MANOLESSOU, Άγιος Νικόλαος Ραγκαβάς. Συμβολή στην ιστορία του μνημείου. *DChAE* 24 (2003) 55–62
- KOVELI, **Κεραμική**: A. KOVELI, Υστερορωμαϊκή και παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική από το Φρέαρ 114 της «Οικίας Α΄» του οικοπέδου Μακρυγιάννη στην Αθήνα, in: Scientific Meeting for the Pottery of Late Antiquity from Greece, 3rd–7th century A.D. Thessaloniki 12–16 November 2006 (eds D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – D. KOUSOULAKOU). Thessaloniki 2010, 610–632
- LAMPROS, **Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα**: S.P. LAMPROS, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I–II. Athens 1879/1880 (Groningen 1968)
- LASKARIS, **Monuments funéraires**: N. LASKARIS, Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et byzantins) de Grèce. Athens 2000
- LCI: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
- LOENERTZ, **La légende Parisienne**: R. LOENERTZ, La légende Parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite. Sa genèse et son premier témoin. *AnBoll* 69 (1951) 217–237
- LOENERTZ, **Le panégyrique de S. Denys**: R. LOENERTZ, Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le Syncelle. *AnBoll* 68 (1950) 94–107
- LONGNON, **The Frankish States**: J. LONGNON, The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311, in: A History of the Crusades (gen. ed. K.M. SETTON), vol. II: The Later Crusades (1189–1311) (eds R.L. WOLF – H.W. HAZARD). Madison–Milwaukee–London 1969
- MACRIDY, **Lips**: T. MACRIDY, The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul: The Monastery of Lips and the Burials of the Palaeologi. *DOP* 18 (1964) 253–277
- MANGO, **The Conversion**: C. MANGO, The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church. The Tübingen Theosophy. *DChAE* 18 (1995) 201–203
- MANOLI, **Κεραμική**: EI. MANOLI, Κεραμική από το Φρέαρ 20 της υστερορωμαϊκής/παλαιοχριστιανικής «Οικίας Α΄» στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη στην Αθήνα, in: Κεραμική της ύστερης αρχαιότητας από τον ελληνικό χώρο (3ος–7ος αι. μ.Χ.) (eds D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – N. KOUSOULAKOU). Thessaloniki 2010, 633–648
- MAZZUCCHI, **Damascio**: C.M. MAZZUCCHI, Damascio, Autore del Corpus Dionysiaca, e il dialogo Περί Πολιτικῆς Ἐπιστήμης. *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche* 80/2 (2006) 299–334 (reprinted in: P. SCAZZOSO – E. BELLINI (eds), *Dionigi Areopagita. Tutte le opere*. Milan 2009, 707–762)
- METCALF, **The Slavonic Threat**: D.M. METCALF, The Slavonic Threat to Greece circa 580: Some Evidence from Athens. *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 134–157
- Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae: Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae (ed. F. KOLOVOU) (CFHB 41). Berlin–New York 2001
- MIJOVIĆ, **Ménologe**: P. MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe: recherches iconographiques. Belgrade 1973
- MILLER, **The Latins**: W. MILLER, The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566). London 1908 (repr. Cambridge 1964)
- MR: Μνναία τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ I–VI. Rome 1888–1901
- Mythogr. Gr.: Mythographi Graeci, I–III. Leipzig 1894–1902
- ODB: The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, eds A. KAZHDAN *et al.*, 3 vols. Oxford 1991
- ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, **Τὰ χαράγματα**: K.A. ORLANDOS – L. VRANOUSIS, Τὰ χαράγματα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, ἥτοι ἐπιγραφαὶ χαραχθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων τοῦ Παρθενῶνος κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοχριστιανικοὺς καὶ βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους. Athens 1973
- Ottoman Athens: Ottoman Athens. Archaeology, Topography, History (eds M. GEORGOPOULOU – K. THANASAKIS). Athens 2019
- OUSTERHOUT, **The Parthenon**: R. OUSTERHOUT, “Bestride the Very Peak of Heaven”: the Parthenon after Antiquity, in: The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present (ed. J. NEILS). Cambridge 2005, 293–329
- ‘Paganism’: The Archaeology of Late Antique ‘Paganism’ (eds L. LAVAN – M. MULRYAN). Leiden–Boston 2011
- PALLAS, **Ἡ Ἀθήνα**: D. PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα στὰ χρόνια τῆς μετάβασης ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία λατρεία στὴ Χριστιανική. Τὰ ἀρχαιολογικὰ δεδομένα. *EETHSPA* 28 (1989) 851–930
- PALLIS, **Τοπογραφία**: G. PALLIS, Τοπογραφία του Αθηναϊκού πεδίου κατὰ τὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ περίοδο. Thessaloniki 2009

- PANSELINOU, **Βυζαντινή Αθήνα**: N. PANSELINOU, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα – Byzantine Athens. Athens 2004
- PAPADOPOULOS, **Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν**: CH. PAPADOPOULOS, Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν. Athens 1928
- PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – KOUSOULAKOU (eds), **Κεραμική**: Κεραμική της Ὑστερης Αρχαιότητας από τον Ἑλλαδικό χώρο (3ος–7ος α. μ.Χ.), Επιστημονική Συνάντηση (Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–16 Νοεμβρίου 2006) (eds D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – D. KOUSOULAKOU). Thessaloniki 2010
- PARSONS, **Klepsydra**: A.W. PARSONS, Klepsydra and the paved court of the Pythion. *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 191–267
- PELEKANIDIS, **Καστοριά**: S. PELEKANIDIS, Καστοριά. 1: Βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία. Πίνακες. Thessaloniki 1953
- PG: Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, 161 vols. Paris 1857–1866
- PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, eds E. TRAPP *et al.* Vienna 1976–1996
- PLRE: The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 1 (eds A.H.M. JONES – J.R. MARTINDALE – J. MORRIS), vol. 2 (ed. J.R. MARTINDALE). Cambridge 1971, 1980
- PO: Patrologia Orientalis
- PODOLAK, **L'agiografia**: P. PODOLAK, L'agiografia di Dionigi fra Oriente e Occidente. Edizione della Passione Greca Μετὰ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην (BHG 554). *Byzantion* 85 (2017) 299–321
- Poetae min. Gr.: Poetae minores Graeci, ed. TH. GAISFORD, 4 vols. Oxford 1814–1820
- Regestes: V. GRUMEL, Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople I/II–III: Les registes de 715 à 1206 (Deuxième édition revue et corrigée par JEAN DARROUZÈS). Paris 1989; vol. IV: V. LAURENT, Les registes de 1208 à 1309. Paris 1971; vol. VI: J. DARROUZÈS. Les registes de 1377 à 1410. Paris 1979
- Rhet. Gr.: L. SPENGEL, Rhetores Graeci, 3 vols. Leipzig 1853–1856
- RHOBY, **Epigramme auf Stein**: A. RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein, nebst Addenda zu Bänden 1 und 2, in: Byzantinische Epigramme in Inschriftlicher Überlieferung, B. 3/I (eds W. HÖRANDER *et al.*). Vienna 2014
- RHOBY, **Reminiszenzen**: A. RHOBY, Reminiszenzen an antike Stätten in der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Literatur. Göttingen 2003
- RHOBY, **Synesios**: A. RHOBY, Synesios von Kyrene als literarisches Vorbild: Ep. 136 (Garzya) und der Ausgangspunkt der Athenklage, in: W. HÖRANDNER – M. GRÜNBART (eds), L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: Projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Paris 2003, 85–96
- ROBINSON, **Pottery**: H.S. ROBINSON, Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology (The Athenian Agora V). Princeton 1959
- SARADI-MENDELOVICI, **Christian Attitudes**: H. SARADI-MENDELOVICI, Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries. *DOP* 44 (1990) 47–61
- SC: Sources chrétiennes
- SEG: Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, eds P. ROUSSEL *et al.* Leiden 1923–
- SETTON, **Papacy**: K.M. SETTON, The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571: vol. 1. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Philadelphia 1976
- SHAWCROSS, **Golden Athens**: T. SHAWCROSS, Golden Athens: Episcopal Wealth and Power in Greece at the Time of the Crusades, in: Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453. Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks (eds N. CHRISSIS – M. CARR). Surrey–Burlington 2014, 65–95
- SIRONEN, **Inscriptions**: E. SIRONEN, The Late Roman and early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica. Helsinki 1997
- SIRONEN, **Life**: E. SIRONEN, Life and Administration of Late Roman Attica in the Light of Public Inscriptions, in: P. CASTRÉN (ed.), Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of life and culture in Athens, A.D. 267–529. Helsinki 1994, 15–62
- SKAWRAN, **Fresco Painting**: K.M. SKAWRAN, The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece. Pretoria 1982
- SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDE, **Γλυπτά**: M. SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDE, Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών. Κατάλογος. Athens 1999
- SODINI, **Habitat**: J.P. SODINI, Habitat de l'Antiquité Tardive (2). *Topoi. Orient-Occident* 7.2 (1997) 435–577
- STIRLING, **The Learned Collector**: L. STIRLING, The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul. *Ann Arbor* 2005
- Synax. CP: H. Delehaye (ed.), Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae... Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels 1902 (1954)
- TADDEI, **La metamorfosi**: A. TADDEI, La metamorfosi del Partenone: Da Atena alla Theométor. *ASAtene* 87, ser. III, 9, vol. 1 (2009) 313–327

- TALBOT, **Holy Women**: A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saint's Lives in English Translation*. Washington, D.C., 1997
- TANOULAS, **Προπύλαια**: T. TANOULAS, *Τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς Ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀκρόπολης κατὰ τὸν Μεσαίωνα*. Athens 1997, 2 vols
- TANOULAS, **Reconsidering**: T. TANOULAS, *Reconsidering Documents about Athens under Ottoman Rule: The Vienna Anonymous and the Bassano Drawing*, in: *Ottoman Athens* 49–65
- The Economic History of Byzantium**: *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (ed. A.E. LAIOU). Washington 2002
- THEOCHARAKI, **The ancient circuit wall**: A.M. THEOCHARAKI, *The ancient circuit wall of Athens: its changing course and the phases of construction*. *Hesperia* 80 (2011) 71–156
- THEOCHARIS, **An Imperial Protospatharios**: Y. THEOCHARIS, *An Imperial Protospatharios and Strategos of Hellas in Athens*. *ZPE* 185 (2013) 192–194
- Theos. gr. fr.**: H. ERBSE (ed.), *Theosophorum graecorum fragmenta*. Berlin–Boston <sup>2</sup>1995
- THOMPSON, **Athenian Twilight**: H. THOMPSON, *Athenian Twilight A.D. 267–600*. *JRS* 49 (1959) 61–72
- THOMPSON – WYCHERLEY, **The Agora of Athens**: H.A. THOMPSON – R.E. WYCHERLEY, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an ancient City Center (Athenian Agora XIV)*. Princeton 1972
- TRAVLOS, **Pictorial Dictionary**: I. TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. New York 1980
- TRAVLOS, **Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη**: I. TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Ἀπὸ τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 19ου αἰῶνος*. Athens 1960 (<sup>3</sup>2005)
- TRAVLOS – FRANTZ, **The Church of St. Dionysios**: J. TRAVLOS – A. FRANTZ, *The Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite and the Palace of the Archbishop of Athens in the 16th Century*. *Hesperia* 34 (1965) 157–202
- TROMBLEY, **Hellenic Religion**: F.R. TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion & Christianization c. 370–529*, 2 vols. Leiden–New York–Köln 1992–1994, <sup>2</sup>1995
- TZAVELLA, **Burial**: E. TZAVELLA, *Burial and Urbanism in Athens (4th–9th c. A.D.)*. *JRA* 21 (2008) 352–368
- TZAVELLA, **Christianisation of Attica**: E. TZAVELLA, *Christianisation of Attica. The Topography of Early Christian Churches*. *Pharos* 20/2 (2014) 121–158
- TZAVELLA, **Κεραμική**: E. TZAVELLA, *Κεραμική ἀπὸ ἀθηναϊκοὺς τάφους τοῦ τέλους τῆς Αρχαιότητας καὶ οἱ μαρτυρίες τῆς γιὰ τὸν 7ο αἰ. στὴν Ἀττική*, in: D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – N. KOUSOULAKOU (eds), *Κεραμική* 649–670
- VASILAKI-KARAKATSANI, **Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς**: A. VASILAKI-KARAKATSANI, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς στὴν Ἀθήνα*. Athens 1972
- VLIZOS, **Recent Discoveries**: S. VLIZOS (ed.), *Athens during the Roman Period. Recent Discoveries*, New Evidence (Mouseio Benaki suppl. 4). Athens 2008
- VOCOTOPoulos, **Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική**: P.L. VOCOTOPoulos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἥπειρον ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 7ου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος*. Thessaloniki <sup>2</sup>1992
- VROOM, **Ceramics**: J. VROOM, *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century A.C. A Case Study from Boetia, Central Greece*. Leiden 2003
- Wall Paintings of Crete**: I. SPATHARAKIS, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, vol. I, Rethymnon Province. London 1999; vol. II, Mylopotamos Province. Leiden 2010; I. SPATHARAKIS – T. VAN ESSENBERG, vol. III, Amari Province. Leiden 2012
- WALTER, **Three Notes**: CH. WALTER, *Three Notes on the Iconography of Dionysius the Areopagite*. *REB* 48 (1990) 255–274
- XENAKI, **Les inscriptions**: M. XENAKI, *Les inscriptions byzantines datées du Parthénon (VIIe–XIIe siècles)*, in: *Inscriptions in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine History and History of Art. Proceedings of the International Symposium "Inscriptions: Their Contribution to the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine History and History of Art"*, Ioannina, June 26–27, 2015 (ed. CHR. STAVRAKOS). Wiesbaden 2016, 233–252
- ZAVAGNO, **Cities**: L. ZAVAGNO, *Cities in Transition: Urbanism in Byzantium between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (AD 500–900)*. Oxford 2009