

Edited by HELEN SARADI
In collaboration with AIKATERINI DELLAPORTA

BYZANTINE ATHENS

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE

OCTOBER 21–23, 2016
BYZANTINE AND CHRISTIAN MUSEUM
ATHENS

Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports
BYZANTINE & CHRISTIAN MUSEUM



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The International Conference on Byzantine Athens organized jointly with the University of the Peloponnese in 2016 aimed at investigating aspects of early Byzantine, medieval and Frankish Athens. Large number of objects from these historical periods is exposed in the Museum.

The wide range of papers presented at the Conference, most of which are published in the present volume, reveal various characteristics of Athens from the 4th to the 15th centuries from the point of view of a broad spectrum of disciplines. I am glad that the collaboration of the Byzantine and Christian Museum with the University of the Peloponnese in organizing jointly scientific conferences has been fruitful and made a contribution to Byzantine scholarship.

Dr. Aikaterini Dellaporta
Honorary Director
Byzantine and Christian Museum

Introduction and Acknowledgements

This volume is the result of a conference on 'Byzantine Athens' organized in 2016 by the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens and the University of the Peloponnese and held at the Museum. The aim of the conference was to present a picture over time of Byzantine Athens, from the 4th to the 15th century, to highlight periods of transition and to track the character of the city over this period. The theme of the conference was interdisciplinary in conception, in the expectation that the contribution of archaeologists, historians and philologists would throw into relief various moments in the history of Athens and illuminate its multifaceted evolution over the centuries.

Athens, symbol of ancient *paideia* and classical art, never fails to attract scholarly interest. Although archaeological excavations constantly throw new light on the physical form of the city over the centuries, major issues remain unclear. Written sources offer only fragmentary evidence and are frequently silent or intentionally obscure any changes. Ideology and literary *topoi* created narratives of an ideal Athens that remains for centuries the symbol of ancient culture. This image is so powerful, that it inevitably obscures Christian Athens, which therefore remains vague and elusive.

Like most of the cities of Greece, early Byzantine Athens is in many ways not yet sufficiently known. Among the objects of scholarly enquiry are the role played by Athens in the late Roman Empire of the East, the process of the city's Christianization, its changing topography and statements of early Byzantine authors regarding Athens' supposed decline. Surviving written sources, however, when combined with archaeological finds, promise to reshape old views and change our perceptions of how the city developed during this transitional period.

After the destruction of the city's center by the Herulians in 267/268 Athens slowly recovered. There were major changes in the urban landscape, involving in particular the construction of private mansions in the ancient Agora and the abandonment of the old Valerian Wall. Athens attracted the interest of fourth-century emperors and the Athenian aristocracy established relations with Constantine and Julian. In literature, Constantinople is now connected through legend with Athens and praised with the latter's attributes (G. Deligiannakis). In the 4th century, Athens continued to be an international center of higher education for pagans and Christians alike. Pagan intellectuals, such as Himerios and Libanios, cherished Athens for its *paideia* and repeatedly mentioned its famous myths and glorious history (G. Papagiannis). The major change occurred in the 5th century, when the city's philosophical schools ceased to attract international intellectuals, as the University of Constantinople became the major center of higher education. Athens began to undergo marginalization in the area of higher education, although its past glory still survived, linked now to Christian theological thought, legend and rhetoric.

The end of the 4th century is marked by the invasion of Alaric (396). A critical survey of the bibliography and archaeological evidence shows the difficulties encountered in evaluating conflicting literary testimony (E. Bazzechi). Signs of decline observed in the district to the west of the center of Athens may indicate the presence of hostile activity there by the Visigoths, while the area to the east flourished.

Fifth-century Athens, however, continued to prosper as interest on the part of emperors boosted building activity (e.g. the Palace of the Giants), while the city's elite continued to flourish and to value classical culture and art. In the 5th century, when temples were closed and secularized, educated Athenians turned to collecting antique statues, some of which have been found in houses in the area north-west of the ancient Agora that date to the 5th/6th century. The most famous of these pieces is the Athena Varvakeios. The existence of another sculpture, the head of a Lapith from the metopes of the Parthenon, reveals the esteem in which its owner held ancient art from the sacred temple, which was closed and converted to a church as early as the last quarter of the 5th century (I. Baldini).

The life of the flourishing upper class in Athens is vividly illustrated by the spectacular finds from an aristocratic mansion on the Makriyiannis Plot, on the site of the new Acropolis Museum (S. Eleftheratou). The wealthy houses that stood there earlier and were destroyed by the Heruli were rebuilt at the end of the 4th to the early 5th century, as in other areas of Athens. Around the middle of the 5th century a new, lavishly decorated *domus* was built on the site of about 3700 sq. m. It possessed an entrance with a semicircular exedra in the palatial style, an apsidal audience hall, a triclinium, three courtyards, a nymphaeum, a large oval hall, a circular hall and a large bath suite. This is the largest building in Athens after the Palace of the Giants. Of the statues one perhaps depicts the Empress Eudocia. Under Anastasius, the building underwent further changes. It now took up an area of 5000 sq. m. A large audience hall was added, as was a small triconch (perhaps a chapel) and a circular tower, while the bath was enlarged. These are unique features in Athenian domestic architecture and this palace was certainly the residence of a very wealthy aristocrat, who was probably an important official. Objects displaying Christian symbols were found only in the sixth-century layer. Part of this house was destroyed in the final decades of the 6th century, perhaps during the Slavic raids. On the site of the villa industrial establishments then appeared which shows that urban life continued well into the 7th century.

The fact that this aristocratic mansion functioned into the 6th century reveals the existence of an ambitious and dynamic local aristocracy. Its power was economic and political and linked with the central state administration that it imitated in such palatial architecture. It is clear that Athens up to the last quarter of the 6th century was neither impoverished nor marginalized.

The study of the amphorae, used mainly for wine, from two wells in this house reveals commercial trends in Athens. Most of the amphorae came from

Asia Minor and the Aegean. Imports from Italy are absent in the 5th and 6th centuries, while imports from the Middle East and the Peloponnese increase (A. Kouveli – Ei. Manoli).

The Christianization of Athens, a controversial historical issue that gives rise to conflicting views, is a matter addressed from various angles by some of the papers in this volume. Archaeological evidence is fragmentary and insecure and suggests that the city maintained its pagan appearance longer than was the case elsewhere. The first churches of Athens date to the late 4th to the early 5th century. The decoration and tradition informing finds from graves and lamps continue to be pagan, at least until the last quarter of the 5th century. Temples were closed for the conduct of pagan cult throughout the 5th century and the Parthenon was probably converted to a Christian church at the end of the 5th century. During this period Christian authors produced several texts that promote the image of Christian Athens. These include the Apocryphal Acts of Philip (II), theosophical texts containing accounts of pagan prophecies predicting the advent of Christianity, a treatise on the Church of Athens by pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria, the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite. Through these works Christianity in Athens is firmly assured, its success is explained and veiled in neoplatonic ideas. Athens thus becomes visibly Christian.

The Christianization of the hinterland of Athens is poorly documented. Apart from some large basilicas, the evidence from burials is insecure. A cemetery excavated in Pallene, between Mt. Hymettos and Mt. Penteli, shows, as in other cases, that the religion of the deceased was not declared with certainty. Although the skeletons were aligned east-west, no Christian symbols were found, while pagan customs were maintained, such as the obol placed in the mouth of the deceased (G. Klapakis). It is known that, in contrast to the situation prevailing in northern Greece and Thessaloniki, in the 5th and 6th centuries in southern Greece burials rarely reveal whether the deceased was Christian or not. This difference may perhaps be due to the proximity of northern Greece to Constantinople, which facilitated the spread of imperial religious policy, while in southern Greece strongholds of paganism held out longer, especially those consisting of intellectuals.

The appearance in Paiania, in east Attica, of new settlements in the early Byzantine period is testimony to its prosperity at the time. Two settlements are attested in St Athanasios and St Paraskevi, although the evidence pertaining to others is fragmentary and dispersed. Sculpture surviving from workshops in the area displays links with Athens (N. Vasilikou).

As is well known, in the early Byzantine period the defense system of the Empire relied increasingly on fortifications and cities were protected with shorter circuit walls that defended a smaller part of the inhabited area. The date of these new fortifications is often uncertain. In Athens, the Post-Herulian Wall protected the area around the Acropolis, while the long Themistoclean Wall was repaired repeatedly. Megara was also refortified. Epigraphic and ar-

archaeological evidence shows that in the late 4th and in the 5th century cities and countryside of Attica were fortified by the imperial administration to protect the area from the Goths and the Huns. To defend Attica from her new enemies in the 6th century, the Slavs, Justinian built new fortifications. Thus the defense system of Attica had begun to evolve gradually from the late 4th century in response to various threats (E. Tzavella).

The history of Athens during the Dark Ages is in many ways unclear. Her ancient monuments had ceased to function long ago, some having been converted for private or ecclesiastical use, while burials and workshops began to appear in famous ancient sites and the inhabited area shrank, as it did in many other cities. The community, however, did not lose its urban character, as seals used in state and ecclesiastical administration demonstrate. In the winter of 662, Constant II stayed a few months in Athens on his way to Sicily, thereby promoting economic activity and coin circulation. The 8th century is a turning point in the development of Athens. It was at this time that the Illyricum was detached from the jurisdiction of the Pope and the Church of Athens was placed under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This occurred during the Iconomachy and the interest of Irene of Athens in her native city was an important factor. Irene's aristocratic Athenian family of Sarantapychoi, which served in the imperial administration for centuries, must have been influential as it managed to have her married with Leo (later Leo IV: 775–780). She became empress regent in 780–790 and the first sole empress in 797–802. Athens was perhaps the seat of the strategos of the Theme of Hellas, which is mentioned for the first time in 695. The strategos Leo repaired the walls of the city and his death is mentioned in a graffito on the Parthenon in 848. The *Life* of St Pankratios in the first half of the 9th century mentions the 'province' of Athens next to that of Dyrrachium (a theme), thus implying that Athens was for some time a thematic capital (Y. Theocharis).

At this period, the elevated position of Athens as capital of a theme and its political and ecclesiastical contacts with Constantinople brought her prosperity. The interest of the state in Athens clearly had an impact on the city's economy and is responsible for its greater visibility in the sources, both archaeological and literary. Monasticism is now attested for the first time in the countryside. Inscriptions on stone reappear in the second half of the 9th century. They reveal aspects of a medieval society: dedications of churches, the rebuilding of the city walls by the strategos of the theme Leo (847/848), construction of a tower by Bishop Leo (+ 1069), a funerary inscription for three women suggesting that in the 9th/10th century the church of Megale Panagia was probably a monastery. Two inscriptions imitating motifs from illuminated manuscripts reveal an educated, urban environment (G. Pallis). Contact with Constantinople is also evident in the high quality of sculptures (Y. Theocharis). The elevated position of the Church of Athens in the 9th century may suggest the date for the conversion of the Hephaisteion into a church in the 9th/10th century (B. Kiielerich).

From the 8th century onwards, the Church of Athens, now under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, becomes more visible in the texts. By this time it had received the 'cathedral office' of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople (ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία), which was used elsewhere only in the Church of Thessaloniki. The image of Athens as a Christian city was now promoted by the imperial capital itself. Included in the Synaxarium of Constantinople, the cult of the saints of Athens, whose number was, surprisingly, greater than that of other Byzantine cities, was systematized and their *akolouthiai* composed by members of the clergy. In the 8th century Athens was elevated to one of the highest Christian symbols through Dionysios the Areopagites, when Patriarch Germanos I in his hymn compared Dionysios with Moses (Th. Kollyropoulou – A. Lambropoulou).

The image of Christian Athens emerges in the Pseudo-Dionysiac corpus, composed in the 6th century. From the late 8th century onwards, hagiographical texts link St Dionysios the Areopagite with Athens in laudatory fashion. In the 12th century, Christian Athens is eloquently described by George Tornikes, Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Michael Choniates as a sacred city on account of the light it housed in the Parthenon (S. Efthymiadis). By the 12th century, as the Christian image of Athens receives an emphasis in literary elaborations, writers, in particular Michael Choniates, the last Metropolitan of Athens before the Latins took the city, express admiration for ancient Athens in various ways (M. Tziatzi).

As the saints of Athens were incorporated in the Synaxarium of Constantinople in the 10th century, most of them are represented for the first time in the *Menologion* of Basil II. Dionysios the Areopagite's depiction in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (880–900) highlights the importance of Athens and her Church for the capital. Dionysios and Hierotheos, the founders of the Athenian Church, are therefore more frequently depicted in Byzantine art than other saints of Athens (N. Passaris).

Christian Athens is conspicuous for her large number of churches, about 40, that have been identified and survive today. Yet there are great difficulties in dating many of them, as the archaeological information in question is uncertain and fragmentary. The Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestos (Tower of the Winds) may have been converted into a baptistery in the early Byzantine period. New evidence of a cemetery next to it suggests that it was used for funerary purposes in the 11th/12th centuries. Recently discovered fragments of frescoes, depicting a mounted warrior saint and a scene of lamentation, date to the late 13th or early 14th century. The position of the latter above the entrance confirms that the church was used for funerary purposes (N. Tsoniotis – A. Karamperidi). The small church of Agia Triada 'Tou Nerou' in Penteli dating to the 12th century was also used for funerary purposes (Aik. Avramidou).

From 1204 Athens was occupied by a sequence of Latin overlords: the Burgundian Otto de la Roche, who founded the Duchy of Athens in 1204, the Catalan Company from 1311 and the Florentine banker Nerio I Acciaiuoli in 1385, who placed the city under the protection of Venice from 1394 until 1403.

In 1456, the last Acciaiuoli surrendered the city to the Turks. The establishment of a Latin bishopric forced the Greek Orthodox bishops out of Athens until around 1385, when Nerio Acciaiuoli became the city's ruler. As the boundaries between Greeks and Latins were often fluid, mixed marriages alarmed the Orthodox Church and more dynamic bishops attempted to control their Orthodox flock and play some political role. In the last century before Athens was taken by the Turks in 1456, in the vacuum left by the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire and in the wake of attempts to achieve a union of the Eastern and Western Churches, bishops of Athens became involved in the politics of the time, as elsewhere, and ended up siding with the Turks. The split between Greeks and Latins thus became wider, with many Orthodox ecclesiastics collaborating with the Turks (M. Gerolymatou).

The tensions between Greek ecclesiastics and the Latins and the choice of rapprochement immediately after 1204 are subtly suggested in the frescoes of the Last Judgement of two churches at Mesogaia, the church of St Peter at Kalyvia and the church of St George at Kouvaras. Painting was the best medium of Byzantine art for expressing theological ideas and socio-political culture. The fusion of Byzantine and Latin elements is observed in the representation of eschatological ideas in these frescoes. Surprisingly, the donor of the church of St Peter, bishop Ignatios, admits Latin force on him, and the Greek point of view is indirectly indicated in allegorical details of the fresco. The new cultural context of the early 13th century emerges in its complexity (D. Petrou).

The Athenian Acropolis underwent various modifications, in response to various needs over time. In the mid-Byzantine period, the Propylaia probably housed the residence of the Metropolitan, although during the Frankish period the Beulé gate in front of the Propylaia was sealed for security reasons, leaving only the gate of the Nike bastion for use. The Latins remodeled the Propylaia area to accommodate the palace of their ruler, a cistern, a chapel and the *donjon* (T. Tanoulas).

A topographical panorama of ancient monuments of Athens is to be found in the controversial text *The Theatres and Schools of Athens*, known as *Mirabilia of the City of Athens*. This work weaves the image of Athens into accounts of ancient myths and gives a picture of its ancient wisdom tied to topographical references. The text was composed during the Latin occupation of Athens and draws, as did other western literary texts, on the epic *Thebais* by the first-century Roman poet Statius. Here the wise men of ancient Athens, whose houses the anonymous author identifies, are the same as those mentioned in theosophical texts predicting the advent of Christ. In this combination of the *Mirabilia* with the theosophical tradition the atmosphere of the Renaissance in Athens under Florentine rule is obvious. The work connects ancient wisdom and ancient monuments with both paganism and the Christian religion in the spirit of humanism of the period (I. Theodorakopoulos).

The religious landscape of Athens also reveals aspects of personal faith and psychology. A monumental, late Byzantine wall-painting of St Glykeria,

who was believed to miraculously grant fertility, and scenes related to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary decorate the diakonikon of the church of St George in Galatsi (Omorphe Ekklesia). This part of the church was probably used as a chapel containing a miraculous image and was dedicated by a female benefactor in the hope of receiving the gift of fertility. The worship of St Glykeria in this church continues to the present day (A. Karamperidi).

The reputation of Christian Athens and of the Virgin, who protects it, extended beyond Athens and survived the end of the Byzantine Empire. Thus the icon of the Virgin Gorgoepekoos, located in Cairo and dating to the Paleologan period, after the fall of Athens to the Turks in 1458 was associated with the Gorgoepekoos of Athens (I. Vitaliotis).

While in our mind the powerful idea of classical Athens still imposes itself on Christian Athens, there is no doubt that our picture of the Christian city is becoming clearer. It took a long way since the 19th century and the efforts of enlighten scholars to bring about a change of attitudes toward the Byzantine monuments of Athens which, for political and ideological reasons, were neglected (A. Papoulakou).

I would like to express out thanks both to the administration of the University of the Peloponnese and of the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens for contributing to the organization of the conference on Byzantine Athens. Thanks are also expressed to all the speakers and to those who contributed to the present volume. My special thanks are reserved to the Honorary Director of the Museum Dr. Aikaterini Dellaporta for including the Proceedings in the Museum's publications, and, in particular, special thanks to Dr. Pari Kalamara, the Museum's current Director, for making possible the electronic publication, and to Mr. Y. Stavrinou, the Museum's graphic designer, and Mrs. Vasiliki Vassou of Akakia Publications UK for skillfully executing the book's layout.

Helen Saradi

ATHENS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

GEORGIOS DELIGIANNAKIS

‘Live your Myth’ in Athens. The Last Rebranding of Greece in the Time of the Emperor Constantine and his Successors*

This essay aims to offer some answers to the following questions: What changes were brought to bear on the way Athens and its representatives looked to the imperial government for favours when Constantine became sole ruler? How did Constantine and his immediate successors respond to the long-standing special symbolic status between the Roman emperors and Athens? What did the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the imperial house and the founding of New Rome in the East mean for Athens and Roman Greece?

Athens’ long fourth century

The invasion of southern Greece by the Heruli in 267/8 caused extensive damage to the heart of the Athenian city centre¹. It obliged the Athenians to abandon the fortified enclosure of the classical city, which had only recently been repaired and extended (the “Valerian Wall”), and to construct a new, makeshift redoubt, which enclosed a much smaller part of the Roman city around the hill of the Acropolis².

However, among the ruined buildings and despoiled sanctuaries the inhabitants of Roman Greece continued to live with the certainty that a noble fate had allowed them to show themselves worthy of their glorious past.

There had been twenty-five years of insecurity leading up to this moment, during which the Greeks had been repeatedly required to man the passes to the south through the Balkans and to defend their freedom at the Pass of Thermopylae. “As if some divine power was commanding the Greeks to defend their liberty against the barbarian invaders of Greece in this place”: these were the words the Roman general and provincial governor Marianus spoke when he addressed the assembled Greek militiamen in 262, according to a recently discovered fragment from the *Scythika* by the Athenian historian Herennios

* This paper was first published in Greek in *The Books’ Journal* 85 (2018). I should like to thank Professor Eleni Saradi for the invitation to the conference and the proceedings volume.

1 For the impact of the Heruli on Athens, see now L. ΧΙΟΥΤΙ, *The Herulian invasion in Athens (267 A.D.). Contribution to the study of the invasion’s implications and the city’s reconstitution until the end of the 4th century*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Athens. Athens 2018.

2 On the Late Roman phases of the city’s fortifications, see N. ΤΣΙΡΟΝΙΣ, *Νέα στοιχεία για το υστερορωμαϊκό τείχος της Αθήνας*, in: VLIZOS (ed.), *Recent Discoveries* 55–74; THEOCHARAKI, *The ancient circuit wall* 84–85, 131–135.

Dexippos³. As a consequence of the positive outcome of this battle at Thermopylae, two years later the Emperor Gallienus (r. 253–268) became the last Roman emperor for the next four hundred years to make an official visit to Athens. On this occasion he was appointed chief magistrate of the city (eponymous archon), he was awarded Athenian citizenship and initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries in imitation of his predecessors. Along with the reinforcement of the Greek fortifications by the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus, the Eleutheria, the Panhellenic festival commemorating the battle of Plataeae (479 BCE), was celebrated with, one would imagine, the most recent Greek successes still fresh in people's memories⁴.

Even when, returning from the surrounding high ground and the nearby islands, the Athenians confronted the ruins of the city in 268/9, they may still have felt that they were living in the age of Themistocles. The historian Dexippos had himself hastily assembled a body of 2,000 men and had probably been stationed on Mt. Aigaleon aiming to surprise the enemy with an ambush, as that position gave sight of the sea at the point where the Roman fleet –with Kleodemos, another Athenian at its head– might be expected to arrive. “It is a noble fate to increase the glory of our city, and for us to become an example of courage and love of liberty to all Greeks and to win now and in the future undying fame among men” Dexippos would tell them⁵. The barbarian invaders were defeated and pushed northward, where the Roman army scattered what remained of them.

Thus we may suggest that the rebuilding of Greek cities immediately after the Scythian Wars was carried out in the spirit of painful but glorious historical déjà vu. There are intimations of this in, among other things, some funerary verses from Gytheion, which begin with the first lines of the famous epigram by Simonides about the battle of Marathon and go on to note that the deceased lost his life fighting at sea against the barbarians, probably referring to the battles fought in 267/8 or 269⁶. Around the same time or a little later a public cenotaph with another epigram by Simonides, dedicated to the Megarians who fell in the war against the Persians in 480/79 BCE, was restored by the high priest Hellad-

3 C. MALLAN – C. DAVENPORT, Dexippus and the Gothic Invasions: Interpreting the New Vienna Fragment (Codex Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 73, ff. 192v–193r). *JRS* 105 (2015) 203–226. On dating this event to 253/4, see C. JONES, Further Fragments of Dexippus (2) https://www.academia.edu/26199041/Further_Dexippus_2

4 SEG 36, 416; SEG 33, 158 (Titius Flavius Mondo); IG VII, 2510; D. Armstrong, Gallienus in Athens 264. *ZPE* 70 (1987) 235–258.

5 Dexippos (FGrH 100) fr. 28a, 6; Zosimos I, 43 (ed. F. PASCHOUD); Synkellos 467, 20–26 (ed. A.A. MOSSHAMMER); Historia Augusta Gallieni 13 (ed. D. MAGIE); Zonaras III, 151 (ed. L. DINDORF); F. MILLAR, P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions. *JRS* 59/1 (1969) 26–28; G. FOWDEN, City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica. *JHS* 108 (1988) 52–53.

6 IG V, 1, 1188.

ios in the ancient agora of Megara⁷.

Let us move on another hundred years or so to a time, 396/7 when another barbarian horde threatened the cities of Roman Greece. Eunapios (475–6, 482) informs us that: “It was the time when Alaric with his barbarians invaded Greece by the pass of Thermopylae, as easily as though he were traversing an open stadium or a plain suitable for cavalry. For this gateway of Greece was thrown open to him by the impiety of the men clad in black raiment, who entered Greece unhindered along with him, and by the fact that the laws and restrictions of the hierophantic ordinances had been rescinded”⁸. He adds that the hierophant Nestorios had prophesied the destruction of the sanctuaries, the end of the ancestral cults and the complete disappearance of Greece, as well as mentioning that many of his acquaintances had died in the barbarian raids. Thermopylae left unguarded, the end of Hellas and of the ancestral religion portended as a result of the collaboration of Christian monks or, as the pagan historian Zosimos (V, 5, 2–V, 7, 1) reports, of the commander of the guard at Thermopylae himself and of the proconsul of Hellas⁹.

One can easily see what has changed by comparison with 265 and 269. The general feeling of *fin de siècle* seen in Eunapios’ and Zosimos’ accounts of Alaric’s invasion is not coincidental. It reflects a more general conviction among most pagan authors of the late fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, such as Libanios, Julian, Claudian, Olympiodoros, Palladas or Damaskios, who believed that the decline of the Roman Empire was mainly due to the abandonment of their ancestral cults and the spread of Christianity. Although Alaric’s invasion of Greece found Athens and the other cities defenceless, current scholarship holds that it was clearly less damaging than the assessments made by earlier scholars have suggested¹⁰. However, over and above the historical events, these references to Roman Greece and its current ills had a special symbolism for these pagan authors, raised in the classicizing spirit of the Imperial period. For them the cities of classical Greece and their sanctuaries – and above all Athens – constituted their spiritual home and an unparalleled moral, artistic and historical model¹¹.

This being the case, trying to find out what really happened and determining the main parameters of any ideological use made of these events has to be at the heart of any analysis of the historical and archaeological sources.

7 IG VII, 53; SEG 31, 384.

8 Translation W.C. WRIGHT.

9 According to Zosimos (V, 5–6), Athens and the rest of Attica were eventually saved from destruction thanks to divine intervention with Athena Promachos and Achilles appearing on the walls of the besieged city.

10 JACOBS, Prosperity 69–89. For a commentary on the written sources and archaeological data: DI BRANCO, *H Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 123–130.

11 J. STENGER, *Hellenische Identität in der Spätantike: pagane Autoren und ihr Unbehagen an der eigenen Zeit*. Berlin–New York 2009, 34–53.

Roman Greece and Constantine

Now that it has been established that Athens' long fourth century was bounded between two catastrophic invasions, mention should also be made of another historical landmark: the promotion of the province of Achaea (or Hellas, that is, mainland Greece south of Thessaly) to a proconsular province after a short period in which its status had been downgraded during the Tetrarchy. This seems to have happened either in 314 during the period when Constantine and Licinius were co-emperors or, more likely, in 317 when the cities of Illyricum came under the control of Constantine¹². Thus Constantine was once again attributing a special place of honour to Greece, alongside Africa and Asia, vis-à-vis the other provinces. The impressive number of monuments in honour of the emperor and his sons even in the most insignificant provincial cities and sanctuaries may not only be related to this fact but also to his establishing himself as sole ruler after a long period of perpetual dynastic and military crises in the empire¹³.

Athens honoured the new emperor with the title of strategos of the hoplites (responsible for distributing corn) and by commissioning a statue with a commemorative inscription. According to Julian, Constantine took more pride in this than if he had been awarded the highest honours¹⁴. He rewarded the city by distributing many tens of thousands of bushels of wheat each year. His son Constans (r. 337–50) too would make a similar gesture, as would Julian, as I shall assert below. Constans ceded some not insignificant islands to Athens so that they could offer their corn crop to the city as taxes in kind¹⁵. The occasion for this gift was the conclusion of the Christian teacher of rhetoric Prohairetios's short stay at the imperial court in Galatia.

It seems that, in the period immediately after his victory over Licinius, Constantine attempted to win favour with the pagan aristocracy of Athens. Correspondingly, the Athenian elite hoped to derive some benefits for the city and themselves. Two distinguished Athenians had a close relationship with the emperor. The first is Nikagoras, son of Minoukianos, an Eleusinian torchbearer, who was to travel all the way to the Valley of the Kings near Thebes in Egypt in 326 and leave two graffiti on the tomb of the Pharaoh Ramses VI, mentioning his benefactor, "the most pious Emperor Constantine", who had also provided the funds for his trip. The second is the historian Praxagoras, who was to write an encomiastic history of Constantine in two volumes, of which only a few fragments survive. A third possible example is the historian and rhetor Onasi-

12 C. DAVENPORT, *The Governors of Achaia under Diocletian and Constantine*. *ZPE* 184 (2013) 231–232.

13 SIRONEN, *Inscriptions* 53; IG II/III², 13268–13272, 13666. More recently: SEG 59, 413 (Messene); F. MARCHAND, *Recent Epigraphic Research in Central Greece: Euboea, Phokis, and Lokris*. *MDAI AA* 61 (2015) 70 (Abai).

14 Or. 1, 7d–8d (ed. W.C. WRIGHT).

15 Eunapios 492 (ed. W.C. WRIGHT).

mos, who came either from Sparta or Athens, and also composed an encomium to Constantine¹⁶.

As to the real reason for Nikagoras' all expenses paid trip to Egypt, Garth Fowden has suggested that, as well as being a polite gesture towards the Athenian aristocracy, the object was to procure and transport two obelisks, which would later be erected on the spina of the Circus Maximus in Rome and the hippodrome in Constantinople, and a porphyry column that would support the statue of Constantine in his forum in Constantinople¹⁷. The emperor also sent emissaries to the various provinces of the East, seeking to confiscate public estates and other treasures from Greek sanctuaries either to melt them down into bullion or to transfer them to the new capital city. It seems that Constantine's men visited mainland Greece and removed, among other things, the Panhellenic victory monument of the Battle of Plataea (479 BCE) (also known as the Serpent Column of Delphi) and a group sculpture of Muses from the Museion on Mount Helikon in Thespieae (fig. 1)¹⁸.

Compared with officials operating elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world Constantine's men were not overly exacting when it came to taking ancient treasures and sacred objects away from Greece proper, something we should perhaps attribute to their good relations with the local establishment. Indeed, both Delphi and the sanctuary of the Muses, from where these monuments had been removed, erected statues in honour of the emperor and his family, and we also know that Constantine showed special favour to the priest of Pythian Apollo in Delphi, Flavius Felicianus and his family¹⁹. At the same time, as we have seen, Nikagoras was probably involved in bringing sacred treasures from Egypt to the West on the emperor's behalf.

These facts lead us to suppose that the removal of these treasures was carried out with the consent of the Greek cities, just as had happened in the past. Consequently, the favours Constantine conferred on the pagan upper classes of Roman Greece were probably not boundless but involved some necessary, and one might say carefully considered compromises. Similarly, the inhabitants of Greece expected some sort of reciprocity from the emperor, whether in the form of financial gifts and tax exemptions or appointments to posts in the imperial administration.

The monuments in question that were taken from Delphi and the Boeoti-

16 FGrH 219 and see n. 17 below; *FGrH* 216.

17 G. FOWDEN, Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion. *JRS* 81 (1991) 123–124.

18 S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. Cambridge 2004, 62, 66–67, 73–74, 224–227 nos. 18, 141, and 145; P. STEPHENSON, *The Serpent Column. A Cultural Biography*. Oxford 2016.

19 P. ROESCH, *Les Inscriptions de Thespies*. Lyon 2007–2009, 3, 448–449; R. WEIR, *Roman Delphi and its Pythian Games*. Oxford 2004, 98–99; T. BARNES, *Constantine. Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford 2011, 142–143.

an sanctuary reflect the two main features of the image of Greece in the Imperial period: the unrivalled glory of the Persian Wars and the intellectual brilliance of classical Greece, reference points with which every Roman emperor aspired to be identified. Thus, as noted above, the Athenian historian Praxagoras would write a biography of Constantine up to the founding of Constantinople, reinventing the clash between Constantine and Licinius in 324 in such a way as to recall the historical accounts of the sea battle of Salamis in 480 BCE and Alexander's battle on the banks of the Hydaspes in 326 BCE.

So there is no doubt that the Athenians managed to flatter the young emperor by attributing a transhistorical, Panhellenic character to his recent triumphs by comparing them with the Persian Wars and Alexander's Asia campaign²⁰. Likewise the removal of the Panhellenic victory monument commemorating the Battle of Plataea to Constantinople and its erection in a conspicuous position in the hippodrome there should be interpreted in similar terms. And thus Marathon and Plataea were not just recondite references in the context of oratory contests, but highlighted the fact that the glory of classical Greece was still the greatest diplomatic capital of Late Roman Greece.

Roman Greece and Julian

The news that Julian had succeeded Constantius on the imperial throne (November 361) must have been received in Athens with a mixture of delight and relief. They had already thrown in their lot with the usurper a few months earlier, and it was clear to them that a unique window of opportunity was opening up that would allow them to establish a privileged relationship with the emperor and with the new centre of imperial power and Julian's birthplace, Constantinople.

Julian was already an alumnus of the philosophical schools of the city (though he had only attended classes for a few months in the summer and autumn of 355) and an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries. Among many other flattering allusions, he called Athens "his true homeland"²¹. During his brief stay there he had managed to become close friends with leading figures in the city, including the hierophant and theurgist Nestorios, the teachers of rhetoric Himerios and Prohaeresios, the Neoplatonic philosopher Priskos and his fellow student and later governor of Syria, Kelsos, all of whom he had already invited or would later invite to be by his side²². From Sirmium (mod. Sremska Mitrovica) or Naissus (mod. Niš) in October 361 proclamations were sent to the cities of Illyria and Greece, including Athens (the only example that survives), Corinth,

20 D. KRALLIS, Greek Glory, Constantinian Legend: Praxagoras' Athenian Agenda in Zosimos New History?, *JLA* 7/1 (2014) 110–130.

21 Julian Or. 3 (Panegyric in Honour of Eusebia), 118D (ed. W.C. WRIGHT).

22 P. ATHANASSIADI, Ιουλιανός. Μία βιογραφία (Julian. An Intellectual Biography. London–New York 1992²). Athens 2005², 85–93.

Sparta and Rome. He would also receive emissaries from the city, which immediately allied itself with him, and ordered the temples to be reopened and sacrifices performed²³. In 361 in collaboration with none other than the governor of Greece he assembled a fleet in the harbour of Kenchreai in order to attack Constantius²⁴.

After Constantius' death Julian sent Nestorios, a "holy man" according to Eunapios, back to Greece, denying him nothing and giving him lavish gifts and a retinue to tend to the Greek sanctuaries. Julian's interest in ancient Greece and above all in Athens confirmed by some general references in Claudius Mamertinus and Libanios²⁵.

That the ancient sanctuaries of old Greece were restored by Julian can be deduced from a somewhat obscure reference in Eunapios (493) to an incident featuring Prohaeresios and Nestorios and which can therefore only refer to events that took place in Greece. In this passage, which lends itself to a variety of interpretations, it is said that Prohaeresios, desiring to avoid asking a more direct question about the likely length of Julian's reign, asked Nestorios to prophesy how long the emperor would remain benevolent towards the Hellenes, given that he was having the land measured for their benefit (τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν)²⁶. It seems likely that Eunapios is referring here to the public land, which Constantius's men had previously taken away from cities and sanctuaries. Moreover we know that restoring these public estates to the cities in order to ensure public buildings and sanctuaries were maintained was part of Julian's general policy²⁷. Nevertheless, bearing in mind (a) the gifts of corn made to Athens by Constantine and Constans, (b) the reference made above to Julian's adherents who were sent to Greece, and (c) that the term Hellenes should be understood here as referring above all to the inhabitants of Greece proper, this particular piece of information takes on a more local relevance and emphasizes the continuity in the imperial tradition of granting privileges, while at the same time showing how this way of doing things constituted an attempt to completely reverse Constantine's policy of confiscation in the region.

The rebuilding of the Athenian Parthenon after its destruction some time

23 Zosimos III, 10, 3–3, 11, 1; Libanios Or. 14, 29; 12, 64; 18, 114–116 (ed. R. FOERSTER).

24 Julian Ep. 19; PLRE I, *Maximinus* 4 & *Anonymus* 49.

25 C.E.V. NIXON – B.S. RODGERS, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini*. Berkeley 1994, III, 9, 3–4. Or. 18, 114–116.

26 Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος, <ἐν> τόπῳ τοῦ παιδεύειν ἐξειργόμενος (ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι χριστιανός) συνορῶν τὸν ἱεροφάντην ὥσπερ Δελφικόν τινα τρίποδα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος πρόνοιαν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνακείμενον, σοφία τινὶ περιῆλθε ξένη τὴν πρόγνωσιν. ἐμέτρει μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν γῆν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἰς τὸν φόρον, ὅπως μὴ βαρύνοντο· ὁ δὲ Προαίρεσιος ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βέβαια μένει τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. ὥς δὲ ἀπέφησεν, ὁ μὲν ἔγνω τὸ πραχθισόμενον, καὶ ἦν εὐθυμότερος.

27 N. LENSKE, *Constantine and the cities. Imperial authority and civic politics*. Philadelphia 2016, 168–175.

earlier by fire may have been connected with Julian's gifts to Athens. Manolis Korres considers this supposition, proposed in the past by Ioannis Travlos, to be correct. Korres rightly views the suggestion that the building was restored in the fifth century as problematic²⁸. Bearing in mind the evidence in Zosimos (IV, 18, 3) relating to Nestorios's hierophantic ritual under the Parthenon cult statue, I think it more likely that the building was restored before 375, regardless of whether or not its destruction had been caused by the Herulian invasion or some other calamity. There is also support for the idea that a stoa-like building in the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus, built in the mid-fourth century, could be connected with the imperial gifts given by the Emperor Julian. Given that offerings to the sanctuary are attested at that time after several decades in which no such activity was reported, this hypothesis cannot be ruled out²⁹.

In at least two cases Julian also intervened to ensure the return and political reinstatement of prominent citizens of Corinth to their city, who on the pretext that they believed in the ancient gods had, according to Libanios, been unjustly accused and exiled by Constantius's men³⁰. The following passage from a letter from Libanios to Julian about the reinstatement of Aristophanes of Corinth gives us a comprehensive definition of the term Hellene/Greek (Ἕλληνας), (i.e. a follower of the old religion, an educated person and one living in Greece), and also outlines the way in which educated pagans of the fourth century perceived Roman Greece (Or. 14, 27)³¹.

Πρῶτον μὲν Ἕλληνας ἐστίν, ὃ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἓνα τῶν σῶν εἶναι παιδικῶν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἐραστής, ὥς σὺ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδάφους ἐνθυμούμενος ἱερὰ καὶ νόμους καὶ λόγους καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τελετὰς καὶ τρόπαια ἀπὸ βαρβάρων.

First of all, Sire, he is a Greek – that is, one of your chosen people. There has never been a man such a lover of his country as you are of the soil of Greece, as you reflect upon its religion, its laws, its eloquence, its philosophy, ritual of initiation, and trophies won from the barbarians.

28 M. KORRES, Ο Παρθενώνας από την αρχαία εποχή μέχρι τον 19^ο αιώνα, in: Ο Παρθενώνας και η ακτινοβολία του στα νεώτερα χρόνια (ed. P. ΤΟΥΝΙΚΙΟΤΗΣ). Athens 1994, 143; A. FRANTZ, Did Julian the Apostate Rebuild the Parthenon?. *AJA* 83/4 (1979) 395–401.

29 W. PEEK, *Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros*. Berlin 1972, 34, no. 55 (363 CE); C. KANELLOPOULOS, Το υστερορωμαϊκό «τείχος»: περίβολος τεμένους και περιμετρική στοά στο Ασκληπιείο της Επιδαύρου. Athens 2000.

30 PLRE I, *Aristophanes; Parnasius I*.

31 Translation A.F. NORMAN 1969. In another letter Libanios (Ep. 823, 363 CE) asks Aristophanes, *vicarius* of all Macedonia, to spread the news of Julian's victories over the Persians to the Greeks. In an inscription from Thessalonica, Julian is honoured as "restorer of the sanctuaries, vanquisher of all barbarian nations and sole emperor of the *oikoumene*" (ἀνανεωτὴς τῶν ἱερῶν, νικητὴς παντὸς ἔθνους βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ μόνος τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλεύς): SEG 31, 641.

Libanios's intention was to present Aristophanes as a martyr for his beliefs³². In addition to the references to ancient sanctuaries and the monuments of wisdom and civilization that classical Greece had showcased, the memory of the Persian Wars, as we saw in the case of Constantine, continued to be a basic ingredient of the symbolic value of Roman Greece. Thus, Himerios, in one of his speeches on the occasion of the arrival of some new students of his in Athens (Or. 59, 2) begins his tour of the city's sights with the painted depiction of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile, while Libanios and Julian often refer to the Persian Wars as the chief characteristic of any imaginary historico-geographical topography of Hellenism³³.

In Himerios's oration "Given in Constantinople for the City Itself, for the Emperor Julian, and for the Mithraic Initiation" (Or. 41) pronounced at the court of Julian in 362, an attempt is made to connect Athens with the new capital, by calling Constantinople its daughter, while Julian, a scion of the city, is compared to the mythical first king of Athens, Kekrops. Comparing Athens as an intellectual metropolis with some other city in the context of a rhetorical speech could be considered banal for a fourth-century rhetorician from the Greek East, and all the more so for a naturalized Athenian like Himerios. Yet Himerios went one step further, presenting Constantinople as having surpassed the metropolis and Julian as another Kekrops, but of a higher order than the mythical one as founder of the new capital³⁴. Even more interesting is the fact that this sort of fictional connection between Athens and the capital of Byzantium is made here for the first time, while it also sneaks into Book XXII of the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII, 8, 8), which refers to Julian's reign. There we read: Constantinopolis, vetus Byzantium, Atticorum colonia (Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, an Athenian [lit. Attic] colony). Up to then Constantinople has been depicted exclusively as reflecting ancient Rome, and this continued to be the case. Megarians, Milesians and Spartans are mentioned as distant founders of the city not only in earlier texts but also in fourth-century ones, such as the Chronicle of Eusebius. The appearance of this tradition, apparently contrived at a late stage, in Ammianus and Himerios leads us to conclude that we are dealing with a short-lived "rebranding" of Athens as the metropolis that spawned Constantinople, which the intelligentsia of Athens attempted to promote through their special relationship with the emperor³⁵. However, this conceit seems to

32 Julian congratulated Libanios on this particular letter (Ep. 97), indicating its importance to the emperor's understanding of the meaning of the term 'Hellenism', including its geographical dimension. See also, J.R. STENGER, *Libanios and the 'game' of Hellenism*, in: *Libanios: a critical introduction* (ed. L. VAN HOOF). Cambridge 2014, 274–276.

33 STENGER, *Hellenische Identität* 45–46.

34 F. HADJITTOFI, *Centring Constantinople in Himerios' Oratio 41*, in: *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity in the Eastern Roman Empire* (eds A. FRANCISCO HEREDERO *et al.*). Cambridge 2014, 233–239.

35 The prejudice of educated pagans against Constantinople is well attested. Thus, Libanios too (Or. 15, 36) calls Athens "another Rome" (Ρώμην ἑκατέραν) when writing to Julian.

have been abandoned on his death.

Julian's brief reign would remain an indelible memory for the citizens of Roman Greece and most adherents of the ancient gods: in his funerary Oration for Julian Libanios (Or. 18, 306) asks that the emperor's sarcophagus be transported to the Academy to lie next to Plato's last resting place, so that the memory of the two men could be celebrated with the same rites and sacrifices. Right up until the end of the fifth century the Athenian Neoplatonists would date the most significant events of their age from the year of Julian's death³⁶.

Traditional religion and provincial administration

In the fourth century, many educated Romans of noble origin and Greeks from the East continued to visit the ancient sanctuaries of classical Greece. Some of them ensured that their pilgrimages would be permanently commemorated on Greek soil with public inscriptions³⁷. By doing this they were also probably seeking some sort of personal confirmation that the "cultural revolution" brought about by the first Christian emperor had changed nothing of the world, as they had known it till then. Some of them served as governors of Greece because this position offered the holder the prerogative not only of addressing the emperor directly but also of being in close proximity with the monuments of classical Greece, the intellectual life of Athens and of carrying out the traditional cult rites and rituals³⁸. The frequent presence of the provincial governor and the praetorian prefect of Illyricum (based in Corinth and Thessalonica respectively) in Athens for the Panathenaia or other public festivals is a typical example. There too, or so we are told, the sons of imperial officials continued to study. I will set out two interesting examples below.

Publilius Optatianus (signo Porphyrius) served as proconsul of Achaea under Constantine between 326 and 329. He was a Roman aristocrat and a poet. In 312 he corresponded with Constantine on literary topics but in 322/3 he fell into disfavour. Thanks to a new series of poems that he sent to the emperor he returned from exile in 325/6 and before being appointed prefect in Rome in 329 he served as proconsul of Greece. We come across him in an inscription,

36 Marinos, *Vita Procli* 36 (ed. R. MASULLO).

37 To give some examples: Nikagoras, possibly Nikagoras, son of Minoukianos (mentioned above), at the sanctuary of Pan and the Nymphs on Parnes: IG II/III², 13251 (4th c.). Plutarch, governor of the Islands at the Idaion Antron on Crete and at the Heraion on Samos (4th c.). The governor of the Islands Poimenios: G. DELIGIANNAKIS, «*Νήσων εἰερῶν ἀρχάμενος*»: Προσωπογραφικές και άλλες παρατηρήσεις για μια υστερορωμαϊκή επιγραφή από την Κώρικο της Κιλικίας. <https://goo.gl/aK1jB2> (4th c.). Libanios and Julian: STENGER, *Hellenische Identität* 37. The Neoplatonist scholarchs of Academy Damaskios, *Vita Isidori* 132–144 (ed. P. ATHANASSIADI).

38 In the same spirit, the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (52 [ed. J. ROUGÉ 1966], 359/60 CE) mentions in relation to Athens its schools, its history and the wealth of ancient votive offerings on the Acropolis.

which mentions that the priest of the imperial cult Marcus Aurelius Stephanus erected a statue to Optatianus in the theatre in Sparta next to that of the legendary lawgiver and champion of Hellenism Lykourgos³⁹. In the acrostics he dedicated to the emperor sometimes it is the Sun god and sometimes Apollo who appears as his protectors, whereas in some cases there are even references to Christianity⁴⁰. The hybrid content of Optatianus's poems was probably intentional; it expressed the official imperial line, which as regards its religious ramifications continued to be ambivalent for several decades, given that the great majority of Constantine's subjects in the East remained faithful to the old gods. Moreover, the colossal statue of the emperor on a column in the forum of Constantinople (erected 328 or 330) represented Constantine as Apollo/Helios. The emperor had been compared to Sol Invictus (e.g. on coins, in panegyrics, etc.) for at least the last fifteen years (310–325). The Sun god was seen as the protector of the Emperor Constantine, and there had been a revival of solar and Apollonian imagery after the model of Alexander the Great and Augustus. One product of this two-way relationship between the central message and its reproduction at local level was the issue in 319 of a series of copper coins by the mint in Thessalonica, the administrative centre of Illyricum, on the reverse of which Sol Invictus is depicted holding a globe and making the characteristic gesture of *adlocutio*, along with an enigmatic symbol made up of radiating diagonal lines that is not found anywhere else other than in a poem by Optatianus (figs. 2–3)⁴¹. When later, in 351, the rhetor Himerios, as an envoy from Athens, addressed the Emperor Constantine at Sirmium, he would also name the Sun god as an ancestor in Constantine's family tree⁴². Any reference to Christianity might have seemed strange to the conservative inhabitants of Roman Greece.

The noble Roman polymath and ardent pagan Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (ca. 315–384) served as praetorian prefect at the court of the Emperor Valentinian II (384). He had previously acquired important posts in the imperial service, including that of governor of Achaia. Both he and his wife took on

39 C. DAVENPORT, *The Governors of Achaia under Diocletian and Constantine*. *ZPE* 184 (2013) 232–233; D. FEISSEL – A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance 3: Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra)*. Paris 1985, 284–285 no. 22.

40 J. WIENAND, *Publius Optatianus Porfyrius: The Man and his Book in: Morphogrammata/ The Lettered Art of Optatian: Figuring Cultural Transformations in the Age of Constantine* (eds M. SQUIRE – J. WIENAND). Stuttgart 2017, 121–163; R. VAN DAM, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*. Cambridge 2011, 158–170.

41 J. BARDILL, *Constantine: Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. Cambridge 2012, 172, fig. 108. On this see also G. DELIGIANNAKIS, *Helios and the Emperor in the Late Antique Peloponnese*. *JLA* 10/2 (2017) 325–350.

42 R.J. PENELLA, *Man and the Word. The Orations of Himerius*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2007, fr. 1, 6, 273–274, n. 5; T.D. BARNES, *Himerius and the Fourth Century*. *CPh* 82/3 (1987) 209; the same thing can be found in Eunapios (Hist. fr. 24) and Julian (Or. 7, 229c–231d) in his *Encomium* for his cousin.

priestly duties over that period, travelling around the sanctuaries of Greece⁴³. Zosimos (IV, 3, 3) mentions that as proconsul of Greece (362–4) Praetextatus opposed the imperial law that ordered a ban on pagan rites as something that would make Greeks' lives unendurable, obliging the Emperor Valentinian to leave the law unimplemented in Roman Greece. This toleration –with, of course, the requisite adaptations that tended to secularize the rules and regulations of the city's time-honoured public festivals, suppressing the cult element in them (e.g. performing sacrifices, giving honours to statues, etc.)– would only continue for a few more decades.

Coming to terms with defeat

There can be no doubt that the gradual spread of Christianity and the founding of Constantinople as the New Rome entailed the decline of Athens' cultural capital. The city would never manage thereafter to retain the position afforded it in the past by Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Julian. Despite the fact that even in the fifth century it remained one of the most important centres of philosophical education across the empire, it seems to have held increasingly little appeal for the ambitious scions of the wealthy Christian cities of the East, whether we are talking about theologians and educated bishops, or future imperial officials. Throughout the whole of the fifth century we hear no more of the equivalents of Origen, Proharesios, Gregory of Nazianzos or Basil of Caesarea studying or teaching in the city, unlike what we know of Alexandria, Antioch or Gaza. For educated Christians Athens was not identified with the cradle of Greek learning and the origins of civilization, but rather with an abstract intellectual mine that they had to use prudently and an instrument that they had to exploit skilfully. The idea of someone “living their myth in Athens”, visiting or studying there, was a thing of the past. The Christian theologians would continue to read and comment on Plato and the Neoplatonists of the Academy, who were their contemporaries. But they no longer felt the need to visit the city for that⁴⁴.

In other words, from the fifth century onwards the city lost something of its cosmopolitan brilliance because it was viewed as an island, controlled by the members of a few old established local families, adherents of the ancient religion. As for its philosophical schools, these too were now exclusively intended for pagans. At the same time, lacking certified Christian values was a serious stumbling block to any potential career in the imperial service. It is perhaps no coincidence that Athenaïs, daughter of the teacher of rhetoric Leontios, later the Empress Eudocia, would have to cut all ties with her extraordinarily wealthy family in Athens to get to Constantinople and, once she had become a

43 PLRE I, *Praetextatus I*; M. KAHLOS, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. A Senatorial Life in Between. Rome 2002, 32.

44 BREITENBACH, “Das wahrhaft goldene Athen”.

Christian, marry the young Theodosius II in 421⁴⁵. Nor that the Platonist Synesios of Kyrene (N. Africa), following a trip to Athens in 410 (or 399) that was a revelation to him, would agree –despite his initial misgivings– to be ordained a bishop⁴⁶.

With the emergence of monumental Christian architecture in the heart of the city and in the countryside in the early fifth century, Athens began to look more like a typical provincial city of the Eastern Empire. The city's public monuments in the Ancient Agora that are identified with the ancient polis (the Bouleuterion, the Tholos, the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, not to mention the Parthenon) were no longer being maintained or had been given over to other uses⁴⁷. The paintings in the Stoa Poikile along with other treasures belonging to the city were being removed⁴⁸. Grand private mansions were by now taking over the public space.

At the same time, a new legend that sprang from the Apostle Paul's visit to Athens in the year 51 (Acts 17, 16–34) had already begun to emerge, promoting a smooth transition to the “New Order”, on both the religious and the philosophical/theological front. The Parthenon, which was converted into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary most probably in the late fifth century, developed into an important pilgrimage centre in the middle Byzantine period (fig. 4); a bogus oracle in which Apollo predicted the conversion of the famous temple and a parallel story that linked this oracle with Paul's visit to Athens had apparently served to validate the transition from pagan to Christian use. In the early sixth century, an important Neoplatonist Christian theologian, possibly a student of the Academy's scholarch Proklos (412–485), published his writings, attributing them pseudonymously to Dionysios the Areopagite, an Athenian convert of St Paul according to the account in the Acts. The physiognomy of Byzantine Athens would nevertheless never stop finding itself engaged in an ongoing dialectic with its non-Christian past⁴⁹.

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45 Ioannes Malalas XIV, 4 (ed. I. THURN).

46 A. CAMERON – J. LONG, *Barbarians and politics at the court of Arcadius*. Berkeley 1993, 409–411.

47 BAZZECCHI, *Das Stadtzentrum* 223–226.

48 Synesios Ep. 56 (ed. A. GARZYA); HUNGER, *Athen in Byzanz* 47f.

49 On the Christian Parthenon, see KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon*. On a recent theory that identifies pseudo-Dionysius with the scholarch of the Academy, Damaskios, see MAZZUCCHI, *Damascio*. For a critique of this theory: *Adamantius* 14 (2009) 670–673 (Emiliano Fiori).



Fig. 1. The three-headed serpent column from the Panhellenic monument of the Battle of Plataea at Delphi, in the ancient hippodrome in Istanbul (Wikipedia, public domain)



Fig. 2. Copper nummus of the Emperor Constantine from the Thessalonican mint ca. 319 CE. Sol Invictus and radiate X symbol, British Museum, London (inv. no. CM B.3915) © The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 3. Optatian, poem no. 10 with commentary, as arranged in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Cod. Par. 8916, f. 75r) © Bibliothèque Nationale de France



Fig. 4. The East façade of the Parthenon after its conversion to the Church of the Virgin Mary, second phase (M. KORRES, in: Ο Παρθενώνας και η ακτινοβολία του στα νεώτερα χρόνια, p. 147, fig. 13) © M. Korres

GRIGORIOS PAPAGIANNIS

Bezeichnungen und Urteile über die Stadt Athen in der frühbyzantinischen Literatur¹

Ἴωνες οἱ ξένοι, γένος Ἀττικόν· φέρε αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τέττιγος τὴν μητρόπολιν τῷ λόγῳ δείξωμεν. μέλιττα γὰρ ἀπιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' Ἰωνίαν ἠγήσατο, λόγος δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανιοῦσιν Ἀθήναζε.

ἐγώ, ὦ φίλοι, ξεναγήσω μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μεγάλα τῶν πατέρων γνωρίσματα· δείξω μὲν ὑμῖν τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας τοὺς ὑμετέρους τὴν Περσῶν φορὰν δρόμῳ καὶ τομαῖς ἐλέγχοντας... ἄξω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ποικίλῃν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἄνω, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐργαστήριον· ἔνθα μυρίων ὑμῖν ὑπάρξει διηγημάτων ἐμπίπλασθαι, καθάπερ ἐν τινὶ πίνακι τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀνιστοροῦσι γνωρίσματα. ὄψεσθε μὲν τὸ τῆς ἐλαίας ἔρνος, θεοῦ τῆς ὀπλισμένης τὸ τρόπαιον· ὄψεσθε δὲ κῦμα ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου μετάρσιον ἡχοῦν ἔτι, καθάπερ τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ἀγωνιῶντι συγκραδαινόμενον. ἄξω δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐργαστήριον, δεικνὺς τὸν Πάγον, καί, μυθολογῶν ἅμα τῇ θεᾷ, ἥδιον ποιήσω τὸ θέαμα τῷ διηγήματι.

Τάχα με καὶ βραδυτῆτος γράψεσθε, καὶ τὸν τῶν πατέρων δανεισάμενοι νόμον, ὃν περὶ τῆς ἀργίας εἰσήνεγκαν, γραφὴν ἀπαγγελεῖτε κατ' ἐμοῦ τινὰ καὶ ἔγκλημα, ὅτι μήπω τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἥνεγκα ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Ἴωνος. Φέρε οὖν γράψω καὶ τοῦτον ὑμῖν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑμῶν προεστιάσω τῆς ὀψεως· Κόμπη μὲν αὐτῷ χρυσῇ περὶ μετώπῳ σχίζεται, πλόκαμοι δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος καθέρποντες τοῖς θείοις στέρνοις ἐπικυμαίνουσι· ποδῆρης χιτῶν, λύρα, τόξον οὐδαμοῦ, μειδιῶν ὁ θεός, καθάπερ τις μαντεύων τὴν ἀποικίαν τοῖς Ἴωσι. Μουσικὸς ὁ θεός, ὦ παῖδες· πλήττωμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ λύραν, ἵνα μεγάλα κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἠχήσαντες τῇ μητροπόλει τὴν ἀποικίαν συνάρωμεν.

Ἴδε, ἄρτι, ἄβρᾶ Μούσῃ τὴν Ἰωνίαν προσείπομεν, παίζοντες ἅμα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τῶν λόγων θεώμενοι.²

A.

Nach der aus Himerios entliehenen Einführung, in der man spührt, dass im 4. Jh. n. Chr. die alte, berühmte Stadt Athen –mindestens durch die Augen des Rhetors– noch als lebendig zu sehen war, wird hier nur so viel zum Thema präsentiert werden, wie im Rahmen eines Aufsatzes möglich ist.

Gemäss dem Titel ist also mit literarischen Bezeichnungen zu beginnen,

1 Ähnliche Thematik in anderer Epoche behandelt RHOBY, Reminiszenzen. Dort auch reiche Sekundärliteratur zum Thema.

2 Himerios LIX (Εἰς τοὺς ἀπ' Ἰωνίας ἐπιδημήσαντας), 1–17 (Hrsg. A. COLONNA).

die herausragende Autoren (besonders Rhetoren) der vor- bzw. frühbyzantinischen Zeit anstatt des Namens „Athen“ verwendet haben³. Dabei ist nicht von großer Bedeutung, ob diese sich auf das Athen ihrer Zeit oder auf das alte bzw. mythologische Athen beziehen.

Diese „Namen“ haben meistens ihren Ursprung in der Mythologie. Sie sind, in morphologischer Hinsicht, Periphrasen, zusammengesetzt aus einem Gattungsnamen (wie πόλις, γῆ, ἄστυ, δάπεδον usw.) und dem Genetiv des Namens eines (mythologischen) Königs bzw. der Stadtbeschützerin, der Göttin Pallas Athene, wobei der Gattungsname oft fortgelassen wird: ἡ Θησέως.

Wir treffen also auf die Namen: ἡ Θησέως, ἡ Κέκροπος, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶς πόλις, τὸ Παλλάδος ἄστυ / πεδῖον / δάπεδον. Ein seltener Name (besonders beliebt bei Libanios) ist ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λῆξις.

Solche Namen kommen vor bei Himerios (V, 174–178, in der fiktiven Rede von Themistokles, in der er die Athener gegen den König Xerxes anstachelt: σὺ τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πόλιν; σὺ τὴν Θησέως καὶ Κέκροπος;)⁴, bei Libanios (Epist. 278, 2 παιδεύεται δὲ ἐν τῇ Θησέως und Epist. 1458, 1 πολλῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀνεμνήσθην εὐδαιμονίας, ὡς ἐπέβην τῶν Θησέως Ἀθηνῶν)⁵, beim Anthologen Io. Stobaeos (Anthologium III, 13, 30) τῇ τε Θησέως πόλει καλὸν φυλάξαι γνησίως παρρησίαν)⁶.

Darüberhinaus schreibt Himerios in seiner Monodie auf den Tod des eigenen Sohnes Rufinos (VIII, 121–122): πῶς Ἀθηνᾶς ἴδω πεδῖον μετὰ σέ; derselbe (XLVII, 14): Παλλάδος ἱερὸν δάπεδον,

Diogenes Laertios (Vit. IX, 56, 5–8⁷ = Anthologia Graeca Epigr. VII, 130⁸):

καὶ σεῦ, Πρωταγόρη, φάτιν ἔκλυον, ὡς ἄρ' Ἀθηνέων
ἔκ ποτ' ἰὼν καθ' ὁδὸν πρέσβυς ἐὼν ἔθανες·
εἴλετο γάρ σε φυγεῖν **Κέκροπος πόλις**· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν που

Παλλάδος ἄστυ φύγες, Πλουτέα δ' οὐκ ἔφυγες,

Libanios (Or. LXI, 5, 1–7): καὶ γῆ Κέκροπος ἥς ἠράσθης⁹,

Nonnos (Dionys. XLVII, 408–410):

... εἰ μὲν ἰκάνεις

εἰς ἐρατὴν σέο γαῖαν, ὅπῃ δόμος ἐστὶν Ἑρώτων,

δέξο με δειλαίνῃ, ἵνα **Κέκροπος ἄστυ** νοήσω¹⁰,

3 Meines Wissens ist die Idee solche Bezeichnungen aufzusammeln originell.

4 Himerios LIX (Εἰς τοὺς ἀπ' Ἰωνίας ἐπιδημήσαντας), 1–17.

5 Hrsg. R. FÖRSTER, Bd 10.

6 Hrsg. C. WACHSMUTH – O. HENSE.

7 Hrsg. H.S. LONG.

8 Hrsg. H. BECKBY, Bd 2.

9 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 4.

10 Hrsg. R. KEYDELL, Bd 2.

Libanios wieder (Epist. 801, 3): ἡ τῆς Παλλάδος γῆ¹¹, derselbe (Epist. 1065, 3): τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ τιμᾷ τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λῆξιν¹².

Dementsprechend werden die Athener bezeichnet als Κραναοῦ bzw. Κέκροπος πολῖται, Κεκροπίδες (scil. ἄνδρες) oder (auf poetische Weise) Nachkommen von Erichthonios:

Beim Diog. Laert. (Vit. II, 58, 8–9 = Anthol. Graeca Epigr. VII, 98):

εἰ καὶ σέ, Ξενοφῶν, Κραναοῦ Κέκροπός τε πολῖται
φεύγειν κατέγνων...

Bei dem Epigrammatiker Christodoros (Anth. Graeca Epigr. II, 1, 83–85):

χαλκῷ γὰρ ἀνέπλεκε κάλλεος αὐγὴν
τοῖος ἐὼν οἷός περ ἐν Ἀτθίδι, μπτέρι μύθων,
ἀνδράσι Κεκροπίδῃσι πολύφρονα μῆτιν ἀγείρων¹³.

Bei dem Lexikographen Hesych (κ 2106, 1–2): Κεκροπίδας· Ἀθηναίους Ἀγ, τοὺς αὐτόχθονας (Eur. Phoen. 855) A¹⁴.

Eusebios (Praep. Evang. VI, 3, 1, 3–4) führt wohl die Worte einer älteren Weissagung an¹⁵: ὃ ζαθὲς γεγαῶτες Ἐριχθονίῳ γενέθλης¹⁶.

Statt der Periphrase kann man auf einen Adjektiv treffen: ἡ Κραναά, ἡ Κεκροπία, ἡ Ἀκτί bzw. Ἀττική, welcher das (gedachte) Substantiv πόλις bzw. γῆ bezeichnet. So schreibt Pseudo-Menander (Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν 355, 24–28): Μεταβολὴ δὲ ... γίνεται ... πολλάκις περὶ τὸ ὄνομα· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν πόλιν ἢ χώραν ποτὲ μὲν Κραναάν, ποτὲ δὲ Κεκροπίαν, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀκτὴν, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀττικὴν, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀθήνας κεκλήκασι¹⁷,

Hesych (κ 3950, 1): Κραναὴν πόλιν· τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπὸ Κραναοῦ, Stephanos Byzantios (Ethn. 381, 3–12¹⁸ = Ael. Herodianus Περὶ παρωνύμων 863, 33–35¹⁹): Κραναί, ... οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἀπὸ Κραναοῦ. ἐξειλήφασιν γάρ τινες οὕτω τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν τὸ Κραναῖ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀτθίδι. ... τὸ ἐθνικόν ... δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Κραναῖος ὡς Ἀθηναῖος,

Ioannis von Antiocheia (Fragm. 1, 28–29): Ἀπὸ Ἀτθίδος τῆς Κραναοῦ τοῦ αὐτόχθονος θυγατρὸς ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐκλήθη²⁰.

Man muss natürlich darauf achten, dass manche Passagen (besonders

11 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 10.

12 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 11.

13 Hrsg. BECKBY, Bd 1.

14 Hrsg. K. LATTE.

15 Die Verse sind nur bei Eusebios zu lesen, stammen aber offensichtlich nicht von ihm selbst.

16 Hrsg. K. MRAS, Eusebius Werke 8.

17 Hrsg. D. A. RUSSELL – N. G. WILSON.

18 Hrsg. A. MEINEKE.

19 Hrsg. A. LENTZ, Grammatici Graeci 3.2.

20 Hrsg. K. MÜLLER (FHG 4).

aus Lexikographen oder Kommentatoren) nicht original sind, sondern Zitate darstellen. So z.B. zitiert Olympiodoros (6. Jht. n. Chr.) Verse, die ausdrücklich Aristoteles zugeschrieben werden (In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria 41, 9, 13–22): ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης... ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις τοῖς πρὸς Εὐδήμιον αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν Πλάτωνα ἐγκωμιάζει γράφων οὕτως·

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς κλεινὸν Κεκροπίης δάπεδον²¹.

In solchen Fällen ist also der betreffende Ausdruck selbst alt, darf deshalb nicht zu den Namen der hier uns interessierenden Zeit mitgerechnet werden.

B.

Am Anfang des zweiten Teils des Beitrages (Urteile über Athen), muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass man hier die Passagen, in denen der übliche Name Athen verwendet wird, nicht ausser Betrachtung lassen darf. Andererseits sind die in Betracht kommenden Passagen so viele, dass man gezwungen ist, eine Auswahl zu treffen. Die Erwähnung von Passagen aus einigen berühmten Autoren des 4. Jh.s, Christen sowie Heiden, soll deshalb hier genügen.

Der Gesamteindruck ist, dass man in den Texten der frühbyzantinischen Zeit meistens Lob für Athen findet, sehr selten Tadel. Auf jeden Fall hat sich die Klage um den Verfall Athens, die später immer häufiger zum Ausdruck kommt, noch nicht eingesetzt²².

Ausnahmsweise sei mit dem anonymen Chronicon Paschale (7. Jh.) begonnen, in dem der Chronist Athen als τὴν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν τιμωμένην πόλιν²³ bezeichnet. Vielleicht darf man darunter verstehen, dass er sich von dieser „heidnischen“ Einstellung gewissermassen distanziert.

Einige Autoren sprechen von der Liebe (der eigenen oder der eines anderen) für Athen. So, Libanios (Epist. 1065, 2)²⁴: τὸν χρηστὸν δὲ Εὐτρόπιον... ᾧ συγχαίροι τις ἂν εἰκότως οὐ μόνον τῆς δυνάμεως ἦν κέκμηται τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔρωτος.

Der empfindsame christliche Dichter, der Vehrerer und Diener des Wortes Gottes, Gregor von Nazianz unterlässt kein Lob, wenn er von Athen spricht.

In einem Brief an Basilios (46, 2) schreibt er: ὦ λόγοι καὶ Ἀθῆναι καὶ ἀρεταὶ καὶ λόγων ἰδρωτές²⁵. Hier ruft er Athen neben Παιδεία und Ἀρετή an, nämlich die Erfahrungen, die er mit Basilios teilt, damit er seine Verwunderung ausdrückt über ein Mißverständnis, das zwischen ihnen entstanden

21 Hrsg. L.G. WESTERINK.

22 RHOBY, Synesios 85–96, bes. 95–96.

23 Chronicon Paschale 47, 7–9 (ed. L. DINDORF).

24 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 11.

25 Hrsg. P. GALLAY, Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres, Bd 1.

ist. Obwohl es sich um eine Erwähnung persönlichen Charakters handelt, es ist trotzdem ausserordentlich ehrend für Athen, weil dabei die Stadt neben den beiden anderen hochangesehenen Begriffen gesetzt wird.

In einem anderen Brief versichert er, dass sowohl Athen als auch die Freundschaften, die er dort angeknüpft hatte, ihm unvergessen bleiben werden (Epist. 190, 3, An Ευστόχιος): οὐχ οὕτως ἢ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπιλήσιμων ἐγώ, ἢ τῆς σῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐταιρείας²⁶. Genauer: er entschuldigt sich beim Eustochios dafür, dass sein Neffe Nikoboulos es vorgezogen hat, bei Stagirios und nicht ihm (Eustochios) zu studieren. Gregor sagt „es war nicht meine Wahl. Wenn es an mir läge, könnte ich weder Athen noch unsere Freundschaft vergessen.“

An Stagirios wiederum schreibt er (Epist. 188, 1): Ἀττικὸς σὺ τὴν παιδείου; Ἀττικοὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς²⁷. Er ist nämlich stolz auf seine athenener Erziehung.

Aber auch in einem Brief an den Beamten Africanus (in Kaisareia) bekennt er sich rücksichtslos als „attisch“. (Epist. 224, 1–2): Τίσιν ἵπποι μάλιστα χαίρουσι; Δῆλον ὡς ἵπποις. Ἀετοὶ δὲ τίσιν; Οὐκ ἄλλοις ἢ αἰετοῖς. Κολοῖον δὲ ποτὶ κολοῖον ἰζάνειν καὶ τῆς παρομιᾶς ἀκούεις. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ Ἀττικὸν Ἀττικοῖς οἴου χαίρειν²⁸.

In seiner berühmten Gedächtnis-Rede auf Basilios nennt sich Gregor „philathener“. Er bekennt sogar, dass er sich einmal wegen seiner Liebe für Athen einen Irrtum begangen hat und sich verstieg, einige junge Leute aus Armenien zu unterstützen, die aber in Athen studiert hatten, und versuchten, mit ihren Argumenten den neulich angekommenen Basilios zu besiegen, und dies tat Gregor, damit der Ruf Athens nicht Einbuße erleide (Funerbris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae 17, 3, 1–9): Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ φιλαθήναιος καὶ μάταιος, οὐ γὰρ ἡσθόμην τοῦ φθόνου, πιστεύων τῷ πλάσματι, ἥδη κλινομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νῶτα μεταβαλλόντων –καὶ γὰρ ἐξηλοτύπου τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κλέος ἐν ἐκείνοις καταλυθῆναι καὶ τάχιστα περιφρονηθῆναι–, ὑπῆρειδόν τε τοὺς νεανίας ἐπανάγων τὸν λόγον· καὶ τὴν παρ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ῥοπὴν χαριζόμενος... ἴσας ὑσμίνῃ τὰς κεφαλὰς, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κατέστησα²⁹.

In derselben Rede hat sich Gregor mit sehr ehrenden Worten für Athen geäußert. Indem er den „Weg“ des Basilios von Kappadokien zunächst nach Konstantinopel und dann nach Athen darstellt, schreibt er (ibid. 14, 1, 1 – 2, 6): Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν προκαθεζομένην τῆς Ἐφῶς πόλιν· ... Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων ἔδαφος, τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πέμπεται καὶ τῆς καλῆς περὶ τὴν παιδείου ἀπληστίας, Ἀθήνας τὰς χρυσᾶς

26 Ibid. Bd 2.

27 Ibid. Bd 1.

28 Ibid. Bd 2.

29 Hrsg. F. BOULENGER, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée. Paris 1908.

ὄντως ἐμοὶ καὶ τῶν καλῶν προξένους εἶπερ τινί. Ἐκεῖναι γάρ μοι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐγνώρισαν τελεώτερον οὐδὲ πρὶν ἀγνοούμενον· καὶ λόγους ἐπιζητῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκομισάμην· καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον ταῦτὸ πέπονθα τῷ Σαούλ, ὅς, τὰς ὄνους τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιζητῶν, βασιλείαν ἤρξατο, μείζον τοῦ ἔργου τὸ πάρεργον ἐμπορευσάμενος.

Er gesteht also, dass Athen die Heimatstadt der Rhetorik (oder die geeignete Erde für die Kultivierung der Rhetorik) ist, und in seinen Augen „golden“ ist, da er dieser das höchste Gut verdankt, das er erworben hat. Das ist allerdings nicht die rhetorische Ausbildung, die sein ursprüngliches Ziel war, sondern die enge Bekanntschaft und Freundschaft mit Basilios. Nachher aber lesen wir klar seine negative Meinung über das götzendienerische Athen (ibid. 21, 5, 1 – 6, 7): Εἶπω τι συντομώτερον· βλαβεραὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθῆναι τὰ εἰς ψυχὴν· ... καὶ γὰρ πλουτοῦσι τὸν κακὸν πλοῦτον, εἶδωλα, μᾶλλον τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ χαλεπὸν μὴ συναρπασθῆναι τοῖς τούτων ἐπαινέταις καὶ συνηγόροις· ἡμῖν δ' οὐδεμία παρὰ τούτων ζημία τὴν διάνοιαν πεπυκνωμένοις καὶ πεφραγμένοις. Τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν, εἴ τι χρὴ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, εἰς τὴν πίστιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐβεβαιώθημεν, καταμαθόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἀπατηλὸν καὶ κίβδηλον, ἐνταῦθα δαυμόνων καταφρονήσαντες, οὗ θαυμάζονται δαίμονες.

Trotz dieser seiner Meinung hat er von der Stadt Athen und seinen Kommilitonen und Lehrern nur mit unbeschreiblichem Schmerz Abschied genommen (ibid. 24, 1, 3 – 2, 3): ἔδει δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπανόδου καὶ βίου τελεωτέρου καὶ τοῦ λαβέσθαι τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἡμῖν καὶ συγκεκμημένων. Παρῇν ἡ τῆς ἐκδημίας ἡμέρα καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἐκδημίας· ἐξιτήριοι λόγοι, προπόμπιοι, ἀνακλήσεις, οἰμωγαί, περιπλοκαί, δάκρυα. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως οὐδενὶ λυπηρόν, ὥς τοῖς ἐκεῖσε συννόμοις Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἀλλήλων τέμνεσθαι. Das Verb τέμνεσθαι ist sehr charakteristisch, da es die Zerteilung eines Körpers bezeichnet.

In einem Grabepigramm auf Basilios ruft er, wie oben, Athen an (Anth. Graeca VIII, 8, 1–2):

ὦ μῦθοι, ὦ ξυνὸς φιλῆς δόμος, ὦ φίλ' Ἀθῆναι,
ὦ θεῖου βίотου τηλόθε συνθεσῖαι³⁰.

Hier darf das Adjektiv φίλαι, auf Grund seiner Verwendung in der epischen Sprache, auch durch „mein eigenes“ (d.h. „mein Athen!“) wiedergegeben werden.

Die Athener nennt er wiederum „viel besungen“ (Carm. mor., de virtute 293): Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀοιδίμων³¹.

Schließlich nennt er Athen an zwei Stellen seiner Gedichte „Ruhm Griechenlands“ (Carmina de se ipso. PG 37, 977 und Carm. quae ad alios spectant. PG 37, 1554): Ἑλλάδος εὖχος, Ἀθῆναι.

Anders als bei Gregorios, sind die Stellen bei Basilios, in denen er von Athen spricht, wenig: Gregorios weist in seiner Grabrede auf Basilios hin,

30 Hrsg. BECKBY, Bd 2.

31 PG 37, 701.

dass dieser –zutiefst enttäuscht von Athen– es κενὴν μακαρίαν nannte, weil er dabei nicht das gefunden, was er erhofft hatte. Er, Gregorios, war es, der ihn ermunterte, nicht wegzulaufen, sondern sein Studium fortzusetzen. Trotzdem verbindet er später in einem Brief aus Kaisareia das Lob auf Libanios mit dem Lob auf Athen und schliesst Athen in denselben wundervollen Ausruf ein, neben den Musen und der Rhetorik (sehr ähnlich dem Gregorios, s. oben) (Epist. 353, 1–7, An Libanios): ὦ Μοῦσαι καὶ Λόγοι καὶ Ἀθῆναι, οἷα τοῖς ἐρασταῖς δωρεῖσθε. Οἷους κομίζονται τοὺς καρποὺς οἱ βραχύν τινα χρόνον ὑμῖν συγγινόμενοι. ὦ πηγῆς πολυχέυμονος, οἷους ἔδειξε τοὺς ἀρρομένους³².

Wenn wiederum Libanios, indem er den attischen Sprachstil der Briefe des Basilios bewundert, ihm schreibt (Bas. M. Epist. 355, 1, 1–2): Ἄρα, Βασίλειε, μὴ τὰς Ἀθήνας οἰκεῖς καὶ λέλνθας σεαυτόν; antwortet er bescheiden, dass das ἀττικίζειν für ihn etwas Unerreichbares sei, aber zugleich etwas, was er nicht anstrebt (Epist. 356, 1, 2–4): Τί γὰρ ἂν εἴπομεν πρὸς οὕτως ἀττικίζουσαν γλῶσσαν; πλὴν, ὅτι ἀλιέων εἰμὶ μαθητῆς ὁμολογῶ καὶ φιλῶ.

Die Erwähnungen Athens bei Libanios kann man unmöglich in einem kurzen Artikel ausreichend behandeln; vielmehr wäre dies Thema für eine Dissertation. Trotzdem sei erwähnt, wegen seiner Originalität, der Ausdruck „Stern von Hellas“ (Epist. 947, 4, 2–6): Ἰλάριον δὲ μακάριον ἐπέρχεται μοι καλεῖν ὁψόμενον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, τὰς τε ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ... καὶ τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν ἀστέρα δὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν³³. An derselben Stelle hält er Athen, zusammen mit anderen Städten, für τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον.

Derselbe Rhetor gesteht an anderer Stelle: (Epist. 10, 1, 3–5): ἐγὼ δὲ ἐρασθῆναι ὁμολογῶ Βηρυτοῦ μὲν διὰ πολλά, Ἀθηνῶν δὲ διὰ πάντα³⁴.

Er hält für glücklich jeden, dem es vergönnt war, lange in Athen zu leben, während er meint, sein Aufenthalt dort sei kurz wie ein Traum gewesen. (Epist. 1479, 1, 1 – 2, 3): Παλαιὸν ἐταῖρον αὖθις ὄψει τὸν πρᾶτότατον Σευῆρον, ὃς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπολέλαυκεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν ὀνείρασι ταχέως ἀπήλθομεν, ὁ δ' εἰδώς, ὅσον τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρει τὸ χωρίον, μακρὰν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐποίησε. καὶ γέγονέν οἱ πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρ' ἐκείνου καρπός. καρπὸς δὲ ἐκείθεν οὐ λόγοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοι, δι' οὓς πᾶσαν γῆν ἔχει τῆς πατρίδος οὐ χείρω³⁵. Nach Libanios bot Athen den jungen Leuten nicht nur die Möglichkeit zu studieren, sondern auch Freundschaften anzuknüpfen, und dies machte Athen in ihren Augen gleichwürdig oder sogar erhabener als ihre Heimat.

Ziemlich bekannt ist die Stelle, wo Libanios erwähnt, dass nicht einmal

32 Hrsg. Y. COURTONE, 3.

33 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 10.

34 Ibid.

35 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 11.

die Versprechung einer reichen Heirat ihn davon abhalten konnte, nach Athen zu reisen. (Or.³⁶ 1, 12, 17–19): ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθον, οἶμαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ θεῖον ὑπεριδεῖν ἂν γάμον πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηνῶν καπνόν.

Eine der eindrucksvollsten Lobreden auf Athen enthält der Πολεμαρχικός des Rhetors Himerios (VI, 44–58): τῇ πόλει δὲ καθαρὸν ἀπανταχόθεν τὸ τῆς εὐγενείας ἐγκώμιον, ὅτι μηδὲ πρὸ Ἀθηνῶν ἑτέρα πόλις ἢ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τὸ συναμφοτέρων ἢ φύσις ἔδειξεν, ἐπὶ μὲν γῆς πόλιν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις τὸν ἄνθρωπον. τοιγαροῦν ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστα καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμοις ἐξεύρηται, τούτων ἀπάντων δικαίως ἂν ἡγεμὼν ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν ἐπιφημίζοιτο. ἅτε γὰρ ὁμιλήσασα πρώτη θεοῖς, εἰκότως καὶ πρώτη τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξήγγειλεν. ἄρχεται δὲ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀπὸ πρώτων τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ποιησαμένη τούτων τὴν εὐρεσιν.

Laut Himerios bedeutet Athener zu sein so viel wie ein freier Man zu sein (VII, 19–23): Ἐδώκατέ μοι παῖδα δι' Ἀττικοῦ γένους, λάβετε τοῦτον καὶ διὰ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλεύθερον ... ἵνα ὡς Ἀθηναῖος –ἴσον γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐλεύθερος– καὶ λέγη καὶ γράφῃ παρ' ὑμῖν ... καὶ πολιτεύεται.

Anders als die Dichter hält Himerios Athen für Wohnsitz der Musen (IX, 252–255): ἦγαγον δ' ἂν ἐκ μὲν Ἀθηνῶν τὰς Μούσας –ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς μέφομαι, ὅποταν αὐτὰς ἀποσυλῶντες τῆς πόλεως, Βοιωτῶν <εἶναι> ἀπισχυρίζονται.

Wie Libanios so verbirgt auch Himerios seine Liebe für Athen nicht (XII, 55–57): ὦ φίλη πατρίς, νῦν σε ὄντως ἀδικήσας αἰσθάνομαι, τοὺς σοὺς ὑπεριδὼν ἔρωτας, ἐραστῇ θέλων ἀπίστω πάντα χαρίσασθαι.

Bezüglich der Athener glaubt er, dass sie sich am meisten in der Tugend der Wohltätigkeit auszeichnen (XXV, 53–55): δικαιοσύνη μὲν τὸ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν καλόν, φιλανθρωπία δὲ δείκνυσιν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαίρετον.

Mit diesem Urteil stimmt auch der Imperator Julianos ein und fügt hinzu, dass die Athener auch φιλόθεοι sind (Misopogon 18, 7–13): Ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνων Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτους· καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν πᾶσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἔχω δὲ εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, καθόλου μὲν Ἑλληνες πάντες, αὐτῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πλέον τοῦτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίοις³⁷.

Ein besonderes Kennzeichen der Stadt ist laut Himerios die Rhetorik (XXXIX Πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν 23–25): οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς παραπλεύσαμεν <ἂν> ἀρετῆς τοσαύτης πόλιν γέμουσαν· οὐ γὰρ Ἀττικὸν τὸ σιγᾶν οὐδὲ τῆς λάλου πόλεως ἄξιον.

36 Hrsg. FÖRSTER, Bd 1.

37 Hrsg. C. LACOMBRADÉ, L'empereur Julien. Oeuvres complètes 2.2.

Athen bringt hochgebildete Personen, aber in erster Linie wahre Menschen hervor (Himerios LXVIII, 6–9): ἵππος δεικνύει τὸν Θετταλόν, τὸν δὲ Κελτὸν κόμην, τὸν Μῆδον τράπεζα, τὸν Δελφὸν δάφνη, τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ὁ πόλεμος· καρπὸς δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

An dieser Stelle, bewusst von dem Thema abweichend, möchte ich erwähnen, dass Himerios, obwohl offensichtlich verliebt in die Stadt Athen, auch über Konstantinopel Lob zu sagen weiss, vielleicht sogar in höherer Weise als über Athen:

(XLI, 29–45): ὦ τὸν ἐλεύθερον πυρσὸν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ἀνάψασα· ὦ τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ὠδίνας καὶ κυψαμένην καὶ λύσασα· ὦ κρείττονα τόκον καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μητροπόλεως φήναςα· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κέκροψ τὸ πρῶτον βλάστημα –οὔπω καθαρὸς ὁ Κέκροψ ἄνθρωπος, ὅτε τὰς ἐκ λαγόνων σπείρας τῆς μητρὸς εἶχεν, οὔπω τὴν γλῶτταν Ἀττικὰ φθεγγομένην–, τὸ σὸν δὲ ἄρα ἔκ τινος φύσεως ἀκηράτου συγκείμενον· τύχης γὰρ δῆπου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄκρας ἡ σύνοδος, οὐκ ἀφ’ ἡμισείας μοίρας ἀλλ’ ὀλοκλήρου συνυφηνάμενης ἐκατέρας οἶμαι τὴν γένεσιν. Δῆλον μὲν δὴ τὴν νῆσον λαχοῦσαν τὰς θείας ὠδίνας Ἀπόλλωνος, ἅπασαι λύραι ὦδὴν καὶ μέλος πεποίνηται, καὶ ταῦτα νῆσον ὀλίγην, μικροῦ κρυπτομένην τοῖς κύμασι· σὲ δὲ οὐδὲ νῆσον, οὐδέ τινα πόλιν, ἃς οὕτω καλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ’ ἥπειρον ὅλην ὀλίγου δεῖν πόλιν ποιήσασαν, τίς ποιητῆς ἢ λόγων συνθέτης οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑμνήσειε; θαυμάζω μὲν σου καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα καὶ τέθηπα. Am Ende dieser Rede spürt er sogar, dass er (wegen des Charms, den Konstantinopel auf ihn ausübt) die Kontrolle über seine Worte verloren hat, und diese Gefahr laufen, wie die Lotus-fresser für immer dort zu bleiben (XLI, 169–172): ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἔρωσι παραχωρήσας, τοὺς λόγους ἄμετρα σκιρτῶντας περὶ τὴν ἐρωμένην αἰσθάνομαι, καὶ δέδοικα, μὴ περὶ αὐτὴν βραδύνοντες Λωτοφάγων τινῶν λήθην ἐξαίφνης ἀλλάττωνται.

Mit Worten des Himerios möchte ich auch diesen Beitrag schliessen³⁸: εἴρηται οὖν κάμοι τῆς μὲν ὑποθέσεως ἴσως ἔλαττον, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν οὐκ ἐλάττονα. διόπερ τίνδε μὲν τὴν φιλοτησίαν ὥς ὀλίγα φέρουσιν τὰ νῦν δέξασθε· εἰ δὲ θεὸς ποτε δοίη ἐπάνοδον, ὥσπερ νῦν πρὸ τῆς βασιλίδος τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λῆξιν, οὕτω πάλιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου αὐθις τὴν Κέκροπος προσφθέγγομαι.

Democritus Universität Thrakiens

38 Vgl. Himerios VI, 363–364.

ELISA BAZZECHI

Alarico ad Atene?*

Il presente contributo vuole occuparsi di un avvenimento che nel campo degli studi su Atene viene considerato come una realtà storica indiscutibile, un punto fermo nelle vicende della città in epoca tardo antica: l'attacco dei Goti di Alarico nel 396 d.C.¹. Se negli ultimi anni si assiste alla generale tendenza a rivalutare l'impatto delle invasioni barbariche, mettendo in discussione il loro valore di spartiacque storici dell'epoca tardo antica², anche nel caso di Atene più di un dubbio è stato sollevato sugli attacchi subiti dalla città e sul loro significato. Nella monografia di Alison Frantz – ancora l'unica a fornire una panoramica dello sviluppo della città dal III al VII sec. da un punto di vista archeologico³ – la storia tardo antica di Atene era scandita dalle invasioni di Eruli, Goti, Vandali e Slavi, accompagnate da altrettanti periodi di crisi economica e urbana e da riprese più o meno veloci e durature. Riguardo all'attacco erulo, la pubblicazione del 1994 "Post Herulian Athens", edita dallo storico finlandese Paavo Castrén⁴ e diversi studi di Isabella Baldini usciti a partire dalla metà degli anni '90⁵ hanno iniziato a mettere in dubbio la portata dell'invasione del 267, considerata fino a quel momento l'evento che avrebbe segnato per Atene l'inizio di un'inarrestabile decadenza. Molti dei danni imputati al sacco erulo venivano dagli studiosi finlandesi attribuiti ai Goti di Alarico⁶. Quest'ultimo evento è stato oggetto di recenti contributi, che partendo dall'analisi della documentazione archeologica o delle fonti letterarie, hanno cercato di gettare luce sull'impatto che l'invasione ebbe sulla Grecia e su Atene in particolare: Charalambos Bouras riprendeva in un articolo del

* Ringrazio sentitamente Helen Saradi per avermi permesso di pubblicare il contributo, nonostante la mia mancata partecipazione al convegno per problemi di salute e per avermi indicato l'importante contributo di Evangelos Chrysos sul tema. Ringrazio, inoltre, mio marito, Marcel Danner, per la lettura e la correzione del testo.

1 Se non indicato diversamente tutte le datazioni sono intese dopo Cristo.

2 In generale sul tema vedi J. LIPPS *et al.* (edd.), *The Sack of Rome in 410 AD. The Event, its Context and its Impact. Proceedings of the Conference held at the German Archeological Institute at Rome, 04–06 November 2010*. Wiesbaden 2013, con bibliografia.

3 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity*. Una pubblicazione sullo sviluppo topografico di Atene in età tardo antica e bizantina a cura di Isabella Baldini e dell'autrice è in corso di preparazione.

4 CASTRÉN, *Post-Herulian Athens*.

5 I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La monumentalizzazione tardoantica di Atene, *Ostraka* 4 (1995) 169–190; EADEM, Sistema palaziale ed edifici amministrativi in età protobizantina. Il settore settentrionale dell'Agora di Atene. *Ocnus* 11 (2003) 9–23; I. BALDINI, L'architettura urbana come spazio politico e sociale, in: *Potere e politica nell'età della famiglia teodosiana (395–455). I linguaggi dell'impero, le identità dei barbari* (edd. I. BALDINI – S. COSENTINO). Bari 2013, 65–85; EADEM, *Atene: la città cristiana*.

6 CASTRÉN, *General aspects of life* 9; IDEM, *Paganism and Christianity* 215 s. n. 22.

2012 le posizioni di Alison Frantz, attribuendo all'invasione del 396 l'incendio del Partenone e la mutilazione intenzionale delle metope⁷; di segno diverso, invece, è il lavoro di Ine Jacobs, che analizzando le fonti archeologiche e letterarie sull'attacco di Alarico ad Atene e Corinto, arriva alla conclusione che nella città attica i danni materiali furono limitati e l'impatto economico praticamente nullo⁸. Nella stessa direzione si muove la recentissima analisi storica di Evangelos Chrysos, che mette in luce la problematicità e la parzialità delle fonti letterarie relative all'accaduto e si interroga sulle vere intenzioni dei Goti, che, lungi dal voler stabilire un potentato nel Peloponneso, cercavano con il beneplacito della parte orientale dell'impero, di stabilirsi sul suolo greco⁹. Le osservazioni che presento si inseriscono nella scia tracciata dagli ultimi due contributi citati: in primo luogo verranno analizzate le testimonianze letterarie sull'evento in questione e poi i dati archeologici. L'articolo di Chrysos rappresenta un importante sostegno nell'approccio alle fonti letterarie, tra cui farò in particolare riferimento alle *Vite dei Filosofi e Sofisti* di Eunapio di Sardi, redatte in un momento molto vicino alla vicenda che qui ci interessa; riguardo alla documentazione archeologica posso avvalermi di una dettagliata analisi condotta sullo sviluppo topografico di Atene dal III al VII sec., basata su tutto il materiale edito che mi è stato possibile reperire sul tema¹⁰. La domanda posta al materiale archeologico è, inoltre, diversa da quella formulata dalla Jacobs e, in generale, nei contributi che finora si sono occupati del tema: nel tentativo di dare una valutazione sulla presenza dei Goti ad Atene nel 396 ci si chiede se, avendo a disposizione fonti letterarie in contrasto tra di loro, sia legittimo interrogare le testimonianze archeologiche in cerca di una conferma o di una smentita. Possono i dati archeologici dirci se Alarico e i suoi Goti presero Atene nel 396 e cosa accadde in questa circostanza¹¹?

Le fonti letterarie sull'attacco di Alarico

Prima di occuparci delle fonti che trattano esplicitamente della discesa dei Goti in Acaia e della presa di numerose città, tra cui Atene, è forse utile riassumere brevemente il quadro storico di riferimento. Le ostilità con i Goti, incalzati dall'arrivo degli Unni e spinti ai confini dell'impero romano nell'ultimo quarto del IV sec., si erano concluse con gli accordi stipulati tra

7 BOURAS, *Alaric* 1–6.

8 JACOBS, *Prosperity* 69–89.

9 E. CHRYSOS, *Haben die Barbaren die Nationalgötter Griechenlands zerstört?*, in: *Neue Wege der Frühmittelalter-Forschung, Bilanz und Perspektive* (edd. W. POHL *et al.*). Vienna 2018, 43–58.

10 Tale analisi è stata condotta per la mia tesi di dottorato, realizzata dal 2010 al 2014 alle università di Colonia e Bologna.

11 Il merito di aver sollevato tale questione e aver messo in luce la problematicità delle informazioni che il dato archeologico può fornirci su un singolo evento ben circoscritto nel tempo si deve al già citato volume edito da Lipps, Machado e von Rummel. Vedi anche più avanti.

il 379 e il 382, attraverso i quali Teodosio I inaugurava una nuova politica di integrazione, consentendo ai barbari di insediarsi all'interno dell'impero nella regione tra il Danubio e i Balcani, in cambio della difesa della zona di confine e del reclutamento di guerrieri per l'esercito imperiale¹². I Goti non potevano provvedere autonomamente al loro sostentamento, assicurato dal potere imperiale attraverso la tassazione delle terre in cui erano acquartierati e da un contributo annuo¹³. La convivenza con la popolazione civile e con le istituzioni romane, l'insoddisfazione per un trattamento che poteva apparire inadeguato sfociarono più volte in tensioni e conflitti aperti: sembra che già negli anni '80 del IV sec. la Macedonia e Tessaglia fossero spesso interessate da incursioni a scopo di saccheggio¹⁴. La situazione dei Goti si fece precaria in seguito alla morte di Teodosio nel 395: urgeva, infatti, la stipulazione di nuovi accordi che regolassero la loro presenza all'interno del territorio romano¹⁵. La pressione esercitata dai barbari, che giunsero dopo azioni di saccheggio in Tracia fino alle mura di Costantinopoli, spinse il prefetto del pretorio d'Oriente, Rufino, ad un accordo con Alarico. Del contenuto di tale "contratto", probabilmente avvenuto solo in forma orale, nulla ci viene purtroppo tramandato dalle fonti letterarie; Chrysos ipotizza però in maniera convincente, che l'insediamento dei Goti in Grecia venisse visto con accondiscendenza. Su questo sfondo storico si inserisce la marcia di Alarico e dei suoi: con l'obiettivo di trovare una terra in cui insediarsi, i Goti si diressero nel 395 verso il Peloponneso; l'Acaia con le sue ricche città e santuari poteva offrire durante il tragitto la possibilità di un bottino consistente per assicurare il loro sostentamento; dall'altra parte il saccheggio rimaneva nelle mani di Alarico uno strumento di pressione sull'imperatore per ottenere condizioni migliori per i suoi e un incarico prestigioso per sé stesso¹⁶. Zosimo ci informa sul loro tragitto¹⁷: dopo aver attraversato le Termopili senza trovare resistenza, Alarico e i suoi raggiunsero la Beozia e poi Atene, per passare successivamente l'istmo e attaccare Corinto e i dintorni di questa città. I Goti scesero in seguito

12 P. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans 332–489*. Oxford 1991, 165–181; IDEM, La migrazione dei Goti: dalla Scandinavia alla Tracia, in: *Roma e i Barbari* (ed. J. AILLAGON). Milano–Venezia 2008, 240; U. ROBERTO, Teodosio e i Barbari, *ibid.* 244; per la politica teodosiana nei confronti dei Goti vedi anche W. POHL, *Die Völkerwanderung. Eroberung und Integration*. Stuttgart 2005², 49–58; V. NERI, La politica di Teodosio nella storiografia dell'età della dinastia teodosiana, in: *Potere e politica nell'età della famiglia teodosiana (395–455). I linguaggi dell'impero, le identità dei barbari* (edd. I. BALDINI – S. COSENTINO). Bari 2013, 7–25; M. MEIER, *Der Völkerwanderung ins Auge blicken. Individuelle Handlungsspielräume im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Heiderlberg 2016.

13 POHL, *Völkerwanderung* 51.

14 Qui e di seguito HEATHER, *Goths* 201 s. Pare che alcune città di queste regioni avessero persino dovuto pagare un tributo, *ibid.* 152 s.; JACOBS, *Prosperity* 72.

15 Qui e di seguito CHRYSOS, *Barbaren* 46–50.

16 HEATHER, *Goths* 202–204; JACOBS, *Prosperity* 71; MEIER, *Völkerwanderung* 33 s.; CHRYSOS, *Barbaren* 49 s.

17 Zosimo V, 5–6 (ed. F. PASCHOUD).

nel Peloponneso e solo nell'estate del 397 furono respinti da Stilicone presso Elis e costretti a prendere la via del nord attraverso l'Epiro. A questo punto Alarico venne a patti con l'imperatore, che concesse ai Goti lo stanziamento in Macedonia e affidò a lui il comando delle truppe imperiali nell'Illirico¹⁸.

Le fonti letterarie che contengono informazioni riguardo al passaggio dei Goti in Acaia sono di diverso genere e cronologia, alcune contemporanee agli eventi narrati, altre successive. Claudiano, poeta attivo alla corte di Onorio, ci fornisce numerosi riferimenti in opere circa contemporanee all'accaduto: nella Contro Rufino¹⁹, redatta tra il 396 e il 397, nel Panegirico per il quarto consolato di Onorio del 398²⁰, nel poema contro Eutropio del 399²¹ e in quello dedicato alla vittoria di Stilicone contro Alarico a Pollenzia del 402²². Contemporanee agli eventi sono anche le testimonianze di San Girolamo in una lettera²³, di Eunapio di Sardi nelle Vite dei Filosofi e Sofisti²⁴, redatte probabilmente tra il 396 e il 399²⁵, e di Filostorgio nella sua Storia Ecclesiastica²⁶, conosciuta tuttavia solo nella più tarda epitome di Fozio. Il già citato passo di Zosimo ci fornisce il resoconto più esauriente giunto fino a noi, ma anche quello più lontano cronologicamente dall'accaduto, collocandosi la sua opera storica nel VI sec. Claudiano, San Girolamo, Filostorgio ed Eunapio tracciano un quadro a tinte fosche: i Goti avrebbero scorrazzato in Grecia come in uno stadio, provocando la rovina della regione, distruggendo, saccheggiando e uccidendo o prendendo in ostaggio parte della popolazione. Solo Claudiano²⁷ e Filostorgio²⁸, tuttavia, si riferiscono esplicitamente alla presa di Atene; San Girolamo parla di una generica situazione di paura per l'imperversare dei barbari in tutta la Grecia, mentre Eunapio tace completamente sulle sorti della città attica in questa

18 HEATHER, Goths 205; JACOBS, Prosperity 71 s.; MEIER, Völkerwanderung 35.

19 Vedi più avanti.

20 Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti, IV Hon. 461–504 (ed. J.-L. CHARLET, Claudien, Oeuvres II, 2, Poèmes Politiques. Parigi 2000).

21 In Eutropium 2, 196–201 (edd. T.E. PAGE *et al.*), Claudian. Londra 1956).

22 De Bello Gothico 188–193, 511–517, 610–615, 629–634 (edd. T.E. PAGE *et al.*, Claudian. Londra 1956).

23 Girolamo epist. 60, 16.30. *Quid putas nunc animi habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedaemonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Graeciam, quibus imperant barbari?* (ed. J. LABOURT, Saint Jérôme, Lettres III. Parigi 1953).

24 Eunapio soph. 476 (ed. M. CIVILETTI): ὅτε Ἀλλάριχος ἔχων τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τῶν Πυλῶν παρῆλθεν, ὥσπερ διὰ σταδίου καὶ ἵπποκρότου πεδίου τρέχων. Altrove l'autore allude alla distruzione dei templi e alla rovina di tutta la Grecia (soph. 475) e ricorda l'uccisione o la cattura da parte dei barbari di alcune persone da lui conosciute (soph. 482).

25 CIVILETTI, Eunapio 13.

26 Vedi più avanti.

27 Claudiano In Rufinum 2, 186–191 (ed. CHARLET, Claudien, Oeuvres II, 1): *Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset, prodita non tantas uidisset Gracia clades, oppida semoto Pelopeia Marte uigerent, starent Arcadiae, starent Lacedaemonis agri, non mare fumasset geminum flagrante Corintho nec fera Cecropias traxissent uincula matres.*

28 Filostorgio XII, 2 (edd. B. BLECKMANN – M. STEIN): Ἀλλάριχος... ἐπῆλθεν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἶλεν καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς προσεχεῖς Δαλμάτας ἐλπίσατο.

circostanza. Al contrario, a un certo punto sembra alludere al fatto che Atene sia scampata alla cattura, quando scrive che Ilario, filosofo da lui conosciuto durante il periodo di studi ateniese, fu preso e ucciso dai Goti insieme ai suoi servi “venendo trovato fuori da Atene (abitava, infatti, vicino a Corinto)”²⁹. Pare, quindi, che Ilario venisse ucciso “per il semplice fatto di trovarsi fuori da questa città”, testimonianza che anche secondo Civiletti parlerebbe contro la presa della città da parte dei barbari³⁰. Sull’invasione dell’Acaia, Eunapio doveva trattare esaustivamente nella sua opera storica, che copriva un arco cronologico di più di un secolo, dal 270 al 404, ma che ci è pervenuta solo in stato frammentario³¹. Dell’opera storica dello scrittore di Sardi fece ampio uso proprio Zosimo, che riguardo all’atteggiamento dei Goti nei confronti delle città greche riporta una testimonianza diametralmente opposta rispetto a quelle sopra citate. Una volta giunto alle porte di Atene, infatti, Alarico sarebbe stato spaventato dalla comparsa di Atena e Achille sulle mura e avrebbe, di conseguenza, rinunciato all’attacco, inviando, invece, ambasciatori alla città, da cui fu accolto benevolmente e colmato di doni³². L’intera Attica fu risparmiata e anche le città del Peloponneso patteggiarono con gli invasori, evitando così un attacco violento.

Come spiegare la contraddittorietà delle fonti su questo evento? Sia la Jacobs che Chrysos hanno giustamente osservato che alcune delle testimonianze a noi pervenute e contemporanee all’accaduto non sono contenute in un’opera storica: Claudiano era un poeta desideroso di elogiare le gesta dell’imperatore Onorio e del generale Stilicone³³. Non sorprende, quindi, che nei suoi poemi i barbari siano descritti secondo il *topos* letterario come efferati autori di saccheggi e distruzioni: più devastante risulta l’azione dei Goti, maggiormente risaltano, infatti, le virtù del generale Stilicone, che li combatté e vinse³⁴. La testimonianza di San Girolamo, che, come abbiamo visto, parla comunque solo di una generica situazione di sciagura in Grecia, sembra dipendere proprio dall’opera di Claudiano³⁵. Anche l’opera di Filostorgio, seppur storica, è impregnata della celebrazione di Teodosio come restauratore dell’ordine dopo

29 Eunapio soph. 482.

30 CIVILETTI, Eunapio 556.

31 Ibid. 58.

32 Zosimo V, 5–6: ἐπιὼν Ἀλλάριχος πανστρατιᾷ τῇ πόλει τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἑώρα περικοστοῦσαν τὴν πρόμαχον Ἀθηνᾶν, ὥς ἔστιν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ὥπλισμένην καὶ οἶον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἀνθίστασθαι μέλλουσαν, τοῖς δὲ τεύχεσι προεστῶτα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τὸν ἥρω... ταύτην Ἀλλάριχος τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν πάσης μὲν ἀπέστη κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγχειρήσεως, ἐπεκρηκεύετο δὲ... προσδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους ὄρκους τε λαβόντων καὶ δόντων, εἰσήει σὺν ὀλίγοις Ἀλλάριχος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Τυχὼν δὲ φιλοφροσύνης ἀπάσης, λουσάμενός τε καὶ κοινωνήσας ἐστίασεως τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει λογάσι, καὶ προσέτι γε δῶρα λαβὼν, ἀπεχώρει τὴν τε πόλιν ἀβλαβῆ καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πᾶσαν καταλιπὼν.

33 JACOBS, Prosperity 70; CHRYSOS, Barbaren 46–48.

34 Vedi in proposito anche HEATHER, Goths 194.

35 JACOBS, Prosperity 69; CHRYSOS, Barbaren 47 s.

la minaccia barbarica³⁶. Molto spiacevole, risulta, quindi, la perdita dell'opera storica di Eunapio. Tuttavia, per quanto riguarda la presa di Atene, sia il passo sopra citato delle *Vite dei Filosofi e Sofisti* relativo alla morte di Ilario sia la testimonianza di Zosimo, fortemente dipendente dalle storie eunapiane, inducono a pensare che nella versione tramandata dall'autore di Sardi, Atene abbia scampato l'attacco grazie ai suoi divini protettori. Non c'è dubbio che anche l'opera eunapiana sia caratterizzata da una forte impalcatura ideologica, che condiziona la narrazione dei fatti: nelle *Vite dei Filosofi e Sofisti* la *paideia* ellenica, che dalla religione pagana trae la sua linfa vitale, viene presentata come l'unico faro culturale capace di contrastare la degenerazione dei tempi, causata dalla cristianizzazione dell'impero e dalla politica di integrazione dei barbari promossa da Valente e Teodosio I, verso la quale Eunapio si pone in aperta polemica³⁷. La devastante invasione dei Goti in Grecia non può, quindi, che rientrare nella prospettiva provvidenzialistica di Eunapio a completare il fosco quadro della politica estera e religiosa di Teodosio I. Se è vero che i santuari greci devono aver rappresentato per i Goti una facile e ricca preda, la "morte dei santuari dell'Ellade" di cui parla Eunapio in occasione dell'incursione di Alarico non dovrebbe, come già osservato da Civiletti, essere interpretata semplicisticamente come una conseguenza dei saccheggi, bensì come effetto della politica imperiale in senso più ampio³⁸. Atene sola, che della *paideia* ellenica e della religione pagana è il simbolo, poteva resistere all'incursione barbarica. Sembra, così, probabile che la dimensione religiosa che permea la narrazione storica di Zosimo a proposito dell'arrivo di Alarico ad Atene sia mutuata interamente da Eunapio³⁹.

A chi credere allora? Ancora una volta Ine Jacobs ha formulato a questo proposito un'intelligente osservazione a cui sento di associarmi⁴⁰: se teniamo presente che i Goti non erano un gruppo di sbandati, ma un esercito confederato, le cui incursioni nel territorio romano erano fondamentalmente dettate dalla necessità di sostentamento e che, quindi, potevano trarre maggior guadagno dalla richiesta di un tributo alle città greche, piuttosto che dall'attacco e dalla

36 NERI, Teodosio 9.

37 Qui e di seguito per le intenzioni sottese all'opera vedi CIVILETTI, Eunapio 13–56; CHRYSOS, *Barbaren* 51 s.

38 CIVILETTI, Eunapio 29; CHRYSOS, *Barbaren* 52.

39 PASCHOUD, *Histoire*, vol. V, 95.

40 JACOBS, *Prosperity* 73 s. L'autrice si associa, tuttavia, all'ipotesi della FRANTZ (*Late Antiquity* 52) secondo la quale, alcune testimonianze archeologiche parlerebbero a favore di un attacco violento da parte dei Goti ad Atene. Queste ultime e le fonti letterarie potrebbero essere conciliate ipotizzando la devastazione dell'area posta all'interno delle mura temistocleo-valeriane; Alarico e i suoi, tuttavia, si sarebbero fermati di fronte al circuito interno, il cd. Post-herulian Wall, datato tradizionalmente alla fine del III sec., che proteggeva l'Acropoli e l'area subito a nord di essa. Sul circuito interno si potrebbe immaginare la comparsa di Atena ed Achille – o meglio di qualcuno nelle loro vesti – descritta da Zosimo. La stessa ipotesi è accettata da PASCHOUD (*Histoire*, vol. V, 94–96).

distruzione, la versione di Zosimo appare, tutto sommato, la più credibile.

Le testimonianze archeologiche sull'attacco di Alarico ad Atene

Alison Frantz per prima si è occupata sistematicamente da un punto di vista archeologico dell'invasione di Alarico ad Atene, riconoscendo in alcuni orizzonti di distruzione e/o abbandono individuati in particolare nello scavo di alcuni monumenti dell'agorà le tracce del passaggio dei Goti. Diversi studiosi si sono successivamente associati alle sue osservazioni e anche l'invasione di Alarico, come quella degli Eruli, è diventata un evento "comodo" a cui attribuire orizzonti di distruzione che da un punto di vista cronologico possono più o meno essere datati al 396⁴¹. La Frantz riconduce all'attacco dei Goti la distruzione di alcuni edifici presso l'angolo nord-occidentale dell'agorà: la stoa meridionale lungo la Via Panatenaica, la Stoa di Zeus Eleutherios, il tempio di Apollo Patroos e, probabilmente, almeno il danneggiamento della Stoa Basileios e della Stoa Poikile. Il procedere delle indagini nell'agorà ha aggiunto un altro paio di strutture a questa lista, sempre collocate nelle vicinanze dei monumenti ora citati: il tempietto cd. di Afrodite Urania, il Classical Commercial Building e un impianto termale di età imperiale. La Jacobs annovera tra gli edifici caduti vittima dell'attacco del 396 anche il Bau Y, situato nel Ceramico interno a ridosso delle mura di fortificazione a sud della Porta Sacra⁴². Immediatamente a sud del Bau Y si trovavano installazioni artigianali che potrebbero essere state distrutte in occasione dell'attacco dei Goti⁴³. In altre zone della città, gli scavi di emergenza condotti dalle istituzioni greche hanno individuato un altro paio di strutture, per cui è stata ipotizzata la distruzione o il danneggiamento in seguito all'invasione gota: si tratta di una casa scoperta nella Plaka in Odos Kekropos, di strutture sempre a carattere abitativo scavate all'incrocio tra Odos Iouliou Smith 21 e Odos Aiginetou, del grande impianto termale di III sec. scoperto in Platea Syntagma e di un lussuoso edificio, probabilmente a carattere residenziale, posto in antico subito fuori dal tratto orientale delle mura temistocleo-valeriane, scavato in Odos Irodou Attikou. Anche l'incendio che danneggiò fortemente il Partenone e rese necessario il restauro della cella, l'ultimo dell'età antica ancora funzionale all'utilizzo dell'edificio come tempio, è stato da alcuni attribuito ai Goti⁴⁴.

L'analisi degli orizzonti di abbandono rinvenuti negli edifici menzionati, tuttavia, rivela che per molti di essi l'ipotesi di una distruzione violenta da

41 Qui e di seguito FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 49–56; le sue opinioni sono seguite da CASTRÉN, *Athens*, BOURAS, *Alaric* e JACOBS, *Prosperity* 76–78.

42 Ibid. 77.

43 Per queste strutture e quelle citate di seguito vedi più avanti.

44 A. FRANTZ, *Did Julian the Apostate rebuild the Parthenon?* *AJA* 83 (1979) 395–401; KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon* 27; BOURAS, *Alaric*, che attribuisce all'attacco dei Goti anche la mutilazione delle metope.

ricondere all'attacco del 396 non è necessaria, se non risulta addirittura improbabile.

Cominciamo la nostra rassegna con le strutture nel Ceramico interno. Nel Bau Y si erano installati nel III sec. forni per la cottura della ceramica, che smisero di funzionare quando lo spazio interno dell'edificio fu livellato per la sua ricostruzione⁴⁵. Tale ricostruzione può essere datata alla fine del IV/inizio del V sec. in base a rinvenimenti monetali effettuati in una fossa, coperta in occasione del livellamento, sotto e sopra i nuovi pavimenti⁴⁶. La Knigge e Rügler avevano in un primo momento ipotizzato che l'attacco dei Goti fosse responsabile per la distruzione dei forni e il successivo cambiamento funzionale dell'edificio⁴⁷. La fossa ricoperta dal livellamento, che conteneva oltre alle monete vasellame da cucina molto frammentario, potrebbe essere interpretata come *Opfergrube* e, di conseguenza, traccia del passaggio dei barbari⁴⁸. Lo studioso tedesco, tuttavia, torna su tale ipotesi in una pubblicazione successiva, non ritenendo necessario imputare all'attacco dei barbari il ripristino e il cambiamento funzionale della struttura: la fossa, scavata subito prima del restauro può essere, infatti, interpretata anche come fossa di fondazione; inoltre, il livellamento che precedette il ripristino ha eliminato qualsiasi eventuale traccia di distruzione, così che l'ipotesi manca di conferme⁴⁹. Le installazioni artigianali subito a sud del Bau Y furono distrutte e ricoperte da uno strato di scarti ceramici databili alla fine del IV/inizio del V sec. Ursula Knigge ritiene la loro distruzione imputabile sia all'attacco degli Eruli che a quello dei Goti⁵⁰.

Lo scavo della stoa che bordava il lato meridionale della Via Panatenaica ha fornito dati che sono stati da subito messi in relazione con l'attacco dei Goti⁵¹. All'interno di una fossa poco profonda, scavata contro la parete di uno dei vani della stoa, sono state rinvenute una testa di erma e otto monete, le più

45 Per il Bau Y vedi in generale U. KNIGGE – A. RÜGLER, Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos 1986/87. AA 1989, 81–99; U. KNIGGE *et al.*, Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos 1988/89. AA 1991, 371–388; J. STOSZECK, Der Kerameikos in Athen. Geschichte, Bauten und Denkmäler im archäologischen Park. Atene 2014, 117–120. Per le fasi tardo antiche vedi in particolare KNIGGE – RÜGLER 1989.

46 Le monete si datano tra il 383 e il 408. Vedi in proposito KNIGGE *et al.*, Ausgrabungen 89 s.

47 Ibid. 89.

48 Un'altra fossa contenente pesi da telaio, lucerne e vasellame comune, databile alla fine del IV/inizio del V sec., insieme a tracce di cenere e bruciato è stata rinvenuta nel corridoio tra il Bau Y e la Porta Sacra. Anch'essa sembra procedere immediatamente la pavimentazione del corridoio e potrebbe quindi essere interpretata sia come fossa di fondazione che come *Opfergrube*. Vedi in proposito KNIGGE *et al.*, Ausgrabungen 87.

49 A. RÜGLER, Die Datierung der "Hallenstrasse" und des "Festtores" im Kerameikos und Alarichs Besetzung Athens. MDAI AA 105, 290.

50 U. KNIGGE *et al.*, Kerameikos. Tätigkeitsbericht 1975/76. AA 1978, 48 s.

51 Per le indagini della stoa vedi T.L. SHEAR JR., The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970. *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 260 s.; IDEM, The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1972. *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 370–382; IDEM, Athens: From City-state to Provincial Town. *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 369.

tarde delle quali coniate negli anni '80 del IV sec.⁵². Esse non mostravano forti segni di consunzione; l'occultamento della testa pare, quindi, essere avvenuto poco tempo dopo la coniazione delle monete. Ai margini della fossa sono state individuate tracce di bruciato; strati contenenti cenere e bruciato sono stati trovati un po' dappertutto anche sopra i pavimenti della struttura. Gli scavatori registrano il rinvenimento in associazione agli strati di distruzione di monete coniate negli anni '80 e '90 del IV sec. Shear jr., responsabile delle indagini della stoa, non esitò a interpretare l'occultamento dell'erma come la testimonianza della paura in cui la notizia dell'arrivo dei Goti aveva gettato gli Ateniesi; i rinvenimenti monetali che suggeriscono che la stoa venne almeno gravemente danneggiata da un incendio alla fine del IV sec. ben si accordano con l'ipotesi di una distruzione del monumento in occasione dell'attacco del 396. I dati raccolti durante le indagini della stoa sembrano favorire l'ipotesi di un attacco violento dei Goti ad Atene. L'occultamento di sculture risulta essere una pratica piuttosto diffusa e attestata in occasioni di pericolo, come la paura di un'invasione imminente, e gli ateniesi dovevano essere stati avvertiti diverso tempo prima della discesa di Alarico e dei suoi⁵³. Per quanto riguarda l'incendio che distrusse la stoa, il suo collegamento con gli eventi del 396 è possibile, ma richiede comunque una certa cautela: in primo luogo, i rinvenimenti monetali forniscono solo un *terminus post quem* e non ci consentono di poter affermare che il fuoco che distrusse la stoa fu provocato dai barbari nel 396 piuttosto che dalla caduta accidentale di una lucerna nel 397; inoltre, la consistente presenza di monete della fine del IV sec. può essere un dato solo apparente: esemplari di piccole dimensioni conati all'inizio del V sec. e di più facile deterioramento potrebbero non essersi conservati o essere risultati illeggibili e falsamente datati⁵⁴.

Un altro gruppo di edifici la cui distruzione o il cui danneggiamento vengono collegati con l'attacco dei Goti si trova adiacente alla stoa meridionale lungo la Via Panatenaica, presso l'angolo nord-occidentale dell'agorà. La lettura dei resoconti di scavo però, non sembra favorire l'ipotesi di una distruzione violenta dei monumenti e la stessa datazione tradizionale del loro abbandono può essere messa in discussione. Alison Frantz parla di un riempimento intercettato sopra la Stoa di Zeus Eleutherios e il Tempio di Apollo Patroos, contenente elementi architettonici appartenenti ai due monumenti, materiali del IV sec. e lucerne in gran parte della prima metà del V sec.⁵⁵. Da una parte sembra che lo strato non fosse affidabile per numerose infiltrazioni successive, anche di epoca bizantina, dall'altra parte la studiosa americana parla del

52 Qui e di seguito IDEM, *Excavations of 1972* 380.

53 Vedi in proposito JACOBS, *Prosperity* 75 s.

54 In base a considerazioni di questo genere, i materiali dagli strati di distruzione attribuiti inizialmente all'attacco dei Goti a Corinto sono sottoposti a nuovi studi e al riesame dei ritrovamenti datanti. Vedi in proposito JACOBS, *Prosperity* 84 s. con bibliografia.

55 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 53 s.

rinvenimento in “uncontaminated spots” di 19 monete leggibili, tutte databili prima del 395 a parte tre, che sarebbero invece più tarde, la più tarda coniata tra 402 e il 408⁵⁶. Perché non è questa più tarda moneta, se reperita in un “uncontaminated spot”, a costituire il *terminus post quem* per l'abbandono delle strutture? Inoltre, la studiosa americana non parla di orizzonti di distruzione o tracce di bruciato, ma ammette, invece, che gli elementi architettonici della Stoa di Zeus Eleutherios furono rinvenuti in ottime condizioni di conservazione, ancora ricoperti di colore brillante⁵⁷. Il destino della Stoa Basileios viene dalla Frantz accomunato a quello dei due monumenti sopra citati: anche in questo caso, però, non sembra siano state rinvenute tracce di distruzione, ma un riempimento con materiali del V sec. sul pavimento dell'edificio, che suggerisce il suo abbandono in questo momento⁵⁸. Il danneggiamento della Stoa Poikile da parte dei Goti viene ipotizzato dalla Frantz sulla base di una testimonianza di Sinesio di Cirene, che parla in una lettera di una sua visita ad Atene, avvenuta probabilmente tra il 395 e il 399⁵⁹: il vescovo esprime la sua delusione per la città, che non è che l'ombra di quella di un tempo, e riferisce dell'asportazione dalla Stoa Poikile dei famosi dipinti di età classica da parte di un rapace governatore dell'Acaia. Secondo la studiosa americana, il deplorabile stato della città descritto da Sinesio sarebbe da attribuire alle distruzioni gotiche e solo il previo danneggiamento della Stoa Poikile avrebbe reso possibile una tale azione di rapina da parte del proconsole. È stato, tuttavia, già osservato che la disillusione del vescovo di Cirene vada fondamentalmente interpretata come un *topos* letterario e riferita agli studi filosofici ateniesi; inoltre, il suo resoconto risente probabilmente della rivalità tra le scuole di Atene e quelle di Alessandria, dove lui si era formato⁶⁰. Non è, inoltre, necessario, postulare il danneggiamento della Stoa Poikile per giustificare l'asportazione dei dipinti. Ci sono, invece, indizi che il monumento sia sopravvissuto ben oltre la fine del IV sec.: l'erezione di una stoa contro il suo muro occidentale nella prima metà del V sec. lascia supporre almeno una parziale conservazione dell'alzato⁶¹; il rinvenimento all'interno di un muro del tardo V sec. di alcuni frammenti attribuiti alla Poikile, che recavano ancora vive tracce di colore, parla a favore anche di una buona conservazione delle sue membrature architettoniche fino

56 Ibid. 54.

57 Ibid. 53 (“their surfaces fresh, their colors bright”). Vedi in proposito anche H.A. THOMPSON, *Buildings on the West Side of the Agora*. *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 23.76–77; THOMPSON – WYCHERLEY, *The Agora of Athens* 210.

58 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 54 s. Vedi in proposito anche THOMPSON – WYCHERLEY, *The Agora of Athens* 210.

59 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 55 s. Per il passo di Sinesio vedi epist. 56. Del viaggio ad Atene viene fatta menzione anche in epist. 136.

60 Vedi in proposito l'analisi condotta da RHOBY, *Synesios* 85–96 e CHRYSOS, *Barbaren* 51 nota 47.

61 Per la stoa vedi T.L. SHEAR JR., *The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980–1982*. *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 15–17; FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 56.

allo smontaggio⁶². Come ho cercato di dimostrare altrove, credo piuttosto che l'abbandono degli edifici citati possa inserirsi all'interno di un processo di dismissione del patrimonio monumentale dell'agorà fortemente legato alla storia ateniese, che ha luogo tra la fine del IV e l'inizio del V sec.⁶³. In questo momento, infatti, scompaiono le attestazioni di quella aristocrazia ben documentata nelle fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche, che nel corso del IV sec. coniugava l'impegno retorico e politico, agiva attivamente per il mantenimento delle istituzioni cittadine e coltivava fortemente la memoria storica ateniese⁶⁴. Questa aristocrazia doveva, a mio avviso, ancora identificarsi con l'agorà e i suoi monumenti ed era, verosimilmente, anche responsabile del loro mantenimento. La sua scomparsa dai tradizionali media di comunicazione, come le epigrafi onorarie, e il conseguente distacco che probabilmente si venne a creare con l'agorà come luogo di rappresentazione avviene di pari passo con l'abbandono di molti monumenti-simbolo della storia ateniese. Subito dopo, nel secondo quarto del V sec., l'agorà è oggetto di un'attività edilizia che ne cambia radicalmente il volto e illustra bene il cambiamento dei luoghi dove ora si gestisce il potere: sulla pubblica piazza viene eretta una residenza, probabilmente appartenuta alla famiglia dell'imperatrice di origine ateniese, Eudocia. Significativo è che gli elementi architettonici della Stoa di Zeus, ancora in ottime condizioni, furono riutilizzati per l'erezione degli edifici che sorsero sulla piazza contemporaneamente al palazzo e che erano probabilmente ad esso collegati. La dismissione dei vecchi monumenti e il loro reimpiego dovettero seguire a breve distanza l'uno dall'altra.

Riguardo agli altri edifici presso l'angolo nord-occidentale dell'agorà, sembra che il lussuoso impianto termale, ancora indagato solo in parte, sia andato distrutto a causa di un incendio alla fine del IV sec.⁶⁵. Tuttavia, è necessario ipotizzare un'invasione violenta da parte dei Goti per giustificare l'incendio di un tale edificio, che data la sua estensione doveva essere dotato di più ambienti caldi, alimentati da altrettante fornaci? Il destino delle strutture legate al santuario cd. di Afrodite Urania e del Classical Commercial Building appare ancora più incerto: i gradini del tempietto di epoca imperiale furono inglobati all'inizio del V sec. in una poderosa fondazione in cementizio: in questo momento la sovrastruttura dell'edificio non doveva più esistere, ma non

62 Per il muro vedi H.A. THOMPSON, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora*: 1949. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 327–329; FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 81; per i frammenti attribuiti alla Stoa Poikile vedi L.S. MERITT, *The Stoa Poikile*. *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 233–264; J.M. CAMP, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora*: 2002–2007. *Hesperia* 76 (2008) 650.

63 BAZZECHI, *Das Stadtzentrum* 218–229. Un altro caso interessante a questo proposito è quello della Tholos, anch'essa abbandonata alla fine del IV/inizio del V sec.

64 Qui e di seguito vedi BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *Sistema palaziale* 9–23; BALDINI, *architettura urbana*; BAZZECHI, *Athenian Identity* 467–474; BALDINI, *Città cristiana*; BAZZECHI, *Stadtzentrum*.

65 Vedi T.L. SHEAR JR., *The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1989–1993*. *Hesperia* 66 (1997) 507–512; J.M. CAMP, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora*: 2002–2007. *Hesperia* 76 (2008) 638 con bibliografia precedente.

è chiaro come si giunse all'abbandono e allo smantellamento⁶⁶. Il Classical Commercial Building sembra essere stato interessato da un estensivo intervento di ripristino nel V sec.⁶⁷. Tuttavia, almeno sulla base di quanto è pubblicato, non pare che questo si sia reso necessario a seguito di una distruzione: gli scavatori parlano dell'individuazione di un orizzonte di distruzione, databile al tardo VI sec. e collegato all'attacco degli Slavi⁶⁸.

Per gli altri edifici indagati in diversi punti della città, la cui distruzione viene imputata all'attacco dei Goti, l'evidenza datante sembra ancora più esile. Gli scavatori di una casa di IV sec. rinvenuta nella Plaka, in Odos Kekropos 7-9, chiamano in causa l'invasione di Alarico per spiegare l'abbandono della struttura⁶⁹. Sulla base dell'edito è difficile controllare tale ipotesi, dal momento che non si parla di orizzonti di distruzione e che l'unico rinvenimento datante menzionato è una lucerna della metà del IV sec.

Tra Odos Iouliou Smith 21 e Odos Aiginitou sono stati portati in luce resti appartenenti a due abitazioni, che dovevano far parte del quartiere residenziale sviluppatosi sulle colline sud-occidentali⁷⁰. All'interno di una cisterna pertinente a una delle case sono stati rinvenuti elementi architettonici in frantumi, frutto probabilmente della pulizia seguita a un evento distruttivo. La ceramica associata alle macerie si data al III e IV sec., fatta eccezione per una lucerna della bottega di Martyrios, attivo nel V sec. Olga Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou ha suggerito che la distruzione delle abitazioni sia da imputare all'attacco del 396, evento che rappresenterebbe in generale un significativo spartiacque nel popolamento delle colline, in seguito al quale il quartiere residenziale sarebbe stato lentamente abbandonato, come lascia pensare la mancata manutenzione del sistema di smaltimento delle acque nel V sec.⁷¹.

L'invasione dei Goti è, infine, chiamata in causa anche per giustificare la distruzione di due edifici scavati nella parte orientale della città. Si tratta del grande impianto termale scoperto in Leoforos Amalias e di un grande complesso, probabilmente a carattere residenziale, venuto parzialmente in luce presso l'incrocio tra Leoforos Vas. Sofias e Odos Irodou Attikou, corrispondente in antico a un'area posta immediatamente fuori dall'estensione della cinta muraria costruita sotto Valeriano⁷². Nel caso dell'impianto termale, gli scavatori parlano di un evento distruttivo, che alla fine del IV sec. danneggiò

66 T.L. SHEAR JR., The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-1982. *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 24-40, in particolare 37; IDEM, Excavations of 1989-1993, 495-514, in particolare 501.

67 IDEM, Excavations of 1980-1982, 47.

68 IDEM, Excavations of 1989-1993, 48; J.M. CAMP, Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1996 and 1997. *Hesperia* 68 (1999) 281.

69 O. ALEXANDRĒ, Κέκροπος 7-9. *ADelt* 24 (1969), B' 1, 50-53.

70 Qui e di seguito O. DAKOURA-VOGIATZOGLOU, Οι Δυτικοί Λόφοι στους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, in: VLIZOS (ed.), *Recent Discoveries* 254 s. 258.

71 Ibid. 256 s.

72 L'ipotesi è stata avanzata da CASTRÉN, Athens 88; IDEM, Paganism and Christianity 215 s. n. 22.

pesantemente la struttura, richiedendo un'estensiva ricostruzione⁷³; nel caso del complesso di Irodou Attikou, l'incendio che interessò la dimora viene datato alla fine del IV/inizio del V sec.⁷⁴. Anche in questo caso, al danneggiamento seguì poco tempo dopo il ripristino dell'edificio che restò in uso fino al VI sec. Nei tre ultimi esempi menzionati, la datazione degli orizzonti di distruzione appare, almeno sulla base dell'edito, piuttosto generica e il collegamento con un attacco violento da parte dei Goti risulta, quindi, altamente ipotetico.

Il Partenone conobbe un'ultima fase costruttiva prima della sua trasformazione in chiesa cristiana, che riguardò la ricostruzione della cella, pesantemente danneggiata da un incendio⁷⁵. Mancano, tuttavia, gli elementi per datare sia l'incendio che la ricostruzione: l'ampio uso di materiale di reimpiego e la qualità dell'intervento suggeriscono una datazione non precedente al III sec.; come giustamente notato da Korres, i segni di usura provocati dall'uso della porta, anch'essa interessata dal restauro, indicano che questa sia stata usata per un certo lasso di tempo prima della sua chiusura, effettuata al momento della conversione in chiesa⁷⁶. Poiché la sconsacrazione del Partenone con l'asportazione delle statua della Parthenos –che rese evidentemente inutile l'uso della porta– è da collocare, secondo la testimonianza di Marino, prima della morte di Proclo nel 485⁷⁷, per l'incendio e il successivo restauro della cella sembrerebbe più appropriata una datazione ancora nel III o nel IV sec. La connessione dell'incendio con l'attacco di Alarico è, quindi, teoricamente possibile, ma meno probabile di una data più alta. Riguardo all'ipotesi di Bouras, che attribuisce ai Goti la mutilazione intenzionale delle metope del Partenone, mi associo ai dubbi formulati già da Chrysos: il dispendioso lavoro di realizzare impalcature alte a sufficienza per raggiungere i rilievi e la scelta precisa dei soggetti a contenuto pagano da distruggere si lasciano mal conciliare con l'idea di un attacco a scopo di saccheggio e ancora meno –accettando tale ipotesi– con il fatto che in seguito i Goti avrebbero intenzionalmente bruciato il tempio⁷⁸.

73 O. ZACHARIADOU, Η ανατολική περιοχή της Αθήνας κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, in: VLIZOS (ed.), *Recent Discoveries* 159 con bibliografia precedente.

74 Ibid. 160 con bibliografia precedente.

75 Qui e di seguito per una descrizione dei restauri vedi KORRES, *The Parthenon* 140–146. Sull'incendio vedi anche I. TRAVLOS, Ἡ πυρπόλησις τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑρούλων καὶ ἡ ἐπισκευή του κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰουλιανοῦ. *AEphem* 112 (1973) 218–236.

76 KORRES, *The Parthenon* 145 s. Korres attribuisce ipoteticamente il restauro a Giuliano l'Apostata e collega il danneggiamento della cella all'attacco degli Eruli del 267 d.C. Prima di lui l'ipotesi era già stata avanzata da TRAVLOS, Ἡ πυρπόλησις 219, 225 s.

77 Marino Procl. 30 (edd. H.D. SAFFREY – A.PH. SEGONDS).

78 BOURAS, *Alaric* 1 s.; CHRYSOS, *Barbaren* 43.

Conclusioni

Concludendo, cosa possono dirci le testimonianze archeologiche riguardo all'attacco di Alarico e come possono aiutarci a fare chiarezza a fronte di fonti letterarie così contraddittorie? La risposta da dare, secondo me, è che in questo caso esse possono aiutarci ben poco. I metodi di datazione sviluppati dalla ricerca archeologica non ci consentono una precisione cronologica tale da poter inquadrare un evento puntuale. Per alcune categorie di edifici chiamati in causa, come gli impianti termali, altre spiegazioni per giustificare lo sviluppo di un incendio sono altrettanto –se non forse maggiormente– plausibili. Inoltre, a parte l'angolo nord-occidentale dell'agorà e la Via Panatenaica, gli orizzonti di distruzione ricondotti all'invasione del 396 sono isolati e sparsi in tutta la città, così da rendere, a mio avviso, inverosimile, che la stessa causa ne abbia provocato il danneggiamento (o dovremmo immaginare che i barbari siano andati un po' qui e un po' lì a saccheggiare e incendiare gli edifici?). Questo quadro frammentato si contrappone, per esempio, all'evidenza associata all'attacco degli Eruli: il rinvenimento di orizzonti di distruzione caratterizzati da materiali simili, estesi e relativi a più edifici limitrofi in diversi punti della città rende più plausibile ipotizzare una causa di danneggiamento comune e, quindi, un attacco violento da parte dei barbari. In questo caso, pur con i problemi e le cautele a cui si è fatto cenno, il dato archeologico sembra appoggiare le fonti letterarie, per cui, tuttavia, abbiamo un quadro coerente e persino una testimonianza oculare.

L'evidenza della stoa lungo la Via Panatenaica da sola non è sufficiente a ipotizzare un attacco violento della città da parte dei Goti: l'occultamento della testa può essere sì stato determinato dalla paura per l'arrivo dei barbari, ma che poi siano stati loro a dare fuoco all'edificio non può essere affermato con sicurezza. A questo proposito voglio riferirmi ancora al volume edito da Lipps, Machado e von Rummel, il cui importante contributo non è rappresentato solo dalla constatazione che l'attacco di Alarico del 410 a Roma non ha lasciato tracce archeologiche tangibili, ma anche da riflessioni come, “Die Stärke der Archäologie ... liegt nur selten in der Bestimmung einzelner Ereignisse und ihrer Auswirkung”⁷⁹ o ancora riguardo a “l'impossibilità di risalire dagli effetti alle cause (uno strato di incendio può documentare una fase di distruzione, ma è impossibile attribuirne la causa a dei barbari piuttosto che a un servitore sbadato)”⁸⁰. Le testimonianze archeologiche menzionate sono in grado, invece, di fare luce su fenomeni osservabili in un lungo periodo e da questo punto di vista possono dirci cose molto interessanti sullo sviluppo topografico di Atene in epoca tardo antica: per esempio che presso il Dipylon si vollero sostituire

79 P. VON RUMMEL, Ereignis und Narrativ. Erzählungen der Plünderung Roms im August 410 zwischen Textüberlieferung und Archäologie, in: LIPPS *et al.*, Sack 26.

80 R. SANTANGELI VALENZANI, Dall'evento al dato archeologico: il sacco del 410 attraverso la documentazione archeologica, in: LIPPS *et al.*, Sack 38.

diverse installazioni produttive con una struttura probabilmente a carattere residenziale, intervento che fa parte della riqualificazione dell'intera zona nel secondo quarto del V sec.; i dati archeologici relativi ai monumenti dell'agorà suggeriscono che nel V sec. non ci si interessava più per gli edifici simbolo del glorioso passato ateniese, mentre invece si sentiva il bisogno di ricostruire il grande impianto termale in Leoforos Amalias, che date le sue considerevoli dimensioni ci fa pensare a un alto numero di utenti e, quindi, dedurre, che Atene fosse ancora una città piuttosto popolosa; l'evidenza delle abitazioni nelle Odoi Iouliou Smith 21 e Aiginitou confrontata con il complesso di Irodou Attikou si accorda bene con altri ritrovamenti che parlano a favore della decadenza dei quartieri residenziali nella parte occidentale della città e del fiorire di quelli nella parte orientale. Che ruolo ha Alarico in tutto questo? Le testimonianze archeologiche non possono darci una risposta. Ma per ottenere le risposte giuste, bisogna anche fare le domande giuste.

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The Athena Varvakeion in Context: An Example of Athenian Aristocratic Practices in Late Antiquity

The small replica of the Athena Parthenos coming from the area of the Varvakeion School, in the northern sector of Athens (fig. 1), has attracted the attention of the archaeologists especially for its documentary value. It is, in fact, the most complete replica of the famous Phidian statue¹.

In the studies on Athens in Late Antiquity, moreover, the sculpture was sometimes referred to as an example of those “concealed statues” that the pagans, in times of danger and religious marginalization, put into hiding rooms to avoid their destruction by Christians². The literary sources mention this phenomenon in relation to specific events, such as the statues concealed at the end of the 5th century in a space between walls in one of the temples of Memphis, in Egypt, with a small window, so that the priestess could reach them³. The archaeological evidence has highlighted other cases, such as in Aphrodisias, where sculptures of philosophers, politicians, military leaders or poets, were concealed in the 5th century behind a wall, in the house of a member of the social elite of the city who was closely linked to the local philosophical school⁴.

The documentation concerning the discovery context of the Athena Varvakeion is not so clear, and it necessitates a review of the excavation reports. These should be contextualized, as part of the settlement profile of the district, and considering the different attitudes towards the Greek and Roman statuary in Late Antiquity⁵. The picture that emerges, as we shall see, is

1 Athens, National Museum, inv. 129. On the statue: K. von LABGE, Die Athena Parthenos. *MDAI AA* 5 (1880) 370–379; K. von LANGE, Die Athena Parthenos. *MDAI AA* 6 (1881) 56–94; A. HAUVETTE-BESNAULT, Statue d’Athéné, trouvée à Athènes, près du Varvakeion. *BCH* 5 (1881) 54–63; O. RAYET, The Statue of Athena Parthenos recently found at Athens. *The American Art Review* 2 (1881) 30–32; P. KAVVADIAS, Glypta tou Ethnikou Mouseiou. Athens 1890, 123–125; W.H. SCHUCHARDT, Athena Parthenos. *Antike Plastik* 2 (1963) 31–53; N. LEIPEN, Athena Parthenos: a Reconstruction. Toronto 1972; W.H. SCHUCHARDT, Athena Parthenos. *AJA* 2 (1973) 240–242; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 88; STIRLING, The Learned Collector 209; IDEM, Pagan Statues in Late Antique Corinth. Sculptures from the Panaya Domus. *Hesperia* 77 (2008) 140–144; IDEM, Collections, Canon, and Context in Late Antiquity: The Afterlife of Greek Masterpieces in Late Antiquity, in: *Using Images in Late Antiquity* (eds S. BIRK *et al.*). Oxford 2014, 109. This study was supported by the 21st Foreigners’ Fellowships Program of the Onassis Foundation.

2 See, for example, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 88.

3 M.A. KUEGENER, Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scolastique. *PO* 2, 6, 1 (eds R. GRAFFIN – F. NAU). Paris 1904, 26–35.

4 R.R.R. SMITH, Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias. *JRS* 80 (1990) 132–135.

5 Within a large bibliography, see: C. MANGO, *Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder*.

particularly complex, as complex is the social reality of Athens in this period.

The sculpture in Pentelic marble, high 1.10 m, was found on December 30, 1880 in the downhill road to the north of the Varvakeion School (today *od. Armodiou*), 60 cm deep⁶. The statue was prone, and covered by a sort of vault of tiles, which gave to the discoverers the impression of a voluntary camouflage. K. Lange⁷ as well A. Hauvette-Besnault⁸ report this opinion. At the side of the sculpture, there was a row of stones still *in situ*. In that point, an archaeological excavation was carried out and a room emerged delimited by walls, which were 50 cm thick; one of them, for a length of about two meters, had traces of painting. To the right, there was a column decorated in light colours, to the left, instead, a bird with dark plumage within a frame. Elsewhere, traces of a faux marble decoration were still visible. Not far from the statue, some sculptural fragments were also found, detached from the figure: parts of its helmet, the right forearm, the hand holding the Nike, the Nike itself except the head, that was never recovered⁹.

The descriptions do not mention the fragments of the column supporting the Nike, which was found broken in two pieces. These fractures are still

DOP 17 (1963) 53–75; A. DELIVORRIAS, “Interpretatio Christiana”. Γύρω από τα όρια του παγανιστικού και του χριστιανικού κόσμου, in: Ευφρόσυνον: Αφιέρωμα στον Μανώλη Χατζιδάκη. Athens 1988, 107–123; SARADI-MENDELOVICI, Christian Attitudes; P. STEWART, The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity, in: Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity (ed. R. MILES). London 1999, 159–189; J. POLLINI, Christian Destruction and Mutilation of the Parthenon. *MDAI AA* 122 (2007) 207–228; F.R. TROMBLEY, The *destruction* of pagan statuary and Christianization (4th–6th century C.E.), in: The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion (eds Y.Z. ELIAV *et al.*). Leuven 2008, 143–164; I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, Statuaria pagana e cristianesimo a Gortina tra IV e VIII secolo, in: Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV–IX secolo): il ruolo dell’autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche (eds R. FARIOLI *et al.*). Bologna 2009, 71–86; L. LAVAN, Political Talismans? Residual ‘Pagan’ Statues in Late Antique Public Space, in: ‘Paganism’ 439–478; B. CASEAU, Religious Intolerance and Pagan Statuary, *ibid.* 479–504; A. KARIVIERI, Pagan intellectuals, the Early Church and attitudes towards images, in: *Flumen saxosum sonans – studia in honorem Gunnar af Hällström* (eds M. ÅHQVIST *et al.*). Åbo 2010, 55–65; T.M. KRISTENSEN, Religious Conflict in Late Antique Alexandria: Christian Responses to ‘Pagan’ Statues in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries AD, in: *Alexandria – A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot* (eds J. KRASILNIKOFF – G. HINGE). Aarhus 2010, 158–175; T.M. KRISTENSEN, Miraculous Bodies: Christian Viewers and the Transformation of ‘Pagan’ Sculpture in Late Antiquity, in: *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity* (eds S. BIRK – B. POULSEN). Aarhus 2012, 31–66; L. STIRLING, Patrons, Viewers, and Statues in Late Antique Baths. *Ibid.* 67–82; J. POLLINI, The Archaeology of Destruction: Christians, Images of Antiquity, and Some Problems of Interpretation, in: *The Archaeology of Violence: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (ed. S. RALPH). Albany 2013, 241–267; T.M. KRISTENSEN – L. STIRLING, *The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture: Late Antique Responses and Practices*. Ann Arbor 2016.

6 HAUETTE-BESNAULT, Statue 55. Measures of the statue: H 1.05 m; basement: H 0,10 m, length. 0,40 m, width 0,33–0,29 m.

7 LANGE, *Die Athena Parthenos* (1880); LANGE, *Die Athena Parthenos* (1881).

8 HAUETTE-BESNAULT, Statue.

9 *Ibid.* 55–56.

clearly visible today, despite the restoration.

From the excavation also emerged a small marble torso of Asclepius, a female head, a right hand in terracotta and a few illegible coins¹⁰. It is impossible to determine what the structure of bricks was, and whether, indeed, the Athena had been really hidden.

In Athens, cases of sculptures concealed in private contexts are documented, for example the ones lowered into domestic wells. The comparison with the statues of the *Houses B* and *C* of the Agora¹¹, or with many other of the same area, however, is only partially appropriate, because in those cases the artefacts, albeit in very good condition, had already been damaged before being concealed (fig. 2)¹². The Athena, however, is intact. Moreover, we can observe that the sculptures voluntarily hidden are generally maintained upright, as a rather large series testifies¹³. The prone position, instead, is perfectly compatible with the fall of the statue, which in fact is broken in the most protruding part, which is the column with the Nike. The *lofos* of the helmet, however, could have protected the face of the sculpture, which in fact is not damaged.

It is possible that the vault of bricks described in the excavation reports was actually the remains of a niche, in which the sculpture could have been placed inside the house. Such structures are typical of the Athenian residences in the late imperial period and in Late Antiquity, especially in the largest

10 LANGE, Die Athena Parthenos (1881) 372.

11 *House B*: T. LESLIE SHEAR, The Campaign of 1938. *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 236–240; THOMPSON, Athenian Twilight 61–72; THOMPSON – WYCHERLEY, The Agora of Athens 213–214; J.P. SODINI, L'habitat urbaine en Grèce à la veille des invasions, in: Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque (Rome, 12–14 mai 1982). Rome 1984, 345–346; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 37–48; J.Mc.K. CAMP, The philosophical School of Roman Athens, in: The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire (eds S. WALKER – A. CAMERON). London 1989, 52–54; G. BRANDS – L.V. RUTGERS, Wohnen in der Spätantike, in: Geschichte des Wohnens (ed. W. HOEFNER), I. Stuttgart 1999, 786; I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La *domus* tardoantica: forme e rappresentazioni nello spazio domestico nelle città del Mediterraneo. Bologna 2001, 153–155; STIRLING, The Learned Collector 226–227; P. BONINI, La casa nella Grecia romana. Forme e funzioni dello spazio privato fra I e VI secolo. Milan 2006, 243–244. *House C*: T.J.R. SHEAR, The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971. *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 156–164; SODINI, L'habitat 345–349; J.Mc.K. CAMP, The Athenian Agora. London 1986, 202–211; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 37–47 and 87–90; CAMP, The philosophical School 50–55; SODINI, Habitat 464–465; BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La *domus* 155–156; BONINI, La casa 245–247.

12 Some of the statues, in fact, had no arms (for example, Agora S 2438, S 1054, S 2337) or they were acephalous (S 1053, S 2337). Heads without bodies have also been found (see, for example, Agora S 1053, S 2443, S1055, S 2354, S 2356, S 2356).

13 See, for instance, the *Suburban Villa* and the *House of Ge and the Seasons* at Antioch (D. LEVI, Antioch Mosaic Pavements. Princeton 1947, 55; D.M. BRINKERHOFF, A Collection of Sculptures in Classical and Early Christian Antioch. New York 1970) and the *Maison de la Cachette* at Carthage (S. BULLO – F. GHEDINI, *Amplissimae atque ornatissimae domus* (Aug. Civ., II, 20, 26). L'edilizia residenziale nelle città della Tunisia romana. Rome 2003, 137–138).

*halls*¹⁴: they were usually built with irregular stones alternating to bricks, but in the most representative rooms there were semicircular niches made of bricks, used for displaying small-size statues.

Based on the references to the description of the wall paintings, the building where the Athena was discovered can probably be recognized as a private dwelling of the late Roman era, the same period to which the replica of the Parthenos is generally attributed (late 2nd – early 3rd century). We can also observe that the reproductions of famous statues is recurrent in the decorations of private residences from the early Roman period to Late Antiquity¹⁵. Even the presence of a small statue of Asclepius may suggest a private context, as it is a common subject in Athenian houses¹⁶. Three decades after the discovery of the Athena Varvakeion, in the same area, further south, building works for the construction of the Public Market were carried out. In 1913, during excavations in *od. Athinas*, in particular, numerous structures paved with mosaics emerged, which were dated to the Roman and Byzantine period¹⁷.

We have only incomplete data on this excavation, namely a summary report of K. Kourouniotis¹⁸. A detailed description of these buildings was never published, but only a catalogue of sculptures: an Aphrodite with Eros, sitting on a rock (0.37 m height), headless and without arms¹⁹; a male head with an irregular cut at the base of the neck²⁰; a youthful head of Dionysus²¹; a small statue of the Mother of the gods, headless²².

The subjects are compatible with a residential function of the context, as the last mentioned sculpture shows: the Mother of the gods, one of the most popular subjects in Late Antique Athenian contexts²³.

14 Two examples in FRANTZ, Late Antiquity, plates 28–29.

15 An emblematic example is represented by the small statue of Apollo Patroos of the Agora (Agora S 877, in L. SHEAR, Archaeological Notes: Excavations in the Athenian Agora. *AJA* 41 (1937) 185. See also E. BARTMAN, Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature. Leiden 1992, 44 and 45 (domestic contexts) and note 16.

16 See, for example, the residences in *odos Irodou Attikou* (BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La domus 152–153, with references) and the Building to the west of *House A* (Agora S 875: FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 37; BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La domus 153, with references).

17 K. KOUROUNIOTIS, Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς. *AEphem* 3 (1913) 193–209.

18 Ibid. 200.

19 Athens, National Museum, inv. 3257. KOUROUNIOTIS, Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς 199; O. BROONER, Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1933–1934. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 147–148 (attribution to the sanctuary at the northern slopes of the Acropolis). See also STEWART, The Destruction 271, 307, fig. 40.

20 Athens, National Museum, inv. 3258. KOUROUNIOTIS, Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς 199.

21 Athens, National Museum, inv. 3260. KOUROUNIOTIS, Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς 199.

22 KOUROUNIOTIS, Ἐξ Ἀττικῆς 199.

23 Many of these sculptures come from wells of the Agora which were still in use in Late Antiquity (for example, wells A 21:1, Agora S 1172; C 14: 4.1, Agora S 922 and Agora S 925; J 18:2: Agora S 853). Marble reliefs and statuettes were found in *odos Irodou Attikou* 2 (see note 16), in the *House of Proclus* (KARIVIERI, The ‘House of Proclus’ 115–139; BALDINI LIPPOLIS,

The male head has aroused attention of the scholars. In 1920 F. Studniczka, in fact, recognized it as one Lapith of the metopes the Parthenon (fig. 3)²⁴: it is, in particular, the southern VI metope, now in the British Museum. Maria Brouskari²⁵ noted that the relief had been already deprived of some elements in 1674, when Jacques Carrey had made the drawing of the reliefs of the Parthenon²⁶: the head of the Lapita was missing, a sign of its removal before that date.

The discovery of the latter statue in the excavation of 1913 allows further defining the chronology of its second use, probably to be dated not long after the desecration of the Parthenon. In fact, the history of the building in which the Lapith head was found intersects closely that of the damages suffered from Late Antiquity by the sculptural apparatus of the Athenian temple, a topic long debated and never fully resolved by the scholars²⁷.

It is difficult to sum up a problematic subject like this. Since the last celebration of the Panathenaic festivals, between the late fourth and early fifth centuries²⁸, the Parthenon suffered the plundering of the cult statue before 485, episode evoked by Marinus in the *Vita Procli*²⁹. Perhaps in the same years also the Promachos was taken away from the Acropolis, transported to Constantinople³⁰.

Later, the Parthenon was converted into a church. According to Cyril Mango, this episode would take place within the early 6th century, because of a reference in the *Theosophia* of Tübingen (composed between 474 and

La *domus* 151–152; BONINI, La casa 257–258), in *odos Kekropos* 7–9 (O. ALEXANDRI, Κέρκροπος 7–9. *ADelt* 24 [1969], Chron. 50–53; BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La *domus* 152; BONINI, La casa 263) and in *odos Makryianni* 21 (M. STAVROPOULOU, Οδός Ευριπίδου 28; Γήπεδο Μακρυγιάννη 25–27. *ADelt* 35 (1980), Chron. 24. Inv. B.E. 311; BONINI, La casa 259).

24 F. STUDNICZKA, *Archäologisches aus Griechenland*. *AA* 36 (1921) 329–334. See also STIRLING, *The Learned Collector* 278.

25 M. BROUSKARI, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Athens 1974, 157 (with inventory 6511).

26 T.R. BOWIE – D. THIMME, *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*. Bloomington 1971.

27 KORRES, *The Parthenon*; POLLINI, *Christian Destruction*; OUSTERHOUT, *The Parthenon* 302–307; KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon*; B. ANDERSON, *The Defacement of the Parthenon Metopes*. *GRBS* 57 (2017) 248–260.

28 IG II/III² 3818. SIRONEN, *Life* 46–48. Plutarchus, honored in the dedication, is mentioned also in another inscription dated between 408 and 410: he had financed the procession three times, but we do not know exactly when it happened. In Late Antiquity, a fire on the roof and in the interior of the building is attested: afterwards the base of the statue was replaced by a slightly smaller one: KORRES, *The Parthenon* 140–145; POLLINI, *Christian Destruction* 209.

29 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 30 (ed. A.N. OIKONOMIDES).

30 The last dedication that mentions the statue standing on the Acropolis dates to 408–410. The reconstruction of the Senate of Constantinople, next to which the statue would have been placed according to some literary sources, would be just after the fire of 462. See IG II/III², 4225 (honorary dedication to the prefect of the praetorian Herculius, whose statue was erected near the Promachos: SIRONEN, *Life* 51–52). See also FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 76–77; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. Cambridge 2004, 188–192.

508)³¹. However, there is no direct evidence of that transformation before the end of the 6th century. To that date back some coins found in the Christian graves south to the building³² and the first Christian graffiti on the columns³³. The possibility that the Parthenon, secularized in the middle decades of the 5th century by the removal of the Phidian statue, may have been closed for a certain period before the conversion is a likely scenario, which can explain the absence of precise information about an event so important for the history of Athens.

Therefore, the story of the transformation of use and disposal of the Parthenon, as in other cases, seems diluted over time. Also for this reason, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the exact moment when deliberate damages occurred on sculptures of the pediments, the frieze and the metopes. Considering the studies on the injuries to the Parthenon sculptures (fig. 4)³⁴, it is likely that such actions have taken place mostly in connection with the building of new architectural parts of the church, something which in practice seems reasonable especially for the eastern side (where the apse was built), north and south (where some windows were added).

An interesting observation regards the parts of the decoration chosen for damaging. They were mainly the heads, of course considered as the most representative element of the figures³⁵. We can note, however, that the chiselled elements are not a very high percentage compared to those left intact or mostly intact, a sign that there was never a will of systematic elimination of the sculptural decoration of the monument. Only considering the metopes, for example, we can note that 33 heads were still in place in 1674, whereas 14 heads were missing before Carrey's drawings. This means that if in Late Antiquity or in the Byzantine period a selection based on the subjects and their supposed

31 Theos. gr. fr. 53, 54. The existence of a church dedicated to the Theotokos built at the site of a famous Athenian temple is mentioned in that source: MANGO, *The Conversion*. See also I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *La monumentalizzazione tardoantica di Atene*. *Ostraka* 4 (1995) 184–185; OUSTERHOUT, *The Parthenon* 303; KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon* 49 (suggests that the mention of Athens in the oracle could be a late interpolation); BALDINI, *Atene: la città cristiana* 319; S. COSENTINO, *Aspetti di storia sociale di Atene nel VI secolo d.C.*, *ibid.*, 357.

32 F.W. DEICHMANN, *Die Basilika im Parthenon*. *MDAI AA* 63 (1938/39) 137.

33 ORLANDOS – VRANOSSIS, *Τὰ χαράγματα*; COSENTINO, *Aspetti* 356.

34 See note 27.

35 On hostility against faces and heads see note 5 and: DELIVORRIAS, “*Interpretatio Christiana*”; R.R.R. SMITH, *Defacing the Gods at Aphrodisias*. *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (eds B. DIGNAS – R.R.R. SMITH). Oxford 2012, 283–326; A.L. RICCARDI, *Homage and Abuse: Three Portraits of Roman Women from the Athenian Agora*, in: *Cities called Athens. Studies Honouring J.McK. Camp* (eds K.F. DALY – L.A. RICCARDI). London 2014, 321–350; T.M. KRISTENSEN, *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus 2013; A.R. BROWN, *Crosses, Noses, Walls, and Wells: Christianity and the Fate of Sculpture in Late Antique Corinth*, in: KRISTENSEN – STIRLING, *The Afterlife* 168–175; ANDERSON, *The Defacement*.

ideological danger³⁶ was done, this selection was not applied in a systematic and logical way. Maybe the distribution of the break-in actions depended mostly on practical reasons, considering that the height of the columns of the Parthenon is 14:43 m. It must also be noticed that not all the decorated parts of the temple were equally visible, as has been already observed³⁷.

It is still an unsolvable mystery how did the head from the Varvakeion area end up to a private house. The sculpture had been detached, but it had not been destroyed or dropped from above. Nor it is clear how it could be exposed, as she had been left with the irregular cut at the base of the neck, inflicted when it was broken. In any case, the owner who kept it at his own house had probably to be well aware of its origin and its symbolic value.

In this regard, we can highlight, between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the 5th century Athens, the emergence of a widespread hostility of the public institutions towards pagan practices. In the case of Stoa Poikile, for example, Synesius refers to the removal by the public authority of the Greek painter Polygnotus's works of art, contained within the building, between the end of the fourth and the first decade of the 5th century³⁸. The shutting to pagan practices of the Asklepieion before Proclus's death is implied in the episode of the Life of the philosopher concerning the healing of Asclepigenia, saved by Proclus' prayer near the sanctuary³⁹.

The counterpart was a tendency of the most eminent figures of the local elite to keep at home sculptures from sacred areas no longer in use⁴⁰. In the so-called *House of Proclus*, for example, a bust of Isis was found, possibly taken away from an urban sanctuary⁴¹. The same Proclus, according to his biographer, received the vision of the statue of Athena, who would ask him hospitality at home⁴².

Considering the development of the district in Late Antiquity, archaeological excavations to the west of the Varvakeion Square, between *od. Athinas* and *platia Theatrou* has been progressively enriched our knowledge of the district. The southern edge of this area coincides with *od. Euripidou*, along which houses have emerged dating from the Roman period to the middle of the 5th century. In particular, in *od. Euripidou* 28 have been excavated walls

36 See, for example, G. RODENWALDT, *Interpretatio Christiana*. AA 48 (1933) 401–405. POLLINI, *Christian Destruction* 216 suggests that the break-ins may have occurred between the 8th and 9th centuries, but the discoveries of the Varvakeion makes this hypothesis impossible.

37 RODENWALDT, *Interpretatio* 402; ANDERSON, *The Defacement* 249–252.

38 Synesius, Ep. 56 and 136 (ed. A. GARZYA).

39 *Vita Procli* XXIX.

40 The attribution, proposed by T. Brooner (BROONER, *Excavations*), of the group Aphrodite–Eros to the sanctuary of the northern slopes of the Acropolis is not probable. Today many sanctuaries of the goddess in various areas of Athens and its territory have been identified.

41 KARIVIERI, *The 'House of Proclus'* 116 and 131–132; STIRLING, *The Learned Collector* 201–202.

42 See note 29.

and a paved area with geometric mosaics⁴³. Later, towards the west, in *od. Euripidou* 64, an excavation carried out in 1969 led to the identification of two late Roman floors with marble slabs⁴⁴. In *od. Euripidou* 75 two overlapping buildings were discovered, one of the Hellenistic period and the other dated to Late Antiquity⁴⁵: the latter had geometric mosaics dated to the second quarter or to the middle of the 5th century.

In *od. Euripidou* 67⁴⁶ some findings in front of the church of *Aghios Ioannis stin Kolona* (*od. Euripidou* 70)⁴⁷ could testify the existence of a church: there were burials of the 5th/6th century and a large polychrome mosaic with geometric and vegetal decoration, dated to the first quarter of the 5th century. In the same area (to the east of the church and along *od. Euripidou*) other mosaics and liturgical furnishings had been found before 1929⁴⁸. This building was close to the spot of discovering of an epistyle dated of the 1st century B.C., with a dedication to Apollo⁴⁹. In addition, a column of cipollino marble with a Corinthian capital inside the church of *Aghios Ioannis* testifies a Roman pre-existence⁵⁰.

Farther north, in *pl. Theatrou* 6–8–12, other finds show the presence during Late Antiquity of rooms with mosaics (fig. 5), perhaps belonging to a unique residential complex. In *pl. Theatrou* 6–8 there was a mosaic floor of the first quarter of the 5th century, placed in the westernmost of the four that were discovered. Another room, contiguous to the first, had an *opus sectile* pavement. Another house was located between *pl. Theatrou* 12 and *od. Diplari*. Of this building, only two rooms were investigated; one of them was paved with a polychrome mosaic of the 5th century⁵¹.

In concluding, in spite of the extreme fragmentation of the available data, it is possible to consider the blocks between *pl. Varvakeion* and *pl. Theatrou* as a significant sample of the life in Athens during Late Antiquity. This is not a central area of the city, but a district immediately inside the walls, near one

43 STAVROPOULOU, Ευριπίδου 24. The pavement had an orthogonal composition of irregular octagons shaping squares, drawn with a double braid. The octagons included geometric motifs, eight-petaled flower, scales, Solomon's knot and vegetal motifs. In the center of the mosaic, made of stone tesserae in white, black and red, there was an octagonal slab of white marble.

44 O. ALEXANDRI, Ευριπίδου 64. *ADelt* 24 (1969), Chron. 48–49.

45 IDEM, Ευριπίδου 75. *ADelt* 24 (1969), Chron. 49; ASEMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα II, 134, with references.

46 ASEMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα II, 123–125 (identified as a bath).

47 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 59, 190.

48 Εὐρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων A, 101.

49 From the square, on the corner with *odos Menandrou*: IG II² 3002.

50 On the building and on the different hypotheses: D. MARCHIANDI, La colonna romana presso la chiesa di Hag. Ioannis stin Kolona, in: Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo a.C., III: Quartieri a nord e a nord-est dell'Acropoli e Agora del Ceramico (eds E. GRECO *et al.*). Athens – Paestum 2014, 827–828 (with bibliography).

51 M.S. AXEIMASTOU POTAMIANOU, Πλατεία Θεάτρου 12 και Διπλάρη. *ADelt* 31 (1976), Chron. 33–34; ASEMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα II, 126–127, with references.

of the gates. The prevailing character of the quarter seems to be residential, maintained from the Hellenistic era. The houses have a high standard, as the mosaic floors and, in some examples, the sculptural apparatus, demonstrate. The sculptural decoration includes the same subjects which can be recognized in many Athenian houses (for example Asclepius and the Mother of the gods), but also some exceptional items, such as the replica of the Athena Parthenos and the head of the Lapith from the Parthenon. In the latter case, the value of the object must have seemed immeasurable to its owner, not a mere object to be collected, perhaps as in the case of the Athena, but a true treasure imbued with sacred value. This is true especially if it was taken away after the break-in of one of the most symbolic monuments of the Athenian pagan tradition.

Just a few blocks to the west, other houses were discovered. They have not revealed any relevant statues, but the affluence of their owners is evident from the late antique mosaics, dating to the 5th century.

The example of the district clearly testifies that the northern sector continued to be inhabited in Late Antiquity, a continuity that in this case corresponds to a socially homogeneous residential level. It is a middle-upper class, whose behaviors can be compared with the situation observed elsewhere in the city⁵².

Considered its context of discovery, the Athena Varvakeion, beyond the difficulties that concern a precise reconstruction of its position *in situ*, reflects wider social phenomena. It gives a little insight into domestic life, in which the cultural leanings of the owner towards the tradition is evident. This adhesion was realized perhaps in the domestic worship practices. It also involved a cultural and aesthetic appreciation of the Greek-Roman sculpture apparatus as well. The district of the Athena Varvakeion, judging by the significant number of findings, seems to qualify the cultural inclinations of the residents in this direction. We do not necessarily have to think of persistent conflict and religious resistance to Christianity, which is also probably present in the same area, but of the long memory of the attitudes of a class educated in the traditions of Hellenism, who continued to practice them as a lifestyle, at least in the sphere of the domestic everyday life.

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52 FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 34–48; KARIVIERI, The ‘House of Proclus’; BALDINI LIPPOLIS, La domus 147–160; BONINI, La casa 26–78; I. BALDINI, Arredi scultorei nelle case tardoantiche di Atene. Abitare nel Mediterraneo tardoantico, Atti del II Convegno del CISEM (eds I. BALDINI – C. SFAMENI). Bari 2018.



Fig. 1. Athens, National Museum,
Athena Varvakeion (SCHUCHARDT, Athena Parthenos)



Fig. 2. Athens, Agora Museum, Head of Nemesis
from Well P 18:2 of *House B* (I. BALDINI)

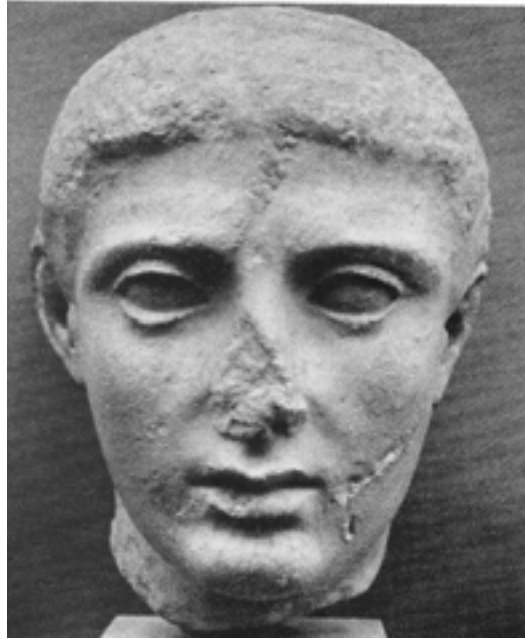


Fig. 3. Athens, Acropolis Museum,
Head of Lapith (BROUSKARI, The Acropolis Museum)



Fig. 4. Athens, southwest corner of the Parthenon (I. BALDINI)

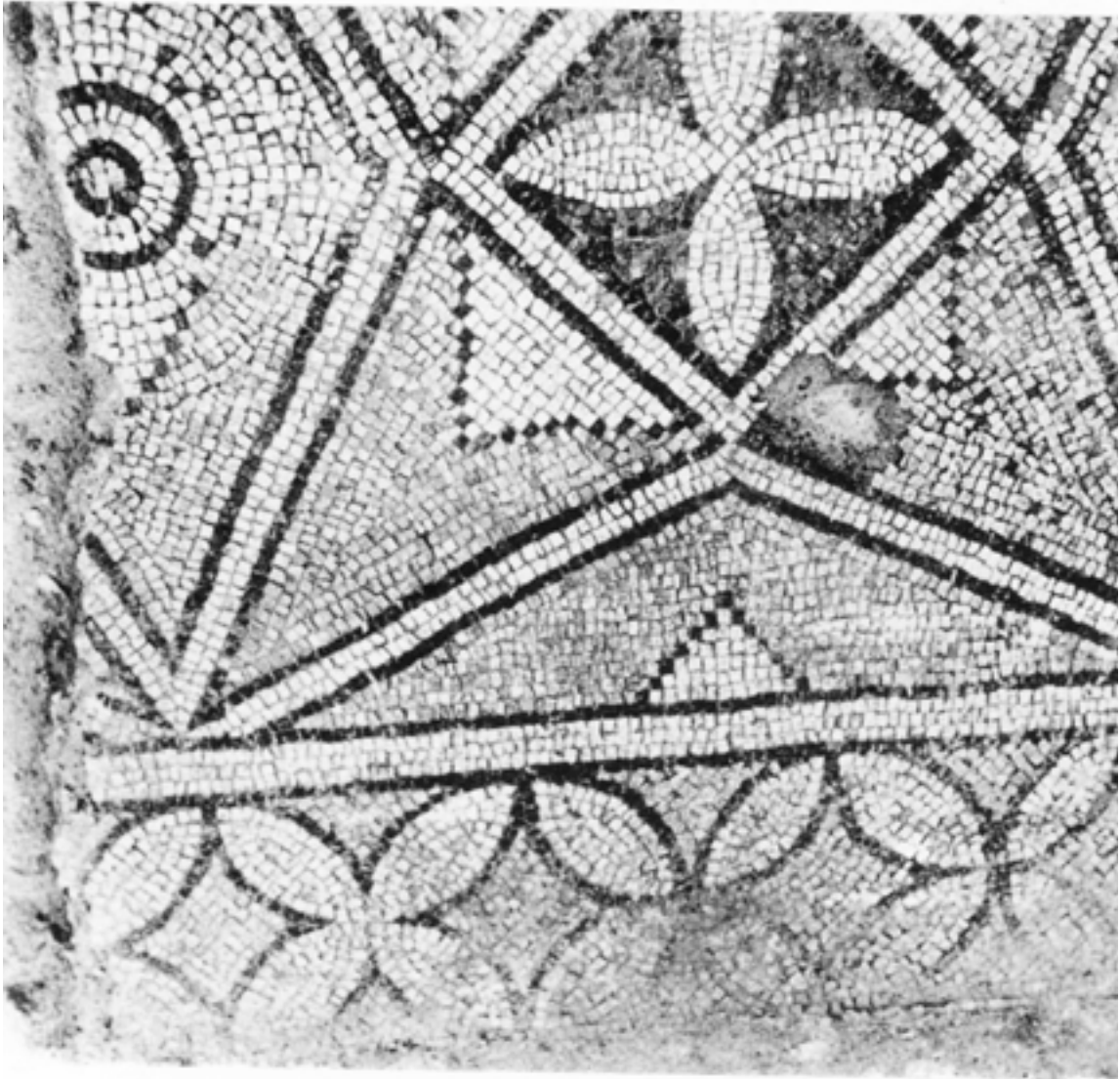


Fig. 5. Athens, mosaic from pl. Theatrou (ASEMAKOPOYΛΟΥ-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα)

STAMATIA ELEFThERATOU

The “Makriyiannis Plot”.

Transformations of the Urban Landscape during Late Antiquity

The construction of the new Acropolis Museum and the Acropolis Metro station was the reason behind the excavation of about 12,000 sq m, known as the “Makriyiannis plot”, located 300 m to the southeast of the Acropolis rock (fig. 1). The excavation unearthed part of the ancient city of Athens and established the continuous use of the area from the Late Neolithic until the Middle Byzantine period (fig. 2)¹. This paper will attempt a brief overview of the changes that the urban planning, residential architecture and nature of the site underwent from the 4th to the 7th/8th century.

The site obtained its urban character at the end of the 5th century BC at the junction of two main roads: the METRO-IV road, which connected the northern borough with the Phaleron Bay, and the NMA-I road, which headed towards the western districts and the Agora. However, the urban planning was defined by two uphill local roads (NMA-II and METRO-I), which converged outside the precinct of the sanctuary of Dionysus². Between them a network of streets formed irregular but rationally planned city blocks (fig. 1). The sloping ground dictated the organization of the settlement on terraces arranged from the north to the south and from the east to the west.

On the 2nd century the settlement of the Classical and Hellenistic period was succeeded by a flourishing neighborhood with spacious, mostly peristyle, houses with mosaics, latrines, and the richest ones with a private bath³. At the end of the 3rd century the prosperity of the district comes to a halt. The undisturbed destruction layers found in different locations of the excavation which date to the second half of the 3rd century⁴ signify a full-scale destruction which can only be interpreted as the result of the Herulian raid in 267⁵.

1 S. ELEFThERATOU, Το Ανατολικό Λουτρό στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη. *ADelt* 55, A' (2000) 285–328 at 285–287.

2 EADEM 287–288; EADEM, Στοιχεία 185–205 at 185.

3 Ibid.

4 P. CALLIGAS, in: *The City beneath the City. Antiquities from excavations for the Metropolitan Railway of Athens* (eds L. PARLAMA – N. STAMBOLIDIS). Athens 2001, 36, mentions that during the Metro excavations no destruction layers dating to the time of the Heruli were recognized. However, further investigations proved that these layers actually existed, ELEFThERATOU, Στοιχεία *passim*.

5 THOMPSON – WYCHERLEY, *The Agora of Athens* 208–210; FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 1–15;

What happens at the site over the following period is unclear. The area lies outside the Post-Herulian Wall⁶ but inside the so-called Valerian Wall⁷, which still constitutes a first line of defense⁸. A few modifications detected on house walls and floors, along with pottery, lamps⁹ and coins of the late 3rd and first half of the 4th century show that at least some houses are restored and in usage¹⁰ in a city whose economy and fame significantly rely on private educational institutions¹¹. During the end of the 3rd and over the major part of the 4th century the economic, political and religious life of Athens lies in the hands of just a few families that belong to or retain strong connections with the intellectual elite of philosophers and sophists, which tries to keep alive both the mythological and historical past and the pagan religion¹².

Excavation results do not provide any answers to the complex issue of the destruction of Athens by Alaric in 396¹³, which remains controversial¹⁴. Evident traces of a violent destruction are not detected, since the preliminary stage of the study of the finds does not allow the deduction of safe conclusions.

In any case, over the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century the area follows the vigorous pace of development of the rest of the city. Athens expands in all the area within the restored ancient circuit wall¹⁵, a lot of public

E.J. WATTS, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*. Berkeley 2006, 38–40; against: P. CASTRÉN, *The Post-Herulian Revival of Athens*, in: *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (eds S. WALKER – S. CAMERON). London 1989, 45–46; E. GRECO, *Topografia di Atene: Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C.*, vol. 2: *Colline sud-occidentali ed Valle dell'Ilisso*. Athens–Paestum 2011, 217–220; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 99–104.

6 TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις* 125–129; FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 5–11, 125–141; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 104–110; N. TSONIOTIS, *Νέα στοιχεία για το υστερορωμαϊκό τείχος της Αθήνας*, in: *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή* 55–74; THEOCHARAKI, *Circuit wall* 133–134; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 29–32; I. BALDINI – E. BAZZECHI, *About the Meaning of Fortifications in Late Antique Cities: The Case of Athens in Context*, in: *Focus on Fortifications. New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East* (eds R. FREDERIKSEN *et al.*). Oxford 2016, 707–709.

7 THEOCHARAKI, *Circuit wall* 84–87.

8 TSONIOTIS, *Νέα στοιχεία* 69.

9 PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, *City* 36, nos 50–53, 62.

10 Similar case, THOMPSON – WYCHERLAY, *Agora* 210; FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 14, 35–37.

11 CASTRÉN, *Paganism and Christianity* 211–223 at 212–215; WATTS, *City and School* 41–47; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 82–91, 96–98, 183.

12 CASTRÉN, *General aspects of life* 4–7; BAZZECHI, *Athenian Identity* 467–468, 470; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 96–160, 183.

13 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 49–56; CASTRÉN, *General aspects of life* 9; TANOULAS, *Προτύλκαι* 17; BOURAS, *Alaric* 4–5; JACOBS, *Prosperity* 69–89.

14 THOMPSON, *Athenian Twilight* 66; SIRONEN, *Life* 44–45; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 123–130; See also E. BAZZECHI in this volume.

15 THEOCHARAKI, *Circuit wall* 134–136; G. FOWDEN, *Late Roman Achaëa: Identity and Defense*. *JRA* 8 (1995) 549–567 at 553–556; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 33.

buildings are reconstructed¹⁶, many of the oldest houses are still in use, while new ones are built¹⁷, some of them at the location of older public structures¹⁸. The area to the south of the Acropolis retains its aristocratic character¹⁹, and luxurious houses and baths are added²⁰. At the “Makriyiannis plot” the three main building phases of Late Antiquity reflect the process of integration of new architectural tendencies and living standards adopted mainly by the upper social strata.

First Building Phase

During the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century the area is occupied by new buildings that comply with the preexisting urban planning (figs 3, 4). The fact that the NMA-III road, on which house A gradually expands, falls into disuse²¹, as well as the broadening of the main roads on the expense of the adjacent houses brings forth minor changes²².

The new buildings belong to the typical Roman urban residence (*domus*), with a peristyle courtyard, a type very well known in the Mediterranean²³. Smaller, possibly middle class, houses²⁴ coexist with bigger and more luxurious constructions. The former include the houses Γ, Η and ΣΤ, located to the north of NMA-I road, and the Houses Α and Θ located to the south. All of them are quite spacious, covering a surface between ca. 300 and 670 sq m²⁵ and are supplied with wells dug next to the stylobate of one of the stoas in their courtyard²⁶. In some cases a second indoor well serves additional needs²⁷. The

16 ELEFThERATOU, Ανατολικό Λουτρό 322; ZAVAGNO, Cities 47–48.

17 CASTRÉN, Post-Herulian Athens 9–10; ELEFThERATOU, Ανατολικό Λουτρό 322, n. 191.

18 CASTRÉN, Post-Herulian Athens 9–13; BAZZECCHI, Identity 468–470.

19 FOWDEN, Achaea 565; GRECO, Topografia di Atene 388–423.

20 ELEFThERATOU, Ανατολικό Λουτρό 322–323, n. 196–202, 208.

21 About the expansion of private houses over roads see I. BALDINI-LIPPOLIS, Private Space in Late Antique Cities: Laws and Building Procedures, in: Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops (eds L. LANAN *et al.*). Leiden–Boston 2007, 210–212.

22 Due to the widening of the western section of NMA-I road and the southern part of NMA-II road the building line of houses Γ, ΣΤ and Θ receded.

23 SODINI, Habitat 435–577; I. TÜRKÖĞLÜ, Byzantine House in Western Anatolia: An Architectural Approach, *Al-Masāg* 16 (2004) 96–97; P. PETRIDIS, Παρατηρήσεις στις πόλεις και τις αστικές οικίες της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας στον Ελλαδικό χώρο. *DChAE* 29 (2008) 247–258 at 255–256.

24 I. UYTTERHOEVEN, Housing in Late Antiquity: Thematic Perspectives, in: Housing in Late Antiquity 25–67 at 43–44.

25 House Η itself occupies 200 sq m. Some details, such as the lack of a latrine, imply that it possibly forms the northern wing of House Γ, the surface of which would reach 500 sq m.

26 The majority of these wells appear in Roman times; some replace Hellenistic cisterns, e.g. well 20 of House Α, MANOLI, Κεραμική 634.

27 Like the wells 104 and 114 in room 7 of House Γ and room 5 of House Α respectively; on the latter see, KOUVELI, Κεραμική 610–632.

courtyards of houses ΣΤ, Η, and Θ are paved with terracotta tiles, whereas the courtyard of House Α retains the pre-existing marble chip inlaid floor. The courtyard of House Γ is inlaid with multicolored *opus sectile*²⁸ set with an inclination towards a terracotta drain which diverted the water to the latrine (room 5)²⁹. From there waste is carried off to the road sewer, a solution employed also by Houses ΣΤ (room 13) and Α (room 9)³⁰. The rooms flanking the courtyard are of various shapes and sizes and only the big northern room of House ΣΤ (6) can be identified with some certainty with a *triclinium*. Finally, the room 7 of House Γ has an independent entrance on NMA-I road³¹, and was possibly used as a store or a workshop. According to the pottery and a few coins recovered from the floors, the construction of these houses can be placed in the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century³².

The scenery changes on the higher northern and eastern terrace. The remains of buildings Ζ and Ξ are discerned with difficulty beneath the following period's constructions, whereas a big part of them is covered by the Weiler Building³³. The layout of building Ζ reveals a large residence that covers a surface of ca. 1500 sq m, which has all of the features of a luxurious aristocratic house, common throughout the Empire³⁴.

It has an apsidal hall possibly for reception³⁵ and dinning purposes

28 It is similar to the floor of the Octagon in Galerius Palace, F. ATHANASIOU *et al.*, Η διακόσμηση του Οκταγώνου των Ανακτόρων του Γαλερίου. *AEMTh* 18 (2004) 261–267.

29 The latrine consists of two trenches meeting at a right angle; for similar latrines, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 34, pl. 21b, e. For a general survey of latrines of late antique houses, UYTTERHOEVEN, *Housing* 56–57.

30 The two latrines belong to the simple type with one trench, like the one in the Palace of the Giants, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 34, 104, pl. 21f.

31 Rooms accessed from the road through an independent entrance are usually connected to commercial activity, PETRIDIS, *Παράτηρήσεις* 254 and n. 42.

32 The earliest floors in rooms 4 and 5 of House Γ have yielded one bronze coin of 355–363 and one coin of 395–408 respectively; the earliest floor in room 8 of House ΣΤ, has a bronze coin of Theodosius I.

33 It is the Military Hospital designed by the Bavarian engineer Wilhelm von Weiler between 1834 and 1836: V. PETRAKOS, Η Ιστορία ενός Τόπου της Αθήνας, *Mentor* 20 (2007) 81–123 at 83.

34 UYTTERHOEVEN, *Housing* 50–64; EADEM, *Housing in Late Antiquity: regional perspectives*, in: *Housing in Late Antiquity*, 68–93.

35 The buildings with an apsidal hall in Athens are: the house over the Library of Pantainos, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 67, pls 48b, 49; Houses Α, Β, Δ at Areopagus, *ibid.* 38–40, pl. 26; the “House of Proclus”, *ibid.* 42–44, pl. 27b; KARIVIERI, The ‘House of Proclus’ 115–139, fig. 11; the building on Nikes and Apollonos street, I.C. THREPSIADIS, *Ρωμαϊκή Ἑπταυλὶς ἐν Ἀθήναις. Polemon* 5 (1952–1953) 126–141; I. BALDINI-LIPPOLIS, La monumentalizzazione tardo antica di Atene. *Ostraka* 4 (1995) 169–190 at 176, fig. 4e; the complex at the junction of Vasilissis Sophias and Herodus Atticus street, *ADelt* 38 (1983) 23–25; PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, *City* 191–194; the building on Makrygiannis street 21–27, *ADelt* 24 (1969) 56; *ADelt* 23 (1968) 74–75; the building on Dionysiou Areopagitou and Makre 1, *ADelt* 38 (1983) 22–23, pl. 3.

(*triclinium*)³⁶ with mosaic floor³⁷, a large number of rooms, some of them with mosaic floors too (6 and 32)³⁸ and a private bath (Central Bath)³⁹. The main entrance must be sought to the north, on NMA-IV road, whereas a secondary passageway (11) provides also access from the NMA-I road on the south⁴⁰. A space with colonnade or pillars on its north side (20), located west of the apsidal room, possibly leads to a central peristyle courtyard (27)⁴¹. A second courtyard with a well (9) lies to the west of corridor 11, while one more corridor (IX) facilitates the bath's refueling and its function. The bath belongs to the "parallel row type"⁴². The *frigidarium* (I) with two basins (Ia, Ib) lies to the east and includes the *apodyterium* as well. To the west are the heated rooms: the *tepidarium* (III), in the shape of an imperfect circle, with one square basin (IIIa), the *sudatorium* (IV) for a steam bath and the *caldarium* (V), with two semicircular (Va, Vb) niches and a rectangular one (Vc) for a basin.

From House Ξ, only part of the western section with the entrance (7) and two oblong rooms (11 and 12)⁴³ most possibly belonging to the western colonnade of the courtyard, has been investigated. The cluster of rooms 1–10 to the southeast expands over the remains of the West Roman Bath⁴⁴. It is interesting that a number of marble sculptures of the Hellenistic and Roman period⁴⁵

36 On the usage of *triclinia*, UYTTERHOEVEN, Housing 53; SODINI, Habitat *passim*; L. ÖZGENEL, Public Use and Privacy in Late Antique Houses in Asia Minor: the Architecture of Spatial Control, in: Housing in Late Antiquity, 239–281 at 253–259.

37 A small fragment of white and black *tesserae* that form geometric patterns is preserved.

38 The multicolored *tesserae* of the mosaic in room 6 formed intertwined circles and three metopes depicting scenes now destroyed. There are no exact parallels, but the general features of the mosaic direct to the early products of the Athenian Workshop, ASEMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα II, 9–232.

39 On late antique private baths, UYTTERHOEVEN, Housing 54–55.

40 For cases with multiple entrances, ÖZGENEL, Public Use and Privacy 249–251; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity fig. 26; E. PAVLIDIS, Nicopolis. The Domus of the Ekdikos Georgios. Directorate of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities. Scientific Committee of Nicopolis Monuments of Nicopolis 5. Athens 2005 *passim*.

41 The reconstruction of the entrance and the courtyard is hypothetical based on plans of the houses at Areopagus, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity pls 26–27.

42 I. NIELSEN, Thermae et Balnea. The Architectural and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths. Aarhus 1990, 114, n. 140. The bath at the Palace of the Giants belongs to the same type, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 107–108, pls 52–54.

43 The revealed hearths were adjacent to the wall between these two rooms; a latrine was built in the southwest corner of room 12; on hearths in late antique houses, UYTTERHOEVEN, Housing 56.

44 ELEFThERATOU, Στοιχεία 194–196, figs 18–19.

45 Over the practice of the disposal of pagan statues into wells, drains, and rivers by Christians, aiming to uproot the statues' 'demonic' power, H.G. SARADI, Late Paganism and Christianization in Greece, in: 'Paganism' 263–309 at 295–296; on the attitude that demons lived in temples and statues of ancient gods, EADEM, Christian Attitudes 54–56; EADEM, The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality. Athens 2006, 378–380; KALDELLIS, Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας 353, n. 3.

which depict Greek deities⁴⁶, as well as one Syrian god, Zeus Heliopolitanus⁴⁷, were recovered from well 39, in the secondary courtyard 4 (fig. 5). Another group of sculptures had been found earlier, south of room 3, on NMA-IV road, possibly in a deposit⁴⁸ while the statue of Osiris-Dionysus⁴⁹ must have come from somewhere nearby. A third smaller group of sculptures was found in the southern section of room 3⁵⁰. Perhaps these sculptures belonged to the owner of the grand Roman house with the private bath. However, since the well was still used during the period under study, the disposal of the sculptures had not taken place yet, therefore they were also connected with House Ξ⁵¹. Important artifacts depicting deities, in some case eastern, were as well retrieved in the

46 The group included a naiskos of Cybele, one relief, one torso, one statuette and one head of Asclepius, a statuette of Hygeia, part of the head of a statuette of Telesphorus, a statuette of Aphrodite and Eros, a relief of a sleeping Eros, a head of a herm, and small fragments of other sculptures, I. TRIANTI, *Ανάγλυφο Ασκληπιού από το οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη*, in: *Έπαινος* Luigi Beschi (eds A. DELIBORRIAS *et al.*). Athens 2011, 381–396. It also included a female colossal head of Aphrodite with heavily damaged features, Πραξιτέλης, *Κατάλογος Έκθεσης* (eds N. KALTSAS – G. DESPINIS). Athens 2007, 116–119, no. 23.

47 I. TRIANTI, *Ανατολικές θεότητες στη Νότια Κλιτύ της Ακρόπολης*, in: *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή* 391–409 at 393–396, figs 4–7.

48 The sculptures were found in 1980 in a trial trench, *ADelt* 35 (1980) 26–27: two statuettes of Aphrodite, one of Athena, one of a seated Cybele and a pair of marble legs that I. Trianti attributes to the statue of Osiris-Dionysus, TRIANTI, *Ανατολικές θεότητες* 395–404.

49 According to TRIANTI, *Ανατολικές θεότητες* 396–402, most possibly it depicts Isis Panthea; however, the common features it shares with a statue of Osiris Chronocrator in Palazzo Altemps in Rome, F. MANERA – C. MAZZA, *Le collezioni Egizie del Museo Nazionale Romano*. Milan 2001, 127, no. 96; M. BOMMAS, *Isis, Osiris, and Serapis in the Roman Period*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (ed. C. RIGGS). Oxford 2012, 419–435 at 431, suggests that it depicts Osiris Chronocrator, in his identification with Dionysus. The simulation of the two gods is testified in literary sources and archaeological finds, *Ibid.* 431; M. POLOGIORGI, *Ελεφάντινες απεικονίσεις Αιγυπτίων Θεών στην Αθήνα κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα*. *AEphem* (2008) 121–177 at 152–155. See also the headless statue from Gortyn, Κρήτη – Αίγυπτος. *Πολιτιστικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών*. *Κατάλογος έκθεσης* (eds A. KARETSOU *et al.*). Heraklion 2000, 444–445, no. 513.

50 Among smaller fragments were found a fragment of a relief depicting an amphora flanked with snakes and one small headless statuette of a seated male, of the philosopher's type S 1053 from the Agora, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 41, pl. 39c.

51 To these the head of a statue of Athena from room 6a, one headless statue of Artemis used as building material in the nearby drain of NMA-II road, CH. VLASSOPOULOU, *Τρία ιδεαλιστικά γλυπτά από το οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη στο Μουσείο Ακρόπολης*, in: *Έπαινος* Luigi Beschi 25–35 at 29–33, 25–27, and the unpublished torso of a young man with chlamys, should be added. Moreover, a votive relief depicting Asclepius and his worshippers was placed as a cover over the METPO-I drain during its last repair, perhaps in the 6th/7th century, PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, *City* 39. Lastly, two headless statues of Selene and Cybele were used as building material in a Middle Byzantine wall, over the south stoa of House ΣΤ. For Cybele see, ELEFATHERATOU, *Το Μουσείο και η ανασκαφή* 66, no. 156.

area of House Z⁵². Eastern deities are also represented by the ivory figurines of the 4th– 5th century which were found in well M54 at the other end of the “Makriyiannis plot”⁵³. Since none of these artifacts was found in situ we cannot be certain whether they served ritual or decorative purposes, neither do they necessarily reveal the religious identity of their owners⁵⁴. Nevertheless, they reflect the aesthetics and intellectual concerns of people who lived in an era of philosophical quests, mystique eastern cults, salvation dogmas and practices of theurgy⁵⁵.

In the beginning of the 5th century Athens experiences the last revival of paganism as Neoplatonism rekindles pagan traditions⁵⁶. The foundation of the University of Constantinople (Pandidakterion) by Theodosius II in 425, however, undermines the authority of Athenian philosophical schools, reduces the inflow of students, leads the educational system to a crisis and affected the city’s economy⁵⁷. The new Christianized ruling class gradually marginalizes the

52 One relief plaque which depicts a Triad of Palmyrene Gods, N. SARAGA, Αναθηματικό ανάγλυφο με παράσταση θεϊκής Παλμυρικής Τριάδας από την ανασκαφή για το νέο Μουσείο Ακρόπολης, in: What’s New in Roman Greece. Recent Work on the Greek Mainland and the Islands in the Roman Period (eds V. DI NAPOLI *et al.*, Athens 2018, 487–504), along with pottery and a lamp of the 5th century, were found in room 8. The torso of a statuette of Artemis of Ephesus was found in the filling of room 19, TRIANTI, Ανατολικές θεότητες 391–392, and a statuette of the Triform Hecate was located near courtyard 14, ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή 70, no. 166.

53 The group includes one figurine of Isis-Tyche, two of Osiris-Dionysus, one of Sarapis Cosmocrator, one small relief plaque depicting Zeus-Sarapis and one fragment of a figurine of Hercules, POLOGIORGI, Ελεφάντινες απεικονίσεις. In the same well a marble head of Hygeia, VLASSOPOULOU, Τρία ιδεαλιστικά γλυπτά 27–33, a marble statuette of Asclepius, ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή 69, no. 164, and a group of unpublished bronze figurines of Aphrodite, Eros, Heracles (?), Athena, and Apollo were found; on the latter, *ibid.* 72, no. 173; about the use of older sculptures in household shrines, STIRLING, The Learned Collector 199–210; POLOGIORGI, Ελεφάντινες απεικονίσεις 124–127.

54 Collections of pagan sculptures were also formed by Christians so that their wealth, education and social status would be shown off, STIRLING, The Learned Collector 22–28. There seems to have been a substantial number of Christians who had a classical education in Athens during late antiquity, KALDELLIS, Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας 88. However, we cannot oversee the fact that deities such as Asclepius, Hygeia, and Cybele are a standard choice of many pagan households in Athens over late antiquity, BALDINI-LIPPOLIS, La monumentalizzazione 176–177, n. 35–37; STIRLING, The Learned Collector 199–210; SARADI, Paganism 275–280. See also I. BALDINI in this volume. About Asclepius as the god-protector of Neoplatonists, DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων 186.

55 G.W. BOWERSOCK, Hellenism in Late Antiquity. Ann Arbor 1990, *passim*; DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων 130–143.

56 FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 19–20, 38. On Neoplatonism in Athens, WATTS, City and School 87–123; DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων 161–244.

57 *Ibid.* 183–184.

pagan elite⁵⁸, with whom the heads of the Schools retain strong connections⁵⁹, and polytheism becomes ostracized from the public sphere, even though it remains alive in private worship⁶⁰. The function of ancient temples ends and Christian churches are founded in Athens, one of which, Tetraconch in the atrium of the Library of Hadrian, in the heart of the city⁶¹.

It would be intriguing to associate the houses of our excavation to Christian or non-Christian occupants, however, evidence to corroborate their religious identity has not been found. At this point we note that objects with obvious Christian connotations, such as lamps and vases with crosses or allegorical symbols, as well as *ampoullae*, were found in the context of the 6th century and beyond⁶².

It is during this period that the public East Bath situated to the southeast of Building Z operates⁶³. Of a public character was probably also the latrine located in a narrow unbuilt zone defined by NMA-II, NMA-IV, and NMA-VIII, which hosted similar facilities since the Hellenistic times⁶⁴. Over the course of the 5th century the aforementioned buildings are destroyed⁶⁵ and some of them, like the East Bath, are permanently abandoned.

Second Building Phase

After some time, possibly around the mid-5th century, more changes take place. An impressive building, the new Building Z, extends in the area where road NMA-IV, buildings Z and Ξ, and the East Bath formerly stood (figs 6, 7). The complex occupies most of the triangular space bounded to east, west, and

58 FOWDEN, *The Athenian agora* 500–501; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 139, 163, 253–256; BAZZECHI, *Identity* 468–470; KALDELLIS, *Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας* 22–101.

59 E.J. WATTS, *Athens between East and West: Athenian Elite Self-Presentation and the Durability of Traditional Cult in Late Antiquity*. *GRBS* 57/1 (2017) 191–213 at 193–194, 205–206; BAZZECHI, *Identity* 468.

60 FOWDEN, *The Athenian agora* 501; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 141–142; SARADI, *Paganism* 275–280.

61 The majority of scholars connect the foundation of the Tetraconch with Empress Eudocia in the second half of the 5th century, FOWDEN, *The Athenian agora* 499; KARIVIERI, *The So-called Library of Hadrian* 89–113; DI BRANCO, *Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων* 141–142; KALDELLIS, *Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας* 66–67.

62 A selection of lamps and *ampoullae* is included in ELEFThERATOU, *Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή* 75–78, 89–90, 92, nos 182–190, 230–233, 240–241. On vessels with crosses, MANOLI, *Κεραμική* 637–641, pls 36–37.

63 ELEFThERATOU, *Ανατολικό Λουτρό*.

64 It shares common features with the public latrine in the southwestern corner of the Agora, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 33, pl. 21c.

65 The finds from the few undisturbed destruction layers of this phase do not exceed the mid-5th century.

south by the three main roads, however, it bypasses Houses Γ, Η, and ΣΤ on the lowest terrace, which remain independent properties.

The rooms of the new building are organized in wings arranged around a central peristyle courtyard (1) to which the remains that were found in the basement of the Weiler building are thought to belong⁶⁶. The part of the stylobate with the mosaic floor was attributed to the western stoa (1a)⁶⁷ whereas the fragments of a second mosaic floor to the east one (1b)⁶⁸.

The entrance (44) to the northwest is in the form of a semicircular exedra⁶⁹ with a mosaic floor⁷⁰ and a stairway leading to the lower eastern level. A curved wall further south is most probably the arched end of a large hall (2). Its position near the entrance, the direct connection with the central courtyard and its bordering by smaller rooms, supports its interpretation as a formal audience hall⁷¹. To the east, a square hall (10) paved with marble slabs could have been the *triclinium* of the residence⁷². A similar floor is encountered in an adjacent semi-circular space (11)⁷³. Its position close to the hypothetical southern stoa, the recession of the floor by approximately 40 cm, as well as the adjacent drainage system, makes its interpretation as a *nymphaeum* very appealing⁷⁴.

66 The mosaic was found in 1835 during the foundation of the Military Hospital and was kept *in situ*, PETRAKOS, Η Ιστορία 83–89; it was found anew in 1986 over the restoration of the building, *ADelt* 41 (1986) 12–15 and it was removed and conserved.

67 Multicolored *tesserae* form a geometric pattern. ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα 137, n. 160 compares it to a mosaic dated to the 5th–6th century, *ADelt* 38 (1983) 16–18, pl. 18a; it shares specific characteristics with the mosaic in the building of the National Gardens, ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα 131, pls 206–207.

68 Multicolored *tesserae* form eight-petal rosettes with bent leaves, as well as triangles, chain guilloche, and spirals. The excavators place it in the Roman period, *ADelt* 41 (1986) 12, however, its similarities to late antique mosaics indicate a later date. For the rosette pattern, ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα 134, pl. 212β and 132, pl. 210 γ, δ.

69 The semicircular shape is often used for entrances of both secular and religious complexes, STIRLING, *The Learned Collector* 37–49, fig. 11; J. BARDILL, *The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study*. *AJA* 101 (1997) 67–95, *passim*; SARADI, *City* 393–395, pl. 46.8.

70 It is almost identical with the mosaic of the apse in the ‘House of Proclus’, ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα 122, pl. 180β.

71 E.g. the audience halls in ÖZGENEL, *Public Use and Privacy*; the surrounding rooms could have served for the visitors’ accommodation, UYTTERHOEVEN, *Housing* 59.

72 In Asia Minor the large rectangular and square halls of houses with separate audience halls are interpreted as *triclinia*, ÖZGENEL, *Public Use and Privacy* 259–262.

73 M. VITTI, Το δάπεδο του Διονυσιακού Θεάτρου στην Αθήνα, in: *Αρχιτέκτων. Τμηματικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Μανόλη Κορρέ* (eds K. ZAMPAS *et al.*). Athens 2016, 250, n. 33, fig. 7: B.

74 Water would be channeled into the apsed room in the same way as in the *nymphaeum* of House C at Areopagus, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 40. Other *nymphaeums*, THREPSIADIS, *Ρωμαϊκή Έπαιυλις*; É. MORVILLIEZ, *La Fontaine du Seigneur Julius à Carthage*, in: *Studiola in honorem Noël Duval, Mélanges d’antiquité tardive* (eds C. BALMELLE *et al.*). Turnhout 2004, 47–55; STIRLING, *The Learned Collector* 49–62, fig. 23, are similar but with a perimetrical water channel. The difference between these *nymphaea* and ours is that the latter is not combined

Moving further to the east, a big oval hall (15), perhaps a vestibule⁷⁵, is flanked by smaller rooms three of which (16, 22 and 23) feature mosaic floors⁷⁶. The circular hall to the right is likely an ingenious architectural solution aiming to refine the difference in the axes of the convergent roads⁷⁷. To the southwest of the peristyle, the Central Bath is repaired and expanded with the addition of a new hall, most possibly a *caldarium* (VII), as well as two basins in the *frigidarium* (Ic, Id).

An attempt in a perspective reconstruction resulted in an imposing building complex with three courtyards, which ensured lighting, ventilation and communication. If we assume that the rooms around the western and central courtyards house public functions, then the rooms flanking the east courtyard must have been the owner's private chambers⁷⁸. The bath was adjacent to the public wing, serving both occupants and visitors⁷⁹. The unoccupied areas to the west and south were possibly gardens⁸⁰, whereas the rooms along the roads could have been storage spaces, personnel lodging or stabling⁸¹. Building's Z lavish interior decoration is revealed by the tens of fragments of columns and marble revetment of various kinds, some with relief decoration, which were discovered in the building's destruction layers⁸².

The morphological characteristics of the complex and the surface of at least 3700 sq m that it occupies, classify it among the most significant buildings of the city⁸³. Its multi-centered form signifies that its architecture integrates

with a *triclinium*. On small nymphaea, fountains, and cisterns in domestic peristyle courtyards in Asia Minor, ÖZGENEL, Public Use and Privacy 248–249.

75 For similar vestibules, F. ATHANASIOU *et al.*, Οι οικοδομικές φάσεις των Ανακτόρων του Γαλερίου στη Θεσσαλονίκη. *AEMTh* 18 (2004) 239–254; SODINI, Habitat 457–458, fig. 37; S. LADSTAETTER, Ephesus in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period: Changes in its Urban Character from the Third to the Seventh Century, in: *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond* (ed. A. POULTER). Oxford 2007, 405, fig. 8; ÖZGENEL, Public Use and Privacy fig. 6b; A.C. ARNAU, Interpreting the transformation of late roman villas: the case of Hispania, in: *Landscapes of Change: rural evolutions in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (ed. N. CHRISTIE). Burlington VT, 2004, 67–102, fig. 3.2.6.

76 On the mosaics of rooms 16 and 23, PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, City 90–91, 88–89; from the mosaic in room 22 only a small fragment with white and black *tesserae* is preserved.

77 Circular halls are known in many private palatial complexes, e.g. BARDILL, Lausus fig. 1.

78 See also the Palace of the Giants, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 98.

79 S. ČURČIĆ, Late-Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993) 67–90 at 71.

80 Similar case in the Palace of the Giants, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 97.

81 Similar case in Messene, P. THEMELIS, Υστερορωμαϊκή και Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη, in: Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη και Ολυμπία. Αστικός και αγροτικός χώρος στη Δυτική Πελοπόννησο (eds P. THEMELIS – B. KONTI). Athens 2002, 37.

82 ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή 22–23, nos 5–10. For the late-antique house decoration, UYTTERHOEVEN, Housing 59–64.

83 Perhaps it is the largest building excavated so far in Athens, following the Palace of the Giants with a surface covering ca. 13,500 sq m, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 98. The houses at

functions and services of a public nature⁸⁴. Similar buildings have been found all over the Mediterranean and are interpreted as imperial mansions, headquarters of high ranking officials of the state or church, or residencies of local patrons⁸⁵. They have more than one courtyard, usually peristyle, audience halls, large, often apsed, *triclinia*, luxurious internal decoration and a variety of spaces that served the multiple needs of their residents.

There are no inscriptions or other kind of testimonia which may help define the identity or the status of Building's Z owner. His connection to the central administration is implied by two female busts that were found near the central entrance and possibly depict Ladies of the imperial court – one of them probably Empress Eudocia herself (fig. 8, center).⁸⁶ The philosophical education as well as the aesthetics of the owner are emphasized by the hermaic stele with Aristotle's bust which was found in room 46 (fig. 8)⁸⁷, the double-sided hermaic stele with the heads of Hermes and Dionysos found next to the garden exit of room 16⁸⁸ and the head of a marble statue of an athlete or god, which was recovered in the same garden, near corridor's 36 east wall⁸⁹. Another statue related to Building Z is that of the sleeping Maenad which was discovered near the Weiler building in 1880 and today is stored in the National Archaeological Museum⁹⁰.

Two more sculptures, an oversized head of Asclepios and a head of Eubuleus, also kept in the National Archaeological Museum, were reportedly

Areopagus cover an area of 1000 to 1350 sq m, *ibid.* 37.

84 I. LAVIN, *The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. *ArtB* 44 (1962) 1–27 at 6; S.P. ELLIS, *The End of the Roman House*. *AJA* 92/4 (1988) 565–576 at 569.

85 LAVIN, *The House of the Lord* 6; ELLIS, *House* 573–576; CASTRÉN, *Post-Herulian Athens*; I. BALDINI, *Palatia, praetoria et episcopia: alcune osservazioni*, in: *La villa restaurata e i nuovi studi sull'edilizia residenziale tardoantica*. *Atti del CISEM* (eds P. PENSABENE – C. SFAMENI). Bari 2014, 163–170.

86 CHOREMI-SPETSIERI, *Πορτρέτα* 115–127. The bust of 'Eudocia' was found in room 48 and the other one in room 45, in destruction layers of the late 6th century, which shows that, both, remained in the building until the end.

87 ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Πορτρέτα από πρόσφατες ανασκαφές γύρω από την Ακρόπολη*, in: *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή 371–388* at 371–379. It should be noted that one more herme, supposedly depicting the philosopher Anaximander, was found in the vicinity of House Θ, *ibid.* 379–381. Finally, one head of a sophist was retrieved from well M34, ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Προτομή ηλικιωμένου "σοφιστή" από τους ΝΑ πρόποδες της Ακρόπολης*, in: *Έπαινος Luigi Beschi* 409–417.

88 PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, *City* 108–110. Even if the owner of Building Z was Christian, its appearance might be related to the survival of the pagan belief that hermaic stelae protected entrances, SARADI, *Paganism* 297–299.

89 I. TRIANTI, *Κεφαλή νέου στον τύπο του Αθλητή Petworth από το οικοπέδο Μακρυγιάννη στην Αθήνα*, in: *Έπαινος Luigi Beschi* 1–11.

90 N. KALTSAS, *Τα Γλυπτά. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*. Athens 2001, no. 737. About sculpture collections after the 5th century, SARADI-MENDELOVICI, *Christian Attitudes* 47–61, n. 113.

found in the vicinity of the Weiler building, without further indication of their precise find spot⁹¹.

There is no doubt that the owner of Building Z was a distinguished member of Athenian society that possessed wealth, power and authority. During the second half of the 5th century, when the construction of Building Z is placed, lived a number of prominent people of considerable wealth and political influence, like the descendants of Plutarch, the founder of the Neoplatonic School of Philosophy, senator Theagenes⁹², to whom Proclus was affiliated⁹³, or the politician Rufinus, who helped Proclus by offering him a generous donation when he returned from his exile in Asia⁹⁴. Despite the fact that this period is considered to be an era of stagnation and marginalization for the city that afflicted the economy, politics, religion as well as urban planning⁹⁵ it seems that there was a ruling class of wealthy citizens able to provide themselves with luxurious residences⁹⁶. There has been an attempt to connect many important late antique houses in Athens with specific personalities. Within this framework, the Palace of the Giants was initially attributed to Herculus⁹⁷ and later to Empress Eudocia or her brother Gessius⁹⁸. It has been suggested that House C in Areopagus was the residence of Theagenes, which was later handed over to Damascius⁹⁹. House X to the south of the Acropolis has been thought to have been Plutarch's, Syrianus' and Proclus' residence¹⁰⁰. After finding Plato's marble head at the Metro excavations¹⁰¹, the "Makriyiannis plot" was considered to be the most suitable location for Proclus' residence¹⁰² even though Aristotle's bust had not been discovered yet and the full size of Building Z was unknown. It is obvious that the aforementioned houses, including Building Z, belonged to prominent members of Athenian

91 KALTSAS, Τα Γλυπτά 262, 265, nos 547 and 554 respectively.

92 CASTRÉN, Post-Herulian Athens 13–14; WATTS, City and School 116, 119–121 and n. 36; DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων 203–204, 227–228.

93 KARIVIERI, Proclus; WATTS, City and School 100–118; DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων 118–222.

94 Ibid. 201.

95 Ibid. 181–262.

96 CASTRÉN, Post-Herulian Athens 11; ZAVAGNO, Cities *passim*.

97 FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 65.

98 FOWDEN, The Athenian agora 498; SIRONEN, Inscriptions 52 ff.; DI BRANCO, Η Πόλη των Φιλοσόφων 253–255; SARADI, City 257.

99 SARADI, Paganism 279.

100 KARIVIERI, Proclus; CASTRÉN, Paganism and Christianity 216 ff. Some scholars have expressed serious objections, e.g. ZAVAGNO, Cities 36.

101 I. TRIANTI, Ένα πορτραίτο του Πλάτωνα, in: Αρχαία Ελληνική Γλυπτική. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του γλύπτη Στέλιου Τριάντη (ed. D. DAMASKOS). Athens 2002, 157–169.

102 CASTRÉN, Paganism and Christianity 217–218; STIRLING, The Learned Collector 203–204.

society; nevertheless, their connection with specific personages or functions¹⁰³ cannot be proved.

Getting back to the excavation data, we observe that House A to the south of NMA-I road undergoes alterations. Among the most notable are its expansion to the east, the unification of rooms 9 and 10¹⁰⁴, the transfer of its latrine to room 4, the permanent interruption in the use of well 114, the blocking of inter-column space of the north and east stoa with a low wall, and the establishment of a kitchen in the north stoa equipped with ovens and hearths. This is the form the residence retains until the end of the 5th and the beginning of 6th century, as a hoard found in a small pit in the latest floor of room 11 proves. The hoard contained 23 coins with the latest being three nummi dating in the reign of Anastasius I. In a following phase House A is replaced by House B, which will be examined below.

Third Building Phase

The long building activity comes to an end with the erection of two new structures in a different layout: Building E to the north of NMA-I road and House B to the south (figs 9, 10).

Building E is founded on the remains of Houses Γ, H, and ΣΤ, as well as part of NMA VIII road which had remained intact until then. Taking advantage of the lower level of the pre-existing houses, building E develops on two stories, of which only the remains of the lowest are preserved. The upper storey, located on the same level as Building's Z ground floor, probably consisted the principal living quarter whereas the lowest one housed supplementary functions¹⁰⁵.

The core of the building was a large apsidal room, possibly an audience hall (50), flanked by smaller chambers. The hall communicates with a small

103 See e.g. the identification of the Areopagus houses with Philosophical Schools, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 37–48, which has been seriously questioned, FOWDEN, *The Athenian agora* 495–496; KARIVIERI, *Proclus* 138; SODINI, *Habitat* 464–465; ZAVAGNO, *Cities* 35–36; P. BONINI, *Παράδοση και καινοτομία στις οικίες της ρωμαϊκής Αθήνας*. *ATech* 114 (2010) 59–66 at 62–65. The public complex of the 5th/6th century in Alexandria gives an idea about the form of teaching halls, G. MAJCHEREK, *The Auditoria on Kom el-Dikka: A Glimpse of Late Antique Education in Alexandria*, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology*. Ann Arbor MI 2010, 471–484.

104 A coin with the monogram of Marcianus dated to 450–457 from the lowest floor of the unified rooms shows that the alterations took place after the mid-fifth century.

105 For this type of residence, W. BOWDEN – R. HODGES, *An 'Ice Age' settling on the Roman Empire: Post-Roman Butrint between Strategy and Serendipity*, in: *Urbes Extinctae, Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns* (eds N. CHRISTIE – A. AUGENTI). Farnham–Burlington VT, 2012, 221.

triconch (51), whose interpretation is puzzling: it could be a *triclinium* reserved for the owner's closest associates¹⁰⁶ or a private chapel.¹⁰⁷ To the northwest, a circular room (52) with particularly reinforced masonry, perhaps, constitutes a tower (fig. 11)¹⁰⁸. Moving further to the west, an underground construction (60) is formed by a vaulted well and a connected doomed chamber, which most possibly also supported the staircase that led to the upper floor. To the southwest end a limited number of rooms of the older House Γ remain in use and one of them hosts a latrine (71).

During this period Building Z continues to function with a few adjustments which are marked on plan by a dashed line (fig. 9). Hall 10 seems to still be in use as a *triclinium*, as many opulent villas had more than one *triclinia*¹⁰⁹, and the Central Bath is extended once more with the addition of a new heated room (VIII).

Issues on dating and interpreting Building E, still concern us. Despite its compact architecture¹¹⁰ it is not an independent building, but forms a new wing in Building Z, which was added when the need arose or the conditions permitted it. There is no other way to explain neither its incorporation into an older construction nor the absence of a central courtyard, a facade and an entrance. Instead, its connection with Building Z provides access between the apsidal room and the central courtyard via a vestibule, through which access to the bath is also achieved.

Regarding the period of construction of Building E, the thorough study of the archaeological data demands that we reappraise our initial assessment, according to which it was placed in the beginning of the 7th century¹¹¹. Pottery and lamps from floors and foundation trenches, one follis of Justinian I from the floor of room 58, a hoard of coins related to the abandonment of House Γ¹¹², as well as the subsequent activity in some parts of the building, as we

106 The room is much smaller than the triconch *triclinia* found in complexes in the western provinces of the empire and northern Africa mostly. On the origins, the use and popularity of triconch halls as *triclinia*, LAVIN, The House of the Lord; on the rarity of this type in the eastern provinces, M.L. BERENFELD, The Triconch House and the Predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias. *AJA* 113 (2009) 222.

107 UYTTERHOEVEN, Housing 57–59; S.P. ELLIS, Late Antique Housing and the Uses of Residential Buildings: An Overview, in: *Housing in Late Antiquity* 9.

108 As in the case of the Palace of the Giants at the Agora, FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 106 and n. 18 for examples from other regions.

109 PETRIDIS, Παράτηρήσεις 250.

110 Compact architecture is considered to be the ultimate stage in the development of palace complexes, ĆURČIĆ, Palaces 72.

111 ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή 18–19; D. PANTERMALIS – S. ELEFATHERATOU – Ch. VLASSOPOULOU, Acropolis Museum. Guide (ed. S. ELEFATHERATOU). Athens 2015, 32–33.

112 Found in room 4, inside the base of amphora LR 3. It consisted of 15 coins, the latest of which was a nummus of Anastasius I. One more hoard of 74 coins, among which nine nummi

shall see below, lower its dating to the 6th century, most possibly to its first half.

The addition of the new wing increases the complex's surface to 5000 sq m at least. Additionally, its innovative, for Athenian standards, features, such as the second apsidal hall and the *triconch*¹¹³, strengthen its monumental character¹¹⁴ and make it a unique example in 6th century Athens¹¹⁵. Built in the style of palatial architecture¹¹⁶, it reflects the high office of its owner¹¹⁷. The lack of epigraphic testimonia does not allow an identification of its function, as its architectural features occur in luxurious residencies as well as in governmental and bishop's palaces¹¹⁸.

What can be emphasized is that the new wing is constructed during a period in which a new reality takes shape on the southern slopes of the Acropolis, marked by the foundation of Christian basilicas in the Theater of Dionysus¹¹⁹, the Asclepeion¹²⁰, and the Olympieion¹²¹, as well as the conversion of the Parthenon into a Christian church¹²². Justinian's decree against philosophical teachings in Athens¹²³ does not seem to have had an impact on the urban planning of the region. Moreover, the repair of the Valerian wall under the same emperor¹²⁴ indicates that Athenian population was sizeable

of Anastasius I, was found next to the western wall of room 31 of Building Z.

113 There is no other known triconch in a secular building in Athens. ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα 125, pls 190, 190α, refers to a room with mosaic floor as a triconch; however, the excavators describe it as a horseshoe-shape, *ADelt* 37 (1983) 20–21, fig. 17.

114 The triconch is regarded as an indication of extravagance, LAVIN, *The House of the Lord* 6.

115 On Athens of the 6th century, SARADI, *City passim*.

116 BALDINI, *Palatia*; ĆURČIĆ, *Palaces*; SARADI, *City* 252–258.

117 The combination of chapels, audience halls and *triclinia* are only found in a small group of late antique houses, which were clearly owned by leading provincials, ELLIS, *House* 570.

118 CASTRÉN, *Post-Herulian Athens* 11; ELLIS, *Late Antique Housing* 7–10.

119 Around the end of the 5th century, TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary* 538; TZAVELLA, *Burial* 364; SARADI, *City* 322–323 (around the end of the 5th century); CASTRÉN, *Paganism and Christianity* 221 (6th century).

120 Different dates have been suggested: the end of the 5th century, CASTRÉN, *Paganism and Christianity* 221; SARADI, *City* 360; the end of the 5th/beginning of the 6th century, TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary* 128; W. PAPAETHYMIΟΥ, Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών στους χριστιανικούς χρόνους, *AEphem* (2012) 84; in the 6th century, FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 92; WATTS, *Athenian Elite* 192.

121 In the 5th or the 6th century, TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary* 403.

122 MANGO, *The Conversion* 203, dates the conversion in the second half of the 5th century. Other scholars place it in the 6th century, FRANTZ, *From Paganism* 204; TANOULAS, Προπύλαια 270; TZAVELLA, *Burial* 365.

123 WATTS, *City and School* 131–142; FOWDEN, *Achaea* 565–567; E.J. WATTS, Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching in AD 529. *JRA* 94 (2004) 168–182.

124 THEOCHARAKI, *Circuit wall* 135–137.

enough to justify the investment in such an extensive fortification¹²⁵.

During this period, House B is constructed over the remains of House A (fig. 9). The old courtyard with the well is now used as a garden and a smaller courtyard with a new well, appears next to the new entrance (1). The floors of five rooms, the largest of which (3) could be identified as a *triclinium*, are paved with terracotta tiles. The morphology of this residence, like that of the contemporary house in the Tholos of the Athenian Agora¹²⁶, reflects the new tendencies in private architecture: the importance of the courtyard diminishes, the desire for showing off subsides, and the overall planning conforms to more practical needs¹²⁷.

Extant information on the precise time that the buildings were abandoned, and the reasons of their abandonment, is limited. A thick, destruction layer with signs of burning containing pottery and lamps¹²⁸ of the second half of the 6th century, covered the floor in rooms 46, 47, 48, 48a, next to the apsidal entrance of Building Z. A similar layer in room 14 of House B yielded a hoard of eleven coins, of which the newest ones are two half folles of Justine II and Sophia. It thus seems that at least these sections of the building are destroyed by fire over the third or last quarter of the 6th century and abandoned. It is difficult to prove whether this destruction is related to the Slavic invasion in Athens in 582/583, as has been suggested about other parts of the city¹²⁹. Besides, this invasion as well as its impact on the city's life is currently being re-examined¹³⁰.

Fourth Building Phase

In the following years the lower level of Building E is occupied by an establishment, perhaps of industrial character (fig. 12)¹³¹. The backfill from the interior of specific rooms was removed to the bedrock and some brick-made underground constructions were built: a cistern in room 55, four rectangular

125 JACOBS, Prosperity 75.

126 FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 83, pls 6, 73.d.

127 BONINI, Παράδοση 65–66.

128 KARIVIERI, The Athenian Lamp Industry no. 159, pl. 51; J. PERLZWEIG, Lamps of the Roman Period: First to Seventh Century after Christ (The Athenian Agora VII). Princeton 1961, nos 2807–2809, 2811–2817, pls 44, 50.

129 THOMPSON, Athenian Twilight 68, 70; METCALF, The Slavonic Threat 147; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 93–94.

130 ZAVAGNO, Cities 36, 40–41, 51–52; TZAVELLA, Burial 365–367.

131 On the conversion of large urban villas into areas of industrial activity from the 6th century onwards, PETRIDIS, Παράτηρήσεις 256–257.

“cists” in the south section of room 61 (room 61a), a three-trench vaulted construction in room 62 (cistern?), and some circular “furnaces” included in a peribolos in room 65. Similar “furnaces”, were found in rooms 57, 66, 67, and 79, as well as in the open air area west of room 64. All of them contained traces of burning in the form of charred wood, ash, and burnt animal bone. The “cists” as well as three shallow pits in the southeast corner of room 67 had the same content.

The finds from these rooms are of particular interest. The “cists” in room 61a contained three used lamps¹³², six lekythoi and two small jugs¹³³. In one of the “furnaces” in room 65 one thymiaterion¹³⁴ and two lamps¹³⁵ were found, whereas in another “furnace”, five lamps dating to the late 6th century. From room 67 come two similar two-handle cups, one from the room’s “furnace” and the other from a burnt fill. In the same fill a small lekythos, identical with those from the “cists” in room 61a, a miniature one-handle cup¹³⁶, and an *ampoulla*¹³⁷ were found. Two more two-handle cups were found, one at the bottom of the construction in room 62 and the other in the outdoor area west of room 67, together with an *ampoulla* (fig. 13)¹³⁸.

The homogeneity in the content of these constructions demonstrates that they were all part of one unified establishment of an uncertain nature¹³⁹. The period during which this facility operates is however of particular interest as it signifies the end of the urban character of the area. No coins were found, nevertheless, pottery and lamps suggest a date after the middle of the 6th

132 One lamp was found in the northwestern ‘cist’, cf. PERLZWEIG, Lamps no. 2368 (6th century), and two in the southwestern, *ibid.* nos 2807–2817 (second half of the 6th century), and no. 2656 (6th century). A few more lamps of the same period were found in the destruction layer.

133 One of the jugs is similar to a sixth-century example from Athens, *ADelt* 29 (1973–74) 131, pl. 102.b.

134 No exact parallel has been found yet. However, the shape brings to mind the older thymiateria from the necropolis of Pappus in Tynesia, BONIFAY, *Etudes sur la céramique* 299, 301, fig. 167. A similar thymiaterion of the 3rd century from the Agora, ROBINSON, *Pottery* 91, pl. 21, no. 74.

135 The first belongs to the type of KARIVIERI, *Lamp Industry* no. 160 (second half of the 6th century) and the second, to the type of PERLZWEIG, Lamps no. 2656 (6th century).

136 For similar cups dated to the 7th century, E. MARKI – M. CHEIMONOPOULOU, *Céramique de l’époque paléochrétienne tardive de la fouille de Louloudies en Piérie*, in: *7ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Μεσαιωνικής Κεραμικής της Μεσογείου*. Athens 2003, 707, no. 13, fig. 13; F. BLONDÉ *et al.*, *Thasos. La céramique d’usage quotidien dans une demeure paléochrétienne*, in: *ibid.* 774–775, figs 4–5, e.

137 J.W. HAYES, A New Type of Early Christian Ampulla. *ABSA* 66 (1971) 245, 247, pl. 36b1 (6th/7th century).

138 On the *ampoulla* ELEFTHERATOU, *Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή* 77, no. 187.

139 We cannot neglect the burial or ritual nature of the finds, such as the lekythoi, the thymiaterion, and the two-handle cups.

century¹⁴⁰. The lekythoi –one with painted decoration¹⁴¹ – lack precise parallels. However, they fall within a broad category of late sixth/seventh-century vessels that are encountered mostly in burial contexts not only in Greece but also abroad¹⁴². It thus seems quite probable that this establishment can be placed in the last years of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century. Regarding the two-handle cups, the only known examples derive from the so-called “the grave of the piglet” at the House of Proclus. The latter are usually placed in the end of the 5th¹⁴³ or the beginning of the 6th century¹⁴⁴, a date which should be reconsidered in the light of new data.

The conditions of retrieval of the two-handle cup in the construction in room 62 are quite intriguing. The vessel was placed upright in a shallow pit in the bottom of the construction. Two more cups with one cupping the other, were put in a second pit¹⁴⁵. Three similar deposits in rooms 58, 67, 69¹⁴⁶ and one in room 65 –where a marble vessel was used¹⁴⁷– possibly indicate

140 Many lamps from the second half of the 6th century have parallels in the Agora, however, their use, especially of those made from old molds, could have been continued, KARIVIERI, *Lamp Industry* 59; G.D.R. SANDERS, *Problems in Interpreting Rural and Urban Settlement in Southern Greece, AD 365–700*, in: *Landscapes of Change* 172.

141 Similar to HAYES, *Fine-Ware Imports* 257, 302, pl. 73, no. 1489 (5th/6th or 7th centuries). Painted pottery is dated from the end of the 6th to the 8th centuries, N. POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU, *Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τον Ελληνικό νησιωτικό χώρο και από την Πελοπόννησο (7ος–9ος αι.)*. Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση, in: *Οι Σκοτεινοί Αιώνες του Βυζαντίου (7ος–9ος αι.)* (ed. E. KOUNTOURA-GALANAKI). Athens 2001, 236–237.

142 Cf. ROBINSON, *Pottery* 121–122, pl. 35, nos 8–11. See also TZAVELLA, *Κεραμική*; W. MARTINI – C. STECKNER, *Das Gymnasium von Samos. Das frühbyzantinische Klostergut*. Bonn 1993, 120, fig. 35, 1.1, pl. 14.3; J. HJOHLMAN, *Pyrgouthi in Late Antiquity*, in: *Pyrgouthi. A Rural Site in the Berbati Valley from the Early Iron Age to Late Antiquity*. Excavations by the Swedish Institute at Athens 1995 and 1997 (eds J. HJOHLMAN *et al.*). Stockholm 2005, 190, 199, no. 174; G. CIAMPOLTRINI, *L'orciolo e l'olla. Considerazioni sulle produzioni ceramiche in Toscana fra VI e VII secolo*, in: *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo* (ed. L. SEGUI). Florence 1998, 294–295, figs 3, 4.1.

143 KARIVIERI, *Proclus* 133.

144 *Transition to Christianity. Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD* (ed. A. LAZARIDOU). New York 2011, 79.

145 The cups were empty and there have been no chemical tests so that organic residues can be identified on their interior. The cup type and the way that they have been deposited bring to mind the foundation sacrifice of the 1st century in Sardis, <http://news.wisc.edu/sardis-dig-yields-enigmatic-trove-ritual-egg-in-a-pot/> (last accessed on 22.10.2018).

146 In these rooms the deposits include a cup covered by a basin identical with one of the mid-sixth/beginning of the 7th century from Kos, S. DIDIOUMI, *Κεραμική παλαιοχριστιανικών χρόνων από την Κω: Στρώμα καταστροφής σε οικόπεδο της πόλης της Κω*, in: ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑ-ΒΑΚΙΡΤΖΙ – ΚΟΥΣΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ (eds), *Κεραμική* 808, no. Π4427.

147 It is an oval vessel that consists of two parts. Above its bottom a bull-head is engraved. No similar example has been found so far, nevertheless, its shape resembles an egg. For the egg's symbolism, M. LILIMPAKI-AKAMATI, *Τα σπίτια της Πέλλας*. *ATech* 113 (2009) 31; P. THEMELIS, *Ονοματολόγιο σκευών και αγγείων*, in: *ΣΤ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική*

some kind of ritual connected with the foundation of the facility. This ritual echoes the foundation sacrifices of pre-Christian time in houses and especially workshops in Athens¹⁴⁸. It seems that the old practice for the prevention of evil through ritual ceremonies was never forgotten¹⁴⁹.

Two underground vaulted cisterns at the northern end of the apsidal hall 50¹⁵⁰, the largest of which (Cistern XIX) is preserved in excellent condition¹⁵¹, as well as the circular Cistern XLIII within the circular hall 52, possibly belong to this period. The lifespan of this complex must have been short according to the pottery included in the layers related to its abandonment. Sometime later, possibly after the middle of the 7th century, a pottery workshop is established on the lower level of the Building E, with a kiln situated outdoors¹⁵². The workshop is dated by six bronze coins of Constans II, which were located in layers related to its use. Thirteen coins belonging to the same emperor's reign were found in both layers of use and destruction of the bath thus indicating its parallel function¹⁵³. A few coins of the same period were collected from areas within Building Z close to the bath¹⁵⁴.

Κεραμική. Athens 2004, 719–720. The bull-head was a chthonic symbol connected to Dionysus and Osiris. On Dionysus' chthonic nature, W. BURKERT, *Αρχαία Ελληνική Θρησκεία. Αρχαϊκή και Κλασσική Εποχή* (transl. N. BEZANTAKOS – A. AVAGIANOU). Athens 1993, 419, 596–597, 602–603. On Dionysus as a bull, *ibid.* 152, 287, 461. On Dionysus' worship in late antiquity, BOWERSOCK, *Hellenism* 95–118.

148 S.I. ROTROFF, *Industrial Religion. The Saucer Pyres of the Athenian Agora*. Princeton 2013. On foundation sacrifices from the plot Makrygianni, S. ELEFTHERATOU, Δύο “τελετουργικές πυρές” από την ανασκαφή για τον σταθμό “Ακρόπολις” του ΜΕΤΡΟ στο οικοπέδο Μακρυγιάννη. *ADelt* 51–52, Α' (1996–1997) 99–118, pls 37–42; PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, *City* 92–103; ELEFTHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή 52–57. On the origin of this ritual, W. BURKERT, *The orientalizing revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age*. Cambridge, MA 1992, 86–89.

149 Cf. the reference to the hierophant Nestorius by Zosimus (IV, 18, 3), according to which Nestorios appears to be saving Athens from an earthquake by placing a simulacrum of Achilles beneath the statue of Athena in the Parthenon and practicing a series of rituals before it. About the survival of pagan ritual and practices of magic in a Christian context over the 5th and 6th centuries, SARADI, *Paganism* 288–293.

150 A date in the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th centuries is indicated by three lamps of the type of PERLZWEIG, *Lamps* nos 2850, 2807, 2806, from within cistern XIX, whilst a fourth lamp of the type of no. 2941 may bring it as high as the 8th century.

151 The cistern walls are made exclusively of bricks very well set with hydraulic mortar. BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 183, incorrectly mentions that the vault is made of small stones, which leads him to compare it with the vault of the temple of Hephaisteion that has been converted into a church.

152 For a brief description, N. SARAGA, Εργαστήρια κεραμικής Βυζαντινών χρόνων στο Οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, in: *Αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια βιοτεχνικών εγκαταστάσεων κατά τη Βυζαντινή εποχή. 5ος–15ος αι. 22ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης*. Athens 2004, 261–263.

153 About the function of baths in the Christian world, SARADI, *City* 325–352.

154 Thirteen coins were found in room 10, one in room 11, one in room 16, and five at other

The function of two units continues down to at least the first decades of the 8th century, as bronze coins of Tiberius III¹⁵⁵, Philippicus¹⁵⁶, and Leon III¹⁵⁷ show. It is of interest that alongside the coins of Constans II, two bronze buckles were discovered. One of them belongs to the type with an inscribed X¹⁵⁸ and the other possibly to the Gátér type¹⁵⁹. Finally, one lead seal decorated with an eagle was found in the area of the bath, whereas two additional ones, also of the 7th century, were collected from two different unstratified find spots¹⁶⁰.

Probably around this period a small organized cemetery to the east of METRO-I road begins to be used (fig. 12)¹⁶¹. The graves are located in two clusters with twelve tiled-roof graves and fifteen cist ones, possibly vaulted, respectively¹⁶². The relationship between these clusters is unclear; it seems, however, that the tiled-roof graves are older¹⁶³. The absence of grave offerings may indicate a date from the mid-7th century onwards¹⁶⁴, whereas the use of

spots of the excavation area.

155 One bronze coin was found in room 10 along with coins of Heraclius and Constantine IV. Three additional coins of Heraclius and one of Constantine IV were found at other spots of the excavation area.

156 One coin found in the apsidal room 50 and two in the area of the Central Bath.

157 One coin found in room 10.

158 Found in the apse of room 50. Cf. N. ΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΠΑΠΑΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΥ, Βυζαντινές Πόρπτες. Η περίπτωση της Μεσσήνης και της Ελεύθερνας, in: Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη και Ολυμπία. Αστικός και αγροτικός χώρος στην Αστική Πελοπόννησο (eds P. THEMELIS – B. KONTI). Athens 2002, 130, fig. 4; EADEM, Οι χάλκινες πόρπτες, in: Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας Ι, Τόμος Α (ed. P. THEMELIS). Athens 2004, 236–237, fig. 3, no. M 2297 and 244, fig. 4, no. M 2316; MARTINI – STECKNER, Samos 128, pl. 39.5 and 17.5a.b, no. 5.5.

159 This comes from room 60. The central ring is flanked by animal or bird heads, cf. I. ANAGNOSTAKIS – N. ΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Η πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη (5ος–7ος αιώνας) και προβλήματα της χειροποίητης κεραμικής στην Πελοπόννησο. *ByzSym* 11 (1997) 245–246, fig. 10. In the same room two lamps of the 7th century were discovered, cf. PERLZWEIG, Lamps no. 2927, pl. 46; MARTINI – STECKNER, Samos 121, fig. 35, pl. 14, no. 1.4.

160 The first seal bears the inscription ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ, and the second ΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΤΟΥΛΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΗΝΣΟΥ.

161 The cemetery was investigated during the excavations conducted during the construction of the Acropolis metro station and initially was thought to have been Middle Byzantine, PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, City 39; BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 117–118 was the first to point out that the burials are early Christian and the graves reused. On intramural burials, TZAVELLA, Burial 353–358.

162 Similar graves have been excavated in many regions in Athens, e.g. PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, City 160, 121.

163 Early Christian burials higher up on the south slope of the Acropolis hill are considered to have begun in the end of the 5th century and continue down to the 7th and 8th centuries, TZAVELLA, Burial 354–355, 363; ΠΑΠΑΕΦΘΥΜΙΟΥ, Το Ασκληπιείο 98; TZAVELLA, Κεραμική 650. However, CASTRÉN, Paganism and Christianity 221–222, notes that the only burial securely dated is the one on the Acropolis that belongs to the second half of the 6th century.

164 TZAVELLA, Burial 368.

vaulted graves extends to the 11th–12th century, during which they are used as ossuaries¹⁶⁵.

The 7th and 8th centuries are considered to be a period of recession for Byzantium marked by the shrinking of ancient cities, as a result of the Slavic and Arabic raids inflicting the empire, and by major administrative, economic and social changes¹⁶⁶. The transformation of the former prosperous urban structure at the “Makriyiannis plot” into a regional industrial zone signifies spatial shrinkage¹⁶⁷. However, the continuation of industrial production and related trade reinforce the view that urban life continues in Athens throughout the so-called “Dark Ages”¹⁶⁸. The engravings on the Parthenon, as well as the lead seals used by the high ranking church and state officials provide information on the ecclesiastical and administrative organization of the period¹⁶⁹. It is not accidental that Emperor Constans II, along with his army and numerous cohorts, on his march to Sicily spent here the winter of 662/663¹⁷⁰.

As is usually the case with archaeological research, the questions that arise outnumber the answers. Is the upper storey of Building E still in use? Could the owners of the workshops be the residents¹⁷¹? What is their connection with the central administration? What do these workshops produce and is it related with the nearby cemetery? Finally, what is now the Central Bath’s nature and whose needs does it serve?

At any rate, by the 10th century all the buildings have collapsed and the area has been covered by ruins¹⁷² used as building material over the following centuries. A new industrial zone develops in the 11th–12th century, while in the

165 The graves contained large quantities of human bones, a few rings, chest crosses as well as bronze coins of the 11th and 12th centuries.

166 J.F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*. Cambridge 1990, 91–124.

167 The same happened after the siege of Sulla in 86 BC, after which the region was occupied by workshops for a long time, ELEFTHERATOU, Στοιχεία 187.

168 About the nature of urbanism in Athens and the city’s position within the empire during the 7th–9th centuries, ZAVAGNO, *Cities*.

169 Ibid. *passim*; PAPAETHYMIΟΥ, Το Αθλητικό 113.

170 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 117–120. The sojourn of Constans II in Athens has been correlated to the hoard of 234 golden coins found in the Asclepieion area, PAPAETHYMIΟΥ, Το Αθλητικό 113 with bibliography. Today the hoard is exhibited in the Acropolis Museum, PANTERMALIS – ELEFTHERATOU – VLASSOPOULOU, *Acropolis Museum* 302, fig. 365. KALDELLIS, Ο Βυζαντινός Παρθενώνας 130, n. 32, wrongly includes the hoard in the finds from the Acropolis Museum excavation.

171 Similar case in the ‘Archon’s House’ in Buthrotum of Albania, where the ninth-century residence coexisted with a pottery workshop; some of the finds (buckles, lead seals) correspond to finds from the ‘Makriyiannis Plot’, BOWDEN – HODGES, *Butrint* 223 ff., fig. 8.9.

172 Two coins of Constantine VII were found in the final destruction layers of rooms 55 and 60 in Building E.

beginning of the 13th century the area is completely abandoned¹⁷³.

The excavation results presented briefly in this paper are far from definite. They draw mainly on the study of the architectural remains and only partially on the movable finds which number more than a few thousands¹⁷⁴. Their ongoing study, along with the advantageous extensive retention of antiquities at the Acropolis Museum's base, will contribute decisively to our better understanding of the landscape and the people who inhabited it.

Acropolis Museum, Athens

173 PARLAMA – STAMBOLIDIS, City 39.

174 Since the beginning of the excavation, the archaeologist I. Karra is responsible for the demanding task of dating pottery groups and coins. The assistance provided by the archaeologists A. Vlachaki, D. Lykoudi, I. Bougatsou, F. Frangopoulou and L. Trakatelli, has been valuable for the completion of the present study. The plans have been executed by A. Nikas under the guidance of the author. I owe my warmest thanks to H. Saradi for her invaluable support and bibliographic help.



Fig. 2. General view of the excavation. ©Acropolis Museum

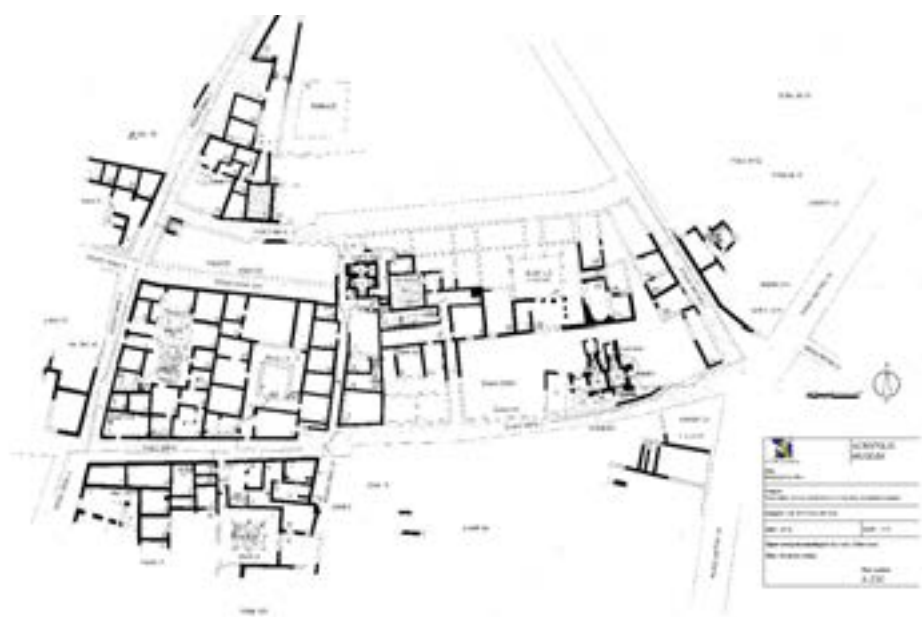


Fig. 3. Plan of the first building phase. ©Acropolis Museum

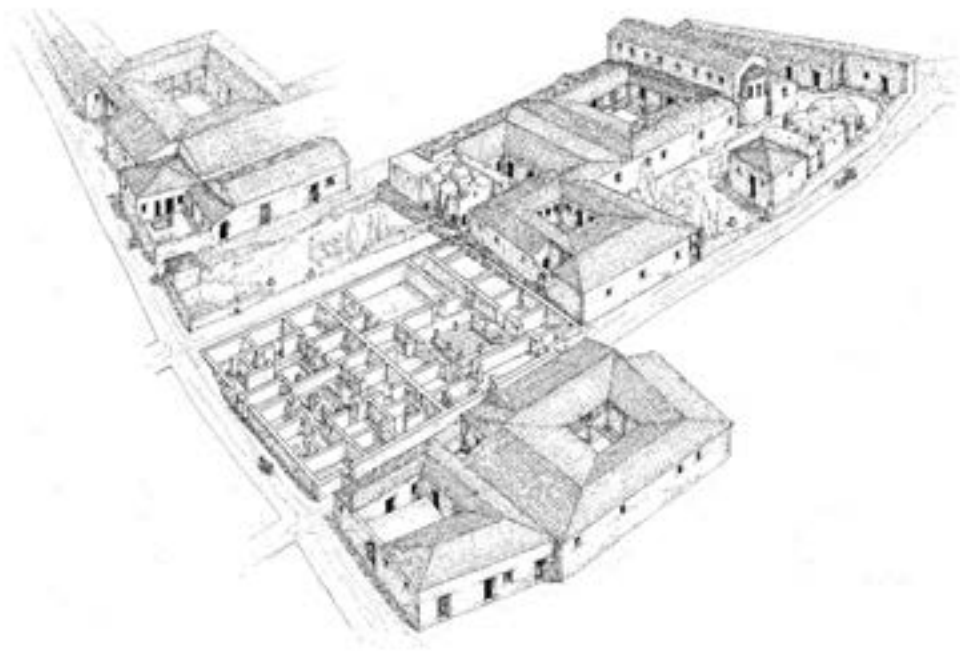


Fig. 4. Hypothetical perspective reconstruction of the first building phase.
©Acropolis Museum



Fig. 5. Sculptures from well 39. ©Acropolis Museum (Photo: V. Tsiamis)

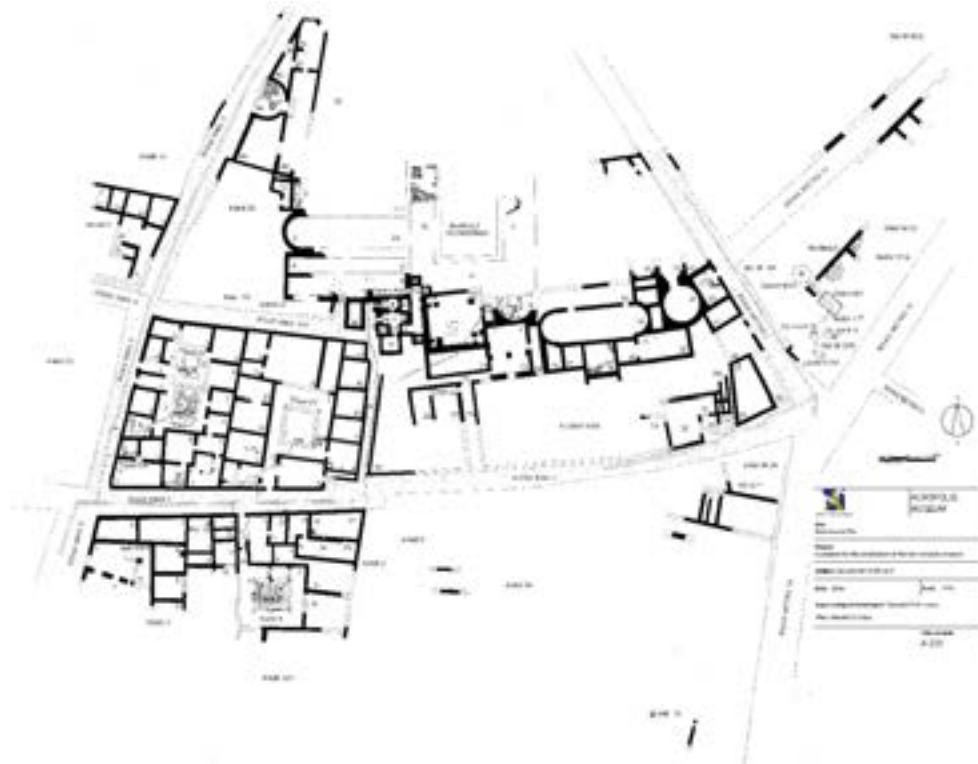


Fig. 6. Plan of the second building phase. ©Acropolis Museum

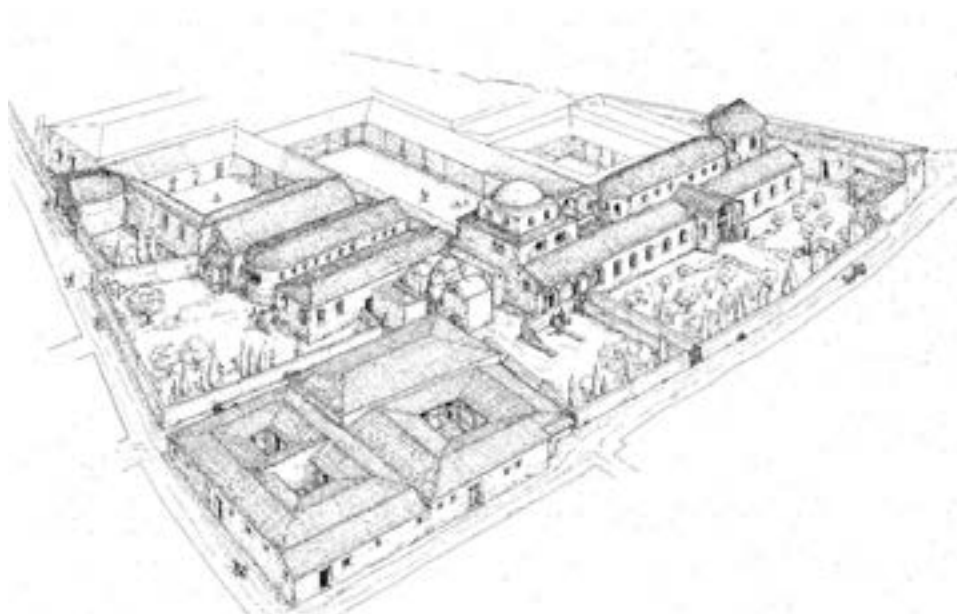


Fig. 7. Hypothetical perspective reconstruction of the second building phase.
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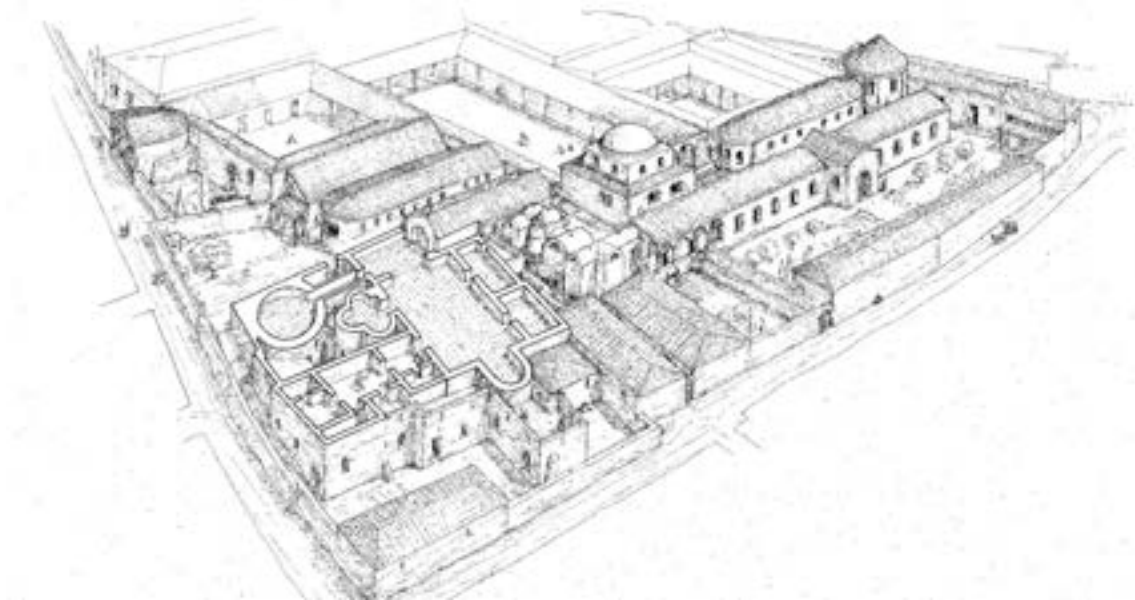


Fig. 10. Hypothetical perspective reconstruction of the third building phase.
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Fig. 11. The circular hall and the triconch, now in the base of the Acropolis Museum.
©Acropolis Museum (Photo: S. Mavrommatis)

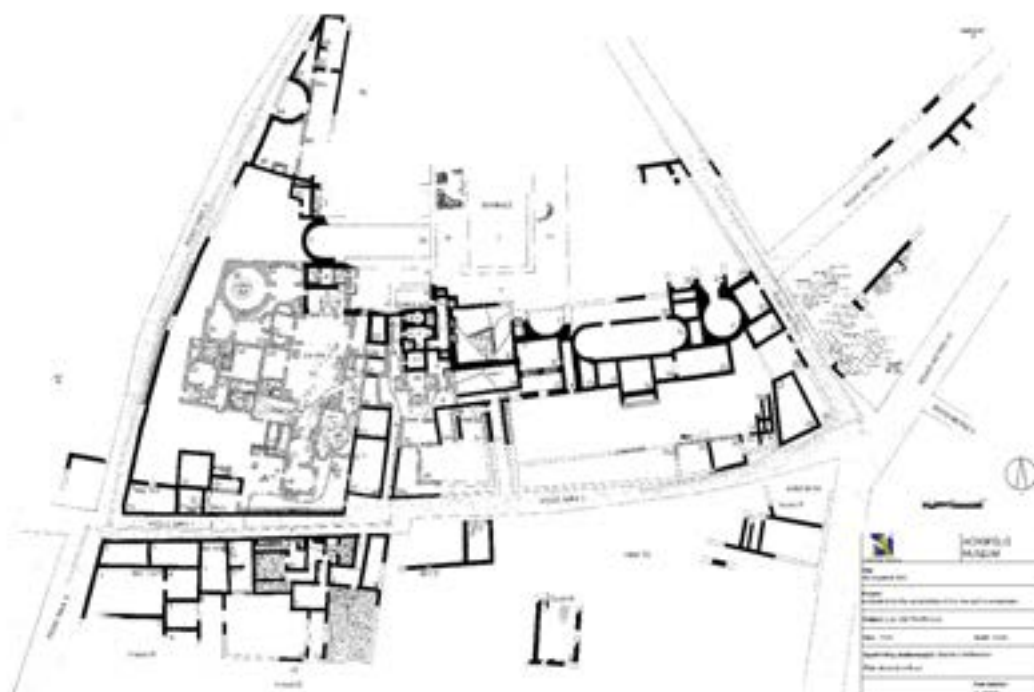


Fig. 12. Plan of the fourth phase. ©Acropolis Museum



Fig. 13. Vessels and lamps from 'cists' and 'furnaces'.
©Acropolis Museum (Photo: V. Tsiamis)



Fig. 14. Vessels from the 'foundation sacrifices'. ©Acropolis Museum (Photo: V. Tsiamis)

ANGELIKI KOUVELI – EIRINI MANOLI

The Amphorae from the Wells of an Athenian House, 2nd–6th Centuries AD. Exploring Trends, Trading Routes, and Contacts

In 2003, during the excavation for the New Acropolis Museum, at the Makrygianni plot, in Athens, we excavated the fillings of two well-shafts dug in the bedrock, Well 114 and Well 20, which served a middle/late Roman residence, House A. This house was in use from the late 2nd to the 6th century AD with modifications, reconstructions and refurbishments¹.

The closed deposits of Wells 114 and 20 yielded a large amount of pottery, basically common ware, amphorae and lamps and scant fine-ware (red-slip) and cook-ware. The complete or almost complete vessels, stratigraphic details, the classification of the finds, and the dating evidence from coins and lamps from both wells, as well as a brief presentation and quantification of the amphorae of Well 114 have been discussed elsewhere².

This paper focuses on the transport amphorae of Well 114 in comparison to those from Well 20: our aim is to identify the types of amphorae that reached the house during its lifetime, their provenance and respective quantities, and compile a sequence from the late Roman period to Late Antiquity. Although this is a specific case study, we think that studies of deposits under this viewpoint and the combination of their outcomes may offer valuable information on the

1 The rescue excavations held at the Makrygianni plot before the construction of public works, namely the Metro station Acropolis and the New Acropolis Museum, revealed part of the ancient city south of the Acropolis, continuously inhabited from the prehistoric to the Byzantine period. This quarter remained residential from the classical period with some –limited in time and space– industrial activity (marble and bronze workshops). For a preliminary presentation of the urban planning and topography of the Makrygianni plot during the Roman period (1st/3rd century AD) and the Roman phase of House A see ELEFATHERATOU, Στοιχεία. For an earlier summary up to 2004 of the excavation finds see R. PITT, *Archaeological Reports: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies* 58 (2011–2012) 28–29; also ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η Ανασκαφή; Acropolis Museum Guide 24–33.

2 For the intact pottery from the Wells 114 and 20 see KOUVELI, Κεραμική 610–632; EADEM, Υστερορωμαϊκή κεραμική από οικιακό πηγάδι της ανασκαφής για το Νέο Μουσείο Ακρόπολης, in: Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές, B: Αττική (eds S. ECONOMOU – M. DOGKA-TOLI), Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης. Athens 2013, 57–78; MANOLI, Κεραμική 633–648. First presentation of the amphorae of Well 114: A. KOUVELI, Excavation for the New Acropolis Museum in Athens: Amphorae from a Domestic Well of a Late Roman House, in: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry. The Mediterranean: A Market without Frontiers (eds N. POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU *et al.*), I. Oxford 2014, 749–759.

imports, trade contacts (local, regional and long-distance) and trends in the city of Athens over this period.

Methodology of study and quantification

For the purposes of the present paper we studied and counted the intact and restored amphorae and the diagnostic parts (rims, bases, handles: henceforth RBH), namely 400 RBH in total (including intact and restored vessels)³, 225 from Well 114 and 175 from Well 20. The amphorae were examined macroscopically and identified through comparison with published parallels. Through quantification of the diagnostic sherds we assessed the relevant proportions of the types and provenances of amphorae in the three periods of use of the wells. Intact vessels were counted as one base; upper body parts with surviving handle(s) as one rim; restored vessels were counted by the number of rim, base, or handle fragments⁴.

The “use deposits” of wells are characterized by considerable numbers of surviving complete vessels and are gradually accumulated over a long period of habitation. They mark the periods between reconstruction and renovations of a building, usually sealed by deposits formed from subsequent cleanup or new construction works⁵. Thereby, we assume that the periods of use of our wells should, more or less, correspond to the major phases of House A but this hypothesis needs to be further examined.

The pottery from the wells was classified into four successive groups A, B, C (Well 114)⁶ and D (Well 20) by the relative depth of deposition. These groups mark three main periods of use of the wells:

1st period: end of 2nd/3rd century AD (Group A: lowest use-filling of Well 114);

2nd period: 4th century (Group B and C: final use-filling and dumped filling for closure of Well 114);

3rd period: 5th/6th century (Group D: uppermost use-filling of Well 20).

The present classification into three successive periods of use was based on the following excavation evidence: Well 114 (fully excavated at a depth of 9,50 m) was dated from the end of the 2nd century (establishment of House A) to the early 5th century, when it presumably fell out of use⁷. It was later sealed by a large slab and a wall of House B, which replaced House A at some

3 Limited restoration had been undertaken for some coarse ware from Well 114. Recently, MRA3 and a few individual amphorae were fully restored.

4 In KOUVELI, *Amphorae*, the restored amphorae were counted as one RBH piece. Here, for consistency we counted them as the sum of the restored RBH pieces.

5 HAYES, *Fine-Ware Imports* 7.

6 KOUVELI, *Κεραμική* 611–612; EADEM, *Amphorae* 749.

7 For the dating of Well 114 see KOUVELI, *Κεραμική* 611–612, 616 (Group A), 623–624 (Group B) and 626 (Group C) and n. 6 for the coins; EADEM, *Amphorae* 749. Group C must have been deposited in the early 5th century.

point in the 6th century. Well 20 was used from the beginning of House A –as a principal feature of the house’s peristyle atrium– until the end of the house’s life; it continued being used after the abandonment of Well 114. By the time House B was erected, the atrium had seemingly been covered by earth floors and Well 20 had fallen in disuse. The new owners sealed it with a marble vessel and dug a new well to serve House B (Well 56).

The uppermost excavated deposit of Well 20 (6,27 m – Group D) was attributed to the last phase of House A and gave pottery of the 5th and 6th centuries⁸. Groups A, B, C do not overlap chronologically with Group D, thus providing a quite reliable sequence for the pottery and amphora types used in the house from the late 2nd to the 6th centuries. More analytic dating evidence is given below for each period.

Due to the stable humid conditions of the wells many of the amphorae preserved pitch lining, which is widely accepted to indicate wine content⁹.

Our typologies follow established classifications like Riley’s Benghazi and Carthage publications (Middle Roman and Late Roman Amphorae, henceforth MRA, LRA), Robinson’s classification of the Athenian Agora pottery (henceforth Agora) and Pieri’s classification of the oriental amphorae of Gaul (LRA)¹⁰. Amphorae are grouped according to period and source [see Maps 1–3].

First period (end of 2nd/3rd century) [Table 1 – Map 1]

The dating of Period I was based on the presence of basket-handled jars (Group A) dated to the late 2nd/early 3rd century¹¹, which disappear from the subsequent groups¹², on a lamp attributed to Elpidophoros (1st half of the 3rd century to AD 267)¹³ and on three flat-based dishes, Athenian imitations of Eastern Sigillata B (middle of the 3rd century)¹⁴ [fig. 1.1]. This fill must have been deposited after the Herulian invasion of AD 267.

⁸ Excavation did not reach the bottom of the shaft with the expected earlier deposits.

⁹ On the use of resin and pitch for coating amphorae and bibliography: ΚΟΥΒΕΛΙ, Υστερορωμαϊκή κεραμική 59, n. 24.

¹⁰ J.A. RILEY, Coarse Pottery, in: Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice) II. Tripoli 1979, 112–236; IDEM, The Pottery from Cisterns 1977.1, 1977.2 and 1977.3, in: Excavations at Carthage 1977 conducted by the University of Michigan VI. Ann Arbor 1981, 85–122; D. PIERI, Le commerce du vin oriental à l’époque byzantine (Ve–VIIe siècles après J.-C.). Le témoignage des amphores en Gaule. Beirut 2005.

¹¹ Cf. ROBINSON, Pottery pl. 10, J45, pl. 22, M88–89.

¹² They appear in Group C as residuals.

¹³ Basket-handled jars and lamp: ΚΟΥΒΕΛΙ, Κεραμική 613, figs 1–9, 615, fig. 17.

¹⁴ Cf. ROBINSON, Pottery 54, pl. 68, J32 (mid-3rd century), K13 (ca. 250 AD), pl. 70, L1 (2nd half of the 3rd century); HAYES, Fine-Ware Imports 36, n. 37, Shape VI (Atlante II, form 60). Our dishes are closer to fig. 12, no. 366, fig. 13, nos 368, 370, 371.

Aegean – Western Asia Minor

In the first period, the distinctive one-handled micaceous jar (Benghazi MRA3) outnumbers any other amphora type (49 RBH, 60%) [figs 1.2–7]¹⁵. MRA3 was produced in Ephesus and other western Asia Minor centers, as container for the rich agricultural surplus of the Maeander and the Cayster valley – principally wine, as is attested by the pitch lining in most of our specimens. It was widely diffused to the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, less to the west¹⁶. Through the convenient harbor of Ephesus, it presumably reached Athens following a shipping route westwards, across the Aegean, to Piraeus¹⁷, Corinth¹⁸, Crete¹⁹.

Kapitän II (Benghazi MRA7) [figs 1.8], is considerably represented (14 RBH, 17%). It is one of the most characteristic Aegean amphorae found across the Mediterranean during the 3rd and 4th centuries²⁰, common in Athens, Corinth and Argos²¹. Its export followed presumably a western route across the Aegean to Piraeus, Corinth, and –probably through Corinth– to the west (Ostia, Rome). Or it followed a southern branch to Africa, Leptis Magna (common between AD 290–310) and Benghazi²². Our specimens are pitch-lined.

15 Closest parallels: ROBINSON, Pottery J47, M155. Cf. also T. BEZECZKY, *The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus*. Vienna 2013, 70–71 (Type 7).

16 RILEY, Benghazi 185, fig. 31.

17 Cf. D. GRIGORPOULOS, *After Sulla: A Study in the Settlement and Material Culture of the Piraeus Peninsula in the Roman Imperial and Late Roman Periods*. Unpublished PhD Diss., Durham University 2005, 224–225, figs 189–190.

18 Cf. K.W. SLANE, *East-West Trade in Fine Wares and Commodities: The View from Corinth*. *RCRF Acta* 36 (2000) 301–302.

19 Cf. J. HAYES, *The Villa Dionysos, Knossos: The Pottery. Amphorae*. *ABSA* 78 (1983) 141 (type 49). Few examples from mid 2nd/4th centuries.

20 RILEY, Benghazi 192; D.P.S. PEACOCK – D.F. WILLIAMS, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide*. London 1986, 194, fig. 113 (map of distribution); HAYES, *Villa Dionysos* 155; A. MARTIN *et al.*, *A Third-Century Context from S. Stefano Rotondo (Rome)*. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53 (2008) 264. Other proposed sources: Ephesus and Samos: BEZECZKY, *Ephesus* 149. Black Sea: P. REYNOLDS, *Trade networks of the East, 3rd to 7th centuries: the view from Beirut (Lebanon) and Butrint (Albania) (fine wares, amphorae and kitchen wares)*, in: *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry* (eds S. MENCHELLI *et al.*). Oxford 2010, 90.

21 ROBINSON, Pottery 106, nos K113, L33, M237, M274, M303; K.W. SLANE, *Corinth's Roman pottery. Quantification and Meaning*, in: C.K. WILLIAMS – N. BOOKIDIS, *Corinth. The Centenary, 1896–1996*. Athens 2003, 328; K.W. SLANE, *Amphoras –Used and Reused– at Corinth*, in: *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26–29, 2002* (eds J. EIRING – J. LUND). Aarhus 2004, 364–365, fig. 3; C. ABADIE-REYNAL, *Les amphores proto-byzantines d'Argos (IVe–VIe siècles)*, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*. Paris 1989, 145.

22 M. BONIFAY *et al.*, *Les Thermes du Levant à Leptis Magna: quatre contextes céramiques des IIIe et IVe siècles*. *Antiquités Africaines* 49/1 (2013) 72, 82, 93; RILEY, Benghazi 190, fig. 34 (relative proportions at Berenice and Ostia).

From Crete come 3 RBH (4%) of the type Marangou AC1b²³ (Benghazi MRA2, Agora G197/M102), [fig. 1.9] a wine amphora predominant in Crete in the 2nd/3rd century²⁴. It is present in Athens²⁵, Piraeus²⁶, Corinth²⁷, Argos and Thebes (Boeotia), Rome, Ostia, Berenice (Cyrenaica) and Paphos (Cyprus)²⁸. The amphora fig. 1.9 was pitch-lined.

Peloponnese

We identified several lower bodies of amphorae in the groups of Well 114 with Agora M235/M327 [fig. 1.10]. No complete amphora was found and the type has not yet been typologically defined, however we consider it a precursor of Benghazi LRA2, possibly produced in the Peloponnese²⁹. In this period only two bases were found, the one pitch-lined (2%). Similar amphorae appear in the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos from mid-third century³⁰.

Italy – Sicily

Italian amphorae are fairly common (5 RBH, 5%). An amphora of the type Agora M48-49 (3 RBH – 4%) [fig. 1.11], internally lined with pitch, is the earliest in this period. It is a variant of Benghazi MRA1³¹. Recently, various small, flat-bottomed amphorae of the 1st/5th century (formerly loosely classified as Benghazi MRA1), have been identified as Sicilian products³². Amphorae similar to ours from ‘Skerki F’ wreck (mid-first century)³³, Pompei, and Ostia were

23 A. MARANGOU-LERAT, *Le vin et les amphores de Crète: de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale*. Athènes-Thessalonique-Paris 1995, 70–72, pl. VII, fig. 40.

24 HAYES, *Villa Dionysos* 143 (Type 2); E.C. PORTALE – I. ROMEO, *Contentitori da trasporto*, in: *Lo Scavo del Pretorio* (1989–1995). *Materiali-Tavole* (ed. A. di Vita) (Gortina V.3, 1). Padova 2001, 270–272; PIERI, *Le commerce* 70, fig. 26.

25 ROBINSON, *Pottery* G197, M102, 43, 93, pl. 8, 23; B. BÖTTGER, *Die kaiserzeitlichen und spätantiken Amphoren aus dem Kerameikos*. *MDAI AA* 107 (1992) fig. 3.7, no. 72, pl. 102, 6.

26 GRIGOROPOULOS, *After Sulla* 222.

27 SLANE, *Quantification* 329, fig. 19.5a and n. 43; SLANE, *East-West Trade* 301.

28 MARANGOU-LEURAT, *Le vin* 71–72, pl. XLI (distribution).

29 KOUVELI, *Amphorae* 2014, 750, 752.

30 V. GRACE, *Amphorae and the Ancient Wine Trade*. Princeton, NJ 1961, fig. 37; BÖTTGER, *Kerameikos* 344, no. 70, fig. 3:5, pl. 100.

31 Cf. ROBINSON, *Pottery* 89, pl. 20. Also cf. P 34717 from the Athenian Agora, <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/notebookpage/%ce%9d%ce%9d-46-50?q=P34717&t=&v=list&sort=&s=1>

32 C. FRANCO – C. CAPELLI, *Sicilian Flat-Bottomed Amphorae (1st–5th Century AD)*. New Data on Typo-Chronology and Distribution and from an Integrated Petrographic and Archaeological Study, in: *Archeologia Classica in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo*. *Didattica e Ricerca nell'esperienza Mista CNR e Università*, II (eds D. MALFITANA – G. CACCIAGUERRA). Catania 2004, 341–362.

33 A.-M. MC CANN – J. FREED, *Deep Water Archaeology. A Late-Roman Ship from Carthage and an Ancient Trade Route Near Skerki Bank off Northwest Sicily*. Portsmouth RI, 2001, 259, 261, n. 13, fig. 8.

found to originate in the area of Naxos³⁴.

There are 2 RBH (2%) of Forlímpopoli amphorae (Benghazi MRA 13, Agora K114), [fig. 1.12] both lined with pitch. They were produced at Forlímpopoli (northern Italy), from the 1st century to AD 250/275 and were distributed to the Adriatic coasts, Pannonia, Upper and Lower Moesia, Histria, North Black Sea coast, North Africa, Crete (Knossos), Corinth, and Athens³⁵. The Forlímpopoli amphorae presumably followed a western route along the Adriatic coast, through Butrint, to Athens, Corinth, Knossos, Beirut to the south, or a northern route to the Black Sea³⁶. The Sicilian amphorae probably crossed the Adriatic and got to Athens through the Ionian Sea and the Corinthian gulf. After all, Corinth's key location and its two ports gave her a role of middleman between Asia and Italy for merchants who wanted to avoid the dangerous Cape Maleas in Peloponnese³⁷.

In general, the picture of the amphorae during the first period is in accordance with contemporary contexts from Piraeus³⁸, and Corinth³⁹.

Second period (4th century) [Table 2 – Map 2]

The suggested date of this period is based on the coins found in Groups B and C (the latest was of the last quarter of the 4th century)⁴⁰, the lamps (4th century)⁴¹, an African red-slip dish [fig. 2.13] (Hayes' Form 50A/B: AD 350 to late 4th century)⁴², the absence of the basket-handled jars of Period I and the double-handled LRA3 of Period III. The well was closed in the early 5th century⁴³.

The second period shows an increased variety of amphora types but is

34 FRANCO – CAPELLI, Sicilian Flat-Bottomed Amphorae, Group 2 (attributed to Naxos area) 347–348, 354, pl. I.1. Our fig. 1.9 is closer to Ostia II, 523: "Naxos Early Roman type" (1st/2nd century).

35 K. PACZYŃSKA – S.A. NAUMENKO, Forlímpopoli Amphorae at Tanais in the Second and Third Centuries AD, in: *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26–29, Athens, 2002, (eds J. EIRING – J. LUND). Aarhus 2004, 309–312. Also MARTIN, St. Stefano 255; Knossos: HAYES, *Villa Dionysos* 145, A 33–35, type 7, fig. 21; Corinth: SLANE, *Amphoras at Corinth* 364–367; EADEM, *Quantification* 328.

36 Cf. REYNOLDS, *Trade networks* 89–91 for the trade networks in Beirut and Butrint in the 3rd century.

37 Cf. SLANE, *East-West Trade* 299.

38 Cf. GRIGOROPOULOS, *After Sulla* fig. 190 (deposits of the 3rd century).

39 Cf. SLANE, *Quantification* 328.

40 The latest coins of Group C (final dumping fill of Well 114) are NMA 5542: type GLORIA ROMANORUM, Valens, AD 364–375 or Valentinian II, AD 375–387/88 or 388–392 and NMA 5549: Valentinian II, AD 378–383, see KOUVELI, *Amphorae* 749.

41 KOUVELI, *Κεραμική* 622–623, 625–626, figs 59–63, 69–71 (intact lamps).

42 HAYES, *Fine-Ware Imports* 221, fig. 232, nos 994–995.

43 KOUVELI, *Amphorae* 753, 6.

still characterized by middle Roman forms (Benghazi MRA) and the prevailing Aegean and western Asia Minor amphorae (49%) [Table 4].

Aegean – Western Asia Minor

The proportion of Benghazi MRA3 drops (50 RBH, 35%), but the type still dominates, in a variety of forms⁴⁴ [fig. 2.14–19] that denotes a larger number of production centers. In Argos MRA3 reaches a peak towards the end of 4th century (30–50% of the total of amphorae)⁴⁵. Kapitän II (Benghazi MRA 7) drops slightly in proportion (17 RBH, 12% against 17% of Period I) but remains the second most represented amphora. Cretan imports are missing but a new type of late Knidian amphora (Agora M238) of the 4th/6th century turns up (5 RBH, 3%) [fig. 2.20]⁴⁶.

Peloponnese – Aegean

During this period several variants of the broader LRA2 family, which we tentatively associate with Peloponnese, appear. The proportion of the precursor of LRA2–Agora M235 [figs 2.21–23] rises (8 RBH, 6%). Argos is widely supported as a source⁴⁷. The type has a limited presence, mostly between 4th and 6th centuries, in Athens, Laconia (Voiae), Gortyn, Leptis Magna, the Dalmatian coasts (Salona/Split), and Thessaloniki⁴⁸. A new flat-based variant of LRA2, (Agora L30, L54, M229) of the 4th century [fig. 2.24] occurs (1 RBH, 1%), probably from Argos⁴⁹. Also scant specimens of the standard LRA2 (3 RBH, 2%) were found in the closing dump-filling of Well 114, providing a link to the next period.

Black Sea

The Black Sea, conspicuously absent from all the periods, is here represented

44 Our amphorae are paralleled to ROBINSON, Pottery J47, L51, M240, M255–257, L51, M282; BEZECKY, Ephesus 162, type 54.

45 ABADIE-REYNAL, Les amphores protobyzantines d'Argos 49.

46 Cf. A. ΟΠΑΙΤ, The baggy amphora shape: a new fashion? in: Late Roman Coarse Wares 2014, 442, figs 5–6 (AD 350–375), Agora L55, M 238, M305 (4th century).

47 PIERI, Le commerce: 'précurseurs directs', 85, fig. 44; A. IVANTCHIK, Un puits d'époque paléochrétienne sur l'agora d'Argos. *BCH* 126 (2002) 352–353, 'Type 12' figs 21–22, nos 137–139. Other suggestions for its provenance: Oriental or Aegean: C. ABADIE-REYNAL, La céramique romaine d'Argos (fin du IIe siècle avant J.-C.–fin du IVe siècle après J.-C.). Athens 2007, 245, pl. 70, fig. 444.1. Aegean: PORTALE – ROMEO, Contenitori da trasporto 351–352, fig. 166, cat. no. 97.

48 A. ΟΠΑΙΤ, Defining More Roman Amphora Types from the Athenian Agora: Too Much History, Too Little Typology. *RCRF Acta* 43 (2014) 43–47, fig. 1, and n. 14 (distribution); E. ZAVOU – A. MALTEZOU, Ρωμαϊκή κεραμική από τις λακωνικές πόλεις Γύθειο, Ασωπό και Βοιές, in: eds PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – KOUSOULAKOU, Κεραμική 773, 777, drawing 6, 780, fig. 14; BONIFAY – CAPELLI, Leptis Magna 93, 104, 116–117, figs 14:8–12, fig. 19:8–14.

49 A. OIKONOMOU-LANIADO, Argos paléochrétienne: Contribution à l'étude du Péloponnèse byzantin. Oxford 2003, 36, fig. 66, cat. no. 7.

by one, (probably residual) pitch-lined base (1%) of Agora M95 (Opait's North Pontic imitation of Herakleia 1 amphora) [fig. 2.25], produced from mid-second to early 3rd century.⁵⁰

Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant

Here we have the first, limited, appearance of Eastern Mediterranean and Levantine amphorae with 3% in total: An Agora M239 amphora [fig. 2.26] (1 RBH, 1%), which occurs in Athens and Corinth⁵¹ in the late 3rd/early 4th centuries. It originated in *Tracheia Cilicia*, where kilns were located at Syedra (modern Gazipasha, Turkey). It most probably carried raisin wine (*passum*), the leading export of *Tracheia Cilicia*⁵². Agora M334 [fig. 2.27], the wine amphora of the territory of Akko/Acre/Ptolemais in northern Palestine, is present with 3 RBH (2%), one of them pitch-lined. The type occurs in Argos (early 5th century) and Athens (Kerameikos, mid-5th/early 6th centuries). It has been associated with the thriving wine production and the numerous wine presses found in coastal Palestine during 4th century. It has a low diffusion in the Mediterranean, being a regional amphora, with a peak in Beirut in the late 4th/early 5th century⁵³.

Italy – Sicily

Italian imports remain almost invariant, reaching a 6%. There are two restored bases of Forlimpopoli amphorae (3 RBH, 2%) [fig. 2.28]. Two amphorae (6 RBH, 4%) [figs 2.29–30] were identified as variants of the Benghazi MRA1–Agora M254, and are close to Palatine East 1 type from Naxos, Sicily⁵⁴. Identical

50 A. OPAIT, Pontic Wine in the Athenian Market in: eds PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – KOUSOU-LAKOU, Scientific Meeting 115, figs 16 a, b, c.

51 K. SLANE, Tetrarchic Recovery in Corinth. Pottery, Lamps, and Other Finds from the Peribolos of Apollo. *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 136–137, 148, nos 24–26, fig. 6, pl. 34, no. 24.

52 See C. AUTRET – N. RAUH, Roman amphora production in western Rough Cilicia, in: Olive Oil and Wine Production in Anatolia during Antiquity, International Symposium, Mersin–Turkey 06–08 November 2008 (eds Ü. AYDINOĞLU – A. ŞENOL). Istanbul 2010, 113, 115, n. 22 for typology evolution.

53 P. REYNOLDS, Levantine Amphorae from Cilicia to Gaza: A Typology and Analysis of Regional Production Trends from the 1st to the 7th Centuries, in: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry (eds C. ONTIVEROS *et al.*). Oxford 2005, pl. 15, figs 114, 571–572; *Idem*, Trade networks 93–94; PIERI, Le commerce 137–138, figs 93–95, classified as LRA 9.

54 See BONIFAY – CAPELLI, Leptis Magna 114–117, fig. 24c; FRANCO – CAPELLI, Sicilian Flat-Bottomed Amphorae: cf. resemblance with pl. I, 6. Also D. MALFITANA *et al.*, Roman Sicily project (“RSP”): Ceramics and Trade. A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Study of Material Culture Assemblages. First Overview: the Transport Amphorae Evidence. *Facta* 2 (2008) 140, figs 10–11; L. MAZOU – C. CAPELLI, A Local Production of Mid Roman 1 Amphorae at Latrun, Cyrenaica. *Libyan Studies* 42 (2011) 73–76.

examples come from Antikyra⁵⁵, and Corinth (4th/5th century)⁵⁶. Two almost complete, pitch-lined amphorae (1%) belong to Keay 52–Agora M302 type, which was produced in northeastern Sicily and Calabria from the mid-4th to the end of 5th century [figs 2.31–32]⁵⁷. This was a wine container, mainly distributed to the west, but present also from the 4th to the 6th century in Carthage, the Adriatic coasts, in important urban centers of the East, (e.g. Corinth, Argos, Athens), and the fourth-century Yassi-Ada shipwreck.

North Africa

North Africa is represented by a single restored Keay 1b⁵⁸ amphora (2RBH, 1%) [fig. 2.33], possibly originating in Mauretania Caesariensis (Algeria)⁵⁹. It dates from the end of 3rd/early 4th to the first half of the 5th century and was mainly distributed in western Mediterranean and northwest Europe⁶⁰. It appears in Ostia in the 4th century, in Rome from AD 250–300 to mid-5th century, and in Knossos in mid-2nd century⁶¹.

55 Cf. E. DAFI, *Amphorae and Cooking Wares from the Coastal Site of Antikyra in Boeotia, in Late Roman Coarse Wares* 2004, 746, fig. 12. She associates it with Agora M325 of the early 6th century.

56 K.W. SLANE, *The End of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Hesperia* 77 (2008) 480, 491–493, fig. 3: 279. Cf. also K.W. SLANE – G.D.R. SANDERS, *Corinth: Late Roman Horizons. Hesperia* 74 (2005) 252, fig. 3:1–27 (400–450 AD); C.K. WILLIAMS II – O.H. ZERVOS, *Corinth, 1982: East of the Theater, Hesperia* 52 (1983) 25, no. 67, pl. 10.

57 FRANCO – CAPELLI, *Sicilian Flat-Bottomed Amphorae* 348, Group 3 from the Strait of Messina area; F. PACCETI, *La questione delle Keay LII nell'ambito della produzione anforica in Italia*, in: *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo. Atti del convegno in onore di John W. Hayes*. Roma, 11–13 maggio 1995 (ed. L. SAGUI). Florence 1998, 185–208.

58 S.J. KEAY, *Late roman amphorae in the Western Mediterranean. A typology and economic study: the Catalan evidence*. Oxford 1984, 79, figs 19.2, 95–99; BONIFAY, *Études sur la céramique* 148–150, type 61, fig. 81.2 (Dressel 30).

59 On the dubious origin of Keay 1b see M. BONIFAY – C. CAPELLI, *Archéométrie et archéologie des céramiques africaines: une approche multidisciplinaire*, in: *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry* (eds M. BONIFAY – J.-C. TREGLIA). Oxford 2007, 554–555; M. BONIFAY, *Annexe 1. Eléments de typologie des céramiques de l'Afrique romaine*, in: *La ceramica africana nella Sicilia romana – La céramique africaine dans la Sicile romaine* (eds D. MALFITANA – M. BONIFAY). Catane 2016, 518.

60 University of Southampton (2014) *Roman Amphorae: a digital resource*, York: Archaeology Data Service. http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=329

61 HAYES, *Villa Dionysos* 153, form 33, fig. 24: A77.

Third Period (5th–6th century) [Table 3 – Map 3]

The dating of this period, which corresponds to Group D of Well 20⁶², was based on the intact pottery, the lamps (5th and 6th centuries)⁶³, a Phocaean red-slip dish fragment with a stamped cross (AD 475–550) [fig. 3.34]⁶⁴, and on the absence of MRA3 and the appearance of new LRA types⁶⁵.

The basic features of this period are a) the remarkable inflow of new types of amphorae from the Eastern Mediterranean (29% including Egypt), Riley's 'international' Late Roman Amphorae and b) the respective drop in the percentage of Aegean and western Asia Minor amphorae (33% against 49% of the previous period).

Aegean – Western Asia Minor

The one-handled Benghazi MRA3 is replaced by the evolved two-handled form Carthage LRA3 (47 RBH, 27%) [figs 3.35–36], in a lower percentage than its predecessor MRA3 from Period II (35%). LRA3 originated in the area of Ephesus, the valleys of Caystrus and Maeander and possibly Aphrodisias (Caria)⁶⁶. A few specimens (4 RBH, 2%) of one-handled MRA3 (Agora M282 – late 4th century) survive, providing a link to the previous period and complementing the series [fig. 3.37]. A one-handled, fusiform jar from Sardis – a late 6th century provincial variant of the LRA3 – [fig. 3.38] appears with 3 bases (2%), all pitch-lined⁶⁷. LRA3 has a wider circulation than MRA3, with exports from east to west of the empire: in Carthage (late 4th century with peak between mid-5th/7th centuries), Gaul (5th–6th centuries), and Rome (4th–7th centuries)⁶⁸. It appears in the Athenian Agora in the 6th century (Agora M373). In Argos it represents the 25% of the total of amphorae in the 5th century and drops at a 7% in the 6th century⁶⁹.

Scanty specimens of late Knidian amphorae (2 RBH, 1%) are found here

62 Well 20 was not excavated in stratigraphic layers, the contents were retrieved and treated as one single group.

63 MANOLI, Κεραμική 640, fig. 63.

64 Closest parallels: HAYES, *Fine-Ware Imports* 248, nos 1408, 1411, pl. 69.

65 RILEY, Carthage 85–124.

66 PIERI, *Le commerce* 100.

67 See M.L. RAUTMAN, Two late Roman wells at Sardis. *AASOR* 53 (1995) 42, 64, 66–67, type B, figs 20–21, 2.89, 2.90.

68 Cf. S. LADSTÄTTER – A. PÜLZ, Ephesus in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period: Changes in its Urban Character from the Third to the Seventh Century AD, in: *The Transition to Late Antiquity, on the Danube and Beyond* (ed. A.G. POULTER). Oxford 2007, 422–423; RILEY, Benghazi (Late Roman Amphora 10) 229–230; BEZECKY, Ephesus 165, fig. 25; PIERI, *Le commerce* 96–97 (table III for proportions in some Mediterranean assemblages), 99; RILEY, Benghazi 229–230.

69 C. ABADIE-REYNAL, Céramique et commerce dans le bassin égéen du IV^e au VII^e siècle, in: *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin 1. IV^e–VI^e siècle* (eds C. MORISSON – J.-P. SODINI). Paris 1989, 147–148.

in an evolved smaller module (Agora M306 – early 5th century) [figs 3.39–40]. This form occurs in the Athenian Agora (4th/6th centuries)⁷⁰ and Argos (4th/early 5th centuries)⁷¹. Their export is limited in the Aegean area.

A Zemer 57 amphora (1%) from Crete (3rd century) [fig. 3.41] is residual here⁷².

Peloponnese and Aegean

Amphorae that we have associated with Peloponnese have significantly increased (21% in total – Table 4). The most common is a new one-handled painted jar (Agora M315, M336) with narrow, flat base with 22 RBH (13%) [figs 3.42–43]. The type is not widely diffused: it occurs in the Athenian Agora (end of 5th/early 6th century)⁷³, Argos (end of 4th/early 5th century)⁷⁴, Sparta (early 5th century)⁷⁵, Knossos (mid-3rd century)⁷⁶, Vouthroto and Nicopolis of Epirus (dominant in contexts of the 5th century)⁷⁷. A Laconian origin has been proposed but the frequent occurrence of this amphora in Athens and Argos permits the hypothesis that it might equally be produced in Argolid. Its regional distribution suggests that it was probably an amphora destined for short-distance, intra-regional trade. Some of our specimens are pitch-lined, so they certainly carried wine but other contents are possible from the agricultural surplus of Peloponnese (e.g. oil).

The canonical Carthage LRA2 is represented by 7 RBH (4%) [fig. 3.44]. There are no complete examples but the bigger body sherds show deep horizontal or slightly wavy combing on the shoulder. LRA2 is widely distributed from 4th to 7th century throughout the Mediterranean and the big consumer centers, from Britain to Tunisia, Cyrenaica, South France, Rome, and the Aegean. It is mostly common in the Aegean and the Balkans⁷⁸. Its prominence in the Lower Danube has been associated with the military *annona*, the state-organized

70 OPAIT, Baggy amphora 442, closer to figs 8–9 (5th century).

71 M. PIÉRART – J.-P. THALMANN, *Céramique romaine et médiévale* (Fouilles de l'Agora). Paris–Athènes 1980, 464, 474, pl. 2, A12.

72 REYNOLDS, Trade networks 71; BONIFAY – CAPELLI, *Leptis Magna* 72, n. 22–23.

73 ROBINSON, Pottery 113, 116, pl. 33, M 315, M336.

74 PIÉRART – THALMANN, *Céramique romaine* 464, fig. 4, pl. II: A 15–16; ABADIE-REYNAL, *Céramique romaine* 232, forme 29, pl. 64: 406; IVANTCHIK, *Un puits* 353–354, 390, figs 23–24.

75 C. PICKERSGILL – P. ROBERTS, New light on Roman Sparta: Roman pottery from the Sparta Theatre and Stoa. *ABSA* 98 (2003) 582, fig. 18.128 a–d ('flagons').

76 HAYES, *Villa Dionysos* 122, no. 78.

77 REYNOLDS, Trade networks 96, fig. 5a; P. REYNOLDS – E. PAVLIDIS, An Early 5th Century AD Pottery Deposit from *Cloaca* Cleaning Shaft of the *Cardo* next to Basilica A, Nicopolis (Greece) in: Σπείρα [Conference in honour of Angelika Douzougli and Konstantinos Zachos], Ioannina, 1st–3rd November 2012. Athens 2017, 658, fig. 8, no. 4.

78 PIERI, *Le commerce* 88, fig. 47. For a summary of the distribution: Roman Amphorae: a digital resource, University of Southampton. York: Archaeology Data Service, 2014, https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=239&CFID=375c-00cf-1b5e-4bae-81a5-1623fca0b9b7&CFTOKEN=0

supply of the garrisons of the (North) borders (*limes*) of the Byzantine Empire⁷⁹. The centers of production have not yet been defined. Kilns associated with its production were found at Kounoupi, and Ermione (related LRA2 material was found in the nearby Halieis) in North Argolid, in Boeotia⁸⁰ and Chios, but other Aegean sources like Knidos or Samos are possible too⁸¹. It was a multi-purpose container, principally for wine and oil.

A wide-mouthed variant of the LRA2 (fruit amphora?) is present with 1% [fig. 3.45]. Similar amphorae occur in Corinth (contexts of AD 450–600, and 650–675) and Argos⁸².

Pieri suggests that the same workshops in Argolid produced LRA2, the fruit amphorae and similarly combed flat-based jugs⁸³.

A slim variety of LRA2 (?), Agora M325, a small amphora with narrow, flat base appears here with 3 RBH (2%) [fig. 3.46–47]. One example is internally pitch-lined [fig. 3.46]. The type occurs in the Athenian Agora (6th century), Corinth (early 5th/late 6th century) and Argos (early 5th century)⁸⁴. Since they are not distributed further than Athens, Slane supposes that such small vessels were made for local transport rather and suggests that, on the basis of their Corinthian cooking fabric, they originated somewhere in eastern Corinthia or coastal Argolid⁸⁵.

The small table-amphora Agora L30, L54, M229 [figs 3.48–49], probably originating in Argos⁸⁶, increases in proportion (3 RBS, 2%). Similar amphorae have been found in Messene (in a context of AD 400–475), where a local production has been proposed⁸⁷, Corinth (end of the 6th century) and Berbati (Argolid)⁸⁸.

Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant

The Benghazi/Carthage LRA1 (Agora M333) is introduced in significant

79 O. KARAGIORGOU, LR2: A Container for the Military Annona on the Danubian Border? in: *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity* (eds S. KINGSLEY – M. DECKER). Oxford 2001 with a review of its distribution in the Aegean and the Balkans.

80 E. GEROUDI, A Late Roman Workshop at Dilesi in Boeotia, in: *Late Roman Coarse Wares* 2014, 193–202, figs 5–7.

81 PIERI, *Le commerce* 90–91.

82 SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* 271, 278, 287, figs 8, 3–27 figs 11, 4–17.

83 PIERI, *Le commerce* fig. 51. Slane shares this view: SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* 287, n. 65.

84 ROBINSON, *Pottery pl.* 32, M325; SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* figs 3–4: 1–25, 1–26, 1–27 (AD 400–450), figs 5: 2–31, 2–32 (AD 450–500), fig. 3, 3–25 (end of the 6th century); IVANTCHIK, *Un puits*, Type 8–1, p. 351, figs 18–19, nos 129, 131.

85 SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* 285 and 290 for the origin of 1–27, 2–32.

86 See above, n. 49.

87 A. YANGAKI, Late Roman pottery from funerary monument 18 and the adjacent monuments of the Arcadian Gate (Ancient Messene, Peloponnese), in: *Late Roman Coarse Wares* 2014, 771.

88 SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* 271, 287, figs 8: 3–23, 3–24.

numbers (29 RBH, 17%). It was produced in a number of workshops in Cilicia, Cyprus, North Syria and the Aegean (Rhodes, Kos) from the 4th to the 7th century, in several variants and sub-types⁸⁹. From the early 5th century its 'classic' form is exported to the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Black Sea and the Lower Danube⁹⁰. From late 5th to mid-6th century it reaches western sites and becomes very common in Egypt and Cyrenaica (Berenice, Carthage). In the early 7th century it is found in Constantinople, Alexandria, Beirut, Zeugma, Carthage, Marseille, Rome and Tarragona. One of our specimens [fig. 3.50] seems close to Pieri's 'LRA1A transition' type (end of 5th/early 6th century) and another [fig. 3.51 top left] to the evolved 'LRA1B' type (6th to mid-7th centuries). LRA1 has been associated principally with wine and oil export. Ancient sources comment on the rich agricultural production of olive oil in the region of its provenance, and numerous oil presses have been located there. However, the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, a Latin handbook of geography and commerce of the mid-4th century, presents Cilicia as an important zone of wine exportation to other provinces⁹¹.

Agora M334 from North Palestine (Akko/Acre/Ptolemais) is significantly represented (14 RBH – 8%), in an evolved form, with slightly broader base [figs 3.52, 54]. It occurs in Athens, Argos, and Corinth (in contexts of the 5th century and the latest examples with flat base in contexts of AD 650–675)⁹². Our flat-based specimens belong probably to Reynolds' sixth-century 'small module'⁹³. Some of them preserved pitch lining. Agora M334 was distributed in the Mediterranean from the early 5th to the early 7th century: Marseille, Arles, Ravenna, Milan, Trapani, Rome, Carthage⁹⁴, Athens, Argos, Philippi, Cyprus, Bodrum, Beirut, Jalame and other Syro-palestinian sites, and Berenice⁹⁵.

Carthage LRA4 from Palestine (Gaza, Ascalon, Sinai) has a limited appearance with 4 RBH (2%) [fig. 3.53]. The rich evidence from late antique written sources on Palestinian wine and the spread of viticulture, the pitch linings and the discovery of numerous kilns and wine presses along the coastlands of southern Palestine confirm that it was the chief container of the renowned Gazan wine (*vinum Gazetum*, *Gazeticum*). Its long evolution already from the 1st century ends in the fifth-century elongated form, the *gazition*.

89 PIERI, *Le commerce* 80, fig. 38 (places of production), 71, fig. 25 (typo-chronological table); S. DEMESTICHA, *Late Roman amphora typology in context*, in: *Late Roman Coarse Wares* 2004, 601 (updated overview of the provenances); REYNOLDS, *Levantine Amphorae* 565–567; RILEY, *Benghazi* 212–214, fig. 42 (distribution).

90 Cf. V.G. SWAN, *Dichin (Bulgaria): Interpreting the Ceramic Evidence in its Wider Context*, in: *The Transition to Late Antiquity* 251–280.

91 PIERI, *Le commerce* 81–85 for an analysis of the evidence on the contents of this amphora.

92 SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* figs 4: 1–24, figs 5: 2–24, figs 11: 4–21.

93 For the type cf. REYNOLDS, *Levantine Amphorae* 571–572 figs 104–122; for the small module see 572, figs 116, 117.

94 RILEY, *Carthage* 108, fig. 8.65.

95 PIERI, *Le commerce*, LRA9, 137–138, fig. 95.

Our samples seem to correspond to Pieri's LRA4 A2 (AD 425–500)⁹⁶. LRA4 has a geographically vast distribution from AD 400, especially in southeastern Mediterranean (Alexandria, Caesarea, Carthage). It has reached Gaul from the 4th century, Constantinople from the early 5th. The bigger, elongated forms of the 6th/7th centuries are widely diffused throughout the Mediterranean⁹⁷. It occurs in small quantities in Piraeus (mid-4th/mid-6th centuries)⁹⁸ and is very frequent in Argos in the 5th century with a peak in the 6th⁹⁹. In Corinth it occurs from the second half of the 5th century to the end of the 6th¹⁰⁰.

Two small, flat-based amphoriskoi/flasks [figs 3.55–56] may come from Egypt (2 RBH, 1%). They resemble closely the ones from the Athenian Agora of the early 5th century. They probably carried some special product (oil? unguents?).¹⁰¹ Egypt is also represented by one Carthage LRA7 (1%) amphora [fig. 3.57]. The rounded shoulder places it typologically in the end of the 4th to the end of the 6th century. These amphorae were produced mainly in the Middle Nile valley and secondarily in Mareotis, in various forms, from the end of the 4th to early 8th century. They were very popular in Egypt, where their pottery workshops were gigantic, but poorly represented in the Mediterranean. They carried wine as is attested by the pitch linings and the manuscripts of the 5th–6th century which refer to the production and trade of Egyptian wine¹⁰².

Concluding remarks [Table 4]

In this paper we examined the diagnostic parts (RBH) of the amphorae from the deposits of two house-wells and quantified them by chronological period and region of provenance. This provides an insight into the amphora types that were used in a fairly wealthy residence of Athens from the Late Roman to the Early Byzantine period and offers a basis for evaluating in the future similar material from the site. Of course our sample is limited. However, we believe that it contributes to the mapping of local trends. The study of more contexts from the Makrygianni plot –and Athens in general– would certainly help to draw more thorough conclusions.

As a general trend we observe an absolute predominance of amphorae from western Asia Minor and the Aegean in all three periods of our wells: 71% of the total amphorae in the 3rd century, a slight drop (49%) in the 4th century and a further drop between 5th and 6th century (33%), when they are challenged by the imports from the Eastern Mediterranean (29%). The majority of the

96 Ibid. 101, 110–111, fig. 66.

97 RILEY, Benghazi (LRA3) 220–221; REYNOLDS, *Levantine Amphorae* 574–576; PIERI, *Le commerce* 104–107 (distribution of the various forms).

98 GRIGOROPOULOS, *After Sulla*, figs 192–193.

99 ABADIE-REYNAL, *Les amphores protobyzantines d'Argos* 54.

100 SLANE – SANDERS, *Late Roman Horizons* fig. 5: 2–25, fig. 8: 3–21.

101 Cf. HAYES, *Fine-Ware Imports* 93, 253, no. 1464, pl. 72.

102 PIERI, *Le commerce* 129, fig. 86.

amphorae examined were wine containers. The micaceous jars in particular from western Asia Minor (MRA3, LRA3 and variants) are the undisputable favorite of all three periods (60%, 35% and 54%, respectively) indicating a steadily popular and easily accessible content; this is also confirmed by the Piraeus and Athenian Agora contexts.

Amphorae from the Peloponnese have a noteworthy presence in the second period (8%) and almost double their percentage in the third (21%). The percentage of amphorae from Italy is limited, but remains stable from the end of the 2nd to the end of the 4th century (5% to 6%). During the 5th and 6th century there are no Italian amphorae in House A. The imports from North Africa are negligible (one single amphora from the second period: 1%) and equally insignificant are the imports from the Black Sea with scant fragments, possibly residual, in the second and third period (1% and 2% respectively).

The remarkable influx of Eastern Mediterranean amphorae in the 5th and 6th centuries follows an acknowledged trend of the commercial activity of this period, favoured by the historical developments in the Eastern Roman Empire. The division in two halves of the Empire and the establishment of Constantinople from the 4th century as a new capital and major urban center shifted the center of power of the empire to the east, creating new economic opportunities and requirements. The state played an incentive role in the economic activity, controlling and stimulating part of the movement of agricultural commodities, e.g. through the military *annona* which supplied the troops at the borders of the empire. Eastern provinces were required to supply part of their agricultural surplus (wine, oil, garum, grain) for redistribution to military posts across the seas¹⁰³. The new capital with the large population and the prosperous urban centers of the East with their local elites claimed part of this surplus too¹⁰⁴. The floruit in the production and trading of Levantine amphorae during the 5th and 6th century and the presence of numerous wine and oil presses at the coastal regions of the Levant, reveal an intensification of the agricultural industry in this region¹⁰⁵. Trade and exchange was also undertaken by private enterprise¹⁰⁶, which flourished under the political-cultural stability in the eastern Mediterranean from the late 4th to mid-6th century. The quantified ceramic assemblages across the Mediterranean reveal an intense circulation of bulk agricultural products like wine and oil from eastern sources to the *Pars Orientis* but also “frequent, direct and relatively

103 S. KINGSLEY – M. DECKER, *New Rome, New Theories on Inter-Regional Exchange. An Introduction to the East Mediterranean Economy in Late Antiquity*, in: *Economy and Exchange* 6–8.

104 Cf. C. MORRISON – J.-P. SODINI, *The Sixth-century economy*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium* 172, 174–175, 209–212, 219–220.

105 REYNOLDS, *Levantine Amphorae* 576.

106 KINGSLEY – DECKER, *New Rome* 12–13.

intensive contact” of the East with the wider world¹⁰⁷. The evidence from the amphorae of the wells of House A seems to support the hypothesis that Athens was well integrated to this inter-regional trade network.

However, our results indicate that during the third period, along with the inter-regional and long-distance imports, there is an increase in intra-regional contacts.¹⁰⁸ 21% of the imported amphorae in House A (against 8% of the previous period) do not come from distant sources but presumably from nearby lands. If the series of vessels that we have attributed to the production of the Peloponnese were indeed produced there (Corinthia, Argolid or elsewhere) –namely the painted jar Agora M315 and the varieties and subtypes that we have associated with LRA2 (the canonical LRA2, its wide-mouthed “fruit-amphora” counterpart, the table amphora Agora L30 and the small, flat-based Agora M325)– then we might claim that Athens relied also on the agricultural surpluses from the Peloponnese (wine, oil or other foodstuffs) which might have been transported over land and not overseas. The relatively small size of these amphorae would have facilitated such short-distance transports.

Last but not least, the picture that emerges from the examination of the amphorae from the wells is that the occupants of House A had access and could afford to acquire precious or “exotic” commodities from overseas. From the late 2nd to the 6th century they seem to have favoured particular products (e.g. good quality wine) from regional sources like the Aegean and the Western Asia Minor but also from distant eastern sources like Cilicia and Palestine. This denotes a status of wealthy urban residents who followed the general trends of their era.

Acknowledgments

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Acropolis Museum, Athens

107 M. DECKER, Water into wine: trade and technology in Late Antiquity, in: *Technology in Transition A.D. 300–650* (eds L. LAVAN *et al.*). Leiden–Boston 2007, especially 66–71.

108 Cf. SLANE, *Late Roman Horizons* 290.

General provenance	Specific provenance	Type	Date range	Total RBH	%
Aegean and Western Asia Minor	Maeander valley - Ephesos	Benghazi MRA3	late 1st - late 4th c.	49	60%
	Aegean - Black Sea*	Kapitän II	late 2nd - 4th c.	14	17%
	Crete	Marangou ARC 1b-Benghazi MRA2-Agora G197-M102	2nd-4th c.	3	4%
Mainland Greece	Peloponnese, Argos*	Agora M235-Precursor LRA2	1st-6th c.	2	2%
Italy	Northern Italy - Forlimpopoli	Forlimpopoli	end of 1st c. - AD 275	2	2%
	Sicily - Naxos*	Agora M48-49	late 1st - 2nd c.	3	4%
Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant	North Palestine - Akko	Agora M334	early 4th - 7th c.	1	1%
	Unidentified	Unidentified		7	9%
TOTAL				81	100%

Table 1. First period – amphorae RBH and percentages

General provenance	Specific provenance	Amphora type	Date range	Total RBH	%
Aegean and Western Asia Minor	Maeander valley - Ephesos	Benghazi MRA3	late 1st - late 4th c.	50	35%
	Aegean - Black Sea*	Kapitän II	late 2nd - 4th c.	17	12%
	Aegean - Knidos	Agora M238	4th - 6th c.	5	3%
Mainland Greece	Peloponnese - Aegean	LRA2	4th - 7th c.	3	2%
	Peloponnese - Argos*	Agora M235/M327 - LRA2 precursor	early 4th - early 6th c.	8	6%
	Peloponnese - Argos*	Agora L30/L54	early 4th - early 5th c.	1	1%
Black Sea	North Black Sea	Agora M95	mid-2nd - early 3rd c.	1	1%
Italy	North Italy - Forlimpopoli	Forlimpopoli	end of 1st c. - AD 275	3	2%
	Italy - Sicily	Benghazi MRA1 - Palatine East 1?	1st/2nd - 4th c.	4	3%
	Sicily - Calabria	Keay 52	4th - 6th c.	2	1%
Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant	West Cilicia	Agora M239 - MRA4	3rd - 4th c.	1	1%
	North Palestine - Akko	Agora M334	early 4th - 7th c.	3	2%
North Africa	Algeria - Mauretania Caesariensis	Keay 1b	Late 3rd/early 4th - 4th/5th c.	2	1%
	Unidentified	Unidentified		44	31%
TOTAL				144	100%

Table 2. Second period – amphorae RBH and percentages

* = uncertain provenance

General provenance	Specific provenance	Amphora type	Date range	Total RBH	%
Aegean and Western Asia Minor	Western Asia-Minor	MRA3 - Agora M282	late 4th c.	4	2%
	Sardis	LRA3 - Sardis variant	6th c.	3	2%
	Ephesos, Maeander valley	LRA3 - Agora M373	middle of 4th - beginning of 7th c.	47	27%
	Knidos	Agora L55, M238, M305-306	4th-early 5th c.	2	1%
	Crete*	Zemer 57	2nd - 4th c.	1	1%
Mainland Greece	Argolid, Boeotia, Aegean	LRA 2	4th -6th c.	7	4%
	Peloponnese - Corinth*	Wide-mouthed LRA2 ("fruit amphora")	late 6th - 3rd quarter of 7th c.	1	1%
	Corinth*	Small flat-based amphora Agora M325	1st half of 5th c.	3	2%
	Argos*, Laconia*	Painted one-handed jar - Agora M 315	late 5th-early 6th c.	22	13%
	Argos*	Ring-based table amphora, Agora L30, L54, M229	4th c.	3	2%
Black Sea	Black Sea	Agora K115 / Zeest 80 / Knossos type 38	middle of 3rd c.	3	2%
Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant	Cilicia - Cyprus	LRA 1	5th - 7th c.	29	17%
	North Palestine - Akko	Agora M 334	early 4th - 7th c.	14	8%
	North Palestine - Gaza, Ascalon, Sinai	LRA4	350 - 5th c.	4	2%
	Egypt	LRA7	end of 4th-end of 6th c.	1	1%
	Egypt	Egyptian amphoriskos/flask Hayes, Agora 32, no. 1464	early 5th c.	2	1%
Unidentified provenance	Unidentified provenance	Table-amphoriskos, Bakirtzi, Late Antiquity, 495,type 2A-D		1	1%
Unidentified				28	16%
TOTAL				175	100%

Table 3. Third period – amphorae RBH and percentages

General Provenance	1st period RBH	1st period %	2nd period RBH	2nd period %	3d period RBH	3rd period %	All periods RBH	All periods %
Aegean and Western Asia Minor	66	71%	72	49%	57	33%	195	49%
Mainland Greece - Peloponnese*	2	14%	12	8%	36	21%	50	13%
Black Sea	0	0%	1	1%	3	2%	4	1%
Italy-Sicily	5	5%	9	6%	0	0%	14	4%
Eastern Mediterranean & the Levant	1	3%	4	3%	50	29%	55	14%
North Africa	0	0%	2	1%	0	0%	2	1%
Unidentified	7	7%	44	30%	29	17%	80	20%
TOTAL	81	100%	144	100%	175	100%	400	100%

Table 4. Provenances of amphorae and relative proportions in the three periods

* = uncertain provenance



Map 1. Sources of amphorae in the first period.

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Map 2. Sources of amphorae in the second period.

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Map 3. Sources of amphorae in the third period.

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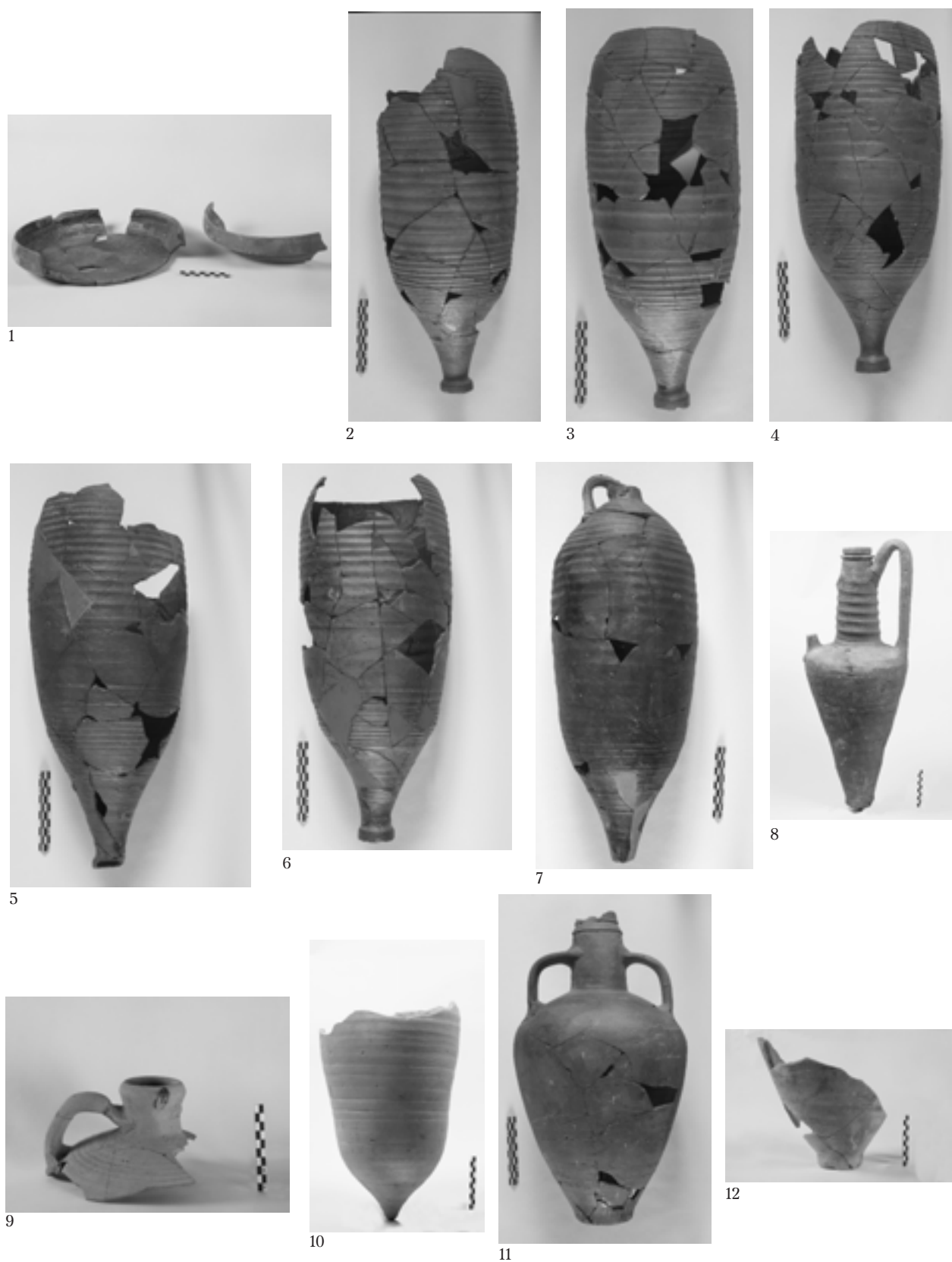


Figure 1
1–12: Representative amphorae from the first period (late 2nd–3rd century)



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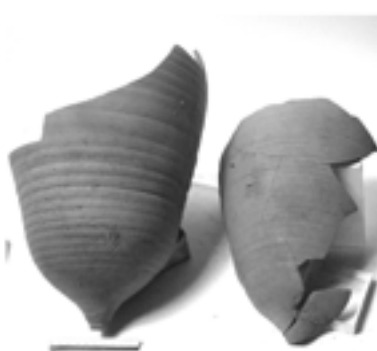
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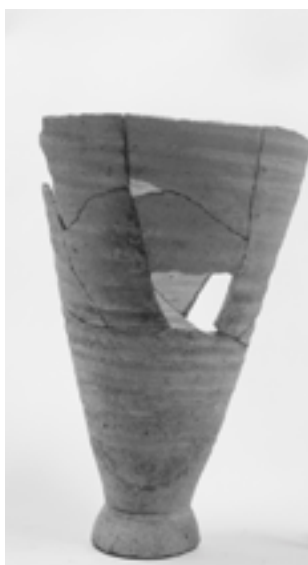


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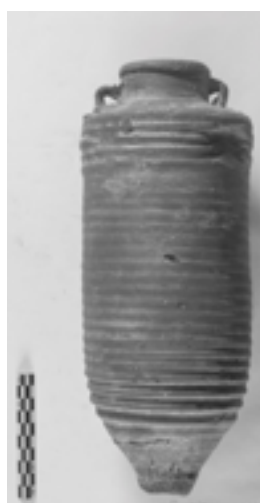
Figure 2
13–23: Representative amphorae from the second period (4th century)



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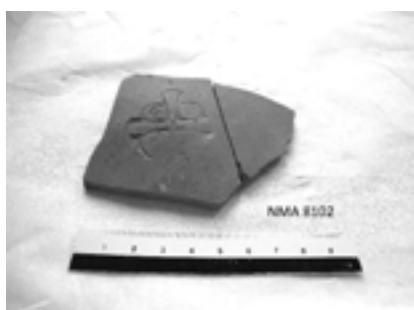
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Figure 2

24-33: Representative amphorae from the second period (4th century)



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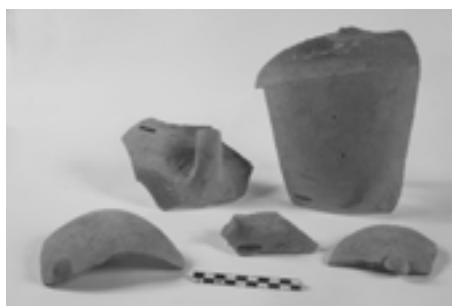
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Figure 3
34–45: Representative amphorae from the third period (5th–6th century)



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Figure 3

46–57: Representative amphorae from the third period (5th–6th century)

All photos by V. Tsiamis © Acropolis Museum (Figs. 2.21–22, 30, 3.34, 36: photos by the authors)

GALATEA D. KLAPAKIS

A Late Roman Cemetery Excavated in Pallene, Attica: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity in the Hinterland of Athens

During the summer of 2009, a Late Roman cemetery was found on Leontariou Str. in Pallene, Attica, and was excavated by the author under the auspices of the then 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica¹. These burials date to the late 5th century AD and provide valuable evidence concerning the society, religion and economy of the local communities in the hinterland of Athens.

The modern municipality of Pallene is located about 14 km to the north-east of the centre of Athens and is situated in the Mesogaia plain, that is the eastern part of lowland Attica lying between Mt Hymettos, Mt Pentele and the hills of Laureotike. This landscape, delimited by physical boundaries, has been until recently inhabited by a rural population. The fertile soil of Mesogaia and her industrious inhabitants supplied the city of Athens with their produce: grapes, olives, grain, fruits, nuts and cereals, and of course the renowned honey of Hymettos.

Historical and ecclesiastical sources do not provide information about the time and the pace of Christianization of Attica's countryside before the 5th century. The monuments themselves fill somewhat the void. Rural churches and, later, monasteries offer a wealth of information since they provide a variety of architectural and burial data. Simultaneously, inscriptions from Attica, both public and funerary (the vast majority), testify to the rise of Christianity².

By the end of the 5th century, in Mesogaia, like in the city of Athens, large basilicas were constructed: the basilica at Olympus near Laurion with an adjacent cemetery dated to the same period, in Brauron (a short distance from

1 I would like to express my gratitude to the Director of the 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica, Mrs I. Tsirigoti-Drakotou for the permission to publish this material, to Dr. D.N. Christodoulou for his valuable contribution to the excavation and the subsequent preservation of the cemetery, and to Mr. Y. Stoyas for his help in dating the coins.

2 For the early Christian funerary inscriptions from Attica which testify to the advance of the Christian religion in the city and the countryside the paper of CREAGHAM – RAUBITSCHKE, *Epitaphs* still remains essential. On the Christian inscriptions from Attica, see now the works of SIRONEN, *Inscriptions* 124–363; IDEM (ed.), *IG*, V. 2–3, pars V: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*. *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Herulorum incursionem et Imp. Mauricii tempora*. Berlin 2008, 35–143; IDEM, *Life* 37–38, n. 127. On the spread of Christianity in Attica see TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion* 1, 283ff; DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi* 181–197; BALDINI, *Atene: la città cristiana*; TZAVELLA, *Christianisation of Attica*.

the major ancient sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia), at Skympte near Spata (the ancient demos of Erchia), at Drivlia in Porto Rafte (the ancient demos of Steiria) with a large cemetery³, and others elsewhere. Many marble architectural fragments originating from basilicas have been reused for the construction of much later churches in the area or, as in the case of the basilica in Kalyvia (the ancient demos of Prospalta), the church of the Taxiarchs stands in the central aisle of the basilica⁴.

The modern municipality of Pallene received the name of the ancient demos that belonged to the Antiochis tribe, although modern Pallene is located in the area of the ancient Athenian demos of Kydantidai. Since the built area of modern Pallene has expanded without constant archaeological supervision and publications of finds from this period are poor, much archaeological evidence and documentation have been lost forever. In any case the proximity to Athens allowed frequent commute with the city in order to supply Athens with the local produce through the few passes that cross the mountainous barrier of Mts Pentele and Hymettos to the Mesogaia plain. The main entrance from the basin of Athens opens between the northern foothills of Mt Hymettos, at modern Stauros of Hagia Paraskeue, where during the widening of Marathon highway a Late Roman watchtower was found and transferred wholesale to the side of the highway and can be seen today in its new position⁵.

Marathonos and Lauriou highways follow the route of the ancient roads which periodically surface beneath or close by the modern highways. About 200 m from the Late Roman cemetery and adjacent to Lauriou highway a large Late Roman farmstead was built on the ruins of two rural houses of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Part of it was used as an agricultural establishment with annexes and many rooms for storage⁶. Close to the remains of these buildings eight Roman cisterns and five graves were found.

Further to the south, the same street of the Late Roman cemetery – Leontariou Str.– extends to the hill of Kantza, where many walls of ancient

3 The cemetery (161 excavated graves), defined by an enclosure wall, was in use from the 5th to the 7th century and the finds inside the graves indicate the existence of a prosperous community. Also a Late Roman bath (possibly of the 4th century) and a large apsidal building stood in the center of the nearby settlement.

4 G.N. ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΙΔΗΣ (ed.), *Mesogaia: History and Culture of Mesogaia in Attica*. Athens 2001, 151–153.

5 D.N. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ, Ογκώδες κτίσμα Ρωμαϊκής περιόδου στο Σταυρό Αγίας Παρασκευής: Το πέρασμα στα μεσόγεια κατά την ύστερη αρχαιότητα, in: *Πρακτικά ΙΒ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής*. Kalyvia 2008, 309–325.

6 G. STEINHAEUER, Η Αττική Οδός από τον κόμβο του Σταυρού έως τους κόμβους Λεονταρίου και Παλλίνης, in: *Αττικής Οδού Περιήγηση*. Athens 2005, 164–170; S. SIMITZI *et al.*, Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην Παλλίνη, in: *Πρακτικά Θ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής*. Laurio 2008, 72–73. These finds hint at the existence of a network of farmsteads in the area during the Late Roman period. In any case it is widely accepted that the lavish expenditure of the Athenian aristocracy during the 5th and 6th centuries can be attributed to the wealth deriving from landowning; CASTRÉN, *Paganism and Christianity* 214–215; ZAVAGNO, *Cities* 37–39.

grave enclosures have been found. To one of them belongs the well-known lion of Kantza (4th century BC), which now stands beside the church of St Nikolaos⁷. Below the church, Late Roman walls have been unearthed, dated by the pottery to the 6th century. Tile-covered tombs were situated close to the walls, with east-west orientation. The hands of the deceased were crossed and no offerings were next to the skeletons. On the south of the building, five tile-covered tombs of young children and two *ossuaria* were found undisturbed. These graves were likewise unfurnished⁸.

The cemetery

In the case of the cemetery in Pallene no church or settlement has been detected in adjacent fields. Surveys on nearby plots have shown that this group of burials could be part of a much larger cemetery, which stretches to the north.

The burials seem to have been organized with slight intervals between them without any spatial overlapping. Even the space around each grave has more or less been regulated (fig. 1). This allowed the mourners to gather around the graves at the time of the funeral and to return to it with ease after the deposition of the body. All the graves are at the same depth, in natural soil, and with respect to the orientation according to the Christian tradition (fig. 2)⁹. Their similarity in design and even spacing indicates that they were contemporary. The deceased were placed in a supine and extended position with the hands laid over the pelvis, focused towards the east, while none of the graves were used for secondary burials.

The builders had covered all of the burials above the tombstones or the covering tiles with a pile of small stones and mortar. It is though extremely probable that above the burials there was once, at ground level, some kind of a marker, maybe a plain stone standing or a funeral inscription carved on wood set into the stuccoed mound. Pottery, personal articles and coins dominate the furnishing of these graves.

Grave I (T 1) was a rectangular cist layered with bricks set in courses with mortar and coated with thick white plaster (fig. 3). The cist was enclosed by two square plates, placed horizontally to the vertical axis of the tomb. The westernmost was split lengthwise into roughly two halves. The other covering stone had a groove with a runoff, recycled from elsewhere. Probably its first

7 It is possible that the monastery excavated under Agios Nikolaos at Kantza was a *metochi* of Ioannes Kynegos in the middle Byzantine period: G.D. CHATZESOTERIOU, *Ιστορία της Παιανίας και των Ανατολικά του Υμηττού περιοχών* (1205–1973). Athens 1973, 212.

8 ΑΡΑΠΟΓΙΑΝΝΙ, Κάντζα 255–266.

9 The area, however, has undergone erosion and cultivation over the centuries, and the surface from which the graves were cut might have been higher than this level.

use was as an oil mill base. The body had been extended across the floor of the cist which was layered by tiles with finger designs. A small rectangular tile was found under the head, as a pillow.

Three vessels were placed close to the right bone of the leg, probably filled with oil, wine or food. The first was a shallow bowl with a flat base and flaring sides and with a little iron spoon inside it¹⁰. The other two were pitchers; the first was small in size with grooved base, slightly flaring foot and a single ridged handle¹¹; the second had vertical engraved lines (fig. 4)¹².

Inside the cranium was a bronze coin –an *AE4* (*assarium*) of the 5th century¹³. The obverse has the depiction of the head of an emperor, and on the reverse the emperor standing holding a globe on one hand. The coin was placed in the mouth as a payment or bribe for Charon, the ferryman who conveyed souls across the river that divided the world of the living from the world of the dead¹⁴. It could be a coin of Emperor Zeno (474–491)¹⁵.

Similar in construction with grave I is grave II (T 2), found at the north side of the plot. The rectangular cist, built with bricks, is a bit broader in the middle. It is covered by eight thin slabs, arranged along the cist, but one of them had fallen inside, and thus the grave was filled with earth. The skeletal remains of the deceased are poorly preserved, without any bones of the thorax.

This burial contained several artifacts. Three vessels are found next to the right leg of the deceased and inside a pot with two handles and a spout (fig. 5)¹⁶. Unfortunately, one, a vessel of green glass, is found broken. The other two were clay pitchers with disc bases, ovoid bodies and round mouths with flat everted rims. The handles are attached to the shoulder and the rim; one of

10 Similar shallow bowls were found in Anavyssos: E. GINI-TSOPHOPOULOU – E. CHALKIA, Ταφική παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική από την Αττική: Οι περιπτώσεις της Σταμάτας και της Αναβύσσου, in: 7^ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Μεσαιωνικής Κεραμικής της Μεσογείου. Athens 2003, 758, no. 2489, fig. 3.5. Also from the Athenian Agora: ROBINSON, Pottery 116 no. M 350, pl. 33.

11 Vases of this type are common in the Agora of Athens, but usually have a broader base and taller neck: *ibid.* V, 95, no. M 120, pl. 23.

12 Similar vessels were found in many Late Roman excavations in Attica, as in the cemetery of Mygdaleza in Stamata (GINI-TSOPHOPOULOU – CHALKIA, Κεραμική 756, no. 1885, fig. 1.5) and during the excavations at the basilica of Laureotic Olympus (N. ΚΟΤΖΙΑΣ, Ανασκαφαί της βασιλικής του Λαυρεωτικού Ολύμπου. *PraktArchEt* (1952) 92–128, pl. 21). In J.W. HAYS, *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery*. London 1997, 94, pl. 40 it is mentioned as a mug/jug of Athenian type.

13 Such coins were issued at Cyzicus, Nicomedia or Constantinople. *AE* (= *aes*/bronze). *AE1* are of diameter ≥ 25 mm, *AE2*, 21–25 mm, *AE3*, 17–21 mm, and *AE4* ≤ 14 mm (usually called *nummi minimi*). All the coins that were found in this cemetery are *AE4*, except for no. 6 and 14.

14 On the fare for the Stygian ferryman see S.T. STEVENS, Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice. *Phoenix* 45/3 (1991) 215–229.

15 P. GRIERSON – M. MAYS, *Catalogue of Late Roman coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection: from Arcadius and Honorius to the accession of Anastasius (=DOLRC)*. Washington 1992, no. 605; J.P.C. KENT, *RIC X. The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts, AD 395–491*. London 1994, 953–957.

16 The soft ribbing done on the wheel around the body of quite a number of cooking pots made the vessels easier to grip and are a common feature on pottery of this period.

the pitchers has thin horizontal lines on its body¹⁷. The grave also contained objects that had adorned the deceased. Close to the right hand a ring was found and a bronze small loop, probably a buckle or a pendant. Above the covering slabs were found pot rims, handles, sherds from the body of cooking-ware, a lamp nozzle fragment, as well as a coin of a later period.

Grave III (T 3) was entirely made of tiles placed on top of the deceased. They were positioned like a roof top and on the two narrow sides smaller tiles strongly enclosed the grave on both sides. Above the grave many small stones covered the openings between the tiles keeping the mud away from the grave¹⁸. Unfortunately, all of the tiles were found already broken from the roots of a tree; so earth and water had permeated, leaving no skeletal remains. This grave was unfurnished.

Grave IV (T 4) was a rectangular brick-lined cist. The absence of covering slabs is noteworthy as the interment was filled with earth. On the bottom of the grave there were only small gravelled stones and hard-packed earth. On the sides of the cist the walls were lined with tiles and coated with white plaster. No skeletal remains or funerary artefacts are found in the interior. Outside the cist, on the east side of the grave, sherds from a single vessel are found. They represent an offering bowl that had been fragmented outside the burial or dispersed by natural processes of weathering over time, or even damaged after the disturbance of the grave, which is indicated by a late coin found over the grave.

Grave V (T 5) was tiled and small in size. The upper layers of tiles were all fractured with signs of disturbance but the cist had not been opened. The skeletal remains were not preserved and earth had filled the cist because of its incomplete enclosure.

Number VI (T 6) is a tile-covered grave containing the skeletal remains of two young children (fig. 6). The one was lying on top of the other, the arms were straight and the legs extended. The bottom part of the skeletons was poorly preserved because of exposure to moisture and as a result of the incomplete enclosure of the cist. The first skeleton had the hands placed crossed over the face, and the head of the second was lying on the chest bones of the first. Above the tomb a small bowl is found, fragmented on one side.

Grave VII (T 7) is a small tiled grave lying in the middle of the cemetery obviously built for a young child. The covering tiles were placed like a roof top in three layers. The ones of the outer layer preserved finger designs. The tiles were covered with small rubble stones attached with mortar. Neither skeletal remains were preserved, nor funerary artifacts found.

17 ROBINSON, Pottery 109, no. M 268, pl. 29 and 111, no. M 295, pl. 30; K. WARNER-SLANE, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Roman Pottery and Lamps* (Corinth XVIII, II). Princeton, NJ 1990, 100–101.

18 N. KALTSAS, *Άκανθος I. Η ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο κατά το 1979*. Athens 1988, 297–298.

Grave VIII (T 8) was a small rectangular cist, marked at the surface with roughly cut stones in rubble and mortar. Three rectangular blocks enclose the cist, set horizontally across it and on the inside only one vertical slab on the north side. Inside the grave bones were not found, only a nail and a bronze loop probably a buckle with a small bronze ring, circular in section, probably worn by the deceased. In the western corner eight bronze coins were left, all of them dated to the 5th century. Because they were all gathered in the same spot, they might have been deposited inside a little leather wallet or other material purse destroyed over time. The first coin (N5) is AE4, probably dating to the time of Zeno¹⁹. The second coin (N6) is AE3 with two figures (emperor and empress?) on the reverse side (probably dated to the time of Leo I or Leo II)²⁰. The third and fourth coins (N7–8) are in very bad condition. All of the next four coins (N9, N10, N11 and N12) are AE4. The last one (N12) has the head of the Emperor Zeno on the obverse and Zeno's monogram on the reverse²¹.

Grave IX (T 9) is rectangular, made of bricks built in many layers. It was covered with several stones of various sizes and irregular tile fragments in plaster. The larger one on the west was a round-cut stone used in oil mills –here in second use– recycled from elsewhere (fig. 7). No skeletal remains or artifacts are found inside the cist.

Grave X (T 10) is very small in size, built obviously for an infant. Pitched tiles coated with plaster were covering this small interment. Above the tomb fragments of lamps and pottery sherds were found inside the mortar that was used to seal the grave. The skeletal remains are not preserved due to the fragile nature of immature bones.

Lastly, grave XI (T 11) is a rectangular cist enclosed on top with four slabs with roughly cut edges and many smaller stones. Along the walls of the cist the bricks were set in level courses and bonded with mortar. The skeletal remains are positioned supine and extended. They are well preserved due to the grave's good construction: the arrangement of the slabs and stones created a tightly sealed covering.

Inside the cranium there was a bronze coin – as Charon's obol (N 14). Above the head, in the west corner of the grave, bones of a dog are found – probably a pet buried with its master. On the east side, next to the left leg of the deceased, a glass vessel, probably an *unguentarium*, was left as an offering²². The vase, of green-yellow color, has a globular body and a cylindrical neck flaring into a slightly thickened and round rim.

19 KENT, RIC X nos 948–975.

20 Ibid. no. 724.

21 GRIERSON – MAYS, DOLRC, 657, monogram no. 3. Also in KENT, RIC X no. 958, monogram no. 1. This specific monogram is common in coins from the mint of Thessaloniki.

22 K. GOETHERT-PALASCHEK, Katalog der römischen Glaeser des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier. Mainz 1977, 154.

Outside the tomb many lamps and sherds were placed over the west end of the covering during or after the funeral (fig. 8). One has a central ring with air holes. The rim is decorated with scaly design²³. The nozzle is broken due to the overuse and the handle has no grooves. The second fragment has a herringbone design on the rim and a solid handle with two grooves above and one below²⁴. The third and fourth fragments are decorated on the rim with waving lines. The handles have two grooves above and one below²⁵. The fifth fragment has just the central air hole on the disk, flanked by incised circles. All of them are common Late Roman lamps, made by the workshops of Athens and date to the 5th century.

The similarity of the graves in shape, orientation and even lining, reflects some sort of basic planning of the cemetery. Also the graves must have been roughly contemporary and the use of the cemetery must have covered a short period of time. These burials do not seem to have been marked at the surface, apart from a pile of stones on the top.

The careful placement of the slabs over the cists reveals a rudimentary concern for visual symmetry. Two basic types of graves are represented in Pallene, both typical designs of burial construction²⁶. The most common is a moderately shallow, rectangular cist cut into soil (nos 1, 2, 4, 8, 9 and 11). Builders had recycled inexpensive materials to construct the graves, such as bases of oil mill stones, fragments of slabs or blocks, rubble or pieces of tile, but they arranged them with care and a sense of order. The second type of grave is the tile-covered cist (nos 3, 5, 6, 7 and 10), built in a roof-shape, using slightly bent Laconian tiles that were closed at the head and foot end by smaller tiles or sherds.

The deposition of grave goods, found near the bones of the legs, suggests that the deceased were mourned by their families. The burials contained small terracotta or glass vessels from the domestic repertory, all of them wheel-made. Closed forms, such as a cup, a jug or a pitcher, might have contained a liquid or oil substance, which mourners poured or sprinkled over the body during the funeral and deposition. Pitchers and *unguentaria* were found inside the graves, usually near the skeleton's feet. The vessels usually have a soft ribbing around

23 For this type, see O. BRONEER, *Terracotta Lamps* (Corinth IV, II). Cambridge, MA 1930, 103, type 20.

24 The herringbone design, *ibid.* 103, type 9, is very common on lamps of Athens. Similar from the Athenian Agora: J. PERLZWEIG, *The Lamps of the Roman Period, First to Seventh Century after Christ* (The Athenian Agora VII). Princeton, NJ 1961, 188, no. 2715 and no. 2722, pl. 43.

25 Similar waving lines (BRONEER, *Terracotta Lamps* 103, type 7) on lamps from the Athenian Agora, in: PERLZWEIG, *The Lamps* 140–141, nos 1321–1361, pl. 26 and 186, nos 2648–2663, pl. 42, and KARIVIERI, *The Athenian Lamp Industry* pl. 38, 110–112.

26 See N. POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU *et al.*, *Burial Practices in Byzantine Greece: Archaeological evidence and methodological problems for its interpretation*, in: *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence* (eds M. SALAMON *et al.*). Krakow 2012, 379.

the body created by the wheel, which made the vessels easier to grip²⁷.

Relatives also left lamps outside the graves either at the time of interment or during a later visit. The lamps, dated to the middle of the 5th century are made of reddish clay, have a long body, oval in shape, with almost vertical sides, while the handle is always in vertical position to the body and compact, usually with three grooves above and two uneven below. The fishbone or waved lines are very common decoration of the disc²⁸.

Apart from the lamps and the ceramics that are dated in the 5th century, the coins found in some of the tombs give a *terminus post quem* to the burials. During the 5th century bronze coins were produced in vast quantities, in a series of denominations now difficult to understand because inflation constantly reduced the size and weight of the coins. By the mid-fifth century the bronze had deteriorated to one tiny denomination of about 8mm in diameter.

The coin from the first grave, depicting the head of an emperor on the obverse and standing holding a globe on the reverse, could date to the reign of Leo I or Leo II (457–474). Coin N14 from grave XI, also found inside the cranium as a Charon's obol, has the same size and could be dated to the same period. The coin N12 from tomb VIII has the monogram of the Emperor Zeno (474–491) and on the obverse the draped bust of the emperor wearing a pearled diadem. It could have been issued in the mint of Thessaloniki. This could date the other seven illegible coins of the same grave to the same reign.

It is rather unlikely that these graves date after the reign of Zeno, because in 498 the successor of Zeno, Anastasius, introduced a monetary reform: he issued the *nummus* unit of account and the follies of forty *nummi*, which were much larger coins and with totally different iconography, and withdrew the old bronze issues AE4 *nummi minimi*. This reform was very successful and remained unaltered for the next centuries²⁹. Since such coins were not found in these burials, it is presumed that the burials date to the last quarter of the 5th century.

During the Late Roman times the inhabitants of the Greek countryside customarily interred their dead with few, if any, objects and their graves seldom carried inscriptions. The burial practice of the ordinary people and the simple construction of the graves did not require specialized skill or much effort. Most of the materials used to construct the graves were found on site and recycled. Funerary objects were typically simple and acquired in local

27 The similarity of the funerary vessels in terms of shape to the pottery from the ancient Agora and also from tombs of the 5th/6th centuries from Ano Liosia, Acharnai, of Stamata and Anavyssos could indicate the existence of local industrial establishments active in Attica, with Athens being the centre of production. For pottery from Athenian cemeteries see TZAVELLA, Κεραμικά.

28 A more detailed description of rim patterns in: KARIVIERI, The Athenian Lamp Industry 69–70 and pl. 53–54.

29 For Anastasius' monetary reform, see P. GRIERSON, Byzantine Coins. London–Berkeley 1982, 1–3.

markets, manufactured in the area, or brought from the household³⁰. The coins buried with the dead, even the purse of 8 small-denomination bronze coins from tomb VIII, were practically worthless and may well have been in circulation for some time before their deposition. The personal articles worn by the deceased (rings, buckles) were neither numerous nor extravagant. Also, the two stones for olive press must have been recycled from an abandoned oil press, maybe from the farmstead close by (about 200 m from the cemetery). Overall, the poor materials and the simplicity of funerary rituals point to burials of the low classes.

As mentioned above, at this cemetery at Pallene the mourners placed the head toward the west and the feet toward the east, a solar alignment that was consistently adopted in Christian funerals. Although scholars often notice that towards the end of the 5th century the custom of burials with an orientation towards the east may have been adopted by pagans too, the evidence remains uncertain³¹. It would appear, however, that the Christian religion reached this part of the countryside in the 5th century. This conclusion coincides with the archaeological evidence from other sites of Attica³². With reference to the funerary practices, it is known that during the 4th and 5th centuries people continued to observe traditional funerary customs and employ pre-Christian practices. The funerary artifacts inside the interments at the Pallene cemetery do not display the religious identity of the dead.

Of course we should not rule out the possibility that funerary objects made from perishable materials (wood, cloths etc.) might have been decorated with Christian or pagan symbols. However, it must be stressed that in this period of transition more often there is absence of Christian symbols³³. Sherds found outside the graves might have been of a vessel smashed alongside the cist, presumably used for libation, *chrismation* or purification, all ancient practices. The placement of coins in the mouth of the deceased echoed the old practice of Charon's obol, the fare for the Stygian ferryman originated in the pagan view of the afterlife. Moreover, the selection of possessions such as kitchen wares or money to deposit in the burials defines a personal connection with the dead in a more direct manner rather than the notion of some future salvation. The tradition of placing a coin inside the mouth was also an expression of the ultimate farewell and a last chance for intimate contact, as the dead left the world of the living.

That is, in my opinion, why traditional beliefs and behaviors remained

30 J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Baltimore 1996, 102.

31 See POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU *et al.*, *Burial Practices* 379, 382–383.

32 See the references in n. 2 above.

33 See POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU *et al.*, *Burial Practices* 379, 380–381, with an example from the basilica of Codratus in Corinth.

important: they were meaningful for the bereaved³⁴.

Lastly, four skyphate coins were unexpectedly found on top of three of the graves. On the obverse side of the coin (N2) from the second grave Christ with halo is depicted³⁵, on the first coin from the fourth grave a cross (N3)³⁶, and on the coin from the fifth grave the letter A and on the other side a face with Byzantine veil (N4)³⁷. These four coins of the Pallene cemetery are similar with 115 coins of a hoard of 206 coins, found in nearby Markopoulo, during excavations in 1956. D.M. Metcalf, who published the hoard, dated the coins during the first decade of the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1147–1180). Nowadays numismatists date these coins much later, during the first decade of the 13th century. and consider them copies of the original coins of Manuel, because of their thin flan, the cuts in many sides and the rough decoration on them. They could have been issued by “local leaders... in the years before and after 1204”, such as Leo Sgouros, who was the independent lord of Corinth, the Argolid, Athens and Thessaly, until he was defeated by the Franks during the fourth crusade³⁸.

It could be that during the first half of the 13th century local peasants placed the coins N2, N3, N4 and N13 on top of the graves II, IV and V, after disturbing one of them, probably the IV, the covering slabs of which were missing³⁹. These people were obviously terrified at having disturbed Christian graves (judged as such from their east-west orientation), and left on top of each of the burials a coin, hoping to be forgiven for the sacrilege and avert bad

34 It is also important to mention that the skeletons in the graves of Kantza, dated to the 6th century, had their hands crossed and no funerary artifacts in the interments. In this case there is no doubt that the buried were Christians.

35 D.M. METCALF, The Brauron hoard and the petty currency of central Greece, 1143–1204. *NChr* 7/4 (1964) 251–259, especially pl. XIX 16; J. BAKER, Two Thirteenth-Century Hoards and some Site Finds from Argos. *NChr* 167 (2007) 225.

36 METCALF, The Brauron hoard pl. XIX.3–5.

37 Ibid. pl. XIX.15–16.

38 BAKER, Two Thirteenth-Century Hoards 228; V. PENNA, Βυζαντινό νόμισμα και λατινικές απομιμήσεις, in: Τεχνογνωσία στη Λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα, Ημερίδα/8 Φεβρουαρίου 1997. Athens 2000, 17. Such coins could be found until the mid-thirteenth century, which is the *terminus ante quem*, because afterwards appear the bronze coinage of the Latin Duchy of Athens followed after a while by the so-called billon *deniers tournois*. These Latin coinages replaced the Byzantine and imitation of Byzantine coins everywhere. More in J. BAKER, Money and Currency in Medieval Greece, in: A Companion to Latin Greece (eds N.I. TSOUGARAKIS – P. Lock). Leiden–Boston 2015, 224.

39 The Church Fathers condemned τυμβωρυχία as impious and immoral, and dictated harsh penalties for this practice from Late Antiquity onwards. The unexpected discovery of graves or bones beneath houses at building sites or in remote parts of the countryside was a *topos* for ghost stories and novels. During the 6th/7th centuries in Asia Minor the Life of St Theodore of Sykeon reports at least six group exorcisms of evil spirits that possessed peasants when the latter disturbed graves (S. MITCHELL, Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. II: The Rise of the Church. Oxford 1993, 122–150).

luck⁴⁰. No other artifacts or even sherds of this late period were found above the graves and the burials were left undisturbed until the present time⁴¹.

Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea

40 We know from Isthmia in Corinth that Late Roman graves were disturbed during the building of the fortification walls of the 6th century (the Hexamilion, NE Gate, nearby Tower 2 and west of the Fortress). All of the disturbed graves were moved to another location where the builders tried to place the skeletal remains and offerings in the same way. This treatment of old graves shows a respectful attitude toward the dead. More in J.L. RIFE, *The Roman and Byzantine Graves and Human Remains (Isthmia IX)*. Princeton, NJ 2012, 202–206.

41 All the finds are kept in the storage rooms of Brauron Museum and the graves remain securely covered beneath the apartment building which was erected shortly after the end of the excavation. Unfortunately, there was no anthropological study of the skeletons.

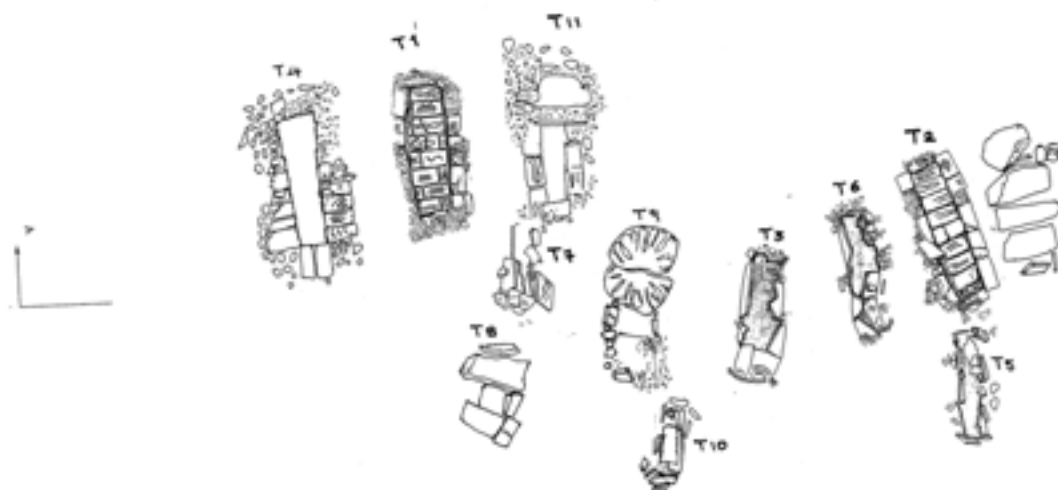


Fig. 1. Plan of the cemetery (drawn by E. Tolia). © Ministry of Culture and Sports – 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica



Fig. 2. View of the cemetery. © Ministry of Culture and Sports – 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica



Fig. 3a–3b. Grave I and tombstone. © Ministry of Culture and Sports – 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica



Fig. 4a–4b–4c. Pottery from Grave I. © Ministry of Culture and Sports – 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica



Fig. 5. Pottery from Grave II. © Ministry of Culture and Sports – 2nd Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Attica



Fig. 6. Inhumations in Grave VI.
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Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
of Attica



Fig. 7. Oil mill stone covering grave IX.
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Superintendency/Ephorate of Prehistoric
and Classical Antiquities of Attica



8a



8b



8c



8d



8e

Fig. 8a–8e. Lamps from Grave XI. © Ministry of Culture and Sports –
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NIKI VASILIKOU

Early Christian and Byzantine Paiania: New Evidence for the Topography of the Area

The location of ancient Paiania, which has been one of the largest demes of Attica, is identified with today's namesake town situated on the east foothills of Mount Hymettus, formerly named Liopesi¹. There are no written sources about life in the area during the early Christian and the Byzantine periods. However, continuous habitation on the site of the ancient deme is attested by the preserved monuments, the reused architectural members found embedded in post-Byzantine churches of the area, and also members randomly found and collected. Evidence for the early Christian and Byzantine topography is also provided by the findings retrieved during rescue excavations and during restoration work carried out on monuments of Paiania and of the wider region.

Among the most significant and earliest Byzantine monuments of Paiania is the large basilica, which was excavated on the site of the post-Byzantine church of St Athanasios, an important landmark of the modern town. (fig. 1). The basilica of Paiania has nearly the same size as the basilica at Brauron and is one of the largest early Christian churches excavated in Mesogeia². It is three-aisled with semicircular apse, tribelon and possibly tripartite narthex. Width dominates its layout. Each colonnade rested on a stylobate and was composed of four columns. The arcades abutted to pilasters. To the north of the monument an annex was revealed, probably designated for use by the clergy. A second annex at the southeast corner, which comprises an apsidal space, may have served as a baptistery. The basilica dates to the period after the middle of the 6th century.

1 G. STAYNHAEUER, Η Κλασσική Μεσογαία (5ος–4ος αι. π.Χ.), in: Μεσογαία. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός των Μεσογείων Αττικής. Athens 2002, 107; P. PHILIPPOU-ANGELOU, Παιανία Υπένερθεν – Παιανία Καθύπερθεν, in: Πρακτικά Ε' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Paiania 1994, 31–40; M. ΜΕΧΙ – Κ. ΝΤΟΥΝΙ, Αρχαίος Δήμος Παιανίας Υπένερθεν: νεότερα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα, in: Πρακτικά ΙΕ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Kalyvia Thorikou Attikes 2015, 83–100; Ο. ΚΑΚΑΒΟΙΑΝΝΙ, Η περιοχή της Παιανίας κατά τους προϊστορικούς και τους αρχαίους χρόνους, in: Πρακτικά ΙΓ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Kalyvia Thorikou Attikes 2010, 171–192.

2 The nave of the basilica of Brauron is about 21 m in length and 18.50 m in width, whereas the nave of St Athanasios is 19.50 m long and 20.78 m wide. For the basilica of Paiania see in general: ΕΥ. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΟΣΤΑΣ, Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Αττικής, Φωκίδος και Μαγνησίας. Βασιλική Παιανίας (Λιόπεσι). *AEphem* 1956, 27–31; ΒΟΥΡΑΣ *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 236–238; Δ. ΠΑΛΛΑΣ, Η παλαιοχριστιανική νοτιοανατολική Αττική, in: Πρακτικά Β' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Kalyvia 1986, 57–59.

In the post-Byzantine church of St Athanasios³ ancient architectural members, such as unfluted columns, a capital, impost blocks etc., which possibly belonged to an ancient building or the basilica, have been reused. A marble slab, which could have been part of a panel, is built in the window of the apse of the sanctuary. It is decorated with a large cross with flaring arms, a motif that is encountered in early Christian panels from the 5th century onwards and becomes widespread during the 6th century⁴. The nowadays unaccounted for impost block, mentioned by Mastrokostas, Pallas and Bouras⁵, was ornamented with a cross with arms of equal length, inscribed in a circle, acanthus leaves and fleur-de-lis motifs. Its decoration shows many similarities with an impost of the basilica at Brauron. It has been regarded as a product of a workshop, marked by its affinities with antique stylistic forms, and has been dated to a period before the middle of the 6th century. The impost block on the east column of the north arcade of the church is decorated with a cross with expanding ends, flanked by two half-aquatic leaves. Fleur-de-lis motifs occupy the space between the arch that surrounds the cross and the leaves. It has been dated to the second half of the 6th century⁶. The fragment of the impost block or pilaster-capital that has been placed on the base of the arch of the apse is similarly decorated (fig. 2). From the iconostasis of the church comes the four-sided stele that bears a funerary inscription which mentions blessed Euphemia, a young woman, generously beneficent, who implores –rendering the clergy responsible– not to let anyone be interred in her tomb and not to transfer her relics to a different place⁷. The finds, which the rescue excavations in the vicinity of the church of St Athanasios yielded, attest to the presence of an early Christian, Byzantine and post-Byzantine settlement on the site⁸.

The post-Byzantine church of St Paraskevi⁹ has been built over the

3 BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 236–238; A. ΚΑΛΑΙ-ΜΟΥΣΑΚΙ – S. ΜΟΥΣΑΚΙΣ, Άγιος Αθανάσιος στο Λιόπεσι και Άγιος Γιάννης στον Πέλικα, Μαρούσι. Παρατηρήσεις στον εικονογραφικό τύπο, την τεχνοτροπία και την τεχνική των τοιχογραφιών τους, in: Πρακτικά Θ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Kalyvia Thorikou 2008, 329–348.

4 It is similar to the cross found in a double-sided slab kept at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens that dates to the late 6th/early 7th century. M. ΣΚΛΑΒΟΥ-ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΙ, Παράσταση προσώπιδου σε βυζαντινά γλυπτά. *DChAE* 13 (1985–1986) 175; EADEM, Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών. Athens 1999, 71; G. ΤΗΟΧΑΡΙΣ, Το θωράκιο με το γοργόνειο στο Χριστιανικό και Βυζαντινό Μουσείο. Εικονογραφικά και τοπογραφικά της πρωτοβυζαντινής Κορίνθου. *DChAE* 33 (2012) 93–104.

5 EY. ΣΤΙΚΑΣ, Ανασκαφή παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής παρά την Βραυρώνα. *PraktArchEt* 1951, 65–66, figs 21–22; MASTROKOSTAS, Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Αττικής 29, fig. 4; BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 236–238, fig. 213; PALLAS, Αττική 57, fig. 15.

6 PALLAS, Αττική 58, fig. 16.

7 Ibid. 45, fig. 2.

8 E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Παιανία – περιοχή Αγίου Αθανασίου. *ADelt* 46 (1991) B1 Chr. 83–85; EADEM, Ανασκαφικές έρευνες. *ADelt* 49 (1994) B1 Chr. 106–107.

9 BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 235–236; G.D. HATZISOTIRIOU, Ιστορία της Παιανίας και των ανατολικά του Υμηττού περιοχών (1205–1973). Athens 1973, 188–199.

ruins of an earlier structure, possibly a three-aisled basilica, as evidenced by the form of the semi-circular apse with the double arched opening as well as the remains of the east wall and the pilaster of the south aisle. Ongoing consolidation and restoration work on the church brought to light new evidence for the building phases and the original form of the edifice¹⁰. The two arched windows in the south wall, the arched brick doorway through which the nave communicated with the sanctuary of the chapel and the portion of the brick arch on the north wall are elements that bear witness to the Byzantine phase of the monument. Scattered in the forecourt are fragments of unfluted columns, a lid of a sarcophagus and other finds; parts of marble Ionic capitals are set into its masonry, and two columns that possibly belonged to an earlier building have been reused in the templon screen. Inside the church, trial trenches revealed earlier building remains, Christian burials carved into the bedrock, cist graves, re-interment of relics and a wealth of Byzantine and post-Byzantine finds (pottery, glassware, coins, metal objects etc.). Recent rescue excavation that was conducted in the context of a public utility work, along the road to the south of the precinct of the church, unearthed similar burials¹¹. These elements attest to the original cemeterial function of the church that continued until the 19th century¹².

Two Byzantine churches, St Nicholas at Chalidou and the Holy Trinity, are preserved in Paiania. St Nicholas¹³ is situated to the south of the town. It is a cross-in-square church with cylindrical dome and semicircular apse. The corner compartments of the building are formed of masonry, whereas the height of their roof differs from that of the cross arms. The chapel of St Savvas to the south of the church, with semicircular apse and tiled lean-to roof, has been built over the ruins of an earlier church that possibly dates from the middle Byzantine period¹⁴. On the dome of the church of St Nicholas wall paintings dated to the last quarter of the 12th century are preserved¹⁵. In the centre Christ Pantocrator is portrayed surrounded by series of medallions

10 N. VASILIKOU, Ο ναός της Αγίας Παρασκευής στη Παιανία: νεότερα στοιχεία για τις οικοδομικές φάσεις και το τοιχογραφικό του διάκοσμο, in: Πρακτικά ΙΣΤ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Kalyvia Thorikou 2018, 567-576.

11 The excavation was conducted in the context of the sub-project "Archaeological research and work" of the NSRF project "Construction of rainwater drainage network of the Municipality of Paiania; Phase II".

12 HATZISOTIRIOU, Ιστορία της Παιανίας 188.

13 BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 233-234; BOURAS – BOURA, Ναοδομία 318-319; KONTOTHEOGEORGIOPOULOU, Βυζαντινή Αττική 203.

14 V. PAPAGEORGIOU – A. KARAMPERIDI, Παιανία, θέση Χαλιδού, ναός Αγίων Νικολάου και Σάββα. *ADelt* 69 (2014) Chr. Β' 1 α, 186-189 at 189.

15 D. MOURIKI, Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. *DOP* 34 (1980-1981) 119, figs 85, 87; SKAWRAN, Fresco Painting 16, 173, fig. 283; E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Νεώτερα στοιχεία από τη συντήρηση των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων στα Μεσόγεια, in: Πρακτικά Γ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Kalyvia 1988, 432-435.

in which the Theotokos, Archangels and Cherubim are depicted. Excavation conducted in the interior of the chapel of St Savvas, as part of consolidation-restoration work on the monument, revealed a large –possibly Byzantine– underground barrel-vaulted tomb-ossuary which remained visible, after the end of the restoration work¹⁶. On the west facade of the church, recessed into the wall above the door, is an architectural member in relief, decorated with a cross with expanding ends (fig. 3). From the bottom arm of the cross grow half-leaves ending in flowers or trefoils that fill the open spaces between the upper arms of the cross. In the past the sculpture, which was coated with lime and therefore could hardly be discerned, had been dated to the Ottoman period¹⁷. However, the form of the cross, the vegetal decoration and the way in which the acanthus leaves have been carved hark back to an earlier period, possibly the early medieval period (7th–8th centuries?)¹⁸. Similar decoration appears on an impost block that has been reused in the post-Byzantine church of St George in the archaeological site of Brauron¹⁹.

Apart from the church of St. Nicholas, a dilapidated Byzantine church, probably consecrated to Hagioi Theodoroi, had been found to the southwest of St Nicholas. Furthermore, the area abounds with scattered sherds of unglazed and glazed Byzantine pottery²⁰.

The church of the Holy Trinity²¹, which stands on a hilltop to the west of the town, is aisleless with semi-circular apse. The nave is covered by a barrel vault interrupted by the dome which rests on a rectangle defined by two blind arches on the north and south sides. The barrel-vaulted narthex of the monument is a later addition. A representation of Christ Pantocrator, similar to its counterpart in the church of St Nicholas at Chalidou, dominates the dome, preserved in poor condition.

An interesting element about the area between the Holy Trinity and the post-Byzantine church of St Andrew²² is the place-name Episkopi or Piskopi²³. It has been maintained that various finds had been retrieved by the locals in the area, such as gold coins, a floor mosaic and storage jars (pithoi) –information that has not been confirmed archaeologically. Near St Andrew built larders

16 PAPAGEORGIOU – KARAMPERIDI, Παιανία, θέση Χαλιδού 188.

17 BOYRAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 233, fig. 203.

18 The leaves on a column capital from Ravenna dated to the 6th/7th century have been carved in a similar manner: R. OLIVIERI FARIOLI, La scultura architettonica. Basi, capitelli, pietre d'imposta, pilastri e pilastrini, plutei, pulvini, in: Corpus della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedievale di Ravenna (ed. G. BOVINI) III. Rome 1969, 89, fig. 166.

19 P. LAZARIDIS, Ανασκαφή Βραυρώνος. Ναός Αγίου Γεωργίου. *ADelt* 16 (1960) 76.

20 E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Περιοχή Αγίου Νικολάου Χαλιδού. *ADelt* 46 (1991) B1 Chr. 81.

21 BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 238–239.

22 E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Άγιος Ανδρέας. *ADelt* 38 (1983) 65–66.

23 HATZISOTIRIOU, Ιστορία της Παιανίας 170–176.

have been located and rescue excavation has brought to light storage vessels²⁴.

In the wider region, at Kantza, lies the church of Palaiopanagia²⁵. It is a small aisleless barrel-vaulted church with three-sided apse at the east side. It replaced a triconch or tetraconch Byzantine building dating from the 12th century, of which the semi-hexagonal conch survives having been integrated into the north side of the post-Byzantine church. The Byzantine conch is built of fine cloisonné masonry interrupted by a double arched opening with a marble colonnette crowned with an impost block and integral capital. The impost block, which is possibly reused, is ornamented with a banded floriated cross, while the capital is decorated with a rosette encompassed in a lyre-shaped frame. The earlier wall paintings of the church, which possibly date back to the late Byzantine period, are preserved inside the conch. On the vault the representation of the Dormition of the Virgin is depicted, whereas at a lower level the full-length figure of Archangel Michael is frontally portrayed as Guardian according to the inscription on his raised sword.

Not far away, east of the church of Palaiopanagia, lay the ruins of a church –possibly Byzantine– known as St Polykarpos. Partial cleaning revealed that it has a total length of 8.66 m, not including the apse which is probably three-sided. In about the centre of the south side a transverse low wall served perhaps as a buttressing wall.

Excavation conducted north of the post-Byzantine church of St George of Sklepios²⁶, after illicit digging that has taken place at the site, revealed the remains of a small church with semi-circular apse and floor made of stone slabs²⁷. The two churches communicated with each other through an arched door, blocked today. At a lower level, two graves were found, of which the one was a cist grave covered by a marble slab and the second was a pit grave. They contained the relics of more than one person, with very few burial gifts in poor state of preservation that included a bronze coin and a bronze ring. The obverse of the coin illustrates the effigy of Emperor Constantius II (337–

24 The excavation was conducted in the context of the sub-project “Archaeological research and work” of the NSRF project “Construction of rainwater drainage network of the Municipality of Paiania; Phase II”.

25 BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 234–235; BOURAS – BOURA, Ναοδομία 176–177.

26 BOURAS *et al.*, Εκκλησίες της Αττικής 239–240.

27 This is probably identified with the floor which had been found during an earlier trial trench on the site: E. GHINI-TSOFOPOΥΛΟΥ, Άγιος Γεώργιος στη θέση Καρελά Παιανίας. *ADelt* 40 (1985) Chr. 75. For the place name Sklepios and the view according to which the site is identified with the village Askleprios, as this has been documented in an excerpt of a Byzantine *praktikon* originating from Athens, see E. GRANSTREM *et al.*, Fragment d'un *praktikon* de la region d'Athènes. *REB* 34 (1976) 5–44, pl. I–IV; KONTOTHEORGOPΟΥΛΟΥ, Βυζαντινή Αττική 167; ΕΑΔΕΜ, Το αναφερόμενο στο Πρακτικόν της Αθήνας τοπωνύμιο Ασκληπιός – Νέα στοιχεία, in: Aureus, Τόμος αφιερωμένος στον καθηγητή Ευάγγελο Χρυσό. Athens 2014, 391–401.

361) turning to the right²⁸. The representation on the reverse of the coin is damaged. On the bezel of the ring a cruciform incision, possibly a monogram that denotes the name of its owner, is visible.

In the wider region of Paiania stands the post-Byzantine church of St Nicholas at Leontariou Str in Kantza, where rescue excavation²⁹ unearthed the ruins of a Byzantine church, a Byzantine cemetery with graves and ossuaries, as well as the remains of the storage room (*pitheonas*) and the kitchen of a small monastic complex. The excavation also yielded rich pottery finds that consisted, apart from utilitarian vessels (such as cooking pots, bowls and others), luxurious glazed cups and plates with incised decoration that date back to the 12th century.

Architectural members embedded within the walls of post-Byzantine churches of the town constitute significant evidence, predominantly for early Christian Paiania. In the post-Byzantine church of the Dormition of the Virgin or Panagitsa³⁰ architectural members (such as unfluted columns, capitals) and sculptures that belonged to earlier buildings have been reused. These include, among others, an impost block and a sculpture of the Early Christian period. The impost block has been used as pilaster-capital at the west arch's springing of today's two-aisled basilica and is decorated with a cross and acanthus leaves³¹. The architectural member in relief, which is set into the wall on the west face of the church surrounding the conch above the entrance, possibly comes from a door frame (fig.4). It is decorated with a cross with flaring arms and overlapping scales³². Rescue excavation conducted as part of the monument's consolidation³³ and other works³⁴ that took place in the area unearthed Byzantine burials, building remains and a sufficient number of storage vessels and larders in the surrounding space of the church.

In the templon screen of the aisleless timber-roofed church of St George

28 A.S. ROBERTSON, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet University of Glasgow. V. Diocletian (Reform) to Zeno*. Oxford 1982, pl. 67.

29 ARAPOGIANNI, Κάντζα 255–261.

30 CH. PANOUSAKIS, Ο ναός της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στην Παιανία (Παναγία στο Λιόπενσι, in: *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την Άλωση* (ed. CH. BOURAS) vol. 2. Thessalonica 1982, 213–222.

31 It has affinity with an impost block of St Athanasios, yet its provenance from the basilica within this church is not secure: PANOUSAKIS, Ο ναός της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου 216, figs 8, 9.

32 For the question of scales and relevant examples: SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτά 38; P. ANGIOLINI MARTINELLI, *Altari, amboni, cibori, cornici, plutei con figure di animali e con intrecci, transenne e frammenti vari*, in: *Corpus della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedievale di Ravenna* (ed. G. BOVINI) I. Rome 1968, 54–55, figs 66b, 68, 70, 71.

33 CH. ΚΟΙΛΑΚΟΥ, Ανασκαφικές Εργασίες. Παιανία, Ναός Κοιμήσεως Θεοτόκου. *ADelt* 62 (2007) B1 Chr. 267.

34 Excavation conducted in the context of the sub-project “Archaeological research and work” of the NSRF project “Construction of rainwater drainage network of the Municipality of Paiania; Phase II”.

at Kokla³⁵ a column with Ionic capital from which the volute is visible has been reused. The pilaster-capitals of the transverse arch of the church are in fact re-used early Christian impost blocks. The north one is decorated on its two narrow sides with aquatic and spear-shaped leaves. The impost block of the south side is ornamented with alternating acanthus and aquatic leaves on one side, whereas the second narrow side has been left unadorned. Both sculptures are of inferior quality, heftily designed and worked, possibly produced by local workshops.

In the similarly aisleless timber-roofed church of Prophet Elijah architectural members, such as columns and impost blocks, have been reused³⁶. The transverse arch at the north side rests on an unfluted column decorated with an incised cross. The impost block that now serves as pilaster-capital bears, on both its narrow sides, an incised cross with expanding ends set within a rectangular frame³⁷. The column of the south side of the arch is fluted and is crowned with an undecorated impost. A third impost block, the one side of which is adorned with a cross, is also embedded in the church.

Apart from the spolia encountered in post-Byzantine churches of Paiania, noteworthy are the architectural members of the collection that was originally housed in the Primary School of Liopesi, today stored at the Archaeological Museum of Brauron, and include parts of columns, colonnettes, pilaster-capitals, column capitals and others, all dating from the Early Christian period. Indicatively we refer to those finds that bear sculptural decoration and are associated with known architectural members that have been located in Paiania. They contribute to the understanding of the sculpture of the period under consideration.

The fragment of a marble pilaster-capital³⁸, which is decorated with a cross with expanding ends, aquatic leaves and fleur-de-lis (fig. 5), bears resemblance to the fragment of the pilaster-capital and the impost block that were reused in the church of St Athanasios. Affiliated to these, in terms of the decorative motifs and the technique employed, is a second fragment of a pilaster-capital or impost block³⁹ decorated with a cross and a cane leaf. Another marble pilaster-capital⁴⁰ from the Collection of Liopesi is ornamented

35 E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Περιοδείες. Ναός Αγίου Γεωργίου στη θέση Κόκλα. *ADelt* 45 (1990) B1 Chr. 88.

36 G. PANETOS, Η εκκλησία του Προφήτη Ηλία στην Παιανία, in: *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την Άλωση*, vol. 2, 206–207.

37 A similar plain incised technique is encountered on a column capital of the transitional period held at the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens: CH. BOURAS, Κατάλογος αρχιτεκτονικών μελών του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου, άλλοτε στις αποθήκες του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου. *DChAE* 13 (1985–1986) 42–43, fig. 4.

38 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 875. Dimensions: 0.22x0.255x0.185. It comprises two pieces that belong together.

39 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 874. Dimensions: 0.23x0.27x0.25.

40 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 1440. Dimensions: 0.12x0.157x0.18.

with volutes, acanthus and leaves and shares common elements with an early Christian pilaster-capital held at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens⁴¹.

The marble column capital⁴² decorated with a multi-leaved palmette on the front and spear-shaped leaves at the corners comes possibly from a templon screen (fig. 6). The technique and the decoration of the sculpture bear resemblance to the middle-Byzantine architectural members of the Byzantine and Christian Museum⁴³. The fragment of the basket of a cylindrical column capital⁴⁴ embellished with acanthus leaves is presumably a variation of a Corinthian capital, the decoration of which was arranged in two registers. The small capital⁴⁵ made as an integral unit with a colonnette, decorated with stylized lotus flowers, probably formed part of a ciborium. Its technique recalls that of its counterpart from the Basilica in Brauron⁴⁶.

The fragment of the architectural member⁴⁷, decorated with a tendril and half palm leaves, possibly belonged to a cornice (fig. 7). The motif of the tendril with palm leaves is encountered on a lintel of the Byzantine Museum dating back to the 10th century⁴⁸ as well as on an architectural member in relief embedded in the church of St Elissaios⁴⁹.

The preserved monuments in Paiania combined with the fragmentary building remains and architectural members attest to the presence of at least two early Christian centres at St Athanasios and St Paraskevi that endured throughout the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine period. The early Christian sculptures, found in the churches of the Dormition of the Virgin, of St George at Kokla and of Prophet Elijah, denote possible activity at these sites during the Early Christian and the Byzantine periods. The occurrence of Byzantine monuments or ruins in which so far no indications of an earlier building phase or traces of prior habitation have been identified leads to the assumption that during that time new settlements with residential or devotional-spiritual character have been developed in the wider region, as is the case with the rest of Mesogeia. The numerous large storage vessels and built larders, which archaeological research brings to light, demonstrate that the main occupation of the inhabitants has always been the exploitation of land.

41 BOURAS, Κατάλογος 46, fig. 11.

42 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 873. Dimensions: height 0.155; width of the top surface 0.17.

43 BOURAS, Κατάλογος 47, 49, 52, figs 14, 19, 24; SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτά 149, cat. nos 203, 173 cat. nos 239, 177 cat. no. 244.

44 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 884. Dimensions: 0.13x0.22.

45 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 876. Dimensions: height 0.20, width of abacus 0.105.

46 STIKAS, Βραυρώνα 59, fig. 12.

47 Archaeological Museum of Brauron BE 1438. Dimensions: 0.26x0.16x0.09.

48 SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτά 99, cat. no. 138.

49 A. ΧΥΝΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Εύρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων. A/2, 99, fig. 116.

The sculptures of Paiania are marked by diversity as regards their material and decorative motifs, and differentiation in the quality of the design and execution. They suggest the existence of a larger number of monuments from the hitherto known, which have either been destroyed or are latent in later churches. They also confirm that they are products of different workshops directly or indirectly associated with Athens.

Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica



Fig. 1. Paiania, church of St Athanasios. View of the West (Photo: N. Vasilikou)



Fig. 2. Paiania, church of St Athanasios.
Fragment of impost block or pilaster-capital
(Photo: N. Vasilikou)



Fig. 3. Paiania, church of St Nicolas.
Architectural member in relief
(Photo: N. Vasilikou)



Fig. 4. Paiania, church of the Dormition of Virgin or Panagitsa. Architectural member in relief (Photo: N. Vasilikou)



Fig. 5. Archaeological Museum of Brauron, collection of Liopesi. Fragment of a marble pilaster-capital (Photo: N. Vasilikou)



Fig. 6. Archaeological Museum of Brauron, collection of Liopesi. Marble column capital (Photo: N. Vasilikou)



Fig. 7. Archaeological Museum of Brauron, collection of Liopesi. Architectural member in relief (Photo: N. Vasilikou)

ELLI TZAVELLA

Defence in Early Byzantine Attica (4th–7th Centuries): Fortified Towns, Forts, and Guard Posts

Defence of Southern Greece in Late Antiquity has been discussed mostly in reference with literary sources, while archaeological sources often still await systematic report¹. The Hexamilion wall securing the Isthmus perhaps offers the fullest documented piece of evidence². Late Antique schemes of defence in Attica were discussed in 1988 and 1995 by Garth Fowden³. However, since then the topic has not been discussed to the extent it deserves. Historical sources, including Procopius, leave many questions unanswered about defence in southern Greece. Although with regards to Attica, the defences of Athens and Eleusis have been researched (see citations below), a large number of other defensive sites has not been discussed in its historical and geographical frame (for the geographical setting of sites see Fig. 1).

Fortified towns

Athens

Athens was protected by two courses of defence walls. The Post-Herulian wall protected the centre of the city of Athens⁴. The wall is traditionally thought to have been built in the second half of the 3rd century, probably during the reign of Emperor Probus (276–282), as a direct result of the invasion⁵. Recently,

1 I am grateful to Professor Helen Saradi-Mendelovici for her kind invitation to contribute to the proceedings of the conference, as well as for a useful discussion. The present contribution forms part of my PhD research on the topography of Early and Middle Byzantine Attica (4th–12th centuries), currently under publication by Brepols. In this forthcoming publication (Chapter V, 'Defensive structures'), more documentation and general discussion can be found, which could not be included here for space reasons. Recent research by Dr. Archibald W. Dunn in southern Macedonia and Boeotia (2002; 2006) opened avenues of enquiry for the study of defence in Late Antique Attica. Special thanks go to Dr. Efthymios Rizos (University of Oxford) for a very helpful discussion regarding defence in southern Greece during Late Antiquity.

2 T.E. GREGORY, *The Hexamilion and the Fortress (Isthmia V)*. Princeton 1993.

3 G. FOWDEN, City and mountain in Late Roman Attica. *JHS* 108 (1988) 48–59; IDEM, Late Roman Achaia: identity and defence. *JRA* 8 (1995) 549–567.

4 TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις 161; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 5. For an updated drawing plan of the Post-Herulian wall see THEOCHARAKI, The ancient circuit wall; N. TSONIOTIS, The Benizeli Mansion Excavation: latest evidence on the Post-Herulian fortification wall in Athens, in: *Focus on Fortifications. New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East* (eds R. FREDERIKSEN *et al.*). Oxford 2016, 712–724.

5 TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις 128–129; IDEM, Post-Herulian wall 125–141; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 5–11; SIRONEN, Life 19–20; BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 30; THEOCHARAKI, The ancient circuit wall 84, 133–134; TSONIOTIS, Benizeli Mansion 722.

a later chronology in the 5th or 6th century was proposed⁶. Recent rescue excavations show that the Post-Herulian wall was used through Late Antiquity and the Middle Byzantine period, and was disused in the 13th century⁷.

The large Themistoclean wall received numerous repairs and was partly rebuilt at some point during the reigns of Valerian (253-260) and Gallienus (260-268)⁸. Further repairs took place during the whole Late Antique period. *IG ii*² 5206 commemorates reconstruction of a gate under Flavius Septimius Marcellinus in the mid-4th century⁹. Literary evidence by Zosimus and *IG ii-iii*² V 13277 dedicated by Iamblichus have both been interpreted as sources attesting to substantial repairs at the end of the 4th century¹⁰. Other substantial repairs showing Late Antique masonry have been located archaeologically. Most are dated by excavators to the reign of Justinian (527–565), based on the text of Procopius documenting the refortification of Athens during his reign, although further archaeological evidence is needed to confirm this chronology¹¹. In any case, archaeological documentation demonstrates that the Valerianic wall was repaired repeatedly up until the 6th century and remained in use at least until then.

Megara

There is epigraphic evidence that the Classical defence wall of Megara was repaired repeatedly during Late Antiquity. *IG vii* 96 commemorates Phosphorius,

6 On this view see I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *La monumentalizzazione tardo antica di Atene. Ostraka* 4 (1995) 174–175; EADEM, *La fine del santuario e la cristianizzazione*, in: *Mysteria. Archeologia e culto santuario di Demetra ad Eleusi* (ed. E. LIPPOLIS). Milan 2006, 295, n. 322; E. GRECO, *Su alcuni studi di topografia ateniese alla SAIA: vecchie ipotesi e nuove prospettive. ASAtene* 87 (2010) 217–233; I. BALDINI – E. BAZZECHI, *About the meaning of fortifications in Late Antique cities: the case of Athens in context*, in: *Focus on Fortifications. New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East* (eds R. FREDERIKSEN *et al.*). Oxford 2016, 708. On the location of extramural cemeteries see TZAVELLA, *Burial*.

7 TSONIOTIS, *Benizeli Mansion* 717, 721.

8 Zosimos, *Historia Nova* I, 29, 2–3 (ed. F. PASCHOUD); THEOCHARAKI, *The ancient circuit wall* 131–133; EADEM, *Τα αρχαία τείχη των Αθηνών*. Athens 2015, 60–62, 232–238.

9 Ibid. 65–66.

10 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 51, 58; THEOCHARAKI, *Αρχαία τείχη* 66, 242–243. Inscription of Iamblichus (*IG ii-iii*² V 13277): *πύργους τείχεος ἔρκος ἔτευξεν*, ca. 400; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 33.

11 Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV, 2, 24 (ed. J. HAURY, rev. G. WIRTH); TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομική ἐξέλιξις* 144–148; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 33; THEOCHARAKI, *The ancient circuit wall* 135 and Appendix, ‘Source documentation’; EADEM, *Αρχαία τείχη* 67–68, 244–249; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 33–34 notes that the precise arrangement and form of these towers strengthens a hypothesis for Justinianic date. One recent excavation provided evidence for chronology of a tower of the *proteichisma* to the 5th century: E. SERVETOPOULOU, Γ’ ΕΠΚΑ. Οδός Αγίων Ασωμάτων 24. *ADelt* 63 (2008) B1 107–108.

‘πυργώσας πόλιας’ (who strengthened the city with towers)¹². *IG* vii 93 honours the *eparch* Herculus for the erection or repair of (part of?) the defence wall and an aqueduct¹³. There is evidence to identify the *eparch* Herculus who refortified Megara with Herculus the praetorian prefect of Illyricum (408–412). This identification indicates a direct involvement of the highest administration of the Empire in the defence of πόλεις/*civitates*, even those of minor rank, in the early 5th century, that is, more than a century earlier than the reign of Justinian. Finally, *IG* vii 26 attests that the *komes* Diogenes (active between 472 and 494) funded construction of towers¹⁴.

A rescue excavation on Lysiou street revealed a stretch of the southern course of the Classical city wall bearing a repaired section made of pseudo-isodomic masonry, with Late Roman or Early Byzantine ceramic sherds set

12 [Φ]ωσφορίου Μεγαρήες ἀριστονόοιο καμώντες | εἰκόνα λαϊνέην στῆσαν ἐπ’ εὐδικί[αις, | οὐνεκα πυργώσας πόλιας κρατεραλγέα θυρο[ν] τεῦξεν ἀτάρβητον δῆιον ἐνναέτ[αι]ς. D. FEISSEL – A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions de Péloponnèse (à l’exception de Mistra)*. *TM* 9 (1985) 288–289. Phosphorius is thought to be L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, who became prefect of the city in 364; the date of the inscription is thus thought to be *ca.* 377: see the comments by DITTENBERGER in *IG* vii 93 (p. 42), and by P.J. SMITH, *The Archaeology and Epigraphy of Hellenistic and Roman Megaris, Greece*. Oxford 2008, 192, no. 72; A.H.M. JONES *et al.*, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I. AD 260–395. Cambridge 1971, 700 identify Phosphorius of *IG* vii 96 with Phosphorius (proconsul of Achaia) who also comes up in another inscription where he is honoured by a certain Archelaus. E. GROAG, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit*. Budapest 1946, 54–55 identifies Archelaus with the Archelaus of *IG* iii 172 (probably in the 380s) and connects the building of fortifications in *IG* vii 96 with the disorders following the battle of Adrianople. This hypothesis is repeated by FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 49–50. FOWDEN, *Achaia* 554 formulates carefully that “it is likely that some repairs were undertaken during the threatening period between the Battle of Adrianople (378) and the Gothic peace of 382. There is possible evidence of such activity from Megara (*IG* vii 96) as well as from Athens (...)”.

13 Ἐρκόλιον τὸν | ἑπαρχὸν ἀνέστησαν Μεγαρή[ες] παντοίω[ν νή]σων καὶ πόλεων φύλακα | τείχεα δέιμα[το] [κ]αὶ [πό]ρον ἔμπεδον ὡπα[σε] Νύμφ[αις] | ἄστεα καὶ βουλὰς πλ[ῆ]σ[ε] βροτῶν σοφίη. Herculus can probably be identified with the praetorian prefect Herculus (408–412) known from Athens, where he appears to have funded the refurbishment of the Library of Hadrian: *IG* ii–iii² V 13283. A. AVRAMEA, *Η Πελοπόννησος από τον 4ο ως τον 8ο αιώνα. Τομές και συνέχεια*. Athens 2012², 127 accepts the view that Herculus of Athens and Herculus of Megara is the same person. For a historical assessment of the Athenian inscription see KARIVIERI, *The so-called Library of Hadrian* 102–105. It is possible that the same Herculus was the official responsible for the construction of the Hexamilion wall: GREGORY, *Hexamilion* 143–144; FOWDEN, *Achaia* 554. On prosopographic information see J.R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* vol. II. AD 395–527. Cambridge 1980, 707–708. See also SMITH, *Megaris* 192, no. 70.

14 Ἔργον καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κόμης Διογένους τοῦ παιδὸς | Ἀρχελαίου, ὃς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ὡς τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας κηδόμενος | παρέσχεν καὶ τῇ Μεγαρέων εἰς μὲν πύργων κατασκευὴν ἑκατὸν χρυσίνους, | πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτέρους δισχιλίους τε καὶ διακοσίους | πόδας μαρμάρου εἰς τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ λουτροῦ, τιμιώτερον | οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ τοῦς Ἑλλήνας εὐεργετῆιν | ἀνανεοῦν τε τὰς πόλεις. For the identification of Diogenes, and hence chronology of the inscription to 472–494, see MARTINDALE, *Prosopography* 360–361, 707–708. See also SEG 40 (1990) 403; SMITH, *Megaris* 182, no. 23.

into the joints. A similar repair was found in 1968 in the southwestern course of the city wall¹⁵.

Eleusis

Even though Eleusis was not a πόλις/*civitas*, but a minor urban settlement, it was also protected through fortification. The Sanctuary wall was first built in the Archaic period and rebuilt repeatedly during the Classical, Hellenistic, and Late Roman periods¹⁶. The Late Roman reconstruction is seen at the Eastern Extension of the Sanctuary wall (Fig. 2). This masonry consists of large hewn blocks in second use, bonded with mortar and rubble. Between the Great Propylaia and the temple of Faustina, on top of this Late Roman masonry, a section of alternating layers of rubble and tiles has been preserved. Ziro believes that this mixed masonry continued all along the Late Roman curtain wall¹⁷.

The acropolis wall, with a trapezoid ground plan, was first built during Late Antiquity. It consists of alternating courses of rubble and tiles and is reinforced with towers¹⁸. Its ground plan and masonry are typical of urban defence walls of Late Antiquity.

The two adjacent wall courses were built in a single construction phase. Travlos, followed by Ziro, dated this construction phase to the reign of Valerian (253–260), in equivalence with the defensive activity he undertook at Athens and in anticipation of the invasion of the Heruls, who would enter Athens through Eleusis¹⁹. This argument was adopted by Fowden, Clinton, and Wilkes²⁰. However, it needs to be tested against archaeological and architectural study of the wall. Recently, Tsouris argued that the masonry that consists of alternating courses of rubble and tiles dates to the 5th and 6th century²¹.

15 P. ZORIDIS – P. BAZIOTOPOULOU-VALAVANI, Μέγαρχα. *ADelt* 38 (1983) B1, 30–41 at 33; O. ALEXANDRI, Γ' Εφορεία Κλασσικών Αρχαιοτήτων Αθηνών. *ADelt* 23 (1968) B1, 33–109 at 102.

16 The Sanctuary wall was studied systematically by D. ZIRO, Η κύρια είσοδος του Ιερού της Ελευσίνας. Athens 1991.

17 Ibid. 280.

18 The acropolis wall, although included in the detailed ground plans of Ziro, was not studied by him. K. PAPANGELI, ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑ: ο αρχαιολογικός χώρος και το μουσείο. Athens 2002, 47 briefly mentions that it dates to the “Byzantine period”.

19 I. TRAVLOS, Άνασκαφαὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. *PraktArchEt* 1954, 66–71; TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις 98; ZIRO, Κύρια είσοδος 277–279.

20 FOWDEN, City and mountain 50; IDEM, Achaea 549; K. CLINTON, The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman initiates and benefactors, second century BC to AD 267. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II* 18.2 (1989) 499–539; J.J. WILKES, Civil defence in third-century Achaia. *Bulletin Supplement of the Institute of Classical Studies* 55 (1989), 187–192.

21 K. TSOURIS, Μεσοβυζαντινές επεμβάσεις στην οχύρωση της Σπάρτης, in: Defensive architecture in the Peloponnese (5th–15th c.), Loutraki 30/9–1/10/2011, Abstracts (ed. D. ATHANASOULIS). Athens 2011, 69–70, marked the strong similarities of the Eleusis masonry with the Late Antique masonry of the city wall of Sparta and other sites of the Empire. I am indebted to Professor K. Tsouris for a useful discussion.

Moreover, Baldini supported the view that the new design of the Sanctuary wall, especially on its northwestern side, indicates a change of its use, which, according to her, took place in the 4th century²². This hypothesis remains to be tested.

Aigosthena (modern Porto Germeno)

Aigosthena is included as a πόλις/*civitas* in the *Synekdemos*, located on the north-south road connecting northern Greece with the Peloponnese through the Megarid, and endowed with a harbour. The Classical fortress of Aigosthena consists of the citadel on the acropolis, admirably preserved until today, and the fortress of the lower town. An Early Christian basilica was excavated in the lower fortress, near the harbour²³.

One phase of Medieval repair appears along the western (low-lying) acropolis wall, including a tower, and probably dates to Late Antiquity: it is made of hewn and cut blocks in second use, set in pseudo-isodomic masonry, with tiles and mortar at their joints; rubble fills-in the space between the two faces²⁴. This masonry recalls the Hexamilion wall and the Late Roman city wall of Corinth. This repair demonstrates acknowledgement of the need to reuse the acropolis citadel in Late Antiquity and shows that professional activity was undertaken in order to restore the citadel to a defensible condition (citadel dimensions: ca. 170x80 m).

Forts

Phyle

The Classical fortress called Phyle in western Parnes (ca. 95x30 m, Fig. 3) is in excellent preservation and situated at a very strategic location since it controls the passes between Attica and Boeotia through the Skourta plain. In the eastern part of the interior space Wrede found a very deep fill (4 m deep) containing “pottery of the Late Antique period”. Apparently this fill was dumped in order to bring the interior space of the fort to an even level²⁵.

Late Antique buildings that used the curtain wall as their back wall

22 BALDINI – BAZZECHI, Meaning of fortifications 704–705.

23 A. ORLANDOS, Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς τῶν Αἰγοσθένων. *PraktArchEt* (1954) 129–142.

24 The only bibliographical reference to this repair is E.F. BENSON, Aegosthena. *JHS* 15 (1895) 317f., Plan I. My application to publish a photo of this masonry was declined by the Ephorate of Western Attica, Peiraeus and the Islands, on the basis that restoration works were taking place at the northeastern tower of the citadel.

25 W. WREDE, Phyle. *MDAI AA* 49 (1924) 153–224 at 200–201; E. WIESNER, Phyle. A. PAULY – G. WISSOWA, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 20/1 (1941) 1011–1013. Pottery: J. OBER, Pottery and miscellaneous artifacts from fortified sites in northern and western Attica. *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 206, no. 6.11–6.12, pl. 27; D. GRIGOROPOULOS, Kaiserzeitliche und spätantike Keramik aus Attika in der Sammlung des DAI Athen. *MDAI AA* 124 (2009) 451, no. 174, pl. 52; 470, FO 024.

were partly excavated in the fortress. A large Classical partition wall of the fortress was demolished in Late Antiquity to enlarge the interior space. A new watering system was constructed²⁶. Finally, Koder and Hild reported that a section of the northeastern curtain wall bears repair with tiles and mortar²⁷.

It is clear that an updated study is needed for confirmation of the aforementioned data. At present, however, these elements attest to a refurbishment of the fortress which was designed professionally and executed masterfully²⁸. A settlement with an ancient, a Late Antique, and a Byzantine phase of habitation has been reported one kilometre northeast of the fortress²⁹.

Eleutherai (Gyphtokastro)

The second Classical fortress showing reuse in Late Antiquity is Eleutherai or Gyphtokastro, which overlooks the Kaza pass on Mount Kithairon, the most important passage connecting northern Greece with the Peloponnese through Attica³⁰. It was the only carriageable road in this direction and crucial for the movement of armies. The fort measures ca. 300x100 m (Fig. 4). Similar with Aigosthena, the lower-lying wall of the fortress, here facing south, was rebuilt with the same hewn and cut blocks in second use, with tiles and mortar at the joints³¹. A further Late Antique repair was reported recently at the northern curtain wall of the fortress³². Late Roman and Medieval pottery has been found in the fortress³³. Similar to Phyle, a settlement adjacent to the fort was re-occupied during Late Antiquity³⁴.

26 WREDE, Phyle 204–206.

27 KODER – HILD, Hellas 242.

28 FOWDEN, City and mountain 50f. suggested that Phyle may have been used by Herennius Dexippus while defending Athens against the Heruls in the later 3rd century.

29 A. SKIAS, Άνασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὴν Φυλὴν. *PraktArchEt* (1900) (38–50) 42; WREDE, Phyle 154.

30 On the Classical fort see OBER, Pottery 213–215; BAZIOTOPOULOU-VALAVANI, Μεγαρίς 74–75; S. FACHARD et al., The 2014 Mazi archaeological project (Attica). *AK* 58 (2015) 178–186 at 179, n. 8; A.R. KNODELL et al., The 2016 Mazi archaeological project: regional survey in northwest Attica (Greece). *AK* 60 (2017) 155–157.

31 P. LAZARIDIS, Μεσαιωνικά Αθηνών – Αττικής. *ADelt* 16 (1960) 156, where he mistakenly refers to the fort of Eleutherai as Oinoe; this was before the correct identification of the two sites on firm ground by E. VANDERPOOL, Roads and forts in north-western Attica. *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 11 (1978) 231–232; KODER – HILD, Hellas 154 correctly understood that Lazaridis refers here to the fort of Eleutherai and adopted his observation regarding the Late Antique repair. J. OBER, Fortress Attica: Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404–322 BC. Leiden 1985, 163, 223; KNODELL et al., The 2016 Mazi archaeological project: regional survey in northwest Attica (Greece), *AK* 60 (2017), 157. My application to publish a photo of this late repair was declined by the Ephorate of Western Attica, Peiraeus and the Islands.

32 A.R. KNODELL et al., The 2015 Mazi archaeological project: regional survey in northwest Attica (Greece). *AK* 59 (2016) 150–151.

33 OBER, Pottery 215; KNODELL et al., The 2015 Mazi 147; EIDEM, The 2016 Mazi 157.

34 E.G. STIKAS, Ανασκαφή Ελευθερών. *PraktArchEt* (1939–40) 44–49; OBER, Pottery 219–220; KNODELL et al., The 2015 Mazi 145.

Oinoe

The Classical rectangular fort Oinoe is located eight kilometres east of Eleutherai, in the middle of the small plain south of Mount Pastra³⁵. The fort controlled the road from Boeotia towards the plain of Eleusis. The Oinoe road ran just south of the fort. The fort was repaired and expanded during Late Antiquity, when it delimited an area of 3.9 hectares³⁶. Potsherds from the late 3rd to the early 7th century were found in and around the fort³⁷.

It therefore becomes clear that the Eleutherai and the Oinoe forts were reused in Late Antiquity and protected the two main passages from Boeotia to Attica and the Peloponnese. It is remarkable that both of these routes, through the Megarid and through the Thriasian plain, are shown in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Fig. 5a-b), and thus it may be held that they were regarded as 'official' in Late Antiquity for purposes of movement of administrative or military personnel. It should also be added that both the Eleutherai and the Oinoe fortresses could be supplied with grain easily from the Mazi and the Skourta plains which had a high grain production per hectare³⁸.

Lohmann argues that only Phyle can be supported as a military site of this period³⁹. But architectural studies of late construction phases at Classical *phrouria* like Eleutherai/Gyphtokastro and Aigosthena were missing at the time when he was writing – as they are still missing today, as are also well-published comparanda from southern Greece (with the exception of the Hexamilion). Indeed, supportive evidence comes from neighbouring south Boeotia, where the plain of Thisve appears to have been protected by four forts in the Early Byzantine period⁴⁰.

35 For the identification: VANDERPOOL, Roads 231–232; OBER, Fortress 154–155, 224.

36 FACHARD *et al.*, The 2014 Mazi 183; KNOELL *et al.*, The 2015 Mazi 150; EIDEM, The 2016 Mazi 158–60; K. PAPANGELI *et al.*, The Mazi Archaeological Project 2017: test excavations and site investigations, *AK* 61 (2018) 158, fig. 2.

37 Inside the fort: OBER, Pottery 212; GRIGORPOULOS, Keramik 466, FO 005, and nos 17, 28, 62, 99. Immediate vicinity: KNOELL *et al.*, The 2015 Mazi 138 (area c).

38 S. FACHARD – D. PRISINO, Routes out of Attica, in: *Autopsy in Athens. Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica* (ed. M.M. MILES). Oxford 2015, 146.

39 H. LOHMANN, *Atene. Forschungen zu Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsstruktur des klassischen Attika*, vol. I. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 1993, 260, n. 1815.

40 These are the forts of Thisve itself, Chorsiai / Kastro Chostion, Siphai / Mavrovouni, and the coastal fort of Alyki: see A.W. DUNN, The rise and fall of towns, loci of maritime traffic, and silk production: the problem of Thisve – Kastorion, in: *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (ed. E. JEFFREYS). Cambridge 2006, 47–48, fig. 3.1.

A fortified rural site

Kastro tou Christou

The fort is located on a hill near the eastern foot of Mount Hymettos and controls the passage from the Mesogeia plain to Athens through Σφηττία Ὀδός. This was the shortest and easiest way between Athens and Mesogeia, and was used diachronically. The small fort occupies the centre of the ancient *demos* of Sphettos.

A rubble wall with an irregular ovoid shape, ca. 1.2 m wide, crowns the hill⁴¹. It measures ca. 190x65 m. The rubble masonry includes large amounts of whitish mortar and only occasionally-used ceramic tiles. A reduced circuit wall survives on the summit (west part) of the hill, encircling a considerably smaller area. Numerous terrace walls partition the lower enclosed area.

Kotzias found “...a large number of Roman sherds, although Medieval sherds were also present”. Kalogeropoulou and Wrede collected a few Roman and Late Roman sherds. Kotzias found also a bronze coin of the 12th or 13th centuries⁴².

Due to the discovery of obsidian blades on the hill, the rubble circuit wall has been considered as Prehistoric, but the inclusion of mortar in numerous parts of the wall indicates that it was rebuilt in the post-ancient period. The discovery of Late Antique pottery offers a hint for the date of these repairs.

Rural forts are little-known in southern Greece. ‘Kastri’ near Kleidi, 2.5 km southwest of Tanagra in Boeotia, bears features that very closely recall Kastro tou Christou⁴³. Another rural fort of the 6th/7th century has been located in Mantinea, eastern Arcadia, at the site of Agia Kyriaki. Its size is considerably smaller than Kastro tou Christou, but house remains can be seen both inside and outside. Like Kastro tou Christou and Kleidi, this site is also situated on a hilltop that overlooks a regional road⁴⁴.

Minor defensive structures

Upland sites appropriate as watch posts and garrison posts with reported

41 N. KOTZIAS, Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Προφίτῃ Ἠλίᾳ Ὑμηττοῦ. *PraktArchEt* (1950) 144–172; KODER – HILD, Hellas, 99, 185. National Foundation of Research: <http://www.eie.gr/byzantineattica/view.asp?cgpk=490&lg=el&obpk=534&xsl=detail>.

42 KOTZIAS, Ἀνασκαφαὶ 171; A. KALOGEROPOULOU, Base en l'honneur de Démétrius de Phalère. *BCH* 93/1 (1969) 56–71 at 62; GRIGOROPOULOS, *Keramik* 475, FO 054.

43 A. CHARAMI *et al.*, Από τη γη της Ταναγραϊκής: ένας αγροτικός οικισμός των Προϊστορικών και Πρωτοβυζαντινών χρόνων στη θέση Κλειδί, in: Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 5, vol. II (ed. A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN). Volos 2020, 789–801, esp. 792–794.

44 E. ELEUTHERIOU, Οχυρή πρωτοβυζαντινή εγκατάσταση στην Αγία Κυριακή Μαντινείας, in: Ancient Arcadia (ed. E. ØSTBY). Athens 2005, 535–546. See discussion in M. VEIKOU, Settlements in the Greek countryside from the 4th to the 9th centuries: forms and patterns. *AnTard* 21 (2013) 131.

activity in Late Antiquity are: Kiapha Thiti, Beletsi⁴⁵, Katsimidi⁴⁶, the tower at Korydallos⁴⁷, Plakoto and Palaiokastros on the passage between the Thriasian and the Skourta plains⁴⁸, Towers C and F/G in the Megarid⁴⁹, the tower at Oinoe/Mazi⁵⁰, the Kandili tower⁵¹, and the western peak of Mount Kerata⁵². To these, we may add the preserved part of a tower which was excavated recently at the entrance from the Mesogeia plain to Athens, in the area Stavros. Only the tower at Stavros and the small fort on Kiapha Thiti were built in this period, and are described below. All other structures are ancient in construction, and ceramic sherds found at them indicate some kind of activity, which may have been for strategic or other purposes.

On the small hill 'Kiapha Thiti' (altitude 189 m) near Lambrika excavation revealed a Late Antique fortified site built on a Hellenistic sanctuary. The middle part of the hill is protected with a fortification wall. Atop the hill, a second fortification wall was excavated, with a few rooms attached to its inner face, and a contemporary single-aisled basilica church in the centre of the fortified area. The basilica has three construction phases, the first of which was dated to the 5th or early 6th century⁵³. The excavators interpreted this site as a *refugium*, but the site is easily visible from the road, while much better locations for protected *refugia* would have been offered by the nearby hilltops and ridges of Mount Hymettus. The location of the site, controlling the main

45 OBER, Fortress 144–145; GRIGOROPOULOS, Keramik 474, FO 048; OBER, Pottery 204, nos 5.5–5.6, pl. 26.

46 J.R. MCCREDIE, Fortified Military camps in Attica. Athens 1966, 57–58; OBER, Fortress 142–144; FOWDEN, City and mountain 55, n. 47 and 59, n. 75. Photo of the site: OBER, Pottery pl. 26b–c. Ceramics: FOWDEN, City and mountain 51, n. 15.

47 A. MILCHHÖFER, Karten von Attika. Erläuternder Text. Heft II. Berlin 1883, 14; M. PETROPOULAKOU – E. PENTAZOS, Αττική – Οικιστικά στοιχεία – Πρώτη έκθεση (Αρχαίες ελληνικές πόλεις 21). Athens 1973, 126; M.K. LANGDON, The mortared towers of central Greece: an Attic supplement. *ABSA* 90 (1995) 485; W.M. LEAKE, I: The Topography of Athens with Some Remarks on its Antiquities; II: The Demi of Attica. London 1841, 143 recorded these remains as belonging to an ancient tower, but Milchhöfer's record has been accepted as more accurate. The tower has been inaccessible for a few decades, as it rises in a modern military camp. Ceramics: FOWDEN, City and mountain 55.

48 Ibid. 55, n. 44.

49 J.-A. BUCHON, La Grèce continentale et la Morée. Voyage, séjour et études historiques en 1840 et 1841. Paris 1843, 557; H.J.W. TILLYARD, Two watch-towers in the Megarid. *ABSA* 12 (1905–1906) 105; N.G.L. HAMMOND, The main road from Boeotia to the Peloponnese through the Northern Megarid. *ABSA* 49 (1954) 103–122 at 111; OBER, Fortress 166–167.

50 GRIGOROPOULOS, Keramik 439, no. 83, 466, FO 003; FACHARD *et al.*, The 2014 Mazi 184.

51 OBER, Pottery 223. On the Kandili pass see S. VAN DE MAELE, La route antique de Mégare à Thèbes par le défilé du Kandili. *BCH* 111 (1987) 201, 203.

52 V. SCULLY, The Earth, the Temple and the Gods. New Haven–London 1962, 135; M.K. LANGDON, A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos. Princeton 1976, 105–106; OBER, Pottery 223–225; GRIGOROPOULOS, Keramik 425–427, 467. A strategic and a religious use of the site is implied by FOWDEN, City and mountain 55 and supported by SMITH, Megaris 71–73.

53 D. HAGEL – H. LAUTER (eds), Kiapha-Thiti. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung, vol. III 2. Marburg 1989, 69–107.

route from Vari to Koropi, strongly favours its interpretation as a guard post.

The structure excavated recently at Stavros in the area of Agia Paraskevi, at the northeastern entrance to the basin of Athens, strengthens the view that defensive towers existed in Late Antique Attica⁵⁴. The structure measures 13.8x7.8 (minimum) m with thick (1 m) walls, including a cistern. Movable finds were dated to the second half of the 3rd century by the excavator, however their chronology may be moved to at least one century later⁵⁵. Given the size, masonry and location of the building on the highest spot and with a good view of the passage to Mesogeia, it was interpreted as a watchpost or a short-term refuge in the case of invasion.

Apart from Kiapha Thiti and Stavros, none of the sites presented above can be proved to have been used as a watch post or strategic site during Late Antiquity. Lohmann interprets them as being purely cult sites since clear evidence for amelioration of military structures, datable to the Late Antique period, is missing⁵⁶. This is a legitimate argument, and Lohmann is correct to point out that a significant number of the Late Antique ceramic finds from these towers are lamps, an object used for pagan and Christian worship; this is encountered at the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettus and other rural sanctuaries. On the other hand, accepting that activity at all these sites with strategic value is unrelated to strategic needs leaves one question unanswered: the fortifications of Attic towns and the Attic forts presented above belong to a defence system that needs to be complemented by a warning system in order to be efficient.

Lohmann questions the need of such a broad network of defence posts in Late Antique Attica since it required capacity and means for such an organisation. He describes Attica as an “extremely thinly populated countryside”. His view is endorsed by Mattern⁵⁷. However, field surveys and excavation demonstrate that the quantity and expansion of sites in Late Antiquity is quite

54 D.N. CHRISTODOULOU, Ογκώδες κτίσμα ρωμαϊκής περιόδου στο Σταυρό Αγίας Παρασκευής: το πέρασμα στα Μεσόγεια κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα, in: Πρακτικά IB' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής, Παλλήνη 30 Νοεμβρίου – 3 Δεκεμβρίου 2008. Kalyvia 2008, 309–312.

55 See *ibid.* 310 and figs 13–14, 18–19. The glass vessels belong to types which appear commonly throughout Late Antiquity, while the lamp belongs to Broneer type XXVIII (4th/5th centuries). The connection with the Valerianic repair of the Athenian city wall (*ibid.* 312) indicates that the excavator relied on a historical rather than an archaeological argument for dating the use of the building.

56 LOHMANN, *Atene* vol. I, 260.

57 T. MATTERN, Eine, skythische Wüste? Attika in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit, in: *Attika. Archäologie einer ‚zentralen‘ Kulturlandschaft. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 18.–20. Mai in Marburg* (eds H. LOHMANN – T. MATTERN). Wiesbaden 2010, 207.

high and second only to the Classical and Hellenistic periods⁵⁸.

Towers may have been reused for a combination of different purposes. The example of the tower at Berbati in the Argolid shows that these structures were sometimes reused as agricultural units in Late Antiquity⁵⁹. They may also have been used for habitation or as landmarks. These functions may have been combined with their strategic function in cases of threat.

Conclusions

In total, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence presents sufficient arguments to suggest that a defence system (and not just urban fortifications) was designed and materialized in Attica in Late Antiquity. This system included urban fortifications, fortresses, watch-posts (deserving further study) and possibly a rural fort.

There is a striking contrast between this wealth of archaeological and epigraphic information, on the one hand, and the dearth of relevant historical information, on the other. It becomes therefore necessary to accept in the first place that historical sources leave an important gap of information regarding the defence of Attica, and southern Greece in general.

This gap in textual information appears less exceptional, and more like a norm, if we consider the fact that it concerns even the defensive situation of Macedonia, a province located so much nearer to the northern border of the Empire than Achaia. In the words of A. Dunn:

“The only literary reference to the stationing of soldiers in the hinterland of Macedonia (as opposed to the presence of soldiers with emperors staying in Thessaloniki), after the mid third-century crises and before the reign of Justinian, are Malchus’ references from the reign of Zeno (474–491) to a garrison (στρατιῶται) at Stobi and crucially, to ‘those units (τάγματα) scattered among the cities (*poleis*)’”⁶⁰.

Based on the archaeological and epigraphic information it now becomes clear that Athens was not the only πόλις of Attica refortified in Late Antiquity, nor did this defence system involve only *poleis*. Instead, it is safe to speak of a defence system designed efficiently to a considerable depth, extending

58 See LOHMANN, Atene; M.B. COSMOPOULOS, The Rural History of Ancient Greek City-states. The Oropos Survey Project. Oxford 2001; KNOELL *et al.*, The 2015 Mazi. On Attic settlement in Late Antiquity based on a collection of excavation and survey results see E. TZAVELLA, Byzantine Attica. An Archaeology of Settlement and Landscape (4th–12th centuries). Turnhout forthcoming.

59 J. HJOLMAN, Pyrgouthi in Late Antiquity, in: Pyrgouthi. A Rural Site in the Berbati Valley from the Early Iron Age to Late Antiquity (eds J. HJOLMAN *et al.*). Stockholm 2005, 127–266.

60 Historia Malchi I, 13–16 (p. 251) (ed. R.C. BLOCKLEY); A.W. DUNN, Was there a militarisation of the southern Balkans during Late Antiquity?, in: Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, vol. II (eds P. FREEMAN *et al.*). Oxford 2002, 705.

from Thermopylai to the Isthmus, and which therefore belonged to a centrally administered defence system, while it also protected the *poleis* and their population. The crucial role played by Attic fortifications in the general defence system of Achaia has been described eloquently by Fowden⁶¹.

This description of the main lines of defence of Achaia explains why Attica and especially the Megarid were an important part of an over-regional defence system, and why protection of the Attic πόλεις/*civitates* was not the only concern of the imperial authorities, although it was an important one. It explains why Eleusis, although not officially a πόλις, acquired a fortification which, if built in anticipation of the Heruls in the later 3rd century, imperial authorities would also find useful in subsequent centuries. More importantly, this scheme explains why three out of the four officially-recognized *poleis* of Attica (Megara, Aigosthena, and Pagai, which is not discussed in this paper), according to *Synekdemos* and epigraphy, are located in the Megarid, in surprisingly short distance from each other; they were important not only for the commercial routes, but also for the need of use of military routes, both from land and sea (Fig. 5a-b; on Fig. 5a, Pagai is recorded as 'Pache').

As shown above, many scholars tend to think that Late Antique refurbishment of fortifications is due to Justinian, based on the historical account of Procopius and the lack of earlier sources referring to a defence system in Achaia⁶². However, the inscriptions from Athens and Megara show that the late 4th and 5th centuries is the period of refortification undertaken by high authorities. It appears, therefore, that the threat against which Attica was refortified through the initiative of the high administration were the Goths (end of 4th century) and possibly the Huns (early 5th century). Even though the Huns did not cause problems in the southern part of the Greek peninsula, it was their presence along the Danubian frontier that caused the break of the frontier around AD 400 and the complete transformation of the defence system behind it⁶³. It may be suggested that this transformation affected also the southern *civitates*, a phenomenon which has been shown in many cities of the Peloponnese⁶⁴. Megara and Aigosthena lay on the bottleneck of the main north-south route running through the Greek peninsula, and thus their defensive re-organisation may have been considered as absolutely meaningful.

61 FOWDEN, *Achaea* 550, with references.

62 Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV, 2, 23–26. This view was expressed early by TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις 144–148, it was adopted by numerous influential Classical archaeologists such as OBER, *Fortress* 221, n. 31; OBER, *Pottery* 226, and it is still repeated, e.g. by THEOCHARAKI, *Circuit wall* 135. For criticism of the sources and emphasis on the contribution of archaeology see FOWDEN, *Achaea* 553–558, esp. 556; for the Hexamilion see GREGORY, *Hexamilion*.

63 KODER – HILD, *Hellas* 51–53; FOWDEN, *Achaea* 550–551, 554; A. POULTER, Goths on the Lower Danube: their impact upon and behind the frontier. *AnTard* 21 (2013) 75–76; A. POULTER, Illyricum and Thrace from Valentinian I to Theodosius II. The radical transformation of the Danubian provinces, in: *Production and Prosperity in the Theodosian Period* (ed. I. JACOBS). Leuven–Walpole 2014, 67–68.

64 See for convenience AVRAMEA, Πελοπόννησος 121–125.

This centrally planned fortification activity in the late 4th and 5th centuries disentangles the defence project of Attica from the ‘Slavic theory’, which concerns the later 6th century. There is no reason to doubt the information from Procopius that Athens and the other *poleis* “inside Thermopylai” had their fortifications repaired and that this action took place during the reign of Justinian (527–565). But this sixth-century refortification now appears as only one phase of a defensive programme that had started considerably earlier.

Manning the defensive structures of Attica was, of course, an issue. Local residents may have participated in the upkeep of the fortress or even the control which it served⁶⁵. The Late Antique settlements identified at Eleutherai and Phyle must have been in some functional correlation with the two forts.

Overall, the archaeological material strengthens the impression of a gradual military reorganisation of the landscape. This is in accordance with archaeological information regarding the Peloponnese and Thessaly, even though dating evidence in many sites often oscillates between the 5th and 6th centuries. The situation in Attica probably reflects one more part of this process, while also highlighting the fortification of smaller towns and sites. Furthermore, the dating evidence from Attic fortifications confirms the fact that the militarisation of southern Greece, which Procopius attributes to Justinian, is probably the final stage of militarisation of a landscape traditionally seen as a non-militarised province.

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65 Evidence from the Codex Theodosianus: FOWDEN, *Achaea* 553. Manning the Hexamilion with local residents: see GREGORY, *Hexamilion* 131–132.



Fig. 1. Map with sites. Squares: fortified towns. Hexagons: forts. Lozenge: a rural fort. Circles: guard posts (Image: author)

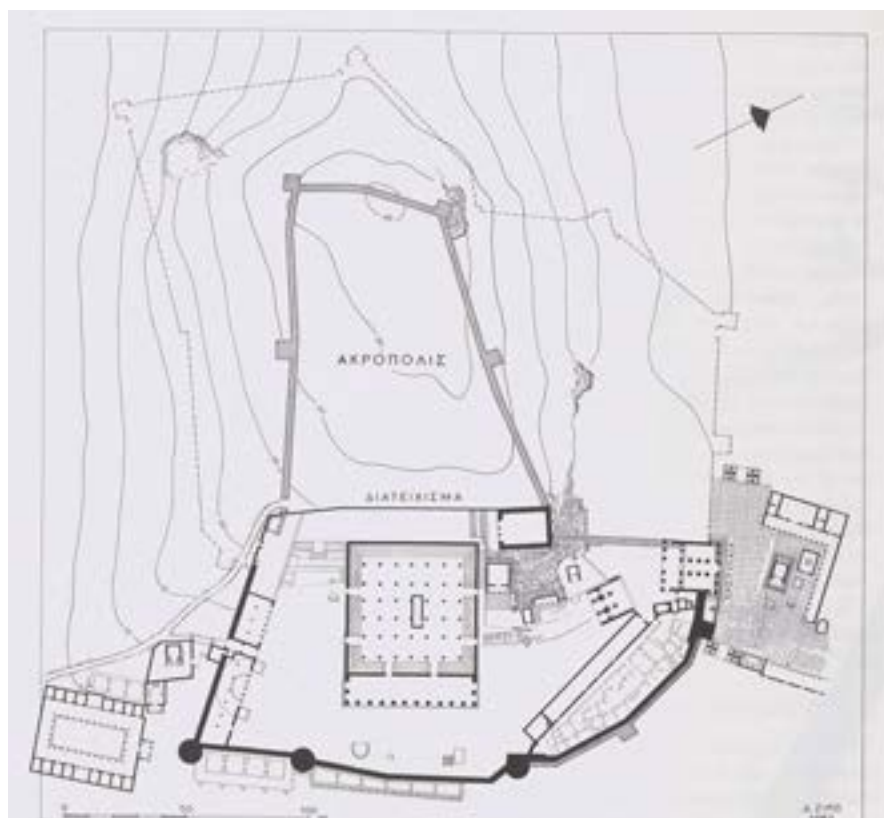


Fig. 2. Fort of Eleusis, Late Roman phase with grey colour (ZIRO 1991, 280, fig. 137).
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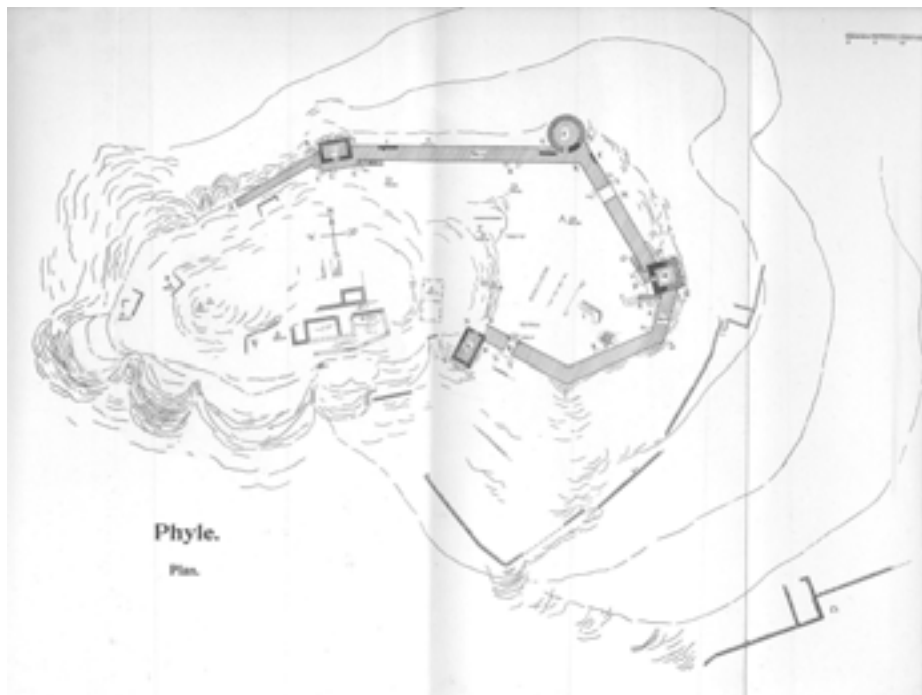


Fig. 3. Phyle fortress, ground plan (Wrede 1924, pl. 1)

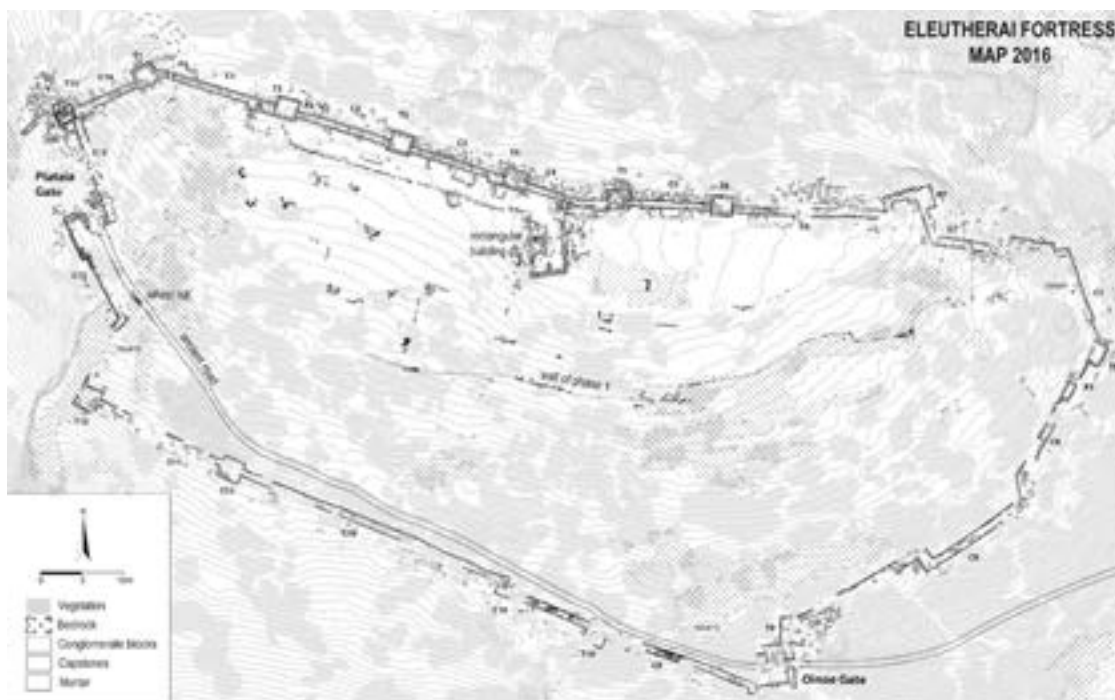


Fig. 4. Fort of Eleutherai, ground plan (KNODELL – FACHARD – PAPANGELI 2016, 156, fig. 9). Courtesy of the Mazi Archaeological Project.



Fig. 5a. Peutinger Map, Section of 'Macedonia'. Courtesy of the National Library of Austria
© ÖNB Vienna: Cod. 324 , Segm. VI-VII



Fig. 5b. Itineraries depicted in the Tabula Peutingeriana passing through Attica.
Stars show location of the Eleutherai and Oinoe forts (Image: author)

ATHENS IN THE MIDDLE
BYZANTINE PERIOD

GEORGIOS PALLIS

Remarks on Old and New Middle Byzantine Inscriptions from Athens

Athens, as regards its epigraphic material evidence, is one of the richest cities in medieval Byzantium and can easily outcompete other urban centres of the period. This phenomenon, which bears the hallmark of a local and singular set of circumstances, is indeed owed to the numerous graffiti engraved on its ancient monuments; e.g. the graffiti of the Parthenon alone amount to two hundred and thirty-five, according to their primary study by Anastasios Orlandos and Leandros Vranousis¹, while seventy more have been recently recognized by Maria Xenaki². The graffiti apart, an ample number of inscriptions cut in stone has survived, providing information on various aspects of the civic administration, the societal fabric or the religious practices of the citizens of Athens. For the colloquium on Byzantine Athens, we will review the latter group regarding their form and content, recognizing that some of this epigraphic material has not been critically re-examined since its first publication.

A. Church Dedicatory Inscriptions

The Athenian epigraphic material can be classified into two basic groups according to their content: dedicatory and funerary inscriptions. The first group for the most part refers to the foundation of churches. The surviving material evidence though is limited; it numbers only eight examples, of which five originate from the city of Athens, while three more come from a wider expanse. If one compares the number of inscriptions to that of the actual middle Byzantine churches of Athens (estimated as up to forty³), they equate to 20% of the city's known monuments. Another characteristic of this group is that all of them are cut in stone and none written on wall-paintings. The latter situation is probably the result of a systematic destruction of the painted decorations, which would also have included dedicatory texts. It is well known

I would like to express my thanks to the archaeologist Mr. D. Sourlas for pointing out to me the unpublished inscribed column shaft from the *lapidarium* of the Library of Hadrian, to the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens for the permit to publish the aforementioned fragment, to the Epigraphic Museum for granting me the photos nos 2–4. I am also thankful to my colleague P. Papanikolaou (King's College), for his kind help. The epigraphic texts in the footnotes follow their most recent publication. In a few occasions only, I have proposed new readings.

1 ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, Τὰ χαράγματα.

2 XENAKI, Les inscriptions.

3 According to the monograph of the late Professor Ch. Bouras, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 120–242.

that in the 19th century the middle Byzantine monuments of Athens underwent radical restorations or other forms of historical interventions, which led to the survival of only a meagre and fragmented part of their wall paintings⁴. Thus, no such dedicatory inscription has come down to us, even though there must have been plenty of them.

The inscriptions in stone can be situated either on the exterior or the interior of the churches. The inscription of Nikolaos Kalomalos dominates the façade of the church of Agioi Theodoroi at Klafthmonos' square⁵. It proclaims, in the form of an epigram, the value of the latter's donation and his personal devotion to a saintly martyr who, although unnamed, is believed to be one from the conjugation of the two military saints Theodore. The text was visible to each and every one arriving at the entrance of the church and legible to the literate devotees who, by repeating it, perpetuated the patron's request for life everlasting. The same was also true for the inscription on the cornice of a door frame at the monastery of Agios Ioannes Kynegos on Hymettus, commemorating one of its donors and dating to the year 1205⁶. On the other hand, the inscription on a window colonette of the dome in the church Agios Nikolaos Rangavas⁷, also a dedicatory one, excluded any possibility of its being read, or attracting the meditating intervention and the prayers of the congregation, because of its placement. In this case, the request was straightway directed to God, as its sole reader, for this part of the church symbolizes the heavenly world.

Conversely from the interior of the churches, we know of several examples. For instance, the inscription of the now lost church of Agios

4 As, for example, at Soteira Lykodemou (ibid. 236, fig. 227).

5 Τὸν πρὶν παλαιὸν ὄν]τα σου ναόν, μάρτ[υς, καὶ μικρ]ὸν καὶ πῆλινον καὶ σαθρὸν λίαν | ἀνήγειρε Νικόλαος σὸς οἰκέτης ὁ Καλό[μαλος σ]παθαροκανιδιάτος | ὃς εὖρ' ἐν σε προστάτην | παιδόθεν μέγ[αν βοηθ]ὸν καὶ πρόμαχον πολλῶν κινδύνω<ν> | ὃν καὶ πρέσβευε τοῦ [ἄ]νω | τυχεῖν κλήρου λαβόντα τ]ὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἐσφαλμένων· | μν(νὶ) Σεπτεμβρίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', | ἔτους ,σφνν' (РНОВУ, Epigramme auf Stein 168–170, Nr. GR15, Abb. XIII, with earlier bibliography).

6 - - -]ὃς φιλόσοφος τουπίκην ἔ(τους) ,ςψιγ' ῥ' (SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτὰ 184–185, n. 257, with earlier bibliography). The stone-block has most regularly been mentioned in several publications as a templon epistyle; however, the surviving right edge of it, with its bevelled shape and the adjustment of the relief decoration on it, suggests that this piece is a cornice of a door frame.

7 Κ(ύρι)ε βωλίθη | τοῦ δλοῦλ(ου) | Δέωλ(ν)τ(ος) | Πανκαβᾶ (ΚΟΥΝΟΥΠΙΟΤΟΥ-MANOLESSOU, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Παγκαβάς 59–62, fig. 11).

Ioannes Mangoutes⁸, which had undergone restoration work, carried out by members of the local aristocracy. More specifically, these works were glorified by Germanos Sporgetes in the 12th century, who commissioned a lengthy epigram of several verses. The epigram was written on the slabs of the templon screen, a highly visible location and one vested with profound sacredness⁹. A similar restoration project is also commemorated by an epigram, monumental in its dimensions, of the 12th century, reputedly ascribed to the Christian Parthenon¹⁰. However, neither the provenance nor the place of the epigram have ever been substantiated. Such a proposal is anyway all the more difficult to accept, given the semi-circular plan of the cornice where the epigram had been engraved. The text refers in laudatory terms to an unspecified work commissioned by a bishop of Methoni (πρόεδρος Μεθώνης) and whose relation to the city of Athens as yet remains unknown.

A fragment ascribed to a templon epistyle dated in the 10th century is, according to the surviving part of its inscription, a dedication to a church unknown to us¹¹. Interestingly enough, the inscription employs the rather unusual term of *templon* in order to define the sanctuary screen. This might also be the only case where a text refers explicitly to the dedication of a sculptural work in the whole of Athens and Attica together. Despite the fact that the art of sculpture flourished in Athens too, only rarely did marble members bear inscriptions, in contrast to what seems to have been the norm for the region of Mani during the same period¹². Another – today lost – part of a templon epistyle of the middle of the 11th century from the church of Agios Demetrios of Saronikos had preserved the name of a donor without, however,

8 ἦ ὦ λυ[χνε φω]τός, ὦ λαλι[ὰ τοῦ] Λόγου, ἢ τοῦ [... Λόγ]ου προδραμῶν π[ατρὸς] φάους, ἢ Ἰωάννη μέγιστ[ε], κήρυξ Τριάδος, ἢ Βαπτ[ιστὰ Χρι]στοῦ, τοῦ Ζαχαρί[ου γόν]ε, ἢ τοὺς ἀν[ακαίν]ισαντας ἐκ [νέο]υ τόδε ἢ τὸ μνημ[όσυνο]ν ψυχικῆς σ[ωτ]ηρίας ἢ ἐν τῷ [ναῶ] σου τῷ σεβασ[μιωτ]άτῳ, ἢ φημὶ Γ[ερμα]νὸν Σπουργίτην καὶ τὰ τέ[κνα], ἢ τοῦτο[υς ἀμώ]μως καὶ καλῶς [ὡς κατάπερ], ἢ εἰς κτίσ[του ἐξά]ρτισιν, οὗ τύμ[βον] σκέπεις, ἢ συνεργ[.....]θῶ τε καὶ πολ[.....]σει, ἢ τοῦτ[...], ἢ δὴ λα(ὸν) Θε(ο)ῦ ὁμαιμον [...]. εἵης φύλ[αξ ...] καὶ σκέπων [τοὺς ἱκέτα]ς ἢ [- - -] ca. 3 verses (RHOBY, Epigramme auf Stein 154–158, Nr. GR9, Abb. IX–X, with earlier bibliography).

9 For the practice of writing inscriptions on Byzantine templon screens see G. PALLIS, Inscriptions on middle Byzantine marble templon screens. *BZ* 106/2 (2013) 761–810; IDEM, Messages from a Sacred Space: The Function of the Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier Inscriptions (9th–14th c.), in: *Writing Matters. Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Texts in Ancient Mediterranean Cultures* (eds I. BERTI *et al.*). Berlin–Boston 2017, 145–158.

10 [.....]α τὴν ἐμὴν σχέσιν ἢ προσθεῖς τὸ λείπον ἔργον εὐκόσμως τόδε ἢ Θυπ[.....]? ἢ ὁ] πρόεδρος Μ<ε>θώνης ἢ λάβοιμι τὴν θεῖαν [.....]? ἢ τὸ πιστὸν ἐμφα[.....]αντες ἅμα εὐσεβεστ[άτῳ] ἢ ἔργον μέγιστον? ἢ Θε(ο)ς θα[ῦμα.....] ? ἢ PO (RHOBY, Epigramme auf Stein 158–160, Nr. GR10, Abb. 7–8, with earlier bibliography).

11 - - - τ[έ]μπλον ἐξηργά[σατο] - - - (PALLIS, Inscriptions on templon screens 787, n. 30).

12 See N.B. DRANDAKIS, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης*. Athens 2002, *passim*, with earlier bibliography.

defining the object of the donation¹³. Finally, the epistyle from the church of the Virgin Koulourdou at Kato Liossia, previously dated to the 10th–11th centuries¹⁴, should in our view be post-dated to the 13th century, a dating strongly suggested both by the loose rendering of the decorative motifs and the form of the letters in relief¹⁵.

Two more dedicatory inscriptions in stone come from unspecified locations in church interiors, and date to the 9th century. The first one, today lost, was found in the outskirts of the city at the area of Amaroussion or Maroussi: it concerned the inauguration of a church dedicated to the Virgin in the year 850¹⁶. Neither the location nor the type of the building is known. However, archaeological data verify that the vicinity of Amaroussion hosted medieval agricultural settlements¹⁷. Approximately 20 years later, in 871, the church of Agios Ioannes Mangoutes was built through a family's sponsorship according to a lengthy inscription found in its ruins¹⁸. Konstantinos, Anastasso and the droungarios Ioannes, the couple's φίλτατον τέκνον (beloved son), sponsored the building of the church and dedicated all of their property to it as a μνημόσυνον (a commemoration). Both of these inscriptions help contrast the situation in the rural countryside of Athens on the one hand and the urban environment of the city's officials on the other. The inscription from Amaroussion is written carelessly and with several grammatical errors on a column shaft, while the second one is written on a slab with the employment of incised guidelines and has fewer errors.

Further, an unpublished fragment of a column shaft, of interest here, comes from an unknown church of the city. The fragment has traces of two inscriptions engraved on its surface (fig. 1) and today is kept at the *lapidarium* of

13 Ὁ Εὐστράτης ω[- - -]αχῶς κὲ καθ[- - -] (PALLIS, *Inscriptions on templon screens* 788, n. 32, with earlier bibliography). Probably Εὐστράτης could be a μοναχὸς and καθηγούμενος.

14 SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, *Γλυπτά* 119 n. 158.

15 See also PALLIS, *Messages from a Sacred Space* 147, n. 8, fig. 1.

16 The now lost cylindrical column shaft bore two texts: a) Ὁ Καθη(ε)ρώθη ὡ ἄγιος ὕκ[ο]ς | τ[ῆς Π]αναγίας Θεωτόκου ἐπὶ Ν[ικ]ήτα | [τοῦ] ἀγνωτάτου ἡμῶν μπρω[π]ολήτου | Ἀ[θ]νῶν μ[η]ν[ὶ] Σεπτεβήῳ ἡμέρα β' | ἰ[νδ] (ικτιῶνος) ἰδ' ἔτους ςτνθ'; b) Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει | τ[οῦ] δούλου | σ[ο]ῦ Νηκολάου [μο]ναχοῦ | ἀ[μ]αρτο[λ]οῦ ἀμὴν (Εὐρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων, part Γ', 202, fig. 272). If the two inscriptions were contemporary, something that cannot be verified anymore, then this monk named Nikolaos should be considered as the patron of the church.

17 G. PALLIS, Τοπογραφικά του αθηναϊκού πεδίου κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο (9ος–12ος αι.). *ByzSym* 23 (2013) 126–129.

18 Ὁ Ἐ(του)ς ςτοθ' ἀπὸ κτ(ίσεως) κόσμ(ου) | μ(νὶ) Φεβρ(ουαρίῳ) δ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) Κονστ(αντίνος) | κ(αὶ) Ἀναστασῶ κ(αὶ) Ἰω(άννης) | δρογγάριος το φίλτατό ἡμ(ῶν) τέκν(ον) ἐκ | συνφόνου ἐκτίσαμ[εν] | τὸν πάνσεπτον να[ὸν] | τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Βαπ[τ]ιστοῦ | ὀρίσαντ(ες) κ(αὶ) προστάξ(αντες) | πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχον[τα] | ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τε το[...] | [...] των ἀδελφῶν [...] | εἰς μνημόσυ[νον] [...] | [ἡμῶν τε καὶ] αὐτῶν - - -] (SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, *Γλυπτά* 87, n. 120, with the earlier bibliography). I have made minor alterations in the transcription of the text.

the Library of Hadrian¹⁹. Due to the permanent wear inflicted on the column's surface, only a few words can be deciphered from the first inscription and just a few letters from the second. The former, with at least four verses, should be regarded as an epigram. The characteristic adjective φέριςτον which can be discerned clearly appears three more times in middle Byzantine epigrams known both from literary and epigraphic sources. On all occasions, the texts are of a dedicatory nature, where the beauty of the donation in question is typically praised. Similarly, it could be suggested that the content of the now damaged Athenian inscription was referring to a dedication as well and, based on the morphology of its letters and the evidence of the text, we could date it to the 10th–11th centuries.

Two more fragmented inscriptions are probably to be related to monk-donors, but no information survives on the object of their donation. The first fragment, held at the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, comes from the *lapidarium* of the Theseion and refers to an abbot named Theodoros²⁰. The second one, once at the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Ioannes Prodromos close to the monastery of Kaisariani, mentions a Hagiozacharites monk²¹. Both fragments have been dated to the 12th century.

B. *Inscriptions on fortifications*

The dedicatory inscriptions of churches apart, two more of this corpus are related to the fortification system of the city²². The first mentions the protospatharios and *strategos* of Hellas, Leo, a person whose presence in Athens is also attested in an epitaph among the Parthenon graffiti: it is dated to the year 847/848²³. Following the inscription's recent reconstruction by Y. Theocharis, it should be noted that it consists of three marble blocks measuring a total of 2.395 meters.

19 [- - -]στη.τ.. | [- - -]τι φέριςτον | [- - -].ους φυνεν | [- - -].ν τις τ.

20 - - -]νης ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) βασιλί[ας - - - | - - - ἡγουμενεύον]τος τ(οῦ) παν(οσιωτάτου) Θεοδώρο[υ - - - (SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτά 179, n. 248).

21 - - - Τρ]ιάδος τοῦ Ἀγιοζαχαρίτου (Εὐρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων, Γ', 165). Hagiozacharites probably refers to a monk coming from a monastery dedicated to the Prophet Zachary. However, such a monastery is not attested in Athens or Attica during the medieval period. It should be noted though that during the Post Byzantine period the only church of the aforementioned prophet was found in Eleusis, where a small church dedicated to him had been built on the ruins of an Early Christian basilica (G. SOTIRIOU, Αἱ παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ βασιλικαὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. *AEphem* 1929, 183–184, fig. 15). Traces of a middle Byzantine building phase have been recorded in the apse of this church (P. LAZARIDIS, *ADelt* 24 (1969) B' 1, 98, pl. 76γ), so a possible earlier, medieval dedication of the site to the Prophet Zachary (even a small monastery?) cannot be excluded.

22 On the fortifications of Athens during the period under examination, see BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 29–40, fig. 1–12.

23 - - - πρ[ω]τοσπαθαρίου κ(αὶ) [στρα]τηγοῦ Ἑλλάδος ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια' (THEOCHARIS, *An Imperial Protospatharios* 192–194).

This inscription must have been a monumental one meant to memorialize the initiation of a fortification project in the city. Similar to it is the content of another inscription found in the church of Agios Dionysios Areopagites, mentioning the erection of a tower by the metropolitan of Athens, Leo, the syncellus and rector²⁴, whose death in the year 1069 is also recorded in the Parthenon graffiti. These two texts with a gap of approximately two centuries between them make implicit reference to building projects of great scale which were undertaken in order to strengthen the defensive system of the city. But more importantly, they mark the transition in terms of statesmanship from the military officials to the bishops, a development rather frequently attested to in the period from the 11th century onwards.

C. *Funerary inscriptions*

The second group of the Athenian epigraphic material consists of funerary inscriptions. Their limited number is quite easy to explain if we take into account that the marking of a grave by an inscription was restricted to a small circle of high ranking elite members or ecclesiastical officials, who also took advantage of their privilege for burial inside the churches²⁵. Out of the eight sarcophagi or pseudo-sarcophagi which have survived in Athens²⁶, only one from the collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum is inscribed and dated in the 11th century²⁷. The text in the form of an epigram is engraved with much carelessness. It speaks of the vanity of human life without mentioning the deceased's name. Obscure remains the form of the slab with the mortuary inscription of the πρωτοκτίτωρ (the first founder) Stephen from the church of Soteira Lykodemou, who died on the 4th of December in 1044²⁸.

One of the most interesting sepulchral monuments is a column shaft from the church of Megale Panagia, today in the Epigraphic Museum of

24 Οὔτος] ὁ πήγυ[ος ἐκτίσθη] | παρὰ Λέ(οντος) τοῦ ἀγ[ιωτά]τ(ου) ὑμῶν δεσπότης Ἀθηνῶ(ν) | κὲ σπνγ(κέ)λου τοῦ ρέκτορος (N. DIMITRAKOPOULOU-SKYLOGIANNI, Πλάκα ενεπίγραφη, in: Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη (eds M. EVAGGELATOU *et al.*), Exhibition Catalogue (Byzantine and Christian Museum, October 2001–January 2002). Athens 2001, 182, n. 93, with earlier bibliography).

25 On this practice, see U. WEISSBROD, "Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes...". Gräber in byzantinischen Kirchen und ihr Dekor (11. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens. Wiesbaden 2003, 9–43.

26 TH. PAZARAS, Ανάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι και επιτάφιας πλάκες της μέσης και ύστερης βυζαντινής περιόδου στην Ελλάδα. Athens 1988, 45–47, n. 57–62, pl. 46β–51α.

27 Ὡ πῶς [ἔ]δραμον οὐδὲν εὔρον τοῦ βίου τέλος | πλὴν τὴν λάρνακ(α) καὶ λύσιν τῆς εἰκόνος (RHOBY, Epigramme auf Stein 162–163, Nr. GR12, Abb. 9, with earlier bibliography).

28 Ἐνταῦθα κεῖται Στέφανος πρωτοκτίτωρ· | ἀπεβίωσεν ἡμέραν τετάρτην Δεκεμβρίου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ' ἔτους ρφνγ' (RHOBY, Epigramme auf Stein 171–172, Nr. GR16, Abb. 9, with earlier bibliography).

Athens²⁹, where three funerary inscriptions coexist (fig. 2). This column was first used as the epitaph of a woman with the unusual name of Mentze Droungarea who died on the 20th April 856 and is referred to as μακαρία καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις τιμωμένη³⁰. Another woman's name followed on the column, that of Eupraxia who died on the 19th October 867 and was characterized as δούλη Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ³¹. More than half a century later, a third woman's name found its way onto the same stone: her name was Thomais and she died on the 28th September 921. Unlike her two predecessors on the column, she did not receive any attributes on the commemoration of her passing³². Reflecting on the names recorded, one could argue that both Thomais and Eupraxia probably came from a monastic environment³³. If so, then it could be suggested that the church of Megale Panagia could have been a monastery from as early as the 9th century, with a building phase much earlier than the well-known 12th century one³⁴. It is not clear, in the present state of research, whether the column was part of a built structure when the inscriptions were engraved or not, or whether it was used only as a grave marker.

Last but not least, we observe an Athenian particularity in the case of two funerary inscriptions carved on two rather small marble slabs, now kept in the Epigraphic Museum. The first slab, in an almost pristine state of preservation³⁵, has a rectangular shape. It is decorated with a cross executed in the inlaid technique and inscribed within a broad frame (fig. 3). Here, an excerpt is written from an Easter troparion which ends with an invocation for the passing of the presbyter and archimandrite Sergios. Of the second slab only

29 I. SAKKELION, 'Επιγραφὰὶ χριστιανικαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι. *AEphem* 1886, c. 235–238.

30 † Μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ κ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' ἔτ(ους) | γτξδ' ἐτελιώθ(η) ἡ μακαρία κ(αὶ) ἐν ἁγίοις τιμ(ωμέ)νῃ | Μηντζίη Δρουγγαρέα (SAKKELION, 'Επιγραφὰὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι 235–237).

31 † Μηνὶ Ὀκτοβρίῳ | ιθ' ἐτελιόθῃ | ἡ δούλη Χ(ριστοῦ) | τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) Εὐπ(ραξία) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α' | ἔτ(ους) γτος' (SAKKELION, 'Επιγραφὰὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι 237–238).

32 † Ἐτελειώθῃ ἐν Κ(υρίῳ) ἡ δούλ(η) | τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) Θωμ(α)ῆς | μιν(ι) Σεπτέμβριῳ κη' | ἔτ(ους) γυλ' (SAKKELION, 'Επιγραφὰὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι 237).

33 A nun named Eupraxia is also cited in one of the Parthenon graffiti (ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, *Τὰ χαράγματα* 92 n. 106).

34 On the building phases, see CH. BOURAS, *Επανεξέταση της Μεγάλης Παναγίας Αθηνών*. *DChAE* 27 (2006) 25–34.

35 † Τοῦ Ἰδου τὰ τρόπαια διέλυσας, | τοῦ θανάτου τὸν θάνατον | ἐπάτησας, | [τριήμερος] ἀνέστις | Χ(ριστ)ὲ | δωροῦμε[νο]ς ἀνάπαυσιν Σεργίῳ (CH.B. KRITZAS, *Funerary inscription to Sergios*, in: *Everyday Life* 544–545 n. 744, with the earlier bibliography). The text starts at the upper horizontal top side, continues to the right vertical and then to the left vertical, where it ends at the lower left. The upper arm of the cross in the central panel is flanked by the tetragramm Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸς) Νικᾷ and the base by the initials Πρεσβ(ύτερος) κ(αὶ) ἀρχιμ(ανδρίτης).

a fragment from its upper left corner has been preserved³⁶, where an inscribed frame and a representation of an arched structure, possibly with two lobes, is executed in the same inlaid technique (fig. 4). The striking resemblance of both slabs in terms of technique and the uniformity of the style in the lettering suggests that the second too had a comparable funerary destination.

There is little doubt that both slabs date to the same period, 10th–11th centuries, and that they are products of the same workshop or even of the same artisan. What is interesting to note is that their form imitates decorative patterns of the illuminated manuscripts. The cross with the cypresses which decorates the first slab is attested in a similar way in a Four Gospels codex (Athos, Lavra A42), dated in 11th century³⁷. The motif of the second slab with the arched structure could have been inspired by the manuscripts' canon tables³⁸. What is more, the inscribed frame is a prevalent feature in early middle Byzantine manuscripts, e.g. the Bible of Leo (Vat.Reg.Gr.1) dated in 910–930³⁹. These slabs could then be products that were commissioned in a learned environment, probably that of the cultured priests of the bishopric of Athens or that of an important monastery of the city. Perhaps then the actual prototype was taken from a manuscript leaf that the donor made available to the sculptor.

As already noted, since the purpose of the first slab was funerary so must have been that of the second one too. Their dimensions, their particularly slenderness and their delicate decoration with its inlaid technique, all exclude any possibility of them being used as covering slabs. Given that their back is crudely worked, it could be suggested that they were embedded in a sepulchral monument of the arcosolium type or used as inlaid elements in tomb slabs of greater dimensions. Neither their unknown provenance nor the finding of the slab of Sergios in the Acropolis provides any clues as regards their origin. Furthermore, the fact that in the 19th century the Acropolis rock had been turned into a *lapidarium* for Byzantine architectural and sculptural members without recorded provenance makes any attribution even more difficult.

36 ⲥⲉβων | τὸν Κύριον (;). Ἐρῶτις (;) δοῦλος. Τὸν σταυρὸν σου προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασίν σου ὑμνοῦμεν (K.M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι χριστιανικῶν χρόνων. *Armonia* 1 (1900) 37 n. 38). I would suggest a different reading: ⲥⲉ βοήσωμεν - - - (upper horizontal side) and - - -]εϣλο (?) τίς | δοῦλος | τὸν σταυρὸν - - - (left vertical side). The verb βοήσωμεν appears twice in John of Damascus chants of the funeral service.

37 ST. PELEKANIDES *et al.*, *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, vol. 3. Athens 1979, 226–227, fig. 28.

38 The examples are numerous; cf. codexes Athos, Lavra A61 and A57 (*ibid.* 228–230, figs 37–40 and 42).

39 On the Bible of Leo, see E. YOTA, *The Complete Bible*, in: *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts* (ed. V. TSAMAKDA). Leiden–Boston 2017, 188–192, with further bibliography.

D. Conclusions

The Athenian epigraphic material, despite its small numbers when compared to the graffiti⁴⁰ and the randomness of inscriptions preserved, provides information on important aspects of the life in the city during the middle Byzantine period. In terms of dating, the majority are to be placed in the 10th–11th centuries, in a period when Athens had reached its zenith of prosperity, something that is more than eloquently reflected in its church architecture⁴¹. Six inscriptions, belonging in the second half of the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century, deserve special mention here, as they document the revitalization of established epigraphic practices, which for a period of approximately two centuries had been retrained only in the centre of Athens and in the form of graffiti. This could be viewed as a manifestation – through the written word – of a systematic effort by the central government to reconstruct the Helladic provinces after the end of the transitional period.

Athenian society is presented through this material as a typical case – a provincial city with its State and Church officials or its local aristocracy being responsible for the erection and restoration of churches and fortifications. The motives behind their initiatives, whenever cited, are common to those attested in other dedicatory inscriptions throughout the Byzantine Empire: for holy protection and intercession, the remission of sins, the salvation of the soul and commemoration. The same circle of people records in its funerary inscriptions the hope for eternal life alongside the awareness of the vanity that dominates human things.

The practice of monasticism is also another noteworthy aspect here. At least four monks appear directly or indirectly as responsible for the foundation of church buildings. The earliest is probably the inscription from Amaroussion which relates to a certain Nikolaos who, as far as I know, is the first monk recorded as active in the countryside of Attica during the middle Byzantine period. Two more monks, Eustratis and Theodoros, are mentioned as the abbots of monasteries unknown to us. Of importance is also the evidence on female monasticism which must have made its appearance during the second half of the 9th century *intra muros*⁴², in the area of Hadrian's Library, with the

40 This presentation is not an exhaustive catalogue of the middle Byzantine inscriptions of Athens and Attica. For that reason, I did not research or re-examine certain cases that were published at the beginning of the last century, which, despite the unclear dating, I suspect might belong to the same period. These are the inscriptions nos 14 and 33–36 from the study of Konstantopoulos (KONSTANTOPOULOS, Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι, 27 and 34–36), as well as nos II, VI–VII and XI from Veas' study (N. VEAS, Βυζαντιναὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἀττικῆς. RQ 26 (1912) 63, 68–72 and 75–76).

41 BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 262–263.

42 In this period nunneries were usually built in cities, primarily for reasons of security; on these urban monasteries, see A.M. TALBOT, Founders' choices: monastery site selection in Byzantium, in: Founders and Refounders of Byzantine monasteries (ed. M. MULLETT). Belfast 2007, 45–50.

church of Megale Panagia as its focal point. Its presence in the city continued, as it can be inferred from other epigraphic material, at least up to the first decades of the 10th century⁴³. The silence of the sources from that point on and until the end of the middle Byzantine period probably reflects either its decline or its abandonment in Athens. In any case, it is worth mentioning that in the first half of the 9th century Saint Athanasia lived in the nearby island of Aegina: she later became abbess of the female convent of Timia in the same place⁴⁴.

Lastly, the epigraphic material sheds some light too on the distinction between the urban environment and that of the peasantry in the countryside. As already noted, comparison between the nearly contemporaneous inscriptions of Agios Ioannes Mangoutes and the Theotokos church at Amaroussion reveals the social disparity existing between Athens and the countryside, the economic means of the patrons and the literacy level of the population at the dawn of the middle Byzantine period. This distinction became more profound at the end of the 12th century, when the peasants suffered from food shortage, piratical raids, heavy taxes and the oppression of local government officials⁴⁵. The lack of epigraphic evidence attributed to this social group during these harsh times is probably not totally fortuitous.

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43 Εὐφροσύνη, mentioned in a funeral inscription from the south slope of the Acropolis and dated to 918, could also be a nun (M. and E. LEVENSOHN, *Inscriptions on the South Slope of the Akropolis*. *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 67 n. 7, pl. XII).

44 Her life has been recorded in her vita, written by an anonymous male author after her death and before 916 (F. HALKIN, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine*. Brussels 1987, 179–195; see also L.F. SHERRY (transl.), *Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina*, in: TALBOT, *Holy Women* 137–158).

45 The main source on this situation is the Ὑπομνηστικόν (memorandum) submitted by Choniates to the Emperor Alexios III (G.G. DENDRINOS, *Το Ὑπομνηστικόν του Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτη*. Εισαγωγή, νεοελληνική απόδοση, σχόλια, *ByzD* 5–6 (1991–1992) 189–207).



Fig. 1. Fragment of a column shaft with a dedicatory epigram, Hadrian's Library. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports



Fig. 2. Column shaft EM 10024 from Megale Panagia with three funerary inscriptions. © Epigraphic Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports



Fig. 3. Slab EM 9990+9991 with a funerary inscription.
© Epigraphic Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports



Fig. 4. Fragment of a slab EM 9992 with a funerary inscription. © Epigraphic Museum, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports

YIANNIS THEOCHARIS

Some Remarks on the Architectural Sculpture of Athens at the Beginning of the Middle Byzantine Period

This paper aims to present some aspects of the architectural sculpture of Athens at the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period, by focusing on a Corinthianizing capital from the so-called Theseion Collection, now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (In. No BXM 3319) (fig. 1). The capital has a slender calathus and a rectangular abacus. Its decoration consists of two rings: the lower with eight small acanthus leaves and the upper with four large acanthus leaves placed under the corners of the abacus; four palmettes adorn the center of each front of the upper ring; corner volutes and inner helices are missing. The dimensions of the capital are as follows: height: 0.45 m, base: 0.37 m, abacus: 0.49x0.51x0.08 m. The capital is made of Pentelic marble. Despite some losses due to chipping and deterioration, the capital is preserved in relatively good condition.

The capital was published by V. Déroche in his study on the survival of the acanthus of Hadrian's Arch and was dated to the 5th century AD¹. The acanthus of Hadrian's Arch is characterized by two distinct features: a circular void and an incised triangular part (*corps triangulaire* according to V. Déroche)². This type of acanthus originates in Asia Minor and was introduced to Attica during the 2nd century AD with the pillar capitals of Hadrian's Arch and the Hadrianic capitals of the Olympieion³. Indeed, the acanthus of BXM 3319 capital seems to be associated with that of Hadrian's Arch, as it has a distinct *corps triangulaire* beneath the void; however, its precise analysis will follow later. At this point some comments will be made on V. Déroche's theory on the continuity of the acanthus of Hadrian's Arch during the Byzantine era.

V. Déroche presented a diagram of the evolution of the acanthus of Hadrian's Arch from the 2nd century AD to the 6th. The typological classification he suggested is an innovative attempt to detect the continuity of the Attic sculptural tradition of the Roman period up to the Byzantine era. However, none of the sculptures of his classification (apart from the capitals of the Olympieion and the pillar capitals of Hadrian's Arch) are securely dated. Thus the study results in a closed circle of typological grouping that is not

1 V. DÉROCHE, L'acanthé de l'arc d'Hadrien et ses dérivés en Grèce propre. *BCH* 111 (1987) 425–453, esp. 437, fig. 17.

2 Ibid. 425–426; S. WALKER, Corinthian Capitals with Ringed Voids: The Work of Athenian Craftsmen in the Second Century A.D. *AA* 1979, 103–129, esp. 103–104.

3 C. BÖRKER, Akanthusblätter: Neue Überlegungen zum hadrianischen Olympieion und zum Hadriansbogen in Athen, in: *Amicitiae Gratia. Τόμος στη μνήμη Αλκμίνης Σταυρίδου*. Athens 2008, 251–258.

intersected at any point with external chronological testimony.

Moreover, V. Déroche set the 'Slavic raids' at the end of the 6th century in Greece as a time-limit for the disappearance of the Hadrian's Arch acanthus within the context of the collapse of the marble producing system in Athens⁴. However, in recent years serious reservations have been expressed over the historicity of the 'Slavic raids' in Southern Greece and particularly in Athens, and their relation to the decline of the material culture at the beginning of the Dark Ages⁵. Recently Ch. Bouras argued that the 7th century houses of the Athenian Agora and Constans II's stay in the city in 662/3 do not support the theory of the city's destruction by the Slavs⁶. Regarding the Slavic place names in Attica enlisted as support for this theory by M. Vasmer⁷, these seem to be loanwords or settlement testimonies related to the Arvanites⁸.

The overall timespan for the acanthus of Hadrian's Arch, which V. Déroche attempted to delineate, is also not verified by the archaeological evidence. More specifically, in the eastern columns of Hagios Nikolaos Ragavas (mid-eleventh century), there are two capitals with acanthus leaves having the *corps triangulaire*, thus reproducing Hadrianic models (fig. 2)⁹. The Rangavas capitals also adopt the type of the emblem capital, a variation of the Corinthian capital consisting of angular acanthus leaves surrounded by helices and a vegetal emblem among them¹⁰. This type also originated in Asia Minor and was introduced to Attic sculpture with the pillars of Hadrian's Arch¹¹. Thus, the Rangavas capitals reproduce earlier local models (the pillar capitals of Hadrian's Arch) within a middle Byzantine classicism.

One of the characteristics of the Corinthian variation presented by the BXM 3319 capital is the palmettes in the upper acanthus ring. A

4 DÉROCHE, *L'acanthus* 446.

5 P. MALINGOUDIS, Σλάβοι στη Μεσαιωνική Ελλάδα. Thessaloniki 1991², 20–23 [criticism of the theory of the Slavic invasion in Argolid, as has been presented in: *Études argiennes* (eds G. TOUCHAIS *et al.*). Athens 1980, 323–371 and 373–394]; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Οι αρχές της φεουδαρχικής Ευρώπης (Εξ αφορμής ενός νέου βιβλίου). *Byzantiaka* 17 (1997) 207–228, esp. 216–217 [criticism of the opinion that Corinthia and Attica had been destroyed and occupied by the Slavs, as has been expressed in: R. HODGES – D. WHITEHOUSE, *Mahomet, Charlemagne et les origines de l'Europe* (transl. C. MORRISON). Paris 1996, 62–63]; F. CURTA, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, c. 500 to 1050: The Early Middle Ages*. Edinburgh University Press 2011, 68–96 (a new reading of the late-sixth century hoards found in Athens, against the interpretation of these hoards as testimonies of a Slavic invasion in Greece, as has been argued by METCALF, *The Slavonic Threat*).

6 BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 34.

7 M. VASMER, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*. Berlin 1941, 120–123.

8 J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Zur Frage der Slavensiedlung im griechischen Raum*. Athens 1995, 12.

9 ΚΟΥΝΟΥΠΙΟΤΟΥ-MANOLESSOU, Άγιος Νικόλαος Παγκαβάς 55–62, esp. 58–59, fig. 7–8; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 218–219, fig. 204–205; Y. THEOCHARIS, Ένα μεσοβυζαντινό κιονόκρανο με έμβλημα στο Μεγάλο Μετέωρο. *Byzantina* 30 (2010) 282–283, esp. 281–282, fig. 7.

10 Ibid. 281–282.

11 BÖRKER, *Akanthusblätter* 251–258.

similar ornamental synthesis is attested in the lower acanthus rings of two Corinthianizing capitals in the Halmyros Museum (Magnesia)¹² and in the post-Byzantine church of Hagios Ioannis in Loggos (Phthiotis) (fig. 3)¹³. The capitals in Almyros and Loggos belong to a group, which reproduce *mutandis mutandis*, the emblem capital type of the Roman period¹⁴. Other examples of this variation are to be found in the Alexoulis Collection in Agia Larissa (two capitals)¹⁵, and in Nea Anchialos (Thessalian Thebes) (two capitals)¹⁶.

V. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli argued that the acanthus of these capitals is inspired by the Hadrianic models of Attica¹⁷. She also attributed all the capitals above to a workshop that was active in the areas around the Pagasetic and Malliakos Gulfs from the second half of the 6th to the 10th century, thus supporting the uninterrupted operation of the workshops of Thessalian Thebes in the Dark Ages and beyond¹⁸. Nevertheless, this assumption seems unjustified, as the whole production process is presented as being extremely slow, considering that the 450 years in which the capitals were presumed to have been produced correspond to eighteen generations. Given that the latest work of this group, the capital of the Alexoulis Collection, dates back to the 10th century¹⁹, then the period in which these capitals were produced should inevitably be shorter than the one formerly proposed and be close to, if not totally within the Middle Byzantine period.

Thus, the Alexoulis Collection capital which has been dated to the 8th or the first half of the 9th century²⁰, should rather be placed later, considering its close similarity (proportions, acanthus leaves and encircle cross)²¹ to the other one of the same collection that has been justifiably dated to the 10th century²². Moreover, the contested capital from the Alexoulis Collection presents morphological affinities with the Corinthianizing capitals of the Vatopedi

12 V. SYTHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI, Ο ανάγλυφος αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος στη Θεσσαλία και Φθιώτιδα: Παλαιοχριστιανικά και πρώιμα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια. Volos 2012, 485–486, nos 17–18, pl. 7, fig. 38–41.

13 Ibid. 486–487, nos 19–20, pl. 9, fig. 48–51.

14 THEOCHARIS, Ένα μεσοβυζαντινό κιονόκρανο 281.

15 SYTHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI, Ο ανάγλυφος αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος 487, nos 21–22, pl. 9–10, fig. 52–59.

16 Ibid. 149–150, 153, 158, pl. 8, fig. 42–47.

17 Ibid. 148–150, 160.

18 Ibid. 147–161. The same opinion has been expressed by the author in a previously published article: V. SYTHIAKAKI, Κορινθιάζοντα κιονόκρανα με σταυρούς εγγεγραμμένους σε κύκλο. Η συμβολή των εργαστηρίων της Μαγνησίας, in: Θωράκιον. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη. Athens 2004, 179–196.

19 SYTHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI, Ο ανάγλυφος αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος 487, no. 22, fig. 56–59.

20 Ibid. no. 21, fig. 52–55.

21 The close similarities are mentioned by SYTHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI, Ο ανάγλυφος αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος 157, who unquestionably dated the two capitals to distant periods.

22 Ibid. no. 22, fig. 56–59.

templon (last quarter of the 10th century)²³, while the palmette between its helices is related to sculptures from the Monastery of Lips (907/908) through its concave carving²⁴. It seems likely that both capitals in the Alexoulis Collection are products of the same workshop, probably coming from the same monument²⁵. Also, it cannot be overlooked that the two capitals from Nea Anchialos, which were considered to be the earliest examples of this variation under study and were dated to the second half of the 6th or 7th century, were attributed to the so-called Martyrios' Basilica²⁶, which underwent a renovation in the middle Byzantine period, as is attested to by its templon sculptures²⁷. Therefore, the early chronological views expressed for this group of capitals ought to be revised and the sculptures should be redesignated to a later period, probably the 9th century.

There is also another element that points towards the redating of the BXM 3319 capital to the beginning of the middle Byzantine period: the absence of corner volutes and inner helices. This feature leads us to a period far from that of the normal Corinthian capital and its immediate successors. The gradual reduction and, ultimately, disappearance of the volutes-helices part under the abacus and above the acanthus' crown in Corinthian capitals is observed in examples that can be dated to the Dark Ages. Representative examples of this trend with a shrunken volutes-helices section above the acanthus leaves' ring are a capital from Thessaloniki, dated by M. Dennert to the 9th century²⁸, and an impost capital immured in the exonarthex of the Kapnikarea church in Athens (fig. 4)²⁹. Although, the Kapnikarea capital has been dated by V. Déroche to the 5th/6th centuries, the simplification of the form and of the vegetal motifs, as well as the flat rendering are typical of the Dark Ages³⁰. The aforementioned capitals should be placed close to those of the demolished Propylon of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki (9th century), where

23 T. PAZARAS, Τα βυζαντινά γλυπτά του καθολικού της Μονής Βατοπεδίου. Thessaloniki 2001, 43, fig. 52–53.

24 MACRIDY, Lips 253–277, fig. 17, 41, 43–45, 64–65; C. MANGO – E.J.W. HAWKINS, The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul: Additional Notes. *DOP* 18 (1964) 299–315, fig. 9–35, 37–41, 44.

25 SYTHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI, Ο ανάγλυφος αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος 157 supposes that one capital of the Alexoulis Collection (no. 22) comes from the Velestino area, as according to the Archives of the Ephoreia, it was transferred to Agia by the Anavra custodian (p. 157). However, it seems more likely that in this case we are dealing with the Anavra of Hagia (located south of Mount Ossa) and not the Anavra of Halmyros, located on the west of Mount Othrys. Consequently, both capitals probably come from the Agia area, where the other capital is known to have been found in 1967: *ADelt* 22 (1967), B'2 Chr., 310, pl. 214b (E. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΟΥ)].

26 SYTHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI, Ο ανάγλυφος αρχιτεκτονικός διάκοσμος 153, 158.

27 Ibid. 153, 443.

28 M. DENNERT, Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle: Studien zu Typologie und Chronologie. Bonn 1997, 9, pl. 2, fig. 8.

29 DÉROCHE, *L'acanthé* 452, fig. 45.

30 See examples in: G.A. SOTERIOU, Ἡ βυζαντινὴ γλυπτικὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὸν 7ον καὶ 8ον αἰῶνα. *AEphem* 1937, A', 171–184.

the volutes and helices have already been omitted from the ornamental zone above the acanthus ring³¹.

As we have seen, the acanthus of the BXM 3319 capital is associated with that of Hadrian's Arch in the way that the *corps triangulaire* is depicted under the void. Nonetheless, some elements in the acanthus' form take us further away from the Attic tradition. First of all, the void is not circular, as in the Hadrianic models and their later descendants, but almond-shaped. The large almond-shaped voids are one of the distinctive features of the Constantinopolitan sculptures³². Furthermore, the acanthus leaves are stretched dynamically on the surface. They are divided into five fingers and –especially the lower ones– are not organically dependent on the central vein, highlighted by its wide base.

From this point of view, namely of the design and not the style, the BXM 3319 capital shows affinities with a capital from Ancient Corinth (In. No AM 16) (fig. 5), dated by R. Kautzsch to the end of the 5th or to the 6th century, based on the decorative relations with the fifth-century Constantinopolitan tradition, namely the Stoudion Monastery sculptures³³. However, the form and overall proportions of the Ancient Corinth capital (the lower diameter is longer than the height, 0.30x0.44 m) is directly related to middle Byzantine examples, such as the Megalon Meteoron capital (ca. 900; 0.35x0.42 m)³⁴. Furthermore, the large cross on its front indicates the middle Byzantine period; this iconographic arrangement, which represents the ultimate stage of the Christianization of architectural sculptures, is applied in capitals exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Drama³⁵, those of the Panagia church in Mentzena³⁶ and those of the Monastery of Vatopedi³⁷. Regarding the Constantinopolitan characteristics of the capital's decoration, it should be underlined that decorative types of the fifth-century metropolitan tradition are also evident in ninth-century Helladic sculptures. In the front of the south console of the church at Skripou (873/874)

31 G. VELENIS, Τέσσερα πρωτότυπα κιονόκρανα στη Θεσσαλονίκη, in: Actes du Xe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Thessalonique 28 septembre–4 octobre 1980. Città del Vaticano 1984 X, II, 669–678, fig. 4–9; A. MENTZOS, Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της Αγίας Σοφίας στη Θεσσαλονίκη, in: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίτσα. Thessaloniki 2001, 315–334, esp. 315–318, fig. 2–3.

32 T. ZOLL, Kapitellplastik Konstantinopels vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: mit einem Beitrag zur Untersuchung des ionischen Kämpferkapitells. Bonn 1994, *passim*.

33 R. KAUTZSCH, Kapitellstudien: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert. Berlin 1936, 83, no. 244, pl. 17. The date has also been accepted by R.L. SCRANTON, Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth (Corinth XVI). Princeton N.J. 1957, 110, no. 57, pl. 25.

34 THEOCHARIS, Ένα μεσοβυζαντινό κιονόκρανο 277, fig. 1.

35 A. MENTZOS, Δύο κιονόκρανα του Μουσείου Δράμας, in: Η Δράμα και η περιοχή της. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός. Δ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση, Δράμα 16–19 Μαΐου 2002. Drama 2006, 157–167, fig. 1–2.

36 VOCOTROPOULOS, Έκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική 41, pl. 24b, 25.

37 PAZARAS, Τα βυζαντινά γλυπτά 25, fig. 12–15.

a Constantinopolitan model is repeated³⁸, known to us from an impost of the Stoudion Monastery: an axial cross surrounded by acanthus leaves with almond shaped voids and leaflets as space-fillers in the upper angles of the cross³⁹.

Like the Ancient Corinth capital, the BXM 3319 capital seems to be part of an artistic environment linked to the Constantinopolitan sculptural tradition. The relations between Helladic and Constantinopolitan sculpture at the beginning of the middle Byzantine period were highlighted by the study of the sculpture of Hagios Ioannis Theologos in Thebes (872/873) and that of Panagia in Skripou, as well as that of the Megalon Meteoron capital. All of these sculptures share iconographic and stylistic features with those of the Monastery of Lips⁴⁰. For Athens in particular, apart from a cornice of naïve character dated to ca. 900⁴¹, the relationship with Constantinople is confirmed by an older example, the capital with the monogram of Irene of Athens (ca. 800)⁴², a local product made of Pentelic marble, which is associated with the so-called Boetian workshop on the basis of the ivy leaf motif that decorates its frame⁴³. Irene's capital adopts a typical Constantinopolitan capital type, the framed impost capital (*Gerahmtes Kämpferkapitell*)⁴⁴.

In this context, reference needs to be made to two Corinthianizing capitals with acanthus leaves alternating with palmettes in the templon of the Panagia church in Hosios Loukas⁴⁵. The Panagia capitals, dated to 961–963, not only support the view that the classicizing variation we are examining appears in the middle Byzantine period, showing, among others, the equalization of the palmettes and the acanthus leaves in the same ring⁴⁶, but also that its distribution in Southern Greece is related to Constantinople. This suggestion is supported by Laskarina Bouras' conclusion that the sculptural decoration of the Panagia church is entirely Constantinopolitan⁴⁷.

Is it reasonable to suggest that Athenian or even Helladic craftsmen

38 A.H.S. MEGAW, The Skripou Screen. *ABSA* 61 (1966) 1–32, fig. 8b (below).

39 ZOLL, *Kapitellplastik* 10, no. 3b, pl. 2.

40 MEGAW, Skripou Screen 25–27; A. PAPALEXANDROU, The Church of the Virgin of Skripou, Architecture: Sculpture and Inscriptions in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Ann Arbor 1988, 226–228; THEOCHARIS, Ένα μεσοβυζαντινό κιονόκρανο 281.

41 Ibid. 281, fig. 13.

42 DENNERT, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle* 43, no. 77, pl. 14; SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτά 82, no. 111.

43 Cf. MEGAW, Skripou Screen pl. 1e, h, 4a, c–e.

44 For this type see DENNERT, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle* 39–53.

45 L. BOURAS, Ό γλυπτός διάκοσμος του ναού της Παναγίας στο μοναστήρι του Όσίου Λουκά. Athens 1980, 94–96, fig. 151–152.

46 The substitution of the acanthus leaves by anthemias is observed in a Corinthianizing capital of the demolished Propylon of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki: VELENIS, Τέσσερα πρωτότυπα κιονόκρανα fig. 7; MENTZOS, Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος fig. 1. For the phenomenon see also the innovative study by H.H. BUCHWALD, Eleventh Century Corinthian-Palmette Capitals in the Region of Aquileia. *ArtB* 48 (1966), 148–158.

47 BOURAS, Ό γλυπτός διάκοσμος 115–121.

could produce *all'antica* sculptures at the dawn of the middle Byzantine period? The response may be positive, although researchers generally place Southern Greek sculptures with classicistic tendencies in the 5th/6th centuries or later in the 11th/12th centuries, thus being either close to the Roman period⁴⁸ or within the so-called Helladic School of architecture⁴⁹. The reluctance of experts to accept classicism or even high quality works in the 9th century comes as an outcome of the general belief that no quality work could be placed before the so-called Macedonian Renaissance –a period with a misleading concept of art evolution according to J. Hanson–⁵⁰ even in the early years of Basil I (867–886)⁵¹. However, there is no other way to interpret the *all'antica* references in Theologos of Thebes (the quadruple fascia inscription in the Bema, an imitation of a fascia epistyle)⁵² and Panagia of Skripou (the alternating anthemion in the cornice of the central apse)⁵³ than to imagine a phenomenon of classicism in Central Greece well before the foundation of the Panagia of Hosios Loukas. R. Krautheimer's comments on that issue are enlightening: “But as long as we are ignorant of much of the ornament immediately preceding the eleventh century⁵⁴, and even we know less of ornament from the seventh to the end of the tenth century, we cannot say with certainty whether we are dealing with renaissance even in the most classical examples”⁵⁵. After all, what wouldn't be surprising in Byzantine art is to have another classicism, rather than not to have it⁵⁶.

In this troubled context, Irene's capital, despite its secure dating, hasn't been included among a series of works, which are considered representative of the Dark Ages; since the high quality of the capital doesn't comply with the poor character of other objects attributed to this period, it was not only omitted from G. Soteriou's pioneering study of the sculptures of the Dark Ages⁵⁷, but also it was not exhibited in the Dark Ages section of the Byzantine

48 J.-P. SODINI, Remarques sur la sculpture architecturale d'Attique, de Béotie et du Péloponnèse à l'époque paléochrétienne. *BCH* 101 (1977) 423–450, esp. 426–428; DÉROCHE, *Lacanthé* 431, 452.

49 BOURAS, Ὁ γλυπτὸς διάκοσμος 115–121.

50 See VOCOTROPOULOS, Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ 213; BOURAS, Ὁ γλυπτὸς διάκοσμος 115. It is noteworthy that architectural sculptures are excluded from manuals on the Age of Iconoclasm: BRUBAKER – HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* 411–452.

51 J. HANSON, The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Renaissance, in: *A Companion to Byzantium* (ed. L. JAMES). Malden Mass. 2010, 338–350.

52 G.A. SOTERIOU, Ὁ ἐν Θήβαις βυζαντινὸς ναὸς Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου. *AEphem* 1924, 1–26, fig. 3–5.

53 PAPALEXANDROU, *Virgin of Skripou* 180–182.

54 At that time the Panagia of Hosios Loukas was dated to the 11th and not the 10th century.

55 R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Harmondsworth 1965, 257.

56 This statement follows A. Kazhdan's argument that “the label ‘renaissance’ has been applied to practically the entire Byzantine millennium, with very insignificant exceptions”: *ODB* 3, 1783, sv. renaissance.

57 SOTERIOU, Ἡ βυζαντινὴ γλυπτικὴ 171–184.

and Christian Museum⁵⁸. Connecting the dots in the architectural sculptural production of Southern Greece may be difficult, nevertheless, the key is probably hidden in works that are considered earlier in date and which should now be placed later⁵⁹.

The latent sculptural production of the period from 800 onwards correlates with the economic outlook of the city at this time. More specifically, when the theme of Peloponnese was established around 800⁶⁰, with Corinth as its capital, the *strategos* of Hellas must have been based in the city of Athens. This is implied by the building inscription from the city fortification, associated with the *strategos* of Hellas⁶¹, as well as a reference in the *Vita* of St Pancratius (first half of the 9th century)⁶² to the provinces of Dyrrachium and Athens (...ταῖς τοῦ Δοραχίου καὶ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπαρχίας)⁶³, thus to the capitals of the two neighboring themes of that time⁶⁴. In the period in which Athens was the city where the *strategos* of Hellas was stationed, before finally moving to Thebes, probably during the reign of Basil I⁶⁵, its prosperity most likely gave impetus to local workshops to undertake orders to produce sculptures in which both the ancient local and the contemporary Constantinopolitan traditions are reflected.

The Corinthianizing capital of the Byzantine and Christian Museum (BXM 3319) is a case of classicism, achieved through the reproduction of the basic features of its model: a slender calathus, an abacus, a rim under the abacus and two acanthus rings. The classicism is achieved through the balanced growth of the vegetal decoration and its qualitative execution. However, the formerly suggested dating of the capital to the 5th century seems unconvincing. Its close relations with a group of Corinthianizing capitals from the area of the Pagasetic and Malliakos Gulfs, which should be dated to the 9th and 10th centuries as representative examples of Helladic architectural sculpture, as well as the absence of corner helices, place it in a period after

58 N. DEMETRAKOPOULOU-SKYLOGIANNI, Γλυπτά των «σκοτεινών» χρόνων στη νέα μόνιμη έκθεση του Βυζαντινού και Χριστιανικού Μουσείου. *Symmeikta* 17 (2005–2007) 23–48.

59 This is the core of my unpublished PhD Thesis: Y. THEOCHARIS, Η αρχιτεκτονική γλυπτική της Αθήνας από την πρώιμη στη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο. Thessaloniki 2014.

60 T. ŽIVKONJIĆ, The Date of the Creation of the Theme of Peloponnese. *Symmeikta* 13 (1999) 141–155.

61 [--πρω]τοσπαθαρίου κ(αὶ) [στρα]τηγοῦ Ἑλλάδος ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια': THEOCHARIS, An Imperial Protospatharios 192–194.

62 For the date see A. ACCONCIA LONGO, Siracusa e Taormina nell'agiografia italogreca. *RSBN* 27 (1990) 33–54, 44, 51 (before 815 or between 821 and 827).

63 T. OLAJOS, Quelques remarques sur une peuplade slave en Hellade. *VV* 55 (80) (1998) 106–110, esp. 108, n. 12. T. Olajos's suggested date of the *Vita* to the first half of the 8th century (ibid. 107, n. 10) seems unreasonable because of its iconophile context.

64 The Dyrrachion theme was established in the first half of the 9th century, before the establishment of the theme of Nikopolis in the following half: N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles. Paris 1972, 351–352, n. 366.

65 For the literary sources see C. KOILAKOU, Byzantine Thebes, in: Heaven and Earth 181–191, esp. 183–184.

800. Also, the suggestion that the capital is directly related to the acanthus of Hadrian's Arch, is only partially valid, as its design appears to be based on the Constantinopolitan models as well.

Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens



Fig. 1. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, capital (In. No BCM 5319).
©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Byzantine and Christian Museum
(Photo: BCM/Historical Photographic Archives)



Fig. 2. Athens, Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, capital. ©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens (Photo: author)



Fig. 3. Loggos (Pthiotis), Hagios Ioannis, capital. ©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Phiotis (Photo: author)



Fig. 4. Athens, Kapnikarea church, Impost capital. ©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens (Photo: author)



Fig. 5. Ancient Corinthian capital. ©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Corinthia (Photo: author)

BENTE KIILERICH

The Hephaisteion in the Byzantine Period

Introduction

The Doric temple of Hephaistos and Athena Ergane, which stands on the Kolonos Agoraios on the outskirts of the Athenian Agora was begun around 450 and finished around 420 BC. At some point in time, the Hephaisteion –like the Parthenon, the Erechtheion and other Athenian temples– was converted into a church. At the conversion, the exterior of the building retained its classical appearance still showcasing what remained of its figural sculpture. Thus, although the Hephaisteion functioned as a church, from the outside it still looked like a temple. Distinctive medieval church features were a barrel vault that covered the cella and pronaos, and an apse, which was added in the east. The polygonal apse, which was depicted by early travellers, was demolished shortly after 1835 and the bema arch was filled in with a rubble wall. For the next hundred years, the church served as an apotheke, a store house for sculpted reliefs (the so-called Theseion Collection). The rubble wall was demolished in 1936, and two columns were reconstructed in antis. Today the barrel vault is the only architectural feature remaining from the Byzantine Church of St George.

The date of the conversion of the Hephaisteion (Theseion) into a church is unknown and suggested dates range from the 4th to the 7th century. Anastasios K. Orlandos (1936) believed the temple was transformed into a church in the late 4th or 5th century and that it originally had a larger semi-circular apse, which was later supplanted by the polygonal one. Based on the style of some fragmentary reliefs reused as pilaster capitals in the bema arch, Alison Frantz (1965) proposed that the conversion took place in the 7th century, a date that is now generally accepted. Still, the reliefs are difficult to date with precision and, in any event, they only give a terminus post quem. The barrel vault is even more difficult to date –with suggestions ranging from the 7th to the 13th century. To complicate matters, it is uncertain whether the vault belongs to the first phase of the church or to a subsequent rebuilding. The present paper revisits the chronological problems and, as far as possible, tries to reconcile the disparate evidence.

State of research

In his thorough and comprehensive study “Observations on the Hephaisteion” from 1941, William Bell Dinsmoor, whose main interest was the classical

temple, devoted a mere ten pages to “Mediaeval tombs and alterations”¹. With regard to the temple-church Dinsmoor referred to the study by Anastasios K. Orlandos, undertaken in connection with the re-erection of the two pronaos columns in 1936. In accordance with Orlandos, Dinsmoor noted that the building “passed through two Christian transformations, presumably with a round apse of the fifth century replaced by a polygonal apse in the middle Byzantine period, the existing barrel vault belonging to the later period”². Turning to Orlandos’ article, it is apparent that he had not found any clear chronological indications. In fact, rather than presenting a chronology based on archaeological evidence, Orlandos merely stated that the building most likely (pithanotata) was transformed into a church in the second half of the 4th century or in the beginning of the 5th century³. For the 4th century, Orlandos took recourse in the work of Kyriakos Pittakis, while for the early fifth-century date he found support in Andreas Xyngopoulos⁴. When reading these publications to find a clue, the result is disappointing. Pittakis had arrived at the suggested date from some rather unreliable readings of the epigraphical material (for which see below). As for Xyngopoulos, his main concern was the middle Byzantine paintings in the Parthenon; in connection with them, he wrote a short appendix (epimeton) on the lost paintings in the “Theseion” that he dated ca 1000–1050⁵. Without any arguments, Xyngopoulos stated that the temple functioned as a church from the 5th century onwards⁶. As late as 1960, John Travlos, in accordance with Dinsmoor and the earlier scholars, dated the church to the middle of the 5th century⁷.

A turning point in the interpretation of the Hephaisteion church came with Alison Frantz. In a short but seminal article from 1965, she argued that scholars might have been dating Athenian conversions too early. Discussing the architectural and sculptural evidence of the Hephaisteion, she concluded that the temple in all likelihood was not converted into a church until well into the 7th century⁸. Frantz’ argumentation was based on four sculpted fragments, formerly built into and supporting the spring of the bema arch. She judged their acanthus ornaments to be “at least as late as the sixth century” and concluded that “the atrocious masonry of the piers argues for a date well into the seventh century, possible as late as Constans’ visit” [i.e., 662]⁹. In the Athenian Agora

1 W.B. DINSMOOR, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. Baltimore 1941, 6–15.

2 Ibid. 11.

3 A.K. ORLANDOS, Ἔργασίαι ἀναστηλώσεως Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων, Δ: Ἐν Ἀθήναις, in: Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, II. Athens 1936, 207–216, esp. 209.

4 K. PITTAKIS, *AEphem* 1853, 1204–1216, 939; A. XYNGOPOULOS, Παρθενῶνος βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι. *AEphem* 1920, 51–53.

5 XYNGOPOULOS, *Τοιχογραφίαι* 51–53.

6 Ibid. 51.

7 TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις* 142 with fig. 91 on p. 143. For the date he refers to Orlandos and Dinsmoor.

8 FRANTZ, *From Paganism* 202–205.

9 Ibid. 203 and 204.

in Late Antiquity, published in 1988, Frantz similarly maintained that “it may have been at this time [i.e., 662/3] that the Hephaisteion and Erechtheion were remodeled as churches”¹⁰.

Alison Frantz’ interpretation has been generally accepted. Thus, in his Pictorial Dictionary of 1971, Travlos (who, as mentioned, first believed the transformation to have taken place around 450) now states that the conversion took place “probably in the 7th century as A. Frantz thinks. At that time the entrance was shifted to the west end, the apse was built at the east end, and the whole cella and pronaos were roofed with a barrel vault.”¹¹. It is worth noting that the vault –which Dinsmoor and earlier scholars associated with a second phase– is now assigned to the first phase. The seventh-century date is favoured by recent scholarship, for instance, John Camp¹². Nikolaos Gkioles thinks the Hephaisteion was most likely (pithanos) converted into a one-aisled, vaulted naos in the late 6th or 7th century.¹³. Similarly, Charalambos Bouras, in his monograph on Byzantine architecture in Athens, assigns the barrel vault and the conversion to Constans II, the candidate launched by Frantz, thus pinpointing the date to 662/63¹⁴. The seventh-century date is also the one transmitted to present-day visitors on the plaque at the east end of the building. It states that this was when the ancient temple was converted into the church of St George Akamatis¹⁵.

Still, a seventh-century conversion is not universally accepted. In a lecture presented at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in May 2008, Richard C. Anderson, then architect to the Agora Excavations, addressed the many unanswered questions with regard to the Hephaisteion church¹⁶. Referring to the work of Orlandos and Dinsmoor, he pointed to the unsolved problems of chronology and layout. Anderson did not venture a date for when he believed the Hephaisteion was converted, but said that the temple probably: “stood a long time before it became a church”. He also had difficulty finding evidence for the early apse. In his opinion, the barrel (or rather segmental) vault was “late” and “not very prestigious”, the closest

10 FRANTZ, *Late Antiquity* 117, cf. 92: “the Hephaisteion and the Erechtheion ... very likely retained their pagan, or at least a neutral, status until well on in the 7th century.”

11 TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary* 262.

12 J.M. CAMP, *The Archaeology of Athens*. Yale 2001, 238.

13 GKIOLES, *Η Αθήνα* 58.

14 BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 181–184; cf. CH. BOURAS, *Byzantine Athens, 330–1453*, in: *Heaven & Earth* 172–173.

15 It is uncertain whether the dedication to St George is the original one. A church of St George ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, which may be the one in the Hephaisteion, is mentioned in a letter by Michael Choniates around 1208. The epithet Akamas or Akamatis (του Ακαμάτη) seems to date from the Turkish period. Its etymology is uncertain. As Janin put it: the relation between the Byzantine and the Turkish sources “ne soit pas tout à fait éclairci”, JANIN, *Les églises* 307.

16 R.C. ANDERSON, *The Hephaisteion as a Church*, unpublished communication delivered at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 7th May 2008. I am grateful to Mr Anderson for discussing his views after the lecture.

comparisons being vaults of around the 12th century.

At the opposite chronological extreme, Jaqueline P. Sturm has recently returned to the early date, proposing that the temple was turned into a church in the 5th century. Sturm, who proposes a *reinterpretatio christiana* of the Hephaisteion sculpture, does not present new evidence or arguments for an early date. She mainly supports her contention with renewed building activity –a so-called “building boom”– in the agora in the first half of the 5th century, sponsored by, among others, Theodosius II’s wife Eudokia¹⁷.

As Bouras noted in 2010, it is unfortunate that no monograph on the Hephaisteion church exists¹⁸. A detailed study of all architectural elements and a documentation of all aspects –archaeological, epigraphical, sculptural, numismatic, antiquarian and archival– relating to the building in the post-classical period is certainly a desideratum. Regrettably, the study of the post-classical Hephaisteion is impeded by the changes the building has undergone over the centuries, not least in the Turkish and modern age, when most of the pavement was removed and the bema arch and the apse were pulled down. Through these changes, important evidence for the Byzantine church was inevitably destroyed¹⁹. In the following, the epigraphical, architectural and sculptural data will be reviewed in order to see whether it is at all possible to establish criteria for when the temple was most likely turned into a church.

Epigraphical and numismatic evidence

On the Hephaisteion, inscriptions are mainly found near the entrance in the west, as is also the case for the Parthenon. Inscriptions cover the southwest corner column and the next two columns on the southern flank as well as the antae and wall near the entrance. Other graffiti are scattered throughout the building. The latest instances date from modern times.

Since the church must have been consecrated before it was used for burials, the earliest epitaphs should provide a *terminus ante quem* for the conversion. Unfortunately, most of the Byzantine graffiti are difficult to date with precision. In 1853, Kyriakos Pittakis claimed that two inscriptions (no. 1599 and 1600) were particularly early; these he dated to the years 499 and 492 respectively. However, the inscriptions refer to indictions, fifteen year periods,

17 J.P. STURM, *The Afterlife of the Hephaisteion: The Interpretatio Christiana of an Ancient Athenian Monument*. *Hesperia* 85 (2016) 795–825, esp. 814–819. For late antique building activity in the agora, see BAZZECHI, *Das Stadtzentrum* 217–256.

18 BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 181.

19 See, F. MALLOUCHOU-TUFANO, *Οι τύχες ενός κλασικού ναού στην νεώτερη Ελλάδα: η πρόταση για την ‘ολοσχερή’ αναστήλωση του ‘Θησείου’ και άλλα επεισόδια*, in: *Αρχιτέκτων. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Κορρέ* (ed. K. ZAMPAS *et al.*). Athens 2015, 195–204. In 1940 there were even plans of pulling down the barrel vault to restore the temple to its classical form, *ibid.* 198–199.

and cannot be dated as precisely as Pittakis thought possible²⁰. Already a few years later, Theodor Mommsen proposed that these two particular inscriptions post-dated Justinian²¹. The inscriptions Pittakis assigned to the years 607, 617, 666 and 667 AD are equally uncertain chronologically. In fact, no late antique or early Byzantine inscriptions have been securely attested in the Hephaisteion²². Drawing on the work of Pittakis and other early scholars, Dinsmoor noted the year 896 for the earliest sepulchral inscription²³.

The epigraphical evidence is heterogeneous. Spanning the 10th to the 20th century, the inscriptions, which have become increasingly difficult to make out on autopsy due to weathering, vary from obituary notices to travellers' graffiti. A large number of them belong to the Turkish period, and much graffiti date from more recent times when the Hephaisteion served as a protestant burial place. Many inscriptions are middle Byzantine, but as far as I have understood, none can be securely dated to earlier than the 10th century. Attested years are 965, 966 and 967, with a possible 942 (or 987)²⁴. Some eleventh- to twelfth-century inscriptions commemorate abbots, others craftsmen. Some inscriptions refer to burials, yet without there being a direct connection between a particular tomb and a particular inscription²⁵.

Mentioning the coins found in the tombs of the Hephaisteion church, Dinsmoor recorded that "among them is a bare sprinkling of pieces of the fourth century; of the tenth and the eleventh, scarcely enough to be significant. The twelfth century is more generously represented, and the numbers are

20 PITTAKIS *AEphem* 1852, p. 939, inscription no. 1599: year 499; no. 1600: year 492; IDEM *AEphem* 1853, p. 1214–1216: no. 2449 west wall 'parastade', year 977; no. 2450 year 617; no. 2451 near door on the west wall year 917; no. 2452, north wall, indiction, year 607; no. 2453, north wall, year 666; no. 2454, north wall, year 667. IDEM *AEphem* 1858, p. 1809–1810, records some of the later inscriptions, namely no. 3468 year 1024; 3470 year 1043; 3471 year 1053; 3472 uncertain; 3473 year 1022; 3474 year 1122; 3475 year 980; 3476 year 1055; 3477 year 1057; 3478 year 967.

21 TH. MOMMSEN, *Athenae Christianae*. Leipzig 1868, 99, no. 116 (Ag. Georgios, Theseum). He also notes that most of the inscriptions are from the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries.

22 SIRONEN, *Inscriptions*, does not mention any late antique or early Byzantine inscriptions from the Hephaisteion.

23 DINSMOOR, *Observations* 15 with references in n. 31, but without indicating which specific inscription he believed could be dated to 896. Date range given is 896–1103 AD; A. McCABE, *Some Byzantine Inscriptions in Athens (7th–12th Centuries)*. *British Epigraphy Society Newsletter* no. 17 (Spring 2007) 7, the earliest inscriptions on the antae and cella walls are of the 10th century. Cf. also K. MENTZOU-MEÏMARIS, *Χρονολογημένοι βυζαντινά επιγραφαί τοῦ Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV.2*. *DChAE* 99 (1977/1979) 80–81, no. 4: year 942 or 987; no. 5: year 965 or 980; no. 6: year 966; no. 7: year 967; no. 8: 10th to 11th century.

24 Ibid. 80–81: of dated Byzantine stone inscriptions, five are mentioned from the Hephaisteion, nos. 4–8, these are dated respectively: 942 (or 987), 965 (or 980), 966, 967 and 10th–11th century.

25 A. McCABE, *Byzantine Funerary Graffiti in the Hephaisteion (Church of St George) in the Athenian Agora*, in: *XXI Int. Congress of Byzantine Studies* (ed. E. JEFFREYS). London 2006, II, Panel papers, 127–128. See now A. McCABE, *Byzantine Funerary Inscriptions on the Hephaisteion (Church of St George) in the Athenian Agora*, in: *Inscribing Texts in Byzantium* (eds M. LAUXTERMANN – I. TOTI). Abingdon 2020, 234–263.

sufficiently large to suggest that burials were being made at that time. Much more common are coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ...”²⁶. It is difficult to account for the fourth-century pieces and the conspicuous absence of coins from the 5th to the 9th. Accordingly, the numismatic evidence does not seem to provide any clue to when the temple was converted.

The barrel vault

The only extant architectural feature of the church is the barrel, or rather segmental, vault that covers the interior of the cella and pronaos (fig. 1). The span is 6.20 m, with a length of close to 25 m. The vault rests upon the ashlar blocks of the cella walls. At the west end, the transition from ashlar wall to vaulted ceiling is filled in with courses of brick. The vault is not built of regular stone blocks, as for instance in Crusader architecture. Rather, it is a somewhat clumsy mixture of stone and concrete. It is made with small to medium, only partly dressed stones (limestone?), lined with and partly overlaid with a cement-like mortar (fig. 2). It must have been set in sections on a wooden centring. It is therefore a sort of concrete wall in the Roman tradition. A small fragment with acanthus décor is incorporated into the masonry: unfortunately, it gives no precise chronological indication (6th-7th century? It is also uncertain whether it may have been inserted at a later period.). Along the longitudinal axis, there are square light openings²⁷.

Proposed dates for the vault range from the 7th to the 13th century. Orlandos and Dinsmoor placed it the middle Byzantine period, in the 9th century or later, assigning it to what they considered to be a second building phase. So also did Georgios Soteriou. Herbert Koch, in his monograph on the classical Hephaisteion, published in 1955, likewise ascribed the vault to a rebuilding, more precisely associating it with a visit of the emperor Basil II in 1018²⁸. Other scholars such as the architectural historian A.W. Lawrence and the architect R.C. Anderson have pointed to the resemblance with Crusader architecture of the 12th/13th century²⁹. Thus, those who adhered to the theory of two building phases have tended to associate the vault with the second phase. Also Frantz considered the vault to have been constructed in a second phase, when the original (hypothetical) apse was replaced by a smaller one³⁰.

26 DINSMOOR, Observations 9–10.

27 BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 181–182.

28 G. SOTERIOU, Αἱ παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ βασιλικαὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. *AEphem* 1929, 161–248, at 172, after the 9th century; ORLANDOS, *Εργασίαι* 207–216; DINSMOOR, Observations 11; H. KOCH, *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*. Berlin 1955, 38.

29 According to FRANTZ, *Paganism* 205, Lawrence examined the vault in 1963 and compared it with Crusader architecture in Syria of the 12th to 13th century. Anderson, lecture on the Hephaisteion in Athens, May 2008.

30 FRANTZ, *Paganism* 205.

However, when the assumed conversion date was moved from the 4th/5th to the 7th century, it became easier to accept the vault as part of the original conversion. Both Travlos and Bouras dated the vault to the 7th century. Bouras compared the masonry style of the vault with that of a vault found in the Makriyanni excavations for the New Acropolis Museum, more specifically the so-called Building E. According to the excavators, it is datable to around the (early) 7th century³¹. Based only on photos, it is difficult to tell whether the two vaults are built in the same technique. However, the structure in Building E is on a smaller scale and since it is the vaulted ceiling of a cistern, it is not directly comparable. The difficulty in dating Byzantine vaults, whether built of stone or concrete is illustrated by a group of stone-built barrel-vaulted churches on Cyprus. For these, suggested dates have ranged from the 6th to the 12th century, a recent proposal being the 8th century³². In sum: as no wholly convincing parallel exists, it seems possible to argue for a date for the barrel vault anywhere between the 7th and the 13th century and beyond.

The apse(s)

In the 19th century, travellers and artists made drawings and engravings of the Hephaisteion and some of these include the apse of the church: A polygonal apse is depicted on an engraving by Louis Dupré from 1819, and on one drawn by a member of the scientific expedition to the Morea in 1829³³. Far the best view of the apse is in a fine water colour made in 1833 by Christian F. Hansen, the Danish architect of the most famous neoclassical buildings in Athens (fig. 3)³⁴. It is also presented on a coloured drawing by the Swiss Johann Wolfensberger, dating from 1834/35, just before the apse was demolished (in 1835) and the wall blocked up to make the building serve as a storehouse for sculpture. In all representations, the apse appears to be five-sided; it is quite small and low, not even touching the architrave of the pronaos, and extends to about the middle of the pteron³⁵. Unfortunately, as with the vault, the architectural typology is not easily dated, since examples span the early to the late Byzantine period.

31 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 182; for Building E: ELEFATHERATOU, Το Μουσείο και η ανασκαφή 20.

32 CH.A. STEWART, The First Vaulted Churches in Cyprus. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69/2 (2010) 162–189.

33 L. DUPRÉ, Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople. Paris 1825, pl. 24; G.-A. BLOUET *et al.*, Expedition scientifique de Morée (1831–38), III. Paris 1838, pl. III (expedition of 1829).

34 M. BENDTSEN, Sketches and Measurements. Danish Architects in Greece 1818–1862. Copenhagen 1993, 107, fig. 49; J. CHRISTIANSEN, The Rediscovery of Greece. Denmark and Greece in the 19th century. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen 2000, cat. no. 46, fig. on p. 80, pencil and water-colour, 46.5 x 65.7 cm; the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Kark 14973.

35 CHRISTIANSEN, Rediscovery cat. no. 46, fig. on p. 80. The French contributions are shown in ORLANDOS, Εργασίες figs 8–9; KOCH, Theseustempel pl. 1.

Orlandos reconstructed the ground plan of the apse in accordance with the representations by C.F. Hansen and others, making it extend from the pronaos and slightly into the pteron. On plans drawn by Travlos in 1939 (reproduced by Dinsmoor in 1941), similarly, the exterior of the five-sided apse extends halfway into the pteron³⁶. The marble slabs in the floor suggest an approximate outline (fig. 4). Subsequently, however, Travlos made the apse extend all the way to the peristasis, making it encroach upon its two central columns³⁷. Based on the evidence of the paintings and engravings, the latter reconstruction seems questionable.

Believing that the polygonal apse was comparatively late, and assuming that the temple was converted no later than the 5th century, Orlandos was forced to hypothesize the existence of an earlier apse. But it is worth noting that he found no actual evidence of any such apse. Dinsmoor and Koch, both mainly concerned with the classical temple, accepted this proposition. The existence of a semi-circular early Christian apse is likely to be a construct influenced by the circumstance that there are two archaeologically attested phases of the Parthenon church³⁸. As stated by Richard Anderson in his communication of 2008, there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever of a semi-circular apse in the Hephaisteion. It is therefore difficult to establish whether the polygonal apse recorded by travellers was the original one, or whether one or even several apses existed before it.

The ornamental sculpture

Four fragmentary blocks with acanthus decoration were built into the spring of the bema arch to serve as pilaster capitals (fig. 5). These reliefs have been central in the attempts to fix the chronology of the church. Orlandos presumed the ornaments were from the 4th or 5th century³⁹. Frantz dated them to the 5th and 6th century, respectively. However, as already noted by Koch, these pieces were not made expressly for the bema arch⁴⁰. From the published photos, it is evident that the fragments differ somewhat in size and style and plausibly stem from more than one building. As Frantz put it, the piers presented “a shoddy bit of patchwork”⁴¹. Since the blocks were weathered, she judged them to have

36 Travlos' drawing dated 1939 is published in DINSMOOR, *Observations* fig. 1.

37 TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις* fig. 91 (drawing dated 1958).

38 For the Byzantine Parthenon, see KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon*; TADDEI, *La metamorfosi*; KIHLERICH, *From Temple to Church* 187–214, esp. 193. The second apse can be dated from inscriptions to the 12th century; the first phase of the Parthenon church is disputed, but epigraphical evidence suggests a date before 693 (an inscription referring to the death of the bishop Andrew, 15. October 693), see ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, *Tà Χαράγματα* no. 34, p. 21–22. Possibly *ibid.* no. 74, p. 66 (MENTZOU-MEIMARIS no. 9) can be dated to 550, 595 or 640 AD.

39 ORLANDOS, *Εργασίαι*.

40 KOCH, *Theseustempel* 37, n. 8: “vielleicht handelt es sich um Spolien”.

41 FRANTZ, *Paganism* 203.

been exposed to the elements for a long time before being reused. From the latest piece, estimated to date from around 600, she concluded that the church was converted in the 7th century.

It must be acknowledged that early Byzantine architectural sculpture is difficult to date precisely and that there may have been a tendency to place some of this material too early. Thus, for instance, the thorough study of impost capitals from Greece by Vassiliki Vemi ascribes much material to the reign of Justinian, although criteria for dating are often wanting⁴². It is also telling that Maria Sklabou-Mavroeide's catalogue of sculpture in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, presents some ninety pieces ascribed to the 5th or 6th century, but merely twelve pieces assigned to the 7th, 8th and 9th⁴³. The question inevitably imposes itself: Is it reasonable to assume that ten times as much sculpture was produced for churches in the early period as in the three following centuries? It must be noted that the dating of most pieces relies on stylistic criteria, and that it is generally difficult to tell, on stylistic grounds, whether a given fragment was made, say, ca 500 or ca 550. So, it can be hypothesized that some material generally ascribed to the 5th or 6th century may have been carved later.

As for the relief fragments in the Hephaisteion, even if we agree on a date around 600, it is hardly feasible to draw the conclusion that the temple was converted in the 7th century, more precisely by Constans II, while he wintered in Athens in 662/663. The fragments could theoretically have been reused considerably later. Since these pieces are in a secondary context, they only provide a *terminus post quem* for the bema arch and the apse⁴⁴.

So far, the reviewing of the physical evidence has brought no new criteria for establishing the chronology of the Byzantine Hephaisteion. During the Middle Ages, several building phases may theoretically have existed; still there is no architectural or archaeological evidence of church construction that pre-dates the vault, the no-longer-extant bema arch and the no-longer-extant polygonal apse. In effect, there is no evidence for ecclesiastical use of the Hephaisteion before well into the medieval period: the inscription from 942 or 965, if this interpretation of the date is correct, gives a *terminus ante quem* for the conversion. In view of this uncertainty, it may be worthwhile to turn from the material evidence to a consideration of plausible historical contexts.

42 V. VEMI, *Les chapiteaux ioniques à imposte de Grèce à l'époque paléochrétienne*. Athens 1989.

43 SKLABOU-MAVROEIDE, *Γλυπτά* nos. 20–73: 5th century; nos. 74–97: 5th–6th century; nos. 98–108: 6th century; nos. 109–110: 7th–8th century; nos. 111–113: 8th–9th century; nos. 114–120: 9th century.

44 Below the mouldings of the bema arch, old photos (FRANTZ, *From Paganism* figs 18, 19), attest to the former presence of wall paintings. From the photos it is difficult to tell the style of the badly preserved paintings, and it is difficult to tell whether they could have been made in connection with the insertion of the mouldings, or later. As noted above, XYNGOPOULOS, *Τοιχογραφία* 51–53 dated the paintings to the first half of the 11th century.

The conversion in a historical context

Material and written evidence indicates that the physical dealings with temples differed considerably: At some places, the buildings were abandoned and left to decay, while at other places, they were deliberately destroyed. At still other sites, temples were at various points in time converted into churches⁴⁵. For the Parthenon, a terminus ante quem of 693 is provided by the graffiti preserved on columns and walls⁴⁶. It is uncertain when the Erechtheion, the sanctuary of Asclepius and the Ilissos temple were turned into churches⁴⁷. In view of the fact that scholars wanting to re-establish the classical origins of the buildings have mostly erased the ecclesiastical traces of Athenian temple-churches, it is hardly surprising that it is difficult to establish dates for temple conversions. When neither archaeological, nor written evidence permits a conclusion, dates remain tentative, and it is in most cases equally possible to argue for an early as for a late chronology.

As for the Hephaisteion, Constans II's visit to Athens in 662 seems the only *raison d'être* for proposing a seventh-century date for the conversion. It should be taken into consideration that the emperor did not establish a court in Athens, but only wintered there for some months on his way to Sicily. There seems little point in the emperor having initiated a building project that presumably would not have been completed before he had already left. It may therefore be asked in what historical circumstances between the 7th and the 10th century (the general chronological limits suggested by the sculpted fragments and the epigraphy) a church of such dimensions as the Hephaisteion, actually the second largest Byzantine church in Athens, would have been most in demand.

45 For discussions, bibliography and different views, see J. VAES, *Christliche Wiederverwendung antiker Bauten: ein Forschungsbericht*. *Ancient Society* 17 (1986) 305–443; 1986; SARADI-MENDELOVICI, *Christian Attitudes*; J.-P. CAILLET, *La transformation en église d'édifices publics et de temples à la fin de l'antiquité*, in: *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du III^e siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne* (ed. C. LEPELLEY). Bari 1996, 191–211; L. FOSCHIA, *La réutilisation des sanctuaires païens par les chrétiens en Grèce continentale (IV^e–VII^e s.)*. *REG* 113 (2000) 413–434; J. HAHN *et al.* (eds), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*. Leiden 2008; H. SARADI with D. ELIOPOULOS, *Late Paganism and Christianisation in Greece*, in: 'Paganism' 263–309; KIILERICH, *From Temple to Church*. For newly-built churches in Attica, see TZAVELLA, *Christianisation of Attica*.

46 A fifth-century date is argued by MANGO, *The Conversion*; a Justinianic date by KORRES, *The Parthenon* 136–161. Uncertainty: OUSTERHOUT, *The Parthenon* 292–329; see further B. KIILERICH, *Parthenon: tempel, kirke, moske, monument*. *Klassisk Forum* 2008:1, 38–49; EADEM, *From Temple to Church*.

47 For the Erechtheion: KIILERICH, *From Temple to Church*. For the Asclepieion: J. TRAVLOS, *Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*. *AEphem* 1939–1941, 34–68; A. KARIVIERI, *The Christianization of an Ancient Pilgrimage Site: A Case Study of the Athenian Asklepieion*. *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Erg.heft* 20 (1995) 898–905.

From the 9th century onwards, Athens experienced renewed growth⁴⁸. In the first half of the century, the city was probably the seat of the Byzantine military-civilian province known as the Theme of Hellas, as suggested by a Parthenon graffito that refers to the death in 848 of the strategos Leo⁴⁹. While in the 7th and 8th centuries, the bishop of Athens was subject to the metropolitan see of Corinth, a Parthenon graffito dated to 841 mentions an archbishop, suggesting that by the early or mid-ninth century, Athens had become the seat of an archbishop⁵⁰. Possibly around or shortly before 860, Athens was for a period promoted to a metropolitan see, since in the ecumenical councils of 869 and 879, Athens is referred to as a metropolis⁵¹. This status, however, was not permanently gained before the 10th century: among the Parthenon graffiti, an inscription from 959 (or 981?) refers to a metropolitan⁵². In the 10th century, the Panagia Atheniotissa in the Parthenon began to attract pilgrims from many parts of the empire including Hosios Loukas and Hosios Nikon⁵³. It is reasonable to assume that the raised status as an autocephalous archbishopric and especially metropolis resulted in a considerably larger clerical community and accordingly a need for more churches⁵⁴. In this connection it may have seemed appropriate to the Athenians to convert the Hephaisteion in order to have a smaller version of the renowned church in the Parthenon.

While the Parthenon inscriptions date back to the 7th century, it is noticeable that those on the Hephaisteion only begin in the 10th. This might suggest a late date of conversion: no earlier than the 9th and possibly as late as the 10th century. It may at first seem surprising that the building should have stood unused for so long.

Still, temples and antique buildings were converted into churches at various times⁵⁵. The Hephaisteion's more or less decrepit state –following the (presumed) removal in the late Roman period of the interior colonnade that probably led to the roof collapsing– could partly explain why a rebuilding only

48 M. KAZANAKI-LAPPA, *Medieval Athens*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium* 641; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantium and Hellas. Some lesser known Aspects of the Helladic Connection* (8th–12th centuries), in: *Heaven & Earth* 15–29, at 19.

49 ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, *Tà Xaράγματα* no. 164.

50 Ibid. p. 61, no. 69; MENTZOU-MEÏMARIS, *CIG* p. 82, no. 17.

51 KODER – HILD, *Hellas* 80–81, 127.

52 Metropolis: ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, *Tà Xaράγματα* p. 50f., no. 61; MENTZOU-MEÏMARIS, *CIG* p. 85, no. 36. The graffiti inscribed on the columns of the Parthenon give the names of other ninth-century archbishops and metropolitans, e.g., ORLANDOS – VRANOUSIS, *Tà Xaράγματα* nos. 63, 69, 70.

53 KAZANAKI-LAPPA, *Medieval Athens* 642.

54 In connection with the new status, epigraphical evidence attests to the erection in 871 of the first church dedicated to St John the Baptist, ο Ιωάννης ο Μαγούτες, on the northeast slope of the Acropolis. Dedication inscription: SKLABOU-MAVROEIDE, *Γλυπτά* 87, no. 120 (AM6379). A man, wife and son dedicated the church.

55 For the Tower of the Winds, see N. TSONIOTES and A. KARAMPERIDI, in the present volume.

took place when there was a great demand for a church of a certain size⁵⁶.

If this hypothetical scenario (and it must be stressed that it is only a hypothesis) is at least a possibility, the question of the medieval attitude to the classical temple sculpture must be addressed. On the Hephaisteion, the struggles between Greeks and centaurs featured prominently on the frieze over the church entrance in the west. The centauiromachy also decorated the south metopes of the Parthenon⁵⁷. The plausible themes of the Hephaisteion pediments, Erichonios' or Athena's birth and Heracles' apotheosis respectively, clearly referenced motifs encountered on the Acropolis. On the Hephaisteion's eastern part, over the apse, the frieze depicted seated divinities, just as on the Parthenon east frieze. Several different interpretations have been suggested for the battle scene included here; among others it has been identified as possibly showing Theseus battling the Pallantidae, the fifty sons of Pallas, rivals of Theseus over the Athenian throne (Diod.Sic. 4.60.4-5; Paus. 1.22.2, 1.28.10)⁵⁸. In contrast to the Parthenon, the Hephaisteion only had sculpted metopes on the eastern façade and four sculpted metopes on each flank. On the metopes Herakles, who had long since been reinterpreted as a Christian exemplum virtutis, and Theseus, the ultimate local Athenian hero, were fighting against various monsters⁵⁹. It is uncertain whether the original meaning of all extant sculpture was fully understood by Christian viewers and whether or not the sculpture was given new meanings – centaurs, for instance, were common in medieval art and might have been viewed as apotropaic⁶⁰. At any rate, the Christianization of an ancient sanctuary, dedicated not only to Hephaistos but also to Athena, might help sustain the notion of Athens as an ancient and well-established bishopric.

56 It has been debated whether or not the classical Hephaisteion had an interior colonnade, see W.B. DINSMOOR, The Internal Colonnade of the Hephaisteion. *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 159–177.

57 For the Parthenon sculpture, see, e.g., M.B. COSMOPOULOS, ed., The Parthenon and its Sculptures. Cambridge 2004; K. SCHWAB, Celebrations of Victory: The Metopes of the Parthenon, in: The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present 159–197. For the Hephaisteion sculpture, see, e.g., H.A. THOMPSON, The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion. *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 230–268; H.A. THOMPSON, The Sculptural Adornment of the Hephaisteion. *AJA* 66 (1962) 339–347; A. DELIVORRIAS, The Sculpted Decoration of the so-called Theseion: Old Answers, new Questions, in: The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome (ed. D. BUITRON-OLIVER). Washington 1997, 84–107; STURM, Afterlife; J.M. BARRINGER, A New Approach to the Hephaisteion: Heroic Models in the Athenian Agora, in: Structure, Image, Ornament: Architectural Sculpture in the Greek World (eds P. SCHULTZ – R. VAN DEN HOFF). Oxford 2009, 105–120; A. STEWART, The Pediments and Akroteria of the Hephaisteion. *Hesperia* 87 (2018) 681–741.

58 C.H. MORGAN, The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion II: The Friezes. *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 221–235.

59 For a discussion of the possible interpretations of the sculptures by fifth-century Christian viewers, see STURM, Afterlife.

60 For centaurs in Byzantine art, see E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE – H. MAGUIRE, Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture. Princeton 2009, 19–22, 149–151.

Conclusion

The Hephaisteion has served as a temple, church, store house, burial ground, reception hall, museum and monument. Over the years it has undergone so many modifications that it by now seems almost impossible to gain an idea of the building's fate in the late antique and Byzantine period. To recapitulate: There is no physical evidence for a church phase from around the 5th century, as hypothesized by Orlandos. Based on the approximate date of the latest spolium formerly incorporated in the bema arch, the prevalent opinion now is that the temple was turned into a church in the 7th century. This proposition, first suggested some fifty years ago by Alison Frantz, is a convenient and quite possible solution. Still, it must be kept in mind that the spolia merely give an approximate terminus post quem; whether one dates the spolia to around 600 or earlier, the weathered reliefs of different origin could have been reused in the church several or even many centuries after their manufacture, perhaps around the same time as the no-longer-extant paintings. The only architectural feature of the church still in situ is the large barrel vault. Whether one dates it to the 7th or the 13th century, or somewhere in-between, the problem remains that the vault could belong to a rebuilding phase. This leaves the epigraphy as the only tangible evidence for dating.

It is worth noting that whereas the graffiti on the Parthenon date back to the 7th century, on the Hephaisteion, the inscriptions only start in the 10th, providing a terminus ante quem of 942 (or 965 depending on the interpretation of the earliest graffito). The possibility that the conversion may have taken place as late as around the 9th/10th century should therefore be tentatively considered. In the 7th and 8th centuries, the bishop of Athens was subject to the metropolitan see of Corinth. But in the 9th century, Athens was raised to the rank of autocephalous archbishopric and, in the 10th century, permanently elevated to the rank of metropolis. It may be speculated whether, as a smaller version of the renowned Panagia Atheniotissa on the Acropolis, the temple-church on the Kolonos Agoraios could have been a way of manifesting Athens' new ecclesiastical status.

Still, it must be stressed that although the remaining physical indications –graffiti, vault, the handling of the spolia, the look of the apse in travellers' representations– point towards a late rather than an early date for the Byzantine Hephaisteion, the date of the conversion of the temple into a church remains unknown.

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Fig. 1. Athens, Hephaisteion. Interior showing barrel vault (photo from internet)



Fig. 2. Athens, Hephaisteion. Detail of barrel vault (photo: B. Kiillerich)



Fig. 3. Athens, Hephaisteion as a church. C.F. Hansen, water-colour, 1833. Copenhagen, Royal Academy of Fine Arts (Kark no. 14973) (after CHRISTIANSEN 2000, p. 80).



Fig. 4. Athens, Hephaisteion. Present state of eastern part of pteron (photo: B. Küllerich)



Fig. 5. Athens, Hephaisteion. Relief fragment formerly in the bema arch (after Кочн 1955)

Hagiography of Athens:
The Formation of the Christian Tradition
of Byzantine Athens (4th–9th Century)

The gradual spread of Christianity in Athens¹, a centre and symbol of ancient learning, had already begun by the 1st century, when, according to the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 18:16–34), Paul preached in Athens. Athens appears to have preserved its pagan character longer than did other cities in the Greek-speaking East². In the written sources the image of the city is still pagan in the 4th century. Christianity is evident primarily in the presence of Athens' bishop Pistos in the 1st Ecumenical Council³ and in three martyria dated to the late 4th–early 5th century: the Martyrium of St Leonides, attached to the basilica of the Ilissos⁴, a martyrium dedicated to the Athenian martyrs Menas and Hermogenes by the Rizokastron at the Acropolis⁵ and a subterranean chamber, located inside the ancient enclosure of the city (at 11–13 Agiou Markou Str.)⁶.

At the beginning of the 5th century several Christian churches were built, the most important of which are the Tetraconch, later known as the Great Panagia, in the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian⁷, and the basilica of the Ilissos⁸. The location of the Tetraconch in the centre of the ancient city and indeed in the heart of the Library of Hadrian is symbolically charged. The central government, perhaps in connection with the empress Eudokia (421–460), of Athenian origin, may have been responsible for its construction at such a central point⁹. At the end of the 5th century the Parthenon was converted into a three-aisled basilica consecrated to the Virgin (Panagia

1 For the spread of Christianity in Athens and in Attica, see PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα; TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion* I, 283–332; CASTRÉN, *Paganism and Christianity* 211–223; DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi* 181–197; BALDINI, *Atene: la città cristiana* 309–321; TZAVELLA, *Christianisation of Attica*; G. DELIGIANNAKIS, *From Paganism to Christianity in Late Antique Athens: A Re-Evaluation*, in: *Athens II* 137–152.

2 TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion* 283–332. For a more nuanced view see DELIGIANNAKIS, *From Paganism to Christianity* 149–152.

3 D.I. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, II. Florence 1759, 701.

4 BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 185–187, no. 22, 257, n. 37.

5 PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 880, n. 116a, 930.

6 LASKARIS, *Monuments funéraires* 422–423, fig. B 34, 47.

7 TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις* 132, 139, n. 2; PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 867–870; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 66–68, 256, 257, n. 39.

8 PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 26–28.

9 FOWDEN, *The Athenian agora*; DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi* 220–227.

Atheniotissa)¹⁰. In the early 7th century the Erechtheion was also converted into a Christian church, while the date of the conversion of the temple of Hephaistos at Theseion is still unknown¹¹.

The Church in Athens was apparently flourishing at this period, as its members had the financial wherewithal to build martyria and basilicas. In the early 5th century, the empress Eudokia and the policy of Theodosius II (408–450) of rapprochement between pagans and Christians appear to have strengthened the Church in Athens. In the late 5th century, the increased power of the Church is evident in the conversion of the Parthenon into a church and culminates in the closure in 529 by Justinian (527–565) of the Neoplatonic Academy. Furthermore, most of the churches in the countryside around Athens date to the late 5th or to the 6th century¹².

In contrast to the archaeological evidence, however, there are no hagiographic texts concerning the saints of Athens of the Early Byzantine period. This may be because there were no monastic establishments in Athens and Attica at the time and certainly shows that the bishops of Athens were not active in composing Lives of the saints of Athens and promoting their cult. Nor are bishops of Athens known to have been involved in public construction, in contrast to the situation in other cities, and their personalities remain invisible until the 12th century, when prominent scholars began to occupy the archiepiscopal throne¹³.

Despite this lack of hagiographic texts, however, the increasing strength of the Athenian Church is reflected in a series of other texts: in the Life of Proclus written by his disciple Marinus of Neapolis, possibly in 486, in the fifth-century Apocryphal Acts of Philip, in theosophical texts dated to the second half of the 5th to the 6th century and in the Ἐξηγητικὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ναοῦ by pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria, dated to the second half of 5th/6th century. It can also be seen in the connection of the Corpus Dionysiacum with Dionysios the Areopagite.

In the Life of Proclus, the goddess Athena is shown asking for the removal of her statue from the Parthenon, obviously before its transformation into a church¹⁴.

In the Apocryphal Acts of Philip¹⁵, Philip preached in Athens and impressed the Athenian philosophers, who were converted through the power of miracles that proved the power of the new religion.

10 MANGO, The Conversion; TADDEI, La metamorfosi; KALDELLIS, The Christian Parthenon; OUSTERHOUT, The Parthenon 293–329; KIILERICH, From Temple to Church.

11 B. KIILERICH, in the present volume, suggests that the Hephaisteion was converted into a church in the 9th/10th century.

12 TZAVELLA, Christianisation of Attica.

13 KALDELLIS, The Christian Parthenon 122–129, 145–162.

14 Marinus, Vita di Proclo (ed. R. MASULLO), 30.

15 Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha II/2 (ed. M. BONNET), 3–16; Acta Philippi; cf. DI BRANCO, La città dei filosofi 201–203.

The aim of the Theosophy of Tübingen¹⁶ was to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian faith to paganism and the peaceful transition to the new religion. In the Oracles of the Greek Gods, dated between 474 and 503, an inscription is cited, allegedly found at the site of the famous temple of Kyzikos, during the reign of Emperor Leo (457–474), containing a prophecy of Apollo that the temple was to be converted into a church in honor of the Theotokos, like ‘the temple in Athens’, which is presumably the Parthenon. Such oracles foretelling the transformation of a pagan temple into a Christian church appear to have been circulating at the time. An inscription recording a similar oracle has been found in a church built on the site of a temple in Ikaria¹⁷. The aim of such prophecies was to justify to pagans the establishment of Christianity and to facilitate Christian proselytism.

In the Ἐξηγητικὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ναοῦ¹⁸ attributed to pseudo-Athanasios, Apollo, who is presented as a wise mortal, built the ‘Temple of Athens’, that is, the Parthenon, several years before the birth of Christ and inscribed the words Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ on its altar. The Seven Sages then gathered in the Parthenon (in an adaptation of the story of the Symposium of the Seven Sages)¹⁹ and asked Apollo what temple this was and to whom the altar belonged. Apollo predicted that the shrine would be dedicated to the Theotokos and foretold the birth of Christ. This episode, which is a Christianized version of the tradition of the Seven Sages, is repeated in the theosophical collections published by Erbse²⁰, dating from the second half of the 5th to the 6th century²¹. Thus in the second half of the 5th and in the early 6th century, Christian intellectuals and ecclesiastics constructed narratives to account for the success of the new religion and for the defeat of paganism. In appropriating pagan tradition, they facilitated the process of convergence with pagans and promoted the spread of the Christian religion.

The geopolitical and military role of Athens was acknowledged by

16 Textus Theosophiae Tubingensis (ed. H. ERBSE) 1–56; Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia: An Attempt at Reconstruction (ed. P.F. BEATRICE). Leiden 2001, xxxiv–l. Cf. MANGO, The Conversion of the Parthenon 201–203; BUSINE, Gathering Sacred Words.

17 G. DELIGIANNAKIS, Late Paganism on the Aegean Islands and Processes of Christianisation, in: ‘Paganism’ 325–327.

18 A. VON PREMERSTEIN, Ein pseudo-athanasianischer Traktat mit apokryphen Philosophensprüchen im Codex Bodleianus Roe 5, in: Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου. Athens 1935, 183–186.

19 Plutarch, Moralia: Τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον (ed. F.C. BABBITT), 146b–164d.

20 See Προφητεῖαι ἑπτὰ Ἑλλήνων σοφῶν περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (μ: 1–7) and concisely: ω: 9, χ: 10, π: 1 (Theos. gr. fr.). Cf. A. BUSINE, The discovery of inscriptions and the legitimization of new cults, in: Historical & Religious Memory in the Ancient World (eds B. DIGNAS – R.R.R. SMITH). Oxford 2012, 244–256.

21 On these texts see BUSINE, Paroles d’Apollon; EADEM, Les Sept Sages prophètes du christianisme. Tradition gnomique et littérature théosophique, in: Theologische Orakel in der Spätantike (eds H. SENG – G. SFAMENI GASPARRO). Heidelberg 2016, 257–280.

Constantinople in the 8th century²², in the context of the strengthening of imperial control in central and southern Greece. At some point during this period, Athens may have become the seat of the *strategos* of the theme of Hellas²³. In 732 the ecclesiastical province of Illyricum was detached from the Church of Rome and was annexed to the Church of Constantinople²⁴. The bishopric of Athens was subsequently detached from the metropolis of Corinth and was elevated to the status of a metropolis, now subordinate to Constantinople. This promotion occurred in the second half of the 8th century, most likely during the reign of Eirene of Athens (797–802)²⁵. This strengthening of the position of Athens in the Empire may be connected with efforts on the part of the state to reinforce Byzantine control over southern Greece and with the ascent to the throne of Eirene of Athens, who, following the imperial tradition, promoted the Church of her native city.

The imperial interest in Athens²⁶ is of great importance here, in that most Athenian saints were included in the Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople in the 10th century. The degree of incorporation of local saints into the liturgical calendar of Constantinople depended on the political, military, economic, and ecclesiastical importance of the region in question for the central administration of the Empire. Southern Italian and Sicilian saints, who originated in a region of great importance for Byzantium, were also incorporated in the calendar of Constantinople²⁷. Thus the inclusion of the saints of Athens in the Synaxarion of the capital, in addition to the obvious liturgical significance, shows that Constantinople regarded Athens as particularly important in political and military terms.

The Lives²⁸ and services (*akolouthiai*) of the saints of Athens were composed during the Middle Byzantine period. Thus their cult was systematized with synaxaria, services, and liturgical *typika*. This ordering of local cults was not done at the behest of the Athenian Church. Rather, it was a consequence of the connection of Athens with Constantinople²⁹. The organization and

22 On Athens in the early Middle Ages see R. BROWNING, Athens in the Dark Age, in: *Culture and History. Essays presented to Jack Lindsay* (ed. B. SMITH). Sydney 1984, 297–303 (= *Variorum Reprints* 1989, IV); ZAVAGNO, *Cities* 55–58.

23 See the references in the article of Y. Theocharis in the present volume.

24 Theophanes, *Xpovoyραφία* (ed. C. DE BOOR) I, 404.

25 V. LAURENT, L'érection de la Métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de l'Illyricum au VIII^e siècle. *REB* 1 (1943) 68–71; DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum* 19 and no. 2.38; BRUBAKER – HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* 174–176.

26 The influence of Constantinople is also attested on Athenian sculptures in this period: see the article of Y. Theocharis in the present volume.

27 E.g. Gregory, bishop of Akragas (24 Nov., Synax. CP 251–253), Leon (21 Feb.) and Beryllus (21 Mar.), bishops of Catania (Synax. CP 479–480, 551–552).

28 On the image of Athens in the hagiographical texts see DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi* 200–220.

29 For the impact of the *typikon* of Constantinople on the *typikon* of the Church of Athens, cf. Demetrios Chomatianos, *Analecta sacra...* (ed. J. PITRA) 619–620. Cf. ALEXOPOULOS, *When a Column Speaks*.

strengthening of the position of the Church of Athens led to the promotion of its saints, the aim of which was to create from the early centuries the image of a Christian city whose glory matched that of Classical Athens.

Thus the Church of Athens possessed many saints from the 1st century. Hagiographical texts mention at least twenty saints of Athenian origin. For the 1st century several saints are attested: Anakletos, bishop of Rome (whose memory is celebrated only by the Catholic Church)³⁰, the bishops of Athens Hierotheos³¹ and Dionysios the Areopagite³², Damaris³³ and the disciples of Dionysios the Areopagite, Eleutherios and Roustikos, who were executed with him³⁴. From the 2nd century mention is made of the apologists Athenagoras³⁵ and Aristides³⁶, of Hyginos, bishop of Rome (also honored only by the Catholic Church)³⁷ and of Narkissos, bishop of Athens³⁸, who is mentioned by the Apostle Paul (Rom. 16:11). Saints dating to the 3rd century are Pope Xystus or Sixtus II³⁹, the martyrs Venedimus, Paulinus, and Herakleios⁴⁰, Isauros, Basil, and Innocent⁴¹. The Athenian Dareia and her husband Chrysanthos⁴² were executed during the reign of Numerianus (283–284). The scholarly martyrs Menas Kallikelados and Hermogenes⁴³ were executed under either Maximinus (235–238) or Maximian (285–305), according to Synax. CP, or under *Diocletian* (284–305), according to BHG. The martyrs' miracle-working relics were translated and deposited in the outer wall of the Acropolis, in the martyrium

30 13 Jul.

31 4 Oct., BHG I, 751, MR I, 330–335; PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 858, n. 29.

32 3 Oct., BHG I, 554–558, MR I, 321–329; Another *kanon* for Dionysios by Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople, is published in AHG II, 1–11. There was a church erected in his honor on the Areopagus (7th century); see TRAVLOS – FRANTZ, The Church of St. Dionysios.

33 3 Oct.

34 3 Oct., Synax. CP 101:4.

35 24 Jul., PG 6, 889.

36 13 Sep., PG 2, 1261.

37 11 Jan.

38 Narkissos is commemorated on 31 Oct. with the apostles Stachys, Apellos, Amplias, Urban and Aristovoulos (Synax. CP 786:5, and 8; on 30 Jun.; MR I, 571, 573).

39 10 Aug., Synax. CP 881. See also Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Λαυρεντίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, 2 (ed. F. HALKIN, Inédits Byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou. Brussels 1963).

40 18 May.

41 17 Jun. and 7 Jul., Synax. CP 753–754:59, 804–805, Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἰουνίου... Venice 1843, 64–67. Another *kanon* for the saints, composed by hymnographer George, is published in AHG XI, 119–126, while a second, composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, is unpublished (see E. PAPAELIOPOULOU-ΦΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ἁσματικῶν κανόνων... Athens 1996, 220, no. 675).

42 19 Mar., Synax. CP 547–548, BHG I, 313, MR IV, 111–116. In the *kanon* of the saints Athens is not mentioned, and thus the assumption of PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 860 that there existed a church in their honor in Athens is not justified.

43 10 Dec., Synax. CP 293–294 and Synaxaria Selecta 31–34, BHG I, 1271, MR II, 441–449. Two *kanons* composed by the hymnographers George and Anastasios Quaestor are published in AHG IV, 219–229, 230–240.

mentioned above erected in their honour. The ascetic Mark the Athenian⁴⁴ is attested in the 4th century and in the 5th century the empress Eudokia⁴⁵. The empress Eirene of Athens (+803) dates to the 8th/9th century⁴⁶ and Basil, Archbishop of Thessalonike, dates to the 9th century⁴⁷.

Other saints are connected with Athens in different ways. Some of them suffered martyrdom in Athens. St Andrew and St Paul, who were soldiers from Mesopotamia, Dionysios and Christina, and the Athenians Venedimus, Paulinus, and Herakleios⁴⁸ were executed in Athens during the persecutions of Decius (249–250). St Agathokleia⁴⁹ suffered martyrdom in the hands of her aristocratic mistress, although nothing is mentioned in synaxaria about where she underwent martyrdom. On the basis of early Byzantine funerary inscriptions⁵⁰, a church dedicated to her has been identified in the area of Ermou Str. near Monastiraki⁵¹.

Other saints were famous bishops of Athens: Rufus, one of the Seventy Apostles⁵², Pistos, who took part in the First Ecumenical Council of 325, Publius⁵³ and Leonides⁵⁴. St Modestos, who lived during the reign of Maximian (285–305), converted to Christianity while he was in Asia Minor. He accompanied an Athenian Christian silversmith to Athens, where he was

44 5 Mar., Synax. CP 509, BHG II, 1039–1041n. The Athenian origins of Mark have been challenged: his name is considered a reflection of that of Mark, the founder of the Church of Alexandria (Mark the Athenian was a monk in the desert of Egypt) and his descent from Athens may be a parallel of the evangelist Mark's itinerary from Rome to Alexandria: see CH. AGGELIDI, Ο Βίος του Μάρκου του Αθηναίου (BHG 1039–1041). *Symmeikta* 8 (1989) 35.

45 13 Aug., Synax. CP 887–889 and Synaxaria Selecta 27–57.

46 9 Aug., Synax. CP 877–878:56: Ειρήνης τῆς νέας.

47 1 Feb., Synax. CP 439:1.

48 18 May, Synax. CP 684:51, 688:2, 692:27, MR V, 118–122, AHG IX, 200–206; PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 860–861.

49 17 Sept., Synax. CP 49:35, 52–53, PG 117, 53–55. For an anonymous unpublished *akolouthia* of Agathokleia, see PAPAELIOPOULOU-FOTOPOULOU, Ταμείον 46, no. 57*.

50 TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις 142, n. 6; CREAGHAM – RAUBITSCHKE, Epitaphs 39–40; BRADDEEN, Inscriptions 188; SIRONEN, Inscriptions 178–179, no. 110, 202–203, no. 148, 378, n. 31; BALDINI, Atene: la città cristiana 310, 313.

51 See K.S. PITTAKYS, L'ancienne Athènes ou la description des antiquités d'Athènes et de ses environs. Athens 1835, 497, 500.

52 30 Jun., Synax. CP 786, BHG III, 2174.

53 13 Mar., Synax. CP 534:19. Cf. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History IV, 23, 3 (ed. G. BARDY); PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 853, 858–859.

54 15 Apr., Synax. CP 604:52, BHG II, 983z–984. In the Menaion (Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἀπριλίου... Venice 1863, 54) there is simply a synaxarian notice (after all the commemorated saints) without an *akolouthia* on St Leonides. The MR does not include his commemoration. Michael Choniates mentioned the Martyrium attached to the basilica of Ilissos in honor of Leonides: Michael Choniates, Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Λεωνίδην..., 151.2, 22 (ed. S.P. LAMPROS I); see S. EUSTRATIADIS, Λεωνίδης ὁσιος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Λεωνίδης μάρτυς ὁ ἐν Τροιζῆνι. *Theologia* 13/2 (1935) 170–179; F. HALKIN, Saint Léonide et ses sept compagnes martyrs à Corinthe. *EEBS* 23 (1953) 217–223; IDEM, Recherches 60–63.

baptized by the city bishop and withdrew to live as an ascetic⁵⁵. In the 5th century bishop Klematios is attested on a tomb slab as *hosios* (ὁ ἐν ὁσίοις ἐπισκοπήσας Κλημάτιος) which suggests that he was sanctified⁵⁶. This conclusion is confirmed by the seated position in his burial⁵⁷. Hosios Martinianos⁵⁸ (late 5th–early 6th century) visited Athens and was honored with a glorious burial⁵⁹. In the 10th century Hosios Fantinos, passing through Athens, venerated the relics of Martinianos⁶⁰, which are also mentioned in his *akolouthia* (13 Feb.)⁶¹. Michael Choniates in a homily Εἰς τὸν ὁσίων Μαρτινιανὸν implies the existence of an eponymous church⁶², thus indicating that Hosios Martinianos was worshipped at least until the 12th century.

Women occupy an important place among the saints of Athens. These include Damaris and Agathokleia, while the canonization of empresses Eudokia and Eirene of Athens display a notably political character. Several saints of the Early Byzantine period bear Latin names, such as Innocent, Xystus or Sixtus, Venedimus, Paulinus and Mark, a point which may be connected with the subordinate position of Athens to the Church of Rome. As is to be expected, in the early years of the Athenian Church some saints bear pagan names, such as Aristides, Agathokleia or Athenagoras.

It is suggested that the Athenian aristocracy was for a long time reluctant to endorse the Christian faith, because it had links with the philosophers, many of whom held high positions in the local and imperial administration. However, the Church of Athens includes a notable number of educated saints⁶³ emanating from higher social strata: apologists, bishops of Athens and of Rome and empresses. It is known that classical philosophy and poetry were condemned in Christian literature for their pagan content, but were always considered useful for Christians who wished to achieve refined literary style⁶⁴. The deprecation of antique *paideia* is understandably stronger in hymnographic texts. Thus, in a hymn, the first-century bishop of Athens Hierotheos, an educated aristocrat and member of the Areopagus, is praised for his rhetorical

55 CH. LOPAREV, Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου Μοδέστου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων, 1892. A short distance from Koropi, close to the Middle-Byzantine church of the Transfiguration there is a small church dedicated to St Modestos: S. ΜΑΜΑΛΟΥΚΟΣ, Ἅγιος Μόδεστος (Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος) στο Κορωπί, in: Ἐκκλησίες στὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τὴν ἄλωση II. Athens 1982, 223–230.

56 SIRONEN, *Inscriptions* 156–157, no. 83.

57 PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 865.

58 13 Feb., Synax. CP 461–462, Synaxaria Selecta 463–464:48–49; BHG II, 1177–1180; MR III, 577–584.

59 Synax. CP, Synaxaria Selecta 463–464:48–49; AASS Feb. II, 666–671; PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 862.

60 14 Nov., Synax. CP 224.

61 ἡ θεία χάρις τῶν λειψάνων σου (AHG VI, 240).

62 Michael Choniates, Εἰς τὸν ὁσίων Μαρτινιανὸν 343–344.

63 See DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi* 203–206.

64 Cf. Basil of Caesarea, Πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ὅπως ἂν ἐξ ἐλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων (ed. F. BOULENGER), 41–61.

skills and for the fine style of his writings which please and embellish the faithful⁶⁵.

The large number of Athenian saints, the lofty social background of some of them and their high education suggest that the Church in Athens consciously pursued a programme intended to advertise the τοσοῦτον... περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων⁶⁶. Thus the glory, power, and social position of the followers of the new religion could now be equated with that of the prestigious accomplishments of the classical Athenian tradition. The model of the poor, humble, and illiterate Christian, frequently promoted as an ideal by the Church during its early centuries, stressed that poor, illiterate fishermen from Galilee managed to defeat educated orators and philosophers⁶⁷. This tradition is now adjusted to the classical tradition of Athens, which results in the prominence of educated and socially eminent Christians. Thus, during the early centuries, educated members of the Athenian Church were apologists who addressed Roman emperors. According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Quadratus composed an apology which he addressed to Emperor Hadrian (117–138) during the emperor's visit to Athens some time around 124–125⁶⁸. Athenagoras delivered a defence of Christianity before Marcus Aurelius (161–180) around 177⁶⁹. From the 1st to the 3rd century, three highly educated Athenians, Anakletos, Hyginos and Xystus or Sixtus II, became bishops of Rome.

Now it is not only Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus who studied in Athens. At the beginning of the 7th century, George, Patriarch of Alexandria, wrote in his *Life of John Chrysostom*⁷⁰ that Chrysostom came to Athens to complete his studies. The confrontation between Chrysostom and the philosopher Anthemios in the presence of the eparch Demosthenes and the prelates of the city of Athens leads to their conversion. The incident, surely fictional, is the only piece of evidence that Chrysostom studied in Athens. Athens now appropriated Chrysostom, the most fervent of all polemicists among all the Church Fathers against the pagans.

65 MR I, 332, 333.

66 Heb 21:1.

67 This view is not abandoned, and it is promoted in the hymnography by Romanos Melodos in the hymn τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων: stanza 16, vv. 4–5, 8, and in the hymn εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Πεντηκοστήν: stanza 17, vv. 2–8, Romanos le Mélode V. Hymnes XLVI–LVI (ed. J.GR. DE MARTONS). It is repeated by the anonymous poet of the Akathistos Hymn: ed. C.A. TRYPANIS, Fourteen early Byzantine cantica. Vienna 1968, 29–39, stanza 17, vv. 1–13. In the *akolouthiai* it is used as a *topos*, which acquires a special significance, when it refers to saints of Athens (e.g.: for Dionysios the Areopagite MR I, 322; for Paul, Andrew, and their companions AHG IX, 203, vv. 80–86, 205, vv. 131–136; for Quadratus MR I, 224; for Menas and Hermogenes AHG IV, 223, vv. 97–98, 226, vv. 190–193, 231, vv. 29–35).

68 Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History IV, 3, 2–3; P. FOSTER, The Apology of Quadratus. *Expository Times* 117.9 (2006) 353–359; PALLAS, Ἡ Αθήνα 853, 859. Quadratus is celebrated on 21 Sep., Synax. CP 67, MR I, 220–229; H. GRÉGOIRE, La véritable date du martyre de S. Polycarpe et le “corpus polycarpianum”. *AnBoll* 69 (1961), 34–36.

69 TROMBLEY, Hellenic Religion 284, n. 5.

70 F. HALKIN, Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome. Brussels 1977, 82–84.

The list of saints of the Church of Athens does not, however, include any prominent saints. The patron saint of the city, Dionysios the Areopagite, did not enjoy the elevated status and fame of the patron saints of other cities, such as the Virgin did in Constantinople, St Demetrios in Thessalonike or the apostle Andrew in Patras. In choosing Dionysios the Areopagite, the Church of Athens certainly promoted an important individual as patron saint of the city. He was the city's first bishop, a scholar, of aristocratic origin, a martyr, and a miracle-worker. Significantly, Dionysios was subsequently linked to the tradition of the Theotokos, who became the patron of Athens after the conversion of the Parthenon into a church. According to tradition, Hierotheos, Dionysios the Areopagite, and the apostle Timothy were carried on clouds, as were the Apostles, to be present at the Dormition of the Virgin in Jerusalem⁷¹. Thus the Church of Athens was placed immediately after the first Christian Church of Jerusalem, since the representatives of the Athenian Church were considered worthy of apostolic honors. Although the Athenian hierarchs were not present at the important events in Christ's life, passion, and entombment, nor did they witness his Resurrection, they did, however, witness the Dormition of the Virgin. Their presence there, just as the presence of Timothy, bishop of Ephesus, where John the Evangelist preached, elevated Christian Athens to a leading position within the Church⁷². In fact, Symeon Metaphrastes (10th century) presents Dionysios as analogous to the apostle Paul⁷³. Likewise, in the *akolouthia* of the saint, in the *Menaion*⁷⁴ and in the *kanon* of the patriarch Germanos I (8th century)⁷⁵ Dionysios is clearly connected with the conversion of the Parthenon to a church of the Virgin, the powerful patron of the city. This tradition is also repeatedly mentioned in hymnographical texts, which

71 PG 4, 593C = PG 115, 1036C; PG 3, 681D = B.P. SUCHLA (ed.), *Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων*, *Corpus Dionysiacum* I, 141; cf. *Synax.* CP 893; BHG 554–558; LOENERTZ, *Le panégyrique de S. Denys*; S. SHOEMAKER, *Ancient Tradition of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*. Oxford 2002, 29–30. For his depiction in art, in the Dormition of the Virgin in the presence of bishops, see WALTER, *Three Notes* 260–268.

72 The *imitatio Pauli* is a type of *imitatio apostolorum* and is a common hymnographic *topos* for bishops (D. CHRISTIANS, *Athleten, Ackerbauern und Hirten: Typisierung der Heiligenverehrung im Gottesdienstmenaum*, in: *Bibel, Liturgie und Frömmigkeit in der Slavia Byzantina. Festgabe für Hans Rothe zum 80. Geburtstag* (eds D. CHRISTIANS *et al.*). München–Berlin 2009, 160, 165). In fact, Germanos compares Dionysios to the apostle Peter (Mat 16:18), thus emphasizing the contribution of the patron saint of Athens to the strengthening and foundation of the Church (AHG II, 9, vv. 170–172).

73 PG 115, 1037.

74 Ὡς τοῦ σκεύους ὑπάρχων/ τῆς ἐκλογῆς/ ἀπεικόνισμα θεῖον... (MR I, 324).

75 AHG II, 1–11, vv. 7–8, 56–58, 194–199, 239–243.

shows that it had been incorporated into the liturgical life of the Church⁷⁶. In his *akolouthia* in the Menaion, Dionysios is referred to with the terminology of the Pentecost, as used by Luke (Acts 2:2). Thus, again, the patron saint of Athens is presented as equal to the Apostles, who received the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (ὥσπερ τις οὐράνιος/ ἥχος φερόμενος)⁷⁷.

According to another tradition⁷⁸, Dionysios witnessed the eclipse of the sun that occurred during the crucifixion of Christ. This is the so-called 'Vision of Heliopolis'⁷⁹. Here Dionysios is a pagan who witnessed the terrible events that took place during the death of Christ on the Cross. The vision of Heliopolis is uniquely depicted in a miniature in the Khludov Psalter, produced in the mid-ninth century and of Constantinopolitan origin, bearing the eloquent caption Ἕλληνας, ἤγουν Διονύσιος⁸⁰.

The attribution of the *Corpus Dionysiaca* to Dionysios in the early 6th century⁸¹ facilitated the incorporation of Athens into the Christian tradition. In addition, the *Corpus Dionysiaca* appears consistently in the liturgical texts, namely the *akolouthiae*, as attributed to Dionysios⁸². Dionysios is compared with Moses, the religious and political leader of Israel, which is a common hagiographic *topos* for the hierarchs⁸³. The attribution of the *Corpus Dionysiaca* to Dionysios pervades this comparison. Dionysios is compared to Moses both as a ποιμὴν⁸⁴ and because, like Moses on Sinai, he enters the holy darkness (γνόφος) and converses with God. In this case, the common *topos* of the ascent to the Acropolis of virtue⁸⁵ is equivalent to the ascent to the mountain of virtue, which refers to Sinai. This metaphor reflects the attribution of the *Corpus Dionysiaca* to Dionysios and highlights Dionysios' leading role, equivalent to that of Moses, in the consolidation of the Christian religion

76 ...ἐπὶ τὴν θεὰν ἔσπευσας/ σώματος τοῦ ὄντως ζωαρχικοῦ/ τῆς μόνης Θεοτόκου... Ἐν τῇ σεπτῇ κοιμήσει σου,/ Παναγία Παρθένε,/ παρῆν ὁ Διονύσιος/ σὺν τῷ Ἱεροθέῳ/ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ τῷ θείῳ/ ἅμα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις... (*akolouthia* of St Dionysios the Areopagite, MR I, 328, 329). Ὁμοδίαιτος, μάκαρ,/ τῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὑπάρχων συστήματι/ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστης/ τῇ κοιμήσει τῇ θεῖᾳ... (*akolouthia* of St Hierotheos, MR I, 332). Cf. B. LOURIE, Peter the Iberian and Dionysius the Areopagite... *Scrinium* 6 (2010) 165, n. 71.

77 MR I, 325.

78 Dionysius the Areopagite, Epistula vii ad Polycarpem antistitem. PG 3, 1077–1081.

79 P. PEETERS, La vision de Denys l'Aréopagite à Héliopolis. *AnBoll* 29 (1910) 302–322.

80 Khludov Psalter, Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 129, f. 45v. Cf. WALTER, Three Notes 256–257.

81 The *Corpus Dionysiaca* has recently been attributed to Damaskios: see MAZZUCCHI, Damascio.

82 MR I, 321–329 and AHG II, 1–11.

83 Φῶς ἐνδυσάμενος Χριστόν,/ τὸ φωτεινὸν περιβάλοιον,/ ἐλαμπρύνθη τῇ αἵγλῃ τοῦ πνεύματος/ τὸν νοῦν, Διονύσιε,/ ὥσπερ πάλοι ὁ θεόπτης Μωσῆς (AHG II, 11, vv. 229–233). The typology for Moses in the *Corpus Dionysiaca* has been studied by P. ROREM, Moses as the Paradigm for the Liturgical Spirituality of Pseudo-Dionysius. *SP* 18/2 (1989) 275–279; IDEM, Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to their Influence. New York–Oxford 1993, passim.

84 AHG II, 2, v. 12.

85 The *topos* is also used for Dionysios and for other Athenian saints.

in Athens. Thus Athens is now elevated to the same level as Sinai. According to the *kanon* of Patriarch Germanos I, the figure of Dionysios is illuminated by the divine light, as is the face of Moses during his time on Mount Sinai, when he conversed with God (Ex 34:29). The comparison of Athens to Sinai in hymnography predates the Εισβατήριος of Michael Choniates⁸⁶. Germanos was one of the first poets to compare a hierarch to Moses by employing the ascent to Sinai, the entrance to the *gnophos* (γνόφος), the reception by Moses of the tablets written by God (θεογράφων πλακῶν), and the illumination of Moses' face by the divine light⁸⁷. This *topos* is part of the *topos* of the ascent to the height/mountain of virtue⁸⁸.

Apart from Dionysios, the Athenian Church included apostles, such as its founder, the apostle Paul, and the apostle Philip, and some of the 70 apostles who preached in Athens (Quadratus) or became its bishops (Narkissos and Rufus). The narration of the Acts by the apostle Luke, and the apocryphal Acts of the apostle Philip establish the apostolicity of the episcopal throne of Athens.

The commemoration of an important number of Athenian saints has been connected and identified with the memory of other saints, primarily of mainland Greece, a well-known and difficult problem in hagiography. Dionysios the Areopagite was identified in the 9th century with his namesake who preached in Gaul and was martyred in Paris in the 3rd century⁸⁹. Leonides, bishop of Athens, has been connected with his namesakes in Corinth and Troezen⁹⁰. Publius has been linked at various periods with saints of the Church of Corinth (Quadratus, Cyprian, Anektos, Paul, Dionysios, and Crescens)⁹¹ and with saints of Constantinople (Africanus and Terence τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πιερτίῳ)⁹². The apostle Quadratus preached the gospel in Athens and in Magnesia where he was martyred during the persecution of Hadrian. Quadratus was very rapidly identified with the martyr of the same name who was also martyred in Magnesia during the reign of Decius (249–251), and in some cases also with his

86 Michael Choniates, Εισβατήριος... (ed. S.P. LAMPROS), 36. Michael Synkelos (ca. 761–846) also praised Dionysios as Moses: PODOLAK, *L'agiografia* 234, vv. 349–373.

87 For example, this *topos* was used in hymnographical texts by Cosmas Melodos (MR III, 365), Andrew of Crete (AHG V, 369) and Theophanes Graptos (MR III, 366) for Gregory the Theologian, by Theophanes Graptos for Gregory of Neokaisareia (MR II, 179, 180, 182), by Joseph the hymnographer for Daniel the Stylite (MR II, 463), Leo, pope of Rome (MR III, 616), Spyridon bishop of Trimythous (MR II, 473) and for the martyr Neophytos (MR III, 320), by George for the hieromartyr Erasmus (AHG XI, 127) and by patriarch Photius for the patriarch Methodios (AHG X, 61).

88 D. CHRISTIANS, *Topoi in liturgischen Hymnen zu Ehren heiliger Mönche*, in: *Pénije malo Georgiju. Sbornik v čest na prof. Georgi Popov* (eds M. Jovčeva *et al.*). Sofia 2010, 218–219.

89 See LOENERTZ, *La légende Parisienne*; PODOLAK, *L'agiografia* 179–191.

90 PALLAS, *Ἡ Ἀθήνα* 859–860.

91 10 Mar., Synax. CP, *Synaxaria Selecta* 51.

92 13 Mar., Synax. CP 533–534. See PALLAS, *Ἡ Ἀθήνα* 858–859.

namesake in Corinth⁹³. The *kanon* of Joseph the Hymnographer mentions the veneration of relics, a tomb and a church of St Quadratus: Ἰαμάτων χαρίσματα/ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν/ ὁ τάφος σου πηγάζει,/ ἱερὲ Κοδράτε... Νόμῳ φύσεως τάφῳ τὸ σῶμά σου.../ νῦν κατακείμενον/ θαυματουργεῖ παράδοξα... Ῥεῖθρα ἱαμάτων ὁ ναὸς/ ὁ σὸς τοῖς χρήζουσι/ πηγάζει πάντοτε... Σοῦ Μαγνησία κατέχει/ τῶν λειψάνων τὴν θήκην...⁹⁴. Pallas, on the basis of these verses, expressed the view that there was a church of St Quadratus in Athens. However, although there is no reference to Athens in these verses, there is mention of the relics and the church of the saint of the same name in Magnesia. The Athenian martyrs Isauros, Basil, and Innocent, who were martyred in Apollonia during the reign of Numerianus (283–284), were connected with a group of saints from Italy consisting of Peregrinus, Lucian, Pompey, Papius, Saturninus and Germanos, who because of persecution by Trajan (98–117) came to Epidamnus (Dyrrachion), where they were executed. St Menas Kallikelados has been identified with Menas the Egyptian⁹⁵, and St Modestos has been connected with his namesake bishop of Jerusalem⁹⁶.

The identification of Athenian saints with saints of Corinth arose from the subordination of the Church of Athens to the Church of Corinth in the early Byzantine centuries. Analogous identifications with saints of the Church of Constantinople are due to the connection of the Athenian Church with Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine period that we have already mentioned. Indeed, it appears that in the 9th century, the cult of certain saints connected with Athens and venerated in Constantinople was revived in Constantinople. These include St Euphemia (16 Sept. and 11 Jul.)⁹⁷, in whose honour, according to an inscription of the 5th–6th century, there was a church in Athens⁹⁸, and St Agathokleia, whose *synaxis* was celebrated ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ in Constantinople⁹⁹. The relics of St Menas the Kallikelados and St Hermogenes¹⁰⁰, according to their Synaxarion, were translated to Constantinople following St Menas' prayer to God¹⁰¹, or were translated θείῳ προστάγματι to Athens. The identification of Athenian saints with saints venerated in other regions may indicate that the inhabitants of these areas kept alive the memory of the glory of classical Athens and so were willing to accept that their local saints were connected

93 BHG 359, 357–358. See PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 859–860.

94 MR I, 224, 225, 228, 229.

95 11 Nov., BHG I, 1250–1269, BHG II, 1250–1269m, MR II, 109–121; H. DELEHAYE, L'invention des reliques de Saint Ménas à Constantinople. *AnBoll* 29 (1910) 117–144; PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 862–863.

96 18 Dec., Synax. CP, Synaxaria Selecta 52–53.

97 Synax. CP 47–49, 813–814 respectively.

98 SIRONEN, Inscriptions no. 266, 378, n. 31.

99 Synax. CP, Synaxaria Selecta 52:40–42.

100 Synax. CP 293–294 and Synaxaria Selecta 31–34.

101 Cf. JANIN, La géographie ecclésiastique I/III 335. The translation of St Menas' relics to Constantinople is mentioned in the martyr's *kanon*: Ἐξαίτησω τοῦ τεθῆναι σου τὸ λείψανον,/ μάρτυς, εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον... (AHG IV, 237, vv. 155–156).

with their namesakes from Athens. It is also possible that the Athenian Church sought the incorporation of eponymous saints from other regions into its list of saints, in order to reinforce its prestige.

The inclusion of the saints of Athens in the Synaxarion of Constantinople, the existence of martyria and churches in their honor as early as the Early Byzantine period, the mention of the veneration of their relics (of Hosios Martinianos, St Andrew, and St Menas and St Hermogenes) indicate that the cult of these saints existed in Athens and beyond. The strongest evidence for maintenance of their cults in Athens lies in the existence of an *akolouthia*, since the *akolouthia* of a saint could be performed in any church, even if there was no church consecrated to that particular saint.

The *akolouthiai* of saints offer a means for communication with the congregation, since poetry becomes an appealing medium for catechism and admonition. Thus the *akolouthiai* became the medium for promoting dogmatic or other teachings by the Church. The *akolouthiai* of the saints of Athens were composed by prominent hymnographers: Andrew of Crete or Byzantios (7th–8th century) wrote a stanza for St Dionysios the Areopagite. Theophanes Graptos (8th century) composed *akolouthiai* for St Dionysios the Areopagite, St Hierotheos, and St Martinianos, while Patriarch Germanos I (8th century) an *akolouthia* for St Dionysios the Areopagite. Clement (8th century) composed an *akolouthia* for St Martinianos. Joseph the Hymnographer (9th century) wrote *akolouthiai* for Quadratus, Chrysanthos and Dareia, Menas and Hermogenes, Narkissos, Stachys, Apellos, Amplia, Urban, and Aristovoulos, Paul, Andrew, Dionysios, Christina, Venedimus, Paulinus, and Herakleios. George (9th century) wrote *akolouthiai* for Paul, Andrew, Dionysios, Christina, Venedimus, Paulinus, and Herakleios, Menas and Hermogenes. Anastasios Quaestor (10th century) composed *akolouthiai* for St Menas and St Hermogenes. Gregory (perhaps 13th century) composed an *akolouthia* for St Isauros, St Basil, and St Innocent. In these hymnographic texts, Athens openly becomes a symbol of the Christian faith or this is implied through the use of selected references to the classical era. The classical past and its reputation are also downplayed, because the city is now known for its Christian identity, which at least once is attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite, whose martyrism is characterized as ἀπαρχὴ πανίερος¹⁰².

Following the preaching of Paul, the κατείδωλος πόλις changes and becomes an εὐσεβὴς πόλις, ... ὀρθοδοξοῦσα¹⁰³. In the *kanon* of Hosios Martinianos, the symbolic identification of Athens with the conquest of apathy by the *hosios* is surprising. Martinianos leaves a city of passions, i.e. Caesarea in Palestine, and comes to Athens, the city of im-passion: φεύγων γὰρ ἐκ πόλεως/ τῆς τῶν

102 Theophanes Graptos, 9th century, MR I, 328.

103 MR I, 329.

παθῶν ἀπαθείας/ πόλιν ἔφθασας¹⁰⁴.

Several hymnographic *topoi* used in these *akolouthiai* originate in the glorious classical past of Athens and especially from its state organization, which clearly shows the influence of pre-Christian Athenian heritage on Christian literature. Naturally, all these *topoi* are especially charged with meaning in the hymnographic texts for the saints of Athens. The achievement of a spiritual goal by St Dionysios the Areopagite¹⁰⁵ and Martinianos¹⁰⁶ is expressed through ascent to the Acropolis. St Hierotheos enjoys in heaven the ἀντιδόσεις of earthly life¹⁰⁷. The rejection of secular offices is presented as κληρουχία for St Menas¹⁰⁸.

Thus the strengthening of the Athenian Church occurred in two stages, one over the 5th/6th century and the other in the 9th century. During both stages, a decisive role was played by the intervention of the imperial administration at Constantinople. The reference to the saints of Athens in the Synaxarion of Constantinople, the existence of martyria and churches in their honor, the mention of the veneration of their relics and mainly the composition and use of *akolouthiai* for celebrating their memory demonstrate the cult of these saints in Athens and beyond, and reveal the process of forming Athens' Christian tradition.

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104 AHG VI, 236, vv. 90–93. On the image of Athens in the Byzantine literature see H. HUNGER, Athen in Byzanz: Traum und Realität. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 43–61; РНОВУ, Reminiszenzen 24–91.

105 AHG II, 9, vv. 174–175.

106 AHG VI, 239, vv. 162–163.

107 Βεβαίως ἀντιδόσεις ἀπολαβῶν (MR I, 333).

108 AHG IV, 222, vv. 221–226.

STEPHANOS EFTHYMIADIS

Christian Athens and its Literary Elaboration in Byzantium: From the Creation of the Areopagitic Corpus to Michael Choniates

Identified in collective memory as a bastion of Greek erudition, religion and culture, Athens was one of the weakest candidates for acquiring importance in Christian geography much less becoming home to Christian spirituality. Haunted by its glorious yet pagan past, the native city of Socrates and Plato could hardly be expected to have the same valence for Christian writers as it had for pagans. In the Christian *imaginaire* it was rather a place that deserved to be treated negatively not only on account of its ancient pagan connotations but also because of its ongoing association with the apologists and defenders of paganism. For Christian poets and authors, some of whom enjoyed and still enjoy much acclaim, being Athenian became synonymous with being incorrigibly pagan. Notably, in the whole of early Christian literature it is only Gregory of Nazianzos who, in his *Funeral Oration for Basil of Caesarea* (BHG 245), his dearest friend, reserved words of high praise for Athens, encapsulated in his characterization of it as the *golden city of learning* and, prior to that, as *the homeland of eloquence* (Or. 43, 14)¹. Although the city is still seen as reflecting the glory of its classical splendour, this whole passage from a masterpiece of Christian rhetoric offers the one and only reference to contemporary Athens in patristic literature². Granted, it was not only for its enduring legacy that Athens received such magnanimous compliments from a Christian author; above all, it was Athens that had provided the foundation stone upon which this Christian friendship had been built and it acquired extra significance as the place where the two friends had met after leaving their common fatherland in pursuit of knowledge. Incidentally, however, on the same occasion Gregory did not hesitate to refer to a negative aspect of their Athenian studies, namely the fact that they had found themselves in the company of some young, frivolous and spoiled students who, as a

1 See ed. J. BERNARDI, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 42–43 (SC 384). Paris 1992, 146–148. Cf. other laudatory references to Athens by the same author in his poems *De rebus suis*. PG 37, 977 (v. 97: ...Ἑλλάδος εἶχος Ἀθῆναι) and *De vita sua*, ibid. 1062 (v. 476–478: ... Ἀθῆναι ...θαυμ' Ἑλλάδος).

2 For an analysis of the references to Athens by the Cappadocian Fathers see BREITENBACH, “Das wahrhaft goldene Athen” 165–252; and S. RUBENSON, The Cappadocians on the Areopagus, in: Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections (eds J. BJØRTNES – T. HÄGG). Copenhagen 2005, 113–132.

result of becoming fully integrated into this particular environment, tended to demonstrate an excessive passion for sophistry (*Or.* 43, 15)³.

This negative attitude towards Athens, motivated by its strong associations with paganism, was to prevail in patristic literature and the hymnography produced in late antiquity. Yet it was typical even of authors who lived well after this period. For instance, in three of his surviving epigrams the tenth-century poet Ioannes Geometres, whose work is now being re-evaluated by scholars in a positive light, treats Athens in a similar fashion. While stressing the city's inferiority when compared to Constantinople in one of his poems, Geometres maintains in another two that Athens could no longer boast of hosting wisdom; rather it could only be praised for Hymettus and its honey and, best of all, for its pilgrimage site dedicated to the Virgin Mary⁴.

Recent scholarship tends to almost totally reverse this negative picture of Athens. To begin with, Marco di Branco has discussed various texts that point to the emergence of an Athens *imaginaire* which could ally its fame as a site of learning and wisdom with Christian spirituality⁵. Much of this literature was hagiographical in character and chronologically spanned a long period from late antiquity to the 12th century. It concerns saints, who either visited Athens for the purpose of learning and pilgrimage or were natives of the city. No doubt the most prominent among them was St Dionysios the Areopagite whose hagiographical dossier will be discussed below⁶. Moreover, the 'Christian rehabilitation' of Athens extended to the legend of Athenais-Eudokia (ca. 400–460), the Athenian wife of Emperor Theodosios II and famous poetess, and sources of the theosophic kind that, in one way or another, foretold the coming of Christianity. On the one hand, all these texts were quite different from the 'mainstream' literature which was hostile to the city of the philosophers⁷. On the other hand, they must have marked a new era for the city, an era which began with the conversion of the Parthenon into a Christian church⁸.

As a matter of fact, in the course of time this church dedicated to

3 See ed. BERNARDI, 150: Σοφιστομανοῦσιν τῶν νέων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι, ... ἄτε πλῆθος σύμικτον ὄντες καὶ νέοι καὶ δυσκάθεκτοι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς...

4 See poems 109–111; ed. J.A. CRAMER, *Anecdota Graeca*, IV. Oxford 1841, 315: Ἐρεχθέως ἀνῆκεν ἡ γῆ τὴν πόλιν // ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς καθῆκεν Ῥώμην τὴν νέαν. // κρεῖττον τὸ κάλλος γῆς, ὅσον λαμπρὸς πόλος (epigram 1); ... ἡ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν προσκύνει τὴν δεσπότην ... (epigram 2); Οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν (sc. σοφοῖς) πλὴν Ὑμηττὸς καὶ μέλι... (epigram 3). These poems were cited and discussed by HUNGER, *Athen in Byzanz* 51 and n. 26. On Ioannes Geometres and his poetical *oeuvre* see M. LAUXTERMANN, John Geometres, Poet and Soldier. *Byzantion* 68 (1998) 356–380; and E.M. VAN OPSTALL, Jean Géomètre. *Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques*. Leiden–Boston 2008, 3–19.

5 DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 65–134 (reproduced in: IDEM, *La città dei filosofi* 199–240).

6 See *ibid.* 66–88 and IDEM, *L'immagine di Atene nelle biografie dei santi bizantini. Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti (Classe di Scienze morali, Lettere ed Arti)* 159 (2000–2001) 633–650.

7 See DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 88–100.

8 The most recent studies on the history of the Parthenon as a Christian church include KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon*; OUSTERHOUT, *The Parthenon* 293–329; and ALEXOPOULOS, *When a Column Speaks*.

the Virgin Mary became a significant shrine that must have attracted the attention of people well beyond the confines of Attica. Anthony Kaldellis has adduced powerful evidence that the Atheniotissa church was a preeminent pilgrimage site, known far and wide, and “inspiring the highest peaks of Christian devotion”⁹. According to the same scholar, as a Christian shrine of the Mother of God, venerated by emperors, monks and pilgrims from all over Christendom, the Parthenon displayed a uniquely divine light that somehow united the Christian tradition and Greek legacy¹⁰. It is on this ‘divine light’ of Athens that he duly concentrates in the final chapter of his book on the Christian Parthenon¹¹. As a matter of fact, other references and allusions to this light emanating from the Acropolis crop up in the works of various authors from the beginning of the 12th century. It is worth noting that these authors were not only Byzantine orators but Western travellers too. Without clarifying what they meant by this light in concrete terms, they point to its real existence and testify to a significant development: the Christian appropriation of the pagan Parthenon and the Christian rehabilitation of the city itself. The question as to whether some years before it ceased to be a part of Byzantine territory Athens had earned a distinctive place in Byzantine Christianity is impossible to answer. This paper does not aim to rehearse the arguments pertaining to this topic and confirm or deny its relationship to historical reality. Rather it will address the literary aspects of this development and try to show how the image of a Christian Athens was developed in two groups of authors separated from each other by some two or three centuries.

As a matter of fact, by the end of the 12th century, not only did Athens find redemption in the writings of important orators such as Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Michael Choniates, but it came to be understood in fully idealized terms, as a place of theophany likened to Mt Sinai. As I have tried to show elsewhere, thanks to its association with the church of the Mother of God, Athens was rhetorically elevated by its most renowned metropolitan Michael Choniates to a New Sion, another city of God, a designation until then reserved for Constantinople¹². By and large, this is the culmination of what we may term the literary process of redeeming Athens and absolving it from its pagan guilt. It is the final step of the ascent on a ladder that was implanted in Christian literature long before the 12th century, namely in the transitional period from the end of late antiquity to the first centuries of the middle Byzantine period.

Creating a different literary picture of Athens was a by-product, as

9 KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon* 175.

10 Ibid. 193–194.

11 Ibid. 196–206.

12 On this see S. EFTHYMIADIS, Michael Choniates’ *Inaugural Address at Athens*: Enkomion of a City and a two-fold Spiritual Ascent, in: *Villes de toute beauté, L’ekphrasis des cités dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slave. Actes du colloque international*, Prague 25–26 novembre 2011 (eds P. ODORICO – C. MESSIS). Paris 2012, 63–80.

it were, of what was a literary, if not theological, fiction. Apparently, the creation of this fiction had nothing to do with the Parthenon's conversion into a Christian church and its association with the cult of the Virgin Mary. It overlaps with the emergence of a shadowy writer who, nonetheless, needs no lengthy introduction. He is first attested in 533 when Severan Miaphysites cite him in the context of their theological polemic against the Chalcedonians. Paradoxically, it was in roughly the same period as Justinian closed down the Academy in Athens that a Christian author using the pen name of Dionysios the Areopagite started acquiring authority and importance¹³. Nowadays usually called Pseudo-Dionysios, he has bequeathed to us a considerable number of texts known as the Areopagitic-Dionysian Corpus or *Corpus Dionysiacum*, which was to have a considerable impact on Byzantine theology and other literary writings. Moreover, its impact extended to the theology of the Latin West which it began to permeate in the first decades of the 9th century, if not earlier¹⁴.

His appropriation of the name of St Paul's disciple and Byzantine theologians' increasing interest in his pseudonymous yet significant writings opened up new possibilities for integrating Athens into the Christian tradition. This late antique 'literary fiction' was built upon a figure of the Apostolic Age, who, obviously, by virtue of his albeit meagre portrayal in the *Acts of the Apostles* (17, 34), combined apostolic authority and a philosophical identity. This identity was so closely interwoven with the Neoplatonic tradition that his *oeuvre* can undoubtedly be regarded as a systematic exposition of fifth-century Neoplatonism. If 'literary fiction' required the mention of some of the Areopagite's disciples here and there in the corpus, it likewise accounts for the fact that there is absolutely no mention of contemporary Athens in the entire collection. In fact, the provenance of the *Dionysian corpus* is shrouded in an aura of mystery that scholars have tried to dispel with the aid of various theories. According to one of them, put forward by Carlo-Maria Mazzucchi, the figure hiding behind the pseudonymous Dionysios was none other than Damascius himself, the last pagan philosopher and master of the Academy. Damascius, facing persecution, intended to transform Christianity from the

13 See A. LOUTH, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition. From Plato to Denys*. Oxford 1981, 161–162.

14 Secondary literature on Pseudo-Dionysios and his impact on Byzantine and Western theology is vast. See, selectively, R. ROQUES, *L'Univers dionysien : Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys*. Paris 1954; R. HATHAWAY, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius*. The Hague 1969; A. LOUTH, *Denys the Areopagite*. London–New York 2001. See also the collective volumes Y. DE ANDIA (ed.), *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident. Actes du colloque international*, Paris 21–24 septembre 1994. Paris 1997; and S. COAKLEY – C.M. STANG (eds), *Re-thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*. Oxford 2009.

inside by infusing Neoplatonism with a Christian identity¹⁵. If he could achieve this, then his crypto-pagan project would ensure that the school of Athens would continue to dominate the philosophical scene even in an otherwise Christian landscape.

Whatever the real identity of Pseudo-Dionysios may have been, the city of which he claimed to be a native was no more than a backdrop in the first stage of his *oeuvre*'s reception. Yet things would change in the centuries to come when, in parallel with the expanding circulation of the corpus, Dionysios was deemed to have acquired a fully-fledged biography by the 'natural' means of hagiography. Aside from the conflation of Neoplatonism with Christianity that looms large in his work, a 'merger' of a different kind was to be associated with his name. Alongside the original Dionysian legend, a so-called Parisian version emerged in the 8th and 9th centuries, resulting in the composition of consecutive works in Greek, Latin and some Oriental languages. Through hagiographical interaction between East and West and mutual borrowings the two legends concerning St Dionysios the Areopagite, St Paul's disciple in Athens on the one hand and St Denys, who was martyred in Paris in the 3rd century, on the other became conflated. Accordingly, it was believed that at some point Dionysios the Areopagite came to the West as a missionary in order to convert the Gauls to Christianity. To this end he was consecrated Bishop of Gaul by Pope Clement in Rome. Together with his disciples, Rusticus and Eleutherius, he was finally martyred in Paris, on what is now the hill of Montmartre¹⁶.

Being of Western provenance, the so-called Parisian legend entered the East through a *Passio* (BHG 554), which by and large translates word for word a Latin one dating from the late 8th century (BHL 2178)¹⁷. This Greek translation served as a model for another, linguistically and stylistically more elaborate text that it is safe to ascribe to Patriarch Methodios (BHG 554d). These two relatively short works emphasize what can be called 'new evidence', i.e. the departure of Dionysios from Athens for Rome and his subsequent journey to Gaul. In other words, both the Greek translation of the original Latin *Passio* and Methodios propound the idea of apostolicity, paying little attention to Dionysios's presence in Athens and role as a bishop, which is

15 MAZZUCCHI, Damascio. Mazzuchi's theory has not gone unchallenged: see E. FIORI, *Adamantius* 14 (2009) 670–673; and T. LANKILA, The *Corpus Areopagiticum* as a crypto-pagan project. *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture* 5 (2011) 14–40. See also the response of C.-M. MAZZUCCHI, Iterum de Damascio Areopagita. *Aevum* 87 (2013) 249–265.

16 On this conflation of the two hagiographical traditions see E. BERNARD, *Les origines de l'église de Paris. Saint Denys de Paris*. Paris 1870; LOENERTZ, *La légende Parisienne*; and, more recently, P. PODOLAK, L'agiografia di Dionigi fra Oriente e Occidente: breve studio del suo sviluppo ed edizione del Panegirico di Michele Sincello (BHG 556). *Byzantion* 83 (2015) 179–191.

17 For these two *Passions* see PODOLAK, L'agiografia 299–321 and M. LAPIDGE, The Anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii* (BHL 2178). *AnBoll* 134 (2016) 20–65.

simply hinted at without further expansion¹⁸. Notably, the theologian Dionysios is not evoked in either text, except arguably for an allusion made by Methodios when he cites Gregory of Nazianzos and styles him as another Dionysios (ὡς ἄλλος Διονύσιος Γρηγόριος)¹⁹.

In contrast to this presentation of Dionysios's biography, other hagiographers who dealt with the same conflated tradition provided a different balance of material in the overall story. In their narrative their subject's Athenian origins and theological identity were given great prominence, whereas his eventful journey to the West that led to his final martyrdom in Paris occupied a more modest place in an addendum. To begin with, the *Encomium* by Michael Synkellos of Jerusalem (BHG 556) starts with a long rhetorical eulogy to the mystic who revealed God in his writings and then draws attention to Athens as his birthplace. Clearly, Michael, an important Palestinian writer, monk and saint, who is well known for his learned compositions, is complying here with the laws of the encomium, which require some reference to the city that the subject of the text came from²⁰. Yet the praise of Athens is pronounced at length and in extremely laudatory terms. According to Michael, Greece (Hellas) was a land of international fame and Athens was the pride of Greece. It was precisely thanks to his wisdom, brilliant mind, prudence, justice, virtue and noble origin that Dionysios was deemed fit to be a judge on the Areopagus. To substantiate this encomiastic reconstruction, Michael refers to the way St Luke introduces Dionysios in the famous passage of the *Acts*. He specifies that Luke did not just write that there was "a certain man by the name of Dionysios's but actually said: "among them there was Dionysios, a member of

18 On this *Passio* by Methodios that explored the so-called 'Parisian legend' of St Dionysios see S. EFTHYMIADIS, Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eighth–Tenth Centuries), in: *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. I: Periods and Places. Farnham–Burlington 2011, 103; and, in more detail, IDEM, Les premières traductions grecques: la *Passion* anonyme (BHG 554) et la *Passion-Méthode* (554d), in: *Écrire pour Saint-Denis* (eds O. GUYOTJEANNIN – A.M. HELVÉTIUS). *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 172 (2014) 101–114.

19 See ch. 2, ed. J.C. WESTERBRINK, *Passio S. Dionysii Areopagitae*. Alphen 1937, 44.

20 For Michael Synkellos see *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung* (641–867), (eds R.-J. LILIE *et al.*), vol. III. Berlin 2000, no. 5059. Edition of his *Life* (BHG 1296) by M.B. CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael Synkellos*. Belfast 1991. For a debatable reconstruction of his biography see C. SODE, *Jerusalem–Konstantinopel–Rom. Die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptoi*. Stuttgart 2001, 145–258.

the Areopagus...”²¹. More significantly, Michael Synkellos admits that Dionysios possessed all the aforementioned qualities while being attached to the Greek religion, i.e. idolatry; yet this same author is quick to defend the readiness of a man uninitiated in the Mosaic law and ignorant of the prophets’ wisdom to accept the simple words of a foreigner (i.e. St Paul), who was not well-versed in letters and rhetoric. The lengthy praise of the Areopagite concludes with a tribute to Athens, the thrice-fortunate metropolis that gave birth to him, who later became its shepherd. Dionysios stood out as another Moses who fought ‘Egypt’, i.e. the tyranny of idolatry, and saved the chosen people of Christ thanks to the protection of the Holy Spirit. It is thus that Dionysios was divested of any earthly connection so that he might climb the mountain of virtue, enter the divine darkness and converse with God.²² Interestingly, this encounter with God is not associated with the Acropolis at all but remains figurative, as it were, being introduced into the text in the form of a rhetorical *synkrisis*.

A few decades later, a similarly sophisticated *Encomium* of the same Dionysios was composed by Niketas David Paphlagon (BHG 556b)²³. This significant and prolific writer, whose *floruit* must be placed in the early 10th century and whose work bears clear signs of inspiration from Dionysian theology²⁴, treats St Paul’s Athenian disciple in much the same fashion as Michael had done. His native city was the nurse of learning, the city that excelled in virtue and piety and whose fame in this respect spread to the four corners of the earth²⁵. Moreover, thanks to both his learning and virtues, his fellow citizens bestowed upon him the highest honour among the Athenians,

21 New edition of this text by PODOLAK, *L’agiografia* 223–258. On the passage cited here see p. 225, v. 77–83. The section devoted to Dionysios’s educational background, which is also a way of praising Athens directly and indirectly, covers p. 231–247. For its manuscript tradition see C. FÖRSTEL, *L’Éloge de Denys l’Aréopagite par Michel Syncelle* (BHG 556) : tradition et sources, in: *Écrire pour Saint-Denis* 115–125. The first important discussion of this text must be credited to LOENERTZ, *Le panégyrique de S. Denys*. See further DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 73–78 (who associates this text with the iconoclastic controversy and the persecution of its author), EFTHYMIADIS, *Hagiography* 106; and, more recently, M.F. AUZÉPY, *La Vie de Denys l’Aréopagite par Michel le Syncelle: La Palestine et les Carolongiens*, in: *Écrire pour Saint-Denis*, 127–139 (who argues that the text is not of a Constantinopolitan provenance, but was composed and delivered in Palestine between 807 and 810).

22 See ed. PODOLAK, *l’agiografia* 234, vv. 349–373.

23 See ed. and French tr. by F. LEBRUN, *Nicétas le Paphlagonien. Sept homélies inédites*. Leuven 1997, 236–267. On this prolific author see S. PASCHALIDES, *Νικήτας Δαβίδ Παφλαγών: τὸ πρόσωπο καὶ τὸ ἔργο του. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς προσωπογραφίας καὶ τῆς ἀγιολογικῆς γραμματείας τῆς προμεταφραστικῆς περιόδου*. Thessaloniki 1999; on his *Encomium of St Dionysios*, see *ibid.* 129–132; and B. FLUSIN, *Vers la Métaphrase*, in: *Remanier, métaphraser. Fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin* (eds S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ – B. FLUSIN). Belgrade 2011, 87–99.

24 On this aspect of his work see S. EFTHYMIADIS, *Vers un Grégoire imaginaire ou presque: l’Éloge de Grégoire le Théologien par Nicétas le Paphlagonien* (BHG 725), in: *Mélanges Bernard Flusin* (eds A. BINGGELI – V. DÉROCHE), *TM* 23/1 (2019) 277–286.

25 See ch. 3, ed. LEBRUN 239.

that of becoming an Areopagite. Having been elevated to such a status and being devoted to theological meditation, he could not accept polytheism because he thought that it caused quarrelling and fighting. This calling into question of the ancestral religion and overall devotion prefigured the coming of St Paul to Athens, “the mother of learning”, to announce the good tidings of the Gospel. Dionysios, we are told, was soon afterwards joined by Hierotheos, an equally learned and pious man. They both received the gift of divine revelation and by means of this intimacy with the Godhead they were transferred to heaven to join all the other apostles attending the funeral of the Virgin Mary²⁶.

The third witness to this hagiographic Athenian and Parisian legend concerning Dionysios is none other than the famous Symeon Metaphrastes. In keeping with his hagiographic norm of producing compositions of modest size, Symeon avoids the long digressions his predecessors had indulged in about the philosophical inclinations of his subject and adopts dialogue as the form in which to narrate St Paul’s visit to Athens. Surprisingly, what he does retain in his own *Passio of Dionysios* (BHG 555) is Niketas’s point about the Areopagite’s heavenly presence at the Dormition of the Theotokos²⁷. All in all, Symeon treats his saintly hero in less floridly rhetorical tones than his predecessors, but pays due tribute to his glorious origins in Athens.

So far we have been dealing with an important branch of the hagiographical tradition of St Dionysios the Areopagite because it represents a decisive step towards the integration of Athens into the Christian *imaginaire*. Hagiographical legends provide an important lens through which to examine wider objectives and aspirations. What distinguishes them from myths is that they are not utterly alien to historical and topographical reality. In fact, their creation is usually prompted by the need to graft stories onto historically attested persons and localize invented events in specific and genuine locations. No hagiographer would dare to claim that Athens became instantly Christian in terms of the numbers of people converted to Christianity there in the Apostolic age; this would no doubt dispute the authority of the *Acts of the Apostles* (17, 16–34). What they could elaborate on instead was the portrayal of Dionysios as a holy figure, infusing their narrative with allusions associating the first bishop of Athens with the cult of the Virgin Mary. Moreover, harking back to St Paul’s words about the philosophical skills of the Athenians, they were obviously keen on endorsing the reputation of Athens as a city of learning and wisdom. In much more daring terms Michael Synkellos advanced the comparison of Dionysios with Moses in that he was a leading figure in the transition from idolatry to Christianity. The endeavours of all these authors are beautifully summed up in the verses of a canon dedicated to the saint:

26 See chs 7–9, *ibid.* 243–247.

27 See PG 4, 593C (= PG 115, 1036C): καὶ εἰς τοῦτο χάριτος ἐλθὼν, ὥς, ἥνικα τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς Θεοτόκου σώματος ἐξεδήμει, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ Πνεύματος καὶ νεφέλης τῇ ἱερᾷ τοῦτου ἐπιστᾷσι ταφῇ συμπαρεῖναι...

Γνωριμωτέρα γέγονε διὰ σοῦ, Διονύσιε, ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐκλεὲς μητρόπολις, Χριστῷ προσενέγκασα καὶ ἄπαρχον πανίερρον τῷ παμβασιλεῖ διηνεκῶς μελωδοῦσα· οἱ παῖδες εὐλογεῖτε.	Thanks to you, Dionysios, the glorious metropolis of Athens became better known, bringing forth a most sacred first sacrifice to Christ the king of all and perpetually singing: <whom> bless ye o children ²⁸ .
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This first period or phase of the literary elaboration of Christian Athens was thus marked by a spirit of reconciliation with its pagan past and had the protean figure of Dionysios the Areopagite as its driving force. This path will be more actively resumed and further expanded in the second half of the 12th century under different socio-historical circumstances. Scholars agree that by then the city of Athens was much more prominent in the geography of the empire and, as a result, its metropolitan see was consecutively occupied by important prelates²⁹. In their extant correspondence or in letters addressed to them, Athens appears as a cross- or recurring reference variously followed by some flattering, sarcastic, or melancholic comment.

From among such collections of letters we may single out one by George Tornikes, Metropolitan of Ephesos, addressed to the Metropolitan of Athens, George Bourtzès, and dating from 1154. All in all, it has a consolatory character and delves into subtle issues. Tornikes exhorts his addressee firstly to rejoice at his safe return to his glorious see after a journey to Italy and secondly for being in a place where the light emanating from the eternal light shines forth not just once a year, as in Palestine, but all year long. And he continues, “you should set aside Athena now that you have the patroness of this city to venerate, you should not give credit to Demosthenes and Isocrates nor sit on the Areopagus reading their books now that you have in hand the rhetoric of the tent-maker, i.e., St Paul. Compared to the Athens of the past, its later history is much brighter and worthy of praise”³⁰.

In Tornikes’s letter we find the first explicit and extensive reference to

28 PG 4, 581D. Unless we consider it a *hapax legomenon*, the word ἄπαρχον must be restored to ἀπαρχήν.

29 Cf. V. LAURENT, La liste épiscopale de la métropole d’Athènes d’après le Synodicon d’une de ses *églises* suffragantes, in: Mémorial Louis Petit. Bucharest–Limoges 1948, 277–291; J. DARROUZÈS, Obit de deux métropolitains d’Athènes Léon Xéros et Georges Bourtzès d’après les inscriptions du Parthénon. *REB* 20 (1962) 190–196; and J. HERRIN, Authority across the Byzantine Empire. Margins and Metropolis. Princeton 2013, 69–74.

30 See ep. 7, ed. J. DARROUZÈS, Georges et Démétrios Tornikès : Lettres et Discours. Paris 1970, 207–209: Χαῖρέ μοι ... τοῦ θείου φωτὸς ἀπολαύων, ὁ τοῦ εἰς γῆν ἐληλυθότος προαιωνίου φωτὸς ἐστὶν ἀπορρώξ, «τοῦ πάντα φωτίζοντος πάντα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενον». Ἀντιπαράλαβέ μοι τὰ σὰ τοῖς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ τῇ κατὰ περίοδον ἐνιαύσιον τὴν παρὰ σοὶ διηνεκῇ παρουσίαν τοῦ φωτὸς τίθει παράλληλον. Ἄφες ἔρρειν τὴν πάλαι σοὶ πολιοῦχον, τὴν Παλλάδα καὶ Ἀγελείην, τὴν ἄσεμνον παρθένον,... Ἔχεις πολιοῦχον τὴν πάσης οἰκουμένης <τὴν προστατίν, τὴν τὸν Λόγον> καὶ Θεὸν ἀληθῆ τεκοῦσαν οὐ μυθεύμενον. Μὴ σοὶ τὰ ὅσα παρακτυπεῖται Δημοσθένους Ἠχὴ καὶ Ἰσοκράτους Σειρήν... Κάθισον ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἀνάπτουζον τῶν σῶν ῥητόρων τὰ πολύστιχα πυξία· μὴ λαμπρὰν οὕτως εὐρήσεις δημηγορίαν ἀνάγραφον ὁποῖαν τοῦ σκηνορράφου, τοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ῥήτορος Παύλου...

the divine light of the Parthenon, which can even surpass the light of the Holy Sepulchre. The idea of Athens as a sacred city is given great prominence here. In subsequent years this ever-shining light will attract the attention of other orators, among whom a master and a disciple. In fact, the image of a Christian Athens identified with the church of the Theotokos on the Parthenon, which hosts this light, is first fully developed in Eustathios of Thessalonike's *Funeral Oration for Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites*, Metropolitan of Athens between 1160 and 1175, and next in Michael Choniates's *Inaugural Address at Athens*.

For Eustathios of Thessaloniki the “brilliant, golden and violet-crowned Athens” (an allusion to Pindar's fr. 76) can still be proud of the torch which gives way to a more divine light that resists the passage of time, enjoys a unique blessing and is set up in a conspicuous place, i.e. is visible to all. This light shines thanks to the Mother of God and it is through its lengthy glorification that the most famous Byzantine prelate of the 12th century expresses his admiration for Attica and Athens³¹.

As I have shown elsewhere, in his own glorification of Athenian light Michael Choniates follows his master in borrowing from and expanding on his vocabulary and imagery. For the last archbishop of Byzantine Athens the light emanating from the Acropolis is the mystical light that a human being attains once he/she pursues the path passing through darkness (γνόφος) and leading up to the *theoria*, the contemplation of God. Choniates compares the ascent to the Parthenon to Moses's ascent of Mt Sinai, thereby evoking a highly significant theological message³². Once again in the history of mankind, the physical world is offered up to the spiritual world and the two worlds come together to prepare for an encounter with the divine.

At this point the literary conception and elaboration of a Christian Athens reach their culmination. What we find enshrined in St Paul's address to the Athenians on the Areopagus, the glorification of pagan Athens followed by the launch of an innovative message that in essence contradicts this glorification, finds its echo in all the Christian authors who advanced the idea of a city fully adjusted to the biblical perception of a sacred landscape. Significantly, for all of them pagan Athens could turn Christian without denying its potential, its kinship with the sublime, its manifestation of the luminosity of the human intellect. The idea of divine light, which occupies a central place in the mystical theology of Dionysios the Areopagite, the

31 Editions of this text by A. SIDERAS, 25 *Ανέκδοτοι βυζαντινοὶ ἐπιτάφιοι*. Thessaloniki 1991, 35–50 (praise of Athenian light on p. 43–45); and P. WIRTH, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera Minora magnam partem inedita* (CFHB XXXII-Series Berolinensis). Berlin–New York 2000, 3–16 (praise of Athenian light on p. 11–12).

32 Ed. LAMPROS, *Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* I, 104–105. Comments on these passages in EFTHYMIADIS, Michael Choniates' *Inaugural Address* 76–80. For further analysis and investigation of the same text's debts to classical, post-classical and patristic literature see B.D. MACDOUGAL, Michael Choniates at the Christian Parthenon and the *Bendideia* Festival of Republic 1. *GRBS* 55 (2015) 273–299.

figure that inspired the Christian rehabilitation of Athens, runs through the sophisticated discourse of twelfth-century Byzantine orators in the same way that it is traceable in the fragmented letters of an undated graffito listed as no. 52 in the Orlandos – Vranoussis catalogue³³. Among the letters we can discern the words ΦΩΣ ΕΛΑΜΨΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ which can be rendered as “The King our Lord shone forth light”. In fact, the thread that sustained the vitality and strength of this city was its light, still prevalent and powerful to this day.

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33 ORLANDOS – VRANOUSSIS, *Tὰ χαράγματα* 39. On the Parthenon graffiti with a funerary content see now XENAKI, *Les inscriptions*.

MARIA TZIATZI

Ἦρως Ἀθηνῶν τῶν πάλαι θρυλουμένων: Athen im dichterischen Werk seines Metropoliten Michael Choniates

Geboren im Jahre 1138 in Chonae Phrygien, wo er seine erste Ausbildung erhielt, wurde Michael Choniates in seiner Jugendzeit in der Patriarchatsschule in Konstantinopel unterrichtet¹, wo er mit wichtigen Persönlichkeiten der kirchlichen Hierarchie zusammenkam, von denen hier Theodosios Boradiotes² und sein Lehrer Eustathios von Thessalonike erwähnt werden können. Die entsprechenden Informationen entstammen seiner reichen Korrespondenz³. Nach Abschluss seines Studiums übernahm er Aufgaben als Sekretär (ὑπογραμματεὺς) in der Patriarchatskanzlei⁴, eine Position, die er allem Anschein nach bis 1182 innehatte, als er während des Patriarchats des Theodosios Boradiotes⁵ zum Metropolit von Athen gewählt wurde, obwohl er der jüngste⁶ unter vielen anderen Kandidaten, die für diese Position infrage kamen, war. Nach seiner Wahl hielt er seine erste Rede vor den Athenern, die Antrittsrede, die unter dem Titel „Εἰσβατήριος, ὅτε πρῶτον ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπέστη“ überliefert ist⁷.

Als Michael Choniates in der Metropole Athen ankam, litt das Reich unter der Verarmung und dem Bankrott der unteren sozialen Schichten, mit denen auch Athen zu kämpfen hatte⁸. Armut, die Piraterie und Steuergier, die die Bewohner von Attika in der Zeit von 1182 bis 1185, aber auch in den späteren Jahren plagten, führten den neuen Metropolit dazu, sofort

1 Vgl. KOLOVOU, Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 3*f. und RHOBY, Reminiszenzen 24 mit A. 13, wo auch die frühere Literatur. S. auch A. RHOBY, Studien zur Antrittsrede des Michael Choniates in Athen. *GBBNP* 2 (2002) 96 (zu I 96, 3–7 Lampros).

2 Zu Theodosios Boradiotes s. A. KAZHDAN, ODB III 2052 s.v.

3 Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 3*f.

4 Vgl. Ep. 41, 13–14. Ferner vgl. G. STADTMÜLLER, Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (ca. 1138–ca. 1222). Rom 1934, 141f. [19f.]; Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 4*; RHOBY, Reminiszenzen 25; DERS., Ein Aristides-Zitat bei Michael Choniates. *GBBNP* 2 (2002) 79 und DERS., Studien 84 mit A. 9 und 97 (zu I 96, 7–9 LAMPROS).

5 Zum Patriarchat des Theodosios Boradiotes (vom Februar–30. Juli 1179 bis August 1183) s. Regestes I/II–III, 571–578 (N. 1152–1162).

6 Vgl. seine Antrittsrede I 96, 1–2 LAMPROS: εἰ καὶ ἐνίων ἡμιν νεώτερος und den Kommentar dazu von RHOBY, Studien 96.

7 Die Antrittsrede wurde von S. LAMPROS auf der Basis des Codex Laur. Plut. 59, 12 ediert: Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα I, 93–106. Vgl. STADTMÜLLER, Michael Choniates 214 [92], 216 [94], 240 [118] und KOLOVOU, Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης 28 (Nr. 5). Ausführlich zur Rede RHOBY, Reminiszenzen 33–38 und besonders DERS., Studien 83–111.

8 Über Choniates' Ankunft in Athen und die dortige politische Situation vgl. STADTMÜLLER, Michael Choniates 154 [32]–159 [37]; Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 4* mit A. 19 und RHOBY, Reminiszenzen 26 mit A. 22–25.

eine aktive Vermittlerrolle zu übernehmen, um seine Herde von untragbaren Steuerforderungen zu befreien, Gerechtigkeit wiederherzustellen und die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in Athen zu verbessern⁹. Nach 1202 bedrohte die expansive Politik des lokalen Herrschers von Nauplia und Korinth, Leon Sgouros, auch die Akropolis von Athen, deren Eroberung Michael Choniates erfolgreich abwenden konnte¹⁰.

Ende 1204, kurz nach der Niederlassung der Lateiner in Athen, verließ er seine Metropole, nachdem er gesehen hatte, wie seine Bibliothek in die Hände der Eroberer fiel¹¹. Nachdem er ein Jahr herumgezogen war, kam er 1205 auf die Insel Kea¹², die zusammen mit der Nachbarinsel Kythnos eine Athen untergeordnete Diözese war, in der Hoffnung, vor den Lateinern sicher zu sein. Nach elf Jahren Aufenthalt auf Kea versuchte Choniates aus uns unbekannten Gründen 1216 eine Reise nach Athen zu unternehmen, kehrte jedoch aus Angst vor der feindseligen Haltung der Lateiner nach Kea zurück¹³, um diese Insel endgültig im Jahre 1217 aufzugeben und sich im Kloster von Prodromos in Mendenitsa in der Nähe der Thermopylen niederzulassen, einem Kloster, das zur Metropole von Athen gehörte, wo er die letzten Jahre seines Lebens verbrachte, bis er im Februar 1222 an Alter und einem Schlaganfall verstarb¹⁴.

Choniates' Poesie bestätigt die Liebe und Bewunderung des gelehrten Hierarchen zu Athen und dessen glorreiche Vergangenheit, sowie seine Trauer und Sorge um den Niedergang und das Elend, die die einst glorreiche Stadt

9 Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 4*-6*.

10 Vgl. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 605, 72ff. (VAN DIETEN). Zu Leon Sgouros vgl. J. HOFFMAN, Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210). Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich. München 1974, 56–60. 123. Zur Belagerung Athens und zum Problem ihrer genauen Datierung s. ebenda 57f. mit A. 119 und 120. Ferner vergleiche W. MILLER, *Ιστορία τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι* (1204–1566) [Übersetzung S. LAMBROS μετὰ προσθηκῶν καὶ βελτιώσεων] I. Athen 1909–1910, 50–51 und RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 26 mit A. 26 und 123f. In der letzten Angabe beschreibt Rhoby einen Brief des Michael Choniates an den Logothetes tu dromu Konstantinos Tornikes, in dem Choniates dem Empfänger des Schreibens von der Bedrohung Attikas durch Leon Sgouros erzählt.

11 Vgl. Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 6* mit A. 37. Zu der Bibliothek des Michael Choniates vgl. KOLOVOU, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης* 16f. A. 44 und besonders RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 27 mit A. 28–30.

12 Vgl. Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 6*-7* und RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 27 mit A. 31 und 32.

13 Vgl. STADTMÜLLER, *Michael Choniates* 205 [83] und Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 7* mit A. 46.

14 Vgl. STADTMÜLLER, *Michael Choniates* 205 [83]–212 [90]; Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae 7*f.; RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* S. 28 mit A. 40 und 41 und V. KATSAROS, Ἡ «κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα» Βυζαντινὴ Μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου, τελευταῖος σταθμὸς τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτη (Μέ πινάκες 1–9). *Byzantiaka* 1 (1981) 100–137.

zu seiner Zeit erlebte¹⁵. Es scheint so, dass die Schwierigkeiten, denen er als Metropolit der Stadt Athen gegenüberstand, ihn seine Entscheidung, sie als Metropolitensitz zu akzeptieren, manchmal bedauern ließen. Er schreibt in einem Brief an den Patriarchen Theodosios Boradiotes (Ep. 62, 9–12): ... ἐνθα εἰδῶλοις ἀνθρώπων συνδιατώμεθα καὶ τόλμης ἐμπλήκτου τίνομεν δίκας, τὴν κινδυνώδη καταθαρσίσαντες ἀρχιερωσύνην, μηδὲ τῷ κατὰ σὲ ὑποδείγματι σωφρονιζόμενοι, μηδὲ τοῦ θράσους ἀνακοπτόμενοι.

Sowohl in dem der Stadt Athen gewidmeten Gedicht als auch in dem umfangreichen Gedicht „Θεανώ“, aber auch in zwei Gedichten, welche an die Gottesmutter gerichtet sind, bezieht sich Michael Choniates, bald offensichtlich und ausdrücklich, bald andeutungsweise und versteckt, oft mit großer Emotionalität, auf das Athen der Vergangenheit, aber auch auf das Athen zu seiner Zeit. In diesem Beitrag werde ich die wichtigsten dieser Berichte aufzeigen und kommentieren.

Das Gedicht „Στίχοι τοῦ σοφωτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Χωνιάτου ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν“¹⁶ wurde in Athen geschrieben, und bereits sein Titel besagt, dass es eine nostalgische Erinnerung an das archetypische Bild der alten glorreichen Stadt darstellt. Es ist das berühmteste Werk von Michael Choniates und wurde von Gregorovius als die erste und alleinige weinende Stimme angesehen, die über den Niedergang der einst so bedeutenden Stadt auf uns kam¹⁷.

Bereits im ersten Vers bekennt der Dichter seine Liebe zum antiken Athen, die ihn zu der Ausmalung mit Versen motiviert hat, mit denen er

15 S. auch RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 22. Ebenda untersucht Rhoby das ganze literarische Werk des Michael Choniates nach Reminiszenzen an das antike Athen (Kap. 4.2, S. 29–72), besonders aber seine Reden und Briefe. Von den Gedichten des Athener Metropoliten betrachtet er nur das berühmteste auf den Verfall Athens, s. auch folgende Anmerkung. Rhoby stellt dabei fest, dass Choniates überall darüber klagt, dass das Athen der Antike als geistiges Zentrum nicht mehr existiert. Die Klage um Athen ist ein literarischer Topos, der bei Michael Choniates seinen Höhepunkt findet. Er kommt schon viel früher vor (erstmal bei Synesios von Kyrene, Brief 136 [GARZYA]) und wurde dann auch später verwendet, s. auch ebenda S. 237, 240 und besonders 243f. Vgl. auch RHOBY, *Synesios* 85–96, bes. 95f. und HUNGER, *Athen in Byzanz* 43–61.

16 Das Gedicht liegt bereits in acht Editionen vor. Die neueste und sorgfältigste textkritische Ausgabe ist die von S.G. MERCATI: *Intorno alla elegia di Michele Acominato sulla decadenza della città di Atene, Eἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*. Athen 1935, 423–427 (= *Collectanea Byzantina* I. Bari 1970, 483–488). Paul Speck setzte sich in einem Aufsatz (*Eine byzantinische Darstellung der antiken Stadt Athen. Hellenika* 28 [1975] 415–418) mit der Bestimmung des Gedichtes auseinander und kam zum Schluss, dass diesem ein Gemälde des antiken Athen zugrunde lag. Eine deutsche, auf der Grundlage der Ausgabe von Mercati erstellte, Übersetzung, sowie eine Analyse und einen Kommentar des Gedichtes s. bei RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 29–33. Seit Jahren beschäftige ich mich mit einer neuen textkritischen und kommentierten Ausgabe sämtlicher Gedichte des Michael Choniates, die demnächst fertiggestellt werden wird.

17 GREGOROVIVS, *Geschichte* 169f.; s. auch DERS., *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Αἰῶνας: Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων κατακτίσεως, μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς γερμανικῆς μετὰ διορθώσεων καὶ προσθηκῶν ὑπὸ Σπυρίδωνος Π. Λάμπρου*. Athen 1904, I 317–320 und II 502–504.

ihre alte Pracht darstellte: *Meine Liebe*, sagt er, zu dem in der Vergangenheit berühmten Athen malte diese Darstellung, indem sie mit den Schatten spielte und die Wärme der Begierde unauffällig erfrischte. Und wie ich es, ach, nirgendwo sehen kann, da es in den Tiefen der Vergessenheit verschwunden ist, wo die lange und unmeßbare Zeit es verborgen hat, erlebe ich tatsächlich die Leidenschaft der Liebenden, die, da sie nicht in der Lage sind, das wahre Gesicht ihrer Geliebten zu sehen, die Flamme der Liebe trösten, indem sie sich an deren Bilder erinnern¹⁸.

In der Folge vergleicht er sich mit Ixion¹⁹, der sich in Hera verliebt hatte, aber ohne es zu wissen, ein Idol umarmte, das Zeus aus Wolken geschaffen hatte, um ihn zu fangen. So umarmt der Dichter, der in die Stadt Athen verliebt ist (so wie er sie aus ihrer Geschichte kannte), nur das Bild der antiken Stadt. Während er in Athen lebt, kann er nirgends das antike Athen erkennen (οἰκῶν Ἀθήνας, οὐκ Ἀθήνας που βλέπω). Alles, was er sieht, ist *trauriger Staub und leere Glückseligkeit ohne Wirkung* (κενὴ μακαρία)²⁰: von Interesse ist der Ausdruck κενὴ μακαρία, der zwar von Lukian kommt²¹, aber nach dem Zeugnis des Gregor von Nazianz auch von Basilios dem Großen als eine Charakterisierung von Athen verwendet wurde, weil der geistige Zustand der Stadt auch ihn enttäuscht hatte. Gregorios schreibt also in seinem Epitaph auf Basilios den Großen²²: ἐσκυθρώπαζεν, ἐδυσφόρει, τῆς ἐπιδημίας ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἐζητεῖ τὸ ἐλπισθέν, **κενὴν μακαρίαν τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠνόμαζεν**. Aber auch der Ausdruck **λυπρὰ κόνις** (*trauriger Staub*) stammt aus dem Gedicht Gregors Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν²³.

Er nennt dann die Stadt Athen τλημονεστάτην πόλιν (*unglücklichste Stadt*), die ihre Größe verlor und sie dem Mythos übergab: Was hat den Ruhm von Athen ausgemacht, von dem nicht einmal eine schwache Spur verblieb?

18 Diese, sowie die folgenden deutschen Übersetzungen von Passagen der Choniates' Gedichte sind von mir angefertigt.

19 Über Ixion s. P. GRIMAL, *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Μυθολογίας* (Hrsg. B. ATSALOS). Thessaloniki 1991, 314–316 (s.v. Ἰξίονας, Ἰξίων-ονος) und K. ZIEGLER – W. SONTHEIMER, *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*. München 1979, III 31f. (s.v. Ixion). Vgl. auch RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 32 mit A. 65.

20 Ich halte für übertrieben den Kommentar von RHOBY, *Reminiszenzen* 33 mit A. 66, dass es sich hier *um eine ironische Anspielung auf die Aussage anderer handelt, dass Michael Choniates μακάριος sei, weil er zum Metropoliten von Athen erhoben wurde*.

21 Luc. Hermot. 71, 23–24 (KILBURN): οἱ τὴν κενὴν μακαρίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττοντες; Nav. 11, 18–20: Οὐδέν, ὃ θαυμάσιε, τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τινα πλοῦτον ἑμαυτῷ ἀνεπλαττόμην, ἦν κενὴν μακαρίαν οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν.

22 Greg. Naz. or. 43 (Funerbris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae) 18, 2 (BOULENGER); vgl. Scholia zu Lukian 70, 71, 44–53 (RABE): κενὴ μακαρία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τισὶν ἐγγινομένη εὐδαιμονία τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὀνειρώττουσιν ἐμποιοῦσα τὰ εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ εὐετηρίαν, ὅσα ὁ παρὼν διέξεισι λόγος. διὸ καὶ μακαρία μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ὕπνῳ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ὑποβαλλομένη, κενὴ δὲ ὅτι μηδ' ὅλως μηδὲν ἐστὸς ἔχει καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν ἀφίπτασθαι. τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεολόγου Γρηγορίου, <ὅς> κενὴν μακαρίαν τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠνόμαζεν ὡς κατ' οὐδὲν τῆς ἐν ὕπνοις εὐετηρίας διαφερούσας.

23 Carmina de se ipso. PG 37, 986A (l. 9): Αἱ αἱ Καיסάριος δὲ λυπρὴ κόνις.

Die Prozesse, die Richter, die Gerichtsverhandlungen, die Abstimmungen, die Gesetze (also alle Faktoren der Justiz), die Reden und die unerschütterliche Überzeugungskraft der Rhetoren (also die Blüte der rhetorischen Kunst), die Volksversammlungen (d.h. die Versammlungen des Volkes und die Volksabstimmungen als höchster Ausdruck der Demokratie) und die Infanterie- und Flottenstrategen (die strategische Fähigkeit der Anführer der Armee und der Flotte von Athen, die eine führende Rolle auf dem griechischen Territorium spielten), alle Arten der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften, die Macht der Rede (d.h. die Blüte der Philologie, der Künste und der Wissenschaften in den Schulen von Athen).

Und der Dichter schließt mit der Redefigur des Kreises seine Elegie für seine geliebte Stadt, indem er sich selbst rechtfertigt, der, da er nirgends die berühmte (τὴν αἰοίδιον) Stadt der Athener sehen konnte, ein fiktives Bild von ihr gemalt hat, um es als Trost zu haben. Aus Pindar wird das Wort αἰοίδιος, gewöhnlich im Plural αἰοίδιοι, als eines der beliebtesten Adjektive für die Stadt Athen verwendet²⁴, ebenso wie λιπαράι²⁵. Das Verb ζωγράφισε ist im ganzen Gedicht zweideutig, da es wörtliche und metaphorische Bedeutung haben kann (mit seinen Versen gemalt, abgebildet hat). Letztere scheint mir jedoch wahrscheinlicher. Für sie spricht auch eine sowohl wörtlich als auch sinngemäß parallele Passage des griechischen Rhetors Himerios aus dem 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr., der ebenfalls ein Liebhaber Athens war²⁶.

Das Gedicht, in dem der Dichter von der Not Athens seiner Zeit und seinem großen Beitrag für die Stadt als ihr Metropolit spricht, trägt in der

24 Es handelt sich um das bekannte Fragment von Pindar, Dithyr. 76, 1–3 (MAEHLER): ὦ ται λιπαραί καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ αἰοίδιοι, ἡ Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι, δαιμόνιον πολίεθρον. Ferner vgl. Plut., Thes. 1, 5, 1 (ZIEGLER): τὸν τῶν καλῶν καὶ αἰοιδίων οἰκιστὴν Ἀθηνῶν, Iuliani Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντῖον 6, 22–24 (BIDEZ): Καλὸν ἴσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν αἰοιδίων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετέλει u.s.w.

25 Pind., Dithyr. 76, 1–3 (s. vorige A.); Isthm. 2, 20; Nem. 4, 18s. (MAEHLER); Eur., Alc. 452, Troad. 803; IT 1130s.; Herod. 8, 77, 6; Aristoph., Ach. 639; Equ. 1329 u.s.w.

26 Himer., Or. 59, 15–17 (COLONNA): ἔνθα μυρίων ὑμῖν ὑπάρξει **διηγημάτων** ἐμπίμπλασθαι, **καθάπερ ἔν τινι πίνακι** τὰ τῶν πατέρων **ἀνιστοροῦσι γνωρίσματα**. Vgl. die markierten Ausdrücke in den folgenden Stellen des Choniates' Gedichtes an die Stadt Athen:

Im Titel: ἐπὶ τῇ **ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει** πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν

V. 1–2 Ἔρως Ἀθηνῶν τῶν πάλαι θρυλουμένων
ἔγραψε ταῦτα ταῖς σκιαῖς προσαθύρων

V. 11–12 **τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν ὡς λόγῳ**
παραμυθοῦνται τῶν ἐρώτων τὴν φλόγα.

V. 16 φεῦ οἷα πάσχω **καὶ λέγω τε καὶ γράφω·**

V. 27–30 **γνωρίσμα** δ' αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀμυδρόν τις ἴδοι.
συγγνωστὸς οὐκοῦν, εἴπερ οὐκ ἔχων βλέπειν
τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν αἰοίδιον πόλιν,
ἵνδαλμα ταύτης γραφικῶς ἐστησάμην

Ausgabe den Titel Εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον²⁷. Es ist in byzantinischen Zwölfsilbern verfaßt und ebenfalls in Athen geschrieben, vielleicht kurze Zeit, bevor er die Stadt verließ. Sein Titel stammt von seinem Herausgeber Spyridon Lampros und fehlt in dem einzigen Codex, der es überliefert.

Das Gedicht beginnt mit einer Anrede des Dichters an die Gottesmutter, die Choniates darauf hinweist, dass er mit liebevoller Anstrengung ihrer Metropole und ihrer Herde diene: seine erste Arbeit war die Ausschmückung des Tempels der Jungfrau, des Parthenon, den er herrichtete und mit kostbaren Möbeln und heiligen Gefäßen ausstattete. Er kümmert sich aber auch um seine Gemeinde: er schenkt ihr Äcker und versorgte sie mit neuen Ländereien, sowie Herden von Schafen und Ochsen und sonstigen Tieren²⁸. Er lässt Häuser neu aufbauen, die im Laufe der Zeit verfallen waren, und andere renovieren, wie jeder, der sie sieht, bezeugen kann.

Er erweitert die Eigentumsanteile der Menschen seiner Diözese, erleichtert die Steuern oder besser gesagt tilgt die Steuerschulden. Dies sind seine Opfergaben an <die allerheiligste> Jungfrau und deren Stadt, für die er mit noch größeren (nicht beschreibbaren) Gnaden von Theotokos belohnt wird: Unter den Gaben, die er aufzählt, ist besonders die Folgende interessant: Die Theotokos löst wie ein loses Spinnengarn den Spott und die Intrigen, die seine Feinde gegen ihn weben. So hat der Metropolit von Athen auch gegen hinterhältige, bösertige Feinde zu kämpfen, die sich seinem gottgefälligen Werk und seiner mühsamen Arbeit widersetzen. Was er von der Jungfrau als letzte Gnade und Gegenleistung für das, was er ihr dargebracht hat, erbittet, ist dort zu sterben, wo es für ihn am besten erscheint; jedenfalls nicht in Athen, wo Steuereintreiber große Macht haben und die Diener Gottes ausplündern²⁹ und mit Füßen treten, wenn sie sie töten und ihnen zum zweiten Mal den Becher des Todes anbieten (d.h., wie man in der Vergangenheit dem weisen und tugendhaften Sokrates das Glas mit dem Schierling angeboten hat). Er möchte in Konstantinopel sterben, wo er, sich mit seiner Ausbildung und seinen Schriften abmühend, die meiste Zeit seines Lebens verbrachte.

Das Gedicht zeigt also sehr anschaulich sowohl die Verarmung Athens, als auch die großen Werke, die unschätzbaren Dienste und Geschenke des Dichters an diese Stadt.

27 GREGOROVIVS – LAMPROS, Ἱστορία II 729. Zu den übrigen Ausgaben des Gedichtes, der Bibliographie darüber und der Handschrift, in der dieses Gedicht überliefert ist, s. ΚΟΛΟΒΟΥ, Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης 44 (Nr. 15).

28 Vgl. MILLER, Ἱστορία I 32.

29 Zu der Textkritik: im Vers 21 lese ich in dem Codex Petropolitanus 250, der als einziger dieses Gedicht überliefert, γυμνοῦσι, anstelle der Fehllese von Lampros ὕμνοῦσι, die keinen Sinn bringt.

Ein weiteres autobiographisches Gedicht an die Gottesgebärerin³⁰, dies aber in Hexametern und epischer Sprache, schrieb der Dichter auf der Insel Kea, vielleicht im ersten Jahr seines Aufenthalts dort, d.h. im Jahre 1205.

In diesem kurzen Gedicht wendet sich der Dichter an die Theotokos und sagt ihr, dass, selbst wenn die arroganten Italiener ihn weit über die Grenzen Athens hinaus vertrieben haben, dort, wo ihm zuteil wurde, Priester in ihrem göttlichen Tempel zu werden, sie trotzdem, wo auch immer er Schutzsuchender sei, für ihn „zweiter“ Altar und noch viel höherer Tempel sein wird. Dort werden ihn keine böswilligen Männer, die in einer fremden Sprache sprechen³¹, ergreifen und plündern können. Schließlich fleht er sie an, ihn als ihren Priester zu retten, wenn er jemals als solcher existierte, weil seine Seele von ihr abhängt, und bittet sie, sich seiner Seele zu erbarmen.

Um 1211/1212 schrieb er auf Kea das lange und rätselhafte philosophische Gedicht „Θεανώ“³², als ein spielerisches Produkt seines dort ruhigen und sorglosen Lebens, dessen erster Teil eine Lobrede an den Feigenbaum ist, der sich auf der Schwelle seines Hauses in Kea befand. Er lässt schließlich die Gelegenheit nicht aus, mit Bezug auf diese Lobrede, auf die Legenden und die Geschichte des antiken Athen zu verweisen:

Zu Beginn der Lobrede (V. 37–59) spricht er vom Geburtsort des Feigenbaums, von der Erde, aus der dieser heilige Baum entsprossen ist, und von der besonderen Bedeutung, die die Bewohner dieses Landes der Frucht des Feigenbaums gaben. Bei diesem Land handelt es sich um kein anderes als Attika. Und es galt sowohl in der Antike als auch im Mittelalter in der Tat als sicher, dass der Feigenbaum zuallererst aus der Erde Attikas entsprossen ist und sogar erstes Produkt dieses Landes ist.

Unter den Autoren, die diese Tradition kennen, brauchen hier nur

30 Hrsg. von LAMPROS, Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα II 392f. aus dem Codex Laur. Plut. 59, 12 unter dem Titel *Εἰς Θεοτόκον*. Im Codex Vat. Ottob. Gr. 59 f. 35v ist dasselbe Gedicht unter dem richtigen Titel *Εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπ[ίσκο]πο[ν] τῆς Θεοτόκου* überliefert. Über das Gedicht s. auch ΚΟΛΟΝΟΥ, Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης 41 (Nr. 4), wo aber der Titel des Gedichtes im Codex Vat. Ottob. Gr. 59 falsch angegeben wird: *Εἰς ἑαυτὸν [ὡς ἀ]πὸ τῆς Θεοτόκου*.

31 V. 6 οὐχ ἀρπακτὸς ἀτασθάλους ἀνδράσι βαρβαροφώνοις: Das Wort βαρβαροφώνοις am Ende des Verses, welches im Codex Vat. Ottob. Gr. 59 einhellig überliefert ist, ist im Codex Laur. Plut. 59, 12 nicht lesbar; deshalb wurde es in der Ausgabe von Lampros (s. vorige A.) ausgelassen.

32 Hrsg. von LAMPROS, Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα II 375ff. Über das Gedicht s. auch ΚΟΛΟΝΟΥ, Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης 40f. (Nr. 1).

Claudius Aelianus³³, die Suda³⁴ und Eustathios von Thessalonike³⁵ erwähnt zu werden. Indirekt also lobt der Dichter auch die Heimat des Feigenbaums, Athen.

Im Rahmen dieser Lobrede auf das antike Attika bezieht er sich auf den mythischen Erichthonios, den die Erde ebenfalls als Erstgeborenen hervorbrachte³⁶. Nach einer Überlieferung war Erichthonios der Sohn von Hephaistos und Athena, aber in Wirklichkeit Sohn der Erde, die Gottes Samen empfing, weil Athene sich ihm widersetzte, da sie die Jungfräulichkeit bevorzugte. Athene zog jedoch das Kind selbst in ihrem Tempel auf, um es unsterblich zu machen. Nach Apollodoros war Erichthonios der vierte König im Königreich von Attika, und als Priesterkönig stellte er die hölzerne Statue (ξύανον) der Athene auf der Akropolis auf und gründete die Panathenäen und andere Bräuche³⁷. Herodot fügt hinzu, dass derselbe die Eleusinischen Mysterien eingeführt³⁸ und den Namen „Athener“ (Ἀθηναῖοι) etabliert hat³⁹.

33 Cl. Ael. Var. Hist. 3, 38 (HERCHER): Ὅτι ἐν Ἀθήναις εὐρεθῆναι λέγουσι πρῶτον τὴν ἐλαίαν καὶ τὴν συκῆν, ἃ καὶ πρῶτα ἡ γῆ ἀνέδωκε. δίκας τε δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν εὖρον Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι. καὶ ἀγῶνα τὸν διὰ τῶν σωμάτων πρῶτοι ἐπενόησαν, καὶ ἀπεδύσαντο καὶ ἡλείψαντο. καὶ ἵππους ἔξευξε πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος.

34 Suid. σ 1330 (ADLER): Συκοφαντεῖν τὸ ψευδῶς τινος κατηγορεῖν. κεκληθῆναι δέ φασι τοῦτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις πρῶτον εὐρεθέντος τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς συκῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κωλύοντων ἐξάγειν τὰ σῦκα.

35 Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od. 1964, 11s. (2, 326, 27s. STALLBAUM): ἡγεμῶν δέ, φησι, καθαρείου βίου ἀνθρώποις ἡ συκῆ· διὸ Ἀθήνησιν ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον εὐρέθη.

36 Zu Erichthonios s. GRIMAL, Λεξικό 211f. s.v. Ἐριχθόνιος und K. ZIEGLER – W. SONTHEIMER, Der Kleine Pauly II 356f. s.v. Erichthonios; vgl. auch die antiken Quellen: Eur., Ion 999–1000 (DIGGLE): Κῶ. Ἐριχθόνιον οἷσθ' ἢ οὐ; τί δ' οὐ μέλλεις, γέρον; | Πρ. δὲν πρῶτον ὑμῶν πρόγονον ἐξανῆκε γῆ; Isocr., Panath. 126, 1–6 (MATHIEU – BRÉMOND): Ἐριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φῦς ἐξ Ἥφαιστου καὶ Γῆς παρὰ Κέκροπος ἄπαιδος ὄντος ἀρρένων παίδων τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀρξάμενοι πάντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκείνων, ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τὰς κτίσεις τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς δυναστείας τοῖς αὐτῶν παισὶν παρέδοσαν μέχρι Θησέως, Hellanici fr. 3b, 323a, F. 27. 5–7 (FGH): ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος (F 253 Schr) καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποικκῶς (F 2 Ki) φασὶν Ἐριχθόνιον τὸν Ἥφαιστου ἐκ γῆς φανῆναι, Luc. Philops. 3, 4–7 (HARMON): Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδοθῆναι φασιν καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀναφῆναι καθάπερ τὰ λάχανα und Paus. 1, 2, 6 (SPIRO): πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθόνιῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν; vgl. ferner die längeren und ausführlichen Passagen aus Ps.-Eratosth. Cataster. 1, 13. 1–19 (Mythogr. Gr. 3. 1. OLIVIERI) und Ps.-Apollod. Biblioth. 3, 187–189 (Mythogr. Gr. 1. WAGNER) u.s.w.

37 Ps.-Apollod. Biblioth. 3, 190 (Mythogr. Gr. 1. WAGNER): ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τραφεὶς Ἐριχθόνιος ὑπ' αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύονα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξύανον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τὴν ἑορτὴν συνεστήσατο und Androt. fr. 1 (FHG, MÜLLER): Harpocraton v. Παναθήναια ... ἦγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος, ὁ Ἥφαιστου, καθά φασιν Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων, ἐκάτερος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀτθίδος.

38 Herod. Hist. 8, 65, 13–23 (LEGRAND). In einem Brief an Euthymios Malakes spielt Choniates auf die geheimnisvollen Eleusinischen Mysterien an, indem er das Bild der einstigen Einführung in die Eleusinischen Mysterien auf die Piraten anwendet, die die Bevölkerung nun „in die Mysterien des Todes einführen und sie nichts mehr reden lassen“, vgl. RHOBY, Reminiszenzen 57 und 233.

39 Herod. Hist. 8, 44, 12–13 (LEGRAND).

Als Beweis dafür, dass der Geburtsort des Feigenbaums sich in Attika befindet, verwendet Choniates den Ortsnamen Ἰερὴν Συκὴν. Und er bestimmt dies wie folgt: „Denn so nennen die Kekropiden ein fruchtbares Randbeet in den Deichen der Küste von Ilissos“. Dies ist ein Vorort von Eleusina, wo, laut Athenaios (in den Deipnosophisten)⁴⁰, Demeter zum ersten Mal den Feigenbaum pflanzte.

Unmittelbar danach verweist er auf eine Stele, in der durch eine Inschrift für jedermann verboten wird, jemals Feigen zu exportieren, sofern er Athen verlasse. Denjenigen, der den illegalen Exporteur von Feigen enthüllte, bezeichneten sie (die Athener) sogar als συκοφάντην⁴¹.

Auf die Nachfrage, warum die Athener, den Menschen außerhalb der Grenzen Athens andere Nahrungsmittel (mit Ausnahme von Feigen) nicht verwehrten, nutzt er die Gelegenheit, die fruchtbare attische Erde noch einmal mit einer Lobrede zu versehen, dort, wo Gerste und Weizen zuallererst sprossen (insbesondere in Eleusis), und wo der Olivenbaum gedeiht, der Weinstock kultiviert wurde und viel Wein produziert wurde⁴².

Er unterlässt es nicht, den Nektar des Bienenvaters Hymettos⁴³ und die Erfindung des kostbaren Pfluges durch den Helden Triptolemos in Eleusina zu

40 Athen. Deipn. 3, 6, 4–9 (KAIBEL) = Athen. Deipnos. epitome 2.1, 3, 15–18 (PEPPINK): ἡ συκὴ, ἄνδρες φίλοι (om. epit.), ἡγεμὼν τοῦ καθαρείου βίου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ καλεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱερὰν μὲν (τὴν ἱερὰν epit.: τὴν deleverim) συκὴν τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον εὐρέθη (εὐρεθῆναι epit.), τὸν δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς καρπὸν ἡγητηρίαν (ἡγητορίαν epit.) διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εὐρεθῆναι τῆς ἡμέρου τροφῆς.

41 Vgl. Suid. σ 1330 (ADLER): Συκοφαντεῖν τὸ ψευδῶς τιнос κατηγορεῖν. κεκλήσθαι δέ φασι τοῦτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις πρῶτον εὐρεθέντος τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς συκῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κωλύοντων ἐξάγειν τὰ σῦκα. τῶν δὲ φαινόντων τοὺς ἐξάγοντας συκοφαντῶν κληθέντων, συνέβη καὶ τοὺς ὁπώσοῦν κατηγοροῦντας τινῶν φιλαπεχθιμῶνως οὕτω προσαγορευθῆναι, Athen. Deipn. 3, 6, 17–22 (74e) (KAIBEL): Ἰστρὸς δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς (Istros fr. 12 JACOBY III B Nr. 334) οὐδ' ἐξάγεσθαι φησι τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν (scil. τῶν συκῶν) γινομένης ἰσχάδας, ἵνα μόνοι ἀπολαύοιεν οἱ κατοικοῦντες· καὶ ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἐνεφανίζοντο διακλέπτοντες, οἱ τούτους μνηύοντες τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐκλήθησαν τότε πρῶτον συκοφάνται, Sueton. Tranqu. Περὶ βλασφημιῶν 6, 1 – 6, 6 (TAILLARDAT): Συκοφάντης· <οὕτω καλοῦνται οἱ ἐπιηρέζοντες ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας· τὸ παλαιόν, ἀπειρημένον ἦν σῦκα ἐξάγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τοῦ φυτοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς θαυματούμενου. Τοὺς ἀκριβῶς οὖν διερευνῶντας τὸ τοιοῦτον οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁπώρας. Παρασχεῖν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ὁπώσοῦν μάτην ἐγκαλοῦσι τὴν ὀνομασίαν, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ φαίνειν τὸ ἐγκαλεῖν ἢ εἰς δίκην εἰσάγειν δηλοῦντος>.

42 Vgl. Plut. Alcib. 15, 8 (ZIEGLER): ὁμνύουσι γὰρ ὄροις χρῆσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῖς κριθαῖς ἀμπέλαις σύκαις (l. συκαῖς) ἐλαίαις, οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἡμερον καὶ καρποφόρον.

43 Bei Michael Choniates wird der Hymettos oft genannt, s. RHOMY, Reminiszenzen 71f., 74f. und 219.

erwähnen⁴⁴, wo seine Verehrung im Rahmen des Kultes der Göttin Demeter eingeführt wurde.

Dem Dichter zufolge übergaben die Athener allen Menschen alle Pflanzen und Samen, und haben den Tisch der Sterblichen bereichert, die bis dahin nur Eicheln aßen; nur die Feigen behielten die Athener für sich selbst und machten sie weder einem fremden Nachbarland zugänglich, noch erlaubten sie jeglichen Transport außerhalb der Grenzen Athens, noch nicht einmal die kleine Menge eines Korbes.

Ein Paar Verse weiter unten in demselben Gedicht (V. 66–69) bezieht sich Choniates auf die Rechtsprechung im alten Athen und erwähnt den Areopag, der die Gesetze anwendet (V. 67 τῶν κατ' Ἀρχίων εὐνομέοντα Πάγον δικασάντων), dessen Richter, wenn sie geurteilt hätten, welcher Baum zum König erklärt werden sollte, sie wohl den Feigenbaum gewählt hätten, wie damals, als sie selbst die Götter überstimmten und den Olivenbaum für viel wichtiger als den Piräus (d.h. das Meer) hielten⁴⁵.

Zum Schluss seiner Lobrede über seinen Feigenbaum (V. 317–319), deutet der Dichter sowohl auf seine Vertreibung aus dem heiligen Bistum Athen und seiner geliebten Stadt hin (ὀρχάτων ἐξ ἱερῶν), als auch auf den Raub all dessen, was sie ihm einst gewährten (er vergleicht seine Situation mit der der ersten Geschöpfe und deren Vertreibung aus dem Paradies und deren Bloßstellung jeglicher Art) und dankt seinem Feigenbaum, der ihn in seinem Unglück reich beschattet und umsorgt:

Wie du also die Schande meiner Vorfahren (nämlich die von Adam und Eva) bedeckt hast, so sorgst du für mich, ihren Nachkommen, der ich aus den heiligen Gärten vertrieben worden und fast nackt bin, indem du mich reichlich beschattest.

44 Schol. in Hesiod. opera et dies (schol. vet. partim Procli et recent. partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Jo. Galeni) 32ter. 21–27 (GAISFORD) (Poetae min. Gr. II): οὗ δὲ γεγονότος, Τριπτόλεμος πρῶτος ἀρόσας, καὶ σπείρας ἢ ἐν Ἀρόῃ χωρίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀροτριάσεως, ὃ νῦν Νέαι Πάτραι καλοῦνται, ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους ἐν Ἐλευσίνι Ἀττικῆς, γεωργεῖ καὶ συγκομίζεται τοὺς καρπούς. Εἶτα καὶ συγγραψάμενος τὰ περὶ γεωργίας, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δέδωκε, AP XI 59, 4–6 (БЕСКВУ): ἄλλοισιν μελέτω Τριπτολέμοιο γέρα, | ἧχι βόες καὶ ἄροτρα καὶ ἱστοβοεὺς καὶ ἐχέτλη | καὶ στάχυς, ἀρπαμένης ἔχνια Φερσεφόνης.

45 Vgl. Themist. Πρεσβευτ. ὑπὲρ Κων/πόλεως ῥηθεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ 47b (SCHENKL – DOWNEY): τοιαύτην ἦρισαν ἔριν καὶ θεοὶ ποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητοῦντες τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ μὲν προσάγων τὴν θάλατταν, ἡ δὲ ἀναδείξασα τὸν θαλόν, Himer. Or. 6, 82–87 (COLONNA): κριθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀμίλλης θαλλῶ τε ἐλαίας καὶ κύματι, τῷ θαλλῷ τὴν ψῆφον τίθενται· τῷ θαλλῷ δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, τῇ θεῷ λέγω· Ἀθηνᾶς γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ γνῶρισμα. παυθείσης δὲ οὕτω τῆς κρίσεως, ἡ μὲν θεὸς τὴν δίκην λαμβάνει παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦνομα, Geoponica 9, 1, 1 – 9, 1, 3 (БЕСКН): Ἐλαίαν παρῆχθαι φασιν οὕτως. τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης ἀρχῆθεν ὕδατι καλυπτομένης, πρῶτον δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀναφανείσης, Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐρασθέντες τοῦ τόπου, ἀμίλλαν εἶχον πόλιν κτίσαι ἐπὶ τῷ τούτων ὀνόματι. Ζεὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἔριν βουλῆθεις διαλῦσαι, φησίν, ὃς ἂν κάλλιστον τῇ πόλει κτῆμα ἐπιδοίη, οὗτος ἐχέτω ταύτην. Ποσειδῶν μὲν οὖν λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ταύτην ἐκόσμει. ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐλαίαν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει ἀνέδωκεν, εὐθαλῆ τε καὶ εὐκαρπον, καὶ ταύτην στεφανωσάμενη, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ὀραθεῖσα νενίκηκε, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματι ταύτης τὴν πόλιν Ἀθήνας ὠνόμασαν.

Gegen Ende des Gedichts (V. 405–414), vergleicht Choniatos die Rebellion der Einwohner von Kea gegen die Italiener und ihre Tat, diese von Kea zu vertreiben⁴⁶, mit dem starken Widerstand, den die Athener gegen die Perser leisteten, welcher zum Sturz der Letzteren in der Seeschlacht von Salamis und zu ihrer Vertreibung aus Griechenland führten.

Die Abgesandten des Xerxes, die kamen, um „Erde und Wasser“ zu verlangen, warfen die Athener lebendig in einen Graben und in einen tiefen Brunnen⁴⁷, während die Bewohner der Insel Kea die Steuereintreiber zu den Italienern zurückschickten, um ihnen damit kundzutun, anderswo die Eiche zu pflücken.

Die emotionale Aufladung und die uneingeschränkte Bewunderung des Dichters für das antike Athen wird bereits durch die ersten zwei einleitenden Verse (405–406) dieses Athen-Kea-Vergleichs bezeugt:

damals ertrug Kea die Beleidigung nicht, rebellierte

und sah seine Freiheit, wie einst die goldene Blume von Athen.

Kurz darauf (V. 439–444), gegen Ende des Gedichtes, schreibt er, um die Tapferkeit der Bewohner der Insel Kea hervorzuheben, dass die Achaier es geschafft haben, die Perser nur mit Verzögerung aus Griechenland zu vertreiben, sowohl nach einer Seeschlacht in der Meerenge von Eleusis⁴⁸ als auch nachdem

46 Keos wies italienische Zollbeamte aus Euboia zurück; vgl. MILLER, *Ἱστορία* I 69 mit A. 1. Siehe weitere einschlägige Literatur in: W. MILLER, *Ἱστορία τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας στὴν Ἑλλάδα (1204–1566)*, Μετάφραση–Εἰσαγωγή–Σημειώσεις Ἀ. Φουριώτη. Athen 1990, 86 A. 52 (wo aber in Bezug auf das Gedicht „Theano“ fälschlicherweise auf den 1. Band von Lampros' Gesamtausgabe verwiesen wird).

47 Vgl. Ael. Aristid. *Πρὸς Λεπτινὴν ὑπὲρ ἀτελείας* p. 80, 13 – 82, 9 (DINDORF): ἡμεῖς δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἴχομεν ὄψοι, καὶ πλέον ἔξει Λεπτινῆς ἂ μὴ δεῖ συμβουλευόν, ἢ Ξέρξης μετὰ πάσης ὥς εἰπεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡμῖν ἐπιών; καὶ μὴν οἷς μὲν τούτου γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν πρέσβων αἰτοῦντος οὐκ ἐπεστράφημεν οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔσχομεν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα τῆς ἀκοῆς ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ τις ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὥς χρὴ ξυγχαρεῖν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν λίθοις εὐθύς ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς φρέαρ ἐμβεβληκότες, ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖς γῆν ἐπιχωσαί, ὥς μόνην ταύτην οὔσαν πρὸς εὐψυχίαν παρὰ κλησιν, θαυμαστὴν δόξαν ὑπερφουοῦς μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις ἐν τῷ τνικαῦτα παρέσχομεν, Polyb. Hist. 9, 38, 2 (BÜTTNER – WOBST): ἐπεὶ τίνος χάριν ὑπολαμβάνετε τοὺς ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καθ' οὓς καιροὺς ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν αἰτούμενος, ἀπώσαντας εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τὸν παραγεγονότα καὶ προσεπιβαλόντας τῆς γῆς κελεύειν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Ξέρξει διότι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν; vgl. ferner Paus. 3, 12, 7 (SPIRO), Speusipp. Ep. ad Philipp. reg. [spur.] p. 8, 10–12 (BICKERMANN – SYKUTRIS), Theseus Hist. fragm. 2 (FHG, MÜLLER) = Stobaei Floril. VII, 70 (Ἐκ τῶν Θησέως) etc.

48 Vgl. Ael. Arist. *Ἑλευσίνιος* p. 258, 3–9 (DINDORF): τῇ δ' Ἑλευσίνι τοσοῦτον περιῖν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπόρρητος μόνον ὥς εἰπεῖν διεγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιούσης τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐξεφοῖτα μὲν ὁ Ἰακχος συνναυμαχίσων, νέφος δὲ ὀρμηθὲν ἀπ' Ἑλευσίνος καὶ ὑψωθὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν ἐγκατέσκηπεν εἰς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς ἅμα τῷ μέλει τῷ μυστικῷ. Ξέρξης δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς ἔφρευγε, καὶ τὰ Μήδων πράγματ' ἀπώλλυτο, Schol. in Aristoph. equites (schol. vet. et recent. Tricl.) 785a 4–7 (JONES – WILSON): κεῖται δὲ Σαλαμὶς ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἑλευσίνος πόλεως, ἱερᾶς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, πλήρης οὔσα κατορθωμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πολλὰς τῶν Περσῶν Ἀθηναῖοι κατεναυμάχησαν τριήρεις ὀλίγῳ ἀριθμῷ, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγούντος.

sie zu Fuß deren Kavallerie in Plataiai verfolgten⁴⁹. Die Bewohner von Kea vertrieben jedoch in der ersten und (gleichzeitig) letzten Schlacht sämtliche Stämme der Italiener aus den Kykladen und der Ägäis und fachten die Fackel der Revolution an.

Der Dichter bezieht sich wieder sowohl auf die Seeschlacht von Salamis⁵⁰, als auch auf die Pferdeschlacht von Plataiai, die großen griechischen Heldentaten mit den Athenern als Protagonisten.

In all diesen Gedichten, unabhängig vom Ort und Anlass ihrer Abfassung, bezeugt die Art und Weise, mit welcher der Dichter über Athen schreibt, sowohl wenn er mit Bewunderung über die prächtige Vergangenheit dieser Stadt spricht, als auch wenn er um ihren Verfall und ihre bedauernswerte gegenwärtige Situation trauert⁵¹, seine uneingeschränkte und aufrichtige Liebe zu der (alten) Stadt Athen. Diese bekennt er selbst ohne Zögern bereits im ersten Vers des Gedichts, das er ihr gewidmet hat: Ἐρως Ἀθηνῶν τῶν πάλαι θρυλουμένων.

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49 Vgl. Plut. Pelopid. 25, 8 (ZIEGLER): τῆς δὲ πρὸς Πλαταιᾶς ἵππομαχίας, ἣν πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἐνίκησαν ἡγουμένου Χάρωνος, ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνάθημα τοιόνδε ποιῆσαι, Ael. Theon. Progymn. p. 68, 7–10 (SPENGEL) (Rhet. Gr. II): ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ὁ λοιμός, καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ὁ περιτειχισμός τῶν Πλαταιῶν, καὶ ἄλλοθι ναυμαχία καὶ ἵππομαχία; cf. etiam Anthol. Gr. Append. Epigr. sepulcr. 16, 7s. (COUGNY vol. 3) = ib. Epigr. demonstr. 14, 7s.: τοῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἵτινες ἔτλαν ἰ χειρᾶς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰέναι.

50 Choniates umschreibt Salamis mit der Bezeichnung *Eleusinische Meerenge*; vgl. auch РНОВУ, Reminiszenzen 123 mit A. 800.

51 Von Keos aus beklagt Choniates auch seine unfreiwillige und erzwungene Vertreibung aus Athen und seinem bischöflichen Thron, sowie sein Asyl auf dieser Insel. Stark ist seine Sehnsucht auf Attika, Hymettos und Athen. Vgl. Folgendes, was Choniates selbst über seine Vertreibung von Athen in seinen Briefen schreibt: Ep. 123, 4–6: Πάλαι γὰρ ἔγνωσται καὶ τεθρύλληται ὅτι ἀπελνλάμεθα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν κατ' Αἰγαῖον Κυκλάδων νήσων, τῇ καλουμένῃ Κέῳ, περιγεγράμμεθα, Ep. 165, 9–17: ὃς ἐξ οὗ δῆτα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπελίλαμαι... ἄλλο δέ τι τάχα προμνηθὲς ἐμχανησάμην ὡς φιλαθήναιος καὶ μάταιος· τί τοῦτο; μὴ πορρωτάτω τοῦ ποιμνίου διὰ τοὺς ἐπιπεπτωκότας θῆρας ἀποδρᾶναι ὡς μισθωτὸς ἄντικρυς, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ ἀντίπορρωμα τῆς Ἀττικῆς νησίδια παροικῆσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ... ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὸν παναθηναϊκὸν ὄλεθρον καὶ ὡς οἷόν τε προσβῶνθαι, Ep. 112, 25–27: ὄνειροπολῶν δὲ ἄλλως ἔτι πού κατερύκομαι εὐρεί πόντῳ, καί μέ τις τῶν κατ' Αἰγαῖον Κυκλάδων νήσων ὑγραῖς, τὸ ποιητικόν, ἀγκάλαις ὀχμάσασα πολλῶ τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν φιλτάτων δίστησι, Ep. 153, 4–7: τόσον διαστάντες ἀλλήλων ὅσον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς Χαλκίδος ἀναχεόμενον πέλαγος μεταξὺ τῶν τε μεσημβρινῶν τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὰς ἐν Αἰγαίῳ Κυκλάδας νήσους καὶ ἐμὰς ξεναγοὺς διαμκύνεται; vgl. auch Ep. 165, 17–25; 129, 45–46. 50–62; 168, 7–10 etc. Dazu s. auch РНОВУ, Reminiszenzen 70 und 72.

NIKITAS PASSARIS

La représentation des saints athéniens dans l'art byzantin¹

À la mémoire de ma mère Despoina (1956-2019)

Le sermon de l'apôtre Paul à l'Aréopage en 52 apr. J.-C.² constitue le point de départ de la nouvelle religion dans la ville des idoles, qui à cette période demeurait le centre des philosophes épicuriens et stoïciens. Selon les Actes des Apôtres (17, 34)³, certains Athéniens, tel Denys l'Aréopagite et Damaris, ont cru dans le discours de Paul et ont embrassé le christianisme. C'est à cette période que remonte la fondation de l'Église d'Athènes, dont le premier évêque était Hiérothée⁴. De nombreux Athéniens ont été martyrisés pour leurs croyances lors des persécutions qui ont eu lieu au cours des premiers siècles chrétiens.

Ce travail porte sur la représentation dans l'art byzantin des saints athéniens de la période byzantine : il s'agira d'établir une présentation de leur iconographie, qui n'a jamais été étudiée dans son ensemble ni, pour la plupart des cas, de manière individuelle, à l'exception des nombreuses références à l'iconographie de Denys l'Aréopagite et de Michel Choniates. Dans l'éventail des saints qui sont ici étudiés, on compte les hiérarques, les ascètes qui ont mené une vie paisible, les martyrs et deux impératrices. Parmi ceux-ci, certains sont nés et ont vécu à Athènes, d'autres ont vécu dans d'autres régions, tandis que pour certains autres, bien que d'une autre origine, leur vie a été liée à Athènes. La plupart des saints d'Athènes ont vécu au cours des premiers siècles chrétiens. Pour nombre d'entre eux, il n'existe que très peu d'informations, ce qui est également visible dans leur iconographie, puisque souvent, on ne connaît que la scène de leur martyre.

Denys l'Aréopagite, évêque d'Athènes, est honoré comme martyr à partir du IX^e siècle et il est considéré comme le saint protecteur de la ville. Sa mémoire est célébrée le 3 octobre avec Rustique et Eleuthère. C'est en son honneur qu'est érigée l'église sur le site de l'Aréopage, dont seules quelques sculptures,

1 Je remercie chaleureusement mon épouse, Dr. Catherine Bouras pour la traduction en français de ce texte, ainsi que Dr. G. Pallis, maître de conférences en archéologie byzantine pour m'avoir inspiré ce sujet.

2 Paul a visité Athènes au cours de son deuxième voyage missionnaire : H. METZGER, *Les routes de Saint Paul dans l'Orient grec*. Neuchâtel-Paris 1954, 30-35.

3 Τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς.

4 Sur la fondation de la première communauté chrétienne à Athènes, voir TRAVLOS, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις* 135-136 ; PAPADOPOULOS, *Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν* 17.

datées du VII^e siècle, et l'abside du sanctuaire sont préservées⁵. D'après sa Vie, Denys a été martyrisé sous Domitien (51–96), par décapitation⁶. Sa représentation comme figure individuelle est attestée en peinture monumentale et dans les arts mineurs⁷. Il existe une description de Denys dans le court texte Ἐκ τῶν Ἑλπίου τοῦ Ρωμαίου (milieu du IX^e s.–milieu du X^e s.)⁸. La description d'Elpios est reprise pour sa représentation dans les codex de la Bibliothèque du Vatican gr. 666 (début du XII^e s.)⁹ et du Musée Historique de Moscou Cod. Synod. gr. 387 (seconde moitié du XII^e s.), où l'hiérarque porte un phailonion et un sticharion¹⁰. La plupart du temps, il est représenté âgé, portant un homophorion orné de croix¹¹. Dans la peinture monumentale, il est habituellement représenté dans l'hémicylindre de l'abside, bien que souvent, sa figure orne d'autres surfaces aussi¹². On le retrouve parmi les Hiérarques qui exécutent la liturgie dans quelques monuments serbes et dans un monument de Grèce¹³.

Cet hiérarque s'insère souvent dans la scène de la Dormition de la Vierge et dans une Crucifixion. Dans le fol. 45v du Psautier Chludov (première moitié du IX^e siècle)¹⁴, où on a d'ailleurs identifié sa plus ancienne représentation dans l'art byzantin¹⁵, Denys l'Aéropagite est reconnu à l'extrémité droite de

5 TRAVLOS – FRANTZ, The Church of St. Dionysios. Une autre église a été construite à son emplacement aux XVI^e–XVII^e siècles.

6 BHG I, 166–169 ; M. GALANOS, Οἱ Βίοι τῶν Ἀγίων. Athènes 1988, 21–26 ; Synax. CP I, 101–102.

7 L. RÉAU, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, III. Iconographie des saints. Paris 1958, 373–374 ; A.M. RITTER, Dionysius Areopagita, LCI 6, 60–61. Deux des plus anciennes représentations de l'Aréopagite (première moitié du IX^e siècle) sont conservées dans le manuscrit de Sacra Parallela (Cod. Par. gr. 923, fol. 333r, 361r). K. WEITZMANN, The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus Graecus 923. Princeton NJ 1979, 225, fig. 624–625.

8 M. CHATZIDAKIS, Ἐκ τῶν Ἑλπίου τοῦ Ρωμαίου. *EEBS* 14 (1938) 393–414.

9 I. SPATHARAKIS, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts. Leiden 1976, 123, fig. 78.

10 Ibid. fig. 83.

11 P. VOCOTOPoulos, Ἐνα ἄγνωστο Μνηολόγιο μὲ εἰκονογραφημένα ἀρχικά: ὁ κῶδιξ 56 τῆς Μονῆς Λειμῶνος. *DChAE* 4/24 (2003) 172–173, fig. 3.

12 Lune des représentations les plus anciennes de Denys (880–900), connue par les dessins des Fossati, Salzenberg, était préservée sur le tympan sud de Sainte Sophie. Elle est aujourd'hui détruite. C. MANGO, Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Washington 1962, 49, 51, 55, fig. 57, 59. Dans l'ancienne Métropole de Veroia, sur le troisième register du Bêma figure Denys l'Aréopagite : Th. ΠΑΡΑΖΟΤΟΣ, Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της, 11ος–18ος αι.: ιστορική και αρχαιολογική σπουδή των μνημείων της πόλης. Athènes 1994, 168. À Hosios Loukas, il est représenté sur l'arc du diakonikon: N. CHATZIDAKIS, The Abbot Philotheos, Founder of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas. Old and New Observations; CH. ENTWISTLE – L. JAMES (eds), New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass. Londres 2013, 256–257, fig. 10.

13 WALTER, Three Notes 255–274.

14 M.V. ŠČEPKINA, Miniatiury Khluxovskoi psaltyri: Grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX. Moscou 1977, 45; K. CORRIGAN, Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters. Cambridge 1992, 83–86, fig. 89.

15 ΕΛΛΗΝΕC ΗΓΟΥΝ ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC.

la Crucifixion, en commentaire à un vers des Psaumes¹⁶ (fig.1). Sa présence a été mise en relation par Christopher Walter avec la Vision à Hélioupolis de Syrie le jour de la Crucifixion du Christ, lorsque l'ombre s'est répandue sur trois heures¹⁷. C'est alors que Denys a eu une vision du Christ sur la croix de son martyre. On note que dans la Crucifixion du Psautier Chludov, Denys est représenté deux fois, selon Walter¹⁸: à l'extrémité droite il est représenté jeune, imberbe avec une coiffure marron, montrant vers le Christ de la main droite, puis à côté, il est représenté âgé, parlant et tenant trois rouleaux. C'est un des rares exemples où l'hiérarque est figuré comme un laïc.

Denys est souvent représenté dans la Dormition de la Vierge avec Hiérothée, Jacques frère du Seigneur et Timothée. C'est dans le texte de saint André de Crète¹⁹ qu'est fait référence pour la première fois aux hiérarques présents dans la Dormition de la Vierge ; cette référence est répétée par des auteurs ultérieurs avec des différences quant au nombre et aux personnes. L'identification des hiérarques qui sont représentés dans cette scène est généralement difficile, puisque le même type n'est pas suivi partout²⁰. Nous ferons ici référence à trois exemples, dans lesquels Denys est identifié par une inscription : dans l'église de Saint Nicolas de Prilep (1298),²¹ dans l'église de Saint Jean à Mylopotamos en Crète (ca. 1300)²² et dans l'église de la Vierge à Merona Amariou (ca. 1400)²³.

Une autre représentation particulière de Denys figure dans la scène de son martyre. Dans quatre exemples, il est représenté tentant sa tête, la décapitation ayant déjà eu lieu. Dans le ménologe de Basile II (fin du X^e siècle, Par. gr. 1613, fol. 43r) où l'on retrouve la représentation la plus ancienne du martyre, Denys est représenté tenant sa tête – on note qu'il ne porte pas ses vêtements sacerdotaux – tandis qu'à gauche gisent sur le sol les décapités Rustique et Eleuthère. Une figure féminine s'avance entre les monts²⁴. Dans l'hexaptique du

16 Ps. 45, 7. Cette scène constitue un *unicum* dans l'art byzantin.

17 Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae epistolae, Epistola VII, Polycarpo Antistiti. PG 3, 1077–1084; Epistola XI, Dionysius Apollophanis philosopho. PG 3, 1119–1121.

18 WALTER, Three Notes 259. La figure imberbe s'identifie à Denys, puisque l'hiérarque est représenté jeune. Selon les sources écrites, la Crucifixion a eu lieu lorsqu'il était jeune. La deuxième figure s'identifie au même hiérarque, puisqu'il est représenté à un âge avancé, en discussion avec le sophiste Apollophanès – une discussion qui est également attestée dans les sources écrites.

19 S. Andreae Cretensis, In Dormitionem S. Mariae. PG 97, 1062.

20 S. PELEKANIDIS, Καλλιέργης, ὅλης Θεσσαλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος. Athènes 1973, 71, pl. IB–II.

21 P. KOSTOVSKA, The Painted Programme of the Church St. Nicholas in Varoš near Prilep and its Function as Funerary Chapel. *Zbornik za srednovekovna umetnost* 3 (2001) 62, 64.

22 Wall Paintings of Crete II, 36, fig. 41.

23 Ibid. III, 157, fig. 396.

24 Il menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano greco 1613). Torino 1907, 23–24. Le nom de ménologe est courant, mais il s'agit en réalité d'un synaxaire. A.E. ORPHANOS, Αυτοκεφαλοφόροι ἅγιοι-μάρτυρες και κεφαλοφόροι αγίων-μαρτύρων στην ορθόδοξη τέχνη: μια πρώτη προσέγγιση. Athènes 2013, 40, 47, fig.15.

monastère de Saint Catherine au Mont Sinaï (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle) est figuré dans la quatrième rangée du deuxième volet, Denys tenant sa tête pour la remettre à Katoula²⁵. La scène du narthex de l'église de Pantocrator Dečani (1338–1348)²⁶ est similaire. Le thème est complété par le bourreau qui élève l'épée avec entrain. La scène du martyre et de la céphalophorie est différente dans le ménologe de Moscou (XI^e siècle, Cod. gr. 175, fol. 28r), puisque Katoula n'est pas représentée, tandis que le saint est représenté de face tenant sa tête ; à droite on distingue deux hiérarques non identifiés²⁷. Dans le ménologe de Démétrios I. Palaiologos (1322–1340, Bodleian Library, th. gr. f. 1, fol. 11v), conservé à Oxford, Denys est représenté en bas à droite, agenouillé en tenue sacerdotale, avec les bras couverts et tendus, et tourné vers la gauche en attendant d'être décapité. Le bourreau tient une épée. À droite sont représentées deux figures en halo. À gauche se tient une figure féminine qui peut être identifiée à Katoula²⁸. Dans le dernier exemple, la céphalophorie est absente, mais Katoula est représentée.

D'après le Synaxaire de Constantinople, après sa décapitation, il tenait sa tête coupée, jusqu'à ce qu'il rencontre une fidèle, Katoula, à laquelle il la remet²⁹. D'après Walter, la céphalophorie de saint Denys est un thème d'origine occidentale, adopté et enrichi à Byzance, puisque la fidèle Katoula n'est pas mentionnée dans la tradition occidentale et n'est pas représentée dans des scènes correspondantes d'origine occidentale³⁰.

Hiérothée a été, selon la tradition, l'un des neuf archontes de l'Aréopage. Il était élève de Paul et enseignant de Denys l'Aréopagite et il était présent, selon Andréas de Crète³¹, à l'enterrement de la Vierge³². Il n'est pas mentionné dans les martyrologes, mais uniquement dans les synaxaires, c'est pourquoi il n'appartient pas à la série des Bollandistes³³. Sa mémoire est célébrée à 4 octobre. Hiérothée est habituellement représenté âgé, portant des vêtements

25 Ὁ ἅγιος διονύσιος(ς) ξίφει τε(λειοῦται). G. GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych of the Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai*. Venice–Athènes 2009, 52–53, pl. 4.

26 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 320 ; S. KESIC-RISTIĆ – DR. VOJVODIĆ, *Menologion*, dans: *Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies* (ed. V. DJURIĆ). Beograd 1995, 381, 426; ORPHANOS, *Αυτοκεφαλοφόροι ἅγιοι-μάρτυρες* 47, fig.18.

27 Ibid. 47, fig. 17.

28 Διονύσιος ὁ μέγας. Ὁ ἅγιος Διονύσιος: I. HUTTER, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*. 2 Oxford Bodleian Library, II. Stuttgart 1978, 6, pl. 18.

29 Synax. CP 101–102.

30 WALTER, *Three Notes* 274.

31 S. Andreae Cretensis, *In Dormitionem* 1065.

32 Συναξάριον περιέχον ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἐν συντόμῳ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, Synax. CP 103. Selon le Synaxaire, il était auteur de textes théologiques et il est mort paisiblement. S. EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*. Athènes 2010, 212–213 ; K.G. KASTER, *Hierotheus von Athen*. LCI 530 ; E. KARPATHIOS, Ὁ ἅγιος Ἱερόθεος, ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν. *Theologia* 3 (1923) 222–227.

33 PALLAS, *Ἡ Ἀθήνα* 858. La fondation du monastère dédié à Saint Hiérothée à Mégare remonte à la fin du XII^e siècle. Dès le IX^e siècle, le poète Théophanès avait dédié un canon au saint.

archiératiques, selon un type similaire que Denys. Dans le ménologe de Basile II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 88) – sa représentation la plus ancienne (fin du X^e siècle) – il figure comme un hiérarque âgé tenant un codex³⁴. Dans la peinture monumentale, il est représenté à Hosios Loukas³⁵, dans l'église d'Aghioi Anargyroi à Kastoria (1170–1180)³⁶, dans l'église du Protaton (fin du XIII^e siècle)³⁷, dans l'église de la Résurrection du Christ à Veroia (1314–1315)³⁸, et ailleurs, où sa représentation est similaire.

Le martyr du saint est représenté dans deux cas. Dans l'hexaptique du monastère de Sainte Catherine au Mont Sinaï (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle), la décapitation de Hiérothée est représentée dans la quatrième rangée du deuxième volet, ainsi que des trois martyrs qui étaient avec lui³⁹ (fig. 2). Sur la fol. 12r du ménologe d'Oxford (1322–1340, Bodleian Library, Gr. th. fol. 1), il est agenouillé, tandis que le bourreau tient une épée. À gauche il est représenté en hiérarque tenant un codex fermé et un halo et, à droite, en homme barbu avec un halo⁴⁰. La scène du martyr du saint n'est pas conforme à sa vie, puisque selon le Synaxaire, il meurt paisiblement⁴¹.

Narcisse, qui s'inscrit dans le champ des Soixante-dix Disciples, a été évêque d'Athènes, à la suite de Denys l'Aréopagite⁴². Le seul témoignage sur sa personne est la référence dans l'épître Aux Romains de Paul, où il est nommé comme représentant d'un groupe de chrétiens⁴³. Sa mémoire est célébrée le 31 octobre, avec d'autres hiérarques parmi les Soixante-dix⁴⁴. Narcisse n'est pas représenté dans les ménologes illustrés. Sa figure est localisée dans la tribune nord de l'église d'Hodigitria de Vrontochi à Mystra (1313–1322), avec les autres Soixante-dix. Les figures sont reconnaissables à leurs noms et évêchés inscrits⁴⁵. Narcisse figure âgé, tenant un rouleau⁴⁶. Aussi, nous supposons qu'il est représenté parmi les Soixante-dix, dans les tribunes du Katholikon du

34 Il menologio 25.

35 N. CHATZIDAKIS, Hosios Loukas. Athènes 1997, 22, 47.

36 PELEKANIDIS, Καστοριά pl.10.

37 G. MILLET, Monuments de l'Athos I. Les peintures. Paris 1927, pl. 45.2.

38 PELEKANIDIS, Καλλιέργης 71, 85, pl. IB–II, 5.

39 Ὁ ἅγιος Ἱερόθεος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ξίφει τε(λειοῦνται). GALAVARIS, Hexptych 53, pl. 4.

40 Ἱερόθεος. Ὁ ἅγιος Ἱερόθεος. HUTTER, Corpus 6, pl. 19.

41 Synax. CP 103.

42 PAPADOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 18.

43 Rom. 16, 11.

44 GALANOS, Οἱ βίοι τῶν ἁγίων 149 ; EFSTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολόγιον 31–32.

45 S. KOUKIARIS, Η Σύναξη τῶν Ὁ Ἀποστόλων στη βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ εἰκονογραφία. *Kleronomia* 18/2 (1986) 291–292; R. ETZEOGLOU, Ο ναός της Οδηγίτριας του Βροντοχίου στον Μυστρά. Οι τοιχογραφίες του νάρθηκα και η λειτουργικὴ χρήση του χώρου. Athènes 2013, 23–24. Il s'agit du premier monument dans lequel sont représentés tous les Soixante-dix.

46 Ο Α(γιο)C NAPKH(σος) ΕΠΙCΚΟΠ(ος) ΑΘΗΝΩΝ. Image non publiée.

monastère de Pantanassa (première moitié du XV^e siècle)⁴⁷ : le mauvais état de conservation des peintures murales et l'absence d'inscriptions ne permettent néanmoins pas de l'identifier de manière sûre.

Quadratus, connue aussi sous le nom d'Apologète, a été évêque d'Athènes à la suite de Pouplios au II^e siècle⁴⁸. Il fut renvoyé d'Athènes et martyrisé sous Hadrien⁴⁹. Sa mémoire est célébrée le 22 septembre. On le retrouve souvent avec un disciple homonyme des Apôtres et martyr qui a été actif en Asie Mineure, bien que selon certains chercheurs et d'après le Synaxaire de Constantinople⁵⁰, il s'agit de la même personne qui a vécu aux deux endroits. Dans l'art byzantin, son martyre est représenté. Dans le ménologe de Basile II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 56r, fin du X^e siècle), le bourreau élève l'épée pour décapiter l'hiérarque. Quadratus est ici mentionné comme évêque de la ville de Magnésie⁵¹. C'est en tant qu'évêque de Magnésie qu'il lui est fait référence dans l'Évangélistarion de la Bibliothèque du Vatican (Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 253v, XI^e siècle)⁵². Dans le narthex du Katholikon du monastère de Dečani (1338–1348)⁵³ et dans le ménologe d'Oxford (Bodleian Library, Gr. th. f. 1, fol. 10r)⁵⁴, Quadratus n'est pas représenté en tenue sacerdotale, il porte un chiton et un himation, un détail qui renvoie peut-être au martyr homonyme.

Sous le nom de Léonidès sont connus deux saints différents, dont la distinction prête à confusion. Lors de la persécution de Decius (249–251), Léonidès originaire de Troizène a été martyrisé à Corinthe, avec sept femmes. L'autre Léonidès a été, selon les synaxaristes, évêque d'Athènes qui est mort paisiblement⁵⁵. La seule représentation que je connaisse de saint Léonidès dans l'art byzantin se trouve sur le mur nord du diakonikon de l'église d'Aghios Petros à Kalyvia (1232)⁵⁶. L'hiérarque est représenté de face, âgé, tenant un évangile fermé⁵⁷. Comme il est représenté en hiérarque, il s'agit probablement de l'évêque et sa représentation dans ce monument n'est pas étonnante. Il est

47 M. ASPRA-VARDAKAKI – M. EMMANOUIL, Η μονή της Παντάνασσας στον Μυστρά. Οι τοιχογραφίες του 15^{ου} αιώνα. Athènes 2005, 182–191.

48 PAPADOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 18–19. Pouplios, évêque d'Athènes, a été martyrisé le 13 mars, jour où est célébrée sa mémoire. Je ne connais aucune représentation de ce saint dans l'art byzantin.

49 Pallas a soutenu qu'il existait au IX^e siècle une église dédiée à Saint Quadratus, comme à Magnésie en Asie Mineure, où les reliques de ce saint ou d'un saint homonyme sont préservées: PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 859–860. Cependant, dans un article publié dans ce présent volume, A. Lambropoulou et Th. Kollyropoulou démontrent que les sources citées par Pallas n'attestent pas l'existence d'un tel monument à Athènes.

50 Synax. CP 67.

51 Il menologio 17.

52 Non publiée.

53 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 320 ; KEŠIĆ-RISTIĆ – VOJVODIĆ, Menologion 380, 426.

54 HUTTER, Corpus 5, fig. 15.

55 PAPADOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 21. L'existence d'un deuxième saint homonyme, évêque d'Athènes, est contestée : HALKIN, Recherches 61–63.

56 Ο Α(γιο)C ΛΕΟΝΙΔΗC.

57 COUMPARAKI-PANSELINOU, Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara 50, 73.

peut-être lié à la rédaction de l'éloge de ce saint par Michel Choniatès⁵⁸.

La représentation du métropolite Michel Choniatès est un cas exceptionnel. Hiérarque intellectuel, qui décrit dans ses lettres l'image d'Athènes à la fin du XII^e siècle, a été le dernier métropolite avant l'occupation franque⁵⁹. Il est né vers 1138/1140 à Chones, en Asie Mineure. Il est élu métropolite d'Athènes en 1182. Après l'installation du duché franc en 1204, il s'est exilé à Kéa. En 1217, il s'est retiré dans le monastère de Prodrôme de Vodonitsa/Mendenitsa, à Thermopyles, où il meurt en 1222, en laissant de nombreux écrits. Sa mémoire est célébrée le 4 juillet⁶⁰.

Dans l'église de Saint Pierre de Kalyvia (1232), Choniatès est représenté sur le côté oriental du mur de séparation entre le sanctuaire et le diakonikon. Il est représenté debout, en tenue sacerdotale. Il tient un parchemin ouvert et inscrit et porte un halo⁶¹. Dans la chapelle sud de Spilia Pentelis (1233/1234), on trouve son deuxième portrait, sur le mur sud de l'askétarion sud⁶². Le point commun entre les deux figures est l'inclinaison de la tête, le front large et la disposition de la coiffure. Il s'agit peut-être de portraits authentiques de l'hiérarque, puisqu'elles ont été exécutées quelques années seulement après sa mort. Il est possible que les peintres aient connu le métropolite personnellement ou par un de ses portraits plus anciens. Sa représentation dans les deux églises indique qu'un hommage était rendu à sa personne en Attique peu après sa mort.

La triade Héracleios, Vénédimos et Paulinos, dont la mémoire est célébrée le 15 mai, ont été martyrisés à Athènes lors de la persécution de Decius (249–251) parce qu'ils prêchaient l'Évangile⁶³. Sur la huitième rangée du quatrième volet de l'hexaptique du Monastère du Sinaï (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle), est représenté Héracleios – de manière erronée – en évêque, alors qu'il est sur le point d'être décapité et les deux autres ont déjà été décapités⁶⁴. Sur le mur sud de l'église de l'Annonciation à Gračanica (1319–1321) figure le martyr des trois saints sur un bûcher. Le martyr sur le bûcher qui est représenté ici est conforme au Synaxaire de Constantinople, qui fait référence à leur martyr dans un four⁶⁵.

Isaure était diacre d'origine athénienne qui prêchait le christianisme

58 KOLOVOU, Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης 34.

59 PANSELINOU, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 25–27; PAPADOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 36–40.

60 A. DMITRIEVSKII, *Opisanie liturgitseskich rukopisej, III, Τυπικά*. Hildesheim 1965, 754. Référence à un codex de Vatopédi, daté de 1468.

61 A. ORLANDOS, Ἡ προσωπογραφία Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Χωνιάτου. *EEBS* 21 (1951) 210–214; COUMPARAKI-PANSELINOU, Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara 68–70: Ὁ πανιερώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν Μιχαὴλ.

62 N. CHARALAMBOUS-MOURIKI, Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίαι τῶν παρεκκλησίων τῆς Σπυλιᾶς τῆς Πεντέλης. *DChAE* 4/7 (1973–1974) 96–98.

63 PAPADOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 21; EFSTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολόγιον 168.

64 Ὁ ἄγιος ἡράκλειος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξίφει τελεῖονται. Nous ne connaissons pas d'autres parallèles. GALAVARIS, *Hexaptych* 105 pl. 11.

65 Synax. CP 687–688.

à Apollonia d'Épire Vetus. Il fut martyrisé par décapitation sous Numérien (283–284) après avoir été jeté au feu en même temps que les Athéniens Basile, Innocent, et Felix. Leur mémoire est célébrée le 7 juillet⁶⁶ ou, selon le martyrologe romain, le 17 juin⁶⁷. Isaure est absent des ménologes illustrés. Sa représentation la plus ancienne connue se trouve à l'église de Saint Leontios à Vodoča (1037). Il est également représenté dans des monuments serbes du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle⁶⁸, ainsi que sur le mur sud de la prothésis dans l'église de Saint Nicolas à Monemvasia (seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle)⁶⁹. Isaure figure également sur les sceaux épiscopaux en plomb de Dyrrachion, ville voisine d'Apollonia, où il semble que le saint était honoré comme l'un des protecteurs de la ville à partir du XIII^e siècle au moins⁷⁰. Il est d'habitude représenté comme diacre, portant sur son épaule gauche l'orarion et tenant un encensoir ou une petite boîte. Sa représentation dans le ménologe du narthex de Saint Georges à Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317), où il figure avec trois autres martyrs tenant une croix et sans vêtements sacerdotaux est exceptionnelle⁷¹.

Dareia, d'origine athénienne, et son époux Chrysanthos, ont été martyrisés à Rome sous Numérien (283–284)⁷² et sont célébrés le 17 octobre ou le 19 mars⁷³. Dans l'art byzantin, leur martyre est souvent représenté. La représentation la plus ancienne correspond au ménologe de Basile II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 118, fin du X^e siècle), dans lequel les deux saints sont enterrés par leurs tortionnaires dans une fosse⁷⁴. Dans le ménologe de Moscou (première moitié du XI^e siècle ; Syn. gr. 183, fol. 220r) ils sont représentés à terre avec les traces visibles de leur martyre⁷⁵. Dans la deuxième rangée du quatrième volet de l'hexaptique du Mont Sinaï (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle), les deux figures sont représentées allongées dans une fosse, battues par leurs tortionnaires⁷⁶ (fig. 3). Sur le fol. 32r du ménologe d'Oxford (Bodleian Library, Gr. th. f. 1), figurent Chrysanthos et Dareia à l'intérieur d'une citerne⁷⁷. Le martyre apparaît également à Treskavač⁷⁸ et à Gračanica (1319–1321)⁷⁹. Enfin, dans le narthex

66 Ibid. 804.

67 GALANOS, *Oi βίοι των αγίων* 98 ; EFSTRATIADIS, *Άγιολόγιον* 225.

68 D. PRERADOVIĆ, *Cult of the St. Isauros in Durres*, *Zograf* 36 (2012) 1–12.

69 ΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ. N.B. DRANDAKIS, *Οί τοιχογραφίες του Άγίου Νικολάου στον Άγιο Νικόλαο Μονεμβασίας* (πίν. 7–20). *DChAE* 4/9 (1977–1979) 42.

70 PRERADOVIĆ, *Cult of the St. Isauros* 1–12.

71 V. TODIĆ, *Staro Nagoričino*. Beograd 1993, 80: 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰσαυρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῦ.

72 BHG I, 110. L'hypothèse de Pallas selon laquelle il existait à Athènes une église dédiée à Dareia au IX^e siècle ne se vérifie pas, comme l'ont démontré A. Lambropoulou et Th. Kollyropoulou dans ce présent volume. PALLAS, *Ἡ Ἀθήνα* 860.

73 DMITRIEVSKIĬ, *Opisanie* I, 14, 55.

74 Il menologio 32.

75 A.V. ZAKHAROVA, *The Miniatures of the Imperial Menologia*. *Rivista di ricerche bisantinistiche* 7 (2011) 141, fig. 3.

76 GALAVARIS, *Hexptych* 92–93, pl. 9.

77 Χρύσανθος. Ὁ ἅγιος Χρύσανθος. HUTTER, *Corpus* 18, pl. 58.

78 MIJOVIĆ, *Ménologe* 311, fig. 33.

79 Ibid. 293, fig. 21.

de Saint Georges à Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317), Dareia est représentée avec Chrysanthos, qui est représenté par erreur comme une femme⁸⁰.

Sainte Agathocleia était esclave dans la maison du chrétien Nicolas. Son épouse idololatre Paulina la torturait pendant de longues années à cause de sa foi dans le Christ, jusqu'au jour où elle la tua. Sa mémoire est célébrée le 17 septembre⁸¹. Son lieu de naissance, de même que le lieu où elle a vécu et a été martyrisé ne sont pas connus. Des inscriptions mentionnent l'existence d'une église dédiée à sa mémoire (V^e–VI^e siècle), située au centre d'Athènes⁸². Agathocleia est représentée rarement dans l'art byzantin. L'exemple le plus ancien est conservé dans le ménologe de Basile II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 82, fin du X^e siècle), où est figuré le martyr de la sainte avec une tige en fer brûlante, tenue par Paulina. Dans l'art monumental, elle est représentée dans le narthex du monastère Gračanica (1319–1321)⁸³ et dans le narthex de Saint Georges Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317)⁸⁴.

Ménas Kallikelados, d'origine athénienne⁸⁵, a été martyrisé à Alexandrie avec Hermogène et Eugraphe, sous Maximien (286–305) ou Maximin (311–313)⁸⁶. La représentation la plus ancienne de son martyr est conservée dans le ménologe de Basile II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 234, fin du X^e siècle)⁸⁷. Dans la partie aujourd'hui détruite de l'hexaptique du monastère de Sainte Catherine au Mont Sinaï (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle) qui avait été déplacée à Kiev, était représenté Ménas avec Hermogène et Eugraphe, sur le point d'être décapité⁸⁸. Dans l'Évangélistarion de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (XI^e siècle, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 270v), Ménas et les deux autres personnages figurent de face, tenant des croix⁸⁹. Dans le ménologe du Monastère Esphigmenos (XI^e siècle, cod. 14) un petit cycle des trois saints est conservé. Six scènes du μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανενδόξων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων Μηνᾶ, Ἑρμογένους καὶ Εὐγράφου sont représentées sur deux feuillets. Sur le fol. 294v sont représentés le déplacement de saint Ménas à Alexandrie, le martyr du saint et le baptême du préfet

80 Ibid. 265 ; Todić, Staro Nagoričino 81 : ἁγία Χρυσάνθη.

81 Synax. CP 52–53.

82 CREAGHAM – RAUBITSCHKE, Epitaphs 39–40; BRADEEN, Inscriptions 188.

83 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 294, pl. 24.

84 Todić, Staro Nagoričino 84.

85 Des reliques du saint avaient été déposées avec celles de saint Hermogène dans un proteichisma de l'Acropole, probablement le rempart de l'époque romaine tardive. Leur insertion dans la liste des saints athéniens est due à l'existence d'une église qui leur est dédiée : PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 861–862. L'église correspond vraisemblablement à l'église médiobyzantine de l'Asclépieion: V. ΠΑΡΑΕΥΘΙΜΙΟΥ, Τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖο τῶν Ἀθηνῶν στοὺς χριστιανικοὺς χρόνους. Εὐρήματα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. *AEphem* 151 (2012) 92.

86 EFSTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολόγιον 334. Le 17 février, on célèbre la découverte de ses reliques à Constantinople sous Marcien (450–457) et le 10 décembre, on célèbre sa mémoire, ainsi que celle d'Hermogène et d'Eugraphe: GEDEON, Ἑορτολόγιον 75, 199.

87 Il menologio 63–64.

88 [ὁ ἅγιος] μὲν(ας) ὁ καλκελάδοις ξίφει τε(λειοῦται). GALAVARIS, Hexptych 70.

89 K. WEITZMANN, Illustrations to the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste. *DOP* 33 (1979) 96–112, fig. 6.

Hermogène. Sur le fol. 294r est représenté le déplacement de l'empereur à Alexandrie, le martyre des saints Ménas et Hermogène et le martyre de saint Eugraphe avec la décapitation des saints Ménas et Hermogène⁹⁰ (fig. 4).

Dans le ménologe d'Oxford (Bodleian Library, Gr. th. f. 1, fol. 20v) figure la décapitation d'Eugraphe, Ménas et Hermogène⁹¹. Le martyre est également représenté dans le narthex de l'église de Pantocrator à Dečani⁹² et dans le narthex du monastère Cozia⁹³. Saint Ménas est représenté de manière individuelle dans la peinture monumentale, comme dans le narthex de l'église de Saint Georges à Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317)⁹⁴ et dans l'église de Saint Nicolas à Manastir, Moriovo⁹⁵.

Martinien, originaire de Césarée, a été ascète au IV^e siècle dans le désert de Palestine. Il est mort paisiblement à Athènes, où il fut enterré⁹⁶. Sa mémoire est célébrée le 13 février⁹⁷. Sa représentation la plus ancienne se trouve dans le ménologe de Basile II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 395), où il est figuré comme un moine en prière⁹⁸. Dans le codex San Salvatore 27, fol. 141r de Messina, le saint tient une croix⁹⁹. Il figure également comme un moine à l'intérieur d'un médaillon à Hosios Loukas¹⁰⁰, dans le compartiment d'angle sud-ouest, dans le narthex du Monastère de Cozia¹⁰¹ et dans le narthex de Saint George à Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317)¹⁰² (fig. 5).

Marc l'Athénien, l'Ermite ou le Moine, a été ermite originaire d'Athènes qui a été ascète au Mont Thrace d'Éthiopie¹⁰³. Sur la vie du saint, on ne dispose que de peu d'informations, qui proviennent d'un texte d'auteur inconnu et dans lequel est fait mention de son origine athénienne¹⁰⁴. Sa représentation dans l'art est rare et les quelques exemples connus viennent de la peinture monumentale de l'époque des Paléologues, comme dans le narthex de l'église

90 S.M. PELEKANIDIS *et al.*, Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους, serie A', Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα, vol. B. Athènes 1975, 371–373, fig. 335–336.

91 Εὐγράφων, Μηνάιν, Ἐρμολόγιον τὴν χάριν. HUTTER, Corpus 2, II 11, pl. 36.

92 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 330, fig. 210 ; KESIĆ-RISTIĆ – VOJVODIĆ, Menologion 390, 428.

93 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 354, fig. 61.

94 TODIĆ, Staro Nagoričino 77.

95 P. KOSTOVSKA, Martyrs busts in the church of Saint Nicholas in Manastir, Mariovo. *Zbornik za srednovekovna umetnost* 6 (2007) 38–40, fig.10.

96 BHG II, 88–89; EFSTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολόγιον 305.

97 GEDEON, Ἐορτολόγιον 73; Synax. CP 461–462; PALLAS, Ἡ Ἀθήνα 961: il soutient qu'il existait à Athènes une église qui lui était dédiée.

98 Il menologio 107–108.

99 N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion. Chicago 1990, 76.

100 CHATZIDAKIS, Hosios Loukas 22, fig.40.

101 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 356, fig. 62.

102 Ὁ ἅγιος Μαρτινιανός: MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 356 ; TODIĆ, Staro Nagoričino 84, fig. 21.

103 BHG II, 79 ; CH. AGGELIDI, Ὁ βίος τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου (BHG 1039–1041). *ByzSym* 8 (1989) 33–59.

104 Ibid. 45, 50.

de Pantocrator Dečani¹⁰⁵ et dans le narthex du monastère de Gračanica (1319–1321)¹⁰⁶. Dans l'église de Saint André à Treska (fin du XIV^e siècle), Marc est placé dans l'abside nord. Il est représenté avec les cheveux longs et gris et une longue barbe, portant une peau d'animal¹⁰⁷.

Enfin, nous terminons avec la représentation de deux saintes impératrices, qui sont souvent confondues avec d'autres saintes homonymes. Eudocie, fille du philosophe athénien Léontios, elle fut l'épouse de l'empereur Théodose II (408–450). Son origine athénienne ou celle de son père a été contestée par certains chercheurs¹⁰⁸. C'est à son initiative qu'est vraisemblablement due la construction de deux édifices monumentaux à Athènes, tandis que les Athéniens ont érigé en son honneur une statue dans l'Agora¹⁰⁹. Les dernières années de sa vie, elle demeura à Jérusalem, où elle fit construire des monastères et des hospices et maisons de retraite¹¹⁰. Selon le Synaxaire de Constantinople¹¹¹, sa mémoire est honorée le 13 août et selon le canonairé hiérosolymitain, sa mémoire est célébrée à Jérusalem le 19 octobre, le jour de sa mort¹¹².

Des représentations d'Eudocie se trouvent sur des monnaies d'or et d'argent, où elle apparaît de profil¹¹³. Aussi, un portrait féminin retrouvé en fouilles, à Athènes, représente vraisemblablement Eudocie¹¹⁴. Certains chercheurs avaient soutenu qu'une sainte homonyme représentée sur une plaquette retrouvée au monastère de Lips à Constantinople (X^e siècle), était l'impératrice même¹¹⁵. Elle figure en déesis, porte une couronne et un *thorakion*. Son identification avec Eudocie-Athénaïs a été contestée, puisque la figure a été identifiée par Sharon Gerstel à Eudocie-Baïane, troisième épouse de

105 MIJOVIĆ, Ménologe 334, fig. 43.

106 Ibid. 295, fig. 28.

107 Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ Ο ΤΗΣ ΘΡΑΚΗΣ. J. PROLOVIĆ, Die Kirche des heiligen Andreas an der Treska. Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer palaiologenzeitlichen Stiftung des serbischen Prinzen Andreas. Vienne 1997, 176, pl. 80.

108 J. BURMAN, The Athenian Empress Eudocia, dans: CASTREN (ed.), Post-Herulian Athens 81–82.

109 ΓΚΙΟΛΕΣ, Η Αθήνα 41–43. Eudocie a été fondatrice de l'église tétraconque (Megali Panagia) et d'un large édifice à l'emplacement de l'Odéon d'Agrippa entre 421–430.

110 K.M. KLEIN, Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion. The Patronage of Aelia Eudocia in Jerusalem, dans: Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond (eds L. THEIS *et al.*). Vienne 2014, 85–95.

111 Synax. CP 890: Καὶ τῆς ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ γενομένης βασιλίσσης Εὐδοκίας ἐν τοῖς Ἀγίοις Ἀποστόλοις.

112 GEDEON, Ἑορτολόγιον 152; EFSTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολόγιον 142–143.

113 PH. GIERSON – M. MAYS, Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. From Arcadius and Honorius to the Accession of Anastasius. Washington 1992, 155–156, pl. 18.

114 CHOREMI-SPETSIERI, Πορτρέτα 115–127. Je remercie Mme St. Eleutheratou, archéologue du Musée de l'Acropole, pour la fructueuse discussion sur ce sujet.

115 Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ: A. GRABAR, Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle). Paris 1963, 100–122; MACRIDY, Lips 273–275. La plaquette a été retrouvée dans la toiture sud-ouest de la chapelle.

Léon VI (886–912)¹¹⁶. Cette Eudocie n'a néanmoins jamais été sanctifiée, donc, d'après nous, la question de l'identification de cette figure reste ouverte¹¹⁷.

La représentation d'Irène l'Athénienne (750/752–803) est plus courante. Il n'existe aucune information sur sa famille immédiate – on connaît seulement qu'elle était apparentée à la famille importante des Sarantapychoi – ni sur la raison pour laquelle Léon IV l'a choisie comme épouse en 768. À la mort de Léon IV, elle eut la tutelle de Constantin VI (780–797), qui était mineur, et par la suite, devient seule impératrice (797–802), après avoir aveuglé Constantin. Elle convoque à Nicée le VIIe Concile Œcuménique en 787, où les icônes furent restaurées. Elle décède à Lesbos en 803¹¹⁸. Irène est responsable de la construction ou la restauration de nombreuses églises à Constantinople. L'Église la proclama sainte à cause de sa contribution dans la restauration des icônes et sa mémoire, selon le Τυπικὸν τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας¹¹⁹, est célébrée le 7 août (ménologe de Basile II)¹²⁰.

Les représentations d'Irène proviennent d'objets qui lui sont contemporains, sur lesquels elle figure comme impératrice. Sa représentation la plus courante figure sur des frappes de monnaies en or et en bronze, où son buste figure en face, d'abord avec son fils (780–792), puis seule (792–802)¹²¹. Sa figure orne également un côté du médaillon consulaire avec son fils. Elle est représentée en buste, porte une ceinture et une couronne, tandis qu'elle tient un sceptre cruciforme. Marvin Ross a soutenu l'hypothèse selon laquelle la représentation de la ceinture suggère que l'objet était un présent consulaire¹²². Une autre représentation d'Irène d'Athènes a été trouvée récemment sur un objet de fouilles rare¹²³. Elle figure en buste sur un registre en arc d'une estampille allongée à la base d'un plat en argent (792–797). Irène porte une ceinture ornée de pierres précieuses, elle porte une couronne à pendeloques et tient une sphère à croix et un sceptre qui se termine en croix. Le mode de

116 SH.E.J. GERSTEL, Saint Eudocia and the Imperial Household of Leo VI. *ArtB* 79/4 (1997) 699–707.

117 E. LIVREA, L'imperatrice Eudocia Santa? *ZPE* 119 (1997) 50–54. On y développe l'hypothèse selon laquelle il s'agit d'Eudocie-Athénaïs et que la plaquette était une commande de la princesse Eudocie, fille de l'empereur Constantin VIII (1025–1028).

118 L. GARLAND, *Byzantine Empresses. Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204*. London–New York 2002, 73–94.

119 J. MATEOS, Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle. Rome 1962, 362: Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμη τῶν ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένων βασιλισσῶν Πουλχερίας καὶ Εἰρήνης. Τελεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ σύναξις ἐν τοῖς Ἁγίοις Ἀποστόλοις.

120 GEDEON, Ἑορτολόγιον 150–151; G. KASTER, Irene (Eirene) die Jüngere, Kaiserin von Byzanz. *LCI* 7, 4–5.

121 K. KOTSIKIS, Defining Female Authority in Eighth-Century Byzantium: The Numismatic Images of the Empress Irene (797–802). *JLA* 5/1 (2012) 185–215.

122 M. ROSS, A Consular Medallion of Constantine VI and Irene. *Allen Memorial Museum Art Bulletin* 20 (1962) 26–32.

123 E. VOLTIRAKI, «...Ἀγεται...γαμετὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος...» (Νικηφόρου Πατριάρχου, *Ἱστορία Σύνομος*, 77.9–10). *DChAE* 4/35 (2014) 349–360. Je remercie ma collègue Mme Voltyraki pour m'avoir indiqué cet objet.

représentation de la couronne indique que le plat est fabriqué quand elle est au pouvoir avec son fils Constantin VI, bien qu'elle soit représentée seule. Sous la figure est imprimé son monogramme cruciforme¹²⁴.

La reconnaissance de la figure d'Irène dans l'art comme une sainte est problématique car elle se confond avec Irène, l'épouse de Jean II Comnène (1118–1143), nommée par la suite Xèni, également une sainte, célébrée le 13 août. Dans ce cas, la distinction est difficile¹²⁵. Une sainte Irène est représentée dans le tympan du bras nord de la croix de l'église de la Vierge Chalkéon (Panaghia Chalkeon) à Thessalonique (1028). La figure centrale porte un thorakion brodé en or de forme ovale et elle a été identifiée à sainte Irène¹²⁶. Mais dans ce cas là aussi, l'identification à Irène l'Athénienne n'est pas certaine, puisqu'il existe des exemples où la Grande Martyre Irène, martyrisée au IV^e siècle et célébrée le 5 mai est représentée avec une couronne et un thorakion, à cause de la confusion avec l'impératrice Irène.

Tous les saints que nous avons présentés ici sont liés à Athènes, mais il leur est rendu un honneur qui a acquis un caractère allant au-delà de l'échelle locale. Pour certains d'entre eux, il existait une église dédiée à leur mémoire dans la ville. C'est le cas de Denys l'Aréopagite, d'Agathocleia, de Martinien et de Ménas Kallikederalos. La plupart des saints sont représentés pour la première fois dans le ménologe de Basile II. Ils sont habituellement retrouvés dans les ménologes illustrés. Ils sont représentés moins souvent dans la peinture monumentale, principalement dans des églises de l'époque des Paléologues. C'est la scène de leur martyr qui est habituellement représentée. Leur iconographie, néanmoins, pose problème car plusieurs figures portant le même nom sont honorées et on constate une confusion dans les sources hagiographiques. Les deux impératrices athéniennes sont rarement représentées en saintes. Finalement, la représentation des saints athéniens dans l'art byzantin est rare, sauf dans le cas de Denys l'Aréopagite et de Hierothéos.

Ephorie des Antiquités d'Attique de l'Est

124 (τη ση) Δ(ουλη) Ε(ιρήνη) Α(υγούστα) Κ(ύριε) Β(οίθει) (τη ση) Δ(ουλη) Ε(ιρήνη) Α(υγούστα) Κ(ύριε) Β(οίθει).

125 KASTER, Irene 4.

126 K. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων in Thessaloniki. Cologne 1966, 37, pl. 15.



Fig. 1. Denys à la Crucifixion, Psautier de Chludov, fol. 45v (M.V. ŠČEPKINA, *Miniatiury Khluxovskoi psaltyri: Grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX*. Moscou 1977, 45)

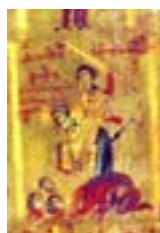


Fig. 2. La décapitation de Saint Hiérothée, hexaptique du Monastère de Sainte Catherine du Mont Sinaï (G. GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych of the Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai*. Venise–Athènes 2009, pl. 4)



Fig. 3. Le martyre du couple Dareia et Chrysanthos, hexaptique du Monastère de Sainte Catherine du Mont Sinaï (G. GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych of the Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai*. Venise–Athènes 2009, pl. 9)



Fig. 4. Scènes de la vie des saint Ménas, Hermogène et Eugraphe, Ménologe du Monastère d'Esphigménos, cod. 14, fol. 294r (S.M. PELEKANIDIS *et al.*, *Οἱ Θεσσυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, series A', *Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα*. B'. Athènes 1975, fig. 336)



Fig. 5. Saint Martinien, narthex de Saint Georges à Staro Nagoričino (G. MILLET, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Montenegro)*, III. Paris 1962, pl. 108.3)

New Evidence for the Use of the Horologion
of Andronikos Kyrrhistos during the Byzantine Period¹

The Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos, also known as the 'Tower of the Winds', is the work of the architect and astronomer Andronikos from Kyrrhos in Macedonia. It is situated on the northern slopes of the Acropolis at a short distance from the eastern propylon of the Roman Agora (fig. 1). It was built at the end of the 2nd century BC or at the latest in the middle of the 1st century BC. The engraved lines on the eight exterior sides of the building and on the cylindrical section in the south belonged to nine sundials. In its interior there was a hydraulic mechanism which, according to the current interpretations, set in motion a 'Horologion' or 'planetarium'².

The issue of the use of the Horologion during the early Christian and Byzantine period, the question about its conversion or not into a Christian worship place concerns numerous scholars, interested in the topography of Athens during Late Antiquity, in its medieval history and in the fate of the ancient monuments when Christian religion prevailed.

Scholars were interested in this issue already in the 19th century, when the first excavations took place in the area of the Roman Agora and around the Horologion of Andronikos. The excavations were carried out by the Athens Archaeological Society in 1838 and 1839 and initially removed part of the backfilling which partially hid the eight sides of the building. Thus, it revealed the lower part of its elevation, including two of the three steps of the krepis; until then the building was covered by depositions to a height of 2 m internally and at least 3 m externally. The short report published in 1846 mentions that the excavation led to the uncovering of Christian tombs near the north-east door of the monument³. From the beginning these tombs were associated with

1 We extend warm thanks to the organizers of the conference for including our paper in the conference proceedings, and to the Director of the Ephorate of the Antiquities of Athens, Dr Eleni Banou for her support of this study.

2 H.S. ROBINSON, The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place. *AJA* 47 (1943) 291–305; J.V. NOBLE – D.J. DE SOLLA PRICE, The Water Clock in the Tower of the Winds. *AJA* 72 (1968) 345–355; H. KIENAST, The Tower of the Winds in Athens. *AAIAB* 9 (2013) 20–29; IDEM, *Der Turm der Winde in Athen*. Wiesbaden 2014.

3 Κ. ΠΙΤΤΑΚΗΣ, Πρακτικά τῆς τρίτης συνεδριάσεως τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας – 29 Μαΐου 1839, in: Σύνοψις τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Athens 1846², 56, 58. For the first initiatives undertaken before excavation could begin on the east side of the Roman Agora and the area up to the Horologion of Kyrrhistos and the public latrines, see: V.CH. PETRAKOS, Η Αγορά των Ρωμαϊκών χρόνων της Αθήνας μετά την απελευθέρωση. *Mentor* 88 (June 2008) 49–54.

its presumable use as a Christian church.

The Roman Agora itself was gradually revealed during the period 1890/1891⁴, 1910⁵ and 1931⁶, when extensive excavations gradually uncovered a large part of the Roman monument. Until then, the Agora and the two monuments, nowadays dominating to its east, the Horologion of Andronikos and the so-called 'Agoranomeion', had been largely covered by extensive depositions and architectural remains of various periods. More recent excavations took place in the 1960s⁷ and in the intervening period up to 2000. The most recent excavation, on the east side of the Agora peristyle⁸ to the north of its eastern propylon, was carried out in 2000–2003 by the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities under the programme "Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens".

The area is known from engravings of the last period of the Ottoman occupation which show the Tower of the Winds with much of its height covered by accumulated material allowing the entrance only by its north-east door, and with the dense urban fabric around it. The well-known engraving of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (1754)⁹ picturesquely depicts the Tower of the Winds and the surrounding neighbourhood. Remnants of this urban development around the monument are the grooves left on its surface by the houses, that abutted it –cuttings for roofs, beam cuttings and a large niche on the western side.

It is well known that from the middle of the 18th century until the liberation of the town from the Ottomans the building was used as a *teke* by

4 K.D. MYLONAS, *PraktArchEt* (1890) 11–19; D.Gr. KABOUROGLOU, *PraktArchEt* (1891) 7–11.

5 A. PHILADELPHUS, Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ «Ρωμαϊκῇ Ἀγορᾷ» Ἀθηνῶν ἀνασκαφῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1910. *PraktArchEt* (1911) 112–126.

6 F.D. STAVROPOULOS, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς. *Παράρτημα ADelt* 13 (1930–31) 1–14 and the related drawing; for the excavation of the remains of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period in the Roman Agora, see also BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 68–72, fig. 29.

7 P. LAZARIDIS, Μεσαιωνικὰ Ἀθηνῶν – Ἀττικῆς: Ἀθῆναι. Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἀγορά. *ADelt* 19 B1, Chr. (1964) 96; A. ORLANDOS, Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς. *AEphem* (1964) 6–59; N. PLATON, Ἔργασίαι διαμορφώσεως χώρου Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς. *ADelt* 20 B1, Chr. (1965) 34–37, plan 8, fig. 36β; IDEM, Ἔργασίαι διαμορφώσεως τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς. Ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα τῆς δυτικῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτῆς. *ADelt* 21 (1966) 44–48, plan 6, fig. 69.

8 A. SPETSIERI-CHOREMI, Συνολικὴ ἀνάδειξη Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς – Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀδριανοῦ. *ADelt* 56–59, B'1, Chr. (2010) 139–140, fig. 12–13, 15; N. TSONIOTIS, Lo scavo del lato est dell'Agorà romana di Atene (2000–2003): dati stratigrafici e risultati, in: Gli Ateniesi e il loro modello di città. Seminari di Storia e Archeologia Greca (eds L.M. CALIÒ *et al.*) I, Roma 25–26 Giugno 2012. Rome 2014, 323–336; IDEM, Η Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἀγορά τῆς Αἰθῆνας, ἀπὸ τὴν ὕστερη ἀρχαιότητα ἕως τὴν Τουρκοκρατία: ἀνασκαφικά στοιχεῖα – στρωματογραφικά δεδομένα, in: Αρχαιολογικὲς Συμβολές (eds S. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ – Μ. ΔΟΓΗΑ-ΤΟΛΙΣ), vol. B: Ἀττικὴ, Α' καὶ Γ' Εφορείες Προϊστορικῶν καὶ Κλασικῶν Αρχαιοτήτων, Μουσείο Κυκλαδικῆς Τέχνης. Athens 2013, 169–192.

9 J. STUART – N. REVETT, *The Antiquities of Athens* I. London 1762.

the Dervishes of the Mevlevi and other orders¹⁰. For this reason, the surface of the marble blocks in the interior of the Horologion, between the two interior cornices, was covered by the pale-coloured coating still visible today. A niche for the mihrab was carved into its south-eastern side and Arabic writing covered some of the coated surface on either side of the mihrab. As it can be deduced from the well-known engravings of Edward Dodwell (1805)¹¹, the floor level throughout the latest Ottoman period was at the height of the lowest interior cornice, which is 2.03 m higher than the original floor of the monument. The rise of its floor level is in accordance with the general increase of the surrounding ground level, which rose visibly during the Frankish and Ottoman periods, although it has remained rather invariable from the end of Antiquity until the middle Byzantine period¹².

Contrary to the sufficient information we have about the fate of the monument during the last period of Ottoman rule, there is a major lack of written and other sources concerning the Byzantine period. In 1436 and 1444 Cyriacus of Ancona visited Athens, at the time ruled by the Acciaiuoli of Florence. From his second journey we have a description of the Horologion in which he refers to as Temple of Aiolos (*Eoliam Aedem*). His description refers only to the frieze with the winds. He does not mention either the use of the monument or the condition of its interior. Unfortunately, his *Commentaria* were lost in 1514 in a fire, and thus we do not know if it contained a more substantial reference.

About forty years later, between 1475 and 1485, when the city was already under Ottoman rule, the formerly 'Anonymus' of the Ambrosian Library in Milan¹³ visited Athens. 'Anonymus' has been identified by Luigi Beschi with the Franciscan monk Urbano Dalle Fosse, known as 'Urbano Bolzanio'¹⁴. As Luigi Beschi emphasises, "la descrizione dell'Anonimo Ambrosiano è la prima che affronta, con notevole precisione e sorprendente autonomia critica, una presentazione delle principali emergenze archeologiche di Atene e della Grecia, legate dal filo conduttore di un itinerario". Unfortunately, the actual *itinerario* of the Franciscan monk does not survive, as it seems that it was already lost by the end of the 18th century and only an extract of its main points is known. It reveals that the area of the eastern propylon of the Roman Agora and the Horologion during the 15th century were part of the urban fabric, which he describes as densely populated. On the section of his itinerary from the temple of Hephaistos to the Roman Agora via Hadrian's Library, Urbano Bolzanio

10 A. XYNGOPOULOS, Τεκές τοῦ Μπραϊμ, in: Εὔρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων. Α. Ἀθηνῶν, Β'/Β', 121–122; TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις 210.

11 E. DODWELL, Views in Greece from drawings. London 1821.

12 TSONIOTIS, Η Ρωμαϊκὴ Αγορά 177–178, 189.

13 E. ZIEBARTH, Ein Griechischer Reisebericht des XV Jahrhunderts. *MDAI AA XXIV* (1899) 77, 86–87.

14 L. BESCHI, L'Anonimo Ambrosiano: Un itinerario in Grecia di Urbano Bolzanio. *Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei XXXIX* (1985) 9, 15, 22.

stops at the Horologion, which he clearly describes as a building with eight sides, bearing reliefs with the personifications of the winds. He also adds an extremely useful piece of information: at that time, “al presente”, it was used as “chiesa de Greci”, i.e. as a church for the Orthodox Greeks. It is the only known written source which refers to the ecclesiastical use of the monument. This source has not been always given the importance it deserves¹⁵.

About two centuries later, in 1667, the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682) visited Athens. In his ‘Itinerary’ he describes some ancient monuments of Athens and shows a special interest in the Tower of the Winds¹⁶. In its interior, he describes a tomb, bearing a Greek inscription and specially venerated by the Athenians, since “the Christian infidels believe that the Greek Philip is buried in it”. No other reference is made to the use of the building. In a previous section of his text, where he names the Ottoman buildings of the town, he refers to “two tekes of dervishes”. This, in conjunction with the description of the interior of the Horologion, leads us to the conclusion that the monument was not used as a *teke* in 1667, otherwise Çelebi would have mentioned it.

In 1672 the Jesuit monk Jacques Paul Babin¹⁷, based in Constantinople, visited the Horologion. He did not mention any formal use of the building, not even the funerary one which Çelebi refers to. After describing the exterior sides of the building, with reference to the interior, he mentions in the lowest part of it a sewage drain and a heap of rubbish.

Returning to the question of the building’s use during the Byzantine period, some scholars suggested that it was converted into a Christian church¹⁸ or a baptistery¹⁹, although others considered the existing evidence insufficient

15 The trustworthiness of our source is proved by the correct topographical description of the area north and north-west of the Acropolis and, generally, of the visible ancient architectural remains of Athens, and by the relatively accurate reading of the inscriptions which he occasionally discerns on the facades of the ancient buildings which he describes.

16 K.I. BIRIS, Τὰ Ἀττικὰ τοῦ Ἐβλιᾶ Τσελεμπῆ. Αἱ Ἀθῆναι καὶ τὰ περὶχώρὰ των κατὰ τὸν 17^ο αἰῶνα. Athens 1959, 48–51; P.A. MacKAY, A Turkish description of the Tower of the Winds. *AJA* 73 (1969) 468–469.

17 J.-P. BABIN, Relation de l’état présent de la ville d’Athènes, ancienne capitale de la Grèce, bâtie depuis 3400 ans. Lyon 1674, 40–42.

18 PITTAKIS, Πρακτικὰ τῆς τρίτης συνεδριάσεως 58; ROBINSON, The Tower of the Winds 291 n. 1; NOBLE – DE SOLLA PRICE, The Water Clock 348 (the authors think that the Tower of the Winds was converted into a church in the late Roman period); BESCHI, L’Anonimo Ambrosiano 9, 22; FRANTZ, Late Antiquity 71–72, n. 98–100; TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις 139; LASKARIS, Monuments funéraires 155, n. 352; A. SPETSIERI-CHOREMI, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις καὶ μνημειώδη κτήρια στὴν Αθῆνα κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Αυγούστου καὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανού, in: Αθῆναι. Από τὴν Κλασικὴ ἐποχὴ ἕως Σήμερα (5ος αἰ. π.Χ. – 2000 μ.Χ.) (eds CH. BOURAS et al.). Athens 2000, 174.

19 TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις 139, n. 1; I. VOLANAKIS, Τὰ Παλαιοχριστιανικὰ Βαπτιστήρια τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Athens 1976, 75–76; D.B. SMALL, A Proposal for the Reuse of the Tower of the Winds. *AJA* 84 (1980) 97–99; SPETSIERI-CHOREMI, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις 174.

to prove any of these theories²⁰. One of the arguments in favour of its use mainly as a baptistery and not as a church rests on the fact that it would have been unsuitable for the latter purpose, because it lacked an apse. However, the lack of the apse is not a conclusive argument, as it could be countered by a somehow differentiated indoor arrangement. Parts of a marble balustrade²¹, attributed to the Horologion's interior, and the series of eight holes in the floor of the monument, which were interpreted as sockets for the supports of a ciborium, were also associated with the use of the building as a baptistery in early Christian times. Although this use cannot be excluded, we consider the existing evidence rather insufficient.

The visible, already known to scholars, traces which can be related to a certain extent to Christian worship in the Tower of the Winds were a cross, roughly incised in the eastern side of the interior and two crosses with equal arms, carefully carved on the frame of the north-west door. A fourth cross with equal arms within a circle was recently spotted, engraved on the stylobate of the north-west porch of the Horologion.

The incised cross in the interior of the Horologion is difficult to date because of its long-lasting form, and, since the carving is done in a rough manner, it cannot be related to any official use of the building. However, the fact that it was carved on its eastern side presumably points to an act of symbolic significance.

The crosses within a circle on the north-west door jambs, with equal arms widened at the ends, and carved at the same height –2.73 m from the threshold of the door– must be connected to the official use of the building as a Christian church. Although this form is known from earlier periods, it is a characteristic decorative motif of the middle Byzantine period (10th and 11th centuries), and is also found frequently in Athenian sculpture in many variations²². With some misgivings due to its crude technique, one could perhaps place the engraved cross on the north-west porch of the monument to the same period. The north-west doorway quite probably served as the main entrance to the interior of the Horologion. It later became obsolete because of the rising ground level in the area, probably during the Ottoman era, and also because of the buildings, probably houses, built against this side of the monument.

These four crosses are not of course sufficient to establish the probable use of the monument as a church or baptistery. Besides, similar Christian symbols, such as crosses, birds and a fish, are also carved on columns and

20 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 56; KIENAST, The Tower of the Winds 28; IDEM, Der Turm der Winde 149–150.

21 A.K. ORLANDOS, «Έργα Ἀναστυλώσεως» ἐν τῷ Ὁρολογίῳ τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Κυρρήστου. *Παράρτημα τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου τοῦ 1919*, *ADelt* 5 (1922) 14–16, fig. 2.

22 See, for example, in N. DIMITRAKOPOULOU-SKYLOGIANNI, *Ανάγλυφα θωράκια ἀπὸ το Βυζαντινὸ Μουσεῖο*. *DChAE* 13 (1985–1986) 164 (nos 4, 6), 169 (no. 16), 172 (nos 20–21); SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, *Γλυπτὰ* 103 (no. 142), 137 (no. 183), 138 (no. 138).

other architectural elements of the adjacent Roman Agora (fig. 2)²³, since from the early Christian period onward, such symbols were used as a way to Christianize buildings, regardless of their functions²⁴.

Apart from the above-mentioned arguments, the theory that the Tower of the Winds was used for religious purposes during the Byzantine period was supported in the first place by the findings of the excavation carried out in 2013²⁵. More specifically, a trial trench was excavated between the two porches of the monument below the relief of the wind Boreas, in order to investigate the foundation of the monument and its static condition. This was the same area where excavations by the Athens Archaeological Society had taken place in 1838/39. The report on those results referred, among other things, to the finding of many charred bones during the excavation of a “cemetery or disposal pit”²⁶ near the north-east entrance of the monument²⁷.

During the excavation²⁸, the north wall of a grave was discovered 1.20–1.30 m north of the *euthynteria* of the Horologion (fig. 3). Its interior is actually a trench cut into the natural rock, measuring 1.20x1.90 m and oriented east-west. To the north it is defined by a wall of rough mixed masonry, which rested directly on the Athenian schist (*kimilia*), while to the west it was bordered by the natural rock and by part of a small wall forming an angle with the wall on the north side. The east side of the grave was also defined by a cut face of natural rock, while the south side consisted of the Horologion’s foundations. The pavement of the grave consisted mainly of Corinthian pantiles²⁹ of the same type, probably all from the same roof, which were laid roughly on the ground together with some bricks.

The tiles used were made by a well-known workshop, as proved by the stamp ΑΙΓΙΠΥΡΟΥ, which was preserved on a tile. The products of this workshop have been found in the Kerameikos and also in the Ancient Agora, in front of the Metroon, and especially in the destruction deposit of Agrippa’s Odeum, a layer which is dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century AD³⁰.

23 ORLANDOS, Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν 58–59, figs 110–111.

24 N.K. MOUTSOPOULOS, Σταυρωμένοι κίονες. Athens 2004 *passim*.

25 The excavation was carried out by the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in order to form the proposal for funding the necessary conservation work through the ‘European Regional Development Fund’ 2007–2013; see: N. TSONIOTIS, Ωρολόγιο Ανδρονίκου Κυρρήστου – Τομή Γ’, *ADelt* 69, B1, Chr. (2014) 28–30, fig. 7–8.

26 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΣ, Πρακτικά τῆς τρίτης συνεδριάσεως 56, 58.

27 Strong traces of burning were also found in the ground in this exact location near the north-east porch of the monument, during removal of surface soil in the course of constructing a path for the disabled persons in 2015.

28 The following worked in section C of the excavation: Mr A. Maniatis (workman), Mr V. Dimopoulos (draftsman). Ms A. Lingou (student of archaeology at the University of Athens) carried out her practical exercise in this excavation.

29 LASKARIS, Monuments funéraires 275 (g).

30 J.G.W. PAPE – G.E. BENSELER, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen 1, *Αιγίπυρος*. Braunschweig 1863–1870, 31; H.A. THOMPSON, The Odeion in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia* XIX (1950) 49–50, 52, fig. 7, pl. 38c; D. PEPPA-DELMOZOU, Ἐπιγραφική Συλλογὴ Ἀθηνῶν. *ADelt* 25 (1970), B1 (1972) 14–15, pl. 9β; U. KNIGGE, Der Südhügel (Kerameikos IX). Berlin 1976, 160, n. 364; J.S. TRAILL, Persons of Ancient Athens 1. Toronto 1994, 208, 112355; C. DE DOMENICO, Lateres Signati Graeci (I), Athenae et Attica. Athens–Paestum 2015, 55–58, tables 14–15.

The excavated layers indicate a disturbed stratigraphy resulting from successive uses of the grave and secondary burials from other graves in its interior. Perhaps, part of this disturbance was also due to the nineteenth-century excavation.

Inside the grave a large number of scattered bones as well as partially preserved skeletons were found. The findings from the interior of the grave also include part of an iron brooch, a bronze earring and other small iron objects extremely corroded as a result of oxidation.

The pottery finds, characteristic sherds of the type known as 'brown glazed ware'³¹ and also sherds of the second half of the 12th century with wavy combed decoration, suggest that the grave was used in the middle Byzantine period and especially in the 11th and 12th centuries. The pottery from the layer underneath the tiles forming the pavement of the grave coincides with the foundation layer of the north wall. The pottery from this layer can provide the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the grave. This pottery is rather consistent in date (late 6th to early 7th century) and was found concentrated mainly along the north wall³².

In any case, we believe that the positioning of the grave next to the Horologion of Andronikos and between its two porches was not a matter of chance: it was perhaps part of a small cemetery which grew up near the Horologion as a result of its religious use. This could be considered as an *argumentum ex silentio*, supporting this use in the later part of the middle Byzantine period. The funerary use of the wider surrounding area in the same period has been shown by previous excavations in the Roman Agora. Its focus seems to have been the basilica under the Fethiye mosque, with the exception of a double-vaulted tomb in the south side of the peristyle of the Agora.

However, what proved the ecclesiastical use of the Horologion beyond any doubt, at least in the late Byzantine period, between the 13th and 14th centuries, was the discovery of fragments of frescoes in its interior during

31 See pottery of this type in: A.M. FRANTZ, Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 433, 457, B1-B2, fig. 19; C.H. MORGAN, The Byzantine Pottery (Corinth XI). 1942, 36-42, 178, n. 1-2, 5, fig. 25; J.W. HAYES, Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul, vol. 2: The Pottery. Princeton, NJ, 1992, 41-43, 219-220; VROOM, Ceramics 147; IDEM, Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean, 7th to the 20th Century; An Introduction and Field Guide. Utrecht 2005, 72-73, fig. 3.3. The chafing dish BXM1321 in the Byzantine and Christian Museum at Athens with a similar glaze on the lip has been dated to the middle Byzantine period. See Καθημερινή Ζωή 329, n. 363 - 9th to 12th century according to the text of the permanent exhibition of the Museum.

32 The sherds with the characteristic combed decoration belong to trade amphorae of this specific period. For this type of pottery, see: G.F. BASS - F.H. VAN DOORNICK JR., Yassi Ada I: A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck. Austin 1982, 157-160 (type 2 amphorae); L. KORMAZOPOULOU - D. CHATZILAZAROU, Τα αγγεία του σπηλαιοβαράθρου Ανδρίτσας Αργολίδας. Προκαταρκτική παρουσίαση ενός κλειστού συνόλου του τέλους της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας και κάποιες απόπειρες ερμηνείας, in: PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI - KOUSOULAKOU (eds), Κεραμική 171-172, 177, figs 3β, 5β.

the recent conservation works (fig. 4)^{32a}. The works were undertaken by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens within the framework of the European Regional Development Fund 2007–2013 ‘Conservation and Display of the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos in the Archaeological Site of the Roman Agora of Athens’. More specifically, during the conservation of the crumbling coating on the part of the wall between the two interior cornices, which dates to the use of the monument as a *teke*, scattered fragments of plaster were found, some of which retain traces of fresco decoration. From the extent of the area where these fragments were found we can deduce that the entire surface of the second level of the wall initially had painted decoration, in contrast to the remaining surfaces, where no indication of such decoration was found. Recognizable fragments of frescoes were preserved on the north-west and north side of the monument, while on the other sides, especially on the north-east side, the fragments were undecipherable.

On the north side, to the left, the representation of a mounted warrior saint can be discerned with difficulty, on scattered pieces of plaster (fig. 5 – design 1). This representation, apart from being fragmentary, has also lost the upper layer of paint over most of its extent. On the central part one can discern the haloed head of a saint, most probably in three-quarter view, with a slight downward bend, and also a part of his chest. Traces of folds around the neck must belong to the saint’s cloak. To the right, the head of the horse is rather better preserved, painted in red with a strongly curved neck. The small ear of the horse can be distinguished and, in a darker tone of red, its mane. Finally, the fragment to the left preserves a barely visible part of the saint’s arm and spear. We believe that the equestrian saint with his head in this specific position should be safely restored on the basis of similar representations in churches in Attica³³, the Peloponnese³⁴, Crete³⁵ and elsewhere, which date from the end of the 13th century onwards.

In the nearby church of Agios Ioannis Theologos, in Plaka, quite close

32a N. TSONIOTIS, Συντήρηση και ανάδειξη του Ωρολογίου του Ανδρονίκου Κυρρήστου, *ADelt* 70, B’1, Chr. (2015) 34, fig. 37.

33 See, for example, in the church of Sts Theodore at Aphidnes (Kiourka): E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, Αφίδνες, Άγιοι Θεόδωροι. *ADelt* 40 B (1985) 78; S.A. MOUZAKIS, Βυζαντινές-μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες βόρειας Αττικής. Athens 2010, 205. Saints on horseback in various positions are known in other churches. See, for example, in the church of Soter at Megara (SKAWRAN, Fresco painting, fig. 335).

34 See, for example, in Ai Stratigos at Epano Mpoularioi in Mani (DRANDAKIS, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες 404, 462, 466, figs 19, 40, 78), in Agios Demetrios at Krokees (K.P. DIAMANTI, Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Δημητρίου (1286) στις Κροκεές Λακωνίας και το εργαστήριο του ανώνυμου ζωγράφου. Tripoli 2012, 123–124, figs 20, 47), at the Frankish gate of Akronauplia (M. HIRSCHBICHLER, The Crusader Paintings in the Frankish Gate at Nauplia, Greece: A Historical Construct in the Latin Principality of Morea. *Gesta* XLIV/1 (2005) 13–30, fig.8.

35 For examples in Crete, mainly of the 14th century, see V. TSAMAKDA, Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki. Vienna 2012, 75–79; M. BORMPOUDAKI, Figures of mounted warrior saints in medieval Crete. The representation of the equestrian Saint George “Thalassoperatis” at Diavaide in Heraklion. *Zograf* 41 (2017) 143–156, especially fig. 3.

to Roman Agora, the frescoes of saints on horseback have been dated earlier. One of them, the completely preserved representation of St George (?) follows the same iconographic type³⁶. The great popularity of saints on horseback from the 13th century onwards has been connected to the spirit of chivalry and the interaction between the Byzantine culture and crusader traditions³⁷.

Fragments of fresco in a somewhat better state of preservation were found on the north-west side, above the doorway, where a small part of the Lamentation is preserved (fig. 6 – design 2). In the centre, the upper part of the Cross, with a small horizontal bar, is visible. Next to this small bar, and probably above the larger, main horizontal arm of the Cross, a lamenting angel can be seen. Part of his head and halo, a small red uplifted wing, as well as the outline of his bent back are visible. The inscription which identified the scene was written on either side of the Cross. To the left, the letters Π, Η, Τ, Α and Φ (Ἐπιτάφιος), some complete and some partial, can be read, while to the right, above the angel, the word Θρῆνος is preserved almost complete. Of the rest of the scene, only a section of a mountain is recognizable on the top right-hand corner.

The Cross in the scene of the Lamentation, although known from occasional earlier examples, is an iconographic element characteristic of the Palaeologan version of this theme³⁸. It appears in representations of the last decade of the 13th century, like those in St Nicholas in Prilep³⁹, in Sts Theodore at Mystras⁴⁰ and in Olympiotissa at Elassona⁴¹. Actually, in Prilep the Cross does not occupy the central position of the composition, as was to become the norm later on.

Little can be said about the style of the frescoes on the basis of the fragments of the angel. The large eyes, often heavily shadowed, characterize painting in Attica all through the 13th century, and show Comnenian origins, which can also be detected in the rendering of the mountain shapes with soft curves. On the other hand the olive-green underpainting and the wish to give more volume to the faces are more innovative elements of the late 13th and

36 E. ΚΟΥΝΟΥΠΙΟΤΟΥ-MΑΝΟΛΕΣΣΟΥ, Ἀθήναι: Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Θεολόγος. Ἐργασίαι στερεώσεως. *AAA* 8/2 (1975) 140–150, figs 5–7; N. CHATZIDAKIS, Ψηφιδωτά και τοιχογραφίες στις βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες της Αθήνας, in: *Αθήναι. Από την Κλασική εποχή έως Σήμερα* 250–252, fig. 5.

37 HIRSCHBICHLER, Nauplia 19; S.E.J. GERSTEL, Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea, in: *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*. Washington, D.C., 2001, 263–285.

38 M. SOTIRIOU, Ἐνταφιασμός – Θρῆνος. *DChAE* 7 (1973–1974) 146; I. SPATHARAKIS, The Influence of the Lithos in the Development of the Iconography of the Threnos, in: *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art– Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (ed. D. MOURIKI *et al.*). Princeton 1995, 439.

39 G. MILLET, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie* III. Paris 1962, fig. 26.1.

40 IDEM, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*. Paris 1910, fig. 88.2.

41 E.C. CONSTANTINIDES, *The wall paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa*. Athens 1992, 126–128, pls. 42.

early 14th centuries⁴².

The last preserved fragment is located in the left corner of the same side. Small round starry elements have been impressed on plaster which seems to be forming part of a circle (fig. 7). We believe that this is what remains of the protruding decorated halo of a single figure. The traces of colour inside it must belong to its head. Similar haloes in monumental painting are to be found from the end of the 13th century onwards in areas ruled by the Franks or in areas neighbouring Frankish states, especially in Crete⁴³, but also in the Peloponnese⁴⁴. Although similar examples have been noticed in earlier Byzantine wall paintings, the expansion of this practice, which is an imitation of metal revetments, under the influence of similar practices used mainly on icons, especially in Cyprus, has been attributed to Latin influence⁴⁵.

It becomes clear that although the fragments are extremely sporadic, they allow us to date the fresco decoration of the monument, with reasonable certainty, to the end of the 13th or more probably to the beginning of the 14th century.

A general survey of the surviving decoration leads us to some assumptions, concerning the use of the building at this period. The complete absence of frescoes in the upper sections of the wall permits us to deduce that the fresco decoration was probably confined to this specific level of the building, a rather limited area. This may also explain the sequence of separate, full length figures and narrative scenes in one single band. If so, the choice of the Lamentation is not the most obvious one, as it is a secondary episode in the Christological cycle which is often omitted from the iconographical programmes of the period. Nevertheless, its place above the entrance of the Horologion of Kyrrhistos can perhaps be explained if we recognize a funerary use to the monument, at least during this period.

This theory, which cannot be proved by excavation⁴⁶, can perhaps be related with the above-mentioned Evliya Çelebi's testimony, regarding the presence of a grave with a Greek inscription in the interior of the Horologion,

42 For the monumental art in the area, see KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Monumental Art* 369–417.

43 BORBOUDAKIS, Παναγία Κερά fig. 23; *Wall Paintings of Crete*, I, figs 289–290; III, figs 70–71, 301, 303, 586, 589, 593.

44 N.B. DRANDAKIS, "Ερευναι εις την Μεσσηνιακήν Μάνην. *PraktArchEt* 1976A 219–220, 233 fig. 155b, 166a; N.B. DRANDAKIS *et al.*, "Ερευνα στὴ Μεσσηνιακὴ Μάνη. *PraktArchEt* 1980 208–209.

45 S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Διακοσμημένοι φωτοστέφανοι σέ εἰκόνες καὶ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλαδικοῦ χώρου, in: Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, B. Lefkosia 1986, 555–560, where this topic is thoroughly examined.

46 The interior of the monument had already been cleared of the accumulated backfilling by the middle of the 18th century, by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, so that they could draw its floor and complete their research.

which, as the traveller records, Christian infidels visited on their feast days⁴⁷.

The evidence set out above can now give a definitive answer on the ecclesiastical use of the Horologion of Andronikos, at least for the period of the Frankish occupation. This use seems to have continued during the early period of the Ottoman occupation, as Urbano Bolzanio testifies. However, we do not have any evidence of the period in which the ecclesiastical use began. It is almost certain that it was already established in the last part of the middle Byzantine period, between the 11th and 12th centuries, when the tomb excavated between the two porches of the monument was in use. On the other hand, there is so far no evidence concerning either the use of the Tower of the Winds during the early Christian era or its function as a baptistery.

We do not know how long the Ottoman state allowed it to be used for ecclesiastical purposes, but the testimony of Evliye Çelebi and Jacques Paul Babin certainly provides a *terminus ante quem*. It is evident from their writings that around 1670 the interior of the monument had no official use, and certainly not an ecclesiastical one. In addition, we can also assume that the Byzantine frescoes of the Horologion were no longer visible. They had probably been destroyed to a large extent or covered with some other coating. Otherwise, at least the Jesuit monk, who dedicated part of his text to the churches of Athens, would have referred to elements of Christian worship, especially since he carefully describes the condition of the interior of the monument.

In any case, the new findings on the one hand give a definitive answer to the question of the ecclesiastical use of the Tower of the Winds, and on the other hand offer necessary material for an in depth investigation into its fate after the end of Antiquity.

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47 If we accept the view that the decoration had funerary character, the question remains open as to why such an important building in Athens received frescoes which gave it, or renewed, its funerary character at the beginning of the 14th century. A possible link to the battle of Almyros in 15th of March 1311, decisive for the fate of Athens, is attractive, since, according to the historical sources, all the knights of Athens, including duke Gautier de Brienne, the Μέγας Κύρης himself, were killed. For the battle of Almyros see MILLER, *The Latins* 224–229; K.M. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388*. London 1975, 8–12.



Fig. 1. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos. View from Northeast (photo: N. Tsoniotis)



Fig. 2. Roman Agora,
East colonnade. A cross and
a bird carved on the 16th
column from the South
(photo: N. Tsoniotis)

Fig. 3. Horologion of
Andronikos Kyrrhistos,
North side. The pavement
of the grave
(photo: N. Tsoniotis)



Fig. 4. Horologion
of Andronikos
Kyrrhistos.
North and Northwest
side
(photo:
A. Karamperidi)



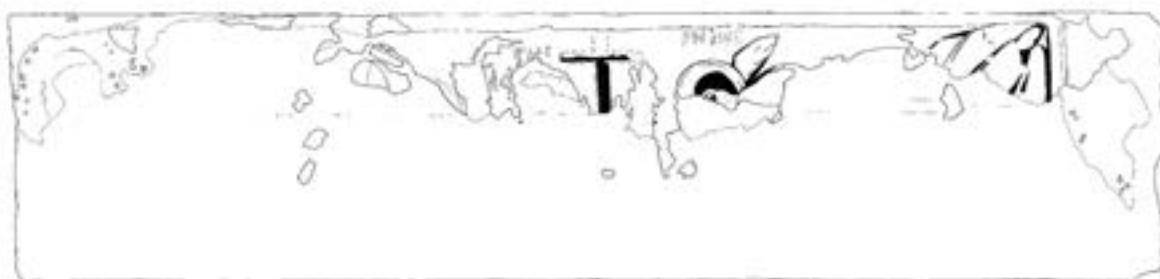
Fig. 5. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos, North side. Remains of the representation of a mounted warrior saint (photo: E. Bardani)



Design 1. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos, North side. A mounted warrior saint (Design by: H. Mpinteri – EFAATH Archive)



Fig. 6. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos, Northwest side. The Lamentation (detail) (photo: E. Bardani)



Design 2. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos, Northwest side. The preserved fresco decoration (Design by H. Mpinteri – EFAATH Archive)



Fig. 7. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhistos, Northwest side. Remains of a protruding halo, decorated with impressed elements (photo: E. Bardani)

AIKATERINI AVRAMIDOU

Excavations within the Church of Agia Triada 'Tou Nerou' in Penteli. Some Preliminary Observations*

The Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, as part of the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) programme of 2007–2013, entitled “Restoration of the Church of Agia Triada ‘Tou Nerou’ in Penteli of the Archbishopric of Athens”, carried out excavations within the interior of the church¹. Work began in December 2014 and ended in May of the following year, but with a number of lengthy breaks due to adverse weather conditions. In conjunction with restoration work and conservation of the wall paintings, a new wooden templon was installed.

The church of Agia Triada is located in the central square in the area of Penteli to the north of Athens. It is a metochion of the monastery Koimisi tis Theotokou, which is dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary and located in the same area. It is known locally as ‘Tou Nerou’ (‘of the water’) because of the nearby spring to the west, according to the current Abbot of the monastery, Metropolitan Ioannis Sakellarios of Thermopylae. According to tradition² and the memoirs of a previous Abbot of the monastery, Cyril II Degleri (1844–1868), the founder and first bishop of the monastery Koimisi tis Theotokou remained in the church of Agia Triada during the early years of the monastery’s construction in 1578³.

The earliest known depiction of the church of Agia Triada was by the Russian monk Barskij in 1745⁴. The church is depicted within its precinct, located to the north-east of the monastery and the Girokomeio (nursing home for the elderly).

The existing small church is of the domed, cross-in-square contracted

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1 The excavations were carried out by the technicians of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, I. Fameliaris and I. Gkourlias. The drawing of the excavation was carried out by Ch. Binteri and the conservation of the finds by E. Nikolakopoulou, E. Kouma, I. Monemvasiou, G. Perrou and M. Flouskakou.

2 Εύρετήριο τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος Γ’, 188.

3 KAMBOUROGLOU, Μνημεῖα 389–392; IDEM, Μελέται καὶ ἔρευναι, Ἀττικά. Athens 1923, 83–84.

4 K. CHRYSOCHOIDIS, Τόπος καὶ εἰκόνα, Χαρακτικά ξένων περιηγητῶν γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 18ος αἰώνας, vol. 1. Athens 1979, no. 42.

type, with domed inner narthex and an outer narthex which was a later addition covered with vault⁵. Only a small fraction of the wall paintings which originally covered the entire interior of the church survive today. Based on an inscription on the southern wall of the western transept, which is no longer preserved, P. Lazaridis dated the wall decorations to 1552⁶. The surviving paintings are restricted to the bema and the main area of the church and do not appear to follow a strict iconographic order. The apse of the bema is decorated with a depiction of the Theotokos as Platytera and the Hierarchs. Part of the scene of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary and a depiction of St Stephen are present on the lower part of the eastern wall. The Ascension of Christ is depicted on the arch of the eastern barrel vaulted ceiling, with the Crucifixion on the proskomidi and St John the Forerunner on the eastern wall of the southern cross-arm. The northern wall of the church is decorated with the scene of the Hospitality of Abraham with two prophets on each side, while on the southern wall is depicted the Holy Trinity with the Prophet Elijah and St Savvas on either side. On the western wall of the southern cross-arm is depicted St Aikaterini, along with busts of various other saints on the barrel vaulted ceiling. On the upper dome is depicted Christ Pantocrator with the figures of the prophets on the drum below and the partially preserved images of the Evangelists Luke and John on two of the four pendentives. No other wall paintings were found during the conservation work.

During 1968 and 1969 the Archaeological Service carried out a programme of restoration at the church, along with conservation of the wall paintings by the conservator A. Margaritof, without carrying out any excavation. Only the soil outside of the church along the northern and eastern walls was removed to produce a shallow depression in order to lay a low concrete bench. No further details are known about this work.

During the current phase of work excavations were carried out in order to locate the remains of the original floor. A series of exploratory trenches were dug within the main church and inner narthex and were expanded to include the whole church apart from the outer narthex. The base of the wrist of the depiction on the southern wall of Prophet Elijah's raised right hand was used as an elevation datum (0.00m).

Removal of recent concrete floor tiles revealed the foundations of the existing southern wall of the church at a depth of 1.61 m below the datum, along with the western wall of the inner narthex at a depth of 1.67 m. Both lay on the same axis as the older walls 12 and 5 respectively (fig. 1)⁷. The total width of the older southern Wall 12 is not visible, but it protrudes towards

5 Εὐρετήριο τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος Γ', 193–194; PALLIS, Τοπογραφία 276–277.

6 P. LAZARIDIS, Πεντέλη, Ἐξωκκλήσιον Ἀγ. Τριάδας. *ADelt* 24 (1969) Chr. B1, 96–97.

7 The convention used for numbering structural features follows the order of their discovery.

the north by 0.23 m from below the foundations of the existing southern wall of the church. The earlier western wall of the inner narthex protrudes 0.20 m towards the east from below the base of the existing western wall of the church.

In addition, the foundations of the existing northern wall of the main church, which lay below 1.72 m from the datum, run along the length of the inner side of the older Wall 7, with a width of 0.55–0.6 m, which runs parallel to southern Wall 12. Wall 7 continues to the east and underlies the eastern wall of the bema, while towards the west it is located below the western wall of the main church and continues into the area of the inner narthex as Wall 8. Wall 7 is of robust construction and rests on the underlying bedrock. Its faces consist of partially carved stones of various sizes, between which are horizontal plinths connected with large quantities of mortar. In the main church a wall perpendicular to northern Wall 7 and of similar width and construction confines an area towards the south-east. The western side of this enclosed area is adjoined to the northern part of the western wall of the existing church.

The excavations in the bema were halted at 1.96 m without discovering the older apse or underlying bedrock. Only the foundations of the eastern wall of the existing church were located. Externally, the semi-hexagonal apse of the church rests on a strongly projecting semi-circular foundation which may possibly be that of the older church (fig. 2). In the north-eastern corner of the east wall is found part of a low angled compact structure on the same axis as Wall 7.

Based on the above evidence, we conclude that western Wall 5, northern Walls 7 and 8 and southern Wall 12 are relics of the foundations of the earlier church. This older single nave church with narthex underlies the existing church of Agia Triada and is slightly offset towards the north.

In the area of the main church and at a depth of around 1.68–1.69 m, were uncovered the remains of clay-tiled Floor 2, which was 1.2x1.8 m and formed from intact and fragmentary remains of rectangular tiles, some of which have shallow linear depressions formed by the fingers of the construction workers. In places, small schist-stone tiles of irregular shape were also used (fig. 3). The floor continues into the central and southern parts of the main church, while a very small section of it was identified in the area of the existing church, to the east of the marble solea. This floor was of the earlier church as it lay beneath the foundations of the existing one. Between the floor and the earlier southern Wall 12 was a foundation wall of unknown function, made with mortar and measuring 1.20x0.45 m.

In the southern part of the inner narthex of the existing church, at a depth of 1.81/1.84 m a small portion of stone paved Floor 6 was found. Measuring 0.94x0.62 m, it was made of irregular off-white marble slabs which were set with mortar (fig. 4). This floor was lower than the brick floor of the

main church and was part of the flooring of the earlier narthex. After removal of the marble floor, the covering slabs of cist Burial 10 were discovered. These were irregular and roughly made and were set with mortar.

Burial 10 was partly set into the carved underlying bedrock and aligned along the axis of the main church. The northern wall consisted of horizontally placed bricks of 3–4 cm in thickness and occasionally stones, set within a brownish mortar. The southern side consisted of roughly carved stones, interspersed with horizontal and vertically placed bricks. The inner edge of the southern wall protruded approximately 10 cm from below the overlying foundation of the south wall of the inner narthex of the existing church. On this projection the covering slabs were placed. Based on the discovery of a small piece of intact plaster, it is likely that the walls of the grave had been internally coated.

It was not possible to remove all of the fill from within Burial 10, since 0.35 m of its eastern extent was covered by the southern end of the western wall of the existing main church. The position of the overlying wall indicates that the grave was earlier. Interestingly, in order to securely locate the western wall on top of the marble cover slabs, a foundation layer of rubble with mortar of 1.1x0.6 m and 0.25 m thick was laid. Found only in the southern part of the western wall and not in the north, it consisted of small flat stone and tile fragments set firmly in abundant mortar. In this way, the earlier burial was incorporated into the foundation of the existing church without disturbing or damaging it.

For safety reasons and to prevent any disturbance of the existing structure of the church at this point, none of the soil underlying the western wall was removed. Consequently, it was not possible to locate the eastern end of the burial cist and therefore to assess its total interior length. The dimensions of the visible parts were 1.6x0.63–0.65 m, with a maximum interior depth of 0.7 m.

The upper part of the fill within the grave consisted of soil mixed with tile fragments, a few bricks and many pieces of mortar and plaster. No primary burial was found, although at least four skulls were gathered in the western part and multiple bone fragments representing the skeletal remains of many different individuals. Further down in the sequence, the soil was firmer and contained large quantities of worn and brittle bone fragments, with femoral pieces the best preserved. Also a few sherds of unglazed utilitarian pottery of the Byzantine period and two intact bronze earrings of the 11th/12th centuries were found. One earring consisted of a thin wire in the shape of a ring with hook and loop ends, while its lower part was decorated with two small fixed spheres. The second earring was also ring-shaped but larger and had on its

lower loop three larger spheres⁸, fixed with a fine spiral strip wound along the length of the wire⁹. Similar bronze earrings were found in burials in ancient Corinth, Apokoronas in Chania, in Eretria and Aerino in Magnesia.

In the northern part of the inner narthex, adjacent to the older Wall 8, adult Burial 9 was covered with tiles and set within a roughly cut depression in the bedrock (fig. 5). The burial measured 1.3x0.4 m and included the skeletal remains of a single person. The lower limbs including the knees were missing. The body faced east and was in an extended position with arms crossed over the chest, in accordance with Christian practice. The skull was located between two broken cover tiles. Next to the right shoulder was an unglazed spherical jug (*prochoiski*) of the middle Byzantine period, of which the handle and part of the rim were missing¹⁰. This burial is earlier than the existing church of Agia Triada, with the destruction of the lower limbs due to the construction of the foundations of the northern part of the eastern wall of the inner narthex. During the Byzantine period the presence of burials did not preclude the rebuilding of parts of a church¹¹.

The presence of the jug can be considered as a *terminus post quem* for dating the burial. It was not a grave gift, as would have been the case in antiquity, since this would have run counter to the values of the Christian religion¹². In Christian burials unpainted utilitarian vessels of this type were used to store the wine or oil which was poured over the body and then placed in the grave in order to prevent its reuse¹³.

In the area of the bema and adjacent to underlying northern Wall 7, was found a second disturbed tile-covered burial with the skull and lower limbs

8 A. BOSSELMANN-RUICKBIE, Byzantinischer Schmuck des 9. bis frühen 13. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen zum metallenen dekorativen Körperschmuck der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit anhand datierter Funde. Wiesbaden 2011, 223, no. 13.

9 A. DINA, in: Καθημερινή Ζωή 434, no. 562, 563; G. KAKAVAS, Ερέτρια, Αγία Παρασκευή (οικόπεδα Λύκου-Σαρότ και Πατιλοκωστόπουλου). *ADelt* 56–59 (2001–2004) B2, 66–68 ph. 62; J. ALBANI, Elegance over the Borders: The Evidence of Middle Byzantine Earrings, in: *Intelligible Beauty, Recent Research on Byzantine Jewelry*. British Museum 2010, 197, pl. 17; BOSSELMANN-RUICKBIE, Byzantinischer Schmuck 227, nos. 24, 25a, b, 26a, b.

10 VROOM, *Ceramics* 145; B. BOHLENDORF-ARSLAN, Stratified Byzantine Pottery from the City Wall of Amorium, in: Çanak: late antique and medieval pottery and tiles in Mediterranean archaeological context. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Late Antique, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman Pottery and Tiles in Archaeological Context, Çanakkale, 1–3 June 2005 (eds B. BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN *et al.*. Istanbul 2007, 284–285, n. 45.

11 N. MOUTSOPOULOS, Πεντίνα IV, Οι εκκλησίες του βυζαντινού οικισμού. Thessaloniki 2000, 12–13, ph. 17–18; K. GIAPITSOGLU, Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα και παρατηρήσεις στην οικοδομική ιστορία του Αγίου Ευτύχιου στο Χρωμομοναστήρι Ρεθύμνου: Προκαταρκτική παρουσίαση, Ευμάθιος Φιλοκάλλης – Ανάδειξη Βυζαντινών Μνημείων Κρήτης και Κύπρου (ΥΠΠΟΑ–28η ΕΒΑ–Υπ. Συγκοινωνιών και Έργων – Τμήμα Αρχαιοτήτων Κύπρου). Rethymno 2014, 31.

12 G. ΑΝΤΟΥΡΑΚΗΣ, Ταφή και Ανάσταση νεκρών, μνημόματα από την παράδοση και την τέχνη. Athens 1986, 14–15, ph. 2.

13 P. PETRIDIS, Πρωτοβυζαντινή κεραμική του Ελλαδικού χώρου. Athens 2013, 86, 92.

of an adult (fig. 1). It continued into the underlying fill of the modern marble stylobate and under the *in-situ* preserved north-eastern part of plinth Floor 2. A few fragments of the covering tiles were found adjacent to the northern extent of the southern front face of Wall 7. Two stone slabs from the burial extended into the fill below the modern marble stylobate. No other objects were found. The disturbance was probably associated with the work carried out in the area of the bema in 1968 by the First Regional Directorate of Byzantine Antiquities, when the older altar¹⁴ of the church was removed and replaced with the current one.

During the removal of part of the underlying fill of the north-eastern section of Floor 2, fragments of a glazed bowl with slip painted decoration were found. The interior was decorated with a whitish slip consisting of three concentric circles. The gaps between the circles were filled with dots of the same colour, set against a dark reddish background. The interior was covered in a colourless glaze, while the exterior upper part of the rim had the same reddish slip which in places formed runs. The base consisted of a low ring with thin upstanding everted lip. Based on the morphological characteristics of the bowl, it is probably dated to the late 12th or early 13th centuries¹⁵, with a *terminus post quem* provided by the construction of Floor 2 and the earlier single nave church. The use of the earlier church is dated by the remains of the marble-tiled Floor 6, cist Burial 10 and tile Burial 9 in the area which today is in the outer narthex and the disturbed burial in the bema.

The exact date of construction of the existing church of Agia Triada is as yet unknown. We only know that the northern continuation of Floor 2, which belongs to the previous church, was destroyed by a later pit Burial 11 in the nave. This child burial of 0.85 m in length was carved into the underlying bedrock (fig. 4, 6). The eastern end was formed by a schist slab set vertically against the carved bedrock. The body of the child was in an extended position with arms crossed over the chest and facing east. The skull was almost upright and the upper part of the body was supported between two stone slabs, which

14 N. MICHALOU, Περιηγήσεις – Συντηρήσεις – Αναστηλώσεις – Ανασκαφαί. Αρχείο Ινς Ε.Β.Α. (1968), 1st, no. 46.

15 F. WAAGE, The Roman and Byzantine pottery. *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 323, fig. 18e; ΑΡΑΠΟΓΙΑΝΝΙ, Κάντζα 259, ph. 8; P. ARMSTRONG, Some Byzantine and later settlements in eastern Phokis. *ABSA* 84 (1989) 41–42, pl. 3, 6, 9, 10; IDEM, The Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980. *ABSA* 88 (1993) 313, fig. 9, n. 140; CH. ΚΟΙΛΑΚΟΥ, Θήβα, Οδός Τειρεσίου 12 και Γ. Διαμάντη (Ο.Τ. 404, οικόπεδο Σ. Βενιζέλου). *ADelt* 51 (1996) Chr. B1 76–77, table 33a; VROOM, After Antiquity 151–152; M.-L. VON WARTBURG, Chronology and stratigraphy of the medieval pottery of Cyprus, in: Çanak: late antique and medieval pottery 422–423, 426, n. 29, fig. 1, 8; B. BOHLENDORF-ARSLAN, Clasierte byzantinische Keramik aus der Türkei. Istanbul 2004, 401, nr. 305, taf. 92; IDEM, Spätantike, byzantinische und postbyzantinische Keramik. Wiesbaden 2013, 452, no. 1075.

also ensured that the head faced towards the east¹⁶. The only find within the grave was a small folded lead strip. Close to the child's lower limbs were found the bones of a second infant (fig. 1). The practice of burying children in churches was widespread during the Byzantine period¹⁷ and was associated with the belief that those buried within a church and close to relics and places of worship were more likely to achieve salvation¹⁸.

In addition to the northern part of Floor 2, its western extent was also damaged, along with the northern part of stone Floor 6 in the area of the old narthex, due to the construction of a second cist Burial 4. This occupied the central area of the inner narthex and the entrance into the main church of Agia Triada, having been tightly inserted between older cist Burial 10 and tiled Burial 9. It was half carved into the bedrock, with interior dimensions of 2.18x0.8 m, with a depth of 0.5 m at both ends and up to 0.72 m in the middle. The grave was covered with four reused limestone slabs, of which the two central ones were of white Pentelic marble with rough carving on their surfaces. They were similar in size at around 0.63x0.84 m and 8.5 cm in thickness. The western covering slab was a reused fragment of an architectural element. The axis of the burial did not coincide with either the contemporary or earlier church, but was offset slightly towards the south-east, probably because of the lack of space. The interior walls of the burial cist were also slightly curved due to the nature of the carved bedrock in such a confined space.

Also of interest are the differences in the structure of the walls of the grave. The eastern part of the northern wall was formed by a succession of horizontal brick fragments of 3–3.5 cm in thickness and tile fragments bound together with mud. Space constraints within this area, due to the presence of an earlier wall which was perpendicular to northern Wall 7 of the existing church, imposed this method of construction.

The remaining walls were built using partially carved stones of various

16 D. PALLAS, Άνασκαφή τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Γλυκέως ἐν Ἡπείρῳ. *PraktArchEt* (1970) 86–87; IDEM, Άνασκαφή τῆς Βυζαντινῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Γλυκέως ἐν Ἡπείρῳ. *PraktArchEt* (1971) 140–141; MOUSTOPOULOS, Ρεντίνα IV 225; M. PAISIDOU, Ο καλλωπισμός και η φροντίδα των νεκρῶν στη μεσοβυζαντινὴ και υστεροβυζαντινὴ περίοδο, το παράδειγμα της Ἐδεσσας, in: 23ο Συμπόσιο Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας, Πρόγραμμα Περιλήψεων. Athens 2003, 80.

17 E. MARKI, Συμπεράσματα ανασκαφῶν 9ης ΕΒΑ στη Β. Περία. *AEMTh* 10A (1996) 247; T.L. SHEAR Jr., The Athenian Agora, Excavations of 1989–1993. *Hesperia* 66 (1997) 535–546, pl. 107–108; CH. KOILAKOU, Μονὴ Οσίου Λουκά, Ναῖσκος Αγίου Χαράλαμπος. *ADelt* 55 (2000) Chr. B1 158–159; ΚΑΚΑΒΑΣ, Ερέτρια 68, ph. 62; I. ΚΑΝΟΝΙΔΗΣ, Οι ταφές εντός των τειχῶν της Θεσσαλονίκης στη μέση και ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ περίοδο (10ος–14ος αι.), in: Πρακτικά του Η' Επιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου Χριστιανικῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, Ταφές και Κοιμητήρια. Thessaloniki 2005, 207; EU. ΚΟΥΡΚΟΥΤΙΔΟΥ-ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΟΥ, Ταφές σε ναούς κατὰ την ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ περίοδο, Ο ναός του Σωτήρος στη Θεσσαλονίκη, in: *ibid.* 219.

18 N. ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΙΛΙΔΗΣ, Το δίκαιο της ταφῆς στο Βυζάντιο. Athens 1989, 223; Y. DUVAL, *Auprès des saints corps et âme: l'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle.* Paris 1988.

sizes, derived from the hewing out of the bedrock and bound with relatively brittle greyish-brown mortar. In the eastern part of the southern wall of the grave, the mortar appeared to vary. Here it was brownish in colour and within the joints between the stones were placed brick fragments in a vertical and horizontal arrangement. This part of the grave probably belonged to an earlier feature which was incorporated into the southern wall of cist Burial 4, so that it could be of sufficient size in the available limited space. It is also possible that the differences observed in the structure of the walls of the grave were due to repairs carried out during its long use.

In the grave there was an accumulation of many individual bones. Due to damage to the central part of the upper structure of the northern wall, soil, pieces of tile, small stones and fragments of binding mortar were found in the interior, resulting in the loose sedimentary structure of the upper levels. The underlying sediments were more consolidated and contained only bones. The carved bedrock floor was not particularly levelled and was covered with a thin layer of soil. Seventeen intact skulls and numerous other adult bones were recovered, both undamaged and broken. It would appear that the bones were repeatedly reorganised, suggesting that the structure was used as an ossuary. The only finds from the interior included a broken bronze earring of the 11th century from the upper sediments, along with two fragments of a ring from a possible second earring, all of which may be intrusive, having found their way into the burial from the damaged upper part of the structure. The ring-shaped earring was made of thick bronze wire with an attached small spherical ornament, with one end looped and the other with a hook. Similar earrings have been identified in burials in ancient Corinth and at Aerino in Magnesia¹⁹.

The presence of burials within the church is indicative of its use. In particular cist Burial 10, the contemporary tile covered Burial 9 in the area of the old narthex and the disturbed burial in the Bema, all point to the funerary use of the older single nave church. This practice appears to have continued, at least initially in the later church of Agia Triada, based on the presence of child Burial 11, the secondary burial in the main church and ossuary Burial 4. Such large numbers of burials in the interior suggest the presence of a small community of monastic or residential character in the surroundings of the church, although traces thereof have not been identified.

It is also of interest to note that from the south-eastern corner of the exterior of the church, stones emerge from the ground. Their arrangement suggests the presence of a second southern apse, possibly a continuation of the church. Similarly, part of a linear section of wall of unknown construction and function was also located close to the apse. It is visible over a length of 2.3x0.6 m and aligned on a north-west to south-east axis. It was not possible in the context of this project to carry out excavations outside of the church

19 G. DAVIDSON, *The minor objects (Corinth XII)*. Princeton 1952, 251, n. 2007, pl. 108; BOSSELMANN-RUICKBIE, *Byzantinischer Schmuck* 223, nr. 13.

which would have enabled us to figure out more accurately its earlier plan.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions for the history and topography of the area on account of the lack of written sources and the limited archaeological evidence available. Because coins have not been retrieved and of the earlier church only its foundations are found, it is impossible to date the church with precision. However, it is similar to other churches, in particular those with narthexes which were widespread in Greece throughout the Byzantine, post-Byzantine and modern periods²⁰. Based on the few pieces of pottery collected, almost exclusively sherds from unglazed utilitarian vessels of the Byzantine period, along with the glazed bowl found in the backfill of brick Floor 2, the unglazed *prochoiski* in Burial 9 and the earrings, and bearing in mind the long-lived use of jewellery, we can suggest that the earlier single aisled church was built during the 13th century²¹.

Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens

20 VOCIOTOPoulos, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ 105–106.

21 Today, all the revealed structures are buried under the new floor of the church.

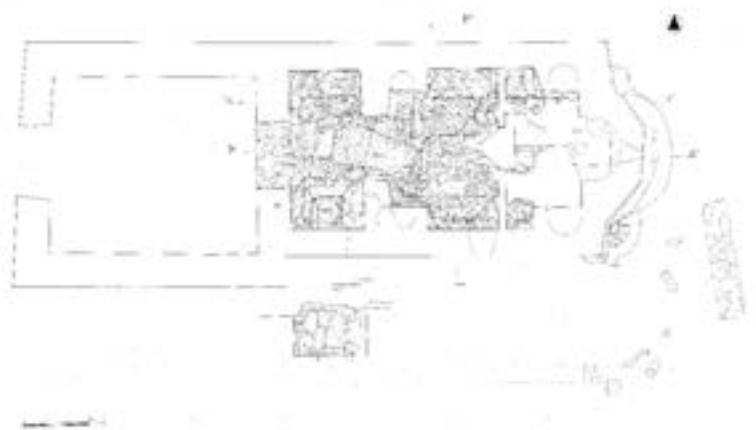


Fig. 1. Ground plan of the excavation (photo: Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens)



Fig. 2. The external east side of Agia Triada (photo: Aik. Avramidou)



Fig. 3. Clay-tiled Floor 2 (photo: Aik. Avramidou)



Fig. 4. The revealed findings in the inner narthex
(photo: Aik. Avramidou)

Fig. 5. Burial 9
(photo: Aik. Avramidou)



Fig. 6. Burial 11
(photo: Aik. Avramidou)

ATHENS IN THE LATE
BYZANTINE PERIOD

MARIA GEROLYMATOU

The Metropolis of Athens from the Latin to the Ottoman Conquest

The metropolis of Athens is first mentioned in the second *notitia episcopatum*, which dates from the 8th or the first years of the 9th century¹. Hereafter it appears regularly in the ecclesiastical *taktika* as the head of an ecclesiastical province comprising ten to twelve bishoprics. The Frankish conquest of Greece following the fourth crusade had certainly an impact on the Athenian metropolis. In November 1204 Boniface of Montferrat, king of Thessalonica, occupied Athens and distributed his possessions to his vassals. Athens was given to the Burgundian noble Guy de la Roche who founded the Duchy of Athens². The Duchy succumbed to the Catalan Company in 1311³. In 1385 Athens, was occupied by Nerio I Acciaiuoli (†1394), of the famous Florentine family of bankers. The Catalans resisted in the Acropolis, which was taken on May 2, 1388 after a lengthy siege⁴. Shortly before his death Nerio placed the city under the protection of the Venetians⁵. The Venetians kept Athens from the end of 1394 to January 1403. After this brief interruption, Athens remained under the Acciaiuolis' rule until the Ottoman occupation of the city in 1456⁶.

The succession of the Orthodox prelates was interrupted when the Franks took over Athens and a Latin archbishop replaced the Orthodox one. In 1204 the metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates sought refuge to the island of Kea, and in 1217 moved to Evripos⁷. Choniates seems to have tried to keep in touch with the Patriarchate living in exile, as it is suggested by the fact that he recommended his *chartophylax* to Patriarch Manuel I (1217–1222)⁸. The Latin archbishop who replaced the Orthodox was expected to promote the papal policy of controlling the Greek Church. The Roman Church demanded from the representatives of the Orthodox Church that they swear obedience to the Pope, while in 1209 pope Innocent III (1198–1216) confirmed all the possessions

1 DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum* 19, no. 2.38.

2 LONGNON, *The Frankish States* 236, 238.

3 K. SETTON, *The Catalans in Greece, 1311–1380*, in: *ibid.* III. *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. 1975 (ed. H.W. HAZARD). Madison, WI–London, 1975, 167–224.

4 K. SETTON, *The Catalans and Florentines in Greece, 1380–1462*, in: *ibid.* 238–245.

5 *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca. Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries* (ed. J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES). Camberley–Surrey 1995, no. 160.122–130.

6 SETTON, *The Catalans and Florentines* 259–270.

7 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae* 7*–8*. Choniates' attitude towards the Latins does not permit the assumption of some scholars that he tried to establish relations with the Latin Church (SHAWCROSS, *Golden Athens* 85–86).

8 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae* no. 171.19–27.

and the bishoprics of the metropolis of Athens⁹. However, Orthodox prelates in Athens as well as in other places under Latin dominion did not come to terms with the Roman Church and consequently their sees were left vacant for a very long time. According to a document of the Patriarch Antonios IV (1389–1390, 1391–1397) dating to 1393, it was only some years earlier that a metropolitan bishop had managed to assume duties in Athens. The patriarchal document explains that ordained metropolitans were actually titular and did not reside in the city because of the oppression and authoritarian rule of the late lords of Athens (τυραννίδι καὶ δεσποτείᾳ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκείνων)¹⁰. The Patriarch obviously alludes to the period of the Catalan dominion.

We have a few data concerning the prelates of Athens after 1204, while the list of metropolitan bishops drafted by the Archbishop of Athens Chrysostomos Papadopoulos in the early 20th century is far from being reliable¹¹. The first known metropolitan after the foundation of the Frankish Duchy of Athens is Meletios¹², an active participant in the sessions of the patriarchal synod in Constantinople in 1280. He was apparently a titular obliged to remain in Constantinople, like so many other prelates whose sees were under Latin dominion. According to George Pachymeres, Meletios was hostile to the theological opinions expressed by the unionist Patriarch John XI Bekkos (1275–1282) in matters concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit¹³. The Patriarch tried to interpret certain passages of the Greek Fathers in favour of the Filioque. Around Meletios and the metropolitan of Ephesos a group of prelates who rejected Bekkos' opinions was formed. Although these high clerics had initially accepted the Union of the Churches, they later changed their mind (μείζονος κακοῦ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρακινεῖν δόγματα ἔλαττον κακὸν τὸ ἡμαρτῆσθαι σφίσι, ποιησαμένοις εἰρήνην μετὰ σφαλλόντων ἐν θείοις δόγμασι). Meletios was so ardent in his dogmatic beliefs that he stated that he was ready to go to exile for defending them¹⁴. He obviously had a strong personality¹⁵. He is probably identified with Meletios, *proedros* Madytou, at whose incitement

9 Acta Innocentii Pp. III (ed. T. HALUSCYNKYI). Città del Vaticano 1944, 357–362; J. RICHARD, The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204–27), in: *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (eds B. ARBEL *et al.*). London 1989, 45–49; see also J. KODER, Der Schutzbrief des Papstes Innozenz III für die Kirche Athens. *JÖB* 26 (1977) 129–141.

10 F. MIKLOSICH – I. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, 6 vols. Vienna 1860–1890, vol. II, no. 435, p. 165.

11 PAPADOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 41–46; G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis, I. Patriarchatus constantinopolitanus*. Padova 1988, 491, who is largely based on Archbishop Chrysostomos' list and must be used with caution.

12 PLP 17736.

13 On the theological discussions which followed the Union of Lyon, see CH. ARABATZES, Ἐκκλησιαστικο-πολιτικὲς καὶ θεολογικὲς διεργασίες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὸν ἀπὸνχο τῆς συνόδου τῆς Λυῶν (1274–1280). *Byzantina* 20 (1999) 199–251.

14 On this, see Georges Pachymerès *Relations Historiques II* (ed. A. FAILLER) (CFHB 24/2), VI, 23; cf. *Regestes IV*, no. 1446.

15 *Regestes IV*, no. 1447.

the future Patriarch Gregorios II (1283–1289) wrote the Life of St Euthymios, bishop of Madyta (10th century)¹⁶. This testifies to the ties of Meletios with the patriarchal entourage.

The names of Meletios' successors at the end of the 13th and the first years of the 14th century are not known¹⁷. The most famous metropolitan bishop of Athens during the period of the Latin occupation was Anthimos. He was later transferred to the Church of Crete, imprisoned for his activities and died in prison¹⁸. The author of his Life, Patriarch Neilos Kerameus (1379–1388), does not provide any information about Anthimos' family, education and career. He refers simply to his ability to deal with difficult situations, which would have led the Patriarch to transfer him to Crete: τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως ἀφελόμενος, ἧ κεκλήρωτο, τῇ τῶν Κρητῶν ἐφίστησι νίσῳ¹⁹. The participle ἀφελόμενος and the verb ἐφίστησι mean that Anthimos was transferred to the Church of Crete and was not simply given the metropolis ἐπιδόσεως λόγῳ²⁰. Crete was slightly inferior to Athens in the ecclesiastical *taktika* (30th versus 28th rank). This disadvantage was probably counterbalanced by the fact that Anthimos was entrusted with a special mission. There is much confusion about the chronology of Anthimos' life²¹. The editor of the Life dates Anthimos' election at the see

16 V. ANTONIADES, Γεωργίου τοῦ Κυπρίου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν Εὐθύμιον ἐπίσκοπον Μαδύτων. *DIEEE* 4 (1887) 387–422. On the inscription of the *enkomion* ἐξ αἰτήσεως γραφὲν τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν ἱεροῦ Μελετίου προεδρεύοντος τότε τῆς Μαδύτων ἐκκλησίας, see *ibid.* 392.

17 Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 43) names Lazaros, archbishop (sic) of Sinai, who would have been elected and ordained metropolitan of Athens by the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1308. Unfortunately Papadopoulos does not cite his sources. A bishop of Sinai named Lazaros was elected metropolitan of Athens in 1510 (and not in 1308) (DEMETRIOS SINAITES, metropolitan of Argyrokastron, Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι τοῦ Σινᾶ, in: Σιναιτικά Δίπτυχα. Athens–Cairo 2016, 196, 198. Demetrios Sinaites refers to an unpublished notice in Sin. gr. 1605, f. 306; A. MARINESCU, The hierarchs' catalogue of Monastery St. Catherine in Mount Sinai. *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* IV (2001) 284 n. 107). I wish to thank Dr. G. Foukaneli for providing these references.

18 C. ΔΥΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἀνθίμος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πρόεδρος Κρήτης ὁ Ὁμολογητής. *EEBS* 9 (1932) 47–79. On Anthimos, see E. ΚΟΥΝΤΟΥΡΑ-ΓΑΛΑΚΕ – Ν. ΚΟΥΤΡΑΚΟΥ, Ὁ Ἀνθίμος Ἀθηνῶν, πρόεδρος Κρήτης, καὶ οἱ ἀντιθετικὲς τάσεις ορθόδοξης συσπείρωσης καὶ διάσπασης στὴν ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ ἐποχὴ. Μία προσέγγιση μέσω των λογίων ἀγιολογικῶν κειμένων. *Thesaurismata* 41–42 (2011–2012) 341–358.

19 ΔΥΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἀνθίμος Ἀθηνῶν 68.18–21.

20 On the transfers of bishops, see J. DARROUZÈS, Le traité des transferts. Édition critique et commentaire. *REB* 42 (1984) 147–214. On the advantages of the ἐπίδοσις in comparison with the μετάρθεσις, see E. CHATZIANTONIOU, Ἡ παραχώρηση κατ' ἐπίδοσιν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐδρῶν. *Byzantiaka* 29 (2008) 151–152.

21 R. Janin, following Papadopoulos' list, places Anthimos right after Meletios (*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 5, col. 41, s.v. Athènes). G. Fedalto includes in the metropolitan list of Athens two prelates named Anthimos. The first one would date from the years 1300 and would be the immediate successor of Meletios and the second one *ante* 1364. This one would be Anthimos the Confessor (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* 491). G. Fedalto merges probably the chronologies provided by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos with those proposed by J. Darrouzès (*Regestes* VI, no. 2463) and invents a second Anthimos.

of Crete towards the end of the first half of the 14th century²². Anthimos was probably elected metropolitan bishop of Crete during the so-called “Democracy of St Titus”, when local Venetian landlords together with the Greeks rebelled against the Venetian authorities²³. The author of the Life insists on the fact that Cretans, who lived under foreign rule for a very long time, rebelled against the Venetian authorities (τοῖς τυραννοῦσι ἐπέθεντο καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐξήλασαν τῆς νήσου) and dispatched an embassy to Constantinople to ask the Patriarch to ordain a metropolitan bishop (πρεσβεύονται πρὸς τὸν ... τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης ἀρχιερέα ... μὴ σφᾶς παριδεῖν ὥσπερ ποίμνιον ἀνεπίσκοπον)²⁴.

The rebellion of St Titus broke out in 1363. Although Venice managed to recapture the towns and fortresses by the end of 1365, the rebellion was not completely suppressed before 1368. In the context of this critical situation, the Emperor and the Patriarch took the opportunity to dispatch an orthodox prelate with the task to revive the faith of the indigenous Greeks to the Eastern Church. The Patriarch chose Anthimos for this undertaking. A metropolitan bishop of Athens participated in a series of sessions of the patriarchal synod from October 1364 until September 1365²⁵. He was probably elected and ordained by Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–1354, 1364–1376) at the beginning of the second mandate of the latter. Apparently, after his ordination, Anthimos stayed in Constantinople for some time and then he was transferred to Crete in late 1365/early 1366²⁶. As since 1204 there was no orthodox metropolitan bishop in Crete, Anthimos’ role was decisive in pursuing the policies of Constantinople. Consequently, he was imprisoned by the Venetians, who had in the meantime regained partially the control, for inciting the Cretans to resist and for carrying on the revolt longer. According to his biographer Anthimos died in prison²⁷.

After Anthimos’ transfer to Crete, Philotheos Kokkinos decided to entrust the hieromonk Neophytos²⁸ with the administration of the metropole of Athens and the neighbouring bishopric of Evripos, which was under Venetian dominion²⁹. Neophytos would have the right to ordain lectors (ἀναγνώστες) and to found new churches. At the same time, the Patriarch bestowed on him

22 ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 50.

23 S. McKEE, The Revolt of Saint Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: a Reassessment. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1994) 173–204.

24 ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 68.22–69.11.

25 Regestes VI, nos 2463, 2475, 2478, 2480–2482, 2488–2489, 2491, 2502.

26 Ibid. no. 2507.

27 ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΟΤΕΣ, Ὁ Ἄνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν 72.5–17: πᾶσχουσι τὰ δεινότατα ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς ὄπλοις κεκρατημένοις, οἱ μὲν οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ διαφθαρέντες, οἱ δ’ ἐξανδραποδισθέντες πανοικεσία ... ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁ ... ποιμὴν συλλαμβάνεται, πρόθεσιν μὲν ὡς ἐρεθίζειν τοὺς Κρητὰς αὐτοῖς ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ χρονιώτερον τὸν πόλεμον εἰργασμένους.

28 Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν 43) erroneously names the hieromonk Nikodemos. He is also mistaken in identifying him with the metropolitan elected in 1371.

29 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta I, no. 224, p. 483–484. Evripos was the first in the list of suffragan bishoprics of Athens.

the authority to guide spiritually the Orthodox population with emphasis on the need to prevent them from contracting improper marriages (ὥστε ἀπέχειν ἀθεμιτογαμίας, τριγαμίας, ἀνηβότητος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κεκωλυμένων γάμων). The term ἀθεμιτογαμία refers probably to the contraction of mixed marriages between Orthodox Greeks and Latins. Trigamy is condemned by the Orthodox Church, but tolerated only under certain circumstances³⁰. The term ἀνηβότης refers to minors (under the age of fourteen for boys and twelve for girls) for whom marriage was forbidden by law³¹. The appointment of Neophytos had as first objective to put an order in marital practices. Apparently the long absence of an Orthodox bishop had led to some permissiveness which the Patriarch wished to check. However, the responsibilities of hieromonk Neophytos should be suspended, when a proper metropolitan would be ordained.

A metropolitan bishop of Athens was appointed sometime in 1370/1371, since in May 1371 an unknown prelate of Athens is mentioned as receiving the administration of Thebes and Neai Patrai and of the archbishopric of Aigina³². He assumed the ordinary responsibilities of a bishop, with the exception of seating in the σύνθρονον³³. The Patriarch assigned him the task of ordaining priests for all the neighbouring churches which did not have a bishop and had not been assigned κατ' ἐπίδοσιν. Obviously, the Patriarch's aim was to find a solution to the acute problem of ordination of Orthodox priests. We know from other sources that persons who wished to be ordained priests had to travel to a place where there was an Orthodox bishop. Methone in the southwestern Peloponnese was such a place³⁴. It can be supposed that at the end of the seventh decade of the 14th century the Patriarch tried to ensure a second episcopal seat for the ordination of priests. As in the second half of the 14th century the power of the Catalans was weakened, an agreement with the Catalans might have been reached for this purpose.

This agreement, if there had been one, was for a brief time. As

30 K. RALLES – M. POTLES, Σύνταγμα θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων IV. Athens 1854, 243–245.

31 Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου Πρόχειρον Νόμων ἢ Ἐξάβιβλος (ed. K. PITSAKES). Athens 1971, 389; E. PATLAGEAN, L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IVème–XIIème siècles). *Annales de démographie historique* 1973, 85–93 (= EADEM, Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IVe–XIe siècle. London 1981, no. X); G. PRINZING, Observations on the legal status of children and the stages of childhood in Byzantium, in: *Becoming Byzantine. Children and childhood in Byzantium* (ed. A. PAPACONSTANTINOU – A.-M. TALBOT). Washington, D.C., 2009, 15–34.

32 The act is copied in Vind. Hist. gr. 47 f. 291v and is not edited by Miklosich – Müller, who give only a brief summary: Acta I, no. 307. It is known to me thanks to a photograph kindly provided by the Team of the Austrian Academy of Sciences which is editing the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

33 The privilege of seating in the *synthronon* was reserved to an ordained metropolitan of a Church (γνήσιος ἀρχιερεὺς) and not simply to a *proedros*: CHATZIANTONIOU, Ἡ παραχώρηση 121–122.

34 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 459, p. 205; cf. V. LAURENT, Les «Mémoires» du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439). Rome 1971, 534.22–32.

mentioned above, in a *ὑπόμνημα* dated to 1393, Patriarch Antonios IV claimed that it was not long ago that an Orthodox prelate entered the city of Athens³⁵. According to this document, after the Latin conquest nobody of those ordained metropolitan bishops of Athens and dispatched there (οὐδείς τῶν χειροτονουμένων καὶ πεμπομένων) had managed to enter the city. The first one to do it and dwell there after 1204 (ἐδυνήθη καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελθεῖν καὶ κατοικῆσαι πρᾶγμα πρὶν γενέσθαι μὴ πιστευόμενον) was Dorotheos³⁶ who was ordained by the Patriarch Neilos Kerameus³⁷. Dorotheos assumed also the administration of the provinces of Thebes and Neai Patrai, as had his predecessor in 1371³⁸. We do not know the exact date of his election and ordination. The *terminus ante quem* is January 1388, when Neilus Kerameus passed away. Therefore Dorotheos' election and ordination took place sometime in 1386/1387. By that time it had become clear that the Catalans could not resist Nerio Accaiuoli, lord of Corinth, Megara and Thebes³⁹, and father-in-law of the despote Theodoros I Palaiologos (1383–1407). In 1385 Nerio became lord of Athens and in May 1388 occupied the Acropolis. The *ὑπόμνημα* of 1393 is explicit about the authoritarian rule of the Catalans who did not allow an orthodox bishop to enter the city (τυραννίδι καὶ δεσποτείᾳ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκείνων). Apparently Nerio was less strict about ecclesiastical affairs than his predecessors and more favourable to the Greek Orthodox population⁴⁰. Thus the Patriarch took the opportunity to develop relations with Athens' new lord.

At the time of his election Dorotheos was in Thessalonica, where he was abbot of three monasteries⁴¹. He was ordained in Constantinople and received the documents of his ordination as metropolitan bishop of Athens. He proved himself quite capable in dealing with difficult situations. According to Patriarch Antonios IV, Dorotheos succeeded in reorganizing the metropolis of Athens which had been seriously disrupted because of the long Frankish and Catalan dominion⁴². Dorotheos established his metropolis to its earlier status and showed particular interest in teaching his congregation which had lived for a very long time without the spiritual guidance of a bishop (ὥς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκαταστῆναι σχῆμα καὶ τὴν προτέραν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ εὐκληρίαν, πρὶν ἀλωθῆναι χειρὶ βαρβαρικῇ)⁴³. However, his activity provoked the reaction of Nerio Accaiuoli (παρὰ τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως φθονηθεὶς) who probably ejected him from his see. According to the

35 See supra n. 10.

36 PLP 5926.

37 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 165.

38 Regestes VI, no. 2835.

39 J. LOGNON, L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée. Paris 1949, 331.

40 For Nerio's policy towards the Greeks, see MILLER, The Latins 334–338.

41 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 165.

42 Ibid. no. 435, p. 165–166.

43 Ibid. no. 435, p. 166.

Patriarch, Dorotheos left Athens secretly fearing for his life. In the meantime he kept in touch with his congregation, while he tried unsuccessfully to appease the authorities and to dissolve the intrigues against him. Nerio dispatched letters to the patriarchal synod denouncing Dorotheos for turning to the Turks for military support and promising to give them the sacred objects of the churches if they helped him to regain his province (τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκεῖνης ἱερὰ κειμήλια συνεφώνησε δοῦναι τοῖς Τούρκοις ἵνα μόνον ἐπιλάβηται τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ)⁴⁴.

The Turks were involved in the affairs of central Greece as allies of the Catalans since the first decades of the 14th century. Euboea, a Venetian colony, was tributary to them⁴⁵. The activity of Dorotheos coincides with the presence of Ottoman forces in central Greece in the early 1390s. Sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402), after he conquered the emirates of the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, turned his attention to the Balkans. While he campaigned in Wallachia, his generals were active in the southern Balkans. The troops of general Evrenos occupied Kitros and Vodena in Macedonia, Thessaly, plundered the coasts of Megaris and Boetia, and invaded the Peloponnese⁴⁶. It was in this context that Dorotheos asked for the Ottoman support, after having been ejected from Athens. It seems that Nerio Acciaiuoli asked the Patriarch to ordain a new metropolitan in Athens and another one in Thebes and Neai Patrai, wishing obviously to reduce the potential influence of a prelate who would have the administration of three provinces⁴⁷. The reaction of the Patriarch was rather lukewarm. On the pretext that the testimony of heretics –as Latins were considered by Orthodox Greeks⁴⁸– against a bishop was not reliable⁴⁹, the Patriarch rejected the accusations against Dorotheos and affirmed that they could be considered only in case they came from Orthodox Greeks. At the same time, he confirmed Dorotheos as metropolitan bishop of Athens and as administrator of the sees of Thebes and Neai Patrai⁵⁰. We are not sufficiently informed about Dorotheos' actions after the *hypomnema* of Antonios IV in 1393.

Nerio Acciaiuoli died in September 1394. In his testament, dated at Corinth eight days earlier, on September 17, 1394, he bequeathed Athens with its whole region to the Church of the Virgin Atheniotissa. He restituted the precious stones and metals removed from it in order to serve as ransom for his

44 Ibid. no 435, p. 166.

45 E. ZACHARIADOU, The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area. *Studi Medievali* 3a Serie 21 (1980) 821–839.

46 Ducas, *Historia turco-bizantina*, 1341–1462 (ed. V. GRECU) 13.6.

47 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 166.

48 RALLES – POTLES, Σύνταγμα IV, 160.

49 Sixth canon of the second Ecumenical Council: πρῶτον μὲν αἰρετικοῖς μὴ ἐξῆλ κατηγορίας κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ποιεῖσθαι (RALLES – POTLES, Σύνταγμα II [1852], 180–182).

50 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 435, p. 167–169.

liberation from captivity, made several gifts and disposed that the income of Athens should be used for the sustenance of twenty Latin priests⁵¹. To secure this transfer, he placed Athens under the protection of Venice.

The patriarchal synod worried about the political attitude of the prelates of Athens and their close relations with the Turks. In August 1395 a *pittakion* was addressed to a metropolitan of Athens, whose name is not mentioned, summoning him to the synod in Constantinople. According to this document, rumors had been circulating for a long time which worried the Patriarch and harmed the Church. The metropolitan had ignored previous patriarchal recommendations to refrain from every sort of activity that compromised himself and the Church. The Patriarch tried gently to persuade the metropolitan to travel to Constantinople reassuring him that the synod would arrange matters in a way that would perfectly satisfy him (ποιήσει προμήθειαν καὶ κυβένησιν τοσαύτην ὅσιν μέλλεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδέξασθαι)⁵². It is obvious that the Patriarch did not wish to force the bishop to comply with his mandate.

Unfortunately, we do not know what the controversial activity of the metropolitan was. We may, however, relate this document with another *pittakion* dating to September of the same year which the Patriarch addressed to the *protopapas* and the clergy of Euboia. This *pittakion* refers to the relations between the metropolitan of Athens and the clergy of Euboia. As the ordination of a bishop was problematic in areas under Latin dominion, the local clergy was under the spiritual guide of the metropolitan. According to the ecclesiastical *taktika*, Eviros, Oreos and Karystos were suffragan bishoprics of Athens⁵³. According to this *pittakion* the clerics of Euboia ceased to commemorate the metropolitan –and the latter had ex-communicated them. The commemoration of the bishop (ἀναφορὰ) was a major duty of the clergy of an ecclesiastical province. The Patriarch blames the clergy of Euboia for this omission explaining that the charges against the metropolitan had not been proved. He explains that they were wrong in stopping commemorating the metropolitan, since the latter had not appeared before the synodal court and therefore he was not condemned. However, his conciliating mood becomes obvious by his levying the excommunication of the clergy⁵⁴.

We can make conjectures about the reasons which led the clergy of Euboia to the above mentioned action from an extract of a letter of the Despot of Morea Theodoros I (1383–1407) to his brother, Emperor Manuel II (1391–1425). This extract, cited in the patriarchal proceedings of the 23rd of August 1395, refers to the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai who had expelled out of the fortress Grevenon its governor Frankopoulos, brother of the protostator Manuel, and helped a certain Sarakenopoulos, enemy of the despot, to take

51 Monumenta Peloponnesiaca no. 160.10–17.

52 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 494, p. 256 (=Regestes VI, no. 3010).

53 DARROUZÈS, Notitiae episcopatum no. 13.446–448, 452, 454.

54 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 498, p. 258–259 (=Regestes VI, no. 3013).

control of the fortress. In the extract of the despot's letter there is allusion to the controversial activity of the metropolitan of Athens. The despote complains about the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai who had shown himself rebellious to his authority and had behaved like his confrater of Athens (ἐφάνη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δεύτερος μητροπολίτης Ἀθηνῶν). He adds that the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai, not satisfied to be a monk, wanted to follow the example of his confrater of Athens (οὐδὲν τὸν ἤρεσεν ἵνα ἔνι μοναχὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀκολουθήσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ πράξει ἐκείνου καὶ τοῖς τρόποις του καὶ ἵνα τὸν ἔχῃ σύντροφον)⁵⁵. The activities of the metropolitan of Athens are not revealed, because they were probably well known both to the Emperor and the Patriarch. We can assume that they went beyond his episcopal jurisdiction, and involved political initiatives. The letter of the Despot of Morea Theodoros dates from the early summer of 1395, since the Patriarch summons for the first time the metropolitan to his presence in August of the same year⁵⁶, at the same time that he summons the metropolitan of Palaiai Patrai⁵⁷.

It is known that by the last decade of the 14th century the Turks were pushing southwards and had become a crucial factor of politics in Greece. At this time Despote Theodoros I tried desperately to keep them out of his realm. A papal bull dating from the 27th of May 1396 sheds light on this question. Pope Boniface IV assigns Gilberto, bishop of Cittanuova, the task of investigating the case of a "schismatic Greek" (*natione grecus et fide schismaticus*) called "Macaronus" (sic), ordained metropolitan of Athens by the equally "schismatic" patriarch of Constantinople. "Macaronus" encouraged his correligionists to submit to the Turks. Because of his activity, the Turks had occupied many places. "Macaronus" was arrested and imprisoned by order of doge Antonio Venier. However, he did not stop plotting in favour of the infidels, as it was made clear in letters he addressed to the Turks and intercepted by the Venetians⁵⁸, who after Nerio's death in 1394 had undertaken the protection of Athens. For this reason the Venetians decided to put an end to "Macaronus" subversive activity. It is certainly no coincidence that in August 1395 –at the same time that the Patriarch summoned the metropolitan of Athens to his presence– Venice warned her representatives in Euboia and Athens about *the pessima intencione et dispositione quam Turchi habent* ⁵⁹.

The form of the name of the metropolitan, "Macaronus", is certainly

55 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 493, p. 250. See D. ZAKYTHENOS, Le Despotat grec de Morée, éd. revue et augmentée par CHR. MALTEZOU. London 1971, I, 129.

56 MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER, Acta II, no. 493, p. 253–254 (=Regestes VI, no. 3010).

57 Ibid. no. 493, p. 254 (=Regestes VI, no. 3007).

58 I libri Commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia. Regesti, vol. 3, Del libro nono dei Commemoriali regesti. Venice 1883, p. 238, no. 25 (= S. LAMPROS, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν III. Athens 1903, 390–391); GREGOROVIVS, Geschichte II, 256–257.

59 Monumenta Peloponnesiaca no. 171.4–5; S. STANTCHEV, Venice and the Ottoman Threat, 1381–1453, in: Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade (ed. N. HOUSLEY). London 2017, 161–205.

not correct. F. Gregorovius suggested that he was named Macarios and that he was the successor of Dorotheos⁶⁰. It is important to stress that the metropolitan mentioned in the papal bull was accused of being in contact with the Turks, and, when imprisoned, he communicated with the Turks probably through his clergy who certainly continued to recognize him as their bishop. It might, however, be that “Macaronus” is just a corrupt form of the ecclesiastical title μακαριώτατος.

A metropolitan of Athens named Dorotheos participated in the synod of 1409 that condemned patriarch Matthaios I (1397–1410)⁶¹. V. Laurent suggested –not without a hint of reserve– that Dorotheos was replaced by Macarios, but that he was finally successful in regaining his metropolis⁶². J. Darrouzès suggested that Dorotheos was active until 1409⁶³. A document of the monastery of Vatopedi in Mount Athos dated to 1406 is signed by a metropolitan bishop of Athens named Dorotheos. The document refers to a dispute of Dorotheos and Vatopedi concerning the inheritance of Dorotheos’ spiritual father Kallistos who had recently died in the monastery⁶⁴. The dispute was resolved in Constantinople in the presence of Dorotheos and representatives of Vatopedi. Dorotheos of this document is obviously identical with the metropolitan bishop who took part in the synod of 1409, and, possibly, with Dorotheos who was ordained metropolitan of Athens in 1386/1387. The Vatopedi document suggests that Dorotheos did not live Athens in 1406. After having been ejected from his province, he was probably established in Constantinople, where he had good connections in the patriarchal synod.

Dorotheos was not the only bishop who turned to the Turks on account of the hatred for the Latins on religious and other grounds. In 1393 the Ottomans invaded Thessaly. Pharsala and Domokos surrendered to them, while Zetounion and Neai Patrai were destroyed⁶⁵. According to the historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles, the pretext for the Ottoman invasion had been the summon by the prelate of Phokis (τοῦ Φωκέων ἀρχιερέως) who stressed the attractions offered by the land (ἐπὶ χώραν κυνηγῆσαι κρατίστην καὶ λειμῶνας γεράνους παρεχομένους πλῆθος ἄπλετον καὶ πεδία ἐνιππεῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα). The bishop, who is later mentioned by Chalkokondyles as the prelate of

60 GREGOROVIVS, *Geschichte* II, 243; SETTON, *Papacy* 471–472.

61 V. LAURENT, *Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397–1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XVe siècle*. *REB* 30 (1972) 133.217–219, 134.237.

62 *Ibid.* 51 n. 74.

63 *Regestes* VI, no. 3011.

64 *Actes de Vatopédi, III. De 1377 à 1500* (eds J. LEFORT (†) – V. KRAVARI *et al.*). Paris 2019, no. 196.

65 KODER – HILD, *Hellas* 76–77.

Salona⁶⁶, was outraged against the widow countess of Salona, Helena Asanina Kantakouzene. The reason of his rage towards her was her alleged adultery with a priest to whom she, supposedly, had transferred the authority of the area⁶⁷. Driven by enmity and hard feelings, as it seems, for having lost influence, the bishop of Salona chose to ask help from the Ottomans, just as Dorotheos did at the same time in Athens. His conviction that the Greek population would rather be enslaved by the Turks than the Franks (καλλίτερα νὰ δουλεύουμε Τούρκους παρὰ Φράγκους)⁶⁸ –as echoed by the later Chronicle of Galaxeidion– reveals the attitude of a contemporary of Dorotheos⁶⁹.

We know little about the metropolis of Athens in the 15th century. It is possible that after the troubles caused by the local bishops, no Orthodox bishop was ordained in Athens. As a result of the Union of the Churches signed in 1439 in Florence, a series of bishops accepting the Union was ordained in the Eastern Church. Among them was a metropolitan of Athens, who was denounced by Markos Eugenikos, chief of the anti-unionists in the council of Ferrara–Florence (1437–1439)⁷⁰.

The anonymous metropolitan of Athens provoked not only the rage of Markos Eugenikos, but also his bitter sarcasm, as he was scornfully called by him κοπελύδριον τοῦ Μονεμβασίας. Sp. Lampros wrongly suggested that the metropolitan was named Fantinos⁷¹. The spiritual guidance of the Orthodox population of Athens was assumed by the hieromonk Theophanes who resided in Evripos and belonged to the anti-union party. Markos Eugenikos asked Theophanes to assure that the Orthodox clergy abstains from communion with

66 In the ecclesiastical *taktika* of the Byzantine period there is no mention of a bishop of Salona. In Byzantine time the area of Phokis seems to have been under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Larissa (DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum* no. 13.560–579; cf. ΜΙΚΛΟΣΙΧ – ΜÜLLER, *Acta* I, no. 325, p. 588). Chalkokondyles contains probably the first mention to a bishop of Salona.

67 Laonici Chalcocandylae Historiarum demonstrations, vol. 1 (ed. E. DARKÓ), 61–62.

68 Χρονικὸν ἀνέκδοτον Γαλαξειδίου (ed. C. SATHAS). Athens 1865, 206.

69 On the motivations of this attitude, see H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *La tiare ou le turban. Byzantinoslavica* 14 (1953) 245–257; E. ZACHARIADOU, *Τὰ λόγια καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Λουκά Νοταρά*, in: *Ροδωνιά. Τιμὴ στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα*, vol. I. Rethymno 1994, 135–146; M. BALIVET, *Personnage du ‘turcophile’ dans les sources byzantines antérieures au Concile de Florence (1370–1430)*, in: *IDEM, Byzantins et Ottomans: Relations, interaction, succession*. Istanbul 1999, 31–47; R. SHUKUROV, *The Byzantine Turks 1204–1461*. Leiden–Boston 2016, 381–384.

70 LAURENT, *Les “Mémoires”... Sylvestre Syropoulos* 442.21–24, 452.9–12, 496.19–20, 548.27–31, 556.24–28.

71 He was based on the mistaken assumption that the copyist Michael Kalophrenas, who mentions in his correspondence with the unionist patriarch Metrophanes II an archbishop named Fantinos, originated from Athens: S. LAMPROS, *Μιχαὴλ ὁ Καλοφρενᾶς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Μητροφάνης Β΄*. *NE* 1 (1904) 43–56. Kalofrenas, however, originated from Crete and Fantinos was the Latin archbishop of Crete in the years of the Union of Florence and right afterwards: N. TOMADAKES, *Μιχαὴλ Καλοφρενᾶς, Κρής, Μητροφάνης Β΄ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν Ἑνωσιν τῆς Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν*. *EEBS* 21 (1951) 110–144. Lampros’ view was followed by Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos and by FEDALTO, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* 491.

the unionist metropolitan and to not commemorate him⁷².

The Ottomans took control of Athens in the summer 1456, after the last Accaiuoli had surrendered it to the general of Mehmet II, Omar. George Sfrantzes relates that the hieromonk Isidoros was ordained metropolitan after the city surrendered to the Ottomans. A few years earlier, in 1447, Isidoros had been entrusted by Sfrantzes with a special mission to Georgia, in order to negotiate a match between a Georgian princess and the widower Despote Constantine Palaiologos (1443–1449), future emperor Constantine XI⁷³. It is possible that Isidoros assumed the administration of the metropolis of Athens during the years preceding the establishment of the Ottoman rule.

After 1204 the metropolis of Athens shared similar problems with other Orthodox sees under Latin dominion. The Orthodox bishops did not reside in Athens. The ordination and installation of a bishop depended on the political circumstances of the moment and on the relations between Constantinople and the Latin states. Therefore, the situation of the high clergy was often precarious, as it was subjected to the aims of the Patriarchate and the tolerance of local Latin authorities. Our sources reveal the hostility between the Latins and the Orthodox Church of Athens, the problems created in the Athenian congregation during the years the bishops did not reside in the city, and the involvement of Athenian bishops in secular and political matters. As the Church, according to the Byzantine tradition, was in constant interaction with the state, its involvement in political affairs continued under the Latin rule, and it was dictated by personal ambitions, religious fervor to strengthen the Orthodox faith, and the hatred of many ecclesiastics against the Latins and the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, when the Ottomans expanded in Greece, some bishops preferred to submit to them. The case of Dorotheos confirms, once again, that the alleged words of Loukas Notaras (κρείττον ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακίολιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν λατινικὴν)⁷⁴ was an option of the Orthodox Church more than half a century before the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

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72 S. LAMPROS, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*. Athens 1912–1923, I, 22.1–12.

73 Georgii Sphrantzae *Chronicon* (ed. R. MAISANO) (CFHB 29) 98.20–21.

74 Ducas, c. 37.10.

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 ἔραζε κάτεισιν δεύτερον αἶθις...¹

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 Judgement² 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. BRENK, 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 character³: 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 inscription⁴. 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 criteria⁵. Both fresco ensembles have similarities regarding their provincial style that follows, in general terms, the Komnenian tradition⁶. 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 Thebes⁷.

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 Kalyvia⁸, originally consecrated also to the apostle Paul, the scene of the Last Judgement occupies the larger part of the narthex⁹. 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 Constantinople¹⁰. 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 Deesis¹¹ (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 globes¹². 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 Χαλκίων. 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 βυζαντινὴ ζωγραφικὴ. Χώρος καὶ μορφὴ στὴν τέχνη τῆς 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 respectively¹³. The central Deesis group is completed below by a tetramorph and a hexapterygon¹⁴ 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 Paradise¹⁵, 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 Heaven¹⁶.

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 Teeth¹⁷.

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 church¹⁸. In the Deesis above the Royal Door¹⁹ Christ Judge is seated on elaborate throne surrounded by an elliptical mandorla with undulating contour of Western influence²⁰, 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 art²¹. 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 globes²². 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 furniture²³. 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 evangelists²⁴. Paul is portrayed grey-haired²⁵, 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 keys²⁶ (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 Mesogaia²⁷. 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 fire²⁸. 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. CASCANI). 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 neck²⁹. 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 demon³⁰. 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 implements³¹: a plow, a sickle³², a hatchet, and a large pair of shears³³.

The inventory of the Damned in both scenes is completed with two naked sinners in St Peter's church³⁴ labelled as the 'avaricious monk' – ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥ(ΡΟC) ΜΟΝΑΧ(ΟC) – and the usurer – Ο ΤΟΚΟΝ ΛΑΒ(ΩΝ) – with a money-bag suspended from his neck³⁵. 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 communities³⁶.

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 Cyprus³⁷. 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 justice³⁸. As a case in point we mention the relief scenes of the Last Judgement on the portals of medieval cathedrals mainly in France³⁹, and the mosaic imagery of Hell in the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence⁴⁰. 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. ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ – 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 opportunity⁴¹. 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 forth⁴².

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 time⁴³. 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 Omorphe 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 Ἀθίνης*. (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 doctrine⁴⁴. 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 Ignatios⁴⁵.

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 space⁴⁶. Ignatios was bishop (πρόεδρος) of the bishopric of the islands Thermia (Kythnos) and Kea, a suffragan see of the Latin archbishopric of Athens⁴⁷. 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 βιαίῳ, in force, involuntarily)⁴⁸. 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 community⁴⁹. 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-Bearer⁵⁰. Michael Choniates, a renowned classicist scholar and prolific writer⁵¹, 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 Judgement⁵².

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)⁵³. The presence, in particular, of Saints Zosimas of Palestine and Mary of Egypt⁵⁴ 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 Nipter⁵⁵.

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)⁵⁶. 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 apse⁵⁷. 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.

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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.
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(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)



TASOS TANOULAS

The Topography of the Athenian Acropolis Revisited: The Post-Herulian and Frankish Fortifications in the West Slope and the Ducal Residence at the Propylaia

Athenian topography has always attracted the interest of scholars from several fields resulting in the production of a very rich literature. In order to minimize the risk for mistakes, a student of the Athenian topography ought to examine critically a huge amount of published relevant information covering a long span of time from prehistory to date. Keeping up with all this is not easy and some scholars fail to check publications outside the restricted circle of their own interests, ending up with wrong conclusions.

It is true that often scholars defend their views for personal reasons, disregarding facts. In some cases conclusions are incorrect simply because of the writer's ambition to 'invent' new theories against published scholarship soundly based on facts, or because of ignorance. This is partly due to the tendency of contemporary students to refer mainly to recent literature, taking for granted that, in the latter, former scholarship has been taken into account and references are duly provided. In such cases the new mistaken views stand like screens obscuring the view of future scholars over the older sound scholarship that offers accuracy on a particular topic. Thus, there is a need to reaffirm reality immediately preventing the dissemination of mistaken views.

It was the late Luigi Beschi who made me understand that the right views would not impose themselves, if we do not defend them. This was when he asked me to collaborate in writing an article intended to reaffirm reality in regard to a seventeenth-century drawing of the Acropolis kept in the Museo Civico of Bassano del Grappa in Italy, originally published by himself in 1956, but recently discussed in a most arbitrary manner disregarding completely former literature¹. Later, I did the same about the well-known document on the monuments of Athens known as the *Vienna Anonymous*, since the 19th century firmly dated to circa 1460, because it recently had been dated to the 11th or 12th centuries, on extremely poor argumentation², and this had already an impact on more recent publications³.

1 L. BESCHI, Un disegno Veneto dell'Acropoli Ateniese nel 1670. *Arte Veneta* 10 (1956) 136–141; I.E. DIMAKOPOULOS, Τὸ σχέδιο τοῦ Bassano (1670). Ἡ Ἀθήνα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ἀκρόπολης. *Mentor* 14, 58 (2001) 61–79; L. BESCHI – T. TANOULAS, Ἀκόμα μία φορά για τὸ σχέδιο τῆς Ἀκρόπολης τοῦ 1670 στὸ Bassano del Grappa. *Horos* 14–16 (2002–2003) 381–394, pls. 91–94; TANOULAS, Reconsidering 49–65, especially 60–65.

2 DI BRANCO, Atene immaginaria 65–134; IDEM, La città dei filosofi; TANOULAS, Reconsidering, especially 51–60.

3 A. CORSO, The Topography of Ancient Athens in the *Mirabilia Urbis Athenarum*. *Hyperboreus* 16–17 (2011) 69–80.

In this paper I intend to reaffirm the true evidence in regard to issues of the topography of the Acropolis and, particularly, the western slope and the Propylaia. My studies on the mediaeval Propylaia started in 1978, leading to a doctoral thesis in 1990 which was published in 1997. It was a pioneer work on the structural history of the Acropolis, and especially of the Propylaia, based on a systematic collection of data from every relevant field, history, archaeology, archival documents and evidence surviving *in situ*, and included a methodical analysis and synthesis of the research results. The work unfolds the successive stages of alterations to which the west half of the Acropolis was subject for more than twelve centuries, under the light of fresh and thorough investigation of already known and of newly discovered evidence. There would be no need to return to topics which I have already studied and published⁴, if it were not for two books that appeared in 2002 and 2010, containing a number of misunderstandings on behalf of their author⁵. To conform to the editorial restrictions of this volume, I have selected three important issues, in order to discuss them in relation to the new books' references, and reaffirm solid and undeniable evidence presented in my former studies⁶.

1. *The post-Herulian arrangement of the west slope of the Acropolis*

After the expulsion of the Herulians who invaded Athens in 267 A.D., the Acropolis' west slope was fortified for the first time after 479 B.C. The post-Herulian fortification of the west slope had two gates⁷ (fig. 1 above). One of them survives in a good shape, known as the Beulé gate (marked 2 in top left drawing), after the archaeologist that uncovered it in the middle of the 19th century. The Beulé gate faces west and is flanked by two rectangular towers⁸. The second gate faced south-west (marked 3 in top left drawing); on the one side (south-east) it was abutting the foot of the south-west corner of the Athena Nike bastion and on the other (south-west) it had a rectangular tower, traces of its foundation still being *in situ*⁹.

4 The issues discussed in this article have been analytically discussed in the much wider context of my book: ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, Προπύλαια (vol. 1, text and notes; vol. 2 figures, drawings and an English summary).

5 BOURAS – BOURA, Ναοδομία; BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα and IDEM, Byzantine Athens 2017.

6 A short commentary on Bouras' treatment of these topics in his two books discussed here, I included in three footnotes in my article: Τ. ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, "Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου" στο στέμμα της Αραγωνίας: η Αθηναϊκὴ Ακρόπολη ὑπὸ καταλανικὴ κυριαρχία (1311–1388), in: Η Καταλανο-αραγωνικὴ κυριαρχία στον ελληνικὸ χώρο. Athens 2012, 23–65, especially n. 16, 17, 23.

7 See ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 265–269 (with references to the preceding parts of the book where evidence from documents and the monuments has been presented), vol. 2, drawings 48–50.

8 See *ibid.* vol. 1, 343 (index for references to the Beulé gate), vol. 2, fig. 85–88, 96–98, 102, 104, 107–108, 115–116, 117β, 125, 320, 322–343, 366 and drawings 42–43, 45, 48–51, 55–56, 60, 62–66.

9 *Ibid.* vol. 1, 53, 55, 72, 94, 104–105, 255–256, vol. 2, fig. 7–8, 10–11, 15–16, 24, 30–34, 36, 39, 47, 51, 53–54, 55, 89, 369 and drawings 47–50, 55–56.

The fact that the Beulé gate is not depicted in any of the Athenian coins struck before the Herulians, is strong evidence that the gate is post-Herulian¹⁰. The form of the surviving lowest courses of the east wall of the tower attached to the gate next to the foot of the Athena Nike bastion, which are depicted in a drawing by the Danish architect L.A. Winstrup, dated to 1851 (fig. 1 below left), leaves no doubt that the tower is post-Herulian. Furthermore, in a drawing of the inside of the gate by another Danish architect, H.C. Stilling, dated to 1853, shows recycled blocks from the Nikias Monument (fig. 1 below right). Considering that most of the material of the Nikias Monument was used in the construction of the Beulé gate, leaves no doubt that both gates and their towers were built at the same time. Detailed argumentation for all this is presented in an earlier publication of mine¹¹.

In his book on Athens from the 10th to the 12th century, Charalambos Bouras¹² presents a plan of the “Acropolis and the Post-Herulian wall in the third century” by Manolis Korres, where the Beulé gate is represented, while the gate next to the Athena Nike bastion is omitted¹³. It is important to note that Korres’ drawing focuses on illustrating the extension of the Post-Herulian Wall in the west half of the Acropolis’ south slope, with no argumentation to support the omission of the gate below the Nike Bastion; however, Korres’ drawing appeared in 1990, before the publication of the new data presented and fully discussed in my book¹⁴.

The monumental Roman flight of marble steps, dated to the middle of the 1st century A.D., was designed to provide access to the Acropolis plateau for the animals of the Panathenaic procession: the animals followed a ramp along the foot of the west wall of the Athena Nike bastion, from south to north; the ramp’s north end joined a terrace paved in marble, which occupied the whole width of the flight of steps, from the north-west corner of the Nike bastion to the south-west corner of the pedestal of Agrippa (fig. 1 above). From the center of this terrace, a stepped ramp started going up along the central axis of the Propylaia, dividing the stairway in two halves and meeting the west end of the Propylaia central passageway; the latter was paved with marble slabs forming a stepped ramp, leading into the Acropolis plateau.

The Beulé gate conformed with the monumental central axis of the Propylaia and the flight of steps, but could not be used by the animals of the

10 Ibid. vol. 1, 265.

11 For my former discussion of the topic, see *ibid.* vol. 1, 132–135, vol. 2, fig. 89, 94.

12 Bouras refers to Travlos and Frantz, saying that it is still debated whether the Beulé Gate is Pre- or Post-Herulian; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* 30, n. 82; IDEM, Athens 12–13.

13 IDEM, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* fig. 4; IDEM, Athens fig. 4. As it will be discussed later in this paper, Bouras equally omits the gate next to the Nike bastion in his representation of the Acropolis west slope fortifications in the middle Byzantine period: *ibid.* fig. 7. For Korres’ drawing, see M. KORRES, *Die Akropolis als Festung*, in: *Die Explosion des Parthenon*. Berlin 1990, 17–44. I commented on these issues in TANOULAS, “Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου” 29, n. 17.

14 Ibid. 29, n. 17. Also, see above, n. 11. For an updated discussion and plan of Post-Herulian Athens see IDEM, *The Acropolis in Late Antiquity*, in: Athens II 83–121, especially 84–87 fig. 1.

Panathenaic procession. Consequently, the second gate next to the Athena Nike bastion was necessary for the accommodation of the aforementioned ramp, by means of which the animals reached the south end of the aforementioned terrace and then, through the stepped ramp, went up and, through the Propylaia, into the Acropolis plateau¹⁵.

2. The curtain wall between the Nike bastion and the pedestal of Agrippa

The general scheme of the Post-Herulian arrangement in the west slope continued to be in use until a curtain wall was built between the Nike bastion and the pedestal of Agrippa, thus cancelling the previous scheme centered on the monumental central axis between the Propylaia and the Beulé gate. This wall, being part of the rearrangement of the Acropolis fortifications according to a very different military technology, covered a substantial part of the marble pavement, which was revealed in a fairly good condition in 1835, when the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross tore down the wall in the process of clearing the Acropolis from the mediaeval and Turkish structures¹⁶ (fig. 2).

In my book on the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis from 267 A.D. to 1458, I attributed the original building of the curtain wall between the Athena Nike and the pedestal of Agrippa to the Franks, and dated it to the second half of the 13th century (fig. 3, marked as 4 in the plan above and below left). The detailed study of all available evidence (archaeological data, travelers' documents since 1395, comparison with parallels in medieval fortification etc.) leaves no doubt that the bastion was part of the modifications carried out by the Franks, lords of Athens from 1204 to 1311. The intention of these modifications was to upgrade the defensive value of the citadel by applying the advanced military technology that was developed in the Crusader castles of the Middle East. In the same context, entrance through the Beulé gate was sealed off, the only entrance to the Acropolis being through the gate to the west of the Nike bastion; this arrangement was the only one that could accommodate the access of horses (and, maybe, other animals) to the Acropolis plateau. In order for the ramp to have a slope usable by horses, the door through the bastion had to be built at the north end of the curtain wall, next to the pedestal of Agrippa¹⁷.

Bouras maintains that the bastion is Byzantine¹⁸, simply because the

15 TANOULAS, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 128, 131, 134, 236–240, 265–266, vol. 2, fig. 87–88, 96–98, 105–106, 109, 121, 127–142, 313, 316–321 and drawings 5–6, 43, 45–51.

16 Ibid. and also, ibid. vol. 1, 124–125, vol. 2, fig. 63–66 and drawings 55–56, 60–65.

17 Ibid. vol. 1, 299–305, 308–309 n. 52–81; T. TANOULAS, The Athenian Acropolis as a castle under Latin rule (1204–1458): Military and building technology, in: Τεχνολογία στην Λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Ημερίδα / 8 Φεβρουαρίου 1997. Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Πολιτιστικό Τεχνολογικό Ίδρυμα ΕΤΒΑ. Athens 2000, 96–122; IDEM, Η οχύρωση της αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης από τους Φράγκους σε συνάρτηση με τα κάστρα των σταυροφόρων στη Μέση Ανατολή και την Κύπρο, in: Πρακτικά του Γ' Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου. Nicosia 2001, 13–83.

18 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 35–38, fig. 7; IDEM, Athens 18–22, fig. 7.

arch above the gate in the wall immediately to the south of the pedestal of Agrippa was made of fine bricks. This contradicts Bouras' own statement in 1988, that the changes in the art and architecture of Greece during the Frankish occupation were so slow and unimpressive that tracing them today is impossible¹⁹, a view that is greatly supported by later archaeological research²⁰.

Bouras presents also another argument that is based on a misunderstanding, as it will be explained here. In Haller von Hallerstein's plan of the Propylaia and the west slope of the Acropolis (dated to 1810), the south-west corner of the bastion of Athena Nike is stressed by a dark wall, the corner's west side appearing pierced by two openings or recesses (fig. 4 left). This structure was interpreted by Bouras as recesses covered by arches, in other words, as buttresses bonded on top with arches bearing a wall walk, similar to the ones depicted in two of the plans published by Richard Bohn in his Propylaia book, at the east end of the wall resting on the south side of the Athena Nike terrace²¹. Even if it were so, it is too weak an argument for identifying the wall as Byzantine, since such schemes in wall structure are known since the Hellenistic times and continue throughout the Middle Ages, being used by Byzantines, French and others²².

In fact, the dark walls occupying the south-west corner of the Athena Nike bastion in Haller von Hallerstein's plan have nothing to do with mediaeval buttresses; they simply signify the parts of the bastion's classical walls which were then visible. The two openings in the west side of the corner represent the two well-known recesses created in the classical wall in order to allow access to ancient sacred spots; these recesses were seen and reported by Hope in 1799, and were visible throughout the 19th century, as testified by several drawings before and after 1810, like those by Hope (1799) (fig. 4 middle), Hansen (1833/1834) (fig. 4 right), Skene (1838), Du Moncel (1843), Lebouteux (1853), Stilling (1853) (fig. 1 below right) etc. They survived in the restoration of the bastion by Balanos and can still be seen today²³.

In Bouras' plan and axonometric view of the restoration of the fortifications in the west slope of the Acropolis in the 12th century²⁴ the gate attached to the south end of the west wall of the Athena Nike bastion has been omitted, without any argumentation against the evidence presented in older literature, which proves that the gate next to the Nike bastion, as well as the tower

19 IDEM, *Church Architecture in Greece around the year 1200*, in: *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*. Belgrade 1988, 271.

20 See below the discussion of the chronology of the chapel in the residence at the Propylaia, and the last three paragraphs of this article and note 46.

21 R. BOHN, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*. Berlin–Stuttgart 1882, pl. 2, 20.

22 For example, the Mont-Saint-Michel (12th century) and the Palace of the Popes at Avignon (14th century), see L. BASDEVANT, *L'architecture française des origines à nos jours*. Paris 1971, 127–128, fig. 104–105.

23 TANOULAS, *Προπύλαια* vol. 1, 89, vol. 2, fig. 26 (to the far left of the picture), 68, 71, 78, 88, 94, 105–106, 109 and drawing 46.

24 BOURAS, *Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα* 36, fig. 7; IDEM, *Athens* fig. 7.

attached to it, was built at the same time with the Beulé gate²⁵, and was in use throughout the Middle Ages and the Turkish period²⁶. Bouras even states that the (Post-Herulian) gate to the west of the Nike bastion appeared sometime much later, ignoring all former literature²⁷.

This representation looks incoherent: the Beulé gate has a doorway serving a frontal ascent along the axis of the Propylaia by means of the Roman flight of steps. Strangely enough, the gate next to the pedestal of Agrippa is off center, while the level of its sill is 8.50 m higher than the one of the Beulé gate, and only 18 m to the east. This makes the ascent very steep for humans and impossible for animals.

As mentioned above, the curtain wall between the Agrippa pedestal and the Nike bastion, as well as the fact that the gate in it was opened in the northern end of the wall can be explained only in the context of the overall rearrangement of the Acropolis' fortifications according to the models of defense developed in the Crusader castles in the Middle East (fig. 3). One of the main principles in Crusader castles arrangement is that, for security reasons, there should be only one entrance to the castle; consequently, the Beulé gate, providing access only by means of stairs that are impossible for horses, was closed, as Niccolò da Martoni testifies in 1385²⁸. The Beulé gate having been sealed, only one gate remained in use, the one adjacent to the Nike bastion, originally planned to provide access to animals, now in use for both humans and animals; the next gate towards the interior of the castle had to be constructed at the furthest end of the aforementioned curtain wall, that is, next to the Agrippa pedestal, thus securing for the ramp a slope usable by horses²⁹.

To recapitulate³⁰: the ring wall that encircled the foot of the Acropolis, the so-called Rizokastron, formerly ascribed to the middle Byzantine period³¹, was proved to have been built by the Franks before 1250, thanks to the data from an excavation carried out in 1985 to the north of the east parodos

25 TANOULAS, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 46–48, 50–51, 55–56, 67, 72, 89, 132–135, 148 n. 88–91, 149 n. 97, 253–256, 261 n. 72–74, 265–266, 269 n.11–13, vol. 2, fig. 68, 88–89, 94, 97, fig. 8, 10–11, 13, 15–16, 21–22, 26, 40, 53–55, 61–62, 68, 82, 83, 87–89, 94, 96–97 and drawings 47–49.

26 See above note 25 and *ibid.* vol. 1, 287, 290 n. 37, 303, vol. 2, drawings 47, 50, 55–56, 60–65.

27 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 38–39, n. 133; the author simply says “The first information we have about this entrance is much later, in 1678, provided by Spon and Wheeler”, see, *idem*, Athens 21–22, n. 70.

28 TANOULAS, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 39–40, with all previous literature. *idem*, Τα ερείπια των Αθηνών και οι περιηγητές, in: Έπαινος Luigi Beschi. Athens 2011, 335–347.

29 In the axonometric view of the English edition (BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα fig. 7) inner buttresses have been added, bonded by arches providing a wall walk on top of the wall between the Beulé gate and the Nike bastion, in an effort to obscure the omission of the gate below the Nike bastion.

30 TANOULAS, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 303–304; *idem*, Acropolis 96–122; *idem*, Οχύρωση 15–83.

31 Travlos dated the Rizokastron between 1060–1069, see, TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις 138–161, pl. 8, with references to former literature.

of the Theatre of Dionysos³². Almost half a century before that, Parsons' excavation at the Klepsydra showed that the big bastion above the classical spring and the post-Herulian domed structure was also built by the Franks, in the second half of the 13th century³³. In my aforementioned monograph I have thoroughly discussed all evidence showing that the two-storied fortified residence organized to the north of the Propylaia central building, which incorporated the north wing and the Justinianian cistern, was built also by the Franks³⁴. From this indisputable evidence, the Acropolis emerges as a castle organized with three successive rings of defense (fig. 3 above): the so-called Rizokastron ring wall around the slopes at the foot of the rock, the wall at the periphery of the Acropolis plateau, the central ring of defense being the fortified residence of the duke of Athens. This residence comprised the northern wing of the Propylaia and residential areas added by the Franks above the ancient structure and the Justinianian cistern, including a chapel. The east border of the palatial area was significantly occupied by a massive *donjon*, securing the defense against attackers from inside the Acropolis plateau (fig. 3 above, below left).

3. *The residence in the northern wing of the Propylaia and the chapel next to it*

Bouras in his aforementioned books seems to accept my view of the fortified residence being organized by the Franks, but he insists on his older view that the chapel included in this residence is Byzantine, relating it to Michael Choniates³⁵. He avoids any discussion of the analysis of the data which proves that the Frankish structures were added in two phases, and that the chapel belongs in the second phase. I will briefly sum up my arguments.

All evidence from the building and other sources indicate that, throughout the middle Byzantine period, there were no additions on top of the marble classical structure; that is, there was no floor added and the roof must have followed, more or less, the outline of the classical roof. Wooden floors extending throughout the portico and the Pinakothek divided the height of the classical structure into two, providing more rooms in two levels. All evidence makes

32 E. MAKRI *et al.*, Το Ριζόκαστρο. Σωζόμενα υπολείμματα: νέες παρατηρήσεις και επαναχρονολόγηση. *DChAE* 14 (1987/1988) 329–366; ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 22, 24, 297, 301, 304–305.

33 PARSONS, Klepsydra 191–267; TRAVLOS, Pictorial Dictionary 323–331.

34 ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, Propylaia vol. 1, 175–209, 291–299, 305, vol. 2, drawings 17–33, 60–62, especially for the Frankish residence incorporated in the Acciaiuoli palace, see drawings 63–72. Also, IDEM, Acropolis; IDEM, Οχύρωση; IDEM, “Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου”.

35 BOURAS – BOURA, Ναοδομία 33–35; referring to Boitte's drawing Bouras mistakenly describes the chapel as having two doors to the west and one to the north; in fact, Boitte shows two doors to the north and one to the west. BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 140–141; IDEM, Athens 151–156; one has to admit that, in this last publication, Bouras' view of the chapel being Byzantine is phrased (probably taking into consideration ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, “Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου” 32, n. 23) in a less affirmative manner than in his earlier books.

it almost certain that, in the middle Byzantine period, the northern wing functioned as the residence of the Metropolitan of Athens; in this case, it is most probable that the lower level, that is the original floor of the classical building, was used for offices and that the upper level, created by the Byzantine wooden floor, was the private apartments of the Metropolitan³⁶.

Along the upper block-courses of the classical superstructure on the long sides of the portico, namely along the backers of the entablature and the epikranitis of the door wall, there are two courses of beams holes in different levels, corresponding to two structural phases. The upper course belongs to the first Frankish addition of a storey above the classical structure, which was limited on top of the portico. The lower Byzantine wooden floor remained in use by the Franks (fig. 5 above)³⁷.

Sometime later a cross-vaulted structure was installed inside the Pinakothekē, providing the floor for the upper storey that was added to the north of the addition above the portico. It seems that the level of the storey above the Pinakothekē was below the level of the older floor level above the portico, which had to be lowered, in order to correct the discrepancy. The windows of the Frankish addition above the portico were preserved in the higher level corresponding to the floor level of the earlier structural phase. The door cut in the upper courses of the portico east wall, in order to allow access to the gallery of the chapel, corresponds to the floor level of the second phase of the Frankish addition (fig. 5 below)³⁸.

All the above have been thoroughly discussed in the past with all the available evidence³⁹. However, Bouras in his aforementioned books comments only on the drawings of the chapel by Boitte (1864) stating that the chapel could not have been constructed after the 12th century; he simply argues that the architectural forms are purely Byzantine, naming the arches above the windows in the superstructure of the north wall and the high krepis of the apse (fig. 6 above)⁴⁰, avoiding any discussion of the fact that the doors and the windows at the lower part of the chapel north wall are similar to the ones of the Frankish storey on the Propylaia north wing. However, the arched windows in the superstructure of the chapel north wall are similar to windows in Hagios Demetrios in Mystras, dated to the late 13th century, and identical with the windows in the superstructure of the south portico of the Hodegetria

36 TANOULAS, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 280–283, 289 n. 1–11, vol. 2, drawings 55–59. Also IDEM, Acropolis fig. 9; IDEM, Οχύρωση fig. 13.

37 IDEM, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 198–216, vol. 2, drawings 18, 20.

38 IDEM, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 188–198, 206–208 n. 30–59, 292–297, 306–308 n. 7–48, vol. 2, drawing 60. Also, see above n. 34.

39 Ibid. vol. 1, 292–297.

40 See above, note 36.

church, also in Mystras, dated to the early 14th century⁴¹ (fig. 6 below left). As to the semi-hexagonal apse, similar apses can be found in churches which have been dated in the 13th century and later⁴² (fig. 6 below right).

The demolitions of the mediaeval and Turkish additions on and around the Propylaia northern wing started in 1835. But substantial parts of the Frankish wall above the north wing east wall survived until 1885, when they were demolished during the big excavations carried out by Kavvadias. In the photographs by Sebah (1870s) (fig. 7 above left)⁴³, and the measured drawings by Richard Bohn (1881) (fig. 7 above right)⁴⁴, these Frankish wall-remains are clearly depicted with a structural ending to the south, corresponding with the south façade of the Frankish addition above the northern wing. It is clear that this is the south-east corner of the Frankish storey added on top of the north wing portico in the first structural phase (fig. 7 below, 5 above left).

In the second structural phase, the storey was extended to the north, above the Pinakothekē, and to the east. At the same time, the chapel occupied the space above the south-west corner of the Justinianian cistern, between the central building and the north wing. The chapel was rising up to the top of the Frankish storey and, consequently, the gap between the south-east corner of the latter and the central building superstructure had to be walled up. During archaeological activity in the 19th century, this late wall was demolished earlier than the wall further to the north, thus freeing the structural south-east corner of the Frankish storey, which stood there for some years. This is a solid proof that the chapel is contemporary with the second phase of the fortified Frankish palace that occupied the area to the north of the Propylaia central building⁴⁵ (fig. 7 below, 5 below left).

I have already observed that the modifications of the ramparts in the Acropolis west slope (fig. 3) and the establishment of a fortified residence for the duke of Athens to the north of the Propylaia central building can be fully understood in the context of the overall rearrangement of the Acropolis fortifications by the dukes de la Roche in the second half of the 13th century. The ducal residence is self-contained, comprising private apartments, the chancery, a chapel, a huge water tank (the Justinianian cistern) and a massive *donjon* for defense and also for storage of supplies aplenty. The complex of

41 S. SINOS, Η Οδηγήτρια, in: Τα μνημεία του Μυστρά. Το έργο της Επιτροπής Αναστήλωσης Μνημείων Μυστρά (ed. S. SINOS). Athens 2009, 146–147; T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, Reflections of Constantinople, The Iconographic Program of the South Portico of the Hodegetria Church, Mystras, in: Viewing the Morea, Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese (ed. SH.E.J. GERSTEL). Washington, D.C. 2013, 371–395.

42 M.L. COULSON, The Church of Merbaka. Cultural Diversity and Integration in the 13th-Century Peloponnese. PhD Diss. London 2002, 328–358; IDEM, Birds in Paradise: Funerary Iconography at Merbaka Church. *DChAE* 34 (2013) 157–166. Also, see below in this article the last three paragraphs and note 46.

43 ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, Προπύλαια vol. 1, 138, vol. 2, fig. 111–112.

44 BOHN, Die Propyläen pl. 1, 9.

45 See above n. 43–44.

the ducal residence constitutes the last fortified ring, inscribed in the fortified Acropolis that is itself framed by the so-called Rizokastron wall surrounding the slopes about the foot of the rock.

Concerning the curtain wall between the Nike bastion, the pedestal of Agrippa and the ducal residence including the chapel, there is no doubt that they were part of the Frankish building activity in the 13th century, in spite of some characteristic elements which, until the late 1980s, were considered as typically middle Byzantine. These elements are a) the openings covered by arches built with thin bricks, and b) the externally tall semi-hexagonal apse of the chapel raised on a stepped krepis. In the late 1980s it was not easy to locate references in publications corroborating the attribution of those elements, especially of the chapel, to the Franks. Since that time a great deal of information has been presented and studied leading to the conclusion that there is no clear boundary between the typology and the chronology of Frankish and Byzantine buildings in Greece. The new data showed that a considerable number of churches which had been considered as typical examples of middle Byzantine church architecture were in fact built in the 13th century or even later. Besides, there are many recently published churches which, in spite of sharing Byzantine characteristics, are dated after 1204 and attributed to the Latins in the Morea⁴⁶. Consequently, reaffirming what can in fact be known about the chronology of the Byzantine and Frankish buildings on the Acropolis becomes even more necessary.

In the field of archaeological studies new data always come up, adding objective information, adding more missing parts in the greater image for which the collective archaeological activity is striving. In this arduous process, more parameters are always added which must be taken into account in our investigation. As a result, long established views have to be replaced by sounder ones. At this point it is appropriate to summarize the issues on the topography of the Post-Herulian and Frankish Acropolis which I had to reaffirm in this paper.

The Post-Herulian fortifications of the Acropolis west slope included two gates: the Beulé gate, on the central axis of the preexisting monumental Roman flight of steps and the Propylaia, and a second gate built at the foot of the Athena Nike bastion, to accommodate the ramp by means of which the animals of the Panathenaic procession could gain access to the stepped ramp in the middle of the stairway and, then, going up through the Propylaia, to the Acropolis plateau (fig. 1).

46 See above n. 42 and the following articles, with updated bibliography: M. KAPPAS, Επανεξέταση δύο ναών του Σοφικού Κορινθίας. *DChAE* 27 (2006) 61–72; IDEM, Εκκλησίες της Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας από το 1204 έως και το 1500, in: Χριστιανική Μεσσηνία. Μνημεία και Ιστορία της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας. Athens 2010, 189–273; IDEM, Ένα βυζαντινό οικοδομικό συνεχγείο στην περιοχή του Σοφικού Κορινθίας. *DChAE* 38 (2017) 125–146.

In the context of the overall rearrangement of the Acropolis fortifications carried out by the Franks (1204–1311), the Beulé gate was sealed off and only the gate abutting the Athena Nike bastion remained in use, allowing the access of horses. The curtain wall between the Nike bastion and the Agrippa pedestal was part of the same project, as well as the fortified residence to the north and north-east of the Propylaia central building, including residence, cistern, chapel and *donjon* (fig. 2–7).

Director of the Propylaia Restoration Project
Greek Ministry of Culture (1976–2016)

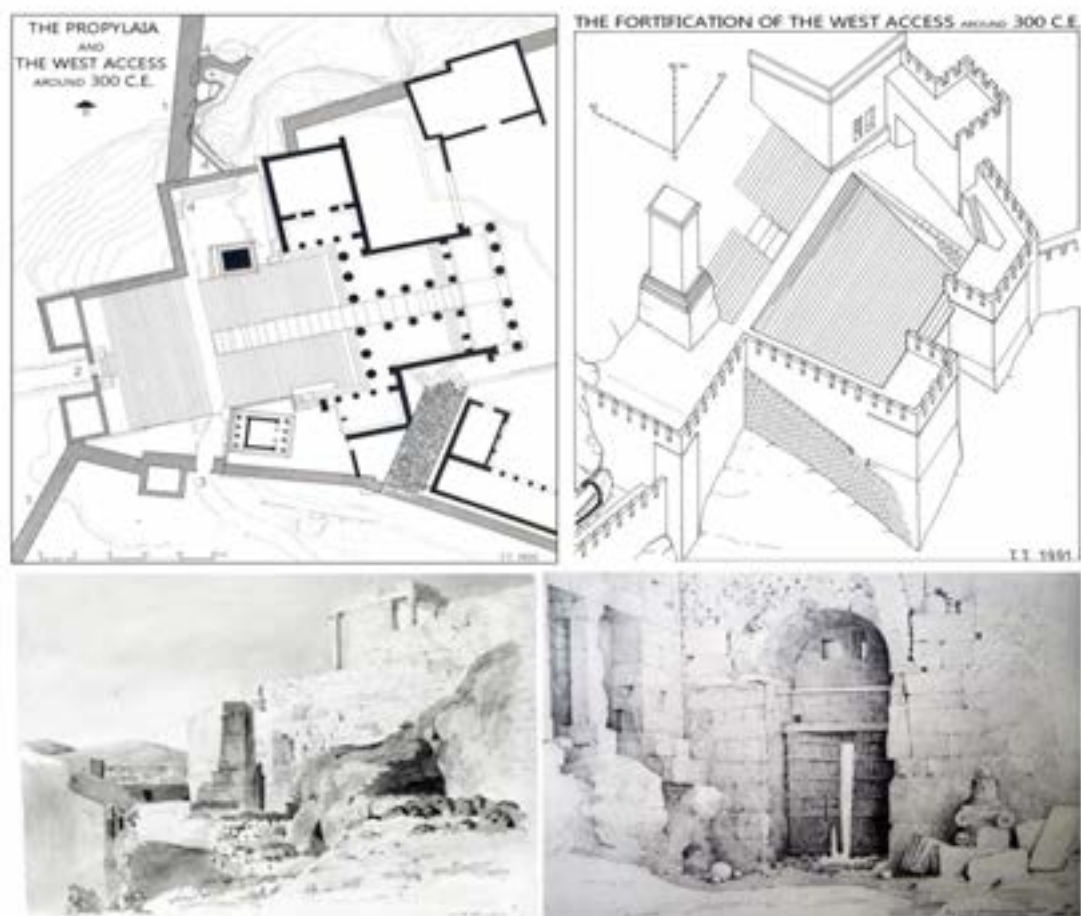


Fig. 1. Above left: Plan of the Propylaia and the west access of the Acropolis about 300 C.E. 1) Post-Herulian circuit wall. 2) The Beulé gate. 3) Gate below the Nike bastion. 4) Post-Herulian access to the Klepsydra spring (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 48). – Above right: Axonometric view of the post-Herulian modifications at the Acropolis west slope, from the north-west (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 49). – Below left: The west end of the so-called Court of the Guards, view from the east, showing surviving lower courses of the post-Herulian tower on the west side of the gate below the Nike bastion in 1850, L.A. Winsrtup, pencil and watercolour (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 89). – Below right: View of the north (inner) side of the gate below the Nike bastion in 1853 with recycled material from the Nikias monument, H.C. Stilling, pencil (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 94).

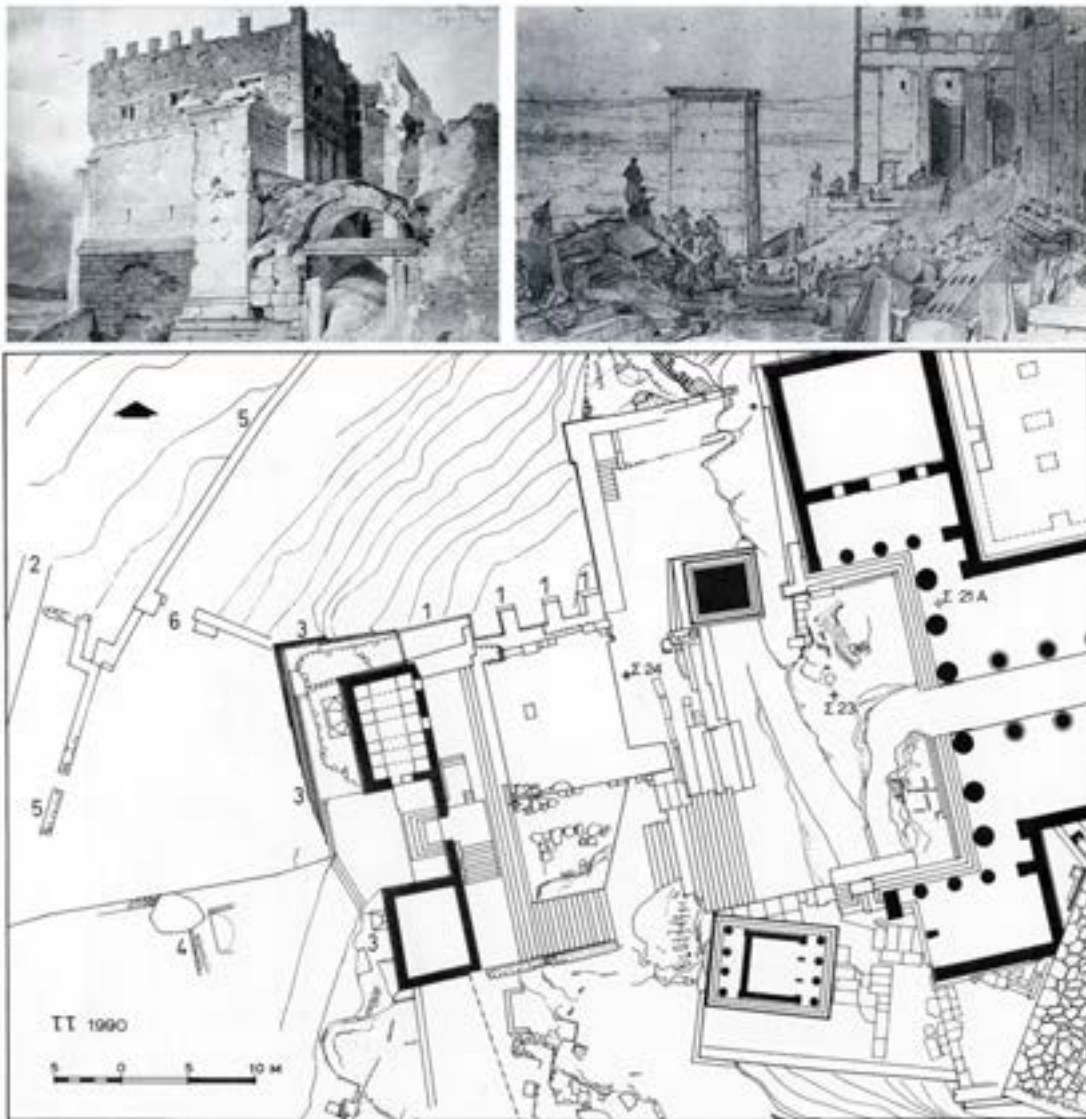


Fig. 2. Above left: View of the north end of the curtain-wall between the Nike bastion and the pedestal of Agrippa from the south-west, in 1835. Behind the gate and the pedestal, the Propylaea north wing. K.W. von Heideck, pencil and watercolour (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 64). – Above right: View from the south side of the Nike bastion, looking north, during the demolition of the curtain-wall, 1835. From left to right: the krepis of the temple of Athena Nike, the pedestal of Agrippa, the Propylaea north wing and central building. M. Rørbye, pencil, ink, watercolour (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 66). – Below: Plan of the west part of the Propylaea and the Acropolis west access in 1990. Between the Nike bastion and the pedestal of Agrippa, parts of the steps covered by the Frankish curtain wall and revealed after the demolition of the bastion (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, drawing 45).

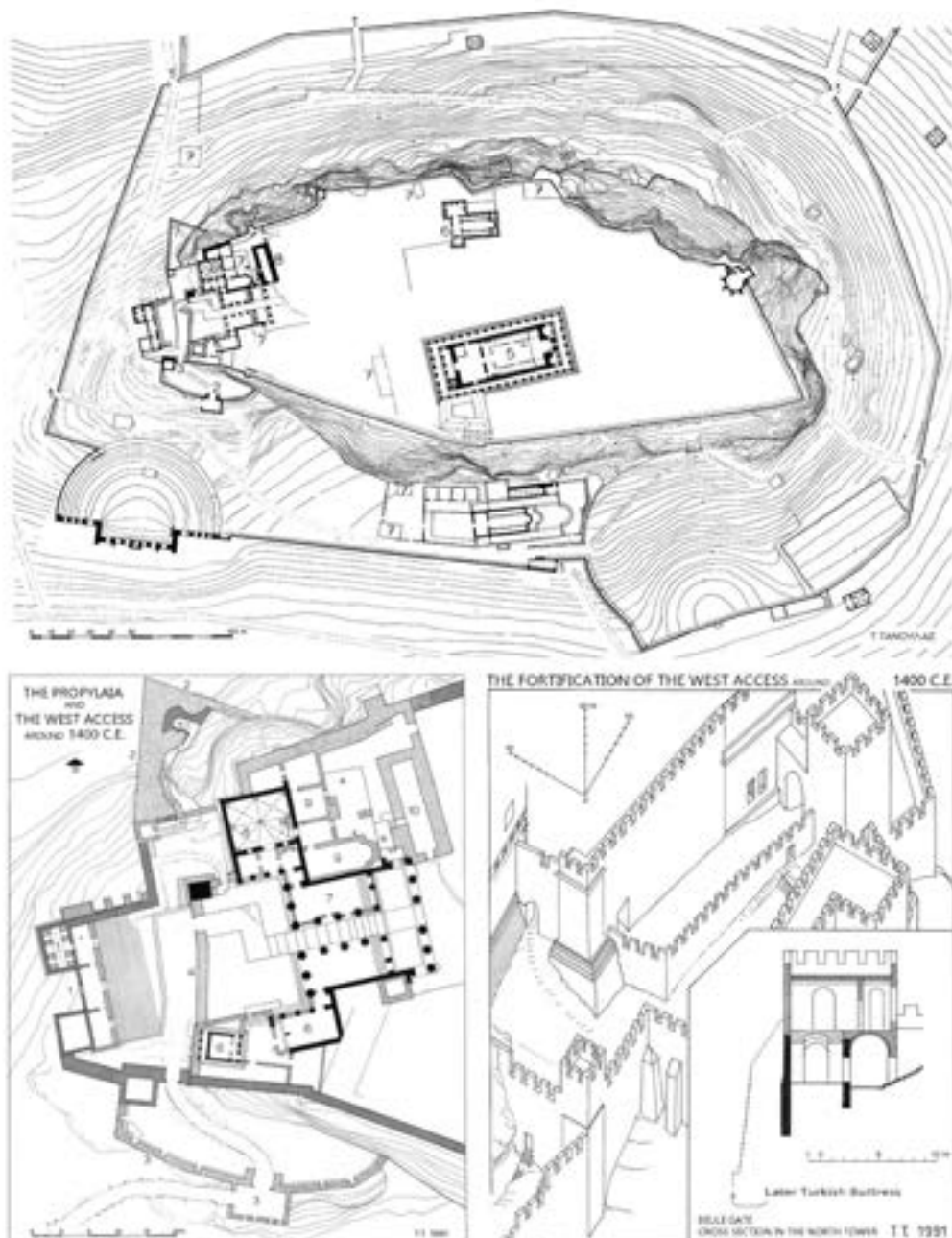


Fig. 3. Above: Plan of the Frankish Acropolis. 1: Gates of the lower circuit wall (Rizokastron). 2, 3, 4: successive gates leading into the Acropolis castle. 5: The Parthenon. 6: The Erechtheion. 7: Cisterns. 8: Donjon. 9: Ducal residence including the Propylaia north wing (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, drawing 62). – Below left: Plan of the Propylaia and the west access about 1400. 1: The Beulé gate with Frankish additions. 2: Frankish fortification on the Klepsydra spring. 3: Outer circuit and guardhouse. 4: Curtain wall and ramp between the gate below the Nike bastion and the gate next to the Agrippa pedestal. 5: Gate leading to the Klepsydra spring. 6: Two-storeyed structure in the Propylaia south wing. 7: Vestibule to the ducal residence. 8: Cross-vaulted structure in the Pinakotheke. 9: Extension of the residence to the east, including chapel. 10: Donjon (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, drawing 60). – Below right: axonometric view of the Frankish fortifications at the Acropolis west slope from the northwest, with a cross-section on the axis of the Beulé gate, looking north (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, drawing 61).

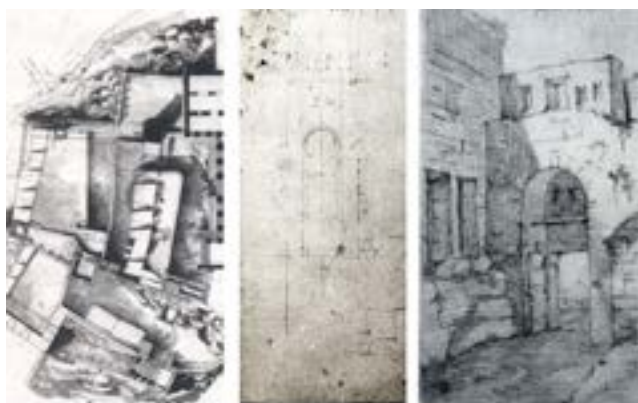


Fig. 4. Left: Plan of the west slope of the Acropolis in 1810. The Propylaea on the right, the Frankish curtain wall and ramp in the middle, and the Beulé gate on the left, covered with Turkish terraces and crenellations for canon. Detail from H. von Hallerstein's plan of the Acropolis and the west access (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 54). – Middle: The north (inner) side of the gate next to the Nike bastion, the bastion's west wall on the left, with one of the classical recesses in cross-section, 1799. Detail from Th. Hope's sketch (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 26). – Right: View of the inside of the gate next to the Nike bastion, on the left the bastion's west wall with the two classical recesses, 1833. Detail from H.Ch. Hansen's sketch (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 68).

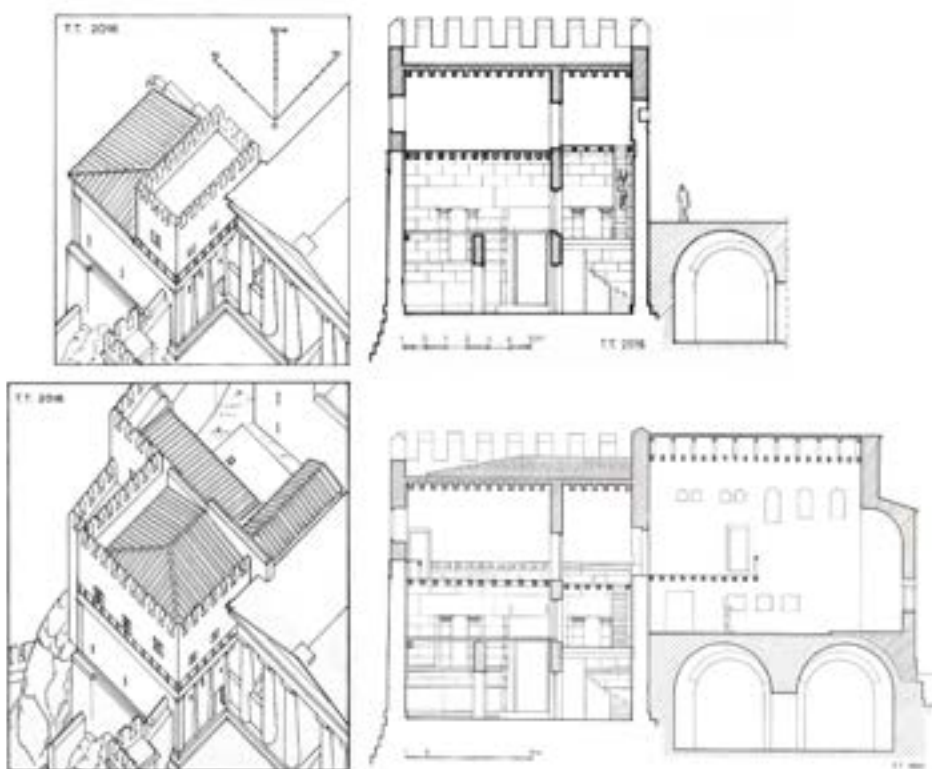


Fig. 5. Above left: Axonometric view of the Propylaea north wing from the south west, with a storey added on top of the portico alone –first Frankish phase (drawing: T. Tanoulas 2016). – Above right: Cross-section in the Propylaea north wing portico and the cistern, looking north, with the storey added on top of the portico: first Frankish phase (drawing: T. Tanoulas 2016). – Below left: Axonometric view of the Propylaea north wing from the south west after the extension of the storey above the Pinakothek and to the east: second Frankish phase (drawings: T. Tanoulas 2016). –Below right: cross-section in the Propylaea north wing portico and the chapel on the cistern (to the right) after the completion of the second Frankish phase (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, drawing 71).

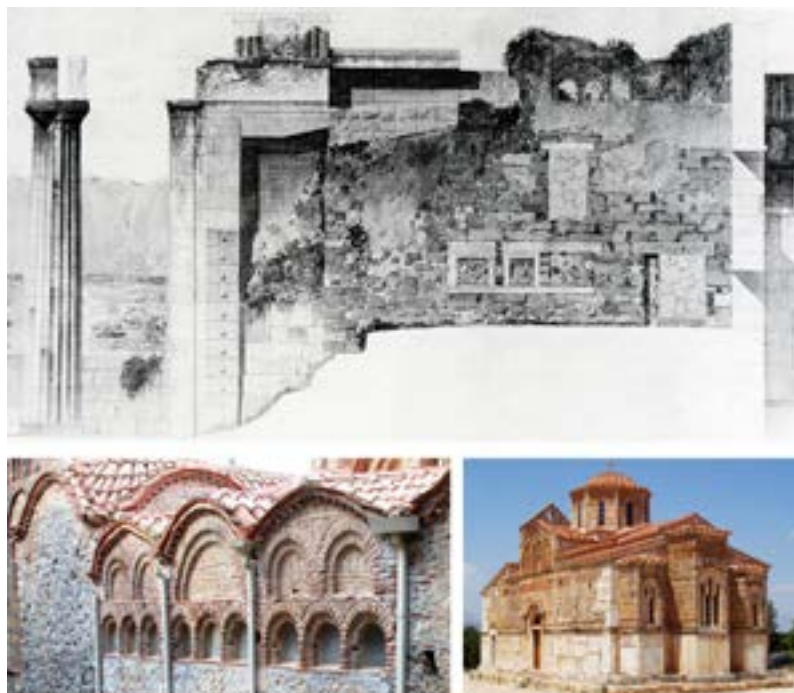


Fig. 6. Above: Detail from a cross-section in the Pinakothek looking south, with view of the central building of the Propylaea and the Frankish chapel, 1864. L.F. Boitte, ink and watercolour (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 99). – Below left: view of the exterior wall of the south portico at Aphendiko, Mystras, from the south east (Photo T. Tanoulas 2008). – Below right: view of the church of Koimesis at Merbaka, from the south east (Photo T. Tanoulas 2003).

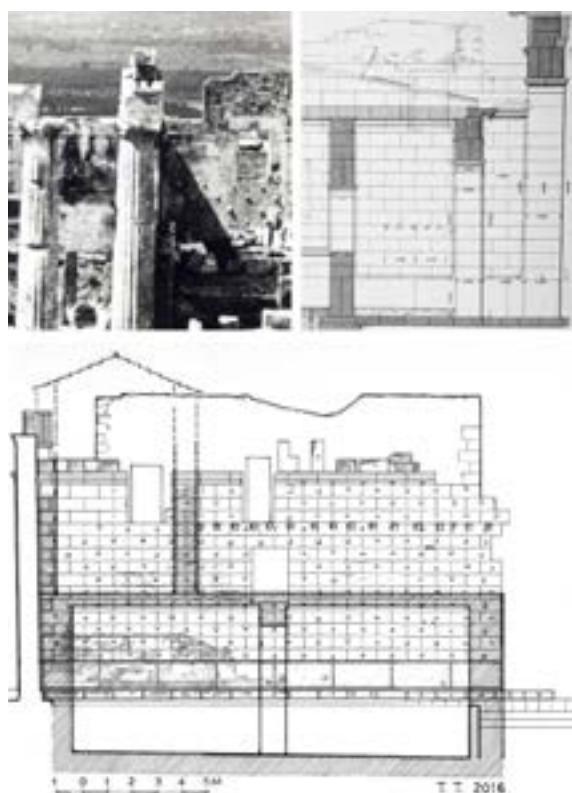


Fig. 7. Above left: View of the Propylaea from the east in the early 1870s, detail from a photograph by Sebah. To the right, the gap between the central building and the south end of the Frankish storey on the north wing (TANOULAS, Προπύλαια, fig. 112). – Above right: West side of the east wall of the Propylaea north wing, 1881; on the left of the entablature above the northwest anta of the central building, the gap between the latter and the southeast corner of the Frankish storey added on top of the north wing portico (Detail from R. BOHN, Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen. 1882, pl. 9). – Below: East wall of the Propylaea north wing from the east, with reconstruction of the outline of the vestiges of the superposed Frankish storey wall before 1885. Thatching indicates the place occupied by the Justinianian cistern and the north and south walls of the Frankish chapel. Broken lines indicate the outline of the chapel's superstructure (drawing: T. Tanoulas 2016).

IOANNIS THEODORAKOPOULOS

Mirabilia Urbis Athenarum: the Duke and the Wise Men of Athens

To Elizabeth Zachariadou
in memoriam

The text *Tà θέατρα καὶ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, known as *Mirabilia Urbis Athenarum*, was found in 1840 by K.O. Müller in a codex of Vienna (Vindob. theol. gr. 252) dated c. 1460 and became the subject of numerous editions¹. In 1965 S.G. Mercati discovered another version in a miscellaneous Vatican manuscript (cod. Vat. gr. 1896), of which the part containing this text belongs to the second half of the 15th century². The Vatican codex and its apographs contain along with the *Mirabilia* a pseudepigraphical treatise, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, which bears the title Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου ἐξηγητικὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις ναοῦ, and is known in Latin as *Commentarius de templo Athenarum*³. The two texts are grouped together under the general title Περὶ τοῦ Ναοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν διδασκαλείων καὶ τῶν θεάτρων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις (f. 220r), and their ending is marked with the phrase Τέλος τὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις (f. 236v)⁴.

The mention of theaters (θέατρα) in the Greek title of the *Mirabilia* is a little surprising, since the author makes no reference to them, with one exception where the term has the sense of stadium⁵. However, this mention could be justified, if we take the theaters as denoting places in which literary

1 For a review of the different editions of the *Mirabilia* see, most recently, DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 101–107 (= IDEM, *La città dei filosofi* 232–234). Here I cite the text of the most recent edition by DI BRANCO, in *Atene immaginaria* 114–116 [hereafter: *Mirabilia*].

2 S.G. MERCATI, *Noterella sulla tradizione manoscritta dei Mirabilia Urbis Athenarum*, in: *Mélanges E. Tisserant*, III. Città del Vaticano 1964, 77–84. The Vatican codex is accessible in digital form at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1896. The other manuscripts containing this version are all apographs of the Vatican codex, see MERCATI, *ibid.* 80 and 82.

3 On this text, see, most recently, C. MACÉ – IL. DE VOS, Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestio ad Antiochum* 136 and the *Theosophia*. *SP* 66 (2013) sp. 328–329.

4 In one of the apographs of the Vatican codex, the Carte Allacciane XCIV, 40 (Biblioteca Vallicelliana), the order of the texts is reversed, i.e. the *Mirabilia* is first and the *Commentarius* follows, see MERCATI, *Noterella* 82. The treatise of Pseudo-Athanasius is also transmitted independently, see *ibid.* 81.

5 I.e. the stadium of Lycurgus, see *Mirabilia* 115.

or philosophical events are performed as well as collectively the intellectuals participating in these gatherings. This sense of the term θέατρον, already known in antiquity, seems to have been particularly popular in the Palaeologan period, judging from the frequency with which it appears in the writings of several outstanding cultural figures of the time⁶. Moreover, the fact that the author opted to focus mainly on the philosophical schools and not on other antique monuments of the city, with the exception of Parthenon, which is also implicitly associated with the philosophical ‘theaters’⁷, is entirely in accordance with the reputation of ancient Athens as a city of philosophers, a reputation which remained alive even after the definitive closure of these schools in the 6th century⁸.

Such a reading of the *Mirabilia* also permits the decipherment of names, which seemed illegible, and elucidates the presence of people who are difficult to situate in the context of ancient Athens. For example, Alcmaeon, whose οἶκος was near the second agora⁹, must be the natural philosopher and medical theorist Alcmaeon of Croton (fl. 5th century B.C.), whereas the name of Mnestarchos, whose οἶκος was next to the baths of Basil¹⁰, should be corrected to Mnesarchos of Athens, the stoic philosopher (c. 160–c. 85 B.C.)¹¹. Finally, the λαμπροὶ οἶκοι τοῦ πολεμάρχου¹² could be not the residence of the military archon bearing this title but the house of Polemarchos, where the dialogue of the *Politeia* of Plato takes place¹³.

6 Such gatherings, an equivalent of French ‘salons’ of the age of Enlightenment, of course taking into consideration the circumstances of each era, was a characteristic phenomenon of the cultural life of late Byzantium, see, selectively, I.P. MEDVEDEV, The So-Called *Θέατρα* as a Form of Communication of the Byzantine Intellectuals in the 14th and 15th centuries, in: Πρακτικά του Β΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Η επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο, 4–6 Οκτωβρίου 1990 (ed. N.G. MOSCHONAS). Athens 1993, 227–235; G. CAVALLO, Lire à Byzance. Paris 2006 (Séminaires byzantins 1) 57–66; P. MARCINIAK, Byzantine *Theatron* – A Place of Performance?, in: *Theatron: Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter/ Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (ed. M. GRÜNBART). Berlin–New York 2007, 277–285; I. TOTH, Rhetorical *Theatron* in Late Byzantium: The example of Palaiologan imperial orations, in: *Theatron*, *ibid.* 427–446; N. GAUL, Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit. Wiesbaden 2011, sp. 18–38 and *idem*, Performative Reading in the Late Byzantine *Theatron*, in: *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond* (ed. T. SHAWCROSS – I. TOTH). Cambridge–New York 2018, 215–233 (with further bibliography).

7 See *infra*, 346–347.

8 See, indicatively, DI BRANCO, La città dei filosofi; E. KEY FOWDEN, The Parthenon Mosque, King Solomon, and the Greek Sages, in: *Ottoman Athens* 67–95, *passim*.

9 *Mirabilia* 114.

10 *Ibid.*

11 We know also other persons with the same name (the father and the elder son of Pythagoras, the father of Euripides etc.), see *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft* 15.2, 2270–2274.

12 *Mirabilia* 114.

13 The fact that this house was in reality in Piraeus is a detail, to which the sciolist author would pay little attention.

The Latin title, *Mirabilia*, was given to the text by F. Gregorovius, who considered it as belonging to the homonymous literary genre, whose first known specimen is the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* of the 12th century¹⁴. At first sight, the Athenian *Mirabilia* indeed gives the impression of essentially being a guide to ancient Athens through the remains of its buildings¹⁵.

The lack of any specific reference by the author to events of the period of the text's composition makes the work difficult to date with precision. The only certain *terminus ante quem* is the date of the Vienna manuscript itself. As evidence for the text's date, one passage is singled out: this mentions a duke of Athens, who, given the opportunity, used to go to a royal residence to feast. There was to be found the Kallirhoe, that is the Enneacrounos, the fountain with the nine spouts. The duke, after bathing in it, went up to pray at the so-called temple of Hera. The author adds that this temple had by then been converted by the faithful¹⁶, into a church of the Holy Mother of God¹⁷.

14 F. GREGOROVIVS, *Mirabilien der Stadt Athen*, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der K. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München 1/3 (1881) (hereafter: *Mirabilien*), sp. 369. For the bibliography on Roman *Mirabilia* see DI BRANCO, *La città dei filosofi* 235, n. 208 (add N. ROBIJNTJE MIEDEMA, *Die „Mirabilia Romae“*. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte. Tübingen 1996; M. ACCAME LANZILLOTTA – E. DELL'ORO (eds), *I 'Mirabilia Urbis Romae'*. Rome 2004 and D. KINNEY, *Fact and Fiction in the Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, in: É.Ó. CARRAGÁIN – C. NEUMAN DE VEGVAR (eds), *Roma Felix – Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*. Ashgate 2007, 235–252).

15 In 1862 another text of the same kind, but much shorter, was found in a manuscript of Paris (Cod. Par. gr. 1631A) by D. Detlefsen. This text (hereafter: *Mirabilia II*), dates from the Ottoman period (1671) and apparently draws on the *Mirabilia*, see DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 101–102, 107 and 109 (=IDEM, *La città dei filosofi* 232–233, 235 and 237) (text in: *Atene immaginaria* 124).

16 L. ROSS, *Anonymi Viennensis descriptio urbis Athenarum nebst den Briefen des Zygomalas und Kabasilas*. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie von Athen. *WJL* 90 (1840) 8 [offprint] (= IDEM, *Zur Kunstgeschichte und Topographie von Athen und Attika*. *Anonymi Viennensis descriptio urbis Athenarum*, nebst den Briefen des Zygomalas und Kabasilas, in: IDEM, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, vol. 1. Leipzig 1855, 249), in accordance with his dating of the text after the end of the Latin rule in Athens, see *infra*, n. 19, takes the term 'faithful' to refer to the Greek Orthodox as opposed to the Latin Catholics. His opinion is shared by L. DE LABORDE, *Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, vol. 1. Paris 1854, 23 (=IDEM, *Documents inédits ou peu connus sur l'histoire et les antiquités d'Athènes tirés des archives de l'Italie, de la France, de l'Allemagne, etc.* Paris 1854, 7), C. WACHSMUTH, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, vol. 1. Leipzig 1874, 736, n. 1; GREGOROVIVS, *Mirabilien* 363–364 and MILLER, *The Latins* 443.

17 *Mirabilia* 115: Πρὸς δὲ νότον τούτων ἐστὶν οἶκος βασιλικὸς πλὴν ὠραῖος, εἰς ὃν κατερχόμενος ὁ δοῦξ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐκινεῖτο· ἐκεῖ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Νεάκρουνος πηγὴ ἡ Καλλιρρόη, εἰς ἣν λουόμενος ἀνήρχετο εἰς τέμενος τὸ τῆς Ἥρας λεγόμενον καὶ προσπύχετο· νῦν δὲ μετεποιήθη εἰς ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν. For the identification of these locations and buildings, see, most recently, DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 120, n. 29, 121, n. 34, and TANOULAS, *Reconsidering* 53. However, any attempt to identify them must take into consideration the text in the codex Vaticanus (f. 231v), which at this point is the more satisfying in terms of syntax (Πρὸς δὲ νότον τούτου ἐστὶν οἶκος βασιλικὸς μικρὸς πλὴν ὠραῖος).

The majority of previous scholars considered that the author was referring to a Latin duke of Athens, presumably one of the Acciaiuoli's family who ruled Athens from 1385 to 1458. As he speaks of these matters in the past tense, these scholars placed the redaction of the text after the Turkish occupation of the city in 1456 or of the Acropolis in 1458¹⁸. An obstacle to this dating is that the writer describes the Parthenon as still being a Christian church, but the supporters of the theory get around this difficulty by arguing that the Turks, after the expulsion of the Latins, delivered the Parthenon to the Orthodox Christians for a term, before finally converting it into a mosque. This last event they place around 1460¹⁹.

Against the consensus of scholars at his time, D. Kambouroglou observed that a duke praying in Hera's temple could not be a Christian. Thus, he thought that the present form of the *Mirabilia* is an adaptation of a text dating long before 800, and considered that the duke was a Byzantine military officer with this title or one whom the later topographer so called by misapprehension²⁰.

M. di Branco makes the same objection and interprets a passage in the inaugural speech of Michael Choniates, the 12th century bishop of Athens, delivered around 1182²¹, as alluding to the existence in the city at that time of local 'guides' showing newcomers the most famous Athenian monuments. Such a procedure attests to the existence of local scholars who collected and circulated popular stories and traditions concerning the ancient buildings of the city, similar to those found in the *Mirabilia*. Consequently, Di Branco, although recognizing that the text of the *Mirabilia* in its present form is fully fifteenth-century in language and style, places the *terminus post quem* for its initial drafting within the 11th to 12th centuries²². A. Corso accepts

18 They also remark that the author of the *Mirabilia* 115 refers to the chancery (καγγελαρία) housed in the northern wing of the Propylaia in the past tense, which means that it was no longer there, thus implying that the Acropolis was ceded to the Ottomans. Nevertheless, there is no necessary reason to assume that he refers to the chancery of the Latin dukes and not an ancient one, see GREGOROVIVS, *Mirabilien* 365 and DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 122, n. 43.

19 Ross, *Anonymi Viennensis* 8 (= IDEM, *Zur Kunstgeschichte* 250); DE LABORDE, *Athènes* 16, n. 1 (= IDEM, *Documents* 2); WACHSMUTH, *Die Stadt Athen* 13 and 61; GREGOROVIVS, *Mirabilien* 363, and IDEM, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, 396, who, however, is more circumspect and has reservations about whether the Parthenon was ever delivered by the Turks to the Orthodox cult; MILLER, *The Latins* 441, n. 4. According to the testimony of an Italian traveller, probably Urbano Bolzanio, whose journey to Greece is dated around 1470, the Parthenon at that time was still a church, see E. ZIEBARTH, *Ein griechischer Reisebericht des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. *MDAI AA* 24 (1899) 73 and 82, n. 1; MILLER, *The Latins* 440, n. 2 and K.M. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388*. London 1975², 238. See, however, OUSTERHOUT, *The Parthenon* 317, n. 141.

20 D.GR. KAMBOUROGLOU, *Ιστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Τουρκοκρατία: Περίοδος πρώτη 1458–1687*, vol. I. Athens 1889, 156 and vol. II, 1890, 28–33.

21 MICHAEL CHONIATES, *Εισβατήριος*, in: LAMPROS, *Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, vol. I, 97.29–98.2 (§ 14).

22 DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 109–112 (= IDEM, *La città dei filosofi* 236–239) and 121, n. 32.

Di Branco's view and, based on the fact that the only mention of a duke's presence in Athens during the pre-Christian period is in Diocletian's reign (284–305), contends that the duke in question was a military official of the Tetrarchy. Furthermore, he identifies Hera's temple as that of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios and assumes that the empress was there worshipped as Hera, while the emperor as Zeus/Jupiter. According to the Italian archeologist, the duke, by offering worship to the goddess, recognized the divine character of the imperial couple²³. Corso also places the writing of the *Mirabilia* in the late 12th century²⁴. T. Tanoulas observes, however, that while the testimony of the *Mirabilia* is absolutely compatible with the information about Athens provided by Cyriacus of Ancona (1391–c. 1455), it is totally irreconcilable with the state of the Propylaia and its environs before the period of Latin rule in Athens²⁵.

Whatever the case, it is the identity of the mysterious duke that is crucial to the dating of the *Mirabilia*. At this point, I should mention a passage from the *Chronicle of Morea*. According to this text, Guy I de la Roche (c. 1205–1263), the first Latin lord of Athens to bear the title of duke, after his defeat in the war against his liege William II Villehardouin, the Prince of Achaia, was ordered to go to their common overlord, Louis IX of France, for judgment (1259). While at the royal court in Paris (1260), Guy, until then styled like his predecessor as seignor (or megas Kyris), asked the king for the title of duke, which he pretended was his due, stating that the lords of Athens were customarily so called from ancient times²⁶. The king granted his request and the Latin lords of Athens were henceforth called dukes²⁷. Certainly, the *Chronicle of Morea* is far from being a reliable source for the events of the

23 A. CORSO, The Topography of Ancient Athens in the *Mirabilia Urbis Athenarum*. *Hyperboreus* 16–17 (2010–2011) 69.

24 Ibid. 70.

25 TANOULAS, Reconsidering 54. Tanoulas also observes, *ibid.* 60, that the conception of antique monuments in this text, for example the conception of 'palace' as referring to a magnificent residence built on higher levels, echoes that of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance.

26 Greek version: J. SCHMITT (ed.), The Chronicle of Morea. London 1904, v. 3458–3459: ἡ ἀφεντία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ... εἴ τις τὴν εἶχεν ἔκπαλαι, Δοῦκαν τὸν ὀνομάζαν. French version: J. LONGNON (ed.), Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée, Chronique de Morée (1204–1305). Paris 1911, § 253: *il se deust appeler Duc d'Athenes, pour ce meisme que son pays estoit duchié et que anciennement s'appelloit le seignor Duc d'Athenes*. Aragonese version: AL. MOREL-FATIO (ed.), Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea compilado por comandamiento de Don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem. Geneva 1885, § 293: *el rey de Francia le fizo grant honor et dixo que queria que se nombrasse duch de Athenas como era antiguamente acostumbrado*. The author of the Greek version of the *Chronicle* contradicts himself, claiming elsewhere that the title of the Latin lord of Athens as known to the ancient Greeks was *megas kyr*, see SCHMITT, The Chronicle v. 1555–1557.

27 SCHMITT, *ibid.* v. 3375–3463; LONGNON, Livre de la conquête § 244–253; MOREL-FATIO, Libro de los fechos § 292–293. For the dates, see LONGNON, The Frankish States 246 and *IDEM*, Les premiers ducs d'Athènes et leur famille. *JS* (1973) 73–74.

13th century, especially when they are not attested to by any other source²⁸. However, the French court may have been aware of the tradition about the ancient Athenian dukes. In fact, in the *Roman de Thèbes* (late 12th century) the title of *dux* is attached to Theseus²⁹.

References to ancient Athenian dukes intensify in the period after the establishment of the Frankish duchy in Athens. More specifically, Dante Alighieri also calls Theseus 'duca d'Atene' in the *Divina Commedia* (c. 1308–1320)³⁰. Muntaner reports in his *Chronicle* (1325–1328) the mythical story about Paris' abduction of Helen, whom he calls Arena, wife of an unnamed duke of Athens³¹. In his *Teseida* (c. 1340), the first epic in the Italian language, Giovanni Boccaccio gives the Athenian hero the same title³². This last work

28 Marco Sanudo who also refers in some detail to the visit of Guy to Paris does not make any mention of his being granted the title on this occasion, see E. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (ed.), *Marin Sanudo Torsello Istoria di Romania*. Athens 2000, 113.8–17. LONGON, *Livre de la conquête* 92, n. 1, considers that this detail of the story is legendary, because Louis IX could not grant Guy de la Roche the title of Duke of Athens, which he had to take on his own authority, just as did other Frankish lords in Greece. Elsewhere he states, see *Idem*, *The Frankish States* 246, n. 6, that the assertion of the chronicler seems to be refuted by the numismatic evidence according to which the title of duke was not officially used before 1280. M. ΔΟΥΡΟΥ-ΙΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Από τη Δυτική Ευρώπη στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Οι σταυροφορικές ηγεμονίες στη Ρωμανία (13^{ος}–15^{ος} αιώνας). Πολιτικές και θεσμικές πραγματικότητες*. Athens 2012, 83, also doubts the historicity of this story, because in the Angevine archives the title of duke in connection with the lord of Athens does not appear before 1270. However, the gap of 10 years between the appearance of the title in the diplomatic documents and in the coins demonstrates that neither of our sources could be considered as providing a certain *terminus ante quem* for the first appearance of the title. In any case, the author of the *Chronicle of Morea* calls in the flow of his narration the lord of Athens now δούκα and then Μέγα κύρ and his territory sometimes δουκάτο and sometimes μεγαλοκυράτο.

29 This romance was composed around 1150 by an unknown author, probably a clerk, at the court of the Plantagenets in Aquitaine, and is considered as the first or, in any case, one of the first romances in the French language, see A. PETIT, *Le roman de Thèbes*. Paris 2008, 20–26.

30 *Divina Commedia*, *Inferno*, Canto XII. In the same work, however, Peisistratus is called *sir*, see *ibid.*, *Purgatorio*, Canto XV. The inconsistency in the titles of Athenian rulers is reminiscent of the historical sources, but here the cause is different, see *infra*, n. 42.

31 Lady GOODENOUGH (tr.), *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, CCXIV, vol. 2. London 1921, 511.

32 There is an anonymous translation of *Teseida* in Greek, whose exact date is not known or easily identifiable. Usually it is vaguely placed in the second half of the 15th century, see the bibliography in ST. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ, *Ἀπὸ τὸ χειρόγραφο στὸ ἔντυπο: «Θησεὺς καὶ Γάμοι τῆς Αἰμιλίας» (1529)*. *Thesaurismata* 27 (1997) 151, n. 5 and EL. CAPPELLARO, *Ἡ πρώτη νεοελληνική μετάφραση τοῦ Βοκκάκιου Ὁ Θησεύς καὶ γάμοι τῆς Αἰμιλίας (1340–1370)* 94. Μία υπόθεση γιὰ τὴ χρονολόγηση, *Σύγκριση/Comparaison* 20 (2010) 94. However, ST. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ, *ibid.*, argues that Boccaccio's work was translated at the end of the 14th or early 15th century, and considers as *terminus post quem* 1388, the year Nerio I inaugurated the Accaiuoli's dominion in Athens. According to the same scholar, this translation is a characteristic example of the cultural syncretism that distinguishes Athenian society during the period of Latin rule. For her part, EL. CAPPELLARO, *ibid.* 99 and 107–109, pleads for an even earlier dating of the translation, placing it between 1340 and 1370. Boccaccio also presents a fantastic duke of Athens in his *Decameron*, 2nd Day, 7th Novel. However, this story is situated in an unspecified historical period, which in any case is not Greek antiquity.

inspired Geoffrey Chaucer in his composition of *The Knight's Tale*, the first of *The Canterbury Tales* (1387–1400), in which the duke Theseus is one of the principal characters. As this tale was in turn a source of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595/6) as well as of his less well known *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634)³³, it was evidently there that the English dramatist found the title of 'duke of Athens' for Theseus³⁴.

There is also an example of a late Byzantine historian claiming that the title of duke in relation to the lord of Athens is linked to antiquity, although this time not to the Greek but to the Roman one. This is Nicephorus Gregoras, who claims that the title of 'megas dukas'³⁵ was bestowed upon the Athenian archon by Constantine the Great, as well as the title of 'primikerios' to the archon of Boetia and that of 'princeps' to the Peloponnesian³⁶. The historian adds that with the passage of time the adjective 'megas' lapsed, leaving only the substantive noun of 'dukas'. By this aetiology the author attempts to trace back to the reign of the first Christian emperor the titles held by contemporary rulers³⁷. At any rate, a duke in the service of Constantine I could not, at least in Gregoras' mind, be a pagan.

Where did this title come from as a designation for the ancient Athenian kings in western sources? The first conjecture that comes naturally to mind is that the ancient Athenian kings were identified with the Latin dukes of Athens in the imagination of the western authors of the period and later, under the influence of the city's Latin occupation³⁸. However, the fact that, prior to the establishment of the duchy of Athens, the composer of the *Roman de Thèbes* gives the same title to Theseus poses an obstacle to such an assumption cannot be circumvented. Consequently, we must follow a different path. Firstly, we should notice that this title is almost exclusively associated with the person of Theseus³⁹. Secondly, the *Roman de Thèbes* is a free adaptation of the epic

33 This Jacobean tragicomedy is attributed to a co-operation between John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, see *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (ed. M. DOBSON – S. WELLS), New York 2001, 500–503. Shakespeare and Fletcher may also have directly known Chaucer's source, Boccaccio's *Teseida*, see *ibid.* 500.

34 For the pedigree of this literary tradition, see also GREGOROVIVS, *Geschichte*, vol. I, 402–403 and MILLER, *The Latins* 107–108.

35 The author confuses here the two alternative titles of the Athenian dukes of his time, that is μέγας κύριος and δούκας.

36 Nicephori Gregorae, *Historiae Byzantinae*, VII.5, Bonn 1829, vol. 1, 239.5–7.

37 See the analysis of this passage by GAUL, *Thomas Magistros* 54–56.

38 That is the opinion of MILLER, *The Latins* 107–108 and TH. KOUTSOGIANNIS, *The image of Athens in modern European visual culture: Between fantasy and reality – in the shadow of antiquities*, in: "A dream among splendid ruins..." *Strolling through the Athens of Travelers, 17th–19th Century* (eds M. LAGOGIANNI-GEORGAKARAKOS – TH. KOUTSOGIANNIS). Athens 2015, 67.

39 The only exception is Muntaner, see *supra*, 340, who, however, does not designate the duke by name. Characteristically enough, in Boccaccio's *Teseida*, Theseus is called duke of Athens, whereas his father Aigeas is called king (rex'). See also Dante, *supra*, n. 30.

of Publius Papinius Statius, the *Thebaid* (c. 80–c. 92 A.D.)⁴⁰, where Theseus is constantly designated as ‘dux’, evidently with the Latin significance of the term, i.e. general⁴¹. Statius’ poem enjoyed a great popularity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which remained unfaded until the 19th century. In addition to the unknown composer of the *Roman de Thèbes*, it influenced a number of other writers, including Dante and Boccaccio. More specifically, Statius plays the role of Dante’s spiritual and moral guide in the *Purgatorio* of the *Divina Commedia*⁴² and the *Thebaid* was a major source for Boccaccio’s *Teseida*⁴³. Finally, Chaucer, in addition to the *Teseida*, also had direct knowledge of the *Thebaid*, as well as of the *Roman de Thèbes*⁴⁴. Thus, the use of the title of duke for Theseus has nothing to do with the establishment of the duchy of Athens in the 13th century, but can instead be traced back to Roman antiquity.

In summary, the title of duke in connection with ancient Athenian kings appears in Latin literature already in Late Antiquity. In my opinion, the most probable hypothesis is that the duke in the *Mirabilia* must be Theseus, with whom this title is traditionally associated in Latin and Western literature in general⁴⁵. If my hypothesis is correct, it follows that the *Mirabilia* must have been written when Athens was under Latin dominion. In fact, we have other examples of Greek texts contemporaneous with the *Mirabilia* using Latin titles alternatively with Greek ones for persons of antiquity⁴⁶. Moreover, not only there is no evidence that the text dates after the fall of Athens to the Turks,

40 See indicatively D. BATTLES, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes: History and Narrative in the Roman de Thèbes*, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate. New York–London 2004, 19–59 and PETIT, *Le roman de Thèbes* 26–28.

41 Obviously, the medieval authors gave to the term another meaning, but the confusion was almost inevitable. Consequently, the dux Theseus in the *Roman de Thèbes* is represented as a vassal of Adrastus, the king of Argos.

42 P. HESLIN, Statius in Dante’s *Commedia*, in: *Brill’s Companion to Statius* (eds W.J. DOMINIK *et al.*). Leiden–Boston 2015, 512–526. Statius’ influence on Dante can account for the different titles attributed to the two rulers of Athens (Peisistratus and Theseus) in the *Divina Commedia*, see *supra*, n. 30.

43 See indicatively BATTLES, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes* 61–83. Significantly, in his *Genealogia deorum gentilium* where he drew on other sources, Boccaccio did not call Theseus dux but rex, see J. SOLOMON (ed.), *Giovanni Boccaccio, Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, vol. II: Books VI–X. Cambridge Mass. 2017, 580–582 (X.49).

44 See BATTLES, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes* 85–114.

45 It is also worthy of note that Theseus is the last person mentioned by name before the reference to the Duke, see *Mirabilia* 115.

46 For example, I cite the paradoxographical tale about the mythical history of the Peloponnese, wrongly considered by its editor as two separate works, discovered in a manuscript contemporary with the older manuscripts of the *Mirabilia*, i.e. of 15th century. This text mentions the ancient king Pelops whose son Zeus (Δίας) is married with the daughter of Menelaus, αὐθεντὸς τῆς Ἀθίνου (The title αὐθέντης is the Greek equivalent to that of ‘sire’, given to Peisistratos by Dante, see *supra*, n. 30), while Poseidon is rex (ῥήγας) of Crete, etc., see LAMPROS, Τρεῖς παραδοξογραφικαὶ διηγήσεις περὶ Πελοποννήσου, Πουλχερίας καὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ, *NE* 4 (1907) 139–143.

but the mention of the Parthenon as a Christian church demonstrates that the city was still under Christian rule⁴⁷.

It causes no surprise that the scholars who have until now dealt with the *Mirabilia*, most of them classical archaeologists, were primarily interested in the identification of the monuments reported in it, while remaining rather indifferent to its own theological context. Nevertheless, I think that using the *Mirabilia* as a source, mainly, if not exclusively, for topographical information about ancient Athens is misplaced. In fact, the *Mirabilia* serves specific ideological purposes, which I intend to expound on here.

Although the text, apart from some limited references to churches, seems to concern almost exclusively ancient Athens, there are also some allusions to Christian writings. Thus, when the narrative touches on the ancient agora the author alludes to an episode from the Greek version of the Apocryphal Acts of Phillip, where the apostle with his prayers causes the Jewish archpriest, Ananias⁴⁸, to sink into the earth as punishment for his refusal to be convinced by Phillip's preaching, in front of the city's people and the 300 Athenian wise men⁴⁹. The writer then refers to the attempt of the Athenian students to intimidate Basil the Great by making noises in the so-called βασιλικὸν λουτρόν⁵⁰. His source for this incident is Gregory of Nazianzus' Funeral Oration in honour of Basil⁵¹. Finally, in the description of the Parthenon, the temple of the Mother of God, that forms the final point and the culmination of his account, the author attributes its construction to Apollo and Eulogius, who have dedicated it to the Unknown God⁵². Eulogius is otherwise unknown⁵³, but Apollo must be the same person as the Apollo or Apollonius mentioned in a

47 Cf. *Mirabilia* II, where the Turkish presence in the city is obvious, see also DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 109 (= IDEM, *La città dei filosofi* 237).

48 *Mirabilia* 114: Κατὰ ἄρκτον δὲ τούτου ὑπῆρχεν ἡ πρώτη ἀγορὰ τῆς πόλεως, εἰς ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος τὸν γραμματέα ἐβύθισεν. The codices give the reading γραμματέα instead of ἀρχιερέα.

49 *Acta Philippi* 41–75. This episode derives from Act II of the *Acta Philippi*, which is considered a later addition of the 5th century to the body of Acts and has also circulated independently, see FR. AMSLER, *Acta Philippi Commentarius* (CCSA 12). Turnhout 1999, 85–127. There is an Athenian manuscript of the Acts of Phillip dated to the end of the 15th century, National Library of Greece, Athens 346, which, however, does not contain Act II, see *Acta Philippi* XXVI–XXX.

50 *Mirabilia* 114: Ἐκεῖ ὑπῆρχε καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν λουτρόν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ μέγα Βασίλειον διὰ πατάγων φοβῆσαι ἠθέλησαν. Probably the adjective βασιλικὸν must be associated with Basil's name.

51 See J. BERNARDI (ed.), Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 42–43 (SC 384). Paris 1992, 154.16–156.36. The author of the *Mirabilia* has misunderstood his source. In reality, Basil was not subjected to this trial thanks to the intervention of Gregory.

52 *Mirabilia* 115: Περὶ δέ γε τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Θεομήτορος, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησαν Ἀπολλῶς καὶ Εὐλόγιος ἐπ' ὀνόματι Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, ἔχειν οὕτως.

53 This couple of names is identical with that of the Alexandrian bishops Apollo and Eulogius, see MILLER, *The Latins* 443, which could have led the composer of the *Mirabilia* to associate his Apollo with an unknown Eulogius.

series of theosophical treatises⁵⁴.

These works contain prophecies about Christ's coming or Christian doctrines, which are ascribed to the seven sages of ancient Greece⁵⁵. They belong to the theosophical literature that conveys such prophecies, presented as having been uttered by known ancient philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, but also mythical figures like the Sibyls, Orpheus, Hermes Trismegistus, and even the pagan god Apollo⁵⁶. The impact of these writings, especially those of the prophecies of the wise men, is also visible in ecclesiastical art, mainly of the post-Byzantine period. Thus, we find in the iconography of churches images of Greek sages and poets⁵⁷ holding unfurled scrolls with their oracles, in the guise of biblical prophets⁵⁸.

54 See also G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria*. Paris 1984, 14–15.

55 They are all edited by H. ERBSE in *Theos. gr. fr.* 91–135. Given the close similarities, both in form and content, they could be considered a Christian variation of the antique collections of sayings of wise men, see A. BUSINE, *Les Sept Sages prophètes du christianisme. Tradition gnomique et littérature théosophique*, in: *Theologische Orakel in der Spätantike* (eds H. SENG – G. SFAMENI GASPARRO). Heidelberg 2016, 257–280, esp. 270–272. These collections seem to have been very popular throughout the Greco-Roman world and beyond, appealing to a wide social spectrum, even to the literary elite, see BUSINE, *Les Sept Sages* 262 and T. MORGAN, *Encyclopaedias of virtue? Collections of sayings and stories*, in: *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (eds J. KÖNIG – G. WOOLF). New York 2013, 121.

56 The most important specimen of a Christian collection of 'pagan' oracles is the so-called *Tübingen Theosophy*, whose prototype dates to the 5th or early 6th century. From the rich bibliography on the subject see, most recently, FR. BEATRICE, *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia. An Attempt at Reconstruction*. Leiden–Boston–Köln 2001, xl–xlii and F. ALPI – AL. LE BOULLUEC, *Étude critique: La reconstruction de la Théosophie anonyme proposée par Pier Franco Beatrice*. *Apocrypha* 15 (2004) 293–305. We know that a similar one existed in the 7th century, see R. HENRY (ed.), *Photius, Bibliotheca I–IX*. Paris 1959–1991, cod. 170, II, 162–165. Such oracles are also scattered through several texts, for example, the *Chronicle* of John Malalas (6th century) or *Lives of saints*, see BEATRICE, *ibid.* xxiii–xxv. On ancient Gods as prophets of Christianity, see BUSINE, *Gathering Sacred Words* 39–55; EADEM, *Paroles d'Apollon*.

57 From the extensive bibliography on this subject, see indicatively K. SPETSIERIS, *Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων εἰς ἐκκλησίας*. *EEPhSPA* 14 (1963–1964) 386–458; IDEM, *Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων εἰς ἐκκλησίας. Συμπληρωματικὰ στοιχεῖα*. *EEPhSPA* 24 (1973–1974) 397–436 and A. CICADE, *Les païens au monastère. Sages païens, philosophes grecs et historiens antiques antérieurs à la venue du Christ représentés comme annonciateurs du salut sur des fresques dans des monastères et églises orthodoxes*. s.l., 2019.

58 In both, the narrative sources and the pictorial representations, the content of these oracles does not correspond to the known texts of the philosophers and poets. Moreover, there is no consistency to the attribution of an oracle to a particular person from one collection or representation to another. Interestingly, similar phenomena are to be observed in the tradition of the sayings and stories attributed to the ancient sages, see MORGAN, *Encyclopaedias of virtue?* 110 and n. 11 and BUSINE, *Les Sept Sages* 264–265. Dionysius of Fournia (c. 1670–1746), in his *Ἐρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* 85.30–87.4 (§ 130), tries to impose some order in the field of painting by giving precise instructions about how each of the sages must be represented as well as the specific content of the text in his role. Nevertheless, his instructions were not always followed.

Because of the protean nature of these texts, being continuously subjected to remodelling over many centuries, their pedigree is very difficult, if not impossible, to detail⁵⁹. There is also a high degree of variation in the list of the sages from one collection to another⁶⁰, but some names usually recur, especially those of Solon⁶¹, Plato, Sophocles, Aristotle, and Thucydides⁶². While the prophecies were originally set out in the form of a simple list, in some collections they start to be woven into a rudimentary narrative web⁶³.

In one version (*thesaurus minor* π) of the 12th century⁶⁴ the seven wise men ask Apollo the question: who is the God that will succeed him in his temple (δόμος) in Athens⁶⁵? Apollo responds with an oracle, also known with some variations in several texts dating from the second half of the 5th and the 6th centuries⁶⁶. In another version (*thesaurus minor* υ) of the 14th century⁶⁷ Apollo, this time renamed Apollonius⁶⁸, meets with six other sages, namely Solon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Aristotle, Plato, and Chilon⁶⁹ in an Athenian house (δόμος)⁷⁰. In a late version (*thesaurus minor* Δ) of the 16th century⁷¹

59 See, most recently, BUSINE, Les Sept Sages 257–259, who gives a summary of the discussion on the subject.

60 The same variation in the lists of *sophoi* is also found in the ancient collections of sayings of wise men, see MORGAN, Encyclopaedias of virtue? 112–113 and BUSINE, Les Sept Sages 269–270.

61 On Solon as a Christian prophet, see BUSINE, Les Sept Sages, esp. 263–266.

62 His house, along with that of Solon, was situated, according to the *Mirabilia* 114, near the so-called λύχνος τοῦ Δημοσθένους.

63 A similar development from loose collections of sayings to more coherent literary forms is observed in the genre of *gnomai* and *chreiai* of the antique wise men, see MORGAN, Encyclopaedias of virtue? 111.

64 On this version, see ERBSE in Theos. gr. fr. XXVII–XXX and BUSINE, Les Sept Sages 267–268. The date is that of the most ancient of the manuscripts transmitting the text (Cod. Par. gr. 690), see ERBSE in *ibid.* XXVII. Evidently, this provides the *terminus ante quem*, rather than the text's original date of composition.

65 Theos. gr. fr. 117.3–6: Οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἠρώτησαν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα περὶ ναοῦ Ἀθηνῶν τάδε· προφίτευσον ἡμῖν προφῆτα, τίτάν Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλών· τίς ἐστι τίνος τε εἶν μετὰ σέ δόμος οὗτος; Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν.

66 Theos. gr. fr. 7–13. On this oracle, see BUSINE, Les Sept Sages 268.

67 On this version, see Theos. gr. fr. XXX–XXXIV.

68 Apparently, there is a confusion of the ancient god with Apollonius of Tyana, the famous Neo-Pythagorean philosopher of Late Antiquity, which is also observed in some pictorial representations (monastery of Philanthropenon, Vatopedi, Great Meteoron), and in Dionysius of Fourni, Ἐρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης 85.32–86.4 (§ 130). In any case, the author leaves no doubt as to the identification of this person with the god Apollo (Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕξ φιλόσοφοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἶπον· 'προφίτευσον ἡμῖν, ὦ Φοῖβε προφῆτα: τίνος ἄρα ἔσται ὁ δόμος οὗτος'; see Theos. gr. fr. 123.93–94), although evidently he considers him as one of the seven sages.

69 For the entry of Chilon in the group of Christian prophets, see BUSINE, Les Sept Sages, esp. 266.

70 Theos. gr. fr. 123.84–91.

71 On this text, see ERBSE in *ibid.* XXXVII–XL.

the seven sages, Plutarch, Ares (Aristophanes?)⁷², Don (Thoth, i.e. Hermes Trismegistus)⁷³, Cleomedes⁷⁴, Plato, Aristotle and Homer⁷⁵, meet the philosopher Diogenes⁷⁶ in a house in 'Golden Athens' (ἐν ταῖς χρυσαῖς Ἀθήναις) and devote themselves to scientific discussions. At one point, Diogenes interrupts the discussion and dramatically expresses his anguish about the fortune of the γένν τῶν Ἑλλήνων⁷⁷. Here we must add the contemporary representation of the Greek sages in the monastery of Philanthropenon at Ioannina, which, as a written inscription informs us, depicts such a meeting in Athens and so provides a pictorial illustration of the story⁷⁸.

Finally, as we have mentioned above⁷⁹, the version of the *Mirabilia* conserved in the cod. Vat. gr. 1896 also contains the pseudo-Athanasian *Commentarius de templo Athenarum*⁸⁰. Integrated in this treatise we find another version of the well-known tale⁸¹. Many years before Christ's coming, the sage Apollo constructed, probably by divine inspiration (ἐπιφοίτησιν), the

72 The name of Aristophanes is sometimes found among the seven sages. As such, he appears also in churches (Bachkovo Monastery, Bulgaria). See also the school of Aristophanes in *Mirabilia* 114.

73 Hermes Trismegistus was born of the syncretism between the Egyptian god Thoth (in Greek Θώθ) and the Greek Hermes, because of the close similarity in many qualities assigned to both gods. At some point there emerged in the Hermetic tradition the idea that there had been two Egyptian Hermes, grandfather and grandson: Thoth was the first Hermes, whose son Agathodaimon was the father of the second one, named Trismegistus, the ancient Egyptian sage, see G. FOWDEN, *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*. Princeton NJ 1986, 29.

74 This Cleomedes is probably the Stoic philosopher, astronomer and scientist (c. 1 century A.D.), see H.E. ROSS, Cleomedes (c. 1st century AD) on the celestial illusion, atmospheric enlargement, and size – distance invariance. *Perception* 29 (2000) sp. 863–865. I think that the unknown Κλεονίδης of the *Mirabilia* 114, whose palaces were located east towards the Areios Pagos, should be corrected to Κλεομήδης, see also the suggestion of DE LABORDE, *Athènes* 21, n. 1 (= IDEM, *Documents* 6, n. 1), followed by WACHSMUTH, *Die Stadt Athen* 733.

75 Homer is also presented as a philosopher in the paradoxographical tale of LAMPROS, Τρεῖς παραδοξογραφικαὶ διηγήσεις 140.5–7 (Καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἦτον ἓνας φιλόσοφος, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ὅμηρος, καὶ εἶχάν τον οἱ Ἕλληνες μέγαν εἰς ἅπασαν βουλὴν καὶ γνῶσιν.). For the incorporation of Homer into Christian thought, see R. LAMBERTON, *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*. Berkley–Los Angeles–London 1986, esp. 241–249.

76 More probably Diogenes Laërtius (3rd century A.D.), the biographer of the Greek philosophers, than Diogenes the Cynic.

77 See Theos. gr. fr. 130.183–131.201.

78 This part of the church's decoration is dated to 1560 and attributed with great probability to the brothers George and Francos Kontari, see ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής των Φιλανθρωπινών* 228–229.

79 See *supra*, 335.

80 This text has also known several editions, see MACÉ – DE VOS, *Pseudo-Athanasius* 328. Here we cite it in the edition of PG 28, 1428–1432, which is the most easily accessible.

81 For the intertextual relationship between this story, which Erbse calls v and π, see Theos. gr. fr. XXVIII–XXX.

temple in Athens – apparently the Parthenon – and wrote on the altar the inscription Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ (‘To the Unknown God’). The first of the Greek philosophers, seven in number, by name Titon (?)⁸², Bias⁸³, Solon, Chilon, Thucydides, Menander⁸⁴ and Plato were assembled there to learn about this God’s identity. What follows is an exchange of prophecies between Apollo and the philosophers⁸⁵. The unknown author cites another related tale: this time with Hermes Trismegistus, another Greek sage named Asclepius⁸⁶ and some other unspecified interlocutors as *dramatis personae*⁸⁷. According to Mercati, the *Commentarius de templo Athenarum* and *Mirabilia*, were originally parts of a single composition⁸⁸. In contrast, Di Branco considers both these works as having been collected together by the commissioner of the manuscript, who was influenced by the apocalyptic climate associated with the imminent fall of Constantinople to the Turks⁸⁹.

Even if so, the compiler must have felt that there was an association between the two texts. In fact, both belong to the same genre, that is the theosophical literature. Although the *Mirabilia* may not contain oracles of ancient wise men, its author refers to them and he attempts to locate the houses and the schools of these same men in Athens, which makes his work a topographical commentary on the theosophical collections. The final passage with its reference to Apollo and to the temple of the Unknown God leaves no room for doubt about the real theosophical character of the work. Therefore, we can say that in the case of the Athenian *Mirabilia* we have a hybridization

82 This name resulted from the ignorance of the author, who has not understood that Titan was an epithet of Apollo and took it for the name of another sage. See also the explanation of ERBSE in Theos. gr. fr. XXVII and XXIX.

83 Bias of Priene (6th century B.C.) was one of the Seven Sages of ancient Greece.

84 On the use of Menander’s maxims by Christian authors, beginning with the apostle Paul, see R.M. GRANT, *Early Christianity and Greek Comic Poetry*. CPh 60.3 (1965) 157–163, esp. 157, 159–163.

85 PG 28, 1428C–1429C

86 Evidently, this Asclepius is the same member of the Hermetic retinue, a healer reputed to be the grandson of the Greek god Asclepius and identified with the Egyptian god Imhotep. He is a character in many hermetic texts, the most known being the *Prefect Discourse*, better known as *Asclepius*, which survives only in a Latin translation made in Late Antiquity, see C. SALAMAN, *Asclepius. The Perfect Discourse of Hermes Trismegistus*. London–New York 2007, 37–41.

87 PG 28, 1429C–D. These revelations of Hermes to Asclepius interpreted in a Christian way are cited by number of Christian authors, see indicatively I. THURN, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (CFHB, *Series Berolinensis* 35). Berlin–New York 2000, 19. On their origin, see R.M. GRANT, *Greek Literature in the Treatise De trinitate* and Cyril *Contra Julianum*. JTS n.s. 15 (1964) 271 and M.R. CRAWFORD, *Reconsidering the Relationship between (Pseudo-) Didymus’s De Trinitate and Cyril of Alexandria’s Contra Julianum*. JTS n.s. 71 (2020) 245–249.

88 MERCATI, *Noterella* 80. It is noticeable that in both texts the Parthenon is called the temple of the Unknown God. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire* 14–15, following Mercati, believes also that the two texts constitute one and the same theosophical treatise.

89 DI BRANCO, *Atene immaginaria* 112–113 (= IDEM, *La città dei filosofi* 240).

between two genres, the *Mirabilia* and the theosophical treatise⁹⁰. In other words, this work forms a sort of guide to Athens of the theosophical *imaginaire*⁹¹.

Therefore, the city described by the *Mirabilia* is to a degree the ancient one as its remains were visible in the 15th century, but simultaneously and essentially it is a fantastic city, Christian 'avant la lettre'. Its' citizens –Solon, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Sophocles, Aristophanes and Pythagoras⁹²– bear the same names as historical persons, but in reality they are fantastic creatures presented as forerunners of Christianity. To top it all, Apollo is transformed from a deity of old into a sage and founder of a Christian 'temple'.

The depiction of Athens as a city of philosophers is in harmony with the established reputation of the ancient *polis*, but this time it is a philosophy compatible with and complementing Christianity. At the same time, the city is presented as a vital link between Hellenism and Christianity. Here, I want to draw attention to the *thesaurus minor* Δ that presents Diogenes recording the oracles of the Seven Sages in his Φυσικὴν Ἀκρόασιν⁹³ and depositing them in Apollo's sanctuary, which is evidently to be identified with the Parthenon. When Constantine ascended the throne, he visited Athens and wanted to demolish the temple of Apollo to erect a church dedicated to the Virgin. He found, however, the paper (χάρτιν) with the oracles of the Sages, and transported it to the Reigning Town, i.e. Constantinople, "for the confirmation of our faith and the refutation of ill-minded people"⁹⁴.

Thus, in these texts Athens has taken off her pagan mantle, even before the coming of Christ, and is preparing to welcome the Messiah for whom not only the unredeemed Israel yearns, but also a Hellenism disappointed in its own idolatry. The city emerges as another Jerusalem, and the Parthenon, the temple erected by the sage Apollo for the Unknown God, as the counterpart of Solomon's Temple.

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90 The 'wisdom' genres had already from antiquity a tendency to hybridize, not only among themselves but also with other genres, see MORGAN, *Encyclopaedias of virtue?* 121.

91 That in Athens there existed a local tradition regarding ancient philosophers is also attested by Michael Choniates, see *supra*, n. 21, Niccolò da Martoni and Cyriacus of Ancona. However, I doubt that their texts echo a real popular tradition, rather than a scholarly endeavor to attach famous names or incidents to the extant remains, see also J.M. PATON, *Chapters on Medieval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands*. Princeton, NJ, 1951, 176.

92 The *Mirabilia* 115, associates an Odeon at the Acropolis, identified with the Temple of Athena Nike, with Pythagoras, see, most recently, ΤΑΝΟΥΛΑΣ, *Reconsidering* 54. The tradition of the Pythagoreans' interest in music is well known, see M.L. WEST, *Ancient Greek Music*. New York 1992, *passim*.

93 In reality, the treatise Φυσικά or Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως (*Physicae Auscultationes*) is a work of Aristotle.

94 Theos. gr. fr. 134.252–135, 265.

ARGYRO KARAMPERIDI

Remarks on the Diakonikon of Omorphe Ekklesia in Galatsi, Athens

In the diakonikon of the church of Agios Georgios in Galatsi, best known as Omorphe Ekklesia or Omorphokklesia, on the southern side of the south-eastern pillar that supports the dome, a wall-painting of St Glykeria¹ is located. St Glykeria is the only female saint included in the iconographic programme of the late-Byzantine wall-paintings of the church (fig. 1). Following the usual iconographic type of a supplicant martyr, she is depicted standing and holding a cross in her right hand. She is clad in luxurious attire, including a striking red, pearl-decorated cloak with gilded fringe and a violet chiton, while on her head she is wearing a white headdress and a diadem adorned with stones and pearls. The noble nature of the clothing allows the saint to be identified as St Glykeria from Trajanopolis in Thrace who is celebrated on the 13th of May, and who, according to the *Acta Sanctorum*², was the daughter of Makarios, thrice consul of Rome. A second, less known, saint with the same name is recorded in the *Synaxarion* of the 22nd of October³. Very little is known about her, apart from that she was decapitated along with three other women for declaring her Christian faith, at the same time as the martyrdom of bishop Alexander, with whom her memory is celebrated.

St Glykeria is only rarely included in the iconographic programme of Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches. Up until now, no other monumental Byzantine representations of her have been identified, while in the very few post-Byzantine examples, she is depicted in a different iconographic type, wearing the typical attire of female martyrs, maphorion and himation⁴. She is also depicted following this iconographic type in the scene of her martyrdom, which is sometimes included in the extended *Menologion* of late Byzantine⁵

1 VASILAKI-KARAKATSANI, *Oi τοιχογραφίες της "Όμορφης Έκκλησίας* 11, 15 fig. 18a.

2 De ss. Glyceria virgine et Laodicio custode carceris, in: AASS Maii, III. Paris–Rome 1866, 187–192. Ἀθλησις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Γλυκερίας, in: *ibid.* 10*–13*.

3 *Synax.* CP 156.

4 See in the church of Agia Paraskevi in Siatista (1679) (K.P. CHARALAMPIDIS, *Η οσιομάρτυς Γλυκερία η Θρακιώτισσα: αγιολογικές και εικονογραφικές μαρτυρίες*, in: *Byzantine Thrace. Evidence and Remains. Komotini, 18–22 April 2007. Proceedings.* *ByzF* 30 (2011) 345–358, fig. 1). See also in the *Slavisches Institut München, Ikonenmalerhanbuch der Familie Stroganow*. Munich 1983, 312.

5 See in Agios Nikolaos Orphanos (A. TSITOURIDOU, Ὁ ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη: συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς Παλαιολόγειας ζωγραφικῆς κατὰ τὸν πρῶμο 14ο αἰῶνα. Thessaloniki 1986, 181–182), in *Staro Nagoričino*, in *Gračanica* and in *Peć* (ΜΙΛΟΝΙĆ, *Ménologe* 279, 299, 372).

and post-Byzantine monuments⁶. The use of this common iconographic type is very likely derived from a merging of St Glykeria with the homonymous minor martyr celebrated on the 22nd of October, who is depicted dressed similarly in the Menologion of Basil II⁷. The fact that the life and iconography of the saint were unfamiliar to the painters, as well as the intermingling and confusion between the two female saints, appears to have been a general phenomenon. For instance, in Staro Nagoričino, in Gračanica and also in the Oxford Menologion⁸, in the representation of the 13th of May the saint is depicted as having been beheaded. However, according to her Synaxarion, she was thrown to lions⁹. She is depicted amongst lions, or more precisely lionesses, in the Menologion of the church of Agios Nikolaos Orfanos and later in the northern exonarthex of the monastery of Philanthropinon on the Island of Ioannina¹⁰.

The representation of St Glykeria in Omorphe Ekklesia, dressed in aristocratic attire¹¹, remains, for the time being, without a known parallel in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art. The type was used much later by Fotis Kontoglou, for the portrait of the saint in the wall-paintings of Kapnikarea, a close copy of the Omorphokklesia painting.

The unexpected place of this rarely depicted saint in the interior of

6 See in the north exonarthex of the Philanthropinon monastery (ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής των Φιλανθρωπινών* 185; M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds), *Μοναστήρια Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*. Ioannina 1993, fig. 344). In the life of the Old Katholikon of the monastery of Xenophontos, is recorded the scene of the martyrdom of St Glykeria in the Menologion of the 23rd of June, together with the martyrdom of St Agrippina, who is celebrated on this specific day (N. ΤΟΥΤΟΣ – G. FOUSTERIS, *Ευρετήριο της Μνημειακής Ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Όρους. 10ος–17ος αιώνας*. Athens 2012, 404).

7 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. gr. 1613 fol. 130 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613/0152 accessed: 15.1.2018).

8 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS GR th f.1 fol. 39v (<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/71d9658e-ee4c-487f-a6cf-5fdd006dba4f> accessed: 15.1.2018).

9 The Life of St Elisabeth the Wonderworker (F. HALKIN, *Sainte Elisabeth d'Héraclée, abbesse à Constantinople*. *AnBoll* 91 (1973) 253–254), about whom we will discuss in further detail later in the paper, also refers to the beheaded St Glykeria. The confusion may also derive from the fact that after the transfer of the relics of St Glykeria to the island of Lemnos, only her skull remained in her church in Herakleia (see below footnote 19).

10 Dionysius of Fournia describes also the martyrdom of the saint according to the Synaxarion (Ἐμπνεΐα τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης [1909] 204).

11 The iconographic type used is very well known from the depictions of many other female saints of aristocratic origin. See, for example, the depictions of St Barbara in the church of Agios Nikolaos Kasnitzi in Kastoria (PELEKANIDIS, *Καστοριά* fig. 55), of St Kalliopi in the church of the Transfiguration in Pirgi in Euboea (M. GEORGOPOULOU-VERRA, *Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα στὴν Εὐβοία. Ὁ Σωτήρας στό Πυργί καί ἡ Ἁγία Θέκλα*. *ADelt* 32 (1977) A 14–15, n. 38 fig. 14b), of St Kyriaki from the church of Agios Athanasios near Megara, today in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, (<http://www.eie.gr/byzantineattica/view.asp?cgpk=658&xsl=detail&obpk=419> accessed: 15.1.2018), as well as the same saint in the Mani churches of Agios Panteleimon in Boularioi, Agioi Anargyroi in Kipoula, Agios Nikolaos in Polemita (in the last one, see also the similar representation of St Barbara) (DRANDAKIS, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες* 389, fig. 27, pl. 28, 29, 78).

the Bema in the church of Omorphe Ekklesia has not gone unnoticed by researchers¹². It has been suggested that the most likely explanation for her depiction inside the Bema, is that it represents a dedication probably by a woman of the same name. A similar explanation has been suggested for the depictions of female saints in the Bema of other churches of the period. The most well-known and adequately interpreted example is that of St Kalliopi in the Bema of the church of the Transfiguration of Christ in Pyrgi in Euboea, which was a dedication by Kali Melidoni, whose name is first in the list of dedicators in the relevant inscription of the church¹³. A similar interpretation has been suggested for the depiction of St Catherine on the built templon of the northern chapel of the cave in Penteli¹⁴, as well as other similar examples¹⁵. Beyond this plausible and generally accepted interpretation, further research into the life of St Glykeria and in particular her worship and miracles, provide an insight into her representation in the diakonikon, as well as the function of this area within the church as a whole.

According to the *Acta Sanctorum*¹⁶, St Glykeria was originated from Traianoupoli in Thrace. She was the daughter of the Roman consul Makarios, lived during the 2nd century and was probably martyred in 161, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius¹⁷, although the historical evidence recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum* is considered somewhat unreliable¹⁸. The *Acta* describe in detail the events that led to her martyrdom; the miraculous shattering of the statue of Zeus, her imprisonment and extended torture, the repeated divine intervention, along with the conversion to the Christian religion of her jailer Laodikeios and, finally, her death in the stadium of Herakleia in Propontis (ancient Perinthos – today Marmara Ereğlisi). She was buried in Herakleia and became the patron saint of the city, where an elaborate church was

12 S.E.J. GERSTEL, Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium. *DOP* 52 (1998) 93–94; EADEM, Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography. Cambridge 2015, 85–86; KONTOGEOPOULOU, Βυζαντινή Αττική 172 n. 1349, 1351.

13 GEORGOPOULOU-VERRA, Τοιχογραφίες 14–15.

14 D. MOURIKI, Οἱ βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες τῶν παρεκκλησίων τῆς Σπηλιᾶς τῆς Πεντέλης. *DChAE* 7 (1973–1974) 99 fig. 28–29.

15 GERSTEL, Painted Sources 93–94; EADEM, Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary. Seattle WA–London 1999, 12. To the representations referred to above could be added that of St Kall(inik)i in the Bema of Agios Nikolaos in the village of Briki in Mani (DRANDAKIS, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες 113). It is also worth noting that representations of female saints in the Bema have been located, at least up until now, in its southern part (diakonikon), which, as known, does not have a liturgical character (F. KARAGIANNI – S. MAMALOUKOS, Παρατηρήσεις στη διαμόρφωση του διακονικού κατά τη μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο. *DChAE* 30 (2009) 95–102).

16 See above n. 2.

17 Or in 138, during the reign of Antoninus Pius (Th. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Die Verehrung der heiligen Glykeria. *BZ* 6 (1897) 96; C. ASDRACHA, Inscriptions de la Thrace orientale (VIIIe–XIe siècles). *ADelt* 44–46 (1989–1991) 275–276).

18 H. DELEHAYE, Saints de Thrace et de Mésie. *AnBoll* 31 (1912) 252.

dedicated to her. The church served as an important centre of worship and was honoured by the imperial court¹⁹. In 591 Emperor Maurikios visited Herakleia and the church of the saint. The emperor carried out repairs to the church building after its destruction by the Avars²⁰. Also, in 610, while on route to Constantinople and the imperial throne²¹, Herakleios prayed at the church of Agia Glykeria in Herakleia. The relic of the saint was said to be miraculous and streamed myrrh, as recorded in an inscription on the tenth-century marble stele/reliquary which originally held her skull, today housed in the Museum of Raedestos (Tekirdağ)²². The memory of the saint was celebrated on the 13th of May and involved a seven-day festival in which the whole city took part. It included fares, masses, vigils and a procession of the relic. The festival was described in the Life of a later saint, St Elisabeth the Wonderworker, who lived during the 5th century, also from the area around Herakleia²³. Her Life is recorded in two manuscripts dated to the 14th century, although the dating of its original synthesis is problematic, as it could be from either the middle Byzantine period (between the 9th and 11th centuries) or the 13th century²⁴.

Amongst other events in the Life of Elisabeth, the participation of her parents, Eunomianos and Euphemia, in the festival of St Glykeria in Herakleia is described. They were virtuous and noble but remained childless for a long time. During the festival, they offered prayers to the saint, who later

19 Apart from Herakleia, the worship of the saint does not seem to have been widespread. On the small island in Propontis which bears her name and on which it is believed that there was a monastery and church dedicated to her (JANIN, *Les églises* 56–57), the seal of the monastery shows that the main dedication was in fact to the Virgin Mary Pantanassa (J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, eds, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 3. Washington, D.C., 1996, 111–112 no. 63). Moreover, there is no evidence for widespread worship of St Glykeria on Lemnos, where her relics were transferred probably during the Iconoclasm (De ss. Clyceria virgine et Laodicio custode carceris, AASS Maii, III. Paris–Rome 1866, 191). Worth noticing is the mention of the saint's name in the liturgical calendar of Sikyon, preserved on a fifth-century inscription (IG IV2 3, no. 1825). For the worship of the saint see TH. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Die Verehrung* 96–99; DELEHAYE, *Saints de Thrace* 249–252.

20 Theophylactus Simocatta VI, 1 (ed. C. DE BOOR) 221.

21 Joannes Antiochenus 218f. 2 (ed. C. MÜLLER) [FGrH 5] 38.

22 RHOBY, *Epigramme auf Stein* 595–597, with earlier references. For the reliquary see H.A. KLEIN, *Materiality and the Sacred. Byzantine Reliquaries and the Rhetoric of Enshrinement*, in: *Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*. Washington, D.C., 2015, 241–242, fig. 12.8; M. ANGAR, *Byzantine Head Reliquaries and their Perception in the West after 1294*. Wiesbaden 2017, 115–118. The myrrh production of the relic is recorded also in a miracle described by Theophylactus Simocatta (Theophylactus Simocatta I, 11 (C. DE BOOR, 59–60) and later by Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (Nicephoros Callistos XVIII, caput XXXII. PG 147 393–394).

23 HALKIN, *Sainte Elisabeth* 249–264; V. KARRAS (transl.), *Life of St. Elisabeth the Wonderworker*, in: TALBOT, *Holy Women* 117–135.

24 KARRAS, *Life of St. Elisabeth* 118–120; A.P. KAZHDAN, *Hagiographical Notes* 16. *A Female St. George. Byzantion* 56 (1986) 169–170.

appeared to Eunomianos in a dream, while he was sleeping in her church. The saint announced that they would have a child and that she should be named Elisabeth, τῆς γὰρ μητρὸς τοῦ προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὁμότροπος ἀναδειχθήσεται²⁵.

Miracles related to fertility and childbearing are common in texts recording the lives of saints during the Byzantine period, since childlessness and infertility were very serious social issues²⁶. In these texts, as in the case of the one which recorded the birth of Elisabeth, there is usually reference made to the well-known, serving as prototypes, stories, such as the Old Testament birth of Isaac, the birth of John, as recorded in evangelical texts, and, in particular, the apocryphal stories related to the birth of the Virgin Mary. Similar scenes in the iconographic programme of churches, as well as the depiction of St Anna holding the Virgin Mary in her arms and the dedication of chapels to her, have been regarded as acts of supplication through dedications made by faithful women²⁷.

The iconographic programme of the diakonikon of Omorphe Ekklesia allows us to suggest a similar interpretation for the depiction of St Glykeria. In the diakonikon, paintings of the Byzantine era survive only in its upper part, since apart from the depiction of St Glykeria, the rest of those on the lower part are dated in the post-Byzantine period. The preserved Byzantine scenes belong to the cycle of the Life of the Virgin which is complemented with the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, which apparently covered the lower section of the southern wall of the nave, outside of the diakonikon. The scenes of the cycle within the diakonikon include the Lament of Joachim in the Wilderness and the Annunciation to Anna, located on the northern part of the vault (fig. 2), along with the Embrace/Meeting of Joachim and Anna on the east wall (fig. 3) and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on the southern part of the vault, the latter almost entirely destroyed²⁸. In other words, there are episodes from the Life of the Virgin, which refer directly to her miraculous conception and birth, similar to those described in the Life of St Elisabeth concerning the miracle of St Glykeria.

The location of scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary in the diakonikon is not typical, as it is considered that the prothesis was the part of the Bema

25 HALKIN, Saint Elisabeth 254–255.

26 M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *Les variations du désir d'enfant à Byzance*, in: *Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C., 2009, 36–39; B. CHEVALLIER CASEAU, *Childhood in Byzantine Saint's Lives*, in: *ibid.* 143–144; J. HERRIN, *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium*. Princeton 2013, 150–151, 289–290.

27 GERSTEL, *Painted Sources* 96–98; EADEM, *Rural Lives* 86–87. For a similar suggested interpretation of the presence of little Euphrasius in the mosaic in the apse of the basilica in Poreč, see Y. THEOCHARIS, *Die Darstellung des kleinen Euphrasius in der Basilika von Poreč*. *JÖB* 58 (2008) 209–216, where other relevant examples can also be found.

28 VASILAKI-KARAKATSANI, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς* 11–12, 57–58 fig. 31–32a.

usually dedicated to her²⁹. However, scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary are depicted in the diakonikon of a few Byzantine monuments³⁰, although they often form part of a wider iconographic cycle which extends into other parts of the church³¹. It is worth noting that the diakonikon of Agia Sophia in Kiev, one of the oldest examples, is, in fact, a chapel dedicated to St Anna³². The diakonikon of the Odalar mosque in Constantinople³³, which consisted of a separate domed chapel, was probably also dedicated to the Virgin Mary, based on the presence of an extended cycle of the Life of the Virgin in its iconographical programme. Similar iconography can also be found in the aisle/chapel dedicated to St Anna, which was added to the southern side of the church of Panagia Kera in Kritsa on Crete³⁴.

Considering the overall iconographic programme of Omorphe Ekklesia, it is striking that the cycle of the Life of the Virgin occupies such an extended space in the area of the diakonikon, while, as it has been suggested³⁵, one or even two of the main scenes from the fundamental cycle of Dodekaorton were possibly missing from the iconographic programme of the church, due to limited space. At the same time, the main Mariological scene, the Dormition, occupies a rather obscure position in the north-western corner bay. In the diakonikon are depicted only scenes related to the Nativity of the Virgin, while other scenes from the same cycle, namely the Dormition and the Presentation of the Virgin, are located in the nave. It is also noteworthy that due to this arrangement, the scene of the Presentation is located in a much more prominent position than that of the Nativity of the Virgin, although the latter is conceptually and theologically far more important. In the restricted iconographical cycle of the diakonikon it is also notable the prominent position held by the Embrace of Joachim and Anna (fig. 3). It is well-known that this scene consists a symbolic representation of the conception of the Virgin Mary and has particular theological importance since it signifies the beginning of

29 J. LAFONTAIN-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident*. Brussels 1964, 1, 203–207; M. ALTRIPP, *Die Prothesis und ihre Bildausrüstung in Byzanz, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Denkmäler Griechenlands*. Mainz 1996, 75–80, 188–193.

30 See in Agia Sophia of Trebizond (D. TALBOT RICE, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*. Edinburgh 1968, 98–99, 102–104; S. DUFRENNE, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*. Paris 1970, 35 n. 321), in Kato Panagia of Arta (B.N. PAPADOPOULOU, *Η Βυζαντινή Άρτα και τα μνημεία της*. Athens 2002, 99–100 fig. 116), in Panagia Chrisaphitissa (J.P. ALBANI, *Die Byzantinischen Wandmalereien der Panagia Chrisaphitissa-Kirche in Chrisapha/Lakonien*. Athens 2000, 32–33).

31 See in Perivleptos and in Evangelistria of Mistra, in Agios Klimis of Ochrid (DUFRENNE, *Les programmes iconographiques* 35; G. BABIĆ, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines*. Paris 1969, 135).

32 V. LAZAREV, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*. London 1966, 48–52, 232–233; BABIĆ, *Les chapelles annexes* 107–110.

33 S. WESTPHALEN, *Die Odalar Camii in Istanbul*. Tübingen 1998, 115–120 fig. 26–28.

34 BORBOUDAKIS, *Παναγία Κερά* fig. 33–34.

35 VASILAKI-KARAKATSANI, *Οί τοιχογραφίες της Όμορφης Εκκλησίας* 14–15.

the cycle of the Incarnation of Christ. The relevant feast day was included in the list of the official state celebrations by a decree of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1166). Despite its importance, this scene is usually less prominent in iconographic cycles. During the Palaeologan period, it was often incorporated into other scenes³⁶. On the contrary, at Omorphe Ekklesia, it holds the most prominent position on the east wall, the only position in the diakonikon easily seen by the congregation. The unusual absence of background, architectural or other, in the synthesis, and the posture of the figures which appears to be integrated and to follow the architectural framework of the chamber, create a monumental and evocative scene that holds the viewer's gaze.

In the light of the above arguments and in terms of the iconography of the diakonikon of Omorphe Ekklesia, it is acknowledged that the aim of the person who conceived of the programme was to create a small but conceptually coherent thematic cycle, focusing on the miraculous conception and birth of the Virgin Mary. Within this cycle, the figure of St Glykeria was included as a saint who performed miracles granting fertility. It is perhaps no coincidence that the Life of St Elisabeth in which her miraculous birth was described, was written, according to Alexander Kazhdan³⁷, slightly before the decoration of Omorphe Ekklesia. As a whole, the iconographical programme of the diakonikon suggests that the entire space was a dedication/supplication by an unknown benefactor, probably in the hope of being blessed with fertility³⁸.

It is known that the diakonikon was (and still is) the location in which more practical functions were carried out, without being directly associated with liturgical acts, as is the case with the prothesis. For this reason, there are often differences in the way in which the diakonikon was connected to the Bema and the rest of the building, while differentiated were also the activities carried out in it³⁹.

Based on the iconographical programme but also on some other architectural elements, it can be suggested that the diakonikon of Omorphe Ekklesia was probably used as a chapel, a place of worship and pilgrimage, since the Byzantine period.

36 LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance* 30–32, 87–88; J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin*, in: P. UNDERWOOD (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*. Vol. 4. *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*. Princeton 1975, 172–174.

37 KAZHDAN, *Hagiographical Notes* 169–170.

38 The choice of the rather unknown St Glykeria, instead of a more popular relative subject (for example St Anna), probably indicates the name of a female donor, but could also imply a vague, at present, relationship between the donor and Thrace, the main centre of the saint's worship.

39 KARAGIANNI – MAMALOUKOS, *Παρατηρήσεις στη διαμόρφωση του διακονικού* 95–102. For the form and liturgies of the diakonikon in the Early Christian and Middle Byzantine era, see Y.D. VARALIS, *Prothesis and Diakonikon: Searching the Original Concept of the Subsidiary Spaces of the Byzantine Sanctuary*, in: A. LIDOV (ed.), *Hierotopy – Studies in the Making of Sacred Spaces*. Moscow 2006, 282–298, with earlier references.

The use of the diakonikon as a chapel was mentioned in the early 20th century by Anastasios Orlandos, the first scholar to refer extensively to the monument⁴⁰. The till today preserved architectural layout (fig. 3) and the iconographic programme of the post-Byzantine wall paintings confirm Orlandos' information and furthermore point to its use as a chapel since at least the 18th century, when its current layout was established. More specifically, according to the inscription above the sanctuary door of the Bema, the templon of the church received its mural decoration in 1743⁴¹. Build, evidently, at roughly the same time, the templon does not extend in front of the diakonikon and therefore does not separate it from the rest of the church, indicating an altered function and probably reproducing a pre-existing situation⁴². The post-Byzantine wall-paintings of the diakonikon, which are probably dated to the same period, include the full-length figures of a hierarch, a monk and a military saint. This choice of figures is in no way typical of the established diakonikon iconography, as well as more generally that of the Bema. Rather, it appears to be an attempt to include in one place, depictions of representative categories of saints from the entire church. Within the conch, we also note the presence of the Virgin Mary depicted as Zoodochos Pege, a theme related to healing miracles in general, including miracles of fertility⁴³.

40 A. ORLANDOS, *Ἡ Ὁμορφὴ Ἐκκλησιά*. Athens 1921, 27.

41 Ibid. 22–23, 37.

42 Orlandos, *ibid.* 22–23 formulated the hypothesis that the church of Omorfokklisia had no templon during the Byzantine period, based on the absence of fragments that could have belonged to it, as well as the arrangement of the wall paintings on the pillars of the Bema. Indeed, the full-length depiction of St Glykeria on the side of the south-eastern pillar, which faces towards the diakonikon, allows us to infer that the chamber was not closed off by some form of screen. However, the half-length representations of the hierarchs which adorn the sides of the pillars in the central part of the Bema, may allow us to infer that there stood a templon, the layout of which allowed the figures of the hierarchs to be seen above the low panels. Another intriguing element, concerning the screen of the diakonikon, is the presence of a marble epistyle fragment, built into the left side of the western arch of the diakonikon, protruding significantly from the face of its sidewall. The fragment is set quite high and therefore cannot have been part of a typical marble templon construction. At the same time, no similar fragments have been located in the prothesis or elsewhere within the church. The exact function of this marble epistyle fragment is yet unknown. Perhaps it forms part of a differentiated, yet undefined, mean of screening off the area of the diakonikon, on the one hand, serving the use of the area as a chapel and, on the other, giving the possibility of an unrestricted view from the main body of the church of a precious devotional relic housed there, possibly an icon.

43 Ἐφάνη οὖν καὶ ἀπαιδείας δεσμὰ ἡ Θεοτόκος εὐχερῶς διαλύουσα καὶ ἀπὸ γαστρὸς ἡτεκνωμένης παιῖδας ἐπισήμους παράγουσα (Διήγησης περὶ τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἐν τῇ Πηγῇ τῆς Θεοτόκου ναῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενομένων θαυμάτων 26, AASS Novembris, III [1910], 885E). For the miracles of Theotokos Pege and the monastery of the same name see A-M. TALBOT, Two accounts of miracles at the Pege Shrine in Constantinople. *TM* 14 (2002) 603–615; EADEM, Holy springs and pools in Byzantine Constantinople, in: *Istanbul and Water* (eds P. MAGDALINO – N. ERGIN). Leuven 2015, 164–171; I. KIMMELFIELD, The shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege, in: *Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium* (eds B. SHILLING – P. STEPHENSON). Cambridge 2016, 299–313.

The respect paid to the Byzantine representation of St Glykeria in the 18th century is also noteworthy. She is the only full-length figure depicted in the diakonikon which was not covered by a new layer of wall paintings, but instead received careful repair which could be seen as an early form of conservation: parts of the painting which had been destroyed, mainly in the area of the face and hands, were carefully restored (fig. 4). The destruction of the faces of Byzantine figures in the church⁴⁴ can be dated before the 18th century, as indicated by the damage inflicted on the face of the hierarch, who was covered in ca. 1743 by the built templon. The representation of St Glykeria is perhaps the only Byzantine figure which received such careful repair work. The respect shown and effort expended in preserving the depiction during the 18th century is probably related to the already established worship of the saint and the function of the diakonikon as a chapel. It is also worth noting that the worship of St Glykeria had already widespread in the surrounding area since a church, probably a Katholikon of a monastery, was built near Omorphe Ekklesia during the 17th century or earlier and was dedicated to her⁴⁵.

An additional indication as to the function of the diakonikon at Omorphe Ekklesia as a chapel and a place of pilgrimage, prior to the 18th century, is provided by four mullion impost blocks, fitted into the eastern wall of the chamber (fig. 3). Anastasios Orlandos had already identified them as part of a structure holding an icon⁴⁶. The importance of this, now lost, icon, located as it was within a special construction and in a separate space, in direct association with the most sacred part of the church, allows us to suggest that it was not simply an icon, but an object of worship, even one associated with the performing of miracles. The subject of the icon remains unknown; it may have depicted the Virgin Mary, as is the case with the majority of miracle-worker icons, or it is also possible that the depiction was of St Glykeria. This may explain why this rather obscure saint was the subject of special worship in the area. The presence in the same space of the wall painting depicting St Glykeria does not rule out the possible existence of an icon with a similar subject as well.

The exact layout of the *proskynitarion* within the diakonikon at Omorphe Ekklesia is unclear. Certainly, it was not of the typical form, like those with an arched top, placed in front of the painted figures on the pillars, as an extension of the templon⁴⁷. According to Anastasios Orlandos, adjacent impost blocks were connected by horizontal epistyles, but there appear not to have been side colonettes as there were no exact matches of the supports relative to the vertical axis. This asymmetry is indicative of a structure roughly constructed and later added to the church. The date of construction of the *proskynitarion*,

44 ORLANDOS, "Όμορφη Έκκλησιά 25.

45 IDEM, Εύρετήριο των Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων Γ', 134 fig. 171; PALLIS, Τοπογραφία 203–204; KONTOGEOργοPOULOU, Βυζαντινή Αττική 172.

46 ORLANDOS, "Όμορφη Έκκλησιά 20–21.

47 KALOPISSI-VERTI, Proskynetaria 107–134.

as well as its relationship with the conch in the eastern wall of the area, is unclear since these two elements are functionally incompatible. Based on a brief investigation in search of earlier painted layers⁴⁸, it is considered most plausible that the conch did not receive painted decoration during the late Byzantine period, probably because the *proskynitarion* had been constructed earlier or at the same time with the wall paintings of the church. It is also unknown when the *proskynitarion* and its icon were removed from the church, which must have occurred already by the mid-eighteenth century when the diakonikon and the conch received the still surviving mural decoration.

The current evidence supports, we believe, the view that the representation of St Glykeria in the diakonikon of Omorphe Ekklesia forms part of a wider religious context related to the use of the entire area as a *proskynitarion*, a chapel which hosted a devotional icon, probably a wonder-worker one, linked with healing miracles in general, fertility and childbearing miracles in particular. These features and the worship of St Glykeria were maintained during the post-Byzantine period and up until today, since in contemporary Orthodox Church she is still occasionally included amongst the healing saints. She is also still considered a protector of children, as stated in the website of the modern church of Agia Glykeria in Galatsi, built in the first half of the 20th century on the site of the post-Byzantine church of the same dedication⁴⁹.

Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens

48 A small incision in the painted frame of the eighteenth-century layer revealed the existence of a late Byzantine layer on the east wall, which abutted the edge of the conch but did not extend within the cavity, apart from a few centimetres of its unpainted substratum, which covered the edge. I would like to thank Ms. A. Paraskevopoulou and Mr. A. Petrou, conservators of antiquities in the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens, for their cooperation.

49 See http://www.synaxarion.gr/cms/gr/content/thaymatourgoi_agioi.aspx (accessed: 2.2.2018), http://agiaglykeriagalatsiou.blogspot.gr/p/blog-page_22.html (accessed: 2.2.2018).

Fig. 1. Omorphe Ekklesia,
Galatsi, Athens.
St Glykeria
(Photo: A. Karamperidi)



Fig. 2. Omorphe Ekklesia,
Galatsi, Athens.
The Lament
of Joachim in
the Wilderness
and the
Annunciation to
Anna
(Photo:
A. Karamperidi)



Fig. 3. Omorphe Ekklesia, Galatsi, Athens. The diakonikon (Photo: A. Karamperidi)



Fig. 4. Omorphe Ekklesia, Galatsi, Athens. St Glykeria (detail) (Photo: A. Karamperidi)

IOANNIS VITALIOTIS

L'icône de la Vierge Gorgoépékoos au Vieux-Caire et l'archéologie de l'Athènes byzantine

L'icône de dimensions imposantes (2,07x0,98 m) de la Vierge Gorgoépékoos (fig. 1)¹ constitue un objet emblématique du petit Musée récemment (2015) inauguré dans la Tour romaine du monastère Saint-Georges du patriarcat grec-orthodoxe d'Alexandrie, au Vieux-Caire². L'icône aurait été repérée pour la première fois, probablement en 1845, par l'archimandrite –et futur évêque– russe Porphyre Uspensky³ dans la chapelle des Quarante Martyrs, située également dans la Tour mentionnée ci-dessus. En 1887 elle fit l'objet d'une autopsie de la part du médiéviste grec A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus. Les événements relatifs à sa visite sont rapportés par G. Mazarakis, érudit grec d'Egypte: l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos, avec d'autres anciennes icônes mises au rebut dans ladite chapelle, furent «nettoyées» par Mazarakis, aidé par l'archimandrite Néktarios Kéfalas, et transportées à la résidence patriarcale au Caire⁴; la Gorgoépékoos reçut le numéro d'inventaire 24⁵. D'après une lettre du patriarche Sophronios d'Alexandrie (16 août 1887), cette activité, concernant «environ cinquante icônes anciennes et de grande valeur», aurait eu lieu à l'initiative dudit érudit ecclésiastique, le futur saint Nectaire de Pentapolis⁶. Dans une lettre du prêtre

1 Je tiens à présenter mes vifs remerciements au restaurateur d'œuvres d'art et muséologue I. Papagéorgiou pour m'avoir donné les photographies de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos. Je tiens également à remercier mon ami N. Casalapro, professeur agrégé de lettres, pour avoir lu et corrigé mon texte.

2 La présentation de la collection du Musée est l'œuvre du restaurateur d'œuvres d'art et muséologue I. Papagéorgiou.

3 Sur Porphyre Uspensky voir: ZH. LEVINA, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Manuscripts of Mt Sinai in the Collections of the National Library of Russia*. Bishop Porphyrius (Uspensky) and his Collection, dans: *The National Library of Russia* [en ligne] <http://nlr.ru/eng/exib/CodexSinaiticus/porf.html> (consulté le 4/3/2019); L. GERD – Y. POTIN, *Foreign Affairs through Private Papers: Bishop Porfirii Uspenskii and His Jerusalem Archives, 1842–1860*, dans: *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840–1940. Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City* (éd. A. DALACHANIS – V. LEMIRE). Leiden 2018, 100–117. Sur la découverte de la Gorgoépékoos, voir T.D. NEROUTSOS, *Χριστιανικαὶ Ἀθήναι. Ἱστορικὴ καὶ ἀρχαιολογικὴ μελέτη*. Athènes 1889, 68. On se demande si la date (1855) rapportée par Neroutsos est exacte, compte tenu de l'interruption de la mission de Porphyre Uspensky en 1854, à la suite de la Guerre de Crimée. En revanche, il pourrait bien s'agir de l'an 1845, quand l'archimandrite russe réalisa une expédition en Egypte et au Mont-Sinaï (LEVINA, *The Codex Sinaiticus*).

4 G. MAZARAKIS, *Σημείωσις περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν Κάϊρον ἱερᾷ μονῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου εὐρεθεισῶν ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν εἰκόνων*. Le Caire 1888.

5 J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Gemäldesammlung des griechischen Patriarchats in Kairo*. BZ 4 (1895) 591.

6 S.G. DIMITRAKOPOULOS, *Ο ἅγιος Νεκτάριος Πενταπόλεως. Η πρώτη ἁγία μορφή των καιρῶν μας. Ἱστορικὴ βιογραφία βασισμένη σε αυθεντικὲς πηγές*. Athènes 2014, 71.

alexandrin Séraphim datant de la même année (28 octobre), l'archimandrite Néktarios est chargé de faire photographier la Gorgoépékoos par «un photographe habile», à la demande d'un certain «Monsieur»⁷. Or, ce dernier doit être identifié au critique littéraire Irinéos Asopios, qui envoya cette photographie à l'historien amateur athénien D. Kambouroglou. Le cliché authentique en est toujours préservé dans les archives de la Christianikē Archaeologikē Etaireia (ChAE), au Musée Byzantin et Chrétien d'Athènes (fig. 2).

L'intérêt que Papadopoulos-Kérameus montra pour la Gorgoépékoos fut à l'origine d'une série de références à celle-ci de la part d'autres érudits. Le premier en fut le médecin et égyptologue T. Néroutsos (1826–1892), Athénien résidant au Caire⁸. Néroutsos mentionne, entre autres, la récente «redécouverte» de l'icône par Papadopoulos-Kérameus. Sa publication fut suivie de près par une notice de Kambouroglou dans le *Deltion* de la ChAE (1892–1894), où on trouve la photographie d'Asopios⁹. Une autre, quoique trop courte, mention à la Gorgoépékoos fut faite par l'historien d'art J. Strzygowski, qui la vit de près¹⁰. Il en fut de même au début du XXe siècle pour A. Struck et N.P. Likhachev¹¹. L'examen de l'icône selon des critères propres à l'histoire de l'art –quoique basé sur la photographie de l'archive de la ChAE– fut entrepris par A. Xyngopoulos, en 1924¹². En revanche, elle ne fut restaurée que vers le milieu des années 1990, à l'initiative du professeur P. Vocotopoulos, par deux spécialistes du Ministère Hellénique de Culture, N. Kailas et G. Karagiannis. Quelques dernières touches y furent récemment (2014) apportées par le restaurateur d'œuvres d'art et muséologue I. Papageorgiou.

L'icône de la Gorgoépékoos est peinte à la tempera sur bois de mûrier. Elle est encadrée d'une simple frise légèrement saillante et faite sur le même support en bois, ébauché et creusé. Le fond sur lequel se détache la Mère de Dieu tenant l'Enfant est doré. La Mère de Dieu –inscription: Μ(ήτηρ) Π(α) Θ(εο) Υ(ιου) Ι(η) Χ(ριστού) ΚΟΟC– est représentée debout, se tenant sur un petit socle couleur rouge. Elle porte une tunique couleur bleu vif et un manteau (*maphorion*) rouge foncé, dont les extrémités se terminent par une tresse dorée. Son regard se porte sur le Christ Enfant –inscription: Ι(η) Χ(ριστός) ΚΟΟC– qu'elle tient sur son bras droit, selon l'iconographie de la Déxiokratousa. Son

7 M. TYLLIRIDIS, Ανέκδοτες επιστολές προς τον αρχιμανδρίτη Νεκτάριο Κεφαλά (τον μετέπειτα Άγ. Νεκτάριο Πενταπόλεως). Εβδομήντα χρόνια από τον θάνατό του. *Theologia* 67 (1996) 606.

8 NÉROUTSOS, Χριστιανικὰ Ἀθῆναι 68–70.

9 D.G. KAMBOUROGLOU, Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. *DChAE* 2 (1892–1894) 80–81.

10 STRZYGOWSKI, *Gemäldesammlung* 591.

11 K. MICHEL – A. STRUCK, Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens. *MDAI AA* 31 (1906) 281–324; N.P. LIKHACHEV, Istoricheskoe znachenie italo-grechskoj ikonopisi. Izobrazhenija Bogomateri v proizvedenijah italo-grechskih ikonopiscev i ih vlijanie na kompozicii nekotoryh proslavlennyh russkikh ikon. S.-Petersbourg 1911, 128, fig. 293 (je tiens à remercier mon collègue et ami N. Fyssas de cette transcription).

12 A. XYNGOPOULOS, Ἡ Παναγία τοῦ Καΐρου. *DChAE* 11 (1924) 59–68.

bras gauche est levé, en suggérant un geste de supplication en direction de son Fils. Ce dernier, légèrement incliné, tient dans ses deux mains un livre d'Evangile mi-ouvert; sur la page de gauche on lit: ΠΝ(εῦμ)Α Κ(υρίο)Υ ΕΠΙ ΕΙΜΕ Ι ΟΥ Ι ΙΝΕΙΚ(εν)¹³ (fig. 3).

La surface picturale est sérieusement abimée, non seulement sur le fond, mais aussi sur la figure du Christ et sur la partie droite du visage de la Théotokos (fig. 4). Lesdites parties en furent repeintes de façon maladroite, de sorte qu'on a l'impression d'une esquisse ou d'une ébauche. On y utilisa de l'ocre jaune pour les vêtements et les visages et le rouge brique pour le rendu des contours, des plis et des traits physiques. Comme on va le voir, la datation des repeints n'est éventuellement pas sans rapport avec le prétendu lien de l'icône du Caire avec la ville d'Athènes.

L'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Caire sur la photographie de l'archive de la Société Archéologique Chrétienne

Dans la photographie de l'archive de la ChAE (fig. 2) on peut discerner quelques inscriptions maladroites, absentes de l'icône telle que nous la voyons actuellement, et rehaussées avec de l'encre afin qu'elles soient clairement visibles. Plus précisément, sur la droite de la tête de la Vierge on lit: Μ(ήτηρ) Ρ Θ(εο)Υ ΙΗΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ Ι ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΕΙΚΟΟC. Au dessus de la tête du Christ on trouve la phrase inhabituelle ΤΟ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ. De l'autre côté, deux inscriptions aujourd'hui visibles et appartenant à la phase originelle de l'icône, notamment celle de l'Evangile et l'abréviation Μ(ήτηρ)Ρ, n'apparaissent pas sur la photographie de la ChAE. Quant à l'inscription mal orthographiée ἡ Γοργοεπείκοος (inscription originelle: Γοργοεπήκοος), tout en n'étant pas une création *ex nihilo*, elle n'échappa pas aux repeints maladroits. D'après le dernier restaurateur de l'icône, I. Papagéorgiou, aucune trace des inscriptions ἡ Ἀθηναία et τὸ παιδίον n'était visible en 2014, ce qui nous amène à déduire que celles-ci auraient été enlevées antérieurement par les deux restaurateurs du Ministère hellénique de Culture. Malheureusement, il nous fut absolument impossible d'avoir accès aux photographies de l'icône prises avant sa restauration. Par conséquent, nous sommes obligés de nous limiter à des hypothèses, même si celles-ci sont plausibles¹⁴.

Toutes ces inscriptions disparues aujourd'hui sont publiées par Xyngopoulos (1924), à partir de la photographie de la ChAE¹⁵. L'absence de référence aux mots τὸ παιδίον chez Mazarakis (1888) et Kambouroglou (1892–

13 Texte de la Septante: Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισέ με («L'Esprit du Seigneur est sur moi; c'est pourquoi il m'a consacré de son onction»): Esaïe 61,1; Luc 4,18.

14 Les photographies de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Caire prises juste avant sa restauration se trouvent dans l'archive de l'académicien Prof. P. Vocotopoulos. Malheureusement, il ne me fut pas permis de les voir.

15 ΧΥΝΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἡ Παναγία 62.

1894) pose des questions, d'autant plus qu'ils sont mentionnés par Néroutsos (1889)¹⁶. Nous nous demandons si cette absence sous-entend un doute de la part des ces deux érudits concernant l'authenticité de l'inscription inhabituelle.

Beaucoup plus intéressant est le relevé par Néroutsos de deux autres inscriptions sur l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos. La première en est l'abréviation IC XC, dont les deux parties ne s'alignent pas entièrement entre elles; Néroutsos la décrit comme une «inscription palimpseste» et «effacée». La deuxième inscription, qui présente un intérêt spécial, concerne les chiffres 1526 inscrits au-dessus et à droite du nimbe du Christ, «en très petite taille», avec du brun et «à peine visibles»¹⁷. Cependant, Xyngopoulos affirma qu'aucune des deux inscriptions n'étaient visibles sur la photographie de la ChAE¹⁸. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'abréviation du nom du Christ, aurait réapparu, d'après tous les indices, après la restauration des années 1990¹⁹. Quant aux chiffres, dont on ne trouve aucune trace, le manque d'accès aux photographies prises durant les travaux de restauration nous empêche de vérifier le renseignement fourni par Néroutsos. Toutefois, il serait difficile d'inventer de toutes pièces une série de quatre chiffres qui, de plus, correspondent à une date. De plus, Néroutsos est en général considéré comme une source fiable.

Approche iconographique et stylistique

A cause de sa dégradation et des interventions malchanceuses, l'icône du Caire a laissé plutôt perplexes les érudits. D'après Néroutsos, la figure du Christ ne serait qu'une esquisse faite après un grattage de ce qui restait de la surface picturale: la Vierge y serait représentée originalement en prière et en position de trois quart (Déoméne), comme on la trouve sur le palladium du monastère athonite du Pantocrator²⁰. Cette conclusion fut acceptée tant par Kambouroglou que par Xyngopoulos. Ce dernier la développa davantage en énonçant l'hypothèse que l'icône, vu ses dimensions, aurait servi de porte latérale de sanctuaire, notamment du diaconicon. Dans ce cas-là, il y aurait le Christ sur la porte centrale et saint Jean le Précurseur sur celle de la prothèse. La Gorgoépékoos ferait ainsi partie d'une Déisis, en peu à la manière d'un triptyque²¹.

Pourtant, la restauration de l'icône révéla que les repeints postérieurs

16 NÉROUTSOS, Χριστιανικὰ Ἀθῆναι 70.

17 Ibid.; KAMBOUROGLOU, Ἡ Παναγία 81.

18 XYNGOPOULOS, Ἡ Παναγία 62, n. 2. La date 1525 à la page 68 est erronée.

19 D'après I. Papagéorgiou, l'inscription IC XC existait déjà sur l'icône quand il la vit pour la première fois, en 2014.

20 NÉROUTSOS, Χριστιανικὰ Ἀθῆναι 69. L'auteur se réfère ici à l'icône de la Vierge Gérontissa.

21 XYNGOPOULOS, Ἡ Παναγία 61, fig. 2 (croquis représentant la forme «originelle» hypothétique de la Vierge Gorgoépékoos sur l'icône du Caire).

ont, plus ou moins, respecté la composition authentique²². Ceci fut avant tout vérifié par la réapparition des inscriptions en caractères byzantins, notamment l'abréviation du nom du Christ et l'inscription sur l'Évangile, comme nous venons de le voir. Qui plus est, la posture de la Théotokos en contrapposto léger est plus conforme à une représentation 'autonome' de celle-ci, telle la Déxiokratoussa, qu'à une image relevant d'une Déisis. Tout bien pesé, il est certain que dès le début la Vierge Gorgoépékoos était représentée avec l'Enfant légèrement incliné sur son bras droit, un peu à la manière de l'icône en relief du monastère de Méga Spélaion, dans le Péloponnèse (probablement XIe s.)²³, et celle de l'Akatamachétos («l'Invincible») du Musée byzantin et chrétien d'Athènes (seconde moitié du XIVe s.)²⁴.

Le livre d'Évangile mi-ouvert dans les mains du Christ Enfant est un motif inhabituel, qu'on trouve cependant sur une icône de la Vierge Déxiokratoussa au monastère du Sinai, datant de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle²⁵. Ledit passage, vétérotestamentaire et repris par le Nouveau Testament (Ésaïe 61,1, Luc 4,18), renvoie à l'image du Christ Emmanuel, à savoir de l'Enfant-Messie. C'est par ailleurs à cette image-là que ledit passage est associé dans le Manuel de Peinture de Denis de Fournas²⁶. La même inscription, toujours à forte connotation messianique, se rencontre régulièrement sur le rouleau déplié tenu par le Christ dans l'image de la Vierge appelée «Kykotissa» (à partir du monastère de Chypre abritant l'icône miraculeuse de ce nom)²⁷.

La Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire fait partie d'un groupe plutôt restreint d'icônes byzantines de grandes dimensions qui représentent la Vierge à l'Enfant en pied et en position de trois quarts²⁸. Quoiqu'aucune parmi celles-ci ne porte d'indice chronologique précis, elles sont toutes datées entre le XIIe et le premier quart du XVe siècle. Leurs dimensions indiquent que leur

22 C'est également l'opinion du restaurateur I. Papagéorgiou.

23 M. VASSILAKI (éd.), *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Athènes–Milan 2000, 81, fig. 40, 87 (où l'icône du Méga Spélaion est datée «probablement du XIe siècle»); N. CHATZIDAKI, Ο χαρακτήρας της ζωγραφικής εικόνων από λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές της ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας και των νησιών, dans: P.L. VOCOTROULOS (éd.), Η βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά την Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία. Η Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και οι επιπτώσεις της. Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 9–12 Μαρτίου 2004. Athènes 2007, 124–127 (où l'icône est datée du XIIIe siècle).

24 M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens*. Athènes 1998, n° 19. D'après l'auteur, le type iconographique selon lequel le Christ est légèrement incliné sur le bras de sa Mère se rencontre surtout à partir du début du XIIIe siècle.

25 K. MANAFIS (éd.), Σινά. Οι Θησαυροί της Ι. Μονής Αγίας Αικατερίνης. Athènes 1990, 185, fig. 59.

26 Έρμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης (2007) 228.

27 O. GRATZIOU, Μεταμορφώσεις μιας θαυματουργής εικόνας. Σημειώσεις στις όψεις παραλλαγές της Παναγίας του Κύκκου. *DChAE* 17 (1993–94) 317–330.

28 On trouve la même iconographie dans la sculpture byzantine sur ivoire ou métal (VASSILAKI, *Mother of God* n°s 20, 57, 58, 60); voir aussi la Vierge à l'Enfant en pied du Musée byzantin et chrétien d'Athènes, sculptée sur marbre (SKLAVOU-MAVROEIDI, Γλυπτά n° 216).

emplacement originel n'était pas sur une iconostase d'église, mais elles étaient des véritables objets cultuels, destinés à la vénération des fidèles.

La plus ancienne de ces icônes semble être celle de l'Episkopiané, aujourd'hui au Musée de Zakynthos²⁹, chef d'œuvre constantinopolitain du XIIe siècle, autrefois le palladium du monastère de l'Eléousa à Candia. D'autres icônes du même type se trouvent respectivement à la cathédrale latine de Naxos³⁰, au Musée byzantin de Kastoria³¹, au Musée byzantin de Véria³², à l'église de l'Archimandreio, à Jannina³³, et au Musée de Lentini, en Sicile³⁴. A l'exception de la Déxiokratousa de Véria, elles appartiennent toutes au type «classique» de l'Hodégétria, à savoir que le Christ est tenu sur le bras gauche de sa Mère. La même iconographie se retrouve également sur la face arrière d'une icône appartenant au monastère athonite de Pantocrator, de l'an 1363: ici la Vierge à l'Enfant est représentée avec saint Jean Baptiste³⁵.

Une considération d'ordre stylistique à l'égard de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos présente des difficultés sérieuses, à cause du mauvais état de la surface picturale. Le visage de la Mère de Dieu est pratiquement la seule partie de la composition qui pourrait nous fournir des indices relativement sûrs pour sa datation. La large surface éclairée de sa joue gauche est rehaussée avec du rouge clair et des lignes blanches fines, juste au-dessous de l'œil. Une certaine accentuation du contraste entre zone d'ombre et parties éclairées, sans être exagérée, y est en outre visible. La forme du visage, tout comme le modelé de la chair témoignent d'une œuvre classicisante de la dernière phase de la peinture des Paléologues. La légère torsion (contrapposto) du corps de la Mère de Dieu constitue un indice de plus de raffinement esthétique.

Ces traits nous renvoient à quelques icônes de haute qualité, probablement ou certainement constantinopolitaines, du milieu ou de la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle. Ainsi, un rapprochement esthétique peut s'établir entre la Gorgoépékoos du Caire et les figures de la Crucifixion sur la grande icône à

29 M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, Εικόνες της Ζακύνθου. Athènes 1997, n° 1; VASSILAKI, Mother of God n° 34.

30 H.C. EVANS (éd.), Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York–New Haven–London 2004, n° 300; VASSILAKI, Mother of God n° 67.

31 G. KAKAVAS, Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Καστοριάς. Athènes 1996, 8. L'icône de Kastoria appartient à la catégorie des icônes biographiques.

32 EVANS, Byzantium. Faith and Power n° 85 (seconde moitié du XIVe siècle).

33 E.N. TSIGARIDAS, Βυζαντινές εικόνες στο ναό της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στα Ιωάννινα. *DChAE* 36 (2015) 150–151, fig. 4 (seconde moitié du XIVe siècle).

34 N. SIOMKOS, Φορητή εικόνα Παναγίας Οδηγήτριας στο Lentini της Σικελίας και ανίχνευση του καλλιτεχνικού κέντρου παραγωγής αυτής, dans: 21ο Συμπόσιο Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας. Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις ανακοινώσεων. Athènes 2001, 88–89. Je tiens à remercier le collègue N. Siomkos pour m'avoir envoyé une photographie de la Vierge de Lentini.

35 Εικόνες Μονής Παντοκράτορος. Mont Athos 1998, 64–65, fig. 26–27 (T. PAPAMASTORAKIS).

deux faces de la Galerie Nationale de Sofia (1369 ou après)³⁶, avec le diptyque de Thomas Preljubović à Cuenca (1382–1384)³⁷, avec l'icône de la Vierge Mésonésiotissa du monastère athonite de Saint-Paul (troisième quart du XIV^e s.)³⁸ et la fameuse icône à deux faces représentant la Vierge, saint Jean le Théologien et le miracle du monastère de Latomos, provenant de Thessalonique (ca. 1371, Sofia)³⁹. Par ailleurs, cette liste indicative peut inclure deux autres icônes, également issues d'ateliers de Thessalonique, la Hodégéttria Mésitria (de l'Intercession, Eglise de la Laodigitria) et saint Thomas (Musée Ecclésiastique de Thessalonique)⁴⁰, de même qu'un petit groupe d'icônes du monastère athonite de la Grande Lavra. Ces dernières sont datées de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle et associées à Constantinople ou à Thessalonique⁴¹.

En outre, l'image de la Vierge en pied sur l'icône à deux faces du monastère du Pantocrator (1363), mentionnée plus haut en raison de son iconographie, est aussi comparable avec l'icône du Caire du point de vue de l'esthétique. En juxtaposant les deux œuvres on constate la ressemblance au niveau de la gradation des tons et du coloris, plus précisément l'usage du vert olive comme couleur de base et, surtout, les lignes blanches sur les joues. En même temps, on dirait que le peintre de l'icône athonite a recours plutôt à la couleur pour le modelé, en s'approchant ainsi de la technique de la peinture murale, mais aussi de celle de Théophane le Grec, comme il fut à juste titre constaté⁴². Tout compte fait et dans la mesure où son mauvais état de conservation nous permet des comparaisons précises, l'icône de la Vierge Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire pourrait être datée, presque avec certitude, du milieu, sinon de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle.

La question de la provenance de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire

L'analyse stylistique de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos nous amène incontestablement vers un centre artistique majeur de l'Empire des Paléologues. Il est évident que l'Egypte, contrairement à ce que supposa Xyngopoulos⁴³, doit être exclue comme lieu de production de l'icône: dans la période tardo-byzantine, et même

36 G. GEROV, Une icône inconnue de l'époque des Paléologues avec la représentation de la Crucifixion, dans: M. Γαρίδης (1926–1996). Αφιέρωμα. Jannina 2003, v. 1, 217–230.

37 EVANS, Byzantium. Faith and Power n° 24C (A. WEYL CARR).

38 Εικόνες Ιεράς Μονής Αγίου Παύλου. Mont Athos 1998, fig. 8.

39 A. TRIFONOVA, Παλαιολόγειες εικόνες στη Βουλγαρία. *DChAE* 40 (2019) 289–292 (fig. 9–10), avec bibliographie antérieure.

40 F. KARAGIANNI (éd.), Τὸ ἡμέτερον κάλλος. Βυζαντινές εἰκόνες ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης – Our Sacred Beauty. Byzantine Icons from Thessaloniki. Thessalonique 2018, n° 4 (M. PARCHARIDOU) et n° 19 (K.M. VAFEIADIS).

41 E. TSIGARIDAS, Icônes portatives de la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle au monastère de la Grande Lavra au Mont Athos. *DChAE* 25 (2004) 25–36.

42 Εικόνες Μονής Παντοκράτορος 62 (T. PAPAMASTORAKIS).

43 XYNGOPOULOS, Ἡ Παναγία 68.

après, le patriarcat grec-orthodoxe d'Alexandrie ne comprend qu'un nombre négligeable de fidèles et de paroisses, dont une seule au Caire; en effet, son état lui permet juste de maintenir son existence⁴⁴.

Par conséquent, la première question qui se pose est la localisation de cet atelier. Théoriquement la Gorgoépékoos pourrait avoir été peinte à Constantinople, bien évidemment, ou même à Thessalonique. A la rigueur on pourrait même proposer le Despotat de Morée comme lieu de sa provenance, pour la bonne raison que les fresques de la Péribleptos de Mistra occupent une place d'exception parmi les échantillons de la «grande peinture» classicisante de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle⁴⁵. A plus forte raison, on ne peut pas exclure que l'icône du Caire ait été exécutée en Crète, du reste géographiquement proche de l'Egypte. Par surcroît, la présence dans cette île, déjà à partir du XIV^e siècle, de nombreux peintres originaires constantinopolitains, tels que Théodore Mouzélis, Nicolas Philanthropinos et les frères (?) Alexis et Angélos Apokaukos, est un fait bien documenté. On sait maintenant que la naissance de l'Ecole Crétoise est largement due à cette émigration d'artistes⁴⁶.

Néanmoins, l'hypothèse sur le lieu possible de production de l'icône du Caire ne saurait uniquement être fondée sur des critères stylistiques, sinon on courrait le risque de tomber dans la conjecture. Afin qu'on puisse fonder des conclusions solides, ledit sujet sera examiné en conjonction avec deux autres questions décisives: *Où* pourrait se trouver l'église à laquelle était destinée initialement la Gorgoépékoos et *quand* cette icône fut-elle transportée au Caire?

La réponse à la première question est en relation étroite tant avec la haute qualité de l'œuvre, qu'avec ses dimensions. Comme nous l'avons noté plus haut, il s'agit bel et bien d'une image cultuelle, et non une icône d'iconostase. Il serait alors raisonnable de chercher l'église l'ayant abritée dans un centre

44 CHRYSOSTOMOS PAPADOPOULOS, archevêque d'Athènes, *Ιστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας* (62–1934). Alexandrie 1935, 575–586.

45 Dans la peinture monumentale de haute qualité dans les territoires du Despotat de Morée durant la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle, la tendance classiciste coexiste avec une tendance «expressionniste»; voir: N. DILE, Το άγνωστο υστεροβυζαντινό στρώμα τοιχογράφησης του ναού της Παναγίας στο Ροεινό Αρκαδίας. Νέα στοιχεία για ένα τοπικό εργαστήριο ζωγράφων. *DChAE* 35 (2014) 77–108; N. ZARRAS, Artistic Production in Centres and the Periphery of the Byzantine Peloponnese. Aspects of Monumental Painting in the Late Palaiologan Period. *DChAE* 37 (2016) 41–68; K.M. VAPHEIADES, The Byzantine Painting after 1341: Stylistic Tendencies and Devices. *Byzantina* 35 (2017) 283–314. Sur la peinture d'icônes à Thessalonique dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle, voir N.D. ΣΙΟΜΚΟΣ, Byzantine Icons of Thessaloniki (12th–15th c.), dans: KARAGIANNI, Τὸ ἡμέτερον κάλλος 116–127 (avec bibliographie antérieure).

46 Sur cette question voir M. VASSILAKI, Από την Κωνσταντινούπολη στον Χάνδακα: Η ζωγραφική των εικόνων στην Κρήτη γύρω στο 1400, dans: *The Hand of Angelos. An Icon Painter in Venetian Crete* (éd. M. VASSILAKI). Farnham–Burlington VT, 2010, 58–65. Ajoutons que T. ΠΑΠΑΜΑΣΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ attribue le Crucifix de l'épistyle du catholicon du monastère athonite de Pantocrator à un peintre originaire de Constantinople et émigré en Crète (Εικόνες Μονής Παντοκράτορος 64–78).

urbain majeur ou dans un monastère, également d'une certaine importance. L'épithète, pas très commun, de Gorgoépékoos (ἡ Γοργοεπικόος, «celle qui exauce vite», mot provenant de l'adjectif γοργός et du verbe ἐπακούω) pourrait nous servir de guide. Ladite appellation de la Mère de Dieu semble relativement tardive et, en tout cas, elle n'est pas attestée avant le XIII^e siècle⁴⁷.

En effet, c'est pendant ce temps qu'on repère trois monastères dédiés à la Vierge Gorgoépékoos. La plus ancienne mention en concerne la fondation prestigieuse de Jean III Doukas Vatatzes (1221–1254) pas loin de la ville de Magnésie. Le monastère, connu sous le nom de Sôsandra (μονὴ τῶν Σωσάνδρων), était destiné à être un mausolée impérial des Lascarides. Il est douteux qu'il ait fonctionné après la conquête de Magnésie par les Turcs Saruhanides (1313)⁴⁸.

Celui de Constantinople, situé dans le quartier d'Eptaskalon, au bord de la mer de Marmara et près du monastère de la Vierge de la Vévaia Elpis, fut restauré par le premier ministre de l'empereur Andronique II Paléologue (1282–1328) Nicéphore Choumnos. Il existe déjà au début du XIV^e siècle⁴⁹. Les traces de la Gorgoépékoos de Constantinople sont perdues après 1453.

Le troisième monastère du même nom, situé à Thessalonique, est mentionné depuis 1284 dans des archives de l'Athos et par Ignace de Smolensk, qui visita la ville en 1405. Ce dernier le cite comme *Gorgonikos*, erreur qui s'explique facilement par la confusion entre le Π (p) et le Η (n) slavons. Ignace se réfère aussi à l'icône miraculeuse de la Mère de Dieu abritée dans le monastère⁵⁰. En même temps, nonobstant la question de sa localisation, la possibilité que l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Caire provienne du monastère homonyme de Thessalonique, ou bien qu'elle ait été tout simplement peinte dans cette ville, ne saurait être exclue: l'activité dans le domaine de la production artistique de haute qualité durant les années qui suivirent la suppression du mouvement des «zélotés» (1342–1350) y est bien documentée⁵¹.

Contrairement aux trois églises de la Gorgoépékoos mentionnées ci-

47 Notons l'absence du mot γοργοεπικόος dans G.W.H. LAMPE (éd.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford 1961.

48 E. MITSIOU, The Monastery of Sosandra: A contribution to its history, dedication and localization. *Bulgaria Medieevalis* 2 (2011) 665–683, à 668–670.

49 V. LAURENT, Une fondation monastique de Nicéphore Choumnos. Ἡ ἐν ΚΠ μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Γοργοεπηκόου. *REB* 12 (1954) 32–44; JANIN, La géographie ecclésiastique I/III, 172–173.

50 M.L. RAUTMAN, Ignatius of Smolensk and the Late Byzantine Monasteries of Thessaloniki. *REB* 49 (1991) 161–162, 166. Son identification hypothétique par Xyngopoulos (Μονὴ τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων ἢ Μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκου, Προσφορὰ εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδην. Thessalonique 1953, 726–735) avec l'église aujourd'hui connue sous le nom de Saints-Apôtres, fondation du patriarche Néphon I (1310–1314) n'est pas acceptée puisque le monastère de la Gorgoépékoos est mentionné avant la fondation de l'église des Saints-Apôtres. Cf. CH. BAKIRTZIS *et al.*, *Mosaics of Thessaloniki* (trad. A. DOUMAS). Athènes 2012, 302.

51 CH. BAKIRTZIS, Urban Continuity and Size in Late Byzantine Thessalonike. *DOP* 57 (2003) 59–60; K. LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, Thessalonique centre de production d'objets d'art au XIV^e siècle. *DOP* 57 (2003) 241–254.

dessus et dont le sort est inconnu, celle d'Athènes est bien préservée jusqu'à nos jours. Toutefois, aucune source du Moyen Age ne fait référence à cette église élégante à croix inscrite et à coupole de type «athénien». On ne sait même pas si le nom de «Gorgoépékoos» est l'original. Sa maçonnerie de marbre et composée de spolia antiques, paléochrétiens et byzantins, est un cas unique dans l'architecture byzantine⁵². Sa datation au XIIe siècle fut contestée par B. Kiilerich, qui se basa sur une inscription mentionnée par l'humaniste Cyriaque d'Ancône, en 1436, et encadrée aujourd'hui dans la maçonnerie de l'église: la Gorgoépékoos serait un monument post-byzantin, bâti peu après la transformation du Parthénon en mosquée (ca. 1460); par son apparence d'inspiration antiquisante, la nouvelle église rendrait honneur au monument emblématique de l'Athènes antique et chrétienne⁵³. Cette hypothèse audacieuse fut rejetée par Ch. Bouras, qui insista sur la datation byzantine traditionnelle de l'église athénienne⁵⁴.

La Gorgoépékoos continua de rester dans l'obscurité durant la première période de la domination ottomane d'Athènes. L'église du Sauveur à Staropazaro («Foire au blé»), démolie probablement après la chute de Candia (1669) pour faire place à la Mosquée Fethiye, et ensuite Saint-Denis servirent successivement comme cathédrales orthodoxes de la ville. C'est à cette époque que l'église de la Gorgoépékoos fut mentionnée pour la première fois, plus précisément comme un *métochion* du monastère de Kaisariani, au Mont Hymète. La destruction de Saint-Denis, suite à un séisme et la chute d'un rocher d'Aréopage, probablement au tout début du XVIIIe siècle⁵⁵, fut la cause du transfert du siège du métropolite d'Athènes à la Gorgoépékoos. La nouvelle cathédrale se trouvait plus proche du centre-ville. En 1767, d'après une inscription votive, le métropolite Bartholomée la fit rénover, avec la maison épiscopale adjacente⁵⁶. Après l'indépendance hellénique, la Gorgoépékoos, par un sort bizarre, changea plusieurs fois tant d'usage, que de nom : d'abord, au cours de travaux de réparation, on lui ôta son clocher post-byzantin (1836); elle fut ensuite utilisée comme bibliothèque (1839) et bien plus tard elle fut dédiée par la reine Amalie au Sauveur (1869), après un attentat contre sa vie. Plutôt ironiquement, juste l'année d'après on décida de l'appeler «Saint-Eleuthère» afin de célébrer la «libération» du pays du gouvernement des Bavares, à savoir

52 Sur la Gorgoépékoos d'Athènes, voir BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 158–165, où l'on peut trouver la bibliographie antérieure. Voir aussi: PANSELINOY, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 62–64; KALDELLIS, The Christian Parthenon 212–214; GIOCHALAS – KAFETZAKI, Ιχνηλατώντας την πόλη 315–316; D.N. KARIDIS, Athens from 1456 to 1920. The Town under Ottoman Rule and the 19th-Century Capital City. Oxford 2014, 74.

53 B. KIILERICH, Making Sense of the Spolia in the Little Metropolis of Athens, AM IV/2 (2005) 95–114.

54 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 165.

55 KARIDIS, Athens 74. Voir aussi TH.N. FILADELFEUS, Ιστορία των Αθηνών επί Τουρκοκρατίας, από τοῦ 1400 μέχρι τοῦ 1800, v. 2. Athènes 1902 (1981), 93–96.

56 Ibid. 95, où l'on peut trouver l'inscription votive liée aux travaux menés par Bartholomée.

l'expulsion du roi Otto. Le voisinage du monument avec l'imposante nouvelle cathédrale d'Athènes, construite entre 1842 et 1862, de même que sa qualité d'ancienne église épiscopale, lui ont aussi valu le nom de «Petite Métropole». Cette appellation tend à être oubliée de nos jours, comme par ailleurs celle de «Gorgoépékoos». Aujourd'hui cette église charmante, située au cœur de la zone touristique de la capitale grecque, est connue sous le nom donné par les révoltés de 1862.

Nous avons plus haut signalé le silence des sources byzantines à propos de l'église de la Gorgoépékoos d'Athènes. On ne peut pas, cependant, exclure la possibilité que cette appellation lui a été attribuée postérieurement, grâce à une icône homonyme de la Vierge. En tout état de cause, ce changement de nom aurait pu se produire avant la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle, à savoir avant la première mention du monument dans les sources.

De toute façon, l'usage de l'appellation de Gorgoépékoos se poursuit dans le monde post-byzantin. L'exemple le plus caractéristique en est la fresque de 1562/1563 représentant la Mère de Dieu selon l'iconographie de l'Hodégétria (inscription : Η ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟΣ), au monastère athonite de Docheiariou⁵⁷.

Quoi qu'il en soit, toute réponse à la question de la provenance de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos au Vieux-Caire doit forcément reposer sur des conjectures. J'oserais cependant avancer l'hypothèse que, s'il fallait choisir entre les quatre églises mentionnées ci-dessus dédiées à la Gorgoépékoos, l'icône du Caire aurait plus de possibilités de provenir du monastère constantinopolitain, ou bien d'être une copie de l'icône cultuelle de celui-ci. Il serait également logique de penser que l'icône soit arrivée en Egypte par l'intermédiaire de l'île de Crète. Nous savons d'ailleurs que la première vague de fuite d'habitants de la capitale byzantine eut lieu durant son siège par Bayezid I, entre 1394 et 1402⁵⁸, pour être suivie d'une deuxième vague, en 1453⁵⁹. Ceci dit, comme nous l'avons expliqué plus haut, l'hypothèse d'un peintre constantinopolitain n'exclut pas la Crète comme lieu de création de l'icône du Caire.

Le transport direct de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos de Constantinople

57 N. TOUTOS – G. FOUSTERIS, *Ευρετήριο της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Όρους. 10ος–17ος αιώνας*. Athènes 2010, 359. Voir également une inscription de l'an 1838 (...τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐπονομαζομένης τὸ πάλαι Γοργωῦπηνκού..., «...de la Théotokos jadis appelée Gorgoypékoos...») sur l'église ruinée du village Kurşunlu en Bithynie (C. MANGO, *The monastery of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu [Elegmi] in Bithynia*. *DOP* 22 [1968] 170). Notons aussi le monastère post-byzantin de la Gorgoépékoos à Nestani (Tsipiana), en Arcadie, dans le Péloponnèse (G. ΠΙΚΟΥΛΑΣ, *Λεξικό των οικισμών της Πελοποννήσου. Παλαιά και νέα τοπωνύμια*. Athènes 2001, 307).

58 N. NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire*. Cambridge 2009, 149–183; J. HARRIS, *The End of Byzantium*. New Haven–Londres 2010, 29–31.

59 E. ZACHARIADOU, *Constantinople se repeuple*, dans: T. ΚΙΟΥΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (éd.), *Η άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεότερους χρόνους*. Ηράκλειο 2005, 47–49; NECİPOĞLU, *Byzantium* 222; HARRIS, *The End* 220–227.

en Egypte par un des patriarches d'Alexandrie est également une possibilité tout à fait plausible. En effet, au cours du XIV^e siècle, et même plus tard, ces derniers séjournaient dans la capitale durant des longues périodes ou, moins, la visitaient assez souvent. Tel fut le cas pour Grégoire II (1316–1354), pour Grégoire III (1354–1366), qui résida aussi une certaine période au Mont-Athos, et pour Néphon (1366–1388), qui participa au concile pro-hésychaste de 1368. Ajoutons que l'église de Saint-Georges au Vieux-Caire fut rebâtie par les soins de Grégoire II⁶⁰.

L'«athénisation» de la Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire

C'est le moment d'aborder la deuxième question énoncée plus haut, à savoir *quand* l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos aurait pu être transportée au Caire. Néroutsos fut le premier à essayer d'éclaircir le mystère, ne fût-ce que de manière un peu fantasque. Il rapprocha l'inscription H AΘHNAIA, appartenant selon lui à la phase originelle de l'icône, avec le style «atticiste» de cette dernière et la data de l'époque d'Irène l'Athénienne (780–790). Basé sur cette fausse prémisse, il considéra comme certain (ἐξ ἁπλως) que le transport de l'œuvre en Egypte ait été contemporain de l'émigration de Jean l'Athénien, le futur abbé du monastère de Sinai, au pays du Nil. Par conséquent, la Gorgoépékoos serait arrivée au Caire durant le patriarcat d'Arsène d'Alexandrie (1002–1018)⁶¹.

Il va de soi que le récit de Néroutsos est totalement dépourvu de fondement, ce qui fut d'ailleurs signalé par Xyngopoulos. Selon ce dernier, le rapport présumé de l'icône du Caire avec l'Athènes chrétienne n'est qu'une invention. A l'instar de J. Strzygowski et appuyé sur la connaissance de l'art byzantin acquise jusqu'aux années 1920, Xyngopoulos data l'icône du Caire d'une époque «non antérieure au XVe siècle»⁶².

Néroutsos eut, malgré tout, raison en liant par intuition le raffinement classiciste de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos avec un centre de production artistique byzantin, et non avec l'Egypte arabe. En revanche, Xyngopoulos l'attribua, avec précaution certes, à un peintre résidant en Egypte durant le XVe ou le XVI^e siècle. En raison de cette localisation erronée, Xyngopoulos manqua une question essentielle que nous allons traiter dans la suite de notre article: *pourquoi* et *comment* l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire fut-elle associée avec Athènes?

La clé pour résoudre ce problème est, à notre avis, fournie par les chiffres 1526, que Néroutsos aurait lus à droite de l'inscription IC XC. Il est fort probable que lesdits chiffres correspondent véritablement à une date

60 CHRYSOSTOME PAPADOPOULOS, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας 575–578*.

61 NEROUTSOS, *Χριστιανικὰ Ἀθῆναι* 69. Sur Jean l'Athénien, Néroutsos puise dans la chronique de Néctaire (1602–1676), patriarche de Jérusalem (NEKTARIOS O KRĒS, *Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἱστορίας εἰς πέντε μερισθεῖσα τμήματα*. Venise 1783, 211).

62 XYNGOPOULOS, *Ἡ Παναγία* 68.

constituant à la fois un *terminus ante quem* pour la datation de l'arrivée de l'icône en Egypte et un *terminus post quem* pour son association avec Athènes. En d'autres termes, il s'agirait de la date d'exécution des repeints, parmi lesquels les mots Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ; ces interventions auraient, selon toute probabilité, été réalisées *in situ*, à savoir en Egypte.

Effectivement, Néroutsos fut piégé par la fausse «athénisation» de l'icône et son lien prétendu, que lui-même inventa, avec Irène et Jean les Athéniens. Or, il ne remarqua pas qu'en 1526 le trône patriarcal d'Alexandrie était occupé par un autre Athénien, Joachim I. Issu d'une famille noble, auparavant moine au Mont-Sinaï et en Palestine, Joachim, surnommé ὁ Πάνυ (l'Eminent), fut un patriarche de rare qualité et d'encore plus rare longévité: il resta au trône de 1487 jusqu'à sa mort, en 1567, à l'âge de 118 ans. De son vivant déjà Joachim était considéré comme un homme saint, bien qu'il n'ait été canonisé qu'en 2002⁶³. Son patriarcat coïncida avec la conquête de l'Egypte par les Ottomans sous Selim I (1517). En même temps, il signa le début de la sortie de l'Eglise grec-orthodoxe d'Alexandrie d'une très longue période de silence, voire d'insignifiance, sous le régime oppressif des Mamelouks.

Il n'est pas à exclure que la Vierge du Caire eût été transportée là-bas par un de ces lointains prédécesseurs de Joachim qui, durant le XIV^e siècle, séjournaient à Constantinople. En tout état de cause, grâce à l'inscription Η ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟΣ, l'icône aurait été mise en rapport par le patriarche athénien avec l'église de même nom de sa ville natale, ou bien, à titre général, avec l'Athènes byzantine et chrétienne. Plus précisément, il semble qu'elle fut considérée comme la copie d'une certaine icône cultuelle d'Athènes. Cette image «perdue» ne saurait être autre que l'icône quasi mythique de la Vierge Athéniotissa, censée être vénérée dans le Parthénon avant sa transformation en mosquée, autour de l'an 1460⁶⁴. Une autre assumption serait que la Vierge du Vieux-Caire aurait été identifiée par le patriarche avec une icône censée être vénérée jadis dans l'église de la Gorgoépékoos d'Athènes; ou bien, tout simplement, l'inscription correspondante sur l'icône du Caire aurait été considérée comme étant inspirée par ladite église.

Dans l'éventualité où Joachim fut le promoteur de l'association imaginaire de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos avec Athènes, le chiffre 1526 rapporterait bien la date des repeints, y compris l'ajout d'inscriptions: de l'épithète toponymique ἡ Ἀθηναία, et, peut-être aussi, des mots τὸ παιδίον. Rappelons que Joachim lui-même était un copiste de manuscrits assidu et qu'il s'y adonnait, d'après un témoignage, jusqu'à un âge très avancé⁶⁵. Dans ce cas-là, ce «complément»

63 CHRYSTOMOS PAPADOPOULOS, archevêque d'Athènes, Ἰωακείμ ὁ «Πάνυ» ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, πάππας καὶ πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας (1487–1567). *EEBS* 7 (1930) 159–179; IDEM, Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας 589, 612.

64 La relation de la Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire avec la Vierge Athéniotissa semble indirectement être acceptée par KILLERICH (Making Sense of the Spolia 108).

65 CHRYSTOMOS PAPADOPOULOS, Ἰωακείμ ὁ «Πάνυ» 159.

épigraphique, effectué sous les instructions du patriarche, pourrait être interprété comme une tentative de confirmation *a posteriori* de l'origine prétendue de l'icône. La date 1526, écrite avec des chiffres arabes, pourrait également servir d'indice sur la provenance de son auteur: il s'agirait d'un peintre occidental (un Italien ?) de passage en Egypte. En revanche, un artiste grec emploierait des chiffres grecs, comme le font les peintres Crétois contemporains.

En tout état de cause, l'«athénisation» de la Gorgoépékoos du Caire doit être vue comme un témoignage indirect de la réputation de l'Athènes chrétienne durant la période ottomane. Athènes fut un centre de pèlerinage durant la période byzantine, le Parthénon étant un haut lieu de culte marial⁶⁶. Durant la période médiobyzantine, l'image de la Théotokos Athéniotissa (Ἀθηνιώτισσα) ou, d'après une formule archaïsante, Athénaïs (Ἀθηναῖς), du type de l'Hodégétria, se rencontre sur des sceaux d'évêques d'Athènes⁶⁷; l'association sous-entendue entre Athéna et la Vierge Marie y est claire. Les siècles de domination franque, à partir de 1204, quand l'Attique appartient successivement aux Bourguignons De la Roche, aux Catalans et finalement aux Florentins Acciaiuoli, loin d'effacer cette relation, la perpétuèrent. Par ailleurs, le Parthénon continua d'être la cathédrale de la ville, ne fut-ce que de rite latin.

Les Turcs s'emparèrent d'Athènes en 1458. Contrairement à une opinion largement répandue, Athènes sous domination ottomane ne fut pas une petite bourgade négligeable. En effet, jusqu'au milieu du XVI^e siècle, la ville connut une augmentation constante de sa population. Qui plus est, elle continue à être essentiellement chrétienne, les musulmans n'en étant qu'une petite minorité; ceci fait d'Athènes presque un cas à part dans les Balkans ottomans⁶⁸.

Il est indubitable que le souvenir du Parthénon en tant que cathédrale ait demeuré tangible dans la conscience collective des chrétiens d'Athènes durant cette même période. De surcroît, si Joachim «l'Eminent» est né en 1448 ou l'année d'après, il aurait gardé un souvenir d'enfance de la transformation du Parthénon en mosquée et, à plus forte raison, il se souviendrait de la Gorgoépékoos, restée aux mains des chrétiens. Ainsi, la «rénovation» de l'icône de même nom se trouvant au Caire, initiée, comme nous le pensons, par le prélat athénien lui-même, ne saurait être qu'un renforcement du témoignage dont cet objet sacré était censé être le porteur: une réminiscence précieuse des hauts lieux du culte marial de l'Athènes d'antan.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la provenance athénienne supposée de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos n'aurait effectivement que peu d'importance pour la petite communauté grec-orthodoxe du Caire après la mort de Joachim. En règle générale, d'ailleurs, avant le XVIII^e siècle, quand la résonance des Lumières

66 KALDELLIS, *The Christian Parthenon* 60–206.

67 V. PENNA, *The Mother of God on Coins and Lead Seals*, dans: VASSILAKI, *Mother of God* 214, pl. 158; ALEXOPOULOS, *When a Column Speaks* 163.

68 KARIDIS, *Athens ii*, 28–30, 38–40, 58–61. Voir aussi PALLIS, *Τοπoγραφία* 55–56, 63.

atteignit les Grecs sous domination ottomane, leur mémoire collective n'avait gardé du passé glorieux d'Athènes qu'une image pâlie. Jusqu'en 1887, nous l'avons vu, la Gorgoépékoos se trouvait oubliée dans la Tour de Saint-Georges. Malgré son inventorisat[i]on et les publications qui s'en suivirent, mais aussi en dépit de sa légende «athénienne» inventée, cette peinture impressionnante ne fut jamais élevée au rang des «icônes cultuelles» du patriarcat grec-orthodoxe d'Alexandrie. La place d'honneur qui lui fut récemment accordée au Musée du monastère Saint-Georges est due exclusivement à une approche moderniste: il s'agit de son évaluation en tant qu'échantillon de haute qualité de l'art du crépuscule byzantin.

Et pourtant, la valeur symbolique de la Gorgoépékoos du Caire comme un objet sacré quasi mythique de l'Athènes byzantine connut une résurgence inattendue en même temps que l'inauguration du Musée au Vieux-Caire: Une icône de grandes dimensions inspirée par elle fut exécutée en 2015 pour l'église post-byzantine de la Pantanassa, située sur la place de Monastiraki, en plein cœur d'Athènes, sous l'initiative de l'archimandrite Gavriil Teknetzoglou (fig. 5). On fit également réimprimer un opuscule publié en 1966, où son auteur, le professeur de théologie Ch. Enisleidis, identifie à la légère la Théotokos Athénienne du Caire avec celle hypothétiquement vénérée dans l'église de la Pantanassa durant la période byzantine⁶⁹. C'est ainsi qu'une icône d'exception du temps des Paléologues, transportée en Egypte dans des conditions inconnues, est présentée, à travers sa «copie», aux nombreux visiteurs de la petite église comme une pièce authentique de l'héritage chrétien de l'Athènes du Moyen Age. Comme Joseph de Maistre le dit, «il y a bien moins de difficulté à résoudre un problème qu'à le poser».

Centre de Recherches sur l'art byzantin
et post-byzantin de l'Académie d'Athènes

69 CH.M. ENISLEIDIS, *Ἡ Παντάνασσα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Τὸ παλαιὸν Μέγα Μοναστήρι – Τὸ σημερινὸ Μοναστηράκι. Ἱστορία – Λατρεία – Καλλιτεχνία*. Athènes 1966.



Fig. 1. L'icône de la Vierge Gorgoépékoos après sa restauration. Vieux-Caire, Musée du monastère grec-orthodoxe Saint-Georges (photo: I. Papagéorgiou)



Fig. 2. Photo de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire, prise autour de 1890 (Archive de la Christianikē Archaeologikē Etaireia, Musée Byzantin et Chrétien d'Athènes)



Fig. 3. Le Christ Enfant. Détail de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos du Vieux-Caire (photo: I. Papagéorgiou)

Fig. 4. La tête de la Théotokos.
 Détail de l'icône de la Gorgoépékoos
 du Vieux-Caire
 (photo: I. Papagéorgiou)



Fig. 5. Athènes, Monastiraki, église de la
 Pantanassa. L'icône cultuelle moderne
 (2015) de la Gorgoépékoos, inspirée par
 celle du Vieux-Caire
 (source: http://www.religiousgreece.gr/athens-attica/-/asset_publisher/lpcrESL-L5iOO/content/pantanassa-pl-monasterakiou-)

ARCHONTOULA PAPOULAKOU

The Protection of Byzantine Monuments in Athens during the Nineteenth Century according to Documents in the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture

Since the establishment of the modern Greek state and during the nineteenth century, the material remains of Classical antiquity were rescued and protected¹. Following the official recommendation of the Archaeological Service on April 3–15, 1833, the interest of Greek politicians, intellectuals, and officers of various Greek institutions focused primarily on identifying and collecting scattered antiquities, as excavating, restoring, and safeguarding Classical monuments².

During this time post-Classical material remains were treated with indifference and, even, hostility. Despite contrary provisions in the legislation introduced as early as 1834 under the Regency and the first archaeological law of 10/22–05–1834 (“On Scientific and Technological Collections and on the Discovery and Preservation of Antiquities and Their Uses”), which, in Article 111, specifically mentions monuments belonging to “the most ancient period of Christianity and medieval Hellenism”, in practice Byzantine antiquities remained outside the body of national monuments. The Regency law (drafted by the Bavarian jurist G.L. von Maurer and inspired by the Italian law for the antiquities of Rome) provided the framework for the excavation, preservation, and ownership of antiquities. It was that very same law that provided for the establishment of the Archaeological Service and the foundation of museums and other societies in the Kingdom of Greece.

1 This article was based primarily on evidence that came to light during the cataloguing and classification of documents kept in the Directorate of the Management of the National Archive of Monuments of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. I would like to thank Ms E. Kountouri and Ms V. Papageorgiou, former and current director of the Directorate of the Management of the National Archive of Monuments, Documentation, and Protection of Cultural Goods of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, as well as to Ms A. Hatzidimitriou, head of the Department, for giving me permission to study and publish the archival documents referred to in this article. I would also like to thank the Lampakis Family Archive for granting me access to the archive’s documents and photographic material.

2 Ο. GRATZIOU, ...προς δόξαν της τε εκκλησίας και της πατρίδος. Το Χριστιανικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον και ο Γ. Λαμπάκης, in: Από τη Χριστιανική Συλλογή στο Βυζαντινό Μουσείο (1884–1930), Exhibition Catalogue. Byzantine and Christian Museum 29/3/2002–7/1/2003 (eds O. GRATZIOU – A. LAZARIDI). Athens 2006, 37–46; Τ. ΚΙΟΥΣΟΡΟΥΛΟΥ, Οι βυζαντινές σπουδές στην Ελλάδα (1850–1940), in: *ibid.* 25–36; Α. ΠΑΠΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ, Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία (1833–1899). Διάσωση και προστασία των μεσαιωνικών μνημείων στο νέο ελληνικό κράτος τον 19ο αιώνα, in: *Ιστορίες επί χάρτου: Μορφές και θέματα της Αρχαιολογίας στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα* (eds E. KOUNDOURI – S. MASSOURIDIS). Athens 2013, 74–79.

The Royal Decree of the 19th of December 1837 “On the Preservation of Medieval Remains in Athens” required the preservation of such remains in the implementation of the new plan for the state’s capital city and specifically the preservation of “these Byzantine, Venetian, and Turkish buildings, even when they are intermingled with Greek or Roman antiquities... not to be demolished without our definitive order... because they increase the curiosities of the capital”³.

Evidence from the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations

Among the documents kept in the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations⁴ is a letter from K. Pittakis, first General Ephor of Antiquities, to the Secretariat of Ecclesiastics and Public Education in 1843⁵ concerning the recovery of ancient remains from the churches that were being demolished. This is the first clear reference to the wilful destruction of medieval monuments in order to recover earlier Greek remains.

In another letter to the Secretariat of Ecclesiastics and Public Education⁶, Pittakis asks for the approval of the General Secretariat to demolish the mosque inside the Parthenon, then in a dilapidated state, with domes ready to collapse onto the visitors entering the building. The mosque had been erected on the Acropolis in the early 18th century, was converted into barracks for Bavarian soldiers until 1834, and was subsequently used by Pittakis as a storehouse for antiquities⁷. Another letter sent by Pittakis to the Secretariat of Ecclesiastics and Public Education contains invaluable information concerning the mosque’s

3 E.A. CHLEPA, Τα Βυζαντινά Μνημεία στη Νεότερη Ελλάδα: Ιδεολογία και Πρακτική των Αποκαταστάσεων (1833–1939). Athens 2011, 31–33.

4 The Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture contains over one million archival documents dating from 1834 onwards: administrative documents, telegrams, excavation reports, photographs, plans, personal files of the Ephors of Antiquities, and correspondence with other ministries and institutions, such as the Foreign Archaeological Schools and the Greek Archaeological Society.

5 Draft, HAAR, Box 571A, Folder Ἀκροπόλεως 1843, no. 1824/4–5–1843. K. Pittakis writes: “In the destroyed churches, there are fragments of ancient architecture and sculpture as well as inscriptions, all worthy of preservation.”

6 Draft document signed by K. Pittakis, *ibid.* no. 1106/9–1–1842, Box 517A. Οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας Πύλης τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως θόλοι καθὼς καὶ τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Παρθενῶνος τζαμί εἰσὶ ἐτοιμόρροπα νὰ πέσουν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰσερχομένων εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν καὶ νὰ φονεύσωσι ἀνθρώπους ἂν δὲν προλάβωμεν νὰ κρημνίσωμεν ταῦτα. Παρακαλῶ τὴν Σεβαστὴν Γραμματεῖαν νὰ αἰτήσῃ τὴν ἔγκρισιν τῆς καταστροφῆς τούτων ἀπὸ τὴν Α.Μ.

7 Α. ΚΟΚΚΟΥ, *Η Μέριμνα για τις Αρχαιότητες στην Ελλάδα και τα Πρώτα Μουσεία*. Athens 2009.

demolition⁸ and the discovery of important antiquities beneath it. Pittakis lists a number of antiquities (inscriptions, a pedestal for statues from the Roman period), found after the demolition of the mosque, “that shapeless barbarian burden which had been weighing upon the beautiful Parthenon; whoever comes to see it now, sees only that, the Parthenon”⁹.

As work on the Acropolis continued, the prevailing tendency that advocated for the purity of form and promotion of the Classical past encouraged the destruction of medieval monuments on the Acropolis, particularly after the demolition of the Frankish Tower at the Propylaea by the Archaeological Society in 1875, with funds provided by Heinrich Schliemann¹⁰. The Frankish Tower was dismantled from 21 June to 20 September 1875. Unlike earlier destructions of medieval monuments, which had the consent and acceptance of contemporary archaeologists, the demolition of the Tower, one of the capital’s most famous medieval landmarks, provoked the strong reaction not only of historians and intellectuals denouncing the disappearance of a monument representative of Western dominance in the East, but also of artists, who condemned the removal of this picturesque component of the Acropolis¹¹. A rare testimonial of the General Ephorate of Antiquities is preserved in the

8 Draft document, HAAR, Box 517A, Folder Ἀκροπόλεως no. 1188/27–7–1842. Τὸ καταμολύναν πρὸ χρόνων τὸν Παρθενόνα τουρκικὸν τσαμί δὲν ὑπάρχει πλέον χάρις εἰς τὸν Θεόν. Εἰς τὴν κατεδάφισίν του ἀνεκαλύφθησαν πλέον τῶν εἴκοσι τμημάτων τῆς ζωφόρου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου ναοῦ. The document is cited in the catalogue of the Archive’s permanent exhibition. See: E. PSARRA, 1834–1863. Ο Μορφωμένος Ludwig Ross καὶ ὁ Αυτοδίδακτος Κυριακὸς Σ. Πιττάκης, in: *Ιστορίες ἐπὶ χάρτου* 16–21.

9 In a draft document dated to the 14th of May 1842, preserved in the Archive under the title “Declaration of the Second Ephorate of Antiquities”, the Ephorate of Antiquities describes the terms for the mosque’s demolition: “The demolition is to start at the southern part of this building. The contractor must... see to it that the demolition is done slowly and carefully in order to avoid crushing the antiquities embedded in this building. The contractor must demolish it using his own pick-axes, and the Ephorate will provide him with wheelbarrows. The complete demolition of this mosque will last one month, starting from the day when this contract is signed. Finally, the maximum cost for it is set at 1,000 drachmas.”

10 It is an irony that, while the Byzantine Athenians kept the Parthenon almost intact and respected its use for worship, the young Greek state destroyed its medieval structures. The late 17th to the early 20th century was probably the most destructive period in the Parthenon’s history.

11 F. MALLOUCHOU-TUFFANO, *Η περιπέτεια της Ακρόπολης τον 19ο αι.: Από κάστρο σε μνημείο*, in: *Μεγάλες Στιγμές της Ελληνικής Αρχαιολογίας* (ed. P. VALAVANIS). Athens 2007, 36–57; EADEM, *Η αναστήλωση των αρχαίων μνημείων στη νεώτερη Ελλάδα (1834–1839): Το έργο της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας και της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας*. Athens 2008.

Archive¹². Written by P. Efstratiadis, then General Ephor of Antiquities, to the Ministry of Ecclesiastics, it contains a detailed account of the dismantling of the Frankish Tower, or “Venetian Tower”, as it is called in the document (fig. 1).

Further evidence on the destruction of medieval monuments is provided by the payroll statements signed by the General Ephor of Antiquities P. Stamatakis (ref. no. 3126/28–9–1884). These mention the “productivity of day labourers working on the demolition of the early modern water reservoirs behind the Acropolis Propylaea and of those working on the cleaning-up of the Acropolis and the Propylaea.” Information is also provided by the payroll statements of day labourers engaged in the demolition of post-Classical walls at the entrance to the Acropolis (3215/16–2–1885) and by accounts submitted by P. Stamatakis relating to the demolition of water reservoirs to the north of the Propylaea.

Several Byzantine churches were demolished during this period. These include the church of the Prophet Elijah at Staropazaro¹³, the smaller church of the Taxiarches (Archangels), known as the Taxiarches of the Agora, which stood next to it¹⁴, and the small church of the Taxiarches, known as the ‘Agioli Asomatoi sta Skalia’, which stood outside of the still extant west wall of Hadrian’s Library, south of the mosque at Monastiraki¹⁵. Today, only the remains of this church’s wall paintings are preserved on the Roman wall.

Concern for the protection of medieval monuments grew gradually, especially during the last quarter of the 19th century, linked to the redefinition of the public’s notion of Byzantium. For Adamantios Korais, Byzantium had been a time of obscurantism, barbarity, and corruption, a thousand-year break

12 Draft document, HAAR, Box 809 no. 1839/20–7–1875. Ἡ κατεδάφισις τοῦ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἐνετικοῦ Πύργου, ἥτις ἤρχισε τὴν 16η Ἰουνίου, ἐπεραιώθη ἥδη εὐτυχῶς, ἄνευ οὐδενὸς δυστυχήματος. Ἡνοίχθη ἡ πλευρὰ τῶν Προπυλαίων, ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ κρυπτομένη καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη. Εὐρέθησαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις αὐτοῦ πύργου, ὀλίγα τινῶν ἐνεπιγράφων καὶ γλυπτῶν μαρμάρων τεμαχίων, πλεῖστα δὲ ἀρχιτεκτονικά, ἀνήκοντα εἰς τὴν πύλιν τῶν Προπυλαίων κ’ εἰς ἄλλα μνημεῖα· στάλθησαν δὲ τὰ μὲν μικρὰ γλυπτὰ τεμάχια εἰς τὸ μουσεῖον, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τῇ μετὰ τῶν προπυλαίων κ’ τοῦ παρθενῶνος πλατείᾳ ἐν ταιαύτῃ ἐτέθησαν καὶ πάντα τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονικὴν...

13 The church of the Prophet Elijah, near the site of the bazaar during the Ottoman period, was in a state of partial ruin after the Greek War of Independence and was demolished in 1848. The reasons for its demolition remain unknown. It may have been impossible to repair it or had to give way for the newly rebuilt neighbouring church of the Taxiarches. The church of the Prophet Elijah was a cross-in-square building with continuous walls supporting the dome on the west and a narthex with cruciform roof. The church’s ground plan closely resembled that of the church of Agioli Theodoroi, suggesting that the two churches were roughly contemporary. Their ceramoplastic decoration dates both to the second half of the 11th century. See BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα (sixth appendix), 168–172; Κοκκου, *Η Μέριμνα* 114–116.

14 A cross-in-square church with twelfth-century dome and later narthex. It was demolished in 1852 and replaced by the present church of Panagia Gorgoepikoos.

15 BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα 148–153.

in Greek history. As a result, the Enlightenment had sought to rid modern Hellenism of its unsavoury medieval past and defined modern Greek identity on the basis of its direct link to Classical antiquity. The rising need for a unified Greek national history placed the Byzantine era between the ancient and the modern. Although formerly discredited by European and Greek intellectuals of the Enlightenment, Byzantium brought together “what came before with what came after,” as Spyridon Zambelios put it in 1857. Historians Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos restored Byzantium as an integral component of Greek history¹⁶. Especially from 1850 onwards and most prominently in his *Historia tou Hellenikou Ethnous*, published in 1860–1875, Paparrigopoulos restored Byzantium’s role as an integral part of Greek history, thus affirming the historical continuity of Hellenism.

The establishment of the Christian Archaeological Society

The establishment of the Christian Archaeological Society in 1884 was directly linked to the protection of medieval monuments. Its main objective was to collect evidence of ecclesiastical life and “remains of Christian Antiquity”, and to establish a Christian Archaeological Museum¹⁷. The Society included as members politicians, dignitaries of the Court and Church, and scholars. From the establishment of the Society, to the gathering of Christian antiquities in various private locations and its temporary housing in a room in the National Archaeological Museum (April 14, 1893), Georgios Lampakis stood out in his dual role as the Society’s founding member and Ephor of the Christian Museum from 1884, and as the Society’s General Secretary and director of the Christian Museum from 1901 until his death in 1914. In this year the national

16 ΚΙΟΥΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Οι βυζαντινές σπουδές 25–36; Th. VEREMIS, Κράτος και Έθνος στην Ελλάδα 1821–1912, in: Ελληνισμός – Ελληνικότητα: Ιδεολογικοί και Βιοματρικοί Άξονες της Νεοελληνικής Κοινωνίας (ed. D.G. TSAOUSIS). Athens 1983, 59–67; P. KITROMILIDIS, Το Ελληνικό Κράτος ως Εθνικό Κέντρο, in: *ibid.* 143–164; Idem, Ιδεολογικά ρεύματα και πολιτικά αιτήματα: προοπτικές από τον ελληνικό 19^ο αιώνα, in: Όψεις της Ελληνικής Κοινωνίας του 19^{ου} Αιώνα (ed. D.G. TSAOUSIS). Athens 1984, 23–38.

17 According to Article 2 of the Society’s first memorandum (1885), “This society aims to collect and preserve the remains of Christian antiquity in Greece or elsewhere, whose preservation and study contribute to shedding light on our history and art.” Article 3 provides for the establishment of a Museum of the Christian Archaeological Society, an Archive and a Library for relevant manuscripts and books. Article 11 describes the role and responsibilities of the Museum, Archive, and Library’s Ephor, who was instructed to receive and classify the various items “in a scientific manner”, but “because of the sanctity of these objects” should also possess “the qualifications required by the ecclesiastical rules”. Finally, according to Article 17, “the entire property of the Christian Archaeological Society is deemed national property.”

Christian and Byzantine Museum was established by statute¹⁸.

Since its establishment, the Christian Archaeological Society was keenly interested in recording and preserving medieval monuments¹⁹, including those of Byzantine Athens. The Historical Archive contains documents recording the Society's actions regarding two interesting Athenian monuments: the cells of the Agia Philothei monastery and the church of the Holy Apostles to the north of the Acropolis.

Situated near the ruined church of Agios Andreas, next to Athens' Metropolitan Cathedral, the cells of the monastery of Agia Philothei are a typical example of the Society's initiatives to prevent the destruction of medieval monuments. In a letter addressed to M. Venizelos, Minister of Ecclesiastics and Public Education, the Society's president A. Varouchas and the secretary I.M. Dambergis ask for the monument's custody and supervision to be assigned to the Society in order to prevent further destruction (fig. 2a, 2b)²⁰. The ruined

18 Lampakis was an archaeologist and theologian. He was Special Secretary to Queen Olga (1885) and placed the Christian Archaeological Society under the queen's auspices (10 March 1886). He was primarily interested in the classification and rescue of Byzantine monuments and in promoting Christian archaeology. Immediately after his return to Greece in 1883 and for some time after, he published articles in newspapers about the dire state of Byzantine monuments. According to Lampakis, Christian archaeology had to examine "the indivisibility of the entire Christian era, which, starting with Christ, lasts to our day" (τὸ ἐνιαῖον τῆς καθόλου χριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς, ἥτις ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἀρχομένη, διήκει μέχρι ἡμῶν). For Lampakis, Byzantine archaeology was merely a field of the discipline of archaeology (he defined the boundaries of the discipline's various fields on the occasion of the International Archaeological Congress which took place in Athens in 1905). He also favoured the term 'Christian' and opposed the newly coined term 'Byzantine', which had not yet prevailed in Greek scholarly literature. See S.N. DELATOLAS, *Ἀδελφοὶ Λαμπάκη: Ἰωάννης – Γεώργιος – Εμμανουήλ*. Athens 2006, 31–246; D. KONSTANTIOS, *Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας*. Athens 2009.

19 The Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations contains invaluable material illustrating the Christian Archaeological Society's role in the protection and rescue of Byzantine monuments. In a draft document (no. 18310/27–7–1886, HAAR, Box 5951, Folders 1886, 1890, 1892–1893–1894–1895–1897/Χριστιανικὴ Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐταιρεία καὶ Ἱδρυσις Βυζαντινοῦ καὶ Χριστιανικοῦ Μουσείου) signed by the Society's president A. Varouchas and addressed to the Council of Ministers under the title *Αἴτησις περὶ ἐτησίας χορηγίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς ΧΑΕ* clearly reflects the spirit of the times about the sorry state of Byzantine antiquities: *Γιγνώσκετε ὑμεῖς εἰς ποίαν θλιβερὰν κατάστασιν περιέστησαν αἱ Χριστιανικαὶ Ἀρχαιοτήτες, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ναοὶ κατερειποῦνται, τὰ πολύτιμα κειμήλια ἀπόλλυνται ἢ φυγαδεύονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν διάσωσιν, τούτων δὲ τὴν περισυναγωγὴν, ἀδυνατοῦμεν ἔτι εἰς ἔργα γενναῖα ἔνεκεν τῆς ἐλλείψεως μέσῳ ἀναλόγων... Πρώτιστον δὲ πάντων, νὰ ἐξαιτήσῃται ἐκ μέρους τῆς σεβαστῆς κυβερνήσεως χορηγίαν τινὰ οἰανδίποτε, ἥτις νὰ χρησιμεύσῃ τὸ παρὸν τῶν μονίμων αὐτῆς πόρων.*

20 Draft document, no. 61/6–5–1886, HAAR, Box 5951, 1886–1909/Χριστιανικὰ–Φράγματα: 1886, 1889, *Περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀγίας Φιλοθέης*, titled: *Αἴτησις περὶ διαφυλάξεως τῶν Χριστιανικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων, ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τῆς Ἀγίας Φιλοθέης, παρὰ τὴν συνοικίαν τῆς Μητροπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν*. The draft document is cited in the catalogue of the Archive's permanent exhibition. See: ΠΑΡΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία* 74–80, 95.

church of Agios Andreas²¹ and its surrounding cells, erected by St Philothei, in the vicinity of Athens' metropolitan church, were typical of the dire condition of Byzantine monuments. The Society's initiative appears to have had the support of the Mayor of Athens T. Philemon, who, in a report to the Prefect of Attica and Boeotia²², stated that impoverished families had illegally settled in the church's courtyard and were destroying its walls and wall paintings. He entreated police authorities to remove these families and have the adjacent crumbling baths demolished. He also pointed out the church's great artistic and historical value, as well as its importance for Athens, since it also housed the cell of the Athenian St Philothei.

The second example, namely the church of the Holy Apostles, to the north of the Acropolis²³, highlights the Society's early efforts, in cooperation with other institutions (i.e. the mayor of Athens, the Ecclesiastical Council, and the Prefecture of Attica), to secure permits to excavate monuments²⁴. In a letter dated to the 13th of September 1884 and addressed to the Ministry of Ecclesiastics and Public Education, Lampakis requested a permit to excavate inside and around the church of the Holy Apostles. This is also an early example of interdisciplinary cooperation, as the excavation was to take place under the direction of architect G. Zazos, "who would exercise all due care and diligence for the future of the building of this old church" (fig. 3).

The Society also advocated for the preservation of the church of the

21 The church stands to this day next to the main building of the Archdiocese of Athens on Agias Filotheis Str. See TRAVLOS, Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις 190. In GIOCHALAS – ΚΑΦΕΤΖΑΚΙ, *Ιχνηλατώντας την πόλην* 95–96, we read that the Benizelos Manor, an eighteenth-century two-storey residence at 96 Adrianou Str. in Plaka, was built on the site of St Philothei's house, which she converted into a convent for two hundred nuns in the 16th century, along with the neighbouring family chapel dedicated to St Andrew. It appears that after the War of Independence in 1821 the building was also used as a tavern.

22 Draft document no. 6363/29–4–1889 HAAR, Box 5951, 1886–1909/ Χριστιανικά–Φράγκικα: 1886, 1889, Περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀγίας Φιλοθέης.

23 This was the church of the Holy Apostles 'in the Marbles' (*sta Marmara*), at the site of the ancient fountain of Klepsydra, to the north of the Acropolis. Kimon's original Klepsydra building was destroyed by falling rocks and later reopened as a well, accessible from the Acropolis, after the erection of the Late Roman fortification wall. In the 10th century, it was used again for the city's water supply, whereas the elongated, vaulted, apsed space was converted into a small church to commemorate the Holy Apostles and decorated with wall paintings. The old well's opening dominates the centre of this space (visible in a drawing in D. Kambouroglou's report on the medieval monuments of Attica see n. 32). See also PARSONS, *Klepsydra* 191ff., 222, fig. 21 reproduces a drawing from E. BRETON, *Athènes, décrite et dessinée*. Paris 1862, 182ff.; BOURAS, *Βυζαντινὴ Αθήνα* 145–146.

24 Until then, the Archaeological Service and the Archaeological Society were the only institutions licensed to conduct excavations. This was the first time that a permit to conduct excavations was issued to a private body. See ΚΟΚΚΟΥ, *Η Μέριμνα* 99–116.

Transfiguration of the Saviour in Plaka²⁵. Its president A. Pappoudof addressed a dramatic appeal to the Ministry of Ecclesiastics and Public Education to rescue this remarkable Byzantine monument²⁶. He asked for all necessary measures to be taken to avoid its complete destruction, following the damage caused by previous repair work and other interventions. The church was a typical example of eleventh- and twelfth-century church architecture, of which only a few examples had survived.

*The preservation of the small church of Panagia Chelonou in Goudi*²⁷

Documents dating to 1895 provide valuable information on the Middle Byzantine chapel of Panagia Chelonou at Goudi, Athens, preserved today in an altered form after many interventions and additions²⁸. A letter from the Christian Archaeological Society to D. Petridis, Minister of Ecclesiastics and Public Education²⁹, describes the monument's architecture and informs us that the Metropolitan of Athens had announced a tender for the construction of a seminary at Goudi, next to the small church. It appears that the General

25 BOURAS, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 211–214; L. FILIPPIDOU, 'Η Χρονολόγησις τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀθηνῶν. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 5 (1970) 81–91. The Middle Byzantine church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at the northern foot of the Acropolis dates to c. 1100. It is a two-column cross-in-square church without narthex, typologically identical to the church of the Taxiarches in the Roman Agora. It also features a chapel-like grotto, which may have been used as a crypt, accessible through an arched opening. Tombstones and remains of wall paintings were discovered during the monument's restoration in 1966.

26 A letter from the Christian Archaeological Society to the Ministry no. 68/23–6–1899, HAAR, Box 5951, 1886–1909/Χριστιανικὰ–Φράγκικα: 1899/Χριστιανικὴ Ἑταιρεία & Περὶ διασώσεως τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν Πλάκῃ.

27 In a folder titled Περὶ διατηρήσεως τοῦ Ναυδρίου Παναγίας τῆς Χελωνοῦς στὸ Γουδί στὰ 1895, HAAR, Box 864.

28 Information about the chapel of Panagia Chelonou, of which only a small part of the original church is preserved (the diaconicon apse and the diaconicon and prothesis side walls and vaults), is provided by A. Orlandos, who restored the monument in 1959–1961 and rebuilt those parts of the ruined chapel that had collapsed. See A. ORLANDOS, Ἀνασκηλώσεις μνημείων. *EEBS* 29 (1959) 524; 30 (1960/61) 656, 682. After several collapses it is impossible to date the original church. A. Xyngopoulos dated the church to the 14th century on the basis of the surviving wall painting. See Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 165–167.

29 Draft document signed by the Society's president G. Kozakis-Tipaldos: no. 37/10–8–1895, HAAR, Box 864, Περὶ διατηρήσεως τοῦ Ναυδρίου Παναγίας τῆς Χελωνοῦς στὸ Γουδί στὰ 1895. He writes: Καθῆκον ἔχω κύριε Ὑπουργέ νὰ κάμω εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐξοχότητα γνωστόν, ὅτι τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἐκκλησίδιον ἔχει ἀξίαν τινὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς χριστιανικῆς τέχνης καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας. Ἡ Παναγία ἡ Χελωνοῦ εἶναι ἐκκλησίδιον μονόκογχον, μονόθολον, κυλινδρικῆς στέγης, ἔχον μῆκος 10 βημάτων κ' πλάτος 6½' περιέχει δὲ ἐπὶ λίθου ἐνὸς περίπου μέτρου ὕψους, ἀρχαιοτάτην εἰκονογραφίαν τῆς Θεοτόκου, ἐφ' ὧργοις κρατούσης ἐν κόλποις τὸν παῖδα Ἰησοῦν. Ἡ Εἰκὼν αὕτη ἔκειτο ποτὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰκονοστασίου, νῦν δὲ κεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους χαμαί. Ἐπληροφορήθην ἐξωδίκως, ὅτι ὁ Σ. Μητροπολίτης προτίθεται νὰ κρημνίσῃ τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἐκκλησίδιον κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ Ἱεροδιδασκαλείου...

Ephorate of Antiquities had instructed D.G. Kambouroglou to inspect the monument and draft a report. In a letter dated to August 14, 1895 and addressed to the General Ephor of Antiquities P. Kavvadias, Kambouroglou states that “on your orders, I inspected the church of Panagia Chelonou, which is located in Messogion Street, within a settlement called ‘Paliopanagia’. Chelonou is an ungainly, plain, structurally substandard building. The presence of certain stone blocks built into the church indicates the existence of an earlier building within an ancient settlement. There are no paintings inside the church, other than one fresco [ἐφ’ ὕψοις γροαφῇ] of the Virgin holding the infant Christ in her lap. It is an image of genuine Byzantine style but extremely worn. The icon is also the object of worship by locals and because of their worship we witness the following unique phenomenon: Chelonou is located inside a sheepfold, and the sheep rest in its shade.” Kambouroglou claims that “it is difficult to argue in favour of Chelonou, when so many monuments of Byzantine art are being destroyed, but it is of some worth because at its east side it ends in a broad, semi-circular apse [μύακα]... covered by a low, semi-cylindrical vault (hence the name Chelonou [Gr. turtle]) and therefore features elements of an Early Christian basilica.” And he concludes: “Besides, it is time to apply the principle that the constructions of the past, whatever these may be, should not be destroyed even if there is an obvious need for such a destruction.” (fig. 4).

Compilation of a descriptive catalogue of the medieval monuments in Athens

During the same period, scholars under the Christian Archaeological Society’s auspices compiled descriptive catalogues of medieval monuments. One of the most important documents in the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations is a report by Kambouroglou, then Curator of Medieval Monuments, addressed in 1892 to the General Ephor of Antiquities Kavvadias, in which he informs him that “[he had] begun to study and inspect the monuments of History and Art in Athens and Attica in general”³⁰. Kambouroglou had “noted, for the time being, two Athenian churches worthy of a better fate”: “i) At the northern foot of the Acropolis, a small church of Christ Saviour, a jewel of a Byzantine church and fine specimen of the art of a particular period (10th–12th centuries). It needs cleaning along its sides and the surrounding area, which is in a dire condition.”³¹ “ii) The functioning church of the Holy Apostles, which is thought

30 Report by D.G. Kambouroglou, no. 10081/28–11–1892, HAAR, Box 5951, 1886–1909/Χριστιανικά–Φράγκικα: 1892/ Σύνταξις περιγραφικοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ Ἀττικῇ μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων.

31 For the Church of the Transfiguration of the Christ Saviour see also n. 26, HAAR, Box 5951, Folder 1886–1909/Χριστιανικά–Φράγκικα: 1899/Χριστιανικὴ Ἐταιρεία & Περὶ διασώσεως τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν Πλάκᾳ.

to have been the old baptistery of Athens³². It is a unique example of a cross-in-square church, whereas the catacomb beneath it is preserved and depicted in travelers' writings". He concludes: "I respectfully submit photographs and illustrations of the above. With these, I began my tours of Attica." (fig. 5).

At another point, in a document accompanying his report³³, Kambouroglou writes: "Until such time as the Government is able to provide a sum of money in order to save and preserve medieval antiquities, I believe that I must be given the task of compiling a list describing and illustrating all such extant antiquities in the land... Such a catalogue will guide us as to which buildings are worthy of preservation and which must be saved as soon as possible, will serve as a valuable item of study for anyone engaged in these matters, and may serve to lessen in some way any damage from the unexpected destruction of a building."

Valuable information can also be gathered from Lampakis' inspections and reports on the rescue of Byzantine monuments³⁴. Particular mention is made of another important Middle Byzantine (10th century) monument, the Monastery of Asterios (dedicated to the Taxiarches, the archangels Gabriel and Michael)³⁵. In this report Lampakis states that he considers it necessary to "report to the esteemed Ministry: a) the number of Christian establishments, b) their classification, c) their value, d) their current state, e) his opinion as to their preservation on account of their noteworthy wall paintings"³⁶.

The rescue of the Daphni Monastery

The rescue of the main church (katholikon) of the Monastery of Daphni, one of Attica's most important Byzantine monuments, is the largest restoration project

32 On the church of the Holy Apostles, see n. 23. The Archive has Kambouroglou's original drawing, which was reproduced in Breton, Athènes 182.

33 Document no. 23272/12-10-1892, HAAR, Box 5951, 1886-1909/Χριστιανικά-Φράγματα: 1892/Σύνταξις περιγραφικού καταλόγου τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ Ἀττικῇ μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων. This document was sent to the Minister of Public Education by the General Ephor of Antiquities and Museums.

34 In 1885 and for a brief time period, Lampakis was appointed Ephor of Antiquities, "especially of Christian Antiquities" (Legislative Decree 12 July 1885). The Archive contains many testimonies to his work in the Archaeological Service. He was usually asked by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical and Public Education or by the General Ephorate of Antiquities to visit Greek sites as a specialist, "since [he] had studied Christian archaeology in Germany", and to prepare detailed and scientifically accurate reports about the condition of the monuments.

35 Report no. 23/22 20-3-1885, HAAR, Box 455, Folder Χριστιανικαὶ ἀρχαιοτάτες/[1885-1886], "Ἐκθέσις πρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῆς Δημ. Ἐκπαιδεύσεως Σ. Ὑπουργείου περὶ τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Μεσογαίαν χώραν Χριστιανικῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ τῆς νῦν καταστάσεως τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑμντοῦ ἀρχαίας Μονῆς τοῦ Ἀστερίου.

36 In this report he proposes, *inter alia*, the reproduction of certain wall paintings (εἴτε ἐν σμικρῷ, εἴτε διὰ διαφανοῦς χάρτου πανομοιότυπως) and detachment of the more significant ones at risk of destruction (ὅσαι, ἐν μενῶσι κατὰ χώραν... μετ' οὐ πολὺ καταστραφήσονται).

undertaken in the 19th century, second only to that of the Parthenon. Here we will mention only a few of the numerous archival documents regarding the monastery's nineteenth-century restoration.

In 1885, the Christian Archaeological Society submitted a report to the Ministry of Education titled "On the Condition of the Holy Monastery of Daphni"³⁷ drafted by a three-member committee consisting of G. Vroutos (Professor of Sculpture at the Technical University), Zezos (architect), and Lampakis (Doctor of Philosophy), with proposals for appropriate measures aimed at the restoration and preservation of the masonry, the conservation of the church mosaics, and the securing of adequate funds for the monument's rescue.

The earthquakes of August 1886 and, above all, the destructive earthquake of January 10, 1889, caused irreparable damage to the Daphni Monastery. In order to assess the damage of the monument's walls and domes, and take the necessary measures, a committee consisting of the architect E. Ziller and two state's civil engineers inspected Daphni and concluded that the damage was not significant and that the work done by contractor D. Skordaras was satisfactory. However, the committee also reported the risk of the mosaics becoming detached as a result of the cracks in the domes³⁸.

In 1891, after a second destructive earthquake which caused major damage to the monument, the Ministry of Ecclesiastics decided to proceed with the necessary repairs and reconstruction of the church's dome following the demolition of the old one. The committee in charge of the endeavour³⁹ included a number of specialists: the General Ephor of Antiquities Kavvadias, the Director of Public Works X. Vlachopoulos, the Director of the First Office of Public Buildings E. Ziller, the Director of the German Archaeological Institute W. Dörpfeld, the architect E. Troump, and the state's civil engineer G. Katsaros. The composition of the committee is indicative of the collaboration of archaeologists with engineers established during that period (fig. 6). In the

37 HAAR, Box 455, Folder "Εγγραφα περὶ μωσαϊκῶν ἐν Δαφνὶ (1883–1885), Report no. 27/20–4–1885. "Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Δαφνίου. See CHLEPA, Τα Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα 31–33. Τὰ εἰς τὸ ὅλον οἰκοδόμημα ἐπελθόντα ρήγματα καὶ αἱ διάφοραι βλάβαι ὡσαύτως δὲν εἶναι μικραί, οὐδ' ἄνευ φόβου ταχίστης καταστροφῆς. Ὁρισμένως ἡ κόγχη, τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄνω, ἐνθα ποτὲ εἰκονίζετο ἡ λαμπρὰ Πλατυτέρα, ἐσωτερικῶς διεργράνη... Τὸ ὑπεράνω τῆς Ἀγίας Τραπέζης σταυροθόλιον διεργράνη λίαν ἐπικινδύνως... Ναὸς ταύτης ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἀξίας, τοιαῦτα ἀμίμητα ἔργα τέχνης ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέχον, ὥραν περίπτου μακρὰν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπέχων, κατεδικάσθη οὕτως εἰς καταστροφὴν καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν... The committee recommended the reproduction of the mosaics.

38 Report of the Commission (signed by Ziller, Gazis and Mairas), HAAR, Box 801, Folder Δαφνὶ (1888–1907) 1379/31–1–1889. Cited in the catalogue of the Archive's permanent exhibition. See ΠΑΡΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ, Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία 78–79.

39 HAAR, Box 801, decision regarding the appointment of the committee in charge of the restoration of the Daphni Monastery katholikon's dome (ref. no. 15485/5–10–1891). Published in the Archive's exhibition catalogue. A. ΠΑΡΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ, Ἀρχαιολογία καὶ ἄλλες ειδικότητες, in: Ιστορίες ἐπὶ χάρτου 34.

following years and until the end of the 19th century, scientific committees for the rescue of important monuments became increasingly frequent and interdisciplinary. They included Greek and foreign archaeologists, architects, specialized conservators, and well-known mosaicists, who were engaged to repair the mosaics of the monasteries of Daphni and Hosios Loukas. This laid the foundations for subsequent interdisciplinary cooperation between specialisations involved in the restoration and preservation of monuments.

Hellenic Ministry of Culture
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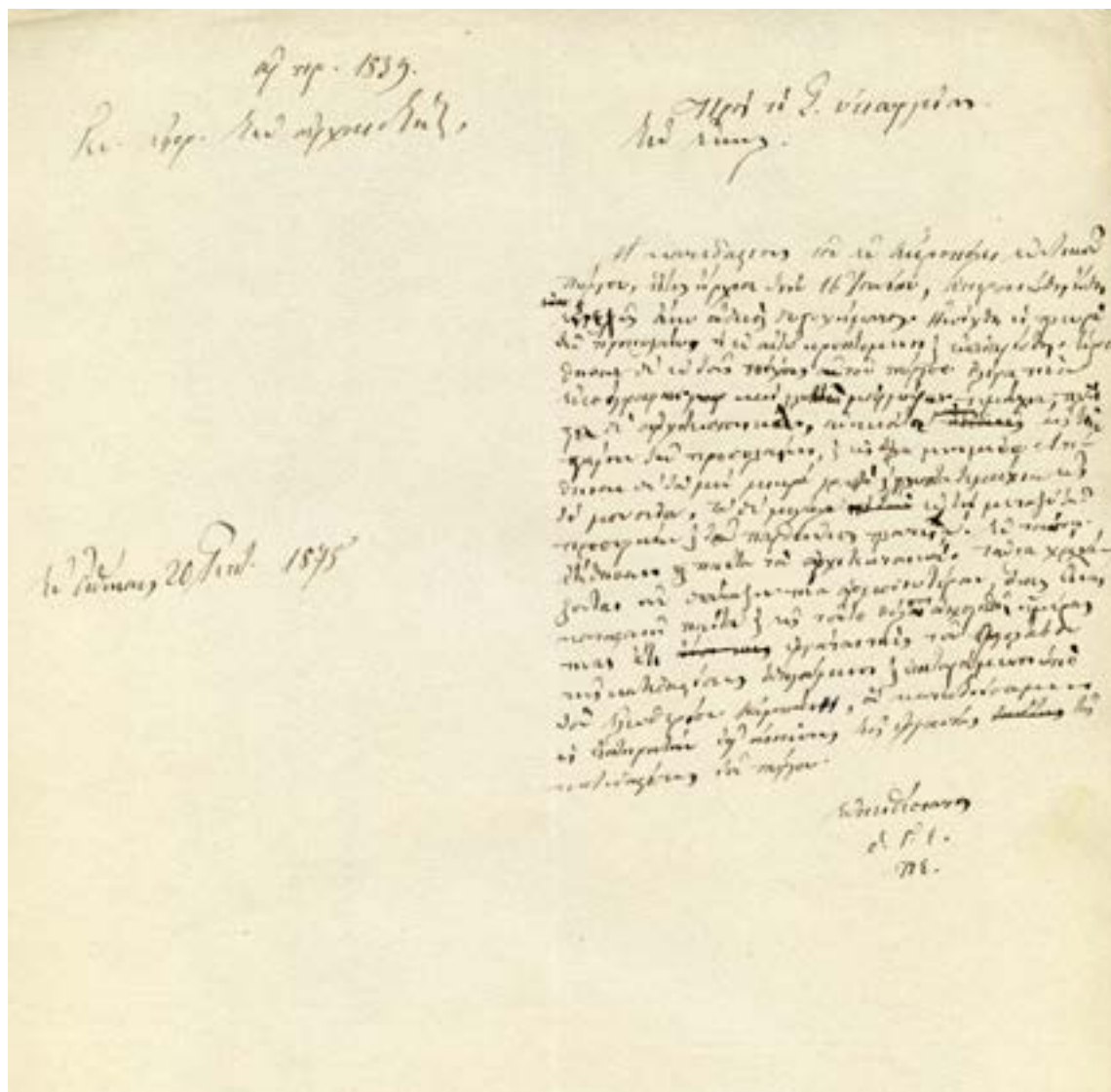


Fig. 1. Draft document with ref. no. 1839/20–7–1875, about the demolition of the Frankish Tower of the Propylaea. “The demolition of the Venetian Tower on the Acropolis, which started on the 16th June, has already been completed, fortunately without any accidents.” The document is signed by the General Ephor of Antiquities P. Efstratiadis. © Department of Management of the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations, Greek Ministry of Culture

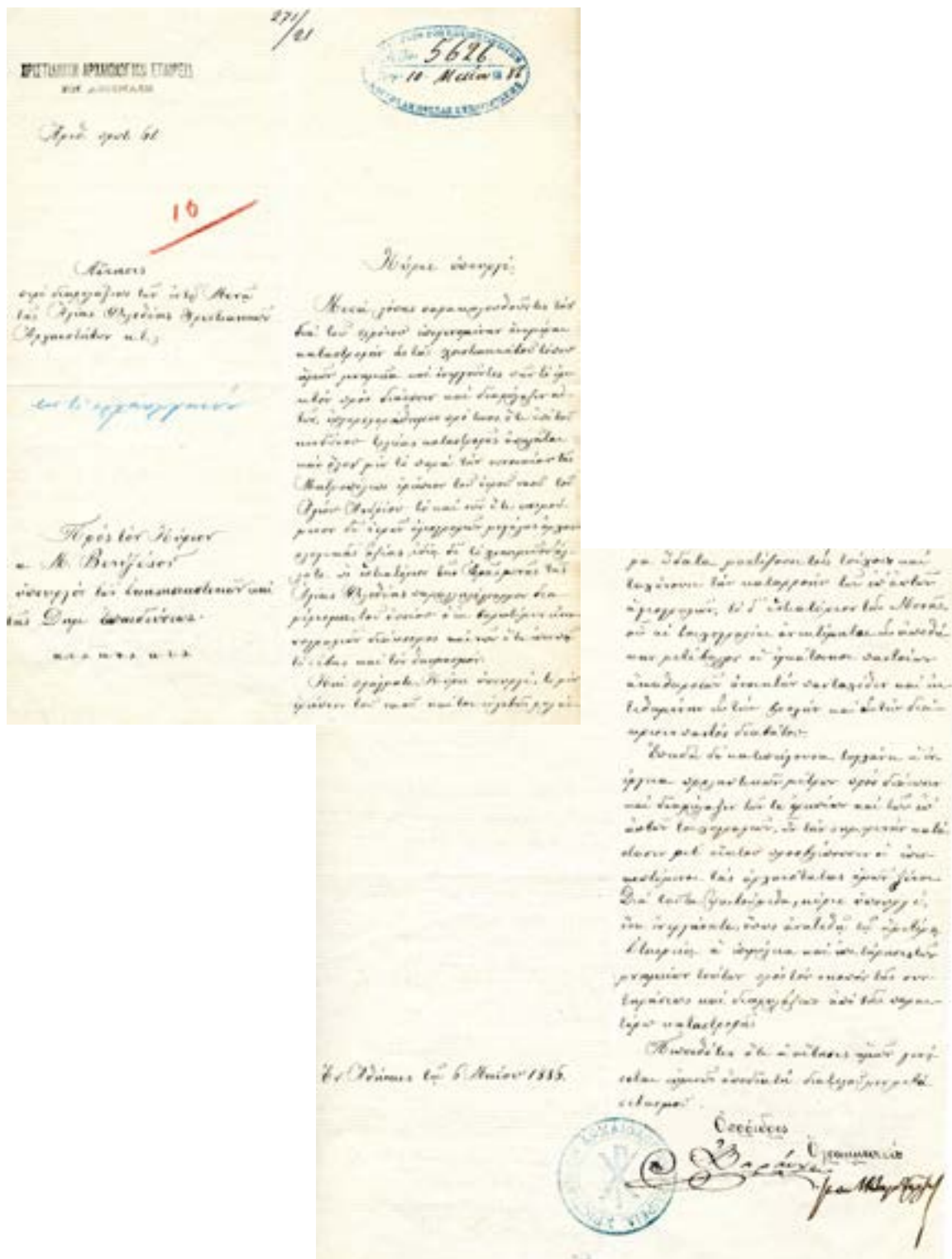


Fig. 2a & 2b. Document with ref. no. 61/6-5-1886, containing an application of the Christianiki Archaio-logiki Etaireia for the rescue of Christian antiquities in the monastery of St Philothei. © Department of Management of the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations, Greek Ministry of Culture



Fig. 5. A sheet of paper with a photograph of the Monastery of Agios Ioannis Theologos at the foot of Mount Hymettus next to a drawing of the catacomb in the Church of the Holy Apostles, attached to D. Kambouroglou's report, and addressed to the General Ephor of Antiquities P. Kavvadias, ref. no. 10081/28-11-1892. "At present I have marked two churches out as worthy of a better fate." © Department of Management of the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations, Greek Ministry of Culture

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 Analecta*
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*

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