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The Economic History of Byzantium:
From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century

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Medieval Athens

Maria Kazanaki-Lappa

The kindness of the earth remains the same, the mildness of the climate, bringing forth fruit and all other plants, honey-sweet Hymettus, serene Piraeus; . . . and the Acropolis remains the same, where I now sit, and it seems to me that I tread upon the very edge of heaven.
—Michael Choniates

Athens, the city that symbolized the classical world, was throughout the medieval period a small provincial town in the Byzantine Empire to which the sources rarely refer, and then only coincidentally. Its history from the end of the sixth century to the Turkish conquest of 1456 can be divided into three periods: the Dark Ages (7th–9th centuries), when life in the city continued but was confined to a small area around the Acropolis; the middle Byzantine period (10th–12th centuries), when Athens grew and can truly be said to have flourished (as witnessed by the large number of churches built during this time); and the period of Frankish rule (13th–15th centuries), under the rule, successively, of French, Catalan, and Italian dukes, when the Acropolis was converted into a medieval castle and the city shrank to a settlement huddled at the foot of the rock (Figs. 1 and 2).[1]

The medieval city succeeded its ancient forebear on the lower slopes of the rock and around the Acropolis, where it was protected by a triple belt of fortifications.[2] The ancient wall of Themistocles, repaired by Valerian in the mid-third century A.D. formed

This chapter was translated by John Solman.

[1] For the medieval history of Athens, see F. Gregorovios and Sp. Lambros, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας, 3 vols. (Athens, 1904–1906); Sp. Lambros, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος (Athens, 1878); K. Setton, "Athens in the Later Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 19 (1944): 179–207; idem, "The Archaeology of Medieval Athens," *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought, Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans,* ed. J. Mundy, R. W. Emery, and B. N. Nelson (New York, 1955), 227–58, reprinted in K. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975); J. Herrin, "Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180–1205," *DOP* 29 (1975): 255–87.

[2] The book by J. Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπὸ τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ ΙΘ′ αἰῶνος (Athens, 1960), 135–72, brings together all the conclusions reached by research to that time about the medieval city and summarizes it in the form of maps. With minor revisions produced by subsequent research, those conclusions still represent our knowledge of the medieval topography of Athens. See Ch. Bouras, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," *JÖB* 31.2 (1981): 626–27.

the outermost fortified precinct and the furthest limit to which the city expanded during its periods of relative prosperity. The late Roman wall, built shortly after the catastrophic raid of the Heruli in A.D. 267 and enclosing a small area north of the Acropolis and the area from the Odeion of Herodes Atticus to the west side of the Theater of Dionysos on the south side of the rock,[3] was the inner precinct and the principal defensive wall of Athens. On the rock itself, the walls of the Acropolis surrounded the monuments of classical antiquity, which though converted were still intact. This wall was the last line of defense, and inside it the population took refuge in the event of raids. All three lines of defense were repaired and reinforced with towers in the sixth century as part of Justinian's program of reconstructing the castles of cities all over Greece.[4] It was this system of walls that enabled Athens to survive through the Dark Ages, when the cities of Byzantium were threatened by the Slavs on land and the Arabs by sea.

In the late Roman period, Athens had flourished for the last time as one of the empire's centers of education and as the focus for the development of Neo-Platonic philosophy. It can be deduced from the sources and from the finds of excavations that the Greco-Roman tradition and the slowly emerging Christian world coexisted peacefully in Athens to the late fifth century.[5] When Justinian closed the schools of philosophy (in 529), Christianity gained the upper hand in Athens, and the city could now clearly be seen to be in decline. In the late sixth century, and throughout the seventh, the ancient temples—the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the temple of Hephaistos—were converted into churches.[6] A raid by the Slavs (dated to 582) struck yet another blow at the city. The evidence for this raid consists of a layer of destruction in the ancient Agora in conjunction with the hoards of coins found in the stratum and also outside the Agora, at the Dipylon Gate and on the Acropolis.[7]

During the two centuries that followed, we have little historical testimony to the fate of Athens, and excavations have yielded only scanty finds. The demographic shrinkage and the restriction in urban economic activity by which the provincial cities of Byzantium were hit in the seventh and eighth centuries can be perceived in Athens, too. Throughout that period, the city was confined to a small part of what had once been its area, that is, within the narrow bounds of the late Roman wall. Outside the wall, the city had been abandoned, and there are only occasional traces of building activity, including the repair of certain buildings in the ancient Agora and the replacement by a three-aisled basilica of the Tetraconch, the quatrefoil marble church that had been

[3] M. Korres, ΑΔ 35.2 (1980): 1.19.

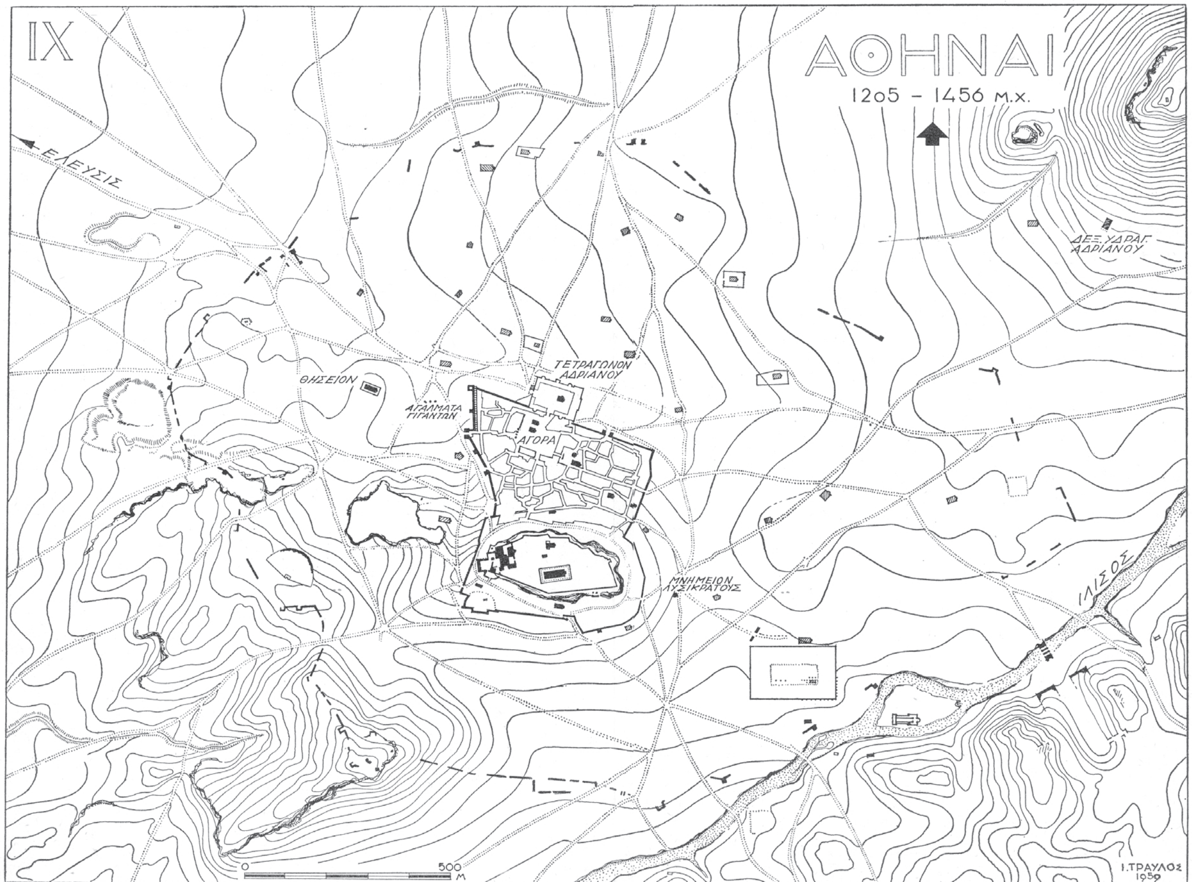
[4] Prokopios, *De aed.* 4.2.272; Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 144–45.

[5] H. A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight, A.D. 267–600," *JRS* 49 (1959): 61–72.

[6] A. Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *DOP* 19 (1965): 187–207. On this subject, cf. C. Mango, "The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church: The Tübingen Theosophy," Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ. 18 (1995): 201–3.

[7] D. M. Metcalf, "The Slavonic Threat to Greece circa 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia* 31 (1962): 134–57; A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity, A.D.* 267–600, The Athenian Agora 24 (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 93–94.

1. Plan of Athens from the Justinianic period to the Frankish conquest (after J. Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῆς πόλεως τῶν ᾿Αθηνῶν ἀπὸ τῶν προϊστορικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ ΙΘ΄ αἰῶνος [Athens, 1993], 162)



2. Plan of Athens during the Frankish period (after Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 172)

constructed in the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian and destroyed by fire.[8] Kilns for the manufacture of tiles and olive oil production installations have also come to light in the Agora, among the ruins of the buildings of the Metroön and the "Gymnasium of the Giants."[9] The economy of Athens was based on the cultivation of the soil, and the produce grown was consumed locally; the circulation of money dwindled,[10] trade declined, and manufacturing was restricted to meeting the needs of the local population.

Despite its decline, Athens was still a small but secure center for the civil, military, and ecclesiastical administration, as can be concluded, indirectly, from the accounts given in the sources. The walls, and especially those of the Acropolis, made the city an impregnable fortress that could provide safe refuge for its own population and that of the surrounding rural area in the hour of need. In 662/3 Emperor Constans II wintered in Athens with his army and a large retinue. There also seems to have been a local aristocracy, as suggested by the fact that in the late eighth and early ninth centuries two residents of Athens, Irene and her niece Theophano, ascended the throne of Byzantium.[11] As to the aspect of the city, we have very little information. We have to assume, however, that during the seventh and eighth centuries Athens, like other long-established imperial cities,[12] must have shed the last of the characteristics that marked it as a city of late antiquity and have been transformed into the "small and insignificant town" of the Middle Ages.[13]

A period of general reconstruction and administrative reorganization began for Byzantium after the middle of the ninth century and culminated in the centuries that followed. The population began to grow at a regular rate once more, the circulation of money increased, and favorable conditions were created for the revitalization of the urban centers. Against this background, Athens started to recover. Administratively, the city was part of the theme of Hellas formed in the late seventh century with its capital in Thebes. However, it can be deduced from an inscription on one of the columns in the Parthenon and concerning the death of Leo, *strategos* of the theme of Hellas, in August 848, that during the first half of the ninth century Athens may have been the seat of the theme. Other inscriptions on the columns tell us that the bishopric of Athens was elevated to the rank of archbishopric before the middle of the ninth

[8] Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 149–50.

[9] Frantz, *Late Antiquity,* 120–22.

[10] P. Charanis, "The Significance of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Historia* 4 (1955): 163–72; S. Vryonis, "An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Coins (668–741) from the Thomas Whittemore Collection and the Numismatic Evidence for the Urban History of Byzantium," *ZRVI* 8.1 (1963): 291–300.

[11] Gregorovios and Lambros, Ἱστορία, 1:154–63, 191–203.

[12] C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 103–15.

[13] For the general economic, social, and cultural changes that came about in Byzantine cities during the 7th century, see J. F. Haldon, "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century," *ByzF* 10 (1985): 75–112; idem, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1990).

century and to that of metropolitan bishopric late in the tenth century.[14] At the same time, the "renowned church of the Mother of God" (περιώνυμος ναὸς τῆς Θεομήτορος), housed in the Parthenon, had begun to attract pilgrims from all over the empire—including Hosios Loukas[15] and St. Nikon "the Metanoeite"[16]—while in 1018 Basil II dedicated his victory over the Bulgars to the Virgin of Athens.[17]

It is clear from the above that Athens had recovered comparatively quickly. Building activity began again in the late ninth century, as demonstrated by the construction of the church of St. John Mangoutis in 871 and by the earliest structures in the settlement occupying the site of the ancient Agora, which archaeologists have dated to the ninth or tenth century.[18] These structures (since removed) show that even at this time the city had expanded outside the boundary of the late Roman wall. Its population increased, and some of the urban functions were restored.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, numerous churches were built in the area between the late Roman wall and the outermost fortifications—a sure indication that the city was prospering. They were founded, of course, by members of the local aristocracy of landowners and state officials, which was very powerful in society and the economy at that time. These churches, some of which can still be seen today (the Holy Apostles in the Agora, Kapnikarea, Sts. Theodore, Hagioi Asomatoi, Gorgoepikoos, and others) are of the cross-in-square type; they are small in size, with richly decorated facades and harmoniously articulated masses crowned by an elegant dome. The Greek-cross octagon type with a large dome is represented by Sotera Lykodemou, then the *katholikon* of a monastery on the outskirts of the town.[19] There are also links between the aristocracy and the monasteries founded around the city in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The most important of these is Daphni, the classicizing elegance of whose mosaics reveals close links to the art of Constantinople.

At about this time, densely built residential districts came into existence, on a deep layer of landfill, in the ancient Agora, on the lower slopes of the Areopagos, on the south side of the Acropolis, and in the area north of the temple of Olympian Zeus.[20] These districts, whose ruins have been removed to allow the investigation of lower strata, were inhabited by the lower and middle classes.[21] Their houses were simple in

[14] A. K. Orlandos and L. Vranousis, Τὰ χαράγματα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος (Athens, 1973), *33–*36, 127–31, 72–73, 50–51.

[15] D. Sophianos, Ὁ Βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη (Athens, 1989), 166.

[16] Sp. Lambros, "Ὁ Βίος Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε," Νέος Ἑλλ. 3 (1906): 155–56.

[17] Gregorovios and Lambros, Ἱστορία, 1:228–34.

[18] Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 150–54.

[19] For the Byzantine churches of Athens, see G. Sotiriou, A. Xyngopoulos, and A. Orlandos, Εὑρετήριο τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 3 vols. (Athens, 1927–30); A. H. S. Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches," *BSA* 32 (1931–32): 90–130; M. Chatzidakis, Βυζαντινὴ Ἀθήνα (Athens, 1958); J. Travlos, "Athen," *RBK* 1:349–89; A. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles at Athens,* The Athenian Agora 20 (Princeton, N.J., 1971).

[20] Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 154–56.

[21] Recent excavations in the area north of the ancient Agora do not seem to have altered this picture. See T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1981–1982," *Hesperia* 53 (1984): 5.

form, constructed using shoddy materials, and often stood on the ruins of earlier buildings. There were only a few rooms, arranged around an inner courtyard, and in the basement there would be storerooms with large jars in which agricultural produce could be kept.[22] None of the residences of the upper classes have been identified; they may have stood within the area surrounded by the late Roman wall, which continued to be the administrative and economic heart of Athens. The city grew freely, without planning, in a spontaneous, dynamic manner. The old road network—or at least its main arteries—survived, but streets grew narrower and less regular as private houses came to encroach upon their width.[23]

A priceless document—a copy of a *praktikon,* dated by its editors to the eleventh or twelfth century, and containing interesting information about the layout and place names of the city[24]—reveals that Athens was organized into a number of neighborhoods. The *praktikon,* of which only fragments have survived, records the lands and *paroikoi* owned in the city and Attica in general by an ecclesiastical foundation in Athens, possibly a large monastery.[25] Athens is not referred to by name, but as "the *kastron.*" Ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ—that is, within the walled city—the *praktikon* records thirteen fields, most of which abut on "the imperial wall" (τὸ βασιλικὸν τεῖχος) and were located among the houses and churches "in the neighborhood of Tzykanitzirion, at the spot called Elaphos, below the Upper Gate, and below the neighborhood of the purple dye makers" (ἐν τῇ γειτονίᾳ τοῦ Τζυκανιτζηρίου, ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τῆς Ἐλάφου, ὑπὸ τὴν Ἐπάνω Πόρταν, ὑπὸ τὴν γειτονίαν τῶν Κογχυλαρίων). The Tzykanitzirion quarter[26] was in the north of the city, Elaphos was close to the Hill of the Nymphs, and the purple dye makers had the workshops in which they treated the murex between the Acropolis and the Hill of the Muses.[27]

The same picture of a densely built settlement with a large number of storage jars (*siroi*) in the basements of the dwellings also emerges from recent excavations in Syntagma Square, being conducted on the occasion of the works to install the Athens Metro.

[22] For the storage jars, see A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, "Κεραμικά εὑρήματα βυζαντινῆς καί μεταβυζαντινῆς ἐποχῆς ἀπό τήν ἀνασκαφή νοτίως τῆς Ακροπόλεως," ΑΔ 37 (1982): Μελέτες, 130–32.

[23] Bouras, "City and Village," 638–41; Y. Nikolopoulou, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν 4 (1971): 8–9.

[24] E. Granstrem, I. Medvedev, and D. Papachryssanthou, "Fragment d'un *praktikon* de la région d'Athènes (avant 1204)," *REB* 34 (1976): 5–43.

[25] As for place names, we should note the survival of ancient names (e.g., Koele). We also have mention of the names of the local aristocracy, including the family name Spourgitis in an inscription on the *thorakia* of the church of St. John Mangoutis. See K. Konstantopoulos, "Ἐπιγραφὴ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννη Μαγκούτη," ΕΕΒΣ 8 (1931): 253.

[26] This district was obviously located close to the *tzykanisterion,* the ground where the form of mounted exercise called *tzykanion* (a form of polo) was practiced and from which it took its name. Granstrem, Medvedev, and Papachryssanthou, "Fragment," 26–27. There were similar grounds in Sparta, Ephesos, and Constantinople; their existence is associated with the urban aristocracy and can be taken as an indication of properly organized urban life. See M. Angold, "The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine 'City,'" *ByzF* 10 (1985): 17.

[27] The evidence for locating the district of the makers of purple dye here consists of the stratum of shells found by an early excavation southwest of the Acropolis, near the Odeion of Herodes Atticus; Granstrem, Medvedev, and Papachryssanthou, "Fragment," 27–28. Michael Choniates refers, in a letter from Kea, to Athenian participation in fishing for the murex shells from which purple dye was

The "imperial wall" is, of course, the outer city wall,[28] and the "Upper Gate" must have been the Dipylon, by which the ancient Agora was entered. This area was covered by trees, among which there were "ancient buildings and holy churches."

The "fields" recorded within the imperial wall were among the largest referred to by the *praktikon,* with a total area of 20,816 square *orgyiai,* and they must have been used for growing grain.[29] The presence of such large stretches of arable land within the city boundaries is a reminder of the primarily agricultural nature of Athens. As was also the case in other middle Byzantine cities, the people of Athens—the large landowners as well as the middle and lower classes—were closely bound up with cultivation of the land. Agricultural products such as oil from the olive grove of Attica, the famous honey of Mount Hymettos, wax, resinated (ἐχεπευκῆς) wine, and some animal products occupied an important position in the system of production. These products must have been consumed on the local level, and indeed sometimes were not available in quantities sufficient to meet the needs of the population.[30]

In parallel, of course, the inhabitants of Athens developed some commercial and manufacturing activities. The center for these activities has not been identified. It is probable that the commercial and manufacturing establishments were located along the main streets of the city, among the houses, as was the case at Corinth.[31] Excavations have yielded pottery kilns for the making of everyday vessels in the settlement that stood in the Roman Market[32] and in that on the Areopagos,[33] together with workshops on the outskirts of the city: soapworks in the Kerameikos, tanneries in the vicinity of the temple of Olympian Zeus.[34] Athens also made purple dye from murex shells; this was a substance of great value in the dyeing of silk cloth, and, as noted, the workshops of the purple dye makers were southwest of the Acropolis. The dye was sold to nearby

produced: "many ship owners cross to us, in murex-fishing ferries, from Chalkis [and Carystos] and from Athens" (πλωτικοὶ πολλοῖς κογχυλευτικοῖς πορθμείοις διαπεραιοῦνται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔκ τε Χαλκίδος [καὶ Καρυστόθεν] καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν). See Sp. Lambros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου Τὰ Σῳζόμενα (Athens, 1880), 2:275.

[28] This wall was not, of course, used for defensive purposes, but, as can be deduced from the document, marked the extremity of the city.

[29] If the square *orgyia* is taken as equal to 4.44 or 4.70 m^2 (E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* [Munich, 1970], 72–73), then the area of these fields amounts to 92,432 or 97,835 m^2. The total area enclosed by the Wall of Themistocles has been calculated (Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 71) as 2,150,000 m^2. This must be taken to have been the area of middle Byzantine Athens, since the classical wall was still being used as the city boundary. The fields recorded represent approximately one-twentieth of the total area of the city, a strikingly high proportion. The other pieces of land recorded in the villages of Attica (fields, vineyards, olive groves) have a total area of 29,095 square *orgyiai* if we exclude Eleusis, the only large stretch of ground recorded by the *praktikon* (640,000 square *orgyiai*). I think it is clear that we are dealing with the property of a large monastery that was not far from the city. See Granstem, Medvedev, and Papachryssanthou, "Fragment," 7–8, 10–15.

[30] Lambros, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι, 28.

[31] Bouras, "City and Village," 648; R. L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth,* Corinth 16 (Princeton, N.J., 1957), 57–60, 77–78, 83, 123–25, 133–36.

[32] F. Stavropoulos, ΑΔ 13 (1930–31): app., 5–6.

[33] Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 154 n. 1.

[34] Bouras, "City and Village," 627.

Thebes, where there was a flourishing silk industry after the mid-eleventh century,[35] as was the soap with which the silk was cleaned. It would also seem that a limited amount of trade was carried on, since Athens was among the ports in which the emperors granted the Venetians commercial privileges during the twelfth century.[36]

Down to the middle of the twelfth century, Athens gives the impression of a flourishing city. In 1182, however, when Michael Choniates settled there as metropolitan bishop (1182–1204), the situation had changed. In his addresses and letters, that clergyman-scholar described a small, impoverished town that had lost not only all its ancient brilliance "but also the very shape of a city and the form and state that define cities" (αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς πόλεως σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ὅλως ἐγγράφουσαν ταῖς πόλεσι μορφὴν καὶ κατάστασιν). Athens suffered from the willfulness and rapacity in tax collecting of Byzantine officials, was oppressed by "an oligarchy bent on enriching itself" (τῆς τῶν πλουτούντων ὀλιγαρχίας), and was bedeviled by famine and the raids of Saracens, which compelled the poorer inhabitants of the town to move elsewhere. The walls were broken down, the streets were deserted, and the houses had been demolished, their sites reverting to farmland.[37] The description given by Choniates, who admired and was nostalgic for the city's glorious past, certainly contains some degree of exaggeration, but it would seem that—for reasons that are not sufficiently clear—Athens had indeed gone into decline in the late twelfth century.

In 1204 the lower city was destroyed by Leo Sgouros, ruler of Nauplion, and at the end of the same year Choniates handed Athens over to the Franks. Over the next 250 years, it was ruled, successively, by the French dukes de la Roche and de Brienne (1204–1311), the Catalans (1311–87), and the Acciajuoli family of Florence (1387–1456). After the relative peace of government by the French princes came the brutality of the Catalans, when the Athenians declined into "the ultimate slavery" (τὴν ἐσχάτην δουλείαν) and "exchanged their former felicity for boorishness" (τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἠλλάξαντο). Under the Florentine dukes, social and economic conditions improved, and the seat of the duchy moved from Thebes to Athens.[38]

Among the first concerns of the French dukes was to strengthen the defenses of the Acropolis—of the Castel de Setines, as Athens was now called. In the first half of the thirteenth century, a fortified precinct was constructed at the foot of the Acropolis—Rizokastro, that is[39]—and toward the middle of the century the fortifications of the Acropolis were improved and the Sacred Rock became a medieval citadel. A strong wall (*proteichisma*) was built across its main entrance, the Klepsydra spring was walled off, and a high watchtower now rose on the south wing of the Propylaia. Much impor-

[35] D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium," *BZ* 84/85 (1991–92): 481.

[36] Lambros, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι, 29–30.

[37] Lambros, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι, 27–34, 51–54, 67–75; Setton, *Athens in the Twelfth Century,* 187–98.

[38] For the history of Athens under the Franks, see Gregorovios and Lambros, Ἱστορία, 1:345ff; and vol. 2; K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948; rev. ed., London, 1975); idem, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), with a full bibliography.

[39] E. Makri, K. Tsakos, and A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, "Τό Ριζόκαστρο. Σωζόμενα ὑπολείμματα: νέες παρατηρήσεις καί ἐπαναχρονολόγηση," Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ. 14 (1987–88): 329–66.

tant building work was also done under the Florentine dukes. Duke Nerio I (1387–95) converted the Propylaia into a Florentine palace, embellished the Parthenon, and repaired churches in the town. Throughout the period of Frankish rule, the city was confined within the late Roman wall, and the area beyond that fortification became a wasteland.[40] The Italian notary Nicolò da Martoni, who visited Athens in 1395, describes it as a small town of some one thousand houses.[41]

During the seven centuries of the Middle Ages, the city of late antiquity underwent lengthy processes and realignments on the social, economic, and cultural levels that transformed it into the "tripartite city" (τρίπλοκον ἄστυ) of the middle Byzantine period and, later, into the medieval citadel of Frankish times. In 1456, when the last Florentine duke surrendered Athens to the Turks, a new period in the long history of the city began.

[40] Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις, 163–72. For the layout of the Propylaia, see T. Tanoulas, Τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀκρόπολης κατὰ τὸν Μεσαίωνα (Athens, 1997), 323ff, drawings 63–73.

[41] J. M. Patton, *Chapters on Medieval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* (Princeton, N.J., 1951), 32.