In the article we are examining the iconographical differences which occur in the depictions of the punishments of the sinners in the scene of the Last Judgement from the two major schools of the 16th c. The representatives of the Cretan school appear exceptionally conservative while, those of the school of Thebes continue the common Paleologan tradition and create rather provoking and intense scenes. Following that, we make a general presentation of the churches of Northwestern Greece, where this particular subject appears during the 15th–17th c. examining the continuity or not of specific iconographical motifs.

Keywords: post-byzantine iconography, 15th–17th c., Second Coming (Last Judgment), Hell, punishments of the sinners, Northwestern Greece, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, Cretan school, school of Northwestern Greece or Thebes

We will first attempt to examine the possible iconographical differences which occur in the depictions of punishments, from the two major trends of the 16th century, also known as schools, specifically the Cretan and that of Thebes (or otherwise school of Northwestern Greece).

Following that, we will move on to a general presentation of the churches of Epirus (including Aitolokarnania) and Thessaly and, to a certain extent, Macedonia, where this particular subject appears during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, examining the continuity or not of specific iconographical motifs, in which the punishment of the sinners is concerned.

In Epirus we do not know of any byzantine representation of the Last Judgment, and, therefore, of Hell, if we exclude that of the narthex of the monastery of Vlaherna in Arta. However, during the post-byzantine period the depictions of the scene multiply almost geometrically with one or two examples from the 15th century, ten examples from


2 About the punishments of the sinners, cf. for example K. P. Chatziioannou, *Αι παραστάσεις τῶν κολαζομένων εἰς τούς Βυζαντινούς ναούς τῆς Κύπρου*, ΕΕΒΣ 23 (1953) 290–303; St.
the 16th (pl. 1) and more than twenty from the 17th century.4 In all these depictions the placement of Hell does not differentiate from its known position on the right-hand section of the composition. In Thessaly, we may observe a similar picture, with a few more representations, over ten, during the 16th century (a fact that is not strange at all, as Meteora are situated in Thessaly) (pl. 2) and over twenty during the 17th century.5 In Greek Macedonia we observe the most examples from the 15th and 16th centuries, more than fifteen (pl. 3), but less than fifteen in the 17th century.6 Let us not forget, though, that Agion Oros belongs to Macedonia.

Before we continue with the representations from the two major schools, we must examine the way in which the punishments of the sinners are depicted in early post-byzantine monuments before the appearance of the representatives of the two schools. The first monument in question in question to Epirus is that of the Koimesis of the Theotokos in Kato Mavronikos of Pogoni, a work of the Peloponnesian artist Xenos Digenis, who worked in the course of the late 15th century.7 From the depiction of Hell, we can vaguely recognize the fiery river and on either side two angels, of which the one

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also be seen. It is worth noting that in the same church, and in fact on the south wall of the nave, a representation of the Second Coming is once again depicted, originating in the last decades of the 16th century.\(^{10}\)

The Second Coming on the east wall of the narthex and the outer arches of the Byzantine monastery of Molyvoskepastos in Ioannina is also dated before the appearance of the representatives of the two schools. According to the external inscription, the decoration of this phase is dated to 1521.\(^ {11}\) The isolated scenes with the punishments of the sinners are developed possibly in their whole, on the inner surfaces of the outer arches in the southern portion of the narthex, where each sinner is depicted naked in a separate diachoron (frame) (fig. 1).

In Thessaly, the only known post-Byzantine monument with a depiction of the Last Judgment before Theophanes is the Metamorphosis in Dolichi of Elassona, a work dated to 1515.\(^ {12}\) However, from this representation only fragments of the scene of Hell have survived.

In Macedonia, examples of the school of Ohrid are known from the 15th century, such as the Virgin Bolnička in Ohrid (early 15th c.).\(^ {13}\) As a general rule, in the churches of the school of Ohrid the postures of the sinners are restrained, their depictions are conservative, and their punishments are not carried out in an extreme fashion (fig. 2).

Many other monuments of the 15th and 16th centuries in the wider area of Macedonia are influenced, in an eclectic manner, by the same Paleologan iconography,\(^ {14}\) but sometimes the sinners are being punished harshly by the items of their professions.\(^ {15}\) The known frescoed monuments of the 16th century in Greek Macedonia, which preserve the punishment of the sinners, are all placed chronologically after the illustration of the Tepora (Refectory) in the monastery of Lavra (between 1527–1535).\(^ {16}\)

In the first work of the Cretan school, a work of Theophanes Strelitzas-Bathas, the major representative of this school, in the monastery of Saint Nikolaos Anapafes at Meteora (1527) the depiction of the Second Coming covers the eastern wall of the narthex,\(^ {17}\) while the punishments of the sinners are placed on the bottom right of the whole synthesis and underneath successive arched frames. Almost all of the five male figures: blasphemer, avaricious one, παραξευματίς (the man who steals in weigh), etc. are por-

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 1144–1145, fig. 8.


\(^{13}\) L. Mojsoska, Sveta Bogorodica Bolnička, Ohrid 2001, 80–82, fig. p. 58, 62, 81.

\(^{14}\) Cf. for example the scenes in Dečani (A. Davidov-Temerinski, Ciklus Srnašnog suda, in: Židna slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradja i studije, ed. V. J. Đurić, Beograd 1995, 567–630, fig. 15, 16) and in Gračanica (Todić, Novootkrivene predstave grešnika, fig. 1–4; B. Živković, Gračanica. Crteti fresak, Beograd 1989, sh. p. 89).

\(^{15}\) V. for example, St. Petka in Brajičino, late 15th c. (V. Popovska-Korobar, Church of St. Petka, in: A. Serafimova et al., Macedonian Cultural Heritage. Christian Monuments, Skopje 2008, fig. p. 191). In some other monuments of the 15th century of the wider area of Macedonia and the central Balkans the punishments of the sinners are not preserved. V. for example, Dragalevci, 1475/76 (G. Subotić, Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka, Beograd 1980, sh. 96) and Kremikovci, 1493 (Garidis, Études sur le Jugement dernier, pl. XL.80).


trayed wearing waistbands, except for the fornicator, who is depicted completely naked. All the figures are tortured by black demons and some of them are carrying objects with which they sinned (fig. 3). Underneath these figures, there are six diachora, divided by color, containing groups of sinners who are being subjected to the punishments of Hell (Gnashing of Teeth, Tartarus, the Outer Darkness, the Worm, the Lovers of Pleasure, and the Outer Fire).

In the Trapeza of Lavra, possibly between 1527–1535, Theophanes, to whom the work is attributed, repeats the continuous arched frames which surround the sinners, as well as the same diachora directly underneath them and the trials of Hell in the exact same sequence. Differences in comparison to the monastery of Anapafsas can be found because in the Trapeza of Lavra he dresses the figures of the sinners, perhaps as per the wishes of the more conservative monks of Lavra, while he does not depict the demons as black, but with black wings, and portrays them with a human aspect (fig. 4). A characteristic of the composition is the fact that the number of sinners

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18 Ibid., fig. p. 278.
19 Ν. Toutos, G. Fousteris, Ευρετήριον της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Όρους, 10ος–17ος αιώνας, Athens 2010, 84 ff.
20 Millet, Monuments de l’Athos, pl. 149.2.
21 The different captions over the sinners: the Thieves, the Traitors, the Drunkards, οἱ κρύφα ἀκροαζόμενοι (those who listen secretly) and the Insane Arius, we believe are not the originals.
is the same as that of the monastery of Anapafsas, in other words, only five. A figure of note next to the sinners is the Antichrist, who is depicted as a well-dressed man between demons, with eight figures prostrated at his feet in a posture of worship.22

In the art of another representative of the Cretan school, possibly Tzortzes, in the Trapeza of the monastery of Dionysiou (after 1553),23 the punishments of the sinners are surrounded by the same continuous arched frames and the figures are depicted fully clothed following the conservative Lavra tradition (fig. 5). The Fornicator, the Blasphemer, the Avaricious man etc. are all illustrated in this representation again. Here, the punishments of Hell, as seen in the previous works, possibly are not represented, while the sinners are increased by one. The Antichrist once again is depicted as a well-dressed man between demons.

In two other compositions, those in the narthexes of the monasteries of Roussanou (1560)24 and Docheiariou (1567/68),25 where the frescoes are attributed to Tzortzes, the punishments of the sinners are completely absent, and are replaced by the diachora with the punishments of Hell (Gnashing of Teeth, Tartarus, etc.). The Antichrist is a figure of note here, as well.

In the Koimesis of the Theotokos at Kalampaka, a work of the son of Theophanes, Neophytos and the priest Kyriazes from 1573,26 from the figures of the sinners that can be seen we can deduce the continuation of Theophanes’s work. Neophytos as his father did in Lavra, he dresses the figures of the sinners and places them in separate diachora divided by color (fig. 6). The only differences are that he adds at least one female figure which is completely naked “ἡ πόρνη κ(αί) μάγισα” (the Whore and Witch) and increases the number of the sinners to ten, including the couple who is sleeping on Sunday. Underneath the sinners there are six diachora, divided by color as well, with the punishments of Hell.

Unfortunately, there are no more frescoes preserving in good condition punishments of sinners, which can be attributed to the Cretan school. In the representation at the monastery of Koutloumousiou (1539/40),27 a work possibly of Makarios, which has been painted over, there are no independent scenes of punishment of the damned. The same setting may be observed in the Trapeza of the monastery of Xenophon (mid. 16th c.),28 where we can barely discern circular diachora with the punishments of Hell, under the de-

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22 Garidis, Études sur le Jugement dernier, pl. XVI.31.
27 Toutos, Fousteris, Ευρετήριον, 295.
piction of the Sea (the Unquenchable Fire, etc.). However, punishments of sinners are either not depicted or have not survived. On the other hand, the few clothed figures of the isolated sinners next to the Fiery River do also appear at Saint Nikolaos in Megalochori of Trikala (1568) (fig. 7), a work which is directly related to the Cretan school and especially to the workshop of Neophytos, son of Theophanes.29

The monuments of the school of Northwestern Greece or Thebes, which preserve depictions of the Last Judgment are also limited and those which preserve scenes of punishment of sinners are even fewer: In the eastern wall of the narthex of the monastery of Diliou (1543) on the Island of Ioannina, the depictions of the sinners and their punishments are conspicuously different from the works of the Cretan school.30 The few fragments that are preserved from the images of the punishments are enough to show the different types, with regards to the depictions of the sinners, and the different approach to the subject matter. The few figures that are preserved are depicted without frames, are naked, are hanging by hooks and wrapped around them we see demons, in the form of snakes, while the representative of the school of Thebes has introduced various objects in order rather to increase the suffering and not to indicate the objects of the sin (fig. 8).31 The approach to the subject, as we can see, is completely different from that of the Cretan school and reminds us of certain earlier depictions of this topic, as is evident in Yilanli church in Cappadocia (end of 9th – beginning of 10th c.),32 in Ai Stratigos of Epano Mpoulari in Mani (end of 12th c.),33 in the Metropolis of Mystras (early 14th c.)34 or in almost contemporary representations with western influences such as in the Panagia Katholiki of Pelendri in Cyprus (early 16th c.).35

In the representation in the southern outer narthex of the monastery of Philanthropenon (1560), on the Island of Ioannina as well, a work of the brothers Frangos and Georgios Kontares from Thebes,36 the nudity of the

29 D. K. Agoritsas, Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του ναού του Αγίου Νικόλαου στο Μεγαλοχώρι Τρικάλων (1568), Τρικαλινά 25 (2005) 251 ff., fig. 14, 15 (the author doesn’t make the connection of the painter with Neophytos); F. Lytari, Προσέγγιση στην τέχνη του ζωγράφου Νεοφύτου Στρελίτζα Μπαθά. Υπογεγραμμένα και αποδιδόμενα έργα του, in: 36ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης. Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων, Athens 2016, 75–76, who first recognized Neophytos as the main painter of St. Nikolaos in Megalochori.

30 Μ. Garidis, Α. Paliouras, Μοναστήρια Νήσου Ιωαννίνων: Ζωγραφική, Ioannina 1993, fig. 418, 420.

31 For example the millstone is hanging from the neck of the miller and the balance from the neck of the man who steals in weigh.

32 Garidis, Études sur le Jugement dernier, pl. X.19.

33 N. V. Drandakis, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης, Athens 1995, 462–463, fig. 75.

34 G. Millet, Monuments byzantins de Mistra, Paris 1910, pl. 80.1; Garidis, Études sur le Jugement dernier, pl. XLV.90.


36 Garidis, Paliouras, Μοναστήρια Νήσου, fig. 335; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Εικόνες και νοήματα στο νότιο εξωνάρθηκα του καθολικού της μονής των Φιλανθρωπηνών, in: Μίλτος Γαρίδης (1926–1976), Αφιέρωμα Ι, Ioannina 2003, 79–80, fig. 17; idem, Οι
sinned and the harshness of the punishments immediately draw attention. We also see here a completely different approach to the depiction of the subject in comparison with the relatively conservative iconography of Theophanes and Tzortzes. The sinners are again freely positioned in the space, are more numerous, and among them such figures as the Thief, the Slanderer, the Defiant of the Orthros of the Resurrection, the Rich Man, the Fornicator, the Drunkard, the παρακαμπανάκτης (the man who steals in weigh), the παραυλακιστής (the man who steals land during plowing), etc. Female figures are also included, such as the one who refuses to get pregnant or breastfeeding the children and the fortune-teller (fig. 9). The methods of punishment for the sinners are also characteristic, as the Slanderer is punished by a snake which is clearly biting his tongue.37 Many other forms of punishment are illustrated, but they are sadly indiscernible today. The snakes of the monastery of Diliou are depicted in a more naturalistic way here, while demons and torture devices are also included. In the lower section, the punishments of Hell are presented in an almost unified depiction and with a different perception from that of the Cretan school. We can vaguely discern the Gnashing of Teeth, the Sleepless Worm, the Outer Fire, the

37 Garidis, Paliouras, Μοναστήρια Νήσου, fig. 334, 335.

painting, with greater intensity in a subject which offers itself to secular popularization.

In Panagia Rassiotisa, in Kastoria (1553), a work attributed to Frangos Katelanos, some of the sinners can be seen depicted in separate diachora, as we observed earlier, in 1521, depicted in the same way as in the monastery of Molyvoskepastos or in the works of the Cretan artists, but also in a continuous narrative. Common elements with the works of the Kontares brothers are the nudity of certain sinners and the devices used on the damned, while also of note is the obsession of Katelanos with the depiction of punishments which are meted out to those who sleep long hours, which, of course, does not allow them to attend liturgical events such as the Sunday Mass or the Mass of the Resurrection (fig. 10). The nudity is combined with the conservative tradition here, with a different, however, perspective than that of Theophanes, which is closer to Macedonian patterns.

In another work attributed to the Kontares brothers, in the narthex (lite) of the monastery of Varlaam at Meteora (1565), where the Second Coming is depicted, the individual punishments of the sinners are completely absent, but to the left of the fiery river there are groups of sinners who are being subjected to the punishments of Hell (the Lovers of Pleasure, Gnashing of Teeth, the Outer Darkness, Tartarus, the Worm). The individual punishments are absent from Saint Nikolaos in Krapsi (1563) as well and the scene of the Last Judgment is almost destroyed in the narthex of Saint Demetrios in Veltsista (1558–1560).

In the remaining specimen from the 16th century in Epirus which preserves the punishment of the sinners, the painter followed the iconography of the representatives of the school of Thebes in combination with the iconography mainly of Macedonia. The specimen in question is Saint Athanasios in Kato Meropos of Pogoni (1584). In Saint Athanasios, the completely nude sinners are punished by demons-snakes and with the objects with which they sinned in their lives. The Miller and the παραυλακιστής (the man who steals land during plowing) are punished either by being hung by the neck with their tools or by having them inserted in their posterior, or by

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39 G. Gounaris, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καί τῆς Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας στήν Καστοριά, Thessaloniki 1980, 139–142, pl. 50.
40 V. for example, Živković, Gračanica, sh. p. 89; Davidov-Temerinski, Ciklus Strašnog suda, fig. 15, 16.
43 Μεταβυζαντινά μνημεία της Κληματιάς, ed. V. Papadopoulos, Ioannina 2014, 68, fig. 60.
44 Cf. for example St. Petka in Brajčino (Popovska-Korobar, Church of St. Petka, fig. p. 191).
being tied to them, while the Fornicator and the Fortune-teller are being devoured by snakes (fig. 11). Also characteristic is the punishment of those who sleep on Sundays and do not attend Mass. Of note is the inclusion of Judas, who is hanging among the sinners. This presentation corresponds more to the everyday life of the people of the countryside and of the region, for whom the frauds, which were carried out against them by individuals who had common professions at the time – namely the wine merchants and millers – were significant sins. This representation assumes a more secular character and, at the same time, prepares us for the depictions of punishments which we shall see during the following century.

This viewpoint is expressed completely in one of the first drawings of the 17th century, that of Saint Nikolaos in Malouni of Thesprotia (1612/13) (fig. 12). During the 17th century the artists of Epirus retain the basic iconographical types of the Kontares brothers at the monastery of Philanthropenon regarding the nudity of the figures, the depiction of more sinners and the interchange of demons, snakes and torture devices. This exact belief is expressed by Michael from the village Linotopi of Kastoria in one of his first works, in the Koimesis of Elafortopos (1616) (fig. 13). The same types are also chosen

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<td>end of 15th c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Koimesis, Longades of Ioannina (narthex)</td>
<td>late 15th–early 16th c.</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Mon. of Molyvoskepastos</td>
<td>1521</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Mon. of Diliou</td>
<td>1543</td>
<td>√</td>
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<td>5. St. Demetrios, Veltsista (Klematia)</td>
<td>1558–1560</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>6. Mon. of Philanthropinon</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td>√</td>
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<td>7. Mon. of Sts Apostoloi, Neromana of Trichonida</td>
<td>1560/61</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. St. Nikolaos, Krapsi</td>
<td>1563</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. St. Athanasios, Kato Meropi</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. St. Nikolaos, Douviani of Dropolis</td>
<td>3rd quarter of 16th c.</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Mon. of Dryanos, Dropolis</td>
<td>1568/69–1583</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Mon. of Giromeri, Thesprotia</td>
<td>1577–1590</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Mon. of Fotmou, Aitolia</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Koimesis, Longades of Ioannina (south wall of the nave)</td>
<td>last decades of 16th c.</td>
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during the mid 17th century from another known artist of Epirus, who hailed from the (abandoned today) village of Grammos or Grammota in Kastoria, Ioannis Skoutaris. In the monastery of Spelaion in Sarajinishta of Lunxheri (1658/59), a monastery which today is in Albania, but belongs to the wider geographical area of Epirus, the sinners are tortured by devices and by demons, and the man who sleeps on Sunday does also appear in the same pattern as that of the Rassiotissa. We can see that during the mid-century, the tradition initiated by the local school is still strong. At the end of the 17th century, the secular elements become dominant in tandem with the popular understanding regarding who must be tried as a sinner, and create the iconographic basis of the subject for the following century. We can see here first the voluptuousness of the couple which sleeps on Sundays in a representation found in the narthex of the monastery of Saint Athanasios in Pogdoriani (Ano Parakalamos) of Pogoni (1688), a scene with secular elements which, at the same time, is quasi-folkloric in its rendering (fig. 14), while in the monastery of Seltsou (1697) at Piges of Arta we see the enrichment of the scene with imaginative tortures and the sinners, as understood by the then contemporary viewpoint (the Adulterer, the Whore, the Thief, the Miller, the Sleeper on Sunday, etc.) (fig. 15).

From the remaining depictions of punishments which are known during the 16th century in neighboring Thessaly, in the one in the Panagia in Katechori of Pelion (end of 16th c.), the sinners are different in certain details.
from the corresponding iconography of Epirus and call to mind more conservative Paleologan patterns (fig. 16). Their restrained postures, the absence of torture devices, the grouping of the sinners (robbers, uncompassionate men, unjust men, unmerciful men), the escorting demons on either side of the groups of sinners, all these are elements reflect the Cretan art as well. The individual punishments are limited only to three: the whore, the fornicator and those who sleep on Sunday. A similar picture emerges from the few fragments of the punishments of the sinners in the monastery of Vytouma (1599/1600), where the Macedonian tradition coexists with Cretan models. In the same church, and in fact on the outer surface of the western wall of the narthex, a representation of the Second Coming is once again depicted, which is dated possibly in 1662.

During the 17th century, again in Thessaly, where the dominance of the Cretan school created powerful iconographic models we see the continuation of the iconography of Theophanes and Neophytos, combined with popular imagination. In the church of the Taxiarches in Platanos of Trikala (1602?), one of the first works of the 17th century in Thessaly, we see the survival of the conservative patterns of Theophanes in the depiction of the sinners (fig. 17). Of course, everyday life offers a more plebeian side to

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the scene, and the torture devices are included. However, in the church of the Koimesis of the Theotokos in Anatoli of Kissavos (around 1632) the development of the punishments of the sinners is completely different from that of the major schools of the 16th century. A group of sinners is depicted hanged upside down in a row, while certain figures have items hanging from their necks (fig. 18), calling to mind Macedonian works such as the depiction in the monastery of Mavriotissa in Kastoria (13th c.).

In the remaining monuments from the 16th century in Macedonia, as is evident, for example in the narthex of Panagia in Trigoniko of Kozani (1551/2), the only individual punishment that survives is that of the person who sleep on Sunday, reminiscent Macedonian patterns and the work of Katelanos (fig. 19). In the narthex of Saint Demetrios of Palatitsa in Emathia (after 1570), the very few extant scenes depicting the punishments of sinners, are covering paradoxically the lowest zones of the eastern part of the north and south wall, under the full body saints and correspond to the conservative iconographical tradition of the school of Ohrid. Among the sinners very interesting are the presences of the false witness (ὁ ψευδομάρτηρος) and the publican (ὁ κάπελας). Unfortunately, the punishments are not preserved in any other church in a satisfactory enough condition, and, as a result, we cannot verify whether this trend, that is, the continuation of the iconographical tradition of Macedonia does also continue in this composition. Naturally, a small fragment which survives from Saint Demetrios of Gratsiani, in Velvendos of Kozani (1593) shows an advanced iconography with a demon treading on the head of a sinner.

The depictions which survive from 17th century in Macedonia are plenty but especially during the early part of the century they appear to have been strongly influenced by the secularization of the subject and do not seem to follow any particular iconographic cycle but rather a combination of all of them. As we can see in the narthex of the church of the Presentation of the Theotokos in Tsatsapa in Kastoria (1613/4) the postures may be restrained, however the punishments are severe, in particular that of the παραυλακιστής who appears to have been yoked by the neck to a plowshare and is depicted plowing. We can identify the same elements in Saint Athanasios in Skotina of Pieria (3rd decade of the

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<td>2. Mon. of Anapafsas, Meteora</td>
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<td>4. Mon. of Roussanou, Meteora</td>
<td>1560</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Mon. Varlaam, Meteora</td>
<td>1565</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. St. Nikolaos, Megalochori of Trikala</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Koimesis, Kalampaka</td>
<td>1573</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. St. Nikolaos, Neochori of Karditsa</td>
<td>mid. 16th c.</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>9. Panagia, Pythio of Larissa</td>
<td>mid. 16th c.</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Panagia Portarea, Portaria of Pelion</td>
<td>1581</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Panagia, Katechori of Pelion</td>
<td>late 16th c.</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mon. of Vytouma</td>
<td>1599/1600</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60 A. Tourta, Οι ναοί του Αγίου Νικολάου στη Βίτσα και του Αγίου Νικολάου στο Μονοδένδρι, Athens 1991, 189–190.
61 Mojsoska, Sveti Bogorodica Bőnička, fig. p. 58, 62, 81.
62 Katsikis, Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική, 30–32, pl. 75γ.
63 M. Paissidou, Οι τοιχογραφίες του 17ου αιώνα στους ναούς της Καστοριάς, Συμβολή στη μελέτη της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής της Δυτικής Μακεδονίας, Athens 2002, 173–175, pl. 77.
where the intensity and the fierceness of the punishments brings to mind the corresponding representations of the same century in Epirus (fig. 20), while the depiction of the punishments of Hell at bottom right with only chromatic separations copies a similar depiction by Theophanes. Of particular interest is the repainted scene in the narthex of Saint Ioannis Prodromos in Boboshtica of Korytsa, possibly

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64 Θ. Παπαζότος, Η μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική στην Πιερία, in: Οι αρχαιολόγοι μιλούν για την Πιερία, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, 67.
dated to the mid-17th century. The death of the Sinner and of the Just Man is depicted underneath Heaven, while the damned at bottom right are depicted naked and hanging by hooks, reminiscent of Paleologan types and the representation of the monastery of Diliou (fig. 8).

In order to summarize the iconographical examination of the punishments of the sinners in the works of the two major schools of the 16th century, we must point out their different sources, at least regarding this subject. Theophanes, Neophytos and Tzortzes appear exceptionally conservative, perhaps pressured by the strict environment in which they live and work, an environment which could not be different when we are referring to the two greatest monastic centers of Orthodoxy, Meteora and Mt. Athos. They use separate frames for each punishment, repeat certain types of sinners, avoid the depiction of women, and normally use limited number of devices which prolong the suffering. However the conservative view of the subject is not unknown in the Paleologan painting as we can see in the church of Saint Ioannis Argentis in Chios (second half of the 14th c.). On the other hand, the representatives of the school of Thebes continue the common Paleologan tradition, which, of course, has older roots, and depict the sinners naked, and being punished harshly by demons—snakes and in certain cases by the items of

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**Fig. 19. Trigoniko of Kozani. Panagia (1551/2)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Date of Decoration</th>
<th>Punishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panagia Chaviara, Veroia</td>
<td>1497/8</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refectory of Lavra monastery</td>
<td>1527–1535</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monastery of Koutloumousion</td>
<td>1539/40</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archistratigos Michael, Aiani of Kozani</td>
<td>1549</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panagia, Trigoniko of Kozani</td>
<td>1551/2</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panagia Rassiotissa, Kastoria</td>
<td>1553</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refectory of Dionysiou monastery</td>
<td>after 1553</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Georgios Younou, Kastoria</td>
<td>mid. 16th c.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon. of Docheiariou</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Nikolaos of Anthimos, Veroia</td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refectory of Xenophon monastery</td>
<td>mid. 16th c.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Demetrios, Palatitsa of Emathia</td>
<td>after 1570</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Demetrios of Gratsiani, Velventos</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Nikolaos of Karavidas, Kastoria</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panagia Faneromeni, Nea Skioni (Chalkidiki)</td>
<td>late 16th c.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
their professions, with which they sinned in their life on earth. The Kontares brothers and Frangos Katelanos use much more types of sinners, specific professional groups and many kinds of sinful women, including those who reject their children.

In conclusion, we have to stress that during the 16th century the iconography of the two important schools is circumscribed by the social environment within which it develops, and mainly in the Cretan school the punishments of the sinners are limited; mainly to those that the church believes to be sinners.71 These are, of course, those people who succumb to the sins of adultery, blasphemy, slander, greed etc. The school of Northwestern Greece seems to avoid being contained within this strict frame and, while the basic sins are also included in the punishments, they include others which correspond to the contemporary public opinion on what constituted sin in society.72 From the 17th century onward, however, the artists, especially concerning the subject of the punishment of the sinners, break free of the conservative tradition of the church and create rather provocative and intense scenes, which perhaps reflect the intensity or even the depressed sexuality which was dominant in that society.73 The constant depiction of the Fornicator, the Whore, the sensual couples which sleep on Sundays and the harsh punishments which await in store for them, with particular emphasis on their sexual organs exactly denote the intense sexuality that these scenes contain.74

71 Garidis, Les punitions, 14 ff.
72 For example the miller or the παραναλακιστής (the man who steals land during plowing). For earlier examples of these types of sinners cf. Garidis, Les punitions, fig. 6.
74 The scenes of these punishments are not depicting simply naked bodies, but place particular emphasis on their sexual organs. About scenes of sexuality in the byzantine art, cf. for example M. Meyer, Constructing Emotions and Weaving Meaning in Byzantine Art, in: Happiness or Its Absence in Art, ed. R. Milano, W. L. Barcham, Newcastle upon Tyne 2013, 9–24, with the previous bibliography. There is of course the classic study of Albrecht Classen about the diachronical perception of sexuality. Cf. A. Classen, The Cultural Significance of Sexuality in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and Beyond. A Secret Continuous Undercurrent or a Dominant Phenomenon of the Premodern World? Or: The Irrepressibility of Sex Yesterday and Today, in: Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a fundamental cultural-historical and literary-anthropological theme, ed. A. Classen, Berlin – New York 2008, 1–142.


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Поствизантијска иконографија индивидуалних мука грешника у представама пакла у северозападној Грчкој. Разлике и сличности у односу на критску сликарску школу

Јоанис П. Хулиjarас

У чланку се испитују иконографске разлике између представа кажњавања грешника у сценама Страшног суда насталим у оквиру два главна уметничка тока XVI века, то јест две сликарске школе – критске и тебанске (односно школе северозападне Грчке). После тога је дат општи преглед цркава Епира, Тесалије, а донекле и Македоније, у којима се та посебна тема појављује током XV, XVI и XVII столећа. Испитивано је, при томе, да ли су особени иконографски мотиви у представљању грешника имали континуитет.

На основу резултата иконографског истраживања представа кажњавања грешника у сликарским делима две главне школе XVI века мора се указати на њихова различита исходишта, бар када је реч о овом предмету истраживања.

Главни представници критске школе показују се као изузетно конзервативни, можда под притиском строгих средина у којима живе и раде, то јест два највећа монашка центра православља – Метеора и Свете Горе. Они користе посебне оквире за представу сваког кажњавања, понављају одређени тип грешника и избегавају приказивање жена. По правилу, сликају ограничен број средстава за мучење и фигуре грешника представљају одевене. С друге стране, представници тебанске школе надовезују се на традицију раскривену у доба Палеолога, али, свакако, старијих корена. Они приказују наге грешнике које сурово кажњавају демони змије. Понекад су ти грешници мучени предметима повезаним с њиховим занимањем, оним помоћу којима су згрешили у свом земаљском животу. Зографи тебанске школе сликају много више типова грешника – групе особених професија и различитих врста грешних жена, укључујући и они које су одбациле своју децу. Од XVII века ти уметници се, посебно када је реч о мотиву кажњавања грешника, ослобађају конзервативних традиција цркве и стварају прилично провокативне сцене, пune жестине, које можда одражавају силовитост или чак потиснуту сексуалност, каква је превлађивала у том друштву.