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Reconstructing the settled landscape of the Cyclades : the islands of Paros and Naxos during the late antique and early Byzantine centuries

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RECONSTRUCTING THE SETTLED LANDSCAPE OF THE CYCLADES

The islands of Paros and Naxos during the Late Antique and Early Byzantine centuries

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Reconstructing the Settled Landscape of the Cyclades

The islands of Paros and Naxos during the Late Antique and Early Byzantine centuries

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Chapter 1
Introduction

"The location, the port Auza (Naoussa), together with its island Paros, is so important and necessary, that I consider it better than all other islands in the Archipelago, because there are harbors and the best bay, and roadsteads - there is nowhere we could fortify our position and defend ourselves with a small force as well as in the Auza bay"

Grigori Spyridov
(Head of the Russian fleet, 1770)

1.1 THE LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL CYCLADES AS CASE STUDIES

Mediterranean coastal landscapes have a distinctive character and changed rapidly over time as a result of their morphology and the long history of human evolution. Especially in a small and more manageable scale of island landscapes human impact is even more visible, historically and in modern times. Small Mediterranean islands played multifunctional roles in wider social, economic, and political networks; functioning in different periods of time as refuges for pirates, hermits, or political exiles, productive and exporting centres, military naval bases, pilgrimage places, maritime commercial stations, or holiday destinations for modern tourists.

During recent decades, the study of island environments within the highly interactive Mediterranean world is being increasingly recognised as one of the most promising areas of research, forming the broad field of "island studies" and including many different disciplines (*e.g.* biology, biogeography, environmental sciences, geography, political sciences, anthropology, archaeology, history etc.). In the course of the 1970s "island archaeology" emerged as a defined field of research with many theoretical trends focusing on insular communities which were assessed as discrete units of analysis (for more information about the birth of island archaeology see Broodbank 2000, 6-7; Fitzpatrick 2004). Over the past three decades, modern regional studies of islands offered new synthetic perspectives, and set the theoretical and analytical framework according to which islands can be approached and interpreted (Patton 1996; Bass 1998; Broodbank 2000; Fitzpatrick 2004; Rainbird 2007; Costantakopoulou 2007; Phoca-Cosmetatou 2011; Bevan & Conolly 2013; Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2015).

Island archaeology intends "to generate island histories" (Broodbank 2000, 12-15) by recapturing the dynamics of island cultures and identifying common underlying themes. The questions posed by island archaeology discusses issues central to the study of insular communities, such as cultural processes and identities, interactions between islands and broader worlds, development and changes in settlement patterns, variations in coastal productivity, historical interactions between space and human agency, conservation and management of island and coastal sites, and the general human impact on the islands. The concept of "insularity" became a key idea in the theoretical and methodological approaches to islands (Broodbank 2000, 16-18; Fitzpatrick 2004, 6-9). In this context, island archaeology emerges as the basic theoretical and methodological tool for the study of individual islands or island groups, and for investigating the relation between them or with mainland cultures (Renfrew 2004). Therefore, island archaeology contributes to the study of the history of Mediterranean islands not only during their prehistory but also over the course of historical periods until modern times.

The group of islands known today as the Cyclades is located in the south central Aegean Sea at the heart of a highly interactive insular world (Figs 1.1 & 2.1). The Cyclades, as a justifiable maritime area defined on most sides by much wider stretches



Fig. 1.1: Map of the Aegean and the Cyclades.

of sea than those separating one island from the other (Broodbank 2000, 69) experienced political, social and cultural realities created, directly or indirectly, by different political regimes, into which these islands were incorporated through time, from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, and later from the Roman and Byzantine Empires to Venetian and Ottoman domination. The Cyclades islands have often been a protagonist in academic debates on issues of insular and landscape archaeology. Despite the fact that research has made important steps in studying the insular societies of the Cyclades, primary interest and attention was always given to prehistory as opposed to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (4th – early 9th century).[1] A number of excavations and remarkable publications (see more in Chapter 1.4) have enlarged our knowledge of the Prehistoric and Classical periods, but did not consider the Post-Classical landscape in any detail.

During the period covered by the research major changes in social, political and economic life influenced the Cycladic settlements in terms of both their function and form (see more about the history of the Cyclades during the period in question in Chapter 3). The period between the 4th and middle

1. All dates are after Christ, unless indicated.

7th centuries (Late Antiquity) has been generally considered as a time of prosperity and stability for most of the Aegean islands. However, important aspects of this situation have not been studied in detail whilst the crucial role of the Cycladic islands within the complex network of the Mediterranean trade system has not been fully understood. Additionally, the multiple socioeconomic changes that occurred during the succeeding turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages have been poorly understood by scholars, especially in the Cyclades, a maritime area of special importance during the Byzantine-Arab struggle for control over the Aegean. Additionally, much of the archaeological studies until the middle 20th century that dealt with the material culture of the Cyclades dated to the period from the 4th to the early 9th centuries, focused on the study of ecclesiastical architecture and religious art, paying less attention to theoretically informed archaeological approaches (see Chapter 1.4). Thus, the increasing volume of archaeological data regarding Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages from the Cyclades remained without interpretation on the basis of the conceptual and methodological models of island archaeology.

In this respect, the remarkable richness and diversity of historical or natural landscapes, monuments and material culture on the islands make it reasonable at a strategic level to select the maritime space of the Cyclades as a field of research suitable to explore the questions posed by island archaeology during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Having considered that, the way we perceive and understand the material culture and the landscape today is radically different from that of previous decades, this thesis contributes to filling the large gaps in the published documentation and the critical reading of the archaeological and historical data available from the Late Antique and the Early Byzantine Cyclades. It offers for the first time a complete and up-to-date reconstruction of the cultural landscape of this vital maritime region during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Thus, in terms of regional research, each dot added to the map is precious.

In other words this thesis aims to offer a fresh approach to the history and archaeology of the Cyclades from the 4th to the early 9th centuries under the light of current archaeological investigations, testing questions relating to human-environmental interactions and cultural diversities (see next Chapter). This study is set to a final chronological boundary at the beginning of the 9th century and more specifically the Arab conquest of Crete (824-828). This was a turning point in the Byzantine-Arabic struggle for sea supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean that drastically changed the circumstances pertaining to the Cyclades and the Aegean world in general, at least until 961 and the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete (see more details in Chapter 3.4.3).

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES, AIMS AND METHODS

Discussing complex socioeconomic phenomena such as development, evolution and changes in the settled landscape of islands, like the Cyclades, one needs to carefully consider a series of different parameters concerning the concept of the island which might be of great importance. In terms of methodological approach, in this study we have chosen to put emphasis on the parameters discussed in this chapter for better understanding the special conditions formed on each island. Each parameter is considered as one of the determining factors for the interpretation of complex historical phenomena in insular environment. As is noted by Bintliff: "The strong regularities exhibited in settlement networks of later prehistoric and ancient societies, may emanate as much from human ecological and sociobiological constraints as from the conscious planning programmes of ancient communities" (2000b, 8).

First of all, the relationship between insularity and island history is complex, but at the same time interesting to investigate. The concept of insularity has been accessed through two completely antithetic aspects: connectivity and isolation. In other words, islands can be considered either as open systems and parts of a complex world of interaction, or as closed geographic units with definite borders. However, as has been supported by many scholars, the concept of absolute island isolation cannot be fully applied to the interrelating insular communities of the highly interactive Aegean Archipelago (Kolodny 1976, 435; Patton 1996, 139; Broodbank 2000, 26–27). The Cyclades, situated almost at the heart of the

Aegean Sea, have formed over the course of their historical trajectory; a diverse but highly interactive world consisting of a dense network of active and extroverted societies fully interacting with broader worlds. Their historical trajectories are generally the product of complex interactions between local and external parameters. Moreover, the concept of connectivity is the key element in the interpretation of settlement networks in the Mediterranean (Horden & Purcell 2000, 123-172). Thus in methodological terms, this study has focused mainly on the concepts of connectivity, interaction and integration, rather than isolation.

The interaction between specific regions and the external world has been supported by the interpretative model of *core-periphery*, which is often used for the analysis of complex socioeconomic phenomena that characterise the societies of the ancient world. It emphasises "the exploitative economic ties between 'core' regions with advanced economies, technology, and political structures, and adjacent 'periphery' regions less developed in all these aspects" (Bintliff 1997, 17-18). According to Bintliff, "an additional feature of this model is the existence of transition or buffer zones between core and periphery, where native societies are being strongly transformed through contact, or else colonies of the core are acting as agents of change on native societies" (1997, 17-18). As Vionis has argued, the Cyclades became a world of interaction in the Early Middle Ages, between Byzantines and Arabs (2017, 175-176)

Secondly, the insular world of the Aegean is characterised by great diversity on multiple levels. Within the Aegean Archipelago, and accordingly the Cyclades, large diversities can be observed concerning the natural features of the islands. The general concept of 'island' makes no real distinction between large and small or fertile and barren. The term 'island' for instance, is used to describe the various landscapes and richness of Crete, and at the same time, the micro-topography and small-scale of the tiny islet of Schinoussa (Fig. 1.1). The natural features comprise geographical data which historically support the development and the type of cultural activity the islands express. Thus, peculiar traits such as the varied relief of the landscape, the existence of mineral sources, the high or low water table, the complexity of coasts, as well as the availability and the distribution of rich cultivable land could play a fundamental role in shaping aspects of human behavior and accordingly the formation and evolution of settlement systems in different periods of time. Furthermore, insularity incorporates diversity in the geographical location of the islands, their distances from the mainland or other islands and their integration into traditional maritime routes. The impact of all these aspects differs from one island to another.

Thirdly, an important factor which should also be considered, is that local historical developments are closely linked to the geographical location of the settlements. In other words the strategic position of the islands is not the only key factor that forms the character and history of the settlements. Another crucial parameter is the micro-geography of their territory and production area which has great importance, especially in times of crisis.

In this context, insularity and island distinctiveness is responsible for the creation of distinct island identities in the Cyclades despite their common experiences and characteristics (Figs 1.1 & 2.1). The diversity of the islands makes it clear that these geographical entities can be approached as different case studies, and can subsequently be integrated in their wider Cycladic, Aegean or Mediterranean context. Viewing islands as distinct units does not preclude identifying them as nodes of broader networks. Thus, this thesis attempts to offer a fresh approach to the history and archaeology of the Cyclades in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages under the light of current archaeological investigations, setting a new framework for the discussion and examination of the settled landscape and material culture dated between the 4th and the early 9th centuries. It is an attempt to identify and interpret human interaction with the landscape in order to "read" the relationship between islands, settlements, landscapes and seascapes.

In order to illustrate this diversity, Paros and Naxos, two neighbouring islands of different size within a complex Aegean world, will be used as case-studies (Fig. 1.2). The geographical unit of Paronaxia, as it is called today, consists of the main islands of Paros and Naxos and a number of inhabited and uninhabited satellite smaller islands and islets.

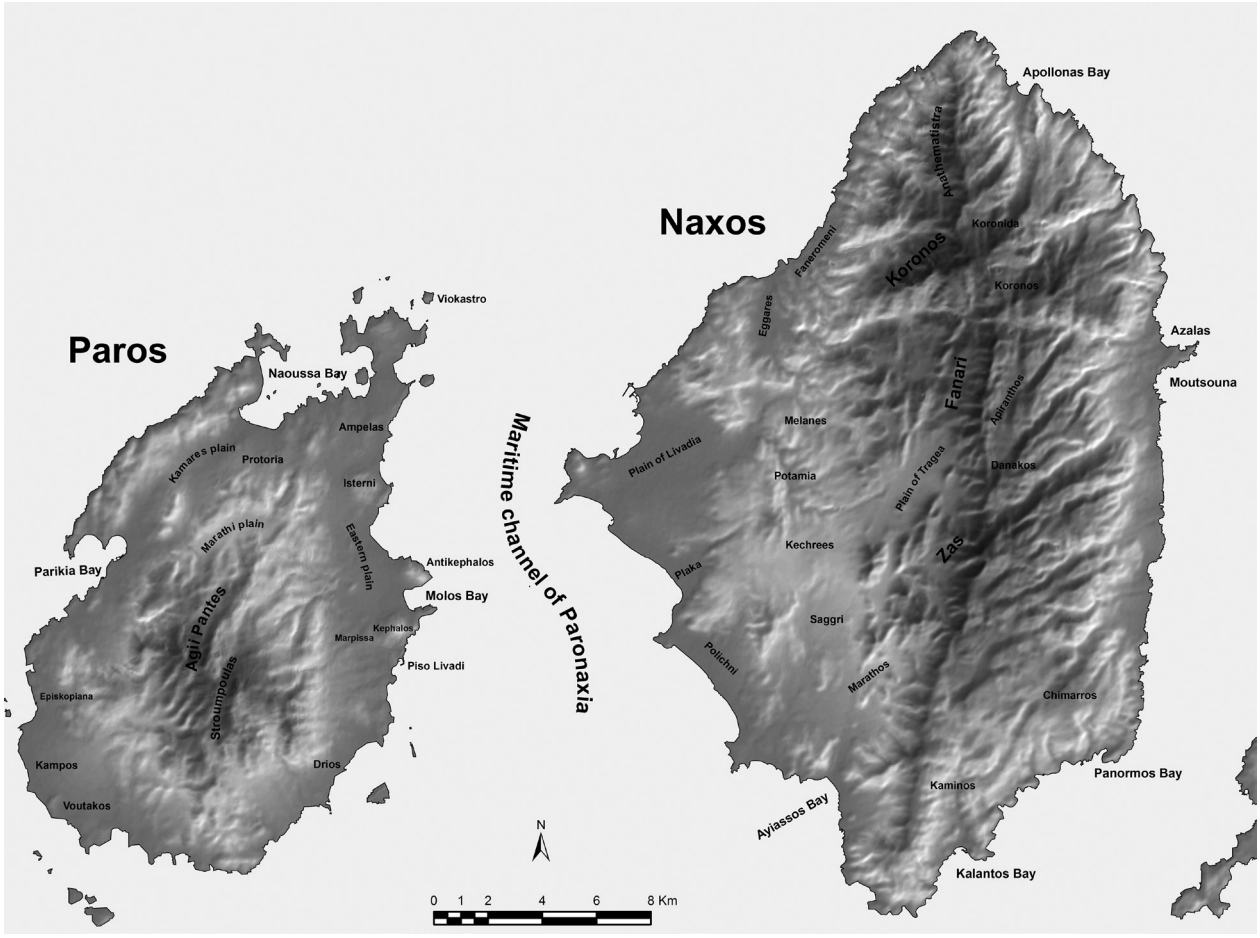


Fig. 1.2: Map of Paros and Naxos with regions and places discussed in the thesis.

From prehistoric times until the present day, they constituted two of the most dynamic spaces in the Aegean Archipelago, with enduring cultural activity fully integrated in military and commercial maritime routes. The history of these insular communities was strongly affected by their prominent strategic position, their local geographical features and their mineral wealth. Nevertheless, Paros and Naxos, although have been considered as a geographical unit, differ significantly regarding the specific features of their local landscapes. Thus, a new tantalising question needs to be answered: whether the local diversities of the Parian and Naxian landscapes have determined the historical evolution of their settlement pattern, as well as the ways in which these two adjacent small insular spaces integrated and interacted with broader worlds in specific conditions and in specific periods of time. Especially during the course of Late Antiquity and the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages, it will be a challenging task to trace how these two neighbouring insular communities reacted under the same general circumstances pertaining to the Aegean and to what extent the landscape played a role in this process.

The methodology proposed is an interdisciplinary approach, which combines archaeological evidence, literary sources, and observations of the sites and micro-landscapes as a whole, with the advantages offered by the application of new technologies in archaeological research.

First of all, a rethinking over the available historical sources and a re-evaluation of published archaeological evidence were absolutely essential steps in order to shed further light on the relationship between settlement patterns, political authority and the economy of the islands. The Cyclades in contrast

to other neighbouring maritime or mainland regions, such as the northern Aegean, Crete, the Dodecanese and Mainland Greece, are hardly mentioned in the contemporary literary sources of the periods in question (see more about the available written sources concerning the Cyclades in Chapter 3.1). The review of this limited material enables the integration of new data in the study of the settled landscape of the Cyclades. On the other hand, the scarcity and uncertainty of historical evidence makes the archaeological material the most valuable source of information suitable for the investigation of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in the Cyclades. The available archaeological evidence from the islands of Paros and Naxos is composed mostly of architectural remains (religious buildings and a limited number of public or private structures), marble sculpture, fresco decorations, ceramic material, cemeteries, workshops, and valuable data from surface surveys and excavations. Through the critical reading of the published archaeological and historical information, the understanding of the settled landscape of the Cyclades is placed on a new footing. It is also worth noting that in the present thesis architectural marble sculptures from the site of Voutakos and ceramic material from the old underwater harbour research in Parikia are published for the first time.[2]

Apart from reassessing published material, which is an absolutely essential process, this thesis is also based on field observations that have been conducted by the author in 2015 and 2016 at all sites and regions discussed in the following chapters. By visiting and exploring sites I had the opportunity to experience the landscape with all my senses. It was not a systematic archaeological survey but an attempt to better understand the natural environment and place sites within their context in the landscape. It is worth noting that, permission to conduct intensive survey was not obtained from the Greek Archaeological Authorities, thus, the collection of surface material was not possible. Therefore, the personal observations included the localisation of sites, the careful and thorough *in situ* examination of surface archaeological material (pottery and architecture) by recording detailed descriptions and the photographic documentation of the archaeological structures and surface ceramics. This process not only fills the gaps in the published documentation, but also offers new valuable information broadening our perspective. As a result of this limitation, I cannot produce pottery profiles or publish professional photographs of the ceramics. Individual sherds or groups of sherds are recorded *in situ* by photography as a source of reference in research.

Finally, a key component of this study is the use of GIS (Geographic Information Systems) to perform various analytical tasks, which will allow for an investigation of settlement networks and communication as well as their accessibility to the sea, their proximity to cultivable areas, to water sources, and their integration to maritime or land routes. The geographical parameter is used as the main interpretative tool for the analysis of information relating to the environmental backgrounds of settlements. The topographic distribution of settlements will support evidence regarding settlement patterns and networks. Micro-geographical features of settlements' territories will permit a better understanding of their economic potential.

The analysis of archaeological data as well as information about the geographical and environmental setting of the settlements allows a better understanding of human behaviour within a specific landscape. People, who interact with their natural environment, are placed at the centre of this analysis.

Additionally, valuable archaeological data from other areas of the Aegean and the broader Mediterranean world (insular, coastal and inland) are used as excellent comparative material. In this way the micro-regional analysis of the Parian and Naxian landscapes can be integrated into the broader Aegean and Mediterranean framework.

The overall aims and contributions of the present work can be summarised under three headings:

a) The principal aim of this thesis is to capture the dynamics of the settlement pattern of the islands of Paros and Naxos in Late Antiquity, taking into account issues such as the different images of insularity, the geographical parameter, the micro-topography, the general circumstances

2. My deepest acknowledgements should be addressed to the former 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, for kindly granting me permission to study the sculpture material of the basilica at Voutakos and to Ioanna Kraounaki, archaeologist of the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities of Greece, for kindly granting me permission to study the ceramic material of the port area of Parikia.

pertaining to the Eastern Mediterranean, and the interaction between humans and landscapes as well as between islands and the external world. It is an attempt to reconstruct the network of the Cycladic settlements shedding light on the interaction and communication between islands and settlements, the investigation of their different types and their interdependence with micro-geographical features. The analytical tools offered by the GIS permit an overview of the natural environment and the investigation of the settlement networks and communication as well as their landscape visibility, their accessibility to the sea, their proximity to fertile plains, to water sources, and to natural resources. The documentation of the settlements will provide a tool for better understanding the importance and role of certain islands or settlements in the dense maritime commercial network of the Eastern Mediterranean world.

b) The second aim is to highlight changes in the settled landscape of the islands in the transition between Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, taking into account all the aforementioned parameters. It is an attempt to shed further light on the relationship between settlement patterns, political authority and the economy of the islands. Additionally, under the light of the Byzantine-Arab struggle for control over the Aegean, it could be possible to investigate and understand the geostrategic importance of certain settlements or islands in the communication and defensive networks of this period (late 7th – early 9th centuries). The present study aims to illustrate how these two neighbouring insular communities reacted, in terms of economy, society and material culture, under the same general circumstances pertaining to the Aegean after the early 8th century and to what extent the landscape played a role in this process.

c) Having reconstructed the network of settlements in the periods in question we move to the last stage of our research, which is the production of thematic maps in order to visualise the results of this study (realised in an Arch GIS 10.2 environment).

1.3 THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

The debate about the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle centuries has been dominated until recently by the concept of decline or growth of the urban centres and the resulting collapse or transformation of the ancient world (see Haldon 1997; Liebeschuetz 2001). The evolution of this strong bipolar interpretative model has shaped our perspective of the period between the 4th and the early 9th centuries in a negative manner.

In the perspective of Classical archaeologists who excavated many ancient Greek cities evidence such as the abandonment of ancient civic or religious edifices, the privatisation of public space, and the extensive re-use of ancient building material for the construction of new structures has been regarded as clear aspects of decline, realisation and demographic decrease in a context of shrinkage or disappearance of the urban economy. In this respect, the superiority of the Classical, Hellenistic and Early Roman world was supported against the Late Antique and, mainly, Byzantine culture. In contrast, the plethora of large magnificent Early Christian religious complexes unearthed in both coastal and mainland sites, and the high diagnosticity of Late Roman ceramics (widely traded types of amphorae and fine wares) give an impression of a dramatic explosion of population and human activity, generally in the Eastern Roman Empire over the course of Late Antiquity. Additionally, the inability for many years to recognise material culture securely dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, mainly ceramic evidence, suggested an interruption of human activity in many sites with previous occupation. In this respect, material culture dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages remained until recently a rather neglected field of research and the period between the middle 7th and 9th centuries.

The overstressed historical validity of written sources, especially hagiographical texts, such as the *Life of Saint Theoktiste*, the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius* and the *Life of Saint Theodore*, indicating

that some of the Aegean islands were completely deserted during the 8th-10th centuries has shaped our perception of this period in a negative manner for many years. Earthquakes, plagues, the penetration of Slavs in the Greek Peninsula, the dynamic emergence of Arabs in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantine-Arab struggle for control over the Aegean, and the subsequent Arab conquest of Crete in combination with the limited information offered by Byzantine historians, led some scholars to support the view that life almost stopped in coastal localities, and insular populations were withdrawn to their mountainous hinterlands (Malamut 1988, 67-68). Despite considerable progress in the current archaeological investigations this historiographical topos was until recently very powerful.

A typical example is the case of Paros where the Late Antique centuries, mostly, because of the erection of the large religious complex of Ekatontapiliani were considered as a period of prosperity, while the inability to recognise securely dated material and monuments dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in conjunction with the *Life of Saint Theoktiste* (Talbot 1996), led the majority of historians and archaeologists to support the view that the island was totally abandoned from the 8th to the 10th or 11th centuries (see Chapter 4.7). Books and articles dealing with the history and archaeology of Paros or the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani devote only a few words for a period that covers at least five centuries (Aliprantis 1996, 24; Kourayos 2015, 21), despite the fact that the debate about the periods in question is still ongoing and well-known through numerous case-studies in Asia Minor, Cyprus, mainland Greece and other Aegean islands.

The establishment of landscape archaeology in the recent decades as both an archaeological technique, and a theoretical construct affect our understanding of the past societies and contribute to a shift in the older dominant historiographical perceptions. Landscape archaeology has emphasised the role of the entire landscape in ancient life. It approaches the landscapes as spaces of cultural products which reflect the evidence of a dynamic process of human-environmental interaction and contributes to the recognition and interpretation of the material culture and settlement patterning of different periods of time. In this respect, the development of landscape archaeology in Greece during recent decades offered new perspectives and interpretative tools for Late Antique and Byzantine Archaeology providing the basis upon which the insular communities of the Aegean can be studied and interpreted (Bintliff 1992; 2007; Cherry 1994). The methodological perspectives and the results from intensive regional surface surveys conducted in many regions of the Aegean have offered new approaches for better understanding the complex and contrasting characteristics of the Late Antique and Early Medieval centuries in the Eastern Mediterranean (Argolid: Jameson *et al.* 1994, Boeotia: Bintliff & Snodgrass 1985; 1988b; Bintliff 1996; 2013a, Keos: Cherry *et al.* 1991, Laconia: Cavanagh *et al.* 1996; 2002, Melos: Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, Messenia: McDonald & Rapp 1972, Methana: Mee & Forbes 1997, Nemea: Alcock *et al.* 1994, Pylos: Davis *et al.* 1997; Antikythera: Bevan & Conolly 2013).

Regarding Late Antiquity, landscape archaeology shed more light in the examination of the multiple parameters of the social transformation in town and country in the broader Aegean world (Bintliff 2007). Between the 4th and middle 7th centuries, both prosperity and decline, wealth and poverty, gradual shrinkage of the urban life compared to previous periods, and extensive building activity is observed. According to Bintliff: "….decline is not the only option for systems which are running down so dramatically. The remaining energy can form new patterns, often of considerable internal sophistication, through concentrating the constantly dissipating resources of the system into new constellations of highpoints surrounded by increasing zones of minimal energy" (2014b, 325-326).

Additionally, landscape archaeology contributes to the recognition and interpretation of the material culture and settlement patterning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (Bintliff 2000a; 2013b; Armstrong 1996; 2002). It is only recently that the ceramic evidence of the so-called "Dark Ages" are becoming recognisable to the experts, something that affects our understanding of both the economic activity on the islands as well as the wider communication networks in that crucial period. Byzantine landscape archaeology, as a newly established discipline, began to deal with the turbulent period of the Dark Ages approaching the landscape

as a continuously changing cultural product of the human-environmental relationship (Tsigonaki & Sarris 2016). In Bintliff's words: "If we want to reconstruct the countryside as it might have appeared to contemporaries during the major sub-phases of the post-Roman era in a Byzantine province, the only way forward is to collate the fragmentary evidence of standing monuments, limited excavations, the "windows" opened up by literary and archival sources, and complement it with a form of intensive investigation in the landscape known as surface artefact survey" (Bintliff 2000, 38). Additionally, the publications of Vionis for the insular communities of the Aegean Sea in the Byzantine and Ottoman period (2006; 2012; 2013; 2016; 2017) contribute to a shift in the dominant historiographical perception.

In this general context, a re-evaluation of the archaeological and historical material at hand is needed in order for the interesting history of the Cyclades between the 4th and the early 9th centuries to be approached in a more optimistic point of view. The islands of Paros and Naxos prove to be ideal case-studies for applying this alternative interpretative model in the investigation of the material culture and settled landscape of the Cyclades. Through this thesis, the historiographical questions discussed above are placed on a new footing concerning the insular framework of the Cyclades.

1.4 A HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The history and archaeology of the Cyclades have been studied in different ways throughout the years of scientific research, in accordance with different perspectives and approaches applied. This chapter provides a brief history of archaeological research in the Cyclades highlighting the most representative excavations, surveys and studies that have dealt with the investigation of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The aim is not to offer a detailed corpus of the related publications but a general overview of the development of methodological approaches and interpretative models from the early 20th century to recent years.

From the very beginning of research in Greece the archaeologists of the Archaeological Services, the Archaeological Society, Greek Universities and foreign archaeological schools paid considerable attention to prehistory as well as to the most "glorious" periods of ancient Greek civilisation (from Late Bronze Age to Hellenistic centuries), but did not consider the Post-Classical material culture in any detail. For many years excavators removed, with almost no documentation, evidence dated to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine centuries in order to reveal the remains of "the most important" periods of Greek civilisation. Archaeological research of the period between the 4th and the middle 7th centuries was mainly focused on the investigation of Early Christian basilicas, while for the following Byzantine Early Middle Ages interest centred on art historical aspects of material culture or the study and conservation of preserved religious monuments. Moreover, excavators of Early Christian basilicas tend to concentrate on those phases within their speciality.

In this respect, the majority of systematic and rescue excavations conducted in the Cyclades at multi-period sites from the beginning of the 20th century until the 70s followed unsophisticated methods, without all kinds of archaeological evidence being recorded thoroughly. As a result, pivotal information concerning the periods in question has been totally missed while very important material is still unpublished. Some characteristic examples are as follows: excavations on the island of Paros conducted by O. Rubensohn in the area of Parikia (1900; 1901; 1902; 1917; 1962), restoration and excavation works in the large religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies, carried out by A. Orlandos (1960a; 1960b; 1961; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1965-1966; 1969; 1975); a Christian basilica at Voutakos excavated by E. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou in the early 60s (Orlandos 1961, 113, note 3; 1969, 199, note 3, fig. 23; Pallas 1977, 205); on the island of Naxos the temple of Apollo (located on the small islet of Palatia in the harbor of Chora), excavated by G. Welter (1924).

In the first case, the German archaeologist concentrated on the remains of his specialty (Classical period). However, nothing is visible today as most of the sites are occupied by modern activity. The publications of Orlandos regarding the two monuments from Paros (Panagia Ekatontapiliani and Tris Ekklisies) mostly concentrate on studies of the architectural history of the religious edifices and stylistic observations on the sculptural decoration. In addition, earlier or later

phases of the sites have been presented very briefly, posing rather than solving questions and confusing later researchers. The results of the excavation at Voutakos were never published and the architectural remains are not visible today. In the case of Naxos, although priority has been given to the pre-Christian phases of the temple, the excavator noticed that during Late Antiquity the ancient temple had been converted into a Christian basilica. During this early stage of research, specialised studies of specific still standing churches dated to the Byzantine Early Medieval period appeared to be focusing on the history of art and architecture (Kontoleon 1960b; Dimitrokallis 1968a).

On a rather different note, the tradition of German landscape studies from the early 19th until the middle 20th century (*Landeskunde*, "landscape lore") focused its interest on landscapes and sought to highlight the evolution of human settlement within them in the Mediterranean in general, and Italy, and Greece in particular (Philippson 1950-1959; Jahnkuhn 1955; Kirsten 1956). In this context, the reading of various Greek landscapes was achieved by the German *Landeskunde*, which led archaeological investigation to form new modern perspectives (Bintliff *et al*. 2000, 148; Bintliff 2008, 158-159). A specific volume was dedicated to the Aegean Archipelago and its islands (Philippson 1959).

For the majority of sites, the archaeological data derived from the systematic or rescue excavations carried out in the Cyclades by the Greek Archaeological Service and Greek Universities in recent decades, which were followed by modern methods with a more scientific basis. The accompanying publications offered a limited but valuable number of sophisticated and detailed studies, based mostly on specific categories of the archaeological evidence from different sites, such as the architecture, pottery and sculpture.

Characteristic examples of systematic excavations on the Cycladic islands are: the rural sanctuaries of Demeter and Apollo at Gyroulas and Dionysus at Yria in Naxos, two pagan temples converted into Christian churches (Lambrinoudakis 2005; Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988; Simantoni-Bournia 2001), and the site of Palaiopolis in Andros where there were archaeological surface surveys (1985-1986) followed by systematic excavations (1987-2007) in the basilica of the Agora (Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 1996; 2001; 2007). Rescue and systematic excavations in recent years by the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities on the islands of Thera and Schinoussa have unearthed important settlements dated to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (AD 1988; 1989; 1992-1993; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1999; Gerousi 1996; 2003; 2010; Chatzilazarou 2008).

At the same time, considerable progress has been made by the dynamic evolution of regional archaeological surface surveys in the wider Aegean context (Bintliff 2007, 649-678). A valuable and detailed book by C. Renfrew and M. Wagstaff "An island polity: The archaeology of exploitation in Melos" (1982) offers a new archaeological perspective about the study of the past of the islands. An equally important book by J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis and E. Mantzourani "Landscape archaeology as long-term history: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times" (1991) provides another modern attempt to reconstruct the island's past, taking into account the whole past and all the evidence for it.

Our knowledge of the material culture of the Late Antique and Early Medieval Cyclades has also been improved by intensive field surveys on Naxos and Paros. In the 1980s a French team undertook extensive field survey in the north-west of Naxos. Their work identified a number of Late Antique and Medieval sites, but did not consider the Post-Classical landscape in any detail (Erard-Cerceau *et al.* 1993). It is worth mentioning that, the aforementioned regional surveys on Melos, Keos and Naxos had many problems in recognising Byzantine ceramics, particularly those dating between the 7th and 9th centuries. Therefore, we need to be very skeptical when discussing their results concerning the "emptiness" of the Early Medieval island landscape.

In 2001-2002 and 2006 A. Vionis, as an employee of the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, carried out intensive surveys around early Christian basilicas and medieval churches on Paros and Naxos, identifying several settlement sites and pottery material among which there were traces of Late Antique and Early Medieval occupation (Naxos: AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming, Paros: Vionis 2006, 463; 2012). Although the final results of this research are awaiting publication, some

invaluable information was kindly provided by A. Vionis for the needs of this dissertation. Additionally, the ongoing Norwegian Naxos Survey (2010) and the Apalirou Environs Project (2015) investigate the architectural remains of Kastro Apalirou on Naxos as well as its surrounding natural environment, in an attempt to highlight how economic and political changes can be seen in the landscape (Hill & Roland 2016; Crow & Turner 2016; Hill *et al.* 2017). In 2013, the Norwegian Institute in Athens organised the International Conference "Naxos and the Byzantine Aegean" by bringing together scholars who have worked on Naxos and other Byzantine sites in the Aegean (in preparation). Finally, the Historic Landscape Characterization Project, which is a method for mapping the entire landscape with reference to its historic development, used Naxos as a pilot, contributing new approaches to the archaeology of the Byzantine landscape (Crow *et al.* 2011).

Apart from the excavations, surveys and the accompanying publications, many historical and archaeological studies have appeared focusing on the architecture of churches, stylistic observations on wall paintings and sculptural members, numismatic, sigillographic and epigraphic evidence. A special mention is required for the epigraphic work of G. Kiourtzian "Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades. De la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècle après J.-C." (2000). It provides a corpus of 205 inscriptions from ten of the Cycladic islands, shedding more light to the life of the islanders in the periods in question. Outstanding among them are the so-called cadastre of Thera and the invocations for divine help carved by seafarers on the rocks of the small bay of Grammata on the island of Syros. An important contribution to the architectural history of the Cyclades, and more specifically to the island of Naxos, during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period is offered by the unpublished dissertation of K. Aslanidis "Βυζαντινή Ναοδομία στη Νάξο. Η Μετεξέλιξη από την Παλαιοχριστιανική στη Μεσοβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική" (2014a). The recently published monumental work "Atlas of the Christian monuments of the Aegean. From the Early Christian Years to the Fall of Constantinople" took an important step in collecting all Byzantine monuments of the Aegean islands and, by consequence, of the Cyclades (Gkioles & Pallis 2014). Nevertheless, it is a catalogue of sites and remains a rather descriptive work, without paying attention to the interaction between the humans, the monuments and the landscape.

In addition, the contribution of Greek archaeologists and historians is important. A. Vionis, G. Dimitrokallis, Ch. Pennas, V. Penna, E. Gerousi, G. Mastoropoulos, A. Mitsani, N. Drandakis, F. Drossoyianni, V. Christides, have studied the Late Antique and Early Medieval material culture of the Cycladic islands and have provided invaluable information for this dissertation.

Chapter 2
Natural environment

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that its total surface area is small (131,940 km²), Greece is endowed with a particularly rich and diversified natural environment; characterised by unique geomorphology, intense contrasts and many regions with rare beauty. Greece has a very large number of islands and islets, most of them located in the Aegean Archipelago (Fig. 1.1). One of the most interesting regions of the country is the maritime area of the Cyclades (Fig. 2.1). On the Cyclades from the 15th to the early 19th centuries population and economy flourished (see more details about economy and material culture of rural households in the Aegean during the Ottoman and Early Modern times in Vionis 2012; Bintliff 2013c). Subsequently, the Cyclades until the middle 20th century remained almost invisible, maintaining a traditional economic structure mainly based on rural, pastoral and fishing activities. However, over the course of the second half of the 20th and the early 21st century the Cycladic islands enjoyed considerable prosperity (1970-2010). They gradually emerged as top international destinations for summer vacations.

The impact of mass tourism during the second half of the 20th century in many ways altered the character of the small insular communities of the Cyclades, and can mainly be classified into three categories: economic, environmental, and socio-cultural. The economic structures changed dramatically, and the Cyclades from small rural and fishing economies became one of the financial contributors to the national economy. The cultural and environmental impact as well as the intensive building activity, uncommon to the small scale of the Cyclades, transformed not only landscape patterns but also the mentality of the islanders over a very short period. This demonstrates how island communities (humans and landscapes) interact with the external world, in a complex process that rapidly changed their identity.

This chapter aims to present information about the geological and geomorphological history of the Cyclades and allows a closer look not only at the common natural features but also at the diverse geographical and environmental parameters of this maritime region. It permits an overview of the Cycladic landscape and allows a better understanding the humans-environmental interaction.

2.2 GEOGRAPHY AND GEOMORPHOLOGY

The Cyclades are an island group in the south-central part of the Aegean Archipelago, which look like stepping-stones between Mainland Greece (Europe) and Asia Minor (Fig. 1.1). The Cycladic cluster encloses more than a hundred small and middle-sized islands and islets, out of which 25 are inhabited (Fig. 2.1). This makes the Cyclades the most numerous and complicated island group in the Aegean Sea (Broodbank 2000, 41-43).

On the map, the Cyclades appear as a justifiable group and can be divided into sub-clusters according to their geographical formation, forming three parallel zones: a) the north-eastern which constitutes an extension of Euboea and includes the islands of Andros, Tenos, Mykonos, Delos, Rhenia, Naxos, the Mikres Kyklades (Small Cyclades: Iraklia, Schinoussa, Koufonissia, Donousa, Keros), and Amorgos, b) the south-western which is considered an extension of Attica and consists of Keos, Kythnos, Serifos, Sifnos, Melos, Antimelos, and Kimolos and c) the central which consists of Gyaros, Syros, Paros, Antiparos, Ios, Thera, Therasia, and Anafi (Vionis 2012, 27-28).

The Cycladic islands have a total surface of 2.572 km²; Naxos (430 km²), Andros (374 km²), Paros (196,3 km²), and Tenos (194,2 km²) are the largest islands and comprise about half of the total land area of the Cyclades. Some small islands like Iraklia, Schinoussa, Koufonissia, Donousa,



Fig. 2.1: Map of the Cyclades islands.

Antiparos, Antimelos, and Therasia, tend to become the satellites of larger ones. From a geomorphological point of view, the Cyclades in fact constitute the extension of Mainland Greece's mountains and are actually the peaks of the mountains that have been submerged, about 5 million years ago. The seabed is a broad underwater plateau, corrugated by numerous trenches, some points of which are very deep (generally less than 200 m deep). The Cycladic landscape is characterised by rugged and semi-mountainous topography with sparse, mainly low, vegetation, and precious few arable areas (Higgins & Higgins 1996, 170; Sanders 1996, 147; Broodbank 2000, 75-76). This forced the islanders to organise the land in terraces, to hold the soil and create tiny cultivated areas. It is likely that the Cyclades were never fully forested, but rather high maquis.

However, except for the common features there are substantial variations in the landscape with several contrasts among the islands (Broodbank 2000, 70-76). The Cycladic landscape is very diverse and forms small environments (plains, coastal plains, off shore islets, harbours, mountains, plateaux, hill slopes, defensible peaks, large or small bays, river

valleys) not only between different islands but also between different regions in the same island. The Cycladic complex is characterised by fragmentation in several smaller units with differing climatological, hydrological and geomorphological parameters. Naxos is the greenest and most mountainous island (see more details in Chapter 5.1). Paros, Naxos and Melos are more fertile in comparison to other Cycladic islands. The island of Thera offers one of the most impressive volcanic landscapes in the world.

The Cyclades are part of a band of dominantly metamorphic rocks, the Attic-Cycladic metamorphic belt (Higgins & Higgins 1996, 170). The geological substrate of the Cyclades can be divided into marble-dominant, schist-dominant and volcanic geologies, although most islands in fact have a range of rock types (see more details about the geology of each island see in Papanikolaou 1986; Higgins & Higgins 1996, 170-195). Islands located close to the shores of Attica and Euboea, are rich in crystalline rocks such as granite, gneiss, amphibolite and schist (Keos, Andros, Tenos, Kythnos, Syros, Mykonos, Delos). On the other hand, Melos, Kimolos, and Thera, as largely volcanic islands located along the arc of south Aegean volcanoes, are rich in volcanic rocks, such as andesite and obsidian (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 2; Higgins & Higgins 1996, 182-195; Sanders 1996, 147-148; Pavlides 2001, 25-29). The south Aegean is one of the most geotectonically active areas in the Mediterranean Sea (Pavlides 2001). Other sources of mineral wealth include deposits of copper on Kythnos, emery on Naxos and both lead and silver, extensively used and exhausted in antiquity, on Sifnos, Keos and Serifos (Papanikolaou 1986; Higgins & Higgins 1996, 179-180; Cherry *et al.* 1991, 57; Sifnos 2013). Paros, Naxos, Sifnos, and Ios have marble deposits. The fine white marble of Paros was very famous in the ancient world (Schilardi & Katsonopoulou 2010).

In general, the Cyclades have a typically Mediterranean climate, with hot dry summers and milder winters, and prolonged periods of sunshine. However, the climate varies slightly on each island according to its size, geographical position and distance from the mainland. Due to the small size of the islands and their semi-mountainous character with the small plains, there are no important rivers or lakes, surface water is very limited and springs are accordingly small. In addition, it is a region with little rainfall and strong winds that prevail for most of the year, especially in the summer. Fresh-water sources vary greatly. In the larger and more mountainous islands like Andros, Tenos, Keos and Naxos there is higher rainfall and accordingly they are richer in natural water resources. In contrast, on many other islands, such as Melos, Paros, Syros, Delos, Ios, Sikinos, Thera, Mykonos etc, water sources are scarcer. The period between April and September is the driest of the year.

Finally, the abundance of archaeological remains below sea-level along the coastline of the Cycladic islands indicate sea-level changes in the aseismic Attico–Cycladic geotectonic zone not only within the Prehistoric period but also within historical times (Baika 2008; Poulos *et al.* 2009). It is worth mentioning that, due to the diversity of the Cycladic landscape every site or every island must be studied independently, since there can be small variations between sites or islands (Baika 2008, 40).

Chapter 3
The social and economic history of the Cyclades

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Cyclades are rarely mentioned in the literary sources of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Sporadic information in different kind of written sources that are separated by a great chronological distance, such as the *Hierokles Synekdemos* (Parthey 1967; see more in Chapter 3.3.2), the *Stadiasmus of Maris Magni* (Müller 1855; see more in Chapter 5.2.2), *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, *Conciliar Acts* (Mansi 1961; Darrouzès 1981; Fedalto 1988; see more in Chapters 3.3.3 and 3.), hagiographical texts (the *Life of Saint Theoktiste*: Talbot 1996; see more in Chapter 1.3; the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius*: Lemerle 1979; 1981; Bakirtzes 1997; see more in Chapter 3.3.2), the lists of the civil, military and ecclesiastical offices of the Byzantine Empire (*Taktika*: Oikonomidès 1972; see more in Chapter 3.4.2) and historical accounts (Ioannes Caminiates, *On the capture of Thessalonica*: Böhlig 1973; see more in Chapters 3.4.3) in combination with numismatic (Penna 2001), sigillographic (Brandes 2002, 387) and epigraphic evidence (Kiourtzian 2000) provide only sporadic pieces of information regarding the socio-economic history, as well as the administrative and ecclesiastical status of the Cyclades. During the period in question there is no textual source dedicated to the Cyclades.

Due to the scarcity and uncertainty of the written sources, the historical evidence that covers the Late Antique and the Early Byzantine period is very limited and, therefore, it is very difficult to draw clear chronological boundaries. However, some important events such as the foundation of Constantinople in 324 (a new dynamic emerging in the Aegean Sea), the volcanic eruption of Thera in 726 (marking the beginning of iconoclasm), the occupation of Crete by the Arabs between 824-828 (the gradual establishment of the Arabic maritime supremacy over the Aegean), and the Fourth Crusade in the early 13th century (the domination of the Franks on the Aegean islands and other Byzantine territories) shaped the historical fate of the islands of the southern Aegean and the Cyclades in particular.

The chronological framework followed by this study is: i) the Late Antique or Late Roman period (from the foundation of Constantinople in 324 to the middle 7th century), ii) the Byzantine Early Middle Ages or the so-called "Byzantine Dark centuries" (from the late 7th to the early 10th century), and iii) the Middle Byzantine period (from the middle 10th century to the beginning of the venetian occupation in 1207). This chronological arrangement slightly differs from the general historical subdivision of the Byzantine Empire, because it is adjusted to the peculiar circumstances pertaining to the maritime area of the south Aegean after the 7th century. It seems that, on the Cyclades the Byzantine Early Middle Ages lasted longer, compared to other regions of the Empire (see more details in Chapter 3.4.1).

The following Chapter 3.2 discusses the importance and role played by the Aegean islands in a wider Mediterranean context over the course of the Roman to the Early and Middle Byzantine centuries. Chapters 3.3 and 3.4 aim to outline the main historical context of the Cyclades during Late Antiquity, and the Early Byzantine period, presenting aspects of social, political and economic life on the islands. From the late 4th century the vast and united Roman state was split between two worlds, the east and west. The historical trajectory of the two halves was diametrically opposite. These Chapters deal with the historical context of the Eastern part of the Late Roman Empire and its successor, Byzantium. Finally, despite the fact that the study of the material culture and settled landscape of the Middle Byzantine period is beyond the scope of this study, Chapter 3.5 provides a very brief overview of the historical context in the Cyclades between the middle 10th and the early 13th century. This evidence can be used

as comparative material in order for the complex historical reality of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in the Cyclades to be thoroughly understood.

3.2 AEGEAN SEA: CONNECTIVITY AND INTEGRATION

The strategic geographic position of the Aegean Sea, in combination with the geographical features of the islands such as, the clement climate, the great complexity of coasts, and the large number of safe natural ports, comprise geographical data which have always been important and historically support the development of the islands. The very presence of the sea, which defines the territory of an island can be seen either as a bridge to prosperity or separating it from the external world. Communication by sea played a fundamental role during ancient times. Sea routes and maritime trade created economic, social and cultural connections which influenced all the areas involved. The Aegean Archipelago connects the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and therefore was of great importance to ancient and medieval trade routes (Fig. 3.1). The numerous islands scattered across the Aegean Sea functioned as reference points providing ideal conditions for navigation (Fig. 2.1).

In the vast Early Roman Empire, the Aegean Sea (and the Cyclades in particular), constituted a relatively minor maritime zone within the wider Mediterranean context regarding its role and contribution to the imperial economy. Possibly, the Cycladic maritime zone was not among the most significant parts in the network of the Empire's long distance trade system. However, the Cyclades were places of cultural and commercial activity in the Roman period, since archaeological evidence unearthed in several ancient cities of the islands shows that this maritime area was characterised by interaction, integration and connectivity (Le Quérré 2013).

The reorientation of the Empire to Constantinople, the New Rome, which was located northeast of the Aegean, in 324 was a crucial point in the historical trajectory of the Aegean islands. Establishment of the new capital on the site of the ancient city of Byzantion transposed the centre of the Empire from the West to the East (Fig. 3.1). During the following centuries there were new economic and social circumstances pertaining to the Aegean Sea, which emerged as a vital maritime zone for the commercial and financial activities of the Eastern Roman Empire (Wickham 2005, 29). This discernible change had far-reaching consequences for the pattern of exchange, and movements of goods and travelers in the Aegean and East Mediterranean basin. From the 4th century to the 7th centuries Aegean ports gradually became integral parts in the network of the long distance trade and the Aegean world was considered a major financial contributor to the Empire's economy, supporting the needs of the new capital and the military forces on the Danube (Abadie-Reynal 1989). A new maritime route connecting the north and south Aegean was created. The Cycladic islands located in the heart of the Aegean Sea acted as supply stations of commercial importance, connecting the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

Furthermore, during this period the phenomenon of pilgrimage to the Holy Land and other religious centres emerged (Constantinople, Rome, Asia Minor etc.), which gradually became extensive. Christian pilgrims, encouraged by church fathers, visited the most important destinations of pilgrimage in the eastern Mediterranean, and pilgrimage itineraries frequently passed through the Cyclades (Avraméa 2002). Some of the earliest documented Christian pilgrims who passed this way, were Saint Helena, Saint Paula (347–404), and Egeria who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land about 381–384. Saint Paula on her route to the Holy Land passed through Kythera, the Cyclades, Rhodes, and Cyprus (Avraméa 2002; Malamut 1988, 538/539, 656: Malamut dates Saint Paula's trip during the 5th century). Epigraphic evidence from two pilgrimage centres in the Cyclades, Grammata on Syros and Gastria on Tenos, both dated to the Late Antique period, suggest high mobility over the Aegean Sea and connections between the Cyclades and other regions like Asia Minor, Mainland Greece and Northern Africa (Feissel 1980, Kiourtzian 2000). Around 653/654 Pope Martin I (649-655) during his journey from Rome to Constantinople landed on Naxos due to bad weather, and remained on the island for some time as a prisoner (Peeters 1933; Dakoronia 1969-1970; McCormick 2001, 483-488).

The islands of the Aegean Archipelago continued to play a significant role during the

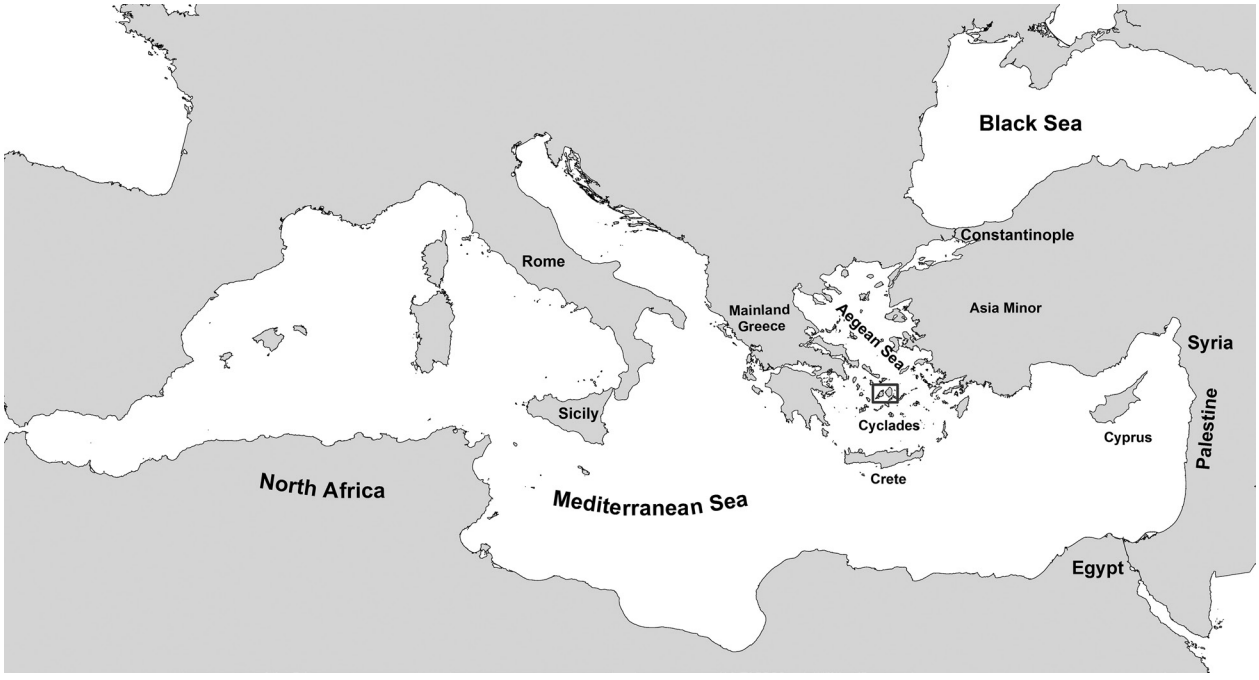


Fig. 3.1: Map of the Mediterranean world.

Byzantine period in a different way. After the dynamic emergence of the Arabs, the Aegean Sea, in the context of the Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean, has functioned as a first line of naval defense to the capital protecting a large vital space that surrounded it. In the perception of the Byzantines the numerous islands scattered around the Aegean Archipelago were a different world (Malamut 1988, 26-31). The very presence of the sea which surrounds them, and the unstable weather conditions, especially the strong and sometimes violent winds that prevailed for most of the year, constituted two key elements that distinguished them from the mainland. Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus* (913-959) in his work *De Thematibus* (an account of the military districts of the Empire, 10th century) describes the Aegean as «*hard to sail and difficult to cross, with long waves like mountains*» (Pertusi 1952). Additionally, in his letters, the archbishop of Athens Michael *Choniates* or *Acominatus* (c. 1138-1222) pointed out that dangerous winds blew in the sea area between the islands of Keos and Naxos, while he often complained about the isolated life on the island of Keos (Lambros 1879-1880, 143, 194-195).

Despite the difficulties throughout the Byzantine period, communications by sea were considered faster and more efficient than overland routes (Avraméa 2002, 77-78). The *Stadiodromikon* of Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus*, is a text interpolated at the end of the list of ships being prepared to participate in the campaign of 949 to recapture Crete from the Arabs. The author records a maritime route of 792 nautical miles from Constantinople to Crete via Mytilene (Lesvos), Chios, Samos, Fournoi, Naxos, Ios, Thera and Christiana (Pertusi 1952). In relative terms, the island chain of the Aegean Sea provided all the conditions for a supportive sea journey with a dense network of safe natural ports. Many hagiographical texts and local oral traditions refer to ships that were forced by headwinds to land on the safe ports of the Aegean islands (*e.g. Life of Saint Theoktiste*: Talbot 1996).

In conclusion, after the 4th century a major transportation and communication network developed with important maritime routes which linked Constantinople and Asia Minor via the Aegean islands, with the ports of Crete, the Eastern and Western Mediterranean basins, Mainland Greece, and North Africa. The Cyclades benefited from their geographic position, became part of those itineraries, and participated in the network of long distance trade. The Aegean Sea connected the

capital with the eastern provinces (Egypt), which had great importance for the economy of the Empire. An important route began from Constantinople, which followed a coastal navigation along the west coast of Asia Minor then passed through the Cyclades and led to mainland Greece or continued to the ports of the Western Mediterranean basin. Another maritime route connected the capital to the harbours of Crete, the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and North Africa via the Cyclades. In addition, the Cycladic archipelago became a maritime area of fundamental importance for the defensive system of the Byzantine Empire due to their close proximity to the Arabs of Crete. The south-east Aegean Sea was the basic field in the struggle between the Byzantine and Arab fleets.

3.3 LATE ANTIQUITY OR THE LATE ROMAN ERA (early 4th - middle 7th c.)

3.3.1 Introduction

During the 3rd century a critical period (235-284) of political instability and insecurity began in the Roman state, the so-called "third-century crisis" (see more information about the debate among scholars in Cameron 1993, 1-29; 2012, 4-8; Gregory 1994). This turbulent situation was characterised by a constant and rapid turnover of emperors, almost total collapse of the silver currency, significant changes in economic and social life, military anarchy, and consecutive warfare with civil wars and hostile invasions (Cameron 1993, 1-29; Gregory 2010, 23-34). The reforming measures of Diocletian (284-305) in the late 3rd century put the "third-century crisis" under partial control and the final victory of Constantine the Great (306-337) terminated the period of uncertainty, laying the foundation for the recovery of the 4th century (Cameron 1993, 3, 30-65; Gregory 2010, 41-45).

The following Late Antique or Late Roman period from the early 4th till the middle 7th centuries in the Eastern Mediterranean moved between two opposite sides of the spectrum, between continuity and discontinuity, abandonment of earlier structures and intensive building activity, strong central economy but social decline, and military insecurity (Bintliff 2014b). Nevertheless, many regions in the Eastern provinces achieved considerable prosperity in these centuries with important economic activities in both urban and rural sites in comparison with the collapsing Western provinces, which in the 5th century fell into Barbarian hands (Bintliff 2012b, 351). Through Late Antiquity new political, social, economic and religious conditions were created. The reorientation of the Empire to Constantinople, the administrative and military reforms, the economic policies and Christianisation gave the Late Roman Empire a new character.

The foundation of Constantinople in 324 was a crucial point in the historical trajectory of the Aegean islands. The Aegean Archipelago played a significant new role and emerged as a vital space for the commercial and financial activities of the Eastern Roman Empire (Abadie-Reynal 1989). The Aegean Sea connected the capital with the provinces and the Aegean islands acted as supply stations. It seems that the Cyclades, located in the heart of the Aegean Sea, were no exception to the rule, since they utilised all the favorable circumstances and achieved considerable prosperity through the 4th to 7th centuries.

3.3.2 The political and military history of the Cyclades

After the 4th century the East Roman Empire followed, in relative terms, the administrative division formed by Diocletian and Constantine. The reforming measures of both Emperors aimed to provide an effective and stable government by re-organising the provincial administration, the army and the economy (Gregory 2010, 41-45). The individual city and its surrounding areas remained a basic structural element of the state. The large provinces were fragmented and made smaller, increasing their overall number from about 50 to around 100. The Empire was divided into twelve new large administrative districts called *dioceses*. Each diocese was administrated by a vicar (*vicarius*) and comprised many provinces. The dioceses were grouped and constituted four *praetorian prefectures*, which were commanded by a *praetorian prefect* (Cameron 2010, 41-42).

In this context, probably since the end of the 3rd century, the new *province of the Islands* (*provincia insularum*) was established in the maritime area of

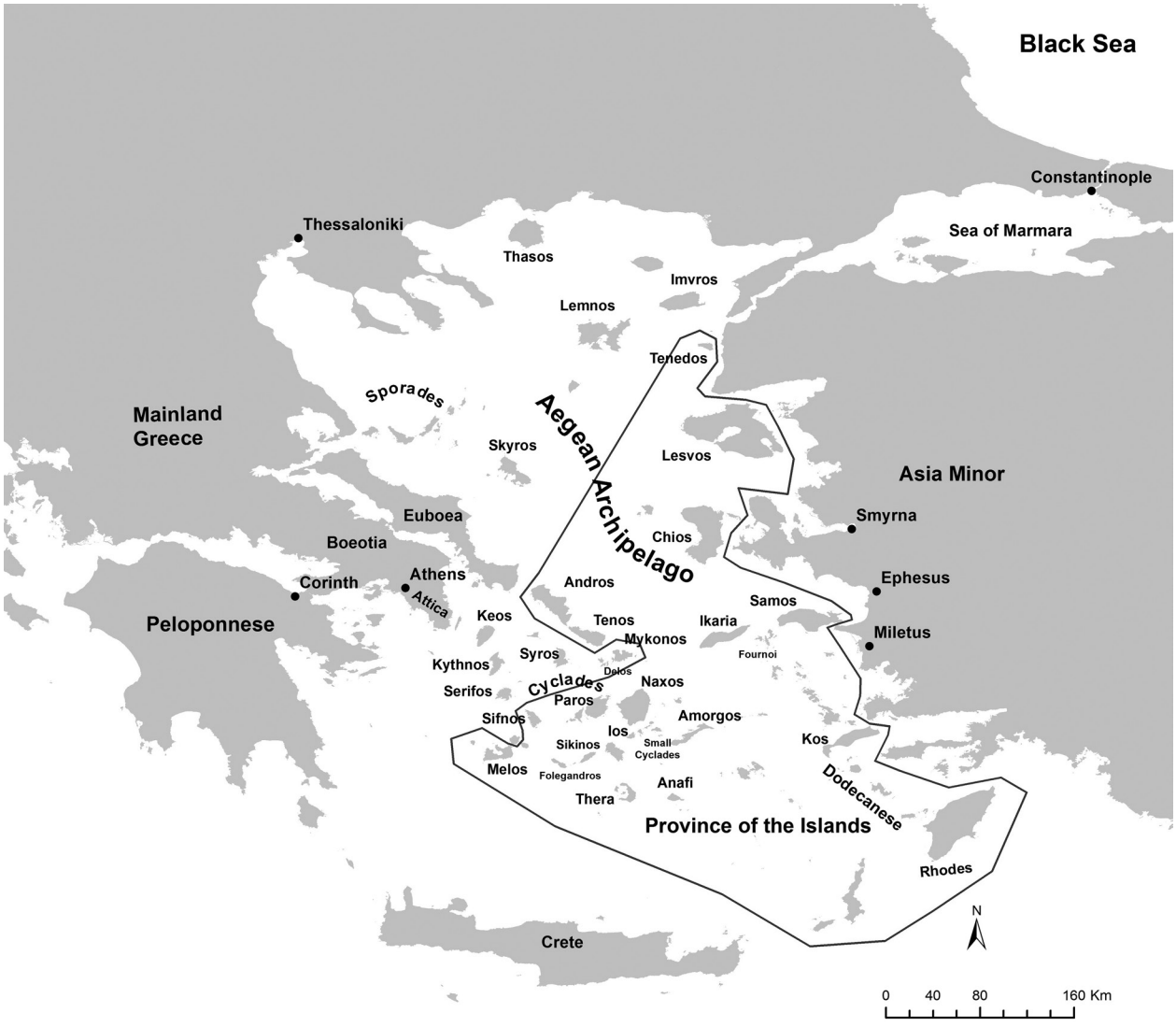


Fig. 3.2: The *province of the Islands* according to the *Synekdemos*.

the Aegean, which included most of the Cycladic and North Aegean islands along with the Dodecanese (Kiourtzian 2000, 12-13). It was commanded by a *Praeses Insulariorum*, whose headquarters was on the island of Rhodes, which was the political and ecclesiastical capital of the province. The *province of the Islands* alongside the *provinces of Asia Minor* formed the *diocese of Asia* (Nigdelis 1990, 223-224).

According to the *Synekdemos*, an official public document written before 535 by *Hierokles*, this administrative division in the Aegean Sea remained, with some small changes until the 6th century. This was a geographical listing of all the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 2nd half of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century (Parthey 1967, 31-32; Avraméa 1997, 35). The Empire at that time measured 935 cities and 64 provinces. As the *Synekdemos* reveals, during the 5th and the 6th centuries the islands of the Cyclades were not as a whole under the same administrative unit but were split into two different provinces. The 29th position of the catalogue corresponds to the *province of the Islands* (ἐπαρχία τῶν Νήσων) (Fig. 3.2), which had a commander with the title *hegemon* (ἡγεμών).



Fig. 3.3: The regions that controlled by the *quaestor exercitus*.

The province included in its territory twenty cities; nine of them were located in the Cyclades (Andros, Tenos, Naxos, Paros, Sifnos, Melos, Ios, Thera, and Amorgos). Other cities mentioned are in the Dodecanese and the North Aegean (one is omitted). The author put in first place on the list the capital of the province, the island of Rhodes, then the large islands situated opposite the coast of Asia Minor (the Dodecanese, Chios, Lesvos, Samos, Tenedos etc.), then the islands of the central and northern Cyclades (Andros, Tenos Naxos, Paros) and at the end the small islands in the southern Aegean (Sifnos, Melos, Ios, Thera, Amorgos, and Astypalea). It seems the *hegemon* of the *province of the Islands* had most of the islands of the Aegean Archipelago under his jurisdiction, apart from Imvros, Euboea, Kythera, the islands of the Argo-Saronic Gulf and some of the Cyclades. The rest of the Cycladic islands, namely Keos, Delos, Mykonos, Serifos, Kythnos and probably Syros were included in the *province of Hellas* (ἐπαρχία Ἑλλάδος), which was listed in the 10th position of the catalogue. The province, which included in its territory 76 cities, was based in Corinth and commanded by an *anthipatos* (Parthey 1967, 9-13).

In 536, Emperor Justinian carried out further reforms to the provinces' administration system

establishing (*Nov. Iust.* 41, May 18) a new institution, the *quaestor exercitus* (*Quaestura Justinianus exercitus*: Von Lingenthal 1881, 354; Stein 1949, 474-475; Schoell & Kroll 1972, 262-3, 293-4; Hendy 1985, 404, Wiewiorowski 2006; Gkoutzioukostas & Moniaros 2009). The duties of this officer and the reasons for his establishment are matters of debate among scholars (see more about this debate in Wiewiorowski 2006; Gkoutzioukostas & Moniaros 2009). The seat of the *quaestor* was Odesus on the Black Sea (present-day Varna in Bulgaria) and controlled the provinces of Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor, which were associated with Caria, the Cyclades, and Cyprus (Fig. 3.3).

What is important for the Cyclades in this case is that the *quaestor exercitus* was primarily obliged to supervise the collection and distribution of taxes and army supplies (Wiewiorowski 2006, 333). It has been recently suggested that through the administrative linkage between the Aegean islands and coastal regions concerned with the Danube zone, the three "naval" regions of Caria, the Cyclades, and Cyprus were functioning, in fact, as major contributors to the support of the military forces in the two Danubian provinces (Gkoutzioukostas & Moniaros 2009). Taxes and supplies from the Cyclades probably helped to keep the Roman forces of Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor in good condition. Moreover, starting from the 4th century delivering supplies from distant Mediterranean provinces to the Danube region was common practice as indicated by the epigraphic, sigilographic, and ceramic evidence (Wiewiorowski 2006, 333-334). Regarding the duties of the *quaestor Iustinianus exercitus*, it is possible that, he was, in fact, not only a civil officer but also a military commander in the Lower Danube zone (Wiewiorowski 2006, 334). However, after 582 his military duties were diminished as the Empire placed particular emphasis on the war against the Slavs and the Avars. Nevertheless, sigillographic and ceramic evidence suggests, the Justinianic prefecture did not disappear, as had been assumed, but it continued to exist through most of the 7th century (Gkoutzioukostas & Moniaros 2009).

During the period from the 4th to the early 6th century literary sources make no mention of any hostile operation against the islands of the Cyclades. Furthermore, it seems the Cyclades were not actively involved in the internal conflicts of the Empire. In the second half of the 6th century the Slavs made a dynamic emergence crossing the Danube. The continuous invasions against many regions of the Empire resulted in considerable damage and demographic changes across the Balkan Peninsula. The Slavs after 582 raided as far as the Peloponnese, while in 586, 604, 615 and 682 they attacked Thessaloniki (Vasmer 1970; Metcalf 1991; Obolensky 1994; Moniaros 1995-1996; Cameron 2012, 121, 160, 180, 198).

The first mention for a hostile invasion against the Cyclades, during the end of Late Antiquity, is witnessed in the second book of the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius* (Lemerle 1979; 1981; Bakirtzes 1997). In recounting the first miracle of the saint (179-180), the rescue of the city of Thessaloniki from Slavic attack, the author makes a list of all the areas approached by the Slavs with their "monoxils" (small riverboats) and which suffered their depredations. Among these were included the Cycladic islands (Bakirtzes 1997, 236-237). Lemerle connected this miracle with the Slavic attack on Thessaloniki at 615 (1981, 441). For many years, scholars, based on this report, considered the Slavic penetration into the islands an indisputable fact (Avraméa 1997, 74-75, 79-80; Lemerle 1986, 130; Malamut 1988; Metcalf 1962, 14-23; Metcalf 1991, 140-148; Touratsoglou 2006a, 327-330; 2006b, 95-101; Touratsoglou & Chalkia 2008, 14-16).

Recent studies have addressed the problem of the impact of the Slavic invasions on the islands from a different perspective, and have raised doubts whether the Slavs managed to approach the islands of the Cyclades (Moniaros 1995-1996; Trombley 2001, 137-138; Nikolaou 2004, 295-296, Penna 2010, 28). The term "Cyclades" in Late Antique and Byzantine sources had acquired a wider geographic significance, including islands such as Lemnos, Mytilene (Lesvos) and Skyros. Therefore, it is not sure the author of the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius* refers to the islands that we know today as the Cyclades, and perhaps means some of the islands in the northern Aegean. In addition, the list of areas attacked by the Slavs could be a "form of exaggeration" in order to further emphasises the importance of the miracle of Saint Demetrius and to increase the value of his achievement. The author seeks to highlight that the city of Thessaloniki, contrary to other areas,

including the islands, succeeded with the aid of Saint Demetrius to expel the invaders.

Nevertheless, a Syrian Chronicle composed about 640 (previously known as *Liber Calipharum* or *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum domini 724 pertinens*) and written probably by a Syrian priest called Thomas mentions that the Slavs invaded Crete and "the other islands" in 622/623 (Palmer 1993, 18). Unfortunately, there is no a detailed list of the "other islands" approached by the Slavs. It is only mentioned that some Jacobite monks were taken captive and some twenty of them were killed in the island of Crete. It seems that the impact of the Slavic raids was restricted to some human casualties and damages.

The fact that the Slavs were invaded Crete, which is located more than 55 nm (nautical miles) from the nearest coast of the Peloponnese, indicates that they potentially were able to conduct raids on the Cyclades and even the most remote islands could have been within the range of their hostile activity. However, due the scarcity and uncertainty of the historical sources we cannot be very accurate when talking about the possible Slavic attacks on the Cyclades. It remains uncertain, whether or not the Slavs turned their hostility against the islands that we know today as the Cyclades. Even if the Cyclades suffered Slavic raids, it was difficult to be a focus of Slavic invasion due to their large number and the diverse geographic features of this maritime zone. It is difficult to imagine that the Slavs invade all the Cyclades, from Andros, which is close to the Greek mainland, to Anafi and Amorgos, which are the most remote islands.

On the basis of archaeological material presented by this study, it appears that the Slavic raids had far less effect on the Cyclades (and the southern Aegean) than in the rest of Mainland Greece and they did not result in significant changes regarding navigation and the daily life of the islanders. Moreover, invasions and settlements of the Slavs in territories of the East Roman Empire are very complicated issues and have been subject to considerable debate among scholars. Until recently the majority of researchers believed the Slavs occupied and established themselves permanently from the second half of the 6th century. However, more recent studies have shown this complicated phenomenon lasted hundreds of years and there was no Slavic settlement in Greece till the 7th century (Gregory 2010, 168-172).

3.3.3 The ecclesiastical history of the Cyclades

Information about the ecclesiastical administration on the islands is extremely thin and fragmentary until the 6th century. During the 4th century the first ecclesiastical units in the Cyclades are mentioned in the Acts of the Ecumenical Councils. The bishop of Paros Academios participated in the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325 (Mansi 1961, II, col.695: «*Academio a Paro*»). This is the first bishopric (*episkope*) in the Cyclades confirmed by a written source. The following bishops: Auxentios of Naxos (Kampanellis 1991, 34; Savvides 2006, 103), Agapios of Tenos (Kiourtzian 2000, 203) and Dioscuros of Thera (Mansi 1961, III, col.38.) participated in the Council of Sardica (Sofia), held in 343/344. At the Council of Alexandria in 362, a certain *Zoilus Andro* attended, probably bishop of the island of Andros (Mansi 1961, III, col.353; Kiourtzian 2000, 45).

Later in the 5th century, in 431 bishop Athanasios of Paros participated in the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (Fedalto 1988, 219; *ACO* I, 1, 2, 58, n.71.). The same bishop or possibly an eponymous successor (Fedalto 1988, 219; *ACO* II, 3, 1, 234, n.185: «*Athanasius episcopus Pari insulae suscripsi*»), along with the bishop of Naxos Varachos (Fedalto 1988, 218; *ACO* II, 2, 2, 76, n.32.) attended the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451. In 458-459 the bishop of Andros Palladios participated in a Council held in Constantinople (Mansi 1961, VII, col. 917; Fedalto 1988, 206).

Probably during the first half of the 6th century the bishopric of Paros included the islands of Sifnos and Amorgos under its jurisdiction. In the great Council of Constantinople held in 536 by the Patriarch Menas, the bishop of Paros Theodore signed as «ἐπίσκοπος Παρίων, Σιφνίων καὶ Ἀμουλγινῶν» («bishop of Paros, Sifnos and Amorgos»; Fedalto 1988, 219; *ACO* III, 119, n. 93.). This change has been made after the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451, which was attended by Bishop Athanasios signing only as Bishop of Paros. Bishop Paul of Naxos also participated in the Council of Constantinople (Fedalto 1988, 218; *ACO* III, 119,

n.19). In 553 the bishop of Tenos, Ekdekios, attended the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (Fedalto 1988, 223; *ACO* IV, 1, 7, n.11).

Additionally, the names of bishops, which are totally unknown in religious written sources, are included among the donors of some churches of the 6th/7th century. The most characteristic examples are: the Bishops Hylasios and Georgios of Paros (church of Panagia Ekatontapiliani: Kiourtzian 2000, 102-126; Mitsani 2006, 75, 87-88) as well as the Bishop Sisinnios of Naxos (church of Panagia Drosiani: Kiourtzian 2000, 112-115).

Overall, during the 4th century the first bishop sees had already been established, especially on the larger islands of the Cyclades. As we can observe, the ecclesiastical officials frequently mentioned in the written sources of this period are the bishops of Paros (four mentions) and Naxos (four mentions), two islands of great importance in the Cyclades. Bishops of Paros participated in three out of five Ecumenical Councils held until the 6th century. It seems that larger islands like Paros, Naxos, Tenos, Thera and Andros had their own bishop's see. Some of them, occasionally or sometimes more permanently, had smaller islands under their jurisdiction, like Paros. Unfortunately there is no more evidence to form an overall picture of the ecclesiastical administration on the islands until the 6th century. In addition, during the 4th and 5th centuries monasticism began to grow, nevertheless neither historical nor archaeological evidence provide information about the foundation of monasteries in the Cyclades.

3.3.4 Social and economic aspects

In economic and social terms through Late Antiquity the East Roman Empire experienced two opposite sides of the spectrum. On the one hand, abandonment of earlier structures, re-use of ancient building material, shrinkage of towns, and social decline is observed. On the other hand, a remarkable building activity, mainly with the erection of large or small religious complexes, a strong central economy, and commercial connections with important economic activities in both urban and rural sites appeared in the Eastern provinces (Bintliff 2014b; 2012a). Nevertheless, in general, the Eastern Roman Empire achieved considerable florescence compared to the collapsing Western provinces (Bintliff 2012b, 351).

Due to the lack of contemporary literary witnesses, archaeological evidence constitutes the basic source of information regarding the social and economic context of the Aegean. The various regional surface survey projects in conjunction with the promising turn of scholars to the study of Late Antique material culture unearthed in the Aegean, especially the ceramic and sculpture data, have contributed to the historical comprehension of the Late Antiquity (Abadie-Reynal 1989; Reynolds 1995; Sodini 2000a; Ward-Perkins 2001; McCormick 2001, 25-119; Bonifay 2004; Loseby 2005; Wickham 2005, 708-720; Bonifay & Treglia 2007; Bintliff 2007; 2013a).

The picture about settlements during Late Antiquity, emerging through analysis of the results of regional surface survey projects within the broader Aegean world, suggests a busy rural landscape which is characterised by a dense network of sites of various types, mainly large commercial estates or *villas* (Bintliff 2012b, 353-360). In general, these rural sites expanded progressively after the 4th century and served the needs of food and other material of the Eastern Empire's large cities (Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria etc.) and the frontier military forces. In this context, epigraphic evidence from the so-called *cadaster* of Thera, probably based on the tax reform of Emperor Diocletian, provides testament concerning the organisation of agricultural production in the Cyclades during the early centuries of the period in question (Kiourtzian 2000, 212-240; 2001, 11). It is a valuable source of information for rural life in the Late Antique Cyclades (structures, use of the land, organisation and development of production, farming practices, crop types). It is quite impressive that during the early 4th century on the small island of Thera (76 m²) with limited available arable land compared to other larger and more fertile Cycladic islands such as Paros and Naxos, the local rural production was organised in more than 50 estates. Each one of these agricultural communities had a particular name, domestic organisation and cultivation. The main crop types cultivated on Late Antique Thera, were cereals, grapes (two different varieties: ἀλωπέκιον and κάνθαρον) and olives. Stockbreeding is also mentioned as an accessory

activity. In terms of social stratification, the *cadaster* of Thera mentions landowners, *paroikoi* (dependent peasants) and slaves. Unfortunately, there is no clear mention whether this production covered the needs of the local market or flowed to external markets.

Moreover, the Keos Survey provides clear evidence of expansion of rural sites across the countryside on the island during Late Antiquity (Cherry *et al.* 1991). The majority of these sites were small and only a few can be classified as larger estates. In Bintliffs' words: "these latter lack trade mark signs of *villa* life (wall-painting fragments, mosaics etc.) suggesting that their wealthier landowners are not in residence" (2012b, 354). It is possible that dependent workers living within these establishments or in separate nucleated or dispersed rural sites managed the estate on behalf of wealthy owners.

In this context, the urban economy drastically changed and many regional cities were reduced in size with limited traces of secular investment compared to previous centuries. The increase in taxes and the economic shrinkage resulted in public service and official urban positions being unpopular for members of the local elites. This phenomenon in connection with the increasing power of the Christian Church led to a significant change concerning urban authority. From the 4th century onwards the authority of the cities shifted to a combination of state representatives, and local bishop and clergy. Progressively, the Late Antique Urban environment was dominated by spacious and elaborate Christian religious complexes with widespread re-use of older building material. These large building projects leave no doubt as to where the financial surplus of the authorities and wealthy civilians was directed. Thus, Christian churches emerged as the cities' new landmarks constituting the most prestigious urban constructions (Saradi 2006). A characteristic example is the construction of the large, elaborate and expensive religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani in the 6th century within the city of Paros (see more details in Chapters 4.2.5 and 4.2.6).

In this respect, changes in urban topography can be seen as traces of radical re-organisation of the urban space under the pressure of a Christian population in order to create public space within cities for the accommodation of Christian churches, charitable institutions and cemeteries. Late Antique cities adjusted to the standards and needs of the new religious and Christian churches which emerged as the main urban landmarks. Additionally, small-scale public building projects, namely, erection of new structures or the restoration of pre-existed installations, such as fortifications, aqueducts, bridges or harbours are considered as evidence of new extensive building activity and sings of urban activity (Tsigonaki 2012).

Archaeological research has recognised dense networks of long distance exchange with many production ports and centres within the Mediterranean world. After the crucial point of the foundation of Constantinople, trade and exchange must have played an important role in the economic life of the Aegean islands through the Late Antique period. The complex coastlines of the Cycladic islands provided many safe ports and bays, and acted as supply stations of commercial importance, participating actively in the network of maritime transportation of travellers and goods during this period (Abadie-Reynal1989; Sanders 1996, 148; Vionis 2012, 31). Sea routes connecting Constantinople with Crete, the Eastern Mediterranean, mainland Greece, the coast of North Africa and the West were passing through the Cyclades. Strong evidence about high mobility over the Aegean Sea derives from the inscriptions and graffiti on Syros and Tenos (Kiourtzian 2000, 137-200; 2001, 11-12). The epigraphic data suggest communications between the islands of the Cyclades and other regions like Asia Minor (Miletus, Ephesus, Bithynia, and Lycia), Northern Africa (Egypt and Syro-Palestine), mainland Greece, the Saronic islands, and the West. According to G. Kiourtzian, from the 4th until the early 8th centuries visitors, merchants, pilgrims, soldiers and military or government officers travelled regularly through the maritime area of the Cyclades (2001, 12).

3.4 THE BYZANTINE EARLY MIDDLE AGES (late 7th - early 10th c.)

3.4.1 Introduction

Until the middle 7th century the Eastern Empire more or less maintained its Roman character, since

its material culture and organisational structures were based on forms and models which had been shaped in the turn from the Middle to Late Roman period. From the late 7th a transitional period of multiple transformations challenged the very existence of the Eastern Empire (Haldon 1997; Gregory 2010; Bintliff 2012b, 382). The relevant stability, the considerable activity in town and countryside, and the economic models which were developed throughout Late Antiquity were challenged, and a new world gradually rose. The Byzantine Early Middle Ages is characterised by the transformation of the economy and society, and the shift to a rather different medieval world. It was a transition period for political institutions, and economic and social life from antique to medieval life-ways and mentalities. Byzantine Emperors tried to rebuild the Empire on a new basis.

The limited archaeological evidence and literary sources in combination with the constant struggle of the Empire to survive led many scholars to describe this period as the "Byzantine Dark Ages". The fragmentary view that we have about these centuries is also related to the lack of interest among researchers and excavators. At the end of this period the Byzantine Empire eventually survived, emerging as a great power in the Mediterranean world. Under the leadership of the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties its greatest days of prosperity and power were achieved. The East Roman Empire had been transformed into the Byzantine Empire of the Middle Ages with important changes in material culture, new urban models, and very distinctive art, architecture and pottery.

Despite the new dynamic given to the Byzantine Empire by the rise of the Macedonian dynasty (Basil I, 867-886), the strong presence of the Arabs in the southern Aegean Sea extended the period of uncertainty and fluidity in this particular maritime region throughout the 1st half of the 10th century, at least until the re-conquest of Crete by general Nikephorus Phokas. The information about the Cyclades datable during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages is even more limited compared to other regions of the Empire. As a result, it is a challenge to reconstruct the history of the Cycladic islands between the late 7th and the early 10th centuries with the Cyclades hardly mentioned in the written sources of the period.

3.4.2 The administrative history of the Cyclades

After the middle 7th century, important administrative changes were made, and several reforms within the organisational structure of the Byzantine state took place, resulting progressively in the dissolution of the administrative units of the Late Roman period. The older structures, the Late Roman provinces, dating back to the times of Diocletian and Constantine were gradually replaced or modified by a new system which was more closely suited to the functional needs of the Early Byzantine Empire. The system of many small provinces was gradually replaced by a new one with its main characteristic being a number of territorially distinct districts of both civil and military administration called *themeta*, "θέματα" (Haldon 2002, 86-87; Gregory 2010, 192-195). There is a huge debate among scholars about the date of the emergence and the nature of the thematic administration, which is an issue beyond the present study. In brief, initially the origins of the new thematic administration were placed sometime in the 7th century, when the armies retreated into Asia Minor after the loss of the East to the Arabs. However, recent studies have started to challenge this picture and it is quite possible that what we know as *themata* did not came to be before the early 9th century (see more details in Haldon 1990; 214-215; Brubaker & Haldon 2011, 723-771).

Although archaeological material, such as lead seals, and textual sources provide sporadic evidence for the administrative status of the Aegean Sea within the framework of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, the overall picture remains fragmentary and ambiguous. Thus, questions and matters of administrative changes in this maritime area are often left unanswered. Therefore, forming an administrative history of the Cyclades is very problematic and it is difficult to proceed further in order to clarify the issue thoroughly. It seems that, during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages there was a clear trend towards administrative reform within the Empire.

It is not clear when the dissolution of the Late Roman *Province of the Islands* took place. However, from the middle 7th to the early 8th century appeared the naval command of the *Karabisianoi*

(Καραβισιάνοι or ἡ στρατηγία τῶν Καράβων). The origins and nature (whether it was a theme or not) of this maritime division remain unanswered questions, despite the fact that there is a huge debate among scholars (on the *Karabisianoi* see Gelzer 1890: between 670-678; Bury 1911, 190: naval command; Antoniades-Bibicou 1966, 63-98: between 648-654; Ahrweiler 1966, 19-31: the first regular and permanent fleet of Byzantium, after the siege of 672-678; Toynbee 1973, 324-325: 640s; Hendy 1985, 652-653; Malamut 1988; Lemerle 1981; Haldon 1990, 217 about 654; Yannopoulos 1990, 209-210: after 670; Brubaker & Haldon 2001, 174-726 with n. 4; Pryor & Jeffreys 2006, 25: after 659; *ODB* II, 1105-1106). In any case, it is quite possible that the creation of *Karabisianoi* was the reaction of the Byzantine Empire to the hostile activity of the Arab fleet in the Aegean Sea (Deligiannakis 2006, 29).

The *Karabisianoi* fleet was commanded by a *strategos*, or general, whose headquarters have not been clarified yet, with suggestions ranging from Rhodes to Keos and Samos (Rhodes: Haldon 1999, 74; Keos: Malamut 1988, 68, 105; Samos: Haldon 1990, 217; Pryor & Jeffreys 2006, 25). Although there is no clear evidence for the territories under his jurisdiction, it seems that his sphere of activity extended all over the Aegean Sea. Therefore, it is possible that all the islands of the Cyclades were included in his jurisdiction. His subordinates also included the *droungarios of the Kibyrrhaiotai*.

An interesting mention of the *strategos* of the *Karabisianoi* comes from the second collection of Saint Demetrius' Miracles, compiled at the end of the 7th century (Lemerle 1979, 230-231; 1981, 154-162). The Bulgarian leader Kouver with his people crossed the Danube and approached the *Kerameisios kampos* (the Keramesios plain, probably located northwest of Thessalonica). Then, he sent an embassy to the Byzantine Emperor requesting that he can settle there with his people and have access to food supplies from the neighbouring Slavic tribe of Drougouvites. According to the narrative: «*when most of them* (Drougouvites) *went among the huts of Slavs in order to provision themselves and when, upon asking, they ascertained that our city was not very far, most of those of Roman origins, with wives and children, began to enter our city saved by God. The administrative officials immediately sent them by ship to the capital.*» (Lemerle 1979, 229.14-17; Charanis 1970, 231). When Kouver learned of this he decided to organise collusion in order to take the city of Thessalonica. It is mentioned that the Emperor reacted immediately and ordered the commander of the *Karabisianoi*, the *strategos* Sisinnios, to lead his fleet to Thessalonica and enter the city. At that time the fleet of Karabisianoi had sailed to the island of Skiathos (Sporades). The date of the episode could have taken place between 680 and 688 (On the Kouver episode see: Lemerle 1981, 161: 682-684. Charanis 1970, 82-83; between 680-688; Gregoriou-Ioannidou 1981, 77-86). This narrative provides some information of great significance for our study. Firstly, it presents a context that shows the *Karabisianoi* fleet could be deployed rapidly and operated in the Aegean. Sisinnios departed from the regions of *Hellas*, reached the island of Skiathos and then sailed to Thessalonica. Secondly, it describes the island of Skiathos as uninhabited, for at least some time in the past. Thirdly, comes the reference that Kouver, after having fortified himself (in Thessalonica), was planning a war against the islands and Asia, and even against the emperor himself.

Kiourtzian suggests the Cyclades had to provide crews and naval bases to the *Karabisianoi* fleet (2000, 13, 152; 2001, 10). According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, in 711 the commander of the *Karabisianoi* Theofilos met pope Constantine in Keos on his return from Constantinople. This is the last mention of the *Karabisianoi* in the written sources and an indication there was a naval base of the fleet on the island of Keos. It is also possible that except for Keos, there was another base of the fleet in the Cyclades, on the island of Syros (Kiourtzian 2000, 13, 152; 2001, 10). This view is derived from an inscription at the site Grammata on Syros, which probably dates to the 7th century and mentions «Κ*(ύ)* ρ*(ιε)* σοσον τον δρόμωνα» ("Lord save the dromon"). The *dromon* was a Byzantine navy warship with a fighting deck over the hull (Luttwak 2009, 326-333, 428). The inscription testifies that such a warship arrived and was secured on Syros sometime during the 7th century. There is no information in the sources about the date of the dissolution of the *Karabisianoi* fleet. According to Ahrweiler this must have happened around 718 (1966, 27-30; see also Malamut 1988, 539). The *Karabisianoi* probably

proved to be inadequate during the second Arab siege of Constantinople in 716/717.

Sigillographic evidence suggests the Aegean Archipelago was not a single steady administrative unit until the middle 8th century (Brandes 2002, 387). These seals were issued by the officials active in the Cyclades attached to their private or official correspondence. A series of four lead seals from the first half of the 8th century mention the existence of the *vasilika kommerkia* on some small Aegean islands. The first one is dated to 730-1 and bears the inscription «τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμέρκιων τῆς Μήλου» (*royal kommerkion of Melos*), which is an indication that the island was the headquarters of the *royal kommerkiarios* (Oikonomidou 1964, 559; Zacos & Veglery 1972, no. 242; Brandes 2002, 379). The second seal is dated to 734/735 and mentions the βασιλικά κομμέρκια of the Aegean Sea Islands (Brandes 2002, 386 with n. 841). The third seal is dated to 736/737 and mentions the βασιλικά κομμέρκια διοικήσεως of Andros (Brandes 2002, 386, 555). The fourth seal is dated to 738/739 and is similar to the first. On one side the portraits of two emperors are depicted, probably Leo III and Constantine V, marking the 7th *indiction* (the word *indiction* has a chronological meaning, it indicated one year within a 15-year cycle, without specifying which cycle: *ODB* II, 992-3). On the other side stands the inscription «βασιλικῶν κομμέρκιων Μήλου, Θήρας, Ἀνάφης, Ἰου καί Ἀμοργοῦ» (*royal kommerkion of Melos, Thera, Anafi, Ios and Amorgos*; Antoniades-Bibicou 1963, 8; Oikonomidou 1964; Zacos-Veglery 1972, 194; Malamut 1988,540; Stavrakos 2011; Brandes 2002, 386, 556).

There are many unsolved issues regarding the duties of this institution. He was likely to have had the power to control the economic activity of a commercial centre, and to collect taxes from commercial activities in order to strengthen the Byzantine army (On *kommerkiarios* see: Oikonomidès 1989; Gerolimatou 2001, 359; Brandes 2002; Ragia 2011; Stavrakos 2011; Montinaro 2013). According to Brandes, the appearance of βασιλικά κομμέρκια on the small islands of the Cyclades and the changes that can be observed in a short period indicate the non-existence of a steady Byzantine presence in the maritime area of the South Aegean Sea (2002, 387). There was not a single steady administrative unit, thus in 730/731 the βασιλικά κομμέρκια only included Melos, but a few years later in 738/739 it also included Ios, Amorgos, Thera and Anafi. On a rather different note, Stavrakos on the basis of the four seals, in connection with numismatic finds from the Cycladic islands and traces of trade connections between Constantinople and Africa, was led to the opposite hypothesis that during this period Byzantine presence was relatively strong within the southern Aegean (2011, 269-276). Melos was the centre of tax collection which later included a number of islands, in order to support the operation of the Byzantine fleet.

We can take the middle path here arguing that, on the one hand during the 8th century the Byzantine state and the navy were present all over the Aegean Sea (strong or weak depending on the region). Moreover, in 747 the Byzantine fleet was able to achieve an important victory against the Arabs on the coast of Cyprus. On the other hand, presumably, during that period the Cycladic islands were not included in the sphere of operation of the Arab fleet. It seems the Cyclades were divided in the *vasilika kommerkia* system according to current needs with no specific pattern or plan, in a more convenient and flexible arrangement (Ragia 2011, 104-105).

Shortly after the dissolution of the *Karabisiani* fleet, the emperor Leo III created two new naval organisations: the imperial fleet (*basilikon ploimon*) and the fleet of *Kibyrrhaiotai*. *Kibyrrhaiotai* was the most important naval theme, based at Attaleia (On the *Kibyrrhaiotai* see: Ahrweiler 1966, 81-85, 131-135; Haldon 1990, 220; 1999, 77; Yannopoulos 1991; Savvides 1998; Cosentino 2004; *ODB* II, 1127). *Kibyrrhaiotai* was a specific maritime theme, commanded by a *strategos*, who had both military and civilian power. He was a naval commander whose main subordinates were the *kapetano of Masdaites*, the *ekprosopou of Sylaion*, and the *droungarios of Kos*. The *strategos* of *Kibyrrhaiotai* is first mentioned by Theophanis in 732 (De Boor 1963, 410, 4-9).

Because of the paucity of textual sources, it is not clear whether the islands of the Cyclades were part of the theme, comprising the coasts of Asia Minor from Miletos to Cilicia, together with the interior of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and part of Isauria. In addition, information about the lifetime of the theme and the period during which the Cycladic islands could be part of it is ambiguous. Some

scholars consider that after the establishment of the *theme of Kibyrrhaiotai* the Aegean Archipelago was subdivided into two naval zones; each zone was commanded by a *droungarios,* probably a subordinate of the *strategos* of *Kibyrrhaiotai* (Ahrweiler 1966, 81-85, 131-5; Penna 2010, 12-13). The *Taktikon Uspensky* or *Uspenskij*, the conventional name of a middle 9th century catalogue of the civil, military and ecclesiastical offices of the Byzantine Empire, provides some important information. Oikonomidès has dated it to 842/843 (1972, 25, 353). According to the *Taktikon* (53.18-19), in the first half of the 9th century the *Kibyrrhaiotai* theme was still existent (49.12.). In addition, it mentions two new thematic officers the *drougarios of the Aegean Sea* and the *drougarios of the Kolpos*. Both of them were probably subordinates of the *strategos* of *Kibyrrhaiotai*.

The *Taktikon* does not specify the sphere of activity of the two new thematic officers; therefore there have been different views on the administrative unit which included the Cyclades. Ahrweiler suggested that the *drougarios of the Kolpos* was the successor of the former *drougarios of Dodecanese*, the naval commander of the Cyclades (1966, 80-81). This attitude partly derived from the view of Zakynthinos, who supported the idea that the terms "Cyclades" and "Dodecanese" were synonymous in the Byzantine period (1942, 264-269). The *drougos of Kolpos* was centred around the island of Samos and included most of the Cyclades. The *drougarios of the Aegean Sea* had the islands of the northern Aegean Sea and the Propontis under his command (Ahrweiler 1966, 76-81).

On the contrary, Yannopoulos points out that the Cycladic islands were part of the *drougos of the Aegean Sea* (1990, 215). This view is based on the *De Thematibus*, a book written by the emperor Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus* (see below). It mentions that during the 10th century the Cyclades were part of the *theme of the Aegean*. According to Yannopoulos, the *theme of the Aegean* was an administrative unit which in the late 9th century replaced the *drougos of the Aegean Sea*; therefore there is no reason to presume that the Cyclades were part of the *drougos of the Kolpos* in the 9th century.

Over the centuries several changes within the structure of the thematic system took place. The original large themes gradually tended to be subdivided into smaller, and comprised fewer territories under their jurisdiction. Other important documents provide information about the administrative framework of the Empire during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (*Κλητορολόγιον*) is a document with noteworthy information about the civil, military, and ecclesiastical titles and offices of the Byzantine Empire. It was published in 899 during the reign of Leo VI the Wise by the otherwise unknown *protospatharios* and *atriklines* Philotheos (Bury 1911; Oikonomidès 1972, 65-235). The *Kletorologion* mentions the *theme of the Aegean Sea* and the *theme of Samos*. At the same time, the *drougarios of the Aegean Sea* and the *drougarios of the Kolpos* are absent from the catalogue. It is possible the two new maritime themes replaced the former *drougos of the Aegean Sea* and the *drougos of the Kolpos*. The foundation of these maritime themes was a Byzantine effort to restrain the aggressive strategy of the Arabs in Crete throughout the second half of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. The document makes no mention of the territories that comprised the two administrative units. We can only assume the Cyclades were detached from the *theme of Kibyrrhaiotai* and some of them were included in the *theme of the Aegean Sea*.

This hypothesis is supported by another important written source, the *De Thematibus* of the Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus* (913-959). According to Constantine, the *theme of the Aegean Sea* held the 17th position of the hierarchy, was commanded by a *strategos*, and comprised the Propontis, the Cyclades, and the islands of Chios, Lesvos, Lemnos, Tenedos and Imvros (Pertusi 1952, 81, xvi, 13-81-16). The author does not identify all the islands of Cyclades included in the theme; he only mentions Melos, Amorgos, Thera, Therasia and Rhenia. It seems the *theme of the Aegean Sea* did not include all the Cycladic islands in its sphere of activity, but mostly included the islands of the Northern Aegean. In the same text, Constantine mentions for a second time the Cyclades, as part of the *theme of Hellas* (Pertusi 1952, 90, 5, 14-15). This Byzantine province located in central and southern Greece. It is obvious the author copies the *Synekdemos* of Hieroklis, but once again does not specify which islands belonged to the theme.

We have to point out that during the second half of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century the situation over the Aegean Sea was fluid, especially in the Cyclades which were in close proximity to Crete. As mentioned below, throughout this period many Cycladic islands were occupied or paid taxes to the Moslems of Crete. Islands like Naxos, Paros, Ios, and Thera periodically did not belong to the Byzantine Empire and the Arabs had established maritime-supremacy over the Cycladic Sea. Probably the ambiguity of the literary sources on the administrative division of the Aegean islands is related to this uncertainty. In addition, as previously mentioned, the term "Cyclades" in the Byzantine era had acquired a broad meaning, even including some islands of the north Aegean Sea. We can find a middle ground here, arguing that the islands of the Cyclades which were still under Byzantine rule were divided into two themes. Probably some of them were included in the *theme of the Aegean Sea,* and the others which were located close to the Greek mainland were included in the European *theme of Hellas*.

Despite the ambiguity of the written sources, it is clear that the administrative position of the Cyclades within the framework of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages underwent significant changes between the middle 7th and the early 10th centuries. The Arab threat spread over the Aegean Sea, especially after the conquest of Crete, and the iconoclast controversy (see Chapter 3.4.4) were key factors of destabilisation and fluidity. They were also some of the main reasons that forced the Byzantine Empire to make many administrative changes on the Aegean islands. In addition, it is worth noting that it was very problematic for the Byzantine Empire to control, defend and tax such a large number of scattered islands because of the actual geographic complexity of the Aegean Sea.

3.4.3 Life in the Aegean under the shadow of the Arab presence

The centuries that followed the prosperity of Late Antiquity are rather problematic on multiple levels due to the limited securely dated evidence for religious and secular life. In the transition to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages the insular communities of the Aegean Sea were influenced by a series of events which led, in socio-economic terms, to a completely new reality. A series of parameters such as the *Great Plague* (541/542), and its cyclical return from the 6th until the 8th century, climatic change, several earthquakes, the Arab-Byzantine struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, the permanent loss of the richest provinces, the fading of the Late Antique cities, the reduction of economic space in the Byzantine Empire, the subsequent decrease of the demand for commercial goods, the transformation of the economic system from market to subsistence economy, and the essential changes in the character of the Byzantine State caused many problems in the Empire and its very existence came into question (Bintliff 2012b, 383-384).

After the second quarter of the 7th century, the Byzantine Empire faced a new threat on its eastern frontier: the rise of the Arabs and the spread of Islam. As early as 641 Byzantine territories like Syria, Palestine, Armenia and Egypt were already conquered by the Arabs. Moreover, during the late 7th century the Arab army advanced into Asia Minor, whilst other forces had already completed the conquest of North Africa. In this context, the Arab fleet made a dynamic emergence over the Aegean Sea. We can separate the Arab presence in the Aegean Sea into two comprehensive periods: a) the time before the Arab conquest of Crete, and b) the time after the Arab conquest (824-828) until the Byzantine recapturing of the island (961).

During the first period, from Arab naval bases in Cyzicus, Smyrna and on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, Constantinople was besieged twice, once in 672-678 and after in 715-717. In this context, the Aegean Archipelago gradually became the forefront of the naval contest between the Byzantines and the Arabs. Between 652 and 654, the islands of Crete, Rhodes and Kos were raided by a Muslim fleet. A few years later in 667, Rhodes was assaulted again and during the period between 673 and 680 was occupied by the Arabs (Bosworth 2002; Pryor & Jeffreys 2006, 25-26). Crete was also raided probably in 672 and 713. The maritime-supremacy of the Byzantine Empire in the Mediterranean had begun to be challenged.

Once more, the written sources provide no information concerning the fate of the islands of the Cyclades and there is no mention of any hostile

act against them. Nevertheless, a re-evaluation of the material culture dated to this period from many Cycladic islands provides indications for Byzantine presence in the Cyclades, and the existence of a regional network of trade and communication with the imperial centre and other regions of the Aegean world. Presumably during that period the islands of the Cyclades were not included in the sphere of operation of the Arab fleet. It seems the Arabs turned their hostility against Constantinople, the coast of Asia Minor and the largest and more prosperous islands of the southern and south-eastern Aegean (Rhodes, Kos, Crete).

Ceramic evidence from sites on the island of Naxos (late variants of LRA 1 type, lamps, coarse ware, cooking pots) dated to the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries suggest commercial activities and connection with the capital (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 29-31; Vionis *et al.* 2009, 155-156; Vionis 2012, 32; 2016; 2017). Six sites on Melos have produced early lead-glazed White Wares imported from Constantinople, providing evidence of continuity into the late 8th or the early 9th century (Sanders 1996, 148) and communication with the imperial centre. On the island of Keos ceramic fragments dated from the 7th to the 9th centuries have been discovered (Chery *et al.* 1991, 354, table 18.1; Armstrong 2009, 176). Additionally, according to Katsone, the seal of *vasilika kommerkia* of Melos, Thera, Anafi, Ios and Amorgos could potentially be connected to the role of Thera as a station in the maritime trade of the Byzantines and the Arabs - but on the other hand could also indicate internal trade of indigenous products (2008, 107-108 with n. 111; for more details on *vasilika kommerkia* see Chapter 3.4.2). Numismatic data from Naxos, Amorgos, Sikinos, Andros, Sifnos, Melos, Kimolos, Mykonos, Delos and Thera (dated from the 7th until the first half of the 9th century) suggest economic and trade activities (Penna 2001, Pennas & Samoladou 2010).

The situation changed progressively from the first half of the 9th century. During the reign of Michael II Arab adventurers from Spain took advantage of the weak naval defensive system of the Byzantium, and because of the participation of the *Kibyrrhaiotai* fleet in the revolt of Thomas the Slav (see next Chapter) succeeded in occupying the island of Crete (sometime between 824 and 828). Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus* mentions in *De administrando imperio*: «For when Michael the Lisper had got possession of the rule over the Romans, and the rebellion of Thomas broke out and lasted three years, then, while the emperor was engrossed with the troubles which had arisen, the Agarenes who lived in Spain saw their chance had come, fitted out a large fleet and started out from the region of Sicily and desolated all the islands of the Cyclades, and, coming to Crete and finding it rich and carelessly guarded, since none opposed or engaged them, they took it, and hold it to this day» (Moravcsik & Jenkins 1967, 22.41-48).

All the Byzantine naval campaigns to retake the island from 829 to 866 were unsuccessful. The Byzantine Empire lost a strategically and commercially important island. It was a crucial point of the Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean, which altered the equilibrium in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Byzantine sources report little and fragmentary information about the fate of the Cycladic islands during the conquest of Crete.

The *Life of Saint Theoktiste* mentions the Moslem raids and their effect on the islands of the Cyclades (Ioannou 1973, 1-17). According to the narrator (the Byzantine ambassador Niketas Magistros), Saint Theoktiste at the age of eighteen was taken prisoner by the Moslems of Crete who raided her native island Lesbos. The Moslem fleet, commanded by Nisiris, stopped on the island of Paros on its way back to Crete, and the Saint managed to escape her captors. It may have occurred sometime between 823 and 828 (Talbot 1996, 97). In the first quarter of the 10th century on his way to Crete Niketas stopped on Paros. During his stay there, he met a hermit by the name of Symeon who told him the story of Saint Theoktiste. The hermit asked Niketas to write for posterity the Life of the Saint. He described Paros as an uninhabited island, only inhabited by deer and other animals, and serving as a naval base for pirates.

Nonetheless, this report may indicate that the island of Paros was captured by the Arabs, but it is difficult to believe that one of the largest islands in the Cyclades had become so isolated (see more in Chapter 4). According to Tomadakes, this is an exaggerated report found in hagiographical works (1965, 109-110; Jazdezewska 2009); a literary *cliché*. Unfortunately many scholars without critical

thinking easily adopt the view that throughout this period Paros was in this state. In the *Life of Saint Theoktiste* it is also mentioned that Byzantine sailors who had stopped on Naxos attended a service at a local church and received Holy Communion. On the one hand, this reference may indicate the Arabs of Crete did not destroy the churches on the occupied islands (Christides 1981, 82). On the other hand, it seems that Byzantine sailors could occasionally visit an occupied island.

In 898, Arabs from Tarsus commended by Raghib, managed to defeat a Byzantine fleet, probably the *Kibyrrhaiotai* (Pryor & Jeffreys 2006, 62). This victory facilitated the raids of Leo of Tripoli's fleet over the Aegean Sea (Leo of Tripoli, known to the Moslems as Gulam Zurafa, was a former Byzantine seaman from the *Kibyrrhaiotai* who converted to Islam). As Ioannes Caminiates reveals (*On the capture of Thessalonica*), after the capture of Thessaloniki, in 904, Leo of Tripoli sailed around the islands of the Aegean in order to avoid any confrontation with the Byzantine fleet (Böhlig 1973, 59-60). During his way back to Crete he stopped-over at the island of Naxos, which had already been occupied by the Moslems of Crete, to whom the islanders paid tribute. According to Christides, by the middle of the 10th century the Cycladic islands that were definitely in the hands of the Arabs of Crete were Ios, Thera, Paros and Naxos, functioning as basic naval stations for the Arab fleets sailing from Crete or Syria (1981; 1984, 165-167). The Caminiates' text indicates that the island of Naxos experienced good relation with the Arabs of Crete, as the locals welcome the Arab fleet offering gifts and supplies.

It is also worth recalling that the Emperor Romanos II (959-963) signed a treaty with the emir of Crete Abd al Aziz before the Byzantine re-conquest of the island in 961, which is known only from Arab sources. According to the treaty, the Byzantines would pay an annual tribute to the Arabs. The emir of Crete would stop the raids against the islands and allow free trade between the insular communities in return (Panagiotaki 1960, 52; Christides 1981, 97; Dimitrokallis 2005, 33-34).

Michael Attaleiates mentions that (224) the general Nikephorus Phokas stopped on Ios during his campaign in order to reoccupy the island of Crete. He could not find an experienced Byzantine sailor to lead his fleet to Crete, because no Byzantine ship had sailed in that direction for many years. This is an indication that the Moslem fleet had dominated the area of the central Cyclades and the Byzantine fleet had taken several years to force its passage through this route.

Overall, the Arab-Byzantine struggle for supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean established new general circumstances over the Aegean Sea. The fragmentary information derived from the Byzantine literary sources describes a context of Arab supremacy in the Aegean Sea with a very weak Byzantine presence after the early 9th century. From a strategic point of view, it seems the Arabs after 824-828 founded their base in the southern Aegean on the island of Crete, and were preparing to establish a new empire based not only on raiding, looting and booty, but according to an organised central plan (Vionis 2017, 174-175). According to Vionis, the reference of Ioannes Caminiates indicates that the Arabs were probably not continuously plundering the islanders since they planned to extract taxes from them. Alternatively, the conquered islands would need cash and agricultural products to be able to meet their tax obligations. Agricultural products presuppose an organised system of local rural production while cash could be acquired through a form of inter-regional trade, by exporting these products and other commodities within (as well as outside) the territory of the Byzantine Empire (Vionis 2017, 175). In this respect, the islands of Cyclades remained highly interactive microcosms throughout the troubled period of the Arab presence in the Aegean.

3.4.4 Internal conflicts

During the period from the middle 7th to the 9th centuries the Byzantine state faced many internal political conflicts and ecclesiastical controversies. A crucial point for Byzantine history was the period of Iconoclasm. This great controversy that convulsed the Empire is divided into two phases: i) the first Iconoclasm was initiated in 726 or 730 by Leo III and reversed in 787 by the empress-regent Irene, ii) the second Iconoclasm was commenced in 787 by Leo V and was ended in 843 by empress-regent Theodora. Moreover, many emperors faced defections and efforts of usurpation to their throne which resulted in civil wars.

It seems the islands of the Cyclades were actively involved in some of these political and ecclesiastical controversies during the 8th and 9th centuries. The first mention of involvement of the Cyclades in such events is dated to 725-726 or 728 (Malamut 1988, 70). According to Theophanes and Nikephoros, the inhabitants of Hellas and the Cyclades, moved by "divine zeal", came to an accord and revolted against the emperor Leo III (De Boor 1963, 405, 14-24; Mango 1990, 128-129.60). They collected a great fleet and made a certain Cosmas their emperor. The commander of the expedition was Agallianos, the *tourmarches of the Helladics* (τουρμάρχης τῶν Ἑλλαδικών), and Stephen. They led their fleet against Constantinople but after joining battle their ships were burnt with Greek fire and were defeated. Both of the authors inform us that Agallianos threw himself in the sea while Cosmas and Stephen were beheaded; nothing is included about the fate of the Cyclades and Hellas.

The second active participation of the Cyclades in a political controversy is dated to 821-823. The reign of Michael II was marked by the revolt of Thomas the Slav. Thomas was a high ranking military officer in the *Anatolikon* theme who organised an insurrection in Asia Minor against the Byzantine emperor. It was a great conflict lasting over two years and assumed the proportions of a civil war. Thomas succeeded in gaining most of the themes of Asia Minor, including the maritime *theme of Kibyrrhaiotai* onto his side. At the same time he claimed that he was an adherent of the *iconophile* party and utilised the discontent of a great part of the population against the iconoclastic policy of the emperor Michael II. The Arabs tried to make a close alliance with Thomas in order to help him in deposing the emperor. Thomas was crowned as emperor of the Romans at Antioch and the Caliph al-Ma'mun recognised his "title". Shortly thereafter, he directed his forces against Constantinople. From December 821 to spring 823, supported by the fleet of the Cyclades, Thomas besieged the capital both on land and on sea. The imperial forces using Greek Fire neutralised the threat. After the failure of the siege the revolt quickly collapsed. The revolt of Thomas and the two year controversy weakened the Byzantine Empire's naval defensive system and helped the Arabs occupy Crete.

3.4.5 The ecclesiastical history of the Cyclades

Several ecclesiastical documents dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages provide information about the organisational structure of the Christian Church. According to the church hierarchy, the chief bishops of the Christian Church were the five Patriarchs (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem). The Byzantine state was subdivided into ecclesiastical provinces, called *metropoleis*. The head of each province was the metropolitan-bishop. He was the supervisor of his territory and had several bishops' sees under his jurisdiction. The head of each bishopric was the local bishop. A small delegation of bishops from each ecclesiastical province participated in Ecumenical Councils and ecclesiastical synods.

The first comprehensive view of the ecclesiastical administration of the Early Byzantine state is offered by the *Notitia I* dated to the 7th century; an official document furnishing the list with the metropolitan's hierarchical rank, and the local bishops of the church (Darrouzès 1981, 3-9, 203-213). The 30th (λ΄) position on the list corresponds to the *province of the islands of the Cyclades* (επαρχία νήσων Κυκλάδων). The head of this ecclesiastical province was the metropolitan bishop of Rhodes, who had twelve bishoprics under his jurisdiction, seven of which were located on the islands of the Cyclades, while one is omitted. According to the hierarchical rank of the bishoprics, the fourth position was held by the bishop of Naxos, the fifth by the bishop of Thera, the sixth by the bishop of Paros, the eighth by the bishop of Andros, the ninth by the bishop of Tenos, the tenth by the bishop of Melos, and the eleventh by the bishop of Pissynis, which was one of the ancient names of Amorgos (Vagiakakos 1991-1993, 243).

Sometime in the late 6th or the early 7th century the island of Amorgos was detached from the power of the bishop of Paros, and was promoted to a separate bishopric with its own Episcopal see. It seems that during that period demographic and economic conditions in Amorgos gave the opportunity for the island to form a separate bishopric. On a rather different note, Sifnos failed to be promoted to a separate bishopric and remained under the bishop of Paros's jurisdiction throughout the Early and Middle

Byzantine periods. This status was maintained until 1083 and the island was included in the newly created bishopric of Paronaxia, where it remained at least until the 16th century (Kampanellis 1991, 37; Konstantinides 1998, 208).

Evidence from the *Notitia I* indicates that in the 7th century only the larger islands of the Cyclades had Episcopal sees. In contrast, the smaller islands, like Sifnos, were probably under the jurisdiction of larger bishoprics. It is also worth recalling that the *Notitia I* does not provide any information about the ecclesiastical division of the other Cycladic islands included in the *province of Hellas* (Keos, Delos, Mykonos, Serifos, Kythnos, and probably Syros).

The following bishops participated in the Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople held in 680-681: Georgios of Naxos (Fedalto 1988, 218; *ACO, 2nd edition*, 2, 2, 764), Stefanos of Paros (Fedalto 1988, 219; *ACO* II, 2, 2, 520; Mansi 1961, XI, 680C, 652E), Dimitrios of Tenos (Fedalto 1988, 223; *ACO* II, 2, 520, 20), Eftichios of Melos (Fedalto 1988, 213; *ACO, 2ndedition,* II, 2, 2, 764) and Georgios of Thera (Fedalto 1988, 222; *ACO, 2ndedition,* II, 2, 2, 764).

During the first half of the 8th century an important change took place in the ecclesiastical status of some Cycladic islands. Pope Gregory II appealed to the Byzantine emperor Leo III to moderate his position on the iconoclastic controversy. Leo tried to bring him under control and decided to transfer territories from the Pope's ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the year 727 the emperor detached Hellas and the neighbouring islands from the Pope's sphere of activity and transferred them to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Important information regarding the ecclesiastical administration of the Cyclades is offered by the *Notitia 3,* dated between the second half of the 8th and the late 9th century (Darrouzès 1981, 20-33, 229-245). According to the *Notitia 3* the islands of the Cyclades were not included as a whole in the same ecclesiastical administrative unit. The 44th position on the list corresponds to the *province of Hellas* (ἐπαρχία Ἑλλάδος). The head of this ecclesiastical province was the metropolitan bishop of Athens, who had 39 bishoprics under his jurisdiction, two of which were located on the islands of the Cyclades. According to the hierarchical rank of the bishoprics, the third position was held by the bishop of Keos and the fifth by the bishop of Mykonos. The high position of these two Cycladic bishoprics on the hierarchical rank suggests they played a significant role.

The following bishops participated in the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea held in 787: Constans of Andros (Mansi 1961, XIII, col.373; Fedalto 1988, I, 206), Galatios of Melos (Mansi 1961, XIII, col.149, 396; Fedalto 1988, I, 213) and Eustathios of Tenos (Mansi 1961, XIII, col.736; Fedalto 1988, I, 223). In 879 the bishop of Andros Philippos participated in a Council held in Constantinople (Mansi 1961, XVII-XVIII, col.376; Fedalto 1988, I, 206).

In relative terms, we can say that the islands of Cyclades during the period from the 7th to the 9th centuries were not included as a whole in the same ecclesiastical province. Most of them were under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan bishop of Rhodes and the rest were in the sphere of activity of the metropolitan bishop of Athens. It is obvious that originally the ecclesiastical division generally followed the secular administration. However since the 7th century the ecclesiastical division did not follow the changes in the civil administration. The evidence from the *Notitiae* indicates there is stability in the ecclesiastical division of the Cycladic islands from the 6th to the 10th centuries, with only a few exceptions. The Episcopal sees were mainly on the largest and most populated islands. Some of the local bishops had more than one island under their jurisdiction.

3.4.6 Natural disasters

During Late Antiquity a series of natural catastrophes afflicted the Aegean islands. In 344, 477, 516 and 554 violent earthquakes were reported, which caused considerable damage to the islands of Rhodes and Kos (Spiropoulos 1997, 283-5; Papazachos & Papazachou 1997, 185, 187, 189; Ambraseys 2009, 180, 199, 207). The written sources however, do not mention the Cyclades in this context. It is possible that through the Late Antique centuries the islands of the Cyclades did not suffer significant earthquake damage.

The first report of an earthquake directly affecting the Cyclades was the eruption of Thera's volcano, in the summer of 725/726, during the early

iconoclastic period. The paroxysm lasted three days, but the eruption continued for more than a month (Ambraseys 2009, 226-227). According to the detailed descriptions by Theophanes and Nikephoros the effects of the volcanic eruption caused a great sensation (Mango 1990, 128-9, 59-60). The authors comment on the smoke, the lava and the rocks that came from the volcano. Theophanes mentions that «ἀτμὶς ὡς ἐκ καμίνου πυρὸς ἀνέβρασεν ἀναμέσον Θήρας καὶ Θηρασιάς τῶν νήσων ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης» (*Chronographia* 404. 18-20; "a vapour as from a fiery furnace boiled up for a few days from the depth of the sea between the islands of Thera and Therasia": Mango & Scott 1997, 559) and «πετροκισσήρους μεγάλους ὡς λόφους τινὰς ἀνέπεμψε καθ' ὅλης τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀσίας καὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἀβύδου καὶ τῆς πρόςθάλασσαν Μακεδονίας» (*Chronographia* 404. 23-25; "pumice stones as big as hills were thrown up against all of Asia Minor, Lesbos, Abydos, and coastal Macedonia": Mango & Scott 1997, 559). Nikephoros notes that «θέρους ὥρας ἐνεστηκυίας συνηνέχθη τον θαλάττιον βυθόν πλεῖστον ότι καπνώ δη ἀτμὸν ἐξερευγέσθαι, ἐξ οὗ ἐπὶ πολύ πυκνουμένου τοῦ ἀέρος πῦρ ἐξαφθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ λίθους κισηρώδεις διεκβρασθῆναι εἰς πλήθος μέγιστον» ("During the summer season the watery deep happened to belch forth a quantity of smoky steam, out of which, as the air became thicker, a fire burst and, after the fire, an enormous mass of pumice-like stones was cast out": Mango 1990, 59. 6-7). Both of them emphasise that as a result of the explosion a new island was created and united with the Holy Island (Delos). All these lead to the hypothesis that the eruption of Thera's volcano was a very intense phenomenon, causing much damage, not only on Thera but also on other islands of the Cyclades.

3.5 THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD (middle 10th – early 13th c.)

3.5.1 Introduction

Despite the fact that the study of the material culture and settled landscape of the Middle Byzantine period is not the aim of this thesis, this chapter provides a very brief overview of the historical context in the Cyclades between the middle 10th and the early 13th century. This evidence is an excellent comparative material that allows a better understanding of the complex socioeconomic phenomena of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in the Cyclades.

The total victory of the *iconophiles* in 843, political stability and military power strengthened the Byzantine Empire on many levels during the late 9th century. Thus, the Byzantine Empire reached its height under the leadership of the Macedonian and Komnenian emperors (Haldon 2010; Bintliff 2012b, 388-389). The smooth functioning of institutions, lack of political and religious controversies, demographic growth, general stability, military power and victories against enemies (Bulgaria) in combination with the economic policies of the emperors led the Empire, especially during the late 10th and the early 11th century, to its apogee of power.

In the second half of the 11th century however, the Byzantine state once again faced many problems. Internal political and ecclesiastical conflicts, the rise of the large estates, the decline of the free peasantry, the crusades, the threat of the Normans in Italy, the Hungarians, the Uzes and the Cumans in the Balkans, and the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor negatively affected the Byzantine Empire. The economy and administration gradually collapsed and the Byzantine Empire in fact failed to recover. This period ended with the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.

After the so-called "Dark Ages", the archaeological evidence for Byzantium becomes more plentiful. There is evidence of city life and monumental architecture being built, but not on the vast scale that characterised the Late Roman period. Information about the islands of the Aegean Sea during this period is sufficient. As previously mentioned the Middle Byzantine era for the Cyclades commenced during the second half of the 10th century and lasted until the early 13th century. It seems that the Cyclades, in the Middle Byzantine centuries, were characterised by new economic, social and administrative transformations (Malamut 1982, 350).

3.5.2 The political and ecclesiastical history of the Middle Byzantine Cyclades

In 961, during the reign of Romanos II general Nikephorus Phokas finally succeeded in reoccupying the island of Crete and restoring Byzantine maritime-

supremacy over the Aegean Sea. His total victory against the Moslems of Crete provided peace and stability for the Cyclades in the second half of the 10th century, and Byzantine rule was restored in the Cyclades until the coming of the Franks (early 13th century).

There is only one ambiguous mention of Muslim hostile activity against the Cyclades after the Byzantine reoccupation of Crete. According to Ioannis Skylitzes (Thurn 1973, 6-8, 396-398) and Ioannis Zonaras (Dindorf 1868-1875, XVII.10, 14) Muslim corsairs attacked Myra and the Cyclades, but were totally defeated by the fleet of *Kibyrrhaiotai*. In the following years the Arab presence in the Aegean Sea came to an end and the three maritime Byzantine *themes of Kibyrrhaiotai, Samos* and *Aigaion Pelagos* tended to decline (Pryor & Jeffreys 2006, 88).

According to the *Taktikon Escurial*, dated in the late 10th century (c. 971-975), the Cyclades together with some of the islands of the Dodecanese formed a new theme, *the theme of the Cyclades* (Oikonomidès 1972, 267, 31). Oikonomidès argues the Cyclades became a separate theme after 949 (1972, 361). In the late 11th century the *Cyclades theme* also included Chios, Kos, Karpathos, and Ikaria. In addition, in 1107 a flotilla from the Cyclades participated in the naval operations of the Byzantine fleet in the Adriatic (Varrias 1998). In 1125 however the Venetian fleet sacked Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and Andros after the emperor John II Komnenos refused to renew the commercial privileges which had been granted to the Venetians.

There is also information about the ecclesiastical history of the Cyclades during the Middle Byzantine period. A clear and overall view of the ecclesiastical administration of the Cyclades throughout the late 9th and the 10th centuries is offered by the *Notitia 7,* dated between 901 and 907 (Darrouzès 1981, 53-78, 269-289). In this document we observe certain changes. The 28th position on the list corresponds to the *province of Hellas*. The head of this ecclesiastical province was the metropolitan bishop of Athens, who had ten bishoprics under his jurisdiction. According to the hierarchical rank, the fourth position was held by the bishop of Andros and the tenth by the bishop of Syros. It is obvious the metropolitan bishop of Athens had fewer bishoprics under his jurisdiction in the late 10th century than in the 8th and 9th centuries. Moreover, we have to mention, on the one hand there is the absence of the bishoprics of Keos and Mykonos, and on the other hand the existence of the bishopric of Andros, which was detached from the ecclesiastical province of Cyclades and was included in the ecclesiastical *province of Hellas*. This change must have happened during the middle 9th and the early 10th centuries (Malamut 1988, 342). The 38th position on the list corresponds to the *province of Cyclades*. The metropolitan bishop of Rhodes still maintained all the dioceses under his jurisdiction in the 10th century, with the exception of Andros.

This status was maintained until the late 11th century. In 1083 the Churches of Paros and Naxos were detached from the metropolis of Rhodes and formed a new metropolis called *Paronaxia* (Darrouzès 1981). This newly created ecclesiastical district probably had smaller islands like Sifnos under its jurisdiction (Kampanellis 1991, 37; Konstantinides 1998, 208).

3.5.3 The social and economic conditions in the Cyclades

Administrative and economic reforms gave the Empire a new character following the Early Byzantine centuries. As a result of these gradual transformations we notice a remarkable increase in rural settlements in the countryside throughout the Middle Byzantine period.

The new conditions of peace and stability created by the restoration of Byzantine rule over the Aegean Sea led to demographic increase and a rise in settlement, or even a resettlement of the Cycladic islands. During this period this phenomenon has been noticed for many regions of Greece, like Phocis, Laconia and Boeotia (Armstrong 1989, 1996; Bintliff & Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 2000a; 2012b, 391-394). The location and size of these settlements varies and is usually organised around a church. In the Cyclades humble churches usually signify extensive rural settlement and agricultural intensification (Vionis 2013; 2017). The large number of small and simple churches found scattered around the Cycladic islands, dated to the Middle Byzantine period, support this view and indicate an increase in population and number of settlements. This is an indication that agricultural production remained a prime economic activity in the Middle Byzantine era.

In addition, some islands developed other economic activities; Andros for example became an important silk centre during the Middle Byzantine centuries (Jacoby 2000).

3.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aforementioned overview of the history of the Aegean over the course of Late Antiquity and the Early and Middle Byzantine centuries has offered a general picture of political, economic and social evolution, which affected the everyday life of the insular communities of the Cyclades.

The fate of the Cycladic complex and the role played by its islands arose from the political, social, economic and cultural circumstances created by the external leading centres from the Roman and Byzantine Empires to Venetian and Ottoman domination. Over the course of the Middle Roman Imperial era the Cyclades remained almost "invisible" in the context of the vast "Global" Empire. The reorientation of the Roman Empire to Constantinople placed the islands of the Aegean Sea at the centre of development and had long-term impact on the history of the Cyclades from the 4th century onwards. The close proximity to the capital in many ways shaped the historical trajectory of the Cyclades. Thus, over the course of the Late Antique centuries, the insular communities of the Cyclades had formed diverse and highly interactive microcosms characterised by the integration to maritime commercial routes, and the connectivity with important cultural and political Mediterranean centres of the period in question. In general terms, most of the Cycladic islands achieved a relevant socioeconomic florescence from the 4th to the middle 7th century.

During the Byzantine Early Middle Ages the multiple transformations affected daily life on the islands, changing their nature and character. The Aegean Sea was the theatre of military operations and the Cyclades in particular, integrated to the main maritime military routes of the Byzantine Empire, acting as the forefront of defence of the Capital amid the naval struggle between the Byzantines and the Arabs. The dramatic fluctuations of the period's political, military and social situation created special conditions in the South Aegean, and some islands of the Cyclades could occasionally act as Byzantine or Arab naval bases. However, the Cyclades continued to be a region of interaction with commercial activities and daily life, even during the turbulent Dark Ages. The Cycladic islands continued to be connected, interacted with broader worlds on a different level and never experienced total isolation or abandonment. Probably, some islands, like Paros, although viewed as completely isolated, were particularly affected by specific conditions in this exact period of time, for reasons analysed below. In contrast, islands like Naxos seem to be affected to a lesser degree.

In the Middle Byzantine era the Aegean gradually became a "Byzantine sea" as the Empire established a stable and relatively safe context. Then, after the 13th century the Aegean Archipelago emerged as a crucial maritime area for the commercial activities of the rapidly growing Italian cities. Investigating the material culture and built environment of the Cyclades in the following chapter provides important evidence, shedding more light on everyday life in the insular communities throughout Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

Chapter 4

The settlement pattern and material culture of the island of Paros

4.1 THE PARIAN LANDSCAPE

The island of Paros is located almost in the central part of the Cycladic complex, in the middle of the Aegean Archipelago (Fig. 1.1). It lies to the west of Naxos and east of Sifnos being at a distance of, approximately, 90 nm southeast of the port of Piraeus and the capital city of Greece, Athens (Figs 1.2 & 2.1). It belongs to a small cluster of islands along with Antiparos (Oliaros), the uninhabited Despotiko, and Strongilo, as well as many other smaller islets (Fig. 4.1).

At its narrowest point, the channel between Paros and Antiparos is measured at less than 1 nm, while the channel between Paros and Naxos is less than 3 nm. Paros has an ellipsoid shape with its longest axis (NE-SW) measuring 22 km and its narrower axis (NW-SE) 14 km. In the west and north parts of Paros the ellipsoid form of the island is interrupted by two large bays, the bay of Parikia and the bay of Naoussa. The total surface of Paros covers an area of 196.3 km², placing it as the third largest island in the Cyclades, after Naxos (430 km²) and Andros (374 km²). Nowadays the capital of Paros is the coastal settlement of Parikia on its west coast and the total population of the island is approximately 15,000.

Paros is a typical example of a small Mediterranean island in terms of environmental conditions, topography and vegetation (Fig. 4.2). Tectonically, it belongs to the Cyclades Plateau, which is part of the Attic-Cycladic isotopic zone. Specifically, Paros belongs to the southern Cyclades geotectonic unit.

The subsoil, like most of the Cycladic islands, is principally dominated by metamorphic rocks composed of marbles, crystallic limestones and gneiss-schists, plus some Neogene and Quaternary formations that cover only a small part of its coastal zone. The central part of Paros with high altitudes is primarily associated with marble deposits, and secondly with schists. In contrast, coastal and flat low relief areas are dominated by clastic and schist formations (Evelpidou *et al.* 2010, 288).

In general, the Parian landscape is a mixture of semi-natural vegetation, cultivated or abandoned terraces and picturesque Cycladic-style villages. The interior of Paros is quite mountainous (Figs 4.1 & 4.3) dominated by a central low mountain range with a northeast-southwest orientation, and peaks at Mt Agii Pantes (alt. 771 m) and Mt Stroumpoulas (alt. 724 m).

On all sides these mountains slope down to the coast and create fertile plains which almost completely ring the island (Philippson 1959). Thus, the plains on the island are mostly of coastal and secondly of karstic origins. The latter are not so frequently observed, except for a small fertile basin in the region of Marathi which covers approximately 1,43 km². The coastal plains are mostly formed in alluvial deposits and cover a total area of 26,02 km² (Pavlopoulos *et al.* 2009, 207). The most fertile and extensive plains are located along the eastern (Fig. 4.4a) and the south-western (Fig. 4.4b) coastal zones of Paros.

In terms of traditional land use, this landscape creates a contrast between the mountainous central countryside where the agriculture is organised in terraces while settlements and roads are few, and the coastal flat zone with many settlements, roads and cultivated areas (Sevenant & Antrop 2007, 364). By the standards of the Cyclades, Paros is one of the most fertile islands. In the coastal plains, colluvial and clayish soils form the most fertile areas of the island and most settlements are located there (Sevenant & Antrop 2007, 363-364).

The natural environment of the coastal zone of Paros has significant environmental value. The length of the lacework coastline on the island measures approximately 111 km and forms many sandy,

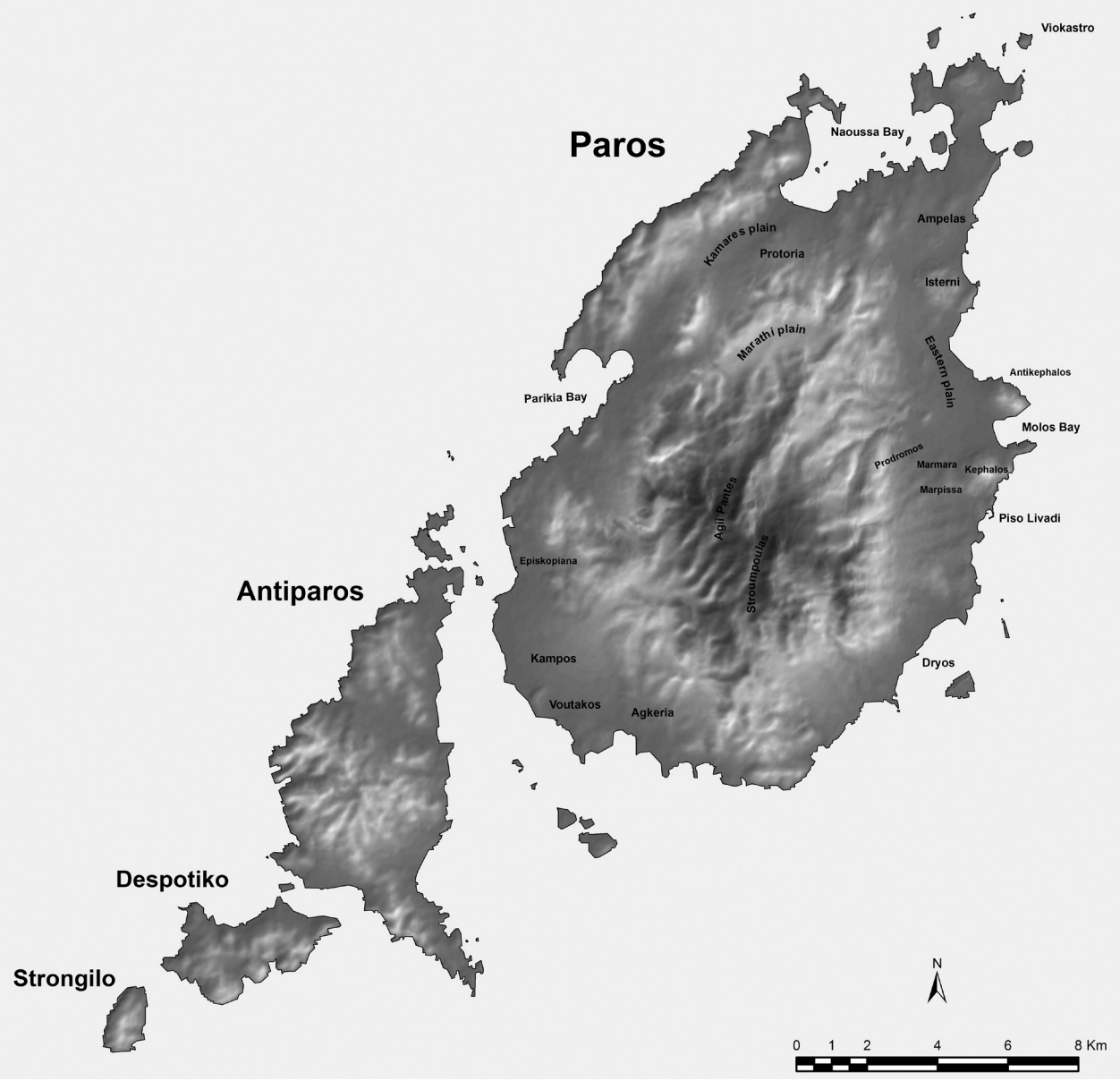


Fig. 4.1: Map of Paros with regions and places discussed in the chapter.

pebbly or rocky beaches, and larger or smaller bays, except for the steep coast adjacent to a highland plain in the north-western part. Rocky and high sloped coasts occupy approximately 20% of the shoreline and are located at the northeast and northwest part of the island. Medium and low altitude coasts occupy 9.1% and 22.2% of the coastline and are observed on the rest of the island. The terrestrial part of the coastal zone (slopes <2.5%) corresponds to 19% of the island and covers an area of 36.4 km². Its width is generally smaller than 476 m with its highest values at the southwest, east and northeast coasts. Sandy beaches, associated with low coastal slopes (<5%) occupy less than 10% of the coastline (Evelpidou *et al.* 2010, 291-292). The gorges of Paros are mostly observed in limestone formations and their creation took place in recent geological time (Pavlopoulos *et al.* 2009, 208).

The central part of the Cyclades Plateau that Paros belongs to, has been characterised as an "aseismic"

area, and few earthquake shocks have been marked during the historical period (Papazachos 1990). The river network presents an asymmetrical geographical distribution. Most of the river network has been developed at the eastern and southern part of the island on gneiss-scists formations due to their higher erodibility and their extended dominance (as they cover almost the 21.5% of the island) (Evelpidou *et al*. 2010, 289). The climate of Paros can be described as typical "Mediterranean" with a dry and warm summer season and a mild winter. As in the rest of the Cycladic islands the wind field of Paros is mainly characterised by the north-northwest and, secondarily, by the west winds.



Fig. 4.2: Aerial view of Paros.

Over recent decades the interaction between natural and anthropogenic processes has produced major changes to the cultural and physical landscapes of the small Mediterranean islands. The main activities that have shaped island landscapes are exploitation of mineral sources, cutting of the local flora, agricultural changes, and tourism (Tzanopoulos & Vogiatzakis 2011, 58; Aretano *et. al.* 2013). In the course of the last fifty years tourism became one of the most lucrative sectors of the Greek economy. After the 1970s the island of Paros experienced a significant development in tourism, which has considerably impacted on the local landscape. The exploitation of marble has also played an important role in modifying the Parian landscape. In the interior of the island modern mining activity has produced a lot of "scars" on the relief of Paros. In addition, especially during the early and middle 20th century, cutting of the local flora, mainly low shrubs and trees, to supply either domestic or craft needs (lime or pottery kilns, ship building etc.) directly affected the character of the Parian landscape. Finally, the impact of globalisation and new promising economic activities related to tourism development, have resulted in the gradual decline of agricultural production and the abandonment of terraced and flat fields.

The island of Paros was divided into five regions concerning the localised environmental advantages of the Parian landscape and the density of archaeological



Fig. 4.3: View of central Paros. Mt Agii Pantes is discernible in the background.



Fig. 4.4: a) Panoramic view of the eastern coastal zone of Paros. b) Panoramic view of the south-western coastal plain of Paros.

evidence, in order to provide the basis upon which settlement patterning and material culture from Late Antiquity and Byzantine Early Ages can be studied and interpreted (Fig. 4.5). Despite limitations and obstacles, combining a re-evaluation of older archaeological material with personal observations at the sites of the island and the advantages offered by the application of new technologies in archaeological research (GIS), this study offers a fresh approach to the history and archaeology of Paros, contributing to a better understanding of the settled landscape and socioeconomic changes that took place in the insular world of the Cyclades between the 4th and 9th centuries.

4.2 THE REGION OF PARIKIA: A DIACHRONIC AEGEAN COASTAL URBAN CENTRE

4.2.1 Landscape and micro-topography

The region of Parikia is located in the middle of the west coastline of Paros (Fig. 4.5: I). The most important topographical reference point of the landscape is the spacious and naturally well-protected eponymous bay (Fig. 4.6). It is the second largest gulf on the island after the bay of Naoussa and one of the biggest among the Cyclades. The bay of Parikia is open to the west while to the north it forms the two consecutive smaller coves of Livadia and Krios, offering safe and natural shelters for vessels. In the clearest weather, the islands of Antiparos (5 nm), Sifnos (20 nm), Serifos (30 nm) and Syros (20,5 nm) are visible from many different places of the bay. This peculiar trait has resulted in the integration of the region to the sea routes that passed through this extensive maritime zone at the heart of the Aegean Sea. The peninsula of Krotiri outlines the bay to the northwest side protecting it from the west and north winds. At its southern edge is situated Cape Agios Fokas with the old lighthouse facilities and the eponymous picturesque modern chapel, which is the main visible reference point for ships that approaching the present-day port of Parikia. On all sides, low hills slope down to the coast and create sandy and

shallow beaches along the inner coastline and steep shores along the outer coastline of the peninsula.

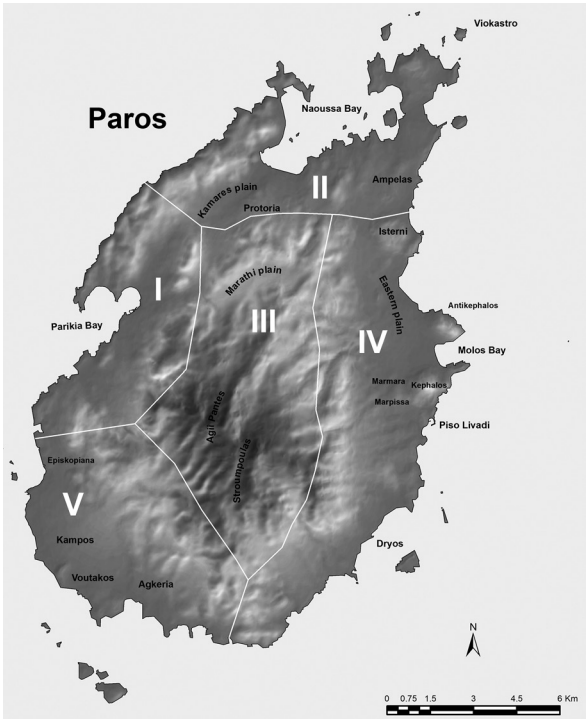


Fig. 4.5: Map of Paros with the areas of research.

The most advantageous location of the bay is situated on its southeast shore. This site was the location of the ancient city-port of Paros, a region which today is occupied by the modern capital of the island (Figs 4.6 & 4.7). The area's most important topographical reference point is the slightly elevated hillock of Kastro or Agios Konstantinos (less than 10 m high) close to the sea, overlooking the entrance of the bay and the southeast shoreline. Two seasonal streams on either side of the hill cross the region, flowing into the sea. East of Kastro, as a natural background, is located Mt Notias which dominates the landscape of the whole region (Figs 4.7 & 4.10). At the higher altitude, the mountain has steep slopes, but at its west foothills the terrain slopes gently towards the sea creating arable and habitable lands around the hill of Kastro. The monastery of Agii Anargiri, which was probably founded during the Post-Byzantine period on the west steep slopes of the mountain, is one of the most prominent landmark visible to the traveller approaching Parikia by sea, looming high up on the mountainside above the town.

The region of Parikia is adjacent to fertile plains, a rural space of vital importance for agricultural production and food supply for the ancient city. North of the cove of Livadia extends

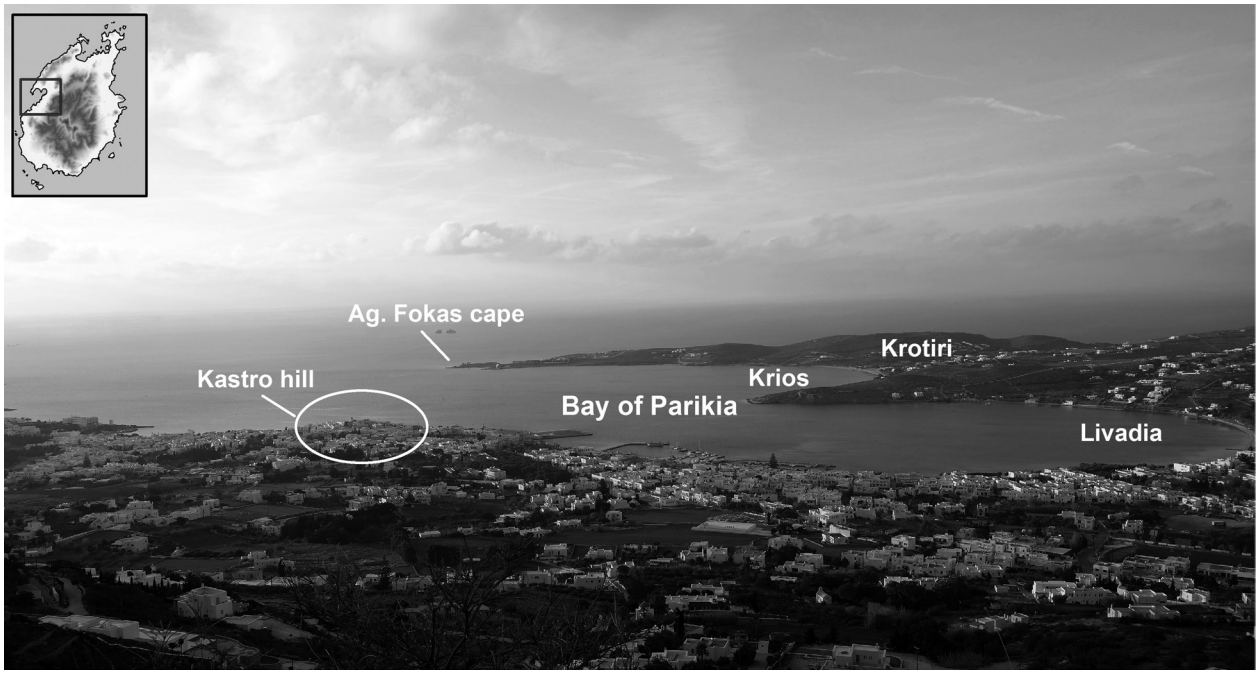


Fig. 4.6: Panoramic view of the Bay of Parikia from the monastery of Agii Anargiri (Mt Notias).



Fig. 4.7: View of the entrance of the Bay of Parikia. In the background is the modern town of Parikia.



Fig. 4.8: View of the plain of Kalami. The cove of Livadia and the modern town of Parikia are discernible in the background.

the small but fertile plain of Kalami and the south part of the plain of Kamares (Fig. 4.8). South of the modern town of Parikia begins the productive zone of Koukoumavles. Nowadays, many inhabitants of Parikia own rural properties in these areas. A small but fertile plain is formed in the area of Elitas (where the basilica of Tris Ekklisies is located) about a kilometre northeast of Parikia on the way to Naoussa and Marathi.

The region of Parikia is strongly affected by touristic development which has changed the character of the local landscape. Over the last five decades the settlement of Parikia has acted as an administrative seat for the Municipality of Paros, a modern capital and the main passenger and commercial port of the island. As a result, the built space and population of Parikia have almost doubled. Fortunately, the core of the medieval town of Parikia has maintained a traditional and picturesque character. In contrast, the modern extensions of the town have been built over areas of the ancient city of Paros. In the remainder of the region of Parikia constructions of any sort, along the seafront and the terrestrial part of the coastal zone, have contributed to the destruction of local coastal and rural landscape. Over recent years a new landscape is being created in this coastal zone, dominated by numerous blocks of modern private residences and touristic facilities.

4.2.2 A history of research

In earlier stages of research about the archaeology of Paros, the area of Parikia, and more specifically, the remains of the ancient city of Paros were at the centre of attention. A wide range of studies from various fields, such as architecture, archaeology, sculpture, pottery, history etc. have been published by many scholars to this day. Most published studies are concerned with the prehistoric

and ancient past of the city of Paros. With only a few exceptions in studies regarding art and architecture of the religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiani, scholars have paid little attention to the study of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. As a result of this, very few historical or archaeological studies have focused on material culture and life in the city of Paros between the 4th and 9th centuries.

In the late 19th and early 20th century the German archaeologist O. Rubensohn conducted the earliest archaeological investigations in the region of Parikia. During his extensive excavation works he discovered extramural cemeteries, Roman buildings, the sanctuaries of Athena, Apollo and Asclepius, and the remains of a prehistoric settlement on the acropolis (Rubensohn 1900; 1901; 1902; 1917; 1962). The ancient fortifications of Paros were also studied by Rubensohn in the beginning of the 20th century. In his article in *Athenische Mitteilungen* appeared a map of Parikia, drawn by P. Soursos (Fig. 4.9), with remains of the ancient city and part of the course of the wall (Rubensohn 1901, 157-222, pl. X). The contribution of his archaeological investigation is fundamental since he offered the first impression about the urban environment of the ancient city of Paros and an initial picture of the historical topography of its vital extramural space.

In March 1910, H. H. Jewell and F. W. Hasluck started their work on the religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani or Katapoliani (the Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates) in Parikia. The publication finally came out in 1920 and continues to be the most detailed and well-documented study about the monument before the radical restoration of the middle 20th century. A large number of data in the form of photographs, sketch drawings, descriptions, and architectural plans provide valuable information about the later architectural history of the complex.

In the middle of the 20th century the Greek architect A. Orlandos carried out the first excavation and restoration works on the Late Antique and Byzantine monuments of Paros. From 1959 to 1966 intensive restoration works were conducted by Orlandos in the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani in an attempt to restore the initial phase of the monument and to date its different phases (1963; 1964; 1965; 1965-1966). This radical restoration successfully solved the buildings' stability problems and brought an incredible number of earlier marble sculptures that had been re-used as building material to light. On the other hand, all the later phases of the monument were removed without detailed documentation. Orlandos also conducted excavations in the interior of the complex's main church, beneath the modern floor, and in the area of the atrium, west of the narthex. He has never published his work on the monument in detail, leaving only a small number of fragmentary and limited publications, and creating more unsolved questions. Despite the non-detailed publications of results, important evidence came to light regarding the ancient urban topography of Paros. In 1960 and 1961 the remains of a three-aisled basilica were unearthed by Orlandos at the site of Tris Ekklisies or Stavros (area of Elitas), about a kilometre northeast of Parikia (1960a; 1961). He finally published an article dealing with marble sculpture members from the ambos of the basilicas of Ekatontapiliani and Tris Ekklisies.

In 1973-1975 extensive surface surveys were carried out at three sites on Paros by the Greek archaeologist D. Schilardi on behalf of the Archaeological Society at Athens (1973; 1974; 1975a; 1975b). In the region of Parikia research was focused on the investigation of fortification and the cemeteries in the urban centre of Paros. The main purpose of the fieldwork in Parikia was to update the old data about the city wall. In 1979 an underwater archaeological survey at the bays of Parikia and Naoussa was conducted by the Department of Underwater Antiquities of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Science, and members of the excavation team at Koukounaries (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981). In the region of Parikia the port areas around the main ferry boat wharf, which are located at the northern end of the bay were briefly surveyed, providing valuable but limited evidence about the long-term use of the ancient harbour.

In 1986 an extensive surface survey was carried out by the French archaeologists M. Picon and J. – Y. Empereur on the islands of Paros, Naxos and Antiparos, focussing on the identification of local amphora workshops (1986a, 1986b). In the area of the ancient city of Paros, close to the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani, the remains of two urban pottery workshops were discovered (Empereur & Picon 1986b, 647). The study by Picon and Empereur

constitute an invaluable contribution in understanding the local Parian and Naxian pottery production during the Roman and Late Antique periods.

The careful and thorough work of the architect G. Gruben is also fundamental for the historical topography of the ancient city of Paros (Gruben 1982; 1991). At the same time his valuable observations of the architecture of Ekatontapiliani have contributed to the discussion of the building history of the monument (Touchais 1985, 837; 1986, 736-738). In the early 21st century K. Müller examined the Hellenistic buildings on Paros offering interesting interpretations of older material (2003).

Over the last four decades rescue or systematic excavations and restoration works carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades (former 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities) and the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities have discovered important remains of the ancient city, providing us with a much more concrete picture of the urban centre until the Roman period.

A series of four international conferences were held on the island of Paros organised by the Institute for Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades entitled "Paria Lithos" (1997), "Archilochos and His Age" (2005), "Skopas and His World" (2010) and "Paros and its Colonies" (2015). These conferences aimed to shed light on some aspects of the ancient history and archaeology of the ancient city of Paros (Schilardi & Katsonopoulou 2010; Katsonopoulou *et. al*. 2008; Katsonopoulou & Stewart 2013; Katsonopoulou forthcoming). Finally, a series of two international conferences were held on Paros, these organised by the local Orthodox Church of Paros and Naxos (Metropolis of Paronaxia) titled "Ekatontapiliani and the Christian Paros" (1996) and "Ekatontapiliani: 50 years after the restoration of Anastasios Orlandos" (2015) (Ekatontapiliani 1998; Ekatontapiliani forthcoming). Both conferences focused on aspects regarding the monumental complex itself and at the same time enriched our knowledge about the history of Paros during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods.

It becomes clear by this brief survey of published studies concerning the urban centre of Paros that considerable attention was paid to the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman antiquities. One can easily point out the paucity of published material traces dated to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period at most excavated sites within the borders of the ancient city of Paros. For the Late Antique period interest was always given to art historical aspects of material culture or the study and conservation of preserved religious monuments. For the Byzantine Early Middle Ages the city of Paros has been viewed as a ruined and abandoned place. The previous research did not consider the material culture and the landscape of the period between the 4th and the early 9th centuries in any detail. However, the way we perceive and understand the material culture and the landscape today is radically different from that of previous decades. With that in mind this thesis contributes to filling the large gaps in the interpretation of the published material and tests questions relating to human-environmental interactions. In this context, preliminary results from unpublished ceramic material from the port area and a critical reading of the archaeological and historical data available can provide answers to some basic questions concerning socio-economic and cultural changes that occurred in urban space of the city of Paros. Emphasis is placed upon archaeological evidence which illustrates urban transformation, such as building activity or abandonment of certain public buildings, spoliation, privatisation of the public space, and restorations works on older structures.

4.2.3 The ancient city of Paros: a brief historical background

The earliest traces of human presence in the area of present-day Parikia have been discovered on top of the acropolis castle (Figs 4.9 & 4.12), the Kastro, where a settlement had already been founded at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Rubensohn 1901, 194; 1917, 1-98; Overbeck 1989).

Archaeological evidence from Kastro in Parikia indicates the uninterrupted habitation of the site from the Early Geometric to the Archaic period (AD 2001-2004, 115). In the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. the ancient city of Paros was established within the bay of Parikia, as a result of the union of smaller settlements on the island (Rubensohn 1901, 157-222, pl. X; Kourayos & Zafeiropoulou 1994; Kourayos

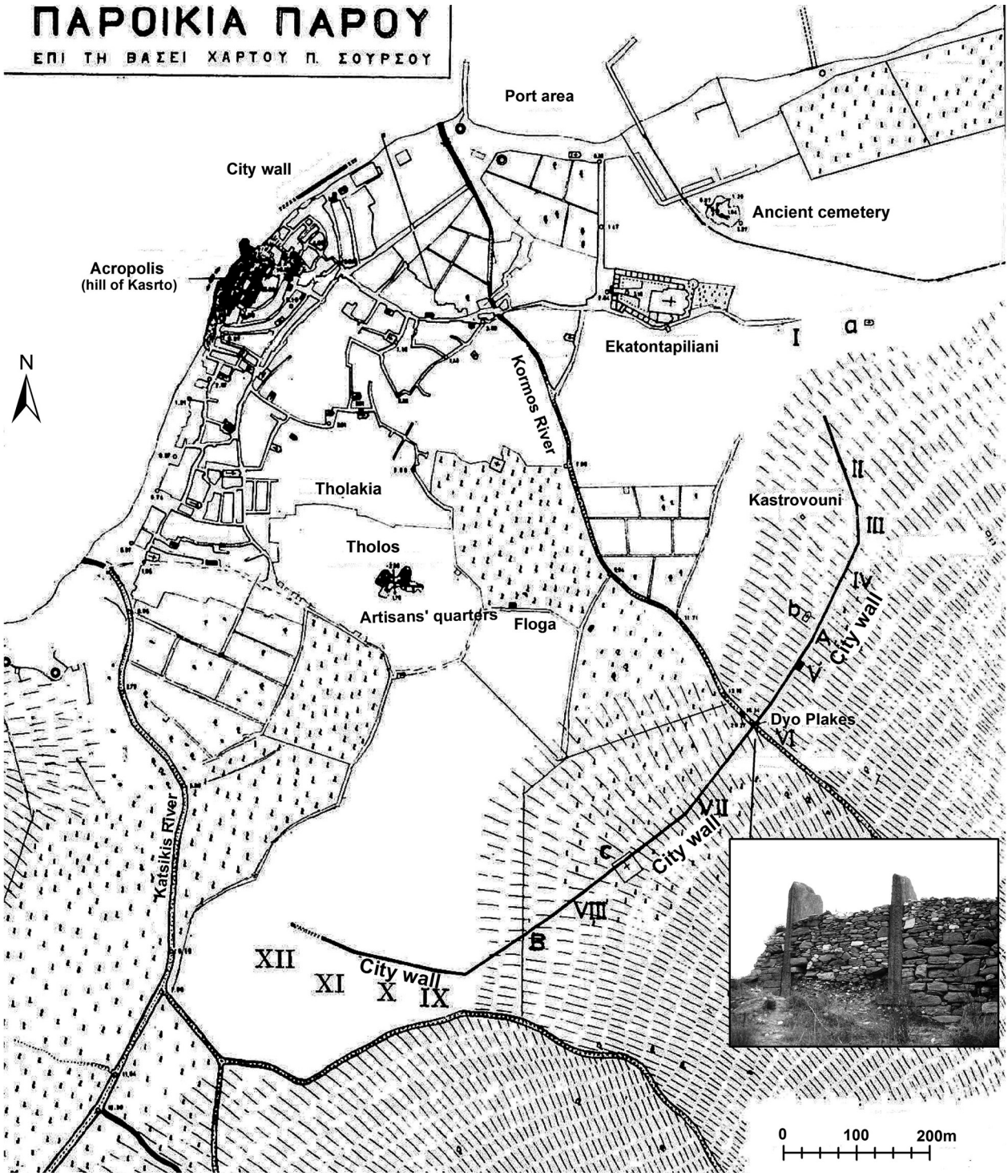


Fig. 4.9: Redrawn map of the ancient city of Paros, which is based on a plan made by Soursos (Rubensohn 1901, 196-197, pl. X) with some later indications (Schilardi 1974, 182). In the detail: view of the site of Dyo Plakes, the east gate of the wall (Kourayos 2015, 27).

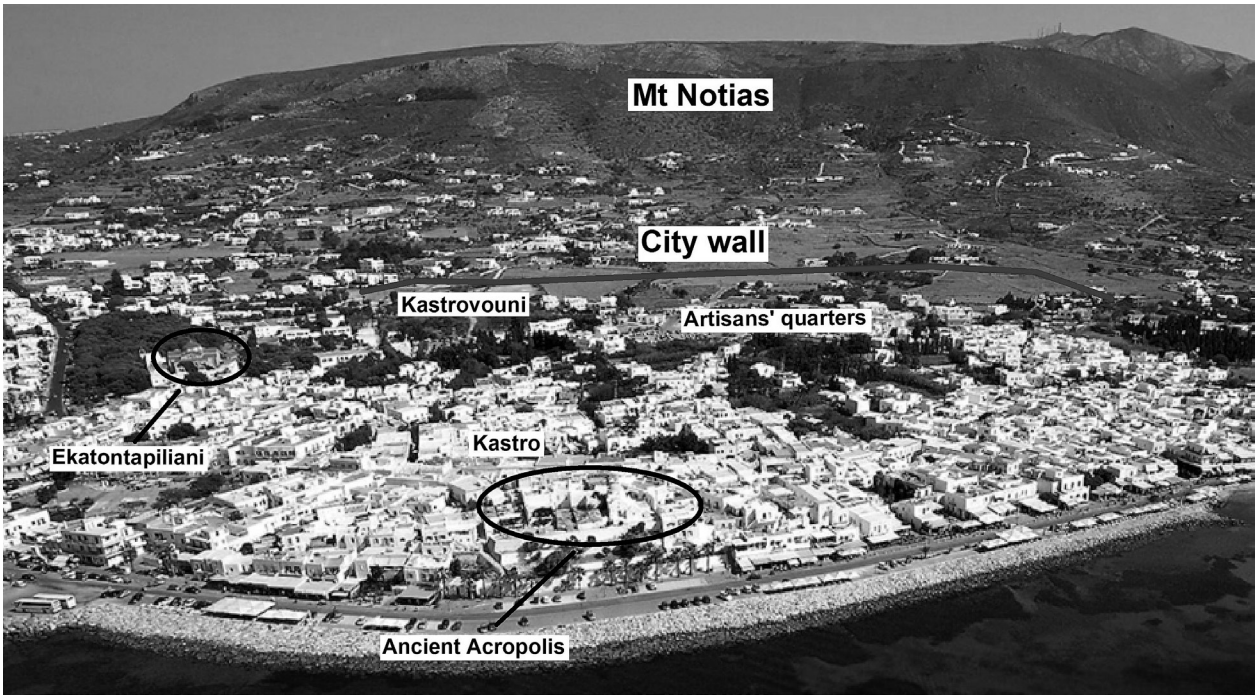


Fig. 4.10: Panoramic view of the modern town of Parikia with sites and monuments discussed in this chapter.

2015, 25; Zafeiropoulou forthcoming; Kourayos forthcoming). It progressively played the role of chief administrative, political, and economic centre on the island. Taking advantage of the prominent strategic position and the richness of marble deposits on the island, the city of Paros emerged as an important coastal commercial and cultural centre in the Aegean world. By the end of the 7th century the city of Paros had established colonies on the island of Thasos in the North Aegean Sea and along the coasts of the Propontis (Parion) in modern Turkey (Graham 1999, 71-97). Over the Archaic and Classical periods, the city of Paros developed as an important artistic centre with remarkable original sculptural production. The famous Parian marble was exported all over the Greek world and Parian sculptors were relocated to work on the most ambitious architectural projects. From the 7th century B.C. up to the Persian wars, the two neighbouring islands of Paros and Naxos were in a constant controversy to promote their interests in the Aegean.

In the beginning of the 5th century the city-state of Paros was still one of the most flourishing Aegean economies (Kourayos 2015, 19). The "medism" of the island and its increasing financial and military growth had resulted in a great conflict with Athens. During the Persian wars (490-479 B.C.), Paros acted as a Persian naval base. After the second Persian invasion heavy taxes were imposed on Paros by the Athenians, weakening the Parian treasury. The island was included in the First and Second Athenian Alliance founded in 478 and 377 B.C. respectively, passing under Athenian domination. By 385 B.C. the city of Paros was, probably, once again so prosperous and powerful that it established a new colony on the island of Pharos along the Dalmatia coast (Kirigin 2006). In 357 B.C. Paros formed an alliance with the Macedonians and in 315/314 B.C. the island joined the Commonwealth of the Islanders (Κοινό τῶν Νησιωτών), established by Antigonus Monophthalmus. In 201 B.C. Paros was captured by Philip V of Macedon.

By the late 2nd century B.C. the island was part of the Roman Empire, following the historical trajectory of the Greek peninsula. According to the historical stereotyping over the Roman period, islands of the Cyclades acted as safe anchorages for pirates and as places of exile for Rome's unwanted. Until recently, the Roman Cyclades were considered as places of isolation and were rarely discussed in

contemporary literature. In the recent decades, historians and archaeologists, in the light of modern scientific approaches, are studying the Cyclades as places of cultural and commercial activity in the Roman period (Le Quérré 2013). Archaeological evidence unearthed in the ancient city of Paros as well as in the other ancient cities indicates that the role played by the Cyclades during the Roman period needs re-evaluation.

4.2.4 The urban topography (Archaic to Roman times)

Despite the continuous use of the settlement up to the present day, a combination of data derived from rescue and systematic excavations, written sources, epigraphic evidence, marble sculptures, and architectural members in secondary use, give us a concrete picture of the urban landscape of the ancient city of Paros before Late Antiquity.

From the Archaic period the city had acquired monumental character and was well endowed with exquisite edifices built from stark-white Parian marble. It is very indicative that in many inscriptions, the city's official title was "the most splendid city of Paros citizens" (λαμπροτάτη τῶν Παρίων πόλις: *IG* XII, 5 269; *IG* XII, 5 292; *IG* XII Suppl. 211). The urban centre occupied a large area from the west-facing lower slopes of Mt Notias up to the southeast coast of the bay of Parikia (Figs 4.9 & 4.10). The built environment was organised according to a city plan with acropolis, harbour installations and other public works, secure defensive wall, defined area of settlement, urban sanctuaries, remarkable public buildings, road systems, and districts of workshops (Fig. 4.9).

The fortification of the ancient city of Paros was originally erected during the Archaic period (late 7th century B.C.) and was built with huge blocks of gneiss (Rubensohn 1901, 181-189; Schilardi 1975a, 200, pl.178α-γ; AD 1990, 93, plan 3, pl.187β). The fragmentary preserved parts of the fortification walls have been mainly discovered over the northeast and southwest lower slopes of Mt Notias. These regions (the modern areas of Kastrovouni and eastern edges of Floga) were the higher parts of the city and from there the terrain slopes gently towards the coast. Despite the fragmentary preservation large segments of the wall can be traced with relevant ease (Figs 4.9, 4.10 & 4.11). The course of the wall followed the geomorphologic features of the region and we can assume it circled the urban area from all directions. Starting from the northeast side, in the area of Kastrovouni, we can trace a line of the wall with northwest to southeast orientation coming from the north coastal areas of the ancient city, where the fortification is completely missing. In Kastrovouni it forms an angle and follows a more or less straight course to the southwest edge of the city. From there it continues to the west probably up to the coast. Tracing the wall along the north and south zones is more difficult because both areas are intensively occupied by modern residences. The segment of the wall which was constructed along the coast is completely missing. A small section of the coastal wall was identified between the modern port and the hill of Kastro by Rubensohn (1901) and drawn by Soursos in his plan of the city (Fig. 4.9).

The positions of two Gates have been located in the upper part of the city, one on the eastern and the other on the southeast segment of the wall (see the detail in Fig. 4.9) (Schilardi 1975b, 86). Close to the East Gate, which is preserved up to a height of 3 m and led directly to the artisans' quarters (see below), at the site *Dyo Plakes* (Δύο Πλάκες) a large part of the eastern wall equipped with a projecting rectangular tower (50 m length, 2-2,50 m width, 1 m height) has been discovered in a well conserved state (Fig. 4.11) (Rubensohn 1901, 182; AD 1994, 665-666, pl.4). Between the gate and the tower architectural members of the temple of Apollo Pythius were found, these had been incorporated into the tower and the wall after reparation works during the Hellenistic period, after 202/201 B.C. (AD 1994, 665-666, pl.4).

The natural core of the city was developed on the low hill near the coast, which overlooks the entrance of the bay of Parikia (Figs 4.9 & 4.10). Until the present day, the hill of Kastro crowned by the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Konstantinos (Fig. 4.14) and the Venetian Castle (Fig. 4.13) (see more about the Venetian Castle of Parikia in Vionis 2012, 90-91) is the second visible reference point for ships that approach the modern port of Parikia after Cape Agios Fokas (Figs 4.6 & 4.7). The hill of Kastro is an interesting archaeological palimpsest which provides a picture of long-term successive episodes

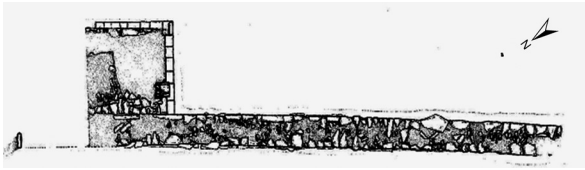


Fig. 4.11: Drawing of the ancient wall and tower (redrawn after AD 1994, 665-666, pl.4).

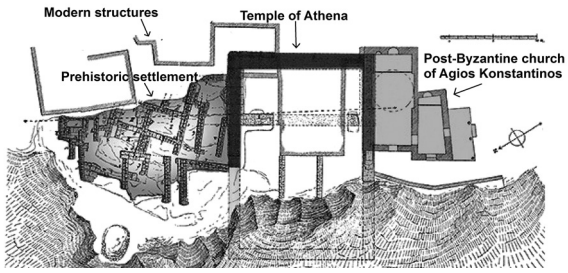


Fig. 4.12: Plan of the archaeological remains on the acropolis of the ancient city (redrawn after Kourayos 2015, 29).



Fig. 4.13: View of the tower of the Venetian Castle of Parikia.

of settled landscape changes (Fig. 4.12). It has played an important role in the development of the built environment and has been strongly affected by human activity since the prehistoric period. During the Archaic era the hill of Kastro was transformed into an acropolis, namely an urban religious and administrative centre, as temples and other public buildings were constructed in the same place. According to Rubensohn, the top of the acropolis was dominated by the main urban temple dedicated to the protector of the city, the Goddess Athena *Poliouchos* (Fig. 4.12) (1917; see also Welter 1924, 22f; Gruben 1972, 369; AD 2001-2004, 115, fig.30). It was a six-column Doric amphiprostyle temple erected circa 530-525 B.C. Parts of the foundations and the marble superstructure has been incorporated into the church of Agios Konstantinos. The marble door frame of the temple was reused in the construction of the Venetian Castle (Fig. 4.13) and numerous architectural members were incorporated into modern houses, which have intensively occupied the site (AD 2001-2004, 115).

In the surroundings of the temple of Athena, on the top, and on the east and south slopes of acropolis the centre of civic administration of the ancient city of Paros was developed. Due to the fact the Venetian Castle and the main residential areas of the medieval town occupied the hill of Kastro and its slopes (Fig. 4.10); we do not have evidence for the exact location of the main public buildings and secondary urban temples. Nevertheless, the presence of civic and religious buildings or other urban structures such as the *agoranomeion*, the archive office, *bouleuterion*, the *stadium,* the *agora*, the theatre, and the temple of Zeus and Demeter are evidenced by several incidentally found fragments of inscriptions and a few architectural members were incorporated into later buildings (see more in Le Quéré 2013, Appendice IV, 109-110, 102).

In contrast, *in situ* archaeological evidence related to domestic architecture and workshops is dense enough to provide a much more concrete picture of the residential and artisans' quarters of the Hellenistic and Roman city. At the modern site of Kastrovouni (Figs 4.9 & 4.10), east of the acropolis, a few meters east of the peripheral road of Parikia, three large residential complexes divided by a street have been unearthed close to the northeast part of the Archaic fortification (AD 1994, 665−668, pl. 2-3; AD 1999, 794-795, figs 26-29; AD 2000, 967-968; figs 17-19; AD 2001-2004, 112-115, figs 28δ, 29α-β, pl.7; Kourayos 2015, 31). Five rooms were paved by mosaic pavements in *opus tesselatum* with geometric decorations. Under mosaic 3, part of an earlier mosaic was uncovered, made of natural white pebbles. The use of the houses is dated from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C. In the wider area known as

Floga (Fig. 4.9), located in the eastern part of Parikia close to the aforementioned Hellenistic residences an unidentified Hellenistic structure (AD 1987, 490, pl. 1-2, n.5, fig.29) and a two-storey Roman house from the 2nd - 1st century B.C. have been unearthed (AD 1987, 490-491, pl.1, n.4).

On Paros, widespread evidence for artisanal production within the urban centre is a noted characteristic of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Recent archaeological investigations provide important evidence for the topography of production in the ancient city. At the eastern edges of the modern site Floga a fully organised Hellenistic sculpture workshop has been unearthed with a complicated plan, numerous rooms, large quantities of marble chips, and unfinished pieces (AD 1986, 213; AD 1987, 490, pl. 5; Efstratiou 2010; Detoratou 2013). It is situated approximately 160-180 m from the east course of the wall and very close to the site "Dyo plakes" (Figs 4.9 & 4.10). It is also possible the workshop operated as a sculpture school (Detoratou 2013, 143). The most prominent operation period of the workshop is placed during the late 2nd and the early 1st century B.C. However, there are some indications the site was in use, possibly as a workshop or marble worker's shop, during the Archaic and Classical period (Detoratou 2013, 133, 143).

At the modern site known as Tholos (Fig. 4.9), on the southeast part of Parikia, located less than 200 m southwest of the sculpture workshop, extensive installations of a well preserved ceramic workshop have been found (AD 1986, 213-214; AD 1987, 491, pl.1; AD 1988, 490-491, pl.10, n.2; AD 1992, 544, pl.2, figs 154στ, 155β-γ; AD 1999, 796-797, figs 30-32; AD 2000, 966-967, figs 12-16; Hasaki 2010). It is worth mentioning the multi-period site of the first workshop which preserves the remains of two rectangular cist graves from the Geometric period, a sizable room paved with a pebble mosaic floor from a Late Classical house and an extensive ceramic workshop. The latter covers an area of 120 m² with six kilns of various types and sizes (producing basket-handled *kadoi*, coarse ware, beehives and Corinthian-style roof tiles), two tanks for the preparation of clay and ten auxiliary rooms. The importance of this site is not confined to the better understanding of the local pottery production, the ceramic technology and the urban topography of Paros. It also provides an excellent example of how the use of the urban space is changing over different periods, since the burial place changed to a residential area and, eventually, operated as the artisans' quarter. The pottery workshops operated during the Late Hellenistic and Roman period.

About 130 m south of the ceramic workshops and 235 m southwest of the sculpture workshop, in the area of the modern peripheral road of Parikia recent rescue excavations unearthed the remains of one more industrial unit, probably of the same period (partly excavated by the author in winter of 2012 on behalf of the local Archaeological Service). The material is still unpublished but there is clear evidence of human activity from the Archaic to the Post-Byzantine period.

Two more possible sites of pottery workshops have been identified by Empereur and Picon (1986b). Without giving exact topographical details the French archaeologists noticed the existence of ceramic workshops around the main crossroad of Parikia and in the pine forest that borders the monastery Ekatontapiliani. Both sites did not provide substantial architectural remains. These workshops probably operated during the 3rd century B.C, at least. The north segment of the wall is completely destroyed and it is difficult to say if these sites were included within the fortified urban area.

The area where the church of Panagia Ekatontapiliani was constructed was also part of the urban zone of the ancient city (Figs 4.9 & 4.10). Excavations carried out by Orlandos during the restoration of the religious complex brought to light remains of earlier buildings (Orlandos 1965-1966). Under the later floor of the church, four marble columns with different bases and fragments of a mosaic pavement depicting the Labors of Hercules were found. Based on stylistic observations Orlandos dated the mosaic to the late 3rd or the early 4th century, and was considered by the excavator as part of a Roman *gymnasium* (see below "*The religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani*"). However according to Müller, it is more probable that the architectural remains belonged to a Roman *villa* (2003, 69-81).

Despite the fact that we lack a clear picture on the infrastructure of the ancient harbour, archaeological explorations conducted by the Ephorate of

Underwater Antiquities (1979, 1995, 1999-2000) in the bay of Parikia have offered important information (Papathanasopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 134-139; AD 2000, 1213-1215). In the wider submerged area around the modern central ferry boat wharf several ancient structures identified as jetties as well as large architectural marbles, pieces of limestone and pottery sherds are located in the water awaiting future investigation. It is quite possible that the ancient port area was situated in this wider region (Fig. 4.9).

Outside of the fortified urban centre of Paros, in the wider region of Parikia, the cemetery of the city (Fig. 4.9), many secondary burial sites, and open-air sanctuaries and temples (Asclepius, Apollo Pythius, Delian Apollo Artemis and Archilochus) dated from the Archaic to the Roman periods have been discovered (Schilardi 1975b, 86-88; Kourayos 2015, 37-51). The subject of this thesis does not intend to address these sites thoroughly. We can only mention that the official cemetery of the urban centre of Paros was located outside the wall near the ancient port, in a coastal area northeast of the city, at the site called Vitzi; which had been in continuous use from the 8th century B.C. to the 3rd-4th century. (AD 1983, 347-348, pl.2, figs 141-143; AD 1984, pl.2, fig.150; AD 1985, 289, pl.1, figs 127-128; AD 1986, 213; AD 1990, 402-403, pl.1-2; AD 1991, 375-376, figs 145, 146a, 148; AD 1992, 544; AD 1993, 433-434, pl.1; AD 1994, 665, fig.207β).

In general, recent archaeological investigations offered valuable evidence for the organisation of urban space and the arrangement of the different districts within the city of Paros, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Public spaces, residential districts and artisans' quarters were clearly defined and occupied specific parts of the built environment. Public and religious buildings were located at the most prominent sites of the fortified urban space on the acropolis and close to the port. A wider residential zone was extended over the modern areas of Kastrovouni and Floga, at the central north and northeastern section of the fortified urban area. Different types of houses reveal different social identities. Kastrovouni, in which were located some large private urban residences decorated with mosaic pavements, must have been attractive as a luxurious residential quarter of the Hellenistic and Roman city, since the landscape was characterised by a slightly elevated hill offering a nice view of the sea and the port of Parikia (Hasaki 2010, 380). Within the walls were also located a wider district of shops and workshops of the marble sculptors and potters, occupying a large central zone from the areas of Tholos and Tholakia, over the eastern parts of Floga (close to the East Gate of the city), and to the south over the area of the modern peripheral road of Parikia. Artisanal quarters were probably kept separate from residential areas. The southern part of the ancient city is currently an empty landscape in terms of archaeology, mostly because of research gaps.

4.2.5 The Late Antique city of Paros: aspects of urban change

The cities, as economic and political centres, were crucial and durable elements in the society, economy and culture of Late Antiquity. They provide the best case studies for identifying the nature and limits of the political, civic, social and religious changes during the Late Antique centuries. In this respect, Late Antiquity was a period of change and the urban centre of Paros was no exception to this. The city of Paros is barely mentioned in the available literary sources of the period and therefore, archaeological research becomes the major source of information and the basic interpretation process, piecing together all the fragmentary material traces.

A. Inscriptions and written sources

Epigraphic evidence from the Late Roman period witnesses that even during the course of the 3rd and 4th century the city's official title remained "the most splendid city of Paros citizens" (ἡ λαμπροτάτη Παρίων πόλις*: IG* XII, 5 269; *IG* XII, 5 292; *IG* XII Suppl. 211). The most characteristic example is the dedicatory inscription of the city of Paros to the Emperor Constantine I dated between 317 and 337: *[τὸν γῆς] καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότην καὶ κύριον Κ[ω]νσταντῖνον νέον Καίσαρα ἡ λαμ<π>ροτάτη Παρί[ω]ν πόλις* ("for the lord of the sea, earth and all human beings, Constantine the new Caesar, the most splendid city of Paros citizens": *IG* XII, 5 269). A first observation is that, only a city with great importance and a certain degree of

economic, political, social and cultural development could possibly have been entitled to use such an appellative. There are many examples of cities during the Roman period and Late Antiquity that were defined with the same epithet, such as Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus (Turner 1952; Hagedorn 1973), Lycopolis (Cadau 2015, 6) in Egypt and Priene in Asia Minor (*Priene* 221). The majority of them were important provincial, commercial and administrative centres. Such a dedication is incomprehensible without the existence of an urban centre with well-organised institutions, a local elite and civic revenues for financing an inscription of this kind. Additionally, it offers an indirect indication that the city of Paros maintained a monumental urban topography over the first centuries of Late Antiquity.

In the following centuries, as is mentioned by the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, Paros ranks thirteenth among the cities of the *province of the Islands* (Parthey 1967, 32; Avraméa 1997, 35; see more details in Chapter 3.3.2). The city of Paros was also an episcopal seat, as evidenced by the names of the Parian bishops that appear in the lists of the ecclesiastical officers who took part in Ecumenical and other smaller councils from the 4th to the 7th century, as well as by the *Notitia I*, an official document from the 7th century that furnishes the catalogue and the hierarchical rank of the metropolitan and the local bishops of the church (see more details in Chapters 3.3.3 and 3.4.5). According to *Notitia I*, the bishopric of Paros was under the jurisdiction of the Metropolis of Rhodes and ranked sixth among the bishoprics of the province of the Islands (Darrouzès 1981, 3-9, 203-213). Sporadic epigraphic evidence, concerning members of the local clergy, is also found in the complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani and discussed thoroughly in the Chapter 4.2.6.

B. Archaeolofical evidence

In terms of archaeology, as is mentioned in Chapter 4.2.3, one can easily point out that we have at our disposal little direct and indirect fragmentary information for studying socio-economic changes during that period. Concerning monetary finds, to date only five bronze coins from the late 4th or early 5th century have been published (Pennas & Samoladou 2010, 144). It is astonishing that until the present day, traces of Late Antique domestic architecture have not yet been discovered not only in the region of Parikia but also on the remainder of the island. There are only a few ambiguous and unclear indications that "Roman" or "Byzantine" domestic structures have been discovered during earlier excavations in the wider area of Tholos within the present-day Parikia (Kourayos 2004, 27). However, no remains are preserved today as the area is occupied by modern residences. In contrast, in the case of the ancient city of Naxos (see more in Chapter 5) as well as the coastal settlements of Perissa (ancient Eleusis) and Kamari (ancient Oia), the two ports of the ancient city of Thera (Efstathiou 2001, 234-240; Gerousi 2001, 254-269) architectural remains of Late Antique houses are preserved.

In the case of Paros, this is obviously a research gap, since the plethora of archaeological material collected from many rescue excavations remains unpublished and needs interpretation under the light of modern archaeological perspectives. It is also worth mentioning that the majority of these sites have been excavated by archaeologists specialised in Prehistoric and Classical period with considerable attention being paid to the earlier phases of the settlement. This view is now strongly supported by the preliminary results of the study of the ceramic material from the older underwater research in the area of the port of Parikia (see below), as well as the recent rescue excavations (2015-2016) in the area outside the apse of the basilica of Ekatontapiliani and the church of Agios Konstantinos at the hill of Kastro (Diamanti forthcoming; Diamanti *et al.* forthcoming), during which large amounts of pottery dated from the 4th to the middle 7th century were brought to light.

Indirect evidence for the period in question is also provided by a number of marble architectural members, mainly mullions, which have been incorporated into later buildings (mostly medieval houses and churches) in the area of Kastro (Figs 4.14 & 4.15). The most characteristic example comes from the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Konstantinos on the top of the Kastro hill where three Late Antique marble mullions have been re-used as columns in the south portico (Fig. 4.14). Having considered that mullions were integral structural units that divide adjacent windows of



Fig. 4.14: Late Antique marble architectural members incorporated into the portico of the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Konstantinos.



Fig. 4.15: Late Antique marble architectural member incorporated into the south wall of a house on the Kastro hill.

large Late Antique buildings, the examples of Kastro offer an indirect indicator of existence of more public edifices, religious or civic, in the wider area of Parikia.

Ceramic evidence from the port area and some intramural sites

The first tangible and direct evidence concerning the Late Antique city of Paros derives from the wider area of the ancient port (Figs 4.16 & 4.32). Underwater rescue excavations conducted between 1999 and 2000 by the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities have investigated the area called Agios Nikolaos (the area deriving its name from the Post-Byzantine chapel dedicated to Agios Nikolaos) near the modern port of Parikia (Fig. 4.17) (AD 2000, 1213-1215). The research area is marked on the west by the ferry boat wharf and on the east by the Vitzi wharf (Figs 4.16 & 4.32). In the maritime zone southeast and west of the modern port several large architectural marbles, pieces of limestone, and structures (tongue-shape male and stone circles) were located in the water ranging in depth from 1 to 6 m (Papathanasopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 133-144, figs 2, 3, 6 & 7).

In the maritime area east of the ferry boat wharf at a depth of -4 m the foundations of a coastal segment of the city wall were unearthed (Fig. 4.18). The preliminary publication of the excavation results in *Archaiologikon Deltion* does not allow us to be very accurate when talking about dating this fortification. Although at the moment it is not possible to offer convincing interpretations, some possible hypotheses can be put forward. A series of parameters such as, the dating of the collected ceramic material from the relatively undisturbed layer into which the foundation of the wall was discovered, and the extensive reuse of ancient marble architectural elements in the masonry (initially came from earlier buildings of the city) led the excavators to the hypothesis that the fortification is dated to the 6th or 7th centuries (AD 2000, 1213-1215). This information is unique in the framework of the maritime area of the Cyclades, as the case of Paros presents the first traces of the existence of a fortified coastal urban centre in this period.

However, as has been demonstrated above, between those two centuries the general historical circumstances pertaining to the south Aegean are completely different. From the 4th to the middle 7th century both archaeological and historical data bear witness to a peaceful and stable period in the Aegean showing evidence of flourishing long distance commercial activities. From the middle 7th

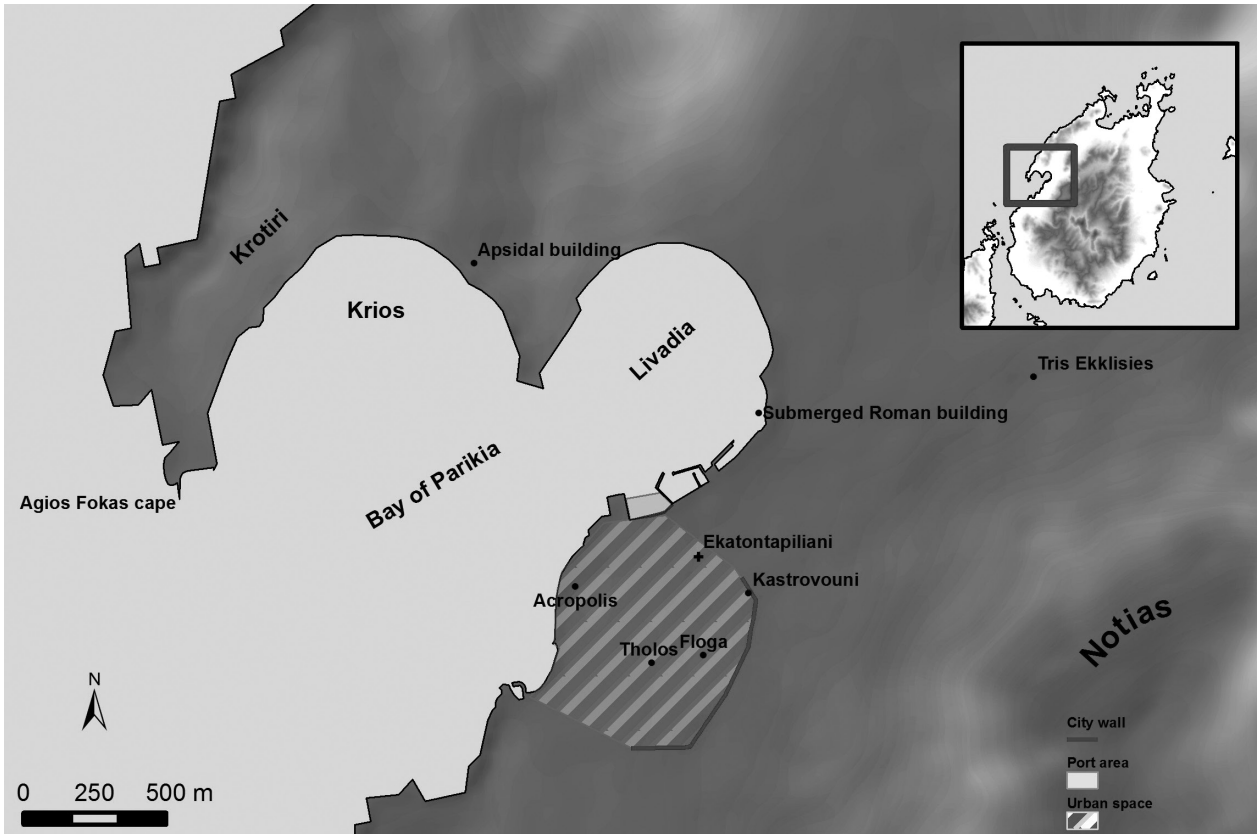


Fig. 4.16: The spatial relationship between the port area and the church complex of Ekatontapiliani.

century onwards, important changes took places in the wider Mediterranean world in social, economic and administrative terms. The maritime zone of the Aegean progressively played an important role in the Byzantine-Arab struggle for control over the sea. On the basis of recent systematic excavations, it is considered that the city of Rhodes, which was the capital of the Province of the Islands, remained unfortified until the 7th century (Philimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 123; Deligiannakis 2006, 146). Additionally, a number of strong fortifications protecting both coastal and mountainous settlements probably dated to the 7th-8th century have been recently identified on the island of Crete (Tsigonaki 2007; Tsigonaki & Gigourtakis 2015). In the Cyclades, as is demonstrated below in detail, a naval defensive network of the 7th century, consisted of several small or large fortresses on the islands of Viokastro (a naval fortress in the small Paros' satellite island), Naxos (Kastro Apalirou, Kaloeros) and Ios (Palaiokastro) (see more details in Chapters 4.3.5 and 5.3.9).

In this context, at the moment it seems highly probable that a radical reconstruction or a large-scale restoration of the urban fortification of Paros makes more sense in the general context of the second half of the 7th century. Thus, it could have been part of a wider strategy created by the central government for the re-organisation of the administration, defence and protection of the South Aegean against the Arab threat. It is quite possible that the need for security and defence led concurrently to the fortification of the old acropolis of the city (hill of Kastro), as has been observed in many other cases (Saradi 2006, 464-470; Tsigonaki 2007; Tsigonaki & Sarris 2016). A future study of the material from the ancient port (pottery and marble sculpture) and many other sites in the ancient urban core would contribute more evidence to these interpretations.

In the summer of 2016 an ambitious research project was initiated for the study of the ceramic material of the old small-scale underwater harbour research, which had remained unpublished for 16



Fig. 4.17: The submerged area of the ancient port near modern region of Agios Nikolaos. The religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani is in the background.

years. The author undertook the study of the pottery dated to the Late Antique and Byzantine periods.[3] This project can be proved extremely valuable for studying the history of the coastal urban centre of Paros and, more specifically, its commercial activities and trade networks between the 4th and the middle 7th century. Additionally, it can shed more light on the transition between Late Antiquity and the Byzantine centuries (for more see chapter 4.2.9). Despite the fact that it is too early to give a full account of this ongoing research, some general observations regarding the commercial activities of the Late Antique harbour of Paros can be put forward and be presented in the context of this thesis.

Large quantities of ceramic sherds related to a wide chronology were unearthed during the archaeological harbour project of 1999-2000. As expected for a port area, the highest percentage of this ceramic material consisted of vessels for transport and storage purposes. Transport amphorae of different types and periods are the commonest finds in this mixed context. The imported pottery from Roman Imperial times is well-represented, suggesting the port of Paros was active and the local community was involved in maritime trade. This indicates that the Roman Cyclades were characterised by connectivity, interaction with broader worlds, and integration into naval commercial networks.

3. My deepest acknowledgements should be addressed to Ioanna Kraounaki, archaeologist of the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities of Greece, for kindly granting me permission to study the ceramic material.

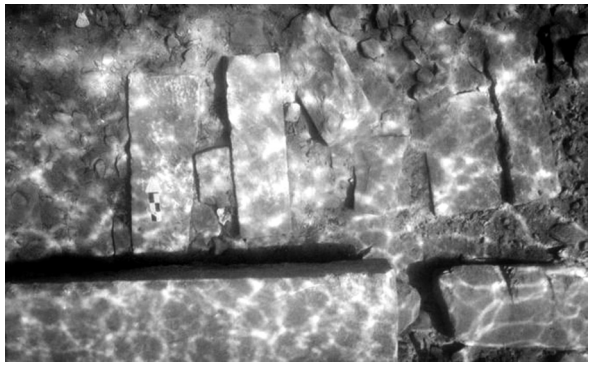


Fig. 4.18: View of the underwater rescue excavation in Parikia. The foundation of the wall (http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/eh3560.jsp?obj_id=19852).

A considerable amount of the total pottery finds in Parikia belongs to the Late Roman period and are dated between the 4th and the middle 7th centuries. This percentage is smaller in the mixed groups of ceramics found in the debris which was the result of illegal excavations for the construction of modern port infrastructures in the area (disturbed stratigraphic sequence). However, this percentage tends to rise dramatically in the pottery assemblages found in the layers of the subsequent rescue excavation of the Archaeological Service of underwater antiquities. Well over half of the total pottery finds from the excavation are dated to Late Antiquity. Late Roman transport amphorae, the standard commercial shipping container for a range of mostly liquid and semi-liquid goods, make up the bulk of finds. What is astonishing in the case of Parikia is that residues of the contents largely survived on the amphora fragments. At first sight, the majority of these amphorae possibly contained wine. However, a future analysis of the residues in some amphorae will yield useful results.

At the moment, a diverse range of amphorae typologies well-known by published examples from Constantinople and various regions of the East Mediterranean have been recognised (Hayes 1992). The most significant findings resulting from the harbour of Parikia, are various imported amphora types and fine wares which suggest commercial relations between the city of Paros and other regions. The most common forms represented in Parikia are the widely distributed LRA 1 and 2 types (Fig. 4.19). LR 2 considered to be the Aegean Amphora *par excellence* and produced in many regions of the

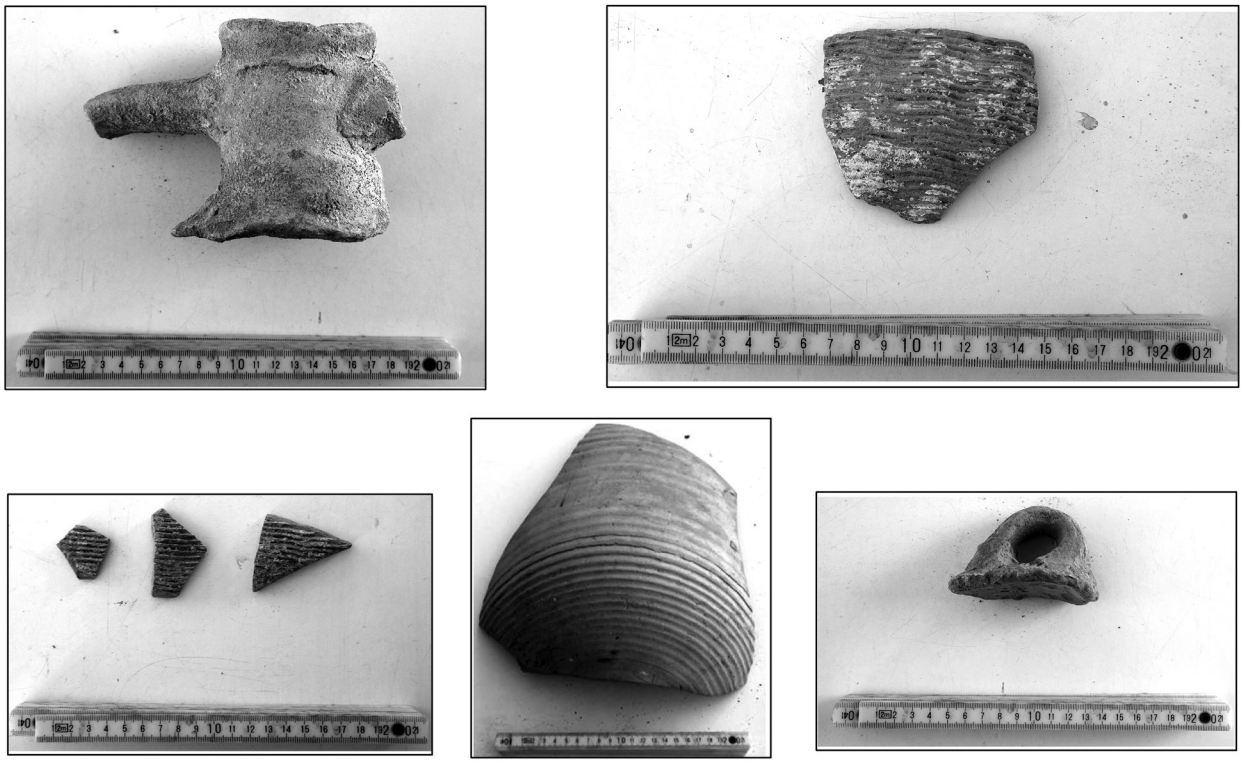


Fig. 4.19: Late Roman pottery fragments from the area of the ancient port.

Aegean world (see more about LRA 2 in Karagiorgou 2001; Piéri 2005; Vroom 2005, 55). Numerous examples of both types, especially of the LRA 2, are found in many variations dated from the 5th to the early 7th centuries. The group of imported vessels also contains a few ceramic fragments of the LRA 5 and 6 types which was typical Palestinian products throughout Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.19). There is a great deal of variation due to its production throughout Palestine (see Piéri, 2005). They all date between the 5th and 7th centuries. Additionally, fine table wares are also a constant element in all Late Roman assemblages of the port area of Parikia. Fine Ware categories include some standard imported *sigillata* (Eastern Sigillata B) and Later Roman period imports (African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Ware).

This valuable material provides us with some of our best evidence for economic behaviour, trading contacts, the transference of commodities, the involvement of Cycladic populations in maritime trade, and the effect of the Late Antique economic system on the islands. First of all, the initial picture, emerging through the analysis of the ceramic material, presents a context of economic vitality indicating that the harbour of the ancient city of Paros was intensively used during Late Antiquity. Secondly, the presence of a relatively large number of imported wares of various provenances from distant famous Mediterranean production centres (Fig. 3.1), suggests that the main port of Paros was fully integrated into the broad matrix of trade patterns and sea routes, participating intensively in the trans-regional commercial activities of this period.

Thirdly, a commercial harbour consists not only of components allowing the provision of a safe anchorage place, but also of various facilities to support complex activities for the operation and control of trade, the transfer of merchandise, re-fuelling and supplying ships as well as many other activities. The picture of economic vitality and intensified use of the port of Paros in Late Antiquity may suggest that in order to fulfil multiple functions associated with inter-regional trade patterns it was necessary to have a good and well-organised architectural infrastructure. The warehouses were the most important and essential facilities required



Fig. 4.20: View of the submerged Roman building in the cove of Livadia (view from Google Earth).

in harbours. After being unloaded from the ships, merchandise was carried and deposited in warehouses and then they were further distributed. Concurrently, these facilities functioned as places where customs duties were levied for tax payment and the control of cargo. In this respect, warehouses played a major role in the administration and execution of import-export procedures (see more in Ginalis 2014, 48-54). The very nature of the ceramic material discussed above, the majority of which preserves residues of contents, and the association of this area with the fortification wall indicates that the wider region of Agios Nikolaos could have been part of the ancient harbour infrastructure, and was possibly occupied by warehouses or other auxiliary facilities. Moreover, no remains of shipwrecks were discovered. The wider marine area, where this pottery material and the architectural remnants of the wall were discovered, was originally above sea-level, since major changes in the coastal palaeoenvironment of the Cyclades have occurred in historical times as shown by recent researches (Baika 2008). A clear picture of sea-level changes within the bay of Parikia is also provided by the extensive submerged, possibly, Roman building which is situated outside of the fortified urban centre of Paros, less than 400 m northeast of Agios Nikolaos (Fig. 4.16) (Rubensohn 1901, 189-192; Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 139). Today this impressive structure is located about 17 m off the modern shoreline at a depth of -1 m (Fig. 4.20).

Apart from this ongoing study, valuable supplementary ceramic evidence from recent rescue excavations by the local Archaeological Service in many intramural sites further confirms connections between the city-port of Paros and the Mediterranean coastal centres as well as the essential role of the Aegean ports as stopovers. The evidence comes from imported pottery material from recent rescue excavations in the area outside the apse of the main church of Ekatontapiliani, and in the Evagelistria chapel which is adjacent to the church of Agios Konstantinos and Eleni at the hill of Kastro (Diamanti *et al.* forthcoming; Diamanti forthcoming).

Despite the disturbed stratigraphic sequence, a plethora of imported ceramic forms and types further confirms connections between the city of Paros and the Mediterranean coastal centres; such as North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Palestine. According

to excavators, especially in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries some popular types of amphorae from production centres in North Africa and Palestine were imported (Diamanti *et al.* forthcoming; Diamanti forthcoming). Amphorae, which were the main transport vessels of antiquity, would carry imported goods necessary for the Parian market. Additionally, during the same centuries, Phocaean and African Red Slip fine wares were also imported. The major wave of imports can be identified between the 5th and the middle 7th centuries. From the late 7th century a gradual reduction in imported ceramics is observed.

Furthermore, the study of the provenance of the marble pieces from the liturgical furnishing in the main church of Ekatontapiliani indicates connections with the imperial capital (Constantinople). For the construction of the luxurious *ciborium*, four sets of already finished fold capitals and column shafts of Proconnesian marble were probably imported (Fig. 4.24). On the basis of comparative material, the capitals have been dated around 540 and are considered products of experienced Constantinopolitan sculptors (Mitsani 1996-1997).

General conclusions can be drawn about the function of the city-port of Paros during Late Antiquity from the synthetic analysis of the ceramic material previously discussed. The vast amount of the imported amphora fragments discovered in harbour area and several intramural sites may suggest that this coastal urban centre could have functioned as a smaller market for commercial products manufactured in the large production centres of the Mediterranean, and concurrently as a suitable regional commercial hub for short- and especially long distance transfer of merchandise. It seems that the city-port of Paros benefited greatly from its central position in the Cyclades and functioned effectively as a crossroad of commercial maritime routes. It could have acted as a regional warehouse or transhipment harbour-node within a complex network of exchange and transfer goods in the framework of the unified Late Antique economy. The spacious and well-protected bay of Parikia was a safe stopping place for the ships, people and merchandise that travelled through the Aegean Sea to different directions. Sailors could, possibly, repair their ships and supply themselves with water and foodstuffs. Therefore, the Late Antique city of Paros can be seen in the wider context of interaction, integration and connectivity. In this context, it makes sense to assume that the city-port of Paros should have charged with conducting and controlling maritime inter-regional commerce that passed through the maritime region of the Cyclades. The importance of the Late Antique city-port of Paros for the interests of the Eastern Roman Empire can be further established by the erection of the spacious, elaborate and expensive religious complex of Ekatontapiliani in the 6th century.

The religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani

The most valuable and rich source of information regarding the history of the Late Antique city of Paros is the magnificent religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani (the Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates) or Katapoliani at Parikia, which is the earliest and most famous Christian monument on the island (Figs 4.17 & 4.21). Until today, it remains the most well-studied and published Early Christian monument on Paros (Jewell & Hasluck 1920; Orlandos 1960b; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1965-1966; 1969; 1975; Pallas 1977, 205-207; Drossoyianni 1995; 1998; Aliprantis 1996; Mitsani 1996-1997; 2000; 2006; Maniatis *et al.* 1996-1997; Vogiatzis 2008; Athanasoulis 2015, 165-169; forthcoming). This monumental ecclesiastical complex consists of a spacious and elaborate main church dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, flanked by the smaller chapel of Agios Nikolaos and the baptistery (Fig. 4.21). The main church is a peculiar type of imposing cross-domed transept basilica, with narthex and galleries. The side chapel (*parekklesion*) of Agios Nikolaos stands to the north of the Holy Bema of the main church and belongs to the type of the simple three-aisled domed basilica. The baptistery with the marble cruciform baptismal font was built against the wall of the south transept. As is mentioned above, the monument took its current form after extensive restoration works under the direction of the architect Orlandos during the early 1960's (1963; 1964; 1965; 1965-1966).

This important religious structure went through several construction phases, the dating of which still remains a matter of controversial debate among scholars. Unfortunately, apart from the evidence supplied by the building itself, written sources tell us nothing concerning its history.

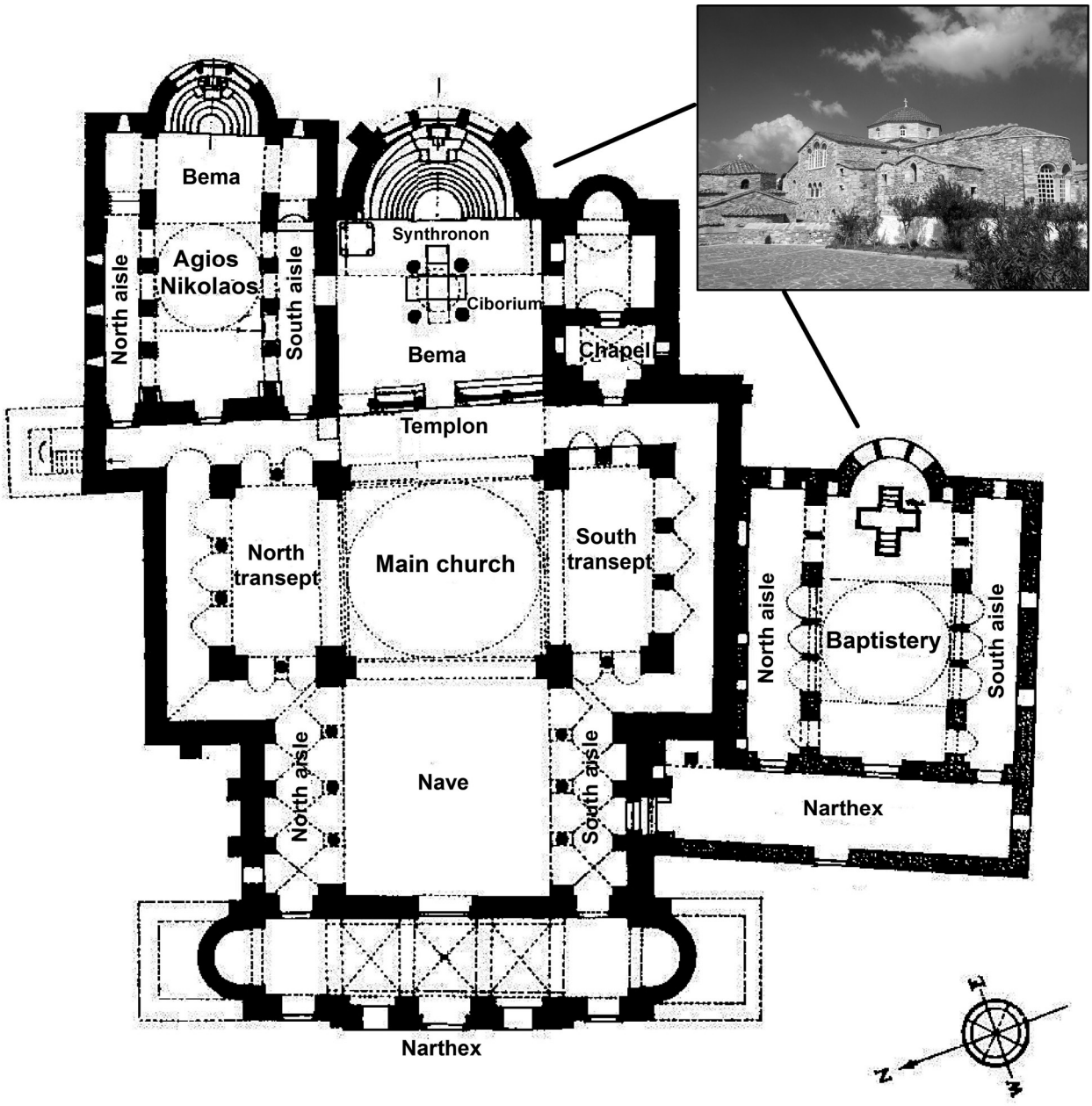


Fig. 4.21: Plan of the religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani (redrawn after Jewell & Hasluck 1920). In the detail: the large central apse of the main church and the smaller one of the baptistery.

Starting with Orlandos, it can be argued that the theory of the Greek architect regarding the building history of Ekatontapiliani was deeply influenced by the oral traditions connecting the church with imperial *euergetism*. In this context, without providing solid evidence he argued that the chapel of Agios Nikolaos constitutes the earliest building of this complex. He identified it as the place where according to oral tradition Empress Helen vowed that if her request for the Finding of the Holy Cross was successful, she will build a new church on the site (see more details about the oral traditions concerning the monument in Jewell & Hasluck 1920, 1-6). In the main church of Panagia, Orlandos recognised

two major consecutive construction phases. Thus, on the basis of architectural remains (mainly, the baptistery and an excavated atrium) and sculptural evidence (marble fragments of closure slabs, *mensa* and ambo) he considered that a three-aisled timber-roofed basilica with an atrium and baptistery was erected, adjacent to the earlier church of Agios Nikolaos, by the emperor Constantine I to fulfil the promise to his mother. At a later stage, after a huge destruction, the whole complex was largely restored, taking its current form during the reign of Justinian. The arguments on which the theory of Orlandos is based are questionable whilst the fragmented and limited publications of the excavation results do not offer clear evidence to support his view. It is true, however, that this theory has shaped the perception of many later scholars not only concerning the monument itself but also the history of the island during this period. Nevertheless, modern researchers have recently challenged this view.

Archaeological investigations and architectural observations conducted by the Polytechnic School of Munich under Gruben, Ohnesorg and Ring offered new evidence enriching our knowledge concerning the architectural type and the dating of the various phases of the building complex (Touchais 1985, 837; 1986, 736-738). According to the latter, sometime between the 4th and second half of the 6th century an early Christian religious building was erected at the site, probably during the reign of Theodosius I (379-395). This earlier three-aisled basilica was founded on the mosaic floor of a secular building from the 4th century (see below in this chapter). Contrary to Orlandos, they suggested that the main church, the excavated atrium and the chapel of Agios Nikolaos were contemporary structures, and belonged to the same construction phase dated to the middle 6th century, presumably during the last period of the reign of Justinian. At a later stage, in a short time period after the erection of the Justinianic great church, the baptistery was annexed to the complex. Finally, on a rather different note, more recent studies on the architectural history of the monument have challenged the existence of a religious building at the site before the erection of the Justinian church (Vogiatzis 2008, 18-19; Athanasoulis forthcoming).

Despite different theories and approaches concerning the earliest phases of Ekatontapiliani,

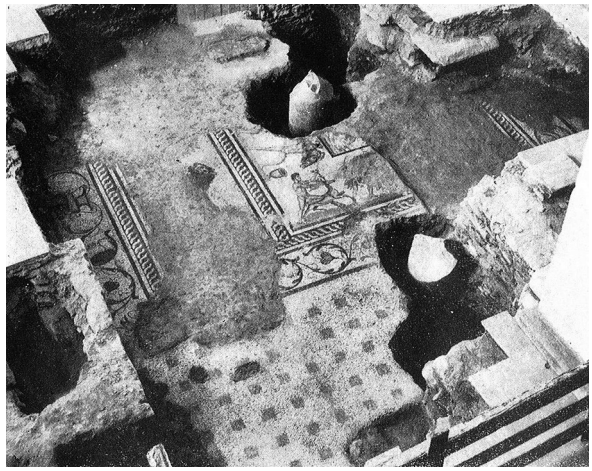


Fig. 4.22: View of the excavation in the interior of the main church (Orlandos 1963, pl.124α).

it is generally accepted that the most prominent architectural phase of the monument is dated to the 6th century during the reign of Justinian. The same picture also emerges from the study of specific archaeological material, such as the sculptural decoration and the frescoes (Drossoyianni 1995; 1998; Mitsani 1996-1997; 2006).

To return to the broader issue of what happened in the city of Paros during Late Antiquity, we should point out that the complex of Ekatontapiliani apart from its immense significance for the history of religious architecture, can also tell us a different story if we set to the monument itself other kinds of questions. A re-evaluation of the old material from Ekatontapiliani can offer a fresh approach to the history and archaeology of the urban centre of Paros in Late Antiquity. Nor should we forget that religious transformations in Late Antiquity were largely based on the political, civic and social changes of this period.

Excavations in the interior of the main church demonstrated that the spacious Christian religious complex was erected at the same site as extensive pre-existing structures (Orlandos 1963; 1964; 1965; 1965-1966). The excavation works of Orlandos, which until today remain the only archaeological research of this kind in the interior of the monument, were confined to the central part of the nave and the transept of the main church. A relatively large rectangular room (7,6 x 9 m) was unearthed in the area under the large dome (Fig. 4.22). This room was decorated with a lavish figurative mosaic pavement

which was discovered 0,72 m under the later floor. The fragmentary preserved mosaic pavement depicts the Labours of Hercules. Based on stylistic observations, Orlandos has dated the mosaic to the late 3rd or the early 4th century (1963, 146). The excavator identified the pre-existing structure as a Roman *gymnasium*, combining a series of evidence such as the iconographic theme of the mosaic, the existence of two inscriptions with catalogues of *ephebes* that were incorporated in second use into the walls of the atrium, and the epigraphic mention of the restoration of the *gymnasium* of the city at the end of the 3rd or early 4th century (Orlandos 1963, 147). On a rather different note however, Müller considers the available space too small for the installation of a *palaestra*, suggesting these remains probably belonged to a large and luxurious Late Roman urban *villa* (2003, 72).

Mosaic fragments and architectural remains were also found in other parts of the large complex such as the north and south sides of the baptistery and the southwest corner of the main church (Orlandos 1963, 147). These mosaics were contemporary with the mosaic depicting the Labours of Hercules and either belonged to the same building complex, or most probably, to different adjacent structures. Remains of walls from earlier edifices were also unearthed under the foundation level of the Justinianic period during the recent excavations of the local Archaeological Service in the area outside the apse of the main church of Ekatontapiliani (Athanasoulis forthcoming).

At a later stage, it seems that the building with the mosaic of Hercules underwent some important modification, as evidenced by the construction of four marble monolithic columns, which were found *in situ* but broken (Fig. 4.22). They all stand on different types of bases coming from earlier buildings and they have been found on different levels ranging from 1,73 to 1,88 m. Two of the columns have partly destroyed the surface of the mosaic found at least 1m below its level (Orlandos 1963, 147, pl.2-3, fig.124). Finally, it is worth noting that in the excavated area some burials were discovered, probably on the upper level of the stratigraphy, which were consider by the excavator as "later" remains without paying them more attention (Orlandos 1963, 142, 145, pl.3).

Despite limitations from the unsophisticated and fragmented publications of the excavation results, what was found in the excavations of the interior of the main church of Ekatontapiliani has proven to be significant in many ways. We will try to expand, reassess and interpret this valuable evidence in order to adumbrate the urban changes during Late Antiquity.

The picture, emerging through the limited material evidence discussed above, is that this particular area was an integral part of the intramural urban tissue of the Roman and Late Antique city (Figs 4.9, 4.10 & 4.16). It fell just within the north-eastern segment of the wall and was dominated, probably, by more than one large and luxurious building decorated with mosaic pavements. At the moment, there can be no certainty about the function of these pre-existing structures due to the aforementioned limitations. The observation of Müller (2003, 72) makes sense within the wider context of the Eastern Roman Empire where a boost in the construction, not only of religious buildings, but also of secular urban and rural *villas* during Late Antiquity is observed (Bintliff 2012b, 351). This is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Cyclades, since traces of a luxurious urban *villa* were also discovered in the neighbouring Late Antique city of Naxos (see more in Chapter 5.2.3). In any case however, obviously the wider area must have been attractive either as a luxurious residential quarter or as a district with public buildings of the Roman city, since it is located in a very prominent site at close proximity (less than 150 m south) to the port. The foundation of the later four columns indicates that the pre-existing large and luxurious building was substantially modified sometime after the 4th century and was in use during the first centuries of Late Antiquity. However, it is uncertain if this remodelling reflects change of its initial function. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the pre-existing Late Roman structure with the mosaic of Hercules and its successor had both lost their function sometime over the course of the 5th or the early 6th century.

A combination of all the archaeological and epigraphic evidence discussed above gives the impression that until 4th century the "most splendid city of Paros" largely retained, more or less, its "pagan" character with local elite, civic institutions and monumental public buildings dominating the urban topography. Considering Late Pagan archaeology, after the 4th century the erection of

temples and cult activity at many sites progressively ceased, as a result of the general cultural and economic changes, the shrinkage of private and state support, and the transformation of local elites (Gregory 1986a; MacMullen 1997; Deligiannakis 2011). Over the following centuries, the urban environment in most of the cities in the Eastern Roman Empire underwent a long and slow process of transformation. Christianity found a new role as a formal religion and was attempting to create a new dominant identity and position for itself in both urban and rural contexts. Under pressure of the needs of an increasing Christian population a radical re-organisation of the public space was inevitable. As a result of this, new landmarks in the intramural town planning emerged. By the 6th century citizens of the urban centres lived in a different context from that of the 3rd and 4th centuries, since dramatic changes had occurred in urban landscapes (Saradi 2006, 148-185).

Evidence of this process can be traced in the ancient city of Paros, clearly reflected in the building history of the monumental complex of Ekatonapiliani. Thus, Paros reflects the progressive transformation of a pagan urban centre to a Christian coastal city of commercial importance. Between the 4th and 7th centuries in the Late Antique city of Paros traces of prosperity *and* decline, wealth *and* poverty, and urban decay *and* intensive building activity are observed. These contradictions constituted a common phenomenon which characterised many Late Antique cities and finds many parallels in the Aegean world (Binltiff 2014b).

The extensive reuse of building material, which originally belonged to Classical, Hellenistic and Roman structures, in the erection of the complex of Ekatontapiliani (more than 2500 pieces have been recorded) and the city wall indicates that over the course of the 5th and first half of the 6th century monumental ancient public buildings had lost their function. Large or small pagan temples, and public civic infrastructures or edifices related to the functions and institutions of the ancient city as well as private buildings were becoming progressively abandoned, offering an extremely rich source of building material. The phenomenon of reusing ancient material (*spolia*) was a very common practice during Late Antiquity. Additionally, changes in the topography of the ancient city also occurred in the industrial quarter of the Hellenistic and Roman period (Floga-Tholos) as well as in the residential district of Kastrovouni (Figs 4.9, 4.10 & 4.16). The study of the ceramic material provides strong evidence that both workshops and houses were not in use after Early Roman Imperial times (Hasaki 2010; Kourayos 2015, 31). At the moment, these sites have produced no securely dated evidence of later use. Thus, it can be suggested that during Late Roman period the city had probably shrunk in size. It is quite possible that the Late Antique city of Paros was smaller than its Hellenistic and Early Roman predecessor. Clear traces of this process have been identified in many Late Antique cities of the Mediterranean world (*e.g.* Bintliff 2014b, 319-324).

In contrast, the erection of the spacious, elaborate and expensive complex of Ekatontapiliani and the information about the existence of the Late Roman fortification wall in conjunction with early Christian marble sculptures which have been incorporated into late medieval houses and churches (Figs 4.14, 4.15 & 4.18) provide strong evidence of a building boom. It seems that, as happened in many other cases, the city of Paros underwent a significant phase of rebuilding and restoration activity over the 6th and 7th century. New buildings, mainly religious, were erected, changing the intramural planning of the city. Thus, the city of Paros can be placed in the wider Eastern Mediterranean context where the phenomenon of "giant new buildings in shrinking towns" was visible during Late Antiquity (Bintliff 2014b, 326).

The new image of the Late Antique city of Paros was adjusted to the new standards and needs of the Late Antique Era. The sacred urban landscape had completely changed and, probably, more than one place of Christian worship was included in the intramural town planning. It seems that during the 6th century there was a dramatic need to find public spaces for the construction of Christian monumental complexes in the city. It is a period when the erection of churches dominated the urban landscape (Saradi 2006, 385-439). The focus on churches and the articulation of the urban space around them can be seen in the case of Ekatontapiliani. From the 6th century onward, the religious complex of Ekatontapilini emerged as the main landmark in the Late Antique city of Paros, drastically changing its



Fig. 4.23: The religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani: view of the interior of the main church.



Fig. 4.24: View of the *ciborium* and *synthronon* of the main church of Ekatontapiliani.

character. It demonstrates the growing wealth and prestige of the Church in the 5th and 6th centuries reflecting an institutionalised Christianity linked to the city and the Empire.

The unique position of the church in the urban topography, at close proximity to the port area (Figs 4.10 & 4.16), indicates a special connection between the two important reference points of the city (see more in Chapter 4.2.6). If the identification of the pre-existing building as a *gymnasium* is correct, we have here the case that a Christian temple occupied the site of an ancient public building. Therefore, in a way there is continuous use of the site as public space, if we consider that Christian temples emerged as the new public buildings of that time. In the opposite, and most probable case, the remains belonged to private urban *villa*, a former luxurious residential was quarter converted into a public space which hosted the new central reference point of the city. In either case, in this area of the city the urban landscape drastically changed between the 4th and the 6th centuries.

The wider area of the port, which was probably of great importance for the interests of the empire in terms of maritime trade routes, was re-organised and emerged as the new city centre. The harbour installations of the city were economically active while at the same time the new urban landmark, the monumental religious complex of Ekatontapiliani, was chosen to be built in immediate connection to the port. The material derived from investigations of the fortification walls, which were preserved along the eastern limits of the city, needs re-evaluation in order to trace the extent of the re-fortification of the city in the 6th or 7th centuries (AD 1994, 665-666). In any case, the archaeological material from the port offers the first tangible evidence that the city of Paros was still fortified during the Late Antiquity.

4.2.6 Socioeconomic aspects of the Late Antique city of Paros: a re-evaluation of the sculptural decoration of Ekatontapiliani

The religious complex of Ekatontapiliani is well-endowed with rich sculptural decoration (Fig. 4.23). The sculptural features that survive from the initial decoration of the main church (6th century) are the ionic impost capitals, the columns,

the bases, and the *tympana* of the colonnades, the piers and some closure slabs of the galleries and important liturgical furnishing, such as the *templon,* the *ciborium,* the *synthronon* and the *ambo*. It is a mixed group that includes marble sculptures imported from Constantinople (proconnesian marble), products of local workshops and ancient architectural members in secondary use (parian marble: see more about the parian marble and the local sculptural production in Chapters 4.4.2 and 4.6.2). The liturgical furnishing, such as the famous *ciborium* (Fig. 4.24) and the chancel screen (*templon*) (Fig. 4.26) of the monument's 6th century phase are the most well-studied and published marble sculptures of the monument (Mitsani 1996-1997; 2006). Detailed examination and re-evaluation of this material can offer important information about the socioeconomic context of the Late Antique city of Paros.

In the sculptural decoration of the main church, donor monograms and inscriptions that belong to members of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy are preserved. On the *tympana* of the arcades of the nave and the transept the monograms of Bishop Hylasios (Ὑλασίου ἐπισκόπου) are preserved (Fig. 4.25), while his name is incised on the capitals of the north and south colonnades of the transept (Kiourtzian 2000, 102-124; Mitsani 2006, 75). Bishop Hylasios, who is considered the founder of the church, lived during the 6th century and is totally unknown in religious written sources (Kiourtzian 2000, 122).

Additionally, valuable evidence of great importance appeared in the closure slabs of the *templon* of the main church (Fig. 4.26). Two of the slabs are integral and two are fragmentarily preserved. A continuous but fragmentarily preserved inscription was carved on the frames of the three already existing closure slabs. The decorative field of the slabs is dominated by a central motif of lozenges enclosing a Greek cross, flanked by four carved cruciform monograms set in the corner fields.

This combination of inscription and monograms constitutes an invocation to the Lord for a king who is not named, while at the same time, is a prayer to the Mother of God on behalf of specific individuals in local society (Mitsani 2006, 87-88). The names of three members in the local ecclesiastical hierarchy are included among the donors: a Bishop Georgios



Fig. 4.25: Carved monograms of Bishop Hylasios in the *tympanum* of the nave's arcades.

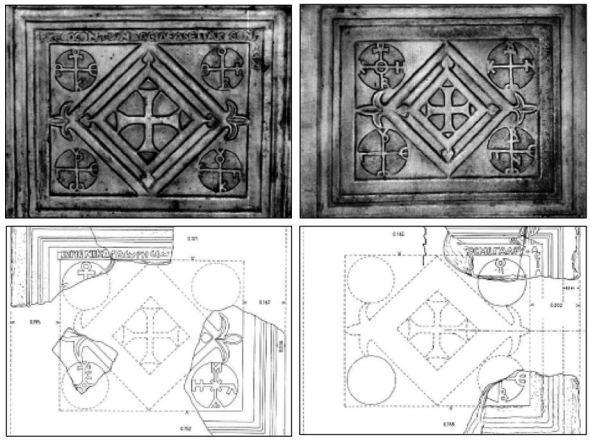


Fig. 4.26: Closure slabs from the 6th century *templon* of the main church with cruciform monograms in the corners (Mitsani 2006, 80-83, figs 5, 7, 14 & 15).

and two presbyters, Georgios and Constantinos are mentioned (Kiourtzian 2000, 124-126). Bishop Georgios is not listed in the episcopal catalogues or in other written sources of the period but on the basis of the type of monograms, it is believed that he is later than Bishop Hylasios (Kiourtzian 2000, 125). Thus, the period of action of both bishops has been placed during the 6th century. According to Mitsani, it is quite possible that two of the remaining fragmentary preserved cruciform monograms belonged to members of the local administrative hierarchy: one preserves the name of a certain Michael while the second preserves only two letters from another unspecified name (2006, 88). Unfortunately, the two other monograms which could probably offer us secure

information about their titles are completely missing.

Placing this evidence in the general context of the period, it is possible to adumbrate some socioeconomic aspects of the local insular community. Over the course of Late Antiquity, a gradual growth in the power of bishops has been attested. The prominent role of bishops in Late Antique society greatly increased since Christianity was recognised as a state religion and the church grew in numbers (see more information about the bishop's role as leader of the Late Antique city in Liebeschuetz 1997; Rapp 2005; Saradi 2006, 181-186). Apart from their spiritual authority, bishops were rapidly involved in civic affairs. In his city, the bishop was expected to play multidimensional roles in the management and the sustenance of local communities, and perform varied activities. By the 5th century urban authorities were progressively replaced by state representatives, and the local bishops and clergy, forming the new dipole of local power (Poulter 2007; Bintliff 2012b, 360). Especially during the reign of Justinian, a series of laws recognised the bishop's authority in civic administration (Saradi 2006, 182). The Church, as an institution of growing power, emerged as a considerable economic force, increasing its property and income as a result of regular contributions, imperial donations, and pious bequests (Rapp 2005, 172). Bishops acted as donors since they were also responsible for funding and supervising the erection of religious buildings.

Combining the archaeological data from Parikia with this broad historical context, it becomes evident that the spacious, elaborate and expensive religious complex of Ekatontapiliani demonstrates not only the growing wealth and prestige of the Church as a fundamental institution of the Empire but also the increasing power of the local Church of Paros during Late Antiquity. It appears that in the 6th century the local ecclesiastical elite of Paros (bishop and clergy) was actively involved not only in the regional management of the island by influencing extensive building programs, but also in the religious affairs of Christianity. The Parian bishops participated in the discussions of the early controversies of the church through Ecumenical and other smaller councils. At the same time, in terms of civic power, especially during the 6th century, they were able to fund and implement the most ambitious and monumental building project undertaken on the islands of the Aegean during Late Antiquity. The fact that in the first half of the 6th century the bishopric of Paros included the neighbouring island of Sifnos and the more distant island of Amorgos under its jurisdiction cannot be considered as coincidental, since during the great Council of Constantinople held in 536 by the Patriarch Menas, the bishop of Paros Theodore signed as «ἐπίσκοπος Παρίων, Σιφνίων καὶ Ἀμουλγινῶν» («bishop of Paros, Sifnos and Amorgos»; Fedalto 1988, 219; ACO III, 119, n. 93.; see more in Chapter 3.3.3). In geographical terms, it seems more reasonable to place the island of Amorgos under the same ecclesiastical administrative unit as the nearby island of Naxos rather than Paros and Sifnos.

The major basilica of Ekatontapiliani was a centre of great activity for the local society and acted as an ideal space for ceremonies and large audiences. Thus, the placement of the monograms of the bishops and clergy in the most visible parts of the nave reflects the increasing power and the prominent role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the local community during the 6th century. Once more, the fact that from the 6th century the most important reference point of the city was not a civilian building but a Christian religious complex cannot be considered as coincidental. The local church, and more specifically the Bishops Hylasios and Georgios, played a major role in the transformation process of the city during this period, having the ability to influence extensive building projects for the local society.

Additionally, if Mitsani's tantalising hypothesis regarding the monograms of the administrative officials in the closure slab of the *templon* is correct, it is quite possible that the sculptural decoration of Ekatontapiliani illustrates the new dipole of local civic power that progressively replaced the local civilian elites after the 4th century in the management of the city. In this respect, it makes sense that members of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy and state representatives jointly appeared as donors for the construction of this monumental religious complex. Equally important is the mutual appearance of the two poles of power, proclaiming that aristocracy and the Empire were fully in support of the Church. The strong bonds connecting the two poles of this bipolar model of local power is clearly reflected also in the spatial relationship between the church of Ekatontapiliani, which

represents the religious power, and the harbour of the city, which indicates the state authority (Fig. 4.16).

4.2.7 Ekatontapiliani and Paros: a monumental church in a small island

A great challenge facing the reconstruction of the urban landscape of Paros as well as the role of the island within the wider Late Antique Aegean context is to shed light on why such a large magnificent religious complex was erected on such a small island. It is true the majority of scholars focused their interest on the architectural history and decoration of the monument, and made little effort to place it in the wider economic, political, religious and cultural changes of this period.

In terms of architecture and symbolism, the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani is obviously a unique monument compared to the small scale of the Aegean islands. Bearing in mind that in the insular Aegean world churches were mostly smaller in size, and simpler in plan and decoration, the monumentality of Ekatontapiliani marked it out as the most impressive religious site among the Cyclades. It was not a quaint shrine, but it represents massive expenditures of wealth and manpower. In economic and symbolic terms, the monumental size and the rich decoration of the complex placed it among the most expensive and ambitious building projects of the insular communities in the Aegean world. Similar building projects were undertaken in many large cities of the Eastern Roman Empire during the 5th-6th centuries, mainly as part of the intensive building activity. In the context of the Eastern Roman Empire, monumental building activity, mainly in urban contexts, could have been set in place by the central administration for the promotion of the imperial ideology, functioning as a symbol of prestige for the ruler (Saradi 2006, 179-180).

The key element for better understanding the reasons for the erection of Ekatontapiliani on Paros lies in the spatial relationship between the monument itself and the harbour of the city, as well as in the advantaged location of the island in the Cyclades (Figs 4.10, 4.16 & 4.32). As is mentioned above, the monumental religious complex, which dominated the urban landscape, held a unique position less than 140 m south of the port area of the city. Until the present day, despite the fact that modern buildings occupy the area between the church and the modern port, the restored dome of Ekatontapiliani is still the first visible reference point of Parikia for travellers that are landing at the modern ferry boat wharf (Figs 4.7 & 4.17). Therefore, the religious complex was being deliberately placed in the urban topography in order to impress visitors travelling by the sea. We can imagine that sailors arriving at the port of Paros in the 6th century would have been witnesses to a spectacular show and would have been impressed by the monumental dimensions of Ekatontapiliani. In this respect the case of Paros, *mutatis mutandis*, is reminiscent of Lechaion, Corinth's northern port, where a giant basilica was erected in the late 5th century close to the harbour's infrastructures (see more about Lechaion in Rothaus 1995; 2000).

As is mentioned above, after the 4th century the Aegean Sea became a highly interactive maritime zone and its numerous islands participated in far-flung trade networks attracting ships from all over the eastern Mediterranean basin (see more in Chapter 3.2). The closely-spaced islands of the Cyclades (distances between islands never surpass 13 nm) facilitated seafaring and became important parts of the new sea routes, linking the capital with Crete, Cyprus as well as with ports in the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean (Fig. 3.1). The Cycladic ports also served as convenient stepping stones between Mainland Greece and Asia Minor, offering shelter for the ships.

The erection of such a spacious, elaborate and expensive religious complex represents massive expenditures of wealth, and possibly attracted funds from both the imperial administration and local aristocracy. The oral tradition that connects the history of the monument with the generosity of two emperors (Constantine and Justinian) in conjunction with the evidence from the sculptural decoration in the main church and the similarities of the building, in terms of architecture, with other Justinianic churches are strong illustrations of this interesting pairing. In this general context, the construction of Ekatontapiliani on the small but highly interactive island of Paros must be viewed as an act of propaganda for the promotion of the imperial ideology in a coastal city which served as a maritime node for movement of goods and passengers, and at the same time as an

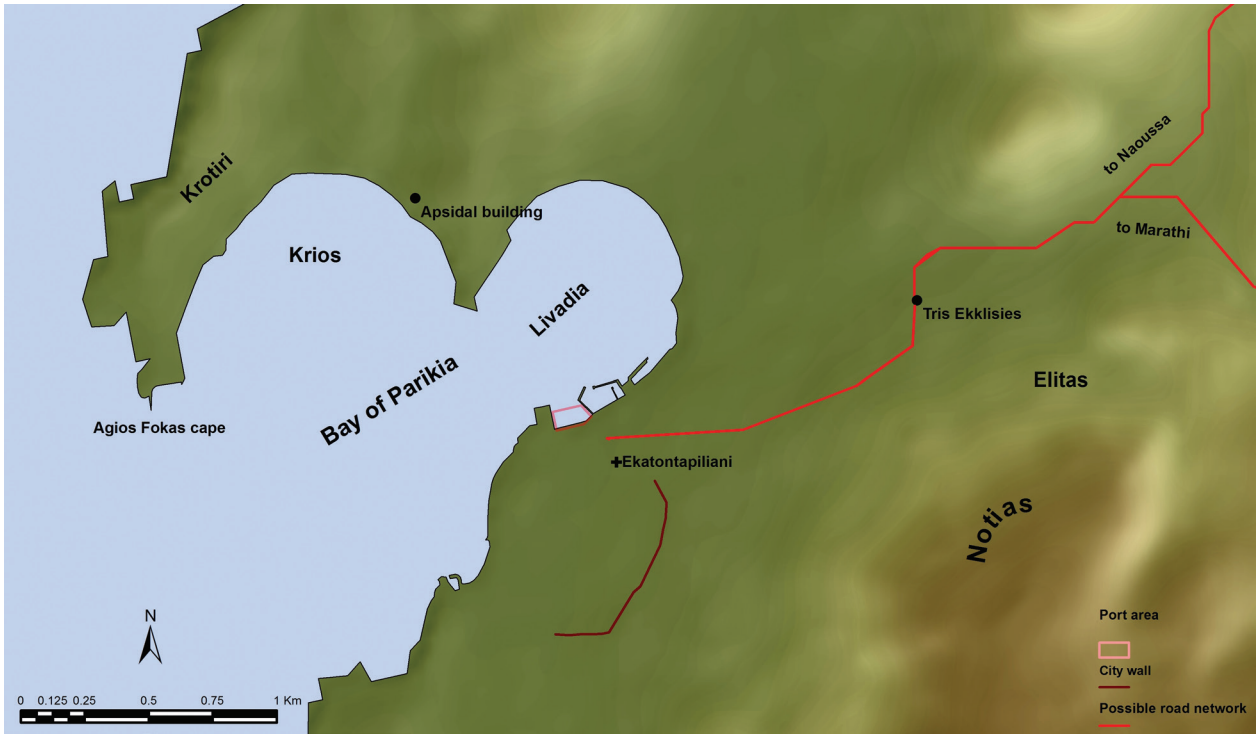


Fig. 4.27: The extramural topography and the possible ancient road network.

indication of the local bishop and clergy's increasing civic power. The imperial propaganda was targeted not only towards the local community but also towards the passing merchants, travellers, pilgrims and seafarers; stressing the power of the emperor as ruler and signifying the extent to which Paros interacted with the external world. At the same time, the local religious elite promoted its new found role in the regional management of the island.

Thus, in the context of the highly interactive Mediterranean world, the immense significance of the main port of Paros for the interests of the Empire could be the main reason for the construction of Ekatontapiliani in the city of Paros. In a period of intensive building activity and implementation of large monument projects created by the central government, the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani reflected the importance of a regional city-port in the wider context of the commercial and military maritime networks of the Eastern Roman Empire. Yet again, the example of Paros, *mutatis mutandis*, resembles the case of Corinth where the numerous and elaborated basilicas, which were constructed during Late Antiquity, can be seen as imperial propaganda and as an indication of the growing civic power of the local church and its new role to influence regional building projects (Rothaus 2000, 95-96).

Additionally, the city-port of Paros with the ecclesiastical complex of Ekatontapiliani could function not only as a regional commercial node but also as a place of Christian pilgrimage. Pilgrimage was a very distinctive phenomenon during Late Antiquity with intertwined political and ecclesiastical dimensions (Kötting 1950, Hunt 1982). As is mentioned above, strong evidence about places of pilgrimage in the Cyclades is documented on the neighbouring islands of Syros and Tenos, as illustrated by several inscriptions and *graffiti* (Kiourtzian 2000, 137-200; 2001, 11-12).

4.2.8 Extramural topography and ancient road network in the region of Parikia throughout Late Antiquity

As is mentioned above, beyond the limits of the fortified urban centre, in the immediate periphery of the city-port of Paros, the historical topography included the official cemetery of the ancient city,

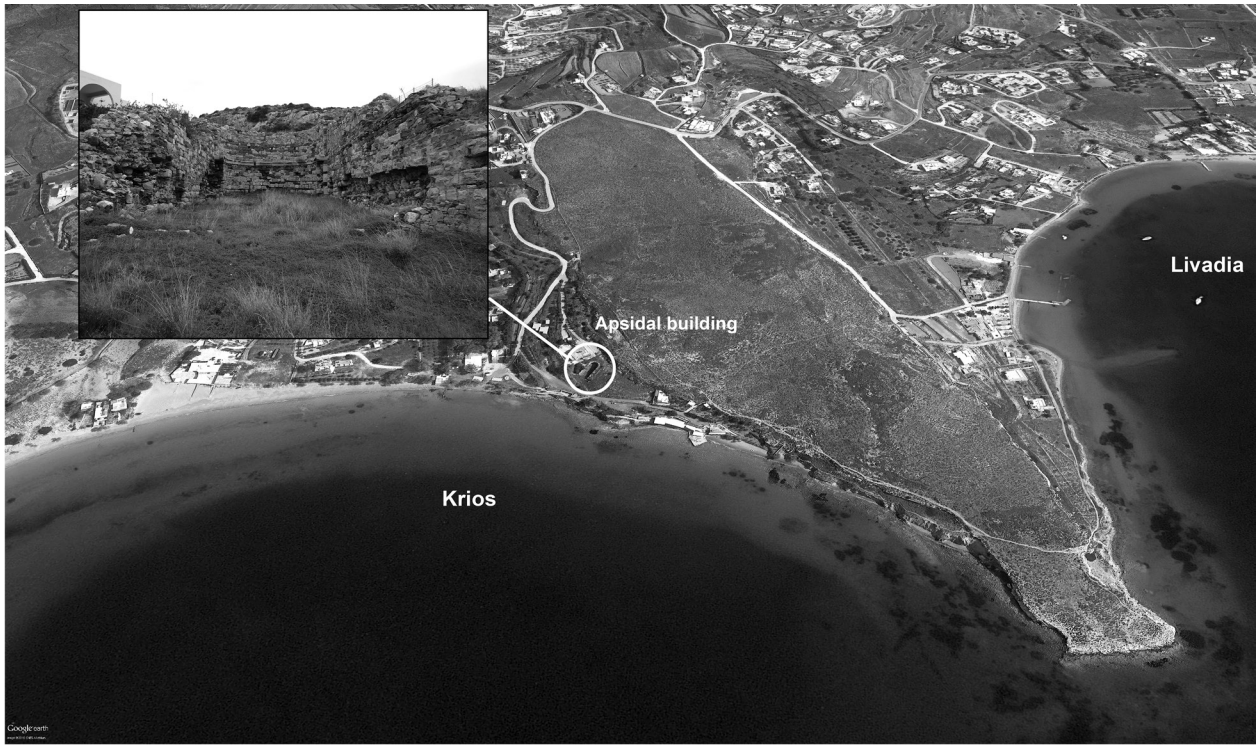


Fig. 4.28: The placement of the so-called "apsidal building" within the micro-landscape of the Bay of Parikia (view from Google Earth). In the detail: the interior of the building.

many secondary burial sites, open-air sanctuaries, temples (Asclepius, Apollo Pythius, Delian Apollo and Artemis) and a *heroon* of Archilochus, dated from the Archaic to the Roman period (Schilardi 1975b, 86-88; Kourayos 2015, 37-51; see more about the topography of the ancient city in Chapter 4.2.4). However at the moment, the placement of the Late Antique Christian cemeteries of the city remains unknown. In contrast to the aforementioned abundance of burial sites dated to earlier periods and located around the city walls, early Christian cemeteries or individual burials have not yet been discovered in the area of Parikia. The cemetery of the ancient city at the site Vitzi remained in continuous use from the 8th century B.C. to the 3rd/4th century (Fig. 4.9). Early Christian graves have not been found in the excavated area of the necropolis. This discontinuity suggests the main pagan burial sites were abandoned sometime during the 4th century and believers of the new religionlooked for new sites to bury their dead.

In the periphery of the city, until the present day, there is conspicuously little archaeological evidence dating to Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.27). First of all, the so-called "apsidal building" at the site Krios is worth mentioning; it resides on a slightly elevated spot on the opposite shore from the port of Parikia, outside the boundaries of the urban centre (Figs 4.27 & 4.28) (Gruben 1982, 682-685; AD 1994, 666; AD 1998, 795; Müller 2003, 89-91; Karvonis & Mikedaki 2012, 182; Le Quéré 2013, 109). It is a large structure with longitudinal organisation terminated at its eastern end with a large apse incorporated into the rocky hillside (see the detail in Fig. 4.28). No excavations have ever been conducted at this site. The preserved part of this enigmatic structure is measured 23 m in length and 8,40 m in width. The west facade has collapsed but the north and south's strong walls, as well as the east apse are preserved up to a height of 6 m and have been built with large blocks of gneiss and marble *spolia* in second use with mortar in *opus pseudo-isodomum*. The north wall has two faces while the south only one, as its south side has been incorporated into the slope of the hill. Almost in the middle of the preserved wall of the apse nine marble benches from an ancient building (in the type



Fig. 4.29: View of the masonry of the south wall showing the different construction phases.

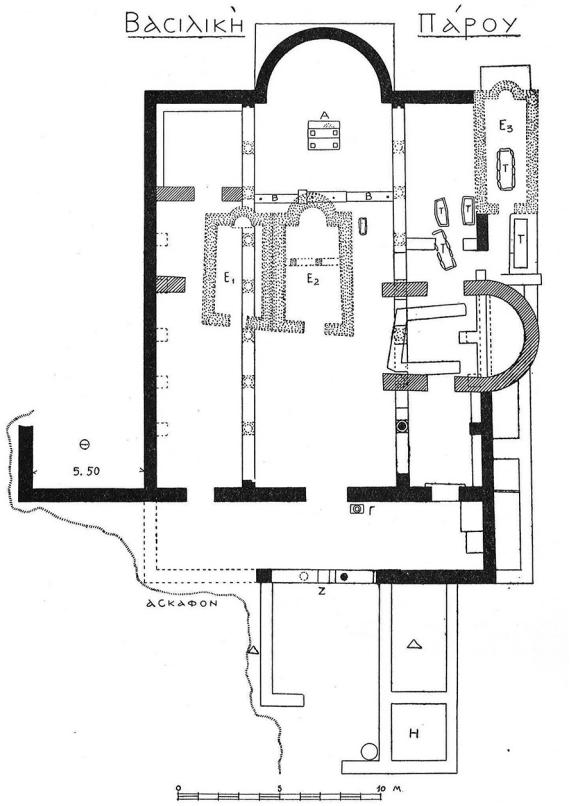


Fig. 4.30: Plan of the basilica at Tris Ekklisies (AD 1963, 299, pl.1).

of amphitheatre) have been re-used, forming a kind of cornice (for discussion about the provenance of the benches see Müller 2003, 89-91; Le Quéré 2013, 109, 120). On the walls a large number of beam sockets are preserved, these were probably parts of a roof-frame system, or for supporting a second floor or scaffoldings. In the upper parts of the apse and the south wall, the rubble masonry with strong mortar indicates a second construction phase (Fig. 4.29). It seems that in a later period repair works were carried out on the building. The masonry is completely different from that of the initial phase and looks similar to the Early Byzantine techniques.

Unfortunately, without systematic excavation at the site there can be no certainty about the function and the chronology of this building. It has been dated to the Late Roman period, probably in the 3rd or 4th century and has been identified as *nymfaio*, *odeon* or *villa*. However, because of the great difficulty in finding architectural parallels each one of these explanations appears to be an unlikely possibility and does not provide convincing answers. A series of observations concerning specific features of the architecture of the monument itself and its setting within the surrounding landscape, could probably offer some possible interpretations.

Regarding the placement of the structure within the micro-landscape, it is clear that on the one hand, it overlooks the entrance of the bay of Parikia and the urban centre, while on the other hand, it is easily accessible by the sea from the port of the city (Figs 4.27 & 4.28). This obviously indicates a sea-orientation and a close association with the urban centre. In architectural terms, it is astonishing that despite the walls' good conservation status no traces of windows have been recognised. It seems like a spacious building with no natural light, especially on the ground floor. The masonry of the initial phase, with the extensive re-use of older building material, suggests the structure could have been initially erected sometime during Late Antiquity in the context of the aforementioned rebuilding phase that occurred in the city of Paros during the course of the 6th century. The later reparations of the upper parts of the walls show that it has long-term use through Late Antiquity or even the Byzantine period (Fig. 4.29). Having considered all these parameters, it is likely that this structure, which has been placed in the periphery of the city close to the sea, was related to some kind of commercial activities serving as secondary facilities of the main port of the urban centre of Paros.

More tangible evidence was found approximately 1200 m northeast of the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani (Fig. 4.27). In the early 1960's, the remains of a Late Antique church were excavated by Orlandos at the site called Tris Ekklisies ("Three Churches") or Stavros in the wider Elitas' area (1960a, 246-257; 1961, 184-190; AD 1963, 298-301). The toponym Tris Ekklisies derives from the existence of three Post-Byzantine single-aisle humble chapels which were built on the ruins of the early church. The church was a typical small three-aisled basilica with narthex and annexes (Fig. 4.30). It measured 20,90 m in length and 14,80 m in width. In terms of decoration, dimensions and symbolism, the basilica of Tris Ekklisies is much smaller and more humble compared to the colossal complex of Ekatontapiliani. Nevertheless, they share a common feature; the extensive reuse of ancient building material. Unfortunately, the monument has not been completely excavated as parts of the south annexes still remain uncovered.

On the basis of stylistic and typological features of the seven preserved marble capitals, which are the most notable examples of sculptural decoration, the excavator dated the erection of the basilica to the first half of the 6th century (AD 1963, 301). Unfortunately, the ceramic material from the excavation, which is the most secure evidence for dating, was never published in detail. The basilica went through several construction phases, an important point which is not so clear in the excavation reports of Orlandos. According to the excavator, the floor of the narthex was paved in two different periods (1961, 187), the rectangular chambers were annexed on either side of the entrance of the narthex at a later time (AD 1963, 298), and finally, there is evidence of two phases in the sculptural decoration of the basilica (1960a, 250-251; 1961, 184). This evidence might be an indication of the monument's long-term use during Late Antiquity and possibly the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, although without publication of the ceramic material there can be no certainty about this. What is also important is that the site seems to be multi-period. There is evidence that during the middle 6th century B.C, the *heroon* of Archilochos (Parian poet who was born and lived on the island in the 7th century B.C.) was placed at the site of the Late Antique basilica. Finally in later periods, probably after the abandonment of the basilica, the site was occupied by several Christian tombs and unspecified structures (Orlandos 1960a, 256; 1961, 186; AD 1963, 301).



Fig. 4.31: View of the Holy Bema of the basilica at Tris Ekklisies.

Apart from the study of the monument's architecture and sculpture, which needs re-evaluation, it is important in this case to investigate the basilica's function and its placement within the micro-topography (Figs 4.31 & 4.32). The basilica of Tris Ekklisies was placed in the periphery of the urban centre outside the course of the Late Roman wall, indicating a strong spatial relationship between them. The association between the urban centre of Paros and this extramural region was long-term and dated to the Archaic period, with the establishment of the important religious community monument dedicated to Ancestor worship. Thus, since antiquity this site emerged as an extramural sacred place in the immediate periphery of the ancient city of Paros. Concerning local landscape, the basilica is located in a small, fertile and well-watered plain extended to the north and northeast parts of the urban centre (Fig. 4.32). Towards the east, northeast and south, the region is surrounded by low hills at the foothills of which narrow accessible passages and small gorges are formed. Beyond these hills to the east lays the plateau of Marathi and to the north the large plain of Kamares which extends up to the bay of Naoussa.

The exterior placement of Christian basilicas is a well-known phenomenon in the Aegean world and characteristic examples are Athens and Corinth. In the Cyclades such activity was not restricted to Paros; the phenomenon is clearly observed in the case of

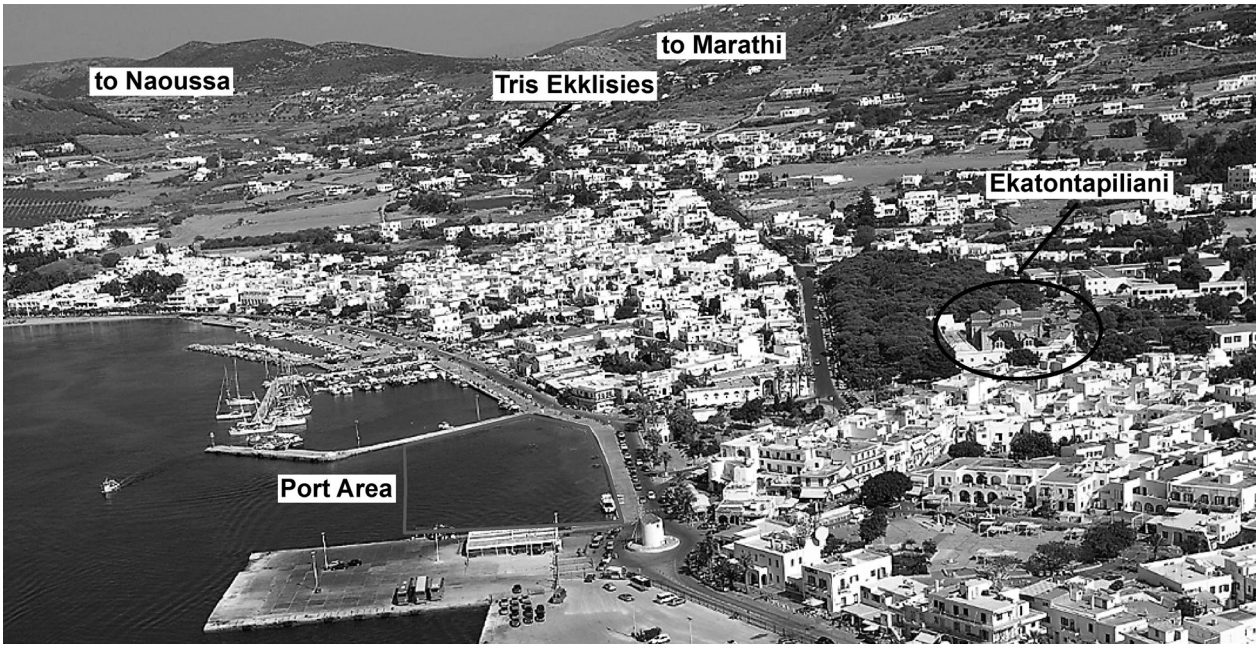


Fig. 4.32: The placement of the basilica of Tris Ekklisies within the micro-landscape of the region of Parikia. The basilica is located in close proximity to Ekatontapiliani and the port area, and probably, associated with important land routes.

Naxos, which is analysed below (see Chapter 5.2.4). A considerable number of basilicas are associated with regional roads in the countryside of Attica, connecting Athens with its immediate hinterland (Tzavella 2014, 139-141). Most of these sites (Agios Loukas at Patesia, basilica at Tavros etc.) were located in areas close to the ancient urban centre. Modern studies explain this complex phenomenon with the association of the basilicas with cemeteries, the existence of roadways that leads to the urban centre and mostly with a general process of sacralising the landscape, and institutionalisation of Christianity (Rothaus 2000, 101-104). In this respect, travellers arriving at a city from any directions would sense the Christian presence in the city as they approached.

This interpretative model appears to be very attractive for the case of Tris Ekklisies on Paros. It is generally accepted that the ancient road network connecting inland and coastal areas with the urban centres mainly followed physiographic constraints. Consequently, a close examination of the geomorphology of the wider area of Elitas can provide evidence for a hypothetical reconstitution of land route network that linked the urban centre with central and north regions of the island (Fig. 4.27). The application of least cost path analysis shows that, a land route, possibly, started from the city wall and passed through the modern region of Elitas with a northeast direction. In the narrow passage that forms between the two hills, the road was presumably divided into two opposite directions. One route turned north and amid the plain of Kamares led to the bay of Naoussa, while the second route turned southeast and through a small valley which led to the region of Marathi. Both areas (Naoussa and Marathi), as it is demonstrated below (see Chapters 4.3 and 4.4), were of great importance for the island's economic vitality since antiquity. The basilica of Tris Ekklisies was, possibly, located on a crucial segment of this network just before the entrance to the city. The use of the site as a sacred place from the Archaic period indicates that the road existed prior to the erection of the basilica. It is worth mentioning, that even today, the archaeological site of Tris Ekklisies is located on the main modern road that connects the island's modern capital town (Parikia) with Naoussa (the second largest settlement on Paros) and Marathi.

In this respect, the placement of the basilica of Tris Ekklisies in the periphery of the Late Antique city of Paros, along an ancient road system that linked the urban centre with economically active

regions of the Parian countryside, reflects a pattern of Christianisation of the sacred landscape. Those travelling by land from Naoussa and Marathi towards the urban centre of Paros would have come across the basilica of Tris Ekklisies – allowing them to sense the Christian presence as they approached the city. In this context, the small basilica of Tris Ekklisies could have served to sacralise the landscape surrounding the urban centre of Paros, especially at a site with a strong sacred pagan past important for the population's collective memory of the ancient city.

In general, the results of the re-evaluation of the limited and fragmentary archaeological evidence from the periphery easily fit within the picture emerging from the urban centre. Thus, the extramural evidence supports the impression that the city of Paros and its periphery underwent a phase of redefining and Christianising the landscape over the 6th century. The basilicas as integral aspects of Christian monumentalisation were essential for this process. At least one new place of Christian worship was erected on the ancient road, in the region of Elitas; emerging as new reference point around the 6th century. Additionally, if the chronology of the "apsidal building" at Krios in the Late Antique centuries is correct, its construction can be integrated into the context of a building boom in the city during the same period. It seems that the non-urban areas of the Parikia region followed the historical trajectory of the urban centre, and adjusted to the new standards and needs of a rising Christian population over the course of the Late Antique Era. The city-port of Paros took full advantage of the localised natural features of this landscape (well-protected coves, cultivated areas, land routes).

4.2.9 Evidence of the "Dark Ages" in the region of Parikia

In the context of the interpretative model established by many scholars, based on the desolation of the island through the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, the city of Paros has been viewed as a ruined and abandoned place. The Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean, with written sources and low visibility of archaeological material has resulted in perceiving these centuries in a negative manner. Despite the fact that, dealing with this period of Parian history is like "groping in the dark", new evidence from Paros offers a fresh approach for the period before Arab conquest of Crete.



Fig. 4.33: Fresco depicting two female figures each carrying an infant on the north wall of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos (religious complex of Ekatontapiliani).

Starting with the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani, on the north wall of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos, next to the *iconostasis*, traces of fresco paintings in two layers are preserved (Fig. 4.33). The earlier stratum bears a decoration composed of decorative floral patterns. At a later stage this layer was carefully covered by a later panel, depicting two female figures each carrying an infant. According to Drossoyianni, both strata are pre-iconoclastic while the second one is dated between the last quarter of the 7th and 8th century (1995, 729-731; 1998, 63). The fact that the earlier strata were in good condition when covered by the later one, in combination with the iconography led the scholar to the express the view that the second layer has a dedicatory character. This information is important in socioeconomic terms, as it provides evidence that even in the early 8th century an active local elite able to finance such small-scale projects still existed in the city of Paros.

Another factor that supports the idea of continuity in daily life is the very survival of the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani until the present day. This important evidence was rather neglected by majority of the scholars. Despite modifications and restoration works conducted on the monument throughout the centuries of its history, it seems that it was uninterrupted and in continuous use from the 6th century until today. If the city of Paros had been

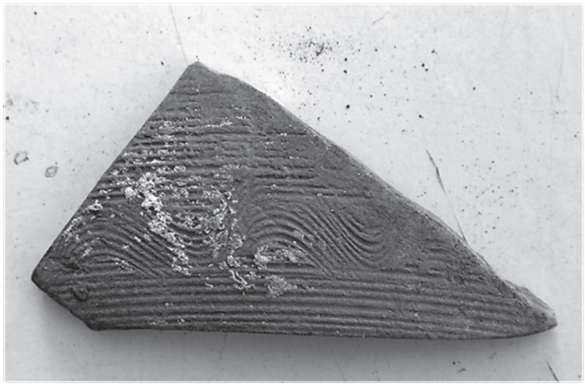


Fig. 4.34: Pottery fragment from the port area of Parikia, which is dated to the 7th – 8th century.

deserted for centuries this spacious and elaborate monumental church should have collapsed due to the lack of human presence and restoration works, as it happened in the cases of the basilicas of Tris Ekklisies and Voutakos (see Chapters 4.2.7 and 4.6.2). In contrast, the modern restoration works conducted by Orlandos have shown that until the 1960's the architectural core of the monument belonged to the Justinianic phase, with several obvious conversions and additions dated to later periods.

Once again, the study of ceramic material from the old underwater harbour research in Parikia proved to be of special significance, since it provides the first direct evidence for economic activities in the port of Paros during the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages. A small but extremely valuable group of amphora sherds can be dated to the 7th and 8th centuries. A characteristic example is a ceramic fragment, which possibly belongs to amphora, and it is decorated with wavy combed bands (Fig. 4.34). This type of decoration appears in amphorae and other types of vessels and can be dated to the late 7th or 8th century (see more about this type of decoration in Boardman 1989, 106, pl.25, Hayes 1992, 71, fig.23.13). Additionally, the possible dating of the fortified wall of the port in the 7th century shows an attempt to strengthen the city's protection in the beginning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Future study of the pottery material from the harbour excavation will contribute more evidence about the use of the port between the 7thand 9th centuries.

Despite major changes in the general circumstances pertaining to the Aegean during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, this study suggests a continuity of life in the former urban centre of Paros in the 8th and 9th centuries on a lesser scale compared to the previous period. It is most likely that the ancient city-port lost its urban status in the late 7th or early 8th century and progressively shrunk to a small coastal settlement. At the moment, limited data from the religious monument of Ekatontapiliani and the ceramic material from the port area constitute the main evidence that bears witness to continuous use of the coastal settlement of Parikia, despite difficulties arisen by the Arab presence in the Aegean. Moreover, Ekatontapiliani is the only coastal religious monument in the Cyclades dated to the 6th century still standing and functioning today.

4.3 THE REGION OF NAOUSSA: AN AEGEAN COASTAL POTTERY PRODUCTION CENTRE

4.3.1 A unique Cycladic landscape

The region of Naoussa is located on the northern part of the island of Paros, a few kilometres northeast of Parikia (Fig. 4.5: II). The whole area is dominated by a spacious and naturally well-protected bay (Fig. 4.35), which is the second largest gulf in the Cyclades (after the bay of Adamantas on Melos). The bay of Naoussa possesses a strategic geographic position as it is located almost at the heart of the Cycladic insular cluster (Fig. 2.1). Numerous smaller bays and coves fill the bay of Naoussa and provide small anchorages, well-protected by the strong north winds offering safe and natural shelters for vessels. In the clearest weather, the islands of Mykonos, Delos, Rhenia, Naxos, Syros and Tenos are visible from many different localities of the bay (Fig 4.36).

With the passing of time these peculiar traits gave inhabitants the advantage to overlook sea routes that passed through this crucial maritime zone at the heart of the Aegean Sea. If we take both the strategic position of the bay of Naoussa into consideration and the fact that ancient and Medieval seafaring was facilitated by the possibility for mariners to observe visible reference points, such as mountains, promontories, rocks, inlets, islands, bays, ports and lighthouses (Cosentino 2013, 68), we can easily assume the significant role played by the bay

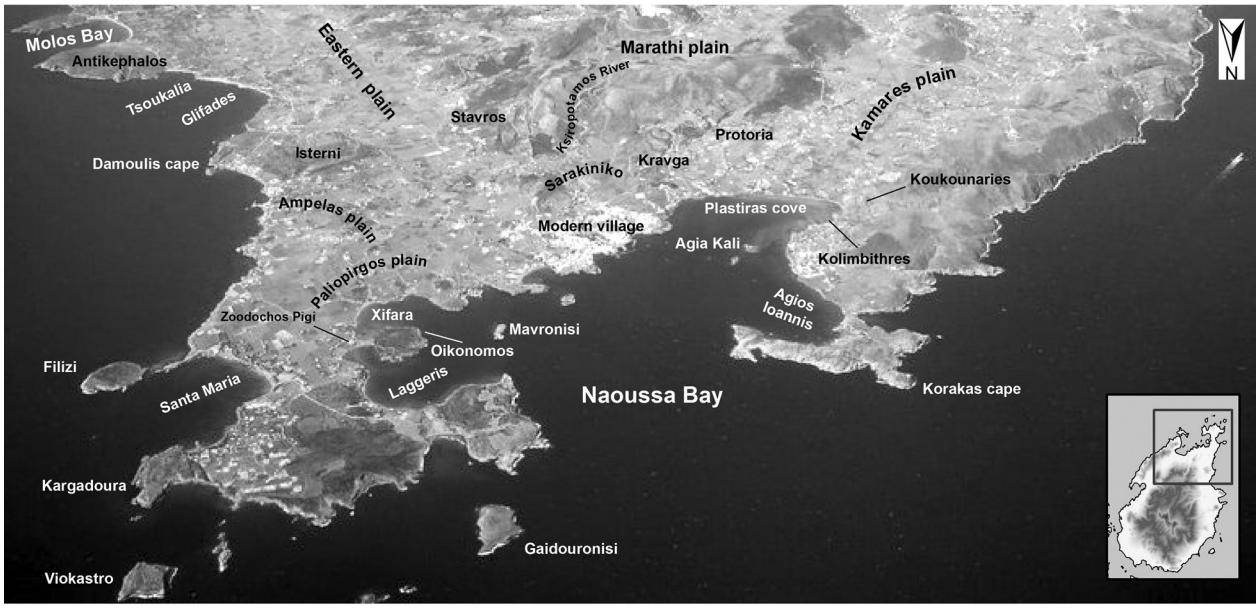


Fig. 4.35: Aerial view of the bay of Naoussa with places and regions discussed in the chapter.



Fig. 4.36: View of the entrance of the bay of Naoussa. In the background the islands of Mykonos, Delos and Rhenia are visible.

of Naoussa, not only for regional maritime mobility among the Cycladic islands but also for long distance maritime routes (for example the itinerary that connected Mainland Greece with Asia Minor).

The coastline of the Naoussa region is characterised by great complexity. Two large projecting peninsulas outline the bay at its western and eastern sides. The large west peninsula of Agios Ioannis Detis is defined by a sculptured mass of transformed granite called gneiss, veined with marble (or mica) which changes colour and glistens with the sun's reflection. From an anthropological point of view, it is important the local fishermen call these sparkly rocks "psaropetres" (fish stones), comparing them with fish scales. Rocky hills with steep slopes reach the coast and create small bays or coves. Cape Korakas with a stone lighthouse is the most northern part of Paros and marks the western entrance of the bay. The west peninsula is outlined by three smaller bays, two along its eastern inner coastline and one



Fig. 4.37: Panoramic view of the bay of Naoussa's west peninsula, with the coves of Plastiras and Agios Ioannis.



Fig. 4.38: Panoramic view of the bay of Naoussa's east peninsula, with the coves of Laggeris and Xifara.

along its western outer coastline. Along the west and southwest side of the bay, are formed the smaller bays of Agios Ioannis (with the eponymous Post-Byzantine monastery) and Plastiras, with sandy and shallow coastlines (Figs 4.35 & 4.37).

The south side of the bay is characterised by a complex coastline forming many small, narrow, sheltered coves with sandy or steep coasts, the largest and most important of which called Agii Anargiri. The large east peninsula is outlined by many large and small coves which have a partially sandy and partially rocky coastline (Figs 4.35 & 4.38). The most important of which are: the coves of Laggeris and Xifara along the inner northwest coast of the peninsula (which is at the same time the east side of the bay of Naoussa) and the open bay of



Fig. 4.39: Panoramic view of the large east peninsula of the bay of Naoussa with the adjacent plain of Paliopirgos.

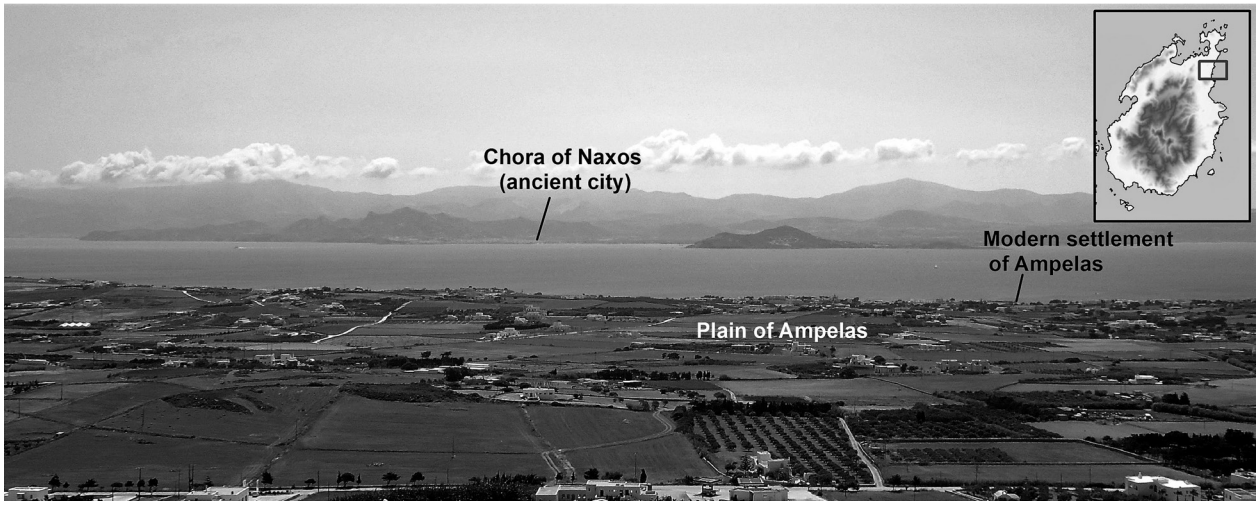


Fig. 4.40: Panoramic view of the plain of Ampelas.

Aliki or Filizi along the outer southeast coastline of Paros, facing the island of Naxos. The inner coves of Laggeris and Xifara are separated by the so-called Oikonomos Island connected with Paros by means of a narrow sandbar. The south part of Laggeris bay, close to Oikonomos Island is called Zoodochos Pigi, and was named after the eponymous humble church which is located on its northeast entrance. Many islets are scattered within the bay of Naoussa (Agia Kali, Agios Artemios, Galiatsos, Tetartonisi and Mavronisi), with numerous of them located less than a mile off the northeast coast of the peninsula. The barren and desolate off-shore islets of Gaidouronisi, Tourlos, Finisses, Viokastro and Filizi are also worth mentioning (Fig. 4.35).

The bay of Naoussa is adjacent to important extensive productive farming zones. South and southwest of Plastira's cove are extended the small but fertile plains of Protoria and Kamares, respectively (Figs 4.35 & 4.66). South and southeast of the modern village of Naoussa the plains of Sarakiniko, Paliopirgos and Ampelas begin (Figs 4.39 & 4.40), these are connected with the extensive cultivable and fertile eastern plain of the island (Fig. 4.4a). The beautiful picturesque fishing village of Naoussa is located on the middle of the south coastline of the bay (facing its entrance). It is the second largest modern settlement on the island, 10 km east from the capital, Parikia. According to A. Vionis the village of Naoussa is a fortified

settlement of orthogonal plan built during the 13th century (2012, 83-84).

After the 1970s the region of Naoussa gradually emerged as one of the most popular summer resorts for both domestic and foreign tourists. Nevertheless, the rapid and unplanned tourist development in such a fragile location put great pressure on the local community and the environment. As a matter of fact, the cultural and natural coastal landscape was drastically transformed in many ways and in a very short period of time. The new economic context, the pressing needs of an exceptionally high population during the summer season, and subsequent intensive building activity were uncommon for the small scale and former poor fishing village. Constructions of any sort, especially along the seafront, have contributed to the destruction of the local coastal landscape and the rapid transformation of the built environment. As a result, many antiquities have been heavily damaged or disappeared, and the land use has completely changed. Over recent years a new landscape is being created in this coastal area, dominated by numerous blocks of modern private residences and tourist facilities. The Electric Power Station in Santa Maria, which covers the needs of Paros and many neighbouring islands, has also caused major environmental destruction. Additionally, until the first half of the 20th century, within the bay of Naoussa, mostly in the area of Agios Ioannis Detis, many lime kilns were in operation. As a result of this intensive activity the rich low vegetation of the bay was deforested and numerous ancient marble sculptures were destroyed.

4.3.2 A history of research

Despite the aforementioned significant role of the bay of Naoussa for seafaring during different periods of human history, and the abundance of archaeological remains scattered along its coastlines, archaeologists have not yet shown interest in the study and interpretation of this interesting settled landscape. It would not be an exaggeration to note that we do not have well-published archaeological evidence about many periods of the history of this region at our disposal. Although the region of Naoussa does offer a neatly defined survey unit, unfortunately there have been very few regional survey projects, all of which took place over 40 years ago. In addition, very few systematic or rescue excavations were conducted throughout the recent decades in the bay of Naoussa. Thus, the majority of the archaeological sites in the region of Naoussa remain largely unexcavated. However, the available archaeological data do contribute to the development of archaeological research in this region and provide an invaluable data-bank of information, topographic maps, photographs, and sketch drawings.

In 1901 O. Rubensohn conducted an archaeological survey of ancient Paros which included important material from Parikia, Dryos, Naoussa and Filizi (1901, 157-222). He argued that there were no antiquities in the modern village of Naoussa but he was the first to identify and record some of the important ancient submerged rock-cut infrastructures scattered along the northeast coasts of the bay. He recognised their possible important role for the sea-oriented character of Paros (1901, 165-169). Rubensohn also visited Cape Kargadoura suggesting that the ruins may have belonged to the sanctuary of Poseidon (1901, 164).

In 1963 the Greek Archaeological Service carried out a limited rescue excavation unearthing an ancient cemetery at a coastal site of Plastiras cove (AD 1963, 283-284). In the early 1970s the Greek archaeologist K. Fotiou conducted the first topographical survey project covering the northeast region of Naoussa (1973, 1-14). His major concern was to identify remains of the Classical past of Paros, especially the ancient temple of Demeter Thesmophoros mentioned by Herodotus (VI 134). He expanded on this, arguing the ancient city of Paros was located in this peninsula; however, Fotiou's arguments have been challenged by other scholars (Schilardi 1975b, 93-94 with n. 45). Nevertheless, it does not alter the fact that he presented topographical material related to the northeast peninsula of the bay of Naoussa and he recognised many archaeological remains, such as rock-cut infrastructures and remains of ancient buildings. It is worth mentioning that Fotiou is our only source for some antiquities, as they disappeared under the pressure of the aforementioned tourist development. In addition, he successfully predicted the possible existence of ceramic workshops in the area of Zoodochos Pigi (Fotiou 1973, 10-11).

In 1973-1975 extensive surface surveys were carried out at the region of the bay of Naoussa by the Greek archaeologist D. Schilardi on behalf of the Archaeological Society at Athens (1973; 1974; 1975a; 1975b). Schilardi and his team focused their attention on the research of the ancient settlements on Oikonomos and Filizi Islands. They also discovered the Mycenaean fortified acropolis on the top of the rocky hill of Koukounaries, which overlooks the cove of Plastiras. Excavations at Koukounaries acropolis were carried out during 1976-1992 under sponsorship from the Archaeological Society at Athens (1976-1991, annual archaeological reports in *Praktika tis en Athenais Archaiologikis Etaireias*; Schilardi 1983). In 1979 an underwater archaeological survey in the bay of Naoussa was conducted by the Department of Underwater Antiquities of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Science, and members of the excavation at Koukounaries (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981). Two ancient shipwrecks, three moles (two of them on the northern side of the Plastiras cove and one in the northwest part of the bay near to the monastery of Agios Ioannis), port installations and cist graves south and northeast of Oikonomos Island were briefly surveyed in the bay of Naoussa (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 139-144).

In 1986 an extensive surface survey was carried out by the French archaeologists M. Picon and J.-Y. Empereur on the islands of Paros and Naxos, the survey focused on the identification of local amphora workshops (1986a, 1986b). They discovered six amphora workshops on the island of Paros, four of them located along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa. The study by Picon and Empereur constitutes an invaluable contribution to understanding local Parian and Naxian pottery production during the Roman and the Late Antique period. However, we have to bear in mind that this study was published almost thirty years ago. It is therefore imperative to re-evaluate the study by Picon and Empereur under the light of new archaeological evidence.

In the context of the Cyclades Research Project conducted by A. Vionis important results were obtained about the Byzantine and Post Byzantine past of the region of Naoussa (2012). For the needs of this study we focus on the intensive surface survey on the islet of Viokastro (Vionis 2012, 125-131). Based on archaeological data, Vionis suggested the defensive character of the preserved structures on the islet were probably constructed during the middle-late 7th or early 8th century (2012, 131). He made a real effort to grapple with a series of complex questions about the challenging field of continuity and discontinuity from Late Antiquity through the Early Byzantine centuries. In recent years, the remains of a new amphora workshop from the 6th – 7th century have been unearthed in Zoodochos Pigi cove (north east of bay of Naoussa) during rescue excavations conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades (Diamanti 2016).

Apart from a few exceptions, it is clear previous research made efforts to identify mainly Prehistoric, Geometric and Archaic remains in the region of Naoussa. However, they only presented a fragmentary picture about the settlement layout of the bay of Naoussa. As a matter of fact, there is not a detailed, analytical and interpretative study dealing with the settled landscape during antiquity. Nevertheless, all approaches and specific studies are essential for more efficient research and a better understanding of issues concerning the built environment.

4.3.3 The region of Naoussa from the Prehistoric to the Roman period

For a better understanding of the development in the historical landscape within the bay and in an attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of the relationships between humans and natural environment diachronically, it is necessary to make a short presentation of the material culture starting with the Prehistoric period, placing the bay of Naoussa in a wider archaeological and historical context. The region of Naoussa is well-endowed with antiquities, ranging from the Mycenaean period to Ottoman times. Living in a gifted natural landscape like the bay of Naoussa, since Prehistoric times the islanders realised all its advantages.

The earliest traces of human occupation recorded within this region are dated to the Late Neolithic era (5th mill. B.C.). Near the southwest shore of the bay of Naoussa on the top of the rocky hill of Koukounaries at a height of 75 m above sea level an important settlement was unearthed (1976-1991, annual archaeological reports in *Praktika tis en Athenais Archaiologikis Etaireias*; Schilardi

1983). Archaeological evidence, such as pottery and artefacts, has shown that the settlement goes back to the Late Neolithic era. In the Late Mycenaean period (12th century B.C.), the hill was transformed into a fortified acropolis. Despite destruction the settlement survived until the Geometric and Early Archaic periods. In the Early Cycladic I period there is evidence for burials located at a coastal site of Plastiras cove (AD 1963, 283-284). Thirteen tombs were unearthed, twelve of which followed the typical characteristics of the Early Cycladic period and one of which is dated to Roman times.

In the Geometric and Archaic periods, the archaeological data from the archaeological surveys give the impression of an important number of sites in the region of Naoussa (Schilardi 1973; 1974; 1975a; 1975b; 1983; Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981). Apart from the excavated settlement at Koukounaries, systematic excavations at these sites have not been conducted and therefore it is impossible to give convincing answers to questions regarding their nature and their continuity through centuries. The locations of these sites are usually sea-oriented and are located on top of hills (Koukounaries), on off shore islets (Oikonomos Island and Filizi Island) or in coastal areas (Kargadoura, Agios Ioannis Detis) and at times in slightly elevated locations a few kilometres from the shores (Sarakiniko, Livadera and Protoria).

At the moment, Classical and Hellenistic sites are poorly represented in the area of Naoussa. This contradiction between Geometric/Archaic and Classical/Hellenistic sites is not because of absence of human occupation, but rather because of a research gap. It is worth noting that, during personal observations (2015-2016) along the coastline of Naoussa's bay and in the regions of Paliopirgos, Protoria and Ampelas important numbers of Classical and Hellenistic diagnostic surface ceramics were discovered suggesting that north Paros was well-populated. The analysis of this material is beyond the aims of this research. It seems that in the Archaic period the fortified settlements on Koukounaries, Oikonomos and Filizi Islands were abandoned peacefully. However, the temple of Athena on Koukounaries was still in use until the 3rd century B.C. About 5 km northeast of the modern village of Naoussa the rocky hill of Kargadoura promontory is located. On the most prominent part of the cape, the foundations of two large buildings (32,15 x 34,30 m and 10,85 x 27,20 m) are preserved (Rubensohn 1901, 164; Schilardi 1975b, 94-95). According to Rubensohn, the architectural details and location suggest the ruins must belong to a fortification or a sanctuary of the Classical period (1901, 164).

Along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa are located at least four amphora production sites (Empereur & Picon 1986a). As will be discussed below in detail, the main operation period of these workshops is now placed during Late Antiquity (see more in Chapter 4.3.4). However, at least two of them were also in use during Hellenistic times (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 504). Thus, in the Hellenistic period we can trace the first clear evidence of well-organised local pottery production in the region of Naoussa. North of the Ampelas plain, approximately 3,5 km southeast from the modern village of Naoussa, the remains of one more Hellenistic ceramic workshop have been identified at a coastal site (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 504). At the site called Paliopirgos, which is located a few kilometres east from Naoussa and 800 m south of the beach of Xiafa, the ruins of a cylindrical Hellenistic tower are preserved (Fig. 4.35). The site remains unexcavated and unpublished. However, the high concentration of surface ceramics (transport and storage vessels, beehives, tiles, every day domestic pottery) within a radius 250 m south of the tower suggests the existence of a settlement with intensive agricultural activities during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Additionally, as is mentioned above, at a coastal site of Plastiras cove thirteen tombs were excavated, one of which has been typically dated to Roman times. The tomb seems to be humble and contained three vessels without decoration. Unfortunately, we have no more detail about its chronology and the specific features of this pottery (AD 1963, 283-284). Additionally, an ancient wreck was discovered near Mavronisi Island, on the eastern side of the bay of Naoussa (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 140, fig.10). Mavronisi Island is located in the middle of the entrance of Xifara cove opposite pottery production site 4 (see below). It is also generally dated to the Roman period (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 140).

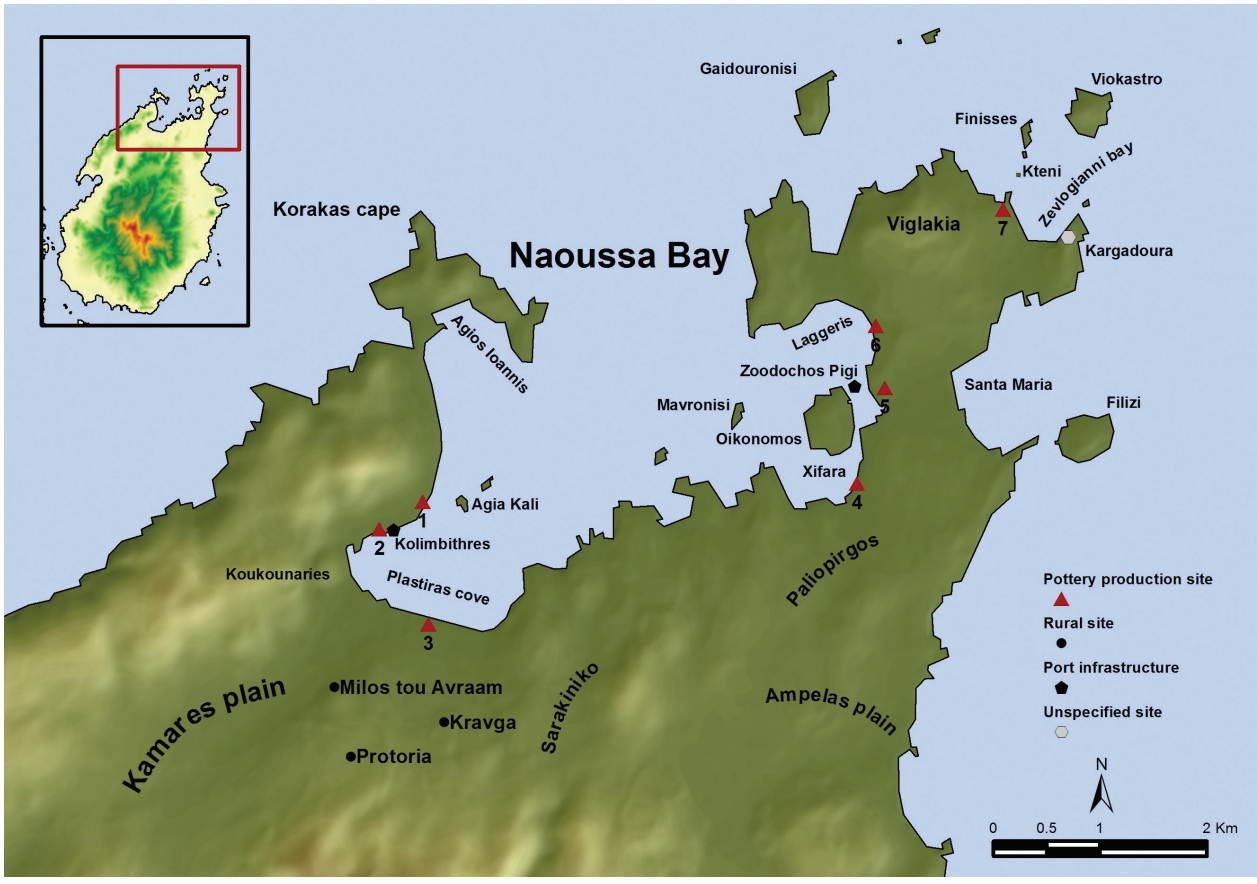


Fig. 4.41: Distribution of Late Antique sites in the region of Naoussa.

4.3.4 Archaeological evidence in the region of Naoussa from Late Antiquity

The lack of information in textual sources of the Late Antique period regarding the region of Naoussa makes the archaeological material the only available source for reconstruction of the settled landscape. As a matter of fact, archaeological data in this case constitutes the primary mean of tracing and interpreting human interaction with the natural environment. In general, as the remains from Roman and early Late Antique centuries are poorly represented, at the moment, in the area of Naoussa, our knowledge is extremely limited until the 5th century. In contrast, our knowledge about the region of Naoussa between the 6th and the 7th century is significantly broader. Based on older survey results, recent rescue excavations, and personal observations, from the 6th century the wider region of Naoussa presents a picture of an intensively occupied settled landscape. The archaeological material of this period from Naoussa contains ceramic workshops, rural settlements and port infrastructures.

Pottery production sites

At the moment, in the area of the bay of Naoussa at least seven Late Antique pottery production sites have been identified along the coastline (Fig. 4.41). As it is demonstrated below, the main period of operation of these ceramic workshops can be placed during the 6th and 7th centuries.

The French archaeologists, Picon and Empereur, located four pottery production sites along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa during their brief extensive survey in 1986 on the northern part of the island (1986a, 501-504; 1986b). Although no excavations have been carried out at these sites, they



Fig. 4.42: View of the area of the pottery production site 4 along the beach of Xifara.



Fig. 4.44: Traces of architectural remains in the bank of the modern motorway in Xifara.

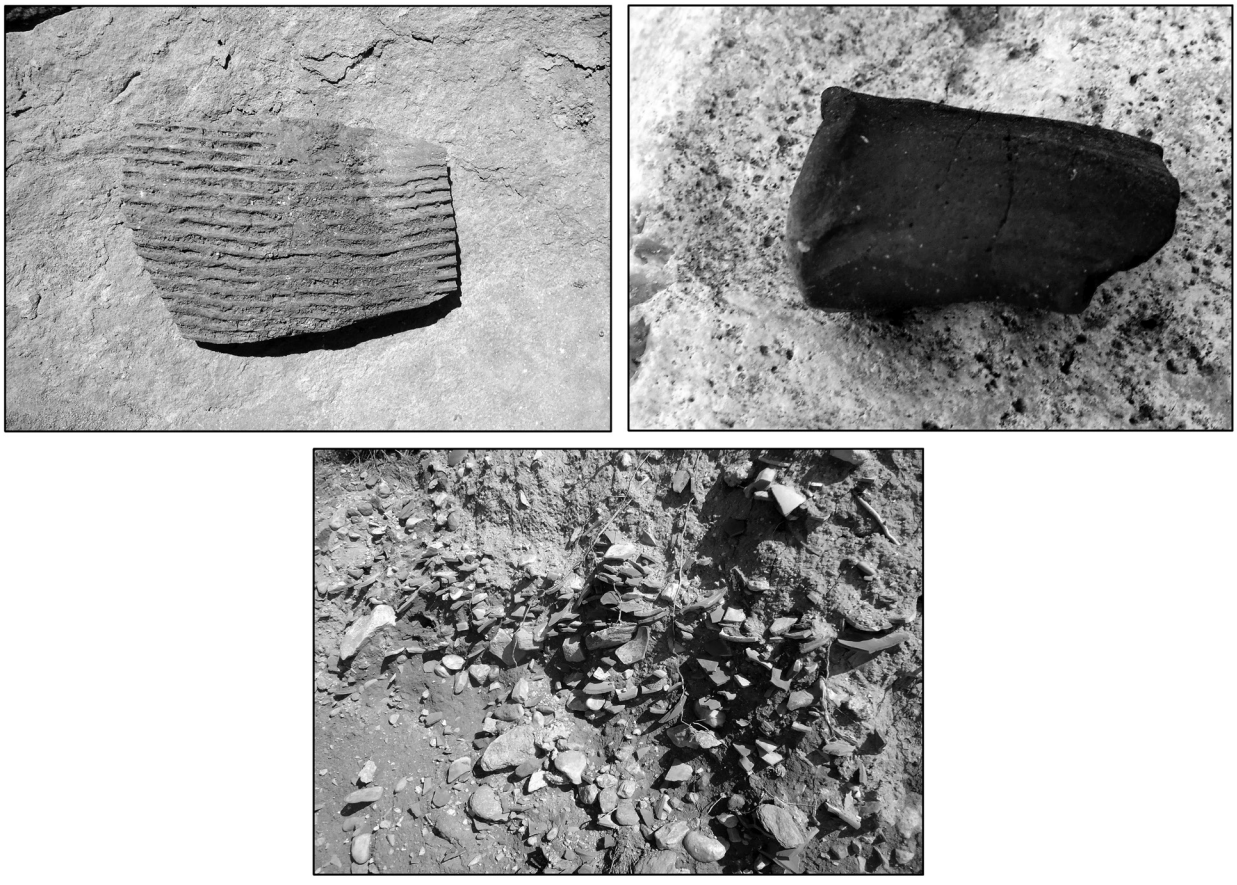


Fig. 4.43: Ceramic fragments from the pottery production site 4 and the unspecified large structure along the beach of Xifara.



Fig. 4.45: View of the large building along the beach of Xifara. In the detail: the ground plan (view from Google Earth).

are undoubtedly important for many aspects of the study of the economic and social context of Paros during the period in question. Despite obstacles (vegetation, wave activity and modern extensive building boom because of touristic development in the region), using the descriptions and the published simple maps of the article the exact positions of the majority of these sites were found during personal observations in 2015 and 2016.

Pottery production site 1 is situated in the western part of the bay, almost in the middle of the large western peninsula, opposite the islet of Agia Kali (Figs 4.37 & 4.41). A huge quantity of ceramic sherds was found in an area measuring at least 6 ha (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 501). Pottery production site 2 is located about 400 m east from the first one, in the wider area of the nowadays famous beach of Kolimbithres, at a distance of less than 100 m from the sea (Figs 4.37 & 4.41). The hundreds of sherds which are scattered on the surface of the area suggest a mass production of amphorae (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 502). Pottery production site 3 was discovered in the southwest shore of the bay almost in the middle of Plastiras cove, on a field along the modern road which connects the village of Naoussa and Agios Ioannis Detis (Figs 4.37 & 4.41). It produced amphorae and tiles (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 50).

Pottery production site 4 was discovered east of the village of Naoussa along the cove of Xifara's sandy beach (Figs 4.38, 4.41 & 4.42). According to the description, this is the only site that provided substantial architectural remains. Empereur and Picon identified the remains of two kilns being less than 50 m apart (1986a, 502-504). The one in the east belonged to the type of rectangular kilns and in 1986 was preserved in good condition. The second kiln was located 50 m westward and it had almost completely disappeared under the waves. The authors believed that architectural remains related to the kilns were preserved beneath the modern road that linked the modern village of Naoussa and the area of Santa Maria. Today both kilns are totally destroyed by the intense wave activity and no remains of them are visible any longer. However, pottery wasters with

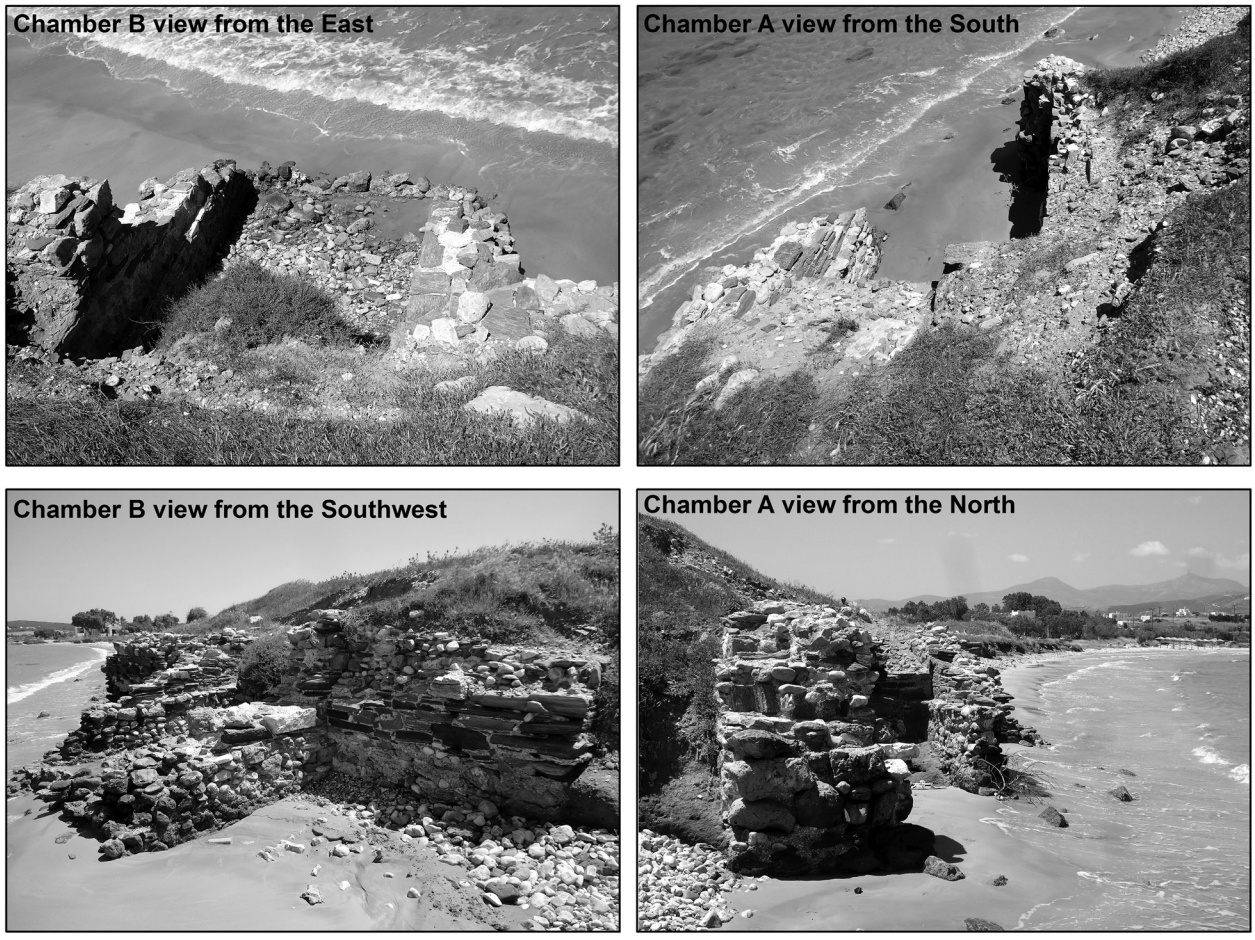


Fig. 4.46: Views of the large structure along the beach of Xifara.

huge quantities of ceramic sherds are found on every part of the shore (Fig. 4.43). Additionally, traces of several ancient walls can be identified in the bank of the modern motorway that connects the village of Naoussa and the region of Santa Maria (Fig. 4.44). It seems that all of these partially visible structures continued eastward and northward beneath the road. The long distance between the two kilns, as well as the traces of ancient walls suggest probably more than one pottery workshop occupied this site. According to Empereur and Picon, the workshop's production was predominantly amphorae, as well as tiles (1986a, 502-504).

Apart from these partially visible walls, what is more interesting in the area of the pottery production site 4 is the existence of an unspecified and completely unexplored large building (see a brief mention in Schilardi 1973, 264). Today, it lies right in the middle of the cove of Xifara's sandy beach (Fig. 4.45). However, it is obvious that this strong and relatively large building continues northward beneath the aforementioned modern road (Fig. 4.46). It is a structure with a complex ground plan from which at least two chambers can be clearly defined (see the detail in Fig. 4.45). Chamber A measures 2,60 x 2,80 m and has N-S orientation while chamber B measures 2,50 x 2,70 m and has W-E orientation (Fig. 4.46). At the moment no traces of doorways have been identified. Apart from a few walls which have almost totally collapsed due to intense wave action, the largest parts of the chambers are preserved in a good conservation status (some walls are preserved up to a height of 2,5 m). The lower part of the masonry consists of rubble stones with mortar while the upper zone of the walls are more elaborate constructions, consisting of rows of irregular cut stones of schist with strong mortar.

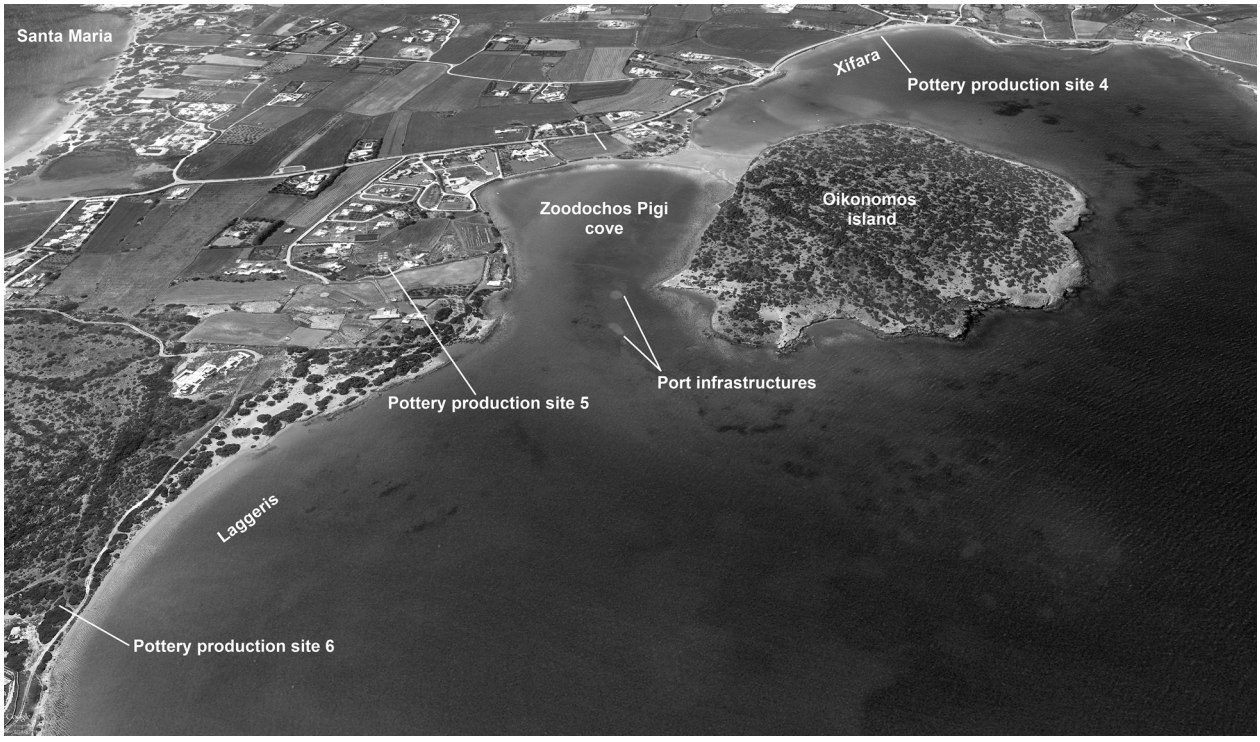


Fig. 4.47: Panoramic view of the wider area of the pottery production sites 4, 5 and 6 (view from Google Earth).

A remarkably large number of diagnostic ceramics were discovered on the surface inside the walls of the structure, while amphora wasters were found around it (Fig. 4.43). A careful *in situ* examination of the surface pottery material shows the site is multi-periodic. However, the largest concentration of surface ceramics belongs to the commonest shapes of Late Roman Amphora types 1 and 2.

Without systematic excavation, there can be no certainty about the function of that structure. However, some parameters such as its central position within the cove of Xifara, its close proximity to ceramic workshops, its sea-orientation, and the large concentration of over fired wasters around it can lead to the reasonable interpretation that this building was directly associated with the production of pottery. It is quite possible that both chambers were auxiliary installations of the pottery production site 4, serving as warehouses or places for the preparation of clay. We have to keep in our mind that during antiquity this structure was located at least 10 m away from the sea (see more details on sea-level changes on Paros and the Cyclades in Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981; Baika 2008; Mourtzas 2012; and in Chapter 2.2). The large quantity of Late Antique ceramics on the surface may suggest the building was constructed or remained in use during Late Antiquity.

Recent rescue excavations carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades brought to light the remains of a new pottery production site on the northeast coast of the bay of Naoussa in the area of Zoodochos Pigi, in the southern part of the Laggeris cove (see pottery production site 5 in Figs 4.41 and 4.47). The excavation results have not been fully published yet but preliminary brief publications provide valuable evidence concerning the local ceramic production (Diamanti 2016). This site is located 140 m from the sea and less than a kilometre northeast of pottery production site 4 (Fig. 4.47). The remains of two well-preserved amphora kilns, amphora workshop wasters and various architectural remnants were unearthed. On the basis of the study of the ceramic evidence, it appears this pottery production site was contemporary to the aforementioned workshops and operated between the 6th and 7th centuries. According to the excavator of the ceramic workshop in the area of Zoodochos Pigi, the production was primarily local types of



Fig. 4.48: View of the wider area of the pottery production site 6.



Fig. 4.49: Large quantities of surface ceramics from the possible pottery production site 6.



Fig. 4.50: Late Roman pottery from the possible pottery production site 6.



Fig. 4.51: Architectural remains at the pottery production site 6.

amphorae that shared common features with the well-known LRA types 1 (cylindrical amphorae with ribbed decoration) and 13 (ovoid vases with combed decoration) (Diamanti 2016, 691). The excavation results and the enormous number of pottery fragments scattered all over the surface of the area suggest a mass production of amphorae.

It is worth noting that, among the vessels produced in the pottery production site 5 were stamped amphorae. This is the second production centre of stamped amphorae after the case of Halasarna on Kos. The Koan stamped amphorae are dated from the second half of the 6th until the first half of the 7th century (Diamanti 2010a; 2010b; 2012). Most of the stamps are found on the neck although in rare cases are also placed on the handles. The shape of the stamps is almost always circular with a cruciform monogram or a depiction of a male bust surrounded by a short inscription. Diamanti identifies the busts as imperial portraits and connects the phenomenon of stamped amphorae – with a strong central state of control, executed by *questor exercitus* – to the production and distribution of amphorae and goods (2010a, 2). On a rather different note, Papanikolaou suggests the male bust can be identified as a depiction of the senior byzantine state officer, the *eparchos* or *prefect* (2014).

In the context of personal observations along the shoreline of the bay of Naoussa two more unknown sites were identified, which related to the production of ceramics (see pottery production sites 6 and 7 in Fig. 4.41). Pottery production site 6 is located almost in the middle of Laggeris bay, approximately 580 m north of Zoodochos Pigi's ceramic workshop (pottery production site 5) (Figs 4.47 & 4.48). A careful *in situ* examination of the huge concentration of the surface ceramic material shows that a plethora of them belongs to Late Roman vessels (Fig. 4.49). Very characteristic are the commonest shapes of Late Roman Amphora types 1 and 2 dated to the 6th and 7th century (Fig. 4.50). A great number of over fired

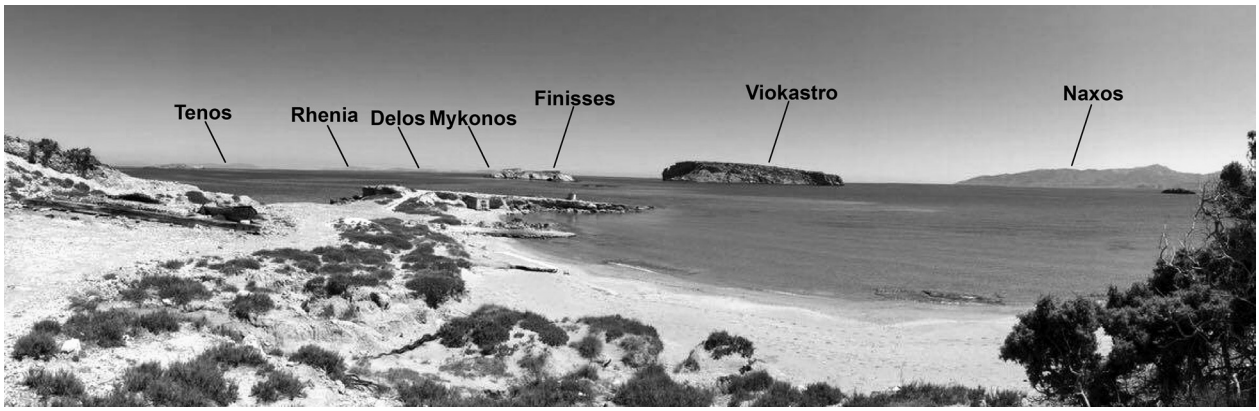


Fig. 4.52: View of the coastline in the wider area of the pottery production site 7.



Fig. 4.53: View of the wider area of the pottery production site 7.

wasters of these types have also been discovered. Additionally some architectural traces of an unspecified structure in connection with several rock cuttings were also found on the beach (Fig. 4.51).

Pottery production site 7 is situated in the north-eastern corner of Paros very close to the outer coastline of the eastern peninsula that delimitates the large bay of Naoussa (Fig. 4.41). The micro-topography is characterised by a hilly landscape which slopes down to the coast creating small and shallow bays with sandy or rocky beaches (Figs 4.52 & 4.53). The seascape contains a cluster of tiny uninhabited off-shore islets, the most important of which are Viokastro, Finisses, Kteni and Tourlos. Although the region is strongly affected by the north wind, it possesses a strategic geographic position as the islands of Mykonos, Delos, Rhenia, Naxos and Tenos are located only few nautical miles north



Fig. 4.54: The high concentration of surface ceramics around the modern abandoned building in the area of the pottery production site 7.

and northeast. In the clearest weather all of these neighbouring islands are visible from many different locations within the region (Fig. 4.52). However, it seems that during antiquity this coastal landscape was slightly different, as indicated by today submerged rocky formations and the tiny islets of Kteni and

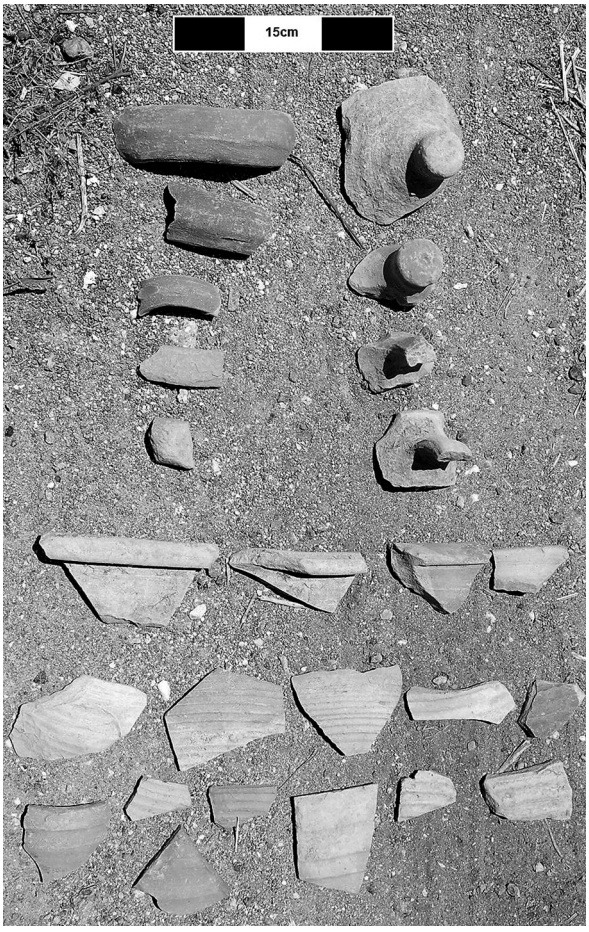


Fig. 4.55: Late Antique surface ceramics from the pottery production site 7.

Finisses which were possibly connected with the opposite shore, forming a projecting promontory that protected the Zevlogianni bay from strong winds (see more about sea-level changes in the Cyclades in Chapter 2.2). Unfortunately, the intense wave power and human activity have caused collapse and erosion of this coastal micro-landscape which is being rapidly destroyed year on year.

Huge quantities of surface ceramic sherds were discovered in the area, today known as Palio Karnayio, at a slightly elevated site around a modern abandoned structure (Figs 4.53 & 4.54). According to the locals, the surface soil has been transferred there from another location, which is situated on a slightly elevated hill less than 200 m southwest. Unfortunately, this site is now occupied by a modern residence. Nevertheless, the study of the surface

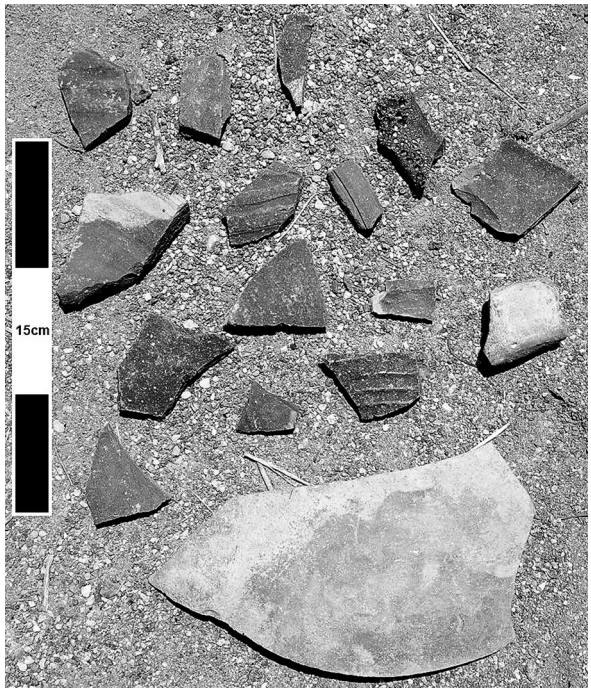


Fig. 4.56: Over fired sherds from the pottery production site 7.

ceramic material can provide important information. The prevailing picture, presented by the careful *in situ* examination of the huge quantities of surface ceramics, suggests the existence of one more coastal industrial units specialised in the production of at least two types of amphorae. The highest percentage of the surface material belongs to the most common shapes of Late Roman Amphora types 1 and 2/13 (Fig. 4.55). It is quite significant that a great number of over fired wasters of these types have also been discovered (Fig. 4.56). Other kinds of pottery are also presented at the site such as *lekanides* (Fig. 4.55). On the basis of similarities with the ceramic material from the other pottery production sites in the bay of Naoussa, the main period of operation of this production site can be placed during the 6th and the 7th century.

The superabundance of surface ceramic material, once more, suggests a high specialisation in, and a mass production of transport amphora types which can be explained as being oriented to external markets (see more in Chapter 4.3.6). Thus, parameters such as the features of the local landscape, the strategic geographical position of the region and the mass production attest the existence of port infrastructures along the coastline of infrastructures

along the coastline of Palio Karnayio and make the double function of this Late Antique site clear. It is quite possible, then, that this region functioned as an amphorae production site and at the same time as an export point, where the local agrarian produce of northern Paros was collected and shipped out from the small port in the transport amphorae produced *in situ*.

Finally, the superabundance of surface ceramic material, dated to Late Antiquity, (Fig. 4.57) as well as the architectural remains of the walls (Fig. 4.58) along the coastline between the pottery production sites 4, 5 and 6 is an indication of the existence of more workshops along the east side of the bay. Unfortunately, these possible sites lie beneath the modern luxurious private residences that have occupied an extensive part of the coastal zone.

In general, the seven Late Antique Parian pottery production sites are distributed in a wide range along the inner and outer coastline of the spacious bay of Naoussa and the distances between them range from 400 m to approximately 6 km. We can distinguish three groups. The first group consists of sites 1, 2 and 3, which were located close to each other along the cove of Plastiras. The second group consists of sites 4, 5 and 6, which were located on the opposite side of the bay along the coves of Xifara, Zoodochos Pigi and Laggeris (the distance between measures less than 900 m). The third group consist of the site 7, which, until now, is the only pottery production site situated along the outer coastline of the bay. In addition, due the complex coastline and rich relief of the landscape of the bay of Naoussa there is no direct visibility between the three pottery production sites in the southwest part (group 1) and the three in the east part of the bay (group 2). The low vegetation on the slopes of the rocky hills, consisting mostly of shrubs, could offer plenty burning material for kilns. According to the locals, during the first half of the 20th century, within the bay of Naoussa, mostly in the area of Agios Ioannis, many lime kilns were in operation. The selection of sites for the placement of the kilns was mainly based on the bay's rich low vegetation which could support the increasing needs of such artisanal units.

The distribution of pottery workshops within the bay of Naoussa bears similarities with the modern potter's settlements on the island of Sifnos (Wagner 2002). The potter's settlements on Sifnos had a distinctive character that made them special compared to the domestic settlements on the island. They were exclusively working settlements with labour as a first priority. As a result of this, considerable attention was not paid to living facilities; they are located on the outskirts or completely away from domestic settlements. According to Wagner: "the form of the potter's



Fig. 4.57: High concentration of Late Antique surface ceramics along the bay of Naoussa's coastline.



Fig. 4.58: Architectural remains of walls along the bay of Naoussa's coastline.

settlement is determined by the topography, the housing and the types of production" (2002, 145). The case of Naoussa has more similarities with the pattern of "open row" settlements on Sifnos. Although workshops are independent units, taken as a whole they form an extended row up to one kilometer, beside the sea around the large bays on the island (Wagner 2002, 147). For example in Platy Jalos there were 13 workshops scattered along the sandy beach. The workshops were large complexes and were normally set far apart from each other.

Bearing in mind the workspace could not have been too far from the place of residence, in the case of the Late Antique workshops of Naoussa we can assume, either that, the workforce was living in humble domestic structures around the production sites or was residing in nearby villages. Moreover, evidence of an extreme mass production indicates that labour was a first priority in all workshops of the bay.

The ceramic workshops of Naoussa: Old problems − new interpretations

A re-evaluation of the archaeological record at hand is urgent before we move onto the reconstruction of the settled landscape of the bay of Naoussa. This study aims to offer a fresh approach to the pottery production of Naoussa, combining a new reading of the brief descriptions and the few pottery drawings published by Empereur and Picon (1986a, 506-507, figs 12a-d), with the results of careful *in situ* examination of the surface material during personal field observations at the sites, and material evidence unearthed in the recent excavation of the Ephorate in the region of Zoodochos Pigi.

It is clear the French archaeologists, Empereur and Picon, faced many difficulties in classifying the amphorae sherds from Naoussa into any of the known up to that time amphorae types. Using the available data up to that time placed the operation of the workshops (pottery production sites 1, 2, 3 and 4) during the Hellenistic period and Roman Imperial times (1986a, 501-505). Additionally, they tried to identify a typology of local Parian amphorae production, arguing that the main production of the workshops during the Roman period consisted of two main types of amphorae (types IV and V: Empereur & Picon 1986a, 506-507). They supported the view that

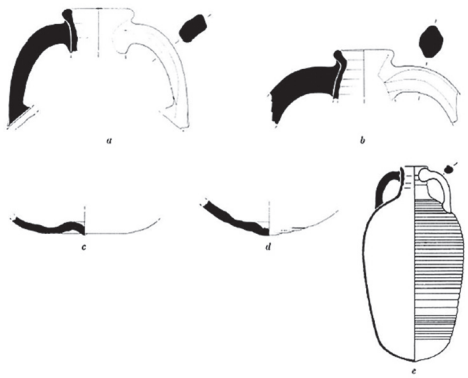


Fig. 4.59: Drawings of diagnostic ceramic sherds from the pottery production sites in the bay of Naoussa published by Empereur and Picon in 1986, which can be identified as characteristic examples of the LRA 1 and 2 types (1986a, 507, fig.12).

Parian workshops manufactured a generally similar type of amphora (type IV) from the 1st century, which survived until the 5th century (as type V).

In the recent decades plentiful new ceramic material has been unearthed at many sites around the Eastern Mediterranean world and a wide range of relevant publications have significantly enriched our knowledge about Late Roman Amphorae types (Hayes 1992; Piéri 2005). In addition, during the last three decades great progress has been made in identifying amphorae production of the so-called Byzantine Dark Ages (Hayes 1992; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2014, 137-141). In Empereur and Picon's study four drawings (Fig. 4.59) of the most diagnostic ceramic sherds have been published (figs 12 a-d, two bases and two upper parts from which rims, necks and handles are preserved). According to researchers, published samples are the most representative examples of the amphora type produced by the Parian workshops from the 1st to the 5th centuries. Viewing this material under the light of the rich recent scientific knowledge, in typological terms we can recognise two different groups of amphorae, instead of one, which helps find many similarities with two common and well-known Late Roman Amphora types. We, therefore, suggest that figures 12a and 12d are related to the Late Roman Amphora 1 type while figures 12b and 12c to a globular amphora type, possibly the Late Roman Amphora 2/13 (or the so-called Byzantine Globular Amphora). The same picture arises from the *in situ* examination of the pottery material. The vast

majority of potsherds scattered all over the surfaces of the sites belonged to these two amphora types.

The Late Roman Amphora 1 type is the most representative and common transport vessel of Late Antiquity in the East Mediterranean Sea. It was considered the most widely produced; its production sites extended along the coasts of south Asia Minor, Cyprus, Dodecanese, Crete, Sicily, Syria, Africa, Egypt and the Black Sea (Riley 1979; Empereur & Picon 1988; 1989; Hayes 1992, 65; Sodini 1993; Piéri 2007, 613-615). The study of the form and the distinctive features showed that the production of this type presents an evolutionary process from the 4th to the 7th centuries (Reynolds 1995; Piéri 2005). In the 4th century the examples have a tall, narrow neck with a small folded band rim, and probably a small pear shaped body ending with a small nipple base. During the course of the 5th century many variations can be observed in the form of the rim, the neck, and the shoulder. However, the body remains pear-shaped until the late 5th century. The 6th century is marked by a distinctive change in the form of the Late Roman Amphorae 1 type. The body became more cylindrical with a rounded, plain base. The neck is also cylindrical and the body created stepped wide flat sections separated by a narrow ridge. In the late 6th and 7th centuries several small variations of the type have been found.

According to the drawings and descriptions by Empereur and Picon, figures 12a and 12d correspond to an amphorae type with the main characteristics: the lightly everted rim with a triangular intersection, the vertical handles, the cylindrical body, the oblong and cylindrical neck, the rounded plain base and the ribbed decoration on the neck, shoulders and body (Fig. 4.59). These very features characterise the production of Late Roman Amphorae 1 type after the 6thcentury. Having carefully considered all the aforementioned information, this study suggests that the first amphorae group produced by Parian workshops was a version or an imitation of the Late Roman Amphora 1 type. On the basis of similar published examples, the majority of the surface amphorae sherds from Naoussa should be dated between the 6th and the 7th centuries.

A closer examination of the figures 12b and 12c has shown that the second group of amphorae produced by the local workshops in Naoussa corresponds to a form with a globular or ovoid shape (Fig. 4.59). The mouth has an everted rim and the neck is elongated in the shape of a truncated cone. From the top of the neck, the compact arched-shaped handles with an ellipsoid intersection probably reach the pronounced shoulders of the body. The base is rounded and bears a small knob at the centre. This general type of globular transport vessel with numerous variations has been produced between the 6th and the 7th centuries and is very characteristic in the Aegean and other regions of the East Mediterranean world. The amphorae of this type share the distinctive globular or ovoid body as a common feature. However, there are many different variations in the shape of the neck, base and rim, and the presence or absence of incisions on the shoulders (Karagiorgou 2001; Poulou-Papadimitriou & Nodarou 2014, 874).

A large number of publications over the last two decades have shed more light on the production of the globular amphorae in Italy, Africa, Egypt and the Aegean islands (see a review on the recent bibliography in Poulou-Papadimitriou & Nodarou 2014). Recent studies based on macroscopic analysis of the clay from these amphorae have suggested the existence of various production sites in the Aegean (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, 245-247). This very distinctive and broad family of commercial transport vessels was first recognised by Riley and it is known as Late Roman Amphora 13 (1979, 231). Some scholars, based primarily on their globular shape suggested the examples of this type constituted versions or survivals of the Late Roman Amphora 2 type (Hautumm 1981, 231). Piéri dealt with the Late Roman Amphora 2 type and identified the subtype Late Roman Amphora 2c (2005, 88-89). According to Poulou-Papadimitriou the productions of Late Roman Amphora 13 and 2c should be included in a wider type of globular amphorae, the Byzantine Globular Amphorae (2001, 245-247). In any case, the second amphorae group produced by Parian workshops during Late Antiquity was a type of Globular Amphora which can be dated to the 6th and 7th centuries.

Regarding the type V of Empereur and Picon which is considered a late variant of type IV, we can assume that it is a later imitation or survival of the Late Roman Amphora 1 type. However, since there are no published drawings the identification is doubtful.

The picture emerging from the re-evaluation of the ceramic material from the pottery production sites 1, 2, 3 and 4 fits perfectly with the excavation results of the pottery production site 5 and the new evidence from the surface material of the pottery production sites 6 and 7. In general the main points of our contributions can be summarised under four headings:

a. Re-evaluation of the ceramic material suggests re-dating the operation period of the pottery production sites in the bay of Naoussa recognised by Empereur and Picon in 1986. It seems their most prominent period of production extended between the 6th and 7th centuries. Therefore, they are contemporary with the pottery production sites 5, 6 and 7. However, the definitive cessation of operations of these workshops remains uncertain (see more in Chapter 4.3.5). In this respect, the region of the bay of Naoussa emerges as one of the most promising fields of research in the Cyclades, and future intensive surface surveys and excavations will provide more details about the chronological boundaries of Parian production.

b. The ceramic workshops of Naoussa were highly specialised in the production of two types of commercial amphorae.

c. Both groups are, possibly, local types of amphorae that shared several features of the widely distributed and well-published LRA 1 and 2/13 types (or a variation of the so-called Byzantine Globular Amphora).

d. The huge concentrations of amphorae sherds from both types and the sea-orientation of the workshops suggest a mass production of amphorae, destined primarily for wider markets.

Port infrastructures and other sea-oriented structures

In the underwater survey conducted by the Department of Underwater Antiquities in 1979 ancient moles were investigated in the bay of Naoussa (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 140). Two of them were located on the southwest part of the bay, on the northern coast of Plastira's cove. Without giving more details, the archaeological report mentions that Byzantine and Ottoman pottery was found on the surface of the moles, implying a long-term use of these port infrastructures, especially during Late Antiquity (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 140; the term "Byzantine" refers to Late Antiquity, since many scholars approach the period between the 4th and 7th century as "Early Byzantine Ages"). What is important for our research is that there is a spatial relationship between these port infrastructures and pottery production sites 1 and 2 (Fig. 4.41). The concordance of the positions allows us to assume some kind of connection between them. It is most likely that, a small harbour, which was active during Late Antiquity, connected with the production of amphorae, was located on the northern part of Plastira's cove. A second mole closes off the Agios Ioannis cove at the northern corner of the bay of Naoussa but no evidence of dating was found (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 141).

Artificial submerged installations were also found along the east coast of the bay. Northeast of Oikonomos Island, at the southern end of Laggeris bay, in the middle of the entrance of the Zoodochos Pigi's cove an installation consisting of two rubble stone "islands" was discovered (Figs 4.41 & 4.47) (Fotiou 1973, 8-9, fig.5; Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 141-144, fig.13). Both are approximately 20 m long and are located close to each other (less than 40 m). The north one incorporates a stone circle at its northern end. The use of this installation remains ambiguous. Theories that these structures were parts of harbour infrastructures connected with the Geometric settlement of Oikonomos Island (identified as docks or jetties for ships: Fotiou 1973, 8) or were parts of defensive installations have been challenged (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 141, 144). Despite the fact that we do not have, at the moment, clear evidence of their use and dating, Fotiou offered us a possible solution. He mentions that a large number of amphorae sherds were found between the stones of these structures (Fotiou 1973, 8-9). This valuable information allow us to connect the rubble stone "islands" with pottery production site 5 which is located nearby, on the opposite shore (Fig. 4.47). It is quite possible, as is in the case with Plastira's cove that the smaller cove of Zoodochos



Fig. 4.60: View of the masonry in the northeast corner of the extensive Archaic or Classical building in Kargadoura.

Pigi acted as an anchorage with port infrastructures directly linked to the amphora workshop.

While completing the picture of intense human activity during Late Antiquity along the inner coastline of the bay of Naoussa, we need to mention the architectural traces found in the area of Kargadoura, which is the north-eastern corner of Paros. Less than a kilometre east of the pottery production site 7, the strong foundations of an extensive rectangular structure was discovered on the slightly elevated rocky hill. The structure has been dated to the Archaic or Classical period, on the basis of the surface finds. No excavation has been conducted and the site remains unpublished with the exception of few limited mentions in the bibliography (Rubensohn 1901, 164; Schilardi 1975b, 94-95; Kourayos 2015, 57). Indeed, the concentration of surface pottery shows a higher proportion of sherds dated to these periods. Moreover, the masonry of the large building (32, 15 x 34,30 m), which is made of huge local cut stones, indicates building techniques from the Archaic or Classical period (Fig. 4.60).

However, a closer *in situ* examination of the surface material during personal observations at the area identified the existence of a small but important quantity of Late Antique pottery (Fig. 4.61). This group consists mainly of very diagnostic ribbed-amphora sherds of the LR 1 type, which can be dated to the 6th or 7th century on the basis of similarities with the relevant material from the pottery production sites of the bay. Additionally, the masonry of a second smaller structure (Fig. 4.62) seems to be quite different compared to the larger one (Fig. 4.60),



Fig. 4.61: Late Antique surface material from Kargadoura.

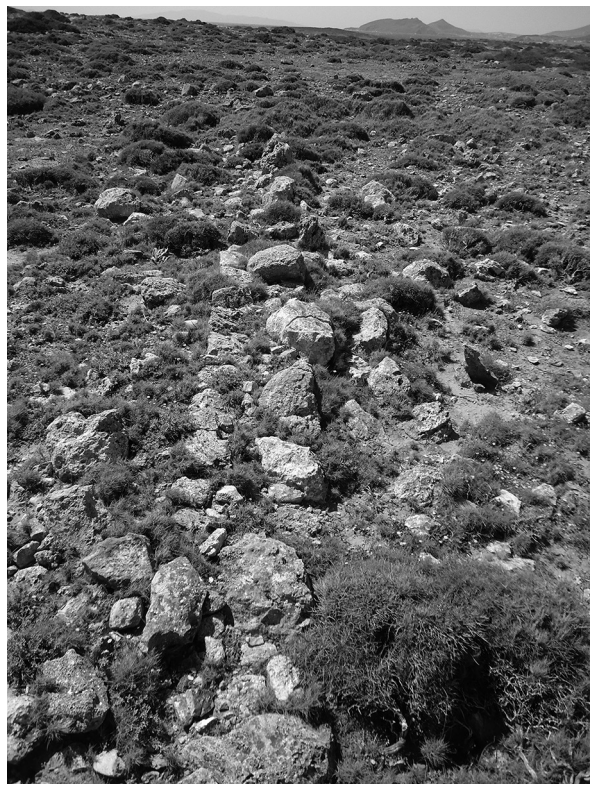


Fig. 4.62: Architectural remains of a wall in Kargadoura.

possibly indicating that it must be dated to a different period. It is made of small and medium sized local cut stones, resembling the construction technique of the walls found at Marathi under the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (see chapter 4.4.3). At the moment it is impossible to clarify the function of those buildings in Kargadoura. Combining the surface



Fig. 4.63: The remains of the anonymous medieval church at Protoria.



Fig. 4.64: View of the small chapel of Theoskepasti at Kravga. The bay of Naoussa is discernible in the background

ceramic evidence with architectural observations we can trace human activity in Kargadoura during the 6th and 7th centuries, which can be classified as a possible site. Having considered the strategic position of the bay of Naoussa which was fully integrated in the maritime routes we are led to the tantalising hypothesis that the site was a kind of reference point or watchtower to facilitate seafaring and overlook naval traffic in this maritime zone.

Rural settlements

Apart from the artisanal units and port infrastructures discussed above, until now no traces of domestic architecture or religious buildings dated to Late Antiquity have been excavated in the region of Naoussa. The only information we have at our disposal regarding the settlement network of the region of Naoussa after antiquity, derives from the results of the intensive survey (in 2001-2002) conducted by Vionis on behalf of the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in the selected area. Research was carried out in the south countryside of Naoussa around the churches of Theoskepasti, the anonymous byzantine chapel at Protoria and the area known today as "Milos tou Avraam" (Fig. 4.41).

The anonymous single-aisled barrel-vaulted church at Protoria is located less than 1,5 km south of the closest coast of the bay (and pottery production site 3) and 3 km south-west of the modern village of Naoussa (Figs 4.41 & 4.63). It has been dated between the late 11th and early 13th centuries on the basis of stylistic analysis of the surviving frescoes in the southeast corner of the sanctuary and the conch of the *diakonikon* (Dimitrokallis 1969-1970; Mitsani 2000, 115; see a detailed bibliography in Vionis 2006, 462 with n. 15). According to Vionis, ceramic evidence from the area around the church suggests that Protoria was a multi-period site (2006, 462-463; 2012, 200). In the area of Protoria an extensive ancient settlement was situated, dated to the Archaic and Classical periods. However, it seems that during Late Antiquity a relatively smaller settlement occupied the area around or nearby the anonymous church. Additionally, the region bears evidence of the existence of a Middle Byzantine small village community during the 12th and 13th centuries which extended over an area of 0,9 ha around the church. This valuable information provides evidence of village life at the site from the Classical period to the Middle Byzantine centuries with the exception of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. According to Dimitrokallis, indirect evidence, such as the reuse of marble sculptures dated to Late Antiquity, indicates the existence of an early Christian church in the area of Protoria (1969-1970). In addition, coins and lead seals, dated between the 6th and 8th century, were found at the wider area of Protoria (today in the Historical-Folklore museum of Naoussa Paros - Othon Kaparis Collection).

Approximately 900 m northeast from the anonymous church at Protoria is located the small chapel of Theoskeasti in the region known today as Kravga (Figs 4.41 & 4.64). According to Vionis,

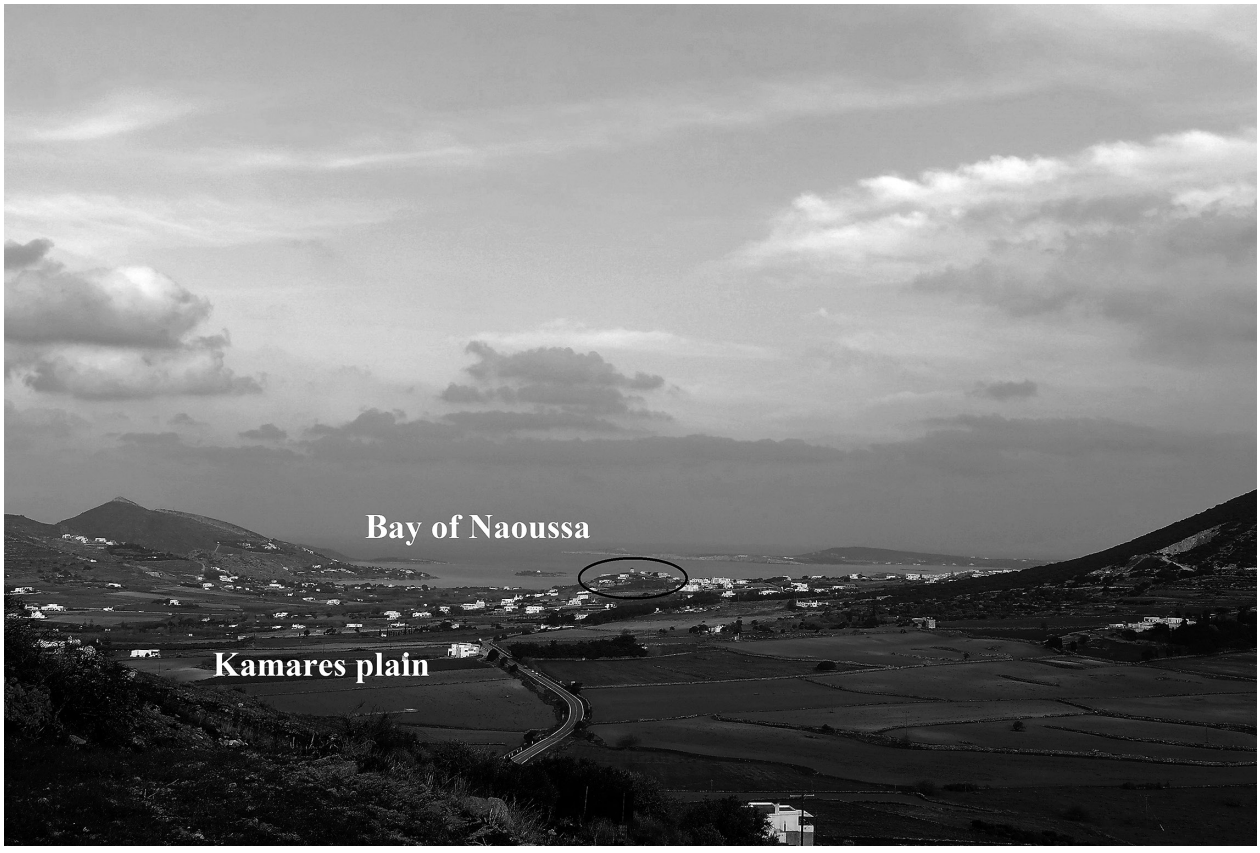


Fig. 4.65: View of the site of Milos tou Avraam and its association with the bay of Naoousa and the plain of Marathi.

a low concentration of surface ceramics dated to Late Antiquity suggests that an even smaller site was located nearby the church (information kindly provided by A. Vionis). This site can be classified as a rural *villa* or farmstead. It is located less than 1,5 km south of the south coast of the bay and 2 km southwest of the modern village of Naoussa. About 800 m northwest of the anonymous church at Protoria is located the site which is today known as Milos tou Avraam ("Abraham's Windmill") (Figs 4.41 & 4.65). It is a low hill less than 1,9 km southeast from the area of production sites 1 and 2 and approximately 1,5 km southwest of pottery production site 3. According to Vionis, a high concentration of surface ceramics dated to Late Antiquity suggest that on the top of the hill was located a third site of the period in question, which can probably classified as a village (information kindly provided by A. Vionis).

The micro-topographies of the aforementioned sites (Protoria, Kravga and Milos tou Abraham), which belonged to the wider south part of the region of Naoussa, share some common features. They occupied slightly elevated areas very close to the coastline and they are surrounded by rich cultivable lands. The application of viewshed analysis from Protoria (Fig. 4.66) and Kravga (Fig. 4.67) shows that the location of the sites are prominent since they provide good visibility of the entrance of the bay of Naoussa in the north. They also offer direct views to the west and southwest coastline of the bay where pottery production sites 1, 2 and 3 as well as some port infrastructures have been identified. In contrast, the view to the east and southeast coastline of the bay and to the interior of the island is limited. The clear visual relationship between the rural sites, the pottery workshops and the port infrastructures indicates a special connection between them (see more in Chapter 4.3.6). Finally, there is a visual relationship between the rural sites and the surrounding fertile land (Fig. 4.71). Thus, it seems that there is a relationship between the regional

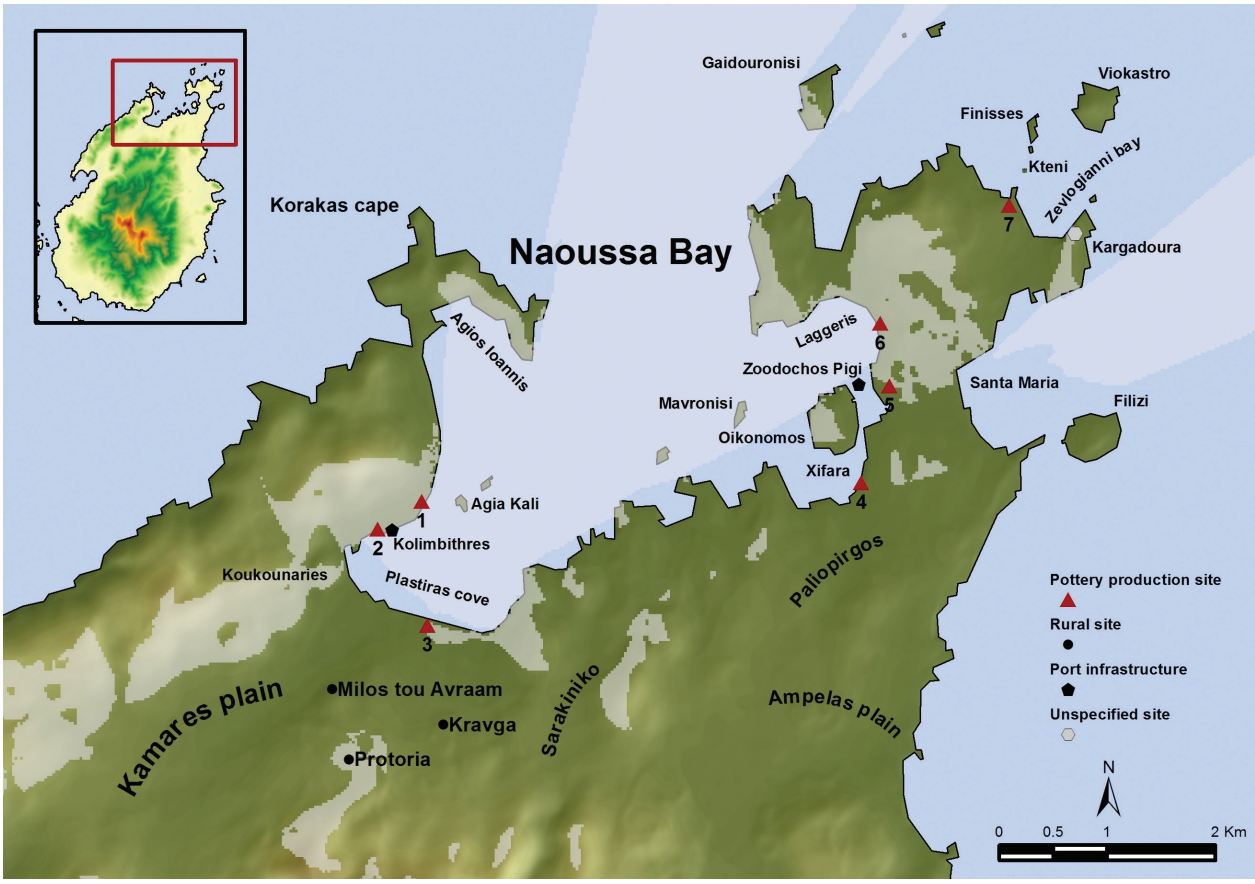


Fig. 4.66: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Protoria. Visible areas marked with white.

agricultural produce and the manufacture of amphorae.

In this context, based on geographical site analysis, which makes an assessment of land qualities in conjunction with the character from surface ceramic material evidence from Protoria, Kravga and Milos tou Avraam, it is suggested that the Late Antique sites located in the periphery of the bay of Naoussa can be classified as rural communities. It is possible that the settlement at Protoria and Milos tou Avraam functioned as the main villages in the region associated with a number of satellite smaller rural sites. Ceramic surface material from the site of Kravga shows evidence of smaller establishments probably dependent on the larger village. Thus, the bay of Naoussa's countryside gives the impression of an intensively exploited agricultural landscape, occupied by a dense network of various rural sites in Late Antiquity. These communities dealt with the systematic exploitation of the extensive fertile productive zones that surround the spacious bay of Naoussa.

4.3.5 Evidence of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in the bay of Naoussa

Based on the aforementioned archaeological evidence, it is clear that both the coastline and countryside of Naoussa present a picture of intensive human activity and economic vitality during the 6th and 7th centuries. In contrast, securely dated evidence of the turbulent period of the so-called Byzantine "Dark Ages" is extremely scanty.

Regarding the operation of pottery workshops, it is quite possible that they retained the massive character of their production and their market orientation until, probably, the middle or late 7th century. The picture emerging through the *in situ* analysis of surface ceramics from all sites in combination with recent excavation results, suggests an important change during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

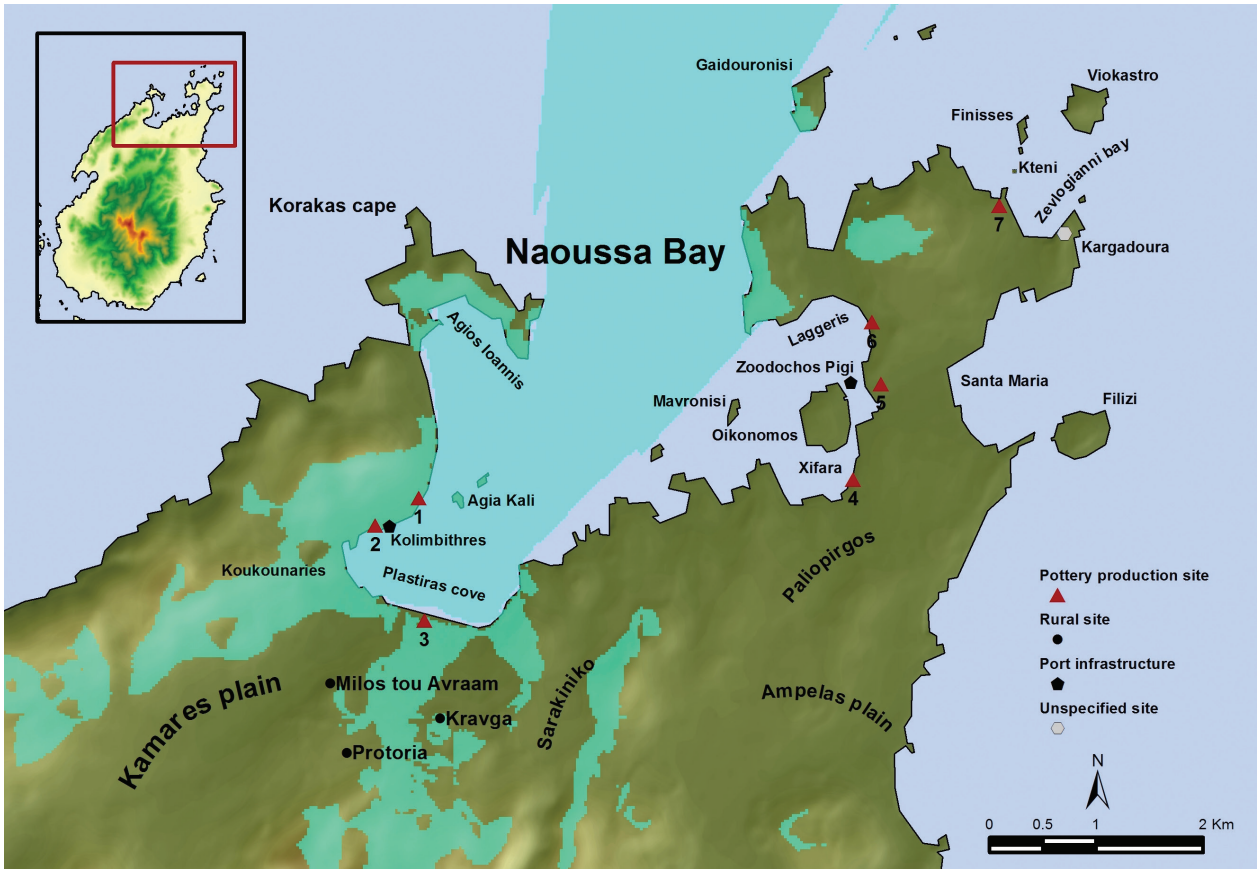


Fig. 4.67: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Kravga. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

According to the excavator of the ceramic workshops at Zoodochos Pigi, the production of amphorae stopped in the middle 7th century (Diamanti 2016). However, in the areas of pottery production sites 4 and 5, a small group of surface ceramic sherds, mainly amphorae, bears strong similarities with the well-published Early Byzantine pottery from the Saraçane excavation in Constantinople (Hayes 1992), indicating some kind of activity in the late 7th and probably during the 8th century along the bay's coastline. It is quite reasonable then to assume that despite changes in a broader socioeconomic context of the Aegean, pottery production in the bay of Naoussa survived well into the Early Middle Ages, at a lesser scale compared to the previous period. In economic terms, the picture of the bay during the 8th century was far from the large Aegean amphora production centre and export point of Late Antiquity. Pottery workshops were apparently fewer in number without distinct market orientation. They probably covered the limited needs of the regional market of Paros and the adjacent islands.

At the same time, the surface ceramic material from the settlements in the rural context of the bay presents a *lacuna* between the end of Late Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period. This possible gap, which has been observed in many other coastal sites on the island throughout a period from the late 7th to the late 10th centuries, could have multiple explanations. First of all, archaeologically, it probably reflects low-visible communities with reduced population and limited cultural production. In this case, the material traces of habitation during Byzantine Early Middle Ages would be extremely limited and cannot be traced by merely a small-scale surface survey. The nature of this use was such that it left less visible archaeological traces. Intensive surveys in combination with excavations are needed in order to examine the validity of this hypothesis. Secondly, this "absence" of Early Medieval material



Fig. 4.68: View of the off-shore islet of Viokastro from the opposite coast.

could be interpreted as abandonment of these sites. In this case, a pattern of abandonment of this settlement is reflected in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages and re-establishment in the Middle Byzantine period. Thirdly and most probable, this "invisibility" of the Early Medieval population in the archaeology of Paros can be considered as a result of the archaeologists' inability to identify and interpret material culture and evidence of settlement pattern between the 8th and 9th centuries. The byzantine lead seals of the 7th-8th century from Protoria (Othon Kaparis Collection), which are valuable direct historical sources, support our view about the continuation of life in the rural settlements across the coastal zone of Naoussa during the so-called "Dark Ages". In any case, changes, possibly radical, in archaeological records indicates transformations in the socioeconomic context of the island and the Aegean Archipelagos during the so-called "Dark Ages".

Apart from the discussed above limited surface ceramic material, the first tangible evidence that suggest a clear continuation from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages comes from the fortified installation on the islet of Viokastro (Vionis 2012, 125-132). Viokastro is an off-shore islet, roughly square in shape (500 x 500 m), located less than half of a mile off the north coasts of the east peninsula that forms the bay of Naoussa, opposite the pottery production site 7 (Figs 4.35, 4.52 & 4.68). The topography is rugged, most of the coasts on the islet are steep, and the vegetation is very low.

Viokastro preserves remains of a defensive structure consisting of a wall which enclosed a large

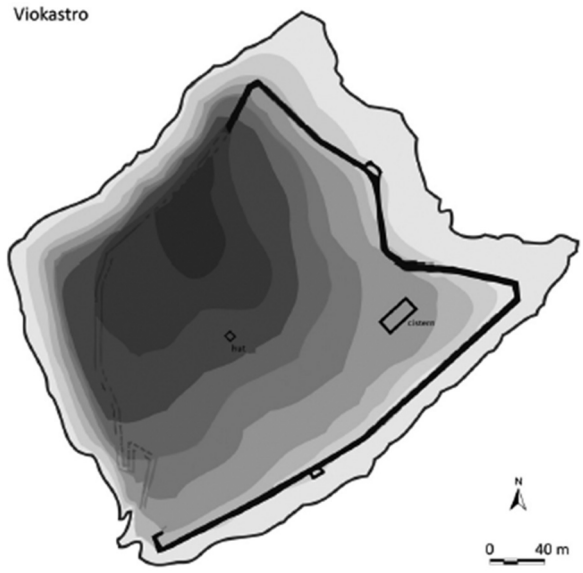


Fig. 4.69: Plan of the fortification and ruined structures on the islet of Viokastro (Vionis 2012, 127, fig.6.3).

cistern, buildings probably serving as storehouses, and a trapezoid edifice in the middle of the fortified area (Fig. 4.69). The wall extends along the islet's coastline, with each side measuring 350-370 m. It has a defended gate and five towers along its northeast, southeast and southwest sides. Today, only the northeast and southeast sides of the fortification are fully preserved. Based on both archaeological (pottery sherds are scattered all over the islet's surface) and historical evidence, Vionis suggests the fortified installations of Viokastro were constructed during the second half of the 7th or 8th century as part of an organised defensive plan of the central government in order to secure the islands from the increasing Arab threat (2012, 131). He also tried expanding on this, arguing that the fortress's military force was not staying on the islet permanently and Viokastro was dependent on larger islands such as Paros and Naxos.

Some further observations can be made concerning the placement and function of this naval fortress. On a first level, the selection of a small islet just off the strategically significant bay of Naoussa for the construction of a sea-oriented fortification indicates special care to primarily secure the commercial or military maritime circulation through the Cyclades, demonstrating that the potential threat came from the sea. The application of viewshed analysis proved the

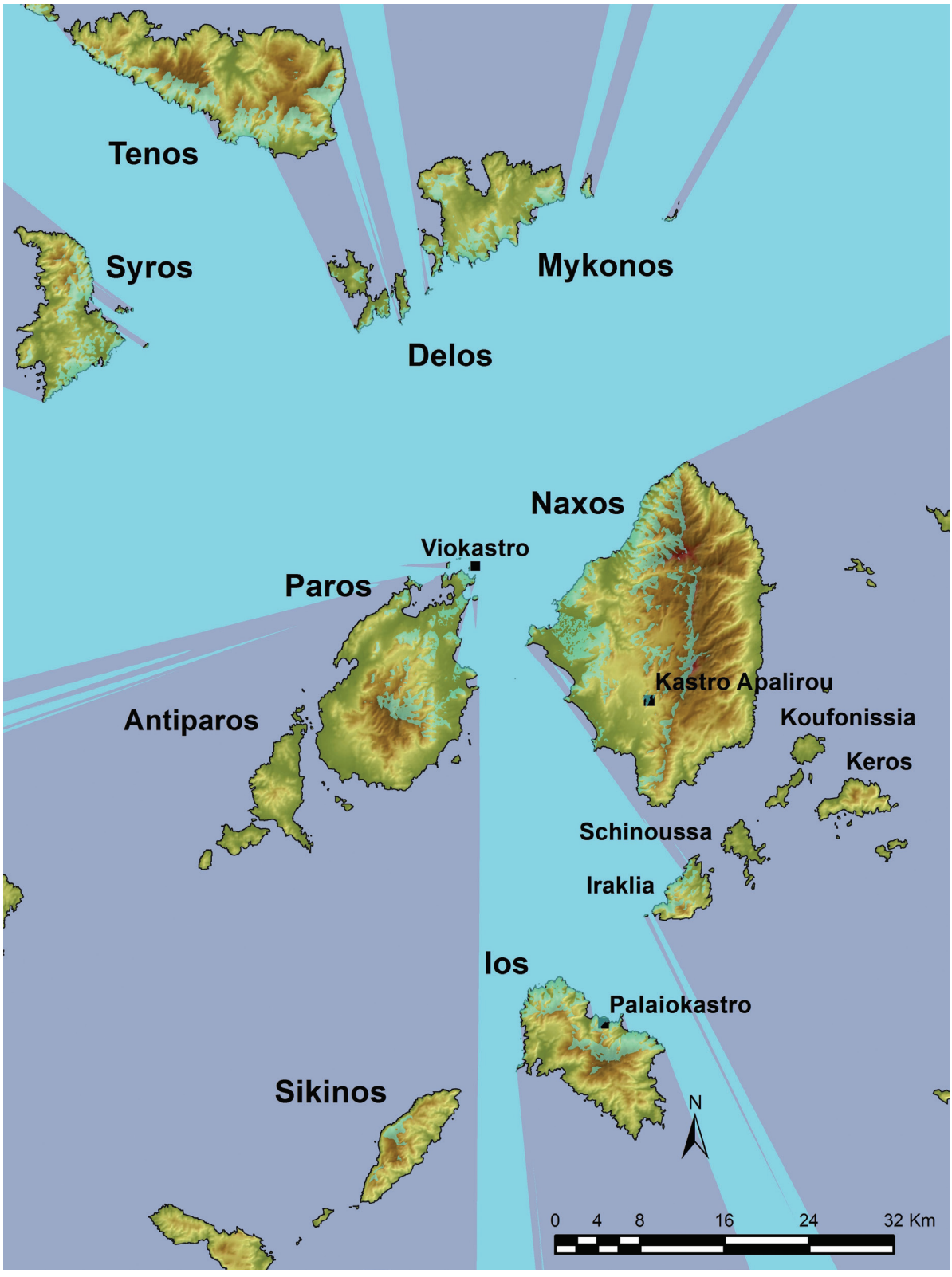


Fig. 4.70: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Viokastro. Visible areas marked with turquoise (10 m added).

naval fortress of Viokastro overlooked the maritime area between Paros, Naxos, Mykonos, Delos Tenos and Syros (Fig. 4.70). In this respect, the islet of Viokastro was selected to overlook the safe moving of goods, merchandise, traders, travellers and soldiers through this maritime zone; a crucial part of long distance sea itineraries during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Furthermore, it cannot be considered as coincidental that the fortress overlooked the north entrance of the naval channel between Paros and Naxos (Paronaxia) while it had a direct view to the contemporary fortresses of Apalirou on Naxos and Paliokastro on Ios (see more details in Chapter 5.3.9). Thus, the establishment of this naval fortress with a clear defensive character is related to the operation of the Byzantine fleet in the south Aegean Sea.

On a second level, the foundation of this naval fortification on an off-shore islet indicates that during the period from the 7th to the 9th centuries there must be human presence on the opposite coast and, by consequence, the wider region of the bay of Naoussa. The dry and barren islet of Viokastro was fully dependent on the larger island of Paros. The Byzantine garrison, who encamped on the tiny islet, was possibly in frequent contact with the bay of Naoussa. The rural space of the region of Naoussa was of vital importance for agricultural production and food supply for the naval fortress of Viokastro. The wider region of the pottery production site 7 and the possible port infrastructures along the coast might have been connected with the fortress, especially during the first period of its operation. Thus, the archaeological evidence from Viokastro suggests continuity of life along the bay of Naoussa during the Byzantine Early Middle centuries on a lesser scale compared to the previous period.

On a last level, as it is demonstrated below, it seems reasonable that the fortress of Viokastro was a smaller link of a wider defensive strategy created by the central administration for the re-organisation of the protection of the Cycladic islands (see a detailed analysis in Chapter 5.3.9).

4.3.6 The region of Naoussa in its Aegean context

The region of Naoussa constitutes an interesting case study which offers a fresh approach not only to the history and archaeology of Paros but also to the wider Aegean world. The study of the settled landscape and the material culture of this unique Cycladic micro-landscape echo the general circumstances pertaining to the Aegean during Late Antiquity and Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It also perfectly illustrates the process of interaction between humans and natural environment.

In general terms, the Late Antique settled landscape of this microcosm consisted of sites of various types and functions. The emerging picture, through the analysis of the material discussed above, suggests that between the 6th and the 7th centuries along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa an important and well-organised Aegean centre for mass production of commercial amphorae flourished. It is definitely no coincidence that all these ceramic workshops were located near the sea and were connected with several port installations situated along the inner and the outer shoreline of the bay. On the other hand, it is clear that these workshops were associated with a number of rural sites located across the surrounding farming zones (Figs 4.41, 4.66 & 4.67).

The Parian workshops started the production of two amphora types approximately at the same time as many other sites in the Mediterranean. In terms of pottery production the case of Naoussa bears a number of similarities with the Dodecanese and Cyprus. On the island of Kos at least five workshops have been discovered in coastal localities of the island dated from the middle 6th to the 7th centuries providing evidence of mass production of imitations of Late Roman Amphorae types 1 and 2 (Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2006, 61; Poulou-Papadimitriou & Didioumi 2010; Didioumi 2014a; 2014b; Papavasileiou & Didioumi forthcoming). In the case of Cardamaina two workshops have been found close to each other (at a distance of 250 m). One of them is dated to the Hellenistic period and again to the 6th and 7th centuries, as is the case of workshop 1 in Naoussa (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 501; Georgopoulou 2005; Diamanti 2010a). The Koan workshops are spread along the shorelines of the island and are connected with Late Antique coastal settlements. In addition, archaeological evidence suggests the existence of amphorae workshops from this period on the islands of Rhodes (Empereur & Picon 1989, 242-243), Lipsi (Papavasileiou *et al.* 2014, 159-168) and Karpathos (Kollias 1973; 1975; 2006). Cyprus is another example with evidence of



Fig. 4.71: Modern viticulture in the fertile area of Protoria. At the background is the bay of Naoussa.

mass production of Late Roman Amphorae 1 and 13 during the same period (Demesticha 2003).

The progressive loss of the Eastern provinces which were gifted with vast food surpluses were causing problems related to the wider supplying of Constantinople. As Bintliff points out, archaeological evidence from Greece suggests an intensive use of the rural landscape in many regions, mainly for commercial purposes (2012b, 358). In this context, many areas with fertile farming zones specialised their production system by producing vast quantities of a single product. This rural surplus was destined to cover the increasing needs of the Capital, and the frontier and interior Roman military forces rather than to regional markets for subsistence of local populations. The commercialisation of rural production in Late Antiquity can be traced in coastal regions of the Mainland and the Aegean islands where a large number of sites "on small and large bays, suitable for coastal loading and unloading of merchandise" are observed (Bintliff 2012b, 357). In the case of Melos for instance, archaeological evidence suggests exploitation of mineral sources and exports (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982). However, most examples in the Aegean world must be "collection points" for the agrarian produce of Greece in this era, which exported in order to cover the increasing needs of Constantinople and the military forces on the Danube frontier. As a result of this, an important number of widespread pottery production centres were developed; specialised in manufacturing LRA types suitable to transport oil, wine, and grain, often also by the coast as natural foci for assembling such cargoes (Bintliff 2012b, 357).

The picture of mass production of amphorae and intensive land use in the countryside of Naoussa, but also, as it will be seen below, on the remainder of the island, can be integrated into this general context. It seems that the economic potential of the local landscape of the bay of Naoussa supported the cultural activity that had developed in this region. In the general socioeconomic context of Late Antiquity, the region of Naoussa, gifted with peculiar local natural features and a strategically advantageous position in the Aegean Sea, benefited by its proximity to both extensive fertile productive zones *and* maritime commercial networks, showing evidence of remarkable economic vitality. The spatial relationship between the rural sites, the dense network of pottery workshops and the port infrastructures reflects a strong connection between production of goods, manufacture of amphorae, and inter-regional commercial networks, suggesting a highly intensive commercial farming and a distinct market orientation (Fig. 4.71) .

The region of Naoussa appears to have been highly interactive in multiple levels during Late Antiquity. On a local level, there is an interaction between the coastal workshops and the rural sites which were located in the periphery of the bay near

the sea. The manufacture of transport amphorae was in direct relationship with the highly intensive commercial farming of this region. The plains of Paliopirgos and Ampelas, and the rich cultivable land of Protoria, Kravga and Sarakiniko constitute the immediate periphery of the bay of Naoussa. Additionally, the bay is adjacent to the large fertile coastal plain that extended along the east side of the island and to the smaller plain of Kamares (south-west of the modern village of Naoussa), whilst finally also directly connected with central Paros and especially the region of Marathi, with a vertical road (N-S) that passes through a small gorge (as we shall see in Chapter 4.4).

Subsequently, on a broader level, there is clear interaction between the region as production, collection and distribution centre, and the wider markets. The bay of Naoussa acted as the main gateway between the local community and the rest of the Aegean and Mediterranean world. The local agrarian produce of northern Paros collected and exported to wider markets through the numerous harbour installations along its complex shoreline, using as containers the transport amphorae produced *in situ*. The region of Naoussa was fully integrated into the inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes of the East Mediterranean Sea during the Late Antiquity.

Finally, on a regional level, although, until now, there is not tangible evidence, we can suggest a new dimension in the interpretation of the pottery production of Naoussa, which is related to the Cycladic context. The huge quantities of Late Roman Amphora fragments discovered along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa, makes it reasonable to hypothesis that part of this production could be traded without containing any local product of Paros, destined for the adjacent Cycladic islands (Naxos, Mykonos etc.). It is probable that a small percentage of the Parian Amphorae was shipped out to cover the needs for transport vessels of the neighbouring islands in order to export their agricultural surpluses to wider markets. Such a high specialised and extremely mass production of amphorae could cover the needs of more than an island, supporting the local production of adjacent insular communities. The strategic position of the bay of Naoussa in the maritime area of the Cyclades further supports this view. A possible candidate that could have received the Parian Amphorae was the island of Naxos (see Chapter 5.3.11). A future study of the ceramic evidence from the neighbouring islands would contribute more evidence to this interpretation. If this tantalising hypothesis is correct, there is one more level of interaction between the bay of Naoussa and the surrounding Cycladic islands.

In any case, during the period in question, especially between the 6th and the middle/late 7th century material culture from the region of Naoussa gives the impression of an economically active coastal community characterised by interaction, integration and connectivity, which had a key role in the Late Antique regional and inter-regional trade networks.

A great challenge facing the reconstruction of insular societies is to shed light on the settled landscape in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean, the overstressed historical validity of textual sources, and the low visibility of archaeological material has resulted in perceiving these centuries in a negative manner. A re-assessment of the model of a prosperous Late Antiquity followed by the complete disaster of the Early Middle Ages is necessary.

Material culture from Naoussa during the Early Middle Ages suggests the picture of remarkable economic vitality throughout the 6th and 7th centuries changed dramatically in the succeeding centuries. The relevant prosperity of Naoussa throughout Late Antiquity was supported by multiple factors: the potential and opportunities offered by its distinctive landscape character, the strategic position of the island in the Aegean Sea, the growth off maritime commercial activities in the Mediterranean Sea, the integration of Paros into inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes, the high specialisation of the local rural production, the export of local agricultural surplus through trade, and the intense activity of pottery production sites. Therefore, its economic vitality was undoubtedly almost fully dependent on the Mediterranean maritime commercial system. Any change in trade patterns and sea routes in this system may have had a strong impact not only the bay of Naoussa's role in this broader network but also on its economic situation. From this point of view, the industrial and production centre of Naoussa, probably did not make sense outside the inter-regional route system and trade patterns of the Late Antique world.

After the late 7th century, a series of parameters, such as the emergence of the Arab threat over the Aegean, radically changed the trade system. Commercial activities continued to exist in the Aegean during the 8th and the 9th century on a lesser scale compared to Late Antiquity and re-organised on a completely different basis than before (Poulou-Papadimitriou forthcoming). In this context, the highly specialised coastal production centres in the Aegean were strongly affected, losing their vital role as smaller links in the chain of the broader network of trade. However, despite major changes in settlement patterns of Naoussa, this study suggests a continuity of life along this coastal landscape during the 8th and 9th centuries on a lesser scale compared to the previous period. Limited but valuable surface ceramic fragments may indicate that a few of the pottery workshops probably continued their operation during the turbulent Early Middle Ages without, however, distinct market orientation. The development of a more regional economy after 8th century, with products circulating mainly internally or just across the neighbouring regions probably suggests that this minor production covered the limited needs of the regional market of Paros and the adjacent islands. In rural sphere, the settled landscape in the periphery of the bay may have consisted of archaeologically low-visible agricultural communities, with extremely limited cultural production based on the sustainability of a reduced population.

The establishment of a naval fortress on the islet of Viokastro after the 7th century indicates that the maritime region was of military and commercial importance for the interest of the Byzantine Empire. This military installation reflects the integration of the island of Paros, and the bay of Naoussa in particular, to a regional maritime defensive system for the protection of the Cyclades created by the central administration. In this context, the maritime area of Paronaxia appears to have been a well-protected zone with at least three Byzantine fortresses (see more details in Chapter 5.3.9). Thus, it is hard to believe the bay of Naoussa and the island of Paros in general remained abandoned for more than three centuries. Additionally, the Byzantine navy could not have ignored the strategic advantages and the natural features of the well-protected and the spacious bay of Naoussa, which would probably, have functioned occasionally as a naval base. In this respect, the region of Naoussa continued to interact with the external world at a different level compared to the previous period.

After this turbulent period, the succeeding Middle Byzantine centuries present a completely different picture. According to Vionis, the settled landscape was transferred from west to north and from the bay of Parikia to that of Naoussa (2006, 460-464; 2012, 200-211). The countryside of Naoussa shows considerable evidence of dispersed settlements which constituted rural communities that cultivated the surrounding fertile lands, as it happened, *mutatis mutandis*, during Late Antiquity. The same impression is given by a number of intensive surface surveys in Greece, such as Boeotia, Methana and Keos, suggesting recovery and resettlement of the rural landscape (Cherry *et al.* 1991; Mee & Forbes 1997; Bintliff 2000a). The settlement at Protoria produces clear evidence of habitation from the 11th to the early 13th century, indicating recovery or resettlement at the site in the Middle Byzantine period.

It is apparent that the bay of Naoussa as a highly interactive microcosm among the Cyclades was always open to contacts and external influence, fully integrated in the broader route system and trade patterns.

4.4 NORTH CENTRAL PAROS

4.4.1 Landscape and micro-topography

The north central inland of Paros is an interesting landscape consisting of a mountainous ring that surrounds the small plateau of Marathi, approximately 5 km northeast from the modern town of Parikia and south of the bay of Naoussa (Figs 4.1 & 4.5: III). It contains the areas of Marathi, Matzoro, Choridaki and Vounia (Thapsana).

The Marathi basin is a small karstic plain of approximately 1,43 km², situated at an altitude of about 200 m above sea level (Fig. 4.72). It constitutes a relatively closed geographic unit with definite mountainous borders, since the south is surrounded by the marble mountains of Marathi (alt. 357 m), the north by the hills of Pachnas (alt. 263 m) and Korakas (alt. 268 m), and the east by the hills of Raches (alt. 274 m) and Kadinelia (alt. 247 m). It has two accesses to the sea, one through the gorge

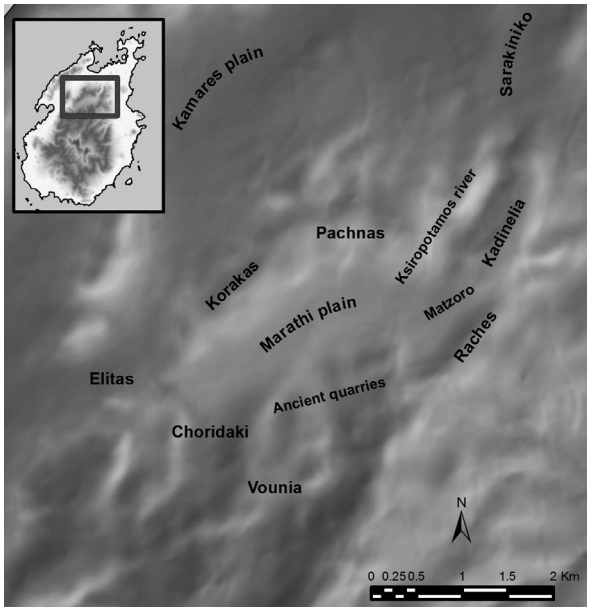


Fig. 4.72: Map of the region of Marathi.



Fig. 4.73: View of the southeast portion of the Marathi basin (Kato Marathi − Matzoro). The church of Agios Ioannis Theologos is indicated.

that formed between Kadinelia and Pachnas hills along the Ksiropotamos River to the bay of Naoussa (north) and another through the gorge of Elitas to the gulf of Parikia (southeast). In earlier times, water came into the plain from Ksiropotamos River, which crosses the area of Matzoro in the eastern part of the basin (Fig. 4.73). Today, Ksiropotamos, as indicated by its name (literally, "Dry River"), is a dry river bed surrounded by typical low-lying Cycladic woodland (juniper, lentisk, herbal and thorny shrubs mostly). South and southwest of Marathi's small



Fig. 4.74: View of the central portion of Marathi basin.

basin extends the mountainous area dominating the central landscape of Paros. In the wider area from the Marathi basin up to Choridaki valley and Vounia (Thapsana) rich deposits of high quality marble have been discovered and exploited since antiquity.

Although in north central inland of Paros there is no intense building activity (Fig. 4.74), which is very obvious in other areas on the island, unfortunately, large-scale industrial activities of the modern quarries has resulted in huge environmental disaster for the local landscape. Nowadays, there is only one organised small settlement in the whole area, the traditional mountainous village of Kostos; located less than a kilometre southeast from the Marathi basin. The remainder is covered by scattered private residences, farms, chapels, monasteries, small industrial units, and cultivated lands or waste lands. Most of the available fields in the Marathi plain are cultivated until the present day. The terraces on the foot slopes around the plain have nowadays been abandoned.

4.4.2 The Parian marble and sculpture workshops in Late Antiquity

What made this region special and unique for the history and economy of the island was the abundance of marble deposits. The mountainous area south and southwest of the Marathi basin constituted the main source of the famous Parian marble so prized by sculptors in the ancient world. During antiquity numerous underground and opencast marble quarries operated at many sites in the north central part of Paros, providing marble for buildings and free-standing sculptures and contributing to

the economic growth of the island (Korres 2010; Schilardi 2010; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2014, 135-138). The most significant among them were the quarries of the Nymphs and Pan (Paros I), the quarries of Lakkoi, Spilies and Thapsana (Paros II) and the quarry of Agios Menas (Paros III). Although operation of the quarries from the Archaic period until the Roman Imperial times has been studied thoroughly (Schilardi & Katsonopoulou 2010), it remains questionable if quarrying continued on the island during Late Antiquity.

Over the course of Late Antiquity the quarries of Proconnesus in Propontis emerged as the marble source of primary importance for the economy of the Eastern Roman Empire (Asgari 1978). The mass exploitation of proconnesian marble played a fundamental role in the marble workmanship and the marble export trade. In this context, until recently the Parian marble remained almost invisible from the majority of Late Antiquity's scholars. On the basis of observations of the marble sculptures used in the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani, Gruben was led to the interpretation that the quarries on Paros ceased their operation before the 6th century (2010, 135). He considered the majority of the marble material used for the erection of the monumental complex in the second half of the 6th century was taken from older ruined pagan buildings in the city while a small group of newly-carved marbles was imported from Proconnesus.

This thesis however, has been challenged by many scholars in recent years. Studies mainly based on the sculpture decoration of Ekatontapiliani; taking into account the undeniable extensive reuse of ancient material and the importation of proconnesian sculptures have added a new dimension to the research. It has been suggested that a group of sculptures was carved on newly-quarried marbles from the island of Paros during the 6th century (Mitsani 1996-1997, 2000, 2006; Maniatis *et al.* 1996-1997). On the basis of archaeological observations and stereoscopic investigation they argued the quarries on Paros continued their operation during the course of the 6th century. However, putting the topic in a wider context, Herrmann, Tykot and van den Hoek, also using literary and archaeological evidence outside Paros, concluded that the available data, although encouraging, remains inconclusive in establishing the continuation of quarrying on Paros in Late Antiquity (2011).

The question is further complicated by a group of marble sculptures with common stylistic and decorative features, which can be attributed to sculptor's regional workshops (Vemi 1989; Mitsani 1996-1997; 2000; 2006; see more examples of local sculptures in Chapter 4.6.2). The simplified and stylised decoration as well as the rough workmanship of these examples, which mainly consist of ionic impost capitals, closures labs and parts from liturgical installations, contradict the high quality of the imported pieces from Constantinople discovered in the basilicas of Ekatontapiliani and Voutakos, such as the fold and two-zone capitals (see more about the imported sculptures found at Voutakos in Chapter 4.6.2). This group of locally carved sculptures from Ekatontapiliani, Tris Ekklisies and Voutakos shows considerable evidence of a remarkable activity of regional sculpture workshops in Late Antiquity. However, we need to be very careful when assessing this evidence.

Despite the dominant position of proconnesian mass production in marble workmanship and marble export trade of the Late Roman Empire, increasing construction needs had at the same time probably resulted in the emergence of small-scale regional sculpture productions. These productions mainly covered local needs without excluding small-scale exports as it is indicated by the marble ionic capitals which produced and exported from the island of Thasos (Herrmann & Sodini 1977, 471-511; Herrmann & Barbin 1993, 314; Tsigonaki 2004, 1154-1155). The material used by the sculptors varied depending on the available sources of each region. Preserved examples of local sculptures have been carved both on marble and various local rocks. Regarding the iconography, local sculptors were well-informed about the modern trends of sculpture in the Capital, tending to imitate not only specific decorative patterns but also entire compositions. Local patterns are also observed in regions where a tradition in sculpture pre-existed (Tsigonaki 2004).

As is mentioned above, "the most illustrious city of Paros citizens" was well endowed with marble monumental structures during antiquity (see Chapter 4.2.4). Over the course of Late Antiquity the majority of these civic or religious marble buildings were ruined. As a result of this, a large number of huge or small carved marble blocks were available

not only for building material but also for re-carving and production of new Christian sculptures. The abundance of ancient marble architectural sculptures can even be seen in the 13th century in the construction of the medieval castle of Parikia (Fig. 4.13). Thus, older material, was probably intensively re-carved for the production of Christian sculptures during the 6th century by local workshops.

Therefore, we need more archaeological studies and petrographic analysis in order to be sure if quarrying continued on the island's quarries in the course of Late Antiquity. It remains uncertain when the marble quarries in the area of Marathi ceased their operation and hence their impact on the local economy. In any case, it is obvious the famous white Parian marble stopped playing a fundamental role in the trade and distribution networks of Late Antiquity, and stopped contributing to the economic growth of the island. Over the course of Late Antiquity, probably sometime between the 4th and late 6th century, the exploitation of marble reduced drastically and gradually completely stopped.

The attribution of marble sculptures to local craftsmen does not imply that the workshops operated only on the island of Paros. On the neighbouring island of Naxos two closure slabs were discovered; these have been attributed to the same workshop that carved the closure slabs of the original *templon* of Ekatontapiliani (Fig. 4.26), on the basis of stylistic and decorative similarities (Lambrinoudakis 1981, 293, fig. 200β; Jacobs 1987, 279-280, fig. 16c; Farioli 1989, 171-180; Kiourtzian 2000, 102; Mitsani 2006, 83-84). Additionally, some of the sculptures from the basilica of Tris Ekklissies on Paros have many similarities with examples from the church of Episkopi on Sikinos, on the basis of decorative elements and workmanship (Orlandos 1960a, 151, fig.187α; Frantz *et al.* 1969, 417-419, figs 32-36). Thus, it is possible that craftsmen, decorative patterns and techniques moved around the Cycladic islands. In this respect, it is more likely that regional workshops probably covered the needs of more than one island. At the moment, it is difficult to determine which islands were used as bases for the workshops and a systematic study of the local production in the Cyclades is needed in order to expand our knowledge.

4.4.3 The settlement pattern within the Marathi basin in Late Antiquity

The immense importance of the region for the economy and history of ancient Paros has centred the majority of archaeological investigations on the study of the ancient quarries (Schilardi & Katsonopoulou 2010). A systematic field survey has been conducted by Vionis on behalf of the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in 2001-2002 around the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Kato Marathi (2006, 462-463; 2012, 200).

In the southeast part of Marathi basin (Kato Marathi), facing the entrance of the small valley that leads to Naoussa, is located the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Fig. 4.73). It is a small church of 4 x 5,50 m which belonged to a local variation of the cross-in-square church - single-aisled type (Fig. 4.75). In modern times a rectangular narthex was annexed to the west facade of the initial building. On the basis of architectural similarities with examples from Naxos, Crete and Cyprus Dimitrokallis dated the church of Marathi between the 11th and 13th centuries (1998, 195-198). The church of Agios Ioannis, nowadays, stands like an isolated religious landmark within a characteristic rural Cycladic landscape (Fig. 4.73). However, a closer examination of the archaeological evidence and the surface ceramics offer valuable information for the reconstruction of a settlement pattern and rural landscape within the Marathi basin in Late Antiquity.

A concentration of Late Roman pottery was identified by Vionis all over the surface of the arable



Fig. 4.75: View of the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Kato Marathi.

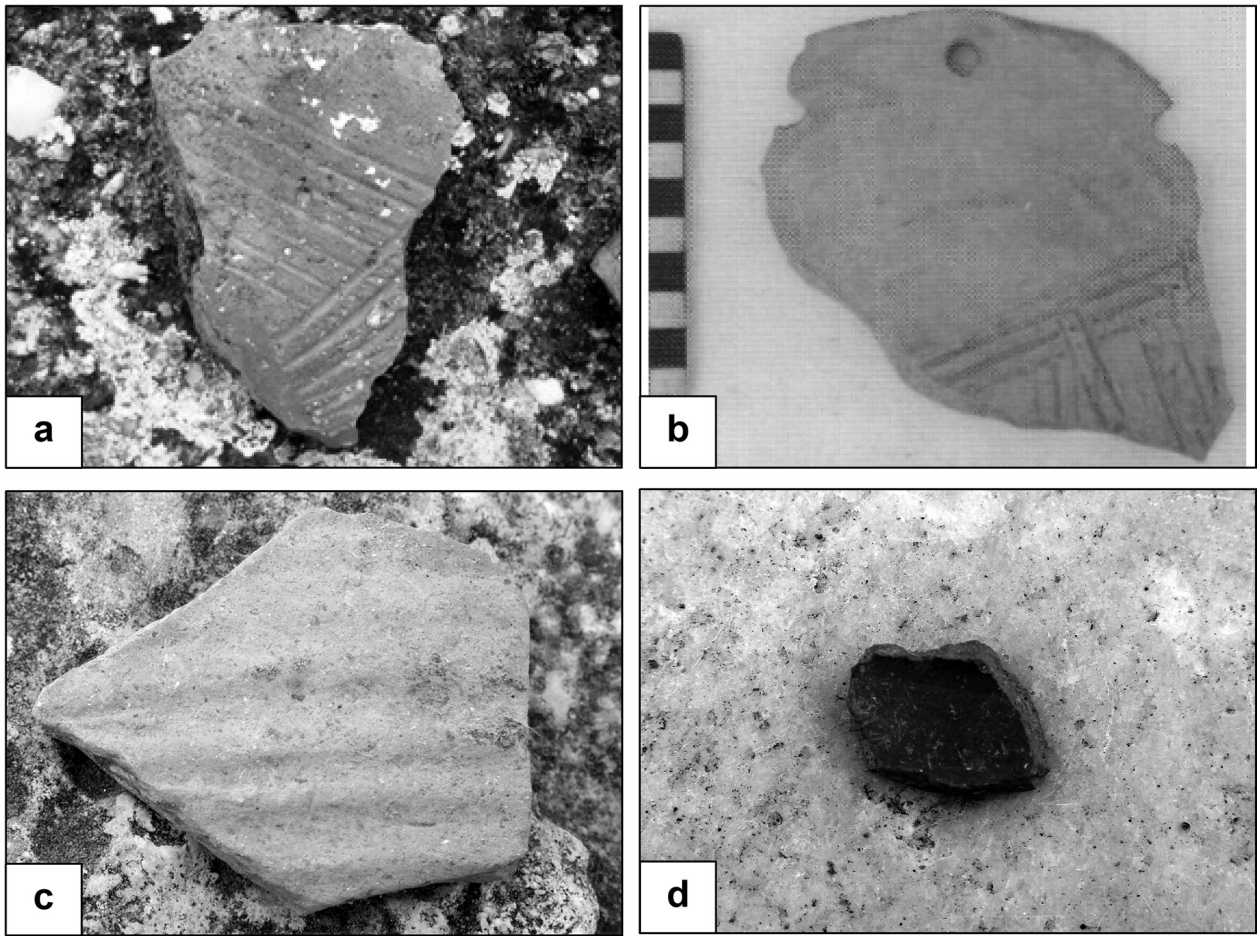


Fig. 4.76: Pottery fragments from the area around the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Kato Marathi: a) fragment of beehive, b) fragment of similar beehive (Vroom 2005, 50, fig.10.1), c) fragment of LRA 1 and d) fragment of Red Slip ware.

fields immediately to the north of the church (2006, 463-464). Personal observations at the site in 2015 and 2016 further confirmed the existence of important quantities of ceramic sherds in the area immediately to the west, east, and south of the church. A careful *in situ* examination of surface ceramics suggests the largest percentage of this find belonged to Late Antique centuries. It mostly contains common storage and transport vessels (storage jars and LR amphora types), imported red slip wares, as well as a small but diagnostic group of beehive sherds (Fig. 4.76).

The fragments of beehives are simple without decoration on the outside, but on the interior surface horizontal and vertical incisions appear (Fig. 4.76a). Similar examples have been discovered in many sites of the Aegean (Fig. 4.76b) (Vroom 2003, 144-145 with further bibliography; 2005, 50-51, fig.10.1). Thus, on the basis of similar published examples, the surface beehive sherds from Marathi can be dated between the middle 6th and middle 8th centuries. The characteristic type of LR1 amphora with narrowly spaced ribbing on the outside has been also recognised at Marathi (Fig. 4.76c). This type of amphora was the most widely produced and traded during Late Antiquity, since their production sites extended along the coasts of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Rhodes, Kos, Crete, Cicilia, Syria, North Africa, Middle East and Black Sea (Riley 1979; Empereur & Picon 1988; 1989; Hayes 1992, 65; Sodini 1993; Vroom 2005, 53; Piéri 2007, 613-615). As is mentioned above, an important Aegean production centre of the 6th and 7th centuries has been recognised within the bay of Naoussa, only



Fig. 4.77: The visible preserved part of the straight east wall under the apse of the medieval church.

4 km north of the Marathi basin. The fragments from Marathi could generally be dated between the 5th and 7th centuries. At the moment it is difficult to suggest if the amphorae sherds from Marathi belonged to imported amphora types or to local variations produced in the Parian pottery workshops of Naoussa. Finally, a small number of imported Red Slip wares also appeared at Marathi (Fig. 4.76d). The types of vessels identified at Marathi were associated with domestic life, agricultural production and transport (beehives, *lekanides*, jars, amphorae).

Apart from the valuable ceramic evidence discussed above, during author's visit to the site found that the small medieval church had been erected on the ruins of a pre-existing structure as evidenced by preserved architectural traces. The small apse in the east was founded on the remains of an earlier straight wall (Fig. 4.77). The visible preserved part of the east wall measured approximately 3,5 m in length and less than 1 m in width. It is a straight segment without forming any kind of apse, built with local cut stones without mortar. Additionally, the south wall of the church was founded on the ruins of a second straight wall, which is indiscernible as it was partly covered by modern cement (Fig. 4.78). The visible preserved part of the south wall measured approximately 2,5 m in length. The two preserved straight walls belonged to the same structure and form an angle under the southeast corner of the church. Fragmentary preserved remains of walls were also found at a distance of approximately 100 m east from the church (Fig. 4.79).

Due to the lack of excavation we cannot be very accurate when talking about the exact dating of this earlier building or its initial function. Although at the moment it is not possible to offer convincing interpretations, some possible hypotheses can be put forward. Regarding the dating, the erection of the church in the 11th–13th centuries offers a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of this earlier structure. The observation by Vionis that the area preserves limited evidence of the existence of a Middle Byzantine settlement (2012, 200), in connection with the high percentage of Late Roman sherds on the total concentration of surface pottery around the church, compared to other periods, makes more reasonable sense that the pre-existing structure could be dated over the course of Late Antiquity.

Concerning the function of this probably Late Antique structure, the first tantalising hypothesis that comes to mind is that this building could be an Early Christian basilica. However, caution is needed when assessing this interpretation. On the island of Paros three cases (Agios Georgios at Voutakos, Tris Ekklisies in the periphery of Parikia and Stavros at Stavros) have been observed where later small humble churches have been constructed on the ruins



Fig. 4.78: The remains of the second straight wall under the south wall of the medieval church.

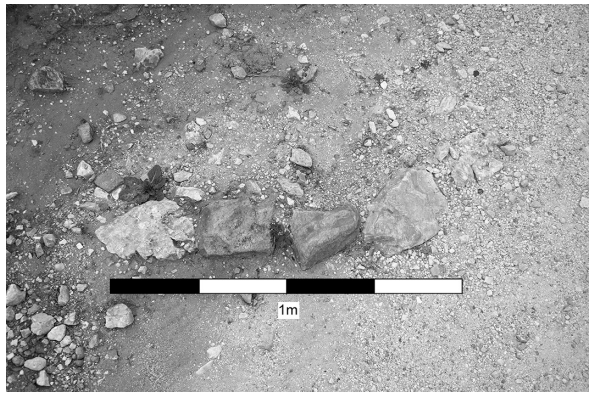


Fig. 4.79: Remains of walls at a distance of approximately 100 m east of the church.

of Late Antique basilicas. The phenomenon is very common and numerous examples were encountered on islands and mainland areas of the Aegean. In most cases, later chapels occupied the area of the Holy Bema of the basilica (apse). Nevertheless, there are a few examples where the later churches were erected on the eastern part of side aisles. A characteristic example on Paros has been observed at the site of Tris Ekklisies where one of the three later chapels occupies the eastern part of the north aisle (founded on the ruins of the north wall of the basilica). The two other chapels occupy the central part of the nave and the south aisle. The evidence provided so far by personal observations and surveys remains inconclusive in identifying the pre-existing structure as a religious building.

On the other hand, the clear association between the Late Antique surface ceramic around the church and agricultural activities makes more reasonable sense that the pre-existing structure would have a rural character. As has been observed in many regions in the Aegean world, such as Boeotia, during Late Antiquity most of the rural sites were classified as small villages, estates, rural *villas* or farmsteads for commercial crop production (Bintliff *et al*. 2007). The picture emerging through a combination of evidence discussed above, suggests that in this landscape a rural community, probably a small village developed during the course of Late Antiquity. On the basis of personal observations in the remainder of the Marathi basin, it is possible that this was probably the only rural site in the region during Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.80). At the moment, it is difficult to determine the exact size and plan of this rural community.

The ceramic data and the spatial relationship between the site and the surrounding fertile agricultural land produce clear evidence for rural exploitation of the Marathi basin's rich cultivable land in Late Antiquity. The inhabitants of this small village at Marathi could have agricultural activities (farming, beekeeping) as the main occupation. The micro-topography of the settlement contained land qualities and natural resources (Ksiropotamos River) in its surroundings, which were important features for the establishment and development of rural sites in antiquity (Antrop 1987, 1990). Thus, it was located on a fertile basin where the intensively used land could easily be controlled. Additionally, the slopes of the surrounding hills and mountains are the ideal places for beekeeping even today, since thyme and various herbs grow in abundance (Fig. 4.81). Beekeeping on Paros seems to have been a traditional activity since antiquity as indicated by the beehives produced in the Hellenistic and Roman pottery workshops within the city of Paros (Hasaki 2010, 388). Remarkable beekeeping activity has been identified in Boeotia during Late Antique and Early Byzantine times as indicated by the large number of beehive fragments in surface ceramics (Vroom 2003, 345-346). Finally, the site at Marathi is located close to areas of grazing land, and therefore it makes sense to assume that it could have include small-scale pastoralist activities as part of its function (see more about pastoralism in Chapter 5.4.6).

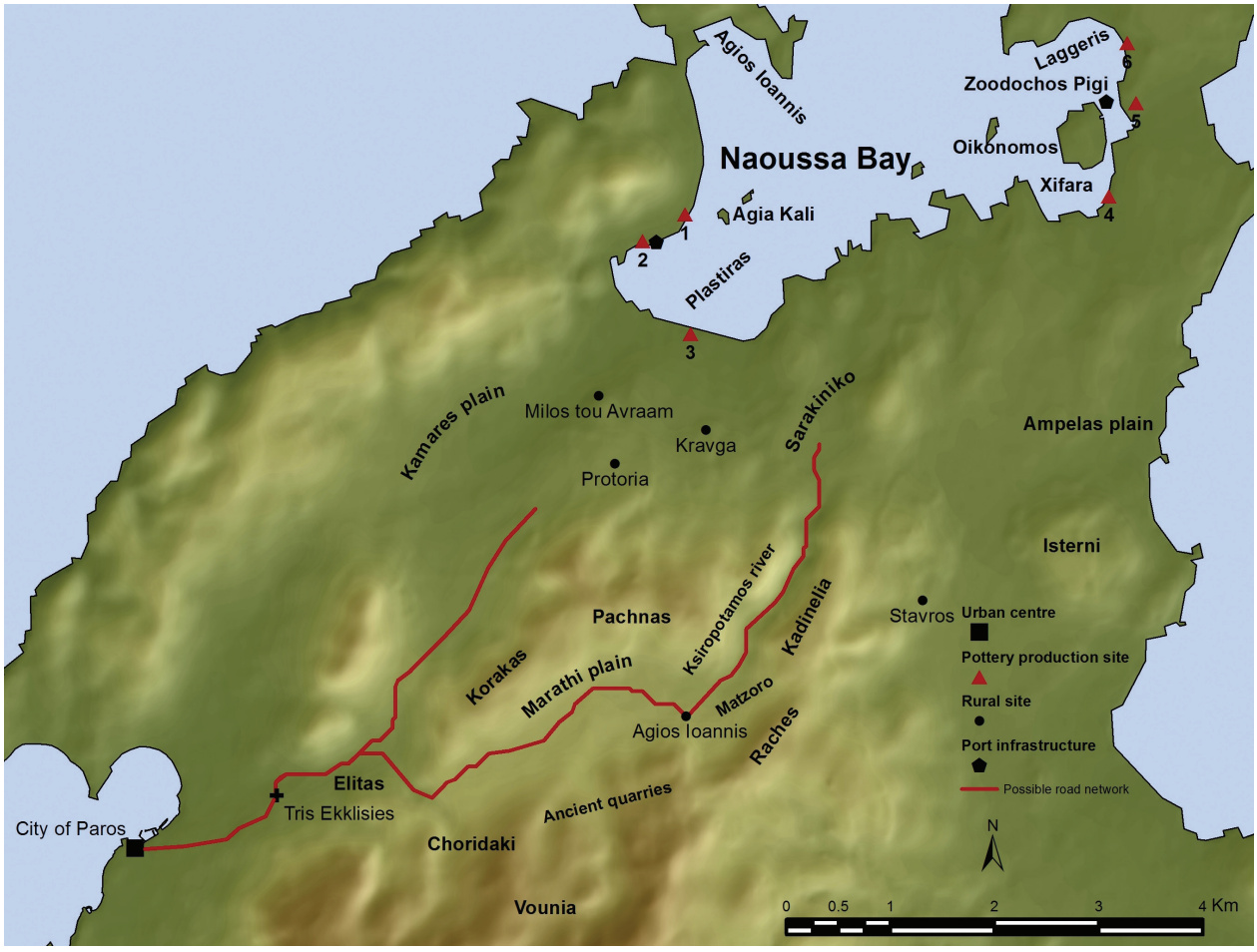


Fig. 4.80: Settlement pattern within the Marathi basin.

Seemingly, Marathi region is a relatively isolated area because of the physically enclosed character of a mountain basin. However despite the fact that it was not visible from the sea, the Marathi basin was easily accessible from the city of Paros and the bay of Naoussa. Moreover, due to the extensive exploitation of marble sources the Marathi area was never a closed and remote community. If we consider that ancient road networks connecting the inland with coastal areas and urban centres mainly followed physiographic constraints, we can make a hypothetical reconstitution of land routes that linked the Marathi basin with coastal regions of the island using least cost path analysis in GIS (Fig. 4.80). A first land route passed through the small gorge along Ksiropotamos River leading north to the bay of Naoussa (Figs 4.82 & 4.83). This road along with the river was, presumably, of greatest importance for this rural community as indicated by the location of the Late Antique settlement opposite the south entrance of the gorge and west of the river bank. A second land route can be traced on the west side of the Marathi basin. This route to the west passed through the modern region of Elitas and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies with direction toward the city of Paros, connecting the capital of the island with its principal source of economic growth since antiquity.

Although, as is outlined above, it is doubtful whether the numerous quarries on north central Paros operated until the 6th century, it remains plausible that in the course of Late Antiquity the exploitation of marble reduced and completely stopped. This had as a result the drastic change of the local landscape and character of the Marathi basin. During antiquity north central Paros gave the impression of an industrial zone fully orientated towards mass marble



Fig. 4.81: Modern beekeeping activity amid thyme and various herbs a few metres southeast of the Late Antique site.

extraction; the principal source of growth for the Parian economy. In this respect, Marathi constituted the region of the greatest importance for the economic interest of the city of Paros. Despite the fact that at the moment, there is no clear evidence; presumably, there were also rural activities within the plain during antiquity. However, they were less important for the local economy. What is more significant for this study is that the region progressively changed in many ways during Late Antiquity. Over the course of Late Antique centuries the area of Marathi transformed from the locomotive for the Parian economy to a regional rural area fully integrated in the economic system of internal production. The region's character changed progressively, from an industrial centre to an intensity land use zone. By the end of Late Antiquity the Marathi basin was entirely an agricultural zone, inhabited by a small rural community.

Nevertheless, it did not stop contributing to the local economy throughout Late Antiquity. A combination of the archaeological evidence from Marathi discussed above suggests intensively exploited rural landscape and commercialisation of agricultural surpluses of the fertile plateau during the 6th and 7th centuries. The intensification of land use in the Marathi basins during this period reflects, as has been observed not only in many other fertile regions of Paros but also in almost every corner of Greece (Bintliff 2012b, 358), a commercial rather than subsistent character. The Marathi region is located at a close distance from the bay of Naoussa while, probably, the basin's only Late Antique rural site was oriented toward the road that leads



Fig. 4.82: View of the small gorge that links the areas of Marathi and Naoussa. The bay of Naoussa is discernible in the background. Further north the islands of Delos and Mykonos are visible.



Fig. 4.83: View of the gorge's exit towards the Naoussa region.

to the north (Fig. 4.84). If we considered the bay of Naoussa functioned not only as an amphorae production centre but also as a collection point for the exportable produce of the northern part of Paros, it makes sense to assume that through this land route, local agricultural production was transported to Naoussa to be exported to wider markets. In this respect, this hypothesis supports the high levels of rural activity on the island during Late Antiquity and the concentration of agricultural produce from the countryside or coastal plains to the regional ports, especially in the bay of Naoussa. Thus, the region of Marathi was an open community which interacted with the coastal zones of the islands, and through them, with the external world.

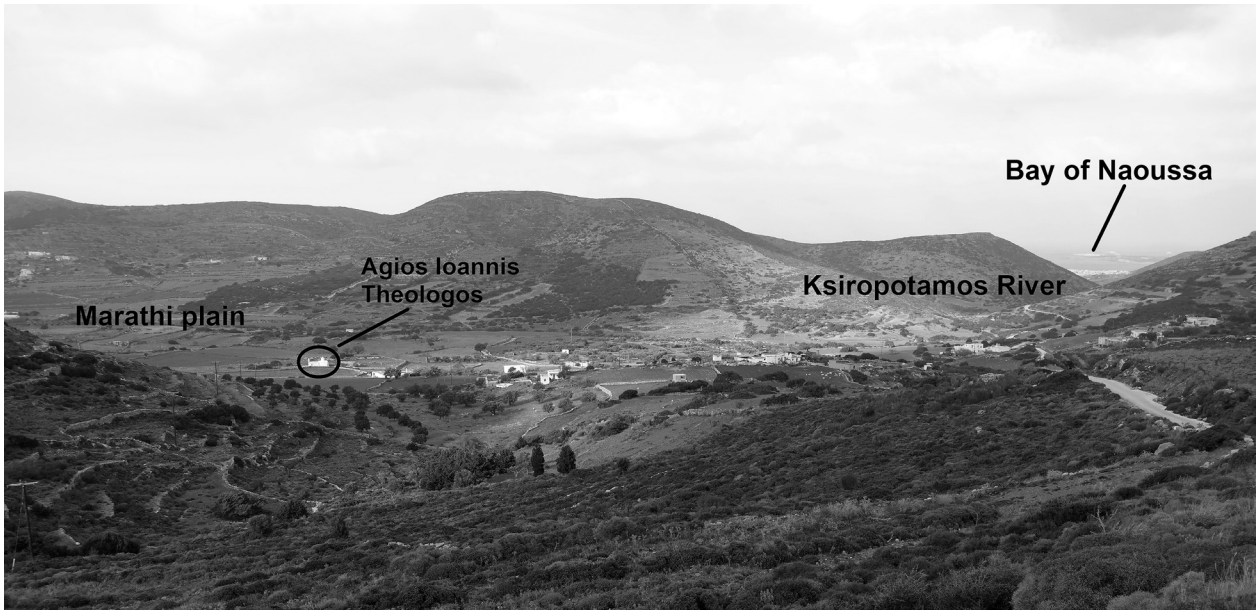


Fig. 4.84: The spatial relationship between the Late Antique site at Kato Marathi and the entrance of the small gorge that leads to the bay of Naoussa.

At the moment, no clear evidence dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages has been identified with certainty within the Marathi basin. As has been demonstrated above, at the rural sites of the region of Naoussa there is a dramatic decline of ceramic material in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Bearing in mind the spatial and economic relationship between the areas of Marathi and Naoussa during Late Antiquity, which was based on the commercialisation of the local production, it is quite possible they were both heavily influenced by the changes in the inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes that took place progressively after the late 7th century. The Marathi region was, probably, fully dependent upon exports of its rural surplus during Late Antiquity, and as a matter of fact, any change in the commercial activity may have had a strong impact on its economy. Thus, it is possible that in the late 7th or early 8th century the rural site at Kato Marathi shrunk or became abandoned until the 10th century, in similar way to many other areas of the Aegean during the turbulent Early Middle Ages (for wider Aegean context see Bintliff 2012b, 381-388). As has been suggested by Vionis, there is some limited evidence of human presence and rural activity at Marathi during the Middle Byzantine period (2012, 200).

4.5 EASTERN COAST OF PAROS: AN EXTENSIVE PRODUCTIVE ZONE

4.5.1 Landscape and micro-topography

From the mountainous interior of central Paros, mountains slope down to the coast and create the largest and most fertile plain on the island, dominating almost the entire eastern coastal zone and extending from the region of Isterni (north-east) to the village of Dryos (south-east) (Figs 4.5: IV & 4.85). The east plain's topography is a relatively flat coastal landscape with a few low hills and bays scattered along the shoreline (Fig. 4.86). The plain is subdivided into smaller areas and contains (from northeast to southeast): the eastern coastal part of the Kostos region (Isterni, Stavros), the Archilochos regions (Glifades, Tsoukalia, Molos, Galios, Aerodromio, Prodromos), and Marpissa (Dryos, Piso Livadi, Marpissa, Tourlos, Mersini, Velania, Chrisi Akti, Tserdakia, Tzanes) (Fig. 4.85). The region's advantageous geomorphology had as a result the highest concentration of settlements and villages along the eastern coast of Paros during the modern period. Thus, the modern villages of Prodromos, Marmara, Marpissa, Piso Livadi and Dryos are located within this coastal landscape.

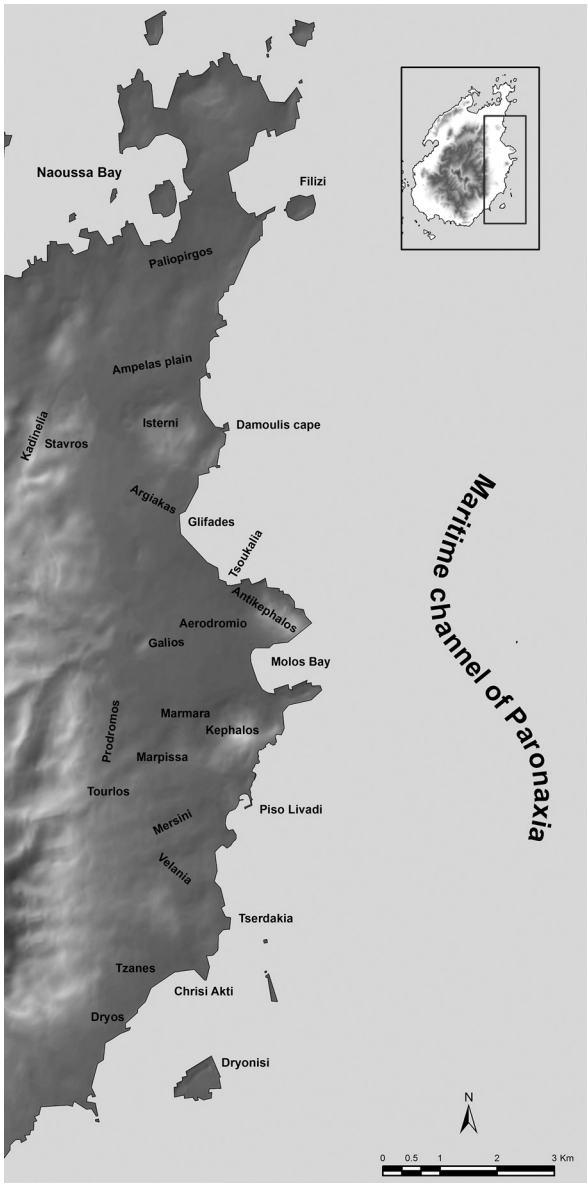


Fig. 4.85: Map of the east coastal zone of Paros with regions and places discussed in the chapter.

Coastal morphology is characterised by the presence of sandy or pebbly beach zones, forming several small bays relatively sheltered from wave activity, as well as few steep coastal cliffs. The bay of Molos, which is located almost in the middle of the east coast of Paros and flanked by the facing hills of Kephalos (south) and Antikephalos (north), is the safest natural harbour of the area. The whole region lies opposite Naxos offering good visibility of this neighbouring island and overlooking the narrow sea channel of Paronaxia. The channel between Paros and Naxos, which at its narrowest point measures less than 3 nm was fully integrated into the maritime trade and military network of the central southern Aegean in different periods. Thus, it seems the eastern coast of Paros benefited both from its proximity to the maritime network and from its peculiar geomorphologic features.

The immense building activity and tourist growth have heavily impacted the local landscape, partly changing its character. However, most of the available fields in the eastern plain of Paros are intensively cultivated until the present day. The remainder of the area is covered by scattered private residences, farms, small chapels, monasteries, tourist infrastructure, small industrial units and shops.

4.5.2 A rural community at Stavros in the northern part of the plain

Southeast of the region of Naoussa (and its southeast point which is the area of Ampelas) between the low hill of Isterni in the east (alt. 113 m) and the eastern slopes of Mt Kadinelia in the west (alt. 247 m) a flat narrow area (less than 0,8 km in width) is formed constituting some form of north entrance to the eastern plain of Paros (Fig. 4.85).

In the area called Stavros, on the lower north-eastern slope of the central mountainous range of the island, at an altitude of less than 100 m, is located the present-day twin-naved church dedicated to Timios Stavros (south chapel) and Agios Georgios (north chapel) (Figs 4.87 & 4.88). The chapel of Timios Stavros is the original church of this small religious complex while the smaller north chapel is, possibly, a later addition. It lies approximately 4 km south of Naoussa, 5 km northeast from Marathi, 5 km north of Marmara and less than 3 km west of the nearest eastern shoreline of Paros.

However, what is most surprising in this case, is that the foundations of the present-day chapel rested on the ruins of a pre-existing structure. Until now the site was totally unknown to modern scholars. This structure is a convincing candidate for a Christian basilica. More specifically, parts of two strong walls of an earlier large building are preserved beneath the eastern part of the church and



Fig. 4.86: The eastern coastal zone of Paros. The neighbouring islands of Naxos and Ios are discernible in the background.

along its west courtyard. The east wall is of greatest importance since it preserves evidence regarding the possible dating and functioning of the building (Figs 4.89 & 4.90). It runs along the east side of the west courtyard and under the Holy Bema of the chapels. The northern and southern parts of this wall follow a straight line and in the middle section a projecting semi-circular apse begins to form exactly under the later chapel's (Timios Stavros) smaller apse. This earlier apse covers the entire width of the south chapel. The entire east wall has been built in a single construction phase. The northern corner of the east wall is not preserved since it lies beneath the north chapel's east wall. The earlier apse and walls, which are preserved up to a height of 1,5 m, are being threatened by local flora as today they are partially covered by low vegetation. The southern straight part of the wall stops at a distance of 3,5 m south of the earlier apse and forms an angle with the second vertical wall, which has a west orientation. Today, the chapel's west side of the courtyard is delimited by the traces of this earlier south wall (Fig. 4.91).

It is clear that both walls belong to the same structure and construction phase, as is observed by the way they are joined together in the south-eastern corner. Concerning the masonry, they have been built with large paving stones of different sizes in *opus pseudo-isodomum* since the rows of courses do not match but run unequally, regarding the height and length of the blocks. The preserved dimensions of the walls indicate that they belonged to a large building, much bigger than the present-day humble religious complex, which could have acted act as a landmark within the rural landscape, visible from many points of the plain. Its prominent position and orientation indicate a connection with the northern and central part of the Eastern plain of Paros as well as with the region of Naoussa.

Having considered all the information presented above, on the basis of the form and the orientation of the walls we can identify the earlier structure as a religious building; a type of three-aisled basilica with a projecting central semi-circular apse. The preserved walls belong to the east and south sides of the basilica and correspond to the eastern wall of the apse of Holy Bema and the south wall of the south aisle. This formation of the Holy Bema area with one projecting apse at the eastern end of the nave is a

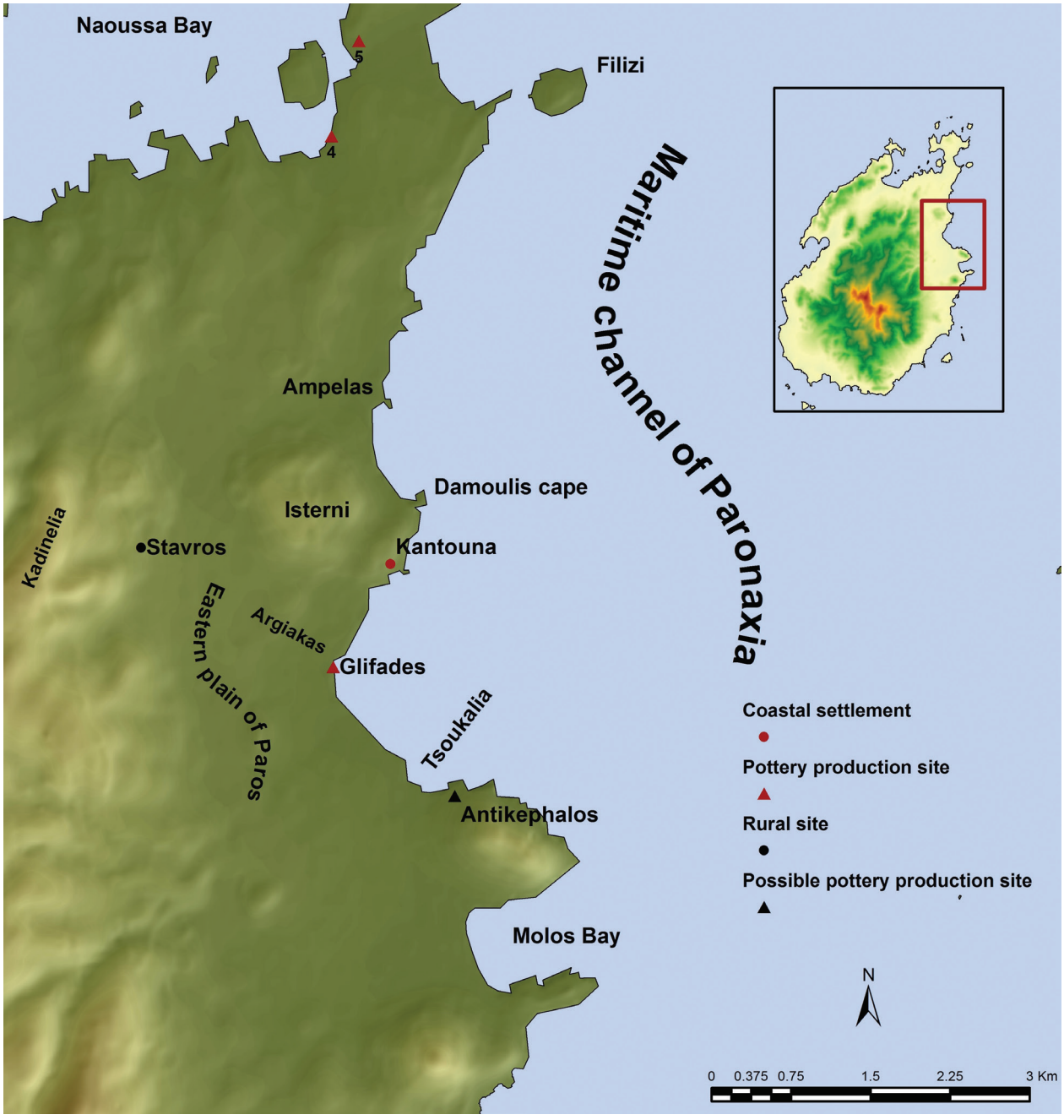


Fig. 4.87: Distribution of the Late Antique sites in the north part of Paros's east coastal zone.

typical characteristic of the Late Antique Christian basilicas in the Aegean (Pallas 1977; Krautheimer 1992). There are numerous examples not only on the Aegean islands but also on Mainland Greece and Asia Minor. In the following centuries basilicas with only a large central apse were rarely found in the Aegean. The formation of a tripartite Holy Bema (with a central large apse flanked by two smaller ones) has been observed in the basilicas of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (Gkioles 1987, 49-60). It is difficult to calculate the exact length of the structure since its entire west part has been covered



Fig. 4.88: The twin-naved church of Timios Stavros (south) and Agios Georgios (north) at Stavros.



Fig. 4.89: View of the pre-existing Early Christian basilica's east wall.

by modern cement. However, we can estimate the possible width of the basilica. The width of the side aisles is measured at about 3,5m while the width of the nave was approximately 5,5 m.Therefore the total width of the basilica could be around 12 or 13 m. Thus, it is quite possible that it has, more or less, the same size as the basilica of Tris Eklissies in the periphery of Parikia, which measured 20,90 x 14,80 m (Orlandos 1960a, 246-257; 1961, 184-190; AD 1963, 298-301).

In terms of architecture and plan, the eastern preserved part of the structure bears many similarities with the Early Christian basilicas, with the central projecting semi-circular apse at the eastern end of the Holy Bema, and therefore can be generally dated to the Late Antique centuries. The erection of the present-day church in a later period supports the

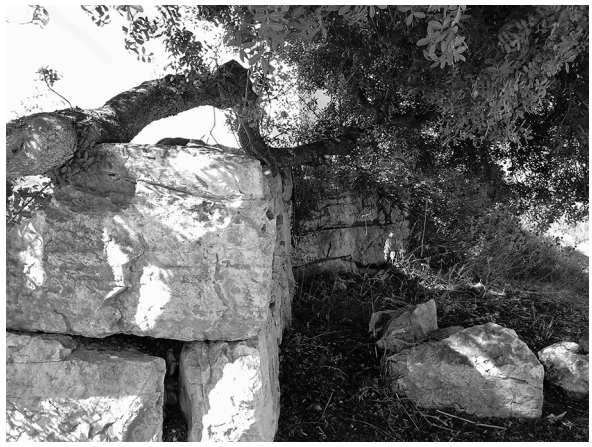


Fig. 4.90: View of the Early Christian basilica's apse.



Fig. 4.91: View of the chapel's modern yard with the remains of the earlier basilica's south wall.

aforementioned hypothesis. As is mentioned above, the construction of small churches at the sites of Early Christian basilicas is a common phenomenon on the island of Paros, as is also observed in the cases of Agios Georgios at Voutakos and Tris Ekklisies in Parikia. In the case of Voutakos the present-day church occupies the area of the Holy Bema of the basilica (apse), while in Tris Ekklisies there was more than one chapel erected on the central, north and south parts of the ruined basilica. At Stavros the chapel of Timios Stavros occupied the Holy Bema area of the earlier church whilst the north chapel lies on the eastern part of its north aisle. For the erection of the present-day chapel, older material was possibly used, as indicated by the marble spiral colonette incorporated into roof above the apse.

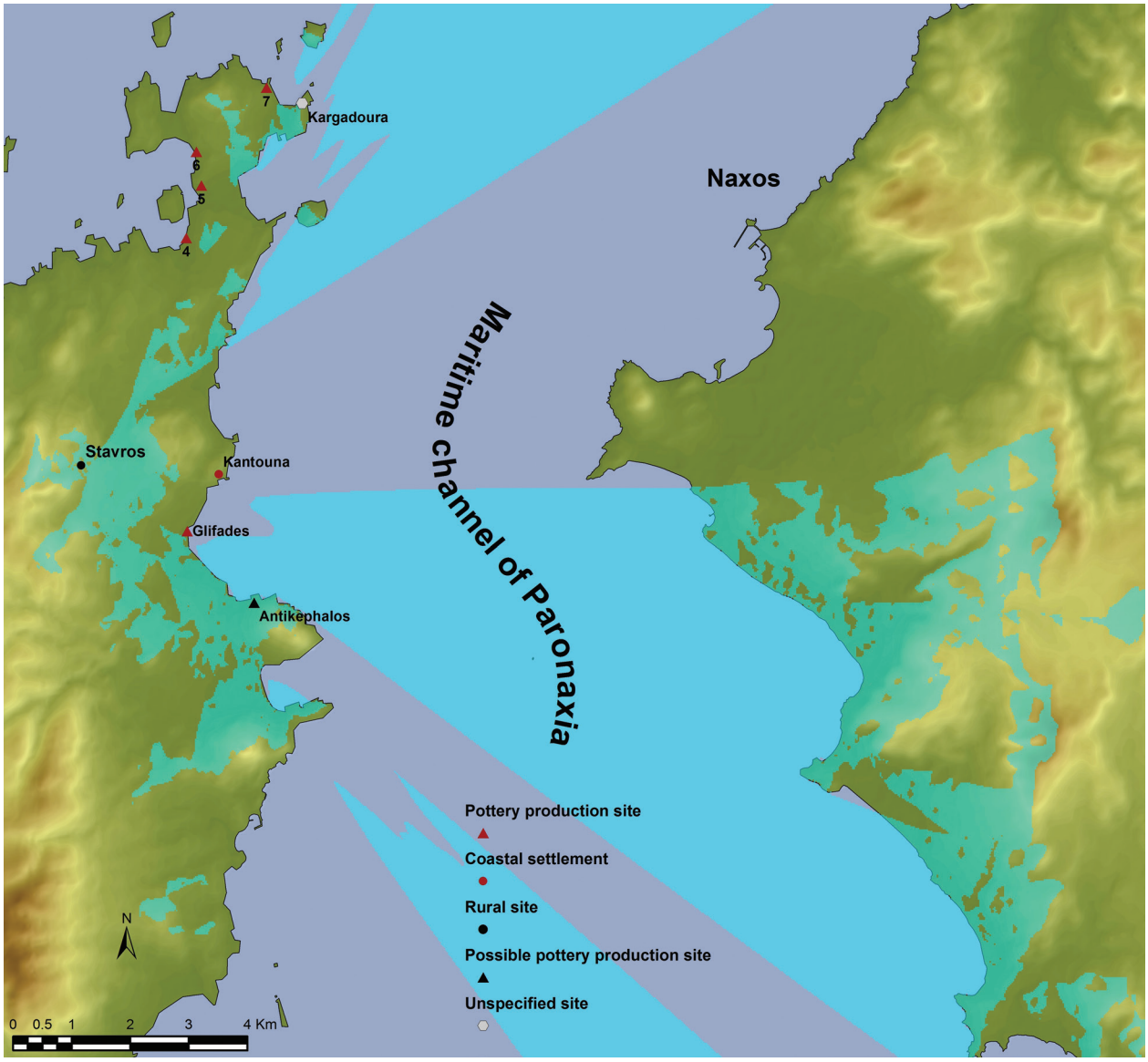


Fig. 4.92: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Stavros. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

In the surroundings of this small religious complex large private residences have been built while an important part of the free land has been covered by dense low vegetation, making it inaccessible. Despite these obstacles, during personal observation at the site a concentration of surface ceramics was identified in an area of approximately 100 m around the church. The largest concentration of pottery was found immediately east of the church. An *in situ* examination of this pottery suggests the material dated to different periods but a percentage of the finds belonged to Late Antique vessels. They are composed mostly of common coarse wares and amphora fragments (LRA 1) that could be dated between the 6th and 7th century.

A combination of all the aforementioned architectural, ceramic and topographic evidence suggests that on the slightly elevated area of Stavros in the northern part of the eastern plain of Paros a village community was probably located (Fig. 4.87). The early Christian basilica under the present-day church possibly functioned as the main church of

this community, witnessing in connection with the surface ceramics and the few marble sculptures that the settlement underwent an important Late Antique phase. It is difficult to determine the size and the plan of the settlement. At Stavros is probably reflected a rural type of nucleated settlement which is directly connected with a coastal plain and is located on the lowest slopes of the central mountainous range of Paros close to the coast with easy access to the sea.

The application of viewshed analysis shows that the location of the site is prominent since it overlooks any place within the eastern coastal zone of Paros, from the north-eastern part of the Bay of Naoussa up to the region of Molos and Mt Kephalos to the south. It also provides partial visibility of the maritime channel between Naxos and Paros (Figs 4.86 & 4.92). The view of the ancient city of Naxos is blocked by the opposite hill of Isterni and, in that way, the site is partially invisible from the sea. Therefore, the selected location overlooks the largest part of the eastern plain, providing direct connection between the settlement and land qualities or water resources in the surroundings; important features for the founding of the initial settlement and development during history (Antrop 1987, 1990). At a distance of less than 800m southeast of Stavros, the Argiakas River (a dry river today) crossed the plain from west to east until the middle 20th century, flowing down to the sea in the coastal area of Glifages. Another important element which has also been mentioned in the case of Marathi is the settlement's possible connection with the Bay of Naoussa. The site is located at a close distance to the wider region of Naoussa (less than 4 km) and has partial visibility of the areas of Xifara and Agii Anargiri, the locations of the Late Antique amphorae workshops of the bay's east side.

Future intensive surface surveys will show if this settlement was connected with a number of dispersed rural sites across the rich cultivable land of the central northern part of the eastern plain of Paros, as has been observed in the cases of Naoussa and Piso Livadi (see more in Chapter 4.5.4). In this respect, the Late Antique basilica could have acted as the main landmark in this coastal rural landscape dominating a nucleated settlement with a prominent location, visible from any point in the northern and central part of the plain. It also reflects a pattern of Christianisation of the rural landscape. This rural settlement supports the general picture of intensive rural activity across the coastal plains of Paros in Late Antiquity. Its immediate proximity to the coastline allow us to assume that local agricultural produce was transported either to the coastal amphorae production centre of Naoussa, which flourished during the same period, or to the smaller production site of Glifades (see more in Chapter 4.5.3). In this respect, this hypothesis supports the rural expansion on the island during Late Antiquity and the concentration of agricultural produce from the countryside or coastal plains to the main or secondary export point.

Unfortunately, at the moment, due to the lack of excavation or intensive survey in the area, it is difficult to ascertain the fate of this settlement during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Therefore, this site does not appear on the map with the sites of Paros dated to the 8th and 9th centuries since there is no relevant evidence of continuity or discontinuity so far.

4.5.3 The settlement pattern along the coastline of Isterni, Glifades and Tsoukalia

The study area is a large open shallow bay which extended between the Cape Damoulis (north) and the Cape Antikephalos (south) along Paros's eastern coastal zone (Figs 4.85 & 4.93). It is located opposite the neighbouring island of Naxos (the region of the promontory of Stelida and the ancient city of Naxos) overlooking the important naval channel of Paronaxia. It constitutes a coastal micro-landscape threatened with extinction because of the intense wave activity, which causes strong erosion and collapse of large parts of the coastline. The north, northwest and northeast coastline of Paros receives the highest amount of wave power (Evelpidou *et al.* 2010, 293). Thus, the study area is a rapidly transformed natural environment and consequently valuable archaeological information is lost year by year (Fig. 4.94). Especially the north part of this bay from Glifades to Cape Damoulis changes dramatically, as it is strongly affected by powerful southeast winds.

As required by this thesis, in 2015-2016 field observations were conducted by the author at the area along the shoreline between Cape Kephalos in



Fig. 4.93: View of the large open bay between the Cape Damoulis (north) and the Cape Antikephalos (south) along Paros's eastern coastal zone.

the south, and the modern settlement of Ampelas in the north. This coastal zone was selected for further investigation due to the localised natural features of its landscape (formation of small and large bays and proximity to extensive fertile land and water sources) and its advantaged location in the naval channel of Paronaxia. The *in situ* examination of surface material was extended to the full length of the shoreline (approximately 9,5 km), but covered only a 200 m zone from the beach to the island's interior. In general terms, this coastal landscape appears to have been very busy during Late Antiquity presenting a picture of heightened human activity along the shoreline (Fig. 4.87).

Approximately 3,5 km southeast of the Bay of Naoussa, 1,5km south of the present-day region of Ampelas and 1,1 km west of Stavros is located the area of Isterni (Fig. 4.85). The micro-landscape is dominated by a low hill (alt. 113 m), which stands like an isolated natural landmark amidst a relatively flat



Fig. 4.94: The study area is a rapidly transformed coastal natural environment due to the highest amount of wave power.

coastal zone. To the east, in the area of Kantouna, the hillside slopes down to the sea creating a relatively steep coastline with two shallow coves. However, it seems that during antiquity this coastal landscape was slightly different, as the two consecutive coves were,



Fig. 4.95: View of the area of Kantouna (from Cape Antikephalos). The area of the settlement is indicated.



Fig. 4.96: View of the Late Antique coastal settlement at Kantouna. The area of the ancient city of Naxos is in the background.



Fig. 4.97: Pottery fragments from the coastal settlement at Kantouna.

probably, deeper and more protected from the strong winds. The north cove was especially delimited by two projecting small promontories, as indicated by today submerged rocky formations and a rocky tiny islet located only 20 m off the shoreline (Figs 4.87 & 4.95). At a slightly elevated site (about 10 m above sea level) in the area of Kantouna a relatively large Late Antique coastal settlement was identified. The site is located a few metres southwest of the present-day chapel of Agios Nikolaos. Although a part of the settlement has collapsed and lost to the sea, large amounts of surface ceramics occupy an area of approximately 2,5 ha along the coastline and the lower eastern slopes of the Isterni hill (Figs 4.95 & 4.96).

A careful *in situ* examination of the surface pottery material showed a high concentration of Late Antique material producing tangible evidence that the site can be classified as a coastal village (Fig. 4.97). It contains a high percentage of common domestic wares (storage jars and cooking pots), few imported table wares (Red Slip fine wares) and a large number of amphora fragments. The commonest shapes include the securely dated amphorae of the LR1 and 2 types. The site must have been a permanent settlement, as indicated by the variety of ceramic forms for domestic use (vessels for transport, storage, and food processing).

Regarding the location of the site the settlement's sea orientation is apparent. It is located right opposite the ancient city of Naxos overlooking a great part of the naval channel between Paros and Naxos from north to south (Fig. 4.98). From this point of view, it was strategically located along important maritime trade routes. It makes sense to assume that this coastal community during Late Antiquity was associated with small port infrastructures along Kantouna's eroded shoreline. On the other hand, in the southwest, the settlement is adjacent to flat areas with more fertile soils, despite the fact that the presence of Isterni's low hill separates it from the coastal zone's interior. This low hill makes this settlement invisible from the interior of the coastal zone but visible only from the sea.

Approximately 1 km south of Isterni is situated the coastal area of Glifades; dominated by a large almost straight sandy and pebbled beach. At its northern part, the Argiakas River (a dry river today), after crossing the eastern plain from west to east flows into the sea. Approximately 950 m south of the Late Antique coastal settlement of Kantouna and 50 m north of the river, at the beginning of Glifades's beach is located an unknown pottery production site, dated to the period of Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.87). It is a slightly elevated coastal area (less than 7 m above

sea level) which today stands at the edge of the cliff close to the sea. According to the locals, until recently (a couple of decades ago) the architectural remains of a kiln were visible at the edge of the cliff (Fig. 4.99). However, the intense wave power and human activity have caused collapse and erosion of this coastal micro-landscape and consequently the remains were lost to the sea. The picture emerging through the careful *in situ* examination of the huge quantities of surface ceramics, suggests the existence of a coastal industrial zone specialised in the production of amphorae (Fig. 4.100). The highest percentage of the surface material belongs to the securely dated amphorae of the LR1 type. It is quite important that a great number of over fired wasters of this type have also been discovered.

This is the first tangible evidence of the existence of a pottery production site during Late Antiquity along the island's coastline, except for the bay of Naoussa. This new, probably smaller amphorae production centre is located approximately 5 km southeast of Naoussa. When considering the location of the site it's made clear that there is a spatial relationship between the ceramic workshop, the Late Antique settlement of Kantouna and part of the best agricultural land of the eastern coastal plain. According to the general context discussed above in the case of Naoussa, it seems highly probable that smaller industrial sites and port installations were positioned in strategically located sites along the coastline of the island functioning as collection points for the local exportable agrarian surplus. Along this part of Paros's eastern shoreline a pottery production centre and a coastal settlement were developed to become the gateways where the local production was collected and exported to wider markets within the transport of amphorae produced *in situ*. In this respect, it appears the region flourished during Late Antiquity, as it benefited from its proximity both to the most fertile plains on the island and maritime commercial networks.

Finally, further south of Glifades in the lower slopes of Mt Antikephalos is located the area of Tsoukalia, characterised by a small sandy beach (Figs 4.85 & 4.101). The coastal Mt Antikephalos (alt. 171 m) dominates this landscape overlooking not only the east Paros's interior but also the naval channel of Paronaxia. Large numbers of pottery fragments are scattered all over the surface of this promontory's north steep slope. A careful *in situ* examination of this material produced tangible evidence dating over the course of the Late Antique centuries. The highest



Fig. 4.98: View of the ancient city of Naxos and the naval channel of Paronaxia from the Late Antique settlement at Kantouna**.**



Fig. 4.99: View of the area of the unknown pottery production site at Glifades.



Fig. 4.100: Pottery fragments from the pottery production site at Glifades.



Fig. 4.101: View of the lower slopes of Mt Antikephalos.

percentage of the surface material belongs to the amphorae of the LR 1 type. The fact that that a small number of over fired wasters have been discovered is also important. Despite the fact that more evidence is needed, it is possible that another pottery production site could have been located in the wider area of the northern slopes of Mt Antikephalos. The site provides direct visibility of the Glifades workshop and the Kantouna settlement overlooking the entire large open bay, characterising this coastal landscape. It is located at a distance of approximately 2 km southeast of the workshop and 3 km south of the settlement.

Evidence from this part of Paros's eastern shoreline suggests a vibrant insular community during Late Antiquity, consisting of a network of pottery workshops, coastal settlements and small anchorages (Fig. 4.87). It presents a picture of a microcosm open to external contacts and influences, fully interacting with the broader world and actively participating in the wide Mediterranean trade networks. At the same time, the area was probably connected with the internal production of the island. The high percentage of Late Antique surface pottery material shows this specific geographical space flourished through agriculture, industry and trade.

What is, however, most important in this case is that all the sites discussed above present traces of human activity during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Among the large amounts of Late Antique pottery that was recognised, a much smaller but extremely valuable group of ceramic can be dated to the Early Middle Ages (Figs 4.97 & 4.100). As is also observed in the case of Naoussa a group of ceramic fragments, mostly amphorae, bears similarities with the well-published Early Byzantine pottery from the Saraçane excavation in Constantinople (Hayes 1992). With this in mind, we must reconsider older views regarding the total abandonment of the island's coastal zones between the 7th and 9th centuries. At the moment, we cannot be very accurate regarding the nature and extent of this human activity. Thus, it is unknown if pottery production continued, even at a smaller scale, for some time after the 7th century. Additionally, it is difficult to ascertain how large the settlement at Kantouna was during the Early Middle Ages.

Despite the fact that full comprehension is hard to obtain, it is clear that important changes took place in this landscape following the late 7th century. This specific geographical coastal space was mostly dependent on inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes of Late Antiquity. Presumably, the transformations occurred after the late 7th century have had a strong impact not only on its role in the commercial networks but also on the local economy. Nevertheless, the new evidence suggests a human presence in this coastal landscape during the 8th and 9th centuries. Thus, this landscape continued to be settled and in many ways modified by humans in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. We should not forget that this coastal zone on Paros was probably located in the most well protected maritime zone of the central Cyclades, as indicated by the establishment of at least three important fortresses on the islands of Viokastro, Naxos and Ios (see more details in Chapter 5.3.9). Moreover, as will be demonstrated below, across the opposite coastal zone of Naxos settlements were located very close to the sea. A future more intensive surface survey of this specific area would contribute more supplementary evidence to support this view.

4.5.4 The settlement pattern in the regions of Archilochos and Marpissa (Kato Choria) in the south part of the plain

The modern regions of Archilochos and Marpissa (or Kato Choria as the locals call the wider area) are located along the south-eastern part of Paros's extensive eastern coastal plain. It is a fertile flat zone which contains the modern villages of Prodromos, Marmara, Marpissa, Piso Livadi and Dryos (Fig. 4.85). The bay of Molos is well-protected

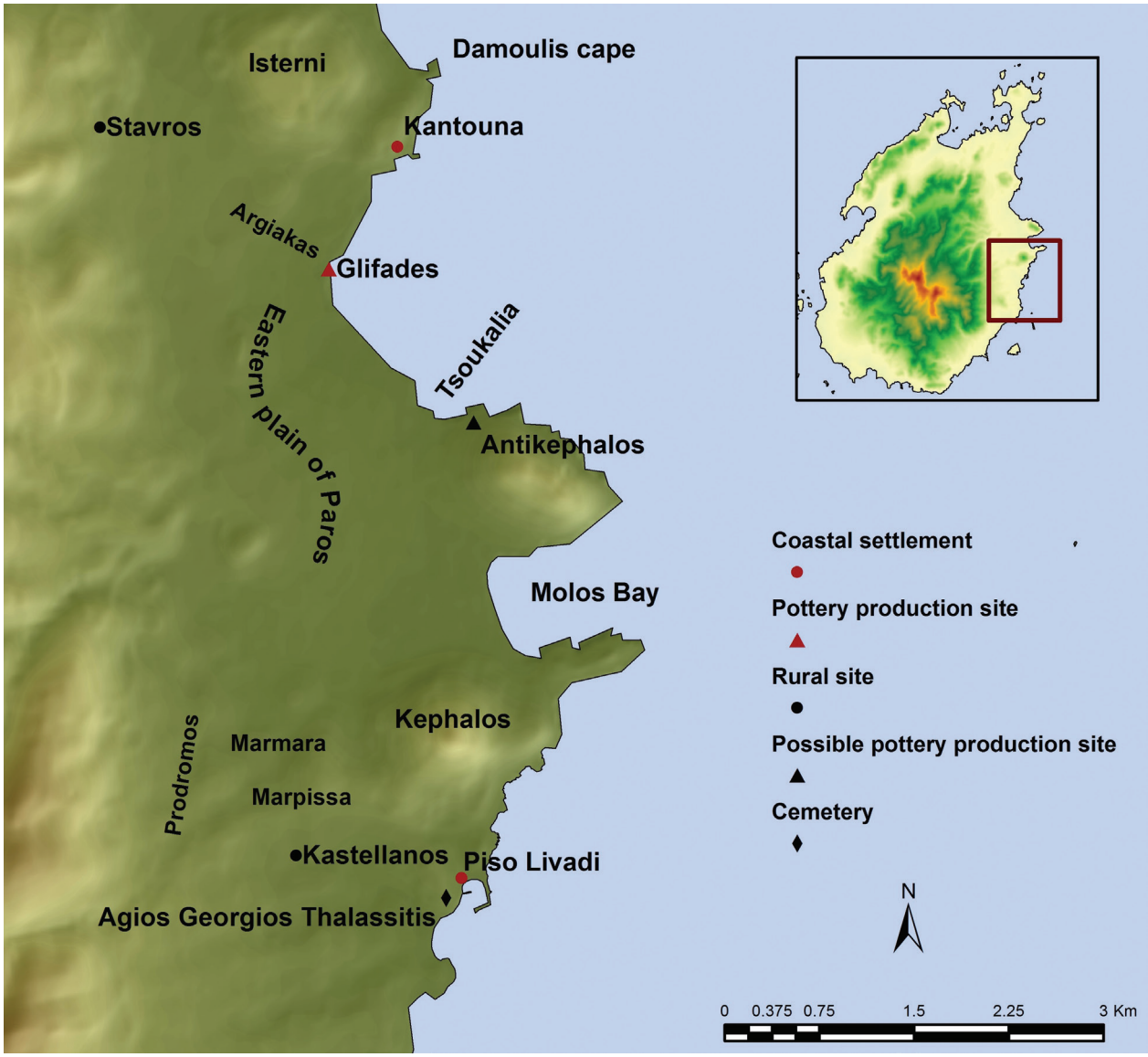


Fig. 4.102: Distribution of sites in the regions of Archilochos and Marpissa (Kato Choria).

as a result of the strong winds flanked by the facing hills of Kephalos (alt. 229 m) and Antikephalos (alt. 171 m) which dominate this coastal landscape.

The earliest traces of human activity in the area can be dated to the Archaic and Classical periods as indicated by a large number of marble *spolia* incorporated into churches of the village Marmara (church of Pera Panagia) and the hill of Kephalos (Aliprantis 1975, 88-92; Vionis 2006, 465, 2012, 142; Kourayos 2015, 54-55). However, at the moment, *in situ* architectural traces of the earlier period have not been discovered. An intensive survey was carried out on the hill of Kephalos and its immediate surroundings by Vionis, producing interesting results for the region's settlement pattern during the medieval period (2006, 2012). A fortified Venetian settlement was identified on the top of Kephalos hill, with cisterns, churches, domestic structures and towers. In addition, a number of hamlets and small-village sites were discovered scattered around the plain west, south and north of the Kephalos castle, mainly concentrated around rural chapels from the late Venetian period or early



Fig. 4.103: View of the ruined twin-church of Agia Anna and Koimissis tis Theotokou (Assumption of the Virgin) at Kastellanos. The modern village of Piso Livadi is discernible in the background.

Ottoman times. These settlements are dated between the 13thand 16th centuries and were associated with or depended on the castle of Kephalos (Vionis 2006, 481-484, 2012, 187-195).

Despite the density of information regarding the settlement pattern of medieval times, our knowledge for the period from Late Antiquity to Byzantine Early Middle Ages is limited due to the lack of relevant studies. We only have a few fragmented pieces of evidence, the evaluation of which can give us an initial impression concerning the habitation and area's land use in Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.102).

Approximately 500 m southwest of the present-day village of Marpissa, in the area called Kastellanos, is located the ruined twin-church of Agia Anna and Kimissis tis Theotokou (Assumption of the Virgin). Nowadays, the church lies amid a rural landscape with rich cultivable lands at a distance of approximately 1400 m northwest of the small fishing port of Piso Livadi (Fig. 4.103). On the basis of the examination of surface ceramics concentration, Vionis argued that between the 14th and 16th centuries the site, which covered an area of 0,25 ha to the northwest of the church, was occupied by farmhouses, as has been observed in other sites in the region during the same period (2006, 483, 2012, 191-192, figs 6.127-6.128). For the construction of the chapels marble architectural sculptures from a Middle Byzantine church dated to the first half of the 11th century have been re-used (Pennas 2000, 10-12). Marble fragments of *epistlye*, top of a panel and piers of a *templon* have been used as window frames on the north wall, and incorporated into the west facade and the north chapel's interior.

According to Vionis the site seems to be multi-periodic as concentrations of Classical/Hellenistic and Late Antique surface ceramics are scattered northwest of the church (information kindly provided by A. Vionis). Therefore, a small rural site was located at Kastellanos even during the course of Late Antiquity. At the moment we can make some reasonable interpretations regarding the character and function of the site in this micro-landscape, on the basis of observations of surface ceramics and parallel examples from Paros and other regions in the Aegean. An *in situ* examination of surface ceramics, during personal observations at the site in 2015, showed that the concentration of Late Antique pottery is heavily dominated by transport and storage ribbed-amphora sherds from the 6th or 7th centuries. It seems that, in the case of Kastellanos traces of the existence of a rural *villa* or a farmstead appear, as has been observed in the countryside of Boeotia during Late Antiquity (Bintliff *et al.* 2007). The site of Kastellanos finds parallels with the small rural site around the chapel of Theoskepasti at Kravga in the region of Naoussa. At Kravga and Kastellanos, small rural sites were located at slightly elevated locations within coastal plains at a close distance to the port installations.

About 1200 m southeast of the twin-church of Agia Anna and Kimissis is located the barrel-vaulted single aisled church of Agios Georgios Thalassitis (Fig. 4.104). It lies on a steep low hill between Logaras and Piso Livadi. On the basis of frescoes the church is dated to the second half of the 13th century (Mitsani 2000, 115; AD 2000, 1007, fig.2). According to Vionis, it is difficult to identify the site as a medieval settlement, due to the extensive modern building activity around the church in the recent years making it impossible for surface surveys (2006, 483, 2012, 193, figs 6.131-6.132). However, as he points out, the church was presumably connected with a coastal community in the late Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods.

In 2004, a small-scale rescue excavation was carried out by the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities around the church of Agios Georgios Thalassitis (AD 2004, 209-210, plan 7, figs 76α-β-ε). Architectural remains of walls, built of rubble masonry, and seven cist tombs were unearthed (Fig.



Fig. 4.104: View of the medieval church of Agios Georgios Thalassitis.

4.105). On the basis of pottery material and metal finds (bronze buckle) found within the graves, the excavators dated the cemetery to the 6th or 7th century. The walls belong to an unspecified structure which was, possibly, constructed at a later stage after the 7th century when the cemetery ceased functioning and was abandoned (AD 2004, 210). This discovery added a new site on the map of Late Antique Paros, however we need to move further in order to evaluate and interpret the available evidence.

This Late Antique cemetery is located approximately 110 m from the sea and some 250 m from the modern fishing port of Piso Livadi (Fig. 4.106). It is hard to imagine that this burial site was not connected with a nearby coastal community. Thus, it makes sense to assume that this cemetery was associated with a coastal settlement from the 6th or 7th century situated in the area of the modern settlement of Piso Livadi. At the moment, it is difficult to ascertain how large this community was in Late Antiquity due to extensive recent building activity in the area. However, in this case it seems that we have the settlement model with twofold orientation similar to that at Voutakos (see more in Chapter 4.6). The Late Antique settlement at Piso Livadi is located in a coastal region overlooking the south entrance of the channel between Paros and Naxos, and offering good visibility to the maritime zone between Paros, Naxos, Iraklia and Ios (Fig. 4.107). The site's clear sea orientation makes the existence of, possibly, small harbour infrastructures associated with the settlement quite plausible. Until the present day the fishing village of Piso Livadi is the



Fig. 4.105: Schist grave in the yard of the church of Agios Georgios Thalassitis.



Fig. 4.106: View of the modern small village of Piso Livadi. The church of Agios Georgios Thalassitis is located on top of the hill, hidden amid the modern touristic structures (view from Google Earth).

largest port in the whole south-eastern coastal zone of the island and the haven of the modern villages of Prodromos, Marmara and Marpissa. As a result of this prominent position, the possible local port could

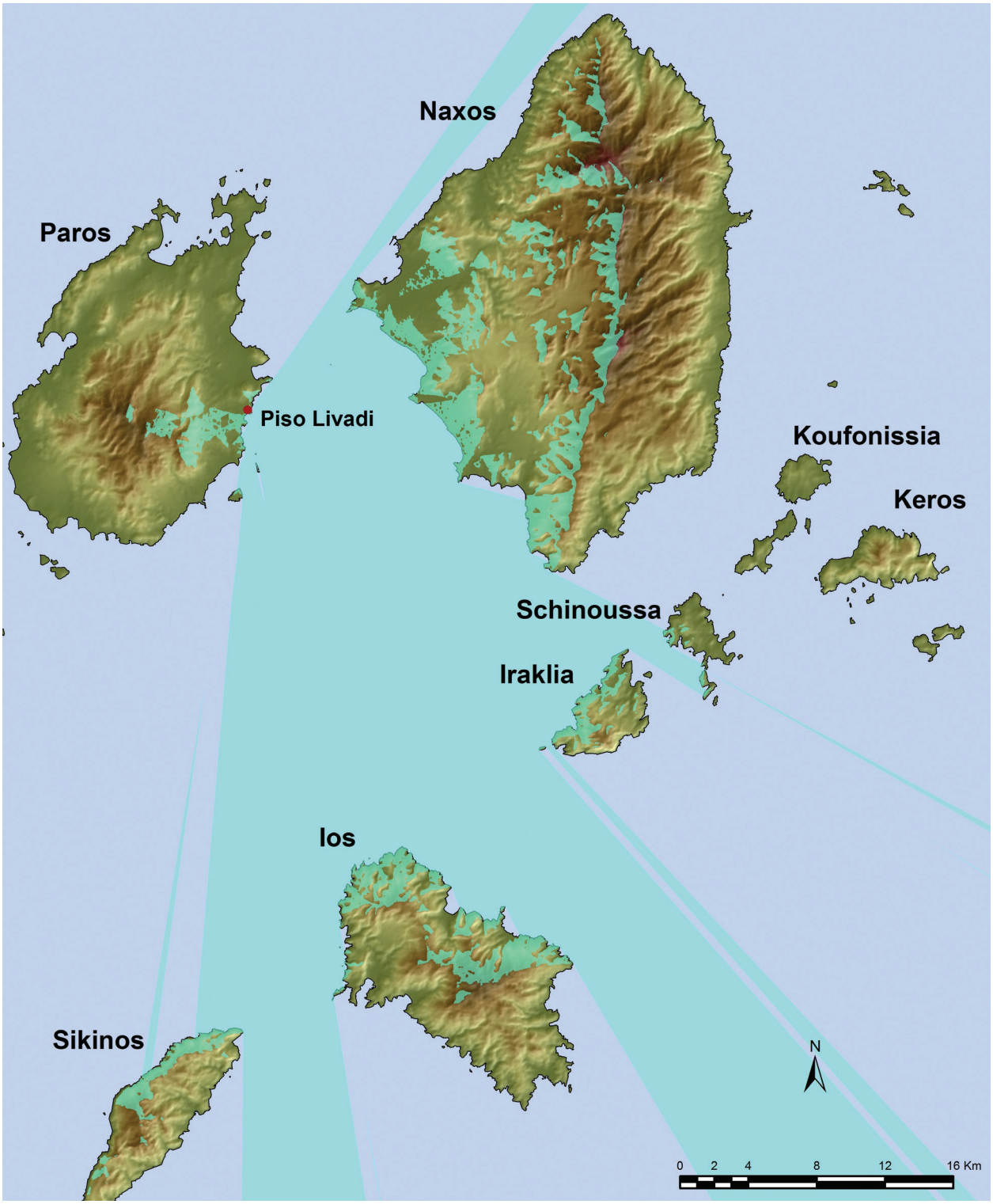


Fig. 4.107: Viewshed analysis showing what is visible from Piso Livadi. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

be fully integrated into maritime trade routes that passed through the sea channel of Paronaxia during the period in question. On the other hand, its visual relationship with the rich cultivable land of this flat coastal landscape indicates a connection between the area's sea gateway and the rural activities that took place in the interior of this coastal fertile zone (Fig. 4.107). Thus, the port of the coastal settlement at Piso Livadi, as is in the case of Voutakos, could have served not only as a convenient stepping stone within the maritime networks providing shelter for ships but also as a regional distribution centre of local rural surpluses.

In conclusion, having considered the aforementioned limited but valuable evidence, we can present an initial picture concerning the settlement pattern across the south-eastern part of the eastern plain of Paros during Late Antiquity. It seems that this region corresponds to a settlement pattern with dispersed small rural sites across the coastal zone's interior associated with at least one small port (Fig. 4.102). This suggests agricultural use of land and rural communities within the plain as well as a commercialisation of rural produce in the 6th and 7th centuries, as has been observed in many other regions of Greece (Bintliff 2012b, 353-360). It is probable that, this rural activity did not reach the relatively high level of the period between late 13th and early 16th centuries in the same area (Vionis 2006, 491, 2012, 195). At the moment we have the traces of only one satellite small rural site at a close distance to the sea and harbour within the plain. A future intensive survey in the region would contribute more evidence to support this theory.

The construction of the later unspecified structure at the site of the cemetery after the 7th century suggests a kind of coastal human activity in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Apart from this general dating, we do not have evidence about the use and the lifetime of this building. Ceramic material from the opposite west coasts of Naxos shows that settlements in the course of the late 7th and 8th centuries were also situated in coastal zones only a few kilometres off the shore, with the population participating in sea trade (Vionis 2013, 30-31; see more in Chapter 5.3). However, in the case of Piso Livadi the unspecified structure lies almost on the coastline. At the moment, this is the only trace of human activity in the region dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It might therefore be an indication that life along the Paros's coastline did not completely disappear during the course of the 8th and 9th centuries. As has been observed at the majority of the Late Antique sites on Paros the limited traces of this evolution indicate important socioeconomic changes on the island and the Aegean Archipelago.

4.6 SOUTHWEST PAROS

4.6.1 Landscape and micro-topography

The southwest part of Paros consists of the modern areas of Sotires, Glisidia, Pounta, Kampos, Voutakos, Aliki and Agkeria (Figs 4.5: V & 4.108). The mountains of the island's interior slope down to the coast and create a relatively large coastal fertile plain (Fig. 4.4b) which dominates the entire region, connecting all the aforementioned areas. The local morphology is characterised by the presence of steep coastal cliffs as well as sandy or pebbly beach zones, forming several small bays relatively sheltered from wave activity. The main modern villages in the southwest part of Paros are Aliki, which is the largest settlement in the region, and Agkeria which is located about 1 km east of Aliki. The remainder of the area is covered by scattered private residences, tourist infrastructures and rich cultivated land. Unfortunately, the construction of two airports in close proximity of each other (the new larger airport of Paros is located less than a kilometre southeast of the old smaller one) in combination with immense building activity and the modern quarries in Agkeria have resulted in a huge environmental disaster changing the local landscape.

The whole region lies opposite the neighbouring smaller island of Antiparos which communicates with Paros by ferry via the small port of Pounta. At its narrowest point the channel between Paros and Antiparos measures less than 1nm. The sea landscape of the channel also contains many uninhabited rocky islets, such as Revmatonisi, Mikronisi, Panteronisi, Tigani and Saliaggos (Fig. 4.108). The whole region is exposed to south and southeast winds. The fishing shelter of Aliki is separated by no less than 15 nm from Ios, 17 nm from Iraklia, 18 nm from Sikinos, and 22 nm from Folegandros.



Fig. 4.108: Map of the Late Antique sites in the southwest part of Paros.



Fig. 4.109: View of the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Georgios at Voutakos. A large number of marble sculptures have collected along its north wall.

4.6.2 The region of Voutakos: a settlement with twofold orientation

The Voutakos region is a coastal zone which is an important part of the wider south-western plain of Paros (Fig. 4.4b). It is geographically situated along the southwest coast of the island, between the regions of Magano and Kampos and the village of Aliki, opposite the neighbouring island of Antiparos (Fig. 4.108). It overlooks the south entrance of the channel between Paros and Antiparos and offers good visibility of the maritime space between Ios, Sikinos and Folegandros.

Despite the fact the area is well-endowed with antiquities, it attracted little attention from scholars, remaining an almost unexplored but promising field of research. In the early 1960's, small-scale excavations were carried out at Voutakos by the Greek archaeologist Eirini Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou at a site approximately 450 m from the coastline (see more information about Eirini Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou in Aliprantis 1989). Unfortunately, the excavation results were never published while the trenches were covered again by modern backfill and are not visible today. In 2001-2002 Vionis in collaboration with the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities carried out a field survey in the area of Voutakos as part of a larger project that took place at locations on south-west, north, and south-east Paros (2006, 463).

There are only limited indirect but valuable bibliographical references about what Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou discovered at Voutakos. Brief mentions by Orlandos in his publications about Paros informed us that at Voutakos architectural remains of a Late Antique basilica were unearthed (1961, 113, note 3; 1969, 199 note 3, 204 fig.23; Pallas 1977, 205). Unfortunately, no further evidence is provided, and therefore, we know nothing about the plan, dimensions, function and specific features of this religious building. However, the most tangible and direct evidence derives from the basilica's sculptural decoration. In a later period, probably during the Middle Byzantine centuries a humble chapel dedicated to Agios Georgios was erected on the ruins of the early basilica (Fig. 4.109).

Marble sculptures from Voutakos

A large number of marble sculptures from the basilica were incorporated into this small single-aisle chapel. Furthermore, an impressive collection of marble architectural members dated to different periods were collected in the courtyard and the chapel's interior (Figs 4.109 & 4.110). Nowadays, the church of Agios Georgios, owned by a local family, is located in the courtyard of its private premises.

This marble sculpture material and the surface ceramics are of the highest value because they hold the key to a better understanding of an unpublished and unknown monument from Late Antique Paros which is associated with an important settlement. The study of the various marble sculptures from Voutakos can provide answers to some crucial problems involving the chronology of the building,



Fig. 4.110: View of the interior of the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Georgios at Voutakos. A large number of marble sculptures from the basilica have incorporated into the *templon* and the Holy Bema.

function of local sculpture workshops as well as trade connections and nature of the associated settlement. The principal aim of this chapter is not to offer a detailed catalogue of sculptures but, primarily, to connect all this new evidence to other data in order to investigate economic, social and cultural behaviours contributing to the reconstruction of the settlement pattern in the wider south-western plain of Paros.[4] The sculptures from Voutakos remained unknown and unpublished for a long time. Orlandos briefly mentioned the existence of two closure slabs, publishing only two drawings (1969, 204, fig 23).

The marble sculptures found at Voutakos fall into three distinct categories: a) those from the decoration of the Late Antique basilica, b) those from earlier public monuments of the region (mostly from Roman period) and c) those from oil or wine processing facilities. The following brief catalogue contains the most characteristic examples of all categories.

The sculptures of the first group from the basilica can be further categorised as: i) various pieces with simplified and stylised decoration, probably carved locally from Parian marble and ii) imported prefabricated pieces from Constantinople. Starting with the various pieces with simplified and stylised decoration from the basilica, we can also distinguish two subgroups mainly based on the decoration of the sculptures. The most typical examples of this category are marble closure slabs and piers, all reused in the construction of the later chapel. The majority of them are preserved in a very good conservation status.

The first subgroup consists of two marble pieces decorated with Latin crosses with an incised technique:

- The first example is, probably, a marble rectangular pier (preserved height with the base: 1,02 m; height without the base: about 0,78 m; width: 0,41 m) built in the west facade of the later chapel, at the north side of the narrow entrance (Fig. 4.111). Despite the fact that it is covered by many layers of lime we can recognise the decoration. A large banded monogrammed Latin cross with expanding ends appears in incision (height: 0,72 m; width: 0,39 m). It is a cross monogram with an open R (rho). On its horizontal arms the cross is decorated with ivy leaves. On top of the pier a rectangular simple base to support, probably a colonette, has been integrated. The shape of the pier from Voutakos bears similarities with a much larger pier from the chancel screen of the basilica of the Tris Ekklisies in the region of Parikia (Fig. 4.31). The narrow sides of the pier are not visible today however we can identify traces of mortise for fastening closure slab along, at least on one side. The existence of a base on the top in connection with the traces of mortise indicates that the pier belonged to a high *templon* (chancel screen).



Fig. 4.111: Marble rectangular pier built in the west facade of the later chapel, on the north side of the narrow entrance.



Fig. 4.112: Both sides of the marble closure slab built on the south side of the *templon* of the later chapel.

- The second example is a marble closure slab (height: 0,78 m; width: about 0,55 m) with similar

4. My deepest acknowledgements should be addressed to the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities for kindly granting me permission to study the sculpture material of the basilica at Voutakos.

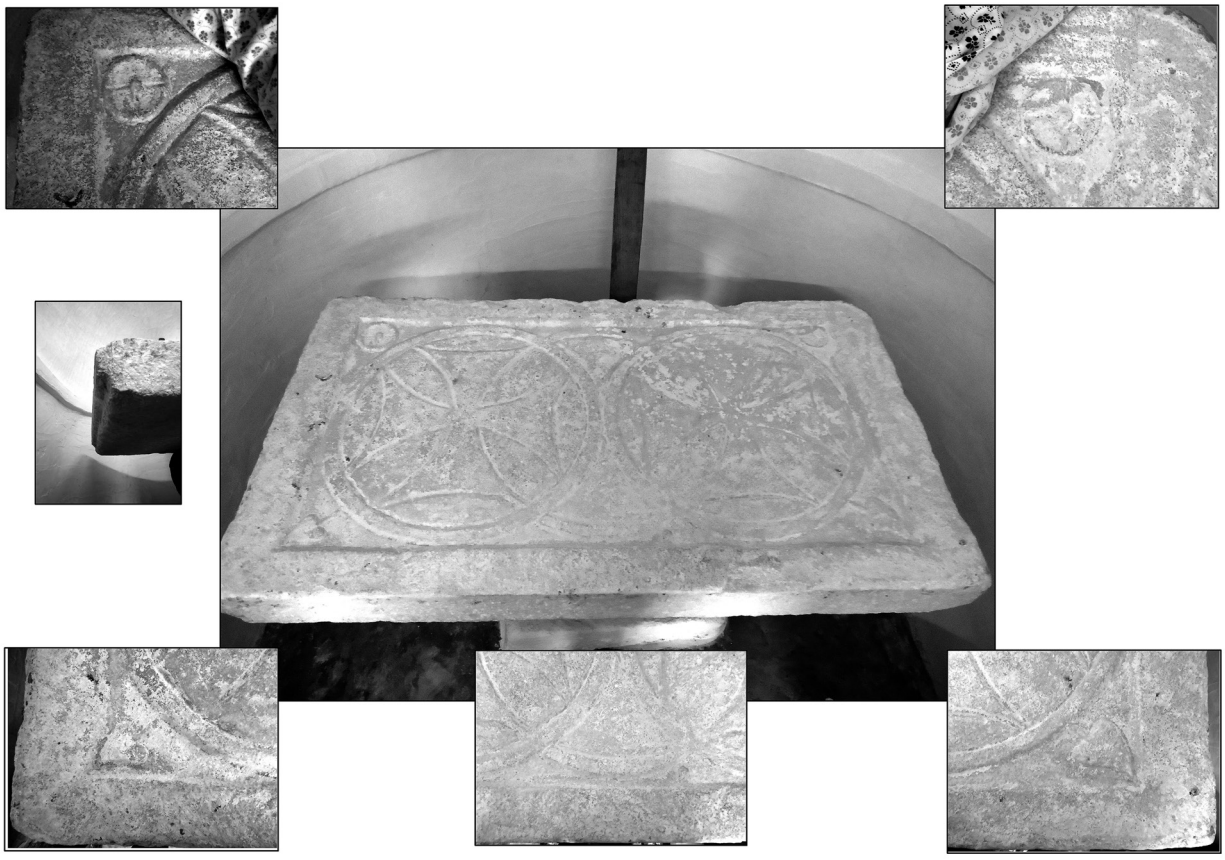


Fig. 4.113: Closure slab from the Late Antique basilica with decoration details.

style and decoration built on the south side of the later chapel's *templon* (Fig. 4.112). A large banded monogrammed Latin cross with expanding ends on a stepped base (height: 0,72 m; width: 0,42 m) is depicted in incision while a four-leave rosette fills the space between the arms of the cross on the upper section (diameter of the rosette: 14 cm). The cross, which is also a monogram with an open R (rho), is decorated with ivy leaves on its horizontal arm. Along the narrow side of the slab, traces of a tongue for fastening of the panel with a pier can be identified. There is no decoration on the back side.

The second subgroup consists of three closure slabs decorated with a composition of circles and Greek crosses.

- The first example is a complete preserved marble closure slab used today as a *mensa* of the later chapel and rests on a large impressive Roman Corinthian capital (Figs 4.113 & 4.114). It is measured 1,31 m in length, 0,73 m in height and its thickness is 13 cm. The dominant part of the composition, which consists of two banded tangential medallions, is carved in incision within a strong banded rectangular frame (width of frame along the long sides: 8,5 cm; along the short sides: 9,5 cm). Each circle has 0,54 m diameter and encloses an incised Greek cross with expanding ends. Two banded arcs connect the two circles filling the triangular spaces formed in the axis of the composition. Each circle is decorated with two ivy leaves, which occupied the two lower corners of the slab. The two corners of the upper section are decorated with rosettes. The ornamental motifs that decorate the four corners of the slab have been carved in low relief. On the back side of the slab there is no decoration, and tongues for fastening are preserved on both short sides.



Fig. 4.114: The Late Antique closure slab is used today as a *mensa* of the later chapel and rests on a large impressive Roman Corinthian capital.

- The same composition but on a smaller scale is depicted in a fragmentary preserved marble closure slab built on the south side of the later chapel's *templon,* under the panel of the first subgroup (preserved height: 0,64 m; preserved width: 0,60 m) (Fig. 4.115). Only the first bounded incised circle enclosing a Greek cross with expanding ends is completely preserved. The circle's diameter reaches 0,38 m. The sculpture breaks at the beginning of the second medallion. A banded arc connects the two circles filling the triangular space in the axis of the lower section of the composition. Part of the strong banded rectangular frame is preserved (width of frame along the long sides: 10 cm; along the short sides: 11 cm). We can identify traces of a rosette in the corner of the preserved part. The decoration of the other corners is completely missing. There is no decoration on the back side.

- Another interesting example of the first group is a complete preserved marble closure slab incorporated into the roof of the chapel (preserved height: 0,89 m; preserved width: 0,53 m). A composition of intersecting circles is carved in height relief within a strong banded rectangular frame (Fig. 4.116). The two central circles enclose small Latin crosses.

Sculptures from the first category share some common features. First of all, they are characterised



Fig. 4.115: A small marble closure slab built on the south side of the *templon*.



Fig. 4.116: The marble closure slab incorporated into the roof of the later chapel.

by simplified but diligent decoration. Secondly, there are some common decorative elements, main or secondary, which are depicted almost in all cases. The symbol of a cross is the most dominant ornamental pattern and appears consistently in all examples. The

Latin or Greek cross, either as a simple motif or as a more complicated composition with circles, stepped base, monogram, foliate ornaments or a combination of all these, appears very frequently in the Christian sculpture during Late Antiquity and often occurs in the sculptural decoration of the Aegean basilicas. Especially on Paros we can find the cross symbol in a variety of types carved on capitals, columns, closure slabs, piers and bases of the sculptural decoration of the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani (Mitsani 1996-1997; 2006) and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies (Orlandos 1960a; 1969; AD 1963). Additionally, most of the compositions are bedecked with ivy leaves and rosettes as secondary decorative motifs.

On the other hand, the most obvious differences are observed in the design and workmanship of the compositions. The sculptures from the first subgroup are characterised by rough workmanship with the decorative elements which are given in a high stylised manner. The simplest compositions of crosses decorated with the ivy leaves have not been depicted symmetrically following a very rough sketch. In contrast, the examples from the second subgroup are characterised by the clarity of design while the decorative elements are carved in a more elegant manner. The more complicated compositions with the circles and the crosses give the impression of absolute symmetry of individual decorative elements.

The new sculptures from Voutakos find many parallels in iconographic and stylistic terms with parts of the sculptural decoration and liturgical furnishing of the main church of Ekatontapiliani and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies, which are attributed to local craftsmen (Mitsani 1996-1997, 329-330). Having considered all the evidence mentioned above, we strongly suggest the sculptures from the first category from Voutakos were produced locally by regional sculpture workshops. The homogeneity of the decorative patterns suggests they come from the sculptural decoration of a single Late Antique basilica, which had been erected at this site and are contemporary works. The differences in design and workmanship can be attributed to the work of different craftsmen within the same workshop. The great similarity on the basis of decoration and dimensions of the two pieces of the category's first subgroup indicates they both can be associated with the chancel screen of the basilica.

Concerning the chronology of the first category, we can generally place the sculptures over the course of Late Antiquity, but it is difficult to set a more exact date. We should not forget that dating the products of local sculpture is sometimes problematic due to the lack of archaeological context and well-published examples in the Aegean from the majority of the basilicas. In the case of Voutakos if we accept the local sculptures belonged to the same phase with the two-zone basket capitals (see below), we can suggest that they are also dated to the second half of the 6th or the early 7th century.

The second group of the first category (sculptures from the basilica of Voutakos) comprises of three small but valuable marble fragments of two-zone capitals decorated with animals.

- The two largest fragments preserve part of the body, neck, shoulders and wings of birds (less than 10 cm in length) (Fig. 4.117). The third one



Fig. 4.117: The group of three small marble fragments of two-zone capitals decorated with perching doves.

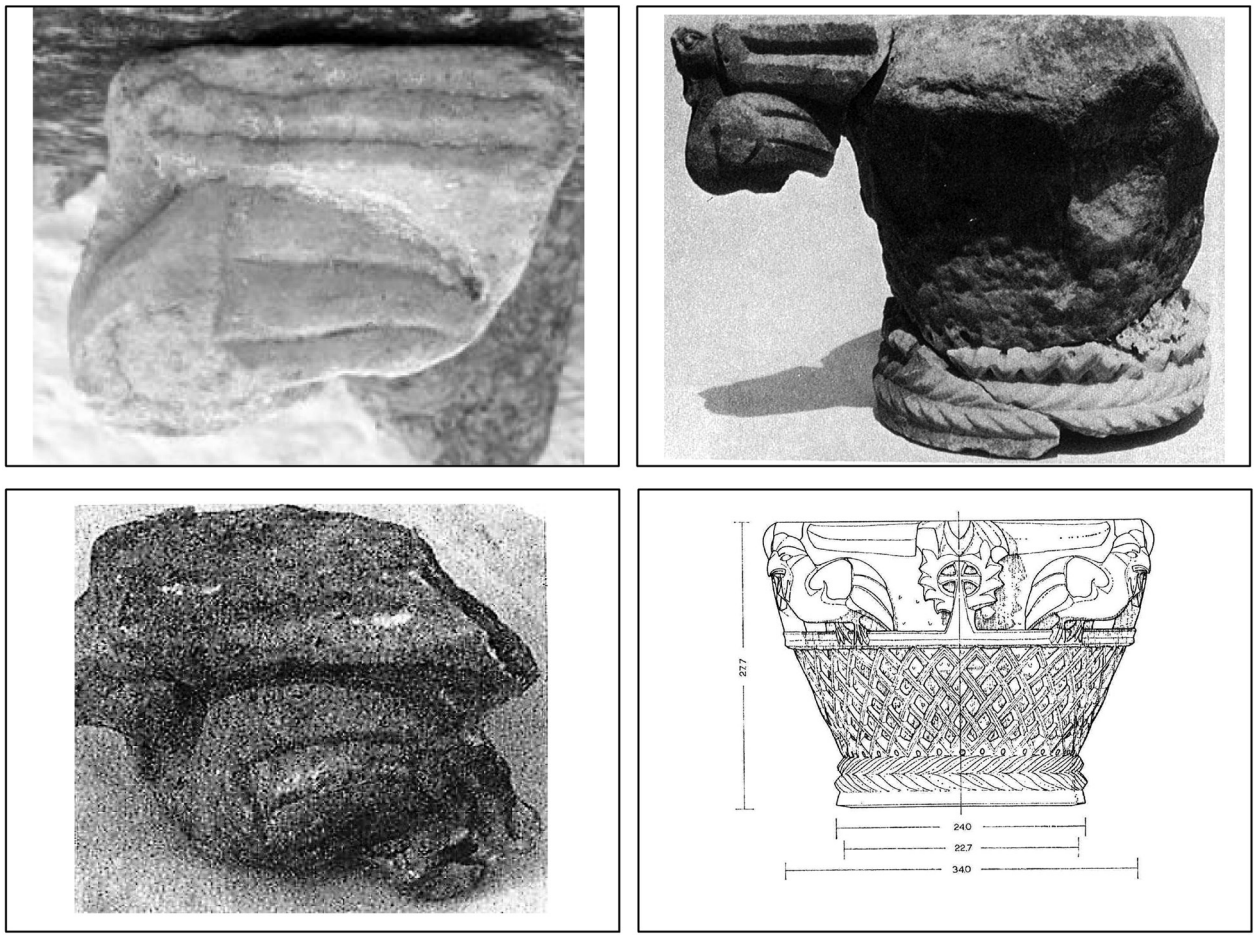


Fig. 4.118: The fragment from Voutakos and similar examples from Thassos (Sodini & Kolokotsas 1984, fig.41, pl.15a-16a).

is preserved in very poor conservation status. They all belonged to the upper register of two-zone animal capitals, preserving part of the abacus with corner birds.

The relief presentation of corner birds is a common feature which appeared in the type of the two-zone animal capitals. Two-zone capitals constitute a small series with many variations and a few examples each, produced from the middle 5th to the early 7th centuries (Kitzinger 1946; Sodini 1984, 234-243; Sodini & Kolokotsas 1984, 38-45, map 42; Barsanti 1989, 150-166). A relief band often divides the capitals of this group into two horizontal registers. The upper register is usually decorated withbusts of rams, lions, eagles, griffins, peacocks or doves in various combinations, often paired with *cornucopias*, Christian symbols (cross or chrism), and simple floral patterns at the corners or at the centre of each side. The lower register is usually decorated with finely indented acanthus leaves, basket weave or elaborate, deeply cut-back floral patterns.

The Voutakos two-zone capitals probably followed a conventional decorative repertoire. The corner birds can be identified as small perching doves. Capitals of this group are divided into two registers by a wide relief horizontal band. The upper register is adorned with relief presentation of perching doves occupying the four corners, as if supporting the four corners of the abacus on their heads. Two doves alternate with two *cornucopias* or vegetal patterns at the centre on each of the four sides. The lower register is usually being rendered as a basket or is decorated with palmettes or other floral decoration.

The Voutakos two-zone capitals have more parallels with the group of the so-called “two-zone

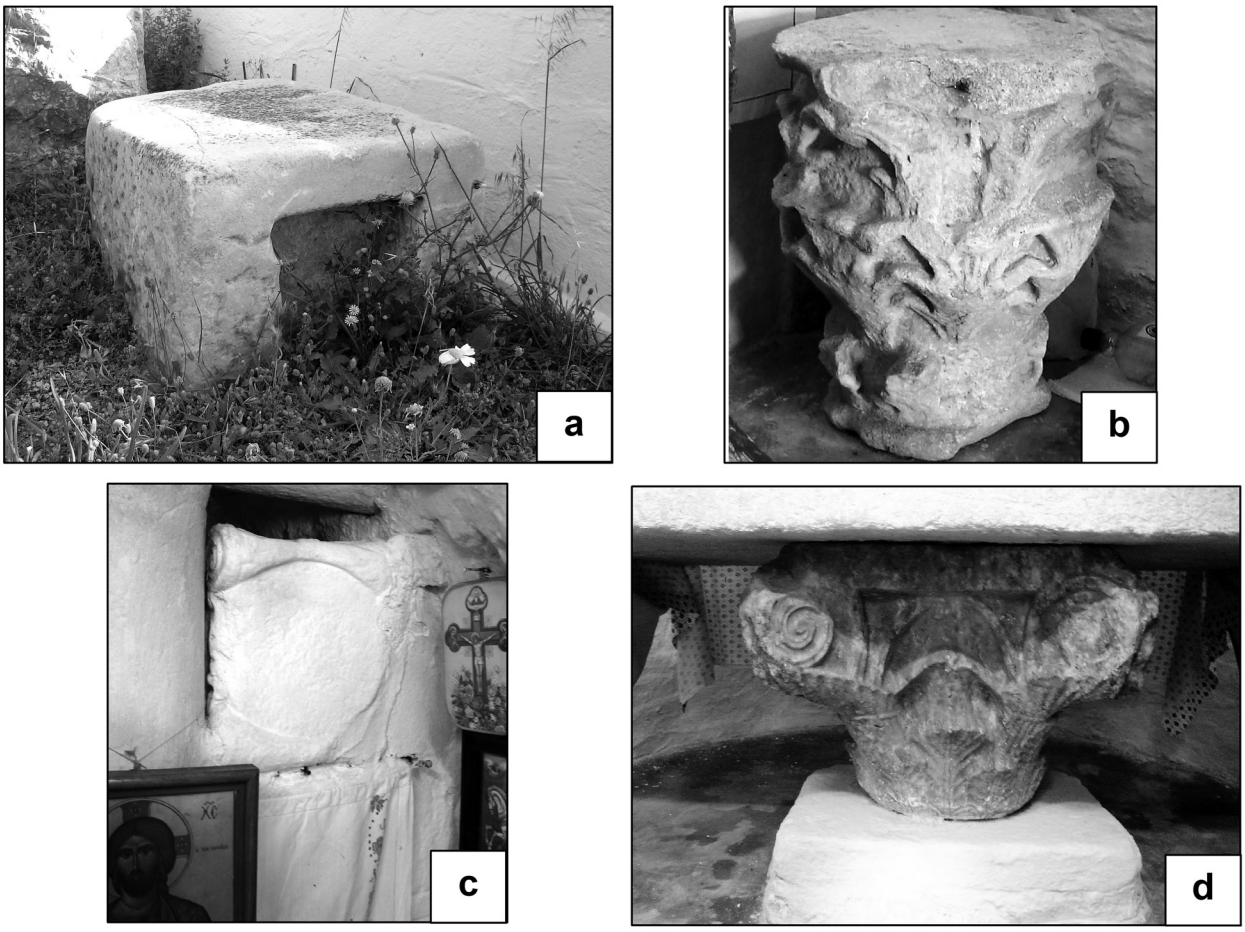


Fig. 4.119: Sculptures from earlier public monuments in the region of Voutakos.

basket capitals". This type was exported from the quarries of Proconnesus and has been discovered in Thasos (Alyki), Corinth (Lecheaio), Bargala, Thessaloniki, Nicopolis, Amorium (Basilica A), Crete, Rhodes, Italy, Beirut, Egypt and Tripoli (for the two-zone basket capital and the earlier diffusion of this type in a province far from the capital see Sodini & Kolokotsas 1984, 38-45, map 42; Sodini 1984, 234-243). Although we do not have secure evidence about the lower register's kind of decoration, the great similarity between the fragments of the upper register from Paros and the complete capitals from Alyki on Thasos, in connection with other well preserved examples from the eastern Mediterranean indicate that the capitals of the basilica at Voutakos probably belonged to the type of the two-zone basket capitals (Fig. 4.118).

It is unknown in what position the capitals were originally placed, nor their total number. The busts of the birds were short and belonged to rather small capitals. Thus, it is quite possible that the examples from Voutakos were intended to adorn a liturgical installation, such as the *ciborium* or the chancel screen. The use of the variations of two-zone capitals in *ciboria* over the *altar* has been confirmed in the Euphrasian Basilica at Poreč in Croatia (two-zone capitals with eagles in the upper register and a row of standing palmettes in the lower register: Russo 1991, 81–83, figs 66–68). The *ciborium* of Katapoliani on Paros offers a characteristic example of the use of small imported capitals from Constantinople in liturgical installations (small fold capitals: Mitsani 1996-1997, 330-333). Although the marble of the fragments from Voutakos has not been analysed, it most probably originated from the quarries of Proconnesus.

The small marble carvings from Voutakos provide invaluable evidence since they constitute

the only secured source of information about the chronology of the basilica. On the basis of stylistic observations they are very close to the well-published capitals from Alyki on Thasos which have been dated to the second half of the 6th or the early 7th century (Sodini & Kolokotsas 1984, 45). Therefore, it is most probable that the two-zone basket capitals were imported to Paros from Constantinople sometime in the second half of the 6th or the early 7th century to adorn the *ciborium* of the basilica at Voutakos. The Voutakos two-zone capitals also provide additional evidence for the commerce in marble and the wide distribution of Constantinopolitan sculptures in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 6thand 7th centuries. The small fold capitals and marble column shafts from the *ciborium* of the large basilica of Ekatontapiliani, which were regarded as the work of experienced craftsmen from Constantinople, in connection with the two-zone animal capitals from Voutakos suggest that during the 6th century prefabricated sculptures were transported by sea from the imperial centre to Paros in order to adorn the churches being built on the island. The fragments of imported capitals are important given that they testify to the large diffusion of Constantinopolitan models and products in this empire's far-away province.

The second category comprises a group of numerous ancient marble sculptures which have been collected around the chapel or have been reused in its construction. We can briefly mention two Roman Corinthian capitals (Fig. 4.119b-d), an Ionic capital (Fig. 4.119c) and several Ionic bases, huge marble blocks with grooves (architectural members) (Fig. 4.119a) and many fragments of columns (Fig. 4.109). This extremely valuable material suggests that Voutakos was a multi-periodic site. As indicated by the impressive complete or fragmentary preserved Roman Corinthian capitals, the settlement underwent an important phase during that period, maintaining a monumental character with large public buildings as main landmarks. A closer look at the marble of some sculptures indicates that several pieces were imported to Paros from other regions of the Empire. Thus, this material and the imported two-zone basket capitals discussed above suggest the strong relationship between this settlement and the maritime commercial networks. It seems that, this maritime settlement developed on the southwest coast of the island was fully integrated into the broader sea routes in the Roman and Late Antique periods. According to local narratives some of the ancient sculptures were discovered accidentally in the surrounding fields and were moved to the chapel over the course of the 20th century. On the other hand, it is possible that a number of the ancient sculptures or architectural members were used as building material for the construction of the basilica, as indicated by the other basilicas on the island.

Finally, the third category comprises a marble olive- or wine-press bed discovered accidentally in the surrounding fields and moved to the courtyard of the chapel over the course of the 20th century (Fig. 5.120). This piece comes from an olive or wine processing unit, which was likely to have been located within or very close to the settlement in the Roman or Late Antique period. This valuable information connects this maritime settlement with its surrounding agricultural landscape. It testifies to the strong relationship between the settlement of Voutakos and the extensive coastal plain in the southwest part of the island. It therefore makes sense to assume that the settlement interacted with the adjacent rural landscape at multiple levels during antiquity and Late Antiquity.

In conclusion, a combination of the aforementioned evidence suggests the basilica at Voutakos was endowed with marble decoration of locally carved and imported sculptures. It could be a three-aisled basilica with a ground plan similar to the church of Tris Ekklisies in the periphery of Parikia, which is the most common type appearing in the Aegean islands. As it also happened in the case of Ekatontapiliani the marble used in the basilica was probably a combination of local Parian variety, material from earlier pagan monuments and imported marble for the more lavish structures. Such a practice was a common feature in the basilicas of the eastern Mediterranean during Late Antiquity. Thus, the basilica of Voutakos is another example that suggests connections with the imperial centre of Constantinople and sculptor's activity in local workshops. Regarding the chronology and building history of the basilica full comprehension is hard to obtain because of the paucity of the available material and the absence of publication of the



Fig. 4.120: Marble olive- or wine-press bed from Voutakos.

excavated material. Nevertheless, the identification of two-zone basket capitals in conjunction with the general context of the island, make it reasonable to suggest a date between the second half of the 6thand the early 7thcentury. In this respect, the erection of the basilica at Voutakos can be placed in the general burst of church-building which is observed not only on the island of Paros but also in most regions of the Aegean during the course of the 6th century.

Surface ceramics from Voutakos

The study of the surface ceramic material suggests that Voutakos was a multi-periodic site. According to Vionis, large concentrations of Classical/Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman and Middle Byzantine surface ceramics are scattered across an area immediately north and west of Agios Georgios church (2006, 463). The high concentration of Late Antique surface ceramics, in a long distance around the basilica, indicates that a mid-sized community occupied part of Voutakos area during these centuries. At the moment it is difficult to determine the exact extent of the settlement. However, it seems the residential area occupied part of the flat coastal zone which was delimited from the northwest to the southeast by two low rocky hills. The site's south-western boundary is the sea (Fig. 4.121). The basilica was probably located almost at the centre of this settlement.

4.6.3 Placing Voutakos in a wider regional and Aegean context

The quality, quantity and large dimensions of the ancient marble sculptures that have been collected in the chapel of Agios Georgios in combination with



Fig. 4.121: Panoramic view of the region of Voutakos (view from Google Earth).

the large amounts of surface pottery from different periods, suggest Voutakos was a mid-sized coastal community with uninterrupted permanent habitation from antiquity until the 7th century at least.

The most critical question concerns the character and the interpretation of this site. The settlement at Voutakos is located in a coastal region which overlooks the south entrance of the channel between Paros and Antiparos, offering good visibility of the maritime zone between Ios, Sikinos and Folegandros. The site's south-western boundary is the sea. The apparent sea orientation of the site in connection with the formation of a shallow bay along its coast make quite reasonable the existence of an ancient harbour associated with the settlement (Fig. 4.121). These, probably, small port installations were located in the, protected by the wind, southern end of the bay (in present day a small fishing shelter is located there). As evidenced by sculptural and ceramic material, because of this strategically advantageous position, the settlement was fully integrated into the maritime trade routes that passed through the Cyclades during antiquity and Late Antiquity. New data from the examination of the sculpture material in the basilica which provides evidence of economic links between the settlement and the imperial centre of Constantinople in conjunction with an *in situ* examination of the surface ceramics and information kindly provided by Vionis, show that the settlement's population at Voutakos actively participated in the maritime trade in the course of the Late Antique centuries. Thus, the port of the coastal settlement at Voutakos could serve as a convenient stepping stone within the maritime networks providing safe anchorage for ships. It seems that, the settlement throughout Late Antiquity benefited from its proximity to these networks and interacted with the broader world.

On the other hand, it appears the settlement was not confined to merely commercial and maritime activities. The position of the settlement is geographically advantageous not only because of its proximity to sea and maritime trade networks but also because of its direct connection with the large fertile plain (Figs 4.4b & 4.121). As is mentioned above, the most fertile plains on Paros are situated along the island's coastal zone. The coastal landscape of Voutakos constitutes the south-western corner of

the wider south-west plain of Paros. The study of the micro-topography in combination with the discovery of an olive- or wine-press bed make sense to assume that the settlement at Voutakos could be associated with the agricultural exploitation of a large part of this rich cultivable land. As has been observed in the regions of Naoussa and Piso Livadi, it is probable that the mid-sized settlement at Voutakos was connected with a network of smaller satellite rural sites across the coastal plain with commercial agrarian production. In this respect, the port of Voutakos could have functioned as collection point for local agricultural products and distribution centre for wider markets. An intensive surface survey is needed in order to prove if this settlement pattern, evidence of which is found in the other plains of Paros, also appears in the south-western plain of the island during Late Antiquity. In any case, the port of the settlement at Voutakos constituted the nearest and more accessible exit to sea for agricultural produce in the area. From any site of the plain it is quicker and easier to approach the port at Voutakos than the island's main harbour in the city of Paros. In this respect, the inhabitants of the site interacted with rural landscape and population of this extensive coastal productive zone, which provided agricultural surpluses for exchange.

The evidence from the coastal site at Voutakos suggests that it was neither wholly urban nor wholly rural environment. Over the course of Late Antiquity, in the general context of transformation and changes in socioeconomic terms, it seems that, the settlement at Voutakos underwent a phase of rebuilding and adjusting to the standards and needs of the new era. Large or small ancient public structures were probably abandoned and decaying, offering an extremely rich source of building material. The most tangible evidence for this change continues to be the erection of the Christian basilica, presumably in the second half of the 6th or the early 7th century. The basilica emerged as one of the main landmarks of the Late Antique settlement at Voutakos. The placement of a basilica in this settlement reflects a process of landscape Christianisation.

Voutakos represents a model of settlement with double function reflecting an urban and rural character, in which we can identify, at the same time, maritime and agricultural orientation. The fact that, this coastal settlement is surrounded by rich cultivable land and was integrated into maritime trade networks, in conjunction with trademark signs of semi-urban life, such as architectural traces of a religious building, local and imported marble sculptures, and fragments of domestic pottery on the surface ceramics, reflect an economically vibrant local community. The evidence discussed above indicates that the inhabitants of Voutakos engaged in commercial activities as traders, but also dealt with the exploitation of the fertile rural landscape and the sea. Therefore, agriculture was also a crucial economic source for the inhabitants of Voutakos which lived not only by commercial and fishing activities, but also by the exploitation of land and the commercialisation of rural produce. The local society of south-western Paros would therefore have consisted of merchants, landowners (large landowners, small-holders or tenant farmers), craftsmen, fishermen, as well as religious and state officials. This new reading of landscape dynamics and material evidence from Voutakos, suggests that over the course of Late Antiquity it functioned as a crossroad settlement of maritime commercial networks, interacting with the broader world, while concurrently functioning as the main gateway to south-west Paros, interacting with this coastal productive zone and its rural population.

The erection of a Christian basilica, which is an important aspect of Christian monumentalisation, reflects not only continuation of habitation and building activity but also the appearance of a new local elite fully adapted to the new cultural, ideological and economic changes. Moreover, as has been observed in the Keos Survey, as well as in Mainland Greece, the intensive rural activity during Late Antiquity has been connected with small or large estates where the absence of evidence of villa life suggests that landowners were not in residence (Cherry *et al*. 1991; Bintliff 2012b, 353-360). Thus, it is possible the landowners, especially those who possessed extensive lands in the adjacent fertile plain, resided in the settlement at Voutakos, at close distance to their own land, which was cultivated by managers, tenants or wage-laborers on behalf of them.

The case of Voutakos can be integrated into the broad scholarly discussion concerning a type of settlement which seems to have appeared during

Late Antiquity and termed as a "locus of maritime traffic", "emporion" and "secondary city or town" or "satellite town" (for more about this discussion see Morrisson & Sodini 2002, 179-181; Dunn 2006; Deligiannakis 2008, 211-212; Haldon 2013; Veikou 2015b, 47-52). Voutakos bears strong similarities with coastal settlements in the Dodecanese and Cyprus. According to Deligianakis, the population of these settlements in the islands of the Dodecanese "lived primarily on the land as smallholders or tenant farmers, but also engaged in maritime activities as trades and fishermen, as well as in various kinds of craftsmanship" (2008, 211-212). These coastal settlements functioned as local markets, production sites and trade centres. They were connected with a number of rural villages, which produced agrarian surpluses. The harbours associated with the coastal sites acted as a "staging point" for the agricultural produce, which was collected and exported to wider markets. On Cyprus, a number of coastal settlements with urban and rural character present a picture of economic vitality in Late Antiquity (for further bibliography see Veikou 2015b). These sites were both integrated into maritime trade networks and related to inland populations who provided rural surplus for exchange. They possess religious architecture, obvious wealth and some civic amenities.

Concerning the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, as Vionis has pointed out, there is a gap in identifying surface ceramics at the settlement of Voutakos between the 8th century and the Middle Byzantine period (2006, 463). This information provides evidence of life in the settlement from Classical to Middle and Late Byzantine periods with the exception of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This phenomenon is also observed in other cases on the island of Paros (Protoria, Kastellanos) and could be interpreted in two ways: either as indication of an archaeologically low-visible community with reduced population and limited cultural production during the Byzantine Early Ages or as evidence of total abandonment of this coastal locality. In the first case, the material traces of habitation in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages must be extremely limited and cannot be traced by a small-scale surface survey. An intensive survey and excavations are needed in order to examine the validity of this hypothesis. In the second case, the settlement was abandoned for almost three centuries and re-established in the Middle Byzantine period.

In either case, once again the shrinkage or the abandonment of a relatively large flourishing coastal settlement with steady economy based not only on the maritime trade but also on the agricultural activities reflects radical changes in the socioeconomic context of the island and the Aegean Archipelagos during the so-called "Dark Ages". Unfortunately, at the moment it is difficult to prove any kind of continuation or definite discontinuation from Late Antiquity through the Dark Ages for the settlement at Voutakos. However, the fact that we can now trace a significant change that altered the character of the region after the 7th or 8th century is important. In the wider context of the revival of the Byzantine Empire in the course of the 11th and 12th centuries and the progressive establishment of the Byzantine supremacy over the Aegean Archipelagos the settlement at Voutakos shows traces of recovery. The church of Agios Georgios could function as the parish church of a village community smaller in size and population in comparison to the Late Roman period (Vionis 2006, 463).

4.6.4 The area of Episkopiana: a small rural site

The region of Episkopiana or Psychopiana (Επισκοπιανά or Ψιχοπιανά) is located between the areas of Sotires and Glisidia, about 5 km south of the port of Parikia and less than 4 km north of Voutakos (Fig. 4.108). It is set in the beginning (to the north) of the south-western plain of Paros, along the west coastal zone of the island. The area's micro-landscape is quite interesting. A tiny slightly elevated valley formed a relatively closed geographical space with well-defined limits, since the north is surrounded by Keraki hill (alt. 210 m), and the east and south by Moutsiko hills (alt. 297 m). From the west it has direct access to the sea and from the south access to the extensive south-western plain of Paros. The natural environment, nowadays, contains the so-called Valley of Butterflies (Petaloudes) in the eastern part of the region, a landscape of dense vegetation and an abundance of running water. Water comes into the valley from a natural spring all year around. The remains of a traditional watermill are also preserved in the area, indicating its diachronic



Fig. 4.122: View of the small chapel of Evagelistria at Episkopiana.

richness in natural water sources. Thus, it is apparent the region of Episkopiana lies beside a well-watered valley close to the sea, with limited but fertile arable land and a permanently high watertable.

Almost at the heart of this small productive farming zone is situated a small chapel dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin (so-called *Evagelistria sta Episkopiana*). It belongs to the cross-in-square church-contracted type (Fig. 4.122), dated, probably, to late the 13th or early 14th century, on the basis of architectural similarities with the church of Panagia at Archatos on Naxos (Dimitrokallis 1968b, 664-666; 1998, 194-195). Based on sculpture material incorporated into the church, Dimitrokallis suggested that an Early Christian basilica pre-existed at the same site. Indeed, marble sculptures such as mullions, fragments of monolithic unfluted columns, colonnetes, and column bases have been used as building material not only in the construction of the church but also in the walls of the courtyard (Fig. 4.120). This material could, generally, be dated to the Late Antique centuries and definitely comes from a Christian religious building. Unfortunately, no traces of architectural remains that could belong to an earlier ecclesiastical building are visible and therefore we cannot be sure of the existence of the basilica. In addition, the surroundings of the church have been covered by modern cement and a small family cemetery.

In topographical terms, the location of the church seems advantageous. It is a slightly elevated site offering good visibility of the maritime zone of Antiparos and a small but fertile farming productive zone. Thus, it has direct visibility and access to the sea, as it is located approximately 1,5 km east of the west coastline of the island. On the other hand, it is surrounded by the best quality land whilst it is situated at close distance to rich water sources (Fig. 4.123). Apart from the marble sculptures that can be dated to Late Antiquity, a large concentration of pottery fragments are scattered all over the surface of the surrounding fields immediately north and



Fig. 4.123: The view towards the west from the church of Evagelistria at Episkopiana.

south of the church. A careful *in situ* examination of the surface ceramic material has produced tangible evidence of village life during Late Antiquity. A plethora of common domestic wares, mainly storage jars and cooking pots, as well as some fragments of securely dated LR 1 amphora type were identified.

The consideration of the geographical features and archaeological evidence discussed above suggests the existence of a small rural community in the region of Episkopiana during the Late Antique period. The site can be classified, probably, as a small village. It seems that it represents a settlement model closer to the case of Stavros. Concerning the selection of location, in the case of Episkopiana a correlation between settlements is reflected; best quality land, landscape visibility, close supply of water and direct access to the sea. This rural community overlooked the north entrance of the southwest coastal plain of the island and the north entrance of the sea channel between Paros and Antiparos. It was located on a slightly elevated site amidst a productive farming zone where the surrounding fertile soils could easily be controlled. This type of settlement developed during Late Antiquity along the coastal zone of Paros, and adjusted to the diversities of the local landscape of the island. At the moment, due to the lack of excavations and intensive surface survey at the site, we cannot be very accurate when talking about the continuity of the use of the settlement from Late Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

Concerning Late Antiquity, in the case of Paros, currently, historical information and preserved material evidence are extremely limited between the 4th and 5th centuries. In contrast, our knowledge of the 6th and 7th centuries is significantly broader based on evidence from the religious monuments, marble sculptures, pottery and a limited number of tombs.



Fig. 4.124: Distribution of Late Antique sites on the island of Paros.

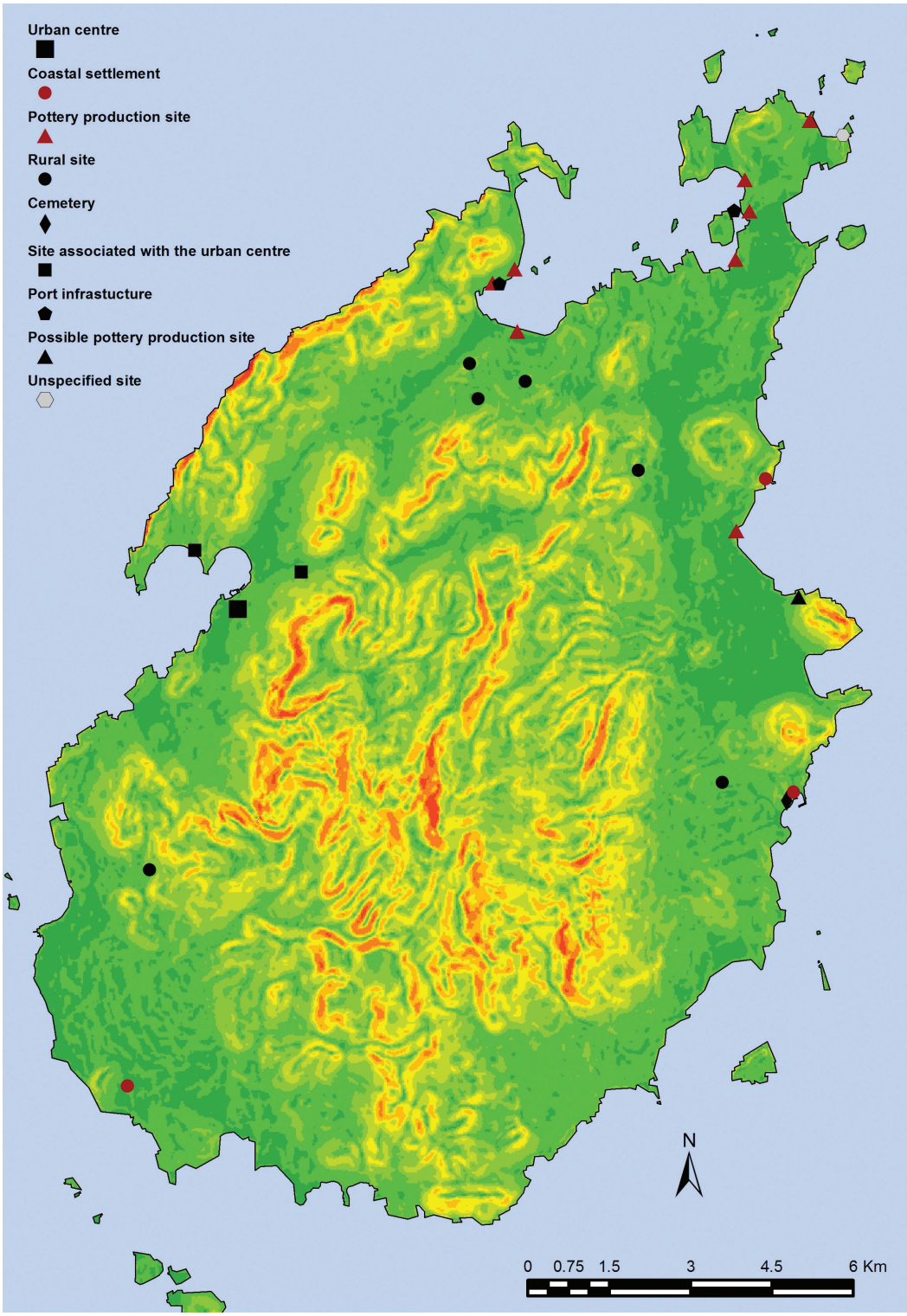


Fig. 4.125: Slope map of Paros showing the relationship between settlement pattern and land use zoning on Paros and Naxos during Late Antiquity.

Over the course of the Late Antique centuries, the archaeological evidence suggests that the ancient city-port of Paros possibly functioned, mainly, as a suitable regional trade station for the distribution of merchandise, acting as secondary warehouse or a transhipment harbour node. In this context, despite the fact that we lack archaeological or historical evidence, it makes sense to assume that the city-port of Paros also used for tax collection purposes and as repair and supplier station for merchant ships. Ceramic evidence from the area of the economically active port of the city testifies to commercial connections between the urban centre of Paros and the famous Mediterranean production centres of this period, such as North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria and Palestine. It is seems that Paros acted as a maritime crossroad in the middle of the Cyclades and its spacious and well-protected ancient port along the west coastline of the islands emerged as a suitable stopping place for the ships, people and merchandise that travelled through the Aegean Sea to different directions. Thus, the Late Antique city of Paros can be seen in the wider context of interaction, integration and connectivity.

The importance of the Late Antique city-port of Paros for the interests of the Eastern Roman Empire can be further established by the erection of the spacious, elaborate and expensive religious complex of Ekatontapiliani in the 6th century. Archaeological evidence from Ekatontapiliani reflects a clear re-definition of the urban landscape, with the progressive transformation of a pagan urban centre to a Christian coastal city of commercial importance. Erecting such a magnificent and expensive building project meant both the central authority and the local ecclesiastical elite made themselves visible from all directions, expressing their power and ideology over this maritime area. This monument is therefore a reflection of an institutionalised Christianity linked to the city and the Empire, and a process of urban landscape Christianisation.

On a second level, archaeological material shows that the ancient city of Paros was still the main socioeconomic, administrative and religious reference point on the island, acting as the largest centre within the internal settlement network (Fig. 4.124). The erection of Ekatontapiliani in combination with evidence from its sculptural decoration and written sources indicate that the city of Paros was an episcopal seat with and active and powerful local ecclesiastical elite. Additionally, ceramic evidence from excavated intramural sites suggests that the urban population acted as a smaller market for commercial products manufactured in the famous production centres of the period. However, it seems that the port of the ancient city was not the main point where the Parian commercial products collected and exported to wider markets. It is quite possible that, only a small percentage of the total rural production of the island was exported from the city of Paros, mostly from its immediate periphery, since the coastal zone of the remainder of the island was directly linked with the inter-regional trade networks and developed all the necessary sites and infrastructures in order to support this role (see below).

In the rural sphere, evidence suggests a busy countryside with sites of various types and intensively exploited landscapes. Putting all these dots on the map, it becomes evident the Parian settled landscape over the course of Late Antiquity presents a clear trend for higher intensity of sites along the coastal zone (Fig. 4.124). The island of Paros is not only strategically located in the Aegean but also has a distinctive local landscape character, which creates a strong contradiction between the dry and barren mountainous interior and the coastal zone with the extensive and relatively flat (or low height) fertile productive areas, and the complex shoreline. In terms of traditional land use and habitation, this study suggests a sharp contrast created by this landscape during Late Antiquity between the low sustainability of the central mountainous hinterland and the economic potential offered by the fertile coastal zone; giving the islanders the opportunity for prosperity through agricultural production and maritime trade. This distinctiveness of the Parian landscape has in many ways shaped not only human behaviour and the development of the settlement pattern on the island but also the general historical trajectory of Paros through the centuries. Thus, the distribution of habitation across the Parian landscape was adjusted to the peculiar geomorphologic features of the island, by developing an unbalanced "coastal" settlement pattern. It is worth mentioning that, even nowadays, the vast majority of the modern large

settlements are scattered along the coastal zone, which covers almost 25% of the island, whilst only two small villages (Lefkes, Kostos) are situated in the mountainous hinterland.

The entire coastal zone of Paros combines three important localised environmental advantages: a) the lowland and gentle landscape that facilitates the internal mobility of people and goods, b) the extensive productive farming zones which provides it with its own local agricultural surpluses, and c) the numerous small or large bays scattered along the coastline which can offer safe shelter for ships. The study of the site's micro-landscapes shows that the correlation between settlement density, land productivity and the opportunity for direct and easy access to the sea constituted the base upon which the settlement pattern of Paros developed and evolved during Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.125). The majority of the sites discussed above are located along the shoreline or very close to the coast (at a distance ranging from 3 to 1 km from the sea). In any case they are directly associated with the best coastal agricultural lands on the island and the parts of the shoreline that are suitable for small harbours or anchorages. Even in the case of Agios Ioannis at Marathi, which is the only known Late Antique site so far in the hinterland of Paros, the application of least cost path analysis shows this rural community was directly connected with the large bay of Naoussa through a narrow gorge. Thus, in Late Antiquity the placement of sites within the Parian landscape on the one hand reflects a special care for integration into sea routes, participation in the inter-regional maritime trade networks and exploitation of the sea. On the other, it reflects a need for a more agriculturally intensified use of the island's fertile coastal zone for the production of specialised local rural surpluses (wine, oil, cereals, honey) with market orientation. Therefore, the higher distribution of sites is observed in the northern, eastern and south western parts of Paros, where important smaller harbours or anchorages can be established and the most fertile lands of the island are situated.

Along the shoreline of the island a dense network of pottery production sites and small or mid-sized maritime settlements associated with secondary harbours or anchorages existed and functioned in strategically located regions of the island; such as Voutakos, Kantouna, Naoussa and Piso Livadi. They all constituted interactive and open communities participating in maritime trade. Most of these coastal sites were surrounded by a dense network of various rural communities in the periphery of the coastal plains. This spatial relationship suggests an association between rural and maritime sites on the island, showing a connection of internal production with the export and trading systems of Late Antiquity. The coastal landscape of Paros was suitable for the establishment of a "linear" production system based on intensified exploitation of the coastal zone with market orientation. All stages of this system were very well-connected and organised, since farming zones, collection places, processing centres, pottery workshops and export points were being deliberately located very close to one another.

It seems the coastal settlements and the pottery production sites of Paros functioned as collection points and distribution centres for the island's agrarian produce. Thus, although the main port of the city of Paros continued to play a major role in the economy of the island, the Parian countryside was fully integrated to the Late Antique commercial networks, since rural surpluses were shipped out directly from the numerous smaller harbours and anchorages (Fig. 4.124). This network of secondary harbours, small or mid-sized settlements and ceramic workshops, which developed along the shoreline of Paros, functioned as local gateways connecting the coastal populations of Paros with the external world over the course of Late Antiquity. Therefore, Paros, perfectly illustrates the fact that, concurrently with major city-ports, well-known by ancient and Late Roman sources or archaeological studies, a dense network of small harbours and anchorages developed along the coastline of islands. These infrastructures played an equally important role in the maritime trade networks of Late Antiquity, linking regional production systems directly to wider markets.

In this context, it seems the region of Naoussa was of special importance for the local economy. Re-evaluation of old material as well as new valuable evidence has shown that along the coastline of the spacious bay an Aegean pottery production centre developed during the 6th and 7th centuries, specialising in mass production of transport amphora types. These ceramic workshops were located

near the sea and were connected with several port installations situated along the inner and the outer shoreline of the bay. The industrial centre of Naoussa was also spatially related to an important number of rural sites in the areas of Protoria, Kravga, Milos tou Avraam and Marathi. These sites were associated with the exploitation of the coastal fertile plains. The spatial relationship between the rural sites, the dense network of pottery workshops and the port infrastructures reflects a strong connection between production of goods, manufacture of amphorae, and inter-regional commercial networks, suggesting a highly intensive commercial farming and a distinct market orientation. The intensification and commercialisation of local agricultural production is reflected in increased pottery production of transport amphorae in the bay of Naoussa and the plethora of rural sites on northern Paros. Therefore, the pottery production centre of Naoussa was possibly developed to become the place in which the local production of northern Paros was allocated and exported to wider markets in the transport amphorae produced *in situ*. Moreover, the few examples of stamped amphorae discovered in the workshop of Zoodochos Pigi (pottery production site 5) suggest a form of state control over local ceramic production and distribution of the agricultural surplus. The settlement pattern of the region of Naoussa perfectly illustrates the "linear" production, collection, processing and exporting system that developed in the coastal zone of Paros during Late Antiquity.

Additionally, the mid-sized coastal settlement at Voutakos was of special importance for the local economy. A new reading of micro-landscape and archaeological evidence from Voutakos makes the double function of this settlement during Late Antiquity clear. Voutakos had, concurrently, both sea and rural orientation. It also has produced evidence about the transformation and Christianisation of a semi-urban environment during Late Antiquity. Furthermore smaller sites, such as those at Episkopiana and Stavros developed on the mountain slopes amidst or beside fertile soils in interior of the coastal zone of Paros (at a distance ranging from 3 to 1 km from the sea). From these slightly elevated sites the surrounding coastal productive zones could be easily controlled. At the same time, they had quick and easy access to the sea. This type of settlement developed during Late Antiquity along the coastal zone of Paros, and adjusted to the diversities of the island's local landscape. All these sites might have lacked urban status, however they also produced surpluses participating in the maritime trade network and in many way contributed to the economic growth of the island during Late Antiquity.

In general terms, the prevailing picture, derived from the material evidence discussed above, represents a period of economic vitality for the island of Paros over the course of the 6th and 7th centuries. As the hinterland of Paros lacks extensive fertile plains with the exception of the small Marathi basin, the island population was always inevitably mainly concentrated along the coastal zone. A combination of the material discussed above suggests an intensified rural, artisanal and trade activity in the coastal zone of Paros during Late Antiquity. It seems that Paros benefited from its central geographic position in the Aegean, the growth of inter-regional maritime commercial economy and the economic potential of its coastal zone, producing agricultural surplus and participating in inter-regional trade. The coastal population of Late Antique Paros had opportunities for prosperity through commercial contacts with wider worlds, exporting the produced surplus. On the other hand, exploiting the fertile coastal plains on the island was not only a necessary condition for growth but also the only way to sustain the local population.

The island of Paros formed a dynamic sub-zone of economic, cultural and social interaction within the Mediterranean world in Late Antiquity. This is clearly reflected on the development of a dense network of various types of sites, in order to support the role of the island as a smaller link in the chain within the unified Late Antique economy. The integration of the micro-regional analysis of the Parian settled landscape in a wider Mediterranean and Aegean framework suggests that Paros functioned as an island at crossroads during Late Antiquity. Thus, the island presents new evidence and an additional case-study for the investigation of the coastal rural landscapes of the insular Mediterranean world.

Although the connectivity of the islands has been extensively discussed by scholars in the wider Mediterranean context, much less attention has been paid to intra-island connectivity. In the cases of the regions of Parikia, Naoussa and Marathi we

can reconstruct parts of the internal land itineraries of the island that mainly followed physiographic constraints. Land routes were linked to the urban centre with the rural production zone of Marathi basin and the amphora production centre of Naoussa. The region of Marathi was also connected to Naoussa through a road along a small gorge. Through this network the main sea gates of the island were linked to the countryside, where primary production took place. This domestic connectivity in conjunction with the aforementioned archaeological evidence reflects relationships among the different local communities (entities with urban, semi-urban, rural or industrial character) that lived on the island during Late Antiquity and an internal stability which was also a necessary condition for prosperity.

The various types of sites (urban, semi-urban, maritime, rural and industrial) discovered on Paros, as discussed above present tangible material evidence for a stratified society during Late Antiquity. The Parian society was composed of a local ecclesiastical (bishop and clergy) and administrative (state representatives) elite, landowners, merchants, farmers, artisans and probably slaves. The urban context of the fortified city of Paros was the seat of the local church with growing power, wealth and prestige as well as the higher state officials. The clear association between the two new landmarks of the city, the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani and the harbour, which both formed the centre of Late Antique town, illustrates the new dipole of regional authority. The local ecclesiastical elite from the 6th century made itself visible on the sculptural decoration of Ekatontapiliani expressing its increasing influence on the island's community. Landowners could reside in the city of Paros or in the larger coastal settlements near their lands, such as Voutakos. In contrast, peasants and pottery makers lived and worked in small rural or industrial sites or in villages.

The most challenging part in the reconstruction of the history of Paros and at the same time the most interesting to investigate is to shed light on the settled landscape during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The Aegean Archipelago, and consequently the maritime zone of the Cyclades, progressively existed as the ground for maritime conflict between Byzantines and Arabs. Over the recent decades, the debate on continuity and discontinuity from Late Antiquity through the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, especially regarding the coastal zones of the Aegean world, has been ensured much scholarly attention, in the fields of history and archaeology. In the case of Paros, the inability to recognise securely dated material from a period between the 8th and 10th centuries in conjunction with the overstressed historical validity of the *Life of Saint Theoktiste* regarding the impact of the Arab invasions on the island, led the majority of historians and archaeologists to support the notion that the island was totally abandoned over the course of at least three centuries. This study presents new evidence in this discussion, offering a fresh approach concerning the historical trajectory of Paros in the turbulent period before the Arab conquest of Crete that contradicts previous historical views about total desolation of coastal regions and retreat of populations to the mountains and into island interiors.

The archaeological material evidence suggests that economic vitality of Paros lasted to the end of Late Antiquity. From the late 7th and early 8th century the island showed evidence of dramatic changes in everyday life of the islanders with shrunken economic and cultural activities. However, the island of Paros, third in size among the Cyclades, was never totally abandoned, as indicated by limited but extremely valuable material evidence (Fig. 4.126). First of all, a combination of old material, such as the dating in the 7th/8th century of a dedicatory wall painting in the chapel of Agios Nikolaos (Ekatontapiliani complex), with new valuable ceramic evidence from the port area suggests that although the ancient coastal city-port lost its urban character, life in this coastal settlement continued during the 8th century. In socioeconomic terms, this information indicates the existence of a local aristocracy during that period, which was able to finance such a small-scale project. In addition, the port remained economically active on a lesser scale compared to the previous centuries. Accordingly, the fact that the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani survived well into today as the only uninterruptedly active ecclesiastical monument since the 6th century in the Cyclades offers supplementary tangible evidence that, despite difficulties, life continued on the coastal landscapes of Paros during Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This is an indication that the local community was able to

at least preserve and keep functioning this spacious building throughout the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. At the same time, the much smaller basilica of Tris Ekklisies in the periphery of the ancient city was abandoned and fell into ruins.

In the countryside, the general picture emerging through the *in situ* investigation of the surface ceramic material, apart from the possible total abandonment of some coastal localities, in a few cases suggests a pattern of archaeologically low-visible communities with limited cultural production after the 8th century. In several coastal localities along northern and eastern coastal zone of Paros, such as the bay of Naoussa, the regions of Isterni and Glifades, and the area of Piso Livadi have been recently recognised ceramic material evidence or fragmentary architectural traces that can be dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Thus, human activity can be traced along the coastal zone of Paros during the 8th and 9th centuries on a much lesser scale compared to the previous period. At the moment, however, we cannot be very accurate regarding the nature and extent of this human activity. Moreover, as will be demonstrated below, across the opposite coastal zone of Naxos settlements were also located very close to the sea (see more in Chapter 5.3).

In addition, the establishment of the small naval fortress on the islet of Viokastro after the 7th century indicates a strong presence of the Byzantine state over a maritime zone of great military importance. Nor should we forget that Paros was probably located in a well-protected maritime zone of the central Cyclades between the 7th and 9th centuries, as also evidenced by the establishment of at least two more important fortresses on the islands of Naxos and Ios (see more in Chapter 5.3.9). From this point of view, the off-shore islet of Viokastro, as well as the bay of Naoussa and the island of Paros in general, were integrated into a regional maritime defensive network for the protection of the Cyclades set in place by the central administration. This special care of the Byzantine Empire for the protection of the region makes it hard to believe the island of Paros remained deserted and isolated from the outside world for more than three centuries. The localised environmental advantages of the spacious bays of Parikia and Naoussa could not have been ignored by the Byzantine navy and would probably have occasionally functioned as naval bases. In this respect, the island of Paros continued to interact with the external world during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in a completely different framework compared to the previous period.

Although the dots on the map are, at this stage of the research, only indications for some form of human activity, the types and scale of which are not clear, we cannot speak of an occupational gap after the 8th century (Fig. 4.126). In terms of numbers of sites, it is apparent that a decrease is observed compared to the thriving picture of the previous period, but the coastal zone of Paros was not an empty landscape during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The sites of this period in Paros are not characterised by extensive surface material and so that we need a more intensive survey project for the reconstruction of the settlement pattern between the 8th and the 9th centuries. Nevertheless, despite major changes in settlement patterns and the material culture on Paros, this study suggests a continuity of life along the coastal landscape of the island during the 8th and 9th c. on a lesser scale compared to Late Antiquity.

A convincing explanation for this sharp contrast on Paros in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages cannot be simply attributed to the insecurity felt by the coastal populations by constant Arab hostility which forced them to move to more secure location. Such a complex socioeconomic phenomenon is related to multiple parameters. It seems the specific features of Parian landscape as well as the characteristics of the local settlement pattern and the nature of the production system played a role in this change.

As has been demonstrated above, the "coastal" settlement pattern of Paros was mostly dependent on inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes of Late Antiquity rather than on its self-sufficiency. It was an economic sub-zone based on the specialisation of the rural production in a few specific products (mostly wine or oil), produced in vast quantities for export. The intensive exploitation of the rural landscape, the high specialisation of the local production, the mass manufacture of amphorae and the export of agricultural surpluses through trade, probably did not make sense outside the inter-regional economic system of the unified Late Antique Mediterranean world. Thus, Paros formed a fragile microcosm,



Fig. 4.126: Sites with signs of human activity on Paros during the late 7th-9th centuries.

demographically, culturally and environmentally, being more sensitive to general socioeconomic and political changes. A series of external parameters, such as the Arab-Byzantine struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, the fading of Late Antique cities, the reduction of economic space in the Byzantine Empire, the subsequent decrease of the demand for commercial goods, the re-organisation of the economic system on a different basis than before, and the essential changes in the character of the Byzantine State have had a strong impact not only on the role of the island in commercial networks but also on the local economy and everyday life.

From this point of view, it was very challenging for Paros, the settlement pattern and the production system of which were based on the economic potential offered by the localised environmental advantages of the coastal zone of the island, to be adjusted to the new conditions. In a turbulent period during which important changes occurred in the inter-regional commercial trade system, the exploitation of the extensive fertile coastal zone of Paros and the transport of good by amphorae were not lucrative activities and did not offer any more opportunities for prosperity. Nevertheless, commercial activities continued to exist between the late 7th and the 9th century and re-organised on a completely different basis that before and at a lesser scale compared to Late Antiquity. However, the high specialized production system of Paros which was oriented to meet the needs of larger markets, failed to be re-organised and redefined on a different basis according to the new circumstances. As is mentioned above, Paros lacks fertile hinterland to sustain an important number of inhabitants. The characteristic imbalance of land productivity between the coastal zone and the hinterland of the island did not offer alternative conditions for local population to establish a stable and a more balanced settlement pattern and a mixed farming system. Due to its peculiar natural features and the high specialisation and commercialisation of its production in the previous centuries, Paros could not work efficiently as a closed system in order to preserve self-sustainability during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

After this turbulent era, the period between the 10th and late 12th centuries has been considered as the time of the great Byzantine accomplishments with considerable prosperity in socioeconomic terms despite internal political conflicts. The first traces of recovery along the island's coastal zone appeared from the late 10th century at many sites after the re-establishment of the Byzantine rule over the Aegean. Thus, Voutakos, Protoria, Marathi, Piso Livadi and Episkopiana have revealed evidence of coastal life during the Middle Byzantine period, which however, did not return to the levels of Late Antiquity.

Chapter 5

The settlement pattern and material culture of the island of Naxos

5.1 THE NAXIAN LANDSCAPE

The island of Naxos (Fig. 5.1) belongs to the east central Cyclades and is located in the southern Aegean, approximately at an equal distance from mainland Greece, Asia Minor and Crete (Fig. 1.1). It lies east of Paros, approximately 103 nm southeast of the port of Piraeus and the capital city of Greece, Athens. The island's central geographic position offers a unique horizon, since apart from the neighbouring islands of Paros, Iraklia, Schinoussa, Koufonissia, Keros, Antikeri, and Donousa, many other islands are visible from different places on Naxos ranging from Ikaria to Amorgos, and Andros to Melos (Fig. 2.1). The total surface of Naxos covers an area of approximately 430 km², placing it as the largest island among the Cyclades. It has an ellipsoid shape with its longest axis (NE-SW) measuring 33 km and its narrower axis (NW-SE) 25 km (Fig. 5.1).

In general, the island of Naxos definitely has a mountainous character. Its landscape is completely different compared to the neighbouring island of Paros. On Naxos an astonishing alternation of landscapes occurs, combining mountainous reliefs and flat zones with coastal sceneries and a wide range of geological formations. Mountainous villages, high mountaintops, barren and steep slopes, rocky shores, and caves alternate with torrents, gorges, deep lush river valleys with dense vegetation, fertile plateaus, few coastal settlements, sandy or pebbled beaches, and few shallow bays. Naxos has a good supply of water in a region where water is usually lacking.

Geologically, Naxos's land morphology can be divided into: a) metamorphic rocks, mainly alternating marbles and schists occupying a major part of the island, b) granite or gneiss dominating the western section, and c) minor undifferentiated rocks (Jansen 1977; Leontaris 1994; Higgins & Higgins 1996, 177-180; Vasalakis & Voudouris 2006, 182, 188). Each of these formations creates diversified landscapes providing different conditions for plants so the vegetation differs a lot from one area to the other, mainly because of their respective water retention, erosion susceptibility and chemical composition (Renault-Miskovsky & Dalongeville 1994). In the regions where the bedrock is granite or slate the water doesn't drain underground as it does in the areas with marble bedrock. In the region of Eggares igneous rocks can be found while abundant sources of marble and emery deposits dominate the northern, central and north-eastern parts of Naxos. Ancient marble quarries are located on Agios Ioannis hill in the north part of Naxos and near the ancient port of Apollonas, as well as in the region of Melanes, east of the ancient city. In addition, modern quarries are located near the village of Kinidaros in the central part of the island. Emery mines are found in the north-eastern mountainous side of Naxos, around the modern villages of Apeiranthos and Koronos.

Contrary to Paros, Naxos's coastline is not as complex, forming only few significant bays or natural harbours and measuring approximately 148 km (Fig. 1.2). The island lacks many safe anchorages for vessels, with the exception of a few bays, the most important of which is the shallow bay of Apollonas in the northeast coast (providing safe anchorage from south-westerly winds) and the coves of Panormos and Kalantos on the southeast coast (protecting ships from northerly winds). As a result of this, islanders have never developed a close relationship with the sea compared to the island of Paros. Rocky coasts in low altitude or sheer marble cliffs occupy the largest part of the shoreline and are mainly located in the north, northwest, east and south parts of the island. This rough landscape is interrupted by a few scattered sandy or pebbled beaches and shallow bays. In contrast, Naxos's west coastal zone is characterised by low land morphology with small

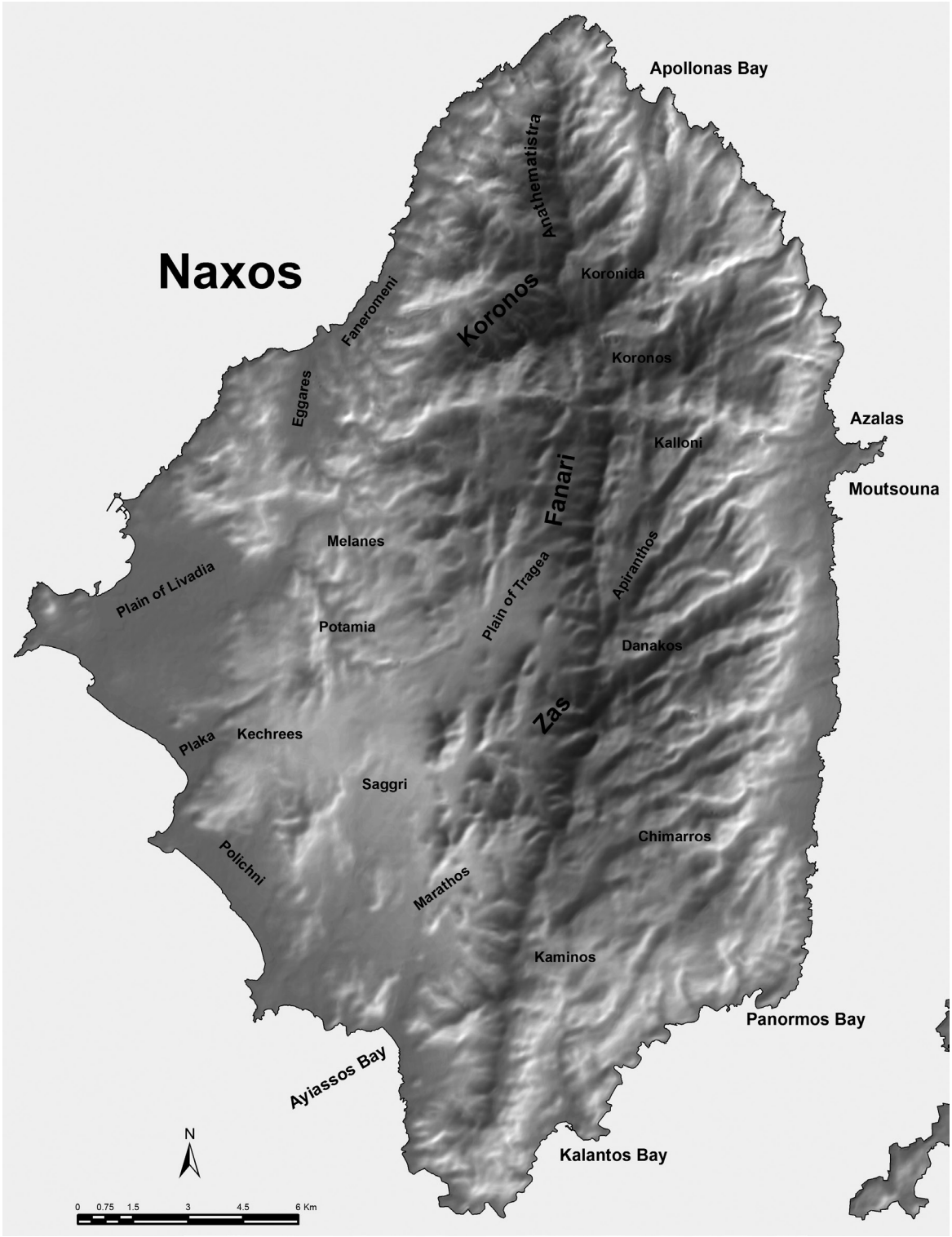


Fig. 5.1: Map of Naxos with regions and places discussed in the chapter.

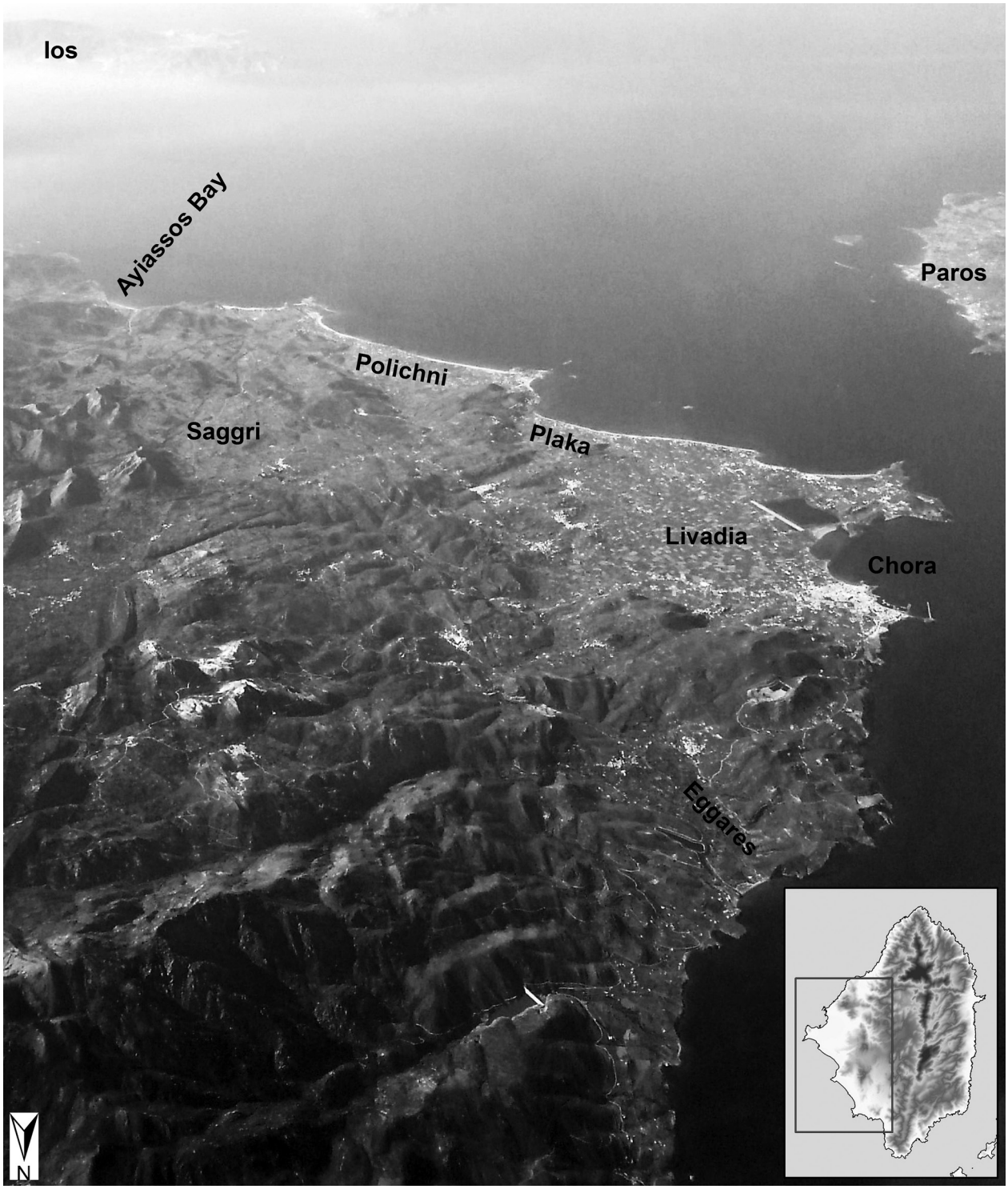


Fig. 5.2: Aerial view of western lowland Naxos with regions discussed in the chapter.

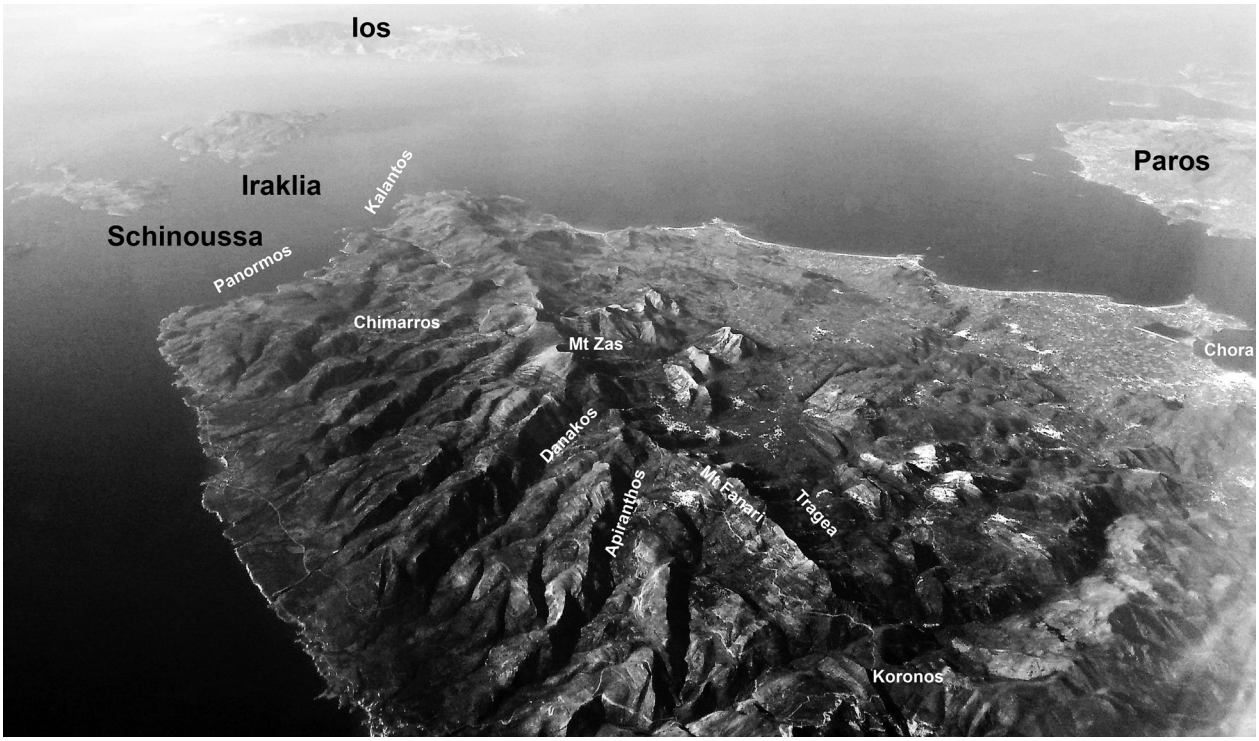


Fig. 5.3: Aerial view of central, eastern and southern part of mountainous Naxos with regions discussed in the chapter.

promontories mainly consisting of granodiorite, and separated by sandy beaches. Almost the entire central and southern part of the west shoreline from Chora to Kastraki is a string of long, sandy beaches, unprotected, however, from the strong wind.

In terms of geomorphology, the island is divided into two parts: the relatively flat lowland Naxos on the western and southwestern side (Fig. 5.2) and the mountainous Naxos on the central, northern, eastern and southern part of the island (Fig. 5.3).

On the western coastal part of Naxos (Fig. 5.2), where the landscape is more gentle compared to the mountainous interior, are located some of the most extensive and fertile plains and valleys of the island. The flat area of Livadia is the largest coastal plain on the island, extending southeast of the present-day Chora (Fig. 5.4a). Two smaller coastal plains are also located further south of Chora in the regions of Plaka and Polichni (Fig. 5.4b). At Kechrees south of the village Tripodes is situated a small fertile low plateau. Farther inland, southeast of Chora and Tripodes, in the south-western part of Naxos is located the area of Saggri where mountains of the hinterland slope down, creating another relatively large fertile plain (Fig. 5.2). At Eggares north of Chora, is located another small plain within a green valley that carves the landscape from the mountainous interior to the coast (Fig. 5.2).

What, however, makes Naxos special among the Cyclades is its extensive, rich and well-protected mountainous hinterland with a wide range of geological formations covering almost 70% of the island's total surface (Fig. 5.3). The greatest part of the island from north to south is dominated by a mountain range, with the highest peaks being Mt Koronos (alt. 992 m) (Fig. 5.1), Mt Fanari (alt. 902 m) (Fig. 5.5a) and Mt Zas (alt. 1004 m) (Fig. 5.5b), which is the highest mountain top in the Cyclades. These mountains tend to trap the clouds, permitting greater rainfall. Within this mountain range, a variety of landscapes can be observed with a plethora of deep valleys, gorges, plateaus, rivers, steep and rocky slopes, and caves that have formed over the years, populated with endemic flora and fauna. Gentle valleys with olive groves, terraced vineyards and gardens with vegetables and trees of all varieties alternate with steep rugged mountain slopes, either barren or overgrown with oak forests or low bushes,

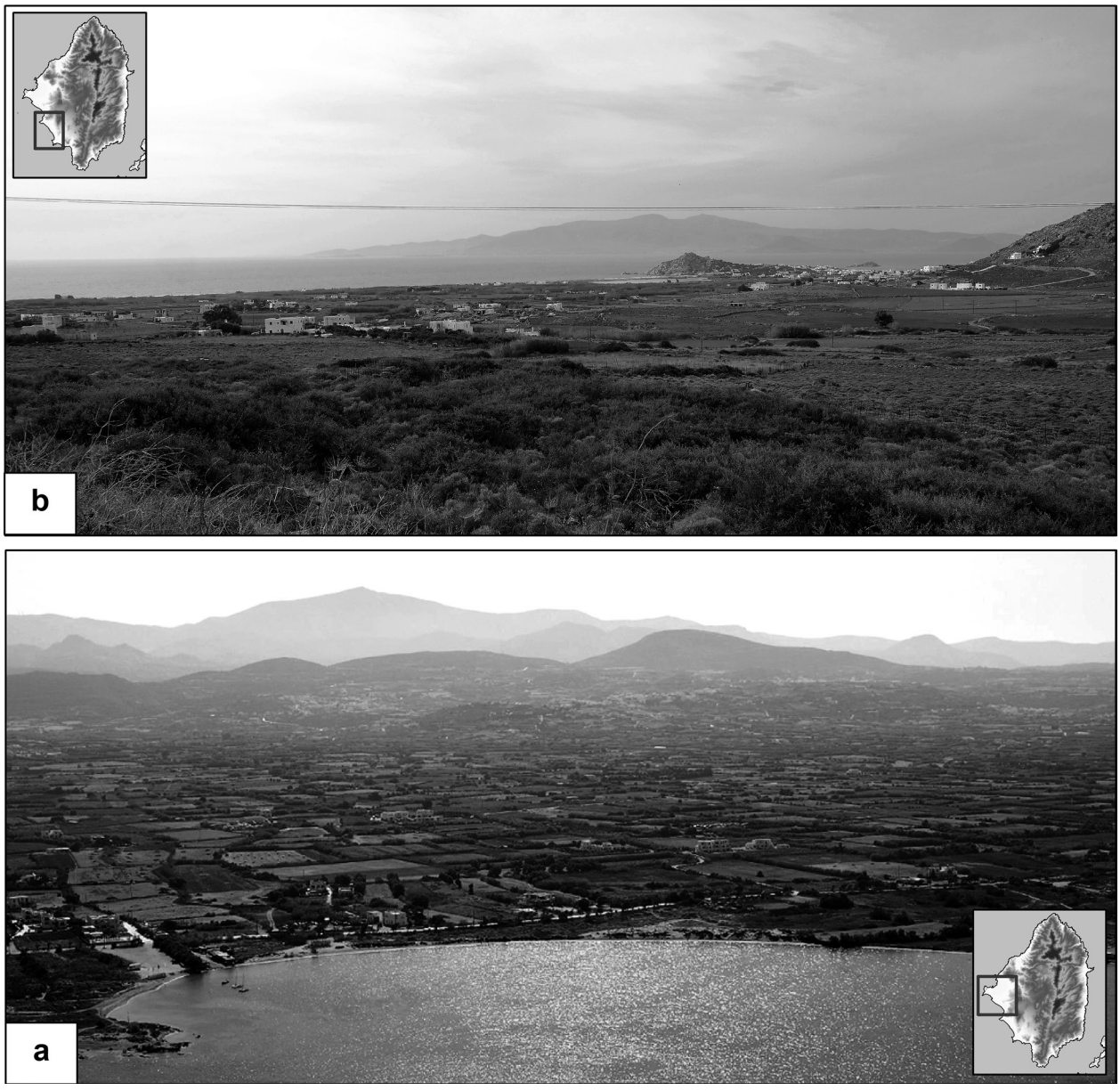


Fig. 5.4: a) Panoramic view of the coastal plain of Livadia. b) View of the coastal plain of Polichni. The island of Paros is in the background.

with natural springs, surrounded by plane trees and deep, fertile gorges. Several small or large fertile lands that are highly important for the sustainability of Naxos's population are scattered around the Naxian landscape at different altitudes. Another characteristic of this deeply rugged mountainous landscape is that in the hidden valleys and plateaus between mountains one can almost forget the close proximity of the sea.

The eastern part (along the east shoreline) is occupied by steep rugged mountain slopes, barren or covered by low or sparse vegetation, deep gorges and very few small cultivated valleys, such as that of Apollonas and Lionas. Central Naxos is dominated by the extensive and fertile plateau of Tragea (about 300 to 400 m above sea level) bursting with all kinds of tress, many villages and large quantities of water that spill from the nearby

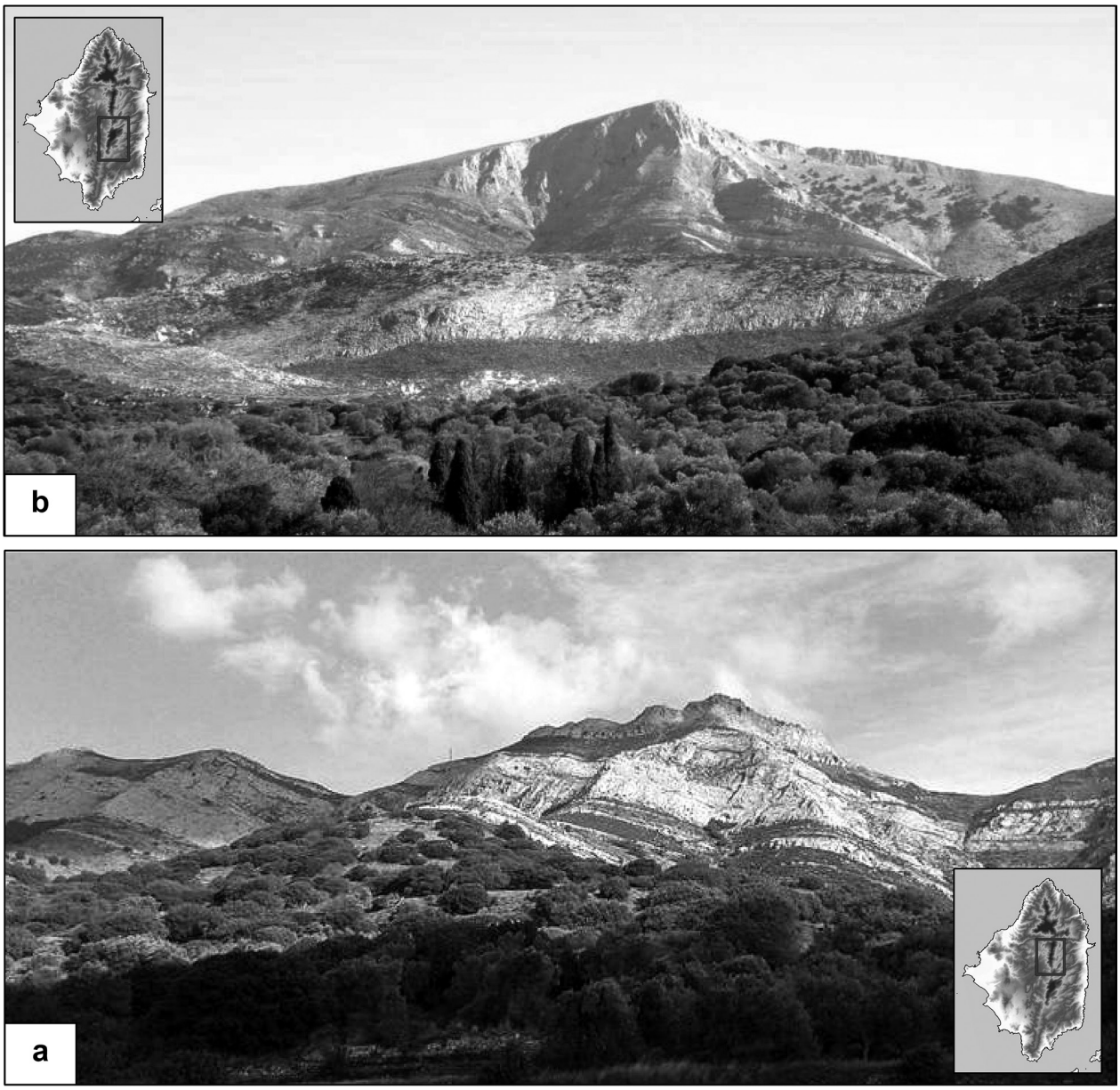


Fig. 5.5: a) View of the Mt Fanari. b) View of the Mt Zas.

mountains. On the western side of mountainous Naxos there are lush green valleys watered from the springs, such as Melanes and Potamia (Fig. 5.6). The deep river valley of Kinidaros with remarkable dense vegetation is located north of Tragea's plateau. Similar rivers flow in many other valleys north-west and north of Mt Koronos. In general, the eastern and southern parts of the island have an especially typical Cycladic landscape. In contrast, the northern and central parts of Naxos, from the regions of Apollon and Koronida to the area of Tragea resemble the mountainous landscapes of Crete and Mainland Greece.

The island has a Mediterranean type climate with wet winters and hot, dry summers (Psarra-Fotopoulou & Psarras 2006, 25). The mountainous hinterland gives the island higher amounts of rainfall than other Aegean Islands. The relief of Naxos with

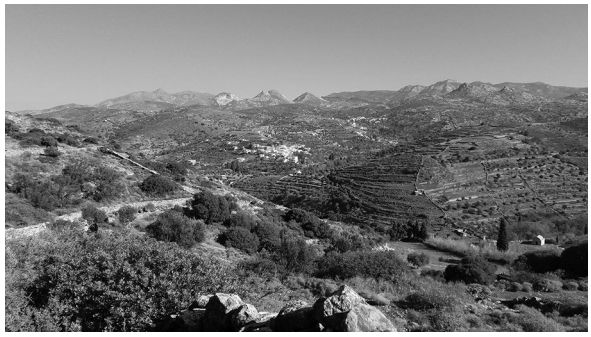


Fig. 5.6: View of the valley of Potamia.

a wide range of geological formations in connection with the extensive fertile lands and the climate conditions have diachronically inevitably influenced the residents' occupations (agriculture and livestock farming), making Naxos the most productive island in the Cyclades.

Nowadays the capital and main port of Naxos is the coastal settlement of Chora, located on its west coast, while the island's total population is approximately 19,000. Numerous villages and settlements of different sizes and character are scattered mainly around the mountainous hinterland such as Apiranthos, Melanes, Potamia, Chalki, Glinado, Koronida, Koronos, Damarionas and Filoti, and some along the coastline such as Chora and Apollonas. After the 1970s the island of Naxos experienced a significant development in tourism. However, in contrast with Paros, most of the island's tourism concentrates in the very limited region of the south-western part of the island around the area of Chora and the sandy beaches of Agios Prokopios, Agia Anna and Mikri Vígla. As a result of this, tourism development heavily impacted this coastal landscape. In contrast, in the hinterland and the eastern part of Naxos, due to the steepness of the landscape, the impact of tourism is much smaller. Nevertheless, intensive and durable exploitation of marble and emery has played an important role in modifying the landscape; especially in the wider area of Kinidaros where modern mining activity has produced a lot of "scars" on the mountainous relief of Naxos.

The island of Naxos was divided into five regions concerning the localised environmental advantages of the Naxian landscape and the density of archaeological evidence, in order to provide the basis upon which settlement patterning and material

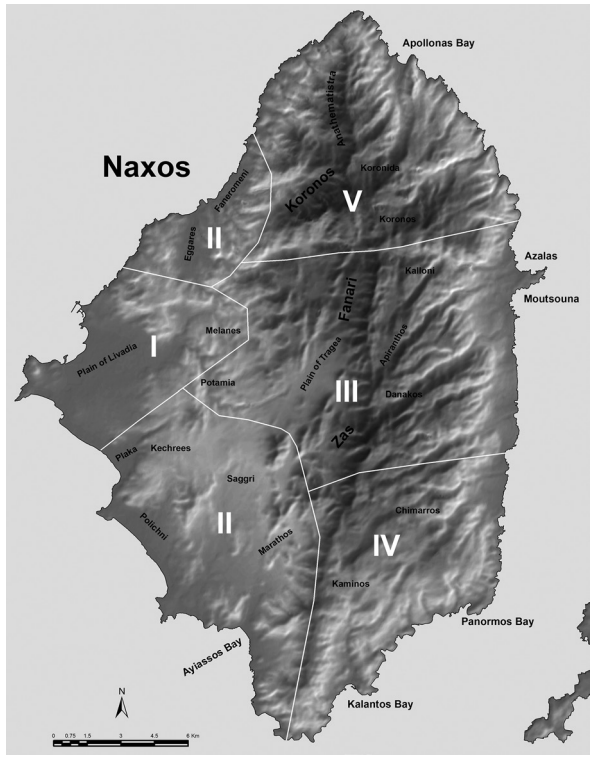


Fig. 5.7: Map of Naxos with the areas of research.

culture from Late Antiquity and Byzantine Early Ages can be studied and interpreted (Fig. 5.7).

5.2 THE REGION OF CHORA: A DIACHRONIC AEGEAN COASTAL URBAN CENTRE

5.2.1 Landscape and micro-topography

The region of Chora is located almost in the middle of the island's west shore (Figs 5.2 & 5.7: I). This coastal zone is characterised by low land morphology with a few hills and several small promontories mainly consisting of granodiorite and alluvium, separated by long sandy beaches.

The region's most advantageous location is situated at the site of the present-day Chora of Naxos, the island's only urban centre since antiquity (Figs 5.8 & 5.9). The site's most important topographical reference point is the slightly elevated hill of Kastro close to the sea which overlooks the modern port, the flat interior of the region and the north entrance of the naval channel between Paros and Naxos (Fig.

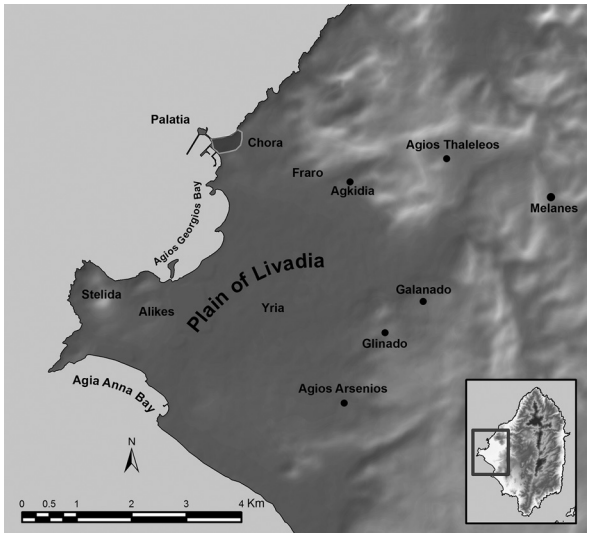


Fig. 5.8: Map of the modern Chora of Naxos and its surroundings.



Fig. 5.9: View of Kastro with the Venetian castle (modern Chora of Naxos). The island of Paros is in the background.



Fig. 5.10: View of the coastal regions of Grotta and Aplomata.

5.9). On the northern side of the modern port is situated, very close to the Chora of Naxos, the small islet of Palatia, which is connected to the rest of the island via a narrow and low strip of land. The site is also known as "Portara" (large doorway), named by the huge marble doorway which is the only standing element remaining from the archaic temple of Apollo. The coastal zone northeast of Kastro is dominated by a low rocky hill, called Aplomata (Fig. 5.10). During antiquity a stream flowed between the hill of Kastro and the hill of Aplomata, but likely did not have continuous water flow all year round.

The region of Chora is adjacent to the large fertile coastal plain of Livadia, a rural space of vital importance for the ancient city's agricultural production and food supply, which dominates this micro-topography (Fig. 5.4a). The plain of Livadia occupies an extensive area from Chora to the modern villages of Agkidia in the east, Galanado and Glinado in the southeast and Agios Arsenios in the south (Fig. 5.8). Nowadays, the plain is intensively cultivated mainly with grain for animal fodder and with potatoes, which play a fundamental role for the local economy.

South of Chora the rocky promontory of Stelida (alt. 151 m) is located between the shallow bays of Agios Georgios and Agia Anna. The bay of Agios Georgios is a coastal zone forming three concave sandy beaches separated by a small headland and sheltered from an islet, called Manto and a partially merged reef. South of the bay, in the area called Alikes west of the modern airport of Naxos there is a rectangular low-lying alluvial plain filled with lagoonal deposits. The bay of Agia Anna consists of two concave sandy beaches (Agios Prokopios and Agia Anna) whilst further south a relatively straight long sandy beach up to the area of Plaka begins, measuring approximately 4 km in length. Despite the formation of the small bays along this coastal zone, the harbour is not safe or well-protected from the winds even today, as the modern port of Chora is only accessible to ships depending on weather conditions.

The gentle morphology and typical Cycladic landscape of the Chora region attracted the major wave of tourism development on the island of Naxos. As a result, the coastal landscape, especially along the shoreline, has been strongly affected and

its character changed in many ways. Over the recent decades the settlement of Chora functions as an administrative centre and capital of the Municipality of Naxos and the Small Cyclades, and the main passenger and commercial port on the island. The urban built up area and the population of Chora have almost doubled. Fortunately, the core of the Late Medieval town of Kastro has maintained a traditional and picturesque character. In contrast, the modern extensions of the present-day town have built over the areas of Grotta, Plithos and Aplomata, where important ruins from different periods were discovered, drastically changing the landscape. Along the seafront and terrestrial part of the coastal zone of Agios Georgios, Agios Prokopios, Agia Anna and Stelida hill constructions of all sorts have contributed to the alteration of the local coastal and rural landscape. As has been observed in many places on the neighbouring island of Paros, a new coastal landscape is created over recent years dominated by numerous blocks of modern private residences and touristic facilities.

5.2.2 The ancient city of Naxos: a brief history of research and a historical background

In earlier stages of research regarding the archaeology of Naxos, the coastal area of Chora, and more specifically, the remains of the ancient city were at the centre of attention. The earliest excavation report regarding archaeological researches on the island of Naxos was published by P. Kallivoursis in 1871. In this report the local doctor presented the results of a brief excavation at the temple of Apollo on the islet of Palatia (Kallivoursis 1871). Later in 1924, G. Welter continued excavations at the same site intending to clarify the architectural history of the temple. In this context, he discovered that the pagan temple was converted into a Christian church sometime during the 5th or 6thcentury (Welter 1924, 17-22).

During the second half of the 20th century the Archaeological Society at Athens undertook systematic archaeological researches in the region of Chora (see Sfyroera 2007, 196 with further bibliography). A large scale excavation began east of the islet of Palatia, along the coastline of Grotta, on the adjacent hills of Aplomata and Kamini as well as in the Metropolis Square by N. Kontoleon from 1949 until his death in 1974, and continued by V. Lambrinoudakis between 1976 and 1996 under the sponsorship of the Archaeological Society (Kontoleon 1950; 1951; 1954; 1960a; 1961; 1963; 1965; 1967; 1969; 1970; Lambrinoudakis 1974; 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1982; 1984; 1985; 1988; 1991; Lambrinoudakis & Zafeiropoulou 1983; 1984; 1985; 1994). They revealed extensive architectural remains of an important fortified urban centre which flourished on the west coast of Naxos during the Mycenaean period (Vlachopoulos 1999; Lambrinoudakis & Filaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001). However, what is more important for our research is that Lambrinoudakis identified and recorded architectural remains from the Roman and Late Antique city of Naxos.

Over the recent three decades mostly rescue and secondary systematic excavations, and restoration works carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades (former 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities) in the area of Chora have discovered important remains of the ancient city enlarging our knowledge about the Late Antique and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (annual archaeological reports in *Archaiologikon Deltion*; Sfyroera 2007, 196-197 with further bibliography). Despite the fact that the vast majority of the excavated sites have been covered by modern residences and only a small part of the relevant archaeological material has been preliminarily published, the results of the continuous archaeological research in Chora provide us with a concrete picture of the changes in this coastal urban centre from the Late Roman period to Early Middle Ages.

In the periphery of Chora, between 1986 and 1998 joint systematic excavations of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Athens and the Munich Polytechnic University directed by Lambrinoudakis and Gruben brought to light the architectural remains of the rural pagan temple of Dionysus at Yria southeast of the Chora region, within the Livadia plain (Lambrinoudakis *et al.* 1987; Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988; Lambrinoudakis 1992). After years of archaeological research the site was donated to the public between 1992-1996 at the discretion of the University of

Athens in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Aegean along with the support of the University of Munich. The temple at Yria is another example of the pagan sanctuary on Naxos that was converted into a Christian church during the Late Antique period (Lambertz 2001; Deligiannakis 2011).

Additionally, excavations and restoration works have been undertaken by the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at the ruins of the Early Christian basilica at Agkidia east of the modern urban plan of Chora (AD 2005, 945-947; AD 2006, 1113). The site was included in the large project concerning the restoration and the preservation of the ancient Aqueduct of Flerio (Sfyroera & Lambrinoudakis 2010, 27-28). Finally, a wide variety of studies from various fields, such as architecture, archaeology, sculpture, pottery, history etc. have been published by many scholars to this today.

In terms of habitation patterns, the earliest traces of human activity in the area of present-day Chora and its periphery have recently been discovered on the low hill of Stelida promontory dated to the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic period (Carter *et al.* 2014). Important remains from the Early Cycladic era have been unearthed in the areas of Palatia, Grotta, and Aplomata, near the modern port of Chora (for an overview on the Prehistory of Naxos see in Filaniotou 2006). Later in the Mycenaean period, and more specifically during the 12th and at the turn of the 11th century B.C. a large coastal settlement flourished on the west shore of Naxos. The Mycenaean urban centre covered an area of approximately 35,000 m² extending over the western part of Grotta up to the islet of Palatia to the west, the Metropolis Square to the south and a torrent channel to the east. It was an important city with harbour installations and other public works, secure defences, a defined residential area, organised workshops and delimited cemeteries on the adjacent hills of Aplomata and Kamini (Vlachopoulos 1999; Lambrinoudakis & Filaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001). At the end of the 2nd millennium the coastal area of Grotta was progressively abandoned and this specific region remained uninhabited for a long period of time until the Roman period (Lambrinoudakis 2006). The former flourishing settlement was now confined to the low hill of Kastro. Thus, for approximately 1000 years Grotta's coastal zone was used as a burial site and progressively as a place of worship of ancestors, but not as a place of permanent habitation (Lambrinoudakis 2006, 65-66; for latest finds regarding the Geometric burials in the area of Grotta see AD 2009, 883-885). In early historical times a tumulus was formed in the area, marking the importance of the site as a sacred place for the local community.

From the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, the island of Naxos was progressively organised as a typical Cycladic city-state, and the city of Naxos started to play a fundamental role in the island's economy (Lambrinoudakis 2013, 100). The urban area's progressive enlargement is recorded by the sporadic archaeological evidence. The shrunken defensive settlement on the hill of Kastro developed into an important coastal urban centre in the Aegean Archipelago. The urban plan was extended again along the north coastal zone of the present-day Chora around the hill of Kastro, especially in the area of Mesa Grotta (Inner part of Grotta today located less than 100 m south of the shoreline). However, the largest part along Grotta's shoreline still remained out of the urban planning while part of it had been submerged into the sea.

Unfortunately, architectural traces of these periods are very fragmentary preserved and the plan of the city is only partially known. The lack of detailed knowledge of the urban organisation does not allow for the identification of the exact location of the most important public buildings, with the exception of the Hellenistic Agora. The town centre was, probably, located in the area of the modern Metropolis Square where a few parts of porticos from a public structure have been excavated and identified as the Hellenistic Agora of Naxos. A limited picture about the plan of the city over the course of historical times is also provided by a number of unspecified buildings, fragmentary excavated domestic and artisanal structures, and roads and sewage systems mainly dated to the Hellenistic period (Zafeiropoulou 2006, 85).

Until now, no archaeological remains of ancient harbour installations have been identified along the coastline of the modern town of Chora. However, the existence of port infrastructures associated with the ancient city of Naxos is attested by the written sources. The *Stadiasmus of Maris Magni*, which lists the harbours of the Mediterranean Sea and their

distance in *stadia* from main harbours or landmarks, among others counts the distance between the ports of Delos and Naxos (Müller 1855, 500). *Stadiasmus* is probably dated to the 3rd or 4th century despite the fact that its anonymous author obtains information from various ancient sources (Arnaud 2005, 212-214). Additionally, in the Medieval period a number of cartographers of the 15th and the 16th centuries, such as Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, Benedetto Bordone and Piri Reis, mapped important elements of the port that connected with the Venetian Kastro of Naxos, which have left no structural traces (Belavilas 2004). Finally, according to a palaeogeographical reconstruction of the western part of Naxos Island, the large shallow bay of Agios Georgios, which is adjacent to the region of the ancient city to the south, was probably used as a harbour during antiquity. It was protected by an elongated coastline, which extended almost parallel to the present-day shore and formed an active lagoon (Evelpidou *et al.* 2012).

5.2.3 The Roman and Late Antique city of Naxos: a changing townscape

Writing about the Late Antique city of Naxos poses many major obstacles. Primarily, the continuous use of the settlement up to the present day and the intensive modern building activity over the last five decades destroyed many of the ancient city's remains. In the area of Kastro, where the ancient acropolis was located, the construction of the Late Medieval town of Chora at the beginning of the 13th century by Marco I Sanudo destroyed almost any trace of the previous periods (Fig. 5.9). Furthermore, the city of Naxos is barely mentioned in the available literary sources of Late Antiquity while epigraphic witnesses remain very limited. In this respect, once again archaeological research becomes the major source of information and the basic interpretation process for piecing together all the fragmentary material traces. Despite obstacles, a combination of data derived from rescue or systematic excavations give us a general picture of the changing townscape in the ancient city of Naxos from Roman period to Late Antiquity.

In contrast with the paucity of architectural remains of the previous historical periods, the Roman Imperial times and especially the Late Antique

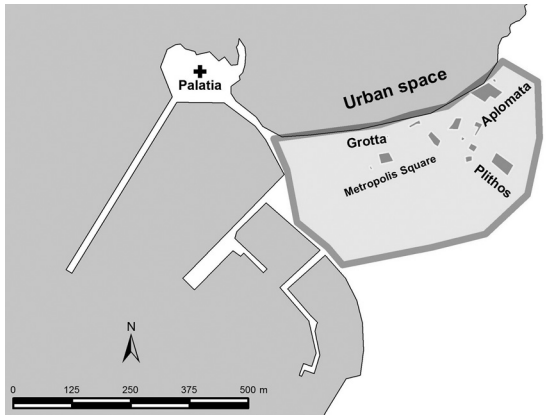


Fig. 5.11: Sites with architectural remains dated to the Roman and Late Antique periods in the ancient city of Naxos. The city of Naxos. The sites with architectural remains dated to the Roman and Late Antique periods are indicated.

centuries are represented in abundance (Fig. 5.11). The results of the aforementioned research revealed clear traces of important building activity in the city of Naxos, which resulted in dramatic changes in the ancient urban landscape. Archaeological data shows clear evidence of a re-organisation and enlargement of the urban tissue during the Roman period and Late Antiquity. This process started sometime in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries and continued with more intensity during the 4th century.

Traces of redefinition of the ancient urban planning with clear evidence of gradual privatisation of the public space are observed in the wider area of Mesa Grotta, especially in the civic centre of the Hellenistic city of Naxos. In the area of Mesa Grotta, north of the Metropolis Square and less than 90 m from the shoreline, the architectural remains of the Hellenistic Agora from the city of Naxos were unearthed. Unfortunately, due to modern building activity and the numerous properties fragmenting the excavation area into small pieces, it took more than 60 years for archaeologists to complete the rescue excavations in different periods of time (Kontoleon 1965, 176-182; 1967, 119-123; 1969, 141-145; 1970, 152-155; Lambrinoudakis 1979, 249-251; 1988, 208-218; 1989, 208-219; 1991, 257-261). This situation raises doubts regarding the fragmentary nature of the material collected by three different archaeologists, especially the pottery. Nevertheless, despite obstacles and the fact that the architectural remains are covered by modern residences, we have

a sufficient picture of the stratigraphy thanks to the latest excavations by Lambrinoudakis (1988, 208-218; 1991, 257-261).

It seems that over the course of the Roman Imperial period the Agora progressively ceased to serve the public needs of the local community and as a result started a process of urban space privatisation. According to Lambrinoudakis, this public space was gradually occupied by humble structures, possibly, private houses (1979, 251; 1988, 213-218; 1991, 257-266). However, pottery and architectural evidence suggests a possible reconstruction of some porticos in the Roman Imperial centuries and presumably the Agora did not completely lose its public function during this period (Müller 2003, 42-47; Le Quéré 2013, 91-92). Nevertheless, archaeological evidence suggests that from the 4th century the Ancient Agora's former public area, which was the most vital space for the economic and political activities of the ancient urban environments, was completely transformed into a residential quarter for the Late Antique city of Naxos (Kontoleon 1967, 122-123; 1969, 145; 1970, 155; Lambrinoudakis 1979, 251; 1988, 213-218; 1991, 257-266). The phenomenon of the urban public spaces dissolving is observed in many cities of the Aegean world (see more information regarding the process of public space privatisation in Saradi 2006, 186-207). From the 4th century onwards the Agora of Naxos was initially occupied by humbler domestic structures and progressively over the course of Late Antiquity by more lavish private houses, which were illuminated with lamps imported from many Mediterranean workshops (Bournias 2014, 791).

Apart from the civic centre, evidence of urban plan redefinition has been observed in the residential districts of the Hellenistic city. Newly-built domestic structures dated to the 4th century have been unearthed, not only in the wider area of Mesa Grotta around the Hellenistic Agora, but also in the modern regions of Plithos (AD 1986, 241; AD 1987, 493; AD 1988, 494-495) and Katsagra (AD 1988, 493, fig.12), two relatively flat areas southwest of Aplomata hill and southeast of Kastro.

As is mentioned above, in the case of Naxos apart from the re-organisation of the ancient urban network we can trace clear evidence of the expansion of the built up areas along Grotta's coastal zone (Kontoleon 1972; Lambrinoudakis 1978, 211-217; 1979, 251; 1980, 259-262; 1981, 293-294; 1982, 253-255) and the adjacent hill of Aplomata (Kontoleon 1960a, 258-259; 1961, 194-200; 1969, 140-141; 1970, 146-152; Lambrinoudakis 1976, 298-299; 1993, 162-163; 1994, 171-172). These regions, as is the case of Kastro in the present-day Parikia of Paros, constitute an interesting archaeological palimpsest providing a picture of the landscape as a continuously changing cultural product of human-environmental relationships. This micro-landscape played an important role in the development of the urban centre of Naxos and has been strongly affected by human activity since the prehistoric period.

Thus, from a flourishing urban environment in the Mycenaean period with a large cemetery in the Aplomata hill the coastal zone of Grotta transformed over the course of the historical times into an open air sacred space closely connected with the nearby ancient city of Naxos. This implies the area remained uninhabited and the local natural environment, which was strongly affected by previous intensive human activity, was largely restored, as human presence was only limited to small-scale activities. However, in the beginning of the Late Roman period a dramatic change occurred with the rapid urbanisation of this small area. After long use as a sacred place, it lost its particular ideological and symbolic significance for the local community and was progressively occupied by private residences (Lambrinoudakis 2006, 76-77; forthcoming). Grotta and Aplomata hill became parts of the townscape as coastal suburbs (Figs 5.10 & 5.11). In terms of stratigraphy, in most cases the Roman or Late Roman architectural remains lie on a backfill layer covering the Mycenaean antiquities. However, in many cases the prehistoric layers have been disturbed by some Late Antique structure's deep foundations. The latter have been disturbed by a large number of later simple tombs dated to the 14th century, which covered the coastal zone of Grotta and Aplomata (Lambrinoudakis 1978, 211, 214).

Enlargement and renewal of urban areas is not a consistent pattern across the Aegean world, as most of the cities show traces of economic vitality on the one hand, and reduction in size on the other. The cities of Hyettos and Thespiae in Boeotia (Central Greece) for example, shrank dramatically by Late Antiquity (Bintliff *et al.* 2000; Bintliff & Snodgrass

1988b; Bintliff 2014b). Even the city of Corinth, a provincial capital of great importance, shrunk during Late Antiquity compared to its large size during previous periods (Slane & Sanders 2005). However, enlargement of the urban areas is not an unknown phenomenon in the wider Mediterranean world, as is recorded, probably, in the case of the nearby ancient city of Melos which shows evidence of possible expansion of the town planning beyond its previous limits, (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 145) and with more certainty, in several North African coastal cities (see more details about the Late Antique cites of North Africa in Leone 2007). Construction of new houses and enlargement of the urban areas are recorded in some North African cities, such as Pupput and Thuburbo Maius (both located on or close to the coast; Leone 2007, 48-50). This change of urban space had started from the late 2nd century and continued into the 4th century, as is also observed in the case of Naxos. According to Leone, this situation can be explained either as a need to recreate a regular urban network with the erection of new houses in the centre of the cities or as a desire for aristocracies to have a larger space for building luxurious domestic structures in regions beyond the previous urban limits (2007, 47-49). However, the pattern of urban renewal from the end of the 2nd century is not consistent across North Africa (Leone 2007, 50-51). In other cities in the area the shrinking process had already started by the 4th century.

The different residential districts of the Roman and Late Antique city of Naxos were interlinked with a complex network of streets. In the area of Mesa Grotta the remains of a street which measured 3 m in width were unearthed (Lambrinoudakis 1978, 215; 1996, 259-260). The street connected the top of the hill of Aplomata with the lower part of the city in the area of the stream (NW-SE orientation). Remains of houses were discovered along the north side of the street close to the stream, dating from the Hellenistic till the Late Antique period. The streets were accompanied by a complex system of double or single sewage drain pipes.

Regarding domestic architecture on Naxos, it is worth mentioning that the material is not only fragmentary preserved and excavated, as in many cases only a few walls of houses have been unearthed (Lambrinoudakis & Zafeiropoulou 1982, 261; 1983, 299-301), but is also preliminary published in the form of brief archaeological reports. Thus, at the moment, it is hard to acquire a better understanding of how domestic architecture was used in order to provide a more comprehensive view of housing in the Late Antique city of Naxos. For these reasons it is also not possible to identify a common typology or trend in the plans of the houses. Nonetheless, general observations can be made, since different types of houses reveal different social identities.

Excavations at the site of Aplomata have revealed the architectural remains of a relatively large wealthy mansion decorated with mosaic pavement (today in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos) and frescoes with figure patterns (Kontoleon 1961, 196-200, pl.151-153; 1963, 153-155; Lambrinoudakis 1993, 162-163; 1994, 171-172). At least eight spaces have been unearthed in very poor conservation status, probably belonging to the same structure. This aristocratic house was constructed with rubble masonry at different levels because of the relief's inclination. The largest space was recognised as courtyard (Kontoleon 1961, 197-198), thus it is possible the residence belonged to the luxurious *peristyle* type of *villas*. Houses of this type had a complex ground plan consisting of a courtyard with a *portico* on all sides, surrounded by chambers of different sizes and functions. The most prominent and sizeable of them were decorated with mosaics and wall-paintings functioning as private audience chambers, receptions and dining rooms, the *triclinia* (for a bibliographical overview see Uytterhoeven 2007a, 41-43). It is quite possible the room with the rich decoration from the town house of Naxos might have functioned as a reception or dining room. On the basis of the mosaic pavement's stylistic and iconographic analysis, the initial phase of this lavish urban house on Naxos can be dated to the 4th century (Kontoleon 1961, 198-199).

The mosaic with the theme from pagan iconography (Nereid riding a sea-bull) indicates the strong survival of pagan culture in the city of Naxos, at least until the 4th century (Fig. 5.12) (Lambrinoudakis 2006, 76-77). On the other hand, the construction of large richly decorated private town houses reflects the existence of local urban aristocracy. Luxurious urban *villas* were used by the members of Late Antiquity's local elites to promote their social and economic



Fig. 5.12: The mosaic that depicts a Nereid riding a sea-bull from the urban *villa* at Aplomata (now housed in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos).

superiority, showing off their status and wealth to the lower classes, who according to Uytterhoeven, were economically, politically and socially bound to them (2007a, 41-43). During the Late Roman period, the construction of *villas* was a common characteristic in many urban centres of the Aegean world (see for an overview see in Bintliff 2012b, 369-371). Aplomata must have been attractive as luxurious residential quarter in the Late Roman city, since the landscape is characterised by a slightly elevated hill offering a nice view of the sea, port and islet of Palatia (Fig. 5.10). The owner of this Naxian urban villa could have been a rich landowner with large properties in the adjacent large fertile coastal plain of Livadia, or merchant involved in exporting local products.

Apart from the luxurious urban *villa* in Naxos an important number of various smaller and simpler houses has been discovered. The picture emerging from the excavations is much more fragmented, despite the fact the majority of the architectural remains from the Late Antique city can be classified into this general group. Complete plans of the houses have not been published, as only few rooms have been excavated, the majority of them of unspecified use. The examples in this group are characterised by heterogeneity. Nevertheless, they have some common features such as the simple architectural style compared with the more lavish style of the aristocratic architecture, the relatively poor decoration and the occupation of restricted space (see for a bibliographical overview in Uytterhoeven 2007a, 43-44). They consisted of clusters of small spaces used for various activities and have been discovered in the areas of Grotta, Plithos and Katsagra. The owners of these houses could be less wealthy aristocrats, craftsmen, and shopkeepers, or probably small landowners and peasants related to the exploitation of the fertile coastal plain that dominates environs of the ancient city.

The most characteristic examples come from the area of the present-day Metropolis Square. According to excavators, the upper layers of stratigraphy are dominated by a dense network of structures dating to the Late Antique centuries (Lambrinoudakis & Zafeiropoulou 1982, 261; 1983; 299-301; 1984, 315-316, 320-321; 1985, 163). The Late Antique layers lie directly on the Mycenaean, Geometric and Early Hellenistic antiquities discovered at the same site. Although many unspecified spaces and wells were unearthed, the large amounts of everyday domestic pottery allows for the identification of the area as an urban residential district (Lambrinoudakis & Zafeiropoulou 1982, 261). The very poor conservation status of the Late Antique walls, which are fragmentarily preserved up to the height of the foundations, does not allow for the identification of a common typology or trend in the house's plans. Nevertheless, different construction phases have been recognised, while some walls reflect more lavish structures and others more humble houses

(Lambrinoudakis & Zafeiropoulou 1982, 261; 1983, 299-301).

Another characteristic example was discovered in the area of Mesa Grotta east of the Hellenistic Agora of Naxos, close to the present-day Metropolis Square (Kontoleon 1969, 145, fig.158β; Lambrinoudakis 1979, 249-251, fig.1). A complex cluster of spaces used for various purposes including artisanal activities was brought to light and was dated to the Classical period. Later, during the Roman Imperial times new simple structures with rubble stone masonry and stone-paved or pebble-paved floors were constructed on the ruins of the previous buildings. Some walls from the Classical structures were used as foundations for the new buildings whilst the later floors lie approximately 1 m higher than the ancient floors. The new complexes were destined for domestic use, and probably consisted of more than one house. On the basis of numismatic and ceramic evidence it is clear this block of houses was built sometime during the 3rd century (Lambrinoudakis 1979, 251).

The architectural remains of a Late Antique house were unearthed in the area of Katsagra (AD 1988, 493-494, fig.12, pl.299γ). Although only a few parts of the house were excavated, two construction phases were identified. In the latest phase underground storage facilities have been dated, these included earth floors in which large storage vessels (*pithoi*) were found *in situ*. The ceramic material consisted mostly of domestic pottery.

What is most important in the examples of both categories is that the vast majority of these domestic structures have produced evidence of long and continuous occupation (Lambrinoudakis forthcoming). Some spaces in the urban *villa* on Aplomata hill remained in use probably from the 4th till the middle 8th century, as indicated by numismatic evidence (Lambrinoudakis 1993, 162-163; see more in Chapter 5.2.6). The block of houses in the old urban area of Mesa Grotta was in use from the 3rd till the 7th centuries on the basis of numismatic and ceramic evidence (Lambrinoudakis 1979, 251). Study of the pottery material from the excavations of the Agora, mainly the lamps, suggests there was continuity in use of these structures from the 3rd to the 7th centuries (Bournias 2014). Thus, on the basis of numismatic and pottery evidence it is clear that most of the domestic structures of Late Antique city of Naxos were used for many centuries, surviving well until the beginning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The total abandonment of some houses is dated sometime between the late 7th and middle 8th centuries.

Domestic architecture in many provinces of the Mediterranean world show evidence of a general trend to restore, refurbish or rebuild houses throughout Late Antiquity (for a bibliographical overview on urban housing in Late Antique Greece see Uytterhoeven 2007b, 68-69, 82; for North Africa see Leone 2007). In the case of Naxos, despite the poor conservation status of the preserved architectural remains, the aforementioned limitations of the publication of the excavation results, and the fact that research has been focused primarily on earlier antiquities, evidence of rebuilding, refurbishment or restoration during these centuries has been identified in the areas of the Metropolis Square (Lambrinoudakis & Zafeiropoulou 1982, 261; 1983, 299-301) and Katsagra (AD 1988, 493-494). The several construction phases, which were identified in many of these buildings, in conjunction with the large concentrations of domestic pottery, demonstrate a continuity of use of the area as a residential quarter until the 7th-8th centuries, with a clear trend to restore, refurbish, rebuild or, probably, a subdivision of houses throughout the centuries. Inevitably, the initial form of the structures could not remain unaffected during their long history and some changes took place in order to adopt the needs of each period from the 4th to the 8th century. Moreover, architectural aspects of the city continued to transform and adapt to the urban community's needs.

In general terms, we can argue that domestic architectural remains uncovered in the city of Naxos from the Roman Imperial period to Late Antiquity, are characterised by a dense network of humble or lavish houses with irregular plan. The construction of the houses was so dense that there was no free space around them and in many cases the limits of property were unclear. Despite changes, archaeological evidence suggests the Late Antique city of Naxos was still keeping urban planning under control by trying to maintain a regular organisation with public paved streets, sewage systems, new residential areas, and workshop installations. In the beginning of Late Antiquity, a new larger city emerged with a new style



Fig. 5.13: The temple of Apollo on the small islet of Palatia.

of architecture and town planning very distinctive from those of its ancient predecessors. After the building activity in the 4th century the new urban areas remained occupied, showing a general trend to restore, rebuild or refurbish houses.

An unusual characteristic of the Late Antique city of Naxos is the absence, at the moment, of secure evidence for newly built Christian churches within the urban network, especially after the 5th-6th centuries. Not only does this contradict other Cycladic urban centres, such as Paros, Melos, Thera, and Andros, but also the remainder of the island. Although it is a temporary research gap, it indicates a different urban pattern of the Late Antique town of Naxos compared to the city of Paros, where the new urban planning was centred around the monumental religious complex of Ekatontapiliani, which emerged as the urban landscape's main landmark from the 6th century onwards (see Chapter 4).

The only case of a Christian church in the area of the ancient city of Naxos is the conversion of the large Archaic temple of Apollo on the small islet of Palatia in the harbour of Naxos (Welter 1924; Kontoleon 1954, 338; 1960b, 468-469; Ekschmitt 1993, 264-270; Deligiannakis 2011, 332 with n. 62). Although in terms of topography, the temple was slightly out of the urban tissue, it can be seen as part of the wider urban environment because of its close proximity to the city (Figs 5.11 & 5.13). During Late Antiquity the pagan temple was converted into a spacious Christian church. It has the architectural layout of a three-aisled "cella-basilica" with narthex (Welter 1924, 22; Kontoleon 1960b, 468-472). The basilica was created within the temple's *cella* and measured 37,42x 15,96 m. The church's internal arrangement is not clear as all its remains were removed during modern times. The rows of columns were probably maintained, dividing the interior space into three aisles. In the east part of the edifice, between the *cella* and the *opisthonaos*, a semi-circular inscribed apse was constructed. The intercolumniations of the *prostyle* were blocked by walls and the west part of the earlier building served as the basilica's narthex. The church's floor, which was paved with marble architectural members, was 1,38 m below the temple's original floor level. According to Welter, the conversion of the temple into a Christian basilica is dated presumably during the 5th century (1924, 21-22).

This temple conversion reflects a process of redefining and Christianising the landscape. It also demonstrates the growing wealth and prestige of the local Church in the 5th and 6th centuries. The same process is also observed in the periphery of the city, as is demonstrated below (see Chapter 5.2.4). The temple's unique position close to the port area, which overlooks the maritime channel between Naxos and Paros, its large dimensions, and its function as main landmark visible almost from any corner of the city must have been attractive elements for the Christians. In addition, visitors landing at the port of Naxos would sense the Christian presence of the city as they approached.

Apart from the temple conversion, the possible existence of Christian churches in the Late Antique city of Naxos is indicated by a number of epigraphic and sculptural evidence. More specifically, an interesting inscription, which found accidentally in the area of the modern Chora and is now housed in the local Archaeological Museum, provides information about two churches. According to Kiourtzian, it is dated to the 5th or 6th century and served as a boundary between the areas belonging to two churches, one dedicated to the archangel Michael and the other to a today unknown saint, the Saint Apikrantios (2000, 100-101 with n. 29). These churches are totally unknown by other types of sources and we ignore their exact position.

Additionally, an indirect evidence for the existence of more religious monuments in the area of Chora comes from a small number of marble sculptures, mainly closure slabs, which have been incorporated into later structures. The most characteristic example comes from a later workshop in the area of Grotta. A marble closure

slab from an ambo which bears the inscription: "+ ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ἀνδρέου" was re-used for the construction of a basin (Lambrinoudakis 1981, 293, pl.200β; Jacobs 1987, 279-280; Kiourtzian 2000, 102; Mitsani 2006, 83). On the basis of stylistic and iconographic similarities, the example from Naxos has been regarded as a product of the same workshop that carved the *templon's* closure slabs in the main church of Ekatontapiliani on the neighbouring island of Paros, dating to the middle 6th century (Mitsani 2006). A second unpublished fragmentary preserved closure slab with similar decoration is now housed in the archaeological Museum of Naxos (Mitsani 2006, 83-84 with n. 37).

5.2.4 The periphery of the ancient city of Naxos

This section discusses three regions of vital importance for the ancient city of Naxos which surround the urban centre and constitute its periphery: the mountainous region of Melanes, the large coastal plain of Livadia and the area of Agkidia (Fig. 5.8). The study of the material culture from these rural areas with distinct landscape character significantly expands our knowledge of the urban centre of Naxos during Late Antiquity and of the function of the space surrounding it. Since antiquity all of these regions were culturally and economically associated with the urban centre of Naxos, and constituted diachronically rural spaces of great importance for agricultural production as well as food and water supply of the city. As evidenced by the examination of the material culture, there are clear traces of strong bonds between the city of Naxos and its periphery during Late Antiquity. This chapter aims to illustrate some important aspects of this relationship from the 4th to the early 8th centuries.

The Aqueduct of Flerio (Melanes)

The area of Melanes is located a few kilometres east of Chora (Fig. 5.8) and constitutes a mountainous landscape with a wide range of geological formations, small village communities, gorges, fertile basins, deep lush river valleys with dense vegetation, and rich water springs. It contains the modern villages of Agios Thaleleos, Melanes, Kournochori and Mili. Due to its mineral wealth consisting of rich marble deposits and the abundance of water resources, Melanes emerged as an extremely important region for the interests of the urban centre of Naxos since antiquity. In economic terms, the exploitation of the marble from the ancient quarries of Flerio (east of the village of Mili), which was very famous in the Greek world during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., contributed to the island's financial growth.

However, the region's most valuable natural resource was the extremely rich water sources which proved diachronically a key element for the sustainability of the urban population. During antiquity the impact of water management in urban contexts was of vital importance for the sustainability of the ancient cities, affecting the size and density of urban populations. The location of the ancient city of Naxos lacked abundant water resources. The surface hydrology of the area over which the urban centre was developed could cover only a small part its population's need in water supplies, as only a few streams flowed periodically and large quantities of water went down to the sea. Although excavations in Chora unearthed an important number of wells along the banks of the stream that crosses the area between the hills of Kastro and Aplomata to gather water, it seems that at a very early stage the need for a more effective solution to overcome the problem of water supply appeared (Sfyroera 2013, 127). The need for extra water led the city to look for a suitable water source, not too far away, at the right level and of good quality, in order to transport water through an ambitious engineering project to the urban centre. In the west of central Naxos the wider area of Melanes was the closest region to the ancient city with an abundance of natural water resources. Thus, in order to overcome this critical problem an aqueduct was constructed in the late 6th century B.C., conveying water from the distant springs of Flerio and the adjacent valley of Kampones into the city of Naxos (Fig. 5.14).

The so-called aqueduct of Flerio was a large-scale water management project and one of the most impressive public works ever built in the Cyclades. The Archaic aqueduct was a pipeline

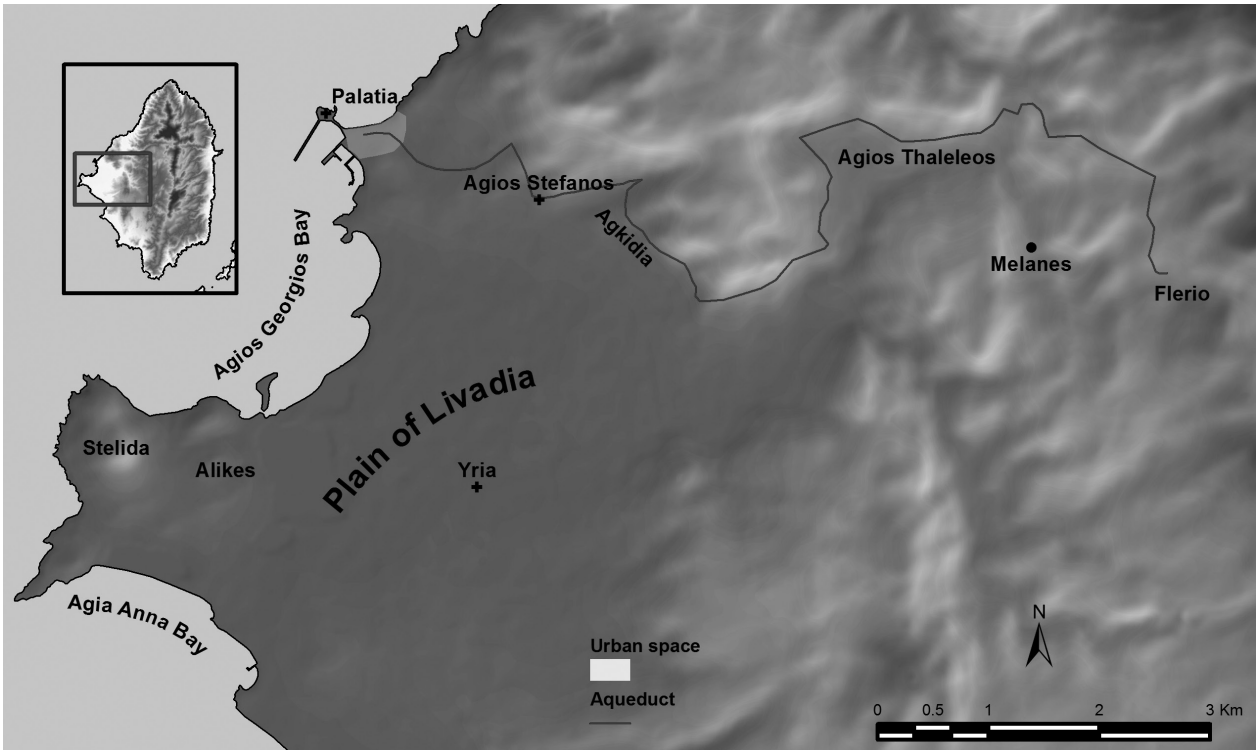


Fig. 5.14: The ancient aqueduct of Naxos.

11 km long constructed of ceramic pipes which followed an artificial ditch. Several small-scale restorations of the tubes were conducted during the Archaic and Classical periods (Sfyroera 2013, 129). At a second stage in the 1st century A.D., a radical reconstruction of the aqueduct took place. The pipeline was replaced by a masonry channel with waterproof plaster, which however, followed the initial course of the Archaic period. At a last stage, probably during the 4th century, the aqueduct underwent one more long-scale refurbishment (Fig. 5.15). The first Roman channel was replaced by a similar stone-built new one, running on or near the line of the former one (Lambrinoudakis 2007, 1; Sfyroera & Lambrinoudakis 2010, 9; Sfyroera 2013, 130). Ceramic evidence found at the entrance and exit of the tunnel in Flerio suggests the last phase of aqueduct remained in function until the 8th century (Lambrinoudakis 2007, 1). Aqueducts of this kind were usually used to supply communal drinking fountains within the urban centres. It makes sense to assume that the aqueduct of Naxos was connected with a number of fountains within the urban tissue. The present-day Trani Fountana in Chora could have been the end of the aqueduct in Roman times (Sfyroera 2013, 131). It is a relatively large cistern which is marked on the maps of many cartographers of the 15th and 16th centuries (Belavilas 2004).

The technical difficulty of this project is apparent as evidenced by the 220 m tunnel which was dug through the mountain between Flerio and Kampones in order to tap a source in the latter area. However, the technical features of this infrastructure are beyond the scope of this work. What is most important for this research is to integrate this public infrastructure into the historical context of the city of Naxos during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, providing important economic, cultural and social evidence not only for the urban centre but also for the surrounding rural environment.

Apart from its great importance in technological and architectural terms, the aqueduct of Flerio can tell us a different story since it reflects aspects of the history of the urban centre of Naxos and its periphery during the periods in question. The aqueduct of

Flerio as a large-scale public project, designed, financed and built by the city, must be studied in close connection with the evolutions which occurred in the urban centre of Naxos during the periods in question. As is mentioned above, it has been demonstrated that there was continuity of use of this structure with many restorations and reconstructions from the Archaic period until the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (Lambrinoudakis 2007, 1; Sfyroera & Lambrinoudakis 2010, 9; Sfyroera 2013). All the decisions for restoration and refurbishment of the aqueduct were made and financed by the city, reflecting a diachronic special care to improve the efficiency of this structure which emerged as a durable key element for the sustainability and economic growth of the urban centre.

Focusing on the periods in question, the large-scale rebuilding and the subsequent refurbishment of the aqueduct in two phases during the Roman and Late Roman centuries can have multiple readings concerning the local urban community. First of all, the radical reconstruction of the aqueduct in the 1st century apparently reflects an attempt to improve quality of life in the Naxian urban centre. In this respect, we can argue that this long distance water supply system has significantly contributed to the process of urban expansion of the city of Naxos, the first traces of which have been recognised by excavations in the 2nd century. Additionally, it suggests an active insular urban community which was able to design, finance and implement a very expensive, ambitious and challenging public project, especially during a period that has been considered by most scholars as a general decline for the Cyclades. According to Sfyroera, the construction of an expensive public project on such a small island possibly attracted funds from both the emperor and local aristocracy (2013, 130 with n. 15). Finally, on a rather different note, this reconstruction reflects not only an important technological change in the aqueduct technology during the Roman period (from pipelines to masonry channels), but also indicates an "open" local community interacting with broader words and well-informed about the new technological evolutions in the Empire.

In this context, regarding the second phase of the aqueduct's radical refurbishment during the



Fig. 5.15: Part of the masonry channel with waterproof plaster from the Roman period.

4th century we can trace the large impact of water management in an urban context on the Late Antique city of Naxos. A combination of evidence from the aqueduct with excavation data from the urban area discussed above indicates an association between the operation of this large scale public work and the re-organisation and enlargement of the town planning which occurred during the 4th century. In other words, the refurbishment of the water supply system was most likely necessary in order to cover the increasing needs of a coastal insular urban centre which was in an ongoing process of expansion. Once again, the diachronic special care of the urban community for water management is reflected in this public infrastructure. During the 4th century the city of Naxos was still able to construct large-scale public works seeking the improvement in quality of everyday life. Moreover, the communal care to

improve the quality of life of the urban population is also attested by the complex sewage systems in the public roads through which waste was removed, keeping the town clean and free from effluent.

The continuous and uninterrupted function of the aqueduct over the course of the Late Antique centuries in combination with the long use of the urban domestic structures, indicate that the city of Naxos not only maintained its urban character, but was also populated by a significant number of inhabitants. The use of the aqueduct until at least the turbulent late 7th and early 8th century suggests that the city of Naxos survived well into the beginning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The same picture emerges from the excavation results from some urban houses which, as is mentioned above, were still occupied until the 7th or 8th centuries. The total abandonment of the aqueduct reflects the radical changes in the urban environment of Naxos and the wider Aegean context. Possibly, this evolution is connected with a major shift in the settled landscape from the coastal urban centre of Naxos to the fortified castle of Apalirou (Kastro Apalirou) in the interior of the western part of the island during the Early Byzantine centuries (see more in Chapter 5.3.9). However, as is mentioned below, the abandonment of the aqueduct does not mean total abandonment of the coastal settlement which most probably shrank in size, and lost its urban status and its importance as the cultural, political and economic centre of Naxos (see more in Chapter 5.2.6).

On the other hand, the impact of water management is not only obvious in urban contexts but also in the rural sphere. Agricultural exploitation requires good water supplies and irrigation systems. According to Sfyroera, the aqueduct of Flerio had a dual function, since it was also used for the irrigation of the productive zones along the course of the water channel (2013, 127). Thus, local agricultural exploitation benefited from the aqueduct, as run-off channels were created to provide water for land irrigation. However, due to the vital importance of the water supply for the survival of the urban centre, it is considered that the management of water for irrigation followed strict rules and regulations (Sfyroera 2013, 127).

A closer look at the region's micro-topography through which the water supply system passed, suggests that the initial design of the aqueduct's line, most likely, took into account the most fertile geological formations of the wider area, such as small plateaus and valleys. During the Archaic phase of the aqueduct, the tunnel had already been dug through the mountain in the northern plain of Flerio, in order to make the best use of water distribution to all the fertile areas on the way to the city. The remains of the entrance and exit of the channel are preserved in a very good conservation status and are dated to the last phase of the structure, probably during the 4th century (Sfyroera & Lambrinoudakis 2010, 16-17; Sfyroera 2013, 135). In the tunnel entrance there were facilities for cleaning the water. The water ran through the masonry channel into a deep, wide quadrangular basin which served as an entrance of the tunnel and at the same time as a settling basin in which the water was filtered before entering the tunnel. Nowadays the natural flow of the water continues to follow the same route supplying the adjacent valley of Flerio, as probably happened during antiquity. At the tunnel's exit the Roman channel came out and continued its route to the north while it turned westwards behind the hill in order to reach the adjacent valley of Kampones, supplying the local fields with water for irrigation. A second settling basin has been constructed at the tunnel exit. Another characteristic example was observed in the area of the present-day village of Agios Thaleleos. The micro-landscape is dominated by a small but fertile basin east of the village. Large parts of the line of the Roman aqueduct (Fig. 5.15) are preserved in good conservation status in or around the village (Sfyroera & Lambrinoudakis 2010, 24; Sfyroera 2013, 138). From there, canals would distribute water to fields of the adjacent basins for irrigation.

In the rural context, the irrigation systems which were linked to the aqueduct testify to a continuous exploitation of the agricultural landscape over the course of the Roman period and Late Antiquity as well as, presumably, in the beginning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This picture may indicate the presence of a dense network of rural communities scattered in the most fertile regions located along the course of the aqueduct of Flerio, which could have been organised as small estates-centres or villages. Nevertheless, an intensive surface survey is needed in order to locate the exact positions of those sites. The continuous special care of the urban centre to

improve the long distance water supply system during Roman Imperial times and Late Antiquity might also reflect an intensification of agrarian production in this rural landscape of vital importance for the interest of the city of Naxos. The possible existence of rural communities in this part of the Naxian landscape makes sense within the wider Aegean context, suggesting a busy countryside with intensified exploitation of the agricultural landscape during Late Antiquity (Bintliff 2012b, 353-360). This kind of rural organisation is well-attested in the Cycladic context by the *cadaster* of Thera which provides valuable information regarding rural life and agricultural production in the Cyclades during the Roman and Late Antique centuries (Kiourtzian 2000, 212-240; 2001, 11). According to Kiourtzian, it is astonishing that on such a small island approximately 50 large estates have been recorded in the 4th century, with a particular name, domestic organisation and farming practices. Additionally, the Keos Survey provides clear evidence of rural site expansion across the countryside of the island during Late Antiquity (Cherry *et al.* 1991). In the case of Naxos, tangible traces of the existence of a Late Roman settlement have been recently found in the modern village of Melanes. A Late Roman bath was located at the site of the present-day small church of Agios Georgios within the river valley of Melanes (Bilis & Pagnisali 2011). This probably indicates the existence of a rural community during Late Antiquity within this small but fertile productive zone.

Finally, it reasonable to assume there would be a possible land route which would have followed the course of the aqueduct. This itinerary could help not only to connect the urban centre with its periphery but also for the necessary and constant maintenance of this huge infrastructure.

Aspects of transformation of the rural sacred landscape around the city of Naxos

The urban centre of Naxos is adjacent to the large fertile coastal plain of Livadia, which extended southeast of the present-day Chora, along the island's west shoreline (Figs 5.2 & 5.4a). This extensive productive zone has been diachronically proved as a rural space of vital importance for the city's agricultural production and food supply.

In the midst of the plain (Fig. 5.16), approximately 1 km from the western shore and less than 3 km from Chora is located the rural pagan sanctuary of Dionysus at Yria (Lambrinoudakis *et al.* 1987; Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988; Lambrinoudakis 1992). The site was used as a sacred place from the Mycenaean period until Late Antiquity. Four successive temple structures were erected from the Geometric to Archaic periods. Around 580-570 B.C. the fourth and largest Ionic *prostyle* temple with *adyton,* marble *prostasis*, and a marble altar was erected (Fig. 5.17). Generally, it has been demonstrated that there was continuity of use of the temple with some restorations, especially during the Early Roman Imperial period, until the late 3rd – early 4th century (Lambrinoudakis *et al.* 1987; 569-621; Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988, 133-191).

The temple was converted into a Christian church with minor modifications to the plan of the original pagan building (Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988, 170; Lambrinoudakis 1992, 208-209). The basilica was created within the temple's *cella*. Due to the fact that only a few traces of the Christian period are still *in situ,* the internal configuration of the basilica is not clear. It seems the two colonnades, consisting of four columns each, were probably maintained dividing the interior space into three aisles. Several traces of grooves, probably for fastening closure slabs were discovered *in situ*. It is possible that some of these traces belonged to the foundation of the Holy Bema's chancel screen (Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988, 146). Furthermore, in the north part of the *cella*, 1,30 m west of the wall of the *adyton* and east of the axis of the temple a trench was found, the walls of which were covered by stones and mortar. It was covered by a marble circular slab (diameter 47 cm and thickness 12 cm) with a *graffito* of the Greek capital letters «A» and «Ω». At the bottom of the trench a bone with carbon brushes and pottery (geometric-roman) were found. According to the excavator, this structure can be identified as the *enkainion* (a cavity beneath the altar in the Holy Bema of a church in which holy relics are placed) of the Christian church (Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988, 147). From the sculptural decoration of the basilica two well-preserved imported column capitals were found. They belong to a type of

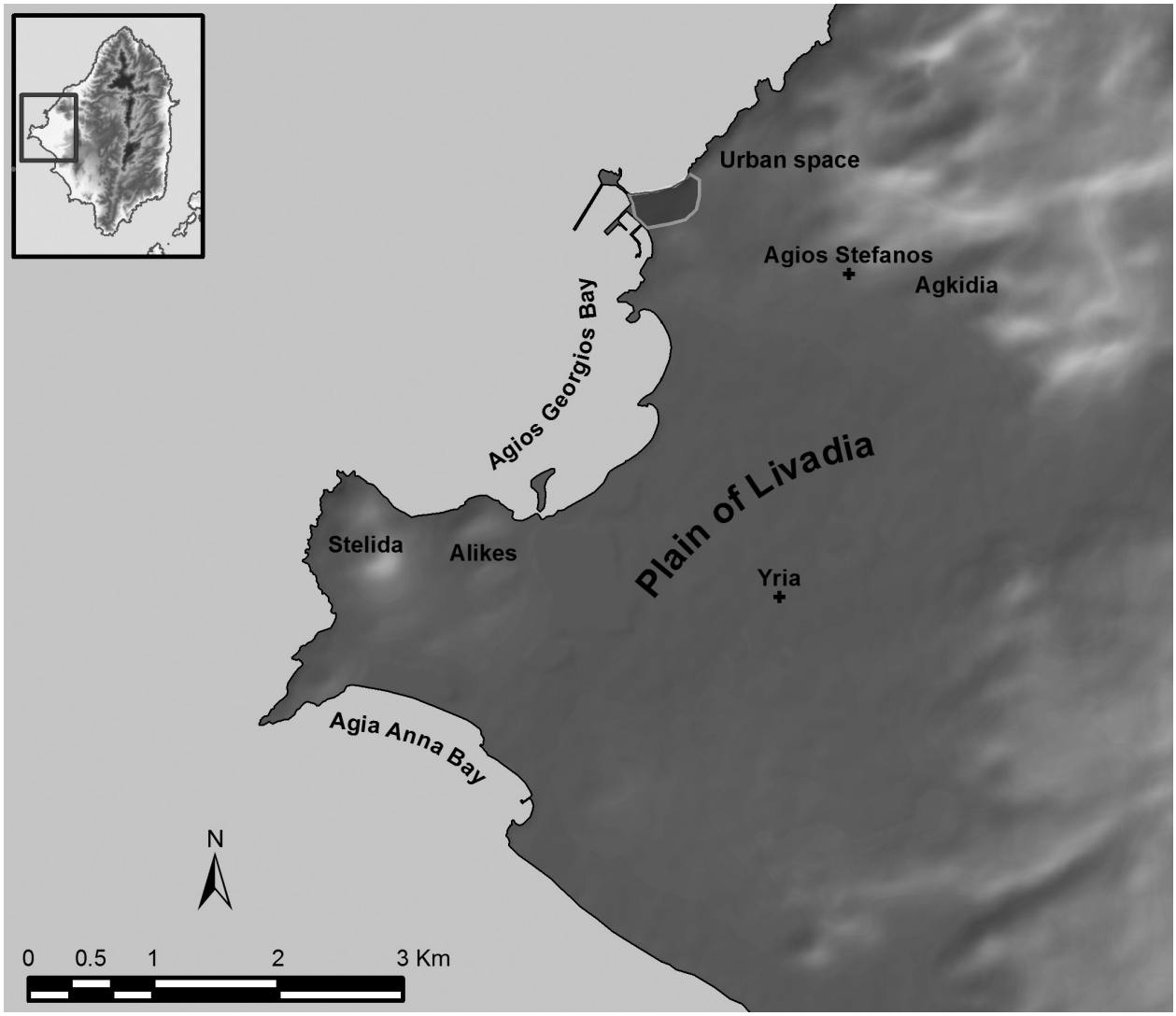


Fig. 5.16: The rural sacred landscape around the city of Naxos.

Corinthian capital manufactured in the famous workshops of Proconnesus between the middle 5th and the middle 6th century and widely distributed in the Mediterranean world (Fig. 5.18) (Sodini 2000b, 423-446).

According to the excavators, the conversion of the temple into a Christian church is dated sometime during the 5th century (Lambrinoudakis & Gruben 1987-1988, 170; Lambrinoudakis 1992, 208-209). An earlier dating seems impossible, since the luxurious urban *villa* discussed above with the mosaic from the pagan iconography in conjunction with the continuous use of the temple until at least the 4th century indicate a relatively strong presence of the pagan cult on the island during the first centuries of Late Antiquity. Taking into account that the general type of the imported Corinthian capitals from the sculptural decoration of the basilica was being manufactured between the middle 5th and the middle 6th century; it makes sense to assume that the conversion took place sometime during the second half of the 5th century.

However, the excavation data combined with indirect information from other Christian religious monuments on western Naxos have produced evidence that the edifice was used as a Christian place



Fig. 5.17: View of the rural pagan sanctuary of Dionysus at Yria.

of worship after its conversion, only for a short period of time. Lambertz has argued that ancient material from Yria had been reused in the construction of the middle 6th century basilica of Agios Matthaios in Plaka (see more in Chapter 5.3.3), less than 3 km south (2001, 379-408). As Deligiannakis reveals, evidence from Yria, Palatia and Saggri (see more in Chapter 5.3.6) suggest that during this early period temple conversions on Naxos were characterised by minor alterations in pagan architecture (2011, 333). This is an indication that the pagan building at Yria was in good conservation status before its conversion and was not abandoned for a long period of time, since this would lead to the structure's total or partial collapse.

Apart from the archaeology of temple conversion, what is also important in this case is to investigate the possible reasons for the selection of the site in symbolic terms. A first observation has to do with the spatial relationship between the temple and the urban centre. The pagan sanctuary of Dionysus held a unique position in the rural landscape of the city's immediate periphery amid a productive zone of vital importance for its interests. This indicates strong bonds between the urban population and this rural temple, while the long-term use of the site as a place of worship shows its great significance for the city. Thus, having considered this close relationship, it is quite reasonable to assume that the Christian church from the 5th century at the same site was also associated with the nearby urban centre and its increasing Christian community. This is also supported by the excavation evidence which does not suggest the development of a settlement around the church during Late Antiquity. In this respect, the area of Yria maintained its character as a rural sacred place of great importance for the city of Naxos in the beginning of Late Antiquity, adopting



Fig. 5.18: Imported Corinthian capitals of Proconnesian marble from the sculptural decoration of the basilica at Yria.

the increasing needs of the Christian population.

The phenomenon of conversion of the temples of Apollon at Palatia and Dionysus at Yria during the 5th century shows a significant process of Christianising the sacred landscape in the immediate periphery of the Late Antique city. Both pagan sanctuaries held unique positions in the landscape, serving as sacred landmarks in the immediate environs of the urban centre. The pagan temple at Yria functioned as the dominant sacred landmark in the midst of a rural landscape with great economic potential, proving crucial for the sustainability and the development of the ancient city of Naxos. During the 5th century, this monument continued to serve as the main reference point of the region, under the aegis, however, of the new religion with growing power. In this respect, symbolically, it reflects a progressive process of Christianisation and transition to a new cultural identity, and way of life which differed in many ways compared to the ancient pagan world. Thus, this basilica served to Christianise the landscape in the periphery of the urban centre. Individuals arriving from the western lowland of Naxos would sense the Christian presence as they would have passed by this church on their journey towards the city. Similar phenomena are well-known in the wider Aegean world as evidenced by the case of the neighbouring island of Paros discussed above, and mostly from the study of the periphery of Corinth (Rothaus 2000).

On the other hand, the conversion of ancient temples which had survived in good conservation status, might have been an easy, quick and less expensive solution for the creation of places of

Christian worship during this early period (before the 6th century) when the new religion struggled to establish itself as the Empire's dominant religion.

It has been suggested that the total abandonment of the Late Antique church at Yria after the late 5th century might have been due to the instability of the area's soil and the local community's ambition to undertake a new building project in the neighbouring area of Plaka, using Yria as a quarry (Deligiannakis 2011, 333). However, as it is suggested by this study the erection of basilicas such as the one of Agios Matthaios in Plaka during the 6th century on Naxos, is a more complex phenomenon which is closely connected with a general trend of intensification of the agricultural exploitation on the island (see more in Chapter 5.3.3). In any case, the converted Christian church at Yria lost its importance for the urban centre and ceased to serve the increasing needs of the local Christian community by the 6th century, since the building itself had been erected for the religious needs of the pagan cult and was no longer functional. Thus, it was more useful as a quarry supplying building material for reuse in the erection of the nearby basilicas in the 6th century.

As mentioned below, during the 6th century the sacred landscape of western Naxos drastically changed with the erection of many Christian basilicas, mainly in the most fertile areas on the island (see more in Chapter 5.3). In the fertile coastal zone of the ancient city of Naxos the only secure evidence for a newly erected church during that period comes from the site Fraro between Chora and the village of Agkidia (Fig. 5.16). In a prominent site on the lower slope of Mt Xilokastro a relatively large Christian church (Figs 5.19 & 5.20) was erected close to the line of the aqueduct of Flerio, less than 1,5 km southeast of the urban centre (Kalokiris 1960, 11; Drandakis 1985-1990, 23-24; Gruben, 1999, 296-299; Dimitrokallis 2000, 11, figs 7-8; AD 2005, 945-947; AD 2006, 1113; Sfyroera & Lambrinoudakis 2010, 27-28; Bilis & Pagnisali 2011; Ohnesorg 2012, 107-109). The initial church had the architectural layout of a large three-aisled basilica without a narthex (Fig. 5.19). It measured 23,35 m in length and 12,70 m in width. Two colonnades consisting of 5 columns each, divided the church interior into three aisles. The nave terminated at its eastern end with a projecting semi-circular apse. A large number

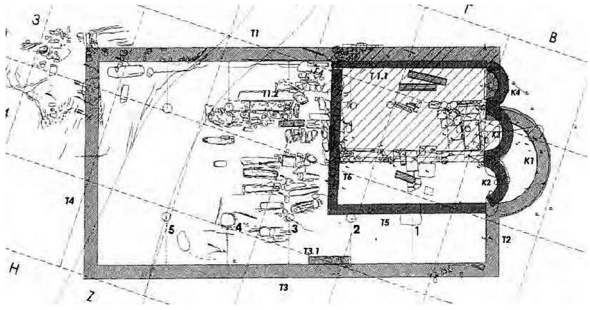


Fig. 5.19: Plan of the basilica of Agios Stefanos at Fraro (AD 2005, 946, fig.11).



Fig. 5.20: View of the apse of the basilica of Agios Stefanos at Fraro.

of ancient building marble members were used for the construction of the basilica. Later, in the Middle Byzantine period a smaller church was erected on the ruins of the early basilica.

Concerning the site of the basilica, due to its close proximity to the city it is reasonable to assume this monument can be associated with the Christian community of the Naxian urban centre. Similar to the case of the pagan temple conversion at Yria, archaeological evidence, at the moment, does not suggest the development of a settlement around the basilica during Late Antiquity. The basilica of Agios Stefanos built on a slightly elevated site overlooked not only the city of Naxos but also almost the entire plain of Livadia. In this respect, the Late Antique basilica could have acted as a main landmark in this coastal landscape, as it was visible from almost any point of the plain and the city. After the abandonment of the Christian church at Yria in the 5th century the urban Christian community of Naxos, probably in

the wider context of the religious building boom of the 6th century in the Aegean, undertook a new more ambitious project at a new site closer to the city. The new basilica emerged as the new sacred place of this non-urban landscape replacing the church at Yria. On the other hand, the construction of the basilica only few meters west of the line of the aqueduct may indicate some form of relation between the landscape's two dominant monuments. Moreover, at the time of the basilica's erection in the 6th century the aqueduct was in full operation.

5.2.5 Late Antique material culture and trade networks

Ceramic material constitutes the main evidence for dating and studying the aspects of social, economic and cultural behaviour. Especially in the context of the highly interactive Aegean islands, the imported pottery evidence is one of the most valuable historical sources suitable for the study of interaction and connectivity between local insular societies and broader worlds. Large amounts of ceramic finds have been collected during the almost seven decades of excavations in the area of the ancient city of Naxos and its periphery. Unfortunately, the vast majority of this material is still unpublished. Nonetheless, a group of imported vessels, consisting of a number of well-published lamps from Chora, Yria and Saggri, and some sporadic brief references in the archaeological reports of the local Ephorate of Antiquities provide valuable information regarding the economic links of the Late Antique city of Naxos. This chapter offers a fresh approach to this fragmentary material in an attempt to connect all the available evidence in order to investigate trade connections, and at the same time expanding the picture of the changes that occurred in the Cyclades during the Late Antique centuries.

A large number of clay lamps were discovered in cist or pit graves during the rescue excavations of different plots around the hill of Aplomata and the Metropolis Square. Bournias studied this material and classified the lamps into groups on the basis of their provenance (2014, 789-791). The lamps span a wide chronological spectrum ranging from the 2nd to the 7th centuries. Several groups of lamps recognised have been imported from famous production centres in the Eastern Mediterranean. The lamps can be grouped in the following categories: a) Greek lamps of Corinthian type from the late 2nd – early 3rd centuries, b) Athenian lamps from the 4th − 5th centuries, c) lamps of unknown provenance which have been regarded as products of an "Aegean" workshop from the second half of the 4th – first half of the 6th century (see more on this type in Gerousi 2003; 2010), d) Asia Minor lamps dated from the 5th to the 7th centuries, e) Cypriot lamps−from the 5th – 6th centuries, f) imitations of North-African lamps from the 5th century and, g) lamps imported, probably from Constantinople during the late 6th – early 7th century.

A second group of imported ceramics came from a rescue excavation of a plot in the area of modern Chora (AD 2001-2004, 208). The very brief excavation report mentioned that a few sherds of Phocaean and North African red slip wares along with fragments of LR 1 and LR 2 amphora types from the 6th – 7th centuries were discovered. Unfortunately, it is impossible to check the validity of this information due to the total absence of more data, such as photographic documentation and drawings. A third group of imported ceramics has been recognised in the excavations conducted in the basilica of Agios Stefanos at Agkidia, close to Chora. According to the brief archaeological report, several sherds of red slip wares and lamps from Asia Minor as well as lamps of the so-called "Aegean" type have been discovered (AD2005, 945-947, fig.14; AD 2006, 1113). The lamps are dated to the late 7th century (AD 2005, 946).

Despite the obvious limitations, mainly, because of the fragmented nature of the material and its preliminary publication, the imported ceramics of the city of Naxos and its periphery offer some indications concerning socioeconomic and cultural behaviour of this Aegean coastal urban centre's population during Late Antiquity. According to Bournias, from the 4th century the Naxian market was progressively flooded with imported lamps fabricated in several production centres around the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the wider area of the Aegean world (2014, 791). The vast majority of the material constituted grave offerings and was found to be used, probably because it was originally destined for domestic use in the houses which, as is mentioned above, occupied the areas of Grotta, Aplomata, Plithos and the Metropolis Square during Late Antiquity. Additional material from Yria and

Saggri suggests that these types of lamps were also imported to Naxos from North African and Syro-Palestinian production centres (Bournias 2014). Apart from the lamps, it seems that different types of domestic pottery, such as table wares and amphorae, were imported from production centres in Asia Minor, North Africa, Cyprus and Constantinople.

The picture of Naxos as a highly interactive microcosm is also supported by the evidence provided by the *graffiti* at the bay of *Grammata* on the island of Syros (Kiourtzian 2000, 134-200; 2001, 11-12). The inscriptions are dated between the 4th and first half of the 8th century, suggesting high connectivity between the islands of the Aegean Archipelago but also communication with the wider eastern Mediterranean world, such as Asia Minor, Syro-Palestine and Egypt. At least three inscriptions are preserved inscribed on the rocks of the bay by seafarers with origins from the island of Naxos (Kiourtzian 2000, 173-177, n.108-110, pl.XXXIV-XXXV). The *graffiti* belonged to the invocative inscriptions, where the name and the origins of the captains are mentioned.

A combination of ceramic, epigraphic and architectural material produces evidence for economic links between the coastal urban centre of Naxos and other regions of the East Mediterranean during the Roman period and Late Antiquity. It appears that during the Roman Imperial times the city of Naxos participated in the maritime trade routes. The picture emerging from a number of early imported lamps dated between the 1st and 3rd century shows the island's commercial connections with the wider Aegean world and contradicts previous historical views about isolation of the Cyclades during the Roman period. From the 4th century onwards, the urban population of Naxos was increasingly involved in the maritime trade networks. Imported ceramic material from famous Mediterranean production centres such as Cyprus, North Africa, Egypt and Middle East as well as from Aegean production sites, shows that the main port of Naxos was fully integrated into the regional and inter-regional maritime trade routes that connected the Aegean and parts of the eastern Mediterranean to Constantinople over the course of Late Antiquity. The urban centre of Naxos would have acted as a suitable regional trade station, and at the same time as a smaller market for commercial products manufactured in the famous Mediterranean production centres of the period. Additionally, ships from Naxos with Naxian mariners sailed over the Aegean, as verified by the pilgrimage centre on Syros. Therefore, the coastal city-port of Naxos and its periphery shows evidence of a highly interactive insular microcosm fully integrated in networks of communications and exchange.

5.2.6 The city of Naxos in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages

The scant literary sources dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages offer limited information regarding the fate of the Naxian urban centre after the late 7th century. In 653 Pope Martin I (649-655) was arrested in Rome and was conveyed first to Naxos where he remained for some time on the island as a prisoner and subsequently to Constantinople (Peeters 1933; Dakoronia 1969-1970; McCormick 2001, 483-488). The place and the duration of his stay on Naxos remain unknown. In contrast with the more concrete picture derived from the material culture of Late Antiquity, archaeological evidence from the city of Naxos and its periphery does not allow us to be very accurate when discussing the fate of the urban centre between the 8th and early 9th centuries. Nevertheless, despite the fact that some questions remain open, a general trend can be recognised.

As is mentioned above, the emerging picture from the excavations at Chora suggests a progressive abandonment of the Roman and Late Antique houses between the late 7th and middle 8th century, after a long and continuous occupation (Lambrinoudakis 1993, 162-163; 1979, 251; Bournias 2014). Thus, on the basis of numismatic and pottery evidence it is clear that most of these domestic structures survived well until the beginning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. In the luxurious urban *villa* on Aplomata hill a gold coin of the Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) was discovered (Lambrinoudakis 1993, 162-163). It seems that, until the second half of the 7th century or probably the early 8th century the coastal city of Naxos maintained, in general terms, some urban characteristics. During the late 7th and middle 8th century however, radical socioeconomic changes in the urban environment were observed.

The progressive abandonment of many domestic structures suggests the city of Naxos dramatically shrank in size during the 8th century. At the same time, the aqueduct of Flerio ceased its function after the early 8th century (Lambrinoudakis 2007, 1). This also reflects dramatic changes in the urban environment, since the aqueduct was diachronically from the 6th century BC onwards a public structure of vital importance for the urban population's survival.

Taking into account all the evidence discussed above, it is demonstrated that, progressively, from the late 7th and with more intensity during the first half of the 8th century the coastal urban centre of Naxos ceased functioning as a dominant socioeconomic and administrative centre on the island of Naxos, and as a smaller link in the chain of the inter-regional trade system. It seems that it lost its urban status during the 8th century, as is also indicated by the cessation of the aqueduct operation. However, archaeological evidence suggests that the former ancient city survived, probably as a coastal settlement smaller in size. Along the shoreline of Grotta northeast of the church of Agios Georgios architectural remains from different periods were unearthed (Kontoleon 1972; Lambrinoudakis 1978, 211-217, fig.1, pl.143-144; 1980, 259-262, fig.1, pl.150; 1981, 293-294, pl.199-200; 1982, 253-255, pl.155-158). Initially, a structure with long walls was built at this site, probably a house, dating to the late 4th century on the basis of ceramic evidence discovered in the foundation trenches of the walls (Lambrinoudakis 1980, 259). After continuous use of the house for many centuries, at a later stage, presumably during the 8th or 9th centuries, a craftsman's workshop was established at the same site. According to excavators, this complex can be securely identified as a tannery with a paved yard, tanks of different depths, basins, wells and pipelines (Lambrinoudakis 1982, 253-254, pl.155-157). For the construction of the basins older material, such as a marble closure slab from an ambo dating to the middle 6th century was re-used (Lambrinoudakis 1981, 293, pl.200β). At an even later stage a pebble-paved floor, remains of walls and pipes were discovered associated with this structure (Lambrinoudakis 1982, 255). A coin of the Emperor Leo V the Armenian (813-820) was also attested (Penna 2001, 404).

These limited but extremely valuable archaeological records suggest that life and small scale economic activities continued to exist in this coastal landscape despite the Arab threat. This picture contradicts previous historical views about desolation of coastal regions and retreat of populations to the mountains and into island interiors. At the moment however, it is difficult to ascertain the exact extent of this coastal settlement. In any case, it is important to underline that despite dramatic changes in the urban built environment during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, the coastal landscape of Chora presents a picture of continuous human occupation from the 4th to the early 9th century.

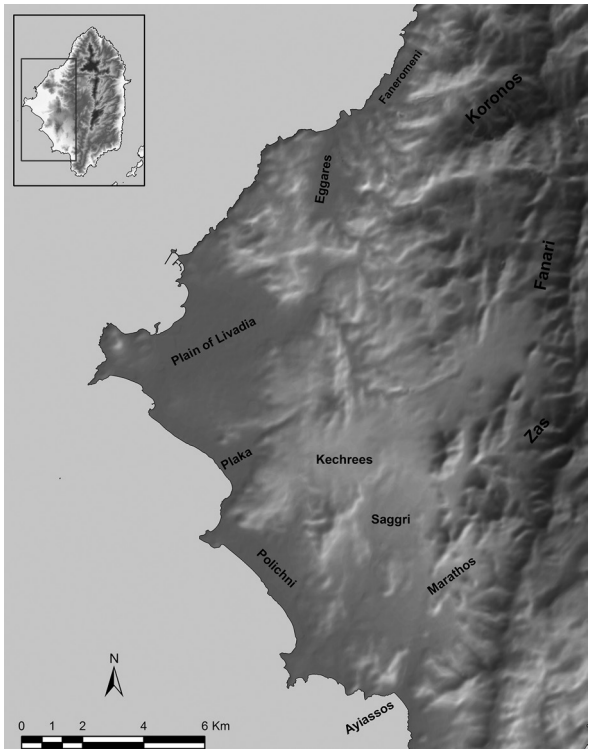


Fig. 5.21: Map of western Naxos with regions and places discussed in the chapter.

5.3 WESTERN LOWLAND NAXOS

5.3.1 Landscape and micro-topography

Apart from the ancient city of Naxos and its immediate periphery, the remainder of the west part of Naxos, south and north of the modern Chora, is also characterised by a lowland landscape and is well-endowed with several small or large fertile productive farming zones (Fig. 5.7: II & 5.21).

Less than 5 km north of Chora, along the northwest coastline are located the regions of Eggares and Faneromeni. The local natural environment is dominated by fertile river valleys which carve the landscape from the mountainous interior to the sea. In the south-western part of Naxos, approximately 9 km southeast of Chora is located the present-day village of Tripodes or Vivlos. The small traditional village is situated on a slightly elevated hill less than 3 km from the nearest coast. The wider region's landscape is very interesting as it is a relatively lowland coastal zone with a wide range of geological formations. In the northwest, Tripodes is adjacent to the plain of Livadia offering a clear view of the region of the ancient city of Naxos and easy access to the main port of the island. In the west of the village is extended a small plain within a fertile valley that carves the landscape from the mountainous interior to the coast of Plaka. The so-called valley of Katarraktis and Plaka is delimitated to the south by the hills of Kasteli and Korkidaki, to the north by the range of hills of Karbou and Stroumboula, and to the west by the beach of Plaka.

Less than 400 m south of Tripodes is extended the small but fertile plateau of Kechrees. The plateau, which is located less than 2 km east of the nearest coast, is surrounded by the hills of Kasteli and Korkidaki to the west while connected with the larger plain of Saggri to the east. Further south of the plateau of Kechrees is extended a small valley that carves the landscape from the mountainous interior to the beach of Polichni or Aliko, which is Naxos's second larger coastal plain. A few kilometres southeast of Tripodes and east of Kechrees is located the village of Saggri. The village is divided in Ano and Kato Sangri with a distance of a couple of kilometres between them and is built on a large lowland fertile basin which dominates the landscape of west central Naxos. A few kilometres south of Saggri and southeast of the fortress of Apalirou the well-watered inner plain of Marathos is extended, forming the southern limit of the lowland western Naxos. The plain is connected not only with the valley of Saggri but also through a small gorge within the small shallow bay of Ayiassos, which is set along Naxos's south-western shoreline. It becomes apparent by the aforementioned description of the micro-topography of south-western Naxos that it is a mild and relatively lowland coastal landscape with plenty of rich cultivable land. However, the coastline lacks a well-protected anchorage for ships.

5.3.2 The regions of Eggares and Faneromeni

The region of Eggares (Fig. 5.21) is dominated by the large eponymous fertile valley (Fig. 5.22) in which a present-day small settlement is located. Further north, along the coastal zone between Eggares and the Monastery of Faneromeni, are located several small river valleys that carve the landscape from the mountainous interior to the coastline. The most important of them are the valleys of Erinia, Pergandi and Skinou (from south to north) (Fig. 5.23). These geological formations correspond to the best agricultural land in this coastal landscape. The shoreline is relatively straight with the exception of a few tiny bays which are formed in the areas of Pachia Ammos, Akrotiraki and Faneromeni.

Our knowledge of diachronic settlement patterns in this region has been improved by the archaeological field survey conducted in the early 1980's by the French School as part of a larger project on the island of Naxos (Erard-Cerceau *et al.* 1993). Their work however, identified a number of prehistoric and classical sites, but did not consider the post-classical landscape in any detail. In this context, an important number of possible sites were discovered and dated to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period. The limited information provided by this archaeological research regarding these sites does not allow us to be very accurate when talking about their function. We can only make some general



Fig. 5.22: Panoramic view of the fertile valley of Eggares with the eponymous modern village.

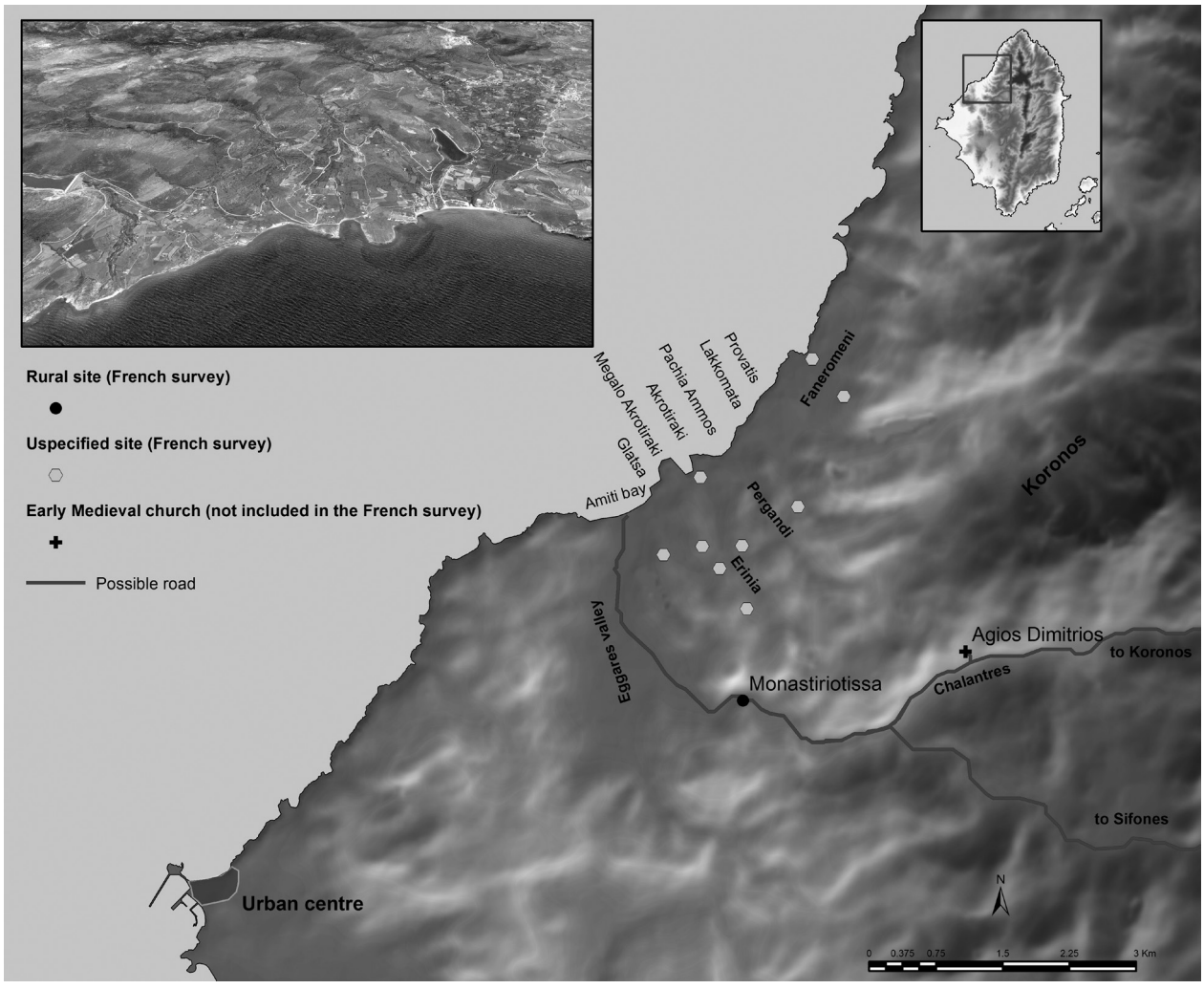


Fig. 5.23: The distribution of possible Late Antique sites in the areas of Eggares and Faneromeni according to the French survey in the early 1980's (Detail: view from Google Earth).

but valuable observations regarding this coastal landscape's settlement pattern during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

Most of the sites are either situated in slightly elevated locations on the slopes that surround the valleys, offering good visibility of the small productive farming zones or are set beside the well-watered valley floors, where the rivers create arable strips with a permanently high watertable (Fig. 5.23). Thus, these sites were being deliberately located close to both fertile soils, suitable for cultivation, and areas of grazing land. The emerging picture suggests that during Late Antiquity the wider region were inhabited while both cultivated and uncultivated land was intensively exploited, as crucial economic sources. Most sites are located within or around the valleys of Eggares, Erinia and Skinou, where there is an abundance of the region's best fertile soils and substantial areas of grazing land. At the moment, it is difficult to ascertain the specific types of the settlements due to the lack of detailed publication. However, the placement of these sites within this landscape mainly reflects a rural and possibly a pastoral character (see more about pastoralism in Chapter 5.4.6). It seems highly probable that in this context the majority of them can be classified as small villages or farmsteads. It appears the locations of the settlements' sites are related to the availability of arable and grazing land, a close supply of water, direct access to the sea, and in some cases, landscape

visibility. Two sites are located along the coastline beside tiny bays and are closely associated with the valleys of Erinia and Skinou. The sea orientation of these sites is apparent and they might have functioned as small anchorages along the coastline.

In the publication of results from the French survey a few photos of the most diagnostic ceramic fragments upon which is based the dating of the Late Antique sites are presented (Erard-Cerceau *et al*. 1993, 90-91, figs 12-13). The majority of them belongs to securely dated Late Roman amphora types or to several Late Antique storage vessels. All types are associated with agricultural production and transport. The plethora of rural sites suggests an agriculturally intensified use of this coastal micro-landscape during Late Antiquity.

At the moment, the fate of these sites is unclear in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages since the survey did not provide any kind of relevant information. The only secure evidence comes from the site of Monastiriotissa which is located 7,5 km northeast of the ancient city and less than 1 km east of the present-day village of Eggares (Fig. 5.23). The site lies along the east bank of the Xerotrochari river (today a dry river), which flowed inside the fertile coastal valley of Eggares. It is situated approximately 2 km away from the shoreline, but has no visual contact with the sea. However, the site is easily accessible from the sea, as it is just a few minute walk from the coast through the flat valley of Eggares (Fig. 5.22). According to the survey results, a concentration of Late Roman and Post-Roman (probably Early Medieval) surface ceramics was identified around the twin-naved ruined church of Monastiriotissa (Erard-Cerceau *et al*. 1993, 66, site 75). Additionally, as Aslanidis has argued, this church can be dated to the 8th century on the basis of its aniconic decoration and architectural similarities with other contemporary examples from Naxos (2014a, 123-126). Thus, a combination of ceramic and architectural evidence suggests the continuation of this site from the Roman period to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This is another example supporting the view that settlements during the late 7th and 8th centuries were not only confined to the mountainous regions of the island but were also located very close to the coastline. In the case of Monastiriotissa the correlation between settlement location, land productivity, proximity to water sources and grazing land as well as accessibility to the sea is persistent from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, despite Arab threat.

The application of least cost path analysis has shown an equally important parameter concerning the location of the site (Fig. 5.23). Monastiriotissa was situated on a crucial point along a land route that connects the coastal valley of Eggares with areas of north and central Naxos such as Sifones, Tragea, Kinidaros, Keramoti and Koronos. A possible path starts from the coastline and reaches the site of Monastiriotissa through the valley of Eggares. Then, it continues eastwards and after few meters is divided into two directions. A path follows a south-easterly direction towards the areas of Sifones and Tragea. A second path follows north-easterly direction towards the regions of Koronos, Keramoti and Kinidaros through the valley of Chalantres. In the lush valley of Chalantres, there is a small church dedicated to Agios Dimitrios approximately 1,5 km northwest of Kinidaros and 4,5 km northeast of Eggares. The church of Agios Dimitrios is dated to the period of Iconoclasm based on aniconic frescoes (Mastoropoulos 2006, 232-233; Aslanidis 2014a, 146-150, pl.42, figs 56-57 with further bibliography). It lies amid a well-watered narrow fertile valley, where spring sources create limited but valuable arable land with a permanently high watertable. Although due to the lack of surface survey it remains unknown whether this church is related to a settlement, it makes sense to assume that it is associated with this land route. The valley of Chalantres is connected to the east with the region of Kinidaros.

It is most likely, then, that Monastiriotissa and Agios Dimitrios were being deliberately located at crucial points of this road network that linked the coastal zone of Eggares to areas of north and central Naxos in order to control the mobility of people and goods. A combination of ceramic evidence, architectural observations and application of spatial analysis suggests Monastiriotissa, probably, played a consistent role to the intra-island connectivity during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

5.3.3 The valley of Plaka

Almost in the middle of the valley of Plaka (Fig. 5.24), at the site called Trana Chorafia, is situated the

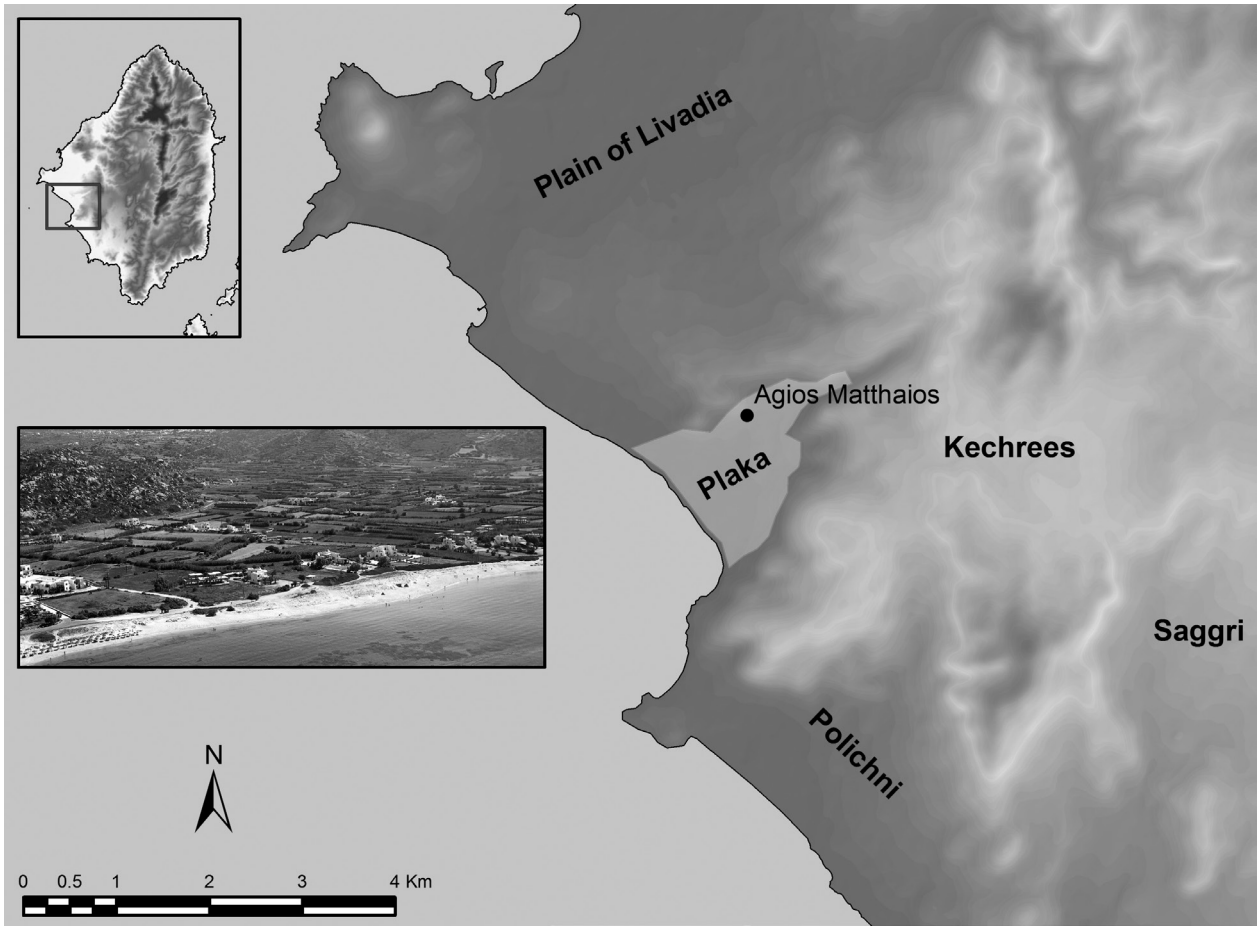


Fig. 5.24: The coastal plain of Plaka with the Late Antique site around the later church of Agios Matthaios (Detail: view from Google Earth).

barrel-vaulted church of Agios Matthaios (Fig. 5.25). The small chapel is located a few meters west of the ancient tower of Plaka, less than 3 km south of the ancient temple at Yria and approximately 1 km away from the nearest coast. It has been erected on the ruins of a preexisting Late Antique Christian basilica (Figs 5.25 & 5.26). The basilica has been preliminarily studied and published. In 1960 Kontoleon was the first scholar who mentioned the basilica's existence (1960b, 472). Later, in 1972 Zias conducted a small-scale excavation in order to shed light on the architectural plan of the edifice (AD 1972, 616-617, figs 576-577). In 2001 Lambertz published a more detailed paper in an attempt to make the history of the monument clear (379-408).

The so-called basilica of Agios Matthaios belongs to the type of the simple three-aisled basilica with an atrium. The main church measured 20,9 m in length and 12 m in width. In the west part of the building no traces of a narthex have been found as only a small atrium, measured 10,10 by 11,60 m was annexed to the main church. The total length of the structure reached 31 m. Two colonnades, consisting of 6 columns each divided the interior into three aisles. The nave was wider than the side aisles, forming a semi-circular projecting apse at its eastern end. A semicircular stepped bench, the *synthronon*, was constructed around the curved wall of the apse. In front of the apse traces of the altar have been discovered. The area of the Holy Bema was delimitated by a U-shaped chancel screen projected into the nave up to the height of the first column. On the west facade of the screen an axial entrance provided the only access to the Holy Bema. The floor of the nave was decorated with mosaic



Fig. 5.25: Church of Agios Matthaios (Plaka): view of the marble sculptures from the Late Antique basilica.



Fig. 5.26: Church of Agios Matthaios (Plaka): architectural traces of the pre-existing Late Antique basilica's east wall (apse).

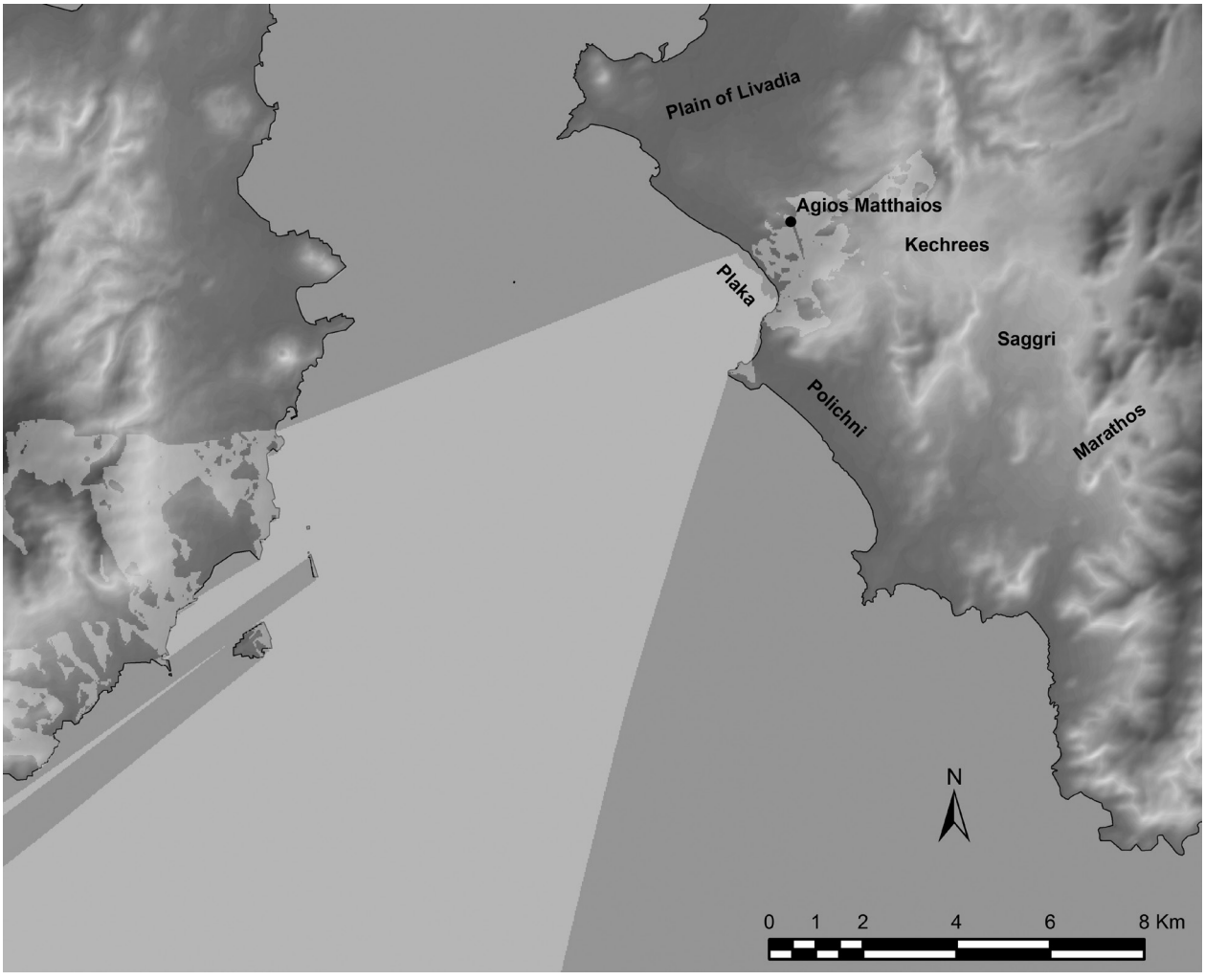


Fig. 5.27: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from the basilica of Agios Matthaios. Visible areas marked with grey.

pavements. Fragments of the main mosaic carpet (8 x 5,4 m) which covered the eastern part of the nave in front of the western facade of the chancel screen was unearthed. The composition consisted of two parallel zones of interconnected roundels and one zone of intersecting circles in the middle, all within a broad frame decorated with a rincaeu with ivy leaves. The early building was adorned with marble architectural sculptures such as unfluted and spiral columns, ionic impost capitals, mullions, cornices, and piers, a large number of them are preserved today in the courtyard around the later chapel (Fig. 5.25). As has been observed in many other cases in the Cyclades, the erection of the basilica of Agios Matthaios is characterised by the extensive reuse of ancient building material. Lambertz has studied the *spolia* from the basilica's site arguing that a part of this material was taken from the *pronaos* wall of Yria temple (2001).

The basilica of Agios Matthaios has been dated to the second half of the 6th century, on the basis of stylistic observations of the fragments of the mosaic pavements and the sculpture decoration, mainly the well-preserved ionic capitals (Lambertz 2001, 390-392). At the moment, there is no secure evidence in order to date the basilica's abandonment. In a later period was erected the small chapel dedicated to Saint Matthew which occupied the area of the Holy Bema and part of the nave was erected on the ruins of the basilica (Figs 5.25 & 5.26).

Apart from the importance of the monument in terms of architecture, it is also interesting to expand by investigating the basilica's function and its relationship with the surrounding micro-landscape. In 2006 the site was surveyed in order to determine the use of the church, in the context of the intensive surface survey (Naxos Survey Project) carried out by the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities around chapels with aniconic decoration and Early Christian monuments in the Naxian countryside (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis 2013; forthcoming). According to Vionis, on the basis of the study of surface ceramic material, the large basilica at this site was associated with a rural settlement extended around it. The site bears evidence of human activity during Late Antiquity within this coastal valley, especially between the 5th and 7th centuries.

The development of a rural community associated with the basilica in this geological formation is closely connected with the peculiarities of the local landscape. The site is located at the heart of a productive farming zone in close proximity to the west coast of Naxos. Viewshed analysis of the site of the Agios Matthaios basilica was conducted in GIS in order to assess what other regions could be seen from it (Fig. 5.27). First of all, it becomes apparent the visibility of the site is mostly restricted within the borders of this coastal valley. Secondly, a limited section of the maritime channel of Paronaxia is partially visible from the site. The visual relationship between the site and the surrounding fertile land may indicate that this specific coastal farming zone was controlled by this rural community during Late Antiquity. The present-day toponyme of Trana Chorafia (the Great Fields), apparently, indicates the fertility and intense agricultural activity in this region. The Greek adjective "tranos" is frequently used on the island of Naxos in order to describe the significance of objects, structures or meanings. A characteristic example is the Trani Fountana (the Great Cistern) in present-day Chora, in which the aqueduct of Flerio probably ended. Important evidence of intensive diachronic agricultural exploitation of the valley of Plaka during earlier periods is provided by the ancient tower of Plaka which is located a few meters northeast of the basilica.

Thus, the placement of a large basilica, the development of a rural settlement around it, and the visual relationship between the site and the surrounding rich cultivable land suggests a pattern of this rural coastal landscape's intensive exploitation during Late Antiquity. On the other hand, the partial view of the sea, the lack of safe and well-protected wind-shelters for ships along the nearest shoreline, and the placement of this community 1km away from the coast, may indicate that the site was not related to a small local harbour and the agricultural surplus was transferred to the nearby port of the Late Antique city.

In this context, the large basilica emerged as the local landscape's new rural landmark connected to an agrarian community, probably replacing the older reference point of the area which was the ancient tower (at the moment it is unknown if the tower was in use during Late Antiquity). Moreover, as has been demonstrated in the peripheries of the ancient cities of Paros and Naxos, religious monuments, mostly basilicas, were integral parts of the historic landscape serving multiple roles during Late

Antiquity. This rural site was, possibly, the only one within the valley during Late Antiquity as the limited space available does not suggest the existence of more sites. The evidence of architecture (especially the large dimension of the structure), sculpture and mosaic decoration of the basilica are trademark signs of village life, suggesting that the landowners were presumably in residence (Bintliff 2012b, 354).

At the moment there is no evidence of human activity at the site during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Having considered the general context of the island, and especially the nearby areas of the ancient city and Polichni (see more in Chapter 5.3.5), it is quite possible this rural community could have survived well into the 8th century. However, we cannot suggest either continuity or discontinuity after the 8th century due to the lack of published ceramic material from the site.

5.3.4 The small plateau of Kechrees

In the west part of the plateau of Kechrees or Stavropigi (about 150 m above sea level) at the region's most prominent site is located the rural church of Agia Kyriaki (Fig. 5.28) (Dimitrokallis 2000, 24; Mastoropoulos 2006, 103, 106-107, fig.68; Aslanidis 2014a, 102-103, pl.28, figs 34-35). It is a small chapel, the type of a free cross with a dome resting on four arches, decorated with aniconic

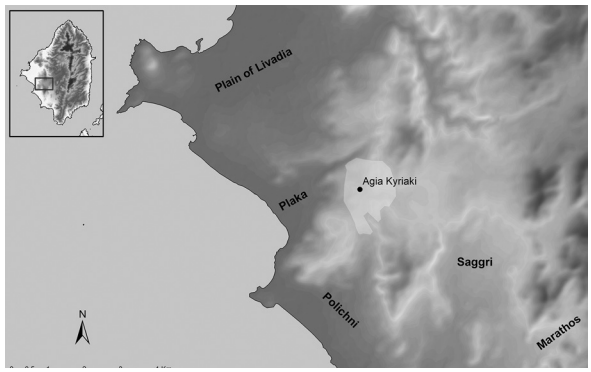


Fig. 5.28: The plateau of Kechrees with the Late Antique and Early Byzantine site around the rural church of Agia Kyriaki.



Fig. 5.29: View of the church of Agia Kyriaki at Kechrees.



Fig. 5.30: View of the church of Agia Kyriaki in the west part of the plateau of Kechrees.

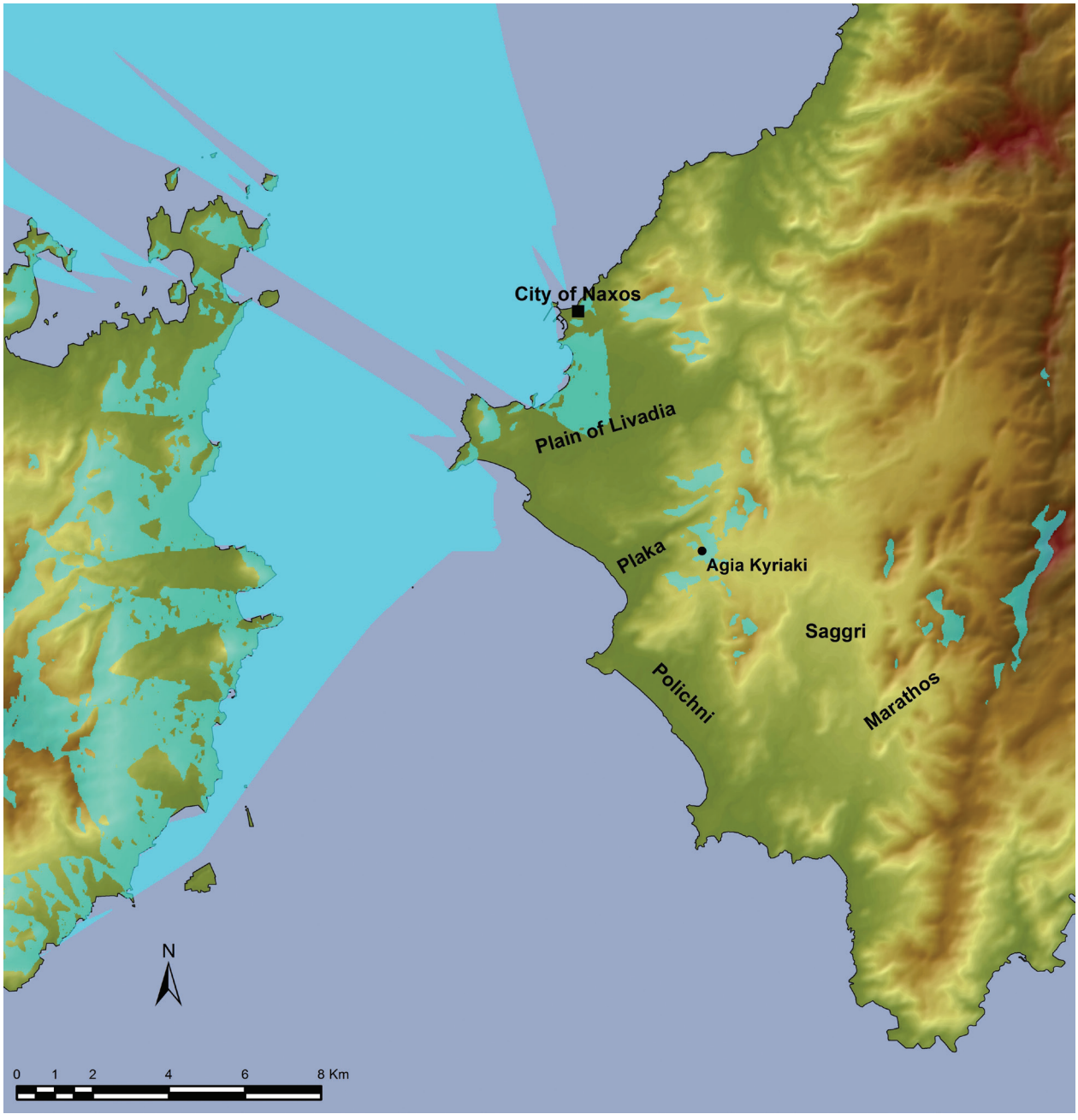


Fig. 5.31: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Agia Kyriaki at Kechrees. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

frescoes (Fig. 5.29). The church is situated 6,5 km south of Chora, 1,5 km southeast of the basilica of Agios Matthaios at Plaka and 2,5 km northeast of the basilica of Agios Akepsimas. Although excavations have yet to be conducted at the site the church is surrounded by visible remnants of several ruined structures. On the basis of the non-figurative decoration the church is dated to the 9th century.

In 2006 the site around the church was surveyed in the context of the Naxos Survey Project (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis 2013, 33, fig.9; forthcoming). Analysis of the surface ceramics (Red Slip wares,

LRA types etc.) collected by Vionis during this project suggests the existence of a relatively large rural settlement over the course of the Late Antique centuries, which extended immediately northeast and northwest of the church on the slope of the low rocky hill (Fig. 5.30). The settlement also bears evidence of occupation during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages as evidenced both by the surface pottery material and the erection of the chapel sometime during the 9th century.

The church of Agia Kyriaki is surrounded by rich cultivable land which even today constitutes an agricultural zone in western Naxos (Fig. 5.30). Viewshed analysis of the site of the church was conducted in GIS in order to assess what other regions could be seen from it (Fig. 5.31). First of all, as has been observed in the case of the neighbouring valley of Plaka, it becomes apparent the site has good views over the plateau's surrounding fertile land. Secondly, from the site a limited section of the plain of Livadia and the ancient city of Naxos as well as an important part of the maritime channel of Paronaxia are visible. The visual relationship between this rural community and the surrounding natural environment suggests a strong connection between the settlement and best quality land. This correlation may be the major factor in the development of this settlement. The pottery material, which provides evidence of extensive human habitation within this micro-landscape in connection with the traces of economic activities related to rural production, once again reflect an intensive exploitation of this region's agricultural resources during Late Antiquity. Thirdly, the visual connection between the settlement at Kechrees and the adjacent plain of Livadia as well as the Late Antique city of Naxos might indicate some sort of relationship between the Naxian urban centre and this agrarian space, giving us an idea about where the area's agricultural surplus was transferred and representing an interactive rural-urban relationship.

The continuity of the settlement at Kechrees through the Byzantine Early Middle Ages offers another example on the island of Naxos which supports the view that settlements during the late 7th, 8thand 9th centuries were not only confined to the mountainous hinterland of the island but were also located very close to the coastline. The site is only located 2 km away from the nearest west shore of Naxos with direct visibility over the coastal zone of Livadia-Chora and the maritime area of Paronaxia as well as easy access to the sea. Thus, as is observed in many other cases, it seems the pattern of settlement distribution in relation to soil productivity did not dramatically change in the 8th and 9th centuries on western lowland Naxos despite the Arab threat.

5.3.5 The plain of Polichni

At the exit of the small rocky valley that carves the landscape from the mountainous interior to the flat coastal zone of Polichni or Aliko, approximately 2,5 km south west of the neighbouring settlement of Kechrees and less than 2 km away from the shoreline, at a slightly elevated site is located the basilica of Agios Akepsimas (Fig. 5.32). The monument, which remains in use to this day, has only been published preliminarily while no excavations have been conducted so far (Drandakis 1985-1990, 27-30; Mastoropoulos 2006, 107, 110-111; Aslanidis 2014a, 28, pl.8, figs 6-7). As a matter of fact many questions concerning the dating of the different phases of the monument remain open. The church, in the form that is preserved today, belongs to the type of barrel-vaulted three-aisled basilica supported on piers (Fig. 5.33). However, it is apparent the building went through several construction phases during its long history. The basilica's walls were decorated with fresco paintings

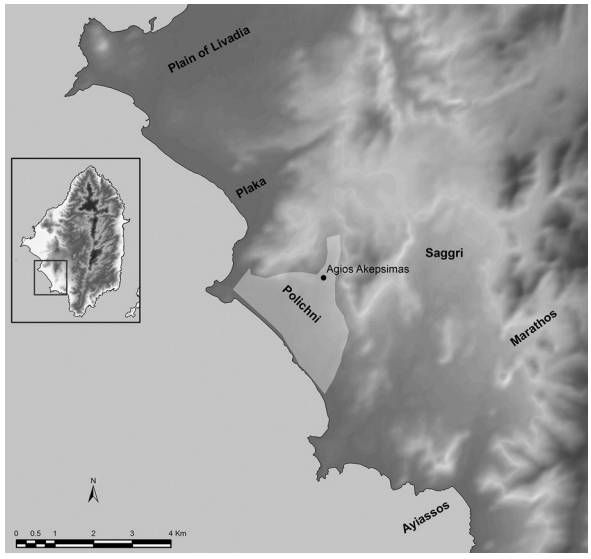


Fig. 5.32: The coastal plain of Polichni and the basilica of Agios Akepsimas.



Fig. 5.33: View of the basilica of Agios Akepsimas within the micro-landscape of the Polichni plain. The island of Paros is discernible in the background.

dated to different periods. A two-conch barrel-vaulted church was added to the south part of the basilica in the Middle Byzantine period. On the basis of architectural analysis and stylistic observations on marble sculptures which are found in the building, the erection of the initial basilica is possibly dated to the 6th or the 7th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 28).

In 2006, the monument was included among the sites that were surveyed in the context of the Naxos Survey Project (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis 2013, 33; forthcoming). The picture emerging from the study of the ceramic material shows a multi-period site. According to Vionis, analysis of the surface ceramics collected during this project bears evidence of the existence of a relatively large settlement around the basilica over the course of the Late Antique centuries (2013, 33, fig.9). Furthermore, the continuity of the settlement from Late Antiquity to the Early and Middle Byzantine periods is also demonstrated. It is worth noting that the Middle Byzantine settlement was larger in size than the Late Antique predecessor at the same site, occupying an area of 1 ha, as indicated by the high concentration of pottery sherds dated between the 11th and 14th centuries (Vionis 2013, 33).

Regarding the location and character of the settlement, the setting of this community within a productive farming zone cannot be considered coincidental (Fig. 5.33). Southwest of the settlement is extended the fertile plain of Pilichni, which is the second larger coastal farming zone on Naxos occupying an area of almost 5 km² (Fig. 5.4b). The narrow valley in the northeast has provided this coastal zone with the necessary water supplies for cultivable field irrigation and the connection with the areas of Kechrees and Saggri through a possible land route that leads northeast. Viewshed analysis from the site of the Agios Akepsimas basilica was also conducted in order to assess what other regions could be seen from it (Fig. 5.34). As is observed in Plaka and Kechrees, the visibility from the site is

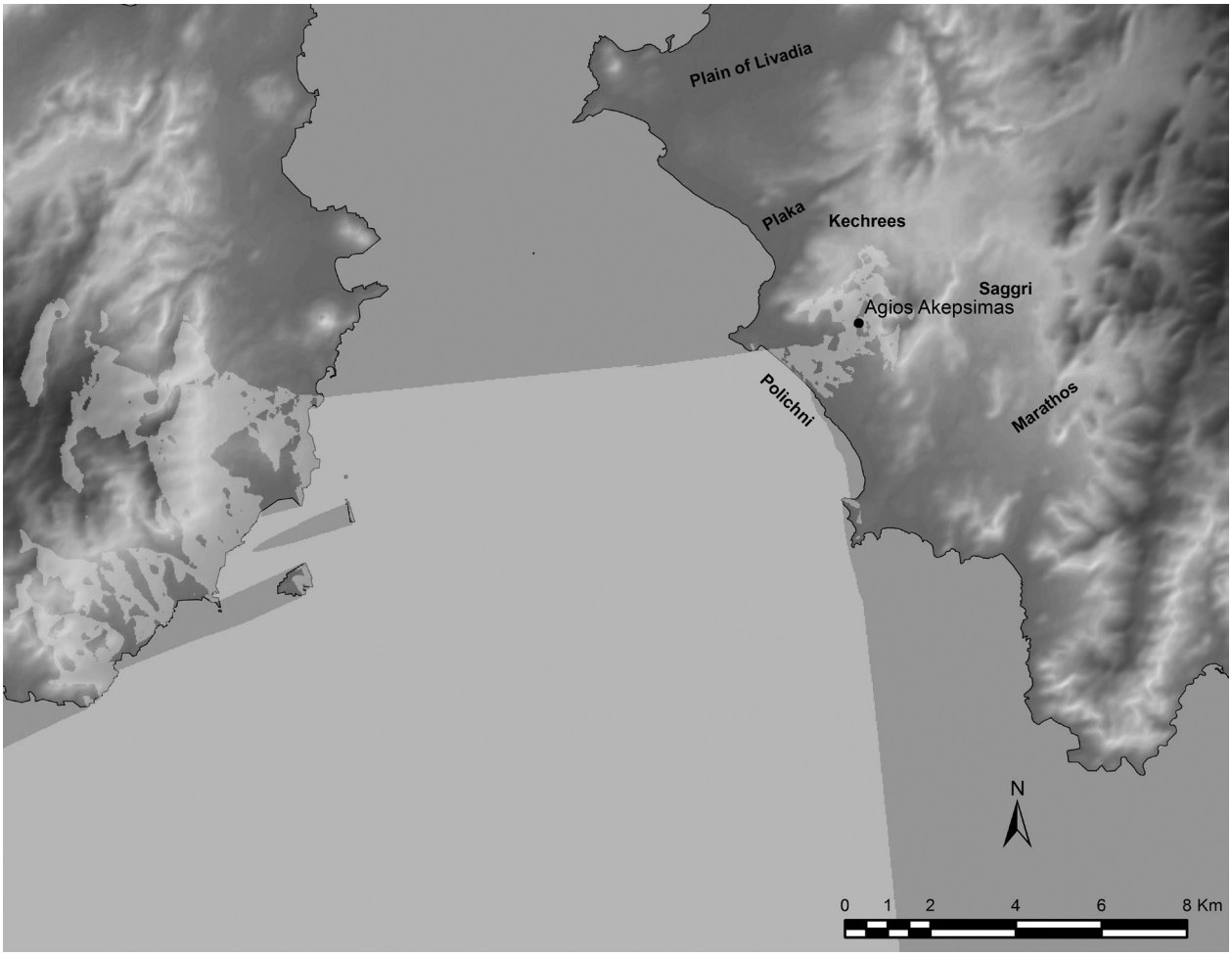


Fig. 5.34: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from the basilica of Agios Akepsimas. Visible areas marked with grey.

mostly restricted within the borders of this coastal geological formation. From the slightly elevated settlement almost any point of the fertile farming zone was visible. There is no intervisibility between the adjacent areas of Polichni, Plaka and Kechrees. Secondly, the southern section of the maritime channel of Paronaxia is partially visible from the site.

Thus, as has been demonstrated in the cases of Plaka and Kechrees discussed above, which are also inscribed in the wider context of lowland southwest Naxos, the placement of a settlement in the landscape is closely related to its proximity to the best agricultural land, the availability of water sources and the landscape's visibility. Once again, the visual relationship between the site and the surrounding fertile land may indicate that this specific coastal farming zone was controlled by this community during Late Antiquity. From this point of view, the settlement at Polichni seems to have had a rural character. Furthermore, as has been observed in the case of Plaka, setting a relatively large basilica during the 6th or 7th century in such a coastal landscape and the development of an agricultural settlement around it suggest an intensification of rural production in this productive farming zone during Late Antiquity. The Christian basilica emerged as the new rural landmark of this coastal landscape connected with a local rural community which actively exploited the adjacent plain (Fig. 5.33).

With several radical modifications the church of Agios Akepsimas remained the core successor of Early and Middle Byzantine settlements at the same site while surviving to this day as a diachronic integral part of the historic landscape after the site's

total abandonment. The continuity of the settlement at Polichni through the Byzantine Early Middle Ages offers another example on west Naxos showing that settlements during the late 7th, 8th and 9th centuries were situated very close to the shoreline and the wider lowland coastal landscapes were not totally abandoned. The site is located less than 2 km away from Polichni's shoreline with easy access to the sea (the landscape is completely flat), direct visibility over the coastal zone and the maritime channel of Paronaxia. Thus, yet again, it becomes rather clear that despite Arab threat the pattern of settlement distribution in relation to soil productivity did not dramatically change in the 8th and 9th centuries in the costal landscapes of western lowland Naxos.

5.3.6 The region of Saggri

In the midst of the fertile plateau of Saggri (Figs 5.21 & 5.35) on the top of a low hill at a site called Gyroulas is located one of the most important archaeological sites on the island of Naxos, the Archaic rural sanctuary of Demeter and Apollo (Fig. 5.36). In 1954, the temple was initially excavated by Kontoleon (1954, 330-338; 1960b, 469-472). Between 1976 and 1995 systematic excavations and architectural researches were carried out by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Athens and the Lehrstuhl für Architektur und Baugeschiche at the Munich Polytechnic University directed by Lambrinoudakis, Gruben, Korres and Ohnesorg (Lambrinoudakis 1976, 295-308; 1977, 378-386; 1979, 249-258; 1981, 293-297; 1982, 253-259; 1984, 301-312; 1991, 256-271; Simantoni-Bournia 2001; Lambrinoudakis *et al.* 2002).

In terms of architecture, the temple belongs to the *telesterion* type with a hypostyle hall for the celebration of mysteries (Fig. 5.37a-b). Archaeological evidence suggests the continuity of use of the sanctuary from Archaic (*c.* 530 B.C.) till

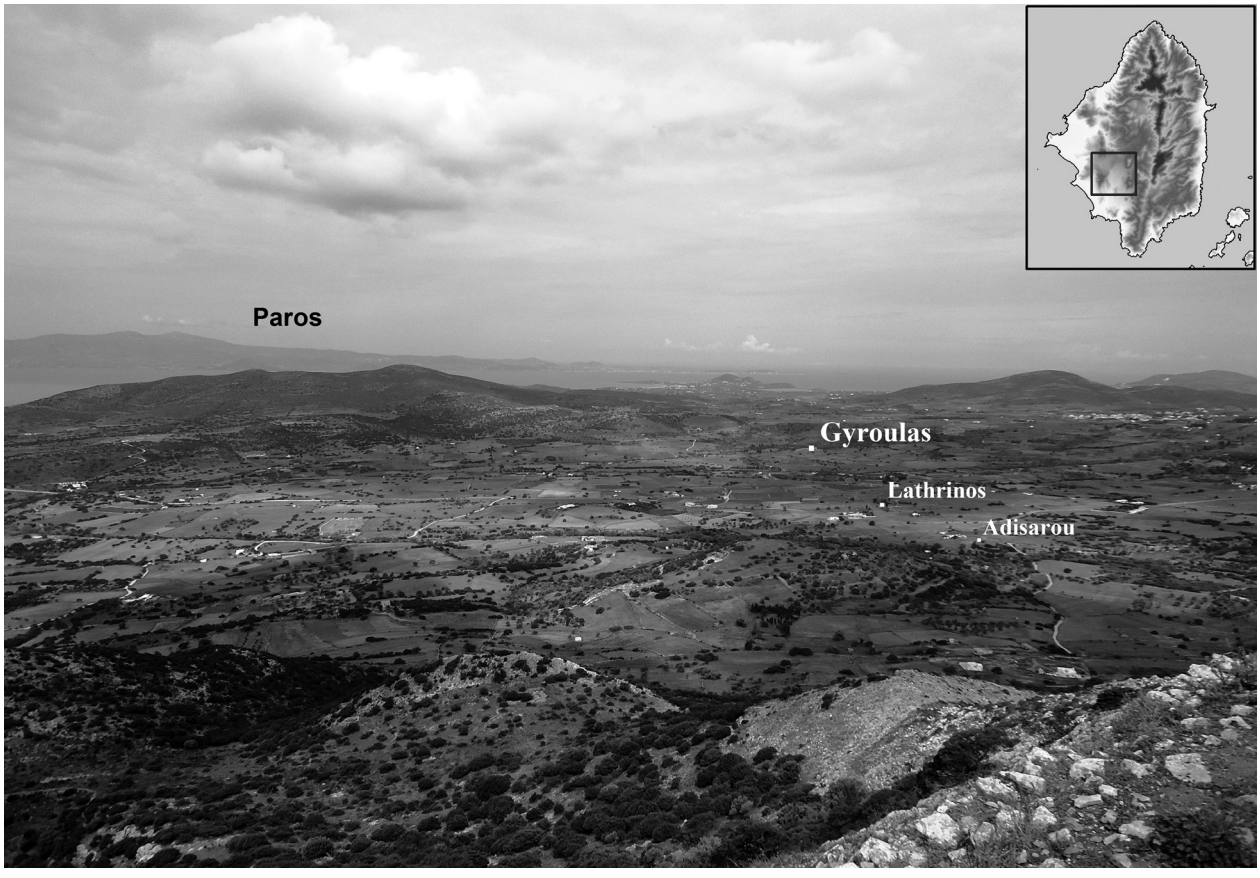


Fig. 5.35: Panoramic view of the fertile plateau of Saggri with sites discussed in the chapter.



Fig. 5.36: View of the Archaic rural sanctuary of Demeter and Apollo within the plain's micro-landscape.

the Roman period. The temple held a unique position in the landscape and served as the main sacred landmark of the rural region of Saggri in the course of antiquity (Fig. 5.36). During Late Antiquity the ancient pagan temple was converted into a Christian church. On the basis of excavation evidence and architectural observations three phases of conversion have been identified (Simantini-Bournia 2001, 22). The first and second phases were characterised by minor modifications to the ancient edifice's plan. The third phase however, corresponds to a radical reconstruction of the earlier building (Fig. 5.37b). The ancient walls were almost entirely demolished and at the same site a relatively small three-aisled timber-roofed basilica was constructed, supported on columns with a narthex and atrium in the south side of the complex. The new church was erected through the reuse of ancient material. Two colonnades consisting of 3 columns each, divided the interior into three aisles. Important traces of liturgical installations such as almost the entire chancel screen and the *ciborium* of the Holy Bema, fragments of the *ambo* in the nave, and a small baptismal fond near the eastern wall of the south aisle were unearthed. A small peristyle *atrium* (2x3 columns) with a central fountain and a main entrance to the complex were annexed to the south. The *atrium* was flanked by many auxiliary chambers and spaces, some of which have been identified as artisanal units (for more see below) (Fig. 5.37b).

Many questions arise so far regarding the dating of the different phases of this Christian religious monument during Late Antiquity. Concerning the chronology of the temple's conversion and its later

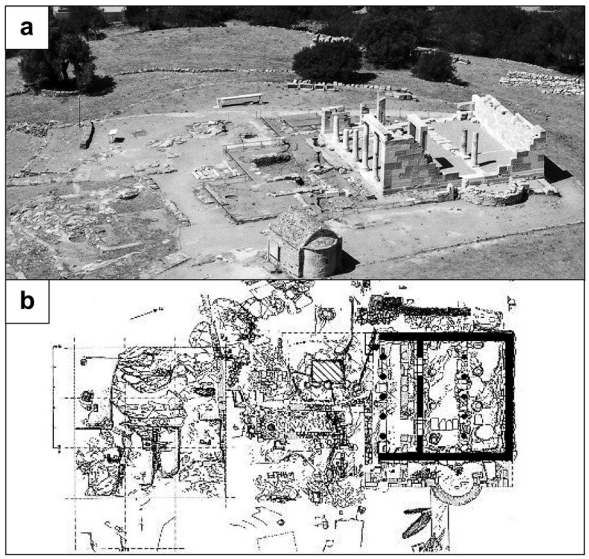


Fig. 5.37: a) View of the archaeological site at Gyroulas, b) Plan of the 6th century basilica and the surrounding artisanal units (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 8, fig.2).

rebuilding archaeological data cannot be very accurate. Nevertheless, on the basis of stylistic observations of the architectural decoration in conjunction with similarities with other examples from Naxos (Yria and Palatia), the conversion of the pagan temple into a Christian monument with minor modifications can be placed during the 5th or the early 6th century. The erection of the basilica is dated approximately after the middle 6th century using as *terminus post quem* a bronze coin of Justinian which was discovered in the south wall of the main building. Additionally, the reuse of Christian architectural members (mullions, capitals, closure slabs, piers etc.) from Gyroulas in many other mainly later religious monuments of the wider region since the 10th century indicates that the basilica had already been abandoned before that period (Simantini-Bournia 2001, 26). While studying the phenomenon of temple conversion on the island of Naxos (Saggri, Palatia and Yria) Deligiannakis has identified two major phases of this procedure (2011, 327-333). During the early stage of conversions of pagan monuments minor alterations characterise the ancient buildings, marking a period during which Christianity progressively struggled to establish itself as the dominant cult. However, at a second stage from the middle 6th century the newly erected basilicas reflects a more confident and ambitious local Christian community.

A crucial question however which remains open concerns the function of this basilica and the site's character. This study made an attempt to thoroughly discuss this question in a wider socioeconomic context offering a fresh approach under the prism of current archaeological investigations.

The excavators in the preliminary publication of the excavation results, without providing any convincing evidence, associate the radical reconstruction of the basilica after the middle 6th century with the establishment of a small monastic community around at the site (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 13). Nevertheless, especially in the early Christian centuries identifying coenobitic monastic sites without an inscription or a literary mention and distinguishing them from settlements such as villages, rural *villas*, fortresses, estates etc. is particularly problematic. In the East Mediterranean coenobitic monasticism was already established by the middle 4th century. The majority of the securely identified monastic sites, however, have been discovered in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, where literary and archaeological evidence is abundant (for a general overview see Bowes 2008). On the basis of several well-excavated and published examples in these regions, monastic sites are characterised by strong regional diversities and as a result of this, in archaeological terms their secure identification remains difficult. Regarding the topography, monastic sites can be set not only in isolated regions but also near large and prosperous villages and towns, and near or within fertile agricultural zones. Additionally, their plans and structures also varied so the early monastic communities do not present common architectural or other features. In economic terms, early monasteries in Egypt and Syro-Palestine often acted as landowners buying and selling property, producing and trading wine and oil, and playing a fundamental role in local economies (Bowes 2008, 601-603).

In the wider Aegean world literary sources and archaeological evidence are extremely scanty and fragmentary. Although there are only a few indications for monastic communities on the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Thasos, Samos and Kalymnos, the lack of tangible and secure evidence is characteristic, making the identification of those sites even more challenging. Most of the examples could be classified as hermitages and only one case on Samos seems to have been a coenobitic monastery (for an overview of early monasticism in the Aegean region see Deligiannakis 2006, 58-72). Thus, as Deligiannakis has argued, the character of these sites differs in comparison to the securely identified monastic sites in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, whose cultural and economic impact on local communities was fundamental (2006, 70). In this fluid and unclear context of the monastic archaeology in the Aegean during Late Antiquity, the monastic function of the site at Gyroulas is hard to prove. At the moment it finds no parallel examples in other insular communities of the broader Aegean world.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the function of the site at Gyroulas, it is necessary to elaborate on this interpretation, combining excavation results, the local landscape's parameters, the spatial analysis offered by the GIS, socioeconomic aspects of the island in Late Antiquity, especially from the 6th and 7th centuries, and the settlement pattern within the fertile plain of Saggri.

On the basis of architectural and other archaeological evidence, the excavations at Gyroulas show that around the basilica's atrium, installations of kilns and workshops were developed from the 6th to the early 8th century. Local production of pottery is evidenced by the discovery of ceramic kilns, mould-made lamps and the moulds, which were included among the most valuable finds from the site (Bournias 2014, 788-789). This type of lamp was locally produced between the late 6th and early 8th centuries, imitating the widely distributed African lamps. Additionally, several examples of a local variation were found, possibly dated to the late 7th or 8th century. Other finds testify production of wine, oil, wool-processing and honey-making (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 30-31, fig.34).

The emerging picture through the preliminary study of the ceramic evidence from the excavation shows that, in contrast with the previous periods which are characterised by low concentrations of ceramic sherds (Archaic to Roman), the Late Antique pottery at Gyroulas is well-represented by impressively large quantities and high quality finds. According to the excavators, analysis of this evidence suggests that an important number of inhabitants lived at the site between the 5th and early 8th centuries (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 29). The

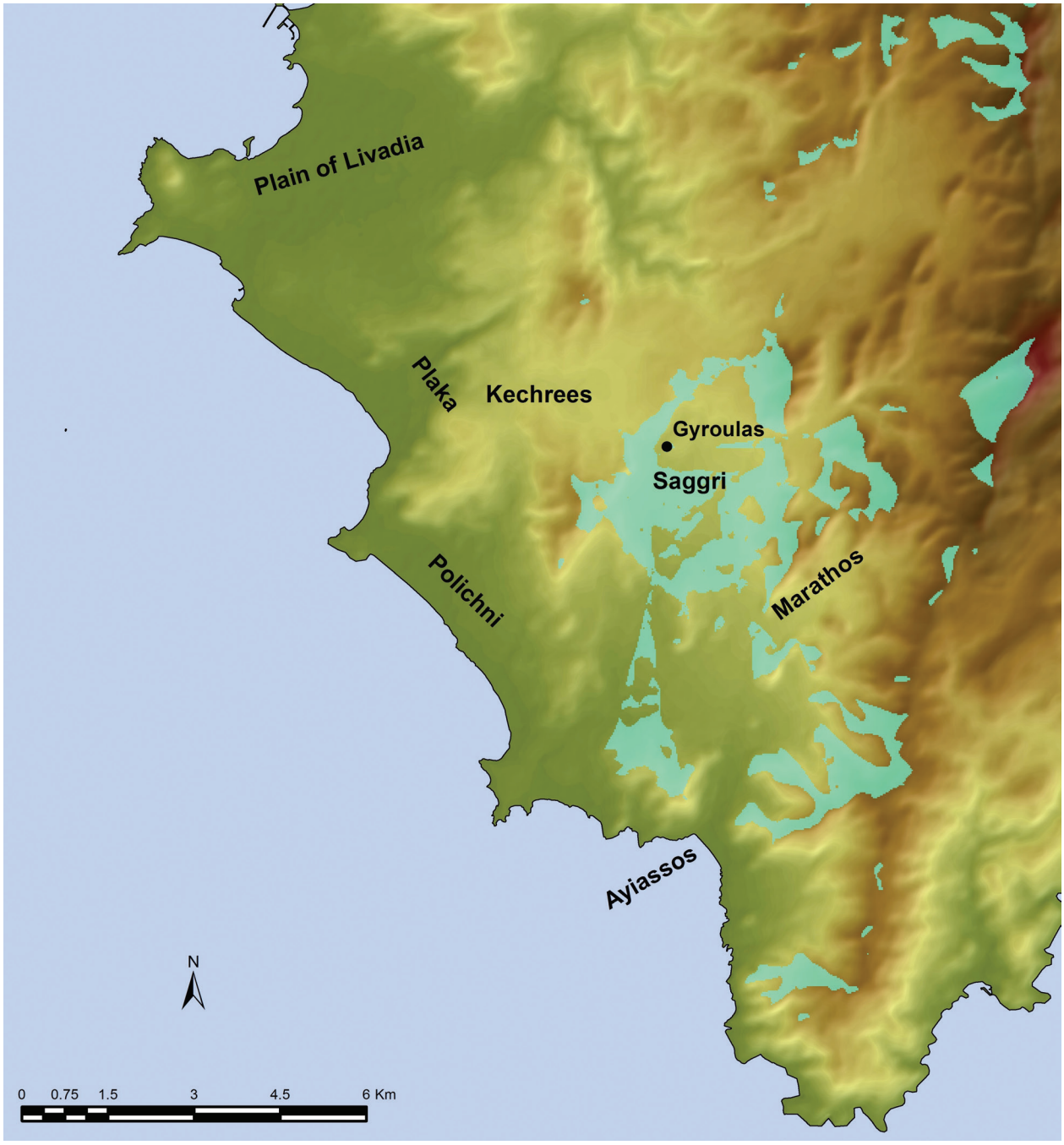


Fig. 5.38: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Gyroulas. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

Late Antique ceramic assemblage from Gyroulas contains large numbers of common domestic wares, such as drinking and dining vessels (imported red slip wares, unpainted dishes and cups etc.), jugs, storage jars, cooking pots, and a great number of amphora fragments. Transport and storage vessels (LRA 2 type, *pithoi* etc.) constitute the most frequently observed group of this ceramic assemblage. Thus, despite the fact that no architectural traces of houses have been recognised at Gyroulas so far, ceramic vessels

used for food preparation, cooking, serving, and consuming suggest domestic use and long permanent occupation. Additionally, the study of imported ceramics from Gyroulas shows lamp imports from Asia Minor, Samos and Syro-Palestine are dated from the late 6th century to the 7th century (Bournias 2014, 788-789). This valuable pottery and architectural material is an indirect indicator of economic, social and cultural behaviour suggesting the development of a highly interactive local community with artisanal, commercial and daily domestic activities.

In topographic terms, the site is set at a very prominent location in the midst of the fertile and well-watered rural productive zone of Saggri on the top of a low hill which overlooks and dominates the surrounding rural landscape. The setting of an important diachronic sacred place in the most dominant location of this agricultural landscape is not a coincidence and allows us to draw an association between the site and the surrounding best quality land since antiquity. This connection is also suggested by the visual relationship between the site at Gyroulas and the surrounding landscape. The application of viewshed analysis of Gyroulas has shown that the visibility of the site is mostly restricted within the borders of this fertile basin (Fig. 5.38). In addition, the site has been selected in order to be visible from almost any place of the plain.

The rural pagan sanctuary was not established in isolation, since it was associated with a number of satellite agrarian sites scattered within the basin of Saggri, as indicated by epigraphic and archaeological evidence dated to the Hellenistic period. According to excavators, the settlement pattern within this productive farming zone during the Hellenistic period was characterised by the existence of five small agrarian communities scattered over the plain (unfortunately, they do not provide more details for the exact position of the ancient settlements; see Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 11). An inscription dated to these centuries witnesses the function of a local council called συμβούλιο τῶν πενταρχῶν (council of *pentarches*). Thus, during antiquity the sanctuary at Gyroulas acted as a rural sacred centre for these five adjacent communities, reflecting the cohesion of the local society. In this respect, the epigraphic evidence indicates that the inhabitants of Saggri basin, due to the peculiar traits of this micro-landscape since antiquity, had a sense of common regional identity simultaneously with their identity as Naxians, forming a small geo-cultural entity within the island of Naxos. On the other hand, this density of rural settlements during the Hellenistic period suggests an agriculturally intensified use of this landscape.

A question inevitably arises concerning the possible relation of the Christian church at Gyroulas, which was the successor of the pagan temple, with a network of satellite rural settlements within the micro-landscape of Saggri during Late Antiquity (Figs 5.35 & 5.39). Shedding light on the region's settlement pattern produces more data for better understanding the function of the site at Gyroulas over the course of Late Antiquity. In 2006 the Naxos Survey Project produced evidence of at least two small rural dispersed Late Antique sites, concentrated around small later chapels (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming).

Approximately 900 m southeast of Gyroulas is located the small twin barrel-vaulted church of Agios Georgios and Agios Nikolaos at the site called Lathrinos (Zias 1970, 227-232; Panagiotidi 1991-1992; Pennas 2000, 22-23; Dimitrokallis 2000, 16 with n. 8; Mastoropoulos 2006, 138, 142-143, 145; Ohnesorg 2012, 115; Aslanidis 2014a, 218-221). It is placed within a relatively flat area surrounded by rich cultivable land which is intensively exploited to this day (Figs 5.35 & 5.39). In the surrounding area of the Middle Byzantine church several marble architectural members from a Late Antique Christian basilica have been discovered (Mastoropoulos 2006, 143, 145). The site of Lathrinos was surveyed in 2006 (radius 200 m around the church) producing ceramic evidence dating over the course of the Late Antique centuries (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming). The low concentration of pottery sherds suggests the site could be regarded as a small village community or a farmstead. This rural settlement occupied a limited area immediately south and west of the church and was in use at least from the 5th to the 7th century. At the moment, there is no secure evidence regarding the occupation of the site in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Nevertheless, despite the fact that it is difficult to provide a secure dating for the erection of the church, which is generally placed during the 11th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 221), it produces, however, evidence that the region of Lathrinos

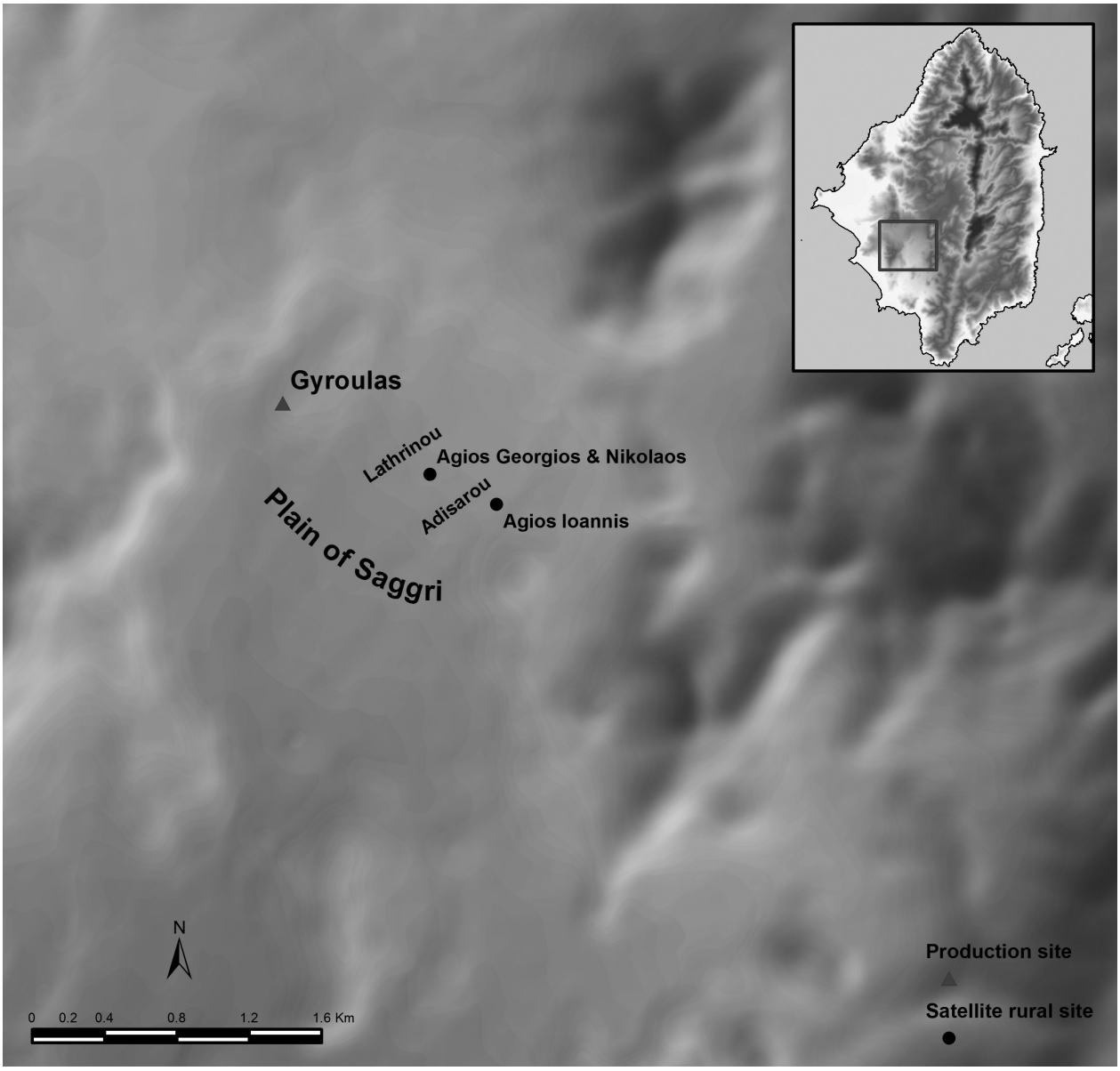


Fig. 5.39: Settlement pattern within the basin of Saggri during Late Antiquity.

was inhabited during the Middle Byzantine period.

About 1350 m southeast of Gyroulas and less than 400 m east of Lathrinos is located the chapel of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Figs 5.35, 5.39 & 5.40) at the site Vrisi t' Adisarou, «fount of Adisarou» (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1984; 1989; Mastoropoulos 2006, 138-139, 143, figs 105-106; Aslanidis 2014a, 163-165). It is set in a relatively flat area at the eastern limits of the plain of Saggri, as a few metres eastwards the mountainous landscape of south central Naxos which is dominated by the fortress of Apalirou (southeast) begins (Fig. 5.40). The small single-aisled church, which preserves traces of anicinic decoration on the walls and a *synthronon* with an episcopical throne in the apse, is dated to the 9th century and erected through the reuse of ancient material. The site was also surveyed in 2006 (radius 200 m around the church) and the study of the surface ceramics shows a high concentration of pottery sherds dated to the Classical

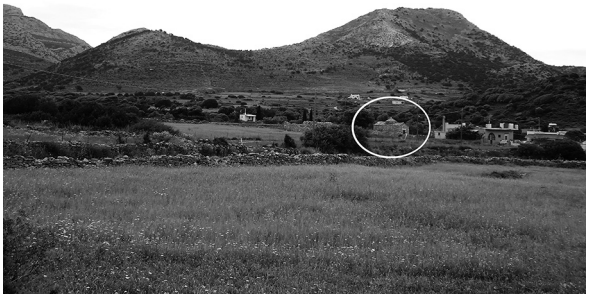


Fig. 5.40: View of the chapel of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Adisarou.

and Hellenistic periods and a small percentage of Late Antique ceramics dated between the 5th and 7th centuries (Vionis forthcoming). Thus, the settlement at Adisarou could have been one of the ancient rural communities which was scattered around the pagan temple of Demeter and Apollo during antiquity. The scatter of surface ceramics from the 5th-7th centuries suggests a smaller settlement; presumably a village or farmstead which existed at the same site during Late Antiquity. Taking into account the setting of the site at the eastern boundaries of the plain, this settlement might have functioned as a boundary point of the productive farming zone of Saggri. The erection of the chapel of Agios Georgios in the 9th century produces tangible evidence of the site's continuous habitation from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

The picture about the settled landscape within the valley of Saggri during Late Antiquity, emerging through the data discussed above, shows clear evidence of a settlement pattern consisting of a central leading site and a number of small satellite rural communities which existed and functioned around it (radius 2-3 km). The fact that this local productive centre was not established in isolation suggests an agriculturally intensified use of this landscape during Late Antiquity. It also indicates that the local community still had a sense of common regional identity. Although at the moment only two of these sites have been identified, a future intensive survey centred on this particular area would contribute more evidence to support this view. Some of the sites, such as Adisarou had already been established since antiquity, whilst some others such as Lathrinos, were probably developed during Late Antiquity. The diachronic existence of these dispersed rural sites, which exploited the surrounding fertile land of the plain of Saggri, shows that this landscape had been settled, cultivated and in many ways modified by humans. Nowadays, the natural environment of Saggri is characterised by long and sinuous terraces which run along the hillsides around the temple. Furthermore, these sites, which can classified as small villages or farmsteads, were certainly associated and dependent on the productive centre of Gyroulas, especially between the 6th and early 8th centuries.

The conversion of the pagan sanctuary to a Christian church in the 5th or the early 6th century continued an ancient tradition, maintaining the sacred character of Gyroulas and its vital importance for the local community. In symbolic terms, as is also observed in other cases of Naxos, this conversion reflects a process of Christianising the landscape. From the middle 6th century however, the newly erected Christian basilica replaced the ancient modified building serving as the new main landmark visible from almost any point of this rural landscape. However, the considerable increase of ceramic evidence dated to the 6th and the 7th centuries in conjunction with architectural material and other types of finds from the excavation, reflects an important change in the site's character from the ancient times to the Late Antique. From a local sacred place of the pagan worship, the temple is converted into a Christian church and progressively the site also became a regional production centre. Beyond any doubt, Gyroulas was not only a local rural religious place but also an emerging regional centre for economic and social activities, especially after the middle 6th century. Whether it was a monastic community or a village, the site at Gyroulas, which was set at a prominent location amidst the largest and most fertile productive farming zones on western Naxos, would have functioned in the context of Late Antiquity as a well-organised regional production, storage and distribution centre for the local produce. There was a clear interaction between this regional production centre and the smaller rural sites that occupied the surrounding landscape. The agrarian produce of the plain was presumably transferred

to the workshops of Gyroulas for final processing. It remains an open question if Church was the new landowner of the region or a local elite.

Additionally, the development of artisanal units around the basilica indicates a commercialisation of the local production. It would not be unreasonable to assume that part of the local produce was transferred to the port of the Late Antique city of Naxos in order to be exported for commercial purposes. The imports from several famous production centres of the period and the imperial centre of Constantinople (see more in Chapter 5.3.7) as well as the various local products manufactured and exported from this inland industrial site to external markets indicate the degree of connectivity between the plain of Saggri and other sites in the Eastern Mediterranean. The processing and exporting centre of Gyroulas bears many similarities with another contemporary inland productive site on Naxos in the area of Chimarros (see more in Chapter 5.5.2). This picture suggests a highly interactive, economically vibrant inland rural microcosm which was fully integrated into regional and inter-regional communication networks.

The study of the ceramic material suggests that the production site of Gyroulas survived well into the beginning of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, at least until the early 8th century (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 31). The middle 8th and 9th centuries however, are marked by several major changes in the site's character. The emerging picture through the study of the ceramic evidence from the excavation shows extremely low levels of pottery finds after the early 8th century (Simantini-Bournia 2001, 29-31). This situation suggests that the intense industrial activity has progressively stopped and the production site of Gyroulas ceased functioning as an export centre and the region's main reference point in socioeconomic terms. It is quite possible that this highly interactive and well-connected inland site was influenced by the wider changes in sea routes and trade patterns. In this context, it is most likely that in the middle 8th and 9th centuries Gyroulas may have remained in use, but this rural community was rather smaller in size. Unfortunately, the nature of this use was such that it left less visible archaeological traces. This picture seems inconsistent with the case of Chimarros, where despite changes in use of the site, the systematic study of ceramic material reveals a



Fig. 5.41: Reconstruction of the chancel screen of the middle 6th century basilica at Saggri.

fascinating picture of continuity in ceramic types and an equally intense use of the site from Late Antiquity into the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (Vionis 2016).

The immediate periphery of Gyroulas within the plain of Saggri presents a similar picture. However, the erection in the early 9th century of humble rural churches with aniconic wall-fresco decoration such as the chapels of Agios Ioannis Theologos Adisarou discussed above and Agios Artemios approximately 1,5 km east of the present-day village of Kato Saggri (Aslanidis 2014a, 159-166) suggest humans occupied and exploited this landscape. The distribution of small early medieval sites in the plain of Saggri indicates that despite major changes after the middle 7th century in the wider Aegean context these rural communities had established ways of becoming self-sufficient, and the landscape continued to be occupied and exploited continuously throughout the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It is worth noting that the fortress of Apalirou, the new Early Medieval leading point of Naxos, which was established immediately southeast of the plain of Saggri on the mountain, has commanding views over this important productive zone on western Naxos (see more in Chapter 5.3.9). The settlement associated with Agios Ioannis Theologos Adisarou could have served as a point for unloading merchandise and goods on donkeys and mules, and transporting them up to Kastro Apalirou. A possible road could have passed through the region of Saggri before climbing up to the village of Kato Apalirou (see more in Chapter 5.3.9), and then to the last and steepest part up the fortified town.

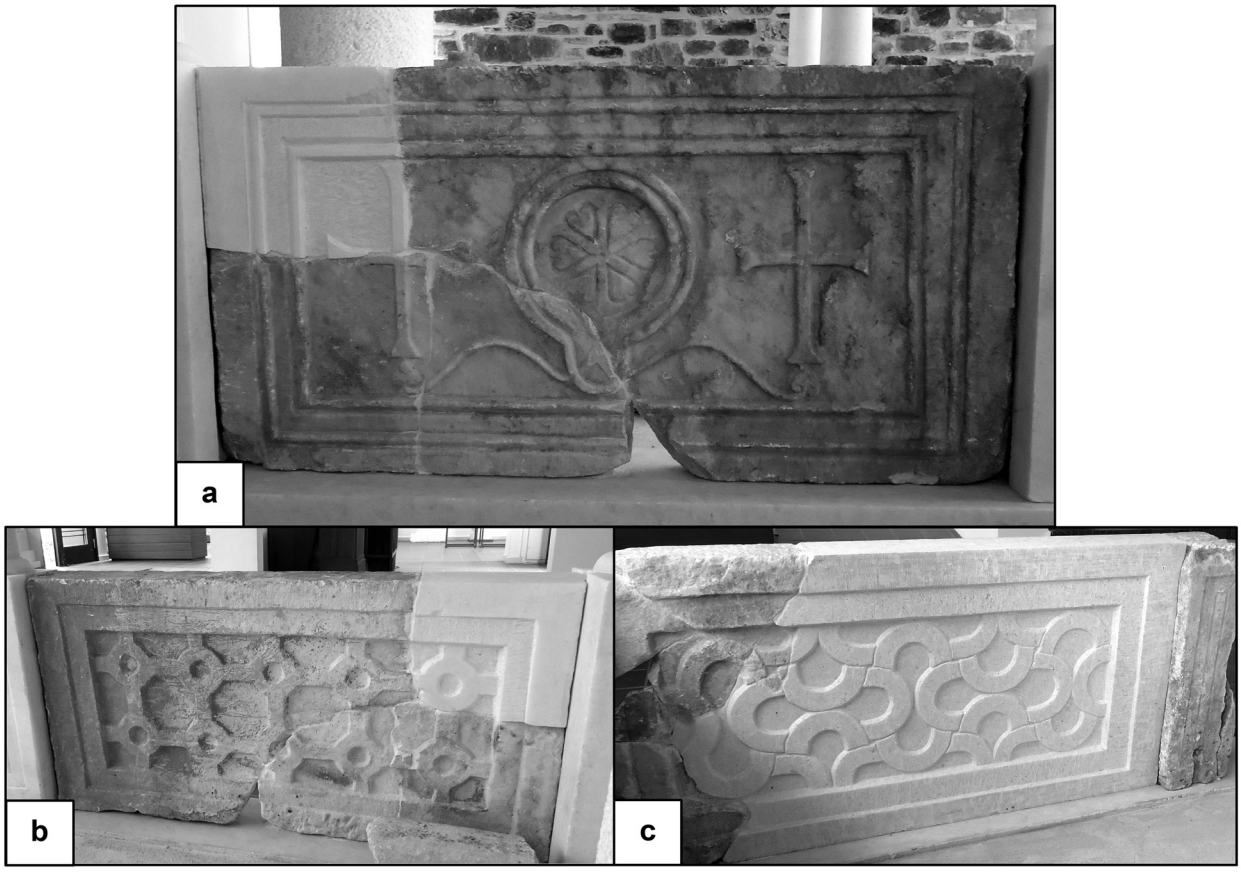


Fig. 5.42: a) The decoration of the front side of the integral slab, b - c) Back side of each slab decorated with fish-scale ornaments and imitations of *cancelli.*

5.3.7 Material culture from Gyroulas: the evidence of sculpture

During the excavations at Gyroulas a number of marble architectural sculptures, integral or fragmentarily preserved, associated with the 6th century phase of the basilica were unearthed. Different pieces from the marble chancel screen which delimitated the Holy Bema were among the finds, allowing its reconstruction (Fig. 5.41) (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 25-26; Korres 2000; 37-38). In this brief study we are dealing with the marble closure slabs from the chancel screen in order to trace the possible different origins of this heterogeneous group of sculptures, reflecting the connectivity and interaction between the region of Saggri and the broader world.

The entrance to the Holy Bema that formed on the west facade of the chancel screen was flanked by two rectangular marble closure slabs sculpted on both sides (Fig. 5.41). One is almost integral as only a small part of the upper corner is missing while the other is extremely fragmentarily preserved (a few broken pieces from the centre field and the upper corner are preserved). The front sides of both examples are decorated with the same iconographic pattern enclosed by a plain border. The central field is occupied by a composition of a christogram in combination with Latin crosses (Fig. 5.42a). In the middle of the composition the christogram is inscribed with a double ringed medallion, closed below with stylised, knotted ribbons which swing out, terminate with a heart-shaped leaf pointing upwards. Each leaf supports a Latin cross on each side of the medallion. The back side of each slab is decorated with a different pattern. One is adorned with fish-scale ornaments while the other with imitations of *cancelli* (Fig. 5.42b-c).

What makes this pair of slabs quite an interesting case-study is the obvious difference in the quality of workmanship between the front and back sides, which appears to reflect the building history of the church. The front side of each slab is characterised by high technical calibre, conveying the impression of mastery and confident execution (Fig. 5.42a). The marble's surface is polished so that there are no visible marks of the chisel. The iconographic pattern and the technical quality of the front sides allow us to attribute both slabs to a Constantinopolitan sculpture workshop. Moreover, the large grained white marble with grey bands appears to be proconnesian. In contrast, the back sides are characterised by rough workmanship of the decorative elements given in a highly stylised manner (Fig. 5.42b-c). They give the impression of clumsy and extremely speedy execution whilst the marble's surface is not polished so there are visible marks of the chisel. The heterogeneity of the iconographic pattern in connection with the low technical quality suggests work of craftsmen from a regional sculpture workshop.

The closure slabs from Gyroulas are not the only example of this type of decoration found on the island of Naxos. A pair of marble closure slabs sculpted only on the front side with similar decoration was discovered in the church of Panagia Drosiani (Fig. 5.43) and presumably comes from its original chancel screen (Drandakis 1988, 34-35; see more about Drosiani in Chapter 5.4.3). One is integral but very badly preserved as it is incorporated into the floor of the church, and the decoration in some parts is completely missing. The second is fragmentarily preserved allowing however the identification of the iconographic composition in detail. The central field is occupied by a small Greek cross with expanding ends enclosed in a triple ringed medallion, closed below with simplified, knotted ribbons which swing out and supports a large Latin cross with expanding ends on each side of the medallion. The slabs from Drosiani are characterised by rough workmanship of the decorative elements which are given in a highly stylised manner whilst the marble's surface is not polished so there are visible marks of the chisel. On the basis of stylistic and technical

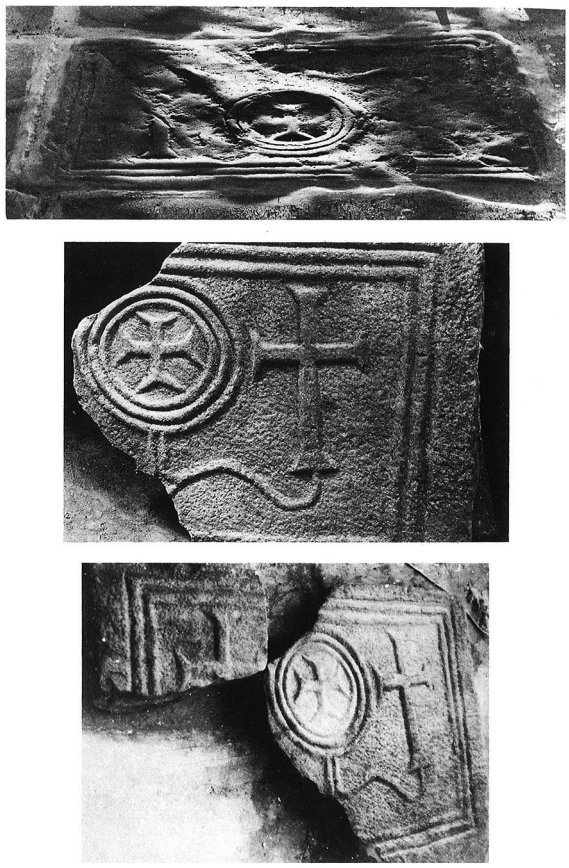


Fig. 5.43: A pair of marble closure slabs from Panagia Drosiani with similar decoration (Drandakis 1988, pl.8).

observation, Drandakis has dated the slabs to the second half of the 6th century (1988, 35-37). If we accept the chronologies of the pairs of slabs of Gyroulas and Drosiani as accurate, this means they can be inscribed in the same historical context.

The composition of a christogram in combination with Latin crosses was a common and widely distributed iconographical theme during Late Antiquity, especially in the 5th and 6th centuries. It is found more frequently on the front of monolith sarcophagi as well as on closure slabs (Farioli 1969, 72-74, n.135-136; 1983, 235-243, figs 28-35). The composition with several variations was created by the sculpture workshops of Constantinople (Tsigonaki 2004, 1153). Marble closure slabs of this type sculpted on both sides were mass produced by Constantinople's sculpture workshops (Peschlow 2007, 298-299, 320-321, n.102-107) in order to

decorate not only the churches of the capital but also newly-erected provincial basilicas (for the large diffusion of this type see Sodini 1989, 183, fig.11; characteristic examples are presented by Russo 1968, 322-329; Barsanti 1989, 197-199; Bonacasa Carra 1992, 322-324, Tsigonaki 2004, 1153-1154, figs 11-12). Recent studies have shown that fragments of Proconnesus marble slabs decorated with this composition belong to the shipwreck of Marzamemi (Castagnino Berlinghieri & Guzzardi 2011, 70, figs 8-9; 2015, 1035, fig.9). The back side of the Constantinopolitan examples are normally decorated with a large Latin cross, simple or inscribed in a medallion, or with a composition of concentric rhomboi. The broad geographical diffusion of the different variations of this type appears to have had an impact on the production of the regional sculpture workshops. In some cases local craftsmen sought to imitate the Constantinopolitan patterns, either by following the initial composition or by adding new elements and creating local variations. Characteristic examples constitute two closure slabs from the island of Crete. The first slab copies the Constantinopolitan prototype and was discovered in the mountainous city of Eleftherna while the second slab was unearthed in the Roman capital of the island the city of Gortyn and provides a local variation of the type (Tsigonaki 2004, 1158-1159, figs 25-26).

In this general context, it is quite reasonable to assume that the closure slabs of Gyroulas, due to the iconographic pattern and high technical quality of the front sides in connection with the possible provenance of the marble from Proconnesus, might have been imported to Naxos from the imperial centre in order to adorn the 6th century basilica. The difference in the quality of workmanship between the front and the back sides is a very unusual phenomenon for a Constantinopolitan sculpture. Additionally, the fish-scale decoration and the imitation of *cancelli* never appear as an iconographic pattern on the back side of this type of slabs. However, a convincing interpretation of this paradox is given by the comparison of the back side of the slabs with the lateral closure slabs of the basilica at Gyroula's chancel screen. The four marble slabs, different in size and decoration, which blocked the access from the side aisles to the Holy Bema form an interesting heterogeneous group and



Fig. 5.44: The decoration patterns on the lateral closures slabs from Gyroulas.

are only sculpted on the front side. Two of them (one in the north and one on the south side) are decorated with fish-scale ornaments and imitation of *cancelli* similar with the decoration of the back sides of the slabs of the main facade (Fig. 5.44). The two other slabs, one in the north and one on the south side, are decorated with pomegranates. Regarding the technical quality, all examples are characterised by rough workmanship of the decorative elements which are given in a highly stylised manner. As is observed on the back sides of the slabs of the main facade, they give the impression of clumsy and extremely speedy execution whilst the surface of the marble is not polished so there are visible marks of the chisel.

Having considered all the information mentioned above, we can make some tantalising hypotheses. The marble slabs with the composition of a christogram in combination with Latin crosses were imported to Naxos in order to decorate the basilica of Gyroulas's main facade of the chancel screen. The heterogeneity of the other closure slabs of this liturgical installation suggest that for the north and south sides of the screen either some closure slabs which belonged to the first phase of the temple conversion in the 5th century or newly carved sculptures by local craftsmen were used. In order to achieve relevant homogeneity of this unusual group of sculptures, Naxian sculptors, presumably, locally re-carved the back sides of both imported slabs using the iconographic patterns of the lateral closure slabs. In any case, the pair of closure slabs from Gyroulas reflects the work of experienced Constantinopolitan sculptors and at the same time the operation of local craftsmen suggesting that during the 6th century prefabricated sculptures were transported by sea from the imperial centre to Naxos, as it is observed in the case of Paros and other Cycladic islands.

Finally, we can identify the impact of Constantinopolitan models on the local sculpture production of this far-away province of the empire in the pair of closure slabs from Drosiani. As is observed in the aforementioned Cretan examples, it is clear the local sculptors who carved the slabs of Drosiani were well-informed about the imperial centre's stylistic trends. They were aware of this particular iconographic pattern and they created a local variation, changing some details of the Constantinopolitan model. Both examples from Naxos testify to the large diffusion of Constantinopolitan models and products in this Empire's far-away province reflecting an active local insular community which participated in wide commercial networks and interacted culturally with broader worlds.

5.3.8 The region of Marathos

Close to the southwest foothills of the fortress of Apalirou, approximately 3,6 km south east of Gyroulas and 4 km northeast of the nearest west coast, in the area of Kato Marathos (Lower Marathos) is located the chapel of Agios Stefanos (Fig. 5.45) (AD 1967, 30-31; Mastoropoulos 2006, 152-154, fig.114; Aslanidis 2014a, 88-90, pl.24, figs 27-28). The present-day small chapel is a barrel-vaulted single-aisled church which initially belonged to a larger religious complex probably a two- or three-aisled basilica. According to Aslanidis, Agios Stefanos is dated to the 8th century on the basis of architectural observations and specific construction details (2014a, 89).

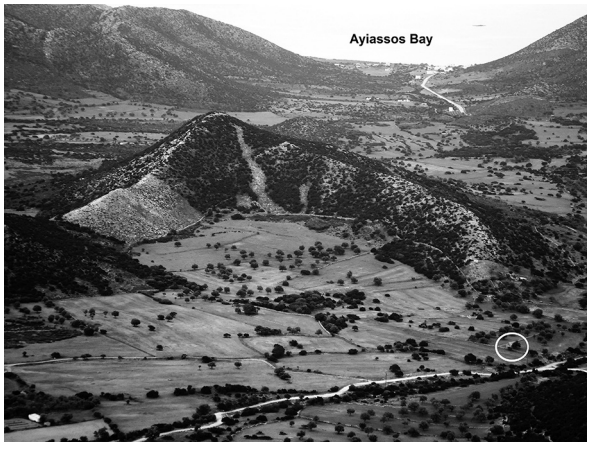


Fig. 5.45: View of the region Kato Marathos with chapel of Agios Stefanos. The bay of Ayiassos is in the background.

The site was surveyed in 2006 in the context of the Naxos Survey Project (radius 200 m around the church) producing ceramic evidence dating over the course of Late Antiquity (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming). The concentration of pottery sherds suggests the site could be classified as a small village. During Late Antiquity this rural settlement occupied an area immediately west and south of the later church. The erection of the chapel, probably during the 8th century, in connection with surface ceramic material produces evidence that this rural community remained active during the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages despite its proximity to the sea.

The church is surrounded by rich cultivable land which forms a relatively flat and large productive farming zone with direct and easy access to the sea, since the shallow bay of Ayiassos is situated a few kilometres to the southwest (Fig. 5.45). This bay is strategically located along Naxo's south-western coastline facing the south entrance of the maritime zone between the islands of Paros, Naxos and Ios (Fig. 5.21). This interesting micro-landscape consisted of a low hillside (alt. 215 m) a few metres south of the church which stands isolated amidst the plain, and partially blocks the visibility to the sea. Once again, it is apparent that the development of a settlement in the lowland landscape of western Naxos during Late Antiquity corresponds to areas with more fertile soils, showing a general trend for intensification of the agricultural exploitation during this period (Fig. 5.46).

In this case, it appears that the correlation between land productivity and settlement patterns did not change from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, as the settlement remained inhabited. Presumably, it benefited by its proximity to the new administrative centre of the island, the fortress of Apalirou. In topographical terms, the regions of Marathos and Ayiassos form a specific geographical space through which the fortress of Apalirou had the quicker and easier access to the

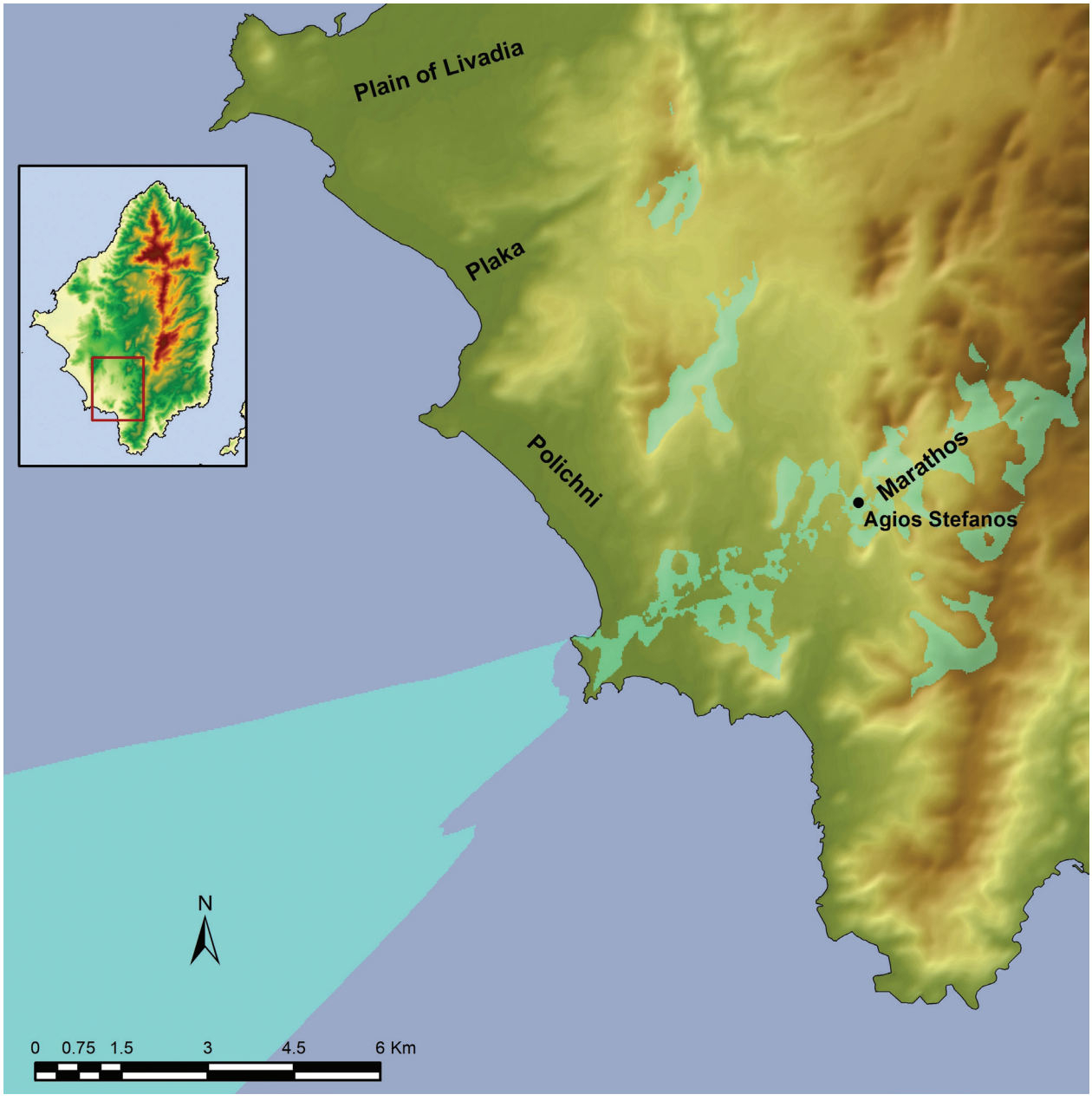


Fig. 5.46: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Agios Stefanos (Kato Marathos). Visible areas marked with turquoise.

west coastline of Naxos. This settlement could have served as a point for unloading merchandise and goods on donkeys and mules and transporting them up to Kastro Apalirou. A possible road could have passed through the region of Marathos before climbing up to the village of Kato Apalirou (see next Chapter) and then to the last and steepest part up the fortified town (Ødegård 2016).

5.3.9 The Kastro Apalirou

The progressive transformations in the coastal ancient city of Naxos (see Chapter 5.2.6) coincided with the emergence of the Kastro Apalirou on the south-western part of the island (Fig. 5.47). Kastro Apalirou is a fortified settlement erected on a steep, mountainous site 474 m above sea level on

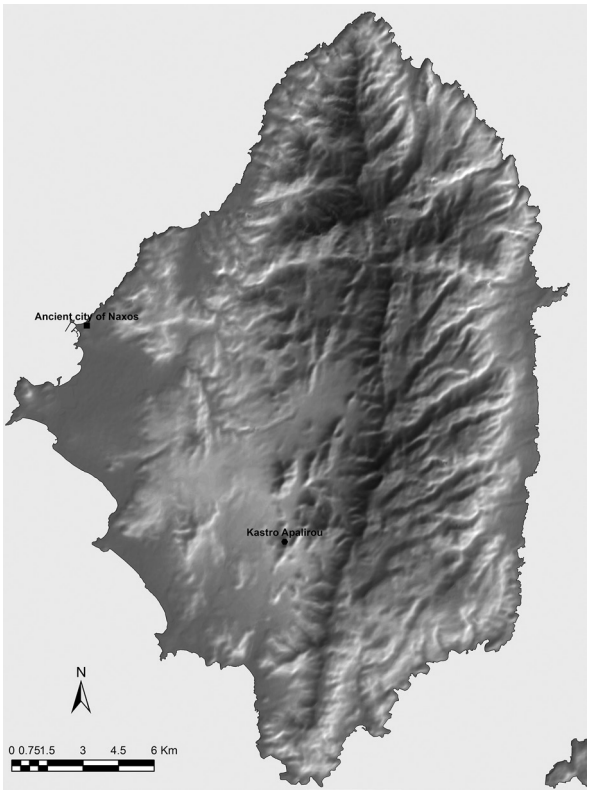


Fig. 5.47: Map showing the positions of the ancient urban centre of Naxos and the medieval Kastro Apalirou.

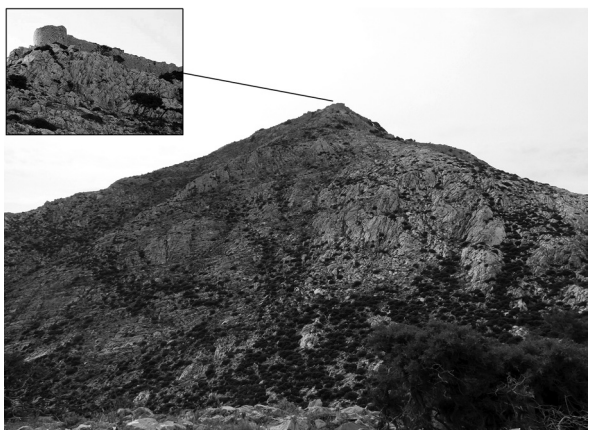


Fig. 5.48: The steep north slopes of the Kastro Apalirou. The fortification's north circular tower is discernible on the top of the mountain.

the south-western approach to Mt Zas between the areas of Saggri, Marathos and Ayiassos (Fig. 5.54). The summit of the mountain lacks natural water sources (Fig. 5.48). Despite its great importance Kastro Apalirou remains preliminarily studied and published (Eberhard 1974-1978; Vionis 2012, 87-88). However, in 2010 the Norwegian Naxos Survey Project started as a campaign to examine and record the architectural remains of Kastro Apalirou (Hill & Roland 2016; Hill *et al.* 2017). The results of this ongoing research project will shed more light on this important site for the history and archaeology of the Cyclades.

The Norwegian survey has been able to document and plan houses, streets, churches and other structures within and around the walled area of this mountain-top settlement. The intramural built environment measures approximately 250 m in length and 50 m in width and has an organised plan. It consists of the remains of: a) a strong fortification wall (Figs 5.48, 5.49 & 5.50), b) a large ecclesiastical complex (Fig. 5.51), c) an "official" section separated towards the north, d) a complex terraced street plan, with 70 houses documented so far, which is the settlement's larger section (that number is expected to at least double as many buildings lie underneath their ruins and cannot be clearly documented), e) a communal hydraulic network that leads water from across the site through a system of gutters into large community cisterns at the lowest part of the site, f) numerous smaller private cisterns connected to the individual domestic structures (Fig. 5.52), and g) an olive/wine press installation. Just outside the walls, the system of cultivation terraces with a threshing floor has been considered contemporary with the site, suggesting the community probably produced food in order to cover part of its own needs. Recently a new, relatively large church complex was unearthed on an artificial terrace immediately outside the gate to the southwest. According to the excavators this is probably an indication of the importance of the main road towards the town (Hill & Roland 2016).

Concerning the foundation of this fortified settlement nothing is disclosed by the literary sources. New evidence from the Norwegian survey, on the basis of preliminary interpretations of the historical and regional context, as well as unstratified surface ceramic material suggests that the main period of this fortified urban foundation extended from the middle 7th to the early 13th



Fig. 5.49: Kastro Apalirou: View of the surviving west defensive wall (left). View of the masonry of the fortification wall (right).the masonry of the wall (right).



Fig. 5.50: Kastro Apalirou: View of the west semi-circular tower.



Fig. 5.51: Kastro Apalirou: View of the ruined church complex within the defensive wall.



Fig. 5.52: Kastro Apalirou: Ruined cistern within the defensive wall.

century (Hill & Roland 2016; Hill *et al.* 2017). There is a clear *terminus post quem* for the total abandonment of the settlement. In 1206 or 1207 after the 4th Crusade the Venetian Marco I Sanudo besieged and conquered Kastro Apalirou which presumably still was an important Byzantine fortress on the island during that time, establishing a Venetian Duchy in the central Cyclades. Sanudo transferred the economic and administrative centre of Naxos to the area of the former ancient city, erecting the medieval Kastro of Chora (Fig. 5.9).

In the wake of the rich archaeological material recorded so far, many questions are raised concerning the definition and function of this fortified settlement. The placement of this settlement on a steep and inaccessible mountain top approximately 6 km from the coastline indicates militaristic and defensives purposes, suggesting that Apalirou could have functioned as a refuge and *kastron*. Parameters such as the steepness of the landscape, the strong fortification wall, the high altitude, the location being in the interior south south-western part of the island, the distance from the coast, and the lack of natural water sources on the summit of the mountain suggest the site was selected for defensive purposes. In geographical terms western and south-western parts of Naxos were more vulnerable to external dangers because of the relatively flat and mild coastal landscape. In contrast, the northern, central and eastern parts of Naxos always remained naturally well protected because of the extremely steep and hard mountain landscape. In this context, in the case of Kastro Apalirou a priority seems to be given to ensure the security of the western part of Naxos.

On the other hand, the site is quite large and its built environment has an organised plan with important communal infrastructures and buildings, religious complexes and private domestic structures. All these features mainly reflect a medieval urban environment. The distinct "official" and religious sectors indicates the existence of administrative, military and ecclesiastical elites within the walls. The large numbers of domestic structures documented so far probably show a considerable number of inhabitants both inside and immediately outside Kastro Apalirou. In this respect, although Kastro Apalirou differs from the typical large urban centres (Mistras, Trebizond, Thessalonica), during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages it remains as the only settlement not only on Naxos but also the Cyclades bringing together many specific features of a medieval town.

At the same time, a careful consideration of some geographical parameters makes the multiple functions of this fortified settlement clear. One potential avenue for investigating Apalirou's function within regional or inter-regional communication networks can be offered by the analysis of the possible visual relationships between the site and the surrounding landscapes, seascapes, islands and other settlements. In this context, multiple viewshed analysis was conducted in GIS in order to assess what other sites or regions could be seen from the towers of the fortification wall. Nine observation points were selected along all sides of the circuit of the wall, which correspond to the circular, semi-circular and rectangular towers that are visible in the satellite image of the site (Fig. 5.53).

First of all, the results of this spatial analysis show that Kastro Apalirou certainly had a western orientation (Figs 5.54 & 5.55). Apart from Naxos's high mountain tops nothing was visible from this site in the central, east, southeast and north parts of the island (Fig. 5.56). In contrast, Apalirou has commanding views over the most fertile agricultural productive zones of western lowland Naxos (Fig. 5.54), such as Saggri, Livadia (Fig. 5.57), Marathos and Ayiassos (Fig. 5.58). Additionally, it overlooks the most important rural sites of these areas. The territory's visibility from a settlement as well as the intervisibility between neighbouring settlements constitutes highly important features (Antrop 1988). These aspects are reflected the region's specific settlement patterns and can be partially interpreted as having visible control over productive farming zones (Sevenant & Antrop 2007, 363).

In this respect, the fortified town of Apalirou held a unique position within the settlement pattern of western Naxos, and presumably emerged as a local dominant centre for controlling western Naxos's fertile countryside and the exploitation of the rural landscapes in order to preserve sustainability (Fig. 5.54). Thus the placement of this extensive settlement within this landscape may

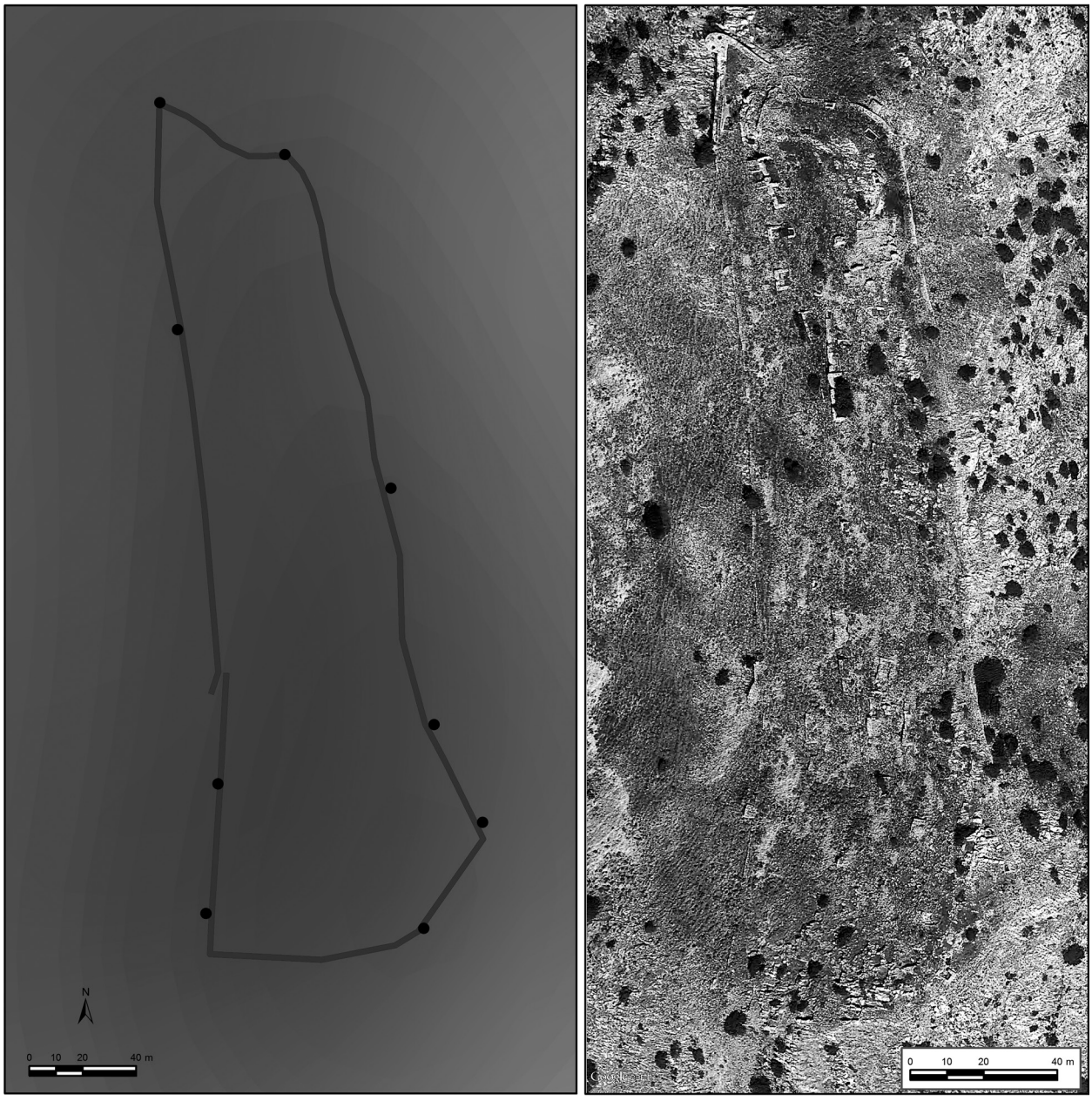


Fig. 5.53: Kastro Apalirou: Digitized map of the circuit of the wall, showing the selected observation points (left) based on the satellite image of the site from Google Earth (right).

indicate an effort to manage internal agricultural productivity of western Naxos. In this respect, in contrast with the neighbouring island of Paros, this medieval town shows a state of relevant affluence, a stable economy and a continuing system of agricultural production on the island of Naxos during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages despite Arab threat. Therefore, there is a strong relationship between settlement patterns, land use zoning and landscape visibility. The existence of an olive/wine press installation in the Kastro Apalirou further supports this interpretation.



Fig. 5.54: Viewshed analysis showing what is visible from the Kastro Apalirou in the island of Naxos. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

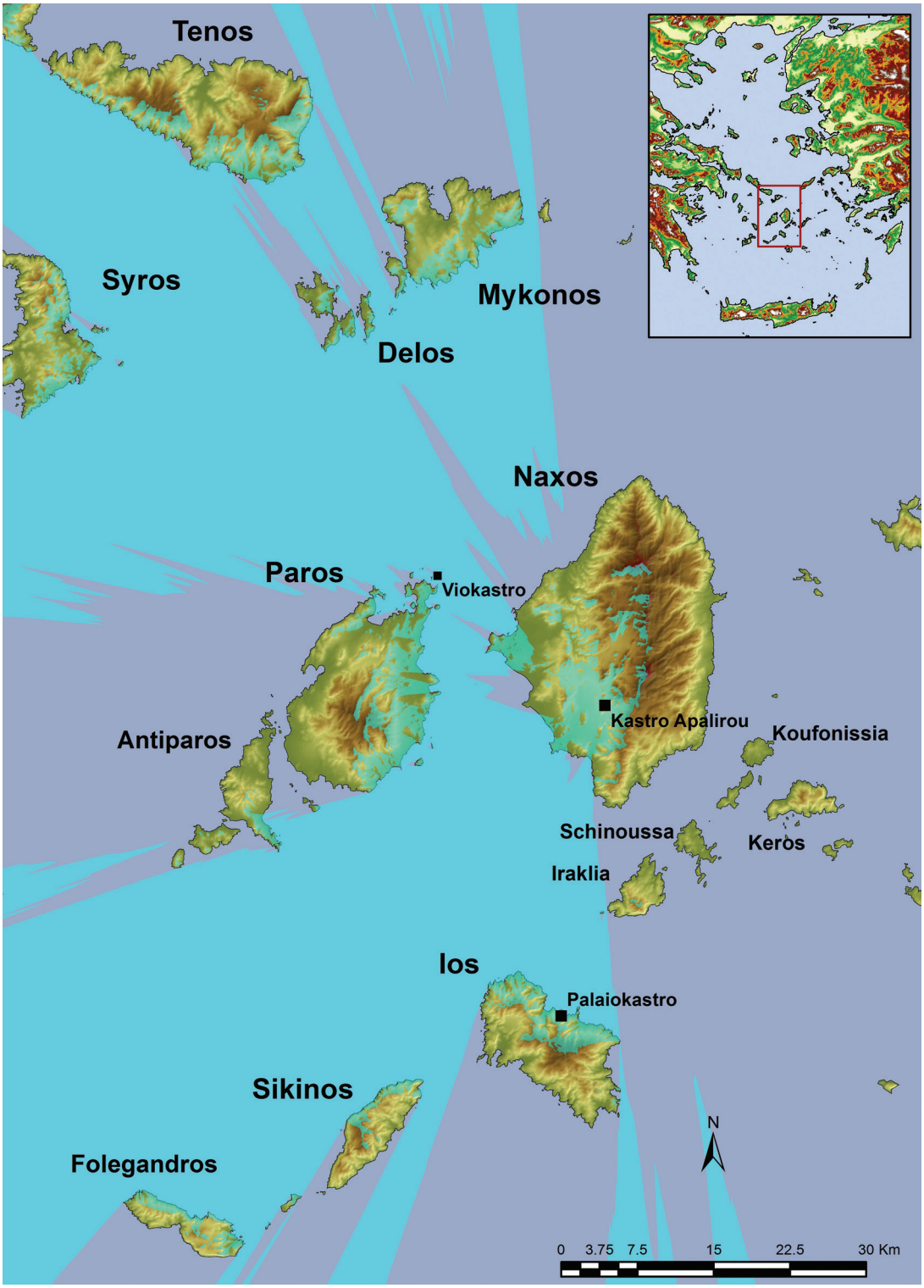


Fig. 5.55: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Kastro Apalirou. Visible areas marked with turquoise.



Fig. 5.56: Kastro Apalirou: views towards the northeast and east.



Fig. 5.57: Kastro Apalirou: view towards the west (basin of Saggri, part of the plain of Livadia, the naval channel of Paronaxia and the islet of Viokastro).

Secondly, Apalirou certainly has commanding views over some parts of the coastlines of western Naxos as well as over the surrounding maritime zones and the adjacent islands. More specifically, it provides good long range visibility over the important for seafaring maritime channel of Paronaxia (Fig. 5.57). At the same time, it offers long distant views over the western and southern coasts of Naxos (Figs 5.57 & 5.58), the eastern coastal zone of Paros and the north-eastern shoreline of Ios (Figs 5.58 & 5.59).

Additionally, the application of spatial analysis produced some interesting evidence concerning the relationship between Naxos and the neighbouring islands of Paros (and its off-shore islet of Viokastro) and Ios. Kastro Apalirou was contemporary with two sea-oriented defensive sites in the central Cyclades (Fig. 5.60): the naval fortress on the off-shore islet of Viokastro (Vionis 2012, 125-132) discussed above (see more in Chapter 4.3.5) and the fortified installation of Palaiokastro on Ios. The latter is only preliminary studied and published (Eberhard 1974-1978, 552-554; Mitsani 2003). The placement of the fortresses of Apalirou, Viokastro and Palaiokastro in this maritime region cannot be considered coincidental. The application of viewshed analysis from Apalirou (Fig. 5.55), Viokastro (Fig. 4.70) and Palaiokastro (Fig. 5.61) show that these sites were mutually visible. The intervisibility between the fortresses of Apalirou,

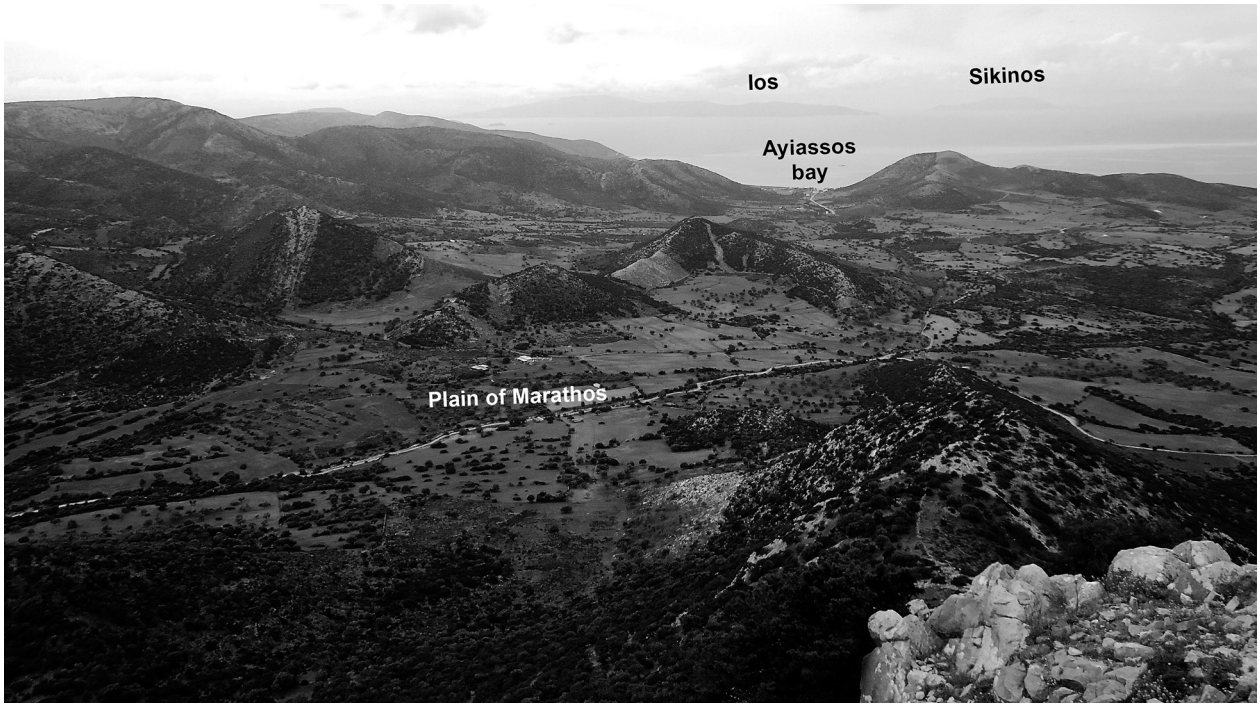


Fig. 5.58 Kastro Apalirou: view towards the southwest (plain of Marathos, the small shallow bay of Ayiassos, the Palaiokastro of Ios, and the maritime space between Naxos, Paros and Ios).

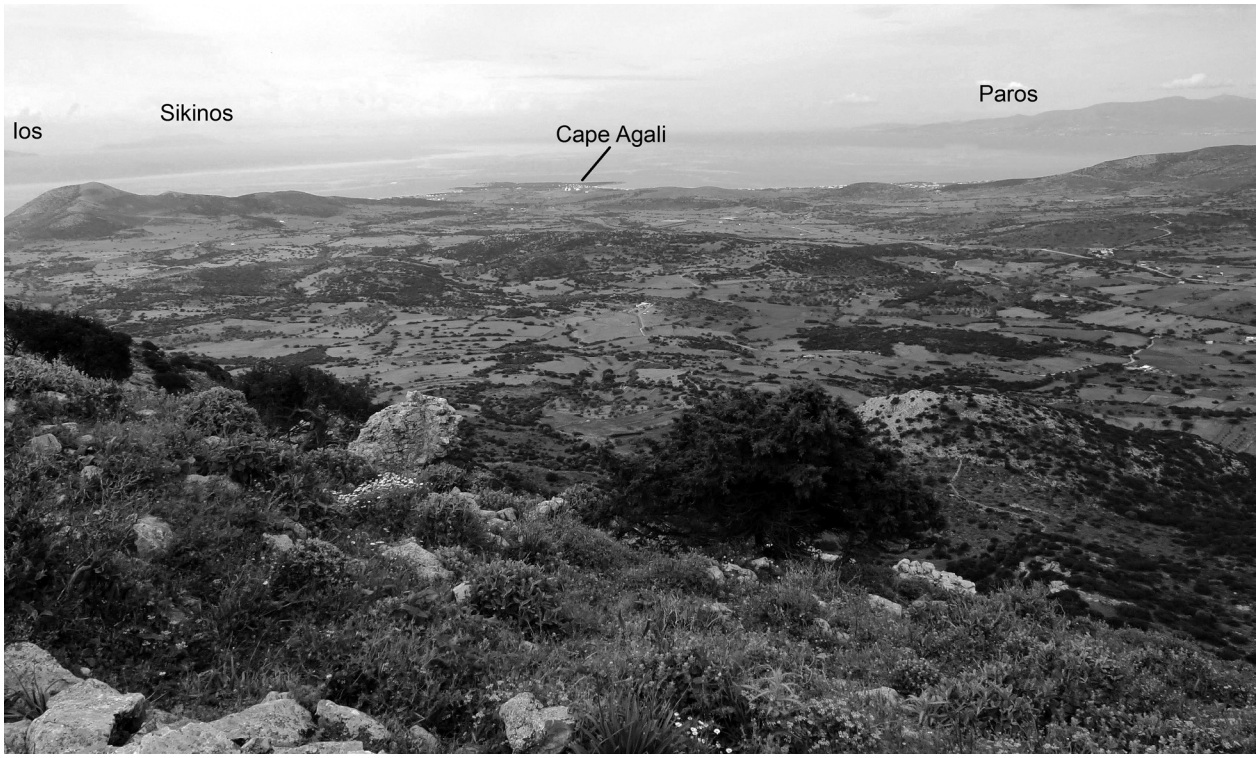


Fig. 5.59 Kastro Apalirou: view towards the south-western coastline of Naxos and the maritime space between Naxos, Paros and Ios.

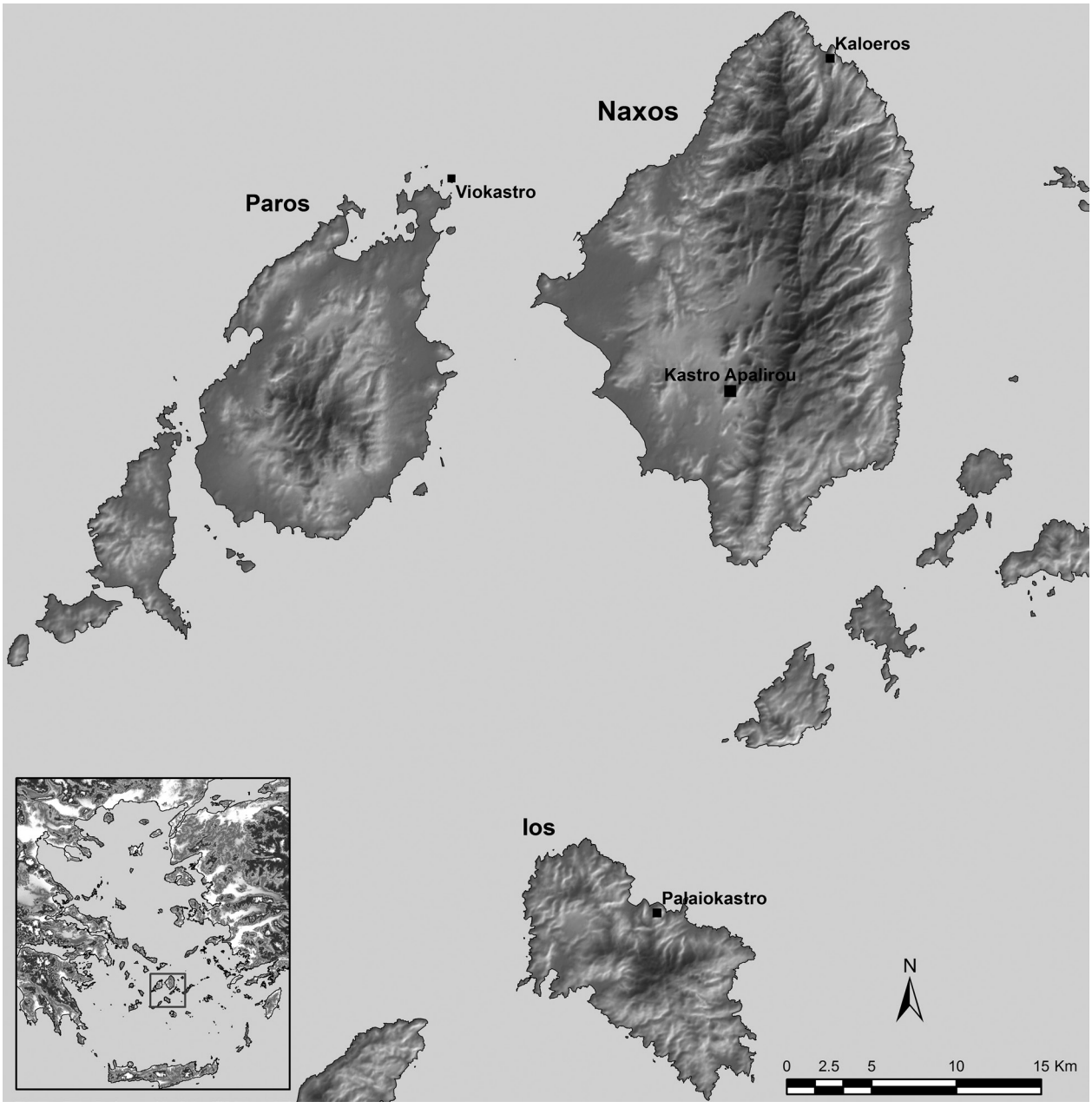


Fig. 5.60: Map with the Byzantine forts in central Cyclades.

Viokastro and Palaiokastro indicates the existence of a regional maritime communication network, probably for administrative and protection purposes.

Each of these three sites held strategic and unique position within this maritime zone's seascape. A series of parameters, such as the selection of the site, the commanding views towards the surrounding landscape/seascape, and the clear archaeological evidence of a medieval urban organisation, suggests that Kastro Apalirou had a key role in this network. Viokastro and Palaiokastro, probably, held auxiliary but crucial role, since they overlooked the entrances of this vital maritime space in the central Cyclades (Paronaxia) and some places which could not be seen from the towers of Apalirou (Fig. 5.62). Viokastro controls the north entrance of the channel

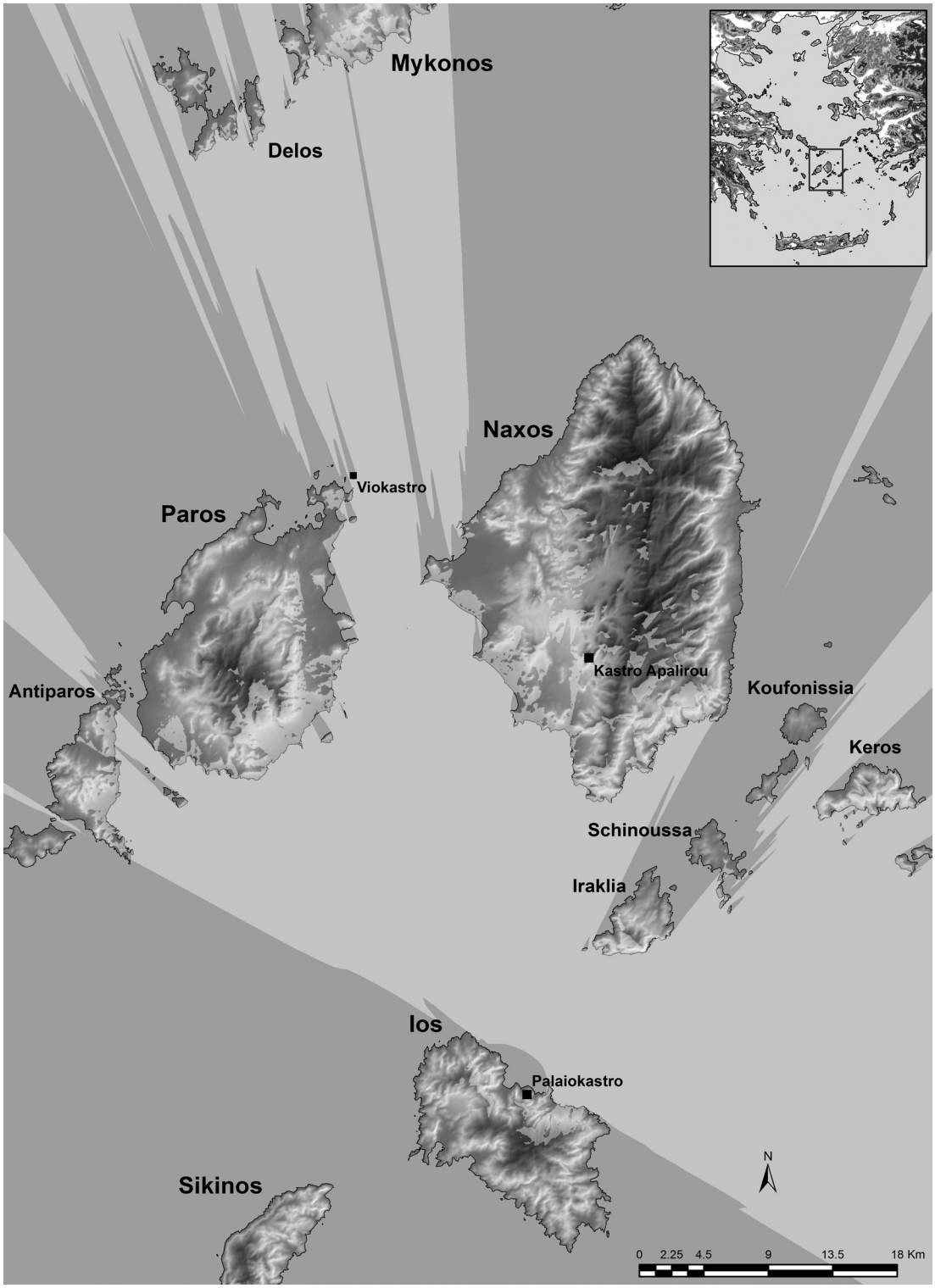


Fig. 5.61: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Palaiokastro. Visible areas marked with grey.

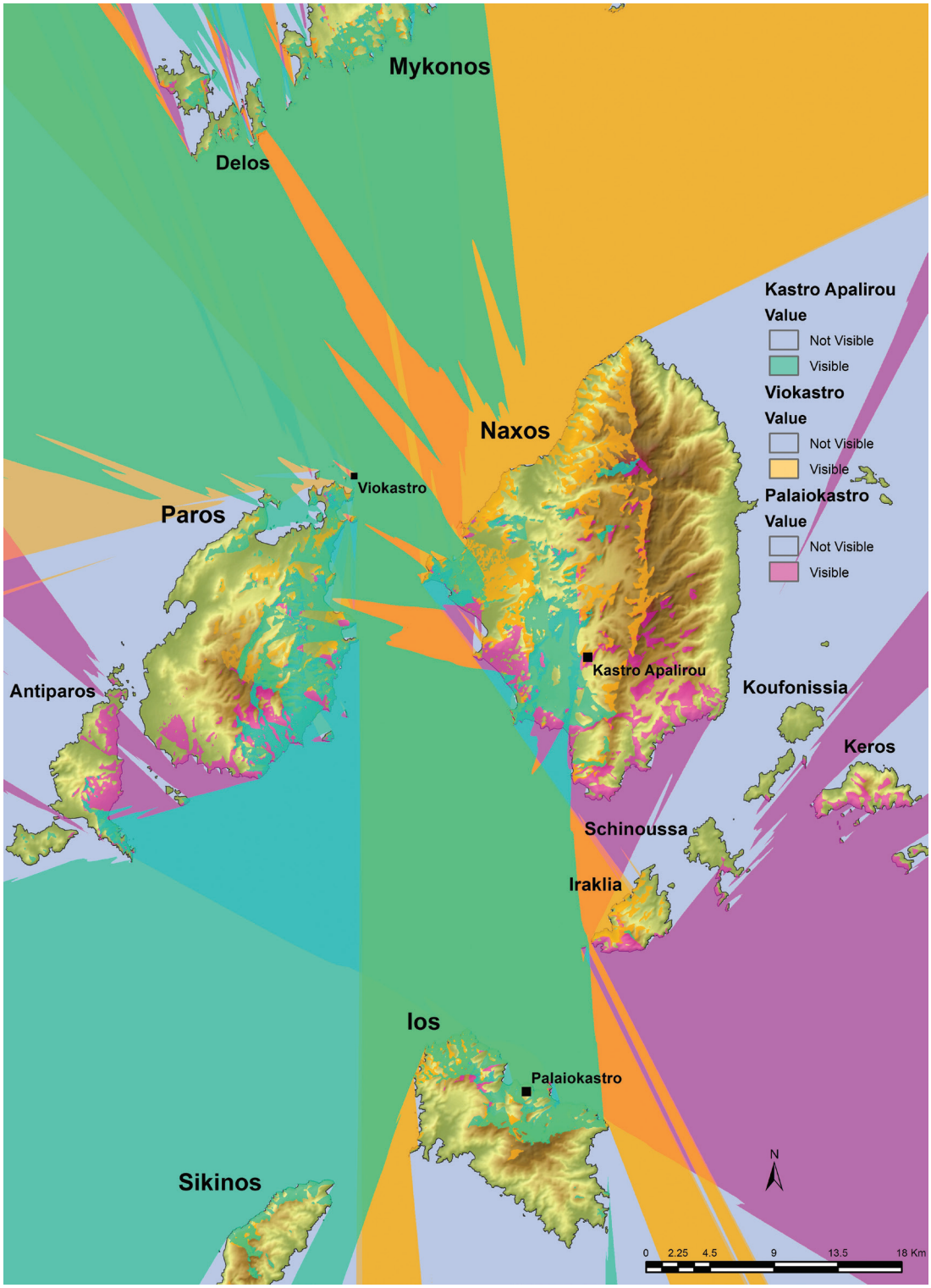


Fig. 5.62: Multiple viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Kastro Apalirou, Viokastro and Palaiokastro.

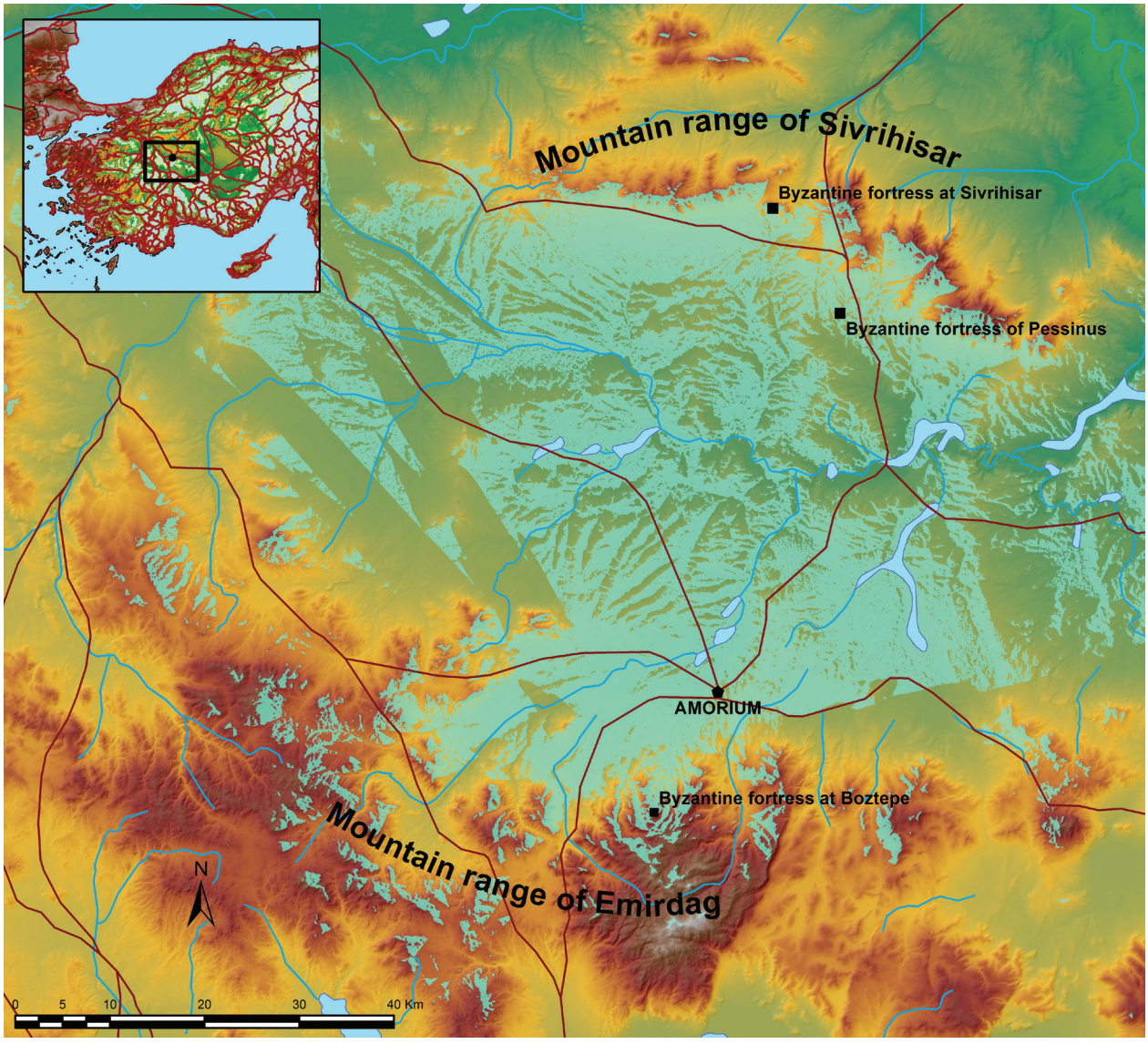


Fig. 5.63: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from the byzantine fortress at Boztepe (15 m added). Visible areas marked with turquoise.

of Paronaxia, the small section in the middle of this naval channel which is non-visible from Apalirou, and the maritime zone between Paros, Naxos, Mykonos, Delos and Ikaria, an important part of which (north and northeast of Naxos) is also non-visible from Apalirou (Fig. 4.70). Palaiokastro overlooks the south entrance of Paronaxia and the maritime zone of the Small Cyclades which is non-visible from Apalirou (Fig. 5.61). Thus, the visual relationship of this sea-oriented communication network shows an effort to control and secure maritime mobility not only for military but also for commercial purposes through the naval channel of Paronaxia which was, probably, a crucial part of inter-regional sea routes that passed through the Aegean Sea. According to Vionis, ceramic evidence from Naxos shows the populations of the western lowland part participated in maritime trade during the late7th and 8th centuries that connected the Aegean and parts of the eastern Mediterranean to Constantinople (2013, 30-31). This communication network reflects a wider strategy created by the central government for the

re-organisation of the administration, defence and protection of the Cyclades.

Regional communication networks are not uncommon pattern in the broader context of the Early and Middle Byzantine Empire. Their existence is testified by the textual sources (Haldon 1990, 132-135, n. 254-255) and the archaeological evidence. They can be found in landscapes different in character ranging from mountainous highlands to maritime regions. Recent studies, for example, identified a similar communication network in the highlands of eastern Phrygia at the heart of central Anatolia (Roussos 2017; forthcoming). It consisted of the thematic capital of Amorium, which was the main military centre of the Anatolikon theme, the small fortress or watch-tower of Boztepe, the so-called "byzantine castle" of Pessinus and the byzantine castle on the summit of Mt Sivrihisar (Fig. 5.63)[5]. This military communication network reflects a wider strategy created by the imperial government in order to strengthen the defence of central Asia Minor, which was easily exposed to Arab threat. It can be viewed in the context of defensive activity that occurred across Anatolia during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods in order to provide a strategic advantage to the army and improve its efficiency. It possibly hold auxiliary but crucial role, supporting Amorium and Ancyra, the two major military headquarters of the Anatolian plateau. At the same time, this network reflects an effort to control and secure the mobility through the major road system of this highly interactive region not only for military but also for commercial purposes.

Although these regional communication networks have been developed in completely different natural environments, they were based on some common parameters. These systems consisted of various sites and the key role played by a small or large fortified urban centre while a number of forts, watchtowers and strongholds were developed in the surrounding landscape. Additionally, they reflect an attempt to re-organise the protection of regions and maritime or land routes, which were of great importance for the interests of the Empire. Finally, they show an effort to protect the rural population and the agricultural production.

In this context, it seems reasonable to assume that the fortress of Apalirou and the island of Naxos in general, held a dominant position within a defensive network set in place by the central administration for the re-organisation of the protection of the sea routes and the Cycladic islands. From this point of view, this organised naval defensive system reflects the strong presence of the imperial administration in the central Cyclades during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It is most likely then, that the island of Naxos held a unique position in this process serving as an important regional administrative centre during the turbulent period of the Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean, especially in the first period of Arab conquest in the Aegean before the conquest of Crete (824-828). The naval protection of the south Aegean must have been of vital importance for the Empire, as this maritime zone emerged as the forefront of the defence of the Capital. We cannot be very accurate when discussing the efficiency of this naval defensive system after the Arab conquest of Crete, as according to Ioannes Caminiates in 904, the island of Naxos paid tribute to the Moslems of Crete.

The different aspects discussed above strongly support the view regarding the multifaceted functionality of Kastro Apalirou. In the context of the Cycladic islands this relatively large fortified settlement can be classified as a regional mountain medieval town. This town might have served as a local administrative, economic and ecclesiastical centre to ensure the defence of Naxos, and to preserve its self-sufficiency. At the same time, it might have functioned as a regional administrative and military centre for the protection of the Cycladic islands and this maritime zone of vital importance for the interest of the Byzantine state. Thus, it becomes reasonable to assume that the emergence of the Kastro Apalirou was not only related to military and defensive aspects but also to a re-organisation of the local production of Naxos and the Cyclades's regional administration.

5. Since 2013, the *Amorium Urban Archaeology Project*, an ongoing side-project conducted by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies − Foundation for Research & Technology (Hellas – Crete − Rethymno) under Dr N. Tsivikis as part of the greater *Amorium Excavations Project* of Anadolu University (Eskisehir − Turkey), focused on analysing the historical landscape of Amorium. "Tracing landscape dynamics of Amorium and its territory" is a study, which is conducted by the author, as a part of this larger project initiative.

5.3.10 Apalirou environs

Apart from the study of the fortified town of Apalirou, an ongoing systematic field survey intends to reconstruct habitation and land use patterns in the immediate periphery outside the walls on the western slope below the Kastro (Crow & Turner 2016).[6] In the context of this project, an extensive village has been recently discovered on the west flank of the mountainside, which has been called Kato Apalirou (Fig. 5.67).

Concerning the region's micro-topography, the mountainside immediately to the west of Apalirou drops steeply into a shallow bowl before sloping down sharply towards the south-eastern parts of the basin of Saggri. The area of Kato Apalirou is delimited by the fertile productive zones of Lathrinou, Adisarou and Marathos to the west and south by a series of rocky knolls. A dense network of building blogs set on stepped and braided terraces was discovered. It is most likely the majority of them can be identified as domestic structures. Some of these houses are seen to be approximately square and laid out in rows, with clear internal subdivisions. At the moment, there is no evidence for cisterns associated with this settlement. The architectural remnants of four small churches were discovered and clearly related to the village. Based on preliminary observations of the surface ceramic material, it has been suggested that the main period of occupation of the area of Kato Apalirou extended from the late 6th to the 9th or 10th centuries (Crow & Turner 2016).[7]

What is important in the case of Kato Apalirou is that this extensive open settlement was contemporary with the fortified town. This discovery expands our knowledge about the extramural topography of this medieval town, shedding more light on the settled landscape of western Naxos during the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The Kato Apalirou was apparently associated with the Kastro and would have served as the last point along the road that climbed up to the fortified town.

5.3.11 Placing western Naxos in a wider Aegean context

Six regions of the western part of Naxos have been presented and studied in order to offer the ground upon which settlement pattern in this specific Naxian landscape can be interpreted from the 4th to the early 9th centuries. The main characteristic of this lowland landscape, which occupies some 30% of the total geographical area of the island, is the abundance of well-watered coastal or inland productive farming zones, suitable for intensive cultivation.

The picture about the settled landscape during Late Antiquity emerging through the multiple data discussed above, becomes more clear and suggests a relationship between settlement patterns, land use zoning and in most cases landscape visibility (Fig. 5.64). Based on geographical, spatial and archaeological site analysis, it appears the location of the settlement sites in the course of Late Antiquity within the lowland landscape of western Naxos is mainly related to the availability of arable land and a close supply of water. In all cases (Eggares, Faneromeni, Plaka, Kechrees, Polichni, Saggri, Kato Marathos) settlements correspond to well-watered coastal or inland geological formations with more fertile soils, where there is an abundance of the best cultivable land on western Naxos (Fig. 5.65).

The application of multiple viewshed analysis from the Late Antique rural sites of western lowland Naxos clearly shows that each one had the visual control of a specific fertile productive zone (Fig. 5.66). In other worlds, the visibility from each rural site was almost restricted within the borders of the coastal or inland geological formation in which it is located.

Some of them were also offered a partial view to the maritime channel of Paronaxia, but it was not the main aspect concerning the selection of the settlements' site. Thus, the emerging picture suggests that during Late Antiquity all the productive zones on western Naxos were inhabited and cultivated. The non-urban areas on western Naxos, especially between the 6th and late 7th centuries, present a picture of extremely active small or large communities, which despite their proximity to the sea were more oriented towards rural rather than maritime activities. As a matter of fact, all these sites were apparently classified as rural in character. During the period from the 6th

6. The *Apalirou Environs Project* began in 2015. It is an ongoing systematic ceramic survey of the wider region of Kastro with the collaboration between the Oslo University and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades.

7. Due to the fact that the research is still at an early stage, the site is presented only in the distribution map of sites on western Naxos during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

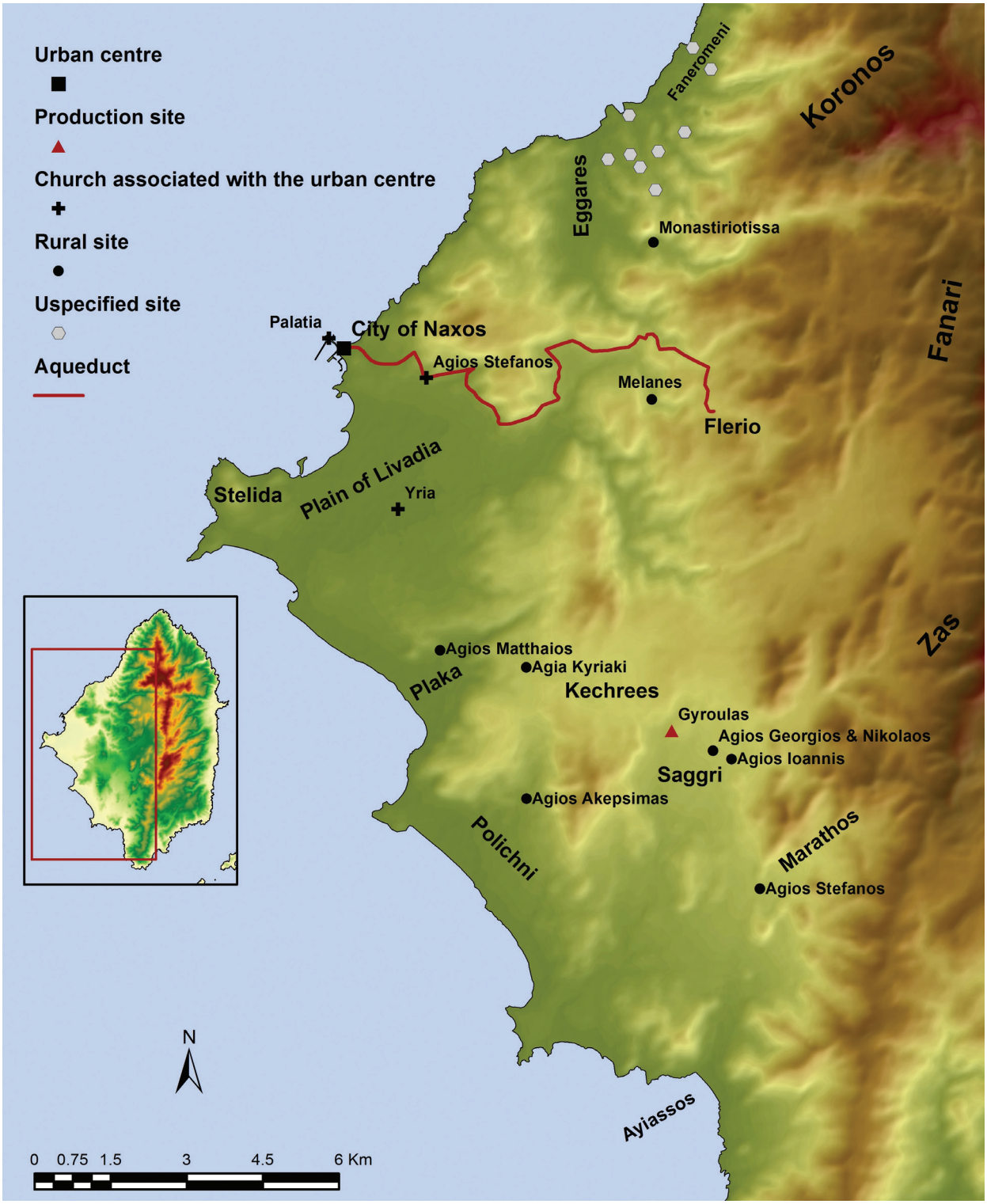


Fig. 5.64: Distribution of sites on western Naxos during Late Antiquity.

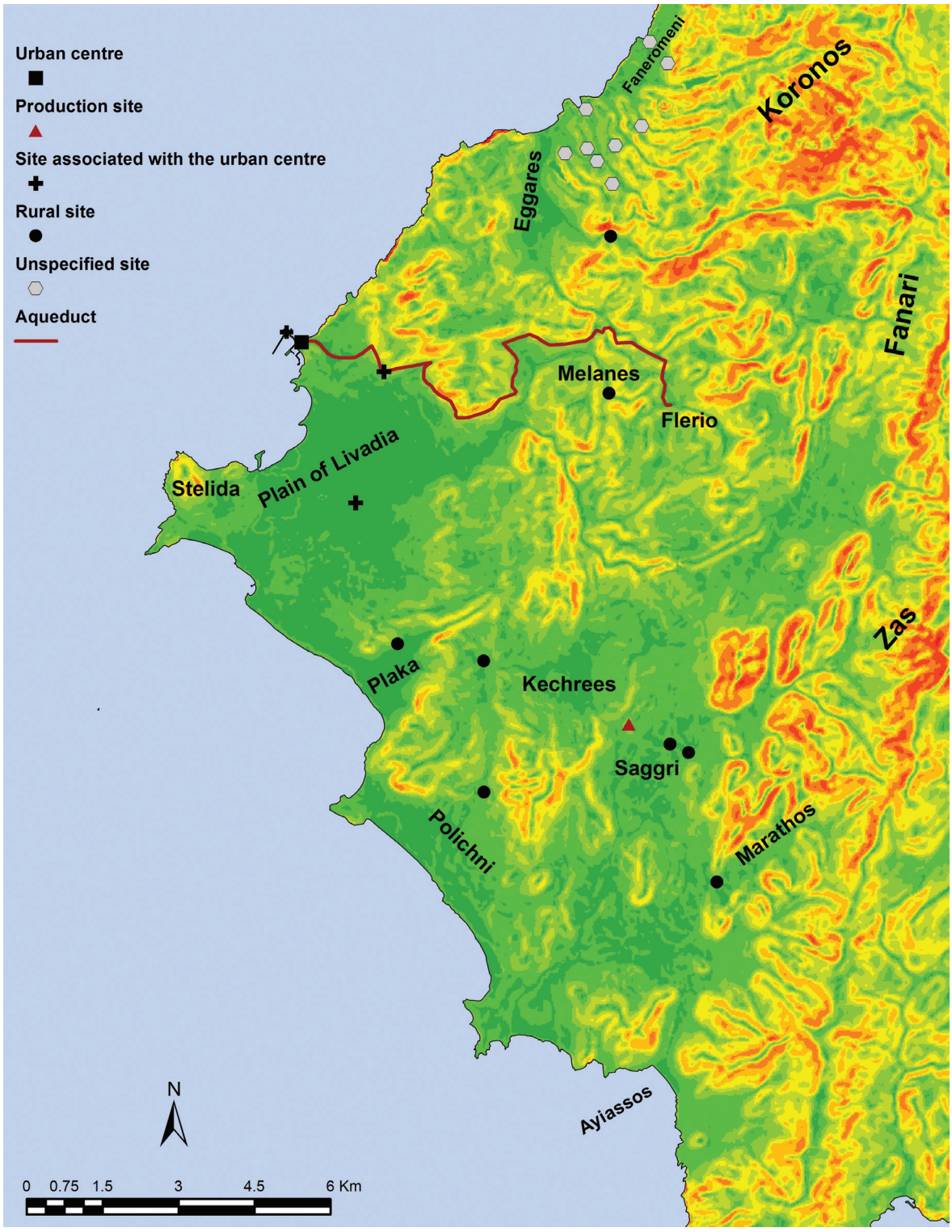


Fig. 5.65: Slope map of western Naxos showing the relationship between settlement patterns and land use zoning during Late Antiquity.

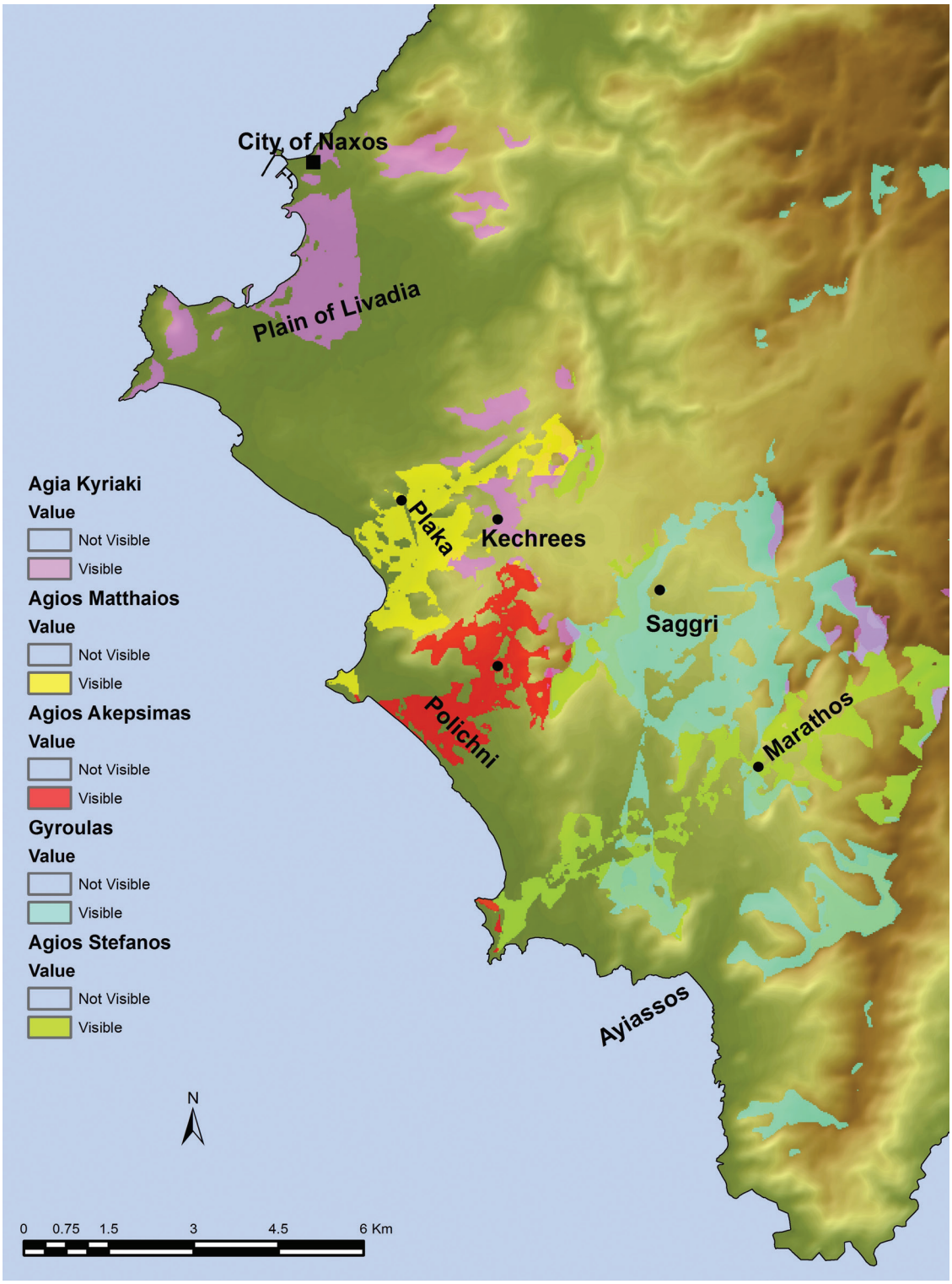


Fig. 5.66: Multiple viewshed analysis of the Late Antique rural sites on western Naxos.

to the early 8th century the correlation between land productivity and settlement density is the strongest and most significant, as indicated by the erection of at least three basilicas (Plaka, Polichni, Saggri) in the wider region, all related to settlement sites.

The consistent association between settlement density and best quality land suggests an intensification of agricultural exploitation during Late Antiquity on western Naxos. In addition, the evidence from the production site of Gyroulas suggests the commercialisation of local production on western Naxos, especially from the middle 6th century. Similar picture of agriculturally intensified use of the rural landscape with market orientation emerges from several regions of the Aegean world especially after the middle 6th century onwards (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Mee & Forbes 1997; Bintliff *et al.* 2007; Bintliff 2000a; 2012b, 355-358). The problems in supplying Constantinople and the frontier armies after the progressive loss of the rich Eastern provinces have resulted in intensification of land use in many regions of the Aegean world for commercial purposes. Areas with large rural production were specialised in the cultivation of a single product, produced in vast quantities for export (Poulou-Papadimitriou forthcoming). The evidence of intensive land-use on western Naxos can be integrated into this general context.

Naxos was famous in the antiquity for its wine production that was exported all over Greece and the Mediterranean (see more about the ancient sources and the Naxian wine in Voutsinou-Kikilia 1994, 488 with n. 6). Even the early 15th century, Buondelmonti was impressed by the fact that the extensive plain around the ancient city (probably refers to the plain of Livadia) was full of vineyards extended very close to the sea and produced a high-quality wine (Voutsinou-Kikilia 1994, 485). It makes sense to assume that, the wine of Naxos maintained to the Late Antique centuries its ancient reputation and was intensively cultivated across western Naxos constituting its main exportable produce in the context of the unified Mediterranean economy. However, in contrast with the neighbouring island of Paros, at the moment, there is no evidence of mass production of amphorae along the coastline of western Naxos during Late Antiquity. This could be a research gap, but also it might be an indication that amphorae were imported from the production sites along the opposite coasts of Paros (Naoussa Bay and Glifades) to cover the needs for transport vessels of western Naxos in order to export its agricultural surpluses to wider markets (see more in Chapter 4.3.6). The Late Antique city of Naxos in which the safest commercial harbour of the island's west shoreline was located might have functioned as collection points for the primary exportable produce of the area. From this standpoint, the rural communities in the productive farming zones on western Naxos were closely connected with the nearby urban centre. Moreover, intra-island connectivity was easiest between the various productive zones and landscapes on western lowland of Naxos compared to the mountainous hinterland. All coastal or inland regions of western Naxos that correspond to specific geological formations were accessible from the urban centre and the coasts.

On the other hand, the newly erected basilicas dated to the 6th century in the rural various landscapes on western Naxos not only reflect a burst of church-building but also ambitious and flourishing local rural communities. These communities were able to undertake and fund building projects with recycled architectural members built into their walls from abandoned pagan monuments, locally produced marble sculptures and, in some cases, imported pieces from Constantinople. These monuments emerged as the main rural landmarks visible from almost any point of the surrounding micro-landscapes. On the other hand, it becomes evident that Christian basilicas became the centres of great activity with multifaceted functionality by the 6th century, serving as meeting, production and commercial places for rural communities.

The growing number of archaeological records from western Naxos constantly expands our knowledge concerning the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages in the Cyclades and allows us to draw an overall conclusion about settlement patterns on this island's varied lowland landscape. Despite the fact that many questions remain open, some general trends can be recognised. In any case, the emerging picture is much more concrete compared to the neighbouring island of Paros.

Archaeological evidence from western Naxos suggests that the picture of economic vitality with market orientation that characterised Late Antiquity

changed progressively from the late 7th and more intensively from the early 8th century. This fact however, does not in itself mean that economic and social activities ceased to exist in the coastal and inland landscapes of western Naxos. Despite major socioeconomic changes in the broader Eastern Mediterranean world, surface ceramic material dated to the late 7th, 8th and 9th centuries in conjunction with the erection of small churches with aniconic frescoes testify to a continuity of habitation at several sites on western Naxos from Late Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages, supporting the existence of a dense network of small or large rural settlements across the western Naxos (Fig. 5.67).

An important change with major impact on the settled landscape of western Naxos is the foundation of the medieval town of Kastro Apalirou in the interior of western Naxos. Archaeological evidence suggests a relatively busy landscape in the immediate lower periphery of Apalirou during the Early Middle Ages. It seems that a dense network of rural satellite sites existed and functioned on the lower hills and the lowland fertile productive zones around this medieval urban foundation. Some of these sites, such as Kato Apalirou, were contemporary with Kastro while some of them, such Agios Stefanos at Kato Marathos, Agios Ioannis Theologos at Adisarou, and possibly, Gyroulas survived from Late Antiquity.

What is more clear in the case of western Naxos is that settlement sites from the Byzantine Early Middle Ages are not only withdrawn to the mountainous hinterland of the island but have also been located very close to the coastline (Vionis 2013, 30-31; forthcoming). This pattern sharply contradicts traditional historical views about the abandonment of coastal zones in the late 7th century as a result of Arab hostility followed by a "movement" of populations towards the islands' mountainous hinterlands (Malamut 1988, 67-68). The survival of the former ancient city as a small coastal settlement, the construction of the church of Agios Stefanos at Kato Marathos, probably, in the 8th century, the chapels of Agia Kyriaki at Kechrees, Agios Ioannis Theologos at Adisarou, Monastiriotissa at Eggares and Agios Artemios at Saggri decorated with aniconic frescoes in the 8th-9th century in connection with the continuous and uninterrupted use of the basilica of Agios Akepsimas at Polichni provide valuable evidence supporting the continuity of habitation in both coastal and inland landscapes of western Naxos.

The changes that occurred in the site of Gyroulas after the early 8th century is probably connected to important transformations that took place in the inter-regional maritime trade networks during the turbulent "Dark Ages". In contrast, the survival of small rural sites such as the settlements at Kechrees, Adisarou, Kato Marathos, Eggares and Polichni, which correspond to important productive farming zones on western Naxos, suggests that the patterns of settlement distribution in relation to soil productivity did not change dramatically from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. On the other hand, it appears that after the 8th century a more regional economy was progressively developed, with products circulating mainly internally or just across the neighbouring regions. Nevertheless, according to Vionis, ceramic evidence from Naxos suggests that over the course of the late 7th and 8th centuries island populations were actively involved in the maritime commerce that connected the Aegean and parts of the eastern Mediterranean to Constantinople and southern Italy, on a lesser scale compared to the previous centuries (2013, 30-31).

On the other hand however, the Early Byzantine rural settlements on western Naxos were different in form, and probably, in size, compared to their Late Antique predecessor. The large Early Christian basilicas ceased functioning as the landscape's main landmarks, as they were ruined, serving in most cases as quarries. The newly-erected small churches emerged as the new rural reference points functioning to this day as integral parts of the historic landscape of western Naxos. What seems consistent in both periods is the fact that, only with few exceptions, religious monuments (large basilicas or later small and humble churches) were associated with the existence of rural communities around them. In Late Antiquity and the subsequent Early Byzantine centuries they functioned as the central point of nucleated agricultural settlements.

The settlement pattern of western Naxos reflects the socioeconomic transformation from the end of Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and the

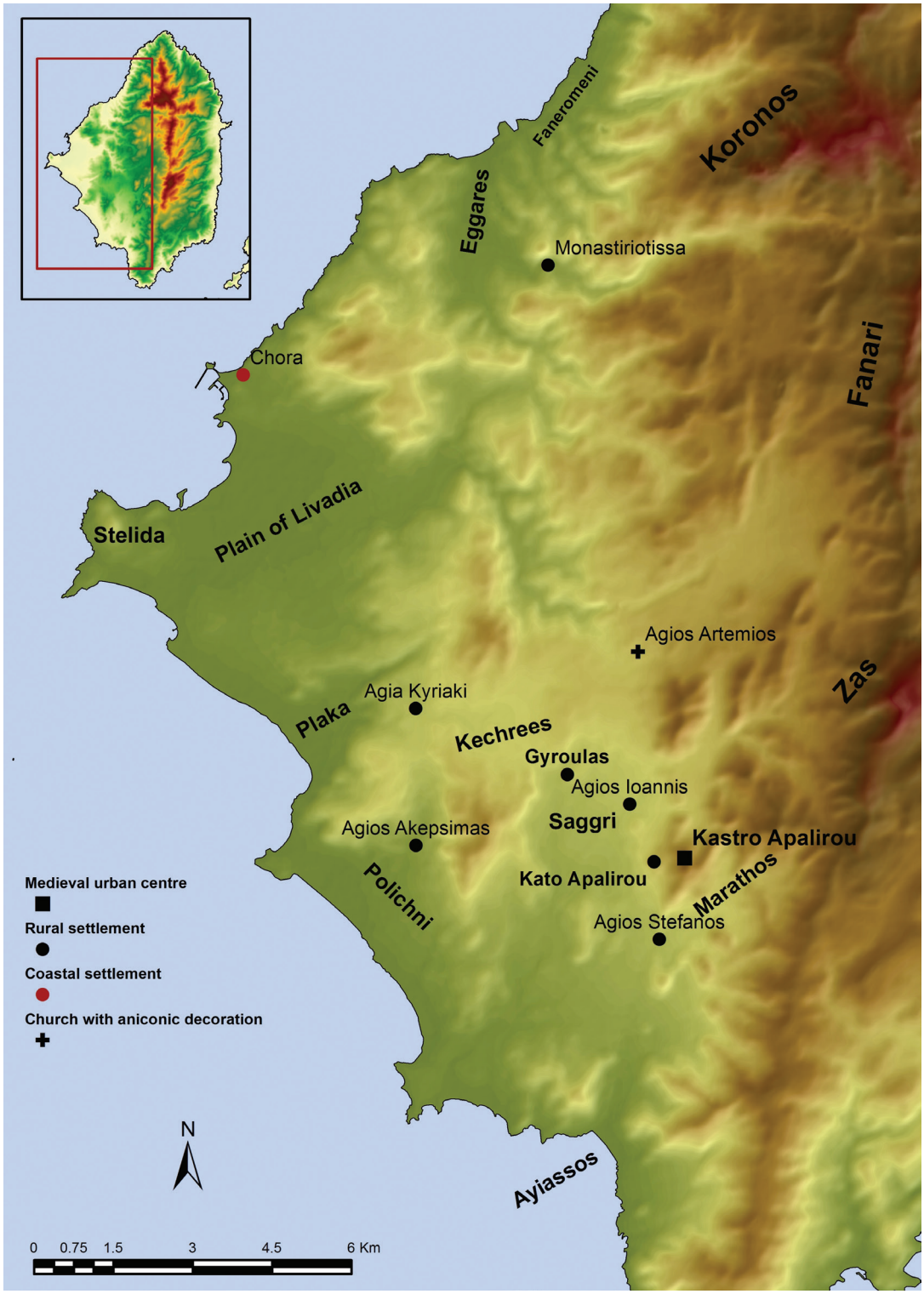


Fig. 5.67: Distribution of sites on western Naxos during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

transition to a new model of habitation and financial system, illustrating important economic and political changes. The example of western Naxos suggests the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages was a gradual and smooth process from 'antique' to 'medieval' life-ways and mentalities in some regions of the Aegean.

5.4 MOUNTAINOUS CENTRAL NAXOS

5.4.1 Landscape and micro-topography

What makes Naxos a unique island among the Cyclades is its rich mountainous hinterland, occupying almost 70% of the island's total surface and characterized by great diversity in micro-landscapes (Figs 5.3 & 5.7: III). The most important part of this landscape is located at the heart of the island and divided into the regions of Potamia, Tragea, Danakos and Apiranthos (Fig. 5.68). A few kilometres eastward of the lowland coastal western part of Naxos a variety of mountain landscapes emerges, with a plethora of geological formations in the central hinterland of the island, similar to those of Mainland Greece, to the point that one can almost forget the proximity of the sea.

The region of Potamia is located in the western part of central Naxos, north of the plain of Saggri, south of the area of Melanes and east of the present-day Chora. The micro-landscape of Potamia is dominated by a large green valley (the so-called valley of Potamia) which cuts into the gentle hills with its river lined by plane trees. Small and picturesque villages lie beside the well-watered valley floor, surrounded by gardens and olive groves. Potamia is actually divided into three settlements: Ano Potamia (Upper Riverside), Mesi Potamia (Middle Riverside) and Kato Potamia (Lower Riverside). The name derived from the river that crosses these three inhabited areas forming a small but fertile productive farming zone. It is a mild mountainous landscape with plenty of water resources, limited but fertile arable fields organised in terraces, and an abundance of grazing land. Nowadays the region has about 360 permanent residents who mainly deal with agriculture and livestock farming.

The heart of central Naxos, east of Potamia, at a distance of 16 km from Chora is dominated by the extensive highland verdant plateau of Tragea at about 300 to 400 m above sea level. It is surrounded by the Mt Koronos and Fanari to the north and by the Mt Zas to the northeast. It contains the villages

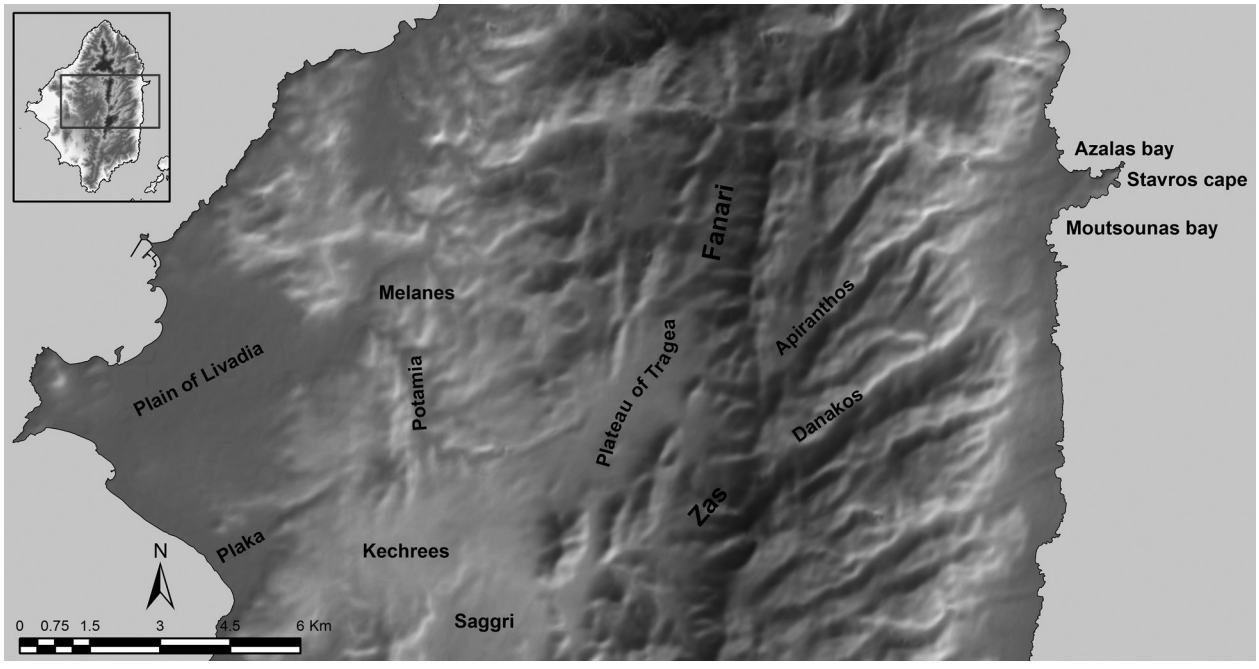


Fig. 5.68: Map of central Naxos with regions discussed in the chapter.

of Chalki, Damarionas, Damalas, Koutsocherado, Vourvouria, Tsikalario, Kerami, Metochi, Kaloxylos, Monitsia (Rachi), Akadimoi, and Moni, which despite the local diversities and peculiarities are always considered as a unity as they are all located close to each other within this micro-landscape. The plateau is well-watered and is now fully planted with olive trees, giving the impression of an olive forest. Nowadays the permanent residents of the region mainly deal with agriculture and livestock farming.

The regions of Apiranthos (or Apeiranthos) and Danakos are located east of Tragea, in the eastern part of central Naxos. The landscape becomes steeper with astonishing alternation of landscapes, combining mountainous villages, high mountains, barren and steep slopes, and deep lush valleys with dense vegetation. The modern village of Apiranthos is the largest of the area built amphitheatrically in a valley at an altitude of 650 m at the foothills of Mount Fanari and 32 km from Chora. The residents mainly deal with livestock farming and to a much smaller extent with agriculture. In the past, emery mining used to be the inhabitant's main activity. The valley's slopes are organised in terraces and planted with vineyards, fruit trees or vegetable gardens. The region of Danakos is located a few kilometres south of Apiranthos. The small present-day village of Danakos is built into a ravine between the mountains. The region's landscape is mountainous with many valleys that carve the landscape from the interior to the sea, areas full of lush flora, natural water sources, limited but fertile arable land organised in terraces, and an abundance of grazing fields.

5.4.2 The region of Potamia

A number of archaeological evidence such as marble sculptures, epigraphic material and surface ceramics in conjunction with the application of spatial analysis methods can provide important information about the settled landscape of the Potamia valley during Late Antiquity.

On the foothills of Mt Kokimas within the wider area of Potamia valley and approximately 1 km southwest of the small modern settlement of Kato Potamia is located the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Mamas at the site called "Metropolou" (Figs 5.69 & 5.70). This important Naxian monument is

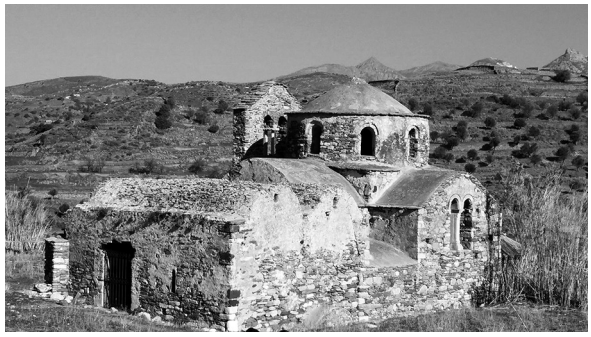


Fig. 5.69: View of the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Mamas.



Fig. 5.70: View of the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Mamas in the large green valley of Potamia. The modern village of Kato Potamia is in the background.

well-studied and published (Dimitrokallis 1962; 1968a; Mastoropoulos 2006, 112-113, figs 70-72; Ohnesorg 2012, 114-115; Aslanidis 2014a, 191-200, pl.56-58, figs 78-81). It belongs to the transitional type of domed cross-in-square church, most probably dated to the late 10th or first half of the 11th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 197). The initial building underwent several construction phases through the centuries of its history.

Mastoropoulos expressed the hypothesis that the Middle Byzantine church could have been erected at the site of a pre-existing Late Antique basilica (2006, 112). Due to the lack of tangible architectural traces, at the moment, it is not possible to confirm the existence of a Late Antique religious monument at the site. However, sculptural and epigraphic material found in the Middle Byzantine church can be related to the existence of a Late Antique religious

monument, either at this site or somewhere in the wider region. More specifically, two Late Antique marble impost blocks and a mullion in secondary use supporting the two lobes are well-preserved in the large north window of the Middle Byzantine church. In addition, an interesting marble *stele* which bears the inscription: «ὅροι τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστώλων» ("limits of Saint Apostles") discovered in the later church of Agios Mamas (Dimitrokallis 1962, 42. fig.6; Kiourtzian 2000, 102, n.30). According to Kiourtzian, it is dated to the 6th or 7th century and served as a boundary in order to mark the area that belonged to a church, dedicated to Agii Apostoli (2000, 102). It provides, then, information about the existence of a Late Antique church, probably a parish one, totally unknown from other sources. However, all these indirect traces do not provide secure evidence for the exact position of the Late Antique basilica. The only strong archaeological evidence comes from a scatter of surface ceramics around the Middle Byzantine church that are securely dated to the Late Antique centuries (personal communication with A. Vionis). This valuable material evidence testifies to the existence of a small inland community at this site during the period in question.

Combing all the archaeological evidence discussed above, it makes sense to assume that, during Late Antiquity a small nucleated village had developed at the site of Metropolou, possibly around a basilica, dedicated to Agii Apostoli. Having considered the natural environment of the valley, it seems most likely that the Late Antique site's location within this mountainous landscape is related to the availability of arable and grazing land, as well as a close supply of water (Fig. 5.70). Accordingly, it makes sense to assume that this small Late Antique inland community could have included pastoralist and agricultural activities as part of the site function (see more about the discussion of pastoralism in Chapter 5.4.). Moreover, the dedication of the later Middle Byzantine church to Agios Mamas cannot be considered coincidental as he is the patron saint of shepherds.

In geomorphological terms the Late Antique settlement gives the impression of a relatively isolated inland community. mainly because of the physically enclosed character of this mountainous valley. The site lies on the slopes of the mountain surrounded by a terraced landscape which is today cultivated by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Potamia (Fig. 5.70). However a close examination of the micro-geomorphology and the location of the region of Potamia in the wider Naxian context suggest that it, probably, held a crucial and strategic role concerning intra-island connectivity (Figs 5.71 & 5.72). Spatial analysis methods (least cost path and viewshed analysis) offer some interesting evidence about the relationships between the region of Potamia and other areas of lowland and mountainous Naxos. More specifically, the application of least cost path principles suggests that a possible complex network of land routes passed nearby the Late Antique settlement (Fig. 5.73). If we consider that the ancient road networks connecting the inland areas mainly followed physiographic constraints, the paths created using least cost path analysis seem quite accurate. More specifically, a path extends northward through the cavity of the valley of Potamia and the plain of Livadia connecting the Late Antique site with the ancient city of Naxos. Another path extends southward and leads to the basin of Saggri (Gyroulas) or the region of Kechrees (Agia Kyriaki). Finally, a third path extends eastwards followimg the physiographic constraints of the valley (Fig. 5.72) and leads to the plateau of Tragea (Protothronos-Chalki). It is possible the valley of Potamia was a crossroad that connected the regions of western lowland Naxos with the mountainous hinterland of the island. Additionally, the application of viewshed analysis from the site of the Late Antique settlement shows that it has good views of important sections of the network of land routes.

Although at the moment only one Late Antique settlement has been identified in the valley, it is quite probable that more than one small site in this interactive region could exist, especially in the areas of Potamia's modern settlements. A future intensive survey centred on this particular region would contribute more evidence to support this view. Unfortunately, as yet there is no direct evidence of occupation at the site of Agios Mamas during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. In



Fig. 5.71: View to the northeast from the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Mamas. The modern village of Kato Potamia is in the background.



Fig. 5.72: View to the southeast from the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Mamas. This small gorge leads to the region of Tragea. The Mt Zas is in the background.

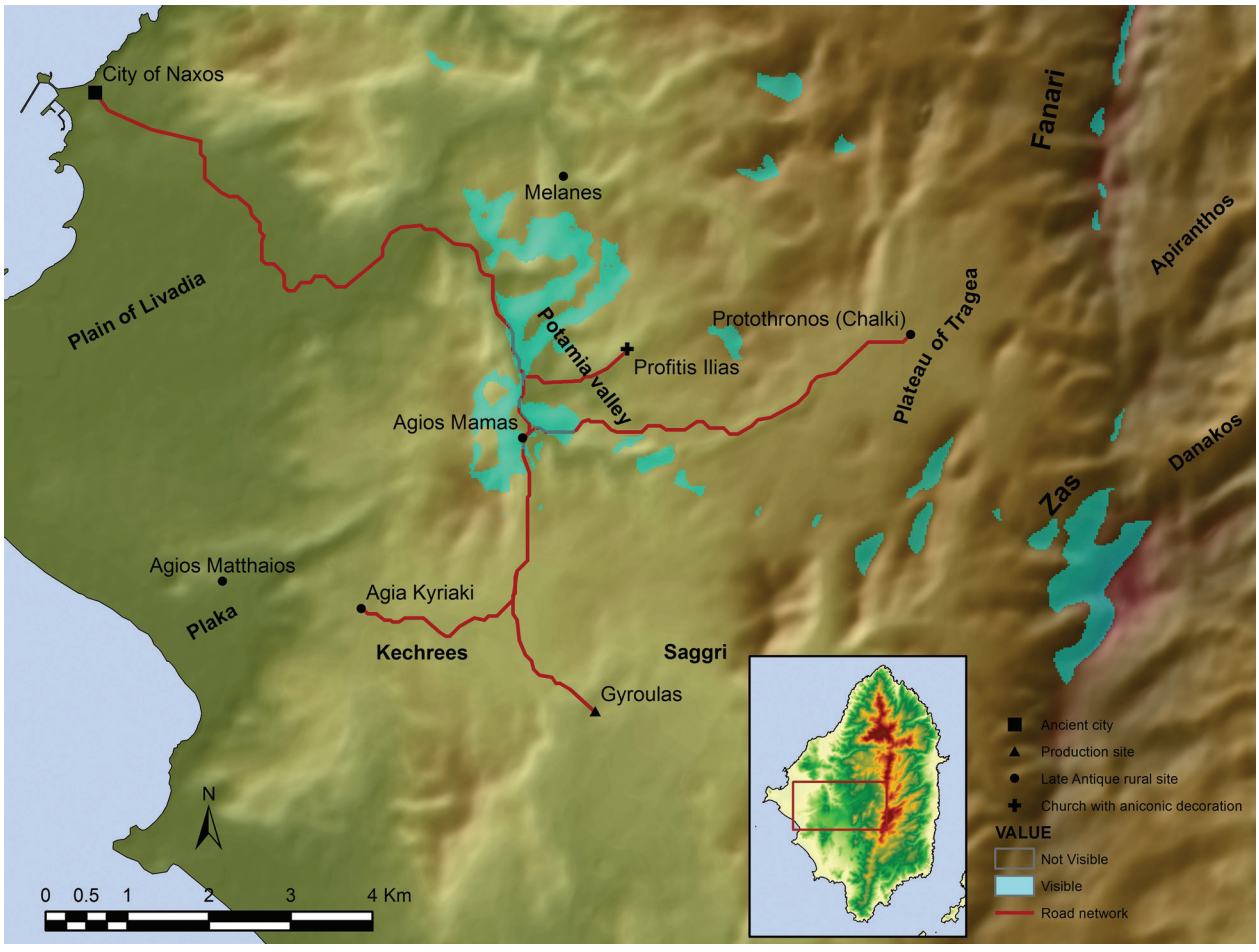


Fig. 5.73: Map of Potamia Valley: least cost path and viewshed analysis showing the possible road network and the visibility from the church of Agios Mamas.

contrast, there is a high concentration of Middle and Late Byzantine surface ceramics around the church. The relatively large dimensions of the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Mamas compared to other contemporary Naxian monuments as well as its structural features, which are unusual in the architectural context of Naxos (Aslanidis 2014a, 197), might indicate the importance of this region for the intra-island connectivity through time. On the other hand, the erection of the small church of Profitis Ilias a few meters south of Mesi Potamia during the period of Iconoclasm (early 9th century), on the basis of a possible aniconic decoration (Aslanidis 2014a, 143-145, pl.41, figs 54-55) suggests human activity during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages within the valley (Fig. 5.73).

5.4.3 The region of Tragea

In geomorphologic terms the region of Tragea gives the impression of a relatively isolated area mainly because of the physically enclosed character of this mountain basin (Fig. 5.74). However, despite the fact that it was not visible from the sea and was hardly accessible from other parts of the island, especially western lowland Naxos, a culturally active highland community developed through time within this micro-landscape. In or around Tragea's fertile inland plateau, which forms a particular geo-cultural entity, the densest concentration of Byzantine churches on the island of Naxos can be observed. Apart from the apparent importance of these monuments in Byzantine architecture and art history it is essential



Fig. 5.74: View of the upland valley of Tragea with sites discussed in the chapter.

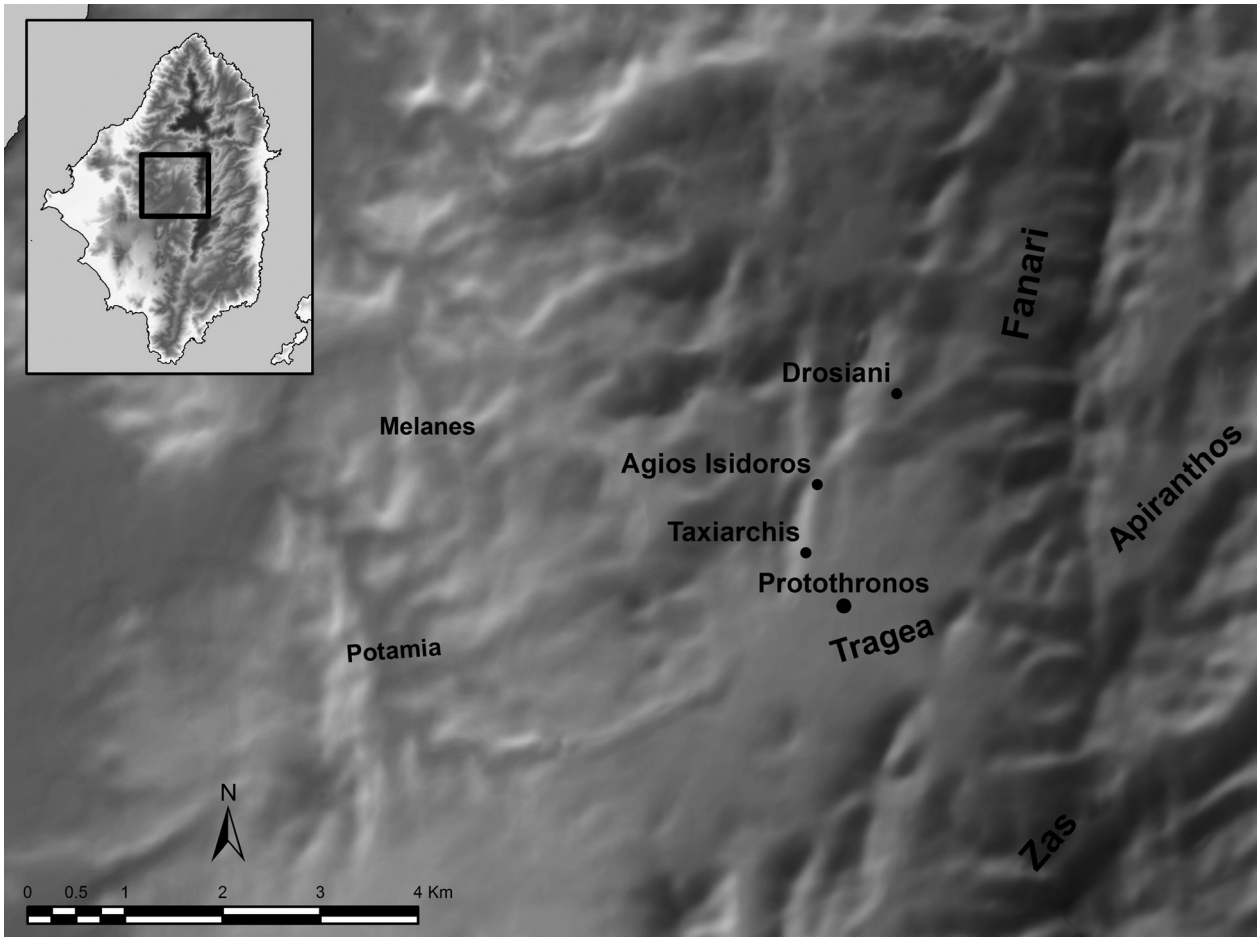


Fig. 5.75: Distribution of sites in the Tragea plain during Late Antiquity.

to deal with other parameters; such as their possible association with settlements in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, their relationship with the landscape, the importance of location-choice and their meaning to the humans who erected it. It is an attempt to place sites and monuments within their contexts in the landscape. Thus, it is necessary to emphasise the importance of studying this particular region's material culture in order to provide a fresh view about the settlement pattern, the land use and economy of central Naxos as well as the interaction between humans and the natural environment.

The large church of Protothronos, which is dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin, is located in the small historic village of Chalki (Figs 5.75 & 5.76). It is a religious monument of great importance not only for the region of Tragea but also for the entire island of Naxos, presenting a complicated building history and long-term use. The church was initially erected in the late 6th or 7th century as a relatively large three-aisled Early Christian basilica. From the initial building only the *synthronon* with the episcopal throne in the apse are preserved. During the Middle Byzantine period the basilica underwent a radical reconstruction and was converted into a transitional cross-in-square church. Due to the long and uninterrupted use of the monument to the present day, and the numerous restorations and modifications of its architectural form, there is a continuous open debate regarding the chronology of the different later phases of Protothronos, which is beyond the aims of this study (for an overview and a detailed bibliographical survey see Aslanidis 2014a, 201-211, pl.59-61, figs 82-85). The church interior was decorated in five successive layers of fresco paintings dating to the early Christian period, the 9th century (aniconic decoration), the 10th, and the 11th and 13th centuries (Zias 1989).

The site was surveyed in 2006 in the context of the Naxos Survey Project (radius 200 m around the church) producing ceramic evidence dating over the course of Late Antiquity (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming). The concentration of surface pottery sherds suggests the site can be classified as a nucleated village. This settlement occupied an area immediately east of the church and possibly a part of the present-day village. The non-figurative decoration of the 9th century in connection with the



Fig. 5.76: View of the large church of Panagia Protothronos in the small village of Chalki.

successive wall painting layers between the 10th and 13th centuries not only suggest the continuity of use of the church but also indicate that this rural community remained active throughout the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Unfortunately, due to modern building activity it is difficult to ascertain how large this community was at different periods in time. In topographical terms, the Late Antique settlement of Chalki occupied a dominant position within this highland micro-landscape, as it was set on a slightly elevated site amidst this extensive land use intensity zone (Fig. 5.74). It is surrounded by fields with fertile soil suggesting a direct association between the best quality land and the settlement's location.

The Early Christian basilica of Protothronos and the associated Late Antique settlement around it, however, were not developed in isolation. Approximately 680 m northwest of the basilica of Protothronos is located the church of Taxiarchis at Rachi or Monikia (Figs 5.74 & 5.75). The church, which was recently restored by the Archaeological Service of Cyclades (Figs 5.77 & 5.78), was initially erected as a relatively small three-aisled barrel-vaulted basilica during the early 8th century, based on architectural observations and the existence of possible pre-iconoclastic wall paintings (Dimitrokallis 2000, 34-35; Mastoropoulos 2006, 184-185, 194, fig.13, 130; Ohnesorg 2012, 118, Aslanidis 2014a, 46-47, pl.11, figs 14-15). Furthermore, less than 700 m northeast of Taxiarchis



Fig. 5.77: View of the Taxiarchis church at Rachi (Monikia). The village of Chalki is in the background.



Fig. 5.79: The position of the church of Agios Isidoros in the landscape of Tragea's fertile plateau between the best agricultural fields and grazing land.

and the village of Rachi is located the church of Agios Isidoros (Figs 5.74 & 5.75). It is a three-aisled basilica (Fig. 5.79), probably dated to the 6th or 7th century which underwent several restorations and alterations concerning its architecture, which changed the initial building's form (Dimitrokallis 1995, Mastoropoulos 2006, 171, 173-174, fig.83; Aslanidis 2014a, 26-28, pl.5-7, figs 3-5).

Nowadays both churches stand like isolated religious landmarks within the characteristic rural highland landscape of Naxos (Fig. 5.74). The two neighbouring monuments of Taxiarchis and Agios Isidoros have been erected at slightly elevated sites, on the lower slopes of the mountain that delimitates to the west the Tragea plain (Figs 5.78 & 5.79). Taxiarchis is situated less than 180 m west of the present-day tiny village of Rachi (Monikia), while



Fig. 5.78: The position of the Taxiarchis church along the western limits of Tragea's fertile plateau between the best agricultural fields and grazing land.

Agios Isidoros is placed approximately 1270 m northwest of Protothronos. In topographical terms, it is apparent they lie along the western limits of the fertile plateau of Tragea, between best agricultural fields and grazing land. A small stream flows less than 60 m east of each church. From each site there is good visibility of the plain's interior and of the central village of Chalki (Fig. 5.77). Both sites were also surveyed in 2006 in the context of the Naxos Survey Project (radius 200 m around the church) producing similar valuable ceramic evidence dating to Late Antiquity (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming). The concentration of surface pottery around the churches shows a high proportion of sherds dated to Late Antiquity. It seems that both sites can be classified as small villages or farmsteads and occupied limited areas immediately south of the churches. These small sites probably pre-existed the erection of the churches (Taxiarchis and Agios Isidoros), which have been survived to the present day.

Finally, the church complex of Panagia Drosiani (Fig. 5.80) is located in the small deep and lush valley in the northern part of the plateau of Tragea, approximately 2,5 km northeast of Chalki and only a few metres southwest of the present-day village of Moni, and at about 500 m above sea level (Drandakis 1988; Mastoropoulos 2006, 194-195, figs 148-150; Aslanidis 2014a, 39-40, pl.9, figs 8-10). The initial building belongs to the architectural type of a tri-conch church with dome dating to the 6th or most probably to the middle 7th century (see more about the discussion of the



Fig. 5.80: View of the church of Panagia Drosiani.

chronology of the church in Aslanidis 2014a, 39-40). Three adjoining chapels were added to the initial church in the course of the Middle Byzantine centuries. The religious complex is decorated with wall paintings in different phases dated from the 7th to the 14th centuries. The church's site lies on the slopes of the mountain surrounded by a terraced landscape which is today fully planted with olive trees, fruit trees and vineyards, forming a small but fertile productive farming zone. It provides a partial view of the northeast plain of Tragea while connected to the region of Apiranthos in the east. No surface surveys or systematic excavations have been conducted at the site so it is difficult to ascertain any possible association with a settlement during Late Antiquity. According to written sources of the Post-Byzantine period, Drosiani is referred to as a monastery. A close examination of the area's micro-geomorphology suggests Drosiani is located on the slopes of the mountain that delimitates to the north the Tragea plain. This parameter can be proved important for the interpretation of the function of the site (see below).

The general picture about settlement pattern during Late Antiquity in the plateau of Tragea, emerging through the archaeological material discussed above, shows a high density of various sites scattered within this productive farming zone on central Naxos (Fig. 5.75). The dominant and central position of the Late Antique nucleated village of Chalki in this landscape makes it reasonable to assume that it progressively became the leading centre of this productive zone. Moreover, the setting of the large basilica of Protothronos in the 6th or 7th century, presumably, at the heart of this village cannot be considered coincidental, allowing us to argue that it emerged as the main reference point in this highland rural community. Thus, the importance of the village is also related to the actual presence of this regional religious landmark. Furthermore, a number of smaller sites existed and functioned in close proximity to Chalki within the landscape of Tragea. This gives the impression of a native highland community organised into a dense network of small units around a relatively large central settlement. These satellite sites were not located in the central fertile ground of this significant agricultural zone, but instead were placed along its perimeter, lying on the slopes of the mountains that delimitates to the plateau the Tragea.

The density of different types of sites within the micro-topography of Tragea suggests an intensively exploited landscape during Late Antiquity. As is also observed in the lowland landscapes of western Naxos, in the highland region of Tragea there is a consistent association between settlements' location, best quality of land and abundance of water sources. However, apart from the soils fertility, another important factor is that these sites (Agios Isidoros and Taxiarchis) were being located close to substantial areas of grazing land (Figs 5.78 & 5.79). Although this issue will be thoroughly discussed in the Chapter 5.4.6, which combines all the available data from central Naxos (Potamia, Tragea, Apiranthos, Danakos), it is safe to assume that the region's population mainly dealt with agricultural and pastoralist activities during the period in question. Thus, as is observed in the valley of Potamia, it appears the location of the Late Antique sites within this landscape is related to the availability of arable and grazing land and a close water supply. This may be a major factor in the development of the settlement pattern of Tragea suggesting that especially the small satellite sites of Taxiarchis and Agios Isidoros, lying at the intersection between arable and grazing land, functioned as marginal places between the two important economic activities of this highland community: the agriculture and the pastoralism.

The small satellite rural/pastoral sites of Tragea were certainly associated and dependent on the

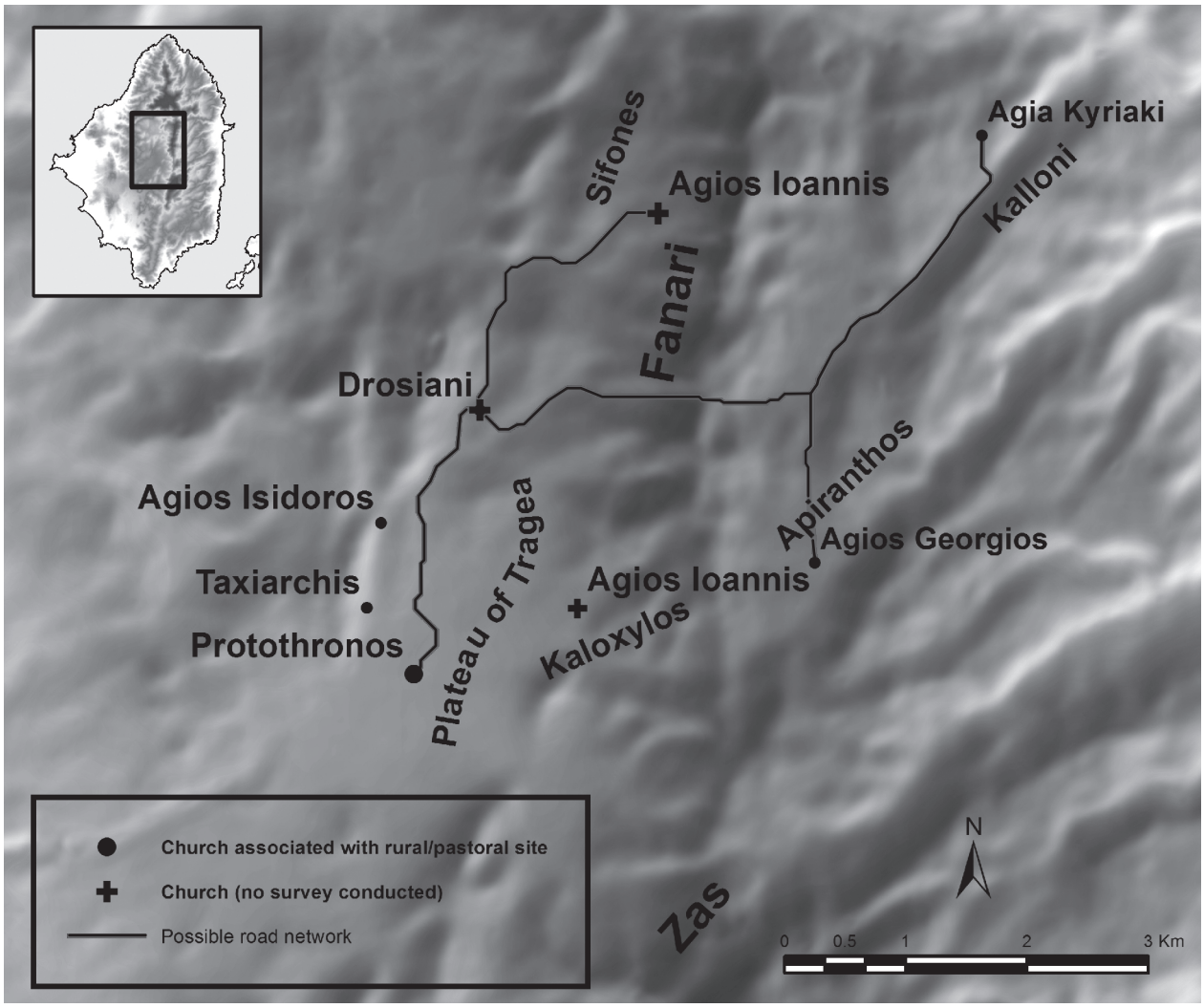


Fig. 5.81: Possible road network in central Naxos during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

central village of Chalki. This strengthens the view that Chalki emerged, presumably, as a local centre for controlling this highland mixed farming productive zone over the course of Late Antiquity. From this point of view, it might have acted as a place from which the satellite rural sites of Tragea were easily controlled. A similar pattern can be recognised in the peninsula of Methana where at the plain of Throni a site with pressing equipment may be associated with three other sites with strong agricultural character in the immediate vicinity (Mee & Forbes 1997, 88-89). In addition, the Berbati Survey in the Argolid has suggested that only one large estate exploited the valley by Late Antiquity, consisting of a *villa* and a cluster of sites around it (Wells & Runnels 1996). In the case of the valley of Tragea in the islands of Naxos the continuous and special care of this mountain community to restore and decorate the main religious landmark of the area constitutes tangible signs of village life, suggesting the Late Antique settlement of Chalki was, presumably, the local landowners' main residence.

Additionally, the application of least cost path analysis and a close examination of the area's micro-geomorphology suggests the church of Drosiani was presumably located along land routes which were important for intra-island connectivity (Fig. 5.81). Bearing in mind that the ancient and medieval road networks connecting the inland areas mainly followed physiographic constraints, the paths created

using least cost analysis are once more quite accurate. A path extends northward and connects the basin of Tragea with areas of northern Naxos through the region of Sifones. A second path extends eastward connecting the regions of Tragea and Apiranthos, which were two of the most significant productive zones on central Naxos. It seems that Drosiani was placed at a crucial point along these routes. This may be an important factor in the selection of the church's location, as Drosiani could have a key role functioning not only as a boundary point that marks the northern limits of the fertile basin of Tragea but also as a place for mobility control. Finally, we should not forget that the churches of Taxiarchis, Agios Isidoros and Drosiani probably reflect an attempt to sacralise this mountainous landscape.

Additionally, only a few kilometres north of the plateau of Tragea is located the church of Agios Ioannis at the site Sifones (Fig. 5.82). On the basis of architectural similarities with other Naxian churches, it is dated to the 8th or 9th century (Aslanidis 2014a. 170-173, pl.50, figs 67-68). The chapel has been placed amid a narrow fertile basin with available arable land and water sources surrounded by high mountains. The plateau of Sifones is situated between the regions of Tragea and Koronos. It is most likely the church of Agios Ioannis was associated with a land route that

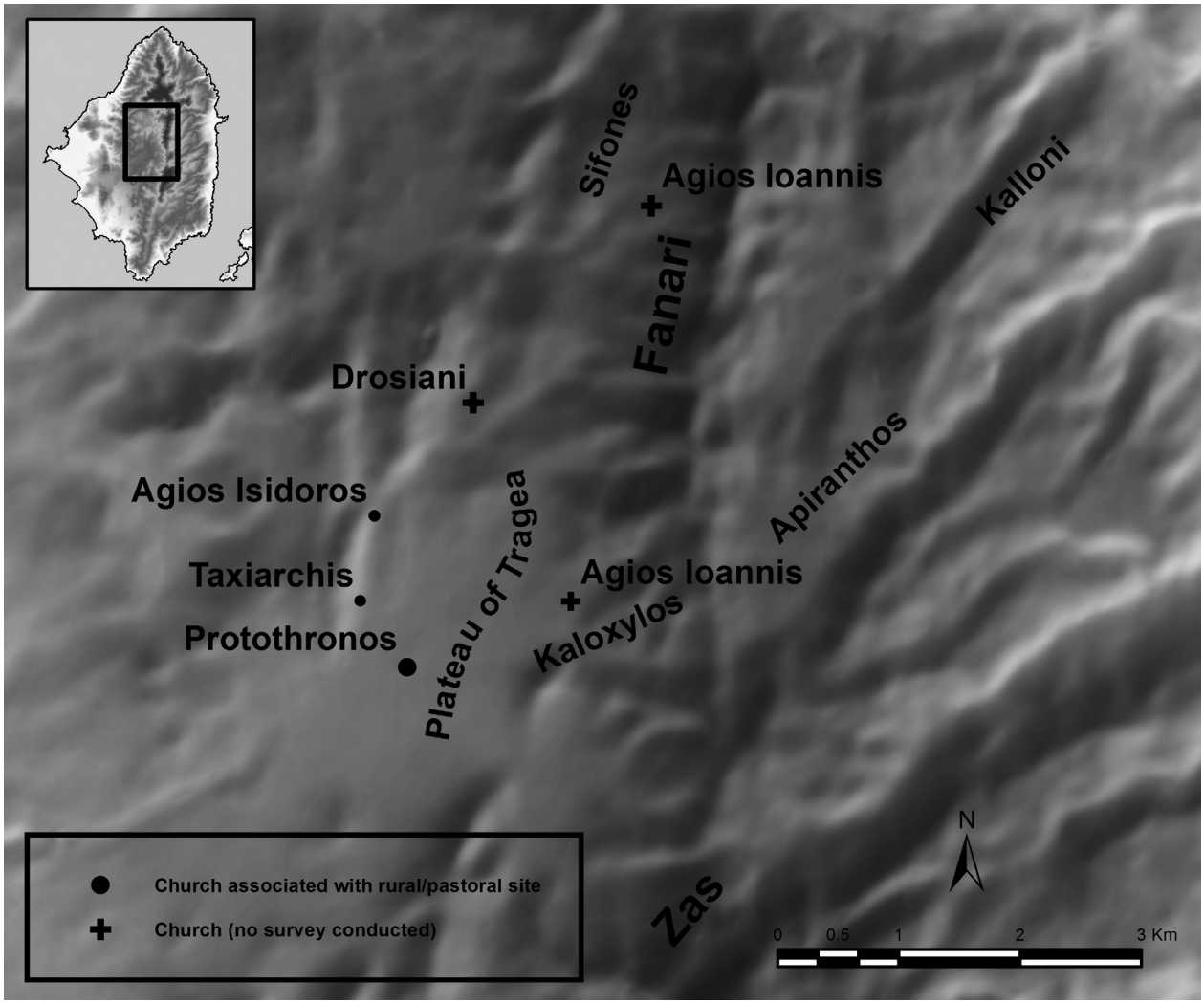


Fig. 5.82: Distribution of sites in the region of Tragea during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

connected central Naxos (region of Tragea) to areas of north Naxos, such as Keramoti and Koronos (Fig. 5.81). The church is located about 2,5 km northwest of Drosiani which was presumably located along the svame route before the exit of the large plateau of Tragea.

This rural world at the heart of Naxos continued to be vibrant even during the turbulent Byzantine Dark Ages (Fig. 5.82). On the basis of the aniconic decoration, the church of Taxiarchis at Rachi discussed above and the church of Agios Ioannis at Kaloxylos can be dated to the 8th or 9th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 119-122, pl.32, figs 42-43). The construction of new churches in connection with the continuous use of the main religious landmark of Protothronos as well as the smaller monuments of Agios Isidoros and Drosiani suggest a continuation of intensive agricultural and pastoralist practices in the region of Tragea in the course of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Thus, in the case of Tragea the patterns of settlement distribution in relation to soil productivity and availability of grazing land did not change from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This correlation is positive and persistent through time regardless of the new socioeconomic changes that occurred in the Aegean during the turbulent Dark Ages.

On the basis of the evidence discussed above it becomes apparent that the Late Antique and Medieval landscape of Tragea has been very busy. As has been observed in many other areas of Naxos (Apiranthos, Chimarros), substantial traces of Early Medieval activity suggests the habitation patterns appear to have been as intensive as that of Late Antiquity. The continuity of habitation reflects that this productive zone has been settled, actively exploited and in other ways modified by humans from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages.

5.4.4 The regions of Apiranthos and Danakos

In contrast with the plateau of Tragea, the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos are characterised by a steep and "fragmented" landscape, which is carved by various small fertile plains or valleys. This landscape creates scattered and remote highland productive zones (Figs 5.3 & 5.68). In both regions a dense concentration of Late Antique and Byzantine churches can be observed (Figs 5.83 & 5.84). Unfortunately archaeological investigations have focussed only on the architecture of these specific monuments with no attempt to place sites and landscapes within their contexts in the landscape. The systematic study of the archaeological material from the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos in conjunction with the consideration of the localised environmental advantages of this Naxian mountainous landscape reveals valuable information about the settled landscape during the periods in question.

The group of two independent adjacent churches of Agios Georgios and Agios Pachomios is located approximately 800 m south of the present-day mountain village of Apiranthos (Fig. 5.85). The church complex has a complicated building history due to the numerous restorations and alterations of its initial architecture, making it difficult to precisely assess the chronology of the different phases (AD 545-547, figs 686-689; AD 1969, 405-406, fig.417β; Dimitrokallis 1976, 106; 2000, 46; Mastoropoulos 2006, 216-217, fig.170, 174; Aslanidis 2014a, 180-186, pl.53-54, figs 73-74). On the basis of the evidence from the aniconic decoration, the larger church of Agios Georgios has been considered as the complex's initial building dating to the 9th century. The erection of the smaller chapel of Agios Pachomios in the northwest corner of the pre-existing church can be dated to the second half of the 11th or 12th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 182-184).

The church complex is located at the heart of the largest and most fertile productive farming zone in the region of Apiranthos (Fig. 5.85). It is surrounded by a hilly and terraced landscape, which at a higher altitude become steeper with plenty of rough grazing ground. This small well-watered highland basin is delimited to the west by Mt Fanari and to the east by Mt Korakia. Despite its proximity to the east coastline of Naxos, it does not have easy and direct access to the sea, as the mountain slope drops extremely steeply down to the shore. As a result of this, the region is well-protected, hardly accessible and not visible from the sea, forming a specific mountainous geo-cultural entity.

Surface ceramic and architectural records give the impression of a multi-period site. The surrounding area of the church was surveyed in 2006

in the context of the Naxos Survey Project (radius 200 m) producing valuable ceramic evidence dating from Late Antiquity to the Middle Byzantine period (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Vionis forthcoming). The surface ceramics suggest that a village community occupied an area around the later church complex during Late Antiquity (Fig. 5.83). This settlement survived well into the Byzantine Early Middle Ages as evidenced by surface pottery and the non-figurative frescoes of the early 9th century in the initial church of Agios Georgios (Fig. 5.84). Human activity is also attested during the Middle Byzantine period as indicated by successive layers of wall paintings and the erection of the later chapel of Agios Pachomios in the 11th-12th century. The site's setting in this landscape shows a correlation between settlement, best quality land, water supply, and rough grazing ground, suggesting an intensified exploitation of this landscape. This association did not change from Late Antiquity to the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Thus, it is safe to assume that, the region's population mainly dealt with agricultural and pastoralist activities during the periods in question (see more in Chapter 5.4.6).

The application of viewshed analysis of the churches of Agios Georgios and Agios Pachomios shows that the visibility of the site is mostly restricted within the borders of this fertile basin (Fig. 5.86). Moreover, during the period of Iconoclasm, probably,

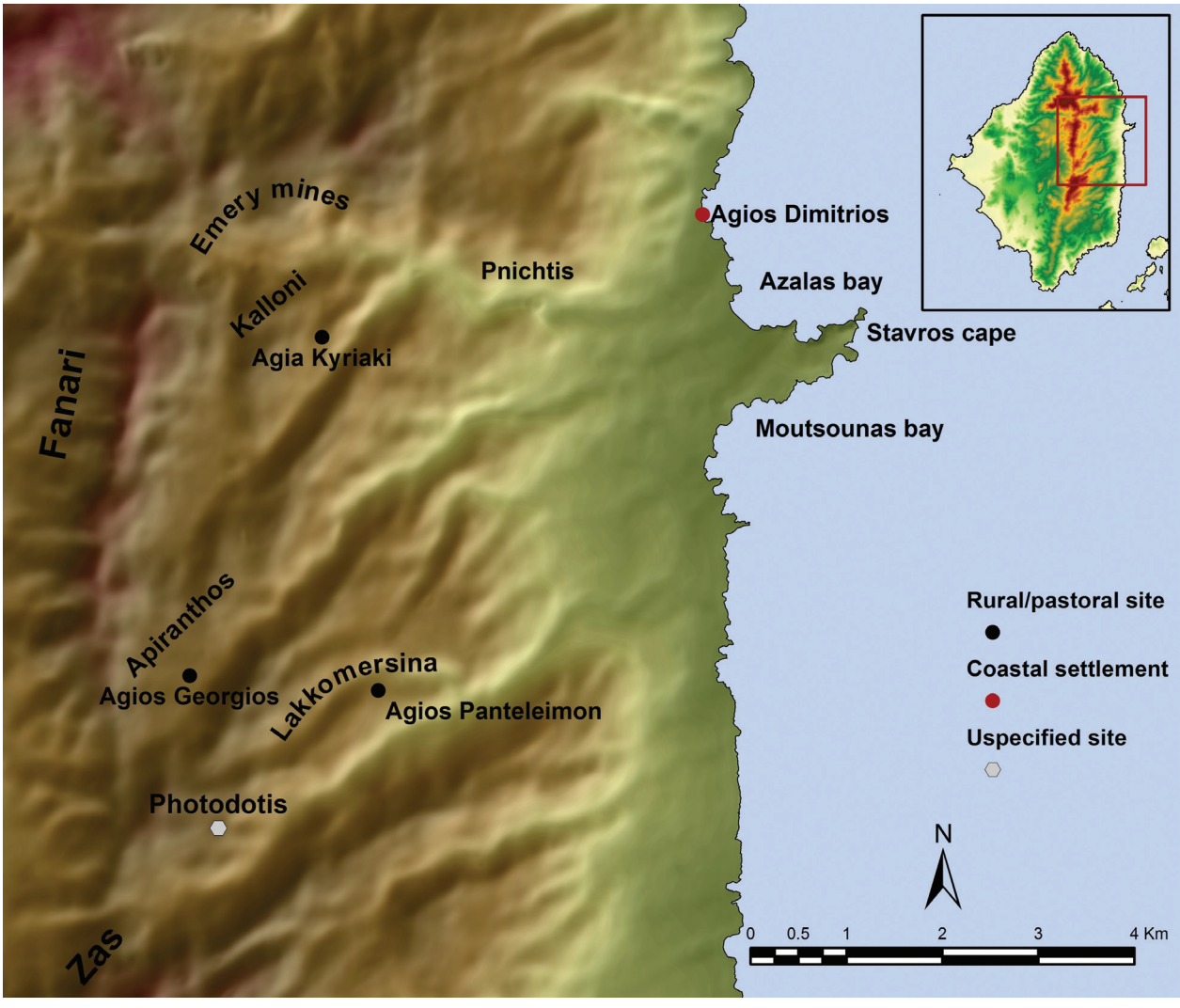


Fig. 5.83: Distribution of sites in the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos during Late Antiquity.

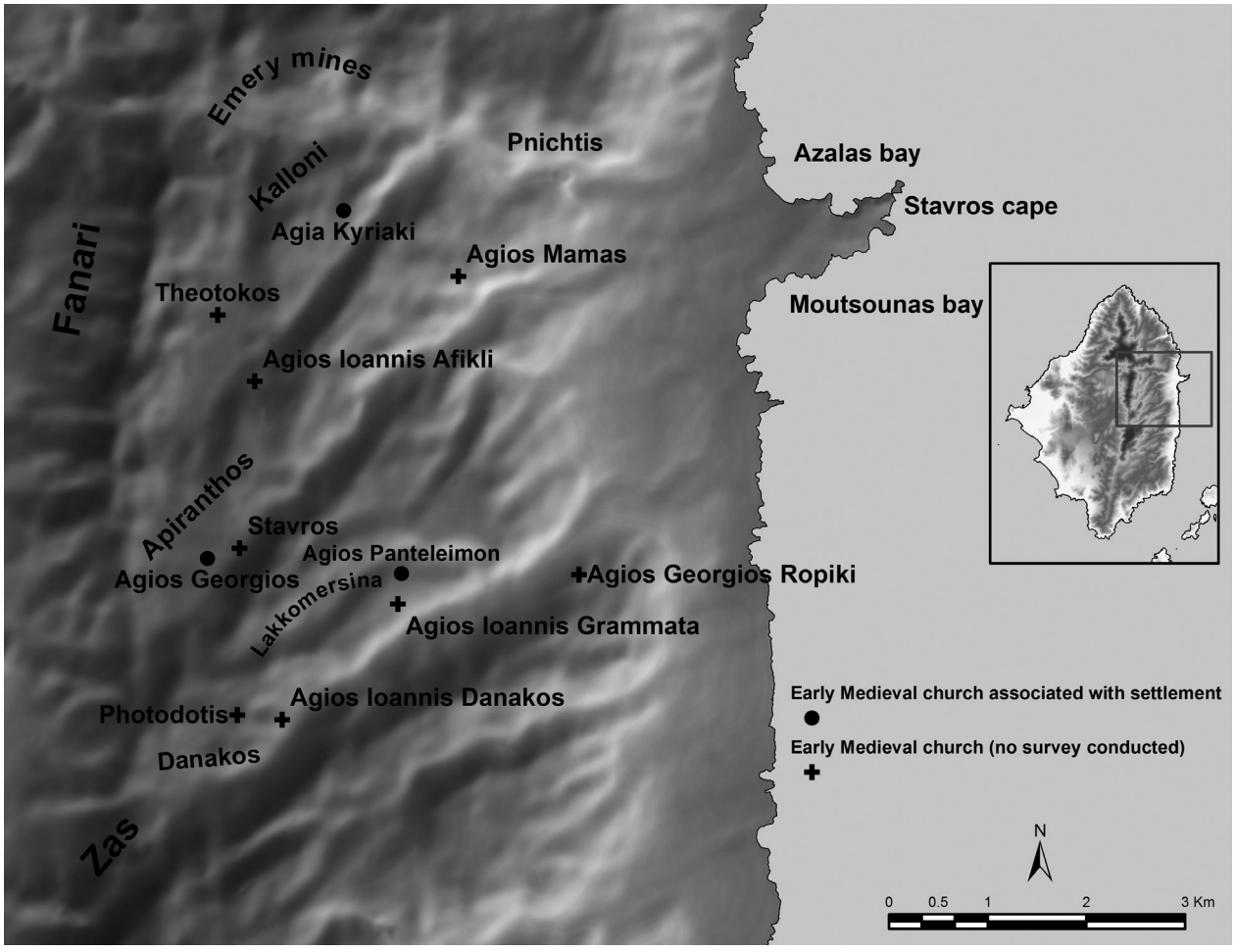


Fig. 5.84: Distribution of sites in the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.



Fig. 5.85: View of the church complex of Agios Georgios and Agios Pachomios at the heart of the largest and most fertile productive farming zone of the Apiranthos region.

in the early 9th century another small chapel was constructed at the site Kakavas, only a few meters east of the churches of Agios Georgios and Agios Pachomios (Mastoropoulos 2006, 218-219; Aslanidis 2014a, 105-107, pl.29, figs 36-37) (Fig. 5.84). The church of Stavros or Agios Ermolaos in the shape of a free cross with a dome resting on four arches is decorated with aniconic frescoes, and was probably associated with the nearby village community.

The small church of Agia Kyriaki is located approximately 3 km northeast of the village of Apiranthos, at the site called Kalloni (Fig. 5.87). The religious complex consists of the main church, the narthex, and a chapel to the south while further south the ruins of a second chapel are preserved (Vasilaki 1962-1963; Dimitrokallis 1983; 2000, 36, 44-45; AD

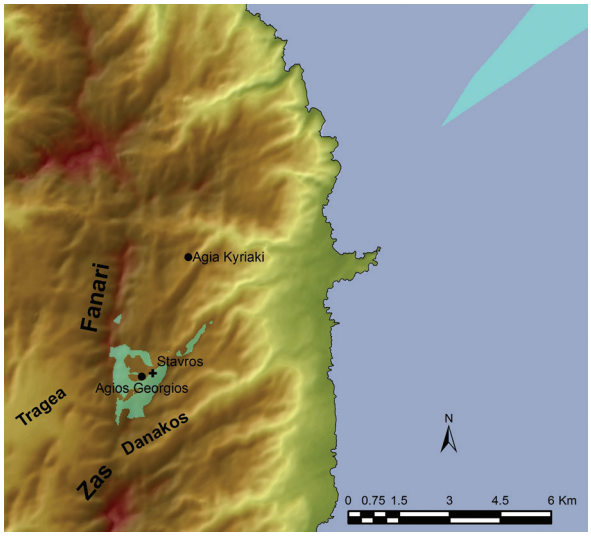


Fig. 5.86: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from the church complex of Agios Georgios and Agios Pachomios. Visible areas marked with turquoise.



Fig. 5.87: View of the small church of Agia Kyriaki at Kalloni.

1972, 614; Mastoropoulos 2006, 230-231, figs 179, 181; Aslanidis 2007; 2014a, 151-154, pl.43-46, figs 58-60; 2014b). The initial building belongs to the type of single-aisled domed church decorated with aniconic wall paintings. Fragments of a second later layer were also found dating to the 13th century. On the basis of the evidence of the non-figurative decoration in connection with architectural observations, the erection of the church has been placed in the early 9th century. Shortly thereafter, in a second construction phase, the narthex and side-chapel were added to the initial building (Aslanidis 2014a, 154; 2014b, 227).

The micro-landscape in which this church is placed, presents some peculiar features compared to the other rural sites from central Naxos analysed above. Today the church appears as a small religious landmark in a deserted spot close to a tiny highland basin surrounded by Mt Pastelas to the west and Mt Stavromenies to the east (Fig. 5.87). It lies on the lower western slope of Mt Stavromenies amidst a barren, steep and mountainous landscape with limited available terraced arable fields and water sources, but plenty of rough grazing ground. At first sight, the location seems isolated due to being hardly accessible. However, less than 2 km north, on the opposite slopes of Mt Amomaxis, about 50 emery mines have been operating in the Early Modern period constituting the local economy's major contributors until the 20th century.

The church was included among the surveyed sites of the Naxos Survey Project (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Crow *et al*. 2011, 128-129; Vionis 2013, 30; forthcoming). Despite the steep and deserted location, the analysis of surface ceramics data suggests a multi-period occupation of the site. A scatter of Late Antique pottery sherds suggests a small village was located at the site of Kalloni, occupying an area southeast and southwest of the later church complex (Fig. 5.83). According to Vionis, the site bears evidence of a continuous and uninterrupted occupation from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 5.84) (2013, 33; forthcoming). The vast majority (up to 70%) of the surface ceramics collected during this survey are dated to the period between the 7th and 9th centuries and mostly contains vessels related to rural activities and transport, such as *pithoi*, jars and amphorae (Crow *et al*. 2011, 128-129; Vionis forthcoming). From this viewpoint, the Early Medieval settlement appears to have been larger than its Late Antique predecessor. This large nucleated village was associated with the contemporary ecclesiastical monument decorated with aniconic fresco paintings.

The Late Antique and Medieval village at the site of Kalloni was related to a small highland community of peasants and shepherds, suggesting that during the periods in question the majority of the available productive zones on Naxos were settled, actively exploited and in many ways modified by humans, regardless of the steep and mountainous character of the landscape (see more in Chapter 5.4.6). The ceramic, architectural and painting evidence from Kalloni reflects a continuous intensified exploitation

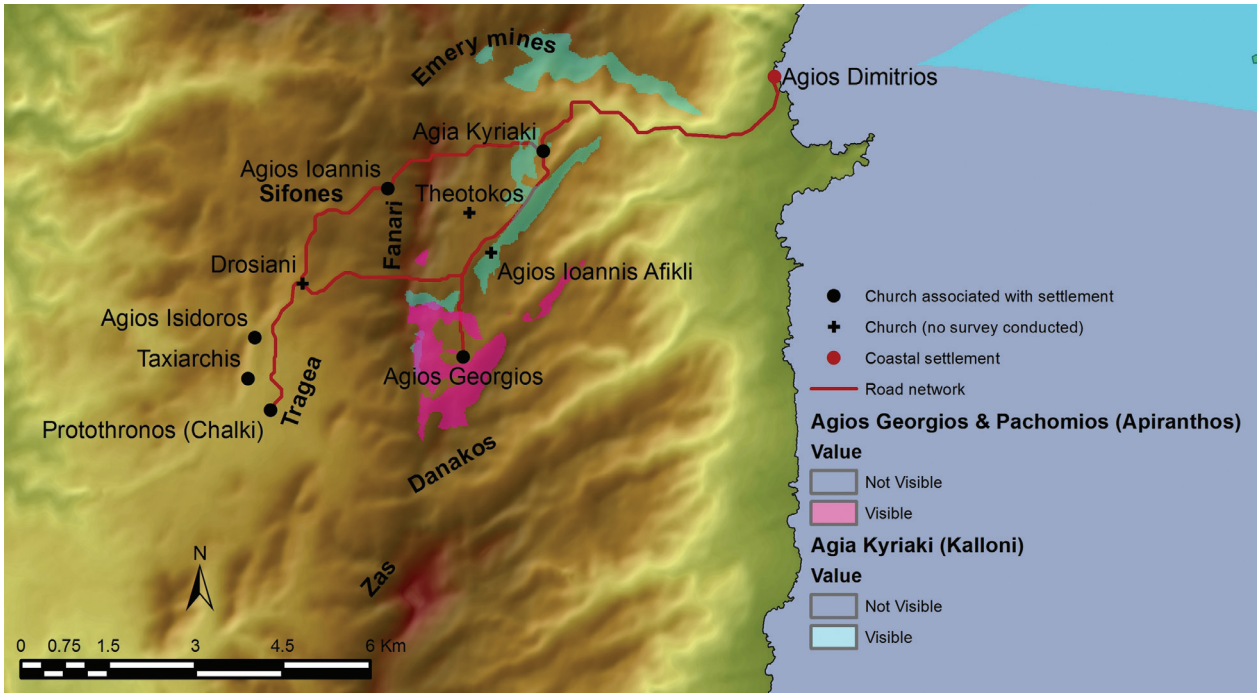


Fig. 5.88: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from the church of Agia Kyriaki at Kallini and the church complex of Agios Georgios and Agios Pachomios at Apiranthos.

of this micro-landscape from Late Antiquity to, at least, the 13th century.

Additionally, another major factor that we need to bear in mind in the case of Kalloni is the possible existence of ancient and medieval communication land routes through this landscape which were associated with this small site. In the hinterland of Naxos due to the extremely steep and rough topography the interconnection between the most significant productive zones of the central part of the island could be possible mainly through the various geological formations, such as gorges, valleys and small basins that carved the landscape. The application of least cost path analysis and a close examination of the area's micro-geomorphology shows that the settlement of Kalloni was associated with a dense of land routes which were important for the intra-island connectivity (Fig. 5.88).

A path extends southward and connects the settlement of Kalloni with the region of the small basin of Apiranthos (where the Late Antique and Early Byzantine settlement around the church of Agios Georgios and Pachomios is located) through a narrow accessible green valley. It is worth mentioning that there is significant overlap between the modelled path and the known well-preserved paved footpath that connected the modern village of Apiranthos, which is the region's largest settlement involved with the exploitation of emery, within the heart of the area of mining activity. This path was for many years a major and busy land route, since every day workers from this village and the surrounding areas followed this itinerary to reach their workplace. However after the closure of the emery mines this road lost its importance. In this respect, it remains open an question if the emery mines were in use during the periods under study. A future study would contribute more evidence to this issue. This modelled path is also linked with the vertical route (E-W) that connects the wider regions of Tragea and Apiranthos through Mt Fanari and the church of Drosiani.

A second path extends eastward and connects the area of Kalloni with the coastal bay of Azala through the river valley of Pnichtis. Additionally, a third path extends westward linking the region of Kalloni with the area of Sifones. The application of viewshed analysis from the church of Agia Kyriaki shows the site has good views over the land route

that linked Apiranthos with Kalloni (Fig. 5.88). Having considered all the evidence discussed above, it is possible the settlement of Kalloni was located at a crucial point along a network of land routes that connected the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos with the central and north-eastern mountainous parts of Naxos as well as with the island's east coastline. Thus, the small rural settlement would have functioned throughout the centuries as a locus of mobility control.

Apart from this important site, three Early Byzantine monuments can be seen in the wider region of Apiranthos (Fig. 5.84): the churches of Agios Ioannis at Afikli (Mastoropoulos 2006, 218-219; Aslanidis 2014a, 42-45, pl.10, figs 11-13 with further bibliography), Theotokos at Demos (Mastoropoulos 2006, 230-231; Aslanidis 2014a, 92-96, pl.25-26, figs 29-30), and Agios Mamas at Ntriti (Mastoropoulos 2006, 227, 231; Aslanidis 2014a, 128-132, pl.36, figs 48-49). The basilica of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Afikli is located about 1 km northeast of Apiranthos and less than 900 m southeast of Theotokos at Demos. On the basis of architectural observations and similarities with other Naxian churches it is dated to the late 7th or early 8th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 43). The church of Theotokos at the site called Demos is located approximately 2 km northeast of the fertile basin of Apiranthos amid a small but fertile plateau. On the basis of similarities with other Naxian examples, it has been dated to the 8th or 9th centuries (Aslanidis 2014a, 94). The church of Agios Mamas at Ntriti is located approximately 2,5 km northeast of Apiranthos along the modern way that leads to the coastal area of Moutsouna. Based on architectural observations it has been dated to the period of Iconoclasm (Aslanidis 2014a, 131).

At the moment no survey has been conducted around these churches and therefore, there is no evidence regarding their association with settlements. The basilica at Afikli is located along the previously discussed major path that connected the basin of Apiranthos with the region of Kalloni and the emery mines. In addition, the application of viewshed analysis from the church of Agia Kyriaki shows Agios Ioannis was visible from Kalloni (Fig. 5.88). It is quite reasonable, then, to assume that this church at Afikli was associated with the road that linked the region of Apiranthos with the previously discussed area of Kalloni. In addition, the placement of Theotokos at Demos in a small but fertile productive zone also makes its association with a rural/pastoral Early Medieval settlement possible. Finally, the church of Agios Mamas at Ntriti might be connected to a land route that linked the region of Apiranthos to the coastal area of Moutsouna. The consideration of the religious monuments discussed above makes it clear that the wider region of Apiranthos appeared to have been well-connected through a dense network of itineraries during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, despite its mountainous character.

Cape Stavros is located approximately 6 km east of Kalloni; set almost in the middle of the east coastline of Naxos (Fig. 5.68). The cape's shoreline is characterised by complexity, as it is flanked by several tiny bays – the most important of them are the bays of Azalas and Agios Dimitrios to the north and the bay of Moutsouna to the south. From west and northwest Stavros is surrounded by a small coastal plain which is the only productive farming zone along the east coastline of Naxos. Two river valleys (one of which is the aforementioned river valley of Pnichtis) that carve the landscape from the mountainous interior to the sea, cross the plain flowing into the beaches of Azalas and Agios Dimitrios. This interesting mild and lowland coastal landscape creates a strong contradiction with the mountainous area of Apiranthos and the steepness of the remainder of the east coastline of Naxos. In modern times the bay of Moutsouna was the main exit to the sea for the area of Apiranthos, and its small commercial port functioned as an emery export point until 1978.

However, in the context of a French surface survey on Naxos in 1982 (Treuil 1983, 60, map 2) some important traces of human activity during the Roman period and Late Antiquity were discovered in the area of the small modern chapel of Agios Dimitrios (Fig. 5.89). According to researchers, the large quantity of Roman surface ceramics in conjunction with remains of ancient structures suggests human occupation during the period in question. A closer examination of the micro-landscape shows the wider region of Azalas and Agios Dimitrios is connected to the areas of the Late Antique and Early Medieval settlements of Kalloni and Apiranthos through river valleys (Fig. 5.88). Thus, presumably, this lowland



Fig. 5.89: View of the Roman and Late Antique site close to the modern chapel of Agios Dimitrios in the area of Azalas.



Fig. 5.90: View of the church of Agios Panteleimon at Lakkomersina.

coastal zone would have functioned as the main exit to the sea for the wider region of Apiranthos. In this context the setting of a possible settlement in the tiny bay of Agios Dimitrios can be interpreted as a small coastal settlement with a safe anchorage (Fig. 5.83). The site corresponds to an area with fertile soils which could sustain a small number of inhabitants.

The small church of Agios Panteleimon is located at the site called Lakkomersina; approximately 2,3 km southeast of the village of Apiranthos and less than 2 km northeast of Danakos. It is a small two-aisled barrel-vaulted church (Fig. 5.90) with successive layers of fresco paintings, the most important of them are dated to the 9th (aniconic) and 13th centuries (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1984, 376; Drandakis 1985-1990, 32-37; Dimitrokallos 2000, 42; Mastoropoulos 2006, 224, 231; fig.176; Aslanidis 2014a, 139-141, pl.40, figs 52-53). On the basis of the evidence from the aniconic decoration in conjunction with architectural observations, the church is dated to the 9th century. Today the church of Agios Panteleimon is abandoned and accessible only by local shepherds (Fig. 5.78). The selection of its location bears many similarities with the aforementioned area of Kalloni. It lies on the slopes of a low hill within the large valley of Lakkomersina and is surrounded by a hilly and heavily terraced landscape with limited arable land but plenty of rough grazing ground.

Despite the fact the location seems deserted today; this micro-landscape appears to be busy during Late Antiquity and mostly the Early Middle Ages. Ceramic evidence from the Naxos Survey Project suggests that immediately east of the church a small village developed between the 5th and 7th centuries (Fig. 5.83) (AD 2006, 1113-1114; Crow *et al.* 2011, 128-129; Vionis forthcoming). This site, as is observed in the case of Kalloni, is most likely related to a local community of peasants and shepherds. In the course of the following Early and Middle Byzantine periods, this mountain village remained active, as indicated by the ceramic evidence and the erection of the church of Agios Panteleimon which reflects the continuous care of the local community for the renewal of its painted decoration (Fig. 5.84). Furthermore, in this case it is also possible the settlement was located nearby a land route, which passed through the valley of Lakkomersina connecting the areas of the modern villages of Apiranthos and Danakos to Naxos's east coastline.

At the moment, this is the only known Late Antique site in this area. The possible existence of another site dated to this period (Fig. 5.83) is indicated by the sculptural decoration found in the church of Fotodotis (Aslanidis 2014a, 68, n.58, figs 21, 22 & 25γ). The church has a complex building history and its initial phase has been recently dated to the period of Iconoclasm (after the middle 8th century) on the basis of architectural observations and the existence of aniconic decoration (Aslanidis 2014a, 74-75). However, a number of sculptures, such as a fragment of an *ambo* with relief decoration and several column shafts testify to the existence of

a monumental Late Antique basilica at the same site or at a nearby location. The fragment of the *ambo* has been incorrectly identified as a closure slab of a *templon* (see Aslanidis 2014a, 68). Nevertheless, on the basis of similarities with relevant material from many regions of the Empire, this piece can be securely identified as a marble screen of the *ambo's* balcony, decorated with a cross with expanding ends on globe (see a close parallel in Djobadze 1984). More specifically, it belongs to an *ambo* with two stairways on either side of a relatively high platform supported by piers or colonnettes. This type of *ambo* manufactured in Constantinopolitan workshops and exported thought the Empire during the 6th century (see more in Sodini *et al*. 1998). Concerning the columns, the large grained white marble with grey bands appears to be proconnesian. Therefore, all these marble sculptures were products of Constantinopolitan workshops and imported to Naxos in order to decorate a monumental Late Antique basilica. A future study of this material would contribute more supplementary evidence to support this view.

In contrast, this mountainous landscape appeared to have been very busy during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (Fig. 5.84) as evidenced by the erection of the churches of Fotodotis (Aslanidis 2014a, 60-87, pl.16-23, figs 19-26 with further bibliography) and Agios Ioannis at Danakos (Aslanidis 2014a, 127-129, pl.35, figs 46-47), Agios Ioannis Theologos at Grammata (Aslanidis 2014a, 97-101, pl.27, figs 31-33) and Agios Georgios at Ropiki (Aslanidis 2014a, 133-138, pl.37-39, figs 50-51) during the 8th and 9th centuries. At the moment no survey has been conducted around these churches and therefore there is no evidence regarding their association with settlements. However, they indicate intensive human activity in the area during the Early Middle Ages.

The picture about settlements in the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos during Late Antiquity, emerging through the evidence discussed above, shows a dense network of rural/pastoral sites scattered around the most productive farming zones (Fig. 5.83). The settled landscape consists of both larger nucleated villages and smaller dispersed remote settlements placed within the numerous valleys and basins of east central Naxos. The density of agro/pastoral sites suggests an intensification of land use in almost every corner of the region during Late Antiquity, regardless of the landscape's steepness. On the other hand, these rural settlements on elevated sites within valleys and basins could have played a regional role in the network of intra-island connectivity. Thus, another factor in the development of the settlement pattern may be the setting of several sites along the land routes that connected the mountainous areas of Naxos (Fig. 5.88). Furthermore, the discovery of the coastal site of Agios Dimitrios in the middle of the eastern coastline suggests the mountainous area of central Naxos, and most notably the region of Apiranthos, was not a closed highland community but an open microcosm interacting with broader worlds integrated into the trade networks of Late Antiquity.

What is more important in the cases of Apiranthos and Danakos is the fascinating picture of continuity in both habitation and land use patterns from Late Antiquity into the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The patterns of settlement distribution in relation to the availability of grazing and arable land as well as the proximity to land routes remained persistent from Late Antiquity to Middle Ages. This mountainous region suggests a picture of more intensive habitation compared to the previous period (Fig. 5.84). All types of settlements present tangible evidence of village life (erection of churches with aniconic decoration, a special care for restoration or enlargement of the initial buildings, a continuous care for renewal of their painting decoration, and the valuable surface ceramic evidence) suggesting a continuity of use of the sites throughout Early and Middle Byzantine centuries. There are no indications of abandonment, decline, or relocation of sites in order to secure more favourable conditions. Contrariwise, the study of the surface pottery from Kalloni shows a remarkable increase in ceramic finds between the 7th and 9th centuries compared to Late Antiquity (Crow *et al*. 2011, 128-129; Vionis forthcoming).

Additionally apart from the previously discussed churches with aniconic decoration, a large number of small churches were constructed between the 7th and 9th centuries in almost every corner in the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos. The small churches of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Afikli, Theotokos at Dimo, Agios Ioannis Theologos at Grammata, Agios Mamas at Driti, Agios Georgios at Ropiki and, possibly, the initial phase of the monastery of

Fotodotis at Danakos have generally been dated to the period of the Iconoclast controversy (Fig. 5.84) (see more details regarding the chronology of each church in Aslanidis 2014a). Unfortunately, the study of these sites was not included in the context of the Naxos Survey Project, so at the moment there is no evidence regarding their possible association with settlements during the Early Byzantine period or if Late Antique occupations pre-existed at the same sites. In any case the erection of at least 9 small churches in the wider areas of Apiranthos and Danakos between the 7th-9th centuries not only reflects a building boom but also an increase in occupations. A future intensive survey around these humble chapels would contribute more evidence to support this theory.

From our study of the settlement pattern of the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos it appears this rough highland landscape has been inhabited, cultivated and in many ways modified by humans from Late Antiquity to the 9th century. All the evidence indicates a state of relevant affluence, a stable mixed economy, and most importantly, a continuing system of stockfarm and agricultural exploitation. Thus, in the case of Apiranthos, as is observed in the region of Tragea, intensive exploitation of the local landscape is not only a characteristic of the Late Antique period but also the following turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This vibrant rural world lasted at least to the Middle Byzantine period.

5.4.5 *A comparative view of the settled landscapes of central Naxos*

The comparative study of the settlements of the regions of Tragea, Apiranthos and Danakos from Late Antiquity to Early Middle Ages shows that differences in settlement patterns on the same island are presented not only between different periods of time, but also between different areas during the same centuries (Figs 5.91 & 5.92). Both case-studies show the extent to which the diversities of local natural

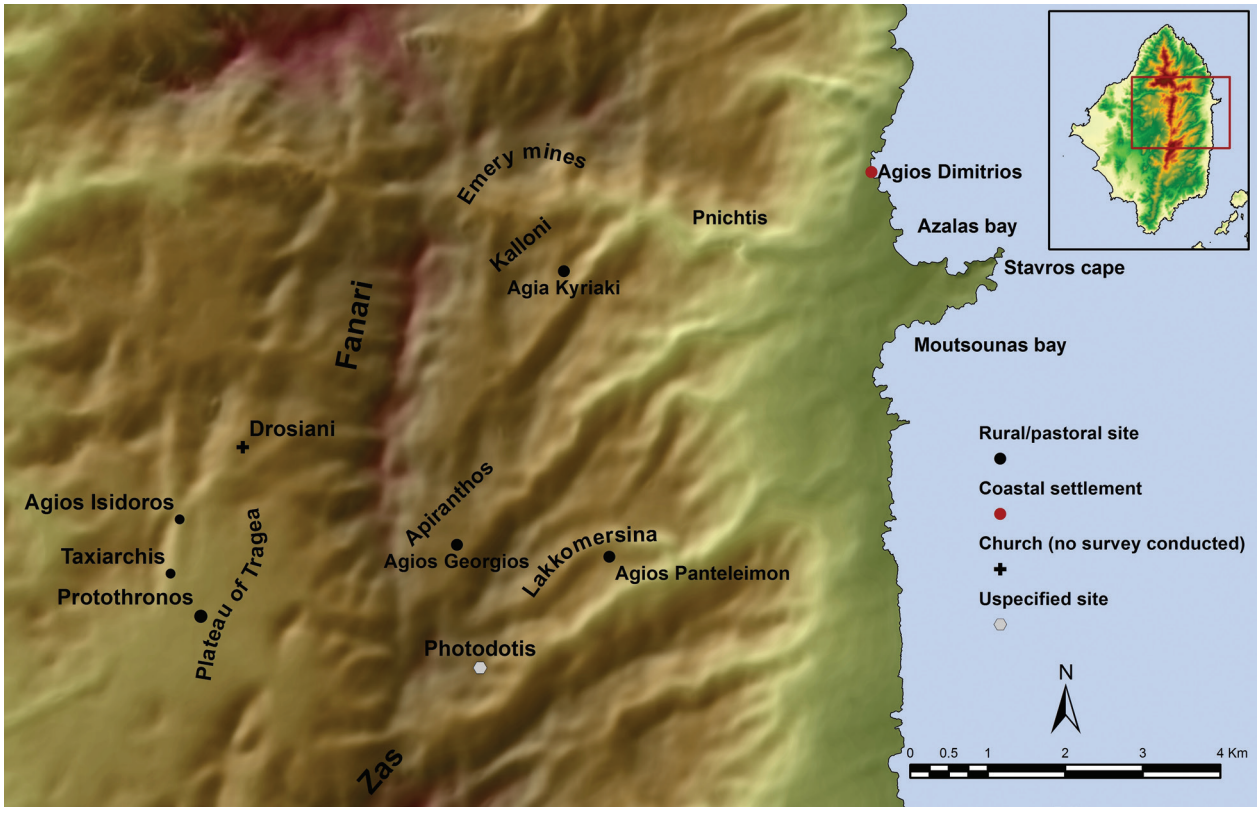


Fig. 5.91: A comparative picture of the settlement patterns in the regions of central Naxos (Tragea and Apiranthos) during Late Antiquity.

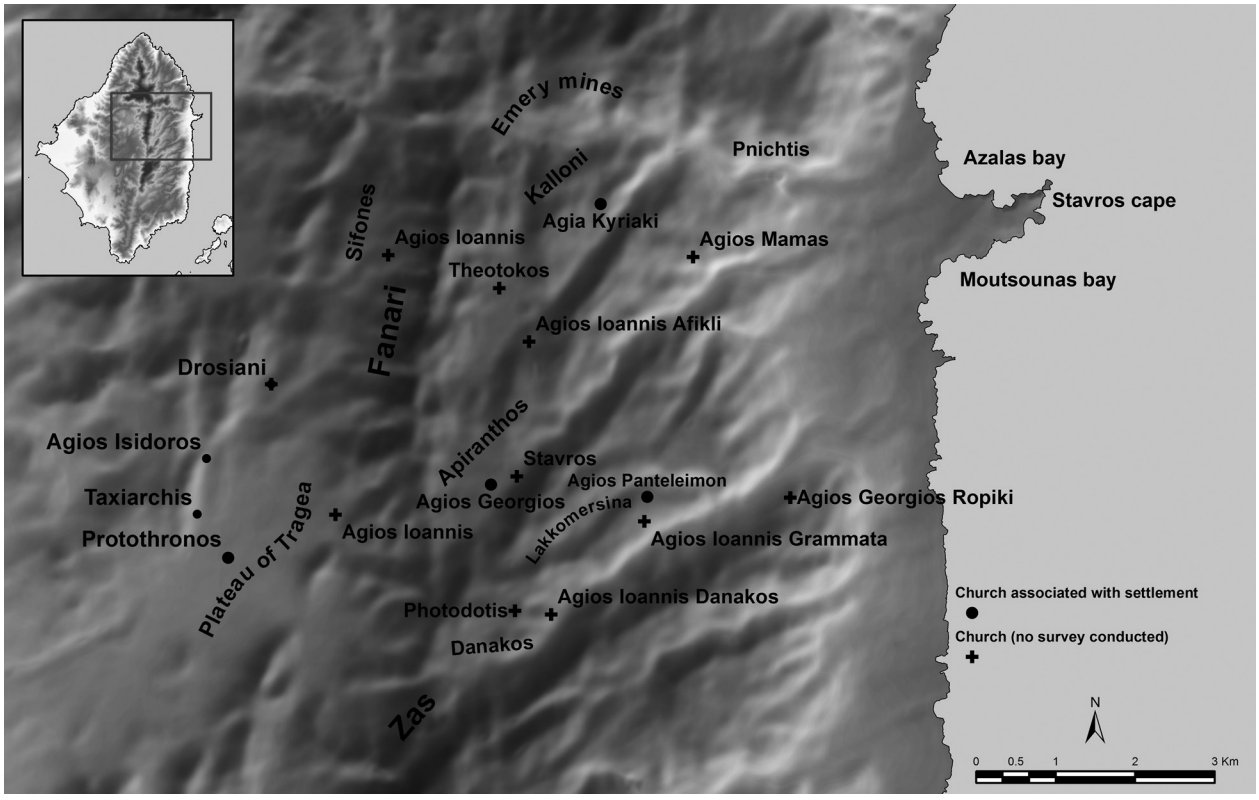


Fig. 5.92: A comparative picture of the settlement patterns in the regions of central Naxos (Tragea, Apiranthos, Danakos) during Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

environment influenced the internal evolution of the settlement pattern on the island of Naxos, creating different models of habitation in neighbouring areas.

As has been demonstrated above, the natural environment of the regions of Apiranthos and Danakos are characterised by an extremely steep landscape which is carved by various geological formations, creating small isolated mountainous productive zones. In this "fragmented" landscape, the development of settlements was adjusted to the landscape's peculiar traits, forming a network of small remote rural communities. The settlements around the churches of Agios Georgios-Agios Pachomios and Agia Kyriaki might have functioned as regional leading centres due to their size and key position in the landscape. However, parameters such as the long distances between settlements and the landscape's steepness suggest that the scattered remote communities of peasants and shepherds across the periphery of Apiranthos and Danakos were less dependent on them.

In contrast, the region of Tragea is dominated by a lush gentle valley with dense vegetation and abundant water sources, forming a large single terrain for habitation. However, this large fertile productive farming zone was hardly accessible from almost any direction, creating a local system. In this "unified" and mild mountainous landscape, only a few kilometres westward of Apiranthos, a different settlement pattern developed during Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, consisting of a cluster of small rural settlements around a central leading centre. As opposed to the dispersed communities of Apiranthos and Danakos, the satellite rural sites of Tragea were fully dependent on the central settlement around the church of Protothronos in the present-day village of Chalki. It seems the inhabitants of Tragea basin, due to the peculiar traits of this micro-landscape since antiquity, had a sense of common regional identity simultaneously with their identity as Naxians, forming a small geo-cultural entity within the island of Naxos. A similar case we have seen in the region of Saggri.

The consideration of the examples of Tragea, Apiranthos and Danakos makes it evident that despite the fact that in both cases the settlements' location was, mostly, related to the availability of arable and grazing land and a close supply of water, they developed, however, different settlement networks as a result of the diversities of their micro-landscapes. Patterns of settlement distribution were adjusted to the specific geographical spaces. Thus, the concept studying the micro-geography of the settlement's territory can be set as a key-element in the interpretation of settlement patterns of the insular communities in the Eastern Mediterranean.

5.4.6 Evidence of a mixed agro/pastoral economy on central Naxos

As has been demonstrated above, archaeology has revealed an increasing number of Late Antique and Early Byzantine sites across the mountainous landscape of central and east central Naxos. The density of different types of sites within the micro-topographies of Potamia, Tragea, Apiranthos and Danakos suggests an intensively exploited landscape during the periods in question. Nonetheless, the nature of this "exploitation" and the exact function of these highland sites are not fully understood. This study, despite many limitations, attempts to offer a number of new and interesting keys to a better understanding of the settled landscape of mountainous Naxos during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages integrating this evidence to the most recent discussions of pastoralism in antiquity.

The difficulties of identifying pastoral sites are well-known and are based on the fact that the characteristic artefacts associated with pastoralism are mostly invisible archaeologically because they would have been made of organic materials. Due to the fact that pastoralist activities leave little if any trace, an alternative way of identifying them is offered by the analysis of a site's location in its micro-landscape, which may be an important parameter to its function (see more about the discussion of pastoralism in Antiquity in Forbes 1995).

In the case of central Naxos, we do not have any material evidence that can prove the existence of livestock farming in the periods in question. The only secure information comes from the production site at Saggri in the interior of the lowland western Naxos where small finds testify wool-processing (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 30-31, fig.34). The landscape of central Naxos is characterised by a plethora of well-watered, small but fertile productive zones (plateaus, valleys) scattered in mountainous areas which are surrounded by abundant grazing land. Thus, a common feature shared by the various sites of central Naxos (Potamia, Tragea, Apiranthos, Danakos) is that they are generally located close both to well-watered and fertile soils as well as to steep rocky slopes.

In the plateau of Tragea some Late Antique sites are lying at the intersection between arable and grazing land (Taxiarchis and Agios Isidoros). The decision to place such small village communities or farmsteads along these marginal places (Fig. 5.78 & 5.79) strongly suggests that extensive areas of steep hill-slopes that surround the fertile basin were economically extremely important for the local community, but for some activity other than olive cultivation, which appeared within this fertile basin (Fig. 5.74). The erection at these sites of churches with no elaborate decorative elements on the edge of this unified region during the end of Late Antiquity or the Byzantine Early Middle Ages gave the community a shared identity linking it with its surrounding landscape (Vionis 2017, 172-173). The placement of these sites in this landscape would have allowed particularly easy exploitation of uncultivated land bordering on the cultivated areas. Archaeological remains (churches and surface ceramics) suggest that these sites have a continuous use for many centuries. They possibly signify both the arable and pastoral arm to the local economy, showing that the community's vital territory extended beyond the limits of the fertile basin and included the mountains above as well. In this context, the settled landscape of Tragea reflects a pattern of a mixed agro/pastoral economy during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages which through time remained consistent and stable.

A comparative situation can be found today in same region of Naxos (Tragea) as well as in many other highland communities of Greece, such as the Lasithi plain in Crete. In these cases, villagers interact with the landscape in multiple levels, since

they cultivate the arable fields of these upland basins and at the same time as they exploit the mountainous areas above. They traditionally own arable land within these basins and keep substantial flocks of sheep and goats as well. Thus, pastoralist activities are closely integrated with the management of olive trees or vineyards. Additionally, in the early 13th century Marco Sanudo distributed the mountainous pastures of Naxos to Latin nobles who were established on the island. The new rulers rented the grazing land to local shepherds while, concurrently, they agriculturally exploited the fertile soil of the highland productive zones which are scattered across mountainous Naxos (Zei 2008, 267-268).

Furthermore, the dispersed and seemingly isolated sites with surface ceramic evidence and small churches in Potamia, Apiranthos and Danakos, apart from their association with important land routes, are located in places where one would expect to find shepherds. Thus, it makes sense to assign a pastoralist function to such sites. Herding sheep and goats in the steep slopes was a major element in these economies. The placement of these sites in this "fragmented" landscape reflects a similar pattern to the Tragea basin and would have allowed particularly easy exploitation of uncultivated land. Sites, such as Agia Kyriaki at Kalloni, Agios Georgios and Pachomios at Apiranthos, Agios Panteleimon at Lakkomersina, Agios Ioannis at Afikli and Theotokos at Demos could take advantage both of the uncultivated slopes that could support sizable flocks of sheep and goats and of the small but fertile basins and valleys that could support a number of inhabitants. At the same time, the location of some sites, as such Agios Mamas at Ntriti and Agios Georgios at Ropoki may suggests that they were occasionally occupied by shepherds who moved their flocks in order to exploit all the available grazing land of this landscape.

A similar pattern is represented on Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997), the southern Argolid (Jameson *et al*. 1994) and Attica (Lohmann 1993). According to Forbes, on Methana and the southern Argolid the location evidence of small Late Roman sites with evidence of olive processing, possibly farmsteads, indicates that they could have included pastoralism as part of their function (1995, 336-337).

Despite the absence of distinctive artefacts, the localised environmental advantages of the Naxian landscape have been conducive to the development and preservation of pastoralist activities, especially in the mountainous part of the island. It seems both cultivated and uncultivated parts of this landscape were intensively exploited and were crucial economic sources during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The highland communities of Naxos also exploited the abundant natural grazing resources beyond cultivable areas. An economic system of mixed agrarian activities was developed in which animal husbandry was closely integrated with arable agriculture. The plethora of agro/pastoral sites makes it reasonable to assume that part of the livestock products was exported to wider markets, especially during the Late Antique centuries. Moreover, the development of commercial sheep and goat herding is also documented in the countryside of Attica (Lohmann 1993) .

Despite modernisation and tourism development, animal husbandry still plays an important role in the economy of Naxos until the present day, especially in the mountainous parts of the island. Naxos is famed for the production of meat and cheese, which are the most exportable products of the island.

5.5 SOUTHEAST NAXOS

5.5.1 Landscape and micro-topography

A few kilometres south of the region of Tragea and the present-day mountainous village of Filoti the landscape becomes extremely steep and barren as the imposing Mt Zas reaches its highest point. The south-western side of the mountain slopes down steeply to the middle of the western coastline, where cape Katomeri is located, and encloses almost by all sides the south-eastern part of the island, forming a relatively isolated geographical space (Figs 5.1 & 5.7: IV). As a result of this, southeast Naxos was hardly accessible from the remainder of the island. The south-eastern side of Mt Zas, however, gently slopes down to the south coastline creating a typical Mediterranean landscape.

The landscape of the south-eastern part of Naxos has gentle mountainous character carved by several hills and geological formations, mainly small narrow valleys. The bedrock consists mainly of marble and the



Fig. 5.93: Map of southeast Naxos and the Small Cyclades with sites and regions discussed in the chapter.

region is covered by sparse vegetation, mostly by small trees and tall shrubs, because of the poor water-table conditions compared to the central part of the island. The peaks and slopes of the hills are mainly used as grazing land. Nevertheless, within this relatively dry landscape there are numerous hidden small valleys, forming several scattered productive farming zones. Within these valleys are located the most fertile soils on southeast Naxos. The best agricultural lands are situated around the areas of Chimarros and Kaminos, which are set at the heart of southeast Naxos.

The coastline of that part of the island is more complex forming several small bays with sandy or pebbled beaches well-protected from the strong winds. The most important of them are the bays of Panormos and Kalantos which are set in the southeast and southwest corner of this region, respectively (Fig. 5.93). Panormos forms a natural harbour hidden from the sea as it is surrounded by steep high hills. At the same time, it is adjacent to small valleys, facilitating the direct connection of this coastal zone to the hinterland of southeast Naxos, and especially to the region of Chimarros. The cove of the bay to the east forms a small sandy beach, facing the west entrance. The seascape, only a few nautical miles south of the bay of Panormos, contains the so-called Small Cyclades, a cluster of tiny inhabited or uninhabited islands, the most important of which are Koufonissi, Schinoussa, Iraklia and Keros (Fig. 5.93). It only takes a few minutes to reach these islands by boat. Despite the fact the sea separates them from Naxos, the Small Cyclades were always largely dependent on their larger neighbour. The bay of Kalantos forms a natural well-protected harbour and is adjacent to a small valley, facilitating the direct connection of this coastal zone to the hinterland of southeast Naxos, and especially to the region of Kaminos.

5.5.2 The production centre of Chimarros and the commercial port of Panormos

The Hellenistic tower of Chimarros (the so-called "Pyrgos Cheimarrou") is located at the heart of the south-eastern part of Naxos, between Mt Zas and the south coastline (Figs 5.93 & 5.94). The monument was restored and excavated by the former 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities between 1997 and 2001 (Naxos 1997, 27-33; Filaniotou 2003). In 2015 the systematic study of the material from Chimarros was started in the context of collaboration between Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades and *ArtLandS Lab* of the University of Cyprus.

Pyrgos Chimarrou is a fortified circular tower from the 4th century B.C., constructed from white marble, which is preserved up to a height of almost 15 m (Fig. 5.94). The surviving part of the monument consists of a ground floor and three upper storeys, with cantilevered steps leading to the uppermost level of the building (see a more detailed description of the Hellenistic tower in Filaniotou 2003, 73-74). It is surrounded by a roughly square precinct wall up to 2 m high (some 35 m each side), which is well-preserved on the south, west and east sides.

Square and round towers of the Classical and Hellenistic periods have been discovered across Mainland Greece and the wider Aegean Archipelago. In the Cyclades in particular, the towers comprise distinctive monuments of the rural landscape during these periods (Paros, Naxos, Kea, Andros, Amorgos, Sifnos etc.). In the neighbouring island of Paros, for example a similar tower has been discovered in the region of Paliopirgos in the wider area of Naoussa but it is still unpublished (Fig. 4.41). In recent decades, towers have been among the most debated types of sites in antiquity. A number of studies have expanded our understanding of the function of these constructions. In this broader scholarly discussion, towers have been associated with guard stations and communication beacons, fortified farms, outposts for intensive agricultural or other activities, such as slave-driven mining endeavours, and protective installations, possibly, for the storage of rural production (Young 1965a; 1965b; Fracchia 1985; Osborne 1986; 1992; Morris & Papadolpoulos 2005; Penttinen 2005). It is quite possible, then, that the towers had multiple functions largely related to their integration in the micro-landscape of each region.



Fig. 5.94: View of the Hellenistic tower of Chimarros. In the detail: satellite image of the site (view from Google Earth). The architectural remains of different periods are marked.

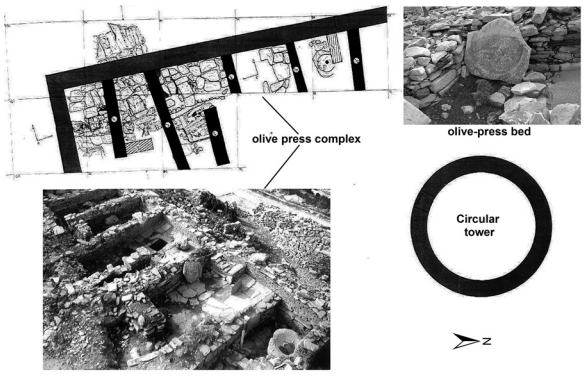


Fig. 5.95: Pyrgos Chimarrou: Plan of the industrial installation unearthed along the west side of the circuit wall (after Filaniotou 2003, 474, fig.2).



Fig. 5.96: The tower of Chimarros is surrounded by several small productive zones and substantial areas of grazing land.

Most of these towers were reused or reoccupied during the Roman or Late Antique period. In the case of Chimarros, architectural remains, ceramic material and evidence from stratigraphic analysis suggest an olive-press complex was founded along the west side of the circuit wall in the 2nd century (Filaniotou 2003, 79-80). During the excavations at the site a complex of seven adjacent rectangular areas was unearthed (Figs 5.94 & 5.95). The areas of this complex were separated by walls, built vertically. These adjacent spaces remained open and accessible from the east side, since no remains of walls were discovered, while the earlier circuit wall itself acted as exterior wall of the complex. In the seven units of this installation, paved floors, small rectangular cisterns and an olive-press bed were discovered (Fig. 5.95) (Filaniotou 2003, 75-79). On the basis of the ceramic evidence, this well-organised olive-press installation remained in use until the late 6th or 7th century (Vionis 2016). It seems, then, that the tower was reused and the area enclosed by the circuit wall around it functioned throughout the Roman and Late Antique period as an industrial installation (Filaniotou 2003, 80-81). On the east side of this enclosed area a three-aisled (possibly barrel-vaulted) basilica was erected between the 5th and 6th centuries and would have been associated with the olive production units. This situation has similarities with the case of Gyroulas on western Naxos (see more in Chapter 5.3.6).

A well-published example of an ancient tower re-occupied during Late Antiquity is Pyrgouthi in the Berbati valley (Hjohlman 2005, 127-266). From at least the second half of the 6th century to the middle of the 7th century Pyrgouthi tower and its surroundings were incorporated into a large farmhouse with a number of rooms used for various purposes.

A careful reading of local topography of the tower in combination with application of spatial analysis and all currently available archaeological data relating to this site (the ongoing study of the ceramic material will provide more evidence in the future) will shed more light on the Late Antique and Early Byzantine settled landscape of south-eastern Naxos. This study seeks to place the tower of Chimarros not only into its local context but also into a broad Mediterranean context.

Concerning the location of the site, this tower and its associated installations lie on a hilltop between two seasonal streams, Chimarros to the east and Petronia to the west, approximately 5 km from the nearest accessible coastline of southeast Naxos (area of Panormos). It is located at the heart of the south-eastern part of Naxos, surrounded by small fertile valleys, which form several scattered productive farming zones, and by steep hill-slopes that offer substantial areas of grazing land (Fig. 5.96). In this respect, the site's central position amidst this natural environment makes it suitable for an important local nodal point. Thus, the tower of Chimarros functioned as a diachronic rural landmark for the settlement pattern of this rural landscape.

The prominent location of Pyrgos Chimarrou within the landscape of southeast Naxos can be further established by the application of spatial analysis.



Fig. 5.97: Least cost path and viewshed analysis showing the visibility from the Tower of Chimarros (15 m added) and some possible land routes. Visible areas marked with turquoise.

Firstly, viewshed analysis shows that the tower had good views over the surrounding landscape (Fig. 5.97). In other worlds, the visibility from the tower was almost restricted within the natural borders of the southeast part of the island (see more in Chapter 5.5.1). It overlooks important parts of the productive zones of the landscape from the region of Chimarros up to the area of Kaminos. In contrast, it has only partial visibility towards the maritime channel between Naxos and the Small Cyclades (Fig. 5.97). In this respect, the tower was not sea-oriented and, therefore, it is more likely it was orientated towards the interior of the island. Secondly, the application of least cost path principles suggests the tower was associated with a possible network of land routes (Fig. 5.97). Once more, if we consider that the ancient road networks connecting the inland or coastal areas mainly followed physiographic constraints, the paths created using least cost path analysis seem quite accurate. A path extends south-westward through the cavity of a small valley and connects the tower of Chimarros with the region of Kaminos and the bay of Kalantos. Two possible paths extend south-eastward and connect the production site of Chimaros with the bay of Panormos and the associated ancient port (see below). Walking from Chimarros it is easy to reach Panormos by following these important paths. Viewshed analysis suggests Pyrgos Chimarrou had good views over large parts of these land routes. In this context, it seems the location of the tower was easily accessible from almost any place of southeast Naxos.

Combining all previously discussed information, it makes sense to assume that the site during the

Roman and Late Antique centuries (the tower itself and the associated industrial installation) mainly functioned to facilitate the economic exploitation of the local landscape. The industrial site of Chimarros is surrounded by fertile land and can therefore be easily understood as part of intensive agricultural investment. This Roman and Late Antique production centre benefited from the tower's strategic location point in the south-eastern part of Naxos.

The intensive activity of this industrial unit evidenced by the plethora of the ceramic material from Pyrgos Chimarrou during Late Antiquity shows that olive cultivation is attested in southeast Naxos. This is an indication that the surrounding slopes and small valleys of the wider region were probably full of olive groves in antiquity, in contrast with the landscape's current condition. Today, the wider region is uninhabited and is characterised by a terraced landscape planted with a few olive trees and the existence of pastoral enclosures (Fig. 5.96 & 5.98). The extraction of oil from olives is a laborious and time-consuming process with many stages. In the early stages, the process contains fertilising, olive collecting, olive drying, and transporting to olive press. At the second stage, it contains olive crushing, olive pressing and oil collecting. The production of oil during Late Antiquity, which is evidenced by the archaeological data from Chimarros, presupposes the existence of a well-organised regional network of rural sites dealing with the early stages of olive production.

Considering the particularities of the local natural environment discussed above (see Chapter 5.5.1), the fertility of the region during antiquity, the strategically positioned tower of Chimarros within this landscape and the excavated material related to the site, it is possible this industrial unit was not established in isolation. Moreover, according to Filaniotou, unpublished archaeological remains, which are scattered around the southeast Naxos, testify to the existence of intensive human activity during the prehistoric and historical periods (2003, 73). Thus, it is most probable that Pyrgos Chimarrou was associated with a number of satellite small rural sites scattered across southeast Naxos which dealt with olive cultivation. An indication of such a rural site is given by the Late Antique basilica at Kaminos (Fig. 5.93) which is about 4 km southwest of the production centre of Chimarros, beneath the Middle Byzantine church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Mastoropoulos 2006, 206-207). As is demonstrated above, Chimarros was easy accessible by Kaminos through a land route (Fig. 5.97). From this point of view, the tower of Chimarros emerges as an important regional leading centre during the course of Late Antiquity for collecting and controlling the production in the south-eastern part of Naxos, finding a close parallel in the case of Gyroulas at Saggri (see Chapter 5.3.6). In this respect, the industrial centre of Chimarros can reflect intensification of cultivation as well as expansion of the human control and modification of the landscape during Late Antiquity. A future intensive survey centred on this particular area would contribute more evidence to support this notion.

On the other hand, as has been demonstrated in the Chapter 5.4.6, the analysis of site's location in its micro-landscape is an important parameter to its function and offers an alternative way of identifying pastoralist activities. The substantial areas of grazing land across southeast Naxos (Fig. 5.96) indicate that animal husbandry could have been included as part of the local population's activity (Fig. 5.98). It is most probable that, sites, such Pyrgos Chimarrou and Agios Ioannis at Kaminos interacted with the landscape at multiple levels, since their location would have allowed exploitation both of cultivated areas and uncultivated grazing land bordering the fertile soils.

The picture of intensified use of the landscape in the course of Late Antiquity from southeast Naxos fits well with the evidence concerning the remainder of the island. The excavation of important industrial installations suggests that in the Eastern Mediterranean a considerable increase in the number, capacity and complexity of the infrastructures specialised in oil production during Late Antiquity is documented (for a bibliographic overview see Zerbini 2013, 63-66). A comparative situation can be found in the peninsula of Methana where a remarkable amount of pressing equipment has been attested, showing high specialisation in olive oil production destined for wider markets (Mee & Forbes 1997, 257-263). Traces of olive oil cultivation and pressing equipment were also discovered in southern Argolid (Runnels & van Andel 1987), Keos (Cherry *et al*.



Fig. 5.98: Modern pastoral activities close to the tower of Chimarros.



Fig. 5.99: View of the bay of Panormos.

1991) and Antikythera (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 148-149).

The picture from Chimarros suggests a commercial production of oil in the course of Late Antiquity destined primarily for wider markets rather than regional markets for the subsistence of local populations. Thus, the tower of Chimarros emerges as a regional centre of commercial importance for collecting, processing and distributing oil production to wider markets. According to this outlook, the industrial centre of Chimarros appeared to have been a highly interactive site in the context of the unified Late Antique economy. The systematic consideration of the ceramic material has shown the existence of a group of imported vessels from North Africa, Cyprus, the Levant and the Black Sea, indicating a degree of inter-regional connectivity between Chimarros and other sites in the Eastern Mediterranean (Vionis 2016).

What is most interesting in the case of Chimarros is that the analysis of the ceramic material shows a fascinating picture of continuity in both ceramic types and use of the site from Late Antiquity into the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (Vionis 2016). After the middle 7th century the cisterns were covered with earthen floors and new walls were built closing the east side of the oil production units (Filaniotou 2003, 80). This archaeological evidence suggests important changes in the function of the complex during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. However, it is quite possible that the use of the site has been as intensive as that of the preceding period. As Vionis points out, all known Late Antique ceramic types, such as jugs, cooking pots and amphorae, are 'replaced' in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages by developed or altered pottery forms, in more or less equivalent proportions (2016; 2013, 31, fig.6). This industrial site with market orientation was transformed into a local production and storage centre of agricultural goods in the early/middle 7th century. On the basis of the analysis of the Early Medieval assemblage of Chimarros, it appears that this inland site was not an isolated place but remained an interactive insular community despite major changes occurring in the wider socioeconomic context of the Aegean. According to Vionis, the study of the ceramic material from Chimarros dated to the 8th and 9th centuries testifies connections with Constantinople and neighbouring areas, including Paros and possibly other Cycladic islands, as well as Crete, Rhodes and the eastern Peloponnese (2016).

A crucial question however concerns the place through which this exportable produce from southeast Naxos flowed to wider markets, especially during Late Antiquity. Considering the difficulties in communication between the south-eastern part of Naxos and the remainder of the island, the transportation of this production to the main port of the Late Antique city appears almost impossible. In contrast, the close proximity of the site to the southeast coast of Naxos, which forms many small safe anchorages for ships, makes the existence of a regional commercial port along the island's southeast shoreline more reasonable. In this context, this study suggests that the industrial centre of Chimarros was closely associated with the bay of Panormos, which is located 5 km southeast (Fig. 5.99). As has been

demonstrated above, the application of least cost path analysis shows that Pyrgos Chimarrou was connected with the bay of Panormos through two possible paths (Fig. 5.97).

The bay of Panormos is well-known in the bibliography, especially for the prehistoric installation at Korfari ton Amygdalion (Angelopoulou 2008). However, the existence of port infrastructures during the historical periods within the small bay is attested by the *Stadiasmus of Maris Magni* (Müller 1855, 499). The port of Panormos is mentioned as «Ναξίων Πάνορμος» ("Panormos of the Naxians") whilst the main harbour of the island in the city of Naxos is referred to as «Νάξος» (Naxos). It is placed between the ports of Amorgos and Delos. It seems that in the *Stadiasmus* the two ports of Naxos are of equal importance. The fact that Panormos is listed among the ports of the Aegean world indicates there were maritime facilities in the small bay which was fully integrated into the commercial maritime routes of antiquity. The existence of more than one important commercial port along the coastline of Naxos should not be surprising. Land transport from the hinterland of the island to the south-eastern part of Naxos would be too expensive and ineffective because of the extremely steep character of this micro-landscape. The port of Panormos is well-situated to take advantage of both the natural harbour and the ancient sea routes that passed through this maritime region.

Despite the fact that we lack a clear picture on the infrastructure of the ancient harbour, a careful *in situ* examination of the surface pottery material at the bay of Panormos in the context of personal observations, further confirms the existence of port installations with long-term use. A large percentage of this surface material was dated to the Late Antique centuries and comprised, mostly, common storage and transport vessels (Fig. 5.100). The vast majority of potsherds, which are scattered all over the surfaces of the north side of the bay, belongs to body fragments of the most representative and widely produced amphora types of Late Roman 1 and 2. Both types constituted the most common commercial vessels from Late Antiquity in the East Mediterranean Sea. The high percentage of Late Roman amphora sherds suggests the harbour of Panormos was in use over the course of Late Antiquity participating in the maritime commercial networks.



Fig. 5.100: Late Roman pottery fragments from Panormos.

Over the course of Late Antiquity an important number of sites along the shoreline of Mainland Greece and the islands were developed, mainly on small or large bays, functioning as coastal trade centres for loading and unloading merchandise (Bintliff 2012b, 357). The vast majority of them could have acted as staging points for the exportable agricultural produce of Greece during the period in question. Several coastal sites of Late Antiquity can be categorised as *emporia*, a type of maritime settlement that appeared between the 5th and the 7th centuries in coastal areas, and especially along the coastline of the islands. The case of Panormos can be integrated into the broad scholarly discussion concerning *emporia* (see more about this discussion in Chapter 4.6.3; see also Veikou 2015b, 49-52). Currently, the lack of architectural remnants does not allow us to be very accurate when talking about the status and the extent of the settlement associated with the port of Panormos. Nevertheless, the fact that Panormos was connected with the industrial site at Chimarros and possibly a number of smaller agro/pastoral sites in the hinterland of southeast Naxos, may indicate that it probably functioned as collection point for local agricultural products and as a distribution centre for wider markets. From this point of view, it is reasonable to assume that local oil production from the region's productive zones was concentrated in the industrial unit of the tower of Chimarros in order to be processed and converted to a commercial product. At a second stage, this exportable surplus was transported to the port of Panormos through the possible land routes that connect the heart of southeast Naxos to the coastline.

In this wide context, the south-eastern part of Naxos emerged as a small link in the chain of the

broader trade networks during Late Antiquity. The region produced important agricultural surpluses, participating in trans-regional exchange and contributing to the economic growth of Naxos. Despite the fact that this part of Naxos was largely isolated from the remainder of the island, it developed an active local community open to contacts and external influence, interacting with broader worlds. The region's economy was based on the exploitation of commercial crops and the benefits of the Late Antique economy.

Concerning the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, it has been suggested that, during the 7th and 8th centuries the coastal trade centres, like Panormos, functioned within networks of regional communication (Haldon 2013, 100-101). In this respect, it makes sense to assume that changes which occurred in Pyrgos Chimarrou in the early/ middle 7th century and resulted in its transformation into a local production and storage centre of agricultural goods, must have also gone hand in hand with similar changes in the southeast Naxos' main gateway to the external world, the port of Panormos. The ceramic material of the 8th and 9th centuries from Chimarros that testifies to connections with Constantinople and neighbouring Aegean areas, suggests that the port of Panormos and its associated settlement functioned within a regional communication network during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The distance and difficult access to and from Kastro Apalirou and other regions of the island made Panormos the main gateway from southeast Naxos towards the external world, as, due to the steep character of this micro-landscape, intra-island connectivity was challenging. Despite major changes from the late 7th century in maritime routes, moving of goods, markets, ports, commercial networks, and alterations in the nature of trade activities, the port of Panormos, the Pyrgos Chimarrou and the rest of southeast Naxos appeared to have been integrated into regional sea routes and trade patterns, interacting with the Aegean world and the imperial centre during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

Another factor that should be considered is the region's possible relations with the islands of the Small Cyclades (Figs 5.93 & 5.101). Even nowadays this cluster of tiny islands is largely dependent on the



Fig. 5.101: Visibility from the bay of Panormos towards the neighbouring islands of the Small Cyclades.

island of Naxos. For Late Antiquity little was known until recently about the Small Cyclades.

It is quite interesting that in the small island of Schinoussa, despite its barren landscape, the architectural remains of a Late Antique flourishing coastal settlement were unearthed in the small bay of Livadi (Fig. 5.93) (Chatzilazarou 2008). The ceramic material, dated between the 4th and the 7th century, shows important commercial activities and connections of the island with large production centres in North Africa, Asia Minor and Cyprus. According to the excavator, the settlement was probably abandoned sometime during the second half of the 7th century. The sites' sea orientation is apparent, since the settlement at Livadia was built in association with an ideally situated harbour. In this respect, it is reasonable to support the view that the settlement was primarily commercial in orientation. The commercial nature of the maritime settlement at Livadia seems strange since it is located only few nautical miles south of the important harbour of Panormos, situated in the southeast corner of Naxos. Additionally, the island's limited productive capacity makes it logical to assume that it cannot have produced anything of great value and it was not self-sufficient.

Additionally, a few imported lamps from the 6th-7th century from Asia Minor and Constantinople were discovered in Kato Koufonissi, now at the Archaeological Museum of Naxos (Bournias 2014, 788, 791). Finally, a recent study of the tiny uninhabited islet of Dhaskalio (Fig. 5.93), just off the island of Keros and a few miles northeast

of Naxos, provides new evidence for a small site along the south coast which reflects a pattern of occasionally stopping ships in cases of sudden storms during the 6th and 7th centuries (Tzavella 2013).

The archaeological material from the southeast Naxos and the small Cyclades, discussed above, resembles the case of the small islands that lie across the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth (Gregory 1984; 1986b). In general, various islands off the coast of Greece had initially been identified as "Isles of Refuge" when the Slavs invaded Greece in the 6th century (Hood 1970). Nevertheless, more recent studies argue that the settlements on these islands must be viewed as complex socioeconomic phenomena which were results of economic forces or more broadly military and commercial policies (Gregory 1984; 1986b). According to Gregory, the land available for warehouses and other commercial survives at the mainland ports of the Gulf of Corinth (Vathy, Alyki etc.) was extremely limited. Thus, a supportive system of maritime settlements with port infrastructures and other facilities were developed on the off-shore islands (Makronisos, Kouveli) within the Corinthian gulf in order to expand the area used for long distance trade at the large harbours on the mainland (1984, 302-303). It is logical, then, to assume that, in a possibly smaller scale, a system of maritime settlements and port infrastructures were also developed on the satellite islands of small Cyclades in order to support Panormos, the major harbour of this maritime region, during Late Antiquity. The settlement at Diporto on Makronisos (Gregory 1984) resembles the settlement at Livadi on Schinoussa. As on Makronisos, Schinoussa appears to have been a "port of trade", a place where commercial products from various production centres of the Mediterranean collected and subsequently divided, traded, loaded and continued their journey to broader markets.

In the context of the highly interactive Late Antique Mediterranean economy, trade patterns and sea routes served to connect the small island communities with the broader markets supporting their interaction with the external world. Despite the material's fragmentary nature, it appears the naval channel between southeast Naxos and the Small Cyclades was fully integrated into the inter-regional networks of moving goods, merchandise, traders and travellers with a system of small commercial ports (Panormos, Livadi, Dhaskalio).

In contrast with the port of Panormos and the Pyrgos Chimarrou, according to the excavator, the settlement at Livadi on Schinoussa the settlement was probably abandoned sometime during the second half of the 7th century (Chatzilazarou 2008). Similar picture emerges from the study of the ceramic material from Dhaskalio (Tzavella 2013). Any change in the Mediterranean trade patterns and sea routes may have had a strong impact on the role of these satellite small and fragile island communities. It makes sense to assume that, due to the major socioeconomic changes that occurred in the Aegean during Byzantine Early Middle Ages, the tiny islands of the Small Cyclades may have had lost their role as places of trade, supportive to the port of Panormos, which now functioned at lesser scale within a regional communication network.

5.6 NORTH NAXOS

5.6.1 Landscape and micro-topography

The northern part of Naxos is the most steep and mountainous region of the island (Fig. 5.102). It is dominated by the central mountain range of Koronos (alt. 992 m). In the northeast and northwest the mountains slope down to the sea very steeply creating an extremely rugged coastline. There are only a few shallow coves that can provide safe shelters for ships. The landscape of northern Naxos is especially varied as there are barren slopes with low vegetation and at the same time several dispersed lush river valleys. Because of the landscape's steep character there are many high, remote and uninhabited places while the modern settlements are related to the scattered mountainous fertile valleys (alt. around 600 m), such as in Kinidaros, Keramoti, Koronos and Koronida (Komiaki). There is only one coastal settlement in the whole region, the maritime village of Apollonas in the north-eastern part, which is directly connected to the river valley of Potamos. The remainder of the shoreline is barren and uninhabited.

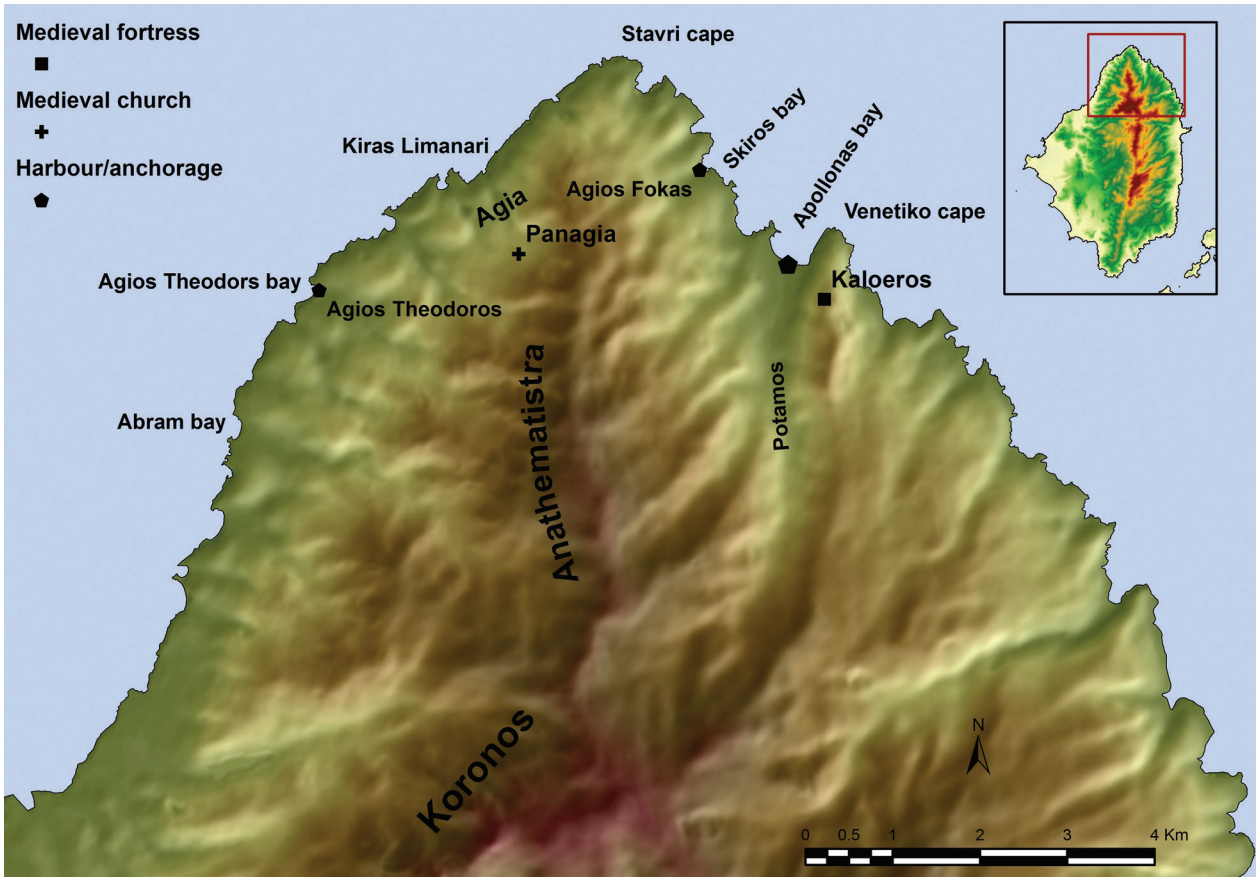


Fig. 5.102: Map of north Naxos with sites and regions discussed in the chapter.

5.6.2 Evidence for settlement pattern on northern Naxos

During the prehistoric and historical periods important human activity has been observed in the northern part of Naxos (Lambrinoudakis 2013). It seems the north-eastern region of Naxos was an area of special economic importance for the island during antiquity as the Naxian white marble was also quarried in the north of Komiaki. The ancient port of Apollonas was located very close to the quarries and functioned as the main export point for Naxian marble in antiquity (Kokkorou-Alevras 2013b). Contrary to the other regions of Naxos however, little is known about the northern part of the island during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

It makes sense to assume that the important port of Apollonas continued to operate during Late Antiquity. However, currently, the lack of material evidence does not allow us to be very accurate when talking about its function. At the moment, the only available direct evidence for human presence on northern Naxos during Late Antiquity comes from two coastal sites, the bays of Agios Theodoros and Skiros (Fig. 5.102). The tiny bay of Agios Theodoros is located along the northwest coastline of Naxos. In the north part of the small sandy beach around the later church of Agios Theodoros the remains of a Late Antique basilica are visible (Fig. 5.103) (Mastoropoulos 2005, 48-51, figs 16-17; 2006, 98-99, fig.57). The tiny bay of Skiros is located less than a kilometre north of Apollonas, along the northeast coastline of Naxos. Traces of one more Late Antique religious monument have been recognised around the later humble chapel of Agios Fokas (Fig. 5.104) (Mastoropoulos 2005, 39-41; 2006, 244, 247, fig.194). The chapel is surrounded by a terraced landscape and is situated on a slightly elevated site on the slope

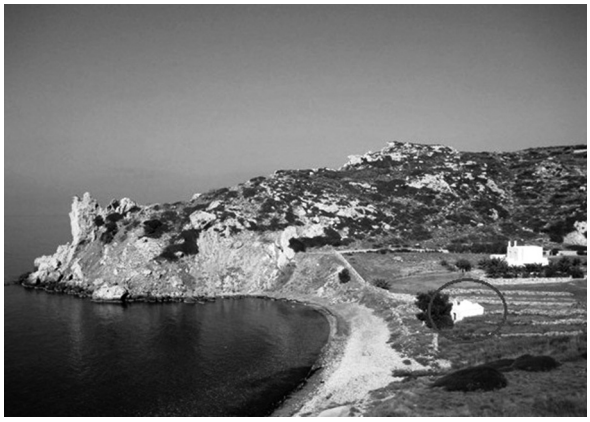


Fig. 5.103: View of the church of Agios Theodoros in the tiny bay along the northwest coastline of Naxos.



Fig. 5.104: View of the chapel of Agios Fokas in the bay of Skiros.



Fig. 5.105: Satellite image of the tiny bay of Agios Theodoros along the northwest coastline of Naxos (view from Google Earth).



Fig. 5.106: Satellite image of the tiny bay of Skiros along the northeast coastline of Naxos (view from Google Earth).

of a low hill. Both sites have not been excavated and it is therefore not possible to offer convincing interpretations regarding their exact dating.

The study of region's micro-landscape can lead, however, to some possible hypotheses concerning the function of these small isolated sites (Figs 5.105 & 5.106). The bays of Agios Theodoros and Skiros have some localised environmental advantages compared to the other tiny coves, located along the north coastline of Naxos from Apollonas (northeast) up to Abram bay (northwest). In both cases there are no shallows or reefs right outside the bays, while at the same time the shores are sandy and easily accessible from the sea. In contrast, most of the other coves of northern Naxos are extremely rugged and steep. In addition, the bays of Agios Theodoros and Skiros are associated with small narrow valleys carved into the steep and mountainous coastal landscape from the interior to the coast. At the same time, extensive uncultivated grazing land borders on the small cultivated areas. Despite the fact that the availability of fresh water in both cases is limited, the cultivated and uncultivated land was presumably enough to support a small number of inhabitants. On the other hand, the small narrow valleys that carve the landscape from the hinterland to the coast facilitate connectivity between these bays and the island's interior. However, the interior of north Naxos is extremely steep, barren and rugged, and it seems that none of these bays were associated with large inland productive farming zones. In this respect, it is unlikely these coastal sites would have served as export points for the local agricultural produce, as was the case at the port of Panormos. Moreover, the available space along the bays' sandy shoreline for the development of a settlement associated with the basilicas is also limited. Having carefully considered the data discussed above it becomes apparent that the

shallow bays of Agios Theodoros and Skiros are the best candidates to serve as temporary anchorages, as both they can offer relatively safe shelter for ships in case of bad weather. These small harbours were possibly associated with small communities.

In ancient navigation, wind direction and sight of a known shore and landmarks must have been important tools to define and fix maritime routes (Arnaud 2014). In the inter-regional trade networks of Late Antiquity numerous small anchorages likely functioned as stopping places in cases of sudden storms and supply stations for ships that passed along the maritime routes. In the Aegean Sea in particular, such anchorages played a key role seafaring (see more in Ginalis 2014, 19-20). These places developed in protected bays with harbour facilities and were associated with important maritime routes.

In this context, the sites within Agios Theodoros and Skiros bays that developed around the basilicas reflect a pattern of occasionally stopping ships. The religious monuments located on slightly elevated places less than 30 m from the shore were being deliberately built within these bays, in order to act as necessary artificial landmarks, which facilitated their identification from the sea. In addition, the diametrically opposed orientation of the bays (Skiros bay is orientated towards northeast while Agios Theodoros bay is orientated towards northwest) may indicate these anchorages were used occasionally by ships as safe shelters according to the different seasons and wind directions. When the west and northwest wind blows against bay of Agios Theodoros or the east and northeast wind blows against Skiros access to the bays from the sea becomes very difficult. In other words, when the west (Pounentes) and northwest (Maistros) wind blows, the bay of Skiros is well-protected offering safer shelter for ships. In contrast, when east (Levantes) and northeast (Gregos) wind blows, the bay of Skiros is well-protected providing the best option for sailors. Thus, they emerged as a suitable anchorages developed along the island's rugged northeast and northwest coastline during Late Antiquity, where ships could also resupply with water and foodstuffs.

If the hypothesis that the port of Apollonas was active during Late Antiquity is correct, it is quite possible the adjacent smaller bay of Skiros could also have functioned as auxiliary infrastructure to the main harbour of the region. It was suitable to serve as a place for ships waiting to get a mooring place for loading and unloading in main harbour of Apollonas. Furthermore, we should not forget that due the mountainous character of Naxos, a number of auxiliary small anchorages developed along its shoreline in order to facilitate not only inter-regional commercial navigation but also the internal communication between the different coastal and inland parts of the island. As has been demonstrated, despite the small size of Naxos compared to Crete, Euboea or Cyprus, due to the steep character of the Naxian landscape, in some cases maritime transportation was safer and quicker than intra-island connectivity.

Similar patterns of remote stopping places during the same period have been identified in Antikythera for ships that passed through the channel between Aktikythera and Crete (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 144), on the tiny uninhabited islet of Dhaskalio (few miles southeast of Naxos in Small Cyclades), providing safe anchorage in case of sudden storms as well as short pilgrimages (Tzavella 2013, 89-90), in the bay of Grammata in Syros, where numerous *grafiti* suggest a relatively popular Aegean pilgrim site (Kiourtzian 2000), and in the bay of Gastria on Tenos (Feissel 1980). Unfortunately, regarding the sites on northern Naxos nothing is known with regard to the time and reasons of their abandonment.

The picture of settlement patterns during the Early Middle Ages on northern Naxos the picture remains puzzling due to the lack of intensive surface survey. The most valuable and promising source of information comes from the coastal Mt Kaloeros, which lies east of the present-day village of Apollonas, overlooking the adjacent bay (Figs 5.102 & 5.107). On the top of the steep mountain (alt. 357 m.) the remains of a fortress have been discovered. Despite its great importance the fortress of Kaloeros has only been preliminarily studied and published (Eberhard 1974-1977, 517-520). The built environment contains traces of strong fortification walls, churches, cisterns, storage areas, other unidentified buildings and towers. Regarding the chronology, it seems this is a multi-period site, and a systematic archaeological survey is needed in order to clarify the history and function of this installation. Although at the moment it is not possible to offer convincing interpretations, some possible hypotheses can be put forward.

Large segments of the fortification and many structures, such as the cisterns, can be generally dated to the Byzantine period. The fortress of Kaloeros is an exclusively sea oriented defensive structure overlooking the maritime zone of the Ikarian Sea. At the same time, it does not offer visibility of the island's hinterland. Taking into account the broader Naxian and Aegean context discussed above, it makes sense to assume the fortress of Kaloeros should have existed in parallel with Katro Apalirou in western Naxos, the fortified installation on the islet of Viokastro, and Palaiokastro on Ios (see more in Chapter 5.3.9). In this respect, it can be considered as a smaller link in the chain of a wider defensive system set in place by the central administration from the 7th century onwards for the re-organisation of the protection of the Cycladic islands and the maritime routes of the central Aegean. Thus, on the one hand, the possible erection of two defensive installations (Apalirou and Kaloeros) during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in strategically located sites of Naxos has strengthened the island's defence from all sides. On the other hand, their participation in the Empire's wider maritime defensive network, which consisted of a number of fortified sites on the surrounding islands, shows a clear trend to secure the sea routes that passed through the Cyclades. The south Aegean's naval protection must have been of vital importance for the Empire as this maritime zone was the forefront of Capital's defence. From this standpoint, the fortress of Kaloeros did not make sense outside the broader historical context of the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages. A more detail comparative study of those defensive structures will shed more light on the history of the Cyclades during the turbulent Early Byzantine centuries.

At the moment nothing is known regarding the site's previous phases while we are totally ignorant of the period and reasons for its abandonment. Additionally, it is uncertain if it has a medieval urban planning with domestic use, as is observed in the fortress of Apalirou, or if it was only founded for military purposes, as is observed in the fortress of Viokastro. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the existence of the Early Byzantine fortress of Kaloeros must have also gone hand in hand with the operation of the port of Apollonas. The spatial relationship between these two important installations (Figs 5.102 & 5.107) makes it reasonable to assume that the ancient port of Apollonas was active during the Early Middle Ages, and, possibly, functioned as the main gateway towards the external world for the fortress.



Fig. 5.107: View of the bay of Apollonas and the Mt Kaloeros with the remains of the Early Byzantine fortress.

Apart from the fortress of Kaloeros and the port of Apollonas, a church dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages offers a few information concerning settlement pattern on the coastal zone of northern Naxos. Although, at the moment, surface surveys have not been conducted around it some possible theories can be suggested on the basis of the analysis of its placement within micro-landscape. The church of Panagia at Agia is located along the northwest part of Naxos close to the island's northern edge, cape Stavri (Fig. 5.102) (Mastoropoulos 2006, 98-99; Aslanidis 2014a, 49-51, pl.12, fig.16). It is built on a steep slope less than 1km from the nearest coastline. On the basis of architectural similarities with other religious monuments on Naxos, it is dated to the 8th century (Aslanidis 2014a, 50). The church of Panagia was part of a monastery and is surrounded by architectural traces from different periods. This coastal mountainous landscape contains water sources, lush vegetation and limited but fertile land; enough to preserve sustainability of a small number of people. The region of Agia, due to northern Naxos's steep character, is hardly accessible from other areas of the island. The erection of this monument in this coastal mountainous landscape during the 8th century, once again supports the view that habitation (settlements or monasteries) were not merely restricted to the interior of the island but have also been identified very close to the shore.

When considering the evidence discussed above, it is made clear that at this stage of research little can be said concerning the settlement pattern of

north Naxos during the course of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. In general terms, despite the steep character of the landscape of north Naxos, coastal localities appeared to have been settled with sites of various functions throughout the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The preliminary evidence of Apollonas, Kaloeros and Agia strongly contradicts traditional historical views about abandonment of coastal regions during the late 7th century, and withdrawal of populations towards the hinterland.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

Apart from its strategic position in the Aegean, the island of Naxos is characterised by a remarkably diverse landscape. It represents an interesting microcosm which contains a mixture of different geological formations, habitats and vegetation types. The natural features of the distinct landscape character of Naxos comprise geological data which historically supported the development, the type of material culture and human behaviour on the island.

Starting from the urban environment, it seems that at least until the late 7th or early 8th century the coastal city of Naxos played a central role in the island's socioeconomic context (Fig. 5.108). In the 4th century the urban topography changed dramatically, showing evidence of re-organisation and enlargement of town planning. A significant building activity with the erection of new private residences is attested, not only in non-urban zones but also in the old urban context with the privatisation of former public spaces. This process is also reflected in the restoration works of the aqueduct of the city, a structure of vital importance for the sustainability and quality of life of urban populations. The Late Antique city appears to have been larger in size than its predecessor, and probably followed a different development model than the one observed in the case of Paros. It seems, then, that the articulation of urban tissue was not focused around a magnificent Christian church or an important public structure, such as the harbour.

In the case of Naxos we observe a pattern of urban renewal with the re-organisation of the old urban tissue and the expansion of the built up area along the shoreline. As is discussed above, this is not a consistent pattern in the Aegean world since most of the Late Antique urban centres appeared to have been smaller in size compared to their predecessor. After the 4th century a clear trend to restore, refurbish or rebuild houses is observed throughout Late Antiquity. Archaeological evidence from the Late Antique centuries gives the impression of a flourishing coastal Aegean urban centre fully integrated into regional and inter-regional maritime trade routes and commercially connected to the most famous production centres in the Eastern Mediterranean such as Asia Minor, Cyprus, North Africa, Egypt and the Middle East. In the periphery of the urban centre a process of Christianisation of the landscape with the conversion of ancient temples is reflected during the 5th century.

In the rural sphere, a plethora of various different types of sites suggests a busy countryside on the island over the course of Late Antiquity. These sites can be classified as small or large rural/pastoral villages, *villas*/estates, farmsteads, industrial sites, port infrastructures, and sea-oriented settlements. Putting all these dots on the map, it becomes apparent that on the island of Naxos a mixed and more balanced settlement pattern developed during the period in question (Fig. 5.108). Rural settlements were distributed in the coastal zones close to the sea or along the shoreline, while at the same time agricultural and pastoral sites are found across the rich mountainous hinterland of Naxos. A series of important geomorphologic parameters, such as the large size of Naxos, the dispersed in almost every corner of the island small or extensive fertile productive farming zones, the abundance of grazing land, and the permanently high water table, which were integral components of the local natural environment, offered potential and opportunities for self-sufficiency and had a strong impact on the evolution of the habitation model on the island.

The general picture about the settlement pattern of Naxos during Late Antiquity, emerging through the consideration of archaeological and environmental evidence discussed above, suggests a consistent spatial relationship between settlement density, land use zoning, a close supply of water and in many cases land visibility. Throughout the lowland western part of the island – from northwest (Eggares, Faneromeni) to southwest (region of Marathos) and from the middle of the west coastline (Plaka, Polichni) to the eastern end of western Naxos (plain



Fig. 5.108: Distribution of Late Antique sites on the island of Naxos.

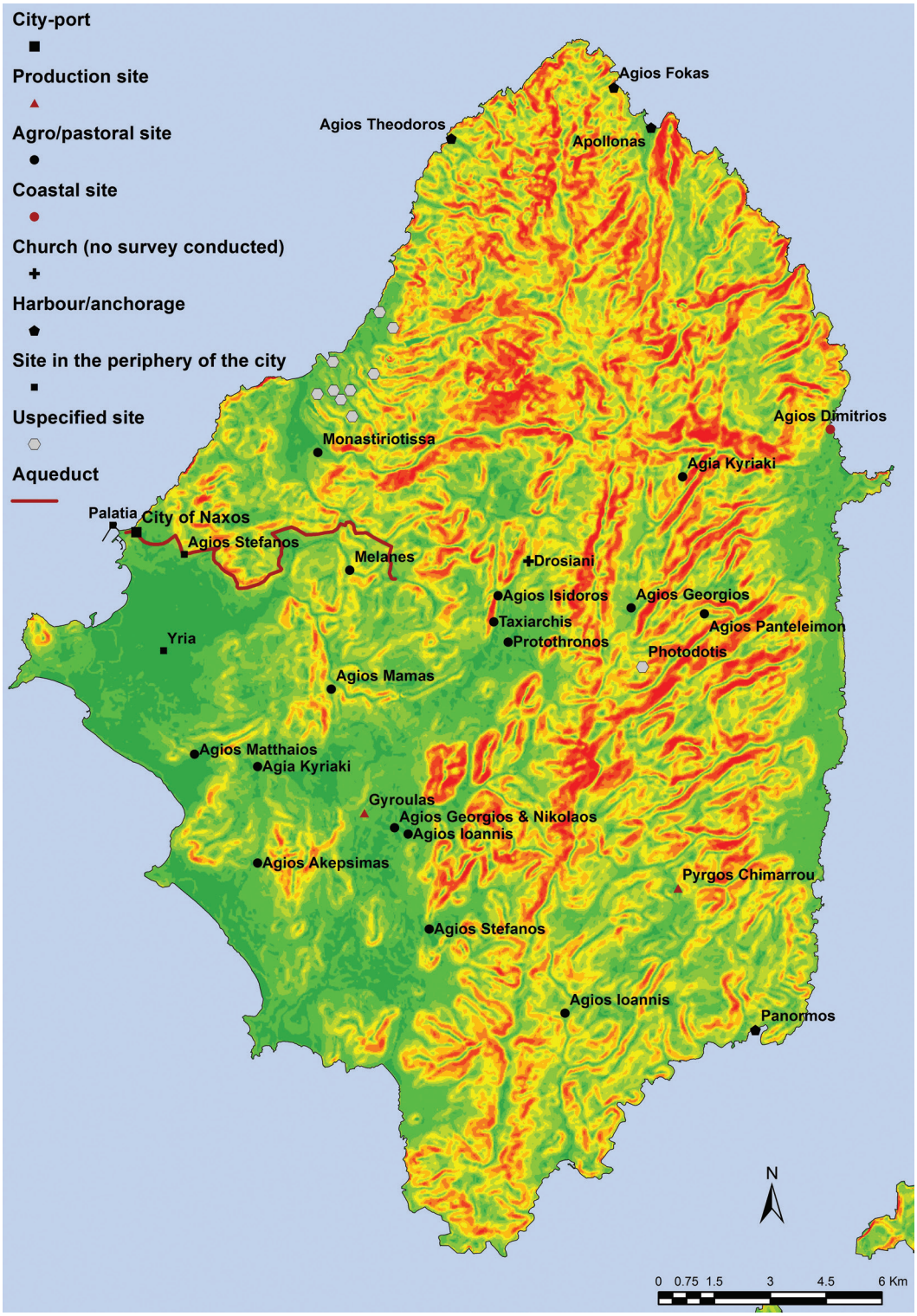


Fig. 5.109: Slope map of Naxos showing the relationship between settlement patterns and land use zoning on Naxos during Late Antiquity.

of Saggri) – settlements were related to well-watered and fertile geological formations, such as coastal plains (Plaka, Polichni), inland basins (Kechrees, Saggri, Kato Marathos) and coastal valleys (Eggares, Faneromeni). These geological formations correspond to areas with more fertile soils, where the best cultivable land on western Naxos is located. Thus, the location of the settlements within this lowland landscape is related to the availability of arable land, the high watertable and in some cases the visibility of the productive zone (Fig. 5.93). The application of multiple viewshed analysis of the most Late Antique rural sites on western Naxos has shown that each one overlooks a specific fertile productive zone, reflecting a form of visual control between the settlements and the surrounding fertile land (Fig. 5.66).

Furthermore, on mountainous Naxos – from its western limit (valley of Potamia) to the east (regions of Apiranthos and Danakos) and from the central part (plateau of Tragea) to the southeast corner (areas of Chimarros and Panormos) – the settlements' location is associated with the availability of arable and grazing land and close supply of water (Fig. 5.93). In some cases however, another key factor in the development of the settlement pattern might be the correlation with land routes (Fig. 5.112).

The extremely diverse landscape of highland Naxos had impacted the internal evolution of the settlement pattern. Therefore, at least four different models of habitation are presented in the neighbouring areas of the mountainous central, north and southeast part of the island. They are all based on the same correlation but developed in different ways because of the diversity of the micro-landscapes. Thus, in the lush gentle valley of Tragea a cluster of small rural/pastoral settlements were developed around a central leading centre with strong boundaries between them. In the more "fragmented" landscape of Apiranthos and Danakos, the settlements' location was adjusted to the peculiar traits of the natural environment, forming a dispersed network of small isolated rural/pastoral communities. In the remote area of southeast Naxos a regional industrial centre specialised in oil production, with a commercial port at Panormos flourishing during Late Antiquity. Finally, in the steep and barren northern part of Naxos, it seems that a number of small anchorages were developed along the steep coastline in order to facilitate maritime circulation. From this point of view, patterns of settlement distribution were adjusted to the specific geographical spaces.

This consistent association between settlements' location, fertile soils and substantial areas of grazing land indicates an intensified exploitation of both cultivated and uncultivated landscapes in almost every corner of Naxos during Late Antiquity (Fig. 5.109). The agriculturally intensified use of the rural landscape is also attested in several mainland or insular regions of the Aegean world, such as Boeotia, Methana, Keos, Melos and Paros (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Mee & Forbes 1997; Bintliff *et al.* 2007; Bintliff 2012b, 355-358; 2000a). Thus, the synthetic analysis of the evidence discussed above from the Naxian countryside can be integrated into this general context.

In this respect, it is reasonable to suggest the commercialisation of local production on Naxos, especially from the 5th to the middle 7th century. The development of the industrial units at Chimarros and Saggri, as well as the traces of intense human activity in almost every available productive zone of the island, probably make sense within the Eastern Mediterranean route system and trade patterns of the Late Antique world. The city of Naxos and the bay of Panormos were the island's safest commercial harbours acting as collection points for the primary exportable produce of the different parts of the island and were important links in the chain of the broader network of exchange. At the same time, small anchorages were also developed at strategically located points along the coastline, functioning as secondary port infrastructures. It seems that Naxos benefited both from its central geographic position in the Aegean and from the strategic and economic potential of its best quality land, producing agricultural surpluses and participating in inter-regional trade. The general picture, derived from the material discussed above, suggests that the island of Naxos was a highly interactive insular microcosm during Late Antiquity. This economic vitality was mainly based on the exportable surplus of agrarian production through trade. Thus, Naxos formed an extroverted and open insular community, culturally interacting with broader worlds.

The analysis of the material culture on Naxos in conjunction with its distinct landscape character

reveals a fascinating representation of continuity in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages compared to the neighbouring island of Paros (Fig. 5.110). In general terms, it appears the transition to the new era was a relatively progressive and smooth process for Naxos. Changes which occurred in the settlement pattern of Naxos after the 7th-8th centuries reflect the wider socioeconomic transformations in the transition to the Middle Ages, an emerging world with different life-ways and mentalities compared to Late Antiquity.

Archaeological evidence suggests that from the late 7th/early 8th century radical transformations are observed in the urban environment. Domestic structures were progressively abandoned after long-term use, marking a period of shrinkage of the urban tissue of the Late Antique city of Naxos. It seems that over the course of the 8th century the ancient coastal city of Naxos was not the economic and administrative centre of the island as it had gradually lost its urban status. However, numismatic evidence and the discovery of an artisanal unit along the shoreline of Grotta strongly support the continuity of life and small-scale economic activities in this coastal landscape, since the former city survived as a small coastal settlement during the 8th and 9th centuries. Yet again, this evolution is reflected in the definitive cessation of the use of the aqueduct during the early 8th century.

The major transformations that occurred in the ancient urban centre took place in parallel with the foundation of the fortress of Apalirou in the interior of the western part of Naxos. Both cases illustrate the economic and political changes that can be seen in the landscape, providing evidence of a better understanding of the relationship between the island's settlement patterns, political authority and economy. The emergence of the fortified medieval urban centre of Apalirou on Naxos proved to be significant in many ways. Apart from its defensive character, the fortress's west orientation shows an effort to control and manage internal production across fertile lowland Naxos in order to preserve self-sufficiency. The good long distance views of the sea indicate a special care to ensure the safe maritime circulation through the naval channel of Paronaxia. Apalirou was, presumably, the central point of a defensive system consisting of the fortresses of Kaloeros on southeast Naxos, Viokastro close to Paros and Palaiokastro on Ios. This network overlooked a large maritime zone between Ikaria, Mykonos, Delos, Syros, Paros, Ios, the Small Cyclades and Amorgos, having the island of Naxos as a reference point (Fig. 5.62). Important commercial and military routes passed through this maritime area, connecting many regions of the Aegean Archipelago such as Mainland Greece, Asia Minor, and Crete with the imperial centre. The viewshed analysis substantiated that Kastro Apalirou has the most prominent position since it had a direct view of Viokastro and Palaiokastro (Fig. 5.55). This communication network reflects the strong presence of the central administration on the island of Naxos and the central and eastern Cyclades. Despite paucity of literary sources, the archaeological material make it reasonable to assume the fortress of Apalirou was a basic part of a wider defensive strategy created by the central administration for the organisation of the protection of the south Aegean. From this perspective, the island of Naxos probably emerged as an administrative and military node of great importance for the Empire's maritime defensive system during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

Concerning the settled landscape in the Naxian countryside, although, the distribution and the density of habitation changed, it appears that the percentage of population on Naxos remained, more or less, at the same level as it was during previous period. A combination of surface ceramic evidence and data from churches with aniconic decoration suggest the patterns of settlement distribution in relation to best quality land did not change dramatically from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Fig. 5.111). Settlements were not only withdrawn to the mountainous hinterland but were also located near lowland localities very close to the shoreline between the late 7th and early 9th centuries (Fig. 5.110). Several rural sites which were located across the lowland coastal zone of the island in close proximity to the coast (Chora, Polichni, Kechrees, Saggri, Kato Marathos, Eggares) shows considerable traces of continuity from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Although the levels of habitation might have been lower along the shoreline of the western part of the island compared to the previous period, Naxos presents an excellent example showing that some Cycladic coastal landscapes continued to be settled, cultivated and in many ways interacted with humans during the so-called Byzantine "Dark Ages" (see more in Chapter 6.2.2). At the same time, there

is tangible evidence about continuity of habitation in the majority of the rural sites across the mountainous hinterland. In many cases, a mountainous interior presents a picture of more intensive habitation compared to the previous period. In the regions of Tragea, Apiranthos and Danakos most of the Late Antique rural and pastoral sites continued through the 8th and 9th centuries while new sites emerged. It appears that there is an increase of population and occupation of land with fertile soils during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages across the mountainous interior of the island, as evidenced by the surface ceramic data and the erection of religious monuments at many sites across the Naxian countryside.

It seems that the settlement pattern of Naxos maintained its mixed and more balanced character during the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Animal husbandry still was closely integrated with arable agriculture since both cultivated and uncultivated lands were crucial economic sources. The localised environmental advantages of the Naxian landscape has ensured the island could retain high levels of human activity under all circumstances. The advantaged location of the island in the Cyclades in conjunction with the potential and opportunities offered by its distinctive landscape character led the central government to select Naxos as one of the administrative centres in the southern Aegean. Thus, Naxos presents a completely different model of habitation which contradicts previous historical and archaeological views, suggesting the retreat of coastal sites in favour of well-protected inland sites (Malamut 1988, 67-68). The agricultural and pastoral world of Naxos remained vibrant while the rural landscape of the island, both in coastal lowland and mountainous hinterland, continued to be settled, cultivated and in many ways modified by human activity.

What changed in the island's settlement pattern during the period in question was the transformation of the Late Antique industrial sites with distinct market orientation into local production and storage centres of agricultural goods. This phenomenon is, mainly, related to wider changes in inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes which had strong impacts on the economic system and specialised productions of any specific island. This reflects changes in ports, maritime routes, products, markets and trade networks in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, economic and commercial activities did not cease to exist on the island of Naxos and the Aegean Sea during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It appears that after 8th century a more regional economy, with products circulating mainly internally or just across the neighbouring regions progressively developed. This fact, however, does not in itself mean that inter-regional exchange over the Aegean stopped during the Early Middle Ages. Ceramic evidence from Naxos suggest that over the course of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries the island's population, both coastal lowland and mountainous, were actively involved in the maritime commercial networks, integrated into sea routes that connected the Aegean world with parts of Eastern Mediterranean, Constantinople and southern Italy (Vionis 2013, 30-31).

Finally, in Naxos important parts of the internal land itineraries of the island during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages can be reconstructed, applying least coast path analysis (Fig. 5.112). These land routes mainly followed physiographic constraints and linked important settlements of various types and different regions. A number of regional routes connected coastal regions with the island's hinterland (Plain of Livadia, Eggares, Azalas, Panormos). Through these roads the main gateway ports and settlements of the island were linked to the mountainous countryside, where important parts of the agro/pastoral production took place. A complex network of paths also connected the most important regions of mountainous Naxos, such as Potamia, Tragea, Apiranthos and Danakos. Some regions and sites, like Potamia, Kalloni and Drosiani emerged as crossroads in the intra-island connectivity. The reconstructed network in conjunction with the previously discussed archaeological evidence reflects relationships among the different local communities (entities with urban, rural/ pastoral or industrial character) that lived on the island during the periods in question. It makes sense to assume that human movement across the Naxian landscape was intense, since people, animals and goods moved back and forth between settlements. The function of this complex road system was crucial for internal stability. It was also a necessary condition to ensure the island could retain high levels of human activity under all circumstances.

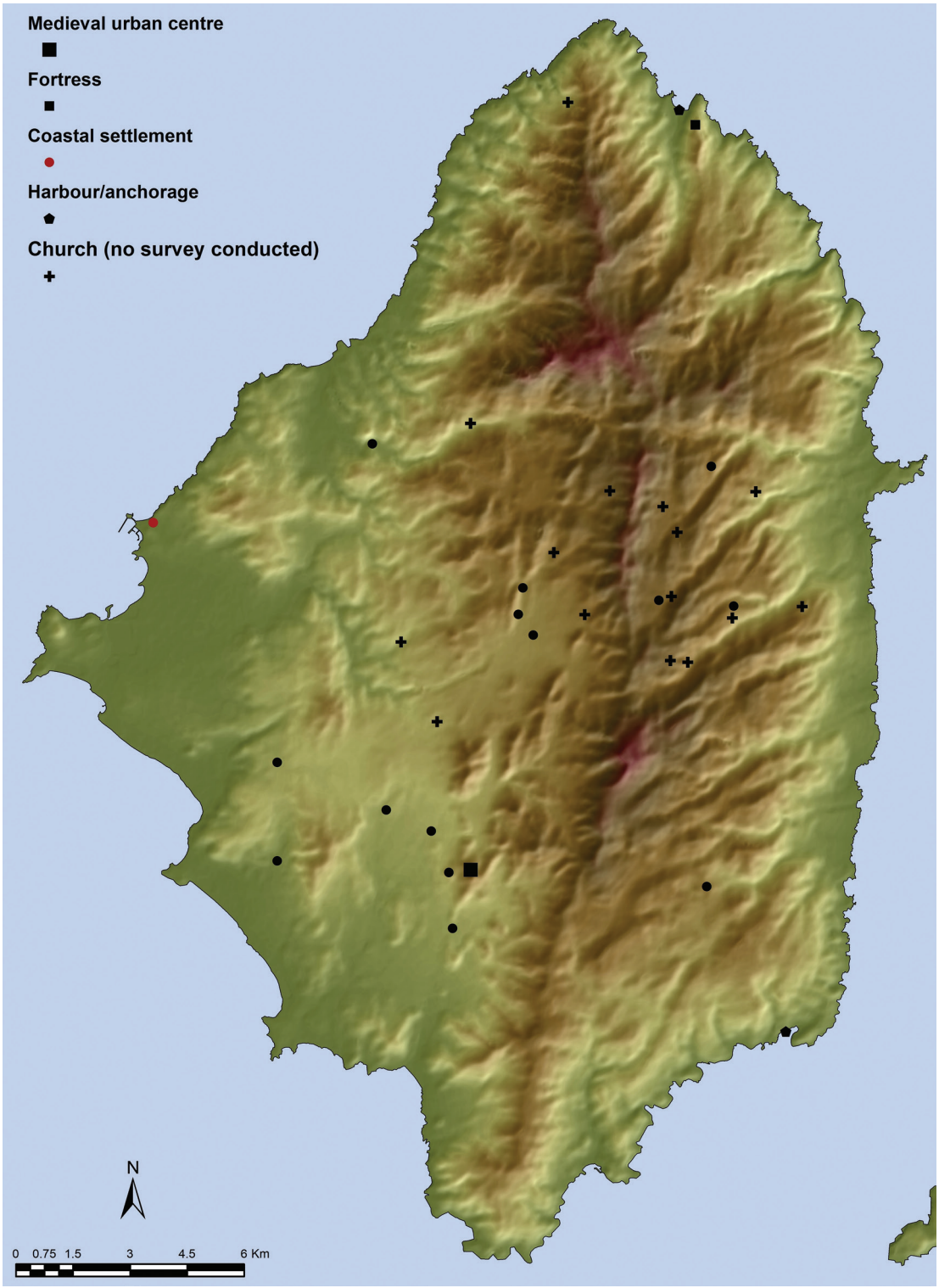


Fig. 5.110: Distribution of sites on the island of Naxos during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

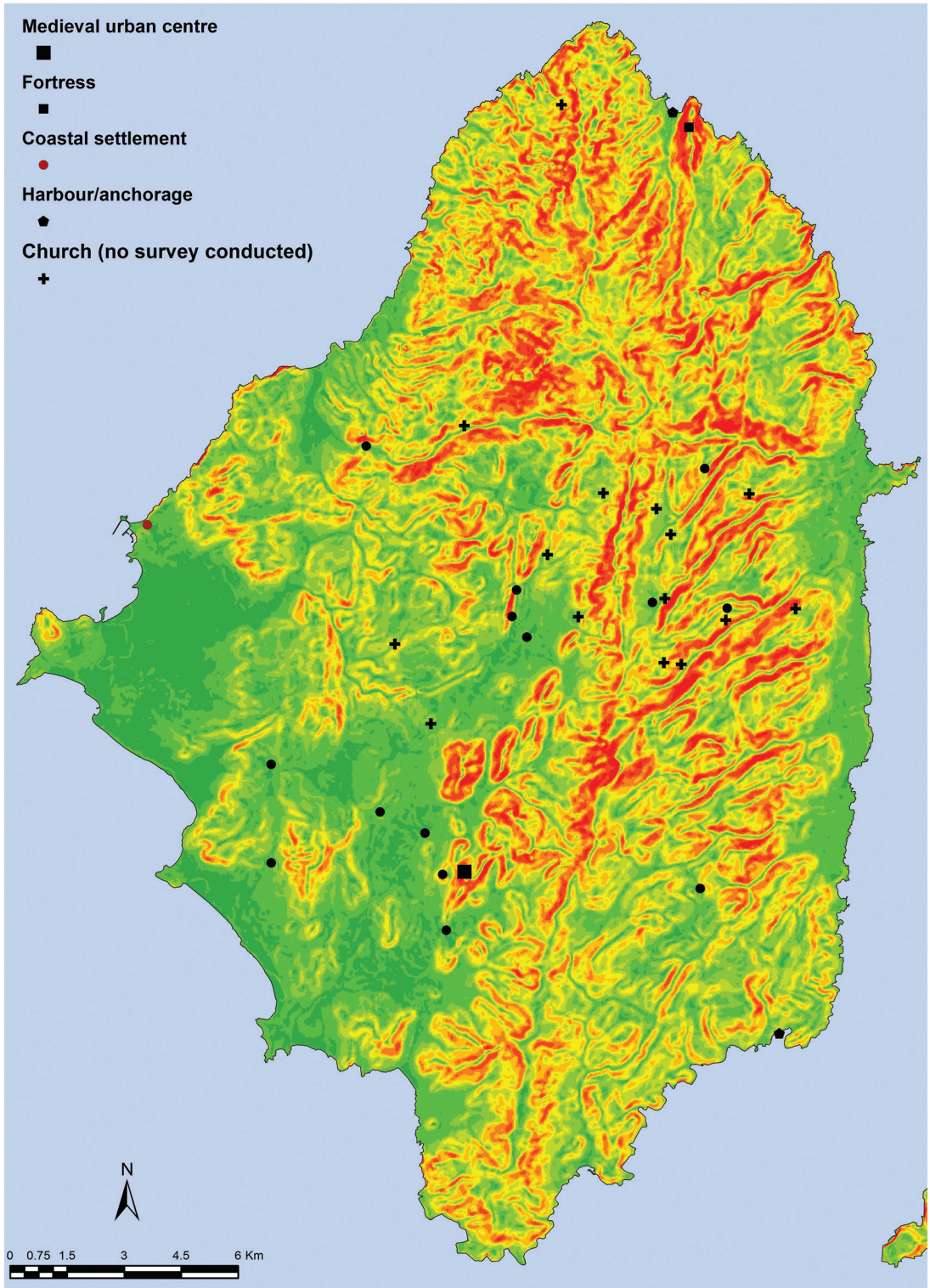


Fig. 5.111: Slope map of Naxos showing the relationship between settlement pattern and land use zoning in Naxos during Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

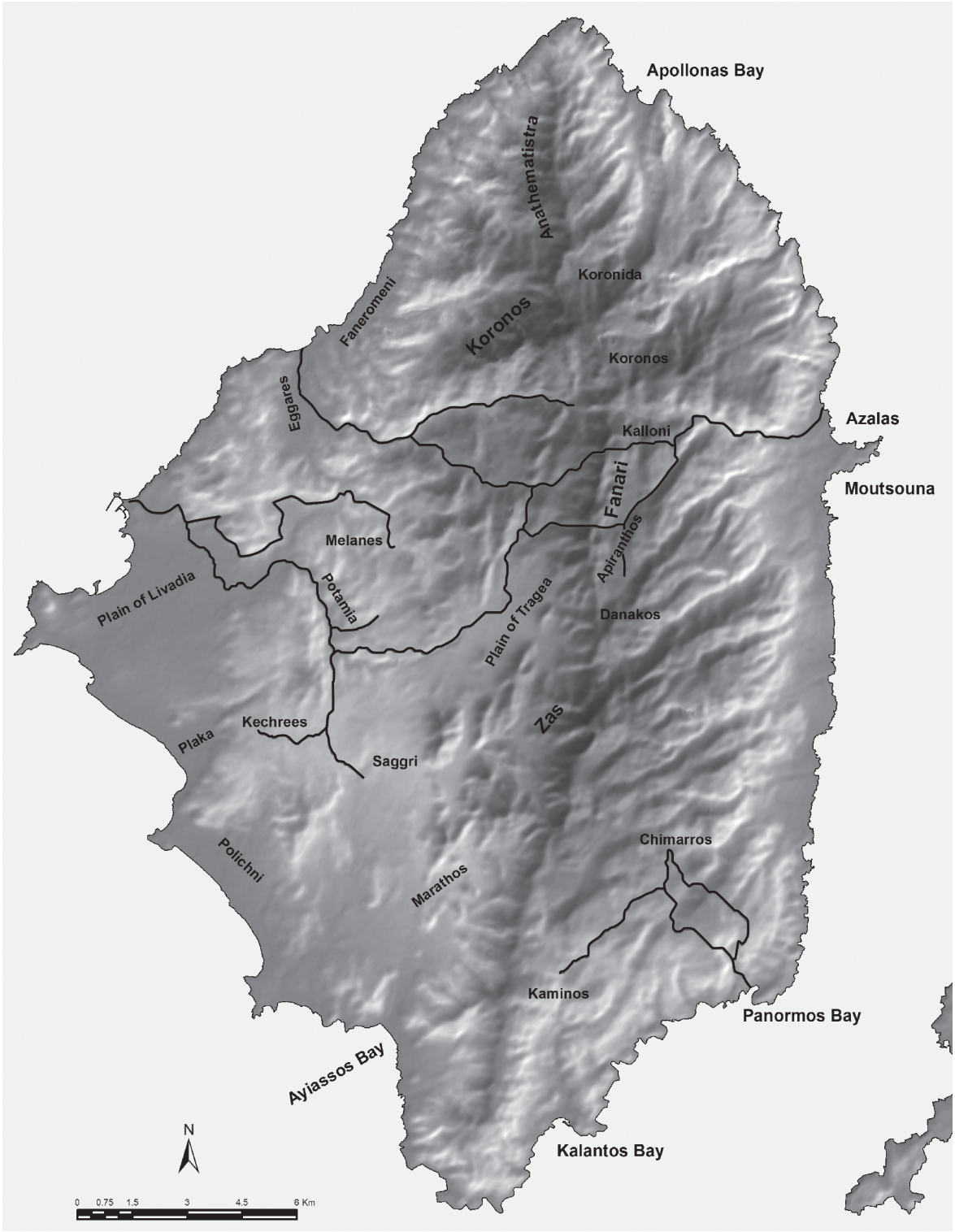


Fig. 5.112: Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine road network.

Chapter 6
Paros and Naxos in context

6.1 A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE SETTLED LANDSCAPES OF PAROS AND NAXOS DURING LATE ANTIQUITY

Over the course of the Late Antique centuries the settled landscapes of Paros and Naxos consisted of urban centres and a busy countryside, characterised by density and variety of site types on all levels (Fig. 6.1). In general terms, however, a difference in settlement patterns has been recorded between the islands of Naxos and Paros. The latter shows a clear trend for sites of higher intensity along the island's coastal zone. This distinct coastal bias in the distribution of habitation has created an imbalanced settlement pattern consisting of sites oriented towards the sea and towards the interior of the flat fertile coastal zone (radius of 5 km from the shoreline). In contrast, Naxos developed a mixed and more balanced settlement pattern with sites distributed in the coastal zones close to the sea or along the shoreline and across the island's rich mountainous hinterland. Thus, Naxos provides an ideal opportunity for studying a relatively complete agrarian insular rural landscape during Late Antiquity.

This is a reflection of how localised environmental advantages of different landscapes influence human behaviour and the evolution of settlement patterns throughout centuries, even in such neighbouring insular communities. In terms of natural environment, Naxos differs from Paros in four important respects that have had some bearing on the development of specific social, economic and habitation trends: a) the landscape's rich relief, b) the distribution of fertile productive zones throughout almost the entire island (agricultural and grazing land), c) the limited but strategically located small natural ports along its coastline, and d) the abundance of water sources. Hence, the habitation was distributed throughout the whole island, in regions which, on the one hand, could offer self-sufficiency and a more stable internal production system while on the other hand, could provide potential and opportunities for exporting the produced surplus through maritime trade. A similar pattern with sites located both in coastal and inland regions has been recorded on Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982), and the quasi-island of Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 88-89).

In contrast, the landscape of Paros differs from Naxos in four other important respects that had a great impact on the historical trajectory of the island: a) the concentration of a greater percentage of arable land along the flat coastal zone, b) the high distribution of small or large natural ports along the coastline which provided numerous safe shelters for ships, c) the lowland and gentle coastal landscape that facilitates the internal mobility of people and goods, and d) the barren and dry mountainous hinterland. Regarding land use and habitation patterns, the Parian landscape has created a diachronically strong contradiction between the low sustainability of the barren island's interior and the fertile coastal zone's great economic potential. This "coastal" settlement pattern created a local system open to contacts and external influences, offering more potential and opportunities for prosperity through trade by receiving great support from the sea. This insular system was relied less and less on its self-sufficiency and was undoubtedly increasingly dependent on its role within the trade patterns and sea routes, especially in the highly interactive Late Antique Mediterranean world.

6.1.1. Urban landscape

Despite differences arising from the diverse natural features of Parian and Naxian landscape, a comparative study of the settlement systems on both islands shows that many common trends deriving from their integration into the same circumstances pertaining to the Aegean during Late Antiquity can be recognised.

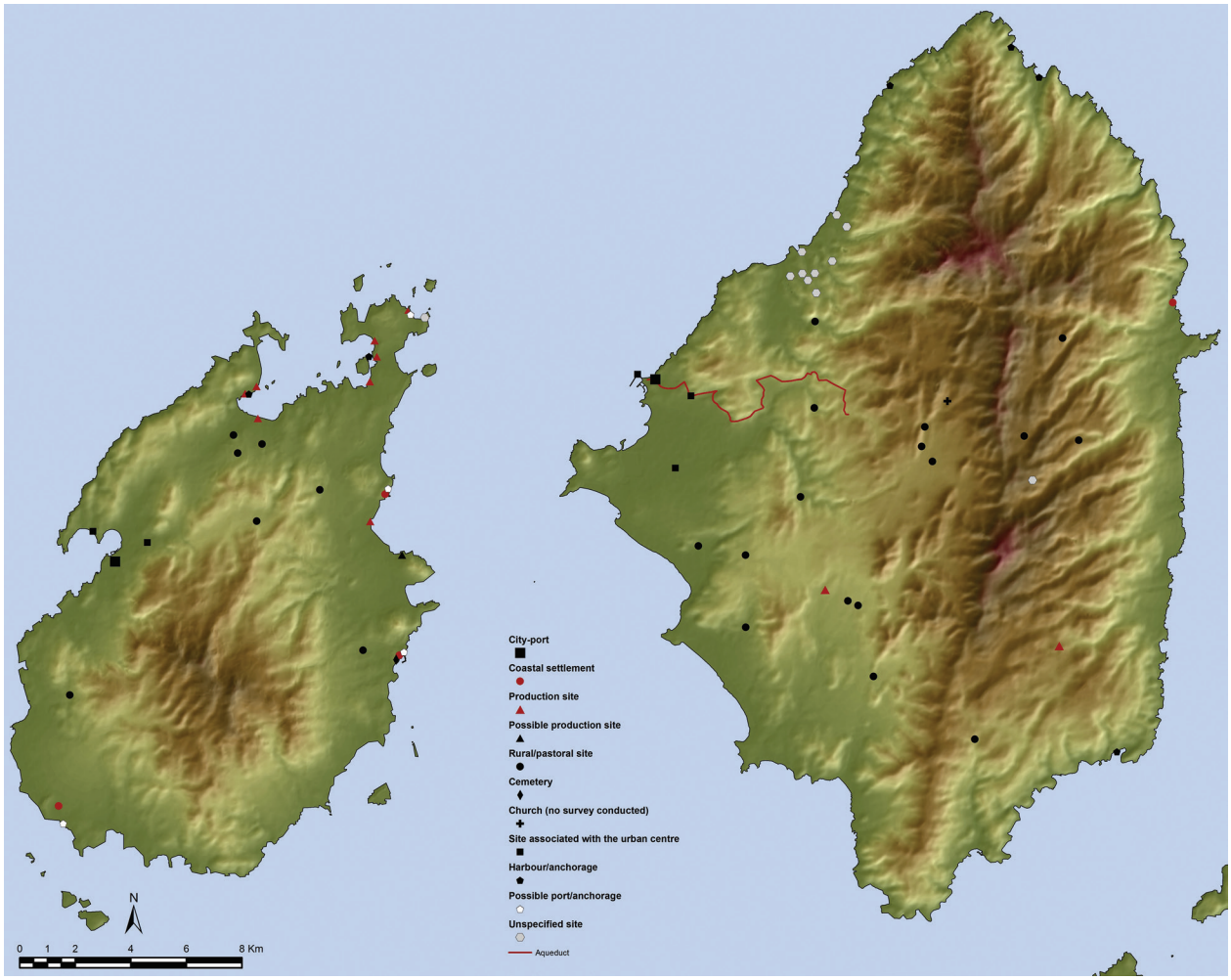


Fig. 6.1: A comparative picture of the settlement patterns of Paros and Naxos on Late Antiquity.

A common pattern in both case-studies was the double role played by the ancient city-port within regional and inter-regional networks. On the one hand, they acted as the largest leading centres within the internal network of each island while, concurrently, served as regional nodes within broader Mediterranean maritime communication networks. The ancient cities of Paros and Naxos, both placed almost in the middle of each island's west coastline, played a central role as the regional socioeconomic, administrative and religious centres for local insular communities. At the same time, a number of imported wares and marble sculptures suggest high connectivity with Mainland Greece, North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Palestine, and Constantinople. The same phenomenon is observed in many other cases of coastal Aegean urban centres in several regions, such as Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 145), Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), Andros (Palaiokrassa 2013), Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 88-89), Kythnos (Mazarakis-Ainian 2013) and the Dodecanese (Deligiannakis 2006, 151-155, 170-173; 2008).

Nonetheless, they represent two different models regarding the urban space's transformation over the course of the Roman and the Late Antique periods. The city of Paros reflects the progressive transformation of a pagan Aegean urban centre to a Christian coastal city of commercial importance. The position of large early Christian basilicas within the urban grid became the Late Antique urban environment's most prominent reference

point. The erection of the giant religious complex of Ekatontapiliani in the middle 6th century illustrates the new focus on Christian churches and the articulation of the urban space around them, which can be seen in many other of the Empire's cities during the course of Late Antiquity (Saradi 2006, 385-406). The dominant and advantageous position of this magnificent complex in close proximity to the port not only indicates the great importance of this coastal city as a maritime node for the interests of the Eastern Roman Empire but also reflects the strong bonds between the two poles of the new emerging bipolar model of local power, the state representatives and the local bishops and clergy, which progressively have replaced the old Roman urban authorities from the 4th century (Bintliff 2012b, 360). The construction of such a magnificent and ambitious building programme can be viewed as an act of propaganda from the central imperial authority in the context of the Mediterranean's highly interactive and well-connected world, and as an indication of the local ecclesiastical elite's growing civic power and its new role in influencing regional building projects and city management.

The fact that some districts from the Hellenistic and Early Roman intramural urban tissue (Kastrovouni and Tholakia) show no traces of human activity in Late Antiquity (Hasaki 2010; Kourayos 2015, 31) in conjunction with the extensive reuse of ancient building material in the erection of the complex of Ekatontapiliani, the basilica of Tris Ekklisies and the apsidal building at Krios suggest: a) a possible shrinkage of the city, b) an abandonment of certain public or private ancient buildings, and c) a radical re-organisation of the public space in order to create space in the intramural town planning for the new era's landmarks. The city of Paros, can thus be placed in the wider Eastern Mediterranean framework where the phenomenon of giant new religious buildings in shrinking towns was visible during Late Antiquity (Bintliff 2014b, 326). When taking into account the evidence from Paros, it is made clear that over the course of the 6th century the citizens of the city lived in a completely different urban environment from that of the 4th or, perhaps the 5th century, a widely attested phenomenon in the Aegean world (Saradi 2006, 148-185). During the 6th century the "most splendid city of Paros" underwent radical changes, retaining however a new Christian monumental character and an urban status at least until the late 7th or early 8th century. Therefore, an urban landscape largely defined by its pagan monuments gave way to a new one that was instead characterised by Christian churches and activity.

In contrast, the ancient city of Naxos underwent a phase of enlargement and renewal of town planning from the 2nd and more intensely during the 4th century. Archaeological evidence relating to private architecture has revealed a significant building activity in the erection of new private residences, testifying that the city expanded beyond its previous limits towards the north along the undeveloped non-urban coastal zone. At the same time, the ancient urban tissue shows evidence of re-organisation for the setting of new houses with the privatisation of former public spaces, a general phenomenon found in many excavated cities in the East (Saradi 2006, 186-207). It is quite interesting that this evolution is clearly reflected on the operation of the city's aqueduct, a structure of vital importance for the sustainability and quality of life of urban population.

Thus, in contrast to the period's general trend, the Late Antique city of Naxos appears to have been larger in size compared to its Hellenistic and Early Roman predecessor. Archaeological evidence from the Aegean world suggests that enlargement and renewal of cities is not a consistent pattern in the evolution of the urban spaces across the East Mediterranean. Most of the excavated urban contexts have presented a contradictory picture: on the one hand traces of economic growth with the erection of extensive religious monuments; on the other, clear radical evidence of the urban landscape's reduction. The cities of Hyettos and Thespiae in Boeotia (Bintliff & Snodgrass 1988b; Bintliff *et al*. 2007; Bintliff 2014b), the provincial capital of Corinth, and nearby Sikyon in Peloponnese (Slane & Sanders 2005; Tzavella *et al*. 2014, 95), for instance, shrank dramatically during Late Antiquity. In the wider Mediterranean context however, the pattern of enlargement and renewal of the urban environment is not a totally unknown phenomenon. The nearby ancient city of Melos has produced evidence of possible expansion of the town planning beyond its previous limits (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 145), while the same pattern, between the end of the 2nd

and the 4th century, has been recorded in some coastal cities of North Africa and Rome (see more details about the Late Antique cites of North Africa in Leone 2007, 45-66).

A convincing interpretation of this almost unique pattern of renewal and expansion of the urban build-up over the Aegean cannot be attributed to a single factor, since complex socioeconomic phenomena are related to multiple parameters. The building of new houses in urban environments can be explained as a need to redefine the ancient urban network and to expand and enlarge the urban area. It seems this process on Naxos was a constant and continuous pattern from the Early to the Late Roman periods. This enlargement and redefinition of the city's urban environment developed in the Middle Roman period and continued well into the 4th century. In other words, it seems that in the case of Naxos a continuing phase of investment in the urban landscape and its immediate periphery (restoration of the aqueduct) is reflected, extending into Late Antiquity. On the other hand, the intensification of this process during the 4th century may reflect the new circumstances pertaining to the Aegean Sea after the foundation of Constantinople and a local need to recreate a regular urban network taking the needs of the new emerging era into account. Apart from the urban environment's redefinition, the periphery of the city of Naxos reflects a process of Christianising the landscape as evidenced by a series of temple conversions in the 5th century and newly erected basilicas in the 6th century. These Christian monuments that dominated the cities' immediate surroundings held unique positions in the landscape.

Archaeological evidence makes it clear that most urban domestic structures in the city of Naxos remained occupied for many centuries, showing a general trend to restore, refurbish or rebuild houses. It has been demonstrated by excavations that there is continuity of use of many of these structures from the 4th to the late 7th or in some case the early 8th century (Lambrinoudakis 1979, 251; 1993, 162-163; Bournias 2014). In contrast to Paros, it seems, then, that in the case of Naxos urban planning did not undergo important changes after the 4th century, in general terms retaining the same structural organisation until the end of Late Antiquity. The building of new housing complexes and the continuous care for restoration and refurbishment of these structures throughout the next centuries had a great impact on Naxos's urban landscape. It is also noteworthy that no evidence survived for the setting of Christian monuments within the urban tissue.

A synthetic approach on the material culture from both Aegean urban centres (pottery, architecture, sculpture) has provided important evidence for better understanding the social and economic behaviour and the extent to which Paros and Naxos were integrated into the wider Mediterranean trade system during Late Antiquity. The presence of a relatively good number of imported wares and marble sculptures suggests connections between the two islands and Mainland Greece, North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Palestine and Constantinople, testifying intensive trade and exchange activities in both port-cities. Especially the new ceramic material from the port area of the city of Paros gives the impression of a highly interactive and well-connected harbour, which would have functioned as a regional trade-station for the distribution of merchandise and as a secondary warehouse or transhipment node within the unified Late Antique economic system. On the other hand, these imports indicate that both urban centres also functioned as smaller markets for the products manufactured in famous distant Mediterranean production centres.

It seems the coastal cities of both islands functioned within long distance trade networks in an effective way, especially between the 5th and middle/late 7th century. The connectivity among the highly interactive Aegean Archipelago is not only evidenced by the plethora of excavations and surface surveys on many islands and coastal areas, such as Melos, Keos, Andros, Thera, Antikythera, Schinoussa, Kythnos, Skyros, Crete, Samos, Skyros, Lesvos, the Dodecanese, Asia Minor etc., but also by the Late Antique *graffiti* discovered on the island of Syros and Tenos (Kiourtzian 2000, 134-200; 2001, 11-12). During the Late Antique centuries there was high internal connectivity between the Cyclades but also a dense network of inter-regional communication between the southern Aegean islands and Constantinople as well as the important Mediterranean cultural and economic centres, such as Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syro-Palestine and Egypt. It is also noteworthy that among the inscriptions on

Syros, sailors from many Cycladic islands such as Melos, Naxos, Andros, Paros, Thera, and Gyaros are mentioned.

Looking at the overall evidence from both cities in combination with similar data from other urban contexts in the Cyclades, one gains the impression that among the Cycladic Late Antique cities (especially among those that referred to Synekdemos and are archaeologically visible today such as Andros, Tenos, Naxos, Sifnos, Melos, Ios, Thera and Amorgos), Paros would have held a prominent position on a strategic and economic level during the 6th and 7th centuries. Localised environmental advantages of the Parian landscape, such as the spacious, and well-protected from the strong winds, bay of Parikia in which large and safe harbour installations can be developed, and the prominent location of the island in the southern Aegean, proved significant for the interests of the central government which made itself visible from all directions with the erection of the complex of Ekatontapiliani. In contrast, the location of the city of Naxos does not possess any naturally protected port. In any case, all evidence suggests these two Aegean urban centres continued to function and flourish throughout the entire Roman period, until at least the end of Late Antiquity. When many ancient Greek cities lost their urban status during the centuries of Late Antiquity transforming into village-like and rural sites, the coastal centres of Paros and Naxos retained their urban character and adjusted to the needs of the new era, at least until the late 7th or early 8th century.

6.1.2. Rural landscape

In the countryside of the two islands, the general picture of Late antiquity emerging through the synthetic analysis of the evidence discussed above is similar to that prevailing in many other regions of the Aegean world. Looking at the overall archaeological evidence from Paros and Naxos, common settlement trends can be recognised during Late Antiquity and summarised under five headings (Fig. 6.1): a) a wide range of agricultural and industrial sites existed and functioned in all types of landscapes (inland, coastal, mountainous, lowland), b) a dense network of port infrastructures and maritime settlements developed along the coastline serving as collection and export points or small safe anchorages, c) intensive exploitation of the rural landscape (coastal and inland), d) mass production, specialisation and commercialisation of local production, and e) active integration of the Parian and Naxian countryside into inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes.

It is noteworthy that rural landscapes in the Aegean world (insular, coastal or inland areas) have received more careful archaeological investigation during recent decades. In many regions, a plethora of regional surface survey projects, rescue or systematic excavations and individual studies mark a peak in the countryside's activity during the Classical period, a decline during Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, and an increase in the number of multiple sites over the course of Late Antiquity. In general terms, the Late Antique Aegean countryside gives the impression of a vibrant rural world which has been mostly approached through the boom and bust pattern (for the general pattern see Chavarria & Lewit 2004). However, this interpretation model has been recently challenged on the basis of the high diagnosticity of the Classical and Late Roman ceramics in contrast to the low recognition of the material dated to the Late Hellenistic and the Early or Middle Roman periods (Pettegrew 2007; 2010).

Nonetheless, despite different interpretation models and local variations, a common feature in this fruitful broader discussion about the end of the Roman world is that during the period between the 4th and 6th or in some cases the 7th century the rural landscape of many regions of Greece appeared to have been very busy, characterised by high density and wide range of site types. Regardless of whether this phenomenon was a constant and continuous pattern from the Early to the Late Roman periods or a result of a dramatic recovery and explosion in Late Antiquity, many regions from central and southern Greece to the Aegean islands have presented a picture of an intensively exploited rural landscape (for the general pattern see Bintliff 2012b, 353-360), but there are a few exceptions (Laconia: Cavanagh *et al.* 2005, 10; Patra: Petropoulos & Rizakis 1994).

Despite regional variations, this picture of the Late Antique countryside is, more or less, persistent in many archaeological studies of Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 145-146), Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), Andros (Veikou 2015a), Thera (Kiourtzian

2000, 212-240; 2001, 11; Gerousi 2001), Skyros (Karambinis 2015, 213-243), Antikythera (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 143-148), southern Argolid (Jameson *et al*. 1994, 400-403), the peninsula of Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 88-90, 257), Messenia (McDonald *et al*. 1983, 337-338, 354, 422-423), Boeotia (Bintliff & Snodgrass 1988b; Bintliff 2007; 2013a), Corinthia (Pettergrew 2007), Nemean Valley (Wright *et al.* 1990), Berbati-Limnes (Forsell 1996), Asea Valley (Forsén & Forsén 2003) and Megalopolis (Lloyd *et al*. 1985; Roy *et al.* 1988; 1989) in Arcadia, Pylos (Zangger *et al.* 1997), Skourta plain (Munn & Munn 1990), Oropos (Cosmopoulos 2001), southern Euboea (Keller 1985), Attica (Lohmann 1993, Tzavella 2014), Crete (Watrous 1974; Bintliff 1997; Raab 2001; Tsigonaki & Sarris 2016; Tsigonaki 2017), the Dodecanese (Deligiannakis 2006, 235-247; 2008), and Cyprus (Rautman 2000). In this wide Mediterranean context of intensively exploited agricultural landscape during Late Antiquity, Paros and Naxos presents new evidence and additional case-studies for the investigation of the insular rural communities in the Aegean.

The synthetic consideration of the archaeological evidence suggests a busy countryside occupied by a wide range of agricultural and industrial sites. Despite problems of site classification that studies of rural landscapes face (for an overview see Stewart 2014) and the limitations posed by the material evidence, the Late Antique sites recorded in the Parian and Naxian countryside can be generally classified as villages (large or small, coastal or inland), rural *villas*, estate-centres, farmsteads and industrial centres. A closer examination of the natural features of the majority of the sites makes it clear there was a consistent correlation between settlement density and land use zoning, showing greater preference for fertile arable or grazing (mostly for the most mountainous island of Naxos) land. It seems most of the settlement sites' location within the landscape (coastal or inland) was related to the availability of arable and (or) grazing land as well as a close supply of water. In several cases viewshed analysis of the Late Antique rural sites has shown a visual control over specific fertile productive zones. Thus, in many cases landscape visibility is added to the correlation discussed above.

The existence of various types of sites across the countryside and their association with fertile productive zones is a widely attested pattern in many other regions of the Aegean world. Even on the small island of Antikythera, the Late Antique period is represented in abundance, as a wide range of larger and smaller settlements with agricultural orientation is recorded across the countryside, mainly at the heart of the most productive zones showing a clear connection between the sites and the fertile land around them (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 143-148). Additionally the existence of various rural sites across the best agricultural land of southern Argolid shows evidence of considerable activity throughout the countryside, especially in zones suitable for oil cultivation (Jameson *et al*. 1994, 400-403). Intensive cultivation of the peninsula of Methana's fertile plains has been recorded, as indicated by the presence of sites with agricultural character, storage establishments and no residential function (Mee & Forbes 1997, 88-90, 257). The fertile coastal and inland region around the Messenian gulf until the middle 6th century was occupied by dispersed rural *villas*, indicating an intensive exploitation of this landscape (McDonald *et al.* 1983, 337-338, 354, 422-423).

Due to the high recognition of Late Roman ceramics (mostly amphora types and red-slip wares) in connection with the incapacity in identifying material dated to the earlier Roman periods which characterised the former studies of both islands, it is difficult, at the moment, to suggest an explosion or rise of rural settlements after the 4th century or to identify a continuing phase extending from Early and Middle into the Late Roman times. In any case, what is clear is that the rural landscape of Paros and Naxos appears to have been intensively exploited and occupied during Late Antiquity. It is possible that a number of sites made their appearance during Late Antiquity. On the other hand however, ceramic and architectural material form Tris Ekklisies, Voutakos, Marathi, Protoria and Naoussa on the island of Paros (Vionis 2006) as well as Gyroulas, Yria, Adisarou, Pyrgos Chimarrou and Panormos on Naxos (Simantoni-Bournia 2001; Lambrinoudakis *et al.* 2002) give the impression of multi-period sites with previous occupation, notably during the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman centuries. This phenomenon was also noticed in many other regions, e.g. Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982), Skyros (Karambinis 2015, 217, 230), Rhodes, Kos (Deligiannakis 2006,

201, 210), the peninsula of Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 90) and southern Argolid (Jameson *et al*. 1994, 113). Especially, on the island of Keos settlement expansion begun in the 2nd and 4th centuries and continued throughout Late Antiquity (Cherry *et al.* 1991). On Skyros there was no considerable change of the settlement pattern from the Greco-Roman period to Late Antiquity (Karambinis 2015).

The various sites with strong agricultural nature scattered across the countryside of Paros and Naxos, coexisted with a number of sea oriented sites (along the shoreline of both islands), such as ceramic production centres, coastal settlements and small anchorages, which served as collecting, processing and exporting points for the produced agricultural surplus. As evidenced by several regional surveys, agricultural surpluses from many regions of the Aegean were destined mainly for wider markets rather than for the sustenance of local populations (Bintliff 2012b, 357-358). This high commercialisation of the production has resulted in the emergence of new regional areas of production in almost every corner of the Aegean, specialising in specific commercial crop production intended for export, such as olive oil, wine and cereals. These were essential products in the Mediterranean way of life and emerged as the most commercially successful merchandises. The vast majority of eastern regions were producers and above all exporters of wine and oil (Piéri 2012, 28, 32). In order to support the lucrative trade of these products, a plethora of ceramic production centres for the manufacture of appropriate transport amphora types emerged along the complex coastline of the mainland and islands (Bintliff 2012b, 357-358). The Late Roman amphora types, which were mass produced in the East, were intended for large scale commerce. Thus, the process of manufacturing the commercially successful containers was in direct relationship with regional specialised agricultural production (Piéri 2012, 32). Additionally, numerous coastal sites with harbour installations developed across the Aegean either serving as staging points for the exportable produce of particular areas or as safe anchorages facilitating commercial navigation.

The islands of Paros and Naxos have produced tangible evidence of specialisation and commercialisation of the local agricultural production. This also reflects a distinction between different settlement and land use strategies. Evidence from the bay of Naoussa suggests that from the 6th century an important industrial centre for the manufacture of transport amphora (LR 1 and 2/13 types) flourished along the coastline, enriching our knowledge regarding the Aegean pottery production centres during Late Antiquity. The spatial relationship between the pottery workshops of Naoussa, a number of rural sites at the heart of the productive farming zones of northern and north-eastern Paros and several port installations scattered along the shoreline reflects a strong connection between the manufacture of amphorae, the production of goods, and the inter-regional commercial networks. In this respect, the northern and north-eastern part of Paros shows evidence of high specialisation in pottery and agricultural production as well as a distinct market orientation. The superabundance of amphora fragments of the LR 1 and 2/13 types along the coastline of the bay reflects a mass production which can be explained as being oriented to external markets. It seems this regional coastal industrial centre was not only developed for the manufacture of commercial amphora types suitable as containers of oil, wine and grain, but also for assembling such cargoes and exporting them to wider markets.

Both types were some of the most famous and commercially successful eastern transport containers with high percentage of penetration in the regions of the Eastern Roman Empire (Piéri 2012, 29; Karagiorgou 2001, 146). It has been suggested that they contained mostly wine and olive oil (Karagiorgou 2001, 146; Decker 2001). The Parian workshops started the production of both types approximately at the same time as many other coastal sites in the East Mediterranean, such as on the islands of Kos (see more about the Koan workshops in Deligiannakis 2008; Diamanti 2010a; Didioumi 2014a; 2014b; Papavasileiou *et al.* 2014; Papavasileiou & Didioumi forthcoming; Poulou-Papadimitriou & Didioumi 2010) and Cyprus (Demesticha 2003). The stamped amphorae fragments discovered in the workshops on Paros and Kos (Diamanti forthcoming) indicate a state control over local ceramic productions and the distribution of the agricultural surplus. This phenomenon is probably connected to the creation of the *quaestura exercitus* and links the islands of the Cyclades and Dodecanese to the provision of the

troops on the lower Danube with food supplies (for more see Chapter 6.1.4).

Two more characteristic examples showing the specialisation and market orientation of the Parian and Naxian production system during Late Antiquity are offered by the important industrial installation discovered around the Hellenistic tower of Chimarros and the site of Gyroulas at Saggri. Especially in the case of Chimarros, the discovery of substantial pressing equipment indicates a specialisation in olive oil cultivation throughout the south-eastern part of Naxos. Archaeological evidence from many regions of the Eastern Mediterranean has produced evidence that specific regions were specialised in viticulture or oil cultivation, constituting a large proportion of their exportable surplus. A remarkable amount of pressing equipment has been attested in the peninsula of Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 257-263). It seems the rural landscape was exploited by nucleated settlements and dispersed farmsteads which were highly specialised in oil production. The special nature of this landscape's exploitation suggests the local surpluses were destined for wider markets. In the case of Throni, the site with the pressing equipment may be associated with three other sites with strong agricultural character in the immediate vicinity (Mee & Forbes 1997, 88-89). Traces of olive oil cultivation and pressing equipment were also discovered in many other regions, such as southern Argolid (Runnels & van Andel 1987), Keos (Cherry *et al*. 1991), and Antikythera (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 148-149) etc.

Despite differences, a comparison of the case of Chimarros with the example of Methana makes it possible that the regional Naxian industrial centre for olive oil processing was associated with a number of smaller rural sites scattered in the most productive zones of the south-eastern part of Naxos and specialised mainly in olive oil cultivation. In the case of Chimarros, however, it seems it was more efficient for tenants to convey their production as raw crops to central facilities. From this viewpoint, the tower of Chimarros and Gyroulas at Saggri emerged as important local leading centres during the course of Late Antiquity for collecting and controlling the rural production of Naxos. Due to the fact the tower of Chimarros was located comparatively far away from Naxos's main export point on the west coastline while, in topographic terms, this region was isolated from the central and western parts of the island, a second commercial harbour was developed along the south-eastern edge of Naxos in the small bay of Panormos since antiquity. During Late Antiquity, the natural harbour of Panormos played a key role serving as the export point for the agricultural production of south-eastern Naxos.

In parallel with these industrial centres, a number of smaller production sites and safe anchorages with market orientation existed and functioned along the coastline. This is clearer on the island of Paros as evidenced by archaeological material found in the areas of Voutakos, Kantouna, Glifades and Piso Livadi along the island's eastern coastline. Smaller pottery production sites and harbour facilities were also found in many other coastal regions of the Aegean such as Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 145-146), the peninsula of Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 90), the southern Argolid (Jameson *et al.* 1994, 402) which are explained as being oriented to external markets. On the nearby island of Melos at least 10 coastal sites can be classified as small coastal stations for mining, processing and exporting a variety of the island's mineral products (Bintliff 1977; Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 145-146).

It is fascinating that the development of port infrastructures along the coastline of both islands, associated with small or large industrial centres and various rural sites, suggests that the Parian and Naxian countryside was fully integrated into the inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes. Despite the major role played by the cities of Paros and Naxos in the internal settlement network, the local agricultural surpluses from the island's productive zones were not only concentrated on the urban centres in order to be exported. It seems that only the production from the immediate periphery of the urban centres and the neighbouring areas was transported to the city-ports. The main harbours of each island, especially the Late Antique port of Paros, functioned mostly as hubs for long distance commercial activities and secondarily as export points for the local production. Consequently, the majority of the agricultural produce on Paros and Naxos was exported to the wider markets directly through the regional export points along their shorelines, which functioned as gateways for communication and economic, cultural as well as social interaction.

In addition, apart from the high specialisation in manufacturing transport amphorae as well as in viticulture and olive oil cultivation, a number of secondary activities are attested on the islands of Paros and Naxos on a smaller scale. Material evidence from the of Gyroulas industrial centre on Naxos suggests that in parallel with local production of wine and oil, between the late 6th and early 8th centuries, the production of lamps, wool-processing and honey-making is confirmed (Simantoni-Bournia 2001, 30-31, fig.34; Bournias 2014, 788-789). Honey making seems to also be important in the case of Kato Marathi on Paros, as evidenced by the existence of surface fragments from Late Antique beehives. Beekeeping was, probably, a major activity during Late Antiquity in the countryside of both mainland and insular regions, as indicated by the cases of Boeotia (Vroom 2003) and Rhodes (Deligiannakis 2006, 209). Livestock farming appears to be more important for the island of Naxos, because of the local landscape's mountainous nature and the abundance of grazing land. The settlement pattern on central Naxos (Potamia, Tragea, Apiranthos and Danakos) indicates communities based on mixed farming, an agrarian system that mixes arable farming with the raising of livestock at the same time. Despite the fact that evidence is scanty, it seems that mountainous Naxos produced and, probably, exported a good deal of cheese during Late Antiquity. It seems that, in the case of Naxos the uncultivated landscape was a crucial economic sources. The development of commercial sheep and goat herding is also documented in the countryside of Attica (Lohmann 1993).

6.1.3. Aspects of social life in the insular societies of Paros and Naxos

Apart from the information concerning economic aspects, the study of settlement patterning can also contribute to the reconstruction of social relationships. Thus, a crucial topic is also the investigation of the pattern of land ownership and the status of agricultural labour which is reflected in this settlement pattern.

It is generally accepted that a shift in exploitation of the countryside is attested during Late Antiquity showing an increase in the role played by the wealthier classes of landowners (for an overview see Bintliff 2012b, 353-361). Despite the fact that local variations in the relationship between landowners and tenants have been observed, the general trend for the Eastern Roman Empire during Late Antiquity suggests that wealth produced by the extensive exploitation of land was concentrated on the upper-classes. A number of surface surveys in many regions of the Aegean have shown a rural landscape occupied by fewer but larger estate centres compared to Classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as a continuing number of village foci. These commercial estates were developed to cover the large cities' increasing needs and the frontier military forces (Bintliff 2012b, 353-354). In central Greece, and more specifically in Boeotia, a number of estate-centres have been recognised across the rural landscape with farm-managers, a limited permanent stuff of slaves and a number of tied tenants reflecting a market orientation (Bintliff *et al*. 2007). The Berbati Survey has suggested that only one large estate exploited the valley by Late Antiquity, consisting of a *villa* and a cluster of sites around it (Wells & Runnels 1996). In the countryside of Keos a plethora of rural sites appeared across the landscape during Late Antiquity (Cherry *et al*. 1991). The majority of the sites were small whilst a limited number can be classified as larger estates centres, in which the absence of clear traces of *villa* life (wall-painting fragments, mosaics, etc.) indicates that wealthier landowners were not in residence (Bintliff 2012b, 354). It is quite possible that managers, tenants or wage-labourers were charged with exploitation of both site-types, on behalf of absentee landowners. In the Dodecanese a small group of landlords has been identified residing in the cities while land was exploited by labourers and tenants on behalf of this local aristocracy (Deligiannakis 2006, 244-245).

Apart from the valuable evidence from the archaeological surveys, important information is offered by a group of fragmentary preserved inscriptions of census records (cadaster) discovered on the islands of Thera, Astypalaia, Kos, Chios, Mytilene and west Asia Minor (Jones 1953; Erxleben 1969; Kiourtzian 2000, 212-240; 2001, 11; Deligiannakis 2006, 241-242). Despite the fact they are dated to the late 3rd or early 4th century, this material can provide the ground upon which social relations can be studied and interpreted during the

following centuries. The *cadaster* of Thera gives a glimpse of the importance and nature of rural communities in the Late Antique Cyclades, offering tangible evidence concerning land ownership, the density of rural population and the status of peasantry in the 4th century (Kiourtzian 2000, 212-240; 2001, 11). What makes a greater impression is that on such a small island like Thera (76 m²) approximately 50 large agricultural units (estates) have been recorded. In terms of social stratification: a) landlords, b) peasants, and c) slaves (it provides the names of at least 162 slaves) are mentioned in the *cadaster* of Thera. Similar picture emerges from the study of census records (cadastre) discovered on other Aegean islands (Astypalaia, Kos, Chios, Mytilene). It seems highly probable that the *cadaster* of Thera reflects an agricultural exploitation of the countryside based on large estates. Although there is no clear mention about whether this production covered the needs of the local market or flowed to the large urban centres of the Empire, it is most likely this system of land ownership had a market orientation.

The relatively limited information derived from the analysis of the sites of Paros and Naxos and the limitations posed by the material itself do not allow us to be very accurate when talking about social relations on the two islands during Late Antiquity. Although at the moment it is not possible to offer a concrete picture, a combination of new data from the two islands with the results of regional surveys, personal studies and epigraphic witnesses, allow us to make some possible hypotheses.

As indicated by archaeological and epigraphic evidence, the coastal cities of Paros and Naxos were the residential centres of the upper-class. The discovery of the 4th century urban *villa* in Aplomata hill, which was decorated with mosaic pavements and frescoes (Kontoleon 1961, 196-200, pl.151-153; 1963, 153-155; Lambrinoudakis 1993, 162-163; 1994, 171-172) attests the presence of a wealthy community within the city of Naxos, the members of which were able to make themselves visible from all directions with the erection of such luxurious structures expressing their power and richness. It seems that luxurious complexes were located at the most prominent sites of the town whilst regular housing complexes were situated in the centre of the city. The existence of wealthy town houses in Late Roman cities was a common pattern in the urban environment of the East Mediterranean (Bintliff 2012b 369, 371), reflecting the rise of imperial administrators and military officers or presence of rich landowners (Grammenos 2003; Leone 2007, 60). In other coastal urban centres of the province of the Islands (*provincia insularum*), such as Rhodes and Kos, the remains of luxurious secular buildings suggest the presence of local city-based elites. It is suggested that their prosperity derived from the exploitation of large estates on the island's countryside (Deligiannakis 2006, 239-240). The same pattern based on estates which supported substantial urban elites during Late Antiquity is also attested in Cyprus (Given 2004, 14).

The available evidence from Naxos and Paros in Late Antiquity seems to probably be in accordance with the picture discussed above. The ancient city of Naxos is surrounded by a plethora of smaller or larger productive zones scattered across the lowland western part, where the majority of the best agricultural land on the island is located. As has been demonstrated above, the numerous rural sites, which were set at the heart of these land use intensity zones on western Naxos, were culturally and economically associated with the urban centre. It is most likely that the distribution of rural sites on western Naxos reflects an intensive estate-based cultivation of the land with clear market orientation. Presumably, the land was mostly owned by a few wealthy owners, who resided in the town (or in the larger villages), whilst managers, tenants or slaves ran these establishments on behalf of the absentee landlords. It is noteworthy that, possibly, due to the lack of numerous safe natural ports along Naxos's west coastline and the good circulation across this lowland landscape, it was sufficient to convey the commercial production to the island's central harbour in the urban centre in order to be exported. In constant, evidence from the regions of central Naxos provides a different picture. Due to the extremely steep mountainous landscape, which creates small isolated productive zones, a network of small dispersed and remote communities dealing with mixed farming developed in Apiranthos. Parameters, such as the long distances between the settlements and the steepness of the landscape, possibly, reflect a pattern of more independent peasants and shepherds

across the periphery of Apiranthos, which may have also benefited from the economic growth of Late Antiquity.

Archaeological evidence suggests that over the course of Late Antiquity Parian society was composed of the local ecclesiastical (bishop and clergy) and administrative (state representatives) elite, landowners, merchants, peasants, pottery makers and probably slaves. Evidence from the sculpture decoration of the main church of Ekatontapiliani in conjunction with information from ecclesiastical councils, make it evident that the city of Paros was the seat of a local Church with increasing power over the local community during Late Antiquity. Members of the local ecclesiastical elite appeared to have been actively involved in the island's regional management, especially during the 6th century, as they were able to accomplish, possibly, the most ambitious building project undertaken on the islands of the Aegean during Late Antiquity. In addition, Parian bishops participated in the discussions for addressing the early controversies of the church through Ecumenical and other smaller councils. The clear correlation between the city's two new landmarks, the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani and the harbour, which both formed the centre of the Late Antique town, illustrates the new dipole of regional authority.

Despite the fact that, at the moment there is no evidence of housing in the urban centre of Paros, since the remains of domestic structures may have been lost or obliterated during earlier excavations focused on monumental architecture, it is quite possible that, as is observed in the case of Naxos, there was a city-based elite of landowners. On the remainder of the island, despite poor evidence, the emerging picture from the areas of Marathi, Naoussa, Stavros, Archilochos and Marpissa is similar to that prevailing on Naxos and other Aegean islands, suggesting an economy based on estates. It is most likely that the inner basin of Marathi was exploited by one estate, which was associated with Naoussa's pottery production and distribution centre. Naoussa's interior and areas of Archilochos and Marpissa present a picture of clusters of small sites around a central village. It is possible that the settlement at Protoria functioned as a main village of the Naoussa region surrounded by a number of smaller satellite rural sites. The sites Kravga, and possibly, Milos tou Avraam, have produced evidence of smaller establishments probably fully dependent on the larger village.

The consideration of archaeological evidence from Voutakos, a mid-sized settlement with monumental architecture and cultic structures since antiquity, makes the double function of this Late Antique site clear. There is a spatial relationship between this coastal settlement and southwest Paros's rich cultivable land whilst, at the same time, it seems fully integrated into maritime trade networks. The settlement of Voutakos presents a picture of a semi-urban environment, as evidenced by the architectural traces of the basilica, the local and imported marble sculptures, and the fragments of domestic pottery on the surface ceramics. The local society could consist of merchants, landowners (large landowners, small-holders or tenant farmers), craftsmen, fishermen, as well as religious and state officials. Thus, it is possible that landlords resided in the settlement at Voutakos, for controlling their own land, which was cultivated by managers, tenants or wage-labourers on behalf of them. Moreover, surface ceramics and high quality Classical, Hellenistic and Roman marble sculptures scattered in the area of Voutakos, suggest the site was occupied by an important large settlement with monumental buildings since antiquity.

6.1.4.Paros, Naxos and the Cyclades within the highly interactive Mediterranean world during Late Antiquity

Archaeological evidence from Paros and Naxos dated to Late Antiquity, especially during the 6th and 7th centuries, presents a picture of economically active coastal cities in parallel with a dense network of various sites in the countryside (coastal and inland landscapes) which fits well with comparative material from other Cycladic islands such as Melos, Keos, Andros, and Thera. These complex settlement trends in the insular communities of the Cyclades can be understood and interpreted in the general framework of the political and economic circumstances pertaining to the Eastern Mediterranean world and the Aegean Sea, during Late Antiquity in particular.

After the re-orientation of the Empire to the East and the establishment of Constantinople as the

new growing metropolis, the broader Aegean world (Greece, Aegean Islands and the coastal zone of Asia Minor) has assumed a crucial role in the context of the Mediterranean world between the 4th and 7th centuries. In terms of commercial and military navigation, the Aegean Archipelago emerged as the busiest maritime zone within the highly interactive environment of the Eastern Mediterranean basin (Abadie-Reynal 1989) over the course of Late Antiquity. The large eastern urban centres, such as Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, as well as the numerous Roman frontier armies needed considerable amounts of food supplies and other materials. Hence, the Late Antique economic system of the Eastern Roman Empire was developed as a unified economic space divided into compartments in order to serve these increasing needs (Carrìè 2012). Accordingly, a dense network of inter-regional sailing trade routes was developed, in which the Aegean islands played a central role functioning as principal or secondary commercial stations. A plethora of economic, social and cultural sub-regions were created and flourished through this complex network.

Consequently, in this general context, the growth of maritime commercial economy during Late Antiquity proved very beneficial for the Aegean's insular, coastal and inland communities. As Deligiannakis pointed out, the Aegean islands were directly involved with large scale state-commandeered shipment of Egyptian grains (2008, 213-125). The progressive loss of the rich Eastern provinces and the subsequent problems in supplying of the Constantinople have resulted in an intensification of land use in many regions of Greece, mainly for commercial purposes as indicated by the archaeological evidence derived mainly from intensive surface surveys (Bintliff 2012b, 358). Especially in the 6th and 7th century, it is quite possible that the most fertile Aegean islands contributed to fill the gap in the rural production after the progressive loss of the wealthy provinces. These agricultural surpluses were destined to cover the increasing needs of the Capital, and the frontier and interior Roman military forces rather than regional markets for subsistence of local populations. The establishment of the *quaestura exercitus* represents a special context in which Aegean islands were connected with the supply of the military forces on the lower Danube with foodstuffs. According to Deligiannakis, the association of the Aegean islands, Asia Minor and Cyprus in this new administrative unit may indicate the involvement of these regions in the exchange network (2008, 217-220).

The Cycladic islands formed a dynamic sub-zone of economic, cultural and social interaction within the Eastern Mediterranean world. In this sub-zone, the diversity and distinctiveness of each island resulted in the creation of small but highly interactive microcosms which were integral links in the chain of the broader Late Antique socioeconomic system. The large involvement of the Cyclades's insular communities in trade patterns and sea routes as well as the effect of the economic activities over the Eastern Mediterranean's unified economic space during Late Antiquity had, therefore, a strong impact on the daily life of the islands, progressively transforming living standards between the 4th and 7th centuries. This is clearly reflected on the settlement pattern of Paros and Naxos, suggesting the development of a productive system mainly based on the specialisation and commercialisation of local production. Hence, in both case-studies as well as on many other islands of the southern Aegean Sea a complex settlement pattern was developed, with economically active urban centres and a dense network of rural (or pastoral) sites, industrial centres and port installations in order to support their role, as smaller links in the chain of Late Antiquity's unified economic system.

Paros and Naxos, then, show evidence of commercial success, since they have exported their surpluses to wider markets. The geographically and commercially advantaged islands of Paros and Naxos were fully incorporated into Late Antiquity's new political, cultural and economic environment, since they benefited from their position along major trade and distribution routes as well as from the potential and opportunities offered by the natural features of their landscapes, experiencing a period of economic vitality from the 4th to the 7th or early 8th centuries. Both settlement patterns and material evidence suggest that this economically vibrant situation reaches its peak between the 6th and 7th centuries. During this period, transport amphorae had become a dominant feature of the Late Antique

material culture on Paros and Naxos, once again representing the commercial success of these insular communities.

Comparing this thriving picture of the 6th and 7th centuries deriving from the archaeological material from many island communities of the Southern Aegean (Cyclades, Dodecanese, Crete) with contemporary evidence from the Greek Peninsula, one gains the impression that there is a contradiction between the insular and mainland regions of the Aegean world at the end of Late Antiquity. At a time when the Cyclades and the Dodecanese appear to present economically active communities in both urban and rural landscapes, with high level of rural productivity and market orientation, the Late Antique cities and the countryside of Mainland Greece during the 6th and 7th centuries suffered from a series of catastrophes; such as plagues and earthquakes, and the penetration of Slavic tribes (Bintliff 2012b, 384-388). Many small or large cities in Mainland Greece lost their urban status in the 6th or early 7th century (Corinth, cities of Boeotia). In contrast, evidence from Late Antique urban centres of the Cyclades such as Paros, Naxos and Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982), as well as from larger coastal settlements such as Perissa and Oia in Thera (Gerousi 2001; Efstathiou 2001), and Voutakos on Paros present a picture of economically active communities until the late 7th and, sometimes the early 8th century. It is most likely that some small or large Cycladic cities retained their urban or semi-urban character by then.

In the countryside of Mainland Greece important changes can be seen in the settlement pattern during the 7th centuries as a result of the Slav penetration and the possible appearance of Slavic settlements across the rural landscape, as indicated by place names and cemeteries. According to Bintliff: "essentially the Mainland Greek countryside left imperial control for much of the period 600-800 AD and came under the dominance of Slav tribes" (2012b, 383-388). At the same time, the Cycladic countryside is characterised by economically active communities, stability of the settlement pattern and highly intensified commercial farming at least until the middle/late 7th century, as indicated by the examples of Paros, Naxos, Keos and Melos. A similar picture emerges from some coastal regions of Mainland Greece, such as the peninsula of Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997) and southern Argolid (Jameson *et al.* 1994) where Late Antique sites survived well into the 7th century. It seems the vibrant rural world continued into the 7th and 8th centuries as well in many regions of the Eastern Roman Empire (Bowden *et al.* 2004).

6.2 PAROS AND NAXOS IN THE TRANSITION TO THE BYZANTINE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: TWO DIFFERENT STORIES

6.2.1 The Early Byzantine Aegean world from a different perspective

A great challenge the reconstruction of insular societies of the Aegean faces is to shed light on the settled landscape in the transition between Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It is generally accepted that after the end of Late Antiquity in the beginning of the medieval period most of the Aegean world appeared to enter a period of fundamental changes in settlement pattern, material culture and everyday life. In this general context, the discussion about continuity and discontinuity of the Aegean settlements from Late Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages has been given much scholarly attention in the fields of history and archaeology over the recent decades.

The overstressed historical validity of written sources has resulted, until recently, in perceiving external threats (the Slav and Arab hostility) and natural disasters (earthquakes and plagues) as the most popular phenomena for explaining the historical trajectory of the Early Medieval Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, shaping our perspective in a negative way. On the other hand, in terms of archaeological records, the period after the middle 7th century is characterised by low visibility of material culture (with the exception of churches and frescoes), a phenomenon which deeply influenced the interpretative models of several scholars. The contradiction between the superabundance of ceramic finds, mainly commercial amphorae and red slip wares, which became the dominant features of Late Antique material culture, and the difficulties faced by the archaeologists to identify material evidence (pottery, sculptures etc.) securely dated between the late 7th and 9th centuries, has been approached

through the pattern of a peak in prosperity followed by absolute disaster. Thus, the ongoing debate concerning this transitional period between the late 7th and 9th centuries has, mostly, been based on the interpretative model of crisis with the economic decline, ruralisation and demographic decrease that followed after the prosperity of Late Antiquity. This model is well-known through a series of case-studies in Asia Minor, Cyprus, mainland Greece and the Aegean islands (Dally & Ratté 2011).

However, those complex socioeconomic phenomena are related to multiple parameters so that a convincing interpretation cannot be given only by external threats or natural disasters. The sharp contrast between the evidence from insular or coastal regions and the Greek Mainland discussed above, suggests there might be local variations and different parameters in the beginning and the extent of this transitional period among the areas of the Aegean world. More recent studies and ongoing projects have set a new framework for the discussion and examination of the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, approaching the radical shifts as a sum of multiple factors that changed the nature of the economy and the system of exchange after the late 7th century (Vionis 2016). In this respect, a re-evaluation of the available archaeological material is needed under the light of a more optimistic angle. The new evidence from Paros and Naxos offers an alternative interpretative approach to material culture and settlement patterns of the Cyclades in the transition to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, at least for the first period of Arab hostility before the conquest of Crete. What is interesting for our study is the completely different reaction from the two islands under the same circumstances pertaining to the Aegean during the 8th and 9th centuries. In other words, from the 8th century Naxos had a different history from that of Paros, despite their setting in the same geographical space.

6.2.2 Naxos: an example of gradual and smooth transition to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages

Starting with Naxos, the emerging picture, through the synthetic and comparative analysis of the archaeological data discussed above, shows the island's gradual and creative adaptation to the new circumstances pertaining to the Aegean after the late 7th century. The major characteristics of the Naxian settlement pattern during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages can be summarised under five headings (Fig. 6.3): a) changes in urban context with the capital's relocation and the emergence of the Medieval urban centre of Apalirou, b) the strong presence of the imperial administration on the island of Naxos, which probably emerged as an administrative and military node of great importance for the Empire's maritime defensive system, c) settlements were not only withdrawn to the mountainous hinterland but were also located in lowland localities very close to the shoreline, d) the mountainous interior presents a picture of more intensive habitation compared to the previous period, and e) gradual changes in the character of the industrial centres and the secondary export points.

The consideration of the archaeological material evidence from the excavations in the Late Antique city of Naxos makes the dramatic changes that occurred in the urban landscape until the middle 8th century clear. It seems the Late Antique city-port progressively lost its urban status and shrank in size into a small coastal settlement throughout the 8th century. This is reflected in the ceased functioning of the city's aqueduct of during this period after a long and uninterrupted function for many centuries. However, numismatic evidence and the discovery of an artisanal unit (tannery) along the shoreline of Grotta, probably dated to the 8th or 9th centuries (Lambrinoudakis 1978, 211-217; 1980, 259-262; 1981, 293-294; 1982, 253-255), suggests that life and small scale economic activities continued to exist throughout the Byzantine Early Middle ages in this coastal landscape despite the Arab threat.

Major transformations in small or large coastal city-ports is a widely attested phenomenon in the Eastern Mediterranean during the late 7th/early 8th centuries, as evidenced by the ancient urban centres of Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, 146), Keos (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 340), Andros (Palaiokrassa 2013; Veikou 2015a), Kythnos (Mazarakis-Ainian 2013), Skyros (Karambinis 2015, 203), Cyprus (Veikou 2015a), the coastal settlements in Thera (Efstathiou 2001; Gerousi 2001), Kos (Kalopissi-Verti & Panayotidi 2013), Schinoussa (Chatzilazarou 2008),

and Crete (Tsigonaki 2007; Tsigonaki & Sarris 2016). Additionally, on Mainland Greece the emerging picture suggests a pattern of shrinking ancient cities which served as refuge spots for Byzantine Greek populations (Bintliff 2001, 38; 2012b, 384–88). In the case of Naxos the strong economic and cultural links that connected the ancient coastal urban centre to the island's countryside and the commercial maritime networks appeared to be broken after the late 7th and early 8thcentury. A similar picture has emerged for the islands of Keos (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 340) and Skyros (Karambinis 2015, 203).

In parallel with this process, a new settlement type, the fortified medieval town of Apalirou, made its appearance in the interior of the western part of the island during the 7th-8th centuries, when political and socio-economic conditions changed in the south Aegean with the emergence of the Arabs. This fundamental change in the settlement pattern of Naxos with the relocation of the island's centre reflects socioeconomic and political transformation from the end of Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, shedding light on the relationship between settlement patterns, political authority and the economy of the Cyclades. A similar pattern of the capital's relocation has been recently suggested during the same period for smaller or larger islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Andros and Cyprus (Veikou 2015a, 379). In both cases the phenomenon of the foundation of new capitals in the interior of the islands (from Palaiopolis to the region of Mesaria in Andros and from Constantia to Nicosia in Cyprus) has been connected to defensive strategies in the light of the increasing Arab hostility. However, new evidence from Kastro Apalirou has shown that this phenomenon is related to multiple parameters, suggesting this fortified town's multifaceted functionality.

The west orientation and the good long distance views of the fortress to both sea and land show an effort to potentially control and manage the internal production across the fertile lowland Naxos in order to preserve self-sufficiency, and at the same time, a special care to ensure the safe maritime circulation through the naval channel of Paronaxia for military or commercial purposes. The establishment of the fortified installations on the islet of Viokastro close to Paros, Palaiokastro on Ios, and Kaloyeros on southeast Naxos during the same period reflects a network of communication in which Apalirou held a central position. Hence, in terms of internal function, it emerged as the new local administrative, economic and ecclesiastical centre of Naxos. In a wider Cycladic context, it possibly served as the largest node within a regional maritime defensive network created by the imperial administration. From this point of view, this reflects Constantinople's organised effort to redefine the administration and management of the Cyclades and to secure the maritime routes, indicating a strong imperial presence on the island of Naxos and the central Cyclades during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, at least until the Arab conquest of Crete (824-828), which was a turning point for insular history.

Furthermore, sigilographic evidence from the 7th-8th centuries provides additional evidence for the extent of the Byzantine administrative and military presence in the southern Aegean during this period. A series of four lead seals dated between the 730-731 and 738-739 mentioned the existence of the *vasilika kommerkia* on many Cycladic islands, such as Melos, Andros, Thera, Anafi, Ios and Amorgos (Oikonomidou 1964, 559; Zacos-Veglery 1972, no. 242; Brandes 2002, 379). The seal of *vasilika kommerkia* of Melos, Thera, Anafi, Ios and Amorgos could potentially be connected to the role of Thera as a station in the maritime trade of the Byzantines and the Arabs - but on the other hand could also indicate internal trade of indigenous products (Katsone 2008, 107-108 with n. 111). Additionally, more than 50 lead seals of ecclesiastical, administrative or military officers are dated to the 7th-8th centuries on the strategically positioned island of Crete (Roussos 2015), while a number of fortifications can be placed in the 7th or 8th centuries (Tsigonaki 2007). Combining all the archaeological and historical evidence discussed above, the emerging picture suggests a strong Byzantine presence in the maritime space of the South Aegean, and the Cyclades in particular, during the first period of Arab presence (until the early the 9th century), reflecting a durable effort from the Empire for economic and military management of the insular world in the rapidly changing context. In this respect, larger Cycladic islands, such as Naxos, Andros and Melos have acquired a central position in administrative, economic and military terms. It seems this lasted

until the turning point of the Arab conquest of Crete, since in the early 10th century, according to Ioannes Caminiates, Naxos paid tribute to the Muslims of Crete. However, there is no evidence of any destruction inflicted by the Arabs and the island of Naxos possibly experienced good relation with them (see Chapter 6.3).

In this context, the picture emerging from the countryside of Naxos on the one hand contradicts the almost blank rural landscapes of other Aegean islands, while one the other, disputes the pattern of total abandonment of coastal zones and the retreat of habitation only to the hinterland (Fig. 6.2). A number of regional surveys (based on surface material), excavations, and individual studies offered either blank or low level activity landscapes during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in many insular, coastal and inland regions of the Aegean world, such as Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982), Keos (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 369-370) etc. However, we need to be very sceptical when we take into account the results of these archaeological surveys concerning the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. It is worth mentioning that, most of these archaeological projects were conducted at a period during which researchers were not able to recognise material culture on the field securely dated between the middle 7th and the early 9th centuries. Therefore, the archaeological gap which occurs in the Aegean landscape, to an extent, is a result of a research gap rather than a real absence of material culture and human activity.

Regarding the coastal zones and insular communities the period after the late 7th century has been approached through the interpretative model of the decline and abandonment of coastal sites and the withdrawal of habitation in inland regions under the increasing pressure of the Arab threat (Malamut 1988, 67-68). The evidence from Naxos suggests that this picture needs re-evaluation, since variations can be seen in the scale and effects of the impact of the Arab sea raids in the insular and coastal communities of the Aegean.

Looking at the overall picture from Naxos, during the Early Byzantine centuries the settled landscape was characterised by stability and balance, since the pattern of settlement distribution in relation to soil productivity did not changed from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 6.2). In the lowland coastal landscape of the western part of the island, settlements were situated close to the shoreline (up to 5 km away from the sea), as evidenced by the examples of Chora, Kechrees, Saggri, Kato Marathos, Eggares and Polichni. At the same time, the mountainous interior of Naxos presents a picture of more intensive habitation compared to the previous period. The vast majority of the Late Antique rural and pastoral sites continued through the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, while new sites emerged, as evidenced by surface ceramics and the density of small churches with aniconic decoration. The analysis of the surface ceramics around the church of Kalloni, which is located at a remote site north-east of Apiranthos, suggests that 70% of the total finds belonged to the period between the 7th and 9th centuries (Crow *et al*. 2011, 128-129; Vionis forthcoming).

The new archaeological evidence from Naxos provides us with a different picture from that prevailing in other coastal and insular regions of the Aegean. In Methana for example, a considerable decline and abandonment of coastal settlements has been recorded from the second half of the 7th to 9th century and the population was confined to more secure sites in the hinterland of the peninsula (Mee & Forbes 1997, 91-100). Thus, according to the researchers, the local populations, probably for protection purposes related to the Arab threat, found it more convenient to live at inland sites, which could offer potential to preserve self-sustainability (mixed farming), avoiding the relatively dangerous life of the coastal zone. The retreat of coastal sites and withdrawal of habitation in the interior has also been proposed for the islands of Andros and Cyprus (Veikou 2015a, 377). In the case of Naxos, it seems that both coastal and inland landscapes remained settled, cultivated and in other ways modified by humans between the 7th and 9th centuries.

What changed in the settled landscape of Naxos during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages was the character of the large or small Late Antique production centres and the secondary port infrastructures. It seems the high specialised industrial site of Chimarros with a market orientation was transformed into a local production and storage centre for agricultural goods from southeast Naxos in the second half of the 7th century (Vionis 2016). This shift reflects changes in the nature of the economy and the broader system

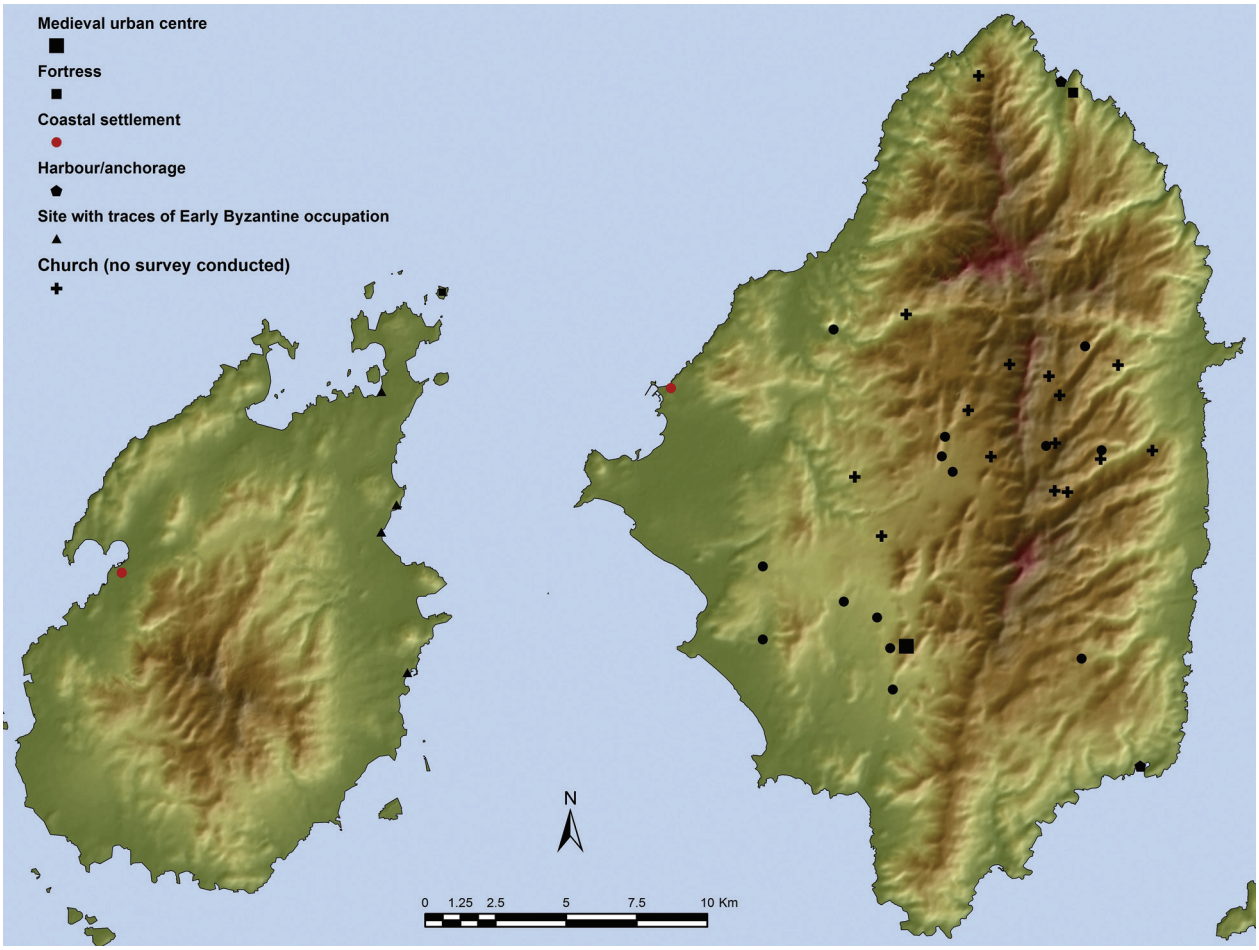


Fig. 6.2: A comparative picture of the settlement patterns of Paros and Naxos on the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

of exchange during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages in the Aegean Archipelagos.

This phenomenon, however, does not reflect absence of regional or inter-regional economic and commercial activities on the island Naxos and the Aegean Sea in general during the Early Middle centuries. It seems that after the late 7th century in the Aegean an economic system progressively developed more regional characteristic and products mainly circulating internally or just across the neighbouring regions. This system of production and distribution of goods had the island's self-sufficiency a top priority. The numerous rural and pastoral sites of Early Medieval Naxos could probably sustain a considerable number of permanent inhabitants between the 7th and 9th centuries. In addition, the fact that Naxos retained its Episcopal status during this period is an aspect which also must be taken into consideration.

The regional dimension of economy, however, does not preclude the participation of the islands of the Aegean in inter-regional exchange on a much smaller scale compared to the previous period. Recent studies have argued that maritime trade continued in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean during the Arab invasions in the 7th-8th centuries (Poulou-Papadimitriou 1995; 2001; Armstrong 2009; Vionis 2013; 2016). In this context, ceramic evidence from Naxos suggests the island's population was actively involved in maritime commercial networks, integrated into sea routes that connected the Aegean world to parts of Eastern Mediterranean, Constantinople and southern Italy (Vionis 2013, 30-31). Thus, despite the Arab presence in the southern Aegean, Naxos and many other islands continued to function as active and open insular communities interacting with broader worlds during the Byzantine

Early Middle Ages. In a period characterised by the absence of 7th, 8th and 9th century coins on several sites in Greece and Asia Minor, numismatic evidence from several islands of the Cyclades, such as Naxos, Thera, Amorgos, Delos etc., dated to the Byzantine Dark centuries (Penna 2001) offer additional support for this theory, showing that daily life and economic activities continued to exist despite the Arab threat. It seems the landscapes of many Cycladic islands continued to be occupied and exploited continuously throughout the Early Middle Ages.

6.2.3 Paros: a diametrically opposed story

In contrast to the economic vitality of Naxos discussed above, material culture form Paros during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages tells a different story, particularly with regards to the countryside. In general terms, after a period of economic vitality, which probably lasted until the middle/late 7th century, from the early 8th century the majority of the Late Antique sites on the island have provided evidence of low levels of human activity, mainly reflected in the dramatic reduction or absence of the ceramic finds (Fig. 6.2).

In the urban context, the ancient city of Paros presents a picture similar to that prevailing in the urban centre of Naxos. It is most likely that it retained its urban character until the late 7th or early 8th century. A combination of recent and older archaeological material indicates a continuity of life in this coastal landscape during the 8th century. The 7th-8th century dedicatory wall painting in the chapel of Agios Nikolaos (Ekatontapiliani complex) indicates the existence of a local aristocracy, able to finance such small scale projects (Drossoyianni 1995, 729-731; 1998, 63). At the same time, the settlement's port was economically active as evidenced by ceramic material dated to the 7th-8th century. However, the analysis of the ceramic material from the recent rescue excavations at Ekatontapiliani and Agios Konstantinos at Kastro show a gradual decline of imported pottery after the middle 7th century (Diamanti forthcoming). This is an indication the city has progressively ceased functioning as a regional maritime commercial node as a result of changes in the broader economic system discussed above. Thus, it is most likely that it lost its urban status during the 8th century and survived as a small coastal settlement, like the city of Naxos. The fact however that the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani remained upright from the 6th century to this day offers tangible evidence for the continuity of life during Byzantine Early Middle Ages. The local community was able at least to preserve this spacious and elaborate structure throughout the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Nevertheless, in contrast to the cases of Naxos and other islands, there are no traces of the capital's relocation on Paros, since its hinterland lacks sufficient land to support a considerable number of people. In addition, the possible dating of the fortification of the city during the 6th or, most probably during the 7th century may suggest the settlement was well-protected.

The coastal zone of the island, where the vast majority of the sites were located, shows a discontinuity in pottery material between the late 7th and 10th centuries. In general, the period between the late 7th and 9th centuries is characterised by extremely limited archaeological knowledge concerning the material culture from many regions of the Aegean. This emerging picture from Paros is similar to that resulting from many regional surface surveys in other coastal or insular regions of the Aegean, which were only based on the study of pottery material, such as Keos (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 369-370), Antikythera (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 149-150), Methana (Mee & Forbes 1997, 91-100) and southern Argolid (Jameson *et al.* 1994, 404-410). This phenomenon can have multiple explanations as it can be considered as a result of the archaeologist's inability to recognise material from that period, evidence of total abandonment of the coastal localities, or an indication of archaeologically low visible communities with extremely limited cultural production. On the small island of Antikythera for example, a discontinuity in the islands' settlement pattern has been attested between the 7th and 11th centuries (Bevan & Connolly 2013, 149-150). This has been interpreted either as a possible large scale abandonment or extremely limited human activity on all levels from the middle 7th century, possibly as a result of Arab hostility. However, researchers point out that there are some small parts of the landscape where human presence is documented in almost every period (Bevan & Connolly 2013, 220).

The seeming "emptiness" of Paros's coastal landscape in conjunction with the information derived from the *Life of Saint Theoktiste* can easily support the view that the island was progressively abandoned from the early 8th century as a result of Arab raids. However, as has been demonstrated above, if we add other types of material culture to the discussion, such as architectural traces, religious wall paintings, sigilographic and monetary evidence, as well as other kind of ecclesiastical sources (*Taktikon*), the emerging picture from the Cyclades contradicts the empty landscapes provided by many regional surveys. In this respect, it is difficult to accept the pattern of total abandonment of such a large Cycladic island like Paros. Bearing in mind that lack of material evidence does not mean absence of human activity in all cases, during our personal field observations a small amount of ceramic material evidence dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages was identified on the basis of similarities with the well-published Early Byzantine pottery from the Saraçane excavation in Constantinople (Hayes 1992). This limited but extremely valuable archaeological data from the bay of Naoussa and the areas of Kantouna and Glifades in conjunction with the evidence from Piso Livadi (AD 2004, 209-210) provide a different picture, suggesting low levels of human activity along Paros's north and east coastline after the early 8th century.

This new picture makes sense in the wider Cycladic context discussed above, since the maritime zone of Paronaxia appeared to have been well-protected by at least three fortresses between the 7th and 9th centuries (Kastro Apalirou on Naxos, Paliokastro on Ios, and Viokastro). Hence, despite limitations posed by the material evidence, this study suggests continuity of life along Paros's coastal zone during the Byzantine Early Middle centuries on a lesser scale compared to the previous period. The Byzantine fortress on the islet of Viokastro shows that between the 7th and 9th centuries Paros was not unprotected at the mercy of Arab raids. Nevertheless, it is clear that the considerable decline of pottery material reflects a shift in Paros's settlement pattern from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. The settled landscape on Paros begins to change in the late 7th or early 8th century. It is most likely that many sites have lost their importance as smaller links in the chain of the broader commercial networks, resulting in their shrinkage or even abandonment. Thus, the Parian countryside presents low levels of human presence with shrunken economic and cultural activities in contrast to the neighbouring island of Naxos.

6.2.4 The involvement of landscape in the contrasting picture between Paros and Naxos

A crucial question which remains open, concerns the interpretation of this contrasting picture between the two neighbouring Cycladic islands during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (Fig. 6.2). A convincing explanation in this sharp disparity between Paros and Naxos cannot only be given by the hostile activities, such as the Arab raids or natural disasters, since complex socioeconomic phenomena are related to multiple external and internal parameters. It seems the specific natural features of local landscapes played an important role in this process.

The prosperity of Paros during Late Antiquity was based on its landscape's three localised environmental advantages: a) the lowland and gentle topography that facilitates the internal mobility of people and good, b) the concentration of the most fertile soils along the coastal zone, and c) the numerous small or large bays scattered along the coastline, suitable for loading and unloading merchandise. These characteristics proved to be very beneficial in the context of the unified Late Roman economy, providing Paros with an important regional role within the complex maritime commercial networks of the Eastern Mediterranean. The imbalanced "coastal" settlement pattern with a maritime orientation that Paros developed could have functioned effectively mainly as an open and extrovert insular community fully dependent on the maritime trade networks. The various settlement types and the "linear" production system were mostly based on the high specialisation of the production and exports, rather than on a subsistence economy. The mass amphora production in Naoussa for example, possibly, did not make sense outside the Late Antique trade system. This fragile pattern could only flourish in essentially peaceful and stable general conditions. Any change in trade patterns and sea routes may

have had a strong impact on the island's role in this network as well as on its economic situation and daily life. In this respect, Paros can be characterised as a fragile place, demographically, culturally and environmentally.

In this context, the island of Paros was more sensitive to the dramatic socioeconomic and political changes in the wider Aegean world after the late 7th or early 8th century. A series of parameters, such as the Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean, the fading of the Late Antique cities, the reduction of the Empire's economic space and the subsequent decrease of the demand for commercial goods, the considerable transformation of the economic system from market to subsistence economy, and the essential changes in the state's character, created a new reality during the Byzantine Early Middle Ages, having a huge impact on the islands like Paros. The coastal orientation of the settlement pattern on Paros and the lack of sufficient land in the island's hinterland to support a mix-farming economic system proved key factors in the local population's inability to adjust to the new conditions and achieve self-sufficiency. Hence, despite considerable safety offered by the defensive network which was established to protect the naval channel of Paronaxia, the island of Paros presented a picture of low levels of human activity. In this new context, Paros ceased playing an important role for the Empire's interests and the central government did not make itself visible on the island, as happened during Late Antiquity with the erection of the Ekatontapiliani. Therefore, the picture of low levels human activity on Paros was not a result of insecurity felt by the coastal inhabitants and caused by constant Arab threat. It was, most probably, a natural consequence of inability of the Parian economic system to adjust to the new conditions, which were radically re-organised on a different basis than before.

In contrast, a combination of very localised environmental advantages on Naxos, such as the variety of landscapes, the plethora of fertile productive zones scattered in lowland and mountainous areas which diachronically supported the development of a mixed farming system, the permanently high water table, and a natural defensive character of many regions, has offered potential and opportunity for the island to function effectively within both regional and inter-regional trade networks, working as a closed and open system simultaneously. The development of a more balanced and stable settlement pattern since antiquity within this completely different landscape has ensured the island could retain high levels of human activity under all circumstances pertaining to the Aegean. In this respect, the geographically and militarily advantaged location of the island in the Aegean in conjunction with the potential and opportunities offered by its distinctive landscape character led the central government to select Naxos as one of the southern Aegean's administrative centres, giving it a prominent position within a regional administrative and defensive network. From this standpoint, the Byzantine State made itself visible from all directions expressing its power and ideology over this maritime area with the erection of the fortress of Apalirou and a number of other defensive structures on the neighbouring islands.

6.3 NAXOS, PAROS AND THE CYCLADES FROM THE MIDDLE 9TH TO THE 12TH CENTURY

The Arab conquest of Crete (sometime between 824 and 828) was a turning point in the history of the southern Aegean. The period that followed this crucial event until, at least, the reacquisition of Crete in 961 by Nikephorus Phokas is a rather problematic one, as historical sources and securely dated archaeological evidence for religious and secular life on the islands of the Cyclades are extremely sparse. As is mentioned earlier, Ioannes Caminiates reveals that in 904 the island of Naxos paid tribute to the Muslims of Crete (Böhlig 1973, 59-60). Additionally, in terms of archaeology, at the moment there are no churches on Naxos that can be securely dated between the middle 9th and middle 10th centuries (Aslanidis 2014a). This is an unusual phenomenon for the case of Naxos if we consider the abundance of religious monuments that have been erected on the island during the previous and subsequent periods.

The absence of newly erected religious monuments or painting layers in earlier churches on Naxos does not imply that the island fell to a situation of isolation, destruction or economic decline. In contrast, the information of Caminiates indicates that the Aegean islands progressively served as economic

zones for the Arabs of Crete to extract taxes from them. It seems that the Naxians experienced good relation with the Muslims of Crete. According to Caminiates, in 904 they welcome the Arab fleet by offering gifts to the commanders and supplies to continue their journey to Crete. The fact that the Arab ships stopped for two days in Naxos indicates that the island might have functioned as a naval base of the Muslim fleet. Thus, probably, through time the Arabs of Crete intended to build a new empire, based mainly on an organised plan rather than on raiding, looting and booty (Vionis 2017, 174-175). At the same time, in order to be able to meet its tax obligation the island of Naxos needed cash and agricultural production. Therefore, the Arabs of Crete probably avoided any violence on the island. For an island like Naxos, which represented a small economic unit, financial liquidity could be acquired through regional and inter-regional commercial activities (Vionis 2017, 174-175). This alternative reading of the textual sources may indicate that settlement patterns and production systems remained stable on Naxos, and the island retained its economic vitality despite the absence of archaeological material. What is fascinating for Naxos is that even during this period the island appeared to have functioned as a highly interactive microcosm, well-connected to the external world. The emerging picture of Naxos, through the material discussed above, contradicts the view about Arab violence on the neighbouring island of Paros offered by the *Life of Saint Theoktiste*. However, in terms of material culture, the adjacent island of Paros continued to present a picture of archaeologically low visible communities.

The period that followed the re-conquest of Crete from the middle 10th to the 12th century has been considered as a time of great Byzantine accomplishments and characterised by fundamental changes in Byzantine society, such as population growth, high levels of rural productivity in the countryside, and an increase in the number and size of towns (for more about the developments in the Middle Byzantine countryside see Bintliff 2012b, 391-394). Southern Aegean islands and the Cyclades in particular, were fully integrated into the Byzantine imperial sphere of political and cultural influence, portraying an image of increased population and a rise of settlement or resettlement.

After a long period of archaeologically low visible communities with extremely limited material culture the island of Paros seems to have been populous and prosperous again. The Parian countryside was occupied by a wide range of small rural sites close to fertile productive farming zones and safe anchorages, as evidenced by surface ceramics and churches from the areas of Voutakos, Protoria and Marathi (Vionis 2006). Once again, the settlement pattern of Paros developed along the coastal zone, since the majority of the agricultural sites were located in this flat landscape very close to the shoreline. On the island of Naxos a considerable number of newly erected churches between the middle/late 10th and the late 12th century (thirty-six in total, nineteen of them decorated with frescoes) and painting decorations dated to this period in earlier churches in connection with surface ceramic material testify to an economically active insular society (Vionis 2017, 176-180). This rich archaeological material evidence suggests the existence of a dense network of rural settlements and an intensified exploitation of all types of landscape. Pottery finds from the Cycladic islands suggest intensification of commercial communication and exchange with the imperial capital (Vionis 2017, 176-180).

Chapter 7
General concluding remarks

This study has attempted to review the history and archaeology of the Cycladic islands between the 4th and early 9th centuries in the broader context of the diverse and highly interactive Eastern Mediterranean world. Studying the settlement pattern of insular communities can trace possible shifts in the social and economic sphere, not only for specific islands but also for the broader worlds that are related to them. Through the case-studies of Paros and Naxos, a new framework was set for the discussion of the settled landscape and the material culture of the Cyclades dated to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

The neighbouring islands of Paros and Naxos diachronically constitute two of the most dynamic spaces in the Cyclades, forming interactive microcosms at the heart of the complex Aegean maritime communication network. Due to their setting in this geographical space both islands have experienced the same general historical circumstances and have been integrated into the same political regimes which dominated the East Mediterranean world between the 4th and early 9th centuries. A thorough and comparative study of the settlement pattern and material culture from both islands from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages suggests that Paros and Naxos sometimes followed common and sometimes separate paths. In this respect, both case-studies are enough to demonstrate that each island can tell a unique story during different periods of its history. The essential distinction between the two islands lies in the diametrically opposed localised environmental advantages of their landscape character.

From this point of view, it was a great challenge for this study to investigate whether the local diversities of the Parian and Naxian landscapes have determined the settlement pattern's historical evolution as well as the ways in which these two adjacent insular spaces were integrated and interacted with broader worlds in specific conditions and periods of time. Over time, the insular communities of the Cyclades show different variations, forming, changing and reshaping their settled landscapes due to the intensive human-environmental interactions and cultural diversities. Some of them, like Naxos, have presented a more consistent historical trajectory engaging with the broader world in a sufficient way during almost all periods, benefitting by their topography's peculiar advantages. Some of them, like Paros, were more fragile places which at times have integrated successfully into broader networks whilst at others been placed on the margins of history, once again as a result of the characteristics of their landscape. In any case however, they all form interesting archaeological palimpsests, providing pictures of long-term successive episodes of settled landscape changes within the broader context of the highly interactive Mediterranean world.

The period between the 4th and middle 7th centuries was a time of relevant prosperity and stability for most of the Aegean islands. Paros and Naxos, like many other regions in the Aegean world, show evidence of commercial success as they developed a complex network of various types of settlements, functioning as producing, processing and exporting centres. A comparison of the material evidence from both islands suggests that Paros held a more important position in the communication networks of Late Antiquity. During the centuries that followed this economic vitality, when the Aegean world appeared to enter a transitional period of multiple changes, the island of Naxos shows tangible signs of a stable and vibrant insular microcosm characterised by integration, connectivity and interaction with broader worlds. Even in the case of Paros with the archaeologically low visible sites, there are some parts of the coastal landscape that have been occupied in every period and the island continued to interact with the external word in a different way and on a lesser scale. Archaeological material testifies that it was the island of Naxos

which held a unique position in the communication networks of the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.

In any case, it seems that after the flourishing period of Late Antiquity the so-called "Byzantine Dark Centuries" may have not been as "dark" as we think, especially for the insular Aegean world compared to Mainland Greece and Asia Minor. It appears the Aegean Archipelago continued to be a highly interactive world between the 7th and early 9th centuries in a different way compared to the previous period despite external threats, natural disasters and wider socioeconomic changes. The Cycladic islands should be considered as places of interaction with the external world rather than as places of isolation that suffered from Arab raids, since all types of landscapes, coastal and mountainous, continued to be settled, cultivated and in other ways modified by humans between the 7th and early 9th centuries. The increasing archaeological records from the Cyclades need re-evaluation and any kind of trace of either decline, or stability, and revival, should be seen as evidence reflecting a progressive and smooth transition to a rather different world and a new lifestyle. It is quite evident that the material culture from both case-studies reflects a process of transition from antique to medieval way of life and mentalities.

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Abbreviations

AD: Archaiologikon Deltion
IG: Inscriptiones Graecae

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Nederlandse samenvatting

De reconstructie van het bewoonde landschap van de Cycladen. De eilanden Paros en Naxos in de Late Oudheid en de Byzantijnse Vroege Middeleeuwen

Konstantinos Roussos

De Cycladen eilandengroep in de Egeïsche Archipel heeft zich menigmaal vertoond als een protagonist in academische discussies over thema's in de eiland- en landschapsarcheologie.

Het doel van dit onderzoek is een nieuwe benadering aan te bieden van de geschiedenis en archeologie van de Cycladen in de Late Oudheid en de Byzantijnse Vroege Middeleeuwen in het kader van het huidige archeologisch onderzoek en daarnaast een nieuw model uit te werken voor de bespreking en onderzoek van de materiële cultuur van de 4de tot midden 9de eeuw. Het is een poging om de humane interactie met het landschap te karakteriseren en interpreteren in de hoop de verhouding tussen eilanden, nederzettingen, culturele groepen, landschappen en zeegezichten te kunnen ontrafelen. De gevestigde methodologie behandelt het archeologisch bewijsmateriaal, de literaire bronnen, en de waarnemingen van de sites en micro-landschappen als een geheel door een kritische en volledige analyse van de beschikbare data aan te reiken. De geografische parameter is gebruikt als het meest duidende werkmiddel, terwijl de evaluatie van de micro-geografische kenmerken van nederzettingsgebieden het begrijpen van hun economisch potentieel bevordert.

De diversiteit van de eilanden verduidelijkt dat deze geografische entiteiten benaderd kunnen worden als verschillende casestudies, en vervolgens kunnen opgenomen worden in een bredere context. Het beschouwen van eilanden als afzonderlijke eenheden belet de mogelijkheid niet om hen te identificeren als knooppunten in een groter netwerk. Om deze diversiteit te verduidelijken zijn Paros en Naxos gebruikt als casestudies; twee aangrenzende eilanden van een verschillende grootte in een complexe Egeïsche wereld. Beide eilanden vertegenwoordigden twee van de meest dynamische oorden in de Egeïsche Archipel met een voortdurende culturele bedrijvigheid en volledig geïntegreerd binnen de maritieme routes. Een vergelijkende studie van het nederzettingspatroon en de materiële cultuur van beide eilanden, van de Late Oudheid tot de Byzantijnse Vroege Middeleeuwen, suggereert dat Paros en Naxos soms gelijke en soms gescheiden wegen volgden. In dit opzicht zijn beide casestudies voldoende om aan te tonen dat ieder eiland een eigen en uniek verhaal kan vertellen tijdens de verschillende periodes in zijn geschiedenis. Het voornaamste onderscheid tussen de twee eilanden ligt in de tegenovergestelde natuurlijke voordelen van hun karakteristieke landschap. Het rijke bergachtige binnenland van Naxos met een breed spectrum aan geologische formaties in relatie tot de vruchtbare gronden en het klimaat hebben de bewoningsactiviteiten diachronisch beïnvloed. Daarbij is een nederzettingspatroon gevormd dat zich naar het binnenland van het eiland oriënteert. De "kanten" kustlijn van Paros met zijn omvangrijke vruchtbare vlaktes en de vele veilige havens in combinatie met het dorre en bergachtige binnenland creëerde een voornamelijk zee-georiënteerd netwerk van nederzettingen dat zich uitstrekte langs het kustgebied van het eiland.

Door de tijd heen, hebben de eilandgemeenschappen van de Cycladen verschillende variaties vertoond, waarin hun bewoningslandschappen zich vormden, veranderden, en hervormden volgens de intense interacties tussen mens en omgeving en de culturele verscheidenheid. Enkele onder hen, zoals Naxos, vertonen een meer coherent historisch traject: zij verbonden zich met de wijdere wereld op een afdoende manier gedurende bijna alle periodes, dankzij door hun topografisch uitzonderlijke voordelen. Andere, zoals Paros, waren eerder fragiele plaatsen: zij waren bij momenten met

succes geïntegreerd in grotere netwerken, terwijl ze op andere momenten historisch uitgesloten werden. Wederom, was dit een gevolg van de eigenschappen van hun landschap.

De Late Oudheid, die gewoonlijk gekenmerkt wordt door de progressieve transformatie van de oude wereld tussen de 4de en 6de eeuw, was een tijd van welvaart en stabiliteit voor de meeste Egeïsche eilanden. Paros en Naxos, zoals vele andere gebieden in de Egeïsche wereld, vertonen indicaties van commercieel succes, aangezien ze een complex netwerk ontwikkelden van verschillende types van nederzettingen. Deze nederzettingen functioneerden als productie-, verwerkings- en exportcentra. Ook tijdens de daaropvolgende eeuwen, die getekend zijn door de Byzantijns-Arabische strijd om de controle over het Egeïsche gebied, vertoonde het eiland van Naxos tastbare kenmerken van een stabiele en levendige eiland-microkosmos gekarakteriseerd door integratie, connectiviteit en interactie met de wijdere wereld. Zelfs in het geval van Paros, met zijn archeologisch weinig zichtbare sites, zijn er delen van het kustlandschap die bewoond werden in bijna elke periode. Het eiland bleef op een andere manier, eerder op kleine schaal, interageren met de rest van de wereld. Archeologisch materiaal getuigt dat het eiland van Naxos een unieke positie aanhield in de communicatienetwerken van de Byzantijnse Vroege Middeleeuwen. Daaruit blijkt dat de zogenaamde "Byzantijnse Donkere Eeuwen" niet zo "donker" waren als we denken, in het bijzonder in de insulaire Egeïsche wereld. De Cycladen moeten eerder beschouwd worden als plaatsen van interactie met de buitenwereld dan als plaatsen van afzondering die leden onder de Arabische invallen, aangezien alle soorten van landschappen – zowel de kust-als de bergstreek −, ononderbroken bewoond, gecultiveerd en op andere manieren gemodificeerd werden door de mens tussen de 7de en vroege 9de eeuw.

Wat betreft de structuur van deze thesis, hoofdstukken 1, 2 en 3 voorzien de algemene theoretische, geografische en archeologische achtergrond van het onderzoek op het bewoonde landschap van de Cycladen in de Late Oudheid en de Byzantijnse Vroege Middeleeuwen. Hoofdstuk 1 behandelt de keuze voor de Cycladen tijdens de Late Oudheid en Vroege Middeleeuwen als casestudie in de context van de Mediterrane eilandarcheologie. Het stelt eveneens de fundamentele methodologische benaderingen, doelstellingen en methodes van deze studie voor, en de belangrijkste historiografische vraagstellingen. Ten slotte omvat het een korte herziening van de voorafgaande, meest representatieve studies op de Cycladen tijdens de bestudeerde periodes. Hoofdstuk 2 doet de nodige geografische achtergrond uit de doeken om de diversiteit en verscheidenheid van de Cycladen beter te begrijpen. Hoofdstuk 3 vat de economische, politieke en sociale veranderingen in de Cycladen van de 4de tot de vroege 13de eeuw samen.

Vervolgens voorzien hoofdstukken 4 en 5 een gedetailleerde presentatie en analyse van het nederzettingspatroon en de materiële cultuur van de geselecteerde casestudies, respectievelijk Paros en Naxos. Elk eiland is onderverdeeld in sub-regio's volgens de gelokaliseerde natuurlijke voordelen van de landschappen en de concentratie van het archeologisch bewijs met als doel een basis te voorzien waarop de nederzettingenpatronen en materiële cultuur van de Late Oudheid en de Vroeg Byzantijnse periode bestudeerd en geïnterpreteerd kunnen worden. Dit omvat eveneens gedetailleerde beschrijvingen van het landschap en de micro-topografie van elk gebied. De analyse in deze hoofdstukken is niet enkel gebaseerd op de "traditionele" archeologische weergave van de nederzettingspatronen. Uitgebreid veldwerk op beide eilanden in combinatie met ruimtelijke analyse door middel van de toepassing van GIS (Geographic Information System) in het archeologisch onderzoek voorziet ons van nieuw en waardevol materiaal. De hoofdstukken eindigen allebei met een discussie dat de algemene conclusies voor elke casestudie samenvat. Het daarop volgende hoofdstuk 6 omvat een grondige bespreking van Paros en Naxos in het bredere perspectief van de Egeïsche en Mediterrane wereld. Het verleent een vergelijkende opvatting van het bewoonde landschap van beide eilanden tijdens de bestudeerde periode en vergelijkt deze met andere gebieden in de Egeïsche wereld. Hoofdstuk 7 besluit de thesis met een samenvatting van de algemene bevindingen van deze studie.

About the author

Konstantinos Roussos was born on the island of Paros, Greece. He left the island after graduating from High School. He completed his undergraduate studies in Archaeology and History of Art at the University of Crete, Greece (2002-2006). Following his graduation, he entered a Master programme on Byzantine Studies in the University of Crete (2006-2009). He received his First-Class M.Phil. with the thesis "The island communities of the Cyclades during the Early Byzantine period". In 2011 he registered at the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University for his Ph.D. research under the supervision of Prof. J.L. Bintliff. This book is the result of his research on the islands of Paros and Naxos.

In 2011 he received a three-month study scholarship from the Netherlands Institute at Athens. Apart from his personal survey research in Paros and Naxos, Konstantinos has been involved in a number of field and research projects in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. He has participated for many years in the systematic excavation of the University of Crete at the ancient city of Eleftherna, Crete (directed by Dr. C. Tsigonaki). He has also been involved in the archaeological Field Project and School "Settled and Sacred Landscapes of Cyprus" (directed by Dr. A. Vionis) and in rescue excavations on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Service (Paros). In 2014 he moved to Crete where he worked as Ph.D. Research Fellow in the framework of the archaeological project "Recapturing the Dynamics of the Early Byzantine Settlements in Crete: Old Problems − New Interpretations through an Interdisciplinary Approach" hosted at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies - Foundation for Research and Technology, Rethymno - Greece (IMS/FORTH) and directed by Dr. C. Tsigonaki (University of Crete). He is currently involved as Research Fellow in the "Amorium Urban Archaeology Project" conducted by the IMS/FORTH as part of the greater "Amorium Excavations Project" of Anadolu University (Eskisehir, Turkey).

His research interests include the archaeology of Byzantine landscapes and the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, Material Culture and Application of new technologies in Byzantine Archaeology, focussing in Greece, Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean. He has delivered public lectures in Paros, Naxos, Cyprus and Crete, and has been involved in the organization of international conferences and workshops as a member of the organizing committees. He has participated in international conferences and a number of his research papers on the aforementioned research aspects are currently in press.