

## **ABSTRACTS**



## Vassilios LAMBRINOUDAKIS

The rich material uncovered on Naxos through excavations over the past 60 years, unexploited until now, combined with a systematic study of inscriptions, allows the reconstitution of the history of the island during the Late Antique and Early Christian periods, revealing many unknown aspects of life on the island.

A decline in the Aegean region is already apparent by the 2nd century BC. The Hellenistic kingdoms transform into Roman provinces, the Mithridatic and then Roman civil war destabilise the region, the commercial activity of Delos is transferred to the harbours of Italy. Naxos is affected: in the 1st century AD, it is used as a place of exile for distinguished Romans. As the large public works of this period indicate, however, it retained significant administrative autonomy and economic strength.

From the 2nd century AD, life in the Aegean – and Naxos – recovers. But local systems bend under the pressure of a more intensive Roman administration, and at the same time a ‘Romanising’ trend appears. Public works, organised agricultural production and evidence for the presence of bankers and a Roman state official responsible for legal and commercial affairs indicate a flourishing economy.

The transferral of the capital of the Roman state to Constantinople during the 4th century AD and the predominance of Christianity led to social realignments and finally to a period of prosperity in the Aegean, which lasted for the next two centuries. During this time, a dense and extensive settlement grew in the area of the ancient city of Naxos, covering Grotta, the area of the older Aplomata cemetery, and Plithos, with streets and well-built houses, some with mosaic floors and wall paintings. Finds testify to overseas commercial ties. Baths in the city and elsewhere, as well as the transformation of ancient temples into churches and the erection of new large Christian churches complete the picture.

After the middle of the 7th century, the finds indicate a progressive decline, which intensifies in the 8th century. The basic reasons for this must be sought in the Arab raids and the turbulence caused within the Byzantine Empire by the prohibition of icon worship. Traditional systems crumble on Naxos and their infrastructure is abandoned, to give their place to a new demographic and economic development in the 9th century.

## Paul MAGDALINO

The Kastro Apalirou, which was clearly the capital of Naxos from the 7th century up to the period of Frankish control, is the most significant town among the group of Byzantine settlements in the central mountainous region of the island, dated by archaeological studies to the 7th-9th centuries. The relationship between these settlements and the ancient installations on the coast is unclear, as is the reasons behind their foundation, since there is no literary documentation.

Nevertheless, they formed a significant investment – in materials, work, organisation, and ideology (in the aniconic decoration of numerous churches) – which makes it likely that they

were established by imperial command in response to the new military conditions prevalent in the Aegean after the Arab conquest of the Middle East and North Africa. Even though state involvement is ignored in the few and laconic written sources of the period, the chronicles of Nikephoros and of Theophanes indicate that the central administration paid significant attention to the situation in the Cyclades for strategic, economic, and political reasons, particularly during the 8th century. The islands of the Aegean faced the Arab fleets intent on besieging Constantinople or simply pillaging the coastline. Along with mainland coastal areas, they contributed essentially to the naval defences of the state, to the point where the forces belonging to the Greek mainland and the islands were capable of seriously threatening Constantinople in a revolt against Leo III (727). These same forces controlled the sea routes from Sicily to the Capital, which, during the 8th century, was the main supply and trade artery of the empire. The importance of the Aegean region becomes indirectly apparent through three events that occurred during the reign of Constantine V (741-775): a) the resettlement of populations from central Greece, the Peloponnese, and the Cyclades to repopulate Constantinople after the deadly plague of 747; b) the recruiting of masons from mainland Greece to repair the aqueduct of Constantinople (766); and c) the choice of an Athenian bride for the heir to the throne (769). That which is absent from the sources is the specific participation of Naxos in these events, or even to what degree the island was targeted by Arab raids before their conquest of Crete (827-961) which dramatically increased the danger to the entire coastline of the Aegean.

#### Natalia POULOU-PAPADIMITRIOU

This paper examines the archaeological evidence for the islands of the Aegean during a particularly interesting period spanning the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, the Transitional period of Byzantium. The brief introduction outlines the problems faced by the scholar of this period as well as the issue regarding its characterisation as 'transitional'. Archaeological evidence is presented and analysed from the Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos, Leipsoi, Karpathos, Kalymnos, Agathonisi), the East Aegean islands of Samos and Chios, and the Cyclades (Naxos, Paros, Thera/Santorini, Amorgos, Delos), while sparse data is available for the rest of the islands, such as Kea, Siphnos, Seriphos, and Melos.

An examination of the archaeological data allows for interesting inferences to be drawn regarding this particularly difficult period, a time when the Arab threat is real. The islands of the Aegean played a very significant role in the Byzantine struggle against the Arabs. There are indications that the state took measures during this period to reinforce the defences on many islands, and there must have been some state control in the distribution of agricultural produce. These conclusions are corroborated by the archaeological evidence, such as fortified enclosures, storage facilities for agrarian products, and workshops producing amphorae, and are further bolstered by evidence from moveable finds such as transport vessels, early glazed ceramics, lead seals belonging to officials, and coins.

## Vassiliki PENNA

The study focuses on the islands known today as the Cyclades and endeavours to define the trends in the circulation of coinage and the economic circumstances in the region during the so-called Dark Ages (7th – mid-9th century). The numismatic material comes from the Numismatic Museum of Athens and the archaeological museums of Naxos, Tenos, Mykonos, and Siphnos. It includes also finds referred to in archaeological reports and publications. The article is an essential supplement to my earlier study (2001) entitled ‘Monetary hints about life in the Cyclades during the 8th and 9th centuries’, and concentrates mainly on the 7th century.

Discussed first are the finds from the opening three decades of the 7th century, mainly from the reign of Herakleios. Next, the finds from the second half of the 7th century are analysed and, finally, the testimony of the finds from the 8th and 9th centuries is summarized.

The very few bronze coins of the early decades of the 7th century found in the Cyclades come primarily from sites at which there is earlier settlement activity (e.g. Andros / Palaiopolis; Naxos / Chora, Sangri, Yria; Thera / Perissa; Delos). However, the finds from Sikinos, Kea and Siphnos imply a tendency for the inhabitants to move away to better protected areas. The even fewer bronze coin finds from the second half of the 7th century point to a gradual shrinking of the monetary economy in the region. Indicative too is the absence of gold coin issues. An exception is the Arkesine / 1888 Hoard from Amorgos, which was evidently concealed in the third quarter of the 7th century. However, the 60 gold coins of Constantine IV are not necessarily indicative of a prosperous local economy. Possibly, the hoard reflects the revitalizing of economic and mercantile relations between Constantinople and the West, which the emperor sought to achieve. The view that the hoard represents the money of an official of the Theme of the Karabesianoï and that consequently it indicates the military strengthening of the Cyclades seems less plausible. Whatever the case, the very few bronze coin finds of the second half of the 7th century from the Cyclades do not advocate, for the present, an extensive organized defensive system in the region during the second half of the 7th century, as attested in other insular regions – rocky islets of the Argosaronic Gulf, Kythera, Northeast Aegean islands.

The coin finds suggest that life continued unabated in the Cyclades, despite the difficulties generated by the Arab presence in the Aegean during the 8th and 9th centuries, and contribute to defining the life of the islands during these centuries, complementing the other archaeological evidence (iconoclastic monuments on Naxos, inscription in the church of Agios Thomas on Siphnos, testimonies of lead seals).

## Athanasios K. VIONIS

The idea of ‘insularity’ and the historical course of the islands of the Aegean has become, over the past decade, an important field of research. The degree to which island communities were ‘isolated’ or participated in commercial and cultural networks is an interesting subject to explore for every period. The historical course and fortunes of the Aegean islands during the Early Byzantine period, the so-called ‘transitional’ years (7th- 10th centuries AD), shows that the Aegean islands, especially the Cyclades, formed a conceptual boundary between two great powers: the Byzantines and the Arabs. The aim of the present article is to study this peripheral geographic zone between the Byzantines and Arabs in order to explore the dynamics, adaptations, identities and issues of cultural hybridism of island communities within their historical and local context over

time (*longue durée*). Evaluating the available archaeological material from Naxos, it is attempted to explore the cultural expressions of Cycladic islanders and the degree of influence exerted by the Byzantine centre of Constantinople and the rest of the Latin holdings in the Aegean and Asia Minor. Landscapes, settlement histories, aspects of material culture (such as monuments and ceramic finds), and examples of monumental art from Naxos are assessed in order to explore the underlying forces, local responses and negotiation of island identities in the context of politico-economic conditions created in the Aegean from the 7th to the 13th century. As the available material suggests, both Naxos and the other Cycladic islands, with no obvious direct connections to the successive imperial centres, became a region of multi-cultural contacts and exchanges rather than the battlefield between competing groups and empires (i.e. Byzantine, Arab, Latin) from the period of Late Antiquity to the period of Latin domination (13th-14th century).

David HILL, Håkon ROLAND and Knut ØDEGÅRD

In this introductory chapter we present a brief summary of the Kastro Apalirou project and the broader conclusions. On the basis of our survey we conclude that the Kastro Apalirou was constructed from the middle of the 7th century and was in use until its abandonment in the early 13th century in the wake of the Latin takeover of Naxos and neighbouring islands. Based upon the data presented below, Kastro Apalirou should be considered an urban settlement rather than a fortress.

Håkon ROLAND

The article presents the defences at Kastro Apalirou, which include a curtain wall, nine documented towers, a city gate and a later round bastion and rampart. The greatest length enclosed by the wall is 315 m from north to south, and the maximum width is 100 m east to west. The enclosed area is 2.10 ha. The curtain is a single wall of varying width, and natural cliffs are often used as integral parts of the defences. Large sections of the wall consist of roughly hewn stones with no binding mortar, while other parts have a core of rubble mixed with mortar. There is no sign of a *proteichisma*. Most of the towers are rectangular with two semi-circular exceptions on the western slope. The main gate is centrally located on the western flank. A square tower was most likely part of the construction, even though the remains are difficult to interpret today. The gate is set at right-angles to the curtain wall, and the bent entrance would provide additional security from attacks.

The investigation reveals two distinct phases of defence. An absolute chronology is difficult to establish, but much indicates that the first phase, which encompasses the entire curtain, was planned in the 7th century. The construction of the bastion with a large round tower on the north-west side of the settlement is difficult to date. It is clear, however, that large investments in fortifications as well as other buildings and cisterns took place at a later stage. We can safely assume that the defences served their purpose until being captured by the Venetian forces in 1207.

Three main types of masonry are identified: Uncoursed dry stones without mortar, roughly coursed undressed stones with smaller, flat stones and broken tiles used for stability, and uncoursed sharply cut stones worked to a fair face and bonded with grey mortar. Parts of the wall show clear traces of repairs. It has not been possible to identify what damage was caused by erosion and wear and what caused by military attacks on the site.

The survey demonstrates that the fortifications of the Apalirou settlement were planned on a large scale from the start. The uniform masonry of the earliest phase is largely visible across the entire circuit, and towers and the gate have regular positions throughout. In this respect, the settlement conforms well to the emphasis by imperial authorities on urban fortifications on naturally defensible and inaccessible sites in the Early Byzantine period. However, defensive reasons alone cannot explain the extent of urban planning at Apalirou. The settlement is more complex and densely built than the average Byzantine *kastron*. The defences at Apalirou must be interpreted within a wider context where all aspects of the settlement are taken into consideration.

#### David HILL

This article presents the urban topography and structural evidence from Kastro Apalirou based upon the fieldwork undertaken during the first phase of fieldwork, which included the planning and documentation of the visible structures at the site. The survey resulted in the first complete plan of the site, which provided key data for the discussion regarding the function, phasing and nature of the settlement. A total of fifty-four buildings were surveyed, of which thirty-eight were domestic buildings, three larger buildings considered to be institutional, and three cruder ancillary buildings. In addition, the survey identified an estimated further thirty plots whose structures could not be clarified although plot size and location was similar to the domestic houses. Cisterns, constructed with a heavier use of mortar, are more visible and were divided into two classes: five community cisterns that were large and not connected to one particular building, and fifty-two private cisterns that were built as part of a house or building, usually contained within the basement and accessed internally from the floor above. There were additionally a smaller number of now free-standing external cisterns, which abutted buildings that have since collapsed, and cisterns inserted into gaps within walls and/or connected to Agios Georgios. The high number of domestic buildings and low number of larger buildings suggestive of institutional use points strongly in the direction of an urban community rather than a fortress. Broadly, two phases were visible; the first representing the layout of streets and construction of the houses, the second representing greater levels of investment in defences, larger buildings and community cisterns and the expansion of the Agios Georgios complex.

#### Knut ØDEGÅRD

Before the recent fieldwork at Kastro Apalirou, only one church was known, Agios Georgios. We now have documented seven churches in or around the town. In this article, three of these churches are described and discussed: the Agios Georgios complex in the northern part of the town, a small double-aisled church near the southern summit of Kastro Apalirou and a large, extramural church to the southwest of the town. The Agios Georgios church is a complex structure, with several additions and rebuilding. The chronological relationship between the different parts of the building is not clear, mainly because building debris makes any detailed analysis difficult. Not only the complexity, but also its size makes Agios Georgios one of the most important churches on Naxos. For the small double-aisled church, on the other hand, an absolute chronology can be suggested based on the ceramic finds from an excavation undertaken in 2015-16. The church was

probably constructed sometime between the mid 6th and late 7th century and was abandoned in the late 12th or early 13th century. The large extramural church is difficult to study because building debris still obscures parts of the layout. It is a single-aisled church, but with attached buildings on the northern side. A house with an internal cistern is located right below the church to the west. Whether these different buildings are connected and could be interpreted as a monastery is still unknown. These three churches are very different in plan and size, but together give a good impression of the ecclesiastical architecture of the town of Kastro Apalirou.

David HILL and Knut ØDEGÅRD

During the course of fieldwork at Kastro Apalirou the survey recorded a number of structures lying outside the defensive walls that are passed in the course of the strenuous forty-five-minute climb to the site. The nature of the climb and the view of the plains below naturally directs attention to the question of transport and access to the settlement. The survey eventually concluded that despite the challenging nature of the terrain, an urban settlement would have been viable, though some compromise would need to have been made. This article will present the routes to the site from the plain and the cultivation terraces below the walls. These terraces present an important feature in discussing the function and nature of the settlement and show that the inhabitants of the town were utilising the slope below the walls for cultivation. This information allows us to consider the site as having been permanently inhabited, and not simply a fortified refuge. The survey has concluded that the cultivation terraces were an integrated part of Kastro Apalirou from its earliest phase.

Hallvard R. INDGJERD

The use of ceramics, both in the form of Ceramic Building Material (CBM) and of pottery, in the construction of buildings at Kastro Apalirou is discussed on the basis of the excavation of the collapsed 'Small Church' and a study of re-used pottery in the lining of cisterns. The types and function of CBM and other ceramics provides insights into the solutions sought by the builders of the town, and aids the chronological understanding of its construction phases. Most of the datable material was produced in the 6th–8th century AD, supporting the proposed date for the initial construction of the site. Finds at the floor level of the church gives a *terminus post quem* for its collapse in the 11th or 12th century, indicating that it remained in use for more than 500 years. The lack of complete bricks and tiles suggests heavy reuse of material from earlier buildings, and transportation of broken CBM from other settlements. In order to create a hydraulic lining, the mortar of the cisterns contains ceramics as additives and aggregates, potentially up to 50% of the mortar mass. Additionally, in nine of the studied cisterns a layer of amphora sherds was built into the inner parts of the linings. This does not seem to have contributed to the hydraulicity of the lining, and the function of this layer is uncertain.

Michael C. NELSON, Amanda KELLY, D.J. IAN BEGG, Todd BRENNINGMEYER

This paper presents the results of archaeological surface surveys of two sites on the Greek island of Karpathos in the Dodecanese: Leukos and Sokastro. The former was a 4th to 6th century settlement clustered around two natural and sandy harbors, both of which were conducive to the beaching of ships. Among the numerous, though poorly preserved remains of domestic structures, two large churches serviced the Leukos community and one large rock-cut cistern may have provided water for the ships passing through its harbors. Most of the recovered ceramics were locally-made and a small, updraft kiln attests to its production. A number of imported wares were also noted in the survey and they included: Phocaean and African Red Slip wares and Late Roman 2 amphorae. Leukos was completely abandoned in the late 6th and very early 7th century.

Sokastro is the name of a small islet off the west coast of Karpathos. Its plateau had been settled and fortified in the 11th century with no evidence of an earlier occupation, as had been previously suggested. Within the fort wall, the well-preserved remains of numerous cisterns were surveyed and recorded. The project identified two types: small barrel-vaulted or bottle-shaped cisterns attached to small, presumably domestic, structures and large, freestanding community cisterns. The largest of the latter type has an estimated capacity of 300,000 liters. One small, triple-aisle church, with its own attached cistern, serviced the settlement. The church may have been well-appointed with the numerous marble and granodiorite architectural elements found scattered around the settlement. The inhabitants imported pottery which included: Fine Sgraffito, Painted Fine Sgraffito, Green and Brown Painted, and Slip-Painted wares. Sokastro too had a short lifespan; based on ceramic densities it peaked in the 12th and 13th centuries and then occupation declined sharply with perhaps only small groups of squatters occupying the site until the 16th century, when it was completely abandoned.

Elli TZAVELLA

This study presents and analyses the discovery of a small church and its finds on the top of the Dhaskalio islet, west of Keros, ca. ten kilometres south-east of Naxos. The finds date towards the end of the Early Byzantine period and the beginning of the Transitional period (6th-8th century). The construction and use of the church should be dated to the same period.

The study attempts to answer questions regarding the role of this chapel on a small islet in the Aegean during the aforementioned period. A series of topics connected with the use of anchorages and small harbours in the Aegean are discussed: navigation of small and medium distances, possible routes, the testimony of a 16th-century portulan, the role of small islands in sea trade, and neighbouring sites of activity. The straits between Dhaskalio and Keros are particularly suitable for anchorage. The small church appears therefore to have functioned as a landmark, visible from far away, useful for navigation both in everyday and outstanding circumstances, as well as a place of pilgrimage.

## Dimitrios TH. CHATZILAZAROU

Schinoussa is an island of the Small Cyclades, situated south of Naxos and west of Amorgos. Finds from the Early Cycladic, Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman periods have been recorded on the island. Remains of a Late Roman settlement were discovered by the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities before the construction of the new port of Schinoussa at Livadi Bay. Wall remnants are still preserved over an extended area. Many sherds of terra sigillata (African Red Slip Ware, Late Roman C and D Ware), cooking pots and amphorae (Late Roman 1 & 2), dated between the 4th and the middle of the 7th century, were also found. Excavations near the site of the port by the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities revealed the southwest part of a three-aisle Christian basilica with a barrel-vaulted narthex. During the excavation, evidence came to light concerning the last phases of activity in the monument and at the site, pointing to the organised evacuation of the coastal settlement of Schinoussa in the middle of the 7th century or a little later.

## James CROW and Sam TURNER

The current article investigates the corpus of early medieval Naxian buildings to demonstrate their significance for architectural, art historical and archaeological studies of the Byzantine Cyclades and the wider Byzantine world. The rich heritage of Byzantine churches has long been recognised in the Hellenic world, but as landscape archaeologists we are also concerned to show how these sacred buildings in a variety of settings and with a broad diachronic range are able to enrich our knowledge of the island's settlements and landscapes. Such an archaeological approach is able to consider the 'stratigraphic' dimension of many of the aniconic decorations, which on Naxos and elsewhere are present in the earliest layers of painted decoration thus helping to situate this decorative style in the early medieval period, before the end of the 9th century. We review the Naxian evidence and include recent publications of similarly decorated buildings from Greece and elsewhere. The article briefly reviews the changes in Christian architecture from late antiquity into the medieval era and considers the historic setting of these monuments and the interpretations of their aniconic decoration. In particular we draw attention to similarities of such motifs across Greece and we reject the opinions of some scholars that the aniconic motifs reflect a poverty of imagination and ingenuity. Finally we consider the situations and settings of the selected churches, many of which are isolated rural chapels, and in particular in the context of the great new fortified settlement at Kastro Apalirou of the 7th and 8th centuries. As a corpus, these Naxian churches constitute a remarkable resource for future research into Byzantine rural life and beliefs. There is a gazetteer of known buildings with a concordance of key publications.

## Vicky MANOLOPOULOU, Stelios LEKAKIS, Mark JACKSON and Sam TURNER

This article uses the story of a small church, Theoskepasti (Kastro Apalirou, Naxos), as a vehicle for a wider introduction to the methodological and theoretical approaches underpinning the Apalirou Environs Project. Both Theoskepasti and the wider landscape are approached via the *longue durée*. How both the church and the landscape it lies in are perceived today will be explored using

oral testimonies gathered from local inhabitants. The discussion will also encompass graffiti and other material culture in an attempt to determine how people engaged with the building in recent times. Analysis of this evidence will reveal that Theoskepasti was and still is a place of value to the local communities. Although ostensibly in ruins, the small church was visited at least from the early 20th century and is still used for religious purposes today. A combination of three-dimensional survey and careful examination of the building have generated new data which suggests that the structure and its surrounding landscape are far older than was originally thought. The church has multiple phases, including a post-medieval phase which probably coincided with the late 18th and early 19th centuries – as attested by structures to the south of the church. During this phase, the church's south wall and the western part of the north wall were rebuilt. During an earlier phase, two blind arcades and piers at the north and south wall were constructed in order to support a stone-vaulted roof, which belonged to an even earlier phase of the building. Taking evidence from the wider landscape and local comparanda into consideration, it is suggested that the earlier phases of the building belong to the Byzantine period. The church of Theoskepasti is therefore part and parcel of a landscape that has been shaped by people for a considerably longer period than was previously thought. The main argument of the paper is that landscapes also constitute cultural heritage, encompassing both tangible and intangible aspects and that their value is always being re-invented and negotiated by the communities that dwell within them.

Maria PANAYOTIDI, Theodora KONSTANTELOU

The church of Panagia Protothronos at Chalki holds a special place among the Byzantine monuments of Naxos. The church, one of the largest on the island, belongs to the transitional cross-in-square type and was built atop a pre-existing Early Christian basilica. The location of the church in the central village of Chalki, the remarkable size of the building, the large synthronon, the successive wall painting phases, and the epigraphic testimony underline the importance of Panagia Protothronos and notably favour its identification as the episcopal church.

One of the most important phases of the church belongs to the last decades of the 10th century. It was then that the large basilica was remodelled into a transitional cross-in-square church and was redecorated with wall paintings. Those surviving from that phase are: the synthesis of the dome (exhibited in the Glezos Tower museum), a few small fragments in the sanctuary, and scenes located in both the south and north barrel vaults of the nave. These images and the texts of the prophets' scrolls convey intense triumphant messages emphasizing the Orthodox faith and the preaching of the Gospel.

The renovation of the church could be understood as part of a general imperial strategy developed after 961 in order to re-establish Byzantine rule and unify the regions recently recovered. It could also be related to the new administrative role that Naxos may have acquired in the late 10th century after the foundation of the Theme of the Cyclades. Be that as it may, the fresco decoration of this phase features the principles of the Orthodox Faith and Byzantium's political worldview to the inhabitants of a key region in the Byzantine Aegean.

The next and successive phase of renovation of the church is recorded in the inscription carved on the templon's architrave, where the Bishop Leo, the *Protospatharios* and *Tourmarches* of Naxos Niketas, and the *Komes* Stephanos Kamelares are mentioned along with the date of the renovation, i.e. 1052. The painted decoration of this phase (ca. 1052-1056) is limited to the dome and the chapel dedicated to Agios Akindynos (1056). These wall paintings succinctly express and

visually articulate the significance and the socio-political role that the different groups of patrons had acquired during this period.

These two decoration phases express the profound knowledge and apt handling of contemporary iconographic themes and meanings on behalf of the patrons of the aforementioned pictorial programs, confirming thus the church's significance for the island's Middle Byzantine society.

#### Alexandra KOSTARELLI

The Deesis is an iconographic theme which constitutes a pictorial expression of many complex doctrinal concepts. This paper mainly focuses on Naxian examples dated by inscriptions: Agios Ioannis Theologos at Apiranthos (1309), Agios Konstantinos at Vourvouria (1310), Agios Sozon Giallous (1313/14), and Agios Ioannis Theologos at Philoti (1314).

In the monuments of this period, we mainly find cases of simple compositions as well as some particularities. Comparisons with relevant examples from Naxian monuments of the second half of the 13th century lead to some tentative, but valuable conclusions. Through the examination of the theme within the iconographic layout of the churches of the 14th century on the island, we can derive remarkable data. Earlier examples of the Deesis, such as the depiction on successive layers of frescoes in the church of Panagia Drossiani, certifies the diachronic existence of the theme in the iconographic programmes of the churches on Naxos.

Also, the study reveals that this theme is mainly painted in the sanctuary apse of Naxian churches and never adorns the masonry templon. The reasons for such a frequent occurrence of the theme in the decoration of the 13th and 14th century churches on the island can be summarized by the conservatism that underlies monumental painting on Naxos, the possible burial character of some of the monuments, the activity of local artistic ateliers operating on the island, and the personal wishes of the donors of the wall paintings.

#### Agathoniki D. TSILIPAKOU

Saint Mamas is a relatively unknown saint today, although he was martyred at a very young age (15 or 18 years old) in Caesarea, a great Christian centre of Asia Minor, during the reign of Emperor Aurelian (270-275), and has been venerated since early Christian times. The glorious great-martyr Mamas was one of the most popular saints of the Byzantine era. Many reasons explain his popularity: his gift of miracles, the fact that the centre of his cult was Caesarea, the panegyrics written by the Cappadocian Fathers, saints Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian, and also the fact that he was considered the protector saint of the army units guarding the frontier provinces of the empire (*Limitanei*, *Akritai*, *Apelatai*). His cult rapidly spread from Caesarea to the entire Mediterranean, mainly throughout important pilgrimages in the East and West, Constantinople, Cyprus, Langres (France), as well as by the relocation of his relics from the 5th to the 13th centuries. During the dissemination of Saint Mamas' veneration in the Christian world, his personality was constructed through different traditions and was enriched with new elements in the places of his worship. As the protector saint of shepherds and of the military units guarding the eastern borders of the empire, Saint Mamas, the border-defender saint, "travelled" all around the Mediterranean. His travels are attested by the great number of churches dedicated to him, depictions,

toponyms, cities, villages and settlements, which point to a network of sea-borne communication and religious and cultural exchanges in the wider Mediterranean. Saint Mamas is venerated in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean, mainly in Cyprus and insular Greece, especially on Crete, the Cyclades and the Dodecanese, which testifies to the transfer of the saint's veneration by sea. The relationships and connections between Naxos in the Cyclades, Cyprus, Crete and Asia Minor have already been recognized in the fields of art and architecture. Saint Mamas, as protector of small animals, was widely worshiped on Naxos. The depiction of Saint Mamas as a shepherd holding a shepherd's crook and a small animal (a sheep or a goat) in Naxian churches has been explained due to the pastoral character of the extensive mountainous part of the island. The surviving Byzantine wall paintings depicting Saint Mamas on Naxos, dating to the Venetian era (13th to 14th century), are found in the churches of Agios Georgios at Oskelos or Noskelos (1286), Panagia "stis Giallous" (1288-89) at Agiassos, and Agios Ioannis Theologos at Adissarou (14th century). The great number of churches (surviving or attested, decorated or not) dedicated to Saint Mamas can be justified by the development of animal husbandry on the island since Byzantine times. The churches are distributed outside the core of the villages, in the wider countryside. The domed cross-in-square Byzantine church (10th century) at Potamia dedicated to Saint Mamas, which according to tradition was originally an Orthodox cathedral and then, during the Frankish occupation, converted to a Catholic one (13th – 14th century), also testifies to the great importance and popularity of the saint on Naxos. This evidence also demonstrates the preference for the veneration of saints commonly accepted and beloved by both doctrines, as is the case of Saint Mamas.

#### Klimis ASLANIDIS

Sixty-five churches dating from the 5th to the 12th century fully or partially survive on the island of Naxos. These churches were re-examined in a doctoral thesis, with particular emphasis on thirty-four examples that date from the end of the Early Christian period (mid-7th century) to the era in which Middle Byzantine architecture achieved its principal characteristics (mid-11th century). The analysis has provided a better understanding of their constructional history and a more precise approach to their chronology. This paper presents the basic conclusions regarding the evolution of church architecture on Naxos through the centuries, with reference to typology, construction and morphology as well as a historical interpretation of this process. It particularly aims at contributing to a clearer picture of the evolution of architecture in the so-called Dark Ages and of the character of Byzantine church architecture on the Aegean islands.

#### Themistokles BILIS and Maria. MAGNISALI

This article presents the in situ and dispersed findings associated with the Basilica of Agios Stephanos at Agidia close to Chora, Naxos, evidence that leads to a determination of the different construction phases of the site and allows the graphic restoration of the monument. The phenomenon of the transportation of marbles from Paros to Naxos for the needs of this building programme and the consequences of this choice to the basilica's interior space will also be presented. Additionally, we will examine the broader phenomenon of erecting basilicas in Naxos during the period of the 6th century.

### Maria Z. SIGALA

The corbelling technique has been used all over the world and in all times. Up to a few years ago, in the Aegean Sea, it was considered to be characteristic mainly of prehistoric tombs and of post-Byzantine chapels and huts, with one or two examples from the geometric and classical period. In the recent years, though, a number of structures from the medieval period, both in the Cyclades and the Dodecanese, have been investigated. They are chapels on Tenos, huts on Saria, wine presses on Syme. To these 200 kyphe on Chalke were added, that is, stone-huts dated ca 1000 to 1500, on the basis of their adjacency with Byzantine chapels, with which, in three cases, they even share a common wall. The dating of kyphe in the Middle Ages makes us wonder about the dating of other stone huts on other Aegean islands which have been generally thought to be post-Byzantine. The study of structures built in the corbelling technique in the Aegean, proved that this is the way the simple and poor people used to build their dwellings (agricultural and pastoral). But when the local communities were too poor, even chapels, the dwellings of God and saints had to be built in the corbelling technique.

### Stelios LEKAKIS

In the last decade, there has been a growing discussion on the themes of 'religious heritage' and 'living heritage', as part of the 'social turn' in heritage management and its political connotations towards respect and involvement of different views and practices. These themes are commonly related to the management of sacred sites and the problems that rise from the interaction of interested groups, i.e. the religious authorities, official-state managers, local communities, pilgrims and tourists.<sup>1</sup> In Greece the discussion has been focusing on those active monastic communities and the negotiation of power between the relevant stakeholders, mostly instigated by the surge of tourism in renowned religious heritage sites and its consequences.<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of this discussion, this paper takes a broader view of the subject, examining issues encountered in the management of Byzantine monuments in Greece and focusing on the island of Naxos. Living heritage is in the foreground, i.e. the Orthodox Byzantine churches used in the course of the Orthodox tradition through the relative policies of the Greek state but also via the local receptions and aspirations of the relevant interested groups, as described above. For the discussion of the latter, I draw on ethnographic data collected in my doctoral and on-going post-doctoral research in the southern Aegean.<sup>3</sup> In conclusion, international management trends are briefly reviewed, focusing on rural religious monuments, locating patterns that might be useful in the Greek case.

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1. Stovel *et al.* (2005); ICCROM (2015); Serageldin *et al.* (2001); Shackley (2001); Paine (2013); Grimes (1992); Minuciani (2013).

2. Alexopoulos (2013); Poullos (2014); Lekakis (2008), p. 315; Lekakis (2015a).

3. Extensive ethnographic fieldwork has been conducted on islands of the southern Aegean Sea (Paros, Amorgos, Kalymnos, Nisyros, Crete, etc.). In Naxos the data has been collected through the public outreach programme 'Local Communities & Monuments' (see below).



