

*The Byzantine wall paintings of Panagia Protothronos at Chalki,  
Naxos (10th-11th century phases).  
Meanings, function and historical context*

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**Abstract**

Η Παναγία Πρωτόθρονος στο Χαλκί κατέχει ιδιαίτερη θέση μεταξύ των βυζαντινών μνημείων της Νάξου. Ο ναός είναι από τους μεγαλύτερους στο νησί, ανήκει στον τύπο του μεταβατικού σταυροειδούς εγγεγραμμένου, και χτίστηκε πάνω σε προϋπάρχουσα βασιλική της παλαιοχριστιανικής περιόδου. Η θέση του ναού στο κεντρικό πόλισμα Χαλκί, το ιδιαίτερο μέγεθος, το μεγάλο σύνθρονο, τα επάλληλα στρώματα τοιχογράφησης και οι επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες υπογραμμίζουν την κεντρική σημασία της εκκλησίας αυτής και υποδεικνύουν τη λειτουργία της ως επισκοπικού ναού.

Από τις πιο σημαντικές φάσεις της εκκλησίας είναι η φάση που έχει χρονολογηθεί στις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του 10ου αιώνα. Την περίοδο αυτή, η μνημειακή τρίκλιτη βασιλική μετατράπηκε σε σταυροειδή εγγεγραμμένο ναό μεταβατικού τύπου και διακοσμήθηκε με νέες τοιχογραφίες. Από αυτές διασώζονται η σύνθεση που διακοσμούσε τον τρούλο (που σήμερα εκτίθεται στον Πύργο Γλέζου), λιγοστά κατάλοιπα στο ιερό βήμα του ναού και σκηνές στη νότια και βόρεια κεραία του σταυρού. Από τις παραστάσεις αυτές και την ανάγνωση των ειληταρίων των προφητών εκφράζεται έντονο θριαμβικό μήνυμα με σημαντική έμφαση στην ορθόδοξη πίστη και την ευαγγελική διδασκαλία.

Η ανακαίνιση του ναού θα μπορούσε ενδεχομένως να ενταχθεί στο πλαίσιο μίας γενικότερης πολιτικής που επιδεικνύει η κεντρική πολιτική διοίκηση μετά το 961, με στόχο την επισφράγιση της βυζαντινής κυριαρχίας και την επίτευξη της ενότητας σε περιοχές πρόσφατα ανακτημένες. Θα μπορούσε να συνδεθεί επίσης με το νέο διοικητικό ρόλο που φαίνεται ότι απέκτησε η Νάξος στον 10ο αιώνα ως πρωτεύουσα πιθανότατα του νέου θέματος των Κυκλάδων. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η φάση αυτή διακόσμησης στο σημαντικό αυτό ναό προέβαλλε τις αρχές της Ορθοδοξίας και της βυζαντινής πολιτικής κοσμοθεωρίας στους κατοίκους ενός νησιού με κεντρική σημασία στο χώρο του βυζαντινού Αιγαίου.

Η επόμενη φάση εργασιών ανακαίνισης στον ναό καταγράφεται στην εγχάρακτη στο επιστύλιο του τέμπλου επιγραφή, όπου μνημονεύονται ο επίσκοπος Λέων, ο πρωτοσπαθάριος και τουρμάρχης Ναξίας Νικήτας, ο κόμης Στέφανος ο Καμηλάρης και το έτος ανακαίνισης 1052. Η ζωγραφική διακόσμηση αυτής της φάσης (περ.1052-1056) εντοπίζεται σήμερα στον τρούλο (περ. 1052), και στο παρεκκλήσιο του Αγίου Ακινδύνου (1056). Σε αυτές τις τοιχογραφίες συμπυκνώνεται και διατυπώνεται εικαστικά η σημασία και ο ρόλος που αποκτούν την περίοδο αυτή οι κοινωνικές ομάδες που εκπροσωπούν οι νέοι δωρητές.

Οι δύο φάσεις διακόσμησης του ναού απηχούν βαθιά γνώση και σοφό χειρισμό επίκαιρων εικονογραφικών θεμάτων και μηνυμάτων εκ μέρους των εμπνευστών των εικονογραφικών προγραμμάτων, επιβεβαιώνοντας την ιδιαίτερη σημασία του ναού στη νησιωτική κοινωνία κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή εποχή.

The church of Panagia Protothronos at Chalki holds a special place among the Byzantine monuments of Naxos.<sup>1</sup> The church, dedicated to the Annunciation, is on an intersection of roads running through the modern village of Chalki (**fig. 1**).<sup>2</sup> This particular position is probably consistent with its original placement, likely following a pattern already known for Byzantine cathedrals from the Early Christian period.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the Protothronos was founded as a basilica in the Early Christian period, and the presence of significant churches in the wider area dating from the 6th to 11th centuries, reveals the importance of the site of Chalki in Early Christian and Byzantine times.<sup>4</sup> Located in the large and fertile plateau of Tragaia or Drymalia<sup>5</sup> in the heart of Naxos, Chalki lies at a safe distance from the coast and alongside the main road network leading to the inland districts.

Due to this central location, the site of Chalki probably functioned as a rural market centre.<sup>6</sup> Within this frame, it can reasonably be explained why the important church of Panagia Protothronos was located there and not in the *kastron* of Apalirou, where the administrative and military centre was most likely based. The first reference to the church with the name *Θεοτόκος Πρωτόθρονος*<sup>7</sup> is encountered in patriarchal sigils of the 16th century (1568, 1580).<sup>8</sup> It is still hard to reconstruct the institutional history of the church, due to the absence of sufficient written sources. It seems, however, that from at least the 17th century the church functioned as the parish church of the village of Chalki.<sup>9</sup>

The church belongs to the transitional type of cross-in-square churches and was built atop a pre-existing Early Christian basilica (6th or 7th century), of which the large synthronon, four piers and the lower section of the walls are preserved.<sup>10</sup> It has been thought that its alteration to a cross-in-square form was carried out in the second half of the 10th century,<sup>11</sup> due to the dating of the layer of wall painting (the first examined in this paper) decorating this architectural phase to the final decades of the 10th century.<sup>12</sup>

In 1052 the chancel barrier, which probably pre-existed, was turned into a *templon*. On a part of its epistyle, today built into the later western facade of the church, the following inscription survives:<sup>13</sup>

1. For a discussion of the wall paintings and architecture of Panagia Protothronos, see Panayotidi (1969), pp. 174-90; Skarwan (1982), pp. 153-54, 160 and passim; Panayotidi (1986), pp. 83-84, 99-100; Zias (1989), pp. 30-49; Panayotidi (1989), pp. 293-97; Gioles (1990), pp. 36, 40-41, 121, 123-25, 135, 136, 137, 138, 147, 206, 208 and passim; Panayotidi (1991), pp. 286-87; Aslanidis (2014), pp. 26, 201-11, with previous bibliography.

2. According to A. Fl. Katsouros, the name of the village derives from the ancient word *χαλκείον* (forge), see Katsouros (1947), p.81. Neither excavations nor inscriptions or written testimony have proven this to be the case.

3. Bouras (1998), p. 92; Karagianni (2006), pp. 217-19.

4. We cite e.g. the Church of Agios Isidoros at Monoitsia (6th-7th c.), the Church of the Taxiarches at Monoitsia (1st half of 8th c.) and the Church of Agios Georgios Diasoritis (second half of 11th c.), Aslanidis (2014), pp. 26-28, 36-47, 299, with previous bibliography; Crow, Turner and Vionis (2011), p. 131.

5. *Τραγαί(έ)α* from *Τραγία*. The toponym *Tragia* is recorded by Herodian (2nd c.) and later by Stephanus of Byzantium (late 5th-early 6th c.), Sfyroera (2011), v. 1, no. 152, p. 111, no. 161, p. 122, no. 351, p. 208, v. 2, pp. 536-37, with bibliography. The archaeological evidence attests to the existence of centres of habitation in the broader region from the Geometric period, *ibid.*, pp. 111, 536. The toponym *Drymalia* is assigned from 1538, *ibid.*, p. 536.

6. Kasdagli (1999), p. 37; Vionis (2012), p. 201.

7. According to G. Korres, the term refers to the age of the church or to the first-ranking among the saints honoured in the church of the Panagia, see Korres (1967), p. 571. See also Panayotidi (1969), p. 174, note 73, where the term is connected with the Virgin Mary. A church in the region of Apeiranthos has the same epithet, Kefalliniadis (1985), p. 96. The term *Protothronos*, connected with the *taxis protokathedrias* and employed for designating the chief or preeminent bishop, probably reflects the importance of the church, see Protothronos, *ODB*, III, p. 1749 (A. Papadakis).

8. Zias (1989), p. 30; Anomeritis (2012), pp. 371, 393.

9. According to a letter by the Metropolitan of Paronaxia Athanasios in 1691, the parish church of Protothronos was ceded to the priest Ioannis Spanos, Zakyntinos (1937), p. 238.

10. Panayotidi (1969), p. 178; Aslanidis (2014), pp. 26, 204-205 with previous bibliography.

11. Panayotidi (1969), pp. 174-79; Panayotidi (1986), p. 83; see recently Aslanidis (2014), pp. 204-208. Other scholars, however, have proposed different opinions on the dating of the alteration, see in total Aslanidis, *ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

12. Panayotidi (1986), pp. 83-84; Zias (1989), pp. 34, 44-48 dates this phase to 1052.

13. The length of the epistyle corresponds to the width of the sanctuary, Panayotidi (1969), p. 181. For the inscription see: Panayotidi, *ibid.*, 179-82, for the first reading and comment on the inscription. Panayotidi (1986), p. 100, n. 128; Zias (1989), p.

Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΕ ΔΕΣΠΥΝΑ ΚΕ Μ(ΗΤ)ΗΡ ΤΟΥ Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)Υ/ ΣΚΕΠΕ ΦΡΟΥΡΗ ΦΥΛΑΤ<ΤΕ> ΤΟΥ(Σ) ΟΥ(Σ) ΟΙ/ ΚΕΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΚΕΝΗCΑ[Ν]Τ(Α)C Τ(ΟΝ) ΕΝΔΟ/ΕΟΝ ΝΑΟ<Ν> C(ΟΥ)/ ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΘΕΟΦΛΕCΤΑΤΟΝ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΝ ΚΕ/ ΝΗΚΗΤ(ΑΝ) ΠΡΟΤΟCΠΑΘΑΡΗΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΟΥΡΜΑΡΧΗΝ/ ΝΑΞΗΑC ΚΕ CΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ Κ(Ο) Μ(ΗΤΑ) Τ(ΟΝ) ΚΑΜΗΛΑΡΗΝ ΚΕ/ΤΟΥC ΕΝ ΠΙCΤΗ ΕΝ ΦΟΒΟ ΗCΗΟΝΤΑC Α[Μ]ΗΝ/ [CΩCΟ]Ν ΑΥΤΟΙC Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΟΥΤΟΥC ΡΥCΟΝ<sup>14</sup> ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) Ε' ΕΤΟΥC ,ζΦΞ (6560-5508=1052) (figs. 2, 3).<sup>15</sup>

During approximately the same period the narthex and the two chapels were added.<sup>16</sup> A painted inscription preserved in the north chapel, dedicated to Agios Akindynos, preserves the date (1056) and informs us of the death of a lay woman called Anna. The text of the inscription runs as follows: ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΑ/ Μ(ΗΝΟC) ΜΑΡΤ[ΙΟΥ] (ΕΙ)C ΤΑC Η ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) Θ' ΕΤΟΥC ,ζΦΞΔ'.<sup>17</sup> It was during this era (ca. 1052-1056) that the dome's second layer of frescos and the chapel's frescos were executed.<sup>18</sup>

The location of the church in the landscape, its remarkable size (14.70 x 9.60 m), the large synthronon with the impressive bishop's throne of the earlier Christian basilica,<sup>19</sup> and the epigraphic testimony strongly suggest the identification of the Prothothronos as an episcopal church.<sup>20</sup> This particular function and the importance of the church in the local community might explain the successive wall painting phases that decorate the building.<sup>21</sup>

This paper will focus on the content of images and inscriptions of Panagia Prothronos in two different time periods: the first dated to the final decades of the 10th century and the other to ca. 1052-1056. The main objective is to offer a more nuanced consideration of the visual and inscriptional evidence and their meanings and, by extension, to decipher their relationship to the function, patrons and audience of the church, and the contemporary historical circumstances.

30; Gerstel (1999), pp. 6-7; Pennas (2000), p. 24; Mitsani (2004-06), pp. 415-16 no. 18 and passim; Pallis (2013), pp. 798-99 and passim; Rhoby (2014), pp. 313-15. A second inscription perhaps is connected with the content of this renovation, see in detail, Aslanidis (2014), p. 207.

14. *ῥύσον* instead of the common *ῥύσαι*.

15. Θ(εοτό)κε Δέσποινα καὶ Μ(ήτηρ) τοῦ Κ(υρίου)υ/ σκέπε, φρούρει, φύλατ<τε> τοῦ(ς) σου(ς) οἰ/κέτας τοὺς ἀνακαινίσα[ν] τ(α)ς τ(ὸν) ἔνδο/ξον ναὸ<ν> σ(ου)/ Λέοντα θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ/ Νικήτ (αν) πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ τουρμάρχη/ Ναξίας καὶ Στέφανον κ(ό)μ(η)τα τ(ὸν) Καμηλάρην καὶ/ τοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐν φόβῳ εἰσιόντας ἀ[μ]ήν/ [σῶσο]ν αὐτοὺς κ(αὶ) τοὺτους ῥύσον ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) Ε' ἔτους ,ζφξ (6560-5508=1052) (Theotokos, Our Lady and Mother of our Lord/ cover, guard, and protect your se/rvants, whose novated your glo/rrious church/ Bishop Leo most dear to God and/ Niketas *protospatharios* and *tourmarches*/ of Naxos, and *Komes* Stephanos Kamelaris, and/ bless all those who in faith and reverence enter here amen/ save them and deliver them 5<sup>th</sup> indiction, in the year 1052). Some parts of the inscription have a metrical structure.

16. Aslanidis (2014), pp. 206-208. According to Lambertz, the exterior walls of the present narthex and chapels belong to the original narthex from the Early Christian period, Lambertz (2001), p. 389, note 26.

17. Ἐκοιμήθη ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἄν<ν>α/ μ(η)νός Μαρτίου (εἰ)ς τὰς η' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ' ἔτους ,ζφξδ' (6564- 5508=1056) (The servant of God Anna fell asleep / on March 8, 9th indiction, year 1056). Chatzidakis (1973-74), p.78. There is no obvious burial evidence, at least in the chapel. Of course, an excavation of the floor has not been carried out. According to these facts, a function as a commemorative or votive chapel, in which, from time to time, a memorial service was held in honour of the deceased Anna seems more plausible.

18. Panayotidi (1986), pp. 99-100; Zias (1989), pp. 34, 37-38, 48 dates these frescoes to the period 1056-1100.

19. Although it is known that the synthronon is not limited to cathedrals, it should be noted that the synthronon of Prothronos is larger in size than those in the other churches of Naxos, Dimitrokallis (2000), pp. 50, 51. The bishop's throne is also particularly large, consisting of marble slabs that are decorated with crosses in relief, Aslanidis (2014), p. 203.

20. However, according to a written reference (1820) of the Catholic priest Andrea Vegeti, the church of Agios Mamas at Potamia functioned as the Orthodox metropolis before the Frankish conquest, Zerlenti (1907), pp. 285-86; Zerlenti (1925), pp. 9-10; Dimitrokallis (1962), p. 39. This does not seem possible, at least for the period we are investigating. The church of Agios Mamas was built on the site of a smaller church at the end of the 10th century - first half of the 11th century, according to the latest research, through the patronage of Bishop Leo, according to the donor inscription-epigram. The church does not have a synthronon, Aslanidis (2014), pp. 191-97. For the identification of the church with a monastery *katholikon*, Dimitrokallis (1962), p. 40.

21. The detailed examination of the painted decoration as a whole will be the subject of a separate study. This phenomenon of successive wall painting phases is observed in other Byzantine cathedrals or metropolises, see, for example, the Old Metropolis at Veroia, and the Episkope at Eurytania, Panayotidi (1975), p. 306; Papazotos (1994), pp. 164-69; Theocharopoulou (2014).

### *The wall paintings of the last decades of the tenth century*

The painted decoration of the 10th century is evident today in the sanctuary, the dome (exhibited in the Glezos Tower museum), and in the south and north barrel vaults of the naos cross arms. It has been dated on stylistic grounds to the final decades of the 10th century.<sup>22</sup> A slightly different style of rendering that has been traced between the frescoes of the dome and the south arm has been attributed to the work of different artists.<sup>23</sup> The fragmentary state of the frescoes makes it impossible to reconstruct the entire iconographic programme. Nevertheless, what is preserved provides evidence for what must have been a coherent ensemble of images with particular theological and political implications.

### *The sanctuary*

The semicircular wall of the apse preserves part of the face and halo of a saint, probably a bishop, painted over the crosses of the second aniconic layer,<sup>24</sup> (figs. 4-5) which probably belongs to the phase under discussion.<sup>25</sup> A fragment of a church father is also preserved on the upper part of the south wall of the sanctuary. Frontal depictions of bishops in the lower register of the apse and on the side walls of the sanctuary became popular from the 10th century onwards.<sup>26</sup> Their frontal representation is related to their hierarchic identity as fathers of the church, and their role in the definition and defence of Orthodox doctrine.<sup>27</sup> In this setting, they also guarantee the authenticity of the liturgical office.<sup>28</sup>

Fragments of moving figures are evident on the barrel vault. Three are preserved to the north and six to the south. Based on the arrangement and movement of the figures, a representation of the Ascension could be restored in this spot. It is worth noting that it is one of the earliest attempts at placing this scene in this particular position.<sup>29</sup> At the eastern edge of the south section, part of a structure is still evident, but the reconstruction of the scene remains problematic.<sup>30</sup>

### *The dome*

The dome includes the depiction of Christ *Pantokrator* in the central medallion, and in the register beneath, the alternating depictions of eight celestial beings and eight prophets (figs. 6-9). The *Pantokrator* is shown bust-length with a gemmed halo holding a Gospel book in his left hand and blessing with his right. The perimeter of the medallion is surrounded by a decorative band of palmettes.<sup>31</sup>

Three seraphim and one cherub are depicted on the axial points of the cupola, above the four win-

22. For a stylistic description and comparisons, Panayotidi (1986), p. 83-84; Panayotidi (1989), p. 293-99.

23. Panayotidi (1986), p. 84; Panayotidi (1989), p. 296.

24. Zias (1989), pp. 34, 37, 42, 44. For this layer and its relationship with the Iconoclastic controversy, see Acheimastou-Potamianou (1984), pp. 377-78; Acheimastou-Potamianou (1989), p. 56.

25. The bishop has been painted directly on the previous layer, without an intermediate layer of plaster. This part has been detached and is found today in the church museum, on which see Acheimastou-Potamianou (1984), p. 378.

26. The earliest examples are located in the region of Cappadocia, Jolivet-Lévy (1991), pp. 38-39, 88-89, 119, 138-39, 203. Gerstel (1999), p. 18; Mantas (2001), pp. 139-42.

27. Chatzidakis (1959), p. 95; Walter (1982), pp. 166-77, 200-12; Jolivet-Lévy (1991), p. 18; Gerstel (1999), pp. 17, 18; Mantas (2001), pp. 136-38, 146.

28. Jolivet-Lévy (1991), pp. 18, 341; Mantas (2001), p. 138.

29. Mantas (2001), pp. 195-201.

30. Zias (1989), pp. 33, 36 reconstructs the scene of the Descent into Hades in the north part and the scene of Peter's Denial in the south part.

31. The same pattern is found on bands that go across the key of the barrel vaults. Parts of it are also found on the south and north walls.

dows. The human face, six wings and two feet are visible (Isaiah 6:2) for the seraph located above the east window (**fig. 6**). The two seraphim above the west (**fig. 8**) and north window have only four wings, possibly due to a lack of space. Above the south window the cherub is depicted with four many-eyed wings (Ezekiel 1:18.10:12) and with only one human head (**fig. 7**).<sup>32</sup>

In the spaces between the windows, the four archangels alternate with the prophets.<sup>33</sup> The archangels are depicted on the east part of the dome, the most significant part due to its orientation, and are clad in imperial attire<sup>34</sup> and hold in their right hand a labarum with the opening of the *Trisagion* hymn (ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC)<sup>35</sup> and a globe in their left hand (**figs. 6, 9**).<sup>36</sup> The southeast archangel wears the modified *loros*, which was pulled on over the head.<sup>37</sup> The upper part is decorated with a horizontal and vertical row of large medallions enclosing a rosette motif.<sup>38</sup> The northeast archangel wears the characteristic crossed *loros* decorated with rows of small square panels.<sup>39</sup>

The archangels of the western part wear unusual, simplified military dress, hold a labarum with the same passage from the *Trisagion* in their right hand and the edge of their chlamys in their left (**figs. 7-9**). Angels in military attire are not often encountered in the domes of churches although it is, of course, well known that the Byzantines assigned a military quality to the angels.<sup>40</sup> They constituted God's army as an archetype of the Byzantine military hierarchy.<sup>41</sup> An analogous combination of angels with imperial and military attire is well known today from the dome of the Capella Palatina (1140)<sup>42</sup> and it may have existed in the Nea Moni of Chios (1042-1055), according to the description by Stryzowski.<sup>43</sup>

The prophets are portrayed standing, holding inscribed scrolls with their left hands and making speaking gestures with their right. They are mostly identified by the inscriptions on their scrolls and by their individual characteristics. Starting from the south east and heading clockwise, the prophet Isaiah is depicted as an old man following his well-established iconographic type (**fig. 6**).<sup>44</sup> He wears a himation over a tunic and holds a scroll with the text: ΗΔΟΝ ΤΩ<N>/ Κ(ΥΠΙΟ)Ν ΕΠΗ/ ΘΡΟΝΟΥ ΥΨΗΛΟΥ ΚΕ/ ΕΠΗ[Ρ]ΜΕ/ΝΟΥ ΚΕ [ΠΛΗ/ΡΗ]C Ο [Ο]ΙΚΟC (Isaiah 6:1).<sup>45</sup>

32. The depiction with four heads is more usual. For the abstract depictions and the iconographical confusion, see Van Der Meer (1938), pp. 267-71; Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 124-28; Skotti (2005), pp. 148-55.

33. The archangels cannot be identified. However, in the second layer, inscriptions identify Raphael to the east and Gabriel to the west, see below.

34. Various interpretations have been expressed concerning the representation of archangels in imperial garb. For an overview, see Parani (2003), pp. 46-50. The frequent placement of the imperial angelic orders in the decoration of the bema during the Middle Byzantine period and the special meaning that their depiction in this position takes on seems to have dictated the placement of the archangels in imperial garb on the east axial point of the dome, above the sanctuary, Parani (2003), pp. 46-47.

35. On the labarum as a symbol of the glory and triumph of the *Pantokrator*, Parani (2003), pp. 32-33. The prayer of the *Trisagion* hymn comes from the vision of Isaiah and particularly from the victory ode the seraphim chanted when Isaiah was called by God (Isaiah 6:3). With its repetition in the Divine Liturgy by the faithful, the conviction that the earthly eucharistic worship is a reflection of the heavenly is expressed. Thus the *Trisagion* has a dogmatic, triumphant and glorifying character. *Trisagion*, *ODB* 3, 2121 (R. Taft); Papamastorakis (1987), pp. 143-45.

36. On the globe as a symbol of the authority of the *Pantokrator* over the visible world, Parani (2003), pp. 33-34.

37. For this type of *loros*, see Parani (2003), pp. 19-20, 42-50 and passim.

38. Maria Parani has detected a similar way of decorating the *loros* in the theophanic vision of the northern sanctuary of Tokali kilise at Göreme in Cappadocia, Parani (2001), p. 17.

39. For this type of *loros* see Parani (2003), pp. 18-27, and passim. The combination of these two ways of dressing are also found at Tokali, see Parani (2001), p. 17.

40. For the quality of "archistrategos" of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, see recently Parani (2003), pp. 154-55.

41. Mango (1980), pp. 153-4; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 113.

42. Demus (1950), pp. 311-12, pl. 13.

43. Mouriki (1985), p. 124.

44. Lowden (1988), p. 122, no 1; Nicolaidès (1996), pp. 45-46.

45. Εἶδον τὸν Κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένον, καὶ πλήρης ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ (I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, lofty and raised up, and the house was full of his glory). The electronic edition of Pietersma and Wright (2009) is used for the translation of Scripture in English.

Isaiah, one of the major prophets, is among the most frequently depicted prophets in domes. He usually occupies the same leading position, the first place south of the eastern radius. He is considered the foremost prophet of the Incarnation and the Sacrifice.<sup>46</sup> The inscription read on the scroll of the Protothronos transfers the opening words of the vision of the prophet. The passage, as well as the vision of the prophet as a whole, expresses the incomprehensibility and omnipotence of God. However, already in the Early Christian period and particularly during the Iconoclastic period and the years immediately following, the vision was associated with the mystery of the Incarnation.<sup>47</sup> This passage has been integrated into the *Prophetologion* and is read on Thursday of the second week of Great Lent.<sup>48</sup> Examples of the representation of the prophet with the corresponding text are not known in domes of the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>49</sup>

The prophet Jeremiah follows. He also belongs to the Major Prophets and usually is paired with Isaiah on or close to the eastern part of the dome.<sup>50</sup> He is portrayed as an older, gray-haired man, with a short beard.<sup>51</sup> He is clad in a chiton and himation and holds a scroll with the text from Baruch 3: 36 +ΟΥΤΟC/ Ω Θ(Ε)Ε Η/MON ΟΥ/ ΛΟΓΗC/ΘΗCΕΤΕ/ ΕΤΕΡΟC ΠΡ/ΟC ΑΥΤΟΝ.<sup>52</sup> This passage is often found in depictions of the prophet in Middle Byzantine churches.<sup>53</sup> The text is about glorification and refers to the *Pantokrator* as creator and supreme governor of all, accentuating his uniqueness and further denotes the Incarnation.<sup>54</sup> The text is read during the eve of the feast of the Nativity.<sup>55</sup>

The next prophet is Habbakuk (fig. 7).<sup>56</sup> He is represented as an old man with thick gray hair that falls to his shoulders and a round beard. Dressed in a chiton and himation, he holds an open scroll inscribed with the text: Κ(ΥΠΙ)Ε ΕΚ/ ΝΑΟΥ ΑΓΙ/ΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΥ/ΛΑΒΗCΘΟ/ ΑΠΟ ΠΡΟCΟΠΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ (Habbakuk 2: 20).<sup>57</sup> The text he carries underlines God's sovereign authority and dominion, which should strike all men with reverential awe, and refers to humility before God. This passage has yet to be found on the scrolls held by the prophet in the domes of other churches.<sup>58</sup>

The prophet-king David follows next (figs. 7, 8).<sup>59</sup> He is represented as an old man with a round beard,<sup>60</sup> dressed in the imperial chlamys costume and wears an open crown with *prependoulia*.<sup>61</sup> The scroll in his left hand is inscribed with the text: ΑΚΟΥCΟΝ/ ΘΥΤ[Α]ΤΗΡ/ ΚΕ ΗΔΕ/ ΚΕ ΚΛΗ/ΝΕ ΤΟ

46. Papamastorakis (2001), p. 203; Mantas (2001), pp. 92-93 with previous bibliography.

47. Skotti (2005), pp. 41-42, 44, 53-55; Skotti (2007), pp. 182-83.

48. Gravgaard (1979), p. 49; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 205.

49. For later examples, Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 204-205.

50. Papamastorakis (1985), pp. 85-6; Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 176-77.

51. Lowden (1988), p. 122, no 2; Nicolaidès (1996), p. 46.

52. Οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν. (This is our God; no other will be reckoned with him).

53. With the same text, Jeremiah is depicted at the eastern end of the north tympanum in Haghia Sophia (886-912), Mango (1962), p. 60; Papamastorakis (1987), p. 147; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 210.

54. Papamastorakis (1987), p. 147; Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 208-10.

55. Gravgaard (1979), pp. 63-64; Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 208-10.

56. He is identified by the passage he is holding and by the similarity of his facial features to those of the prophet of the second layer, who is identified by an inscription and holds the same passage, since his appearance does not follow any other known iconographical type. On the variety of iconographical types for Habbakuk see: Lowden (1988), p. 123, no. 10; Walter (1989), pp. 251-60.

57. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἐν ναῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ· εὐλαβεῖσθω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ (But the Lord is in his holy shrine; let all the earth do reverence before him).

58. Habakkuk usually holds a scroll with the passage 3, 2 or 3, 3 from the book of prophecies, which refer, respectively, to the Incarnation, Christ's presence on earth, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and to the Theotokos, Christ's presence on earth, see Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 233-35.

59. David is usually depicted with Solomon in Byzantine domes, for which see Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 174-75, where mention is made of the limited cases where the prophet David is depicted alone.

60. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1909), pp. 74, 77, 262; Nicolaidès (1996), pp. 44-45.

61. Parani (2003), pp. 35, 36, 37.

ΟΥΚ/ COY KE ΕΠ/ΗΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ (Ps. 44/ 45:11).<sup>62</sup> David, the archetypical king and one of the ideal Byzantine ruler-types, is often found in the dome during the Middle Byzantine period, holding a scroll with this same passage.<sup>63</sup> The passage refers to the Theotokos and to the miracle of the Incarnation.<sup>64</sup> The text is read during the eve of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin and the Annunciation.<sup>65</sup>

The next prophet is identified as Zephaniah (**fig. 8**),<sup>66</sup> depicted as an old man with his hair falling to his shoulders and clad in a chiton and himation. His scroll is inscribed with the following text: THC/ Θ(EO)C ΟCΠ/ΕΡ CY ΕΞΕ/ΡΟΝ ΑΝΟ/ΜΗΑC ΚΕ/ ΥΠΕΡΒΕ/ΝΟΝ ΑΔΙΚΙ/[ΑC] (Micah 7:18).<sup>67</sup> The passage on his scroll, which is the only known example found in a dome, underlines the magnitude of God's philanthropy, mercy and generosity.<sup>68</sup>

The prophet Elijah follows (**fig. 9**). He is portrayed as an old white-haired man<sup>69</sup> wearing a chiton and himation. He holds a scroll with six lines. Only the following text is visible: ΖΗ Κ(ΥΠΙΟ)C ΗΜ/ [.....]/ΕCΤ[.....]/. The text refers to a passage from the Third Book of Kings (III Kings 17:1)<sup>70</sup> that underlines the quality of the *Pantokrator* as supreme authority of the universe.<sup>71</sup> The excerpt is read on the feast day of the prophet Elijah.<sup>72</sup> Elijah is often represented with the same passage in the dome of Middle Byzantine monuments.<sup>73</sup>

The next prophet wears a chiton and himation (**fig. 9**). He is depicted as a young man with long black hair. Very few letters are visible on the text of his scroll: [.....]/. ΕΞ[.....]/ Κ(ΥΠΙ)Ε ΕΓΩ/ [.....]. The figure can be identified with the prophet Moses, who is represented as a beardless young man during the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>74</sup> In domes, Elijah is frequently represented together with Moses, a pairing that is well known from scenes of the Transfiguration.<sup>75</sup>

The cycle of prophets ends with the representation of the prophet Daniel (**fig. 6**). He follows the usual iconographical type, that is, youthful, wearing Persian dress and with a characteristic head covering.<sup>76</sup> He holds a scroll in his left hand, but the text is difficult to reconstruct.<sup>77</sup> The prophet is represented almost regularly in domes of the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>78</sup>

62. Ἄκουσον, θύγατερ, καὶ ἴδε, καὶ κλῖνον τὸ οὖς σου, καὶ ἐπιλάθου τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου (Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline your ear; and forget your people and the house of your father).

63. Papamastorakis (1985), plan III; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 187.

64. Papamastorakis (1985), p. 73; Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 188-89, for the texts of Church Fathers.

65. Gravgaard (1979), p. 28; Papamastorakis (1985), p. 73; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 188.

66. Lowden (1988), p. 122, no.8. Although the selection of the passage from the book of the prophet Micah could suggest that this prophet is depicted, nevertheless the rendering of the facial features of the figure, and especially the fact that in the second layer of the dome (see below) the prophet Zephaniah is depicted, indicated by an inscription and holding the same passage, permits a fairly secure identification as Zephaniah in the first layer as well.

67. Τίς Θεὸς ὡσπερ σύ; ἐξαίρων ἀνομίας καὶ ὑπερβαίων ἀσεβείας τοῖς καταλοίποις τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ (Who is a God like you, removing injustices, and passing over impieties for the remnant of his possession). For the prophet and the passages usually written on his scroll, see Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 235-38, 248.

68. See the interpretation of the part by Theophylact of Ohrid, in *PG* 123, pp. 187-90.

69. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1909), pp. 77, 262; Nicolaidès (1996), pp. 47-8.

70. Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ᾧ παρέστην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, εἴ ἔσται τὰ ἔτη ταῦτα δρόσος καὶ ὑετός, ὅτι εἰ μὴ διὰ στόματος λόγου μου (The Lord lives, the God of hosts, the God of Israel before whom I stand, if there shall be dew and rain these years, except by the word of my mouth).

71. Papamastorakis (1987), p. 147; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 198.

72. Papamastorakis (2001), p. 198.

73. Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 197-98.

74. Nicolaidès (1996), pp. 43-44; Papamastorakis (2001), p. 244. Comparison with the figure of the prophet Moses in the dome of Panagia at Myriokephala on Crete (c. 1000), who is identified by an inscription, also leads to this identification, Antourakis (1977), p. 92, pl. 21.

75. Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 180-81.

76. Nicolaidès (1996), pp. 49-50; Parani (2003), p. 241.

77. The same prophet is depicted in the second layer, see below.

78. Papamastorakis (2001), p. 215.

If our proposed dating is accepted, the dome of the Protothronos comprises the earliest known surviving example to include the depiction of the prophets with inscribed scrolls. Their representation in the same register with the archangels is apparently due to the shape of the dome, which does not have a drum.<sup>79</sup> The composition projects the importance of the Vision of God, since the *Pantokrator* is surrounded by celestial powers. Archangels, as Christ's servitors, highlight the significance of the perpetual glorification of the ruler of the universe. This hierarchical composition visualizes the archetype of earthly imperial dominance in an age of triumph. The inscribed scrolls of the prophets, the selection of which does not seem to be random, emphasise the triumphant rule of God, the attribute of God as merciful, the significance of humility and submission before Him, and the belief in the role of the Incarnation and Salvation.

The original decoration of the dome of the Protothronos is one of the earliest post-Iconoclastic compositions and visualizes the basic orthodox ideas through a visionary iconographic legacy. The development of the artistic configuration of the dome's decoration, which becomes established in domes from this time forward, is thus apparent.<sup>80</sup>

### **South cross arm**

Scenes from the Christological cycle adorned the upper parts of the church. Of these, the Annunciation and the Visitation survive today, occupying the upper part of the east side of the south cross arm (**fig. 10**). The archangel Gabriel enters the scene of Annunciation from the left. Mary is shown seated on a throne with a backrest, holding knitting needles, according to the description in the *Protavangelion* of James.<sup>81</sup> Mary and Elisabeth are depicted in a close embrace in the scene of the Visitation. The two scenes are only separated by a central-plan building depicted in the background, which seems to function simultaneously as Mary's (Luke 1:26-38) and Elisabeth's house (Luke 1:40-45). This thematic sequence and the continuous arrangement of the scenes reflect a narrative-based conception of imagery characteristic of church decorative programmes of this period.<sup>82</sup>

Although the decoration of the south lunette does not survive, it probably represented the scene of the Nativity.<sup>83</sup> The narration continues with the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Luke 2:25-35), which decorates the upper part of the west side of the same arm (**fig. 11**). Joseph stands at the left side of the scene, Mary with the Child and the aged Simeon in the centre and the prophetess Anne at the right side. An altar and a ciborium are depicted behind Simeon in the background.

The scene conforms to a group of earlier and roughly contemporary depictions that focus on the meeting of the Child with the aged Simeon and the act of his reception by him.<sup>84</sup> With the depiction of the altar in the background, a motif that has been considered as a reference to the Eucharistic aspect of the scene,<sup>85</sup> this representation turns our attention to Simeon's recognition of the incarnated Word. The visual alignment of the scene with the depiction of the Visitation helps to further highlight the central ideas of identification and recognition of Christ before and after his birth.

79. Aslanidis (2014), p. 332.

80. Panayotidi (1986), *passim*.

81. Evangelatou (2003), pp. 261-79. The seated Virgin is the most widespread type in Byzantine art, Papastavrou (2007), pp. 54-56.

82. Jolivet-Lévy (2002), pp. 180-84 with previous bibliography. For the waning interest in the theme of the Visitation in post-Iconoclastic programmes, Kartsonis (1986), p. 102.

83. The scene in this place is associated with the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin, placed in the tympanum of the north wall (see below). For the popularity and meaning of this juxtaposition in Byzantine art and literature, see Maguire (1981), pp. 59-68.

84. Schiller (1969), p. 330, fig. 226. These examples are included in Type A, according to Xyngopoulos' classification, Xyngopoulos (1929), pp. 329-37.

85. Kartsonis (1986), p. 102-103; Weyl Carr (1993-94), p. 244.



Two further scenes decorating the lower part of the south arm are of particular interest. On the east side, the representation of the Calling of the Apostles on the Sea of Galilee (Matthew 4:18-22), has been identified.<sup>86</sup> The scene is now almost completely lost; only white curved lines that mark the waves, part of a boat and a figure are still visible. The scene records a key episode of Christ's earthly activity, the apostolic conversion and the new role of the apostles, from fishermen to primary disciples and active promoters of Christianity among the heretics and non-believers. Its textual source, Matthew 4:18-22, distinctly stresses the direct loyalty of the apostles to Christ through the power of his words.<sup>87</sup>

The depiction of the apostolic conversion is not often illustrated in Byzantine churches and is usually part of extensive narrative sequences picturing Christ's ministry.<sup>88</sup> In the Protothronos, we cannot hypothesize whether the scene belonged to a broader narrative sequence. Nevertheless, the fact that the scene is placed where it can be directly seen by the faithful is of great interest.

Just across from the scene of the Calling and below that of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple is the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (**fig. 12**). The Forty Martyrs are shown full-figure, densely-arrayed in a row and in prayer. The depiction of the figure of Christ distributing crowns is probably missing. The episode of the bath attendant, who takes the place of the fortieth turncoat, and part of the bath house are displayed on the right edge of the scene.

The representations of the Forty Martyrs, with the attributes of elite soldiers and mainly of martyrs of Orthodoxy, acquired a markedly soteriological and triumphant character.<sup>89</sup> The cult has been popular from as early as the 4th century in such important centres as Caesarea, Rome, Jerusalem, and especially in Constantinople.<sup>90</sup> Its popularity was enhanced by the homilies and *kontakia* written by important churchmen,<sup>91</sup> which emphasized the ideas of collectivity<sup>92</sup> and Baptism.<sup>93</sup> As a result of the renewed interest in the cult of the holy warriors during the Macedonian period,<sup>94</sup> the Forty Martyrs are also depicted as individual figures in important churches of Cappadocia<sup>95</sup> and Kastoria<sup>96</sup> comparable in date to the Protothronos. Constantinopolitan artefacts of the period also show their martyrdom.<sup>97</sup> The simple stances of the figures characterize the early examples of this scene.<sup>98</sup> The two images in the Protothronos, the Forty Martyrs and the Calling of the Apostles, are further associated by the notable depiction of water and the allusion to Baptism.<sup>99</sup>

86. Skawran identifies the scene with the appearance of Christ at Lake Tiberias after the Resurrection, Skawran (1982), p. 160. Given the poor preservation of the scene, this identification cannot be ruled out. For the iconography and meaning of the scene, see Zarras (2011), pp. 252-60, with previous bibliography.

87. A topic that is further elaborated in the homilies of Church Fathers, e.g. John Chrysostom, *PG* 57, p. 219; Basil of Seleukeia, *PG* 85, pp. 332-35.

88. Schiller (1969), pp. 164-65; Wharton Epstein (1987), pp. 63, 71, figs. 28, 72; Brubaker (1999), pp. 127-29, 380-83. However, cf. the frequent depictions of the Mission of the Apostles in the second half of the 9th and throughout the 10th century, Grabar (1968b), pp. 160-63.

89. Demus (1960), pp. 96-109; Velmans (1983), pp. 41-42; Gavrilović (2001c), pp. 198-216 with previous bibliography.

90. Demus (1960), pp. 97-98; Velmans (1983), 41.

91. Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Ephrem the Syrian, Severus of Antioch, Romanos the Melodist, see in Velmans (1983), p. 42; Gavrilović (2001b), pp. 99-100.

92. Demus (1960), pp. 98-99.

93. Gavrilović (2001c), p. 202, with previous bibliography.

94. Nelson (2011), pp. 169-92 and *passim*.

95. Thierry M. and N. (1963), pp. 98-100; Jolivet-Lévy (1991), pp. 16, 19, 25, 37, 96, 107, 115, 219, 263, 264, 268, 304, 329, 341, 342; Jolivet-Lévy (2002), pp. 73, 273, 274, 339, 342, 343; Thierry (2002), pp. 49, 136.

96. Agios Stephanos, Kastoria, Siomkos (2005), c. 900, pp. 64-66, 132; for a 10th-century date (third quarter), Panayotidi (1986), pp. 79-82.

97. Such as the 10th-century ivory plaques in the State Museum of Berlin-Bode Museum and in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Demus (1960), p. 103, n. 72, figs. 12, 13.

98. Demus (1960), pp. 101-106.

99. For the baptismal symbolism of the cult and iconography of the Forty Martyrs, see Gavrilović (2001c), *passim*, with previous bibliography. For the use of the Calling of the Apostles in a baptismal context, see e.g. Brubaker (1999), p. 129.

### *North cross arm*

Few fragments have also been preserved in the north cross arm. A band of interconnected roundels probably with the busts of prophets is placed along the keystone, at the centre of the barrel vault.<sup>100</sup> Parts of unidentifiable scenes are visible on each side of the cross arm. Here, the scenes unfold on the entire surface of each part of the barrel vault. The Dormition of the Virgin partly preserved in the lunette of the north wall displays a different stylistic treatment, and it can be dated a little later than the other wall paintings of this phase (**fig. 13**).<sup>101</sup>

### *Meanings, function and historical context*

The choice of specific images, their conscious juxtaposition, and the thematic relations developed among them, suggest that the unknown patron or patrons responsible for the reconstruction of the Protothronos, who were theologically informed and familiar with contemporary artistic developments, created a pictorial context that communicated the doctrines of the Orthodox Faith and the history of salvation. Ideas such as *taxis*, God's domination over the world, philanthropy and generosity, martyrdom and the eternal reward for those committed to the truth faith, group cohesion, spreading of the Gospel, and true faith through conversion and Baptism, are particularly stressed. These correspond to core virtues of Byzantine imperial ideology, ideas, and practices, namely the notion of martyrdom<sup>102</sup> and missionary activity<sup>103</sup> developed from the Iconoclastic controversy onwards. Salvation and victory through God's rule, the emphasis on the intercessory powers of the Virgin, the material and spiritual reward for all those who defend the true faith may be further linked to ideas that developed during and after the Byzantine counter-offensive against the Arabs.<sup>104</sup>

In general, the iconographical programme of this public church seems to promote basic and universal ideas and themes related to the religious-political culture of the era. In the emphatic manner of defending Orthodoxy, we can identify the view that was crystallized during the post-Iconoclastic period and was reflected in the artworks of the time: the defence, that is, of the empire and its political unity and identity through the defence of the tenets of Orthodoxy. Despite the fact that the Protothronos generally seems to follow the iconographical programmes of the period, the exploration of the imagery within the local, historical and cultural context makes it possible to detect particular historical, religious and cultural concerns.

Written sources provide scant information on Naxos's historical circumstances during the 10th century; only scattered references to the island are to be found, chiefly within the context of Arab-Byzantine conflicts. The island at the centre of the Aegean, an important stop on the seaway to Crete, apparently came in direct confrontation with the Arabs. Our earliest source of information comes from Ioannis Kaminiates, reporting on his way to Crete as a captive of the Arabs who had just besieged Thessaloniki in 904, that on their way back to Tripoli in Syria they stopped at an island called Naxos,

100. The medallion images of prophets in the church vaults are widely found in the ninth and tenth-century churches of Cappadocia, Teteriatnikov (2011), pp. 58-61.

101. It is not easy to determine whether this representation replaced an older wall painting or whether this distance in time indicates that the church was decorated in stages.

102. For the importance given to the concept of martyrdom in hagiography and art during the Iconoclastic period, Ševčenko (1977), p. 129; Brubaker (1999), pp. 245-62; Efthymiades (2011b), pp. 99-101.

103. Grabar (1968b), pp. 160-4; Brubaker (1999), pp. 239-80.

104. Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991), pp. 355-69; Efthymiades (2011b), pp. 113-14. For the resounding attribution of victory to God and the Virgin Mary, as well as the imperial desire expressed by Nikephoros Phokas (963-969) to honour all the soldiers who fell in Byzantium's battles against the Muslim Arabs as martyrs, ideas which were not officially accepted by the Church, see also Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991), pp. 130-41 and *passim*.

“from which the inhabitants of Crete (the Muslims) receive tribute”.<sup>105</sup> He also mentions that “its inhabitants”<sup>106</sup> provided Leo’s fleet with the necessities for their journey and that they stayed there for two days.<sup>107</sup> From the Life of Agios Theoctiste of Lesbos we are informed that on Paros the hermit Symeon told Niketas Magistros, who accompanied the expedition of Himerios to Crete in 910, that he should sail to Naxos and stay there in the harbour for one day.<sup>108</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus referred to Naxos as a stop on the sea route described in his *Stadiodromikon* for the needs of what turned out to be an unsuccessful expedition to Crete in 949.<sup>109</sup>

Although it is evident from the above sources that Naxos served as a resupply station for both Arab and Byzantine ships, it still remains unclear as to when Naxos was threatened, for how long, or even if the island was ever occupied by the Arabs of the Emirate of Crete after its foundation in 826.<sup>110</sup> During this period, Naxos finds itself in the “field of challenge” between the two antagonistic powers of the Aegean. Be that as it may, 961 is a milestone year in the Aegean; the Byzantines regained control of Crete marking the beginning of prosperity for the Aegean islands.

The visual evidence coming from the 8th to the first decades of the 10th century is of great interest.<sup>111</sup> A large number of old and new churches, Protothronos included, were decorated with the well-known aniconic types of decoration. Some of them probably constitute the religious centres of what seems to have been rural settlements.<sup>112</sup> The dating of these aniconic frescoes and their historical interpretation still remain problematic.<sup>113</sup> What remains incontrovertible, according to current data, is that this non-figural painting persisted as a kind of visual representation even until the last decades of the 10th century.<sup>114</sup>

The first official attempt to change from this extended aniconic visual experience to iconic imagery in Naxos is attested in the Protothronos church. Not earlier than the last decades of the 10th century, the iconoclastic fresco layer preserved in the apse<sup>115</sup> was covered by the figure of a bishop, dating to the phase previously discussed.

The architectural modification to what we have argued was the cathedral of Naxos, from a basilica to a domed structure, as well as the new painted decoration, reveals the unknown patrons’ concern to display the basic tenets of Orthodox identity with imperial connotations and to celebrate the Liturgy in a public space with iconic visual representation. The dogmatic content and the didactic character of the programme seem to be associated with the function of the church as an episcopal church. It also ap-

105. Ioannis Kaminiates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. Böhlig, p. 583; Eng. tr. Fredo and Fotiou, p. 115.

106. Ioannis Kaminiates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. Böhlig, p. 583; Eng. tr. Fredo and Fotiou, p. 115. Christides believes that the author probably refers to the local authorities or Arab representatives or both, Christides (2009), pp. 641-42.

107. Ioannis Kaminiates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. Böhlig, pp. 583, 584; Ahrweiler (1966), p. 44. n. 6; Christides (1984), p. 82; Christides (2009), pp. 640-43.

108. Niketas Magistros, *Vita S. Theoctistae*, p. 227; Eng. trans. Hero (1996), pp. 107-108.

109. Christides (2009), pp. 641, 646, n. 58, with previous bibliography.

110. The argument of the Arab occupation of the island is discussed in detail by Christides (2009), pp. 640-43, with previous bibliography. However, could the payment of taxes have been part of a treaty with the locals or Byzantines?

111. For the numismatic evidence, architecture, settlements and ceramics of this period, see Penna (2001), pp. 403, 404, 408; and this volume; Vionis (2013), pp. 114-16; Aslanidis (2014), passim and especially pp. 395-98. Even though the period from the 8th to the first quarter of the 9th century has widely been accepted as a period of relative stability, the time span which corresponds to the Emirate of Crete is still difficult to assess.

112. Vionis (2013), pp. 114-15.

113. Brubaker and Haldon (2001), pp. 24-28; Panayotidi (2013), 100-101; Vionis (2013), pp. 114-17; Pennas (2014), pp. 171-74; Crow-Turner (2014), pp. 193-204; Kountoura-Galaki (2015), pp. 155-56.

114. Although very important figurative representations exist on the island from the second half of the 9th century onwards, i.e. the first layer of wall paintings in the church of Taxiarchis at Monoitsia (recently discovered, see Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, Brochure, Athens 2015), the first layer of wall paintings in the rock-cut church dedicated to the Nativity in the monastery of Panagia Kaloritisa (Kaloritissa), the first layer of decoration in the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos in the vicinity of Apeiranthos, see Panayotidi (1989), pp. 289-93, with previous bibliography.

115. See above note 24.

pears to be directly related to the historical circumstances of the period. It may be a local initiative that expresses the period's prevailing ideology as formed by 961 or, more likely, part of a more systematic imperial strategy, such as the one developed on Crete after the re-conquest of 961, to create the canvas on which "central" socio-political endeavours could be promoted, recognized and glorified.<sup>116</sup> It certainly could also be related to the new administrative role that Naxos may have acquired in the late 10th century after the establishment of the new Theme of the Cyclades.<sup>117</sup> Be that as it may, the episcopal church's decoration strengthened the Orthodox identity and the nature of imperial power through the choice of specific images and texts, reasserting to the inhabitants of a key region once again the principles of Byzantium's political world view. Based on this context, the transformation of Protothronos from a basilica to a domed structure and its decoration could be dated close after 961, to ca. 970-980.

Whether this large reconstruction and redecoration of the congregational church also marked economic, social, and demographic transformations at the site of Chalki and its rise as an administrative centre remains a matter of open discussion.

### *The wall paintings of ca. 1052-1056*

The following phase of renovations to the church was recorded in the inscription carved on the *templon* architrave, where there is mention of Bishop Leo, *Protospatharios* and *Tourmarches* of Naxos Niketas, *Komes* Stephanos Kamelares, and the date of renovation 1052 (figs. 2-3).<sup>118</sup>

The inscription stands out for the information it preserves concerning the ecclesiastical and military administrative structure and the island's history. The primacy of the bishop emerges from the inscription through the use of the adjective *θεοφιλέστατος* (most dear to God) and from the fact that he is the first of the church's patrons mentioned. The verbs *σκέπε*, *σώζε*, *φύλαττε* (cover, preserve, protect) in the beginning of the inscription, a phrase found in the *Megalynarion* of the Matins for the celebration of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, a feast directly connected with the Virgin,<sup>119</sup> reveals the probable use of liturgical texts, which was most likely due to the bishop's initiative.<sup>120</sup> His name is followed by the reference to two representatives of military authority. Niketas<sup>121</sup> held the office of *Tourmarches*<sup>122</sup> of *Naxias*, that is, according to the 9th-century *taktika*, the commander of the *tourma* of Naxos,<sup>123</sup> most likely belonging to the naval Theme of the Cyclades.<sup>124</sup> He also held the honorary title of *protospatharios*, which further underlined his prominent position in provincial society.<sup>125</sup> Stephanos Kamelares<sup>126</sup> held the office of *komes*, a term used to characterize the commanders of the *banda*, a sub-

116. Papamastorakis (1985), pp. 79-80, 88-89; Andrianakis (1991), pp. 9-17.

117. Penna (2010), pp. 14, 17-18, with previous bibliography.

118. See above.

119. *Μηνναῖον τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου*, ed. Αποστολική Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, p. 19. On the use of the three verbs in epigraphy, see Pallis (2013), p. 771, with previous bibliography.

120. The Bishop Leo, with reservation, has been identified as the Leo mentioned in the inscription-epigram from Agios Mamas in Potamia, Dimitrokallis (1962), p.42; Malamut (1988), p. 216. See also recently and more extensively, Aslanidis (2014), p.197. This viewpoint is disputed by Rhoby (2014), pp. 313-15.

121. For the absence of the family name, see Rhoby (2014), pp. 314-15.

122. Ahrweiler (1966), pp. 83-85; Oikonomidès (1972), 341; *Tourmarches*, ODB 3, 2100 (A. Kazhdan); Brubaker and Haldon, (2011), pp. 764-71 passim.

123. For the territorial and administrative significance of the term *tourma* see *Tourma*, ODB 3, 2100 (A. Kazhdan); Haldon (1999), pp. 113,114, 116; Brubaker and Haldon (2011), p. 766.

124. Malamut (1988), p. 334; for the Theme of the Cyclades, see above note 117.

125. Oikonomidès (1972), p. 297; *Protospatharios*, ODB 3, 1748 (A. Kazhdan).

126. The patronymic *Kamelares* (cameleer) is not frequently found in the sources. For examples see Rhoby (2014), p. 314 and note 1115. The exarch of the Metropolis of Athens during the 14th century was named Kosmas Kamilos, Lampros (1902), pp. 16-18. Of interest are also patristic references and the references of the 10th-century lexicographer of the *Suda*, according

division of the *tourma*.<sup>127</sup> Although these offices continue to exist in the 11th century, it is difficult to specify what sort of responsibilities they had, as well as their extent, during this time.<sup>128</sup>

It is very probable that these officials, i.e. a high-ranking representative of the church and the military officials, belonged to the “powerful” of the island. These main bastions of Byzantine provincial society cooperated in the renovation of the cathedral of the island.

Small-scale painted decoration, restricted to the dome and the “funerary” chapel, was executed at that time (ca.1052-1056).<sup>129</sup> The iconographic programme of the dome generally repeats the composition of the first layer although with semantic changes (figs. 14-16). The *Pantokrator* is depicted in the centre. His cross extends beyond the perimeter of the medallion.<sup>130</sup> The inscription of the medallion encircling Christ cannot be read. A total of four archangels are represented, two on the east part and two on the west, as in the first layer,<sup>131</sup> and the garments they are wearing follow the types of the respective representations in the first layer of the dome. The two archangels depicted on the east part are clad in imperial attire, hold a labarum with the opening of the *Trisagion* hymn and a cross-inscribed globe, while the archangels on the west part are represented in military dress, which they hold in one hand and a labarum in the other. The northeast archangel is identified as Raphael (ΡΑΦΑΗΛ) and perhaps correspondingly Uriel is found in the south-east. Gabriel (ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ) is represented in the south-west and correspondingly in the north-east is Michael. The cherub and seraphim depicted in the first layer are omitted here.

The number of prophets is reduced since Isaiah and Moses are omitted. Six prophets with inscribed scrolls are depicted in pairs between the four archangels. Starting in the south-east and going clockwise, archangel Uriel is followed by the depiction of the pair Jeremiah (ΗΕΡΕΜΗΑΣ) and Habakkuk (ΑΜΒΑΚΟΥΜ). The inscription on Jeremiah’s scroll is not extant.<sup>132</sup> The scroll of Habakkuk is inscribed with the text: [...].ΕΥ/ΛΑΒΗCΘΟ/ ΑΠΟ ΠΡΟCΘΠΟΥ (Habakkuk 2, 20), that is, the same passage as in the first layer.<sup>133</sup>

David (ΔΑ(ΒΙ)Δ) and Zephaniah (CΦΦΟΝΙΑC) (fig. 15) are depicted following Gabriel. The prophet-king David holds a scroll with the text: +ΑΚΟΥCΟΝ/ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡ/ ΚΕ ΚΛΗΝΕ/ ΤΟ ΟΥC CΟΥ/ ΚΕ ΕΠΗΛΑ/ [Θ]ΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ CΟΥ, which is the same part of the psalm found in the first layer.<sup>134</sup> Part of the passage from Micah can be read on Zephaniah’s scroll, which is also found in the first layer: [...]. [ΥΠΕΡ]/ ΒΕΝΟΝ Α/ ΔΗΚΙΑC (fig. 15).<sup>135</sup>

The final pair consists of prophets Elijah ((ΗΛΙ)ΑC) and Daniel (ΔΑΝΙΗΛ) (fig. 15). Discernible

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to which the word *kamelos* (κάμηλος)—in addition to the well-known animal, to which it is worth noting ecclesiastical authors attributed a great many negative symbolic meanings (impurity, the anti-Christ)—also meant the nautical heavy rope (cable), in a mistaken enunciation of the word *kamilos* (κάμιλος) (Theophylact of Ochrid, *PG* 123.356d and the *Lexicon of the Suda*, s.v. *Καμηλος*). Though it is not possible to determine at present the dissemination of the term *κάμιλος* in the sense of “nautical rope” during the Byzantine period, considering the widespread Byzantine practice of surnames originating from professional occupations, *Kamelares* might refer to some nautical profession in which Stephanos or his family was engaged.

127. The term in general was also used for officials with various functions, see, *Comes*, *ODB* 1, pp. 484-85 (A. Kazhdan); Brubaker and Haldon (2011), pp. 764-71, especially pp. 766-67, with previous bibliography. A *komes* is mentioned in an inscribed epistyle from Rhodes of about the same period (second half of the 11th century), see Giakoumaki (2014), pp. 195-214.

128. For the survival of the office of *tourmarchai* during the 10th and 11th century and the diversification of its responsibilities, see Holmes (1999), p. 245; Holmes (2005), p. 533; see also Falkenhausen (1984), p. 218.

129. For a stylistic description and comparisons, see Panayotidi (1986), pp. 99-100; Acheimastou- Potamianou (1992), p. 141.

130. This particular decoration on the arms of the cross is also found in the first layer of the Episkopi of Santorini, Orlanos (1951), p. 203 fig. 22, p. 204 fig. 23.

131. See above.

132. The prophet is also represented in the first layer and holds a scroll with the text from Baruch 3, 36, see above.

133. See above.

134. See above.

135. See above.

on Elijah's scroll is the same inscription as in the first layer: ΖΗ Κ(ΥΠΙΟ)C/ Ο Θ(ΕΟ)C Η ΕC/ΤΕ ΥΕΤΟC/ ΕΠΗ ΤΗC ΓΗC/ Η ΜΗ ΔΗ/Α CΤΟ/ ΜΑΤΟC/ ΜΟΥ (III Kings 17,1).<sup>136</sup> On Daniel's scroll the following inscription can be read: .E....ANH/[.....]/.. ΠΑΛΕΟC/ ΙΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΚΑΘ/ΗCΕ ΒΕΛΠΙΕ/ <ΨΥ>ΧΙ ΜΟΥ (Daniel 7: 9).<sup>137</sup> The passage is a paraphrase of the text of Daniel 7:9,<sup>138</sup> that is, the part of Daniel's vision that expresses God's dominion and eternal nature, and is known for its eschatological connotations.<sup>139</sup> From the surviving inscribed scrolls of the prophets, it appears that God's sovereignty and His eternal nature are honoured, as well as that of the Virgin Mary and her role in the Incarnation (**fig. 15**).

An interesting iconographic deviation is found at the dome's eastern axial point, where the depictions of four saints —George (Ο (ΑΓΙΟC) ΓΕΩΡ(ΓΙΟC)), Nicholas (Ο (ΑΓΙΟC) ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC), Demetrios (Ο (ΑΓΙΟC) ΔΗΜΗΤ(ΠΙΟC)), and Theodore Stratelates, identified by his individual characteristics— are added, creating a self-contained group (**figs. 14, 16**). Saint Nicholas' reputation for generosity, kindness and philanthropy and his basic attribute as a helper par excellence is repeatedly highlighted in liturgical texts and literary sources.<sup>140</sup> He is considered a defender of Orthodoxy, enjoyed honours equal to the Great Fathers and emerges as an exemplar for religious leaders, according to visual and textual sources.<sup>141</sup> As the famous patron saint of sailors,<sup>142</sup> he must have also had a prominent place in the local cult preferences of the island. The three military saints are depicted as martyrs, in courtly garb, and carrying crosses because they are represented in the celestial court. Saints George and Theodore Stratelates, two popular heroes from the provinces, raised from humble origins to become noble protectors of an empire, were particularly popular within the ranks of the Byzantine army.<sup>143</sup> Saint Demetrios was mainly known for his devotion to the protection of his city and the noble moral principles of his class.<sup>144</sup>

In comparison to the decoration of the earlier dome, the features of the Vision are missing, as well as the figures of Isaiah and Moses, that project with emphasis the visionary aspect of the Incarnation. With the addition of saints, the new synthesis displays anthropocentric concerns, in parallel with the proclamation of the triumph of the *Pantokrator*, as well as his generosity.<sup>145</sup> In general, it presents a visually "abbreviated" image of the church's iconographic programme, which expresses the possibility that believers can become viewers through the Incarnation, i.e. to participate in God's heavenly kingdom.

The particular saints represented, however, seem to create strong references to the identity, class, and office of the new patrons appearing in the templon inscription below. The significance of this selection, location and iconography could be manifold; the saints, represented as the righteous, having been awarded a place in the heavenly realm, act as the ideal exemplars, and focus of the prayers of the new patrons. At the same time, by including their model saints as members of the celestial court below God, the provincial officials could promote to the audience of the cathedral their vision of authority, and to stress the origin of the legitimacy of their class, office and power.<sup>146</sup>

136. See above.

137. We are grateful to Agamemmon Tselikas, Head of the Historical and Palaeographical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, for assisting us with the completion of the inscription: βλέπε ψυχή μου.

138. Ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου οἱ θρόνοι ἐπέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο, καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιῶν, καὶ ἡ θριξὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρὸν, ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλόξ πυρός, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον (I kept watching until thrones were set, and an ancient of days sat, having a cloak like snow, and the tuft of hair on his head was like pure wool. The throne was like a flame of fire shooting out).

139. Papamastorakis (2001), pp. 217-18; Skotti (2010), pp. 453-72, *passim*.

140. Anrich (1913-17), *passim*; Ševčenko (1983), *passim*. He is referred to as rescuer of those in danger in the *troparia* of the Small Vespers, *Μηνναῖον τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου*, ed. Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, pp. 31-40.

141. *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus*, ed. Wassiliewski, Jernstedt pp. 52, 10; Falkenhausem (1979), pp. 182, 185; Antourakis (1991), pp. 671-706.

142. Kountoura-Galaki (2004b), pp. 91-106, with previous bibliography.

143. See e.g., Papamastorakis (1998), pp. 214-20; Cheynet (2003), pp. 137-153; Walter (2003), pp. 44-66, 109-44.

144. See e.g., Papamastorakis (1998), pp. 222-27 with previous bibliography; Walter (2003), pp. 67-94, *passim*.

145. See above for the meanings expressed in the earlier composition with the same passages on the inscribed scrolls.

146. For another interpretation, see Zias (1989), pp. 37, 41; Gioles (1990), pp. 123-25.

The creation of a “funerary” chapel in the episcopal church, where, as was noted above,<sup>147</sup> there is reference to the deceased Anna and to the date (1056) on the north wall, seems also to belong within this context of the emphatic expression of personal anxieties and prestige. The patrons’ concern for Anna’s posthumous salvation was expressed by a pictorial programme, which reflected the strong belief in the intercessory role of saints, apostles and the Mother of God: Saint Akindynos (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Α(ΚΙΝ) ΔΥΝΟC) in the apse (**fig. 17**)<sup>148</sup> is flanked by the apostle Philip (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΙ(Λ)ΗΠΠΙΟC)<sup>149</sup> (**fig. 18**) and the warrior saint George ((Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Γ)ΕΩΡΓΙΟC), in military apparel as a victorious soldier, protector and defender. The royal Saint Eirene ((Η ΑΓΙΑ) ΕΙΡΗΝΗ)<sup>150</sup> is depicted in a square frame above the conch and the Mother of God in prayer, in the type of *Hagiosoritissa*, is represented opposite the funerary inscription.<sup>151</sup>

As can be seen from the above discussion, the renewed Protothronos no longer constituted a public space that only served to remind viewers of the omnipresence of God, and of one’s duty to glorify him. The gradual development of political stability on Naxos during the 11th century, as underlined by the number of churches constructed or decorated in this period, favoured the expression of different social meanings and acts.<sup>152</sup> The officials of the island “manipulated” images and the public sacred space to express and promote their personal concerns, ranging from death and personal salvation to power relationships and public virtues in heavenly and earthly realms.

### Conclusions

From the discussion above it is apparent that the church of Panagia Protothronos reinforces the central role of the island of Naxos in the Aegean through its semiotics, fortifying the testimony that the monuments and successive wall painting layers provide through the ages, even as the written sources are virtually silent. As is well known, the recapture of Crete by the Byzantines meant that the Aegean territory was free from the Arabs to a great degree. We have argued that a short while after 961, the existing monumental basilica of the Panagia in the centre of the island, which had probably suffered major damage, was rebuilt. It took on a transitional form toward the cross-in-square type, a form that was innovative for the region.

The decoration of the dome, with the placement of the *Pantokrator* in a composition where the heavenly powers, the many-eyed cherub and seraphim, occupy a key position, strongly evoking archaic visions, constitutes one of the first post-Iconoclastic representations. The *Pantokrator* is also accompanied by archangels wearing imperial and military garb and by the prophets with inscribed scrolls, where important theological and political ideas of the time are recorded.

It is worth noting that the innovative representations, such as the bishops in the semicircular wall

147. See above.

148. Saint Akindynos belongs to the group of the Five Martyrs from Persia. During this same period, saints Akindynos, Pegasios and Afthonios are depicted in the narthex of Karanlik kilise, Cappadocia, above the burial chamber, Tsakalos (2006), p. 373.

149. On the relation of the apostles to the supplicatory content of iconographical programmes, see Mouriki (1985), p. 131.

150. According to Gerstel, saints Paraskeve, Kyriake, Anastasia, Eirene, and Thekla are found more frequently in places with funerary usage, Gerstel (1998), pp. 100, 102. Cf. also the repeated depiction of Saint Eirene in imperial garb (12th-13th and 14th centuries) in Panagia Drosiani, which is considered a mausoleum, Drandakis (1988), pp. 30-31, 87 and passim; Chatzidakis (1976), pp. 39-40, pl. 25a.

151. Der Nersessian (1960), pp. 78, 83; Baltoyianni (2000), pp. 147-49. On the important presence of the Virgin as intercessor in the funeral service, Semoglou (2003), pp. 72-84, with previous bibliography.

152. For the favourable living conditions in the Aegean and Naxos during the 11th century, see Penna (2010), pp. 32-34, with previous bibliography. The decoration of Agios Georgios Diasoritis (mid 11th century) located near the modern village of Chalki, in well-watered land cultivated with olive trees, provides evidence for the mentality and cultic preferences of another powerful military official, see recently in detail, Acheimastou-Potamianou (2016), passim.

of the apse and the Ascension in the sanctuary vault, appear in parallel with certain representations decorating the naos, which comprise archaic evocations since they derive from pre-Iconoclastic narrative programmes. The prominent depiction of the Calling of the Apostles on the Sea of Galilee and its alignment with the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia are of particular interest, since they seem to display ideas and acts inherent in the imperial ideology and practice during the Macedonian period. The unknown patrons of this phase would apparently impose this programme on a church, perhaps an episcopal centre, during the period after the liberation of the Aegean from the Arabs, in order to promulgate Orthodox identity, the authority and power of the empire's capital through the triumph of the Orthodox worldview to the inhabitants of a key provincial region.

New modifications are observable in the church dating to the mid 11th century. According to current data, a narthex and two chapels were constructed, and the dome and north chapel were decorated at this time. In this phase, the new patrons' socio-political position is reflected in the wall paintings located in the dome and the chapel. The addition of the saints in the new synthesis of the dome underlines the importance and role of the social groups concerned. Thus, the patrons had the opportunity to propound the new *status quo* and this stimulus may reveal the answer to the rather obvious question of why it was only the church's dome decoration that was replaced within such a brief time span of seventy to eighty years. Included within this framework of social awareness is the addition of a funerary chapel for the commemoration of a noble woman in a church intended for the wider community.

Therefore, the exploration of the iconography and inscriptions of the two phases of the decoration in the Protothronos shows the expression of particular meanings related to the function of the church and the contemporary historical and social circumstances. Due to its public character, the church functioned as a vehicle for promoting power, identities and status. In this way, the particular significance of the Panagia Protothronos as an episcopal church and its symbolic role in the island's society can now be recognized.



**Abbreviations**

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CahArch	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CorsiRav	<i>Corsi di Cultura sull' Art Ravennate e Bizantine</i>
DChAE	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EEKM	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Κυκλαδικῶν Μελετῶν
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
NA	Ναξιακὸν Ἀρχεῖον
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. Kazhdan et al. New York–Oxford, 1991
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graecae</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne Paris, 1857–66
REB	<i>Revue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
TechnChron	Τεχνικά Χρονικά

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Figure 1. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. View from the NW.



Figure 2. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. The inscribed epistyle built in to the western facade of the church (photo 1970s).



Figure 3. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. The inscribed part of the epistyle built in to the western facade of the church, underside with date (1052).



Figure 4. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Originally on the semi-cylinder of the apse (now in the Ecclesiastical Museum of the Church): iconoclastic cross and part of a frontal bishop (ca. 970-980)



Figure 5. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Originally on the semi-cylinder of the apse (now in the Ecclesiastical Museum of the Church): frontal bishop, detail of fig. 4 (ca. 970-980)

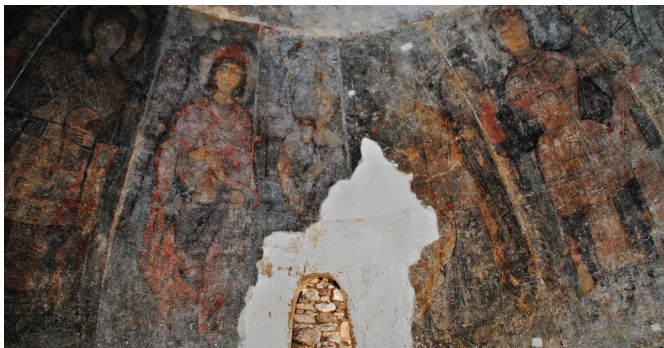


Figure 6. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome (now in the Glezos Tower museum): archangel in imperial attire, prophet Daniel, seraph, prophet Isaiah, archangel in imperial attire (ca. 970-980).



Figure 7. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome (now in the Glezos Tower museum): cherub, prophet Habakkuk, archangel in military attire, prophet-king David, seraph (ca. 970-980)



*Figure 8.*

Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome (now in the Glezos Tower museum): archangel in military attire, prophet-king David, seraph, prophet Zephaniah, archangel in military attire (ca. 970-980).



*Figure 9.*

Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome (now in the Glezos Tower museum): archangel in military attire, seraph, prophet Elijah, prophet Moses(?), archangel in imperial attire (ca. 970-980).



*Figure 10.*

Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. South cross arm, east side: the Annunciation and the Visitation (last decades of the 10th c., ca. 970-980?)



*Figure 11.*

Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. South cross arm, west side: the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (ca. 970-980).





Figure 12. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. South cross arm, west side: the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (ca. 970-980).



Figure 13. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. North cross arm, lunette: the Dormition of the Virgin, detail.



Figure 14. Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome (ca. 1052-1056).



Figure 15.  
Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome: prophet Zephaniah, archangel Michael, prophet Elijah, prophet Daniel, archangel Raphael, saints George and Nicholas (ca. 1052-1056).



*Figure 16.*  
Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. Dome,  
east part: saints George, Nicholas,  
Demetrios, and Theodore, detail (ca.  
1052-1056).



*Figure 17.* Naxos, Panagia Protothronos. NW chapel, apse:  
saint Akindynos (ca. 1056).



*Figure 18.* Naxos, Panagia Protothronos.  
NW chapel, east wall: apostle Philip (ca. 1056).