

Naxos in Imperial and Early Christian Times

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Abstract

Το πλούσιο υλικό της περιόδου από τις ανασκαφές των τελευταίων 60 ετών στη Νάξο, το οποίο έμεινε μέχρι σήμερα ανεκμετάλλευτο, σε συνδυασμό με τη συστηματική μελέτη των επιγραφών, επιτρέπει την ανασύνθεση της ιστορίας του νησιού κατά τους ύστερους αρχαίους και τους πρώιμους χριστιανικούς χρόνους φωτίζοντας πολλές άγνωστες πτυχές της.

Ήδη από τον 2ο π.Χ. αι. η παρακμή στην περιοχή του Αιγαίου έχει αρχίσει. Τα Ελληνιστικά βασίλεια μετατρέπονται σε ρωμαϊκές επαρχίες, ο μιθριδατικός και κατόπιν ο εμφύλιος ρωμαϊκός πόλεμος αποσταθεροποιούν την περιοχή, η εμπορική δραστηριότητα της Δήλου μετακινείται προς τα λιμάνια της Ιταλίας. Η Νάξος επηρεάζεται: Τον 1ο μ.Χ. αι. χρησιμοποιείται ως τόπος εξορίας εξεχόντων Ρωμαίων. Όπως όμως δείχνουν μεγάλα δημόσια έργα αυτής της εποχής, διατηρεί σημαντική διοικητική αυτονομία και οικονομική δύναμη.

Από τον 2ο μ.Χ. αι. η ζωή στο Αιγαίο – και στη Νάξο – ανακάμπτει. Οι τοπικές δομές όμως υποχωρούν σε μια πιο έντονη ρωμαϊκή διοίκηση και παράλληλα εκδηλώνεται μια τάση ‘ρωμαϊσμού’. Δημόσια έργα, οργανωμένη αγροτική παραγωγή και μαρτυρίες για την παρουσία τραπεζιτών και ρωμαίου κρατικού υπαλλήλου για νομικές και εμπορικές υποθέσεις δείχνουν ανθηρή οικονομία.

Η μεταφορά της πρωτεύουσας του ρωμαϊκού κράτους στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 4ο μ.Χ. αιώνα και η επικράτηση του χριστιανισμού οδήγησαν σε κοινωνικές ανακατατάξεις και τελικά σε περίοδο ακμής στον χώρο του Αιγαίου, η οποία διήρκεσε και κατά τους επόμενους δύο αιώνες. Στην περιοχή της αρχαίας πόλης της Νάξου αναπτύχθηκε αυτή την περίοδο πυκνή και εκτεταμένη κατοίκηση, που κάλυψε τη Γρόττα, την περιοχή του παλαιότερου νεκροταφείου των Απλωμάτων και τον Πλίθο, με δρόμους και καλοχτισμένα σπίτια, κάποια με μωσαϊκά δάπεδα και τοιχογραφίες. Ευρήματα μαρτυρούν υπερπόντιες εμπορικές σχέσεις. Βαλανεία στην πόλη και αλλού, καθώς και μετατροπές αρχαίων ναών σε εκκλησίες ή και ανέγερση νέων, μεγάλων χριστιανικών ναών συμπληρώνουν την εικόνα.

Μετά τα μέσα του 7ου αιώνα τα ευρήματα μαρτυρούν προϊούσα παρακμή, η οποία εντείνεται τον 8^ο αιώνα. Οι βασικοί λόγοι πρέπει να αναζητηθούν στις επιδρομές των Αράβων και την αναταραχή, την οποία προκάλεσε στην αυτοκρατορία του Βυζαντίου η απαγόρευση της λατρείας των εικόνων. Οι παραδοσιακές δομές υποχωρούν στη Νάξο και οι υποδομές τους εγκαταλείπονται, για να δώσουν τη θέση τους σε μία νέα δημογραφική και οικονομική ανάπτυξη κατά τον 9ο αιώνα.

The history of Naxos in Roman and early Christian times is poorly known. Ancient literature provides only a few fragmentary references to the island. In the last 70 years systematic and rescue excavations, especially at the town of Naxos (Chora) where the ancient capital of the island was located, at important ancient Naxian sanctuaries such as those of Yria and Gyroulas, as well as the investigation of the aqueduct conducting water from Melanes to the city of Naxos, and investigations at ancient quarries at

Melanes have brought to light abundant material – that remains up to now mostly unpublished. These results are important sources for documenting the history of Late Antiquity on Naxos. The study of a considerable number of inscriptions from the period provides on the other hand an important parallel body of evidence.¹ The aim of this article is to shed more light on the history of Late Roman and Early Christian Naxos (**fig. 1**) on the basis of what has been until recently neglected material.

Naxos from the 1st c. BC to the end of the 1st c. AD

Life in the islands of the Aegean Sea declined at the end of the 1st century BC because of lingering wars and the collapse of existing political and economic structures in the region earlier in the century:² Already in 129 BC the kingdom of Pergamon passed into the hands of Romans as *Provincia Asiae*. The powerful Seleucid Empire, which had controlled the seas, started to disintegrate after ca. 150 BC, and in 64 BC it too became a Roman province. Meanwhile the wars of Mithridates, king of Pontos (89-63 BC) against Rome and his alliance with the Cilician pirates, who targeted coastal cities and slow trading vessels capturing crew and cargoes, destabilized political and economic life in the Eastern Mediterranean. One of the greatest consequences of this destabilization was the fate of the international trade centre of Delos; the island was attacked in 88 BC by the troops of Mithridates, who killed some 20,000 of the resident Romans and Italians. After another devastating attack by pirates in 69 BC, Delos entered a sharp decline. Before the end of the 1st century BC, trade routes had changed; Delos was replaced by Puteoli near Pompeii as the chief focus of Italian trade with the East. Wars and dynastic quarrels during the 2nd and 1st century BC left Egypt so weakened that the country became first a protectorate and in 30 BC a Roman province. In the 40s BC, the Aegean Sea became the theatre of the Roman civil war, during which Cassius invaded and sacked the islands. The war's conclusion marked the beginning of the Imperial period.

Events on Naxos mirrored wider events on the Cycladic islands; this explains why literary evidence concerning Imperial Naxos is scarce. Archaeological data can however shed a dim light on this obscure period of Naxian history. Naxos seems to have maintained to some extent its political and economic relations in the troubled times of the 1st century BC. The decrees of its *demos* in the second quarter of the century honouring the Rhodian Haliodoros³ (**fig. 2**) and the Ephesian entrepreneur and friend of Cicero Gaius Curtius Mithres⁴ for their beneficence to the island show the endeavour of Naxians to build or maintain good relations within the stronger centres of political and economic power of the time. Evidence for this policy also comes from the Naxian sanctuary of Dionysos in Yria (**fig. 3**). After the battle of Philippi in 41 BC, Marc Antony placed Naxos, together with Andros and Tenos, under Rhodian control.⁵ At the same time he ordered Greek cities to venerate him as the New Dionysos. The Naxians could afford to order a sumptuous effigy of Antony, which they dedicated in the temple of their patron god, deifying in some way the Roman ruler of the Orient at that time. After Octavian's victory at Actium, however, they removed the original head of the statue, replaced it with the head of Augustus and dedicated the image once again to the new ruler of Rome.⁶

1. A doctoral thesis at the University of Athens (Sfyroera 2011) recently studied in depth all literary and epigraphical references to Naxos pertaining to the period Geometric to Imperial times in connection with archaeological discoveries on the island. For the period of transition to Christianity, see Savvidis (2006), pp. 103-109; Deligiannakis (2011); Deligiannakis (2016), pp. 25-27; Ohnesorg (2012).

2. Nigdelis (1990); Zanker (1990), p. 46.

3. Sfyroera (2011), I, pp. 258-60, no. 400.

4. Ibid, pp. 260-62, no. 401.

5. Lambrinouidakis (1988a), p. 200; Cf. Sfyroera (2011), p. 428, no. 643.

6. Lambrinouidakis, Gruben (1987), pp. 608-613; Lambrinouidakis (1989b), pp. 341-50. For a possible second dedication to Augustus see Sfyroera (2011), I, pp. 254-56, no. 398.

Naxos appears in a few literary sources as a place of exile in the 1st century AD,⁷ which means that it was considered in some way an isolated community. Nevertheless, the archaeological record urges us to assign to these references a relative value. There is evidence of major public works undertaken during this period. The prothesis of the Dionysos temple in the sanctuary of Yria⁸ was restored and its foundations were strengthened, and the proskenion of the theatre in the city was also restored.⁹ A marble throne of this period from the theatre (**fig. 4**) bearing the name of the priest Aristarchos shows that works also took place in the cavea.¹⁰ The Naxian *demos* was further able to erect statues of gods and prominent citizens, as inscriptions of a dedication to Apollo the Archer¹¹ and of honours granted to a certain Anakleides¹² show. It is therefore evident that life in the 1st century of our era went on pretty normally in Naxos, even though the significance of the island in the political and economic arena of the time was restricted.

Naxos in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD

In the course of the 2nd century AD, life on the Aegean islands recovers. In the year 124, the hellenophile Emperor Hadrian travelled in Anatolia and Greece. He sailed by Asia and the islands to Achaia¹³ and promoted the building of libraries, aqueducts, baths, theatres and other public institutions in the cities he visited. The trips of Hadrian in Asia and Greece will have certainly contributed to the recovery of life on the islands. It seems that the attitude of the Roman administration towards the Aegean islands became generally more positive, as Roman officials were honoured by the islanders for various donations.¹⁴ Roman rule was now more positively accepted on the islands and a cosmopolitan way of thinking developed, while the sense of local identity and the concern for local administration declined.

In this new historical context in the 2nd century of our era, the situation in Naxos gradually improved. The reconstruction of the Archaic aqueduct supplying the city of Naxos with water from Melanes has been broadly dated by archaeological evidence to the Imperial period, and may well have been ordered or even financed by Hadrian (**fig. 5**).¹⁵ Be that as it may, this public work, demanding on the one hand large amounts of money and on the other restoring the regular irrigation and exploitation of the fertile regions near the city represents a major indication of recovery.

In other regions of the island, agricultural activity also appears revitalized (**fig. 6**). The new farming installation dated to the 2nd century AD with olive and wine presses in the courtyard of the Hellenistic estate of Chimarros Tower continued to function for the next three centuries at least and shows a high level of organised agricultural production.¹⁶

Inscriptions provide supplementary information about Naxos in the late 2nd century: A list of members of a religious association not only attests the cult of *Theoi Sebastoi* (the Roman Emperors) in Naxos, but also tells us that at least for two years their priest was the eponymous archon of the city himself.¹⁷ The fact that the chief magistrate of the city, who gave his name to the year in which he held office, was at the same time the high priest of Sebastoi means that Naxians successfully sought to have

7. Sfyroera (2011), I, p. 210, no. 357; pp. 184-85, no. 299. Cf. Nigdelis (1990), p. 221.

8. Lambrinouidakis (1992), p. 207.

9. Sfyroera (2011), I, pp. 253-54, no. 397.

10. Ibid, pp. 330-31, no. 488.

11. Ibid, pp. 248-49, no. 392.

12. Ibid, pp. 257-58, no. 399.

13. Nigdelis (1990), p. 17; Birley (1997), pp. 172-73.

14. *Infra*, note 17, 19-20.

15. Lambrinouidakis, Sfyroera, Bilis (2010); Sfyroera (2011), II, p. 888 and n.1.

16. Philaniotou (2003).

17. Sfyroera (2011), pp. 334-37, no. 492.

more positive relations with Rome. Moreover, a banker is mentioned in the same list. It is not clear if he was a state official or a member of the religious association or both; what is important here is the record of monetary circulation. Interesting in this context is another inscription of this time mentioning an *ecdicus*,¹⁸ a state officer of the law engaged in legal and commercial affairs. As the text is Latin, this magistrate most probably belonged rather to the Roman administration, however his presence in Naxos shows a busier political and economic life.

Around 200 AD, the channel of the Roman aqueduct was replaced by a new one (**fig. 7**), built more carefully on the same course and lined with bricks at its bottom, which remained in use until the 8th century.¹⁹ Sfyroera suggests that this second, more durable phase of the Roman aqueduct might be connected with the activity of the Roman proconsul Cassianus, who was honoured by the Naxians at about the same time for his multiple donations.²⁰

The honorific decree to Cassianus is the last known official act of the Naxian *demos*. It is quite possible that after the 2nd century, Roman rule and a developing cosmopolitan mentality gained ground in Naxos against local identity and administration. A portrait resembling those of the Emperor Gallienus from the third quarter of the 3rd century from the town of Naxos defines the mentality of the period (**fig. 8**);²¹ it is a local work of very good quality, but careful observation shows that rather than representing the Emperor himself, it presumably represents somebody whom the community wanted to dignify by rendering in the style of the contemporary Emperor.

Another aspect of this period is that the monument to the founding fathers of the city-state of Naxos, which had been venerated uninterruptedly for nine centuries, fell now into oblivion and private houses began to encroach upon its territory.²² Private houses also occupied the eastern part of the Hellenistic agora. These houses remained in use, with some restorations and changes, until the 7th century.²³

Inscriptions inform us once more of activities in 3rd century Naxos, which show that Naxians could afford to carry out public works and to organize expensive festivals (**fig. 9**). One of them attests that *naopoioi*, officers entrusted with building temples, were active at the time.²⁴ We do not know which temple they had to care for, but it is quite possible that the late repairs made to the temple of Yria revealed during excavation were among their main tasks. Another inscription²⁵ is a dedication by an unnamed individual to Dionysos Leader of the Muses, commemorating his financing of the contest of the Great Dionysia.

Naxos, 4th to 8th c. AD

The transfer of the imperial capital to Constantinople in 324 AD brought the islands closer to the political and economic centre of the Empire. On the other hand, the adoption by Constantine of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire in the same year, and by Theodosius as its only legitimate religion in 380 AD, brought an end to the religious conflicts that had plagued the State and its citizens. These changes inevitably led to a social restructuring in the 4th century which ushered in a period of prosperity for the Aegean islands, lasting for the next three centuries.

18. Lambrinouidakis (1996), p. 260.

19. Lambrinouidakis, Sfyroera, Bilis (2010), p. 9.

20. Sfyroera (2001), pp. 262-63, no. 402.

21. Lambrinouidakis (1989a), pp. 27-33.

22. Lambrinouidakis (1988b), p. 244.

23. See below.

24. Sfyroera (2011), pp. 251-52, no. 394.

25. Ibid, p. 249, no. 393.

We cannot define with certainty when the Christian faith first entered Naxos. Excavations in its sanctuaries – at Palatia, Yria and Sangri²⁶ – have shown that the corresponding temples were converted into churches in the course of the 5th century. The sanctuary of Dionysos at Yria provides the best documented example.²⁷ Apart from architectural changes, a pit was dug in the middle of the soleas, a sacred relic was put in it for consecration and a round marble slab inscribed with the letters Α and Ω sealed the pit (**fig. 10**). Furthermore, the abaton of the pagan temple became the sanctuary of the church, and at its foundation the followers of the new faith buried under the altar an ivory ear, relic of the archaic chryselephantine statue of Dionysos, together with two Hellenistic lamps on both sides, all three put upside down, in order to exorcise pagan spirits and their influence over the site. As the new religion established roots over time, more serious and extensive works were undertaken in Christianized ancient buildings (**fig. 11**), as in Sangri around 540 AD,²⁸ or new churches of a monumental size were built, as in Agios Stephanos near the town.²⁹

Although clear evidence is lacking, it is more than probable that in the years preceding the building of churches, the Christian faith had already reached Naxos and, fluctuating between oppression and prevalence, coexisted for a rather long period with the pagan religion. A slight indication for this could be the fact that no pagan funerary monuments are found in Naxos after the 3rd century AD.³⁰ Be that as it may, the conditions created by the foundation of Constantinople and the settlement of religious conflicts at the end of the 4th century were favourable for prosperity, which lasted for almost three centuries (late 4th to mid 7th c. AD).

This can be seen all over the island but in particular through the expansion of houses in the area north of the present Kastro hill (**fig. 12**), and into areas that were formerly occupied by public monuments, such as the aforementioned tumulus of the ancestors next to the agora, and/or areas previously used for burials, such as the Aplomata hill. Characteristic examples of this building activity, albeit in a fragmentary way, are apparent from the general plan of systematic and rescue excavations carried out in the limited free plots of the modern town.

In Grotta, part of the floor and the walls of a house of the late 4th century were uncovered. In the debris, a sherd of a trade amphora of this period was found, on which the name Ελλάς was painted.³¹ The ceramic material found in this area is indicative of commercial activity and of a coastal community engaged in maritime networks. The house continued to be occupied until at least the 7th century – in a later phase a well was dug within it. After it went out of use, a tannery occupied its place.

About a hundred metres to the east a rescue excavation brought to light a road of the same period with a carefully built drain underneath.³² A strong retaining wall constructed with spolia was unearthed fifty metres west of the Metropolis site.³³ The houses built in the same period in the area of the former tumulus of the ancestors and in the agora have already been mentioned.³⁴ Fifty metres

26. Kontoleon (1960), pp. 468-74; M. Korres in Lambrinouidakis, Gruben *et al.* (2002), pp. 397-401.

27. Lambrinouidakis (1992), p. 208. For the lamps see Broneer (1930), pp. 60-61; pp. 157-58, no. 296, pl. VI and no. 298, fig. 82. On the lamps of Yria cf. Bournias (2014).

28. Korres in Lambrinouidakis, Gruben *et al.* (2002), p. 400.

29. Lambrinouidakis, Sfyroera, Bilis (2010), p. 28; Deligiannakis (2011), pp. 331-33; Deligiannakis (2016), pp. 25-27.

30. Sfyroera (2011), I, pp. 298-323. The local ecclesiastical tradition of Naxos traces the introduction of Christianity to the island back to Saint Polykarpos, a pupil of Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist. According to this tradition, the Apostle sent Polykarpos to Naxos at the end of the 1st c. AD to preach the new faith while he was writing the Apocalypse in Patmos; see on that subject the sites www.i-m-paronaxias.gr/paronaxia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8&Itemid=487 and http://orthodoxwiki.org/Metropolis_of_Paronaxia. The dependence of the Christian Church of Naxos upon the Diocese of Rhodes until 1083 AD may be seen as a sequel to the control over Naxos granted by Marc Antony to Rhodes in 41 BC, supra note 5.

31. Lambrinouidakis (1980), p. 259.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

33. Lambrinouidakis (1996), pp. 259-260.

34. Lambrinouidakis (1979), pp. 249-251; Lambrinouidakis, Zapheiroupolou (1984) B', pp. 314-15.

to the south of the latter, buildings of this period were constructed on a thick layer of earth covering structures of the Geometric and Mycenaean periods.³⁵

The town spread from the 4th century all over the Aplomata hill, an area previously reserved for burials. A house at the southern foot of the hill is witness to the level of prosperity that life in Naxos could reach in the 4th century AD (**fig. 13**). Its rooms were embellished with floor mosaics and wall paintings. The central scene of the mosaic depicting a Nereid on a sea bull shows that the house belonged originally to an adherent of the ancient religion. Later the house underwent multiple renovations, presumably now by Christian owners, and remained in use until the early 8th century, as a coin of Constantine V Copronymus, found in the debris and providing a *terminus ante quem* has shown.³⁶

Higher up the hill the remnants of many houses came to light.³⁷ The fact that medieval burials cut through the deposits which immediately under the ground surface was detrimental to their survival. Nevertheless, what is preserved shows a high density of buildings with good quality of construction, e.g. the marble thresholds or the carefully hewn quoins in some of the walls. A number of wells and a subterranean cistern with two openings and a vaulted basin attest to the good habitation equipment in the region. Building activity must have started here in the early 3rd century, as coins of Septimius Severus are the earliest securely datable finds made in the area. A gold coin of Emperor Tiberius Mauricius, found in the same ruins and dated around to 600, attests to the long period of use of the buildings.

Late Antique structures continue to come to light further east, in the areas of Plithos and Katsagra, where modern building activity is not yet so intense (**fig. 35**). About fifty metres southeast of the house with the mosaic, a complex was recently excavated, perhaps at the side of a road (1),³⁸ while another fifty meters further southeast (2) houses came to light, again at the side of a relatively well-preserved section of presumably the same road, which ran along a small river.³⁹ This river flowed since ancient times for a short distance to the sea. On the other side of the river, older⁴⁰ (3) and recent (4) excavations unearthed the foundations of houses, wells and drains of Late Antiquity and the Early Christian period. The extent of the urbanized area during these times is witnessed by the density of buildings dug up by older (5) and recent (6) excavations of the Archaeological Service in the area of Plithos, two hundred metres from the agora.

The remnants of a Late Roman bath excavated at the tumulus of the ancestors in Metropolis Square, now backfilled under the marble floor of the entrance to the local museum,⁴¹ and the bath of the same period built on the bank of a perennial stream from Melanes (**fig. 15**),⁴² a large part of which was later converted into a church, show that bathing culture, an important element of comfortable life in Roman times, became important also in Naxos.

It is in this second bath that we have a rare sample of Naxian, presumably still pagan art in the period preceding or following 300.⁴³ Painting was now becoming the main medium of artistic expression. The last naturalistic sculpture we have from Naxos is a small head of a bearded man wearing a leather helmet which dates to the late 3rd or early 4th century.⁴⁴ Painting prevailed in the next centuries (**fig. 16**) and flourished on the walls of the first Christian churches on the island.⁴⁵

35. Kontoleon (1970), p. 152.

36. Kontoleon (1961), pp. 198-99; Lambrinouidakis (1993), pp. 162-63.

37. Kontoleon (1969), pp. 139-41; Kontoleon (1972), pp. 145-55; Lambrinouidakis (1974), pp. 192-93; (1976), pp. 295-99.

38. Cf. Kontoleon (1961), p. 195, figs. 5-6.

39. Lambrinouidakis (1980), p. 215.

40. Lambrinouidakis (1982), pp. 255-57.

41. Lambrinouidakis (2006), p. 60-61.

42. Bilis, Magnisali (2011); Pennas (2013).

43. Pennas (2013).

44. Kontoleon, *Praktika* (1949), p. 120.

45. Chatzidakis (1989), pp. 23, 35.

The site of Gyroulas

The site which so far provides the best information for the years between 500 and 750 is Gyroulas, the ancient sanctuary of Apollo and Demeter. Around 540, parallel to the construction of the Christian basilica upon the ruins of the Archaic temple, which had already functioned with minor changes since the 5th century as a church, a complex of rooms around an atrium was built onto the south side of the basilica, forming a well-equipped monastery.⁴⁶ Further south, a complex of workshops and agricultural activity was in use during the entire period of the monastery's existence. The abundant ceramic finds tell the later story of the site:⁴⁷ Finds from the 3rd to the mid-6th century are extremely rare. The period coincides with the abandonment of the ancient sanctuary and the first phase of Christian worship. The bulk of the pottery (**fig. 17**), the totality of lamps and of coins (**fig. 18**)⁴⁸ found in the monastery complex date to the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century. Only a few finds can be dated to the 8th century. It seems that the monastery flourished for about 100 years, approximately from 550 to 650 with scant material showing reduced activity until the early 8th century.

The study of the aqueduct which brought the water of Melanes to the city of Naxos provided analogous evidence for the situation in Naxos in the 8th century. Characteristic fragments of a pot (**fig. 19**) identical to the latest finds in Gyroulas were found in the mud lying at the bottom of the sedimentation chamber at the entrance to the tunnel of Melanes. These finds fix the abandonment of the aqueduct to the late 7th or early 8th century. The coin of Constantine V in the debris of the house in Aplomata⁴⁹ is yet another indication of decline during the 8th century.

Transition to a new era

The evidence from Sangri, the settlement at Grotta and the Aplomata hill shows that the period of prosperity began to wane in Naxos from the middle of the 7th century AD. The reasons for this decline are well known.⁵⁰ Since the naval battle of Phoenix in 655, the Arabs gained gradual control over the Aegean and the sea routes leading to Constantinople, they raided coastal and insular lands and even besieged the capital city of the empire three times, in 674, 678 and 717. The legislative reform by Leo the Isaurian in 726 forbidding the worship of icons caused a severe conflict that shook the empire for a century. The year following the prohibition, the *themes* of Hellas and of the Aegean revolted and their fleet moved against Constantinople. The rebels were defeated and their fleet was destroyed; the islands were again brought under the direct administration of Constantinople. It is evident that the new conditions created in the Aegean mainly by these developments in the 8th century caused a major restructuring of society on the islands, which led in the 9th century to the considerable demographic and economic growth of Naxos.⁵¹

46. Korres in Lambrinouidakis, Gruben *et al.* (2002), pp. 397-401. More in the forthcoming final publication of the excavation at Gyroulas.

47. Study by E. Bournia and L. Bournias to appear in the final publication of the excavation at Gyroulas.

48. Galani-Krikou, Touratsoglou, Tsourti, (2000), 46, 54, 68. Clipping / *miliaresion Yria*.

49. *Supra* note 36.

50. E. Bournia, *supra* note 47.

51. Savvidis (2006), pp. 104-106.

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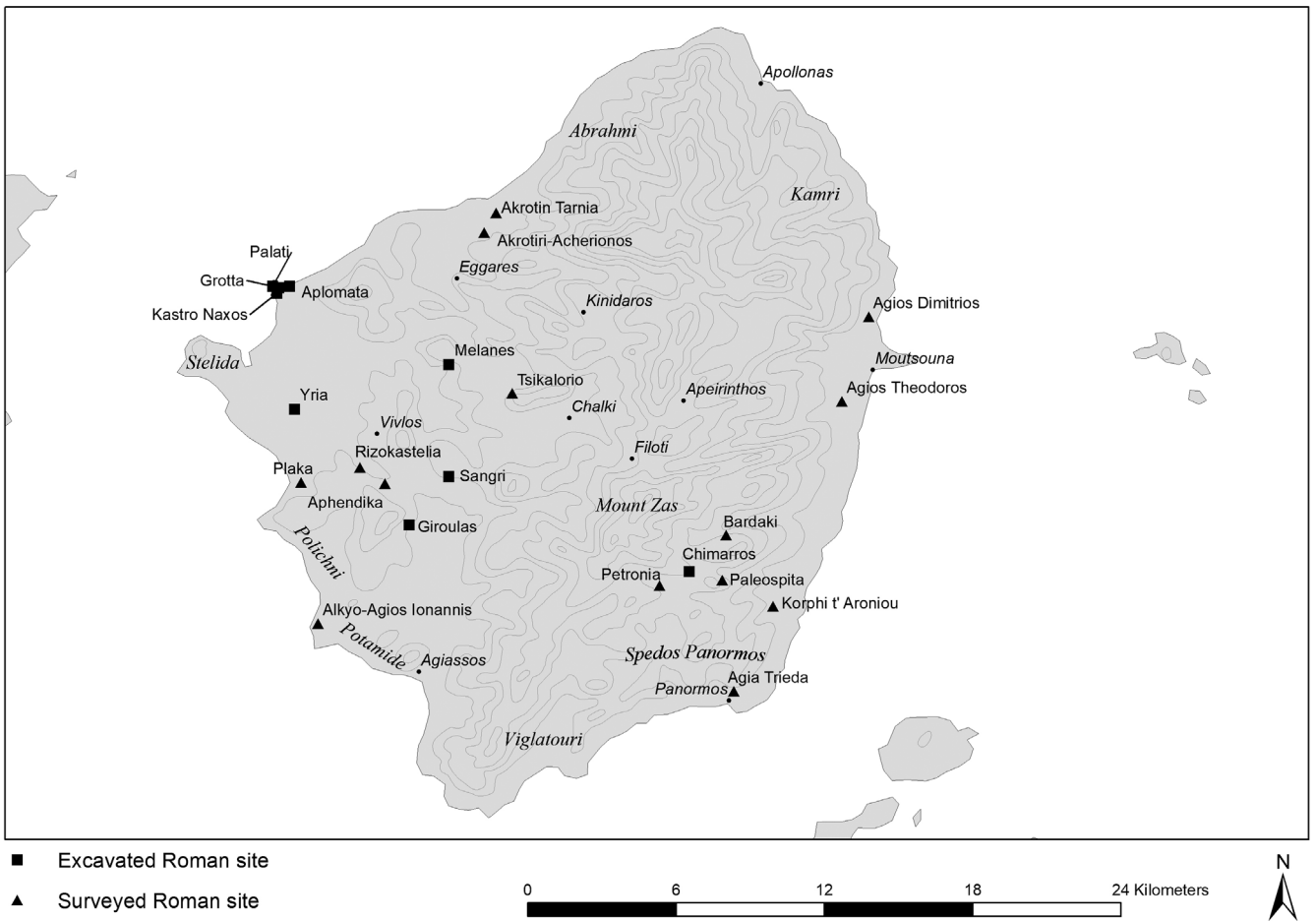


Figure 1. Map of Naxos: Sites mentioned in the text.



Figure 2. Inscribed base of a statue of Haliodoros, citizen of Rhodes, honoured by the Naxians in the 1st c. BC.



Figure 3. Statue of Marc Antony in the temple of Dionysos at Yria, ca. 40 BC, converted into a statue of Augustus (shortly after 27 BC).



Figure 4. Marble throne of the priest Aristarchos from the theatre of Naxos. 1st c. AD.



Figure 5. Vaulted corridor at the Roman entrance to the tunnel of the aqueduct in Melanes.



Figure 6. Farming installation at the Tower of Chimarros in Imperial times.

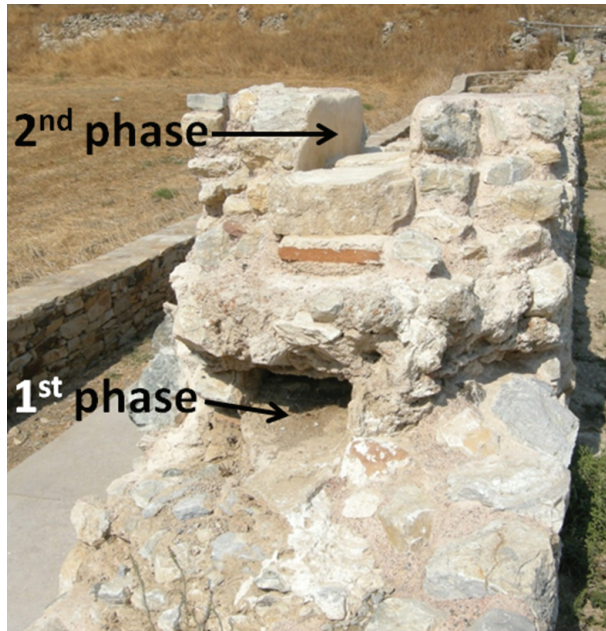


Figure 7. Phases of the Roman aqueduct Melanes – City of Naxos.



Figure 8. Portrait of a man found in Chora, Naxos, third quarter of the 3rd c. AD.

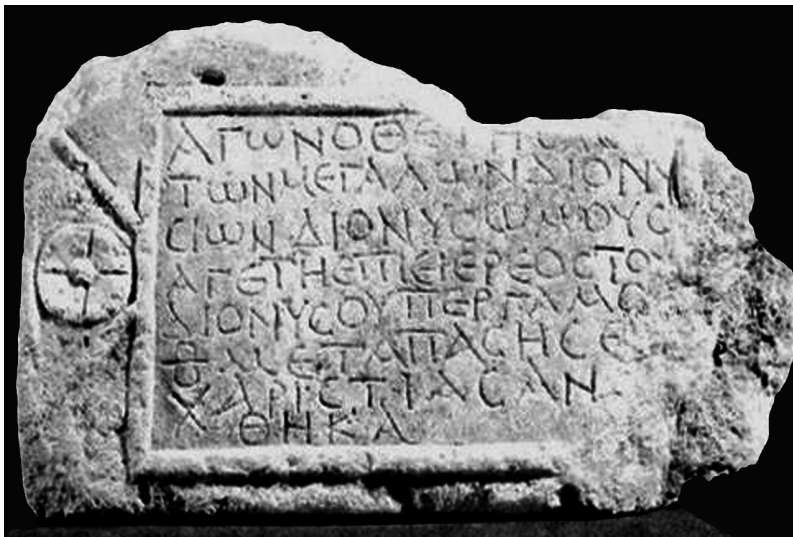


Figure 9.
Inscription mentioning the Great Dionysia in Naxos, 3rd c. AD.



Figure 10. Round marble slab covering the consecration pit in the soleas of the Christian church at Yria.

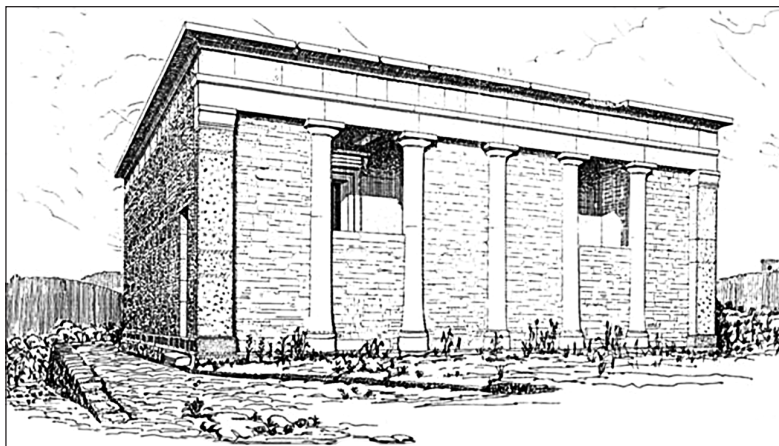


Figure 11. Sangri: Ancient temple converted into Christian Church, 5th c. AD.

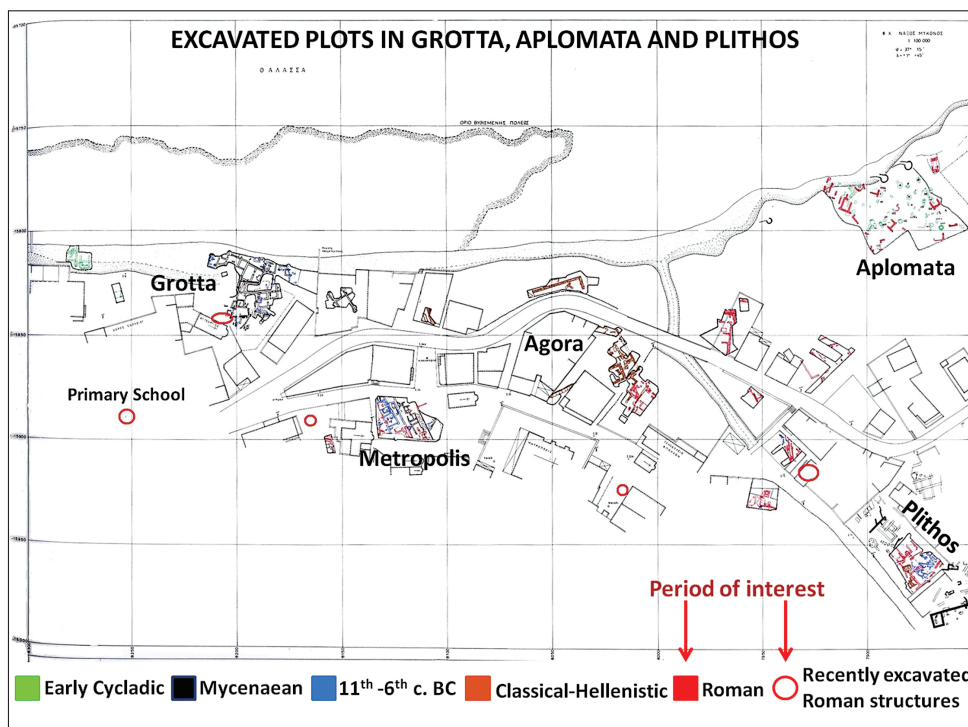


Figure 12. Excavated plots in the Late Roman – Early Christian settlement at Grotta.



Figure 13. Mosaic floor in a house at Aplomata, 4th c. AD.

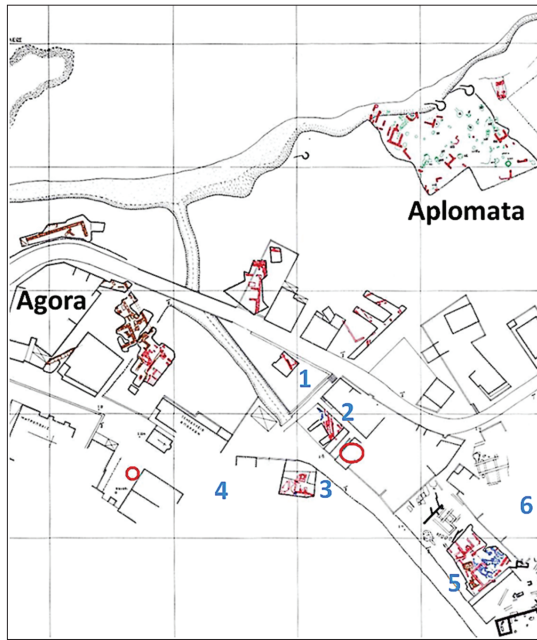


Figure 14. Remnants of Late Antique buildings south of Aplomata.



Figure 15. Parts of the Late Roman bath outside the church of Agios Georgios at Melanes (west side).

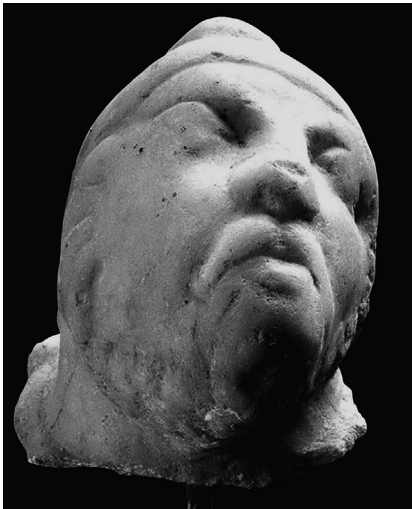


Figure 16. Marble head of a man from Grotta. Late 3rd-4th c. AD.



Figure 17.
Pottery from the site of Gyroulas,
5th-8th c. AD.



Figure 18.
Coins of Justinian
and Heraclius from Gyroulas.



Figure 19.
Fragments of a pot found on the
bottom of the sedimentation well
at the entrance to the tunnel of the
aqueduct Melanes – City of Naxos,
8th c. AD.

