

FOREWORD

His Eminence KALLINIKOS, Metropolitan of Paronaxia

The island of Naxos, with its long course in the history of mankind, offers an enormous wealth of archaeological and cultural material so that men of today may admire and study all manner of creations and achievements made by our predecessors.

A significant piece of this heritage is composed of the numerous important monuments dating to the Early, Middle and Late Byzantine period located throughout the island, and especially in the region of Sangri and even more so in the central plain of Drymalia (Tragaia). The latter is dominated by the celebrated Church of Panagia Protothronos, a construction of the Middle Byzantine period that continues, uninterrupted, to function as a place of worship today. Of even more importance is the fact that in most of these churches, one encounters painted decoration, a unique phenomenon in the region of Greece and beyond. If we add to this the rich marble adornment of the churches in question, it becomes clear that Naxos held a distinguished position during this period, a fact which is corroborated by the equally rich epigraphic material that survives.

All this great Byzantine heritage forms a huge treasure, a treasure that is primarily spiritual in nature as it comprises Holy Churches that are more than just exhibits in a museum but are rather living cells in local society, since in most (where the state of preservation allows it), Divine Liturgy is celebrated regularly, mainly during their feast-day. As a result, they continue today to attract visitors, not solely scholars and tourists but also the numerous devout pilgrims who preserve not only the religious character but also the sanctity of the space throughout the centuries.

In the context of preserving and enhancing the Byzantine monuments of the island of Naxos, the Holy Metropolis of Paronaxia, in collaboration with the respective Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, makes every possible effort so that these monuments are conserved and accessible to the public, not just as places to visit but, as said above, so that they may remain places of worship of the Divine Trinity. In this frame, we applaud both the realization of the Conference on Byzantine Naxos that was organised on our island by the Norwegian Archaeological Institute in cooperation with the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, as well as the publication of the present volume of Proceedings, which will provide an additional means for the study and enhancement of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine heritage of our land.

To the Norwegian Research Council and to all those that worked together to contribute to the effort to highlight the Byzantine wealth of our land, it is my heartfelt hope that God bless you and guide you in the continuation of your research in glory of His Holy Name, and to showcase this great cultural heritage which provides irrefutable testimony of our Greek Orthodox tradition.

With blessings and honour,
KALLINIKOS OF PARONAXIA

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Σεβασμιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Παροναξίας κ. ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ

Το νησί της Νάξου μέσα από την μακράιωνη πορεία του στην ιστορία της ανθρωπότητας, έχει να επιδείξει έναν τεράστιο αρχαιολογικό και πολιτιστικό πλούτο ο οποίος προσφέρεται στον σύγχρονο άνθρωπο προκειμένου να θαυμάσει αλλά και να μελετήσει τα πάσης φύσεως δημιουργήματα και επιτεύγματα των προγόνων μας.

Σημαντικό κομμάτι αυτής της κληρονομιάς αποτελούν τα πολλά και σπουδαία μνημεία της πρώιμης, μέσης και ύστερης Βυζαντινής περιόδου τα οποία βρίσκονται σχεδόν σε όλη την έκταση του νησιού, ιδιαίτερα όμως στην ευρύτερη περιοχή του Σαγκρίου και ακόμη περισσότερο στο κεντρικό λεκανοπέδιο της Δρυμαλίας (Τραγαίας) στο οποίο δεσπόζει ο περίπυστος Ναός της Παναγίας Πρωτοθρόνου που είναι κτίσμα της μέσης Βυζαντινής περιόδου και λειτουργεί αδιάκοπα ως τόπος λατρείας μέχρι και σήμερα. Ακόμα σημαντικότερο είναι το γεγονός ότι στους περισσότερους από τους Ναούς αυτούς συναντάται ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος ο οποίος συνιστά ένα μοναδικό φαινόμενο μέσα στον Ελλαδικό αλλά και στον ευρύτερο χώρο. Σε όλα αυτά αν προσθέσουμε και τον πλούσιο μαρμαρόγλυπτο διάκοσμο των εν λόγω μνημείων γίνεται ξεκάθαρο ότι η Νάξος κατείχε εξέχουσα θέση την περίοδο εκείνη γεγονός που προκύπτει και από τον επίσης πλούσιο επιγραφικό διάκοσμο που διασώζεται.

Όλη αυτή η σπουδαία Βυζαντινή κληρονομιά συνιστά ένα τεράστιο θησαυρό ο οποίος είναι κυρίως πνευματικός αφού αποτελείται από Ιερούς Ναούς που δεν είναι απλώς μουσειακά εκθέματα αλλά ζωντανά κύτταρα της τοπικής κοινωνίας καθώς στους περισσότερους (όπου η κατάσταση του μνημείου το επιτρέπει) εξακολουθεί να τελείται τακτικά η Θεία Λειτουργία, κυρίως κατά την ημέρα της πανηγυρέως τους, με αποτέλεσμα να αποτελούν έως και σήμερα πόλο έλξης όχι μόνο για τους ερευνητές ή τους απλούς επισκέπτες αλλά και για τους πολλούς ευλαβείς προσκυνητές οι οποίοι διατηρούν τον λατρευτικό χαρακτήρα αλλά και την ιερότητα του χώρου ανά τους αιώνες.

Η Ιερά Μητρόπολη Παροναξίας στο πλαίσιο της διατήρησης και ανάδειξης των Βυζαντινών μνημείων του Νησιού της Νάξου καταβάλλει κάθε δυνατή προσπάθεια, σε συνεργασία πάντοτε με την αρμόδια Εφορία Αρχαιοτήτων Κυκλάδων προκειμένου τα μνημεία αυτά να συντηρούνται και να είναι όχι απλώς επισκέψιμα αλλά όπως προείπαμε να παραμένουν τόπος λατρείας του Τριαδικού Θεού. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό χαιρετίζουμε με πολλή χαρά και ικανοποίηση τόσο την πραγματοποίηση του Συνεδρίου για την Βυζαντινή Νάξο που διοργάνωσε στο νησί μας το Νορβηγικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο σε συνεργασία με την Εφορία Αρχαιοτήτων Κυκλάδων όσο και την έκδοση του παρόντος τόμου με τα Πρακτικά του Συνεδρίου, ο οποίος θα αποτελέσει ένα επιπλέον μέσο για την μελέτη και την ανάδειξη της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής κληρονομιάς του τόπου μας.

Εύχομαι εκ μέσης καρδιάς προς το Νορβηγικό Συμβούλιο Ερευνών αλλά και προς όλους εκείνους που συνεργάζονται με αυτό και συνεισφέρουν στην προσπάθεια ανάδειξης του Βυζαντινού πλούτου του τόπου μας, ο Θεός να ευλογεί και να κατευθύνει την συνέχιση των ερευνών προς δόξαν του Αγίου Ονόματός Του και ανάδειξη της σπουδαίας αυτής πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς που αποτελεί αδιάψευστη μαρτυρία της Ελληνορθόδοξης παράδοσής μας.

Μετ' ευχών και τιμής,
† Ο ΠΑΡΟΝΑΞΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ

FOREWORD

Kastro Apalirou *and* Byzantium's OTHER?

Richard HODGES

When they were building the walls, how could I not have noticed!
But I never heard the builders, not a sound.
Imperceptibly they have closed me off from the outside world.

C.P. Cavafy, *Walls* translated E. Keeley & P. Sherrard,
C.P. Cavafy: Collected Poems, Princeton 1992

Writing in 1896, Cavafy felt he was cut off from the world by his personal *mores*. It was an isolation that was perhaps more imagined than real. His sentient words have an echo in every context where walls are erected to create community by isolating the Other, or less commonly to seek protection from assault by the Other. Walls, in short, are more revealing than the stones and mortar from which they are built. Hence my fascination to discover Kastro Apalirou, seemingly a walled citadel on a high, bare peak in the interior of the Aegean island, and my delight that the Norwegian Institute's investigations have been made of this important if remote archaeological site. When I visited this deserted site before the Norwegian Institute began its survey I was initially persuaded that the remote and high location and the fortification walls defined it as a refuge from the menace of the Other. But exactly who was this Other?

The Cyclades occupy a detached but central role in the long history of Byzantium. The harbours of this archipelago nurtured the commercial and military ships that connected Constantinople to its Commonwealth in Crete, North Africa, the western Balkans, southern Italy and Sicily. As such the archaeology of these places is a barometer of both trade and investment as the empire thrived, massively contracted, hunkered down in a few redoubtable centres, and then around the turn of the millennium pursued an aggressive strategy to reclaim its lost markets and erstwhile political authority.

The temptation to interpret Byzantium between the mid 7th century, when it was ejected from much of North Africa, and its Mediterranean-wide revival in the 11th century, has been recently reignited by the archaeology. Over the past twenty-five years the type fossils – ceramics – of this Late Antique/Dark Age have been identified and benchmarked. With these instruments the material impact of this era can be measured. Imperial continuity based upon the textual and artistic sources is no longer tenable. This history has been increasingly supplanted in favour of a more fragmented and episodic narrative. First and foremost much of the empire suffered a significant shock from the central decades of the 6th century extending into the mid-7th century.¹ A lingering pandemic and climatic variables have become the fashionable explanation for a massive transformation in terms of scale. As likely as not in the alchemy of change was social unrest brought on by high taxation causing systemic economic disruption.

1. Harper, (2017).

Byzantium as a diminished, centralised state, of course, continued to be a presence in its far-flung lands. This presence, though, altered, adapted and, ultimately, was re-envisioned. Field surveys in Asia Minor, the western Balkans and the Cyclades themselves provide material evidence of massive economic decline before an eventual urban-based revival in the later 10th and 11th centuries. Excavations affirm this picture, with a great divergence occurring in the later 10th century as the state intervened to support the construction of new urban fortifications within which families invested in property and shaping new mercantile options.

Presently the most exhaustive illustration of this process is to be found at Butrint on the Straits of Corfu (where I was Scientific Director of the Butrint Foundation's project).² Here a minuscule fortified 8th-century redoubt within the 6th-century urban fortifications around a millennial-long port was eschewed in the mid 9th to mid-10th centuries in favour of making an unfortified administrative centre in the erstwhile suburb³. This 9th-century nucleus existed for well over a century before political changes invoked a return to the old ruined city in the late 10th century. Flush with coin, Butrint's city walls were refurbished then the interior was terraced, following which gravel streets were made beside which diverse properties were created.

The archaeology of Butrint traces the changing economic yet linear evolution of state authority in a comparatively marginal Adriatic Sea maritime location. Butrint represents a larger pattern as limited trade partnerships by an elite diaspora was ramped up first to a more regular feature of the later 9th century, and then again around AD 1000 to a market-based mercantilism. Butrint's unfortified 9th-century nucleus may be paralleled at Aegina in the Saronic Gulf⁴. The later 10th-century urban renewal is paralleled at urban sites at Napflion in the Peloponnese, on Cephalonia at Sami, Rogoi near Arta, and Stari Bar in Montenegro.⁵ Sketchy though the modern archaeology is, it charts a course in which command of resources remains important, even if long-distance trade dwindled to irregular partnership scales. Of course, with the rise of the Geniza in Alexandria as well as the Arab appetite for economic revival in Sicily and the emergence of later 10th-century trading towns like Amalfi, Pisa, Salerno and Venice, a new Mediterranean order emerged.⁶

Continuity, yes, but periodic change, too. This is what makes the survey of Kastro Apalirou important. Until now it has been the obscure counterpoint to Chora, the ancient and Venetian port and modern capital of Naxos.

Located on the west coast of this square-ish island, later medieval Chora has an obvious logic to it. It controls the sea-ways and looks outwards. No surprise then that close to the harbour lie the remains of a major Roman port that in Late Antiquity was a formidable town. No real surprise, too, that archaeological excavations beneath the later medieval and Roman levels have revealed substantive buildings of a later Bronze Age emporium – a commercial vestige of the world of the Mycenaean-Minoan palace cultures. Notwithstanding the apparent tribulations of Homer's age of Achilles and Priam, Chora bay was too attractive a safe harbour on familiar currents for sailors to ignore. As Cyprian Broodbank has compellingly shown, these Cycladic traders belonged to a fast expanding Mediterranean mercantilism that, thanks to the invention of the sail, embraced the Middle Sea from the Atlantic to the inner deserts of Assyria.⁷ Chora was an attractive stop-over

2. See Hodges, (2008).

3. See Hodges, (2017), pp. 205-26.

4. Greenslade and Hodges (2005), pp. 1-19; Pennas (2005), pp.14-15.

5. Andrews (1953), pp. 90-92; Hodges, (2018) pp. 44-48; Hodges (2015), pp. 191-218; Hodges, (2018), pp. 44-48; Hodges, (forthcoming); Gelichi and Zagarčani, (2013).

6. Goldberg, (2012).

7. Broodbank (2013).

for merchant-venturers who unified the Mediterranean and paved the way for the grid-iron ports and towns of classical antiquity.

The legacy of Bronze Age culture, almost two millennia old, suffered a shocking rupture in seaways of the western and central Middle Sea during the 7th century AD for reasons mentioned above that still both fascinate and puzzle archaeologists and historians. The pivot of the shock lay to the east of the Cyclades, reducing the seaways in the eastern Mediterranean to a regional legacy of the great age of earlier 6th-century trade when Roman sail-boats plied by stages as far north as the Irish Sea zone and places like Tintagel. This is the context for the colonization of Kastro Apalirou.

Kastro Apalirou belongs to a different economic and social culture than Chora or indeed any of the Byzantine places discussed so far. This high inland fortress was initially interpreted by Hannalene Eberhard as a 13th-century redoubt to protect the valuable agricultural land in central Naxos that withstood the Venetian siege for some weeks before being taken in c.1207.⁸ Was this spot selected, we may presently speculate, because some materiality lent it a familiarity on the island – some indefinable memory?⁹ For sure, from this heady spot, the sweep of northern Naxos runs away into the glittering hammered Aegean seaways beyond. Corrugated by deep valleys, beyond the little villages and strategically placed red-roofed churches lies the far speck of Chora, supposedly Kastro Apalirou's lower town.

The Institute's survey – given the difficulties of reaching this place, something of an achievement – indicates broadly two phases. The first phase accounts for the enclosing fortifications, the significant terracing and streets; the second, many of the dry-stone dwellings as well as the basilica and round tower. Ceramics picked up in the survey indicate an occupation ranging in date from the 7th to the 13th centuries. The preliminary research suggests investment in a large fortified enclosure and then the establishment of a community inhabiting diverse house types.

Plainly, Kastro Apalirou did not operate as an obvious administrative centre like Aegina, Butrint or Napflion but as a citadel of sorts, like the large Byzantine fortress at Castronovo di Sicilia in central Sicily in the 8th-9th centuries.¹⁰ Given the investment, a political authority is likely to have been responsible for procurement and the design. The temptation in both cases – Naxos and Sicily – is to interpret these as reactions to seaborne piracy – the Other. This normative explanation, following brief textual accounts of raids, does not account for either unfortified maritime sites like Aegina or Butrint or for unfortified production sites like Sofiana Filosofiana near Piazza Armerina in central Sicily.¹¹ Alternative interpretations merit consideration.

Kastro Apalirou, it appears in advance of excavation, probably belongs to an episode of state investment in selective fortification demonstrating support for a liminal location close to the Arab Other. Output, let us be clear, was almost certainly minimal and surely restricted to the local. This was a period spanning several generations when the empire was largely an ideological concept rather than an integrated economic enterprise (as it had been in the 6th century and was to become in the 11th century). As in central Sicily, a solution for one period, may have become anachronistic as Aegean seaborne trade revived in the mid-10th century with Nikephors Phokas's re-conquest of Crete from the Arabs. In advance of excavation, one further thought. Were such fortified centres a state response to the new fortified aristocratic centres that characterize late Carolingian and Ottonian (mid- to later- 9th-century) western Europe including Italy.¹² Defence

8. Eberhard (1989).

9. Blake (2003), London, pp. 203-20.

10. Carver & Molinari, (2016) *Fashionline.org/FOLDER-it-2016-352*.

11. Vaccaro (2017), pp. 314-28.

12. See Hodges, (2012), pp.65-66; 134-36.

galvanized the collective and affirmed a binary position of Us/Them in a moment of social change – in Byzantium in the aftermath of Iconoclastic debates. In the Carolingian realms it marked a social shift from unfortified royal and monastic centres where the distinctions were made between Us/Them by the rhetoric of architecture.

Having climbed once to Kastro Apalirou – a glorious place - thanks to the walking guidebook by Ucke and Graf,¹³ I look forward to returning and the prospect of excavations. The survey published in this volume is a major contribution to Byzantine archaeology. It begs for further research and the granular material detail that only an excavation proffers. Such a site can contribute so much to Mediterranean archaeology, especially in allowing us to grasp when and how Byzantium used the Other to re-envision and animate its empire.

13. Ucke and Graf, (2003).

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