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**Author:** Roussos, K.

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

**Issue Date:** 2017-10-12
Chapter 4

The settlement pattern and material culture of the island of Paros

4.1 THE PARIAN LANDSCAPE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The natural environment of the coastal zone of Paros has significant environmental value. The length of the lacework coastline on the island measures approximately 111 km and forms many sandy,
pebbly or rocky beaches, and larger or smaller bays, except for the steep coast adjacent to a highland plain in the north-western part. Rocky and high sloped coasts occupy approximately 20% of the shoreline and are located at the northeast and northwest part of the island. Medium and low altitude coasts occupy 9.1% and 22.2% of the coastline and are observed on the rest of the island. The terrestrial part of the coastal zone (slopes <2.5%) corresponds to 19% of the island and covers an area of 36.4 km². Its width is generally smaller than 476 m with its highest values at the southwest, east and northeast coasts. Sandy beaches, associated with low coastal slopes (<5%) occupy less than 10% of the coastline (Eveldidou et al. 2010, 291-292). The gorges of Paros are mostly observed in limestone formations and their creation took place in recent geological time (Pavlopoulos et al. 2009, 208).

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

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

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

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**Fig. 4.2:** Aerial view of Paros.

**Fig. 4.3:** View of central Paros. Mt Agii Pantes is discernible in the background.
evidence, in order to provide the basis upon which settlement patterning and material culture from Late Antiquity and Byzantine Early Ages can be studied and interpreted (Fig. 4.5). Despite limitations and obstacles, combining a re-evaluation of older archaeological material with personal observations at the sites of the island and the advantages offered by the application of new technologies in archaeological research (GIS), this study offers a fresh approach to the history and archaeology of Paros, contributing to a better understanding of the settled landscape and socioeconomic changes that took place in the insular world of the Cyclades between the 4th and 9th centuries.

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

4.2.1 Landscape and micro-topography

The region of Parikia is located in the middle of the west coastline of Paros (Fig. 4.5: I). The most important topographical reference point of the landscape is the spacious and naturally well-protected eponymous bay (Fig. 4.6). It is the second largest gulf on the island after the bay of Naoussa and one of the biggest among the Cyclades. The bay of Parikia is open to the west while to the north it forms the two consecutive smaller coves of Livadia and Krios, offering safe and natural shelters for vessels. In the clearest weather, the islands of Antiparos (5 nm), Sifnos (20 nm), Serifos (30 nm) and Syros (20.5 nm) are visible from many different places of the bay. This peculiar trait has resulted in the integration of the region to the sea routes that passed through this extensive maritime zone at the heart of the Aegean Sea. The peninsula of Krotiri outlines the bay to the northwest side protecting it from the west and north winds. At its southern edge is situated Cape Agios Fokas with the old lighthouse facilities and the eponymous picturesque modern chapel, which is the main visible reference point for ships that approaching the present-day port of Parikia. On all sides, low hills slope down to the coast and create sandy and
shallow beaches along the inner coastline and steep shores along the outer coastline of the peninsula.

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

The region of Parikia is adjacent to fertile plains, a rural space of vital importance for agricultural production and food supply for the ancient city. North of the cove of Livadia extends
as an administrative seat for the Municipality of Paros, a modern capital and the main passenger and commercial port of the island. As a result, the built space and population of Parikia have almost doubled. Fortunately, the core of the medieval town of Parikia has maintained a traditional and picturesque character. In contrast, the modern extensions of the town have been built over areas of the ancient city of Paros. In the remainder of the region of Parikia constructions of any sort, along the seafront and the terrestrial part of the coastal zone, have contributed to the destruction of local coastal and rural landscape. Over recent years a new landscape is being created in this coastal zone, dominated by numerous blocks of modern private residences and touristic facilities.

4.2.2 A history of research

In earlier stages of research about the archaeology of Paros, the area of Parikia, and more specifically, the remains of the ancient city of Paros were at the centre of attention. A wide range of studies from various fields, such as architecture, archaeology, sculpture, pottery, history etc. have been published by many scholars to this day. Most published studies are concerned with the prehistoric
and ancient past of the city of Paros. With only a few exceptions in studies regarding art and architecture of the religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani, scholars have paid little attention to the study of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. As a result of this, very few historical or archaeological studies have focused on material culture and life in the city of Paros between the 4th and 9th centuries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.3 The ancient city of Paros: a brief historical background

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

Archaeological evidence from Kastro in Parikia indicates the uninterrupted habitation of the site from the Early Geometric to the Archaic period (AD 2001-2004, 115). In the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. the ancient city of Paros was established within the bay of Parikia, as a result of the union of smaller settlements on the island (Rubensohn 1901, 157-222, pl. X; Kourayos & Zafeiropoulou 1994; Kourayos...
Fig. 4.9: Redrawn map of the ancient city of Paros, which is based on a plan made by Soursos (Rubensohn 1901, 196-197, pl. X) with some later indications (Schilardi 1974, 182). In the detail: view of the site of Dyo Plakes, the east gate of the wall (Kourayos 2015, 27).
It progressively played the role of chief administrative, political, and economic centre on the island. Taking advantage of the prominent strategic position and the richness of marble deposits on the island, the city of Paros emerged as an important coastal commercial and cultural centre in the Aegean world. By the end of the 7th century the city of Paros had established colonies on the island of Thasos in the North Aegean Sea and along the coasts of the Propontis (Parion) in modern Turkey (Graham 1999, 71-97). Over the Archaic and Classical periods, the city of Paros developed as an important artistic centre with remarkable original sculptural production. The famous Parian marble was exported all over the Greek world and Parian sculptors were relocated to work on the most ambitious architectural projects. From the 7th century B.C. up to the Persian wars, the two neighbouring islands of Paros and Naxos were in a constant controversy to promote their interests in the Aegean.

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

By the late 2nd century B.C. the island was part of the Roman Empire, following the historical trajectory of the Greek peninsula. According to the historical stereotyping over the Roman period, islands of the Cyclades acted as safe anchorages for pirates and as places of exile for Rome’s unwanted. Until recently, the Roman Cyclades were considered as places of isolation and were rarely discussed in
contemporary literature. In the recent decades, historians and archaeologists, in the light of modern scientific approaches, are studying the Cyclades as places of cultural and commercial activity in the Roman period (Le Quërre 2013). Archaeological evidence unearthed in the ancient city of Paros as well as in the other ancient cities indicates that the role played by the Cyclades during the Roman period needs re-evaluation.

4.2.4 The urban topography (Archaic to Roman times)

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

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

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

The positions of two Gates have been located in the upper part of the city, one on the eastern and the other on the southeast segment of the wall (see the detail in Fig. 4.9) (Schilardi 1975b, 86). Close to the East Gate, which is preserved up to a height of 3 m and led directly to the artisans’ quarters (see below), at the site Dyo Plakes (Δύο Πλάκες) a large part of the eastern wall equipped with a projecting rectangular tower (50 m length, 2-2.50 m width, 1 m height) has been discovered in a well conserved state (Fig. 4.11) (Rubensohn 1901, 182; AD 1994, 665-666, pl.4). Between the gate and the tower architectural members of the temple of Apollo Pythius were found, these had been incorporated into the tower and the wall after reparation works during the Hellenistic period, after 202/201 B.C. (AD 1994, 665-666, pl.4).

The natural core of the city was developed on the low hill near the coast, which overlooks the entrance of the bay of Parikia (Figs 4.9 & 4.10). Until the present day, the hill of Kastro crowned by the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Konstantinos (Fig. 4.14) and the Venetian Castle (Fig. 4.13) (see more about the Venetian Castle of Parikia in Vionis 2012, 90-91) is the second visible reference point for ships that approach the modern port of Parikia after Cape Agios Fokas (Figs 4.6 & 4.7). The hill of Kastro is an interesting archaeological palimpsest which provides a picture of long-term successive episodes.
of settled landscape changes (Fig. 4.12). It has played an important role in the development of the built environment and has been strongly affected by human activity since the prehistoric period. During the Archaic era the hill of Kastro was transformed into an acropolis, namely an urban religious and administrative centre, as temples and other public buildings were constructed in the same place. According to Rubensohn, the top of the acropolis was dominated by the main urban temple dedicated to the protector of the city, the Goddess Athena Poliouchos (Fig. 4.12) (1917; see also Welter 1924, 22f; Gruben 1972, 369; AD 2001-2004, 115, fig.30). It was a six-column Doric amphiprostyle temple erected circa 530-525 B.C. Parts of the foundations and the marble superstructure has been incorporated into the church of Agios Konstantinos. The marble door frame of the temple was reused in the construction of the Venetian Castle (Fig. 4.13) and numerous architectural members were incorporated into modern houses, which have intensively occupied the site (AD 2001-2004, 115).

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

In contrast, in situ archaeological evidence related to domestic architecture and workshops is dense enough to provide a much more concrete picture of the residential and artisans’ quarters of the Hellenistic and Roman city. At the modern site of Kastrovouni (Figs 4.9 & 4.10), east of the acropolis, a few meters east of the peripheral road of Parikia, three large residential complexes divided by a street have been unearthed close to the northeast part of the Archaic fortification (AD 1994, 665–668, pl. 2-3; AD 1999, 794-795, figs 26-29; AD 2000, 967-968; figs 17-19; AD 2001-2004, 112-115, figs 28δ, 29α-β, pl.7; Kourayos 2015, 31). Five rooms were paved by mosaic pavements in opus tesselatum with geometric decorations. Under mosaic 3, part of an earlier mosaic was uncovered, made of natural white pebbles. The use of the houses is dated from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C. In the wider area known as
Floga (Fig. 4.9), located in the eastern part of Parikia close to the aforementioned Hellenistic residences an unidentified Hellenistic structure (AD 1987, 490, pl. 1-2, n.5, fig.29) and a two-storey Roman house from the 2nd - 1st century B.C. have been unearthed (AD 1987, 490-491, pl.1, n.4).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. Inscriptions and written sources

Epigraphic evidence from the Late Roman period witnesses that even during the course of the 3rd and 4th century the city’s official title remained “the most splendid city of Paros citizens” (ἡ λαμπροτάτη Παρίων πόλις: IG XII, 5 269; IG XII, 5 292; IG XII Suppl. 211). The most characteristic example is the dedicatory inscription of the city of Paros to the Emperor Constantine I dated between 317 and 337: [τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότην καὶ κύριον Κ[ω]νσταντῖνο νέον Καίσαρα ἡ λαμ<π>ροτάτη Παρί[ω]ν πόλις (“for the lord of the sea, earth and all human beings, Constantine the new Caesar, the most splendid city of Paros citizens”: IG XII, 5 269). A first observation is that, only a city with great importance and a certain degree of
economic, political, social and cultural development could possibly have been entitled to use such an appellation. There are many examples of cities during the Roman period and Late Antiquity that were defined with the same epithet, such as Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus (Turner 1952; Hagedorn 1973), Lycopolis (Cadau 2015, 6) in Egypt and Priene in Asia Minor (Priene 221). The majority of them were important provincial, commercial and administrative centres. Such a dedication is incomprehensible without the existence of an urban centre with well-organised institutions, a local elite and civic revenues for financing an inscription of this kind. Additionally, it offers an indirect indication that the city of Paros maintained a monumental urban topography over the first centuries of Late Antiquity.

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

B. Archaeological evidence

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

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

Indirect evidence for the period in question is also provided by a number of marble architectural members, mainly mullions, which have been incorporated into later buildings (mostly medieval houses and churches) in the area of Kastro (Figs 4.14 & 4.15). The most characteristic example comes from the Post-Byzantine church of Agios Konstantinos on the top of the Kastro hill where three Late Antique marble mullions have been reused as columns in the south portico (Fig. 4.14). Having considered that mullions were integral structural units that divide adjacent windows of
The first tangible and direct evidence concerning the Late Antique city of Paros derives from the wider area of the ancient port (Figs 4.16 & 4.32). Underwater rescue excavations conducted between 1999 and 2000 by the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities have investigated the area called Agios Nikolaos (the area deriving its name from the Post-Byzantine chapel dedicated to Agios Nikolaos) near the modern port of Parikia (Fig. 4.17) (AD 2000, 1213-1215). The research area is marked on the west by the ferry boat wharf and on the east by the Vitzi wharf (Figs 4.16 & 4.32). In the maritime zone southeast and west of the modern port several large architectural marbles, pieces of limestone, and structures (tongue-shape male and stone circles) were located in the water ranging in depth from 1 to 6 m (Papathanasopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 133-144, figs 2, 3, 6 & 7).

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

However, as has been demonstrated above, between those two centuries the general historical circumstances pertaining to the south Aegean are completely different. From the 4th to the middle 7th century both archaeological and historical data bear witness to a peaceful and stable period in the Aegean showing evidence of flourishing long distance commercial activities. From the middle 7th
century onwards, important changes took place in the wider Mediterranean world in social, economic and administrative terms. The maritime zone of the Aegean progressively played an important role in the Byzantine-Arab struggle for control over the sea. On the basis of recent systematic excavations, it is considered that the city of Rhodes, which was the capital of the Province of the Islands, remained unfortified until the 7th century (Philimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 123; Deligiannakis 2006, 146). Additionally, a number of strong fortifications protecting both coastal and mountainous settlements probably dated to the 7th-8th century have been recently identified on the island of Crete (Tsigonaki 2007; Tsigonaki & Gigourtakis 2015). In the Cyclades, as is demonstrated below in detail, a naval defensive network of the 7th century, consisted of several small or large fortresses on the islands of Viokastro (a naval fortress in the small Paros’ satellite island), Naxos (Kastro Apalirou, Kaloeros) and Ios (Palaiokastro) (see more details in Chapters 4.3.5 and 5.3.9).

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

In the summer of 2016 an ambitious research project was initiated for the study of the ceramic material of the old small-scale underwater harbour research, which had remained unpublished for 16
years. The author undertook the study of the pottery dated to the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. This project can be proved extremely valuable for studying the history of the coastal urban centre of Paros and, more specifically, its commercial activities and trade networks between the 4th and the middle 7th century. Additionally, it can shed more light on the transition between Late Antiquity and the Byzantine centuries (for more see chapter 4.2.9). Despite the fact that it is too early to give a full account of this ongoing research, some general observations regarding the commercial activities of the Late Antique harbour of Paros can be put forward and be presented in the context of this thesis.

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

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

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

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

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

Thirdly, a commercial harbour consists not only of components allowing the provision of a safe anchorage place, but also of various facilities to support complex activities for the operation and control of trade, the transfer of merchandise, refuelling and supplying ships as well as many other activities. The picture of economic vitality and intensified use of the port of Paros in Late Antiquity may suggest that in order to fulfil multiple functions associated with inter-regional trade patterns it was necessary to have a good and well-organised architectural infrastructure. The warehouses were the most important and essential facilities required.
in harbours. After being unloaded from the ships, merchandise was carried and deposited in warehouses and then they were further distributed. Concurrently, these facilities functioned as places where customs duties were levied for tax payment and the control of cargo. In this respect, warehouses played a major role in the administration and execution of import-export procedures (see more in Ginalis 2014, 48-54). The very nature of the ceramic material discussed above, the majority of which preserves residues of contents, and the association of this area with the fortification wall indicates that the wider region of Agios Nikolaos could have been part of the ancient harbour infrastructure, and was possibly occupied by warehouses or other auxiliary facilities. Moreover, no remains of shipwrecks were discovered. The wider marine area, where this pottery material and the architectural remnants of the wall were discovered, was originally above sea-level, since major changes in the coastal palaeoenvironment of the Cyclades have occurred in historical times as shown by recent researches (Baika 2008). A clear picture of sea-level changes within the bay of Parikia is also provided by the extensive submerged, possibly, Roman building which is situated outside of the fortified urban centre of Paros, less than 400 m northeast of Agios Nikolaos (Fig. 4.16) (Rubensohn 1901, 189-192; Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 139). Today this impressive structure is located about 17 m off the modern shoreline at a depth of -1 m (Fig. 4.20).

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

Despite the disturbed stratigraphic sequence, a plethora of imported ceramic forms and types further confirms connections between the city of Paros and the Mediterranean coastal centres; such as North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Palestine. According
to excavators, especially in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries some popular types of amphorae from production centres in North Africa and Palestine were imported (Diamanti et al. forthcoming; Diamanti forthcoming). Amphorae, which were the main transport vessels of antiquity, would carry imported goods necessary for the Parian market. Additionally, during the same centuries, Phocaeaean and African Red Slip fine wares were also imported. The major wave of imports can be identified between the 5th and the middle 7th centuries. From the late 7th century a gradual reduction in imported ceramics is observed.

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

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

The religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani

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

This important religious structure went through several construction phases, the dating of which still remains a matter of controversial debate among scholars. Unfortunately, apart from the evidence supplied by the building itself, written sources tell us nothing concerning its history.
Starting with Orlandos, it can be argued that the theory of the Greek architect regarding the building history of Ekatontapiliani was deeply influenced by the oral traditions connecting the church with imperial euergetism. In this context, without providing solid evidence he argued that the chapel of Agios Nikolaos constitutes the earliest building of this complex. He identified it as the place where according to oral tradition Empress Helen vowed that if her request for the Finding of the Holy Cross was successful, she will build a new church on the site (see more details about the oral traditions concerning the monument in Jewell & Hasluck 1920, 1-6). In the main church of Panagia, Orlandos recognised Fig. 4.21: Plan of the religious complex of Panagia Ekatontapiliani (redrawn after Jewell & Hasluck 1920). In the detail: the large central apse of the main church and the smaller one of the baptistery.
two major consecutive construction phases. Thus, on the basis of architectural remains (mainly, the baptistery and an excavated atrium) and sculptural evidence (marble fragments of closure slabs, mensa and ambo) he considered that a three-aisled timber-roofed basilica with an atrium and baptistery was erected, adjacent to the earlier church of Agios Nikolaos, by the emperor Constantine I to fulfil the promise to his mother. At a later stage, after a huge destruction, the whole complex was largely restored, taking its current form during the reign of Justinian. The arguments on which the theory of Orlandos is based are questionable whilst the fragmented and limited publications of the excavation results do not offer clear evidence to support his view. It is true, however, that this theory has shaped the perception of many later scholars not only concerning the monument itself but also the history of the island during this period. Nevertheless, modern researchers have recently challenged this view.

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

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

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

Excavations in the interior of the main church demonstrated that the spacious Christian religious complex was erected at the same site as extensive pre-existing structures (Orlandos 1963; 1964; 1965; 1965-1966). The excavation works of Orlandos, which until today remain the only archaeological research of this kind in the interior of the monument, were confined to the central part of the nave and the transept of the main church. A relatively large rectangular room (7.6 x 9 m) was unearthed in the area under the large dome (Fig. 4.22). This room was decorated with a lavish figurative mosaic pavement.
which was discovered 0.72 m under the later floor. The fragmentary preserved mosaic pavement depicts the Labours of Hercules. Based on stylistic observations, Orlandos has dated the mosaic to the late 3rd or the early 4th century (1963, 146). The excavator identified the pre-existing structure as a Roman gymnasium, combining a series of evidence such as the iconographic theme of the mosaic, the existence of two inscriptions with catalogues of ephebes that were incorporated in second use into the walls of the atrium, and the epigraphic mention of the restoration of the gymnasium of the city at the end of the 3rd or early 4th century (Orlandos 1963, 147).

On a rather different note however, Müller considers the available space too small for the installation of a palaestra, suggesting these remains probably belonged to a large and luxurious Late Roman urban villa (2003, 72). Mosaic fragments and architectural remains were also found in other parts of the large complex such as the north and south sides of the baptistery and the southwest corner of the main church (Orlandos 1963, 147). These mosaics were contemporary with the mosaic depicting the Labours of Hercules and either belonged to the same building complex, or most probably, to different adjacent structures. Remains of walls from earlier edifices were also unearthed under the foundation level of the Justinianic period during the recent excavations of the local Archaeological Service in the area outside the apse of the main church of Ekatontapiliani (Athanasoulis forthcoming).

At a later stage, it seems that the building with the mosaic of Hercules underwent some important modification, as evidenced by the construction of four marble monolithic columns, which were found in situ but broken (Fig. 4.22). They all stand on different types of bases coming from earlier buildings and they have been found on different levels ranging from 1.73 to 1.88 m. Two of the columns have partly destroyed the surface of the mosaic found at least 1 m below its level (Orlandos 1963, 147, pl.2-3, fig.124). Finally, it is worth noting that in the excavated area some burials were discovered, probably on the upper level of the stratigraphy, which were considered by the excavator as “later” remains without paying them more attention (Orlandos 1963, 142, 145, pl.3).

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

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

A combination of all the archaeological and epigraphic evidence discussed above gives the impression that until 4th century the “most splendid city of Paros” largely retained, more or less, its “pagan” character with local elite, civic institutions and monumental public buildings dominating the urban topography. Considering Late Pagan archaeology, after the 4th century the erection of
temples and cult activity at many sites progressively ceased, as a result of the general cultural and economic changes, the shrinkage of private and state support, and the transformation of local elites (Gregory 1986a; MacMullen 1997; Deligiannakis 2011). Over the following centuries, the urban environment in most of the cities in the Eastern Roman Empire underwent a long and slow process of transformation. Christianity found a new role as a formal religion and was attempting to create a new dominant identity and position for itself in both urban and rural contexts. Under pressure of the needs of an increasing Christian population a radical reorganisation of the public space was inevitable. As a result of this, new landmarks in the intramural town planning emerged. By the 6th century citizens of the urban centres lived in a different context from that of the 3rd and 4th centuries, since dramatic changes had occurred in urban landscapes (Saradi 2006, 148-185).

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

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

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

The new image of the Late Antique city of Paros was adjusted to the new standards and needs of the Late Antique Era. The sacred urban landscape had completely changed and, probably, more than one place of Christian worship was included in the intramural town planning. It seems that during the 6th century there was a dramatic need to find public spaces for the construction of Christian monumental complexes in the city. It is a period when the erection of churches dominated the urban landscape (Saradi 2006, 385-439). The focus on churches and the articulation of the urban space around them can be seen in the case of Ekatonapiliani. From the 6th century onward, the religious complex of Ekatontapilini emerged as the main landmark in the Late Antique city of Paros, drastically changing its
character. It demonstrates the growing wealth and prestige of the Church in the 5th and 6th centuries reflecting an institutionalised Christianity linked to the city and the Empire.

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

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

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

The religious complex of Ekatontapiliani is well-endowed with rich sculptural decoration (Fig. 4.23). The sculptural features that survive from the initial decoration of the main church (6th century) are the ionic impost capitals, the columns,
the bases, and the *tympana* of the colonnades, the piers and some closure slabs of the galleries and important liturgical furnishing, such as the *templon*, the *ciborium*, the *synthronon* and the *ambo*. It is a mixed group that includes marble sculptures imported from Constantinople (proconnesian marble), products of local workshops and ancient architectural members in secondary use (parian marble: see more about the parian marble and the local sculptural production in Chapters 4.4.2 and 4.6.2). The liturgical furnishing, such as the famous *ciborium* (Fig. 4.24) and the chancel screen (*templon*) (Fig. 4.26) of the monument’s 6th century phase are the most well-studied and published marble sculptures of the monument (Mitsani 1996-1997; 2006). Detailed examination and re-evaluation of this material can offer important information about the socioeconomic context of the Late Antique city of Paros.

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

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

This combination of inscription and monograms constitutes an invocation to the Lord for a king who is not named, while at the same time, is a prayer to the Mother of God on behalf of specific individuals in local society (Mitsani 2006, 87-88). The names of three members in the local ecclesiastical hierarchy are included among the donors: a Bishop Georgios and two presbyters, Georgios and Constantinos are mentioned (Kiourtzian 2000, 124-126). Bishop Georgios is not listed in the episcopal catalogues or in other written sources of the period but on the basis of the type of monograms, it is believed that he is later than Bishop Hylasios (Kiourtzian 2000, 125). Thus, the period of action of both bishops has been placed during the 6th century. According to Mitsani, it is quite possible that two of the remaining fragmentary preserved cruciform monograms belonged to members of the local administrative hierarchy: one preserves the name of a certain Michael while the second preserves only two letters from another unspecified name (2006, 88). Unfortunately, the two other monograms which could probably offer us secure
information about their titles are completely missing.

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

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

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

Additionally, if Mitsani’s tantalising hypothesis regarding the monograms of the administrative officials in the closure slab of the templon is correct, it is quite possible that the sculptural decoration of Ekatontapiliani illustrates the new dipole of local civic power that progressively replaced the local civilian elites after the 4th century in the management of the city. In this respect, it makes sense that members of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy and state representatives jointly appeared as donors for the construction of this monumental religious complex. Equally important is the mutual appearance of the two poles of power, proclaiming that aristocracy and the Empire were fully in support of the Church. The strong bonds connecting the two poles of this bipolar model of local power is clearly reflected also in the spatial relationship between the church of Ekatontapiliani, which...
represents the religious power, and the harbour of the city, which indicates the state authority (Fig. 4.16).

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

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

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

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

As is mentioned above, after the 4th century the Aegean Sea became a highly interactive maritime zone and its numerous islands participated in far-flung trade networks attracting ships from all over the eastern Mediterranean basin (see more in Chapter 3.2). The closely-spaced islands of the Cyclades (distances between islands never surpass 13 nm) facilitated seafaring and became important parts of the new sea routes, linking the capital with Crete, Cyprus as well as with ports in the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean (Fig. 3.1). The Cycladic ports also served as convenient stepping stones between Mainland Greece and Asia Minor, offering shelter for the ships. The erection of such a spacious, elaborate and expensive religious complex represents massive expenditures of wealth, and possibly attracted funds from both the imperial administration and local aristocracy. The oral tradition that connects the history of the monument with the generosity of two emperors (Constantine and Justinian) in conjunction with the evidence from the sculptural decoration in the main church and the similarities of the building, in terms of architecture, with other Justinianic churches are strong illustrations of this interesting pairing. In this general context, the construction of Ekatontapiliani on the small but highly interactive island of Paros must be viewed as an act of propaganda for the promotion of the imperial ideology in a coastal city which served as a maritime node for movement of goods and passengers, and at the same time as an
The imperial propaganda was targeted not only towards the local community but also towards the passing merchants, travellers, pilgrims and seafarers; stressing the power of the emperor as ruler and signifying the extent to which Paros interacted with the external world. At the same time, the local religious elite promoted its new found role in the regional management of the island.

Thus, in the context of the highly interactive Mediterranean world, the immense significance of the main port of Paros for the interests of the Empire could be the main reason for the construction of Ekatontapiliani in the city of Paros. In a period of intensive building activity and implementation of large monument projects created by the central government, the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani reflected the importance of a regional city-port in the wider context of the commercial and military maritime networks of the Eastern Roman Empire.

Yet again, the example of Paros, mutatis mutandis, resembles the case of Corinth where the numerous and elaborated basilicas, which were constructed during Late Antiquity, can be seen as imperial propaganda and as an indication of the growing civic power of the local church and its new role to influence regional building projects (Rothaus 2000, 95-96). Additionally, the city-port of Paros with the ecclesiastical complex of Ekatontapiliani could function not only as a regional commercial node but also as a place of Christian pilgrimage. Pilgrimage was a very distinctive phenomenon during Late Antiquity with intertwined political and ecclesiastical dimensions (Kötting 1950, Hunt 1982). As is mentioned above, strong evidence about places of pilgrimage in the Cyclades is documented on the neighbouring islands of Syros and Tenos, as illustrated by several inscriptions and graffiti (Kiourtzian 2000, 137-200; 2001, 11-12).

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

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

In the periphery of the city, until the present day, there is conspicuously little archaeological evidence dating to Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.27). First of all, the so-called “apsidal building” at the site Krios is worth mentioning; it resides on a slightly elevated spot on the opposite shore from the port of Parikia, outside the boundaries of the urban centre (Figs 4.27 & 4.28) (Gruben 1982, 682-685; AD 1994, 666; AD 1998, 795; Müller 2003, 89-91; Karvonis & Mikedaki 2012, 182; Le Quéré 2013, 109). It is a large structure with longitudinal organisation terminated at its eastern end with a large apse incorporated into the rocky hillside (see the detail in Fig. 4.28). No excavations have ever been conducted at this site. The preserved part of this enigmatic structure is measured 23 m in length and 8,40 m in width. The west facade has collapsed but the north and south’s strong walls, as well as the east apse are preserved up to a height of 6 m and have been built with large blocks of gneiss and marble spolia in second use with mortar in opus pseudo-isodomum. The north wall has two faces while the south only one, as its south side has been incorporated into the slope of the hill. Almost in the middle of the preserved wall of the apse nine marble benches from an ancient building (in the type
Fig. 4.29: View of the masonry of the south wall showing the different construction phases.

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

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

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

Regarding the placement of the structure within the micro-landscape, it is clear that on the one hand, it overlooks the entrance of the bay of Parikia and the urban centre, while on the other hand, it is easily accessible by the sea from the port of the city (Figs 4.27 & 4.28). This obviously indicates a sea-orientation and a close association with the urban centre. In architectural terms, it is astonishing that despite the walls’ good conservation status no traces of windows have been recognised. It seems like a spacious building with no natural light, especially on the ground floor. The masonry of the initial phase, with the extensive re-use of older building material, suggests the structure could have been initially erected sometime during Late Antiquity in the context of the aforementioned rebuilding phase that occurred in the city of Paros during the course of the 6th century. The later reparations of the upper parts of the walls show that it has long-term use through Late Antiquity or even the Byzantine period (Fig. 4.29). Having considered all these parameters, it is likely that this structure, which has been placed in the periphery of the city close to the sea, was related to some kind of commercial activities serving as secondary facilities of the main port of the urban centre of Paros.
More tangible evidence was found approximately 1200 m northeast of the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani (Fig. 4.27). In the early 1960’s, the remains of a Late Antique church were excavated by Orlandos at the site called Tris Ekklieses (“Three Churches”) or Stavros in the wider Elitas’ area (1960a, 246-257; 1961, 184-190; AD 1963, 298-301). The toponym Tris Ekklieses derives from the existence of three Post-Byzantine single-aisle humble chapels which were built on the ruins of the early church. The church was a typical small three-aisled basilica with narthex and annexes (Fig. 4.30). It measured 20.90 m in length and 14.80 m in width. In terms of decoration, dimensions and symbolism, the basilica of Tris Ekklieses is much smaller and more humble compared to the colossal complex of Ekatontapiliani. Nevertheless, they share a common feature; the extensive reuse of ancient building material. Unfortunately, the monument has not been completely excavated as parts of the south annexes still remain uncovered.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.9 Evidence of the “Dark Ages” in the region of Parikia

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

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

Another factor that supports the idea of continuity in daily life is the very survival of the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani until the present day. This important evidence was rather neglected by majority of the scholars. Despite modifications and restoration works conducted on the monument throughout the centuries of its history, it seems that it was uninterrupted and in continuous use from the 6th century until today. If the city of Paros had been
deserted for centuries this spacious and elaborate monumental church should have collapsed due to the lack of human presence and restoration works, as it happened in the cases of the basilicas of Tris Ekklisies and Voutakos (see Chapters 4.2.7 and 4.6.2). In contrast, the modern restoration works conducted by Orlandos have shown that until the 1960’s the architectural core of the monument belonged to the Justinianic phase, with several obvious conversions and additions dated to later periods.

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

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

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

4.3.1 A unique Cycladic landscape

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

With the passing of time these peculiar traits gave inhabitants the advantage to overlook sea routes that passed through this crucial maritime zone at the heart of the Aegean Sea. If we take both the strategic position of the bay of Naoussa into consideration and the fact that ancient and Medieval seafaring was facilitated by the possibility for mariners to observe visible reference points, such as mountains, promontories, rocks, inlets, islands, bays, ports and lighthouses (Cosentino 2013, 68), we can easily assume the significant role played by the bay
of Naoussa, not only for regional maritime mobility among the Cycladic islands but also for long distance maritime routes (for example the itinerary that connected Mainland Greece with Asia Minor).

The coastline of the Naoussa region is characterised by great complexity. Two large projecting peninsulas outline the bay at its western and eastern sides. The large west peninsula of Agios Ioannis Detis is defined by a sculptured mass of transformed granite called gneiss, veined with marble (or mica) which changes colour and glistens with the sun’s reflection. From an anthropological point of view, it is important the local fishermen call these sparkly rocks “psaropetres” (fish stones), comparing them with fish scales. Rocky hills with steep slopes reach the coast and create small bays or coves. Cape Korakas with a stone lighthouse is the most northern part of Paros and marks the western entrance of the bay. The west peninsula is outlined by three smaller bays, two along its eastern inner coastline and one
along its western outer coastline. Along the west and southwest side of the bay, are formed the smaller bays of Agios Ioannis (with the eponymous Post-Byzantine monastery) and Plastiras, with sandy and shallow coastlines (Figs 4.35 & 4.37).

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

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

**Fig. 4.38:** Panoramic view of the bay of Naoussa’s east peninsula, with the coves of Laggeris and Xifara.
Aliki or Filizi along the outer southeast coastline of Paros, facing the island of Naxos. The inner coves of Laggeris and Xifara are separated by the so-called Oikonomos Island connected with Paros by means of a narrow sandbar. The south part of Laggeris bay, close to Oikonomos Island is called Zoodochos Pigi, and was named after the eponymous humble church which is located on its northeast entrance. Many islets are scattered within the bay of Naoussa (Agia Kali, Agios Artemios, Galiatsos, Tetartonisi and Mavronisi), with numerous of them located less than a mile off the northeast coast of the peninsula. The barren and desolate off-shore islets of Gaidouronisi, Tourlos, Finisses, Viokastro and Filizi are also worth mentioning (Fig. 4.35).

The bay of Naoussa is adjacent to important extensive productive farming zones. South and southwest of Plastira’s cove are extended the small but fertile plains of Prootoria and Kamares, respectively (Figs 4.35 & 4.66). South and southeast of the modern village of Naoussa the plains of Sarakiniko, Paliopirgos and Ampelas begin (Figs 4.39 & 4.40), these are connected with the extensive cultivable and fertile eastern plain of the island (Fig. 4.4a). The beautiful picturesque fishing village of Naoussa is located on the middle of the south coastline of the bay (facing its entrance). It is the second largest modern settlement on the island, 10 km east from the capital, Parikia. According to A. Vionis the village of Naoussa is a fortified
settlement of orthogonal plan built during the 13th century (2012, 83-84).

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

4.3.2 A history of research

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

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

In 1963 the Greek Archaeological Service carried out a limited rescue excavation unearthing an ancient cemetery at a coastal site of Plastiras cove (AD 1963, 283-284). In the early 1970s the Greek archaeologist K. Fotiou conducted the first topographical survey project covering the northeast region of Naoussa (1973, 1-14). His major concern was to identify remains of the Classical past of Paros, especially the ancient temple of Demeter Thesmophoros mentioned by Herodotus (VI 134). He expanded on this, arguing the ancient city of Paros was located in this peninsula; however, Fotiou’s arguments have been challenged by other scholars (Schilardi 1975b, 93-94 with n. 45). Nevertheless, it does not alter the fact that he presented topographical material related to the northeast peninsula of the bay of Naoussa and he recognised many archaeological remains, such as rock-cut infrastructures and remains of ancient buildings. It is worth mentioning that Fotiou is our only source for some antiquities, as they disappeared under the pressure of the aforementioned tourist development. In addition, he successfully predicted the possible existence of ceramic workshops in the area of Zoodochos Pigi (Fotiou 1973, 10-11).
In 1973-1975 extensive surface surveys were carried out at the region of the bay of Naoussa by the Greek archaeologist D. Schilardi on behalf of the Archaeological Society at Athens (1973; 1974; 1975a; 1975b). Schilardi and his team focused their attention on the research of the ancient settlements on Oikonomos and Filizi Islands. They also discovered the Mycenaean fortified acropolis on the top of the rocky hill of Koukounaries, which overlooks the cove of Plastiras. Excavations at Koukounaries acropolis were carried out during 1976-1992 under sponsorship from the Archaeological Society at Athens (1976-1991, annual archaeological reports in *Praktika tis en Athenais Archaiologikis Etaireias*; Schilardi 1983). In 1979 an underwater archaeological survey in the bay of Naoussa was conducted by the Department of Underwater Antiquities of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Science, and members of the excavation at Koukounaries (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981). Two ancient shipwrecks, three moles (two of them on the northern side of the Plastiras cove and one in the northwest part of the bay near to the monastery of Agios Ioannis), port installations and cist graves south and northeast of Oikonomos Island were briefly surveyed in the bay of Naoussa (Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981, 139-144).

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

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

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

The earliest traces of human occupation recorded within this region are dated to the Late Neolithic era (5th mill. B.C.). Near the southwest shore of the bay of Naoussa on the top of the rocky hill of Koukounaries at a height of 75 m above sea level an important settlement was unearthed (1976-1991, annual archaeological reports in *Praktika tis en Athenais Archaiologikis Etaireias*; Schilardi...
Archaeological evidence, such as pottery and artefacts, has shown that the settlement goes back to the Late Neolithic era. In the Late Mycenaean period (12th century B.C.), the hill was transformed into a fortified acropolis. Despite destruction the settlement survived until the Geometric and Early Archaic periods. In the Early Cycladic I period there is evidence for burials located at a coastal site of Plastiras cove (AD 1963, 283-284). Thirteen tombs were unearthed, twelve of which followed the typical characteristics of the Early Cycladic period and one of which is dated to Roman times.

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

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

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

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

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

Pottery production sites

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

The French archaeologists, Picon and Empereur, located four pottery production sites along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa during their brief extensive survey in 1986 on the northern part of the island (1986a, 501-504; 1986b). Although no excavations have been carried out at these sites, they
Fig. 4.42: View of the area of the pottery production site 4 along the beach of Xifara.

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

Fig. 4.44: Traces of architectural remains in the bank of the modern motorway in Xifara.
are undoubtedly important for many aspects of the study of the economic and social context of Paros during the period in question. Despite obstacles (vegetation, wave activity and modern extensive building boom because of touristic development in the region), using the descriptions and the published simple maps of the article the exact positions of the majority of these sites were found during personal observations in 2015 and 2016.

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

Pottery production site 4 was discovered east of the village of Naoussa along the cove of Xifara’s sandy beach (Figs 4.38, 4.41 & 4.42). According to the description, this is the only site that provided substantial architectural remains. Empereur and Picon identified the remains of two kilns being less than 50 m apart (1986a, 502-504). The one in the east belonged to the type of rectangular kilns and in 1986 was preserved in good condition. The second kiln was located 50 m westward and it had almost completely disappeared under the waves. The authors believed that architectural remains related to the kilns were preserved beneath the modern road that linked the modern village of Naoussa and the area of Santa Maria. Today both kilns are totally destroyed by the intense wave activity and no remains of them are visible any longer. However, pottery wasters with
huge quantities of ceramic sherds are found on every part of the shore (Fig. 4.43). Additionally, traces of several ancient walls can be identified in the bank of the modern motorway that connects the village of Naoussa and the region of Santa Maria (Fig. 4.44). It seems that all of these partially visible structures continued eastward and northward beneath the road. The long distance between the two kilns, as well as the traces of ancient walls suggest probably more than one pottery workshop occupied this site. According to Empereur and Picon, the workshop’s production was predominantly amphorae, as well as tiles (1986a, 502-504).

Apart from these partially visible walls, what is more interesting in the area of the pottery production site 4 is the existence of an unspecified and completely unexplored large building (see a brief mention in Schilardi 1973, 264). Today, it lies right in the middle of the cove of Xifara’s sandy beach (Fig. 4.45). However, it is obvious that this strong and relatively large building continues northward beneath the aforementioned modern road (Fig. 4.46). It is a structure with a complex ground plan from which at least two chambers can be clearly defined (see the detail in Fig. 4.45). Chamber A measures 2,60 x 2,80 m and has N-S orientation while chamber B measures 2,50 x 2,70 m and has W-E orientation (Fig. 4.46). At the moment no traces of doorways have been identified. Apart from a few walls which have almost totally collapsed due to intense wave action, the largest parts of the chambers are preserved in a good conservation status (some walls are preserved up to a height of 2,5 m). The lower part of the masonry consists of rubble stones with mortar while the upper zone of the walls are more elaborate constructions, consisting of rows of irregular cut stones of schist with strong mortar.
A remarkably large number of diagnostic ceramics were discovered on the surface inside the walls of the structure, while amphora wasters were found around it (Fig. 4.43). A careful in situ examination of the surface pottery material shows the site is multi-periodic. However, the largest concentration of surface ceramics belongs to the commonest shapes of Late Roman Amphora types 1 and 2. Without systematic excavation, there can be no certainty about the function of that structure. However, some parameters such as its central position within the cove of Xifara, its close proximity to ceramic workshops, its sea-orientation, and the large concentration of over fired wasters around it can lead to the reasonable interpretation that this building was directly associated with the production of pottery. It is quite possible that both chambers were auxiliary installations of the pottery production site 4, serving as warehouses or places for the preparation of clay. We have to keep in our mind that during antiquity this structure was located at least 10 m away from the sea (see more details on sea-level changes on Paros and the Cyclades in Papathanassopoulos & Schilardi 1981; Baika 2008; Mourtzas 2012; and in Chapter 2.2). The large quantity of Late Antique ceramics on the surface may suggest the building was constructed or remained in use during Late Antiquity.

Recent rescue excavations carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades brought to light the remains of a new pottery production site on the northeast coast of the bay of Naoussa in the area of Zoodochos Pigi, in the southern part of the Laggeris cove (see pottery production site 5 in Figs 4.41 and 4.47). The excavation results have not been fully published yet but preliminary brief publications provide valuable evidence concerning the local ceramic production (Diamanti 2016). This site is located 140 m from the sea and less than a kilometre northeast of pottery production site 4 (Fig. 4.47). The remains of two well-preserved amphora kilns, amphora workshop wasters and various architectural remnants were unearthed. On the basis of the study of the ceramic evidence, it appears this pottery production site was contemporary to the aforementioned workshops and operated between the 6th and 7th centuries. According to the excavator of the ceramic workshop in the area of Zoodochos Pigi, the production was primarily local types of
amphorae that shared common features with the well-known LRA types 1 (cylindrical amphorae with ribbed decoration) and 13 (ovoid vases with combed decoration) (Diamanti 2016, 691). The excavation results and the enormous number of pottery fragments scattered all over the surface of the area suggest a mass production of amphorae.

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

In the context of personal observations along the shoreline of the bay of Naoussa two more unknown sites were identified, which related to the production of ceramics (see pottery production sites 6 and 7 in Fig. 4.41). Pottery production site 6 is located almost in the middle of Laggeris bay, approximately 580 m north of Zoodochos Pigi’s ceramic workshop (pottery production site 5) (Figs 4.47 & 4.48). A careful in situ examination of the huge concentration of the surface ceramic material shows that a plethora of them belongs to Late Roman vessels (Fig. 4.49). Very characteristic are the commonest shapes of Late Roman Amphora types 1 and 2 dated to the 6th and 7th century (Fig. 4.50). A great number of over fired
wasters of these types have also been discovered. Additionally some architectural traces of an unspecified structure in connection with several rock cuttings were also found on the beach (Fig. 4.51).

Pottery production site 7 is situated in the north-eastern corner of Paros very close to the outer coastline of the eastern peninsula that delimitates the large bay of Naoussa (Fig. 4.41). The microtopography is characterised by a hilly landscape which slopes down to the coast creating small and shallow bays with sandy or rocky beaches (Figs 4.52 & 4.53). The seascape contains a cluster of tiny uninhabited off-shore islets, the most important of which are Viokastro, Finisses, Kteni and Tourlos. Although the region is strongly affected by the north wind, it possesses a strategic geographic position as the islands of Mykonos, Delos, Rhenia, Naxos and Tenos are located only few nautical miles north and northeast. In the clearest weather all of these neighbouring islands are visible from many different locations within the region (Fig. 4.52). However, it seems that during antiquity this coastal landscape was slightly different, as indicated by today submerged rocky formations and the tiny islets of Kteni and
Finisses which were possibly connected with the opposite shore, forming a projecting promontory that protected the Zevlogianni bay from strong winds (see more about sea-level changes in the Cyclades in Chapter 2.2). Unfortunately, the intense wave power and human activity have caused collapse and erosion of this coastal micro-landscape which is being rapidly destroyed year on year.

Huge quantities of surface ceramic sherds were discovered in the area, today known as Palio Karnayio, at a slightly elevated site around a modern abandoned structure (Figs 4.53 & 4.54). According to the locals, the surface soil has been transferred there from another location, which is situated on a slightly elevated hill less than 200 m southwest. Unfortunately, this site is now occupied by a modern residence. Nevertheless, the study of the surface ceramic material can provide important information. The prevailing picture, presented by the careful in situ examination of the huge quantities of surface ceramics, suggests the existence of one more coastal industrial units specialised in the production of at least two types of amphorae. The highest percentage of the surface material belongs to the most common shapes of Late Roman Amphora types 1 and 2/13 (Fig. 4.55). It is quite significant that a great number of over fired wasters of these types have also been discovered (Fig. 4.56). Other kinds of pottery are also presented at the site such as lekanides (Fig. 4.55). On the basis of similarities with the ceramic material from the other pottery production sites in the bay of Naoussa, the main period of operation of this production site can be placed during the 6th and the 7th century.

The superabundance of surface ceramic material, once more, suggests a high specialisation in, and a mass production of transport amphora types which can be explained as being oriented to external markets (see more in Chapter 4.3.6). Thus, parameters such as the features of the local landscape, the strategic geographical position of the region and the mass production attest the existence of port infrastructures along the coastline of infrastructures.
along the coastline of Palio Karnayio and make the double function of this Late Antique site clear. It is quite possible, then, that this region functioned as an amphorae production site and at the same time as an export point, where the local agrarian produce of northern Paros was collected and shipped out from the small port in the transport amphorae produced \textit{in situ}.

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

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

The distribution of pottery workshops within the bay of Naoussa bears similarities with the modern potter’s settlements on the island of Sifnos (Wagner 2002). The potter’s settlements on Sifnos had a distinctive character that made them special compared to the domestic settlements on the island. They were exclusively working settlements with labour as a first priority. As a result of this, considerable attention was not paid to living facilities; they are located on the outskirts or completely away from domestic settlements. According to Wagner: “the form of the potter’s
settlement is determined by the topography, the housing and the types of production” (2002, 145).

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

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

The ceramic workshops of Naoussa:
Old problems − new interpretations

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

It is clear the French archaeologists, Empereur and Picon, faced many difficulties in classifying the amphorae sherds from Naoussa into any of the known up to that time amphorae types. Using the available data up to that time placed the operation of the workshops (pottery production sites 1, 2, 3 and 4) during the Hellenistic period and Roman Imperial times (1986a, 501-505). Additionally, they tried to identify a typology of local Parian amphorae production, arguing that the main production of the workshops during the Roman period consisted of two main types of amphorae (types IV and V: Empereur & Picon 1986a, 506-507). They supported the view that Parian workshops manufactured a generally similar type of amphora (type IV) from the 1st century, which survived until the 5th century (as type V).

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

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

According to the drawings and descriptions by Empereur and Picon, figures 12a and 12d correspond to an amphorae type with the main characteristics: the lightly everted rim with a triangular intersection, the vertical handles, the cylindrical body, the oblong and cylindrical neck, the rounded plain base and the ribbed decoration on the neck, shoulders and body (Fig. 4.59). These very features characterise the production of Late Roman Amphorae 1 type after the 6th century. Having carefully considered all the aforementioned information, this study suggests that the first amphorae group produced by Parian workshops was a version or an imitation of the Late Roman Amphora 1 type. The body became more cylindrical and the body created stepped wide flat sections separated by a narrow ridge. In the late 6th and 7th centuries several small variations of the type have been found.

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

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

Regarding the type V of Empereur and Picon which is considered a late variant of type IV, we can assume that it is a later imitation or survival of the Late Roman Amphora 1 type. However, since there are no published drawings the identification is doubtful.
The picture emerging from the re-evaluation of the ceramic material from the pottery production sites 1, 2, 3 and 4 fits perfectly with the excavation results of the pottery production site 5 and the new evidence from the surface material of the pottery production sites 6 and 7. In general the main points of our contributions can be summarised under four headings:

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

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

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

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

Port infrastructures and other sea-oriented structures

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

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

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

However, a closer in situ examination of the surface material during personal observations at the area identified the existence of a small but important quantity of Late Antique pottery (Fig. 4.61). This group consists mainly of very diagnostic ribbed-amphora sherds of the LR 1 type, which can be dated to the 6th or 7th century on the basis of similarities with the relevant material from the pottery production sites of the bay. Additionally, the masonry of a second smaller structure (Fig. 4.62) seems to be quite different compared to the larger one (Fig. 4.60), possibly indicating that it must be dated to a different period. It is made of small and medium sized local cut stones, resembling the construction technique of the walls found at Marathi under the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (see chapter 4.4.3). At the moment it is impossible to clarify the function of those buildings in Kargadoura. Combining the surface
ceramic evidence with architectural observations we can trace human activity in Kargadoura during the 6th and 7th centuries, which can be classified as a possible site. Having considered the strategic position of the bay of Naoussa which was fully integrated in the maritime routes we are led to the tantalising hypothesis that the site was a kind of reference point or watchtower to facilitate seafaring and overlook naval traffic in this maritime zone.

**Rural settlements**

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

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

Approximately 900 m northeast from the anonymous church at Protoria is located the small chapel of Theoskeasti in the region known today as Kravga (Figs 4.41 & 4.64). According to Vionis,
a low concentration of surface ceramics dated to Late Antiquity suggests that an even smaller site was located nearby the church (information kindly provided by A. Vionis). This site can be classified as a rural villa or farmstead. It is located less than 1.5 km south of the south coast of the bay and 2 km southwest of the modern village of Naoussa. About 800 m northwest of the anonymous church at Protoria is located the site which is today known as Milos tou Avraam (“Abraham’s Windmill”) (Figs 4.41 & 4.65). It is a low hill less than 1.9 km southeast from the area of production sites 1 and 2 and approximately 1.5 km southwest of pottery production site 3. According to Vionis, a high concentration of surface ceramics dated to Late Antiquity suggest that on the top of the hill was located a third site of the period in question, which can probably classified as a village (information kindly provided by A. Vionis).

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

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

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

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

Regarding the operation of pottery workshops, it is quite possible that they retained the massive character of their production and their market orientation until, probably, the middle or late 7th century. The picture emerging through the in situ analysis of surface ceramics from all sites in combination with recent excavation results, suggests an important change during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages.
According to the excavator of the ceramic workshops at Zoodochos Pigi, the production of amphorae stopped in the middle 7th century (Diamanti 2016). However, in the areas of pottery production sites 4 and 5, a small group of surface ceramic sherds, mainly amphorae, bears strong similarities with the well-published Early Byzantine pottery from the Saraçane excavation in Constantinople (Hayes 1992), indicating some kind of activity in the late 7th and probably during the 8th century along the bay’s coastline. It is quite reasonable then to assume that despite changes in a broader socioeconomic context of the Aegean, pottery production in the bay of Naoussa survived well into the Early Middle Ages, at a lesser scale compared to the previous period. In economic terms, the picture of the bay during the 8th century was far from the large Aegean amphora production centre and export point of Late Antiquity. Pottery workshops were apparently fewer in number without distinct market orientation.

They probably covered the limited needs of the regional market of Paros and the adjacent islands.

At the same time, the surface ceramic material from the settlements in the rural context of the bay presents a lacuna between the end of Late Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period. This possible gap, which has been observed in many other coastal sites on the island throughout a period from the late 7th to the late 10th centuries, could have multiple explanations. First of all, archaeologically, it probably reflects low-visible communities with reduced population and limited cultural production. In this case, the material traces of habitation during Byzantine Early Middle Ages would be extremely limited and cannot be traced by merely a small-scale surface survey. The nature of this use was such that it left less visible archaeological traces. Intensive surveys in combination with excavations are needed in order to examine the validity of this hypothesis. Secondly, this “absence” of Early Medieval material
could be interpreted as abandonment of these sites. In this case, a pattern of abandonment of this settlement is reflected in the Byzantine Early Middle Ages and re-establishment in the Middle Byzantine period. Thirdly and most probable, this “invisibility” of the Early Medieval population in the archaeology of Paros can be considered as a result of the archaeologists’ inability to identify and interpret material culture and evidence of settlement pattern between the 8th and 9th centuries. The Byzantine lead seals of the 7th-8th century from Protoria (Othon Kaparis Collection), which are valuable direct historical sources, support our view about the continuation of life in the rural settlements across the coastal zone of Naoussa during the so-called “Dark Ages”. In any case, changes, possibly radical, in archaeological records indicates transformations in the socioeconomic context of the island and the Aegean Archipelagos during the so-called “Dark Ages”.

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

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

Some further observations can be made concerning the placement and function of this naval fortress. On a first level, the selection of a small islet just off the strategically significant bay of Naoussa for the construction of a sea-oriented fortification indicates special care to primarily secure the commercial or military maritime circulation through the Cyclades, demonstrating that the potential threat came from the sea. The application of viewshed analysis proved the
Fig. 4.70: Viewshed analysis showing the visibility from Viokastro. Visible areas marked with turquoise (10 m added).
RECONSTRUCTING THE SETTLED LANDSCAPE OF THE CYCLADES

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

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

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

4.3.6 The region of Naoussa in its Aegean context

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

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

The Parian workshops started the production of two amphora types approximately at the same time as many other sites in the Mediterranean. In terms of pottery production the case of Naoussa bears a number of similarities with the Dodecanese and Cyprus. On the island of Kos at least five workshops have been discovered in coastal localities of the island dated from the middle 6th to the 7th centuries providing evidence of mass production of imitations of Late Roman Amphorae types 1 and 2 (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2006, 61; Poulou-Papadimitriou & Didioumi 2010; Didioumi 2014a; 2014b; Papavasileiou & Didioumi forthcoming). In the case of Cardamaina two workshops have been found close to each other (at a distance of 250 m). One of them is dated to the Hellenistic period and again to the 6th and 7th centuries, as is the case of workshop 1 in Naoussa (Empereur & Picon 1986a, 501; Georgopoulou 2005; Diamanti 2010a). The Koan workshops are spread along the shorelines of the island and are connected with Late Antique coastal settlements. In addition, archaeological evidence suggests the existence of amphorae workshops from this period on the islands of Rhodes (Empereur & Picon 1989, 242-243), Lipsi (Papavasileiou et al. 2014, 159-168) and Karpathos (Kollias 1973; 1975; 2006). Cyprus is another example with evidence of
mass production of Late Roman Amphorae 1 and 13 during the same period (Demesticha 2003).

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

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

The region of Naoussa appears to have been highly interactive in multiple levels during Late Antiquity. On a local level, there is an interaction between the coastal workshops and the rural sites which were located in the periphery of the bay near
the sea. The manufacture of transport amphorae was in direct relationship with the highly intensive commercial farming of this region. The plains of Paliopirgos and Ampelas, and the rich cultivable land of Protoria, Kravga and Sarakiniko constitute the immediate periphery of the bay of Naoussa. Additionally, the bay is adjacent to the large fertile coastal plain that extended along the east side of the island and to the smaller plain of Kamares (south-west of the modern village of Naoussa), whilst finally also directly connected with central Paros and especially the region of Marathi, with a vertical road (N-S) that passes through a small gorge (as we shall see in Chapter 4.4).

Subsequently, on a broader level, there is clear interaction between the region as production, collection and distribution centre, and the wider markets. The bay of Naoussa acted as the main gateway between the local community and the rest of the Aegean and Mediterranean world. The local agrarian produce of northern Paros collected and exported to wider markets through the numerous harbour installations along its complex shoreline, using as containers the transport amphorae produced in situ. The region of Naoussa was fully integrated into the inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes of the East Mediterranean Sea during the Late Antiquity. Finally, on a regional level, although, until now, there is not tangible evidence, we can suggest a new dimension in the interpretation of the pottery production of Naoussa, which is related to the Cycladic context. The huge quantities of Late Roman Amphora fragments discovered along the coastline of the bay of Naoussa, makes it reasonable to hypothesis that part of this production could be traded without containing any local product of Paros, destined for the adjacent Cycladic islands (Naxos, Mykonos etc.). It is probable that a small percentage of the Parian Amphorae was shipped out to cover the needs for transport vessels of the neighbouring islands in order to export their agricultural surpluses to wider markets. Such a high specialised and extremely mass production of amphorae could cover the needs of more than an island, supporting the local production of adjacent insular communities. The strategic position of the bay of Naoussa in the maritime area of the Cyclades further supports this view. A possible candidate that could have received the Parian Amphorae was the island of Naxos (see Chapter 5.3.11). A future study of the ceramic evidence from the neighbouring islands would contribute more evidence to this interpretation. If this tantalising hypothesis is correct, there is one more level of interaction between the bay of Naoussa and the surrounding Cycladic islands.

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

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

Material culture from Naoussa during the Early Middle Ages suggests the picture of remarkable economic vitality throughout the 6th and 7th centuries changed dramatically in the succeeding centuries. The relevant prosperity of Naoussa throughout Late Antiquity was supported by multiple factors: the potential and opportunities offered by its distinctive landscape character, the strategic position of the island in the Aegean Sea, the growth off maritime commercial activities in the Mediterranean Sea, the integration of Paros into inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes, the high specialisation of the local rural production, the export of local agricultural surplus through trade, and the intense activity of pottery production sites. Therefore, its economic vitality was undoubtedly almost fully dependent on the Mediterranean maritime commercial system. Any change in trade patterns and sea routes in this system may have had a strong impact not only the bay of Naoussa’s role in this broader network but also on its economic situation. From this point of view, the industrial and production centre of Naoussa, probably did not make sense outside the inter-regional route system and trade patterns of the Late Antique world.
After the late 7th century, a series of parameters, such as the emergence of the Arab threat over the Aegean, radically changed the trade system. Commercial activities continued to exist in the Aegean during the 8th and the 9th century on a lesser scale compared to Late Antiquity and re-organised on a completely different basis than before (Poulou-Papadimitriou forthcoming). In this context, the highly specialised coastal production centres in the Aegean were strongly affected, losing their vital role as smaller links in the chain of the broader network of trade. However, despite major changes in settlement patterns of Naoussa, this study suggests a continuity of life along this coastal landscape during the 8th and 9th centuries on a lesser scale compared to the previous period. Limited but valuable surface ceramic fragments may indicate that a few of the pottery workshops probably continued their operation during the turbulent Early Middle Ages without, however, distinct market orientation. The development of a more regional economy after 8th century, with products circulating mainly internally or just across the neighbouring regions probably suggests that this minor production covered the limited needs of the regional market of Paros and the adjacent islands. In rural sphere, the settled landscape in the periphery of the bay may have consisted of archaeologically low-visible agricultural communities, with extremely limited cultural production based on the sustainability of a reduced population.

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

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

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

### 4.4 NORTH CENTRAL PAROS

#### 4.4.1 Landscape and micro-topography

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

The Marathi basin is a small karstic plain of approximately 1,43 km², situated at an altitude of about 200 m above sea level (Fig. 4.72). It constitutes a relatively closed geographic unit with definite mountainous borders, since the south is surrounded by the marble mountains of Marathi (alt. 357 m), the north by the hills of Pachnas (alt. 263 m) and Korakas (alt. 268 m), and the east by the hills of Raches (alt. 274 m) and Kadinelia (alt. 247 m). It has two accesses to the sea, one through the gorge
that formed between Kadinelia and Pachnas hills along the Ksiropotamos River to the bay of Naoussa (north) and another through the gorge of Elitas to the gulf of Parikia (southeast). In earlier times, water came into the plain from Ksiropotamos River, which crosses the area of Matzoro in the eastern part of the basin (Fig. 4.73). Today, Ksiropotamos, as indicated by its name (literally, “Dry River”), is a dry river bed surrounded by typical low-lying Cycladic woodland (juniper, lentisk, herbal and thorny shrubs mostly). South and southwest of Marathi’s small basin extends the mountainous area dominating the central landscape of Paros. In the wider area from the Marathi basin up to Choridaki valley and Vounia (Thapsana) rich deposits of high quality marble have been discovered and exploited since antiquity.

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

4.4.2 The Parian marble and sculpture workshops in Late Antiquity

What made this region special and unique for the history and economy of the island was the abundance of marble deposits. The mountainous area south and southwest of the Marathi basin constituted the main source of the famous Parian marble so prized by sculptors in the ancient world. During antiquity numerous underground and opencast marble quarries operated at many sites in the north central part of Paros, providing marble for buildings and free-standing sculptures and contributing to
the economic growth of the island (Korres 2010; Schilardi 2010; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2014, 135-138). The most significant among them were the quarries of the Nymphs and Pan (Paros I), the quarries of Lakkoi, Spilies and Thapsana (Paros II) and the quarry of Agios Menas (Paros III). Although operation of the quarries from the Archaic period until the Roman Imperial times has been studied thoroughly (Schilardi & Katsonopoulou 2010), it remains questionable if quarrying continued on the island during Late Antiquity.

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

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

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

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

As is mentioned above, “the most illustrious city of Paros citizens” was well endowed with marble monumental structures during antiquity (see Chapter 4.2.4). Over the course of Late Antiquity the majority of these civic or religious marble buildings were ruined. As a result of this, a large number of huge or small carved marble blocks were available
not only for building material but also for re-carving and production of new Christian sculptures. The abundance of ancient marble architectural sculptures can even be seen in the 13th century in the construction of the medieval castle of Parikia (Fig. 4.13). Thus, older material, was probably intensively re-carved for the production of Christian sculptures during the 6th century by local workshops.

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

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

4.4.3 The settlement pattern within the Marathi basin in Late Antiquity

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

In the southeast part of Marathi basin (Kato Marathi), facing the entrance of the small valley that leads to Naoussa, is located the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Fig. 4.73). It is a small church of 4 x 5,50 m which belonged to a local variation of the cross-in-square church - single-aisled type (Fig. 4.75). In modern times a rectangular narthex was annexed to the west facade of the initial building. On the basis of architectural similarities with examples from Naxos, Crete and Cyprus Dimitrokallis dated the church of Marathi between the 11th and 13th centuries (1998, 195-198).

The church of Agios Ioannis, nowadays, stands like an isolated religious landmark within a characteristic rural Cycladic landscape (Fig. 4.73). However, a closer examination of the archaeological evidence and the surface ceramics offer valuable information for the reconstruction of a settlement pattern and rural landscape within the Marathi basin in Late Antiquity.

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

Fig. 4.75: View of the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos at Kato Marathi.
fields immediately to the north of the church (2006, 463-464). Personal observations at the site in 2015 and 2016 further confirmed the existence of important quantities of ceramic sherds in the area immediately to the west, east, and south of the church. A careful in situ examination of surface ceramics suggests the largest percentage of this find belonged to Late Antique centuries. It mostly contains common storage and transport vessels (storage jars and LR amphora types), imported red slip wares, as well as a small but diagnostic group of beehive sherds (Fig. 4.76).

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

Apart from the valuable ceramic evidence discussed above, during author’s visit to the site found that the small medieval church had been erected on the ruins of a pre-existing structure as evidenced by preserved architectural traces. The small apse in the east was founded on the remains of an earlier straight wall (Fig. 4.77). The visible preserved part of the east wall measured approximately 3.5 m in length and less than 1 m in width. It is a straight segment without forming any kind of apse, built with local cut stones without mortar. Additionally, the south wall of the church was founded on the ruins of a second straight wall, which is indiscernible as it was partly covered by modern cement (Fig. 4.78). The visible preserved part of the south wall measured approximately 2.5 m in length. The two preserved straight walls belonged to the same structure and form an angle under the southeast corner of the church. Fragmentary preserved remains of walls were also found at a distance of approximately 100 m east from the church (Fig. 4.79).

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

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

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

Fig. 4.77: The visible preserved part of the straight east wall under the apse of the medieval church.
of Late Antique basilicas. The phenomenon is very common and numerous examples were encountered on islands and mainland areas of the Aegean. In most cases, later chapels occupied the area of the Holy Bema of the basilica (apse). Nevertheless, there are a few examples where the later churches were erected on the eastern part of side aisles. A characteristic example on Paros has been observed at the site of Tris Ekklisies where one of the three later chapels occupies the eastern part of the north aisle (founded on the ruins of the north wall of the basilica). The two other chapels occupy the central part of the nave and the south aisle. The evidence provided so far by personal observations and surveys remains inconclusive in identifying the pre-existing structure as a religious building.

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

The ceramic data and the spatial relationship between the site and the surrounding fertile agricultural land produce clear evidence for rural exploitation of the Marathi basin’s rich cultivable land in Late Antiquity. The inhabitants of this small village at Marathi could have agricultural activities (farming, beekeeping) as the main occupation. The micro-topography of the settlement contained land qualities and natural resources (Ksiropotamos River) in its surroundings, which were important features for the establishment and development of rural sites in antiquity (Antrop 1987, 1990). Thus, it was located on a fertile basin where the intensively used land could easily be controlled. Additionally, the slopes of the surrounding hills and mountains are the ideal places for beekeeping even today, since thyme and various herbs grow in abundance (Fig. 4.81). Beekeeping on Paros seems to have been a traditional activity since antiquity as indicated by the beehives produced in the Hellenistic and Roman pottery workshops within the city of Paros (Hasaki 2010, 388). Remarkable beekeeping activity has been identified in Boeotia during Late Antique and Early Byzantine times as indicated by the large number of beehive fragments in surface ceramics (Vroom 2003, 345-346). Finally, the site at Marathi is located close to areas of grazing land, and therefore it makes sense to assume that it could have include small-scale pastoralist activities as part of its function (see more about pastoralism in Chapter 5.4.6).
Seemingly, Marathi region is a relatively isolated area because of the physically enclosed character of a mountain basin. However despite the fact that it was not visible from the sea, the Marathi basin was easily accessible from the city of Paros and the bay of Naoussa. Moreover, due to the extensive exploitation of marble sources the Marathi area was never a closed and remote community. If we consider that ancient road networks connecting the inland with coastal areas and urban centres mainly followed physiographic constraints, we can make a hypothetical reconstitution of land routes that linked the Marathi basin with coastal regions of the island using least cost path analysis in GIS (Fig. 4.80). A first land route passed through the small gorge along Ksiropotamos River leading north to the bay of Naoussa (Figs 4.82 & 4.83). This road along with the river was, presumably, of greatest importance for this rural community as indicated by the location of the Late Antique settlement opposite the south entrance of the gorge and west of the river bank. A second land route can be traced on the west side of the Marathi basin. This route to the west passed through the modern region of Elitas and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies with direction toward the city of Paros, connecting the capital of the island with its principal source of economic growth since antiquity.

Although, as is outlined above, it is doubtful whether the numerous quarries on north central Paros operated until the 6th century, it remains plausible that in the course of Late Antiquity the exploitation of marble reduced and completely stopped. This had as a result the drastic change of the local landscape and character of the Marathi basin. During antiquity north central Paros gave the impression of an industrial zone fully orientated towards mass marble
extraction; the principal source of growth for the Parian economy. In this respect, Marathi constituted the region of the greatest importance for the economic interest of the city of Paros. Despite the fact that at the moment, there is no clear evidence; presumably, there were also rural activities within the plain during antiquity. However, they were less important for the local economy. What is more significant for this study is that the region progressively changed in many ways during Late Antiquity. Over the course of Late Antique centuries the area of Marathi transformed from the locomotive for the Parian economy to a regional rural area fully integrated in the economic system of internal production. The region’s character changed progressively, from an industrial centre to an intensity land use zone. By the end of Late Antiquity the Marathi basin was entirely an agricultural zone, inhabited by a small rural community.

Nevertheless, it did not stop contributing to the local economy throughout Late Antiquity. A combination of the archaeological evidence from Marathi discussed above suggests intensively exploited rural landscape and commercialisation of agricultural surpluses of the fertile plateau during the 6th and 7th centuries. The intensification of land use in the Marathi basins during this period reflects, as has been observed not only in many other fertile regions of Paros but also in almost every corner of Greece (Bintliff 2012b, 358), a commercial rather than subsistent character. The Marathi region is located at a close distance from the bay of Naoussa while, probably, the basin’s only Late Antique rural site was oriented toward the road that leads to the north (Fig. 4.84). If we considered the bay of Naoussa functioned not only as an amphorae production centre but also as a collection point for the exportable produce of the northern part of Paros, it makes sense to assume that through this land route, local agricultural production was transported to Naoussa to be exported to wider markets. In this respect, this hypothesis supports the high levels of rural activity on the island during Late Antiquity and the concentration of agricultural produce from the countryside or coastal plains to the regional ports, especially in the bay of Naoussa. Thus, the region of Marathi was an open community which interacted with the coastal zones of the islands, and through them, with the external world.
At the moment, no clear evidence dated to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages has been identified with certainty within the Marathi basin. As has been demonstrated above, at the rural sites of the region of Naoussa there is a dramatic decline of ceramic material in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Early Middle Ages. Bearing in mind the spatial and economic relationship between the areas of Marathi and Naoussa during Late Antiquity, which was based on the commercialisation of the local production, it is quite possible they were both heavily influenced by the changes in the inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes that took place progressively after the late 7th century. The Marathi region was, probably, fully dependent upon exports of its rural surplus during Late Antiquity, and as a matter of fact, any change in the commercial activity may have had a strong impact on its economy. Thus, it is possible that in the late 7th or early 8th century the rural site at Kato Marathi shrunk or became abandoned until the 10th century, in similar way to many other areas of the Aegean during the turbulent Early Middle Ages (for wider Aegean context see Bintliff 2012b, 381-388). As has been suggested by Vionis, there is some limited evidence of human presence and rural activity at Marathi during the Middle Byzantine period (2012, 200).

4.5  EASTERN COAST OF PAROS: AN EXTENSIVE PRODUCTIVE ZONE

4.5.1  Landscape and micro-topography

From the mountainous interior of central Paros, mountains slope down to the coast and create the largest and most fertile plain on the island, dominating almost the entire eastern coastal zone and extending from the region of Isterni (north-east) to the village of Dryos (south-east) (Figs 4.5: IV & 4.85). The east plain’s topography is a relatively flat coastal landscape with a few low hills and bays scattered along the shoreline (Fig. 4.86). The plain is subdivided into smaller areas and contains (from northeast to southeast): the eastern coastal part of the Kostos region (Isterni, Stavros), the Archilochos regions (Gliptades, Tsoukalia, Molos, Galios, Aerodromio, Prodromos), and Marpissa (Dryos, Piso Livadi, Marpissa, Tourlos, Mersini, Velania, Chrisi Akti, Tserdakia, Tzanes) (Fig. 4.85). The region’s advantageous geomorphology had as a result the highest concentration of settlements and villages along the eastern coast of Paros during the modern period. Thus, the modern villages of Prodromos, Marmara, Marpissa, Piso Livadi and Dryos are located within this coastal landscape.
Coastal morphology is characterised by the presence of sandy or pebbly beach zones, forming several small bays relatively sheltered from wave activity, as well as few steep coastal cliffs. The bay of Molos, which is located almost in the middle of the east coast of Paros and flanked by the facing hills of Kephalos (south) and Antikephalos (north), is the safest natural harbour of the area. The whole region lies opposite Naxos offering good visibility of this neighbouring island and overlooking the narrow sea channel of Paronaxia. The channel between Paros and Naxos, which at its narrowest point measures less than 3 nm was fully integrated into the maritime trade and military network of the central southern Aegean in different periods. Thus, it seems the eastern coast of Paros benefited both from its proximity to the maritime network and from its peculiar geomorphologic features.

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

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

Southeast of the region of Naoussa (and its southeast point which is the area of Ampelas) between the low hill of Isterni in the east (alt. 113 m) and the eastern slopes of Mt Kadinelia in the west (alt. 247 m) a flat narrow area (less than 0.8 km in width) is formed constituting some form of north entrance to the eastern plain of Paros (Fig. 4.85).

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

However, what is most surprising in this case, is that the foundations of the present-day chapel rested on the ruins of a pre-existing structure. Until now the site was totally unknown to modern scholars. This structure is a convincing candidate for a Christian basilica. More specifically, parts of two strong walls of an earlier large building are preserved beneath the eastern part of the church and...
along its west courtyard. The east wall is of greatest importance since it preserves evidence regarding the possible dating and functioning of the building (Figs 4.89 & 4.90). It runs along the east side of the west courtyard and under the Holy Bema of the chapels. The northern and southern parts of this wall follow a straight line and in the middle section a projecting semi-circular apse begins to form exactly under the later chapel’s (Timios Stavros) smaller apse. This earlier apse covers the entire width of the south chapel. The entire east wall has been built in a single construction phase. The northern corner of the east wall is not preserved since it lies beneath the north chapel’s east wall. The earlier apse and walls, which are preserved up to a height of 1.5 m, are being threatened by local flora as today they are partially covered by low vegetation. The southern straight part of the wall stops at a distance of 3.5 m south of the earlier apse and forms an angle with the second vertical wall, which has a west orientation. Today, the chapel’s west side of the courtyard is delimited by the traces of this earlier south wall (Fig. 4.91).

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

Having considered all the information presented above, on the basis of the form and the orientation of the walls we can identify the earlier structure as a religious building; a type of three-aisled basilica with a projecting central semi-circular apse. The preserved walls belong to the east and south sides of the basilica and correspond to the eastern wall of the apse of Holy Bema and the south wall of the south aisle. This formation of the Holy Bema area with one projecting apse at the eastern end of the nave is a
Fig. 4.87: Distribution of the Late Antique sites in the north part of Paros’s east coastal zone.

typical characteristic of the Late Antique Christian basilicas in the Aegean (Pallas 1977; Krautheimer 1992). There are numerous examples not only on the Aegean islands but also on Mainland Greece and Asia Minor. In the following centuries basilicas with only a large central apse were rarely found in the Aegean. The formation of a tripartite Holy Bema (with a central large apse flanked by two smaller ones) has been observed in the basilicas of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (Gkioles 1987, 49-60). It is difficult to calculate the exact length of the structure since its entire west part has been covered
Fig. 4.88: The twin-naved church of Timios Stavros (south) and Agios Georgios (north) at Stavros.

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

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

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

by modern cement. However, we can estimate the possible width of the basilica. The width of the side aisles is measured at about 3.5m while the width of the nave was approximately 5.5 m. Therefore the total width of the basilica could be around 12 or 13 m. Thus, it is quite possible that it has, more or less, the same size as the basilica of Tris Eklissies in the periphery of Parikia, which measured 20.90 x 14.80 m (Orlandos 1960a, 246-257; 1961, 184-190; AD 1963, 298-301).

In terms of architecture and plan, the eastern preserved part of the structure bears many similarities with the Early Christian basilicas, with the central projecting semi-circular apse at the eastern end of the Holy Bema, and therefore can be generally dated to the Late Antique centuries. The erection of the present-day church in a later period supports the aforementioned hypothesis. As is mentioned above, the construction of small churches at the sites of Early Christian basilicas is a common phenomenon on the island of Paros, as is also observed in the cases of Agios Georgios at Voutakos and Tris Eklissies in Parikia. In the case of Voutakos the present-day church occupies the area of the Holy Bema of the basilica (apse), while in Tris Eklissies there was more than one chapel erected on the central, north and south parts of the ruined basilica. At Stavros the chapel of Timios Stavros occupied the Holy Bema area of the earlier church whilst the north chapel lies on the eastern part of its north aisle. For the erection of the present-day chapel, older material was possibly used, as indicated by the marble spiral colonette incorporated into roof above the apse.
In the surroundings of this small religious complex large private residences have been built while an important part of the free land has been covered by dense low vegetation, making it inaccessible. Despite these obstacles, during personal observation at the site a concentration of surface ceramics was identified in an area of approximately 100 m around the church. The largest concentration of pottery was found immediately east of the church. An in situ examination of this pottery suggests the material dated to different periods but a percentage of the finds belonged to Late Antique vessels. They are composed mostly of common coarse wares and amphora fragments (LRA 1) that could be dated between the 6th and 7th century.

A combination of all the aforementioned architectural, ceramic and topographic evidence suggests that on the slightly elevated area of Stavros in the northern part of the eastern plain of Paros a village community was probably located (Fig. 4.87). The early Christian basilica under the present-day church possibly functioned as the main church of
this community, witnessing in connection with the surface ceramics and the few marble sculptures that the settlement underwent an important Late Antique phase. It is difficult to determine the size and the plan of the settlement. At Stavros is probably reflected a rural type of nucleated settlement which is directly connected with a coastal plain and is located on the lowest slopes of the central mountainous range of Paros close to the coast with easy access to the sea.

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

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

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

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

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

As required by this thesis, in 2015-2016 field observations were conducted by the author at the area along the shoreline between Cape Kephalos in
the south, and the modern settlement of Ampelas in the north. This coastal zone was selected for further investigation due to the localised natural features of its landscape (formation of small and large bays and proximity to extensive fertile land and water sources) and its advantaged location in the naval channel of Paronaxia. The *in situ* examination of surface material was extended to the full length of the shoreline (approximately 9.5 km), but covered only a 200 m zone from the beach to the island’s interior. In general terms, this coastal landscape appears to have been very busy during Late Antiquity presenting a picture of heightened human activity along the shoreline (Fig. 4.87).

Approximately 3.5 km southeast of the Bay of Naoussa, 1.5 km south of the present-day region of Ampelas and 1.1 km west of Stavros is located the area of Isterni (Fig. 4.85). The micro-landscape is dominated by a low hill (alt. 113 m), which stands like an isolated natural landmark amidst a relatively flat coastal zone. To the east, in the area of Kantouna, the hillside slopes down to the sea creating a relatively steep coastline with two shallow coves. However, it seems that during antiquity this coastal landscape was slightly different, as the two consecutive coves were,
probably, deeper and more protected from the strong winds. The north cove was especially delimited by two projecting small promontories, as indicated by today submerged rocky formations and a rocky tiny islet located only 20 m off the shoreline (Figs 4.87 & 4.95). At a slightly elevated site (about 10 m above sea level) in the area of Kantouna a relatively large Late Antique coastal settlement was identified. The site is located a few metres southwest of the present-day chapel of Agios Nikolaos. Although a part of the settlement has collapsed and lost to the sea, large amounts of surface ceramics occupy an area of approximately 2.5 ha along the coastline and the lower eastern slopes of the Isterni hill (Figs 4.95 & 4.96).

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

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

Approximately 1 km south of Isterni is situated the coastal area of Glifades; dominated by a large almost straight sandy and pebbled beach. At its northern part, the Argiakas River (a dry river today), after crossing the eastern plain from west to east flows into the sea. Approximately 950 m south of the Late Antique coastal settlement of Kantouna and 50 m north of the river, at the beginning of Glifades’s beach is located an unknown pottery production site, dated to the period of Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.87). It is a slightly elevated coastal area (less than 7 m above
sea level) which today stands at the edge of the cliff close to the sea. According to the locals, until recently (a couple of decades ago) the architectural remains of a kiln were visible at the edge of the cliff (Fig. 4.99). However, the intense wave power and human activity have caused collapse and erosion of this coastal micro-landscape and consequently the remains were lost to the sea. The picture emerging through the careful in situ examination of the huge quantities of surface ceramics, suggests the existence of a coastal industrial zone specialised in the production of amphorae (Fig. 4.100). The highest percentage of the surface material belongs to the securely dated amphorae of the LR1 type. It is quite important that a great number of over fired wasters of this type have also been discovered.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fig. 4.101: View of the lower slopes of Mt Antikephalos.
as a result of the strong winds flanked by the facing hills of Kephalos (alt. 229 m) and Antikephalos (alt. 171 m) which dominate this coastal landscape.

The earliest traces of human activity in the area can be dated to the Archaic and Classical periods as indicated by a large number of marble spolia incorporated into churches of the village Marmara (church of Pera Panagia) and the hill of Kephalos (Aliprantis 1975, 88-92; Vionis 2006, 465, 2012, 142; Kourayos 2015, 54-55). However, at the moment, in situ architectural traces of the earlier period have not been discovered. An intensive survey was carried out on the hill of Kephalos and its immediate surroundings by Vionis, producing interesting results for the region’s settlement pattern during the medieval period (2006, 2012). A fortified Venetian settlement was identified on the top of Kephalos hill, with cisterns, churches, domestic structures and towers. In addition, a number of hamlets and small-village sites were discovered scattered around the plain west, south and north of the Kephalos castle, mainly concentrated around rural chapels from the late Venetian period or early
Ottoman times. These settlements are dated between the 13th and 16th centuries and were associated with or depended on the castle of Kephalos (Vionis 2006, 481-484, 2012, 187-195).

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

Approximately 500 m southwest of the present-day village of Marpissa, in the area called Kastellanos, is located the ruined twin-church of Agia Anna and Kimissis tis Theotokou (Assumption of the Virgin). Nowadays, the church lies amid a rural landscape with rich cultivable lands at a distance of approximately 1400 m northwest of the small fishing port of Piso Livadi (Fig. 4.103). On the basis of the examination of surface ceramics concentration, Vionis argued that between the 14th and 16th centuries the site, which covered an area of 0.25 ha to the northwest of the church, was occupied by farmhouses, as has been observed in other sites in the region during the same period (2006, 483, 2012, 191-192, figs 6.127-6.128). For the construction of the chapels marble architectural sculptures from a Middle Byzantine church dated to the first half of the 11th century have been re-used (Pennas 2000, 10-12). Marble fragments of epistle, top of a panel and piers of a templon have been used as window frames on the north wall, and incorporated into the west facade and the north chapel’s interior.

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

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

In 2004, a small-scale rescue excavation was carried out by the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities around the church of Agios Georgios Thalassitis (AD 2004, 209-210, plan 7, figs 76α-β-ε). Architectural remains of walls, built of rubble masonry, and seven cist tombs were unearthed (Fig.
On the basis of pottery material and metal finds (bronze buckle) found within the graves, the excavators dated the cemetery to the 6th or 7th century. The walls belong to an unspecified structure which was, possibly, constructed at a later stage after the 7th century when the cemetery ceased functioning and was abandoned (AD 2004, 210). This discovery added a new site on the map of Late Antique Paros, however we need to move further in order to evaluate and interpret the available evidence.

This Late Antique cemetery is located approximately 110 m from the sea and some 250 m from the modern fishing port of Piso Livadi (Fig. 4.106). It is hard to imagine that this burial site was not connected with a nearby coastal community. Thus, it makes sense to assume that this cemetery was associated with a coastal settlement from the 6th or 7th century situated in the area of the modern settlement of Piso Livadi. At the moment, it is difficult to ascertain how large this community was in Late Antiquity due to extensive recent building activity in the area. However, in this case it seems that we have the settlement model with twofold orientation similar to that at Voutakos (see more in Chapter 4.6). The Late Antique settlement at Piso Livadi is located in a coastal region overlooking the south entrance of the channel between Paros and Naxos, and offering good visibility to the maritime zone between Paros, Naxos, Iraklia and Ios (Fig. 4.107). The site’s clear sea orientation makes the existence of, possibly, small harbour infrastructures associated with the settlement quite plausible. Until the present day the fishing village of Piso Livadi is the largest port in the whole south-eastern coastal zone of the island and the haven of the modern villages of Prodromos, Marmara and Marpissa. As a result of this prominent position, the possible local port could...
Fig. 4.10: Viewshed analysis showing what is visible from Piso Livadi. Visible areas marked with turquoise.
be fully integrated into maritime trade routes that passed through the sea channel of Paronaxia during the period in question. On the other hand, its visual relationship with the rich cultivable land of this flat coastal landscape indicates a connection between the area’s sea gateway and the rural activities that took place in the interior of this coastal fertile zone (Fig. 4.10). Thus, the port of the coastal settlement at Piso Livadi, as is in the case of Voutakos, could have served not only as a convenient stepping stone within the maritime networks providing shelter for ships but also as a regional distribution centre of local rural surpluses.

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

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

4.6 SOUTHWEST PAROS

4.6.1 Landscape and micro-topography

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

The whole region lies opposite the neighbouring smaller island of Antiparos which communicates with Paros by ferry via the small port of Pounta. At its narrowest point the channel between Paros and Antiparos measures less than 1nm. The sea landscape of the channel also contains many uninhabited rocky islets, such as Revmatonisi, Mikronisi, Panteronisi, Tiganis and Saliaggos (Fig. 4.108). The whole region is exposed to south and southeast winds. The fishing shelter of Aliki is separated by no less than 15 nm from Ios, 17 nm from Iraklia, 18 nm from Sikinos, and 22 nm from Folegandros.
Fig. 4.10: Map of the Late Antique sites in the southwest part of Paros.
4.6.2 The region of Voutakos: a settlement with twofold orientation

The Voutakos region is a coastal zone which is an important part of the wider south-western plain of Paros (Fig. 4.4b). It is geographically situated along the southwest coast of the island, between the regions of Magano and Kampos and the village of Aliki, opposite the neighbouring island of Antiparos (Fig. 4.10). It overlooks the south entrance of the channel between Paros and Antiparos and offers good visibility of the maritime space between Ios, Sikinos and Folegandros.

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

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

Marble sculptures from Voutakos

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

This marble sculpture material and the surface ceramics are of the highest value because they hold the key to a better understanding of an unpublished and unknown monument from Late Antique Paros which is associated with an important settlement. The study of the various marble sculptures from Voutakos can provide answers to some crucial problems involving the chronology of the building,
function of local sculpture workshops as well as trade connections and nature of the associated settlement. The principal aim of this chapter is not to offer a detailed catalogue of sculptures but, primarily, to connect all this new evidence to other data in order to investigate economic, social and cultural behaviours contributing to the reconstruction of the settlement pattern in the wider south-western plain of Paros.\(^4\) The sculptures from Voutakos remained unknown and unpublished for a long time. Orlandos briefly mentioned the existence of two closure slabs, publishing only two drawings (1969, 204, fig 23).

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

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

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

- The first example is, probably, a marble rectangular pier (preserved height with the base: 1.02 m; height without the base: about 0.78 m; width: 0.41 m) built in the west facade of the later chapel, at the north side of the narrow entrance (Fig. 4.111). Despite the fact that it is covered by many layers of lime we can recognise the decoration. A large banded monogrammed Latin cross with expanding ends appears in incision (height: 0.72 m; width: 0.39 m). It is a cross monogram with an open R (rho). On its horizontal arms the cross is decorated with ivy leaves. On top of the pier a rectangular simple base to support, probably a colonette, has been integrated. The shape of the pier from Voutakos bears similarities with a much larger pier from the chancel screen of the basilica of the Tris Ekklisies in the region of Parikia (Fig. 4.31). The narrow sides of the pier are not visible today however we can identify traces of mortise for fastening closure slab along, at least on one side. The existence of a base on the top in connection with the traces of mortise indicates that the pier belonged to a high templon (chancel screen).

- The second example is a marble closure slab (height: 0.78 m; width: about 0.55 m) with similar

\(^4\) My deepest acknowledgements should be addressed to the former 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities for kindly granting me permission to study the sculpture material of the basilica at Voutakos.
Fig. 4.113: Closure slab from the Late Antique basilica with decoration details.

style and decoration built on the south side of the later chapel’s templon (Fig. 4.112). A large banded monogrammed Latin cross with expanding ends on a stepped base (height: 0.72 m; width: 0.42 m) is depicted in incision while a four-leaf rosette fills the space between the arms of the cross on the upper section (diameter of the rosette: 14 cm). The cross, which is also a monogram with an open R (rho), is decorated with ivy leaves on its horizontal arm. Along the narrow side of the slab, traces of a tongue for fastening of the panel with a pier can be identified. There is no decoration on the back side.

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

- The first example is a complete preserved marble closure slab used today as a mensa of the later chapel and rests on a large impressive Roman Corinthian capital (Figs 4.113 & 4.114). It is measured 1.31 m in length, 0.73 m in height and its thickness is 13 cm. The dominant part of the composition, which consists of two banded tangential medallions, is carved in incision within a strong banded rectangular frame (width of frame along the long sides: 8.5 cm; along the short sides: 9.5 cm). Each circle has 0.54 m diameter and encloses an incised Greek cross with expanding ends. Two banded arcs connect the two circles filling the triangular spaces formed in the axis of the composition. Each circle is decorated with two ivy leaves, which occupied the two lower corners of the slab. The two corners of the upper section are decorated with rosettes. The ornamental motifs that decorate the four corners of the slab have been carved in low relief. On the back side of the slab there is no decoration, and tongues for fastening are preserved on both short sides.
• The same composition but on a smaller scale is depicted in a fragmentary preserved marble closure slab built on the south side of the later chapel’s templon, under the panel of the first subgroup (preserved height: 0,64 m; preserved width: 0,60 m) (Fig. 4.115). Only the first bounded incised circle enclosing a Greek cross with expanding ends is completely preserved. The circle’s diameter reaches 0,38 m. The sculpture breaks at the beginning of the second medallion. A banded arc connects the two circles filling the triangular space in the axis of the lower section of the composition. Part of the strong banded rectangular frame is preserved (width of frame along the long sides: 10 cm; along the short sides: 11 cm). We can identify traces of a rosette in the corner of the preserved part. The decoration of the other corners is completely missing. There is no decoration on the back side.

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

Sculptures from the first category share some common features. First of all, they are characterised by simplified but diligent decoration. Secondly, there are some common decorative elements, main or secondary, which are depicted almost in all cases. The symbol of a cross is the most dominant ornamental pattern and appears consistently in all examples. The
Latin or Greek cross, either as a simple motif or as a more complicated composition with circles, stepped base, monogram, foliate ornaments or a combination of all these, appears very frequently in the Christian sculpture during Late Antiquity and often occurs in the sculptural decoration of the Aegean basilicas. Especially on Paros we can find the cross symbol in a variety of types carved on capitals, columns, closure slabs, piers and bases of the sculptural decoration of the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani (Mitsani 1996-1997; 2006) and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies (Orlandos 1960a; 1969; AD 1963). Additionally, most of the compositions are bedecked with ivy leaves and rosettes as secondary decorative motifs.

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

The new sculptures from Voutakos find many parallels in iconographic and stylistic terms with parts of the sculptural decoration and liturgical furnishing of the main church of Ekatontapiliani and the basilica of Tris Ekklisies, which are attributed to local craftsmen (Mitsani 1996-1997, 329-330).

Having considered all the evidence mentioned above, we strongly suggest the sculptures from the first category from Voutakos were produced locally by regional sculpture workshops. The homogeneity of the decorative patterns suggests they come from the sculptural decoration of a single Late Antique basilica, which had been erected at this site and are contemporary works. The differences in design and workmanship can be attributed to the work of different craftsmen within the same workshop. The great similarity on the basis of decoration and dimensions of the two pieces of the category’s first subgroup indicates they both can be associated with the chancel screen of the basilica.

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

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

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

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Fig. 4.117: The group of three small marble fragments of two-zone capitals decorated with perching doves.
is preserved in very poor conservation status. They all belonged to the upper register of two-zone animal capitals, preserving part of the abacus with corner birds.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In conclusion, a combination of the aforementioned evidence suggests the basilica at Voutakos was endowed with marble decoration of locally carved and imported sculptures. It could be a three-aisled basilica with a ground plan similar to the church of Tris Ekklesies in the periphery of Parikia, which is the most common type appearing in the Aegean islands. As it also happened in the case of Ekatontapiliani the marble used in the basilica was probably a combination of local Parian variety, material from earlier pagan monuments and imported marble for the more lavish structures. Such a practice was a common feature in the basilicas of the eastern Mediterranean during Late Antiquity. Thus, the basilica of Voutakos is another example that suggests connections with the imperial centre of Constantinople and sculptor’s activity in local workshops. Regarding the chronology and building history of the basilica full comprehension is hard to obtain because of the paucity of the available material and the absence of publication of the
excavated material. Nevertheless, the identification of two-zone basket capitals in conjunction with the general context of the island, make it reasonable to suggest a date between the second half of the 6th and the early 7th century. In this respect, the erection of the basilica at Voutakos can be placed in the general burst of church-building which is observed not only on the island of Paros but also in most regions of the Aegean during the course of the 6th century.

Surface ceramics from Voutakos

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

4.6.3 Placing Voutakos in a wider regional and Aegean context

The quality, quantity and large dimensions of the ancient marble sculptures that have been collected in the chapel of Agios Georgios in combination with
the large amounts of surface pottery from different periods, suggest Voutakos was a mid-sized coastal community with uninterrupted permanent habitation from antiquity until the 7th century at least.

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

On the other hand, it appears the settlement was not confined to merely commercial and maritime activities. The position of the settlement is geographically advantageous not only because of its proximity to sea and maritime trade networks but also because of its direct connection with the large fertile plain (Figs 4.4b & 4.121). As is mentioned above, the most fertile plains on Paros are situated along the island’s coastal zone. The coastal landscape of Voutakos constitutes the south-western corner of
the wider south-west plain of Paros. The study of the micro-topography in combination with the discovery of an olive- or wine-press bed make sense to assume that the settlement at Voutakos could be associated with the agricultural exploitation of a large part of this rich cultivable land. As has been observed in the regions of Naoussa and Piso Livadi, it is probable that the mid-sized settlement at Voutakos was connected with a network of smaller satellite rural sites across the coastal plain with commercial agrarian production. In this respect, the port of Voutakos could have functioned as collection point for local agricultural products and distribution centre for wider markets. An intensive surface survey is needed in order to prove if this settlement pattern, evidence of which is found in the other plains of Paros, also appears in the south-western plain of the island during Late Antiquity. In any case, the port of the settlement at Voutakos constituted the nearest and more accessible exit to sea for agricultural produce in the area. From any site of the plain it is quicker and easier to approach the port at Voutakos than the island’s main harbour in the city of Paros. In this respect, the inhabitants of the site interacted with rural landscape and population of this extensive coastal productive zone, which provided agricultural surpluses for exchange.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 4.6.4 The area of Episkopiana: a small rural site

The region of Episkopiana or Psychopiana (Επισκοπιανά or Ψιχοπιανά) is located between the areas of Sotires and Glisidia, about 5 km south of the port of Parikia and less than 4 km north of Voutakos (Fig. 4.10). It is set in the beginning (to the north) of the south-western plain of Paros, along the west coastal zone of the island. The area’s micro-landscape is quite interesting. A tiny slightly elevated valley formed a relatively closed geographical space with well-defined limits, since the north is surrounded by Keraki hill (alt. 210 m), and the east and south by Moutsiko hills (alt. 297 m). From the west it has direct access to the sea and from the south access to the extensive south-western plain of Paros. The natural environment, nowadays, contains the so-called Valley of Butterflies (Petaloudes) in the eastern part of the region, a landscape of dense vegetation and an abundance of running water. Water comes into the valley from a natural spring all year around. The remains of a traditional watermill are also preserved in the area, indicating its diachronic
richness in natural water sources. Thus, it is apparent the region of Episkopiana lies beside a well-watered valley close to the sea, with limited but fertile arable land and a permanently high watertable.

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

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

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**Fig. 4.122:** View of the small chapel of Evagelistria at Episkopiana.
south of the church. A careful in situ examination of the surface ceramic material has produced tangible evidence of village life during Late Antiquity. A plethora of common domestic wares, mainly storage jars and cooking pots, as well as some fragments of securely dated LR I amphora type were identified.

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

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

Concerning Late Antiquity, in the case of Paros, currently, historical information and preserved material evidence are extremely limited between the 4th and 5th centuries. In contrast, our knowledge of the 6th and 7th centuries is significantly broader based on evidence from the religious monuments, marble sculptures, pottery and a limited number of tombs.
Fig. 4.124: Distribution of Late Antique sites on the island of Paros.
Fig. 4.125: Slope map of Paros showing the relationship between settlement pattern and land use zoning on Paros and Naxos during Late Antiquity.
Over the course of the Late Antique centuries, the archaeological evidence suggests that the ancient city-port of Paros possibly functioned, mainly, as a suitable regional trade station for the distribution of merchandise, acting as secondary warehouse or a transhipment harbour node. In this context, despite the fact that we lack archaeological or historical evidence, it makes sense to assume that the city-port of Paros also used for tax collection purposes and as repair and supplier station for merchant ships. Ceramic evidence from the area of the economically active port of the city testifies to commercial connections between the urban centre of Paros and the famous Mediterranean production centres of this period, such as North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria and Palestine. It is seems that Paros acted as a maritime crossroad in the middle of the Cyclades and its spacious and well-protected ancient port along the west coastline of the islands emerged as a suitable stopping place for the ships, people and merchandise that travelled through the Aegean Sea to different directions. Thus, the Late Antique city of Paros can be seen in the wider context of interaction, integration and connectivity.

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

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

In the rural sphere, evidence suggests a busy countryside with sites of various types and intensively exploited landscapes. Putting all these dots on the map, it becomes evident the Parian settled landscape over the course of Late Antiquity presents a clear trend for higher intensity of sites along the coastal zone (Fig. 4.124). The island of Paros is not only strategically located in the Aegean but also has a distinctive local landscape character, which creates a strong contradiction between the dry and barren mountainous interior and the coastal zone with the extensive and relatively flat (or low height) fertile productive areas, and the complex shoreline. In terms of traditional land use and habitation, this study suggests a sharp contrast created by this landscape during Late Antiquity between the low sustainability of the central mountainous hinterland and the economic potential offered by the fertile coastal zone; giving the islanders the opportunity for prosperity through agricultural production and maritime trade. This distinctiveness of the Parian landscape has in many ways shaped not only human behaviour and the development of the settlement pattern on the island but also the general historical trajectory of Paros through the centuries. Thus, the distribution of habitation across the Parian landscape was adjusted to the peculiar geomorphologic features of the island, by developing an unbalanced “coastal” settlement pattern. It is worth mentioning that, even nowadays, the vast majority of the modern large
settlements are scattered along the coastal zone, which covers almost 25% of the island, whilst only two small villages (Lefkes, Kostos) are situated in the mountainous hinterland.

The entire coastal zone of Paros combines three important localised environmental advantages: a) the lowland and gentle landscape that facilitates the internal mobility of people and goods, b) the extensive productive farming zones which provides it with its own local agricultural surpluses, and c) the numerous small or large bays scattered along the coastline which can offer safe shelter for ships. The study of the site’s micro-landscapes shows that the correlation between settlement density, land productivity and the opportunity for direct and easy access to the sea constituted the base upon which the settlement pattern of Paros developed and evolved during Late Antiquity (Fig. 4.1). The majority of the sites discussed above are located along the shoreline or very close to the coast (at a distance ranging from 3 to 1 km from the sea). In any case they are directly associated with the best coastal agricultural lands on the island and the parts of the shoreline that are suitable for small harbours or anchorages. Even in the case of Agios Ioannis at Marathi, which is the only known Late Antique site so far in the hinterland of Paros, the application of least cost path analysis shows this rural community was directly connected with the large bay of Naoussa through a narrow gorge. Thus, in Late Antiquity the placement of sites within the Parian landscape on the one hand reflects a special care for integration into sea routes, participation in the inter-regional maritime trade networks and exploitation of the sea. On the other, it reflects a need for a more agriculturally intensified use of the island’s fertile coastal zone for the production of specialised local rural surpluses (wine, oil, cereals, honey) with market orientation. Therefore, the higher distribution of sites is observed in the northern, eastern and south western parts of Paros, where important smaller harbours or anchorages can be established and the most fertile lands of the island are situated.

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

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

In this context, it seems the region of Naoussa was of special importance for the local economy. Re-evaluation of old material as well as new valuable evidence has shown that along the coastline of the spacious bay an Aegean pottery production centre developed during the 6th and 7th centuries, specialising in mass production of transport amphora types. These ceramic workshops were located
near the sea and were connected with several port installations situated along the inner and the outer shoreline of the bay. The industrial centre of Naoussa was also spatially related to an important number of rural sites in the areas of Protoporia, Kravga, Milos tou Avraam and Marathi. These sites were associated with the exploitation of the coastal fertile plains. The spatial relationship between the rural sites, the dense network of pottery workshops and the port infrastructures reflects a strong connection between production of goods, manufacture of amphorae, and inter-regional commercial networks, suggesting a highly intensive commercial farming and a distinct market orientation. The intensification and commercialisation of local agricultural production is reflected in increased pottery production of transport amphorae in the bay of Naoussa and the plethora of rural sites on northern Paros. Therefore, the pottery production centre of Naoussa was possibly developed to become the place in which the local production of northern Paros was allocated and exported to wider markets in the transport amphorae produced in situ. Moreover, the few examples of stamped amphorae discovered in the workshop of Zoodochos Pigi (pottery production site 5) suggest a form of state control over local ceramic production and distribution of the agricultural surplus. The settlement pattern of the region of Naoussa perfectly illustrates the “linear” production, collection, processing and exporting system that developed in the coastal zone of Paros during Late Antiquity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The archaeological material evidence suggests that economic vitality of Paros lasted to the end of Late Antiquity. From the late 7th and early 8th century the island showed evidence of dramatic changes in everyday life of the islanders with shrunken economic and cultural activities. However, the island of Paros, third in size among the Cyclades, was never totally abandoned, as indicated by limited but extremely valuable material evidence (Fig. 4.126). First of all, a combination of old material, such as the dating in the 7th/8th century of a dedicatory wall painting in the chapel of Agios Nikolaos (Ekatontapiliani complex), with new valuable ceramic evidence from the port area suggests that although the ancient coastal city-port lost its urban character, life in this coastal settlement continued during the 8th century. In socioeconomic terms, this information indicates the existence of a local aristocracy during that period, which was able to finance such a small-scale project. In addition, the port remained economically active on a lesser scale compared to the previous centuries. Accordingly, the fact that the religious complex of Ekatontapiliani survived well into today as the only uninterruptedly active ecclesiastical monument since the 6th century in the Cyclades offers supplementary tangible evidence that, despite difficulties, life continued on the coastal landscapes of Paros during Byzantine Early Middle Ages. This is an indication that the local community was able to
at least preserve and keep functioning this spacious building throughout the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. At the same time, the much smaller basilica of Tris Ekklesies in the periphery of the ancient city was abandoned and fell into ruins.

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

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

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

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

As has been demonstrated above, the “coastal” settlement pattern of Paros was mostly dependent on inter-regional trade patterns and sea routes of Late Antiquity rather than on its self-sufficiency. It was an economic sub-zone based on the specialisation of the rural production in a few specific products (mostly wine or oil), produced in vast quantities for export. The intensive exploitation of the rural landscape, the high specialisation of the local production, the mass manufacture of amphorae and the export of agricultural surpluses through trade, probably did not make sense outside the inter-regional economic system of the unified Late Antique Mediterranean world. Thus, Paros formed a fragile microcosm,
Fig. 4.126: Sites with signs of human activity on Paros during the late 7th-9th centuries.
demographically, culturally and environmentally, being more sensitive to general socioeconomic and political changes. A series of external parameters, such as the Arab-Byzantine struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, the fading of Late Antique cities, the reduction of economic space in the Byzantine Empire, the subsequent decrease of the demand for commercial goods, the re-organisation of the economic system on a different basis than before, and the essential changes in the character of the Byzantine State have had a strong impact not only on the role of the island in commercial networks but also on the local economy and everyday life.

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

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