

Cycladic Archaeology and Research

New approaches and discoveries

edited by

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Front cover: Aerial view of the sanctuary of Despotiko. Courtesy Yannis Kourayos.
Back cover: Sanctuary of Despotiko, view of building A. Courtesy Yannis Kourayos.
Aerial photograph of the altar of the sanctuary of the north plateau in Kythnos.
Courtesy Alexander Mazarakis-Ainian.

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Contents

Introduction	iii
Erica Angliker and John Tully	
Cycladic history and archaeology: some thoughts	v
Christy Constantakopoulou	
Bronze Age Cyclades	
Terracotta statues from Ayia Irini, Kea: An experimental replication	3
Eleni Hasaki and Rachel DeLozier, with an appendix by Bernice Jones	
Abandoning Akrotiri (Thera): A comparative model approach to relocation strategies after volcanic eruptions	27
Stephanie Martin	
Coming to terms with Late Cycladic II: Questions of style and stratigraphy at Phylakopi, Melos	43
Jason W. Earle	
Archaic and Classical Cyclades	
Water supply and climate change at Zagora on Andros: New approaches and perspectives on the Early Iron Age Cyclades	59
Michael J. Knight and Lesley A. Beaumont	
The sanctuary of Despotiko (Cyclades, Greece): The Building with Channel and other enigmatic structures	73
Aenne Ohnesorg and Katarina Papajanni	
The ‘Lady of Despotiko’ reconsidered: Cult image or cult utensil?	87
Alexandra Alexandridou	
The import of Attic black figure vases in the Cyclades	101
Dimitris Paleothodoros	
Miltiades on Paros: New evidence from Despotiko	113
Yannos Kourayos, Robert F. Sutton and Kornilia Daifa	
The cult topography of Paros from the 9th to 4th Century BC: A summary	135
Yannos Kourayos, Erica Angliker, Kornilia Daifa and John Tully	
Hellenistic and Later Cyclades	
From the Hellenistic sculpture of Seriphos and Siphnos	169
Anna Maria Anagnostopoulou	
Panathenaic amphorae in Delos and Rhenea in the Hellenistic period	185
Gilberto da Silva Francisco	
Parian marble in Koan statuary and utilitarian artifacts of the Hellenistic and Roman period. Finds at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Kardamaina (Ancient Halasarna) on Kos	201
Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras, Eirene Poupaki, Dimitris Tambakopoulos and Yannis Maniatis	

The Cyclades in the late antique period215
Rebecca Sweetman, Alice Devlin and Nefeli Pirée Iliou

The Harbour of Minoa Amorgos during the Roman imperial period239
Giorgos Gavalas

Diachronic Approaches

The Irakleia Caves Exploration Project and the importance of cave research for the archaeology of the Cyclades: A brief note249
Fanis Mavridis, Žarko Tankosić and Antonis Kotsonas

Votive and honorific monument offering practice(s) in Delos: Evolution of a social practice in Apollo's sanctuary from archaic times to the Roman era261
Frederic Herbin

Ancient Paros: New evidence for its topographical development in light of rescue excavations279
Yannos Kourayos

New Evidence from the agora of ancient Andros: The city of Andros295
Lydia Palaiokrassa Kopitsa

Sensory study of vision in the panegyris of Delos: seeing the sacred landscape and sensing the god315
Matteo F. Olivieri

Naxos, the largest Cycladic island with a single polis: A survey through ancient times325
Alexandra Sfyroera

The Island of Pholegandros and the graffiti of Chrysospilia cave339
Vivi Vassilopoulou

The Cyclades in the late antique period

Churches, networks and Christianization

Rebecca Sweetman, Alice Devlin and Nefeli Pirée Iliou¹

Abstract

While new research on the Cyclades in the Roman period is challenging traditional ideas of the islands as pirate infested backwaters, little is known about them in the Late Antique period (c. 400-700 CE). In fact, they have been largely written off as backwaters by ancient and contemporary historians alike. Some 41 Late Antique churches are known from 12 islands, but the synthesis and contextualization of this data has been lacking. Consequently, detailed analysis of the Christianization of the East Mediterranean is restricted by a significant gap in the evidence. Scattered data from the Cyclades suggests that they were Christianized earlier than many of the surrounding areas. In addition to the Christian catacombs on Melos (1st -4th century), there is literary evidence of an early and energetic Christian community on the islands. For example, some of the islands had early Bishoprics like Amorgos and Santorini. A number of Cycladic bishops also attended the early Ecumenical councils (Bishops from Paros and Naxos attended the 3rd and 4th Councils). Excavations at the church of Panagia Ekatonapyliani, Paroikia, Paros, indicate a 4th century foundation, and literary sources tie its establishment to Agia Eleni of the Imperial family. This positive data is bolstered by recent research on surrounding areas, such as the Peloponnese and Crete, providing clear indications that the Cyclades were conduits for Christianization in the Aegean. However, the processes of how and why this was the case were unknown in part because of the skewed perceptions of insularity (often resulting from an Imperial top-down view) and the difficulties of synthesizing the data from the islands. To address this issue, we undertook an architectural and topographic survey of the Late Antique churches to understand how Christianity was adopted on the islands. It became clear that locations were chosen to draw on tradition and memory to help peacefully situate the new religion in

the community. This analysis, combined with a study of the architecture and excavation data (including mortuary and epigraphic) sheds light on the diverse local communities as well as agents of conversion. Rather than insularity, the innovative aspects of church building and early conversion indicate the Cyclades' receptiveness to new ideas, highlighting their vibrancy, innovativeness and the important roles that they played on network routes in the Aegean.

Introduction

The Cyclades in the Late Antique period are often considered to be backwaters; little more than desolate and isolated places which faced decline and abandonment after the Gothic raids of 268 CE and again after the Arab invasions in the 7th century.² Contrary to this view, new material and analysis is enabling quite a different interpretation. In fact, current archaeological and historical evidence indicates that the Cyclades were Christianized earlier than other locations such as Crete and the Peloponnese. The aim of this work is to examine how and why the islands were Christianized at such a comparatively early stage.³ By using methods already established to understand Christianization processes elsewhere in Greece, an analysis of the topography and architecture of the Late Antique churches of the Cyclades will be applied to answer these questions.⁴ It will be shown that the islands, in spite of reputations as insular, were pivotal in terms of spreading ideas, articulated through a range of network connections. While issues of firm chronologies for the churches remain problematic, key concerns can be addressed such as whether the process of religious conversion was planned, organic, or both, and what measures were taken to achieve this. Inclusion of the archipelago will allow further insights into the roles topography played in Christianization. Ultimately, an understanding of the conversion of these islands will provide insights into networks of communication in the Late Antique period.

Historical context

Having been part of different provinces (Achaëa and Asia), many of the Cycladic islands were politically

¹ The authors would like to thank the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for a grant to enable the fieldwork as well as attendance at the AIA conference in 2016 where this paper was originally presented. The work undertaken by Alice Devlin and Nefeli Pirée Iliou was made possible through the Laidlaw internship scheme under the University of St Andrews and we are very grateful for their support. We would like to acknowledge the support of colleagues who discussed this material with us, including P. Themelis, G. Zachos and M. Zarmakoupi. Finally we would like to thank the editors of the volume.

² Kulikowski 2007: 19-20.

³ Sweetman 2017.

⁴ Sweetman 2015a & b.

unified by becoming part of the *Provincia Insularum* under a *praeses insularum*, during Diocletian's administrative changes.⁵ Moreover, this arrangement did not include Keos, Delos, Kythnos, Mykonos and Kimolos, which remained part of Achaea. Further, Syros was not included in Hirokeles' early 6th century *Synekdemos*.⁶ The *provincia insularum* lasted until the mid-6th, it was made up of twelve bishoprics of the islands and came under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Rhodes. This was not a static arrangement; new bishoprics were created and included at various times. Unlike mainland Greece and Crete, which came under the province of Illyricum and ecclesiastical control of the West, the *provincia insularum* was subject to the political and ecclesiastical control of the East. In 536, Justinian created a new magistrate, the *quaestor justinianus exercitus* who was in charge of the Cyclades along with places like Caria, Cyprus, Scythia and Moesia Secunda, however the precise nature of the military role is unclear.⁷ For the purposes of tax collection some notional administrative control had to be kept on the islands. However, by the 12th century it was no longer considered cost effective to maintain control of some of the smaller islands for revenue purposes. The addition of some smaller islands such as Kimolos and Kythnos in the Late Antique administrative systems indicates that economically they were worth including.

Economy and Settlement

Although the administrative framework is known to us, the extent that it affected the islanders is questionable and such a discussion lies beyond the scope of this paper. Archaeological data, in particular epigraphic evidence, indicates that throughout the Roman and Late Antique periods most Cycladic islands were fairly self-sufficient with a focus on agricultural and wine production (such as Andros and Naxos)⁸ and some such as Melos and Kimolos would have expanded their remit to other industries (alum and clay).⁹ Evidence for the amphora industry on Paros, including stamped amphorae production, is growing, particularly in the north of the island around Naoussa.¹⁰ Here an amphora workshop specializing in Late Roman Amphorae of Types 1 and 13 was revealed. Diamanti believes that the stamped amphora here date to the period after the creation of the *quaestura Justiniani exercitus* and represent a need to

increase revenues through taxes. On other islands such as Amorgos, Thera and Keos, recent archaeological data indicates their continued, and possibly increasing importance in the Late Antique period. For example, at Kamari in the south east of Thera, a large architectural complex of 600m² consisting of baths and a wine press was excavated (AR ID 556; 1311; 3199; fig. 2).¹¹ Evidence for continued occupation is seen in the Oia necropolis, which was in constant use between the 6th century BCE and 6th century CE (AR ID 3224). On Keos, the Late Roman landscape was marked by small farmsteads, especially active from the 5th to the 7th centuries, indicating enhanced connectivity within the island.¹² The city of Karthaia's slopes were densely occupied, with storage rooms in the lower western areas nearby the Theatre, and likely civic buildings near the top of the acropolis.¹³ The key temples of Athena and Apollo were converted into Christian cemeteries in the 6th and 7th centuries after centuries of abandonment.¹⁴ Ceramic and other research has shown Karthaia was continuously occupied through to the late 7th century and probably gained greater significance in Late Antiquity when its port was highly frequented.¹⁵

Recent rescue excavations on Amorgos also demonstrated evidence for uninterrupted occupation. At Katapola, a large complex was in use between the 2nd and 7th centuries CE. It had rooms containing industrial features such as pipes, an oven and a well head. A bronze coin of Constantine and another one of Phokas were found (AR ID 3252). Another house complex with a Roman mosaic, peristyle and impluvium was likely utilized until the 7th century (AR ID 3301). In the same town, a Roman cemetery revealed a Late Antique ossuary dated to around the 6th by associated lamps and jewellery (AR ID 3302). Small scale surveys in other parts of the island such as Agia Triada (AR ID 4828) also revealed continuous occupation.

At Andros, excavations at the ancient capital, Palaioiopolis, have focused on the area of the Agora as well as the Late Antique churches there. Work here has

⁵ Mendoini and Zoumbaki 2008.

⁶ Kiourtzian 2000: 11.

⁷ Kiourtzian 2000: 12.

⁸ Fragments of eleven Late Antique or slightly later wine, or oil, presses were attested on Delos (Bruneau and Fraisse 1984: 713-730; Brunet 1993: 205-207; Zarmakoupi forthcoming). One press was found in the middle of the important main road Rue 5 in the Theater Quarter, suggesting this previously luxurious living quarter had been transformed for production purposes in Late Antiquity (Bruneau and Fraisse 1981: 127-153).

⁹ Photos-Jones and Hall 2014: 50; 64-6.

¹⁰ Diamanti 2016; Diamanti n.d.

¹¹ AR ID refers to the on line database of excavation reports collated by the French and British Schools at Athens: <http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/search/>.

¹² Cherry *et al* 1991: 341-347; Zachos 2010: 787-788. It should perhaps be noted that the surveys of Keos by Chery *et al* (1991) and Georgiou and Faraklas (1985) in the Koressia/Ioulis areas, and Mendoni and Papageorgiadou (1989) in the Poiessa/Kato Meria/Karthaia territories indicated to a large extent continuous occupation of the landscape from the later Archaic to the Late Roman period.

¹³ Zachos 2010: 784-785.

¹⁴ *Ibid*; Simantoni-Bournia *et al* 2009: 73; Simantoni-Bournia *et al* 2004: 261-269, 278-279, 281. See Zachos 2010 for a fuller discussion of Late Roman Karthaia and Simantoni-Bournia *et al* 2004 for greater detail on the evidence from the acropolis.

¹⁵ Zachos 2010: 784-785; Simantoni-Bournia *et al* 2004: 258. Mendoni and Papageorgiadou (1989: 171) also suggested that Poiessa at the south west of Keos was continuously inhabited from the 6th century BCE to the Byzantine period.

shown that the city was in continuous use until the 7th century, and probably flourished in the 5th and 6th centuries when multiple churches were constructed.¹⁶ The 40 plus churches found throughout the Cyclades is indicative of at least a stable economy that could marshal the resources to build them.

Literary evidence

Images of the Cyclades as desolate pirate infested backwaters suitable largely for exiles, dominated the associated rhetoric in the Roman period. In his *Satires*, Juvenal likened imprisonment to being between Seriphos and Gyáros, and he described Gyáros as a vile place (*Satires* 10.170 and 1.73.). By the Late Antique period the islands become somewhat more obscure in the literary record. The changing political and religious nature of the Greek provinces is known primarily through general accounts such as the *Lives of the Saints*, the Theodosian code, histories and letters by Christians (Eusebius and Sozomen) and Polytheists (Eunapius or Zosimus), rather than specific material relating to the islands. Hirokles' *Synekdemos* outlines the administrative areas of the 6th century East including the Cyclades.¹⁷ More specific data comes from the records of those who attended the Ecumenical councils.

Episcopal seats

Some of the islands had early Bishops like Amorgos and Santorini, and it is known that a number of Cycladic bishops also attended the early Ecumenical councils. Athanasius I, Bishop of Paros attended the 3rd and 4th Councils at Ephesus in 431 and Chalcedon in 451.¹⁸ Barachius, Bishop of Naxos also attended the fourth Ecumenical council and later Bishops George and Stephanos of Naxos and Paros respectively participated in the sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople.¹⁹ Ekdikios and Demetrios of Tenos attended the fifth and sixth Councils respectively in 553 and 680/81.²⁰ Early church foundations are in evidence at Paros, Amorgos and Thera (discussed below).

Cycladic Communities 1st- 4th centuries

Throughout the Roman period, the Cyclades were made up of diverse communities, a result in part at least, due to the extensive trade that ran through them, as well as their central location in the Aegean. Valeva and Vionis note the evidence for Jewish communities in Thera, Naxos, Paros, and Melos.²¹ Furthermore, epigraphic data from Delos provides good evidence for a Jewish community there, including two inscriptions

on marble stelae found in the east of the island; one dated to the late 3rd-early 2nd century BCE, and the other to the late 2nd-early 1st century BCE. The stelae were erected to honour two Cretan benefactors of the Samaritan community on Delos, one of whom, *Menippos* from Heraklion, gave money for the construction of the *proseuche*.²² White argues that this was the term used here for the synagogue, and Levine noted the epigraphic evidence for the office of archisynagogus there.²³ A building in the northeast part of the island was identified by Plassart (1913) as a synagogue in the early excavations.²⁴ However, as the location of the stelae is not secure, this designation is contentious.²⁵

Literary data often attest to Christian communities, which are not always well supported with archaeological evidence. This is explicable in part because there was often little to differentiate Christians from non-Christians. The primary context of worship, the house shrine, is often indistinguishable in the archaeological record. Burials themselves are defined as Christian simply through epigraphic data but even then there is often a merging of Christian and polytheistic tradition; for example the use of curses or the inclusion of a coin to pay Charon in Christian contexts.²⁶ An example of the former can be seen in the catacombs of Melos. The lamps and epigraphic data there indicate that Christian burials were interred between the 3rd and 5th centuries. The five galleries contained burials in *acrosolia* and in the floor. One of the *acrosolia* contained a painted inscription for the presbyter Melon, his wife, and children cursing anyone who attempted to use the burial space other than the family.²⁷ A second inscription revealed a combination of Jewish and Christian traditions through cursing in the name of the 'guardian angel' anyone who attempted to include non-family members in the grave.²⁸

In terms of other epigraphic data, other than the 4th century Cadastre for Thera (an epigraphic inventory showing areas for tax revenues), there are Christian 4th-5th century epigrams from Keos and a few epitaphs on some of the tombs in the Melian catacombs.²⁹ The 5th and 6th century is most well attested epigraphically with graffiti from Syros & inscriptions from Amorgos, Delos, Naxos (in particular) and Paros. Individual priests are recorded on Melos, Paros, and Naxos with many deacons from Delos and Syros and one deaconess from Melos.³⁰

¹⁶ Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2007: 17, 62.

¹⁷ Honigmann 1939.

¹⁸ Price and Gaddis 2005: 241.

¹⁹ Price and Gaddis 2005: 242.

²⁰ Kiourtzian 2000: 204.

²¹ Valeva and Vionis 2015: 343.

²² Fine 1999: 107.

²³ White 1987: 335; Levine 1998: 202.

²⁴ Plassart 1913.

²⁵ Matassa 2007: 81.

²⁶ Sweetman 2015a: 514.

²⁷ Valeva and Vionis 2015: 343.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Kiourtzian 2000: 83-96

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Christianization processes

Recent studies undertaken in the Peloponnese and Crete have shown a much more organic and peaceful Christianization, which is in contrast to the more sensationalist view of destruction and disruption, which can be interpreted from many of the literary sources.³¹ Non-Christian sources, such as Eunapius, expressed a miserable view in his *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, he discusses the general gloom that descended over the fair earth (VS 415), as monks who commit unspeakable crimes (VS 423). And while it would have been in Christian interests to promote a swift Christianization, even sections of the Edict of Theodosius suggest investment in polytheistic sanctuaries as cultural institutions which could continue in use as long as sacrifice rituals were not practiced (Cod. Theod. 16.10.8, 15, 18, 10.10.17).³²

In sociological terms religious or social change originates as a result of tension, or strategic planning.³³ Partly due to a reliance on the written sources, processes of Christianization in the past have been seen in terms of 'Tension theory' where change grows from unrest such as urban decline, sanctuary closure and even earthquakes. However, just as notions of urban decline have been successfully challenged, so have the ideas of swift and sometimes violent Christian conversion. In fact, the archaeological evidence indicates strategic and emergent processes in the Greek provinces. This does not mean that isolated attacks on pre-Christian buildings did not happen; for example Constantine ordered the destruction of the temple of Aigiai in Cilicia³⁴ and Theodosius ordered the destruction of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria.³⁵ However, overwhelmingly the archaeological data provides strong indications that Christians and polytheists lived side by side, carrying on the same traditions and adapting them to fit with the new religion which developed its own place in communities over time. The slow pace of religious change in Greece has been well documented by scholars such as Saradi and Eliopoulos, Foschia and Brown.³⁶ Until the mid-5th century, burial customs and superstitions were shared; places continued to have meaningful associations (be it a sanctuary, cemetery or other gathering space); iconography and social structures were adapted.³⁷

³¹ Sweetman 2015a & 2015b.

³² Sweetman 2015a: 506.

³³ Sweetman 2015b: 286.

³⁴ Caseau 2004: 120.

³⁵ Cameron 1993: 64.

³⁶ Brown 2006; Foschia 2009 Saradi and Eliopoulos 2011.

³⁷ Sweetman 2015a.

The Methodology

To understand processes of Christianization in the Cyclades, methodologies devised for the study of the Peloponnese are applied in this study.³⁸ Analysis of the topography of the Late Antique churches in these areas indicates elements of strategic, emergent and organic processes of Christianization; for example, some of the first churches constructed in the Peloponnese (in the early 5th century) are located on the edges of popular sanctuaries such as Epidavros and Olympia (Figure 1). It is likely that these churches were early strategic decisions, some of which may have been made by Imperial protagonists. Network connections between these locations and nearby major towns such as Corinth, Argos and Patras helped to spread the trend for church building, which is seen first in the suburbs of towns before moving into the urban centre. In fact, the move into the centre only really takes place well after the establishment of the earliest churches in existing cemeteries or along key routes into the town.³⁹ The construction of churches in rural areas is the final part of the process following church construction in well populated areas. A fundamental element in church construction appears to be a strategic location; like visibility, gathering point, place of memory (hence the sanctuary space or water collection point). The rationale in all of this appears to have been a conscious effort to establish the church in as peaceful a manner as possible, drawing on the existing community structure, as well as memory of place and tradition.⁴⁰

It should be noted that this theory of Christianization process is not a straightforward chronological or linear one. For example, Imperial intervention in church building may come at any point, it is not restricted to the earliest churches, as can be seen with the construction of the Leachaion Basilica in the Corinthia. Sanders has argued on the evidence of the Proconnesian marble architectural elements and the *opus sectile* that it might have been an imperial donation in the 6th century.⁴¹ Furthermore, although the Peloponnese may behave in quite a structured manner, it is not necessarily the case for all areas as a range of different criteria can emerge dependent on local conditions and individuals that come into play.

The Cycladic evidence

Eleven Cycladic islands have purported evidence for Late Antique churches (Figure 2) (Andros, Naxos, Keros, Paros, Delos, Keos, Melos, Thera, Amorgos, Folegandros, Sikinon). Of the church plans that survive, the majority of Cycladic

³⁸ Sweetman 2015b.

³⁹ Sweetman 2015b.

⁴⁰ Sweetman 2015a.

⁴¹ Sanders 2004: 187; 2005: 439-40.



Figure 1. Epidavros, Plan of Sanctuary. 36 is the location of the church (Source: on-site plan)

churches are straightforward triple aisled, single-apsed examples (Figure 3). The church of Agios Stephanos on Naxos, which was investigated by the University of Athens under Lambrinouidakis, revealed important architectural elements including remains of an ambo as well as the remains of a reliquary including a marble box (Figure 3).⁴² The Palaiopolis church (Andros), which has evidence for a mosaic in the south aisle, also has a fine marble lined synthronon.⁴³ There are a few variations on the architectural norm, like the church inserted in the

Temple of Apollo Portaria (Naxos), which apparently had an inscribed apse. Of note are the surviving baptismal fonts at Katapoliani (Paros) and at two sites on Melos (Kipos & Tyrpiti) (Figure 4). At Melos, unfortunately the plans of associated churches are obscured.⁴⁴

Dates

As with many of the Late Antique churches in Greece, precise chronologies are difficult to establish for the Cycladic material. Few churches have been stratigraphically excavated (with exceptions such

⁴² The Delian church of Agios Kyrikos also may have had an ambo (Orlandos 1936: 75-82).

⁴³ Pelekanidis & Atzaka 1988: nos. 71 & 72; Gkioles 2009.

⁴⁴ Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982: fig. 5.3 Q.

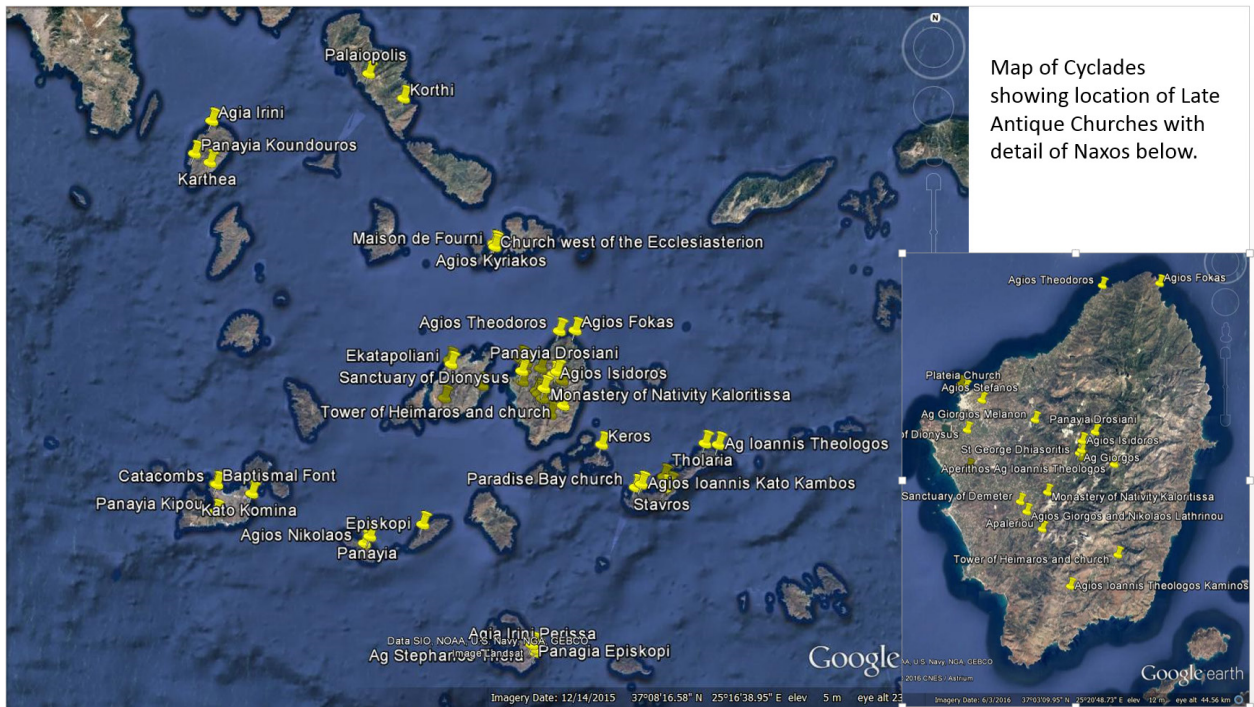


Figure 2. Map of the Cyclades showing location of known Late Antique churches



Figure 3. Naxos Aggidia, Agios Stephanos Fraron at Aggidia

as: Paros Tries Ekklesias; Naxos Sangri; Naxos Agios Stephanos; Naxos Aperianthos) (Figure 5) and only some had mosaics (Melos Kipos, Andros Palaiopolis and Naxos Ag. Mathaiou and Ag. Stephanos) or other

sealed contexts help provide a date.⁴⁵ Many of the Cycladic churches have been broadly dated on the basis

⁴⁵ Pelekanidis and Atzaka 1988: nos. 70-74.



Figure 4. Melos Trypiti Baptismal font

of identifiable sculptural fragments discovered in the area or on-site; as is the case for most of the proposed churches on Delos (e.g. Agios Kyrikos).⁴⁶ Issues of dating are more acute on Naxos than many of the other islands because of the extensive church construction in the Byzantine period (Figure 6). While the problem is more perceptible here, similar issues are found on many of the other islands. Furthermore, the bias in favour of certain periods had in the past resulted in a distaste for, and removal of Late Antique material; particularly where churches may have ‘obstructed’ existing buildings, for example at Portaria and the sanctuary of Dionysus Yria both on Naxos (Figure 7). At Delos three proposed Late Antique churches (above the Stoa of Philip (GD 3),⁴⁷ in the vicinity of the Ecclesiasterion (GD 47) and a nearby building with a peristyle court (GD 48), and within the late Hellenistic/Roman Maison de Fourni (GD 124) were demolished mostly in the early 20th century.⁴⁸

In spite of the issues with precise chronologies, a general view of the dating order is possible. The churches at Kalotaritissa Bay on Amorgos, Agia Irini on Thera and Katapoliani on Paros are likely to be of the earliest, dating around the early 5th century (Figures 8-10). After this, a

small number of churches are constructed in the course of the 5th century, for example at Palaiopolis on Andros, Panayia Kipos on Melos, Agios Stephanos on Thera and Agios Kyrikos on Delos (Figures 11-13). The majority of Late Antique churches on the Cyclades date to the 6th century. This includes Tries Ekklesies on Paros, the churches at Portaria (Figure 14) and the Sanctuary of Demeter (Figure 15) as well as Agios Stephanos Fraron (Figure 3) and Panyaia Drosiani on Naxos (Figure 6), Agios Ioannis Theologos on Amorgos (Figure 16) and possibly two churches at Karthaia on Keos (Figure 17).

Discussion

Distribution

Analysis of the location of the Cycladic churches suggests they do not follow the same specific patterns as visible in the Peloponnese nor on islands such as Cyprus; in both of these areas, early churches are located on the coasts or on the edges of sanctuaries.⁴⁹ In the Cyclades, with the exception of a small number of islands, the distribution appears to be quite even across coastal and inland areas. This is more akin to the pattern seen in Crete and Lycia.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Orlandos 1936: 68-100.

⁴⁷ GD refers to the Guide de Délos (Bruneau and Ducat 2005) and followed by a number identifies sites on Delos within that edition.

⁴⁸ Zarmakoupi forthcoming.

⁴⁹ Sweetman 2015b and 2017.

⁵⁰ Sweetman 2017.



Figure 5. Paros Tries Ekklesias



Figure 6. Naxos, Panagia Drosia



Figure 7. Naxos, Yria, Sanctuary of Dionysus

Amorgos is one of these few islands that has a clear coastal focus for its churches (Figure 2). It is tempting to suggest that its location at the eastern edge of the Cycladic archipelago has a role to play in this distribution.⁵¹ And while this may be the case it is worth emphasizing the fact that the island is, even today, quite difficult to move around on land. Throughout its history, Amorgos was a divided island by land (even with its three polies, Arkesini, Aegiali and Katapola) but linked by sea. In fact, the asphalt road, which now winds its way across the mountainous island was only constructed in the early 1990s. Although there is an early coastal focus, which includes Katapola and Agios Ioannis Theologos (Kato Kambos Bay), this does not preclude the evidence for inland churches too on Amorgos, for example the church of Agios Georgios Valsamitis and that of Agios Ioannis Theologos.

On other islands such as Andros and Santorini, preliminary indications also seem to indicate a coastal emphasis; in both these cases, this is somewhat defined by the location of the earliest churches in the ports of Paliopolis and Perissa.

Christianization and Topography

The earliest churches in the Cyclades are constructed on the edges of ports, commonly in existing cemeteries). This indicates attempts to situate the first churches in locations that are open to new ideas while not encroaching too forcibly on existing structures. Evidence for Imperial impetus for the church building on Paros is clear, but not with any significant strategic plans for mass conversion; certainly few contemporary church foundations elsewhere on the island have been identified.

The construction of the Katapoliani church on Paros was instigated as a result of pilgrimage (Figure 10). In the Late Antique period, pilgrimage (sites and people) created important suites of network connections. Some of this was cleverly orchestrated and some would have been a more organic creation depending on the location, key players (bishops/elite etc) and the religious nature of the site.⁵² The Church of the Panagia Katapoliani was constructed by the stone built church of Agios Nikolaos which was originally the site of a wooden church founded by Agia Eleni (Empress Helen) who stopped at the island on her way to Jerusalem in

⁵¹ Raptopolous (2014: 29) suggested that Amorgos was a node that connected two sides of the Aegean.

⁵² Sweetman 2017.



Figure 8. Amorgos, Katapola, Panayia



Figure 9. Thera, Agia Irini

the 4th century.⁵³ She vowed to build a stone church there once she returned with the Cross. Instead it was her son, Constantine who built it and Justinian's 6th century restoration made it into a cruciform church (Figure 10).⁵⁴ This is one of the few examples with evidence of imperial investment in the early churches of the Cyclades.⁵⁵

Pilgrimage to other places is attested by epigraphic data. For example, to the Gastria cave on Tenos, which located on a promontory of the bay of Kionia close to the Temple of Poseidon. The cave's visitation probably extended to unlucky seafarers who took shelter in the protected bay from the unfavourable winds around Tenos; the captain Kostatis left an invocation of a perhaps 6th century date for the wellbeing of his ship on the walls of the cavern.⁵⁶ During the 6th or 7th century, a pilgrim, Bishop Timothy from Knidos in Asia Minor left two invocations in the cave. There was an altar located in one of the caverns and some suggest that Christians hid there to escape persecution.⁵⁷ As yet there is little evidence for a later church here. In spite of the evidence for bishops from Tenos⁵⁸ the archaeological data for Late Antique occupation is lacking. It seems that the sanctuary of Poseidon was no longer visited for religious purposes by the 3rd CE and attention was moved to temples such as that of Dionysus in the nearby port town.⁵⁹ It may be that this is the location of the late Antique church and an inscription to Agios Isidoros from the church of Panagia Evangelistra may date to the 6th century.⁶⁰ Remains of the ancient city, including houses have been found to the east of the church through several rescue excavations in the area between the church and the ring road.⁶¹ It may be as Etienne and others have suggested that there was a change in population distribution in the 3rd and 4th century with an increasing inland focus.⁶² A late dedication to Gallen, found at the uphill site of Steni, and a 4th CE coin hoard at the north west of the island, along with other chance finds in the rural countryside of Tenos lends support to this view.⁶³ Tenos relied on its extensive terracing for agriculture until recently, perhaps obscuring detailed evidence for occupation.

The mausoleum on Sikinos (Figure 18) which also appears to have been converted into a church in the

late 7th or 8th centuries may also have become a pilgrimage site as its location at the western edge of the island might suggest.⁶⁴ As one sails along the southern coast of the island, tantalizing glimpses of the church at the top of a precipitous gorge are visible which would have heightened the sense of anticipation. While there is some evidence for burials to the east of the church (for example a stele base), the main area of domestic occupation lies further to the east and along the slopes of the hill below the church of Agia Marina.⁶⁵ As yet, the precise chronological range of occupation is uncertain but it is likely to have stretched into the Late Antique period. The other ancient settlement on the island at Palaiokastro has evidence for Roman and Late Antique occupation, but few structures other than small domestic buildings.

The epigraphic data enhances our understanding of pilgrimage through evidence of foreign traffic. Most of this data comes from Syros, which is somewhat ironic given the lack of data for church building there to date. Visitors from Hydra, Miletus, Pinara (Lycia), Peluse (Egypt) and Tyre are known. Overall however, the majority of known visitors come from neighbouring islands and locations like Andros (1), Gyaros (4), Melos (4), Naxos (4), Paros (1), Thera (1) which is also the case for the other Cycladic islands, such as the Corinthian pilgrim Theosevia to Keos.⁶⁶

Following the initial period of church building in the late 4th century a more concerted effort to construct the churches is made in towns (in any location). These are often easily accessible from a port like at Palaiopolis, Andros (Figure 19) and most are in visible locations such as on the approach to a town like Agios Stephanos in Ancient Thera (Figure 12). Also during the 5th century, churches are constructed close to existing places of interest for example the springs at Panayia Kipos on Melos and oracular water cult at Agios Georgios Valsamitis on Amorgos (Figure 11) (both near to polytheistic sanctuaries). The same would appear to be the case for Sangri on Naxos, which had been the likely religious centre for five villages from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods and it also became an industrial centre.⁶⁷ At Karthaia on Keos (Figure 17) a late 5th-6th century church may have been erected above Building D near the Temple of Athena while another probably late 5th or 6th century church was located above a route from the interior of the island in the Vathypotamos valley and nearby the western approach to the Late Antique coastal city.⁶⁸ The internal route to

⁵³ Valeva and Vionis 2015: 344.

⁵⁴ The chronology of the church is highly contentious.

⁵⁵ New important work by the Ephorea and Ch. Diamanti in particular will provide evidence for revised chronologies for the churches.

⁵⁶ Kiourtzian 2000: 204.

⁵⁷ Kiourtzian 2000: 205.

⁵⁸ Bishops Ekdimos and Demetrios attended the 5th and the 6th Ecumenical Councils, respectively (Kiourtzian 2011, 204).

⁵⁹ Etienne *et al* 1986, 196-199.

⁶⁰ Kiourtzian 2000: 208-209.

⁶¹ Catling 1981-82: 46.

⁶² Etienne 1990: 168.

⁶³ Etienne *et al* 1990: 203, n.28; Etienne *et al* 2013: 57.

⁶⁴ Frantz *et al* 1969: 417-418; Frantz 1983: 74-75.

⁶⁵ Fronistas 2012: 21-22.

⁶⁶ Kiourtzian 2000: 25.

⁶⁷ Lambrinouidakis 2001, 11.

⁶⁸ The precise dating of this church in the Vathypotamos valley is difficult. Graindor (1905: 352) noted within it coins of Theodosius I, Anastasius and potentially also Arcadius, Valentinianus the I and the



Figure 10. Paros, Katapoliani



Figure 11. Melos, Panayia Kipos



Figure 12. Thera, Agios Stephanos

the town followed the stream that ran along the valley floor. Locations on routes, as well as the visibility, drew on tradition and memory to help peacefully situate the new religion in the community. Other than the architectural remains re-used in the Panagia church above Chora on Folegandros there is good evidence for another one below Agios Nikolaos located 3 km south of Chora. The location of the church is notable for its position just above a narrow fertile valley and at the end of a route northwards to Chora between the central hills.

The new religious structures are integrated through the patterning of processional organization for example by constructing churches in or close to existing cemeteries or places of interest such as the mausoleum at Episkopi on Sikinos (Figure 18).

⁶⁸ II providing a date range from the late 4th to the early 6th CE. The nearby tombs at the Temple of Apollo and around the Temple of Athena on the Karthaian acropolis date to the 6th and 7th centuries and there are earlier 3rd and 4th century Christian funerary epigrams from here and elsewhere in Keos (Kiourtzian 2000: 62-72). This evidence in addition to the existence of the (late 5th)-6th century church on the Karthaian acropolis (pers comm George Zachos) makes a late 5th or 6th date for the Vathyotamos church likely.

Relationship with earlier cult

In a similar manner to the positioning of churches in well-visited locations, some of the Cycladic churches were constructed on or close to existing sanctuary sites. This is also seen in mainland Greece with the foundation of churches on the edges of panhellenic and other sanctuaries like Delphi, Olympia and Epidavros.⁶⁹ The same decision was taken at the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, where the church of Agios Kyrikos was positioned near the south eastern edge of the sanctuary. Two other churches, the likely chapel above the Stoa of Philip at a main approach to the sanctuary from the port, and a probable church in the vicinity of the Ecclesiasterion at the north western corner of the Hieron, equally avoid key cult areas. At Delos the careful lack of encroachment enabled a more peaceful conversion while remaining visible in the minds of the community. Christianity and earlier polytheistic cult also likely co-existed for some time on Delos. In the 3rd century the altar of Apollo Genetor was still in place according to Porphyry.⁷⁰ Julian the Apostate probably consulted the Delian oracle in the 4th century, and cult likely continued to be practiced in an unofficial manner at Delos,⁷¹ like at other Aegean island sanctuaries such

⁶⁹ Sweetman 2015b.

⁷⁰ Bruneau 1970: 161, 163.

⁷¹ Laidlaw 1933: 271.



Figure 13. Delos, Agios Kyrikos



Figure 14. Naxos, Portaria

as the sanctuary of Apollo in Halasarna, Kos.⁷² The existence of an early Christian community around the same time is suggested by a great number of 5th to 6th century Christian invocations, and a dedication to Agios Kyrikos, among other epigraphic evidence.⁷³ The Late Antique community developed around the borders of the sanctuary with no remains recovered on the Hieron itself;⁷⁴ on the borders early churches were opportunely placed, respecting the past sacred area and tapping into frequented locations along chief routes of the city imbued with meaning and place-tradition that contributed to a peaceful transition.

On other islands, a number of churches were built next to earlier sanctuaries perhaps drawing on traditions of visiting these past cultic locations. Possible examples include Tries Ekklesies on Paros which may have had a temple to Isis nearby, Agios Matheious on Naxos, a Late Antique church at ancient Thera above the sanctuaries of Apollo and that of the Egyptian gods⁷⁵ and the church near the Temple of Athena at Karthaia on Keos (Figure 17).⁷⁶ All four churches in addition to other examples including Katapoliani on Paros (Figure 10) and Agios Stephanos on Naxos (Figure 3)⁷⁷ were constructed on buildings that had already been out of use for at least a century. They also re-used earlier religious architecture in their superstructures, altogether suggesting a pragmatic integration with the past polytheistic tradition rather than a religious subjugation.⁷⁸ Overall integration out of practicality appears the most likely reasoning, as at Katapoliani where roughly 2,000 re-used blocks including reliefs from the Archilocheion were utilized in the 5th and 6th centuries and at the Vathypotamos church in Karthaia, Keos where inscriptions to Demeter,⁷⁹ Asclepius and Hygieia (one dating as early as the Archaic) as well as

columns from an earlier establishment were all utilized in the church's construction.⁸⁰ This view is supported by the minimal impact on the existing building plans of earlier polytheistic structures when conversions into churches take place (for example, Sangri and Palatia at Naxos and Episkopi on Sikinos) (Figures 15 and 18).

Almost all churches that were built next to earlier polytheistic sanctuaries on the Cyclades, were erected in the 6th century, including Treis Ekklesies on Paros (Figure 5), Agios Matheious on Naxos, probably the church at Karthaia, Keos (Figure 17) and some of the churches around the sanctuary at Delos. In contrast to the Peloponnese, where churches were strategically placed near important sanctuaries such as Olympia and Epidavros early in the Christianization process, in the Cyclades the primarily later erection of churches near both larger and smaller sanctuary sites (i.e. the Delian sanctuary vs the sanctuary of Athena on Keos) indicates the organic nature of the islands' Christianization.⁸¹

Commonly in the Greek provinces, when churches are built close to or out of converted temples within sanctuaries, it happens much later in the conversion process of an area; often as late as the 6th century when much of the conversion has already taken place.⁸² However, while this is true for some Cycladic islands, on current chronological evidence, it is not strictly the case on all of the islands such as Naxos. In terms of archaeological bias, the recovery of chronological data for churches built on existing temple buildings is particularly difficult because of the nature of their original excavation. Many of the churches were hastily cleared away in order to expose the earlier temples below; for example at the temple of Dionysus, Iria and the Temple of Apollo (Portaria) both on Naxos. The date of the church of Agios Ioannis, constructed on and using the Archaic temple of Demeter at Sangri is said to be 5th century (Figure 15).⁸³ If the date is correct it would make it an unusually early conversion. Deligiannakis suggests that there may have been an island wide policy of taking over pre-Christian buildings.⁸⁴ While this is possible and there is certainly room for discretion on each island, the chronological data is so insecure that it is difficult to support such an assertion. Studies of lamps found at the Naxian Iria and Sangri sanctuaries have revealed some chronological differences in use between the two; at Iria, the latest lamps date to the 3rd century CE but pottery reappears there in the 5th century and the sanctuary is abandoned shortly after.⁸⁵ At Sangri an extensive range of locally produced lamps and moulds testify to its use into the 8th century. In fact,

⁷² Bruneau 1968: 708; Deligiannakis 2011, 311-312, 320-323.

⁷³ Kiourtzian 2000: 50-60. Orlandos (1936: 84-86) also suggested the 4th century existence of a Christian house-shrine built out of the remains of the Maison de Fourni in the southern Delian hinterland. The identification of these later remains as such is uncertain due to the lack of available evidence implying Christian worship (i.e. sculptural fragments belonging to a church, a Christian inscription) and to the fact that this was the only proposed later establishment outside the main area of the Late Antique city. Recent resumption of fieldwork by H. Wurmser and S. Zugmeyer at the Maison de Fourni (Zarmakoupi forthcoming) will provide useful new evidence to elucidate this situation.

⁷⁴ Bruneau 1968: 706-708.

⁷⁵ No precise date is given for this three-aisled basilica with a narthex but the excavators suggest that this was a Late Antique church, although it may also be Byzantine (Von Gartringen 1899: 182, 254-258).

⁷⁶ Moutzali 1993: 31; Von Gartringen 1899: 182, 254-258; Von Gartringen 1903: 19; Doumas 1993: 72.

⁷⁷ Gruben (1999: 307-8, 312) suggested that fragments from Hestia's sanctuary on Paros were incorporated both into Katapoliani on Paros (e.g. a 2nd BC inscription to Hestia) and in Agios Stephanos on Naxos (e.g. columns from Hestia's sanctuary).

⁷⁸ Gruben 1999: 307-308, 312.

⁷⁹ Saradi 2006: 365.

⁸⁰ Graindor 1905: 354-359.

⁸¹ Sweetman 2015a.

⁸² Sweetman 2015b.

⁸³ Lambrinouidakis, Gruben, and Korres 1976; Korres 2001: 25.

⁸⁴ Deligiannakis 2016: 27.

⁸⁵ Bournias 2014: 787; Deligiannakis 2016: 332.



Figure 15. Naxos, Sanctuary of Demeter



Figure 16. Amorgos, Agios Ioannis Theologos



Figure 17. Keos, Karthaia

scholars believe the active use of associated industrial features such as the wine and olive oil, and pottery workshops dates between the 6th and 8th centuries.⁸⁶ As such, it may be possible that the church is slightly later than originally believed. It appears that after a gradual decline of the sanctuary after the 3rd century BC, the temple conversion was probably fuelled by its visibility overlooking the fertile and wine-producing Sangri plain and its importance for nearby agricultural communities.⁸⁷ The site had been the centre for five villages from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods.⁸⁸ Raptopoulos suggests that sanctuaries on Naxos functioned as agricultural centres, noting that the early byzantine monasteries of Naxos – Sangri being one of them – likely also functioned in a similar way.⁸⁹ Certainly, the later addition of oil, wine and pottery producing workshops at Sangri strengthens this notion.⁹⁰ Visibility probably played a great role in Naxian temple to church conversions overall, as is also suggested by the conversion of the unfinished Archaic temple at Portaria that greeted visitors to the port of Naxos. These relatively early conversions into churches on Naxos could easily situate Christianity

within a landscape probably occupied by a Christian community from the 4th century if not earlier.⁹¹

Evidence for Christian destruction of sanctuary sites, often presumed from the literary sources, is largely absent in the Cyclades. Temples probably continued to stand for some time; at Karthaia, Keos the temples of Athena and Apollo did not collapse until the 6th or 7th centuries (perhaps due to an earthquake), when their foundations were in-filled and re-purposed as Christian cemeteries.⁹² The temple of the Delion on Paros experienced weathering suggesting that it too continued to stand long after the last recovered finds in the later 4th century BCE; it was probably destroyed by an earthquake or it gradually fell apart and was used as building material.⁹³ Whether cult continued to be practiced in the Late Antique period at these sites is difficult to determine. However, there is some evidence for it continuing in unofficial ways as can be seen in other areas in Greece and as noted above in the case

⁸⁶ Saradi 2006: 423.

⁸⁷ Raptopoulos 2014: 55-59.

⁸⁸ Lambrinouidakis 2001, 11.

⁸⁹ Raptopoulos 2014: 55-59.

⁹⁰ Lambrinouidakis 2001: 13.

⁹¹ This early Christian group is tentatively suggested by the alleged 1st CE visit of St John to the island, a 3rd or 4th CE marble relief with an early nativity scene (Baldwin Smith 1918:166), and a 4th CE amphora fragment bearing the stamp 'ΕΛΛΑΣ', which may have had religious undertones (Raptopoulos 2014: 68).

⁹² Simantoni-Bourmia *et al* 2004: 256-257, 278-279; Zachos 2010: 784.

⁹³ Schuller and Ohnesorg 1991: 73-74.



Figure 18. Sikinos, Episkopi

of Delos.⁹⁴ Generally, the evidence points to a practical re-use of space by early Christian communities, as at Karthaia, Keos, and on Despotiko,⁹⁵ which was partly transformed into residential quarters in Late Antiquity, as well as at the sanctuary of Poseidon on Tenos, where a pottery kiln was constructed in the mid-3rd century CE. Evidence for the Christianization of pre-Christian artefacts is also rather small and amounts primarily to the Kean statue base of the hero Eustrophos (1st BCE-1st CE) and a Roman statue of an oriental figure at Paros, both inscribed with a cross. Despite an apparent negative attitude and perhaps fear of polytheism by early Christian sources, the Late Antique landscape on the Cyclades, as on the mainland, was full of images, artefacts and architecture of the previous polytheistic world.⁹⁶ Locations near sanctuaries that were once important for the past cult and likely also frequented in Late Antiquity were utilized. Some temples continued to stand for while others were later converted into churches and spolia within them signalled images of the previous establishment. Continuity between the two traditions is at times suggested; on Amorgos a perhaps 5th or 6th century Christian exorcism indicates a continuity of traditions.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Sweetman 2015a.

⁹⁵ Kourayos *et al* 2002: 99, 166.

⁹⁶ Saradi 2006.

⁹⁷ Kiourtzian 2000: 32.

Spread of Christianity

The Cycladic islands had the potential to be a central hub in the Aegean. However without the means and desires to be part of the network, it would not have been possible to have had such an early monumental Christian presence there. Even in the most peaceful circumstances, there needs to be an initial active incentive for church building. On the islands it is possible to see a range of network channels that would have enabled Christianization processes: Jewish communities, craftspeople, pilgrimage, trade and resources. Valeva and Vionis note the presence of Jewish communities on Melos, Thera, Paros and Naxos, and particularly in the case of Melos and Thera, there is evidence for early Christian communities.⁹⁸ However, Melos, Paros and Naxos also had extensive resources and Thera was connected to a trade network with Crete. Late Antique mosaics are known from a number of Cycladic islands, particularly the larger ones of Andros, Melos and Naxos, however few reveal evidence for connections with mosaics outside the islands.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Valeva and Vionis 2015: 343.

⁹⁹ Pelekanidis and Atzaka 1988: nos. 70-74.



Figure 19. Andros, View down to Palaiopolis



Figure 20. Syros, Grammata

According to Kourtzian analysis of the Syros graffiti at Grammata bay (Figure 20) suggests three axes of communication (in order of frequency):¹⁰⁰

- East to west movement: Asia minor (Asia, Bithynia, Epheus, Miletus, Pinara, Cnide) to the Cyclades and beyond to mainland Greece
- Traces of commercial trade:
 - with the coast of Syria-Palestine (Tyre), Egypt (Peluse)
 - with the Latin West through the Aegean probably towards Constantinople.
- Possibly between the Cycladic islands and their neighbours (including the islands of the Saronic gulf)¹⁰¹

Pilgrimage

Although it is difficult to identify specific sites in the Cyclades as centres of pilgrimage, the islands did attract the attention of pilgrims travelling through. This has already been demonstrated above in the foundation of the Katapoliani church in Paroikia by Agia Eleni. Additionally, it is known that St Jerome travelled from Rome to Palestine in 385 via the Ionian sea and the Cyclades before stopping in Cyprus where he was received by Epiphanius and then on to Antioch. Other than the Gastria cave on Tenos, the epigraphic evidence indicates that religious tourism was focused on a local audience and that other religious travellers like Agia Eleni and St Jerome were more accidental pilgrims rather than focusing on the Cyclades as a main destination; although, Agia Eleni is credited with the rising popularity of church building on Paros.¹⁰² Trade through the islands and in some cases the exploitation of resources are more likely the networks by which Christianization processes were undertaken.

Trade

In addition to the known resources like the Melian Alum, Kimolian chalk and the amphorae workshops in Paros and Naxos, Kourtzian also argues that the Cyclades played a role like other big islands in being stops or redistribution points for trade in the Aegean.¹⁰³ For instance in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries the port town of Karthaia on Keos connected trade coming from eastern sources in Asia Minor with cities in Greece, especially Athens through Piraeus.¹⁰⁴ Zachos' study of the ceramic data from Late Antique Keos suggests that the normal suite of African red slip and local table wares

were being imported and that specialist wares such as beehives were also imported along with oil and wine amphorae.¹⁰⁵ Zachos suggests that ships often called into Keos before going to Pireaus from Constantinople and Asia Minor. In this case we see evidence for local networks (with the use of Attiko pottery, produced in the Cyclades) as well as one way traffic from the East. Even a smaller island like Delos could serve as a node in such networks as is suggested by the presence of a small number of amphorae from the Eastern Aegean, Africa and Kos in the 6th and 7th centuries.¹⁰⁶ Rougé notes the multitude of islands in the area made them ideal for cabotage across the Aegean, with one of the largest ports at Rhodes,¹⁰⁷ and Ahrweiler¹⁰⁸ described the islands as a bridge between the shores of Greece and Asia. In the 3rd century in Greece, Çandarlı from Asia Minor dominates the assemblages along with African Sigilattas. This changes by the 4th century when Çandarlı gives way to the African Sigilattas.¹⁰⁹ The routes from Asia Minor to Athens, Argos and Sparta (where major assemblages have been found) would have gone directly through the Cyclades, while North African routes to Thasos may have gone through the Western Cyclades.¹¹⁰

What this preliminary study has highlighted is the potential for further work on the Late Antique period on the islands. As this point, it is possible to note some key points. The analysis of the location, combined with a study of the architecture and excavation data (including epigraphic) sheds light on the diverse local communities as well as agents of conversion. Rather than insularity, the fine baptisteries, church buildings and mosaics, as well as early conversion indicate the receptiveness to new ideas on the part of island communities.

The variety of church remains found suggests that both grassroots and top-down processes were driving Christianization. In this sense, Christianity spread organically and at a pace set by smaller local units, rather than being the result of a single, mandated tide of change. Furthermore, belonging to the same province (or different provinces) does not appear to have united the islands in any particular way and as such the administrative network does not seem to have enabled Christianization. The lack of a chronological sequence in church building between the islands suggests inter-island connectivity through unofficial networks such as trade but without connectivity in terms of inter-island ecclesiastical or socio-political administration that might have led to a planned, more strategic Christianization.

¹⁰⁰ Kourtzian 2000: 16.

¹⁰¹ Samartzidou (2005) suggested a small world network between the southern ports of Keos, Sifnos, Paros and Amorgos (see also Raptopoulos 2014, 209).

¹⁰² Kourtzian 2000: 25.

¹⁰³ Kourtzian 2000: 17.

¹⁰⁴ Zachos 2010: 788-789.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Raptopoulos 2014: 44-45.

¹⁰⁷ Rougé 1978: 115.

¹⁰⁸ Ahrweiler 1978: 266.

¹⁰⁹ Abadie-Reynal 1987: 144.

¹¹⁰ Abadie-Reynal 1987: fig. 7.

The Christianization of the Cycladic islands was diverse and undertaken through a number of routes including Imperial, trade and pilgrimage.¹¹¹ This situation is more akin to Crete but different to Cyprus,¹¹² where the majority of churches are built on the coast and also different to the Peloponnese where a more developed strategic plan can be seen.¹¹³ Efforts were made to situate the churches carefully; in the early period this was done in popular port towns such as Paroikia. The construction of the earlier churches on the coast might point to external network connections while many of the later churches may be a result of internal Cycladic networks that would fit with the epigraphic data pointing to primarily internal movement within the islands. The organic processes of peaceful conversion can be understood in the late construction of churches near existing sanctuaries. Overall, rather than insularity, the innovative aspects of church building and early conversion indicate the receptiveness to new ideas on the part of island communities.

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¹¹¹ At this time I will leave aside discussions of local impetus from bishops/clergy/local elite etc.

¹¹² Sweetman 2017.

¹¹³ Sweetman 2015b.

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