Setting an Insular Table: Pottery, Identity, and Connectivity on Crete and Cyprus at the End of Antiquity

By

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MAINLAND FRAME

CHAPTER SIX: IDENTITY, DINING, AND BEING BYZANTINE

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONNECTIVITY, CERAMIC CONSUMPTION, AND ISLAND IDENTITY

TABLES

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

"Et inde navigantes venerunt in insulam Cyprum, que est inter Grecos et Sarracenos…"

-*Vita, seu Hodoeporicon S. Willibaldi* XI
Huneberc of Heidenheim (c. 750 C.E.)

1.1 Introduction to the Problem

The above brief quotation is from the *Life and Travels of St. Willibald*, an English monk who, in the year 723 C.E., traveled to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage, stopping at the island of Cyprus on the way. After two devastating raids on the island in 649 and 653 C.E., the chronicler Theophanes the Confessor records that a treaty was concluded between the Byzantine Empire and the Umayyad Caliphate in 684 C.E., and ratified in 688 C.E., establishing the island as a demilitarized 'neutral territory' between the two superpowers of the day, with the inhabitants paying taxes to both empires in order to cement this status (Dikigoropoulos 1961, Kyrris 1997, Megaw 1986:505, Zavagno 2013:2). This treaty apparently was to hold, with some intermittent abrogations, until the island was 'reclaimed' for Byzantium by the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963-969 C.E.) in the year 965 C.E., although just whom the island was 'reclaimed' from is not made clear (Zavagno 2013:2). This arrangement on Cyprus, between Byzantium and the Caliphate, has traditionally been referred to as a 'condominium,' although that term has been hotly debated in recent years (Metcalf 2009:35). The above, rather cryptic, statement that the island existed 'betwixt the Greeks and the Saracens,' remains one of the very few contemporary comments about the situation.

Just over a hundred years after the visit of St. Willibald to Cyprus, in 824 or 827 C.E., a band of Islamic Andalusian freebooters, after stopping in Egypt, managed, over the course of a few years, to conquer the poorly defended island of Crete from the Byzantine Empire. The Emirate they established was to endure until the reconquest of the island under the same Nikephoros Phokas, not yet emperor, after a massive military endeavor in 961 C.E. (Christides 1984:173). During the time of the Emirate, Crete was a continual thorn in the side of Byzantine shipping in the Aegean, becoming a favored haven for pirates (Christides 1984).

These are the main narratives of the two islands contained in the textual sources and often find their way into a footnote or two in major scholarly works on the history of the Byzantine Empire or the birth of Islam and its expansion into the Mediterranean, with very little additional information offered (Gregory 2010:183, 226, Kennedy 2004:154, Ostrogorsky 1969:116, 205 fn. 2). Indeed, the islands seem to have found themselves outside the main thrust of imperial events for the period often referred to as the 'Dark Ages' (7th to 10th centuries C.E.), a term that, again, has seen considerable debate recently (Decker 2016:1-3).

Overall, there are compelling reasons to compare Crete and Cyprus (Figure 1.1). Both are islands, replete with natural resources that have made them at various periods active participants in networks of Mediterranean exchange (Karageorghis 2005:23). Both have mountainous interiors, with the majority of their populations historically clustered along their coastal margins. They are roughly the same size, 8,303 km^2 in the case of Crete, and 9,251 km^2 in that of Cyprus, the latter about 10% larger than the former (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). Most importantly, however, their similar engagements with the Muslim expansion left them as liminal provinces on a contested seascape. Their position in-between the Byzantine and Islamic worlds, at least politically, raises important questions about how the inhabitants of these islands maneuvered themselves in economic, political, and cultural ways.

'Island archaeology,' that is an archaeology *of* islands rather than simply *on* them, has grown into a significant sub-field of the discipline over the last 60 years (Leppard 2013:17, see Rainbird 1999 and responses for a good synopsis). Emerging out of biogeographical studies in the natural sciences, island archaeology has long debated the merits of using islands as units of analysis in examining colonization, subsistence strategies, interaction, and what were initially perceived as various forms of cultural endemism (Boomert and Bright 2007, Broodbank 1999, 2008, Cherry 2004, Fitzpatrick et al. 2007, Rainbird 1999, Terrell 1999). While the idea of islands as solitary 'laboratories' in which to study cultural process has faded with the recognition that few islands are truly isolated, there are, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, a range of factors that have real effects on island connectivity that have kept a comparative island archaeology alive (Evans 1973).

The choice of Crete and Cyprus as units of comparison in this dissertation is fundamentally reflexive. Are the issues affecting connectivity during this period sufficient to make these islands effective heuristic categories for looking at patterns of material practice? Are they valuable in seeking to define communities of practice which may have implications for identity construction on the part of the islands' inhabitants? Or, given the importance of scale in issues of connectivity, are Crete and Cyprus simply 'matchbox continents' during this period, too diverse, or too connected to make an island lens useful (Held 1989)?[1] The political, and religious, situation of the two islands from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. provided an

[1] This study initially sought to include Sicily which, given its conquest by the Arabs over the course of the 9th century C.E. and several other factors, had much in common with Crete and Cyprus. This would have provided a nice geographical spread of the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, and the Aegean. In the end this was abandoned, however, as the significantly different traditions of Italian Early Medieval archaeology made comparison with Crete and Cyprus too unwieldy.

additional point of expediency; their liminal state vis à vis both the Empire and the Caliphate could be placed in conversation with their material patterning. Despite the fact that, from a material perspective, significant differences do not emerge between the Christian and Muslim areas of the Eastern Mediterranean largely until the 9th century C.E., this dichotomy has dominated much of the discourse surrounding the broader cultural shifts of this period (Walmsley 2007:48). Would the examination of islands, as geographic, and in this case also political, 'reference points,' allow for a better understanding of the ways in which different identities, as materially constructed, might have emerged following the 7th century C.E. and the 'End of Antiquity' (Terrell 1999:242)? This question is the driving force behind this dissertation.

Additionally, this dissertation is an attempt to simply understand what life was like on the two islands during the period of the 'condominium' on Cyprus, and in the years just prior to, and during the Muslim domination on Crete, specifically from an archaeological perspective. The few historical sources for the period have been pored over in detail, with emphasis placed on taxation, military affairs, administration, and, in some cases, the relocation of settlements and the extent of economic decline and depopulation, but archaeological work has, to date, provided little information on anthropological questions of social life (Christides 1984, 2006, 2011, Dikigoropoulos 1961, Kyrris 1984, 1997, Megaw 1986, Miles 1964, Papageorghiou 1993, Zavagno 2011, 2013, 2017). This is not for want of archaeological effort[2]. Much of this work has been bedeviled, however, by a general lack of understanding of the pottery chronologies and types, and what Tim Gregory has termed the 'Byzantine Problem' (Gregory 2003). This refers to the penchant for grouping ceramics from these centuries into earlier periods based on the

[2] See Baldini *et al.* 2013, Bourbou 2010, Cosentino 2014, Decker 2016, Demesticha 20015, Di Vita 1991, Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Kaldeli 2008, Leidwanger 2015, Megaw 1986, 2007, Metcalf 2009, Papacostas 2001, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2011, Rautman 1998, 2003a, 2008, Romeo and Portale 2004, Stewart 2014, Touma 2001, Tsougarakis 1988, Yangaki *et al.* 2008.

similarity to, or continuance of, red-slip wares and the confusing tangle presented by coarse and cooking wares. This issue has only recently begun to be addressed (Armstrong 2009, Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, Touma 2001, Vionis *et al.* 2009).

The period of the 7th through the 10th centuries C.E. saw massive changes in the Eastern Mediterranean. With the loss of Egypt, North Africa, Syria, and the Levant to the armies of Islam, the Eastern Mediterranean was transformed from essentially a Byzantine lake into a political and cultural zone of confrontation. While much recent work has concentrated on how these changes manifested themselves for the inhabitants of the mainland, how they assimilated, altered, and/or resisted changes in their lifeways under the new regime, very little attention has been paid to the islands, in general, and the contested seascape of the Eastern Mediterranean (Eger 2015, Insoll 1999, Kennedy 2004, Straughn 2007, Walmsley 2007, Whitcomb 2004). Four hundred years is a long time, however, and there are, of course, significant differences between the 7th and even the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. in the Eastern Mediterranean, both culturally and politically. Here I am examining the 7th through 10th centuries C.E. for two reasons: first they have lain largely outside of the primary narratives of Byzantine history, particularly as regards archaeology, given the difficulty attendant on the material culture from that period, and also because the 'condominium' on Cyprus provides a very clear delineation in which to situate the study. From a materal perspective this is, of course, largely arbitrary, but it provides a political boundary, encompassing as it does also the period of the Cretan Emirate, within which to examine the material patterns existant on the two islands.

In this dissertation I will be examining largely small finds, particularly ceramic material, with an eye to the material engagements of the largely Christian, Greek-speaking inhabitants of the islands of Crete and Cyprus as they grappled with the changing material conditions of life as the Eastern Mediterranean moved from Late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages. How did people make use of new, and more traditional, material culture together? How connected were they to mainland areas under the sway of the Caliphate or the Empire? What sorts of goods were accepted or rejected under new conditions of trade and exchange? How did their relative connectedness, their ‘islandness,’ affect their sense of identity through material practice? How did this impact foodways and dining practices? What can be said about how the islanders of Crete and Cyprus saw themselves during this period of intense change? Archaeology has the potential to provide answers to these questions where the scant historical sources have been largely silent.

Here I move beyond a basic description of material movements in order to get at anthropological questions of human experience, of what it meant to live in a period of collapse and transition on the edge of Empire. This has largely not been attempted for the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean for the period after the 7th century C.E., although recent advances in understanding the material complexity at the 'end of Antiquity' have now made such investigations possible. Byzantine studies has been largely restricted to the fields of Art History, History, and Literary studies; archaeological work on Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages has been growing in its complexity and scope in recent decades and has the potential to act as a bridge to larger questions about everyday human engagements with issues of political turmoil, social change, and identity formation, away from the more rarified atmosphere of Constantinopolitan elite production in the arts and literature. This dissertation seeks to act as just such a bridge.

In attempting to approach human experience, and identity formation, I am examining ceramic materials for the insight they give in day to day consumption. Central to how I will do this here is the conception of ‘communities of practice’ (Harris 2014, Wenger 1998). This is the notion that communal identity is built through practice, and the recursive, diachronic engagement with the landscape, animals, plants, and objects, indeed that communities are, more than anything, assemblages constituted through agency and performativity (Harris 2014:77). This will be covered in greater detail in regards to dining and ceramic consumption in Chapter 6.

The choice of this topic also has an explicitly political element. I was once asked by a young Cypriot archaeology student what I thought the purpose of the discipline was. After some thought I explained, in halting Greek and English, that I thought the role of archaeology was to complicate simple narratives, to allow for a critical reading of the past in order to better inform the accepted truths of the present (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998). Politicians, I pointed out, are extremely fond of simple narratives. Cyprus has been divided since the Turkish invasion of 1974, in response to the Greek engineered coup d’état on the island, between an occupied Turkish-Cypriot North and a Greek-Cypriot South. Tensions between the two communities have run high in the intervening decades, although there is a sustained effort to bring them together in order to effect the reunification of the island. In the wake of the Syrian Civil War, massive numbers of refugees, mostly Muslim, have found their way to the islands of the nation-state of Greece, of which Crete of course is a part. This has placed great logistical and cultural strain on the inhabitants of these islands. If, by delving into another period of cultural strain, population movement, and political or religious contestation, the narrative can be complicated, lines between ‘Us and Them’ can be blurred, so much the better for the present.

1.2 Organization of the Dissertation

In order to gain a better understanding of the material entanglements of the inhabitants of Crete and Cyprus from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E., four case studies were chosen from each island (with the personal analysis of an additional, fifth site on Cyprus by the author) and examined for the contextual situation of their ceramic repertoire and, where available, other small finds of note (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). These were then compared with five sites from different regions of the mainland to demonstrate which non-ephemeral material goods were reaching the islands, and the types of morphological changes taking place outside of them, during the period in question (Figure 1.1). This comparative material framework provides the necessary interrogation of the island category for examining patterns of material practice, and the implications for identity formation. This forms the bulk of the analysis in this dissertation. To frame these finds an overall picture of what is known of the economic situation in the Empire will be covered in Chapter 2. This is augmented by a discussion of the issues affecting those shifts in connectivity that took place in the Eastern Mediterranean from the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 10th centuries C.E., as well as a theoretical engagement with issues of 'islandness' and the social context of goods that may have moved long distances.

Chapter 3 seeks to examine the context and presence of both local and imported goods, especially ceramics, at five sites on Cyprus. These sites were chosen based on evidence of 7th-century C.E. and potentially later occupation, with an eye towards getting a representative sample from different types of sites on the island. The Kornos cave was selected as a site of refuge, with a single or small number of occupants, in use over a short period of time. This site provided probably the best evidence of a single, apparently undisturbed, assemblage, showing the types of ceramics in use together at the close of the 7th century C.E. The site of Kourion was a large city in the 7th century C.E., although investigations were largely restricted to the basilical area, a common practice in Byzantine archaeology. There are signs of later occupation at the site, as well as an intriguing connection with Egypt after the Arab raids. The unpublished assemblage from Agioi Pente at Yeroskipou was chosen for its close proximity to Paphos, the supposed site of a short-lived Arab garrison, and for evidence of occupation into the 8th century C.E. I personally examined the ceramics from the site, although the extremely short period of time available for this study led to only a more general impression of the presence and absence of imported ceramic material. This excavation was again restricted to the site's main basilica. The site of Salamis-Constantia, the Byzantine capital of the island in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E, forms the fourth case study. When the capital moved to its present location at Nicosia is unknown. This site, while located in the North of the island and therefore excavated prior to 1974, suffers from a poor understanding of the later ceramic material on the part of the excavators, yet still displayed enough material, from two different contexts, to provide pertinent information on connectivity and consumption in the post-raid period. The last case is that of Saranda Kolones, a later crusader castle that, through various soundings, displayed an interesting and unparalleled assemblage of 8th and 9th century C.E. material, found nowhere else on the island. The chapter ends with a discussion of the place of the ceramic material in the wider frame of what is known about the island in the changing 7th through 10th century C.E. economy in the Eastern Mediterranean, and implications for the broader cultural impact of these connections.

Chapter 4 repeats this process for the island of Crete. The four sites chosen for Crete were Monastiraki-Katalimata, Eleutherna, Pseira, and Gortyn. The first site, like the Kornos cave, was a place of refuge. Initially occupied in the Bronze Age, it saw continued, short-term, activity during the late 7th century C.E. and possibly later. While much of the excavation was concentrated on the Minoan levels, there was still enough ceramic material to build an understanding of the types of vessels in use at the end of Late Antiquity. Eleutherna was a large city in the Classical and Early Byzantine periods, finally abandoned sometime in the 8th century C.E. Work on the Byzantine levels of the site have concentrated on the basilica and surrounding neighborhoods, with some work on the acropolis showing occupation in the Later Middle Ages. While certainly less coastal than the sites excavated on Cyprus, Eleutherna still showed signs of considerable connection to long-distance trade networks in Late Antiquity, and allowed for a consideration of how this changed during the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. Pseira was a monastic community located on a small island off the northeastern coast of Crete. While the site is primarily known for its Minoan remains, the monastery was operational through the 9th century C.E. and provided some of the latest finds from the period I am examining on the island of Crete or, in this case, just off shore. The surprising connectivity demonstrated by the material culture from the monastery points to a very different level of extra-island engagement than that evinced by material from elsewhere on the island. The final site was the ancient city of Gortyn, the capital of Roman and then Byzantine Crete prior to the establishment of the Emirate circa 827 C.E. Much like Salamis-Constantia, excavation has taken place in multiple areas on the site, leading to several windows into the ceramic and other material assemblages of life from various contexts in a relatively large metropolis. The ceramic evidence notes continued occupation into the 8th century C.E., although later activity is obscured by the poor understanding of ceramics from the 9th and 10th centuries C.E. This chapter closes with a discussion of Crete within the larger remit of economic developments and material movements in the Mediterranean of the 7th through 10th centuries C.E.

The wider frame of ceramic morphological change from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages on the mainland is provided by Chapter 5. Here five more sites were chosen, each in a different region of the Eastern Mediterranean, in order to give somewhat of a representative sample of the types of ceramic material in use from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. Special emphasis is placed in the discussion of this chapter on not only what material was traveling to the islands, as seen in Chapters 3 and 4, but also what *hasn't* been found there that is in evidence in contemporaneous mainland areas. The excavations at the church of St. Polyeuktos, Saraçhane in Istanbul give an excellent overview of material present in Constantinople during this period, while Greece and the southern Balkans are represented by excavations at the site of Corinth, central Anatolia by the city of Amorium, Syria and the Levant by Jerash, and Egypt by the monastery of Baramus in the Wadi al-Natrun. The choice of these five sites was motivated in large part by the fact that their Byzantine material for this period is quite well published; these cases are largely exceptional in the Eastern Mediterranean, although the picture is changing.

In Chapter 6 I turn to issues of identity and materiality. After charting the arguments concerning 'Byzantine' identity in recent literature, the chapter moves to the connections between people and the objects with which they surround themselves, in particular the recursive construction of personal and communal identity based on practice-based models of material engagement (Appadurai 1986, Bourdieu 1977, Dietler 1998, 2007, Dietler and Herbich 1998, Harris 2014, Knappett 2005, Miller 2010, Rodriguez-Alegría 2010, Thomas 1991, Twiss 2007, van Dommelen anad Rowlands 2012, Wenger 1998). Here this is achieved by looking at the overall, largely textual evidence for Byzantine foodways and dining habits and some of the recent work on connections with ceramic morphology. Chapter 7 takes this a step further, summarizing the material movements on Crete and Cyprus within their mainland frame, and then examining the implications of shifting patterns of dining and cooking ware usage to reach tentative conclusions about the reception of mainland practices and material culture, and the processes of identity construction. The importance of 'islandness' in structuring these patterns and movements closes the analysis, with a final consideration of the heuristic value of islands as categories of analysis in examining material practice during this transitional period. The dissertation ends with an overall discussion of directions for future research in the archaeology of identity construction, daily life, and dining on Crete and Cyprus during the 7th to 10th centuries C.E.

Overall I argue in this dissertation that although the fluctuations in the connective fabric of the seascape, and the continued movement of goods, prevent the islands from being considered as bounded political or geographic units for the purposes of analyzing identity construction, the material remains from Crete and Cyprus allow us to approach an understanding of communities of practice and nascent identity formation at multiple levels on a more regional basis over the course of the 7th through 10th centuries C.E. As the 7th century C.E. comes to a close, the Byzantine *koine* of dining ceramics disappears along with the collapse in the *annona* grain ships, and the increase in relative insecurity in the Eastern Mediterranean. The islands fall back on regional systems of exchange and local traditions of ceramic production, producing new communities of practice that stand in stark contrast to the previous instantiation of Byzantine/Roman identity built around empire-wide material practices. Only a trickle of Constantinopolitan products hints at a class based re-orientation of consumption practice, and styles of dining, that call upon the capital, and a new sense of Roman identity. As the 9th century C.E. resurgence in Byzantine trade and connectivity arrives, the islands have a new, much more local, sense of co-presence and social engagement in their dining practices, from which the only centers of exchange that are visible in the archaeological record, a fortress and a monastery, seem to stand apart. This places the Byzantine 'Dark Ages' on the islands in an entirely new light, one in which local identities, and a re-imagining of Roman-ness, bring a hitherto poorly understood period back into conversation with the empire, and Byzantine studies in the Eastern Mediterranean at large. In so doing it brings to bear a new focus on daily consumption, communties of practice, and island archaeology that has sadly been absent from considerations of Crete and Cyprus at the 'End of Antiquity.'

1.3 Essential Historiography

To begin it is important to consider the previous work that has taken place on the two islands dealing with this pivotal period, particularly attempts at synthesizing the often scant archaeological and textual data. Archaeology has, until very recently, been severely hampered in identifying sites from the Late Antique to Early Medieval transition; this is largely the result of the perceived end of the great red slip tableware tradition in ceramics around the end of the 7th century C.E., as well as a significant fall off in coin issues and circulation (Armstrong 2009, Decker 2016, Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Gregory 2003, Hayes 1972, Metcalf 2009, Vionis *et al.*2009, Wickham 2005). The majority of work in past decades has, instead, concentrated on the textual sources. For Cyprus, early works such as that of Sir George Hill (1940:244), proclaimed, with the general dearth of sources, that the island was 'without history' in the centuries following the emergence of Islam. The early raids were known from the works of Theophanes the Confessor and the Muslim historian al-Ṭabarī, however, and the few other known texts were mined by later scholars to create a bleak picture, apparently supported by the archaeological evidence. Populations were thought to have been decimated by the Arab attacks, settlements dislocated, and economies destroyed. In a 1958 report for the Department of Antiquities on Cyprus, and again in 1961 for his doctoral dissertation, Andreas Dikigoropoulos described an impoverished island, divided between Byzantine and Umayyad areas. This fixation on administration and minutiae of the treaty arrangements has largely been a result of the focus on texts and was continued by subsequent scholars. Robert Browning (1977) and Costas Kyrris (1984, 1997) both continued this line of inquiry, the latter expanding beyond the Greek saints' lives and bishoprical letters to include both Syriac and some Arabic sources, as well as some numismatic data. The end result was roughly the same, however, refining an understanding of the place of Cyprus in major political maneuvers and administration. Tahar Mansouri (2001) and Vassilios Christides (2006) have proceeded with an eye to the Arabic sources, particularly the Arab geographers. Many texts in this language continue to be edited and published, far behind that of their Greek counterparts (Christides 1984:17-9, Nef and Prigent 2006:13). An important aspect of this more recent research into the Arabic sources has been an attempt to debunk, or at least severely undermine, arguments made for an Arabic community on Cyprus during the 'Treaty Centuries,' something posited by Dikigoropoulos and Kyrris in their works (Christides 2006:52). Michael Metcalf, with his sigillographic focus, has also recently attacked this argument (2009:428, 2014:130).

Archaeological syntheses have been few, although they largely support the picture given by the textual sources of a seriously impoverished island. Kyrris (1997) drew on some archaeology to support his thesis, primarily evidence for settlement relocation, a major theme of the work of Athanasios Papageorghiou (1993). A. H. S. Megaw was, until very recently, the archaeologist most concerned with these centuries. His numerous publications show an incredible ability to ferret out evidence of Arabic contacts and, of all the scholars who have addressed the period, he was the least willing to accept the simple narrative of total devastation. While not overtly challenging it, in the course of his work he made several tantalizing assertions of a thriving Arab connection, documenting tombstones, coins, and seals in Arabic, as well as keeping a weather eye on the ceramics for evidence of off-island connectivity (1950, 1972, 1986, 1988, 1993). The overall tenor of his work has been continued by the historian Luca Zavagno (2011, 2013), who has been more than happy to make extensive use of the archaeological data. Given his willingness to work in the northern portion of the island, however, currently considered illegal by the Republic of Cyprus due to the Turkish occupation, Zavagno's work has not found significant purchase within the Republic. Perhaps the most exhaustive synthesis of archaeological work has been that of Michael Metcalf (2009). His work, *Byzantine Cyprus 491-1191*, pulls together decades of research, although in the main he does not challenge the general narrative outside of the sigillography, his specialty.

Given the difficulties attendant on identifying material after the 7th century C.E., this sums up the synthetic work on the 8th through 10th centuries C.E. for Cyprus. The 7th century C.E. however is another matter, and numerous scholars have tackled the 'end of Antiquity,' particularly given the ubiquity and easy identifiability of red slip tablewares. Marcus Rautman's excavations at Kalavasos-Kopetra are one of the few attempts to examine village life, focusing on a small settlement that apparently met its end in the early Arab raids in the mid-7th century C.E. (2003a, 2003b). Maria Parani and Demetrios Michaelides have strayed into the 7th century C.E. in their examinations of artistic representation and aspects of architectural decoration, respectively, although Parani is more comfortable in later periods and Michaelides in earlier ones (Parani 2013, Michaelides 1993). Ceramic studies and works on the economy have also begun to push beyond the 7th century C.E. on the island with recent work by Tassos Papacostas (2001), Salvatore Cosentino (2014), Smadar Gabrieli and others (Gabrieli *et al.* 2007), while studies of ecclesiastical architecture have also begun to move into the 'Dark Ages' (Papacostas 1999, Stewart 2008, 2010).

Far less attention has been paid to Byzantine and Arab Crete between the 7th and 10th centuries C.E. Byzantium made numerous attempts to recover the island after its loss, and these were duly recorded by Byzantine historians, in greater or lesser degrees of detail. Sorting out just how the island fell, and the chronology and ultimate fate of these recovery expeditions, has occupied much of the scholarship. E.W. Brooks was one of the first to tackle the subject in a 1913 edition of the *English Historical Review*, making a surprisingly early use of the Arabic sources. In 1964 George Miles expanded his remit from the numismatics to examine Arab activities in the Aegean writ large, relying heavily on Greek hagiographic material. The primary work on the textual sources however is that of Vassilios Christides (1984). Using both Greek and Arabic material he endeavored to get at a greater understanding of the Emirate itself, even to the point of questioning the nature of interaction between the Muslim conquerors and their largely Christian subjects. At the time of Christides' publication there was only a single archaeological context that could be linked, on somewhat dubious grounds, to the Arab occupation, a small house of 'Arab type' discovered during a survey of the area surrounding Knossos (Warren and Miles 1972, Hood and Smyth 1981). As such, Christides' work, while a monumental interrogation of the textual sources, is very thin on archaeological support, relying solely on a minimal amount of standing architecture and museum finds, often with only a very general provenance. Dimitris Tsougarakis' 1988 study, *Byzantine Crete: From the 5th Century to the Venetian Conquest*, remains the best synopsis of the archaeological material, in spite of its age. While the analysis continues to rely heavily on historical accounts, the site lists are indispensable, and both the sigillographic and settlement pattern studies are extremely useful. For the period of the Emirate much of the work remains speculative, however. That rescue excavations, particularly in Iraklion, have uncovered Arabic material culture is certain, although almost no mention of it is made in published reports (Andrianakis 2013). More recent work has concentrated on different archaeological aspects of the period, including bioarchaeology and, via attempts at sourcing amphorae, trade and connectivity (Bourbou 2003, 2010, Bourbou *et al.* 2011, Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014). Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou has also endeavored to synthesize the archaeological information from the 7th to the 12th centuries C.E. based on more recent information (2011).

Returning to the textual sources, Chapter 2 will seek to build a picture of the overarching political events and conditions that structured life on the two islands from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E., as well as the scant depictions of life in an island 'border zone.' The chapter will then go on to discuss issues affecting connectivity and material movements that will be important for further consideration of 'islandness' as a useful category, and the archaeological evidence and its social context, in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUALIZING THE BYZANTINE-ISLAMIC MARITIME FRONTIER

2.1 Introduction

Any discussion of the effects of the rapid transformation of the Eastern Mediterranean, from essentially a Byzantine lake to a contested seascape with the emergence of Islam and the Caliphal polity, must take into consideration how that liminal space may have been perceived in the minds of its island inhabitants. As will be seen below, the conceptualization of this connective/isolating medium has important implications for the changing material worlds of this period. Space and distance become charged with new meaning, and serve to contextualize and re-contextualize the objects that move from production to consumption across and within this frontier. The exact nature of these material movements will be covered in Chapters 3 through 5, while the role the social deployment of material culture plays in the process of identity negotiation are the subjects of Chapters 6 and 7, but first the lens must be pulled out to consider the macro-structures that conditioned travel, the economy, and the perception of space on and between these island environments.

This chapter seeks to lay out a framework for considering the perception of the Byzantine-Islamic maritime frontier, and the meaning that may have been attached to the material connections that moved through it (see also Randall in press). Although this dissertation is concerned with the transitional 7th through 10th centuries C.E., and the large islands of Crete and Cyprus, this chapter, by necessity, ranges somewhat both before and after this period, and moves beyond the aforementioned islands to also include some of the Cyclades and the broader Aegean. After discussing the general economic trends of the period, I will consider the importance of insularity within these material movements, and the changes that occurred in sea travel and island living, both technologically and in terms of dangers and opportunities, with the emergence of Islam and the move from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. The chapter closes with a brief examination of some of the material implications of the aforementioned framework, to be further examined in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.2 Trends in the Late Antique/Early Medieval Byzantine Economy

The Byzantine economy during these centuries is characterized by radical shifts in the integrity of state controlled, or at least subsidized, trade, the character of urban and rural development, fiscal stability, and even the basic level to which it engaged with market forces. The economy changed with the fortunes of the Empire, and the crises of the 7th century C.E. saw an end to the economic world of Late Antiquity, and the ushering in of the Middle Ages. This paradigm shift has been the focus of much scholarly attention since Henri Pirenne (1939) posited that the emergence of Islam put an end to the economic connectivity of Antiquity, and made Charlemagne possible. Until very recently, however, we have not had the tools to talk adequately about changes in the Late Antique and Early Medieval economy of the Mediterranean; archaeology was too underdeveloped in its ability to properly date ceramic material, leaving historians and numismatists to do what they could with the material available. Thus, much of the scholarly work has traditionally focused on the fiscal system and the agrarian economy at its base, trade and craft production have only come into their own in the last 20 years or so (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:2). The main arguments have centered around the nature of the economy: was it a state-controlled, command economy, or did market forces dominate (Haldon 2000, 2012, Laiou and Morrison 2007:7, Whittow 2013:133, Wickham 2005)? After a discussion of the economic basis of the empire in the 7th century C.E., including agriculture, the fiscal system, and changes in the urban and rural environment, I will approach this question as it relates to the *annona* grain trade, and then discuss the implications for the overall economy going forward into the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. This consideration of trade and regional development will then move onto the individual islands of Cyprus and Crete, and then on to questions of connectivity and insularity.

There is a general consensus that the 6th century C.E. was a period of great prosperity for the Byzantine world (Decker 2016:155). The ‘busy’ countryside was filled with villages, and trade flourished, from Egypt to Constantinople, and from the Levant to southern Italy (Pettegrew 2007, Pieri 2012). The West had fragmented and fractured, with various Germanic kingdoms coming to replace the former western empire, but the East continued its Roman traditions and general structure. Under Justinian I (527-565 C.E.) Byzantium was even able to retake some parts of Italy, Spain, and North Africa, although in general these conquests were relatively short-lived. The Byzantine empire of the 6th and early 7th centuries C.E. covered an area of roughly 2.7 million km^2, with perhaps between 21 and 30 million people, and incorporated the Mediterranean littoral areas from Calabria to Palestine, the Nile river valley, the mountainous Balkans, the plains along the Danube, the upland plateau of Anatolia, and more besides (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:11, 16). Different conditions prevailed in each of these areas, but along the coasts there was a common Mediterranean climate of hot summers (average 28 degrees C) and mild winters (average 8 degrees C), with irregular rainfall (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:8). The Persian wars in the early 7th century C.E. (602-628 C.E.) led to temporary disruptions in trade, agricultural production, and taxation, but the Arab conquests that began just a few years later resulted, by the fall Carthage in 698 C.E., in the loss of over half of the empire, and 75% of its revenue (Decker 2016:158, Haldon 2000:227, Hendy 1985:620). Under Basil II (976-1025 C.E.)

the empire climbed back to a size of roughly 1.2 million km^2, and perhaps 19 million people, but for the period we are largely concerned with, from the mid-7th to the mid-10th centuries C.E., the empire consisted of parts of southern Italy, Sicily, at various times most of the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Thrace, coastal, and occasionally inland, Greece, and Cyprus. I will largely not be discussing the numerous bastions and outposts that survived, in some cases for centuries, in North Africa, Spain, Sardinia, Albania, the Crimea, and parts of northern Italy, as, after the 7th century C.E., with the exception of the Crimea, these outposts largely ceased to be economically relevant, particularly as major sources of primary or secondary products.

The production of the various parts of the Byzantine empire in the 7th century C.E. complemented one another, and the discussion of the Byzantine diet in Chapter 6 will further bear this out. Coastal areas could support grapes and dates, orchards and terrace cultivation were available in the valleys, while olives, other fruits, and mulberrry, important for silk production, could be grown at intermediate altitudes (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:12). Peripheral landscapes could always be used for grazing, and given its centrality to the diet and economy of the empire, cereals were planted wherever the land was suitable, particularly on upland plateaus. Flax and hemp could also be cultivated for textile production. Diversification was the rule; largely gone were the large estates, the *latifundia* of the earlier Roman empire (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:12). The village was now the primary productive unit, and the small-hold, free peasant the primary driver of the economy (Haldon 2000:229, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:26, Whittow 2013:150). In some places estates did survive, owned primarily by the empire and the church, with tenant farmers largely replacing slave labor on parcels of land known as *autourgia*, but it is unclear if this system held much sway on the islands (Whittow 2013:141, Wickham 2005:71). Local elites were largely replaced over the course of the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. by a supposedly meritocratic class of officials from Constantinople, and by and large the accumulation of wealth was only possible through imperial office (Haldon 2016, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:59, McCormick 2008:401, Wickham 2005:69). As the crises of the 7th century C.E. developed, a centralization and reorganization of the empire took place on administrative, military, and fiscal levels.

The decline of local, city-based elites, the *curial* class that had invested in the urban fabric and hinterland for purposes of competition and status, had been in the making for some time. As the Late Roman empire creaked under the weight of public expense, the church grew in importance, and began taking on the burden of some civic works and largesse. As such, particularly given its often tax-exempt status, the church became more attractive to the sons of the wealthy, siphoning off many of the best and brightest in the provinces (Wickham 2005:159). By the 6th century C.E. the *curiales* had lost their tax-collecting role and ceased to function as a class (Wickham 2005:69). At the same time, roughly between the 4th and 7th centuries C.E., depending on whether one was in the West or the East, the nature of cities began to change. There was an increasing encroachment of agricultural and industrial activity into the urban fabric, and the line between city and countryside became blurred (Haldon 2012:100). Public works largely stopped working; although some were maintained, their monumental character was considerably downgraded (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:26). Spoliation and robbing became the norm, and many ancient monuments and houses were occupied and sub-divided. Most cities remained inhabited in the course of the 7th century C.E., although there appears to have been a general exodus to the countryside. The size of settlements fluctuated, as did their spatial functionality, depending on the local needs of church, state, and army, and Myrto Veikou has referred to these hybrid cities as ‘in-between places’ in her work in Epirus (2009:47). Indeed, there is as much ambiguity in the textual sources as in the archaeology on their status as urban centers (see the case of Gortyn in Chapter 4, Baldini *et al.* 2013). Even as these cities retained important functional roles as the seat of administrative and ecclesiastical officials, their economic function declined with their population, as the village grew in importance (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:24). Into the early 7th century C.E. the civic basilica remained an important center, however, and there was still considerable investment in their construction and maintenance, despite the accelerating ruralization of urban centers. The move to villages was likely increased by the Justinianic plague in the 6th century C.E., numerous earthquakes, and the disruptions caused by first the Persian and then the Arab wars. A climatic deterioration, starting in the 530s C.E., also likely contributed to the move to villages, as drought and cold, arid winters made subsistence more fragile (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:39). Large cities like Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Alexandria retained their importance, although their population, formerly in the hundreds of thousands, shrank considerably, and smaller cities declined to a few thousand, with villages falling further still (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:26). Fortifications, mainly on the mainland, also increased around this time (Stewart 2014).

In the 7th century C.E. the village, and agricultural production, was the basis of the economy and the fiscal system, likely up to two-thirds of gross national product (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:30, 32). Most agricultural production was small-scale, with large plots the exception. Much of the economic prosperity that existed within the empire until the crises of the mid-7th century C.E. was due to the durable and flexible monetary system, and the continued existence of Roman legal institutions. Banking and credit were regulated, with loans capped between 4 and 8% interest, except on those related to sea voyages, which came in around 12% (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:38). Prior to the mid-7th century C.E. the empire was heavily monetized, with taxes collected in specie and redistributed to the army and imperial officials in gold, and generally in the form of public works (Whittow 2013:140). Private farmers would likely have had to sell off a considerable amount of their produce in order to collect the necessary funds, leading to some resentment, but also driving the local economy (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:52). Towns and cities maintained permanent shops and stalls, as well as temporary marketplaces, and cities had annual fairs on the days devoted to their patron saints (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:81).

Much of the discussion concerning the Byzantine economy has centered on the role of the state versus that of private exchange and market forces (Haldon 2012, Whittow 2013:133, Wickham 2005). The *annona* was a ration issued to soldiers, usually in the form of pay, and the *annona civica* was a bread and commodity handout to the various segments of the population of Constantinople, but the term has come to encapsulate the entire state-driven movement of grain to the capital for taxation and redistribution (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:33). The *embole* was a grain tax, levied in particular on Egypt, although large grain shipments also came from Sicily and North Africa in the early 7th century C.E., that required over 500 ships in three rotations per year to transport it all to the capital. Previously state owned, after Justinian (527-565 C.E.) the owners of private ships were compensated by the state for carrying the grain, and could supplement their cargoes with other goods to sell *en route* (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:34). These grain ships could be bigger than their predecessors, as their construction was subsidized by the state, and they likely paid no customs dues. The loss of their cargoes was also borne, at least in part, by the state, reducing the risk of making such a journey (Whittow 2013:138). The trunk routes these ships traveled, from Egypt and North Africa to Constantinople, tied the empire together. Carandini (1983, 1986), Panella (1986, 1993), and Carrié (2012) have all stated that the private market, which no one denies existed alongside this state-driven trade, far outweighed the importance of the *annona* routes, although McCormick (2001), Wickham (2005), and Haldon (2000, 2012) have taken the opposite position. Laiou and Morrisson (2007) take an overall mixed view. Given the archaeological evidence, I come down on the side of the 'substantivists,' and see the hand of the state in much of the economic movements of the 7th century C.E., and in its subsequent decline. The ubiquitous red slip ceramics, African, Phocaean, and Cypriot Red Slip , all benefited from these routes, supplementing grain cargoes moving across the empire, as did Gazan wine, and other products, such as textiles and oil, that likely would not have traveled as far, or as freely, without state support (Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3) (Whittow 2013:138). Most compellingly for the state-driven argument, with the loss of Egypt to the Persians in 618 C.E., the permanent end of free bread distribution in the capital, and the subsequent loss of Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa to the Arabs over the course of the 7th century C.E., trade appears to take an archaeologically notable nose-dive. The red slip wares peter out, long-distance trade appears to become far more infrequent, and overall it can be seen, as will become clear below from the archaeological evidence, that the empire collapses into an economic regionalism with a series of overlapping spheres of far closer economic interaction than had been the case under the state-driven system (Haldon 2012:99, Horden and Purcell 2000:158-9, Laiou and Morrisson 2007, Wickham 2005). Southern Italy connected to the coastal Balkans, the Peloponnese, and the southern Aegean. Constantinople gathered in the Black Sea and the Aegean littoral, while southern Anatolia, Cyprus, and areas outside the empire, primarily the Levant, largely maintained their own sphere. This system will become clear in the discussion surrounding the ceramic materials below.

The mid-7th to late 8th centuries C.E. were difficult years for Byzantium economically. The various factors affecting connectivity will be discussed below, but suffice it to say that during this period trade reached a nadir that for years has been written off archaeologically as a 'Dark Age' (Decker 2016). De-urbanization, ruralization, and site abandonment quickened, with Constantinople shrinking to a mere 40-70,000 people, and there was a significant reduction in the number of rural settlements as well (Baldini *et al.* 2013, Brown 2010, Curta 2016, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:40, 47, Veikou 2009, Zavagno 2009). A general demonetization took place, as the state attempted to reorganize and centralize, concentrating as much wealth in its coffers as possible to support its efforts to prevent the fall of the empire in the face of threats from the Arabs and Bulgars (Haldon 2016, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:42). The 7th century C.E. saw a glut of coinage produced under Heraclius (610-641 C.E.), likely to deal with the immediate crises of the Persian and Arab invasions, and then a consistent drop in the weight and quality of specie until the Isaurian dynasty of the mid-8th to early 9th century C.E. (Decker 2016:158, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:85). A general collapse of coin circulation took place during these centuries, and minting was concentrated exclusively in Constantinople, in the eastern Mediterranean, with the exception of some minor copper issues in Thessalonike and Cherson (Decker 2016:159, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:86-7). In the West there was continued minting in various centers in mainland Italy and Sicily, but the quality dropped significantly.

By the late 7th or early 8th century C.E. much taxation had reverted to a system in kind, although the state insisted on gold whenever available (Haldon 2000:232). The empire had been significantly reduced in area and economic strength, losing significant grain-producing areas and various other natural resources, such as precious metals and timber. The fiscal system underwent considerable reorganization. In the 660s C.E. a personal tax, later centered on the household, was instituted. An annual tax on cereal production, around 23%, also came into being, as well as taxes on land ownership, based on the productive potential of the land in question, and other resources, such as bees, animals etc. (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:51). A cadastral survey was conducted every 30 years, with the village as the basic unit, held responsible for the collection of funds for imperial officials. Extraordinary requisitions for public defense and works could also be made. There was a general concern with attempting not to place too heavy a burden on the peasant producer, however, and there were numerous exemptions to the aforementioned taxes, particularly for the peasant soldiery. Tax farming, until the 10th century C.E., was limited, and the entire system was overseen by the civil service in Constantinople, although collection was managed locally (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:52). Some revenue was obtained through the sale of public offices and titles. Starting in the 8th century C.E. there was a tax placed on transactions, particularly in the capital, called a *kommerkion*, and a public official, called a *kommerkiarios*, initially tasked with overseeing the imperial monopoly on silk, comes to the fore in this period as a sort of catch-all economic official, potentially responsible for overseeing trade taxation as well as requisitioning for the army. The role remains opaque, and may have changed considerably during this period (Dunn 1993, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:80, Oikonomides 1986).

While there were no limitations placed on importation, at this time of military and economic crisis there were several prohibitions placed on exportation. The obvious items had to remain within the empire—arms, gold, silk, and iron—but alimentary products also made the list, such as cereals, wine, oil, fish sauce, and salt (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:54). Given the focus of this dissertation on the movement of goods, particularly those associated with dining and storage, this is extremely interesting, and should be kept in mind. All in all, the period of the mid-7th to the late 8th century C.E. can be seen as a period of significant economic collapse for the empire, with trade and commerce severely reduced from Late Antique levels.

Starting in the late 8th century C.E. the situation began to turn around, and a slow recovery began. The empire's drastic measures, including the overall militarization of administrative positions and provincial organization under the *theme* system, had worked, aided in no small part, if unintentionally, by the Abbasid revolt within the caliphate, and the military situation stabilized (Haldon 2016). In the 9th century C.E. the 'Late Roman Little Ice Age' that had held since the late 5th century C.E. also had ended, improving growing conditions, and settlement likewise expanded (Hoffmann 2014:67). The areas closest to the capital had suffered the least from the economic downturn, and were also the quickest to recover, with areas closest to the imperial fringe, including the islands, taking considerably longer. New commercial nodes had also emerged during this period, including Venice and the caliphate, and the flows of trade and transaction began to bend in new directions. While the Umayyad caliphate had been interested in the Mediterranean world, the Abbasids turned their eye eastwards, to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and from thence to India and the East. Constantinople largely looked North, to Russia and the steppe, cultivating contacts across the Black Sea for furs, slaves, and grain. Venice began building an empire based in slaves and connections to the East, and Fatamid merchants plied the waters of the southern Mediterranean starting in the early 10th century C.E. Private enterprise continued to grow in importance into the Middle Ages, with the role of the Byzantine state beginning to decline (Abulafia 2011, Carrié 2012, Harvey 1989, Laiou and Morrisson 2007, McCormick 2001, Wickham 2004, 2005). The late 8th century C.E. also saw significant changes in land tenure within the empire. Estates began to grow again, and large lands and herds began accumulating in the hands of a nascent military aristocracy in the 9th and

10th centuries C.E., particularly in Anatolia (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:69). Secondary products, which had relapsed into an *ad hoc* village mode in the 7th century C.E., began again to gravitate towards cities, and quality improved.This recovery was slow, however, and until the 10th century C.E. economic activity did not reach levels that can be compared with those of the 6th century C.E. Indeed, even the quality of wine within the empire seems to have fallen drastically during this period, a point that is worth remembering when we examine the continued influx of Gazan wine amphorae into the empire during the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. below (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:66)

Within the empire the changeover from multiple centers to a single one was complete by the late 9th century C.E. Everything centered on Constantinople, something that can be seen in the growth of Glazed White Ware (GWW) production as the new mode of dining ceramics for the Middle Ages, as opposed to the previous production of red slip wares in a variety of centers (Figure 2.4). Elite demand was largely centered in the capital, as was the production of elite products (Laiou and Morrisson 2007:74). As the recovery began, the textual sources show a continual climb in the numbers of new merchants, although most trade remained local and intra-regional until the late 9th or 10th centuries C.E. (McCormick 2001). For much of the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., most of the inhabitants of the empire had to do without easy, mass-produced tableware, spices and more exotic cuisine, high-quality silks and textiles, and better building material (Whittow 2013:144). Issues of connectivity lie at the heart of these larger economic trends, and their social implications, and it is to these that I now turn.

2.3 Islands and the Continua of Insularity

Islands, as mentioned above (Chapter 1), have received relatively little attention in discussions of the Byzantine-Islamic frontier. The continental borderlands of the *dār al-Islām*, which stabilized under the Umayyad Caliphate at the end of the 7th century C.E., and stretched along the southern edge of the Taurus mountains from the Lamas river of the Cilician plain in the West all the way to the banks of the Euphrates in the East, have seen recent studies that address their political, material, and even spiritual significance (Eger 2015, Straughn 2007). Yet the islands seem to have only recently broken out of head-shaking studies that discuss the depredations of the Arab raids, based primarily on textual evidence, and relatively little is understood concerning the material lives of their inhabitants or their place within the larger Byzantine economy (Cosentino 2014, Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Metcalf 2009, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2011, Rautman 2003a, Yangaki *et al.* 2008, Zavagno 2017). Additionally, as noted above, they are often left out of studies on the establishment of the Caliphate and Arab-Byzantine relations, or relegated to a footnote. Some recent maps of the period cannot decide if they are even within the Byzantine Empire or not (Figures 2.5 and 2.6).

This scholarly separation, and ambiguity, reflects in large measure their geographical situation, and characterization, as islands. Their insularity is often taken for relative isolation, a not uncommon trope in island studies (Rainbird 1999). Insularity can, and often does, mean many different things at different times, however. Christy Constantakopoulou in *The Dance of the Islands*, discussing the Athenian thalassocracy, has pointed to this quality as having the possibility of connoting notions of backwardness, connectivity, safety, danger, a prison-like environment, and an importance to sea power, to name just a few, at the same and various moments depending on how the islands are discussed (2007:1). Cyprian Broodbank, in considering islands, has described them as existing on a continuum between completely connected or totally isolated at any given time, with the possibility to move in either direction depending on context (2000:10, Erlandson 2008:83).

This characteristic of relative insularity is an essential conditioning factor in considering island life, and has been a foundational part of island archaeology since the move past simple biogeographic analyses (Boomert and Bright 2007:12, Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:231, Leppard 2013:26). Much of that move centered around the understanding that islands can, in some cases, be as complex as mainland areas, and potential 'matchbox continents,' like Crete and Cyprus, are certainly no exception (Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:231, Held 1989). However, arriving at islands does require some type of seafaring, and travel across the medium of water is fraught with its own unique dangers and difficulties, requiring a set of specialized skills and knowledges to undertake successfully (Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:233, Trombley 2001:145). Additionally, this qualitative difference in environmental situation, of being both separated by, and bordering, the sea, gives islands a circumscribed area that, in a way, can often be easily grasped cognitively (Constantakopoulou 2007:119, Vionis 2017:165-6). While mountains or deserts can be equally, if not more, isolating in many cases, it is this particular characteristic that requires special consideration (Boomert and Bright 2007:15, Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:232).

In attempting to determine the boundaries of island social worlds, and the heuristic value of islands as meaningful units of analysis in an consideration of communities of practice, these conditions of insularity must be explored, particularly as they fluctuated over the period in question. Two sets of poles are important when discussing how this singular environmental situation may have affected the perception of space and meaning for Late Antique and Early Medieval islanders. Isolation and connectivity have already been mentioned, to which the continuum of safety and vulnerability can be added (Figure 2.7). The factors that influence movement between these poles provide the framing conditions for perceptions of distance and travel, and will be seen to have both cosmological and material implications for identity process in the final chapter.

2.4 Isolation and Connectivity in Economy, Technology, and Text

The changes that occurred with the emergence of Islam onto the Mediterranean stage in terms of trade and the movement of goods and people to and from islands, as well as shifts in shipbuilding technology that were taking place around the same time, allow the characterization of relative isolation and connectivity for the 7th through 10th centuries C.E., particularly when considered next to the situation in the hundred years prior. The ceramic information is by and large better for the 6th and 7th centuries C.E., for reasons that will be discussed below, but the character of these changes can still be assessed, particularly when the few textual sources are also taken into account.

The islands of the Eastern Mediterranean are confidently considered to have been highly connected to their surrounding landmasses, and each other, during the 6th and early 7th centuries C.E. Large quantities of Late Roman 1 amphorae of diverse provenience found off the coast of Cyprus, as well as far inland there and on Crete, and also the profusion of North African, Cypriot, and Phocaean Red Slip Wares, point to the situation of these islands within a complex web of interaction and exchange that stretched from Egypt and Constantinople to Syria, the Levant, Sicily, and North Africa (Haldon 2012:100, Leidwanger 2015:157, Trombley 2001:133). The *annona* grain shipments from Egypt that fed the capital sailed past Agios Giorgios on the southwestern coast of Cyprus and then passed on through the islands of the Aegean, described as the ‘ladder of Romania’ by Constantakopoulou, until finally heading through the Marmara to Constantinople (Constantakopoulou 2007:20, Dalché 2000:61, Leonard 2005:618, Metcalf 2009:230, Papacostas 2001:120). Initially state-controlled, these grain ships were, as noted, now largely in the hands of private merchants who, given significant tax breaks and insurance protection by the Empire, carried with them ceramic goods and agricultural produce for private sale on the side (McCormick 2001:89, Trombley 2001:137). These passed through the large emporia visited on the journey to and from the capital and were then distributed around the islands and coasts by a network of local merchants operating out of small, independent anchorages that were often less than a day’s sail apart (Leidwanger 2015:159). Much of the commerce conducted would have consisted of this small-scale *cabotage*, and indeed after the disruptions of the 7th century C.E. there is a notable shift in the ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean towards a larger percentage of more local products, indicating a greater emphasis on this level of activity (McCormick 2001:103). These small ships and crews would also have been more likely to pivot around conditions that would otherwise have made travel difficult or impossible, a point expanded upon below (Horden and Purcell 2000:142).

Technologically there were also changes afoot in ship construction. The mortise-and-tenon technique, combined with a shell-first construction method, had been used for centuries in the Mediterranean. The 7th century Yassi Ada shipwreck, however, found off the coast of present-day Bodrum in Turkey, shows a hybrid form, incorporating a new skeleton-first type of fabrication as well as the beginnings of clinker, or plank-over-plank technique, which has also recently been confirmed in the contemporaneous shipwrecks discovered at Yenikapı, in Istanbul (Pomey 2004:33, Pulak *et al.* 2015). This transition allowed for less investment in ship-building labor, if at a greater commitment in construction materials per ton of intended carrying capacity (Figure 2.8) (Trombley 2001:136).

The first Arab raids by sea, which as noted (Chapter 1) began on Cyprus in 649 C.E. and then spread to Crete and the Aegean, were previously considered to have largely ended this period of high interconnectivity and commerce. These raids were thought to have been so pervasive and devastating that maritime life was brought to a practical standstill, followed by swift declines in settlement, agriculture, and even ceramic production around the northern half of the Eastern Mediterranean (Christides 1984:172, Hayes 1980:376, Metcalf 2009:240, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001:232). This view is now considered to be a gross exaggeration, having been based on a combination of a poor understanding of the shifts in ceramic forms and an over-reliance on textual sources that often had an interest in portraying the conditions following the emergence of Islam as apocalyptic (Cameron 1992:92, Haldon 1990:2, Trombley 2001:158). Recent re-examinations of the ceramic material have, incrementally, but also continually, pushed dates past the beginning of the 8th century C.E., where the seminal 1972 work *Late Roman Pottery* by John Hayes had ended nearly all red slip wares, and trade can be seen to continue (Metcalf 2009:265, Armstrong 2009, Haldon 2012, Hayes 1972, 1980, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, Touma 2001). Raids certainly did occur, however, as can be seen from a mid-7th century C.E. inscription from the church at Soloi in Cyprus:

> At that time, in Year 7 of the indiction, 365 of the era of Diocletian [August 648-August 649 C.E.], because of our sins, there took place the attack on the island. Many were killed, and about 120,000 were led away as prisoners. Again, subsequently, the island suffered a new invasion, more lamentable than the preceding one, in the course of which a great number of people fell under the dagger and were led away prisoner... except 50,000... destroyed by fire... the whole of the episcopal [palace]... of the saints... of good appearance... in great haste... reconstructed the buildings which had collapsed, had made a roof, had raised them again on their foundations, and finished the work in Year 13 of the indiction, 371 of the Diocletian era. (Figure 2.9) (Metcalf 2009:223)

It is notable, though, that the church was rebuilt, as were others that show destruction layers dating to the 7th century, and by the mid-8th century C.E. the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean appears to have stabilized somewhat. As mentioned, this is probably in no small part due to the Abbasid revolt of 750 that toppled the Umayyads and moved the capital of the Caliphate to Baghdad (Haldon 2012:99, Metcalf 2009:222. Stewart 2010:163). There was some urban contraction and abandonment, with sites like Constantia on Cyprus significantly reduced, and others like Kourion on Cyprus, and Gortyn on Crete, abandoned at some time in the 8th or early 9th centuries C.E., but by and large cities and settlements endured throughout the Empire (Baldini *et al.* 2013:290, Haldon 2012:99, Trombley 2001:168, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001:232, Wickham 2005:628). Trade also continued with areas that were now under Muslim domination. Palestinian lamps and amphorae, as well as Egyptian Red Slip Wares, appear on sites, if in small numbers, on both Crete and Cyprus as well as on islands that featured large emporia, like Chios (Hayes and Kossyva 2012:173, Rautmann 2003a, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001:259, fig. 20, Romeo-Portale 2004:973, Vogt 2000:55). Interestingly, the tiny island of Pseira, just off the coast of Crete and home to a monastery that endured into the 9th century C.E., also boasts such foreign material, pointing to an ecclesiastical connection that will be seen below to have important implications for the cosmological significance that could have been ascribed to such objects (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990).

The Greek textual sources from this period, primarily hagiographies and pilgrims' accounts, also add to a picture of relative connectivity. Saints and holy men are described as traveling considerable distances and with relative frequency. Pirates, bad weather, and other hazards appear in the texts, but they are often depicted as no more than inconveniences overall, and there is a sense of confidence about travel that comes through strongly (Mullett 2000:261-3).

In the 11th and 12th centuries C.E. letters describe monks traveling between monasteries in the Aegean simply to borrow books, and trips to Constantinople are discussed as normal embassies of no great discomfiture (Mullett 2000:263). A 9th-century C.E. text, the *Life of St. Demetrianos of Chyrtoi*, describes the passage of the ecclesiastic from Cyprus to the Levant, and from there on to Baghdad to meet with the Caliph to discuss a treaty abrogation, but the majority of the text concerns itself with matters other than the actual journey, which receives only passing reference (Jenkins 1949). Indeed, the picture painted by these sources is one of networks and well-trodden routes that would not have been unfamiliar to a Roman of the 1st or 2nd century C.E.

2.5 Safety and Vulnerability in a Dangerous Natural and Political Environment

The aforementioned evidence for connectivity, however, must be balanced against our sources of information for the relative safety and vulnerability of passage over the sea, and other considerations. For example, the movement in the texts of ecclesiastics and holy men, across vast distances and with relative ease, can be ascribed at least in part to literary trope (Mullett 2000:263). The dangers of travel discussed earlier (pirates, weather, etc.) are easily overcome within the texts by virtue of the status of the travelers as holy men. Just as Jesus calmed the Sea of Galilee, saints and monks dispel demons, calm frightened sailors, and display their prowess in a way that makes the destination and purpose of the voyage often secondary (Mullett 2000:267).

Contemporary Muslim chroniclers are far less sanguine. The *hadith* of al-Muttaqi states that "A campaign by sea is like ten campaigns by land, and he who loses his bearings at sea is like one who sheds his blood in the path of God," and "If a campaigner by sea is seasick, he has the reward of a martyr; if drowned, of two martyrs" (Trombley 2001:150). The historian al-Ṭabarī, writing in the 9th century C.E., compares sailing to "that of a small creature riding on the back of a great one, as a worm on a twig. If it bends, he is drowned, and if spared he is astounded" (al-Ṭabarī XV.2821). Even after Muslim crewman had replaced the Levantine and Egyptian Christian sailors first impressed by Muslim commanders, this attitude towards the sea and its dangers continued (Fahmy 1950:104-6, Trombley 2001:150).

Travel by sea was fraught with real difficulties and dangers and specialized knowledge was required to traverse it. The proximity of islands in the Aegean mitigated this somewhat, with ships able to move quickly from landfall to landfall, but along the trunk routes from Egypt to the Levant and from thence to Cyprus, Crete, and further West was a different matter (Vionis 2017:167). The winds in the Eastern Mediterranean tend overwhelmingly to come from somewhere between the Northwest and Northeast, while currents move counterclockwise around the basin (Horden and Purcell 2000:137–8). Ships at the time were not able to sail closer than 80 degrees to the wind, and while passage North and West around the basin, hugging the shore for safety, was generally easier during the spring and summer of the year, traveling back could be more difficult, and significant portions of the fall and winter were considered unsafe for travel (Laiou and Morrison 2007:15, McCormick 2001:98). Moreover, storms could alter this general pattern at any time, and it is not unusual for strong northern winds to isolate communities from the sea for significant periods of time even now (Laiou and Morrison 2007:15, Vionis 2017:167). Dangerous shoals and offshore rocks could also easily sink the vessel of an incautious captain. In a letter to his brother Euoptios in the early 5th century C.E., Synesios describes being becalmed, and then shipwrecked, while other contemporaneous correspondence speaks of running out of water, piracy, and other dangers (Mullett 2000:273). Including the 37 ships recently found at Yenikapı in Istanbul, there are now 52 shipwrecks, including those at Yassi Ada and Tantura F, that date to the 7th through the 10th centuries C.E., eloquent testimony to the dangers of travel by sea (Pulak *et al.* 2015, Trombley 2001:135).

As mentioned above, small-scale travel, such as *cabotage*, would not have been necessarily constrained in the same manner as larger merchant vessels or warships, and the variability of naval travel gets at the crux of the safety and vulnerability continuum. The technological limitations of ships at this time meant that the Byzantine state had a difficult time in projecting sea power into the wider Mediterranean, a central element in the security afforded to island environments (Constantakopoulou 2007:119, Pryor 2003:98, Sicking 2014:494). In the 6th century C.E. trade and connectivity were safeguarded by the general absence of human threats beyond low-level piracy, but by the late 7th century C.E. this had changed drastically (Horden and Purcell 2000:153, McCormick 2001:113, Trombley 2001:133-4, Wickham 2005:716). Many island sites on Crete, Cyprus, and in the Aegean were coastal, and fortifications were largely absent or in disrepair (Christides 2006:20, Lawrence 1983:201-2, Stewart 2014:289, Tsougarakis 1988:144). Indeed as the Persian wars were getting underway at the beginning of the 7th century C.E. it appeared that "while the Syrians were building castles, Cypriots were constructing churches" (Stewart 2014:290). When the Caliphate began raiding operations in the Mediterranean in 649 C.E., most island communities were unprepared. These raids, some of which were quite large in scale, with tens of thousands of participants, took place nearly annually and their depredations were a real concern for coastal communities and shipping. Fortifications appeared at Constantia in Cyprus at this time in a rushed and slap-dash fashion, chopping up the Classical city and protecting its cultural heart, the church of Agios Epiphanios (Stewart 2014:296). Walls were built somewhat earlier than the Muslim raids at Amathus, likely due to an anti-Chalcedonian threat from Egypt, but were seriously upgraded towards the end of the 7th century C.E. (Stewart 2014:287). The acropolis of Gortyn on Crete was fortified at this time as well, and defenses existed on Aegina and at Emporio on Chios, while other coastal cities, such as Kourion, were abandoned sometime during, or perhaps shortly after, this period (Trombley 2001:149, 162). The foundation of sites such as Episkopi in Cyprus and the late 7th or 8th century C.E. settlement of Vizari in the upland Amari valley in Crete indicate there was also some movement away from the coast (Trombley 2001:149).

2.6 Byzantine Naval Capabilities

The fact of the matter was that a Byzantine naval expedition was a serious undertaking that could really only be directed against another major fleet. After the Battle of the Masts in 653 C.E., in which the Byzantine navy was virtually annihilated and Emperor Constans II barely escaped with his life, the Byzantine and Arab fleets were largely on equal footing, even with the advantage offered by Byzantium's Greek fire, which seems to have been effective only under very specific conditions (Figure 2.10) (Pryor and Jeffreys 2006:383, Theophanes 354). The standard Byzantine warship was the *dromon* or *chelandia* (Figure 2.11). This was a two-decked bireme of 31.5 meters length that housed a hundred oarsmen, as well as additional officers and soldiers who engaged in combat (Pryor 2003:85–6). John Pryor, who has undertaken exhaustive studies on these ships, estimates that each of them would require over a ton of water each day while at sea, thus severely limiting their range (2003:89). Moreover, their maximum speed is estimated to be about 3-4 knots under oars, a rate that would have been increased by favorable sailing conditions, but that was used as a minimum for purposes of calculation (Pryor 2003:92). Islands and coastal bases were essential as stepping-stones for these expeditions, and thus the loss of an island, such as that of Crete in 827 C.E. to a marauding band of Muslim exiles from

Anadalusia, was disastrous for naval operation (Sicking 2014:507). Needless to say, logistical support while in enemy territory would not have been forthcoming.

There are also indications that the Byzantine state had a severely ambivalent attitude towards its Navy. While naval *themes* had been formed in the Aegean and along the southern coast of Asia Minor by Heraclius during the final wars with the Sassanians in the early 7th century C.E., the commanders of these naval forces were not accorded high rank or station, particularly when compared with the army (Pryor 2003:103–4). In the 10th century C.E. *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus the *strategoi,* or commanders, of the naval *themes*, and the *droungarios tou ploimou,* the admiral of the fleet, are listed as the very last imperial attendants for the coronation ceremony in Hagia Sophia (quoted in Papadapoulos 2011:125).

All of this allows for the general perception that, given the vastness of the sea and the technology available, fleets would largely have acted as an amphibious arm of the army, generally avoiding major engagements and shuttling troops to a place where they could be the most effective (Pryor 2003:99, Pryor and Jeffries 2006:389-90). Island residents would have been largely left to their own devices, and raiding parties and pirates would have struck with little or no warning. Only one system of fire beacons is known to have existed, on the Acro-Corinth, and would likely have only indicated to civilians they should take cover in fortifications or head inland, rather than summoning any form of help (Trombley 2001:156).

Raids, whether organized by the Caliphate or undertaken by bandits and marauders, would likely have been sporadic, however. The number of locations listed in the Muslim chronicles indicates a scattered pattern of attacks, rather than returning to the same sites year after year (Trombley 2001:168-9). The fact that the site of Soloi, whose destruction at the hands of Muslim raiders was recorded in the church inscription cited above, was not fortified after being rebuilt is indicative of the nature of the raiding menace (Trombley 2001:159). With the greater normalization of trading relations in the late 8th century C.E. there also likely came additional measures for protection. Convoys are not unknown, and while piratical attacks at sea are a major trope in 12th-century C.E. Byzantine novels, there are also records of the purchase of 'insurance' of a sort against the loss of a ship to piracy in Islamic juridical documents of the 9th century C.E. This insurance was sponsored by trading associations within the Arab world such that, if an attack did occur, legal proceedings would be targeted at those responsible for raiding the ship in question and then putting in to a Muslim port with the proceeds (Mullett 2000:269, Trombley 2001:152).

2.7 Cognitive Distance and Specialist Knowledge

This complex picture of connectivity, yet also insecurity, produces the possibility of travel by sea, as well as the benefits to be accrued by doing so, but also increases the relative difficulty of effecting maritime passage. In terms of the perception of distance in the cognitive geography of the traveler, or those residing next to this connective medium, this increase in the difficulty of passage has the effect also of increasing the subjective distance of a voyage (Helms 1988:10). This will be significant below in assessing the shifts in the cachet of imported objects and the social contexts of their deployment.

By and large, travel would have been undertaken by specialists. Passengers were not unknown, and we have many accounts of pilgrims, ecclesiastics, and diplomats making voyages, but these would have constituted a minority in terms of people on the move in the Eastern Mediterranean during this period. In the ancient coastal city of Korykos in Cilicia there are the remains of around 450 funerary inscriptions from the late 5th to late 6th centuries C.E. that list the occupation of the deceased. Of these around 7% are in seafaring professions, including harbor-masters, murex-processors, net-repairers, and other non-sojourners (Trombley 2001:139). As mentioned above, by the 7th century the days of state-run shipping had largely disappeared, and private merchants were now contracted to transport the *annona* to Constantinople and supply the army (McCormick 2001:87, Trombley 2001:137). The Rhodian Sea Law of the 7th century C.E. notes the common practice of landed estate-holders using their agricultural surplus to fund shipping ventures, but there are also numerous mentions in other texts of shipwrecks leading to the financial ruin of their owners (Trombley 2001:140). This type of shipping refers to long-distance voyages, which would have been high-risk, and likely high-reward, affairs. Again, the majority of travel during this period would have been local *cabotage*, of short distance and considerably less risk. The distance traveled, or perceived to have been traveled, is significant when, shortly, we consider the social cachet afforded to sojourners and imported materials.

2.8 The 'Middle Ground,' Distance, and Value

An important exception to this definition of travelers and the relative distance attached to their voyages and materials, however, comes in the form of the complex picture afforded by the ports in which they operate. While only a very small percentage of the population would have engaged in sea travel, inhabitants of port cities would have enjoyed the benefits of what Richard White has referred to as the 'Middle Ground,' that frontier zone in which a dialectical relationship emerges between differing sets of conceptual orders, *habitus*, and materials to produce something altogether new (White 1991:50-2). Thus, while the effects of travel would have been disproportionate to the numbers of people actually participating, without attendant cultural actors, or travelers, as goods moved inland there would have been a situating of any foreign or imported material within pre-existing categories of articulated difference (Dietler 1998:299). Leaving the Middle Ground largely behind, these objects would have carried their attached subjective distance into new social contexts.

In many largely pre-cartographic societies, space and distance are not neutral concepts, but are charged with social, political, and often cosmological meaning (Helms 1988:4). Following on from Wallerstein's World Systems Theory, many scholars in Archaeology and Anthropology have employed a Center/Periphery model when assessing the borders of empires, advanced states, and in some cases even what have been termed 'chiefly' societies (Wallerstein 1974, Helms 1988). In such a model, the periphery is defined by situating the view in a political or ideological center and casting outwards to the limits of control or cultural affiliation or whatever measure is being employed for the core polity. For some societies this periphery then becomes a land of possibility, of unfamiliar and powerful things and beings that are charged with the mysticism that distance, and strangeness, brings (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992, Helms 1988:4). Lands 'out there' become associated with exoticism, or gods and spirits, and the powerful forces that shape the cosmos.

For Byzantinists the center is almost always Constantinople: the seat of art and culture, of learning and the church, and the point of origin of most of the texts that survive to us. It was also, of course, the political center of the Empire. If we are interested however, in examining the conceptualization of the Byzantine-Islamic maritime frontier in the minds of those who lived there, its island inhabitants, it is essential to flip this Center/Periphery model on its head. The frontier now becomes the center, and as some scholars have recently argued, the seat of culture process, the point at which culture contact, and ethnogenesis, occurs (White 1991, Thomas 1991). For the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, this then turns Constantinople into that distant origin point of cosmological significance, a mystical borderland of strange and wondrous things. If we are to follow this line of thinking, however, and dive into the workings of Byzantine cognitive and cosmological geography, there is another place that also possesses those characteristics: Jerusalem. This focus can also be seen in the *mappa mundi* of the later Middle Ages, for in these early cartographic expressions Jerusalem is always the focus (Figure 2.12). For a Christian of the 7th through 10th centuries C.E., Jerusalem was the destination of pilgrimage and holiness. With its shrines and relics, it was a cosmological center *par excellence*. Jerusalem, however, shared this status in some measure with Constantinople, sometimes called the Second Jerusalem. In the 5th century C.E. *Life and Works of Daniel the Stylite*, Theodore of Sykeon has Daniel cry out to a pilgrim bound for Jerusalem that Constantinople is the new epicenter of the Christian cosmos and that in that city there are martyrs' shrines aplenty (Papadapoulos 2011:121). Constantinople was the home of the Patriarchate and the Emperor, God's anointed ruler on Earth, and home to an equal, if not greater, collection of relics and fabulously appointed churches.

That such cosmic geography was on the minds of the citizens of Byzantium can be seen on the mosaic floor of the church of St. Doumetios in Nicopolis, Greece. This 6th-century C.E. church displays a *mappa mundi* that incorporates both classical Greek and Christian symbolic geographies in the abstract (Figure 2.13) (Papadapoulos 2011:121-2). This is to be contrasted with the mosaic map in the church of St. George at Madaba, Jordan, considerably closer to Jerusalem, which is much more local, and far less cosmic (Figure 2.14).

With the heightened insecurity of travel and the increase in cognitive distance between the center (here, the islands) and the periphery (Constantinople and Jerusalem), these places take on even more meaningful positions within local ideological geography. Moreover, the specialists who travel there, pilgrims and sailors, or those who originate therefrom, Imperial officials, take on added social power as controllers of, in a sense, esoteric knowledge and experience (Boomert and Bright 2007:12). This plays out in the frequent references to priests and holy men, partakers of that esoteric geographic information, casting demons out of ships and harbor equipment or calming seas (Mullett 2000). Sailors and pilgrims too are shown to have control over this world of mystical forces, as long as they follow the proper Christian rituals and holy acts. Many travel accounts include some vignette where impiety results in the near destruction of ship and crew, tying the act of spatial movement towards the periphery with holy behavior (Mullett 2000).

Given this framework, goods from overseas, particularly Jerusalem and Constantinople, and other lesser religious centers like Alexandria and Antioch, would have held greater significance in certain social deployments. Relics are a good example of this phenomenon, as are other overtly religious items like pilgrims' *ampullae*, medallions, and objects stamped with explicit Christian imagery which may have come from abroad. It is important to remember that this social cachet would have accrued to travelers and sojourners as well as their goods. Here sigillography can be instructive. In the early 8th century C.E. the seals of officials traveling to the borders of the Empire, as well as in its heart, underwent a notable change. Their formulae move from the genitive to the dative case, going from statements as simple as "This is the seal of X" to a much more spiritual phrasing "May the Mother of God protect X" (Metcalf 2009:92–3). Christian iconography also appears for the first time on the seals of these imperial servants.

To a lesser extent perhaps, this phenomenon can also be applied to more secular materials from great cognitive distances. The patterns of contextual deployment for ceramics from Constantinople, such as Glazed White Ware, or chafing dishes, Palestinian lamps or Egyptian red slips, provide clues to their significance in processes of identity formation, which make use of such charged material to construct class, gender, ethnic, and other meaningful categories for the consumer. This process will be explored more generally in Chapter 7, building on material from Cyprus and Crete discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter sought to construct a framework within which to consider a comparative island-centered perception of the Byzantine-Islamic maritime frontier, and the meaningful construction of value vis-à-vis subjective distance based on issues of connectivity, isolation, vulnerability, and safety. It did so by considering the technological, political, and economic changes that occurred in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the potential impact of objects and people moving across this space. Chapters 3 and 4 will further explore the nature of the material movements on Cyprus and Crete in the transitional 7th to 10th centuries C.E., as well as further develop the contextual framework within which these objects are to be considered for issues of identity formation and social consumption.

CHAPTER 3

CYPRUS

3.1 State of Scholarship

While known amongst Mediterranean archaeologists for its copper production in the Bronze Age, the island of Cyprus has, particularly in recent years, benefitted from a great deal of archaeological work focusing on the periods of Late Roman and Byzantine dominion, much of it undertaken by local archaeologists. It could be argued that, with the Turkish invasion of 1974, a need was perhaps felt in the Greek-speaking population to engage with that aspect of their past that spoke most directly to the desires of *enosis* with the mainland Greeks[3], but that also had ties to the Cypriot Orthodox church. The church has maintained a central role in society post-emancipation from Britain, and those basilicas and monasteries that have suffered so poorly in the North, due to neglect or vandalism in the aftermath of the Greek-inspired coup and subsequent Turkish invasion, have loomed large in the public consciousness, as have such sensational cases of looting and repatriation as the Kanakaria mosaics (Jansen 2005). Rather than looking to a classical past for nation-building, in the manner of Greece, the Republic of Cyprus has in many ways looked to its Byzantine period for solace and connection in the wake of a

[3] A fervent goal of a significant portion of the Greek-speaking Cypriots and inspiration for the original coup and subsequent troubles which still plague the island. With the advent of the Greek economic crisis however, *enosis* as potential policy has been somewhat more muted in public discourse.

traumatic division, and to an empire that had, even if largely after Cyprus had left its fold, its own troubles with the Turks (Hamilakis 2009)[4].

The volume of work on the island has resulted in several attempts at synthesis for the Byzantine period over the last few decades, including the recent, monumental work on Byzantine Cyprus by Michael Metcalf (2009), and various works that discuss the rural economy, trade, ecclesiastical organization, and urbanism (Dikigoropoulos 1961, Kyrris 1997, Papacostas 1999, Papageorghiou 1993, Rautman 2008, Sanders 1982, Zavagno 2011, 2013, 2017). These syntheses, however, belie the limited nature of the archaeological work in relation to the murky 7th to 10th centuries C.E. Disproportionately clustered in their analyses on the 4th to late 6th centuries C.E., the aforementioned works fall into largely uncharted territory for the three hundred years leading up to the Byzantine reconquest by Nikephoros II Phocas in 965 C.E., relying largely on extrapolation from various archaeological ‘absences’ to build their narratives, a problem exacerbated by the generally poor publication record for sites and material that cover this period.

The generally accepted narrative for the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. on Cyprus is a bleak one indeed. The over-reliance on Hayes’ manual on Late Roman Pottery (1972), which places a faitly hard terminus of 700 C.E. on most Late Roman finewares, has been married with the few surviving textual references to the Arab raids on the island to produce a picture of general economic decline that figures in well with the Pirenne thesis and the overall picture of collapse in trading networks thought to have taken place in the 7th century C.E. (Armstrong 2009, Pirenne 1939, Touma 2001). The end of Phocaean Red Slip and African Red Slip Ware production towards the end of the 7th century C.E., as well as scarcity of *follis* coin issues past the reign of

[4] It should be noted that excluded from the EU and often sidelined by the Turkish army and settlers, the Turkish Cypriots have in many ways been the greatest losers post-1974.

Heraclius (610 to 641 C.E.), increased the difficulty of examining Cyprus' place within the Mediterranean economy, and thus the archaeology of Late Antique and Early Medieval Cyprus in the 20th century was largely characterized by discussions of depopulation, devastation, decline, de-urbanization, and impoverishment (Arthur 2007:181, Loseby 2005:633, Metcalf 2009:240, Poulou-Papademetriou 2001:232). Additionally, at the level of site analysis, there has been a marked tradition amongst archaeologists excavating Late Antique and Early Medieval levels to associate destruction or site abandonment with the Arab raids of the 7th century C.E. This was due in large part to the reliance on the scanty textual sources surviving from the period, and in the absence of clear ceramic or numismatic chronological markers. Several of these textual sources that allude to such destruction are hagiographic works that, indeed, set the lives of saints against the background of an age of sin and depredation as a literary trope thus rendering them suspect as factual accounts of the period (Haldon 1990:2, Trombley 2001:158).

This view of drastic decline was expounded by several figures in Cypriot archaeology with similar views to that of Clive Foss and his thesis of an 'Eastern Mediterranean Dark Ages' that he propounded in the 1990's (Dikigoropoulos 1961, Foss 1994, Karageorghis 1969, Kyrris 1985, Zavagno 2011:121). Some more recent scholars, including A.H.S. Megaw and Michael Metcalf, have followed suit, if somewhat more cautiously, despite the fact that much of their work, including the sigillographic studies of Metcalf, have gone a considerable way towards a revision of this picture (Demesticha 2005, Hayes 2007, Megaw 1950, 1972, 1993, Metcalf 2009, Touma 2001). Zavagno has recently argued that this narrative of destruction and the struggles of an embattled 'Greek Cypriot' population, bolstered by their ties to Constantinople and their Orthodox faith, is heavily colored by the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 and the subsequent occupation (Kyrris 1997:628, Zavagno 2011:122). That damage and destruction certainly did occur at sites such as Soloi, Constantia-Salamis, and Kourion is archaeologically and epigraphically apparent, yet a situation of total loss and destruction is no longer thought to have been the case (Hadjisavvas 2010:211, Metcalf 2009:265, Rautman 2003a:199, Zavagno 2011:123). Building and refurbishment has been identified at all of the sites listed above up to a generation after the raids, even in areas such as Kalavasos-Kopetra and at sites in the Karpas Peninsula that are rural in character (Megaw 1993:53, Metcalf 2009:222, Stewart 2010:171). That urban and rural life, including industrial and commercial activity, was not seriously dislocated by the Arab raids has been convincingly argued by several scholars, with a possible faltering only apparent in the mid-8th century at the earliest (Armstrong 2009, Papacostas 1999, Papgeorghiou 1993, Rautman 1998).

The focus on a narrative of destruction and the Arab raids as a cataclysmic moment in the history of the island has heavily influenced consideration of Cyprus' material connections, the narrative itself, and the dating of ceramics on which both are based. Only recently has work on the 'Byzantine Problem'—that is, the penchant to lump ceramics from the 7th through 10th centuries in with preceding periods—seriously begun to alter our picture of settlement, trade, and connectivity on the island and in the Eastern Mediterranean at large (Gregory 2003:283, Zavagno 2011:123). Indeed, many scholars, including Hayes himself (2007), have questioned the pottery chronology—previously cut off at the end of the 7th century C.E.—and have begun pushing the dates of much Late Roman pottery later, in some cases well into the eighth or even (rarely) into the ninth century C.E., and there is hope that further work, particularly on utilitarian wares, may further clarify the picture (Armstrong 2009, Demesticha 2005, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, Rautman 2003a, 2003b, Touma 2001, Vroom 2011). This altered chronology changes the picture for the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. on Cyprus (as well as Crete) and necessitates in many ways a fresh assessment of its archaeological material (Armstrong 2009, Zavagno 2011, 2013). Thus, until very recently, the social setting itself of material practices has been largely missing from analyses, further necessitating a project that examines material culture within socially contextual strategies of identity formation.

The role of this chapter, and the next (Chapter 4), will be to focus on the contextual situation of excavation material, particularly ceramics and, where available, small finds, from the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. at five key sites on the island. These sites were chosen to give as broad a view as possible of the different types of habitations on the island at the time, with particular attention paid to the presence of imported goods, their situation in relation to non-imported material, and the changing morphology of types over the period in question. As much as possible these sites will then be matched with similar sites on Crete and their material compared in Chapters 4 and 5. After a brief discussion of Cyprus' geography, history, and resources, the sites of Kornos Cave, Agioi Pente at Yeroskipou, Salamis-Constantia, Kourion, and Saranda Kolones at Paphos will be considered in detail.

3.2 Cyprus: Geography, History, and Resources

The island of Cyprus is notched advantageously in the bight between Anatolia and the Levant, located only 75 km South of Cilicia and 100 km West of Syria, and can be reached in under three days' sail from Egypt in ideal conditions (Pryor 2002:49). With a coastline punctuated regularly by bays and coves, and rich in resources, the island has been a hub for trade and commerce through much of its history. A large island, at over 9,000 square kilometers, it is divided into four separate geological areas, each of which was likely to have looked to different places for its material connections. The Kyrenia Mts. and the undulating Karpas peninsula are sited in the North and Northwest, the fertile Mesaoria plain occupies much of the central and Eastern part of the island, and the copper-bearing Troodos Mts. dominate the Southwest. The southern coastal area that stretches up around the western end of the island completes the picture (Zavagno 2011:145).

In antiquity Cyprus was known primarily for its export of copper, as well as grain, wine, oil, and shipbuilding materials from the Troodos (Haldon 2012:121, Zavagno 2011:145, Leonard 2005:26). An important way-station of the *annona civica* from Alexandria that fed the capital until 642 C.E., Cyprus would have been frequented by a steady stream of grain ships that have proven hard to identify in the archaeological record (Metcalf 2009:231). The vitality of sites such as Agios Georgios in the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. on Cyrpus's South coast however is thought to have been a result of acting as links in this route (Leonard 2005:614, Papcostas 2001:120). Located on important trade routes between Africa, the Levant, and destinations further West, including Constantinople, the Aegean, Crete, and eventually Sicily, the counterclockwise currents of the Eastern Mediterranean would have ensured that any sea-travel from East to West would have seen Cyprus as a convenient stopping place, and perhaps doubly so for the more difficult return journey (Kemp and Merrillees 1980:268).

In the 6th century C.E. Cyprus, as has been shown recently for much of the Byzantine empire, enjoyed a great deal of prosperity, particularly in terms of agricultural and rural development (Decker 2016:155, Laiou and Morrisson 2007, Papacostas 2001, Rautman 2003a, 2008). Apparently isolated from the troubles of the Persian wars at the beginning of the 7th century C.E., Cyprus appears to have been ill-prepared for the first of the Arab raids, launched in 649 C.E. by the Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiya who, in likely preparation for the inevitable attack on Constantinople, had found his sea legs. Salamis, known as Constantia at the time, was sacked and, as has been noted, (Chapter 2) contemporary fortifications appear there and at other sites on the island (Stewart 2014:296). A second attack in 653 C.E. left the entire island ‘overrun’ according to the textual sources, although just what this means is unclear (Metcalf 2009:406). A small Arab garrison was left behind, but then withdrawn in 685 C.E. A treaty signed that same year between Constantine IV and the Caliph Abd Al-Malik left Cyprus as an apparently demilitarized ‘buffer zone’ between the two empires, paying taxes to both. The treaty was renewed in 688 C.E. under Justinian II and ostensibly remained in place, minus the occasional abrogation, until 965 C.E. when the island was reconquered for Byzantium by Nicephoras II Phokas. Just how this treaty functioned or what it meant for the population of Cyprus in their day-to-day lives remains almost completely opaque (Zavagno 2011:123).

The pottery chronologies used throughout most of the 20th century for dating Late Antique sites on Cyprus meant that many sites could not add to this scant picture of the island during the ‘treaty centuries,’ and only more recent work has begun to encroach on this period, primarily in the late 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. Much past work needs to be re-examined in the light of more recent understandings of production timelines and trade continuities for ceramics, given that the upper chronological limits of many sites are in considerable doubt. The first site discussed below, however, does not suffer from this issue. A refuge site, it was occupied for only a short time, leaving a small, but pristine assemblage of very limited chronological scope.

3.3 Kornos Cave

3.3.1 *Discovery and Situation*

Discovered in 1955 by a group of British Royal Marines conducting "security operations" at the western end of the Kyrenia mountains in northern Cyprus, some four kilometers to the West of Lapithos, Kornos cave stands at roughly 762 meters above sea level, just below the North scarp of Kornos peak, with an unhindered view of the sea to the North, and a pass to the interior some 7-8 kilometers to the West (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:39). Direct approach to the cave requires a very steep climb up rough terrain, while a lateral approach along the ridge provides easier access. The mouth of the cave is a bare half-meter by three-quarters-meter, and the area is heavily forested. The current village of Karşıyaka lies two kilometers to the Northwest. Lapithos itself was inhabited as early as the Iron Age, possibly earlier, and there is considerable evidence, primarily sigillographic and numismatic, including the famous Lambousa hoard, that it was a bishoprical seat in the 7th century C.E. of not insignificant importance (Metcalf 2009:469).

Upon discovery, the cave was searched and several clay vessels noted. A Cypriot constable, accompanying the marines, showed considerable archaeological acumen in recognizing the cave's significance, obtaining a pot purloined by one of the soldiers, and taking it immediately to Nicosia for identification. Thereupon the cave was surveyed, initially by Catling, and, the following year, more thoroughly documented, including photographing all of the artifacts *in situ*, by archaeologists from the Department of Antiquities. For reasons that are unclear, not all of the material was removed on that occasion, and upon return to the cave in 1958, three vessels had gone missing (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:39). The remaining vessels are currently housed in the Cyprus Medieval Museum in Limassol Castle.

3.3.2 *Cave Description*

The initial passage into the cave is at a steep 45-degree angle, ending after some ten meters (Figure 3.1). At this point the passage divides. A broader "triangular" passage, completely hidden by an outcropping of rock and quite steep, heads to the South and leads eventually into a long narrow gallery some two to three meters high and two meters wide. This terminates in a narrow chimney which leads after a climb of four meters up into a "circular chamber" larger than three meters in diameter. A small pipe lay near the floor of the northwestern corner of the chamber and leads, after three meters, down into the "ante-room" of the main cave. This ante-room is separated from the main chamber of the cave by only a small screen of stalagmites and accumulated material. The main chamber slopes down from the screen to the North and to the West, while to the South the slope is upwards to a small semi-circular niche. The northern slope terminates in a bowl-shaped cleft. Continuing to the West another screen is encountered, again of stalagmites and other material, and beyond another large chamber, although roof tumble has made it largely inaccessible. Had one not taken the triangular passage into the cave, an alternative route exists. A very narrow cleft in the entrance passage to the cave, not far from the ascent into the triangular passage, leads into a narrow "lower gallery" some eight to ten meters long. From here one can climb four meters at the terminus of the gallery into the ante-room of the cave, not far from the pipe leading from the alternate entrance (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:42).

3.3.3 *Finds*

The objects found within the cave were all in remarkably well-preserved condition, appearing to all be where their previous owner(s), had dropped or placed them, and seem to constitute, in the opinion of the excavators, a single occupation assemblage from a very limited window of time (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:43). Overall, the finds consist of several whole vessels, a small scattering of coins, and some largely broken metal objects. The first finds come from the triangular passage. Here were found a complete "sigillata bowl," a broken flask, and a small sherd. The bowl is likely Cypriot red slip Form 9, while the broken flask shows that buff cream-colored fabric typical of many jugs and water vessels from the period (Figures 3.2-3.4) (Hayes 1972:379, Metcalf 2009:196). The sherd was not included in the catalogue. The ante-room of the cave contained a jug and a small beaker on the floor of the chamber. Both objects are very typical of Late Antique and Early Medieval Byzantine assemblages, being of types that were used over a significant period of time. An additional Cypriot red slip Form 9 bowl was found in the tumble-filled lowest chamber, set on a ledge, well above floor level, on the South side of the chamber.

The largest number of objects was concentrated in the main chamber, the majority in the niche located on the South side of the chamber. Just outside of it were found a large, wheel-ridged amphora (unfortunately not drawn, although from the *in situ* photograph it appears to be an Late Roman Amphora 1), cemented in place by a large glob of lime, and a plain jug similar in type to that mentioned previously, if larger, on the floor of the chamber (Figure 3.5). Within the niche were the neck and part of the handle of a plain-ware jug, a fine "sigillata" jug, in a nice red, possibly imported fabric, and an iron finger-ring. A similar ring was found inside the jug. Leaving the niche and moving along the southern wall of the chamber some two meters, were found an iron knife and a small beaker of a type quite dissimilar to that mentioned above. At the screen to the lower tumble-filled chamber a large amphoroid cooking pot was cemented to the rock with lime in an upright position, while a large plain-ware jug was cemented in place nearby. Where this screen met the North wall a small, mold-made lamp and a plain jug lay among the stalagmites. The small bowl-shaped cleft also held items, to the tune of seventeen bronze coins and two keys. Finally, a small red-ware jug was found lying on its side between two stalagmites, near the screen separating the chamber from the ante-room, and in the center of the main chamber a small iron pruning knife and a collection of sherds from a plain-ware jug were located. The last collection of objects was found on the floor of the lower gallery. This assemblage was comprised of an iron knife, a damaged bronze hanger for a lamp or censer, and a small strip of bronze.

3.3.4 *Interpretation and Dating*

In dating the cave, the excavators were fortunate in the collection of seventeen bronze coins, while, with the benefit of hindsight, we are also served by the two CRS Form 9 bowls. Identification of the coins placed 1-6 in the reign of Heraclius (610-641 C.E.) and 7-17 in the reign of Constans II (641-668 C.E.), with the latest coin dating to 643 C.E. Initially one of the worn and restruck coins was attributed to Constantine IV (668-685 C.E.) and a subsequent dating of the cave to the year of a great plague, 747 C.E., in the dual belief that the contents post-dated the Arab raids and that a natural disaster was more likely responsible for the occupation of the cave as a place of refuge. In an addendum to the text the numismatic mistake was corrected, and the Arab interlopers found more plausible (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:62, Megaw 1986:505, Metcalf 2009:196). CRS Form 9 begins in the mid-6th century C.E. and goes until some time in the 8th century, thus strengthening a mid-7th century date for the cave (Armstrong 2009, Hayes 1972:379).

As was mentioned, the cave was interpreted as a place of refuge, likely for a short period of time. No hearth or cooking debris was found, although the amphora and amphoroid cooking-pot appear to be placed so as to collect water, thus indicating the possibility of extended stays

(Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:44). The entire assemblage appeared to be contemporaneous and, while the coins and metal objects were likely overlooked in the abandonment of the cave, the complete catalogue of objects utilized by the inhabitant (or inhabitants, given the number of pots and pans) was probably not present. Be that as it may, the pieces present have numerous parallels both in and beyond Cyprus. The nearby site of Dhiorios, home to several kilns that date to this period, displays cooking pots very similar to those found in the Kornos cave, as does the capital Salamis, the shipwreck at Yassi Ada, and the Anatolian site of Sagalassos (Catling 1972, Diederichs 1980, Vionis *et al.* 2009, Poblome, and Waelkens 2009). Similar examples to the various jugs can be found at Salamis, ‘Ain el Jedide in Palestine, Eleutherna and Gortyn in Crete, Emporio in Chios, Sagalassos in Anatolia, and many other locations while CRS Form 9 traveled throughout the Eastern Mediterranean (Ballance *et al.* 1989, Diederichs 1980, Hamilton 1935, Sirano 2001, Vionis *et al.* 2009, Vogt 2000). Overall, this small assemblage represents a smorgasbord of pan-Byzantine 7th-century C.E. utilitarian tablewares. Whether this short-term occupant (or occupants) was a refugee from Lapithos, or, as the excavators postulate, a hermit from the monastery near present-day Karşıyaka, these wares represent a general continuity and maintenance of wide-ranging forms against which to judge the material from similar sites (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970).

3.4 Agioi Pente at Yeroskipou

3.4.1 *Situation and Discovery*

Located roughly four kilometers east of Kato Paphos on a plateau somewhat inland, the village of Yeroskipou is well known archaeologically for the splendid Hellenistic and Late Bronze Age tombs in its hinterland (Michaelides 2008). In 2002, however, while bulldozing for the construction of a new road in an area to the North of the town in an area known as the *Chrysochoraphon*, the 'Golden Field,' likely named for bits of gold jewelry and other items that came up through cultivation over the years, the remains of an early Christian basilica were unearthed, and badly damaged (Figure 3.6). In close proximity to a series of rock-cut tombs that had at some point in the past been converted into a shrine for the five saints, the *Agioi Pente,* of Auxentios, Eugenios, Eustratios, Mordarios, and Orestes, and still in use, the basilica was initially investigated by the Department of Antiquities under the direction of Dr. Eustathios Raptou before the work was taken over by a team from the University of Cyprus under Dr. Demetrios Michaelides. Excavation was carried out over four summers, from 2003 to 2006, with three additional study seasons. The initial examination of the ceramic finds was carried out by Dr. Pamela Armstrong on the finewares and Dr. Smadar Gabrieli on the coarsewares and cooking pots. With the kind permission of the Department of Antiquities I was also able to examine the ceramics over five days in the fall of 2016, with additional guidance afterward from Dr. Gabrieli.

3.4.2 *Site Description*

The entire site is a square area, roughly 55 meters on a side, comprised of six distinct features or areas: a structure containing four subterranean ossuaries to the South, the early Christian basilica in roughly the center, two structures immediately to the South and Northeast of the basilical nave with mosaic flooring, a large tomb to the East of the basilica, a series of workshops or storage rooms to the Northwest of the basilica, and a further series of structures to the South and West of the church (Michaelides 2008, 2013, 2014). These latter structures and the basilica itself suffered the greatest damage from the road work. Initial investigations by the

Department of Antiquities focused on the large tomb, the ossuaries, and the mosaic floors (Michaelides 2013:88).

The two surviving mosaic floors were all that remained of apparently several others, as the site was littered with tesserae and mosaic fragments. The southern floor, 5.25 by 2.65 meters, lay adjacent to the aforementioned ossuaries and displayed biblical verses, from the Psalms, in three large medallions on a trellised background surrounded by a quatrefoil frame. The verses used were popular in the Eastern Mediterranean between the 5th and 8th centuries C.E., particularly in the Levant during the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. One of the verses, Psalm 117:15, is relatively rare, but finds a parallel in the 6th century C.E. *diakonikon* of the Episcopal basilica of Kourion (Michaelides 2014:7). One of the mosaic floors featured a triple guilloche pattern of octagons in a characteristic ‘rainbow style’ with a central checkerboard rectangular area. Clearly a later addition, this variation on the classical design was to remain popular in the Levant well into the Umayyad period, and a parallel can be seen within the *bema* of the 9th-century C.E. church in the town of Yeroskipou, currently in use, as well as in Agia Varvara in Karpasia (Stewart 2010:171).

The basilica was only located in the final season of excavation, primarily due to the extensive damage it had suffered at the hands of the bulldozers. The building appears to have been a three-aisled structure, with possibly an additional aisle to the South. Parts of the stylobate remained, including marble columns, some in a red Carian marble, *cipollino rosso*, with capitals of Proconnesian marble (Michaelides 2013:93). Fragments of marble offering-tables were found near the bema and the narthex, and a large number of flat-headed bronze nails attest to marble veneering on the walls. Some pieces of this survived, displaying *champlevé* reliefs, popular in the 5th and 6th centuries C.E., with images of birds and inscriptions of the Psalms. Beneath the remains of the semi-circular apse, another tomb apparently existed prior to bulldozing. No detailed description of the workshops to the Northwest of the basilica, or the structures to the South were offered by the excavators, although they appear to be associated with the basilica and part of an overall complex, thus giving the entire site a distinctly ecclesiastical or monastic character. Overall the complex appears to have housed a very important basilica, with elements of a pilgrimage role given the situation of graves beneath the mosaic floors. The enclosure of such graves beneath mosaics in what appear to have been roofed structures outside the basilica proper, is also a first for Cyprus (Michaelides 2014:93). Based on numismatic, ceramic, and mosaic evidence, the basilical complex was constructed sometime in the 5th to 6th centuries C.E, although the majority of finds date to the 7th and even into the 8th century C.E (Michaelides 2014).

An additional comment should be made about the nearby, operational, church of *Agia Paraskevi* in the town of Yeroskipou proper. Thought to have been constructed sometime in the second half of the 9th century C.E., this five-domed, three-aisled, cross-in-square church, unique in Cyprus, incorporates *spolia* into its fabric that match pieces found at the basilica of *Agioi Pente* (Foulias and Philotheou 2008:66). This may indicate where the community, or at least the church, relocated to after its abandonment. Noted for its magnificent frescoes from the later Middle Ages, some traces of the 9th-century C.E. program remain, particularly in the dome of the apse. Singular on Cyprus, the design is divided into three zones. The outer band has interlaced motifs, while the second a heavy braiding. The third, inner band has four curving triangles between arms of a gemmed cross, with red rhomboid shapes arranged like rays towards the center in each triangle. The arms of the central cross, the center of which is missing, has quatrefoil designs and pearl shapes that bear small crosses within circles on them. The colors are limited to brownish-red, blue, and ochre, thought to indicate an economic impoverishment at the time of its painting. This aniconic decoration, a feature it has in common with all the surviving pieces of 9th-century C.E. decoration, has led some to speculate that the iconoclastic controversy could be responsible, although Andreas Foulias and Giorgos Philoutheou have declared that, based on documentary evidence for the iconodule position of Cyprus, this could not be the case and is more likely the result of connections with Cappadocian design traditions (Foulias and Philotheou 2008:72). The external braided decoration, however, has significant parallels, not in Cappadocia, but in the Umayyad Levant (Foulias 2008:70)

3.4.3 *Ceramic Finds and Interpretation*

Due to the heavily disturbed nature of the site little in the way of context could be attached to the ceramic finds, outside of the generally ecclesiastical nature of the complex. However, what was found is significant in the grand scheme of understanding the shift in ceramic forms that took place at the end of Late Antiquity, particularly in terms of cooking wares. In an area of the workshops undisturbed by the bulldozers, a stratified sequence of cooking and coarsewares, many hand-made, have been confidently dated by Dr. Gabrieli from the 6th and 7th century C.E. through to the 8th century C.E., allowing for an important look at the transition towards hand-made forms on Cyprus in the Early Middle Ages (Michaelides 2014:11, Gabrieli pers. comm.). Additionally a dizzying array of pithoi, many for which there are no parallel on Cyprus, have been found in the area of the southern structures. Roof tiles of various types were also in abundance, testifying to the long use-life of the structures and constant repairs utilizing recycled material.

Fragments of amphorae were also plentiful and appeared in many parts of the site. Within the fill above the tomb of the mature woman were found pieces of LRA3, while in the workshops

LRA4, 5/6, and especially 1 were in evidence (Figure 3.7) (Michaelides 2013:92, 2014:12). In an area immediately to the East of the basilical apse covered by limestone slabs, and apparently an open air courtyard, a subterranean rectangular space was found containing church utensils and equipment, glass lamps, and Egyptian, Gazan, and other types of amphorae. Dr. Raptou has published some of this material, focusing in particular on the LRA4 and LRA7 amphorae included there (Raptou 2007).

My own analysis reinforces these findings. Over the course of five days, with the generous support of Brown University, I examined all of the ceramics contained within the Paphos Museum storerooms from the Yeroskipou excavations conducted by Dr. Michaelides between 2003 and 2006, paying particular attention to the coarsewares and amphorae. I will offer a brief synopsis here. No clear pattern could be discerned in linking forms to contexts, no doubt as a result of the considerable disturbance to the site, evidenced by the occasional piece of Hellenistic pottery, and thus forms and types will be discussed in regards to the site as a whole. Of the finewares, the vast majority were CRS dishes, with large numbers of form 9 in evidence. Based on the quality of the slip and the occasional interior stamp, some earlier forms of ARS and PRS may also have been present. A few darker, vermillion-colored red slip wares may have been ERS dishes, although this number was overall rather small. Plain, well-potted jugs, pitchers, and jars in a buff fabric were common amongst the coarsewares. There was also a wide variety of *pithos* rims. Dhiorios-style cooking pots appeared in about equal numbers with what appeared to be clearly handmade forms in a thicker, coarser fabric with heavy inclusions. Dr. Gabrieli (pers. comm.) has confirmed that these handmade cooking pots appear in almost all sectors on the site, and represent a transitional type that can be dated to the early 8th century C.E. Very few micaceous fabrics were noted among the cooking pots, perhaps pointing to a primarily local manufacture.

Among the amphorae sherds, the finely ribbed Gazan and Palestinian types stood out clearly, particularly given their distinctive ring handles, thin walls, and fabrics mostly free of inclusions. There were several of these. Standard LRA1s and coarser, less well-executed examples that may be local were also present. The neck and handles of a small, dark reddish-brown *spatheia*-style container that appeared in sector Π may be considerably later than the 7th or 8th century C.E. Perhaps most interestingly were the relatively large numbers of ‘carrot’ bases, attributable based on their shape and dark red fabric to Egypt. These are almost certainly LRA7 amphorae, of the type discussed by Rapotou (2007). Lastly, some of the amphora handles may have been indicative of globular examples, although this was unclear. A final piece of information was provided late in the analysis, that several pieces of ‘Pattern Burnished Ware,’ similar to a type found at Sagalassos in southwestern Anatolia, had been removed from the storeroom for analysis (Vionis *et al.* 2009, Athanasios Vionis pers. comm). I was unable to examine these pieces.

Overall this assemblage gives an excellent 7^{th}- to 8^{th}-century C.E. snapshot. Among the common 7^{th}-century C.E. types, red slip wares, LRA1 amphorae, plain, buff jugs and jars, and Dhiorios cooking pots, one can see the marks of change. Handmade forms appear, and in substantial numbers. Potentially local versions of Late Roman Amphora 1 start to make an appearance. Through it all, however, there are standard, regional connections: Gazan and Palestinian amphorae and, most importantly, Egyptian products. These will doubtless have grown in number as the 7th century C.E. came to a close. Given the proximity to Paphos, however, it is notable that there is a significant discrepancy between the presence of some forms and not others, as will become apparent in the section on Saranda Kolones towards the end of this chapter.

3.5 **Kourion**

3.5.1 *Site Situation and Excavation History*

The ancient city of Kourion occupies a bluff overlooking the sea immediately to the West of the Akrotiri peninsula, on the southern coast of the island. While inhabited in one form or another since the Neolithic, the city proper was founded by settlers in the Late Bronze age and reached its apogee in the Roman period, growing to be one of the largest settlements on the island (Kaldeli 2008:59). Although heavily damaged in the earthquake of 365 C.E., the city recovered and was eventually abandoned at some point in the late 7th or early 8th centuries C.E. (Megaw 1993). Its location remained well known to residents of the nearby town of Episkopi, however, and Luigi Cesnola proceeded to plunder its environs in 1874-5. The first systematic excavations in the city proper were carried out in 1934 under the direction of B. H. Hill, one of the excavators of Corinth, with much of the work being accomplished by the independently wealthy George McFadden and his assistant John F. Daniel. Placing their trench in a flat pastoral area occupied by carob trees, they came down on what would later be recognized as the episcopal basilica (Megaw 2007:xix, Costello 2011:46). McFadden was to continue excavating at the site until 1954, with a break from 1942-46 for World War II. Much of his work came to be focused on the extra-urban sanctuary to Apollo Hylates, while Daniel took over work inside the city proper (Costello 2011:47). Additional excavations took place in Kourion in the latter half of the 20th century, with American teams focusing on the basilica and its environs, parts of the acropolis, including the famous ‘Earthquake House’ uncovered by David Soren and Jamie James

(1988), and most recently the cemetery located outside the Amathus Gate on the western slope of the city (Parks *et al.* 2001). Since 2012 an excavation directed by Tom Davis has focused on a large, 4th century C.E. structure near the ‘Earthquake House.’ The Cypriot Department of Antiquities has worked primarily on the acropolis and at the coastal basilica. Here I focus on the best published of these excavations, the city’s main basilica.

3.5.2 *The Episcopal Basilica*

The excavations that had begun under McFadden in 1935 came to a halt in 1953, after his untimely boating death, and were resumed in 1956 by A.H.S. Megaw under the auspices of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities. While McFadden had largely concentrated on the Eastern end of the basilica, Megaw began exploratory excavations to determine the extent of the complex. In 1959 soundings in the West of the complex were expanded, exposing much of the nave, aisles, court and atrium, a Northeast chapel, and exterior streets (Figure 3.8). Further seasons followed after independence in 1960 and the coup and Turkish invasion in 1974. The year of the invasion saw the narthex exposed, with more work on the Northeast chapel in 1976, the South water tank in 1977, and a return to the main sanctuary in 1979. The main baptistery to the North of the basilica was excavated in stages in 1956, 1959, and 1974–5, and the atrium and court finished during the following four years (Megaw 2007, Costello 2011:49).

3.5.3 *Site Description*

Situated in roughly the center of the walled portion of the city, with one of the main thoroughfares passing just East of the apse, the episcopal basilica of Kourion runs perpendicular to the edge of the bluff upon which the city is situated, occupying a space at the Southwest corner of the forum on the former location of the old Roman administrative basilica. At some point shortly after the devastating earthquake of 365 C.E., which all evidence points to having leveled the city, the basilica and its complex were constructed, becoming the focal point for the Early Byzantine city. Given that the foundations of the older basilica were used in its construction, the episcopal cathedral is oddly misaligned, being 20 degrees off due East, and is restricted to one apse, rather than the standard three for Cypriot cathedrals of the 5th century C.E. It is also slightly longer in proportion than many contemporary cathedrals on the island, measuring a mean length of 39.95 meters by 22.88 meters, making it the fifth largest Early Byzantine basilica in Cyprus after St. Epiphanios in Constantia-Salamis, Paphos, Kampanopetra in Constantia-Salamis, and Soloi (Megaw 2007:157).

Extensive *spolia* from Roman structures, no doubt destroyed during the 4th century C.E., were used in the construction of the basilical complex. While a great deal of the matrix of the basilica was dismantled in the late 7th century C.E., numismatic finds from the 1935 excavations indicate a *terminus post quem* of the early 5th century C.E. for the cathedral construction. The church is a three-aisled basilica with a polygonal apse, also featuring two long *catechumena* on either side of the nave and running the entire length of the building. These do not communicate with the nave, but instead pass from the narthex into an exterior court and vestibule, peculiarly on the Eastern end of the complex, as the bluff made access from the West difficult (Megaw 2007:158). Additionally, rather than the typical, axial arrangement, the complex is bunched in such a way that the large baptistery, atrium, and *diakonikon*, as well as over thirty rooms surrounding the atrium, are located to the West and North of the basilica.

In addition to the main entrance to the basilica, to the East, another entrance was available to the North, room 28, which then passed through the atrium, and then, via room 5, to the narthex. In the center of the atrium was a large hexagonal *phiale* built over an earlier square tank. This was later surpassed by a large marble basin just inside the narthex, after the water supply to the *phiale* apparently failed. The rooms around the atrium appear to have been two-storied, with the exception of a pseudo-narthex formed by the east portico where it connected to the baptistery. Many of these rooms surrounding the atrium are thought to have been accommodations, either for priests or guests, with the exception of a large room with three bays (25–27) which evidently served as a general waiting room (Megaw 2007:160). In several rooms around the atrium the staircases survive, as well as the small columns that supported floors and roofs.

To the Southwest of the complex a small court containing a hexagonal cistern is located, connecting to the southernmost entrance to the main narthex of the basilica. It is thought that this small court served the purpose of a temporary atrium while the complex was being expanded to the North and West (Megaw 2007:160). Room 8 is thought to be part of this earlier arrangement, originally incorporating rooms 17A and 17B as well; its mosaic floor points to superior accommodations, possibly for the bishop, before the reorganization of the complex in the 6th century C.E. In its final phase the spacious gallery above the narthex is hypothesized to have contained the bishop's headquarters, the three-aisled hall above the *diakonikon* the bishopric court, and the area to the far Northwest, adjacent to the atrium, the bishop's residence (Megaw 2007:160).

The *diakonikon,* the chapel for the receipt of gifts, lay beneath the area thought to contain the bishop's civil court and could be reached only through room 31, via the narthex. Stone benches and a stone offering-table were found within the *diakonikon.* The narthex, at 34 meters in length, was one of the larger rooms in the complex, and served as the gathering point for processions, *catechumena*, and naturally as a central place of transit. The walls of the narthex were decorated with marble revetments, many displaying champlevé decorated panels. Much fallen mosaic from the gallery above, dating to the 6th century C.E., was found when the narthex was excavated.

The nave of the basilica did not possess galleries over its aisles, but had different floor decoration on left and right sides, which may indicate a gendered separation. *Opus sectile* dominated the North Aisle, while plain gypsum slabs adorned the South aisle. A further raised platform down the center of the nave, with short barriers in marble on either side, likely functioned as a *rue du passage* for the clergy in the case of over-crowding. No ambo is present, although a *solea* appears to have been used instead, the ambo apparently taking longer to become popular on Cyprus (Megaw 2007:162). The twelve columns, as well as their bases and capitals, in either colonnade appear to have been entirely *spolia*. The distance from floor to clerestory windows seems to have measured roughly 9.2 meters, with a further three meters to reach the roof trusses. Little of the mosaic program survives, although marble revetments with champlevé have been found in the nave.

The aisles of the basilica are roughly six meters wide, with two bays added to either side of the apse in the later renovations to the sanctuary. The manner in which these flank the apse and the East court is peculiar to Cyprus, having far more in common with contemporaneous churches from the South coast of Asia Minor (Megaw 2007:163). These two flanking bays were likely used as a vestry and a *skeuophylakion*, that is a storage place for the holy vessels. At the opposite end of the nave, where the aisles connect with the narthex, the remains of acanthus-leaf champlevé indicate that a frieze may have run above the respective entrances. Of the marble pilasters that would have flanked the apse, one was located in Episkopi, and another at Akrotiri, while it is thought based on comparanda and discovered gold tesserae that a gold *Theotokos* likely adorned the semi-dome (Megaw 2007:165). The altar remained in the same place through the renovations and the *ciborium* foundation pillars were found *in situ*. It is notable that much of the marble flooring, including the *opus sectile,* was stripped during the dismantling of the church in the 7th century C.E.

The basilical complex at Kourion featured a large and prominent baptistery. Constructed next to the atrium, the building was likely designed for the conversion *en masse* of the Late Antique pagan citizenry. The font is cruciform and the overall design has analogs throughout the island, and in Antioch, to which diocese in the 6th century C.E. Cyprus belonged (Megaw 2007:173). Masonry benches survive around the walls, and a pedestal for the support of a round basin or table bespeaks an early form of *chrismation*, although a simple torus molding in the apse is typical of the late 6th century C.E., a point reinforced by the presence of a coin of Heraclius (610-641 C.E.) found under a step. There are indications that the baptistery changed in function somewhat and declined in importance by the early 7th century C.E., however, as marble revetments were removed and used to repair the *opus sectile* in the nave (Megaw 2007:174).

Just prior to the dismantling of the basilica there is evidence that a large earthquake demolished much of the complex, and of Kourion, leading to its general abandonment. The Southwest corner of the narthex had collapsed and been repaired with a slap-dash diagonal wall. Due to a coin of Constantine IV (668-685 C.E.) found in a floor deposit of the Southwest court, this disaster is thought to have occurred in the late 7th century C.E. (Megaw 1993:670). That Kourion was not abandoned right away is testified by the deliberate removal of large sections of the basilica, the installation of a marble basin in the narthex after the water system had ceased to function, partial repairs to accommodations in the atrium, and coins that continue into the early 8th century C.E. in the ruins (Megaw 2007:175). That the community moved to the nearby site of Episkopi is evidenced by the discovery of numerous pieces of the decorative program from

Kourion in the chapel of a Cornaro manor that had re-occupied an earlier Byzantine construction (Megaw 1993:60). Eight Islamic coins found across the site are an indication that the post-abandonment population of Kourion continued to make use of the remains. These include a gold dinar, one later 8th-century C.E. Abbasid *dirham*, and six copper pieces. Seven of the eight coins are post-reform (691 C.E.) and, excepting the gold and silver coins, point to daily transactions, potentially with merchants from the Levant. Two of the coins could be linked with the mints at Ba'labekk and Yubna or Bait Jibrin (Brown 2007:422).

3.5.3 *The Finds*

Unfortunately, most of the finds from the episcopal basilica come from layers of fill and dumps overlaying the main buildings. These appear to have been much disturbed during the demolitions and stone-robbing that took place after the last phase of occupation and are much confused, in some cases even containing residual Hellenistic and Roman material (Hayes 2007:435). There are, however, three closed deposits on the site which can be dated to the final phases of occupation: in the cistern located in the Southwest court, in the South water tank, and layers 4-7 of a latrine located in unit 23N. The South water tank lies just on the southern side of the church's narthex, and the latrine in a small antechamber off room 11 on the western side of the main atrium. This latrine is particularly interesting, as it lies below what may have been the bishop's quarters on the upper floors of the structure surrounding the atrium on this side. After discussing the general pottery types found across the site from the last occupation phase in the 7th century C.E., and the demolition phase in the early 8th century C.E., I will discuss these closed deposits and the overall makeup of the assemblages contained therein.

The finewares discovered across the excavation area of the basilical complex follow much the same pattern as that seen at other sites across Cyprus dating to the mid- to late-7th century C.E., with some notable exceptions. Moderate quantities of 7th century C.E. African Red Slip appear, particularly Hayes form 105, along with some Phocaean Red Slip, although this is primarily earlier (Figure 3.9). Cypriot Red Slip dominates from the 6th until the end of the 7th-century C.E., and may continue slightly after the abandonment (Hayes 2007:436). What is striking, however, is the peculiar pattern evinced by the Egyptian Red Slip (Figure 3.10). Generally uncommon on Cyprus, and never exported in anything like the quantities of ARS or PRS, the small smattering of ERS dating to the period before the mid-7th century C.E. at Kourion is not unusual. However, starting about that time there is a large surge in ERS imports to Kourion. These types become extremely common at the episcopal basilica until the end of the occupation phase (Hayes 2007:436). Cyprus has always had a special relationship with Egypt, particularly in later periods, as it existed on the route of the *annona* to Constantinople (Michaelides et al. 2009). To date, however, this pattern of large-scale ERS importation is not matched by any published site on Cyprus; the finds from Abu Mena outside of Alexandria show an equally large influx of CRS (Hayes 2007:436). This short-lived relationship is particularly interesting given that it comes at the end of large-scale red slip production in the Mediterranean more generally, and it may indicate an attempt by the Cypriots to acquire dining wares of a type with which they were familiar, from any source available. At this time, Egypt would have been under Umayyad control and, while there is no reason to doubt that trade between Islamic lands and Cyprus continued to take place—indeed, the evidence from amphorae supports this—the focus on fine-ware imports stands in sharp contrast to the general pattern of bulk perishable goods coming into Cyprus. Most of these ERS imports are of the A type, in plate or dish forms, with a few bowls. A few unrecorded types were also in evidence including, interestingly, what appears to be a copy of a CRS form 9. Some also have a rare yellow slip applied to them (Hayes 2007:436).

Coarsewares found across the site fell largely into the category of closed, buff jars and jugs, with parallels in the Kornos Cave (Figure 3.11) (Hayes 2007:453, Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970). Cooking pots were of the Dhiorios type, again matching the Kornos examples, with their round bottoms, thin walls, and grooves on the shoulder (Figures 3.12 and 3.13). These however were in a dark, gritty fabric, less sandy or abrasive as the Dhiorios examples, which Hayes concluded were probably of local manufacture (Hayes 2007:437). Some casseroles and mortaria were also found. The amphorae for the mid- to late 7th century C.E. show a transition from the common Late Roman Amphora 1, which are probably imports from Cilicia, to local copies that are generally more slender. These are 'less delicately potted,' in a dirty buff with dark gritty temper (Hayes 2007:437). Traces of these local varieties can be seen all the way back in the 6th century C.E. In the latest occupation and abandonment phases these local LRA1s give way to the family of globular amphorae. These globular amphorae, also known as LRA2 or 13, have combed grooves on the shoulder and are similar to types common in Asia Minor, and also have early parallels on the Yassi Ada shipwreck (Figure 3.14) (Bass and Doorninck Jr. 1982, Hayes 2007:438). Palestinian amphorae, probably LRA5s and later versions or copies also appear in a grayish fabric, identified as being from northern Palestine (Figure 3.15). These correspond to the Caesarea type 3s mentioned by Riley in 1975, and Hayes indicates the examples here show similarities with the later Khirbat al-Mafjar Wares (Hayes 2007:438). These are likely Umayyad imports. Lamps are of a simple wheel-made type with a pronounced neck, largely in a local fabric. Moving into the demolition phase, these may be forerunners of the long-necked 'Arab type' common in the Levant. Two late lamps are of note as one is in a heretofore undocumented CRS fabric, which may indicate adaptation as general connectivity contracts, while the other is a mold-made Constantinopolitan product of the late 7th or 8th centuries C.E.

In the abandonment and demolition phases, the finewares, with the possible exception of the few sherds of Glazed White Ware, disappear almost entirely, with the continuation of CRS merely hinted at. These later phases, dating roughly to just before 700 C.E. for the abandonment phase and just after for the demolition, are quite ephemeral, with no new structures to which they can be associated. The Dhiorios cooking pots disappear, to be replaced in the short-lived abandonment phase with a grittier type, lacking the fine ribbing on the shoulder. Instead occasional scratched grooves or combing appears, which may indicate an attempt to maintain the appearance of the older, better made Dhiorios versions. Some have twisted handles of a type similar to some Constantinopolitan products (Hayes 2007:437). In the demolition phase, two new cooking-pot types appear to replace these Dhiorios copies; one is hand-made and the other is likely an import. The handmade version, almost certainly local, is crudely made with thick walls in dark gray and bearing no decoration. The imported version, in a deep brown, gritty fabric, is wheel-made and bears large quantities of gold mica inclusions. This latter type is also common at Saranda Kolones and appears at several other sites on Cyprus (Hayes 2007:437, n. 11). Several were found with small splotches of lead glaze around the rim, indicating their production in the vicinity of glazed products. Similar versions have also been found at Constantinople dating to the late 7th or 8th centuries C.E., and are thought to be a product of southwestern Anatolia (Hayes 2007:437). That a trade in coarsewares, reminiscent of the movement of Dhiorios products, continues past the collapse of the trade in red slip products bespeaks the continued, but more limited, nature of trade contacts during this period, particularly as the point of origin is so close to Cyprus.

The amphorae from the latest levels at the site belong primarily to the family of globular amphorae (Hayes 2007:438, Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014:874). In both local and imported fabrics, these products bear bands of combed grooves on the shoulder and horizontally set handles, reminiscent of the Yassi Ada examples (Bass and Doornink Jr. 1982). The amphorae here, however, are likely later versions, and share much in common with examples from Asia Minor that date to the 7th century C.E. and later (Hayes 2007:438). Other notable finds from the latest levels include a type of casserole with a lid, thrown together and then separated manually, dished lids with a central knob, and a jug with an in-neck strainer.

The three closed deposits listed at the beginning of this section provide a more holistic view of ceramics that, if not actually used together, given that these are in essence sealed dumps, were at least in use at the same time. The latrine shaft located in room 23N, just off room 11 on the western side of the atrium, contained two distinct groups. Those in layer 7, the bottommost, and therefore earliest, sealed deposit, and those in layers 4-6 (Hayes 2007:442). In terms of finewares, layer 7 contained three sherds of ARS form 105, and one of CRS form 9C. These, along with coins of Heraclius (610-641 C.E.) put the deposit sometime in the mid-7th century C.E. (Hayes 2007:435). Coarsewares included only the rim of a small jar, perhaps of Palestinian manufacture, in a fine buff fabric. Cooking wares were restricted to a lid fragment in a dark red, gritty fabric of the type that are sliced from the main body after being produced together with the pot itself, a sherd of a deep casserole in a gray-black fabric, and a portion of a conical lid in a gritty yellowish brown (Hayes 2007:443). The amphorae are a bit more interesting, showing an LRA1 fragment, or a close copy of that form, in a fine, dark, sandy fabric, almost certainly an import, two upper portions and several other fragments of Cypriot copies of LRA1, and the neck of an imported LRA2 or an imitation showing signs of fine mica in the temper. These LRA2s, as mentioned, are a bit tricky in that they can easily be assigned to the family of globular amphorae that come to dominate in later periods (Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014:874). Two lamp fragments were also recovered, one an ovoid Palestinian variety, and the other a more basic circular type.

The upper, later layers of the latrine (4–6) contained an even greater variety, one that gives important insight into the transitional ceramics at the end of the 7th century C.E. and the early 8th century C.E.—that is, the abandonment phase of this portion of Kourion. The finewares included a piece of a late ARS 105 plate and another that appears to be a local copy, part of an ERS A dish, bits of a plate in the same ware, with a peculiar pinkish red or vermillion slip, that may be a local copy, and a small dish or bowl in ERS B that, again, may be a local copy (Hayes 2007:444). These possible local copies are of great interest in that they indicate an attempt on the part of the Cypriots to maintain forms of imported dining wares with which they are familiar. The ERS fragments also speak to that late influx of red slip wares from what may very well have been the only market still producing them for export. The strained situation may also be indicated by signs of burning that appeared on several of the ARS 105 sherds (Hayes 2007:436).

The cooking wares were representative of late 7th-century C.E. forms found elsewhere on Cyprus. These included pieces of a local, standard type of Cypriot cooking pot in a gritty, coarse, gray fabric, a possible Dhiorios type, another rougher, round-bottomed type in a gritty, brownish material, a casserole in a dull, purplish red, and several lid fragments. These appeared in high domed versions, and other types with recessed knobs (Hayes 2007:444). The amphorae showed clearly the transition towards the later, common forms. Gone are the LRA1s, replaced by pieces of globular amphorae with three bands of grooves on their shoulders. These globular types were reminiscent of the examples on the Yassi Ada shipwreck (Bass and Doornink 1982). Also found were pieces of a gray, northern Palestinian baggy amphora which may be thought of as a late type of LRA5. Among the lamps was also found the foot of a 6th- or 7th-century C.E. amphora known to come from the area around Beirut, that had been re-purposed (Hayes 2007:444). The other lamps consisted of two wheel-made, shallow, early 'Arab' types, and the base of another wheel-made variant.

Within the cistern in the southwestern court, only layer 2 appeared to have the necessary cohesion to be referred to as a sealed deposit dating to the final phases of the site. This layer contained five sherds of ERS A, from one bowl and a plate, and one of an unidentified form of CRS, placing it in the mid-to late-7th century C.E., when the Egyptian imports began to overtake the Cypriot red slip . The coarsewares consisted of pieces of a black to brownish-maroon casserole, a jug in a medium to fine buff fabric, a deep red-ware jug, a rather unprepossessing bowl and lid, two different cooking pots in a light gray, gritty material, and finally a cooking pot rim in a reddish-gray gritty ware with faint combed bands on its shoulder (Hayes 2007:445). This last can potentially be seen as the type of Dhiorios copies that begin to appear in the late 7th century C.E. The jugs are, of course, likely linked with the role of the cistern as a source of water for this area of the settlement. The amphorae show an even wider variety than that contained in the latrine shaft, and stand out for the relatively wide-ranging connections that an important basilica was likely to maintain even at this late date, as trading networks contracted into more regional systems. These pieces included the toe of a small 'carrot' amphorae in a buff or orange-brown fabric known to come from Sicily or Calabria, a dark brown Egyptian globular amphora, a Palestinian baggy amphora, referred to by Riley (1975) as 'Caesarea type 1,' which can, for ease, and given the only slight dissimilarity in body shape, be lumped into the LRA5 category, and two local amphorae, an LRA1 copy and a combed, broad-bellied type with some mica inclusions (Hayes 2007: 446). No lamps were recovered from the cistern. Perhaps drawing water in the dark was not a popular activity.

The South water tank, located just outside the narthex, appears to have been in use until the abandonment of this portion of the settlement in the late 7th century C.E. Several spill-lines indicate that the material contained therein was deposited in a series of dumps in quick succession, with numerous architectural fragments mixed in with 'normal late 7th century C.E. pottery,' including a standard Cypriot style cooking pot (Hayes 2007:446, 450). In addition to these were a single sherd of a Glazed White Ware jar, part of a globular, ring-handled amphora, likely from Egypt, a *mortarium* rim fragment with a splash of glaze, two pieces of an ERS A-ware bowl, similar in shape to CRS form 9, and the top of an 'Arab style' lamp (Hayes 2007:446). Perhaps the latest object found was part of a shoe-shaped lamp of a type that has been dated in Constantinople to 8^{th}-century C.E. levels, and may indicate a slightly later date for the deposition than the late 7th century C.E., or indeed that the Constantinopolitan lamps date somewhat earlier than had previously been thought (Hayes 1992:82-3, 2007:477). The still uncertain nature of much of the pottery chronologies for this period should make such minor uncertainties unsurprising. Lastly, the shoulder of a jug or flagon was found in brown, with a dark gray core, that had decoration in the form of a pale red wash on the fragment's exterior, overpainted with zig-zag decorations terminating in blobs at the base of the neck in a dark purple color. This piece was thought to be of Egyptian origin, or possibly a local copy (Hayes 2007:449). As will be seen, this style of overpainted design is common during this period both on Crete and in the Levant, but is extremely rare on Cyprus. Overall the deposit evinces a very strong Egyptian connection. The latest of the five coins from the water tank was minted in the last two years of the reign of Constans II (641-668), thus further aiding with the dating of this deposit (Hayes 2007:46).

Overall the ceramic finds clearly identify the transition across fine, coarse, and transport wares. In the mid- to late 7th century, the normal repertoire of finely-potted coarsewares, imported ARS and CRS, the occasional piece of Glazed White Ware, and fine, wheel-made Cypriot cooking pots, mostly of the Dhiorios variety, are replaced by thicker, coarser jugs and pots, often made by hand or on the slow wheel. The plates and dishes common among the imported red slips from Africa and Anatolia are briefly replaced by Egyptian products, before fading altogether. Only the Glazed White Ware might go considerably later. Late Roman Amphorae 1 and 5 see local copies of the former come to dominate, until they are finally replaced by the family of globular amphorae. Lastly the lamps move from standard Late Roman types to 'Arab style,' long-necked versions reminiscent of the Levant. The move towards Palestinian and, briefly, Egyptian products bespeaks a turn to the East and South, and a contraction of the former long-distance trade networks discussed previously.

3.6 Salamis-Constantia

3.6.1 *Site situation and Excavation History*

The site of Salamis-Constantia served as both the ecclesiastical and political capital of the island of Cyprus from the 360s until perhaps the 10th century C.E.; it remains unclear when exactly the move to Nicosia took place (Figure 3.16). Founded in the 11th century B.C.E. on a plateau located above a well-protected bay enclosing two natural harbors on the East coast of Cyprus, the city was amply placed to take advantage of trade moving along the natural currents which swing in a counter-clockwise direction around the island. Two rivers, the Pedieos and the Yialis, formerly emptied into the sea just to the South of the city, although currently they are only seasonal streams. Largely destroyed by an earthquake in 342 C.E., the city reached its apogee after generous donations by Constantius II (337-361 C.E.), and its re-naming as Constantia, at which time the administrative capital of the island was relocated there from Paphos (Zavagno 2015:115). Provided with a theater, a large gymnasium-bath complex, two villas, a forum-agora, an immense cistern, and two lavish Christian basilicas, the city was further renovated under Justinian (527-565 C.E.). The Church of St. Epiphanios, a seven-aisled basilica, and the Campanopetra basilica, with five aisles, served as important centers of pilgrimage after the relocation of the saint's relics to the former in 403 C.E. and the likely acquisition of a piece of the 'True Cross' by the latter, both of which were certainly instrumental in autocephaly being granted to the island in 488 C.E. (Zavagno 2015:117). Hit by the Arabs in 649 C.E., and again in 653/4 C.E., on the latter occasion occupied for 40 days, according to the chronicle of Dionysios of Tell Mahre, the city largely retreated to the area within a new set of fortification walls constructed around the Church of St. Epiphanios in the late 7th century C.E. (Zavagno 2015:119). Little is known of the city after this in Byzantine historical sources, beyond the appearance of the archbishop at the Council of Nicaea II in 787 C.E., and a mention provided by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-959 C.E.) that during the first reign of Justinian II (685-695 C.E.) the archbishop and a good portion of his flock had been re-located to Cyzicus for the short-lived experiment of Nea Justinianopolis (Zavagno 2015:120). St. Willibald also mentions visiting the city during his 8th-century C.E. visit, remarking on the largely rural nature of the settlement at that time (Metcalf 2009:477). It is not known when the city was finally abandoned, although 8th and 9th century C.E. seals have been found at the site, as well as a coin of Basil II (976-1025 C.E.) and one of Constantine VIII (1025-1028 C.E.) (Zavagno 2015:128).

Visited since the 13th century C.E., the first to dig the site was Cesnola, followed in the 1890s by John Munro and Henry Tubbs, acting under the auspices of the British authorities (Zavagno 2015:114). In the 20th century, minor work was conducted by Joan du Plat Taylor in the 1930s, and the Department of Antiquities in the 1950s, followed by larger-scale excavations undertaken by Karageorghis, Dikigoropoulos, and finally Pouilloux, Roux, and Argoud (du Plat Taylor 1933, Megaw 1954, 1956, 1957, 1958, Dikigoropoulos 1961, Argoud *et al.* 1980, Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, Roux 1998, Karageorghis 1999). Much of this work has centered on the classical periods at the site and interpretation has been severely hampered by the lack of legal excavation since the Turkish invasion of 1974; the site lies, unfortunately, North of the Green Line.

Given that much of the work on the center of Early Medieval settlement, the fortified area around the Church of St. Epiphanios, remains unpublished, I have chosen to focus on two other areas of the site that show signs of 7th-century C.E. and possibly later occupation: the Gymnasium-Bath complex, and the 'Oil Mill,' located in one of the old Roman villas. Most of the material from excavations at Salamis-Constantia has not been physically revisited since 1974, and, given the recent advances in understanding Early Medieval ceramics, many of the interpretations of the excavators are provisional at best. Still, something can be gleaned concerning the nature of ceramic consumption in the capital city during the Late Antique to Early Medieval transition from the published reports. I will first cover the small bench deposit from the Gymnasium-Bath complex discussed by Catling and Dikigoropoulos (1970), and then the excavations by Argoud *et al.* (1980) conducted at the 'Oil Mill.' Finally, I shall refer to John Hayes' brief synopsis of overall site ceramics published in 1980.

3.6.2 *The Gymnasium-Bath Complex Bench Deposit*

The Gymnasium-Bath complex bench deposit comes from an area against the West portico of the primary public bath building, located in the North of Salamis-Constantia. Initially built around the time of Augustus, or possibly earlier, the bath complex saw its last phase of repairs and renovations at some point in the 7th century C.E. (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:54). Two layers of fill covered the bench, the upper layer a mix of loose earth and rubble, and the lower a more compact, earthen layer. The bench itself was constructed out of irregular limestone slabs, as well as a portion of a limestone statue that had evidently been re-purposed from an earlier phase of the complex. The whole was sealed in a thin layer of plaster that showed considerable wear. Both layers contained several coins from the reign of Heraclius (610-641 C.E.), although an issue from the third year of the reign of Constans II (643 C.E.) provided a *terminus post quem* for the deposit (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:55). In addition to a 7th-century C.E. lamp (which the excavators erroneously placed in the subsequent century) the finds included numerous fragments of CRS dishes, primarily form 9 from the illustrated examples (Hayes 1980:377). Additionally 7 fragments of finely potted, buff, plainware jugs were recovered, several of which fall into the 'dimple-bottomed' category.' All of this material puts the assemblage solidly in the later 7th century C.E. (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:56).

3.6.3 *The Oil Mill*

The 'Oil Mill' is, in actuality, comprised of several structures utilizing, or built into, an earlier Roman villa located to the Northwest of the Campanopetra basilica and South of the Gymnasium-Bath complex (Figure 3.17). At some point in the 7th century C.E., thought by the excavators to be after the Arab raids, the villa was divided into two parts, with several doors blocked and internal partitions erected (Argoud *et al.* 1980:52). Sometime later the structure is divided again, with three different areas of construction identifiable, as well as extensive traces of agricultural processing activity. The first area is located in the Northeast of the former villa. This dwelling is North-facing, with a portico and a set of stairs, indicating a second story. Next to the dwelling, in the old apse of the *triclinium*, is located the oil mill. Of modest size, it includes a press and a nearby Hellenistic well that shows signs of having been re-opened to service the complex (Argoud *et al.* 1980:52). The second group of constructions is in the southwestern corner of the original building. Another two-storied structure, this modest dwelling is accompanied by two groups of outbuildings. One to the North included part of the original hallway E, while the second involved a demolition of what had been room 29 to create a small courtyard, into which a bread oven of tiles was built. A large basin lies to the South (Argoud *et al.* 1980:52). The third area is in the Southeast, and extends beyond the limits of the original building. This area remains partially unexcavated, although the presence of animal stalls, a cistern, and potentially another bread oven can be identified (Argoud *et al.* 1980:53). Most of the interior walls involved in these structures are secondary, slap-dash affairs, of nowhere near the same quality as the exterior, villa walls.

The ceramic types found at the complex were largely unknown to the excavators at the time of publication. However, a few of the basic types of 7th-century C.E. wares are easily identifiable from their descriptions and images/illustrations. Among the finewares, several nearly complete CRS dishes stand out, at least a couple of which appear to be of the late form 9. Dhiorios style cooking pots are present, as well as several of the plain, buff pitchers and jugs commonly seen. Among the amphorae what appear to be local copies of LRA1 appear, as well as what are referred to as ‘des amphores très côtelées, à fond rond, que l’on retrouve également en Égypte, en Palestine et en Grèce’ (Diederichs 1980: 57, Argoud *et al.* 1980:53). The ribbing that appears on the amphorae may indicate some version of LRA5. Some basins and bowls with painted decoration were also found, but given the mixed nature of the deposit, which included Roman and Hellenistic material, it is unclear to what period these may date.

Hayes’ examination of the total site material, which took place in 1973, largely reinforces the observations above. The 7th-century C.E. forms are largely well-known types, appearing at several sites across Cyprus. From the mid-7th century C.E. onwards, many of the amphorae are replaced by local products (Hayes 1980:375). A small smattering of early GWW sherds serve to anchor the groups chronologically where numismatic material is unavailable. Large quantities of Palestinian and Egyptian amphorae appear alongside the dining wares which, for the earlier part of the 7th century, include significant quantities of ARS and PRS. Of some interest is the presence at Salamis of several twisted-handle cooking pots at Salamis that have parallels in Constantinople dating to the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. Another type of 8th-century C.E. cooking pot, in a brown, micaceous fabric, with thick walls and ribbon handles, is also found at both Salamis and in Constantinople, although here the handles have been transformed into ring variants (Hayes 1980:378). A painted, Palestinian (Caesarea 3?) amphora is also noted as having been found at the Oil Mill.

Given the importance of Salamis-Constantia, it is deeply regrettable that the ceramic material from the site has not been adequately examined since 1974, or that further excavations have not been carried out. Still, we can see here all the traces of the standard 7th-century C.E. repertoire seen at other sites: CRS dining wares, a small quantity of GWW, imported Egyptian and Palestinian amphorae, Dhiorios-style cooking pots, and plain buff jugs and pitchers. It will have to wait until after a peace agreement for any understanding of the site to be pushed beyond this standard 7th century C.E. material. Tantalizing clues are provided by the Constantinopolitan cooking pots, and greater connections with the capital may be seen here in future. At Saranda Kolones, in Paphos, an entirely different set of connections can be seen, one which provides a very different picture from what I have previously outlined for the island during these centuries.

3.7 Saranda Kolones

3.7.1 *Site situation and Excavation History*

Saranda Kolones, named for the multitude of granite columns which litter the site, is located in Kato Paphos, just a little over a hundred meters North of the city harbor. It is a residential concentric castle, potentially one of the earliest in Europe or the Middle East, with a five-towered inner wall, enclosing an open court, and an eight-towered outer wall (Figure 3.18). Excavated initially by the Department of Antiquities in 1957-9, A.H.S. Megaw was able to return to the site with the backing of the British School of Archaeology at Athens for seasons in 1966-7, and 1970-1 (Megaw 1957, 1958, 1971, 1972). Joined by John Rosser, final excavations were carried out in 1981-3, with the additional backing of Dumbarton Oaks (Rosser 1985). Given the potential to significantly change our understanding of the history and influences behind fortification design in the Crusader States, and later in Europe, much of the investigations centered on determining the chronology of the castle's construction. Despite considerable stone robbing over the centuries, fallen architectural elements, as well as crushed animals, indicated that the castle had been destroyed in an earthquake, almost certainly in 1222 C.E., but there was considerable uncertainty as to when the castle was constructed (Megaw 1971:117). It was known that when Richard the Lionheart took the island in 1191 C.E. a Byzantine fortification at 'Baffes' had been turned over to the Crusaders and, after investigations below the floors of the 13th-century C.E. levels and the discovery of further fortification walls beneath several of them, it was determined that this might be the castle in question (Rosser 1985:97).

That the Crusaders were responsible for considerable renovation to the castle, sometime in the late 12th or early 13th century C.E., was not in question, but the nature of the pre-existing Byzantine fortification, and its construction, was shrouded in mystery (Megaw 1972:330, Rosser 1985:97). In an attempt to gain a greater understanding of this facet of the site's history, soundings were made in both wards of the castle, as well as outside the outer walls and in the defensive ditch surrounding the fortification, primarily in 1981–3 (Rosser 1985:86). The work was complicated by the extremely thorough job the renovators of the crusader period had done, often taking the floors of the new castle down more than a meter and a half below pre-existing levels or even down to bedrock itself. Byzantine pottery going back to the 11th century C.E. was found in small amounts across the site in the backfill of the castle's foundation trenches, as well as considerable 7th-century C.E. material, giving the excavators hope that some indication surrounding the nature of the pre-existing Byzantine structure might be located sometime in the Early Middle Ages (Megaw 1971:129-30). Many of the castle floors were found to lie atop an extensive ash layer, assigned to the Arab sack of the city in 653/4 C.E. on the basis of 7th century C.E. coins and material contained therein, and initial speculation centered on the brief period between the withdrawal of the Arab garrison in 685 C.E. and the ostensible de-militarization of the island following the treaty of 688 C.E. (Megaw 1971:144). That the Byzantine castle had been left unfinished was indicated by several clues, not least of which the apparent unfinished state of the previous fortification's gatehouse (Megaw 1972:342). A considerable amount of material in these investigations was 'not recognized as mediaeval,' which, given more recent work on coarsewares, as well as subsequent finds at Saranda Kolones itself, indicates to me that a great deal of particularly 8th-century C.E. material was likely to have been missed (Megaw 1972:331).

In 1968 a sounding in the Southeast tower uncovered numerous fragments of glass vessels, associated pottery, and glass wasters, leading to the identification of an apparent glass factory under the floor of the crusader construction (Megaw 1972:339). In 1971 this material was reexamined with the aid of John Hayes. It had previously been missed that the material in question had lain somewhat *above* the ash layer assigned to the mid-7th century C.E. sack, thus, along with the dates assigned to the associated ceramic material, the date of the Byzantine construction was brought considerably forward. Within this assemblage was noted, in particular, pieces of a high-slung amphora with parallels in Constantinople and the Black Sea, dating solidly to the 8th century C.E., as well as several pieces of later Glazed White Ware dishes that also dated to that century (Megaw 1972:340). Overall, a date of the late 8th to early 9th, or possibly even mid-9th century C.E., was assigned to the whole group, making it easily the latest solidly identifiable material on Cyprus for the period I am examining here.

Armed with the date of this glass factory under the floor of the Southeast tower, the Byzantine construction was pushed to the brief 9th-century C.E. 're-occupation' of the island by Basil I (867-886 C.E.), although the terms and conditions under which Cyprus existed in the years from 688 C.E. to 965 C.E. are poorly enough understood that any promise of 'de-militarization' in the period overall should be considered highly contingent (Rosser 1985:97, Metcalf 2009). Although still hampered by a lack of understanding when it came to the coarsewares for this period, 8th- and 9th-century C.E. material began to be identified in quantity across the site. In 2003 John Hayes again re-visited the ceramic material, greatly simplifying and correcting much of the previously speculation concerning the Early Medieval ceramics (Hayes 2003).

3.7.2 *Ceramic Finds*

Given the size and importance of the crusader castle, not to mention its value for the Paphos Archaeological Park, investigations into the levels below the castle were largely restricted to soundings. Of these only the glass factory under the Southeast tower produced a solid, defined context for 7th- through 9th-century C.E. ceramics, the rest being recovered from construction backfill or general fill in other parts of the site. These scattered finds, however, are sufficient to paint a picture of the types of transitions taking place in the ceramic realm, as well as imports that go beyond what has been seen at other sites. John Hayes' re-analysis of three deposits, the 7th-century C.E. fill in a well shaft to the Southeast of the southeastern tower (Deposit 14), the fill in an angle of the moat between the Northwest tower and its adjoining western wall, containing 8th- and 9th-century C.E. material (Deposit 15), and the 9th-century C.E. glass factory (Deposit 16), will be covered last (Hayes 2003).

Given the initial focus of the excavations on the 13th-century C.E. crusader castle, little of the apparently large quantity of 7th-century C.E. ceramics recovered at the site was published in detail in the earlier reports (Megaw 1971, 1972). CRS, Dhiorios cooking pots, and wheel-ridged Palestinian LRA5 were apparently found in the 1970-71 seasons, as well as numerous coins of Heraclius (610-641 C.E.), and some of Constans II (641-668 C.E.) and Justinian II (685-695 C.E.). An early 8th-century C.E. Umayyad issue was also recovered. 'Wheel-ridged wine jars,' which may be versions of LRA1s, were also recovered in abundance. As an indication that here we are already dealing with things going largely beyond what we have seen previously on Cyprus, a portion of a Palestinian amphora, possibly of Caesarea 3 type, was found in gray with white-painted, criss-cross decoration over its wheel-ridging (Megaw 1971:131, 1972:331). This type dates from the late 7th or 8th century C.E. Gazan amphorae and Cilician LRA1s were also recovered, as well as a previously unidentified type of Lycian White Ware in a mottled orange to gray surface wash (Hayes 2003:452). Globular amphorae, GWW forms I and II, glazed chafing dishes, and scraps of coarse, lead-glazed vessels were also found in the 1970-71 and 1981-3 seasons, showing a variety of forms and types largely unseen elsewhere on the island (Megaw 1971:146, 1972:340, Rosser 1985:87). The chafing-dish fragments were noted as being very similar to those found at Corinth, but in a different fabric. There is the possibility that these were imported from someplace other than Constantinople. Other 9th-century C.E. pottery was recovered from foundation trenches excavated in the 1980s, but this material was not described in detail (Rosser 1985:86). John Hayes noted that until the 8th or 9th century C.E. imported cooking wares are quite scarce on the site, which may be indicative of an inability to identify late 7th-and 8th-century C.E. handmade cooking wares until relatively recently (Rautman 1998, Gabrieli *et al.* 2007).

Deposits 14-16, described by John Hayes (2003), give us a far more complete picture, even if the contexts are varied in their integrity. Deposit 14, the well fill to the Southeast of the southeast tower, contained pieces of a GWW I bowl or jar base, a CRS form 9A, an ERS A bowl, and an ERS B dish (Figure 3.19) (Hayes 2003:495, nos. 280–3). Again we see the Egyptian connection evinced at Kourion. Coarsewares included fragments of two plain, buff jugs, and several casseroles in dark brown fabrics that may be local or Egyptian imports. One hard-fired cooking pot with faint ribbing was also recovered. This focus on casseroles is particularly interesting given the focus on more open forms of cooking preparation common in the Arab world, to be discussed in Chapter 6 (nos. 284–292). Pieces of a globular amphora, Cypriot LRA1 derivatives, and LRA5 variants speak to the transition towards local transport containers, as well as continuing connections with Palestine and the Levant. Bag-shaped Egyptian amphorae, as well as Middle Egyptian 'carrot amphorae,' that is LRA7s, in a dark brown fabric were also identified, as well as possible Cypriot copies (Figures 3.20 and 3.21) (Hayes 2003:320, nos. 293–320).

Deposit 15, the foundation trench backfill in the outer ward, outside the junction of the Northwest inner tower and the western inner wall, produced a cache of jugs and associated sherds dating to the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. This deposit may have been re-dumped from elsewhere on the site (Hayes 2003:320). Two of the recovered jugs were in a finely potted light brown or yellow buff fabric, with gently pinched mouths (Figure 3.22) (nos. 322–3). The other two were of coarser make, in an orange brown fabric with heavy grit inclusions (nos. 323–4). Pieces of a debased CRS form 11, and an ERS A form J or similar, were also found (nos. 325-6). Two cooking pot fragments, both showing micaceous inclusions, and one a small spot of glaze, are almost certainly imported (nos. 327–8). An Egyptian, ring-handled baggy amphora and a large pithos fragment complete this assemblage (Hayes 2003:321, nos. 329–30).

Deposit 16, the glass factory, the only well-defined context, was dated tentatively to the early 9th century C.E. based on the wide variety of imported material. These included, for the finewares, a GWW I dish or bowl, a GWW I dish base, and an Egyptian bowl, painted in vermillion and purplish-black decorations (Figure 3.23) (Hayes 2003:503, nos. 331–3). The coarsewares included two cooking pots with parallels to Saraçhane cooking ware 4, and an undoubtedly local pot in a drab brown to gray, with heavy straw and lime inclusions (nos. 334–336). This local piece is likely hand-made. Amphorae included a globular example, of unknown provenance, two small, local table amphorae, two unidentified ovoid examples in what appeared to be local fabric, one with a graffito spelling out the letters ‘NIKIT,’ and an unidentified local, broad-bellied amphora with a squarish rim and wide shoulders (nos. 337–342.) This last piece had broad, wavy combed bands adorning the shoulders underneath further horizontal combing. Two imported amphorae fragments hailed from Asia Minor, of globular amphora type, and from the eastern Egyptian Delta (Hayes 2003:506, nos. 343, 345).

Most of these ceramics have few, if any, identified parallels elsewhere on the island. From this, particularly the fact that many are imports that should have been identified in sites that are thought to have extended into the 8th century C.E., including Soloi, Kourion, Salamis-Constantia, and Amathus, we can deduce the somewhat special character of Paphos on Early Medieval Cyprus. The Arab garrison of the late 7th century C.E. immediately springs to mind, although this was withdrawn in 685 C.E. Still, there are hints of a continued Arab presence in Paphos, including a late 8th-century C.E. Muslim tombstone recovered in 1936, an amphora with an Arabic inscription in the Paphos museum, and the fact that the majority of Muslim coins are thought to come from the vicinity of the city (Megaw 1950, Metcalf 2009:458, 481). There are also the testimonies of St. Willibald and St. Constantine the Jew, both of whom speak of seeing ‘Ishmaelites’ on the island during their brief tenures there in 8th and 9th centuries C.E., respectively (Metcalf 2009:477, 482). Given that Paphos was the first port of call for those coming from the West, both saints would almost certainly have traveled through the city. The extent of Muslim settlement on Cyprus has been much debated; still, the presence of painted wares, similar to those in the Levant from this period, as well as transport amphorae from Egypt and Palestine, point to continuing connections with the Arab world on the part of the Paphians, and the implications of this, as well as the apparent lack of penetration to the rest of the island of these wares, will be discussed further in Chapter 7 (Dikigoropoulos 1961, Papadapoulos 1993, Metcalf 2009).

3.8 Discussion

The five sites considered above offer an interesting picture of ceramic consumption on Cyprus, and the island's trading connections, from the 7th through early 9th centuries C.E. The material from the Kornos cave, constituting as it does a seemingly complete assemblage rather than a sample, has seen a considerable amount of debate as regards its dating (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970, Armstrong 2009, Metcalf 2009). While the majority of scholars seem to fall into the mid-7th century C.E. camp, it should be noted that Pamela Armstrong has made a strong case for the re-interpretation of CRS form 9B as extending well into, and perhaps even to the end, of the 8th century C.E. (2009). Much of this argument hinges on the find of a coin of Artavasdos and Nicephoros, dating from the mid-8th century C.E. at the nearby site of Panagia-Kormakiti and its associated ceramics (Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970:56). Moreover, she points to the co-occurrence, particularly at Kornos, of this CRS 9B with plain-ware dimple-bottomed jugs and Dhiorios cooking pots. If this were correct, then the cave is taken out of the realm of the Arab raids and placed more solidly into a monastic-hermitic context. Based on the preponderance of such combinations of jugs, Dhiorios cooking pots, and CRS at other sites, however, I think it is safe to conclude that this assemblage belongs in the mid- to late 7th century C.E. This complete assemblage of tableware, plain-ware, and cooking pots, does however give us an excellent opportunity to observe what a (supposedly) average repertoire of ceramics an individual or household might own around the beginning of the period being examined in this dissertation. It provides a jumping-off point, a basis for comparison with the other assemblages, as well as with another small-scale refugee site on Crete, Monastiraki-Katalimata. The combination of red slip dining wares and common forms of Late Roman coarseware, which can be seen as indicative of a ‘Roman’ community of practice, spread over the entire empire in a cultural *koine* of consumption, is clearly apparent at these two sites.

In terms of trading connections also, this relatively small number of ceramics provides a baseline. Many of the contacts Cyprus enjoyed in the 7^{th} century C.E. would be retained past the point of the Arab raids, particularly local connections (Haldon 2012). The dimple-bottomed jugs for example appear widely in 8^{th}-century C.E. contexts, from Anemurium in Anatolia, to ‘Ain el Jedide in Palestine, and, as will be seen, at Gortyn on Crete. Their origin is generally considered to be somewhere in the Levant, although they may have been more widely manufactured (Armstrong 2009, Hamilton 1935:116). CRS is now thought to have been made in nearby Pisidia, and continued connections there, given the general ubiquity of the ware, are no surprise given the proximity and ease of transit to that portion of the coast (Poblome and Firat 2011). LRA1 is ubiquitous, and was made at a number of centers around the Eastern Mediterranean, although as was seen these transfer to local manufacture starting in the late 7^{th} century C.E. The Dhiorios pots are of local make, hailing from the site of that name not very distant from the cave itself, but may also have been produced in southwestern Anatolia (Catling 1972). These contacts can be seen to continue in the 8^{th} century C.E., but, on the South coast, in a different form and with a far more Egyptian element.

An interpretation of Salamis-Constantia is largely hampered by the lack of work post-1974, but the same types of ceramics as noted above occur there, with the addition of a Constantinopolitan element in the form of twisted-handle cooking pots and Glazed White Ware dishes. This is not particularly surprising given the role of the city in both its administrative and ecclesiastical guise. As noted in Chapter 2 the GWW dishes may have had some significance for their users given their place of production, not to mention the fine white fabric and technological advantages offered by lead glaze, but how this might extend to cooking wares is unclear. Palestinian and Egyptian amphorae join the mix at Salamis-Constantia, bespeaking trading connections that, towards the end of the 7th century C.E., remain constant or grow stronger, while other connections to the West are apparently weakened.

Kourion in the late 7th century C.E., with its preponderance of ERS as opposed to CRS, is anomalous. This switch to ERS may herald an attempt to maintain traditional forms of dining ware in the face of the decline of ARS and PRS, and, given the site's situation, an easier connection with Egypt as opposed to Pisidia. With the collapse of state driven trade in the mid-7th century C.E., and a large number of Egyptian sailors in the early fleets of Islam, private traders may have continued the older routes of the *annona* grain ships which used to ply this same route (Fahmy 1950). The general lack of CRS, even as the population was being moved to Episkopi sometime in the 8th century C.E., is significant, and John Hayes has also pointed to an 'Islamic (Umayyad) element' in the ceramics, characterized by the 'Arab-style' lamps and late forms of Palestinian amphorae, with parallels at Khirbet al-Mafjar (Hayes 2007).

Agioi Pente also has this Egyptian element in the form of LRA7s, but lacks significant quantities of ERS, at least in relation to the readily identifiable CRS dishes. There the signature is far more local, and the transition, which is also apparent at Kourion, from imported LRA1s and Dhiorios-style cooking pots, to local copies, is more visible. This may reflect the relatively small size of the site, but, given its substantial basilica, may speak more to the fact that Agioi Pente does not possess a port. The ceramic signatures at Kourion and Saranda Kolones differ significantly from other 7th- and 8th-century sites on Cyprus in their highlights, but not in their background, local materials. Even the short distance between Agioi Pente and Paphos or Kourion may have made a difference in terms of which goods were being transported and why. This point requires further investigation.

Finally, Saranda Kolones evinces an entirely different pattern of imports and ceramic consumption, if only because, for the 9^{th} century C.E., it has no parallels on Cyprus. Indeed, this probably indicates that elsewhere 9^{th}-century C.E. sites are largely unidentifiable due to the local nature of their ceramic products. At Saranda Kolones, however, there are strong connections to Egypt, Palestine, and also to Constantinople in this later period. Many of the products associated with these levels are unknown from other contexts, either within or outside Cyprus. Is the settlement at Paphos of a fundamentally different character? Previously, red slip wares reached across the entire island; are imports under the new regime restricted to port cities? Are Arab traders present at Paphos? How does the preponderance of casseroles play into an understanding of dining and consumption habits in the 9^{th} century here? Moving towards answers to these questions will involve casting a wider net, first by examining material from sites in Crete, to better understand the effects of changes in connectivity on island environments, and then looking at areas on the mainland, to better grasp ceramic transitions there as the Byzantine Empire re-organized itself, and the Umayyad Caliphate came into its own.

CHAPTER 4

CRETE

4.1 State of Scholarship

In contextually assessing the state of material relations on Crete, the picture is somewhat different than Cyprus in terms of the evidence available. While there has been a large amount of work done on the Bronze Age and the great Minoan palaces, the Byzantine period (or rather the first Byzantine period) has seen considerably more patchy coverage. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, Cyprus has produced a broad swathe of Early to Middle Byzantine work, with several attempts at an island-wide synthesis, despite the poorly published nature of most excavations. By contrast those few excavations that have concentrated on this period in Crete, those at Gortyn and Eleutherna for example, have been published in significantly greater detail. Rather than the excavation of a basilica here or there, this work has included broad urban exposures, which can give a far better sense of the types of goods consumed in domestic contexts. Archaeological syntheses for the 7th to 10th centuries C.E., however, are in short supply; not since the 1988 work of Demetres Tsougarakis has it been attempted.

The period of Muslim domination on Crete, from 827 to 961 C.E., has fared even less well archaeologically than the Byzantine, with Tsougarakis having considered it an anomalous break from the previous and succeeding periods. Those works that do exist on the period—the proceedings of a 2010 colloquium on the subject in Iraklion, published in *Graeco-Arabica* (2011), *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824)* by Vassilios Christides (1984), *Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean* by George Miles (1964), and *The Arab*

Occupation of Crete (1913) by E. W. Brooks—have relied almost entirely on textual sources, the majority of these from considerably later than the period in question.

This chapter, like the previous one, will attempt to collate the excavation material from some of the major sites from the island of Crete for the 7th to 10th centuries C.E., paying particular attention to the small finds and ceramic objects and their contexts, where available. After addressing the geographical situation, topography, and a brief history of the island in the 7th to 10th centuries, the core of this chapter will deal with the urban sites of Gortyn and Eleutherna, the refuge site at Monastiraki-Katalimata, and the monastic complex at Pseira. The presence of imported goods, their co-presence with non-imports, and the different types by site and context, will be discussed with an eye to the larger economic and insular picture at the end of the chapter.

4.2 Crete: Geography, Topography, and History

Crete, like Cyprus, lies at a crucial geographic location in the Mediterranean Sea. Situated at the threshold of the Aegean, it was a natural stopping-point on the nautical routes from the East, West, and South heading to Constantinople, and early in the 7th century lay at nearly the geographical center of the Byzantine Empire. It sat in the midst of the major sea-trade lanes of the time, moving from the Central Mediterranean to parts East, and has a long coastline, over 1,000 km, punctuated regularly by coves and bays (Zavagno 2009:65). At just over 8,000 square kilometers, it is smaller than Cyprus, but, as the numerous Byzantine attempts to reconquer the island after it fell to Andalusian Muslims in the 9th century C.E. indicate, its relative size had little to do with its importance to the Empire.

The island has a mountainous interior, with the Ida-Psiloritis Range, the Lefka Mountains, the Dictaean Massif, and the Sitian plateau running nearly the entire 260 km length of Crete. Seasonal rivers run down to the coast from these mountains, with the valleys providing important routes of connectivity between the North coast and the fertile Messara plain in the South. This particular topography 'compartmentalizes' Crete into roughly four distinct regions, each more oriented to the coast than to the interior. This is important when considering the role the island played in trans-Mediterranean trade links and the lives of its inhabitants in their relation to the sea (Vogt 2000:40).

Each of the four major regions have significantly different geologies, which in turn affects ceramic production. The western portion of the island, from the coast to Chania is composed primarily of crystalline and metamorphic rocks, which also occur in the Iraklion depression, the Rethymnon isthmus, and the surroundings of Sitia. Secondary limestone formations make up the Eastern and Central parts of the island, with sedimentary deposits more frequent along coasts and valleys, and alluvial deposits predominate in the Lassithi plain (Vogt 2000:39). Crete is replete with minerals, including copper and gold, and was well known in antiquity for its exports of timber, salt, honey, and, during the Muslim domination and after, for its cheese, largely from the area around Chania (Christides 1984:117, Tsougarakis 1988:271, 408).

The administrative capital of Crete and its economic center from the Roman period until the Arab conquest was the city of Gortyn, located inland from the South Coast on the northern edge of the Messara plain (Sanders 1982). The economic disruption suffered by the Empire in the course of the 7th century has been seen as affecting the general decline of the island, with major earthquakes in 618-621, 670, 720, and again in 796 C.E. leading to the terminal decline of sites such as Gortyn (Tsougarakis and Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 2004:363). Arab raids in 654, 656, 671, and 673 C.E. likely did not help the situation, although these lessened in intensity after the failed siege of Constantinople in 717 C.E. (Zavagno 2009:69). Recent work, however, has noted that habitation at several centers continues past this point, although it appears to be much reduced and its nature is unclear (Andrianakis 2013, Di Vita 1991:169, Georgopoulou 1994:95, Tsougarakis and Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 2004:364, Wickham 2005:628, Yannopoulos 2009:92, Zavagno 2009:75).

In 827 a group of Arabized Andalusians, exiled from Spain after a failed revolt, arrived in Crete by way of Alexandria and effected a sudden seizure of the island from its Byzantine defenders, who it is thought had been largely withdrawn to help deal with the revolt of Thomas the Slav (Andrianakis 2013, Christides 1984:86). Under an adventurer named Abu Hafs they established an Emirate, with a new capital at Chandax, modern day Iraklion. The Byzantines made multiple attempts to retake the island during the 9th and 10th centuries, only succeeding in 961 after a massive undertaking by Nikephoros II Phocas (Andrianakis 2013, Christides 1984:173). Under Muslim rule, Arab sources note that the economy boomed, with trade in particular flowing to Egypt. Olive oil, not significantly cultivated on Crete until the Ottomans, was imported from Spain and Sicily (Christides 1984:118).

Much of the aforementioned information has been gleaned from the scant textual record, much of it from some centuries later and in Arabic texts that have not been well edited or thoroughly studied. Archaeology has concentrated on the large urban sites of Eleutherna and Gortyn, as well as the small monastery of Pseira, with smaller excavations elsewhere, usually centered on ecclesiastical structures. Survey has been of little utility in piecing together either the patterns of landscape usage and settlement or broader pictures of micro-regional ceramic consumption, based largely on what I tend to refer to as the ‘thousand year pile’ problem, wherein all material from 500 C.E. to 1500 C.E. gets chucked into the ‘Late Roman to Modern’ category. The three sites of Eleutherna, Gortyn, and Pseira will be considered below for what they can provide in the way of contexts and associated ceramic material and small finds. The recently excavated refuge site of Monastiraki-Katalimata will also be included, not least for the comparison it allows with the Kornos Cave on Cyprus.

4.3 Monastiraki-Katalimata

4.3.1 *Site Description*

The site of Monastiraki-Katalimata is perched on a series of quite narrow terraces on the side of a nearly vertical cliff face overlooking the Cha gorge, roughly 1 km northeast of the village of Monastiraki in Eastern Crete (Figures 4.1-4.3). The Cha gorge is a narrow crack separating the Lamia and Papoura massifs of the Ierapetra isthmus, facing West and overlooking the narrow plain that slopes down to the North and the Bay of Mirabello. At its base only a few meters across, the gorge climbs to some 500 meters above sea level before reaching its maximum width of roughly 50 meters. The southern wall of the gorge is a near-vertical wall of rock, while the northern wall climbs vertically for 100 meters before beginning a series of steps that widen into narrow terraces some 250 – 350 meters above sea level. These terraces, on the western and southern sides of the northern wall, are up to 17 meters wide and 12 meters deep, in the case of the largest (Terrace C), and several were considered large enough in antiquity for the construction of small buildings. The only access to this site is a very narrow path along the western face of the Papoura massif, accessed some considerable distance from the site and after what the excavators describe as a treacherous ascent up nearly 250 meters of sloping scree (Nowicki 2008:8).

These terraces, labeled by the excavators A through N, and then Z, all show signs of human use characterized by steps cut into the rock, ceramic scatters, and on many of them, stone constructions in relatively poor states of preservation. After an initial survey in 1990, the site was excavated in 5 seasons, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997, and 2000, by Dr. Krzysztof Nowicki of the Polish Academy of Science's Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology in *synergasia* with Dr. Metaxia Tsipopoulou of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the late Dr. William Coulson of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, both of whom were excavating the nearby Late Minoan site of Chalasmenos.

Excavation focused on Terrace C, which is situated in such a way that it is on the southwestern corner of the Papoura massif, wrapping around the cliff face and providing views over the plain below and down into the Cha gorge. The terrace was occupied by a relatively large building (Building C) measuring 12 meters by 7 meters and comprising seven rooms, with a small open area to the East and South (labeled the East Area) which provided communication to the rest of the settlement. Excavation was limited to the rooms of Building C and by the end of the 2000 season about 70% of the Terrace had been excavated. Collection of Byzantine material culture did not occur in the East Area or Rooms 1, 2, and 3 of Building C, however, which, unfortunately, were the areas that showed the highest concentration of this material. This decision on the part of the excavator in large part reflects the priorities of the excavation, which was focused on the Minoan period (Nowicki 2008:66). Although the site has material dating back to the Final Neolithic, the majority of constructions do appear to have been laid down in the

Late Minoan period. Based on the datable material culture there was no evidence the site was in use between that period and the 6^{th} century C.E. (Nowicki 2008:66).

4.3.1 *The Finds*

The Byzantine material, mixed with Late Minoan and a very small amount of Venetian material, was concentrated in the topsoil of the site and in the stone tumble that covered the majority of constructions. The site was in relatively poor condition due to exposure and erosion as well as human action, witnessed by the excavator in the form of shepherds tossing pieces of masonry down into the gorge (Nowicki 2008:3). The Early Byzantine settlement appears to have made use of the Minoan constructions, particularly, on Terrace C, rooms 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Building C. There is evidence that rooms 1, 2, and 3 were cleaned sometime after the end of the Minoan habitation, presumably by the Byzantine settlers (Nowicki 2008:30). Terraces I and E also had large concentrations of Early Byzantine sherds, but these were not collected. Small alterations to the building on Terrace C, including a small poorly constructed wall in room 4 and an oval stand of some kind in room 5, possibly to hold an organic container, appear to have been Byzantine additions (Nowicki 2008:68). A hearth in the East Area may have been either Byzantine or Venetian in date (Nowicki 2008:26).

Overall, two metal finds, a small quantity of glass, and roughly 3 kilograms of pottery represent the collected Early Byzantine material from Terrace C. Of the ceramic material, twelve diagnostic sherds were recorded. Two rim sherds belonging to amphorae were found in Room 5/7. One showed a fine to medium, light-greenish buff fabric while the other has a fine to medium, dark red-brown fabric; both are tempered with phyllite. The first of these, given the fabric and size of the rim (d. 8.5 cm) indicate that LRA1 is the most likely type. The other rim sherd, with its dark red brown fabric, is a bit more of a puzzle. Such fabric color is less common in the Eastern Mediterranean for strictly Late Roman Amphorae, although it may be an example of a LRA5, which were made in Palestine and Egypt (Vroom 2005:59). A North African *spatheia* is also a possibility, also various forms of globular amphorae, although these are somewhat later than the other material recovered. The lack of mica temper, a characteristic feature of Late Roman ceramics from Crete, would argue against a local fabric. This type of reddish-brown amphora was recorded as being particularly prevalent on Terrace I, often showing external tegulated decoration, and matches examples found at Emporio on Chios, dated to the mid-7th century C.E., and at Gortyn, dated to the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. (Ballance *et al.* 1989:109 pl. 24, Di Vita 2001:352, 355 fig. 176). Other amphorae sherds noted on Terrace C had combed and external rolling decoration in addition to the tegulation. Types of amphorae that match both recorded sherds in Room 5/7 are noted at Eleutherna and dated to the 6th and 7th centuries C.E. (Vogt 2000:92, 187 fig. 43:3). Also found in Room 5/7 were two sherds of African Red Slip Ware, Hayes form 91D, which date to the first half of the 7th century C.E (Nowicki 2008:66).

The remaining rooms showed evidence of cooking pots, jars, bowls and slipped plates, although only a few diagnostic sherds were described in detail. Room 2 contained a sherd belonging to part of an amphora or jar, with combed, wavy-line decoration in a fine pinkish to pale brown fabric. Two fragments of red-slipped ware appeared in Room 3, with one, a bowl fragment, likely a Hayes form 99C, dating to the late 6th or early 7th century C.E. (Nowicki 2008:67, Hayes 1972:155). The curved base of a jar in a fine, very hard pale brown fabric was also found in Room 3. Room 4 produced the shoulder of a jar or amphora with a tighter combed wavy-line decoration than that found in Room 2, and this in a medium, pale brown fabric with significant sand inclusions. A jar or deep basin rim was also found in this room, in a fine to medium, pinkish-yellow fabric with phyllite and quartz inclusions, as well as the rim of a plate, with a fine light pinkish-brown slip (Nowicki 2008:95). This plate rim is interesting as it may be a piece of Askra Ware, a localized imitation of Phocaean Red Slip produced on the Greek mainland in the 6th and 7th centuries C.E. (Vroom 2005:41).

In the East Area, with its hearth, were found the base of a plate, with a fine, very hard, pinkish-red fabric, and the lip of a jar or basin with a medium to coarse, pinkish to light red fabric and purple phyllite and white grit inclusions. Of the ceramics recovered it is notable that ARS forms 104-107 and PRS forms 3 and 10 are absent, as these forms are very common in contemporary levels at Eleutherna and Gortyn (Nowicki 2008:67, Vogt 2000, Dello Preite 1997:163-177, pls. XX-XXIX). Glazed White Ware, which comes to succeed the red slip wares as the moderate to fine tableware in the course of the 8th century C.E. at Constantinople is also absent(Vroom 2005:63).

Other small finds from Terrace C include a bronze coin, a glass coin weight, two glass vessel fragments, and a small sheet of bronze. The coin, recovered in Room 5, although badly corroded, was identified as belonging to Constans II, class 3, regnal year 3, i.e. 643-644 C.E., while the sheet bronze, tentatively assigned to the Byzantine period, offered little additional information (Nowicki 2008:67). The coin weight, from Room 2, was a dark blue, matte color and bore the bust of a figure stamped on one side. A raised ring edge surrounds the figure, which appeared to have a halo, thus leading to a tentative identification with Christ. This type of weight was common in the 6th and first half of the 7th century C.E., and similar weights were commonly used as currency in the early Caliphate (Nowicki 2008:67, Miles 1948). The glass vessel fragments, one from Terrace C and the other from the surface of a small area known as Terrace C Lower, were both assigned to the Byzantine phase of the site based on their similarity to goblet stems found at Gortyn and Emporio on Chios, dated to the 7^{th} and 8^{th} centuries C.E. and 7^{th} century C.E. respectively (Ballance *et al.* 1989:126, fig. 50:14a, Di Vita and Martin 1997: tav. LI 1-14).

Apart from the presence of amphorae in Room 5/7, and thus its identification as a possible storage area, the other rooms on Terrace C are difficult to interpret, although the hearth in the East Area is suggestive of a kitchen or food preparation area. Based on the coin and the identified types of pottery, this phase of the site was dated to the middle and late 7^{th} century C.E. Overall the lack of heavy storage vessels, general repair to the Minoan structures, or new constructions led the investigator to conclude that this was not a permanent settlement, but, given the repertoire of pottery, including amphorae, bowls, basins, glass, and some fine plates, that habitation of longer than a few days or weeks was intended (Nowicki 2008:86). Several terraces also seem to have been inhabited during this phase by more than a single family unit, thus leading the excavators to categorize the site as a place of refuge for nearby villagers. Overall, however, the site stands in marked contrast to the clearly temporary nature of the Kornos Cave. Given this, it may be more useful to consider the site as a small-scale settlement during a relatively brief period of occupation, say a generation or two.

4.3.2 *Discussion*

In any event, this window gives an important insight into domestic ceramic assemblages during the 7th century C.E. The mix of imported fineware and amphorae, and what are likely locally made coarsewares, displays the sorts of connections available to the island of Crete in the early 7th century C.E., even in a rural area such as this. Palestinian amphorae, and LRA1s from probably elsewhere in the Aegean, as well as fineware plates from Africa, bespeak the long-distance networks that were maintained in the Byzantine Empire before the crisis of the mid-7th century C.E. The local coarsewares and the small piece of possible Askra Ware point to connections closer to home, and a different tier of connectivity that was to become far more important as the 7th century C.E. wore on. This can be contrasted with the assemblage in the Kornos Cave, where local products such as the Dhiorios cooking pots and the CRS finewares are either local or come from close at hand. There the tiers are less discernable, given the trade in cooking wares and the latest types of Late Roman finewares in that part of the Mediterranean. Still the broad, *Byzantine*, character of the assemblage here speaks to both this wider, imperial *koine*, and a closer, more personal sort of assemblage of domestic materials.

4.4 Eleutherna

4.4.1 *Site Description*

The ruins of Eleutherna, a bustling city in Late Antiquity, occupy a saddle on the southern end of a ridge, oriented North-South, in the northeastern foothills of Mt. Ida. This ridge is about 390 meters above sea level at its highest point, the acropolis known as Pyrgi, although the majority of the city lies on the eastern side of the ridge, in an area called Katsivelos. The site has a commanding view down a 10 km-long valley, North, to the sea and the modern coastal town of Stavromenos. This village shows signs of Minoan and Roman settlement, and was likely inhabited, to some extent, during the Byzantine period (Themelis 2009:48). The surrounding, mountainous countryside, and the valley, provided ample timber, freshwater resources, and arable and grazing land. On either side of the ridge lie the seasonal streams of Chalopta and Agia Kyriaki that come down from the mountains and head North.

Eleutherna shows signs of continuous habitation from the Archaic to the first Byzantine period, with additional traces of Bronze Age settlement (Themelis 2009:47). The site was also re-inhabited sometime in the Middle Ages as the small village of Prines. Described by several antiquarian travelers and visited by the archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans, the first real archaeological work was carried out in 1929 by the British archaeologist Humphrey Payne. His negative, and erroneous, assessment of the site following a brief survey and some minor excavation, discouraged further work for several decades (Stampolidis 2004:24). Modern excavation began in 1985 under the direction of Profs. Petros Themelis, Thanasis Kalpaxis, and Nikos Stampolidis of the University of Crete, responsible for Sectors I, II, and III of the site, respectively. These excavations are ongoing.

Sector I, the lower town known as Katsivelos, was the center of the Early Byzantine city, and is by far the best published of the excavations (Figure 4.4) (Themelis 2000, 2004, 2009). This area came to be heavily settled, and the focus of intensive building activity, sometime in the 4th century B.C.E., and appears to have been continuously inhabited until the mid-7th century C.E., when settlement appears to have shifted towards the acropolis. Four main terraces, on different levels, make up Sector I, with retaining walls constructed at intervals to guard against erosion, and the occasional steps and foundations cut into the side of the hill or the limestone spur of the acropolis of Pyrgi for ease of construction and passage (Themelis 2009:54). The road network in Sector I, as well as the general plan of the city, was laid down in the Hellenistic period, and was still in general use in the 7th and 8th centuries CE. Two large Roman villas, several cisterns, a large and a small bathhouse, a large Christian basilica and its associated complex, as well as smaller residential units, were found across these 4 terraces, although by the Byzantine period several sections were abandoned, likely after the devastating earthquake of 365 CE. The two large villas, as well as the large bathhouse, are included in the areas of the city infrastructure that were long defunct by the beginning of the 7th century C.E. and were used as dumps (Themelis 2009:69-71). Many Roman and Hellenistic inscriptions, marble elements, sculptures, and terracotta figurines were also found within the matrix of the Byzantine constructions (Themelis 2009:59).

Three main areas constitute the Early Byzantine habitation of Katsivelos: the small bathhouse, a residential area, and the large basilica and associated buildings. The small Roman bathhouse, on the northern end of the site, has three building phases, ranging from the 2nd century C.E. to the 6th or 7th century C.E. and initially, despite its small size, had all the trappings of a standard building of this type. On the western end of the building are two identical hypocaust rooms, side-by-side (Rooms 70 and 50). By the 6th or 7th century they had ceased to function and, as will be seen by the preponderance of pottery discovered there, had come to be used as dumps. A smaller hypocaust is to be found in Room 57, which also appears to have not been in use by the Byzantine period. The main part of the bathhouse boasted a relatively large hall which served as the *frigidarium* (Room 47), a smaller *tepidarium* (Room 51), and two small rooms with colonnettes, small pillars, and its own hypocaust that served as the *calidarium* (Rooms 43 and 44). Other rooms (numbers 52, 45, and 41) had other, less apparent, uses. Finally, a paved area (Room 48) functioned as an atrium and changing area, and Rooms 60 and 61 can be identified as the furnace and *praefurnium* (Themelis 2009:78). A water tank, of 7 by 2.5 meters, was discovered slightly higher up the hill to the Southwest and appears to have been still in operation, feeding the bathhouse, during the 6th and 7th century C.E. (Themelis 2009:77).

In the early 5th century Eleutherna became an episcopal see, and its bishop, Euphratas, is known to have attended the Council of Chalecdon in 451 C.E. Three Byzantine basilicas have been found so far in and around Eleutherna: one underneath the later Byzantine church of Agia Soteira, one at nearby Agios Markos, and the 5th-century C.E. construction at Katsivelos. An additional, fourth basilica appears to have been located on the acropolis at Pyrgi, although this has not been excavated and only some foundation walls point to its existence (Kalpaxis 1991:11-15, Themelis 2009:80). The church located in Katsivelos appears to have been the seat of the bishopric until its general abandonment sometime in the mid-7th century C.E. (although the southeastern corner of the nave seems to have been used as a chapel into the 8th century CE), when it is likely the nearby church at Agia Soteira became the center of worship at Eleutherna (Themelis 2009:91). The last known bishop of Eleutherna, Epiphanios, attended the Council of Nicaea in 787 CE, although he was apparently not thought well of by his colleagues who referred to him as *anaxios*, or unworthy (Themelis 2009:80).

The basilica at Katsivelos, with dimensions of 24.47 by 14.52 meters, is located on a low terrace on the eastern side of the site and is constructed on the location of an earlier Hellenistic temple, incorporating significant portions of it and later buildings into its fabric. The excavators hypothesized that there may even have been some lingering association with the Hellenistic construction, given its apparent association with a cult of Aphrodite and Hermes, particularly Hermes in his role as Psychopompos, or the conductor of souls to Hades (Themelis 2009:60). The basilica, as indicated by an inscription found in the marvelously preserved mosaic floor, was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, who in Christian cosmology enjoyed a similar role to that of Hermes Psychopompos.

The basilica itself is three-aisled and, while slightly foreshortened due to the space available on the terrace, has 5th and 6th century C.E. parallels at various places in Crete and throughout the Aegean (see Themelis 2009:82, note 66 for a list of similar basilicas). Local limestone was utilized for much of the construction, although *spolia* was apparently preferred for several areas, including the lintels in the narthex for which three archaizing herms of pentelic marble, sans heads, arms, and genitals, were used. Three building phases are apparent in the basilica, dating to the 5th century, sometime in the 6th or 7th century, and the late 7th century C.E. (Themelis 2009:91). The initial building phase produced a very ornate episcopal basilica, complete with wildly variable and intricate mosaics, painted decorations in the narthex (portions of which survive), sculpted columns, *opus sectile* and *opus Alexandrinum*, and a painstakingly carved ambo and templon. The walls and columns of the nave appear also to have been coated in a thick lime plaster and inset with *opus sectile* in a wide array of vegetal motifs, some with mother of pearl centers. All carving work, the excavators considered, was by local stonemasons (Tsigonaki 1998:373).

To the North and South of the basilica lie two paved atria, with a small porch adjoining the narthex to the North. Multiple graves were discovered under the large limestone paving stones of these three areas (Themelis 2009:83, Stampolidis 2004:143). The South atrium was well used as a burial ground in the 6th and 7th centuries CE, with a vaulted tomb and several cist and tiled-roof graves found in this space, many with bronze buckles and ceramic grave goods (Themelis 2009:90). Additional cist graves were located in the North atrium, mostly from the 7th century CE, which had numerous pieces of pottery interred with the dead.

To the South of the narthex there is an abutting annex comprising three rooms (Rooms I, II, and III). Room I may have been used as a *diakonikon*, the place where church vestments and other, non-sacred, utensils were kept, during the first phase, but by the second appears to have been given over entirely to burials. Grave 32 in this room had an inscription to a presbyter named Nikasios, and the small total number of graves in the basilical complex may indicate that the majority were church functionaries (Themelis 2009:89, Stampolidis 2004:143). Room II, with its South-facing apse, may have initially been the baptistery, although this was more likely located in the buildings across the street to the West of the basilica. In its final phase, in the 6th and 7th centuries, Room II was used as a dwelling. Room III was also lived in during this last period, and contained a circular millstone on an inverted column base, two hearths at the foot of its North wall, as well as several vases, some metal objects, and three lamps that date to the 6th and 7th centuries (Themelis 2004:78, 2009:89). All was apparently abandoned after the earthquake of 670 CE.

A number of alterations and repairs were made in the basilica proper during its second building phase, sometime in the 6th or 7th century CE. After having been badly damaged, a great deal of *spolia* was used to block up the spaces between the columns of the church's three aisles and inarticulate repairs made to the mosaic floors. The door to the small sacristy adjoining the West end of the South aisle was also walled up (although it was still accessible from the exterior) and the room was used for two inhumations (Themelis 2009:89). Additional burials were sunk into the two aisles and the doorway to the South atrium was permanently closed. The annex also showed signs of minor alterations, including internal walls of poor construction, and the floor of Room I was raised with rubble. The final phase, beginning during the reign of Constans II (641-668 CE) or Constantine IV (668-685 CE), indicated by a *follis* of the first emperor found in the South atrium and then countermarked by the second, saw only the southeastern part of the nave used as a chapel. Part of the annex appears to also have been inhabited, although the entire area shows no sign of use after the 8th century C.E., with the exception of a single piece of Venetian-period pottery (Themelis 2009:91).

The terraces to the South of the basilica seem to have accommodated the majority of the Byzantine town, although the excavation focused more to the West of this area in between the small bath house and its larger Roman cousin to the South. Still, several Byzantine houses were found in the street just North of the basilica, constructed primarily of robbed-out material from earlier structures. In many places the ground was leveled with rubble, and several new constructions were even placed on top of the old city streets, a feature also seen at Gortyn (Themelis 2009:80, Baldini *et al.* 2013:256). Across the street from the basilica lay a series of Early Byzantine structures that likely functioned as the baptistery. One large room (Room 33) contained a large semicircular basin, and, in addition to adjoining rooms (31, 31a, 34, and 36), there were also found two cisterns, alpha and delta (Themelis 2009:90). The former had been used as a dump prior to the 7th century, but the latter appeared to have been still functional towards the end of the basilica's life. An additional room nearby, Room 28, which contained two large pithoi, may not have been associated with the baptistery.

Directly to the West and Northwest of the baptistery lay the remains of two Roman villas. They had been abandoned in the 4th century CE, but parts of them may still have been in use in the 7th century, and indeed a grave was sunk into the atrium of House 2 with relatively luxurious grave goods (Themelis 2009:75). Excavation in Rooms 32, 39, and 40, as well as the paved area called Room 37, all show pottery dating to this later period (Themelis 2009). Rooms 40 and 53, which abutted the small bath house, also showed signs of this material.

4.4.2 *Finds*

The cataloged ceramics from Sector I at Eleutherna, analyzed by Christine Vogt (2000), were divided in the site report by type and fabric, differentiating between those known imported types and perceived local products, although here I have separated them by context. None of the contexts are mentioned as being sealed deposits; the general abandonment of the site following the earthquake of 670 C.E., and the similarity of assemblages in several of the contexts, can lead us tentatively to assume that the repertoire of ceramics in the majority of contexts can be considered more or less representative of those in use in that location during the mid-7th century C.E. Obvious exceptions include those contexts that appear to have been used as dumps, such as Cistern A, Room 50, in the small bath house. However, the intrusion of ceramics from earlier centuries into the same locus numbers listed in Vogt's catalog may indicate that this assumption is unfounded, or that the excavation was not carried out with particular care concerning the changes in level. Dating was achieved by a combination of identification of forms through Hayes' 1972 manual on Late Roman finewares, and association with other types within the same locus (Vogt 2000).

Within the lower city of Eleutherna much of the excavation was focused on the communal structures of the basilica, baptistery, and the bath house and their associated buildings, and the ceramics that come from these areas show a wide range of forms, particularly imported finewares. Within the basilica a large assemblage was found in the North narthex, in two different loci, 1 and 2. In locus 1 were found fragments of ARS Hayes forms 104A-C and 105 dating to the late 6th and early 7th centuries C.E. These fine red-slip wares were augmented by the deeper PRS Hayes form 10 dishes (Vogt 2000:44). Locus 2 showed only Hayes form 105. Indeed, throughout the site these few forms constituted the majority of imported finewares, showing a close connection to particular forms of consumption (Vogt 2000:44). This reflects larger changes towards communal dining earlier in late antiquity, but may also be connected to their use within either ecclesiastical or bathing contexts, as these forms manifestly do not appear in either the graves on the site or in those few structures away from the communal contexts (Hudson 2010, Wilson 2010, 2011).

The North narthex also contained a number of forms that were identified as local products based on their fabrics (Vogt 2000:42). A further mineralogical and chemical analysis of these fabrics was carried out in 2008 by Yangaki *et al.*, who found, with some exceptions, that the macroscopic analysis generally held true. Those few types that were earlier considered to be local 'imitations' of imported finewares were, by and large, found to be merely the results of peculiar firings or mistakes in production abroad, particularly in subsidiary, late, North African workshops (Yangaki *et al.* 2008:7). Local fine-ware forms (although in the North narthex they were confined to mug fragments in locus 1) were almost universally of a soft orange or pinkish buff fabric, usually poorly fired, with limestone and some mica inclusions. Food preparation wares also had this fabric, in the North narthex represented by basin fragments. Cooking wares were slightly different, with a reddish or brownish-orange fabric, showing numerous pores and a coarse texture, with mica, and several brown, black, or red mineral inclusions (Vogt 2000). Flakes of mica are generally indicative of Cretan or Cycladic fabrics, particularly from the eastern part of the island. The only cooking ware found in the North narthex were fragments of globular pots, again, as with the basins, only in locus 1. A small necked lamp, of a type that began to be used in the 5th century C.E. but continued into the 7th century C.E., was also found there.

Both imported and local transport wares were found in the North narthex. Pieces of imported Late Roman Amphorae 2, of a fabric thought to be potentially indicative of an origin in Seleucia-Pieria, were found in locus 1, while additional fragments of Carthage Amphora 8a and LRA1, from Asia Minor, were also found in locus 2 (Peacock and Williams 1986:186-7). Given the confusion over the LRA2/13 lineage, the aforementioned pieces can be considered early forms of the later, ubiquitous, globular amphorae family (Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014). Local amphorae included forms identified as AC1b in locus 1 and AC1c-d in both loci. The fabric of these local transport vessels was buff-orange, poorly fired, with fine white and black inclusions, quartz, limestone, and infrequent mica (Vogt 2000:90). The products thought to have been typically contained within the aforementioned vessels include wine for the LRA1, and oil for the 'LRA2' (Vogt 2000:83-4). An argument has been made that the decline in cities, particularly on the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, in the last centuries of Late Antiquity can be linked to the fragmentation and decline of external trade networks, yet imported amphorae make up a relatively small percentage of the total storage and transport vessels here, only 32% from the 5th to the 7th century C.E. (Malamut 1988:32, Vogt 2000:80). If these cities relied so heavily on external trade, their ceramic assemblages should be composed primarily of such products, rather than constituting relatively small percentages. Additionally, only a few locations in the lower city of Eleutherna evinced imported amphorae compared with local. This disparity, however, may be a result of our continued, relative inability to recognize local products. Overall, the view that the decline, and ruralization, of cities may be linked to a collapse in long distance trade networks may be skewed by our ceramic data, which is heavily weighted towards the 7th century C.E., and the compression mentioned by Tim Gregory in his discussion of the 'Byzantine problem' (Gregory 2003). Undoubtedly other factors were also at work, including Arab raids and the need for security, changes in administrative practice, and the decline of the *curial* class and the shift to ecclesiastical control over administration and the maintenance of public services.

Moving on to the basilical complex, an even greater diversity in ceramic forms was found in the North atrium. Given the note by the excavators that the street to the North of the basilica had been built over by several Early Byzantine houses, and the multiple loci in which the ceramics of the North atrium were found, it cannot be confidently stated that all of the pottery was associated with the basilica (Themelis 2009:80). However, as with the North narthex, we have in the North atrium a considerable number of imported fineware forms that do not appear outside the communal contexts. ARS Hayes forms 104B, 105, and 106 appear in locus 1, while ARS Hayes 104C appears in loci 07-08 and in 039. These dish forms are supplemented by the deeper PRS Hayes forms 5 and 10 in locus 03, while in locus 014 only PRS Hayes form 10 was found. Again these fine imported red-slip wares make no appearance in the graves on the site, or, for the most part, away from the core of the communal structures (or in the large-scale dumps). An exception is PRS Hayes form 10, a deeper dish/bowl which appears in a few other locations. Two additional finewares that appear in the North atrium are a narrow-mouthed jug, possibly from Asia Minor, in locus 1, and a single fragment of an Egyptian bowl, with a fine pink fabric and numerous white, gray, and red inclusions found in locus 06 (Vogt 2000:65). This last piece belongs to a very common type of bowl that was in use from the 6th to as late as the 11th century C.E., but not much found outside of Egypt. An exception in the Mediterranean is to be found on the island of Cyprus, as was seen above at Kourion.

The local fineware in the North atrium also shows a great deal of diversity. This includes jugs (in locus 01), pitchers (in loci 01 and 015), spouted jugs (in locus 015), and mugs (in loci 07-08, 03, and 012). These mugs are particularly interesting as a few show signs of white-slipped decoration, usually in the form of vertical lines (Vogt 2000:69). While these forms appear at Knossos as early as the 3rd century C.E., they continued in use up to the early 7th century C.E., and may have some connection with the painted wares of mainland Greece and the 'over-painted ware' found at Gortyn that take over in the 7th century C.E. and continue into the 8th century C.E., although those ceramics tend to eschew mug forms (Vroom 2005:43). Mugs are especially common in the 6th and 7th century C.E. graves at Eleutherna. Of the food preparation and cooking wares in the North atrium only fragments of basins, in loci 01, 03, 06, and globular pots, in loci

01 and 02, were found. Transport jugs and amphorae included imported LRA1 from Seleucia-Pieria (in locus 01), and local amphorae AC1b (in loci 010, 012, and 014) and AC1c-d (in loci 01, 02, and 03). A small lamp with three burners was also found in locus 01.

Apart from these two locations associated with the basilical complex, and the dumps located within the bath complex, four other locations showed a significant number of ceramic forms. The first two, Rooms 31 and 28, abut the baptistery across the street from the basilica, but do not have any connecting doorways or passages. Room 31 lies adjacent to the main chamber of the baptistery, Room 33, and appears to have been part of the same structure. Room 28 however, which shares a South wall with Room 31, appears to be more of an *ad hoc* structure constructed in the middle of the road running beside the baptistery and contained two large *pithoi*. The other two locations are Room 32, or more appropriately Space 32, and Room 45. The first is a large open area, bounded on three sides by walls that extend from the baptistery, and that lies almost equidistant between the baptistery and the bath house, nearly in the center of the area excavated as the Byzantine lower city and very near the abandoned Roman Villas 1 and 2. The walls of this area abut the street that runs past the baptistery and towards the basilica. The second area is Room 45, apparently part of the bath house complex, as the only adjoining rooms connect to the *calidarium* and thence to the furnace and *praefurnium*. Given its isolated location within the complex we may be able to assume it functioned as a small dump.

Room 31, located next to the West wall of the main baptistery chamber, Room 33, contained several pieces of imported fineware, including ARS Hayes forms 104A and 105, as well as PRS Hayes form 10 in locus 01 and 02. Jug and mug fragments of local fineware were also found in locus 01. Food preparation and cooking wares included basins in both loci, as well as globular pot fragments in locus 01. Imported LRA1 fragments from Seleucia-Pieria were also found in that locus. Room 28, to the South, contained only local finewares, including pieces of mugs and pitchers in locus 01, while food preparation and cooking vessels were represented by the remains of large bowls and globular pots. Inside one of the large *pithoi* were found basin remains and a single fragment of a narrow-mouthed pot from Egypt or Palestine. This piece is particularly interesting as no other examples are known from Crete or the wider Aegean (Vogt 2000:77). With a brownish clay fabric and a grayish core, well fired, with fine white, brown, and black inclusions, it is of a type that was popular in Egypt between the 5th and 9th centuries C.E. but continued in limited use through the 11th century C.E. It is a peculiar piece that may be a later intrusion, indicative of wide-reaching trade contacts, or perhaps even limited use of the site during the period of the Emirate.

Within the bath house Room 45 stood out for the range of ceramic types present, several of which did not appear within the basilical complex or the associated baptistery (with the exception of the cistern dumps, to be discussed below). Among the finewares was a single fragment of a PRS Hayes form 87c-109, a relatively rare 7th century C.E. form, pieces of PRS Hayes Form 10, and several local finewares, including pitchers, mugs, cups, goblets, and flagons-*unguentaria*. It should be noted that these local forms are specifically designed for use with water or perfume, and are thus suggestive of their contextual use within the bath house (Vogt 2000:71). Cooking and food preparation wares included basins, large bowls, egg-shaped pots, and globular pots. A small necked lamp was also in evidence. No transport or storage wares were found. This pattern differs widely from that of the basilica and the spaces next to the baptistery, which lends further credence to a differential distribution that is based more on contextual use than happenstance. All the aforementioned wares also come from a single locus, 04-05. The remaining location, except for the dumps, that did show a variety of forms also included some of these pouring forms. Room 32, away from both the baptistery and the bath house, had local finewares in the form of cups and jugs, in locus 02, and in locus 01 flagons-*unguentaria*, mugs, and pitchers. Basins and globular pots in locus 01 represented the cooking and food preparation wares and fragments of LRA1 from Seleucia-Pieria and a local AC1c-d amphora were also discovered.

The remaining rooms that were excavated in the lower city, and their ceramics, can be summed up quickly. Rooms 33, 37, 40, and 43 all had only one ceramic type in each of them. Room 33 contained basin fragments, 37 LRA1 sherds from Seleucia-Pieria, 40 the same, and 43 globular pot remains. Room 34, part of the baptistery complex, contained imported PRS Hayes form 10, a narrow-mouth fine-ware bowl of local manufacture, a food preparation and cooking ware basin, and egg-shaped pot fragments. Pieces of LRA1 from Seleucia-Pieria were found in the same locus, 02, while a small lamp from Asia Minor was located in locus 01. Room 39, adjacent to Room 32 and near the center of the excavated area of the lower city, contained mug and basin fragments in locus 01, and the remains of a Cretan AC1c-d amphora in locus 02. Room 53 lay within the bath house, while Room 54 was located far to the West of the excavated area, near the center of one of the abandoned Roman houses. In Room 53 were found pieces of ARS Hayes form 105 in locus 01, and in locus 04 those of PRS Hayes form 10, as well as local cup, mug, flagon-*unguentaria* fragments, and basin sherds. Room 54 held, in locus 01, globular pot sherds, and in locus 04 the pieces of a tubular spouted globular pot, both cooking wares. The final excavated location with ceramic material was marked in the catalog as T2, although this designation did not appear on the excavation plan. ARS Hayes form 104B and PRS Hayes form 10 sherds were found therein, as well as large bowl and globular pot fragments.

The dumps on the site, located in Cistern A in the baptistery, and the central chamber of the bath house, Room 50, contain a staggering variety of forms. Additionally, Cistern D, with a far more limited number, appears to have continued in use throughout the latest phase of the lower city, containing as it does only later forms. The forms located in these two dumps and Cistern D, many of which do not occur elsewhere, are summarized in the table below (Table 4.1). It is interesting to note that overall the site produced no Cypriot Red Slip Ware or Glazed White Ware, pointing to an earlier date, restricted to the 7th century C.E., for the entire assemblage, or a lack of connectivity with the capital and Cyprus/southwestern Anatolia in the late 7th/early 8th centuries C.E.

The tombs with grave goods located in Sector I, the lower city of Early Byzantine Eleutherna, showed considerable uniformity as far as their attendant ceramics were concerned. All contained forms for either pouring or imbibing liquid, to the exclusion of nearly any other form. Mugs, pitchers, and cups are the most common, with the occasional jug, bottle, or narrow-mouthed fine-ware bowl. No imported wares, based on macroscopic fabric analysis, are in evidence (Vogt 2000). In addition to these wares, bottles of the same type as those found in Sector I, and possibly modeled on glass vessels, appear in the graves excavated on the Pyrgi, as well as small *oinochoai* (Stampolidis 2004:297). Again, the association between grave goods and pouring or imbibing vessels is maintained. The individual wares and the graves in which they were found can be seen in Table 4.1. These graves also contained an array of bronze belt buckles.

Other small finds in Sector I include several pieces of metal and glass. In Room III of the basilica annex were found a bronze *oinochoe*, a bronze tripod and censer or lamp, a disc-shaped bronze lid, a bent iron flesh hook, and a bronze utensil (Themelis 2009:89). Three lamps, two vases, and seven clay vessels were also found in Room III, but were not included in the material catalogued by Vogt (Themelis 2009:89, Vogt 2000). Room 33, the primary chamber of the baptistery, included a bronze buckle, and bronze chains for the suspension of bronze censers. Large pieces of greenish blue glass, some with ornamental incisions, were found in the nave of the basilica, and glass *unguentaria* were included in graves 6 and 7 of the basilical complex (Stampolidis 2004:302).

Numismatic finds include numerous bronze *folles* of Constans II (641-668 CE), and one countermarked *follis* of Constantine IV (668-685 CE) was found in the narthex of the basilica (Sidiropoulos 2009:97). Two lead seals were also discovered at Eleutherna; the first, located in one of the cist graves in the North atrium, belonged to a man named Photeinos who was *apo hypaton*, or “from the consuls” (Themelis 2009:90). The second appears to be an 8th-century C.E. form, invoking the aid of the *Theotokos* on one side, and on the other displaying a cruciform monogram with the letters *Z, M, N, C,* with the possible reading of the name Zosiman or Zosimiano (Kalpaxis 2004:172). This last seal was located on the acropolis at Pyrgi. Two additional 7th-century C.E. seals were located in the site storehouses, one reading *apo hypaton*, and the other *genikon kommerikiarion*, the latter having significant implications for the place of Eleutherna within the military and economic system of the 7th-century C.E. *themata* (Themelis 2009:90).

4.4.3 *Discussion*

The overall ceramic assemblage at Eleutherna, starting with the 7th-century C.E. material, displays a number of interesting points that differentiate it from that of Monastiraki-Katalimata. Given its status as metropolitan center, the variety of forms, particularly imported material, clearly surpasses that of the small refuge site, but with indications of an alternate form of connectivity and regional focus. There is also a significant difference between those loci associated with the church, and those with private residences and dumps, and the graves. While Monastiraki-Katalimata showed slight Egyptian and Levantine connections with its imported material, as might be expected given its location near the northeastern coast of Crete, Eleutherna has only the slightest hint of such material. Indeed, the Egyptian bowl located within the *pithos* in Room 31 stands out as exceptional, and may have been a treasured heirloom or exotic item. LRA5s are totally absent, and given the ease with which they can be identified, it is unlikely this is a mistake on the part of Vogt. Instead ARS and PRS forms point to connections West and Northeast, and the small piece of possible Askra Ware to the North. This may be a result of Eleutherna's position further from any trunk route that ran by the Eastern part of the island from Egypt and the Levant. Moreover, Eleutherna lies some distance from the coast, and the preponderance of local finewares and amphorae indicate it may have had a far more local focus in its economy, and dining culture.

The painted decoration on some of the local fineware also points to a more local, in this case regional, emphasis. This type of painted decoration shares similarities with the 'over-painted' ware from the late 7th and 8th century C.E. at Gortyn (to be discussed below), as well as material from the Greek mainland dating to the 6th century C.E. (Vroom 2005:43). The types of decoration, geometric bands or lines, also appears on painted pottery to the West, at Butrint and in Italy (Vroom 2012:368). This may be indicative of a general shift towards painted wares at the end of Late Antiquity, with the collapse of the red slip import tradition, and state augmented trade. Painting also appears about this time in Egypt and the Levant, as will be seen below, but in a slightly different character. The trajectory of this tradition on Crete plays out in our data at Gortyn, rather than Eleutherna, which again points to an earlier date for this material, in the 7th, rather than the 8th, century. Still the local vs imported dichotomy can clearly be seen in the ceramics, particularly when contrasted with contemporary sites like Monastiraki-Katalimata. That an overarching Byzantine *koine* may be at work in the cooking traditions can also be seen in the cooking pots and coarsewares. The jugs and storage vessels are of a type that is common throughout the Byzantine world during this period, and the round-bottomed cooking pots, discussed more fully in Chapter 6, are akin to Dhiorios forms more generally and bespeak the Byzantine penchant for soups and stews (Arthur 2007, Vroom 2012).

Class differentiation can potentially be seen in the contextual separation of various forms between the basilica and other areas. The wider variety of ARS and PRS forms in the church contexts may indicate a higher level of access, but there is also significance in the greater preference for dishes and plates seen among that material. As the Late Antique world faded, and the Middle Ages approached, at some point there was a shift towards seated over reclined dining, with the larger plates indicative of communal eating and display more connected with the former style (Hudson 2010, Wilson 2011, Vroom 2009, 2012). This will be discussed further in Chapter 6, but suffice it to say, here we can potentially connect the church contexts with this more ‘old fashioned’ style of dining, and its elite connotations. That imported material, plates or otherwise, does not appear in the grave contexts is interesting, and may be more connected with the types of burial rites practiced in association with Late Antique ideas concerning, in this local context, libation and St. Michael.

4.5 Gortyn

4.5.1 *Site Description*

The city of Gortyn, also known as Gortys, served as the administrative center for the island of Crete and Cyrenaica throughout the Roman period, and as the capital of Crete into the Byzantine era. Located in the South-central portion of the island, some 45 km to the South Southwest of modern Iraklion, Gortyn sits in the Messara plain, just on the edge of the foothills of Mt. Ida. Inhabited as far back as the Neolithic, the city came into its own during the Hellenistic period, growing to be one of the most important *poleis* on the island prior to coming under Roman control in the 1st century B.C.E. (Sanders 1982: 3-15).

As a Roman city Gortyn was one of the most important centers of trade and cultural life in the Aegean, furnished with stadia, baths, and a large temple to Apollo Pythios (Figure 4.5). From the Hellenistic period the center of Gortyn was the area just to the east of the Pythion, a substantial residential area that, at some point in the Roman period, was furnished with a gymnasium and a bath complex with extensive hydraulic works (Lippolis *et al.* 2012:246). These buildings would see significant changes during the Byzantine period (from the 4th century C.E.) and this part of the city continued to be the focus of urban life until the general abandonment of the city sometime in the early 9th century C.E. The majority of archaeological investigations on the site have centered on this area, as well as the, presumed, bishoprical cathedral of the Mitropolis, to the West of the urban center, beyond the *agora* (Baldini *et al.* 2013: 258).

By the 4th century C.E. the city was largely Christian, and the seat of an Archbishop. Officially attached to the *Praefectura Praetorio per Illyricum*, Gortyn, and Crete, were under the ecclesiastical administration of Rome, even if after 395 C.E. they were politically part of the

Eastern Empire (Tsougarakis 1988: 198). This situation was to continue until early in the 8th century C.E., although Crete increasingly sided with Constantinople during synods and ecumenical councils. In 732-3 C.E. the official annexation of Crete by the Patriarchate, along with Calabria, Sicily, and Greece finally occurred, although it had been effectively the case for some years (Tsougarakis 1988:203-5). In the subsequent centuries, almost nothing is known of the Archbishops of Gortyn, although during the Iconoclastic controversies there are indications that the island as a whole was decidedly iconophile, and during the Arab period there are mentions of two Archbishops residing in exile in Greece. In the years after the Byzantine reconquest the picture is just as opaque (Tsougarakis 1988: 206-10).

The Byzantine city is marked by the remains of several churches in addition to the Mitropolis, including the 8th century C.E. church of St. Titus, the bema of which still stands. This church likely acted as the primary cathedral of the city following the general abandonment of Mitropolis sometime after the earthquake of 720 C.E. (Baldini *et al.* 2013: 290). I say 'general' abandonment for, at Gortyn, the final phases of many of the monuments is unclear, with continued, sporadic usage in evidence well after their last primary phase of life. St. Titus, and the fortified acropolis of Gortyn, appear to show substantial use in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., and possibly into the Arab period, although these areas have not yet been the subject of intensive archaeological investigation. Overall the city seems to have retained much of its urban fabric until well into the 8th century C.E., with continued occupation into the early 9th century C.E. It is thought that the city was largely abandoned following the Arab conquest of the island in 827 C.E. and the movement of the capital to Chandax (Iraklion), although the *Life of St. Nikon*, written in the 10th century C.E., mentions continued habitation of Gortyn at that time (Tsougarakis 1988:118).

The archaeological work in the downtown area has shown several phases of large-scale construction punctuated by destructive earthquakes, inaugurating the Byzantine period in 365 C.E., and, for the purposes of this dissertation, again in 618-21, 670, 720, and 796 C.E. The frequent tectonic activity in the intervening centuries need not be discussed. The rebuilding, spoliation, pitting, leveling, and reuse of these areas has meant that any potentially secure contexts that may have resulted from the earthquakes has been largely ruined. Consequently much of what follows will be focused on an overall picture of the major contexts and their often jumbled ceramics; only a general picture for much of the 7th, 8th, and early 9th centuries C.E. is available.

The three main areas of archaeological excavation have focused on the Praetorium, the large administrative building constructed in the downtown area following the earthquake of 365 C.E., the nearby Nymphaeum, first constructed in the 2nd century C.E., and the area near the Pythion known as the 'Byzantine Quarter,' a largely residential district that occupied the space between the Praetorium and the old temple of Apollo Pythios (Figure 4.6) (Di Vita 2000, Lippolis *et al.* 2012). Additional work has been carried out at the Mitropolis cathedral, although this has been less extensively published. In recent years the focus of investigation has been on reconstructing the changing face of urbanism in Gortyn during Late Antiquity and into the Byzantine period, including its apparent decline and ruralization (Baldini *et al.* 2013, Lippolis *et al.* 2012, Vattimo 2008, Zanini 2009). After a brief discussion of the excavation history of the site, I will summarize the conclusions of this recent work before discussing the Praetorium, Nymphaeum, 'Byzantine Quarter' of the Pythion area, and the Mitropolis cathedral, and the material associated with some of the excavations in these areas.

While excavations had been carried out since the 1880s under Frederico Halbherr, discoverer of the *Laws of Gortyn*, the first large-scale, systematic investigations of note were carried out by Luigi Pernier in 1912 in the area of the Praetorium, with additional work also conducted by Giangiacomo Porro and Biagio Pace between 1912 and 1914 (Di Vita 2000). In 1925 Halbherr entrusted his work to Antonio Maria Colini, who began excavating the Praetorium in earnest from 1935 to 1937. Work resumed in the area under Colini in 1970 going until 1977. Needless to say, the documentation for the excavations prior to the 1970s was less than ideal, and even the work of Colini has had to be largely reconstructed (Di Vita and Martin 1997). After some minor work between 1979 and 1982, major excavations began under Antonio di Vita in 1989, continuing until 1995. Since then, largely due to a lack of funding, a dizzying array of minor excavations have been carried out in the Praetorium, Nymphaeum, and Pythion by a number of Italian universities, including the University of Rome, the Polytechnic University of Bari, the University of Bologna, the University of Siena, the University of Padua, and the Italian Archaeological School of Athens, to name a few (Lippolis *et al.* 2009, Lippolis *et al.* 2012, Zanini 2009).

As mentioned, the majority of this recent work has focused on reconstructing the urban history of Gortyn in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine period. Defining Late Antiquity as roughly the 3rd through the 7th centuries C.E., the evidence from Gortyn has emphasized a fundamental shift that took place in the character of urbanism itself that deserves to be considered its own entity rather than as the traditional diminution of classical forms (Baldini *et al.* 2013: 240). In line with the a centralization in administration, the Empire in the 7th century C.E. transitioned from several large urban centers, with their own long-established civic cultures, for example Alexandria and Antioch, to a single administrative, cultural, metropolitan center in the form of Constantinople. This was no doubt largely a response to the crisis provoked by the emergence of Islam and the dire military situation that prevailed throughout the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. (Baldini *et al.* 2013:240, Haldon 2016).

That this movement may have had a cascade effect in urban centers throughout the Empire, particularly as it relates to the disappearance of local elites and their salutary effect on urban maintenance and development can certainly be implied, and is taken as a central tenet of this dissertation. In short there is a functional change in the urban fabric that has long been recognized for this period, and indeed is mirrored by developments in the western Empire of two to three centuries earlier (Wickham 2005). At Gortyn following the earthquake of 670 C.E., and the attendant widespread destruction, there was a move towards an incorporation of more industrial and agro-processing facilities within the formerly densely populated spaces of the urban core. Building and re-building made extensive use of *spolia*, and there is an apparent spontaneity about the placement of new constructions. Improvisation seems to have been the order of the day, although habitation continues to be relatively dense. Public utilities largely cease, or are replaced by more *ad hoc* versions. Workshops and grain storage areas exist alongside chapels and houses, and burials intrude into the urban area (Baldini *et al.* 2013: 242, Lippolis *et al.* 2009: 107, Mecozzi 2011: 80, Vattimo 2008: 901-903). Overall there is a simplification, a decline in public buildings, and a re-orientation of the city towards its immediate *chora*, and its productive capabilities. This trend increases over the course of the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E. until, by the early 9th century C.E., it is unclear if we are looking at an urban or rural situation. Much of the evidence for this scenario comes from excavations in and around the Praetorium.

The Praetorium is located to the east of the old temple of Apollo Pythios, in the center of what was the Hellenistic residential district. Originally a Gymnasium and bath complex constructed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries C.E. next to a large stadium of the first half of the 1st century B.C.E., the earthquake of 365 C.E. forced a functional conversion of the area. The stadium ceased being used and the Praetorium, as the seat of the governors of Crete, was moved from its previously unknown position to that of the Gymnasium (Di Vita 2000: xli). Constructed under the consul Icumenius Dositeus Asclepiodotus in 382-383 C.E., the new Praetorium was bounded on the North and West by two of the main thoroughfares of the city, and made use of the large courtyard and salons of the Gymnasium/bath complex, adding a new courtroom in the Northwest corner of the complex. That part of the baths that was not converted, continued to function until the 6th century C.E. (Di Vita 2000: lxi). The area to the South of the Praetorium was occupied by several private residences. During the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. this became a largely poor, artisanal district, beginning the movement of industry into the urban core of Gortyn. In response the Praetorium shifted its primary entrance to the North, away from these residences (Di Vita 2000: lxii). Under Justinian there was also a large-scale renovation of the hydraulic system of the district and of the principle roadways.

The earthquake of 618-21 C.E. heavily damaged Gortyn and under the emperor Heraclius the Praetorium was massively renovated. Making considerable use of *spolia* from its previous iteration, a large judicial basilica was added to the complex, and, across the North Road, a Nymphaeum was constructed, its multiple cisterns meant to compensate for the failing aqueduct into the city (Baldini *et al.* 2013: 254, Di Vita 2000: lxv). The basilica measured 30.5 m long by 11.9-12.5 m wide and, with its three aisles, is one of the larger judicial basilicas in the Eastern Mediterranean, bearing significant similarities to the one at Caesarea Maritima. A second apsidal hall adjoined the main one, and in addition to renovating several of the adjacent offices, the small bath complex was also renewed. The area surrounding the Praetorium consisted, by the 7th century C.E., of a series of workshops identified by their industrial debris. These artisanal residences extended into the space between the Praetorium and the Pythion, and this 'Byzantine Quarter,' discussed below, has been the focus of considerable excavation in recent years (Baldini *et al.* 2013:256, Vattimo 2008, Zanini 2009, 2011).

Towards the end of the 7th century C.E. an extremely destructive event occurred, probably the earthquake of 670 C.E. There are multiple traces of fire and collapse across the Praetorium district, and the complex itself appears to cease being used for its original purpose. There are multiple instances of the robbing-out of building material and the leveling of various parts of the structures. Farming equipment, presses, *pithoi*, and grain silos appear, although the courtyard and its porticoes seem to remain in use (Baldini *et al.* 2013:260, Lippolis *et al.* 2009:107). At the crossing of the North and West Roads two small chapels are constructed, the use of which appears to continue well into the 8th century C.E. if not later. The roads are 'repaired,' although many of their slabs are removed for construction activities elsewhere. Several parts of the Praetorium are subdivided into smaller structures, but overall the area has a rural/industrial feel. Colini advanced the theory that the entire complex was transformed into a monastery, associated with either of the two chapels located at the intersection of the North and West Roads, but this has not been conclusively established (Di Vita 2000:374). This picture continues into the 8th century C.E., and possibly the 9th before general 'abandonment' (Lippolis *et al.* 2009:107). Major earthquakes in 720 and 796 C.E., a plague in the 8th century C.E., and finally the Arab conquest in 827 C.E. may have all contributed, although given the existence of

St. Titus and the fortification of the acropolis total abandonment before the mid-9th century C.E. seems unlikely (Baldini 2013:253).

4.5.2 *Finds*

Much of the material recovered from the fill and leveling in the 7th and 8th century C.E. levels of the Praetorium is in keeping with that seen elsewhere in Crete. The tableware shows large concentrations of ARS and PRS in their latest forms, including the large 104 and 105 platters in ARS, and form 3 (types E and F) and the similar, later form 10 in the Phocaean ware (Rizzo 2001a, 2001b). Large quantities of ARS form 106 also turned up in the Colini excavations (Lippolis *et al.* 2009:108). Overall 39 different forms were recognized, although many appear to have not been standard productions. Large serving dishes or deep bowls were the norm, although the striking thing was the range of fabrics and surface treatments present. While the standard forms of ARS and PRS continue into the late 7th century C.E., these aberrant productions may represent local copies that go somewhat later. Often mimicking Hayes' ARS forms 99, 104, 105, and 106, the fabric shows numerous impurities, poor slip, and a wide variety of colors (Lippolis *et al.* 2009:109). While the penchant has been to assign these productions to local craftsmen, the similar material from Eleutherna should be remembered, as well as the productions known from Nabeul in Tunisia that date to the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E. (Bonifay 2004:207-9). With these in mind it is perhaps safer to assume a continued connection with the workshops of North Africa, even after that area had fallen into Arab hands. That being said, there are other pieces that may indeed be local productions, showing considerable inclusions of mica and imitating forms, not just of ARS, but of Egyptian red slip A as well (Lippolis *et al.* 2009:110, 2012:255). In any event these late products show a continued attempt to maintain Late Roman red slip wares on the table into the 8th century C.E. Egyptian red slip A is known from only a few plate fragments, while the later Egyptian C, dating to the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E., is in slightly greater abundance. Cypriot red slip however appears in only small amounts in the Praetorium complex. A few dozen sherds of CRS form 9, and two of form 10 dating to the late the 7th century C.E., have been recovered (Rizzo 2001c).

A ceramic type that appears in relative abundance at Gortyn is *sovradipinti* or 'over-painted ware' (Figure 4.7). Markedly similar to a ware produced in central Greece in the 6th century C.E., this ceramic usually shows a light brown to light red fabric with a light red to reddish-brown slip. Painted over this slip are vegetal, animal, and geometric designs, often in a red or brown varnish (Vroom 2005:43). As noted above, an early form of these ceramics may also appear at Eleutherna, although in far smaller numbers. First identified by Di Vita, over-painted ware is a local production, and kilns have been identified in the area of the Pythion. Primarily closed forms, mugs, jugs, flasks, and bottles, with some open forms such as plates and bowls, these semi-fine, probably supplemental tablewares were produced in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., and after ARS and PRS, are the most common tablewares in the Praetorium (Rizzotto 2009, Vitale 2001). That these are local products, taking their cue from earlier mainland ceramics, and appearing at the time when imported tablewares largely disappear, is highly significant. It signals an adaptation, a shift towards a local creativity in dining ceramics, mirroring that which occurs in several areas in the Levant and Anatolia, as will be seen in Chapter 5, as well as similar productions in Italy and Albania (Vroom 2012). After the general abandonment of the site, and likely by the time of the Arab conquest, these ceramics apparently cease to be produced.

Coarsewares and cooking wares again follow the patterns seen elsewhere on Crete. Pitchers, pots, basins, jars, *hydriae*, cups, dishes, jugs—the range of coarsewares is considerable, encompassing all the day-to-day ceramics employed by the inhabitants of the Praetorium. Almost certainly local productions, they are in a range of fabrics, from light pinks to creams to browns and beiges, with no surface decoration, and are exceedingly hard to date given the wide range of forms and their longevity during Late Antiquity. There does however seem to be a diminution in variety towards the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. (Albertocchi and Perna 2001:414). The vast majority of cooking wares, 63%, are *ollae*, the standard late Roman cooking pot, similar to those seen on Cyprus and elsewhere. With a globular body, ribbed shoulder, two vertical handles, everted rim, and coarse, thin, friable fabric in dark red or brown, these vessels speak to a certain continuity of late Roman cooking practice up through the final phases of occupation at Gortyn (Sirano 2001, Vroom 2016). These cooking pots are joined by *tegame*, lids, pots, and pitchers, all continuing earlier forms.

The amphorae fragments were plentiful in the Praetorium, numbering some 9,300 sherds from the 4th to 8th centuries C.E. Contrary to expectation, the latest phases of the site show a considerable upswing in amphorae fragments, although this may be due to the generally greater representation afforded by these terminal levels (Romeo and Portale 2001:384). The ratio of local to imported amphorae drops however, offering a bit of a puzzle when compared with imported finewares, although this may be due to the presence of as yet unidentified local forms. Although still in the majority, the ratio drops from the 70-80% of total in the preceding two centuries to around 60-70% during the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. (Romeo and Portale 2001:387). Among the local products are notably types TRC 7 and 9, which imitate LRA1 and 'LRA2', as well as some pieces of the 8th century C.E. TRC 5. Baldini has suggested that these imitations may have been an attempt to increase the value of the containers' contents (Baldini *et al.* 2013:281). It is significant that the imported amphorae from the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. in the

Praetorium partake of much the same markets that dominated trade in the era before the emergence of Islam and the fall of many of these areas into Arab hands. Aegean LRA1s account for 23%; Egyptian LRA5/6s, 7s, and Egloff 172s constitute 13%; Palestinian LRA5/6s make up 5%; and African spatheia LRA8a-b compose 5% (Baldini *et al.* 2013:281). Much of this material is likely linked to the later phases of the Praetorium, when the building had ceased to be used for its original function and was occupied by facilities for agricultural processing and storage.

The Nymphaeum of Gortyn lies very close to the Praetorium, occupying a space across the northern street, near the crossroads that would be occupied by the two chapels in the latest phases of the site. Constructed following the earthquake of 618-621 C.E. and part of the Heraclian building program, the Nymphaeum's many cisterns were meant to cater to a still largely urban population in the area of the Praetorium. Passing out of public use in the late 7th century C.E., the Nymphaeum was subsequently sub-divided, with a *spolia* bench added to the northern room, as well as a press or grindstone. A silo was constructed to the South (Lippolis 2012:254). At around the same time a small chapel was built directly to the Southwest of the Nymphaeum out of *spolia*. The area appears to have been frequented well into the 8th century C.E. Bronze and iron scraps in the nearby crossroads indicate additional industrial activity (Lippolis 2012:254).

Excavated in 2003, 2005, and 2007-2008, the Nymphaeum yielded comparable material to the nearby Praetorium. Large quantities of ARS forms 91A, 99A-C, 104A-B, 105, and 107 were recovered from the latest levels, as well as some PRS, Overpainted ware, and some lead seals. Unfortunately, these last three types of items have not been published in detail (Lippolis et al. 2012:255). Again, the variation in the type and quality of the fabrics and slips of the ARS ware was noted, although the majority seem to have clustered around 'imitations' of ARS form

105. Micaceous versions of other ARS forms, as well as some small bowls reminiscent of ERS A ware were also recovered (Lippolis et al. 2012:255). No information has yet been published on amphorae, coarseware, or cooking ware.

The Byzantine Quarter, located between the Praetorium and the older temple of Apollo Pythios has also recently been excavated, and, as a large residential district throughout its later history, would yield important information about the use of various ceramic forms in such a context in the latest phases of the city. This is particularly true as, in contrast to the Praetorium, which in its latest phases moves towards an almost rural mode of existence, the Byzantine Quarter retains an urban flavor throughout its use-history. However, very little of this ceramic information has yet been published, and I will describe the quarter primarily for the presence of a single important, imported dish that was discovered there.

While the areas of this quarter closest to the Praetorium were excavated by Halbherr, the recent work has attempted to move from the temple of Apollo Pythios to the East, attempting to connect with the already excavated portion of the district. Conducted by Enrico Zanini since 2002, the excavations have gradually exposed a major thoroughfare and a series of small houses, shops, and at least one elite residence/public building. The road and area itself seems to have been largely constructed in the wake of the earthquake of 365 C.E. One of the constructions that has received archaeological attention is a large structure (B) that extended for 25 meters along the North side of the thoroughfare (Figure 4.6). Of apparently two stories, this building was constructed in the 7th century C.E. using considerable amounts of *spolia* from the nearby temple of Apollo Pythios (Zanini 2011:1106). While previous excavations and agricultural activity have disturbed the area, it is still apparent that the upper stories featured a number of storage amphorae and that there may have been a civic function attached to the building, possibly religious, as indicated by a recovered monogram (Zanini 2011:1109). Featuring large rooms, a monumental entrance, and a renovated water supply system, the building was constructed to the highest standards of the time just as the area of the Praetorium was declining (Zanini 2012). While the preliminary site report does not go into considerable detail concerning the 'high quality' material culture found in the construction, it did mention that a Glazed White Ware I dish was found in the building's polygonal courtyard, a further indication of its connection with the 7th century C.E. urban elite of Gortyn, and significant in the context of this ware's distribution elsewhere (Zanini 2012). Building B also appears to remain in use until the 8th century C.E. Across the street things are slightly different. To the South there lies another large building; constructed in the 6th century C.E., this two-story building was quickly modified and broken up into several shops/dwellings (Vattimo 2008:901). Traces of craft activities, burials, and extensive household waste continue into the late 7th century C.E. Unfortunately, the ceramics from this fascinating context, which would provide an interesting counterpoint to the undoubtedly wealthy building to the North, are waiting to be published.

Lastly, the cathedral of the Mitropolis, some 300 meters to the West of the Praetorium, has seen scattered archaeological work. The center of a small complex of buildings, and evidently another pole of urban activity during the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., the cathedral was one of the largest in the Aegean at the time of its extensive renovation in the early 7th century C.E. (Baldini 2013: 259). Utilizing much material from the earlier cathedral, significantly no new imported material makes an appearance in the building, pointing to possible strains in maritime connectivity at the time. At the end of the 7th century C.E. the complex was destroyed by fire, with considerable robbing out of material subsequently. Cylindrical pits and other agricultural activities appear to have taken place on the site in the 8th century C.E. However, the final use history of the building is unclear, as liturgical and ceramic material dating from the 8th century have been found in the area, and parts of the church may still have been in use at that time (Baldini 2013:264). As such, the final collapse of the building may have come early in the 8th century C.E., with the earthquake of 720 C.E., rather than with the earlier seismic activity of 670 C.E. A coin of Anastasios II (713-715 C.E.) has been found in the baptistery, and the last concrete use of the church is a tomb of four individuals, covered with two large slabs and a domed layer of brick (Baldini 2013:262). Interestingly, a sheet of bronze, part of a liturgical object, was also found in these latest levels, with the words 'ὑπερ εὐχής Ανδρέας' ('for the vow of Andreas') written on it. A number of glass objects, including a lamp in the form of a *kantharos*, one local amphora, of a type in use from the 7th to the early 9th centuries C.E., and several pieces of coarseware and the latest forms of over-painted ware were also found (Baldini 2013:262).

4.5.3 *Discussion*

The range of material at Gortyn reflects the city's status as the capital of the island, with a series of 7^{th}-century C.E. types and forms that far exceeds those found at Eluetherna or Monastiraki-Katalimata. Transport amphorae point to these wider connections: Palestinian and Egyptian LRA5/6s, Aegean LRA1s, African *spatheia*, and a number of un-sourced globular amphorae. The wide range of ARS and PRS forms also indicates a more preferential access to overseas markets; the location of Gortyn near the South coast, rather than the North, may have further aided in this during the earlier 7th century C.E. The largest variety of ARS and PRS are again clustered near elite buildings like the Praetorium and the nearby Nymphaeum, but these are also the areas best excavated and published. The presence of the one GWW I dish in building B in the Byzantine Quarter also points to late 7th or early 8th century C.E. contacts with the capital, and the signaling of those connections through dining practice in an elite context.

Unlike at the previous two sites, here we can see the story progress. The numerous local copies of ARS and some PRS forms are likely a late 7th to early 8th century C.E. development and, much like the turn to Egyptian ceramics at Kourion, may indicate an attempt to maintain dining traditions in the face of the collapse of state trade and restricted connectivity. The burgeoning of local amphora types, as well as mimics of LRA1 and '2,' also suggests that the local and regional economy was growing in importance, probably by necessity. Perhaps the most interesting development is the emergence of over-painted ware. This ceramic follows a trend in various parts of the Byzantine Empire to turn toward locally produced, semi-finewares, with painted decoration. This penchant seems to occur at different times in different places, but there is a commonality in their location towards the fringes of the Empire, and it is periods of instability or loss of connectivity that may spur these creative movements: Italy, Albania, Greece, the Levant, Egypt, Crete (Watson 1989, Konstantinidou 2012, Vroom 2012). Unfortunately, we cannot see developments clearly in the class of coarse and cooking wares. While the standard types of 7th century C.E. jugs and round-bottomed, wheel-turned cooking pots are reported, they are not covered in detail by the site reports, and it is unclear if there is a move towards hand-made wares as there is on Cyprus. The picture at Gortyn, and on the island of Crete generally, is largely truncated by the Arab occupation. The only clearly published exception to this is the small monastery of Pseira.

4.6 Pseira

4.6.1 *Site Description*

Pseira is a small island located some 2 km off the northeastern coast in the Gulf of Mirabello. Two kilometers long and rocky, with sparse vegetation, it is close to the Minoan site of Mochlos, and boasts a substantial Minoan settlement of its own (Figure 4.8). The site was partially excavated by Richard B. Seager in 1906-1907; his focus was on the Minoan settlement, and he uncovered close to sixty structures (Betancourt and Davaras 1988:207). Excavations were resumed in 1985 by Philip Betancourt of Temple University and Costis Davaras of the Archaeological Institute of Crete, and again the Minoan settlement was the primary focus, although time was allocated for future excavation of the Byzantine monastic structures, noted by Seager in 1906-1907.

The monastery was finally excavated in 1987 and 1988. It consisted of a small chapel and several adjoining rooms, as well as an associated cistern and enclosure wall (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990:1). Located on a promontory, in roughly the center of the old Minoan settlement, the chapel was oriented with the apse to the East, and the construction made liberal use of the stones of the surrounding Minoan structures. The entire complex measures some 20.9 m by 17.0 m, with six rooms of varying size and shape in addition to the chapel. The cistern lies on the North side of the complex, and an extending wall on the Southeast indicates that the complex likely contained several more rooms in antiquity. The chapel, roughly 6 m by 4 m, with a 1.02 m radius apse, was constructed of rough limestone and phyllite blocks, with little mortar. The apse shows a slightly higher level than the main chamber, and the possible remains of a templon screen were recovered in the form of the remains of engaged pillars or pilasters at the terminal ends of the apse. At some point the chapel boasted a larger apse, the remains of which can be seen in a slight extension to the Southeast of the existing apse (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990:3-4). A roughly cubic free-standing porous stone (0.5 m x 0.5 m x 0.3 m) likely served as the altar, or the altar support. Stone benches, 0.4 m wide, line either wall of the chapel, and the remains of plaster were found. Large numbers of roof tiles indicate the building likely had a wooden, tile-covered roof.

One room, AL 4 on the plan, to the South of the chapel, also showed signs of plastering, and was divided into two sections by a line of upright stones, running North/South. The eastern portion of the room was not paved, but simply relied on the bedrock for flooring. An as yet unpublished potsherd with an inscription indicated the monastic flavor of the complex to the excavators (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990:3). Based on parallels in form on Samos and at Beth-Shean in Palestine, as well as the content of the aforementioned inscription, the complex was dated to the 6th century C.E.

4.6.2 *Finds*

The ceramics associated with the complex were muddled in their stratigraphy by the previous excavations of Seager, and thus dating relied on fabric and type. Beginning at the end of the 6th/beginning of the 7th century C.E. this pottery extends to the very early years of the 9th century C.E. and is composed primarily of coarsewares and storage jars, with some fine red wares, a lamp, and several glazed sherds (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990:5). Overall the amphorae were divided into two groups based on fabric and decoration. The first group consisted primarily of body sherds, with shallow grooves on their external surfaces. The body and base are described as cylindrical and the handles roughly horizontal. While no drawings were included, the type sounds reminiscent of LRA1, which was of course common in the Eastern Mediterranean, or a member of the globular amphora family; the excavators' insistence that these can be dated from the 5th to even the 8th or 9th centuries C.E. speaks to this latter identification (Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014).

The second group of pottery included amphora sherds with combed decoration, either horizontal or wavy grooves. The fabric ranged from a red-brown to buff, with particles of lime and mica, which may point to a local manufacture. Based on the drawings this may be LRA1 or 5. The excavators' dating of the later examples to the 8th or 9th century C.E. indicate it could be one of the latest local variants of LRA1 or, more likely given the fabric, an LRA5 (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990:6). This is significant, particularly when paired with the discovered lamp, discussed below, as given the provenance of LRA5s in Egypt and Palestine, pointing to continued trade connections with that area.

The cooking ware found during the excavation came mainly from globular *ollae*, with a rim stepped away from the body and two vertical handles. The fabric was a coarse brownish-red or a deep brown with many sand, shell, and mica inclusions. The exteriors were invariably fire-blackened. As we have seen, this type appears throughout the Byzantine world, bearing similarities to the material from the Dhiorios kilns on Cyprus (Catling 1972). These round-bottomed cooking pots appear in the Aegean from the 5th century into the 8th century C.E., although again, here, it is unclear if moves towards hand-made version in the course of the 8th century C.E. take place. Coarser forms characterize the later examples of this type on site, and although the excavators put their pieces sometime in the middle of the 7th century, these coarse versions may be indicative of a shift in the mode of production near the beginning of the 8th century C.E. (Gabrieli *et al.* 2007).

Curiously, very little red slip was discovered among the finewares. Those that do exist are of the Phocaean type, with fine red clay, and hard fired. The forms at Pseira are type F of

Hayes Form 3, dating to the late 6th century C.E. (Albani and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990:7). The lack of ARS may be due to the overall isolation of the site on the northeastern end of Crete, or the late nature of much of the occupation. The glazed sherds belong to a chafing dish (Figure 4.9). This type, which features a bowl-like body, two handles, and a base with perforations that served as a compartment for hot coals, to keep the contents warm, is very rarely found as an import outside of Constantinople, where production began in the 7th century C.E., or Constantinople. Mainland areas begin to produce their own forms somewhat later, but these are so far not attested on Crete. The existence of this imported ceramic at a small monastic complex is interesting, as it points to contacts with the capital that may extend even into the period of Muslim domination. Some small fragments of Constantinopolitan Glazed White Ware also appear in the assemblage, reinforcing the impression that Pseira was not as poor or isolated as the situation of the island, or its architectural remains, would seem to indicate. Two fragments of a Palestinian lamp type, 'slipper-shaped' with curvilinear relief decoration, were also found. These lamps appear in Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, and Jordan from the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E. and, alongside the fragments of LRA5, point to potential contacts with the emerging Arab world. In addition to the ceramics a bronze belt buckle, of a type sourced to Constantinople, and dating from the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 9th century was also found in the chapel fill.

4.6.3 *Discussion*

This assemblage paints a very interesting picture of this small monastery. First, the ceramics go quite late, indeed on the entire island Pseira has the most consistent assemblage of material that can be dated to the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. Second, they evince a surprising amount of connectivity for this tiny ecclesiastic site. Globular amphorae, of unknown provenance, LRA5s from Egypt/Palestine, GWW and chafing dish sherds from Constantinople, Pseira stands at the edge of two trade zones that operated in the 8th and early 9th centuries C.E. The first involved the Aegean and the capital, and the types of access that would potentially permit Glazed White Ware and chafing dishes to reach this site are intriguing. The second is the eastern zone, characterized by the LRA5s containing wine from Palestine and Egypt. That such wine made its way here is perhaps unsurprising, Palestinian wine maintains its popularity throughout the period of limited connectivity, and the LRA5s may have traveled via *cabotage* from places nearer at hand. The significant Constantinopolitan element, however, is interesting for what it implies about monastic connections, and identity, during the 'Dark Ages.' That monks were going to the trouble of obtaining chafing dishes, which are thought to have been a particularly 'Byzantine' signifier in dining culture, and plates from the capital, with their singular, white kaolinite clays and lead glazes, makes a statement that seems out of proportion with the size, and likely significance of the island (Arthur 2007, Decker 2016:61). The otherwise rarity of these pieces on Crete, or elsewhere, may point to parallel networks of connectivity, monastic ones, which may have bypassed the normal, quite limited trade connections among the islands and nearby mainland areas during the otherwise denuded 8th and early 9th centuries C.E.

4.7 Conclusion

By and large the picture painted by the ceramics and small finds of these four sites reflects the trends apparent elsewhere in the Empire at the end of Late Antiquity, at least for the 7th century C.E. (Haldon 2012). Monastiraki-Katalimata and Eleutherna provide a good sampling of the material in use by most households in the mid-to late 7th century C.E., a mixture of locally produced cooking and plainwares for food preparation and storage, the occasional exotic import (such as the Egyptian bowl hidden in the *pithos* at Eluetherna), and a range of imported African and Phocaean red-slip dining wares. This will be recognized as the standard cultural *koine* seen on Cyprus as well, and representing a shared practice of consumption across the empire. The ARS and PRS become increasingly scarce on Crete, however, as the subsidized, command economy breaks down with the loss of grain-producing regions in Egypt and Sicily over the course of the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E., and the subsequent closure of large scale pottery workshops (McCormick 2001, Wickham 2005, Laiou and Morrisson 2007). The small piece of possible Askra Ware is indicative of a potentially smaller trade in material from mainland Greece that existed alongside these larger ceramic movements.

An attempt to maintain red slip forms of dining ware, and by association dining practice, is made by turning to other markets, in Egypt or Cyprus perhaps, although this is largely ephemeral. Crete is not located within that late-producing red slip trade zone. Instead there are local productions, mimics, or attempts to import the late, sub-par dregs of the African workshops. Over-painted ware emerges at Gortyn, and to a lesser degree at Eleutherna which, by this time, may have been in a more terminal decline. The connections these pieces have, at least in terms of their decoration, with places to the North and West, in Greece, Italy, and Albania, are likely indicative of the new, restricted, connectivity sphere in which Crete finds itself, although our current inability to source globular amphorae, which become ubiquitous in the course of the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E., prevents us from seeing potential contact with these areas. Throughout it all, though, LRA5s continue trickling in from areas now under Umayyad control, and the small number of GWW sherds and, at Pseira, chafing dishes, points to very selective long-distance contacts. This dichotomy, between storage vessels from the Levant, and dining vessels, no matter how few in number, from the capital, is suggestive. Particularly the associations of these latter pieces with elite buildings, at Gortyn, and a monastic institution, at Pseira, speak the changed nature of trade and connectivity in the 8th and early 9th centuries C.E., and its implications for identity signaling through dining practice. This is all the more marked when placed next to cooking and coarsewares which, with some diminution in quality as trade networks retracted, stay largely the same in form and apparent function.

The Arab conquest in 827 C.E. is thought to have ended the occupation at Gortyn, and Pseira may have been abandoned shortly thereafter. Eleutherna and Monastiraki-Katalimata had mostly gone out of use sometime earlier, and no sites that date to the later 9th or 10th centuries have been published on Crete. More importantly, none of the late Umayyad and Abbasid ceramic forms that make their appearance in the Levant and further East have been found on the island, and the continued evolution of Glazed White Ware, that is type II, or even later Byzantine Painted Ware, has not made an appearance. The only exception that I am aware of are the rescue excavations in Iraklion that have, as yet, not been published, although there are indications that the uncovered material displayed wide-ranging forms that had more in common with Egypt and the Levant than with the Byzantine core (Andrianakis 2013). Earlier it is an appreciation for the more ephemeral products of Umayyad lands that keeps trade connections somewhat open.

Sometime in the 8th or 9th century C.E., prompted by earthquakes or the Arab invasion, many of the sites in Crete are either abandoned or move to locations currently inhabited, thus limiting our window of these centuries. Even so, it is not until the 12th, or even 13th centuries C.E. that fineware pottery again becomes visible, prompting a serious question about the economic and social situation of the island in relation to wider networks in the Eastern Mediterranean as trade began to recover in the 9th century C.E. (Wickham 2013). The selective engagements with earlier mainland ceramic forms, however, gives us clues as to the direction in which Crete, and Cyprus, chose to develop in their socio-economic connections with the new Muslim world, as well as their more indigenous cultural trajectories. To fully understand the choices that come through in the material cited above from Crete and Cyprus, however, the island material must be placed within the frame of developments in several mainland areas.

CHAPTER 5

THE MAINLAND FRAME

5.1 Introduction

In order to place the finds from both Crete and Cyprus within their proper context, it is important to gain a sense of what sorts of ceramics were being produced and consumed, imported and exported, around the Eastern Mediterranean. While broad sweeping syntheses of these ceramic movements and the economy writ large, discussed in Chapter 2, have been produced by several scholars in recent years (Carrié 2012, Haldon 2012, Laiou and Morrisson 2007, McCormick 2001, Wickham 2005), it is important that we focus more closely on specific, representative, sites in order to more fully grasp a corpus of what was likely to have been used and experienced by individuals, to see what truly was moving, and what was not.

To that end five individual sites from around the Eastern Mediterranean are examined in this chapter with an eye to the ceramic types, fabrics, and forms in use from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. The excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul will stand in for the Byzantine capital and core, the site of Jerash for the Levant, Corinth for Greece and the southern Balkans, the Monastery of Baramus in the Wadi al-Natrun for Lower Egypt, and finally the ancient city of Amorium for Anatolia and the Northeast. These sites are not ideal in every respect for present purposes, but allowances had to be made based on the spotty archaeological coverage of these centuries. Saraçhane, while mostly consisting of pottery dumps, still provides the best sequence of Early Medieval material from the Byzantine capital. Jerash, while far inland, is still one of the best published and studied sites, and as a bustling center during this period would likely have drawn in significant external material. Corinth has seen little work devoted to its Late Antique and Early Medieval ceramics, yet it was one of the most important cities in Greece during the Early Middle Ages, and still stands in relatively good stead as far as archaeological work in the region goes. The Monastery of Old Baramus, while not on the same level as the other sites, is very well studied and located a short distance from both Alexandria and Fustat. Moreover, the textual record indicates the monks were heavily active in the religious disputes of the empire, and there is no reason to believe that their self-imposed spiritual exile extended to the material. Indeed the 7th century C.E. ceramics would argue against it. Amorium, particularly for Central Anatolia, has an excellent publication record, and its destruction by fire in 838 C.E. provides those rarest of archaeological treasures for the Early Medieval period, sealed contexts.

For each site the history of work (at the site) and the excavated contexts will be briefly discussed, followed by a description of the types of vessels used, their fabrics, and their origin, be they local or imported. Special attention will be paid to those features that would allow for their identification on Crete and Cyprus, and any influence their various characteristics might have had on the development of ceramics on those islands from the Late Antique to Early Medieval periods. A short discussion follows each site to place the finds in context. General impressions on the development and movement of ceramics around the Eastern Mediterranean, and the place of Crete and Cyprus within this ceramic collage, close the chapter.

5.2 Saraçhane

5.2.1 *Site Description*

I shall turn first to the cosmopolitan center of the Empire. Of all the regions discussed, our understanding of the morphological changes that took place in ceramics over the course of the Late Antique to Early Medieval transition are the best understood here. This is perhaps not surprising given that Constantinople, at the time, was probably the largest city in the world, and as such should provide a wealth of material upon which to base our understanding (Rautman 2006:67, 85). Surprisingly few excavations from the city have been published, however, and almost everything we know about the late antique ceramic tradition of the capital comes from the analysis carried out by John Hayes of the material from the 1964-1969 excavations of the church of St. Polyeuktos at Saraçhane in Istanbul (Figure 5.1) (Hayes 1992). Luckily this was an exceedingly large rescue operation, with copious material; in terms of ceramics, over 400,000 sherds (Harrison 1986:4). The sequence that Hayes subsequently elucidated has proven invaluable for dating across the Eastern Mediterranean during the so-called 'Dark Ages' (Decker 2016).

The sumptuous church of St. Polyeuktos, built between 524 and 527 C.E. by the daughter of the western Emperor Olybrius, and great grand-daughter of Valentinian III, Anicia Juliana, was discovered rather unceremoniously in 1960 as bulldozers began clearing for a planned underpass in an area of Istanbul known as Saraçhane (Harrison 1986:ix). This district lies near the center of the Byzantine city, just to the North of the Mese, the main boulevard through the urban core of Constantinople. A large rescue excavation was undertaken and as much of the church as could be was recorded and removed, with construction on the underpass ongoing simultaneously. In addition to the remains of the church were also found a 12th-century C.E. cemetery, and a 15th-century C.E. Turkish bath-house, known as the Ibrahim Paşha Hamamı, although here we shall concern ourselves only with the remains of the church.

All that was left of the grand edifice (as indicated by the remains of truly masterful sculptural decoration) of the church of St. Polyeuktos was its foundations, and an extensive series of substructures, including a crypt. The nave of the church had been constructed on a massive 52-meter-square raised platform, with additional space for the narthex and apse to the West and East respectively. An atrium continued to the West, with what was likely a baptistery appended to the North. Little evidence was found to indicate the church was substantially altered or renovated at any point, and textual sources indicate the church was still in use in the 10th century C.E.—indeed, it is listed on the Emperor's Easter itinerary in the *De Cerimoniis* (Harrison 1986:10). In the 11th and 12th centuries C.E. the evidence speaks of squatter occupation and use as a graveyard, with the final collapse of the structure thought to have taken place between 1190 and 1204 C.E. Several sculptural elements subsequently appeared in Venice, where they can still be seen (Figure 5.2) (Harrison 1986:xii).

5.2.2 *Finds*

The majority of the ceramic material which concerns us comes from two major dumps located in the substructures of the church. The first is located in the area underneath the North aisle of the nave and has four principle phases. The first, a smallish dump, dates to the late 6th and early 7th centuries C.E., followed by a significantly larger one from the mid-7th century C.E., lasting for roughly 100 years. Another dump occurred sometime in the 8th century C.E., with a final deposit dating tot the 10th century C.E. Coins, relatively rare throughout the Empire in this period, are abundant here, as befits the capital of a still large empire, and, although these are dumped materials, likely from elsewhere in the city, serve to give a general bracket to the chronology of the wares (Hendy 1986:278, Hayes 1992:3). The second dump is located in the sub-narthex, with two small phases dating to the mid-7th and 8th centuries C.E., and 10th through 11th centuries C.E. Material from the 9th century C.E. is generally ephemeral, but does occur at various locations on the site, as does 'squatter' material from the late 10th and 11th centuries C.E., comprising crushed pottery, animal bone, and other carbonized remains (Harrison 1986:xii).

Over half of the total ceramics recovered dates to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. From roughly 400 C.E. through the 7th century C.E. Constantinople appears to partake as thoroughly as the rest of the Empire in the ‘Eastern Mediterranean ceramic koine’ elucidated by Hayes in his 1972 work on Late Roman pottery. Red-slipped tablewares are particularly common in the early 7th century C.E., with the majority being African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip (Hayes 1992:5). Cypriot red slip and Egyptian Red Slip sherds occur in only very small numbers, even as they increase dramatically in the eastern parts of the Empire in the later 7th century C.E. In the mid-7th century C.E. there is a dramatic decline in PRS, replaced primarily with ARS form 109 and a local imitation until roughly the end of the century. Late Roman Light Colored Ware, produced in the Aegean, occurs in only trace amounts, as do some of the over-painted wares from central Greece and painted products from Egypt (Hayes 1992:7). Notable are some early attempts at champlevé decoration on some of the Late Roman Light Colored Ware. Unguentaria are also common.

In the late 6th century C.E. local imitations of ARS grow to 25% of the tableware, although these may also be from the Black Sea area. To date almost nothing is known about ceramics from this region. After 700 C.E. these local forms disappear. Excepting the Glazed and UnGlazed White Wares, to be discussed below, additional fineware finds from the 7th century C.E., although uncommon, are mortaria—that is, deep, thick basins with an overhanging lip, with an early lead-glaze on the interior, and color coated whiteware jugs, usually in imitation of red-slipped materials and in the common pinched-mouth form (Hayes 1992:11). Mica-dusted wares occur in a variety of fabrics and forms, including thin-walled jugs and a pilgrim's flask, but these imports, likely from somewhere in the Aegean, are few in number (Hayes 1992:49).

Plain coarsewares, in a lumpy, orange-red to pinkish-red fabric are common in the 6th and 7th centuries C.E, but then fall off. Forms are mainly lids and basins, with some jars. Cooking wares, a full 10% of the assemblage, continue through the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. and beyond, primarily in the form of a baggy, two-handled cooking pot in a thin, hard, gritty reddish or brownish fabric that has been noted for its heat resistant qualities. These objects, unlike those currently being studied by Smadar Gabrieli on the islands and elsewhere, remain wheel-made, mass produced, and of fine quality (Garieli *et al.* 2007, Hayes 1992:50). They are overwhelmingly local, although there are some Cypriot imports through the 8th century C.E., and some micaceous brownware products that come from the Aegean. As seen above, these types also occur in small numbers on Cyprus. An additional gray, grittyware cooking pot with a flat bottom becomes common in the 8th and 9th centuries C.E., in a somewhat smaller size than the baggy, round-bottomed types. In the 10th century C.E. a thin-walled, two-handled, reddish product of high sophistication begins to take over. This product is exceedingly rare outside the capital in the centuries that follow (Hayes 1992:57). Overall there is a remarkable level of conservatism in the cooking wares throughout the period, something that is decidedly not seen on the large islands and elsewhere, particularly in the Levant (Gawlikowski 1986:117, Hayes 1997, Magness 2010).

Amphorae, and by extension, external trade contacts are very difficult to determine. As mentioned above, the multitudinous array of production centers, many as yet unidentified, for Late Roman Amphora 1, the most common Eastern Mediterranean variety in Late Antiquity, makes it difficult to determine, in some cases, with whom the capital was expressly trading

(Armstrong 2009:163, Demesticha 2014). Still, the sheer variety, particularly in the 7th-century C.E. deposits, indicates that oil, wine, and probably fish-sauce, were reaching Constantinople from all over the Eastern half of the Mediterranean. Overall, until the 8th century C.E., amphorae sherds make up 85% of the total assemblage, dropping thereafter to 50% as trade appears to contract.

Although Hayes eschews the traditional classifications of amphorae in favor of his own scheme, a few trends can be picked out. Late Roman Amphora 5, from Palestine, occurs in small numbers throughout the 7th century C.E. and possibly later. An imitation with silvery mica in the fabric appears ephemerally in the 8th century C.E. Late Roman Amphorae 2, 6, and 8a appear in small numbers into the 7th century C.E., but then fall off (Hayes 1992:61-72). After the 7th century C.E. amphorae are restricted to LRA1 survivals and imitations, and a wide variety of the smaller, globular Late Roman Amphora 13, which continue into the 9th century C.E. Production centers have been identified in southern Italy, and were likely produced in various other locations in the Eastern Mediterranean, but so far these centers have not been clearly articulated (Vroom 2005:61). After the fall in variety in the 7th century C.E., and in sherd numbers in the 8th century C.E., it appears that amphorae came to the capital from a much more circumscribed area, mostly Asia Minor (Hayes 1992:4).

Concomitant with the shift in amphorae is a change in the tablewares. As the red-slipped wares disappear, their place is taken, starting in the 7th century C.E., by Glazed White Ware, noted as the 'Early Medieval pottery *par excellence*' of the Eastern Mediterranean, although this designation seems to rely almost entirely on its preponderance at this site and ready identifiability, even in small numbers, in the face of general ignorance of the tablewares of this period elsewhere. First discussed by Morgan in his work at Corinth, and then expanded upon by

Stevenson in his excavations at the Great Palace, much of what we currently know comes from Hayes' analysis of this material from Saraçhane (Morgan 1942, Stevenson 1947, Hayes 1992). Glazed White Ware has been discussed above in brief for the islands, primarily for its ability to denote importation from Constantinople, its only known site of production (Vroom 2005:63). It is only in the 7th century C.E., with the collapse of the major trade in pan-Mediterranean red-slipped wares that Constantinople takes on a role as a major ceramic producer, although exportation appears to have been relatively small scale (Hayes 1992:4). It is notable that some pieces appear on the early 7th century C.E. Yassi Ada shipwreck (Bass 1982:166-7).

There has been a lively debate surrounding the origin of glazing as a ceramic technique (Decker 2016:53). Arguments have been made for Sassania, southern Italy, northern Italy, and the Balkans, although Hayes comes down in favor of these last two areas, pointing to possible connections with lead-based metalworking traditions there (Decker 2016:53, Hayes 1992:13-14). Regardless, Glazed White Ware is the primary tableware of the capital, certainly from the late 7th century C.E. all the way through the 12th century C.E., when sgraffito wares appear. Over 20,000 sherds were recovered at Saraçhane, a remarkable number when taken against the handful that have come from all of Crete and Cyprus. Hayes has identified five glazed types, although only the first two will concern us here (Hayes 1992:12, Vroom 2005:63).

Glazed White Ware I is, actually, not very white. The fabric is mostly light or pale brown, sometimes reddish, with a thin brownish slip covered in either an olive green or sepia glaze, with improper firing, or a brown to deep yellow glaze, if produced in an oxidizing kiln. Glaze is usually restricted to the interior and tops of the exterior. Closed, undecorated forms are common in the 7th century C.E., while dishes become predominant in the 8th century C.E. and into the 9th (Hayes 1992:15, Vroom 2005:63). It is notable that these dishes often have a medium or high foot, a feature quite uncommon amongst the island ceramics already discussed. In addition, starting in the late 7th century C.E., decoration appears and grows in incidence, with incised scrolls, figural drawings, and early attempts at sgraffito being the main forms. These seem in many instances to copy decoration styles found on metal objects (Hayes 1992:15). The latest forms also have a series of moldings on top of their rims, a feature glimpsed on some imported Egyptian pottery, and on some pithos rims, but otherwise unknown on Crete and Cyprus. Rarer forms from the 7th century C.E. include 'frying pans,' double-handled, round-bottomed jars for 'stew,' some lobed cups and, in the later series, mugs with an external glaze (Hayes 1992:17).

Perhaps the most distinctive form to appear is the chafing dish. Mentioned above, this open, dual-handled, bowl/mug, sometimes with a lid, has a high foot with small openings, thought to be able to contain charcoal or some other heating source in order to maintain the temperature of its contents. Found in its Glazed White Ware form starting in the early 8th century C.E., this form is also found in a rougher, coarse glazed version towards the end of the 7th century C.E and may derive from metal objects or possibly far eastern shapes. Found in very small numbers outside the capital, Paul Arthur (2007:15) has considered them indicative of a distinctly 'Byzantine' foodway, connoting strong connections to the capital and potentially a 'Byzantine' identity. Hayes considers those forms found outside Constantinople to be derivative, produced as they are in a coarser fabric, and thus not indicative of direct trade (Hayes 1992:17). The implications of this particular ceramic type, and their relation to Byzantine identity and foodways, will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Glazed White Ware II is by far the most common tableware in the later phases of the Early Medieval pottery at Saraçhane. Having a high quality, white fabric and thin walls, the ceramic is glazed in a yellowish or greenish color with no intermediate slip. Starting in the late 9th century C.E., by the mid-10th century C.E. these wares completely dominate the repertoire. Dishes are the most common, with several types of cups and closed vessels also in large numbers. There seems to have been a color/form relationship in the ceramic, as open forms are more frequently in yellow, with glaze on the interior and exterior of the tops only, and green on the closed vessels, and covering both the interior and exterior (Hayes 1992:18). Roughly 12 to 15% of the ware bears impressed or brown stained decoration, the latter achieved by adding a slip under the glaze in a variety of simple geometric patterns. An additional, related subtype is noted as Polychrome ware. Beginning in the early 10th century C.E., this type comprises tiles, some dishes, and small cups, evincing yellow and green designs outlined in black at first, and then later black and green motifs on a red, polka-dotted background (Hayes 1992:35). Floral and geometric designs are most common. Polychrome Ware remains rare until considerably later.

Glazed White Ware has an unglazed correlate that should also be mentioned. Occurring in the 7th century century C.E., then rarely in the 8th, before returning to some prominence again in the 10th century C.E., Unglazed White Ware appears first as a relatively common spouted jug, with a distinctly Constantinopolitan swivel-hinged lid, copied from metallic forms (Hayes 1992:38). Basins and large jugs appear slightly later, but remain uncommon. Tenth century C.E. forms tend to be mostly jugs. Coarse glazed wares, in a reddish or brown fabric and decidedly local, occur in the 7th through early 11th centuries C.E. and are composed of cooking pots and internally glazed jars, all wheel-made. Again, even in these utilitarian forms, we see a stark contrast with the hand-made and limited forms that become predominant on the islands past the early 8th century C.E. Last but not least for the tablewares, jugs in a fine, orange-red burnished ware appear in the 10th and 11th centuries. This ware may originate in the Black Sea and has few relatives in the Mediterranean. Penetration past the Aegean is minimal (Vroom 2005:69).

A final note should be spared for the lamps recovered from the Saraçhane excavations. The standard mold-made lamps familiar to Late Roman archaeologists continue in use through the end of the 7th century C.E, when they are replaced by wheel-made open-bowled whiteware types that are often glazed. Previous imports of Cypriot, Anatolian, Cyrenaican, and Palestinian lamps disappear, and there are no examples of the 'Arab-style' lamps so prominent on Cyprus (Hayes 1992:90).

5.2.3 *Discussion*

With even a cursory examination it should be clear that the ceramic repertoire of Constantinople bears almost no resemblance to that of Crete and Cyprus past the end of the 7th century C.E. Indeed, to quote Hayes: "From the 7th to the 11th century the Constantinople tableware and kitchen-ware series have little in common with the products of peripheral Byzantine and non-Byzantine areas (e.g., Bulgaria, mainland Greece, and South Russia), though the metropolitan wares were exported" (1992:3). If ceramics are a marker of economic contacts and the movement of goods, and archaeologists have few other avenues to associate with such activity, this picture shows a far more circumscribed and regionally-based trading system for the capital than had existed previously (Haldon 2012). What is particularly interesting is the relative lack of movement in tablewares after the 7th century C.E. On Crete and Cyprus Glazed White Ware occurs only rarely, and in a very few, select locations. Nowhere is found the variety, and sophistication, of the Constantinopolitan products indicated by the materials from Saraçhane. There are also the 'derivative' chafing dishes to consider. The implications of this particular dearth, and its relation to Byzantine foodways and identity, will be covered in the next chapter.

5.3 Jerash

5.3.1 Site Description

The ancient city of Jerash, though geographically proximate to the island of Cyprus, shows a significant disparity in ceramic forms and development over the course of the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. Without going into too much detail, I shall outline a basic history of the site and the excavations that have taken place there, and then move through the different contexts in which pottery of this Late Antique, or Late Byzantine, to Early Islamic period have been found. I shall largely leave technological considerations aside while focusing on decoration and morphology, and then finish with a discussion of the place of Jerash within the wider regional frame of ceramic changes and the economy during this transitional period.

Jerash, or Gerasa, located in the Gilead of North Jordan, is part of the Decapolis, the fabled ten cities of wealth and prestige that dominated the region starting in the Hellenistic period (Figure 5.3) (Browning 1982:11). Located in a wide, fertile valley some 34 km North of Amman, the site was first identified for archaeology in 1806 by the traveling German antiquarian and polymath Ulrich Jasper Seetzen. Throughout the 19th century the site was much visited by western travelers, but it would wait until the early part of the 20th century before systematic excavation took place.

The first of these excavations took place in 1925 under George Horsfield, under the auspices of the British Mandatory Government that administered Jordan following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, and the subsequent partition of the region under the currently nefarious Sykes-Picot treaty of 1916. Going until 1931, the project was joined by a team from the British School in 1928 and another from Yale University under John Crowfoot. The American Schools of Oriental Research took over from the British school in 1930 and, under first Clarence Fisher and then Nelson Glueck, continued excavating until 1934. Most of these early projects concentrated on the Temples of Zeus and Artemis, the southern theater, the site's very large *cardo*, and several Byzantine churches. Restoration work followed over the next several decades. In 1975 the University of Turin began further excavations in the city, the project eventually becoming the Jerash Archaeological Project in 1982. Since that time, teams from a wide variety of nations have taken place, and the work, in various capacities and different sectors of the city, is ongoing, with the exception of disruptions in recent years due to conflict in the Middle East (Aubin 1997:215, Zayadine *et al.* 1986:7).

The results of these excavations point to a site that has been inhabited since at least the Late Neolithic. In the Hellenistic period, possibly after the settlement of veterans from Alexander's wars of expansion, Jerash grew considerably in wealth and importance, reaching its apogee in the Late Hellenistic through the Roman period. Located on the Via Nova Trajana, Jerash was an important stop on trading routes between East and West, and came to be adorned with sumptuous temples, theaters, a *cardo maximus*, two *decumani*, plazas, bath-houses, and a large hippodrome (Aubin 1997:217, Zayadine *et al.* 1986:9-11). Starting in the 3rd century C.E. Jerash experienced what appears to have been a significant economic decline, although this was reversed under the reign of Justinian in the 6th century C.E., with large investments in infrastructure, bathhouses, and monumental churches. Of these 15 have currently been identified and at least partially excavated in the city, the majority dating to the 6th century C.E., rich in mosaics and marble architectural elements. In 614 C. E. the city was occupied by the Sassanians, and then finally taken by the Muslims in 635 C.E. A series of earthquakes over the following two centuries caused considerable damage and, while the site continued to be occupied, after the middle of the 8th century C.E. the nature of this occupation is unclear. Textual sources indicate the final destruction of the site occurred in 1122 C.E. by Baldwin II of Jerusalem, although the last archaeological evidence from the site dates to the early 9th century C.E. (Aubin 1997:219, Zayadine *et al.* 1986:20).

A large percentage of the excavated material dates to the final centuries of occupation, with considerable restraint being shown on the part of the excavators when it came to digging down to Imperial Roman levels. Some notable features include a large public structure North of Camp Hill which was re-used in the Byzantine and Umayyad periods and bears a remarkable inscription stating that it was 'beautified' in the year 578 C.E. by the sporting *cum* political organization, the 'Blues,' and a very early mosque in the Oval plaza, which reused a Roman conch for its *mihrab* (Zayadine *et al.* 1986:18). Additionally, several pottery kilns were excavated throughout the city, one located in a residential area on the northern side of the South *decumanus*. This kiln is a 9th-century C.E. Abbasid installation, with the residential area having been abandoned apparently sometime in the mid-8th century C.E. Overall, despite the limited nature of publication concerning the full pottery assemblages from Jerash, an exceptional selection of forms is available from half a dozen locations in the city, ranging from the early 7th C.E. to the early 9th century C.E., with which to compare the material from Crete and Cyprus.

5.3.2 *Finds*

The first area to consider is the monumental Temple of Zeus, focus of so much early excavation. A late occupation pottery workshop appears to have been in operation in this area, although the details in the excavation report are scant. Overall, a total of 35 pitchers, five plates, 26 bowls, and sixty-four kitchen pots are reported. The only pieces mentioned in detail however are a nearly complete 'Jerash bowl,' a peculiar anthropomorphic water jug, a painted casserole with two handles, a painted cup, a dimple-bottomed jug, and a shallow bowl of Late Roman type (de Montlivault 1986:71). Based on numismatic evidence and comparanda from the site of Pella, the entire assemblage was dated to the late 6th or early 7th century C.E.

Already it can be seen that we are in a very different ceramic world from that of the islands. With the possible exception of the shallow bowl, absent are the ubiquitous Late Roman Red-Slipped tablewares, as are the equally notable Late Roman Amphorae 1s. These 'Jerash bowls,' to be seen in many other locations on the site, are particularly interesting. The forms date largely towards the beginning of this transitional period, in the 7th century C.E., but it is unclear when exactly they go out of use. Copying forms of Phocaean Red Slip , and sometimes African Red Slip , they are, instead of being coated in a plain red slip , covered in a red or white slip or wash and then decorated with human or animal figures and floral motifs painted in a yellow-cream, white, or purple slip (Figure 5.4). Greek crosses are also a common motif. This penchant for painting pottery with figural and floral designs is likely borrowed from Egypt, although at Jerash it clearly takes on a more local character from the end of the 6th century C.E. (Sauer and Magness 1997:476). In many ways these forms and designs could also be seen as a forerunner to the sgraffito pottery of the Middle Byzantine period, spreading in popularity even to the proto-majolicas of the High Middle Ages.

The aforementioned residential area North of the South *decumanus* also showed considerable late-period pottery. Forty meters West of the church of St. Theodore, this complex of nearly 40 rooms also showed 7th-century C.E. material, including Jerash bowls, a small selection of standard red slip plates, and an 'animal-headed lamp,' a type peculiar to Jerash, which embellishes the normal Late Roman ovoid form with a handle pinched into the shape of a usually unidentifiable animal, possible bovine, head. In the middle of the 7th century C.E., part of this complex was demolished and replaced with a sumptuous 'Umayyad' house of 17 rooms and a large, irregularly shaped courtyard. Fill beneath the house contained 6th-century C.E. material, as well as two clusters of Arab-Byzantine coins, imitations of *folles* of Justin II (Gawlikowski 1986:111). Situated behind four shops on the Roman colonnaded street, apparently still in use, the house featured mosaic floors and rooms with an average size of 7 m x 3.5 m. In the fill below the largest room of the house, nearly double the size of the others, was found a series of Byzantine and Umayyad pottery from the 7th century C.E. including white-painted jugs and black-ware basins. Again, the painted decoration is apparent, occupying the shoulders of these jugs with wavy lines or spirals, and totally absent from either Cyprus or Crete, with the exception of the late Over-Painted ware on the latter island, of a completely different appearance and character (Figure 5.5). The blackware basins may be an import from further to the South, and will be discussed below.

The house continued in use into the Abbasid period, indicated by late 8th-century C.E. dinars, when Red-Painted pottery appeared, as well as morphological changes in lamp styles. This Red-Painted Ware appears considerably later than its White-Painted counterpart, appearing on some identical forms, but not others. Again, these are totally alien to the islands, and found at no site on either of them (Figure 5.6). Later in the Abbasid period the house is divided into three, with no apparent evidence of the disastrous earthquake of 747 C.E., while the final occupation includes, as noted, several kilns, as well as a hearth with many heavily-used cooking pots. The fill from all three of these houses included Red-Painted Ware, 'Cut-Ware,' or *Kerbschnitt* bowls, and late-form lamps with vine-scroll decoration (Gawlikowski 1986:117). These *Kerbschnitt* bowls are certainly strange looking coming from a Roman ceramic tradition (Figure 5.7). They have thick, straight-walled sides, are, deep, handmade, and show heavily-cut, incised decoration in a multitudinous array of geometric patterns thought to be modeled on Islamic woodwork

(Sauer and Magness 1997:476). In form they may also be copying black steatite, or burnished ceramic vessels that seem to be from Arabia, many of which also have these deeply-etched geometric patterns (Figure 5.8) (Sauer and Magness 1997:476-7). All of this material dates to the 8th and 9th centuries C.E., with the latest material coming from the kilns and including a small amount of green-glazed sherds and buff-ware *barbotino.*

Having considered the material from Crete and Cyprus in some detail, it need hardly be said that this material was NOT reaching the islands, which would not necessarily seem peculiar without the existence of the 'condominium' and the emirate. Indeed even before the arrival of the Arabs in the mid-7th century C.E., Jerash was doing things its own way, producing jars and jugs in redware with painted white decoration in wavy or lines or loops on the shoulders. Blackware basins are also common, showing combed lines, rouletted wedges, or incisions on their exteriors (Gawlikowski 1986:118). Both types continue well into the Umayyad period. Lamps also change significantly over the period in question. Starting with the popular Byzantine 'candlestick' type, in the mid-7th century C.E. a channel appears between the nozzle and filling hole, and a flat, almond-shaped base becomes common. Some show Arabic inscriptions and, at Jerash, even a date, always in between 740 and 750 C.E. The latest forms of these have vine-scroll decoration, human and animal figures, and are sometimes slipped red (Gawlikowski 1986:120).

An additional area that has produced later material at the site is the church of the Bishop Marianos, and the house of the deacon Elias, across the street, nestled into the side of the hippodrome, presumably defunct when the house was incorporated in the early 7th century C.E. The small church, built in 570 C.E. near the burial caves nearby, likely functioned as a *martyrium,* and had only a nave and apse, with a narthex and *diakonikon* added sometime after its initial construction (Gawlikowski and Musa 1986:137). The church was destroyed by a sudden event in the mid-8th century C.E., indicated by coinage located under the fallen debris, possibly the 747 C.E. earthquake. The deacon's house occupied three chambers in the side of the hippodrome, with the objects in its fill dating to the mid-7th century C.E.

Ceramics from the deacon's house included Jerash bowls, a dimple-bottomed jug, several lamp fragments with animal-head handles, a coarse gray cup, a deep dish of orange-buff fabric, and two fragments of plates with pedestals, one with brown painting on a white wash, the other with white on red. These latter may be from Egypt, given their form and decoration. In the church, only bag-jugs/amphorae were found, notably absent from many other parts of the site, which may indicate a sampling bias. These bear a great deal of resemblance to the standard Late Roman Amphora 5, but with the addition of white-painted decoration in most cases (Gawlikowski and Musa 1986:147-9).

To date, 23 pottery kilns have been found at Jerash, indicating a massive scale of production that begins around the time that Byzantine Petra begins to decline in the mid-7th century C.E. Another of these kiln complexes is to be found in the Temple of Artemis. Most of the fill in this area appeared to be Umayyad in date, particularly the early 8th century C.E. Jugs with pouring spouts, lids and bowls with out-flaring rims, all with white-painted decoration, and bag-shaped amphorae appear to have been produced in this area. Additionally, cooking pots and cups in an orange fabric, some with a wavy line pattern reminiscent of that seen on Cyprus, also make an appearance, as do several fragments of ARS form 105, but with overpainted decoration. It is unclear if the excavator meant that they were copies of form 105, or they had been acquired and then subsequently painted, although the former seems more likely (Pierobon 1986:187).

Buff-brown amphorae, jugs, and cooking pots were also produced, presumably in the same forms as those above.

Yet another kiln complex was discovered in the northern Classical theater. More dark gray coarsewares and pithoi, orange-red bowls, cups, jugs, and casseroles, all with white-painted decoration, and buffware jars and cups with red-painted decoration were found there. All of these date to the 8th century C.E., although some 7th-century C.E. lamp forms were found. It is notable that almost all of the bowls, casseroles, and basins found throughout the entire site are much deeper than their corresponding Late Roman types, indicating a possible shift to more southern or eastern styles of dining (Magness 2010). Within this kiln complex, two kilns in particular were singled out for special attention to their construction and technology. One reducing kiln was selected, and one oxidizing kiln. Based on the recovered wasters, it was determined that the reducing kiln produced primarily handmade basins and bowls, some with an incised wavy line below the lip, reminiscent of Cypriot decorations, which the excavators labeled as "Late Byzantine intrusions." Many of the basins also had finger-pressed, 'pie-crust' rims, a form popular in Egypt and apparent in small numbers on Cyprus, although in a completely different, red fabric. The oxidizing kiln produced more sophisticated casseroles, jars, pitchers, and pots, many with the white-painted decoration we have seen earlier (Schaefer and Falkner 1986:427). The technology of these two kilns is notably similar to the last in the series excavated by Catling at Dhiorios in Cyprus, although only the cooking pots, and potentially the casseroles can be said to have any similarity to the material from Jerash (Catling 1972).

Lastly, the three-aisled church of Bishop Isaiah, West of the North theater, and the portico of said theater also had later-period ceramic deposits, almost entirely early 8th century C.E. The large church, with its three aisles and intricate mosaics, was abandoned sometime in the mid-8th century C.E., likely due to earthquake damage. Within the fill were found grayware bowls, some with pie-crust rims, gray basins with dual straps, two small jugs in a red fabric with white-painted decoration, and finally several bag-jars/amphorae, also with white decoration. The portico, home to yet another pottery workshop, dated to the first half of the 8th century C.E. and showed the usual assortment of bowls, jars, jugs, spouted jugs, and cooking pots, but with the addition of pilgrim's flasks, similar to that found at Kornos on Cyprus, and clearly a Byzantine holdover. Decoration on the other items included the wavy white lines and geometric patterns in red-painted on white slip. Oddly, some of the cooking pots also showed the white-slip decoration. A late reform coin (696–750 C.E.) and a *follis* of Constans II (641–668 C.E.) placed the whole complex in the early 8th century C.E. (Clark 1986; Ball *et al.* 1986).

5.3.3 *Discussion*

A site like Jerash, with its numerous pottery kilns and ceramic sequence that extends from the 7th c. C.E. up to the early 9th c. C.E., can be taken as generally representative, particularly when making a case for differences in assemblage, usage, and context. It is important to also consider wider, more regional trends. Jerash, with its location far from the coast, and ostensibly the state *annona* that drove Mediterranean trade up until the 7th century C.E., seems rather distant ceramically from the day-to-day lived experiences of Cypriots and Cretans during this period. Although there is some difference in chronology, most island assemblages lose visibility in the 8th c. C.E., whereas at Jerash this is where they become most visible. This highlights an important point: the ceramics being produced at Jerash and circulating in the Levant, with two minor exceptions, are not reaching the islands, either before or after the collapse in state trade. Exceptions include the bag amphorae (LRA5) produced in Palestine up to the 8th and possibly 9th centuries C.E. and the 'Arab style' lamps.

Indeed, the evolution of ceramics in Syria/Palestine took a very different path to that on the islands. While the red-slip tradition so prevalent elsewhere in the Empire is certainly strong in the 4th through 6th centuries C.E., by the mid-6th century C.E. it begins to wane considerably, far earlier than elsewhere. Part of this may be linked to the shrinking monetary economy, and the passage of control into the hands of the church and local magnates of much industry and trade. Ornamental glazed wares in an eastern tradition do not appear until late in the 8th or early in the 9th century C.E., however. In Jerash, the Jerash bowls clearly take up some of this slack, but overall the plainware sequences and local substitutes are poorly understood (Hayes 1997:474).

Outside of Palestine, painted wares are uncommon, although a plain tableware, known as 'Fine Byzantine Ware,' in use from the 6th to the 10th centuries C.E. does sometimes sport designs in white, red, or black (Hayes 1997:475). In the 8th century C.E. everything changes, and a burst of creativity can be seen across the region, although it does still draw on earlier traditions. The black steatite or burnished ceramic bowls, deep with straight sides and 'woodworked' designs appear, as do the *Kerbschnitt* bowls and red-painted ware. In the second half of the 8th century C.E., Buff, or Mafjar Ware appears (Sauer and Magness 1997:477). The jars or jugs, molded, with incised or impressed decoration, have some similarities to forms found late on Cyprus, particularly at Paphos, and seem to hail from much farther to the East, either Iran or Iraq. A more local form, found only around Aqaba and known as Mahesh Ware, includes more open forms.

In the 9th century C.E. glazed wares arrive on the scene, far later than in the Byzantine world, but in a profoundly different way. Rather than the simple brown or green glazes on the interiors or exteriors of pots and tentative tableware, there are bright splashes of color, many coming from eastern producers, in Samarra for example, bespeaking the shift in direction of trade and focus to the East that took place with the Abbasid revolt. In the early 9th century C.E., monochrome glazed wares in green or yellow, with a polychrome free-form design in brown, yellow, white, green, purple, or black, begin to be made in Palestine and elsewhere, including in the Fayum of Egypt. Hijazi Ware, produced in Arabia, displays polychrome glazed spirals and cross-hatching on a red-orange fabric. Samarran Ware in white or startling blue-green appears alongside Red-Splash Ware, which has its own incised, sgraffito designs. Even cooking pots and casseroles in Palestine get their internal glazes starting in the 9th century C.E. Finally, in the 10th century C.E., gold lusterware begins to come out of Fatimid Egypt, as arresting today as it likely was at the time (Sauer and Magness 1997:478). None of this material has been found on Crete and Cyprus so far, while Sicily and the Maghreb, literal and figurative islands in their own right, and at far greater geographic distance, are not so bereft (Molinari 2013, Nef *et al.* 2012).

5.4 Corinth

5.4.1 *Site Description*

Listed in 10th century C.E. sources as the most important of the 40 cities and towns of the Peleponnese, Corinth is our next regional case study (Figure 5.9). Excavation has been carried out in the city for over a hundred years at this point, yet, suffering as it has at the hands of classical archaeologists, very little is known about ceramics from the Late Antique to Early Medieval period (Sanders 2003:396). Beginning with exploratory trenches in the classical core of the city in 1896, little, if any, medieval material was noted or kept. In the 1930s the Roman forum was unearthed, with areas as large as 600 square meters excavated down to a depth of four meters in three-month seasons, often with only a single archaeologist to oversee the work. For a Byzantine archaeologist reading the few excavation notes of the 1938 season that Guy Sanders has transcribed and published as examples of the pace and scope of the work being carried out, this is frankly horrifying. Entire meters of 'medieval fill' disappeared on a daily basis, often with little more notation than this sentence (Sanders 1995:23). These are periods about which we still know almost nothing.

If medieval material was recorded or kept, it was restricted to the glazed tablewares. For 50 years the primary reference on Byzantine ceramics for mainland Greece writ large was the 1942 volume by Morgan, *Corinth XI*, that covered the registered medieval pottery from 1896 through 1938. These pieces were classified by decoration and, concentrating as it did on glazed examples only, the volume is weighted heavily towards the very end of the city's habitation, from the 11th to the early 14th century C.E. (Sanders 1995:23, Morgan 1942). Indeed, it was long thought that the city was completely abandoned after the 'Slavic invasions' of the 6th century C.E., attested largely in written sources, and only re-inhabited in the late 9th when Byzantine control over the area apparently 'solidified' (Sanders 2000:153, 2003:385).

Throughout the excavations of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, it became apparent, slowly, that this was likely not the case. The Kaneion basilica, parts of the Lechaion harbor, the basilica of Aghios Kodratos, a chapel in the Asklepieion, and a church on Acro-corinth all appear to have been in use in the 7th century C.E., and there is a slowly growing corpus of 8th century C.E. material (Sanders 2003:395, Slane and Sanders 2005:245). More recent work in the theater, the great baths, the Roman forum, which became a graveyard in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., and in a bath-house excavated in the Panayia field, some 100 meters Southeast of the forum, have begun to shed light on the 7th to 10th centuries C.E., but much remains to be published (Sanders 1999, Slane and Sanders 2005). Guy Sanders is responsible for much that has reached the public eye, although much of his focus has been on amending and updating the work of Morgan

(Morgan 1942, Sanders 1995, 2000, 2003). Thanks to this revisitation, and the work of Kathleen Slane and Guy Sanders on the material from the 1995-6 excavations at the Panayia field and Williams' excavations in the theater, we now have a better understanding of the beginning and end of the period I have chosen to examine, even if the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. remain notably murky (Sanders 1999, Slane and Sanders 2005).

The bath-house in the Panayia field, practically our only source for Late Antique material from Corinth, is built over a 2nd to 3rd century C.E. urban *domus*, as well as a 5th century C.E. structure of unknown use. In use during the 6th century C.E., the bath-house ceased in its original function sometime in the 7th century C.E., but remained occupied in some fashion. A large dump of 7th century C.E. material was found in the western end of a long room and the structure was dismantled sometime in the 8th or 9th centuries C.E. (Slane and Sanders 2005:246).

5.4.2 *Finds*

In an attempt to get at the ceramic sequences for the Late Antique period, Slane and Sanders in their 2005 study examined and compared material from four unrelated contexts in the theater and field. For the 7th century C.E. they were able to construct a relatively convincing picture of the types of tablewares, coarse and cooking wares, as well as amphorae, that would have been in use in Corinth at the time. The aforementioned 7th century C.E. dump was, of course, instrumental in this. Containing some 4,200 sherds, as well as a coin of Tiberias II (580/1 C.E.) as a *terminus post quem*, the material was further compared with that from Saraçhane, discussed above, to refine the dates (Slane and Sanders 2005:273). An African red slip rim, form 107, and a Glazed White Ware I bowl found in the forum were also included.

Although the contexts were limited, the overall impression is, again, one of a connection to the Eastern Mediterranean *koine* at the end of Antiquity, if a somewhat less representative one than other sites we have examined. African Red Slip Ware is present in forms 104C, 105, 107D, and 109, the first two being dishes and the last two bowls. A spouted jug in a grayware, which was apparently re-used for cooking, and the rim and handle of another spouted jug, this one splashed with paint, has a parallel in the Crypta Balbi in Rome (Slane and Sanders 2005:274). Indeed, this is not the only ephemeral connection with Italy, as will be discussed below.

Cooking pots are globular with rounded bases, somewhat wider at the mouth than those of Cyprus, or the capital; Slane and Sanders postulate this might be for the cooking of stews (2005:279). Plainwares consist of several imported pieces from the southern Argolid and Aegean. These include micaceous, reddish-brown *unguentaria,* a pinched-mouth pitcher, also flecked with mica, and a pitcher with a flaring rim and paint on the shoulder. Local wares display bowl forms, spouted and un-spouted pitchers, and a deep gritty basin with a square rim. This last also has a parallel in the Crypta Balbi. Amphorae speak of relatively far-flung commerce at this period, which is generally not surprising. Late Roman Amphora 1 is abundant in late 6th century C.E. iterations, but it is unclear if it continues. Late Roman Amphora 2, thought by some scholars to be linked to the supply of the army, occurs in both local and more micaceous forms (Karagiorgou 2001). Trade links with Palestine come through strongly as 16 nearly complete Late Roman Amphora 5 were recovered. Palestinian carrot amphorae are also in evidence. Lastly, several fragments of North African *spatheia*, two unidentified amphorae with heavy micaceous fabrics, and an odd fragment with gold and silver flecks, as well as red and black inclusions, was found. This final example closely matches a fabric found at Saraçhane, which may be from the Black Sea (Slane and Sanders 2005:278).

As mentioned, this is hardly representative of the Byzantine *koine* in the 7th century C.E., but the general outline is there. The lack of Phocaean or Cypriot Red Slip, and the preference for spouted jugs and wider-mouthed cooking pots, is, however, notable. Not mentioned in Slane and Sanders' study, but also found on this and other Greek sites starting sometime in the 6th century C.E., is the (in)famous 'Slavic Ware' (Figure 5.10) (Arthur 2007:166). This hand-made, and later slow-wheel-turned, ceramic has caused a stir amongst scholars since the 1980s, when it was associated, pejoratively, with invading Slavic peoples (Vroom 2005:49). Since then it has suffered the same fate as the 'Avar buckle,' and it is now thought by the majority of researchers to be a background cottage industry that takes off when the economic situation changes in the 7th century C.E. (Poulou-Papadimitriou *et al.* 2012:391,Vroom 2007:146). Early versions are exceedingly rough, with no decoration beyond a brown slip, while the later, slow-wheel-turned versions—extending into the 8th, 9th, and possibly 10th centuries C.E.—often have simple incised lines in geometric or wavy patterns. Simple stamps are sometimes also seen (Vroom 2005:49). These are to be contrasted with the handmade products appearing on Cyprus and elsewhere in the East however, as there a relatively high level of sophistication, is maintained (Rautman 1998:92). Overall, the general move to handmade wares in many parts of the Eastern Mediterranean following the 7th century C.E. has created a significant problem for identification and dating. So much so that one researcher confided to me that if she wanted to look for the Early Medieval pottery on an Eastern Mediterranean site she would simply dive through the boxes of previously excavated pottery labeled 'Neolithic' (Gabrieli 2014: pers. comm.).

After the material from the 7th century C.E., the focus of ceramic studies at Corinth has concentrated almost entirely on the glazed wares. Lead-glazed *mortaria* appear in the late 6th century C.E., and a single piece of Glazed White Ware I was found in the Forum, but those are the only items recovered, or rather recorded, until the very end of the 8th century C.E., when GWW makes a reappearance in small numbers. This is short-lived, and Sanders has postulated that the Arab conquest of Crete may have disrupted what connection existed between Corinth and the capital (Sanders 2000:156). In the 9th century C.E., local glazedware production begins, most of which are chafing dishes in a reddish fabric. The petal decoration on some of these dishes matches those on pieces in the Crypta Balbi in Rome, again showing a tenuous Italian connection (Sanders 2003:386).

Glazed White Wares from Constantinople appear again in the late 10th century C.E., after the reconquest of Crete, and increase in number in the 11th century C.E. when they come to dominate the market in fine tablewares. From the mid-10th century C.E. the local glazed wares, and even the coarsewares, tend to copy Glazed White Ware forms, including large bowls, cups, and dishes with high pedestals (Sanders 2003:391). There continues to be, notably, a preponderance of chafing dishes. Even so, the total numbers of glazed wares only make up about 0.7% of the total ceramics by weight in the 10th and 11th centuries C.E. and it can be assumed that locally produced coarsewares, including handmade ‘Slavic wares,’ continue to be produced and make up a considerable amount of the total assemblage (Sanders 2000:156). Overall, the local industry in glazed wares is fairly conservative throughout, producing pitchers, cups, chafing dishes, and the occasional pilgrim’s flask. There appears to be a preference for green glaze, as opposed to the more common yellowish hues seen in Constantinople (Sanders 2003:391).

5.4.3 *Discussion*

The study of ceramic morphology across the Late Antique and Early Medieval transition has been severely hampered in Greece by the recording traditions of classical archaeology and the not-unrelated issue of publishing backlogs. With large sites like Corinth and Athens the emphasis has been placed on continual excavation, focusing almost exclusively on the Classical levels, leaving little time for publishing and study, especially where things like ‘medieval fill’ are concerned. The Periclean identity espoused by the modern Greek nation state has certainly not helped in this regard either (Hamilakis 2009, Athanassoupoulos 2008:16). Surveys rarely move beyond a classification of ‘Late Roman to Early Modern,’ that is, the ‘thousand-year pile.’ Still, some trends can be discerned from the material at Corinth. In the 7th century C.E. the connectivity seen at other sites around the Eastern Mediterranean is apparent here. African Red Slip dominates the tablewares, and amphorae from the various corners of the Byzantine Empire are in evidence. The potential for exploring different regional foodways is offered by the differences between those ceramic forms prevalent in Greece as opposed to other region: the emphasis on wider-mouthed cooking pots, dishes raised on pedestals, and spouted pitchers, for example.

Outside of the published information on the glazed wares, material from the 8th through 10th centuries C.E. is almost totally unknown, severely limiting what can be said about connectivity, dining and cooking habits, etc. As for the glazed material, the small amounts of Glazed White Ware that make their way to the city are significant. As will be discussed below, they imply links to Constantinopolitan material practices, particularly in their heavy inclusion of chafing dishes. This point is reinforced by the local production of chafing dishes when GWW ceases to be traded and in the subsequent re-copying of GWW forms when this material is again available in Corinth. Imports from other areas are largely unknown, although the tentative traces of Italian influence in some forms and decoration may hint at a western connection. Additionally, some Late Roman Amphora 2 and its postulated descendant, 13, have also been found at the site, and in the region, dating to this otherwise largely opaque period (Vroom 2005:61).

5.5 The Old Monastery of Baramus

5.5.1 *Site Description*

Luckily, the study of Late Antique and Early Medieval Egyptian ceramics has not suffered the same fate as that of its Greek counterpart. This is due almost entirely to the importance of Byzantine—or more appropriately, Coptic—monasticism for the history of Christianity. Given the disciplinary traditions of Egyptology the potential was certainly there (Konstantinidou 2012:33). Despite some early attempts, things can really only be said to have started, as always, with John Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery* of 1972. He devoted considerable space in that volume to what he termed 'Egyptian Red Slip,' opening up a truly workable vista of ceramic understanding for Late Antique Egypt. Since that time numerous studies into 'Coptic' pottery have been published, including considerable work on petrographic analysis (Ballet and Picon 1987, Godlewski 1990, Engemann 1992, Konstantinidou 2012:34-6, Rodziewicz 1976). One of the earliest and best is the work of Michel Egloff on the material from the Franco-Swiss excavations on the site of Kellia in Wadi al-Natrun (1977). Kellia is part of a series of semi-anchoretic monastic settlements in the Wadi al-Natrun that date back to the golden age of Coptic monasticism in the 4th and 5th centuries C.E., some of which continue in use to this day. One of them, the monastery of Baramus, has an older iteration nearby that has been the subject of recent work by Alexandra Konstantinidou (2012), and is our case study for examining Egyptian ceramic production and use from the Late Antique to Early Medieval periods.

The old monastery of Baramus was chosen for its location in northwestern Egypt, some 60 km Southwest of Alexandria. While Middle and Upper Egyptian monasteries are better known from textual sources, these monasteries in Wadi al-Natrun have the advantage of being situated closer to the Mediterranean littoral, are well excavated and published, and appear to have never been fully disconnected from larger sites and their attendant trade networks.

The Wadi al-Natrun is a depression located in Egypt's great Western Desert, some 65 km long and between 7 and 24 km wide. It is characterized by several seasonal lakes that provide an ample supply of salt in the off season, a resource that has been continually exploited throughout Egypt's long history (Konstantinidou 2012:11). By the 4th century C.E. there was already a *lavra*, attested at Dayr al-Baramus, and textual sources indicate the monks of the area were heavily involved in the early theological disputes of the empire. Monophysitism, or the belief in a single, divine nature of Christ, became popular in Egypt starting in the 6th century C.E., and continues, in an altered form known as Miaphysitism, as the primary doctrinal belief of the Coptic church, in opposition to the Chalcedonian dyophysitism of the Greek Orthodox Church. No profound changes seem to have affected the area with the Arab conquest of 639-642 C.E., in keeping with the impressions from the Levant, although raiding by desert tribes seems to have been a problem for the monasteries through much of their Late Antique and Early Medieval history. Fortifications were constructed at several of the monasteries in the 9th century C.E. (Konstantinidou 2012:18).

The site known as the Monastery of the Virgin Mary of Baramus lies close to a present-day monastery of the same name (Figure 5.11). Referred to locally as the Monastery of St. Moses the Black (Dayr Abu Musa al-Aswad), it became apparent in the course of excavation that it was, in fact, a duplicate of the current monastery founded during the heresy of Julian of

Halicarnassus and maintained from at least the 6th to the 13th centuries C.E. and possibly into the 16th century C.E. Despite the doctrinal differences the two monasteries seem to have coexisted peacefully during that time (Konstantinidou 2012:19).

Excavation of the site was carried out by a team from Leiden University between 1996 and 1999 and again from 2002 to 2009. Study of the ceramics was undertaken in 2005, with Alexandra Konstantinidou covering the 4th through 9th centuries C.E. as her dissertation research, and Anetta Łyżwa-Piber examining the late 10th through 16th century C.E. material (2012). This latter study remains unpublished. The 9th century C.E. was chosen as a suitable breaking point given a fairly well-defined destruction layer at that time, thought to be the result of a nomadic raid, as substantial fortification of the surrounding monasteries seems to take place around this time (Konstantinidou 2012:3,14).

The monastic complex of the Old Monastery of Baramus was no small affair. The main church, a three-aisled basilica, measured some 15 by 30 meters and dated to the 6th century C.E. Several phases of remodeling were apparent, the most substantial dating to the late 7th or early 8th century C.E. (Konstaninidou 2012:21). Much of the remodeling included *spolia* from pharaonic structures. The complex featured a large bakery attached to the church, in use until the 9th century C.E., and a multi-story defensive tower to the Southeast, dating back to the 4th century C.E. A block of monastic cells was also uncovered, along with two attendant kitchens, one in use after the other.

Ten contexts were chosen for excavation. Contexts 1 and 2 included material from within the tower, being the unstratified and stratified material respectively, dating to the 6th and 7th centuries C.E. primarily. Contexts 3 and 4 were located outside the tower, and included 5th through 7th century C.E. material. Context 5 was a row of complete Late Roman Amphorae 7, found in a storage basement of sorts under the church, dating to the mid-7th century C.E. Context 6 was another storage area within the church, the contents consisting of a dump that dated primarily to the mid-10th century C.E. Context 7 was another pottery dump, this time located between the church and the monastic cells, of roughly the same date as that within the church. Context 8 was a single cooking pot outside the western wall of the church, dated to the 7th century C.E. The last two contexts were a monastic cell excavated at the northeastern corner of the site, containing ceramic detritus from the 6th to the 13th centuries C.E., and an area in between this site and the fortification wall. This narrow space contained a pottery dump that dated to the second half of the 7th to the mid-8th centuries C.E. (Konstantinidou 2012:25-7).

5.5.2 *Finds*

These ten contexts produced a considerable amount of pottery. As with the other sites, a trend can be seen in the years up through the 7th century C.E. of large numbers of imports, falling away after that century to be replaced by primarily local products. These local products come in three different fabric varieties: Nile silt; a calcareous type usually referred to as a marl; and a kaolin clay. This last has a pinkish hue and was generally not utilized until the Hellenistic-Roman period. The other two fabrics have been used throughout Egyptian history. Nile silt from the Northwest of Egypt tends to fire red or brown in color, with considerable inclusions of sand and mica, and occasionally quartz, lime, or straw. The marl clays are sediment washed down the wadis and mixed with local shales and limestone, usually firing to a cream or whitish color (Konstantinidou 2012:40, Wodzinksa 2010:181).

Unlike the other mainland areas discussed, Egypt shows a startling amount of continuity and conservatism in its approach to ceramic forms. Even after the cessation of most imports many of the forms were copied and recopied for centuries, with only minor alterations. Were it not for the wide corpus of Egyptian comparanda, aided by the considerable textual record of the Coptic monasteries, dating such material would be difficult indeed. Even so, some of the forms continue to have date ranges in the hundreds of years (Konstantinidou 2012:3, Wodzińska 2010:244). One need only look at the recently published *Manual of Egyptian Pottery* for evidence of this; the 'Medieval' section of ceramic types is listed as extending from the 8th to the 18th centuries C.E. (Wodzińska 2010:243). This is an important point to consider when thinking about the overall lack of visibility in late-8th through 10th-century C.E. forms on Crete and Cyprus.

Turning to the ceramics themselves, the 7th-century C.E. imported tablewares found at Baramus are largely familiar from elsewhere in the Empire. As the starting point for the *annona*, and source of much of the grain that wended its way to the capital, it is perhaps unsurprising that Egyptian ceramics, and their influence, should be seen down the chain, in the Levant and, as noted, at Kourion, in Cyprus. By the same token, returning ships likely also brought forms from abroad and, unsurprisingly, there is a large concentration of Cypriot Red Slip at Baramus, particularly Hayes form 9b and Meyza forms H5, K3, K1, and K4A. These are primarily the deep rouletted dishes and bowls we have seen in large numbers on that island. Some African red slip is also noted, primarily forms 98 and 111, although these peter out in the course of the 7th century C.E., while the CRS continues on into, perhaps, the early 8th century C.E. Phocaean Red Slip appears only briefly in the 6th century C.E.

Imported amphorae during the 7th century C.E. show a great amount of variety. Late Roman Amphora 1 is the most prevalent, with petrographic analysis done on samples from nearby Kellia showing a majority of this type coming from Cyprus (Ballet and Picon 1987:24-6). This form remains popular in Egypt amongst local potters as well, and variants of LRA1 continue here well into the Abbasid period, long after they disappeared elsewhere around the Mediterranean (Konstantinidou 2012:217). Late Roman Amphora 4, from Gaza and the northern Levantine coast appears in significant numbers in the 6th and 7th centuries C.E. Late Roman Amphorae 2, possibly a Greek product, and Late Roman Amphora 5, from Palestine, are rare. A variant of LRA5 is also made locally in the 7th century C.E. Late Roman Amphorae 3 and 7, several complete examples of the latter being found, are also local (Vroom 2005:58). After the 7th century C.E. almost no imports were noted, and none of the cooking or utilitarian wares from any period appeared to be imported, in stark contrast to the Dhiorios-style cooking pots which circulate in the northeastern Mediterranean (Konstantinidou 2012:126, Vionis *et al.* 2009:154).

Towards the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th centuries C.E. imported tableware and amphorae almost completely disappear, to be replaced by local products that had previously co-existed alongside them. In terms of tablewares these consisted of Aswan Red and White Slip wares (also designated by Hayes as Egyptian Red Slip Ware A), painted tablewares, gouged/carved wares, and, starting in the 9th century C.E., early glazed wares (Hayes 1972). Although initially produced around Aswan, Egyptian Red Slip Ware A, which includes both red- and white-slip products, was also produced in Fustat, the new Arab capital, from the 7th to the 11th centuries C.E. They often copy ARS forms, particularly the small- and medium-sized bowls with various types of rims, and medium to deep dishes with knobbed rims (Konstantinidou 2012:66, Hayes 1972:388). By the 8th century C.E. ERS becomes far and away the dominant tableware, moving from 63% of slipped tablewares at Baramus in the 7th century C.E. to 100%, and from 39% of all tablewares to 85%, until the introduction of glazed wares in the 9th century C.E. (Konstantinidou 2012:260-2). Even with the beginnings of glazed production they remain the dominant tableware well into the Abbasid period. When glazing does begin, it is often merely added to the surface of pre-existing ERS forms. Some glazed wares can be found with added decoration in curved strokes of green or brown, on a lighter fabric, at which time they are designated as 'Fayyumi Ware.' These types in particular have been shown to have some similarity to Chinese T'ang ceramics, by which they may have been influenced (Konstantinidou 2012:123, Wodziska 2010:243). Painted decoration also appears on some ERS, but, while also geometric, is typically far more complex than the early glazedware decorations.

As noted in discussing the material from Jerash, Egypt has a long tradition of painted ceramics that extends both before and after this period, encompassing otherwise plain tablewares, utilitarian pottery, and even cooking wares, in addition to the ERS and glazed wares already mentioned. All of the painted plainwares from Baramus, which primarily include bowls, dishes, and jugs, are made of Nile silt. A considerable variety of colors are seen, including hues of black, red, purple, white, brown, and occasionally green. Designs are usually geometric and complex, although animal and floral motifs are also known (Konstantinidou 2012:97). Gouging or carving, a subtractive technique, also appears at Baramus, ranging from the 5th to the 8th centuries C.E. This is a relatively small category of wares, mostly open forms, with decoration largely geometric. Additional examples have also been found at Kellia (Konstantinidou 2012:115). Plain, undecorated tablewares also appear in some abundance. Exclusively of Nile silt fabric, dishes, knobbed and flanged-rim bowls, are seen, as well as jugs with various types of mouths and rim forms. The trefoil, pinched-mouth jugs at Baramus bear a marked resemblance to forms seen elsewhere in the Byzantine world of the 7th century C.E. and after.

Much of the utilitarian coarsewares bore decoration similar to that of the tablewares. Storage jars, large bowls, and water jugs were frequently painted or gouged in geometric, animal, and floral motifs, and there was one jar with additive, anthropomorphic elements. This piece bore some similarity to the one mentioned earlier at Jerash. Non-decorated examples occurred as well, all appearing to be local products with forms that need not detain us here due to their wide variety and idiosyncrasy. A typology does not exist for this category of wares and, outside of their decoration and fabric, they would be very difficult to identify in other contexts. Cooking wares were exclusively of Nile fabric and featured a range of frying pans, handled casseroles, and round-bottomed cooking pots with a variety of rims, lids, and handles. Several of these are painted. After the 7th century C.E. there appears to be a decided move towards more closed forms in the cooking pots, while open casseroles also maintain a steady popularity (Konstantinidou 2012:126). The presence of several frying pans, and the sheer variety of cooking vessels, stands in sharp contrast to Crete and Cyprus. Some of the cooking pots bear resemblance to the two-handled Dhiorios type, but this appears to do more with their evolution from earlier Late Roman forms and less with any direct, horizontal influence. The trade in thin-walled, two-handled cooking pots of high technical sophistication, occurring in the Northeast of the Mediterranean basin, does not appear to have included Egypt (Vionis *et al.* 2009: 154). Lamps are almost entirely of the saucer type, an early Roman form that continues here, particularly in monasteries. A related form is also used as a censer. Mold-made lamps are infrequent and disappear early on. Pilgrim flasks are also found.

Lastly, a word should be spared for the wide variety of local amphora types that blossom after the 7th century C.E. Amphorae make up the largest percentage of recovered pottery in all the centuries examined, moving from 60% in the 7th century C.E., to just over 40% in the 9th century C.E. (Konstantinidou 2012:261-3). Late Roman Amphora 3, modeled on African *spatheia*, continue through the 8th century C.E., while Late Roman Amphore 7 continues until the 10th or 11th century C.E. in altered forms. Derivatives of LRA1 are very common, and show a wide variety in alterations to body shape and handle type. LRA2 is also copied to a lesser extent. A series of Egyptian amphorae that mix characteristics of the long, carrot-shaped LRA3 and 7 also appears. Derivatives of LRA5 also continue to be popular (Konstantinidou 2012:164-226). Many of these forms would be recognizable abroad by their dark reddish-brown Nile silt fabric, with light levels of mica and quartz.

5.5.3 *Discussion*

Based on the evidence from the Old Monastery of Baramus, it is clear that, from the late 7th to the 10th centuries C.E., Lower Egypt relied almost exclusively on local production to meet its ceramic needs. Moreover, imports of goods that would have arrived in ceramic containers from abroad were exceedingly rare, pointing to a limited commercial connectivity. This picture is not substantially changed from other sites across the region (Wodziska 2010:181). With the exception of ERS, very few Egyptian products appear on Crete and Cyprus, and the tradition of Egyptian painted pottery, unlike at Jerash, does not seem to have been attractive, Cretan over-painted ware deriving more from a mainland Greek type.

The startling conservatism in tableware production, as opposed to other categories of pottery, is worth noting in regard to the islands. Glazed White Ware, chafing dishes, burnished ware, none of these types penetrate Egypt, and instead there is a dogged adherence to Late Roman forms of red slip , even unto the gates of glazed ware production in the 9th century C.E. Were it not for the singular attention to Coptic monasticism that has yielded such a fine corpus of ceramic material, would this continuity be apparent? Or like John Hayes would we simply relegate the ERS tradition to the same chronological range as its Mediterranean counterparts? Such a question is perhaps facile, yet it allows us to look at Cypriot red slip production and consumption, and indeed at the ceramic traditions of areas more distant from the Byzantine core, be it religiously, politically, or commercially, in a different light.

5.6 Amorium

5.6.1 *Site Description*

The last regional case study centers on the city of Amorium in central western Anatolia. Located 168 kilometers to the Southwest of present day Ankara, Amorium was an important military and administrative center throughout the Late Antique and Early Medieval period (Figure 5.12). In the 7th century C.E. as large parts of the Empire were lost to the Arabs, the *magister militum per orientem* was transferred from northern Mesopotamia to Amorium, creating the *Anatolikon theme* (Ivison 2007:25). This military center was the home of the Amorian dynasty of emperors in the 9th century C.E., and also the site from which multiple coups were launched, starting a century earlier. The Arabs attacked the city numerous times, with relatively minimal success, until 838 C.E., when an escaped Muslim captive indicated a weakness in the defenses to the Abbasid Caliphs al-Mu'tasim and the city fell. Re-occupation occurred sometime in the mid-10th century C.E. and the site remained an important regional center for some time after (Ivison 2007:26).

The city itself boasts two sets of walls and gates, one surrounding the acropolis, built on a tell that indicates settlement dating back to the Hellenistic period, and perhaps earlier, and a second surrounding the lower town. This lower city encompasses an area of some 75 hectares. Small-scale investigations took place in the 19th century, but it wasn't until 1987 that large, systematic excavations took place. These were conducted by R. M. Harrison of Oxford University and subsequently by C. S. Lightfoot and E. Ivison, along with the British Institute of

Archaeology. Excavation continued until 2008. Since 2014 a Turkish team under Z. Gökalp of Anadolu University has been working at the site.

Between 1996 and 2008 excavations were concentrated in two areas known as the Lower City Enclosure and the southwestern tower/gate. The Enclosure is an area located in roughly the center of the lower city, on gently sloping terrain some 50 to 70 meters to the Northeast of the previously excavated structure known as Basilica A. Trapezoidal masonry walls enclose the area, and seem to date to the 10th century C.E. By 2008 some 2,100 square meters had been exposed, revealing an industrial/commercial district, with the majority of remains dating to the 6th through 9th centuries C.E. (Ivison 2012:5). The other area is a triangular tower and gateway near the southwestern extent of the lower city walls. Both the enclosure and the fortification contexts were sealed in a devastating fire, and coins found in the destruction deposits give a terminus post quem of 830 C.E., indicating that the fire that destroyed these constructions was likely related to the 838 C.E. sack of the city by al-Mu'tasim (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007:273). In addition to the fortifications, an area just behind the gateway and tower were excavated. This included a building complex with a large central room and courtyard dating to the 11th century C.E., and another sealed deposit below consisting of a small room with a doorway and stone hearth.

These sealed deposits are unusual for the 9th century C.E. in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly when the scale of the site is considered. The insight provided into Byzantine ceramics from this period is significant, and gives excellent comparanda for ceramics from Cyprus and Crete, even if the site is far inland and of a different administrative character. Given the dearth of firmly identified 9th-century C.E. deposits on the two islands, these contexts give us some idea of what we should be looking for, and their presence or absence, as with the other sites discussed in this chapter, provides important information about connectivity and the character of the material engagement enjoyed by the islands' inhabitants.

5.6.2 *Finds*

Let us turn first to the triangular tower and the structures located behind the gateway in the southwestern portion of the city walls. The tower, which had stood several stories high, was dated in its construction to the years just after 487 C.E. based on tree-ring data provided by fragments of the beams that had been entombed at its destruction (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007:275). A renovation apparently took place sometime in the mid-6th century C.E., and the subsequent layer, just under the destruction context, showed compacted straw and some very fragmentary common wares and red coarsewares, indicating that the ground floor was likely used as a stable. The destruction debris included many nails, small textile fragments, and a large quantity of broken pottery, likely from the floors above. These included fine red wares, jugs and jars primarily, several with small red ribbons painted on the shoulders. The handle of an unidentified amphora, probably local, was also found with this red decoration (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007:279). Some pieces of locally-made Amorium Glazed Ware were also found, although the forms were not recorded. In the 10th century re-occupation levels were found fine redware, red and gray coarseware, and the small ring base of a bowl in a green glaze, a piece of Glazed White Ware II.

The gateway and nearby structures had a considerable amount of fallen debris from the city wall, as well as a great deal of pottery sealed *in situ*. A full third of the material from the gateway were flat-bottomed cooking pots, to be contrasted with the rounded bottoms seen on Crete, Cyprus, and elsewhere to the West. Most of these were in a fine beige or red fabric, some with burnishing and incised geometric decoration. Jugs and jars made up the remainder, again in a beige or red fabric, and two very coarse pot fragments bore similarities to pieces found at Saraçhane (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007:282).

The small room and stone hearth that date to the destruction of the city were only partially excavated, but showed a large amount of pottery *in situ*. The room appeared to be in use at the time of the siege, and bits of carbonized grain, textiles, and pieces of wood were found under the collapsed roof material. The largest concentration of vessels was found near the walls between the door and the hearth, indicating that they were likely held on shelves there. Some coins of Theophilus (829-842 C.E.) were found dating to the year 830 C.E. Much of the pottery was utilitarian in nature, including cooking pots in a coarseware, a handled bowl in a fine beigeware, jars and jugs in a black-coated grayware, and a pot in a fine redware. There was also a jug in a fine redware with the same red ribbon-decoration noted earlier, with incised horizontal lines, and two misfired chafing dish fragments in the local Amorium Glazed Ware. Four complete examples of a pot that is very peculiar indeed were also found. These pots feature a sealed mouth, with four perforated holes, five holes in the base, seven handles, and an interior conical tube that connected the two sets of holes (Figure 5.13). The excavators were unable to determine the use of these particular vessels and their like is not known from any other site. Hypotheses ranged from yogurt strainers to some kind of nozzle for Greek Fire, but with no attendant evidence (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007:288).

Overall, almost no imported items were noted amongst the assemblages from this part of the city, except for the sherd of Glazed White Ware II in the 10th-century C.E. reoccupation. All the aforementioned types are decidedly local, including the black-coated grayware that seems to have been particularly popular, as will be seen from the area of the Enclosure. Indeed, as the excavators note, almost no direct parallels can be found between the material recovered at

Amorium and that found at Early Medieval sites in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. Some of the forms are similar, but invariably the rim, bottom, and handles are treated differently. The exception to this are the local chafing dishes and other forms in the local, Amorium Glazed Ware. This material copies Glazed White Ware from Constantinople starting in the 8th or early 9th centuries C.E. and may continue this practice into the 11th century C.E. (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007:291, 2012:162). This is a trend that was noted at Corinth as well.

The excavations in the Enclosure were far more extensive than those carried out on the southwestern fortifications, yet the finds tend to reinforce the trends noticed there, even though only a fraction of the pottery has been published (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012:153). The destruction contexts uncovered in the Enclosure area consisted of ash layers, roof tiles, and walls that had collapsed to cover floor- and ground-surfaces made of beaten earth. The layer above contained all the detritus associated with decaying and abandoned structures, slowly tumbling to earth in the wake of the catastrophe. All of this was sealed by a layer of silt before evidence of the 10th century C.E. reoccupation appeared. The published material examined here comes from one trench, XB-03, and its associated contexts, numbers 110, 113, 123-125, 129, 132, 135, 136, 138, 142, and 144, spread across units 7, 9, 10, 11, and 31.

The ceramics recovered were primarily of the late 8th and early 9th centuries C.E., although there was some residual 7th and early 8th century C.E. material. Coins of Michael II (820-829 C.E.) and Theophilus (829-842 C.E.) again provide a fairly solid basis for the ceramic chronology outside what is known about their general typology. Two overarching categories were apparent among the material when parsed by form and fabric/treatment, utilitarian types and finewares or tablewares. This not atypical separation showed, however, an additional bias for certain types of fabrics and forms among those types that copied external forms. Generally speaking, the fabrics and treatments discussed are unknown outside of Amorium.

Within the Enclosure the utilitarian types tended to be jugs, cooking pots, and pots (Figure 5.15). Part of a frying pan, or *teganion*, was also found, as well as a very small number of amphora sherds. Fabrics included a grayware, a very coarseware, and what was termed 'common ware,' which can only be assumed to be some type of medium grade. The cooking pots were largely globular in form, with some examples sharing features with some of the pots found at Saraçhane, but overall, as noted, the rim and handle treatments were quite different from types seen elsewhere. Handles were, by contrast with examples seen in Greece or on the islands, attached far from the rim and often ovoid in shape. Many were also impressed with fingerprints, a feature noted by the excavators as distinctly 'Amorian' (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012:154).

Finewares and tablewares clustered in the forms of jugs, bowls, and chafing dishes. Several small fragments of Glazed White Ware from Constantinople were also noted. These last constituted the only clearly identifiable imports in the destruction contexts. Fabrics for the jugs and bowls included a burnished redware, a fine redware, often with ribbons painted in red on the shoulders of the jugs, a black-coated grayware that evinced a very dark slip, a beige fineware and, from the post-destruction levels of the 10th century C.E., a brown fineware. Burnished Wares also become more common during the 10th century C.E. The chafing dishes, as well as some jugs and bowls, are treated in a local glaze earning them the epithet Amorium Glazed Ware, noted above. In 1995 excavations in the upper city revealed several kilns where this material was produced. Bowls were often footed, as opposed to the material from Crete and Cyprus. Found in association with the aforementioned Glazed White Ware, were also various examples of unglazed chafing dishes in a fine beigeware. Again we see forms of Amorium Glazed Ware copying those of Glazed White Ware in the bowls, jugs, and chafing dishes.

The residual-7th century C.E. material included some ARS and PRS dishes, a local pottery with a gray fabric covered in a red slip , clearly copying the Byzantine *koine* forms, and a Pie-Crust Rim Ware known from Cilicia (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012:157). Two very interesting forms appeared in the post-destruction layers: a flat-bottomed, straight-walled bowl very similar to the *Kerbschnitt* bowls found at Jerash, and a small jug in a burnished ware that bore vertical and wavy incised lines and small impressed-triangle decorations. This variety of decoration, and its coverage on the fragment, are reminiscent of the Mafjar Ware that appears at Jerash in the late 8th century C.E., or even that of unglazed incised ware in Central Greece somewhat later, although the fabric here is quite local (Vroom 2005:71).

5.6.3 *Discussion*

The material from Amorium is rare in its ability to give us a snapshot of the types of ceramics being used at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th centuries C.E. in this region of the Empire. The residual material recovered from the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. allows us to say with some confidence that the area was partaking in the Byzantine *koine* discussed earlier: in particular, the reliance on tableware from North Africa and Phocaea, as well as the local production of wares that appear to copy both the form and appearance of these ceramics. The use of a gray fabric to effect these copies also speaks to the importance of a local production that then effloresces in the later periods, with jugs, cooking pots, and other utilitarian wares made with this material. Black-coated grayware seems to continue the Roman slipped tradition, if in a different form. These graywares, and dark gray slips, might be of the same type that appears at

Agioi Pente on Cyprus, and indicate a heretofore unidentified connection between Cyprus and mainland Anatolia, although this does not appear to extend to tablewares.

Burnished Wares, which grow in importance at Amorium in the 10th century C.E., as they do in Constantinople and other places further West, have a surprisingly early appearance here (Vroom 2005:69). This tradition may indicate an external influence, perhaps somewhere to the East. The red-painted decoration seen on a significant proportion of jugs bears a resemblance to material at Jerash, and again, although made in a local fabric, may point to eastern or southern influence, from areas that in the 9th century C.E. lay under Islamic control. Most notable however are the preponderance of glazed wares that copy Glazed White Ware forms, particularly the chafing dishes, and the small amount of Glazed White Ware itself. Again, we see connections with the capital. Moreover, the production of this ceramic type in the upper town, as opposed to the lower, along with its concentration in the tablewares, may also, tentatively, indicate a class-based preference for the form and treatment. The connections with the capital will be expanded upon below. Outside of these glazed wares, Amorium appears to have relied very heavily on local products, in contrast to the evidence from the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. This impression is reinforced by the surprising dearth of amphorae; those few examples that do occur are also local products. Given the military importance of the city, and its position as heart of the *Anatolikon theme*, this lack of amphorae is peculiar indeed. However, it is also possible that storage areas were somehow simply missed by the excavators. Apart from the possible appearance of the graywares at Agioi Pente, none of this local material has been found outside Amorium.

5.7 Conclusion

The variegated picture presented by the five sites discussed above shows some very clear trends, and implications for considering the material on Crete and Cyprus. In the 7th century C.E. most areas were partaking of the Byzantine ceramic *koine*, including red slip tablewares from Africa, Phocaea, and Cyprus (or Cilicia), and trading goods in well recognized, broadly-produced amphora forms, such as LRA1. Locally-produced plainwares often bore a marked resemblance to each other, particularly the types of small, trefoil jugs employed at table. Bag-shaped cooking pots with two handles also shared a wide ubiquity, and there was even a trade in sophisticated, heat-resistant products in the northeastern Mediterranean (Vionis *et al.* 2009:154). While local production of various plainware forms, mostly utilitarian pottery, existed and continued throughout the period, in the 7th century C.E. tablewares were dominated by imports, driven, it is thought, by the long-distance *annona* shipments of grain reaching the capital.

With the collapse of the *annona* and the shift in political affiliation of much of the southern and eastern empire, standardized imported tableware largely disappears and red-slipped pottery falls out of fashion, to be replaced by different regional products—except in Egypt, where red slip continues for some centuries. Amphorae point to a significant contraction of economic connectivity, and the appearance of imported ceramic products becomes rare across the Eastern Mediterranean. Tableware largely stays within its regional orbit, although there is a distinct influence of painted forms passing between Egypt and the Levant. An Italian influence can also be potentially detected in Greece. An exception to this is to be found in Glazed White Ware and chafing dishes from Constantinople. These forms *do* travel, but in very small numbers and appear in only select locations, as seen on both Crete and Cyprus. Moreover, where they do travel, a disproportionate influence is felt. Copies of GWW forms appear in Greece and Anatolia, and chafing dishes are assiduously copied in local fabrics. This does not happen outside the empire *or* on Crete and Cyprus.

In each of the areas discussed a significant, local tradition of tablewares (excluding the lacuna encountered in Greece) takes over at the end of the 7th century C.E., as long-distance trade largely collapses. This pattern is apparent nearly everywhere, including on Crete and Cyprus, severely undercutting the possibility that their political situation and insularity, conditioned by the changing situation on the seascape, is having a vastly different effect on their ceramic traditions. The development of these local forms can be traced into the Early Medieval period at all of the sites above, and the beginning again of imported material in the 9th and 10th centuries C.E. Over-painted ware on Crete begins this trajectory, but is short-lived, and nothing of the kind is to be seen on Cyprus. Even as LRA13 moves through the Mediterranean, little tableware beyond the odd chafing dish and piece of GWW makes it to Crete or Cyprus. The following chapter will explore why this might be the case, with important implications for Byzantine foodways, identity, and the construction of communities of practice among the islands' populations during this period.

CHAPTER 6
IDENTITY, DINING, AND BEING BYZANTINE

"Collective identity is everywhere a relation, nowhere a thing."
(Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:51)

6.1 Being 'Byzantine'

As mentioned in the Introduction, Chapter 1, this dissertation is an attempted exploration of how the Byzantine inhabitants of the islands of Crete and Cyprus may have seen themselves, and engaged with their material culture, at a time of significant transformation in the world of the Eastern Mediterranean. The issue of Byzantine identity has received a good deal of attention in recent years, with much ink being spilt in arguments for or against either a 'Hellenic' identity, or a 'Roman' one (Ahrweiler 1998, Kaldellis 2007, 2012, Kazhdan and Epstein 1985, Moore 2013, Page 2008, Stouraitis 2014). From the beginning we should recognize that the term 'Byzantine' is, in itself, an anachronism. Purely a relic of 19^{th}-century scholarly discourse, this term was put forward in an attempt on the part of academics to draw a line between the Classical Roman empire of Augustus, legionaries, temples, and the debates over 'Romanization,' and the empire of Constantine, Orthodox Christianity, and the Middle Ages (Moore 2013:13). The name of course is derived from the Greek city of Byzantion that existed on the site of Constantinople prior to Constantine's choice of the location for his capital in 330 C.E. Throughout this dissertation I have used the term 'Byzantine' to denote members of the Eastern Roman empire from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. and, outside of this chapter, I have continued to do so, with the understanding that I am referring to groups of people for whom the term would have had no meaning.

For the Byzantines there would have been no separation between ‘Roman’ and ‘Byzantine’ (Kaldellis 2012). For each and every member of the Byzantine empire, so it is argued, their self-identity would have continued to be *Romaioi*, that is, Roman (Kaldellis 2012:387, Magdalino 2000:151). Indeed, up to the population exchanges of the 1920s, much of the Christian, Greek-speaking population of Asia Minor still used this designation to refer to themselves, and you can still hear it, spoken with a sense of nostalgia, in certain neighborhoods in Athens (Kalpanis 2014).

Case closed. Or is it? What does it mean to be ‘Roman,’ particularly during this period of the 7th to 10th centuries C.E.? Additionally, what is the role of ‘Hellenic’ identity, a self-identification that, as any scholar of Byzantium knows, was operating at various times among the literate elite of the Eastern Roman empire from the 4th to the 15th centuries C.E.? How did the masses see themselves, and what is the role of material culture? Identity itself is a slippery concept. Rarely static, it fluctuates, depending on situations, agents and interlocutors, and operates on both conscious and sub-conscious levels. This chapter will explore the concept of ‘Byzantine’ identity, first in the literature and current debates, and then as it relates to questions of ethnicity, a term often used in discussing past group identity (Moore 2013:14, Smith 1986). From there I shall move to practice theory and materiality, how the cultural processes and material objects used by individuals, and communities, structured their emic perceptions of self and their relations to others, as well as how we can think etically about defining groups, that is the general populace, that have left us no written record. Lastly, I shall explore what is known about Byzantine foodways and the relation between these embodied cultural practices and their material manifestations, ceramics, discussed above for the two islands of Crete and Cyprus.

In considering 'Roman' and 'Hellenic' identity in Byzantium, and in scholarly discourse, the latter term is probably the most easily addressed and so I shall begin with it. 'Hellene' is an ethno-cultural designation that, at various times in the Ancient world, indicated an inhabitant of Greece, the Aegean islands, Ionia, or any of the colonies established around the Mediterranean by the city-states of Archaic and Classical Greece and Ionia, that spoke a dialect of the Greek language and participated in cultural practices that would have been familiar to inhabitants of the Greek core area of the Aegean. This is a simplistic definition and glosses over extensive literature on the complexity of ancient 'Hellenisms,' particularly by scholars such as Jonathan Hall (1997, 2002), but will serve us in our engagement with Late Antique and Medieval uses of the term (Kaldellis 2007:184). Incidentally the term is still used in the nation-state of Greece, and in Cyprus, to mean ethnically 'Greek,' but there it is tied in with a modern nationalist discourse that quite self-consciously constructs itself on a sense of connection with this ancient population in order to build a national *mythos* (Hamilakis 2009). In many ways, this nationalist discourse skips over the Medieval use of 'Hellene' for reasons that will become apparent.

A watershed moment in the history of the term Hellene in Byzantium was the Christianization of the empire in the 4th and 5th centuries C.E. With the closure of temples, pan-Hellenic sites, gymnasia, and the end of other cultural practices associated with the ancient Hellenes, the word came to be aligned with a pagan identity, and in doing so took on a pejorative element, at least among the clergy (Kaldellis 2007:181). 'Helladikoi'—people of 'Hellas,' Greece—was used instead to denote geographic origin, but little else about the inhabitants of the area roughly aligned with the current nation-state. One place where a different conception of

‘Hellene’ survived and took on the status of an identity of sorts, at various points during the period from roughly 400 C.E. to around 1000 C.E., was among the educated elite of the empire. Classical Greek was the language of this educated class and the science, literature, poetry, and rhetoric the material of their *paideia* (Kaldellis 2007:174). Writers in the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. sought to blend Christianity with this Classical inheritance and many among the literati seem to have used ‘Hellene’ as a way to self-identify as educated, even in the face of Christian condemnation (Kaldellis 2007:178).

Starting in the 7th century C.E., with the massive challenges faced by the Byzantine empire and the social changes that accompanied them, this Christian Hellenism went into a hibernation of sorts, with most literary output reverting to a strictly ecclesiastical mode (Haldon 2016). Hymns, saints’ lives, and theology form the core of 7th to 10th century literature, with only the odd history, tactical manual, or outline of court protocol to liven up the corpus (Kaldellis 2007:179). Only a small handful of the Constantinopolitan elite seem to have maintained a use for the term, although a classical education was still apparently essential for those at the highest level, particularly among churchmen. Several accusations of ‘Hellenism’ are leveled at high-level ecclesiastics during this period by their critics.

By the 10th century, an expansion of elite Hellenism can be seen in state-sponsored facilities of higher learning and in the increased ability of writers to mimic and play with classical forms of Greek prose and poetry (Kaldellis 2007:181). Erotic poetry, it should be noted, would have to wait until the 12th century C.E. for a resurgence. Starting with Michael Psellos (1017-1078 C.E.) the empire experienced a florescence of literary activity in a Classical Greek vein, as well as in the use of the term as an identifier among the literati, although this is outside of our chronographic purview. Kaldellis notes in his work on the subject (2007) that in the 7th to

10th centuries C.E. ‘Hellene,’ outside of the literate elite, would only have indicated (possibly) A) an ancient Greek, with no indication that a descendant population existed, B) pagans, or C) a Greek speaker in a strictly neutral sense.

In discussing ‘Byzantine’ identity, ‘Hellene’ has received a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention given that, in the end, it was employed by perhaps only a few thousand people over the entire course of Byzantine history. It is perhaps understandable, however, given that, with the exception of some churchmen, nearly all of the written sources that remain to us were penned by this handful of elite, male ‘Hellenes’. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that outside this circle the identity, ‘Greek,’ would have meant much, if anything, beyond the very simple designations outlined above.

‘Roman’ identity, *Romaios*, is a more complex designation. That the Byzantines referred to themselves as such, and their empire as *Romania*, is well known historically, and that the label *Romaioi* had a wider remit than *Hellenes* is undisputed; but just how wide was it, and what did the term denote? In the scholarship debate tends to come down on either side of an understanding of the nature of the Eastern Roman, Byzantine, empire. To some, Byzantium was a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and cosmopolitan empire, certainly prior to 1204 C.E. and its final, terminal slide into extinction with a severely limited territorial area (Kazhdan and Constable 1982, Rautman 2006:15). ‘Roman’ was an overarching term that covered all inhabitants of the empire that were subject to the emperor in Constantinople, and any subject would self-identify as such in that context, and that context alone (Magdalino 2000:151, Stouraitis 2014:176). This is considered analogous in many ways to the pre-Constantinian Roman empire, although Orthodox Christianity had come to take the place of the imperial cult in terms of ideological importance. This is still generally the majority view among scholars.

The minority view is one espoused by Anthony Kaldellis (2012) and others, that the Byzantine empire can be considered a type of pre-modern nation-state, and that 'Roman' identity was not ethnic, legal, or based in political loyalty, but was rather national and civic (Kaldellis 2012:390). Paul Magdalino (2000) has argued that this identity was centered on Constantinople as the New Rome, and the identity of the emperor as God's anointed on Earth, but Kaldellis (2012) contends it was far more than this. Being *Romaioi* meant that one was culturally Roman, an identity based in a shared language, art, religion, customs, and history, tied together by Roman institutions into a grand *politeia*. A Byzantine citizen could be a Paphlagonian, or a Bithynian, or a *Helladikos* from Greece, but these were merely regional designations, perhaps with some stereotypes attached, a slightly different dialect, but otherwise assimilated Romans (Kaldellis 2012:391). Some groups may have been assimilated more recently than others, Slavs and Armenians for example, but this did not prevent them from participating fully in Roman civic and social life, and after all, goes the argument, many of these ethnonyms find purchase in present scholarship due to the claims of modern national groups on peoples in the past (a fair point) and should not be extended backwards.

The idea of the nation-state is central to this line of thinking. While most argue that this a decidedly modern concept, Kaldellis has argued against this, saying that to rely on historical contingency is to deny the similarity of phenomena across time. By all standard measures of the nation-state, a sense of political community, common institutions, a single code of rights and duties, values and traditions, and a territorially defined state, Byzantium fits the bill (Kaldellis 2012:394, Smith 1991:9). The homogeneity of Roman *culture* across the bounds of the Byzantine state is the linchpin of this argument, although he admits that this applies mainly to the 'core' areas of the Byzantine empire, particularly after the shrinkage that took place in the mid-7th century C.E. That this Byzantine core partook in an ‘imagined community’ of the type outlined by Anderson (2006) is taken as a given. Chalcedonian Orthodox Christianity was important, but not essential to this Roman identity: “[There is] little or no evidence that Orthodoxy translated into any kind of closer ties on the social or political levels” (Kaldellis 2012:395). There were, after all, Orthodox peoples outside the empire who were not considered Romans, and internally Jews, Armenian Christians, and others could all be included under the mantle of Roman institutions, traditions, and, most importantly, a shared history. For centuries these areas had been Roman, and the fact that Constantinople was not Rome was a minor point; Constantinople was the New Rome, and its symbolic capital an easy, and pointedly constructed, transposition from the old capital (Bassett 2004). Only the Pope had a serious issue with this. As defining proof of this view Kaldellis (2012:403) points out that many of the policymakers, officials, and even emperors were provincials, and ‘Roman’ to the core, be they Macedonians, Isaurians, or even Armenians. There were no (perceived) fixed social classes or ethnic divisions in Byzantine society; Byzantium then was not an empire *per se*, but a nation-state, and its people Romans, as a Texan, a Vermonter, or a Californian are Americans (Kaldellis 2012:395).

Both views have serious problems from an anthropological standpoint. In the majority view, ethnic identities are perennial, essentialized, reified and, moreover, largely undefined—certainly as regards the material trappings of day-to-day life. Many of these ethnic identities also have nationalistic overtones (Moore 2013:13). ‘Roman’ also remains ill-defined outside of political loyalty, and glosses over the often deeper significance of the term that appears in texts, as well as the entire debate over ‘Romanization,’ with which Classicists are quite familiar (Kaldellis 2012). The minority view glosses over known ethno-cultural collectivities, such as Bulgars, Armenians, Slavs, Jews, etc. while homogenizing Roman culture and identity

(Stouraitis 2014:178). Moreover, Kaldellis' assertions about Roman identity and a pre-modern nationalism fly in the face of the generally held view that nationalism is a modern phenomenon, possible only in a relational sense with the birth of bureaucratic states in the West, and of a significantly different character from what can be said to have operated in the ancient and medieval worlds, regardless of topical similarities (Smith 1991:51).

A more critical view of Roman identity is offered by Stouraitis (2014). Both the majority and minority conceptions of what it is to be Roman, and Romanization at any level, he argues, are taken as universal consensuses with no appreciation of the role of social stratification or power relations between center and periphery (Stouraitis 2014:179). This is all the more important given that political ideology rests at the center of both claims. Our view of *Romanitas* is one based exclusively on texts, and as such is representative of the views of a social elite, and a literate one at that, the vast majority of the 'Roman' populace being excluded from the discussion.

Power within the Roman empire, from Augustus (63 B.C.E.-14 C.E.) to Constantine XI (1405-1453 C.E.), was based on legitimized violence as, in essence, state power is today. The Roman institutions perhaps most visible throughout the Byzantine empire would have been the army and tax collectors. Resistance or counter-narratives have no place in the discussions of Roman identity above. What we have taken to be a homogenized discourse on *Romanitas* is, as Stouraitis argues, applicable solely to the elite, those who could actually participate in the political life of the empire (2014:181). Rather than a horizontal identity, being Roman was, so he states, hierarchical and centripetal. Much of what Kaldellis (2012) has put forward about Roman culture, history, art, and political ideology was true, but only for those able to access it. One can begin to see some overlap with the 'Hellenic' identity, but on a somewhat broader scale. That ethnonyms were still used in the Byzantine empire indicates that they still retained some meaning, but the political and cultural life of being ‘Roman’ was, by and large, open to all elite groups throughout the empire, with common descent decidedly excluded from the discourse (Stouraitis 2014:205). This is, of course, a far cry from a generalized ‘nationalism’ (Smith 1991). In the mid-7th century C.E. an important change took place in provincial administration and how individuals were able to access elite status that has significant implications for how we look at Roman identity, but that will be addressed in the next chapter. For the moment it will be enough to explore the elite dimensions of *Romanitas.*

Borrowing from the majority view, Stouraitis (2014:187) states that this conception of elite Roman-ness encompassed not a territorially defined area, so central to Kaldellis’ notion of a Byzantine nation-state, but rather the Roman *oecumene*, the wider world once ruled by Rome. At least this was the case until the 11th century C.E. when the weight of the empire’s military situation was difficult to ignore. Although I would argue there was likely some nuance to this view, it is notable that territorial expansion from the 8th to the 11th centuries C.E. did rely largely on a justification of liberation—not, significantly, of Roman people, but of Roman lands (Stouraitis 2014:187). The people just ‘came along for the ride,’ so to speak, and were Roman subjects by virtue of their allegiance to the emperor, but were not necessarily Romans.

This is not to say that the state did not attempt to project an idea of *Romanitas* beyond the elite. Indeed, from the 7th century C.E. there is a notable increase in the rhetoric attaching allegiance to the emperor with Orthodox Christianity. This can be seen specifically in the changes made to seals and coinage; they become markedly more religious in tone (Metcalf 2009:92-3). There is no certainty that this elite hegemonic discourse was successful, however, and indeed the empire was made up of a diversity of faiths, particularly Christian sects

(Stouraitis 2014:203). The theological history of the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. is dizzyingly complex, but suffice it to say that varying debates over the nature of Christ, such as the continuing issues over monophysitism, and the newer emergence of monoenergism and monotheletism that, even after their denunciation, survived in pockets, attests to the fractured nature of the Christian landscape (Haldon 2016:35-40). There was also the even more contentious issue of Iconoclasm. Overall the 'unifying' nature of Orthodox Christianity can be considered anything but, and its effectiveness in the hegemonic discourse of the empire likely highly conditional.

Roman identity then, even as it was based in a supposedly shared history, culture, religion, and traditions, was essentially linked to class; the admittedly permeable, Roman elite ruled over an 'ethno-culturally' diverse mass of people (Stouraitis 2014:199). This was the case at any rate in the period we are concerned with, the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. In the 12th century C.E., as many scholars have noted, a quite different understanding of Roman-ness came into being, one based in a territorially defined area, an ethnic conception, and a relationship with surrounding peoples, most notably the Turks (Arhweiler 1998, Kazhdan and Epstein 1985, Page 2008, Stouraitis 2014). This, however, is outside my chronological purview.

This top-down ideological mechanism of identity within the empire's hegemonic discourse likely dissipated as one moved further down the social ladder and farther from Constantinople (Stouraitis 2014:204). Micro-regional distinctions probably took precedence in most situations, indeed, this is exactly what I argue in Chapter 7, based on the material discussed above. That the totalizing view of Roman-ness and authority to the emperor was not necessarily reflected in all corners and social groups of the empire can additionally be seen in a tale from the *Life of St. Antony the Younger*, a governor (*ek prosopou*) of Attaleia in Pamphylia on the South coast of Anatolia. Attacked by an Arab force in the 820s C.E. in supposed retaliation for Byzantine raids in Syria, Antony made a separate peace with the Arab commander, stating in the life that the emperor disposed of his armies as he willed, and it had nothing to do with the people of Attaleia (cited in Stouraitis 2014:194-5, Papadapoulos-Kerameus 1907:186-216). This is all the more interesting given that Attaleia was home to the Cibyrrhaeot theme, and the most important military naval station of the empire. Even as late as the 12th century C.E. the Christian inhabitants of Asia Minor were giving a hostile reception to a campaign of John II (1087-1143 C.E.) against the neighboring Seljuk Turks, and canon law drafted by the church throughout the period I am examining pays particular attention to the 'drift' of provincial populations (Haldon 2016:59, Stouraitis 2014:201). There are also stories of likely unauthorized relations between Byzantine citizens and Arabs on Cyprus in the *Life of St. Willibald* and the *Life of St. Constantine the Jew* (Metcalf 2009:404, 482-3).

Overall, the emic group identity of the inhabitants of the islands of Crete or Cyprus during the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. has received no scholarly attention, and beyond the meta-identities discussed above the issue has seen little treatment elsewhere as well (Moore 2013:13). For the two islands this has likely been in part due to nationalistic discourse; Greece has had a significant interest in portraying Crete as being 'ethnically' Greek throughout the modern history of its association with that island, and large segments of the Cypriot population, for various political reasons have, since the emergence of the Greek national movement in 1821, had an interest in aligning themselves, 'ethnically,' with Greece. This is not to imply that such connections are perceived solely as strategic by the actors in question; indeed, the vast majority would argue vociferously that these connections are based in real similarities and parallels mired in a shared history and, mostly, a shared language and culture. That, of course, is a different and complex question to address, but suffice it to say that these political reasons have likely stifled the emergence of differing narratives on the situation of the islands in the past vis-à-vis their 'ethnic' identification.

In discussing group or collective identity, ethnicity is a concept that is often used among those studying the past, although they often mean different things by it (Hall 1997, Jones 1997, Page 2008, Smith 1991, Stouraitis 2014). Getting at an emic concept of ethnicity or, to use the supposedly near synonym in medieval greek, *ethnos*, is difficult without texts, and even when these do exist, as can be seen above, the issue is still rather tricky. Ethnonyms such as Bulgars, Slavs, Armenians, Romans, and even, as will be discussed later, Cypriots, were commonly used in Byzantine texts, but what exactly was meant by them is, as the discussion above indicated, not always entirely clear. That *ethnē* were "foreign to both the Byzantine people and the Byzantine state" is implied, although as we've seen an Armenian could still be a Roman (Arhweiler 1998:2). Stouraitis, following on from Anthony Smith (1991), defines ethnicity as "cultural collectivities which are distinguished by attributes such as a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a historic 'homeland,' and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population" (Stouraitis 2014:206). As such, it is generally recognized that, certainly during the 7th to 10th centuries C.E., this level of collective identity would likely not have functioned in the empire, certainly not on an emic level, and Stouraitis uses this to counter the nation-state argument of Kaldellis (2012) via the work of Anthony Smith (1991) on nationalism and ethnicity (Moore 2013:14, Stouraitis 2014:209).

Stepping away from a reification of essentialized ethnic categories that have decidedly nationalistic overtones, it can be recognized that ethnicities, as 'self-defining systems,' are fluid and relational (Jones 1997:84). Stouraitis, even as he outlined his top-down understanding of Roman identity laid out a typology of ethnicity that attempted to incorporate this. Again following Smith (1991), he identified the emic ethnic conception of the majority of the population in the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. as consisting of 'ethnic categories,' that is hetero-designations in which the members have an idea of who they are not in relation to others, but not necessarily of what exactly they may be as a collective. Other categories include 'ethnic collectives' or 'associations,' in which a concept of collective identity is shared by the elite, 'Roman' as discussed above, and 'ethnic community,' or an *ethnie,* in which this consciousness is shared by the remainder of the population (Stouraitis 2014:207). While this recognition of levels of collective identity is helpful, it still avoids the main issue of the fluid nature of identity, and the manners in which it is operationalized. Throughout, Stouraitis argues that no mechanisms for the creation and promotion of a broadly-shared vernacular culture existed within the empire, which blatantly ignores material culture and material practices (2014:183). In the next section I will be moving away from ethnic designations towards a more practice based conception of communal identity, one far more suited to the material evidence.

6.2 Material Worlds and Identity Formation

All of the scholars cited above, Ahrweiler (1998), Stouraitis (2014), Kaldellis (2007, 2012), Magdalino (2000), Kazhdan and Epstein (1985), and Page (2008) are, in the end, historians, and in considering identity rely heavily on texts. Very little attention has been given to identity in the Byzantine world by archaeologists, and the use of archaeological material in historical arguments has been largely non-existent. A far more useful approach, particularly for the archaeologist, can be found in the broader work of Siân Jones (1997). Rather than relying on an objectivist definition, easy to fall into when considering ancient ethnonyms, Jones proposes a processual approach to identity, where “cultural differences informing ethnic categories are systemic and enduring, because they both inform modes of interaction between people of ethnic categories, and are confirmed by that interaction; that is, ethnic categories are reproduced and transformed in the ongoing processes of social life” (Jones 1997:84). This avoids the reification of ethnic categories by recognizing that they are ongoing and subject to alteration, allowing for the role of agency in the production and reproduction of said categories. In making this argument she is attempting to transcend both the objectivist and the instrumentalist view which places the cultural markers of ethnicity in the category of epiphenomenal and arbitrary relational symbols (Jones 1997:88). This is based in large part on Bourdieu’s conception of *habitus*, outlined in the well known statement that:

> “the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules” (Bourdieu 1977:72).

While, without texts, we cannot access the thoughts and feelings of our potentially illiterate or otherwise silent subjects, we can begin to arrive at an etic understanding of these structuring dispositions as they relate to identity, particularly in the forms of practice theory and also the materiality of the objects involved in the construction of social life.

It is notable that in exploring Roman-ness Stouraitis does not arrive at any positive conclusions about the collective identity espoused by the vast majority of the population; he is focused primarily on an ideological discourse maintained by the elite, and blithely passes over the very stuff of the proto-identity he is attempting to unravel: the practices of Roman-ness itself.

Practice is essential to the understanding of identity outlined above. As the dispositions that structure practices become an indelible part of who people perceive themselves to be, they dictate the way one then goes on to do new things, and influences how they see and relate to others as they go about doing them (Jones 1997:88). Moreover, the social conditions under which those structures were created tend to be reproduced, the power dynamics, modes of production, access to resources, etc. (Harris 2014:78). Via the specifically embodied nature of *habitus,* the practices and structuring conditions involved then imprint themselves onto the subject, and provide the basis for perceptions of collective similarity that entail the very fabric of communal identity (Jones 1997:89). This is neither to say that the entire process is subconscious, however, nor that it is immune to human agency. These perceived similarities mainly become activated in a conscious sense when encountering and interacting with outsiders, those that do not share these perceived similarities, and indeed this is the key distinction between a communal identity, like ethnicity, and culture. Moreover, they can be consciously manipulated by actors once they are aware of them in order to achieve political, economic, or other social ends, with full awareness of the cultural symbols that may be at play in the constitution of these similarities (Jones 1997:91,128, Rodríguez-Alegría 2010, Stahl 2002:833). While different aspects of identity may be called for or manipulated depending on the situation, including gender, class, or other social roles in addition to ethnicity, the range of possibilities for the cultural symbols and practices involved is largely dictated by the *habitus* of the subject.

The material dimensions of practice, and the choices made in this regard by people in the past, either consciously or not, provide a point of archaeological access to identity. The way subjects order the space around them, make use of various objects and goods, and then dispose of them, all reflect in some sense this conscious or subconscious ordering of social life to the tune of *habitus*, and the structured pre-conditions that went into its production and reproduction (Harris 2014:78, Lightfoot *et al.* 1998:199). Identity in this respect is not so much formed as performed, and the objects with which an individual surrounds him or herself act as mediators between both the internal and external perceptions of a person's place in a given social situation and in the world, taking on, in a sense, a social role of their own (Knappett 2005:29, Miller 2010:135). This concept is at the core of the assemblages that make up 'communities of practice,' mentioned in Chapter 1 (Harris 2014, Wenger 1998). Much like the *habitus* of the individual, these objects are embedded in the economic, social, and overall cultural conditions of their consumption and production, the former analytically prior to the latter, and the constant interplay between actors and objects as they *are* consumed serves to structure, and is structured by, the social world in which they exist (Dietler 2007:223, Dietler and Herbich 1998:235). The value granted to objects through the act of exchange is a perfect example of this (Appadurai 1986). The dialectical relationship between actors and objects, the result of their inherent, yet fluctuating, materiality has been the focus of the material turn in archaeology, and the ontological questions inspired by the abstract 'agency' of material objects, and by extension the landscape, in this respect fueled the subsequent 'ontological turn' that has preoccupied the discipline in recent years (Alberti 2014, Olsen and Witmore 2015). This is particularly true for those cultures that may have a different understanding of agency than our own.

In the process of consumption objects then "materialize the cultural order," even as they reconstitute it through that act (Dietler 2007:225). By extension, the constellation of objects that surround a person, via their consumption, locate an individual both within a contextual personal identity as well as other social beings within the grander field of inter- and intra-cultural interaction (Dietler 2007:225). The body is essential to this process. The cultural logics of *habitus* are embodied; they are structured through routinized action, consumption, and practice. Few acts of consumption are as literally embodied as eating. Food is a form of material culture that is taken into oneself almost every day; it is a habitual construction of the self on an innately sensual level (Hamilakis 1999:38). It can have ritual or mundane dimensions, but food and eating are learned, highly condensed social facts that can act as sites of social identity negotiation and often serve as a metonym of the self in relation to larger social constructions (Arthur 2007:20, Dietler 2007:223, Magness 2010:133, Twiss 2007:2). Food can indicate status, class, gender, religion, age, wealth, ethnicity, indeed nearly any aspect of identity, sometimes at one and the same time. This polysemic quality encompasses the entire set of behaviors and objects surrounding food as well; the relational aspect of 'meal formats,' the pattern of combinations between ingredients, dishes, dining habits, containers, etc. is the site of the negotiation and construction of cultural perception and identity (Dietler 2007:224).

While following the cultural logics of *habitus*, there is always also an improvisational element to the way that personal and communal identity is constructed (Dietler 2007:224). Communities do not exist in a vacuum, and are constantly being transformed, reconstituted, adjusted, and reproduced through a creative engagement with the cultures around them, including their material worlds. This is akin to the relational instantiation of personal identity, but made up of the accumulated actions of individual members of society. In this continual negotiation and renegotiation, exogenous people and objects have to be perpetually dealt with (Dietler 2007:224). What is to be done with these 'external' elements? Are foreign objects and customs to be incorporated? Rejected? If the former, how exactly? Contrary to earlier understandings of culture change and influence, it is now generally accepted that this almost always entails an element of recontextualization; it is very infrequent that objects and customs are transposed complete and with the same types of symbolic capital attached to them (van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012:25). *Habitus* reigns supreme, and dictates the ways in which this recontextualization takes place (Stahl 2002:829). Incorporation, alteration, or rejection must be placed in context with the previous object-worlds and their associated practices in order to develop a sense of a society's 'cartographies of taste' as they change through time (Stahl 2002). Accessing this on an archaeological level involves charting the contextual situation of exogenous material in order to understand the practices involved, in which the relations between objects are often as important as their very presence (Stahl 2002:831). Again, this sense of 'taste' is built on a foundation of embodied practice, and provides a point of examining the fluid cultural practices and object-worlds that function as the basis for personal and social identity. In the ways that this involves exogenous customs and material, this activates a sense of communal identity on the part of those people that is otherwise inaccessible due to the lack of textual sources. In many ways it is the refusals and rejections that often reveal the most information about how these identities are formed, in the same manner that ethnicity is frequently only activated in contradistinction to other groups (Stahl 2002:833, 841).

Communities of practice are a specific way of understanding these person/object relations on the larger scale of the assemblage. Moving beyond distinctions of community that are grounded in a sense of natural co-residence, this concept emphasizes, instead, co-*presence,* that is the overlapping affective fields that prefigure notions of personhood and incorporate the lived interactions between humans, plants, animals, objects, and the landscape (Harris 2014:78). Thus, goals and values are also clearly inculcated in the performative nature of these interactions, and the interplay of humans with the non-human social mediators through which they produce, and reproduce, their lived experience (Harris 2014:79). These communities of practice can operate on several, sometimes overlapping, levels of society at the same time, including gender, class, age etc. This will become particularly important in considering the ceramic material from the islands of Crete and Cyprus, but also from the regions with which they are interacting on a material level. This co-presence of practice, represented by the affective bonds of ceramic consumption through cooking and dining wares, can be considered as a re-structuring element in defining group identity as the islands move along the poles of insularity and relative safety discussed in Chapter 2.

In order to begin to define the assemblages of human and non-human objects, in this case ceramics, the presence of imported materials from outside the islands of Crete and Cyprus had first to be established. Then possible morphological changes in the ceramics over time were considered alongside the contexts in which they were found. As was discussed in preceding chapters, in many cases this was not possible given that dumps and secondary contexts were by far the norm. This is unfortunate, as it limits the ability to reconstruct practices by examining the internal dynamics of discrete sets of ceramics. However, the ceramic corpus of the case-study sites can be taken as a whole, to consider practice, and the cartographies of taste, more broadly. To that end, having outlined the various types of ceramics present on Crete and Cyprus known from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E., including both imports and local products, and their relation to the morphological changes taking place elsewhere in the empire, it is now important to interrogate the connection between ceramics and Byzantine foodways. How the ceramic patterns apparent on Crete and Cyprus relate to the cartographies of taste displayed in the changing material practices associated with food on the mainland will, as outlined above, give some indication of trends, however broad, within the shifting communities of practice to which the islands belonged during this pivotal period.

6.3 Stew à la Byzantin

There is concurrently both very little and a great deal known about Byzantine food and dining practices. Several cooking/dietary/medicinal manuals have come down to us, ranging in date from the 4th to the 15th centuries C.E., including the early Apicius cookbook (not actually by that author), *De Cibis* and *De Alimentis* (two works with a more medical approach), the *Peri Trophon Dynameos* and *Peri tes ek ton Zoon Trophes*, and of course a plethora of monastic *typika* that lay out dietary practices. There are also texts that provide a considerable amount of incidental information, such as the farming manual *Geoponika* and the *Book of the Eparch*, which lays out a series regulations for the city of Constantinople, including the equivalent of FDA guidelines (Dalby 2010). The majority of these literary texts were, however, compiled by and for a literate elite, residing almost exclusively in Constantinople, and thus can be of little use in assessing foodways in the provinces. Moreover, given the classicizing bent of Byzantine literature, nearly all the texts cited above contain a hodge-podge of information taken from various sources and periods of Roman history. A 9th-century C.E. anecdote about how best to mull wine might be sandwiched in between recipes from the 6th or even the 2nd centuries C.E. No doubt this displayed the erudition of the author, but for the archaeologist and historian it is an impediment that makes grasping the set of culinary practices in use at any one time very difficult. Of more utility in assessing synchronic foodways and provincial practices are hagiographies and travelers' accounts, although these usually offer information only in passing. A good example would be the 10th-century C.E. account of Liudprand of Cremona who, on visiting Constantinople as an ambassador for the Lombard king Berengar II and Pope John XIII, remarked on what he considered the unpalatable resinated wine and an offensive lamb dish, stuffed with garlic and swimming in olive oil and fish sauce (cited in Dalby 2010:67).

The medical nature of the surviving texts also comes through quite strongly, and it is unclear to what extent this sort of consideration would have penetrated through to the average citizen (Anagnostakis 2013a:43). Humoral theory, based on the works of Galen (129-216 C.E.), is the primary language in which the aforementioned dietary information is couched. This theory holds that the human body is composed of four humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. These humors should be in balance to provide a healthy constitution and temperament, but in reality are rarely so, leading to sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholic problems. The humors are subject to all sorts of destabilizing influences, including the weather, stress, the seasons, enchantment, demons, and food. This latter must be managed assiduously in order to correct them and provide for a healthy life. Thus much of the food described in the textual sources is considered to exist somewhere on the two axes of hot/cold and wet/dry, with various combinations serving to swing the humors one way or another (Dalby 2010). A person can be described as “running hot” or “dry” in character, and should therefore watch their intake to make sure humoral imbalance does not result. Spiced wine for example would be discouraged, being both hot and dry, but rather a yogurt- or milk-based concoction would be called for, having the opposite characteristics. Spices were particularly potent in moving food along these axes, and it is generally believed that a significant number of the elite at least drew up their meals with some thought to these theories (Anagnostakis 2013b:77, Dalby 2010).

For the provinces we have little information. Various types of regional wines are mentioned in the texts, usually with some note as to their relative quality (Varna wine was considered a poor varietal, while Aminaean one of the best), as are an entire universe of cheeses, with each island and region clearly possessing wildly different creations. Elites, bishops, and the clergy would have dined far better than other sectors of society, while monks seem to have mainly retained, at least in theory, a rather simple, primarily vegetarian diet. The *Prodromic Poems* of the 12th century C.E. devote considerable space to the class-based disparities in cuisine that existed (Dalby 2010:93). Nearly all sectors of society, however, would have (largely) followed the Christian calendar in their eating habits, with significant time devoted to fasts and avoidance of meat. In Constantinople at least, shellfish were particularly important in filling this dietary lacuna, and such may also have been the case in the provinces. A recent study on the stable isotope ratios of human remains at eight Byzantine sites in Greece seems to support this suggestion. While the samples came from periods bracketing the 7th through 10th centuries C.E., a majority were from Crete and indicated that, in contrast to those samples from inland sites on the mainland, island and coastal populations had δC^{13} and δN^{15} values that indicated considerable investment in marine resources (Bourbou 2013, Bourbou *et al.* 2011). The virtues of fish are also extolled in the medicinal texts (Dalby 2010).

By and large, however, the Byzantine diet is thought to have consisted primarily of the Mediterranean triad of grain, wine, and oil, supplemented by legumes, dairy products and, when economically or religiously available, meats and marine resources (Bourbou *et al.* 2011, Dalby 2010). Bread was essential. Primarily of wheat, with a white bread being the highest in quality, emmer wheat, barley, and even oats could be substituted in times of economic duress. Millet was also consumed, although this seems to have been considered a seriously last resort (Dalby 2010). Two varieties of a light, twice-baked bread with an extensive shelf-life appear in several sources in connection with the army: *boukellaton,* a ring-shaped loaf that can still be purchased in Greek and Cypriot bakeries, and *paximadi,* a thickly-sliced barley toast (Dalby 2010:99). For the poor, grain seems to have been consumed primarily in the form of soups and porridges outside of the daily bread; this will become important to consider when looking at the types of dining ware in use. A truly dizzying variety of vegetables acted in a supplementary capacity, particularly in soups and stews, and not all of the terms used are completely understood by modern scholars. There is also some debate on the frequency and importance of these ingredients (Angastourakis 2013a:51). Still, broad beans, chickpeas, fenugreek, lupins, lentils, black-eyed peas, capers (still used in Cypriot salads more commonly than Greek), lettuce, olives (of course), celery, rocket, borage, purslane, carrots, onions, vetch, chicory, dock, lovage, endives, turnips, radishes, sorrel, dandelion, cucumber, cabbage, asparagus, hemp, sow-thistle, mushrooms, poppy leaves, star-of-Bethlehem, mallow, einkorn, beets, gherkins, and cress are all mentioned (Dalby 2010). Many recipes for the pulses have survived. Fruits included melons, apples, pears, lemons, grapes, raisins, figs, apricots, plums, cherries, peaches, medlars, sorbs, pomegranates, garden nightshade (still used in Crete), dates, carobs, myrtle berries, mulberries, and juniper berries. Candied fruits seem to have been particularly popular, and are still a delicacy in Cyprus. Further fruits and vegetables from the East appear in later texts, such as oranges, melons, and aubergines, although it is unclear when these began to be common outside of Constantinople. Nuts, such as pistachios, almonds, walnuts, acorns, pine nuts, hazelnuts, and chestnuts, also provided some small amounts of protein (Dalby 2010).

Although these lists were primarily compiled from the elite table, spices, flowers, and flavoring elements appear to have been particularly important, as befits an empire at the crossroads of Europe and Asia. Garlic, ginger, honey, mustard, pepper, vinegar, anise, fennel, mastic, sesame, poppy, linseed, spikenard, cinnamon, cumin, oregano, caraway, hyssop, pennyroyal, marjoram, rose, violet, basil, water-lily, chamomile, mint, narcissus, saffron, nutmeg, clove, coriander, dill, thyme, and more interesting items like musk, sandalwood, aloeswood, camphor, and even ambergris also feature (Dalby 2010). In addition to a multitude of cheeses, there was also milk, butter, and yogurt, with a poor-man's dish known today as *trakhanas*, consisting of balls of emmer wheat soaked in milk or yogurt before being dried and cooked, serving as staples. At some later date rice also made an appearance from the East. Meat was drawn from cattle, pig, and sheep or goat for the most part, with additional input from wild game such as wild boar, goats, and asses, deer, rabbit, gazelle, and various species of fowl, including goose, partridge, quail, peafowl, crane, and thrush. Pigeons and chickens appear to have been raised. Song birds may have also been used in various provinces, as indicated by the popular and currently illegal dish of *Ambelopoulia* still eaten in secret in Cyprus. Soufflés and mousses were made from the eggs of various species (Dalby 2010, Laiou and Morrisson 2007:17). Sausages, of which *loukaniko* is the most famous surviving example, seem to have been a lower-class delicacy. In the capital our largest source of information on the fish species consumed comes from *The Book of the Eparch* and other regulatory scripts, and is likely not representative of the entire empire. Nonetheless, gray and red mullet, various types of roe, tuna, mackerel, sea bass, skates and rays, monkfish, crab, lobster, and crayfish, octopus, squid, cuttlefish, oysters, mussels, scallops, cockles, and winkles were all consumed there. The ancient Roman fermented fish sauce, *garum*, seems never to have gone out of style, and was still remarked upon into the 16th century C.E. (Dalby 2010:67).

Our knowledge of Byzantine recipes, particularly for the early period, relies heavily on the Apicius compilation. For assessing changes in food preparation during our period this is not particularly useful, but it does provide information on how dishes were likely prepared, as least for the elite, in the 7th century C.E. Most of these recipes involve the braising or roasting of meat, to be then served with sauces of various types. Baked fish also figure prominently. There are only two recipes for stews, and these involve pork. Sauces take up a considerable amount of the cookbook, as do desserts. Vegetables are discussed as purées, salads, or side dishes, and the space devoted to them is relatively small (Giacosa 1992). The letters of Anthimus, a Byzantine court physician to the Ostrogothic king of Italy Theodoric the Great (454-526 C.E.), by contrast include several recipes that offer the option to either boil or stew the meat in question. The *Prodromic Poems* of the 11th century C.E. do the same (Dalby 2010:173-5). This will become significant when discussing ceramic vessel forms. The 10th-century C.E. *Geoponika* offers over 25 recipes on preparing spiced, aromatic, or flavored wines, as well as cheats for making your olive oil pass as a far more expensive variety. There is also a recipe for lentil soup (Dalby 2011:152).

There are shockingly few archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological studies of Byzantine sites throughout the empire, and none on Crete and Cyprus, to back up this dietary information. Residue analysis has largely been restricted to the Late Roman, Frankish, or Late Byzantine periods (Pecci *et al.* 2015, Pecci and Ontiveros 2014). The stable isotope ratio studies of Chryssi Bourbou *et al.* have served solely to confirm that grains, legumes, and domesticates that fed upon them made up an overwhelming part of the Byzantine diet (Bourbou 2013, Bourbou *et al.* 2011). In a significant minority is the argument of Ilias Anagnostakis (2013a), who states that in the period from the 7th to 10th centuries C.E. the disruptions of Arab raids were so extreme that wine, oil, and grain largely fell off the menu. Wild greens and vegetables, pulses, dried fruit and nuts, and dairy products, he states, made up the primary menu items (Anagnostakis 2013a:51). Oil was largely replaced by animal fats. As evidence he cites tales from the 9th century C.E. in which the lamps of Agia Sophia could apparently not be lit for lack of oil, and the complaints of the 10th century C.E. Metropolitan of Synada in Central Anatolia concerning the lack of wheat, oil, and wine (Anagnostakis 2013a:52, 61). In this, however, he seems to be unduly biased by monastic *typika*, who on principle would perhaps have denied themselves these staples, as well as hagiographic texts that had an interest in portraying the times as particularly dire. Without further evidence, this argument must be left to the side.

Byzantine dining habits have received slightly more attention. The evening meal seems to have served as the primary venue for consumption, with breakfast and lunch being largely snacking affairs (Dalby 2010:97). Pictorial representations have, by and large, served as the primary source of information on this Byzantine evening meal, with the evidence again skewed towards the 4th through 6th centuries C.E. and the elite. In the 3rd and 4th centuries C.E. the old *triclinium* couches used for reclined dining were replaced by a new arrangement focused on a crescent-shaped couch known as a *stibadium*. In the center was placed a *sigma*-shaped, or semi-circular table. Dining was communal, and the participants reclined towards the center, placing their non-use arm on a bolster that lay on the interior edge of the couch (Vroom 2009). Within elite residences these couches were often placed in apses specially designed for the purpose. The Triconch palace at Butrint has several, and the Great Palace in Constantinople had a room known as the 'Triclinium of the 19 couches' that, in spite of the name, featured several small apses for *stibadium*-style dining. Urban villas in Greece and Syria dating between the 4th and 6th centuries C.E. have also turned up these specialized rooms, often mirrored by place arrangements in the mosaics on the room floors (Vroom 2009:319). Little evidence for these rooms comes from the 7th through 10th centuries C.E., although some earlier mosaics have been found with *stibadium* arrangements in rooms not specifically designed for the purpose, and Polci (2003) has argued for a general move in dining rooms to the upper stories of elite houses by the Early Middle Ages (Vroom 2009:325).

Diners would have been placed in hierarchical order around the couches, with the right corner reserved for important guests, and the left corner for the host. Textiles would have figured highly in dining-room decoration, and perpetually appear in dining representations. Utensils do not appear in representations, although spoons, particularly those of precious metal, are known from hoards. A single bread roll placed before each diner is often apparent in depictions. Textual sources indicate attendees were expected to bring their own napkins (Vroom 2009:330). Depictions of drinking beakers or cups are uncommon, although there are often attendants to be glimpsed to the sides of the scenes carrying one-handled jugs, which no doubt contained wine, or one-handled ewers and broad bowls or water basins for hand washing. Eating was communal and done from a large, flat, open dish placed in the center of the table. Individual plates or bowls are generally not depicted.

Sometime before the 11th century C.E. things began to change. Depictions begin to show diners seated around semi-circular tables, and by the 13th century C.E. individual tablewares are the norm, including deeper dishes and bowls (Vroom 2016:235). This coincides with the widespread appearance of glazed tablewares throughout the empire. Cutlery, and a greater variety of vessels also appear in depictions. In the 11th century C.E. there are still biblical depictions of *stibadium*-style dining, although these may be an archaizing trope. In the 10th century C.E., when invited to dine at the palace, Liudprand of Cremona remarks that the diners recline, despite this no longer being the fashion, although whether this was a general observation about conditions outside the palace or due to Liudprand's northern Italian background is unclear (Dalby 2010:117). He also complains about the number of vegetables he was forced to eat. Overall, the change in dining habits has largely been put down to western influence, although greater attention has recently been focused on influence from the East (Magness 2010).

There is a general consensus amongst scholars that there is a connection between the food eaten, the manner in which it is consumed, and the vessels in which that food is cooked and served (Arnold 1985:234, Arthur 2007, Magness 2010, Vroom 2008, 2009, 2016). Late Roman and Byzantine dining featured largely open vessels of the kind noted above for the 7th century C.E. Red-Slip ware dishes and shallow bowls dominated, with ARS, PRS, and CRS forms serving as the centerpieces of dining. Deep bowl forms are generally uncommon in this ware, which given the prevalence of soups and porridges in the cuisine described above may come as a surprise. Class differences and conspicuous consumption, however, can explain this discrepancy, as open, communal dining featuring dry dishes may have been reserved for more special occasions. Metal vessels were also important, particularly in precious materials for the wealthy, and numerous hoards of fine silver tableware have been found, particularly from the 4th to 7th centuries C.E. (Vroom 2009:332). These though tend to mirror the shallow forms seen in the red slip pottery, or more correctly, the red-slip ware likely mirrored the precious metal serving vessels. Non-precious metal tableware was also probably common, and basins, ewers, flasks, pans, and various cooking vessels, largely cauldrons, have survived in bronze, copper, copper alloys, iron, and, inadvisably, lead (Vroom 2009:335). Wood, bone, leather, and basketry also probably served for the lower classes, although these have not survived, with the exception of some wooden table-vessels from Egypt (Vroom 2009:350).

An intriguing piece of dining equipment that bears on the ceramics mentioned above is the *authepsa* (Figure 6.1). This item was a large metal samovar-type vessel that can be seen in many depictions standing next to the dining couch (Vroom 2012:367). Often elaborately decorated, with an internal compartment for fuel and various mechanisms for drawing off liquid and steam, these interesting items are thought to have served to heat water for mixing with wine during banqueting. They have been found at many sites in Turkey between the 1st and 4th centuries C.E. and recent work has located them in Nubia, Italy, and at further sites in Anatolia from the 5th to the 7th and, in a few cases, even as late as the 9th and 10th centuries C.E. (Vroom 2008:297). In one depiction from the 11th century C.E. showing a banquet, which may be an archaizing scene, an *authepsa* is shown standing next to a dining table, with what appears to be a chafing dish sitting on a tripod over an open fire directly next to it (Figure 6.2). As mentioned, the purpose of these glazed chafing dishes is not entirely known, although it is surmised that they are linked to a specifically 'Byzantine' style of dining practice, as they are not found outside the empire (Figure 6.3) (Vroom 2008:296). This depiction would seem to further indicate that they have a particularly high-status function, heating sauces or water for consumption during dining episodes in a way that may be explicitly linked to alcoholic consumption or Roman styles of braised-meat dining, which, along with what is known about Arab cuisine of this period, may explain their absence in the Islamic East.

Cooking ware from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. has received a greater share of attention recently, given that an Early Medieval sequence is becoming far more apparent in most regions when compared with the tablewares from the same period (Gabrieli pers. comm.). Concentrating primarily on the western portions of the empire, particularly southern Italy, Paul Arthur (2007) has attempted to link cooking ware forms with dietary habits, generally ignoring political or cultural divisions. Over the course of the 5th through 8th centuries C.E., using faunal data, he charted the move in Italy from a pig-dominated to a primarily sheep/goat diet, and then back again, linking it to the forms of cooking vessels being used at the time. The movement of casseroles versus closed cooking vessels follows, he argues, the spatial changes in diet over the centuries. Pork, having a greater incidence of parasites and requiring longer cooking times, is better suited towards preparation in closed cooking forms. These vessels allow for greater heat and water retention, cooking through stewing or boiling, and producing semi-liquid foods. They are also better suited for breaking down vegetables. Open forms, by contrast, cook through evaporation and braising, producing a relatively dry dish, more suited to hot climes given that liquid foods increase thirst and sweating (Arthur 2007:18). A prevalence of casserole and other open cooking forms, he states, can be seen to be the dominant cooking vessel in those areas of hotter temperatures, where sheep and goat are more prominent on the menu, such as the southern and eastern edges of the Mediterranean (Figure 6.4). Closed cooking forms, and a diet of pork, tend to stick to the northern shores. The Aegean, he admits, is more mixed in its representation.

Joanita Vroom (2016) has approached the same issue from the East, examining the changes in cooking ware forms at the site of Horum Höyük in southeastern Turkey. From the mid-3rd to the mid-8th centuries C.E. most cooking vessels fall into the traditional Roman category of "Brittle Ware," a type that will be familiar from the cooking pots seen on Crete and Cyprus. These are wheel-made and high fired, featuring a ribbed, globular body, everted rim, and two vertical handles. These bear a marked similarity to the Dhioros type, produced on Cyprus and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean until well into the 7th century C.E. (Catling 1972). Beginning in the mid-8th century C.E. these vessels at Horum Höyük begin to undergo a transformation. Their mouths become wider, the neck disappears, the handles become horizontal and triangular, and the base becomes significantly flatter (Vroom 2016:224). One is immediately reminded of features seen on cooking vessels further to the South at Jerash, discussed above. She turns to the introduction of Arabic styles of cuisine which, in texts such as the 10th-century C.E. *Kitab al-Tabikh,* show a heavy emphasis placed on hygiene, and notes the steatite bowls seen at Jerash and elsewhere as a potential influence in the changes in cooking ware (Vroom 2016:228).

Looking at Palestine, Jodi Magness (2010) goes further still. She discusses the introduction of Arabic cuisine in the mid-8th century C.E., heavily influenced by Sasanian Persia, and its effect on both cooking and tableware in the Levant. Arabic *elite* cooking usually featured elaborate dishes of braised or fried meat, often boiled first in a stew of spices and vegetables, following on from Persian *sikbaj* (Magness 2010:135). As an example, *Harisa*, a popular dish, involved boiled or shredded meat cooked in a stew of wheat or rice and cinnamon. This was then drained and baked overnight, to the accompaniment of a wide array of vegetables, preserves, and relishes. At the time of this cuisine's introduction red-slipped tablewares were being replaced by medium- to large-sized burnished cups, bowls, and plates, often intricately painted. Glazing appeared in the early 9th century C.E. Cooking wares changed as well, with casseroles and wide-mouthed pots becoming popular, most notably for cooking those chunked stews of sheep and goat (Magness 2010:131). Given the emphasis noted by Arthur (2007) on sheep/goat in the region, these types were present before the Arab conquest, but afterwards largely edge out the earlier Roman-style, closed-mouthed globular pots (Magness 2010:133). The soapstone casseroles from the South also begin to appear around this time.

Islamic dining styles were also different, featuring individual cushion seats and, rather than a series of individual courses on a single central dish as in the Roman style, a variety of dishes all brought out at once (Magness 2010:136). In stark contrast to the communal free-for-all of the Roman platter, food was transferred to individual bowls and plates before being consumed. Beverages were strictly non-alcoholic. Spouted water pots, similar to the ones we have seen at Jerash, were used for hand washing.

We can see then that the move towards more open cooking vessels and deeper forms of tableware, either burnished or glazed, may represent a cultural interest in new forms of cooking and consumption practices. Evaporative cooking of complex sheep/goat recipes in their own sauce, followed by consumption in bowls and deeper dishes provided to each guest largely replaced central dining off a large platter and the cooking of pork in closed vessels, not to mention wine consumption. It is notable that the plainware forms, so common and persistent as to be nearly unidentifiable from the Classical to well into the Medieval period, may reflect a much slower change on the part of lower echelons of society or, more likely, dining practices that did not involve conspicuous consumption. What little is known about Byzantine tablewares also changes during this period. At Amorium we saw a move towards forms that are reminiscent of those appearing in the Levant in the 8th century C.E., and the spread of the chafing dish as well as Glazed White Ware starting in the late 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. These GWW forms are notably deeper than their red-slipped predecessors, and may indicate a move towards different dining practices, although whether due to western or eastern ‘improvisational recontextualization’ is unclear.

6.4 Conclusion

As noted earlier, identity is largely relational in character. It relies on the constant negotiation and renegotiation of exogenous practices and object worlds in order to build upon previous forms of *habitus* to construct new ways of doing and being that drive culture forward. This involves the mapping of material ‘cartographies of taste,’ a process that requires the rejection as much as the incorporation and recontextualization of external practice-based objects. I have gone to some length to detail the material movements and shifts in practice that we can say took place outside of Crete and Cyprus from the 7th to the 10th centuries C.E. The issues surrounding the connective potential of the islands has been discussed (Chapter 2), as have the textual sources outlining the basis for believing contact and connection to have been a fact of life for the islands’ inhabitants, be it on the different scales of détente and conquest. It is now time to consider the implications of the material patterns laid out in Chapters 3 and 4 as they relate to mainland practice-based object worlds and the construction of communities of practice.

CHAPTER 7
CONNECTIVITY, CERAMIC CONSUMPTION, AND ISLAND IDENTITY

7.1 Introduction

Tying the pieces together, I shall first compare the patterns in the data on both Crete and Cyprus, and the connections they evince in terms of ceramic material and bulk goods moving to and from the islands. I will then bring in the mainland material to talk about differences that can be seen in shifting ceramic morphology and economic connections over the course of the 7th through 10th centuries C.E. This will then be related to issues of dining practice and contextually situated identity performance. The conclusions drawn will be tentative, but suggestive, based on the evidence available. The chapter will then answer the question over the utility of islands as 'reference points,' in this case, for examining communities of practice, and the implications of the topography of large islands such as Crete and Cyprus for judging social movements during the economic and administrative shifts as Late Antiquity gave way to the Early Middle Ages within the Byzantine empire. Finally, I shall discuss the place of this dissertation within the larger framework of Eastern Mediterranean studies of the period, and work still to be done to further build on the conclusions drawn here.

7.2 Patterns in the Data/Island Connectivity

The material above from Crete and Cyprus paint a picture of continued, though significantly altered, connectivity through a period that has long been thought to be characterized by isolation, economic and social collapse, and limited engagement both within the empire and with the world beyond. A far more optimistic picture, based primarily in archaeological evidence, has begun to be recognized by several scholars in recent years, and continues to gain pace, particularly for the late 7th century C.E. (Armstrong 2009, Laiou and Morrison 2007, Poulou-Papdimitriou and Nodarou 2014, Zavagno 2011, 2013, 2017). This connectivity, as will be seen, is quite selective, however, and this has important implications for identity, and community, construction.

Until the mid-7th century C.E. both Crete and Cyprus were involved in the state-driven *annona* grain trade, and the products that piggy-backed off the ships traveling from Egypt, North Africa, and Sicily to the capital. The significant quantities of ARS, marketed on the way to Constantinople, and PRS, likely sold on the way back, on both Crete and Cyprus testify to this. Nearly every site on both islands is replete with this material, with the exception of the simple, and certainly more local, collection at the Kornos Cave, and the rather late occupation at Pseira. Indeed, the ubiquity of these pieces—mostly plates and dishes, with some bowls, in nearly every excavated context, whether or not a dump—testifies to the wide availability of these mass-produced tablewares across the islands. While the wealthy would certainly have also had access to metallic dining vessels, such as the fabulous silver David Plates discovered in northern Cyprus and dating to the early 7th century C.E., and more utilitarian bronze versions, there is no indication that they did not also make use of red slip tablewares, and indeed artistic representations from the period support this (Hudson 2010, Wilson 2010, 2011, Vroom 2008, 2016). In this, the population was partaking of a Late Roman *koine* that held over the entire empire, seen also in the mainland case studies. They are performing 'Roman-ness', *romanitas*, in their dining habits, partaking of a shared material culture, a specific community of practice, at all levels of society. This goes beyond the mere elite description of that identity held in textual sources, and engages in a material constellation of identity construction based around an embodied *habitus.* Here the advantages of archaeology become clear for moving beyond the textual, and into a practice-based understanding of what it meant to belong to an imagined, and practiced, imperial community. This extends to coarsewares, which are also nearly identical on both islands, and on the mainland as well. These forms—buffware jugs, jars, and pots—are derivative of Late Roman forms and remain extremely difficult to date given their popularity over centuries. Only the pinched-mouth 'dimple-bottomed' jugs stand out as a distinctly late product, with 8th-century C.E. parallels in Palestine, although they have not been the subject of serious study as yet (Armstrong 2009:163). Often in local fabrics, they largely continue throughout this period, only diverging quite late. Perhaps most important in this respect are the cooking wares. Globular, round-bottomed cooking pots, of the Dhiorios or Brittle Ware type, similar in form and heat-resistant technology, and widely traded, bespeak a continuity of Late Roman cooking practice, centered around close-mouthed forms for cooking stews and porridges. At the same time, the admixture of more open-mouthed forms, particularly in the Aegean, may speak to an influence from further West and North in the earlier period, and further East in the late period, that complicates the picture somewhat (Arthur 2007, Vroom 2012).

During the early 7th century C.E., Crete and Cyprus also display connections to other parts of the empire through their transport amphorae. LRA1s from all over the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor, and possibly southern Italy, turn up in large numbers, as well as LRA5/6s and Caesarean amphorae from Gaza and Palestine, likely carrying wine. Both Crete and Cyprus are also producing their own LRA1s at this time. LRA7s appear on Cyprus, pointing to the presence of a more Egyptian connection than is apparent on Crete, unsurprising given the routes the *annona* from Egypt would have taken to get to Constantinople. LRA2s from the North, possibly as far as the Danube, as well as the later LRA13s, potentially from Otranto and southern Italy, indicate connections to some more far-flung locations, although the transport system attached to the army may be implicated in the presence of those earlier forms of globular amphorae (Baldini *et al.* 2013:290, Haldon 1992, Karagiorgou 2001).

In the mid-7th century C.E., with increased raiding and a shift in the relative safety of sea travel in the Eastern Mediterranean (as well as the overall collapse of the *annona* grain shipments after the loss of Egypt, Palestine, and, more slowly, North Africa to the Arabs), the ceramic picture changes. The most common, and easily identifiable, red slip tablewares in the empire—the African and Phocaean red slips—recede, and there is a significant decline in the number of imported containers. Sites undergo a noticeable ruralization or, in some cases, abandonment. This *used* to be the end of the story. Only recently (very recently for the islands) has a more nuanced picture of the late 7th through the early 9th centuries C.E. begun to emerge (Armstrong 2009, Baldini *et al.* 2013, Cosentino 2014, Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2011, Rautman 2008, Zavagno 2011, 2013, 2017). The picture painted above by the ceramic material from Cyprus and Crete shows that contacts continued, and that the ruralization of sites had, in fact, been going on for some time before the 7th century C.E. The processes that both islands underwent are somewhat similar, the differences largely accounted for by their geographical position. As will be seen below, however, this does not differ significantly from other regions in the Eastern Mediterranean at this time.

With an increase in the relative vulnerability and isolation of the two islands as state-based trade collapsed, the economic response apparent in the ceramics in the mid-to late 7th centuries C.E. was a marked regionalization. It has been recognized that, starting in the late 7th century C.E., trade networks largely fell back on their more immediate surroundings (Haldon 2012:99, Horden and Purcell 2000:158-9, Laiou and Morrisson 2007, Wickham 2005). Objects could still travel long distances, but they now relied more on short hops, and the places where regional systems overlapped, rather than long-distance, point-to-point transport as before. Cyprus belonged to a system that involved the Levant and Egypt, as well as southern Anatolia. Crete was connected to mainland Greece, the Aegean, and, more tentatively, places to the West such as southern Italy and Albania. The divergence that appears in their respective ceramic repertoires as the 7th century C.E. came to a close clearly shows this above. Kornos cave has almost exclusively local products, CRS 9 from the island or nearby Pisidia, Dhiorios cooking pots, and local jugs and jars, while at Agioi Pente the CRS element is quite strong. There the change in cooking pots most clearly shows an economic retraction, handmade forms take over as we move into the 8th century C.E. While the forms of these cooking pots remain roughly the same as the earlier, Dhiorios, examples, a point that I will revisit below, they become rougher, thicker, and less expertly potted. This transition is now recognized to be a general one for Cyprus, starting in the late 7th century C.E. (Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Rautman 1998). Pattern-burnished ware also makes an appearance at Agioi Pente, likely a southwestern Anatolian product.

Salamis-Constantia also shifts to a stronger CRS element in its dining ware, with more of a Constantinopolitan flavor existing alongside, as well as potentially some painted wares from the Levant or Egypt, as befits a capital city with greater standing. Kourion turns briefly to Egypt, importing large numbers of ERS dishes and plates, and apparently exporting a considerable amount of CRS to Egypt in turn. There is a clear site hierarchy in play here, with Kourion and Salamis-Constantia being able to draw products from further afield than rural Kyrenia or a relatively small center outside of Paphos. Paphos itself, or at least Saranda Kolones, also has this local element, in the form of CRS, the usual jars and jugs in local fabrics, and Dhiorios cooking pots, but also a bit more flair in the form of some ERS pieces, some GWW from Constantinople, and even cooking wares that look to be from Egypt. As it was a major port, this should not be particularly surprising. Again, all of this reflects the changes following the general breakdown in connectivity in the mid-7th century C.E.

Crete, perhaps unable to tap into the late 7th-century C.E. Egyptian or CRS markets, existing as they did outside of its new regional sphere, can be said to provincialize somewhat quicker. While the small, rural site at Monastiraki-Katalimata shows the standard early to mid-7th century C.E. repertoire, complete with local coarsewares and a potential piece of Askra Ware from nearby Greece, Eleutherna and Gortyn explode into a variety of ARS copies or extremely late, and low-quality, versions of North African products. Like the Cypriot trade in ERS, this betrays continued contact with areas that had likely passed into Arab hands. Over-painted wares are also developed, more at Gortyn than Eleutherna, and draw on the island's regional neighborhood for inspiration, in the form of earlier mainland Greek, and perhaps Balkan and southern Italian, styles. These are notably quite different in their forms from the earlier red slips, and may indicate the beginnings of a shift in dining practice over the course of the 8th century C.E. Meanwhile a trickle of Constantinopolitan Glazed White Wares makes its way to Gortyn, possibly to service the elites centered there. The large variety of local forms of coarseware and transport amphora, at Eleutherna is notable, particularly given its distance from the coast. There has, unfortunately, not been sufficient work on Cretan cooking wares to determine if there is a concomitant move towards handmade products (as on Cyprus) in the course of the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E.

The bulk transport containers do not match this pattern exactly, and this is revealing. LRA5/6 seems to be the most consistently popular amphora across the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., although never in large numbers. The Gazan and Palestinian wine always appears to have gotten through, to both Crete and Cyprus, large site or small. This likely reflects its popularity, and the importance of wine for the diet of the islanders. In this trade Crete may have been a second-stage destination and it is worth remembering, noted above in Chapter 2, that Byzantine wine is thought to have declined in quality during this period. LRA1s are by far the most ubiquitous, moving in the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E. into derivatives, copies, and late holdovers, mostly local, but also possibly reflecting a wider range of contacts across the Aegean and elsewhere. Egyptian LRA7s appear in very small numbers at Gortyn, and with much greater frequency on Cyprus, at Agioi Pente and Kourion. Salamis-Constantia does not have nearly as much of an Egyptian flavor as the South coast. Globular amphorae, the descendants of LRA2/13, came to dominate in the 8th and early 9th centuries C.E., and became the main transport container of the economic revival in the Eastern Mediterranean, although perishable containers and the 'Byzantine barrel' that possibly emerges around this time have not been sufficiently addressed by scholars (Pryor 2003:89-90). Pseira and Gortyn both display these globular amphorae, pointing, alongside other indicators, to later occupation, and they appear at Agioi Pente, Saranda Kolones, and Kourion as well. Eleutherna at this time was probably in significant decline, although with the extremely local character of its amphorae, and its other wares, this may also be a comment on its connection to sea-based networks. Otranto is known to be a producer of these amphorae, and their presence on Crete may point in an Italian direction, while on Cyprus they likely indicate increased Aegean or Anatolian connections. The occasional North African *spatheia* or Carthaginian product also appears on Crete. This is a somewhat wider net than was seen with the tablewares, cooking ceramics, and coarsewares.

A startling contrast is provided by the two latest sites on the islands, Saranda Kolones and Pseira. The former site has Glazed White Ware, including the GWW II footed forms, later forms of ERS, Lycian White Ware, painted Egyptian bowls, glazed coarsewares, casseroles from

Egypt, globular amphorae from Asia Minor and even the Black Sea and Constantinople, painted Levantine amphorae, cooking pots with twisted handles from the capital, chafing dishes imported from elsewhere in the empire, and Umayyad coins, all from the 8th and into the 9th centuries C.E. Pseira has a strong Constantinopolitan element, with a White Ware chafing dish, Glazed White Ware, various globular amphorae, and a late Constantinopolitan belt buckle. All of this speaks to the economic revival of these later centuries. Practically none of this material is known from surface surveys from the two islands, and 10th century C.E. material, to my knowledge, is unknown from Crete or Cyprus (Given and Knapp 2003, Given *et al.* 2013, Haggis 2005, Watrous *et al.* 2004, Watrous *et al.* 2012). This would seem to indicate that this later material is not reaching the areas outside the major port of Paphos or, in the case of Crete, the tiny monastic island of Pseira, with its direct interface with the sea. Additionally, these two sites, a fortress and a monastery, likely reflect very specific types of connective networks, ones associated with the army and the church, respectively (McCormick 2001, Treadgold 1995:181). This picture could change, of course, with future excavations, and I strongly suspect that were the material from Iraklion to be published, we would see a different picture in the Arab capital of the island, with its admirable harbor, with an entirely different set of, revived, 9th century C.E. connections.

Both islands reacted to the change in relative connectivity in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E. in roughly the same way, although with some significant divergences. Both Crete and Cyprus turned to their respective, regional market catchments. Palestinian wine continued to move, as did bulk goods from Egypt and the Levant to Cyprus, and from the Aegean and possibly southern Italy to Crete. There was a concerted, and possibly desperate, attempt to maintain traditional forms of dining ceramics. ERS was imported to Cyprus, and CRS itself is now thought to be quite a bit later than Hayes had originally posited in 1972, possibly well into the 8th century C.E. (Armstrong 2009, Zavagno 2017:163). Copies and late forms of ARS appeared on Crete. Meanwhile Crete developed its own painted-ware industry in the form of over-painted ware. This is a trend that has parallels in many places on the edge of the empire and beyond, in Egypt, the Levant, Italy, and the Balkans, although it was to these latter two areas that Crete was likely looking for inspiration. Cyprus did not go in this direction, probably due to the continued availability, in some form, of ERS and then possibly CRS, either locally or from southern Asia Minor. The co-occurrence of 8th century C.E. handmade cooking pots with CRS at Agioi Pente would seem to support this. Cooking pots devolved on Cyprus into handmade and slow-wheel forms, an industry that was probably long existent, but that jumped into visibility as the Dhiorios-style, wheel-made pots disappeared (Gabrieli *et al.* 2007, Rautman 1998). A similar move is likely on Crete, in the same fashion as mainland Greek 'Slavic Ware,' although at present this cannot be concretely determined. Outside of Paphos and Pseira we currently have no information that this situation changed significantly for either island in the 9th century C.E., and over-painted ware disappeared with the Arab conquest of the island, and the likely abandonment of Gortyn and Eleutherna.

Most mainland areas, while previously partaking largely of the Late Roman cultural *koine* discussed earlier, took similar steps in response to the crises of the 7th century C.E., likely for the reason that most long-distance trade was sea-based, and thus they would have been equally affected by the changes in connectivity mentioned in Chapter 2. Constantinople, as can be seen by the material at Saraçhane, became creative, and saw to its own needs. Glazed White Ware emerged in the 7th century C.E. and came to dominate the tablewares over the subsequent centuries. These new, footed styles of plates were probably connected with a shift towards Medieval styles of dining at table, with an emphasis placed on individual dish presentation for upright guests without the reclined, communal dining of the past (Vroom 2012). These ceramics slowly became distributed beyond the capital, but, in the centuries with which we are concerned, remained primarily restricted to areas of Asia Minor and mainland Greece. Small amounts of painted, Egyptian ceramics, and over-painted ware make it to the capital, although the new remit for bulk transport seems to have been the Black Sea, and generally not areas further South. Wheel-made, round-bottomed cooking pots continued throughout, largely with new, twisted handles, indicating a possible maintenance of general cooking practices. The emergence of chafing dishes may be in line with new approaches to dining, posited by Paul Arthur as connected with a specifically Byzantine dining practice (2007), however, and these seem to have moved even to the ends of the empire.

Relatively nearby areas, such as Asia Minor and Greece, imported chafing dishes and GWW, with its attractive, white, kaoline clays, and began their own glazed industries in an attempt to copy these forms, although, without the white clays from the area around the capital, imported GWW maintained its popularity. Corinth partook somewhat of the Black Sea trade, and its cooking pots retained a round-bottomed shape, although the coarse 'Slavic Ware,' and other more novel coarsewares, such as spouted jugs, flat rimmed basins, and some painted wares, speak to regionalization. Amorium, prior to its destruction in the early 9th century C.E., followed a similar path, although with some distinctly eastern, or rather southeastern, influence that was also seen at Jerash and, to a lesser extent, in Egypt. Amorium Glazed Ware represent the city's attempt to copy GWW, while local painted pottery, coarsewares and fineware blossomed. Earlier copies of ARS and PRS gave way over the 8th century C.E. to a new range of coarseware forms, many with incised or painted decoration that made its way onto the amphorae as well. Pattern-burnished ware and local attempts at unslipped red and gray finewares, as well as chafing dishes, were produced. Perhaps most interestingly, the cooking wares began to change. Flat-bottomed, more open, cooking pots, and styles reminiscent of *Kerbschnitt* vessels and Mafjar Ware, seen at Jerash, indicate a possible Arabic influence that befits an area relatively close to the border with the Caliphate. This mixture of styles and influences can be seen as representative of White's Middle Ground, an area in which different cultural modes of material performance mingle and produce something new. Jerash goes even further. There the local paintedware tradition, which, along with that of Egypt, predates the Arab invasions, took off in new directions. Jerash bowls, in the 7th century C.E. copying ARS and PRS forms, were accompanied by painted cups and basins, amphorae and jugs, while, as the city moved into the 8th century C.E., new coarseware forms also appeared. Arab-inspired *Kerbschnitt* bowls and open cooking forms came to dominate. In the 9th century C.E., 'Islamic' glazed wares took over much of the table ceramics, and this continued for the subsequent centuries. To date, none of this 'Islamic' glazed material has been recognized on either Crete or Cyprus. Finally, Egypt, an island of sorts in its own right, with seas of sand protecting it on three sides, did what it had nearly always done over the centuries, and pulled in on itself, with almost no imports appearing in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., outside of the brief influx of CRS. Painted wares, both coarse, transport, and for table, were popular, and the red-slip tradition continued for many centuries. Even as 'Islamic' glazed wares began their dominance in the 9th century C.E., these red-slip wares continued into the 11th century C.E..

Placing the material from Crete and Cyprus within this frame, we can see not only what was moving to the islands, and where, but also what was not. Cyprus, even as it was importing wine from the Levant and other bulk goods from Egypt, did not partake of the paintedware tradition, while Crete did so, albeit from mainland Greece and regions to the North and West.

Contrary to what is seen at Corinth or Amorium, neither island seems to have developed its own glazedware industry, although there was a small amount of GWW making its way to the islands. This preference for glazed wares from Constantinople, as opposed to Corinth or Asia Minor, at least in the early period, would seem to indicate a very select importation, particularly as few bulk goods seem to be have traveled to the island from the North. The contexts in which this Glazed White Ware appears on the two islands is also suggestive. It is not found at the Kornos Cave, Monastiraki-Katalimata, Agioi Pente, or (yet) at Eleutherna. At Gortyn it appears in the large building B, the mansion which likely had some additional administrative function. At Salamis-Constantia and Kourion the pieces are few, but again they are linked with potentially elite contexts, an episcopal basilica and the overall administrative center of the island. These are tentative associations at best, skewed as they are by the poor contexts associated with the sites in question, mostly dumps, and are undoubtedly further affected by the sampling bias that results from largely excavating only 'elite' buildings and centers, churches being the primary example. However, the circumstantial evidence would suggest some significance attached to these Constantinopolitan ceramics. Chapter 2 highlighted how the cognitive geography of reduced connectivity would have affected material traveling from the capital, and the apparent lack of a local glazing industry, unlike those of areas closer to the capital, would seem to compound the value attached to these ceramics. Technologically different, and sensorially unique, with their smooth white fabrics and shiny, colored interiors, they would have made a statement on any islanders' table. In the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E., when connectivity was at a low ebb, it is important to note that, even as transport containers were reaching the island from their regional networks in the Levant, Aegean, and Egypt, the unique dining wares of these areas, the painted and glazed materials of Greece, Anatolia, and the Levant were largely *not* being imported. Only the ERS of Egypt and the late North African products stand out, and these fall in line with the earlier patterns of red-slip dining ware. This pattern changes in the late 8th and 9th centuries C.E. at Saranda Kolones and Pseira, but I shall turn to those sites after discussing the implications of this earlier pattern for dining and identity.

7.3 Dining and Identity on Crete and Cyprus

Throughout the shifts in connectivity and changes in ceramic morphology seen in the material above, one thing comes through clearly for the majority of the inhabitants of Crete and Cyprus during this period: an attempt to maintain traditional forms of cooking and dining. Even as their ability to acquire the previously ubiquitous ARS and PRS plates and dishes faded, they turned to whatever sources were available for these types of dining ware. Most of Cyprus fell back on Cypriot red slip[5], either local or Pisidian, while Kourion, advantageously placed for trade with Egypt, imported ERS in large quantities for a short time. It is unclear why this trade dried up, as Egypt continues producing these pieces. The fact that these tablewares make only a minor appearance at other Cypriot sites, however, is likely a result of the island's topography and internal trade networks, something to be discussed below. Crete started producing local copies of ARS, or importing the last, inferior pieces from North Africa. Over-painted ware, while in a different series of forms, seems like a logical attempt to turn in a different, more regionally-focused direction. Cypriot red slip, with its new, revised termination date in the 8th century C.E., fills in the picture somewhat for Cyprus, although—if this is indeed true—the dating of many sites on the island needs to be seriously revisited.

[5] There is still some debate about the production centers of this ceramic. Initially thought to be in Cyprus, they have since been firmly established in southwestern Anatolia, although archaeometric evidence is again growing for a western Cypriot production as well (Poblome and Firat 2011:51).

Overall, however, the attempt to maintain a distinctly Late Roman table, complete with standard Late Roman coarsewares, indicates the conservative nature of performative 'Roman-ness' as it relates to the embodied practice of eating on the islands. This stands in contrast to those parts of the empire closer to the capital where Romannness, in a sense, can be said to have moved on, in so far as it relates to a new Constantinopolitan-centered notion of empire. If we accept the top-down, class-based, arguments of Byzantine identity put forward by Stouraitis, and marry them with the important political and social transformation the empire was undergoing in the course of the 7th century C.E., it becomes apparent that such a transition would have taken place in relation to material culture and its connections to performative identity, in this case its connections to eating. As the crises of the 7th century C.E. got underway, Byzantium reorganized itself to survive. As noted above in Chapter 4, there was both an administrative, as well as demographic shift in the empire towards Constantinople, on the one hand, and away from regional centers on the other (Baldini *et al.* 2013:240). The sources of wealth and prestige shifted away from local elites, and towards a Constantinopolitan-centered bureaucracy, even as the cities and towns were denuded of inhabitants (Haldon 2016, Laiou and Morrison 2007:59). With the collapse of state-driven trade, and the ability to share in mass-produced tablewares that make up a *koine* of Late Roman practice, along with the general replacement of a locally-focused elite, a top-down vision of performative Roman identity is necessarily going to be driven by a view centered on the capital and its material culture. In this light, GWW, chafing dishes, and the symbolic value of cognitive distance to the 'periphery' for provincial, imperial inhabitants, take on added significance. The technological, and sensorial attraction of these new ceramics aside, this would also explain the desire on the part of communities closer to Constantinople to emulate this distinctly Roman style of material dining culture, creating a cartography of taste across the

Byzantine empire with regard to a new idea of materially-driven Roman identity. On the islands, and in more remote provincial areas, however, there seem to be different degrees, at least superficially, to which this cartography takes hold. On Crete and Cyprus, the continuity of earlier forms of dining practice, replaced in mainland areas over time by different solutions to the collapse of the red slip tradition, were seemingly maintained, for as long as possible. This is mirrored in the tablewares by the coarse and cooking wares. Late Roman-derived coarseware forms remained popular on Crete and Cyprus whereas, in some mainland areas, they passed out of fashion. Cooking pots, even as they moveed into handmade forms on Cyprus, retained their round-bottomed, closed-mouth shape, indicative of the maintenance of a certain style of cooking culture. At Amorium, Jerash, and to a lesser extent at Baramus, the growing influence of open-mouthed, and flat-bottomed, forms speaks to a growing eastern influence in food preparation. These types were rejected on the islands even as eastern bulk goods were readily accepted.

In this environment the Glazed White Ware dishes and non-local chafing dishes are an anomaly. Whoever was using them, whether elites or not, they could be signaling a new performative Roman identity, linked to Constantinopolitan styles of dining that, for a provincial, would have had potentially elite connotations given the centralization of administrative practice. This would place the user of these ceramics in contradistinction to the remains of the old, now provincialized, notion of Roman identity tied to the red-slip dining tradition. This picture is somewhat complicated on Crete, where the rise of over-painted ware may indicate a new sense of cultural performativity linked to regional influences in Greece, the Balkans, and southern Italy, yet still distinctly Cretan. Obviously, all of this would have constituted but one facet of identity formation, in a specific context, but it is suggestive of how movements at the edge of empire may have been trending after the near-collapse of the 7th century C.E. To further complicate matters, this picture is undercut by the coarse and cooking wares. While there is some appearance of twisted-handle, Consantinopolitan cooking pots at Salamis-Constantia, and an apparent growth in the number of casseroles and open forms at Kourion, the cooking and coarsewares remained largely unchanged across both islands in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., regardless of context. Little is known of regional dining distinctions during this period, but the lack of a shift in these wares would belie any culinary differences between core and periphery that might lend weight to any Constantinopolitan signaling. It is distinctly possible that local cuisine was simply being consumed on a nice, imported dish, and that any symbolic value would have played somewhat oddly between those two elements. Chafing dishes, however, implicated as they are in food preparation as well as service, give us a bit firmer ground to stand on this regard, indicating a different *style* of consumption, although these are somewhat later in appearance (Arthur 2007: 15). Outside of these forms, however, during the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E., external dining implements are not accepted into the islands.

7.4 Later Movements and Islands as Categories of Analysis

Isolation, connectivity, vulnerability, and a concern for safety characterized the island experience during this period, and in the late 8th and early 9th centuries C.E. these factors shifted in their relation to Crete and Cyprus. With the stabilized military situation in the Eastern Mediterranean for Byzantium, the economic revitalization of the empire began, and with it a change in material relations. Saranda Kolones and Pseira are the sites that give the fullest expression of this change, particularly when compared with the rest of Crete and Cyprus. The multiple types of late ceramics that appear at Saranda Kolones come from all over the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond. Egypt and the Levant, Constantinople and the Black Sea, the Aegean and Anatolia, are all represented, and in a way quite different from the 7th and early 8th centuries C.E. Painted wares, high-footed GWW II, glazed coarsewares, and non-Conastantinopolitan chafing dishes point to a reception of previously unavailable (or unwanted) types, as well as an ease of communication and a shortening of cognitive distance. Different types of open-mouthed cooking ware and casseroles are also in attendance, indicative of different styles of dining. As noted, however, we are dealing with a fortress, which was likely tapped into an entirely different set of connective structures than the rest of the island, one linked to the resurgent state, and the army (Treadgold 1995:181). The rest of the island has evinced none of this material to date. The topography of Cyprus, a large ‘matchbox continent’ of the type described by Held (1989), can also be at work here. Paphos stands somewhat apart from the rest of the island (Figure 1.2). It is largely secluded from the interior by the foothills of the Troodos mountains, and even driving there today from Nicosia or Limassol involves crossing several rather deep gorges. The intra-island connections across the mountains, or along the coast, must have been somewhat difficult, and this dichotomy places large islands like Crete and Cyprus in sharp distinction to smaller ones, like Chios, where an interface with the sea is never far away. This issue of scale is an important consideration in determining the utility of Crete and Cyprus as units of analysis for examining communities of practice, and the dendritic social worlds of their inhabitants (Held 1989).

Another development that may have had a factor on the shifting insularity of the islands is the relocation of cities. It is not known exactly when, or if, in the course of the 8th or 9th centuries C.E. settlements like Kourion and Salamis-Constantia moved inland, or under what prompting. The fact that their material culture extends up to those centuries has put paid to the oft-cited reason for their relocation, the Arab raids of a century earlier, but has not been replaced with any alternative. With the advanced ruralization of cities, however, and a possibly greater social localization and provincialization as the shared material *koine* with the rest of the empire broke down, the majority of Cyprus could have developed a more inward focus during the years of lowest connectivity. Outside of Paphos, we are largely in the dark as to what material culture was being utilized in the 9th and 10th centuries C.E., although perishable materials are always a possibility. All in all, the dichotomy between Paphos and the rest of the island at this time, including the presence of painted wares and open-mouthed cooking forms, should perhaps call for a revisit of Megaw's assertion that, at the very least, a community of Arab merchants was resident in the city during the Early Middle Ages (Megaw 1950). That, however, will have to wait for the future.

Without the publication of the material from Iraklion, likely an analagous situation to Paphos, and more connected to the Arab world of the 9th century C.E., for Crete we are left with Pseira. Again, there is a clear distinction between this tiny monastic community, just off the coast and directly connected to the sea, and the rest of the island. Crete is carved into several distinct regions by mountains, with the valleys often functioning as their own worlds, even today (Figure 1.3). With the conquest of the island by the Arabs in 827 C.E., the material record on Crete largely falls silent, and we may be faced with a similar situation as that on Cyprus, but for a different reason. More connected to the tableware traditions of the islands' immediately-surrounding region, still largely part of the empire, the sudden shift in political allegiance, as well as the operation of a marauding force out of Iraklion, may have forced an inward focus on the islands' inhabitants. Laiou and Morrison (2007), Wickham (2005), and Zavagno (2017) consider elite demand and state structures to still be the driving force behind much economic activity during the Early Middle Ages, albeit indirectly, despite the rise of more independent merchants and merchant states, such as Venice. The loss of administrative structures at Gortyn, and with such sites as the capital and Eleutherna not directly on the coast, it may have been easier to withdraw to valley life for the already largely ruralized population, rather than integrate into the new center and connective framework of a pirate Emirate. Without published excavations at Iraklion, however, and the identification of more 9th- and 10th- century C.E. sites on Crete, as a result of a greater attention to coarse and cooking wares in the future, we are reduced largely to speculation.

The 9th-century C.E. material on Pseira is what we have to work with, and it shows a considerably different version of connectivity than that seen at Paphos. The material is almost exclusively northern, and Constantinopolitan. Situated near the northeastern end of Crete, and thus near the mouth of the Aegean, it should perhaps not come as a surprise that this site would have had access to burgeoning 9th-century C.E. networks to the capital. Additionally, its monastic connections may have provided a means, and a desire, to obtain distinctly Constantinopolitan modes of tableware, and the specific religious cachet which they may have provided. Beyond this, however, and without further excavation and survey, Cyprus and Crete have to wait until their reconquest by Byzantium in the late 10th century C.E., and the introduction of more identifiable Byzantine glazed, incised, and painted wares starting in the 11th century C.E., before they can re-enter the mainstream of archaeological discussion on the Eastern Mediterranean.

All in all, then, are these islands useful categories of analysis for considering communities of practice, and dining-oriented identity construction during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages? The answer is both yes, and no. As the connective structures of the empire, represented above by the ubiquity of red slip dining wares and a *koine* of coarse wares across the Eastern Mediterranean, and constituting a shared Roman-ness structured around a community of dining practice, broke down in the course of the 7th century C.E., the islands moved in on themselves, drawing their social worlds tighter in a way that would not change until the resurgence in trade of the early 9th century C.E. As the islands moved along the two poles mentioned in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.7), this insularity, which can be seen in the emergence of localized forms of dining material, overpainted wares on Crete and handmade cooking wares on Cyprus, point to much more restricted communities of practice than had existed previously. However, three points are worth making: 1) this localism was preceded by an attempt to maintain earlier forms of dining practice, 2) the re-engagement of the 9th century C.E. was selective, conditioned by the island topography of these 'matchbox continents' and the special connective structures of both the church and the army, and 3) even in its most extreme state the localism of the islands still reached out to surrounding areas, such as southern Greece, Italy, and the Balkans on the part of Crete, and Egypt and southern Anatolia on the part of Cyprus, indeed the coarse wares found at Sagalassos in southwestern Anatolia, dated to the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E., bear a marked similarity to those on Cyprus, and it is likely that they were in direct economic contact throughout this period (Vionis et al. 2009). Thus, while the shifting factors affecting the connective fabric of the sea, covered in Chapter 2, had a decided effect, the islands themselves cannot be said to be truly insular in their material culture, or their attendant identity construction centered around dining practice. Moreover they are not unique in the material choices taken during the late 7th and 8th centuries C.E. As seen in Chapter 5, practically every region that was not directly adjacent to Constantinople reverted to a distinct regionalism. Therefore, while serving as useful 'reference points' of analysis, particularly given their general absence from most large studies on Late Antique and Early Medieval material culture change, they cannot be said to be heuristically valuable as bounded units of analysis in a geographically, and politically bounded sense of identity construction.

However, the Glazed White Ware dishes discussed above provide an interesting point in which to take the issue further. In this dissertation I have argued that the material outlined above allows us to see a redefinition of 'Roman-ness' at potentially the higher levels of society, one structured around connections to the capital and the new, Constantinopolitan-centered beaurocracy. Meanwhile, after an attempt to cling to the older forms of dining practice, and identity, related to the previously empire-wide consumption of red slip tablewares and common coarsewares, a new, localized identity was emerging at the edges of the empire, on the order of more day to day communal practices of eating off of locally made coarsewares or painted wares.

7.5 Place of the Dissertation and Future Work

This dissertation has sought to place the poorly-understood ceramic and small find material of Cyprus and Crete from the 7th through the 10th centuries C.E. into a holistic framework where the daily experience of material connectivity and performative identity construction for the islands' inhabitants could be assessed for a period of increased liminality on the Eastern Mediterranean seascape. The enigmatic comments by St. Willibald, cited in Chapter 1, led me to interrogate the contextual situation of ceramic finds at several sites across the two islands, and place them into conversation with the material in Greece, Anatolia, Constantinople, Egypt, and the Levant, to gain a picture of connective and morphological changes in their ceramic repertoires, and the choices that were made in the engagement by the islanders with these external materials as they related to internal ceramic developments, and larger administrative and social changes occurring within the empire. In Chapters 2 and 6, I provided a further theoretical framework to interrogate questions of connectivity, cognitive geography and object value, alongside issues of identity formation and embodied dining practice. These ceramics have, in the past, been considered almost exclusively in terms of specific categories, with many studies clustering around amphorae, tablewares, or, more recently, coarse and cooking wares. Only the recent work of Zavagno (2017) has attempted to compile a more comprehensive view for the centuries in question on Cyprus. Dining and cooking practice has been considered for the mainland, particularly in the Levant, southern Italy, and Albania, but not for the islands, with their singular position on an emerging Mediterranean frontier (Arthur 2007, Magness 2010, Vroom 2008, 2009, 2012, 2016).

From its beginning, this dissertation has been hampered by the general lack of secure contexts, and the inability of many past researchers to recognize the Early Medieval material they uncovered in their excavations and surveys. Work has already begun on expanding our knowledge in these areas, in particular Smadar Gabrieli's work on cooking wares in Cyprus. Additional studies need to be focused on the range of other coarsewares, however, including petrolographical studies to understand the regional trade in coarse ceramics that undoubtedly took place. Crete is in even more dire need of such work than Cyprus. Transport amphora are reasonably well understood, with Demesticha, Yangaki, Pouou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou all contributing to the discussion in recent years, although globular amphorae and Black Sea amphorae await further work (Demesticha 2004, 2005, 2014, Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014, Yangaki 2005, 2017, Yangaki *et al.* 2008). Residue analysis of amphorae and cooking vessels, bioarchaeological studies of diet and health, already advanced on Crete, but woefully absent on Cyprus, and zooarchaeological studies of animal husbandry for Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages are all wanting on the islands (Bourbou *et al.* 2011).

In terms of excavation fieldwork, broad exposures of domestic settlement, focused on the final phases of many sites, are needed in Cyprus, akin to those at Gortyn and Eleutherna. Rescue excavations in currently inhabited cities need to be published, so that the shift to their current location in the Middle Ages can be better understood. Iraklion, above all, cries out for this treatment. Last but not least, a greater knowledge of Late Roman and Early Medieval ceramics needs to be incorporated into future survey projects, in order to avoid the 'thousand-year pile' problem of classification from Late Roman to Early Modern that remains common. Athansios Vionis is already beginning this work on Cyprus. There remains much to do, and many directions in which to go to expand our knowledge.

I began this dissertation with an eye towards complicating simple narratives, of looking for a way to understand the daily engagements of the ancient inhabitants of Crete and Cyprus with new types of people, material culture, and the responses to collapse, reduced connectivity, and survival in more insular environments. What I found, in part, was indeed more complex than I anticipated, with varied approaches, often conditioned by the topography and geography of the islands themselves, and their place within the wider Mediterranean. 21st-century Crete and Cyprus exist in a sea of tribulations, war, and the movement of new groups of peoples to, and in the lands beyond, their shores. Writing in the closing years of the 11th century C.E., John Skylitzes stated that "He (the governor of Cyprus) incites the whole έθνος of the Cypriots against the (imperial) tax collector and judge" (quoted in Demosthenous 2008:55). This is the first time this term is used, that we know of, to refer to the islanders as a group, a separate people. Rather than viewing the period of the 7th through 10th centuries C.E. in the pejorative light of withdrawal, disengagement, and marginalization that one often sees in discussions of the 'Dark Ages,' I prefer to think that the islanders of Crete and Cyprus found a way to pull together with their regional neighbors to form new identities. Indeed St. Willibald, on leaving Cyprus remarked that 'the Cypriots were not in arms; for there was great peace and conciliation between the Greeks and the Saracens' (Huneberc XII).

Tables

Table 4.1 Ceramic Finds and Contexts from Eleutherna

Cistern A	**Cistern D**	**I/3 N Aithrio**			**I/3 N North**		**I/4 T2**	
		01	*07 – 08*	*039?*	*01*	*02*	*04*	*01*
ARS 104 A	Mug (c)	ARS 104 B	ARS 104 C	ARS 104 C	ARS 104 A	ARS 105	ARS 104 B	Mug (c)
ARS 104 B	Jug (c)	H105	Mug (c)		ARS 104 B	CartARS 8a amph	PRS 10	Pitcher (c)
PRS 10	Basin	ARS 106			ARS 104 C	LRA1 (SP)	Large bowl	Large bowl
Cup (c)	Glob pot	NMFW Jug (AM)			ARS 105	AC 1c-d	Glob pot	Glob pot
Mug (c)	AC 1b	Jug (c)			PRS 10			AC 1b
Pitcher (diff c)	AC 1c-d	Pitcher (c)			Mug (c)			AC 1c-d
Basin	Tr Jar	Basin			Basin			
Glob pot		Glob pot			Glob pot			
Lid		LRA1 (SP)			LRA2 (AM)			
LRA2 (AM)		AC 1c-d			AC 1b			
AC 1b		Lamp (3 burn C)			AC 1c-d			
AC 1c-d		*03*	*014*	*06*	Lamp (neck c)			
Tr Jar		PRS 5	PRS 10	Egyp. frag.				
		PRS 10	AC 1b	Basin				
		Mug (c)						
		Basin						
		AC 1c-d						
		015	*02*	*10*				
		Pitcher (c)	Glob pot	AC 1b				
		Spouted jug (c)	AC 1c-d					
		12						
		Mug (c)						
		AC 1b						

I/4 28	**I/4 31**		**I/4 32**		**I/4 33**	**I/4 34**		**I/4 37**	**I/4 39**	
Pithos 1	*01*	*02*	*01*	*02*	*03*	*01*	*02*	*01*	*01*	*02*
Basin	ARS 104 A	PRS 10	Flagon-Ung (c)	Cup (c)	Basin	Lamp (AM)	PRS 10	LRA1 (SP)	Mug (c)	AC 1c-d
NMFW Pot (E or P?)	ARS 105	Basin	Mug (c)	Jug (c)			NMFW bowl (c)		Basin	
	PRS 10		Pitcher (c)				Basin			
	Mug (c)		Basin				Egg pot			
	Jug (c)		Glob pot				LRA1 (SP)			
	Basin		LRA1 (SP)							
	Glob pot		AC 1c-d							
	LRA1 (SP)									

I/4 40	I/4 43	I/4 45	I/4 50	I/4 53		I/4 54	
01	*01*	*04 – 05*	*01 – 02*	*01*	*04*	*01*	*04*
LRA1 (SP)	Glob pot	ARS 87 C - 109 (1 frag.)	ARS 93 B	ARS 105	PRS 10	Glob pot	Glob tube spout
		PRS 10	ARS 104 B		Cup (c)		
		Goblet (c)	ARS 106		Flagon-Ung (c)		
		Cup (c)	ARS 67 (?)		Mug (c)		
		Flagon-Ung (c)	PRS 10		Basket		
		Mug (c)	NMFW Flask (SP)				
		Pitcher (c)	NMFW Bowl (c)				
		Basin	Goblet (c)				
		Basket	Cup (c)				
		Large bowl (diff c)	Flagon-Ung (c)				
		Egg pot	Mug (c)				
		Glob pot	Oiler (c)				
		Lamp (neck c)	Jug (c)				
			Spouted jug (c)				
			Large bowl				
			Basket				
			Basket (diff c 2 sherds)				
			Egg pot				
			Glob pot				
			Glob tube spout				
			Lid				
			Grill				
			CartARS 8a amph				
			LRA2 (AM)				
			LRA1 (SP)				
			LRA7 (E)				
			AC 1b (01 only)				
			AC 1c-d				
			Tr Jar				

Tomb 1	Tomb 2	Tomb 3	Tomb 5	Tomb 6	Tomb 7	Tomb 12	Tomb 13	Tomb 21	Tomb 23
Bottle (c)	NMFW bowl (c)	Mug (c)	Mug (c)	NMFW bowl (c)	Bottle (c)	Jug (c)	Bottle (c) (ovoid)	Mug (c)	NMFW bowl (c)
	Jug (c)	Jug (c)		Pitcher (c)	Pitcher (c)	Pitcher (c)			Cup (c)
		Bottle (c)							
		Pitcher (c)							

Tomb 25	Tomb 29	Tomb 31	Tomb 33	Tomb 37	Tomb 40	Tomb 41	Tomb 42
Mug (c)	Mug (c)	Mug (c)	Mug (c)	Cup (c)	Mug (c)	NMFW bowl (c)	NMFW bowl (c)
		Pitcher (c)	Pitcher (c)	Mug (c)		Mug (c)	Pitcher (c)
				Jug (c)		Bottle (c)	
						Pitcher (c)	

Figures

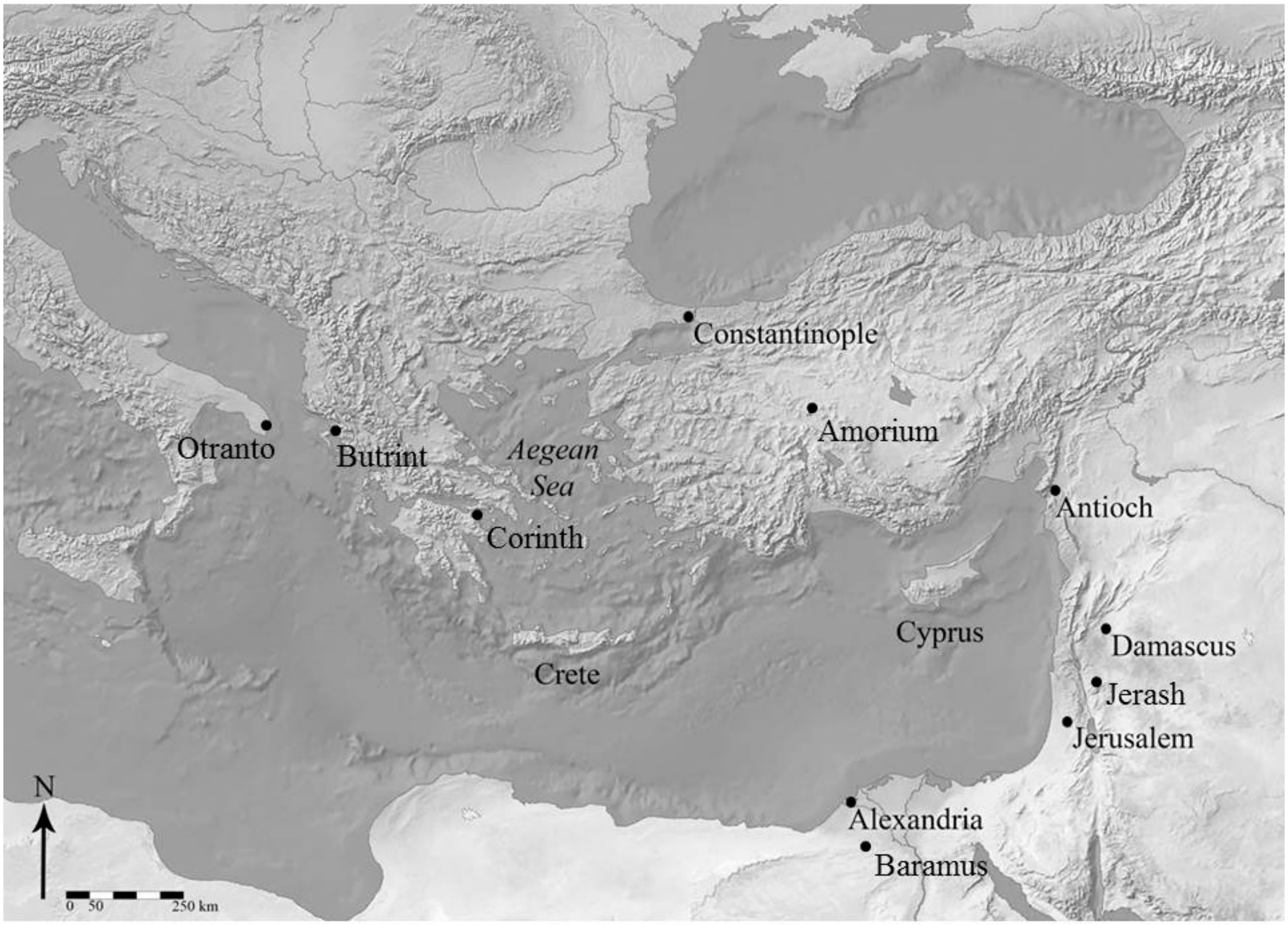


Figure 1.1: Locations Mentioned in the Text. Courtesy of Müge Durusu-Tanrıöver.

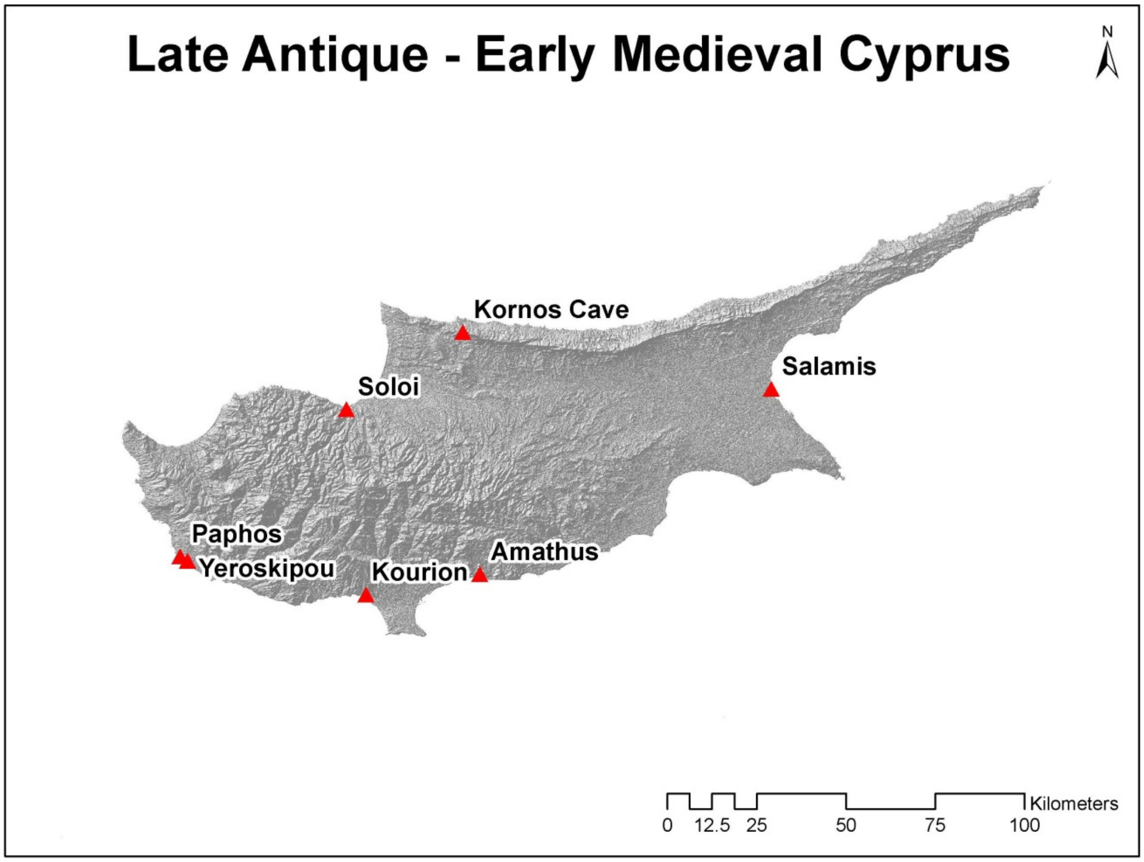


Figure 1.2: Late Antique and Early Medieval Cyprus. Courtesy of Miriam Rothenberg.

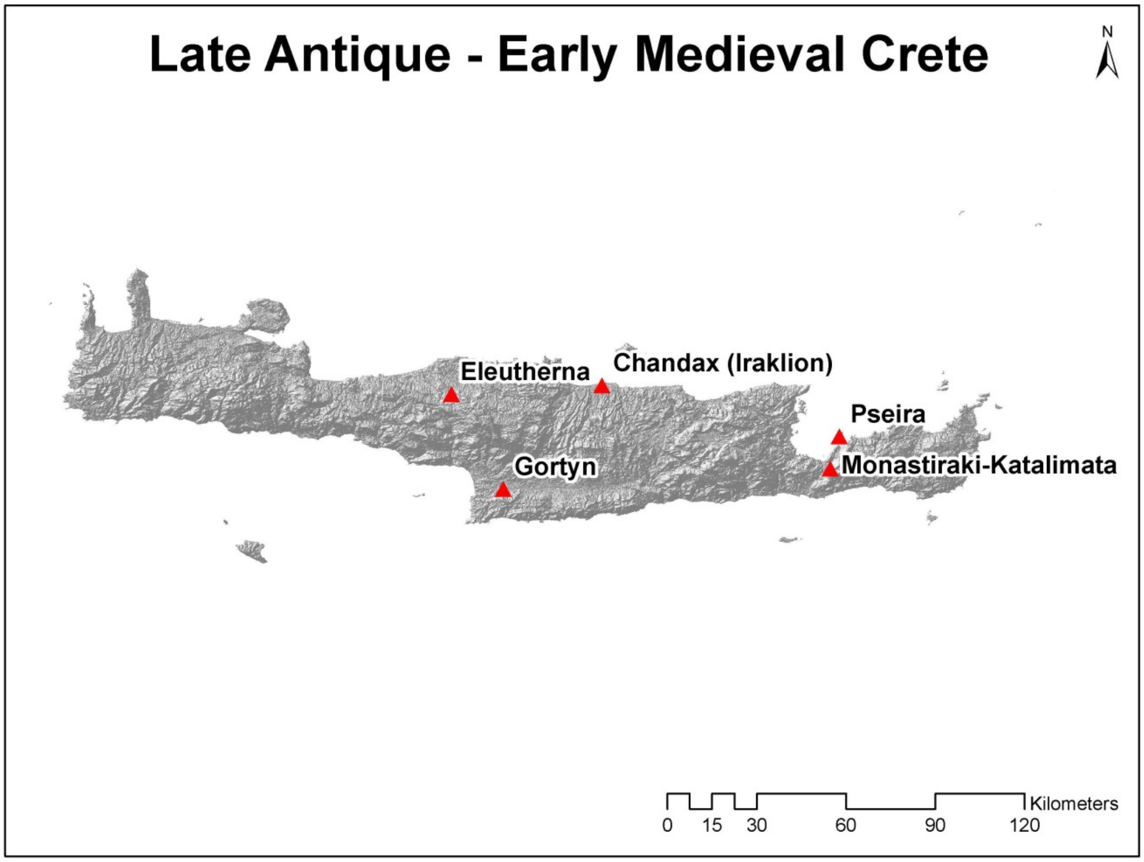
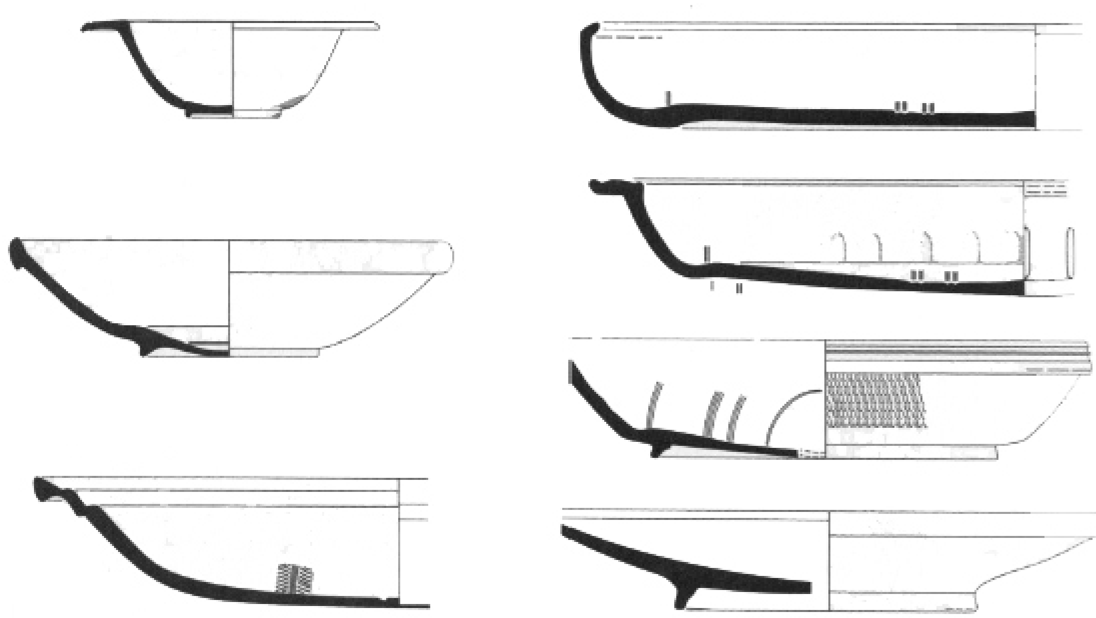
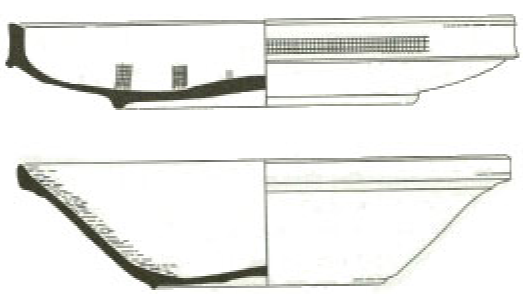


Figure 1.3: Late Antique and Early Medieval Crete. Courtesy of Miriam Rothenberg.

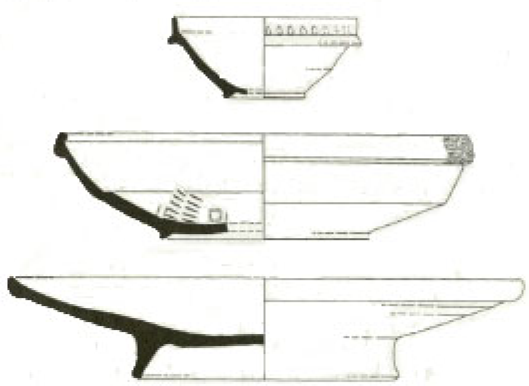


CERAMICS: Byzantine Period. Figure 1. *African Red-Slip Ware types.* Fourth–seventh centuries. (Courtesy J. W. Hayes)

Figure 2.1: African Red Slip. From Hayes 1997: 472.



CERAMICS: Byzantine Period. Figure 3. *Examples of Phocean Red-Slip Ware.* (Courtesy J. W. Hayes)



CERAMICS: Byzantine Period. Figure 4. *Egyptian Red-Slip A (Aswan Ware.* (Courtesy J. W. Hayes)

Figure 2.2: Phocaean and Egyptian Red Slip. From Hayes 1997: 473-4.

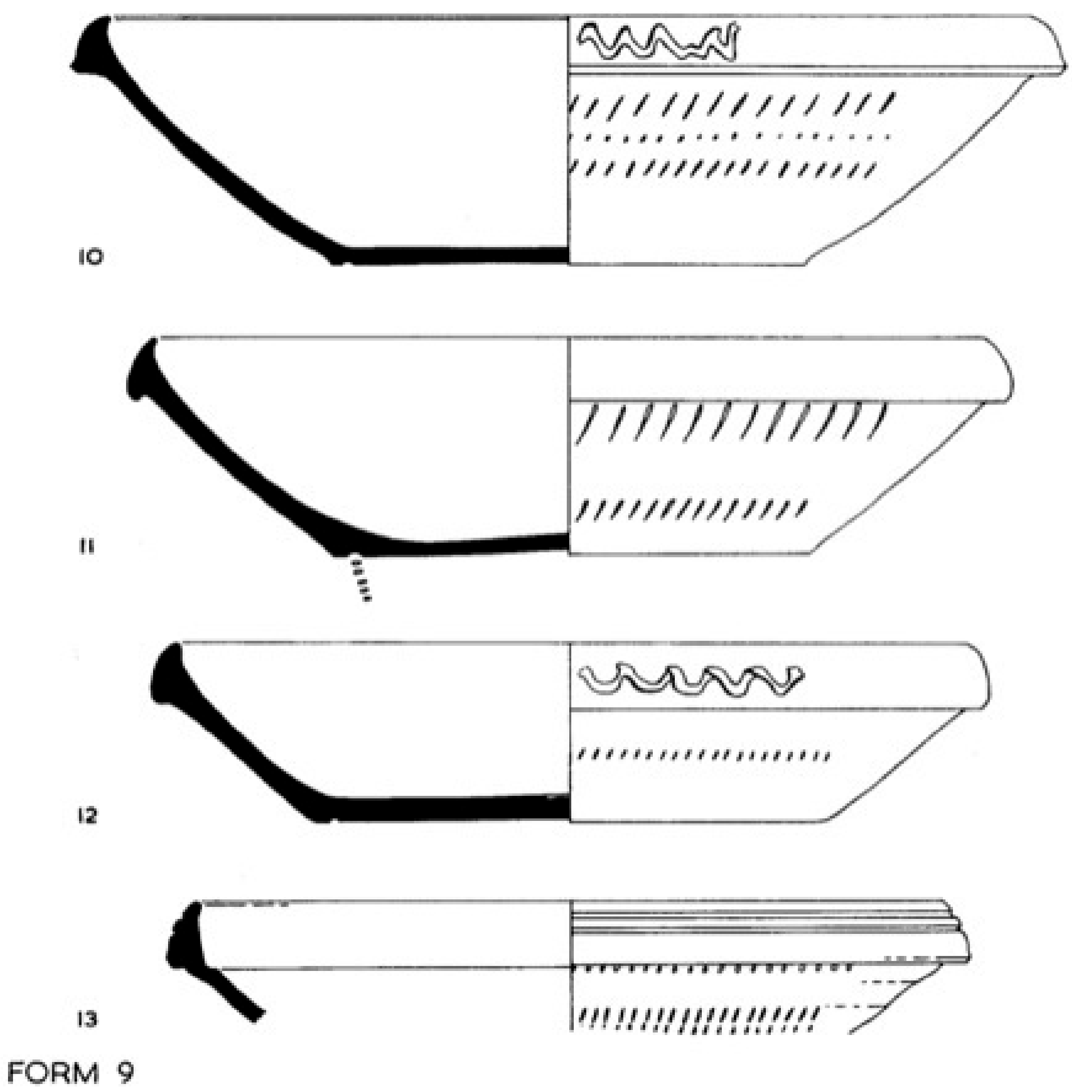


Figure 2.3: Cypriot Red Slip. From Hayes 1972: figure 82.

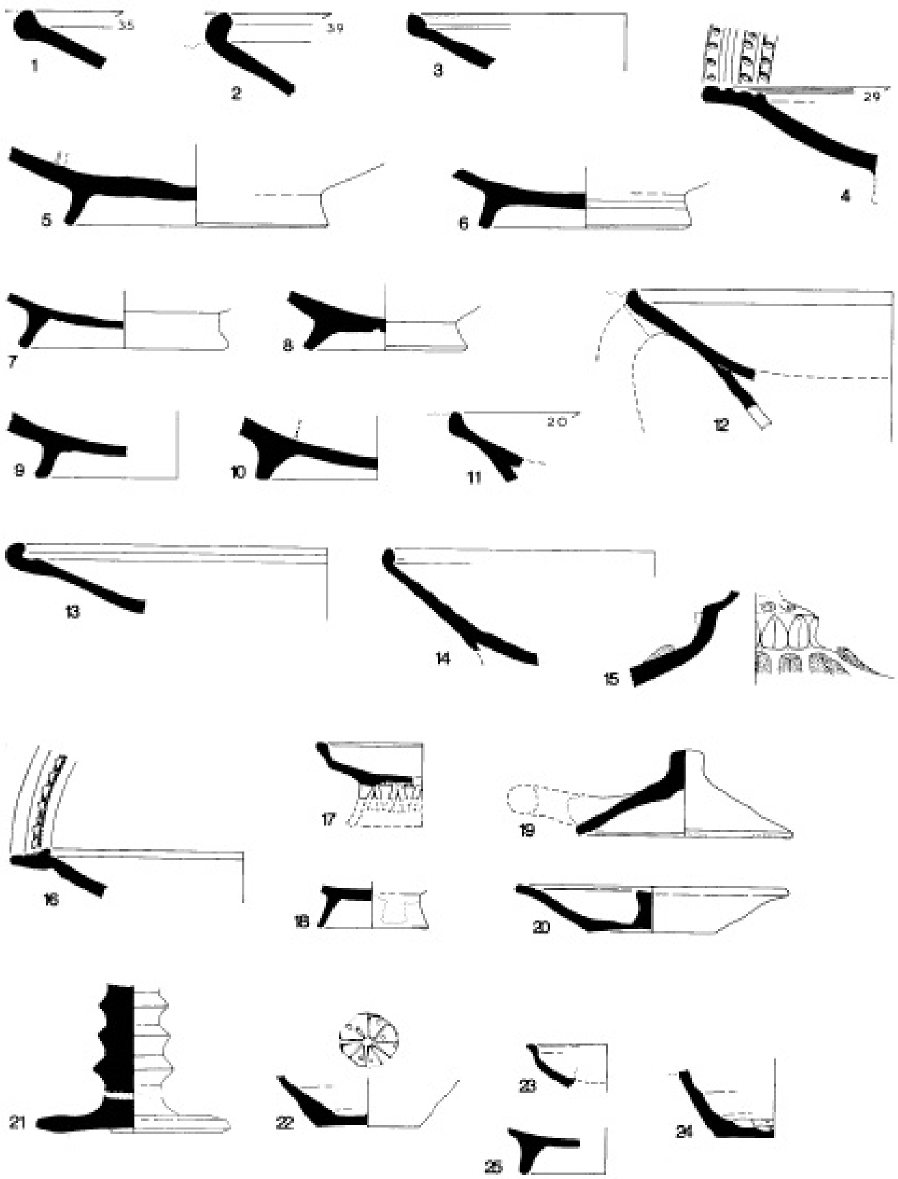


FIGURE 4. Scale 1:3. (Details: p. 213)

Figure 2.4: Glazed White Ware. From Harrison 1986: figure 4.

Figure 2.5: Cyprus Shown Outside the Byzantine Empire. From Nicolle 2003: 64.

Figure 2.6: Cyprus Shown Within the Byzantine Empire. From Venning 2006: map 2.

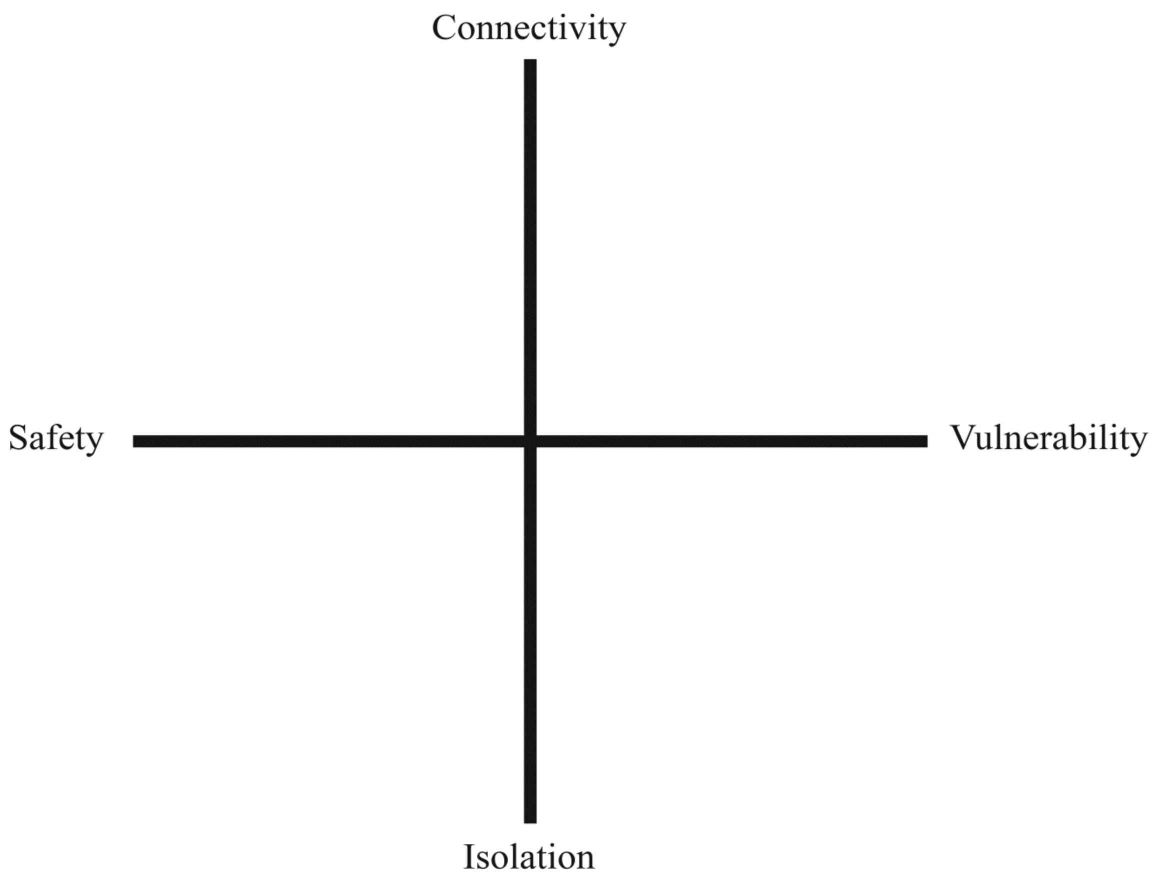


Figure 2.7: The Safety/Vulnerability and Isolation/Connectivity Continua.

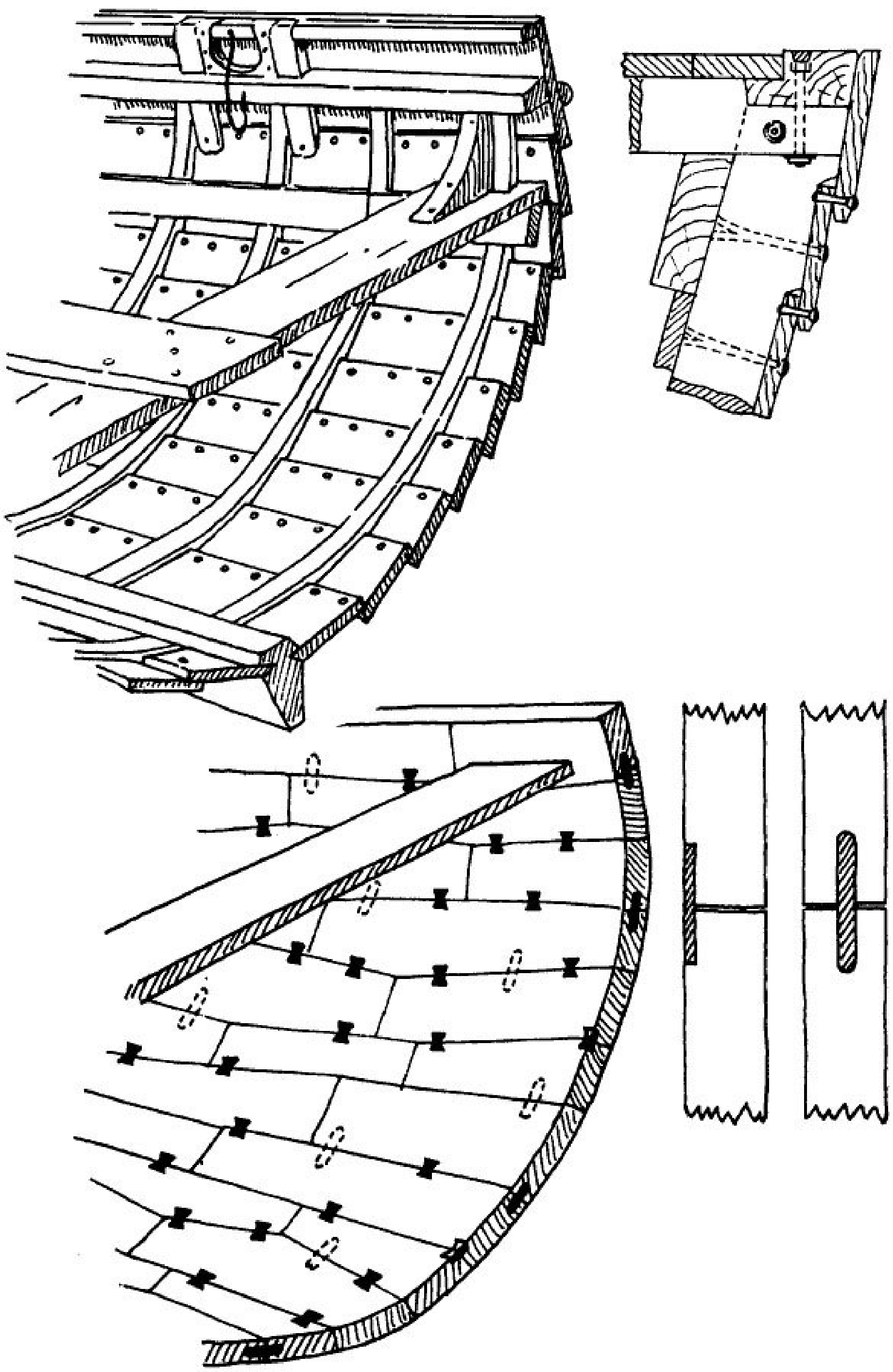
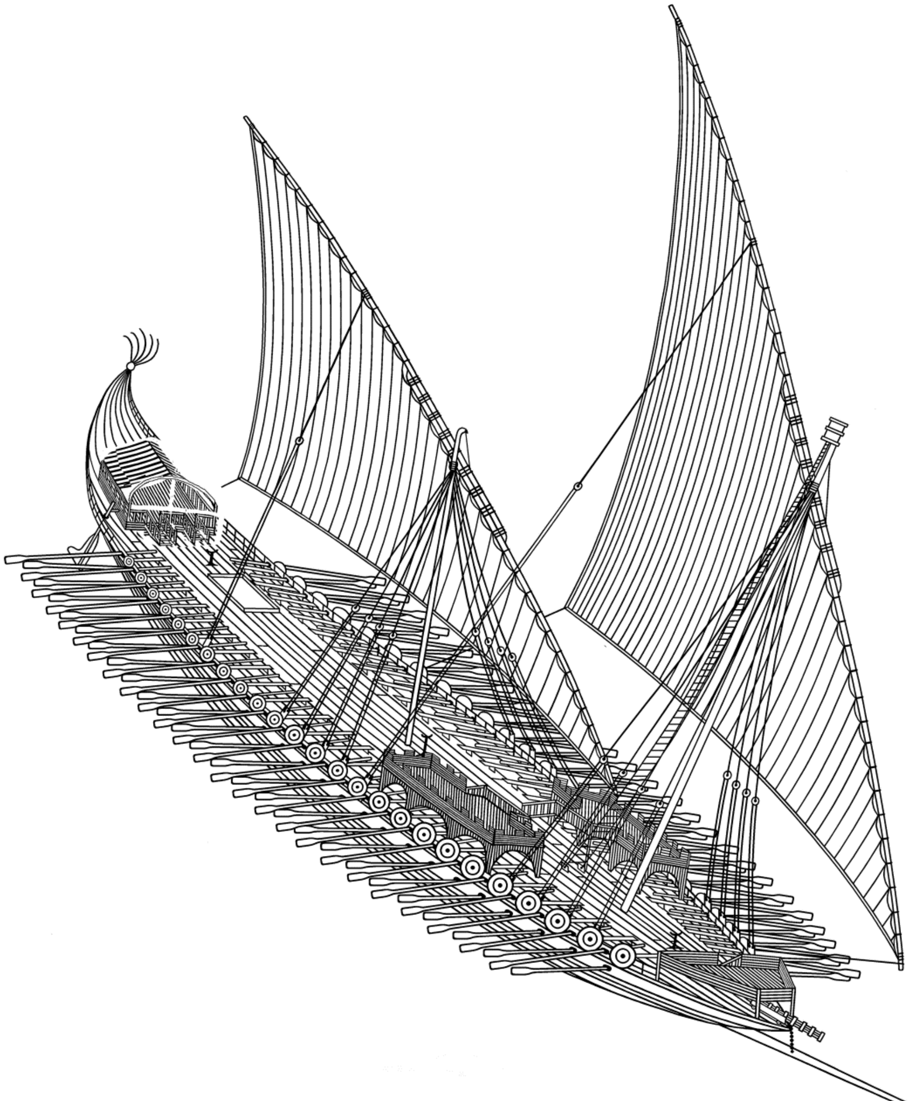


Figure 2.8: Ship Construction Techniques, Clinker Method (top) and Mortise and Tenon (Bottom). From Unger 1980: figure 1.

Figure 2.9: Inscription from the Church at Soloi. From Metcalf 2009: figure 17.

Figure 2.10: Greek Fire. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Codex Skylitzes Matritensis, Vitr. 26-2, Bild-Nr. 77, f 34 v.b.



Reconstruction of a bireme dromon of the era of the Macedonian emperors

© John H. Pryor

Figure 2.11: The Byzantine Dromon, courtesy of John Pryor.

Figure 2.12: Medieval Mappa Mundi. Isidore World Map, Munich, Baerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10058, f. 154v.

Figure 2.13: Mosaic Floor at the Church of St. Doumetios, Nicopolis, Greece. After Dora 2016: figure 16.

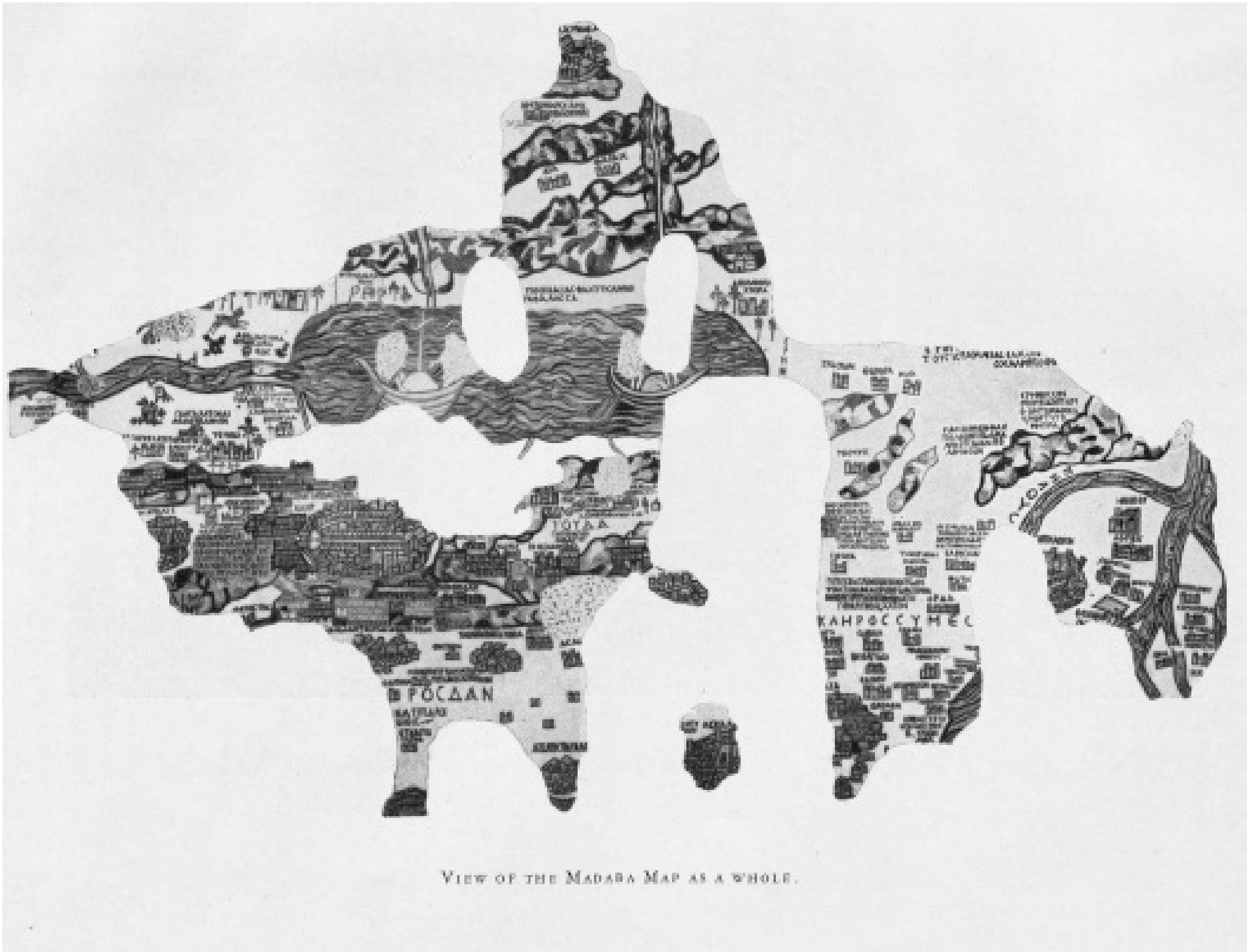


Figure 2.14: The Madaba Mosaic, Madaba, Jordan. After Avi-Yonah 1954: figure A.

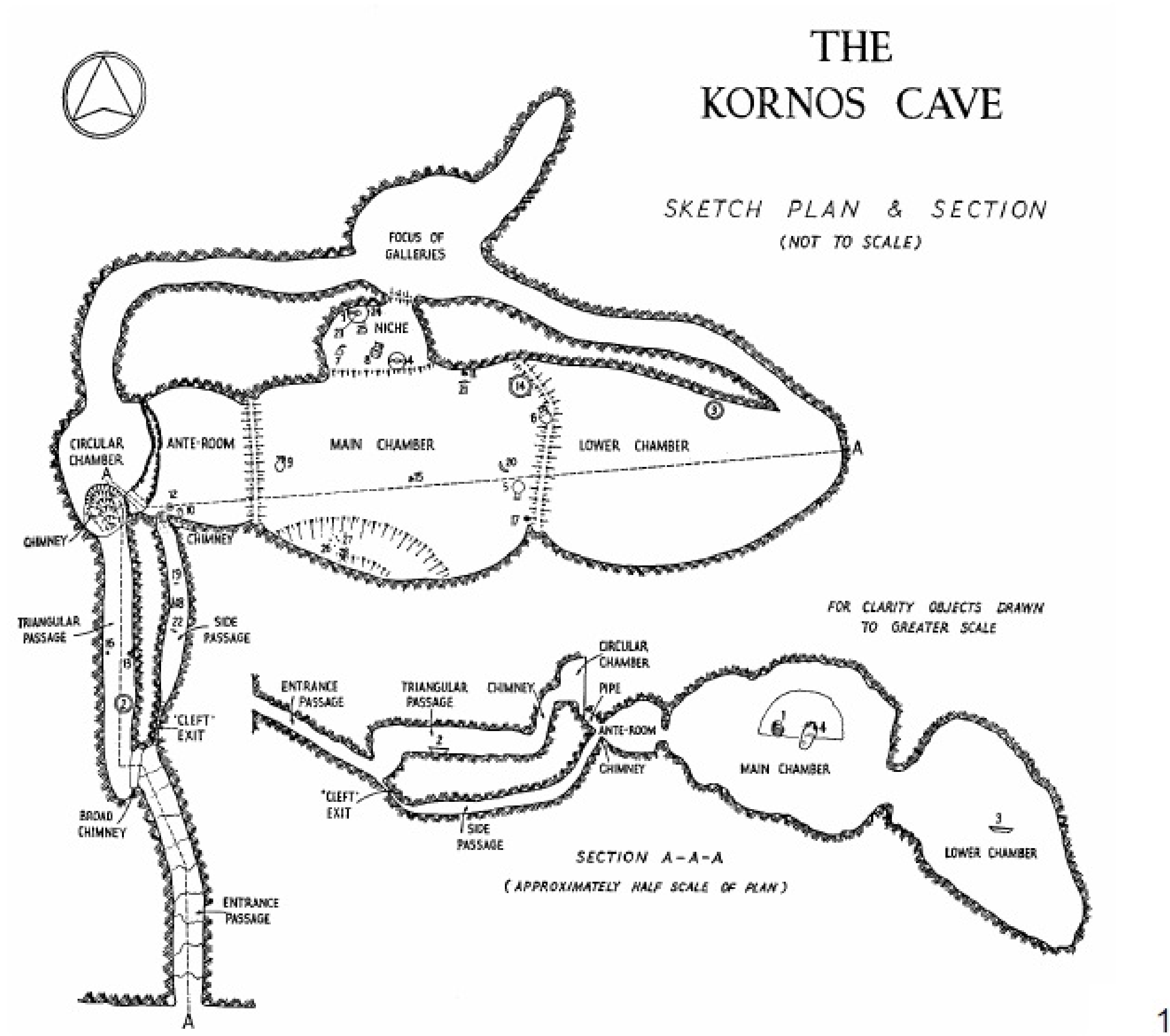


Figure 3.1: The Kornos Cave. From Catling and Dikigoropoulos 1970: figure 2.

Figure 3.2: Kornos Cave Finds 1. Photo by author, Cyprus Medieval Museum, Limassol.

Figure 3.3: Kornos Cave Finds 2. Photo by author, Cyprus Medieval Museum, Limassol.

Figure 3.4: Kornos Cave Finds 3. Photo by author, Cyprus Medieval Museum, Limassol.

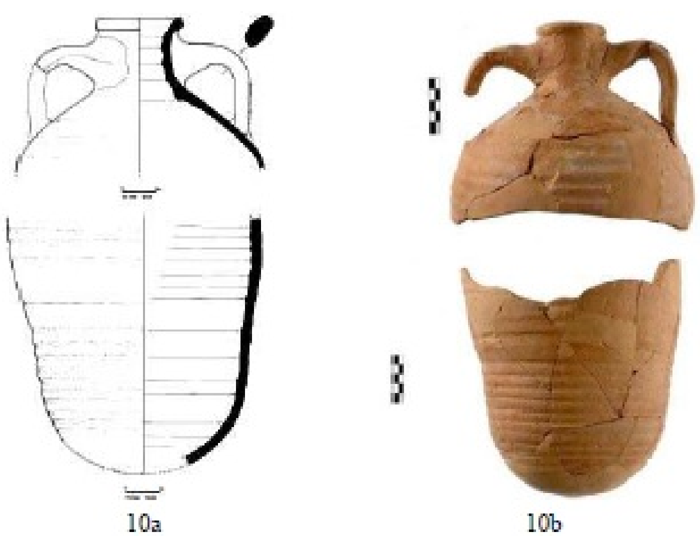


Figure 3.5: Late Roman Amphora 1. From Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2014: figure 10.

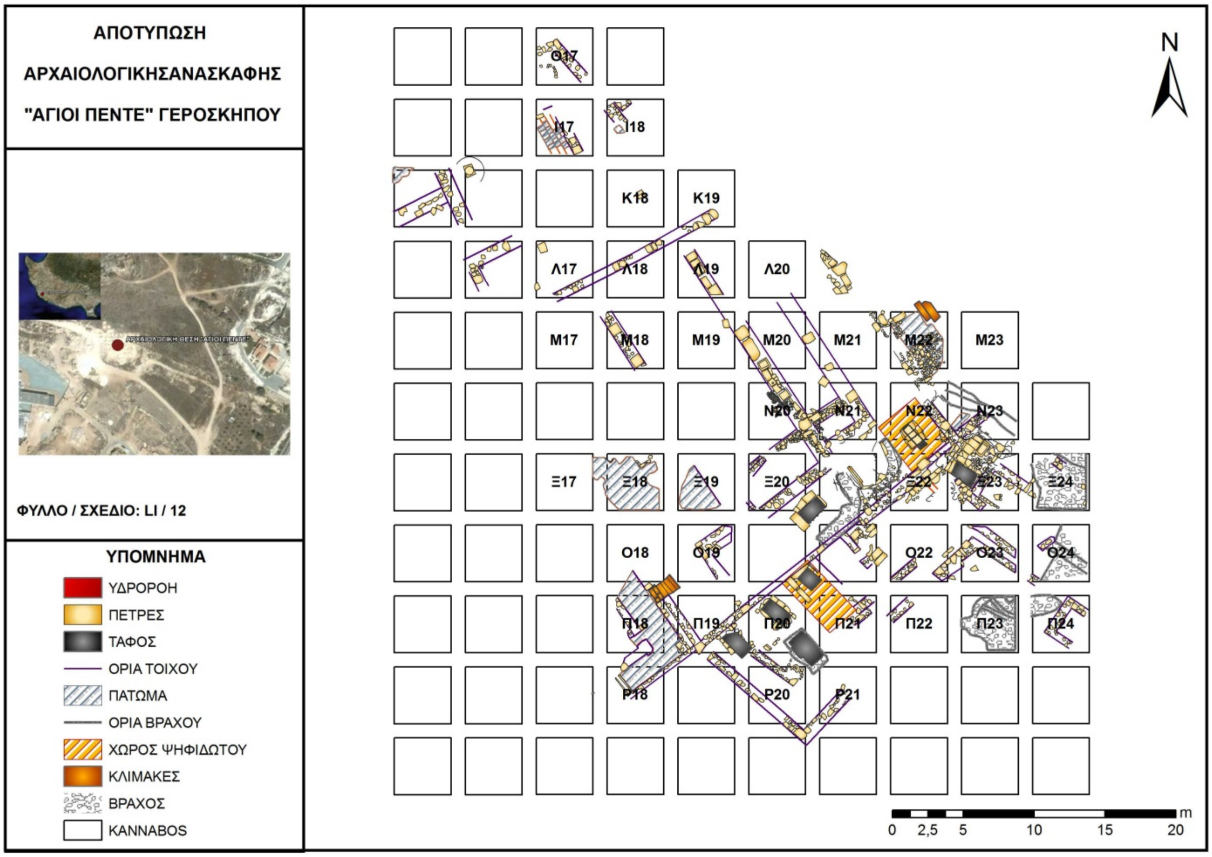


Figure 3.6: Plan of Agioi Pente at Yeroskipou, Cyprus. Courtesy of R. Smadar Gabrieli.

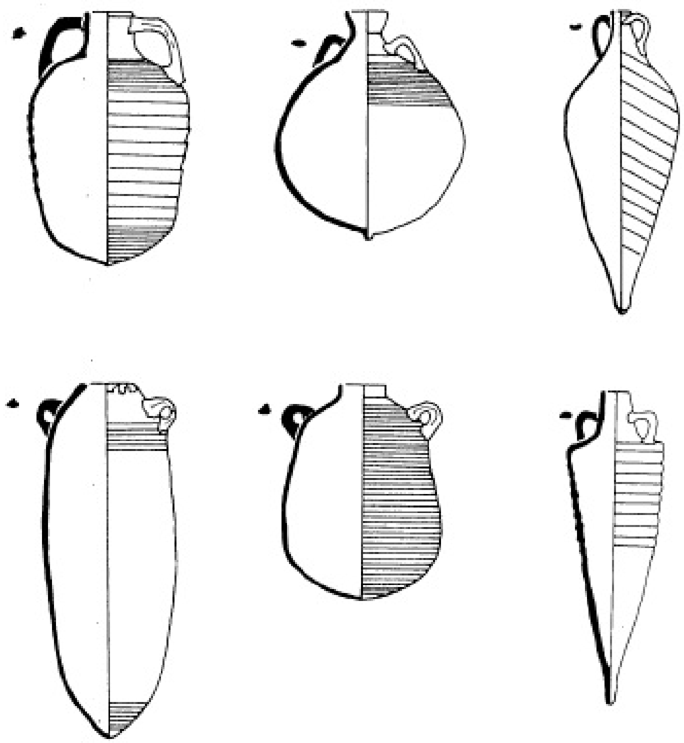


Figure 3.7: Late Roman Amphora types (top row) LRA1, 2, 3 (bottom row) LRA4, 5/6, 7. From Metcalf 2009: figure 18.

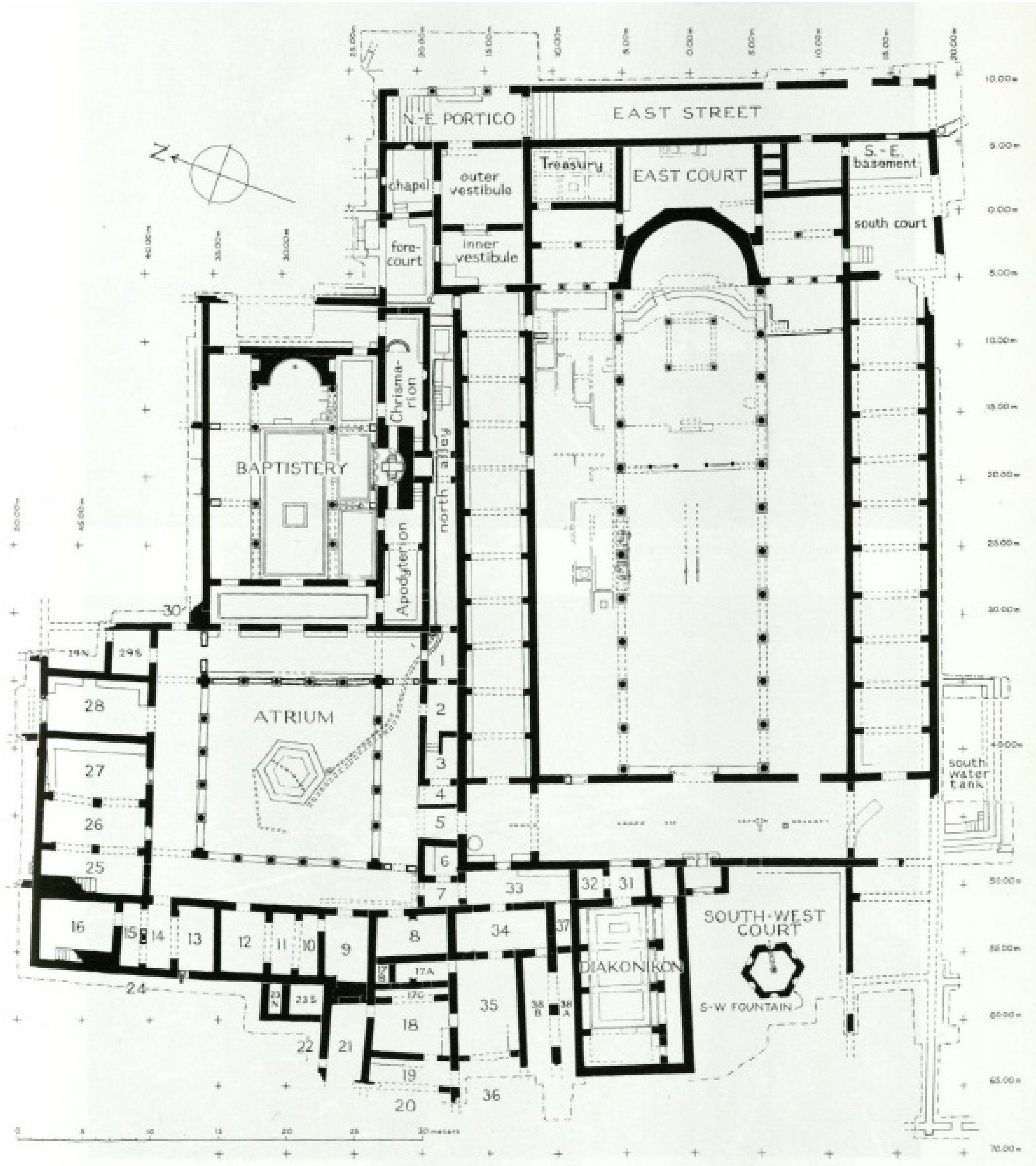


Fig. 1.Z Restored plan of the entire complex (1:400)

Figure 3.8: Plan of Kourion Basilica, Cyprus. From Megaw 2007: figure 1.Z.

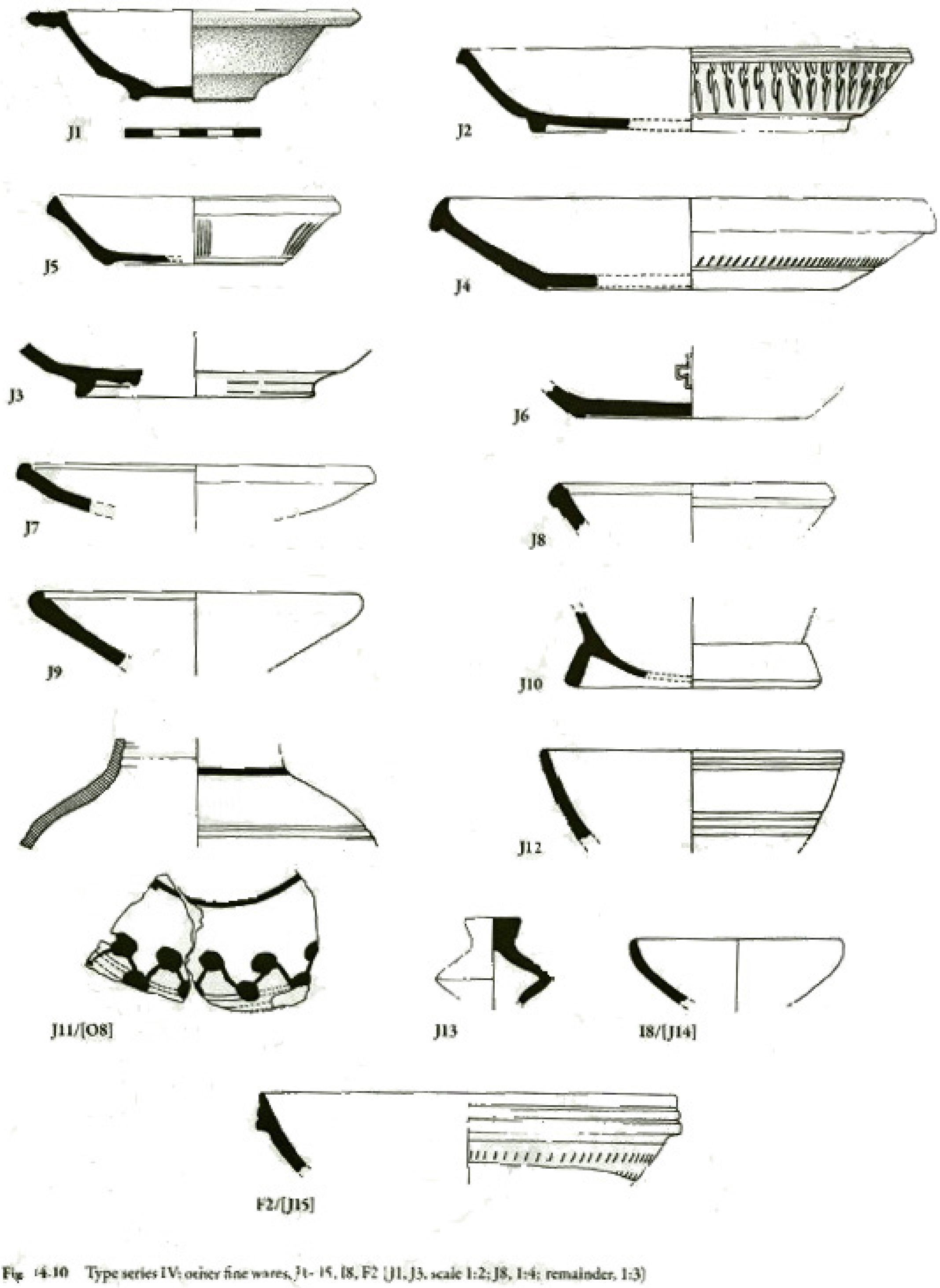


Figure 3.9: Some of the Fineware from Kourion. From Hayes 2007: figure 14.10.

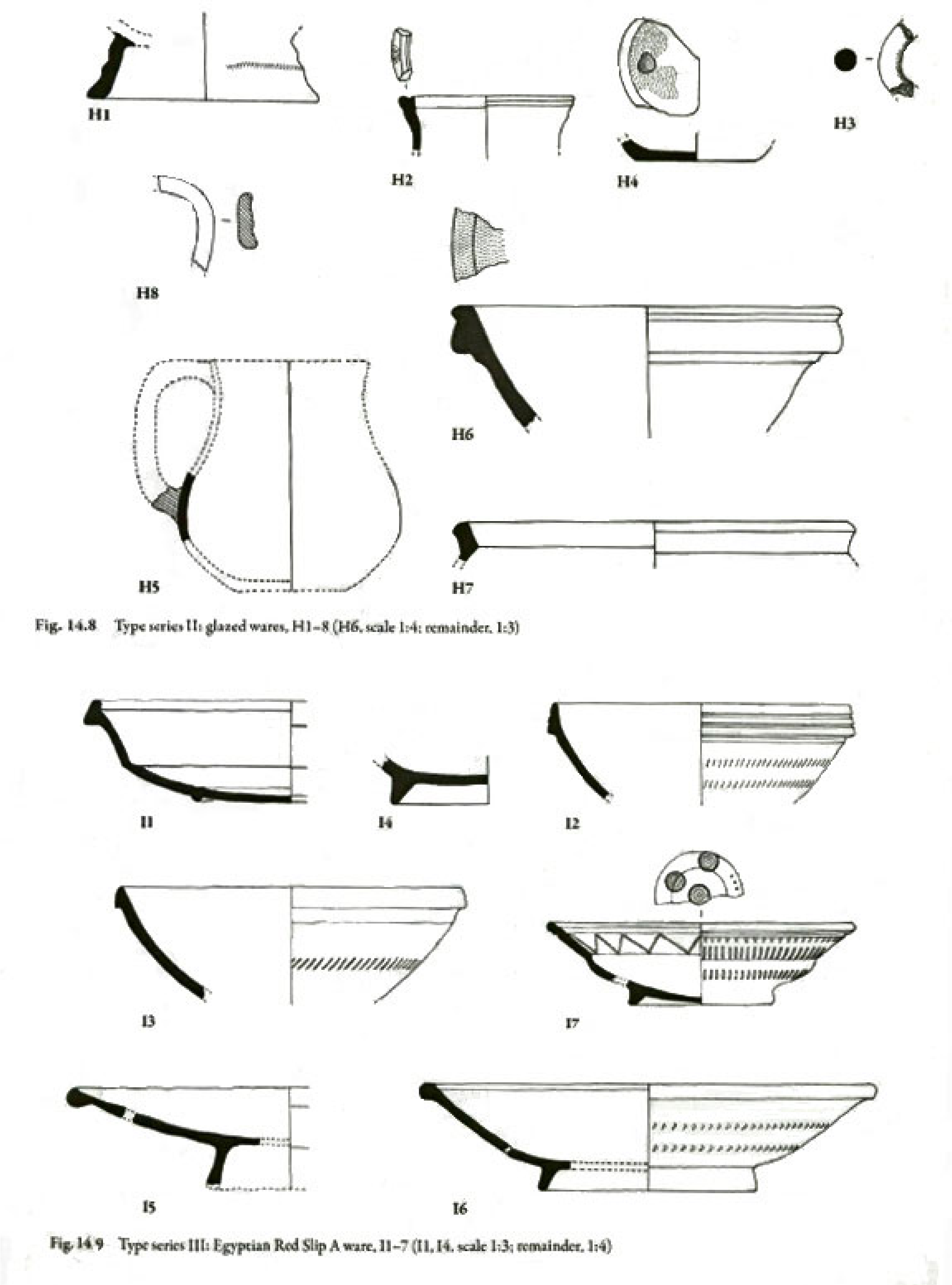


Figure 3.10: Kourion Egyptian Red Slip. From Hayes 2007: figures 14.8 and 14.9.

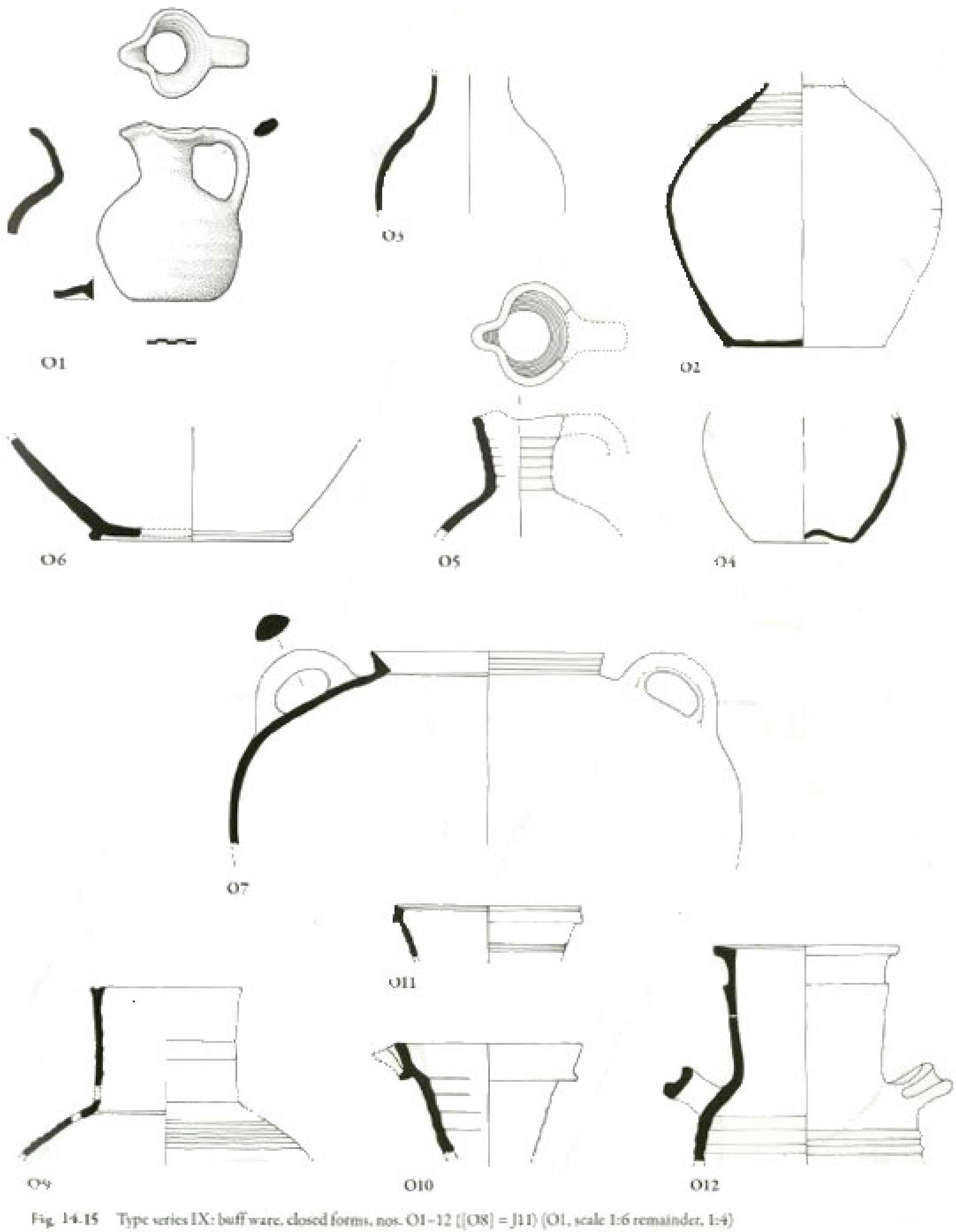


Figure 3.11: Coarsewares from Kourion. From Hayes 2007: figure 14.15.

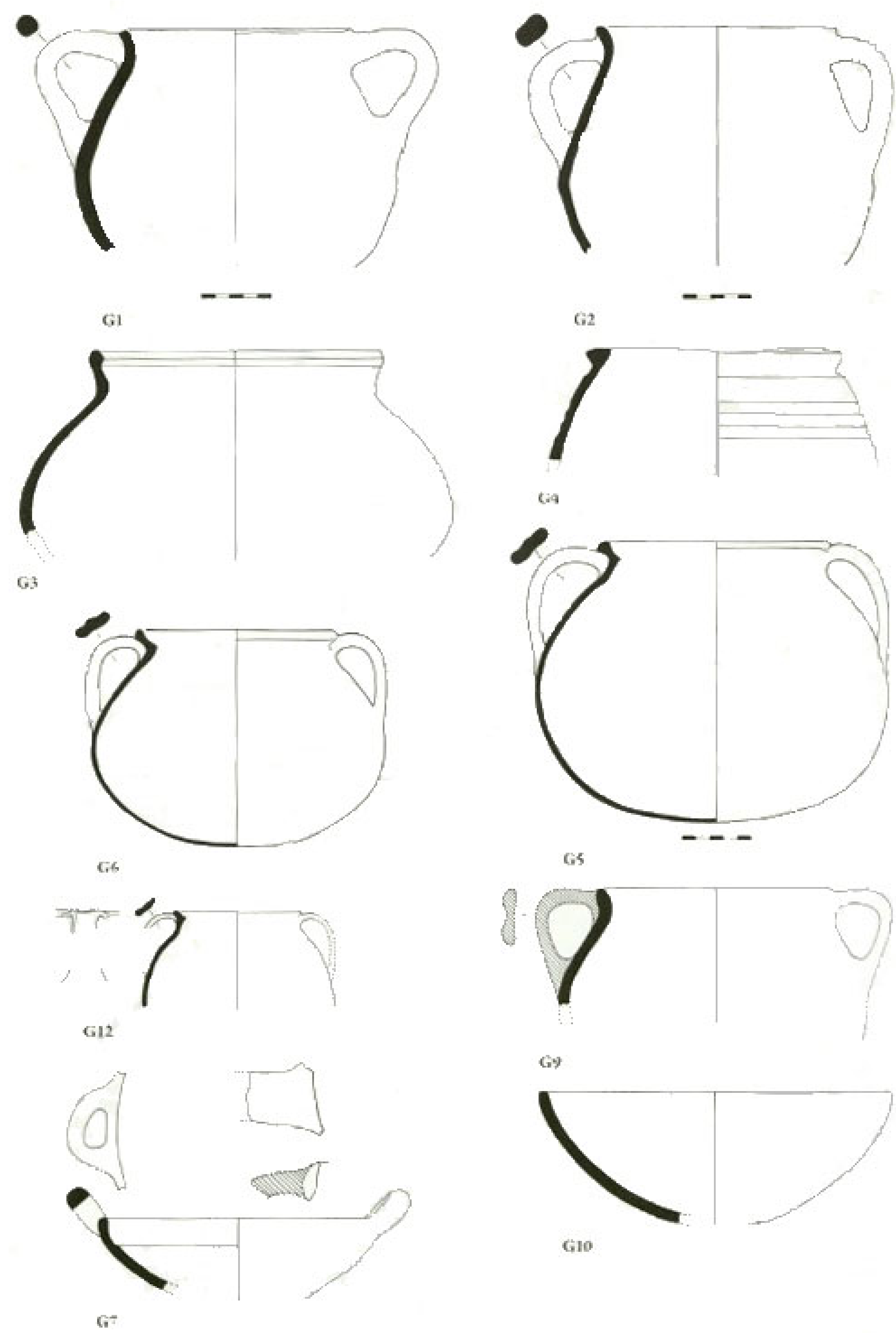


Fig. 14.7 Type series I: selected coarse wares, demolition phase, G1–7, G9, G10, G12 (G7, G9, G10, scale 1:3; G12 1:8; remainder, 1:4)

Figure 3.12: Cooking Pots from Kourion. From Hayes 2007: figure 14.7.

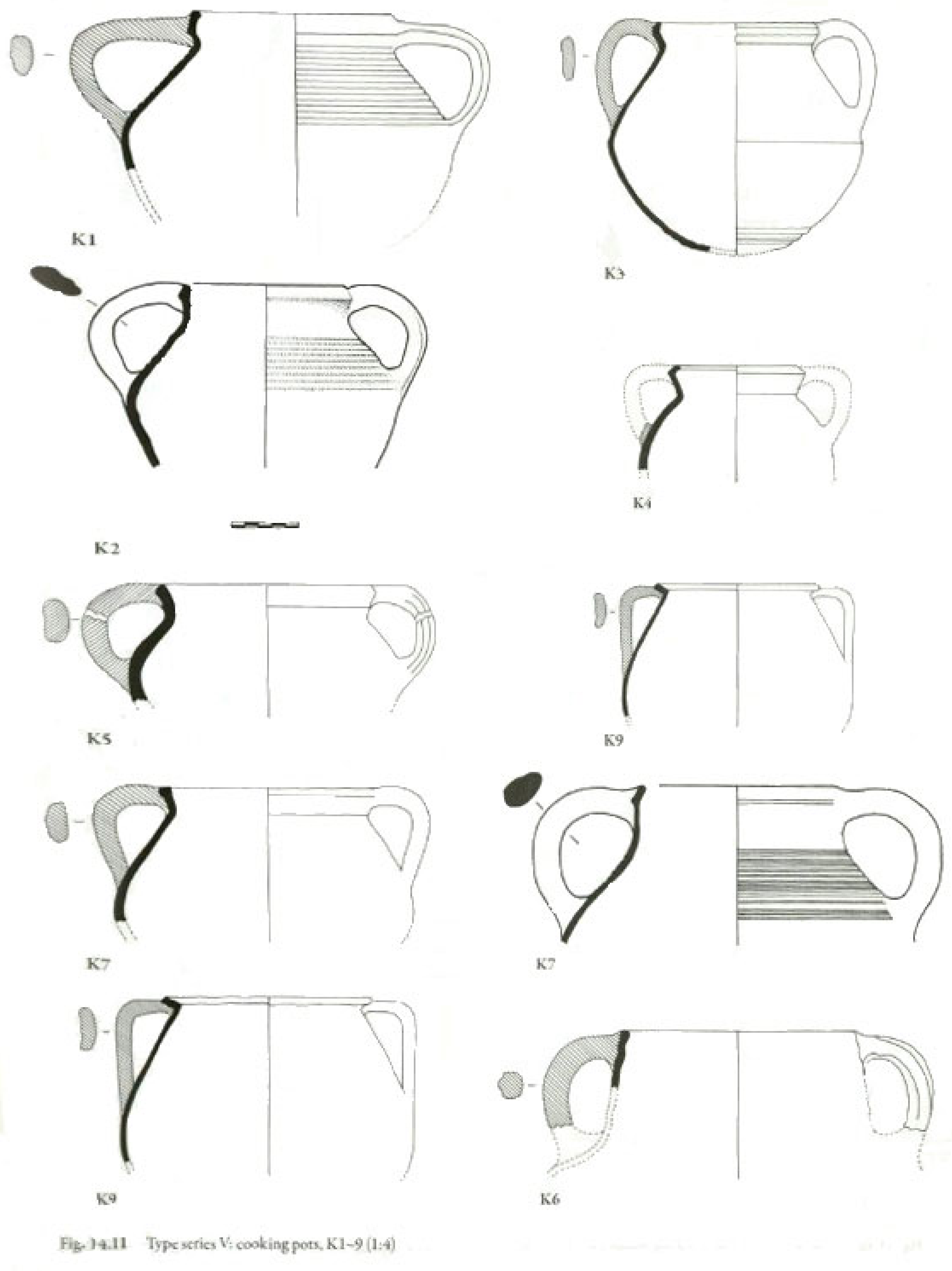


Figure 3.13: More Cooking Pots from Kourion. From Hayes 2007: figure 14.11.

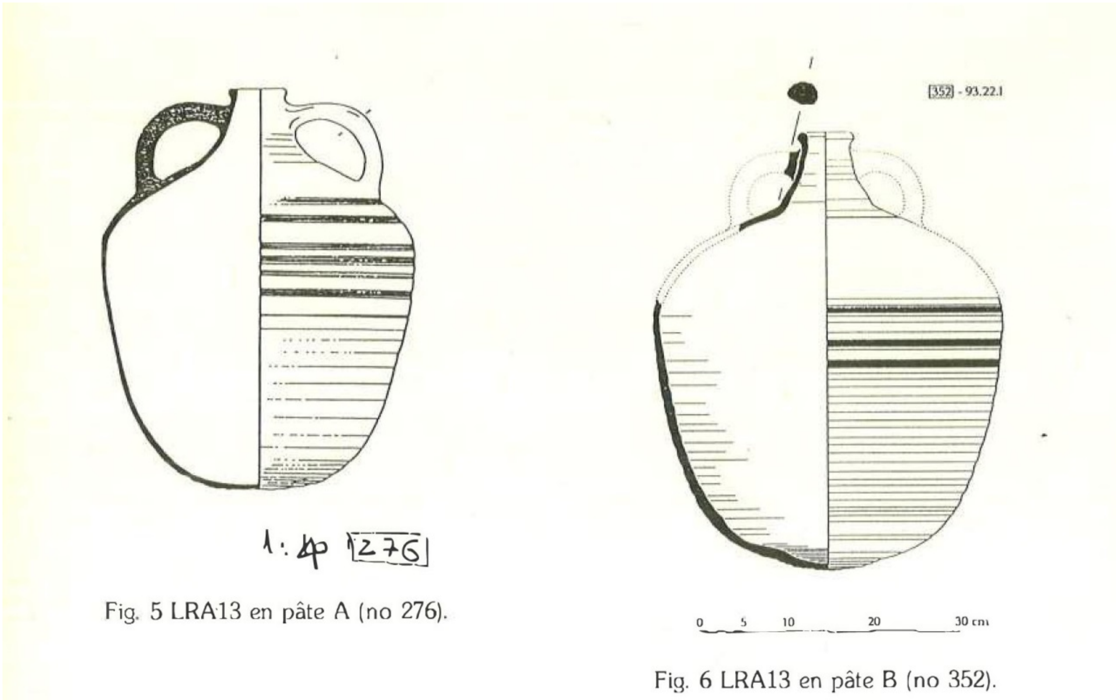


Figure 3.14: Late Roman Amphorae 13s. From Touma 2001: figures 5 and 6.

Figure 3.15: Late Roman Amphora 5. From Reynolds 2013: figure 13.

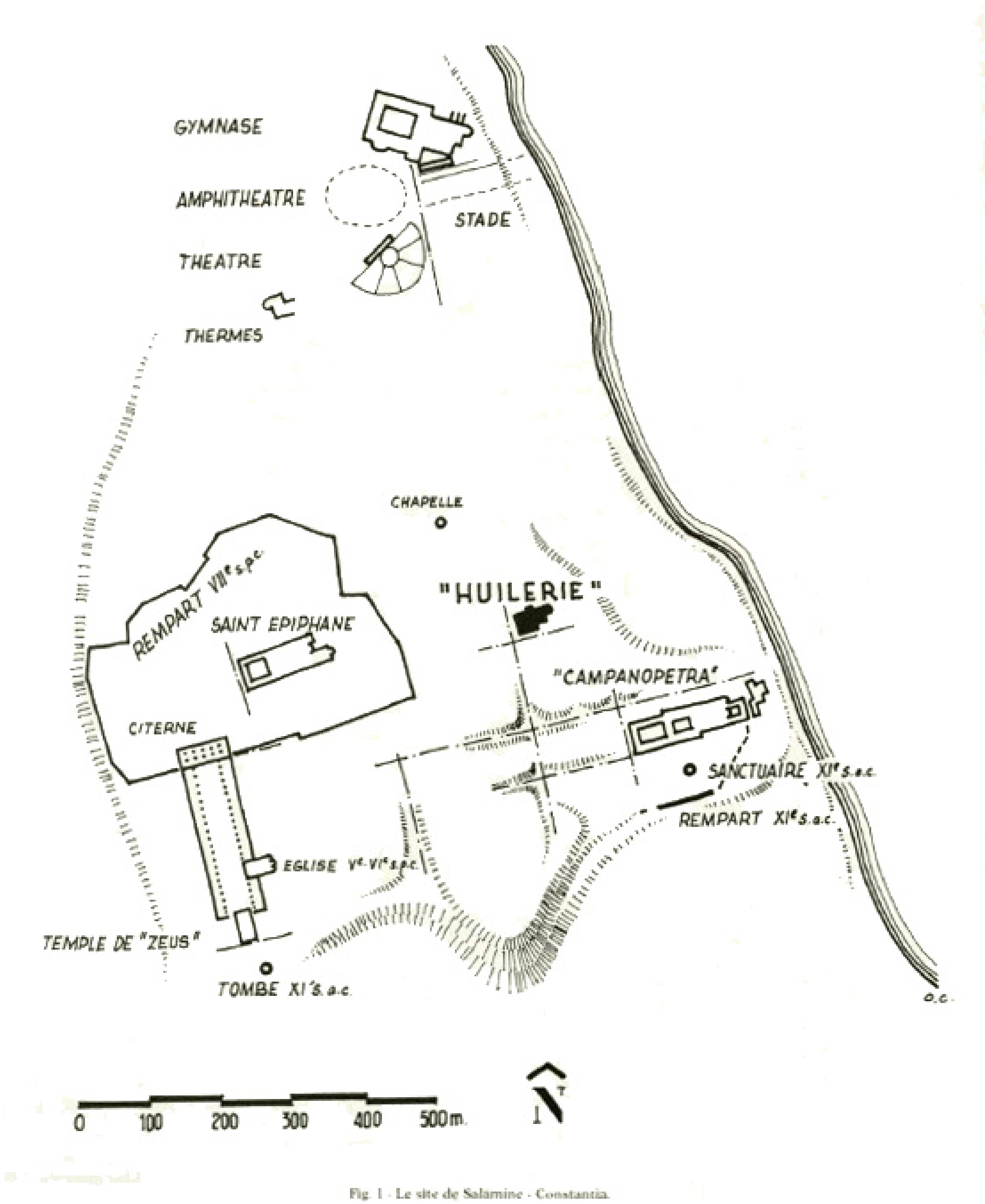


Figure 3.16: Plan of Salamis-Constantia, Cyprus. From Argoud et al. 1980: figure 1.

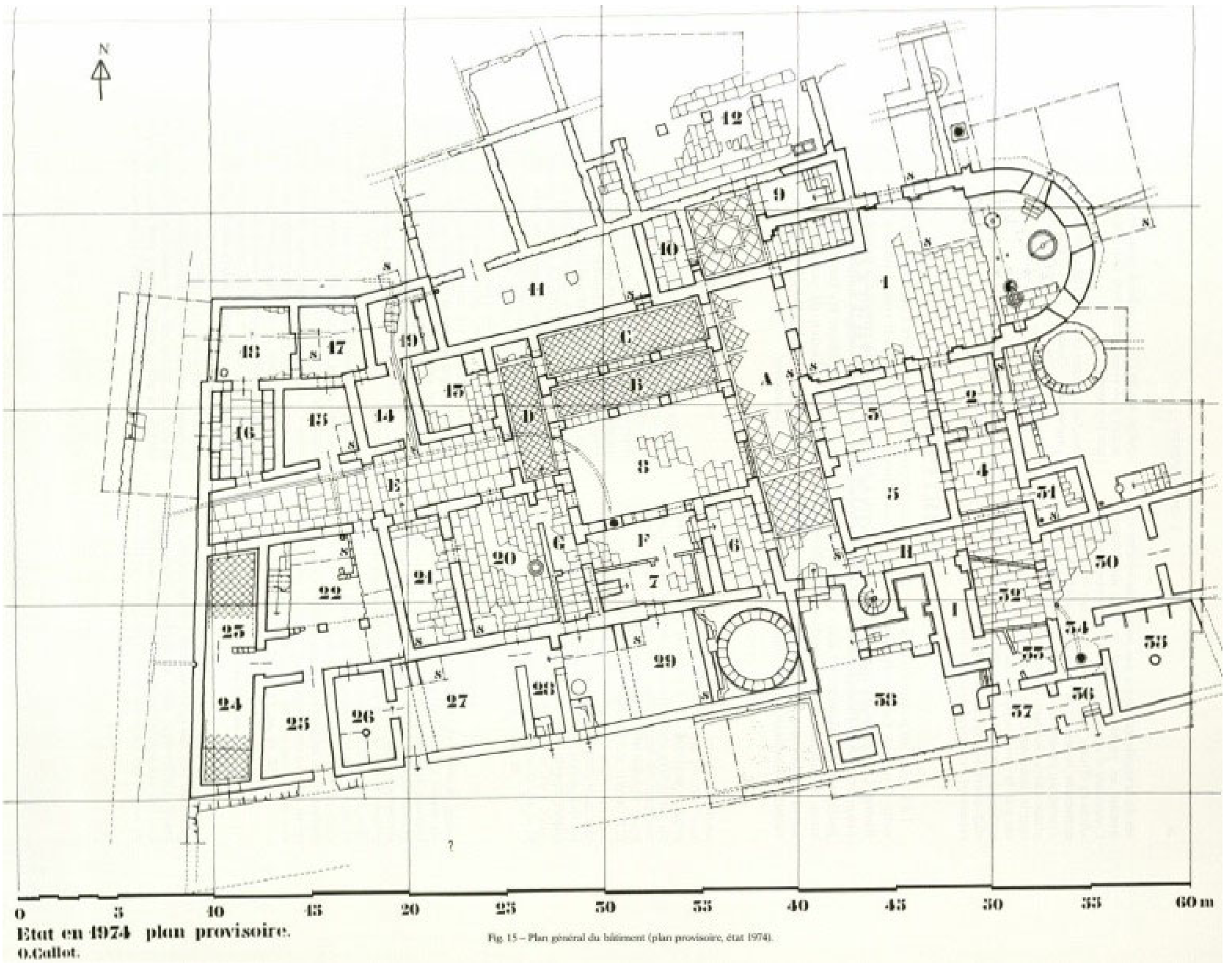
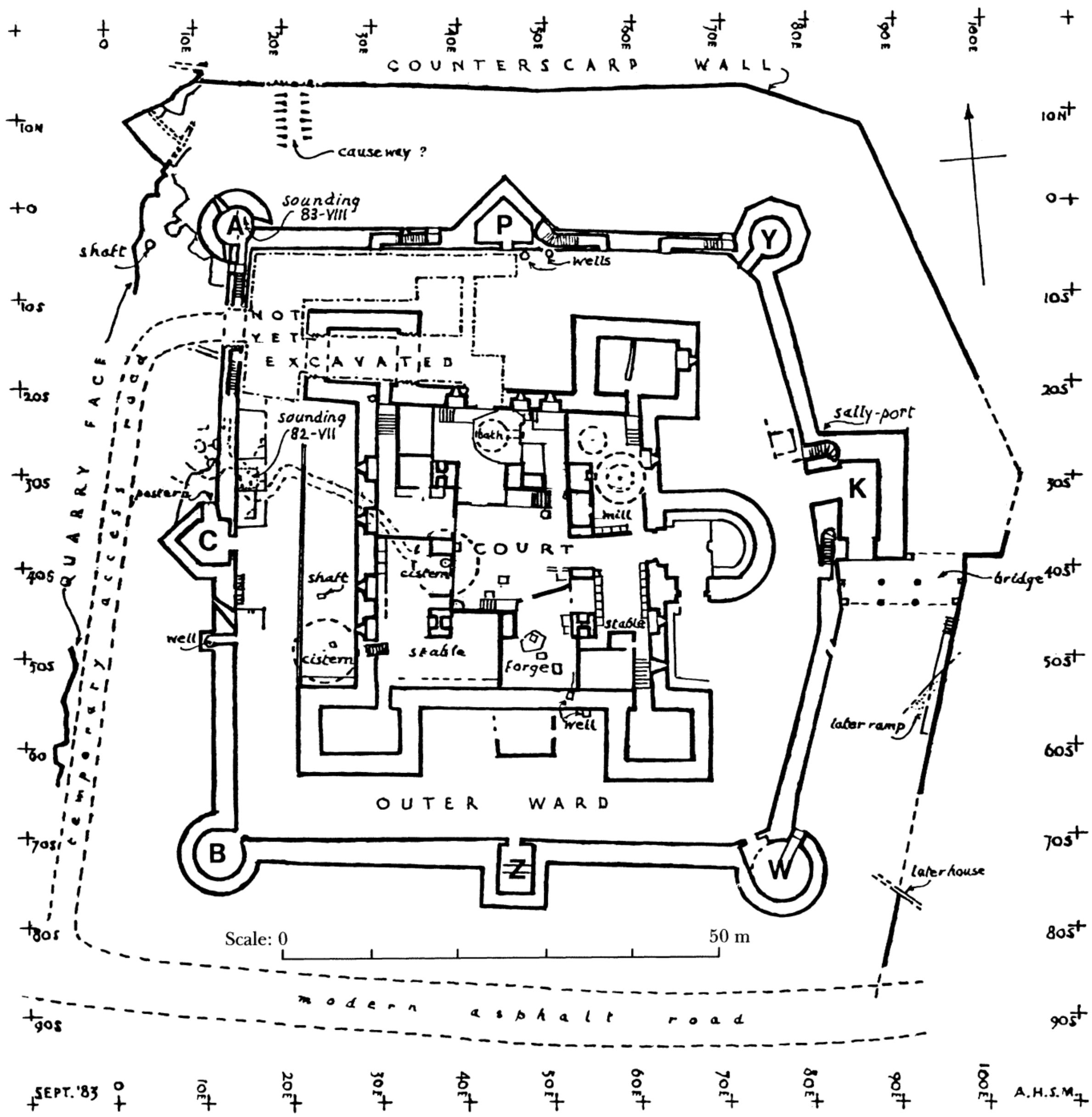


Figure 3.17: The Oil Mill at Salamis-Constantia. From Argoud et al. 1980: figure 15.



A. Cyprus, Paphos, Saranda Kolones, Plan of Castle at Close of 1983 Season

Figure 3.18: The Site of Saranda Kolones, Cyprus. From Rosser 1985: figure A.

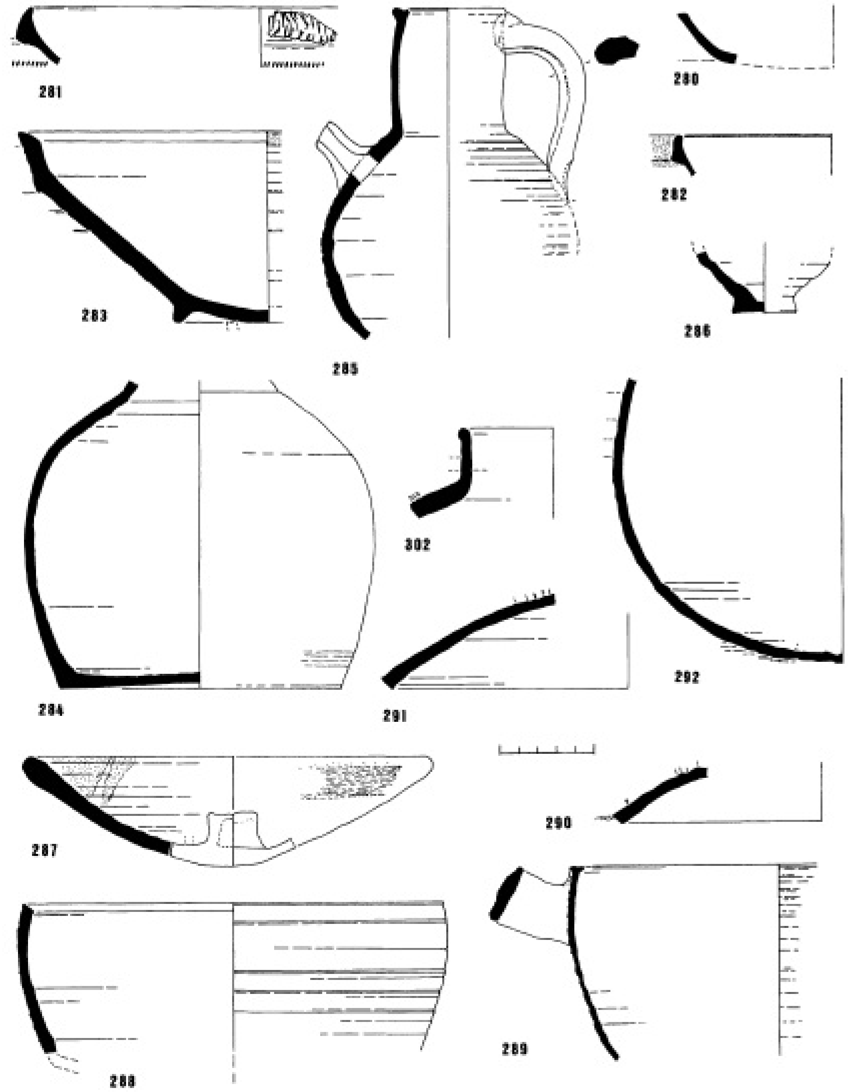


Fig. 26. Deposit 14. Scale 1 : 3.

Figure 3.19: Deposit 14, Saranda Kolones. From Hayes 2003: figure 26.

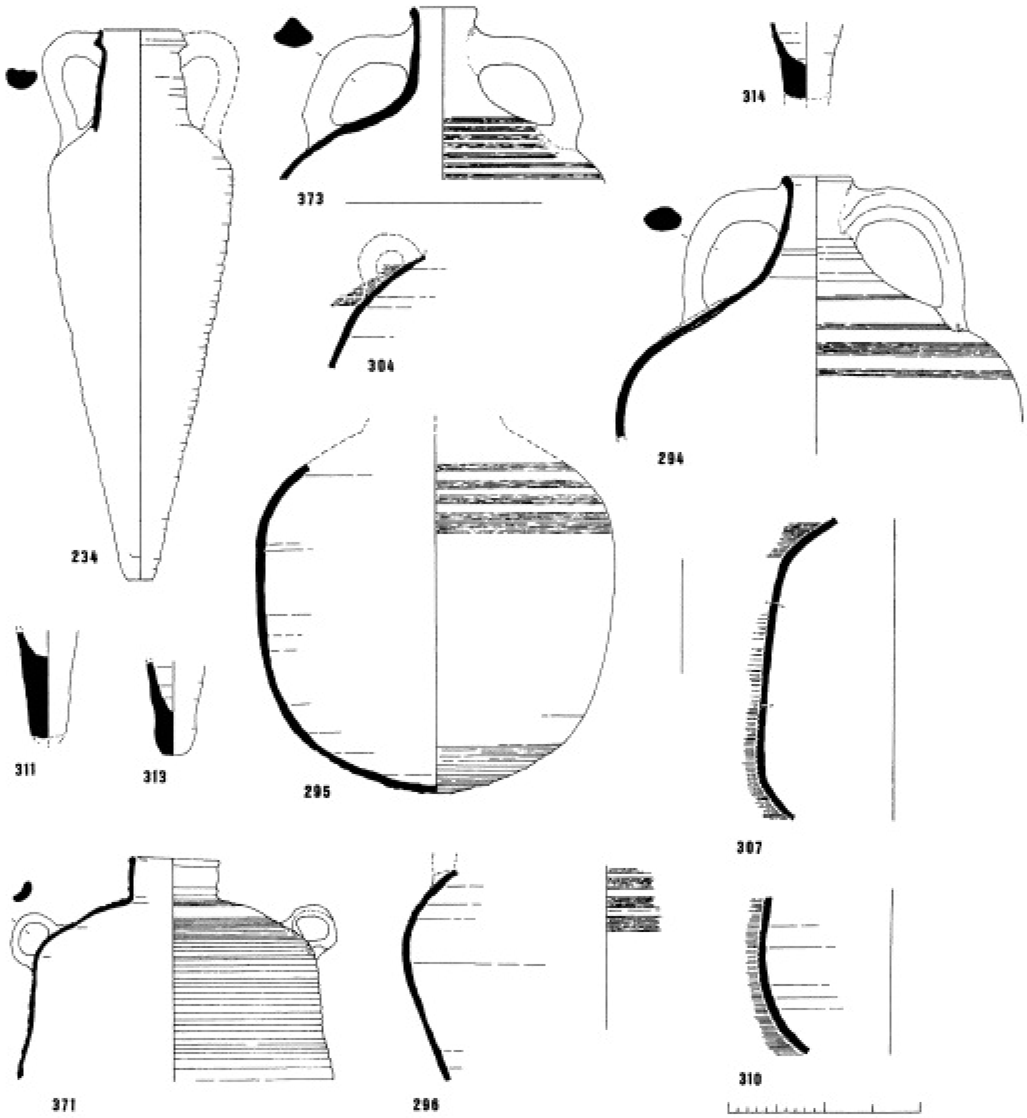


Figure 3.20: Amphorae from Deposit 14, Saranda Kolones. From Hayes 2003: figure 27.

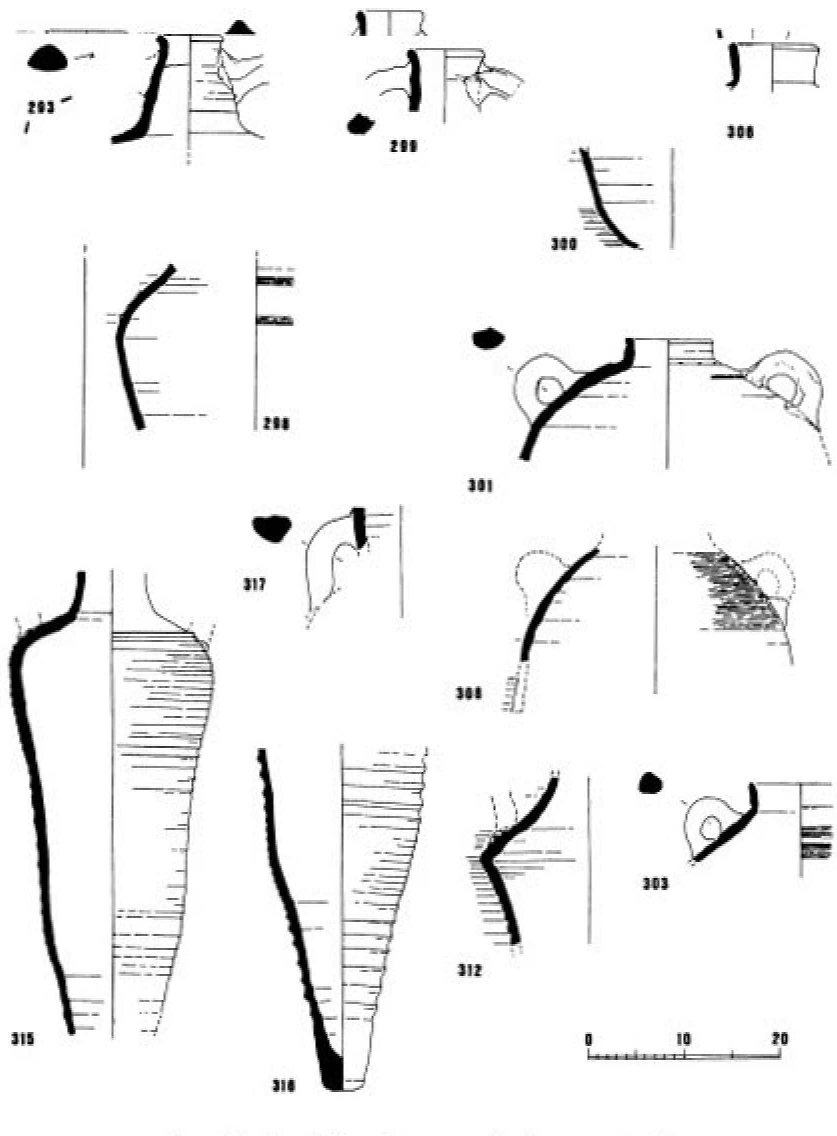


Figure 3.21: More Amphorae from Deposit 14, Saranda Kolones. From Hayes 2003: figure 29.

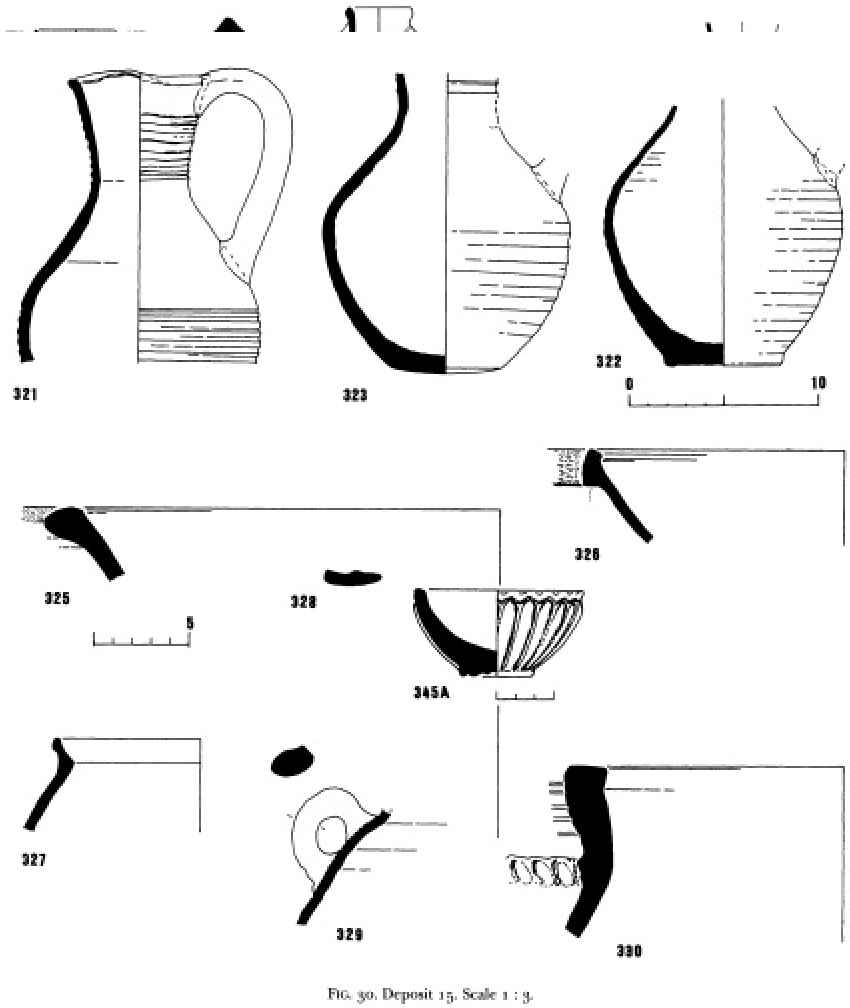


Figure 3.22: Deposit 15, Saranda Kolones. From Hayes 2003: figure 30.

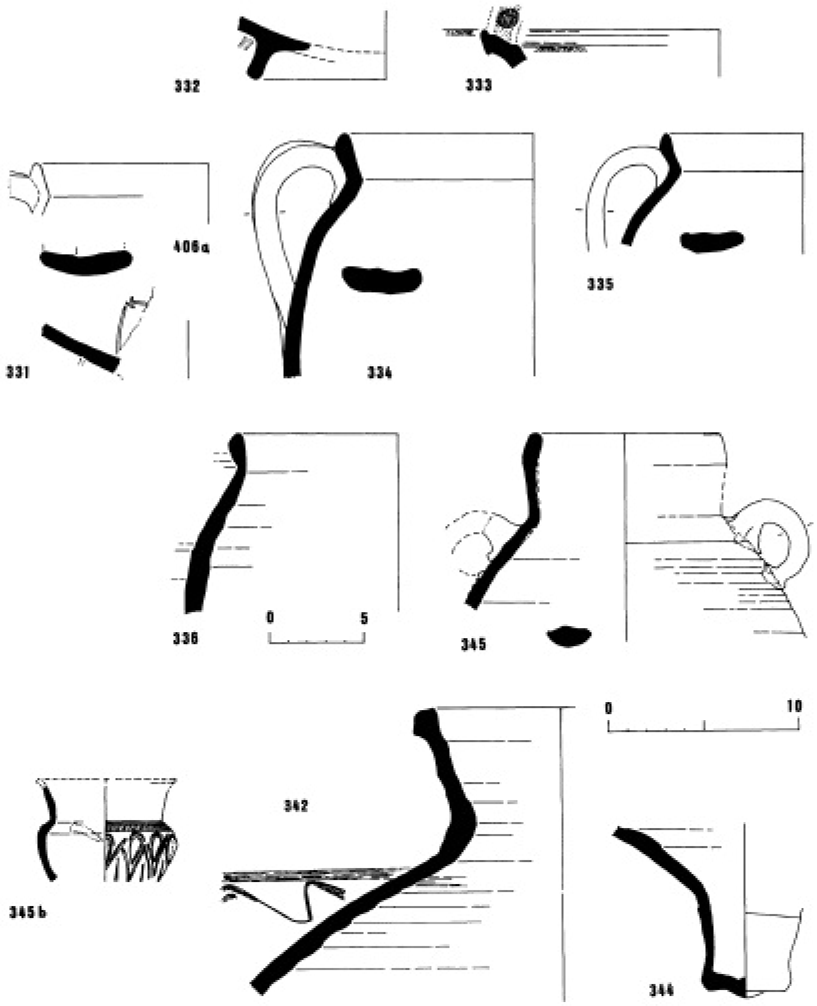


Fig. 31. Deposit 16 (and non-deposit pieces 345*b*, 406*a*). Scale 1 : 3.

Figure 3.23: Deposit 16, Saranda Kolones. From Hayes 2003: figure 31.

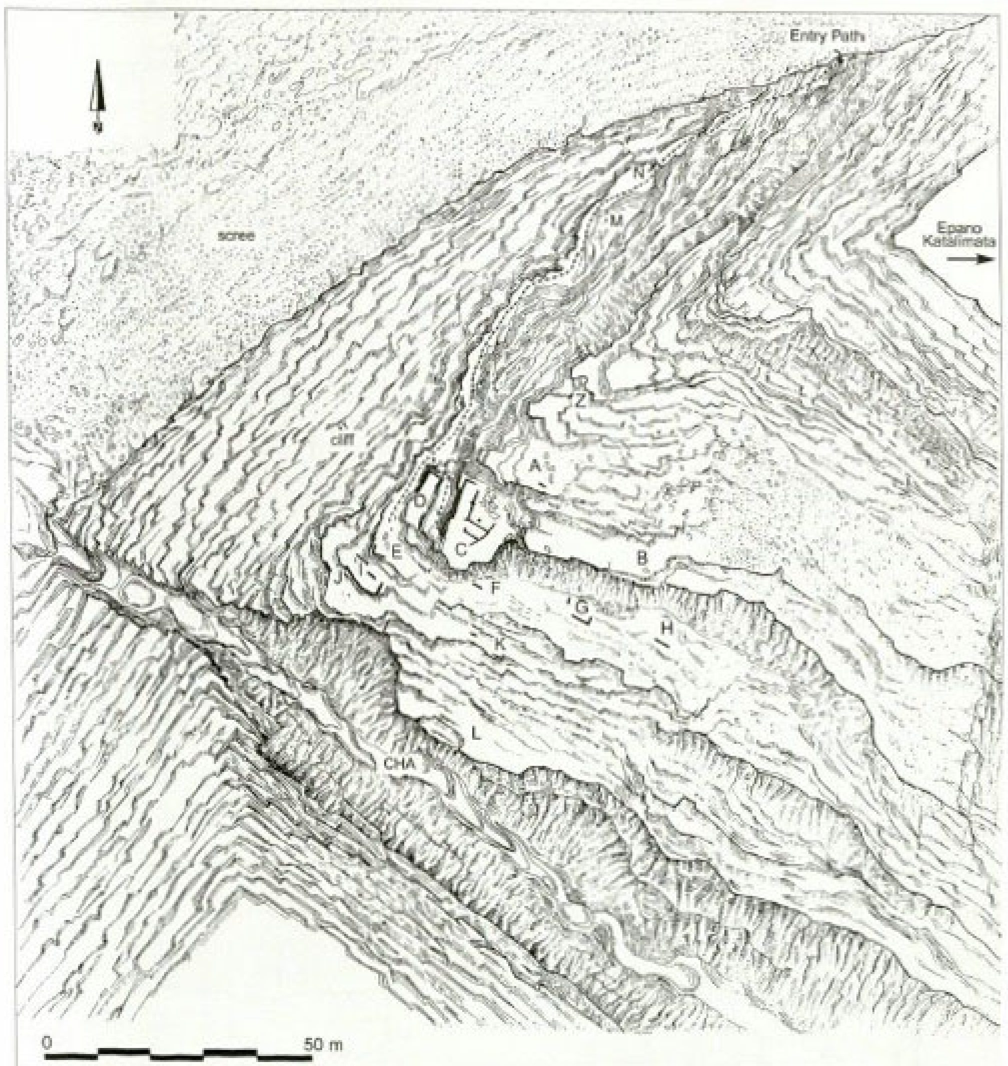


Figure 3. Plan of Katalimata with the terraces/buildings marked with letters from A through N and Z.

Figure 4.1: Site plan of Monastiraki-Katalimata, Crete. From Nowicki 2008: figure 3.

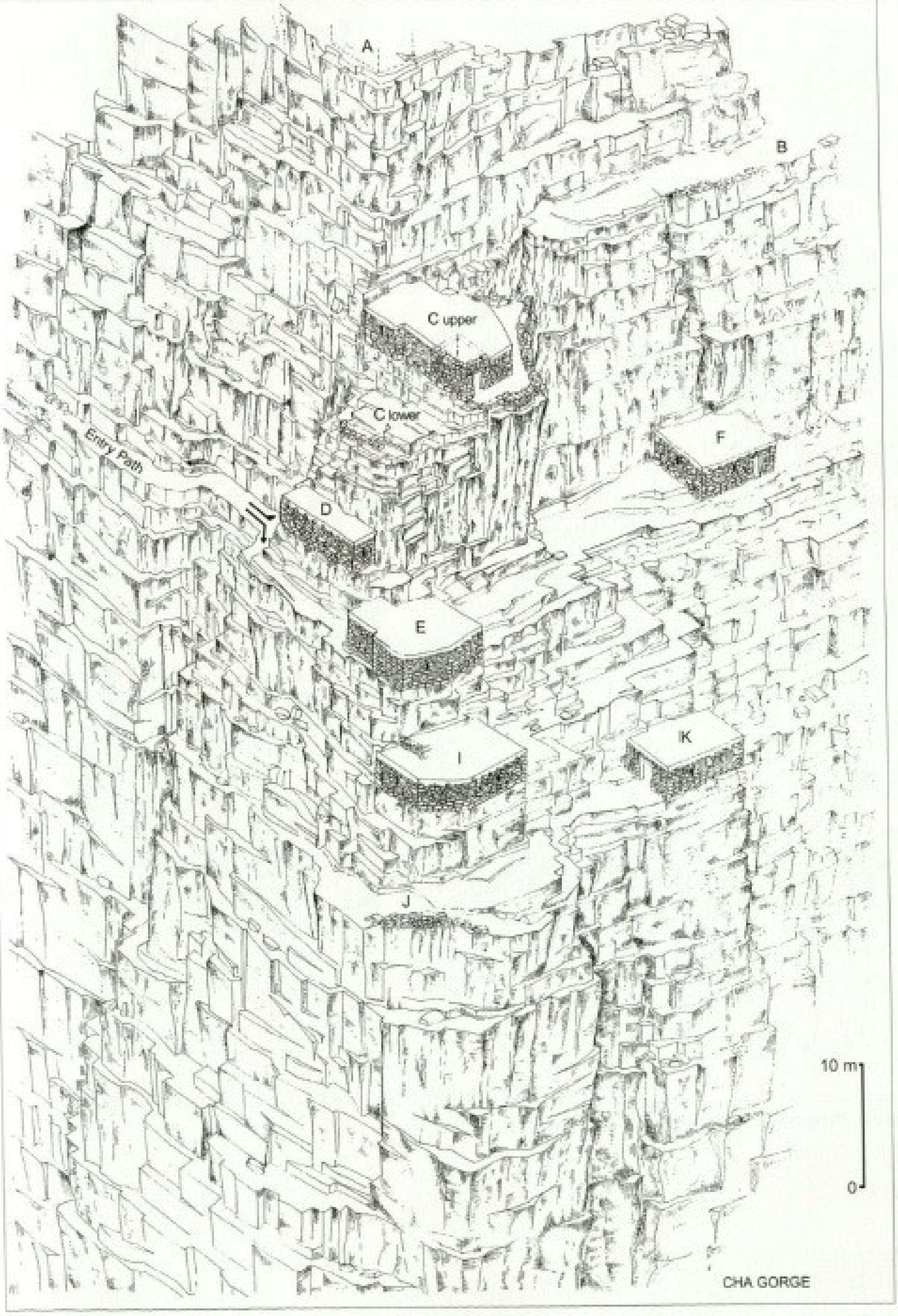


Figure 5. Perspective view of the reconstructed LM IIIC settlement at Katalimata.

Figure 4.2: Another View of Monastiraki-Katalimata. From Nowicki 2008: figure 5.

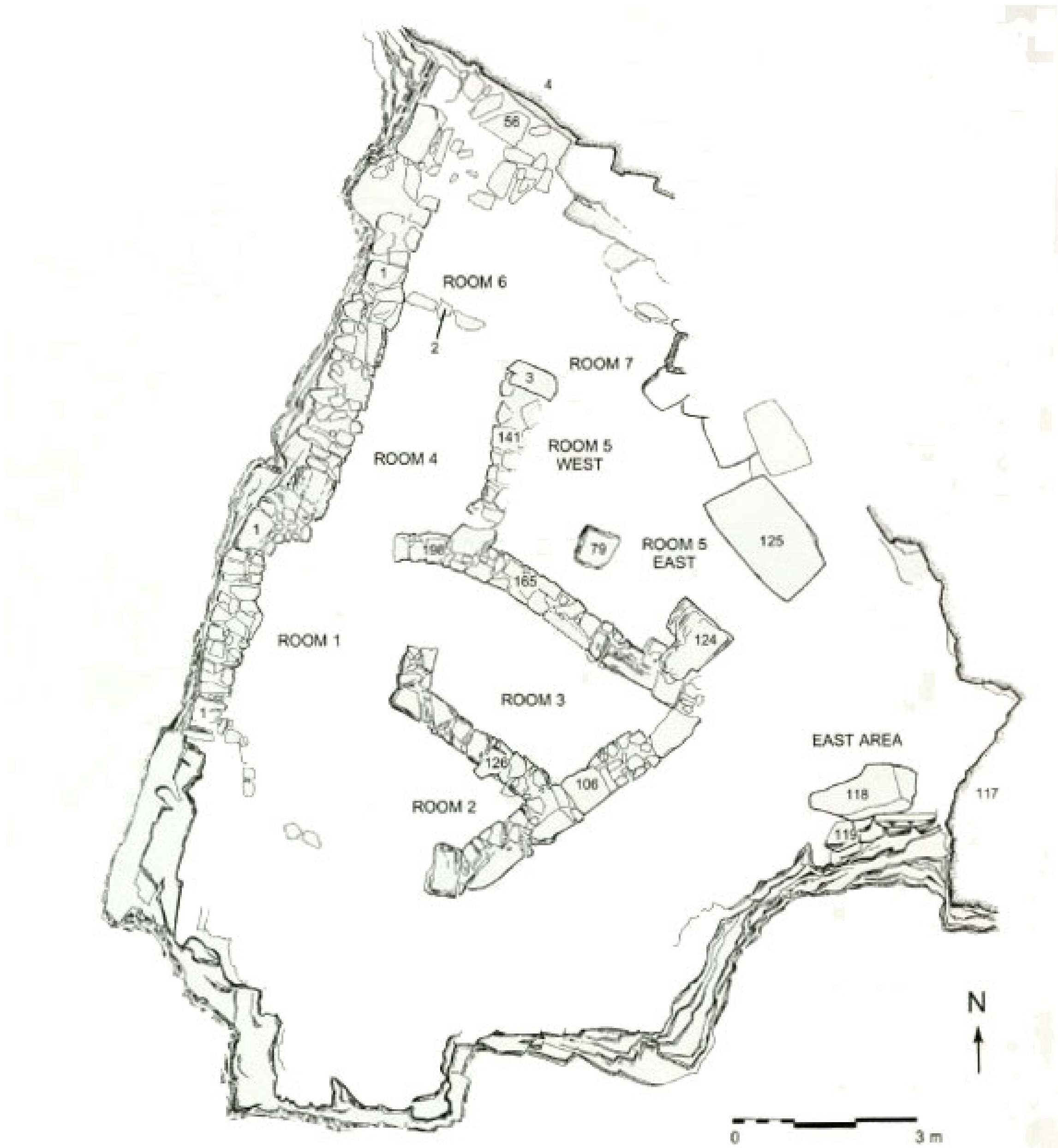


Figure 8. Plan of Terrace C showing the distribution of rooms with architectural and immovable contexts.

Figure 4.3: Plan of Area C, Monastiraki-Katalimata. From Nowicki 2008: figure 8.

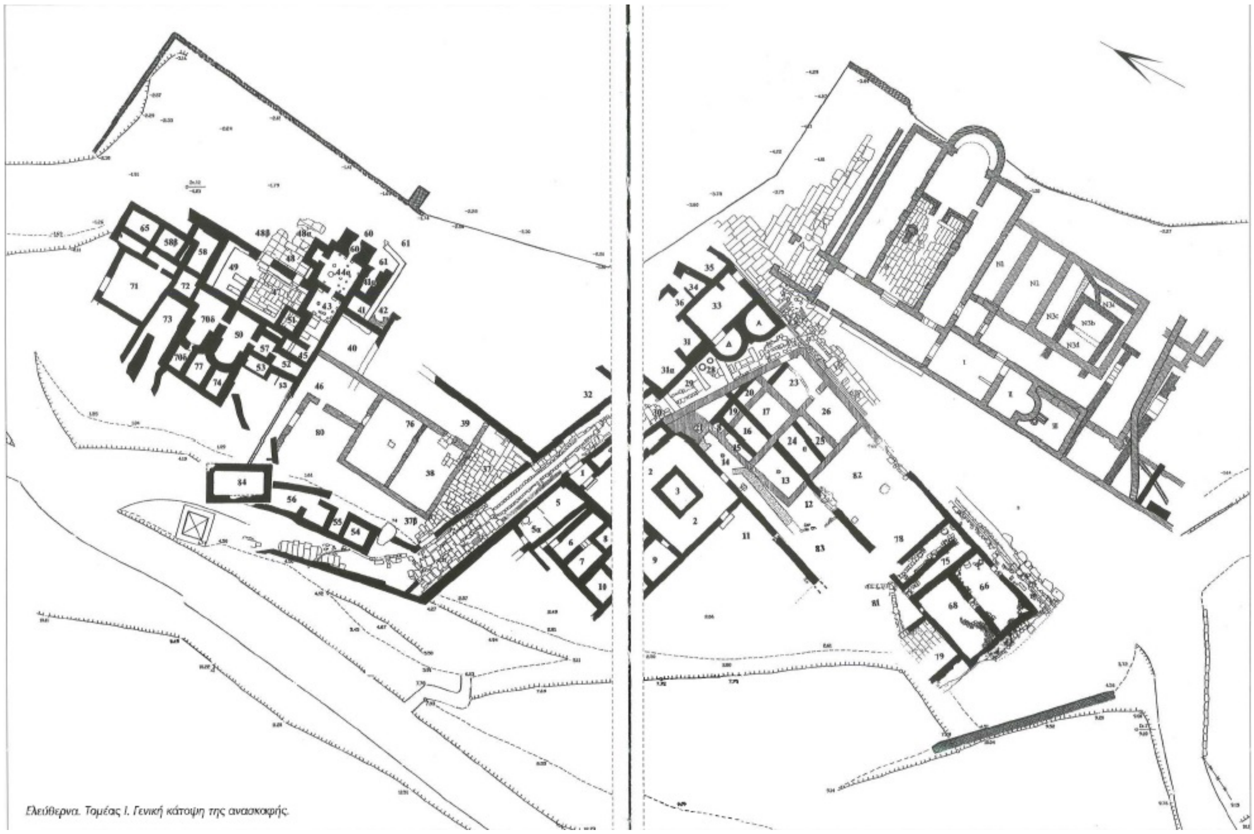


Figure 4.4: Eleutherna, Crete. From Themelis 2000: 8-9.

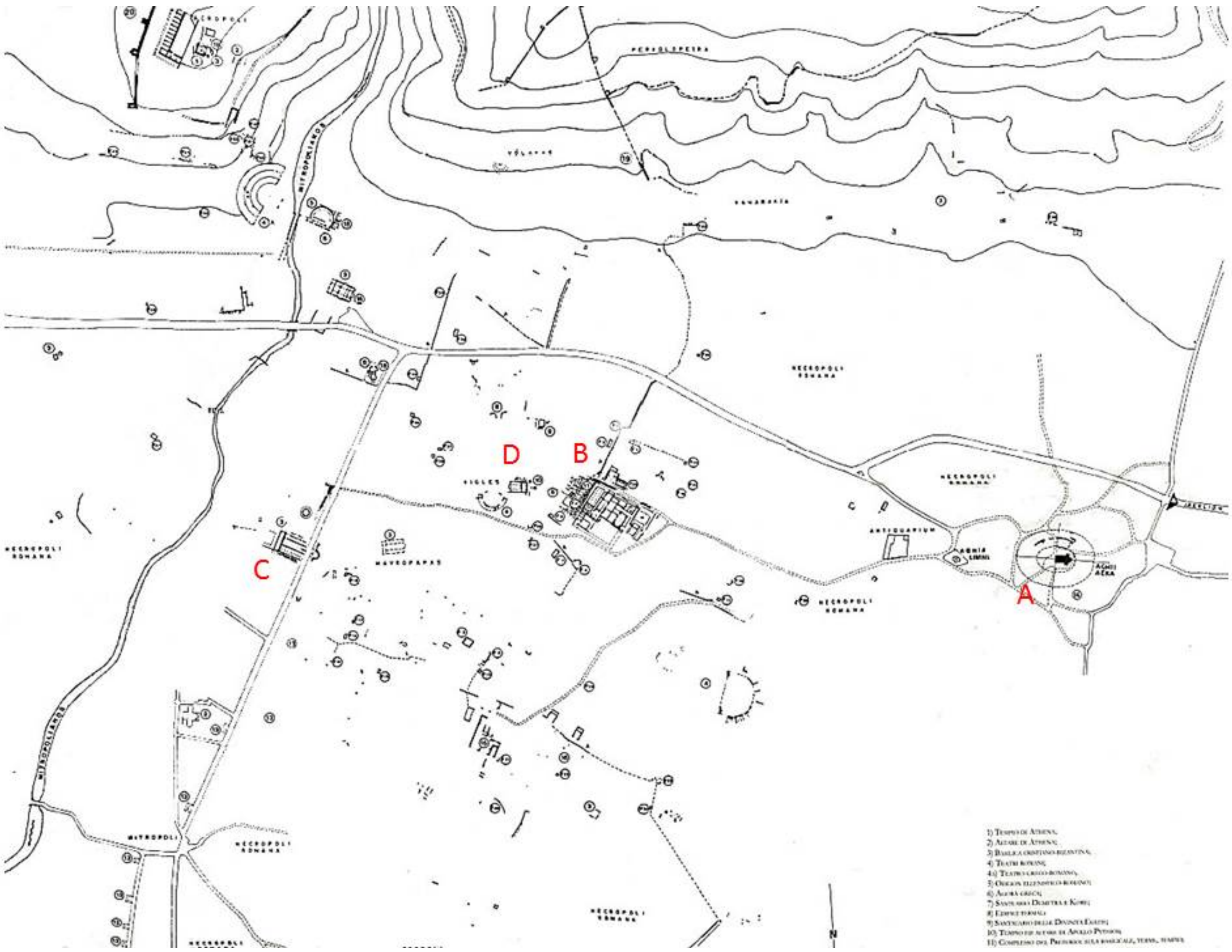


Figure 4.5: Gortyn, Crete. A) Amphitheater, B) Praetorium District C) Mitropolis Basilica D) Temple of Apollo Pythios. From Di Vita 2000: tav. 1.

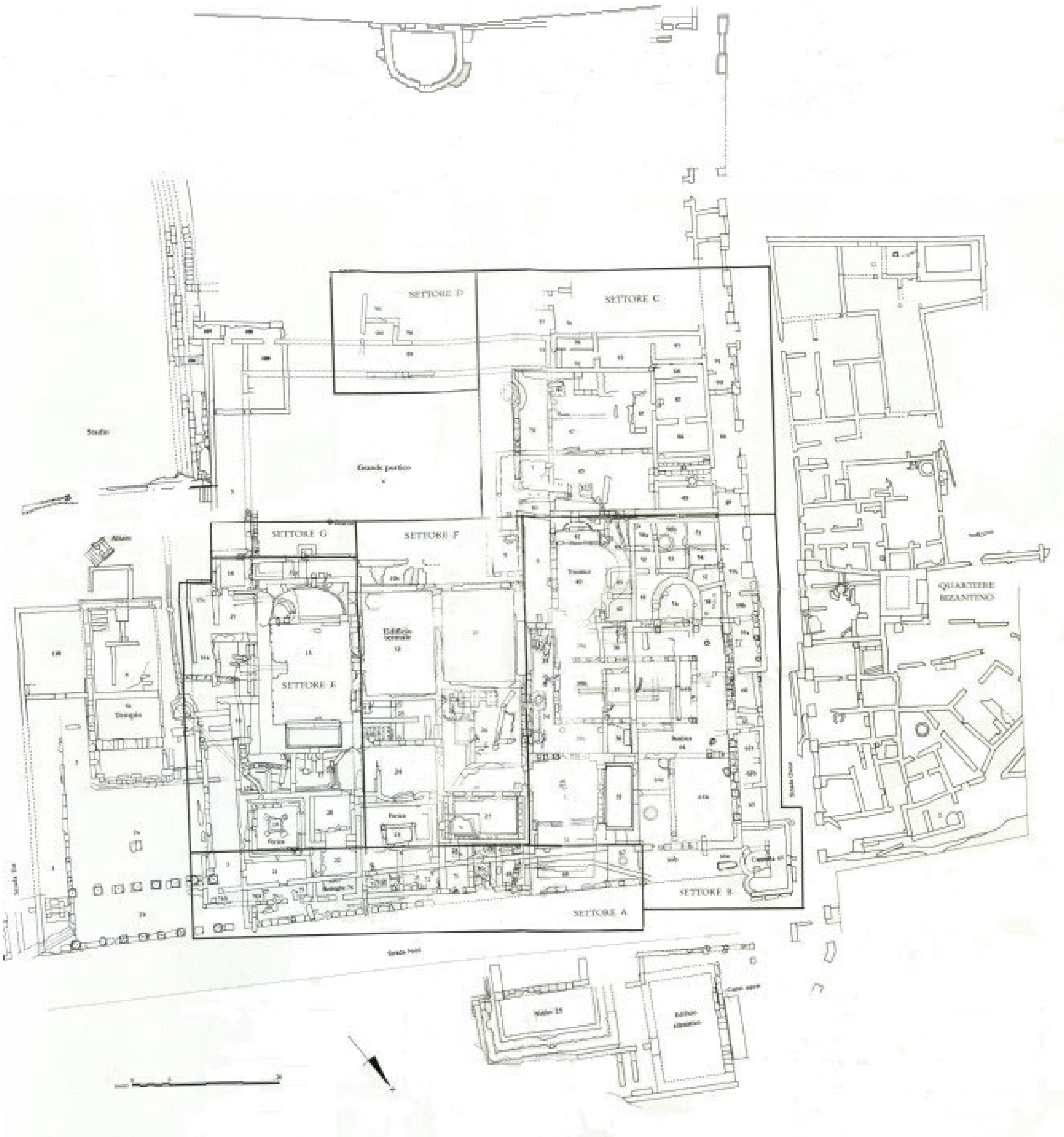


Figure 4.6: The Praetorium District, Gortyn. Building B is located on the right of this image. From Di Vita 2000: tav. 2.

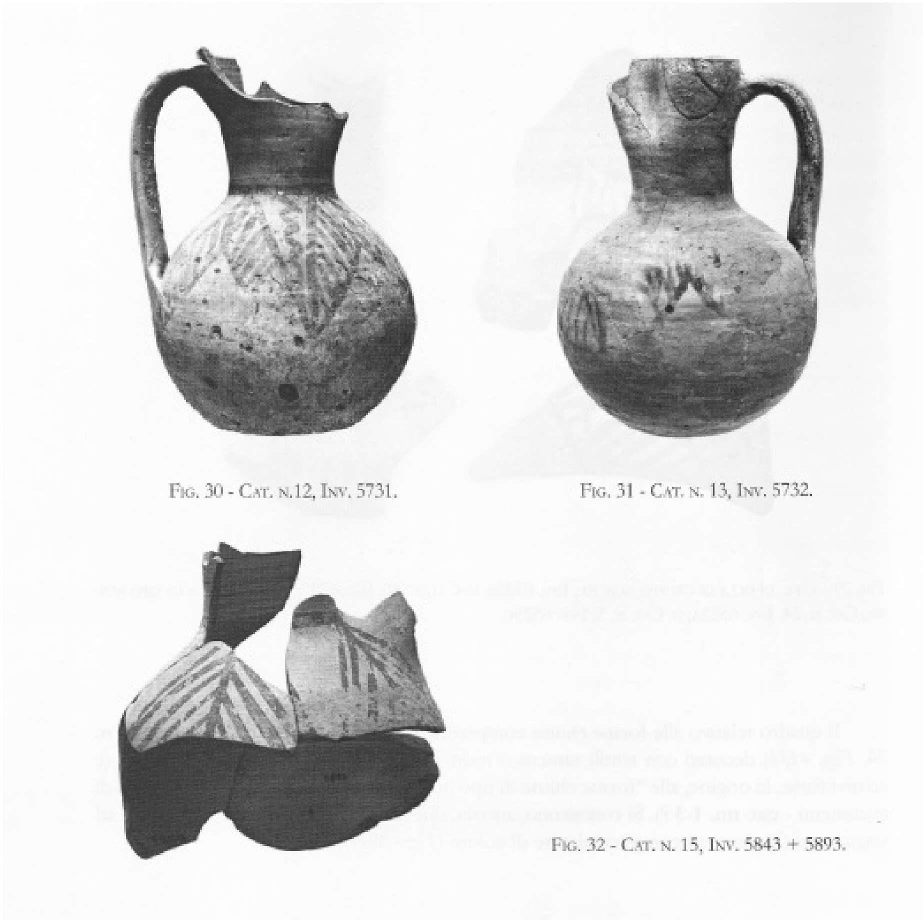


Figure 4.7: Overpainted Ware. From Vitale 2001: figures 30-32.

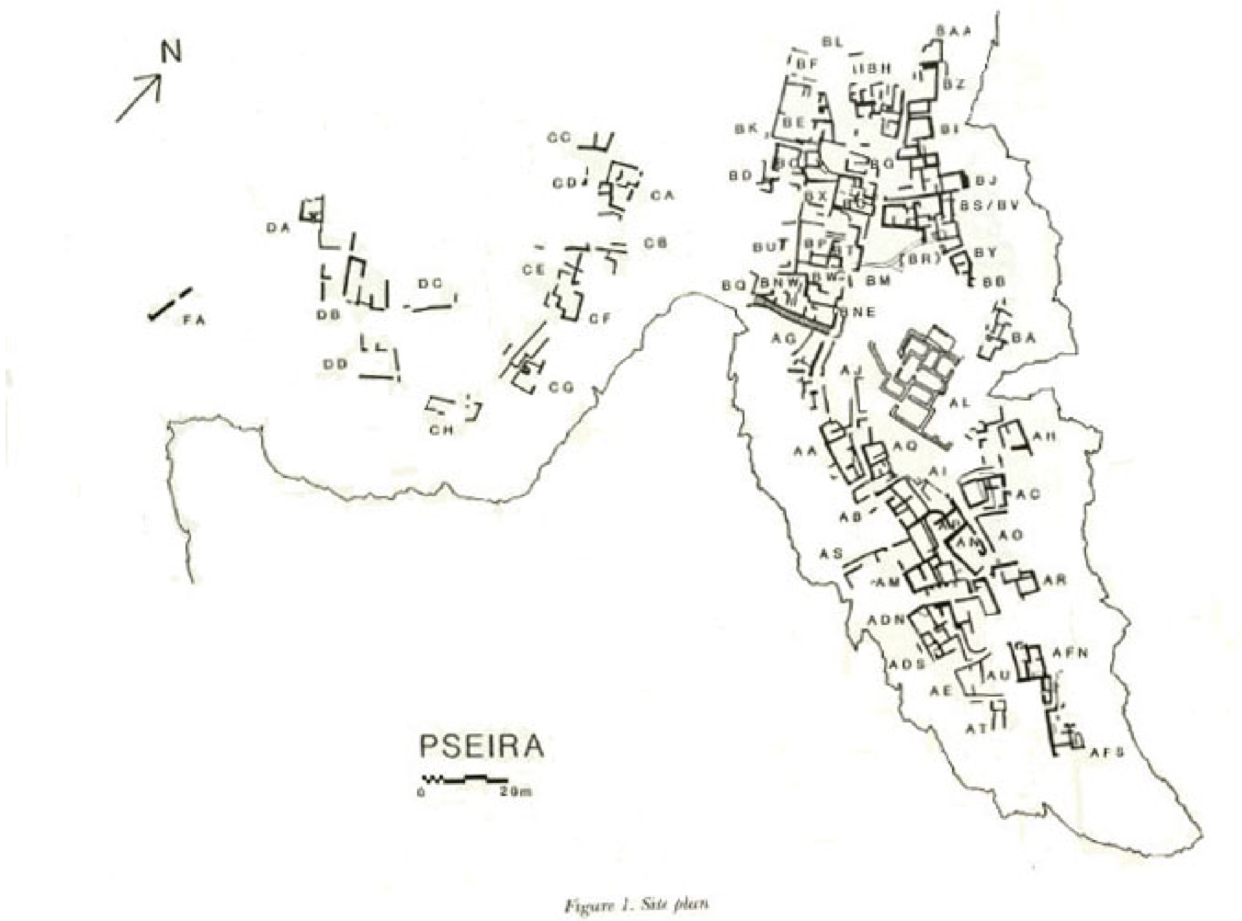


Figure 4.8: Plan of Pseira, Crete. From McEnroe 2001: figure 1.

Figure 4.9: Chafing Dish. Stoa of Attalus Museum, Athens.

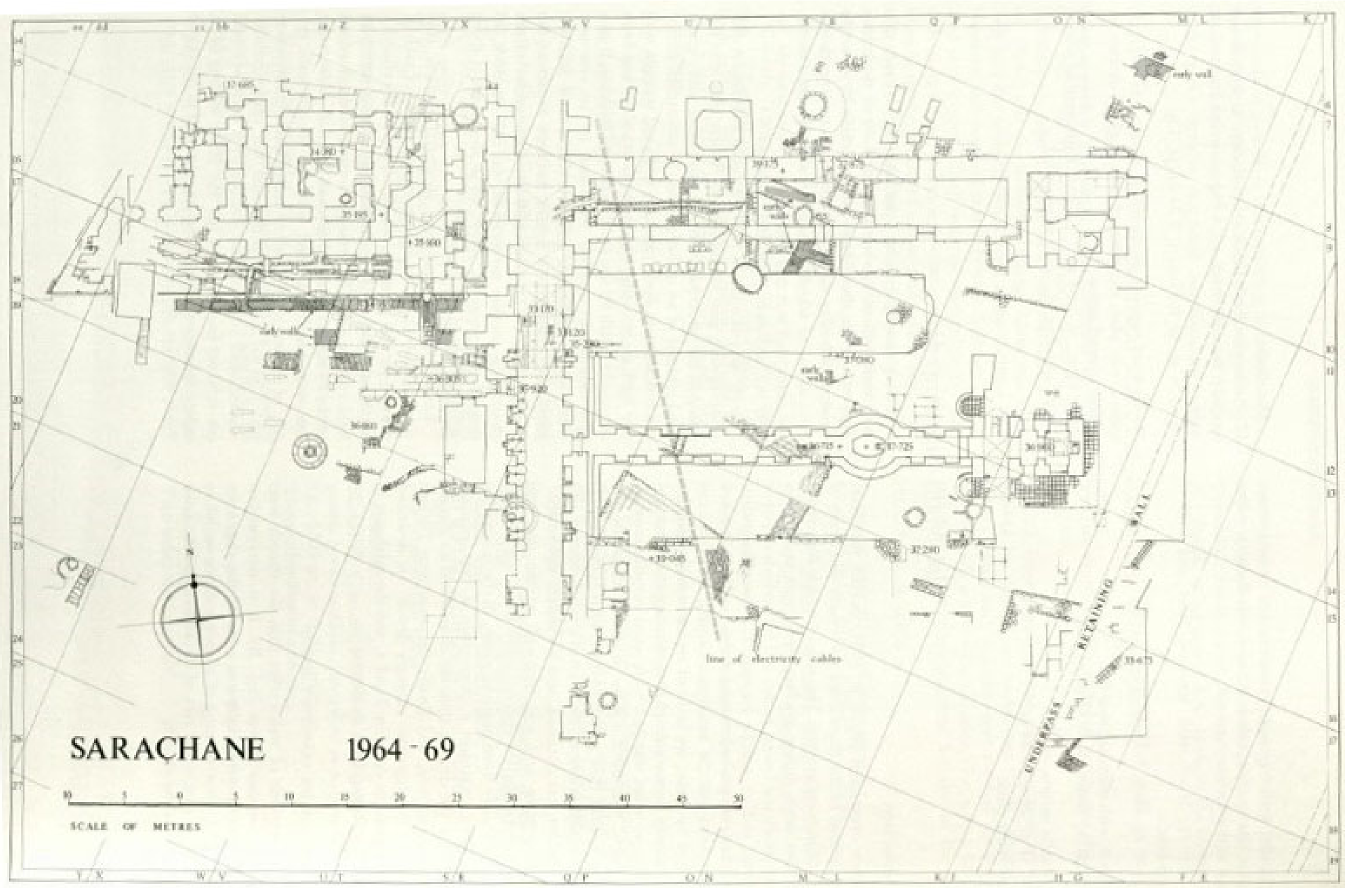


FIGURE B. General Plan of the Excavation (pre-church structures are hatched)

Figure 5.1: Plan of Saraçhane, Istanbul. After Harrison 1986: figure B.

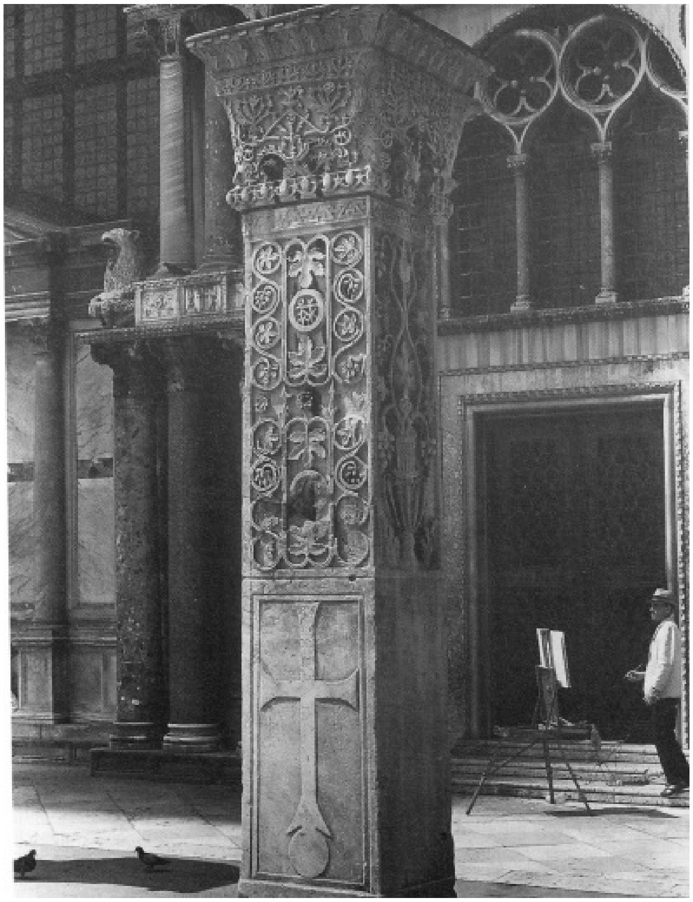


Figure 5.2: Capital from the Church of St. Polyeuktos, Venice. From Harrison 1994: figure 3.

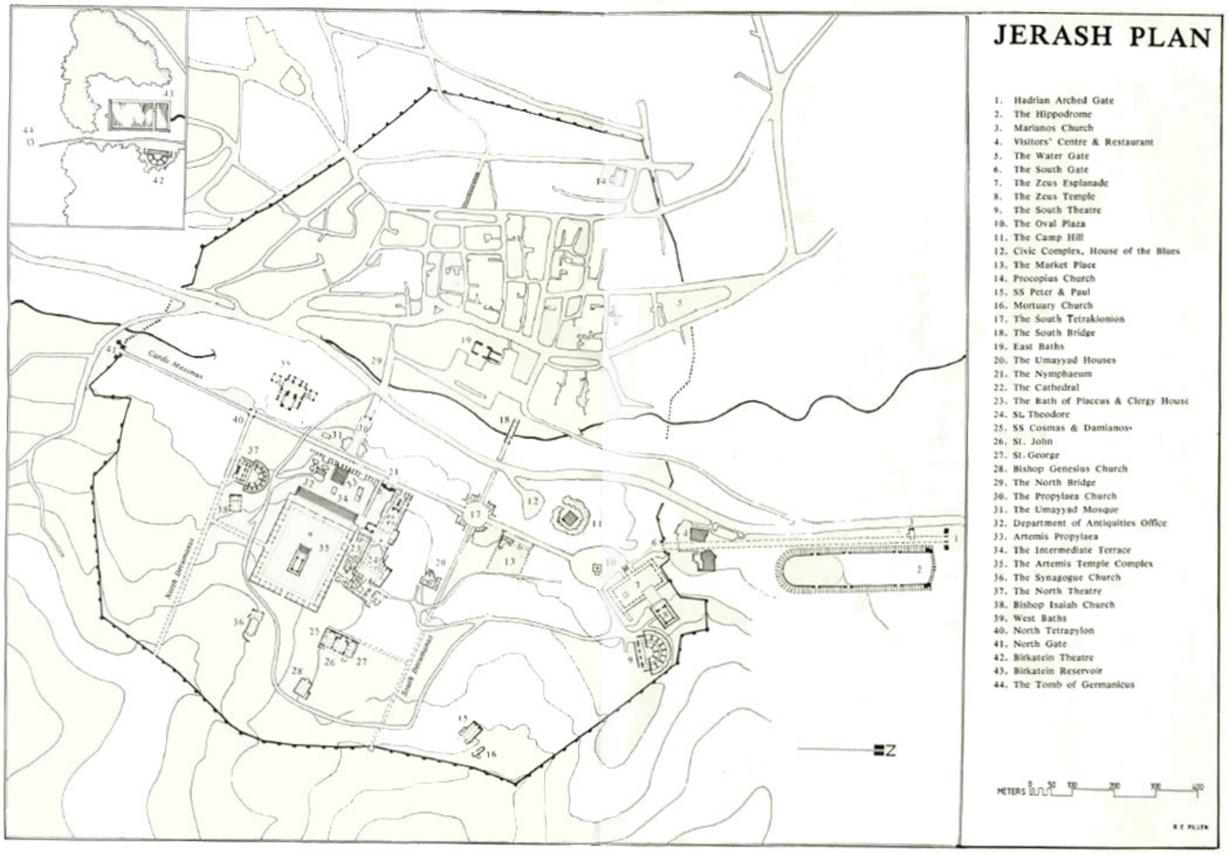
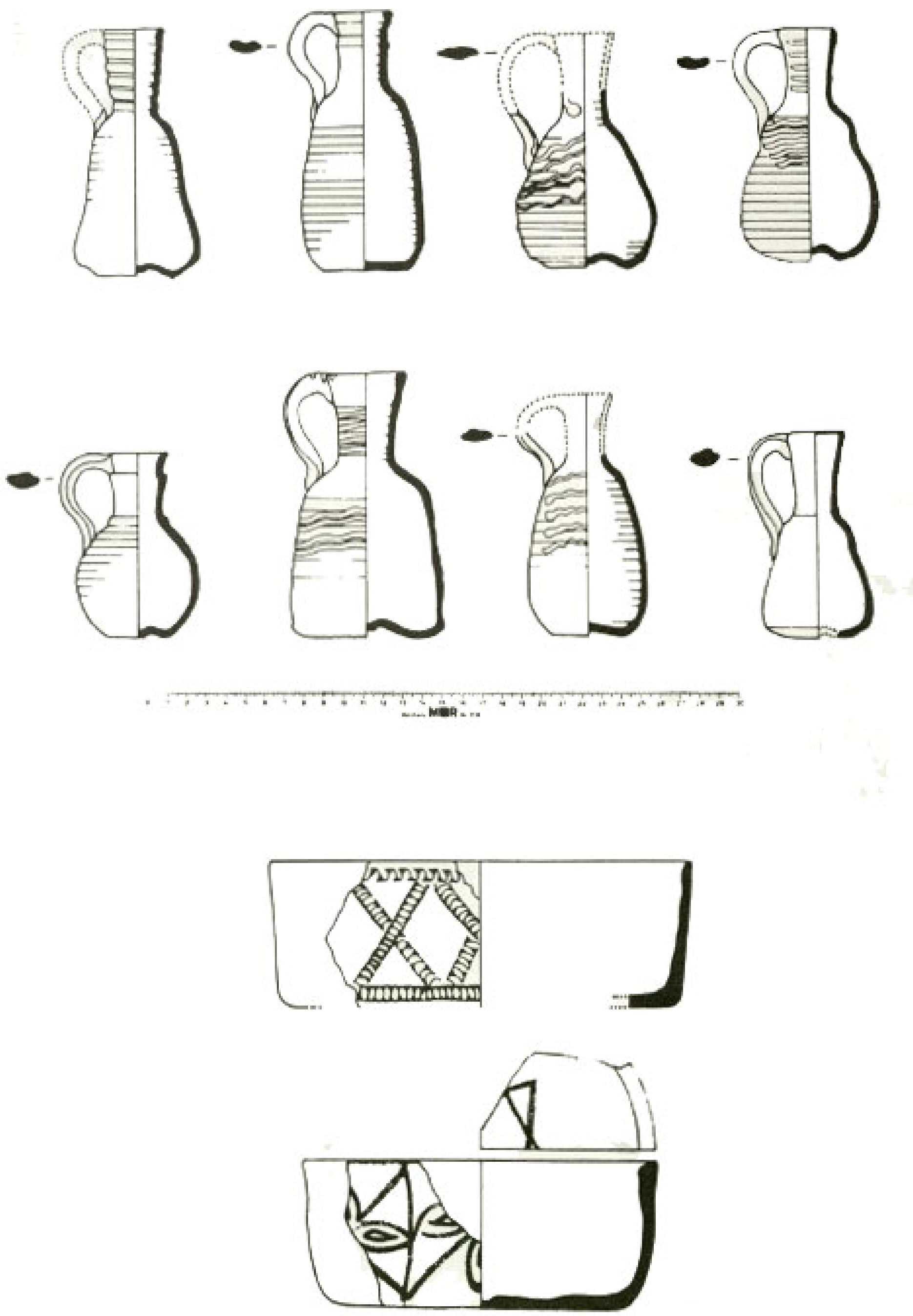


Figure 5.3: Plan of Jerash, Jordan. From Zayadine 1986: map 1.

Fig. 13. — Jerash bowl painted motifs. IXc-1/Ib-6/Ik-1/2a-5. Scale 1:3.

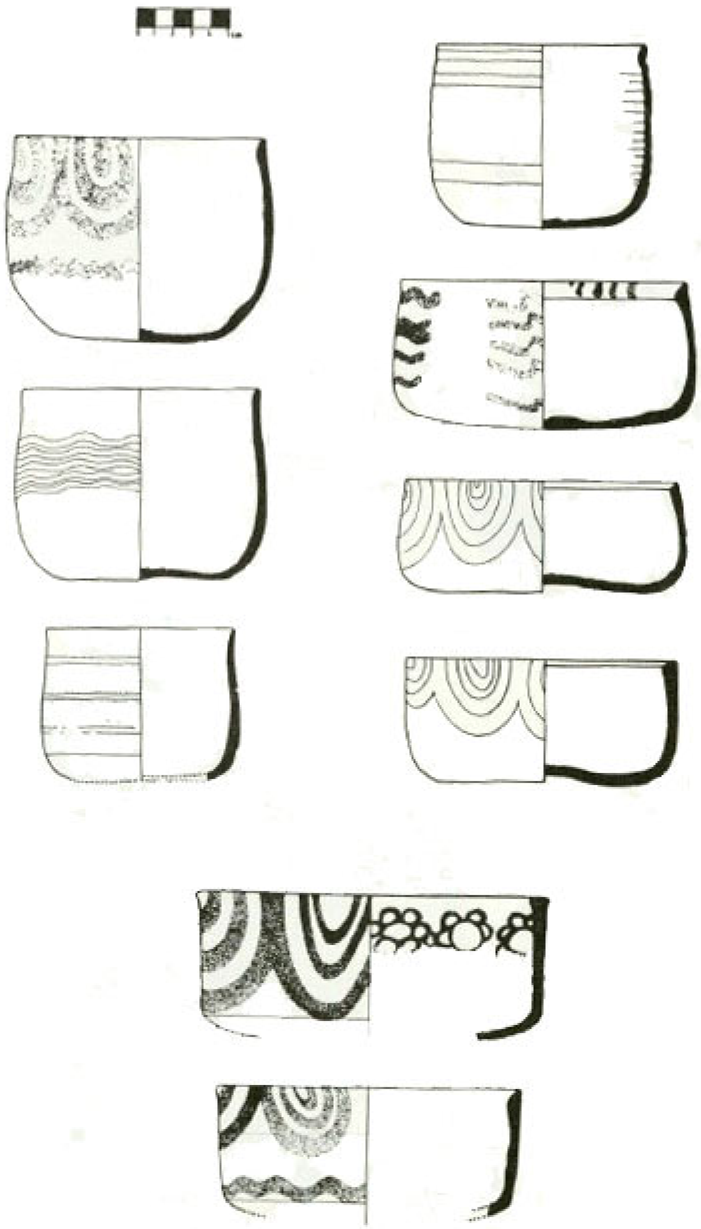
Figure 5.4: Jerash Bowl. From Watson 1989: figure 13.



Umayyad juglets and some later bowls.

Figure 5.5: Pottery from Jerash. From Gawlikowski 1986: plate XI.

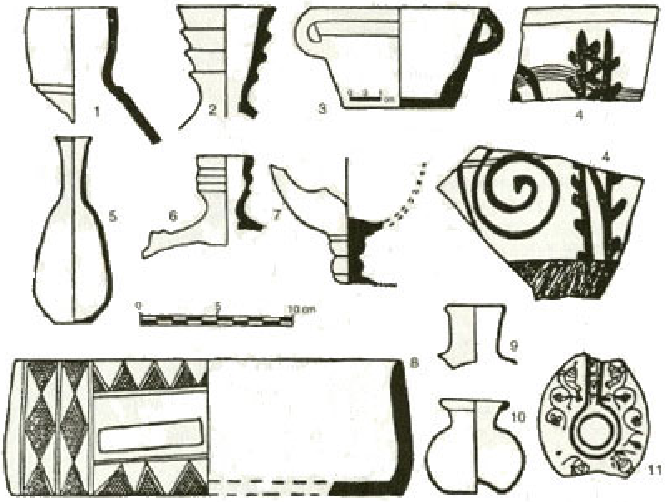
Plate X



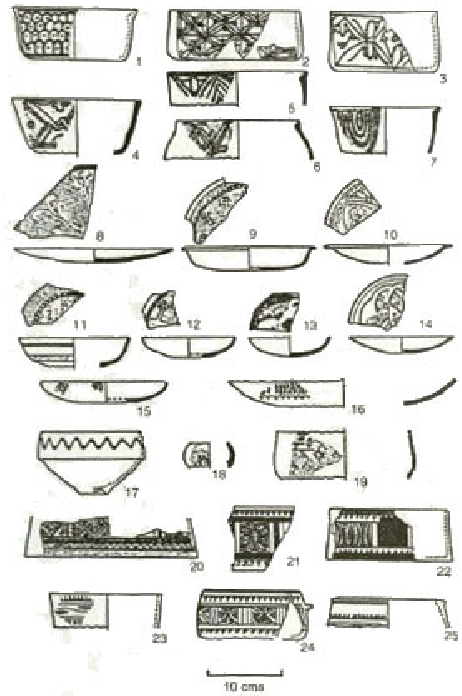
Late Umayyad and Abbassid bowls, mostly painted in white or red.

133

Figure 5.6: Late Jerash Pottery. From Gawlikowski 1986: plate XII.



CERAMICS: Islamic Period. Figure 1. *Islamic pottery types.* Black stone bowl (no. 8); red-painted basin fragments (no. 4); and a channel-nozzle oil lamp (no. 11). (After P. V. Corbo, *Gli scavi di Kh. siyar el-Ghanam (campo dei Pastori) e I Monasteri dei Dintorni.* Jerusalem, 1995, fig. 40)



CERAMICS: Islamic Period. Figure 2. *Islamic pottery types.* Examples of painted Islamic variants of Fine Byzantine ware bowls (nos. 8-16, 19); red-painted bowls (1-3); and Kerbschnitt bowls (nos. 20-25). (After Baramki, 1944, fig. 6)

Figure 5.7: Kerbschnitt Bowls and Other Islamic Pottery. From Sauer and Magness 1997: figures 1 and 2.

Figure 5.8: Steatite Bowl, Jerash. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

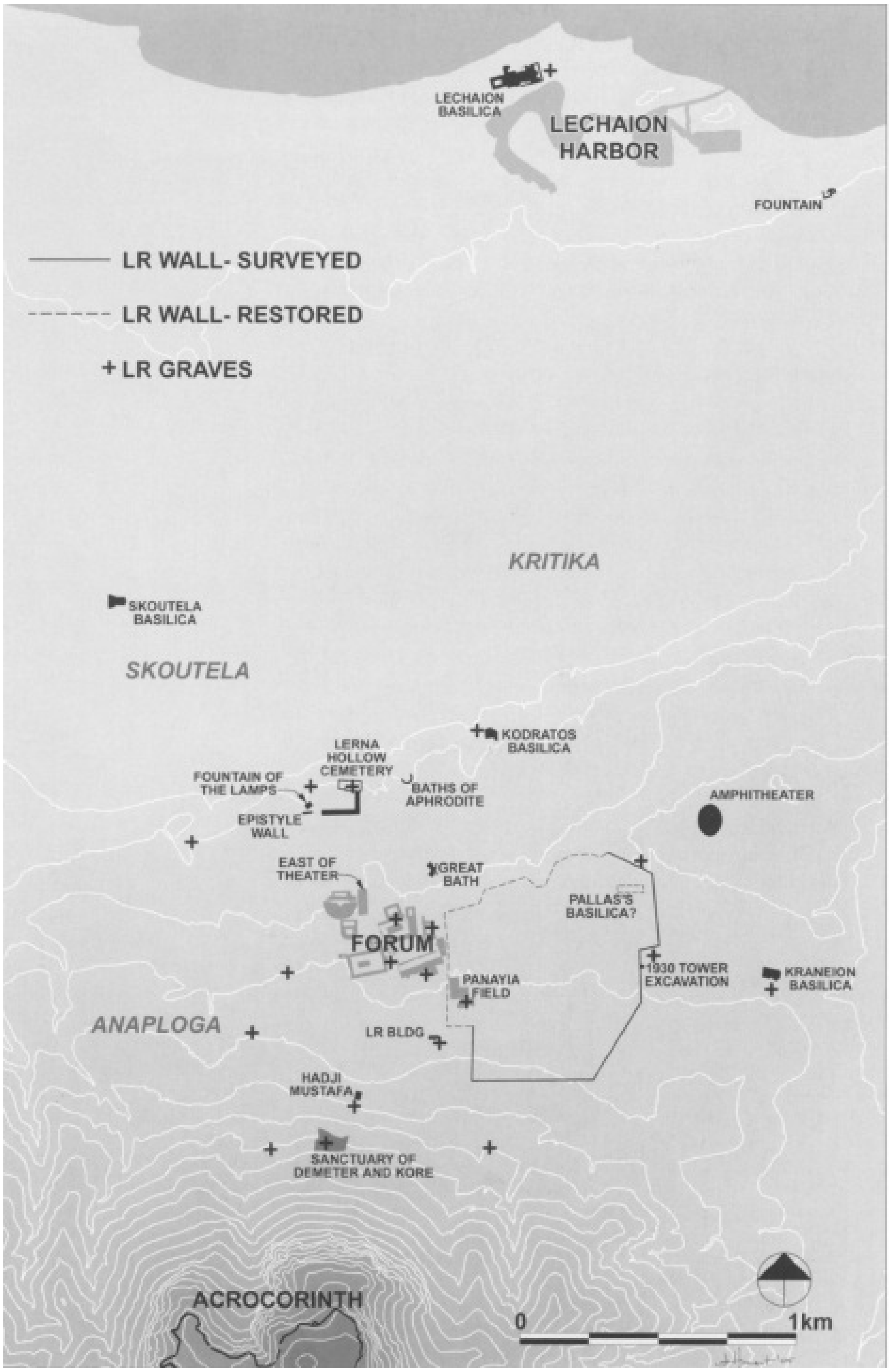


Figure 5.9: Plan of Ancient Corinth, Greece. From Slane and Sanders 2005: 245.

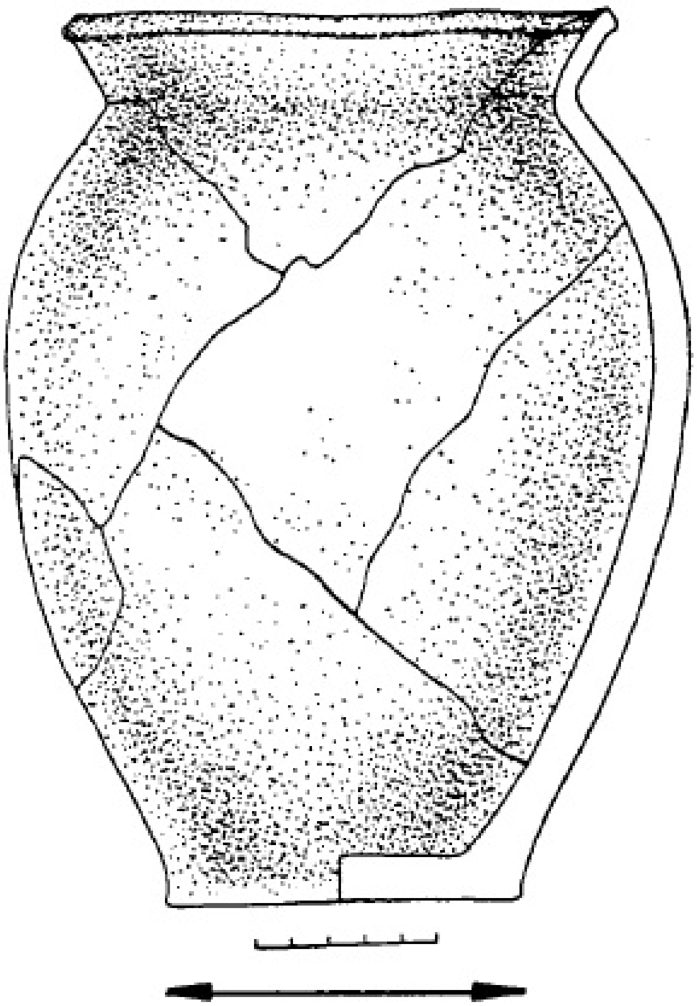


Figure 5.10: Handmade 'Slavic' Ware. From Curta 2001: figure 64.

Figure 5.11: Deir al-Baramus, Egypt. From Konstantinidou 2012: figure 2.4.

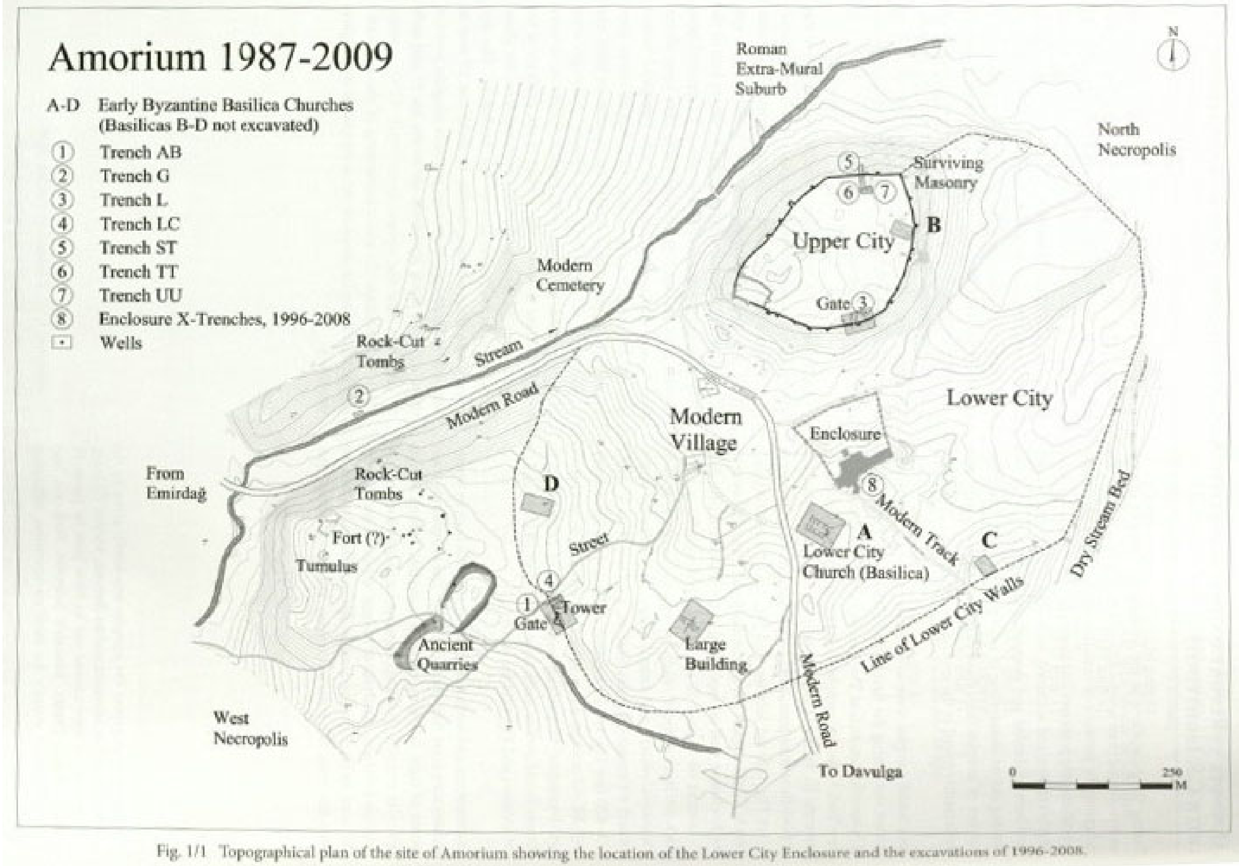


Figure 5.12: Plan of Amorium, Turkey. From Ivison 2012: figure 1/1.

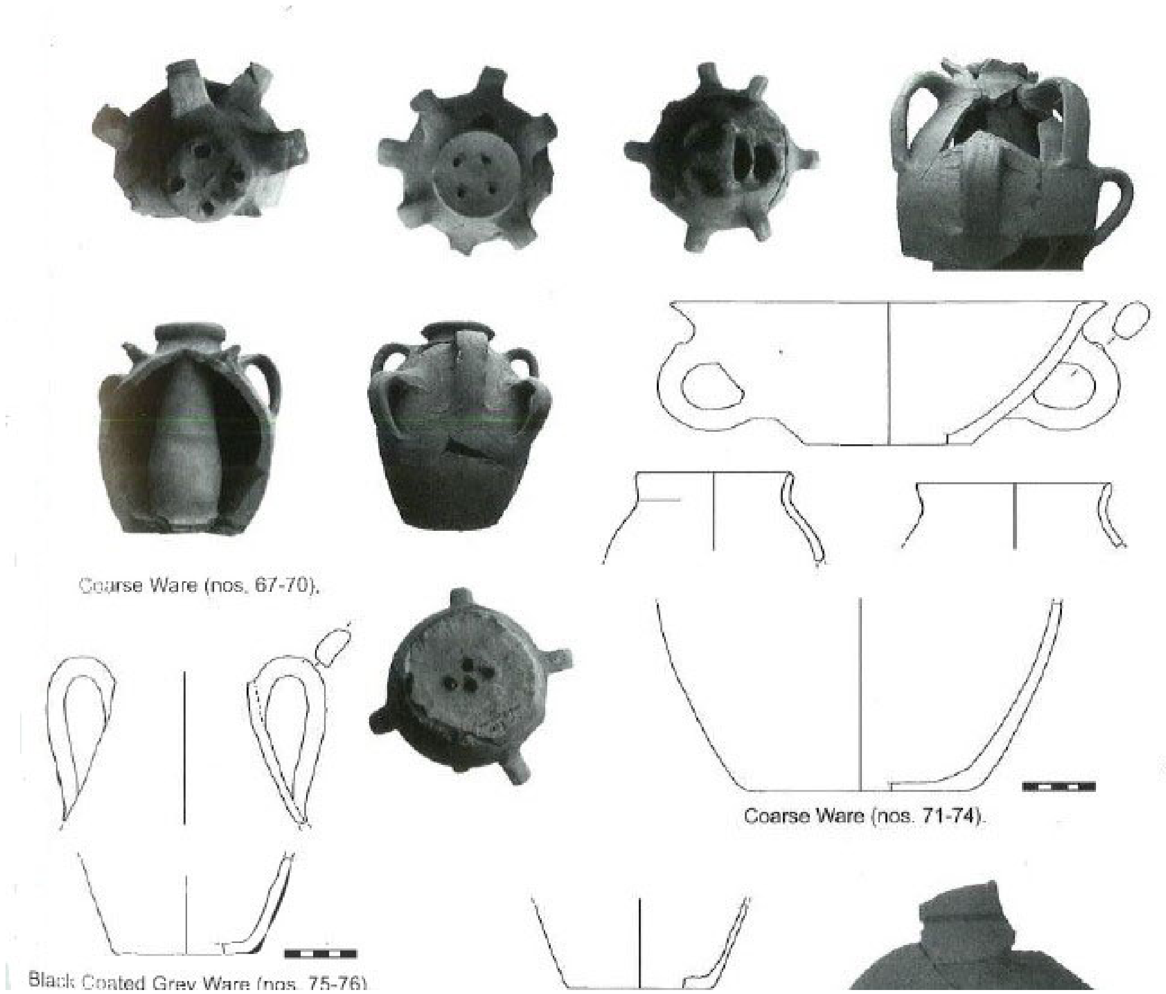
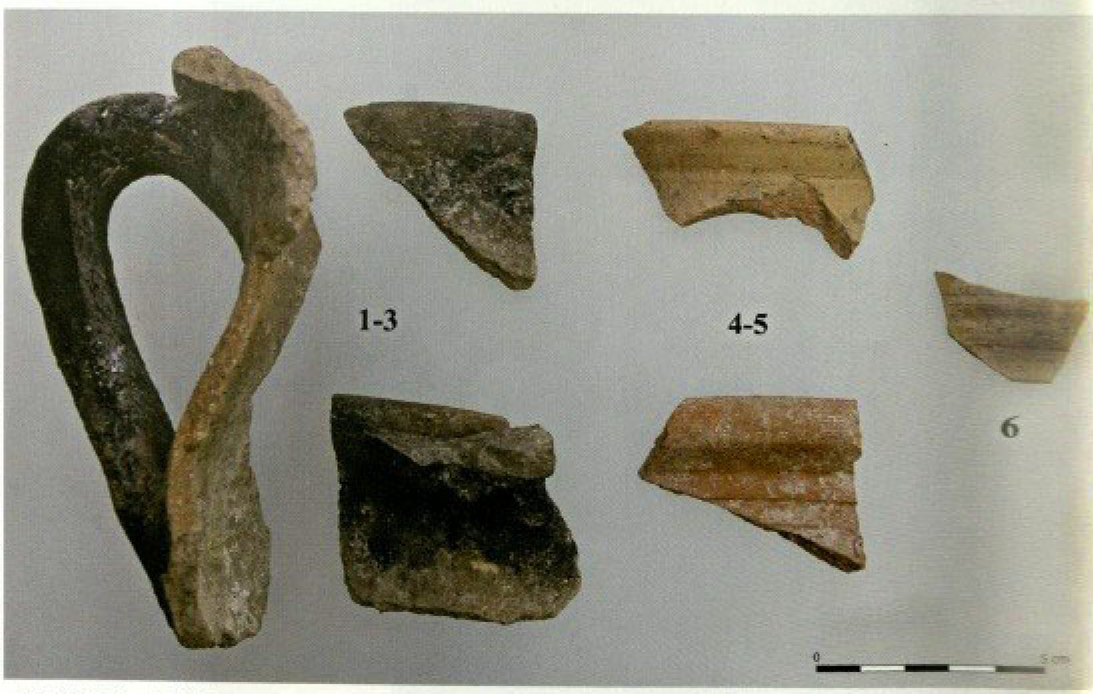


Figure 5.13: Mysterious Jug, Amorium (top). From Böhlendorf-Arslan 2007: figure 12.

Pl. 1/28 Trench XC-04 context 712 (Fig. 1/27), pottery of the late 8th–early 9th century: 1-6. Red painted ware jugs and body fragments. 7. Common ware cooking pot handle. 8-10. Plain ware jug or jar rims.



Pl. 1/29 Trench XC-04 context 714 (Fig. 1/27), pottery of the late 8th–early 9th century: 1-3. Common ware cooking pots, rim, wall and handle fragments. 4-5. Plain ware jug or jar rims. 6. Red painted ware vessel, body fragment.

Figure 5.14: Amorium Coarsewares. From Ivison 2012: pl. 1/29.

Figure 6.1: Authepsa. 3rd century C.E. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

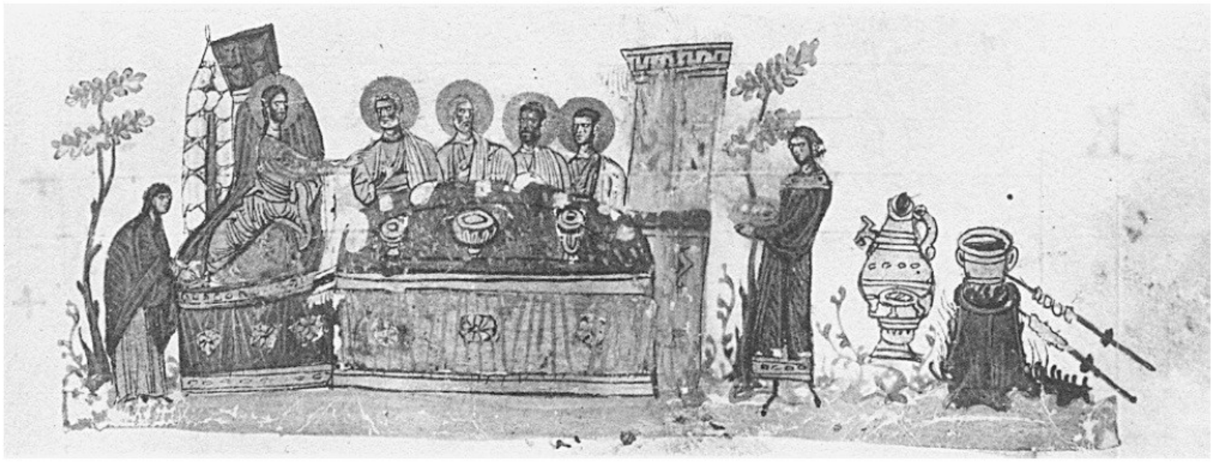


Fig. 7 – Miniature from Bibliothèque nationale *gr. 74* Tetraevang., Paris, 3rd quarter of the 11th century (after Omont 1908 : fol. 82/1).

Figure 6.2: Depiction of a Chafing Dish and Authepsa in Use. From Vroom 2008: figure 7.

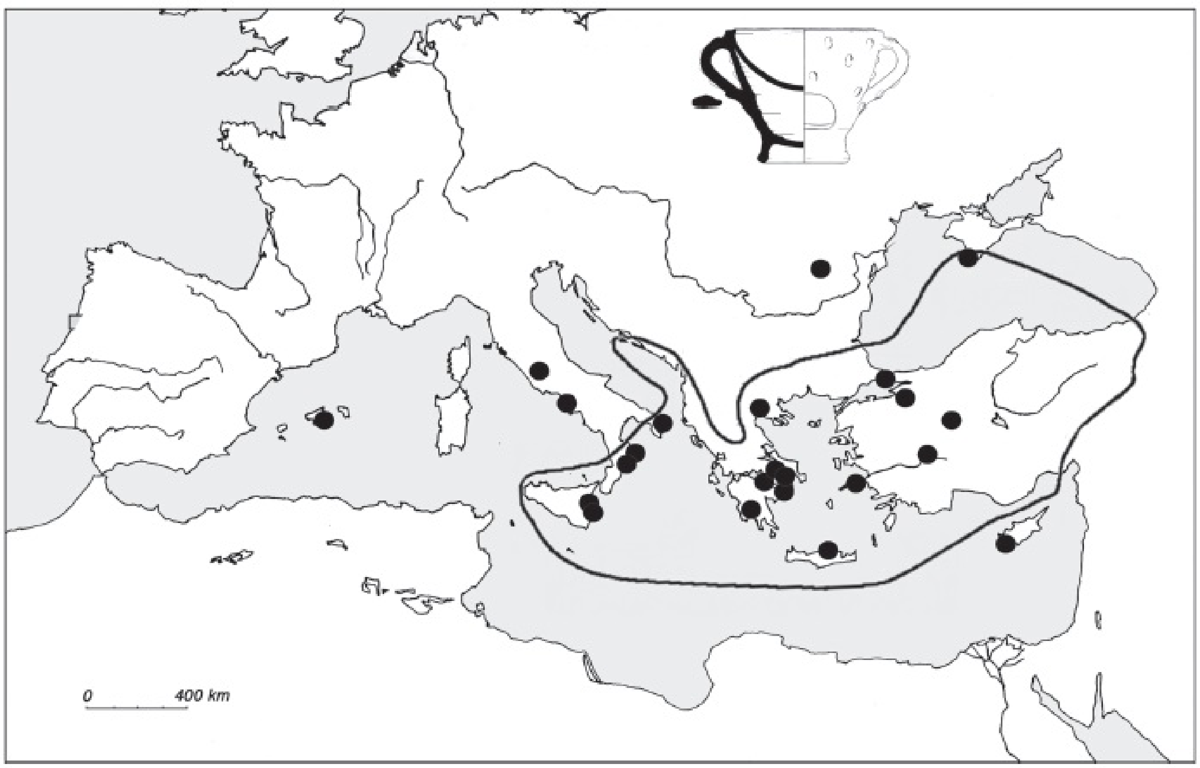


Fig. 1. The distribution of Byzantine chafing-dishes in the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas.

Figure 6.3: Distribution of Chafing Dishes. From Arthur 2007: figure 1.

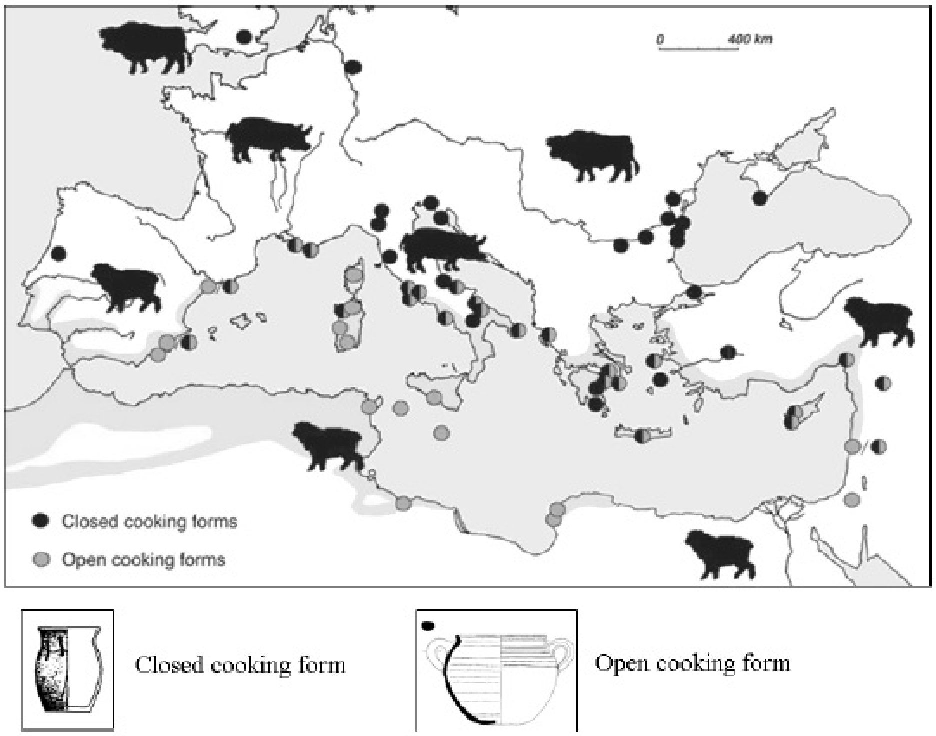


Fig. 16 – Distribution map of cooking jars and faunal areas across the Mediterranean and Europe in late antique and early medieval times (after Arthur 2007 : fig. 9).

Figure 6.4: Posited Connection between Cooking Forms and Fauna. From Vroom 2008: figure 16.

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al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk*

Huneberc of Heidenheim, *Vita, Seu Hodoeporicon S. Willibaldi*

Theophanes, *Chronographia*

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