

# **Cycladic Archaeology and Research**

New approaches and discoveries

edited by

**Erica Angliker  
John Tully**

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

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# Cycladic history and archaeology: some thoughts

Christy Constantakopoulou

I will start with three, relatively neglected, ancient stories about the Cyclades.<sup>1</sup> When Socrates met Euthyphro outside the Stoa Basileus in Athens, the reason for their chance meeting, which provided the setting for Plato's dialogue *Euthyphro*, was Socrates' indictment (*graphe*) and Euthyphro's prosecution of his father. We all know how this particular indictment for Socrates would end (with his conviction and suicide); it is Euthyphro's story, however, that is more interesting for the purposes of Cycladic history. Euthyphro, he explains to Socrates, wants to prosecute his own father for murder of a hired workman (*pelates*), belonging to Euthyphro, on Naxos. The workman, it seems,

'got drunk, got angry with one of our house slaves, and butchered him. So my father bound him hand and foot, threw him into a ditch, and sent a man here to Athens to ask the religious adviser (*exegetes*) what he ought to do. In the meantime, he paid no attention to the man as he lay there bound, and neglected him, thinking that he was a murderer and it did not matter if he were to die. And that is just what happened to him. For he died of hunger and cold and his bonds before the messenger came back from the adviser'.<sup>2</sup> (translation by North Howard)

This allows Plato to follow up with a philosophic discussion about what is right and wrong, what is pious and impious.<sup>3</sup> The springboard here may be Euthyphro's acts: was he right to prosecute his father for a murder of such an 'impious' man, who had committed murder himself (albeit of a slave)? In Greek mentality, the murder of another man brought pollution upon the killer; concerns about the impact of pollution upon a family and the community in general were extremely important. Yet, Euthyphro's fear of pollution because of his father allowing the death of a dependent (the father

let the workman die, he did not murder him himself) seems to be excessive.<sup>4</sup> Plato's audience, of course, knew that these questions relating to the nature of justice and impiety lie at the heart of Socrates' imminent trial, while the relationship between human and divine justice is at the heart of Platonic philosophy. What interests me, however, is not such Platonic discourses about justice and impiety, but rather the key features of the setting for Euthyphro's story: Naxos, agriculture, and slaves.

How did an Athenian, such as Euthyphro, own land and slaves, and hire workmen on Naxos at the end of the fifth century (the dramatic date of the dialogue)? The answer is that Naxos, like many other islands in the Aegean over the course of the fifth century, had Athenian cleruchs imposed as a result of their failed revolt against the Athenian control of the region, probably in the 470s.<sup>5</sup> The imposition of cleruchies was a standard feature of control for allies in the Athenian empire that were not to be trusted: the Athenians did the same for Mytilene and Andros, among others.<sup>6</sup> Plato's passage in the *Euthyphro* allows us a rare glimpse at the realities of the settlers and their dependents in such Athenian cleruchies. What can we learn from such a passage? Firstly, it is obvious that the Athenian cleruchs on Naxos spent time on the island itself: Euthyphro's father was there to punish the workman and therefore ended up killing him. This was not management from afar, but rather hands-on supervision by the Athenian settlers.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the main attraction of the cleruchies was good agricultural land. The slaves and the workman in Euthyphro's land were engaged in agricultural activities; indeed, Euthyphro uses the first person plural when he talks about farming: 'we were farming on Naxos' (4c: ἐγεωργοῦμεν ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ). Thirdly, the life of agricultural labourers was not an easy life. In the story, the slave was killed because he was under the supervision of a brutal workman. In turn, the workman himself was bound and left to die because of his committing a murder. Euthyphro's father sent someone to ask a religious expert, an *exegetes*, how to deal with the religious pollution that the slave's murder

<sup>1</sup> I want to thank Erica Angliker and John Tully for inviting me to contribute some final thoughts to their volume. I was unable to attend the conference panel, from which this volume originates. In addition, when writing this, I did not have access to all the papers included in the volume.

<sup>2</sup> Plato *Eyth.* 4c-4d: ἐπει ὃ γε ἀποθανὼν πελάτης τις ἦν ἐμός, καὶ ὡς ἐγεωργοῦμεν ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐθήτευεν ἐκεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν. παροινήσας οὖν καὶ ὀργισθεὶς τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀποσφάττει αὐτόν. ὁ οὖν πατήρ συνδήσας τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καταβαλὼν εἰς τάφρον τινα, πέμπει δεῦρο ἄνδρα πεισομένον τοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ ὅτι χρεῖη ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ δεδεμένου ὠλιγῶρει τε καὶ ἡμέλει ὡς ἀνδροφόνου καὶ οὐδὲν ὄν πρᾶγμα εἰ καὶ ἀποθάνοι, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἔπαθεν: ὑπὸ γὰρ λιμοῦ καὶ ῥίγους καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀποθνήσκει πρὶν τὸν ἄγγελον παρὰ τοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ ἀφικέσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> See now the discussion by Blok 2017, 47-99.

<sup>4</sup> Argued by Parker 1983, 119.

<sup>5</sup> Naxian revolt in Thuc. 1.98.4 and 1.137.2. Cleruchs on the island: Plut. *Per.* 11.5-6, Diod. 11.88.3. See also Sfyroera in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Salomon 1997 for a comprehensive discussion.

<sup>7</sup> We can contrast the situation at Lesbos, where the Lesbians (except the Mythemneans) ask the Athenians to farm the land themselves and give (an exorbitant) rent, rather than having Athenian settlers and their dependents (free and slave) work the land: see Thuc. 3.50.

must have brought on the household. The *exegetes* was in Athens; we can assume, therefore, that the workman was left in the ditch for a long time, or time long enough for someone to sail to Athens, find an *exegetes*, acquire the necessary advice, and sail back to Naxos. We can even add to the whole journey half a day to reach the farm, as good agricultural land on Naxos was not necessarily by the main port.

*Euthyphro's* story is one of brutal murder, neglect, and ownership. Plato never comments on these aspects of the story: his rather 'by-the-way' casual narration of this episode reveals a lot about ancient attitudes towards slaves and hired labourers. Plato's concerns are, of course, of a different nature. For someone who is interested, however, in the social history of the Aegean, this story is unique. It is a revealing narrative about the importance of agriculture; it is one of the few stories from the classical world where the extremely elusive category of the agricultural slave becomes present with all its brutal connotations; it is a narrative about conflict within families about the best way to manage agricultural resources away from home. *Euthyphro's* narrative implies that there were a number of slaves and workers in the cleruchy farm. This shows the scale and therefore importance of agricultural land and produce for the Athenian masters. The background of the story, the island of Naxos, is revealed as a landscape of considerable agricultural exploitation and wealth.

The second story is set on Anaphe. If Naxos, in the first story, is a large, wealthy island, then Anaphe stands at the other end of the spectrum of Aegean islands in terms of size and wealth. It is a small island that hardly ever enters the historical narratives; it is perhaps most famous among classicists for its appearance in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (4.1694-1730), in an episode outlining the aetiology of the cult of Apollo on the island.<sup>8</sup> In modern times, the island was known as a place of exile for communists and other dissidents during the dictatorship of Metaxas in the 1930s.<sup>9</sup> The island may be small, but in the classical and Hellenistic period, it had a polis with an active epigraphic habit,<sup>10</sup> including honorary decrees and proxeny lists.<sup>11</sup> It is one honorary decree, in particular, that offers us a snapshot of a fascinating episode of local history. We have the end of a decree honouring a certain Timotheos, son of Sosicles, who had acquired citizenship through adoption (*IG XII.3 248*).<sup>12</sup> While the decree itself is not

unusual, it does preserve the text of an oracle that Timotheos procured in response to his query as to where he should build a temple for Aphrodite.<sup>13</sup> The god, who is unnamed in our decree, responded that Timotheos should build Aphrodite's temple within the sanctuary of Apollo Asgelatas (the chief deity of Anaphe). Timotheos then built the temple of Aphrodite within the sanctuary of Apollo Asgelatas, providing all the material (wood and stone): the result was a public sanctuary for Aphrodite for the entire community, paid by one individual. The decree, as I said, is not that unusual in bestowing honours to an individual for providing some sort of benefaction to the community. Indeed, the building and/or repair of temples was one of the areas where public benefaction was often rewarded with the bestowal of honours.<sup>14</sup> What makes this decree interesting is that it reveals in unusual detail the process behind the decision to build the new temple in that particular space.

On the whole, decisions about where and what to build rested within the powers of the ancient polis and its political institutions. On third-century Anaphe, these were the Boule and the Assembly, which are mentioned at the end of the decree. If this were a public building, such as a Metroon or an Ecclesiasterion, the decision of the political authorities would be enough. As this was a temple, however, divine authority was deemed a necessary feature of the decision making process, in addition to the political institutions of the Boule and the Assembly. The oracular consultation seems to be Timotheos' own initiative: in the text of the decree, Timotheos personally asks the god 'whether it is better and more good to ask the city for the location he has in mind, in the sanctuary of Apollo Asgelatas, so that he builds a temple for Aphrodite (...) or in the sanctuary of Asclepius in the location he has in mind'.<sup>15</sup> The god then replied that he should ask for a location in the sanctuary of Apollo. Indeed, Timotheos did not reveal to the god in his oracular enquiry which location within Apollo's sanctuary he wanted to build the new temple; instead he used the fascinating format 'the location he has in mind' (ἐν ᾧ ἐπινοεῖ τόπωι). The unnamed god did not need the location spelt out in the oracular consultation: the underlying assumption is that the god knew exactly which location that was. Rather, the god was asked to choose between two alternatives (what I have in mind in the sanctuary of Apollo, or, what I have in mind in the sanctuary of Asclepius?). From what we know increasingly of the way that ancient oracles worked, the

<sup>8</sup> See Paschalis 1994, Bremmer 2005, and recently Stephens 2011. Callimachus too seems to discuss Anaphe and the cult of Apollo Asgelatas in his *Aetia* F7c, for which see now Harder 2012, 139-47.

<sup>9</sup> Kenna 2001.

<sup>10</sup> For recent discoveries see Matthaiou and Pikoulas 1990-1991, and Papadopoulos 2010-2013.

<sup>11</sup> For Anaphe's proxeny lists see Mack 2015, 292-3.

<sup>12</sup> *IG XII.3 248*, ll. 6-7: ὑπὲρ τᾶς ἐφροδου ἄς ἐποιήσατο Τιμη[ό]θεος Σωσικληύς, κατὰ δὲ ὑθεσίαν ἰσοπόλιος.

<sup>13</sup> See discussion in Eidinow 2007, 51-3.

<sup>14</sup> Meier 2012.

<sup>15</sup> *IG XII.3 248*: ll. 24-30: ἐπερωτᾷ Τιμόθεος [τὸ]ν θεὸν πότερον αὐτῶι λῶιον καὶ ἄμει[νόν] ἐστιν αἰτήσασθαι τὰν πόλιν ἐν ᾧ ἐπινοεῖ τόπωι, ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀσγελάτα, ὥστε ναὸν τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας οἰκοδομήσαι καὶ ἡμεν δαμόσιον ἢ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀ[σ]κ[λα]πιοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐπινοεῖ τόπωι.

choice between A and B seemed to have been a standard format of oracular consultation. The fact that the god decreed that the right location was in the sanctuary of Apollo is another indication that the unnamed god was indeed Apollo; indeed normally, when we have the format ‘the god prophesized’ (ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε), it is usually Apollo. Which oracular Apollo, though? The most famous was Apollo of Delphi, but Apollo of Claros too is a reasonable candidate. Assuming that Anaphe was the starting point for Timotheos’ journey, he would reach Claros far more easily than the more distant Delphi, but of course, there is no way of telling.<sup>16</sup> I personally think that Claros is a more likely candidate as the source for the oracular response recorded in this decree.

We do not know much about Anaphe’s history in the Hellenistic times. True, the cult of Apollo Asgelatas was peculiar enough to attract the attention of both Apollonius Rhodius and Callimachus,<sup>17</sup> but it is far from certain that these poets had first hand experience of the rites on this island. The relatively rich epigraphic record from Anaphe, however, allows us to see how the political authorities on the island behaved (typically for a Greek community of that period, it seems). The epigraphic record also reveals the connections between this small island and the wider Greek world, through the oracular consultation at Claros (or Delphi). The story about Timotheos’ honouring and the building of the temple of Aphrodite on the island also echoes the fame of the cult of Apollo Asgelatas and its aeschrological nature, which was the focus of considerable scholarly attention especially in third-century Alexandria.

My third story is not about one, but two Cycladic islands. In the late Hellenistic period, the island of Syros honoured Onesandros, son of Boulon, from Siphnos, with the award of proxeny and associated honours as well as a golden crown, which was one of the most expensive honours that a city could bestow in order to express its gratitude, for various acts of benefaction. The evidence for this is, once again, an honorary inscription, dated, most likely, to the second half of the second century BC (*IG* XII.5 653 = Bielman 52).<sup>18</sup> The decree survives in its entirety, and we are fortunate that the demos of the Syrians decided to inscribe the full narrative as to why Onesandros deserved such honours.<sup>19</sup> The story is long and relatively complicated

but allows us a rare insight into the everyday life of the Cycladic islanders during the late Hellenistic period. What follows here is a summary of the main body of this text.<sup>20</sup> Some time ago, the decree says, there were tidings that pirate ships (κακοῦργα πλοῖα) were bound to attack the countryside of the Syrians and the city in search of persons to seize and hold for ransom. A great disturbance then took place in the city, and it was announced that the pirates have found harbour in the territory of Siphnos. The Syrians then decided to elect Ctesicles, son of Charicleides to arrive at Siphnos. When Ctesicles arrived there during the night, Onesandros, who was a local Siphnian, welcomed him with kindness, and also his sons Boulon and Nikon. Onesandros then paid another man, Ekphantos to go to the countryside on Siphnos with some other youth and find out if the news (that the pirates have landed on Siphnos) were true. When he found out that this was indeed the case, Onesandros told Ctesicles and then arranged for Ctesicles to appear in front of the Assembly. There were two slaves belonging to yet another person, Sosilos, son of Xenopeithes, who were abducted by the pirates (from Syros), Noumenios and Botrys (naming slaves is an extremely uncommon feature). When the pirates put into port on the island across Siphnos (ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἀπέναντι νῆσον τῆς χώρας τῆς Σιφνίων), which is probably Citriane,<sup>21</sup> one of the slaves, Noumenios, swam across away from the pirates. Onesandros then received the slave, having found that he is from Syros, and fed him and dressed him, and he sent him to Syros, paying all expenses. The story then ends, and the decree finishes using typical honorific language, listing the honours bestowed on Onesandros and how the text of the decree will be published (by inscribing it on stone).

the case for honours in such detail: I have discussed this in Constantakopoulou 2017, 121-36, with references to scholarship.

<sup>20</sup> *IG* XII.5 653 = Bielman 52 ll. 9-32: πρότερόν τε ἀγγελίας γενηθείσης διότι κακοῦργα πλοῖα καὶ πλείονα ἐπιβάλλειν ἡμῶν ἡμελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ ῥύσιον, καὶ ταραχῆς μείζονος γινομένης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἃ καὶ ἀπηνγέλη προσωρμικένοι πρὸς τὴν Σιφνίων χώραν, καὶ περὶ τούτων παραχρήμα ὁ δῆμος ἐλόμενος ἄνδρα εἰς Σίφνον Κτησικλῆν Χαρικλείδου διὰ νυκτὸς ἔνεκεν τοῦ κατασκέψεσθαι ἃ προγεγραμμένα, καὶ ἐν ἐκίνοις Ὀνήσανδρος βουλόμενος ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἦν ἔχει εὐνοίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, αὐτὸν τε φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξατο τοὺς τε υἱοὺς Βούλωνα καὶ Νίκωνα, ἐν Σίφνῳ δὲ χρηματίζοντα Ἔκφαντον, καὶ τινὰς μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν νεωτέρους παρακαλέσας ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξερανησομένους, καὶ πάντα σαφῶς πυθόμενος τὰ προσαγγελλόμενα διασαφίσας τῷ Κτησικλῆ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν διὰ τάχους, φροντίσας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνακομιδῆς αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κτησικλῆς ἐνεφάνιζεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁμοίω[ς] δὲ ἀφαρπαγόντων καὶ οἰκετικῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ πειρατῶν παρὰ Σωσίλου τοῦ Ξενοπέθου Νουμηνίου καὶ Βότρως ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Ἑσχατίας συνέβη κατὰραι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἀπέναντι νῆσον τῆς χώρας τῆς Σιφνίων ἕνα δὲ αὐτῶν Νουμηνιον διακολυμβήσαντα ἀπὸ τῶν πειρατῶν Ὀνήσανδρος ὑπεδέξατο, πυθόμενος ὅτι ἔστιν ἐξύρου, καὶ ἔθρεψεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρόνων καὶ πλείονα, καὶ ἀνφείσας ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τοῖς ἰδίους δαπανήμασιν.

<sup>21</sup> Identified as the off-shore island of Citriane by Pantou and Papadopoulou 2005.

<sup>16</sup> In writing this section, I benefitted enormously by the discussion that took place during the conference organized by E. Eidinow, A. Petrovic, and I. Petrovic, on Belief and the Individual in Ancient Greek Religion, July 19-20, 2017, at the Institute of Classical Studies, London.

<sup>17</sup> Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica* (4.1694-1730), Callimachus *Aetia* F7c. See also Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.49.

<sup>18</sup> Date suggested by Mendoni 2009. Bielman 1994, 184-9 provides an excellent translation and commentary. See also Nocita and Guizzi 2005 for a discussion of this decree.

<sup>19</sup> Normally honorific decrees are very formulaic and do not present

There are numerous fascinating features in this narrative, and a number of open questions. How did the Syrians hear about the pirates in the first place? Did someone spot the ships sailing on open waters and identified them as pirate ships? This would be the most straightforward answer, but as pirate ships on the whole were not necessarily easily distinguished from any other merchant ships, this would imply that these particular pirates and their ships were well known in the area. Whatever the process of recognition of the true nature of the pirate ships, the story implies heavy traffic between the islands, including possibly a night trip (which brought the Syrian Ctesicles to Onesandros' house on Siphnos). This inscription is also a wonderful attestation of the use of off-shore islands by pirates during the late Hellenistic period. Certainly, such use of off-shore islands, such as Citriane here, was not restricted to the ancient times: off-shore islands provided excellent opportunities for safe anchorage, and therefore could also serve as a base for piratical operations against the more prosperous larger island, in whose territory the small island belonged.<sup>22</sup> This story is also one of a few attestations we have from ancient sources about slaves swimming. Indeed, stories about swimming in general are not common in our sources. We could assume that the Greeks engaged in naval training of any sort may have had some training in swimming, but contrary to stories about running or other forms of exercise, swimming is largely ignored by the sources.<sup>23</sup> Noumenios must have been a particularly strong swimmer: the distance between Citriane and Siphnos is at least 500m, with a noticeable current. He must have also walked a considerable distance to reach Onesandros' house. I would expect that the primary residence of Onesandros was in the ancient city of Siphnos, which is located under modern-day Kastro, on the east side of the island. If indeed Noumenios walked from the south side of the island (the shore opposite Citriane) to the ancient polis of Siphnos on the east, then the distance would be many miles. I also find it particularly touching that the Syrians include in the narrative of the reasons for the honours the fact that Onesandros fed and dressed the slave when Noumenios reached his house. Obviously, such an act was considered way above the call of duty for free citizens. Like the story from Naxos, that I started with, this narrative gives us a rare glimpse into the life of the slave. The underlying assumption here is that even after performing almost super-human feats (escaping from the pirates, swimming unnoticed across the two islands, Citriane and Siphnos, walking through an unfamiliar landscape to reach the house of Onesandros), a slave

would not customarily expect to be fed and clothed. Rather, this act is included in the narration to enhance Onesandros' benefaction.

The decree allows us to visualize an extensive network of associations between citizens and slaves across islands. How did Noumenios, a slave, know to go to Onesandros' house on Siphnos, as opposed to anyone else's? Obviously, Onesandros was known to the people of Syros, and perhaps this knowledge was extended to some of the slaves belonging to Syrian households. Or perhaps, one of the captive Syrians on the pirate ship, docked at Citriane, told specifically Noumenios where to go, and whom to ask for. The almost casual reference of so many individuals in this decree shows how Syros and Siphnos were linked by solid personal relations. This personal network of associations between Syros and Siphnos is what made Onesandros act quickly in recognizing the issue, and by calling on his own network of Siphnians to address the situation (Ekphantos and the other youth, exploring the countryside on Siphnos to find out where the pirates were). Behind the relatively dry language of this honorific decree, we get a real insight into the dangers of island life and of the extraordinary acts of bravery that slaves could perform.

I have discussed three stories, from three islands, Naxos, Anaphe, and Syros. The stories narrated are quite different; one common feature, however, is the insular landscape of the Cyclades that forms the background to human activity, whether this is murder (the first story from Naxos), the building of a temple (the second story from Anaphe), or the rescue of captives from pirates (the third story, in the maritime space between Syros and Siphnos). The three stories, I hope, exemplify the decree of diversity we face when discussing the history and archaeology of the Cyclades. We may think of the islands as insignificant places, poor and arid. The ancient sources certainly conveyed such an image.<sup>24</sup> Yet, this image of insignificance and poverty was a literary topos, the result of island control by the Athenian empire, which stressed narratives of weakness, instead of narratives of wealth, power and success. Febvre famously said that 'if we look for a "law of the islands", we find diversity'.<sup>25</sup> The agricultural challenges of Delos, which are exemplified in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (l. 53-4: 'you shall never be rich in oxen or sheep and shall never produce vintage nor grow an abundance of plants') were not shared by wealthy (*lipara*) Naxos or Paros.<sup>26</sup> The essays in this volume have shown perfectly the different challenges each island faced, and have highlighted the different trajectories that even neighbouring islands could follow.

<sup>22</sup> I have discussed this more extensively in Constantakopoulou 2007 115-9, and 195-9, listing ancient examples of such use of off-shore islands.

<sup>23</sup> Swimming and the construction of manliness in Hall 1994. Davidson 2014 is excellent on running.

<sup>24</sup> Brun 1993, Constantakopoulou 2007, 99-115.

<sup>25</sup> Febvre 1932, 233.

<sup>26</sup> On this aspect of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* see now the excellent article by Hitch 2015.



Despite the degree of diversity between islands, there are some important themes emerging too. Successful water management must have been a constant concern for all communities in the Cyclades in the longue duree of antiquity. Indeed, Knight and Beaumont's contribution on water supply at Zagora on Andros should serve as a reminder of how inter-disciplinary approaches can throw light on crucial aspects of the history of landscape use that until now could only be approached on a purely theoretical basis. The wide chronological span covered by the contributions in this volume shows how similar some of our methodological approaches are, whether we are working on prehistory, classical antiquity, or late antiquity. An underlying concern shared by many contributions here was the attempt to meaningfully document and understand the networks of interactions between the islands and the wider region. The region of the Cyclades is a island-scape that privileges maritime connectivity. In that sense, absolute isolation was relatively unknown, and maritime interaction should be understood as the norm.<sup>27</sup> How we document this maritime interaction, of course, is far from a straightforward process. We still face incomplete datasets, the result of excavation and publication. But even with incomplete datasets, as Palaiothodoros showed so well in his contribution, it is possible to ask meaningful questions and get some preliminary answers. Another common theme was the role of the landscape in shaping human behavior: we now know more about caves (the contribution by Mavridis, Tankosic, and Kotsonas), the role of the littoral in creating distance and providing safety (the contribution of Martin on relocating the population from Akrotiri on Thera), the role of marble and its trade (the contribution by Kokkorou-Aletras et al.) and the potential re-use of sacred space in the processes of Christianization (the contribution by Sweetman, Devlin, and Piree Ilio). Maritime interaction and movement of goods, peoples and ideas, therefore, are central to our approach of the Cyclades. While we can document to a certain degree the movement of goods (the contributions by Paleothodoros and da Silva Francisco), can we similarly document the human experience of interaction? How the humans perceived and responded to their environment is, of course, a much more elusive topic. We can explore the monumentality of their interaction, through, for example, the votive and honorific practices on specific locations, such as Hellenistic Delos (the contribution by Herbin). The feelings or personal experience of the pilgrim, however, is not easily documented (Olivieri does a good job in attempting to reconstruct the experience of the pilgrim on classical Delos). But here again, Febvre's law of diversity should always stay on

<sup>27</sup> In this, the volume is following Horden and Purcell's pioneering work in 2000. For an interconnected Aegean see also Brun 1998, and Constantakopoulou 2007 and 2017.

our mind: we cannot assume that the experience of the classical pilgrim to the *panegyris* on Delos was in any way similar to that of the Christian pilgrim going to Delos, even when, as the contribution of Sweetman, Devlin and Piree Ilio argued so well, there was careful re-use of the sacred space on Delos during the process of Christianization of the island.

The essays collected here may have highlighted the high degree of diversity that the Cycladic islands experienced, but they have also revealed some important common themes, such as the importance of connectivity, the role of the landscape and its resources in shaping human activity, the methodological implications of the limitations of our sources, and the challenges one faces when trying to reconstruct the human experience in its historical dimension, to name a few.

One indisputable highlight of recent discoveries in Cycladic archaeology is undoubtedly the ongoing discussion and exploration of the sanctuary of Despotiko. Archaeological research on Despotiko, a small island next to modern Antiparos (ancient Oliaros), began in 2001, under the directorship of Yannis Kourayos.<sup>28</sup> The island housed a large sanctuary, which flourished in the late archaic period. It is not often that discoveries such as these take place in the Cyclades:<sup>29</sup> indeed, this sanctuary is never mentioned by name in any of our ancient sources, while the island itself is hardly ever mentioned at all.<sup>30</sup> Considering the extremely important finds coming to light from the area of the sanctuary, it is very surprising that we lack any reference to the cult, sanctuary, and activities associated with the cult in our extant ancient sources. Recently, Zozi Papadopoulou put forward an ingenious suggestion.<sup>31</sup> In a fragmentary Paian for Apollo (F 140a), written for the Parians, there is a reference to Heracles 'crossing the isthmus' in order to establish an altar for Apollo. Some lines further above, there is also a reference to Apollo as 'archagetes' of Delos. The paian is very fragmentary; as a result it is very difficult to ascertain what exactly the role of Heracles was in establishing cult somewhere on Paros.<sup>32</sup> Heracles' visit to Paros is also recorded in Apollodoros (2.5.9): in that version, Heracles killed two grandsons of Minos because the sons of Minos, who ruled Paros at the time, had killed two of Heracles' comrades.<sup>33</sup> It is

<sup>28</sup> Selective list of publications: Kourayos 2005 and 2015, Kourayos et al. 2012, Kourayos and Daifa 2017, Kourayos and Burns 2017, and Kourayos et al. 2017. See also the contributions by Ohnesorg and Papajanni, Alexandridou, and Kourayos, Sutton and Daifa in this volume.

<sup>29</sup> One exception is perhaps the undisturbed adyton in a temple of the ancient city on Kythnos for which see Mazarakis Ainian 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Despotiko is most likely the island called Prepesinthos in antiquity, as Strabo attests (10.5.3 c485).

<sup>31</sup> Papadopoulou 2010-2013, esp. 409-415.

<sup>32</sup> For Pindar's paian for the Parians, see Rutherford 2001, 377-82, followed closely by Kowalzig 2007, 95-7.

<sup>33</sup> Fragoulaki 2013 (not discussing this paian) is excellent in providing

likely that Pindar's fragmentary paian also belongs to this tradition. What is interesting for our purposes is exactly the reference to Heracles crossing the isthmus.<sup>34</sup> The only monumental inscription to have been found at the sanctuary at Despotiko until now is a fourth-century inscription on an altar, reading 'Of Hestia Isthmia' (SEG 54.800).<sup>35</sup> We also know that Antiparos was probably connected with the islets Tsimintiri and Despotiko until the Hellenistic period, creating thus an isthmus.<sup>36</sup> It is extremely likely, therefore, as Papadopoulou suggested, that the reference to Heracles 'crossing an isthmus' in order to found a new cult in honour of Delian Apollo is indeed an elusive reference to the sanctuary at Despotiko. In other words, Pindar, in a paian that he wrote for the Parians, is alluding to a cult on an isthmus, in honour of Apollo; considering that the cult for Hestia in Despotiko received the tell-tale epithet 'of the isthmus' (Isthmia), it is likely that the cult that Heracles, crossing the isthmus, founded in Pindar's narrative was none other than the cult offered to Apollo in the sanctuary at Despotiko.

We have, therefore, our one and only possible reference to this fascinating sanctuary. It does not tell us much, but it does confirm the excavators' opinion that the sanctuary's primary deity was Apollo, with, probably, Artemis. The sanctuary complex is massive, with a number of fascinating features. Ohnesorg and Papajanni, in their contribution in this volume, suggest that the building with channel to the south of the main complex had a practical use, and not a ritual one. This is a very important reminder that we should not necessarily interpret all buildings and architectural features whose purpose eludes us within the framework of 'ritual' activity. Similarly, Alexandridou in her contribution to this volume suggests that the magnificent figurine, called 'Lady of Despotiko', or 'Pipina', was not a free-standing cult statue. Rather, through an extensive comparison with other figurines and iconography on pottery, she suggests that it was used as support for a vessel (perhaps a *thymiaterion* or a *perirrhaterion*). The figurine, therefore, is a depiction of a mortal rather than a divine figure, and should be seen as a dedication of an elite (female?) dedicant.

Kourayos, Sutton, and Daifa, in their contribution, link the (in)famous expedition of Miltiades against Paros, famously narrated in Herodotus (6.132-3), with the

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a nuanced analysis as to how kinship relations are flexible enough to accommodate contrasting views and versions of mythical narratives. In that sense, Pindar's paian for the Parians may be seen as expressing (through the killing of the grandsons of Minos) an attempted affiliation between the Parians and the Dorians (through Heracles) as a reaction against Athenian control of the Aegean during the fifth century.

<sup>34</sup> Paian F 140a l. 36-7: βωμόν πατρί τε Κρονίω τιμᾶντι πέραν ἰσθμὸν διαβαίς. Rutherford 2001, 381 identifies this as the isthmus of Corinth.

<sup>35</sup> SEG 54.800: Ἑστίας Ἰσθμίας.

<sup>36</sup> Draganits 2009.

layer of destruction witnessed at the sanctuary in the early fifth century. The archaeological record, they show, implies that the destruction in the sanctuary was a deliberate human action. This fits extremely well with Miltiades' expedition against the Parians, which they date to 490, soon after the battle of Marathon, and while the Persian fleet was crossing the Aegean.<sup>37</sup> While Herodotus does not mention the sanctuary of Despotiko in this context, the only historical episode that fits the chronological dating of the destruction of the archaic sanctuary is that of Miltiades' attack on Paros. The Parians repaired the sanctuary, while also investing in monumentalisation in the Delion sanctuary located on Paros: these acts, it is argued, are best explained as a Parian celebration of resistance against Miltiades and Athenian aggression, and therefore as an act of identity formation for the community.

Indeed, as Kourayos, Sutton, and Daifa argue, the sanctuary of Despotiko can be seen as the 'poster child' for Polignac's model of the importance of extra-urban sanctuaries for the formation of the Greek polis. True, the Parians could not reach Despotiko through a procession by land, as Polignac's model assumes. Yet, massive investment in an off-shore island, easily reached by boat from Paros, shows concern about demarcation of territory. The fragmented, yet easily connected, island-landscape of the Cyclades encourages us to think about connectivity through maritime interaction, rather than linear routes on land. The Parians may have not used a procession, such as the one from Argos to the Heraion (the main case study for Polignac), but we should not assume that the maritime traffic to Despotiko, especially during festival days, was any less spectacular than a procession on land. In that sense, as Kourayos and his team strongly articulate, Despotiko has a lot to tell us about the function of sanctuaries, the demarcation of space, and the role of religious activity in enhancing civic identity and promoting communal ideology within the insular landscape of the Aegean. I, for one, can only wait with anticipation for the new discoveries from this spectacular archaeological investigation.

When studying the Cycladic region, with its diversity, fragmentation and connectivity, one thing is for certain: the islands, whether in the Prehistoric, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, or Late Antique periods, continue to fascinate us. This volume is an excellent attestation of the enduring appeal of the Cycladic islands and of the islanders to our collective imagination.

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<sup>37</sup> This is convincingly argued on the basis of Ephorus' testimony (FGrH 70 F63 = Steph. Byz. s.v. Paros), which mentions that during Miltiades' siege of the island, the Parians misinterpreted a forest fire on neighbouring Myconos as a signal from Datis. The chronological implication is that Miltiades' siege must have taken place chronologically when Datis could be perceived as still present in the Aegean, ie. soon after the battle of Marathon itself.

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