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EUROPEAN ISLANDS BETWEEN ISOLATED AND INTERCONNECTED LIFE WORLDS

INTERDISCIPLINARY LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVES



Editors

Laura Dierksmeier,
Frerich Schön,
Anna Kouremenos,
Annika Condit &
Valerie Palmowski

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Martin Bartelheim and Thomas Scholten

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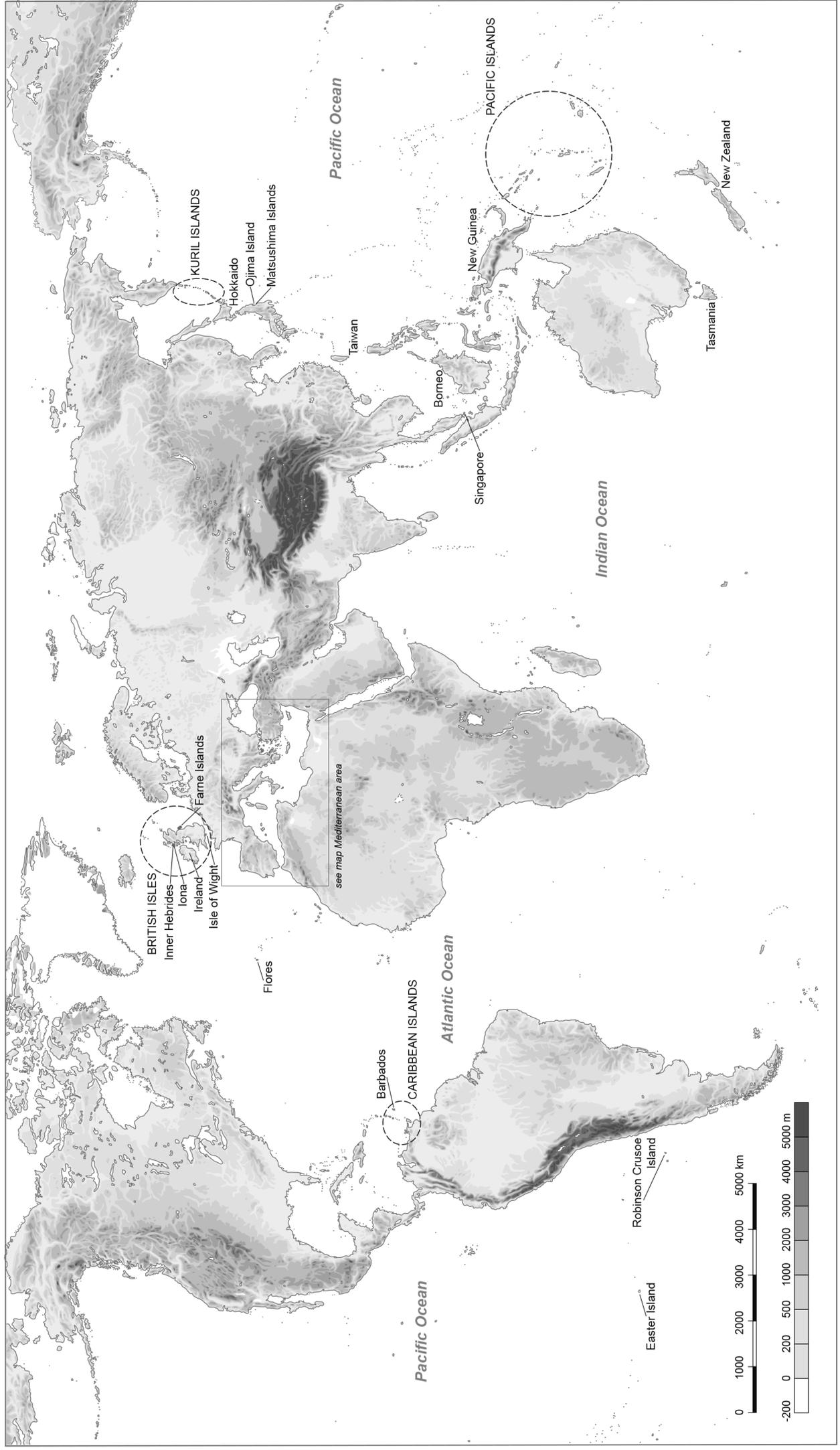
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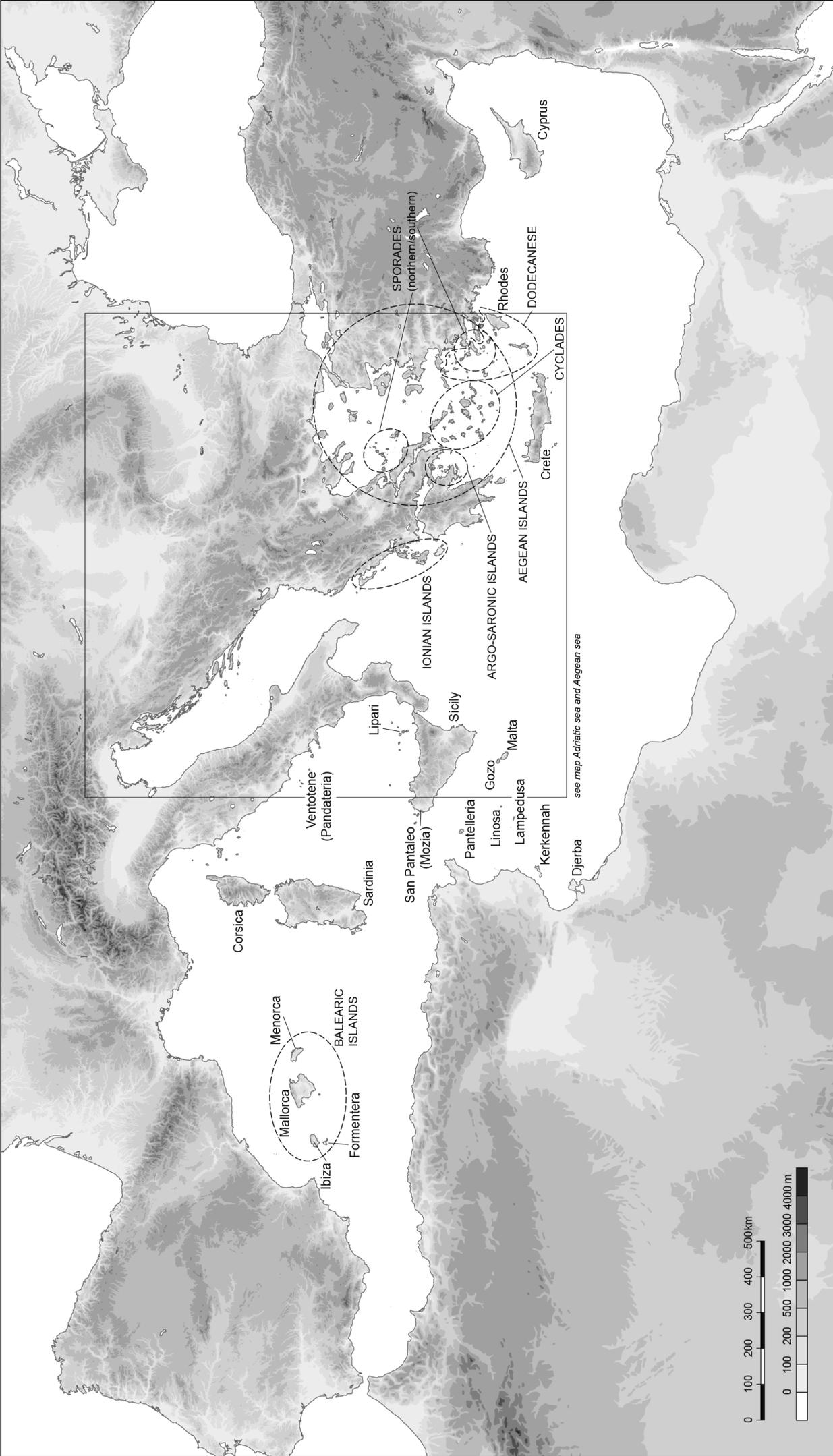
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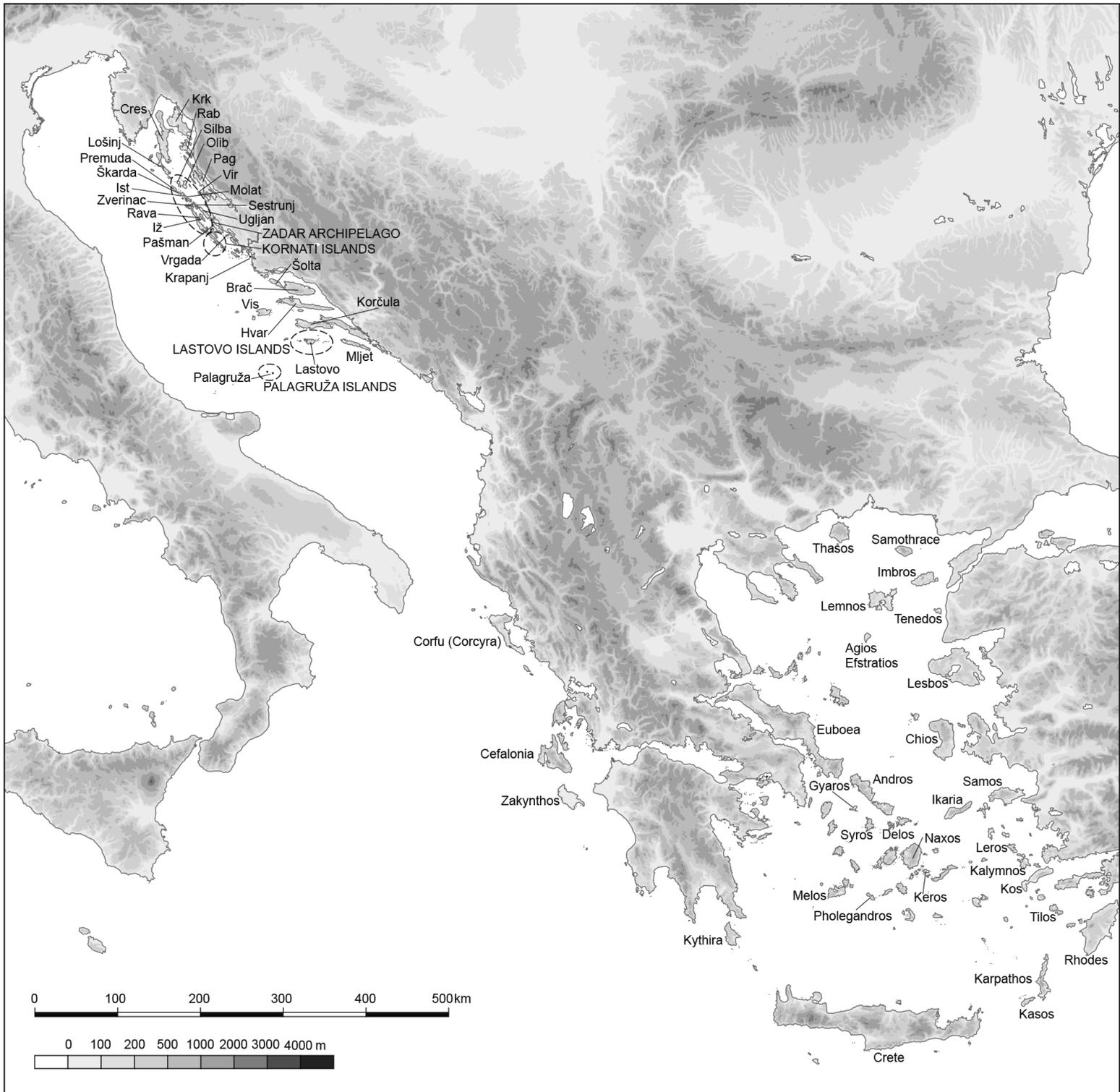
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World map of islands mentioned in this book. Map by Richard Szydlak.



Mediterranean map of islands mentioned in this book. Map by Richard Szydlak.



Aegean map of islands mentioned in this book. Map by Richard Szydlak.

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The three maps at the beginning of this book have been produced by Cartographer Richard

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Foreword

To many eyes, islands are first and foremost geographical features. However, they are much more than mere spots in the sea. They are places of attribution, projection surfaces for ideas, dreams and fantasies from outside. Islands have often been seen as idealised places for new lifestyles and utopias, and in Western mythology, the idea of ‘island’ meanders between creation myths – German ‘Ei-land’ understood as the origin of all life – and closed enclaves or exclaves for paradisiacal lifestyles. It is precisely here that the two opposing perspectives that determine the view of islands become most evident: the view from within and the view from outside – or as Katrin Dautel so beautifully describes in her contribution to this book: the worm’s and the bird’s eye perspective.

Islands are not *per se* isolated. Seclusion, limitation and isolation are outside attributions that have led to numerous misinterpretations, especially in the case of small islands. What exactly is limited here? And what does seclusion mean when an island is, in fact, immersed in a sea of connections? The fallacy of such limiting ascriptions becomes apparent when understanding that a coastline is not (de)finite, nor necessarily a boundary. The sea can also constitute a contact zone. The myths and legends of Polynesian and Micronesian peoples show a world that not only consists of solid land but also encompasses the surrounding ocean, the wide sky together with its gods, as well as the ‘underworld’, whose fiery nature could often be perceived through shaking ground. When water and earth are considered one, the island is no longer an island and certainly no longer small. In his description, Hau‘ofa thus states a little provocatively that ‘smallness is a state of mind’ (Hau‘ofa 2008, 31).

What is often omitted from the view of the island are the islanders themselves. Their perspective is quite different. For the islanders, islands are places to live and spaces for development.

Although one-fifth of the island states recognised by the United Nations (which itself is a quarter of all the world’s nations) are among the poorest and least developed countries, islanders do not perceive themselves as mere statistics in poverty reports, or as tourist attractions wearing raffia skirts. They regard themselves as part of a wider network that extends far from the island’s shores and which is created and used by themselves. Migration, maritime traffic and trade have determined the history of islands for centuries, and connections have always been a central part of a larger whole, not only from an economic and strategic but also from a social and cultural point of view. Stepping-stones in the Mediterranean, island holism in the Pacific and migratory movements in the Caribbean: Rather than forced connections between Europe, Africa, America and Oceania, they continue to represent a web of social relations that expresses itself spatially and manifests itself socially. ‘Islandness’ is not about isolation, but very much about connection, relying on a high degree of mobility and flexibility of island populations.

This is exactly where this book begins, evident already in its title ‘European Islands between Isolated and Interconnected Life Worlds: Interdisciplinary Long-Term Perspectives’. Based on an interdisciplinary conference in Tübingen in November 2019, it combines a multitude of case studies on insular spaces, people and practices. The book encourages us to think about islands in a different way, bearing in mind over thousands of years of history, different disciplinary perspectives and the recurring theme of relationality and connectivity. The examples chosen are all from a European context. They beautifully describe the interplay of singularity, island diversity, dependence and influence, connection and island innovation from archaeological, historical, literary, linguistic, and geographical standpoints.

The book as a whole is an interdisciplinary conversation between different disciplinary representatives and perspectives. It is about islands as places and spaces, islands as influencing and influenced, dominating and dependent, independent and innovative. It features islands as transit posts, outposts and stepping-stones, as safe havens, settlement locations and pirates' nests. Almost all of these themes reflect the outside view of islands.

Our task as island scholars is to ask questions and to listen. We must engage in self-reflection and disclose our own positions, accepting there is an inside and outside view. We must help to distinguish attributions from stereotypes and reproductions. Moreover, our task is to translate islanders' views and island languages so they become legible in different or new contexts. Given the flood of literature, it is difficult to find one's way these days. Nevertheless, the effort to look beyond the beaten track and to consider more than the English language mainstream is worth making. Searching for other languages, other disciplines and other points of view to see what island life means to the islanders – this is what an interdisciplinary book like this widely contributes to.

A *Gestaltwechsel* or a 'change of perspective in the epistemology of islands' can help us to see islands instead of victims, can help us see islands as agents capable of shaping their own destiny. The dominant image of islands as vulnerable and dependent, isolated and peripheral is not only limiting but also a typical outsider's attribution. Granted, some islanders have since adopted the view of islands and their populations as victims. But islands are quite capable of creatively using their assets. As Francesca Bonzano puts it in this volume, marginality is in fact 'a source of dynamism, resulting in exposure to diverse influences'. In many instances, islands have proven to be avant-garde, an idea already suggested over 300 years ago by Charles de Montesquieu in his 'Spirit of the Laws'. He praises islands as places of freedom and particularly emphasises the role of the sea that shelters them. 'Islands are commonly of a small extent; [...] the sea separates them from great empires; tyranny cannot so well support itself within a small compass; conquerors are

stopped by the sea; and the islanders, being without the reach of their arms, more easily preserve their own laws' (D'Alambert 1823, 277 f.).

As island scholars, we should be particularly careful in our choice of images and metaphors, so that we do not repeat stereotypes or cement existing stigmas. One attribution in particular that crops up time and again is that of islands as laboratories, which I consider a patronising and even arrogant view. Islanders do not deserve to be regarded as test objects, there to be inspected while they go about their daily lives or struggle for survival. There is a big difference between 'laboratory' and other metaphors for islands such as 'window', 'microcosm', 'observatories', 'key sensors', 'canaries in a coalmine', or 'representations of the world in miniature'. We should be careful using such terminology because – as my colleague, Elaine Stratford once so clearly said: 'We speak the world into existence'. What role we ascribe to islands is up to us. It is time, therefore, to stop reproducing the image of islands as isolated and vulnerable victims and exotic paradises. We should come to a more differentiated, insiders' view that also encompasses much more self-reflection. This would give the islanders a chance to be heard and would offer them the opportunity to actively resist stigmatisation.

We need to reconsider attributions to islands and expose some island misunderstandings as fantasies. Islands are space and place, and they should be investigated as such, from different perspectives, in different regions of the world, through the lens of different cultures, in different physical settings and at different times – from within and outside. It took me years to fully comprehend what Grant McCall defines as 'Nissology', and we ought to engage in – 'the study of islands on their own terms' (McCall 1994).

Island research can make a significant contribution to the understanding of socio-spatiality and space-place relations. The attraction of islands as a field of research is partly down to their non-contained spaces and relationality – their relation to the ocean, to other islands and to global centres. Their connectivity and relationality are just as important as their smallness, boundedness and

isolation. Islands can make us pause for thought, leading us towards new questions. As such, they are ideally placed as objects of reflection on contemporary developments and situations – ideally suited to some alternative thinking about alternatives.

Islands are not just there – neither in the physical-geographical nor in the figurative social sense. They are constructed by natural and social forces. The nesophile in me was immersed in this multi-dimensional book of stories and histories, of cases, concepts and traditions. And I found myself repeatedly wondering whether these historical connections still have currency today. As a geographer who deals with current situations and problems as well as future developments, I find myself thinking about how they might play out: as lock-ins or well-trodden paths? I enjoyed engaging with

the novelties of the past, the translation effort of the varying contributors and the common ground we can plough.

There is a difference between ‘islands’ and ‘the concept of islands’. Islands have been written ABOUT for far too long. We should stop repeating stereotypes, question our own positions, translate and learn to listen to what islands and islanders have to tell. This volume is a contribution to this.

‘Se ponen en pie los pueblos, y se saludan;
se preguntan ‘cómo somos?’,
y unos a otros se van diciendo como son.’
(Martí 1975, 20)

Beate Ratter
Hamburg, April 13, 2020

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Laura Dierksmeier

Introduction

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Island Studies

Keywords: island studies methods, emic island research, insularity and islandness, challenges to island studies

‘Una isla es una porción de tierra rodeada de teorías por todas partes.’

(An island is a piece of land surrounded by theories from everywhere.)

Luis Álvarez Cruz, Retablo isleño, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1951.

‘The Excursion of One Who is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World’

The map we selected for the cover of this book may strike you initially as odd. It was produced in the 12th cent. CE by Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Idrisi as part of the ‘Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-āfāq’ (نزهة المشتاق في اختراق الافاق), which translates to ‘The Excursion of One Who is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World’, and it is also known as the *Tabula Rogeriana* after King Roger II who commissioned the work from Palermo, Sicily. Al-Idrisi’s employment, as a Muslim, by a Christian king, highlights a constant feature of island studies: knowledge of the sea and its islands was considered so valuable that it could break through otherwise unforgiving political, religious, and cultural boundaries. Born in either Ceuta on the African side of the strait of Gibraltar – the ancient Pillars of Hercules – or in Sicily (see Drecol 2000, 11), the Arab cartographer certainly turned the conventional European image of the Mediterranean Sea ‘on its head’ (Barcelona et al. 2017). Even so, for more than three centuries his maps were considered the most accurate depictions of the world – simply because they ‘worked’. Thus did practical employability trump theoretical differences, at least in the estimate of pragmatic seafarers and rulers.

Yet, how many islands can you recognise on the cover of this book? It is certainly a challenge to

read a map with an unfamiliar orientation, which is why we have also included the same map with north at the top below (*fig. 1*).

A comparison of either brings to mind the manifold and ever-new ways one can look at islands. Beholding a map with south at the top, where familiarities become dislodged, gives us the chance to reconsider the Mediterranean Sea and its surroundings from new angles and perspectives. We might begin to probe deeper: What were the consequences of the smoother shoreline of the African continent in contradistinction with the European one? Which islanders spoke which languages? What were their biggest challenges? How did it feel, smell, and sound to be an islander on any one island? The list of questions could be continued. There are always more layers to peel back. One never finishes learning about islands, once one embarks on the project of looking at islands from unfamiliar angles – this was the experience that gave rise to the research project which led up to this book.

We also selected the cover map because of the number of highly visible, even prominent, islands. This is very much unlike modern maps, where scaling can make islands disappear, reduced to a fate of non-existence because of their small size. With only 2% of the earth’s landmass, islands occupy relatively small spaces in comparison mainland territories (Ratter 2018, 2). It is certainly inconvenient



Fig. 1. Detail of map drawn by al-Idrisi in 1154 (image in the public domain).

that islands sometimes do not appear on maps, as if they did not exist at all. Maps appear at first glance to be very objective sources of information, but islands remind us of the highly subjective decisions made about what to show and what to leave off maps. We have attempted to counter this problem of small island underrepresentation by including three maps at the beginning of this book and below (see *fig. 2-4*), which illustrate the approximate location of islands mentioned in this book, regardless of their size or status. It is certainly an unusual experience to read a map where only the islands are labelled, and we hope the reader will join us in asking more questions about islands, past and present.

Al Idrisi's map also introduces the overarching theme of this book – how islands function between isolation and connection. The thick borderlines drawn by al-Idrisi make boundaries with the sea and the mainland even more prominent, as if to suggest that each island is its own distinct world, isolated from everywhere else (→ isolation). But the number and position of the islands, and the fact that so many were drawn, insinuates at the same time how connected islands were via sailing

routes (→ connection). Before air travel, it is difficult to overstate how important islands were for anyone travelling by sea. From food and water provisions to assistance with navigation to aid during enemy attacks, storms, and ship failures to commercial emporiums, knowledge about islands was highly sought after for economic and geostrategic reasons. People, rumours, resources, cultural traditions, religious beliefs, technologies, seeds, diseases, songs, clothing trends, and norms of etiquette, to name a few, travelled via island highways on their way to and from the mainland and dispersed via the sea to locations as distant as their ships could carry them.

The Ambiguity of Islands

Many of us are convinced that islands are more complex than their standard geographical definition (land surrounded by water) and current-day biases may suggest. However, a review of a few recent usages of the word and concept 'island' reveals an actually multifaceted sedimented knowledge about islands in our everyday use of the

word. Current portrayals of islands are something that we should consider when we bring the field of island studies into public discussions. For example, a child might ask you which three things you would bring with you to an island, because islands are our societal short-hand for remote spaces. But, as we all know, islands create a certain excitement that other isolated locations do not have. In their fear-provoking remoteness, islands also have lure – for example, as places of relaxation and refuge. They are used metaphorically to inflate religious experiences (e.g. Jesus as an island sanctuary), to imply expertise in one thing (e.g. ‘the carpet island’), or used to describe islands of self-empowerment (e.g. assisted living home), or the opposite, locations of social exclusion (jails), lawlessness (tax evasion islands), crime, trash, or dangerous experiments (nuclear testing). In addition, some people describe themselves as islands when they are lonely, or the reverse, the earth as an island, where all people are connected as one. These present-day uses of the term island, and the reader can surely think of more, show us the versatility of the word island. This exposes how at the same time in different contexts islands represent the special and mundane, the spiritual and the corrupt, the safe and the dangerous, the independent and the dependent, as well as the isolated and the connected, to name but a few distinctions. The fact that islands mean different things and sometimes opposite things, hints at also their historical complexity. And this panoply of taxonomic variety is nothing new, and rather part of a long tradition.

Already in the 7th cent. CE, Isidore of Seville, the renowned Christian compiler of universal knowledge, described islands as places with a wide range of qualities. In book 14 of his *Etymologies* ‘The Earth and its Parts’ Isidore describes the islands known to him based on his full range of available sources, many of which were written under the Roman Empire (Isidore of Seville et al. 2010). In his *etymologies*, Isidore exposed that island characteristics quite often contradict. For example, island water can either heal the sick and blind thieves, or not be enough to sustain life. One may encounter pearls, gold, silver, or ‘the whitest marble’, or nothing deemed useful at all. Animals and plants may provide food and beauty, whereas other islands are populated by venomous animals and poisonous

plants. Islands are locations of remarkable cultural accomplishments, as well as places of ‘barbaric cannibals’. And island geography can make life on the island bountiful or deadly.

Thus, the geographical definition of an island captures only a small part of what an island is and what it means to be an islander. Indeed: ‘An island is a piece of land surrounded by theories from everywhere’ (Álvarez Cruz 1951). To better understand the historical complexity of islands and islanders, we have created the current book. Islands are analysed as dynamic spaces, often part of global developments, both connected and disconnected from other islands and the mainland in various ways.

Between Isolation and Connection

But the ‘connected isolation’ of islands has not always been the starting point for studies about islands (Ratter 2018, 3; Broodbank 2000, 10). Far more common, following the development of the field of island studies, was to study the effects of isolation on island inhabitants, including plants, animals, and people, which influenced the current first definition of insularity. After Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace argued that island geography had an impact on the development of species, academic interest in the effects of island isolation steadily increased (Darwin 1859; Wallace 1880). Anthropologists, for example, studied the specifics of island cultures without external world contact (Mead 1928; Firth 1936). Literary scholars analysed the fictional *topos* of islands as places markedly different from the mainland (Brinklow et al. 2000; Dautel/Schödel 2016). Over time, research turned to consider island relations. From an archaeological perspective, ‘proximal point analysis’ examined island connections as ‘islandscapes’ (Broodbank 2000), with a focus on insular networks (Constantakopoulou 2017; Kopaka 2009). Sociologists evaluated the push and pull factors for migration to go to and leave islands (Connell/King 1999). Political scientists analysed the role and position of island nations in international relations (Baldacchino/Milne 2000). Geographers, mostly with a focus on resource management, studied the effects of climate change on ‘Small Island Developing States’ (Ratter 2018;

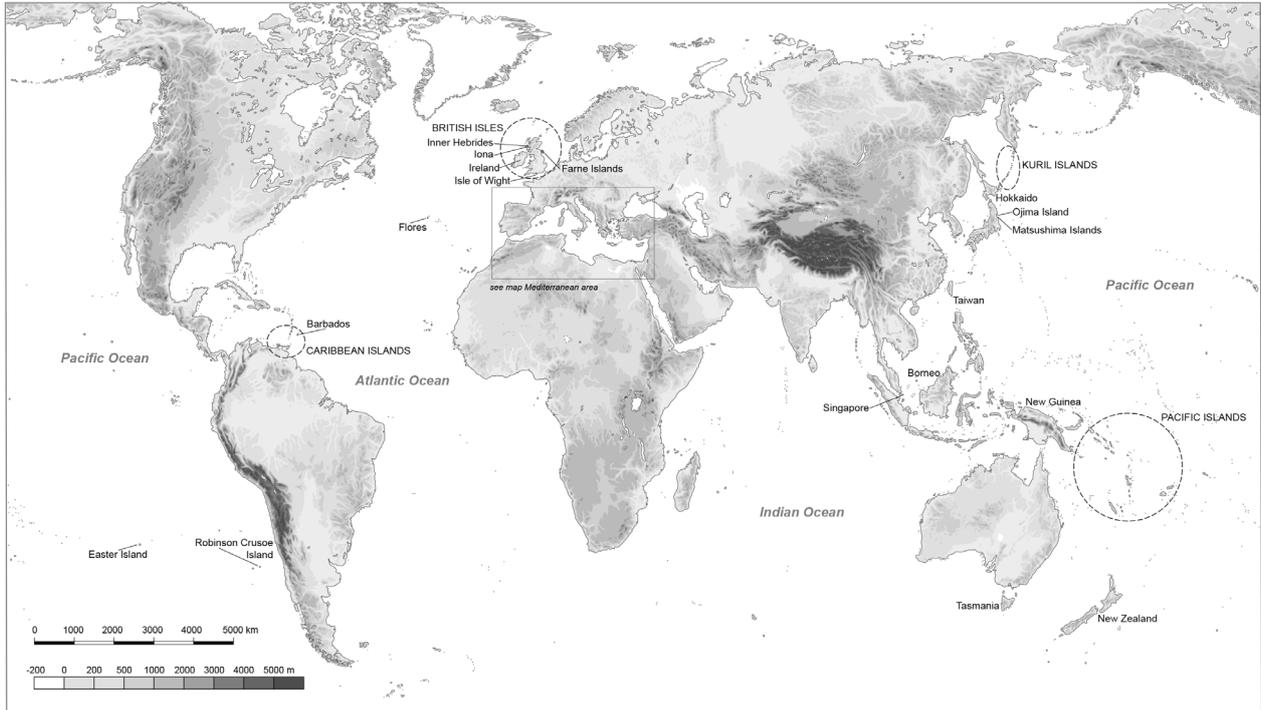


Fig. 2. World map of islands mentioned in this book. Map by Richard Szydlak.



Fig. 3. Mediterranean map of islands mentioned in this book. Map by Richard Szydlak.

Royle 2001). And tourism research dealt with the interrelationship between economic growth, environmental pollution and resource consumption (Conlin/Baum 1995). Also, epidemiologists analysed the role of islands in the spread of diseases (Cliff et al. 2000).

Edited books published about islandness/ insularity in the past ten years often stem from one field, such as geography (Stratford 2017), literature (Le Juez/Springer 2015), art (Newman et al. 2015), theology (Havea et al. 2015), or archaeology (Kouremenos/Gordon 2020; Ensenyat/Waldren

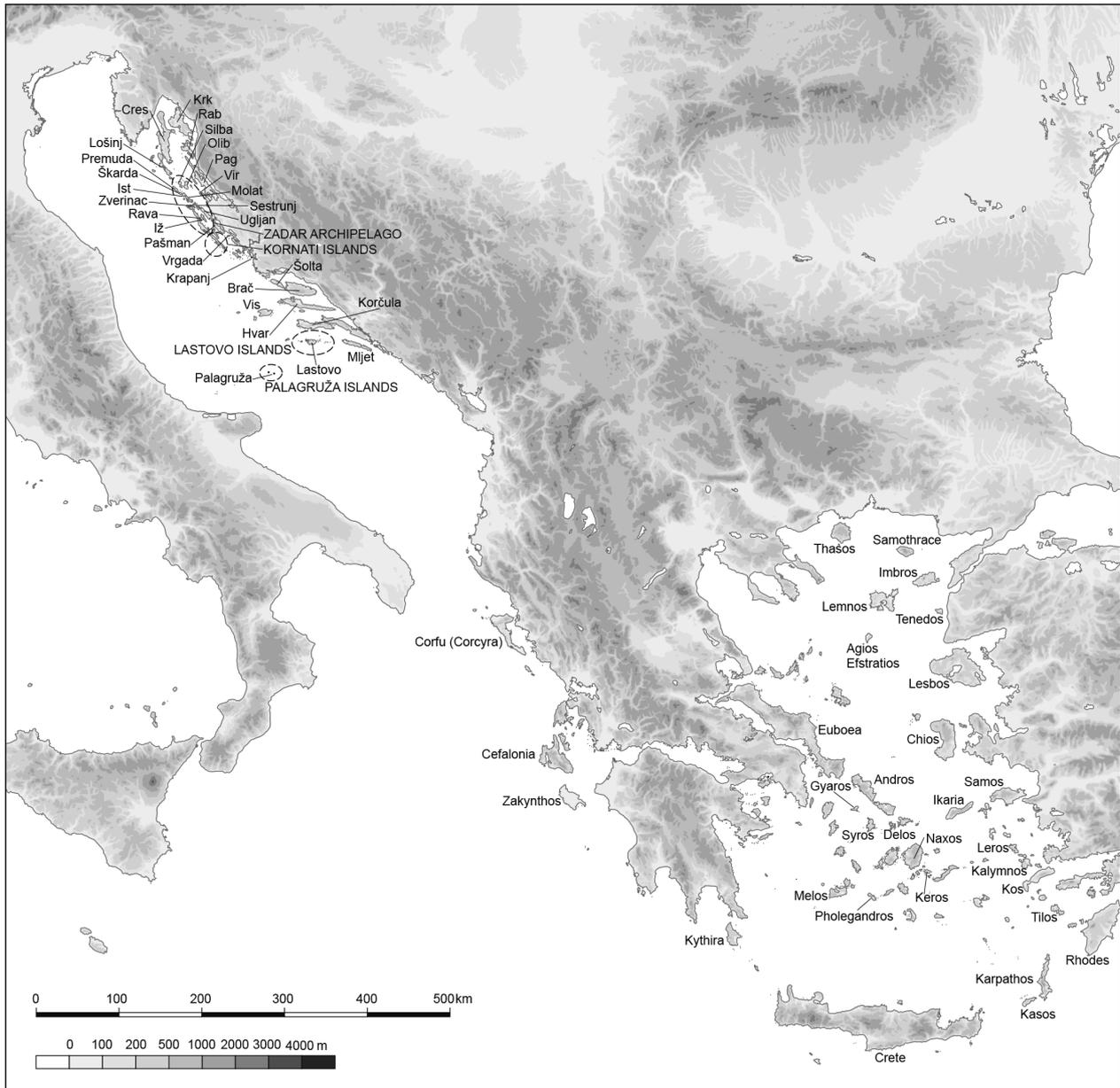


Fig. 4. Aegean map of islands mentioned in this book. Map by Richard Szydlak.

2002). A few edited volumes have combined multiple disciplines, concentrating on different thematic topics, such as postcolonialism (McCusker/Soares 2011), island language (Heimrath/Kremer 2015), archipelagos in globalisation (Ette/Müller 2012), or the Mediterranean (von Bendemann et al. 2016).

For some years now, island studies has established itself as an independent field whose state of research can be grasped in part by looking at two leading journals in the field (Island Studies Journal and SHIMA, an international journal of research into island cultures). From an analysis of publications in both journals from 2009/2010

and 2019/2020 (126 articles by 216 authors), more than 50% of all publications came from the fields of Cultural Studies, Sustainability or Public Policy.¹ Archaeology, medieval and early modern history, linguistics, ethnology, and literary studies tended to be significantly underrepresented, a gap this volume aims to fulfil. This book combines scholarship from various fields to focus on the ‘in-between’ status of European islands, which may

¹ I am indebted to Vincent Laun for assistance with this analysis.

be isolated and connected at different points in time, or at the same time.

A quick glance at the above maps demonstrates how many geographical areas the term ‘European’ has encompassed for our authors (we set no strict political or cultural definition for the use of this term). This book incorporates the results of recent field work, archive studies, ethnological surveys, and literary analysis to better understand the lives of islanders between relative isolation and connection. Considering islands from approximately 3000 BCE to present, contributors examine island-specific factors to analyse the fragile equilibrium of island life between isolation and connection, which often translates to lifestyles between other extremes – such as between resource scarcity and excess, between being uninformed and part of highly connected information networks, between conflict insecurity and safety for refugees, or between control by distant Empires and local governance, to name but a few aspects.

How to Study Islands: Methods

A consensus has developed in island studies for the transdisciplinary relevance of island research, which Fitzpatrick and Erlandson (2018, 283) formulated as follows: ‘Islands are important models for the future [...]; island cultures and ecosystems can be seen as microsystems of the problems we faced as humans and offer important insights for understanding the fate of our species.’ Jonathan Pugh argues similarly in the first chapter: ‘[...] the island has become so central on the international stage, for so many debates, that it has become increasingly absurd not to talk of island studies in their own right. The ‘island’ is the emblematic figure of arguably the most pressing concern of our time: the Anthropocene’ (see also Pugh/Chandler 2021; Chandler/Pugh, 2021).

As an interdisciplinary field, island studies requires some form of comparative research. A history of one island is not automatically a contribution to island studies. But when the study of one island is contextualised with a comparison to the mainland, to other islands, or to other academic

fields, a contribution is made to island studies. As Jonathan Pugh argues in Chapter 1: ‘[...] without approaching debates in a cross-disciplinary manner, we are stranded on the insular islands of our respective disciplines.’ Interdisciplinary work is necessary to corroborate common traits of insularity, acknowledging the many important differences that exist on each island. Many contributors refer to Hay’s 2006 article, ‘A Phenomenology of Islands’, which asks to which extent islands can be compared to generate a theory of islandness. Even though no single, one-size-fits-all theory of insularity is possible or practical, comparative research provides many lines of analysis where island phenomena can be correlated with other time periods or locations.

The chapters in this edition reveal a range of methods that can be employed to study islands or to study the field of island studies itself (see *table 1*). The following short summary is by no means an exhaustive list of methodologies employed by island studies scholars, but it serves to show some of the avenues currently pursued in various fields. One island may be compared to the mainland or more specifically to coastal or isolated inland regions. One island can be compared to another island. Multiple islands or archipelagos may be compared with one another.

One accepted approach is network analysis, which studies the relationships between islands and the social, cultural, and economic structures which result from their interaction. Network analysis is part of the ‘relational turn’, which Helen Dawson in chapter 1, citing Brughmans and Peeples, explains as ‘the idea that the links are more important than the nodes’ (Brughmans/Peeples 2018, 1). Dawson continues: ‘Categorical thinking argues that things exist first and then become connected, relational thinking argues instead that things (e.g. cultural groups) exist because they are connected (see also Dawson 2020; Dawson 2019; Pugh 2016). According to this kind of thinking, island communities cannot exist in isolation, rather their connections make them what they are.’ Network analysis stands in marked contrast to past scholarship which studied islands as laboratories. Network analysis is also a backswing from world systems or core-periphery models, which ‘have a colonial, top-down character while

Methodology	Description	Author(s)	Field(s)
Comparative	To the Mainland	Jazwa	Archaeology
		Nüllen	History
		Brozović	Philology
	To the Mainland & Other Islands	Hill	Archaeology
	To Another Island	Smith/Coll	Archaeology
Network Analysis	To Various Islands	Dautel	Literary Studies
	Information Networks	Yelçe/Bozok	History
	Cultural Networks	Menelaou	Archaeology
	Identity Formation	Bonzano	Archaeology
Analysis of Methods	Interdisciplinary Considerations	Dawson/Pugh	Archaeology/Geography
	Archipelago Boundaries	Angliker	Archaeology

Table 1. Overview of methodologies employed in this book.

networks can afford a bottom-up perspective, which does not overshadow individual dynamics at the expense of the whole’, as Dawson argues. In chapter 6, Sergios Menelaou notes also the use of ‘the *chaine opératoire* approach and the reconstruction of patterns in the distribution of certain material (e.g. pottery)’. Network analysis often emphasises the role of human agency in island relations.

Challenges and Limitations of Island Studies

The contributors to this book present a range of challenges to be considered when working within the interdisciplinary field of island studies. As many of these topics lend themselves well to future discussions, they have been clustered here together in one section.

The work of archaeologists is often a key to unlocking the door of mysteries about past islanders from whom we have little or no extant records. Yet, archaeologists must often rely on pattern recognition in material culture, and this is especially difficult when archaeological records are incomplete due to natural consequences, geographical inaccessibility, or due to political reasons making certain areas inaccessible or unsafe for

excavations (see chapter 6 by Sergios Menelaou). Also, current day borders, politics, and national priorities pose challenges to comprehensively analysing archaeological material across boundaries (see chapter 3 by David Hill).

Time, money, family or teaching obligations leave many scholars faultless for their decisions to limit the scope of their studies to one island or one part of one island. The frequency of scholars to focus on one single island or one archipelago instead of comparing island attributes is often due to practical or financial reasons associated with the project design: ‘archaeological field surveys on islands being a classic example of this tendency’ (chapter 1 by Helen Dawson and Jonathan Pugh). It is certainly a challenge to create a broad range of comparisons.

Another challenge of island studies is to think outside our current mindsets to step into the past. For example, uninhabited islands have played a major role through their natural resources, pastures, and agriculture to nearby islands, although they are often overlooked in academic literature (see chapter 9 by Dunja Brozović Rončević). Also changing coast and shorelines make it important to analyse especially architectural remains within their proper historical environments, as Francesca Bonzano demonstrates in chapter 8 with the

Maltese sanctuary where the past coastline was tens of metres further inland than it appears today.

Also, scholars should not automatically correlate island isolation or connectivity as bad and good things respectively, as connections can increase risk factors and isolation may have been a highly sought-after good (see chapter 1 by Helen Dawson and Jonathan Pugh as well as Schön 2020). It is important to keep in mind the changing centrality of islands in networks, often linked to their available resources, a cue to avoid pigeonholing an island too quickly into a permanent place in any network (see chapter 6 by Sergios Menelaou). Networks are by their nature dynamic, and the same goes for the role of islands operating as part of their complexes.

Also, the terminology used to analyse islands can be problematic, as Jonathan Pugh illustrates, for example with the frequently employed term resilience: ‘The application of resilience to social systems is problematic when the responsibility for resilience building is shifted onto the shoulders of vulnerable and resource-poor populations’. David Hill likewise raises concerns for terms like ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ which may be difficult to establish for island communities and even harder to compare with the mainland.

Reflecting on the challenges within island studies is an important part of identifying limitations and also brainstorming ideas through collaboration between fields and with current-day island residents to assist in filling in the gaps in our understanding of island life, past and present. As Jonathan Pugh contends in chapter 1: ‘The lure of island studies is not solely to understand ‘islandness’, [but] how we think about and engage islands from our various disciplines is revealing of who we are, what we think are the stakes of engaging the world, and what we think we can become.’

Insularity and Islandness – Which Term to Use?

Insularity can be defined as ‘the specific living situation of islanders in contrast to mainlanders and the behaviours that result’ (Ratter 1992, 78). But the accepted dictionary definition of ‘insularity’

is less glamorous. Only the second English definition describes ‘the state or condition of being an island’, whereas the first meaning listed is: ‘ignorance of or lack of interest in cultures, ideas, or peoples outside one’s own experience’ (Oxford Dictionary²). Some island studies scholars have instead recommended the use of the word ‘islandness’ – ‘a word that is preferred to the more commonly used term of insularity. The latter has unwittingly come along with a semantic baggage of separation and backwardness. This negativism does not mete out fair justice to the subject matter’ (Baldacchino 2004, 272).

The negative connotation of the term insularity in English is not always or even often true for other languages, as many authors have shown (e.g. Kopaka 2009). The German term *Insularität* does not carry the first connotation of cultural ignorance and refers only to islands and geographical isolation. Similarly, in Spanish, *insularidad* first refers to ‘the quality of being an island’ or ‘isolation’, without any explicit cultural ramifications. The Croatian adjective *otočni* (‘insular’) simply means ‘relating to an island, pertaining to an island’ and has no additional negative connotative meanings (see chapter 9 by Dunja Brozović Rončević). The Greek etymology of the world island points to connections rather than isolation: ‘the Greek terms νῆσος (island), ναύς (boat) and νέω/νήχομαι (to swim/ to float), suggest [...] well-connected floating landmasses that were linked by the sea as the life-giving source’ (see chapter 6 by Sergios Menelaou).

The English word ‘insularity’ can be seen as a contronym – a word that evokes opposite or contradictory meanings depending on the context in which it is used. Yet, as long as the intended meaning is clear from the context, the term can be used interchangeably with ‘islandness’. It is certainly inconvenient that insularity – like ‘sanction’ or ‘overlook’, has two sometimes opposing meanings, but it may be also an opportunity to confront biases about insularity and reclaim its semantic connection for islands and islanders. As dictionary definitions change over time based on evolving use (see the etymology of ‘silly’), the international influxes

² <<https://www.lexico.com/definition/insularity>> (last access 07.14.2021).

from the robust field of island studies may just positively influence the legacy of the term insularity in English.

Overview of Book Sections and Chapters

This book is divided into five sections and contains eleven chapters. Section I. (Approaches to Studying Islands and Archipelagos) addresses the methodology of island studies and important considerations for work within this field. Section II. (Crisis Developments, Insular Responses, and Resource Adaptations) evaluates the long-term effects of crises on islands, alongside insular responses and adaptive resource uses to manage adverse conditions. Section III. (Movements of Island Knowledge and Practices) traces the movements of information and travellers between islands, in both times of crisis and peace. With an analysis of island identities, section IV. (Distinguishing Island Identities through Material Culture) employs the analysis of material culture to reconstruct island identities for time periods with no extant written sources. Last, section V. (Island Life from Emic and Etic Perspectives) considers internal and external perspectives from the early Middle Ages until the present via historical, literary, and ethnological sources.

Section I: Approaches to Studying Islands and Archipelagos

In chapter 1 (The Lure of Island Studies: A Cross-Disciplinary Conversation), Helen Dawson (Bologna) and Jonathan Pugh (Newcastle) open a dialogue between the fields of archaeology and geography. The authors consider the societal relevance of island studies, the opportunities, and challenges of certain methodologies as well as the interdisciplinary nature of the field that relies on the collaboration of various disciplines. Dawson and Pugh note three trends in current scholarship: a cross-cultural approach, a contextual approach, and an inter-cultural approach. These approaches can be aptly applied, they argue, to study the Anthropocene and islands as ‘canaries in the coalmine’, alerting to environmental changes (‘accelerating global warming, ice sheet melting, sea level

rises, species extinction, ocean acidification, and carbon sinks weakening’). Regardless of which topic or methodology we choose Dawson and Pugh advocate for a critical reflection on the consequences of the methods and terminology employed.

In chapter 2 (The Cycladic Archipelago beyond Geographical Definitions: Redefining Boundaries and Limits through Material Culture and Religion), Erica Angliker (London) calls for a reconsideration of archipelago island clusters, prompting a broader re-examination of geographical boundaries we often take for granted (see also Menelaou, chapter 6). With a review of thousands of years of Greek sources by geographers and historians, Angliker analyses the Cycladic Archipelago, demonstrating how cultural influences can be traced for some islands from Asia Minor but for other islands from the eastern Aegean. Angliker argues islands should not be grouped strictly according to their geographical neighbours, but rather according to their cultural and religious identities.

Section II: Crisis Developments, Insular Responses, and Resource Adaptations

The study of islands as unique spaces is highly relevant to current academic and public debates, providing insight into a long history of adaptations to threatening environmental changes and waves of migrations. In chapter 3 (Urban Relocation and Settlement Adaption on Naxos from the Early to Middle Byzantine Periods), based on his archaeological excavations, David Hill (Oslo) analyses responses to crises in the region on Naxos. Focusing on a mountainous inland settlement, he demonstrates the importance of inland settlements with fortified walls for safe settlements of migrants in the Aegean. Hill determines how Naxos’s inland settlement deliberately isolated itself from imminent dangers, leading in fact to signs of prosperity. But previously, a lack of natural harbours had caused an involuntary disconnection from Late Roman commercial networks, making Naxos ‘more an island of shepherds and farmers than of sailors and traders’. Between isolation and connectivity, Hill points to the ‘duality of terrestrial and maritime existence as a key aspect of island life’.

Kyle Jazwa (Maastricht) presents the results of his field work from Cyprus in chapter 4 (Insular Architecture and Settlement Planning during a Crisis: The Case of Maa-Palaeokastro [Cyprus]). By comparing Maa-Palaeokastro during the Late Bronze Age with four additional locations built during the same period of crisis in the Aegean, Jazwa exposes the draw of islands during periods of crisis, as isolated locations to escape mainland conflicts. But as he notes, ‘paradoxically, this very notion of security can stimulate connectivity with the most troubled regions, attracting new people to settle and increasing the island’s contact with potential threats’. Jazwa traces the impact of crises on the construction of buildings and materials used; evidence of quick building (e.g. ‘a general absence of wall bonding and the use of larger ‘anchor’ stones’) points to settlements designed for the fast relief of displaced persons, characteristic of crisis architecture.

Section III: Movements of Island Knowledge and Practices

Chapter 5 (Islands as Transit Posts in the News Networks of the Early 16th cent. AD), is an apt transition from section II (crises) to section III (movements). N. Zeynep Yelçe (Istanbul) and Ela Bozok (Florence) show how the desire for information created connections between islands, but these connections were highly vulnerable to or influenced by crises (e.g. military conflicts and storms) and their secondary effects (e.g. a lack of safe or available ships to transfer people with information). Whereas historiography often focuses on the dependence of islands on the mainland, Yelçe and Bozok demonstrate unequivocally the mainland’s reliance on islands for valuable strategic information. Through the examination of thousands of pages of primary sources, Yelçe and Bozok trace communication networks from Egypt and Syria to Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Corfu, and Venice. Yelçe and Bozok demonstrate how islands were essential for European information networks, where Venice, in their words ‘was undisputedly the ultimate centre of information regarding news about the Ottoman Empire in particular, and the Levant in general’,

a point supported by Dunja Brozović Rončević in chapter 9. In terms of acquisition and distribution of news, Venice was rivalled only by Genoa and Antwerp regarding economic information and by Rome itself for political news on the larger European scale.

Sergios Menelaou (Cyprus) in chapter 6 (Insular, Marginal or Multiconnected? Maritime Interaction and Connectivity in the East Aegean Islands during the Early Bronze Age through Ceramic Evidence), assesses islands near the Anatolian coast to scrutinise connections of islands such as Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, and Samos with other islands and to the mainland during the Early Bronze Age (3rd mill. BCE). Menelaou reflects on the impact of connections for cultural identity formation in the Aegean and the definition of prehistoric socio-cultural borders through the lens of modern archaeological narratives. From a wealth of material culture (using pottery as a proxy), Menelaou categories island cultural acquisitions into micro-regions based on their archaeological traits, concluding that the sea was a unifying medium for the exchange of items, know-how, and beliefs. The east Aegean islands are better perceived as contact zones and maritime hubs in their nearby landscapes and seascapes, rather than, as previously thought, as convenient passages.

Section IV: Distinguishing Island Identities through Material Culture

In chapter 7 (Disentangling the Late Talayotic: Understanding Island Identities through Funerary Practices in the Balearic Islands during the Late Iron Age), Alexander Smith (New York) and Margalida Coll Sabater (Mallorca) compare the islands of Menorca and Mallorca based on their funerary practises from the Late Iron Age. Whereas many scholars have held that the Balearic archipelago had one cultural identity during the Talayotic period, Smith and Coll compare the islands based on evidence from archaeological excavations to indicate that important differences between the islands can be documented. For example, a larger variety of grave types and locations existed on Mallorca, in contradistinction to the artificial caves used in Menorca for burials. Menorca

though, had often larger and more numerous burial caves. The grave goods also differed. It is often assumed that island connections lead to a homogeneity of cultural aspect, but evidence from the Balearic Islands suggest that an intentional desire for an island-specific identity may have led to a heterogeneous material culture between Menorca and Mallorca. Population size, wealth inequality, social stratification and the hybridisation of classical and Mediterranean styles were additional reasons for the resulting differences between the islands discussed by the authors.

In chapter 8 (The Maltese Islands between Isolation and Interconnections: An Architectural Perspective), Francesca Bonzano (Milan) examines the Maltese archipelago, located between Syracuse and Africa, during the 4th–3rd cent. BCE. Using both archaeological and historical sources, Bonzano traced cultural influences from Egypt, Carthage, and Sicily, in addition to exchanges from maritime trade networks and goods introduced by pirates. Not only through exchanges of goods, but also the use of the islands for wintering ships or parking at natural harbours during the *mare clausum* (lit. ‘the closed sea’ preventing crossings) led to additional cultural exchanges. Evidence of connections from elsewhere are identified in coins, architectural decorations, and sanctuary constructions. For example, cisterns in the sanctuaries of Tas-Silġ (Malta) and Ras il-Wardija (Gozo) suggest links to Libya and Carthage, as well as Sicily. The fusion of influences from around and beyond the Mediterranean demonstrates how the location of Malta in-between major seafaring powers account for the ‘international’ character’ of some Maltese architecture. As Bonzano argues: ‘The Maltese Archipelago is located at the boundary between different cultures; this marginality – or isolation – was in fact a source of dynamism.’

Section V: Island Life from Emic and Etic Perspectives

In chapter 9 (What Does it Mean to be an Islander in Croatia?), Dunja Brozović Rončević (Zadar) displays the potential of Croatia’s more than 1,000 islands to contribute to debates on European insularity, pointing to linguistic barriers as one reason

why Croatian research seldom penetrates larger academic debates. Through her work as an ethnolinguist, Brozović has conducted extensive interviews with islanders to ask which factors were unique to island life. The answers included the strength and smell of the wind, the feeling of time, and their islanders’ dialect. Islanders also shared feelings of political neglect and fears of disrupted ship lines, leading to inaccessible health care. Due to their shared challenges, some islanders quickly classified people into one of two categories: *Boduls* (islanders) or *Vlachs* (mainlanders). Islanders also shared concerns over sustainability debates, which Brozović describes as orientated to appeal to tourists without involving islanders in decisions over their basic needs, such as education, medical care, water supplies, waste removal, or better ferry connections. In short, the Croatian islands are an ideal case to examine island life between dependence on the mainland and a unique island identity resulting from a separate island status.

Hanna Nüllen (Halle) examines historical sources from the early medieval period in chapter 10 (Narratives of Insular Transformation in 8th CE Century Historio- and Hagiography from the British Isles) to analyse island-specific identity formations on the British Isles. Studying Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* and several early 8th cent. CE Saints’ Lives, Nüllen demonstrates a continuation from Christian authors who depict the British Isles as peripheral. The islands are often portrayed as pagan, barbaric, demonic, or even unsuitable for human occupation due to their isolation from civilisation, food supplies, fertile soil, or freshwater. Islands as nuclei of savagery thus, makes them ideal places for missionary work. In the texts studied by Nüllen, like in many early medieval texts, the ocean is a mysterious and dangerous space for humans, increasing the fear and awe of islands and their inhabitants. Once islands have been converted to Christianity, they are no longer worlds apart, but move from the margins to the centre of historical texts.

In chapter 11 (Of Worms and Birds: Approaches to the Island between Practice and the Imaginary), Katrin Dautel (Malta), analyses the construction of insular spaces in selected European literature. Studying texts such as ‘The Atlas of Remote Islands’ Dautel traces how authors like Judith

Schalansky engage with discourses about islands. Dautel considers two approaches to the island space: from the perspective of walking (from the worm's perspective), and from above (from the bird's view). Her comparison of these opposing ways of engaging with the space quickly reveals contradicting conceptions of island life. In her words: 'At the interface of materiality and discursivity, the island becomes a highly interesting as well as paradigmatic site for the negotiation of a specific 'islandness' from 'within' on the one hand and the metaphorical construction of the island from 'outside' on the other, having been a space for inspiration and projections to philosophers and writers for centuries.' Analysing representations of

island spaces in literature reveals the influence of power structures, but also the ability of islanders to subvert them.

The chapters are followed by an afterword by Anna Kouremenos on 'The Future of Island Studies'.

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I. Approaches to Studying Islands and Archipelagoes

Helen Dawson and Jonathan Pugh

The Lure of Island Studies

A Cross-Disciplinary Conversation

Keywords: island geography, island archaeology, Anthropocene, deep time, relational turn

Acknowledgements

We would like to present this chapter as a tribute to Godfrey Baldacchino; for inspiring us in our own island studies, for working tirelessly over the past few decades to bring about interdisciplinary island scholarship, and for his leadership in setting such a positive tone for many island studies organisations and conferences.

Summary

This chapter takes the form of a cross-disciplinary conversation between an island archaeologist and an island geographer. We explore the contemporary state of island studies across and between our respective disciplines, as well as engaging key contemporary island debates surrounding conceptualisations of islands, island relations, deep time, the Anthropocene, resilience and indigeneity. We conclude with important suggestions for a more interdisciplinary approach to island studies, given how the figure of the island itself has moved from the periphery to the centre of so many high-profile contemporary debates, especially those concerning transforming planetary conditions and the Anthropocene.

Introduction

When people argued for the importance of island studies a few decades ago, they had a much harder

job than those who study islands today. Back then, early-career scholars were warned by their senior advisors not to drink too heavily from the interdisciplinary cup and not to focus upon a field of study like ‘island studies’; which, by its very nature, blurs the boundaries between academic disciplines. Scholars were more sensibly advised that, if they had an interest in their career, then they should stick with the established but more traditionally focused disciplines, such as geography, history, politics and archaeology. To explicitly call oneself an ‘island studies scholar’ would have risked either ridicule or career suicide! And yet, self-styled island scholars, including Godfrey Baldacchino, Laurie Brinklow, Eric Clark, Klaas Deen, Elizabeth DeLoughrey, Christian Depraetere, Adam Grydehøj, Ilan Kelman, Grant McCall, Phil Hayward, Bojun Furst, Beate Ratter, Elaine Stratford, Huei-Min Tsai, and many others, including ourselves, worked tirelessly through organisations such as the International Small Islands Studies Association and journals like *Island Studies Journal* and *Shima*. Today, convincing others about the importance of island studies is much easier. For the figure of the island is no longer peripheral but has become central to the most important debates of the times: islands as paradigms for transforming planetary conditions, sea level rises, oceanic acidification, nuclear testing and fallout, mass movements of refugees, debates about indigeneity, associated contemporary developments in philosophy and art, approaches to governance, and the Anthropocene. Thus, philosophers, political theorists, ecologists, historians, geographers, archaeologists, artists, and many others, are increasingly engaging with islands and the rapidly developing field of island studies. As a result, island scholarship is in demand.

The purpose of this conversational-style paper between Helen Dawson and Jonathan Pugh is to explore how two academics from different traditional disciplines – geography (Pugh) and archaeology (Dawson) – engage with islands and the rapidly developing field of island studies. As authors, we felt the need for this exchange for two main reasons, to promote cross-disciplinarity further by integrating different strands of island studies with other relevant disciplines and to explain the centrality of islands in a range of debates within and beyond our fields by drawing on relevant examples from our own work and that of our colleagues. This paper is structured by our responses to three key questions, which we see as central to the broader field of island studies today:

- (1) What recent conceptual developments have there been in contemporary islands theory and philosophy, island archaeology and geography? How do these productively contribute to each other, or otherwise?
- (2) How does the recent growing interest in questions of deep time in island theory and philosophy relate to similar debates in archaeology and geography?
- (3) How does our understanding of islands and archipelagos in archaeology and geography map into contemporary debates about the Anthropocene (such as configuring island relationalities, indigeneity, and resilience)?

Question 1: What Recent Conceptual Developments Have There Been in Contemporary Islands Theory and Philosophy, Island Archaeology and Geography? How Do These Productively Contribute to Each Other, or Otherwise?

Answer: Helen Dawson

Island archaeology, ‘the systematic and comparative study of island communities, their cultures, and environments’ (Dawson 2019a, 1), has evolved into an eclectic subject over the last few decades, with considerable borrowing of theoretical concepts and methods from other fields. On the one hand, scientists may decide to focus on a single island or archipelago (due to practical or economic

reasons to do with their project design: archaeological field surveys on islands being a classic example of this tendency) – thus the individual island becomes a discrete object of study in the eyes of the researcher. On the other, scientists (be they geographers, archaeologists, economists, biologists, etc.) will usually consider how that particular island is connected (or not) to its surroundings and compare it to other examples or to the neighbouring mainland. One reason for doing this is to understand different processes through comparison; another reason is to test a particular hypothesis relating to a specific phenomenon by taking into account different variables (cultural and environmental) and their effects. This comparative aspect is what lures me in particular towards island archaeology, what makes it an especially effective and attractive field of study. We may study islands in order to understand islands *per se*, and/or to investigate a particular process under similar or different conditions.

Readers might find the latter idea reminiscent of the ‘island laboratory’ metaphor: this is the concept that islands are ideal observatories for studying ecosystems because ‘by studying clusters of islands, biologists view a simpler microcosm of the seemingly infinite complexity of continental and oceanic biogeography’ (MacArthur/Wilson 1967, 3). According to this approach, islands offer ‘controlled conditions’ (measurable in terms of size and distance), which make them similar to a natural laboratory (Simberloff/Wilson 1969). This approach inspired anthropologists working in the Pacific (Mead 1957) and later archaeologists in the Mediterranean (Evans 1973) to view islands as closed and isolated.

In the 1970s, ‘processual’ archaeologists used island biogeography to address general and cross-cultural questions. This can be considered a normative approach, e.g. the earlier work of John Cherry (1981, 62), who sought to systematically explain differences in the rates of island colonisation. In the early 2000s, Cyprian Broodbank used ‘proximal point analysis’ (which Terrell 1977 had pioneered in the Pacific) to explain inter-island connections or the creation of ‘landscapes’ (Broodbank 2000, 21–23, 239). This marked an important shift in island archaeology, from isolated to connected islands, emphasising the role of insular configuration as conducive to interaction.

It also entailed a discussion of the physical effects of insularity as well as the distinctiveness of islandscapes, e.g. the creation of meaningful topographies on islands (Kopaka 2009).

Despite these changes, the idea that islands are privileged scientific observatories for studying natural and cultural processes has not lost its appeal. The *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* recently ran a special issue on islands as ‘model environments’; islands are considered to provide ‘often clear spatial and temporal boundaries’, ‘coupled with the varied mixture of physical and ecological parameters’, ‘resulting in suitable (or even ideal) model environments for archaeological analyses’ (Di Napoli/Leppard 2018, 158). To me this idea is reminiscent of the island laboratory concept, where the idea of relative isolation plays a prominent role.

The islandscape represented a considerable shift in island archaeology, with regards to the way we think about or with islands, from a normative to a relative or contextual approach. The latter entails assessing a community’s relative isolation and connectivity and their effects over time, both in light of geographical categories and historically contingent factors. Island archaeology ‘implies comparison of insularity at different places and periods’ (Renfrew 2004, 282). For me, this raises another question: if we can’t generalise about islands, what is in fact the point of island studies? I would say that it is possible to generalise about islands only up to a point. For example, we can take isolation and connectivity into account and compare their effects on different island communities, but these are also cultural constructs, historically contingent and relative variables, not simple responses to geographical determinism. For instance, how long should contacts cease in order for a community to be defined as ‘isolated’? (Rivera-Collazo 2011, 36 f.). There is no absolute or definitive answer to such a question, rather the answer has to be contextualised. For me then, the point of island studies is to uncover the great range and diversity of cultural development on islands and to seek for explanations at both a general and particular level. When it comes down to islands, the exception is often the rule!

John Terrell (1999, 240) defined islands as ‘living spaces surrounded by a considerable shift

in habitat’. Water does not pose a barrier to humans, but it still defines islands and as such it also encourages interaction (Fitzpatrick 2004, 7). We can easily perceive of islands as distinct places and thus also easily compare them. The word island is shorthand for islanders: it indicates how strong island communities identify with the island (or how strongly archaeologists and geographers make that association). After studying islands for almost twenty years now, I have come to realise that islands are not inherently different from the mainland; however, they tend to amplify cultural and natural processes, i.e. such processes are more easily observable on islands. I think of this as an ‘island effect’: ‘islands, especially small ones, tend to amplify the effects of geographical and cultural variables, by virtue of being enclosed spaces, completely surrounded by water [...] Thus, while islands are not necessarily inherently different from the mainland, the effects of cultural and environmental processes are sometimes more evident on islands than on the mainland and can be more readily studied’ (Dawson 2019a, 1).

Islands then are not closed microcosms but still rather useful as comparative units of study. We can use them to explore cultural development and interaction by addressing both similarities and differences, not in isolation but rather by looking at connections. This represents the third step in the development of island archaeology, from relativity to relationality. So, we can envisage the following trends: 1. Normative or cross-cultural approach, 2. Relative or contextual approach, and 3. Relational or inter-cultural approach.

In going through these shifts, island archaeology has followed mainstream archaeology through multiple turns. The growing popularity of network studies in archaeology embodies the most recent turn, the so-called relational turn (also see Jon’s comments below). Relational thinking lies at the heart of network science, and it is the idea that the links are more important than the nodes (Brughmans/Peeples 2018, 1). Archaeology is traditionally based on typologies which are built using categories. Thus, relational thinking challenges this traditional framework to the core: as Terrell (2018) explains, categorical thinking argues that things exist first and then become connected, relational thinking argues instead that things (e.g. cultural

groups) exist because they are connected. According to this kind of thinking, island communities cannot exist in isolation, rather their connections make them what they are.

As Jon will go on to explain from his perspective as a geographer, this relational turn represents a significant shift in island studies today. I would argue that archaeologists are still to fully embrace its potential and that it is still early days for relational thinking in archaeology (see Dawson 2020). In fact, archaeologists have only recently started to engage properly with island studies at least in Europe (there are only a few in regular attendance at island studies conferences). This dialogue is likely to prove highly beneficial for both sides: current debates can be relevant to our understanding of past communities; in return, the archaeological record offers a long-term perspective into these issues (a point to which I will return with question 3).

Answer: Jonathan Pugh

From my perspective, I would suggest islands are indeed still laboratories and sites of amplification for many; but, in the more contemporary era, for thinking through relational interconnections, movements and assemblages associated with our changing world. For me then, the key conceptual developments which have taken place over the last few decades in island scholarship (and in many ways have driven the development of island studies) focus upon how to better conceptualise ‘island relations’ (see reviews in Pugh 2013; 2016; 2018; Chandler/Pugh 2018; 2021; Pugh/Chandler 2021; plus Stratford et al. 2011). For many decades now, island scholars have sought – slowly at first, but then with greater intensity – to challenge and disrupt the notion of the island as a clearly defined, isolated and bounded space. Scholarship has increasingly focused upon the social, material, political and environmental complexities that span far beyond the island edge and shape island life. Here, reflecting what I have elsewhere called this ‘relational turn’ (Pugh 2016) in island scholarship, if you were to pick up a book produced by an island scholar fifteen or twenty years ago, you would likely see that debate back then was

framed according to a particular spatial or topological problematic or paradox: that islands were, on the one hand, imagined as ontologically empty – separate and isolated – and, on the other hand, as ontologically full – as deeply imbricated within complex, and indeed often vast assemblages of relations (see, for example, Baldacchino 2006; Bongie 1998; DeLoughrey 2007). A good encapsulation of these pivotal stakes back then was captured in Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith’s introductory chapter to their edited volume ‘Islands in History and Representation’:

‘Islands are the most graspable and the most slippery of subjects. On the one hand, they constitute bounded, and therefore manageable space – the kind of site in which Darwin might locate the model for his theory of evolutionary change, or Malinowski might imagine that he could observe and analyse an enclosed human community, or French and United States governments might presume to conduct ‘controlled’ nuclear experiments. On the other hand, they are fragments, threatening to vanish beneath rising tides or erupting out of the deep, linked by networks of exchange even as they appear to be emblems of self-sufficiency. Encapsulating both the comfort of finitude and the tease of endless proliferation, islands beg and resist interpretation. They are at once microcosms and excess, the original and the supplement of continents. The desire to perceive the island as a bounded and therefore controllable space seems to link writing on islands across the sciences and humanities, connecting the most fantastic of island utopians with the most careful of scientific treatises. Yet this very desire repeatedly serves to highlight the aspect of contingency inherent in both literary and scientific experiment. Islands are not pure: they are subject to breaching and incursion, both natural and cultural’ (Edmond/Smith 2003, 5).

Edmond and Smith reflect well what was going on in debates in island scholarship around twenty years ago. As time passed however, this debate moved increasingly in the direction of ‘relational thinking’ beyond the reductive and manageable island boundary and edge which Edmond and Smith refer to in the above quote. The influencing

factors which shaped this shift in direction included, but were by no means confined to, three key forces:

- (1) The broader ‘spatial turn’, initially led by geographers in Western universities, but which rapidly developed across the social sciences and humanities more generally in the 1990s and early 2000s (Massey 2005; *Spaces of Democracy and the Democracy of Space Network* 2009; Pugh 2009).
- (2) Broader trends in Western critical theory, largely emerging in the middle of the last century, which reflected a growing anxiety over how tropes of isolation, insularity, and ‘nature’ had been projected onto islands and islanders under frameworks of modernity and colonialism. Here, as in work influenced by the spatial turn, islands were increasingly framed not according to bounded and manageable logics, but according to different tropes which foregrounded the permeabilities, mobilities and movements of islands and islander life (as just some examples see work on the Caribbean [Dash 2006; Pugh 2016; Sheller 2000]; China [Hong 2017]; Chile [Hidalgo et al. 2015]; Taiwan [Tsai 2003; Lee et al. 2017]; New Zealand [Kearns/Collins 2016]; Sardinia and Corsica [Farinelli 2017]; the Aegean [Karampela et al. 2017]; and the archipelagic nature of the Americas [Roberts/Stephens 2017]).
- (3) Finally, and perhaps most prominently for the direction which island scholarship has taken over the past couple of decades, there was an explosion of interest in the new millennium in the work of islanders themselves. These island writers were not only questioning, but had for many decades developed extremely sophisticated understandings of islands from their own non-Western perspectives, exemplified in Brathwaite’s (1999) ‘tidalectics’; Glissant’s (1997) understanding of ‘Relation’; Walcott’s (1998) work on Caribbean creolisation, and Hau’ofa’s (2008) challenging of continental mainland thinking about Oceania.

Indeed, it is really important to realise that the relational turn and the power of relational thinking in island scholarship, prolific today, were initiated by earlier influential forerunners who were actually writing in the middle of the 20th century; such

as the aforementioned Brathwaite, Glissant, Walcott, and later Hau’ofa. These were writing from the position of their own islands and island lives in the Caribbean and Oceania. In particular, from their various perspectives, their key aim was to critically disrupt the dominant colonial and continental thinking, which reductively understood island ontology in terms of isolated insularity and islands as sites for Westerners to project their desires, anxieties and dreams onto. Thus, emerged some central motifs for island studies scholarship – ‘islands writing themselves’ and ‘islanders’ speaking on their own terms’.

Although some of this early work – such as Brathwaite’s tidalectics – was actually more about engaging in specific debates surrounding negritude and Black consciousness, by drawing upon his work and other forerunners such as Glissant, Walcott and Hau’ofa, a more general point was then subsequently made by island scholarship. This was concerned with relational thinking beyond island insularity and isolation more generally when it comes to islands. Island scholars increasingly began to challenge how islands are not bounded by the island edge but the product of the comings together of social, political and material relations which span out far beyond into complex network and relations (see, for examples, DeLoughrey 2007; Sheller 2000; Hayward 2012; Stratford et al. 2011; Graziadei et al. 2017; Grydehøj 2017; Pugh 2013; 2016; 2018).

To understand the wider impact of such earlier conceptual developments in relational and island thinking upon island studies as a wider field of research, it is perhaps useful to look back over the earlier editions of the ‘*Island Studies Journal*’, which was launched in 2006. As Pete Hay (2006, 22) already noted at this time about the changing stakes of conceptualising island relations: ‘paradigms of hard-edgedness and a consequent insularity are no longer much in favour within island studies, though the tendency seems to be less outright repudiation of them than a significant augmentation of the complexity with which we construct our understanding of islands’. A few years later, and by 2013, again writing in ‘*Island Studies Journal*’, Hay (2013, 212) was much more certain about the direction island scholarship was going in: ‘the current ‘party line’ within island studies

is to emphasise connectivity as the antonym of a bounded sensibility'. Hay was absolutely correct. As I have been saying, over the past few decades island scholarship has increasingly moved away from notions of bounded sensibility, isolation and insularity. Instead, the increasing tendency – influenced by island scholars like Glissant, Walcott and Brathwaite, the spatial turn in the social sciences and humanities, and trends in Western critical theory – has been to shift the stakes of debate so that islands are today widely understood as intensively relational spaces made up of the entanglements and comings together of material, cultural, political, oceanic, colonial, atmospheric, and other boundary-defying forces of through wide ranges of networks of relations. For me then, this is where and how the key conceptual developments have been taking place in island studies up until quite recently (but see below).

Again, here I completely agree with what Helen says about islands being sites of amplification and laboratories, but I would further suggest that islands have become these laboratories for thinking through relationalities more generally in the world – movements of material, social, cultural, political and other networks and assemblages of relations. Thus, island studies have moved from the periphery to the centre in wider, high-profile, contemporary debates about migration, forced movements of peoples, boundary-defying pollutants such as nuclear plumes, movements of plastics in the oceans, tourism, archipelagic social movements, global warming and so forth (Morton 2016; Pugh 2018; Chandler/Pugh 2018; DeLoughrey 2019; Barad 2019). As I outline with David Chandler in our recent 'Anthropocene Islands' work, we believe that thinking 'with islands' relational affordances and feedback effects, rather than mainlands, continents and modern frameworks of reasoning, is key to understanding the changing nature of Anthropocene thinking more generally today (Pugh/Chandler 2021; Chandler/Pugh 2021). As I discuss later (see answer to question 3), the island has become the key laboratory – an intensive, amplifying site for attuning to relational affordances and feedback relations – for thinking through and about transforming planetary conditions.

Question 2: How Does the Recent Growing Interest in Questions of Deep Time in Island Theory and Philosophy Relate to Similar Debates in Archaeology and Geography?

Answer: Helen Dawson

Archaeology is built upon an understanding of time that is in itself relational: the past shapes the present, and in turn, our present shapes our understanding of the past. Increasingly, our concerns about the future are pressing us to seek for answers in the past. Although archaeology studies but a fraction of the earth's 4.55 billion years' existence, by necessity it engages with 'deep time' (or geologic time). The idea of deep time is strongly linked to the theory of uniformitarianism, formulated by Hutton and Lyell in the 19th cent.: the geological processes we observe today have shaped the earth throughout its history. The observations that Charles Lyell made during his visit to Mt. Etna, the volcano in Sicily, had a tremendous impact on his understanding of the earth's true age (Lyell 1830–1833).

Archaeologists are finding that human engagement with islands goes considerably further back in time than previously thought (Kopaka 2019). An important distinction here should be made between continental islands (which were attached to the continental landmass at times of lower sea level) and oceanic islands (which were always separate) (Ratter 2018, 26). Island colonisation entails reaching landmasses that were surrounded by water at the time of crossing as opposed to walking across land bridges (Dawson 2014). In the Pacific islands, hominin occupation currently goes back to at least a million years ago (*Homo floresiensis*, popularly known as the 'hobbit') and modern human occupation to at least 50,000 years ago (Bellwood 2017). Modern humans reached Sahul (a palaeolandmass comprising Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea) from Sunda (an area now submerged along the edge of southernmost Eurasia), navigating across the vast region of Wallacea with some 17,000 islands (O'Connor/Hiscock 2017). In the Mediterranean, where islands were mostly settled much later, from the Neolithic (ca. 7000 BC)

onwards, recently discovered stone tools on Naxos have been dated to as early as approximately 200,000 BP, i.e. to the early Middle or late Lower Palaeolithic (Carter et al. 2019, 4). There is good evidence that Neanderthals reached some of the Mediterranean islands and that this might have required a water crossing (Carter et al. 2019, 6). Did the sea pose a barrier or a passage for mobility, both for our species and earlier ones? How purposeful or accidental were such endeavours? These are questions that are widely debated by archaeologists. Some have even compared prehistoric island colonisation to modern space exploration (Fitzpatrick/Erlandson 2018)!

In my field of study, Mediterranean archaeology, we often focus on understanding different processes over the *longue durée* (as defined by Fernand Braudel and the Annales School of History) (Braudel 1958). However, the role of humans over the *longue durée* is often over-shadowed by environmental processes. Archaeologists have sought to redress this imbalance by considering the role of human agency, and increasingly also of non-human agency, as seen through various kinds of ‘entanglements’ and ‘meshworks’ (see Ingold 2011 and Hodder 2012). Oral traditions represent a very important source of information for understanding the interaction between human and non-human agency on islands (as elsewhere). As Kopaka (2019, 152) has written, ‘Islanders’ attitudes and points of view, if carefully decoded, can animate resistant aspects of their native material cultures and ideologies and provide convincing emic clues to their comprehension’. Oral accounts render island archaeology a ‘living archaeology’ one ‘that is ever weakening, alas, as local people age and pass away’ (Kopaka 2019, 152).

I would argue, for the reasons I gave in my answer to Question 1, that islands offer good observatories for understanding deep-time or long-term processes. For example, studying islands diachronically demonstrates how their communities experience alternating centrality and marginality over time (Dawson 2019b) and that insularity is ‘culturally constructed’, ‘historically contingent’ and ‘liable to change’ (Broodbank 2000, 13). Observatories may be used two ways, to analyse phenomena

as seen from the outside looking in, but also from the inside looking out, a point to which I will return in my third and final answer.

Answer: Jonathan Pugh

Here again, I completely agree with Helen about how islands have become the emblematic figures for raising and exploring questions of deep time. It is interesting to consider, however, how different disciplines concerned with islands approach deep time as well. For geographers, political and critical theorists concerned with islands, the increasing interest in deep time in contemporary island scholarship (and indeed scholarship more generally in the social sciences and humanities today) is associated with two closely linked developments: (1) the Anthropocene and (2) islands as the key ‘sensors’, or ‘canaries in the coalmine’, of transforming planetary conditions. This involves a bit of explaining.

The growing argument from a broad range of scientists today is that human actions have transformed planet Earth to such a degree that we have left the last 11,500 years of the Holocene and now live in a new geological epoch called the Anthropocene – a term coined by Eugene Stoermer in the 1980s and popularised by Paul Crutzen in the 2000s (Crutzen/Stoermer 2000). Fuelled by carbon dioxide emissions and biosphere degradation, the Anthropocene is a new epoch of climate volatility and instability, characterised by such forces as accelerating global warming, ice sheet melting, sea level rises, species extinction, ocean acidification, and carbon sinks weakening. As the website ‘Welcome to the Anthropocene’ (2017) reports, there is now ‘overwhelming’ evidence that humans have transformed ‘atmospheric, geologic, hydrologic, biospheric and other earth system processes’. With regard to the specific question of ‘why an interest in deep time in contemporary research?’, perhaps the most crucial related comment coming from many leading Anthropocene thinkers today is that humans are unlikely to be able to grasp the vast complexities and disorienting spatial-temporal forces of transforming planetary

conditions by way of modern frameworks of reasoning (i.e. those older reasonings which understood humans as distinct and separate from, or standing above ‘nature’; and where humans were thought to be able to command, control and manipulate ‘nature’ to their will). Danowski and De Castro illustrate this prevalent argument: the Anthropocene is a ‘**passive** present, the inert bearer of a geophysical karma which it is entirely beyond our reach to cancel [...]’ (Danowski/De Castro 2016, 6, emphasis in original). For Clark too, ‘the impression that deep-seated forces of the earth can leave on social worlds is out of all proportion to the power of social actors to legislate over the lithosphere’ (Clark 2010, 220 f.). For such leading Anthropocene commentators, it is the overwhelming power of more-than-human relations in the Anthropocene which so obviously puts the human species in a much more decentred, less controlling and humbling position. More generally, of course, there is a growing public awareness of just how insignificant humans seem in the wider universe; reflected in such attention-grabbing headlines as: ‘neutrino that struck Antarctica traced to galaxy 3.7bn light years away’ (Sample 2018). Humans are today rarely understood as masters of our destiny or the planet; but reduced to having a much more responsive and humbling role; positioned within vast and complex spatial and temporal relations, and, therefore, to how we can learn to better sense what the planet is telling us (Pugh 2018; Chandler/Pugh 2018; Pugh 2020).

The idea of ‘deep time’ has long been linked to the theory of uniformitarianism mentioned by Helen, and here I would also add the theory of ‘catastrophism’ and large-scale planetary change (catastrophism being the theory that planet Earth has largely been shaped by sudden, short-lived, violent events, possibly worldwide in scope). The 19th cent. French scholar George Curvier (1769–1832), and later Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873), examined how new forms of life often emerge after catastrophic events; something which heavily influenced Charles Darwin’s work on the theory of evolution; where islands, as we all know, became the paradigm sites for understanding the relational interactions, feedback effects and relational affordances that produce life itself. Thus, for quite some time now, islands and island life

have been understood as an important laboratory ‘sensor’ for wider changing environmental conditions.

Indeed, let us not downplay the role of islands in contemporary debates about the Anthropocene: the figure of the island is ‘the’ emblematic sensor and canary in the coalmine for attuning to the vast spatial-temporalities of transforming planetary conditions. As so often in the history of science, islands and islanders are today once again being understood as the key sensors and windows into a deeper understanding of the changing world: from the contemporary use of Big Data generated by computers and orbiting satellites which sense how island coastlines have changed over long periods of time to reveal rising sea levels (United Nations Climate Change 2019), to the use of coral bleaching as bio-sensors of environmental change (Foo/Asner 2019), the employment of real-time social media feeds on islands to sense and adapt to the increasing frequency of disasters (Percival 2008; Pugh 2018), and the growing incorporation of Indigenous island communities’ sensing abilities, to name but a few prominent examples (Hall/Sanders 2015; Pugh 2018). Like the canary in the coalmine, it is the particular sensitivities and affordances of islands and islanders which are held to enable a greater understanding of the temporal reach and depth of transforming conditions. As David Farrier says about Singapore island’s famous ‘supertrees’, a combination of giant solar panels and vents for heat generated from the city’s waste biomass: ‘Different expressions of human-inflicted deep time flow through the scene: in the panoply of products entombed in the containers, in the patina of carbon residue from the forest fires in neighbouring Borneo that might find its way into an ice core thousands of miles away, or in the soundless crashing of tropical diversity. The skies are clear, but in recent years, for much of June through October, the island has been enveloped in a thick smog blown in from illegal and uncontrolled fires, used to clear Indonesian rain forests and make way for giant palm oil plantations. The Garden City is a node in a vast network of extraction and consumption [...]’ (Farrier 2019, 126).

For Farrier, standing on the walkway on Singapore’s supertrees ‘is like entering a knot in time’ (Farrier 2019, 127). Islands have thus not

only become this window into the complex reach of spatial relations, but also a window into deep pasts and deep futures too; something which is, again, regularly reflected in today's attention-grabbing headlines about islands, such as: 'There are diseases hidden in the ice, and they are waking up' (Fox-Skelly 2017).

So, I, therefore, continue to agree with Helen that the figure of the island remains a laboratory. But today I would further flag up that what we mean by laboratory is changing. In the Anthropocene, and with questions of deep time and deep futures increasingly coming to the fore, the island has become a laboratory for not only understanding transforming planetary conditions more widely, but also for humbling the modern human subject as the master of their destiny. Islands are laboratories in this more speculative, disrupting and generative sense; put to work to foreground the dangers of modern frameworks of reasoning and the hubris of modernity (Tsing 2015; Morton 2016; Yusoff 2018; Watts 2018; DeLoughrey 2019; Barad 2019). As I will pick up in more detail later, in such work islands and islanders are not only seen as a window into deep time because their practices are interesting in and of themselves. Rather, it is because of their deep connections to time, place and the material world that islanders are increasingly heralded as being able to teach the rest of us how to live better in the Anthropocene (Chandler/Pugh 2021; Pugh/Chandler 2021).

Question 3: How Does Our Understanding of Islands and Archipelagos in Archaeology and Geography Map into Contemporary Debates about the Anthropocene (such as Configuring Island Relationalities, Indigeneity, and Resilience)?

Answer: Helen Dawson

In my previous answer, I pointed out how archaeology deals with the most recent portion of earth's history (the Quaternary) and how the latter part of that (the Holocene) has been recently redefined the 'Anthropocene' (Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Leppard 2019). The term is obviously much more than a label or a definition: it links

environmental change firmly to human behaviour. Humans (whether purposefully or not) are considered responsible for the rise in climatic and environmental disasters; moreover, the situation has progressed to the point that it may no longer be reversible (as Jon clearly explains).

As I have already mentioned, islands can be studied both in their own right and as a key to understanding broader issues: islands are widely considered as laboratories or more recently as model systems. 'The archaeological record of islands provides useful analogues with which to begin to model the effects of anthropogenically induced earth systems change' (Leppard 2019, 120). On the one hand, there is an emphasis on human agency (on 'anthropogenically induced change') and, on the other, there is a realisation that humans have little if any impact on the (usually environmental) forces operating over deep time. How can we reconcile these opposite views? Perhaps one way of doing this is by recognising that human agency does not exist in a vacuum but together with non-human factors (see Terrell's 1977 'human biogeography' or Hodder's 2012 'entanglements'). Here I agree entirely with what Jon has said, islands are windows or observatories for understanding these powerful relational interactions. Islands can never be bounded – they will always spill over the edges, being greater than the sum of their parts (Eriksen 1993). Going back to the Anthropocene, as Leppard (2019, 120) points out, we can attempt to formulate 'semi-predictions' regarding processes in the future only by paying close attention to what he calls the 'linked' nature of environmental and social processes in the past. As an example, he illustrates how 'islands worldwide have experienced substantial ecosystemic disruption in the aftermath of human colonisation' (Leppard 2019, 124). Thus, his study of the initial colonisation of the Pacific islands indicates that initial responses to anthropogenic change were highly predictable (following a degree of 'path dependency' or 'co-evolutionary trajectories') (Leppard 2019, 138).

Are islands really microcosms, laboratories, observatories, representations of the world in miniature? This seems to me the underlying assumption of islands as 'key sensors' or 'canaries in a coalmine' (Ratter 2018, 2) (but see Jon's view

on this, below). There is a risk that the Anthropocene will bring with it a new type of island determinism, perhaps it already has: not every phenomenon can be explained from the perspective of insularity, but islands are indeed spaces where human and non-human factors can be observed in multiple combinations and their effects compared, making them ideal observatories.

Turning to the issue of resilience, archaeologists have often considered islands as paradigms of vulnerability and resilience, illustrating both the positive and negative impacts of humans on the environment. Easter Islanders have been stereotyped to the extreme, as shortsightedly responsible for their own 'eco-suicide' (Bahn/Flenley 1992) and as an almost ideal 'sustainable society' (Hunt/Lipo 2011). The downside of such views is that they are laden with assumptions; thus, islanders are expected to be able to figure out a solution to their problems eventually, as they have always done. Here I support Jon's criticism of this position (see below) and agree with Leppard's observation that: 'It is important to avoid a simple equivalence between ecological and social resilience [...] in terms of value judgments (resilient societies as 'good' societies – good for whom? Biodiversity, a driver of ecological resilience, does not self-evidently have a moral value)' (Leppard 2019, 137). Isolation and connectivity, for example, are neither inherently good nor bad for islanders. Here too, we should be careful to think in relative rather than absolute terms. Intuitively, we may believe that connectivity is better for islanders than isolation, but you can have too much of a good thing. Excessive reliance on a network, for example, a network for procuring essential resources, can expose islanders to fluctuations in those networks and increase the effects of other risk factors (Dawson 2019b). Several archaeological studies support this view. For example, Fitzhugh found that social and cultural isolation in the Kuril Islands (an archipelago located between Hokkaido, Japan, and Kamchatka, Russia) were more of a hazard than natural phenomena such as volcanic eruptions, which were fairly common. Networks, as necessary as they were for survival, exposed Kuril islanders to risks and ultimately had a greater impact on the islands' population than natural disasters. Archaeologists studying islands over long periods of time have reframed

the meaning of resilience and vulnerability highlighting different strategies that islanders have implemented over time. Whether archaeology can tell us something about the future or whether the past holds important lessons for the present, are difficult questions which we are likely to continue debating for a long time.

Finally, with regards to the important question of indigeneity, as the Mexican archaeologist Rivera-Collazo has said 'it is imperative that we decolonise our perceptions of islands' (2011, 39). She points out that 'Nissology can make an excellent contribution to archaeological studies of islands by considering an island's own terms: these being historical, ecological, cultural, and social factors' (Rivera-Collazo 2011, 38). She goes on to say that for her 'the most important contribution of island archaeology is that it has established a stage for the debate of 'islandness' within archaeology, stimulating the reaction from within the islands themselves. From that discussion, we have become aware of the similarities between island societies, the importance of 'reticulate interactions', and the way in which colonial discourses have been applied toward the study of islands' (Rivera-Collazo 2011, 38 f.). Mainstream concepts in archaeology, such as world-systems or core-periphery models, have a colonial, top-down character while networks can afford a bottom-up perspective, which does not overshadow individual dynamics at the expense of the whole (Dawson 2019b). Can we really speak of 'global' island studies? Island archaeology in the Pacific is quite different from Caribbean or Mediterranean island archaeology. We should learn from the similarities we see but we should also appreciate and respect the differences; and there are different geographies, different histories, different pasts, present issues, and futures at stake. The concept of 'islandness' encapsulates this diversity and is a resource to be tapped by way of drawing comparisons and fostering cross-disciplinarity. Islands capture the tension between local and global experiences: they are also places where such tension can be reconciled. This volume, for example, is devoted to European islands: but how 'European' are the European islands today (or in the past for that matter) and what does this term mean for geographers, historians, and archaeologists? Is it a geographical, political,

cultural label, or all of the above? Is Lampedusa emblematic of European islands today? Treating islands as observatories, from the inside looking out, ultimately invites us to reflect on ourselves and on our biases.

Answer: Jonathan Pugh

Again, I find myself noticing strong affinities between what Helen says about the direction of the debate in archaeology and wider trends in island philosophy and geography. As I have already intimated, whilst the legacies of relational thinking in island studies continue to be developed in new ways today, something different is happening in contemporary debates about the Anthropocene more generally and how islands are positioned within these; something which, I believe, is the very reason why islands have become ‘the’ emblematic figures of the Anthropocene. The figure of the island has become emblematic of how we all live within complex, transforming planetary conditions (Chandler/Pugh 2021; Pugh/Chandler 2021). We already know this from the generic presentations of islands which proliferate today:

‘Islands hold a disproportionate amount of the world’s biodiversity, and they have also experienced a disproportionate loss of it [...]. On islands, habitat transformation and invasive non-native species have historically been the major threats to biodiversity, and although these threats will continue in new forms, new impacts such as human-induced climate change and sea-level rise are emerging. Island biodiversity is changing with some species going extinct, others changing in abundance, non-native species becoming a part of many ecosystems, and humans shaping many ecological processes. Islands thus are microcosms for the emerging biodiversity and socioecological landscapes of the Anthropocene’ (Russell/Kueffer 2019, 31).

Other geographical spaces such as tropical rainforests and the Arctic are important figures for the Anthropocene for some of these reasons too. But the long-standing and powerful trope of the island as ‘microcosm’ and ‘laboratory’ for registering

relational affordances and feedback effects – from rising sea levels, to nuclear testing on islands and continued colonial exploitations – puts islands right at the forefront of debate. In particular, today the figure of the island symbolises and captures the hopes, worries, desires and fears of those interested in debates where complex relations have become too rich, too intense, to be grasped, commanded and controlled by way of older modern frameworks of reasoning and manipulated to the human will (Pugh/Chandler 2021).

What I would call this ‘island effect’ – where islands and islanders have moved from the periphery to the centre of international debate – is significant. Back in 1999, Kofi Annan famously said: ‘Small islands are microcosms for our world. We are all inhabitants of the global island, surrounded by the limitless ocean of space. If we can find solutions to the special vulnerabilities of islands, it will help us address more global problems’ (Annan 1999). But today the acronym SIDS (Small Island Developing States), and the designation of 2014 as the year of SIDS, does not only conjure feelings of sorrow and grief for the profound challenges and losses facing many small islands around the world. Islands are not only framed as passive victims, but increasingly understood as generative and active agents for wider debates about solutions in the Anthropocene. For good or bad, this increasingly positions islands as exemplars for the rest of the world to learn from. We are regularly told today that islands: ‘exhibit high levels of social-ecological resilience [...] a condition defined as the ability to absorb disturbance without degradation of essential processes and structures [...] Resilient social-ecological systems (SESS) have been shown to have adaptive capacities that emerge from social factors such as in-depth local ecological knowledge, flexible governance systems, and diverse livelihood strategies, combined with ecological factors such as high biodiversity, the greater abundance of key species, and a complete community structure’ (Lauer et al. 2013, 40).

In such widespread and commonplace statements today, island life is understood as this living system for the rest of the world to learn from because it exemplifies the creative or ‘emergent’ powers of life itself – ‘system effects’ – that cannot be accessed directly by way of modern

frameworks of reasoning. In particular, it is often said that, unlike Moderns, Indigenous islanders ‘don’t see nature as separate from people’ (Lakpa Nuri Sherpa, quoted in Forest Peoples Programme 2019), and that they offer ‘a worldview that privileges not just the perspective of other men, but of other living beings – of trees, animals, oceans and stars’ (His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta’isi Efi 2018, x). For many concerned with the Anthropocene, such relational interactivity is a gift to the wider world and something that we should all be learning from. This is why, for those focused upon cultivating resilience, for example, the whole of the island system is always more than its parts (in contrast to reductionist, modern and atomised understandings of island life), and it is the powers unleashed by the complex system relations of islands and islanders that need to be understood, accessed, redirected and repurposed. This is also, of course, a key reason why Indigenous island knowledge, in particular, is receiving massive attention in contemporary debates about resilience – that is, once Indigenous knowledge is reduced to being resilient against the disruptive forces of transforming planetary change.

Contemporary work is replete with examples which foreground how Indigenous islanders are both immersed within, and positively adaptively attune to, complex relationalities (Percival 2008; Robertson 2018; Pugh 2018). By contrast, it is argued that: ‘In the developed world, loss of traditional cultures and perspectives has led to a disconnect between people and nature. Indigenous peoples have often been found to have intimate familiarity with the natural rhythms and processes of their ecosystem’ (Salick/Ross 2009, 138).

The limits to top-down and modernist forms of reason, and the importance of islanders’ relational contingencies, are central to contemporary resilience discourses in international policymaking, the general media and academia today; which profoundly re-position the figure of the island *vis-a-vis* the hegemony of continental mainland (i.e.: modern) thinking. Thus, once reviled as backward, and even at times subhuman or savages under oppressive colonial frameworks of reasoning (Gillis 2004), in contemporary debates about the Anthropocene what is meant by ‘exemplary’ is being reversed. So that today it is increasingly

Indigenous islanders who are the exemplars for revealing and teaching the rest of the world how to become resilient. As Gleb Raygorodetsky (2017, 264) argues in the ‘Archipelago of Hope’, focusing upon Indigenous peoples and islanders’ own ‘stories of resilience’ gives us ‘our best chance to remember – or learn – how to care for Earth in a way that keeps it healthy for our descendants’ (Raygorodetsky 2017, xix). For many such commentators today, we can all learn from the ‘indelible resilience’ of islanders (Nicks 2017). Islands have become powerful symbols of ‘hope’ for the rest of the world (Mission Blue, Sylvia Earle Alliance 2019). Indeed, many advocates today point to how much (r)ecent academic research has increasingly been moving beyond ‘doom and gloom’ headlines to instead frame islands as sites of livelihood resilience to the impacts of climate change and disaster risk’ (De Souza et al. 2015). The argument is that islands and islanders are ‘inspiring champions of livelihood resilience and adaptation to climate change and disasters’ (De Souza et al. 2015). By contrast, to focus upon the vulnerabilities of islands and islanders, such as those from Tuvalu, is said to ‘downplay the resilience of communities, cast(ing) them as powerless [...] (something which risks reifying) [...] relationships of inequality between the powerful and weak through paternalistic interventions to ‘save’ the powerless Other’ (Mortreux/Barnett 2009, 106).

For me, however, no matter how well-intentioned such ‘critiques’ may be which flag up the resilient capacities of islanders, there remains a tendency to remain locked into colonial reasoning. Only that today, in the Anthropocene, the Other, the non-modern islander, is positively seen to provide the answer that Moderns can and should learn from. I do not think that this romanticising of islands and islanders holds much of a challenge to the significant political and environmental forces associated with transforming planetary conditions. Far from it. Thus, I agree with Frédéric Neyrat that this kind of debate has ‘so completely accepted the axiom of turbulence that it finds itself in the situation of being ontologically incapable of giving an account of the turbulence that nourishes it’ (Neyrat 2019, 78; see also Pugh 2014; 2017; Reid 2017; Chandler/Pugh 2018). At this deep level of reasoning, the focus on the

relational effects and pragmatic adaptations of islanders (no matter how impressed we may be by them) ‘necessarily’ suborns politics to the governance of effects – to adaptively ‘staying with the trouble’ (Haraway 2016; Watts 2018) – rather than challenging root and structural causes. As I see it, there can be no politics if it is impossible to stand apart or separate ourselves and islands from the flux or flow of the immediacy of life’s relational processes (Pugh 2018). For my part then, I continue to take part in the ‘growing discussion’ concerning ‘the pressure that the ‘resilience’ narrative puts’ on ‘all island communities’ (Ellsmoor 2019; Kelman 2014): Something which, finally it seems, leading organisations like the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Abram et al. 2019, 20), which hold islands as key figures in the Anthropocene, are starting to take seriously when they state: ‘Critics of the resilience concept warn that the application of resilience to social systems is problematic when the responsibility for resilience building is shifted onto the shoulders of vulnerable and resource-poor populations’.

Conclusion

When we first started talking to each other from our respective disciplines of archaeology and geography, we were unsure how many affinities and differences there would be between us. As we noted at the outset of this chapter, academia is too often stuck within entrenched disciplines that prevent conversations taking place between them about such things as islands. Yet, today the figure of the island has become so central on the international stage, for so many debates, that it has become increasingly absurd not to talk of island studies in their own right. The figure of the island moves from the periphery to the centre of human thought when we see images of refugees landing on Greek islands, islands in the Pacific subjected to increasing typhoons and nuclear fallout, and islands sinking under rising sea levels. The island is the emblematic figure of arguably the most pressing concern of our time: the Anthropocene (Pugh/Chandler, 2021). Island scholars bring different aspects and concerns to these debates. But, as this chapter has shown, we also share many themes as

well: islands as observatories for addressing global concerns, an interest in deep pasts and deep futures; how islanders are framed and appropriated in debates which hold them as exemplary for teaching the rest of the world how to become resilient to changing climates; how thinking about islands and islanders changes how we think about questions of connection to the material environment, oceans, atmospheres, counter-stories to the hubris of modernity, and so forth.

There are indeed many opportunities to stimulate and publish cross-disciplinary debates about islands: via the many activities of leading island organisations, including the International Small Islands Studies Association (ISISA), RETI (Excellence Network of Island Territories/Réseau d’excellence des territoires insulaires), and SICRI (Small Island Cultures Research Initiative); through leading journals, including ‘Island Studies Journal’ and ‘Shima’; and via the ‘Anthropocene Islands’ initiative (run by Jonathan Pugh).¹

But why is it particularly important to have more cross-disciplinary discussions, such as the one we have presented here, now, at this particular time? The answer is simple: how we think about islands tells us both about these wider debates and reveals how we are approaching the stakes of these debates ourselves. When something like the island is no longer on the margins of so many international debates, this tells us something about who has done that moving and repositioning: us. Thus, although we are both ‘nisologists’ (McCall 1994), thinking with and about islands is not just interesting in itself. The lure of island studies is not solely to understand ‘islandness’, i.e. an island’s tangible and intangible qualities, and what sets islands aside from the mainland (Baldacchino 2012). How we relate to islands from our various disciplines is revealing of who we are, what we think are the stakes of engaging the world, and what we envision we can become (here we don’t just refer to our perspective as island scholars, but also how wider debates, particularly around the Anthropocene, hold that thinking

¹ <<https://www.anthropoceneislands.online/>> (last access 06.29.2021).

with islands is key to understanding and unlocking planetary stakes).

If we do not, therefore, talk across the disciplines about how we analytically approach islands from our various positions, at this pivotal juncture in history, we miss something fundamental about how we are all more generally engaging the world at this time. Considering how the figure of the island is being understood, appropriated and engaged should be a key direction for research going forward. Without examining why and how we think with islands in the ways we do, across the disciplines, we are stranded on the ‘insular islands’ of our respective disciplines, rather than letting islands and islanders matter.

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The Cycladic Archipelago beyond Geographical Definitions

Redefining Boundaries and Limits through Material Culture and Religion

Keywords: archipelagos, Cycladic, Ikaria, Pholegandros, periploi

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Summary

This paper aims to show the fluidity of archipelagic boundaries through an analysis of the

discrepant configurations of the Cycladic archipelago in antiquity. The first part of the chapter considers how ancient geographers and historians defined the archipelago, highlighting that this differed considerably depending on the author in question. Looking at the material culture of the southeast border of the Cyclades, one may observe that it is particularly fluid, as the islands there were more prone to be classified with other archipelagos. The second part of the paper focuses on two such islands (Ikaria and Pholegandros), which were sometimes grouped with the Cyclades, and other times with archipelagos such as the Dodecanese. An examination of the cultic practices and material culture in both places reveals that islands such as Ikaria and Pholegandros have some unique characteristics but at the same time have features typical of the Cyclades and East Aegean. In the case of Ikaria, particular attention is paid to the finds at the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos, a divinity whose veneration discloses ties with Asia Minor and the Cyclades. With Pholegandros, in turn, a Doric island grouped with either the Cyclades or the Sporades, focus is given to its function as a pilgrimage centre for various Aegean islands. In light of this archaeological evidence, I proposed the islands of Ikaria and Pholegandros be grouped not within the geographical delimitations of the archipelago to which they have been previously assigned, but rather in terms of their cultural identity.

The Cycladic Archipelago as a Region

Defining what is an island may seem at first glance a trivial question: an island is a landmass surrounded by water (Ratter 2018, 5). However as one examines the question more closely, the definition becomes more complicated. The concept of an island may mean something different to anthropologists and sociologists who use the term to define places isolated and separated from the rest of a given environment (Gillis 2014; Ratter 2018, 1–18). Most importantly, depending on the size of the island, it may be considered a continent or simply a rock in the sea. Promontories and peninsulas are also frequently confused with islands (Constantakopoulou 2007 11 f.). As one digs deeper into the issue, it becomes clear that even the etymological definitions of islands vary greatly.

The last century witnessed an intensive debate on the ambiguity of the concept of ‘region’ (Ellis-Evans 2019, 1–8). Problems with a precise definition also arise with archipelagos. Here again, defining an archipelago seems straightforward at first glance: an archipelago is a group of islands. The subject becomes more complicated once one realises that such a group is sometimes defined by a cluster of islands and sometimes by the sea that contains them. The troubles of defining an archipelago is, in fact, directly related to the difficulty of defining an island and has much to do with the nature of island boundaries. The fluidity of boundaries in both islands and archipelagos is evident in the example of the ancient Cyclades (ca. 1000 BCE–400 CE).

From a geomorphological point of view, the Cycladic archipelago is formed of islands that are actually peaks of submerged mountains resting on a tectonic platform (Begert 1992, 11–16). However, this geological definition does not include Melos and Thera, two Cycladic islands that are volcanic in origin and thus do not fall into this category. Looking at a world map, the Cycladic archipelago can be broadly defined as a group of islands in the Aegean that stretches between Anaphe and Andros and between Melos and Amorgos. The islands form a cluster, whose breadth is greatest between Crete and the south Thera, and which is

distinct from both the Peloponnese and the islands of the Saronic Islands (*fig. 1*). Some of the very small Cycladic islands – like the so-called ‘goat-islands’ such as Libeia and Heteireia (to the south of Kimolos) – that barely appear on maps, have never been inhabited, however they have been used for micro-transhumant practices (Forbes 1994): livestock was conveyed to the islands in order to exploit available land, particularly if it was ill suited for agriculture but capable of supporting herds of goats (Constantakopoulou 2007, 200). The seemingly clear separation of the Cycladic archipelago from the other islands in the Aegean has led some scholars not only to see it as a well-defined region, but also to consider it a good example of a ‘laboratory’ of islands that differs from ones in the Pacific in terms of environment. The fluidity of island boundaries as well as the mobility of populations amongst other factors, have nonetheless made the entire concept of the ‘island laboratory’ questionable. Islands are not closed areas that can be viewed as laboratories; rather, they are open polyvalent spaces in which various connections and boundaries can be established.¹

Any clear entity of the Cycladic cluster grows more blurred as soon as one looks towards the eastern islands of the archipelago. In antiquity, for example, the island of Astypalaia, which today belong to the Dodecanese, was grouped with the Cyclades. In fact, the current Cyclades, comprised of 220 islands bound by geography and climate, is merely the contemporary and final categorisation of the archipelago. For four millennia, the so-called Cyclades interacted with the cities, states and empires of the Mediterranean – the Greek nation-state, the Ottoman Empire, Venice and Genoa, Byzantium, Rome, the Hellenistic Kingdoms and Classical Athens, all of which understood and organised the islands in a different way. Indeed, the organisation of the Cyclades has varied even within the same

¹ On the theory of the island laboratory, see Vayda/Rappaport 1963 and Evans 1973 (already inherent in Darwin’s approach, on which see Kuklick 1996). For a discussion on the problems with the laboratory theory, see Irwin 1992; Terrell et al. 1997.

historical period and culture, as in the case of Ancient Greece. A brief examination of the different ways in which the latter periods defined the archipelago is enough to illustrate how much its boundaries have varied over time.²

Individual Aegean islands (Chios, Lemnos, and Kythera) appeared for the first time in Linear B records of the 13th cent. BCE. These records, however, contain no reference to the Cyclades (Earl 2008, 9 f.). The ‘Iliad’ and the ‘Odyssey’ too do not allude to the archipelago, though the second does mention one of its islands, Delos, (‘Odyssey’, III–IV) (Gounaris 2005, 96). Delos is listed side by side with other Aegean islands, and not as part of a cluster (Bennet 1997; Counillon 2001, 14; Ceccarelli 2012; 2015). Delos also appears several times in the Homeric ‘Hymn to Apollo’ (1–30), in which the poet asserts that the island was the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis and relates how Leto wandered from place to place until giving birth to the twins on Delos. Some scholars have interpreted the absence of the Cycladic islands from the Iliadic ‘Catalogue of the Ships’ as a sign that they were controlled by the Mycenaean palaces and were thus not independent political entities (Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1994–1995, 214; Schallin 1993, 188). However, archaeological evidence indicates that the Cyclades were not culturally, ethnically or politically unified in the Late Bronze Age period and thus ultimately denies the existence of a Mycenaean koine (Vlachopoulos 2012, 382–400).

The Cycladic archipelago appears designated as group only from the Classical era onwards, when the various sources and literary texts make clear that it comprises a regional unity. The actual term ‘Cyclades’ appears for the first time in the 5th cent. BCE in Herodotus (‘Histories’, 5.30–31), who, however, does not define which islands belong to the group and merely affirms that they lie in the Aegean. The historian does, nevertheless, see the island of Naxos as their centre and claims that it controls Paros, Andros and the other Cyclades. His concern with defining the Cycladic archipelago in

relation to political powers is equally evident in his claim that none of the Cyclades has yet become subject to the Persians – a claim that he makes in a context that implicitly sets the Cyclades in contrast to those islands closer to the coast of Asia Minor, such as Samos, which did recognise Persian suzerainty to some extent.

The 5th cent. BCE Athenian tragedian Euripides considered the island cities of the Cyclades and those along the shores of Europe and Asia as mutually exclusive and exhaustive groups them as Cyclades (‘Ion’, 1581–1587). The term ‘Cyclades’ also occurs in the work of the historian Thucydides (‘History of the Peloponnesian War’, 2.9.4), who refers to them as islands between Crete and the Peloponnese and states that all of them, save Thera and Melos, could be counted among Athens’ allies at the start of the Peloponnesian War. Unlike Herodotus, however, he does not define the Cyclades in relation to any central power.

The concept of the Cyclades as part of a larger Aegean world is referenced indirectly in another 5th cent. BCE source, the tribute lists of the Athenian Empire. In these, Thasos is said to belong to the Thracian District, Samothrace to the Hellespontine District, and Chios, Samos and other east Aegean islands to the Carian District. None of these islands are said to belong to the so-called ‘island group’, while the Cyclades clearly appear as separate members of the Athenian Empire (Meiggs 1972). Whatever the case, the lists do not specify which islands belong to the Cycladic archipelago. Although the Athenian lists obviously fail to define the limits of the various archipelagos in the Aegean, one should not expect such precision from them. Catalogues, as Cole has shown (2013, 202 f.), are not that concerned with strict geographical order. The lists of toponyms in them follow the natural routes of the landscape and conveniently recall their political context and emphasise their political identities on the assumption that the reader has a mental map that associates places with people. Thus, though the Athenian lists do not offer descriptions of places, they group them according to ethnic groups (Shipley 2011, 1–23).

A properly defined concept of the Cycladic archipelago that refers to the islands that comprise it appears only with the *periploi* of the ancient geographers, who described, measured, and

² The difficulties of individualising the Cyclades have been recognised by specialists in different periods. On antiquity, we have Brun 1996, 15–17; on the Middle Ages, see Malamut 1988, vol. 1, 67. Recently the topic has been brought up by Bonnin 2015, 47–84.

represented various groups of islands (Kowalski 2012, 127–170). At first glance, the organisational grouping of the islands by these geographers does not differ from those of cities, people, and tribute lists in other catalogues. All these lists, which were compiled between the 5th and 6th cent. BCE, bring together diverse information about history, physical space and mythology and assemble it under a toponym.³ However, the *periploi* are not mere catalogues of randomly organised islands or cartographic representations of scattered points of land in the sea, but are instead representative of the universe that they describe. As C. Broodbank has well observed (2000, 21 f.; 2014, 72–79), the *periploi* actually reflect how the islanders perceived the universe of the Cyclades and represented it on a mental map in which they remembered things through a series of locations mingled with landmarks, navigation routes, and presumed sites of mythical and real historical events. The *periploi* also integrated fragments of maritime itineraries into a global representation of space and probably set sites with affinities on the map (Counillon 2001).

One of the first authors to compile a list of the Cyclades is Pseudo-Skylax, a geographer living in the time of Philip II of Macedon (359–336 BC) (Shipley 2011, 6–8). Pseudo-Skylax mentions the archipelago twice: the first time in paragraph 48 right after his presentation of Crete (Pseudo-Skylax, ‘Periplous’), where he notes that the Cyclades are located close to Lakedaimonian territory and lists the islands of Melos, Kimolos, OIiaros, Sikinos, Thera, Anaphe, and Astypalaia. As Shipley notes, the existence of a *polis* on an island is an important factor for inclusion in the catalogue; even those islands (e.g. Kimolos) for which no *polis* is explicitly mentioned are understood as having one (Shipley 2011, 128). Although this group of islands lies on the sea route to Rhodes, the catalogue is not a travel itinerary to this island as it does not mention a final destination. The geographer’s aim here is to provide information so that the reader can mentally conceive of the subject described.

The second mention of the Cyclades occurs in paragraph 58 (Pseudo-Skylax, ‘Periplous’). Interestingly, the islands Pseudo-Skylax enumerates (Kea, Kythnos, Seriphos Siphnos, Paros, Naxos, Delos, Rheneia, Andros, Mykonos, Ikaros, Ios, Amorgos, Andros) are all different from paragraph 48 and do not at all overlap with those noted in paragraph 48. In this case, he describes the archipelago as lying opposite Attica and refers to Kea, Mykonos, and Andros by name. Afterwards, he mentions the Ionian Islands, but without designating them as such. To these, he adds some islands located to the south of the Cyclades – Ios, Amorgos and Ikaros – then returns to Andros and continues in the direction of Euboea. As Shipley observes, Pseudo-Skylax refers only to the islands with *poleis*. Here too the geographer’s description is not meant as a travel itinerary, even though it may initially seem like one because the islands run counter-clockwise: Kea–Andros–Euboea. As Shipley points out, Ios and Amorgos, which could easily have been inserted into this itinerary, crop up later and separately from this Kea–Andros–Euboea route, while Ikaros enjoyed closer relations with Samos. Finally, the Delos–Rheneia–Syros–Mykonos route is impractical; had a sea itinerary been the aim here, the order would have been Mykonos–Delos–Rheneia–Syros. As in paragraph 48 the geographer’s aim is to provide a mental map rather than an itinerary (Shipley 2011, 132).

Pseudo-Skylax’s list of the Cyclades in paragraph 58 has Attica (Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴ εἰσι νῆσοι αἱ Κυκλάδες – ‘close to Attica there are the Cycladic islands’) as the starting point and principal reference. Besides helping the reader to visualise the space, the reference to Attica also has a clear political implication as it assumes an Athenocentric perspective, with an itinerary that commences in Attica, makes a circle, and ends at Andros and Euboea (Counillon 2001). This Athenocentric perspective also appears in the ‘Knights’ of Aristophanes (169–170), in which the dramatist describes the islands as circling Athens. Curiously, in the play, the appellation ‘Cyclades’ disappears, and all that remains are the islands arranged in a circle. In this image, however, Athens is replaced by Delos. Other documents from the Classical period likewise assume the Athenocentric perspective. As Constantakopoulou (2007, 151–175) has shown,

³ On the organisation of the space and its relation to memory, see Roubaud 1993. On ancient geographers, see Jacob 1990.

imperial Athens established an image of insularity through its long walls, constructed not only to protect the city, but also to transform it into an island.

The Cyclades are also described by Dionysius son of Calliphon (1st cent. BCE, verses 130–144; Marcotte 1990) who believed that the archipelago was encircled by the Myrtean Sea and thus defined it in relation to Euboea and the Attic coast. Starting his description of the Cyclades with Kea, an island close to Sounion, the geographer proceeds to Kythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos, Kimolos, OIiaros, Paros, Prepesinthos (Despotiko), Delos, Mykonos, Tenos and Andros.

Important Cycladic catalogues were also produced in the Roman era. One notable example lies in the ‘Natural History’ of Pliny the Elder (4.22). Here, he refers to the Cyclades as the islands around Delos, granting the latter a central place in his description by turning it into a point of reference for their location. Beginning his description with Andros, he moves on to Kea, Delos, Tenos, Mykonos, Seriphus, Prepesinthos (Despotiko), Kythnos, Rheneia, Scyros (Syra), OIiaros (Antiparos), Paros and Naxos. He also mentions Pholegandros together with the islands known as Sporades and locates Ios (with its famous tomb of Homer) in an arm of the sea between Euboea and Andros. Afterwards, he observes no regular order, setting Melos, Amorgos, Thera and Anaphe in the same imprecise group as he does Ios (Pliny the Elder, ‘Natural History’, 4.23). In other geographical narratives, one encounters yet more lists of Cycladic Islands. Dionysius Periegetes (ca. 177–138 CE) produced a *periplous* in which he catalogued the Cycladic islands and integrated them into a more global concept of the Mediterranean (conceived back then as an assemblage of oceans) (Jacob 1990; Lightfoot 2014).

Another important catalogue of the Cycladic islands was compiled by the Roman geographer Strabo, who refers to Thera, Anaphe, Therasia, Ios, Sikinos, Lagoussa, Pholegandros, Kimolos and Melos (‘Geography’, 10.5.1). He sets all these islands around Crete, inserting even those that Pseudo-Skylax had previously included amongst the Cyclades in the Cretan group (Thera, Ios, Kimolos, Anaphe). Like Pseudo-Skylax, he associates the tomb of Homer with Ios, but unlike him, he includes Kimolos, an addition that is

comprehensible if one recalls that the island was an important place for the Roman Empire as it supplied it with Kimolian soil (Trianti 2006, 304).

It is the conspicuous large space dedicated to Thera founded by the Lakedaimonians that Strabo recalls. In his description of the islands around Crete, the geographer states that they are called Sporades and are located near Delos. Therefore, though he still notes that Delos bears a special relationship with these islands, he seems to perceive them as being more closely linked to Crete’s sphere of influence. The image of the islands elaborated by Strabo must certainly be understood within the context of his times. He anticipated the modification of the map of the Cyclades made by Ptolemy, who, for administrative purposes, grouped them together north of Crete (Reger 1994).

Strabo (10.5.3) also uses the term ‘Cycladic Island’ some lines later when compiling a list of twelve islands that he believes to belong to the archipelago. He begins his list by pointing out that originally there were twelve Cyclades, but more were added later. He then passes on to the catalogue of his predecessor, the Ephesian geographer Artemidoros (ca. 100 BCE), whose work is lost. Strabo notes that Artemidoros stated that the Cyclades began with Sounion, a curious statement as it attaches the Cyclades to Attica and leads one to infer that his catalogue too was Athenocentric.

Strabo mentions the following islands as being Cycladic: Kea, Helena, Kythnos, Seriphos, Melos, Siphnos, Kimolos, Prepesinthos (Despotiko), OIiaros (Antiparos), Paros, Naxos, Syros, Mykonos, Tenos, Andros and Gyaros. After referring to his predecessor Artemidoros, Strabo immediately states that he disagrees with Artemidoros’ list and presents his own catalogue of islands, insisting that he follows Artemidoros in considering all these islands Cycladic, save OIiaros, Prepesintos and Gyaraos, which he simply excludes. He offers no reason for this exclusion, but as these islands were of little importance in the Roman period, one may imagine that they stood beyond the navigational circuits of the time. Strabo’s catalogue is quite interesting as it makes clear the difficulties of defining the Cyclades in antiquity. After stating that initially there were twelve Cyclades, Strabo goes to Artemidoros’ list, then comes up with his own, seemingly forgetting that a few lines earlier

he stated that Melos and Kimolos belonged to the islands around Crete known as the Sporades.

The catalogues examined here reveal the difficulty of determining which islands belong to the Cyclades even in antiquity. Discrepancies exist even in catalogues compiled by contemporary authors. Looking at these representations of the Cyclades, it seems obvious that the islands immediately around Delos were considered Cycladic; more problematic, however, were those lying on the periphery, especially to the south. It is thus understandable that the Cyclades were granted different points of reference (Naxos, Delos, Crete, Attica) and were thus organised in different ways. Most importantly, these various catalogues make it absolutely clear that the boundaries of the Cycladic archipelago were fluid and variable. Each catalogue reflects part of a Cycladic reality in which islands were connected both to each other and to coastal cities in multiple ways. The underlying complexity revealed by a closer analysis of the sources indicates that any search for clear borders and archipelagos is futile.

As places with fluid boundaries, islands are capable not only of participating in a myriad of networks, but also of establishing multiple connections with neighbouring islands, political centres, and coastal areas. Within this fluidity and multiplicity of possibilities, several factors may interfere with these relations (Malkin 2011, 4–64; Capdetrey 2012). A closer look at the material culture of these islands illustrates this point. The islands forming the Cyclades interacted in multiple ways. This leads to great variation in the space of exchange and interaction. The physical features of the islands (size, distance and resources) are mediated by society and culture. Thus, to reach a better understanding of Cycladic space, we should focus on its populations and culture in addition to its geographic unity.

Such focus on culture and people is particularly helpful when one considers the traditional limits of the Cycladic archipelago. The privileged location of the Cyclades, which are bound by mainland Greece to the west, Asia Minor and the Dodecanese to the east, and Crete to the south, turned the islands into a series of stepping-stones. Depending on which islands one looks at, one will encounter blurred cultures. For example,

Kalymnos and Kos, which clearly belong to the eastern islands close to Ionia, contain Delian sanctuaries that are clearly related to Delos, the principal cultic centre of the Cyclades. An Archaic clay statue found at the sanctuary on Kalymnos bears a striking similarity to one dedicated on Despotiko as well as others on Siphnos.⁴ The statue from Kalymnos may even have been produced on Paros or Naxos. More importantly for the present discussion, however, is the fact that the border of the Cycladic archipelago is particularly murky at the south-east fringe, which contains three islands – Astypalaia, Levitha and Kinaros – that are as firmly Cycladic as are some of the islands of the Dodecanese. The island of Amorgos, which according to Pseudo-Skylax was part of the Cyclades, is grouped with the Sporades by both Strabo ('Geography', 10.5) and Pliny the Elder ('Natural History', 4.23). Marangou (1998; 2002), who has conducted excavations on Amorgos and studied islands extensively, has noted that its connection to the eastern Aegean is stronger than it is to the Cyclades. A similar conclusion can be posited for other islands such as Astypalaia, Levitha and Kinaros, which are as much a part of the Cyclades as they are of the Dodecanese. Of particular interest are the islands of Ikaria and Pholegandros, as their inclusion in the Cycladic archipelago varies according to historical period. The following comparison of their inclusion in ancient catalogues with their material culture reveals the fluidity of any such boundaries.

Ikaria: An Island in the Sporades within the Cycladic Archipelago

The island of Ikaria, whose name derives from Ikaros, the son of the mythical artisan Daidalos, is currently one of the eastern Aegean islands belonging to the Sporades (Pausanias, 9.11.5). It lies on the same latitude as the Cycladic island of Astypalaia (which today is actually classified as one of the Dodecanese) and directly on the crossroads

⁴ The Archaic clay statues found in Despotiko and Siphnos are singular for their fine painting and manufacture. In both cases, the statues probably represent Artemis (see Angliker 2014; Kourayos et. al. 2018).

between the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and the coast of Asia Minor. Ikaria's closest Cycladic neighbour is Mykonos. Scholars studying Ikaria in antiquity grouped the island with those in the North and East Aegean, such as Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Aghios Efstraitos, Lesbos, Chios, Oinousses, Psara, Samos and Phourni (78–79). The Ikarian Pelagos, the sea surrounding the island, is mentioned by Homer ('Iliad', 2.145), but the island itself appears in ancient texts only centuries later (e.g. Apollodorus, 2.6.3 and 3.5.2; Pausanias, 9.11.5; Pseudo-Skylax, 58). Ikaria, sometimes also referred to as Doliche or Macirs, crops up in the works of ancient authors (Pliny the Elder, 4.23). The most interesting mention of it for the present discussion is that by Pseudo-Skylax:

'(1) And by Attike are the islands called Kyclades, and the following cities in the islands: Keos – this one is four cited: 'Poieessa, a city' with a harbour; Koressia, Ioulis, and Karthaia – Helene; Kythnos island, with a city; Seriphos island, with a city and a harbour; Siphnos, Paros having two harbours; of which one is enclosed; Naxos; Delos; Thene; Syros; Mykonos – this one is two cited; Tenos with a harbour; Andros with a harbour. Now these are the Kyklades islands.

(2) But under these are the following other islands towards the south: Ios with a harbour: in this island Homer is buried; Amorgos – this one is three cited – with a harbour; Ikaros – two cities' (Pseudo-Skylax 58.1–2, translation by G. Shipley).

Although Pseudo-Skylax includes Ikaria among the Cycladic islands, this does not seem right. The pairing of Ikaria with Ios and Amorgos make for an uneasy cluster in the archipelago as the former always enjoyed closer relations with the eastern Aegean islands, particularly Samos. Indeed, Pseudo-Skylax mentions Ikaria again in paragraph 113 in reference to the short distance between it and Samos; in this case, he draws no connection between Ikaria and the Cyclades. The link between Ikaria and Samos is, in fact, strong from both a historical and material perspective and is confirmed by physical evidence, which ranges from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, on the island. Ancient texts, for example, indicate that Samos exploited Ikaria's pastures and that it

enjoyed a strong presence *vis à vis* several islands located in its vicinity (Strabo, 10.5.13 and 14.1.19). The relations between Amorgos and Samos helps to understand the influence of this last one over the Eastern Cyclades. Excavations conducted at the acropolis of Minoa (one of the three ancient cities of Amorgos) have revealed ceramics and artefacts of Samian origin ranging from the Geometric to the Archaic period, while statues from a Samian workshop have been found at different points of Amorgos (Marangou 2002). Samian influence persisted throughout the Hellenistic era and is evident in the Amorgian calendar, whose names for the months are Samian (Malkin 2011, 193 f.). Based on the preserved narratives of the Suda, historians have accepted the claim that the three *poleis* of Amorgos were founded by Samos in the Archaic period. Although the connection between the two islands is indisputable, their relations, as Constantakopoulou has shown, cannot be understood as the domination of one over the other. Current scholarship, in fact, rejects the hypothesis that Samos colonised Amorgos even if the former's conspicuous presence can be detected in ceramics and other artefacts within the latter's territory.⁵ The crucial location of Samos on routes linking west and east may have prompted it to extend its reach over several other islands, including Ikaria and Fourni.

Notwithstanding, active relations between Samos and several East Aegean islands, the material culture of Ikaria does indicate some exchange with the Cyclades which is not surprising given the island's close proximity to the archipelago (Shipley 1987). Although archaeological research on this island has been limited to rescue excavations of

5 Here it is important to note that although scholars have traditionally assumed that Amorgos was colonised by Samos in the 7th cent. BCE, this has recently been demonstrated to be incorrect by Constantakopoulou (2014). The old hypothesis was based on a passage from the entry in Suda on Simmias of Rhodes, which actually refers to Semonides, the first poet to write iambics, who was associated with Samos and Amorgos. This fragment notes that the grammarian, who had written various poems, had been the leader in the colonisation of Amorgos and had founded its three cities: Minoa, Aigiale and Arkesine. This was taken as evidence of the colonisation of the island. However, as Constantakopoulou (2014, 270) shows, the association between Semonides and the colonisation of Amorgos was the 'result of a conscious parallelism of Archaic poets in the Hellenistic period'.

materials that have thus far come to light, these do enable us to draw some general conclusions about its material culture (Zapheiroopoulos 1993; 1989; 1973). Let us begin by examining the material evidence of the Cycladic presence. Early contact with the archipelago is evident in a find from Kerame (on the island's eastern side) that includes objects from the Mesolithic period (9th/8th mill. BCE) that recall items excavated in Maroula on the Cycladic island of Kythnos (Viglaki-Sofianou 2014, 28 f.). Excavations in Oinoe (Ikaria's most important city in antiquity, located on its northwest side) have revealed Protogeometric and Geometric vases of types resembling those of Samos, Euboea, Athens and the Cyclades (Papalas 2002). The famous 'Stele of Ikaria', a relief of a draped female figure seated on a throne facing youths and children, is not only carved out of Parian marble but also bears an inscription declaring that it is the work of a Parian artisan (Zapheiroopoulos 2008). Possibly a dedication at a sanctuary or part of a funerary monument, the stele definitely points to interaction between the Cyclades and Ikaria (*fig. 2*). Besides the proximity of Paros, this stela may have arrived at Ikaria through the complex network of marble distribution that the Parians put in place to distribute their marble products across the Aegean (Kokourou-Alevras 2010).

Yet despite these connections with the Cyclades, the material evidence in Ikaria connects the island far more strongly to Samos and the cities along the Ionian coast. Indeed, a look at the protomes found in a grave in Oxe, an Ikarian mountain village, reveals moulds of well-proportioned females wearing clothes and jewellery (himation covering the head, a wreath-like diadem) similar to those used in Rhodes and Halicarnassus (Viglaki-Sofianou 2014, 102 f.; Bammer 1985). Their hands rest on their breasts or offer fruit and flowers. Some make the gesture of revelation which may refer to a wedding ritual (Muller 2009). These protomes seem akin to some from Rhodes and Halicarnassus, but are quite different from those found in the Cyclades (e.g. Delos [Heraion], the Delion on Paros, Despotiko and Naxos). In the Cyclades, protomes – used primarily in the Archaic period – generally consist solely of the face and come in two iconographical types: 1) women with veils covering their heads and necks; 2) women



Fig. 2. Ikaria. Parian inscribed marble relief (475–450 BCE) found in the village of Kataphygi. Work representing a family performing rituals in front of a seated deity (after: Viglaki-Souphianou 2006, 150, fig. 200; courtesy A. Vlachopoulos – Melissa Publishing House).

wearing earrings with veils covering their heads and necks. The hair of some figures is partly visible. No traces of paint have been identified on any of them (Uhlenbrock 1989; Simantoni-Bournias 2004–2005; 2015).

Moving now to a later period, choroplastic objects dating to the Hellenistic era belong for the most part to workshop traditions in Asia Minor (Myrina, Smyrna, Pergamon, etc.). The lamps from the ancient acropolis of Drakano, which range in time from the Late Classical to the Imperial era (4th cent. BCE to 1st cent. CE) seem to consist mostly of local products inspired by similar items from Samos, while those decorated with reliefs imitate items from Asia Minor (particularly Ephesus and Knidos). Some lamps also exhibit typologies associated with Delos and Rhodes, while others recall prototypes of Syro-Palestinian origin.

A strong connection with places in the Eastern Aegean rather than the Cyclades is also evident at the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos, which is



Fig. 3. Sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos (photo by Erica Angliker).

located on the west coast of the island in an inner recess of a small enclosed bay, where the waters of the River Chalaris join the sea and create a narrow strip of sandy land. Although the sanctuary was discovered in 1939 by L. Polites, its excavation was interrupted during the Second World War and resumed only later, in 1989, by P. Zaphiropoulos.

The cult at the sanctuary was of long duration – from the 7th cent. BCE to the 4th cent. CE. Indeed, the sanctuary probably marked the religious centre of Ikaria. The earliest finds in the area date to its foundation in the Geometric era (9th/8th cent. BCE). The sanctuary was at its peak in the Archaic period, and has yielded several artefacts in the Oriental style from this time: an Egyptian terracotta male figurine; an Egyptian faience falcon amulet, symbol of the god Horus (7th–6th cent. BCE), and a bronze pendant in the form of a horse neck-bell (7th cent. BCE, possibly from Iran). These objects were presumably dedicated by sailors returning home from abroad (*fig. 3*).

It is difficult to determine precisely when the veneration of Artemis began at the sanctuary of Tauropolos, but the cult definitely existed in the Classical period as proven by an Attic vase (500–450 BCE) with the inscription ‘Tauropolos’. The epiclesis ‘Tauropolos’ may signify either the goddess of the Taurus peninsula, or the god of the bulls. The cult of Artemis Tauropolos was rare and existed only in a few places: Attica and Halai Araphenides (6km from the coast from Brauron) (Parker 2005, 240–242), Amphipolis (Macedonia) (Mari 2012), Failaka (an island in the Persian Gulf) (Bilde 2003) and on the Black Sea Region (Ustinova 1999, 98 f.; Braund 2018, 15–60). In Ancient Greece the Taurian Artemis was a goddess known on commercial regions of maritime frontiers (Kowalzig 2013, 183–190; Ellinger 2020). Whether these cults of Artemis Tauropolos were connected or shared common features is unclear. Whatever the case, the votives encountered at the sanctuary in Ikaria include artefacts of Oriental style, drinking vases,

fibulae, and cooking pots. More importantly, several figurines representing fertility and Cybele (the Phrygian Great Goddess) have also been found at the sanctuary. The introduction of Cybele in Ikaria clearly occurred via Asia Minor and the East Aegean. This goddess enjoyed an orgiastic form of worship with many Dionysic elements (ecstatic dancing, nocturnal processions to the mountains, etc.) potentially associated with boys' rites of passage. The connection between Artemis and Dionysos can be also observed in 4th cent. BCE coins found at the excavations in Oinoe (a city associated with the worship of Artemis Tauropolos). These coins depict both divinities. It is interesting to note that the association between them and initiatory cults is also evident on the Cycladic island of Delos. According to the inventories of 141 BCE (ID 1444, Aa, 38), the statue of Dionysos was garbed in a chiton that had previously belonged to Artemis. Although the inventories make clear that this kind of transfer occurred only once (Bruneau 1970, 310 f.; Brøns 2017), they do indicate cultic links between the two deities (Vallois 1944, 105–107, followed by Picard 1944–1945, 262 f.). Certain aspects of the cult of Dionysos on Delos found parallels on Amorogos, which, despite belonging to the Cyclades, was an island with strong connections to the eastern Aegean (Angliker 2019).

Pholegandors: Between Cyclades, Sporades and Crete

The small island of Pholegandros (only 33km²) is located in the southwest Cyclades, with Milos to its west and Sikinos to its east. Between Pholegandros and Sikinos lies the islet of Kardiotissa (Lagousa in Antiquity). Very little is known about Pholegandros' past, and only a few historical events can be reconstructed from short literary passages and several inscriptions. According to legend, Pholegandros was initially colonised by Dorians, but once the island fell under the strong influence of Athens in the early Hellenistic period, its dialect switched over to Ionic (Marthari 2006). As the island has been subject to little archaeological research, only a few general assertions can be made. Material evidence shows that it was inhabited during the Early Bronze Age (3rd mill. BCE). The

ancient city of Pholegandros was located at the site of Paliokastro, slightly above the Church of Panagia, where, in the 18th and 19th cent., European travellers reported seeing remains of ancient buildings (Vassilopoulou 2018). Few of these ancient structures remain standing today. Mingled among the bushes in the area of the ancient acropolis are some architectural structures, ancient pottery and the remains of iron forging are likewise visible in this area. The ancient cemetery must not have been far from the ancient settlement as tomb statues dating to the Roman period were found in the vicinity (Vassilopoulou 2018).

Today deemed as one of the Cyclades, Pholegandros is another island that was formerly assigned to more than one archipelago. In ancient times, only Pseudo-Skylax (paragraph 48) included it among the Cyclades: 'And the following are Cyclades by the Lacedemonian territory that are inhabited: Melos with a harbour, and by this Kimolos, and by this Pholegandros, and by this Sikinos, an island and a city. And by this Thera, and by this Anaphe, and by this Astypalaia' (translation by Shipley 2011).

Although Pseudo-Skylax does not use the concept of the Dorian islands, all the Cycladic islands he mentions in this passage are Dorian. Also, interesting is that all these islands lie on the sea route to Rhodes and thus constitute part of the 'mental map' of the East Aegean. The connections between Pholegandros and the East Aegean become clearer if we look at other ancient catalogues in which the island is not grouped with the Cyclades. Indeed, while Pliny places Pholegandros among the Sporades ('The Natural History', 4.23), Strabo ('Geography', 10.5) associates it with Crete. From a material point of view, Pholegandros is culturally linked to the Doric Cyclades, which is how contemporary archaeologists group it. Due to the limited excavations conducted on Pholegandros, its material culture is only partly known (Marthari 2006, 298–303).

Nonetheless, one site on the island has been relatively well studied, namely, the cave of Chrysopilia (Vassilopoulou 1996; 2018). Located to the northeast of the Kora of Pholegandros, it is accessible both by sea and land, though the approach is equally dangerous in either case (*fig. 4*). Full of stalactites and stalagmites, the cave has a stepped



Fig. 4. Entrance of the cave of Chrysospilia (Photo by Erica Angliker).

entrance and a ceiling covered with an enormous amount of vividly coloured graffiti (*fig. 5*).⁶ The graffiti include many (400) male and several female names, with dates ranging from the Archaic to the Roman period. The majority, however, date to the 4th cent. BCE (Vassilopoulou 2018). The cave probably accommodated a cult of Apollo and Artemis.⁷ Similar to the cult of Artemis practiced at the cave of Antiparos, it had a clear initiatory character related to the successful penetration of a difficult-to-access cave.⁸ The most interesting feature of the writers of these graffiti, however,

⁶ Stalactites and stalagmites are important features in caves used for cultic practices. See Sporn 2010; 2013. For cults practiced in caves, see Ustinova 2009; Faro 2013.

⁷ An inscription from the ancient city of Pholegandros refers to the worship of Apollo Prostaterios and Artemis, both divinities associated with cults related to initiatory practices that seem to have been particularly important at the cave of Chrysospilia, See Vassilopoulou 1996; 2018.

⁸ For the dedicatory inscription to Artemis in the cave of Antiparos, see Bakalakis 1969. For the cult of Artemis in the cave of Antiparos and other caves in the Cyclades, see Angliker 2021.

is the variety of their origins within the Aegean – Kos, Delos, Rhodes, Crete, Thera, Samos, and Lesbos – but also colonies in Africa and places in mainland Greece. At one time, therefore, Chrysospilia was clearly a unique hub that attracted people from far-flung areas. Such a phenomenon is unique within the Cyclades, but may be related to certain geographical features of Pholegandros. The cult cave on this island is a good example of the many cultic sites that functioned as meeting points within a structure that lay beyond the *polis'* jurisdiction (Constantakopoulou 2015). The cults practiced at Chrysospilia on Pholegandros were not controlled by a strict political group. As an island located between the borders of the Cyclades, the eastern Aegean, Crete and mainland Greece, Pholegandros must have served as a crossing point for various people moving from east to west and vice versa. The island's ability to engage in multiple connectivities not only turned it into a hub, but also allowed it to build connections with other places, which may explain, at least in part, why it was variously grouped with the Cyclades,



Fig. 5. Chrysospilia Cave. View of graffiti on stalactites (after: Vassilopoulou 2018, 342, fig. 3).

Sporades, or Crete, depending on the authority involved.⁹

Conclusions

Defining the boundaries of archipelagos or islands is an elusive undertaking. As recent research has shown, an island, despite its apparent isolation, can be involved in multiple relationships and networks. The space of the Mediterranean, in which a profusion of islands and coastal places were confined in a relatively small area, offered the perfect conditions for safe navigation between lands and harbours that never lay too far apart. This situation enabled the establishment of myriads of connections and networks. Within such a context, islands could engage in complex relations with places near and far, depending on their

particular needs, resources and geographical locations (e.g. the position of a city near an important harbour or river crossing or an island; the cost of labour in a region, etc.). The characteristics of islands – the fluidity of their space and boundaries – are ultimately reflected in the archipelagos themselves.

This brief survey, which considers the definition of the Cycladic archipelago among ancient authors, clearly shows that the limits and boundaries of the archipelago vary greatly even among more or less contemporary authors. It also reveals that within the Cyclades, those islands located in the southeast archipelago (e.g. Amorgos, Anaphe, Thera and Astyplia, which is currently in the Dodecanese) are more likely to be associated with other regions. To examine the questions of boundaries and limits more fully, this paper has considered two islands, Ikaria and Pholegandros, in greater detail. Although Ikaria definitely enjoyed contact with the Cyclades, careful analysis of its material culture and history shows that it fits in better with the northeastern Aegean and had particularly

⁹ On the distinction between the hub, centre and periphery in the Aegean, see Constantakopoulou 2016.

strong connections with Samos. In this sense, it is much like Amorgos, a Cycladic island that also had close ties with the eastern Aegean. Turning to the island of Pholegandros, which is considered a Cycladic island both by today's standards and those of some ancient authors, we find few connections with the Cyclades even though the island did function as a hub for people from various parts of the Aegean. Both Ikaria and Pholegandros therefore suggest that the limits and boundaries of this archipelago were once far less fixed.

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II. Crisis Developments, Insular Responses, and Resource Adaptations

David Hill

Urban Relocation and Settlement Adaptation on Naxos from the Early to Middle Byzantine Periods

Keywords: Byzantine archaeology, the Aegean, Naxos, crisis response, settlement change, urban relocation

Summary

From the mid-7th cent. CE the sea lanes of the Aegean became severely disrupted by the Islamic expansion. The Cyclades were directly threatened, and contacts to Constantinople and the larger centres of the Byzantine Empire were challenged. The disruption to trade and the economy accelerated the transition from Late Antiquity to the Medieval period. Settlement patterns evolved, and Churches became smaller and more numerous, and on Naxos, Kastro Apalirou was constructed as the relocated capital of the island at a waterless, fortified mountain top site. A new house type at the site has been identified during recent fieldwork by the University of Oslo, which included an integrated system for water harvesting and storage in basement cisterns that allowed the community to inhabit the site. These changes were radical and dramatic and resulted in a sustainable and enduring feature of later Cycladic settlement: nucleated hilltop villages.

Introduction

The common view of ‘insularity’ assumes that island societies develop specific solutions and responses to the ebb and flow of cultural change and development (Randall 2019, 83). Scholars often like to see islands as different places that hold unique positions in European history. This assigned cultural status is not incorrect, as large islands such

as Crete, Cyprus, and Sicily have been influential places in shaping Mediterranean cultural and political development, and smaller islands have often found themselves buffeted by the same winds of political and cultural change. The archaeological and historical records of islands are in certain periods different from mainland regions; however, we should also recognise that by treating islands as places apart may amplify concepts of insularity. The Mediterranean bordered by Europe, Africa, and Asia became a crucible for Empires, and the Aegean islands were used as bases for military expansion, as nodes on trading routes and as steppingstones from which to colonise the seascape. How insular societies adapted and responded to these forces has been a central element to the development of the Mediterranean and has left a rich cultural record for archaeologists and historians to interpret. A romanticised view of small islands assumes that they are ‘other places’ in some way protected from negative forces by the sea that surrounds them. This isolation that we associate with islands is bounded within a paradox that we also associate islands as places of connectivity. Cyprian Broodbank noted that islands can be both connected and isolated, and sometimes even at the same time (Broodbank 2000, 10). In order to explore the question of connectivity, we need to consider island size and resource availability as giving options with which to face challenging situations. This point relates to the duality of terrestrial and maritime existence that is a key aspect of island life, and for those islands with large rural hinterlands where that duality is stronger, such as Naxos, a more robust response to regional influences becomes manifest.

This article will discuss the case of Naxos during the Byzantine period between the 7th cent. CE

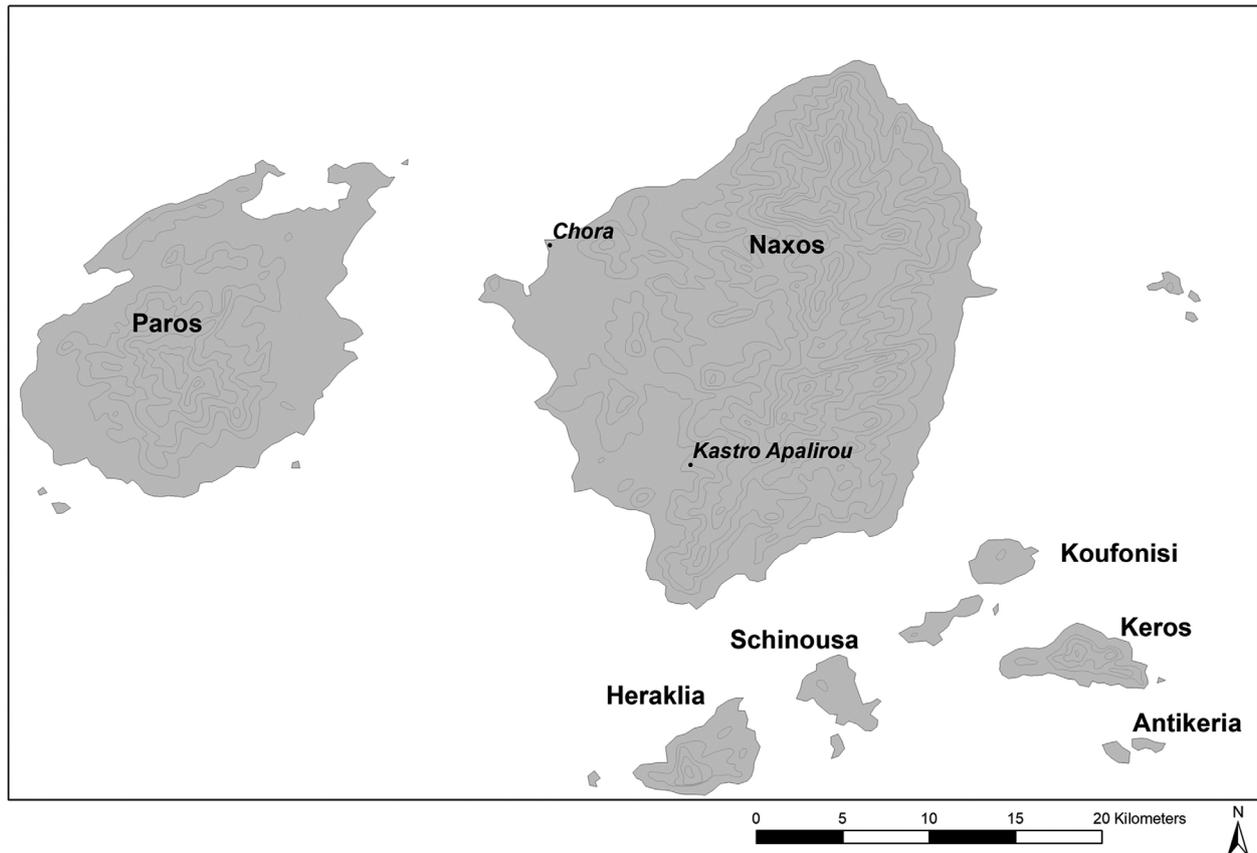


Fig. 1. Map of Naxos showing places mentioned in the text.

to the beginning of the 13th cent. CE. The material presented has been generated by the Apalirou Environs Project based at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, a collaboration between ‘The Second Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades’, and the Universities of Oslo, Edinburgh, and Newcastle. The project has focused on the fortified urban site of Kastro Apalirou and its immediate landscape. Kastro Apalirou is a unique site that was founded in the middle of the 7th cent. CE and abandoned at the beginning of the 13th cent. CE (*fig. 1*). Importantly, the site was built on a virgin site and never used or altered after its abandonment and can therefore be studied as a fossilised, though small, Byzantine urban site. This fact alone makes the site unique in the eastern Mediterranean. This article will explore the response by Naxian society to the crisis and challenges of the Transitional Period of the 7th to 10th cent. CE and analyse the material through the lens of insularity.

The construction of Kastro Apalirou at a waterless fortified mountain site towards the south of the Island from the second half of the 7th cent. CE

represents a relocation of political, social and administrative authority to what became the largest settlement on Naxos. Whilst new fortifications are not unusual for the period, Kastro Apalirou differs considerably from other fortified sites: within the walls there is a predominance of private domestic houses structured by a system of terraced streets. The site also contains the largest ecclesiastical complex on the island during the period and a number of high-status buildings. Habitation at the site was made possible by a system of water harvesting from roofed areas and storage through numerous basement cisterns that enabled sustainable settlement at the waterless site. The requirements of water-harvesting and storage led to the development of a new house type that differs greatly from house types of the period (Hill 2018, 110 f.). There are two main phases visible at the site: the first phase is dominated by domestic and private structures, whilst the second phase is dominated by further investment in larger defensive and community structures. We interpret the first phase as representing a local Naxian response and

the second phase as later Imperial investment relating to the fortification of the Aegean, perhaps in relation to the reconquest of Crete in 961 CE when Constantinople again asserted Imperial control over the southern Aegean.

Considering Insularity from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Period: Source-Critical Problems

The material available for research from the Byzantine period does not allow a high-resolution cultural study able to elucidate questions of identity. There is little that can be used to discuss differences between Naxos and other Byzantine regions as defined by cultural indicators. There are no historical or literary texts detailing daily life on Naxos, or elsewhere. Christian burials do not provide a level of detail specific to individual identity, and archaeological excavations that could furnish small finds or meaningful data able to drive a comparison of materiality between regions are few. Historical research is also hampered by the loss or destruction of archival material during catastrophic events such as the sacking of Constantinople to the Franks and Venetians in 1204 CE, and by the Ottomans in 1453 CE (Wilson 1967, 57). Classical Antiquity has, in comparison, presented a far richer material for analysis and discussion than the Byzantine period. A further issue is that archaeology in Greece has traditionally directed most of its attention on Antiquity and the Bronze Ages. The International schools and research institutes in Athens that have dominated research archaeology in Greece have focused on the high-status sites that attract funding. The Byzantine period, therefore, has not been seen as 'World Archaeology' such that interest in the period has been more limited (Lekakis 2018, 371–373). A further problem is that Constantinople and much of the core territory of the Byzantine Empire today lies outside of the borders of the Hellenic Republic and is fragmented across a number of countries with differing historical and cultural priorities. These facts together have led to a situation where Byzantine archaeology has not generated the same levels of data or received the same scrutiny as other periods in the eastern Mediterranean. Consequently, this presents us with a challenge in

discussing the question of specific insular identities during the Byzantine period.

Despite these problems, insular identity in the Aegean during the Middle to Late Byzantine periods has been considered by several scholars (Randall 2019; Vionis 2017; 2018), who conclude that based upon the available textual and cultural data, they find no case for discerning island-specific identities. The material at first reading does not allow us to present anything beyond 'Orthodox Christians' (Randall 2019, 81). Interestingly, this is in direct contrast to the Archaic and Classical periods when island identities were clearly expressed in terms of *polis* (and insular) ethnicity. From the late Hellenistic period in the 4th cent. BCE, the islands of the Aegean lost the political autonomy they once had. Economy and society began to follow similar and homogeneous cultural pathways prevalent across the eastern Mediterranean. We can state that insular and regional identity was weakened through centuries of Imperial rule. Religious, political and economic life was dictated by Rome and Constantinople, and any specific island identity had been replaced by a sense of participation as a small part of a wider world (Lambrinoudakis 2018). Paul Magdalino goes further and states that by the 7th cent. CE the Cycladic islands had become political and economic backwaters (Magdalino 2018, 20).

Another key question that we need to consider is connectivity; how far island communities were connected to other regions; and how far were they in control of that connectivity themselves. Late Antique trade through the Aegean was carried out by a professional merchant class ('*Naukleroi*') on behalf of Constantinople (Randall 2019, 84). They were primarily tasked with trading grain to the capital from Egypt and North Africa as part of the *Annona* system, but ships would carry other goods that could be traded for a profit. Trade, therefore between two or more places, would largely be carried out by third parties, a practice now known as 'cabotage'. The building and maintenance of merchant vessels required investment that was dependent upon networks and political contacts able to attract the lucrative and regular annual contracts. Over time, maritime travel within the empire came to be dominated by a trading elite. Islands like Naxos without a large port would have played

a more passive role within Late Antique economic connectivity and been reliant on merchant ships as and when they used the island as a stopover. Putting into port as and when they needed to. The regular sailing routes between Constantinople, the Levant and Egypt traditionally went through the eastern Aegean (Samos, Chios, Rhodes and Cyprus). However, Byzantine navigation could not choose the winds, and it was normal for ships to seek shelter or follow varying routes through the archipelago, dependent upon sailing conditions. Naxos would have been visited as a smaller stopover port and base for supplying the fleet with water, foodstuffs and for laying up whilst waiting for better conditions. The lack of a natural harbour on Naxos or other locations offering sheltered anchorages has been noted in a recent study as a strategic weakness for Naxos in relation to other islands within the Empire (Roussos 2017, 163). Critical access to the connected maritime world of the eastern Mediterranean was therefore not a formative part of Naxian identity in the Byzantine period, and the lack of shipyards and port infrastructure on the island reflects this. This would have led to a situation whereby insular communities were dependent upon external factors for their connectivity and is in stark contrast to the situation in the Classical and Archaic periods. From the mid-7th cent. CE, the pattern changes as the Aegean found itself in the front-line of geopolitical conflict and became a maritime borderland in a shifting and evolving world (Randall 2019).

Historical and Archaeological Background during the Transition Period 650–850 CE

The critical period between 650 and 850 is referred to as the ‘Transitional Period’ and is dominated by the crisis brought on by Arab or Islamic expansion from the Middle East and into the Mediterranean (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2018, 29 f.). The loss of Egypt, North Africa, the Levant and the Near East was catastrophic for the Empire, and the subsequent presence of Arab fleets in the Mediterranean from the second half of the 7th cent. CE was disastrous for economic and regional stability. After the fall of Alexandria in 641 CE, Arab forces quickly built up a maritime capacity. Yemeni

sailors were relocated to Egypt and the Levant while maritime and ship-building traditions from Mediterranean regions were accessed, which gave Islamic expansion increased mobility. At the Battle of the Masts off the coast of Lycia in 654 CE, the Byzantine fleet was destroyed, giving Arab naval forces a free hand. A pattern of both organised Arab fleets as well as sporadic piracy and raiding became the norm for previously peaceful coastal and insular regions (Randall 2019, 88–90). The most critical loss was Crete which was a powerful base from which to launch attacks on the Aegean between 827 CE and 829 CE, and the island was later retaken by Byzantium around 961 CE. The sudden nature of the threat and the fact that the Aegean had been peaceful for centuries meant that very little defensive infrastructure was present along the coast and the islands, and the Imperial navy did not have the same status as the army (Pryor 2003). Byzantine naval infrastructure was limited but gradually developed a response to the new situation, first through the *Karabisiano*, a naval force based upon maritime and seafaring groups first mentioned in sources from 680 CE (Foss 1991, 1105 f.), and then later from the mid-9th cent. CE via the *Theme* system (Ahrweiler 1966, 19 f., 22; Treadgold 1995, 67, 315, 322). Responses to threats became a priority for local communities who needed to develop local solutions, which, after many centuries of stability, were lacking. This new dynamic situation required, therefore, a more active role to be carried out by the islands and coastal regions, as a proactive response regarding local defence and governance was needed (Randall 2019, 90; Trombley 2001, 156). The Cyclades have been discussed as being a maritime border zone between a weakened Constantinople and Arab controlled Crete (Randall 2019; Roussos 2017, 298), and that Naxos needed to maintain contacts with both parties. Naxos is recorded as having paid tribute to Arab forces from Crete, but there is no record of occupation or destruction: It has been argued that Naxos was able to maintain autonomy through a working relationship with Arab controlled Crete (Christides 1981, 95–97; Roussos 2017, 43; Vionis 2017, 175). Therefore, this situation presents a picture of Naxos as being removed from the sphere of strong Imperial control between the mid-7th and mid-10th cent. CE.

Archaeological Background

There is some discussion as to how sudden and complete the effects of the crisis would have been felt by Aegean societies. However, there are clear signs of the wide-scale abandonment of smaller coastal sites. Recent excavations on Schinoussa (15km to the south of Naxos) illustrate how a small site with a port and early Christian Basilica was abandoned by 650 CE (Chatzilazarou 2018, 202 f.). On neighbouring Keros, there are also signs of abandonment (Tzavella 2018, 183), and in the Dodecanese, the small site of Socastro and its larger neighbour at Leukos (Karpathos) that were regularly used by ships for stopovers, were also abandoned between 650 CE and 850 CE (Nelson et al. 2018, 167). The pattern visible in these three recently studied cases would have been repeated across the Aegean, where vulnerable coastal sites would simply have been abandoned. We can assume that the smaller Cycladic islands, where settlement was already negligible, may have been periodically abandoned altogether. Patterns in the regional ceramic material broadly shift from large numbers of identifiable and diagnostic types from well-established and known production sites in the Mediterranean visible in archaeological layers up to around 650 CE, to a period of up to three centuries when harder to identify, locally produced grey wares dominate within ceramic assemblages (Horden/Purcell 2000, 158; Polou-Papadimitriou 2018). It is clear from this that trade and commerce were disrupted from the mid-7th cent. CE and that long-range maritime connectivity declines in the Aegean. Long-established patterns of connectivity weaken, and new, more locally driven impulses take over as traditional regional systems no longer drove the Aegean world as before. In contrast to neighbouring Naxos Paros shows clear signs of decline, particularly along the coast, which is striking as both islands are large and in close proximity to each other. It has been argued convincingly that larger Naxos, containing a more varied topography and made up of numerous ecozones was able to support greater levels of settlement during the period (Roussos 2017, 296). Within the frame of Naxos and insularity, the ‘crisis’ of the Transitional Period can be seen to giving the initiative back to larger insular societies, who responded with local

adaptions and solutions. One could further argue that the threat of conflict in the Aegean led to the development of a frontier mentality, which polarised local responses.

Kastro Apalirou on Naxos: A Case of Urban Relocation

The instability in the Aegean was the trigger for the establishment and construction of Kastro Apaliou, which would never have been built had the stability of Late Antiquity continued. The site presents a pattern that is the opposite side of decline and abandonment, namely foundation, construction and occupation. When the team from the University of Oslo first began work at the site, we had yet to find any conclusive dateable material. The survey team was confident that the site must have been constructed in the second half of the 7th cent. CE as, no other historical context would have led to the construction of a fortified urban settlement on a waterless mountain top (*fig. 2*). The original name of the site is lost, so we use the name that it goes by today, which can best be translated as ‘Thornbush Castle’ – a romantic name known first in an account in the early 16th cent. CE (Fotheringham 1915, 43; Hill et al. 2018, 84; Roland 2019). The level of activity at the site and at the lower settlement below the fortifications, as seen through the high number of houses (at least 100) and newly identified churches (5), presents us with material that is contrary to trends elsewhere in the region during the Transitional Period.

Prior to the survey, no detailed study of the site had been undertaken, and only the church complex of Agios Giorgios (Aslanidis 2018), and some of the larger cisterns had been sketchily documented. The survey began, therefore, with a detailed recording of all visible structural remains across the site using a total-station to build up a plan rather than simply focusing on the large and visible structures (Hill et al. 2018, 85). A systematic survey proved to be the best strategy as the workflow led to a greater understanding of how the site had been planned. The survey was able to show that within the walls, there were a considerable number of domestic houses laid out across a regular street plan. The site is not easy to read



Fig. 2. Drone photograph of Kastro Apalirou from northwest (Photo by David Hill).

as many structures were either dry-stone construction or weakly mortared, and the buildings have collapsed on themselves, and the rubble obscures what lies below. Heavy use of mortar was reserved for churches, cisterns and the defensive walls. The plan of the site only shows those structures that we could survey without moving rubble or clearing soil over large areas, the total number of structures, therefore, is likely to double (*fig. 3*). Two main results became apparent during the survey: domestic and private structures dominate the material, and varied building and masonry styles have been applied. It is clear that investment levels differ from structure to structure, which is the opposite to what one would have expected if central investment had been applied across the site. Another detail is that many houses contained their own private cisterns in the basement, which could only have been accessed from within each property. We realised at an early stage in our survey that we were not looking at a fort, but rather a

small urban community. We defend the use of the term urban as no village or rural site would have been fortified by a curtain wall with nine towers, a gated entrance and contain a large ecclesiastic complex, and no refuge or fort would contain so many domestic houses.

Another important element to understanding the site is that the presence of a very clear second phase represents a new direction being taken in Kastro Apalirou's function and role. This phase represents an extension and upgrading of the site's defensive and strategic capabilities and would have required investment from Imperial authorities.

The large round tower and bastion at the northern end of the site was constructed during this second phase; most of the larger community cisterns could not have been present during the first phase before the walls were extended as they would otherwise have lain outside of the fortification. The round tower or bastion is constructed

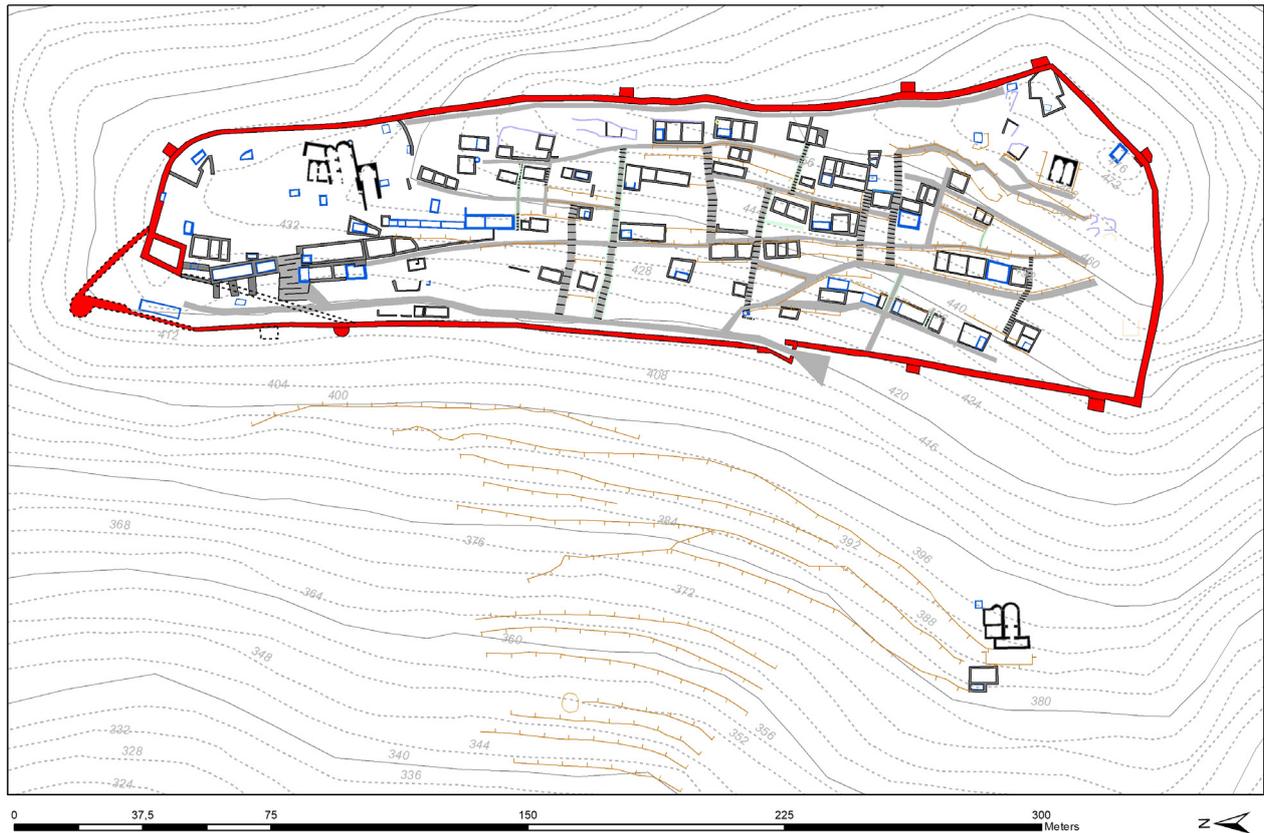


Fig. 3. Plan of Kastro Apalirou.

more solidly than the early circuit walls and was clearly designed by a military architect as it also created an artillery platform that dominates the main approach to the site. The presence of specialised artillery would require a garrison of soldiers rather than members of the local community to man and operate it. The extension to the curtain wall that belongs to this phase also includes several large free-standing community cisterns. The resulting increase in cistern capacity should logically relate to requirements of water for a garrison. Cisterns in the first phase were small and within private domestic houses and would not have been sufficient and available for an influx of military personnel. Cistern storage relates also to roofed areas, and notably, the heavier use of mortar in the second phase of the walls would have required large volumes of water for slaking lime, as well as for consumption by the labour force, which would have depleted the water stored in private cisterns almost immediately.

The first phase of the site, therefore, was more focused upon being an urban community, rather

than a fortress dominated by military structures, which the survey interprets as a decision to construct an urban central place taken locally by the Naxian community. The second phase represents a capitalisation of the site by Imperial authority to improve strategic capability in the defence of the Aegean.

The defences also hold a clue as to the nature of the establishment of the site: The circuit walls of the first phase make logical use of topography: they are not solid or imposing. The total area that they enclose is large, and arguably from a military and strategic standpoint, they attempt to include too large an area. Had an effective strategy of defence been the main goal, then a different mountain should have been chosen, as well as a smaller, more impregnable site. Another observation is that the site is reclusive within the wider landscape, almost as if it were not intended to be visible. Kastro Apalirou was seemingly not constructed to be a bold and externally visible military statement of Imperial power, but rather as a symbol of stability and security for Naxos.

Moreover, the site is not without strategic value and, whilst not impregnable, at least it would have been a serious military challenge to take the site. The mountain offers clear views across the southern and western sea lanes from the highest southerly point. In turn, the islands of Ios, Heraklia and the small Cyclades to the south are visible, Paros to the west, and on a clear day Mykonos to the north. We believe too that a signal station may have been present on the mountain and been part of a fire beacon network between the islands, though this standpoint needs to be backed up by evidence.

Access and Communication

During fieldwork, the survey team noticed that whilst the climb is arduous, we were able to ascend from the valley below in 30 minutes. We became aware that our modern mindset used to cars and roads, and timekeeping saw this as a challenge. Over time we came to realise that the site was not so isolated as we first thought. Access to the site is from the east, there are signs of a terraced and stepped trackway, which passes through an area where there are many cultivation terraces. Where the terraces have collapsed and been eroded, the earth within them contains potsherds from within the walls. We concluded that this is the result of building up cultivable surfaces by the community. A threshing floor also forms a central part of this cultivation system. Another key detail is the discovery of a base-stone from an olive press within the curtain walls connected to one of the domestic houses. These observations showed that the community was farming the terraces beneath the walls and bringing the products into the town for processing (Hill/Ødegård 2018). In other words, there are signs of a normal community living on and accessing connected zones of agricultural production. These facts strengthened our interpretation that Kastro Apalirou had been originally planned and laid out for the benefit of a community.

Topography governs the organisation of the site. The mountain is aligned north/south along a narrow ridge, which means that only long linear structures can be built. The exception is the

northern part of the site, where it was possible to construct the west/east ecclesiastical complex of Agios Giorgios. This fact represents a problem for the construction of large churches. To the southwest of the site, another large church is located outside of the walls, it may be the case that this church was constructed here as there are no other suitable sites for east-west facing buildings within the walls. An alternative interpretation is that the church is part of a monastery that chose an extramural situation by design. Within the walls of the *kastro*, terraces were needed to create level areas for construction. We noticed that these levelled areas are not built randomly but are aligned along streets. In addition, there is a system of connecting east to west stepped streets running between the terraces. Alongside these stepped streets, we noted that there were gutters. These aspects were a clear sign of a structured urban community that solved planning issues through pragmatic solutions in order to facilitate the needs of the community (Hill 2018, 108).

The dominant house type at the site is a structure that we have termed ‘blockhouse’ as they are self-contained domestic dwellings, which contain a basement cistern and occupy their own block within the street system (*fig. 4*). We have not been able to discern parallels from other contemporary sites (e.g. Emporio). Though no two blockhouses are alike, there is a basic pattern that is followed: the first floor, which was a basement, functions as a levelling foundation to cope with the rocky outcrops and the slope. Within the basement, one always finds a cistern at the lowest point of the structure. The cistern uses thick walls and is heavily mortared with a lining made up of pink hydraulic mortar where crushed ceramics rather than sand, which contains soluble salt crystals, is used as a filler. The cisterns are roofed with vaulted slates, through which there is an opening where a bucket can be lowered from the floor above. Larger cisterns had stone steps leading down into them so that they could be cleaned for sediments, this was likely done annually, in the autumn, when the cisterns were nearly empty. Many of the smaller cisterns still hold some water today. The basement floors can have two to three rooms, as in the case of the larger blockhouses as the



Fig. 4. Photograph of a blockhouse above and its basement cistern below (Photo by David Hill).

dividing walls would also need to bear the weight of the structure above. We presume the space in the basement not taken up by the cisterns would have been used as storage space. The second floor of the house above this would have been living quarters. Some houses that still stand show that a third floor in some cases was also present. Block-houses were self-contained domestic units and relate to the needs of a single household. There are no other contemporary parallels known from anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean. The houses are situated in close proximity to each other, and there are signs of gutters that channel rainwater in the same way that we find in densely urbanised areas today. The material clearly shows that a strong element of community organisation regulated the urban space.

Urban houses from the Byzantine period are otherwise known from towns that had been continually inhabited from Antiquity and therefore influenced by earlier architectural patterns, an exception is Amorium (Niewöhner 2017). Traditionally, urban centres were built at sites suitable for settlement and not at challenging locations. Known house types from the period did not need a specific design to cope with a lack of access to water or extreme slope and have, therefore, a different floor plan. High status dwellings are often those that have been identified and studied, as well as structures built to accommodate large households. Rural houses from the period are not well studied, and again it is larger structures that have been studied to any degree. The general pattern is that the courtyard or peristyle house known from Antiquity continues into Late Antiquity (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2017; Niewöhner 2017, 112). Generally, they were productive farms that had requirements for storage and production areas as well as housing those connected to the farm. The reason why there are no known parallels to the house types as at Kastro Apalirou may simply be that waterless hilltop sites were not used for urban communities before the mid-7th cent. CE. The block house type represents, therefore, a new architectural phenomenon. The movement of communities to defensible hilltop sites from the mid-7th cent. CE becomes more common later on in the Mediterranean, in particular from the 11th and 12th cent. CE, such that there are a number of later

parallels from Greece and Italy (Ince et al. 1987; Klaus/Steinmüller 2007; Francovich/Hodges 2003). Kastro Apalirou represents, therefore, the earliest Byzantine period example of dense urban settlement adapting architectural site-sensitive solutions to create habitable and sustainable urban space at a challenging site.

The case of urban relocation on Naxos is clear, though without definitive textual data, we cannot be sure of the details in respect of what was relocated. Chora, the traditional capital of Naxos, was probably not completely abandoned since complete relocation rarely occurs anywhere, but there are signs that the town or settlement was no longer functioning as it did previously. Excavation has shown a clear decline in activity in Chora (Lambrinoudakis 2018, 9; Roussos 2017, 292). The aqueduct in use since the Roman period goes out of use and is no longer maintained, there are signs of a general decline in the economy elsewhere on the island. The establishment of an urban community at Kastro Apalirou should be seen as a political decision to relocate a section of Naxian society of some importance in response to a real threat that could come from the sea (Roland 2018, 93). We do not know how long the construction took, but it would have required a considerable labour force and investment. The first phase that enclosed the mountain was seemingly undertaken as a single process, and it is clear the goal was to create a large enough area for an urban community. There is no other apparent explanation than the relocation of a section of the Naxian elite to a secure site away from the coast.

Another clue to the status of the community is that a second settlement grew up on the slopes below the walls that the survey has named Kato Choria. This settlement is distinctly rural in character, and surface ceramics collected during survey show that it is largely contemporary with Kastro Apalirou and contained up to 50 houses grouped within a village (Crow 2017). Kato Choria lies in a bowl at the foot of the mountain and is not visible from the sea or the landscape around. The village is surrounded by its own field system made up of braided terraces. Three churches are also present at this site. The function of the village is seen as being secondary, though connected to the urban community above it.

Wider Settlement Change on Naxos from the End of Late Antiquity

Does the case of urban relocation on Naxos take place within a wider pattern of settlement change on the island, or is it an isolated event? In the context of wider settlement change, the main material available is the distribution of churches in the landscape. During the 5th and 6th cent. CE large Christian basilicas were constructed across Naxos as elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. At least twelve Late Antique basilicas are known from the island (*fig. 5*). They are situated along the coast and at the edges of key agricultural areas (Bilis/Magnisali 2018; Vionis/Papantoniou 2017). The basilicas that in some cases are converted polytheistic sanctuaries and temples represent cult continuity from Antiquity. The number of basilicas as well as their distribution and size, give us a picture of stable social and economic organisation continuing into the 7th cent. CE and indicate that societal structure was focused on interlinked settlements forming larger communities. When we look at the material from the late 7th to the 13th cent. CE, a different picture develops, a far greater number of smaller churches are constructed, and a clear trend of fragmentation becomes apparent, as well as a clear shift from the coast to the inland (Aslanidis 2018; Roussos 2017) (*fig. 6*).

At the last count, there were at least 148 Byzantine churches on Naxos, including those in the orthodox tradition from the Frankish period (Crow/Turner 2018, 224). This figure should be revised to include at least five new cases from the Kastro Apalirou project area, and further examples that have come to light since the last count. No other region in the Byzantine world shows such a dense and fragmented distribution of churches in the landscape, whilst differential rates of preservation, continuity of use and upkeep are factors, the situation on Naxos is unique. In addition, the large numbers of preserved frescos (48) from the Middle Byzantine period is outstanding with 21 examples that display some form of aniconic decoration. It may be the case that many of the churches with later dates could be reassigned to earlier periods as later frescos have been painted over earlier designs, and decoration (along with architectural type) is the main method used for dating (Crow/

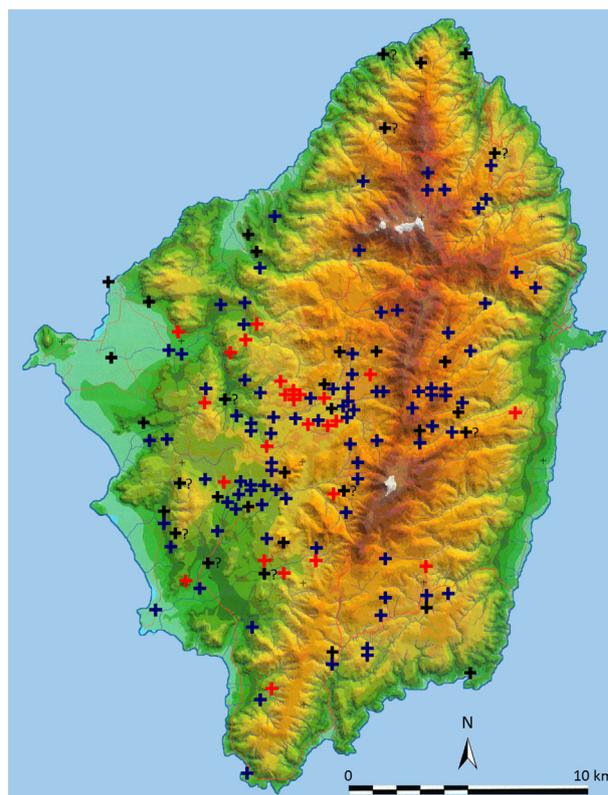


Fig. 5. Map of Naxos showing the distribution of Byzantine and Frankish period churches. Black crosses represent 5th to mid-7th cent. CE basilicas, blue crosses late-7th to late-12th cent. CE churches and red crosses early-13th to 14th cent. CE churches (Vionis 2018, 77).

Turner 2018, 227 f.). The proliferation of churches is also mirrored by a diverse number of saints and, therefore, cults specific to the communities who built them. This article will not go into detail on the architectural or iconographic aspects of the material but wishes simply to outline the broader patterns of landscape change on the island. In this respect, the construction of Kastro Apalirou represents a radical beginning to a new period on the island that is followed up by the construction of many new churches. Each new church represented an investment by local communities, and many of the skills required would need to have been paid for locally, and in the case of the decorated interiors, specialist artisans would have needed. The Early to Middle Byzantine period on Naxos represents a radical departure from the seemingly long and stable Late Antique period. Whilst we can highlight widespread geopolitical crisis, a significant loss of political and economic territory for Constantinople, there is no sign of decline

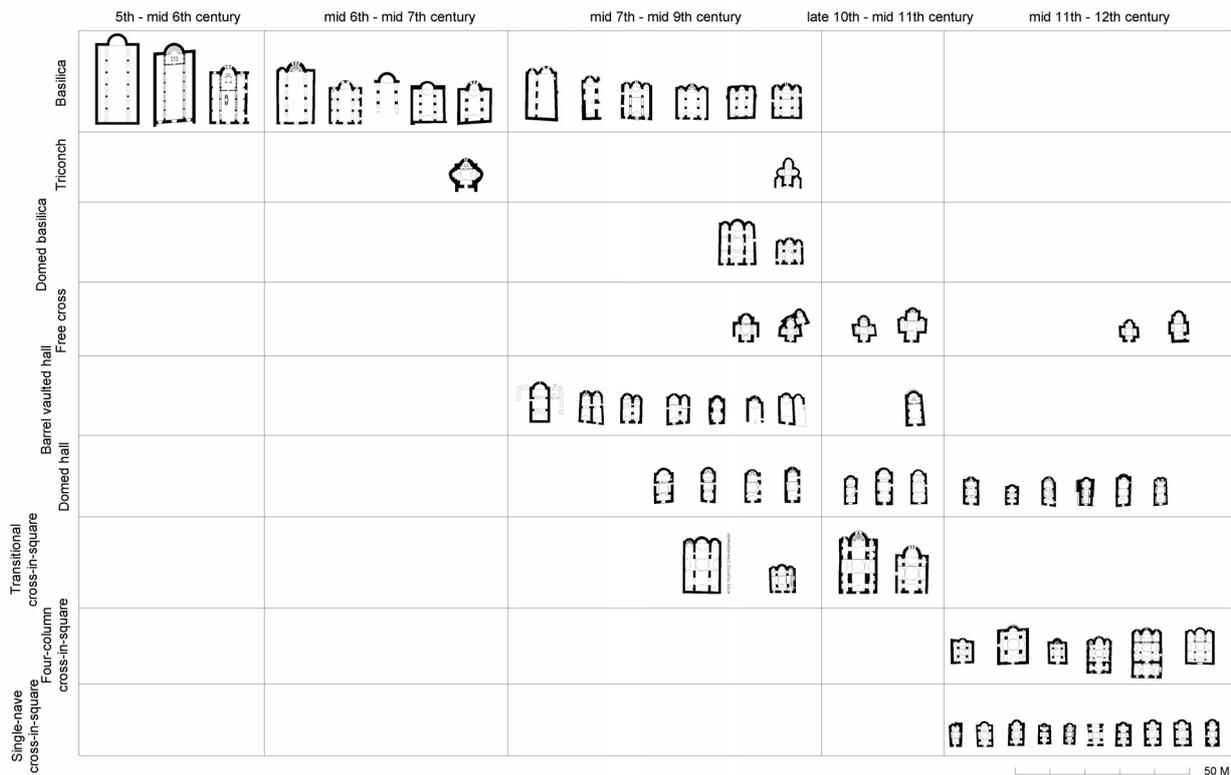


Fig. 6. Illustration of the evolution of church types on Naxos (Aslanidis 2018, 377).

and collapse on Naxos; in fact, the material shows rather the opposite (Roussos 2017, 202, 298).

Kastro Apalirou is remarkable for its longevity: The site was in use for six centuries, from its construction to final abandonment. Once a hill-top urban community was shown to be viable and sustainable, it would have stood as an example of what was possible and applied elsewhere. Today the traditional mountain villages of Naxos are quite similar in that they are dense nucleated settlements, the width of the streets between the houses is similar, and in the basements of older houses are cisterns. The project would strongly argue that the site should be seen as a prototype for these later settlements, certainly on Naxos and in the Cyclades as well perhaps as wider afield such as Paleochora on Kythera (Ince et al. 1987). A final observation to make is that after the site was besieged and taken by Venetian forces around 1207 CE, and when there was no longer a desire to have a Byzantine fortified site on the island, the cisterns were systematically destroyed by knocking holes in the containing walls at their lowest point, thus rendering the site uninhabitable and

showing emphatically how water was the key resource behind the settlement’s success.

Concluding Remarks

To place the construction of Kastro Apalirou within a wider regional context, we should take a comparative look at urbanisation in the Mediterranean from the Transitional Period (650–850 CE). There are very few, if any, new urban foundations in this period; by this, I mean new towns rather than excluding the revival of smaller extant settlements that are reassigned central function. The broader pattern of urban development from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages sees traditional and established demographic centres go through structural decline, the secularisation of government and the shift away from citizen bodies and councils towards a more professional and permanent political class in Late Antiquity (both in the western and eastern Mediterranean) meant that the machinery of administration no longer needed to base itself within centres of populations and

was freer to relocate (Müller-Wiener 1986; Haldon 2005). The growth of monasticism and changes to ecclesiastic structure also contributed to a retreat of economic and human resources from urban centres. In the Roman west, the pattern of aristocratic villas being constructed away from towns and clustering in certain regions (Esmonde Cleary 2013, 258–264) had already led to the flight of the elite from towns over many centuries, but in the Greek East, the wealthy had traditionally remained in polis centres, such that settlement patterns did not undergo any significant transformation from the Imperial period.

The crisis brought on by the Islamic expansion can be seen to galvanise society and usher in change and transformation. The negative side to long term stability is that cultural evolution often occurs more slowly. In the Late Antique Aegean connectivity (for Naxos) was seemingly carried out by third parties. Where religious and political ideology was imported from larger regional centres, a situation developed that would have led (arguably) to a passive society dependent upon the creation of ideas and policy elsewhere. Therefore, the response of Naxos to the challenges of the Transitional Period should be seen as an energising impulse. Urban relocations in periods of crisis are emotive, not only to us today but surely also for contemporary society. The creation of urban space at a waterless site in the Mediterranean is remarkable and represents a radical shift from long established cultural patterns and shows that innovation and adaption were present as a latent force on Naxos.

In considering the question of insularity, emphasis was placed on the role of connectivity and the loss of control over maritime networks' third parties. It was argued that that the long period of stability from Roman Imperial rule to the mid-7th century led to a passive relationship for Naxos

within the empire as political decisions were taken elsewhere. Whilst stability is positive, it becomes difficult to identify any insular-specific identity, and we fall into a situation where we declare the Aegean to be a backwater. The crisis brought on by Islamic expansion brought the Aegean into the front-line of regional conflict and provoked the need for local responses. For Naxos as a medium sized island, the critical resource proved to be the inland zone. Naxos is more an island of shepherds and farmers than of sailors and traders. The increase in churches and the shift of settlement away from the coast shows that the balance of duality shifted away from the sea to the security that lay in the valleys and mountains. These changes may also relate to a rise in population, and Naxos may have become an island of refuge and received new settlers from more vulnerable islands. If this was indeed the case, we may be able to argue that Naxos took on a strategic role as the largest Cycladic island. The relocation of the capital of Naxos from the coast to a defended hilltop was a sign that an insular mentality took the initiative over the instability it faced. The feeling of safety given by the inland districts, the familiarity of the hills and the freedom to turn away from the sea must have been empowering for Naxian society and would surely have strengthened a sense of its own insular identity based upon resilience, sustainability, and self-reliance.

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Insular Architecture and Settlement Planning during a Crisis

The Case of Maa-Palaeokastro (Cyprus)

Keywords: insular architecture, settlement planning, Maa-Palaeokastro, Cyprus, Late Bronze Age crisis, construction

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Summary

During periods of crisis, islands can offer a great sense of safety to their inhabitants; the surrounding water presents a physical and conceptual barrier that can be quite formidable. Paradoxically, this

very notion of security can stimulate connectivity with the most troubled regions, attracting new people to settle and increasing the island's contact with potential threats. This paper explores and highlights the archaeological evidence for such a paradox at the Cypriot site of Maa-Palaeokastro – a settlement founded during the crisis in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In the summer of 2018, a programme of architectural documentation collected a robust dataset of nearly 200 construction techniques and organising principles for each building. The results of statistical analyses of these data support the described paradox and allude to a related tension: a coordinated and well-organised enterprise that was tempered somewhat by an undercurrent of urgency to establish the settlement during uncertain times. A sense of community among the builders (i.e. inhabitants) of the vernacular structures, for instance, is indicated by the consistent construction techniques used for all contemporary buildings; at the same time, several of the identified construction techniques – when considered together and contextually – suggest more rapid construction, such as a general absence of wall bonding and the use of larger 'anchor' or other special purpose stones. Contemporary architecture at other settlements, including Lefkandi, Ag. Kosmas, Karphi, and Py-la-Kokkinokremos, serve as counterpoints, highlighting Maa-Palaeokastro's unique approach to construction and settlement planning and the allure of islands during periods of crisis.

Introduction

Many of this book's chapters attest to islands as being paradoxical places. The surrounding water provides both a physical and notional boundary that can offer a sense of isolation, security, and seclusion to the inhabitants.¹ That very water, however, is also a highly effective medium for transporting people and things to and from the islands (see, for example, Evans 1973; 1977; Braudel 1995, 144–150; Patton 1996, 2; Bevan/Conolly 2013, 23).² Thus, a tension can exist in the perceptions of islands: islands are simultaneously secluded and connected – a perception that is often amplified during times of crisis (Braudel 1995, 148–150). People may travel to islands to escape real or perceived threats and settle there with the hopes of starting their lives anew at an insulated locale. The paradox is then realised with the water serving as both bridge and barrier.

In this paper, I argue that such a tension is materialised in the vernacular architecture at Maa-Palaeokastro (hereafter, 'Maa'), a settlement that was founded on the western coast of the island of Cyprus during the crisis in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA – late 13th–12th cent. BCE).³ A comprehensive statistical analysis of the buildings' construction methods and aspects of spatial planning demonstrates the general construction strategies and allude to such a tension. On the one hand, there is considerable consistency among all structures, indicating a general strategy for construction and a sense of community and hopeful permanence shared by

the settlers at Maa. On the other hand, the individual construction methods suggest a sensitivity to potential outside threats in the unfamiliar and exposed setting; as such, methods that brought greater efficiency and speed in construction were widely adopted. These attributes together allude to a perspective on and a reaction to Maa's island setting.

To further highlight the influences of geography and insularity on construction and *ex novo* settlement during the LBA crisis, I compared the results from Maa with contemporaneous constructions from three settlements in the Aegean, Lefkandi, Ag. Kosmas, and Karphi, and an additional site in Cyprus, Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Each settlement was chosen because it possessed large-scale constructions from the same period of crisis and some geographic qualities that are analogous to Maa's setting. The analysis demonstrates that Maa was exceptional compared to those settlements in the Aegean, whose island and coastal qualities seem to have been diminished due to unique geographic or historical qualities. While Pyla-Kokkinokremos is most comparable to Maa, it, too, is not a perfect parallel, even though Pyla-Kokkinokremos's construction qualities allude to an insular outlook that is similar to that observed at Maa.

Maa-Palaeokastro

Maa is situated on the western coast of Cyprus, south of the Akamas peninsula. The nearest contemporaneous centre is the site of Palaepaphos, located 25km to the southeast (*fig. 1*).⁴ Maa was first excavated by P. Dikaios during a short, two-and-a-half-week season in June 1954 and published in a volume focusing on the excavations at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–1971, 907–912). The initial exploration at Maa was aimed primarily at the 'Cyclopean'-style fortification wall and nearby architecture, but additional trial trenches were added to better understand the chronology,

¹ This in part has led to the suggestion that islands are ideal laboratories for understanding human action and responses (Evans 1973; 1977; Bevan/Conolly 2013). This notion, however, has been reconsidered, in part, because islands are fundamentally connected to other landmasses (e.g. Patton 1996).

² Herd (1993) notes this for Cyprus, especially during prehistory. However, he also emphasises the unique environmental qualities, geography, and resources of each island that can dictate its isolation and connectivity with mainland regions.

³ This crisis spans the end of the 13th and 12th cent. BCE, corresponding largely to Late Helladic (LH) IIIC in the Greek mainland, Late Minoan (LM) IIIC in Crete, and Late Cypriot (LC) IIIA in Cyprus. See, for instance, Cline 2014 for a discussion of the crisis and its impact on the wider eastern Mediterranean.

⁴ It has been suggested, in fact, that Maa was founded by individuals from Palaepaphos to serve as a fortified boundary settlement (Georgiou 2015, 135).

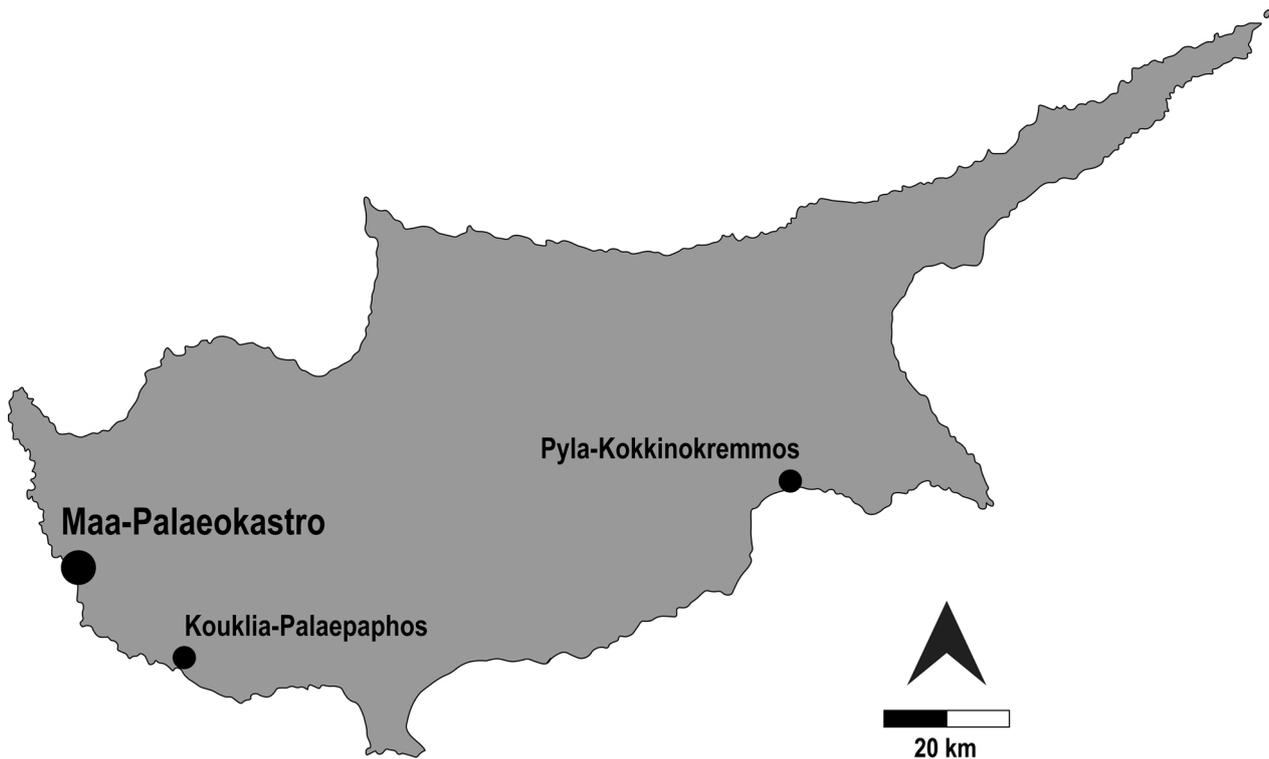


Fig. 1. The island of Cyprus with Maa-Palaeokastro and other settlements mentioned in the text indicated on the map.

stratigraphy, and architecture of the site. Subsequent and systematic excavations were undertaken by V. Karageorghis in 1979–1986, who revealed much of the Late Cypriot IIC/IIIA settlement (Karageorghis/Demas 1988). Although the architectural remains were extensive, the settlement at Maa was shown to have been short-lived with no more than two or three generations inhabiting the site before abandonment (Karageorghis/Demas 1988).

Within this period of occupation, three phases of construction were identified, Floor II, Floor I, and Floor Ia. Floor II represents the initial settlement event. A catastrophic fire subsequently damaged these structures and the floors of most buildings were raised using the debris from the earlier buildings. The new structures comprise the Floor I settlement – a coherent and discrete building horizon (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 65–85). Such structures largely avoided the ground plans of the Floor II settlement but did re-use some of the walls. There was also a filling up of internal spaces so that each building complex contained many more rooms than in the previous phase. The Floor Ia buildings cannot be associated with a specific

construction horizon (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 85–89),⁵ but they must have been built more recently than the Floor I structures because they employ different construction methods and respect the Floor I architecture. Floor Ia, therefore, seems to represent a gradual process of construction and expansion in the aftermath of the two *en masse* building events. Maa was eventually abandoned by the end of the 12th cent. BCE.

The site's location was likely a primary attraction for the initial settlers. Maa is situated on a long promontory (378 x 90m) that was surrounded on three sides by the Mediterranean Sea. Two of these sides abutted functional harbours that may have facilitated the arrival of the settlers if they came by sea and, thereafter, sustained their participation in broader maritime networks. The elevation of the promontory also inhibited immediate access to the site from any unwanted visitors docking in the harbours, offering some security to

⁵ Only in Room 80 is there stratigraphic evidence indicating the relative (later) position of a floor level with the early Floor I constructions (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 85).



Fig. 2. The ‘Cyclopean’-style wall that spans the width of the promontory at Maa.

the community. This natural protection was augmented by the construction of a ‘Cyclopean’-style fortification wall across the landward side of the promontory (*fig. 2*).⁶ Altogether, this made Maa quite well defended from both sea and land, while allowing the settlers to continue navigating the sea. Although Cyprus is a relatively large landmass – an ‘island-continent’ (Braudel 1995, 148; Patton 1996; Iacovou 2008, 627; Bevan/Conolly 2013)⁷ – that is distinguished from smaller Mediterranean islands, like the Cycladic islands, Maa’s coastal siting, physical separation from hinterland, and direct outlook onto the expanse of the

Mediterranean almost made Maa an island-within-an-island – one that was fundamentally connected with the sea and separated from its immediate surroundings.⁸

Maa’s setting has also informed some of the suggestions concerning the identity(ies) and place(s) of origin of Maa’s settlers. Because Maa was an *ex novo* foundation on the coast and contained some Mycenaean and/or Mycenaeanised material culture, the original excavators identified the settlers as Mycenaean colonisers (Karageorghis/Demas 1984, 72 f.; Karageorghis 2001). Many others have argued against a substantial Mycenaean settlement at the site, suggesting, for instance, that Maa was founded by native Cypriots (Sherratt 1992, 317–320; Steel 2004, 188–190; Iacovou 2008, 632, Knapp 2008, 237–239; 2013, 357 f.; Georgiou 2011; 2012, 284–293; 2015).

⁶ This fortification is described as ‘Cyclopean’ because of the large size of its stones and its suggested association with an Aegean migration to the island at the end of the Late Bronze Age. As has been noted, however, the wall maintains several qualities that differ from the Cyclopean fortifications on the mainland (see, for example, Steel 2013 41 f.).

⁷ For this reason, the social and historical trajectory of the island is often juxtaposed with other ‘island-continent’ such as Crete and Sicily. See, for instance, Nowicki 2001, 35; Iacovou 2008; Kopaka/Cadogan 2012; Todd/Warren 2012.

⁸ As noted by Broodbank (2000, 11), understanding islanders’ relationship with the sea and maritime culture is essential for ‘defining perceptions of insularity’.

K. Nowicki saw Maa and some contemporaneous Cretan settlements which are similarly situated, such as Palaiokastro Kastri, as being ‘lair of the sea warriors’ (Nowicki 2000, 252; 2001, 28–31); the fortified promontory provided a protective base from which to launch sea raids. L. Hitchcock and A. Maeir subsequently expanded on this association, arguing that the Cypriot site served as a base for a multi-ethnic pirate group, such as the Sea Peoples. Like Nowicki, their attribution was largely determined by the new and ephemeral foundation of Maa between two harbours during the crisis (Hitchcock/Maeir 2014; 2016). Although the precise identity of the settlers is beyond the cope of this paper and, in many respects, not entirely relevant to its interpretations,⁹ this discussion is worth mentioning because it highlights the importance of Maa’s physical setting on its settlement and long-term prospect.

It should also be noted that Maa is somewhat unusually situated and protected for an *ex novo* Cypriot settlement during the LBA crisis, because other new settlements were not quite so prominently tied to the water. Although the contemporaneous settlement of Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Dikaios 1969–1971; Karageorghis/Demas 1984; Karageorghis/Kanta 2014), was also founded above a possible harbour (Caraher et al. 2005, 246–248; Zomeni 2014; Brown 2017), direct access to it would have been inhibited by the greater height of the plateau on which the site sat and the circuitous route to lower elevations (Karageorghis/Kanta 2014, 158). This certainly did not stop the inhabitants of Pyla-Kokkinokremos from engaging in long-distance trade (Georgiou 2012; Karageorghis/Kanta 2014), but, in comparison, Maa was even more connected to the sea. The peninsula on which Maa was founded extended confidently into the Mediterranean and was serviced by two flanking harbours. The fact that the settlers chose to situate themselves at Maa without a direct water source within the walls and among land that may not have been particularly productive (though sufficient for subsistence) further points to the

importance of the harbours for settlement (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 262 f.; Steel 2013, 43).¹⁰

In its relationship with the sea, Maa does accord with a class of coastal settlements founded in Crete during and after the same period of crisis. As Nowicki pointed out, however, Maa is still rather exceptional; no Cretan site is similarly positioned while also being fortified. Maa, therefore, represents a hybrid that incorporates characteristics of both ‘refuge’ and fortified settlements (Nowicki 2001, 31). M. Iacovou noted the unique status of Maa and regarded it not as a refuge site, but as a defensive or military outpost (Iacovou 2008, 632; see also Muhly 1984, 51). In any case, Maa’s settlement reflects a strong association with the sea and maritime culture – a common trait of island communities (Broodbank 2000, 3–21, 365).

The Maa-Palaeokastro Architectural Documentation Project

In 2018, I led a small team to study Maa’s extant architecture and evaluate the construction strategies from the initial settlement event. We embraced a statistical approach and documented 200 separate architectural construction techniques and aspects of spatial organisation – called Behavioural Qualities, or ‘BQs’ – evident in the stone wall foundations for each structure (Jazwa 2016; 2019).¹¹ The BQs were of various types, recording the scale of each building’s constituent parts, the employed construction methods, and aspects of the layout. Specific BQs, for example, included the

¹⁰ The nearest water source is a spring in the eastern bay, Vrysi tis Maas, ca. 600m away. A report from the Head of Water Resources Division of Cyprus indicated that it is possible that another water may have been accessible 50–200m from the settlement on the promontory (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 1, fn. 1). Pyla-Kokkinokremos also lacks a natural water source (nearest possible is 400m away, Karageorghis/Demas 1984, 95), but, unlike at Maa, has evidence for substantial water management infrastructure within the settlement, including several cisterns and channels (Karageorghis/Kanta 2014).

¹¹ These BQs are largely the same as those documented in my Ph.D. dissertation on mainland Greek architecture (Jazwa 2016; therein called ‘Behavioral Aspects’). The consistent use of BQs allows for more effective comparison among datasets. I did, however, augment the list with additional BQs that will be presented in a future paper along with a more complete presentation of the results.

⁹ For an overview of this debate, see Georgiou 2015, 133–135. See also Steel 2004, 187–213, for a discussion of the Mycenaean influence.

decision to use larger stones at corners, the size of any ‘special stones’, like corner stones, their size relative to the average stone size, the proportional length-to-width of the main room, and the consistency of thicknesses among exterior walls. This examination, however, did not devote much attention to the site’s monumental structures, such as Building I and the ‘Cyclopean’-style fortification wall, which are distinguished by their large proportions and use of specialised building materials like ashlar stones.¹²

The primary focus of this paper is the initial settlement event represented by the Floor II structures (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 3–65). The specific ‘structures’ analysed follow the architectural groupings made by the excavators and include Rooms 6/18, Building II, Rooms 55/60/63, Building III, Building IV, Rooms 73/76/77, Courtyard A, Room 31 and Area 104 (*fig. 3*). Although Rooms 45/46 (i.e. the ‘Tower’ or the ‘Magazine’) is not considered an example of vernacular architecture (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 15 f.), it was added to the correspondence analysis as an internal test that might illustrate the potential scale of difference in the employed construction methods among structures using the same types of materials. Unlike the other structures, Rooms 45/46 included re-used(?) ashlar masonry, was not domestic in function, and was part of the monumental building complex at the eastern end of the site. The analysed structures from Floor II were then considered together to ascertain the degree of consistency in construction among the buildings. Subsequently, the Floor I constructions were considered separately and compared with the Floor II

¹² The decision not to examine Building I was due to a primary goal of the project: to consider the identity(ies) of the settlers. By focusing only on vernacular construction methods and not structures that required specialised construction techniques (e.g. ashlar), I was more likely to record methods that reflect the practices of the buildings’ inhabitants because, at most settlements, the vernacular architecture was built by its inhabitants. Thus, a behavioral analysis of this type of architecture can suggest the identities of a larger population. Monumental structures, however, may have employed slaves, foreign craftsmen, and other diverse peoples. Thus, an analysis of that architectural type may be misleading when reconstructing the identity of the inhabitants.

results to demonstrate a different response to a large-scale settlement construction event when following a local catastrophe.

For the statistical analyses, the architectural data for each Behavioural Quality (BQ) were individually normalised and analysed for correspondence (Jazwa 2019).¹³ The process of normalisation required the structures to be assigned to groups according to their relative distribution for each BQ. For BQs with numerical data, these groups were identified using the standard deviation. All values below the standard deviation were assigned to one group, those within the standard deviation another, and those above a third.¹⁴ The BQs with categorical or absence/presence data naturally binned the structures in separate groups (e.g. absent = group 1; present = group 2). An UPGMA hierarchical correspondence analysis was then created to show relatedness among all structures. Structures that are joined at lower distances are more similar compared to those joining at higher distances.

Construction and Settlement

The analysis revealed considerable consistency in the construction techniques and principles of spatial organisation among all vernacular structures for the Floor I settlement (*fig. 4*).¹⁵ The distance of integration of the vernacular structures, 12, is quite low – much lower than all contemporaneous LH IIIC structures in mainland Greece, even for buildings found within the same settlement (Jazwa 2016, 332–338; 2019). This strongly points to a common building tradition and architectural vocabulary that was accessed by all the settlers at Maa and, thus, a shared place of origin for the settlers, rather than a multi-ethnic

¹³ This methodology is described in greater detail in Jazwa 2016; 2019.

¹⁴ In Jazwa (2016; 2019), a second method of normalization was also used – a subjective grouping. I omitted this from the paper due to the relatively small number of structures in the dataset. Here, the cluster analysis is only used as a heuristic.

¹⁵ The complete dataset will be presented in subsequent papers.

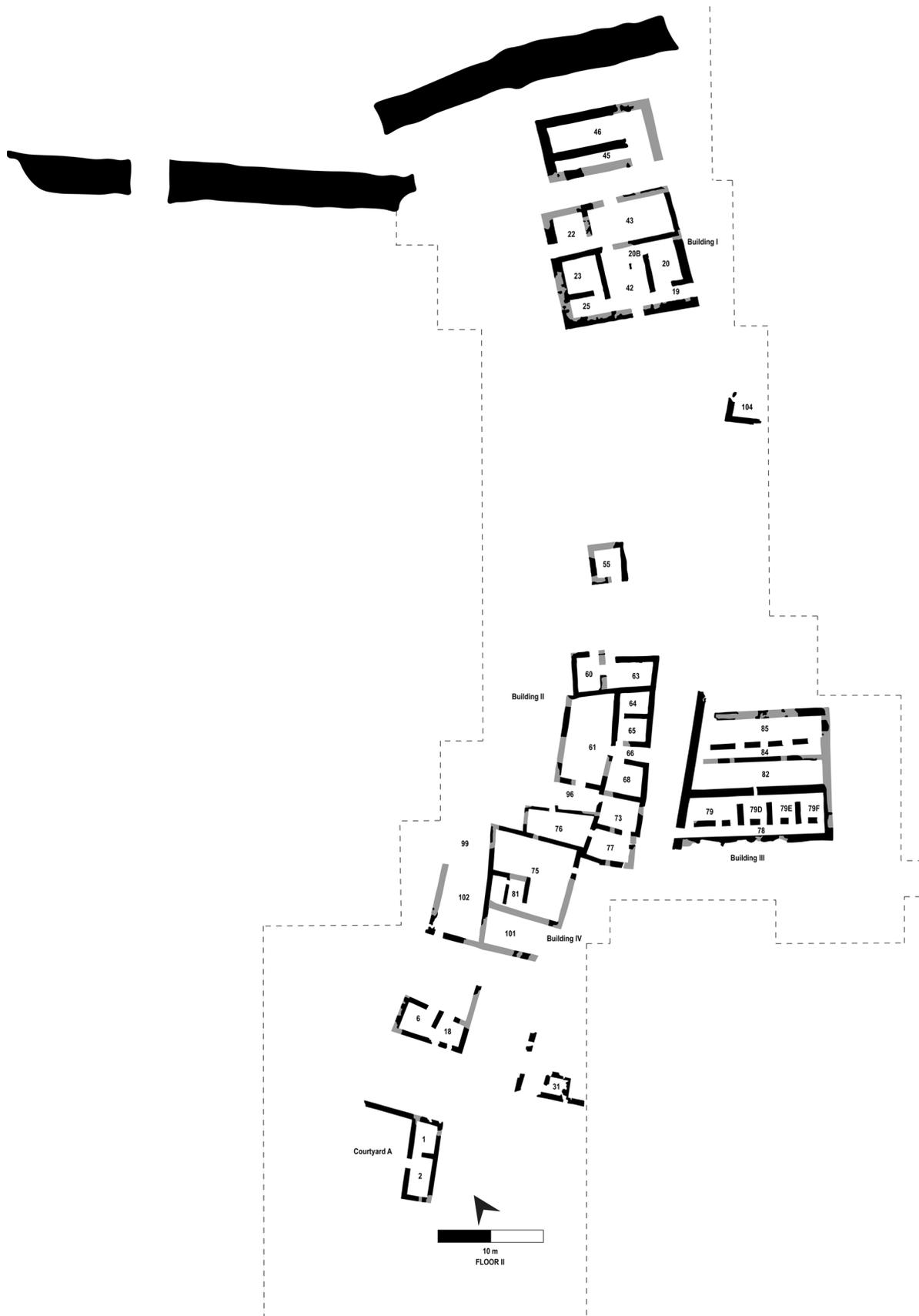


Fig. 3. The excavated architecture from the Floor II settlement of Maa (after: Karageorghis/Demas 1988, fig. 2; reproduced with permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

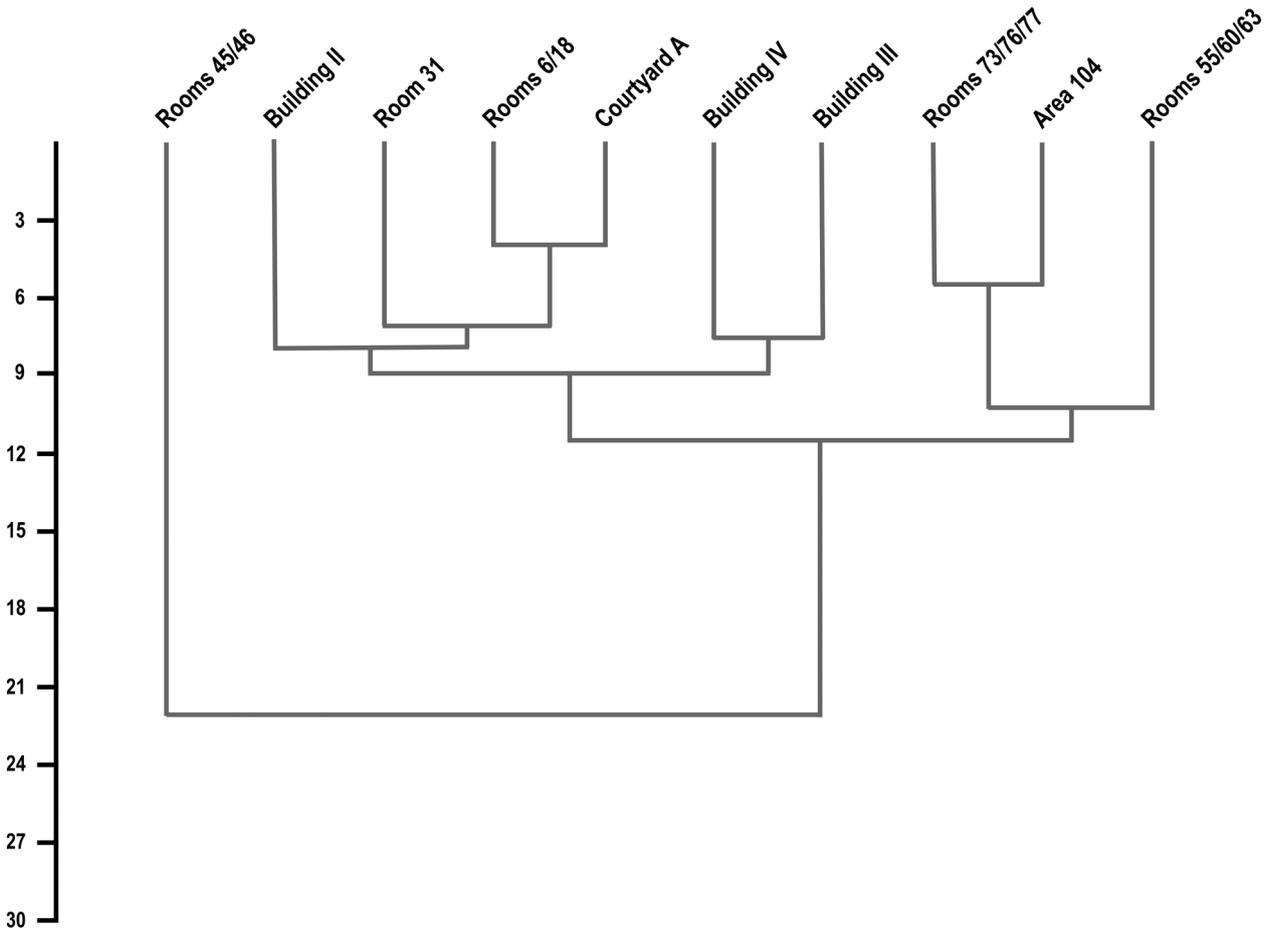


Fig. 4. A hierarchical cluster analysis indicating the correspondence of BQs among Floor II structures at Maa.

collective of pirates or Sea Peoples as Hitchcock and Maeir have suggested (Hitchcock/Maeir 2014; 2016).¹⁶

The evident consistency among the vernacular structures seems to be significant because Rooms 45/46 is, indeed, an outlier in the dendrogram. The differences in construction that prompted this distinction must transcend the mere presence of ashlar blocks or other monumental features in the

building,¹⁷ because the BQs measured do not include any data related to those ashlar stones. Thus, the distinction is also present in less conspicuous elements of the construction process. With the labour requirements for the construction of the monumental structures beyond the abilities of a single household, contributions from the broader community were almost certainly required. Because they seemingly employed a distinctive suite of BQs for this construction, some strong managing force must have dictated the practices to have convinced the labourers to alter their typical building habits for the monumental structures. Although some of the BQs used for Rooms 45/46 such as the use of much larger stones, walls,

¹⁶ This distribution also shows that Building III – a rather large and well-built complex – was constructed in the vernacular tradition rather than the monumental despite it having a large-scale storage function in Floor II (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 27–35). It is also constructed in this manner, despite the assertion that the structure has ‘little evidence of ordinary domestic activity; nor is the architecture in any way suggestive of domestic use, although the upper-story might have been used for such a purpose’ (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 33).

¹⁷ These blocks, moreover, may have been re-used in these monumental/public buildings. See Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 99.



Fig. 5. Wall A in Room 2 of the Courtyard Building does not bond with the other exterior walls.

and rooms can be tied to the public/monumental aspect of the building, less visible techniques, like the use of larger stones for the first course, the absence of large ‘anchor’ and anta stones for exterior walls, and a very large thickness of the wall matrix,¹⁸ would not have affected the overall appearance of the structure and, thus, were unlikely to have been altered simply by an increased scale of architecture.

When analysing the specific data that were shared among the Floor II vernacular structures, the typical, or ‘average’, building techniques can be reconstructed. This allows for a clearer understanding of the building strategies used for

non-monumental architecture. Although some building complexes at Maa were quite large, individual architectural components, such as rooms, walls, doorway length, and stones, were relatively modest in size. In construction, the walls demonstrate little bonding (*fig. 5*),¹⁹ and no large stones were placed at the corner to better integrate and support the joining/abutting of walls (*table 1*). Almost without exception, the walls were constructed such that the largest dimension of each stone was exposed across the wall’s horizontal axis, the second greatest dimension was measured through the wall thickness (i.e. from face to interior of wall), and the smallest dimension was placed

¹⁸ This represents the area inside the wall between the interior edges of the facing stones of the double-rubble masonry.

¹⁹ Karageorghis and Demas (1988, 92 f.), in contrast, state that many of the Floor II walls do bond. My team, however, was unable to identify the widespread use of this construction method for Floor II architecture.

Rooms	Main SA (m ²)	Main Room W:L	Main Room W	Sec SA	Sec W:L
	42.63	0.53	3.39	8.08	0.69
Walls	Ext. W	Int. W	Ext W:Int W	Matrix W	
	56.6	52.52	0.92	14.33	
	Ext-Ext Bond	Ext-Int Bond	Int-Int Bond		
	No	No	No		
	1 st Course H	2 nd Course H	1:2 Course H	1 st :Avg. H	
	13.63	12.13	0.958	1.188	
Avg. Stone	L	W	H	LW	Smallest:Largest
	23.81	21.77	12.69	576.01	0.2025
Special Stones	Anchor Ext	Anchor Int	Corner Ext	Corner Int	Anta Ext
	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
	Anta Int				
	No				

Table 1. Average BQ values for a ‘typical’ architecture at Maa (all dimensions in cm unless otherwise indicated). SA = surface area; W = width; L = length; H = height; Sec = secondary (not main room or hallway); Ext = exterior wall; Int = interior wall; Avg. = average.

vertically on the wall. Also, above-average sized stones were typically placed in the lowest courses of many walls.

The close correspondence among structures, however, does not mean that there was no variability in the construction methods or qualities of spatial organisation. Indeed, variation is evident with several of the BQs (*table 2*). Table 2, though not exhaustive, does show that each structure employs at least some BQs that deviate from the average, indicating that the structures were considered separate architectural units during the settlement event. This also provides direct evidence to indicate that the organisation of labour for the vernacular architecture was not so controlled as to dictate every aspect of construction. The minor variations of BQs within structures may represent multiple individuals working together to build a series of walls, rather than each household being responsible for its own house.

Overall, then, the settlers all seem to have shared a single building tradition and pursued a coherent construction strategy, but this organisation was not controlled absolutely; individuals maintained their agency to alter some of the BQs.

Such a reality aligns with the model of island settlement described at the beginning of this paper, in which there may have been a positive sense of community among the settlers that helped them to coordinate their efforts and work together, even for the vernacular buildings.²⁰ Such a sense of community would have been augmented by the shared experience of settling and working together towards a common general goal.

At the same time, the construction strategy, as suggested by some of the BQs consistently employed, seems to have been aimed at facilitating a speedy and efficient construction while sacrificing only a modicum of robustness for the architecture. This is evident, for instance, with the minimal wall bonding. Wall bonding provides extra stability to intersecting walls while requiring more coordination for the two joining walls to be built simultaneously. With the lack of extensive wall bonding, each wall could have been constructed separately

²⁰ It is possible that there was coercion involved (and perhaps even likely for the monumental constructions), but this seems less plausible for the construction of vernacular buildings in which the broader community resided.

Behavioural Quality	Typical Value	Structure								
		Courtyard	Rooms 6/18	Room 31	Building IV	BIV	Building II	BII	Building III	Area 104
Sec Room Area	5–7m ²	●	●	↓	●	↑	●	●	↑	
Sec Room, W:L	0.64:0.74	●	↑	●	↓	●	●	●	●	
Avg. Ext W	48–58cm	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	↑	●
Int Matrix W	9–13cm	●	●	↑			●		↑	●
Ext W Consistency	0–10cm	●	●	●	↑	●	●		↑	●
Int W Consistency	0–10cm	●	●			●	●		●	
Ext-Ext Bond	No	●	●				●	X	●	●
Ext-Int Bond	No	●	●				●		●	
Int-Int Bond	No	●					●		●	
Stone LxW SA	450–600cm ²	●	●	●			↓	●	↓	↑
1 st Course:2 nd Course H	greater 1 st	●					●	●	↓	
1 st Course:Avg. Stone H	lesser 1 st	●								●
Anchor Stone Presence		None, Int	X		Int/Ext	Int	None, Int	X	None, Int	X
Corner Stone Presence		X	Rare Int		Rare Int	Int	X	X	Rare Int	X
Anta Stone Presence	Ext Only						●		●	

Table 2. Deviations from the average value/quality for several notable BQs. ↑ = greater than/above; ↓ = less than/below; ● = within the average range/typical; X = absent/not identified; SA = surface area; W = width; L = length; H = height; Sec = secondary (not main room or hallway); Ext = exterior wall; Int = interior wall; Avg. = average.

for a somewhat more rapid construction. Moreover, the consistent widths of the walls for each structure demonstrate a relatively straightforward organisation of wall construction so that the only salient distinction may have been between exterior and interior walls. This contrasts with architecture in mainland Greece during this period which demonstrates much less consistency in wall construction within buildings (Jazwa 2016, 230–234). Finally, the average size of individual stones and the thicknesses of walls themselves are much smaller than contemporary stone-and-mudbrick architecture elsewhere, such as in mainland Greece which are on average 23.63% larger than the vernacular architectural components used at

Maa (table 3) (Jazwa 2016, 224–227, 247–249).²¹ Because the speed at which stones can be transported is related to their weight and size, the walls at Maa were almost certainly built with greater rapidity than elsewhere at the time.

Such efforts towards an efficient and speedy construction are characteristic of a type of crisis architecture, called ‘warchitecture’ (Driessen

²¹ I have shown elsewhere (Jazwa 2016; 2019) that the stone size used for walls is not determined absolutely by the local geology. Social and cultural factors affect this much more. This is also clearly demonstrated at Maa by the consistent use smaller size of stones used for the Floor I relative to the Floor II constructions.

Maa LH IIIC	Avg. Ext Width	Avg. Int Width	
	53.4cm	47.84cm	
	58.7cm	53.25cm	
	110%	111%	
Maa LH IIIC	Avg. Stone L	Avg. Stone W	Avg. Stone H
	23.18cm	20.91cm	12.18cm
	28.07cm	24.32cm	15cm
	121%	116%	123%
Maa LH IIIC	Avg. Stone LxW	Avg. Stone LxH	Avg. Anchor LxW
	544.71cm ²	332.91cm ²	1888.83cm ²
	808.56cm ²	496.2cm ²	2118.09cm ²
	148%	148%	112%

Table 3. The sizes of Maa's Floor II vernacular architectural components relative to mainland Greek buildings in LH IIIC. W = width; L = length; H = height; Ext = exterior wall; Int = interior wall; Avg. = average.

1995).²² The general term, 'crisis architecture', describes architecture that was built in the immediate aftermath of or during an ongoing local crisis that directly affected a community. The classic paradigm is indicated by transformations, not just in the buildings' scale, but also in ground plan and function relative to earlier architecture at the same site. The sub-category, 'warchitecture', is built during periods of conflict and is characterised by rather hasty constructions and newly built or reinforced fortification walls, among other features (Driessen 1995, 76–80).²³ Maa's efficiently constructed building complexes and new Cyclopean-style fortification system especially reflect this distinction, suggesting that the inhabitants were cognizant of potential, external threats to the settlement that might arrive at the settlement. Thus, the *ex novo* settlement also materialises the second aspect of the island tension

described at the beginning of this paper. Not only did the settlers arrive with long-term hopes and a sense of community, but this outlook seems to have been tempered by uncertainty and fear of the unknown stimulated by a sense of isolation and connectivity to the unknown via the sea.

The architecture of the Floor I settlement provides a more concrete expression of the classic 'crisis architecture' paradigm and serves as an illustrative counterpoint to Floor II. Indeed, the Floor I architecture is largely characterised by a greater segmentation of space that resulted in much smaller rooms. In total, 80 rooms were created compared to 39 Floor II rooms within roughly the same area of the site.²⁴ Moreover, Building III seems to have lost some of its large-scale storage and industrial functions.²⁵ Finally, the Floor I

²² In fact, it has also been suggested that Maa represents a military outpost (Iacovou 2007, 12; Georgiou 2015, 135). While this cannot be corroborated with the presented evidence, it is certainly not excluded by it. I am hesitant, however, to assign any such function, because the architectural features justify other interpretations, as well.

²³ For Driessen's model, war, and thus warchitecture, need not mean that there was an enemy at the gates. Also, the construction of fortifications need not *ipso facto* indicate warchitecture, but the evidence for hasty construction at the site suggests to me that the inhabitants were aware of some outside threat.

²⁴ While this may reflect an increase in population, it seems unlikely that a sudden fire would stimulate more than a doubling of the number of inhabitants at the site. There was nothing to prevent a greater segmentation of space prior to the fire if there was indeed steady population growth.

²⁵ Although Karageorghis/Demas (1988, 63) associate Building III primarily with storage in its earliest phase, L. Mazow (2006–2007) believes that large number of bathtubs found within were used for washing and dying of cloth and/or wool due. Thus, she identifies Building III as an industrial complex or fullery. The re-arrangement of the building's ground plan in Floor I and the elimination of the 'galleries' suggests that the primary function may not have been storage during that phase – at least, not in the same form as the previous Floor (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 79–81).

Rooms		Main SA (m ²)	Main Room W:L	Main Room W	Sec SA	Sec W:L
	Floor II		42.63	0.53	3.39	8.08
Floor I		14.38	0.79	3.44	8.82	0.64
Walls		Ext W	Int W	Ext W:Int W	Matrix W	
	Floor II	56.6	52.52	0.92	14.33	
	Floor I	46.09	41.41	0.907	11.43	
		Ext-Ext Bond	Ext-Int Bond	Int-Int Bond		
	Floor II	No	No	No		
	Floor I	No	No	No		
		1 st Course H	2 nd Course H	1:2 Course H	1 st : Avg. H	
	Floor II	13.63	12.13	0.958	1.188	
Floor I	11.73	9.64	1.13	1.21		
Avg. Stone		L	W	H	LW	Smallest: Largest
	Floor II	23.81	21.77	12.69	576.01	0.2025
	Floor I	20.55	17.63	11.3	387.56	0.238
Special Stones		Anchor Ext	Anchor Int	Corner Ext	Corner Int	Anta Ext
	Floor II	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
	Floor I	Yes	Yes	No	No	Mix
		Anta Int				
	Floor II	No				
	Floor I	Mix				

Table 4. Average BQ values for Floor I structures relative to Floor II (all dimensions in cm unless otherwise indicated). SA = surface area; W = width; L = length; H = height; Sec = secondary (not main room or hallway); Ext = exterior wall; Int = interior wall; Avg. = average.

architecture demonstrates sacrifices in the integrity and robustness of the walls, indicating the desire for an even swifter construction than the Floor II settlement. In almost every category, Floor II structures are more substantial (*table 4*). Floor I architecture employed thinner walls, smaller stones of all types and in all dimensions, and smaller rooms. Karageorghis noted these architectural qualities during the initial excavation and used the terms ‘hasty’ and ‘poorly built’ to

describe these constructions (Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 67). Therefore, it seems that even the presence of the still-standing fortification wall during the Floor I phase did not provide enough reassurance to construct the buildings with the same deliberateness as the initial settlement event.²⁶

Thus, the Floor I building phase materialises a different outlook compared to Floor II: an even greater concern for accelerated construction. With Floor I buildings constructed immediately

Karageorghis/Demas (1988, 79) write that ‘in abandoning the plan of the original building, the Floor I inhabitants also abandoned its original function. The building was transformed into one- and two-room units, whose relationship to one another is not always clear.’

²⁶ That these architectural features were a direct response to the contemporaneous reality facing the settlers is bolstered by the apparent continuity in habitation and the return to Floor II construction methods for the subsequent Floor Ia buildings.

following a local crisis, the use of different methods and strategies of construction for the Floor II settlement is not surprising. Because the settlement event was the most pressing issue at hand during the Floor II construction and the setting seems to have been an attraction to the settlers, the Floor II buildings better reflect the settler's perceived future at Maa and its coastal, island setting, rather than a direct response to an imminent crisis. The differences between phases also indicate some adaptability by the settlers to their perceptions of current and future circumstances while building.

Comparative Examples

The comparative analysis focuses predominately on settlements in the Aegean, but also includes another Cypriot site, Pyla-Kokkinkremos. Settlements in the Aegean are worth considering because that region suffered from the same crisis during its LH/LM IIIC periods and witnessed the construction of new settlements and significant rebuilding at many established communities.²⁷ And, the archaeological evidence for these constructions is particularly robust, providing numerous examples that are similar, but not direct parallels, to Maa. Examination of these sites, therefore, may reveal the different responses by the inhabitants of islands or insular settings to the same crisis. This overview not only underscores the unique processes at Maa, but also the tendency of some island settlements to manifest less insular qualities due to their unique systems of interaction and local history. Facilitating the comparison, all architecture at the four settlements was built using the same general materials as at Maa – stone foundations and mud brick walls.

The excavated LH IIIC settlement at Lefkandi is located on the Xeropolis mound on the island of Euboea and faces the Greek mainland (ca 0.5km to 1km away) (Evely et al. 2006).²⁸ Euboea's large size combined with its proximity to and connectivity

with the mainland makes it, in some respects, less of a classic island setting compared to other Mediterranean islands, such as in the Cyclades or Cyprus. In fact, settlements on Euboea often alternated their orientation between the mainland or the Cyclades to accommodate changing socio-political structures and networks of interaction (Crielaard 2006; Knodell 2017). Even in periods with more outward (i.e. seaward) looking connections, sites like Lefkandi near the centre of the western coast of the island were more sheltered from distant seaborne threats.

During the LBA crisis (roughly LH IIIC), Lefkandi's settlement history parallels Maa's in general terms. Like at Maa, there were three phases of occupation, with a large-scale conflagration destroying the initial LH IIIC settlement followed by a rapid rebuilding at the site (Evely et al. 2006, 305). Unlike Maa, however, the new Phase 2 buildings were very carefully laid out and 'planned in a more orderly fashion with a tendency to use units of near 5m square for rooms and open spaces' (Evely et al. 2006, 1). Even though this rebuilding occurred shortly after the destruction (Evely et al. 2006, 42),²⁹ there does not seem to have been a drop-off in the quality of construction. Thus, this settlement does not qualify as 'crisis architecture'. If anything, the architecture shows greater refinement and durability in the second phase. It is only in Phase 3 that a significant decline in construction is evident.

Maa and Lefkandi deviate substantially in other respects, as well. Lefkandi's Phase 1 and 2 architecture do not seem to have embraced the principles of rapid and efficient construction observed at Maa, despite representing comprehensive rebuilds of the settlement. In almost all aspects, Lefkandi's architecture is larger than Maa's, with exterior walls seeming to average around 55cm to 60cm and rooms' average dimensions more substantial (Evely et al. 2006).³⁰ Moreover,

²⁷ For more on the crisis, see Cline 2014.

²⁸ At its narrowest, at the Euripus, the Gulf of Euboea is just 38m wide.

²⁹ The rapid rebuilding is indicated by the fallen Phase 1b mudbricks which show very little evidence for weathering. Because of this, the bricks could not have been exposed for a long period of time before the floor was filled with debris and the new buildings constructed.

³⁰ A close analysis of the architectural descriptions and plans included in Chapter 1 (Evely et al. 2006, 1–136) informs this discussion.

wall bonding seems to have been the norm, along with the use of other 'special stones' that added greater stability to the wall while requiring greater effort to transport and put in place. This includes the near universal use of anchor stones; larger corner stones are also not uncommon. All this points to substantial constructions that would have certainly required more effort and time than Maa's settlement. Indeed, in many respects, there is little to distinguish the construction methods used at Lefkandi from other settlements in the period (see Jazwa 2016). Also noteworthy, the inhabitants at Lefkandi did not construct a substantial fortification wall in LH IIIC for protection, like at Maa. Instead, they seem to have deconstructed the earlier LH IIIB fortification during this period and incorporated the remaining architecture into newly constructed buildings (Evely et al. 2006, 91 f., 304 f.).

In sum, although Lefkandi was an island settlement that was rebuilt during the crisis (Evely et al. 2006, 1, 304), the settlement does not embrace many of the principles seen at Maa and displays little evidence for a cautious or fearful outlook towards the future among the inhabitants. This is likely due, in part, to the fact that Maa was an *ex novo* settlement,³¹ whereas at Lefkandi habitation seems to have been continuous from the previous Mycenaean period (Evely et al. 2006, 304).³² Such continuity in habitation indicates a considerable awareness of the local geography and an established sense of permanence with the site.

The location of the site on the western coast of Euboea facing mainland Greece and far from the entrances to the Gulf would have also inhibited any direct seaborne invasion, tampering a fear of unknown and distant threats. In this sense, then, the island qualities of the setting that are

highlighted in this paper are diminished.³³ This shows that the perceptions of the individuals who lived on islands did not depend strictly on their settlements being located on islands. In other words, their insular outlook could become emphasised or de-emphasised at certain times and under certain circumstances (Herd 1993; Broodbank 2000, 3–21). At Maa, even if the settlers were not facing any imminent threats, its position facing the open seas and the inhabitants' new arrival may have made the settlers feel more vulnerable, influencing a behavioural response that was materialised in architectural construction.

Unlike Lefkandi and Maa, Ag. Kosmas is not located on an island. It was chosen because of its setting on a coastal promontory. The excavated area of Ag. Kosmas also has no direct evidence for a previous LH IIIB occupation. While this does not necessarily mean that Ag. Kosmas was an *ex novo* LH IIIC settlement,³⁴ the inhabitants did build in an area that had not been occupied for at least a few hundred years prior (Mylonas 1959). Overall, the LH IIIC remains are quite minimally preserved, but the publication, my personal examination of LH IIIC walls,³⁵ and the available photographs provide enough data to indicate a distinct programme of construction relative to the Maa.

In short, Ag. Kosmas's buildings do not seem to have employed BQs that are substantially different from the standard building traditions of its period. The extant walls are of an average thickness, 60cm,³⁶ and the stones are of typical size, larger than Maa's Floor II architecture. This includes both the typical stones in the walls and the special

³¹ Maa does have evidence for a small Chalcolithic habitation (Bolger 1988; Thomas 1988), but there was certainly no continuous habitation at the site from the Chalcolithic.

³² The LH IIIB architecture, however, is quite sparse. Evely et al. (2006, 304) write: 'By comparison with the extensive LH IIIC settlement remains, however, there is relative scarcity of preceding LH IIIB material, and few structures of this age were recovered. In the Main Excavation, this is partly explained by the fact that the earliest LH IIIC (Phase 1) houses were terraced down into the LH IIIB level which was subject to deliberate leveling. Nevertheless, even in the numerous and widely spread tests carried out elsewhere on the site comparatively little LH IIIB material was found.'

³³ Several discussions about colonisation and contact in Broodbank's monograph on island archaeology of the Cyclades (2000), in fact, seem to treat Euboea as an extension of the mainland rather than a distinct island. Patton (1996, 8) explicitly states that Euboea is 'so close to the mainland as to render this insularity meaningless'. Herd (1993) also emphasises the importance of physical distance of islands from mainland regions for connectivity.

³⁴ LH IIIB settlement could have been in the vicinity.

³⁵ I would like to thank Stella Chrysoulaki and ΚΣΤ' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for their permission to study this material, as well as Ioanna Damanaki and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens for facilitating the permit request and funding my Associate year in Athens.

³⁶ This is consistent with the average exterior and interior walls of LH IIIB–LH IIIC in mainland Greece, see Jazwa 2016, 224–226; 2019.

stones, like the large anchor stones, which are also much more frequent at Ag. Kosmas than at Maa (Mylonas 1959, 52). Similarly, enlarged corner stones are clearly visible in all the photographs of the LH IIIC walls, such as the Building T and V, and all walls that I have seen are reinforced with bonding (Mylonas 1959, plates 32, 39, 40). Broadly speaking, such methods are similar to those employed at Lefkandi, which required, in total, a greater cost for construction relative to the methods employed at Maa and provided somewhat greater stability to the structures.

Thus, the palatial collapse seems to have only minimally affected the building practices at Ag. Kosmas. On its face, this may seem somewhat surprising because there are signs that Attica was greatly impacted by the LH IIIC turmoil. The cemetery at Perati (Iakovidis 1969; 1980), for instance, points to an influx of population and/or prosperity along the eastern coast of the region (Crielaard 2006, 281; Murray 2018). Part of this population increase, in fact, may have been due to the movement of a heterogeneous population that included Cypriots (Murray 2018). Unfortunately, the settlement associated with the cemetery at Perati has not yet been identified for comparison with Maa. At Ag. Kosmas, however, there is no clear evidence for the presence of a mixed population or even a population influx – the excavated remains could have simply been an expansion or movement of the settlement from nearby. And, because Ag. Kosmas is oriented towards the Peloponnese rather than the wider eastern Mediterranean, it may not have been a target for resettlement by these populations. Thus, there is little to connect Ag. Kosmas with Maa, except for its coastal setting and siting on a peninsula. Moreover, the similarities with Lefkandi further demonstrate how sites situated on islands do not necessarily have to embrace all qualities associated with the insular status (Broodbank 2000, 16).

Among the settlements in the Aegean, Karphi on the island of Crete ostensibly has the most in common with Maa.³⁷ This site was similarly es-

tablished on a large island – Crete – and has long been interpreted as a ‘refugee’ site. Unlike Maa, however, Karphi is not situated on, or even very close to, the coast;³⁸ it was founded on a more than 1000m high rocky outcrop. The difficult access to the site likely provided enough protection to the inhabitants from seaborne threats (Pendlebury et al. 1938, 136–141; Nowicki 2001; Hitchcock/Maeir 2014, 626–628; 2016), because it was not fortified. According to Nowicki, therefore, Maa and Karphi are settlements of fundamentally different types: Karphi represents a defensible site with little relation to the sea and Maa a fortified settlement whose function is intimately connected to the sea (Nowicki 2000; 2001).

At first glance, the extensive agglutinative architectural complexes of Karphi bear some similarities to Maa. However, the architectural techniques indicate general construction strategies that are more consistent with the mainland and the Euboean architecture described above. Very large special stones, such as corner stones, anchor stones, and anta stones are rife throughout Karphi and doorways are frequently elaborated with large, monolithic (and costly) stone threshold blocks. Moreover, the walls are much wider than at Maa, employed much more substantial stones, and typically bonded other walls. In some areas, the architecture seems to have been particularly well-planned with the use of both spine and party walls, such as on the Megali Koprana and the main saddle (Wallace 2005; Wallace/Mylona 2012).

Thus, the LM IIIC inhabitants at Karphi seem to have pursued construction that is characteristic of more robust and permanent architecture. In fact, some of the stones documented are among the largest employed at all four of the sites. Several special stones and stone thresholds, for instance, almost certainly required multiple people to transport to the appropriate spot and place them accordingly, such as the 2m long stone threshold in Rooms 16/17 of the Great Megaron.³⁹ This stone weighs approximately 1000kg – far more than

³⁷ This discussion is informed by a survey of the published record and measurements from the accompanying plans.

³⁸ It is approximately 15km from nearest coast.

³⁹ The settlers at Maa did sometimes re-use ashlar blocks for thresholds. However, the use of large stones such as these is rare compared to Karphi.

one or two people could have carried.⁴⁰ In contrast, most of the non-ashlar stones at Maa weigh approximately 10kg to 20kg – a weight that could have been lifted by one individual with relative ease. While the large stones at Lefkandi may occupy more space in the wall, resulting in the wall needing fewer stones overall, the effort to lift and transport stones is not directly proportional to the weight/size of the stone. The effort to extract, lift, and place the 1000kg block would have far exceeded the effort to build a 0.42m³ volume of wall with stones of the size used at Maa. This demonstrates that there certainly was an overall greater effort and cost (in time) for the construction of the buildings at Karphi than at Maa.

Thus, the inhabitants of Karphi likely built their stone architecture without any imminent threats at hand. The settlement may have still been for ‘refugees’,⁴¹ but its inhabitants seem not to have been under duress when settling and building on the height. Instead, they may have simply believed that the upland location of Karphi was more secure for their long-term outlook. Moreover, the reason for choosing Karphi as a place to settle was likely due to more than just its natural defences. The inhabitants also had access to the Lasithi Plateau for farming, and the site was situated on routes of communication that facilitated direct trade within the island of Crete and indirectly from abroad. It seems, therefore, that the settlers relied on an in-land (i.e. non-maritime) strategy that did not depend upon the sea (Nowicki 2000, 23; Wallace 2005, 274).

In other words, it is unlikely that Karphi’s location on an island was a primary draw for settlement, nor did it greatly impact the construction strategy. Although the very threats that the inhabitants of Karphi prepared themselves against may have been carried over the sea, the settlers

adopted an inland and mountainous position to counteract this. In this setting, the success of the settlement relied on its connections to other settlements within the large island rather than maritime networks. Thus, it is not surprising that the evidence for construction and settlement planning differs from that of Maa. Maa effectively cut itself off from the hinterland, linking itself to the sea. With Karphi lacking clear evidence for such a seafaring culture, which Broodbank describes as playing a ‘key role in defining perceptions of insularity’ (Broodbank 2000, 11), the perceptions of insularity were perhaps diminished relative to Maa.

The final site, Pyla-Kokkinokremos (hereafter, ‘Pyla’), is located on the southeastern coast of Cyprus. Like Maa, Pyla was founded *ex novo* and was relatively short-lived (ca. 50 years) (Karageorghis/Kanta 2014, 158). When looking at the plans of these two settlements, however, significant differences in layout are immediately apparent.⁴² Pyla, unlike Maa, features a casemate-style architecture with a long spine serving as the back wall to several complexes, most of which also share party-walls. This long spine was initially interpreted as a fortification (Karageorghis/Demas 1984, 23), but it differs quite substantially in form and construction from the large Cyclopean-style wall at Maa. In fact, the wall is no thicker – 0.6m to 0.9m – than some of the exterior walls of Maa’s building complexes.

With most of Pyla’s complexes sharing party walls in this casemate-style construction, a significant degree of planning and organisation was required before the construction event itself. The excavators took this as a clear sign of communal participation in the initial settlement event (Karageorghis/Demas 1984, 26; Karageorghis/Kanta 2014, 121). In this regard, Pyla is quite similar to Maa.

Also like Maa, Pyla’s architecture seems to have been built with an eye towards rapid construction. Although this quality is not articulated in the publications with quantitative measures, the excavators emphasise a ‘hasty’ quality to the

⁴⁰ In Rooms 16/17 of the Great Megaron, for instance, there is a 2m long threshold with a width of approximately 0.7m (Wallace 2005, fig. 9). Measuring from the wall profile in fig. 10 of Wallace (2005), the building stones seem to have had an average height of 0.3m. A limestone block of this size weighs approximately 1,008kg (2400kg/m³) (following Harper 2016, C.1).

⁴¹ Nowicki (2000, 14) argues against the application of this term to Karphi and, instead, prefers to refer to it as a ‘defensive’ settlement.

⁴² This discussion of Pyla’s architecture is restricted to the remains uncovered and published in Karageorghis/Demas 1984 and Karageorghis/Kanta 2014.

constructions, likening the settlement to ‘a refugee camp’ (Karageorghis/Kanta 2014, 159). Presumably, this is demonstrated by the dimensions of the walls (among other attributes) which are comparable to those at Maa.⁴³

At the same time, some of the construction principles observed at Pyla suggest certain measures aimed at architectural stability beyond what is typical at Maa. For instance, numerous, large corner stones are found throughout the complexes at Pyla (Karageorghis/Demas 1984, 6), and substantial stones are placed at other significant places in the walls, such as near the abutment of distinct architectural features. Other special stones, including anta stones and vertical anchor stones, are also observed in many of the photographs and architectural plans.⁴⁴ While Maa does not absolutely lack these features, they – especially the corner stones – are much more common at Pyla. As such, there seems to have been both a greater investment in the initial construction at Pyla and an eye towards more permanent constructions than at Maa. Perhaps, the inhabitants of Maa, being located even closer to the water (in elevation and distance), felt more vulnerable than those at Pyla.

Despite this difference, Pyla seems to be the closest parallel to Maa in terms of strategies and general construction methods. While this may be because both settlements are located on Cyprus, it is also likely due to their similar setting and the inhabitants’ close engagement with open sea. Unlike the coastal sites in the Aegean, there are no visible landmasses across the water from the Cypriot sites that may have diminished an insular perspectives of the inhabitants. As such, both communities may have felt their isolation and possible arrivals of distant threats, more strongly than those in the Aegean. The evidence for rapid constructions at both sites may allude to such fears. At the same time, the collective participation in the *ex novo* constructions that is evident at the Cypriot

sites, demonstrates the complementary element of the insular paradox described earlier in this paper, a sense of community and, perhaps, hopeful permanence.

Conclusion

In sum, I have shown two distinct sets of responses in the construction and planning of settlement architecture to the crisis at the end of the LBA. Whereas the three comparative examples from the Aegean seem to better complement mainland and/or inland outlooks, Maa and Pyla materialise more of the ‘insular’ qualities of their settings. This is suggested at Maa by the initial settlement event, which offers a window into the settler’s perception of unfamiliar island settings during the LBA crisis.⁴⁵ Specifically, I suggested that there is clear evidence in the construction methods that the settlement’s initial inhabitants were concerned for their safety immediately and over the long-term at Maa. This is expressed by the construction of the large fortification wall and the application of construction techniques and materials that would have allowed for a somewhat more rapid construction process. This insecurity was likely not due to a specific threat on hand, but to the ongoing crisis that was occurring in the eastern Mediterranean and the new landscape. By sea or land, known and/or unknown threats could arrive any time and unannounced at Maa. Despite such nebulous fears, the constructions were not so hastily built as to qualify fully as ‘crisis architecture’ such as was employed in the Floor I settlement after the large fire destroyed the initial construction. The architecture is still substantial enough as to point towards a sense of long-term occupation while the settlers participated as a community to embrace a shared construction strategy. Thus, even with demonstrable awareness of potential threats that the

⁴³ Only a selection of Pyla’s wall thicknesses is presented (Karageorghis/Kanta 2014, 3). Like Maa, the documented walls most commonly lie within a range of 0.4m to 0.55m.

⁴⁴ Interestingly, very few horizontal anchor stones were observed in plan or in photograph.

⁴⁵ Although such perceptions are culturally constructed and variable according to the period and community (Broodbank 2000, 3–21), Maa does provide evidence for one group’s perception of an island as a settlement option during that period.

sea could bring, the settlers may have also viewed the sea positively due to the visual and physical isolation that it provided from areas where the turmoil and strife were more pronounced. In short, the notable insular qualities highlighted at the beginning – isolation, connectivity, renewal, and escape – were seemingly enhanced during this period of crisis and detectable in the building practices at Maa.

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III. Movements of Island Knowledge and Practices

Nevin Zeynep Yelçe and Ela Bozok

Islands as Transit Posts in the News Networks of Early Sixteenth Century AD

Keywords: Eastern Mediterranean, Corfu, Zakynthos, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, news

Summary

This paper reflects on the role of islands in the Mediterranean as transit posts in the news networks of the early 16th cent. AD. Based on research carried out within the framework of the ‘TUBITAK 1001 Scientific and Technologic Research Support Fund’ project numbered 113K655 (Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean Intelligence Network during the First Half of the 16th Century), this study traces the routes of letters and reports from eastern Mediterranean port cities to Venice from where news would be distributed to various cities in Europe. Our research investigates the hubs where various pieces of oral and written news within a wide range of sources, from official letters to eyewitness accounts, from familial correspondence to rumours, came together to be delivered collectively. As news travelled through the sea routes, this study focuses especially on the islands of Corfu, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus as main information hubs. In a period when regular postal systems were not fully developed, the role of the islands as transit points for news flow sheds light on the importance of islands in the dynamics of communication in the early 16th cent. AD.

Introduction

‘The Mediterranean is an intricately patterned kaleidoscope’, is the first sentence of the introductory chapter of a recent volume on the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, focusing on cross-cultural

encounters in a historical framework (Caykent/Zavagno 2014, 1). The kaleidoscope is perhaps the best fitting metaphor to describe the Mediterranean in light of modern scholarship. Whether one argues for the fragmentary nature of the Mediterranean based on territorial and religious conflicts or for its unity based on commercial and cultural relations, the kaleidoscope metaphor reflects simultaneous fragmentation and fusion experienced in the Early Modern Mediterranean. The Mediterranean has long been defined as a space where people of different lands, languages, religions, ethnicities, and professions interacted, voluntarily or involuntarily, with different motives and aspirations. Recent scholarship has addressed its nature ‘as a space of exchange and of conflictuality, and as an arena for international competition and collaboration’, emphasising both cross-cultural and intercultural interaction and suggesting a network approach to achieve a clearer understanding (Marzagalli 2016; Lugli 2017). Others, without overlooking the fragmented geographical and political outlook of the region, have drawn particular attention to a sense of connectivity and overlap through ‘a set of city-linking itineraries, routes for the transmission of ideas, goods, and military forces [...] marked by complex, overlapping, ethnolinguistic, commercial, and cultural identities’ (Brummett 2007, 10). Considering ‘the multiple and overlapping identities of the inhabitants’ in zones involved in the routes (Brummett 2015, 244) and their ‘constant exposure to transnational strategies’ (Darling 2012, 55), the Mediterranean has been analysed through the lenses of frontier and borderland paradigms; confirming not only the connectivity but also the fluidity and porousness characterising this maritime space. Thus, modern scholarship agrees that

the Mediterranean, neither a distinctly unified and unitary space nor an absolute zone of conflict, remained ‘a main route for communication and exchange’ (Kopaka 2008, 190) throughout the 16th cent. AD.

This paper examines a specific portion of this communication route to shed light on the dynamics of transmission and distribution of news focusing on ways and manners of transmission, the sources and agents responsible for the process, as well as the identities and motives of the recipients. It investigates the role of the four larger islands in the Mediterranean – namely Corfu, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus (*fig. 1*) – in the news traffic of the early 16th cent. based on the findings of a three-year project: ‘Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean Intelligence Network during the First Half of the 16th Century’.

In and around the 16th cent. Mediterranean, characterised by ‘interdependent societies linked by ever faster channels of communication’ (Watkins/Reyerson 2014, 4), Venice was undisputedly the ultimate centre of information regarding news about the Ottoman Empire in particular, and the Levant in general (De Vivo 2007). In terms of acquisition and distribution of news, it was rivalled only by Genoa and Antwerp regarding economic information and by Rome itself for political news on the larger European scale (Burke 2003; Dursteler 2009).

The nature of the tri-partite administrative structure of the Venetian Republic – consisting of the city of Venice, the mainland territories called *terraferma*, and the overseas colonies called *stato da mar* (alternatively called *terre da mar*, *stato di mare*, *stati oltremare*) – allowed not only for more effective commercial operations and enterprises but also for a more systematic flow of news in the absence of official ‘global’ postal services. The *stato da mar*, characterised by being ‘accessible only by the sea’, formed the most important element of the maritime network established by the Venetians in the eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic (Arbel 2013a, 125, 127). It was thanks to this particular overseas system that Venice, defined as a ‘thalassocracy’ by some (Tucci 2002), became an ‘empire’ essentially based ‘primarily on control of the sea and the sea lanes and ruled

through a large variety of different governance structures: colonies, dependent kingdoms, and dominions’ (Fusaro 2016).

Technically operating under Venetian jurisdiction, maritime colonies were subject to different administrative and judicial systems than mainland territories. Apart from the semi-independent Duchy of Naxos, ruled by a Venetian nobleman under the protection of Venice and several Aegean islands under its jurisdiction, overseas colonies were ruled by direct authority of Venice under the *reggimento* system. The Venice-based *savii ai ordini*, the board of directors responsible for the administration of the colonies, were also responsible for overseas trade and naval activities. The colonies constituting the *stato da mar* served not only as check points for merchants but were also essential parts of the communication – and thus intelligence – network which utilised the same routes and the same people. Venice continued to maintain some of its colonies, despite the economic burden, because of their strategic positions in the information network (Arbel 2013a).

The *Stato da Mar* and the Islands

Islands, as ‘arguably the purest, most concentrated expression of a Mediterranean geography’ (Watkins/Reyerson 2014, 7), situated on the trade and communication routes, often reflected the overlapping nature of the peoples of the Mediterranean. The interaction taking place on and around them confirmed the connectedness, interrelatedness, and connectivity (Knapp 2007, 45) of not only the sea but the islands themselves. On the other hand, the notion of isolation, in other words insularity, made them somewhat distinct units (Marangou/Della Casa 2008, 172). Through their function as elements in a network, however, islands combined ‘these two seemingly opposing aspects of isolation and connectivity’ (Sicking 2014, 495). And this can be best observed in their roles within the communication network.

Islands by nature constituted stopping points, and thus hubs of interaction, along the sea routes. They provided shelter and harbour for ships. They served as supply stations for water and provisions.



Fig. 1. Map of the Eastern Mediterranean with the relevant islands (<https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=13554&lang=en>, reworked).

They were hubs for the transfer of people and goods, not to mention ideas. Their needs for subsistence were delivered by various parties from other islands or mostly from the mainland. Several islands came to be commercial hubs as well (Sicking 2014). Likewise, Venetian colonies served as safe havens for merchant fleets. Since they were commercial and maritime stations, not only merchants but travellers of all sorts passed through the islands. As such, they also took on the role of receiving news and information by these stoppers-by and transmitting it to Venice. As an extension of these two functions, overseas colonies, including the islands, served as hubs where delicate information of hostile fleets was gathered, and security instructions were transmitted (Gertwagen 2002).

The contemporaries were increasingly aware of the significance of islands, as demonstrated by the growing interest in the genre of island books, starting with Benedetto Bordone's 'Isolario', first published in 1528. In 'The Most Famous Islands of the World' (1572), Tomaso Porcacchi described the route from the Adriatic to Istanbul as 'the head, or prince of the seas, because of the many islands it has' (as quoted in Brummett 2015, 273).

Given the maritime-economic character of the Republic, the *stato da mar* had a dual role to play in Venetian networks. While these overseas colonies functioned as important sources of agricultural and industrial products as well as raw materials for Venice; they also served as indispensable links in the maritime-commercial network of the Republic. The colonies lay on two

main commercial routes linking the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean with southern and eventually western coasts. One route passed through Corfu, Modon (Methoni) and Coron (Koroni), and Negroponte to Constantinople from Venice. The second route, more relevant to the purpose of this paper, went through Corfu, the Peloponnese, and Crete to Alexandria and Syria (Gertwagen 2000; 2002; 2014). It is this second route and the major islands thereon – Corfu, Zakynthos, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus – that this paper investigates.

The same officials responsible for protecting the interests of Venice and ensuring the well-being of the colony handled the traffic in their respective stations and thus the news flow on the route. They claimed different titles according to their place of assignment within the *reggimento* system. The governor of Crete was given the title of *duca* (duke), while Cyprus was governed by the *luogotenente* (lieutenant). The rector of the island of Corfu was called *bailo*, though not to be confused with the resident Venetian ambassador to Istanbul (Arbel 2013a, 147). Similar to the ambassadors, though, these officials were given written instructions and were expected to govern in accordance with the laws and decisions disclosed therein. In times of need, a *provedditore* would be dispatched to a colony. These temporary officials with extraordinary power were appointed ‘immediately following the inclusion of a territory in the maritime empire or when a need arose to carry out a thorough re-ordering of the administration or of local institutions’ (Arbel 2013a, 149). Occasionally assumed by the rectors, the post usually involved important colonies such as Cyprus, Crete, and Corfu.

During the first half of the 16th cent. AD, the *provedditore generale da mar*, the supreme commander of the fleet in peacetime, who resided in Corfu, appears as the highest authority of the Ionian Islands. Apart from their assigned responsibilities, these officials were mediators of information and news. As these governors could not make any significant decisions on their own, they regularly sent official reports known as *relazione* to the *Collegio* in Venice, which then decided how to proceed. It was common practice to attach third-party letters and reports to the *relazione*. Although the sending of official reports in the form of *relazione* can be traced back to 1524, frequent and intense

quasi-official communication included personal observations, information gathered through various means, third-party letters and accounts as attachments (Arbel 2013a). Thus, these officials either served as the origin of news and information or transmitted what they heard, read, or witnessed.

Corfu, situated in the northeast Ionian Sea at the entrance to the Adriatic, appears as the major news hub with simultaneous access to both routes. A Venetian colony since 1386, Corfu was already an important trade emporium serving as a transit station for goods from the Mediterranean trade by the beginning of the 16th cent. AD. (Arbel 2001, 154). By 1492, it had become mandatory for merchant galleys and the naves on their way to the western Mediterranean to anchor in Corfu (Gertwagen 2014, 360). With the loss of Modon to the Ottomans in 1500 AD, the significance of Corfu was emphasised by the new decrees issued by the senate of Venice after 1501 AD (Arbel 2001, 149). Corfu seems to have assumed the status of the ‘eye of Venice’ either simultaneously with or right after the loss of Modon and Coron known as the ‘two eyes of Venice’. A very well-informed contemporary Piri Reis remembers the infamous Kemal Reis, a corsair and Ottoman captain, saying: ‘Kemal Reis the deceased would say that Venice has two eyes; the left eye is the Castle of Modon, and the right eye is the [aforementioned] island of Corfu’ (Piri Reis 2002, 330). Even though Corfu lost some of its importance in trade, especially after the Ottoman invasion in 1537 AD, and turned progressively into a military stronghold, for the period under discussion, it was still the most important island in the ‘triumvirate of Ionian Islands’, namely Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zakynthos (Arbel 2001, 156). As a commercial centre and a garrison station, Corfu was one of the central hubs of information as trade and news went hand in hand. It was the nodal point for exchange of letters between Venetian officials and spies dispersed throughout the Levant, sent from Istanbul, Crete, Cyprus, Aleppo, Alexandria, Rhodes, Venice, and the Venetian fleet (Gürkan 2018, 30).

Zakynthos, known as Zante to the contemporaries, was another hub of information under the rule of Venice. An island situated on the Ionian Sea, it was a recent addition to *stato da mar*, occupied

by Venice only in 1482 AD. After the loss of Modon and Coron, Zakynthos along with Corfu assumed a prominent place in Venice's Mediterranean trade. The location of Modon and Coron at the entrance of the Adriatic made them 'ideal emporia, with storage and transshipment services for vessels that brought commodities from the East and preferred to avoid sailing up the Adriatic' (Arbel 2013a, 228). Thus, these were mandatory stations for Venetian merchants sailing beyond the Adriatic Sea. After the loss of these important posts, Zakynthos and Corfu filled this role which enhanced the importance of these islands not only as trade centres, but also as hubs of information (Gertwagen 2002, 366). By the beginning of the 16th cent. AD, Zakynthos was already established as a hub of information where a variety of news arrived from the Levant. Similar to the other islands under focus, local and trans-local news about a plethora of subjects ranging from trade to politics, from social crisis and upheavals to diplomacy, from military affairs to trivial incidents, arrived in Zakynthos. Distinctly, though, Zakynthos also functioned as the frontier location for gathering news about neighbouring Ottoman lands, which required constant negotiation. Frontier islands like Corfu, Zakynthos, and Cephalonia were often at the mercy of Ottoman officials who exercised various tactics of extortion on their neighbours, adding to the sense of insecurity felt by most colonies among the *stato da mar* even in peacetime (Arbel 2013a, 129). In this context, Zakynthos came to the fore with news about the neighbouring region of Morea and the dealings of the *provveditore* with the local Ottoman governor (*sancak beği*).

The island of Crete (Candia) was the earliest colony of Venice in the eastern Mediterranean. It laid on the intersection point of major maritime routes that connected, on the one hand, Constantinople with Alexandria and, on the other hand, the western Mediterranean with Syria (Georgopoulou 2001, 5). During the four-hundred-year Venetian rule from 1211 AD to 1669 AD, the island was an important commercial centre whose strategic location made it invaluable as a hub of information. The only colony purchased by Venice, Crete was an obligatory port of call for the convoys of Venetian merchant galleys going from Venice to Cyprus from 1300 onwards (Gertwagen

2000, 202). As Crete was a customary stop-over for ships headed to Alexandria (Lugli 2017, 171), the news items ranged from corsair activities to trade, from the movement of the Ottoman navy to news from Egypt and Syria.

Rhodes, the only island in this study that was not under Venetian colonial rule, was located on the Venice-Alexandria route. Because of its strategic location, Rhodes matched Crete and Cyprus in significance within the information network. From 1309 AD on, the island served as the permanent headquarters of the Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, also known as Knights Hospitaller, after their expulsion from Acre on the eastern Mediterranean coast until the Ottoman conquest in 1522 AD. Linking the eastern Mediterranean with the Aegean and Adriatic seas, the knights played an important role in trade, piracy, and traffic of pilgrims to and from the shrines in the Near East. An important element in the balance of power in the region throughout the 15th cent. AD, Rhodes was swift and flexible in shifting alliances and adapting to changing situations (Vatin 2015, 426). As Rhodes was not self-supporting, in order to sustain people and obtain much-needed supplies, the order permitted eastern Mediterranean merchants to follow their usual trade routes. This meant that Muslim merchants moved goods through Rhodes, and non-Christians lived within the city itself (Vann 2014). Even though this might seem ironic for an island ruled by a religious order whose main aim was to act as a safeguard against Islam, this was a necessary condition in order to survive. This also created an environment ripe for gathering and sharing valuable intelligence. In the late 15th cent. AD, for example, Grand Master Pierre D' Aubusson is known to have instructed Rhodian merchants, who traded with Mamluks and Ottomans, 'to collect whatever information they could about the Muslims but not to reveal anything about conditions in the city of Rhodes itself'. Muslim merchants visiting Rhodes most probably were expected to note important information about the island and report on their return. The Rhodians often turned this fact to their own advantage by feeding these merchants with false information (Vann 2007, 162).

Cyprus (Cipro), the largest island in the region, was one of the most important colonies of the Republic of Venice. The salary of the *luogotenente*,

appointed governor of Cyprus, attests to the significance of the island as it was highest among officials sent to overseas colonies (Arbel 2013a, 149). Apart from its strategic location in terms of security and defence, Cyprus was the main point of trade with Egypt and Syria. The island was a relatively late addition to the *stato da mar* as it came under the control of Venice *de facto* in 1473 AD and *de jure* in 1489 AD (Arbel 2004, 65 f.). When Ottomans conquered Syria and Egypt in 1516–1517 AD, Venice agreed to continue the annual 8,000 ducats tribute paid to Mamluk Sultans for Cyprus. This can give an idea about the Venetian desire to keep this precious colony in its possession.

The News

Research carried out within the project ‘The Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean Intelligence Network during the 1st half of the 16th cent.’ has traced news items involving 310 different localities. Analysis of the news items reveals 70 locations as departure points of correspondence. Thus, it can be concluded that local news items were gathered in particular centres through oral and written means before being transmitted collectively. These centres are mainly constituted of capital cities, followed predominantly by port cities and commercial centres. While war times bring forth army camps as original loci of news production, ships replace them as main sources of information during naval conflicts (Yelçe et al. 2017).

The main source of news before the advent of the newspaper was, not surprisingly, letters, whether in form of casual correspondence or official reports. As parts of the maritime-commercial network, the colonies were particularly prominent for the efficient flow of information to Venice, which served as a hub from where news was distributed. Before the institutionalisation of postal services around the mid-16th cent., letters were transmitted by sea or land, and by whoever was willing to provide the delivery service. The initiative for the gathering of information often fell on the local Venetian governor of a colony on route. The governors relied on a variety of individuals for acquiring information. Apart from officials and agents working on their behalf

for intelligence, seamen and Venetian merchants who owned ships (*nave*) and operated privately constituted the foremost information source of local governors. Shipping activities of these seafaring men permitted daily contact between the colonies as well as other maritime centres in the eastern Mediterranean. News also found its way to Venice through foreign merchants who frequented several busy port towns and international commercial centres around the Mediterranean (Gertwagen 2000; 2002). The second part of this paper aims to illuminate the process of news transmission through specific cases from *I Diarii* of the Venetian statesman Marino Sanuto. Spanning the years from 1496 AD to 1533 AD in minute detail, the diaries include Sanuto’s meticulous recording of written and oral information received through a plethora of official and unofficial sources ranging from state reports to ambassadorial hearings, familial and business letters by merchants, travellers to and from Venice, and others. Examining Sanuto’s entries not only provides ample information about individual news items but helps evaluate the various aspects of Venetian information networks in the early 16th cent.

Dead or Alive: Featuring a Corsair Attack (1497 AD)

On 10 July 1497 AD, merchant Alvise Zorzi wrote a lengthy letter from Crete to his brother-in-law Girolamo Zorzi about their encounter and escape from the Ottoman ships under Cape Maleas (Capo Malio) and Kythera (Cerigo), which took place on June 30th 1497 AD. The location he mentioned in his letter was a strategic crossing point from the northeast Mediterranean to the west, and notorious for its dangerous waters. The letter was received in Venice on August 24th 1497 AD, via Coron. It was written in detail as the aim of the author was to inform his brother-in-law that he and, more importantly, the recipient Girolamo’s son who was with Alvise during the skirmish, were alive. Alvise, in this letter, actually corrected the misinformation sent to Venice by the *provveditore* Francesco Venier, who previously notified the Signoria of the death of Alvise Zorzi and the son of Girolamo Zorzi (Sanuto 1969, I:728).

30 June 1497 Corsair Attack

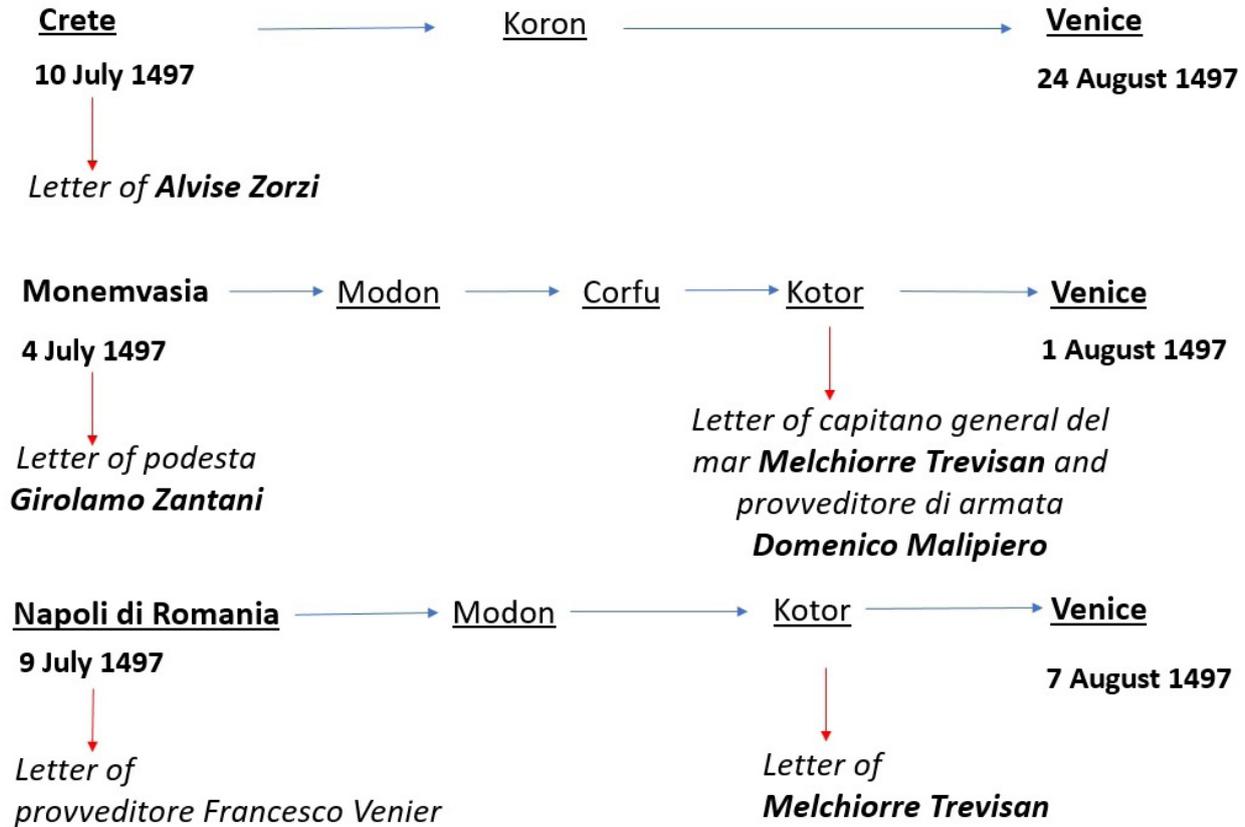


Fig. 2. Graphical representation of the postal correspondence from Crete, Monemvasia and Napoli di Romania to Venice of the Corsair Attack on June 30th 1497 AD.

Alvise's letter was received at a time when news regarding this particular event already poured into Venice from various locations under the rule of the Republic (*fig. 2*). Although Sanuto recorded this letter in his diary on August 24th, he had already heard about the event as early as August 1st from a ship arriving from Kotor (Cattaro), a Venetian possession in Montenegro. The *capitano general del mar* Melchiorre Trevisan and the *provveditore di armata* Domenico Malipiero had basically sent the news they received from Corfu. A closer reading of Sanuto's report reveals that the news originated from Monemvasia (Malvasia), a Venetian colony situated in Morea, close to Kythera (Cerigo) where the event took place (Sanuto 1969, I:702). The *podesta*, governor of Monemvasia, Girolamo Zantani, had written to Modon on July 4th 1497 AD, five days after the event, explaining the details as well as when and how the ships

were lost. His letter was transmitted to Corfu from Modon (Sanuto 1969, I:703). On August 7th 1497 AD, Sanuto recorded yet another letter informing about the event. Writing from Kotor, Melchiorre Trevisan passed on a letter by *provveditore* Francesco Venier from Nafplio (Napoli di Romania) dated 9 July, which he received via Modon. This letter corrected previous letters and informed that most of the passengers of the ship made it safely to Crete, even though some arrived injured, and others died *en route*. This was a better outcome than most expected (Sanuto 1969, I:707). Alvise Zorzi was apparently one of those survivors who ended up in Crete and met Venier to correct his assumptions a few days later (Sanuto 1969, I:728).

The news caused alarm when first received in Venice, as the ship carried not only valuable merchandise but also high-ranking individuals: pilgrims going to Jerusalem, a member of the Knights

of St John going to Rhodes, and our protagonist Alvise Zorzi and his nephew. The presence of such high-profile passengers can explain why Sanuto relentlessly followed and recorded news about this particular event, while it was not uncommon in this period for corsairs attacking merchant ships full of merchandise and people. In fact, corsair activity from both sides was a pressing issue between the Signoria and Porte throughout the early 16th cent. AD and frequently appears as a casual news item.

This case vividly demonstrates certain aspects of the late 15th and early 16th cent. AD eastern Mediterranean information network, particularly the section on the Ionian Sea. First of all, it shows the intricate news gathering and transmitting system with the Venetian maritime colonies as hubs of information. It is no coincidence that the fastest news came from these locations, which served both accurate and false news about the event. In this case, relatively more distant locations to the region of the event, Corfu and Kotor acted as transmission points, marking their role as main hubs of information from the Levant. Secondly, it shows the amount of time needed for the transmission of news and how it changed depending on the location. The voyage from Crete to Venice normally took six weeks during the late 15th cent. AD (Gertwagen 2002, 357). The time between the date of Alvise's letter (July 10th 1497) and the date of arrival in Venice (August 24th 1497) confirms the conventional timeframe. More importantly, this case points out that even though the letter of Alvise Zorzi explained the correct version of events because his letter arrived in the regular speed of six weeks, news that originated from other destinations such as Monemvasia, though initially false, was quicker to reach Venice via Modon as it took less than a month. This suggests that the letter from Monemvasia may have been given priority because it was shared between high-ranking officials, namely from the *podesta* to the *capitano general del mar*; or simply the news transmission from Modon was more efficient than the route from Coron through which the letter of Alvise Zorzi travelled. Thirdly, it shows the role of Crete as transmission point to the East, as pilgrims destined for Jerusalem and others destined for Rhodes were on the ship. Crete not only acted as part

of the news system of the Ionian Sea in particular, but also as a transmission point for news from the East in general through such travellers.

Keeping an Eye on Ottomans and Safavids (1507 AD and 1512 AD)

Crete, as mentioned earlier, appears as the ultimate gathering point for news of all sorts. The cases in this section illustrate this nodal position of the island in the network as well as that of Cyprus (see *fig. 3*).

On September 4th 1512 AD, Sanuto included in his diary a letter from Alexandria, dated June 23rd, penned by a Giovanni Marcello to his father. The Venetian informant wrote about the negotiations that took place between Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri and Venetian ambassador Domenico Trevisan for the release of Pietro Zen, the Venetian consul in Damascus accused of spying on behalf of Safavids against the Mamluks (Sanuto 1969, XV: 17–20).¹ Before being privy to the details of the matter, Sanuto already mentioned the incident in his diary on September 2nd, based on a letter from the *rettori* of Crete. The Cretan letter, dated August 14th, included news from Alexandria, which the *rettori* obtained from another letter written in June by a Stefano Mora about the events taking place in Cairo. This was not the only third-party letter transmitted by the *rettori* of Crete; the letter included yet another news item. Originating from Rhodes, this item involved the succession crisis going on in the Ottoman Empire: Selim I who had recently ascended the throne on April 24th 1512 AD was fighting against his older brother Ahmed, a strong claimant to the throne. The letter stated that Prince Ahmed had escaped to the mountains while sending one of his sons to the Safavids in order to request their assistance (Sanuto 1969, XV: 16).² This letter exemplifies the entangled nature of the Muslim polities in the East from a Venetian intelligence perspective. News from the East, whether

¹ For a detailed discussion of the incident, see Lucchetta 1968, 109–219.

² For the succession struggle, see Çıpa 2017, 55–61.

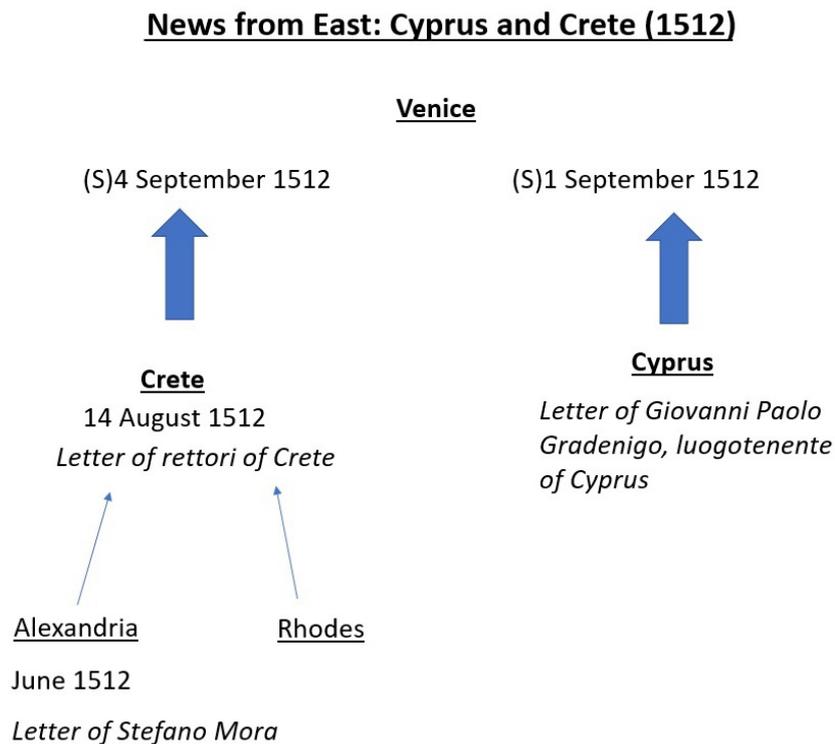


Fig. 3. Graphical representation of the postal correspondence from Crete and Cyprus to Venice, 1512 AD.

about the Ottomans or the Mamluks – featuring the Safavids in both cases – similarly found its way to Crete before being sent collectively to Venice. A comparison between the transmission process of the two different letters mentioning the Zen affair demonstrates the advantage of Crete as a nodal point for news traffic, as news about the same incident takes only three weeks to reach Venice through Crete instead of six.

News about the Ottoman succession crisis of 1512–1513 AD came not only through Crete; Cyprus as a busy port was another transit point for such news. An undated report by Giovanni Paolo Gradenigo, *luogotenente* of Cyprus, provided a detailed account of the most critical few months of the crisis, which ended with Prince Ahmed's execution in April 24th 1513 AD. Sanuto recorded Gradenigo's report on 1 September 1513 (Sanuto 1969, XVII: 10–13). Intelligence about the Safavids also arrived in Cyprus to be transmitted to Venice. In 1507 AD, for example, Priamo Malipiero, returning from Konya to Cyprus, wrote about the movement of Safavid Shah Ismail's army into Anatolia. The report was sent to Venice by the governing council of Cyprus on August 24th 1507, and

recorded by Sanuto on October 21th (Sanuto 1969, VII: 166).

Another example from the same year demonstrates the process of news collection from the East at one nodal point to be dispatched collectively. On April 26th 1507, Sanuto recorded several letters arriving from Crete by the ship *Mosta* (fig. 4). Among these letters, one was from *duca Girolamo Donato*, the governor of Crete, who passed on news about Crete along with attached letters from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Damietta. The letters from Rhodes and Damietta were penned directly to Donato. The grand master of Rhodes, in his letter, informed about the movement of the Ottoman navy against corsairs. From Damietta, a merchant wrote about the naval preparations of the Mamluk sultan in the Red Sea against the Portuguese. The letter from Cyprus, on the other hand, reported in general about the success obtained by the Safavids against the Ottomans (Sanuto 1969, VII: 55).

These examples attest to the role of Cyprus as an important hub of eastern news. They also show that the eastern part of the Mediterranean, similar to the Ionian Sea, possessed an information network that included Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes

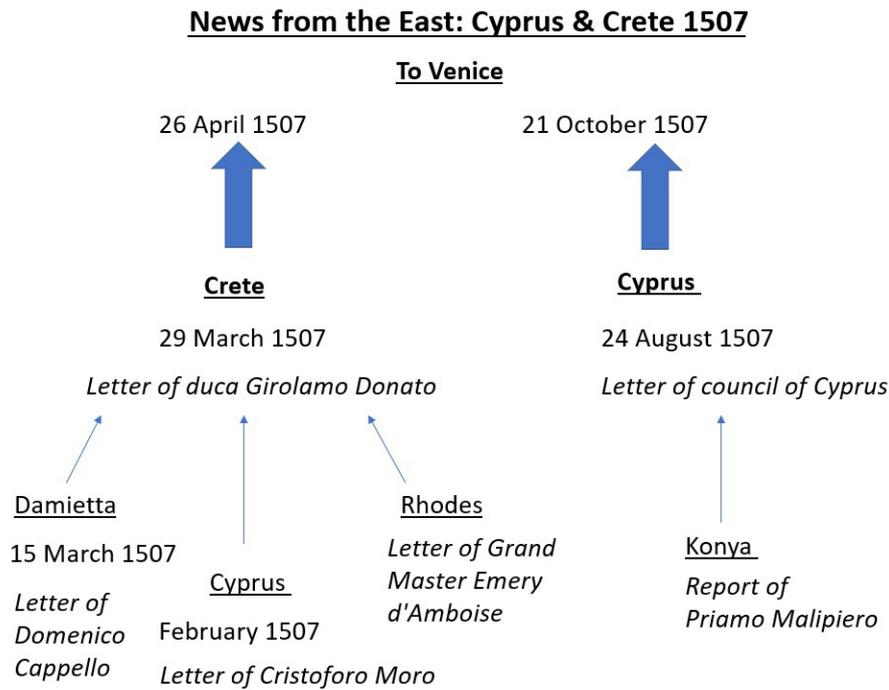


Fig. 4. Graphical representation of the postal correspondence from Cyprus and Crete to Venice, 1507 AD.

as intertwined hubs. Secondly, these cases demonstrate the influential role of the governors and the officials stationed at the various locations of the *stato da mar* not only as administrators, but also as active actors in gathering and transmitting news. Moreover, these examples also show the Venetian interest in Ottoman domestic politics. Internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire were closely monitored by Venetian officials on these major islands as Venetian profits were often tied to regions under Ottoman control. A similar consideration and cautious interest can be observed regarding the Safavids as this newly emerging power in the East was perceived to have the potential to become an ally against the Ottomans when needed (Meserve 2014, 593). The importance of Cyprus as a hub of eastern news particularly peaked during the decisive Battle of Chaldiran between Ottomans and Safavids (Palazzo 2016).

A News Miscellany (1507 AD)

On March 16th 1507 AD, a letter by Donato da Leze, the *provveditore* of Zakyntos, arrived at Venice to be presented to the *Pregadi*, one of the

councils of Venice. The letter contained a variety of news items collected from different locations: preparation of the Ottoman navy in Gallipoli against the corsairs, Ottoman dispatch of men to Modon and Coron, Ottoman mistrust against Ferdinand II of Aragon, the King of Spain, who recently arrived in Naples, and the agent sent to Zakyntos by Mustafa Beg, the Ottoman governor of Morea, regarding his ship that sunk during his tenure as governor of Vlore (Valona). The letter also included information about the arrival of spices specified as pepper, ginger, and cinnamon from Alexandria, about the on-going famine in Morea, and Ottoman interest in Nafplio, a location under Venetian rule (Sanuto 1969, VII:30). This letter displays certain aspects of Zakyntos that are both similar and different from those of Cyprus and Crete.

This case points to the existence of a parallel route using an alternative path for news from Constantinople and thus suggests a different information pattern. The news about the movement of the Ottoman navy against corsairs was also a topic of note in the above-mentioned letter from Rhodes, which reached Venice via Crete on April 26th 1507 AD. Leze's letter from Zakyntos with

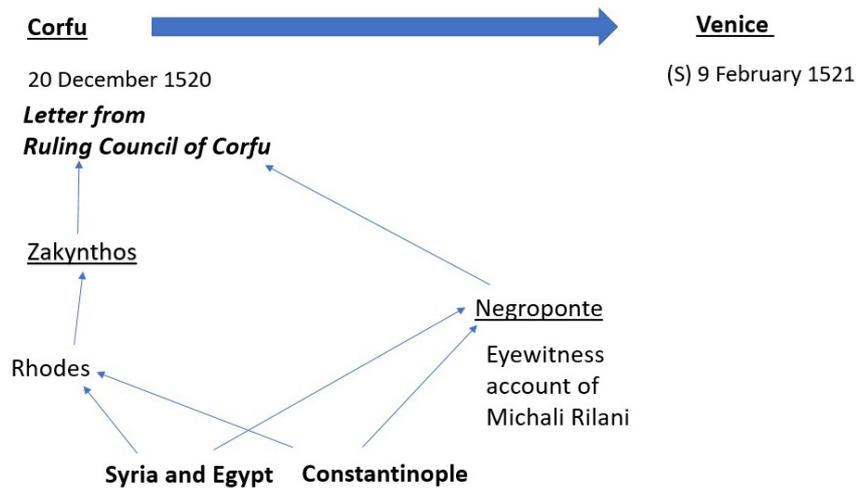
News from East: Letter from Corfu (20 December 1520)

Fig. 5. Graphical representation of the postal correspondence from Corfu to Venice December 20th 1520 AD.

the same information, on the other hand, was received in Venice more than a month earlier on March 16th. This time difference in travel time suggests that news originating from Constantinople, or thereabouts, reached Venice faster through this route – from Morea through Zakynthos to Venice – than the alternative route employed for eastern news – from Rhodes through Crete to Venice.

The significance of Corfu as a hub of information gathered from different locations can further be illustrated by an example from the beginning of the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I (*fig. 5*). On February 9th 1521 AD, Sanuto recorded a letter dated December 20th 1520 AD sent by the ruling council of Corfu. The letter contained an array of news items obtained from different sources. One of these sources was a man named Michali Rilani who recently arrived at Corfu from Negroponte, an Aegean island under Ottoman rule since 1470 AD. Rilani reported the preparation of Ottoman ships and the arrival of four messengers from Constantinople who passed on to Morea to gather infantry for the Ottoman army. He also reiterated the rumours he heard in Negroponte about the rebellion in Syria and Egypt of Canberdi (Janbirdi) Ghazali, a former Mamluk and the current

Ottoman governor of Damascus, against the Ottoman sultan. As far as rumours were concerned, Safavids were reportedly coming to his help with great force. The letter from the ruling council of Corfu also included other letters received from Zakynthos conveying news acquired from a ship from Rhodes. These reports claimed that Suleiman I was poisoned, and his five-year-old son was to ascend to the throne. This piece of false information was accompanied by yet another mistaken claim about the success of Ghazali's rebellion and his enthronement as sultan in Cairo (Sanuto 1969, XXIX:625). In fact, the rebellion of Ghazali had been harshly suppressed in February 1521 AD and the ring-leader murdered, let alone enthroned (Yelçe 2009, 160 f.).

This detailed letter is important for several reasons. First of all, it shows how correct and false news went hand in hand in the early 16th cent. AD. There was a rebellion by Ghazali against the Ottomans; but it was in Syria, not in Egypt. Moreover, he was defeated and killed around the time this letter arrived in Venice. Suleiman I was not dead. The Safavids were far from running to Ghazali's help with great force, only engaging in border skirmishes. It appears that informants at

various locations were too hasty – or optimistic – in coming to conclusions about the final outcome of the crisis. Furthermore, the means of transmission of information, however false it may be, demonstrates how islands were connected to each other: news gathered in Rhodes and transmitted to Venice through both Zakynthos and Corfu. Also important was the fact that news spread not only through written means but also through oral communication. Oral delivery of news did not lose its importance during the 16th cent. AD either for elites or for the general public (De Vivo 2007; 2012). As demonstrated by this case, hearsay and gossip were quite influential along with written testimonies; and islands played a crucial role also for this type of news dissemination. This example highlights the momentum gained by the process of news gathering and dissemination during times of crisis, especially where economic interests of Venice were under threat.

What About Business: Conquests of Selim I (1516 AD to 1517 AD)

The change in authority as the Mamluks were replaced by Ottomans in Egypt and Syria in the early 16th cent. AD was no doubt perceived as a threat to Venetian mercantile interests in the region (*fig. 6*). Venetian merchants were increasingly granted commercial contracts by the Mamluk sultans towards the end of the 14th cent. AD. When rival European cities began to lose profits in the eastern Mediterranean market for various reasons during the second half of the 15th cent. AD, the Republic of Venice secured a position as a monopoly in the spice trade from the eastern Mediterranean to Europe. While Mamluk sultans were dependent on Venice, especially for the import of metals such as silver and copper, Venetian merchants certainly needed the privileges provided by the Mamluk sultans for the purchase of spices (Ashtor 1974; Arbel 2004). Thus, the stability of the region and continued support of the Mamluk sultans were of utmost importance for Venice.

Venetian correspondence of this transformative period illuminates the news flow and traffic during times of major armed conflict. An analysis of such news items and their dissemination shows

that the permeation of news about war depended on the location of the armed conflict and that the speed of transmission changed according to the perceived significance of the incident. During the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516 AD and 1517 AD, the majority of news was gathered in Cyprus, a Venetian colony paying tribute to the Mamluk sultan. Sanuto's diaries allow the historian to follow two distinct phases of the conflict in the region: the first phase in Syria in August and September 1516 AD, and the second phase in Egypt in January 1517 AD.

During the first phase, news arrived in Cyprus primarily from Damascus, Tripoli, and Aleppo through letters by Venetian consuls or merchants situated in these cities, and by those who escaped to Cyprus during the turmoil and narrated their eye-witness accounts. Those who managed to find their way to Cyprus also recounted the rumours they heard on the way. On October 24th 1516 AD, Sanuto recorded a series of letters, six of which were from Cyprus. Among these letters, one was from Andrea Arimondo. As the consul of Damascus, Arimondo was responsible for the protection of the Venetian community as well as controlling commercial exchanges, collecting taxes and duties. The consul also served as the official representative of the Republic in formal communication with local officials. Informing authorities of the *Serenissima* about developments in trade and international politics also fell under his responsibilities (Pedani 2006, 7). Writing on August 30th 1516, Arimondo told about the death of the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri during the war with the Ottomans and how Selim I took Aleppo. Dated September 4th and 5th 1516 AD, two letters from the bundle were penned respectively by Venetian merchants Pietro Morosini and Antonio Testa, who had both escaped from Tripoli to Famagusta, a major port city of Cyprus. From Famagusta, they wrote to Nicosia, the seat of the *luogotenente* of Cyprus. Both letters informed about the movement of Selim I from Aleppo to Tripoli, not withholding information about the riots and looting that took place in the city of Tripoli. Added to these eye-witness accounts were two letters written by the *luogotenente* and the ruling council of Cyprus. Both parties wrote further about what they had 'heard' in Nicosia about the ongoing war. The source of

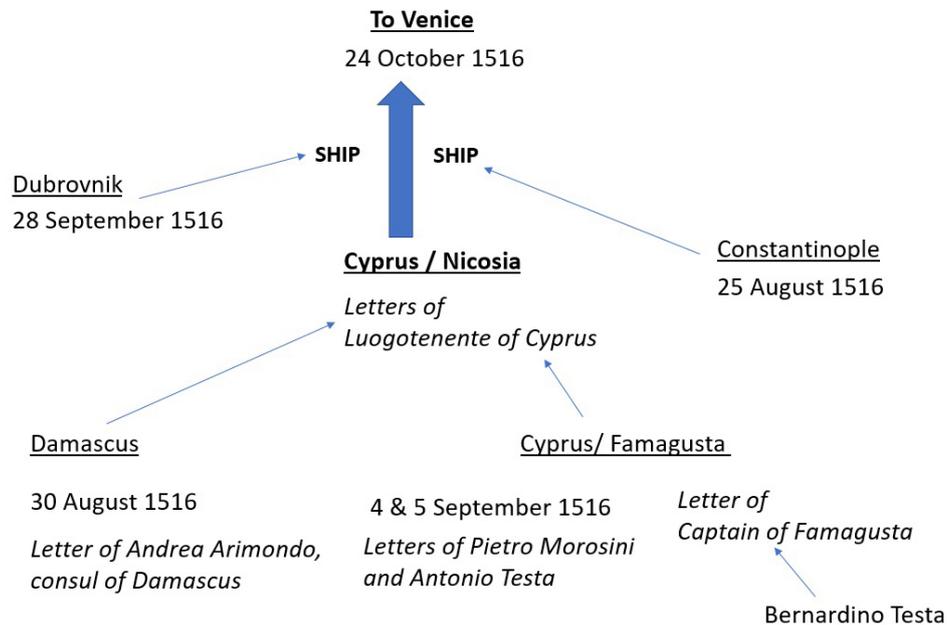
Ottoman Conquest of Syria and Egypt (1516-17): Phase I

Fig. 6. Graphical representation of the postal correspondence during the Ottoman Conquest of Syria and Egypt on Phase I, 1516 AD to 1517 AD.

the oral testimony was a Bernardino Testa who fled to Famagusta from Tripoli. Bernardino's testimony was transmitted to the Nicosian authorities in a letter by the captain of Famagusta to whom the fugitive related the information he had (Sanuto 1969, XXIII: 106–109).

The ship bringing the bundle from Nicosia carried four other letters: from Dubrovnik, Constantinople, Crete, and Corfu. The letters from Dubrovnik and Constantinople, dated September 28th and August 25th 1516 AD, respectively, included news concerning the conquest of Syria (Sanuto 1969, XXIII:109). Both letters mentioned messengers arriving from Selim I's camp to the capital to provide the latest news to Prince Suleyman (later Suleyman I) who was guarding the city during his father's absence. The letters from Corfu and Crete, on the other hand, did not mention Syria at all. The letter from Crete informed about the attack of the notorious Ottoman corsair Kurdoglu on certain towns of Crete and his men, killing several people and looting their possessions. Similarly, the letter from Corfu also warned about the same corsair who was seen on waters close to Zakynthos (Sanuto 1969, XXIII:109–110).

This bundle of letters provides a glimpse into the initiation of the circulation of a news item or miscellany. They involve locations and individuals directly affected by the war who narrated what they saw or heard to a secondary group of persons located at the nearest information hub, in this case Cyprus. A second circulation phase can be traced within the island, from the eastern port of Famagusta, where those fleeing the conflict zones in Syria sought refuge, to Nicosia, where the interested party – the gatherer of news – was located. The main actors of this dual process were often Venetian officials or merchants; however, people of various occupations and social standings were also engaged as observed in later correspondence, such as that by a priest (Sanuto 1969, XXIII:328). A tertiary level of circulation involved high-ranking Venetian officials in Nicosia putting all letters together and sending them on an appropriate – and available – ship to Venice. Judging by the additional four letters from closer locations, the ship apparently stopped at these ports and collected whatever correspondence was to be sent to Venice; thus, adding a fourth level to the process of news transmission.

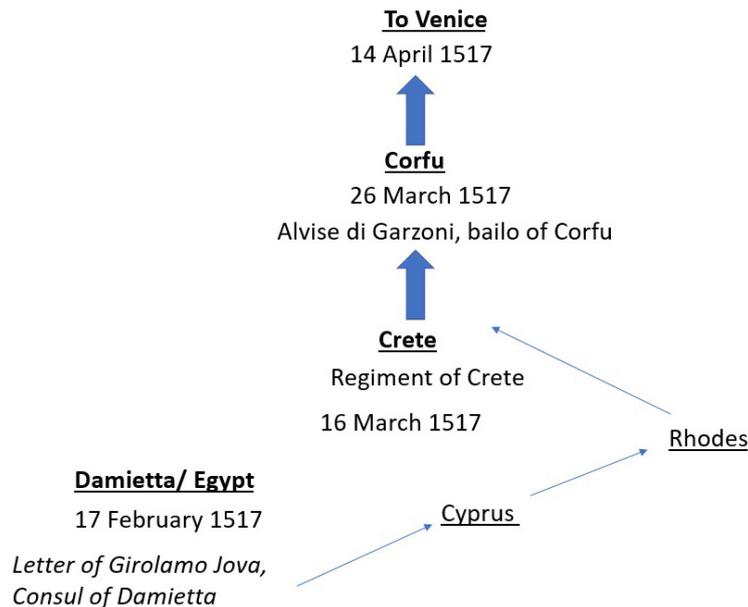
Ottoman Conquest of Syria and Egypt (1516-17): Phase II

Fig. 7. Graphical representation of the postal correspondence during the Ottoman Conquest of Syria and Egypt on Phase II, 1516 AD to 1517 AD.

The second phase of Selim I's campaign against the Mamluks, until January 1517 AD, was carried out in Egypt. The speed and the pattern of the news network seems to have slightly changed. It has been suggested that news transmission accelerated during the occupation of Egypt as compared to the slower pace of news flow during the military operations in Syria. The Venetian Senate members, who previously hesitated to send ambassadors to Selim I and opted to wait for the outcome of the conflict, accelerated the process upon receiving the Ottoman ruler's official letter proclaiming the victories he achieved in Syria. Venetian ambassadors were hastily – and prudently – dispatched to Egypt via Cyprus in order to be ready in the face of an ultimate Ottoman victory in the region at large (Arbel 2013b, 118). Selim I entered Cairo on February 15th 1517 AD, with great pomp (Emecen 2009). The first to convey this news was Girolamo Jova, Venetian consul of Damietta, a city close to Cairo, on February 17th 1517 (*fig. 7*). Rather than using the more conventional route through Cyprus, the consul sent his letter to the regiment in Crete onboard a ship departing from Damietta. Receiving the letter on March 16th, the regiment of Crete interrogated the owners of the

ship, Stamati Magnati and Pietro de Micono, who were also eye-witnesses to the events in Egypt; and sent two individual detailed reports on their testimonies (Sanuto 1969, XXIV:161–64).

These reports show that the ship did not sail directly to Crete from Damietta. It first made a stop at Cyprus, and then at Rhodes, which explains the period of one month between the date of the letter and the date of arrival. The details about the voyage of the ship, as well as what the two ship owners saw and heard during their stop at Rhodes, were also included in the reports. In this case, the circulation of news started at a single point of origin, namely Damietta, but unlike the news from Syria, it spread to different destinations through the eastern Mediterranean information network. This difference could be based on the caution on the part of the ship's captain due to the alleged movement of the Ottoman navy toward Egypt. The ship crew may also have aimed to notify these other islands, Cyprus and Rhodes, about the immediate situation in Cairo as this time, unlike the Syrian phase, it was for certain that the Mamluk Sultanate had fallen, and its capital had been taken over. In this phase, Crete comes forth as important a transmission node as Cyprus was during the

Syrian phase. The second circulation level, thus, originated in Crete as the letter from Damietta, the two reports written by the regiment of Crete, as well as two letters from Venetians in Crete directed to two individuals in Venice, one of which was our Marino Sanuto himself. The bundle first reached Corfu, although the officials of the island were not included in the information loop during the Syrian phase. From here, as the tertiary level of transmission, the letters were sent to Venice by Alvise di Garzoni, *bailo* of Corfu, on March 26th 1517 AD to arrive in Venice about three weeks later, on April 14th 1517 AD (Sanuto 1969, XXIV:159–60).

Conclusion

This paper was an attempt to illuminate the role of major islands in the Venetian news network in the early 16th cent. AD. The cases under focus demonstrate that an information network with a definite pattern – including Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes as intertwined hubs – was at work for news from the eastern sector of the Mediterranean, similar in function to the information network on the Ionian Sea. The cases point out the crucial nodal role of Crete, not only as part of the news network of the Ionian Sea in particular, but also as a transmission point for news from the East along with Cyprus. The cases also show that the flow of information changed according to circumstances and the nature of the incidents to be recounted. While some news hubs were informed about the general situation in the East during times of peace, they may have remained ignorant to the incidents during times of crisis. Furthermore, certain hubs would change or re-arrange their operations during times of conflict, depending on the location and immediacy of the events. Changes in the manner and speed of delivery and transmission are observed due to the impact of climatic conditions on sailing.

The examined cases reveal not only the spatial nodal roles of the islands in news transmission but also the nature of the agents involved in the process. The governors and the officials stationed

at the islands as parts of the *stato da mar* and as posts operating under the *reggimento* system proved to be the most influential and crucial elements in the efficient operation of the news network. These high-ranking Venetian officials did not act solely as administrators, but also as active actors in gathering and transmitting news. Their sources ranged from their own agents to travellers and merchants from all nations. The rich variety of travellers, having to stop over on these islands, either for provisions and shelter during long sea voyages or for commercial reasons, often provided these officials with a plethora of news items to be conveyed to Venice. The cases also suggest that although these men were responsible for collecting and submitting news, they were not very keen on confirming the accuracy of the information, at least in the short run. The information obtained from such a variety of sources could at times prove to be unreliable as news also spread through rumours – occasionally distorted unintentionally or deliberately. Oral delivery of news did not lose its significance throughout the 16th cent. AD; hearsay and gossip remained quite influential along with written testimonies. Thus, islands played a crucial role in disseminating also false information as part of the news networks.

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Sergios Menelaou

Insular, Marginal or Multiconnected?

Maritime Interaction and Connectivity in the East Aegean Islands during the Early Bronze Age through Ceramic Evidence

Keywords: east Aegean islands, connectivity, insularity, maritime interaction, pottery

‘To understand the interaction between man and landscape in the Aegean Sea, we need to differentiate between the world of the ‘islands’, a world dominated by interaction and connectivity, and the world of the ‘island’, an imaginary world of separation and seclusion’ (Constantakopoulou 2007, 254).

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Summary

The Aegean archipelago constitutes one of the most intriguing ‘laboratories’ of island archaeology in the Mediterranean, due to the unique geomorphological configuration among the various island groups, as well as their varied cultural and historical developments. In recent years, there has been renewed interest in the study of intra- and interisland connections and island/continent interactions through the application of spatial and maritime network analysis, as well as artefact analysis and the reconstruction of technological (*chaine opératoire* approach) and distributional patterns. To a certain degree, such an interdisciplinary focus was developed for the eastern Aegean and western Anatolian borderland, an area where maritime interaction and communication via the sea has occupied archaeological scholarship over the past two decades. Although only separated by narrow sea straits, the islands and the Anatolian mainland are often considered archaeologically through the lens of boundedness and separateness. These concepts interpret archaeological frontiers of insular versus mainland areas by post-colonialist models of core-periphery relationships, in which the islands are frequently

considered to be passive. In this paper, developments and diachronic changes during the Early Bronze Age (EBA) in the ceramic repertoire of the east Aegean islands are discussed, emphasising mainly on evidence from Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, in relation to traditions from the central Aegean (Cyclades) and the adjacent Anatolian coastlands. Focusing on the seascape/coastscape perspective and the concept of the *peraiia*, this research also explores what constitutes the distinct cultural identity of these island communities and how this is formed and transformed through time during the 3rd mill. BCE.

1. Introduction and Theoretical Framework

Island Archaeology in the Mediterranean has received increasing attention over the last few decades (e.g. Cherry 1985; Patton 1996; Broodbank 2000; Cherry/Leppard 2014; Dawson 2016; Knapp 2018), with questions often being appropriated to the theoretical idiosyncrasies of each time. It is positive to say that the sub-discipline of island archaeology is generally now well-established in its own right, and this is particularly reflected in the establishment of international journals or special sections. These journals relate to the ancient and modern cultures of island communities, as well as methodological and theoretical advances in the study of island and coastal societies worldwide. Such attempts are firmly represented in the ‘The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology’ (since 2006), the ‘Island Studies Journal’ (since 2006), ‘Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures’ (since 2007), and the ‘Journal of Marine and Island Cultures’ (since 2012), to name a few. Despite their wide geographical, chronological, and thematic range, these academic journals are dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of islands for the sake of providing more comprehensive views of the natural, cultural, social, and other factors that might affect their often-complex historical trajectory. In addition to journals, interest in archaeological research of Mediterranean Islands is also expressed through recent international conferences such as ‘ISLANDIA: Islands in

Dialogue’¹ and others with a narrower geographical focus, namely ‘SASCAR: The Southeast Aegean/Southwest Coastal Anatolian Region’² that emphasised on the southeast Aegean islands and their cultural interaction with the opposite Anatolian coast during the Early and Middle Bronze Age.

On the basis of their geographical demarcation as naturally-bordered areas and the premise that islands represent well-defined spaces, their study has formed a popular research topic or even a methodological exercise since the 1960s, becoming even more favoured during the 1970s and 1980s with the influential work by Evans (1973; 1977). Evans has set the focus on islands as representing ‘laboratories of culture change’, for it was thought that their assumed inherent isolation would facilitate an ideal context for observing and analysing how human ‘cultures’ develop. Presumably, not only would this allow archaeologists to observe the ways island communities adapt to a given environment with delimited resources, but it would also provide a secure context for determining the provenance of off-island materials/artefacts/resources. This approach proved to be not only insufficient due to its ecologically-deterministic nature but also in the problematic use of the term ‘culture’ over the course of the development of archaeological theory, following the assumption that islands encompass a very specific way of living. Having its roots in the 19th cent. and following the culture-historical theoretical approach, the ‘culture’ concept was thought to entail a fixed set of material features and the trend of equating artefacts to people in a spatiotemporal relationship, either explained in the framework of a unilateral evolution or through diffusion (see Feuer 2016, 24–27; Heitz/Stapfer 2017, 14–16).

In addition to that, archaeologists working in the Mediterranean have increasingly expressed an interest in exploring the concept of insularity (e.g. Patton 1996; Rainbird 2007; Knapp 2007; 2008; Vogiatzakis et al. 2008). Insularity, with its multiple

¹ Organised in 2018 at the University of Turin (Italy) and published in 2021 (Albertazzi et al. 2021).

² Organised in 2016 by the Italian Archaeological School at Athens. The proceedings publication is forthcoming (eds. Marketou and Vitale).

connotations, has constituted a convenient theoretical framework for investigating islands as being static and passive areas with limited outlook. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary, it means ‘the quality of only being interested in your own country or group and not being willing to accept different or foreign ideas’. This not only refers to a physical condition of a place surrounded by water, it rather also assumes its geographical isolation, in other words the state of being an island and the quality of being secluded as a result of living on islands. In this sense, the equation of insularity where isolation is understood as the complete separation from interactions of any sort or reversely as the conscious opening up to accept or reject elements beyond one’s own experiences (Knapp 2007, 45 f.; 2008, 18). However, isolation depends on the degree of insularity, and these terms should not be used interchangeably, as it often depends on human-controlled factors such as technology and transport instead of just ecological/geographical/natural circumstances. As has been suggested by Doumas, the terms insularity and isolation, in the sense discussed above, are not appropriate to the Aegean island societies, as they represent offshore/continental islands, and insularity is translated into the geographical condition of living on an island setting (Sfenthourakis/Triantis 2017). This is semantically reflected in the meaning of the Greek terms νῆσος (island), ναῦς (boat) and νέω/νήχομαι (to swim/to float), suggesting the perception of early Aegean seafarers as moving through well-connected floating landmasses that were linked by the sea as the life-giving source (Doumas 2004, 216 f.). Insularity, then, is a social rather than a natural condition.

While viewing islands as laboratories for the study of change and social transformations, geo-cultural boundaries or even the transmission of materials, knowledge and people, when it comes to comprehending the processes of cultural development, the practicalities of being an islander, the levels of connectivity among islands or between islands and coastlands or even the factors that enabled such maritime connections (seafaring knowledge, navigational skills, etc.) were until recently left somehow unnoticed (see Tartaron 2018 for a review). During the 1990s, under the

influence of post-processual archaeology, previous notions have been reassessed in an attempt to highlight the role of human agency, such as the islanders, seafarers, elites or in simple terms, the different kinds of human agents being actively involved in what constitutes an island way of living (e.g. Broodbank 1993).

In recent years, more important attempts have been made to move away from aspects of colonisation and biogeography (for a definition of this theory, see MacArthur/Wilson 1967) in the study of island communities, arguing against a dualistic model of isolation versus dispersion and interaction or insularity versus connectivity, with methods including field survey projects, GIS-based spatial analysis and proximal view point analysis for the reconstruction of networks (e.g. Broodbank 2000; Knappett 2013). Such a shift towards acknowledging the importance of both insular and extra-insular factors in the construction of island identities is reflected in Broodbank’s (2000; 2008; 2010) pivotal work on the central Aegean islands (the Cyclades cluster) during prehistory. Nonetheless, the eastern Mediterranean situation, when compared with the Pacific archipelagos, shows a completely different historical trajectory in the scales of colonisation, connectivity, insularity, and marginality (Dawson 2019). This is largely due to the degree of isolation and geographical proximity to the adjacent mainland, as well as their position on established maritime routes and desirable resources. Unlike the Pacific, the Mediterranean islands (with a particular emphasis on the Aegean) are not remote, they have less extreme ecological limitations, they exhibit a high diversity in terms of size and distance, and are in general within sight of adjacent coastlands (mainland Greece in the west and western Anatolian peninsula in the east) and nearby islands (Patton 1996, 7 f.).

Given the geomorphological idiosyncrasy of the Aegean basin and the wealth of material culture, this area has been considered a robust testing ground for investigating the relationship between insularity and connectivity and their changing nature in prehistory (see Molloy 2016), as well as the construction of maritime identities in the wider region (e.g. Nazou 2010 for Attica and the surrounding islands during the Final Neolithic

and EBA). Already in studies of the Neolithic period, pottery and obsidian were the main artefact categories used to identify connections and interactions between the different island groups, coastlands and mainlands (Quinn et al. 2010; Whitbread/Mari 2014). In terms of pottery, this is owed to its abundance in the archaeological record and the distinctive typologies formulated in the early to mid 20th cent. CE in an attempt to define chronological sequences and geo-cultural boundaries between Crete and the southern Aegean, the Cyclades and the central Aegean, the western side of the Aegean world covering mainland Greece, the northern part of mainland Greece with Thessaly and Macedonia, and to a lesser degree the eastern Aegean with the offshore islands and the western Anatolian littoral. Distinct groups have been further defined within each culture, corresponding to a different micro-region, on the basis of common archaeological traits, which have been traditionally used for the development of the tripartite chronological scheme in use in Aegean archaeology (see Kouka 2009 for a summary of older bibliography). This geo-political regionalism is further exemplified in the clustering between the northeast Aegean islands with coastal northwest Anatolia and the Dodecanese/southeast Aegean islands together with Chios and Samos with the southwest Anatolian coast (Berg 2019, 107). The examination of pottery, through an integrated methodology, serves as a proxy for the identification of connectivity and patterns of material or ideological exchange in the east Aegean, which comprised a busy seascape during the 3rd mill. BCE (Menelaou et al. 2016; Menelaou 2018).

A recurring theme in this paper is that the sea holds a vital role in connecting rather than being a barrier in the communication of distant or less distant areas, either among islands or between an island and the mainland. Although moving away from solely processual or post-processual approaches, the author maintains that the geographical delineation of islands provided by the coasts can offer an ideal framework for investigating how patterns of connectivity shift diachronically through the interdisciplinary study of ceramic materials. Relevant to this is also the seascape concept, which encompasses the intervisibility

between land and sea and socio-cultural understanding of coastal and marine landscapes (Hill et al. 2001; Rainbird 2007, 45). Equally significant for this discussion are theories on mobility and movement in our attempt to identify cultural interactions through provenancing material evidence, rather than constructing generalised, unilineal archaeological narratives.

2. Spatiotemporal Framework: The Aegean Archipelago(s) in the 3rd Millennium BCE

The Aegean archipelago, comprised of groups of islands closely scattered in the Aegean Sea, constitutes one of the most important geographical settings in Mediterranean Island Archaeology, and its study, together with research carried out in the western part of the Mediterranean Sea, has been stimulated by comparable work in the Pacific Ocean (Evans 1977). Framing today's eastern geographical limits between Greece and Turkey, it hosts hundreds of islands (*fig. 1*) and a number of clusters can be separated into: 1) the Argo-Saronic islands between Attica and the eastern Peloponnese, 2) the Cyclades located in the centre of the Aegean between the island of Crete and mainland Greece, 3) the Sporades along the east coast of mainland Greece and northeast of the island of Euboea, 4) the northeast Aegean islands stretching along the Anatolian (Turkish) coast and south of Thrace, and 5) the Dodecanese in the southeast Aegean off the Anatolian coast. To these, more or less, physical clusters are added the large islands of Crete and Euboea.

In modern terms, these island clusters are geographically-defined (Cyclades, Sporades) or grouped together for administrative purposes (northeast Aegean islands). Nonetheless, in some cases, this clustering corresponds to what represents in archaeological literature cultural groups. Of these regional groups, a special emphasis has been so far put on the prehistoric Cyclades from the very beginning of archaeological research due to the intensity in systematic research (surveys and excavations) and an early interest expressed by European travellers (for a review of individual sites and regional patterns, chronological synchronisms

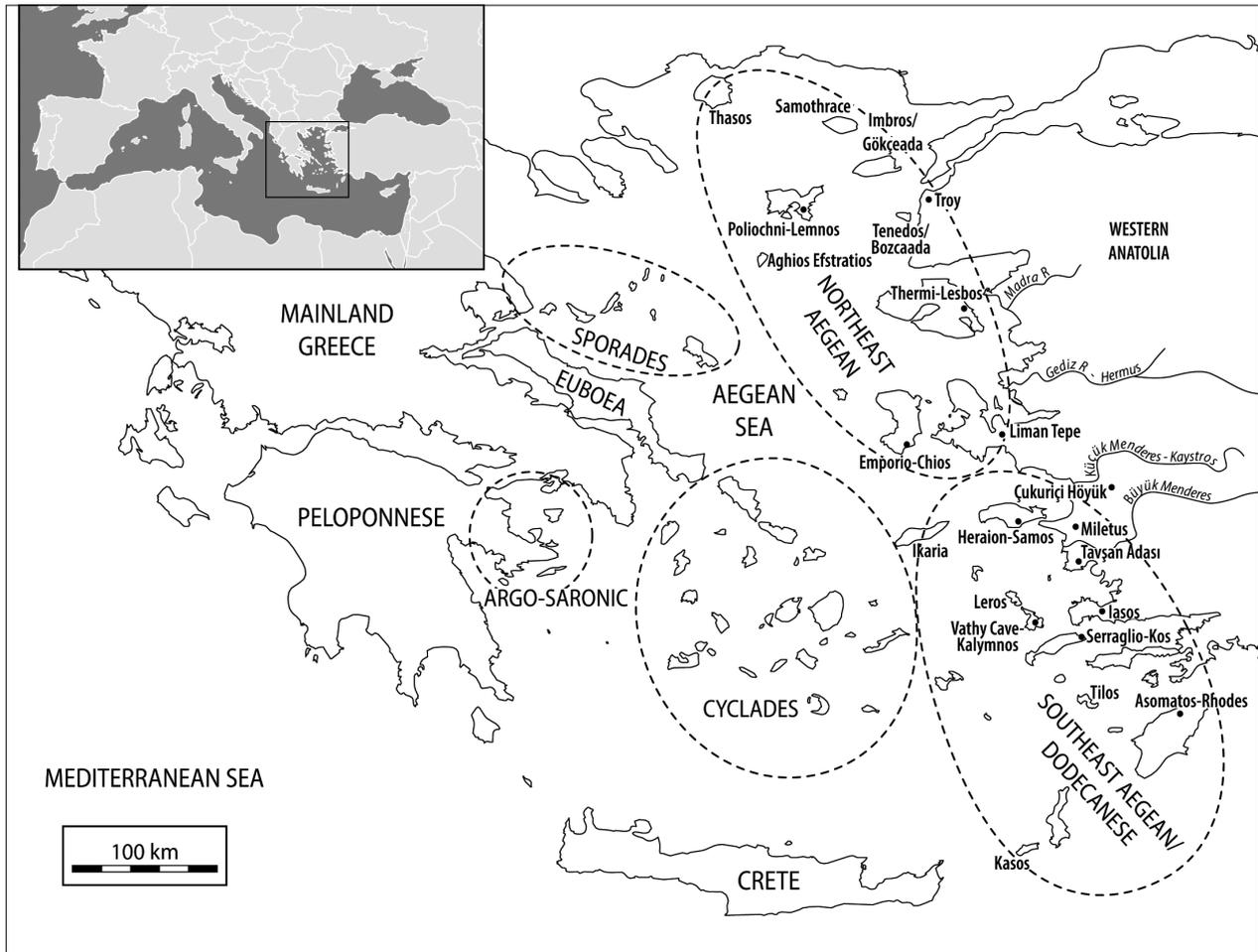


Fig. 1. Map showing the east Aegean islands and other areas mentioned in the text (prepared by Christina Kolb).

or artefact categories, see Davis 1992; Broodbank 2000; Alram-Stern 2004; Berg 2019). In contrast to that, the island clusters of the northeast Aegean and the Dodecanese have been to a large degree overlooked due to their marginal position at the eastern limits of the Modern Greek state (Davis 1992; Berg 2019). Thus, the islands stretching off the Anatolian/Asia Minor coast and their related archaeological narratives reflect modern political and ethnic constructions between Greece and Turkey; today's identities are largely formed within those politically-defined borders (e.g. Vaessen 2018). To that end, the east Aegean islands were still perceived as part of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th cent. CE and they are geographically-oriented towards the east. As Rutter has recently pointed out (Rutter 2013, 595), there is a 'need to become more familiar with the different culture zones that together make up the eastern margin

of the Aegean – namely, the sites and material culture of the western Anatolian mainland'. This view is reflective on the one hand of this region's significance, forming an interface between the Aegean basin and the Anatolian plateau or reversely the conception of a periphery made up by two distinct spheres, and on the other hand of the lacuna in archaeological scholarship regarding the study area in question, which has only received increased attention in the past two decades (e.g. Kouka 2002; 2013; 2014; 2016a; Şahoğlu 2005; 2008; 2011; Doumas/La Rosa 1997; Erkanal et al. 2008). Although an enormous amount of work has been undertaken in the form of systematic archaeological excavations and surface surveys since the early 20th cent. CE, the eastern Aegean/western Anatolian littoral, has been generally neglected, in contrast to the western, northern, and southern Aegean, where the material record has been

intensively investigated. A possible explanation for this is the absence in this area of succeeding ‘cultures’ that are comparable to the palatial civilisations of Minoan Crete and Mycenaean mainland Greece. In the case of Minoan archaeology, the impressive material culture and cultural legacy resulting from more than a century of research had remarkable effects in responses of the 20th cent. CE. This hellenocentric ‘obsession’ of the early excavators, further envisioned in modern engagement with the Minoan past (*Cretomania*) is rather reflected in literature, the visual and performative arts, and other cultural media (Momigliano/Faroux 2017; Momigliano 2020).

As was the case from the early conceptualisation of the ‘emergence of civilisation’ during the EBA by Colin Renfrew (1972), the Aegean has been an excellent research arena for the investigation of issues of connectivity and interaction. Renfrew in his study of the Aegean EBA adopted an economically and ecologically-driven approach which favoured an internal explanation for the transformations occurring during the course of the 3rd mill. BCE. According to this, the prehistoric Aegean archipelago exhibits a great geographical and cultural variability (different landscapes and seascapes). With the advent of post-processual archaeology, new approaches shifted towards the explanation of social change by focusing on human agents. Therefore, the study of material culture – especially pottery – has not only questioned the principle of linear causality but has also shifted away from solely diffusionist and evolutionary theories, mainly concerned with the reconstruction of typo-chronological sequences that are based on stylistic and morphological observations and typological-functional similarities between sites. There has instead been a turn towards the consideration of other factors (active role of materiality and practice, transformative power of innovations, complexity of movement) in order to explain the interrelation between technological processes, socio-economic change, and material/ideological transmissions (e.g. Knapp/van Dommelen 2010; Maran/Stockhammer 2012; Stockhammer/Maran 2017). Nevertheless, ceramics have been valuable in understanding changes, at least at a technological level, within the framework of network theories and interaction between different sites and areas.

3. Island/Mainland Interaction in the East Aegean

Landscape and seascape, communication and isolation, island and mainland are inseparable dualities, but how meaningful is it to examine these concepts separately? From an archaeological point of view, the investigation of island-mainland interaction seems particularly intriguing in the east Aegean region. This is both due to its advantageous geography being located in close proximity to the Anatolian mainland to the east, the Cycladic islands to the west, and the rich stratigraphic sequences spanning since the Neolithic Period.

3.1. Maritime Colonisation and pre-EBA Aegean Connectivity

According to recent excavation data, traces of the earliest human presence on the east Aegean islands have been attributed to the Palaeolithic (Lesbos-Rodafnidia, Thasos-Tzines, Aghios Efstratios-Alonitsi, Lemnos-Ouriakos, Imbros) and the Mesolithic (Ikaria-Kerame, Fournoi, Chalki-Areta) when sea-level fluctuations have allowed easier crossings through narrow land bridges, greatly expanding our knowledge of their initial utilisation; perhaps some of the islands were even attached to the mainland (see *table 1* for bibliographical references). Enriched data also from coastal western Anatolia, dated back to the Palaeolithic/Mesolithic (e.g. Karaburun Peninsula, Çilingiroğlu et al. 2016), sheds new light into early human dispersals and possible connections with the offshore islands. Aegean island colonisation, consisting of multiple phases from discovery and short-term exploitation visits to a more permanent human presence, has been a hotly debated subject for over three decades (e.g. Cherry 1985; Patton 1996; Broodbank 1999; Dawson 2011; Phoca-Cosmetatou 2011). Permanent settlements, in the sense of a long-term occupation and establishment of open-air settlements or seasonal utilisation of caves, on the east Aegean islands appeared from the Neolithic period (predominantly Late/Final phase, 6th to 5th mill. BCE) onwards (e.g. Poliochni-Lemnos; Ayio Gala Cave and Emporio-Chios; Kastro-Tigani and Seitani Cave-Samos;

Island	Site Name	Site Type	Period	Reference
Thasos	Tzines	Open-air	Upper Palaeolithic	Papadopoulos/ Malamidou 1997
Samothrace	MikroVouni	Open-air	Final Neolithic	Syrides et al. 2009
Imbros/Gökçeada	Salt-lake area	Open-air	Middle Palaeolithic- Mesolithic	Erdoğan 2016
Tenedos/Bozcaada	n/a	Cemetery	Early Bronze Age	Sevinç/Takaoglu 2004
Lemnos	Ouriakos	Open-air	Late Palaeolithic	Efstratiou et al. 2013
Aghios Efstratios	Alonitsi	Open-air	Middle Palaeolithic	Sampson et al. 2018
Lesbos	Rodafnidia	Open-air	Lower-Middle Palaeolithic	Galanidou et al. 2016
Psara	Archontiki	Open-air	Late Neolithic	Archontidou-Argyri 2006
Chios	Ayio Gala	Cave	Early Neolithic	Hood 1981–1982
Samos	Kastro-Tigani	Open-air	Late Neolithic	Felsch 1988
Ikaria	Kerame 1	Open-air	Mesolithic	Sampson et al. 2012
Fournoi	n/a	Open-air?	Mesolithic?	Sampson 2018
Agathonisi	Kastraki	Open-air	Final Neolithic	Triantafyllidis 2015
Patmos	Several localities	Open-air	Late Neolithic	Sampson 1987
Arkoi	Tiganakia	Open-air	Late Neolithic	Vasileiadou/Liritzis 2018
Leipsoi	Kastro; Aghios Nikolaos	Open-air	Final Neolithic/EBA	Dreliosi-Irakleidou 2006
Leros	Partheni	Open-air	Late Neolithic	Sampson 1987
Kalymnos	Dhaskalio-Vathy, etc.	Cave	Late Neolithic	Benzi 2020
Kos	Aspri Petra, etc.	Cave	Middle Neolithic	Georgiadis 2012
Gyali	Kastro area	Open-air	Late/Final Neolithic	Sampson 1988
Nisyros	Several localities	Open-air	Neolithic	Filimonos-Tsopotou 2006
Syme	Several localities	Open-air	Late/Final Neolithic	Sampson 1987
Tilos	Charkadio	Cave	Late/Final Neolithic	Filimonos-Tsopotou 2006
Alimia	Kastro; Emporeio	Open-air	Final Neolithic	Sampson 2003
Chalki	Areta	Open-air	Mesolithic	Sampson et al. 2016
Rhodes	Aghios Geor- ghios-Kalythies	Cave	Late Neolithic	Sampson 1987
Saria	Kastello hill	Open-air	Late/Final Neolithic	Melas 1985
Karpathos	Several localities	Open-air	Late/Final Neolithic	Melas 1985
Kasos	Ellinokamara	Open-air	Late/Final Neolithic	Melas 1985
Astypalaia	Vathy, etc.	Open-air, cemetery	Late/Final Neolithic	Vlachopoulos 2017

Table 1. Evidence for the earliest human presence on the east Aegean islands.

Vathy Bay Cave-Kalymnos; Aspri Petra Cave-Kos; Kalythies Cave-Rhodes). Inter-island and island/mainland communication and interaction between the east Aegean islands and the opposite Anatolian landmass with its attractive coastlines presupposes seafaring knowledge and technological developments in maritime navigation, despite being separated only by a few kilometres and often at a high visibility (*table 2*). The region contrasts with the Cyclades as most of the islands are large, and the distances and sea crossings between them are far greater. Perhaps the island groupings in the northeast (Imbros, Samothrace, Lemnos, Aghios Efstratios) and the Dodecanese in the southeast are far more inter-connected and closely clustered than those in-between (Lesbos, Chios, Samos). The size of some of the east Aegean islands (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kos, Rhodes) and their separation from the nearest mainland may have been the main determinants of their early colonisation, but this is not always the case, as evidenced at the settlement of Thermi on Lesbos (Lambrianides/Spencer 1997). On Lesbos all of the evidence so far for permanent settlements is dated at the end of the 4th mill. BCE. Nonetheless, distance alone is not a sufficient explanation for the assumed isolation or openness of an island community. Isolation and interaction are therefore socially-contingent conditions and subject to change depending on factors that go beyond geographical parameters, such as natural obstacles, currents, winds and weather conditions affecting direct communication, socio-economic purposes, technologies of mobility, skills in navigation, and the perception of time by the seafarers (Doumas 2004, 220; Tartaron 2018).

The first solid evidence for connectivity and successful navigation on established Aegean maritime networks is attested in the long-distance distribution of obsidian from Melos (southwest Cyclades) already since the Upper Palaeolithic period (Franchthi cave-Argolid; Laskaris et al. 2011). More evidence in favour of a continuous interaction through the obsidian distribution patterns are observed during the Late Pleistocene to Early Holocene transition, with Melian obsidian found in a number of Mesolithic and Early Neolithic sites as far as the east Aegean islands,

northwest (e.g. Coşkuntepe: Perlès et al. 2011, fig. 1) and southwest Anatolia. The latter (Bozburun Peninsula) has produced the earliest known evidence for the use of Melian obsidian in Anatolia (Atakuman et al. 2020). Furthermore, substantial quantities of obsidian found on Samos already since the 5th mill. BCE (Felsch 1988: 223–236, pls. 87–90), alongside other imported materials, supports the hypothesis that those islands acted as gateway hubs for communication and circulation of Aegean raw materials, peoples, and ideas with coastal western Anatolia. As such, Melian obsidian was likely transported via established communication arteries towards western and inner Anatolia (e.g. Çukuriçi Höyük: Horejs et al. 2015; Ulucak Höyük: Çevik/Erdoğan 2020), provided through natural river passages, already since the 7th mill. BCE. At the same time, this is suggestive of the advanced knowledge of watercraft technology and maritime voyage capacity, cognitive skills from these early seafarers, perhaps simply as a by-product of incidental expeditions and exploitation of resources rather than intentional colonisation. Increasing evidence of continuing interactions and exchange networks in the region in question seems to develop further during the 5th and 4th mill. BCE (Final Neolithic/Chalcolithic/Late Neolithic II), with changes in settlement patterns, spatial organisation, pottery production and consumption, circulation of special-functioned artefacts (e.g. marble conical vessels), and other socio-cultural and technological advances (see relevant papers in Dietz et al. 2018; Horejs/Mehofer 2014).

3.2. 'Attractive Landscapes Ashore': The *Peraia* Concept

Although a direct analogy cannot be achieved between prehistory and historical times in terms of interaction and connectivity patterns, the *peraiā* concept provides a framework for understanding the ancient perception of space between islands and their adjacent mainland (*fig. 2*). The *peraiā*, a term becoming widely used in the 2nd cent. BCE (Lambrinouidakis 1997; Constantakopoulou 2007, 228–253; Knappett/Nikolakopoulou 2015, 27), basically refers to the mainland territories beyond the

Island	Distance (km)		Surface Area (km ²)	Target/Distance Ratio	Visibility
	Patton 1996*	Dawson 2011**			
Lemnos	28	62	478	1.8	Medium
Samothrace	25	37	178	0.8	High
Thasos	7	7	380	9	High
Chios	11	11	842	10	High
Ikaria	18	47	256	8.6	Medium
Lesbos	12	12	1633	7.2	High
Psara	19	67	40	1.3	Medium
Samos	5	5	477	26	High
Alimia	19	40	7	4.5	Medium
Astypalaia	48	79	97	0.4	Medium
Chalki	10	47	28	3.8	Medium
Giali	10	18	9	3.5	Medium
Kalymnos	5	18	93	4.6	High
Karpathos	48	93	301	1	Medium
Kasos	48	140	69	1	Medium
Kos	5	5	290	16.2	High
Leros	5	32	53	4.6	Medium
Lipsoi	9	37	17	3.8	Medium
Nisyros	11	17	37	3.5	Medium
Patmos	9	48	34	3.8	Medium
Rhodes	15	19	1400	5.5	High
Saria	48	85	21	1	Medium
Syme	8	8	38	4	High

*Defined as the longest single sea-crossing required reaching an island.

**Defined in relation to the nearest mainland.

Table 2. Biogeographical features and parameters for island-mainland communication in selected east Aegean islands (adapted from Patton 1996, 46 f., tab. 3.2 and Dawson 2011, tab. 2.2).

limits of a certain area or the 'land opposite' the islandcity that controlled them in the Classical past, although occasionally exceeding the immediate area to the opposite continent and lying out of sight (Mytilene/Lesbos: possessions along the western and northern coasts of the Troad; Rhodes: possessions extended well beyond the coastal strip opposite the island; Ellis-Evans 2019, 177). In historical times, and as we know through literary sources, almost all of the island centres of the east Aegean

held a territory on their adjacent coast (Macedonia to the north and western Anatolia to the east), which functioned not only politically but was also used for economic reasons (subsistence) and facilitated a constant exchange and movement of people and products. This is important for the consideration of these island-states as 'hybrids' with both island and mainland cultural characteristics, in contrast to the 'genuine' island towns of the central Aegean.

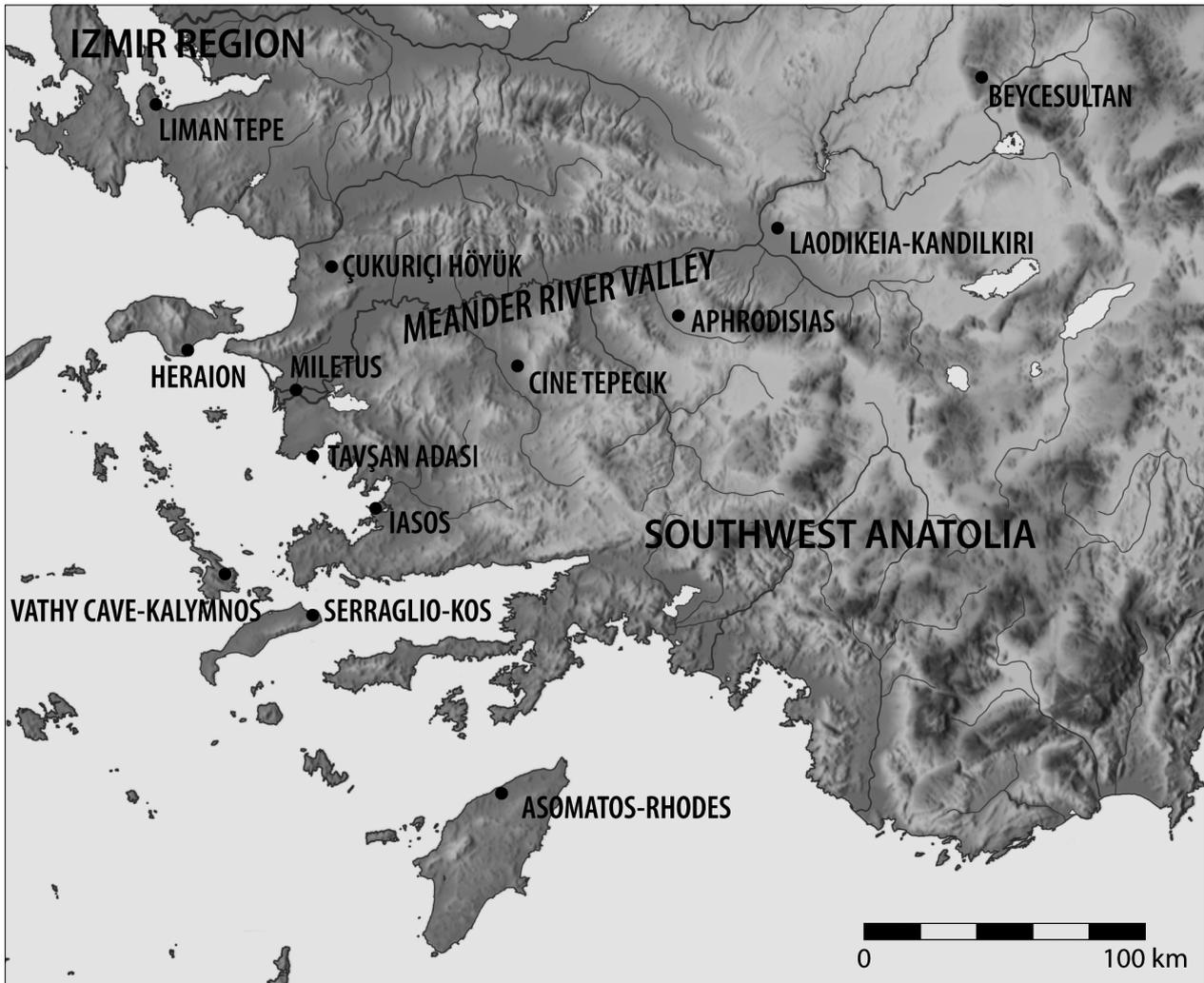


Fig. 2. Close-up map showing the east Aegean islands (southeast cluster) and the main sites in the southwest Anatolian mainland (prepared by Christina Kolb).

As Doumas has noted, ‘it is of crucial importance, therefore, to try and understand the relationship between an island and its *peraia*, in order to understand the island cultures of the Aegean’ (Doumas 2004, 215). The *peraia* may have acted as the bridge for the early settlers of the nearby islands, and this is reflected in the material culture of the northeast and the Dodecanese Islands showing affinities with the western Anatolian littoral (Karpathos and Kasos in the southernmost extension of the Dodecanese show closer affinities with Crete), Thasos and Samothrace with the coast of eastern Macedonia and Thrace to the north, and the northern Sporades with Thessaly. Such *perai* are evidenced and persisted to varying degrees in time ranging from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods on the islands of Thasos, Samothrace, Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes (see

Funke 1999; Constantakopoulou 2007 for an account of literary sources of the *perai* in Asia Minor/western Anatolia).

For instance, the Samian *peraia* (ancient Anaia, today Kadıkalesi), often being the reason for conflict with Priene, at least during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Shiple 1982, 59–80), was bounded to the north by the Küçük Menderes or Kaystros River south of İzmir, and to the south by the Büyük Menderes River in close proximity to Miletus. This must have constituted a vital area that linked various communication arteries also in prehistory. That connections between Samos and the opposite mainland were initiated by the former is hard to prove, although we should imagine a dynamic relationship between these areas that was diachronically redefined. Samos must have acted as a conduit for goods from Anatolia to the

wider Aegean (Menelaou 2018). *Peraiai* also existed on the islands and were controlled in a reverse way by the opposite mainland, and these can be treated as being functionally the same as island-cities (Constantakopoulou 2007, 228–231: Miletos controlling Leros, 253: Alexandria Troas controlling Tenedos).

We should imagine that the east Aegean islands were always connected more with their adjacent mainland in western Anatolia rather than the central Aegean and this diachronic relationship, either reflected in material culture affinities in prehistory or in historical sources in later periods, was redefined and transformed depending on various parameters. The aforementioned concept of the *peraiia* can be better approached for prehistoric interactions through the coastscape concept, as discussed by Tartaron (2018). This essentially refers to coastal zones defined by the shoreline and adjacent resources inhabited and exploited by the maritime communities. They are extremely important for our understanding of the aforementioned interactions, as coastscapes encompass also the waters utilised by these communities for economic and social purposes, as well as the visual and cognitive structuring of daily life for both islanders and mainlanders. Perhaps coastlands on specific islands and the nearby Anatolian mainland could form separate ‘maritime small worlds’ (Tartaron 2018, 73 f.), well exemplified in matching technological developments and stylistic influences (e.g. Lemnos and the Troad; Lesbos and the Madra River region; Chios and the Izmir region; Samos and the upper Meander region; the Dodecanese and the southwest Anatolian coastlands). This was likely facilitated through geographical proximity, intervisibility and ease of travel, which would diachronically allow habitual interaction, shared ideology, and strengthen social ties.

3.3. Reflecting Modern Sociopolitical Borders on Ancient Narratives

The region in question is traditionally separated in scholarship in northeast islands (Imbros, Thasos, Samothrace, Lemnos, Aghios Efstratios, Lesbos, Chios) and southeast islands (Samos and

the Dodecanese islands of Kalymnos, Kasos, Kos, Tilos, Leros, Rhodes, etc.), although the border between the two sub-clusters seems less meaningful in archaeological terms. However, it has been suggested that, despite their close proximity, a cultural dividing line existed between Chios and Samos during the Neolithic (Davis 1992, 743). For instance, Samos exhibits cultural similarities with islands both to its north and south (Kouka 2014; Kouka/Menelaou 2018). In terms of pottery similarities, the Heraion tradition is closely matched with the synchronous traditions in the north-east Aegean/northwest Anatolian littoral (typology, shape repertoire, surface treatment) during the Late Neolithic and until the mid-3rd mill. BCE, while in EBA III, it exhibits closer similarities with the southeast Aegean/southwest Anatolian region (see Section 3 for distribution of certain vessel types and technological characteristics).

The separation in scholarship of the east Aegean Islands from western Anatolia coastlands reflects modern political and ethnic constructions between Greece and Turkey (e.g. Feuer 2016; Vaessen 2018; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2018). It is in this framework that the east Aegean islands should be examined during prehistory, where although geographically distant from the rest of the Helladic/Greek world, until the early 20th cent. and the political turmoil in Asia Minor, they were considered as part of the Ottoman Empire and thus culturally, socio-politically, and economically oriented towards the east. With the loss of their *peraiia* after the political separation between Greece (Christian European) and Turkey (Muslim Oriental), culminating in the Greek/Turkish war of 1919–1922 and the population exchange of 1922–1923, the cultural character of the islands stretching along the Anatolian coast has also been dramatically reconfigured (Ellis-Evans 2019). The identification of ethnic family names and village toponyms representing their place of island origin provides a good case study for the movement or migration of people in multiple directions during the 20th cent. (Doumas 2004, tabs. 18.1–18.12). Similarly, Kopaka (2009) explores the polysemies of islands through a combination of literary evidence, place names and their etymologies, insular morphologies (size, shapes, relief, position), and resources to unravel the diachronic redefinitions

of the various islandscapes. Unfortunately, this political break-up of what had once encompassed the islands and coastal Anatolia in a single territorial space, is also reflected in the archaeological practice between the two countries and the study of Greek Islands and Turkish Coastlands in almost total isolation from each other. However, this gap is nowadays bridged through important comparative studies and collaborative research between local archaeological authorities and the involvement of foreign schools from both countries (e.g. Erkanal et al. 2008; Sotirakopoulou 2008a; Day et al. 2009; Kouka 2013; Molloy 2016). Particularly the role of foreign archaeological schools and institutes since the early 20th cent. in serving national traditions and their position on where these islands belong has influenced greatly the subsequent theoretical developments in the archaeological practice of the east Aegean islands (Italian School of Archaeology at Athens with excavations mainly on the Dodecanese islands: Seraglio-Kos, Ialysos-Rhodes, Vathy Cave-Kalymnos, and Poliochni-Lemnos in the northeast, Bernabò Brea 1964, 1976; Benzi 1997; Doumas/La Rosa 1997; British School at Athens with excavations at Thermi-Lesbos and Emporio-Chios, Lamb 1936 and Hood 1981–1982 respectively; German Archaeological Institute at Athens with excavations on Samos, Milošević 1961). They all share the perception of these islands as being marginal, well-exemplified in Dickinson's (1994, xvii) words: 'The north Aegean islands, and most of the Turkish coastal areas, are culturally separate and, although often demonstrably in contact with the Aegean cultures, have an essentially different history'. In the case of Lemnos, the Italian School aimed at establishing ethnic links between the Etruscans and the northern Aegean, while for EBA Lesbos the arguments favoured close affinities (pottery developments, town planning, metallurgy) and perhaps migrations of Anatolian people towards the west in the search for metal ores (Cultraro 2004a). Similar efforts were made in the early investigations of coastal western Anatolia with the aim to elucidate its Hellenicised prehistoric past (e.g. Iasos-Caria and Minoan/Mycenaean past; Momigliano 2012, 15). This brief account of two major, contrasting trends in archaeological scholarship, either in support of separateness

between the east Aegean islands and western Anatolia, in an effort to validate modern ideas, or emphasising their cultural coherence versus the rest of the Aegean world, is indeed characteristic of the marginalisation of this region both geographically and in terms of research.

4. Connectivity and Large-Scale Network Models

Archaeologists' general inability to directly observe and reconstruct human activities and connections has led to reliance on pattern recognition in material culture, the construction of comparative models, and the establishment of theoretical concepts exploring issues of connectivity, mobility, and interaction, their effect on social practices and identity boundaries (Knapp/van Dommelen 2010). This also relates to the permeability of borders, borderlands, and boundaries in the archaeological record, be it natural/physical, geographical, geopolitical, socio-cultural, as presumably opposed to modern nation-states. The main theoretical directions that research in the east Aegean connectivity models has drawn on include the following:

- a) The intense connectivity, which translates as 'the various ways in which microregions cohere, both internally and also one with another' (Horden/Purcell 2000, 123), discerned through various archaeological remains (mainly pottery, architecture, and exotic imports) was greatly based on the detection of patterns in the archaeological record, which were taken to represent a cultural *koine* in the east Aegean and western Anatolian littoral (e.g. Kouka 2002, 299 f.; 2013, 2016a, 210, 218; Ünlüsoy 2016, 399; Horejs et al. 2018, 41). This concept follows evolutionary theories and favours the notion of homogeneity in the material expression of the geographical region in question. Shared features are identified in ceramic styles, construction techniques, circulated artefacts, being explained by a cultural uniformity beginning at least by the EBA I period and reflecting 'strong political and economic structures and social dynamics' (Kouka 2013, 576 f.). Similarly, Yilmaz (2013, 858), based on recent finds from Bozköy-Hanaytepe

in the Troad, states that ‘the coasts and islands of the Aegean Sea had a distinct and homogeneous culture in the Early Bronze Age. Sites in the Troad, as a part of Eastern Aegean, were clearly open to influences from this distinct material culture’. More recently, the region was further distinguished in the southeast Aegean-southwest coastal Anatolian region (SASCAR) and the northeast Aegean-northwest coastal Anatolian region (NANCAR) (Vitale/Morrison 2018, 43), between which, it is proposed here, Samos Island exhibits a central eastern Aegean contact zone.

- b) Reversely, the area encompassing the east Aegean is often researched under the influence of post-colonial approaches that seek to explain the offshore islands as peripheral and passive recipients of superior traditions in their relationship with the Anatolian mainland, in an east/west directed fashion. Related to this are the concepts of boundedness and separateness, where the sea is seen as a barrier in inter-island or island/mainland communications. These concepts interpret archaeological frontiers and boundaries following the world-systems model, based on an economically-driven perspective and terminology established in the 1970s (Rice 1998, 45–47). This core-periphery approach and the reconstruction of large-scale interactions during prehistory, as well as its deficiencies, have been critiqued for neglecting the role of individuals or even being inappropriately applied. Rather, this approach is commonly invoked by archaeologists to explain the long-term effects of interaction between complex societies and less developed neighbouring ones (see Kohl 2011, 79–82; Feuer 2016, 27–35). This is particularly prominent in the investigation of contacts and exchanges between insular and mainland sites. The eastern Aegean and western Anatolian Region constitutes a good case study for the identification of such core/periphery archaeological interpretations, where islands only a few kilometres away from the Anatolian mainland have been largely overlooked in their own right. However, the very nature of such zones enabled and promoted inter-regional interaction obvious in the adoption of

material and ideological novelties (e.g. Şahoğlu 2005, 2011; Sotirakopoulou 2008a; Alram-Stern/Horejs 2018; Choleva 2018). Rather than focusing on concepts of isolation and marginality, Dawson’s (2019) approach highlights the significance of the strategic location of certain Mediterranean islands along maritime routes, where islanders shift in and out of centrality in networks of interaction (optimal marginality), because of changes in their productivity and available resources.

- c) The development of systematic archaeology in the Aegean region in the last two decades has allowed a fresh understanding of ancient movement, shifting beyond established ideas that see culture as ethnically-inherent (for an up-to-date summary of theoretical concepts on movement in the Aegean, see Wallace 2018, 9–21). Mobility is another popular topic for explaining the appearance of common cultural traits, with specific examples also for the 3rd mill. BCE (Knapp/van Dommelen 2010; Knappett/Nikolakopoulou 2015; Knappett/Kiriati 2016; Alram-Stern/Horejs 2018; Leidwanger/Knappett 2018). This is a diachronic feature of the east Aegean islands already since the Neolithic period (e.g. Reingruber 2018) and better observable in the circulation of technologies and ways-of-doing or actual ceramic products and their contents in the EBA (for Poliochni-Lemnos see Cultraro 2004a; 2004b; for Thermi-Lesbos see Spencer 1995; Lambrianides/Spencer 1997; Lambrianides 2007; for Heraion-Samos see Kouka/Menelaou 2018; Menelaou 2020; Menelaou/Day 2020). Moreover, similarities in the archaeological record of these sites with those in western Anatolia have often been interpreted as cultural affiliations or an ‘unmistakable kinship’ due to population migration towards the west (Blegen et al. 1950, 41; Yilmaz 2013, 862).

Despite being influenced by different theoretical trends, these aforementioned concepts share the use of large-scale, long-distance narratives for the reconstruction of interaction, exchange, and connectivity of the area in question (Şahoğlu 2005; Efe 2007; Kouka 2016a). Although extremely useful, this is not always achievable, as we tend to see routes of communication as regular and

systematic through a comparison with modern, well-controlled conditions that seek explanations for increased connectivity in economy-based theories and the detection of trade patterns in a regional and interregional scale (e.g. Rahmstorf 2015). Trade contacts with Anatolia, a resource-rich core, are considered to be one of the main causes for cultural change and increasing complexity in the EBA. This projection of the present in past connectivity runs the risk of often assuming directionality and scales, qualitative parameters that are not easily detectable. In other words, the visualisation of maritime networks can often omit the significance of distance and physical contact and whatever environmental and social factors these are affected by (Tartaron 2018, 62). What we are often able to recognise is rather the frequency of movement of things and people, as well as possible routes, through the scientific analysis of archaeological materials and suggestion of their provenance (Menelaou 2020; Menelaou/Day 2020). Attempts to visualise past interactions were efficiently made in the past two decades through the application of various network analysis models, especially applied in the Cyclades (e.g. Broodbank 2000, 136, fig. 39 for proximal point analysis; Knappett 2013; cost-surface model, Jarriel 2018) and western/central Anatolia (Massa/Palmisano 2018), but such attempts are to-date largely missing from the east Aegean. Centrality analysis models have been applied to the examination of the central western Anatolia coastscape around modern-day Selçuk, which have indicated a gateway location and an important supra-regional centre of production and trade during antiquity at the zone between the Aegean and Anatolia (Knitter et al. 2013).

Aside from the deficiencies of our methodologies for the reconstruction of connectivity patterns, the detailed study of production, consumption, and distribution of certain artefacts across space and time may enable a better understanding of the social, economic, and political relationships between different places at the micro level. This is a symptom of working with often disproportionate materials in terms of quantity and state of preservation and the biased nature of the archaeological record. This can be achieved or at least approached in a more tangible way – in the case of pottery – with the combination of integrated

methodologies (traditional/archaeological and analytical/archaeometric) with a well-informed theoretical framework, which can further enable the characterisation of raw materials to trace the production sources (geological/geographical provenance) and spatial movement of artefacts. Moreover, the study of maritime interaction requires a multi-dimensional account of potentials and constraints that allowed or prevented past communications and the development of seafaring in the EBA Aegean with the man-power seagoing, longboat vessels first appearing since the Final Neolithic IV (ca. 3300 to 3000 BCE, see Papadatos/Tomkins 2013 for discussion of their appearance in Crete and the Cyclades) and the introduction of the wind-powered (sail) vessels during the end of the 3rd mill. BCE (e.g. Knapp 2018 for a recent review; Broodbank 1993; 2010, 255 f.; Berg 2019, 42).

5. Pottery as a Proxy for Connectivity in the 3rd Mill. BCE East Aegean

Pottery, perhaps the most abundant artefact category in archaeological excavations, is used as the main proxy for tracing past intercultural connections and interactions in the area of interest, through identification of diagnostic types. The following discussion presents diachronic ceramic developments from selected island centres of the East Aegean, but a particular focus is placed on the island of Samos. The project of EBA Heraion-Samos has successfully demonstrated that questions of ceramic production, consumption, and distribution can be meaningfully approached through the integration of different scales and levels of analytical enquiry (Menelaou 2018). This has been achieved following a *chaîne opératoire* approach and the combination of various levels of analysis from typology, phasing, and contextual study of the entire ceramic assemblages covering the 3rd mill. BCE. This body of evidence is integrated with a detailed fabric study through macroscopic analysis and thin section petrography. The following sections provide a brief overview of ceramic connections both at an inter-island and an island/mainland level, with reference to our understanding of locations of production. The secure identification of imports, at least in the case of

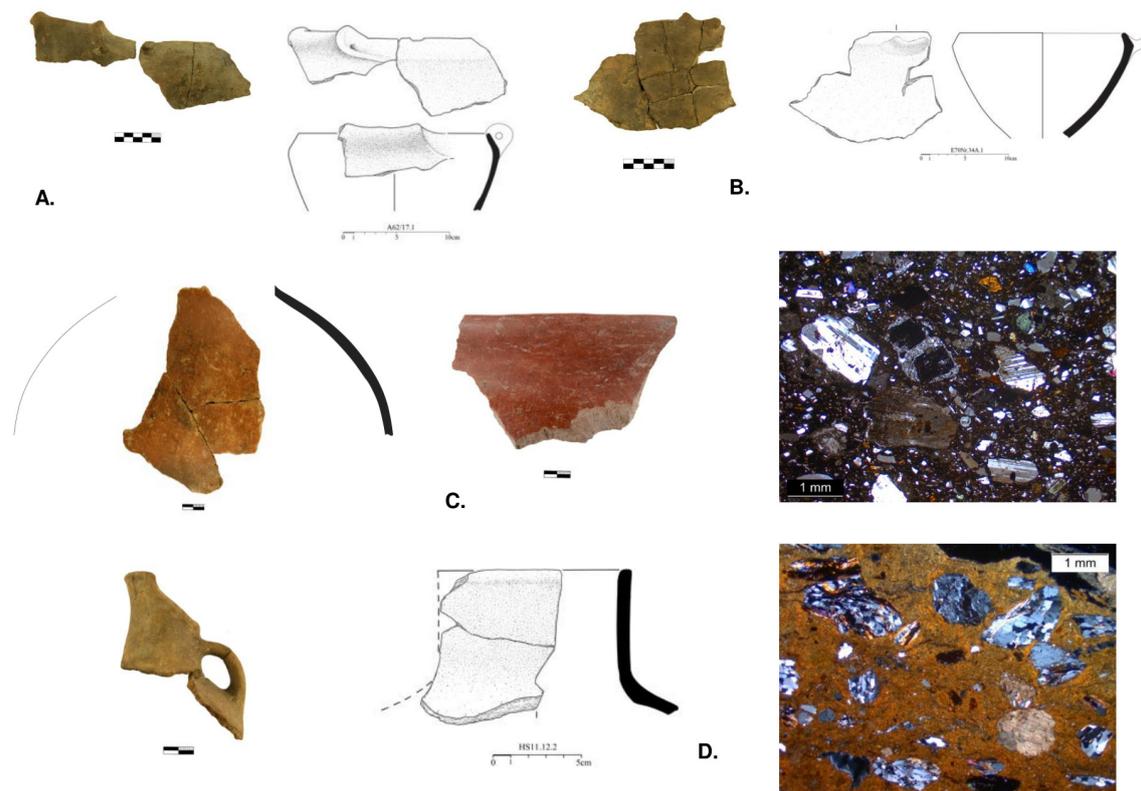
pottery from Samos, was achieved through petrography and the examination of comparative material from neighbouring sites and regions, but for other sites mentioned in the text, the assessment was largely based on published shapes, wares, and macroscopic fabrics. Despite recent advances in provenance studies of pottery from the East Aegean (e.g. Menelaou 2020; Menelaou/Day 2020; Menelaou et al. 2016; Alram-Stern/Horejs 2018), a more comprehensive picture will be achieved from the development of similar projects in the region. Apart from pottery, other artefact categories are circulated from West to East during the EBA (see papers in Marthari et al. 2019).

5.1. Ceramic and Other Developments in the Early Bronze Age I Period (ca. 3000/2700 to 2650 BCE)

The material culture of EBA I in the eastern Aegean/western Anatolia displays continuity in terms of ceramic developments with the preceding Chalcolithic period, although various regional traditions exist, raising controversies in the relative chronology. This phase is often labelled ‘Maritime Culture of Troy’ or the beginning of the ‘Northern and Eastern Aegean Culture’ (Kouka 2002, 295–302) on the basis of an assumed cultural *koine* throughout the north and east Aegean. Unfortunately, no substantial evidence of EBA I exists in the Dodecanese islands, apart from some sparse pottery from Kos. During this period, evidence suggests a busy social environment with a densely inhabited landscape, as indicated by an increase in the number of settlements. The sites were located in diverse landscapes, such as in close proximity with riverbanks and water sources in general and large arable lands (Heraion-Samos, Liman Tepe), at the foothills of mountains, or on low coastal hills (Poliochni-Lemnos, Thermi-Lesbos, Troy). The increase of settlements can be explained by the change in the socio-economic structures during the EBA, when the subsistence economy was not only expanded beyond the household-based agricultural level, but was also marked by the establishment of olive and vine cultivation (Margaritis 2013). Significant developments are also noticed in craft technologies. This is evidenced in the more diverse exploitation

of materials – increase of exploited local resources for lithic and ceramic manufacture and exchange of raw materials and finished products (obsidian, marble figurines and vessels, metal artefacts, bone tubes, pestles) from broader sources – and the operation of more specialised communities of practice (potters, metalworkers, and other craftsmen), in addition to changes in town planning (e.g. Sotirakopoulou 2008a; 2008b, 71 f.; Fidan et al. 2015; Kouka 2016a; new settlement type named by Korfmann (1983, 222 f.) in Troy as the ‘Anatolian Settlement Plan’ and recently renamed by Gündoğan as ‘Aegean Settlement Pattern’, distinguishing settlement pattern differences between coastal western Anatolia/Aegean and inland western Anatolia). This radially-arranged settlement type with closely-spaced, long-room houses sharing common walls and being surrounded by stone-built enclosures replaced the previous structural layout of independent, free-standing domestic units. However, recent data show that this type of row house was not common only in western Anatolia in this particular period (Demircihüyük, Beycesultan, Bakla Tepe, Liman Tepe VI), but also in the nearby islands (Thermi I–III, Heraion 5–1) (Gündoğan 2020). Apart from the settlement organisation and diachronic use of successive architectural levels (Fidan et al. 2015, 67, fig. 2; Kouka 2002, 296, 304; 2016a, 206), changes also occur in the construction techniques used, especially of the communal buildings or special buildings with a political/economic significance, involving stronger stone foundations with a mud-brick superstructure, presumably suggesting a well-established land ownership and inheritance on a private and communal level (Kouka 2016b).

In terms of pottery, there is no common agreement regarding the distinction between Late Chalcolithic and EBA I traditions. To a certain degree, this is an effect of the lack or bad preservation of related Chalcolithic contexts at many sites, and in essence, the continuation of the shape repertoire into EBA I (fig. 3A–B). Regional differences do occur, as for instance is the case of the Kampos Group in the Cycladic late EBA I tradition (e.g. Day et al. 2012) or the various pottery styles in the Anatolian regions (Fidan et al. 2015, 68 f.), but the traditional consensus of the existence of specialised pottery manufacture during



A. Carinated bowl with perforated trumpet lug; B. Carinated bowl with horned lug; C. Red-slipped pithoid jars made in volcanic fabric; Collared jar made in sandy metamorphic fabric.

Fig. 3. Characteristic local and imported pottery of the EBA I period from the Heraion-Samos (own creation).

this period is not directly reflected. A good ceramic and chronological correlation is provided between the Kampos Group late EBA I/early EBA II with later Poliochni Blue-Lemnos on the presence of fruitstands/chalices. Liman Tepe has the first secure Cycladic imports during the Anatolian EBA I (LT VI:1), in the form of frying pans, dark-on-light pyxides, and *urfirnis* sauceboats, that are correlated with the Early Cycladic (EC) I/II early (Şahoğlu 2011). Poliochni-Lemnos is interpreted as a sea-oriented Anatolian-style community with major contacts with mainland Greece and the Cyclades, as suggested also by potential ceramic imports in the Blue Period (Cultraro 2004b, 27), while Thermi-Lesbos is characterised as an outpost of Anatolia with ceramic features extending from northwest Anatolia/Troad region and the Lydian ceramic zone of the Madra River Delta (Spencer 1995, 293, 295; Lambrianides/Spencer 1997, 83), but still with apparent Cycladic elements and imports (e.g. marble artefacts, metal artefacts during Towns I and II). Additional evidence for the

circulation of Aegeanising ceramic artefacts towards the east is found in the Troad region (Troy I; Bozköy-Hanaytepe), through the identification of *urfirnis* and the so-called east Aegean ware, presumably imported from mainland Greece or the Cyclades (Yilmaz 2013, 868 f.). In addition, the Scored ware at mid-late Troy I and II (Blegen et al. 1950, 39, 53 f., 222), and Halasarna on Kos (Georgiadis 2012, 24 f.). Troy, interchangeably described as a typical EBA Aegean, western Anatolian, or eastern Aegean settlement to denote its shared material culture with other key sites of this part of the Aegean World, further represents ‘a culturally and ideologically uniform character’ during the first half of the 3rd mill. BCE (Ünlüsoy 2016, 399). EBA I–II potential imports from the Cyclades or mainland Greece are also attested at Emporio VII–II-Chios (Obsidian Ware, Hood 1981, 168 f.).

The analytical evidence from the interdisciplinary project on Heraion-Samos provides a preliminary informative picture of ceramic movement from western Anatolia already in EBA I. According

to fabric parallels (Peloschek 2016, 192 f., fig. 2), perhaps a handful of ceramic vessels are imported from the gateway community of Çukuriçi Höyük during the Late Chalcolithic or EBA I. This is represented by a few jars in a sand-tempered metamorphic fabric (fig. 3D), perhaps circulated for their content, although this could be presumably supported with organic residue analysis. Petrographic analysis of these ceramic vessels suggests a non-local provenance, while functionally similar pots are made in other fabrics. Other distinctive ceramic classes of pithoid jars and wide-mouthed jars in a different fabric and surface treatment also derive from southwest Anatolia (perhaps the area between Miletus and the Bodrum peninsula) but their provenance will become clearer once more material is analysed from the aforementioned geographical area (fig. 3C; Menelaou 2020). More ceramic links are reflected in terms of style and vessel form, which point towards an overall ‘eastern Aegean tradition’.

5.2. Ceramic and Other Developments in the Early Bronze Age II Period (ca. 2700/2650 to 2300 BCE)

The EBA II Period is the longest phase of the 3rd mill. BCE and can be roughly distinguished into an early and a late phase. EBA II early, corresponding to Keros/Syros culture or EC IIA in the Cyclades, has been aptly described by Renfrew (Renfrew 1972, 451) as encompassing an ‘International Spirit’, being characterised by important social, economic, and technical advances. The distinctive character of EBA II can be well-attested in the cultural transformations, already established in the preceding phase, and can be summarised as follows (Broodbank 2000, 279–283; Kouka 2002, 11 f., 295–302; 2009, 141; 2016a; Şahoğlu 2005; Fidan et al. 2015, 70–74):

- a) The rise of well-organised societies and more complex specialised industries (e.g. metallurgical industries of tin bronze, obsidian, textile manufacture);
- b) The development of central, supra-regional, and early urban sites and growth of many major settlements between 3.5 and 6.0ha (e.g. Heraion-Samos, Liman Tepe);

- c) The expansion of close interconnections and wide-ranging communication within the framework of long-distance, canoe-based exchange networks;
- d) The evolution of larger, fortified settlements with communal works and monumental architecture;
- e) The development of ranked or stratified communities (status differentiation, differential access to natural resources, uneven distribution of prestige goods);
- f) The emergence of administration and standardised systems of measuring and weighing;
- g) Developments in crafts such as metallurgy (silver production) and pottery manufacture.

The aforementioned developments have been seen as evidence for the emergence of social, political, and economic complexity during this phase, attributed either to theories that favour a self-determined internal process or resulting from the multi-factor interplay between societal systems, advantageous places, and external stimuli. For instance, Broodbank (2000, 247) has long proposed the importance of Aegean maritime activity in the Cyclades and the participation of trade networks, controlled by specialised island centres and individuals, such as navigators and traders/merchants, while Nakou (2007) has emphasised the role of metals and their socio-cultural impact in long-distance trade and their use as status items by the elite. Such elite-controlled communication routes are suggested to have been stretching along the Upper Meander valley (Oğuzhanoğlu 2019). Moreover, Kouka (2002, 305) has pointed out the involvement of metalworkers of Thermi, Poliochni, and Liman Tepe in trade (Kouka 2013, 570; 2016a, 218), as Cycladic imports/exotica occur in these workshops in multiple phases of use. Such cultural dialectics are reflected in architecture and the construction of the so-called storage facilities or communal buildings with a specialised function and other buildings with an administrative role and political/economic significance, found at Poliochni Blue-Yellow (Bouleuterion/Communal Hall, Granary/Communal Storage, Megaron 317; Kouka 2002, 50, 75, 93, 116, 308; 2016b, 132 f.), Thermi I–IIIB and Thermi V (Buildings A and Θ respectively; Kouka 2002, 167 f., 179, 194, 237; Lambrianides 2007), Heraion I–III (*Grossbau*,

Zyklopischer Bau; Milošević 1961, 27; Kouka 2002, 287, 290), Troy II (Megaron IIA), Liman Tepe II (Kouka 2009, 147; 2013, 571 f.), and EBA II Külliöba (Complex I–II; Efe 2007, 49 f., figs. 4, 6).

This period has been defined on the basis of a number of artefact categories found around the Aegean and follows theoretical assumptions that favour the circulation of certain ceramic wares/types. Although relatively rare, the more common among the Cycladic pottery finds in the northeast Aegean and western Anatolia are frying pans, pyxides, *urfirnis* sauceboats, dark-on-light painted ware, transport collared jars with slashed handles, and beaked jugs (Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 541; 2008b, 74 f.; Şahoğlu 2011; Day/Wilson 2016; Menelaou/Day 2020). The Cycladic sphere acquired a significant role during Poliochni Green and Red (Bernabò Brea 1964, 409, pl. CXXX:g) and imports from the Keros/Syros culture are also found in Thermi III (Cultraro 2004b; Lamb 1936, 177 f., 208, fig. 51, marble vessels), Emporio V–IV (Hood 1981–1982, 402, fig. 182, pl. 73, no. 1233, 417, pl. 78:a4), the Halasarna region on south-central Kos (possible sauceboats, Georgiadis 2012, 88 f., 128 Kt. 62–63, fig. 4), late Troy I (Blegen et al. 1950, 53–55), Liman Tepe VI–V (Day et al. 2009, 341 f.), and recent finds also as far as at Laodikeia/Kandilkırı (Oğuzhanoglu 2019, fig. 6). In Thermi IV–V, corresponding to the end of the EBA II period, there observed a technological change in the ceramic production (class C), originally explained as the outcome of shifting spheres of interaction from the Anatolian mainland to Macedonia and the Aegean (Lambrianides/Spencer 1997, 85 f.; one sauceboat: Lamb 1936, 91, fig. 32.521).

The later part of EBA II (ca. 2500–2000 BCE) has received ample attention in archaeological scholarship as reaching the zenith of cultural interactions and exchange. Various names have been given to describe the introduction and distribution of a set of new drinking and serving ceramic vessels (tankard, bell-shaped cup, short-necked cup, *depas* amphikypellon, shallow bowl and plate, cut-away and lentoid beak-spouted jug) and other technological advances (e.g. potter's wheel). These features are found in a wide geographical area on both sides of the Aegean Sea – extending from southeastern Anatolia via central and western Anatolia littoral, and spread from there to the east Aegean islands

(Lemnos, Chios, Samos) towards the Cyclades, and the eastern margins of mainland Greece – the 'Lefkandi I/Kastri Group' in Helladic/Cycladic terms (Rutter 1979, 1–8; Renfrew 1972, 180–183, 533 f.) or the 'Anatolian Trade Network' Period in western Anatolian terms (Şahoğlu 2005). Apart from Şahoğlu's sea-route based cultural scheme, an opposite counterpart inland trade route, connecting Cilicia with the north Aegean, has been proposed to exist in the same period, known as the 'Great Caravan Route' (Efe 2007, fig. 18).

These drinking and serving shapes (fig. 4) have been characterised as Anatolianising when found outside Anatolia, for they have been taken to represent imitations of Anatolian prototypes and the broad impact of the 'other/foreigner', at least largely in the central and west Aegean. This term also implies the supremacy of the mainland as opposed to the inferiority of islands in the west of the Anatolian core. The vital geographical position of the east Aegean islands and their participation in long-established communication arteries – better observable in ceramic links between Lemnos and the Troad, between Chios and the Izmir region, between Samos and the upper Meander region – suggests a dynamic relationship between these areas. In the light of new analytical work at Heraion-Samos, this so-called intrusive, large-scale ceramic phenomenon seems to be, inconsistent in terms of its introduction and distribution, as well as associations of context, chronology, and possibly also use, and the appearance of these novel shapes and technologies could be both the outcome of indigenous appropriation of foreign styles and the movement of serving/drinking/transport vessels from various off-island sources circulated through varied exchange mechanisms (Menelaou 2018; Menelaou/Day 2020, 59 f.). The diffusion of such ceramic innovations is then linked to the adoption of the potter's wheel, which requires a systematic learning and practice process and the knowledge transfer through motor and cognitive skills from the potter to the apprentice (Choleva 2018). Although representing only minimal quantities within the local Heraion-Samos assemblage, it is noteworthy that the imports correspond to a large number of non-local fabrics with a known or suspected geological provenance or fabrics where the origin of production have yet to be determined

Transitional Period to the MBA), which sees the end of prosperity marking EBA II late (2500–2300 BCE) and EBA IIIA (ca. 2300–2200 BCE) in the eastern Aegean/western Anatolia.

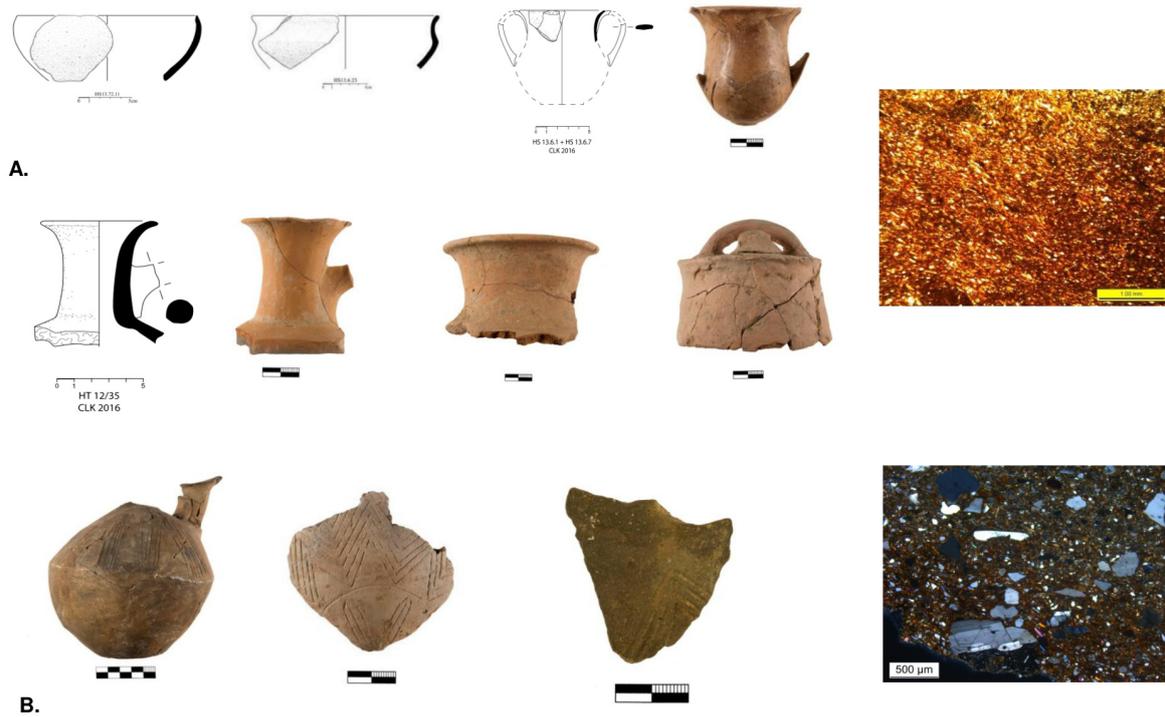
This period is characterised by important transformations in the cultural and political system of western Anatolia, which, on the basis of architectural and ceramic evidence, continues to be more oriented towards the Aegean than central Anatolia (Fidan et al. 2015, 74–76). During the late EBA III, a series of destructions and abandonments are noted, possibly showing evidence of a short occupation gap or significant re-organisations in some sites of western Anatolia (e.g. Troy III–IV, Liman Tepe, Beycesultan, Aphrodisias, Tavşan Adası, Tarsus). Similar abandonments and gaps are noted at Poliochni Yellow–Brown and Emporio (Kouka 2002, 99) and mainland Greece (Alram-Stern 2004, 522–534). Major changes are also evidenced in the decline of the once strong urban centres and the abandonment of their monumental administrative buildings, such as Liman Tepe IV and Heraion III/IV (*Zyklopischer Bau*), in EBA IIIB, presumably affected by the contraction of the ‘Anatolian Trade Network’ (Şahoğlu 2005, 354; Kouka 2013, 573–577) and general displacement of trading networks, as well as due to climate changes (4.2ka BP climatic event) that further led to changes in the social relations (Massa/Şahoğlu 2015, 72; Rahmstorf 2015, 149).

Regarding ceramic developments, there seems to be an abrupt change in EBA III at many Aegean and Anatolian sites. More particularly, the shape repertoire is greatly enriched with new types (*fig. 5*), technological changes are observed in various stages of the manufacturing procedure such as the use of finer clays or more careful processing by the potters, occasionally a shift towards more calcareous clays that give the final product a light-coloured fabric, achievement of higher temperatures and better controlled firing strategies (Kouka/Menelaou 2018, 131–133, *fig. 5*). All these are usually interpreted as the result of a more specialised and standardised ceramic production. Strong ceramic links are observed in the appearance of regional types, such as red-slipped/burnished shallow bowls, bowls with S-shaped rim, wheel-made plates, one-handed pedestal

‘strainers’, neck-handled ovoid jugs with trumpet mouth, strap-handled or handleless cups with a metallic-looking appearance, collared jars with horizontal handles, and crown lids (*Kronendeckel*). These types are circulated on Samos and the Dodecanese islands (Vathy Cave-Kalymnos, Serraglio-Kos, Asomatos-Rhodes), as well as the southwest Anatolian coast, especially along the Meander River valley (Aphrodisias Phase 4, Cine Tepecik, Miletus IIc–III, Beycesultan XIIa–XI, Iasos, Tavşan Adası Phase 2, Laodikeia-Kandilkırı), and occasionally at Troy III–IV and Poliochni Yellow (for references on parallels see Menelaou 2018; Kouka/Menelaou 2018). EBA IIIB dark-on-light pattern-painted ware (shallow bowls, *askoi*, collar-necked jars) is another interaction marker of the Dodecanese islands (Kalymnos: Benzi 1997, 390–393, pls. 3d–e, 4a–b; Rhodes: Marketou 1990, 42 f.) with the Cyclades (Phylakopi II-i-Melos) and Kolonna F-Aegina (Gauss/Smetana 2007, 454 f., *figs. 8:1928–1929, 11:19/28/3, 13:4–7, 8–10*) in the western Aegean, with recent finds also from Samos (Milojčić 1961, pls. 23:1, 48:27–28; Menelaou 2018) expanding our previous idea of pottery circulation in the end of the 3rd mill. BCE.

More connections with the Cyclades are also observed with the circulation of Cycladic/Cycladicising shapes, such as incised spherical or truncated conical pyxides and *askoi*/duck vases (Sotirakopoulou 2008a, 548 f.; 2008b, 88 f.). Again, these shapes find very close parallels in the Dodecanese. The identification of imports on Samos from various central Aegean islands, some of which imply the continuation in contacts from the EBA II period, further supports the claim that communications between east and west were facilitated and expanded through the incentive of Cycladic seafarers in the context of resource exploitation and trade (Sotirakopoulou 2008b, 69). Nevertheless, this does not exclude the active role of equivalent seafarers from the east Aegean islands or western Anatolian littoral, given the dissemination of the potter’s wheel and Anatolianising pottery during EBA II late.

The appearance and spread of novel, continuing, or even hybridised ceramic developments seems to relate to the preceding changes occurred as part of the intensification of contacts between



A. Southeast Aegean/Southwest Anatolian ceramic forms and related petrographic fabric; B. Cycladic ceramic forms and related petrographic fabric.

Fig. 5. Characteristic local and imported pottery of the EBA III period from the Heraion-Samos (own creation).

the Aegean and western Anatolia. Shifts in connectivity patterns of EBA III and the intense geographical distribution of mostly drinking and serving vessels suggest the establishment of a strong regional network of interactions, which enabled the spread of common practices and knowledge transfer, perhaps in the context of new consumption behaviours, identity negotiation, and social display. These morphological and technological changes (innovations in pyrotechnology, finishing techniques and decoration modes, forming techniques and the increase in use of the potter's wheel) and regional similarities document the transfer of technological knowledge through a face-to-face interaction that could only be disseminated by the mobility of potters (e.g. Choleva 2018). However, despite certain changes in the operational sequence of the production of these shapes, they are locally-made on Samos and perhaps also at other neighbouring sites mentioned above, but their overall visual and technological similarities reflect the recognition of a discrete socio-cultural identity.

6. Concluding Remarks: East Aegean Island Borderlands or Gateway Interaction Zones?

As well-defined physical spaces, islands, and in this case, the east Aegean archipelago, provide useful units in the study of connectivity both with other islands and adjacent mainland under the lens of the coastscape concept. In contrast with other archipelagos outside the Mediterranean, the boundaries between insular and non-insular areas in the east Aegean are blurred, and perhaps sometimes these island communities are only spatially disconnected from the nearby mainland. This is reflected in modern archaeological scholarship, where the whole region is interchangeably termed as eastern Aegean or Aegean/Anatolian coast, under the influence of modern narratives. In fact, they are culturally and socio-economically connected in prehistory as a result of advances in technologies of mobility and the advent of sailing and maritime communication, and thus increase in the islands' exposure to various kinds

of influences. Nevertheless, the scales and modes of connectivity might have been experienced differently and transformed over different periods of time for different islands. This paper investigated how this is reflected in pottery through a micro-scale approach with emphasis on Samos Island. The diachronic analysis of total ceramic assemblages as markers of interaction has proven to be a very effective approach, particularly when combined with the examination of comparative data in the identification of imports. The current evidence from Samos and other east Aegean islands suggests a busy seascape and shifting maritime activity, with changing intensities and interaction spheres from the EBA I to the EBA III, where these islands are often thought of as intermediaries in communications with the western Aegean and Anatolia. However, recent data on both the islands and the Anatolian coastlands suggest that human presence and dispersed contacts with other regions are attested as early as the late Pleistocene-early Holocene, strongly indicated by the circulation of Melian obsidian. Following a ceramic perspective, it is hereby argued that maritime identity in the east Aegean region was constantly transformed to meet social circumstances, where the offshore islands have always been in contact with the Anatolian littoral and held a strong visual meaning as part of the everyday field of view and cognitive horizon for the opposite mainland since at least the establishment of more permanent settlements during the Neolithic period and the westward diffusion of the Neolithisation process (Horejs et al. 2015). It should be imagined that the common experiences created through such a bilateral relationship in the sense of a coherent world, established through social memory and knowledge of existing geographical routes, must have formed a communal identity (see Tartaron 2018, 74), that was dramatically transformed with the political separation of Greece (islands) and Turkey (coasts) after 1923. It is, therefore, important to keep in mind that due to their exposure to various kinds of influences and their crucial location in established communication arteries between east and west (Agouridis 1997; Papageorgiou 2002), the islands tend to have multiple spatial, cultural, and temporal dimensions in the context of economic activities or social negotiation and other

circumstances. As such, they are described here as gateway hubs of interaction and exchange. Rather than understanding east Aegean islands as entities bounded as a consequence of their environmental properties or as frontiers and borders abiding to changes, they should be examined as contact zones being constantly inter-connected and transformed, where the sea acts as a unifying medium. Whatever the motives were, east Aegean seafarers were actively engaged with other island and continental communities through mobility and the exchange of products, technologies, and ideas. Perhaps those in charge of these communications, often termed the 'elites', were simply the navigators, the ones in direct communication with equivalent seafarers in the west (Cyclades) or even encompassing other human agents for various purposes (e.g. merchants, traders and metalworkers, craftspeople). Whether these Aegean-Anatolian interactions, at least in the EBA II, were initiated and maintained by Cycladic seafarers requires further research.

Finally, this review suggests that simple concepts of connectedness and separateness do not provide sufficient theoretical frameworks for understanding the micro-scale histories of islands, as there is a tendency to study islands as comparable units, often ignoring existing diversities and variations between one another and to downgrade islands to a standing under that of continents. With the ever-increasing data, our current hypotheses regarding the movement of materials and people will change in the following years with methodologically more holistic projects. This paper has, hopefully, demonstrated the geographical and historical significance of the east Aegean islands and that connectivity is not an immutable geographical state, despite the impact of modern narratives and artificial sense of marginality in the region.

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IV. Distinguishing Island Identities through Material Culture

Alexander J. Smith and Margalida Coll Sabater

Disentangling the Late Talayotic

Understanding Island Identities through Funerary Practices on the Balearic Islands during the Late Iron Age

Keywords: Balearic Islands, Late Iron Age, funerary practices, Indigenous culture, Mediterranean connections

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Summary

The Balearic Islands are the western-most group of islands in the Mediterranean, located just east of the Iberian Peninsula. The group is composed of four major islands: Ibiza, Formentera, Mallorca, and Menorca. The northern two Balearic Islands, Menorca and Mallorca, have been characterised as a unit since ancient authors described the island pair as the *Gymnasiae* or *Baleares*. Since these

first descriptions, the pre- or protohistoric populations of these two islands are often discussed in tandem and as exhibiting a singular cultural identity, especially when considering their interactions with trading networks and external cultural influences. With numerous excavations on both islands taking place from the late 20th cent. to the present, it is now clear that cultural variation existed across and between the islands, which may be indicative of multiple discrete or distinctive cultural identities. Yet generalist scholars of the Mediterranean often maintain the idea that the Talayotic and then Late Talayotic cultures extended across both islands as a single cultural identity during the 1st mill. BCE (Kolb 2005). Simultaneously, many scholars of the Balearic Islands maintain implicitly if not explicitly (Plantamor 1997) that the two islands had different cultures in the 1st mill. BCE. Recognising these different understandings of the relationship between the islands, this paper seeks to explicitly address how Menorca and Mallorca are both connected to and isolated from one another.

This paper will approach the similarities and differences in funerary culture on Menorca and Mallorca in the Late Iron Age (defined here as 550 BCE to roughly 100 CE) as an entry point to begin discussions of island cultural variation. The way the ancient islanders constructed their tombs and buried their dead shows subtle variability across Mallorca and Menorca during this timeframe, which simultaneously indicates some cultural similarities and some important differences in Balearic life. Through an analysis of case studies from Mallorca and Menorca, this paper

will explore the prospect of disentangling the relationship between the islands while considering the implications of isolation, connectivity, local identities, and engagement with the Mediterranean world. Finally, this paper considers the pitfalls of trying to understand Menorcan and Mallorcan Late Talayotic cultures as either detached or connected, presenting the complicated nature of the islands' dynamic in antiquity.

Introduction

Isolation and connectivity are consistent and contradictory themes in the study of island archaeology. An island is simultaneously removed from the mainland and connected to many far-flung places by the sea. The surrounding water acts as both a barrier and a conduit for people, ideas, and culture. The concept of insularity in archaeology has been used to encapsulate this experience in the past, reflecting this interstitial state of being simultaneously connected and isolated.

The idea that seascapes in antiquity provided a means of connection rather than isolation was not always popular in archaeology. Famously, the 'island as laboratory' model employed by Jonathan Evans in the 1970s placed the island firmly in the camp of isolation (Evans 1973).¹ The idea was that islands could be laboratories because they were isolated and idiosyncratic. Thinking of an island as a laboratory implies a degree of controlled observation and a quasi-scientific lens. In other words, mainland cultures were too messy or heterogeneous to allow the same level of controlled observation of cultural habits, social behaviours, or indeed larger issues such as the emergence of complexity and inequality, but islands could theoretically fit this mould.

While isolation is part of the island experience, what Evans misunderstood was the critical counterweight to island isolation: inherent and consistent connectivity. The idea of the island as

part of an interconnected seascape or even island-landscape was recognised by the 1990's and into the early 2000's, marking an important development in theoretical engagements with insularity evident in the works of many scholars (Broodbank 2000; Cherry 2004; Fitzpatrick 2004; Rainbird 2007). Still, as Fitzpatrick has noted (2004, 7), by virtue of its limited area, resources, and ecological conditions, an island still offers some level of isolation, allowing for selective interaction with non-islanders. The idea of an insular experience then should be situated between that of pure isolation and inherent connectivity, a position which seems both pragmatic and theoretically fruitful.

The interplay of connectivity and isolation are excellent counterparts in the dynamic of island life and are often approached as a heuristic for both cultural practices and biogeographic analyses in prehistoric and historic Mediterranean archaeology (see, for example, Dawson 2014; Kouremenos 2018; Leppard 2015; Patton 1996). Nevertheless, when other nearby islands enter this dynamic, this heuristic can become complicated. C. Broodbank introduced the notion of islandscapes at length in his work 'An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades' (Broodbank 2000), discussing the sort of sea-based landscape and interconnectivity that emerges with islands in proximity. This furthers the idea that islands are not always entirely unique or idiosyncratic places. Nevertheless, when islands are considered as part of such an island-landscape, within an archipelago or group for example, their individual island cultures can be over-simplified or lumped together.

Considering these heuristics of insularity, this study focuses on Mallorca and Menorca, located off the eastern coast of Spain and part of the Balearic Island Autonomous Region, consisting of Ibiza, Formentera, Mallorca, and Menorca (*fig. 1*), along with smaller adjacent islands. In antiquity, Mallorca and Menorca were considered a separate island group from Ibiza and Formentera. Greek and Roman authors described Mallorca and Menorca as the Balearic Islands after the Greek verb βαλλω, or 'to sling', referring to the slinger mercenaries recruited from the islands. Ibiza and Formentera were the Pityuses or Pine Islands, owing to the prevalence of the trees on the islands in

¹ For a further discussion of the origins of Evans' intellectual engagement and later contribution to island archaeology, see Cherry/Leppard 2014.

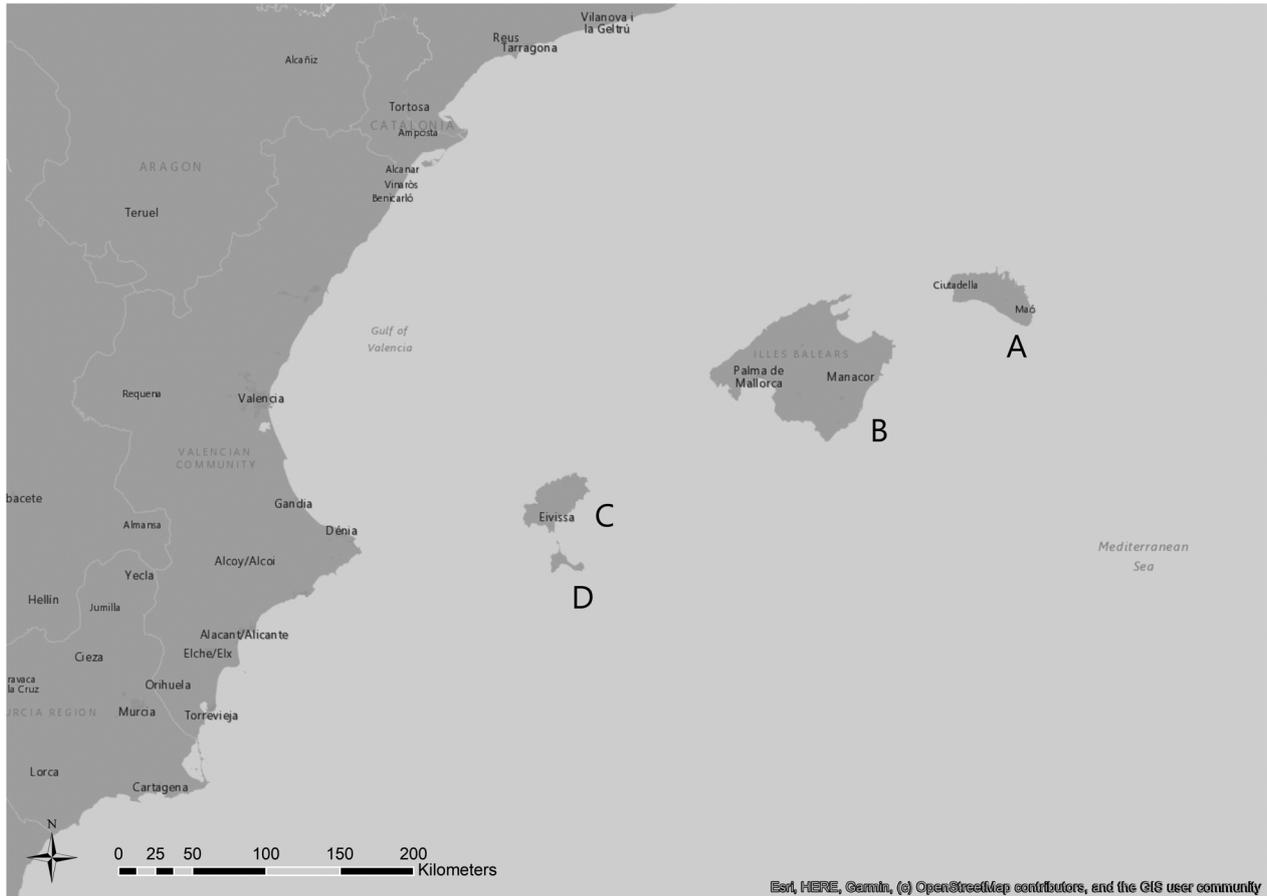


Fig. 1. Map of the islands, including Menorca (A), Mallorca (B), Ibiza (C), Formentera (D), and the Iberian mainland.

antiquity. The distinction in antiquity was partly due to the similarities observed by Classical authors in the prehistoric cultures of Mallorca and Menorca, coupled with the obvious differences with Ibiza and Formentera. While they are both large islands, they are quite far from the mainland and experienced very late and at first sporadic human colonisation.²

The prehistoric cultures of Mallorca and Menorca show how island groups can complicate the notion of insularity. These island cultures have been collapsed together by both their contemporaries in the ancient Mediterranean as well as,

² It is worth noting that there is a continued debate about the nature of colonisation of the islands, with sporadic colonisation suggested by Guerrero/Gornés 2000. Also, see Cherry/Leppard (2018) provide a more recent discussion of the late, permanent settlement of the islands.

at times, by modern academics.³ The cultures that emerged on the two islands shared many similarities in the Bronze Age (ca. 1900–850 BCE), the Iron Age or Talayotic Period (ca. 850–550 BCE), as well as the Late Iron Age (550–123 BCE).⁴ But the archaeological evidence hints at groups of people who were not exactly the same across Mallorca and Menorca in terms of material culture production, consumption habits, ritual spaces, and ar-

³ Ancient sources such as Diodorus Siculus, Pliny the Elder and Florus are particularly notorious for this elision, while modern academics approach the islands from a broader spatial or comparative vantage point, such as in Kolb 2005. Some Balearic scholars recognise the differences between the two islands, but still firmly place them within the same cultural category (Guerrero 2004; Guerrero et al. 2006).

⁴ The chronology utilised by the authors is one derived from Guerrero (et al. 2002; 2006), representing the commonly used dates of those associated with the Universitat de les Illes Balears.

chitecture. In antiquity, the islands were lumped together by foreign observation, and to this day, some scholars at least implicitly have a tendency to lump the islands together or search for connections, while others separate them out as different iterations of prehistoric cultures.⁵ Here a singular, connected culture means the potential loss of distinctive island identities. Isolation or separation implies unique behaviour and identities but can also carry negative implications of backwardness due to isolation.

This dynamic plays out in the case of the Late Iron Age during what is known as the Late Talayotic or Postalayotic phase on the islands. Lasting from approximately 550–123 BCE, this is the final era of indigenous self-rule alongside interactions with western Mediterranean powers, including the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Romans. The chronology of the Late Talayotic traditionally ends with the Roman conquest in 123 BCE, though indigenous life seems to have persisted into at least the 1st cent. CE to some degree on both islands. During this timeframe, both islands responded to external influences and maintained their traditions, sometimes in a similar fashion and sometimes differently. Scholars commonly describe the cultures of the two islands as more or less the same during this timeframe (for example Guerrero et al. 2006), though differences between the two are sometimes seen as evidence of separate social dynamics.⁶

To further understand this tension between Mallorca and Menorca as connected or isolated from one-another in the Late Talayotic Period, this paper addresses some of the better-preserved evidence of island life: funerary remains. Mallorca and Menorca have interwoven trajectories of funerary practices. By disentangling this evidence,

this study aims to compare the islands on equal footing to point out what shared features connect the islands and what features serve to differentiate their cultures. The funerary practices will be approached in two sections: one outlining the general location of burials along with basic interment practices, and another discussing the goods associated with these burials. Each section will begin with Mallorca, then move to Menorca, and end with a brief comparison. The data presented is not meant to be encyclopaedic, but introductory in nature to point out important similarities and differences between the islands' funerary practices.⁷

The placement of graves and the rituals of interment represent island customs or traditions, often remaining consistent even with exposure to off-island or foreign burial practices. By comparison, the objects incorporated into funerary practices have the potential to be much more fluid or mutable as time goes on as we see the increased incorporation of foreign goods. This division of the data represents two very different lines of evidence regarding the nature of these funerary customs as the islands are increasingly exposed to external influence toward the end of the 1st mill. BCE. In other words, burial settings and rituals represent local practices, traditions, and adaptations, while burial goods tend to reflect foreign influence. Analysing these lines of evidence side-by-side highlights differences in indigenous cultural persistence and the emergence of hybridised customs⁸ on both islands during the Late Iron Age. Ultimately, we will highlight the complicated nature of the islands' dynamic in the Late Talayotic while presenting the pitfalls of trying to understand the islands as either isolated or connected, arguing for an insular experience that incorporates both.

⁵ While there are few sources that explicitly take this stance (an exception arguably being Plantalamor 1997), some studies implicitly argue for unique island identities and cultures. Most articles concerning the islands, for instance, tend to focus on either Menorca or Mallorca. The two are only rarely compared explicitly. Nevertheless, when they are compared, there is often an implicit assumption they are part of the same culture, just variants of one-another.

⁶ For an example of domestic archaeology that points to separate economic dynamics occurring on both islands, see Salvá/Hernández-Gasch 2009.

⁷ For detailed work on funerary structures and Talayotic funerary customs, see Coll 1995.

⁸ The idea of hybridity, eloquently defined by Van Dommelen (2003), refers to the combination of two elements from different cultures into a newly created custom or form. Such hybrid practices showcase interaction and cultural change in environments of colonialism and uneven power dynamics, or simply when different cultures consistently come into contact with one another.

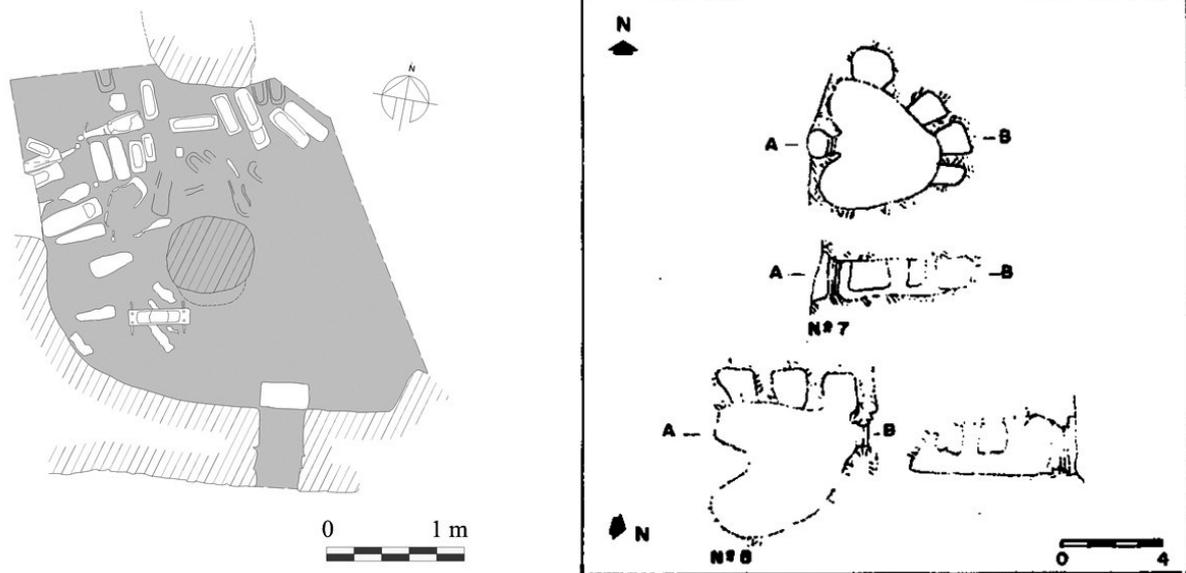


Fig. 2. A ground plan of a Mallorcan artificial cave burial at Son Maímo (left; after: Amorós 1974, 138) vs. a Menorcan example from Cales Coves (right; after: Gornés 1996, 96). Notice the multiple rooms associated with the Menorcan example and the larger scale of the Menorcan ground plan.

Mallorcan Burial Settings and Burial Rituals

Burial settings, or the place where final interment occurs, along with the associated burial rituals, are important for understanding the practices of Late Talayotic society and the possible connections to traditional lifeways, external influences, and new customs on the islands. On Mallorca, variety and complexity are the main features of the Late Talayotic, evident in the different places that were chosen to bury the deceased. In some instances, there is a continuation of burial places that were used during the previous Talayotic Period, especially natural caves that contained collective inhumations. For example, the caves of Son Gallard and Son Matge (Valldemossa) in the western mountains of Mallorca have chronologies that go from ca. 800 BCE to ca. 200 BCE, demonstrating continuity of use (Guerrero et al. 2005, 106). The unique open-air site of Son Real, exhibiting above-ground, ashlar tombs, came into use close to the beginning of the Talayotic Period and continued to be used during the Late Talayotic with modifications of the tombs. The second phase of the site saw a shift from circular to apsidal stone structure graves, dating to the 5th cent. BCE (Hernández-Gasch 1998). By the latter half of the Late Talayotic Period, new burial chambers on this site were

rectangular stone graves instead of the Talayotic circular, or the apsidal graves (Hernández-Gasch 1998). Nevertheless, in these instances, the placement of burials did not change.

Yet the Late Talayotic was also a time of new practices, when new graves were constructed, and old monumental spaces were re-used and sometimes re-purposed for burials. During the Late Talayotic Period, artificial caves or hypogea were constructed in earnest. Some of them, such as Son Maimó (Petra) (Amorós 1974; Veny 1977) were simple caves with only one main room in which the dead were placed and the living enacted rituals (*fig. 2*). Other caves, such as Cova Monja (Sencelles) (Enseñat 1981), were complex sites with more than just a single room, though today we are not sure exactly what took place in each room of the cave. In both cases, the subterranean rooms were the result of carving out rock or cliff faces with carved columns in the centre of many of these tombs to support the cave roof. Another new practice was the use of older monuments in the landscape, including caves, sanctuaries, talayots and other turriform structures that had been abandoned, sometimes for centuries (see García Rosselló 2010, 672). This is the case with abandoned Bronze Age burial caves such as Son Sunyer (Palma), or reused talayots, a large megalithic

tower-like structure, as is the case in Son Oms (Palma), Ses Païses (Artà) or Son Oleza (Valldemossa) (García Rosselló 2010, 669).

During the Late Iron Age on Mallorca, people were buried using a few different body preparations as well. The most common ritual for body preparation was the use of quicklime to cover human remains that would be placed at a burial location in a collective grave, a ritual that was already in use during the Talayotic era. Although there is some discussion regarding the exact process of these quicklime collective burials (see Van Strydonck et al. 2017a; Guerrero et al. 2005; Deyà Miró 2017), they mostly resulted in the deposition of bits of quicklime and bone conglomerates found in many necropolises distributed all along the island, for example in the third level of use of the hypogeum of Son Maimó, Son Taixaquet or Cova Monja. Nevertheless, collective inhumations without the use of quicklime have been documented at several sites, such as cave 4 of Ca Na Vidriera or the hypogeum of Son Julià (see García Rosselló 2010, 671 f.). Cremation without the use of quicklime also took place on the island during this timeframe, but only appears at the sites of Son Real (Hernández-Gasch 1998) and Illot des Porros (Hernández-Gasch et al. 1998).

Another burial practice documented in Late Talayotic Mallorca are inhumations in wooden coffins. This practice may have been carried out during the Talayotic Period, though no definitive evidence has been published documenting this phenomenon. Only seven artificial caves exhibit these coffins: Cova de s'Alova (Deyà Miró 2017), Cova de Ses Meravelles (Deyà Miró 2015), Son Boronat (Guerrero 1979), Cometa des Morts II (Vený 1981), Sa Punta (Encinas 1974; Guerrero 1987) in the second level of use of Son Maimó (Amorós 1974; Vený 1977) and possibly Cova Monja (Guerrero 1979). Burials in wooden coffins consisted of individual inhumations of the deceased, usually in the fetal position, while at times evoking individual status or identity through coffin type. These coffins ranged from simple emptied tree trunks to more elaborate forms, such as the addition of bull horn representations found at Sa Punta or the anthropomorphic shaped coffins of Son Maimó. This type of wooden coffin inhumation practice coexisted with collective quicklime

burials or simple inhumations, except for the cave of Son Maimó, in which there is an initial phase of wooden coffin burials and later use as a quicklime cemetery.

Burial practices in the Late Iron Age on Mallorca also differed based on age, as children were often buried in various types of urns (*fig. 3*). More specifically, these urns were composed of different materials and originated from different ceramic traditions. For instance, some were carved from local stone, others were indigenous hand-made ceramic urns, and still others were foreign ceramic vessels that were subsequently modified and re-used as urns. In addition, most of them were also covered either by stone lids or by foreign plates, bowls, or proper lids. Local pottery was only sometimes reused as these lids. This type of ritual is documented in at least six sites, but surely future excavations and material analyses of older projects will uncover many more. During the first centuries of the Late Talayotic, these types of burial distinctions of age and status took place alongside other types of burial practices, often seen together with quicklime collective burials like in the third phase of Son Maimó (Guerrero 1979, 25; Coll Sabater forthcoming) and in Cova Monja (Guerrero 1979, 25). These burials are also found alongside simple inhumations and wooden coffin burials as in the case of Son Boronat (Guerrero 1979, 9–12). From the 2nd cent. BCE onward, Mallorcan archaeologists have documented select necropolises that were meant exclusively for infants or children, such as Ca's Santamarier (Rosselló-Bordoy/Guerrero 1983), Son Ferrer (Garcias Maas/Gloaguen 2003; García Rosselló et al. 2015) and Sa Marina Gran (Rosselló-Bordoy 1963). In the first two sites mentioned above, young members of the community were buried inside handmade indigenous urns, cut and modified foreign amphorae, or sandstone receptacles. In Sa Marina Gran, only sandstone receptacles were the chosen option to bury children. Mallorca, then, sees some persistent traditions and some new burial settings and rituals over time. These practices hint at variability and complexity at the end of the Late Talayotic Period, with the incorporation of some foreign elements and the apparent continuation of many indigenous customs, along with the use and re-use of ceremonial spaces.



Fig. 3. Infant burials from Mallorcan (A; after: Rosselló-Bordoy/Guerrero 1983, 414) and a potential example from Menorca (B; Museu de Menorca), similar to an Iberian Kanthos found at S'Albufera d'es Port.

Menorcan Burial Settings and Burial Rituals

Like Mallorca, Menorca represents a mixture of funerary body preparations. The most common type of grave on Menorca is characterised by collective inhumation in cave environments. Within these cave structures, different types of grave rituals are carried out, including quicklime and wooden coffin burial practices. Nevertheless, the most consistent aspect of these graves is their appearance in cave systems, which occur as either natural or artificially augmented spaces.

Although used since the 2nd mill. BCE, the cave site experienced an important shift during the Late Talayotic of Menorca. It should be noted that from about 800–600 BCE, there is generally less evidence for funerary structures or cave burials, presenting a bit of a problem when looking for continuity in the data (Sintes/León 2019). Some funerary caves that are occupied in the Late Talayotic Period show evidence of earlier use during the 800–600 BCE era, including Hypogeum XXI of Cales Coves (Gornés 1994) and Cala Morell (Veny 1982; Guerrero et al. 2002). Examples from Cave de Na Prior (Van Strydonck et al. 2017b) and Cave

de Sant Joan de Misa (Plantalamor/Van Strydonck 1997) also exhibit funerary remains dating to this era. Still, the numbers of excavated, datable examples from this era on Menorca are low compared to the Late Talayotic Period.

Tomb sizes expand greatly from the 6th cent. and the 4th cent. BCE, resulting in multi-chamber cave complexes for burials, increasingly complicated floor plans, larger collective burials, and more elaborate grave goods (Gornés 1996, 99–101) (fig. 2). Gornés gives the statistic that before the 6th cent. BCE, the average cave tomb took approximately 29 working days to augment or carve out, whereas after the 6th cent., this number soars to between 198 and 266 working days (Gornés 1996, 100). Gornés sees the size of these tombs and their architectural embellishments as an obvious indication that there are growing inequities of wealth and social stratification occurring among Menorcan populations during this time. Because the timeframe from the 6th to 4th cent. BCE represents the increase in elaboration of this funerary culture, Gornés associates these growing inequities to trade with Ibiza and the growing Punic economic influence in the region, though still representing

an indigenous form (Gornés 1996, 101). Nevertheless, the use of these cave complexes, particularly at sites like Cala Morell, extends into the first and second centuries CE according to radiocarbon and evidence from material culture (Juan 1998, 829).

Tomb XXI at Cales Coves is an excellent example of an elaborate cave complex that was excavated during the early 1990's by Gornés and a team from the Universitat de les Illes Balears (Gornés 1994; Gornés/Gual 2000; Gornés et al. 2006). The tomb is a multi-chamber man-made cave, approximately 63m² in floor plan, which ranks as a comparatively modest tomb, though in keeping with the larger tombs of the Talayotic Period before the 6th cent. BCE (Gornés et al. 2006, 168).⁹ Tomb XXI is probably the best known and best-excavated tomb from Cales Coves despite being looted numerous times, as it contains the remains of 186 individuals of all ages and sexes deposited over the course of the end of the 9th through the 4th cent. BCE based on radiocarbon evidence (Gornés et al. 2006, 169; Micó 2005, 76–79). Although these dates extend into the Talayotic Period before 550 BCE, as noted above, Cales Coves is one of a few for this era, as we have evidence of Pre-Talayotic burials in caves and navetas on the island (before 800 BCE), but a relative dearth of definitively Talayotic Period burials as mentioned above.

The tombs of Cales Coves get larger after the 6th cent. They also become more complex and more ornate (Gornés 1996, 94). Entrances to the artificial caves become rectangular, develop stairs, exhibit multiple internal supporting columns of a circular and eventual square nature, and finally develop classical pilasters framing the tombs' entrances (Gornés 1996, 99–101). Another embellishment during the Late Talayotic Period are external patios with large excavated trenches located in front of the entrance to the cave itself. While the exact function of these patios is unclear, they consistently appear across the island in a similar form, collecting rainwater and forming pools outside the tomb, which may have been the original intention of the builders, according to Sintés and León (2019, 43). Infant burials utilising large

ceramics (*fig. 3*) and a ceramic plate as a lid for the receptacle are sometimes found within preserved patios underneath the collected rainwater along with evidence of ritual feasting and ceremonies, as is the case with S'Albufera d'es Port (Sintés/León 2019). Though not as common as in Mallorca, these burials do show some similarities to Mallorcan practices, but in a different context of deposition.

In general, the larger the tomb, the more likely it is to have the elements mentioned above, including the orthogonal or Classical embellishments. Nevertheless, burials were still communal and in keeping with Late Talayotic traditions of burial goods, despite the influx of new prestige items. It is clear that the caves represent a hybrid entity, incorporating foreign architectural elements and indigenous customs. Calascoves, Cala Morell, Forma Nou, Sant Joan de Missa, and Sa Regana des Cans all have these complex hypogea. According to G. Juan, the necropolis of Cala Morell has had occupational episodes from early prehistory into the 2nd cent. CE (Juan 1998, 829). In other words, these caves, like others throughout the island, represent traditional persistence and elaboration, sometimes in hybrid forms.

In terms of the body rituals, quicklime burials are present on Menorca at many sites and have been studied in detail at places such as Binigaus and Sant Joan de Misa (Van Strydonck et al. 2015; 2017b). These burials offer a similar composition to those found on Mallorca, as they are located within communal graves and have some ritual items associated with them. These items include ceramics and metal objects that are smashed or destroyed during the ritual of interment. Wooden stretchers are evident from the previous Bronze Age on Menorca, as attested by the grave at la Cova des Pas, whose preservation has led to fascinating insight into the history of cave burials and the mechanics of interment using wooden stretchers to lower bodies into precarious natural caves. This tradition to some extent may be reflected in the Late Talayotic use of wooden coffins. Bronze artefacts depicting bull horns at sites like the Es Coloms cave hint at wooden representations of bulls, potentially as part of a wooden coffin, as with the case mentioned above from Mallorca.

⁹ Tomb sizes can range from under 10m² to over 200m² according to calculations by Gornés (1996).

Aside from the use of caves, cyst burials or shaft burials are also found on Menorca starting in the 3rd cent. BCE and lasting into the 2nd cent. BCE at sites such as Salairó and Punta Roja d'Algairens (de Nicolás/Pons 2017). These burials are individual graves of younger people, ranging from their early teens to late twenties, who were cremated along with food offerings from of a funeral feast. Material culture associated with the libation rituals was then smashed on top of the remains, and the assemblage was buried. The individual graves, coupled with the treatment of material culture, which the excavators view as evocative of Phoenician or Punic rituals (de Nicolás/Pons 2017, 185), are perhaps unique features of these burials and a later addition to the funerary landscape of Menorca. The cyst burials, however, only appear sporadically in the archaeological record of the island.

Menorca, then, sees the persistent implementation of indigenous customs during this era and the use and expansion of what appear to be designated spaces for funerary practices. While there are some similarities with Mallorcan practices, the next section serves to dissect how these practices differ and what that might mean for the island cultures of the Late Talayotic Period.

Comparison

While the two islands have many similarities, including the use of quicklime burials, wooden coffins, and cave complexes, they are not exactly the same during the Late Talayotic. For one, the cave sites of Menorca are generally larger and more numerous in the landscape. The use of pilastered columns mentioned above appears to show a degree of hybridisation with Classical or Mediterranean elements as time goes on, which is not evident in the examples from Mallorca.

Both islands show an increasing complexity in body preparation and grave placement in the Late Talayotic. Arguably, however, Mallorca is more varied, with different types of burials throughout the landscape and changing practices of interment. While funerary caves are numerous throughout the landscape of Menorca, they are still consistent in their practices in comparison to Mallorca. This may have something to do with

Mallorca's much larger size and presumably much larger ancient population, creating the potential for more cultural fragmentation on the island. The size of Mallorca alone could account for a regionalisation of cultural habits, even without a large population. Be that as it may, it still creates a noticeable difference between the islands.

Children's graves also present some disconnection between the two islands. Mallorca tends to favour the burial of infants in pithos graves, and while there is evidence of the use of Iberian *kalathoi* for a similar purpose on Menorca, the use is slightly different. The infant necropolises on Mallorca appear at the end of the Late Talayotic and may have some connection to the Carthaginian world, which notoriously favoured child burials or sacrifices in separate cemeteries and in vessels. Menorcan graves also tend to appear toward the end of the Late Talayotic, but are not located in exclusively infant cemeteries, as they are found in the patios or trenches dug in front of the cave necropolis entrances. Still, there are not many examples of these cemeteries from Menorca. There are also the colloquially known *capades de moro*, literally translated to Moorish head-butts, which are small recesses in the sides of rock-cut tombs and other walls that have been theorised as receptacles for these types of burials as well (Gornés et al. 2006, 171).¹⁰ Nevertheless, infant burials are less frequent on Menorca, at least as represented by current archaeological data. This makes comparisons difficult. While cyst burials are evident on Menorca, they are again very few in number and represent a much wider age range of interred remains, extending into young adulthood.

Overall, grave placement and burial methods offer a glimpse into the subtle variations between Menorca and Mallorca. Approached from afar without knowledge of these small differences, the funerary cultures of Mallorca and Menorca may seem similar, if not the same. Yet they are part of different cultural trajectories with different archaeological histories, such as, for example, the lack of a Talayotic funerary culture from

¹⁰ Alternatively, these *capades de moro* have also been hypothesised as places where small offerings can be deposited in the tombs (Gornés et al. 2006, 171).

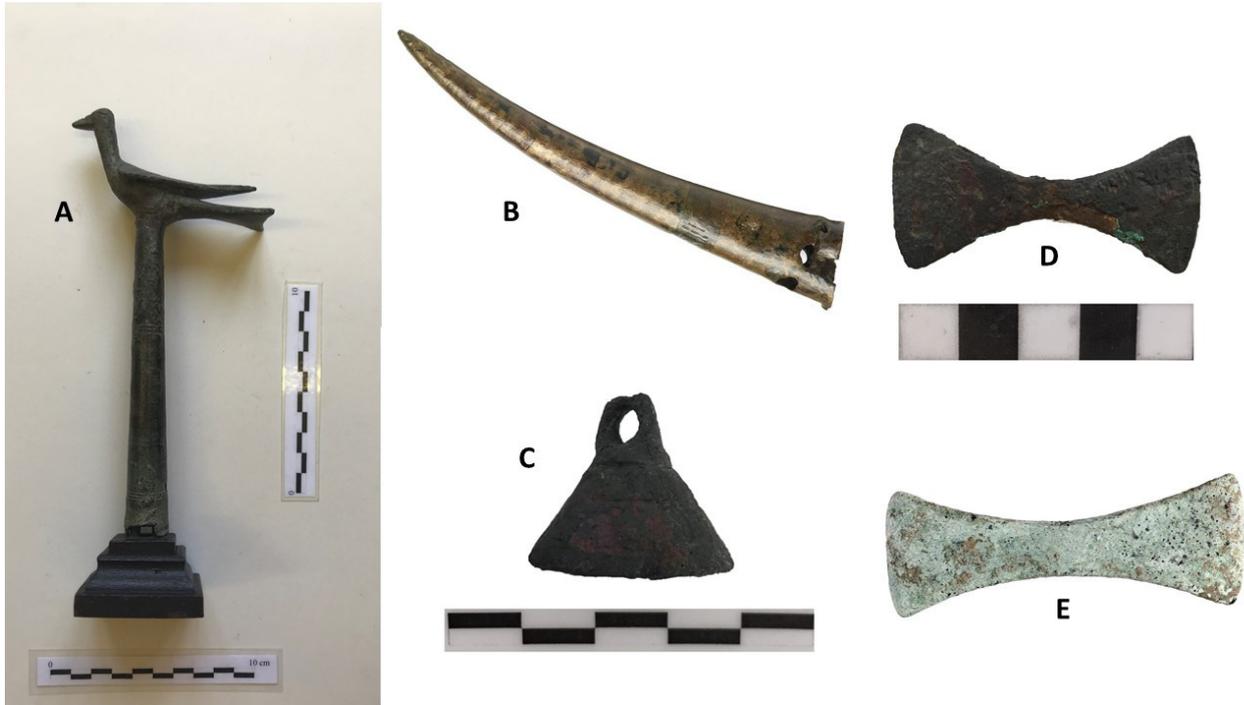


Fig. 4. Metal objects from Mallorca and Menorca, consisting of bronze birds from Mallorca (A), a bull horn from a Menorcan context (B), bronze bell from Mallorca of the type found on both islands (C), small hatchets from Mallorca (D) and Menorca (E). A, C and D are from the Museu de Mallorca. B and E are from the Museu de Menorca.

800–600 BCE on Menorca. Their similarities are important to remark upon as much as their differences, showcasing two islands that obviously shared ideas but ultimately diverged on many aspects of burial form.

Mallorcan Grave Goods

Understanding where and how Mallorcans and Menorcans buried their dead is just part of the picture. Funerary goods also give us a window into foreign influences, persistent indigenous crafts, and the combination of these elements as they variably appear on Mallorca and Menorca. The grave goods that accompanied the deceased of Late Talayotic Mallorca represent a large range of different materials and forms, including local and foreign objects. The research presented below is the compilation works of Enseñat (1981), Coll (1989) and Balaguer (2005), who represent a great deal of collective knowledge in this area. Despite the variety of grave goods that are encountered during this era, we can observe four very basic groups of funerary remains: pottery, metal items, glass beads and amulets, and worked animal bone objects.

During Late Talayotic on Mallorca, ceramic vessel types and forms generally become more heterogeneous (García Rosselló 2010; Albero 2011). It is no surprise then that typologies documented at funerary sites also reflect such variety, including various shapes and sizes, different types of decorations, and different handle forms. Nevertheless, to simplify the typologies, they can be summed up as two general varieties: pottery that can be related to liquid consumption and pottery that is related to child burials (Coll Sabater forthcoming). For the former, we generally find medium or small cylinder and ovoid shaped vases. These appear as vases without handles or exhibiting one to two handles that are attached to the lower body of the vessel, which is typical of this era. Most of them are also decorated with small raised bumps and circles along their body. We also find ceramics that have been described as goblets, as well as jars of various sizes (see Coll 1989 for a broader description). The larger jars are handmade urns, generally without handles and with similar decorative motifs, including semicircles and concentric circles. These large urns have been documented sometimes still with human remains inside. Mostly, these urns were deposited with and covered by other pottery forms,



Fig. 5. Metal discs found on Mallorca (A) and the metal chain apparatus described in the text (B) found in Mallorca and Ibiza. Also, Punic glass beads found on Mallorca (C) and Menorca (D). These objects all show interchange between the islands in antiquity. A, B and C are from the Museu de Mallorca and D is from the Museu de Menorca.

which were often foreign, leading us to the next group of pottery objects found in funerary sites.

In fewer quantities, foreign pottery has also been documented, particularly Punic forms but also Iberian, Greek and later Roman. Despite the different typologies, most of them can be labelled as tableware, including bowls, plates and cups. Unguent jars are also documented (see Enseñat 1981 for a broader description). The emphasis on libation and liquid vessels is clear with these foreign forms.

Metallic items, mainly made of bronze or iron, are also documented in large numbers at burial sites. These items can be divided into four sub-groups: weapons, tools, possible ornaments, and symbolic objects. In terms of weapons, the graves exhibit small swords or knives, arrowheads, and spearheads. These types of weapons have been found in most burial sites of the Late Talayotic and, in some cases, appear to directly relate to certain individual remains, possibly suggesting ownership. It is also thought that ownership may be assigned to awls (Rihuete 1992, 64) that, together with nails, are the tools that are sometimes included in these assemblages. In terms of possible ornamental objects, the graves contain thin bronze spirals and circles that may represent bracelets based on their size. Other ornamental objects include

similar small circular or spiral rings and decorative double-edged hatchets, which often have a perforation in the middle for use as a necklace (fig. 4). Although these have been considered as ornamental objects for the body, only when they are found attached to human remains can we be sure of their exact use, which is difficult given the grave conditions and methods of interment (Balaguer 2005; Perelló 2017). In the case of the small hatchets, they most likely carried ritual meaning (Enseñat 1981), though they were also attached to necklaces, sometimes together with glass beads. They are also most likely a foreign influence, as the double-edge hatchet or axe is very common in the Mediterranean. Finally, there are many metal objects that have been labelled symbolic by excavators. These are again the small hatchets, but also bronze bells, decorated discs, chains attached to rods, animal representations of bulls and birds,¹¹ as well as lead plates that may have also been some type of body decoration (see Balaguer 2005 for more information about metallic objects) (fig. 4 and 5). The diversity of metallic grave goods

¹¹ These birds are sometimes identified as pigeons (see Balaguer 2005), though there is some ambiguity as to what they represent.

is impressive for Mallorca, as well as enigmatic. We do not know everything about these objects, but their consistency in the island suggests general patterns of ritual practices and symbolic items that were utilised during the Late Talayotic.

The presence of necklaces implied by the prevalence of glass beads is documented at almost all studied burial sites of Late Talayotic Mallorca and is the result of the contacts with foreign engagement, especially with Punic influence and economic exchange coming from Ibiza (Ruano 1996; Guerrero et al. 2006; *fig. 5*). However, compositional analyses of glass beads from certain sites (Henderson 1999) reveal that not all of the beads found on Mallorca come from Ibiza, as a broader western and central Mediterranean origin is suggested for some of the examples (Lull et al. 1999, 307). In other words, Mallorca was connected beyond Ibiza, which is sometimes overlooked when discussing the Balearic Islands interacting with the broader Carthaginian and Mediterranean worlds.

Finally, we should also mention the existence of various items made with animal bones. A *taps d'os*, a bone circle used as a plug or lid, is sometimes found in funerary assemblages, composed of an animal femur or long bone epiphysis, and called a lid because of its shape. The exact function and meanings of these objects are still unknown, but they have been documented in most of the Late Talayotic Mallorcan burial sites, and in fewer numbers in Menorcan ones. Enseñat mentions eight Menorcan sites that displayed these and 18 on Mallorca (Enseñat 1981, 103), a number that has probably changed over the past few decades, but still shows the relative difference between the two islands. Overall, Mallorca presents a rich assemblage of funerary remains ranging from indigenous symbolic objects, to ritual objects of the Punic world, to libation vessels of many different varieties, showcasing Mallorca's traditions and connections outside of the island.

Menorcan Grave Goods

Menorca experiences a similar influx of foreign goods during the Late Talayotic, as well as a strong local presence of goods in the burials of the island.

Again, as mentioned above, the majority of burials on Menorca take place in either natural or artificial caves, covering the cliff faces of the island. Within those caves, grave goods speak of connections abroad and persistent traditions at home.

Ceramics from the graves generally are a mix of foreign and domestic goods. From what has been excavated at various sites, there is a strong tradition of the inclusion of small, conical vessels or cups. These cups were probably used for ceremonial purposes and most likely libations. These small cups, which are often decorated with incised lines, circles, chevrons, as well as raised images in a cartouche-like form and sculpted bumps appear in many graves across the island (Sintes/León 2019), but also in Late Talayotic domestic contexts as much larger vessels (Juan et al. 2018). These appear to be ritual vessels for libations or consumption of some sort and are exclusive to Menorca at this time (Sintes/León 2019, 70). Along with these small cups, Menorcan evidence also suggests the frequent use of large container vessels, sometimes of foreign origin, but mostly of indigenous fabrics alongside the libation vessels associated with the burials.

Libation vessels are used throughout the caves during the Late Talayotic, including imported vessels from the Punic, Iberian and Roman worlds. These are typically small bowls, plates and unguents, representing the Punic Ibizan ceramic traditions as well as black gloss central Mediterranean wares. Large *kalathoi* from Iberia with geometric figures are also evident, in select circumstances housing remains, including those of an infant at S'Albufera des Port mentioned above.

Metal objects are seen in the Late Talayotic graves in the form of weapons, which appear at many sites as iron and bronze spearheads or knives. In terms of ornamental objects, bronze necklaces and metal bracelets from numerous archaeological sites have been found (Veny 1982), similar to those mentioned above for Mallorca. As in the case of Mallorca, it is not possible to confirm that they were indeed used for body adornment as no direct archaeological evidence has been found. Menorca also exhibits small hatchets at some funerary sites, though fewer in number, and they are often split in half. They are also not exclusively

used for funerary purposes as the hatchets are found in association with houses and other ritual settings (de Nicolás 2017; *fig. 4*), including Taula sites.¹² Taula ritual complexes, common on Menorca, do not exist on Mallorca, and these spaces often contain votive figurines, deity statues, and other ritual objects relating to feasting and worship. Small lead decorated plates have also been found, again relating to the symbolic contents of Mallorcan graves. There are not, however, the same metal discs as described for Mallorca above, a point which we will return to in the next section.

Menorca does exhibit other symbolic metal artifacts in the form of bull horns that date to the Late Talayotic Period (*fig. 4*), reflecting a similar emphasis on the animal seen on Mallorca. Bronze bells have been recovered from Menorcan burials, showing similarities in burial goods to Mallorca as well. There is also the phenomenon of bronze batons or ‘spearheads’ found in association with lime burials, that were sometimes broken upon the interment of an individual, potentially to avoid the reuse of the object for future burial practices. These are enigmatic objects associated with Menorcan burial practices (Sintes/León 2019, 73).

Glass beads for necklaces are also evident, sometimes in numerous quantities in these graves as in the case of Cales Coves (Veny 1982) and Cala Morell (Juan 1999), again as a form of adornment (*fig. 5*). The forms of these beads are similar to those found on Mallorca, representing connections to the Punic world on Ibiza and beyond. Finally, worked bone objects are found in significant quantities, usually in the form of awls. Bone plugs, as mentioned above, are also evident in smaller numbers. In the evidence from Menorca, there are clearly many similarities in grave goods to Mallorca, though there are some notable omissions. It is also the case that Menorca, like Mallorca, represents the inclusion of many foreign and local elements. However, the notable inclusion of Menorcan cups, large local vessels, and different metallic

objects all point to some differences between the islands, as will be discussed below.

Comparison

In general, most of the materials mentioned above and their forms appear on both islands. But they don’t all appear in exactly the same way. Regarding local ceramics, some preliminary comparisons between Mallorcan and Menorcan sites (Carbonell/Coll Sabater 2019) show a preference for smaller and mid-sized handmade vessels, especially cups, for the Mallorcan case. In Menorca, the preference seems to go to larger vessels, such as pots. While there are some small distinctions for local pottery, the islands seem to utilise foreign vessels for the most part in a similar way. There is a tendency to use small and mid-sized Punic bowls and other foreign vessels, though more research is needed in order to provide further clarification of the specific forms used and the relative numbers found within burial contexts.

While metallic circles, spirals, rings and certain tools are found on both islands, the situation is not the same with regard to symbolic metal objects. Local productions of bull and bird representations – such as roosters and other unidentified birds – have usually been considered as related owing to their possible connection with broader Mediterranean and Punic beliefs (Coll 1989). Both types of objects have been documented on Mallorca but only bull imagery has been found on Menorca (Balaguer 2005, 313).¹³ While this is seemingly minor, the lack of bird imagery may represent a different belief structure or association with the animal.

The differences between the islands in terms of material culture can be further examined in the case of the small metal hatchets. While they are documented in most Mallorcan funerary sites, on Menorca, they aren’t found in the same quantities and only sometimes in funerary contexts, as they

¹² The taula complex was a large gathering space for ritual feasting, often exhibiting a megalithic T-shaped stone sculpture in the centre of a sanctuary building.

¹³ There is a similar type of bird- or rooster-representation found out of context on Menorca, but it cannot be determined whether or not it was part of a funerary rite (de Nicolás 2017).

can also be found in ritual spaces. This difference is more of context than presence, but still significant in the changing meaning of the object on each island. Nevertheless, without more information on the meaning of the symbol or more detailed analyses of its contextual assemblage in ritual spaces, not much more can be said here.

Considering other shared objects on the islands, recent isotopic analyses regarding the bells show that some examples from the burial site of Son Bauçà (Mallorca) have trace elements that indicate a Menorcan origin of at least the raw material, if not the manufactured object (Perelló 2017, 291). This possibility dispels the idea of a unilinear pathway of material culture transmission from Mallorca to Menorca, which is often implied, if not explicitly stated, by scholar's working on trade and colonial influences during the Late Talayotic.¹⁴ In other words, if the bells originate on Menorca and end up on Mallorca, that means goods and ideas are travelling back and forth between the islands, showing a reciprocal connectivity. It is easy to take this notion for granted when discussing the islands, as some scholars assume that because Mallorca is close to the mainland and so much bigger than Menorca, the smaller island must be more isolated (Guerrero 2004). These bells, most likely owing their origins to broader Punic culture in the western Mediterranean, undermine this assumption of isolation. Simultaneously, the exportation of the object to Mallorca dispels notions that Menorca was simply receiving culture and ideas from the bigger, closer island to the mainland.

This complicated connectivity does not only occur between Mallorca and Menorca, but also with Ibiza. We have already mentioned the presence of Punic Ibizan material culture in Mallorcan and Menorcan contexts, but an interesting multi-directional influence seems to occur with metal discs as well as the chain and rod objects mentioned above. These are both symbolic objects of an unknown meaning that can usually only be found in Mallorcan burial sites. Interestingly, two examples were also found on Ibiza (Enseñat 1981, 100), showing a certain amount of interchange and cultural influence on Ibiza due to continuous

contact, as well as an interesting break from the narrative of shared Mallorcan and Menorcan funerary objects. Menorca doesn't have these objects while Ibiza does, even if in small numbers. This trend shows variation between the islands and grants us some insight on their variable relationship with Ibiza.

Less work has been done specifically on glass beads, though it would be interesting to see how the issue of connectivity and isolation played out in antiquity between the Balearic Islands, Ibiza and the rest of the western Mediterranean through trace element analyses of these objects. Recent studies based on the comparison of typologies (Coll Sabater forthcoming) combined with the analysis of trace elements mentioned in the previous section show that certain types of foreign glass beads found on Mallorca and thought to be from Ibiza may actually be coming from another Mediterranean origin. This may be the same on Menorca as well, as the glass beads are numerous in funerary and domestic settings (Ferrer/Riudavets 2017).

Finally, bone artifacts have not been studied systematically on either island, making it difficult to do any type of comparison. Still, *taps d'os* appear to be more common on Mallorca, while other types of shaped bone, such as awls, are found more often on Menorca. Although these differences are slight, they nevertheless represent different ideas of what belonged in a tomb in the Late Talayotic Period and hint at slight differences in symbolic behaviour and ideas of the afterlife.

Conclusion

The data presented above is admittedly broad, showcasing general trends among dozens of graves studied on both islands. As is hopefully obvious from the text, this data does not serve to dramatically differentiate these islands. Nor does it quell questions of difference. Instead, it points to a sort of balance between the two notions. In order to approach a conclusion and what this means for the study of the Balearic Islands during the Late Talayotic, it is worth summarising these results and adding a few more elaborating details about the nature of the archaeological evidence on both islands to synthesise this comparative approach.

¹⁴ For an example of this see Guerrero 2004.

Along with the grave goods and burial spaces mentioned above, the record of burial practices from the previous Talayotic era (roughly 850–550 BCE) serves to differentiate the islands further. On Mallorca, there is a long-standing record of funerary practices from the Talayotic, including the use of quicklime burials (see Guerrero et al. 2006; García Rosselló 2010). On Menorca, however, there is relatively little evidence from the Talayotic Period in terms of funerary remains (Sintes 2015; Sintes/León 2019). A similar lack of evidence exists for domestic structures, coupled with the advent of megalithic circular houses on Menorca during the same Late Talayotic (Smith 2015; Torres 2017). The seeming explosion of complexity in the 6th to the 4th cent. BCE on Menorca may point to shifting internal political, social, or economic dynamics, ultimately leading to a surge of wealth and inequality. Tombs are part of this process, as they increase in complexity during this era on Menorca. However, on Mallorca, funerary culture does not become grander in scale, but more fragmented and diverse as it compares to Talayotic-era predecessors. Mallorca enters an era of fragmentation, perhaps due to declining power among indigenous centres or the increase in foreign commerce and influence, though much more research must be done to understand this phenomenon. Nevertheless, this fragmentation also represents a shift, but not the same as experienced on Menorca.

A large variety of burial practices are documented on Mallorca, while on Menorca, there is not much variety. This trend suggests a more heterogeneous Mallorca and a homogenous Menorca. Mallorca also may exhibit regional variation in burial practices within the island's variable geographic environments, but at present, no studies have been carried out to confirm or dispel this possibility. The sites of Son Real and the closely neighbouring S'Illot des Porros support this notion, as they exhibit patterns of interment that are not only specific to Mallorca, but unique on the island as well. Their continued use in the Late Talayotic, exhibiting apsidal and square stone, above-ground graves, hints at a region-specific funerary culture that extended from the Talayotic to the Late Talayotic. While Mallorca shows more variety in burial types, the scale of burial practices on Menorca eclipses those of Mallorca. Artificial

caves exist on both islands, but Menorca exhibits much larger constructions and multi-chambered tomb structures that are both more ornate and complex than on Mallorca.

The material culture of these tombs also presents similarities that show connections with the broader Mediterranean through the incorporation of foreign goods into hybrid cultural practices, as well as slight differences that may represent separate traditions, ideologies, and relationships with cultures outside of Mallorca and Menorca. Ceramics in these tombs tell the story of a mixture of the retention of indigenous forms and the incorporation of foreign elements. The use of libation vessels and unguent jars speaks to similarities in funerary rites and rituals across the islands. The use of larger vessels on Menorcan tombs along with small conical vessels specific to the island, however, indicates a potentially different traditional tomb assemblage. And while there are a few potential examples of infant burial in *kalathoi* on Menorca, the practice of burying children in *pithoi* is documented much more frequently on Mallorca. Both island's burial practices involve the separation of children from communal burials, but in different ways. On Mallorca, this comes in the form of separate cemeteries for infants, while on Menorca, this involves the patio burials outside of cave entrances. In both cases foreign elements are involved in this process, constituting a type of hybridised practice. Menorcan tombs use Iberian *kalathoi* and Mallorcan tombs use foreign, often Punic, lids for the infant burial urns.

The incorporation of metal objects in tombs shows similarities, connections, and differences between the islands in perhaps a more obvious manner. Many of the metal objects found on the islands are similar and share related contexts. As noted above, some bronze bells found on Mallorca may have been produced on Menorca, showing an exchange of ritual objects or movement of individuals between the two islands in some capacity. Yet small hatchets, for instance, are found commonly in Mallorcan burials, but differentially documented in Menorcan ritual settings not associated with funerary traditions, such as in Taula precincts or even houses. Finally, the lack of Punic bird iconography in the tombs of Menorca, particularly among bronze objects commonly found

on Mallorca, points to a different relationship with the Mediterranean more generally. In other words, local re-interpretations or adoptions of foreign beliefs are not totally shared between the islands, suggesting different groups and different practices, as well as different relationships to the mainland or other islands such as Ibiza.

Metal discs, which appear in significant quantities on Mallorca, are found amongst Ibizan remains as well, showing the connections between Mallorcan Late Talayotic culture and the Ibizan Punic population. The evidence of reciprocity and exchange between Mallorca and Ibiza is a fascinating prospect for Balearic archaeology, treating Mallorca as an active cultural player in the Late Talayotic, rather than a passive culture that only receives foreign influence from Ibiza, Iberia, the Punic world, or eventually the Roman world. The potential influence of Mallorca on Ibiza also suggests a fascinating extension of hybrid practices, both on Mallorca with its indigenous culture and on Ibiza, with its Punic presence. Both places may have utilised inter-island hybrid practices if the presence of these metal discs indicates a shared cultural practice. While there is no similar evidence of these discs on Menorca, the presence of Punic beads in the funerary practices of both Menorca and Mallorca speak to consistent contact and at least trading relations with Punic cultures.

The material culture for Mallorcan and Menorcan graves is quite similar from a broad vantage point, but when one zooms in on these materials, notable distinctions emerge that hint at different interactions with the Mediterranean more broadly. Similarly, the practices shared between the islands in terms of grave preparation, method of deposition, and to an extent burial location are striking. Again, focussing on these similarities of the islands masks another story about the diversification and fragmentation of Mallorcan burials and the emergence of large, elaborate, and relatively homogenous graves across Menorca. These two islands also experience change within the Late Talayotic Period in different ways. By lumping the islands together as a single cultural unit, these differences are lost. By splitting them outright, however, the connection between the islands and their obviously related cultures is similarly obscured. The

islands are both connected to and isolated from one another, suggesting a contrasting experience.

In our opinion, the way in which scholars have framed the relationship between the Balearic Islands in late prehistory as a question of connection versus isolation is problematic. These cultures are neither one Late Talayotic culture nor are they two distinct Late Talayotic cultures. Such a question, which admittedly drove the creation of this paper, in the end, does not serve to clarify what life was like on the islands in antiquity. It instead presents the question in terms of cultural absolutes: isolation versus connection, island-specific identity versus a cross-island cultural identity. What emerges from the comparison of the data at hand is a muddled matrix of interaction, different political or economic states, and shared cultural habits that may never be wholly clarified. Ultimately, this paper has attempted to establish a framework for considering the cultures of Mallorca and Menorca outside of absolutes, focusing less on cultural labels and more on the minutiae of the data. In using this framework, this study has shown that the complicated relationship between the islands should be embraced in future comparative scholarship, taking into consideration their differences, both overt and subtle, as well as their similarities to further understand the intricacies of Late Talayotic life on both islands.

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The Maltese Islands between Isolation and Interconnections

An Architectural Perspective

Keywords: Malta, archaeology of Malta, archaeology of cult places, ancient architecture, Punic architecture, religious architecture, Tas-Silġ sanctuary

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Summary

This article examines the Maltese Archipelago's role in the Mediterranean during Pre-Roman times, with particular attention to the 4th and 3rd cent. BCE and a special focus on the Tas-Silġ Sanctuary. Although some scholars consider the Maltese Archipelago to have been a marginal part of the eparchy in the Punic/Hellenistic period, recent analyses show the cultural vitality and complexity of that phase, with the appearance of innovations in a context that more typically absorbed influences from elsewhere, in addition to possessing distinctive local features. The architectural styles, especially in the Tas-Silġ sanctuary, point to connections with the nearby Sicilian area and Egyptian influences, but also possess features that lack clear parallels. Together with its prehistoric forebears and local peculiarities, Malta's multiplicity of cultural traditions reflects the religious identity of the sanctuary and those who frequented it: there was an evident 'international' vocation. The Maltese Archipelago is located at the boundaries

of different cultures; this marginality – or isolation – was, in fact, a source of dynamism, resulting in exposure to diverse influences. Although widespread trends were followed, Malta created significant cultural innovations in the western Mediterranean. Given the lack of knowledge about 4th and 3rd cent. BCE Punic religious architecture, this information from Malta helps us to understand the religious beliefs and cultural networks of the Mediterranean islands before the conflict between Rome and Carthage.

Introduction

This article examines the Maltese Archipelago's role in the Mediterranean during pre-Roman times, with particular attention to the 4th and 3rd cent. BCE and a special focus on the Tas-Silġ sanctuary, located on the southern part of the largest island and dedicated to Astarte. After a brief general geographical and economic introduction that outlines the position of the Maltese islands with regard to Mediterranean trade routes, the main aspects concerning the Phoenician period (8th–5th cent. BCE) are discussed. From this period onwards, it is possible to trace the network of links between Malta and Sicily – almost inevitably given its proximity – as well as with the islands of Cyprus and Crete in the eastern Mediterranean. With respect to this first period, the Punic phase appears to be characterised by greater connectivity, which reflects the altered historical and political circumstances. The link with Sicily emerges more clearly, and the presence of architectural items of

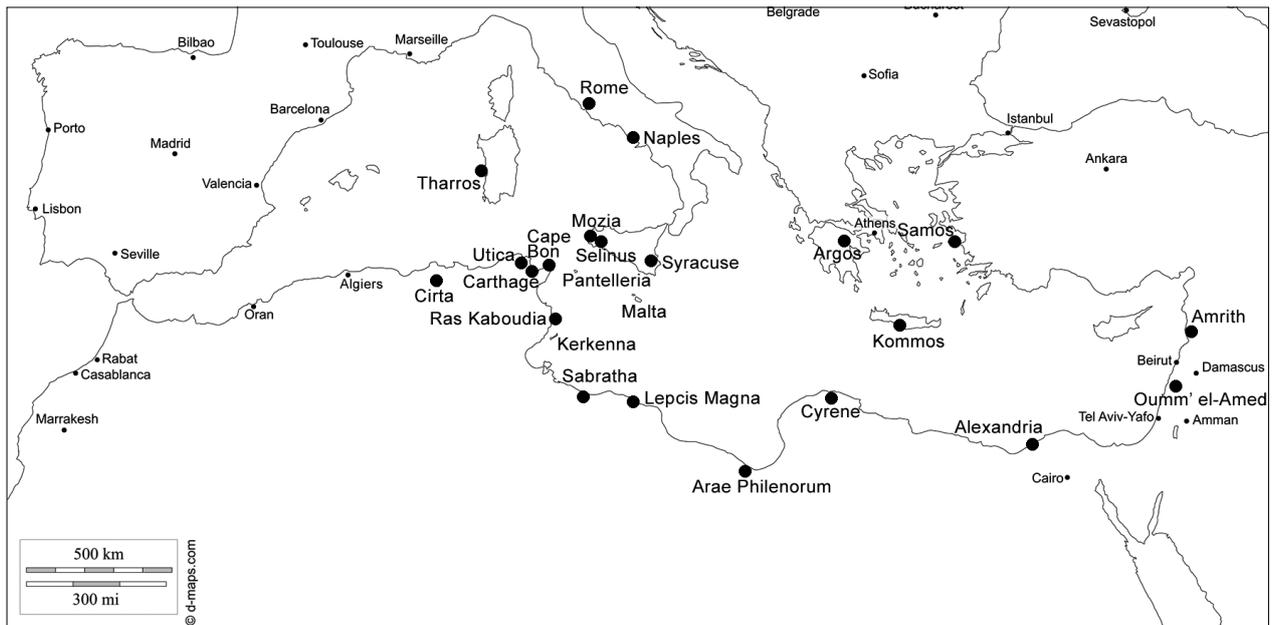


Fig. 1. The Mediterranean basin with major sites mentioned in the text (from: https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=4861&lang=en, reworked).

Egyptian and Alexandrian tradition is currently a unique phenomenon.

Among the artefacts discussed as examples, emphasis is given to architectural elements and architecture in general, which reflect the rites that were conducted in these buildings; in the final part observations are made concerning the ritual practices carried out in the sanctuary. These reflect the extensive network of contacts of which the Maltese Archipelago was part: Astarte's multifaceted personality, while maintaining local distinctions evidenced by the regional characterisation 'Astarte of Malta', clearly had to be recognisable to visitors who came to Tas-Silġ from diverse Mediterranean ports.

The Maltese Archipelago in the Mediterranean during the Pre-Roman Period: An Overview

One of the distinctive features of the Maltese Archipelago is its geographical position, midway between Syracuse and Africa (*fig. 1*); Malta's proximity to Sicily led to its inclusion among the territories of the *provincia Sicilia* when the islands were seized from the Carthaginian eparchy following the Second Punic War (218–202 BCE). There is no written evidence concerning Malta and Gozo's role in the dense series of clashes, exchanges and

alliances that involved (and disrupted) the Mediterranean in the 4th and 3rd cent. BCE, although – given its location on the main trade routes between Sicily and Africa – it seems unlikely that the Archipelago was not touched in any way by these political developments. It is possible that Agathocles, who became the sole ruler (*strategòs autokrátor*) of Syracuse in 317 BCE, used the Archipelago as a stopover during journeys to territories east of Carthage, when he conducted his African campaign from 310 to 307 BCE in response to the threat from Carthage (Arnaud 2008, 26). An indirect testimony of the Maltese Archipelago's strategic importance in antiquity is the information provided by Livy regarding the events of 218 BCE, when the Carthaginian general Hamilcar delivered the island of Malta to Sempronius Longus: the consul *'postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat, ad insulas Vulcani [...] traiecit'*, indicating that the conquest guaranteed the security of this part of *Sicilia* (Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* XXI, 51; Gambin 2004a, 162; 2015, 10).

Strabo and Pliny followed the tradition established by Timaeus-Diodorus¹, according to which

¹ Unlike Pseudo-Scylax who emphasised their links with Africa (Cassia 2008, 135). On nautical routes involving the Archipelago see Bruno 2004, 73–77; Arnaud 2008.

the islands of Malta, Gozo and the Kerkennah isles were grouped together to indicate the westward route from Sicily to Africa. Arnaud suggests that Agathocles' expedition to Africa could have followed the same itinerary: this might explain why six days passed before the king's fleet sighted the mainland and disembarked at Cape Bon or another point on the Tunisian coast². This was the path taken by Belisarius' fleet from Syracuse to Malta and Gozo to reach Ras Kaboudia in 533 CE (Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum* 1, 14); from here ships bound for Carthage followed the coast via Cape Bon.

Malta would also have been one of the *emporion*³ around which trade was organised in pre-Roman times: focal points where it was possible to pass the winter or find shelter in difficult circumstances, and sources of 'typical local products' suitable for export. In the case of Melita (the ancient name for the largest island), the written sources all point to fabrics as the island's speciality;⁴ these would have had the advantage of be-

ing lightweight and convenient to store on board, regardless of what the main cargo was (Arnaud 2008, 30).

The few written sources concerning Malta belong almost exclusively to the Late Republican Period and after, although they are likely to be based on Hellenistic writers, such as the 1st cent. BCE historian Diodorus Siculus. The importance that Diodorus attributes to merchants (*emporoi*) in achieving economic well-being is not limited to the cloth trade and extends to the benefits that the Maltese derived from their strategic position and ports, the possibility of wintering (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* V, 12, 3) and the fact that the island belonged to a route network within a system that would also have included agreements with pirates. Cicero recounts that these spent the winter months in the bay of Marsaxlokk (Cicero, *In Verrem* II, 4, 104): the proximity of which to the temple of Astarte in Tas-Silġ is pointed out by several earlier writers, who underline that this implied not only peaceful relations, but above all that the sanctuary was protected, and the Maltese probably collaborated in piracy activities. These circumstances seem not to have applied to all the islands in this part of the Mediterranean, since Cicero also writes that Lipari had to pay a levy to pirates in exchange for a non-aggression agreement.⁵

With its natural harbours and inlets, Malta was an ideal resting place during the *mare clausum* period; the islands' distinctive conformation is noted in ancient written sources (Bruno 2004, 69–73; Bonanno 2011, 49–61). The earliest recorded reference comes from Pseudo-Scylax ('Malta, town and port', Scylax 111), and the well-known account of Diodorus mentions Malta's 'numerous,

2 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* XX, 6, 1–2. Additional evidence that this route to the west was still followed in Imperial times is the strangely high cost of transporting goods from Carthage to Sicily given in Diocletian's Price Edict (Arnaud 2005, 143, tab. 6).

3 About the term *emporion* see Rouillard 2018; about the relationship between Phoenicians, Greeks and Indigenous peoples in the *emporion* of Sicily see Spatafora 2018.

4 Most of the literary and archaeological evidence comes from the Roman period, but the craft tradition dates back to the preceding epoch (for the first examination of written references see Busuttill 1966; in-depth studies are to be found in Bruno 2004, 79–81; for a recent overview about Maltese industries see Anastasi 2018), extending back to the Bronze Age (Bruno 2004, 79; textile production is also attested in the Tas-Silġ sanctuary, where several rooms north of Temple IV – Area O – were used for spinning and weaving in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age: Cazzella/Recchia 2012, 35). Cicero referred to a '*textrinum [...] ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam*' in the major town, modern Rabat, which was used for three years by Verres, although the owner never set foot in the town (Cicero, *In Verrem* II, 4, 103; Bruno 2004, 37, 80, source n. 8; Cassia 2008, 151 f.). Excavations conducted in the 1980s in the area in front of the renowned Rabat *domus* brought to light structures probably used for textile manufacture, which would confirm the results of investigations carried out by T. Zammit in the 1920s. The discovery of numerous stone loom weights and *murex* shells point to the production of fabrics (Bruno 2004, 80 f.; Sagona 2015, 271 f.; Bonzano 2017a, 22, 198).

There is also sporadic evidence of textile production during the Punic era; the earliest writer who mentions Maltese cloth is the Greek Callimachus, who simply employs the term *Μελιταῖα*, meaning that these fabrics were already known well before that period (Callimachus, *fragmenta* 393, quot-

ed by Hesychius Alexandrinus, *Lexicon*). Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* V, 2) talks about the Maltese artisans 'the most important being those who weave linen, which is remarkably sheer and soft'. It is likely that the entire production process was not conducted in Malta, but only the fabric production and garment manufacture, starting from imported raw materials, wool or linen (Busuttill 1966, 217; Bonanno 1976/1977, 393; 1977, 76 f.; Bruno 2004, 80). The fact that Maltese fabrics were well known means that they must have been exported outside the Archipelago on a large scale. 5 Busuttill 1971, 309; Gambin (2015, 11) suggests taking a more careful approach. For an overview on piracy in the ancient Mediterranean, see De Souza 1999.

exceptionally functional harbours', repeating soon after that 'the island has good ports', and lastly affirming that Gaulos (Gozo) too was 'well-appointed and adorned with ports' (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* V, 12, 1–4).⁶ These natural characteristics were certainly decisive for the dynamics of Phoenician colonisation.⁷

Recent field research shows that Malta also seems to have experienced a period of prosperity and stability during the Punic era, in contrast to the picture painted in the past by certain scholars – according to whom the island had no strategic importance and was excluded from the main Mediterranean routes prior to its conquest by the Romans, thus explaining the weak Carthaginian influence (Aubert 2009, 248 f.; Bondi et al. 2009, 156 f.). As evidence of this alleged marginality with respect to the interests of the motherland, Ovid's passage regarding the exile of the Carthaginian princess Anna has been cited, interpreted as a reference to the feeble Punic presence symbolised by the woman's weakness and the island's 'peaceful vocation' (Ovidius, *Fasti* III, 545–656; Rizzo 1976/1977, 191). However, a recent study of this passage has highlighted the difficulties in recognising the Carthaginian tradition (Calcaterra/Ribichini 2009). It, therefore, seems that the mythical material present in Ovid's account, rather than reflecting past political relations between Malta and Carthage, was strongly coloured by the way this was seen in Augustan times: hence the emphasis on the courtesy and wealth of the Maltese King Battus.

Other scholars, though, have maintained for some time that the islands' strategic role was not passive but rather 'of strong initiative and direct organisation, also at times with determined external action'; the ability to maintain substantial prosperity over long periods is largely explained by the

gains associated with managing long-distance maritime traffic, with all the associated services furnished to people and their ships (Ciasca 1999, 22; for an updated outline see Gambin 2015).

An Exclusive Vantage Point: The Tas-Silġ Sanctuary

There is considerable evidence against the thesis of the Archipelago's non-involvement, conditioned by the silence of Classical writers (Bruno 2004, 15–21; Cassia 2008). While some of this is poorly known and many excavations are dated, the Tas-Silġ sanctuary constitutes a privileged case-study: it has been investigated since the early 1960s by the Italian Archaeological Mission, and since the end of the 1990s also by the University of Malta.⁸ This religious site – located on the main island at one of Malta's most important harbours, the port of Marsaxlokk – was built during the Late Neolithic and was in use throughout the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (*fig. 2, 3*).⁹ When Phoenicians colonised the Archipelago, the megalithic building was still visible, and the site was frequented. Thus, re-utilising the previous sanctuary in part, they established an international place of worship dedicated to Astarte, as attested by numerous votive inscriptions in Phoenician; this preservation of the principal megalithic temple is a tangible sign of the conservatism that characterised the site throughout the historical period.¹⁰

The themes of continuity and links with external influences constitute a *fil rouge* in the

⁶ Bruno 2004, 178, source n. 13; for an overview of the bays and inlets see Bonanno 2005, 59–61, 116–118; 2011, 49–61; Sagona 2015, 243; on the reconstruction of the ancient coastline at the Burmarrad, Marsa and Marsascala sites see Gambin 2004b.

⁷ Much has been published on these matters, but most has little relevance to this paper. However, it is worth pointing out Antonia Ciasca's work on Maltese archaeology, which includes both detailed analysis and overviews which are still largely valid today (Ciasca 1988), together with Vella (2019), which gives an account of the latest research with bibliography.

⁸ An up-to-date account of excavations is given in Bonzano 2017a; the results of digs by the University of Malta conducted in the southern portion of the site (south of the modern road that crosses the archaeological area) were published in 2015 (Bonanno/Vella 2015); a volume covering all the Italian Mission's excavations from the 1960s up to the present is due to be published soon (Rossignani et al. in press).

⁹ The possible gap in the frequentation between the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age is still a vexed question; in favour of continuity, see Cazzella/Recchia 2015; 2017.

¹⁰ For the prehistoric sanctuary, see numerous works by A. Cazzella and G. Recchia (recently Cazzella et al. 2016). On the significance of (and that attributed to) the megalithic structures in the late-Republican rebuild carried out when the Archipelago formed part of the *provincia Sicilia*, see Bonzano 2017b.

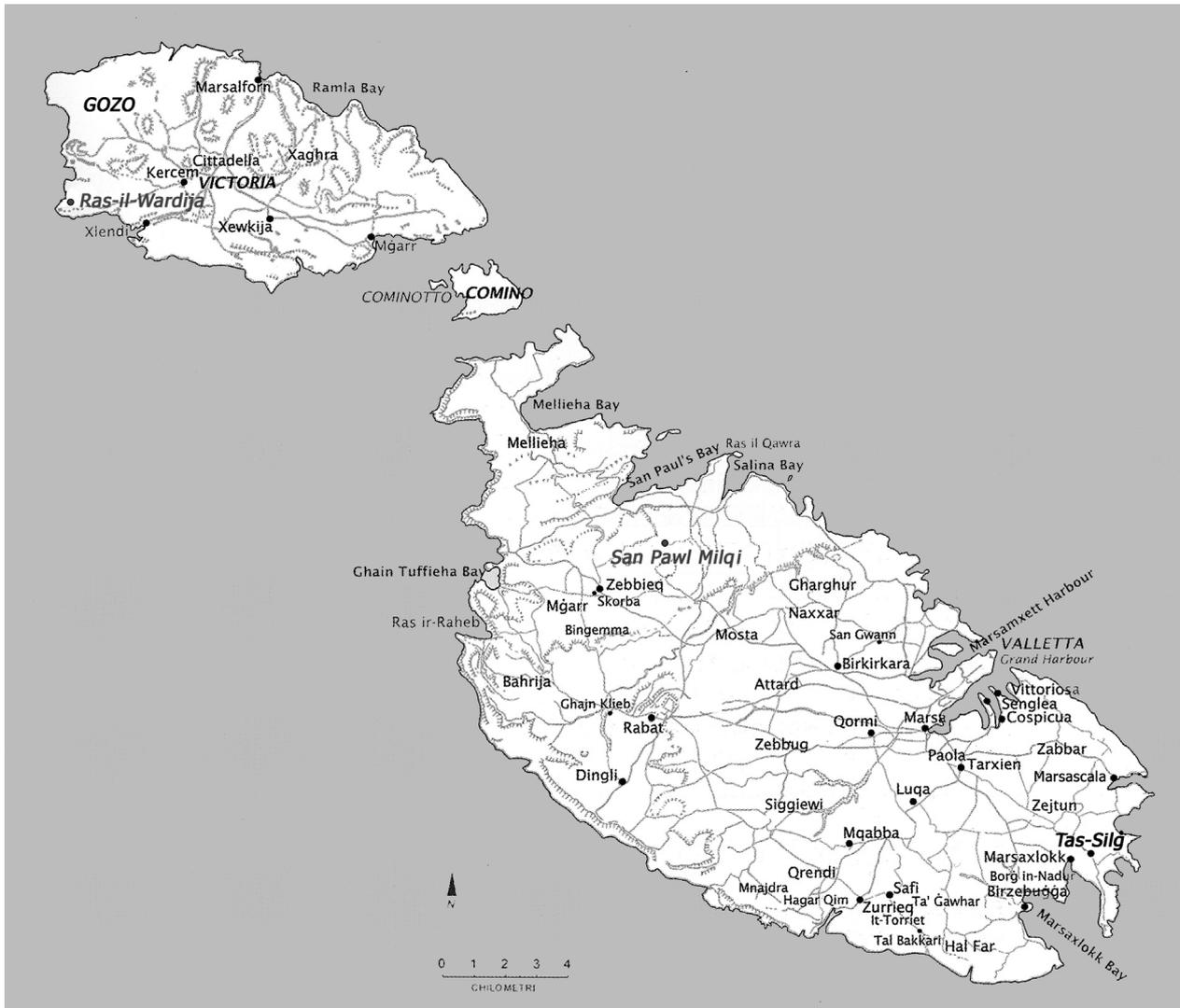


Fig. 2. The Maltese archipelago, plan (from: Bruno 2004, fig. 3).

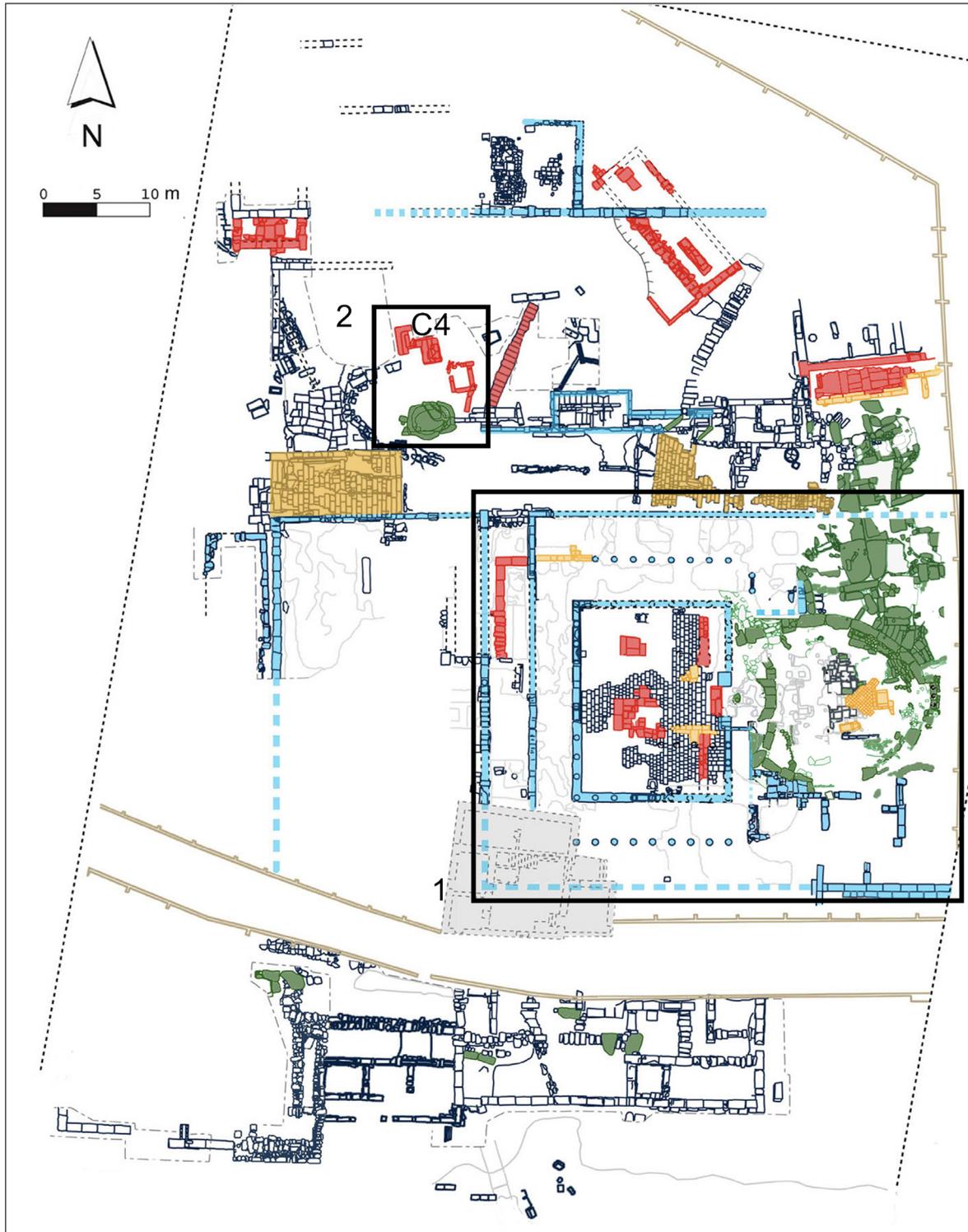
sanctuary's history, conditioned not just by the size of the plot, but more so by the location of the temple – the international dimensions of which are evident even in the meagre remains found of inscriptions from the Republican Period (Bruno 2004, 18 f.; Cassia 2008).

The Phoenician Period

A significant tendency to openness towards external influences and the plurality of references adopted can already be perceived in the Phoenician phase, although it is difficult to reconstruct this in detail with regard to the monuments due to subsequent transformations (fig. 3.1, 4). The element that distinguishes the entire life of the

sanctuary with respect to its identity is surely the continuous use of the main (possibly) pre-historic-phase temple (fig. 4.1); while the other religious buildings were eliminated in various ways, this structure became the *santa sanctorum* of the historical phases. At least in pre-Christian times, an anthropomorphic relief sculpture was kept there (probably inside, fig. 4.2);¹¹ this was similar to others found in megalithic complexes in the Archipelago, which are thought not to represent divinities, but the performers of rites or mythical ancestors (Cazzella/Recchia 2014, 569)

¹¹ For an examination of the excavation data leading to assumption that the prehistoric statue had remained in use for a long time, see Bonzano 2017a, 188; 2017b, 102. A different opinion can be found in Vella 1999.



- Late Neolithic period
- Phoenician - Punic period
- Late Republican period
- Byzantine period

Fig. 3. Tas-Silg, the multiphase sanctuary plan. 1: the central area; 2: the so-called tank area (Italian Archaeological Mission Archive, reworked).

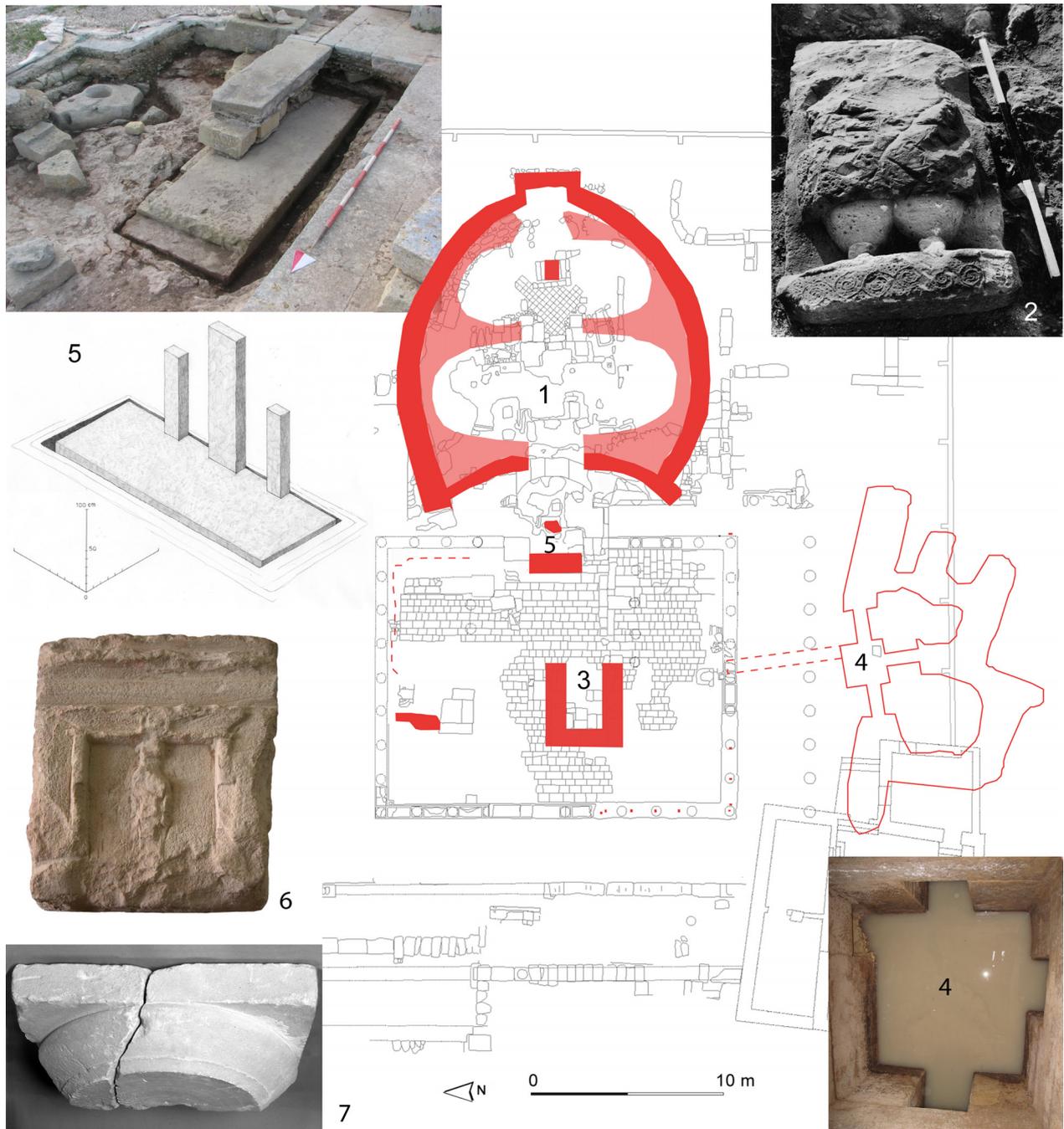


Fig. 4. Tas-Silg, the central area of the sanctuary during the Phoenician period (Italian Archaeological Mission Archive, reworked).

– although of course we do not know how they were perceived in later centuries during subsequent periods. Whatever meaning was attributed to it, from the mid-6th to early 5th cent. BCE this image was accompanied by an acrolithic statue of the deity, evidenced only by an ivory ear. During this period, then, two religious images were present, one prehistoric and the other more recent: this is not surprising, since in well-known

temples, the presence of two statues (one older and the other more recent, conforming to later artistic requirements) was not infrequent. Examples are the images of Hera in Samos (Però 2014, 699–701) and those of Artemis in Brauron, for which written sources refer to three statues (Bettinetti 2001, 20–22), as is also the case for the effigies of Hera at Argos (Però 2014, 703–707; Bettinetti 2001, 137 f.).

In front of the temple, there were various cult installations, the most significant of which was an aedicule – of which only the foundations set directly on the rock are preserved (*fig. 4.3*) – of Egyptian tradition, which was widespread in the Phoenician world (Wagner 1980).¹² The area was also associated with an extensive underground structure which gave the cult of Astarte marked chthonic aspects (*fig. 4.4*); our understanding of these spaces, in turn, based on a pre-existing construction, is incomplete due to the lack of similar cases with which comparisons may be made (Bonzano/Grassi 2015).

A singular cult furnishing, on which Antonia Ciasca has commented several times (Ciasca 1976/1977, 166; 1993, 228 f.), is the ‘ground altar’ that stands at the temple entrance: this monolithic stone slab, without a base, has three recesses on its long side; according to Ciasca these would have held vertical stones known as *baetyls* (*fig. 4.5*).¹³ The scholar has pointed out similarities with depictions of devices with *baetyls* on steles, as well as with known exemplars – first of all that inside Temple B at Kommos in Crete (Shaw 1989, 165–172, *figs. 3–10*; 2000a, 14–24; *figs. 1.30–1.45*; 2000b, 675, 700 f., 705, 711–713), although with significant differences that are both morphological (the Maltese altar is not upstanding, but set into the bedrock) and functional (the Kommos feature is not an altar).¹⁴ Thus, although the ‘ground altar’ resembles items found throughout the Phoenician empire from east to west, it is also the result

of a desire and capacity for special modification in accordance with cult requirements, perhaps chthonic in nature (Bonzano/Grassi 2015, 183 f.).

Contacts and circulation of craftworkers from the Cyprus area are documented by the presence of an anthropomorphic statuette, similar to that found in Stagnone, Marsala (Oggiano 2016, 164). Continuous exchanges between Phoenicia, Cyprus, Egypt and the Phoenician colonies, exemplified by the circulation of luxury goods (i.e. jewellery¹⁵ and worked ivory¹⁶) and the adoption of funerary practices (the use of sarcophagi)¹⁷, may be seen at different levels in Malta, in imported goods and the local production of particular artefacts. It is also possible that the cult statue of which only an ivory ear has survived had a near-life-size Egyptianising iconography similar to that known from a small *naòs* model (*fig. 4.6*: Moscati 1973, 212 f.; Oggiano 2008, 291, *fig. 5.3*); this representation of the divinity is also found several centuries later on coinage from the Malta mint (Perassi 2018).

Although, on one hand, these Maltese discoveries must be seen against a background of exchanges between Phoenicia and Carthage, there is also an undeniable link with Greek Sicily; this strong bond is made clear by the early adoption of the Doric order with respect to what is found in the Punic/Phoenician world. It is well established that Doric capitals first appeared in Carthage in the early 4th cent. BCE (Rakob 1996; Mancini 2010, 47), while at Tas-Silg a capital was found that may be dated on stylistic grounds to around the

¹² Ties between Phoenicia and Egypt became stronger during the Persian period, as shown by the spread of the architectural model of the *naòs* (Oggiano 2016, 164).

¹³ The image shown here, the result of graphical reworking by R. Rachini, differs from the reconstructions published by Ciasca in that it lacks side-shoulders, which were most likely added later (see below). The slab is also distinguished by the unusual compact, dark grey stone of which it is made; this is not very widespread in Malta, unlike the local *Globigerina* limestone which is most commonly used for both buildings and architectural decorations.

¹⁴ The Cretan sanctuary – according to Shaw used by the Phoenicians between the mid-9th and mid-7th cent. BCE, and often cited as an example of east/west contacts – featured two altars outside the temple, of different types and orientation, and which contained archaeozoological remains indicative of diverse ritual activities (for a discussion of the details – which lie outside the field of this paper – see Ekroth 2018, 320 f.).

¹⁵ The Ghajn Klieb cemetery (in the outskirts of Mdina, the ancient capital *Melite*) has yielded a number of notable finds, such as a decorated plaque that was part of an armband made in Phoenicia in the 8th/7th cent. BCE, but deposited in the 7th/6th cent. BCE (Cutajar 2002, *fig. 1*, 60 f., 83), and a double amulet with Horus and Anubis, dating to the 7th/6th cent. BCE (Cutajar 2002, *fig. 2*, 62–66, 84). From Rabat come several rings with scarabs (6th/5th cent. BCE, Cutajar 2002, 62, 85). The amulet with Horus and Anubis is particularly interesting since it is an original production (rather than a *pastiche*) which displays notable technical skill and informed iconographic choices.

¹⁶ In addition to the above-mentioned ivory earring, other objects in ivory have been found at Tas-Silg, including a gilt ivory plaque showing oriental influence; these artefacts are soon to be published by G. Legrottaglie.

¹⁷ From Ghar Barka comes an anthropoid terracotta sarcophagus perhaps made in Cyprus in the early 5th cent. BCE (Cutajar 2002, 60; Sagona 2015, 201, *fig. 6.5. 1 f.*).

mid-5th cent. BCE (*fig. 4.7*).¹⁸ The presence in the sanctuary and elsewhere of large figured Attic vases, generally used in cult contexts, is also significant; the frequency of these finds, markedly more common than in burial grounds, raises the question of what they were used for, and how to decode the meaning of the images they bear in a different cultural context from that in which they originated (Semeraro 2002).¹⁹

In short, the various classes of finds indicate that in the period between the 8th and 5th cent. BCE, the categories of colonisation or acculturation are not able to describe the interaction dynamics. These dynamics, in fact, contribute to defining a distinctive local landscape and sequence of events, as the epithet 'Astarte of Malta' would also suggest. In Tas-Silġ, this epithet is attested for the first time on a 5th cent. BCE ivory plaque (Amadasi Guzzo 2011, 24 f., *fig. 15*; Piacentini 2012, 141); the same also appears on the coins minted in Malta after the Roman Conquest (Perassi 2018, 25–40).

The Punic Period

In the following period, starting from the late 4th and early 3rd cent. BCE, an important monumental transformation was enacted, with the construction

¹⁸ The profile more closely resembles that of specimens from Magna Graecia dated to between 480 and the second half of the 5th cent. BCE (Mertens 2006, 271 f., 276 f., 288 f., 390, 396, 417). The information available about its discovery does not include any reference to the capital's original collocation; its dimensions (base diameter: 38cm, abacus plate width 72cm) indicate that it came from a monumental building. If it belonged to the shrine, then this perhaps had an entrance with a central monumental column, similar to shrine A of the Tophet in Motya (Nigro 2009, 253 f., *figs. 11–12*) dated to phase B of the sanctuary (6th–5th cent. BCE according to Nigro; second half of the 6th cent. BCE according to Ciasca 1992, 140). This hypothesis makes the relationship between the votive scale model and the layout of the structure problematic, although possibly in the artefact, which represents the inner area with the cultic statue, a column in front may have been omitted. On the other hand, Greek Sicily's key role in the transmission of decorative models and schemes has been recognised for some time (Rakob 1996).

¹⁹ Kraters have been found in the sanctuary, both black-glazed and Corinthian versions, usually figured; Attic pottery includes large figured vases, including volute kraters that are widespread in cult contexts both in Greece and the west (Semeraro 2002, 511).

of the building that lasted until the beginning of the 1st cent. BCE, when the sanctuary underwent an overall reconstruction (Bonzano 2017a) (*fig. 5*).

The sanctuary's appearance changed considerably: the impact on the reshaping of the architectural layout was significant, although a balance was maintained between open areas and buildings, with a variety of structures and architectural decorations reflecting the plurality of models and influences to which the Archipelago was subjected. These were not merely passively reproduced but featured the active modification of external stimuli, as seen below.²⁰

The architecture and architectural decoration indicate a substantial openness to the models circulating in the Mediterranean, Punic and other. Features of Egyptian origin are of considerable importance, as indicated not so much by Egyptian cornice blocks (found in various sizes that probably belonged to different periods of the sanctuary's history), as the double-grooved capital found reused in a Byzantine structure (*fig. 5.1*).²¹ There are few parallels for such objects; in the temple of Amrith in Syria, the monumental phase of which is dated to the Persian period, pilasters and rectangular pillars crowned with similar capitals were found in the northwest corner of the complex, although they are more schematic in shape; according to the available information, their original location has not been identified.²² At Tas-Silġ too, it is difficult to recognise these items' initial position; it is suggested that they may have stood on the pillars that constituted the so-called archaic *antas* (following, with some modification, a hypothesis put forward by A. Ciasca), which are discussed below (*fig. 5.7*).

²⁰ About the 'island archaeology' and the 'glocalisation' tendencies, see Dawson 2016, 24–27.

²¹ Caprino 1973, 53, *fig. 40*, 1 f. For a recent discussion of the influence of Egyptian material culture on the Carthaginian world from Phoenician times, see Redissi 2015.

²² For the comparison with Amrith see Ciasca 1991, 757, n. 10. Recent observations on the sanctuary's architecture and phases of use may be found in Oggiano 2012. With regard to the architectural elements it would appear that they are only discussed in the publication of the excavations: Dunand/Saliby 1985, 16 f., *fig. 4*. Pl. XIX: 1; XXXIII: 1–2; LXI: n. 22.

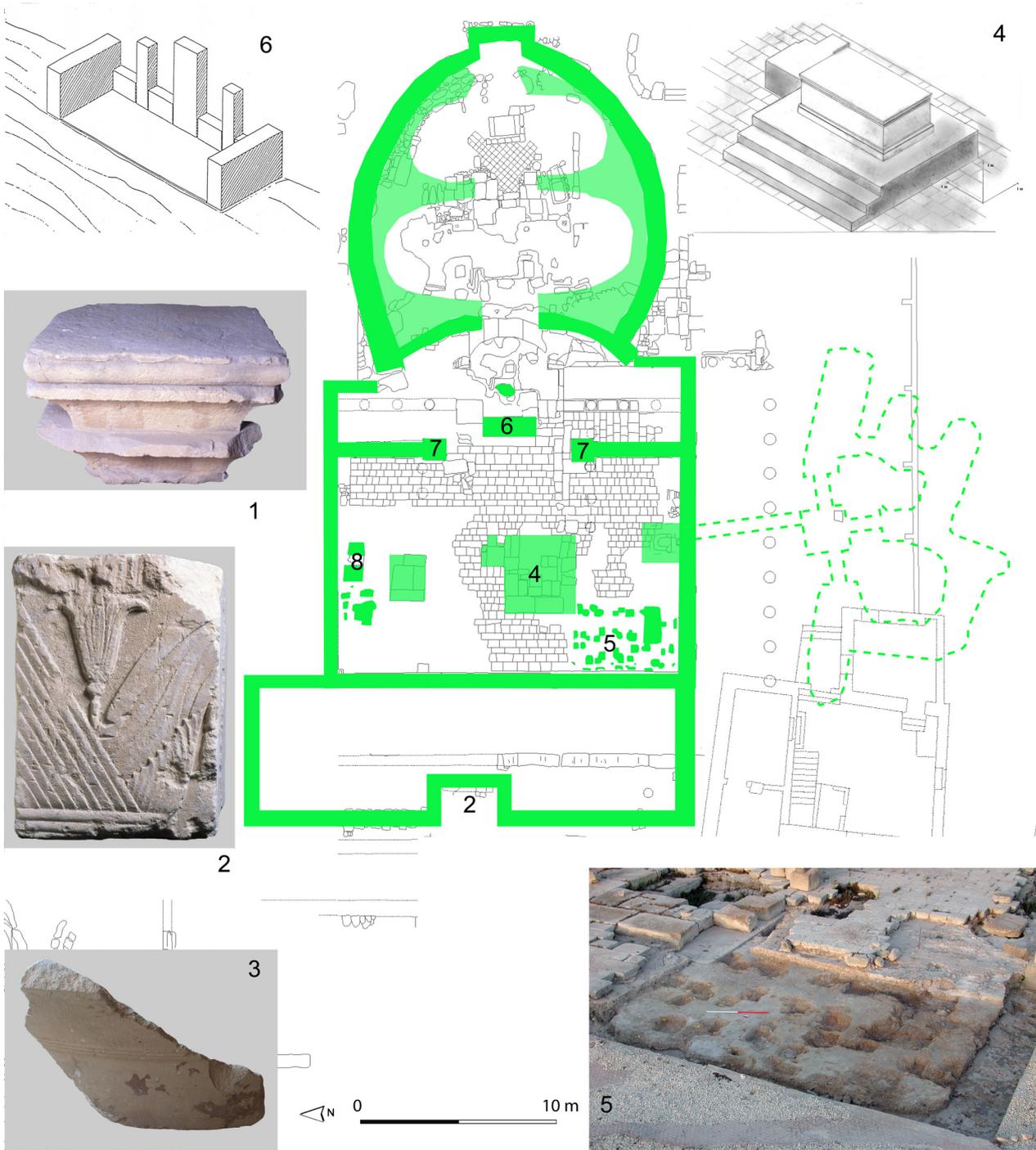


Fig. 5. Tas-Silġ, the central area of the sanctuary during the Punic/Hellenistic period (Italian Archaeological Mission Archive, reworked).

A composite block belongs to the same tradition; this might have decorated the enclosure of a small tank situated in the northern part of the sanctuary, in a zone known as the ‘tank area’ due to the concentration of installations related to water use and storage (fig. 3.2). This item has a corner pillar crowned by a moulded capital

and flanked by a smooth pilaster surmounted by a grooved Egyptian capital; it is an interesting piece for which no published parallels exist at present.

More Alexandrian influences may be seen in the high-quality materials used, the Aeolic pilaster capitals made from blocks, in all likelihood,

gave a monumental aspect to entrances and corners in the religious complex (*fig. 5.2*).²³ The most pertinent resemblance is to the renowned capitals of the Mausoleum B of Sabratha in Libya, with respect to which the Maltese pieces exhibit greater formal complexity and a smoother, more refined rendering of the plant decorations.²⁴

The presence of these items, most effectively discussed by Antonella Mezzolani (2005), is of great importance, as it points to a direct relationship with the area of Alexandria. This connection is not necessarily mediated by Carthage: in fact, in the Punic world, there usually is a preference for other types and variants, both in monumental religious²⁵ and funerary architecture²⁶ and in minor constructions (steles),²⁷ as indeed is seen in other settlements in the eparchy such as *Cossyra/Pantelleria* (Müller 2015, 513–515, Abb. 96–99) and *Tharros* (Pesce 1961, coll. 364–367, fig. 16; Acquaro 1991, 554, figs. 6, 20; Mezzolani 2005, 511, fig. 4; Floris 2014/2015, 44, fig. 5; Fariselli 2018,

115–118, fig. 8)²⁸ in addition to the later Numidian architecture.²⁹ Aeolic capitals are also known from the Near East: at Oumm el-‘Amed (in modern Lebanon, 20km south of Tyre), in the temple of Milkashtart, the Aeolic capital motif with a central triangle placed corner-down is present on an orthostat carved on two adjoining sides (perhaps from the monumental altar) which shows the upper portion of a scene featuring a priest in front of a structure crowned by the aforementioned capital, evidence of consistency between figured representations and monumental architecture (Dunand/Duru 1962, 28, 147 f., n. M195, fig. XXVIII: 2).

The Maltese capital differs from the Sabratha exemplar – which is the most relevant parallel currently known – in its more naturalistic rendering of the plant elements that form the volute, with the addition of a calyx consisting of a jagged-edged leaf shown in high relief.

These Alexandrian similarities are accompanied by strong Sicilian influences. A piece whose context of discovery is unknown seems to belong to the Hellenistic period (*fig. 5.3*); its rounded profile resembles a capital from the *Quadergebäude* in Rue Ibn Chabaat in Carthage (Ferchiou 1989, 81, n. III.I.B.5, fig. 12d, Pl. CIVa; Rakob 1991, 70, Abb. 11: 3–4, Taf. 19: 1–3; Mancini 2010, 47, fig. 4). As with the 5th cent. BCE Doric capital considered above, here too its original location with respect to the known sanctuary buildings remains to be discovered; the upper diameter (57.4cm) indicates that it comes from a monumental building – which

23 Ciasca 1991. In line with a recent critical synthesis by Antonella Mezzolani, the term ‘Aeolic’ is used here to indicate ‘a type of support characterized by mirrored pairs of outward-facing vertical volutes, between which there is a central motif (triangle or palmette), and which are sometimes decorated with leaves or flowers at the point of contact between the upper part of the volutes and the abacus and between the lower curve and the calyx’ (Mezzolani 2005, 505). In the 1960s excavations two blocks were found, both reused as building materials in late-Republican structures. Their differing dimensions indicate that they came from different locations in the building.

24 There is a large bibliography on the mausoleum of Sabratha, of which only the major works are listed here: Di Vita 1968, 16–31, figs. 2–9; 1976; 1983, 357–360, fig. 3; 2008, 9; Prados Martínez 2008, 144–149. For a proposed date based on the latest archaeological investigations Bessi 2009; on the basis of a recent study of finds from construction layers, the mausoleum’s foundation has been dated to the early years of the 2nd cent. BCE (Bessi 2009, 15–18, 24).

25 Excavation of the religious building in Rue Ibn Chabâat brought to light a low-relief stucco Aeolic capital on the block of corner pillar (Ferchiou 1989, 94, n. IV.I.25, Pl. CXIVc; Rakob 1991, 71, Abb. 11: 1–2; Taf. 19: 4; Mancini 2010, 46).

26 From the outskirts of Carthage comes a door footing, perhaps from a mausoleum, dating to the late 3rd cent. BCE (Lancel 1992, 332, fig. 178; Ferchiou 1989, n. IV.2.A.1, Pl. XVb; Mezzolani 2005, fig. 10).

27 See for example the 3rd cent. BCE steles with carved and incised decoration, on which the text and decoration are framed by slender pillars topped by capitals of this type (Lancel 1992, figs. 209, 211).

28 At Tharros the capital (only the upper half survives) was not made for a corner, but to be seen side-on; the Maltese specimens share a central flower. The block was part of the decoration of the base of the temple with attached Doric columns, the reconstruction of which is still debated (Pesce 1961, 357–360, fig. 9, ill. XIII; Acquaro 1991 does not suggest a location for the Aeolic capitals; Floris 2014/2015).

29 For examples of Aeolic capitals in mausoleums in the Numidian area see Prados Martínez 2008, with bibliography; for details regarding individual architectural pieces see those described in Ferchiou 1989, 83–94. To these may be added several finds from Dougga which demonstrate the use of this type in religious buildings: these pieces, reused along with other decorative items in the Byzantine fortifications, are thought to have come from a monument dedicated to Massinissa located in the Numidian agorà (Aounallah/Golvin 2016, 29–58, figs. 16–30, 62a–c).

however was not the *sacellum* of the previous period, that in this phase was dismantled and replaced by a table altar with lower and upper mouldings that resemble 4th–3rd cent. BCE western Mediterranean models (*fig. 5.4*; Bonzano 2004/2005).

The above considerations provoke a further question: to what extent were these diverse influences reflected in cult practices, and consequently in religious identity. The presence of an altar outside the temple – a feature foreign to Phoenician-Punic culture – is comparable with what is found in Mozia (Sicily) in *sacellum* A of the *tofet* and in the Western Shrine located outside the North Gate.³⁰ The *cymatium* of the Maltese altar bears a fragmentary inscription in Phoenician, ‘[...] the altar to the lady Astarte of Malta’, which emphasises the divinity’s regional connotation.³¹ Around this latter altar were erected numerous *cippi* with platforms for offerings, in two phases; evidence of these consisted of cuts in the beaten-earth floor, filled with fragments of the worked stones that were broken up and removed when the late Republican paved surface was laid (*fig. 5.5*). The fragments found belonged both to simple squared blocks, and forms with upper cornice mouldings decorated with Ionic *kyma*. The construction of the new altar did not entail the removal of the older ground altar with *baetyls* that stood at the temple entrance; it was transformed into a more ‘Greek’ type through the addition of lateral shoulder-pieces (*fig. 5.6*).

This suggests the coexistence of two different rituals: one involving bloodshed, performed on the altar without a base, of which remain signs of wear (with repairs in *cocciopesto*) and nails that

served to attach metal plates,³² and one without bloodshed, conducted on the table altar. These two sacrificial areas were divided by two structures – the ‘archaic antas’, crowned by Egyptian double-grooved capitals³³ – of which only the foundations remain, incorporated into the subsequent late-Republican paved flooring (*fig. 5.7*).

With regard to its architecture, the Maltese Archipelago participated fully in the cultural *koiné* shared by various Punic centres, which in the architectural field is most evidently expressed by the presence of elements belonging to different cultural environments: Egyptian grooved capitals, Aeolic friezes and Greek orders (Doric capitals, fluted shafts, table altar mouldings, upper altar cornices with Ionic *kyma*). At times, these decorative finishings occur in combination with Hellenistic Mediterranean architecture, both in private buildings, such as the houses in Carthage (Laidlaw 1997; recently Lappi 2018, with references) and the later tower mausoleums (Rakob 1983; Coarelli/Thébert 1988; Prados Martínez 2004) and in public ones, such as the temples in Sardinia (Bondi 2016; in particular about Tharros: Floris 2014/2015) and Carthage (Ferchiou 1987; Mancini 2010). In the sanctuary, they occur in monumental constructions – the entrance to the *temenos*, possibly the pillars at the temple entrance – as well as in smaller structures, such as the altars and the small tank. The adoption of a mixed architectural style, distinguished by the *syncrétisme égypto-grec* evoked

³⁰ The complex, brought to light by British excavations, had two phases of use, in the 6th and 5th cent. BCE; according to Antonia Ciasca, the temple had the appearance of an *in antis* prostyle building with Doric capitals in the first phase and foliate capitals in the second (Ciasca 1980, 507; Bondi et al. 2009, 177, *fig. 29*; Bondi 2016, 587).

³¹ The inscription LRBT L’ŠTRT ’NN, comparable to the L’ŠTRT ’RK found at Erice, also resembles others from Carthage and Cagliari: it therefore seems likely that Astarte ’NN was the patron goddess of the entire isle of Malta, worshipped in the large out-of-town temple of Tas-Silġ (Amadasi Guzzo 1993, 210). With regard to palaeographic dating of the inscription, see also Piacentini 2012, 143 f.

³² Ciasca (1976/1977, 166; 1993, 228 f.), according to whose interpretation the sacrificed animal would have been burnt inside the altar without a base. In Greece this practice is infrequently attested by both written and material evidence (in contrast to the usual *thysia*), and where documented has been found to be linked to non-Greek cult aspects. These rituals are seen in particular situations and usually involved small, inexpensive animals; the sources suggest that they were more widespread in the Near East (Ekroth 2018 with previous bibliography; for the difficulty of understanding the details of sacrifices in the Near East see page 315).

³³ The name usually given to these structures is due to their preliminary attribution by A. Ciasca to the archaic phase (Ciasca 1976/1977, 169, *fig. 2*; 1999, 24); this proposed dating has been modified on the basis of recent observations regarding the stratigraphic relationships between floors and foundations. The later hypothesis is supported by the fact that Ciasca herself subsequently suggested that the double-grooved capital was of 4th–3rd cent. BCE date (Ciasca 1991, 757, n.10).

by Lancel (1992, 337), goes hand in hand with the transformation of areas used for worship – which, especially in the central zone, involved substantial changes with respect to the previous, more closely Phoenician phase.

Water storage installations deserve a special mention: the sanctuary preserves two bell-shaped cisterns, one in the central area and another in the so-called tank area; the former (C2, *fig. 5.8*) is lined with a thick layer of hydraulic mortar that regularises the rough-cut rock surface; the latter (C4, *fig. 3*), marked above ground by a platform with steps, was built with great care, with worked blocks covered with plaster facing the entire inner surface. The respective cuts in the rock cannot be dated, but the surface structures belong to this phase; it is significant that, unlike at other Punic-culture sites, the *a bagnarola* type is not found here. The cistern in the Gozo sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija³⁴ is also bell-shaped;³⁵ this seems an important feature, worthy of further examination, reflecting links to Libya and Carthage, as well as Sicily.³⁶ The underground structure mentioned above (*fig. 4.4*) was also later used for water storage. In the Phoenician period, it was reshaped, possibly according to ritual purposes; then in Punic times, it was used to collect water, conveyed through a section of the channel coming from the temple roof (Bonzano/Grassi 2015).

34 The primary sources of information about the sanctuary are the excavation reports (Cagiano de Azevedo 1965–1968); see also Buhagiar 1988, 75 f.; Bonanno 2005, 340 f.; Sagona 2015, 254 f.

35 The *puteal* is modern; when it was built the well itself was also altered to increase its capacity. The maximum depth is 2.6m, the maximum diameter is 3m, and the estimated volume 9.5m³; the cistern is equipped with steps.

36 Some Punic-type cisterns appear to be present on the island near circular watchtowers (Sagona 2015, 241). In Sicily different cistern types are found in diverse cultural contexts, as shown by the presence of both kinds at Agrigento and Selinunte (Bouffier 2014, 185 f.; on Agrigento see also Furcas 2016). At Carthage ‘bottle cisterns’ are occasionally found in Punic contexts, sealed by 146 BCE destruction deposits, and have been interpreted as evidence of cultural contacts with Sicily and Magna Graecia (Wilson 1998, 67 f.). In Sardinia bottle cisterns seem to be of Roman date, while the ellipsoid *a bagnarola* type were widespread during the Punic period (Mezzolani Andreose 2014; for the most recent discussion of cisterns at Nora, see Cespa 2018).

Religious Practices: Local Interconnections and Peculiarities

Was this circulation of ideas, models and cultures reflected in cult practices? Although sufficiently detailed knowledge of cult dynamics is lacking, the Punic period coincides with significant innovations in ritual. As mentioned above, the new higher altar (*fig. 5.4*) was used together with that without a base (*fig. 5.6*) and its building eliminated the previous aedicule (*fig. 4.3*), with a strong ideological meaning; on the foundation of the Phoenician period structure the altar’s perimeter was marked with hammer-blows, and a ritual was performed which involved the deposition of small locally-made pottery bowls – a rite that regarded both the altar’s foundation and the *sacellum*’s deconsecration.³⁷ With respect to what is known of Magna Graecia, the bowls’ contents – metal objects, in one case a ring – are unusual: jewellery is usually thought to have decorated the statues of the gods or indicate the attendance of women.³⁸ The association with charred plant remains might be evidence that a bloodless ritual was practised here. Indeed, the birds’ bones (possibly part of a foundation deposit or disposal) found in the *baetyl*

37 In the foundation blocks two circular cuts were made, each serving to hold a locally-made cup covered by another similar but slightly smaller vessel; these containers, produced from the 5th to the early 3rd cent. BCE, contained in one case organic offerings, in the other a bronze ring with an oval setting and an unidentified iron object (Ciasca/Rossignani 2000, 56 f.). On votive deposits (above all for Magna Graecia) see Parisi 2017, 549–555. The salient features of this type of deposit are its discovery within structural components of the building, and the presence of a few selected objects inside small containers. The scholar emphasises that ‘the complete ‘fusion’ (*scil.* of the material) with the structure in which it was deposited appears particularly sought after in the altars’ (Parisi 2017, 550). Here the foundation deposit and the deconsecration deposit are one and the same: they were laid down at the same time and in the same place, in line with a practice seen especially in cases where a reconstructed temple incorporates the perimeter of previous buildings. Here there is an almost total physical overlap, with a clear change of significance demonstrated by the ritual actions described above, which have no practical connection with the levelling/overlying/preparation operations associated with the new construction.

38 For the presence of metal objects in votive deposits in Magna Graecia see Parisi 2017, 521–533.

lodgings of the so-called ground altar indicate that animal sacrifices took place there.³⁹

The remains of offerings around the new table altar bring to mind the ‘stele fields’ found in Sicilian sanctuaries, in particular at Selinunte, although these are difficult to interpret for various reasons.⁴⁰ The ‘Astarte of Malta’ seems to have been less strongly tied to the chthonic sphere than in the preceding period: the aedicule and the underground structure no longer existed, the bloodless rite coupled with that involving the use of fire – which was still practised, however using a more Greek-style installation.

A sacred meal must always have been of central importance in these rituals, as shown by analyses conducted on vessels used for cooking and consuming meat and fish, which often bear the name of the deity in question (Notarstefano 2012, 100 f., 109–113, figs. 70–71).⁴¹ Although many uncertainties remain with regard to the performance of ritual activities, we have recently proposed that a particular structure may be identified as a hall for the consumption of meals (Bonzano/Notarstefano 2017, 92). The drinking of wine – which increased considerably in the Late Republican period – is demonstrated by its importation from the 4th cent. BCE onwards from Greece, as well as Magna Graecia and Sicily (Bruno 2004, 139 f.).

With regard to the above-mentioned ‘tank area’ in the context of the composite block and the bell-shape cistern, the large area of this complex, together with the monumentalisation of the cistern and tank, suggest that they were used for

rituals connected with water. These may have involved bathing the cult statue or other practices referring to the *kósmesis agalmáton*, as acknowledged by literary sources for many Greek – as well as oriental – female deities (Kahil 1994; Linant De Bellefonds 2004). In the Graeco-Roman world the involvement of cult images in bathing and purification ceremonies served to commemorate a mythical or historical event and could take place outside or inside the sanctuary (Lochin 2004). It is often difficult to distinguish the practical operations needed to maintain the cult image (*kósmesis/epikósmesis*) from rituals; these took place at particular times and might have been the central feature of some celebrations, as in Samos. When epigraphic documents furnish relevant information concerning female deities, it appears that these procedures evoked actions performed by the deities during their earthly lives, and sometimes the *mise en beauté* was accompanied by maintenance operations (Linant De Bellefonds 2004, 419 f.). It is possible, in the specific case of the Malta sanctuary, there were ceremonies implying the statue’s descent into the sea. Surveys have shown that in the past the coastline was tens of metres further inland, so the site could have been more easily reached by small boats (Giannichedda 2016, 451). Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the abundance of cisterns in Pantelleria, on the Santa Teresa acropolis, suggests that these were eventually connected with cult activities conducted in the area (Schäfer 2015, 833 f.).

A further interesting discovery is the presence in the Hellenistic/Roman dumping layers dug by the University of Malta of *Nuphar* seeds – clearly purposely imported – that suggest the existence of pools containing waterlilies (Hunt 2015, 444, 446). Might these have distinguished the tank area? Apart from their exact location, does the presence of waterlilies (together with other indications) mean that the cult of Astarte also bore a resemblance to that of Isis? It was mentioned above that one of the subjects depicted on coins issued by the Melita mint – in the period after the Roman province was established – is the *protome* resembling an Egyptian deity (Perassi 2018); in Augustan times, a marble frieze was made with decoration that included a portrayal of Isis-Thermoutis and Serapis-Agathodaimon in the form of reptiles,

39 When excavated, the central lodging was found to contain minute bone and ash fragments, while in the southern one there were fragments of wood (Ciasca 1968, 19). On the presence of animal bones inside stone altars, see Parisi 2017, 536–538. Bird bones in Magna Graecian votive deposits were found in the Selinunte stele field, in the urban sanctuary at Himera, and at Naxos – St Venera (Parisi 2017, 539).

40 There is a voluminous bibliography on the question of whether the stele field is linked to Greek or Punic culture: recent (contrasting) contributions are Grotta 2010, 167–187; Zoppi 2015; for ties with Demetra *Malophoros*, Greco/Tardo 2015, 121; on votive deposits in the stele field Parisi 2017, 60–66 with bibliography.

41 The practice of making offerings to deities is also indicated by the increased quantity of vessels (bowls and plates) used for serving and consuming food, rather than cooking it; chemical analyses carried out on several samples have shown that fish and molluscs were involved (Notarstefano 2012, 133–136).

interspaced with plant designs composed of symbols alluding to themes related to Isis (Bonzano 2006/2007; 2012). Perhaps the persistence over time of references to Isis indicates a particular aspect of the 'Astarte of Malta' cult, which in the Tas-Silġ sanctuary certainly seems to have had the connotation of a sea goddess.⁴²

Concluding Remarks

As discussed at the beginning, the Maltese Islands' geographical position was far from being marginal; they were of strategic importance on routes that crossed the central and western Mediterranean. Although a certain scholarly tradition has underlined the 'passive' nature of these connections, especially in the Punic era, there is now abundant evidence that this perspective needs to be corrected. The scarce references in historical and literary sources suggest that the two modestly-sized islands of Malta and Gozo were able to exploit their physical conformation – with numerous natural ports and harbours – as a primary resource, thus becoming a convenient stopping point of which, as we have seen, not only merchants but also pirates made use. This active connectedness is reflected in the multiplicity of external stimuli detectable since the Phoenician period. However, it was in the Punic epoch that these links became even more marked, when the events that soon after led to the Punic wars made the Mediterranean the centre of the western world's political history. In Tas-Silġ, a privileged observation point because

of its 'international' character⁴³ and controlling position on Marsaxlokk Bay, the architectural components and architecture of the sanctuary point to the deliberate selection of elements from different traditions, as also seen in other settlements in the central Mediterranean. This was not just passive reception but reworking in an original style within which the lengthy local tradition – a distinctive product of physical isolation – continued to act as an attractor.

The monumental face of this international place of worship would have corresponded to the pluriform and multifaceted personality of the goddess, with full participation in a composite architectural language whose individual elements, although recognisable in different areas of the Mediterranean, were sometimes combined according to the individual characteristics of settlements and – in the case of sanctuaries – cult requirements.

⁴³ The sanctuary's renown and wide-ranging contacts are demonstrable for the following period, but there seems no reason to doubt that the fame of the sanctuary of Astarte was of greater antiquity. Valerius Maximus (*Facta et dicta memorabilia* I, 2) and Cicero (*In Verrem* II, 4, 103–104) tell of an episode involving an admiral from Massinissa, who was guilty of having removed from the sanctuary two ivory tusks 'of incredible size'; when the Numidian king received this gift and learned where it came from, he hurriedly replaced them and had an inscription of apology emplaced (see Bonzano 2017a, 187 with bibliography). Cicero (*II*, 5, 184), referring to his own time, compared the antiquity and sacredness of the sanctuary of Juno (Astarte was assimilated to Hera/Juno) with that of the sanctuary of Hera in Samos.

⁴² On the local peculiarities of Isis cults, evaluated from an opposite perspective to the question of their diffusion, see Sfamini Gasparro 2016. On the links between Astarte and Egyptian deities Bonnet 1996, 63–67; on the assimilation of Astarte to Isis, Bricault 2006, 13–36; on the marine aspect of Isis see Bonnet/Bricault 2016, 155–174; Capriotti Vittozzi 2016, with bibliography.

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V. Island Life from Emic and Etic Perspectives

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What Does it Mean to be an Islander in Croatia?

Keywords: island studies, island identity, Croatian islands, island names, the Zadar archipelago

Summary

In this paper, I analyse relations between the individual island communities of the Zadar archipelago towards the city of Zadar as their administrative and cultural centre, as well as mutual relations among the island communities. Some of the islands of the Zadar archipelago (Olib, Silba, Premuda, *Škarda*, Ist, Molat, Iž, and Rava) administratively ‘belong’ to the city of Zadar, with their formal status being identical to certain city quarters, although some are a few hours distance from the city by ferry. I also discuss the position of the city’s administration towards the islands, as well as the level of communication among the individual island communities. The principal identity markers that define inhabitants of individual islands are considered along with distinctive elements among the individual islands. This work relies in part on field research conducted over several years in the Zadar archipelago and on field research carried out regularly with students of Mediterranean studies. Research is primarily focused on the problems of everyday island life, island self-sustainability, isolation, as well as internal and external island mobility. Island sustainability is today an unavoidable phrase in all island discourses. For centuries, the islanders have been unaware of that notion, but they lived sustainably. The islanders’ world is defined by the island’s perspectives, restrictions, anxieties, and the aim of this chapter is to analyse the positions of the islanders’ ‘sense of place’.

Introduction

Within social sciences and humanities, especially within anthropology and geography, island diversity is one of the most common motifs in island discourses that have been increasingly present in recent years in the Croatian research area. It is this geomorphological diversity of the Croatian coastline that makes Croatia fairly unique in the European framework. On the other hand, it is particularly interesting to consider why the topic of the Croatian island area is almost completely invisible in western European island studies.¹

In this paper, I would like to contribute, from a Croatian point of view, to the debate of European nissology, since, with its more than one thousand islands Croatia certainly deserves a more visible position. My research is primarily focused on the analysis of relations between the individual island communities of the Zadar archipelago.

Croatia: A Land of a Thousand Islands

According to the latest data, the Croatian archipelago consists of 1246 islands, islets and rocks, among them 79 islands, 525 islets and 642 rocks and reefs. The total area of the Croatian islands is 3,259km², and the coastline of all islands has a total length of 4,398km (Faričić 2012, 14). The exact number of all islands and rocks is still unreliable, and on the other hand, there are no generally accepted criteria for island classification. In any case,

¹ For example, in a recently published book on islands edited by Baldacchino/Godfrey (2018) there is not a single mention of Croatian islands.

from a global perspective, all Croatian islands belong to the category of ‘small islands’.² If we want to indicate the number of inhabited islands, we need to be aware that this is often a relative category. Many Croatian islands are inhabited during the summer, especially during the tourist season,³ many are temporarily inhabited during the olive harvest, and some have only weekend residents. At the present time, there are 45 permanently inhabited islands on the Croatian coast, and not so long ago, there were 67 of them. However, some of those uninhabited islands also play an important role in the life of the island population. Nowadays, many of them serve to grow olives, keep sheep or goats in open pasture, or in recent years to promote the so-called ‘Robinson tourism’. However, except for a few exceptions of large valleys on the islands of Brač, Hvar, Pag and some bigger islands, most of the Croatian islands have scarce fertile land, they are mostly ‘rich’ in stone and covered with macchia. Limitations of those modest resources have a major impact on the islanders’ worldview, and also on the not very flattering way they are perceived by the non-island population.

In the last decades, especially after the long-awaited regained independence, Croatia has been promoting itself as a ‘land of a thousand islands’. The geographical diversity of the Croatian coastline area played a major role in creating many different and multiple identities of the islands. An important factor which essentially determines the way of island life in Croatia, lies in the

elongated position of all the islands⁴ and the small distances separating them from the mainland. This is one of the reasons that, unlike many island groups in other countries, despite the large number of islands, Croatian islands rarely form archipelagos, geographical or cultural entities. In most cases, they are self-sufficient communities, much more oriented towards the nearest mainland city than to the neighbouring islands. Thus, archipelagos in Croatia are often named after the city they gravitate to. Except for the Kornati islands and the Elaphites (which is mostly just a historical name), we rarely find traditionally used names of the archipelagos. This is also the case with the Zadar archipelago (*fig. 1*).

It is not my intention on this occasion to reconsider the general concept of islandness nor insularity, and the notion of isolation which underlines this concept. P. Hay starts his much-cited paper ‘A Phenomenology of Islands’ with a question: ‘Is a coherent theory of islandness possible?’ He points out that disputation over this very point characterised the debate among leading island scholars for decades (Hay 2006, 19). Therefore, based on my field research and personal experiences, I will focus in this paper on the peculiar features of everyday life of the islanders in the Zadar region. Since I am primarily a linguist, I should start with the word for an island in the Croatian language, *otok*,⁵ which is derived from *o(b)* ‘around’ + *tok*

2 An island is usually defined a piece of land completely surrounded by the sea with an area larger than 1km², an islet is a small island with an area between 0,01 and 1km², and a rock is the natural solid formation in the sea, either permanently or temporarily visible, smaller than 0,01km². The UNESCO definition of small islands as those with a surface area of less than 10,000km² and with less than 50,000 inhabitants does not fit the Croatian context (Duplančić Leder et al. 2004; Starc/Stubbs 2014). However, the distinction between reef and rock is not always clear. According to Royle and Brinklow reef is ‘a ridge of jagged rock or coral just above or below the surface of the sea’ and rock is a ‘mass of rock projecting above the ground or water’ (Royle/Brinklow 2018, 4).

3 On some Croatian islands the number of inhabitants increases up to ten times during the high tourist season, which is making it increasingly difficult for underdeveloped island infrastructures to cope with.

4 The Croatian chain of islands was formed relatively recently by Holocene transgression. During the Last Glacial Maximum, almost all Croatian islands were part of the mainland. After the sea level rise, by 6000 BC most of the islands roughly obtained their current outline (Forenbacher 2009).

5 Although the word ‘otok’ is derived from Proto Slavic, it is not an inherited word in all Slavic languages. We find the same word in Slovenian, while in most Slavic languages the word for an island is derived from the Proto Slavic **ostrovъ* (m.), ie. *oсmpoс* in Russian and Macedonian, *ostrov* in Czech and Slovak, *oсmpo* in Serbian, while in Polish the modern word for an island is *wyspa*. However, the derived meaning is similar, from **ob* + **strovъ* from a verb meaning ‘stream’. The same stem is in the word *struja* which in Croatian also means ‘sea current’. In analysing the terminology and typology of islands, Royle and Brinklow are citing the words for the island in Slovenian, a country that has only a very short coastline in the Adriatic, and Slovak, a state not located close to sea at all (Royle/Brinklow 2018, 4). It is interesting that they do not mention the Croatian word *otok* for an island, although Croatian has a very rich island terminology.



Fig. 1. The Zadar archipelago (own creation).

from Proto-Slavic **tokъ* from the verb *teći*, which means ‘to flow’. Thus, the Croatian word itself carries the basic definition of an ‘island’ as a piece of land surrounded by water, in this case, a sea, and does not carry the notion of isolation but the very definition of a land around which water flows. Furthermore, in the Croatian language, the adjective *otočni* ‘insular’ never has the connotation of the type ‘ignorant of or uninterested in cultures, ideas, or peoples outside one’s own experience’ (Lexico, powered by Oxford),⁶ or ‘narrow-minded or illiberal; provincial’ (Random House 1991, 699). In Croatian, ‘insular’ simply means ‘relating to an island, pertaining to an island’ and has no additional negative connotative meanings.

The Masters of the Eastern Adriatic and the (In-)Visibility of Croatia in the Mediterranean

In one of the most famous books on the Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel called the Adriatic the ‘Mediterranean in miniature’: ‘The Adriatic is perhaps the most unified of all the regions of the sea. It provides material for all the problems implied in a study of the Mediterranean as a whole’ (Braudel 1987 [1949], 125). However, there is a significant difference between the two shores of the Adriatic; the Italian, the western side, is straight, with sandy shores and almost no islands, while the eastern Adriatic Croatian coastline is one of the most indented coastlines of the Mediterranean basin.

The eastern side of the Adriatic has been populated since palaeolithic times, and numerous archaeological evidence testifies to continuous contacts between the opposite coasts of the Adriatic, at least since the beginning of the neolithic era (Forenbaher 2009). Throughout history, the Croatian coastal region, including the islands, has been inhabited by various peoples, and this diversity of the ethnic puzzle is reflected even today in the complex ethno-linguistic stratification of island names. Although it is often very difficult to determine the precise linguistic affiliation of the

earliest toponymic layer,⁷ the names of larger islands (nesonyms), along with major hydronyms (names of larger rivers), usually represent the oldest and most persistent toponymic group (Brozović Rončević 2009). The earliest toponymic attestations along the coast date back to the era of so-called Illyrians, namely the Histians in Istria, the Liburnians in the Northern Adriatic and the Delmatae in the central Adriatic region. Thus, many names of larger Croatian islands undoubtedly originate from this pre-Roman period (i.e. Brač/Brattia, Meleta/Mljet, Rab/Arbe, Šolta/Solenta, etc.), and it is precisely the continuity of these names that have been adapted to today’s Croatian, that testifies to the continuity of the population on the larger Croatian islands. Numerous historical sources bear witness to well-established maritime roads that connected the opposite coasts of the Adriatic in antiquity. Although for centuries the Greeks were the most important traders in this part of the Mediterranean, they established only few settlements (Trogir, and probably Epetion = Stobreč) and several trading ports (Salona = Solin, maybe Naron) in the central and southern part of the eastern Adriatic. However, in the Hellenistic era, they colonised some islands: the Parians of the Aegean on the island of Hvar = Pharos, today Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, and the Syracusans in Issa on the island of Vis (Čače 2002). On the other hand, the Romans were present along the whole eastern coastline, including the islands. Some nesonyms and many settlement names on the islands of the Zadar archipelago originate from this Roman era. Some of them, usually called *praedial* toponyms, are derived from personal names of Roman origin (i.e. Bošana, Lukoran, Mrljane, Nevidane, Pašman, Poveljana, Ugljan). Although many pre-Croatian island names were recorded in ancient written sources, not all of them are reliably identified.⁸ An analysis of nesonyms in the eastern Adriatic shows that the majority of large islands bear pre-Roman names, while Croatian island names refer to smaller, mostly uninhabited islands (*fig. 2*).

⁷ In his comprehensive book on the eastern Adriatic toponymy, P. Šimunović gives an elaborated overview of place name layers (Šimunović 2005).

⁸ For a detailed analysis of the medieval attestations of Croatian pre-Slavic island names Ivšić Majić (2019).

⁶ <https://www.lexico.com/> (last access 06.23.2021).



Fig. 2. Island names at the Kornati archipelago (courtesy of the Center for Adriatic Onomastics and Ethnolinguistics, University of Zadar).

After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD, Byzantium acted as its universal heirs and by the 6th cent. AD gained control over maritime communications of the Eastern Adriatic. They built a number of forts at strategic points along the coast and on the islands, which represented a sophisticated communication system for safe navigation. Many of these forts were later taken over by Venetians or Croats themselves. Even today, along the coast, we find about fifty toponyms derived from the Croatian word *straža* (guards), which testify to the importance of communication routes along the islands (fig. 3).

At the beginning of the Early Medieval era, the Croats (and other Slavs) gradually settled in the territory of present-day Croatia. They were organised in political entities that used to be called *Sclavinias*. At that time, the Adriatic part of Croatia was partially under the Frankish, and at least to some extent under Byzantine rule. At the beginning of the 7th cent. AD, the city of Zadar became the capital of the Byzantine *theme* of Dalmatia. Soon after, the Adriatic part of Croatia became a centre of the

newly formed Medieval Croatian state, but since its political centre was in the hinterland, it was never in danger of being subjugated by the Byzantines (Goldstein 1999), as Byzantine rule was restricted to the islands and urban centres along the coast, namely the cities of Osor, Rab, Krk, Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor. Already in the 9th cent. AD, the duchy of Narentani (the unit sometimes called Pagania, which, besides land territory, also encompassed several central and southern Dalmatian islands such as Brač, Hvar, Korčula, Mljet), established control of maritime routes in the southern Adriatic (Raukar 1999). Frankish influence on the eastern Adriatic disappeared with the rise of Croatian sovereignty, but Byzantium was still partially controlling communications along the eastern shore. From the 7th cent. AD onwards, Byzantine possessions in the eastern Adriatic were not continuous, and they consisted of territorial units. Byzantine Lower Dalmatia (Dalmatia Inferior) was represented by the coastal towns of Zadar, Trogir, Solin, Split, and a number of islands, from Krk, Cres, Rab in the north

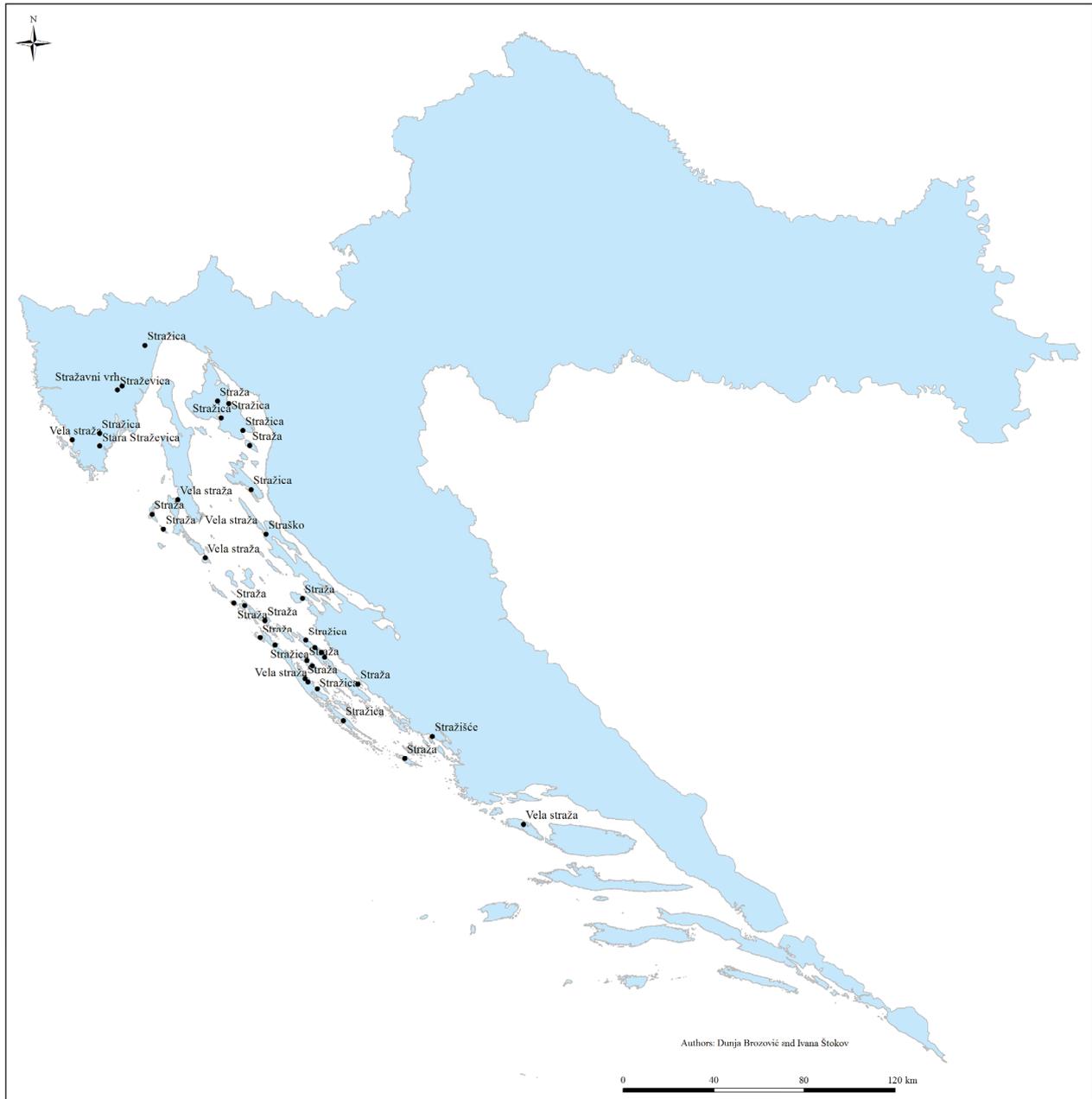


Fig. 3. Place names along the coast derived from the Croatian word *straža* (guards) (own creation by Dunja Brozović and Ivana Štokov).

to Vrgada near Zadar. Byzantine Upper Dalmatia (Dalmatia Superior) had control over the towns of Dubrovnik, Kotor and Budva, the latter two are today part of Montenegro. The Principality of Neretva (Pagania), which was situated between them, had control of the Brač, Hvar and Korčula islands (Raukar 1999) (*fig. 4*).

The Adriatic did not suffer directly from Arab incursion until the 9th cent. AD, but the Arab attacks on Constantinople certainly had a negative

influence on Mediterranean trade. The first conflicts between Venice and Croats in the eastern Adriatic were recorded at the beginning of the 9th cent. AD. At that time, the Croats already had a fairly strong fleet of small, fast ships. The western coast of the Adriatic was almost unusable and dangerous for navigation, while many islands on the eastern side provided safe havens in their ports for Venetian ships. However, according to historical sources, constant Croatian and Narentani



Fig. 4. Byzantine Dalmatia and the Slavonias of the eastern Adriatic in the Early Mediaeval period (after: Raukar 1999, 183).

attacks hindered Venice's navigable routes along the eastern Adriatic towards Constantinople (Borri 2017). Although M. Ančić, by analysing in detail the work of emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' document 'De administrando imperio' concludes that the presence of Byzantium in the eastern Adriatic by the end of the 9th cent. AD was restricted to symbolic functions and to the political identity of the inhabitants of the Dalmatian cities (Ančić 1998), Byzantium did not renounce its supreme power over the eastern Adriatic. The control of the maritime routes was still of utmost importance to them.

In the second half of the 11th cent. AD, the Croatian state in the Adriatic was at the height of its

power during the reign of the Croatian king Petar Krešimir IV. He managed to gain control over the majority of Dalmatian communes, including the city of Zadar. However, soon after, the centennial period of the Hungarian-Croatian political union, under the Hungarian crown, was to begin. Urban centres along the coast, as well as on the islands, were able to preserve their Romance or Romanised cultural and linguistic identity, while the Croats mostly inhabited the hinterland and rural settlements around towns, both along the coast and on the islands. However, gradual penetration and mixing with the city's population was unstoppable, and most towns soon were bilingual. Anthroponomastic analysis of female personal

names of the city of Zadar at the end of the 12th cent. AD, recorded in archival sources, clearly confirms this (Jakić-Cestarić 1974). At that time, Venice was already very strong since it took over former Byzantine coastal and insular possessions as their ally and representative. Venetians were already the main intermediaries in trade between east and west, for which they had to secure navigable dominance over the eastern Adriatic coast. However, the city of Zadar, which was for centuries a competitor of Venice, rebelled against Venetian rule, and in 1201 recognised the Hungarian king Emerik as overlord. Right after, the Venetian Doge Dandolo offered transport for the fourth crusade, provided the crusaders would conquer Zadar on their way to Constantinople, and thus the city of Zadar fell under Venetian rule in 1202 AD. After a number of conflicts with Venice, which followed during the 13th and 14th cent. AD, Zadar, along with other Dalmatian communes, came under the Hungarians, but Ladislaus of Naples, who was crowned king of Hungary and Croatia in the town of Zadar, sold his dynastic rights of Dalmatia to Venice for 100,000 ducats. By the end of the 15th cent. AD, Venice had conquered most of the remaining eastern Adriatic centres. It controlled almost all of the islands and the narrow coastal zone, except the far south, which was under the rule of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Thus, the Venetian Republic finally established almost full control of maritime traffic along the eastern Adriatic, but the Croatian hinterland remained outside its power.

The economic development of Dalmatia under Venetian rule was soon threatened by Ottoman invasions. By the end of the 15th and during the 16th cent. AD, the Ottomans made significant advances in the Dalmatian hinterland and even reached some coastal areas of Croatia. At that time, the eastern Adriatic littoral and its hinterland were border areas between the Habsburg Monarchy, the Venetian Republic, and the Ottoman Empire, traditionally called the *Triplex confinium*. Ottoman attacks and devastation of the Dalmatian hinterland deeply affected social and economic life. They caused massive migrations and shattered centennial demographic, religious and ethnolinguistic balances in the region (Berतोša 2015). Orthodox Serbs, mostly from Bosnia,

and orthodox Romance-speaking Vlachs settled the area from the 16th cent. onwards. Many Catholic Croats and Catholic Vlachs left Bosnia, fleeing Ottoman rule, and settled in the hinterland of Dalmatian towns. The border established between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18th cent. generally corresponds to today's border between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (*fig. 5*).

With the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797 due to Napoleon's conquests, former Venetian possessions in the eastern Adriatic came under the authority of Austria. However, already in 1805, the Habsburg Monarchy lost its possessions in favour of France, and the whole area was soon organised in so-called Illyrian Provinces under French rule. The whole territory was again granted to the Austrian crown by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Dalmatia was united into a single administrative unit, the Kingdom of Dalmatia, with headquarters in Zadar. Austrian rule in Dalmatia lasted until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, after which the whole of Croatia became part of the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which later became Yugoslavia. However, with the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920, the city of Zadar (but not the islands of the Zadar archipelago), Istria and most of the northern Adriatic islands (except the island of Krk), as well as the islands of Lastovo and Palagruža in the south were given to the Kingdom of Italy.

Over the centuries, the connections and the flow of people and goods between the coastal towns, the hinterland, and the islands were rarely interrupted. The centennial Romance-Croatian linguistic and cultural symbiosis in Dalmatian coastal towns has also largely shaped the present identity of the Croatian islands. However, although Venice has had a significant influence, especially on the urban life and architecture, it invested very little in improving the living conditions of the mostly Croatian population of the Zadar archipelago. During the Habsburg rule, living conditions on those islands improved significantly, and for the Croatian islands, this was a time of demographic climax. Of all the 'masters' of the eastern Adriatic, the older residents today still remember the stories of the 'fair Austrian government'. For the

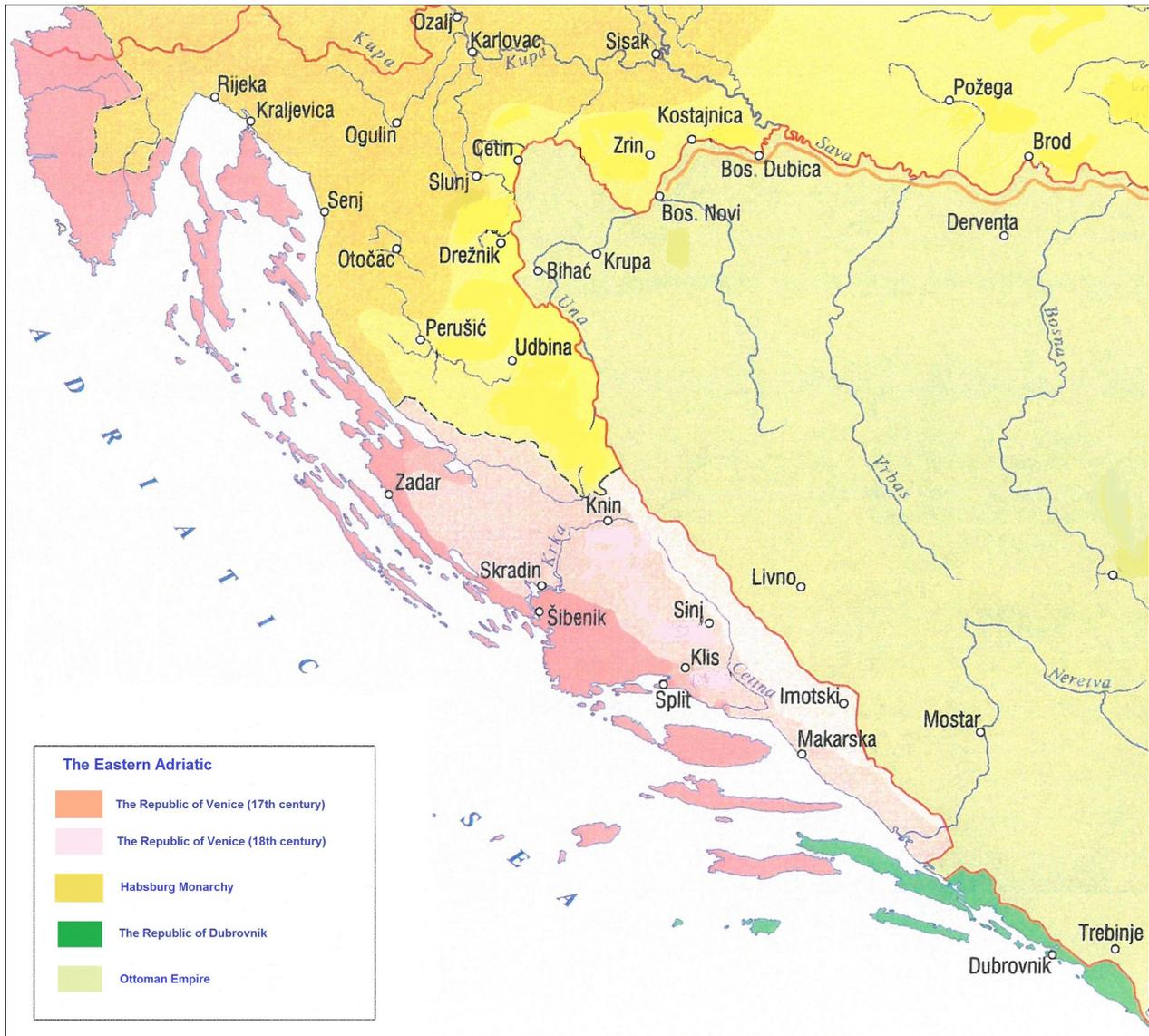


Fig. 5. Venetian rule over the eastern Adriatic (own creation).

Austrian court, for a country that had no access to the sea itself or a long maritime tradition, the Croatian islands were certainly not an important focus, but to some extent, the Austrians knew how to recognise the needs of the islanders. Thus, the Austrian government is still remembered as the only one that improved the conditions of life quality for the islanders. In the time of Austrian rule, large local cisterns were built, more order was introduced to fishery legislation, and a cadastre that is often still used was created,

In the 19th cent., the majority of the population in Dalmatia, including that on the islands, lived directly or indirectly from growing wine grapes.

However, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th cent., Dalmatian vineyards were severely damaged by phylloxera, which caused a large emigration of islanders to the United States, Australia and other countries. Emigration did not affect all islands equally. It was significantly higher on the central Dalmatian islands than, for example, in the Zadar archipelago. However, small and more remote islands everywhere were more severely exposed to depopulation. The continuous depopulation of the Croatian islands continued after the collapse of Austro-Hungary, when Croatia became part of the newly created Yugoslav state. After the Second World War, the Croatian islands

experienced a strong negligence from the central Yugoslav state authorities. The perception of Croatia as a Mediterranean country was systematically suppressed. Until the gradual development of tourism in the 1960s, most of the islanders were predominantly farmers and fishermen. Because the Croatian coast, and therefore the islands, is almost exclusively Croatian and Catholic (except for some very recent migrations), assistance to the island population has never been a priority for the central government in Belgrade. This may not be a main factor, but it indisputably played a significant role in shaping a Yugoslav almost anti-island policy, or at best, no policy at all. At that time, one way of subtly displacing the island population was to sever the ship lines between the islands and reduce their connection to the mainland. The only industries were fish processing factories, small industrial workshops and shipyards, and they were systematically neglected or even dismantled and transported to the mainland in the period of the Yugoslav government. All this led to a mass exodus of islanders and strong depopulation of the Croatian islands (Starc/Stubbs 2014). In the period from 1880 to 1990, the population of Croatia doubled, while in the same period, the island population dropped by nearly one third (Friganović 2001; Faričić 2012).

After finally gaining independence in 1990, because of the great devastation the Yugoslav army made throughout Croatia (1991–1995), it took Croatia a very long time to re-orientate towards its islands and the specific problems of island life. A development policy for the Croatian islands was introduced in the late 1990s. In 1997, the Croatian Parliament adopted ‘The National Island Development Programme’, and significantly increased the ‘island budget’. Unfortunately, the ambitious program did not significantly improve the position of the islanders, partly because they participated poorly in its creation (Starc/Stubbs 2014). The Mediterranean component of Croatian identity has been neglected for too long. Until recently, Europe rarely perceived Croatia as a Mediterranean country. Even for the European Union, Croatia was often just one of the successors of the disintegrated Yugoslavia. Until the accession of Croatia to the EU in 2013, and often thereafter, Croatia was

hardly ever mentioned in EU policies on sustainable islands, although in Europe, only Norway has a more indented coastline rate than Croatia.⁹

However, the Croatians themselves are largely to blame. Most attempts to explore the Mediterranean component of Croatian culture have so far been based on sporadic approaches in analysing peculiarities of everyday island life at particular locations along the Adriatic. The characteristic of such research approaches has often resulted in the uncoordinated activity of individuals who have focused their research on ‘ethnology in the Mediterranean’ (cf. Čapo Žmegač 1999). Furthermore, most of the islands’ research was published in Croatian, which indisputably limited international visibility.¹⁰ The attempt to ponder the ‘ethnology of the Mediterranean’ has never fully come to fruition because of inadequate institutional support, political restraint or an insufficient critical mass of researchers. Exploring the (in)visibility of the Mediterranean in Croatia implies questioning the importance of Croatia in the Mediterranean and the presence of the Mediterranean as an imaginative reference in the creation of national, regional and local identities.

An Idealised Image of an Everyday Island Life

Thanks to the strong development of tourism in the 21st cent. (but also to the success of Croatian athletes), Croatia has, in recent times, become more visible on the European and even global stage. On one of many maps of European stereotypes that Google offers, Croatia is described as a ‘beautiful’ country, on others as a ‘nice place to visit’, ‘holiday resort’, etc. One of the main reasons for that lies in the richness and beauty of its

⁹ Coast indentation index for European counties: Norway 20, Croatia 9.7, Greece 8, Spain 5 (Skračić 1997, 64).

¹⁰ In his article ‘Studying Islands: On Whose Terms’, Baldacchino wrote: ‘Moreover, so many of these indigenous narratives will remain unacknowledged, unarticulated, unwritten, or else written only in languages, or expressed in voices, that very few of us would understand – and perhaps strategically and intentionally so’ (Baldacchino 2008, 49 f.). Although, it is not convincing that in the case of Croatian island research it was an intention, the result is ultimately just the same.

islands. The Croats are, of course, very proud of their islands, but it is questionable to what extent the islands and the life on the islands are really known by continental Croatia. As Prof. Vladimir Skračić, the author of the 'Archipelagos' project at Zadar University, one of the best connoisseurs of island life, and an islander himself points out in his paper entitled 'Islands and Islanders, view from the pier': 'Croats see their islands as postcards. Sunset blushes over the archipelago. Heaven on earth. In the lee, someone knits their net. It smells of baked fish. The local 'klapa' sings under the arcade. However, everything is different on the island' (Skračić 1997, author's translation).

Over the years, I have conducted a series of field research on the Croatian islands, mainly collecting toponymic data, the place names that are extremely important for exploring the complex island ethnolinguistic stratification. However, I also conducted research on everyday life on many Croatian islands. Even though most of the research was done on bigger islands, such as Brač, Hvar, Krk, Rab, Mljet, for the purpose of this paper, I will confine myself to the area of the Zadar archipelago. By family ties, I am connected to the island of Ugljan, but I've also done research on other inhabited islands of the Zadar archipelago, especially on the island of Pašman (which is nowadays connected to Ugljan by a bridge), Silba, Premuda, Iž and the island of Pag.¹¹ Recently, my field research with students has been primarily focused on the problems of everyday island life, island self-sustainability, isolation, as well as internal and external island mobility. Only partially have these studies been conducted with traditional ethnographic semi-structured questionnaires. For the most part, information was collected from casual, often very intimate conversations, and this is exactly the part

of research that is most interesting for analysing the positions of the islanders' 'sense of place'.

During this research, after the conversation became more relaxed, interlocutors we asked to tell, without a lot of thinking, what in their opinion determines and describes their island, what they are most afraid of while living on the island, what bothers them most, and what changes they would like to make if they had the chance. After analysing the answers gathered over many years of research from interviewees of different age, gender and occupation, contrary to my expectations, several answers stood out. For example, when asked to single out three things that best describe the island/islandness/island way of life, many of them emphasised *arija* (air). The island air is different in the Dalmatian islands. The word contains in itself the notion of openness, the strong wind (*bura*) from the Velebit mountain, very intense scents of wild Mediterranean plants. Something that non-islanders (*Vlaji* according to local classifications), always notice when disembarking from a ferry or boat; but I didn't expect that response from the islanders.

The next response, received primarily from older islanders, was the notion of 'waiting for a boat'. Today, the islanders can be classified as those who remember the traditional, pre-tourist life on the island, and those who collect those memories from the older ones, or in the worst case, identify with the image tourists have. 'Waiting for a ship' from an island perspective implies the notion of time, and it is often emphasised that the concept of time on the island has different values. Older islanders remember an era when social life on the island was measured by welcoming a ship at its arrival and greeting it at its departure. Those boats that were called *veza* (a 'connection') were connecting the island settlements with the City (with the capitalised 'C'). They were angry at that ship if it would not come due to the strong wind, and that anger was transmitted to the City, a city that represents power, with the individual or individuals standing behind that power being quite irrelevant. Even today, in most of the smaller islands of the Zadar archipelago, locals gather almost daily in cafes at the time of ferry (or ship) arrival, observing and commenting on who is disembarking.

¹¹ It is important to point out that some of the islands of this region, such as Vir and Pag, are nowadays connected by a bridge to the mainland, thus losing some essential features of their insularity. Such islands are commonly referred to as pseudo-islands in the Croatian geographical literature (Faričić/Mirošević 2014). Especially for the island of Vir, this connection with the mainland in past decades completely altered its island identity so it is less relevant to my study.

Surprisingly, the third answer that stood out was the local dialect, 'our language' as they usually call it. In the Croatian islands, it is precisely the local dialect that distinguishes the inhabitants of a particular village from the others, it is the point of identification, and the centre of division into 'Us' and the 'Others'. It should be emphasised that only for smaller islands, islands that usually have only one settlement, can we talk about specific island local dialects. On the larger islands, for example, the island of Ugljan, which has seven settlements along its entire length of 20km, and where each of them has its hamlets, each local dialect is very particular and distinctive, even at the level of different phonological systems. Mastering the local dialect is often a prerequisite for the acceptance of new inhabitants. On the other hand, on the Zadar islands, we also notice a phenomenon that could be called a kind of clan closure. Islanders will often find it easier to accept someone who can prove their island roots, even if they do not know the language, than the newcomers who consciously chose the island as their place of living.

The islanders are bound by fears, real or imaginary, and very often highly potentiated. When asked what scares them the most, many of them gave answers that were in most cases predictable. The elderly and families with young children are mostly afraid of illness, the unavailability of physicians, as well as the inaccessibility of the mainland in times of need. And they are afraid of the solitude, since solitude on the island is more intense, more solitary. Among the younger population, when asked what they would not be able to live without on the island, the Internet is the expected answer. Internet and satellite television have enabled the island population to overcome the isolation inherent in insularity.

Finally, many islanders stressed they were afraid, that their language will be lost. It bothers them that young people often no longer understand certain traditional words. It is difficult to explain to the islanders that each language is constantly changing, as is their dialect. In any case, it is clear from many conversations that local dialects continue to be one of the most important

markers of island identity.¹² On almost all Croatian islands, some particularly engaged individuals spend their retirement days collecting 'lost words', compiling glossaries of their local dialect. Fortunately, some of these dictionaries have even been published, some of them after valuable interventions by dialectologists, and some as raw lexical material that unsuccessfully seeks to break the tradition of oblivion.

Most small islands have scarce natural resources. There is not enough land for more significant vineyards, the olives grow in stony karst fields, and often the only 'economic' activity accessible to all is fishery. For any additional income, small islands had to develop some *differentia specifica* that would ensure their survival. Thus, for example, the population on the island of Iž in the Zadar archipelago became very skilled potters, while on the island of Krapanj near Šibenik they developed sponge production, and on the island of Silba they had a strong maritime tradition. On many islands, for example, the island of Pag, sheep breeding was the main additional source of income.

From a mainland perspective, the dominant stereotypical image of island life is 'olive trees' and 'wine', a motif that is present in almost all Dalmatian *Klapa* songs,¹³ along with the indispensable sea and traditional wooden family boats. However, on many small islands there are no olive trees, and today the vineyards on the Zadar islands have almost disappeared. Most of the

¹² The linguistic diversity of the Croatian islands only reflects the major dialectal diversity of the whole of Croatia, but it is especially present in the marginal island areas. The local idioms belonging to the Čakavian dialect, which is very archaic given its peripheral position within the Slavic language area, are mostly spoken on the islands of the northern and central part of the eastern Adriatic (Lisac 2009). The Štokavian dialects are mostly spoken in much of mainland Croatia, but also on some of the southern Croatian islands. Today, under the influence of contemporary media and education, the characteristics of local dialects are rapidly disappearing all over Croatia.

¹³ *Klapa* is a traditional *a cappella* singing music form in Dalmatia. Although it is often associated with the entire coastline and islands, it is traditionally and primarily about urban singing groups. Today we find these singing groups on islands.

vineyards have been cleared, or in a better scenario, replaced by olive trees. Olives can survive without much effort, but vineyards require constant care. In the past, the wealthier inhabitants of the island in the Zadar archipelago, bought and cultivated land in the hinterland of Zadar because they were lacking fertile land on the island. Today, they hardly ever cultivate their own gardens.

Inter-Island Connectivity, 'Islands on Islands' and the City

The islanders' world is defined by the island's perspectives, restrictions, anxieties, and in the case of the Zadar archipelago, a very special attitude towards their city. The islands of the Zadar archipelago are predominantly rural islands. This is contrary to the larger islands in the northern Adriatic, such as Krk, Rab, Cres, Lošinj, and the central Dalmatian islands of Hvar, Korčula, and Vis that developed their own urban centres, which have significantly shaped the way of life. All small islands along the Adriatic function only in symbiosis with the mainland, that is, the city to which they gravitate. In the case of the Zadar archipelago, the local island population never uses the name Zadar, it is simply called 'Grad' (the City).¹⁴

Initially, the island settlements were mostly located on elevations in the centre of the island to provide protection from pirates and other hazards. However, nowadays, or more precisely since the mid-20th cent., when tourism gradually became a major industry on the islands, the population has been drifting towards the coast. Most of the smaller inhabited islands of the Zadar archipelago usually have only one settlement. Administratively they belong to the city of Zadar and are formally of the same status as individual city districts. Such islands are Ist, Iž (villages of Veli and Mali Iž), Molat (villages of Brgulje, Molat and Zapuntel),

Olib, Premuda, Rava, Sestrunj, Silba, Škarda and Zverinac.

Maintaining ties among the inhabitants of the various islands throughout history has been very limited, and recently almost non-existent. The reason for this is only partly to be sought in the poor ship connections between the islands. The islanders' orientation has always been towards the city, rarely towards the neighbouring islands. On the other hand, most households, especially on the smaller islands, own their own boat, which enables them not to depend on public transport, and thus giving them the sense of security and freedom. Therefore, it is difficult to speak of a Zadar archipelago, except in a purely geographical sense, since there is almost no awareness of the common island identity.¹⁵ Moreover, in larger multi-settlement islands, local island identities are confined to their very own settlements and not to the island as a whole. Island settlements are 'islands on islands', which is a phenomenon present not only on Adriatic islands, but largely in the whole of the Mediterranean.¹⁶ Within Mediterranean studies, this phenomenon is usually known by the term *campanilism*, a term derived from Italian *campanile*, meaning bell-tower. Both Italy and Croatia are predominantly Catholic countries, and most settlements were usually built around the church (with a bell tower). *Campanilism* implies that residents are only interested in the area seen from the top of the bell tower, which is usually of symbolic value for the villagers. However, it would be wrong to conclude that the term itself has negative connotations of narrow-mindedness or even backwardness. The term simply refers to the area that predominantly defines the local island (or village) identity.

¹⁴ When residents of the Zadar islands go ashore, as a rule they never say 'I'm going to Zadar', but simply 'I'm going to the City', and in that case the City replaces the actual name of the town.

¹⁵ Only the inhabitants of the island of Iž visited other islands and supplied them (as well as the Zadar mainland) with their pottery products. Sometimes, even the inhabitants of other islands went to Iž to buy pottery.

¹⁶ Škrbić-Alempijević and Perinić Lewis have systematically analysed inter-island campanilistic relations on the islands of Brač and Hvar through the perspective of local islanders. In some interviews they conducted, the islanders themselves used this concept to describe the drawing of symbolic boundaries of their local communities (Perinić Lewis/Škrbić Alempijević 2014, 154).

However, limited connections between neighbouring islands, or neighbouring settlements on larger islands, were still maintained. They visited each other at least once a year, on the days of island festivities, celebrating the patron saint of the parish church. This practice is still present to a lesser extent. Those were the most important social gatherings, and young people from neighbouring villages or islands often visited those folk festivals in order to meet girlfriends or boyfriends, and this way, the islanders naturally protected themselves from intermarriage.

Compared to the notion of insularity we find in most island studies, the insularity of the Zadar archipelago is defined by its own parameters, primarily the islanders' relation to the city. It includes many elements of intangible reality. From an island perspective, people are classified into two basic categories, into *Boduls* (islanders) and *Vlachs* (inhabitants of the mainland). This dichotomy is still very much alive today, although many islanders today work or study in the city. Some return to the island every day, some only come on weekends. As V. Skračić points out, 'What distinguishes us from non-*boduls* is not the fact that we come from the island, because we do not live there – almost every *bodul* from the islands of Zadar has an apartment in the city – but the fact that we remember the time when we lived there and that we still know many concepts, procedures and skills that belong to the island's heritage. We are no longer separated from the island by the sea, but by our choice to surrender to the values that are, in principle, realised on land' (Skračić 2008, 45, author's translation).

It would be interesting to try to deploy the so-called MITE syndrome (monopoly, intimacy, totality and emigration) to the Zadar island area, but this task would go beyond the scope of this paper. The MITE syndrome was first proposed by Baldacchino in 1997 within a framework of 'a social ecology of smallness' with a 'goal to propose a tentative but plausible and sound conceptual and analytic framework, on the basis of which social dynamics in island societies can be understood'. Baldacchino and Veenendaal point out that they 'do not aim to provide an all-encompassing model of small island societies, and we also do not claim that each of the four factors we highlight

necessarily plays a role in every island community' (Baldacchino/Veenendaal 2018, 340). However, if we try, only tentatively, to deploy their model within the framework of 'ecology of smallness' in the analysis of social relations within the island communities of the Zadar area, we would see that for this region it would be necessary to further elaborate the proposed model. As I have already pointed out, the Croatian islands are very diverse from a linguistic point of view. However, unlike on other European islands or archipelagos, there is almost no ethnic or religious pluralism since the population is almost entirely Croatian and Catholic.¹⁷

Sustainable Small Islands: Current Challenges

Today island sustainability is an unavoidable phrase in all island discourses. For centuries, the islanders have been unaware of that notion, but on most of Croatian islands they lived sustainably. Nowadays, most of the problems islanders face originate from the fact that those who decide what should be done for sustainable living on the islands have never lived on the island (Skračić 1997, 66 f.). Unfortunately, this is not only true of the Croatian islands, but is generally the case for official EU policies related to insular life.

In any case, there is no sustainability of the island without people. Therefore, the prerequisite for a sustainable island is to create preconditions for the population to remain living on the island. However, a systematic demographic policy to promote life on the islands does not yet exist. It is paradoxical that a kind of a cynical 'demographic renewal' of the Zadar archipelago occurred in the early 1990s, after the Yugoslav Army and paramilitary Serb units were, on a daily basis, bombarding the city of Zadar and its hinterland. At that moment, many, almost abandoned, old family homes on the islands became a safe haven for women and children, and the dilapidated schools and kindergartens came to life again. After the war ended,

¹⁷ That being 'Cattolici ed Agricoltori' as stated in the 19th cent. church registers. On the islands of the Zadar archipelago those registers were often written in Italian.

some of these ‘new inhabitants’ of island origin recognised the possibilities of life on the island and settled there permanently. But those were rare cases.

As in the entire Adriatic, the islands of Zadar were for decades being continually neglected by official centres of power, and the population now is rapidly ageing. Most of the elderly islanders move to the mainland when they are no longer capable of taking care of themselves. Given that there is almost no island family that does not own an apartment in the city of Zadar, and since family ties in Croatia are still very strong, the elderly usually move in and live with their children. Only in cases where the family does not live in Zadar, elderly islanders would go to a retirement home, and thus, these institutions are nowadays the most productive grounds for ethnologist’s fieldwork. In recent times, the demographic ‘policy’ of local administration started to open retirement or nursing homes on the islands, and some of them are even home to non-islanders. The problem of ageing in the Adriatic islands has become the subject of much research (Podgorelec 2008). This is also compounded by analyses of return migration to the island of the population after retirement, which is a very common practice in the Adriatic islands.¹⁸

Much less attention has so far been paid to analyses of migration of a younger population to the islands, probably because it is a phenomenon that has been particularly noted only in recent times. Namely, some young people, and not only those who have island roots, settle on the islands of the Zadar archipelago in a kind of escapism. They rebuild old abandoned olive groves, many are starting to get involved in tourism, profiting both from island isolation and the benefits of global Internet connections. Tourism has also opened the door for some young families that are now ‘returning’ to the islands. The use of the term ‘return’ is debatable here since it is often about people who were born and raised in Zadar because their families already left the island for various reasons a long time ago. However, I deliberately use the word, because I have heard many young

people talking about ‘returning to the island’ even though they have never lived on the island except during summer holidays. It just goes to show that there is still a strong sense of belonging among people of island origin.

Finally, facing the problem of the constant demographic ageing of island populations, a number of measures have been initiated by local island administrations to encourage demographic renewal. Given that there are many abandoned (and/or almost demolished) old houses on the islands,¹⁹ and because the flats in the city are expensive, quite a number of young families have chosen to live on the islands. Many have restored old houses with the help of island municipal authorities and are now engaged in tourism that provides quite a safe living. Local authorities are stimulating young families with cash incentives for newborns, free kindergartens, scholarships and free transportation for school children and similar positive moves. Due to all those measures, for the first time in decades, some island communities are recording a population increase. Unfortunately, this only applies to the larger islands like those closer to the mainland, primarily Ugljan and Pašman,²⁰ or even those connected to the mainland by a bridge, like Pag and Vir. Each of those islands has several municipalities with their own budget, which is largely focused on improving the living conditions of the island population.

The smaller and more remote islands of the Zadar archipelago (Ist, Iž, Molat, Olib, Premuda, Rava, Sestrunj, Silba, Škarda and Zverinac) cannot profit from these measures because they formally belong to the city of Zadar and do not have their own budget. Also, the city of Zadar often does not show adequate care for island problems. Their formal status is the same as for other urban districts, and so unfortunately, there is no ‘positive island discrimination’. The sustainability of life on the island often depends on very ‘basic’ needs: kindergarten and school availability, medical care,

¹⁸ Compare for example, the analysis of migratory movements on the island of Olib (Oroz/Urem 2015).

¹⁹ For example, on the island of Silba, the number of houses is larger than the number of permanent inhabitants, since only about three hundred islanders officially live on the island throughout the year.

²⁰ These two islands are connected to the city of Zadar by almost twenty ships a day.

water supply, septic tank cleaning, garbage removal from the island, and, as is most important for the islanders, better ship and ferry connection to the mainland. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon for government officials, especially those from the Ministry of Tourism, for whom the island is often just a vacation spot, to promote a completely twisted perspective: we have to preserve our natural and cultural heritage, because contemporary tourists seek authenticity and peculiarities of island life. The islanders are therefore not too thrilled when the authorities talk to them about sustainability. It is often regarded as an unnecessary mantra that serves to 'sell' islands to tourists, not to ensure living conditions for the islanders.

On November 21st 2018, the Croatian Parliament adopted a new 'Law on Island'.²¹ This law creates a new model for categorising islands, and for the first time, legally defines 'islandness' (as a set of social, economic and historic complexities and unique characteristics of islands), smart islands, circular island economy, and other points specific to life on the Croatian islands. This law quite clearly specifies the official policy for the development of the islands, as well as concrete measures and obligations of the state. So far, the islanders welcomed the new law, since they actively

participated in its creation for the first time, but it is too early to see what its real effects will be for the better position of the island population.

Croatia has not yet conducted a systematic analysis of diverse reflections on the '(in)visibility' of the Mediterranean component of its identity. The complexity of the historical, cultural and social heritage on the eastern Adriatic coast, especially in the context of global social processes and the position of Croatia in the EU as a maritime state, is still only a desideratum. However, within the framework of sustainable islands, a new perspective is emerging even in Croatia. Namely, decades of neglect and misunderstanding of island needs can today represent their comparative advantage. The Croatian islands in the congested European part of the Mediterranean represent the possibility of a sustainable Mediterranean. Not with the 'empty' tourist slogan 'Mediterranean as it once was', but the Mediterranean as it should, or could be.

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Hanna Nüllen

Narratives of Insular Transformation in 8th Century CE Historio- and Hagiography from the British Isles

Keywords: hagiography, historiography, Yuri Lotman, British Isles, conversion, 8th cent. CE

Summary

In several 8th cent. CE texts from the British Isles, islands are a central topographical element. Insular authors locate themselves within a larger Christian world by adapting earlier continental depictions of the British Isles as peripheral and cut off from civilisation. The islands themselves are initially constructed in opposition to the mainland on a topographical, topological, and semantic level. They tend to be portrayed as uncivilised, pagan, demonic, or entirely unsuitable for human habitation, which is seen as a result of their isolation and peripherality. A binary spatial order in which the two spheres – mainland and island – are separated by a maritime boundary is thereby established. The resulting image of the world and its relationship with the narratives of the texts can be described in terms of Yuri Lotman's model of space in artistic texts (Lotman 1977), in which plot arises from the crossing of a boundary between field and anti-field by singular mobile agents. When viewed through this lens, the islands in early insular texts fulfil similar roles. It is their initial role as anti-fields which makes them attractive targets for the movement of mobile agents such as hermits or missionaries. Rather than remaining in this state of opposition to the continent, however, insular spaces within these texts are conceptualised as much more dynamic. Through the transformative actions of the mobile agents who convert both the islands' inhabitants as well as the

insular space itself, islands are incorporated into a Christian society that is imagined as universal.

1. Islands and 8th cent. CE Hagiography and Historiography

In the opening lines of the 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People' (Ecclesiastical History),¹ Bede describes and locates the subject of his historiography as an island that is situated at some distance from the continent. As such, this does not seem to be especially uncommon or even innovative. While several examples of geographical introductions date back to antiquity, it is more widely used in Christian historiography (Merrills 2005, 1–5). Thus, Bede's opening lines set him within the historiographical tradition of his time. However, in the last lines of the final narrative chapter of his 'Ecclesiastical History', Bede repeats one element from his introduction. By choosing to close the narrative with an altered quotation from psalms 96:1 (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 560), islands become a central topographical element framing his narrative. Islands also feature heavily within the story itself, which on the one hand, is attributable to the geography of Britain; on the other hand, as the deliberate use of the islands as a framing device demonstrates, Bede imbues this topographical feature with special significance.

Consequently, islands cannot merely be seen as landscapes in the background of the text, but

¹ All sources will be referred to in English. Shortened versions of the titles will be used whenever possible.

appear to be entangled with its central narrative. In his work ‘The Structure of the Artistic Text’, Yuri Lotman has proposed a way of analysing precisely these connections between space and plot, in which the spatial order of a text is constitutive for the existence of plot. By using this model, it can be demonstrated that islands are an essential element of the spatial and narrative order in a number of early medieval English hagiographies as well as one historiographical text. Moreover, it can be argued that several early insular writers conceptualise the islands as dynamic and thereby provide unique perspectives on these landscapes. The six texts that form the basis of the analysis were written in the first fifty years of the 8th cent. CE with very similar subjects and could reflect concepts of insular self-identification and mental mapping within monastic societies in England at that time.

Of Bede’s works other than the ‘Ecclesiastical History’, the two ‘Lives’ of Cuthbert most prominently feature insular spaces, with a focus on one island in particular: Inner Farne. The ‘Metrical Life of Cuthbert’ (Metrical Life), which was probably written around 705 CE (Lapidge 1989, 77–85; Thacker 1989, 118), might have been intended as the metrical equivalent to an earlier ‘Anonymous Life of Cuthbert’ (Anonymous Life) thereby forming an *opus geminatum*. This anonymous version is commonly dated to 699–705 CE (Colgrave 1985a, 45). It was probably written to promote the cult of Cuthbert and focuses primarily on his miracles, while his role as a bishop is hardly reflected in the text (Cubitt 2000, 39 f.). At a later stage, Bede seems to have considered the ‘Anonymous Life’ to be theologically and conceptually weak and thus endeavoured to write another prosaic Life (Berschlin 1989, 96). This makes the three texts an important subject of comparison as they can illustrate the shifting portrayals of the island within one specific storyline. The chapters concerning Cuthbert in the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ can further augment our perspective on the role of Inner Farne and islands like it in early English history writing.

Another early saint’s Life telling the story of the hermit Guthlac uses earlier texts such as the ‘Life of Saint Antony’ and the ‘Life of Saint Martin’ as a model for its depiction of its protagonist. The ‘Life of Saint Guthlac’ (Life of Guthlac), which was

probably written between 730 and 740 CE, also owes several of its elements to the ‘Lives’ of Cuthbert and seems to be reacting to them in several instances (Cubitt 2000, 54). Most importantly, it has an island, Crowland, at its centre. In contrast to Inner Farne, which is located on the shores of Northumbria, Crowland lies in the Fens of Mercia bordering East Anglia. Thus, both the surroundings and the environment in which the Life was written differ significantly from the texts concerning Cuthbert, while the aspect of insularity remains.

The Life of the Northumbrian bishop Wilfrid is the sixth text that will be considered in this chapter. Clare Stancliffe has demonstrated that the ‘Life of Saint Wilfrid’ (Life of Wilfrid) explicitly portrays the Saint as a counterpart of Cuthbert by responding to and quoting from the ‘Anonymous Life’ (Stancliffe 2012, 14–19). In general, Wilfrid is portrayed as the worthier bishop, whose holiness is dependent on his actions rather than his eremitical qualities (Stancliffe 2012, 16 f.). Rather than focusing on one island, in particular, the ‘Life of Wilfrid’ once again has a broader geographical horizon, making it an interesting addition to the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ and the other ‘Lives’. Wilfrid’s foundation of a monastery on the peninsula Selsey, as well as his role in the conversion of the Isle of Wight, are examples of the treatment of islands in a narrative intended to show Wilfrid’s difference from other English saints (Goffart 1988, 284).

2. *Alter Orbis* – The Island as a World Apart

The opening line of the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ demonstrates a central and obvious feature of islands in general as well as the British Isles in particular, namely their location as being set apart from the mainland. This has made them ideal spaces for imaginations or attempted realisations of utopian societies throughout history (Billig 2005, 6; Glaser 1996, 9). They also often appear as miraculous and almost paradisiacal places that exist at or beyond the limits of the known world such as Thule or the Isle of the Blessed (Scully 2001, 40–47; Michelet 2006, 119). In Isidore of Seville’s ‘Etymologies’, the list of these seemingly fantastical islands opens with a description

of Britain that begins in much the same way as Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History'. Diarmuid Scully traces this conceptualisation of Britain as an *alter orbis*, a world apart, back to Vergil's 'Eklogues' (Scully 2015, 128 f.). The British Isles made it possible for continental authors to distinguish themselves from this *alter orbis*, by imagining it either as a *locus amoenus* or especially barbaric (Scully 2001, 152; O'Loughlin 1997, 13). Thus, two distinct spheres are established within this mental map. The first is the continent, constructed as civilised and occupying a more central space in geographical terms; the second sphere, the British Isles, is then identified as its opposite: barbaric and peripheral, while also showing elements of a paradisiacal nature.

This binary system in which two spaces or fields are distinguished by not only topographical but also semantic and topological characteristics is reminiscent of the archetypal structure of narrative texts as proposed by Yuri Lotman. In this model of the artistic text, topographical differences such as the mainland and islands are augmented with semantic (e.g. good/bad) and topological (e.g. close/distant) oppositions (Martínez/Scheffel 2005, 141; Lotman 1977, 218–231). This does not mean that the anti-field is necessarily always associated with negative qualities. Within a given text, these three levels of oppositions then form the underlying 'world picture', which combines spatial and non-spatial elements (Lotman 1977, 232 f.). In Lotman's definition of plot, the binary structure of the semantic field of a text is the first mandatory condition of the formation of plot. The other two conditions are the existence of a border between the two fields which is inherently uncrossable, as well as a singular character that is able to overcome this border (Lotman 1977, 240). The plot itself is then constituted as the movement of a character from the first sphere, the field, into the other sphere, the anti-field. Consequently, the plot ends when the mobile character either assimilates to the anti-field or moves back into the field. In the case of the texts analysed here, the plot can be described as the ongoing movement of their central characters, saints and other saintly figures, through a landscape that is dominated by a very clear dichotomy between islands and the mainland.

Since islands appear to have multiple characteristics of the anti-field in continental texts that were known to insular writers (Michelet 2006, 119), the way in which insular writers dealt with these world pictures gains relevance. Several of them appear to adopt central elements of continental geographies and locate themselves within a sphere that is marked by its distance from and difference to the continent. Gildas locates the British Isles at the edge of the world and views their conquest as a signifier of Rome's universal rule (Scully 2005, 35 f.). In Saint Patrick's 'Confessions', Patrick puts himself both at the end of the world and history itself by connecting the conversion of Ireland with the achievement of a universally Christian world as a prerequisite to the end times (O'Loughlin 2001, 44–58). Thus, even though they themselves inhabited this world apart, aspects of this continental construction are still very prominent in the mental mapping of early insular writers.

2.1. Insular and Christian Societies

In the 'Ecclesiastical History', Bede introduces the British Isles as a remote but paradisiacal world apart and thus retains essential elements of earlier, continental descriptions (Michelet 2006, 127–130). These paradisiacal qualities of islands are even more pronounced in the case of Ireland, which is described as being free from venomous wildlife and abundant with milk and honey. However, by associating the islands with the ocean, a body of water that was understood as encircling the known world and marking the ends of the earth, he emphasises their peripherality and isolation (Merrills 2005, 255 f.).

As the islands enter human history by being settled, most paradisiacal aspects seem to disappear. In the first book of the 'Ecclesiastical History', the proneness of the islands' inhabitants for heresy is made explicit in the description of the effects of Arianism. Their lack of firm beliefs is once again problematised in their incapability to convert the incoming pagan settlers. When Augustine is tasked with converting the peoples of Britain, his company fears the barbarous pagans they are about to meet. At the beginning of the second book of the 'Ecclesiastical History', when the papal

campaign of conversion is described and Gregory's 'Commentary on Job' is quoted, Britain is described as having been barbaric and pagan before its Christianisation. The British Isles' susceptibility to heresy is often associated with their separation from the mainland as well as their location at the ends of the earth, thereby following classical imagery of the islands as lying beyond civilisation (O'Reilly 2005, 145).

Similarly, the 'Life of Wilfrid', which takes place after the first efforts of Christianisation had already proven successful, presents Britain as heretical. In this case, this mostly relates to Wilfrid's journeys to the continent and his consecration as a bishop in Gaul (Stancliffe 2012, 18). At a later point in the 'Life of Wilfrid', his endeavours to exterminate heresy in Britain are fruitful and he reports that the northern parts of Britain and Ireland, as well as the other islands inhabited by Angles, Britains, the Irish and the Picts, have been converted (Colgrave 1985b, 114). His conversion of the Isle of Wight, which plays a larger role in the 'Ecclesiastical History', is not mentioned at all (Kirby 1983, 103).

The association of the British Isles with paganism or heresy is also present in the case of smaller islands and their inhabitants. In the 'Ecclesiastical History', this is especially apparent in the cases of Iona and the Isle of Wight. While the latter is the last part of Britain to be fully converted (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 382–384), Iona represents both the starting point of the Irish conversion in Northumbria and the last important monastic community to retain its way of calculating Easter. The conversion of Iona is the last element in Bede's conversion narrative as a whole and occurs in chapter 22 of book five. The durability of non-orthodox beliefs in parts of Britain that happen to be made up of islands is once again explained by the islands' separation from mainland society (O'Reilly 2005, 141 f.). In the case of the Isle of Wight, Bede emphasises its location as being separated from the mainland and caught between tidal streams originating from the ocean (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 385). Iona's isolation and distance from the rest of the world explicitly account for the persistence of heresy in the 15th chapter of book five. Herein,

Bede describes the inhabitants of Iona, which is located at the very ends of the world, as living contrary to the doctrine of the Church.

Among the other sources, the 'Life of Guthlac' is the only one that refers to the pagan nature of the islands. However, it is a lot more ambiguous and does not explicitly mention pagans. Nevertheless, the island to which Guthlac retreats features a mound that has been frequently interpreted as a pagan burial mound.² Thus, it is the space itself that is potentially already marked as pagan, while the actual inhabitants of the island are unchristian in a different sense: they are demons. In keeping with one of the foundational texts of Christian saints' Lives, the 'Life of Saint Antony', Guthlac has to fight demons and manifestations of the devil several times. These demons have been described by O'Brien O'Keefe (2001, 9) as a 'discrete phenomenon of place' as they appear at the island once Guthlac has arrived there and try to expel him from the island. The three 'Lives' of Cuthbert also feature the association of demons with their central insular space, Inner Farne. In the 'Anonymous Life', the lack of human settlement on the island is attributed to the *demonum fantasias*, spectres of demons (Colgrave 1985d, 96) that reside there. Bede picks up on the demonic presence on Inner Farne and describes it in more detail. In the 'Metrical Life', the demons are described as being dark and terrifying. In the 'Prose Life of Saint Cuthbert' (Prose Life) it is not only demonic spectres but the enemy, the devil himself, and his demonic forces, that flee after the arrival of Cuthbert (Colgrave 1985d, 214). Thus, Bede appears to increase the level of threat on the island.

The descriptions of islands as heretical, pagan or demonic spaces appear not only to be complementary but can be viewed as aspects of anti-Christianity. This is best exemplified in the opposition of darkness and light, which is especially present in Bede's works. He makes use of the

² In his edition and translation of the 'Life of Guthlac' Colgrave (1985c, 1) identified the cistern with a prehistoric chamber grave or a Roman burial. It has also been associated with other pagan burials (Meaney 2001, 34). To Hall (2007, 230) the connection of the landscape with paganism is much stronger in the Old English poem 'Guthlac A'.

metaphor of the *lux gentium*, which banishes the darkness of paganism and as well as the ‘author of darkness’, the devil (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 133). In the ‘Metrical Life’, the process of conversion is described as the lamp of faith, no longer being content with the centre of the world, now shining its light across the seas (Newlands 1997, 76 f.). Here, this light is carried by Cuthbert, who is described as a *fulgur uenerabilis*, venerable lightning (Lapidge 2019, 192; Newlands 1997, 77). In the ‘Ecclesiastical History’, the concept of conversion as a defeat of darkness is made literal in an episode in which Augustine of Canterbury, described as the herald of the divine light, heals a blind, pagan man and thereby converts him (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 136). Finally, when Iona is converted to Roman Christianity, it is described as being lit once again (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 554). By initially associating the islands with paganism and the darkness that comes with it, they are established in direct opposition to the Christian societies of the mainland.

2.2. Insular Spaces and Inhabitability

In the ‘Lives’ of Saint Cuthbert as well as the ‘Life of Guthlac’, this opposition of the islands to Christian society is extended further. Both Inner Farne and Crowland appear as utterly uninhabitable spaces at the beginning. Crowland is explicitly described as uninhabitable and the Fens surrounding it as *inculta*, ‘uncultivated’ (Colgrave 1985e, 88). While this space is not entirely unknown, it is untouched by and removed from civilisation. Clarke interprets this landscape as ‘beyond human cultivation or order’ (Clarke 2006, 31). Similarly, Inner Farne used to be ‘ill-suited for human habitation’ (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 435). This is then exemplified in more detail with regards to several environmental aspects of the respective islands. According to Bede, the soil on Inner Farne is *aridissima ac durissima*, ‘very dry and hard’ (Colgrave 1985d, 218). Growing produce is seemingly impossible as the island is completely devoid of trees and fruit, and the soil remains uncultivated. This is also partially due to the lack of drinkable water on Inner Farne. Thus, these islands all have attributes opposed to

human habitation, which is explained in detail. Within the depictions of the islands, the semantic field of inhospitality is very dominant.

This makes the islands functionally equivalent to the desert in the earliest Christian saints’ Lives. The identification of islands with the desert as the archetypal space of ascetic retreat (McGinn 1994, 161) was already common in Late Antiquity (Dessi/Lauwers 2009, 231–280) and thus, had a long-standing tradition by the time the saints’ ‘Lives’ were written (Di Sciacca 2014, 123–138). While the author of the ‘Anonymous Life’ and Bede do not explicitly mention the desert, scholars such as O’Loughlin have argued that they reference the concept of the *desertum marinum* (O’Loughlin 1997, 22).

The desert-like nature of the islands is also echoed in the waterscapes they are surrounded by. In many early medieval texts, the ocean is viewed as a vast and unknown space that appears to be hostile towards humans as well as occupied by sea-monsters (O’Loughlin 1997, 15–22). Consequently, Bede explicitly locates several islands in the ocean. In the ‘Life of Guthlac’, the desert is referenced much more explicitly as the Fens surrounding Crowland are described as being a *heremus* to emphasise their inhospitable nature and to reference the concept of desert-asceticism (Clarke 2006, 33; Noetzel 2013, 118). Scholars like Justin T. Noetzel (2013, 115) have shown that several vernacular texts from early medieval England depict the Fens as haunted and demonic. Examples of this outside of the ‘Life of Guthlac’ include works such as ‘Beowulf’, but also the gnomic poem ‘Maxims II’.

Thus, while the islands themselves are described as desert-like and inhospitable spaces, their surroundings are often marked in much more explicit terms as being deserts, either of an oceanic or a marshy variety.

2.3. Pagan, Remote and Uninhabitable – The Islands as the Anti-Field

In all six sources, islands and their inhabitants are portrayed in ways that contrast the mainland, even though Bede’s writing, as well as the ‘Life

of Guthlac', emphasise this the most. As required by Lotman, their nature as the anti-field is established on three levels: topography, topology and semantics. The semantic opposition between the islands and the mainland can be seen with regards to their inhabitants and their environments. This can essentially be reduced to oppositions such as anti-Christian/Christian and inhospitable/hospitable. In the 'Ecclesiastical History', these oppositions are most clearly seen in the pairing of light and dark, with the darkness representing the unchristian nature of the islands. Topologically, some islands, especially in the 'Ecclesiastical History' are marked as being distant from the mainland and civilisation. Even though islands tend to be defined with negative aspects, their paradisiacal potential also sets them apart from the continental sphere and could be seen as contributing to their status as anti-fields as well. In general, these oppositions are not only employed on the larger scale of Britain as a whole, but they are supplemented by several smaller islands which parallel and exemplify this conceptualisation.³ There, the identification of islands with anti-Christianity in the form of demons and their general hostility towards human life has prevented them from being settled. Through their association with problematic surroundings such as the Fens or the ocean, some of the islands are further separated from the mainland by dangerous boundaries. This should make them thoroughly uninhabitable. The difficulty of remaining on the islands, specifically Inner Farne and Crowland, as well as the islands' general association with the anti-order of paganism and heresy, mark them as the anti-field in these texts.

3. *Sanctorum Pedibus Servit Oceanus* – Saints as Mobile Hero-Agents

The separation of islands from the mainland is quite literally their defining feature. However, some of the texts take this further and emphasise

the islands' isolation which is in part produced by their hostile surroundings, like the ocean and the Fens. These spaces can be viewed as natural borders between field and anti-field. The difficulty with which they are overcome qualifies them as such in a Lotmanian sense (Frank 2012, 222; Lotman 1977, 240 f.). With regards to the quality of such borders, Lotman asserts that their 'basic property is impenetrability' (Lotman 1977, 230). *Personae* associated with either field are neither allowed nor able to cross it. The plot of a text is constituted by events which are in turn defined as the 'shifting of a persona across the borders of a semantic field' (Lotman 1977, 233). It, therefore, takes a certain subset of characters, so-called mobile *personae*, that are able to overcome this boundary, namely the 'hero-agent' (Lotman 1977, 240), who must somehow be distinguished from their original field. This set of distinguishing features is what drives them to cross the border in the first place. The saints are differentiated from their fields both by their particular qualities as well as by their nature as vessels of the divine.

3.1. Crossing Oceanic and Marshy Borderlands

In both the saints' 'Lives' and the 'Ecclesiastical History', the identification of the surroundings as an ocean or the Fens already implies the problematic nature of attempting to reach their respective islands. The 'Ecclesiastical History' and the 'Life of Wilfrid' include several episodes in which sailing across the sea is highly dangerous. For Germanus of Auxerre, who sails across the Channel to fight Pelagianism in the first book of the 'Ecclesiastical History', the trip nearly ends in disaster, as his ship is attacked by demons trying to prevent the salvation of the British (Howe 1989, 109). It is only through a miracle that he manages to make it to Britain (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 54–56). Oethelwald, Cuthbert's successor on Inner Farne, also calms the ocean in order to help three monks with their passage. Aidan demonstrates his ability to tame the sea by providing Utta and his company with a bottle of holy oil. These feats, however, are only made possible

³ In his doctoral thesis, Diarmuid Scully argues that Farne and its transformation serve as the 'paradisiacal archipelago of HE 1.1. in miniature' (Scully 2001, 167).

by divine intervention.⁴ Howe (1989, 110) argues that Bede establishes a pattern in which crossing the sea, which is migratory at the beginning of the book, is linked to acts of conversion in these later passages.

Similarly, Bishop Wilfrid's travels across the Channel at the beginning of the 'Life of Wilfrid' involve struggles with the sea (Colgrave 1985b, 28). It is important to note that in both cases, the near-impenetrability of the oceanic boundary is only apparent during the first attempt to sail the Channel from the continent to Britain and not the other way around. This is especially remarkable, as Wilfrid's first crossing of the Channel is not problematic. It is only after his consecration as a bishop in Gaul that the oceanic boundary proves to be averse to his intentions. However, the trip becomes safer after Wilfrid, as well as others like Germanus, have successfully fought against non-orthodox or unchristian beliefs in Britain. The 'Life of Wilfrid' and the 'Ecclesiastical History' appear to be more pre-occupied with the idea of the impenetrability of the border, than the other texts.

None of the other saints' 'Lives' presents the journey to the island as especially difficult for their respective protagonists. The 'Life of Guthlac' emphasises the terrors of the Fens, which Guthlac nevertheless traverses with apparent ease and through divine aid 'by the most direct route' (Colgrave 1985e, 87). However, the focus shifts away from the event of crossing the boundary and is put on the ability of the saints to remain in the anti-field itself. While some appear to have made it to Inner Farne and Crowland, respectively, no one has yet been able to stay there. The 'Anonymous Life', for example, states that it is 'a place where [...] almost no one could remain alone for any length of time' (Colgrave 1985d, 97). As seen above, one of the main reasons why this is the case is the demonic threat on the islands themselves. The demons that are encountered on the ocean

by Germanus have moved to the island. It could be argued that the 'Lives' of Cuthbert and Guthlac respectively establish a different concept of crossing a boundary that focuses on their protagonists' movement in time much more than their movement in space.

3.2. The Hero-Agents and their Relationship with the Islands

It is remarkable that several *personae* within these narratives have an easier time overcoming the boundaries, are singularly endowed with the ability to help others do so or are the only ones able to remain in the anti-field. These people can be characterised as the Lotmanian mobile hero-agents that are uniquely able to cross the border into the anti-field (Lotman 1977, 240). In the passage from the 'Commentary on Job' quoted in the 'Ecclesiastical History' it is made abundantly clear what kind of people fit this description. The ocean, which could not be crossed by 'worldly princes', now lies at the feet of the saints and is tamed by the words of the priests (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 130). This statement is then brought to life through the actions of several hero-agents, in the case of the 'Ecclesiastical History', as well as by the saints at the centre of the five saints' 'Lives'.

The initial difference of the saints from their peers is established throughout the first chapters of each saint's 'Life' by demonstrating their ability to perform miracles and their extraordinary ascetic virtues, in the cases of Cuthbert and Guthlac, or their particular orthodoxy, in the case of Wilfrid (Stancliffe 2012, 18). All three characters, as well as the other hero-agents in the 'Ecclesiastical History' such as Germanus, Augustine or Aidan, are framed as being vessels through which the true agent (God) is acting. It is through God that they calm the sea and it is through God that they can reach and stay in the anti-fields in question. This is made very explicit in the case of Guthlac, who both makes his way to Crowland with 'divine assistance' (Colgrave 1985e, 87) and remains there aided by similar means. Lotman also makes this point with regards to medieval chronicles (Lotman 1977, 242).

⁴ Scully (2010, 3–15) has demonstrated that the idea of taming the ocean can be traced back to antiquity, where it was used in the context of the Roman conquest of Britain as well as a metaphor for the universal dominion of the Roman Empire over land and sea (*terra marique*). This concept is used several times in the 'Ecclesiastical History'.

In the texts concerning Cuthbert, it is his inherent ability to remain in the anti-field that quite literally sets him apart from everyone else. Thereby his extraordinary virtuousness is linked to the specific spatiality of the island. While his saintliness is not entirely dependent on this aspect alone, this accomplishment is presented as a central element of this sainthood. In Bede's 'Prose Life', this is supplemented by presenting Cuthbert's move to Inner Farne as the endpoint in a series of attempts to remove himself as far from the world as possible (Stancliffe 1989, 27). In contrast to the 'Anonymous Life', in which Cuthbert's unchanging and predestined virtuousness is emphasised, Bede portrays Cuthbert's life as a development of his virtue firstly in the field of asceticism and later with regards to pastoral care (Stancliffe 1989, 24–27). Guthlac's ascetic journey also ends with his settlement on Crowland, where he manages to achieve the life that he had desired (Meaney 2001, 33). Once he has established his hermitage, his life is characterised by steady practices of asceticism which are very closely tied to the space he inhabits, namely the island in the desert-like Fens. When the demons try to tempt him to excessive fasting, they do so by invoking the Egyptian monks. This once again emphasises his role as a spiritual descendant of Saint Antony, which had already been demonstrated through the use of direct quotations from the 'Life of Antony' (Bertrand 2006, 57; Weston 2016, 5). Both Guthlac and Cuthbert are portrayed as saints in the vein of Antony and other so-called desert fathers by not only citing earlier saints' 'Lives' but also linking the respective locations of their hermitages to the desert.

The practice of island monasticism is also often seen as a particular phenomenon of Irish forms of Christianity (Ó Carragáin 2013, 21). Thus, it does not seem surprising that Wilfrid's saintliness is not constituted by his asceticism and the (pen)insular nature of his monastic foundation at Selsey, which is made explicit in the 'Ecclesiastical History', is not mentioned at all in the 'Life of Wilfrid'. He is instead set apart from the other inhabitants of the British Isles, and Cuthbert, by his closeness to Rome as well as by his learning and familiarity with canon law (Stancliffe 2012, 16 f.; Farmer 1974, 38). His relationship to Rome distinguishes him from the society on the island, as is shown by

his refusal to be consecrated on the island, and it enables him to create a much closer connection between the island and the mainland. His virtues lie in bridging the gap between the British Isles and the continent, as well as his ability to convert the former. While insularity is less prominent in the 'Life of Wilfrid', the existence of an insular anti-field is nevertheless essential in his characterisation as a mobile agent. Once again, while working with concepts of insularity, the way the 'Life of Wilfrid' utilises the islands in a different way than the other texts. This might also be connected to possible implications of 'Irishness' with regards to particular forms of island asceticism.⁵

4. *Laetentur Insulae* – Insular Transformations and the Dissolution of the Anti-Field

Even though saints such as Wilfrid, Cuthbert, and Guthlac, but also Germanus, Aidan and Augustine in the 'Ecclesiastical History', are marked as hero-agents partially by their ability to cross the boundary between field and anti-field, others following their footsteps rarely run into the same difficulties. The oceanic border appears to have vanished. The taming of the sea and the tempest is an element of the transformation of the insular environment that appears in the three 'Lives' of Cuthbert, the 'Life of Wilfrid' and in the 'Ecclesiastical History' in some form and it works as a metaphor for the Christian dominion over the islands (Scully 2010, 15). While this transformation of the sea is usually rather short-term, it can be repeated by the agents several times. Thus, taming of the sea can sometimes be temporary and tied to the hero agent's specific ability, while other changes to the insular environment are far more permanent. Nevertheless, the temporary disappearance of the hostile boundary between field and anti-field through the pacification of the ocean already points toward a central issue regarding the stability of the anti-field. In all six narratives, the basis

⁵ For more detailed discussions of the role of Irish Christianity in the works of Bede and his contemporaries, see for example the works of Clare Stancliffe (1989; 2003; 2012), Alan Thacker (1996) and Sarah McCann (2015).

for the identification of the islands as the anti-field begins to erode with the arrival of the agents.

4.1. Transforming the Insular Spaces

All three accounts of Cuthbert's life devote several passages to the different ways in which Inner Farne is transformed by Cuthbert through the grace of God. A central feature of this change is the creation of a small fountain of sweet water. This also enables Cuthbert to grow crops and cultivate the previously arid and stony soil. When local birds misbehave, he manages to tame them easily (Colgrave 1985d, 100–102, 222–224).⁶ It has been noted that Inner Farne begins to resemble a paradisiacal island where nature is again subservient to humans (Clarke 2006, 34). In another episode, Cuthbert manages to calm a tempest, thereby demonstrating the power of the saints to tame the ocean and mirroring the words of Gregory in the 'Commentary on Job'. Thus, the island and its environment have been thoroughly domesticated by Cuthbert. In the 'Metrical Life', Bede uses the term 'edomitis', tamed, (Lapidge 2019, 242) to describe the state of the soil after Cuthbert had tilled it. Generally, the most notable set of changes concerns the habitability of Inner Farne. Bede summarises this as follows: 'It was ill-suited for human habitation; but it became in all respects habitable as the man of God wished' (Colgrave/Mynors 1969, 435). Within this sentence, the implications of the transformations for the island as an anti-field can already be gleaned. If inhospitality is a fundamental criterion to demonstrate the island's direct opposition to the mainland, making the island habitable inevitably changes its status. Additionally, by banishing demonic forces from the island, it becomes a part of a Christian world and thus is reachable by others. In fact, this new accessibility of the island creates a need for Cuthbert to isolate

himself once again by building a cell, in order to regain the aspects of the anti-field relevant to his asceticism that were lost through the transformation of the island.

In contrast with Cuthbert, Guthlac barely makes any changes to his environment. He drinks muddy water from the Fens (Colgrave 1985e, 94), and he endures the attacks of birds with saintly patience (Gusakova 2010, 50; Colgrave 1985e, 120). This fits into the idea proposed by Cubitt that the 'Life of Guthlac' was intended to show that the saint surpassed the otherwise more famous Northumbrian Cuthbert in terms of his ascetic qualities (Cubitt 2000, 54). Nevertheless, he also subjects 'the birds of the untamed wilderness and the wandering fishes of the muddy marshes' (Colgrave 1985e, 121) to his will, thereby demonstrating his pastoral qualities.⁷ While the resulting harmonious relationship between Guthlac and his surroundings already signify an important shift in the nature of the initially hostile space, a much more striking transformation of the island appears to be the expulsion of the demons. This enables Guthlac to bring Crowland into the fold of Christianity. When the mound that Guthlac inhabits is interpreted as a relic of a pagan burial site, Guthlac's presence and actions on Crowland could be seen as a conversion or at least a Christian reordering of the insular space.⁸

Wilfrid's bids to bring the British Isles closer to Latin Christianity could, in this sense, also be viewed as transformative acts. In the latter half of the 'Life of Wilfrid', he is depicted as an evangelist in the vein of Saint Paul, who has to overcome his persecutors (Laynesmith 2000, 174–176). By reporting the conversion of the peoples of the British Isles in Rome, he also appears to bridge the

⁶ Crane (2012, 36) interprets the miracles involving animals as signs of Cuthbert's pastoral qualities. Cavill (1999, 7) criticises Bede's didactic use of the taming of the ravens to demonstrate the virtue of obedience. Generally, the restoration of harmony between animals and humans has been interpreted as a sign of paradise (Voisenet 2000, 228). However, Crane argues that this does not necessarily mark a return to a prelapsarian state (Crane 2012, 31).

⁷ Gusakova (2010, 50 f.) argues that, in contrast to the 'Lives' of Cuthbert, the 'Life of Guthlac' emphasises Guthlac's piety, rather than his pastoral abilities. Nevertheless, the use of the term 'pastor' (shepherd) in the saint's 'Life' does appear to explicitly portray Guthlac in a more pastoral light (Colgrave 1985c, 120).

⁸ Hall (2007, 230) has proposed a reading of the Old English poem known as 'Guthlac A', in which the conversion of Guthlac from a warrior to a hermit is extended to the island, which is implicitly portrayed as an old pagan site. However, he also argues that this conversion can only be inferred and is never made explicit. According to him, it is not present in Felix's 'Life of Guthlac'.

spiritual divide between the islands and the continent. In contrast to the ‘Anonymous Life’, which the ‘Life of Wilfrid’ is responding to and building on, the scope of transformation seems to be much larger. Whilst Cuthbert only changes one island, Wilfrid brings the entirety of the British Isles into the fold of Roman Christianity. In the ‘Ecclesiastical History’, Bede appears to be reacting to this by using the microcosmic transformation of Inner Farne as an example of the macrocosmic transformation of the British Isles (Clarke 2006, 35).

4.2. The Dissolution of the Anti-Field and Christian Space-Time

Regardless of the range of the respective transformations, the identification of the insular anti-field as being in opposition to the mainland on the basis of their apparent unchristian nature is no longer valid at the end of each narrative. On the contrary, the conversion of the islands and their transformations into spaces that can be inhabited by Christians results in their assimilation to the continental field. Thus, the processes of physical transformation and spiritual conversion of the islands have dissolved their status as the anti-field, as they are no longer part of a semantic opposition between mainland and islands. In becoming a part of the Christian world, their previous isolation is also significantly reduced. O’Reilly (2005, 121 f.) has argued that Bede tends to follow Jerome’s letter to Paulinus. Here, the Church Father demonstrates the irrelevance of one’s location with regards to one’s salvation. At least in Bede’s writing, the islands have moved closer to the mainland in spirit. By pointing to instances in which the islands are no longer the target of Christianisation but its origin, as in the case of Iona as well as the missions to the continent in book five, Bede shows a reversal of the initial movement of Latin Christianity from the centre to the periphery in the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ (Howe 1989, 109). This destabilises the binary opposition between the continent and the British Isles even further and demonstrates a dynamic rather than static relationship between the two.

Rather than resolving the spatial tension of the plot by either having the protagonist return to his original field or having the protagonist assimilate

with the anti-field, which are the two options described by Lotman (1977, 238), the anti-field itself is dissolved. This third option of ending the plot and restoring order is not a part of Lotman’s theory as such but has been explored by Renner (2004, 369–373). From the perspective of Bede and his contemporaries, this outcome is crucial, as the ongoing persistence of these anti-fields would be fundamentally opposed to the Christian claim to universal dominion (O’Reilly 2005, 122–124, 126 f.). This is perhaps most obvious in the ‘Ecclesiastical History’, as the penultimate chapter of the book describes the final conversion of Iona, and the last narrative chapter fully resolves the tension by placing the now jubilant islands in the kingdom of God. The book ends with the end of the anti-field. This is not the case in the saints’ ‘Lives’, which tend to close with the death and subsequent miracles of their protagonists. These posthumous miracles often serve to demonstrate the ongoing nature of God’s grace working through the saints and tie the present of the authors and the implicit readers to the narrative. Nevertheless, the move to and the transformation of the islands still mark an essential step in the spiritual progression of Cuthbert and Guthlac, while the final conversion of the Isles is a central accomplishment of Wilfrid. Thus, the dissolution of the anti-field has similar effects on the plot as the two variations described by Lotman.

The transformation of the islands and the end of the plot are able to carry additional meaning in the ‘Ecclesiastical History’, which is at least partially due to its larger historical scope and its nature as a Christian historiography. By demonstrating continental Christianity’s ability to reach the insular anti-Christian spaces and convert them, biblical prophecy, such as the passages from Isaiah, is brought to life. As the last stage before the coming of the end times is represented by the universal dominion of Christianity and the conversion of the British Isles can be viewed as signifiers of this universality, Bede can locate himself at a more or less definite point in salvation history (O’Reilly 2005, 120–124; Darby 2012, 205). The existence of the insular anti-field is projected into the past, and the plot of the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ ends with the full incorporation of the islands into the Christian world. Moreover, by emphasising the

special role of the British Isles in salvation history, its geographic peripherality becomes essential to its centrality with regards to Christian space-time (Michelet 2006, 157–159; O'Reilly 2005, 145). Additionally, the Christianisation of the islands can be seen as a fulfilment of their paradisiacal potential, as portrayed in the opening lines (Clarke 2006, 34).

While the saints' 'Lives' also show the disappearance of the anti-fields, their focus is much less on its eschatological implications. Nevertheless, the ability of the agents to move into the anti-field and subsequently transform it is central to their depiction as being worthy vessels of God's will, making the transformations of the islands part of his plan. The events at the heart of these 'Lives' are not the crossing of a boundary but the dissolution of this boundary (Renner 2004, 369–371). While the physical separation of islands from the mainland is not remedied by this, their spiritual separation has disappeared. The islands have become a part of one united Christian field, and the oceanic border has lost its meaning.

5. The Island Writes Back

When comparing the six sources, it becomes obvious that insularity is a much more important factor in Bede's writing. In the 'Ecclesiastical History', where the narrative of Christianisation is inextricably tied to the landscape, insular spaces as signifiers of universal dominion take on a central role. The other saints' 'Lives' are also shaped by their topographical background to varying degrees, with the 'Life of Wilfrid' as a clear outlier.

They create a fundamental tension by using the mainland and the island as a topographical basis for the establishment of field and anti-field. This is primarily achieved by augmenting this physical opposition with semantic oppositions, which are related to the dichotomy of Christian and un- or even anti-Christian as well as civilised and uncivilised. Additionally, some form of the topological assignation of mainland spaces as centres and the islands as the peripheries is present in most narratives.

This tension between field and anti-field is what propels the action of the protagonists, who are cast as the only characters that are able to

overcome the boundary and reach the anti-field. The extraordinary nature of saints like Cuthbert, Guthlac, and Wilfrid, but also other figures such as Germanus, Augustine, Aidan or Adomnán finds its expression in their ability to enter these anti-fields by crossing the ocean. These hero-agents are not only capable of remaining in the anti-field, but – by transforming its physical and spiritual make-up – manage to dissolve it through the grace of God. This outcome of the narrative goes beyond Lotman's original conception of plot, in which the two fields remain stable. However, it appears to be a necessary component with regards to the narrative of Christianisation in the 'Ecclesiastical History'. Here, the end of the plot as constituted by the existence of field and anti-field coincides with the end of the book. Meanwhile, the ability of Cuthbert and Guthlac to transform the islands and appropriate them for Christendom sets them apart as extraordinary hero-agents. Similarly, but on a different scale, Wilfrid's contribution lies in the establishment of the islands as a realm of Roman Christianity.

On a more general level, the use of the island/mainland dichotomy, as well as the partial dissolution of this opposition, points to the role of islands in the 'picture of the world' (Lotman 1977, 232) of Bede and his contemporaries. Their texts reflect and shape the imagination and self-identification of the society that brought them forth (Frank 2012, 221). Furthermore, the transgression of borders within these narratives is inherently deconstructive of the said model of space. In other words, by depicting the crossing of a boundary, the texts shine a light on the constructed nature of said boundary within the spatial imagination of society (Frank 2009, 68). In this light, it is remarkable that, while the original binaries in which the islands are set first appear to mirror continental conceptualisations of the islands (Speed 2005, 16–18), the transformations of the islands remove the semantic aspect of this opposition and thereby the boundary itself. Moreover, the peripherality of the British Isles from the perspective of the continent, and especially of Rome, imbues the conversion of the islands with special significance in the first place. At the same time, it loses its relevance and can be overcome as the examples of missionaries coming from the islands to the mainland as well

as the establishment of centres for the cult of the saints on the islands themselves show (O'Reilly 2005, 145). While being an essential component for the constitution of plot in a Lotmanian sense, the mainland/island relationship does not remain static or strictly binary (Howe 2005, 42), but is portrayed as dynamic and mutable in the course of history. Thus, by initially appropriating continental constructions of space to use them as the basis for the development of the plot and then demonstrating their transformation, these 8th cent. writers can locate themselves within a larger Christian

space-time. The identification of the islands as anti-field is not negated but consigned to a specific place in history.

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Of Worms and Birds

Approaches to the Island between Practice and the Imaginary

Keywords: space, Certeau, Deleuze, Robinsonade, imaginary, island narratives

Summary

In the context of the so-called spatial turn in cultural and social studies, geographical space has been reconsidered as a cultural phenomenon moving away from the notion of space as a given constant and instead acknowledging its cultural component, defined and semanticised by its users and their practices. At the interface of materiality and discursivity, the island becomes a highly interesting as well as paradigmatic site for the negotiation of a specific 'islandness' (Hay 2006) from 'within' on the one hand and the metaphorical construction of the island from 'outside' on the other, having been a space for inspiration and projections to philosophers and writers for centuries. Against the backdrop of Michel de Certeau's 'Practice of Everyday Life' (1980) and his theory of the two-fold appropriation of space, as well as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's notion of the smooth and gridded space ('Capitalism and Schizophrenia', 1980), the following paper seeks to explore the imaginary construction of the island space from two perspectives: (i) the appropriation of the island by walking on the ground, and (ii) from a bird's eye perspective from above. These perspectives create two opposite notions of the island and contribute to the establishment of various discourses on the insular, representing different power structures and critical takes on social life, confirming as well as subverting established discourses. Using a comparative approach, different examples of constructions of islands from European literary

history will be employed, mainly drawing on the genre of the Robinsonade. One central imaginary of the island in European literature is the island in the far sea, often in the Pacific; this is analysed as a pre-dominant construction of insularity in the following narratives: 'Robinson Crusoe' by Daniel Defoe (1719), 'Suzanne and the Pacific' by Jean Giraudoux (1921), 'The Wall' by Marlen Haushofer (1963), 'Friday or The Other Island' by Michel Tournier (1967), 'Atlas of Remote Islands' by Judith Schalansky (2009) and 'The Pine Islands' by Marion Poschmann (2017).

Introduction

Islands and insular spaces have been a recurring motif in many literatures across the world for centuries. They have been employed to represent a multitude of notions, contributing to island mythologies and becoming part of cultural imaginaries, often embodying the 'other', or a yearning for new beginnings and ideal spaces, but also isolation, reclusiveness or even its opposite: interconnection. The island, therefore, becomes a liminal space at the interface of materiality and discursivity, one which invites exploration from a multitude of perspectives but one that is, at the same time, despite its apparent tangibility, often hard to localise.

In the context of the so-called 'spatial turn' in social and cultural studies, spatial settings have been reconsidered as a socio-cultural phenomenon rather than a given constant (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 292). Since the late 20th cent., space theory has turned away from the mere symbolic representation and reading of space, and instead has searched for a definition of space as a social construct which

is constantly redefined by its users' activities. Space has become a co-agent in everyday life rather than a mere setting that determines people's actions. In view of this critical re-assessment of the notion of space and of spatial theory, insularity and the depiction of island spaces have gained wider currency in literary studies – insular spaces are also regarded as sites that are not simply given, but created by the ways in which their users engage with and appropriate them, both in discourse and practice. Accordingly, space is turned into an acutely semanticised entity which is no longer understood as a pre-existing fact (Günzel 2007, 16). Inasmuch as it is the result of the social practices of its inhabitants and visitors, the island can therefore be considered a manifestation of social relations, often power hierarchies, subject to being re-confirmed, re-shaped and subverted through the activities of the people who interact with it.

Engaging with the interface of the imaginary and island practices from a European perspective, this paper re-assesses the metaphorical potential of insular spaces by analysing a selection of seminal island narratives. It seeks to explore how the island space is appropriated and experienced by literary characters, often shipwrecked and washed to its shores, who interact and engage with the island and the insular environment. A selection of canonical island texts are reconsidered in light of the topographical turn in literary studies,¹ where on the basis of considering space as a constructed entity, literature is regarded as a contributor to space-making processes as well as to notions of space.² Following Michel de Certeau's theories in 'Practice of Everyday Life' (1980), two main paradigms of the appropriation of island space in literature can be identified. Accordingly, this paper will analyse the imaginary construction of the island from two perspectives:

(i) the appropriation of the island on the ground, when walking, or through movements even closer to the ground, crawling and taking the worm's-eye-view and (ii) from above, capturing the space from a bird's-eye perspective. These perspectives present two opposite views of the island and also contribute to various discourses on the insular as they represent different power structures and critical approaches to social relations, confirming as well as subverting established ideologies.

This article explores the depiction of spatial practices in selected island narratives, focussing on visual mapping (associated with the bird's-eye view) and movement (here considered as linked to the worm's-eye-view). After a brief introduction to the interconnectedness of the notion of 'islandness' (Hay 2006) and the imaginary construction of islands, this paper will outline Michel de Certeau's spatial theory and complement it with Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's (1980) considerations of gridded and smooth space. The critique of these theories will underpin the investigation of the two-fold appropriation of the constructions of islands from a European perspective in the following corpus of literary texts, evoking insular spaces or their cartographical depiction – often Pacific islands as the central European imaginary of the island – which can be seen as paradigmatic for different forms of island appropriation: 'Robinson Crusoe' by Daniel Defoe (1719), 'Suzanne et le Pacifique' by Jean Giraudoux (1921), 'Die Wand' by Marlen Haushofer (1963),³ 'Vendredi ou les Limbes du Pacifique' by Michel Tournier (1967), 'Atlas der abgelegenen Inseln' by Judith Schallansky (2009), and 'Die Kieferninseln' (2017) by Marion Poschmann.

Islands between Practice and the Imaginary

In a seminal article on the phenomenology of islands, Peter Hay (2006, 26) contends that 'a case could reasonably be made for it [the island] as the

1 On the 'topographical turn' see Weigel 2002, 151–165; Wagner 2010, 100–109.

2 A related approach to the analysis of island literature can be found in the work of the Island Research Poetics Group (Graziadei et al. 2017a and 2017b), which also partly draws on the spatial theory of Certeau with his concept of corporeal spatial practices counteracting the mapping of space (Graziadei et al. 2017a, 246) and whose notion of a poetics of the sensory 'conception' (Graziadei et al. 2017a, 240) of islands in literary texts is an important contribution to island literature studies.

3 Despite Marlen Haushofer's novel not being set on a physical island, it can be considered as one of the canonical texts in the genre of the Robinsonade, evoking an enclosed space with specific insular features and a (female) protagonist being cast away in the Austrian mountains.

central metaphor within western discourse'. Hay distinguishes, however, between constructions of islands – that is, the metaphorical notion of islands from an outsider's point of view – and what he calls 'islandness' (Hay 2006, 19) – that is the islanders' experiences and, thus, a phenomenology of islands from within the geographical island space itself. Questioning whether island metaphoricity, deeply rooted in European discourse as it is, can be disassociated from such a phenomenology of islands, Hay concludes that 'so powerful is the metaphorical idea of the island that it can be deployed in the absence of even the slightest reference to the reality of islands' and assigns the island imagery 'acts of post-colonial appropriation'. Accordingly, he considers island constructions from the continental perspective as problematic since they 'render irrelevant the realness of island lives' (Hay 2006, 30). In this concept, discursive appropriation therefore appears as opposed to, but also deeply linked with, islanders' practices and experiences of island spaces.

Another landmark essay on the intrinsic connectedness of the geographical island with its use as a site of the imaginary is the short article 'Desert Islands' by the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, whom Tom Conley has appropriately called 'an adept of the science of being insofar as he is a geographer and a philosopher of space' (Conley 2005, 208). Starting from specific geographical features of islands, Deleuze understands the island space as one of the cases in which 'science makes mythology more concrete, and mythology makes science more vivid' (Deleuze 2002, 10). Drawing from geography, he divides islands into two categories: (i) the oceanic island, emerging from the sea and therefore representing an absolute beginning, and (ii) the continental island, which once was part of the continent and can be interpreted as a re-start, a new beginning which remains related to the mainland (Deleuze 2002, 10). Questioning the possibility of a lonely island and criticising canonical island depictions in literature, Deleuze mourns the decline of the island as an inspirational symbol and the fact that it has become merely an excuse for the recreation of continental bourgeois society (Deleuze 2002, 11 f.). Indeed, through the recreation of the continent, the myth of the island as an absolute beginning is never completely fulfilled.

In conceiving the sea as a space of opening and not limiting the island, Deleuze addresses and subverts the established idea of a clear duality between the island and the sea, with the sea being constructed as a limit of the island space, which places it at a distance from social and economic developments. Conversely, he depicts the island as a figure of thought for a continuous state of becoming and a new beginning, as a metaphor for the endless cycle of the world, therefore turning it into a place which is impossible to categorise chronologically and geographically. Combining a specific islandness with the discursive construction of insularity, he creates an alternative discourse to traditional Western ideas of the island as a clearly defined, locatable and secluded place (Moser 2005, 408–410). Deleuze thus offers a possibility of including the phenomenological experience of the island in the development of its metaphoricity, rather than a colonialist appropriation from the outside. Anticipating his later space theory, Deleuze expounds a concept of space which is in a continuous process of becoming – his text, writes Conley, 'shows that our imagination tends to make space tantamount to being insofar as being can only be thought of in terms of becoming, in other words, within the flow, force and vitality of repetition and recreation' (Conley 2005, 209). Consequentially, the insular is then considered a space that oscillates between being material and being imaginary, constituting a space without fixed boundaries in a continuous process of coming into being. Drawing on this concept of the insular, the following section of this paper will present a brief outline of the two-fold spatial practices that will serve as the conceptual framework for the literary analysis.

Spatial Practices: Maps and Routes

Certeau distinguishes between two types of spatial appropriation – one from a bird's eye perspective, which he calls 'map', and another on the ground, which he terms 'route'. Route refers to the spatial experience through bodily movement, typically walking, whilst map refers to the spatial appropriation through seeing, which is closely associated to discourses of knowledge and power. Certeau exemplifies these two perspectives using a city

space – perceiving it from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center (now an impossible perspective which is itself part of cultural memory). He calls the city an ‘urban island’ (Certeau 1988, 91), and observes: ‘When one goes up there, he leaves behind the mass that carries off and mixes up in itself any identity of authors or spectators. [...] His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world [...] into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god. [...] the fiction of knowledge is related to this lust to be a viewpoint and nothing more’ (Certeau 1988, 92).⁴

The spatial appropriation from above is thus a panoptical view leading to a mapping of space as it is, for example, undertaken by spatial planners, cartographers and city planners. To this effect, the viewer becomes estranged from the spatial practices of everyday life in the streets, asserting power by surveying space and creating a ‘fiction’ of the space in question (Certeau 1988, 92 f.). The view from above, therefore, is part of an act of mapping the space below, that is, drawing up an imaginary grid of what is being viewed at a distance from the spatial activities of its users, placing the perspective above the everyday practices of the people who are walking and thereby creating spaces. Certeau outlines the development of the medial appropriation of space in the form of cartography since the Middle Ages, and explains how the routes – i.e., spatial practices – were gradually eliminated from the maps, giving way to an increased geometrical depiction of space that excludes every hint of graphical representations of actual human activities (Certeau 1988, 118–122). Therefore, he concludes, the map ‘colonizes space; it eliminates little by little the pictorial figurations of the practices that produce it’ (Certeau 1988, 121).

On the other hand, walking represents the opposite way of accessing space, one which can be considered an individual appropriation, constantly shaping space anew and re-arranging it (Certeau 1988, 98). Comparing the adoption of space by walking to a speech act, Certeau calls it

the ‘walking rhetorics’ (Certeau 1988, 100). He further analogises humans’ motion in the city with the acts of reading and writing, and develops a notion of walking as ‘an emancipatory transgression of the spatial order and the symbolic system of language respectively’⁵ (Wagner 2005, 178; Author’s translation). As in the case of language, the process of spatial production bears a subversive potential which can undermine existing configurations of space and question established discourses.

The route and the map, therefore, represent opposite ways of experiencing and creating space. Maps are instruments of the appropriation of power, whereas walking is an everyday life activity, subject to constant re-definition and change which cannot be surveilled by hegemonic power. Beyond his distinction between route and map, Certeau distinguishes places from actual spaces; whilst a place is just a momentary constellation of fixed points, space is created by means of spatial activity. Space is thus considered a process intrinsically linked to humans’ use and movement in contrast to the mere visual mapping from a distance. The act of walking ‘is a process of ‘appropriation’ of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian [...]; it is a spatial acting-out of the place’ (Certeau 1988, 97 f.). Both ways of experiencing space define subjective images of space, leading to different types of ‘fiction’ in Certeau’s formulation. He accordingly suggests that narratives function as a threshold between places and spaces because narratives constitute the moment of transition from one state to the other. They are essential for the creation of different types of spaces in societies because a society without narratives would be deprived of all its spaces, left only with abstract places (Certeau 1988, 123). Certeau is particularly interested in the spatial constitution of narrative texts as they have the function of guiding the pedestrians’ footsteps (Certeau 1988, 116). Narrative texts, therefore, may commonly determine our experience of space – they influence our idea of space and its power relations, and they have the performative power to transform and even shift boundaries.

⁴ Certeau’s use of the masculine pronoun hints at the gendered notion of this viewpoint from above.

⁵ ‘Zugleich eine emanzipatorische Überschreitung der räumlichen Ordnung bzw. des symbolischen Sprachsystems’ (Wagner 2005, 178).

Similarly, Deleuze and Guattari differentiate between two modes of practice producing different kinds of space: the smooth and the striated, corresponding to the 'nomad space and the sedentary space' (Deleuze/Guattari 1987, 474). They take Certeau's theory of spatial practice as a starting point sharing the idea of '[i]nventive ways of crafting time and space (as) modes of creative resistance' (Andermatt Conley 2012, 96) against hegemonic power, in this case, first and foremost, capitalist social relations. As anticipated with regard to Deleuze's reflections on the island, the two authors expound the idea of space being constantly in a state of coming into being through human motion and daily activities, all of which leads to new processes of subjectification and to different ways of thinking (Andermatt Conley 2012, 96 f.). The world is in unrelenting motion through processes of disengagement from and re-attachment to spaces, continuously creating spaces and turning smooth space into striated space and vice versa (Deleuze/Guattari 1987, 475). Whilst the striated refers to the organisation and mapping of space, the smooth space comprises a direction and an intuitive flow of movement, not being led by a specific route or points of reference. Smooth space becomes striated by being mapped and measured, for which the sea is a particularly apt illustration: the 'smooth space par excellence' (Deleuze/Guattari 1987, 479), which was striated by the maritime explorers and navigators on their mission to discover new continents, measuring and mapping the sea and therefore subjecting it to their own objectives (Deleuze/Guattari 1987, 479). Employing the metaphors of the tree and the rhizome, Deleuze and Guattari question conventional binary modes of thinking and suggest a rhizomatic, nomadic type of movement which comprises a 'lateral, and circular system of ramification' (Deleuze/Guattari 1987, 5), spreading out to various directions, forming new connections and a diversity of possible combinations.⁶

This theoretical framework provides the basis for a reading of European island narratives that concentrates specifically on the literary depiction

of different manners of spatial appropriation and engagement. On that account, the following analysis of six literary texts will showcase how the map and the route – as the two dominant modes in the literary representation of island spaces from a Western perspective – have contributed to a cultural imaginary of islands.

Daniel Defoe: 'Robinson Crusoe' (1719)

Shipwrecked on the shore of the island he later names the 'Island of Despair' (Defoe [1917] 1992, 58), the trajectory of Robinson Crusoe's first walk exploring that unknown environment is the top of a hill, from where he looks down on the land he will, later on, call himself sovereign of: '[...] I travel'd for discovery up to the top of that hill, where after I had with great labour and difficulty got to the top, I saw my fate to my great affliction, viz. that I was in an island environ'd every way with the sea, no land to be seen, except some rocks which lay a great way off, and two small islands less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west. I found that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason, un-inhabited' (Defoe [1917] 1992, 43). Crusoe's reflections tellingly reveal how, as early as on the second day after he set foot there, he consciously places himself above the island, drawing a mental map of the land below, measuring the dimensions of the isle, and anticipating the ways in which he will engage with the space. Accordingly, he occupies the bird's-eye perspective mentioned in relation to Certeau, visually striating the island space from above and appropriating it by taking an elevated, distant perspective. Crusoe spends his first weeks securing all the goods and equipment from the ship stranded off-shore. He soon chooses a place for his dwelling and builds a fort – his 'castle' (Defoe [1917] 1992, 129) – safely protected by walls, in a position from which he can overlook the sea (Defoe [1917] 1992, 48). In the course of the years he spends on this island Crusoe's main concern is to achieve a life-style as similar as possible to the one he had on the continent. To that purpose, he upholds European standards of living and develops his settlement inspired by the capitalist ideas already prevalent in England at the time. As Deleuze writes in

⁶ For a more in-depth discussion of the spatial turn in literary studies as well as the space theories of Michel de Certeau, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari see Dautel 2019, 29–34, 54–60, 69–77.

his critique of Defoe's novel as an example of the failure of the island imaginary, 'Robinson's vision of the world resides exclusively in property; [...] The mythical recreation of the world from the deserted island gives way to the reconstitution of everyday bourgeois life from a reserve of capital. Everything is taken from the ship. Nothing is invented. It is all painstakingly applied on the island' (Deleuze 2002, 11).

This mind-set is reflected in the way Crusoe interacts with the island space. Instead of exploring the island and engaging with its surroundings, inventing creative ways of using its resources and establishing new routes, Crusoe focusses on using the space for the purpose of setting up a one-man society, reaching out to the island country mainly for hunting and harvesting, believing that he 'was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly, and had a right of possession' (Defoe [1917] 1992, 83). Walking around the island in a rather narrow radius, only one and a half years after his arrival, he notices that the other side of the island is more fertile (Defoe [1917] 1992, 92). By measuring and mapping the island space and drawing up a table of the seasons and the climate, he gradually turns the smooth space into a striated one, also by agriculturally working the land. While making use of it, he thus imposes a hierarchical system onto the island, mimicking the mores prevalent on the continent, whereby he is 'lord of the land'.

Crusoe's act of exploring the island on foot can be considered a speech act that slowly transforms the island space into a text as he records his discoveries in a journal where he counts and categorises them. In marking down his observations in his diary, he constructs his own island, subjecting it to his needs and re-writing his own existence by inventing a new subjectivity and individuality, making himself the ruler of the space (Ljungberg 2007, 486). Tellingly, the novel's third sequel (1720) includes a map of the island, drawn from the bird's eye perspective, which consolidates Crusoe's colonialist approach inasmuch as it represents the entitlement and the claim of ownership of the land he has to protect from an invasion, that which the discovery of the footprint on the beach symbolises for him (Ljungberg 2007, 489–491).

In the course of the spatial transformation of the island – an enterprise for which building

up structures of enclosure such as walls, borders and fences, is essential, enacting the process of land enclosure which forms the start of capitalist property relations – Crusoe seeks to overcome his spatial and temporal disorientation by turning the wild into a domesticated space (Smit-Marais 2011, 107–109). Crusoe thus materially turns the island's smooth space into striated terrain and sets up a social as well as an economic system based on the Western hierarchical model he pre-empts by way of his voyeuristic act of mapping the island space from above. As Daniel Graziadei stresses, 'the conversion of the desert island into a colonial island and of the castaway into a pious ruler is thus developed in close relationship of space, place, subject and writing and declines again after his return to the imperial'⁷ (Graziadei 2015, 425; Author's translation). When, after twenty-eight years, he returns to England, he has inverted the role of the island space into a subjected space, into a trophy of his conquest like any other British colony.

Jean Giraudoux: 'Suzanne et le Pacifique' (1921)

Alongside 'Robinson Crusoe', Deleuze regards the novel 'Suzanne and the Pacific' by French author Jean Giraudoux as the second example of a failure of island mythology. The island is a recurring motif in Giraudoux's work; he employed island spaces to create utopian visions, and in Suzanne he turned the island space into the paradisiac setting for a female Robinsonade (Gauvin 1999, 60). Whilst Deleuze criticises Crusoe's replication of a European lifestyle based on capitalism, with regard to Suzanne he negatively highlights the depiction of luxury and abundance the island provides. The eponymous protagonist in Giraudoux's novel, a young woman from Bellac, suffers shipwreck on a Pacific island while being on a sea journey around the world. Since the island is rich

⁷ 'Die Bekehrung der einsamen Insel in eine Kolonialinsel und des Schiffbrüchigen in einen gottesfürchtigen Herrscher wird also in einer engen Beziehung zwischen Raum, Ort, Subjekt und Schrift entwickelt und lässt nach seiner Rückkehr auf die imperiale Halbinsel wieder nach' (Graziadei 2015, 425).

in fantastic resources, she does not need to create anything anew. The island's vegetation provides, for example, 'coconut trees, which were higher than oaks [...] On all sides unknown trees [...] the bread tree, the milk tree, [...] maybe the meat tree [...] trees without fruit and nearly without leaves, but with red rings, so that one expected from them an extraordinary abundance [...]'⁸ (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 85 f.; Author's translation). It is exactly this abundance which Deleuze refers to when he notes that 'mythology [...] dies, though in Suzanne's case it dies in a particularly Parisian way' (Deleuze 2002, 11 f.).

Not only does the island set-up in Suzanne differ from the one in Defoe's novel, but also the way Suzanne engages with the island space is at odds with Crusoe's colonialist approach. Being washed ashore, she immediately feels an intimate connection with the island, calling it 'my island'⁹ (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 85; Author's translation) very soon without employing Crusoe's forms of appropriation. In the morning of her first day there, she walks the length and the periphery of the isle, exploring the newly-found environment, also climbing up the hills and becoming aware of the shape and size of the archipelago: 'Until the evening I had jumped over all seven streams, the most torrential and widest, however, I had to follow up to its origin; I had climbed the mountain and became aware [...] that two or three kilometres South was another, slightly bigger island, and half way between that one and the horizon [...] a third one [...]'¹⁰ (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 88; Author's translation). She soon takes up swimming regularly around the entire island and becomes aware of the unspoilt innocence of the space, not yet transformed into a hostile place by humans (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 109). Having become a good enough

swimmer, after one year she crosses over to the second island, which she perceives as a space in constant transformation, in an endless cycle turning matter into living creatures: 'Each clod of earth falling from the island into the sea was turned into a muskrat, into an otter and was immediately returned back, giving it [the island] back all that in the form of life and hair it had lost in rock and leaves. Another small effort by the island and I would see the sunken roots in the water move, turning into trunks'¹¹ (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 129; Author's translation).

Suzanne's first experience of this second island is a more hostile one – the earthquake that develops upon her arrival may be construed as this island's desire to repel her (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 125 f.) and she finds traces of the past life of another castaway who had worked and subjected the land (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 134). Suzanne remains negatively baffled by the way her predecessor made use of the island space despite its obvious abundance (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 134 f.). When she finds the castaway's diary, entitled Robinson Crusoe (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 199), she learns that he only explored the whole island after thirteen years and enters into an imaginary dialogue with him in which she gives advice on how to branch out, leave his usual routes and follow his intuition (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 201 f.). Suzanne directly refers to Crusoe's way of engaging with the island space; Giraudoux thus creates an explicit intertextual dialogue with Defoe's novel. Crusoe's meticulous mapping of the island makes Suzanne feel threatened as if her 'unsteady life on this float had found an end. I felt myself pinned with ropes to the four corners of the horizon'¹² (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 205; Author's translation).

Exploring the island herself mainly by walking and swimming, in contrast to Crusoe's bird's-eye view from the top of the hill, Suzanne interacts

8 'Des cocotiers plus hauts que les chênes [...] Partout des arbres inconnus [...] l'arbre pain, l'arbre-lait, [...] peut-être l'arbre-viande. Des arbres sans fruits et presque sans feuillage, mais cerclés de cercles rouges, qu'on devinait pleins d'abondance [...]' (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 85 f.).

9 'Mon île' (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 85).

10 'Le soir même, j'avais franchis les sept ruisseaux, obligée, pour le plus rapide et le plus large, de remonter à leur source; j'avais gravi la montagne, aperçu [...] à deux ou trois kilomètres au sud une seconde île, un peu plus grande, et, à mi-chemin entre celle-là et l'horizon [...] une troisième [...]' (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 88).

11 'Chaque motte de l'île tombée à la mer devenait un rat musqué, une loutre, et la regagnait aussitôt, lui redonnant en vie et en poil tout ce qu'elle perdait de roche et de feuillage. Un élan encore de l'île, et j'allais voir les racines plongées dans l'eau s'agiter [...]' (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 129).

12 'Vie errante sur mon radeau était finie. Je me sentais tenue aux quatre coins de l'horizon par des câbles' (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 205).

with the island space, slowly transforming and becoming a part of the island herself, even inventing her own language. As she turns into a female nomad and becomes one with her non-human surrounding, she allows herself to be guided by her intuition and by the island space, physically blending into the space to the extent that she is not immediately recognised as a human by the British men who come to rescue her. The epilogue to the 1968 German edition states that women in Giraudoux's works counteract the conventionally rational approach to life by men (Best 1968, 255), therefore confirming traditional gender stereotypes. However, Giraudoux's female castaway does not just offer an alternative model to the way Defoe's *Crusoe* appropriates space by suggesting a more rhizomatic access to space; instead, Suzanne undertakes, in a similar manner as her predecessor, an attempt at striating the isle. At a later stage of her island life, in an effort not to lose her memories of her former life in France, Suzanne begins mapping the island space by turning it into a text. She provides trees with street names, thus striating the smooth space, giving it points of reference. Nonetheless, as she feels that the words she uses to name the trees have lost, in her mind, their cultural meaning, she senses a profound feeling of alienation from the language of her former life on the continent and an even bigger feeling of estrangement from Europe (Giraudoux [1921] 1975, 152 f.). Turning the space into a text, therefore, is not a feasible way of engaging with the island space for Suzanne; it requires alternative forms of connecting with it, which are developed through the narration of Suzanne's manifold spatial practices – contrary to Deleuze's critical analysis of the novel's island construction.

Marlen Haushofer: 'Die Wand' (1963)

By enclosing the female protagonist as the only human being within an invisible wall, in her novel 'The Wall' Marlen Haushofer evokes an insular setting in the Austrian mountains. Even though the story is not set on an island, through the evocation of an insular space and a castaway as protagonist, her novel has become one of the most famous female Robinsonades of German-language literature (Abraham 1986, 75; Berentelg 1998, 83), bearing, in

Buchholz's words, a utopian 'vision of an escape from masculine civilization' (Buchholz 2015, 153). In 'The Wall', the spatial boundaries of the island in the forest are deployed to experiment with an alternative form of society, drawing on questions of gender roles and hierarchies. The spatial barrier creates a chamber play, an atmosphere in the heart of nature whereby the author questions human existence outside society. By isolating the main character – an unnamed woman in her forties – from civilisation, the wall around her seems to dissolve the boundaries between nature and culture. Yet, a closer analysis of her interaction with the space, paradoxically, reveals that it fosters differences between humans and animals, thus reinforcing a culture-nature dichotomy. The spatial engagement of the protagonist shows that boundaries remain. The text is, indeed, a 'web of dense as well as indissoluble entanglements of a patriarchal discourse regime and pre-feminist strategies of subversion'¹³ (Landfester 2000, 229; Author's translation), which, however, remain an attempted and ultimately failing experiment.

Compared to Giraudoux's Suzanne, who enters into communication with the island in a rather intuitive, sensorial way, the first-person narrator of Haushofer's novel engages in a different manner with her surroundings. She almost fully refrains from visually mapping the space from above, but instead engages in a rather strategic plotting of the forest environment by walking through the countryside, calling it 'my valley' (Haushofer [1963] 2013, 47). She does not feel an urge to explore the space and only walks up to an alpine pasture months after having discovered the wall. During the first few days in the forest, she obsessively marks out the route of the invisible wall with fresh branches as if she was re-creating the wall herself, artificially naturalising it, so to speak; in so doing, she reinforces the boundaries, and maps her area, trying to bring a 'bit of order in the huge, terrible disorder that had invaded my life. [...] In marking it out with green sticks I was making my first attempt [...] to assign to it an appropriate place'

¹³ 'Geflecht so dichter wie unauflöslicher Verstrickungen von patriarchalem Diskursregime und präfeministischen Subversionsstrategien' (Landfester 2000, 229). Ulrike Landfester refers to the analysis by Frei Gerlach 1998, 209.

(Haushofer [1963] 2013, 24). She continues striating the space by cultivating the land over the entire period recorded in her diary, setting up a small farm where she subsists with a dog and other domesticated animals from nearby abandoned farms. Like Crusoe on his island, Haushofer's protagonist relies on using the utensils and equipment she finds in her hosts' cabin and in other deserted hunter's lodges and sets up boundaries, for instance making her potato field look like a 'fortress in the middle of the forest' (Haushofer [1963] 2013, 54).

Afraid of losing orientation, with time, her exploration of the space becomes more restricted and mainly confined to the routes she knows: 'I have no reason to stray wild in the forest; the deer still use their old trails, and I could find the paths of the potato field and the meadow by the stream in my sleep. Even if I don't admit it, though, without Lynx [her dog] I'm a prisoner of the valley' (Haushofer [1963] 2013, 96). This sense of insecurity precludes her from venturing off on her usual itineraries and, accordingly, from opening new and alternative paths in the forest. The domestic realm and her fields become the main living space and her occupation during the years of her secluded life in the forest, immersing herself in the life and the labour of a peasant. Whereas Suzanne in Giraudoux's novel gradually becomes unaware of the seasons, the cyclic life in the mountains still continues as if the wall did not exist: 'The wall forced me to make an entire new life, but the things that really move me are still the same as before: birth, death, the seasons, growth and decay' (Haushofer [1963] 2013, 115). While Crusoe's conventional use of the island space springs from his desire to subject it according to his colonialist ideas, Haushofer's protagonist refrains from engaging with the isolated space in more inventive ways for different reasons. Her fear of the unknown beyond the realm she domesticates and adapts to her lifestyle leads to her cultivation of the land as a symbolic mapping of space in order to gain a sense of security.

As (apparently) the only human in the forest, Haushofer's character engages intensively with the natural space. She also questions her former life in urban civilisation – mainly in relation to her role as a woman – to the extent that she starts losing her identity as an individual and develops a sense

of being part of something 'larger', of a collective: 'I'm not sure that my new self isn't gradually being absorbed into something larger that thinks of itself as 'We' (Haushofer [1963] 2013, 142). However, the way she interacts with her environment – cultivating the space but not inventing new ways of engaging with it – still accounts for the idea of a lifestyle imagined from an urban point of view she is not able to move beyond – similar to her 18th cent. male predecessor. Haushofer thus explores and questions the possibility of an 'insular' new beginning beyond established social roles.

Michel Tournier:

'Vendredi ou les Limbes du Pacifique' (1967)

'Friday or The Other Island', Michel Tournier's debut novel, is an explicit adaptation of Defoe's 'Robinson Crusoe' with an eponymous protagonist set a hundred years later, which has been interpreted as a 'parody of patriarchal, Enlightenment culture' (Brantly 2009, 129). This French Robinsonade hyperbolically mimics and calls into question Crusoe's striving for the submission of the island, which Tournier meaningfully renames 'Speranza' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 42). In depicting what can be analysed as a remarkable change from the map perspective to a route perspective, Tournier's novel subverts Defoe's construction of the relationship between Crusoe and the island.

Friday begins with the visual mapping of the isle from above just after Crusoe's arrival, and then recounts the protagonist's obsessive cultivation of the island's soil as well as his fixation with measuring it, as he seeks to chart it entirely and tame its wilderness. In his journal, Tournier's Robinson writes: 'One of my tasks must be to make full survey of the island, its distances and contours, and incorporate all these details in an accurate surveyor's map. I should like every plant to be labelled, every bird to be ringed, every animal to be branded. I shall not be content until this opaque and impenetrable place, filled with secret ferments and malignant stirrings, has been transformed into a calculated design, visible and intelligible to its very depth' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 57–59). Sexualising and personifying the island space are two hallmarks of Tournier's Robinsonade. Having drawn a

map of the island, Robinson interprets the shape of the island as a headless woman: it 'resembled a female body, headless but nevertheless a woman, seated with her legs drawn up beneath her in an attitude wherein submission, fear and simple abandonment were inextricably mingled' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 42). Beyond Defoe's depiction of the colonial mapping of the island, Tournier adds another related component to the way Robinson Crusoe adopts the space by drawing on gender hierarchies as well as the sexual appropriation of women, also metaphorically expressed in the spatial expansion of Robinson's explorations.

This sexualisation characterises Crusoe's relationship with the island in 'Friday'. Not only does Tournier's castaway appropriate the space on its surface, but similar to a worm he also vertically crawls into the soil towards the inner space of the island, seeking to become one with it, turning it into a sexualised being and developing a more sensorial and bodily connection to it than just a visual one: He 'slid down slowly but steadily like food down a human gullet. [...] Its walls were perfectly smooth but curiously shaped, like the interior of a mould designed to fashion some very complex object. The object, Robinson suspected, was his body, and after a number of attempts he succeeded in finding a posture' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 87 f.). Huddled into the inner space of the island grotto, he finds a position that makes him forget 'the limitations of his body [...]. He was suspended in a happy eternity. Speranza was a fruit ripening in the sun whose white and naked seed, embedded in a thousand thicknesses of skin and husk and rind, bore the name of Robinson' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 88). Robinson's sexual relationship with the island culminates when he becomes so physically aroused by Speranza that he pours his semen on the ground (Tournier [1967] 1984, 103 f.). This episode is central to Crusoe's interaction with the island – as a result of this insemination of the soil, a new species of plant grows with its roots expanding in the form of a young girl, therefore giving rise to a new, rhizomatic way of spatial expansion (Tournier [1967] 1984, 111).

This changing connection with the natural space causes Robinson to increasingly doubt his approach to the 'cultivated island' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 114) and to search for alternative ways of

understanding the island and his life on it. His search for alternative forms of being causes him to hope for an earthquake to disarrange his spatial order on the island. He then comes to the realisation that 'in the ordering of the island lay his only salvation until such time as another kind of life [...] was ready to take place of the wholly human course of behaviour which he had steadfastly pursued since the shipwreck' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 103). Yet, eventually, it is the slave Friday who jeopardises the order on the island – instead of obeying Robinson and fulfilling his orders, Friday undermines his authority playfully, disarraying Robinson's organised spaces. When he smokes in the entry to the grotto where Robinson stores his gunpowder, Friday causes an explosion which demolishes the walls of Robinson's fortress thus creating completely new forms of spatial connections: 'Where the entrance to the cave had been there was now an avalanche of great boulders shaped like towers, pyramids, prisms and cylinders, a mountain of rubble dominated by a vertical spire of rock which must afford an admirable view over the island and the sea. [...] it was as though some architectural genius, operating at the point of extreme violence, had used it (the explosion) to indulge a fancy for baroque design' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 152). Covertly liberated from the oppressing rigidity of the 'cultivated island' after this event, Robinson is ready 'to enter upon an unknown road' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 154); in time, he establishes and ventures out into new routes on the island, re-inventing himself in an 'astonishing metamorphosis' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 156) that changes Robinson's and Friday's lifestyle and relationship positively. This change is confirmed when the British sailors come to rescue the islanders – Friday, looking down from the hill when he 'climbed to the top of the rocks, taking with him the spyglass' (Tournier [1967] 1984, 183), exemplifies the map perspective, whereas Robinson, as a result of his routing of the island, realises he does not want to leave his life in Speranza. Friday, eventually, secretly leaves the island with the sailors to start a new life in Europe, and Crusoe remains, thus inverting the roles of Defoe's characters and undermining European versus native stereotypes.

Zhaoding Yang has re-assessed Tournier's novel in the context of postcolonialism and of

Said's theory of being as a constant process of becoming. Yang claims that the 'postcolonial condition' is, among others, defined by an overcoming of boundaries, thus opening new ways of communication between the self and the other as well as of overcoming binary constructions (Yang 2009, 73 f.). Tying in with Deleuze's notion of the island as a space in a continuous process of coming into being, Tournier's subversion of spatial orders in 'Friday', as Crusoe comes to open new routes on the island, lays radical emphasis on the reconsideration of the self, now as one that is in constant dialogue with its spatial surroundings.

**Judith Schalansky:
'Atlas der abgelegenen Inseln' (2009)**

German writer Judith Schalansky's innovative island text 'Atlas of Remote Islands. Fifty Islands I have not visited and never will' was published in 2009. Beyond the boldness of mapping spaces, the author (or rather the narrator of this experimental, semi-documentary work) has never experienced (and apparently never will), her publication is highly interesting in the field of literary studies due to its intermedial combination of image and text as well as the symbolic representation of maps classing them as literature. In the tradition of the *insularium* of the Renaissance period (Moser 2005, 421 f.), Schalansky deviates from the ordinary form of an atlas, including only cartographic representations by adding descriptions to the maps of the fifty islands selected, in which she combines factual and fictional elements. Interestingly, since the publication of Schalansky's 'Atlas', an increased fascination with the depiction of spaces in the form of a text-image combination has emerged – most notably in relation to cartographic depictions – with a range of authors publishing atlases and illustrations of fictional places; mapping and reading maps has become trendy.¹⁴

In the foreword to her 'Atlas', Schalansky points out the poetic power of cartographic representations (Schalansky [2009] 2010, 23). Indeed, her undertaking to map selected islands can rightly be deemed to be a work of art, but it can also be construed as an appropriation and as another form of subjecting spaces. Being aware of this, the author toys with the symbolic fascination with maps as well as with their potential power when she remarks, '(i)n their merciless generalization, these maps tame the wilderness' (Schalansky [2009] 2010, 9). In this way, Schalansky's maps and short texts engage with established island discourses. As Moser has noted, the 'attributes of finiteness and statics assigned to the island in Western discourse, facilitate [...] the colonial [...] access'¹⁵ (Moser 2005, 410; Author's translation). In cartographing the islands in her 'Atlas', it is exactly such an act of colonisation that Schalansky performs and foregrounds, thus highlighting the idea of the colonialist appropriation of islands as spaces that can be charted and exploited by humans. Notably, by dedicating one spread to each island, she also separates the islands from one another, singling them out and depriving them of their global context and concealing the routes that connect them to the surrounding countries and archipelagos.

One of the main reasons cartography can be regarded as a controversial craft is its symbolic representation; maps assumingly depict space 'as it is'. The creator of a map, however, is always biased by his or her worldview, and consciously chooses the pieces of information shown in the cartographic representations of a given space. Maps, therefore, have the power to shape their readers' view of the spaces they depict as they guide the viewer according to the ideology of the cartographer and are, as Schalansky (2010, 10) points out, 'merely one interpretation' of reality. The geographical information provided with each map in Schalansky's 'Atlas' refers to the exact position of the islands, their geographic coordinates and their distance to the nearest

¹⁴ See for instance Eco 2013; Lanni 2015; Tallack 2017; Lewis-Jones 2018; Francis 2020. As editor of 'The Island Review', Malachy Tallack held an interview with Judith Schalansky about her Atlas in 2013. He might, therefore, have directly been inspired for his book on undiscovered islands by Schalansky's work, Tallack 2013.

¹⁵ 'Die Attribute der Begrenztheit und der Statik, die der Insel im westlichen Denken zugeschrieben werden, erleichtern nicht nur den kolonialen, sondern auch den intellektuellen Zugriff' (Moser 2005, 410).

continent, all of which gives the readers an impression of verifiability and creates a geometrically striated space.¹⁶

In his short history of cartographical depictions, Certeau writes: 'The map, a totalizing stage on which elements of diverse origin are brought together to form the tableau of a 'state' of geographical knowledge, pushes away into its pre-history [...] the operations of which it is the result or the necessary condition' (Certeau 1988, 121). Thus, the act of mapping would typically entail the gradual removal of routes and of any connections to the spatial practices which created them. The visual therefore wins over the practical. Smooth space is turned into striated space by being measured and mapped, and therefore being subjected to specific purposes. In mapping selected islands and garnishing them with myths in the accompanying texts, Schalansky creates a conflicting image of these islands – their 'paramaps' (Wood/Fels 1992, 192) present them as real, but any everyday-life, contemporary activity on these islands is, on the other hand, omitted, which turns the island spaces into a liminal zone between reality and the imaginary. Strikingly, the act of selecting fifty islands and granting each of them a spread in the 'Atlas' gives these islands prominence over all others that are not selected. The choice of selecting certain islands and leaving out others deprives the latter of the credit of qualifying as remote islands. Paradoxically, however, due to Schalansky's presentation of the selected islands as spaces between materiality and discursivity which reinforces images of insular remoteness, the islands are moved away even further from a perceived centre of attention and construed as peripheral to the implicit continental reader's lived-in-world, while the island dwellers and any perception of 'islandness' are explicitly not included in this act of mapping as they will never be visited.

¹⁶ For a more detailed analysis of the symbolic nature of maps in relation to Schalansky's 'Atlas' see Dautel 2016.

Marion Poschmann: 'Die Kieferninseln' (2017)

In 'The Pine Islands', German writer Marion Poschmann constructs a clear east/west dichotomy in the way space is perceived, with the focal point of the travel narrative being an island in the bay of Matsushima in Japan. She evokes spatial ambiguity and draws on the relationship of space and language, thereby contributing to questions about spatial aesthetics in an intercultural context. By representing space as a flexible concept and deploying an island metaphor, Poschmann counteracts the traditional European discourse constructing islands as clearly defined and remote spaces (Moser 2005, 408–410). Furthermore, she constructs space as a variable entity, turning it into a matter of subjective perception and negating its materiality. In 'The Pine Islands', this spatial ambiguity is constructed by evoking a two-fold notion of space: from a distance, through seeing or reading; and close up, through the experience of space on-site on the route of the trip.

In 'The Pine Islands', a German man called Silvester travels spontaneously to Japan, where he meets the young man Yosa Tamagotchi,¹⁷ whom he prevents from committing suicide by claiming that he should first find a better place for taking his own life. Venturing together onto the route of the famous Japanese poet Matsuo Bashō, in the following days the two characters look for the ideal place for dying. Guided by Bashō's and other literary texts as well as by a handbook for suicide, the pattern of their journey is one of repeated disappointment: the closer they get to places, the more disappointing the actual spatial experience turns out to be. During his flight to Japan, Silvester had dreamt of being able to fly as he oversees the Japanese islands 'from above': 'Japan from above, the countless islands, thickly forested mountains, solemn blue, he flies over the gruesome beauty of this country one final time' (Poschmann [2017] 2019, 14). However, experiencing the natural sites

¹⁷ Using the surname referring to an electronic toy – a virtual pet – mainly popular in the 1990s, Poschmann clearly plays with cultural stereotypes and questions the real existence of Yosa Tamagotchi who disappears at the end of the novel.

as he walks through them, Silvester feels a sense of disillusion because he finds that the closer he gets to them, the less he is able to see them clearly and to define them verbally (see for instance [2017] 2019, 64).

Furthermore, Poschmann constructs a dualism of private and public spatial appropriation. In the Aokigahara forest, the travellers repeatedly ignore advice on the excessive public signage and continue walking deeper into the rhizomatic grounds: 'They disregarded multiple warning signs. [...] under no circumstances leave the marked routes, otherwise you won't be able to find your way out of the forest' (Poschmann [2017] 2019, 58). In order not to get lost in the forest, they unwind a yellow plastic tape while walking further into the woods, mapping their path to the projected suicide site, subverting the publicly established order, and creating their own routes.

When Silvester sees Matsushima Bay with its hundreds of islands and their famous pine trees, the islands seem slightly disappointing: 'A panoramic view. Haze in the bay, a few shapes, flecks, much of it couldn't be made out. As always, an exaggerated amount of fuss had been made over a banal landscape. From above, the islands just looked like mossy stones in the fog' (Poschmann [2017] 2019, 167). When he crosses over to the island Ojima, he tries to see the pines, but is not able to focus on and digest any detail (Poschmann [2017] 2019, 171). But the closer he approaches the islands, the more he feels he accesses the sites with all senses rather than just visually. As a result of this, he also gains more routine in writing poetic texts in the form of the traditional Japanese haiku. The European traveller is increasingly able to grasp an understanding of the sites and aesthetically re-write them, thereby assigning a meaning to space in his own 'fiction' (Poschmann [2017] 2019, 172). At the end of his tour, Silvester's perception of space appears fundamentally changed, accepting rather than refusing its changeability.

In this novel, Poschmann examines an ambiguous concept of the natural environment in literature as she compares European and East Asian perceptions of space and its linguistic representations. She takes the island space in Matsushima Bay to question Western spatial discourse, which

traditionally ascribes the island a high level of tangibility and clear-cut boundaries (Moser 2005, 408–410). De-constructing the island space into its multifacetedness, Poschmann re-assembles the island as a figure of thought rather than as a given entity. While writing about the ambiguity of nature and its cultural construction, she does not only challenge established ways of perceiving space from an essentialist point of view, but also puts into doubt Western discourses on East Asian aesthetics by continuously evoking stereotypes about Japan and the protagonist's reluctance to accept other ways of perceiving reality.¹⁸

Conclusion

The analysis of the spatial practices and island-shaping processes in these texts has led to an understanding of European island narratives in a different light, drawing upon spatial aesthetics beyond the consideration of spaces as a mere setting. The two paradigmatic ways of interacting with the island space reveal that literary notions of island spaces and island mythology often construct the island as a far-away place, uphold the traditional visual appropriation of insular spaces over the practical, and therefore nurture the Western idea of islands as limited spaces easy to conquer. In the examples discussed, this tradition following Defoe's 'Robinson Crusoe' is also continued in Haushofer's 'The Wall', and even more drastically in Schalansky's 'Atlas of Remote Islands', in which the act of mapping or striating fifty islands from a distance and therefore eliminating social practices carries Certeau's bird's-eye-perspective even further. Yet, in the European literature of the 20th cent. the analysis has also found some significant attempts at subverting and changing that traditional idea of insular spaces – this is exemplified by Giraudoux's 'Suzanne', Tournier's 'Friday' and Poschmann's 'Pine Islands' in particular, works that, as we have seen, proffer alternative forms of engaging with insular spaces. These authors

¹⁸ For a more detailed analysis of Poschmann's 'The Pine Islands' see Dautel 2021.

challenge obsolete, rigid notions of islands by way of renegotiating established forms of using space. In Giraudoux's novel, 'Suzanne' engages with the island space from below by walking, increasingly blending into her surroundings. Poschmann employs the island metaphor in order to question established ideas of space, evoking a certain spatial ambiguity. Travelling to Japan, her protagonist Silvester slowly gives in to a more sensorial way of perceiving space. Finally, Robinson in 'Friday or the Other Island' takes an even closer worm's-eye-perspective from below by crawling into the inner space of the isle; he experiences a significant metamorphosis caused by an explosion creating new spatial orders, which also question established categories on the island. In the three respective novels, the authors seek to subvert

dated hierarchies and power structures, including gender relations, colonialist bias, and hierarchical notions of periphery and centre. Moreover, they contribute to a changing perception of the spatial environment in general – one that recognises spatial practices and discursive appropriations of space as inseparable from any human perception of space and deeply linked to the construction of socio-cultural realities and related practices.

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Anna Kouremenos

Afterword

The Future of Island Studies

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Laura Dierksmeier, Frerich Schön, Annika Condit, and Valerie Palmowski for inviting me to become a member of the *Insularität/Insularities* group in the collaborative research centre SFB 1070 RESOURCE-CULTURES. I also extend my appreciation to the DFG Centre for Advanced Studies ‘Migration and Mobility in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages’ and the Teach@Tübingen Program for granting me the opportunity to conduct research in and lecture at the University of Tübingen. Jonathan Pugh brought my attention to the poem by Dorothy Wordsworth, and I am most grateful to him for this.

I shall begin my brief discourse about the future of island studies with a poem by Dorothy Wordsworth (1771–1855) which captures the essence of islandness in all its poetic glory.

Floating Island

Harmonious Powers with Nature work
On sky, earth, river, lake, and sea:
Sunshine and storm, whirlwind and breeze
All in one duteous task agree.

Once did I see a slip of earth,
By throbbing waves long undermined,
Loosed from its hold; – *how* no one knew
But all might see it float, obedient to the wind.

Might see it, from the mossy shore
Dissevered float upon the Lake,
Float, with its crest of trees adorned
On which the warbling birds their pastime take.

Food, shelter, safety there they find
There berries ripen, flowerets bloom;
There insects live their lives – and die:
A peopled *world* it is; in size a tiny room.

And thus through many seasons’ space
This little Island may survive
But Nature, though we mark her not,
Will take away – may cease to give.

Perchance when you are wandering forth
Upon some vacant sunny day
Without an object, hope, or fear,
Thither your eyes may turn – the Isle is passed away.

Buried beneath the glittering Lake!
Its place no longer to be found,
Yet the lost fragments shall remain,
To fertilise some other ground.

Although this poem has been interpreted by some readers as a *post-partum* lament with evocations of infancy, especially given the words ‘peopled earth’, ‘tiny room’, and ‘fertilise’, one can clearly discern its insular connotations through the allusion of a floating landmass on a lake. Insular, in the sense of the poem, may denote fragmentation if we follow the first reading, but the stanzas also recognise the inability of humans to master or comprehend the island fully, if we follow a more literal reading. As Katrin Dautel’s paper in this volume points out, islands invite exploration from a multitude of perspectives but, at the same time, are often difficult to localise. Indeed, it is this grappling with the multifarious concept of insularity that forms the focal point of the papers in this volume.

Insularity, from the Latin *insula* meaning ‘an island’, bears two definitions in English. The one familiar to most readers refers to the quality of being isolated, detached, or ignorant; the second, and less frequently employed meaning, characterises the state or quality of being an island. The simple yet vexed nature of the second definition allows for broad speculation into the nature of the landmass, yet in certain languages such as Croatian, the term insularity simply means ‘relating to an island’ or ‘pertaining to an island’, as Dunja Brozović Rončević reminds us. Nonetheless, as the poem above reveals, islands as geographic entities can be located in multiple environments, ranging from oceans and seas to lakes and rivers. Yet, they all share one major trait in common: they are pieces of land surrounded by water.

A major concept that has dominated studies of insularity until recently and which has been frequently debated by nissologists (island scholars) is that of islands as ‘laboratories’. As Erica Angliker argues in her paper on Cycladic/Aegean islands, the fluidity of island boundaries as well as the mobility of populations amongst other factors, have made this concept questionable, an argument that is also espoused by Alexander J. Smith and Margalida A. Coll in their paper on Balearic identities observed through funerary practices of the Late Talayotic Period. The authors maintain that islands are not merely closed areas but open polyvalent spaces in which various connections and boundaries can be established. Francesca Bonzano’s study of the Maltese archipelago further enhances this theme by shedding light on how the islands served as stepping-stones not only for pirates operating in the Mediterranean Sea during the Punic-Hellenistic period but also as locations for the transmission of intercultural ideas and architectural motifs. The premise of islands as transit points is discussed in the contribution by N. Zeynep Yelçe and Ela Bozok, who expound on the importance of eastern Mediterranean islands as information hubs for news flow across the Ottoman Empire in the 16th cent. AD. Moreover, while connectivity and isolation on Aegean islands have long been the focus of intense historical and archaeological discourse – as the paper by Sergios Menelaou demonstrates – less explored but still relevant themes will enhance further our

understanding of the concept of islandness. Below, I highlight briefly a few potential research themes that will likely feature in island studies in the near future.

After the publication of Cyprian Broodbank’s seminal monograph ‘The Making of the Middle Sea. A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World’ (2013), studies of insularity in the *longue durée* of the Anthropocene will continue to figure abundantly in the near future. Reflecting current socio-political trends, the theme of connectivity across time and space will evolve further to emphasise more closely the concepts of migration versus isolation, open versus closed borders, and security versus uncertainty. Mediterranean islands such as Lesbos, Samos, Lampedusa, and Sicily have featured in the news frequently since the European migration crisis that began in 2014. Governments have debated the option of hosting migrants in closed encampments on select islands or, as in the case of Greece in the past year, closing the nation’s borders altogether and considering the building of a floating water barrier in the Aegean Sea to prevent further arrivals. Historians and archaeologists might investigate this topic further by bringing to light how islands served as stepping-stones for migration or isolation in the past, which will offer much-needed comparative studies with the present. Added to this theme is the changing nature of settlement patterns on islands due to both internal and external pressures which, as David Hill’s and Kyle Jazwa’s papers insinuate, have the potential to significantly alter control over maritime networks and cultural developments.

In a time of increasing awareness of global pandemics, I posit that islands will feature prominently in studies of disease spread and prevention. Inquiries into the historical usage of islands as quarantines will be particularly instructive. In the past, several European islands served as hosts for diseased individuals; Spinalonga (Kalydon) on the Gulf of Mirabello in north-eastern Crete is a prominent example. As late as the middle of the 20th cent., individuals afflicted with leprosy were shipped and confined to this island which had been a leper colony since 1903. Although it has been uninhabited since the 1960s, in the last few decades, Spinalonga has become a major tourist

attraction not only due to its history but also for its beaches and as the setting of the best-selling novel 'The Island' (2005) by Victoria Hislop. The subject of islands as places of isolation for diseased and undesirable individuals – and the various emotions such a subject evokes – can be extended to include the theme of exile.

Since antiquity, insular spaces have served as locations for excommunicating individuals deemed troublesome by governments or social groups. In the Roman period, in particular, small islands were frequently used as locations of punishment and banishment. The emperor Augustus, for example, banished his only biological child, Julia, to the small, volcanic island of Pandateria (Ventotene) in the Tyrrhenian Sea for alleged excessive adultery (Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 65; Cassius Dio 55.10); five years later, he relented and transferred her to a much more hospitable location, the city of Rhegium on the Italian mainland. But if Pandateria evokes images of desolation, Gyaros in the Cyclades has been painted as the most forsaken place in the Graeco-Roman world, with one writer claiming that it was so inhospitable that even rats ate iron there (Aelian, *Characteristics of Animals*, 5.15). The island was impoverished, with few trees and little, if any, water. It is, therefore, not surprising that many pleas were made by relatives of banished individuals to transfer their loved ones away from Gyaros to less desolate locations. Indeed, the emperor Tiberius changed more than one such sentence to a more hospitable island, noting that 'if a man were granted his life, he must be allowed the means to live' (Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.69 and 4.29).

Expounding on the above topic, the themes of water scarcity and deforestation as well as volcanic activity and rising sea-level and land temperatures are also attractive topics for further research into European insular environments, especially at a time when climate change is a major concern across the globe. An additional related theme that deserves more scholarly attention is that of island-specific resources, from endemic plants and their therapeutic uses to natural resources and raw materials that have been exploited from antiquity until today. We may note, for example, *dictamnus* from Crete and *Naufraga balearica* from Mallorca, and obsidian from the Aeolian islands and Melos

as endemic plants and raw materials that provided – and, in many cases, still provide – substantial revenue for their inhabitants.

Another topic that will appeal to a large percentage of *nissologists* as well as the general public is that of the island experience through virtual reality. Recent advances in digital technologies have allowed individuals to not only experience island environments virtually – to go on an island 'vacation' from the comfort of their own home – but also to encounter reconstructed ancient and medieval islandscapes. Using the latest digital technology, one can 'walk' through a reconstructed version of ancient and medieval cities on islands like Rhodes, Sicily, and others, experiencing their roads, sanctuaries, domestic architecture, marketplaces, and cemeteries. Added to this are recent advances in underwater archaeology, including the extensive usage of autonomous underwater vehicles and rebreather technology; in combination with virtual reality, these developments will provide much-needed information (and learning experiences) about ancient harbours and past coastal life on islands as well as an enhanced perspective of island-mainland interactions.

Moreover, there is one theme that has proven challenging for island scholars until now and which, I hope, will be remedied in the near future. As Beate Ratter states in the Foreword, what is often omitted from island studies is the perspectives of the islanders themselves. This is especially true of cases in the deep past, where the lacunose archaeological and historical records leave contemporary scholars with more questions than answers. One wonders, for example, how aware the average islander in antiquity or the Middle Ages was of living on an island. Would a shepherd and his wife inhabiting a remote village in the mountains of central Sicily – the largest island in the Mediterranean – be aware of living on an island even if they could visit the coast and view the sea? How would this differ if said couple resided on a much smaller island or in a peninsular or coastal community instead? Did one have to travel outside one's insular environment to comprehend the parameters of insularity? Clearly island size matters for a variety of reasons, as Hanna Nüllen's study on the British Isles as dynamic insular spaces in the 8th cent. AD highlights. Our extant historical

sources were written by educated, usually elite individuals, but what was the view of the average person on matters of insularity and boundedness? Another related theme is that of the value of conducting fieldwork with contemporary islanders in order to understand the experiences of people living on insular environments in the past. To what extent would ethnoarchaeology and ethnography with contemporary islanders inform our understanding of islanders in the past?

In examining the interplay between isolated and interconnected life worlds in European islands, we are continuously reminded of the crucial need for interdisciplinary discussions since it is only through a holistic and collaborative approach that past societies and environments can best be understood, as the paper by Helen Dawson and Jonathan Pugh aptly argues. It is certain that

in the near future, scholarship on insularity will no longer be fixed within entrenched disciplines that prevent conversations from taking place between academics in different departments and fields of scholarship. Consequently, as the breadth of the topics and types of inquiry continue to increase and generate stimulating conversations among academics and the public, the future of island studies looks bright and inclusive rather than 'insular'.

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RESSOURCENKULTUREN 16

EUROPEAN ISLANDS BETWEEN ISOLATED AND INTERCONNECTED LIFE WORLDS

Island studies have seen an upswing in recent years. Whereas in the past, research was largely oriented at external perspectives and perceptions, at present we witness an increasing interest in viewpoints internal to the island societies examined (with an 'inside-out' approach). This volume contributes to such efforts with transdisciplinary and methodological reflections from the fields of archaeology, ethnology, geography, history, philology, and literary studies. Focused on the interplay between geographic isolation and commercial as well as cultural connection, the studies here assembled investigate the role of the knowledge, resources, and practices of islanders in processes of crisis management, identity formation and transformation.



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